

András Höfer

A Recitation of the
Tamang Shaman in Nepal

1994

VGH Wissenschaftsverlag · Bonn

Addenda and Corrigenda

- pp. 30, 132, 190, 369: Uiseme < Tib. dBu'i bSam-yas; *more probably* < Tib. dBus-kyi bSam-yas
- p. 125: *read* Gyábjyen
- p. 127: *read* Kālī Nāginī
- p. 216 (note on line 795): *read* '[...] back top/its backbone at the front top', cf. pp. 303 f.
- p. 248 (line 1016): *read* saṅgi bumba
- pp. 264, 265, 321, 322, 374: *read* Gōmosyi: Rá:ja
- p. 266 (line 1095): *read* menḍu dajye
- p. 267: *read* tàbañ
- p. 312, fig. 7: *read* ro.duñma; *read* chalam-bulam

András Höfer

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NEPALICA

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
BERNHARD KÖLVER UND SIEGFRIED LIENHARD

7.

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TAMANG SHAMAN IN NEPAL

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To the memory of Śer Bahādur Mambā Tāmāṅ

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FOREWORD

The main aim of this book is to edit, translate and comment on an oral text – with all the problems such an undertaking may pose.

I present the recitation in much the same way as the philologist does with his written texts. Rather than using it as raw material – processed for interpretation, fragmented into quotations or into single terms inserted in brackets and exoticized by italics as mere illustrations – for our “rhetoric of ethnographic holism” (Thornton 1988) in a monograph, the recitation is treated and valued as textualized cultural evidence which should be allowed to speak for itself. This “ethno-philological” approach can widen our understanding of what the Tamang shaman is and does. Above all, it can show how he conceives his vocation and negotiates relations between language, action and social reality, as Maskarinec (1990: v) aptly puts it. Yet the present study refrains from an exclusively intra-shamanistic interpretation (which is likely to result in some sort of a theology of shamanism). Instead, it intends to throw some light on what the text is and means to both the shaman and his audience. Working with shamans and laymen at the same time stimulated the quest for issues, such as the awareness of meaning¹ in the performer and receiver of the text, and their competence for the religious and the literary or aesthetic in the text. In sum, I shall try (a) to treat the text of the recitation as a work of orature, more precisely as a specific kind of libretto which “exists both as a thing in itself and as a directive for its perceivers” (Foley 1990: 5-6), and (b) to show how the text affects its performance in a ritual and, vice versa, how its actual performance is likely to affect its shape and meaning.

For reasons to be explained in a separate chapter, I have preferred a rather technical translation which should be read together with the annotations. Comparative analysis is kept to a minimum; attempts at etymological and other *rapprochements* are meant as a mere “remote sensing” of those processes of creative adoptions and understandings through which Tamang oral tradition has been constituting itself *by reference to high-cultural and other regional traditions*.

The Introductory in Part I outlines the conceptual foundations, ritual techniques and language of the *ḅombo*, deals briefly with the *ḅombo-client* relationship, and justifies some principles underlying my interpretation of the text. Part II presents the text of the recitation in the context of the ritual. Two concluding chapters in Part III comment on textual pragmatics with particular emphasis on symbol-construction.

Unless otherwise stated, in this book the term Tamang refers to the population of the fieldwork area in the central part of Dhādiṅ district. This population is part of the Western Tamang group which is concentrated in Nuwākōṭ, Rasuwā, Dhādiṅ and Makwanpur districts and differs in dialect² and culture from the Eastern Tamang, that is, the Tamang living to the north, east and southeast of the Kathmandu Valley.³ Since the late sixties, the Western Tamang have been the subject of several – linguistic, anthropological and interdisciplinary – investigations. Among

1 The awareness of meaning in the “user”, rather than some kind of abstract “meaning in itself”, cf. pp. 46 ff..

2 The Gurung, Thakali and Tamang (Murmi) languages were classified by Shafer (1974: 123 ff.) as belonging to the Gurung Branch of the Bodish Section within the Bodic Division of Sino-Tibetan. Mazaudon (1978: 157 ff.) adds to this branch the languages of Mānaṅg and Nar.

3 Tamang themselves do draw this distinction. – The problem of Tamang ethnic identity is discussed by Macdonald (1989) who is critical (undeservedly, as it seems) of my own views expressed in earlier publications. – The name “Tamang” is spelt and pronounced *tāmāṅg* by Nepali-speakers, and pronounced *tamaṅ* by the Tamang themselves.

the important studies that have come out during the last decade,⁴ *Les collines du Népal Central* (Dobremez 1986) might be regarded as the work most likely to provide a representatively general overview with contributions on ecology, subsistence farming, social structure, religion and other aspects concerning the Tamang community of Sālme.

4 Cf., e.g., Fricke (1986) on demographic processes and household economy; Heller (1985) on the concept and experience of illness; Holmberg (1989) on the belief system in the context of ritual; and Toffin (1985, 1986) on ecology, kinship, and ritual, to mention just a few.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book is dedicated to the memory of Śer Bahādur Mambā (Syèr Bā:dur Mamba) of Bhokteni village, who died in a tragic accident in 1986. His stoic, inquiring intellect predestined him to be an ideal partner for the ethnographer. He could be fascinated by a problem, revise or complete, on his own, what he had told two weeks before, and feel content when, after days of tiresome work, he became aware of the pitch system in his mother tongue or of the relevance of some census data for village economics. He, the ever-alert “observing participant” in his own culture, and I, the ever-inchoate “participant observer”, mutually benefited from our efforts to inform and learn.

This is in no way to diminish my debt to a large number of other local informants and helpers, above all to Phurba Yonjyen, “Syirjaron Bōmbo” (Sirjaronṅ Pākhren), “Chyamba Bōmbo” (Nare Mambā), “Léksare Bōmbo” (Siṅghanād Blenden), “Sattalsyiñ Lámbu”, “Bōkle Bōmbo” (Siṅgha Bir Mambā), “Autāri Jhākri”, Ganes Himruṅ, Palman Koirāl Biswakarma Kāmi, Sel Lāmā Himruṅ, Man Lāmā Blenden, Jeṭhā Lāmā Syonbo, Headmaster Kristo Lāmā Muktān, Damāi Siṅgh Doṅg, to mention just a few.

The interpretation of the Nepali parts of the text owes much to *Bishnu Prasad Shrestha* who has for many years been a friend and guide to me. For critical suggestions concerning important details or my approach as a whole, I am indebted to Nicholas J. Allen, Graham Clarke, Christoph Cüppers, Pascale Dollfus, Martin Gaenzle, Maria Hari, David H. Holmberg, Rudolf Kaschewsky, Alexander W. Macdonald, Gregory G. Maskarinec, Michael Oppitz, Philippe Sagant, Christine Schneider, Dieter Schuh, *Prayag Raj Sharma*, Tadeusz Skorupski, my colleague the late Günther-Dietz Sontheimer, Simon S. Strickland, Gérard Toffin and *Geshe Pema Tsering*. I also wish to express my gratitude to the Tribhuvan University for the research permit; to the late Giuseppe Tucci for encouragement; to Jean-François Dobremez, *Ram Kumari Shrestha* and *Tirtha Bahadur Shrestha* for identifying my plant samples; to Martin Gaenzle, Niels Gutschow, Corneille Jest and Gregory G. Maskarinec for the kind permission to use their unpublished materials; to Helga Nischk and the late Erwin Schneider for providing me with maps; to Reinhard Lampe for technical assistance; to Jacqueline Schäfer-Lewis who corrected my English; to Isabell Riederer-Peschke for the ink-drawings; to the families of Siṅgh Bahādur Blenden, Subedāni Mambā-Himruṅ, Padma Ratna Śākya and Rāmdās Amātya for their hospitality; and to my wife Sylvia for reading the manuscript with critical care.

The fieldwork and the publication would not have been possible without the generous financial support by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (Bonn). Grants from the Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Vergleichende Hochgebirgsforschung (Munich) and the Südasien-Institut of Heidelberg University have facilitated the preparation of the manuscript.

SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

MT = modern colloquial Tamang
 N. = Nepali
 OT = "old" Tamang = ritual language
 Skt. = Sanskrit
 T. = Tamang
 Tib. = Tibetan
 SB = Śer Bahādur (informant)
 SR = Syirjaroñ Bomo (informant)

fut. = future tense
 hon. = honorific
 imp. = imperative
 intr. = intransitive
 pf. = perfect tense
 pres. = present tense
 tr. = transitive

< = derives from or etymologically related with⁵
 > = results in, develops into (etymologically, morphologically)
 [] = pronunciation or emendment (s. p. 48)⁶
 ' ' (simple quotation marks) = lexical meaning or quotation from a translation
 / (slash) = alternative form or meaning
 * preceding a word = hypothetical, non-attested
 ≡ = congruent with, approximately identical
 ε = part of, contained in
 ≈ = metonymic/synecdochic link
 ~ = associated with
 ≈ = metaphoric link

The typographical presentation of the text of the recitation and its translation is colometric and follows the execution by the performer. Numbered lines group what is recited between two breathing-spaces and/or between two short sequences of solo drumming. Indented lines are the continuation of a numbered line. Cipher with full stop = number of a section of the text, e.g., 22.197 = section number 22, line (colon) 197.

5 In several instances, this symbol is to suggest an etymological *rapprochement*, rather than a direct derivation from a form as attested in the dictionaries or in the literary sources.

6 For further abbreviations s. also pp. 127, 174 and 312.

TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLITERATION

I have avoided a correct phonological transcription of Tamang since this would have resulted in an all too abstract presentation of the language. The transcription adopted here may be regarded as the transliteration of a fictive Tamang writing and thus as a compromise between a phonological and a phonetic transcription.

(1) In word-initial, the voiced consonants *b*, *d*, *ɖ*, *j* and *g* are the realizations of the phonemes /p/, /t/, /tʃ/, /c/ and /k/ preceding a breathy vowel with low-level or low-falling pitch.

(2) In other positions, the realization of the same phonemes is rendered regardless of pitch and vowel quality. Stems and suffixes are written together, and the assimilation of consonants is taken into account. I write, for example, *phamoda*, instead of *phamo-ta*, 'to the tutelary'; *khaba*, instead of *kha-pa*, 'to come'; *meppa*, instead of *met-pa*, 'to do wrongly', 'to commit (a sin)'.

(3) The palatal nasal phone, a coalescence of /n/ and /y/, is rendered by *ñ*.

(4) *c* and *j* are pronounced as [ts] and [ds]; *cy*, *chy*, *jy* and *sy* as [tʃj], [tʃhj], [dʒj] and [ʃj], respectively.

(5) *ɟ* and *ɟ* are retroflex.

(6) Vowel with a colon (*a:*, *e:*, *i:*, etc.) = long vowel.

(7) Lexical pitch contours are marked as follows: *à*, *è*, *ì*, etc. = high-falling with a tense vowel; *á*, *é*, *í*, etc. = mid-falling with a breathy vowel; *ɑ*, *ɛ*, *ɪ*, etc. = low-level with a breathy vowel; the high-level pitch with a tense vowel is unmarked. Most suffixes have no pitches of their own. In words with two or more syllables, the syllables each having their own pitches are separated by a full stop, thus *lɔ.sa*, 'new year'. In compound absolutes and other forms in which the pitch of the first syllable supplants the lexical pitch of the second syllable, the latter pitch is unmarked. Prosodic features and possible influences of the musical performance on pitch are not rendered.

Tibetan is transliterated according to the Pelliot system.⁷ The transliteration of Nepali follows the method by R. L. Turner (1965) and respects forms prevalent in "popular" colloquial Nepali.⁸ With few exceptions, the pronunciation of Nepali by illiterate native speakers of Tamang is not rendered. I thus spell *māī* (*māī*), instead of *māi* or *mòī*, for 'mother goddess'.

In names of castes and ethnic groups, the plural *-s* is omitted, except for Anglicized forms. I thus write "the Tamang", instead of "the Tamangs", but "the Tibetans" and "the Brahmins". Names of ethnic groups are given in broad transcription, thus "Chepang", instead of "Cepāng", etc.

7 Exception: the letter "sha" is rendered by *ś*, instead of *ç*.

8 The *ī* and *ū* are rendered in Hindi and Sanskrit, but not in Nepali words. Differing from Turner, the distinction between *tadbhava* and semi-*tatsama* in Sanskrit loan words is neglected when quoting from Nepali, and the letter "vakār" is always transliterated by *w* or *b* in Nepali words while *v* is reserved for Hindi and Sanskrit.

PART ONE
INTRODUCTORY

I. CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS AND RITUAL TECHNIQUES

1. The bombo: his role and institution

Who is the bombo?

If one is to try to describe an abstract role-type as resulting from a conspectus of the similarities and discrepancies in the attitudes of individual bomboes in both on-stage and off-stage situations, The Bombo may be said to represent

- a healer who claims to be obliged to act for the good of the clients, a “servant of the gods”, “who could not help becoming a bombo” (s. 8.101);
- a virtuoso of magic through word, sound and by virtue of divine inspiration;
- a heroic fighter and artful tactician;
- a marginal specialist: a self-assertive esoteric as an individual, and the bearer of a subcultural, heterogeneous tradition as a performer; who as
- an ecstatic escapes ultimate control and tends to be unpredictable, not least because he deals with what is evil, impure or “liminal” between life and death, human and divine; who as
- an artist with his reams of verses tends to be extravagant, sometimes to the extent that the religious healer in him becomes questioned by the poet and entertainer; and who tends to be seen as
- an ambiguous specialist, admired rather than revered, respected rather than unconditionally trusted.

This is not to mystify the bombo (who is neither a holy man nor a mad saint, indeed) or to overemphasize that component which Max Weber would have called *ausseralltaglich* in his imago of a charismatic person. Rather, it is to adumbrate one rather covert, but nevertheless specific, momentum in the client’s encounter with the bombo. This consists in the fact that for the layman, the oxymoronic facets in the bombo’s role type:

- the boisterous bonhomie of a ruffian versus the dignified reservedness of a priest;
- the spontaneity of an artist versus the elusiveness of an introverted person;
- the simple kinsman and fellow-villager versus the eccentric;
- the rather flat routine of a professional versus the resourceful wit of a droll sophist who can hit the mark by giving the banal a surprising “medical” twist or by banalizing the “supernatural”;
- the ultimately unappealable authoritativeness of the one who knows versus the ultimate indeterminacy in the “dialogic” pluralism of the one who knows only that the secrets of his profession remain secret even to himself; etc.

defy neat summary or synthesis, and often create, instead, situations in which the double-bind and double-take prevail (cf. pp. 40 f., 228, 282, 300-304).

“bombo”, “bon-po”, “jhākri”

Despite the etymology MT *bombo* < Tib. *bon-po*, the Tamang bombo's tradition has no ties at all with the so-called “organized Bon religion” of the Tibetans.¹ Rather, it is part of an inter-regional shamanic tradition-complex the existence of which has been documented among various ethnic groups and (mainly lower) Hindu castes in the hill zones of Nepal, in a belt reaching from Darjeeling and the Kirāti groups in Eastern Nepal to the Jājarkot area of Far Western Nepal.² The complex seems to be of relatively recent origin. Its different local variants have obviously evolved from older tribal or regional traditions and also drawn on high-religions; impulses from Shaiva asceticism, in particular, appear to have played some part in its formation. Its specialist is often referred to as *jhākri* – a Nepali word used by the Tamang themselves as a synonym of bombo.³ Roughly defined, the *jhākri* is a “shaman”, i.e., a socially recognized ritual specialist whose main task is curing the sick; he is claimed to be capable of controlling and/or producing paranormal experience – visions, possession, etc. – allowing for a privileged, direct contact with occult forces and beings; he acts by virtue of his divine calling, and thanks to his training is guided by a professional ethos which obliges him to neutralize the evil to the benefit of others.⁴

The Tamang bombo – invariably a male person – is such a shamanic healer. He is expected to be competent for both humans and cattle, and skilled in both medical and ritual methods of preventing and treating dysfunctions of “natural” and “supernatural” etiology. Medical methods include recording the anamnesis and examining the symptoms by pulse-feeling, etc., and the use of drugs of herbal and mineral origin along with dietary prescriptions.⁵ Ritual methods are employed in order to gain confirmation of a diagnosis or as a means of therapy in case a “supernatural” etiology is involved. Skill in the latter methods presupposes the mastery of the recitation of texts of varying length and complexity.

The bombo is independent of any organization and has no function to fulfill in communal rituals. His clients are individuals whom he treats at their homes. The bombo-client relationship tends to be hereditary, and a son may be served by the son or the disciple of that bombo who served his father's family already. Yet the client is free to seek the help of any other bombo whom he expects to be better qualified for the treatment of a particular trouble. Ideally, no bombo should refuse treatment to any patient or claim more than the customary honorarium.⁶

1 For a recent discussion of the etymology and present meaning of the terms *bon-po* and *dbon-po* cf. Ramble 1987: 224, 239 f.

2 Suffice it to refer to the contributions in Hitchcock and Jones 1976. Cf. also, e.g., Macdonald 1975: 113-128 (general), Sagant 1973, 1988 (Limbu), Fournier 1976 (Sunuwar), Miller 1979 (Central Nepal), de Sales 1985, 1989, 1991 and Oppitz 1981 (Kham Magar), and Maskarinec 1990 (Jājarkot). – For a critical appraisal of the literature on the Nepal Himalayas s. Maskarinec 1990: 315 ff.

3 *jhākri* < *jhākro*, ‘hair allowed to grow long and left uncombed’ (Turner 1965: 231), with reference to the ‘long hairlock’ of the *jhākri*, s. also pp. 69-71.

4 This ad hoc-definition owes much to Reinhard (1976: 16), Miller 1979 and Macdonald (1976). The latter, writing on the *jhākri* of the Darjeeling area, also emphasizes his function as an “interpreter of the world”. What de Sales (1991: 210) states with regard to the professional ethos of the Kham Magar shaman, also applies to the Tamang bombo's case: “Le chamane est le serviteur de sa vocation plus que des hommes qu'il est appelé à guérir.” – On the problem of terminology (“shaman”, etc.) s. also Lewis 1986: 78 ff.

5 On Western Tamang nosology and experience of illness in general cf. Heller 1985. – The medical-anthropological aspects of Eastern Tamang shamanism are discussed by Peters (1981) and Weisbecker (1978).

6 The rate at that time (1971-1972) was six to nine Nepalese rupies for a full-scale séance. (For the sum of Rs. 9, one could purchase a full grown hen, or two and a half kg of goat meat, or engage an agricultural labourer for one and a half day). Well-to-do clients may pay more, but they are not expected to do so. As a rule, no honorarium is claimed for consultation and interventions of short duration (treatment of wounds, exorcism by a mantra, etc). What makes the ritual a rather costly

The major rituals of the bombo, all performed as nightlong séances, include the following: (a) *neppa kyòmba*, intervention in the case of an acute illness of “supernatural” causation; (b) *dím kyòmba* (lit. ‘to repair the house’), the consecration of a new house, or the renewal of such a consecration in case of some chronic disease or ill-luck; (c) *cen syarba*, periodic ritual to placate a *cen* fairy troubling a woman (s. pp. 53-54); (d) *kòla cyolba*, placing an infant under the special protection of a mother goddess; and (e) periodic worship of the bombo’s own tutelaries.

Làma, lámбу and bombo

Since the relationship between the three major ritual specialists in Western Tamang society has been subject of a detailed and highly stimulating analysis by Holmberg (1989, s. also Holmberg 1980), a few comments may suffice here. The lama (*làma*) is the priest of the Old Sect of Tibetan Buddhism which is the “official confession” of the Tamang, while the lámбу may be roughly classified as a non-ecstatic specialist whose main tasks are to exorcize a particular group of spirits and - in some places also - to worship the divinities of the village territory.⁷ As Holmberg (1989: 222 f.) points out,

“The field is not closed into a coherent and tensionless order. What emerges through an overview of Tamang symbology is not consistent order but the juxtaposition of contrary orders. The ritual triad [...] takes shape in several different ways. Lamas oppose themselves to both lambus and bombos as the ones who have unique access to final truth and authority; they often say lambus and bombos ‘lie’. In another context, lamas and bombos ally themselves in opposition to the lámбу, who by his own hands kills [the sacrificial animal].⁸ In yet another configuration, [...] the lama and the lámбу conjoin in the determination of social and cosmic order. A final, totalizing picture of Tamang religion never takes form [but still] Tamang exegesis, like anthropological exegesis, also demands narrative closure, and [...] Tamang revert to glosses. They bring an overarching closure to their ritual polarities by according the lamaic an encompassing position.”

This encompassing position emerges clearly from the myth⁹ of Urygen Pe:ma’s alias Padmasambhava’s victory over the First Bombo, Dunsur Bön: Dunsur is the First, but at the same time also the “False”, Shaman because he arrogates the lama’s privilege of performing death rituals and, still worse, because he also kills (instead of healing) the living. He is not simply defeated, but extinguished and turned into an evil being. The founder of the present day shamanism is Urygen Pe:ma who establishes or re-establishes the division of labour between lama and bombo (the lámбу is not mentioned in any version of the myth recorded by me). It is Urygen Pe:ma’s ally, the “good” or “normal” shaman Nàru, who continues the bombo’s tradition. The story presents shamanism as a tradition with a “broken” line of transmittance, a tradition that required reform or restoration by the lama. Inasmuch as Urygen Pe:ma is not only The Lama, but also The Creator of the world of humans and the “Establisher” of rites and customs (cf. section 20.), the reform also means integration into Creation. And yet, this integration must

affair for the client, are his own expenses, especially when a he-goat or, seldom, a he-buffalo must be bought for sacrifice. Thus, for two full-scale séances during the period from September 1970 to September 1971, Phurba spent a total of 14 Nepalese rupies for the honorarium and nearly about 10 percent of the cereals harvested and purchased for consumption by his household within the same period: a total of about 130-140 kg of paddy, millet and maize was needed for beer and brandy, for the dough-figures (*tormo*) on the altar, for meals for the bombo and the lay-helpers, and for four chickens.

7 The spirits exorcized by the lámбу are Wònden-Wònsya, cf. pp. 190 ff. On the lámбу’s association with the cult of the divinities of the village area s. Höfer 1981: 26 ff. On these divinities (*syibda-nè:da*) cf. pp. 124-125 below.

8 A lama is not supposed to kill at all, and he must even refrain from ploughing lest he does harm to worms and insects. A bombo is not supposed to kill the sacrificial animal in his own rituals, but is free to slaughter animals for meat.

9 Cf. Appendix II and sections 110.-111. of our text.

be confirmed precisely by reference to the original transgression and its redress: virtually, no ritual act can be effective without the officiating bombo reciting, or at least referring to, the myth. Thus, Dunsur's failure is likely to be apprehended as a kind of "original failure" inherent in the bombo's institution.

I presume that the Tibetan term *bon-po* was once, in a sense, imposed on the Tamang shaman by the lamas in order to associate him with "pagan" or "heretic". Yet, as to the present situation, the bombo may be said to represent an "accommodated" heterodoxy, rather than to bear the stigma of heresy. The usual way in which informants seek to determine the status quo is to circumscribe a kind of hierarchic complementarity in the "division of labour" between the lama and the bombo. Thus, they point out that the bombo "is concerned with life only", that is, with health, rather than with what comes after death: salvation. They stress that performing the mortuary rituals, even for a deceased bombo, constitutes the exclusive domain of the lama; or that when the patient dies amidst the curing ritual, the bombo is to interrupt his performance and leave the place immediately; or yet again that when a bombo dies his long hairlock and – in case he has no son or disciple – also his drum must be handed over to the lama as a gesture of respect. The latent reproach of heterodoxy can be voiced by laymen and lama informants in referring to the eclecticism of the bombo who, possessing "no book", "has stolen from both the lama and the Brahmin". His "bricolage" with elements torn out of their sanction-controlled original context and re-assembled in what is likely to appear, here and there, as mere artifice,¹⁰ is also adduced as an additional evidence for the bombo's rather bizarre and potentially dangerous individualism. His pastiche is in turn also interpreted as the effort of a parvenu to legitimate his office after "having successively superseded the lama" as a healer in the recent past.

Let us add that such ideological reserves contrast with the *de-facto* situation. Most households are regularly served by the bombo, and even lamas can consult the bombo or occasionally cooperate with him.¹¹ In the fieldwork area at least, the bombo's "popularity" has obviously been furthered precisely by the weakness of lamaism which has so far not been invigorated by any reformist impetus and lacks the economic basis to cultivate a degree of learning that could provide the lamas with more interpretative authority as an ethnic élite. The average Tamang has indeed little alternative to the bombo as a healer; and he prefers the latter to the lama in many situations in which consideration of individual factors in the family background or some rather unusual or even "experimental" methods are hoped to lead to a solution. This is so because the open and private character of his institution enables the bombo to react to cultural change by updating and "actualizing" the frame of reference of his own interpretations in such a way that what tends to assert itself "monologically" as an ethnic or local or even confessional context of tradition becomes interconnected with wider cultural contexts predominant at the regional or national level. His tradition is not the result of a dialogue with other traditions, but this dialogue itself. It is he – not the lama nor the lámbo – who takes along his Tamang clients to Hindu places of pilgrimage, who establishes "correspondences" between the "Tamang" *mamo* and the

10 As interviews and long-term observation of the bombo-client relationship show, different people may take different stances towards the bombo: sneering, skepticism, uninquiring tolerance or trust; educated males and ex-soldiers are openly critical, while the "believers" abound among women. The women's reliance is chiefly conditioned by the bombo being the specialist *per se* for problems with fertility and for the protection of children. – Conspicuously, I never heard adults imitating the lamas "just for fun" (even though individual lamas may exhibit scandalous behaviour when officiating in a drunken state), but quite often witnessed them parodying the bombo's characteristic demeanour, his whistles, his shriek voice and nasal intonation while chanting.

11 On one occasion, the nocturnal séance for the consecration of a new house was opened by the lama reciting a short text and giving the bombo a hand-written charm to be used by the latter in a particular exorcism. The lama intervened only because the client wished him to do so.

“Newar” mother goddess, and who extends the route of his ritual journey to the places where until recently young Tamang were recruited to the British and Indian armies¹²...

Exorcizing a specifically “Tamang” group of spirits, and – in some places also – worshipping the divinities of the village territory,¹³ the lámbu may be said to represent the most “ethnic” and “local” ritual specialist. There is a general tendency to see in him a kind of priest “of minor orders”, who has for some reasons been debarred from becoming a bombo (cf. below). Bombo informants in particular stress that the lámbu is not qualified for more than a “mere muttering of mantras”; that he acts without the guidance of divine inspiration, has a limited repertory of texts, and no ritual paraphernalia of his own. Asked to specify what distinguishes the lámbu from the bombo, Léksare Bombo mentioned as the foremost criterion the following: “Both the lámbu and the bombo have an *ayo*, but only the bombo has a *phamo*”.

Tutelaries and ancestors

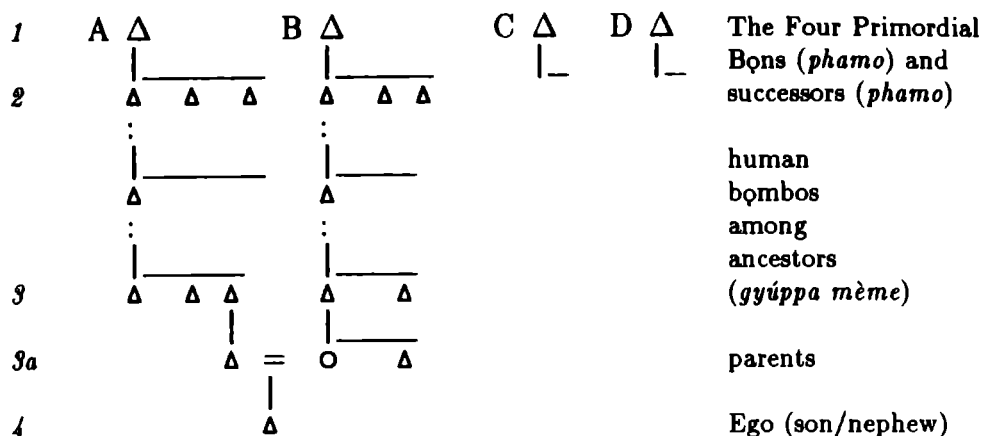
For want of a better term, one may render *ayo*¹⁴ by ‘charisma’. It is a “quality” which a man inherits from his agnatic or, less often, uterine ancestors, such as from his father, or from his mother’s father, respectively. The individual charisma of a bombo ultimately emanates from one of the Four Primordial Bombos (*bön syí:*) each of whom is associated with an “altar” (*bränge*) in one of the four corners of the universe. From there it transmitted itself to the mythical successors of the primordial bombos and finally to the human ancestors. The line of *ayo*-inheritance is reduced to a line of succession of bombos and conceived of as a spiritual descent line with the mythical, deified bombos at its apex and including all human ancestors in whom the charisma manifested itself actively, i.e., all ancestors who were initiated bombos. The divine founders at the apex of such descent lines are the tutelaries, *phamo*¹⁵, of the human bombos; while all initiated bombos among the human ancestors of an individual bombo are invoked as helpers of their descendant whenever he is officiating. Such bombo-ancestors are referred to as *gyúppa mème*, approx. ‘lineage forefathers’.

12 One may add as an anecdotic detail that Léksare Bombo readily accepted and used the stethoscope my colleague, the physician Gerhard Heller, gave him so that he could diagnose pneumonia and tuberculosis of the lungs, which are not part of traditional Tamang nosology.

13 In the fieldwork area, there is a partial congruence of the offices of the lámbu and the village headman (who is always a descendant of the first settlers, and whose political function is now defunct). In some places, the divinities of the village territory (or village soil) are worshipped by the lámbu on behalf of the village headman (N. *mukhiyā*), in some other places by the headman himself, and in one place by the headman who is also a lámbu and a bombo, at the same time. – Informants cited a formula that “summarizes” the trinity of the ritual specialists, namely “*chyegu, luṅgu, ṭulgu*” for ‘*lama*’, ‘*bombo*’ and ‘village headman’/‘*lambu*’, respectively. The literal meaning of the terms was approximately rendered by ‘religion (N. *dharma*)’, ‘mantra’, and ‘saint’, respectively. (The terminology has obviously been adopted from the Buddhist doctrine of the Three Bodies, that is, *chyegu* < Tib. *chos-sku*, ‘religion-body’; *luṅgu* < Tib. *loṅs-sku*, ‘enjoyment-body’; and *ṭulgu* < Tib. *sprul-sku*, ‘emanation-body’).

14 Informants rendered the approximate literal meaning by ‘will-power’ or ‘life-energy’; hence *ayo* ? < Skt. *āyuh* > Žañžun *a-yu* = Tib. *che*, ‘life’, ‘life-time’ (Haahr 1968: 13, 43).

15 *phamo* seems to be etymologically related to Tib. *pha-ma*, ‘parents’, or to Tib. *pha*, ‘father’, also “the founder of a lineage” (Aris 1975: 59).



The “four altars” constitute the very locus and origin of what is called *gyúlam*, namely the ritual methods and text repertoires that are – ideally at least – specific to each spiritual lineage. These altars are represented as being the “noumenal” equivalents, rather than just prototypes, of the altars as used by the bombo in our time. The latter “just” *symbolize* what the former *are*. On the one hand, all those beings which the bombo, here and now, gathers and deals with in his altar, were once gathered and dealt with in the primordial altar; on the other hand, the bombo cannot deal with these beings without “making” his altar temporarily identical with the primordial one (s. also pp. 30-31, 58-64).

All this is a model. In practice, there is some confusion about the identity of the Four Primordial Bombo and their mythical successors.¹⁶ Also, while these divine founders are apostrophized as the tutelaries of the individual lineages that issued from them, a human bombo can have virtually anyone of them as his personal tutelary,¹⁷ regardless of his membership in such and such a spiritual lineage (cf. below). Furthermore, the distinction between *phamo* and *gyúppa mème* tends to be blurred in that *phamo* also serves as an honorary term of address for the lineage forefathers and divinities other than one’s own *phamo* (s. 8.89 note, p. 88). Again, some bombo have either more than one *phamo* or a special tutelary¹⁸ who does not fit into the category of the mythical founders; and, finally, no bombo informant appears to be able to trace his descent with precision and identify any of his bombo forefathers beyond the fourth ascending generation.¹⁹

16 The names of the four primordial bombo vary, or the informants give more than four names. For example, according to Chyamba Bombo, Nəru Bön (cf. pp. 335 ff.) is both the guru of the four and one of them; thus: Nəru Bön, Jyañsonam Bön, Nup Bálđiñ Bön and Döl Bön. After some hesitation, Chyamba added Syelgar Bön as a further name. Another list has Jyañsonam Bön, Nup Bálđiñ Bön, Loyuruñ Bön, Syaryuruñ Bön and Nəru Bön, wherein the first four names seem to be associated with the four corners (north, west, south, east, respectively). Cf. also the names in our text in 8.93.

17 Translated literally, *gyúppa phamo* means ‘lineage tutelary’. Informants said, however, that in the context in question, the expression referred to ‘all personal tutelaries of all bombo-forefathers of the officiating bombo’ (cf. 78.636 note).

18 Thus, Chyamba Bombo has had Nəru Bön as his “first” *phamo* revealed with the help of his guru; later he “inherited” from his uterine kin (over his maternal grandfather) Nup Bálđiñ Bön as a “second” *phamo*; finally the spirit of a mad lama revealed itself in a vision as his “third” *phamo*. (The mad lama is possibly an incarnation of Lemba Gəra Đúba, cf. pp. 109-110, 19.176 note).

19 The name tends to survive when the ancestor has been renowned for some spectacular events in his life-history: a miracle, premature death, horrible illness or tragic accident, deviant behaviour, etc.

The spiritual descent line is referred to as *càwa* or *kàwa*²⁰ or *gyúppa*, and the etymological meaning of these terms is 'root', 'pillar' and 'line of succession/descent group', respectively. The syllable *gyú-* in Tamang *gyúppa* and *gyúlam* is related to the Tibetan word *brgyud* which is also used in the sense of 'spiritual lineage', 'line of succession of gurus', 'line of transmission'. Thus in Tibetan Buddhism, the power (*dbañ*) to be conferred on a disciple in the initiation ceremony so that he can read certain texts and practise meditation, is obtained by the guru from his line of transmission (*bla-brgyud*) which issues from a divinity.²¹ Similarly, among the Vaishnavite ascetics, the lines of transmission in which the unique initiatory mantra is passed on by the guru to the disciple form "segmentary spiritual lineages" in that the followers affiliate themselves by pupillary succession to the founder of the sect – and ultimately to the sect's tutelary divinity who once divulged the mantra.²² In contrast to these high-cultural examples in which such "segmentary spiritual lineages" perpetuate themselves by initiation rather than by sexual reproduction, the Tamang concept of *gyúppa* rests on real kinship: its backbone is not the succession of gurus as transmitters of a doctrine or an initiatory mantra, but the succession of ancestors as transmitters of the charismatic *àyo*. In short, due to the charisma inherent in his own patriline or in the patriline of his mother, every male descendant of a bombo is a potential bombo, or at least a potential lámbu, and is obliged to try his best to become a bombo when he happens to "get sick with *àyo*" (*àyo neppa*). There is only one, statistically rather exceptional, type of bombo who is independent of the constraints of descent: the one with a "self-produced" charisma, *àyo rañsyiñ*²³ – in contrast to *àyo gyúppa*, "having an inherited charisma".

Becoming a bombo

The "shamanic illness" as a sign of divine calling is also circumscribed by "getting sick with a *phamo*" (*phamo neppa*). As already mentioned, this does not imply that the candidate automatically inherits the tutelary of his father²⁴ or father's father or yet again of one of the last bombos among his forefathers, nor that he automatically inherits the tutelary of his guru. Rather, the candidate must find his own personal tutelary who can be virtually anyone within the category of the mythical founders grouped under (1) and (2) in our figure above. This "freedom" may also be interpreted as an expression or even guarantee of the bombo's individuality counterbalancing the "facticity" in the automatism with which he inherits the *àyo* from his ancestors...

Before opening the inquiry, the guru has to ascertain that the illness is a shamanic one. Biographical accounts show that sometimes a person has been mistaken for, and treated as, a "normal" patient for years – until he proves to be a candidate²⁵ "called by the gods" in that he suddenly starts shivering or trembling all over his body. Searching for the tutelary (*phamo*

20 *càwa* < Tib. *rca-ba*, 'root', as in Tib. *rca-ba'i bla-ma*, the 'root-lama' = a teacher of esoteric wisdom and extraordinary powers; *kàwa* < Tib. *ka-ba*, 'pillar', also with metaphoric and symbolic connotations (cf. Stein 1962: 170 f., and Tucci 1970: 209-210).

21 Stein 1962: 146-148. Cf. also Kvaerne 1973a: 19-22 ff., Aris 1980: 149 f. – Tib. *brgyud*, 'lineage', 'race', 'descendants'; and *rgyud-pal brgyud-pa*, 'the one who transmits knowledge (spiritual teacher)' (Jäschke 1949: 112, 124).

22 Burghart 1983: 649-650; also Burghart 1978: 125 f.

23 *rañsyiñ* < Tib. *rañ-byuñ*, 'self-created'. (Tib. *rañ-bžin-gyis*, 'by itself', appears less probable as an etymon).

24 It is even considered dangerous for a father and son to share the same tutelary. The father of Léksare Bombo had to stop officiating forever soon after it was revealed that his son and pupil had the same *phamo* as he himself.

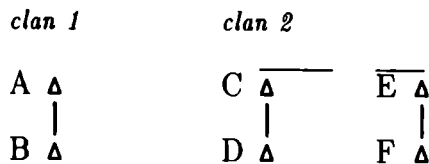
25 There is no terminological distinction between 'candidate' and 'adept'. When a person regularly consults and assists a bombo, he is referred to as *celo* or *śiṣya*. Nepali terms meaning 'pupil'. Once his tutelary has been determined, the adept refers to himself, in the ritual language, as *kawai leñchya*, approximately 'the young descendant of the spiritual lineage' (from *leñchya*, 'child', 'youngster').

salba) is a divinatory procedure: the guru recites the names of potential tutelaries, above all those of the Four Primordial Bõns, repeatedly and expects the candidate to tremble on hearing the name of the one who will be his personal tutelary. The latter can also reveal himself to the candidate and/or the guru in a vision or a dream. In either case, the result is to be verified by test-recitations, on the one hand, and inquiries that deepen the anamnesis in exploring the shamanic pedigree of the candidate and in interpreting his calling experience, on the other. The formal initiation culminates in two acts. First, the guru must ensure that the divine being which has caused the shamanic illness ceases to act as a harmful agent (*noccyen*) and assumes the role of a personal tutelary (*phamo*). This is done by recovering the adept's soul from the tutelary and by promising the latter a regular worship. The ordination proper consists in "applying the tutelary" (*phamo kalba*) – a metaphor for the ritual in which the guru touches the novice's forehead and shoulders with a jug (*bumba*) containing holy water and pours over his head rice grains imbibed with life-power (*che:*, cf. pp. 246 ff.). Not only does the guru bestow a tutelary on the adept, he is also to equip him. The drum and other ritual paraphernalia, such as the rosaries or the long ceremonial robe, etc., are – symbolically at least – provided by the guru on condition that the adept bears the prime costs.²⁶

Resistance to divine calling is likely to entail divine punishment in the form of catastrophes and chronic illnesses; so in case the quest for the tutelary fails to produce any reliable result, the candidate is expected to specialize in the work of a *lambu* at least.

Most *bombos* I knew were trained and initiated by their fathers or a close agnate, such as father's real or classificatory brother. In case there is no *bombo* among his agnates, or in case some revelatory experience or personal attachment directs him to do so, the candidate can choose a guru among other *bombos*. In any case, if the candidate turns out to have the same tutelary as his guru, the latter is not allowed to perform the initiation; for this task a second guru must be employed. Furthermore, few *bombos*, especially among the "self-produced" ones, claim to have been taught and initiated "by themselves" in receiving instructions from their tutelaries and other divine gurus directly.

Once established, the guru-adept relationship tends to be hereditary... until it is interrupted temporarily or forever (a) by a vacancy in the succession of *bombos* among the guru's or the pupil's linear descendants, or (b) by a candidate preferring, for personal reasons, another guru. To give an example:



A was the guru of his son, B, and of C and E (belonging to the same local segment of clan 2, C and E are classificatory brothers). E was for many years an adept-assistant of A and refers now both to A and A's son B as his "guru fathers". Following the death of A, it was C (initiated by that time) with whose help E could

26 Some prices noted in 1974 were as follows: Rs. 70 for a drum, Rs. 50 for a wooden ritual dagger, Rs. 250-380 for a chain with bells and two rosaries. In the same year, the total expenses for the initiation, including the he-goat (Rs. 70-80) for a feast to be given to relatives and village notables, were said to amount to about 500 Nepalese rupies, that is, round about twice the average annual cash income of a household in the village where I worked at that time. – Since most *bombos* refrain (for professional reasons, as it seems) from enrolling in the Indian army or from seeking salaried jobs (in development projects and urban centres, the bulk of their cash income comes from the clients. The rather precarious economic conditions in which some *bombos* live are often explained as a result of their carelessness and lack of time. Some others have reportedly benefited from the generosity of grateful clients and were able to acquire some land cheaply or even as a donation. No *bombo* in the fieldwork area had the reputation of being wealthy, however.

finally find his tutelary, but it was B who performed E's initiation. C also died in the meantime, and his ritual paraphernalia are now kept and used by B "in order to maintain the relationship with C's tutelary". The paraphernalia are to be handed over to his son, D, should the latter show any sign of calling; in this case, D would ask B to become his guru father. D is over forty, father of three sons, literate, committed to farming and family, and seems to be little concerned with his father's legacy as a bombo. F, by contrast, regularly assists his father.

The guru-adept relationship lacks an elaborate etiquette; on the whole, it is one of solidarity and mutual assistance among those "who could not help becoming bombos", rather than one of unilateral veneration implying the unconditional compliance with a holder of divine wisdom. It should be stressed that the solidarity does not extend beyond this relationship, as is also shown by the absence of any "confraternity" or other type of association organizing the bombos as members of a corporate group.²⁷ A fellow-bombo is always a potential rival. This comes to the fore in conversations which almost inevitably turn to relating some episode to insinuate that the achievement of a certain colleague is not much to boast of, and in accounts of a "magical fight" between bombos, which end by cutting off the long hairlock of the adversary or making his drum burst.

27 The contrary is true of the Kham Magar shamans who "sont membres d'une association à l'intérieur de laquelle les relations sont précisément institutionnalisées. [...] pour le temps du rituel, la société des chamanes, englobée par la communauté des gens ordinaires, offre en miroir aux villageois une image exemplaire" (de Sales 1991: 82 ff.; cf. also de Sales 1989: 108-111 ff.).

2. Some ritual techniques of the *bombo*: a glossary

“Fixing”

What the *bombo* is and does is claimed to derive its *raison d'être* from acts of mythical “proto-institutionalization”¹ called

damla ta:ba. The expression is etymologically related to Tib. *dam-la 'dogs-pa*, ‘to bind by an oath’, often used with reference to the act by which Padmasambhava obliged the subdued demons of the pre-Buddhist pantheon to become guardians of the Faith and the country of Tibet. In Tamang ritual texts, *damla ta:ba* occurs with the meaning ‘to fix by magic’, i.e., to establish something or somebody in a function, role or position by means of the coercive power of an utterance, such as a mantra or another kind of self-fulfilling asseveration. Its coercive nature derives from the superhuman authority of the one who first emitted it. Thus, in the creation myth Urygen Pe:ma “magically fixes the sun as sun,... the gods as gods,... the humans as humans”, etc.; elsewhere he emerges as the one who established such and such a ritual.² Every ritual of the *bombo* is claimed to be made possible and efficacious by being referred – explicitly or implicitly – to the original institutionalization.³

Ecstasy

Virtually, anybody can have some kind of paranormal experience. What distinguishes the *bombo* from other specialists and the laymen is the charismatic professional skill with which he generates, exploits and controls such an experience. The ecstatic character of his ritual techniques may be said to manifest itself in two main procedures: in a specific kind of divination in which he relies on an “inner perception” of the numinous, and a specific kind of “promiscuity” as shown by the voluntary assimilation of his own identity to the identity of others.

salba, ‘to search’ (in one’s pocket, inside a sack), ‘to clarify’, ‘to find out’ (a cause, etc.), is the verb employed in the enumerations of – virtually all – possible causes of a trouble and/or possible means of its remedy. The enumeration can be recited aloud or uttered mentally while pondering with the help of the *bombo*’s “wisdom” (*thudam*); it can also be produced passively in that a certain choice of causes and/or remedies “appears” in the *bombo*’s vision (*misal*, *gãnsal*). The result of these essentially divinatory procedures is

pheba, ‘to find’ (a solution, a path), ‘to arrive at’ (a place, a decision), ‘to gain access to’, ‘to get at’ (something hidden or encumbered). The verb⁴ is used with reference to ‘the finding of what is relevant’ (as a cause, as a remedy) and ‘the getting into close contact with a superhuman being’ in its “abode”. The pertinence of *pheba* is indicated by

sĩnsĩ-khòlkhòl, a quivering which the *bombo* feels “inside his body, something like the sensation you have when urinating”, as SR explained. This numinous signal can also manifest itself in a trembling or violent shaking,

chyèkpa, all over the body.⁵ When the *bombo* sits cross-legged, with his torso bounding⁶, his head nodding, his shoulders “fluttering”, his knees spread apart and “flapped” against the

1 In the sense of German *Urstiftung*.

2 S. pp. 110 ff. and pp. 257 ff., respectively.

3 Cf. 17.152 note and 48.376 note.

4 MT *pheba* < Tib. ‘*byed-pa* (*phye*, etc.), ‘to open/separate/choose/select/classify’ (Jäschke 1949: 398).

5 *chyèkpa* for “religious”, especially shamanic, trembling, in contrast to *darba* which denotes “profane” trembling with fear or shivering with cold.

6 Let us note in passing that in Tibet jumping (rebounding) up to two meters high with one’s legs in a position which closely resembles the Tamang *bombo*’s sitting cross-legged, is part of the meditative exercises of Old Sect novices (Dargay 1978: 107).

ground – the shaking is reminiscent of the motion of a horse-rider. A quivering or shaking, often accompanied by a paroxysm of yawning, indicates that the *bombo* has been 'seized by the god', *lajye cuñba*, from

cuñba, 'to grasp', 'to seize'. Such a seizure entails different degrees of intensity in the *bombo*'s bodily contact with the superhuman, although no informant proved capable of providing a clear-cut classification. The most intense degrees are circumscribed by

gori yùba which may be translated by 'to descend on to one's back' or 'to descend into one's body', the word *gø* meaning both 'back' and 'body'. Two types of such ecstatic contacts are worth mentioning: (a) when mounted by a superhuman agent, such as a tutelary divinity for example, the *bombo*'s body becomes in a sense "enhanced" and transfused with divine power; and (b) by assuming the negative aspect of an evil or ambivalent superhuman agent, such as a spirit or a mother goddess for example, the *bombo* is capable of neutralizing and/or utilizing the fierce "criminal energy" inherent in the evilness in his fight against the same or some other evil or ambivalent being.

This state of having a superhuman agent on one's back or in one's body only roughly corresponds to our notion of possession. In fact, the Tamang *bombo* seldom undergoes a full medial possession in which his identity would be wholly "supplanted" by the possessing agent, as is the case with the oracle where he claims to be a mere mouthpiece of the divinity (cf. pp. 221 ff.). The more frequent – and, as it seems, typical – state of ecstasy is attained by partially assuming the identity of the superhuman agent, a procedure which may be termed "ad-identification". This state implies an intense interaction which results in an interpenetration, rather than a fusion, of identities. Informants likened this relationship between the *bombo* and the superhuman to that between husband and wife. Indeed, the formula with which a divinity or spirit is summoned to "unite mouth, unite body with me, the *bombo*", namely

kha nolba, *li: nolba*, is also used in common parlance to refer to the very implications of marital ties: intimate contact with one another's body and exposure to one another's bodily impurities.⁷ The chiefly interactive character of ecstasy is best illustrated by another formula with which the *bombo* urges the divinity to cooperate, namely

gyábna li:jye khurñi, ñonna chya:jye teññi!, lit. 'let us go and carry (you) at the back on the back, let us go and toss (you) at the front with the hands!'

OT *li:* means (just as does MT *gø*) both 'back' and 'body'; OT *khurba* means 'to carry forth', 'to take along'; and MT *teñba* is 'to toss in the air', as one does affectionately with a little child. I presume that *originally* this expression depicted riding in a pickaback manner and referred to a state of possession. That is, the human medium carries the god possessing him and holds the latter's legs, resting on his hips, with his hands. The "tossing" with the hands "at the front" is produced automatically when the "carrier" moves fast with his "rider". The same type of carrying a possessing god on one's hips or shoulders is mimed in a ritual observed by Gaborieau among Hindus in Western Nepal.⁸ Tamang informants gave different interpretations. Thus, for SB, the image implied both, namely "carrying the god on one's back" and, at the same time, "tossing up and catching the god when it falls", while for Chyamba *Bombo*, the "tossing" alluded to the beating of the drum. In either case, the human partner is an active "mover" and "tossing", rather than a passive "carrier" dominated by the one he carries. The imagery may also apply to the *bombo*'s "riding" movement while shaking (s. above), and stress that both the divine rider and the human mount are involved in the activity of riding, as if inseparable from one another.

7 *kha nolba*, lit. 'to join/mix mouth', can mean both: 'to speak with one voice', 'to be unanimous', or 'to partake of one another's left-overs of food'. In the wedding ceremonies, the act of making husband and wife eat from one single plate for the first time is called *jura nolba* (N. *juṭho misāunu*); this implies the consumption of what has been polluted (*jura*) by the partner's saliva.

8 Gaborieau 1969: 38-39; 1976: 230. – MT *gori yùba* is usually translated by N. *āngmā caṛhnu* which means literally 'to mount the body' or 'to climb on to the back' and may be seen as implying that the possessing agent sits astride on the back of the medium.

The “multivocality” of “tossing” – associable with different actions and different agents, such as the playful treatment of the divinity (tossed up like a baby) by the *bombo*; the beating of the drum by the *bombo*; or the rider’s hands holding the bridle; etc. – even shows mount and rider coalesced to the extent of becoming nearly interchangeable. I would even go a step further and interpret “carrying on the back, tossing at the front” not simply as a poetic periphrasis for the shaking *as* riding, but also as a clue to its effect on consciousness and to shamanic theophany in general:

“For what else *is* the divinity but a certain trembling, a certain vertiginous intoxication?” Gell’s (1980: 238) question concerns a dissociative experience of the self through what he calls “vertiginous play”. This play, as manifest in the swinging/swaying/shaking/riding movements characteristic of ecstatic behaviour among the Muria Gond, is a “technique for the manipulation of consciousness and sensory-motor integration”, resulting in the construction of a new self by attuning oneself to the rhythmicities which seem to originate in something other than an act of one’s own will. The “body itself, in its semi-autonomous role as vibrating, shuddering entity that has been separated out, and divorced from, its normal place in consciousness [...] becomes a vehicle, a horse, and the rediscovery, across the trance-gap between intention and experience (between rider and horse) of its immanent rhythms, its inertial properties, its manipulability – the very discoveries we make when learning to ride a horse or a bicycle – is the vertiginous triumphs of the trance state and the origins of its religious signification” (Gell 1980: 234, 245, 237, respectively).

Precisely by its multipropositionality, the *bombo*’s “carrying on the back, tossing at the front” proves to be an admirably imaginative key-topos.⁹ Inscribed in it we find an explanation of shaking as a kind of archi-ecstatic technique, on the one hand, and of the specifically Tamang conceptualization of what this technique effects, on the other: the feed-back of vertiginous play which results in an “extension” of the shaking-oneself (“tossing”) into a being-ridden (“carrying”) in such a way that the shaker comes to experience himself as being part of both the mount and the rider, the human and the divine.

The interpenetration of the two egos into which the shaker’s identity has split up also appears to be conveyed by the hortative in the above-mentioned

‘let us go and carry (you),... let us go and toss (you)...’

After all, the phrase is sylleptic, since it suggests¹⁰ that the *bombo* invites not only himself, but also the divinity to go, carry and toss. This sylleptic use of the hortative – frequently resorted to in other phrases, too – is one of the linguistic manifestations of what one may call the “conceptual zeugma”.¹¹ The device of this “conceptual zeugma” is at work in several other parts of the recitation where the overlapping, merging or multiplying of subjects enhances the multipropositionality of the text. Take as an example the contextual treatment of the term *māi* in the invocation of the mother goddesses (sections 1.-7.): that the term *māi* “functions” at times

9 As Nuckolls (1991: 58) points out, the current sociological and psychological interpretations tend to oversee that “possession is, after all, a phenomenon which usually expresses itself *in* language and which people interpret *through* explanation”. It should be stressed, however, that in the present study, I propose to examine expressions relating to ecstasy as literary “facts”, as elements of a traditional imagery that “describes” and “transports” cultural *representations* of such states or experiences, rather than as spontaneous utterances reflecting the psychic state of the one who actually uses them in recitation. On the problem of interpretation cf. also pp. 276-278.

10 On the problem of interpretation cf. also p. 278⁸.

11 One particularly illustrative example of this “conceptual zeugma” stems from another shamanic text where we have *ekkai sāth khelāū na bir!* = ‘let us make play together O *bir!*’. Here the use of the hortative *khelāū* in addressing both the *bir* (goblin) and the *bombo* himself reveals a zeugmatic relationship inasmuch as, according to extra-textual evidence, it is the *bombo* who should make the *bir* “play”, i.e., to compel the goblin to obey his will – and not the *bombo* plus the goblin make a third agent “play”. There is a cooperation between two agents (subjects) one of whom is simultaneously the object of the action.

as standing for The *Māi* (the sum total of all *māis*), at times for just one of the several *māis*; that She is (are) at the same time the cause of the whole trouble, the adversary and the helper of the *ḥombo*; that She is treated now as separate from, now as part of the identity of the *ḥombo* – appears to express the very idea of “ad-identification” as the key-device of a specific ecstatic strategy pursued by the *ḥombo*, the “keeper of metamorphoses”¹².

nārgyal, lit. ‘arrogance’, is that excessive, fierce energy¹³ which is simultaneously supplied *externally* by the tutelaries and/or by some fierce divinities to whom the *ḥombo* assimilates his identity, and generated *internally* above all by drumming,

ḥa rappa, lit. ‘to beat the drum’, especially by beating the drum on its so-called “violent side” (s. pp. 68, 260), on the one hand, and by

syāba, ‘to dance’, on the other. In certain ritual acts,¹⁴ the dance is a kind of “close combat”.¹⁵ Transfused with *nārgyal* and “mounted” by a fierce divinity, the dancer “stamps into the ground” (*nemba*) the adversary whom he has stabbed with the handle of the drum and immobilized by the sound of the latter. In some instances, the adversary is identical with the one who has “mounted” the dancer – to the effect that the dance becomes a “playing together”¹⁶ with the adversary to be finally subdued. If dance and drumming have a controlling effect, this is due to their being controlled and ordered movements of the body. However, the *ḥombo* may sometimes be overpowered by his own *nārgyal* and

myoba, lit. ‘go mad’. He exhibits a ruthless, heroic fury which is claimed to make him unfeeling to pain or fatigue and even indifferent to taboos and other rules of what is considered normal, morally good human behaviour.¹⁷

Ritual journey

ḥirap denotes a periegetic enumeration of place names. Any ritual text, shamanic and non-shamanic, can include such a journey which follows a more or less fixed itinerary, setting out from the site of the ritual and ending at that place which is believed to be the “abode” and/or “place of origin” of the superhuman addressee of the ritual. There is a difference, however, regarding the “distance” implied in one’s dealing with the superhuman. As Sättalsyiñ Lámbu commented, “the *ḥirap* is like a pilgrimage, one pays a visit (N. *darśan*) to the divinity; [but] once I, the *lámbu*, have reached the destination my work is over, whereas the *ḥombo*’s is just to start”. What his remark alludes to is the *ḥombo*’s essentially ecstatic interaction presupposing a bodily contact, and even including a kind of *unio mystica*, with the superhuman. Chyamba *Ḥombo* drove the point home in saying: “If the *ḥombo* is unable to ‘get at’ (*ḥeḥa*) the abode of the divinity he cannot be ‘seized’ (*cuñha*) at all.”

As a rule, the enumeration starts from the *ḥombo*’s altar erected in the client’s house (s. pp. 59 f.) and moves, then, to the divinities “residing” in various parts of the house, the clan god of the head of the household,... the divinities of the village territory,... to continue in regions beyond the client’s village.¹⁸ Whether uninhabited (meadows, springs, lakes, caves, peaks, etc.)

12 “Hüter der Verwandlungen”, as Elias Canetti calls the poet.

13 Also referred to as *ḥoiḍub* < Tib. *ḥnos-grub*, ‘the supernatural powers of a saint’ (Jäschke 1949: 474, cf. also 131), Skt. *siddhi*. – T. *nārgyal* < Tib. *ḥa-rgyal*, lit. ‘pride’. In the Tantric Mahākāla ritual, the priest achieves a mystic union with the divinity by “realizing the pride (*ḥa-rgyal*)” of the latter (Stabelein 1976: 367).

14 In some instances, the dance can also be performed to please the superhuman.

15 Cf. the dance of *Ḍunsur Ḥon* for “taming” the monster in the lake in 110.1068.

16 On “playing” cf. pp. 73, 277 f.

17 There exist numerous hearsay-accounts of the miraculous powers and odd or even scandalous behaviour some *ḥombos* exhibit in such a state.

18 There is no clear indication of the *ḥirap* being conceived of as a “shamanic flight” or as a journey in the underworld.

or inhabited, the places mentioned in the *rīrap* are treated as sites loaded with a numinous power which the traveller is to absorb. Usually, the *bombo* explains that he seeks support from the divinities of all these places to act as his helpers. (The enumeration in the final part of the text, in section 112., is an exception in that it serves the purpose of escorting the divinities back to their respective places).

Sites of particular importance are: (a) Buddhist monuments, such as memorials (*māne*) for persons of rank and wealth; shrines (*gómbo*) of any size, ranging from simple village sanctuaries to temples and monasteries (the latter all situated outside the Western Tamang settlement area); (b) Hindu monuments, including local places of worship (N. *thān*), stations on the route of travellers, especially pilgrims, such as inns and hostels (N. *pāṭi*, *pauwā*), and centres of divinely sanctioned political power, such as the King's Palace in Kāṭhmāṇḍu. Equally loaded with numinous energy are (c) peaks and lakes in the high mountain areas, regarded as the abodes of, or even identical with, fierce divinities (*ma:bon*, *ḍakpo*); (d) furthermore springs and ponds, the sites of which are associated with a local epiphanic manifestation of Mahāḍew or the Goddess. The water of such lakes, springs or ponds is regarded as "holy water" (*ḍupcyo*) having a particular purifying power.

The itineraries¹⁹ of all *rīraps* in our text end "up in the North" in an area which includes, roughly speaking, the massifs of the Ganes Himāl and the Gosāikuṇḍ Lekh, and parts of the Tibetan plateau behind these mountains.²⁰ This area is often referred to as *bę:yul*,²¹ approximately 'mythic-mystic country', or *lai yul*, 'the country of the gods', or yet again *ne:*, 'the other world'. Here lie a number of places connected with the origin of Tamang society and religion in general, and Tamang shamanism in particular,²² such as Uiseme Gómbo (Tib. < *dBu'i bSam-yas*, the famous Old Sect monastery in Central Tibet), the mythic site of Tamang ethno-genesis, from where the ancestors started migrating southwards; or the lake Cho Mamo, the site of the contest that resulted in the present division of labour between the *bombo* and the lama (s. pp. 19 ff.). It is also here in the country of the gods that the "four altars of the four primordial *bombos*" are located (s. p. 21-22).

Evidently, the northward progression in the itinerary reverses the narrative chain of the myth; the *rīrap* is a return into the myth. This is in keeping with the principle, relentlessly underscored

- 19 Even ritual specialists know little about the location and hagiography of the further-away places. - The itineraries must have drawn on different sources. Free-lance trade trips (bamboo-cutting at higher elevations, salt-rice barter with Tibetans in the pre-World War II period), portage, military service might have contributed as much information material to the religious geography as did Tamang Lamaism with its roots in Southern and Central Tibet. Another important source was, and still is, pilgrimage to mountain lakes and local springs regarded as particularly auspicious places for annual fairs (N. *jātrā*) or individual initiation ceremonies for a *bombo* novice. Gosāikuṇḍ is one of the most popular high-altitude places of pilgrimage (s. Macdonald 1975: 297-308 with useful references to the Indian and Tibetan framework).
- 20 The enumeration of places in sections 99.-101., recited in Nepali, in which the mother goddesses are escorted in a southeastern direction back to their shrines in the Kathmandu Valley, was not classified as *rīrap* by the informants.
- 21 *bę:yul* < Tib. *shas-yul*, glossed by Aris (1980: 62-62) as a "concealed area in the high mountains awaiting the war that will cause the faithful to flee there, a paradise which will be revealed only when the right time comes", or (with reference to the specifically Bhutanese concept) as a "spiritual Arcadia where ideal geographical and human qualities together conspire to create perfect conditions for the religious life". As Macdonald (1989: 167) notes, many of the Tibetan enclaves in present-day political Nepal are regarded as *shas-yul*. - The Tibetan theme of "opening the doors of *shas-yul* when the right time comes" (Reinhard 1978: 17, 29) has been adapted to the Tamang *bombo*'s effort to have access to the country of the gods: cf. *ne:* *goma pheba* (30.247-248) the original meaning of which is 'to open the gates of the other world'.
- 22 This is not the place to discuss the role of such itineraries "as an imagery mnemonic for the retention of mythological beliefs and other culturally relevant materials in a nonliterate society" (Noll 1985: 450), or that intense "realization of the inner meaning" of one's own culture, which the pilgrim is to achieve (Turner 1972: 221 f.).

by the informants, that no ritual can be effective without being referred to, and anchored in, the myth that founded it. Yet there is more. As can be inferred from both the text and the informants' comments, the journey also aims at identifying the altar as the very site of the holy places, especially those "up in the North". On the one hand, the bombo travels to 'discern' and 'get at' the 'divine abodes' in the mythic-mystic country; on the other hand, he makes his altar identical with these 'divine abodes'. The word for 'divine abode', namely *lāgah*, is also used as a synonym for 'altar' (*brāṅge*), and the divinity whom the bombo wants to "encounter" (*ñōmdar*) and influence is often expressly invited to come into the altar. Thus, one finds the pilgrim's itinerary – a movement from a familiar place to a far place, a "centre out there", and back to the familiar place²³ – compressed in the bombo's *rjrap* into a double procedure through which the "centre" is approached from within and from without at the same time.²⁴

23 In Victor Turner's (1972: 213) formulation.

24 Cf. also the "chant de voyage" of the Kham Magar shaman. As Anne de Sales (1985,1: 294 ff., 308 ff.) points out, the enumeration of places and names is a "double itinéraire" in the sense that the movement in the geographical space is to particularize the journey in the mythical space: a brook is both an element of the landscape and an element associated with the underworld, the sphere of the dead, etc.

II. THE TEXT AND ITS TRANSLATION

Texts and Tradition

Tamang Tradition consists of different strands that are hierarchically ranked, and the informants' claims asserting its unity soon turn out to be raised with implicit reference to the apex of this hierarchy.

Unlike the *muddum/mundhum* of the Kirāti groups,¹ Western Tamang has no single term for 'The Tradition' as a whole. The term *pe:ṭhim*² denotes the 'customary rules of behaviour' relating to clan exogamy, prestations, politeness and ritual, etc., while *lu:*³ might be translated as 'tradition-sanctioned idiom'. Obviously cognate with the latter are the terms *khèd.lu:*, 'ritual language', *khelu*, 'the rules of (correct) recitation', and *chye:lu*,⁴ 'the rules of (correct) execution of ritual acts'. The Nepali *bed*, which ultimately derives from the Sanskrit word *veda*, is the most extensive term, but it is used for denoting the 'foundations' or 'source' of Tradition rather than Tradition itself as a corpus of texts, genres and codified customs. Not surprisingly, then, *bed* implies something written. Everybody claims that it exists as a book (or a group of books) in Tibetan script and in the lamas' possession, but nobody can say where it is kept and what it contains more exactly.⁵ The reference to the *bed* is not only an assertion of the stability and coherence of the Tradition unalterably fixed in writing⁶ and equivalent in value to high-cultural traditions, such as Hinduism or Tibetan Buddhism; it is also an acknowledgement of the ultimate authority of (what is associated with) lamaic teaching as laid down precisely in those texts which are the most poorly understood ones.⁷ As a concomitant of this hierarchy, the different strands

1 As Martin Gaenzle states, the various ritual texts and ceremonial dialogues of the Mewahang Rai of Eastern Nepal are part of *one* Tradition, called *muddum*. This *muddum* constitutes "an independent reality", the locus of which lies beyond the individual member of the group; it is seen, therefore, as something which "transmits itself", rather than being transmitted by its bearers (Gaenzle 1989).

2 < Tib. *dpe*, lit. 'model', 'example', + *khriims*, 'custom', 'law'.

3 < Tib. *lugs*, lit. 'rite', 'method', 'usage', 'custom'.

4 < Tib. *ṣhos-lugs*, 'ritual'.

5 Among the various Tibetan blockprints and manuscripts kept by the lamas, which I could see, no one contained a codification of specifically Tamang customs. (I am indebted to R. Kaschewsky and Geshe Pema Tsering for an identification of this material). Of course, these "books of the lamas" have to do with Western Tamang identity in the sense that they are used in rituals which are specifically Tamang, such as, above all, the death-feasts (*gral*), which constitute a veritable *fait social total* (Höfer 1978), and which, in Holmberg's formulation, provide "Buddhist paratexts" that "recreate a social world based on the restricted and reciprocal exchanges of spouses, service, cloth, food, drink and other valuables between opposed patrilans" (Holmberg 1989: 204). – Obviously of recent origin are those "Tibetan documents in Tamang hands" which Macdonald (1980) found at Bodhnāth, a cultural centre of the Eastern Tamang, and in which there is mention, among others, of the "eighteen Great *rus* [clans]" of the Tamang (Tib. *rta-dmag*). One has the impression that these documents "Tibetanize" the Tamang, i.e., treat the Tamang tradition in essentially Tibetan and Buddhist terms.

6 March (1984: 734) puts it more radically: "Tamang frequently refer to themselves as *Lama* [...] as a general term for Tamang ethnic identity. To declare oneself 'Lama' is to claim [written] text, to assert ethnic affiliation through text." – The Tamang of my own fieldwork area no longer refer to themselves as "Lama".

7 In our days at least, not even the most respected Tamang lamas are able to understand their Tibetan ritual texts. Holmberg (1989: 183 ff.) is right in pointing out that these texts are chanted because of their inherent power, and that the meaning is not associated directly with the contents that are "read".

of Tradition – even though to some extent intersecting each other and to some extent also complementary to each other – do not form one consistent “body”. They do not coexist in a harmonious symbiosis, and there is no agency to *make* them appear in such a symbiosis. This contrasts with the situation among the Eastern Tamang whose *tambu*, a singer-poet, *maître de cérémonie* and guardian of customs, functions as a kind of popular codifier, or at least as a relay through which the different strands become relevant and meaningful for each other, as Steinmann’s (1987, 1989) studies show.

A rapid inventory⁸ demonstrates that the *genera litteraria* comprise “sung” and “chanted” texts, to resort to Finnegan’s (1977: 118 ff.) classification, and that they also include written texts. (“Spoken” texts, poetic or in prose, exist only as separate sections integrated into what is sung or chanted; and a myth related in prose in everyday conversations may be regarded as a paraphrasing quotation from sung or chanted texts).

<i>type</i>			<i>name/performer</i>	<i>language</i>
oral	sung	mundane	1a “warrarra”	MT
		mund./relig.	1b “h̄oi līnma”	MT
		religious	2a d̄ōngi w̄ai	OT/MT
		religious	2b máne	OT/Tib.
	chanted	religious	3a (layman)	OT/N.
		religious	3b (pujāri)	N.
		religious	3c (lám̄bu)	OT
		religious	3d (b̄ōmbo)	OT/N.
written		religious	3e (làma)	Tib./OT

1a (“warrarra”): said to be the “modern type of songs of the youth”; dialogic alternate songs between groups of young men and women with free variations and innovations; mainly love songs with allusions found frivolous by some elder persons; sung at fairs and in the forest.

1b (“h̄oi līnma”): said to represent the “old type of songs of the youth”; antiphonal, men singing the versus, and women a stable refrain; contain playful allusions both to the work actually done and to religion (superhuman beings involved with the fertility of the soil, etc.); sung in the field.

2a (d̄ōngi w̄ai): responsory or antiphonal, between one precentor (or a group of precentors) and a group of adult men; describing the origin of the world, the social order, the Dasaī festival, etc. (s. Höfer 1986); sung on the Dasami Day of Dasaī.

2b (máne): antiphonal between a group of male precentors and a larger group of dancers; occasionally polyphonal, rather playful and partly obscure long enumerations of “holy places” (resembling the b̄ōmbo’s *r̄īrap* and *saīrap*, cf. pp. 29 ff., 87¹), ritual implements, etc.; sung either by a group of male and female dancers dancing around the effigy of the dead person at the death-feast, or by males only, who dance in the courtyard of the village headman on the Dasami Day of the Dasaī festival (this so-called *dasaī máne* is initiated by the *d̄ōngi w̄ai*, s. 2a).

3a includes some simpler texts pertaining to the cult of the clan gods or to the ceremonies for the protection of the cattle, that are recited by suitably versed laymen, mostly by the head of a household or a lineage elder. The hunter’s pray for game belongs to this category, too.

3b – 3e are texts of the ritual specialists; lamas often recite in groups, especially at the death-feast. b̄ōmbos only seldom (s. below), lám̄bus and pujāris never. (The pujāri is a specialist with no formal training, expert on certain rituals addressed to Hindu divinities).

The main distinction is indicated by the verbs (a) *w̄ai k̄ò:ba*, ‘to sing’ (from *w̄ai*, ‘song’), applied to what has been subsumed under 1a – 2b above; and (b) *kh̄èppa*, ‘to recite’, ‘to chant’,

8 Not included in the inventory are the dirges of mourning women, which constitute a kind of “private” genre inasmuch as they are mostly individually delivered and allow for a considerable amount of improvisation to suit the needs of the occasion. – For a preliminary musicological analysis of the items listed under 1a, 1b, 2b and 3d cf. Hoerbürger 1975: 77-94.

applied to categories 3a – 3e. It is interesting to note that MT *khèppa* also means 'to read',⁹ and that this verb is also used with reference to the *ḃombo*, even though his text includes parts which are sung, rather than recited in the manner of the lamas, *lám̄bus* or *pujāris*. What distinguishes the *ḃombo* from all other specialists is that he is conceded, tacitly or openly, by the laymen to use spectacular “exaggerations” or paradoxes in his formulations, and to give a delivery which does not lack artistic values allowing for individuality and sensitiveness in articulating a relatively wide range of emotions. Informants have their own ways of hinting at the poetic and spectacular components: “this is just for saying so”, “a play with words”, “he wants to please”, “the lama proceeds step by step while the *ḃombo* proceeds by his voice”, etc. SB's comment was the most comprehensive one, since it meant to characterize not only the *ḃombo*'s language, but also his professional activity as a whole: *ḃadalane tala rañle seṅba*, which may be translated in at least three different ways:

'even if it is not true/not allowed/even if it went wrong, (the *ḃombo* manages to) do in such a way that it appears it might be true/allowed/it would work'.

As one may notice, this formulation (*tala rañle*, lit. 'might/would be like') cannot be taken as a straightforward accusation of fraud. Rather, it points out that it is not always easy to distinguish between what exists “in deed” and “just in speech”...

Language

Any ritual idiom is classified as *khèd.lu:*. Within this broader category, one distinguishes between the Tibetan of the lamas, on the one hand, and the Old Tamang (*ḃaṅboi gyót*) of other ritual specialists, such as the *lám̄bu* or the *ḃombo*, on the other. Only the Tibetan of the lamas, “frozen” and “remote” as it is to the point of being hardly understandable even to the lamas themselves, might be seen as a sacred language in its own right. The Old Tamang (OT), by contrast, is more “open” and heterogeneous: it has much in common with modern colloquial Tamang (MT), and includes, besides expressions and grammatical forms that may indeed stem from an older stratum¹⁰ of the Tamang language, “direct quotations” from Tibetan (expressions, whole phrases) as well as a few loanwords from Nepali. What distinguishes the *ḃombo* from all other ritual specialists, including the lamas, is, as already stated, the fact that the ritual idiom he is using is accorded to have role-specific artistic qualities, which implies a portion of individuality or even arbitrariness.

A rapid survey (yet to be completed and corrected by more systematic research) suggests that Old Tamang and modern colloquial Tamang are seen by the Tamang themselves as two different genres, rather than different languages. Objectively, too, Old Tamang is less a chronolect than a distinct speech level within a larger verbal repertoire, to adopt the terminology of sociolinguistics. There is no iso-distancial separation between these two levels; rather, they intersect each other at several points. This is also shown by the varying degrees of intelligibility and hierarchical value which the vocabulary of Old Tamang has for the average Tamang speaker of today. To give just a few examples:

– OT *syí*: (Tib. *bži*) is generally known as a more or less neutral substitute for MT *blī*, 'four'.

9 More exactly, *syo: syo khèppa*, lit. 'to read/recite (from) paper'. Informants rendered *khèppa* either by N. *pāṅh gar̄nu*, an expression connoting 'to read aloud' (a lesson, a ritual text), or by N. *phalāknu*, a verb which Turner (1965: 402) glosses somewhat exotically as 'to mutter or cry wildly or incoherently (as, e.g., a wizard)', but which in the present context is equivalent to English 'to chant', 'to recite aloud' (cf. also Śarmā 2019: 706).

10 Presumably, the divide between “old Tamang” and “modern Tamang” is subject to regional fluctuations. Thus, certain terms relating to fauna, flora or agriculture, etc., which are obsolete for the Tamang of the fieldwork area, may still be part of the modern colloquial language of those Tamang who settle at higher altitudes.

- OT *cyi*, 'what', (MT *tà:*), and OT *cyig*, 'one', (MT *gi:*) are neutral substitutes and even recognized as Tibetan (*či* and *gčig*, respectively).
- OT *dą:bo* is generally known as a high-grade honorific for MT *nòbda*, 'owner', 'master', 'head of the household'.
- OT *syąbdo cu:ba* (67.551), tentatively rendered by 'to pay homage', is a high-grade honorific; the literal meaning of *syąbdo* is unknown.
- OT *dęnsal* (50.408), obscure; its approximate meaning ('declamation') was tentatively inferred from its co-occurrence with *sąnrap*, 'incense-recitation', classified as probably honorific or euphemistic.
- OT *lala lakpai li:ri* (107.1031) is one of those numerous expressions in the bombo's text of which both morphology and meaning are disputed.
- OT *pi.dįna yin* (26.226) is one of those expressions which are entirely obscure, and which therefore cannot be classified at all.

We have in addition a number of interferences between Old and Modern Tamang. Expressions to be found in the ritual idiom may be simultaneously employed in everyday conversation, for example *silba* as an honorific for MT *khru*ba, 'to wash'. Other expressions, such as *tęmba nąlba* or *kidu lę:nen sąba* (s. 110.1071 and 86.724, respectively) do occur in proverbs, invectives or sarcastic idioms, even if the lexical meaning of their constitutive elements is unknown. Finally, the same interference between OT and MT is to be found in a more or less regular fluctuation between:

- MT *tà:* vs. OT *cyi*, 'what',
- MT *dą:ba*, 'to arrive', vs. OT *dąbal/dąwa*, 'to go', 'to walk' (partial synonyms, quasi-hyponym vs. quasi-hyperonym);
- MT pronunciation vs. "Tibetanized" pronunciation of the same OT word, such as *keba* vs. *kewa*, 'to be born', '(child)birth'; in addition, MT *keba*, 'to be enceinte', is a paronym of OT *keba/kewa* (the MT word for 'to be born', 'to give birth' is *nąba*).

In addition, one finds entire phrases directly borrowed from Tibetan, such as, e.g., *dą:bara thamiye dą:bara gyuro* (s. 107.1024) wherein *gyuro* is automatically interpreted as an imperative form (-o being one of the imperative suffixes in MT); or yet again *ma: gyąppa* (s. 26.226), the translation of which by 'to smite the *ma:*' results from "misunderstanding" the Tibetan original, but still can be seen as a context-proof rendering from the Tamang point of view. Not only do such borrowings provide the stuff for numerous similar "creative misunderstandings" (s. the annotations), but they also appear to be used deliberately to stress the archaic nature of the text or even to produce pastiche-like effects, as shall be shown further below (s. pp. 280 ff.).

It could not be ascertained if Nepali, too, would be classified as *khęd.lų:*. It is a fact, however, that most of the texts to be recited in full-scale rituals of the *dįm kyòmba* and *nęppa kyòmba* type (cf. p. 19) contain some sections in Nepali; the oracle at least seems to be obligatorily recited in Nepali. In our text, the use of Nepali, as the language of the "Hindu" mother goddesses (*māi*), is conceptually justified, though, but the sections in Nepali nevertheless give the impression of something being "added" or "inserted". This is shown, e.g., by the position of section 8. which in other cases comes right at the beginning of the recitation¹¹. And yet the Nepali sections do not constitute an entirely closed, separate universe; quite the contrary, we find numerous "correspondences" which are to safeguard that the parts in Nepali and the parts in Tamang remain not only complementary to each other but also mutually "translatable". The claim that the oracle in Nepali is to "verify" the message of the divination in Tamang (cf. pp. 154 ff., 221 ff.) corroborates this as much as the several equations which the informants themselves make, such as N. *phul* = T. *męndo* ('flower'), N. *gunasiņg* = T. *ro.dųnma* ('life-beam'), N. (< Newari) *ajimā*

11 Cf. also the peculiar intercalation of sections in Tamang and Nepali in the *mąr ląmda* exorcism (pp. 229 ff.).

= T. *mamo* (goddesses) or N. *nāg* ≡ T. *lu* ('nāga'), etc.¹² Even so, there is an imbalance in that the sections in Nepali include no Tamang vocabulary at all, while, conversely, the sections in Tamang do contain Nepali names and loanwords. This imbalance is paralleled, to some extent, by everyday speech situations where the Tamang speaker finds Nepali loanwords in his colloquial Tamang quite natural, whereas he would hardly use Tamang loanwords while speaking Nepali and would, of course, never expect a Nepali speaker to use Tamang loanwords. One is tempted to say that this imbalance reflects the specific position of the Tamang as a minority group within the greater Nepali society as defined by culturally and politically dominant "significant others"...

In contrast to the Tibetan elements which the *ḅombo* must have received orally from the lamas' recitations, the source of the Nepali parts of the text cannot be ascertained at the present stage of research. There are some forms which remind one of Hindi or a related North Indian dialect (cf., e.g., 1.6, 89.781, 93.851 notes), but their frequency is hardly significant enough to allow for a hypothesis. Two informants asserted that these parts in Nepali had originated from Chepang gurus of the past (cf. pp. 85, 337). Again, given the influence Shaiva asceticism, the Kānphaṭā sect in particular, exerted in shaping "jhākriśm" (s. pp. 18, 70-71) as an inter-regional tradition, borrowings from the text repertory of the Kānphaṭā ascetics cannot be excluded.¹³ Be that as it may, diction, grammar and the utilization of the name material seem to reveal a rather "popular understanding" that would presumably be alien to a high-caste speaker of Nepali with some education in Hindu tradition. Consider, for example,

bramhahatyā, bisnuhatyā (100.937)

and

Bramhā mārne, Bisnu mārne... hatyā (101.968),

where the second formulation explains the first one: *bramhahatyā* < *brahmahatyā* = 'the murder of a Brahmin' (one of the gravest sins for a Hindu) is meant as 'the murder of (the God-Creator) Brahmā', as is proved by what follows, namely **bisnuhatyā*, a word not attested in Nepali and meant here as 'the murder of (God) Viṣṇu'. The folk-etymology "mistaking" Brahmin (Brāhmaṇ) for Brahmā¹⁴ has no doubt been facilitated by the paronomastic relationship between *Bramhā*, on the one hand, and *bramha(hatyā)*, on the other, all the more as in the Tamang pronunciation of Nepali both words, *Bramhā/Brahmā* and *bramha-/brahma-*, tend to become [bramma-].

Even a "popular understanding" – which is not necessarily a specifically Tamang understanding¹⁵ – does have its own logic. Thus, the example just cited is defensible on the grounds that the God Brahmā being superior to the human Brahmin, the "Brahmā-killing" is an even more heinous sin. Or, "lumping together" Satya Nārāyan and Pirṭhi Nārāyan (s. 2.27) – i.e., one of Viṣṇu's names and the name of the great king of Nepal, respectively – appears to be an attempt to anchor the historical and national in what is mythical and eternal, and might be justified by the divine nature (abundantly stressed by panegyric epithets and official propaganda) of the Nepalese kings in general, and of this king in particular.

12 In the light of the "translatibilities" (as is manifest, e.g., in the approximations made between the "Tamang" and the "Hindu" pantheons), the relationship between Nepali and Tamang sections may also be seen as that between two discourses commenting on each other in a specific way: what is recited in Nepali is likely to actualize the "older", "ethnic" Tamang tradition by integrating it into a "modern", "national" context; conversely, what is recited in Tamang helps making relevant this wider "modern" context which is still new, and to some extent even foreign, to the "older", "ethnic" tradition.

13 The *kumai baiṭhau, sirai carhiāu...!*, lit. 'sit on (my) shoulders, mount (my) head...!' (s. 2.32), e.g., is identical with what I heard in a song sung by members of this sect on one of their usual begging tours in the villages.

14 From the strict etymological and theological viewpoint, this is no mistake, of course.

15 In an oral text recited by a Jaisi Brahmin (!) exorcist we have: ...*gohatyā, bramhahatyā, śiwahatyā* = 'the guilt of having killed a cow, of having killed a Brahmin, of having killed śīwa', but one wonders if this *śīwa* stands for 'ascetic' (of a Shaiva sect), rather than for the god Śiva himself, cf. Höfer and Shrestha 1973.

Text, transmission and delivery

By what criteria can we call the verbal part of the *bombo's* recitation a *text* in the habitual, conservative sense of the term? Does it exist as such for the Tamang?

Virtually, an individual *bombo* has as many texts in his repertory¹⁶ as there are occasions to perform them in a particular ritual, depending on the time, place and addressee of the performance and, above all, on the etiology of the problem to be solved. What he recites on such occasions is claimed to have been memorized. All *bombos* claim to do no more than to *re-cite*, i.e., to render as faithfully as possible the text as they learnt it.¹⁷ This is objectively true with the following specifications: (a) The "stories of origin" (*thuñrap*, *kerap*), certain enumerative patterns in the invocation of superhuman beings or in the ritual journey, the wording of formulas of benediction and apotropaeic incantations, and often entire "chapters" (*chyòwa*) of a recitation in one of the major rituals (s. p. 19) do possess textual fixity in that they render what the *bombo* was taught by his guru. (b) In other parts of the same recitation, the *bombo* can draw on a thesaurus of phraseological units as "formulaic modules" and *topoi* which are typical of the "school" his guru represents, and which he can apply, elaborate on, repeat, combine with each other or substitute for one another according to the particular occasion and also according to his personal talent and temperament. Depending on the addressee and objective of the ritual (or a part of it), certain names and nouns are interchangeable. Often, the enumeration of the possible causes of a trouble must be repeated because the *bombo* could not find out the "right one" at once. And as an outcome of unforeseen divine intervention with reference to an individual client's situation, the divination and oracle are by necessity spontaneous speech, albeit interspersed with a number of standard idioms, stereotyped protextual and hyperbatonic elements, admonitions and the like. (c) Genuine innovations do occur, but it is difficult to determine their extent and frequency. In any case, when a *bombo*, prompted by a theophanic experience or some other kind of fresh divine inspiration, succeeds in creating a new song or verse, he will incorporate it into his personal repertory. Extensive improvisations in the strict sense of the term seem to be confined to some of the "self-produced" *bombos*.

A text – with this portion of fixity in the individual's repertory and with this range of freedom in its actual presentation – remains inefficacious, both aesthetically and magically, without its musical performance in a ritual. It is also true that the adept never learns a text as such, that is, without reciting it. Yet since the text is often likened by the informants to "what is written in the lama's book" and referred to as a libretto that explains and directs the bulk of the ritual acts, and since entire passages from it can be quoted (told in prose or declaimed as verses) in conversations outside the ritual, it cannot be regarded as inseparable from its performance.¹⁸

16 Further research is needed to determine the typology of shamanic texts as a "genre" from the viewpoints of phraseology, diction and prosody, and with regard to differences between "schools" and individual performers. It appears expedient to study the prosody within the framework of a musicological analysis. I hope to return to this in a future publication.

17 This ideal is not confined to oral tradition. As Parry (1989: 51) notes, in India, and among North Indian Brahmins in particular, the "emphasis on the precise reproduction of the [written] text has been motivated more by a concern with the precise reproduction of sound than by a concern with the retention of the meaning it conveys".

18 Blackburn (1988) pleads for a new, text-centered approach in the study of oral literature. Criticizing the performance-centered approach developed in the 1970s, for which "narratives in performance were process not products, events not texts", to the effect that the text receded into a metaphor since "everything except oral performance was approached as a text", Blackburn (1988: xvii-xviii ff.) rejects "the claim that the meaning of a text lies only in performance, that the text is inseparable from its telling". It should be noted, however, that Blackburn applies this approach to Tamil bow songs, that is, mythological narratives which are recorded in, and performed by relying on, palm-leaf manuscripts.

In sum, different “schools” have more or less different texts for the same type of ritual, and there are variances between individual deliveries by *ḃombos* of one and the same “school”, too.¹⁹ It is interesting to note that while not passing unnoticed, and even expected, by the audience, such individual variances tend to be played down by the *ḃombos*; they appear anxious not to differ from the lamas or the *lámibus* in adhering to the ideal of “textual authenticity”, and often justify deviations from the “original” version said to have been learnt from the human or divine guru either as mistakes or as resulting from some new revelatory inspiration.

Ideally at least, the adept first has to learn the text by rote together with the melody; then only will he be instructed about the meaning.²⁰ “The adept asks no questions; rather, he will be told: ‘Recite exactly as Father (= your guru) recites!’, that’s all”, as Chyamba *ḃombo*, an old and ingenuous gentleman, put it.²¹ A few days later, when the interviews with him were finished, the same informant, slightly inebriated, declared solemnly: “None of my own pupils have ever obtained as many explanations as you, Saheb!”, and on saying this he blessed the ethnographer. All this seems to be in accordance with the general emphasis on “correct recitation”, valued more than acquaintance with word meaning, and on “authenticity” in the sense that no part of Tradition, no doctrine and no technique, can claim “truth” unless it is received from a guru.²²

Reality is somewhat different. Instead of being taught in two consecutive phases, in most cases it is by assisting the guru as a helper (*syəro* or *lę:ro*) that the adept learns to handle the drum, becomes gradually acquainted with the text and gathers information on meaning from conversations with the guru or between the guru and the clients. (Often, the introspection as a consequence of his calling experience prompts the candidate to be preoccupied with everything shamanic, long before formally becoming an adept). After a period of at least one year, in some cases several years,²³ he is capable of joining in the guru’s recitation or reciting alone certain sections of a text. The alternative of a more systematic training at the guru’s house at night or in a remote place in the forest or near a cremation ground was said to be practised less frequently nowadays because of the increasing lack of leisure time (s. Höfer 1981: 8).

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- 19 Strickland (1983) points to three constraints limiting individual variation in the Gurung *pé* narratives, the most important one being the need to chant coherently in the company of other priests. This is not the case with the Tamang *ḃombo* who with few exceptions acts by himself. At the fairs at Gaṅgā-Jamunā (s. p. 183) and elsewhere, *ḃombos* may sometimes recite in groups, but these groups are formed by the adepts of a guru. On one occasion, three adepts were observed reciting together – encouraging and correcting each other – while their guru, laying his drum aside, was committed to purifying his clients. The same type of reciting in groups is practised on the day of Janai Puṃimā in gatherings of Eastern Tamang *ḃombos* at Kumbheswar in Pāṭan; cf. also Jest 1966 and Macdonald 1975: 297 ff.
- 20 Strickland (1982: 34 f.) states the same with regard to the Gurung *pajus* and *hlewris*; and a similar principle prevails in the transmission of written tradition in Asian cultures. Goody (1981: 25) stresses that in India, a book is not regarded as “read” until it has been learnt by rote, and according to Snellgrove (1961: 119), Tibetan lamas “[...] learn by rote, by constantly reciting certain texts, and when they have learned the words, some will go further and enquire of the meaning, but very few indeed can ever dissociate the meanings from the phrases they have learned and construe them with different words.”
- 21 Memorization may be one of the reasons why *ḃombos* prove to be evasive or even helpless when asked about their text itself, that is, when interviews turn to questions concerning phraseology, style, grammar or meaning.
- 22 The tendency in Tantrism to identify the guru’s teaching, especially the *mantra* which he transmits to the adept, with the divine word *śabda* (Steinmann 1986: 87 f.) is the most radical substantiation of this concept of authenticity.
- 23 In Jājārkoṭ, “twelve years of training” (required for a mastery of the complete text repertoire) is a standard formula, according to Maskarinec (1990: 182). “Shamans evaluate each other and their pupils in terms of how many texts they have learned” (Maskarinec 1990: 214). This emphasis on text learning and text quantity does not apply to the Tamang case, not least because the *ḃombo*’s repertoire of texts is relatively small.

What Strickland (1982: 34) states with regard to the Gurung *paju* and *hlewri* also applies to the Tamang *bombo*: “‘originality’, with all its positive and highly valued overtones for the Western ear, is not favoured explicitly, [...] but rather the clarity and vigour of delivery and the fineness of voice”. SR was renowned for his fine voice and clear articulation. He could adumbrate a wide range of emotional qualities, implore, coax, lament, “fight”, be lyric or “go mad”, without the somewhat theatrical complacency characteristic of certain other *bombos*. Artistic skill, like his, is much valued, yet not regarded as having any decisive influence on the success of the diagnosis and therapy. Some *bombos*, indeed, achieve only a minimum of expressiveness and recite rather monotonously; they splutter the enumeration of places and divinities in cascades and time and again allow the end of a phrase to be drowned in indistinct murmuring. The lavish consumption of brandy and cigarettes, along with the inhalation of smoke from the fireplace, is likely to make the voice hoarse; and exhaustion – during the “high seasons” in autumn and spring when a *bombo* officiates night after night in his clients’ houses – may also affect the execution. On one occasion, a *bombo* who was over seventy years old and no longer in possession of his full strength, could not help calling a younger colleague (the son of his own guru) to replace him in the middle of the recitation. The latter, known as an *enfant terrible* and nevertheless recognized as a “great” *bombo*, had the habit of reciting in a partly shrieky, partly mumbling manner, to the effect that only a few words remained discernible. Still another *bombo*, a cheerful, vigorous and highly eccentric elderly man who claimed to be “self-produced” (s. p. 23) and to have learnt several languages in dreams, among them “Chinese” and “English”, cultivated a kind of private ritual idiom (the play-back of which he said he was unable to understand himself) in about two thirds of his recitation. These two latter cases appear to be statistically rather exceptional, however.

The empathy some *bombos*, like SR for example, exhibit in their recitations is invested in the artistic performance; it is never directed at the patient as an individual. As one informant remarked, the recitation serves the end of communicating with the superhuman, rather than with the humans. Conspicuously, the patient occurs in the text as a referent only, never as an addressee. He is never called by his or her name. A male patient is referred to as *da:bo* (‘master’ = head of the household); a woman patient as *da:mo* (‘mistress’); and a child or an adolescent as *lenchya* (‘youth’). Rather than respecting the patient as an individual in a particular situation, the text as a whole remains a highly general device,²⁴ and it is left to the client to find or make it relevant for himself – a “deductive” strategy well-known in curing rituals of other traditional cultures, too. But the Tamang case is conspicuous in that the patient is a passive object of the ritual acts. He is not involved in a psychodrama.²⁵ Neither is he made possessed by the superhuman,²⁶ nor is he to enact some symbolic persons, to publicly confess some guilt or to participate in a ceremonial reconciliation, as is the case in some other cultures. Nor is there anything like a “participatory audience situation” (Finnegan 1977: 222 ff.) in the strict sense of the term. Except for one specific rite (*pi:bi*, cf. 51.419 note) in which a group of men blow on to a blade of grass to generate a buzzing sound believed to please the *cen* divinities, the audience takes no active part in the musical execution. Neither the patient nor the audience listen to the

24 The conspicuously low occurrence of deictics, demonstrative, personal and other pronouns in the *bombo*’s text seems to be characteristic of ritual speech in general. As Kuipers stresses with reference to ceremonial events in eastern Indonesia, ritual speech tends to be used in situational contexts in which interaction between the participants is structured by convention and formality. In such contexts, “the need to refer to the components of the immediate environment is reduced”, and “an air of aloofness from the particulars of an event [is] most appropriate to a speech genre concerned with the expression of generalities and eternal truths” (Kuipers 1983: 117-118).

25 Similarly Holmberg 1989: 167 f.

26 Some *bombos* allegedly induce a state of possession in the members of their audience, but this is said to be a recent development inspired by exorcistic rituals among Indo-Nepalese high castes and Untouchables, cf., e.g., Höfer and Shrestha 1973.

recitation uninterruptedly. Unless his/her state is serious, the patient is being kept busy by unruly children and by the logistics of supplying the *bombo* with the various offerings, fetching water or firewood, preparing food, etc. Till late in the night there is constant coming and going of neighbours and relatives chatting or watching silently.

Since these neighbours and relatives are not obligatorily served with brandy, they are not to be regarded as guests, and their presence has no formal character. In contrast to the institutional lay-helpers whose full attention is required to intervene at the right moment, the onlookers do not appear to follow every step of the ritual. (A typical question asked by a visitor who has just arrived is "*Bombo khānasamma phejyi?*", lit. 'Up to where has the *bombo* got at?', with reference to the enumerative sequences in the text). Yet their role as a public should not be underestimated. They – mainly the men among them – constitute a nonce-instance of social control and aesthetic arbitration. Not only do they report, the next day in the village, details of both the *bombo*'s conduct and the patient's problems and reactions, but, being emotionally much less involved than the patient's family, they of necessity exhibit more interest in the style of the delivery and tend to seek entertainment in what is a rather "serious" and "religious" event for those in stress: their hosts.²⁷ This polarity of expectations and the *bombo*'s role-inherent ambivalence mutually reinforce each other, as it seems.

The significance of the public in healing rituals has long since been recognized by anthropologists²⁸. Important for the present study is to note that, if there is anything like a continuous – face-to-face or indirect – dialogue between the *bombo* and the laymen, it is being furthered mainly by the presence of the audience as a public; and that, if this dialogue is a critical one it is because the *bombo* as a performer inevitably finds himself exposed to the tension between these two virtually different expectations. The critical element lies hidden behind the public's reactions which subject the *bombo* to a comparison with other *bombos* and ultimately concern his authenticity: a laughter acquitting what appears curious or at least unusual, and a question aimed at knowing which is the correct pronunciation of such and such a word, the correct version of a story of origin or the correct number of dough-figures (*tormo*) to be displayed on the altar, etc. The dialogue, needless to say, never assumes the directness of a debate: the layman formulates his questions in a polite or joking, often even "oblique", manner, while the *bombo* has his own ways to defend himself: "saying much without telling much" or "keeping silent in a way which is telling", "telling one thing but meaning another thing" – devices²⁹ apt to justify everything by tacit reference to the specificity of his profession which, in turn, is likely to keep the dialogue open, so that it can be resumed and continued the next time, with another *bombo*, in another context...

Even more important is the public's presence for the process which provides the recitation with a kind of sub-text through the conversations in the breaks between the different phases of the ritual. It is in response to the public – in answering questions, commenting on comments, and also in satisfying the demand for entertainment – that the *bombo* gives meta-ritual and parabolic interpretations: humorous or enigmatic, modestly evasive or brusquely defensive remarks on his own performance, on the divination and oracle, and on the prospects for the patient, etc. These clues, fragmentary as they may seem, make up the raw material for the process in which some

27 This is not to say that the public would behave like *clagues*. In contrast to the death-feasts in which disputes over inheritance often lead to noisy quarrels among relatives, and in which drunkenness and other "ugly scenes" in a crowd of up to 400 guests and onlookers are not uncommon, the *bombo*'s rituals in the client's house have a definitely private character.

28 More recently, Kapferer (1983: 5 f., 215 ff.) has elaborated on the audience as representing that objective societal reality on which the patient's subjective experience of illness is to be reoriented.

29 It must also be borne in mind that the "pondering", the visionary experiences and the muttered or mental articulation of mantras constitute "private performances" that escape any direct control by the audience.

consensus³⁰ on the patient's situation can be built up, and through which the patient himself happens upon what is "apropos" in the recitation against the background of his anamnesis and his past experiences with other persons' cases of affliction. The conversations themselves "make good" the above-stressed lack of empathy towards the patient in the delivery; they free the patient from his isolation vis-à-vis an all too stereotyped and redundant text.

At the same time, this approximation between the general and the actual goes hand in hand with a distancing effect. In a sense, the bombo's ambivalence, enhanced by the presence of the public, transmits itself to the patient. The latter³¹ is drawn into a discourse (with and about him) which is not free from paradoxes and imponderabilities, and which thus provides him with a chance of stepping out, again and again, from the entrenchment in his own subjectivity. It depends on a number of factors – sex, age, family situation and personality of the patient, the kind and gravity of his illness and the like – to what extent the staged and the unstaged, the said and the unsaid, the private and the public interact in such a way that the patient comes to perceive himself from different angles and with the eyes of the others so as to relativize his own self by experiencing his present as something already past or as the others' present. If he succeeds, as often happens, in laughing at himself, and be it just for a few moments, he might have achieved the first step towards being healed... When after midnight the onlookers have left or fallen asleep in a corner, the patient is fully exposed to the ritual. It is in this phase – which ends at dawn when life returns to the village, when children wake up and the heavy pounding of rice-huskers resounds all around the place – that the patient is given a further opportunity of pondering over his case and is also likely to have, rather rarely though, some psychosensory experience in the shape of a hallucinatory appearance that may lead to sudden "insights" or produce a "missing link" in the anamnesis...

Meaning

Some years ago I stated a "lack of analytical interest" with regard to texts among the Tamang (Höfer 1981: 38), and it should be stressed that what I meant by this was a disinterest in what we call exegesis, and not a disinterest in meaning in general. The degree to which informants turned out to be ignorant of lexical meanings struck the ethnographer, indeed, and prompted him to ask if this ignorance is not as much part of their tradition as is the text itself.³²

The archaic vocabulary is just one of the factors to be taken into account. It should be borne in mind that no Tamang layman is ever confronted with the entire text as a text, i.e., in isolation. After all, the recitation is no treatise on philosophy or curing; it does, in contrast to the process of reading, not require a gradual incorporation of lexical meanings by the listener. The average Tamang layman lacks the autonomy of the *reader* who appropriates a written product even materially (he buys a book, holds it in his hands and stores it on a shelf), who is thus in a position to re-read in exploring spots of indeterminacy and different levels or perspectives in a text as a whole. Even though he is not debarred from such "re-readings" by lateral comparisons between different recitations³³ which he has already heard, the average Tamang *listener* experiences the text mainly as the product of a performance fully dominated by the bombo; he is exposed to the bulk of text as part of a kind of *Gesamtkunstwerk*. This implies, among other things,

30 Cf. Sagant's excellent essay showing how illness and healing among the Limbu of Eastern Nepal activate "social memory" and how the three worlds of Body, Society and Gods become temporarily integrated into one coherent system thanks to the shaman's proposing "the past as a hypothesis" (Sagant 1988).

31 Or the parents in case of a child patient.

32 To my knowledge, anthropologists and philologists have devoted as yet little attention to the problem of reception of such kinds of text.

33 Similarly Finnegan 1977: 129 f.

that a portion of linguistically articulated meaning is indexically “re-presented”, “illustrated” by ritual (symbolic) acts; that the choice of words and their collocation are also determined by what one may call the “form”; and that phrases, entire cola or sections are often governed or even supplanted by the musical execution. What prevails is the immediacy of an aesthetic experiencing. Words are likely to be absorbed in that – often-stated – medial “thickness” which poetic language (along with its musical delivery) takes on. Since the combinability of words is restricted by the repetitive, formulaic organisation in which they are heard again and again, the hearer’s attentiveness or “analytic alertness” (otherwise indispensable in free discourse where an infinity of choices awaits him) tends to be reduced to the point that words often impose themselves upon him more as elements of form, as gestures and as sounds than as mere signifiers in the linguistic sense of the term. On the whole, the result seems to come close to what Bloch (1975: 18 f.) states on the highly formalised political oratory: most of the words just “keep their contextual halo and these, fused into each other, form solidified lumps of meaning”.

Of course, the inability to formulate a meaning cannot always be taken as an indication of a lack of acquaintance with, or a lack of representation of, meaning. As demonstrated by the informants’ spontaneous reactions, there are cases where a lexical meaning is “present”, even though it cannot be verbalized with ease. Let us examine a few examples:

(1) When asked about the meaning of the terms *kàwa* or *bràŋge*, the informants prefer to quote the standard formula³⁴

“*bɔn syí:la kàwa syí:, kàwa syí:la bràŋge syí:*” =

lit. ‘the four *kàwa* of the four *bɔn*, the four *bràŋge* of the four *kàwa*’.

(a) That OT *bɔn syí:* means ‘the four (primordial) *bombos*’ will be explained by every informant without difficulty, since there is extra-textual evidence, namely myth fragments that are known to everybody. (b) More problematic is to gloss the term *kàwa*. Non-existent in MT, and its etymology (Tib. *ka-ba*, lit. ‘pillar’) being unknown, *kàwa* cannot be explained by referring to a literal meaning. Instead, the informant quotes other formulas in which *kàwa* occurs and/or tries to circumscribe what he thinks is meant, namely the ‘spiritual descent line’ which connects the *bombos* of our days with one of the Four Primordial *Bombos* (s. pp. 21-22). (c) Conversely, the problem with *bràŋge* consists in that the informant can give its literal meaning only, namely ‘altar’ (platform on which ritual implements are placed and manipulated to certain ends), while he is aware that in the present context it is the figurative meaning which would be required to know. In fact, no informant, not even SB, could offer a satisfactory gloss, and it took the ethnographer some time to infer from different contexts and from the function of the altar in the rituals what this figurative meaning might be (s. pp. 21, 29 ff.).

(2) This preference for “phraseological quotation” can also entail that the informant answers by quoting entire sections from the text, for example the “story of origin” (*kerap, ʃuhrap*) of a ritual implement or of a divinity, instead of explaining its function or identity.

(3) When quotations of this kind are impossible because the text lacks a respective “story of origin” or epithet, the informant contents himself with classificatory information: the identity of a superhuman being is defined by, say, “this is a divinity” (*la*), or “very dangerous spirit” (*mán*), etc. Similarly, a verb which has to do with “neutralizing the evil” may be rendered by a rough-and-ready translation, such as “leave now!” (MT *dérem yaro!*) or, on another occasion, “to purify” (N. *cokho garnu*), etc.

(4) The identification of several superhuman beings can be established only by analyzing the description of their respective cults, which the informant gives on request, and in these cases there is no reason not to take the informant’s acquaintance with the circumstances and technical details (why, when, where and in what manner to sacrifice which kind of animal, etc.) as part of his knowledge of the meaning of that superhuman being’s name.

34 Not in our text in this formulation, but s. 111.1079.

(5) Still there remains a relatively large number of “logo-fossils”, i.e., words – mainly names – which cannot evoke more than just vague associations, if any, and in such cases the informant readily confesses his ignorance or the highly tentative character of his attempt.

The insufficient verbalization and the essentially para-exegetic approach is evidently connected with the fact that under normal conditions there is little demand for a translative communication, i.e., a thematicized, explicative transfer (from one language or one cultural idiom to the other) that would necessitate glossed formulations, as required by, say, the ethnographer. Rather, the Tamang’s access to meaning rests on what could be termed an “interlative” learning: spontaneous and intuitive discovery procedures that result from a switching between, and mutual “checking against”, contextual, inter-textual and extra-textual evidences within (what he sees as) his own culture. The largely imitative type of learning that prevails in the guru-adept relationship among the *ḅombos* (and in all other processes of acquiring some traditional skill or knowledge) becomes reduced, in the case of the layman’s encounter with the text, to an incidental learning in which the so-called sequential, lateral and vertical transfers in information processing remain selective and unguided by any external controlling instance. In other words, whatever the average, adult layman learns about the text results from repeated participation (as a patient, member of the patient’s family, helper, onlooker) in different rituals of dozens of *ḅombos* over the years. Soon he can quote longer passages, and soon no text is entirely new to him. His representations of meaning accrue from mainly sub-reflective inferences from the context, on the one hand, and from reflective discriminations stimulated by snippets of interpretation given by the *ḅombos* or the fellow-laymen, on the other; rather than relating directly to the text of a recitation, many of these interpretations are conveyed in anecdotes, diagnoses, instructions concerning therapy or the technical details of the ritual.

The layman is, of course, particularly sensitive when his own actual situation prompts him to “evaluate” what appears relevant for him in the text. This happens mostly when he is listening, paying full attention, to the divination and the oracle (cf. pp. 154 ff., 221 ff.) and scrutinizes nearly every word in trying to distinguish between “literal” and “allegoric” meanings. It is here – precisely in these obscure and ambiguous sections of the recitation – that he is addressed as a partner in a dialogue, both with the *ḅombo* and with himself. The divination and the oracle constitute the only part of the text in which the *ḅombo* shifts from a “definitive” to an “affinitive” language,³⁵ i.e., to a basically dialogic discourse in which the separation between the speaker as the subject and the world as an object is relativized or even suspended by an interpretive oscillation³⁶ between past and present. Otherwise, such a “close reading” is not regularly practised by the layman, and it is never extended to the entire text. Hundreds of names of superhuman beings, though far from passing unnoticed by him, may leave the layman indifferent not least because he holds that shamanic thinking *sui generis* has an inexorable luxury of signifiers at its disposal.³⁷ Dozens of terms referring to anatomy, ritual techniques, etc. are being treated by him as if they were either shorthands standing for themselves, so to speak, or epitomes whose full content is determined by naming just one of the possible components

35 Cf. Galliker 1990. In contrast to “definitive” phrases, consisting of illocutionary acts and propositions which “build up” and determine, Galliker’s “affinitive” phrases, characteristic of personal accounts in conversation (“I think”, “I find”, “in the sense that”, etc.), constitute “open relations” between past and present in giving references and/or detecting analogies that provide the basis for further interpretation.

36 Both the divination and oracle induce in the client a dialogue with himself so as to discover what may apply to him in the veiled message. In the divination (*nīsīyī saldap*) where the *ḅombo* describes and interprets his own visionary sensations, the client’s dialogue with himself is also an interpreting another interpreter’s, namely the performer’s, dialogue with oneself. In the oracle (*mūnai saldap*), by contrast, the *ḅombo* claims to retreat as a performer in becoming a mere medium of the divinity (cf. pp. 227-228).

37 To paraphrase Lévi-Strauss 1971: 198-202. – Not even *ḅombos* are versed in hagiography; their acquaintance with the Hindu and Buddhist (Tibetan and Newar) pantheons in particular is rather poor.

or connotations. In sum, much is left in the penumbra of those latent structures of contrastive relationships which constitute meaning, and those implicit “differences” between meanings which make up the sense. Rather than evoking established denotata, a large number of words just provide stimuli that activate a loose network of respective connotations and dissociations. One might perhaps say that decoding processes often tend to stop at the level of what psycholinguists call the formation of connotative meaning³⁸.

All this may be valid for ritual texts in general, but the question of what the *bombo*'s text in particular *means* to the Tamang cannot be treated without asking what it *is* for him. Clearly, the contemplative method of *ruminatio* (which requires that one even goes to bed with a verse from the Bible) is as alien to Tamang tradition as is Luther's *conformitas* (the orientation of one's conscience on the Scripture by means of an “inner understanding”). Some of the *bombos*' claims, and some of the laymen's attitudes suggest that the text is regarded as a specifically arranged sequence of spells, i.e., mantras. The Tamang conception of mantra (*ña:*), to begin with, may be called “magic”³⁹, in contradistinction to the “yogic” one in Tibetan high religion. That is, the perlocutionary efficacy of a mantra does not presuppose a correct cogitation by means of meditative “realization” or exegetic appropriation of its meaning by the one who emits or only mentally⁴⁰ articulates it. To “know” a mantra is to reproduce the formula faithfully. Once emitted or mentally articulated, it becomes effective, provided it is the “right” one: applied correctly, and stemming, ultimately, from a source endowed with superhuman authenticity, such as a guru or a witch.

Visualizing the recitation as a series of such mantras would explain the apparent “ignorance” of meaning, and it would tally with the often-asserted ideal of the divine origin and self-fulfilling effectiveness of ritual texts in general. It could also justify the preference of some *bombos* to recite with a poor articulation. Yet, this interpretation runs into difficulties. First, there is no terminological evidence for it, since the recitation does include some mantra-formulas, but is not called mantra (*ña:*) in its entirety.⁴¹ Rather than being a series of mantras, the text, *as part of the ritual*, is based on an *archi-mantra*, inasmuch as the *bombo* cannot achieve success without explicit reference to the *damlā ta:ba* speech acts through which Urgyen Pe:ma established that world order in terms of which any acting upon reality becomes meaningful and efficacious (s. pp. 26, 111, 261). Second, while a mantra's self-fulfilling perlocutionary success depends on its “knowledge” (s. above) and correct reproduction alone, the recitations are part of a ritual that cannot be carried out without a charismatic qualification: both the *bombo* and the *lambu* are initiated specialists who act by virtue of divine calling and wisdom (*hi:sye, thudam*). Third, the most important argument against treating the text as mantras is that in contradistinction to any other ritual specialist, the *bombo* is also seen as an artist: singer, actor and even poet.

38 For experimental psycholinguistics, meaning is inherent not in the word, but in the reactions a word is likely to generate. Words are thus treated as referential stimuli that activate certain associative processes (cf., e.g., Flade 1984, Marx 1984). And meaningfulness (as the psycholinguist understands it) implies a wider range of gradations; in experiments it has proven difficult to produce “absolutely meaningless” words that would evoke no associations at all in the test subject, as Marx (1984: 73 ff.) notes.

39 Blofeld (1977: 100 ff.) would prefer the label “Hindu”. – The Vedic “mantra is not a prayer but a kind of sound form of the deity it embodies. More than a supplication it is a means of coercion” (Parry 1989: 51).

40 According to some classical Indian sources, the reproduction (*japa*) of *mantras* is of three kinds, namely audibly uttered, inaudibly uttered and mentally revolved, “each succeeding one being ten times superior to each preceding one” (Kane 1974: 685).

41 For a detailed discussion of the same problem with reference to texts from Jājārkoṭ cf. also Maskarinec (1990) who concludes that mantras “can be conveniently viewed as an extensive subset of any shaman's repertoire of oral texts” (Maskarinec 1990: 156 ff.). – Strickland (1982: 29) stresses the difference made by the Gurung *pajus* between “mere songs” (*kwi*) and “spells” (*ngo*); he regards the *pé* recitations as a “continuum between strong and weak illocutionary acts” (1982: 264 ff., 291).

Since the personal characteristics, occasional improvisations or personal “inventions” in the individual *ḥombo*’s performance are clearly recognized as such, the claim of divine authorship and unchanged, faithful reproduction are likely to be questioned. Performance, interpretation and authorship become inextricably interwoven in whatever he, as an individual, is actually executing within the framework of a ritual.⁴² Consequently, in contrast to a mantra, the text of the *ḥombo*’s recitation is always susceptible to being a matter of some critical dialogue⁴³ between the performer and his public, and in contrast to the *lambu* or the *lama*, the *ḥombo* inevitably assumes a portion of (co)authorial responsibility, too.

This conclusion requires a differentiation in at least two respects. The individual client’s attitude towards the text may depend on his past experience with *ḥombos* in general. The family tradition in which one has grown up, one’s own encounter with the numinous, etc. can promote belief or devotion to the extent that the mantric, “self-perlocutionary” view gains precedence over the artistic and (co)authorial components, while for other, rather sceptical clients, it is the “make” which is more in the foreground. This implies that the client’s attitude also depends on the attitude and character of the individual *ḥombo* who serves his family. Some *ḥombos* may have more “credit of seriousness” than others, even though the distinction between *pakkā* and *kaccā* (roughly ‘genuine’ versus ‘non-genuine’) *ḥombo* is far from being unanimously accepted, and the recognition of *pakkā*-ness has more to do with success, degree of training, “spiritual vitality” (*ḥārgyal*) than with earnestness or seriousness in individual behaviour, as we have seen (pp. 17, 20). The most extravagant *ḥombo* whom I have encountered, and who excelled in all sorts of gags designed to calling off, as it were, certain taboos and professional ideals, had nevertheless the reputation of being “one of the greatest” *ḥombos* in the fieldwork area.

In sum, the average Tamang layman’s attitude is not free from contradictions and even situational fluctuations, and individual differences are a matter of degree or emphasis, rather than of radical conviction. Divine tradition or human make; “self-perlocutionary” or artistic; whether words create and control the things they denote, or whether they denote at all those things they are meant to create and control – these alternatives come only rarely to be felt or articulated as a confrontation between viewpoints mutually excluding each other; they remain, not least because of the *ḥombo*’s own ambivalence, unresolved as a latent dilemma inherent in any attempt at interpretation by the layman.

On the one hand, there is the view that any ritual text becomes a perlocutionary act by virtue of being correctly recited, rather than by virtue of being correctly understood. Acknowledging this implies that the ultimate meaning or sense may for the time being be “left” in its text-immanency; there is no need to appropriate this sense through intensive exegesis. On the other hand, there is a demand for meaning, not only because the text is *language*, and not only because of the (co)authorial responsibility of the *ḥombo*, but also because his recitation concerns individual lives and necessitates important decisions on the client’s part. Perhaps we may conclude that the implicit or explicit awareness of this dilemma provides both a permanent challenge to raise the quest for meaning and a permanent source of frustration for the same quest, – but it also comforts one in this frustration. Hence, in part at least, the seemingly paradoxical attitude of the average Tamang who can “put up” with the text, both believing in, and having doubts about, its authenticity and effectiveness. In so doing, he renounces a full appropriation of its meaning and nevertheless postulates the possibility of such an appropriation, because to deny it would amount to denying the *raison d’être* of the text and its performance. Indeed, most informants

42 As Tedlock (1983: 236 f.) stresses, performing is also an interpreting, rather than just a “doing”.
S. also Sullivan 1986.

43 S. pp. 40 f., 300 ff.

postulated – vaguely, but spontaneously – a “future hermeneutics”⁴⁴ that would resolve their problems with a “close reading”, an optimal interpretability of ritual texts in general, which existed in the past and which might be restituted in future to reveal the “identity of things” behind the “mere signification”, the “content” behind the “play of form”, and the “divine” in what has been adulterated by human intervention.

Interpretation: its scope and limitations

One way to explain the informants’ problems with exegesis is to admit that the original meaning of the text has been lost to a great extent, and that the Tamang of our days have an incomplete and partly false understanding of it. Thus, the tibetologist Tadeusz Skorupski claims that Tamang rituals “stem from Tibetan rituals”, and that, consequently, “without an understanding of the layout of different parts of the Tibetan rituals of similar kind, it is impossible to understand, translate meaningfully or analyse the Tamang rituals”.⁴⁵ This is tantamount to saying that Tamang texts are Tibetan texts and are to be treated as such.

Such a radical attitude is a typical example of what may be called the exegetic illusion which equates authoritative with authentic and authentic with authorial. The irritation we feel in the presence of “insufficient meaning” and in the absence of an author has much to do with our own Western tradition of exegesis. Enrooted in classical Antiquity and Judaeo-Christian Bible interpretation, further developed by Protestantism, Humanism and Romanticism (“the truth lies in the origins”), the concern with reducing meaning to original authorial referentiality was until recently central to the philologists’ work, and it still seems to haunt the back of our minds.⁴⁶ The exegetic illusion tends to reify the text as a self-sufficing entity in which the “true” message is inherent, while “false” messages can only be imposed from without, i.e., by incorrect reading. In particular, the axiom that a true understanding consists in a congenial re-production of authorial production, has serious implications for dealing with partly obscure, oral ritual recitations: it necessarily implies that the participants in the ritual are acting with a “false consciousness”, since they fail to mentally appropriate and enact that original authorial referentiality which is supposed to make up the central concept of the act as a whole. It amounts, in the last analysis, to expecting a genuinely pietistic religiosity. Just as in pietism individual devotion and intense knowledge of the Word are to be mated to attain a spiritual rebirth and to experience a “break-through of divine grace” – so it is stipulated that an ideal participation⁴⁷ in any ritual and

44 I adopt this term from de Man (1988: 201 f.) although “decoding” would perhaps render more adequately than “hermeneutics” the procedure meant by the informants. For de Man, if I understand him correctly, presuming the “possibility of future hermeneutics” is an escape from the dilemma as to whether (poetic) language is a mere vehicle or the ultimate source of man’s knowledge of himself and the world, whether man or his language is endowed with the autonomy of a transcendental subject.

45 Skorupski 1982a: 205 f. This radical view also seems to have prompted Skorupski to suggest some rather haphazard etymologies. Cf. also Höfer 1985.

46 Viewed sociologically as a behaviour, this approach rests on several tacit axioms (enrooted in the Western subjective-objective dualism), such as, e.g.: (a) it reduces the text-receiver relationship to a relationship between an individual author and an individual reader; (b) it credits the author with a considerable expressive and creative autonomy, and sees the reader as a more or less passive receiver; (c) it assumes that the reader achieves a re-production of the authorial production by means of a reflective discourse (“accelerated”, time and again, by intuition); and (d) it is grounded in a referential objectivism, i.e., in the tacitly held conviction that each word is objectively attached to a (correct) meaning, and that the mutual intelligibility is possible, provided the author chose the correct word and the reader is enabled to conclude from the correct word its correct meaning. – On the history of authorship cf. Shils 1981: 150 ff.; on authorship in oral tradition cf. Finnegan 1977: chapter 6 and pp. 65 f.; for a brief and illuminating discussion of hermeneutics cf. Frank 1977.

47 On the problem of an “inner participation” cf. also Peter Burke’s (1988: 186 ff.) interesting discussion of the theories of ritual in early modern Europe.

in any culture presupposes not only devotion, but also a correct exegetic understanding on the part of the individual participant. Consequently, if the Tamang nevertheless “stick” to the text and believe in its effectiveness, this is to be imputed to a “blind faith” that is likely to produce auto-suggestion and to be proven by incidental success.

Evidently, the bombo’s recitation – and most probably any other oral ritual text – requires a different approach. (a) A strict division between text and interpretation cannot be upheld.⁴⁸ In principle at least, the recitation has as many authors as users: authors are all those who have ever contributed, both morphologically (as particularly “inspired”, poetically active gurus or creative recitors) and semantically (as laymen and specialists participating in the never-ending process of sense-making), to what we tape-record as a textual performance at a given time and place. (b) The notion of meaning must not be restricted to glossarial acquaintance and mastery of doctrinal content. First, as already stressed, there exists also a “knowledge without verbalization”,⁴⁹ deriving among others, from associative processes, inter-contextual and even inter-textual “readings”. Second, meaning – or better: meaningfulness – can also accrue from those aesthetic and rhetorical factors which contribute to what we call the pragmatic effect of the text – not as a text “in itself”, but – as it is actually *performed*.⁵⁰ (c) While it is perfectly legitimate, of course, to raise the quest for the historical origins of the text,⁵¹ one first has to see what the text means, here and now, to the Tamang and consider their interpretation authentic – however vague and contradictory it sometimes may be. If my translation tries to render their own interpretation only, while etymologies and other aspects of analysis remain confined to the critical apparatus, it is to avoid confounding different levels of interpretation: the interpretation of the text by present-day Tamang informants; the interpretation of the Tibetan prototypes (yet to be discovered!) by learned Tibetans; and the comparative, meta-textual interpretation. The interpretations by the Tamang and by the Tibetans are not freely interchangeable, for they stem from different periods and quite different socio-cultural contexts. “Reducing”, in the translation, the Tamang interpretation to the Tibetan interpretation by completing or even correcting the former with the help of the latter would presuppose that texts have, as it were, an absolute meaning, i.e., that they are meaningful in themselves and independent of those who actually make use of them.

Now it is one thing to denounce the inadequateness of our own tradition of exegetic illusion developed on written materials, and quite another to live up to the standards of a “science of the spoken word” called for by Tedlock.⁵² The claims raised above with regard to (co-)authorship, performance and meaning, and the aim to re-create the original performance *in situ* so that the reader of its presentation reduced to writing is put in a position to become an audience in an approximate way must compromise with technical limitations. The first limitation arises from the fact that no *empirical* investigation was made into the non-exegetic, i.e., psycho-aesthetic aspects of reception that could have allowed for treating the problem of meaning within the

48 The same is true, of course, of any written literary text: rather than being an “objective monument surrounded by interpretations” (Selden 1989: 188), its identity is also determined by reception.

49 Cf. Dixon 1981: 254.

50 S. pp. 275 ff., 300 ff., and also Finnegan 1977: 121 ff. – Our inclination to dissociate meaning from aesthetics seems to go back to Kant for whom aesthetic judgements were subjective judgements, made by the imagination, rather than by the understanding (Selden 1989: 245, 248).

51 We must learn more about the history of an oral tradition, like that of the bombo, in order to understand better its very nature and “functioning”. Above all, we must learn more about the elements that stem from older strata of the same tradition or from other traditions, about how and why they have been kept or integrated, transformed and re-interpreted. Cf. also Foley’s (1990: 2-5 ff., 359 ff., 386-387) convincing arguments in favour of a diachronic orientation in the study of oral epic.

52 Tedlock 1980, 1983. – The criticism does not apply to the philologist only. As Tedlock (1980: 828) stresses, even “linguists begin their work by disposing of the voice, committing to writing only those aspects of oral performance that are most comfortably noted by alphabetic writing”. The “science of the spoken word” is still in its infancy, indeed.

larger framework of the experiencing of the ritual as a polymedial (audio-visual) performance. My presentation even neglects the musical execution to a great extent. Second, an important aspect of oral literature, that of “composition-in-performance” (Finnegan 1977), could not receive the attention it deserves. The few inferences made from certain structural properties of the text (pp. 275 ff., 300 ff.) await verification by long-term observation. Third, the translation is based on the work with just a couple of informants willing and able to cooperate. They were necessarily recruited from among the ritual specialists (all illiterate), on the one hand, and those laymen who, thanks to their modest education, belonged to the village élite, on the other. It is only by these two criteria that their interpretations may be regarded as representative.

In sum, I necessarily treat the recitation *as if* it were a “closed” written text⁵³ and translate it by resorting to the informants’ basically exegetic interpretation which was partly stimulated by my own interpretive efforts. Thus, my translation results from what is called “textualization” in modern anthropological jargon, since I have “made” data in collaboration with informants, instead of simply “collecting” data from them, – to use James Clifford’s formulation referring to the work of Maurice Leenhardt on Melanesian texts, an undertaking that bears some similarities to mine.⁵⁴

Translation

The *constitutio textus* was based on the tape-recorded version. SR, the reciter, insisted on some emendments, saying that the tape-recording contained some omissions and other flaws due to his “spontaneity” and “exhaustion”. He was, however, not systematic in this. On the whole, his instructions resulted in treating the text more as a *spoken* poem than as a *sung* recitation; for example, he completed a binarism that had been mutilated, or contributed an emended version of a passage that he said he had recited “confusedly”. I have respected his emendments, and consequently, the transcript of the recitation deviates, here and there, slightly from the original version on tape. Regrettably, SR seemed unable to reconstruct, from the tape, a few passages that had been recited in a low voice or distorted by the drumming. Such passages are marked by a row of “x”-es in the transcript. A second group of emendments stem from SB, my chief informant, mainly with regard to word morphology. It is his pronunciation of Tamang (slightly differing from SR’s) that my spelling follows. Finally, my own emendments, a very few indeed, are printed in square brackets when they concern the grammar of the Nepali as spoken by (mainly illiterate) Tamang, or when they insert what SR seems to have omitted to emend. Parentheses, by contrast, contain interpretive supplements, chiefly addenda deemed necessary for the reader not acquainted with the language: they add suffixes or words the occurrence of which in ritual or poetic language is facultative. In the translation, parentheses indicate what is contextually implicit (for example, personal pronouns), or they simply render what is written in the same parentheses in the Tamang original.

The break-down of the text in sections and the punctuation have been introduced by me in order to facilitate the orientation of the reader.⁵⁵

Most of the work of interpretation was done in the presence of at least two informants, the bombo himself (SR) and a layman, and most of the interviews came close to what is called “conversational narrative”⁵⁶: spontaneous narrations (autobiographical accounts, myths,

53 In so doing, I must face objections by those who hold that a “transcription of oral discourse, regardless of its precision and faithfulness to the original, creates a text – ‘something written to be read’ – out of what is not a text” (Swearingen 1986: 138).

54 S. Clifford 1980: 529 f.; cf. also the critical appraisal by Pearce and Chen 1989.

55 S. p. 12.

56 To my knowledge, this term was coined by R.J. Grele, quoted in Lacey 1980: 74 ff.

memorable events in the village) and discussions with, or among, the informants often provided more insight than any direct answer to my questions. SR's cooperation, rather role-specifically rhapsodic,⁵⁷ turned out to be of more help for clarifying some conceptual aspects (mythological foundations, ritual techniques, etc.) than analyzing the text itself. He failed to contribute any substantial interpretation to the work on the sections in Nepali. The laymen, often trying their best to "provoke" the *bombo* to give more information by questioning or completing his comments, showed more discipline and commitment. It was with their help that the bulk of lexical meanings could be clarified. Contextual cross-checking, tracing down extra-textual evidences, looking for equivalent terms in Nepali, etc. were resorted to in order to verbalize the informants' "implicit knowledge", i.e., to formulate the content of what I call their *understanding* as an *interpretation* (s. pp. 275-276). SB, who had soon developed into a genuine folk-philologist, did the bulk of this work. Equally important was what he contributed, thanks to his remarkable intellectual sensitivity, to both the linguistic processing and the literary analysis of the recitation. Working with two or three informants at a time proved useful for at least two reasons. On the one hand, discussions among the interview partners stimulated self-controlled reflexion and helped to fill out with more content those vague and commonplace-type statements with which every Tamang is likely to gloss over conceptual matters in his first encounters with the ethnographer. On the other hand, the procedure demonstrated both the differences in the individual interpretation (of which I have been taking note in the annotations) and the limits of any interpretation of one and the same text which remains nevertheless part of a living tradition.

For the Western reader, parts of my translation may appear as uneven and lacking in comfort as is the original for the Tamang interpreter. I see no reason why the translation should foster in the reader the illusion that the text is unproblematic. Nor should my translation plough over certain structural and poetic qualities, inasmuch as these qualities are part of the meaning: means of evoking associations, building up images, providing cross-references between contexts, and imposing formal or imaginary "solutions" on to what is conceptually irresolvable. This is of course not to deny that some formulations in my rendering are tentative.⁵⁸

The translation is a free and interpretative "study translation". Whenever deemed necessary, it is free from the constraints of the stylistic taste of the target language and tries, instead, to render both phraseology and diction of the Tamang original. And it is interpretative in that (a) it gives priority to what the text is to the Tamang themselves, namely something different from modern colloquial Tamang, often "unusual", manneristic and sometimes even nonsensical; and (b) it tries to come to terms with concepts from a cultural setting quite different from ours.

I have preferred literal translation – at the risk of sounding clumsy – where no other solution seemed viable, but have chosen an idiomatic rendering for those expressions which could be soundly established as idiomatic in Tamang. Thus, *ñasyiñ cu:ba* is translated as 'to operate the violent (side of the) body of the drum', instead of 'to beat the drum's (so-called) violent side', in order to give an idea of how précieux, or at least artificially archaic, this formulation sounds to the Tamang of our days (s. 110.1068, 110.1070). By contrast, *kidu-ḷ:ñen s̄aba* is rendered idiomatically by 'come what may', inasmuch as it is clearly a Tibetan loan-expression (also used in modern colloquial Tamang) the etymological word-by-word meaning of which was unknown to the informants (s. 86.724 note). The ambiguity of some verbs also required literal translation. A striking example is provided by *djñba*, lit. 'to soar', 'to hover'. Once this verb occurs no longer with a bird, but with a porcupine, as a subject, both the native informant and the ethnographer

57 Roughly the same is true of other *bombos* interviewed. As Holmberg (1989: 160) puts it: "The shamanic defies attempts to contain it analytically. *Bombos* often laugh at direct questions about their practice or revert to their measured chants. They evade positive declarations and acquire their authority from elusiveness. Although often deadly serious, some joke that their soundings are deceptions."

58 Further fieldwork in 1982/83 has enabled me to "refine" the translation of certain terms; hence some deviations from the wording chosen in Höfer 1981.

are in a dilemma as to whether or not to look for a “secondary” meaning that could also apply to a porcupine. But if such a “secondary” meaning cannot be found – why should the translator of a shamanic text refrain from making a porcupine ‘soar’, all the more as this porcupine is in a sense a superhuman protagonist in the context in question? Clearly, in modern colloquial Tamang, *d̥ɪ̃ba* can also be used for describing the attitude of a fidgety person who is always on the go. Yet, this is only a joking extension, and the “joke” lies in the paradox of synaesthetics. There is no reason not to presume that the bombo’s recitation leaves it to the imagination of the listener to figure out how a non-winged being can ‘soar’. That a porcupine soars or hovers is no less and no more scandalous in such a text than, say, Yeats’s “stony sleep” or Valéry’s “le Temps scintille”...

PART TWO

THE RECITATION

The setting

The trouble

One day in 1968, a man by the name of Ṭāsyi walked to a neighbouring village to buy a goat and happened to meet there a girl, Najom. Months later, Ṭāsyi eloped with Najom who “ran away”, leaving behind a lame brother. Mutual sympathy, perhaps even love, was as much a motive as sheer necessity. Twice widowed and three times divorced, Ṭāsyi, then 36, needed a housewife to look after his five children, the eldest of whom was 12 at that time. Najom, then about 25, abandoned by her father and living in poverty in her mother’s natal village, was “overdue” for being married. There existed no gossip about her, and people admired her skill in weaving. Ṭāsyi, a handsome and intelligent man, was – for Tamang standards – neither prosperous nor poor, but his position as the son of a village headman and as an assistant teacher lent him enough prestige to be recognized as one of the village leaders. The match seemed all the more promising as he had what most of his fellow-Tamang – peasants with yields too low to subsist on them – did not have: a regular cash income.

Coming to live in a village, Bhokteni, where she had neither relatives nor friends, and put hard to become a good stepmother for children of whom she knew they would not care for her once they were grown up, Najom must have experienced very intensely the usual “status insecurity” to which any newly married wife is exposed. In the end, she turned out to be a good stepmother, but a bad wife, in Ṭāsyi’s opinion at least. He accused her of squandering, considering how minimal her dowry was, and found her manners utterly impolite in comparison to the respect with which a Brahmin or Chetri wife treats her husband. She protested, but her quick-temper made things even worse. One day when he was drunk, Ṭāsyi threw her out of the house – only to collect her two days later at the house of one of her paternal uncles in a distant village and under conditions quite humiliating for him. Months later, when in a fit of rage she had cut off the beak of a hen which intruded into the vegetable garden, it came to violence. Ṭāsyi slapped her, and she attacked him with a sickle, etc. This time, Najom had fled to the landlady of the ethnographer who did play some part in finally settling the dispute...

The tension between the protagonists cannot be explained by their biographical background alone. After all, elopement and divorce, fatherless daughters and good or bad stepmothers, demanding husbands and “energetic” wives are far from being uncommon in Tamang society. The main problem was no doubt Najom’s obvious barrenness. She complained about menstrual troubles, and it was soon agreed that “her flower had been spoiled” (*męndo noņbala*). More than two years after her arrival in Bhokteni, the couple consulted Syırjaroņ Bõmbo (SR) who promptly suggested (what everybody expected) that one should find out which *cen* might have caused her trouble.

The *cen*: flower versus “flower”

Bombos claim to be the only specialists competent in dealing with the *cens* whom they regularly worship.¹ The *cens* are etymologically identical to, but conceptually somewhat different

1 This worship is based on the cult of a mythical bõmbo called Cen Bõn or Ui Yërmai Bõn, I was told. – Holmberg 1989: 151 ff. gives an explanation for the special attachment of the bõmbo to the *cens*, which is plausible, but was not confirmed by my informants. Nor did I come across the beautiful myth of the tragic marital alliance between a *cen* and a human man, which Holmberg (1980: 124 ff., and 1989: 170 ff.) quotes and congenially interprets as a rationale of the problems involved in divine-human and man-woman relationships. For an interpretation of the role of the *cen* in Tamang pantheon cf. also Toffin 1990: 170 ff.

from, the *bcan* demons in Tibetan belief. The latter are represented as horse-riding warriors armed with bow and arrow and residing on red rocky mountains.² For the Tamang, by contrast, most of the *cen*s are fairy-like female beings³ wearing beautiful costumes and jewellery. They play with flowers and adorn themselves with flowers. There is a mystic linkage between a particular kind of flower, a particular kind of *cen* and the genitals of a woman, the latter being also called “flower”, as we have just seen. In short, virtually each botanical species of flower is inhabited by, or closely associated with, a certain *cen*, and thus once the *bombo* has found out which flower corresponds to his woman patient’s “flower”, he can identify and placate the *cen* held responsible for the woman’s barrenness (s. sections 51.-77.).

In normal cases, the mystic linkage remains in a state of latency. The trouble starts when the *cen* becomes attached to a woman. “If she plucks a flower, a red one in particular, which happens to be inhabited by a *cen*, the *cen* will ‘mount’ her (the informant used the verb for ‘to climb’) and suck, as if it were nectar, the mucus in her menstrual flow so that she becomes barren.” (This mucus, called *ser.mendo*, is believed to be indispensable for conception). “She, then, will feel sick, lose much weight and occasionally shiver, just like the *bombo*, and people know: she has been seized (*cuñba*) by her *cen*.” (Nothing of the like happened to Najom, by the way). Having a weakness for the colour red, as well as for gold, silver and everything which glitters, a *cen* clings to one’s cloth and jewellery, and she can thus also be inherited from mother to daughter, or transferred to other women. Once mounted by a *cen*, the woman in question will remain under her control until death. She has to avoid impurity by strictly observing the taboos during her menses, by refraining from eating pork and the meat of any animal killed by a leopard or a fox; she is also forbidden to touch any meat with raw blood on it, to take any medicine of red colour, and to wear new cloths of red colour. Her case requires regular ceremonies by a *bombo* who will take care to allure the *cen*, again and again, back into her abode proper: the flowers (s. pp. 264, 266).

Conspicuously, the *cen* is closely associated with red colour, yet at the same time she dislikes red⁴ (blood, medicine, cloth); she abhors impurity, yet at the same time she sucks the impure mucus; she loves flowers, yet she spoils the “flower” of a woman. One is tempted to interpret these “contradictions” as expressing the very nature of the *cen*. Her vanity – both childishly naive and prudish at the same time – with which she delights in the botanical species as an object of ornamental or aesthetic value and free from impurity, prevents the flower from developing into fruit, its natural destination. In a sense, the *cen* could be said to take “flower” literally, i.e., treat the “flower” of a woman as a flower, as is shown by her mistaking the mucus for nectar. Thus, the real threat the *cen* poses to humans lies in her deconstructing the Flower as a metaphor of fertility and life.

Divine Mother, Divine Witch

The noun “flower”, *mendo*, is not only a euphemism for ‘womb’ and/or ‘vagina’. Every human being is born from, and with, a flower, referred to as “life-flower”, *ro.mendo*, or simply *mendo*. The concept (with which I shall deal in more detail below pp. 310-312) is vague and complex, and so it may suffice here to summarize it as follows: On the one hand, a person retains his “life-flower” until death, on the other, his “life-flower” develops, at the age of 13, into a tree, referred to as *ro.duñma*, lit. ‘life-beam’, in the texts. In the case of an adult man, it

2 Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 299; Tucci 1970: 224 f.; and Hoffmann 1950: 141.

3 Nevertheless, Tamang tradition has still preserved some reminiscence of the older Tibetan concept of *bcan*, s. Höfer 1981: 15.

4 Similarly in Tibetan belief: the sight of red colour both angers and deters the *bcan* demons (Ribbach 1940: 182; Klaus 1985: 365).

is his “life-beam” which stands in the foreground, while in the case of an adult woman, it is her “life-flower” which is important – all the more as it tends to be treated as something cognate or even identical with her “(womb-)flower”.

Ultimate responsibility for the “life-flower” is attributed to two mythical beings: Kaliama and Lasya. Our text extols Kaliama as the Divine Mother who brings forth the human body with all its organs and functions, and the creation myth (section 23.) identifies her, allusively, with the flowers on the branches of the primordial tree. Kaliama is The Flower. Lasya, by contrast, emerges from the rather fragmentary and cryptic references as the supreme mistress-guardian of the “life-flower”. Lasya is said to “choose” and “hand over” an individual’s “life-flower” to Kaliama, as if the latter were just a surrogate mother. When, as is customary, a young child is to be placed, against a vow, under the particular protection of a goddess, mainly a “Hindu” mother-goddess (*māi*), Lasya must be invoked as a mediator and asked for consent. At the same time, Lasya is also the First Witch, the Queen of Witches, and, like any witch, can do harm to humans, especially children and women. While Kaliama appears as the quintessence of goodness, beauty, purity and life, Lasya is associated with ambivalent power, ugliness, dirt and decay. She is described as a huge woman with uncombed long dirty hair and said to lick and eat up the “flower” – and this word can imply, in the case of a female, the genitals, too, as we have just noted.⁵ She is both guardian of life and destroyer of life, “out of jealousy”, as the informants added. Except for the *cen*, any female superhuman agent which does harm to the “life-flower” is tentatively likened to a witch who, in turn, is said to act “on behalf” of Lasya, the First Witch.⁶ Much of what the texts and the informants’ comments reveal about Lasya and witches in Tamang belief tallies with Bennett’s observations concerning high-caste Hindus in Nepal: “[...] the common belief that the witches can cause harm – especially fertility problems – if they are allowed to see the menstrual blood of the victim”; that the unoiled, uncombed hair is a symbolic expression of a temporary loss of control over female sexuality; and that human witches, who are almost always female, are symbolically “like extensions of the violent and dangerous aspect of the goddess in the human world”.⁷

Two points deserve particular emphasis. First, there is some evidence to conclude that Lasya and Kaliama are one and the same being, or at least that Lasya “encompasses” Kaliama in the sense that Kaliama represents but the positive mother-aspect inherent in Lasya. This dual Lasya-Kaliama reminds one of the ambivalent *Devī* in Hinduism, of the Great Goddess *Kālī*⁸, the World Mother-Destroyer who “ushers one into life and, obscurely, into death” (Wayman

5 Cf., e.g., sections 46., 47., 95. and pp. 228, 253 ff., 310 ff.

6 According to SB, *lasya* is an obsolete term for ‘witch’.

7 Bennett 1983: 259 and 307 respectively. – Among the high-caste Hindus, unoiled and uncombed hair marks liminal phases in one’s life-cycle in that it is worn by menstruating women, new mothers and new widows (Bennett: 1983: 259). – A further parallel to Tamang belief with its theme of “eating up” lies in the idea that “[...] one is also vulnerable to witchcraft at mealtimes. The most common way of casting a spell over someone is to put something in their food or simply to recite a spell while looking at the food which will be eaten by one’s victim” (Bennett 1983: 50).

8 Lasya-Kaliama is also called *Gyagar Khaṇḍa:mo Rā:ñi*, lit. ‘Indian *Dākinī* Queen’, and we know that the *ḍākinīs* (s. below) are attendants of *Kālī*. – High-cultural hagiography is more explicit in giving such “approximations”. To give just one example: one of Lasya’s names is Palden Lama < Tib. *dPal-Idan Lha-mo*. The latter is the chief guardian goddess of Buddhism, the “chief *ma-mo*” (= the *māmo* of the Tamang), the “Great Life-Mistress”, accompanied by the witch-like *ḍākinīs* and demons, – and identified with *Kālī* (cf. pp. 193, 211 below; and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 22-37; Martin du Gard 1985; and Neumaier 1966). – The *cen*s, by contrast, are said to constitute a separate category of superhuman beings, with no relationship whatsoever with the “mother goddesses”. One informant surmised that the *cen*s originated from the same flowers on the primordial tree as the human race, too.

1973: 173). Even the name Kaliama appears to be a derivate of Kāli Māi.⁹ Although the ʔombo's pantheon lacks any explicit hierarchy, oblique references, as manifest in some attempts of "translation" (s. pp. 227 f., 293), etc., suggest Lasya-Kaliama as a being who in a sense epitomizes or subsumes all "mother goddesses" invoked in our text, e.g., the ambivalent *māis* collectively called "Spirits of the Kathmandu Valley", and the principally evil *mamos* which in turn are again approximated to some of the *māis*, especially to Ajimā/Sitalā (cf. pp. 85, 148).

The second point to be dealt with is Lasya-Kaliama's specific relationship with the ʔombo. In our text (and in other texts, too), Kaliama and Lasya share two epithets, namely *ḍolmo* and *khaṇḍa:mo*, which derive from Tib. *sgrol-ma* = Tārā, and *mkha'-'gro-ma* = *ḍākinī*, respectively. Lasya is also apostrophized as *nenjyurmo* < Tib. *rnal-'byor-ma* = *yoginī*. These three terms (of which only the first two have a vague meaning for the Tamang of our days) reveal the influence Tantric Buddhism, especially the Old Sect, must have had on the Tamang ʔombo's tradition. Let us recall, very briefly, the role these three beings – personifications of cosmic female energy, holders of wisdom, possessing both peaceful and wrathful, exoteric and esoteric aspects – play in Tantric soteriology.¹⁰ Tārā, the benevolent Saviouress, whose popularity in Tibet is due to the belief that she can be approached by laity directly, without mediation by learned lamas, has also wrathful forms of manifestation and is assisted by *ḍākinīs*.¹¹ The latter, often also referred to as *yoginī*, are known as miracle-doers who fly through space, divine mothers and guides of the mystics, revealers of wisdom – but also as witches with loose hair, who dwell in cemeteries, have the power of depriving every creature of its vitality and delight in flesh and blood, etc.¹² Some further epithets of Lasya and Kaliama connote their association with light and illumination: Lasya is apostrophized as the queen (of) *ñenser*, 'beam of sunlight', Kaliama as the queen (of) *hosal* and *naṅsal* < Tib. 'od-gsal, lit. 'clear light' (figuratively also 'state of consciousness at the time of death', and 'enlightening'), and *snaṅ-gsal*, 'light', 'brilliant', etc., respectively. Possibly, Lasya and Kaliama go back, ultimately, to the two goddesses Lāsyā (alias sGeg-mo-ma) and Puṣpā (alias Me-tog-ma) classified by the Tibetans as *ḍākinīs* or *bodhisattvas* in the company of Māmakī, a form of Tārā. Lāsyā is depicted holding a mirror in a coquettish attitude and personifies 'beauty', while Puṣpā, holding a blossom in her hand, personifies 'blossom'.¹³

In any case, the epithets of Lasya are likely to throw some light on two problems relating to her position in the ʔombo's pantheon. First, there is one of the most important acts in our ritual, the "unio mystica" between the ʔombo and Lasya, of which we only know that the former is to pass through under the legs, astride, of the latter (sections 108.-111.). Not only is the posture

9 MT *ama* = 'mother'; SB suggested another etymology for Kali-, namely < OT *ka+li*-, lit. 'word'+ 'body', but this should have resulted in Kāli- (high-falling pitch), rather than in Kali- (mid-level pitch), I presume. – On Kaliama in Tamang belief cf. also Toffin 1990: 172 ff. with details somewhat differing from my data.

10 As Wayman (1973: 164 ff.) notes, Buddhist Tantras employ the following generic words for the goddesses or females: *prajñā*, 'insight', *yoginī*, 'female yogin', *vidyā*, 'occult science', 'wisdom', *devī*, 'goddess' or 'queen', *mātṛ*, 'mother', and *ḍākinī*, etc., while in Hindu Tantras the term *śakti*, '[female] power' is general.

11 Cf., e.g., Getty 1962: 119 ff., Beyer 1973, and Waddell 1894.

12 Kalf 1978; s. also Evans-Wentz 1960: 127 ff. – In Snellgrove's (1959,I: 135) summary, the term *ḍākinī* "refers in Buddhist tantric tradition to a type of *yoginī*, with which word it is all but synonymous. It is commonly related with the Sanskrit verbal root *ḍī*, 'to fly', and represents that 'perfection which acts throughout the whole space' [...]. The Tibetan translation *mkha'-'gro-ma* means 'she who goes in the sky'. The *ḍākinīs par excellence* are the five *yoginīs* who are identified with the five Buddhas and represent the unity of existence [...]."

13 Evans-Wentz 1960: 108; also Waddell 1959: 366. – On some further occurrences of a Lasya or La-bya bse in Tibetan sources cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 114; Schuh 1973: 412 f.; and Höfer 1981: 20 f. – Wayman (1973: 186) mentions a Lāsyā as "the goddess of Wanton Movement". The name seems to derive from Skt. *lāsyā*, 'feminine dance', 'dance by females', connoting a 'graceful dancing', in contradistinction to *tāṇḍava*, 'masculine dance'; these two "genres" being connected with Pārvatī and Śiva (Taṇḍu), respectively (Vatsyayan 1968: 29, 184, 230, 238 f.; cf. also O'Flaherty 1980: 130 ff.).

with “legs astride” reminiscent of the *ḍākinīs* who are often represented in a dancing attitude (with one leg drawn up to the abdomen or stretched out up to the height of the head), or, even more, of the well-known *yab-yum* position of divine couples in Indo-Tibetan art, but the act itself is reminiscent of Tantric gnosis in which enlightenment is attained through the union of the male (adept/“means”) with the female (goddess/“wisdom”) element, described as a sexual intercourse¹⁴ or as a process of the adept’s becoming aware of himself as the goddess.

The *ḥombō* will of course give a – seemingly – different explanation by stressing the necessity for him to “return” to the place of a mythic event which “established” both *Lasya* and him, the *ḥombō*, in their present roles. The myth (Appendix II) shows *Lasya* as a “fallen woman” (associated with a “fallen *ḥombō*”)¹⁵ who has nevertheless been integrated by *Padmasambhava*, the Supreme Lama-Creator, into the *ḥombō*’s pantheon to act thenceforth as his principal partner-adversary.¹⁶ The *ḥombō*’s gnosis consists in his “returning into” this myth. The sense lies in the origins – this is conveyed by the informants’ preference to refer to any myth of origin (*ṭhūṅrap*, *kerap*) as *artha*, a Nepali word meaning both ‘sense’ and ‘purpose’. Perhaps one may conclude from this that by “returning into” the myth, the *ḥombō* re-performs the original act of creation – not as an event, but rather as a “sense”, a “sense” that “finds” his charisma, lending him paranormal faculties which include “wisdom” (*ṭhudam*, *ḥōsyē*, *ḥiṣyē*). In any case, both the Tantric and the *ḥombō* may be said to have the same aim, namely a self-identification with the goddess in order to appropriate her powers, but while the former strives ultimately for the Great Bliss, the latter’s union with *Lasya* appears to be accomplished with the purpose of growing as powerful and as ambivalent as *Lasya*. Only thus will he be capable of absorbing, and thus neutralizing, what from the human standpoint is evil in her, and of activating what from the same standpoint is good in her: the life-giving mother.¹⁷

The site

The ritual of “looking for the *cen*” (*cen māiba*) took place on 12th October 1971 in *Ṭāsyi*’s house.

Custom makes it incumbent upon the client to collect the *ḥombō*’s paraphernalia before, and to deliver them after, the ritual, and to beat the drum while walking. Custom also prescribes that the client should be assisted by 2-3 lay-helpers who cooperate in organising the ritual and among whom at least one person should represent the kin category of “wife-givers”, i.e., male

14 The term *bodhicitta*, ‘thought of enlightenment’, refers, in the texts dealt with by Snellgrove (1987: 258 ff., 290 ff.), to the vital force resulting from the union of Wisdom (female) and Means (male); in particular, it refers to the semen retaken from the vagina of the female partner, with which the adept receives the Secret Consecration.

15 The “fallen woman” provides, again, a parallel with the Tantric consort, the “dissolute outcast woman”, who as “insight” initiates one into knowledge, and who, for this function, has to be “dissolute” (Wayman 1973: 170; s. also Snellgrove 1987: 157 ff., 291 ff.).

16 A rather “utilitarian” version of this theme appears in myths attested in Far Western Nepal. After having killed her elder sisters, the primordial shaman of the *Chantel* comes to an arrangement with the surviving youngest witch-sister who explains to him that if she dies, he too will die, for without the necessity of neutralizing the witches again and again, the shaman could not make a living (de Sales 1992: 9 ff.; s. also Oppitz 1981: 20 and de Sales 1991: 208-213 on the Kham Magar; and Maskarinec 1990: 98 f. on *Jājārkoṭ*). – The *ḥombō*’s mystic encounter with *Lasya* may also be seen as a variant of the marriage between the shaman and a witch or a goddess (s. Toffin 1990: 175 ff. with reference to Himalayan traditions).

17 For a variant of the theme of neutralizing the destructive aspect of the female through a “union” or interaction with the male cf. Toffin (1984: 478 f.) who in characterizing the iconographical representations of the *Devī* (*Durgā*) in the Kathmandu Valley, stresses a general tendency: the Goddess assumes her wrathful form when she dominates the male, while She appears in her peaceful form when united with the male in a couple (as *Śiva-Pārvatī*, etc.).

agnates of the wife or the mother of the head of the household.¹⁸ The latter also sends for one of his “wife-takers”, i.e., those men who have married a woman from his lineage, especially when a larger animal, such as a goat or, seldom, a buffalo, is to be sacrificed, since the work of slaughtering and disembowelling on ritual occasions must always be done by kinsmen from this category. Finally, the presence of one of his real or classificatory brothers, too, is welcome as a token of solidarity. Thus, when Syırjaroñ Bõmbo, accompanied by a disciple of his, arrives on the scene at about 6 p.m., everything is ready.

Being, at the same time, an epitome of the shamanic universe, a bridge between the human world and the superhuman sphere, the place where the bõmbo meets the gods, the place which is identical with both the altar of one of the Primordial Bõns and the mythic-mystic country (*bę:yul*) in the northern mountains and beyond (s. p. 30 f.), – the altar becomes the most important focus of all activities, and its installation in the “northernmost” corner of the house, entails a change and revaluation of symbolic spatial order.

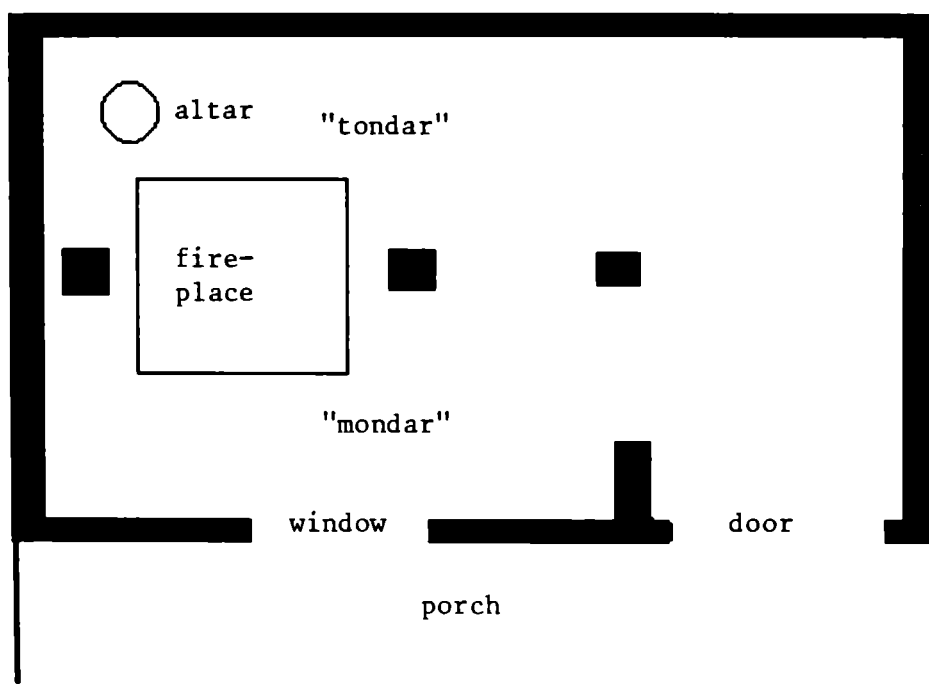


Fig. 1. The house.

Throughout the ritual, the “upper half” (*tondar*) will be occupied by the bõmbo, his disciple and the lay-helpers sitting in a row and facing the fire-place, while the head of the household (actually the patient’s husband, *Ṭasyi*) will temporarily stay with his children and their mother (actually their stepmother, *Najom*), the patient, in the “lower half” (*mondar*). The “upper”-“lower” dichotomy existing, under normal conditions, in terms of gender thus becomes equivalent to a divine-human and specialist-client dichotomy. This is also manifest in the two main directions of the ritual transactions: the one, vertical, in which the bõmbo is communicating divine boon and purity from the “upper half” to the clients in the “lower half”; and the other one, diagonal.

¹⁸ This category of relatives (real or classificatory mother’s brother/wife’s brother) plays an important role in life-cycle ceremonies in bestowing purity and a new status, among others, on to a boy on the occasion of his first haircut or on to the mourners after the death-feast (cf. also Holmberg 1980: 188 ff., Holmberg 1989: 190 ff.).

in which the *bombo* expels, with divine assistance obtained from the “northernmost” corner, the evil forces through the door in the “southernmost” corner.¹⁹ As a rule of thumb, while communicating with the gods, the *bombo* is facing the altar; while dealing with the spirits, he is facing the door; while dealing with the clients, he is facing the latter. Dealing with the spirits to be expelled from the house, and dealing with the clients to be purified or blessed, make it necessary for the *bombo* to leave the sphere of the “upper half”. During the divination and oracle he stands in the “upper half”, but recites facing the clients. The border zone between the “upper” and “lower halves” is the *bombo*’s “battlefield” (as one informant put it) where he dances.

The altar

This time, the altar – *brāṅge* or *lāgañ*²⁰ – consists of a bamboo winnowing tray placed on a conical basket (N. *thumse*) that serves as a stand and that has been “consecrated” by throwing a mixture of maize, paddy and millet into it. In front of the basket, on the floor, are deposited: a cup for the incense (N. *dhupāro*); a heap of marblestone splinters to be used as projectiles against harmful spirits; and a copper measuring vessel (N. *mānā*) containing husked rice (MT *mone*, N. *achetā*)²¹ to serve as an offering or as a vehicle of a spell or of some magical substances (boon, life-force, etc.). Up on the tray are displayed the ritual implements some of which the *bombo* also apostrophizes as personal entities, as his divine helpers (s. sections 17.-19.), on the one hand, and the various offerings, on the other.

The central piece of the altar, the *chene*, corresponds to the measuring vessel (Tib. *bre*) filled with barley (called in Tib. *gži-nas* > Tamang *syiñe[-syimrol]*) on which lamps and various items for sacrifice are displayed in Tibetan rituals.²² And Tamang *chene* (also *chyene*) derives from Tibetan *m̄hod-gnas*, lit. ‘the place of sacrifice’, a term which S.R. Das (1970: 439) glosses in quoting a Tibetan source as follows: (1) “objects to which offerings are made”, “the objects to be venerated comprise two: persons and symbols; the persons are the assembly [Saṅgha], Buddha, and the lamas; the symbols are images, the receptacles of what has been said, relics, and such like”; and (2) “the officiating priest, the sacrificator”. Indeed the whole set of the *bombo*’s altar reminds one of the *maṅḍala* in certain Tibetan rituals, in which the offerings symbolising the universe also serve as device for meditative “realization” (*sgrub-pa*), such as the transformation of the officiating priest himself into a god, etc.²³

19 “northernmost” = ideal North-West; “southernmost” = ideal South-East. Complementary to this vertical division (*tondar/mondar*) is the horizontal one opposing (a) the closed space between the “western” wall and the fire-place, said to be the favourite place of the clan god (also called the god of the house) where no human is supposed to sit, to (b) the neutral and open space of circulation near the door on the “eastern” side of the house.

20 In a stricter sense, the term *brāṅge* denotes another type of altar-platform made of branches and used in some larger-scale ceremonies (s. plate 4). *brāṅge* < Tib. *brañ-rgyas*, ‘offering of eatables’, often a heap of tsampa, which, in Ladakh, is identified with the Meru mountain (Brauen 1983a: 111). *lāgañ* < Tib. *lha-khañ*, ‘temple’, ‘shrine’.

21 *mone* < Tib. *mo-nas*, lit. ‘divination barley’ (s. also p. 160⁶, 49.389 and 96.897 notes). In the ritual texts often referred to as *sergi mone*, which the informants translated by ‘golden (husked) rice’. *sergi mone* is reminiscent of N. *pahēlo* [= yellow] *achetā*, the term for barley used for burnt offerings in Hindu rituals.

22 Cf. Tucci 1970: 211, Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 523. or Ribbach 1940: 225 ff.

23 Cf., e.g., Tucci 1970: 131 ff.; for an explanation of the notion of *maṅḍala* cf. Snellgrove 1957: 287, and in more detail Snellgrove 1987: 198 ff.

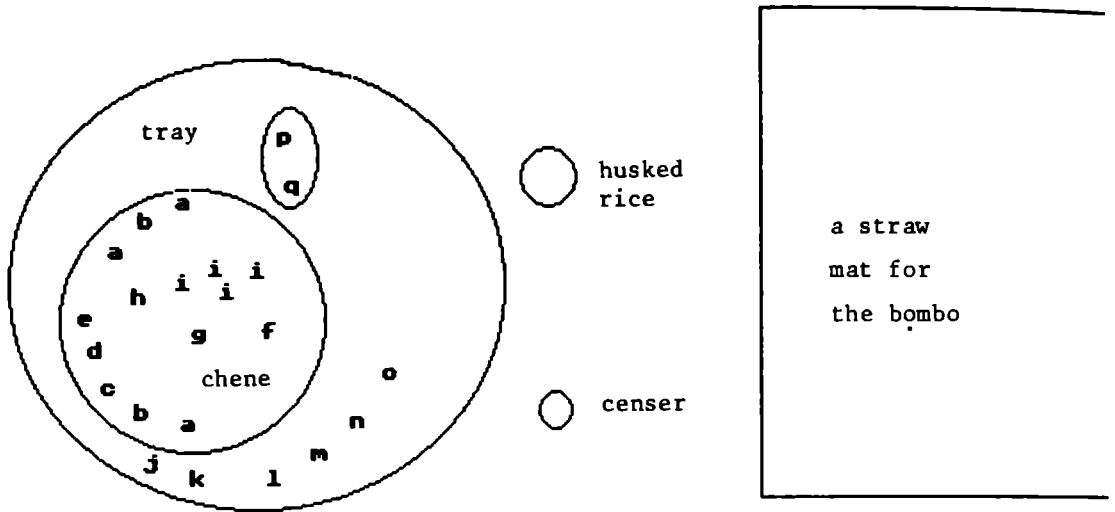


Fig. 2. The setup of the altar.

The central piece of the set is a copper vessel, the traditional measure *pāthi* (N.) (= 4.36 litres), filled up to the brim with various sorts of cereals that serve as a “bedding” (*syīne-syīmrol*) for the following items: (a) porcupine quills; (b) feathers of the Himalayan pheasant; (c) a kind of fan (*mēloñ*) decorated with the tail-feathers of the peacock; (d) a stick with strips of cloth in different colours (*darluñ*); (e) a wooden ritual dagger with two horse-riders at the top of its handle; (f) a brass lamp; (g) different stones (*phola*); (h) three tridents (N. *trisul*); and (i) a round flat piece of dried yeast (as used in brewing alcoholic drinks; s. the “white disc” on plate 3), a raw egg, a fried egg and a few coins (*ladar*), each in four separate leaf-cups. Around the *chene* vessel, on a thin layer of grains of various cereals (*syīne-syīmrol*), the following items are displayed: (j) two cups, one with millet beer, and one with milk; (k) some hashish (N. *gājā*) strewn on glowing charcoal; (l) the skeleton of a snake (*pūkhri chi*), held together by a thread so as to form a necklace; (m) a trumpet (*kahlīn*) made of the thigh-bone of a leopard; (n) a rosary of *rudrācche* fruits (s. below pp. 63, 69-70); (o) a jug (*būmba*) containing holy water; (p) the beak of a hornbill (*khyuñ*), held together by two hoops of brass sheet and standing upright in (q) a tortoise shell filled with grains of the *syīne-syīmrol* type.

The *bombos* give less sophisticated explanations. When asked about the function of the altar, they would refer to the text and stress that it is in the *chene* that they “get at” (*pheba*) or “look for” or “find” (*salba*) the gods who “come down” (*bappa*) into it²⁴; or that the *chene* - which they apostrophize as a goddess (*dq.mo*) - provides the starting point of any ritual journey of the *ṛīrap* and *sanrap* type, not least because the implements therein “are” their powerful divine helpers and/or magical tools. Let us examine some of these implements²⁵ in more detail:

(a) The porcupine quills (*duṃsyiñ mru*), once activated by a mantra, become sparking projectiles sent out to annihilate an enemy or to light the way of the *bombo* searching for the enemy at night.²⁶ The quills are also employed to counteract a particular type of contagious black magic called *dqi nemba*, namely to detect and bring back the nail-clippings or hairs from a person, which his enemy has stolen and hidden beneath a stone (s. 72.601 note).

24 Cf., e.g., 40.302, 46.351, 57.469, 67.553, 68.564-565 and 111.1077, 111.1079. – In describing what the gods and spirits should be caused to do, two informants used the MT expression *braṅgeri ḍi:ba* (rendered by Nepali *thānmā milnu*), ‘to cooperate/to become partners of interaction in the altar’.

25 Cf. also the annotations to sections 18.-20., 22. and 25.

26 The porcupine, a night-active animal, is said to “search” in holes and places covered by dead leaves and underwood. – On the similar function of the porcupine quills for shamanic specialists in other areas s., e.g., Macdonald 1976: 319 (Darjeeling) and Mumford 1989: 120 (Gyasumdo).



Fig. 3. The altar (in preparation) with the *chene* and the *khyuñ*.

(b) The feathers of the pheasant²⁷ (*na:dañ gro:*) serve as projectiles which pierce the enemy: they can fly²⁸ over long distances in the air. Both the quills and the feathers are said to return into the *chene* after having fulfilled their task.

27 N. *dāp̄he* = *Lopophorus impejanus* according to Toffin 1985: 118. – What the Tamang *bombo* keeps in his altar is elsewhere part of the shamanic costume. Thus a headgear of feathers – of the pheasant or other birds, but in any case a symbol of “shamanic flight” – is worn, e.g., by the Limbu *bijuwā*, the Bhujel *jhākri*, the Kham Magar *rama*, the Gurung *paju* and the Eastern Tamang *bombo*, to mention just a few examples (cf. Sagant 1976a: 58, 88; Hitchcock 1976: 175; Oppitz 1981: 166; and Pignède 1966: 295 respectively). Porcupine quills are either stuck in a belt or are part of the headgear (Sagant 1976a: 88 [Limbu]; Hitchcock 1976: 176 [Bhujel]; Fournier 1976: 106 [Sunuwar]; and Pignède 1966 [Gurung]). Finally, while officiating, the Gurung *paju* keeps under his armpit a “grand bec d’oiseau” which appears to be the beak of the hornbill (Pignède 1966: 295).

28 One informant, a *bombo*, denied this in stressing that the feathers have no other function than to be “ornaments” of the god of the *chene*.

(c) The *meloñ* consists of a disc with cowrie shells sewn around the edge, and with a “halo” of peacock feathers. No further information was available. The term *meloñ* obviously derives from Tib. *me-loñ*, ‘mirror’, which is conceived of as a symbol of the visible world and also used for fortune-telling (cf. Tucci 1970: 137, 224). The *ḅombo*’s *meloñ*, however, looks like a ceremonial fan, rather than a mirror, and the text itself suggests that it symbolises the peacock’s (spread) tail.²⁹ It should be noted that a similar *meloñ* is worn by the *jhākris* in eastern Central Nepal as a headgear (Miller 1979: 25, plate 16).

(d) The *darluñ* is a stick with strips of cloth (or thick threads of wool) attached to it; the strips are in five different colours, namely those of the four corners and the zenith, and are said to “attract” and “retain” that magical substance which is called *yañ* or *seḥ*: and which I have translated by ‘blessing of riches/food/crops’ (s. 14.135). The *darluñ* is similar in both form and function to the Tibetan *mda’-dar*, usually translated by ‘divination-arrow’, a symbol of prosperity and in some cases merging with the life-tree or axis mundi symbol.³⁰

(e) The wooden ritual dagger, *phurba*, is to stab and nail down spirits into the ground. It has a three-edged blade which issues from the open mouth of a monster, both provided with the same carvings as we have on the handle of the drum (s. below); on the head of the monster stand two horse-riders referred to as *Täbu Nórbu* or *Tämriñ* and said to be the divinity of the instrument. As emerges from the text (17.150), *Täbu Nórbu* is also the name of the divine horse the *ḅombo* is riding³¹. The *phurba* is identical with the Tibetan ritual dagger, the *phur-pa*, as described in detail by Huntington (1975), and the riders on its top may no doubt be seen as a variant of the horse-head, in the Tibetan prototypes, representing the god Hayagrīva whose Tibetan name *rTa-mgrin* corresponds to *Tämriñ* in Tamang. – I also saw another type of *phurba*, called *ḍüba phurba*, without the two riders on top of its shaft. SR kept it in his basket, even though a particular passage in his text possibly referred to it as being part of the set in the *chene*.³²

(f) The brass lamp (*kòña* or *cañsal-memar*) is a butter-lamp of the Tibetan type; however, in contrast to the Tibetan and Tamang lamas who use butter, the *ḅombo* invariably fuels it with oil, “just like the [Hindu] Indo-Nepalese in their rituals”, as one informant remarked. The lamp is said to illuminate the altar so that the gods and spirits who, once gathered in the altar and visible in the light of the lamp, become tractable for the *ḅombo*.³³

(g) The *pholas* are stones of different shape and colour. The following ones were in SR’s possession: (1) *gyaḡar phola* = round rubble-like pieces of black colour, said to be meteorites and the bodies (*gö*) of the god *Gyaḡar Ṭha:duñ Gyaḡar Syitta Gúru*. (2) *cho:na phola* = a pyramid-shaped greenish crystalline rock, said to have originated from the bottom of green-blue lakes which are the abode of the evil beings called *dud*. (3) *syelgar phola* = white glassy crystals, said to be the bodies of the goddess *Syelgar Jyomo*. (4) *sergi phola* = white-yellow crystals, said to be the bodies of the *cen* and *men* divinities.³⁴ The *phola* stones are said to rise and strike the enemy if activated by a special mantra. – We know of similar stones being utilised by shamanic

29 Cf. section 19.173-174. – The *Kānphaṭā* ascetics are reported to use a fan of peacock feathers for driving out spirits (Briggs 1938: 127). – In Indian mythology, the peacock is the bird which can annihilate poison, and in Tibet, the tail-feathers of the peacock are used as an aspergill (s. Karmay 1987: 68).

30 Cf., e.g., Corlin 1980: 89, Brauen 1980: 46, Buffetrille 1987: 58 f., Karmay 1987: 63, 72-76, also Mumford 1989: 96 f.

31 In some other texts, *Täbu Nórbu* is replaced by *Täbu Būngu* < *būngu* < Tib. *boñ-bu*, ‘donkey’.

32 Cf. 19.176 note. – On the Tibetan ritual in which the *phur-pa* is part of a set closely similar to the *ḅombo*’s altar s. Klaus 1985: 204 ff.

33 Cf., e.g., “I have come to find [the *cen*] in the divine abode (altar), in the ray of light, the beam of light...”, in 68.565.

34 A letter-weight of glass with a coloured picture of the elephant-headed god *Gaṇeśa* was also kept in SR’s basket. When I asked if it, too, was a *phola* SR laughed and told me that it had been brought as a present by one of his clients from India.

specialists among some other ethnic groups of Nepal³⁵, but the etymology of the term *phola* is not clear. Its derivation from the Tibetan *pho-lha*, lit. 'male god', remains hypothetical. The ultimate origins of the *ḅombo's pholas* – which, by the way, should always be displayed in the *chene* in an upright position – might perhaps be sought in those stone monuments called *lha-tho*, and/or those stone piles called *lha-rjas*, which in Tibetan belief are symbols of sacred mountains and residences of the divine owners of the territory. In the *lha-tho* type, for example, the stones are associated with the three tiers of the universe: white ones with the gods (*lha*) in heaven, red or yellow ones with the *bcan* or *ḡñan* demons in the middle sphere, and blue or black ones with the *klu* in the aquatic or underworld sphere. And the gods "inhabiting" the stones in the *lha-rjas* are the same ones who reside in the human body, too, such as the "enemy god" *dgra-lha* and the "male god" *pho-lha*.³⁶

(h) The iron tridents (MT *tirsula* < N. *trisul* = *trisūla*) are both in size and shape similar to the ex-voto tridents pilgrims stab into the ground around the cult places of Śiva-Mahāḁew and his consorts. For the *ḅombo*, the trident is identical with Mahāḁew's body; at the same time, it is apostrophized as the "Three-Faced Mistress" (18.168) and said to fly "raking in the sky and earth in search of what is concealed", and to drive away evil spirits.

(i) and (j): the yeast, eggs, beer and milk, said to be offered to the multitude (*deḅge*) of the divinities the *ḅombo* is to invoke during the ritual, represent, synecdochically, "food-and-drink". Enriched with boon, they remain in the house and will be consumed, symbolically at least, by the client's family. The coins, *ladar*³⁷, by contrast, are the *ḅombo's* honorarium.

(k) The smoke of hemp is said to please Mahāḁew. It might be recalled that some Hindu ascetics – following the example of Śiva who is drowsy with drugs – favour hashish as a means of stimulating meditative experience.³⁸

(l) The necklace made of the skeleton of a snake (*pūkhri chi:*) and provided with one tooth of the wild boar is likewise reminiscent of Shaiva symbolism: of Śiva with snakes coiled around his neck.³⁹ It is said to protect the *ḅombo* against "magic arrows" (N. *bān*, MT *kuldap*, etc.), i.e., curses and destructive charms being launched like projectiles.

(m) The trumpet (*kañliñ*) made of the thigh-bone of a "man-slayer" leopard, is identical with the Tibetan *rkañ-gliñ* also used by Tamang lamas. When one blows into it, the spirits and ghosts are believed to get terrified by its roaring sound and flee.

(n) The rosary of *rudrācche* berries is said to be used in certain divinations (which I never observed). It is not identical with the rosaries worn on the *ḅombo's* torso, to be described further below (pp. 69-70).

(o) The *ḅumba* (Tib. *bum-pa*, *che-bum*) is, actually at least, a *karuwā* (N.), a handleless jug of bell-metal, with a straight spout. It contains the holy water (*ḁupcyo*) and a few small copper

35 For the Thulung Rai, Mewahang Rai, Sunuwar, the Gurung of Gyasumdo cf. Allen 1976: 131 f.; Gaenzle (pers. communication); Fournier 1976: 107; and Mumford 1989: 122 f., respectively. – A rather remote parallel from outside the Himalayan area is provided by the Na-khi in China. According to Rock (1952, I: 250), the life god resides in a special basket for each family, and in this basket, "a black rock the size of a fist [...] represents indestructibility and unchangeableness and [...] the father of the Na-khi (human) race."

36 Stein 1962: 169-176. On the *dgra-lha* and *pho-lha* in the human body cf. Tucci 1970: 207 f.; on the *pho-lha* as ancestral and/or territorial divinities cf. Macdonald 1980: 207.

37 The rate at that time was six to nine Nepalese rupies, as already noted (p. 18^b). – *ladar* ? < Tib. **lha-bdar*, lit. 'god-fee'; cf. *skyel-bdar*, 'fee or reward given to an escort' (Jäschke 1949: 269). Provided with sacred symbols, such as Śiva's trident, etc., the coins are numinous objects likely to exercise some auspicious effect. It is for this reason that coins are kept in the drum, the jug for holy water or on the life-tree (s. pp. 68, 169).

38 On the Kānphaḁā ascetics who "become divinely intoxicated" by taking narcotic drugs cf., e.g., Briggs 1938: 153, 205, 347.

39 Similar rosaries of snake-spines are used in "necromancy and divination" in Tibet (Waddell 1959: 209).

coins; 2-3 twigs of the aromatic *Artemisia* plant, also serving as an aspergill, and some flowers stuck into it indicate its function as a source of life and purity (cf. fig. 8 and sections 25., 106.-107.). Some texts apostrophize the *bumba* as 'Mistress', i. e., goddess, but I could obtain no further information on this.⁴⁰

(p) The beak of the hornbill is the *Khyuñ*, the powerful mythic bird which is said to rake, with its giant beak, earth and sky, just like the *trisul* with its points. The *bombo* sends it out to discover the *doi nemba* (s. above p. 60) or to "tame" certain beings, above all those which "hide" beneath or behind some phenomena of the natural world, such as the aquatic monster *kharda*, or the spirits inhabiting stone, water, and steep rocky slopes (*dobon*, *chyubon*, *brá:bon*, s. section 22. and p. 110). – Tamang belief has no doubt drawn on the Tibetan *Khyuñ* which is - roughly speaking - an amalgam of the *khyuñ* of ancient Tibetan mythology and the Indian *Garuḍa*, the enemy of the *nāgas*, and which Aris calls "a vehicle of expulsion and combat".⁴¹

(q) The tortoise shell, called the *khyuñ*-support (*khyuñ.dəñ*), is not mentioned in the text, and was denied to be the manifestation or symbol of a divine entity. Its use must hang together with Indo-Tibetan cosmology in which the tortoise is the support of the world.⁴²

The drum

Michael Oppitz (1991: 84 f.) distinguishes between two basic types of shamanic drum in Nepal, namely (a) a one-membraned tamburine-like drum to be found in the Bheri river area or among the Kham Magar shamans and the Gurung *pajus*, and (b) the *ḍhyāṅgro*, a two-membraned drum with a handle, which is prevalent in the central and eastern parts of the country. The Tamang *bombo*'s drum is no doubt a variant of the latter type.

Considering the drum's extreme importance as a ritual implement, one cannot help being surprised to see how vague the information on the terminology and iconography of the carvings on its handle is. The captions in fig. 4 below render the identifications by SR only.

As Helffer (1983) points out, the *ḍhyāṅgro* drum of the Nepalese *jhākri* differs from the drum of the Tibetan lamas in that it has a handle in the shape of a ritual dagger.⁴³ Indeed, the handle of the Tamang *bombo*'s drum is a replica of what Huntington (1975: 6, 14) calls the "basic structure" of the Tibetan *phur-pa*. Suffice it to compare our fig. 4 b with plates 41-43 in Huntington to show the similarities. Thus, the *haha-ñhi* (4) corresponds to the three faces of the deity *Phur-pa* on the upper end of the handle of the dagger; the endless knot (10) is, in the Tibetans' interpretation, a symbol of the endlessness of the universe; the monster's head (6) is that of the marine monster

40 Tamang informants render *bumba* by N. *kalas* or *ghaṭa*, and it is worth noting that in Hinduism, this ceremonial vessel (*kalaśa*, *ghaṭa*, *kumbha*) symbolizes, among others, 'womb', 'cornucopia', and 'the presence of the goddess Durgā', as Slusser (1982, I: 352) summarizes with reference to Nepal. – In Tantric Buddhism, the sacramental jar, *kalaśa*, is the symbol of Buddha Wisdom. It should contain pure water, five kinds of medicaments (which remove afflictions), five types of grains (for a good harvest of virtue), and five types of gems (which fulfill all aspirations); the mouth of the jar is to be decorated with foliage (Snellgrove 1987: 223 ff.).

41 Aris 1980: 68-70; s. also Tucci 1949: 718 ff., and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 256-258. The "Naked Bird" of the Kham Magar shamans, which is said to root the earth and turn over stones in search of a lost soul, appears to be a remote relative of the Tamang *Khyuñ* (Oppitz 1986: 73 f., and de Sales 1985, I: 174 f., 186 f.).

42 Cf., e.g., Klaus 1985: 365 f., Tucci 1949: 711, 719 ff. on Tibet; and O'Flaherty 1986: 162, 275. Arole 1987 on India.

43 Tamang lamas in my fieldwork area use the same type of drum with the same handle.

makara from whose mouth issue both the three-edged blade of the dagger (7) and the entwined bodies of *nāgas* (17), the guardians of treasure.

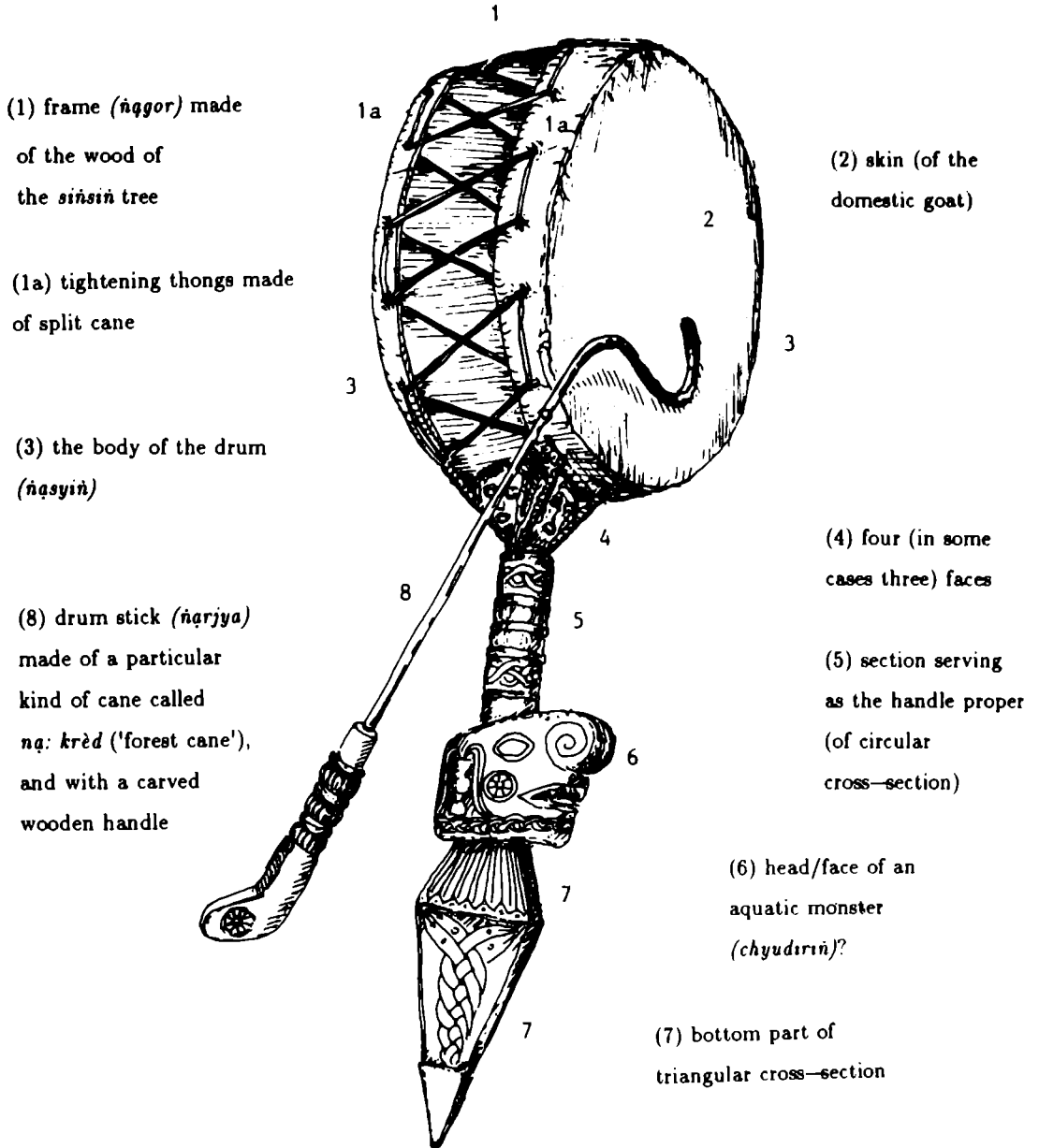
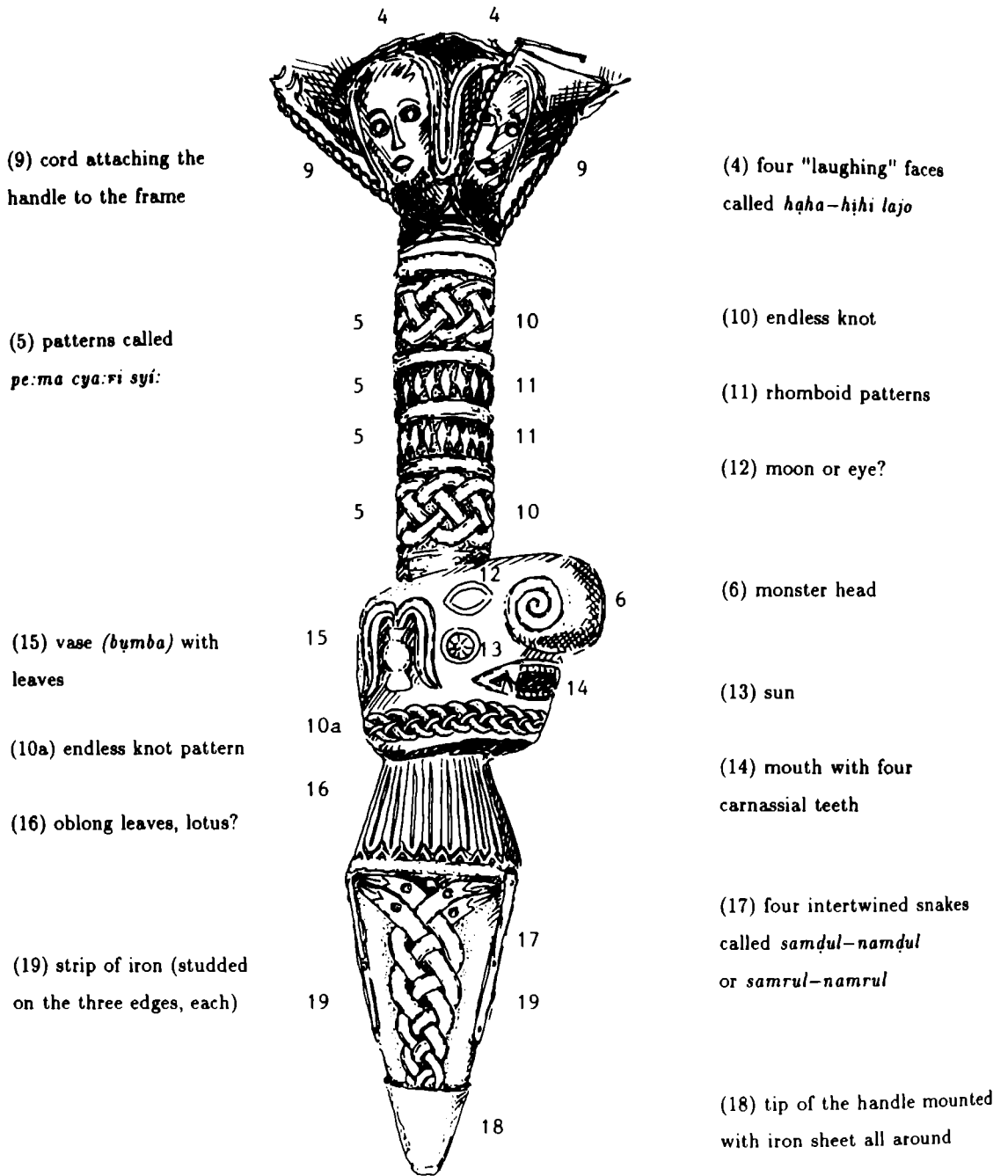


Fig. 4a. The drum (*ḥa*) with the drumstick. Lateral view.



(9) cord attaching the handle to the frame

(4) four "laughing" faces called *haha-hihi lajo*

(5) patterns called *pe:ma cya:ri syi:*

(10) endless knot

(11) rhomboid patterns

(12) moon or eye?

(15) vase (*bumba*) with leaves

(6) monster head

(10a) endless knot pattern

(13) sun

(16) oblong leaves, lotus?

(14) mouth with four carnassial teeth

(19) strip of iron (studded on the three edges, each)

(17) four intertwined snakes called *samdul-namdul* or *samrul-namrul*

(18) tip of the handle mounted with iron sheet all around

Fig. 4b. Carvings on the handle (*na.yu*) of the drum. Lateral view.

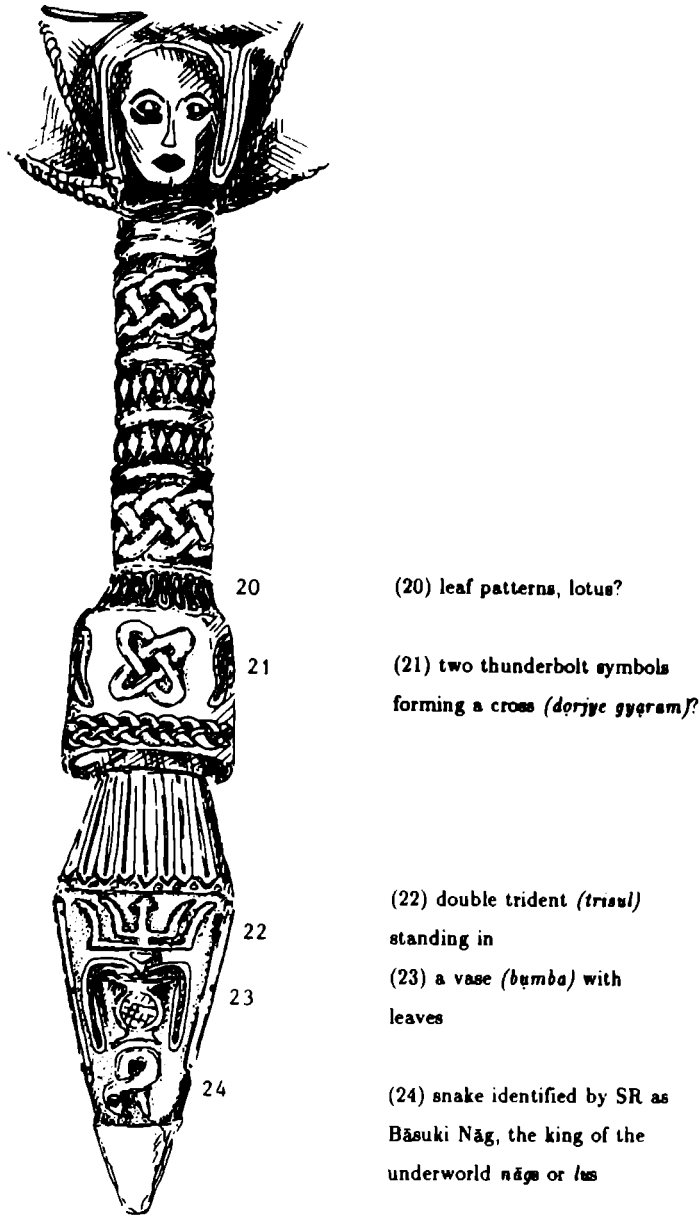


Fig. 4c. Carvings on the handle of the drum. Back view.

Notes on fig. 4 a, b, c: (1) The frame can also be made of the wood of the juniper tree. For the handle (*ḥq.yu* < Tib. *r̄na-yu*), the wood of juniper, prunus or *koirālo* (N.) (*Bauhinia* sp.) is preferred. The iron sheet for (18) and (19) is provided and fixed by the local Kāmi blacksmiths. Unlike what Oppitz (1981: 124 ff.) reports on the Kham Magar shamans, the manufacturing of a drum for the Tamang *bombo* requires no detailed ceremonies. – (3) By extension, the term *ḥaṣyiñ* also denotes the drum as a whole. – (6) OT *chyudiriñ* < Tib. *ḥhu-srin* = *makara*. Other informants interpreted the head, tentatively, as that of *Duṅsur Boṅ*, the First *Bombo*, or yet again as that of the mythic bird *Garuḍ*. – (8) *ḥarjya* < Tib. *r̄na-l̄cag*, 'kettle-drum stick' (Jäschke 1949: 133, 148). – (17) and (24) According to another informant, (17) = *Namḍul* alias *Bāsuki Nāg* "piercing the floor that separates the underworld from the upperworld", while (24) = *Samḍul*. In any case, (24) closely resembles the representation of *nāgs* on the religious "posters" the inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley paste on house facades on the occasion of the *Nāg Pañcami* festival. (No Tamang informant was aware of *Bāsuki/Vāsuki Nāga*'s role of serving as a cord for the Churning of the Milk Ocean in Indian mythology). – (21) might also be a simplified version of the Endless Noose (Tib. *dpal be'u*), one of "the eight auspicious emblems" of Northern Buddhism.

There is a terminological distinction with regard to the techniques of beating the drum: *ṭhòwai lajo rappa*, 'beating the violent (*ṭhòwai*) side', and *syiwai lajo rappa*, 'beating the mild or peaceful (*syiwai*) side'. The *bombo* says *ṭhòwai lajo rappa* when the monster's head points ahead, i.e., is turned away from his body; in this case, the membrane may be beaten, depending on the kind of the rite to be performed, either from in front on the violent side itself or from behind on the mild side. And the *bombo* says *syiwai lajo rappa* when the monster's head is turned towards his body; in this case, the membrane is beaten from in front on the mild side. Beating the violent side is necessary when the *bombo* wants to "round up" and/or expel spirits, while beating the mild side is resorted to for invoking gods or "coaxing" spirits, to put it in the shortest possible way.⁴⁴

As the text reveals, the drum is a divine being since it is apostrophized as *ṅasyiñ lamo*, lit. 'goddess drum body'; informants, by contrast, contented themselves with stressing that the drum is, temporarily, "inhabited" and "operated" by divine beings, such as those represented by the carvings on the handle. In addition to these carvings, the numinous power is also enhanced by what is kept between the two membranes, namely at least one "bead" from the *rudrācche* fruit, a few splinters of marblestone, and at least one Nepalese copper coin bearing auspicious symbols such as the trident, the sword, sun and moon, the characters *śrī*, etc. Informants did not fail to note the self-inducing effect the drumming can have on the drummer himself in that a powerful drumming is likely to enhance the drummer's (feeling of his own) power, or that a "mild" beating may influence the drummer's state of mind correspondingly. One may add that any more vigorous drumming necessarily entails a shaking of the drummer's torso with the bells and rattles on it (s. below), thus increasing the net acoustic output to a considerable extent. The incessant jingling and clanging must have a feedback to the drummer inasmuch as, subjectively, his energy consciously invested in handling the drum alone suffices to create an orchestral effect.

Yet the drum is much more than just a percussion instrument. The aforementioned articles kept inside it produce a characteristic rattling sound when the drum is agitated, and the *bombo* can also exploit the effect of resonance created when he sings "into the drum", keeping his face close to the membrane. The drum also fulfils several non-acoustic functions. It serves as a "sensor" and "collector". Thus, by sniffing at the tip of handle, which has been brought into contact with a heap of "divination rice" (s. pp. 159-160) the *bombo* can both identify the person who deposited the heap of rice on the altar, on the one hand, and detect the causes of this person's trouble, on the other. And it is on the membrane held out in a horizontal position that the *bombo* collects certain vital substances, such as the *che*: or *waṅgur*, to be transferred as a kind of blessing to the patient (cf. pp. 246 f.). Finally, the drum is used as an offensive and/or protective weapon. Stabbing with the tip of the handle into the ground or towards the body of the patient frightens or "nails down" harmful agents⁴⁵; when laid on the floor in front of the patient, the drum prevents the harmful agent just expelled from returning into the victim; and when used like a hammer, it crushes the harmful agent, etc.

44 *ṭhòwai/syiwai lajo* < Tib. *khro-ba' i/ṣi-ba' i lha-chogs*, lit. '(the side with) the group of wrathful/peaceful gods'. (As is well known, the "wrathful-peaceful" dichotomy is a pervading feature of Indo-Tibetan pantheon and ritual). – Helffer (1983: 68) mentions four different categories of drums used for different rituals in Tibet: for acts classified as "peaceful", "of prosperity", "of submission" and "terrifying". In some instances, one and the same drum may also be used for different acts: acts of propitiation and protection require its being beaten from ahead and towards the drummer, while acts of expulsion and "execution" require its being beaten from behind (Helffer 1983: 72).

45 The handle of the drum, itself a replica of the Tibetan ritual dagger, makes the *phurba* superfluous: I have never seen a *bombo* using his dagger otherwise than by just keeping it on the altar.

“Ornaments of the gods”⁴⁶

The ceremonial robe, *jāmā* (N.), with long sleeves, and reaching down to the ankles consists, ideally at least, of nine pieces of usually white⁴⁷ cloth stitched together and measuring altogether nine *hāt* (N., a length from elbow to finger tips).

In some ritual texts, the compound *raḷbo-gomdo* is used to denote the total of insignia which are worn above or over the robe, and which distinguish the *ḷombo* from other specialists and the laymen: (a) *raḷbo* refers to his long hairlock and also includes, according to one informant, (b) a specific tuft of ribbons, MT *krassu phūnda*, on the *ḷombo*'s back; while *gomdo* refers to what in MT is called *phrèḅma gyāram*, lit. 'rosaries (worn) crosswise', namely both (c) the rosaries proper, *phrèḅma*, and (d) the straps with bells, *syāḅsyāḅ rōlmo*, on the *ḷombo*'s torso. The term *gomdo* appears to derive from Tib. *sgom-thag*, lit. 'meditation cord', which reveals a part of the present function of these rosaries.⁴⁸

(a) The long hairlock, *raḷbo*, an extension of the “pigtail” (MT *brōḅdo*, N. *tupi*) and ideally never trimmed, lends the *ḷombo* exceptional power and is said to serve as a kind of ladder for the various superhuman beings entering the *ḷombo*'s body. It also connotes, however vaguely, a feminine aspect inherent in his personality: once uncoiled it can “irritate” or “mislead” Lasya, the First Witch, who is likely to mistake the *ḷombo* for a woman or even a witch.⁴⁹

(b) The *krassu phūnda*⁵⁰ is a bunch of long ribbons ending in tassels of different colours, which the *ḷombo* usually fastens to his rosaries at the point where the latter intersect one another on his back (cf. plate 6). Inasmuch as some *ḷombos* are said to tie it into their hair, it might perhaps be regarded as a kind of extension of the long hairlock, *raḷbo*, and as to its actual function, informants pointed to the protective amulet attached to one of the ribbons. This amulet, a piece of paper with a charm written by the lama and sewn into a small bag, is called *cya:gi gōsum*, a term which was rendered, in this context, by 'iron protection'; *gōsum* is apparently Tib. *sgo-gsum*, lit. 'the three doors' equated to body, speech and mind as the three media of moral activity (s., e.g., Schwieger 1978: 98 f., and Rigzin 1986: 233, 236).

On the *ḷombo*'s chest and back, two rosaries, *phrèḅma*, and two straps or chains with small bells and metal rattles, *syāḅsyāḅ rōlmo*, are worn crosswise and in such a way that one rosary and one bell-strap reach from the left shoulder to the right hip, while the other pair reach from the right shoulder to the left hip (s. plates 6 and 7).

(c) The rosaries consist of strings of the berries of the *rudrācche*⁵¹ tree; occasionally the *ḷombo* also wears two separate strings with the black berries of the soapnut tree (N. *riṭṭho*)⁵² or combines the two kinds of berries in two rosaries. The depressions on the surface of the *rudrācche* berries are called *mukh* (N.), lit. 'face' or 'mouth', and their number determines

46 For the following cf. also section 16. with the annotations.

47 In contrast to the Eastern Tamang shamans wearing white robes only, the Western Tamang *jāmā* can have any colour, except for red, as I was told.

48 *sgom-thag* is “a long piece of cloth [...] which is worn by the Yogi when he sits in meditation; it is stretched round the neck and under the knees [...]. [...] Buddhist ascetics used to wear it in the manner the sacred thread is worn by the Brāhmins, passing round the right shoulder to the side below the arm-pit”, as glossed by Das (1970: 326 f.); cf. also Wayman 1973: 121 f.

49 As Gaborieau (1969: 31) points out, the N. expression *jhākro phijāunu* means both 'to uncoil the long hairlock of the *jhākri*', on the one hand, and 'to untie one's hair(knot, etc.)', of a woman who is a witch or is in a state of possession, on the other.

50 Literally 'braid of hair' and 'tuft'. It is also called *siṅga gyāle* or *gyābdoll/gyābdal* < MT *gyāb*, 'back', and informants stressed its resembling the dorsal ribbons on one of the lamas special headgear with the images of the five so-called Dhyāni Buddhas.

51 N. *rudrācche* < *rudrākṣa* = *Eleocarpus ganitrus*, or according to Shrestha (1984: 67), *Eleocarpus sphaericus* K. Schum. – The same rosary is also attested in Tibet, especially among the followers of the Old Sect (Waddell 1959: 208 f.)

52 S. section 16.140 note, however.

the efficiency of the bead, the one-faced ones being the most valued. According to a bombo informant, a rosary should contain an odd number of over 100 beads which fill out a measuring vessel of one *pāthi* (approx. 4.36 litres) and among which there is at least one one-faced bead associated with the atmosphere, one three-faced bead associated with the four (sic!) corners, and one five-faced bead associated with the underworld, etc. Other bombos give other recipes for the ideal composition, but there is some agreement that different beads must be “activated” for dealing with different spheres and/or classes of superhuman beings, and that it is by “counting” the beads that the bombo gets prophetic insight while pondering (*gomba*) in a kind of meditation, or can mobilize (conjure up) certain divinities for help.⁵³

(d) The small bells of the *syānsyañ rōlmo* resemble the bells hanging in Hindu or Newar-Buddhist shrines, and are said to fulfill a similar function, namely to invoke and please the gods. They can be interspersed with rattles of different sizes, made of copper or brass sheet, as well as yak-bells and one or two metal disks called *mēloñ* (s. plate 7, and for the term *mēloñ* p. 62 above).

“If the altar forms a world, the costume of the bombo forms a being”, as Holmberg remarks (1980: 302). Indeed, the whole apparel – his long hairlock, robe, rosaries, bell-strings and the tuft on his back – are identified as “ornaments of the gods” with whom he has to deal, and one informant compared the bombo in his ceremonial dress with the images of the gods provided with jewels and ornaments, as one can see in the temples. Not only do these ornaments protect the bombo’s body or “open” his senses for what is normally invisible and inaudible, but they also enhance, as it were, his personality in approximating it to that of the gods, in particular to that of his *phamo* who is one of the Four Primordial Bōns. The same concept, albeit at a higher level of philosophical sophistication, prevails in Tantrism. Suffice it to quote Wayman writing on the connection between the “five ornaments” (belt, necklace, bracelet, etc.) and the “five kinds of knowledge”: when the adept meditatively generates himself into a god or goddess, the respective ornaments associated with the latter as their attributes are to appear on his person. This is why Tantric theory regards these ornaments as “seals” (Wayman 1973: 120 ff.).

Let us briefly note in concluding that the apparel of the Tamang bombo also indicates the direction in which one of the sources of the tradition of Nepalese “*jhākri*sm” in general could be sought by future research.⁵⁴ With a certain degree of variation, the *jhākri* shares his “ornaments of the gods” with a number of other specialists who are in a sense marginal: ascetics, exorcists and artists, the latter often of low-caste affiliation. Thus, the long hairlock and the rosary of *rudrācche* beads, both common to *jhākris* in Nepal, might have derived, ultimately and indirectly, from Shaiva asceticism.⁵⁵ Suffice it here to refer to the “topknot” of Śiva⁵⁶ in his representations as

53 For ‘to count’, the bombo uses the Nepali expression *mālā japnu*, ‘to tell one’s beads’, from *japnu* which Turner (1965: 208) glosses as ‘to mutter the name of a god or a religious formula repeatedly’. – On similar practices among the *jhākris* of Far Western Nepal cf. Maskarinec 1990: 163 f. On the Tibetan technique of “telling one’s beads” cf. Waddell 1959: 209 f.

54 I hope to come back to this in a separate publication.

55 The relationship between shamanism and the Kānpaṭā ascetics in South Asia was already noted by Eliade (1969: 306 f., 311 ff.). – The healer-renouncers associated with the syncretic Kataragama cult in Sri Lanka provide a particularly interesting example of a combination of asceticism with ecstatic practices closely reminiscent of shamanism (cf. Obeyesekere 1981).

56 On the “topknot” and Śiva’s specific hairdress, the *jaṭāmukūṭa* cf. Kreisel 1987. On the origin and meaning of the *uṣṇīṣa* in Buddhism cf. Getty 1962: 198 f. – Unlike the *jaṭā* which means ‘a chignon of matted hair’, the bombo’s *raḷbo* is only twisted (and then worn in a coil on top of his head) but never matted. T. *raḷbo* < Tib. *ral-pa* for which the dictionaries give ‘long hair’, ‘mane’, but which also occurs in *lčān-lo ral-pa*, a synonym of Skt. *jaṭā*. – On the long hairlock, *laṭṭā*, of the medium *dhāmi* in Far Western Nepal cf. Gaborieau 1969 and Levine 1989. The *laṭṭā* (Levine *ibid.*: 13, renders the term by “rope of hair”) serves, once uncoiled, as the entry of the god into the body of the medium. just as is the case with the bombo’s *raḷbo*.

an ascetic, or to the *rudrākṣa* rosaries⁵⁷ worn by Śiva himself and Shaiva ascetics. Again, the long white robe as a ceremonial dress, small bells attached to the strap of their drum among the bards of Kumaon and Far Western Nepal – whose tradition and practices are firmly rooted in Shaiva asceticism, and some of whom also act as exorcists inducing possession in secondary mediums – are reminiscent of the *jhākri*'s robe and bell-strings respectively.⁵⁸

57 Interestingly, the *rudrācche* rosary as such is not mentioned in our text (cf. section 16.). For a more detailed description of meaning and function of the *rudrākṣa* rosary as used among the Kānpṭhā ascetics cf., e.g., Briggs 1938: 198 f.: The 108 berries correspond to the successive appearances of Śiva on earth; or the 84 (= 7 x 12) beads stand for the seven planets and the 12 signs of the Zodiac, etc.

58 Cf. the excellent analyses by Gaborieau 1975 and 1977. – Tibetan *shags-pa* exorcists are also reported to don a white garment (Tucci 1970: 153). – The long white robe of the Newar dancers impersonating Nawa Durgā is also called *jāmā* (Toffin 1984: 469).

1. – 7. Invoking the *Māi*.

The first seven sections in Nepali focus on the Mother Goddess, her male consort Mahādev, and their various local manifestations or subordinates within a wider frame of reference such as provided by classical Hindu mythology and cosmology. The text abounds in enumerations of divine beings, sanctuaries and other numinous entities, and this “luxury of nomenclature” is afforded to achieve completeness or exhaustiveness. Various means are exploited to this end: numbers (five, seven, nine) to cover totalities; paronymy to stress “correspondences”; obviously fictive reduplications or echo-names (Thā-Thākāli Māi, Gubhā-Gubhāju) to hint at something like the essentially dual nature of the divine; and a personal name (Dhan Kumāri) or a term denoting a ritual specialist (*gubhāju*) is metamorphosed into that of a god; etc.

The goddesses invoked in these sections are apostrophized as *māi*, *kanyā*, *kumāri*, *nau durgā*, *dewi* or *ajimā*, and collectively referred to as Yembui Mān or Nepāli Bhut, lit. ‘Spirit of the Kathmandu Valley’. They appear to correspond to what Slusser (1982: 322 f.) calls the “collective Durgā” in the pantheon of the Kathmandu Valley. This “collective Durgā” comprises a number of divinities of both Indian and local origin, known as the *mātrikā* (*māṭṛkā*, *aṣṭamāṭṛkā*), *māi*, *ajimā*, *kumāri*, *kaumāri* (the latter often confounded with *kumāri*), *bhairawī*, etc. and all treated as personifications of the Mother Goddess Durgā or Kālī or Cāmuṇḍā, etc. “The cults and practices associated with the collective Durgā are inextricably mingled with [...] the cult of [...] the indigenous *māis* and *ajimās*, the terrifying manifestations of the Buddhist Tārā, the personification of smallpox as Sītālā/Hāritī, and the various *yoginīs* and *ḍākinīs*. Like them, the collective Durgā is also fused with the Bhairava cult” (Slusser 1982: 323), Bhairava being the male consort of some of these goddesses. Many mother goddesses are “considered at once personifications of the disease itself, the causes of it, and, if properly propitiated, the ones to take it away” (Slusser 1982: 328).

Our text apostrophizes the Spirit(s) of the Kathmandu Valley as ‘mother’ (*māi*, *māiju*) or ‘virgin’ (*kanyā*, *kumāri*). This distinction, so important in the Hindu world,¹ has a less elaborate conceptualization among the Tamang. As a bombo informant put it, these goddesses are ambivalent and arbitrary in their dealing with humans, since as mothers, they can also be partial, whimsical or overprotecting, just as some human mothers, while as virgins, they may also act inhumanely thanks to their excessive energy and the envy they feel at the sight of a happy mother.² Mothers or virgins, they are invoked both for assuming guardianship over small children, and exorcized as beings whose activity is likened to that of witches.³ To a certain extent, these *māis* appear as “foreign intruders in Tamang country”, who are to be escorted back to their respective shrines in the Kathmandu Valley (sections 99.-101.), and their being

1 On the two basic aspects of the Goddess: the carnivorous virgin/warrior/guardian of the realm *versus* wife/mother/mediator between her husband and the devotees, etc. cf. the excellent summary by Biardeau (1981: 144-149 ff.) with regard to India. (As G.D. Sontheimer informs me, Biardeau’s dichotomy is not applicable to Indian folk-religion). On the *māṭṛkās* in Indian mythology cf. Kinsley 1988: chapter 10; on the distinction between “virgin” and “mother” in the sociological context in India cf. Khare 1983. – In the Kathmandu Valley, the distinction “virgin” versus “mother” is less clear-cut (Slusser 1982: 311, 316, 321, 334 ff.); many mother goddesses are carnivorous and rather malevolently disposed towards man, or they assume both negative and positive functions. Thus, the *aṣṭamāṭṛkās* (often identified with the *ajimās* and Nava Durgā) protect the territory and preside over illnesses (Slusser 1982: 322 ff., 328 ff.; and Toffin 1984: 457 ff., 463, 478 ff., 482).

2 In Newar belief, Ajimā (Sītālā/Hāritī) was in her previous life an ogress devouring her own children; later she became the mother of the Buddha (Coon 1989: 1, 4). This is a variant of the Indian legend of Hāritī, ‘The Rapacious One’, who as a virgin is plagued by hunger for children (s. Getty 1962: 84 ff.).

3 The *māis* can also turn humans, especially women, into witches. – In the Kathmandu Valley, two of the mother goddesses, namely Sobhā Bhagwati and Mhaipi Ajimā are known as the goddesses of witchcraft (Slusser 1982: 334; and Nepali 1965: 309 f.).

labelled as 'spirits' (MT *mān*, N. *bhut*) suggests that it is their negative aspect which stands in the foreground for the Tamang.⁴

It is against the background of the *māis*' ambivalence that one can try to understand their treatment by the *ḅombo*. Having a command of the specific ritual techniques required, the *ḅombo* is the specialist *sui generis*⁵ to deal with this ambivalence, that is, to ad-identify himself (s. pp. 27-29) to the *māis* in order to exploit their powers for the good cause and to control them through these very powers of theirs. The process is an intricate one, and the text allows for two interpretations which do not necessarily exclude each other: on the one hand, each *māi* invoked should help the *ḅombo* in activating all other *māis*; on the other hand, these "other *māis*" are just different names and forms of the one actually invoked.

The key-verb employed in these sections is *calāunu* which can be rendered, depending on the context, (a) by 'to set in motion' = 'to activate' the agents considered helpful and/or harmful so that they disclose their identity or become manifest and thus tractable for the *ḅombo*; and (b) by 'to move away', 'to leave', as in the honorific idiom *sawāri calāunu*, for example. Another important verb is *khelnu*, lit. 'to play'. If used in reference to a superhuman being, this verb conveys the meaning 'to be active', 'to romp', 'to bustle about' – as do, e.g., goblins, such as the *bir* or the *masān* haunting certain places. *khelnu* connotes (a) an activity which from the human viewpoint appears arbitrary or even gratuitous, but which at the same time implies a 'controlling', or 'ruling over', a place or a person.⁶ This part of the recitation is not only to mobilize, but also to let the *ḅombo* have close contact with what he has mobilized: he wants his body to be "mounted" by the *Māi* (s. 2.32 note), and he also wants everything (spirits, illnesses, constellations) that is likely to do harm to the patient, to be "brought" to him or near him so that he may identify and influence⁷ it accordingly. The verb employed for this is *lyāunu* with its absolutes, such as *garilyāunu* (*garileunu* in the *ḅombo*'s pronunciation), etc.

The *ḅombo*'s dealing with the *māis* during the ritual as a whole includes the following steps:

(a) He sets about the process in section 2.19.-21 where he identifies himself with the mythic shaman couple Sun Jhākri, according to extra-textual evidence, that is, the informants' comment. The text itself is not unequivocal because we cannot decide whether the word *jhākri* [= *ḅombo*] in 2.20 refers to the mythic shaman in 2.19 or to the officiating human *ḅombo* or to both of them. All we have in support of the above-mentioned comment is a double parallelism constituted by the twofold occurrence of 'gold/golden' in the text, on the one hand, and by the (indexical) congruence between what the recitation describes and what the *ḅombo* is actually carrying out. In other words, the 'golden (*sun-ko*) drum' can refer to both, the Sun (*sun* = gold) Jhākri couple's

4 The relatively harsh treatment of the *māis* by the *ḅombo*, coming next to that of the evil spirits and ghosts, seems to contrast with Hindu (and Buddhist) devotion. As to the latter, Kondos (1985: 244 f.) stresses that "[...] although Devi is understood as the source of the destructive power, she is not identified as the one who is exactly 'responsible' for inflicting the disease", since "Hindu speculations posit that a range of factors impinge on the matter of what we would call 'innocence' or 'responsibility'". – As Levy notes, the dangerous Nine Durgās (Nau Durgā) of Bhaktapur "kill people not because of their 'sins' or violations of the *dharmā*, but simply because of accidental encounters", and "are brought under control not through ordinary moral action nor [...] devotion, but by an act of power, the Tantric *mantra* [...]". At the same time, they "are responsible for the *protection* of the traditional ritual and moral life, although they are beyond morality themselves. They are ambivalently made use of when that moral order is threatened [...]" (Levy 1990: 506, 574, respectively).

5 Recently, Toffin (1990) has stressed an intimate link between female divinities and shamans among the sino-tibetophone ethnic minorities in Central and Eastern Nepal. He hypothesizes, i.a., that as a consequence of Hinduization, shamanism among these groups must have undergone a marginalisation to the effect that "d'êtres polyvalents au départ, les chamanes se seraient en somme progressivement spécialisés dans la face nocturne et féminine de l'univers [...]" (Toffin 1990: 182-183 ff.).

6 Seeing this double meaning, I have preferred to render, invariably, *khelnu* by 'to play', and its factitive form *khelāunu* by 'to make play'. – Cf. also Höfer and Shrestha 1973: 57.

7 For the same ritual technique, I heard a Jaisi exorcist and a *jhākri* of the Kāmi caste using the expression [*phnu*] *pāsmā pārnu*, approx. 'to cause to be near oneself/to be in one's company'.

drum and the officiating *ḥombbo*'s drum; and, similarly, the 'uncoiling the hairlock' + 'putting on the bell-strings' can refer to both the Sun Jhākri's mythic activity and the officiating *ḥombbo*'s actual activity (s. below pp. 105 and 277-279). Again, when the Māi is asked to 'make play' and 'set in motion' the drum and the drumstick in 2.20-21, the text leaves it to the listener to decide whose drum is meant, and whether or not the passage alludes to a double ad-identification: *ḥombbo* ≡ Sun Jhākri ≡ Māi.

(b) The next step is less allusive, even though not free from ambiguity. The *ḥombbo* now conjures the Māi to have "close contact" with his own and the woman patient's body:

"... sit on (my) shoulders, mount (my) head!" (2.32);

"... mount my shoulders, mount my head!" (5.58); and

"... bring the soul, ... awaken and bring the flower, ... the nine veins of this mother (= patient) O Māi!" (3.38).

Mounting one's head and shoulders is suggestive of a heightening of the body or an enhancement of the personality of the *ḥombbo* by the divine agent (informants cited as an example the Tamang lama's ceremonial headgear with images of the so-called Dhyāni Buddhas), and implies a hierarchical symbiosis, a dominance⁸ and protection of the "mounted" by the "mounting" one (s. 2.32 note). However, both the text and the *ḥombbos*' explanation confirm that the dominance by the Māi is striven for just to be finally enabled to dominate her, and that the protection by the Māi is to be ultimately reversed into a protection *from* her. The underlying idea is, here again, that this kind of close, bodily contact is required because "you cannot come to terms with somebody who is distant and aloof", i.e., it is only by making the Māi a partner in interaction that the *ḥombbo* can have a chance of controlling her. (Money-lenders and power-hungry village leaders follow the same strategy when casting the net of their intrigues over potential clients).

(c) It must be borne in mind that the 'mounting one's head/shoulders' (*sir/kum carḥnu*) neither means nor entails what we would call a state of possession. The expression for the latter is *āṅgmā carḥnu*, lit. 'to mount the back (of the medium)',⁹ and the transition from "being mounted on the head/shoulders" to "being mounted on the back" will take place in the oracle (sections 93.-96.) when the Māi (one of her personifications) speaks through the mouth of the *ḥombbo*.¹⁰

(d) Finally, the process of de-identification towards the end of the ritual (sections 99.-101.) is preceded by a reassertion of the double ad-identification to the Sun Jhākri and the Māi. Only thus – in assuming the power of the Māi and using it against her – does the *ḥombbo* seem to be enabled to separate the Māi, first, from the patient and then from himself, and to escort her back to the respective cult places of her manifestations in the Kathmandu Valley...

*

After invoking Mahāḍew (Mahāguru), the *ḥombbo* takes a few grains of husked rice (N. *achetā*) into his fist, blows a mantra on to them (cf. p. 59) and throws a portion, each, on to his body (starting with the head, then continuing with shoulders, back and legs), on to the altar, his ritual implements, and finally on to the patient and her family members. This is a measure to "bind", i.e., to protect himself and all that is going to be focussed on as a place, as a means or as an object of the ritual.

8 Cf. also the N. expression *sirmā rākhnu*, lit. 'to put on the head', for 'to honour a person (guest, etc.) by making him seated in a place that is likely to confirm his pre-eminence'. – The divinity mounting one's head is reminiscent of the practice of the Kānpaṭā ascetics carrying a miniature image of Gorakhnāth on their heads when going on pilgrimage (Unbescheid 1980: 50 f., 79-81).

9 Cf., however, pp. 27 f.

10 Compare the divination (sections 46.-49.) where no such ad-identification occurs, and the *ḥombbo* is just describing what he himself experiences as a vision. – On the problem of possession during the oracle cf. also pp. 227-228.

1.

1 Om Mahāguru!

[Whistle]

hōi, Om Mahāguru, om Mahāguru!
phoṭṭ!, phoṭṭ!

[The *achetā* is being thrown]

a-a-a-a-a-a-a,

5 hare, khelāu na Māi, calāu na Māi!,
hare, mere guru calāu na Māi!,
hare, ākāsa[mā] Nau Kanne Sarasoti, pattāla[mā] Sāt Kanne Sarasoti,
hare, Dhanasri Mahā Dew, Buddhasri Mahā Dew,
hare, nau tala [tale] ākāsa[mā] utpanna hunubho [hunubhayo],
10 hare, utpanna bhaeko,
hare Māi!,
hare, pattāla sāt dharti[mā] utpatti hunubho,
hare Māi!,
hare Candra, Surje, Mahā Dew!,
15 hare Māi!,
hare Bāsuki Nāga, Rām, Lacchiman, Mahā Dew!,
hare Sri Krisna, Mahā Dew!
hare, uttara Kailāsa[mā] utpatti hunubho.

*

1 *Om Mahāguru!*

[Whistle]

hōi! *Om Mahāguru, om Mahāguru!*
phoṭṭ!, phoṭṭ!

a-a-a-a-a-a-a,

5 *hail, do make play O Māi, do set in motion O Māi!,*
hail, do set in motion my gurus O Māi!,
hail, Nau Kanne Sarasoti [in] the heavens, Nau Kanne Sarasoti
[in] the underworld,
hail, Dhanasri Mahā Dew, Buddhasri Mahā Dew,
hail, (you who) originated [in] the nine-storeyed heavens,
10 *hail, originated,*
hail O Māi!,
hail, originated [in] the underworld (consisting of) seven earths,
hail O Māi!,
hail O Moon, Sun, Mahā Dew!,
15 *hail O Māi!,*
hail O Bāsuki Nāg, Rām, Lacchiman, Mahā Dew!,
hail O Sri Krisna, Mahā Dew!,
(you who) originated [on] Kailās in the north.

Notes:

- 1: **Om Mahāguru, Mahādew/Śiva** as the divine tutelary of all **ḥombos**, and the subsequent whistle may indicate that the Mahādew is being identified with the mythic shaman, the Sun Jhākri, who is mute and can only communicate by means of whistles (s. below 2.19).
- 3: **phoṭṭ** ? < Skt. *phaṭ*, the syllable as used in mantras, also in Tibet (cf. Das 1970: 819 f.). The **ḥombo** utters it with the intent of “making definite” the effect of his magic acts, here the protective “binding” (s. above).
- 5: **hare** is used here as a formula of invocation, not as an exclamation of distress or pity.
- 6: **mere** < Hindi plural of *merā*, ‘my’. The **ḥombo** addresses all divinities to be invoked here as his gurus. The word **guru** fulfils the same honorific function here as the address *phamo* in the Tamang parts of the text (s. pp. 22 ff., 88).
- 7: **Nau Kanne Sarasoti**, lit. ‘Nine Virgins (kane = *kanyā*) Saraswati (Sarasvatī)’. Possibly contaminated by *Nau Durgā*. In the Kathmandu Valley, Saraswati, the goddess of eloquence and learning, is represented as the daughter and the virgin aspect of *Durgā* (Slusser 1982: 231).
- 8: **Dhanasri** ? < *Dhaneswar Mahādew* (whose famous sanctuary lies in Panauti, outside the Kathmandu Valley). **Buddhasri** = ? the Buddha, contaminated by “Dhanasri”?
- 14: **Candra, Surje** = Moon and Sun, meant as divinities or as epithets of Mahādew (one of whose iconographical attributes is the crescent worn in his hair)?
- 16: **Bāsuki** (Vāsuki) Nāg, representing, here, the subterranean/aquatic sphere in contrast to the heavens with the Sun and Moon. Cf. also p. 67. In the Kathmandu Valley, Vāsuki is associated with the cult of Mahādew and has a shrine in the Paśupatiṅāth temple area (Lévi 1905, I: 323 f.; Slusser 1982: 358).
- **Lacchiman** = *Lakṣmaṇa*, the younger brother of the epic hero *Rāma*.
- 17: **Sri Krisna** = Śrī Kṛṣṇa; the word *śrī* sounds [sri] or [siri] or yet again [jiri] in the pronunciation of Nepali by the Tamang.
- 18: **Kailās**, the mount *Kailāśa*, the abode of Mahādew (and also of the dead, cf. Tucci 1971: 549).

2.

- 20 hare Suna Jhākri, Suna Jhākri, Jhākriṅi!,
 hare, jhākri laṭṭā phijāi, ghāgro-mālā laḡai, eka hāta
 sunako ḡamburu, eka hāta rupako [rupaulo?] gaju [gajā],
 hare, khelāikana calāu na Māi!,
 gailo bāna, cakra bāna, kharga bāna, tirsula bāna,
 Bhuktinātha, Bhuktichetra, Sorga Parpāta, Sorga Ānanda Prakāra,
 Ānanda Parpāt,
 hare, khelāu na Māi!,
 25 hare, dharti[mā?] Parlād utpatti hunubho,
 hare, calāu na Māi!,
 hare, Satte Nārāyan[ko] pālo[mā] utpatti hunubho, Pirthi Nārāyan[ko]
 pālo[mā] utpatti hunubho,
 hare, merai sunai partābi [partāb?],
 hare, yasai jananiko disāri (=?).
 30 hare, liibaithau, baiṭhau, chattisa jāta, cār barna[ko] Dukkhini Rājā,
 Dukkhini Rāni calāu na Māi!,
 hare, cārai siddha, cārai nisān, bāra siddha, bāra Maṅṭhāli Māi,
 hare, kumai baiṭhau, sirai caṅhiāu!,
 hare Māi!,
 hare, cilāune[ko] phedmā utpanna bhaeko Kallen Dhāmi, Sikāri Māi,
 35 hare, calāu, ho!, Māi, ākāsa nau talā khelāu na Māi,
 pattāla sāt talā calāu na Māi, pattāla, dharti khelāu na Māi!.

hare, dharti ḡagāileu Māi, Yendrai [Indrai] dhasi phoṛileu na Māi!,
hare, sāttai gaṅgā, sāt samundra phoṛi, jalāi, phoṛileu Māi!

*

- Hail O Sun Jhākri, Sun Jhākri, [Sun] Jhākrini!*
- 20 *hail, uncoil the jhākri-hairlock, put on the bell-string, and
(make play) the golden ḡamaru [with] the one hand,
the silver-like (?) drumstick [with] the other hand,
hail, make (them) play, do set in motion O Māi,
hail, the magic gailo-arrow (?), the whirling magic arrow,
the magic sword-arrow, the magic trisul-arrow,
Bhuktināth, Bhuktichetra, Sorga Parpāt, Sorga Ānanda Prakāra,
Ānanda Parpāt,
hail, do make them play O Māi!,*
- 25 *hail, Parlād originated [in] the earth,
hail, do set (him?) in motion O Māi!,
hail, (you who?) originated [in] the time [of] Satte Nārāyan,
originated [in] the time [of] Pirthi Nārāyan,
hail, my glory (?) of pure gold,
hail, the disāri (=?) of this mother,*
- 30 *hail, take (?) and sit, sit (on my shoulders?) (and)
do set in motion the Dukkhini Rājā, the Dukkhini Rāni
[of] the thirty-six castes, the four classes O Māi!,
hail, all the four siddhas, all the four flags, the twelve
siddhas, the twelve Maṅṭhāli Māi,
hail, sit on (my) shoulders, mount (my) head!,
hail O Māi!,
hail, Kallen Dhāmi who originated at the foot [of] a cilāune
(tree) (and) Sikāri Māi,*
- 35 *hail, do set (them) in motion, ho!, O Māi, do
make the nine storeys [of] the heavens play O Māi, do set
in motion the seven storeys [of] the underworld,
do make the underworld (and) the earth play O Māi!,
hail, make the earth quake and bring it, pierce the entire
(abode of) Indra, do break open and bring it O Māi!,
hail, break open, burn, break open and bring all the seven
rivers, the seven oceans O Māi!*

Notes:

19: **Sun Jhākri/Jhākrini** are said to be identical with the Ban Jhākri couple of Indo-Nepalese belief. They are of dwarf-like stature, live in the forest, their shamanic implements and dress are of pure gold (sun); Sun Jhākri, who is dumb, is believed to capture men to train them as jhākris. Here they are obviously referred to as a kind of proto-jhākris or archetypal gurus with whom the officiating bombo identifies himself as their adept and or spiritual descendant (cf. above p. 73 f.). In a myth recorded by Macdonald (1976: 316, 321 f.) in Darjeeling, the *ban jhākri* is referred to as a devotee and shamanic pupil of Mahā Dew. On the *ban jhākri* (lit. 'forest shaman') in eastern Central Nepal cf. Miller 1979: 16, 146 f., 156 ff.

20: **ḡamburu** = ḡamaru, the two-membraned drum operated with pellets on strings, instead of a drumstick, is one of the iconographical attributes of Mahā Dew, the divine ascetic and – in the present context – the

- supreme guru of the Sun Jhākri and all other jhākris. Hence the obvious equation of the bōmbo's drum (called dhyāngro) with the damaru.
- **laṭṭā** = MT rābo, the bōmbo's hairlock, cf. pp. 69-70.
 - **ghāgro-mālā**, for the straps or strings with bells (T. syānsyañ rōlmo, s. pp. 69-70) worn on the bōmbo's torso. ghāgro- ? < ghāro, 'bell tied on an animal's neck'; -mālā, lit. 'garland', 'rosary'.
- 21: The apokoinou, as manifest in the position of khelāikana ('make play and'), suggests that it is the Māi who activates both the bōmbo ≡ Sun Jhākri and the various "arrows" at the same time.
- 22: **bāna** = bān is likened to an "arrow" and is to be understood as a magic projectile, that is, the (material or immaterial) vehicle of a curse, a spell or other harmful influence. (Because of conceptual similarities, I preferred to render certain Tamang terms by 'arrow', too).
- 23: **Bhuktināth(a)** = ? Muktināth, the famous Hindu-Buddhist sanctuary in Western Nepal. Cf. 88.771 where we have Muktināth, instead of Bhuktināth. Note that in Hindu thought the terms mukti ('final liberation') and bhukti ('enjoyment') constitute a pair.
- **Sorga Parpāt(a)** ? < Swarga, 'Heavens', 'Paradise', + Prapāt, 'Waterfall', with reference to the celestial waterfall which is the source of the Ganges?
 - **Ānanda Prakār(a)** ? < ānanda prakārko swarga, lit. 'the Paradise of the blissful kind'.
- 25: **Parlād** ? < Prahlāda, the daitya who was made ruler of one of the divisions of the underworld by Viṣṇu (Nārāyan here).
- 27: **Satte Nārāyan** < Satya Nārāyaṇa, one of the one thousand names of Viṣṇu; also the name of a ceremony popular among the Indo-Nepalese neighbours of the Tamang. – Note also the paronomastic leap from Satte Nārāyan to Pirthi Nārāyan, the name of the great king of Nepal.
- 29: **janani**, 'mother', here with reference to the patient who in the sections in Tamang is referred to as dā:mo, 'mistress'.
- **disāri** ? < disā sāri, lit. 'changing direction'.
- 30: **Dukkhini Rājā/Rāni**, with reference to a divine couple? dukhini, lit. 'woman in distress', < dukha, 'grief', 'pain', 'trouble'.
- **cār barna chattis jāt**, 'the four varṇas (and) 36 castes', an expression denoting the (ideal) totality of castes in the realm.
- 31: **siddha**, 'the perfect one', perhaps with reference to the saints among the Kānpaṭā ascetics, who have attained perfection and possess superhuman powers (cf., e.g., Lienhard 1978: 159-160; and Bouillier 1989). Elsewhere in the text, Mahādev is also being apostrophized as siddha (> T. syitta), s., e.g., 28.235. – **bāra siddha**, 'the twelve siddhas', might have been influenced by Bāra Panthi, the name of the chief authority of the Kānpaṭā sect.
- **nisān**, rendered by 'flag'; nisān, 'sign', 'mark', 'armorial bearings', probably with reference to the numinous emblematic representation of a divinity, such as on the regiment flags of the Nepalese army.
 - **Maṅṭhāli** = ? Cf. also Maṅḍāli Māi in 82.666.
- 32: **kumai...**, **sirai...**, 'sit on (my) shoulders, mount (my) head', s. p. 74 above.
- 34: **cilāune**, the tree Schima Wallichii. **Kallen Dhāmi** =? The term dhāmi denotes a relatively large variety of ritual specialists mainly of the ecstatic type, cf., e.g., Höfer and Shrestha 1973: 51 f.
- **Sikāri Māi**, lit. 'Hunter Mother', here perhaps as the female consort of Kallen Dhāmi, or as another name of Ban Dewi who, in Indo-Nepalese belief, roams the forests, rides a tiger, is equipped with bow and arrow, and is the mistress of wild animals. – Macdonald (1976: 320 f.) lists sixteen divinities called sikāri in the pantheon of the jhākris in Darjeeling. On divinities of the "wild hunter" type in Western Tamang pantheon cf. also Höfer 1981: 21, 124 ff.
- 36: **Yendrai dhasi phorileu**, 'pierce...Indra...', i.e., Indra's abode, the heavenly Indrasān. This may be interpreted as a challenge reminding the Māi that she is as powerful as Indra, the "Slayer of Demons" and "Shatterer of Citadels"; even the "breaking open" is reminiscent of Indra who opens the bellies of mountains and demons (cf., e.g., O'Flaherty 1986: 74 ff., 91-93).
- 37: **sāt samundra**, 'seven oceans', is reminiscent of the concentric oceans between the seven continents in Indian cosmology.

3.

- hare, yo jananiko sāto bolāileu, gunasiṅ jagāileu, phul jagāileu,
 nau nāri jagāileu Māi!,
 hare, lagan kholileu, lagan jācileu Māi!,
 40 hare, kuracche, biracche kholi jācileu Māi!,
 hare, marne din, janmāune [janmine] din ke khaṭāyo Bhagwān?,
 Baikunṭhabās, Yendrasān jācileu na Māi!

*

- Hail, call and bring the soul, awaken and bring the gunasiṅ,
 awaken and bring the flower, awaken and bring the nine
 veins of this mother O Māi!,
 hail, unveil and bring the constellation, examine and bring
 the constellation O Māi!,
 40 hail, unveil, examine and bring the bad protection,
 the good protection O Māi!,
 hail, which one was determined as the day of dying,
 as the day of birth O Bhagwān?,
 do examine and bring Baikunṭhabās, Indrasān O Māi!*

Notes:

- 38: **sāto**, rendered by MT bla, 'soul', by the informants; N. sāto also means 'spirit', 'presence of mind' (Turner 1965: 598).
- **gunasiṅ** (the term is not in the dictionaries) was vaguely equated with T. ro.duṅma = 'life-beam' (s. pp. 54-55 and 310-312) and T. che.darsyiṅ = 'life-pole' (s. 10.118). The material manifestation of gunasiṅ is said to be a piece of flesh, about 2 cm long and of the thickness of a straw-blade, somewhere in the entrails of both humans and animals; when it loses its usually upright position, the person is going to die. – gunasiṅ ? < Skt. < guṇa, lit. 'property', 'quality', also with reference to the three substrata of matter.
- **phul**, 'flower', in its metaphoric sense here (s. pp. 54-55).
- **nāri/nāri**, 'vein', 'artery', 'pulse'.
- 39: **lagan**, lit. 'auspicious moment'; my 'constellation' renders the informants' understanding of the term; cf. also 93.851 note.
- 40: **biracche** (birakṣa) was explained as meaning 'good (real) protection' in opposition to kuracche.
- 41: **Baikunṭhabās** is the heavenly abode of Bisnu (Viṣṇu), Indrasān is that of Indra. The passage may also be understood as follows: the Māi is urged to inquire about the fate of the patient, i.e., about her dying-day which has already been determined by Bhagwān on the day of her birth (more exactly on the sixth day after her birth), on the one hand, and about whether Viṣṇu's or Indra's heaven has been allotted to her soul after death, on the other.

4.

- hare, dokhai-docche sasānā [bhai]calāu na Māi!,
 hare, ākās bān, pattāl bān, maresyā, bir, masān,
 dokh-desān sasānā [bhai]calāu na Māi!,
 hare, rācches, rācches, mero kum caṛhiāu, sir caṛhiāu Māi!,
 45 hare, kugyāna, kubhed, chāro bhed, cilāune bhed mārileu,
 cakra bhed, suki bhed, cakra phoṛileu Māi!.

- hare, kālo bhed, rāto bhed, pahēlo bhed, nilo bhed, kugyāna,
 kubhed, sora jāt, chattis jātko bhed mārileu Māi!,
 hare, Saṅgali Dewi, Saṅgali Deutā, mero kum caṛhiāu,
 sir caṛhiāu, ho Māi!,
 hare Māi!,
 hare, gharko kul deutā guhāryo [guhārē] Māi,
 Bhimsiṅg [Bhimsen] Ṭhākur guhāryo [guhārē] Māi,
 calāu na Māi!
- 50 hare, gāu-gharko sime-bhume, dhanapati, nāg-nāgini guhāryo
 [guhārē] Māi,
 kālo nāg, rāto nāg, pahēlo nāg, hariyo nāg, nilo nāg,
 sora dewi, nau dewi, Yendra Deutā jagāileu Māi!,
 hare, pattāla[ko] sāt patra, sāt ḍhokā kholileu, ākāsa[ko] nau patra,
 nau ḍhokā kholileu!,
 hare, purba ḍhokā, pacchim ḍhokā, dakkhin ḍhokā, uttar ḍhokā
 kholileu, cārai disā, cārai killā jācileu merai Laṅga Hanumān,
 jācileu, jagāileu!,
 hare, Laṅga jācileu, Palaṅga jācileu, charlaṅga dekhāi pārileu!,
 55 hare Māi!

*

- Hail, minimize and do set in motion all the illnesses O Māi!,
 hail, minimize and do set in motion the magic sky-arrow,
 the magic underworld-arrow, the spirit of the dead, the bir,
 the masān, the epidemics O Māi!,
 hail, (do set in motion) the rācches, the rācches, (and)
 come and mount my shoulders, come and mount (my) head
 O Māi!,*
- 45 *hail, kill and bring the black art, the evil charm,
 the stray-charm, the charm which causes itching,
 break open and bring the whirling charm, the charm which
 desiccates (one's body), the whirl(ing charm) O Māi!,
 hail, kill and bring the black charm, the red charm, the yellow
 charm, the blue charm, the black art, the evil charm,
 the charms of sixteen castes (kinds), of thirty-six castes
 (kinds) O Māi!,
 hail, Saṅgali Dewi, Saṅgali Deutā, come and mount my shoulders,
 come and mount (my) head, ho, O Māi!,
 hail O Māi!,
 hail, (I) have cried for help to the clan god of the household
 O Māi, have cried for help to Bhimsen Ṭhākur O Māi,
 do set (them) in motion O Māi!,*
- 50 *hail, (I) have cried for help to the sime-bhume, the lord(s)
 of riches, the nāg-nāgini of the village O Māi,
 hail, awaken and bring the black nāg, the red nāg, the yellow
 nāg, the green nāg, the blue nāg, the sixteen goddesses,
 the nine goddesses, Indra Deutā O Māi!,
 hail, open and bring the seven layers [of] the underworld,
 [its] seven doors, open and bring the nine layers (storeys)
 [of] the heavens, (their) nine doors!,*

*hail, open and bring the eastern door, the western door,
the southern door, the northern door, examine and bring all
the four corners, all the four boundaries
O my Laṅga Hanumān,
examine and bring, awaken and bring (them)!,
hail, examine and bring Laṅga, examine and bring Palaṅga (?),
make (them) clearly visible and bring (them)!,*

55 *hail O Māi!*

Notes:

- 42: **dokhai-docche** < dokh-docche, 'illness', according to the informants; ? < dokh, 'serious, fatal illness' (Turner 1965: 320); cf. also 96.897 note.
- **sasānā [bhai]calāu**, 'minimize and set in motion', that is, the evil may be reduced in its intensity and removed.
- 43: **pattāl bān** = MT sa ba:n (< sa, 'earth') = a sudden, invisible irradiation from the earth, believed to cause swellings and enormous blisters.
- **ākās bān** = MT mu ba:n (< mu, 'sky') = another invisible irradiation from the sky, believed to cause a strong burning sensation and cicatrisation all over the body.
- **maresyā** (marisyā?) < marnu, 'to die' + syā. The term *syā* (not in the dictionaries) was explained as a synonym of N. bhut and MT syimo, 'ghost', 'spirit of a dead person'. Cf. sāin, 'spirit of a dead person' (Darjeeling) (Macdonald 1975: 118); siyo, 'spirit of an adult who suffered an unnatural death' (Chantel) (Michl 1976: 163 f.); sahain, 'ghost', 'evil spirit' (Sunuwar) (Foumier 1976:117, 123); and syo/syaagi, 'evil spirits of persons who suffered a violent death' (Gurung) (Glover et al. 1977: 205); siyo, 'the lost part of the soul (of the living or dead), wandering about' (Jājarkoṭ) (Maskarinec 1990: 112, 128 f.); zyā, 'esprit dangereux', 'sorcière', 'esprits des morts qui hantent encore le monde des vivants' (Kham Magar) (de Sales 1991: 142, 145-147 f., 331).
- **bir** and **masān** = goblin-like and principally evil beings because of their association with death. The **masān** is believed to originate from corpses and to haunt the cremation grounds (**masān ghāṭ**). It can also assist the **ḅombo** in "snatching" a harmful agent and bringing it "into the presence" of the **ḅombo**. – The **bir** is said to be of non-human origin; it is characterized by restless activity (*khelnu*) and a preference to attach itself to humans even after the death of the latter. It, too, lingers near the cremation grounds. The **ḅombo** can activate a **bir** as his helper, particularly when he wants to exorcise the ghost to which the **bir** has attached itself. The word **bir** < Skt. *vīra*, 'hero'. In Indian folk-belief, a *vīra* is the powerful ghost of a hero who died a violent death (cf., e.g., Sontheimer 1976: 23, 180, 196; Srinivas 1965: 160).
- 44: **rācches** = *rākṣasa* (demon).
- 45: **kugyāna** < *kugyān*, lit. 'bad knowledge', i.e., knowledge (*gyān*) of black magic.
- **kubhed** < *bhed*, 'secret', 'witchcraft' (Turner 1965: 482).
- **chāro bhed**, i.e., the harmful charm moves around like a stray (*chāro*) animal? Or recte *chāro*, 'epilepsy'?
- **cakra [bhed]**, i.e., the charm whirls or revolves like a wheel (*cakra*)?
- 47: **Saṅgali** ? < *Saṅkari* (*Śaṅkarī*), one of the names of Mahādev's spouse.
- 49: **gharko kul deutā**, 'the clan god of the household', here the tutelary god of the clan of the head of the household, the patient's husband (cf. 48.379). **Bhimsen** is mentioned here as the "Nepali/Hindu name" of this clan god whose Tamang name is *Jyaṅjyen Maṛbo*, i.e., *Bhimsen* as a divine mythic hero ≡ *Jyaṅjyen Maṛbo* as a fierce (*ḅabla*) hunter divinity. (On the term *ḅabla* cf. 26.223 note; on the cult of *Bhimsen/Bhīmasena* in Nepal cf. Slusser 1982: 258).
- 50: **sime-bhume**, 'gods of water and dry land', as glossed by Turner (1965: 608). For the Tamang, this is the Nepali name of *syībda-nè:da*, the divine lords of the village territory (s. 28.233 ff.).
- **dhanapati**, with reference to the *nāg-nāgini* as guardians of riches?
- **nāg-nāgini** (< *nāga*) are treated here as a category corresponding to, or congruent with, the Tamang *lu* (Tib. *klu*), cf. 91.820 note.
- 51: "**black/red/yellow/green/blue nāg**", on the association of the *nāga* kings with nine colours in the Kathmandu Valley cf. Toffin 1984: 450.
- 53: **cārai killā** < *cār killā/kilo*, lit. the 'four stakes' which demarcate the boundaries of an area.

– **Laṅga Hanumān**, Laṅga < Laṅkā (Ceylon), the country of the rākṣasas who, in the epic, were defeated by Rāma and Hanumān.

54: **Palaṅga** may be seen as an echo-word of Laṅga which is referred to here as the domain of demons (Laṅga = Laṅkā); or Laṅga + Palaṅga < N. laṅkā-palaṅkā, 'pell-mell', 'chaos'. These two interpretations do not necessarily exclude each other, seeing the ḅombo's foremost task, namely to investigate (N. jācnu, MT salba) into the mess of possible causes and possible remedies (cf. pp. 26-27, 305). Note also the homoeophony of *Laṅga* – (*Pa*)*laṅga* – (*char*)*laṅga*.

5.

hare Māi!,

hare, Gorkhā Kālikā, Ākhini-Bāghini Māi, Śiṅgha Rājā, Śiṅgha Rāni,
Nau Durgā Bhawāni, Nau Durgā, Yendra,
nau dhyān, nau bhawān [*sic*], mero kum caṛhiāu, mero sir caṛhiāu!,
calāu Māi!,

60 Dorloṅ Kholā khelne Bhuṭan Kanne Dewi, Kāule ṭhāri khelne
Leso Kāsi Kumāra [Kumāri] Dewi, Masegāū [khelne] Sri
Maṅgāla [Maṅgālā?] Dewi, Gajuwā Dhāmi, Bijuwā Māi,
gaūrā-gaūrāmā sunako ṭak chānicalāu, Bitteswaramā calāu,
narsiṅ sarma (?) calāu, sattur bijāi [bijaya] garileu,
satturko jagarā (?) phoṛileu, maṅṭhal (?) mārileu!,
mero bhakti calāu, satturko sakti mārileu, mero bhik (?) calāu,
satturko bhik mārileu!,

mero ālā-bālā, jajmān, bastu-bhāu jāi [jaya] garileu Māi!,
hoi, calāu na Māi!,

65 Kaṛe Doman [Dobhān] khelne Kaṛe Masān, Kaṛe Bir jagāileu Māi,
kum baiṭhau Māi!,
hare, Ṭeku Doman [Dobhān] khelne Ṭeku Masān, Kālo Bhairuṅ,
Seto Bhairuṅ, sorasai Bhairuṅ guhāryo [guhārē] Māi.

*

Hail O Māi!,

hail, (do set in motion?) Gorkhā Kālikā, Ākhini-Bāghini Māi,
Śiṅgha Rājā, Śiṅgha Rāni, Nau Durgā Bhawāni, Nau Durgā,
Yendra (Indra),

hail, (do set in motion?) the nine wisdoms, the nine bhawāns (?),
mount my shoulders, mount my head!,

set in motion O Māi!,

60 (*set in motion*) *Bhuṭan Kanne Dewi who plays [at] Dorloṅ Kholā,*
Leso Kāsi Kumāri Dewi who plays upright [at] Kāule,
Sri Maṅgālā (?) Dewi, Gajuwā Dhāmi, Bijuwā Māi
[who play in] Masegāū!,

sort out and set in motion the golden seal in the offices,
set (them?) in motion at Bitteswara (?), set in motion the
narsiṅ sarma (?), defeat and bring the enemy,
break open and bring the tangled hair (?) of the enemy,
kill and bring the maṅṭhal (?) !,

set in motion my devotion, kill and bring the power of the enemy,
set in motion (the efficiency of) my alms (?), kill the

- (efficiency of the) alms (?) of the enemy!,
 make my young girl, (my) client (and her) property overcome and
 bring (them) O Māi!,
 hoi, do set in motion O Māi!,
 65 awaken and bring Kaṛe Masān, Kaṛe Bir who play [at] Kaṛe Dobhān,
 sit on (my) shoulders O Māi!,
 hail, (awaken) Ṭeku Masān who plays [at] Ṭeku Dobhān!, (I) have
 cried for help to Black Bhairaw, to White Bhairaw, to the
 sixteen hundred Bhairaws O Māi.

Notes:

- 57: **Gorkhā Kālikā**, the goddess Kālikā with her famous sanctuary in Gorkhā (s. also section 71.).
 – **Ākhini-Bāghini** ? < ākhi, lit. 'jealousy', 'evil eye', + bāghini, lit. 'tigress'.
 – **Siṅha Rājā/Rāni**, lit. 'lion king/queen'; with reference to the (sculptural representation of the) lion-guardians of temples? Or Siṅha Rājā/Rāni + Bāghini ? < Siṅhini + Bāghini = the lion-headed Simhavrā and the tiger-headed Vyāghravrā worshipped as guardians or children of the mother goddesses (Slusser 1982: 326, 331).
 – **Nau Durgā** = Nava Durgā (< Nava Durgā), the goddess Durgā in her nine (nau/nawa) forms; s. Slusser 1982: 344; Toffin 1984: 466 ff., 471 ff.; and Levy 1990: 501-576 concerning the Kathmandu Valley.
 – **Bhawāni** = one of the names of Durgā/Pārwati.
 58: **bhawān** = ? bhawan, 'palace', referred to as a kind of numinous entity, i.e., the abode of Bhawāni?
 60: **Bhuṭan Kanne (Kanyā) Dewi** is said to have a famous temple in Heṭaūrā (Tarāi).
 – **Masegāu** = ? Macchegāu on the northern slope of Campā Dewi in the Kathmandu Valley, with the Macchenārāyan temple.
 – **Maṅgāla** = ? Maṅgalā = Durgā, Pārwati.
 – **Gajuwā Dhāmi** = ? the deified spirit of a dhāmi (cf. above 2.34).
 – **Bijuwā Māi** = ? – N. bijuwā denotes, among the Limbu, a male or female ritual specialist whose main task is to exorcize evil spirits and conduct the funerals for those who died a violent or premature death (Sagant 1976: 163 f.).
 61: **gaūrā**, rendered, here, by 'office' (of the district administration of the Rāṅā era), seems to derive from gaūro, 'pass', 'col', as a strategically important site.
 – **ṭak**, 'seal', with reference to the auspicious symbol/emblem in a seal, in the same sense as in the case of nisān above (2.31).
 – **Bitteswar(a)** ? < Bijeswari, the well-known temple on the western bank of the Bisnumati river in the Kathmandu Valley.
 – **narsiṅg sarma**, tentatively explained as the name of a particularly powerful mantra. Perhaps with reference to the Narasiṅha-stotra or Narasiṅha-mantra "deemed to be efficacious for curing diseases and preventing calamities" (Jaiswal 1967: 123). – narsiṅg ? < narsiṅg(h)a, 'champion', 'distinguished person', 'man-lion' (Narasiṅha, the man-lion form of Viṣṇu); sarma ? < śarma, 'bliss', 'protection'.
 – **jagarā** = ? jagaltā, lit. 'tangled hair', with reference to the uncombed, dishevelled hair of a witch or of a divinity in its terrifying aspect?
 – **maṅṭhal** = ? maṅḍal, 'group' (of enemies here).
 62: **sakti** = śakti.
 – **bhik**, lit. 'alms'; obscure.
 65: **Dobhān**, lit. 'confluence of two rivers'. Kaṛe Dobhān might be the site of a cremation place which is haunted by masāns and birs (s. above 4.43 note).
 66: **Ṭeku Dobhān** lies at the confluence of the Bisnumati and Bāgmati rivers (SW of Kāṭhmāṅḍu city). Ṭeku Masān is also the name of a cremation place and a sanctuary at Ṭeku Dobhān.
 – **Bhairuṅ** = Bhairaw (Bhairava). The temple of Pacali Bhairaw is in the area of Ṭeku.
 – **sorasai**, 'sixteen hundred' stands here for 'all'; cf. also sora, 'sixteen', in the same function in the next section (6.67).

The bombo recites with growing excitation *con briol/furioso*:

6.

- Simbhuthānmā utpanna bhaeko Ajimā-Bajimā, Gubhā-Gubhāju,
 Anamāju-Dhanamāju, Lālkumāri, sātsorasai, sora kanne,
 Bālākanne, Laṅga-Laṅgaṭā Māi,
 hare, Bhaṭā-Bhaṭeni [Bhāṭ-Bhaṭeni] Māi calāu na Māi, sir caṛhiāu,
 kum caṛhiāu, dokha-docche sasānā bhaicalāu na Māi!,
 Dhanakumāri, Siddha Kumāri, Siddha Sittāli [Sitalā] Māi,
 Gola-Golāni (?), Siri [Sri] Kumāri Māi, Siri Kāli Māi,
 Gubhājuni Māi, sir caṛhiāu, kum caṛhiāu!,
 70 calāu na, dokh-docchesaṅga laṛāi khelāu Māi!,
 yo manukhyako dokh-docche sasānā bhaicalāu na Māi!,
 calāu na Māi!,
 purba Mahatāri Bhir, Sawā Tār [Ṭār?], Kāli Kholā khelne,
 Ghāsghāri, Thagar Khāri (?) khelne, Phedañ muni Khabar
 Phed khelne Buṛhā-Buṛhāuni, Cakmāyā Sikāri,
 Bek-Bidhuwā Māi,
 calāu na Māi!,
 75 Kamlañ-Kamlañni (?), Sikāri Māi, Lembu-Lembuni (?),
 Cobaṅ [Cepāṅ] Guru guhāryo [guhārē] Māi,
 phalāmko banduk, sisāko goli calāu merai guru Phaudāri Māi!

*

- (Do set in motion) Ajimā-Bajimā, Gubhā-Gubhāju,
 Anamāju-Dhanamāju, who originated at Swayambhunāth,
 Lālkumāri, the seven (times) sixteen hundred, the sixteen
 virgins, Bālākanne, Laṅga-Laṅgaṭā Māi!,
 hail, do set in motion Bhāṭ-Bhaṭeni Māi, come and mount (my)
 head, come and mount (my) shoulders O Māi, minimize and
 do set in motion all illnesses O Māi!,
 (do set in motion) Dhanakumāri, Siddha Kumāri, Siddha Sitalā Māi,
 Gola-Golāni Māi, Sri Kumāri Māi, Sri Kāli Māi,
 Gubhājuni Māi, (and)
 come and mount (my) head, come and mount (my) shoulders!,
 70 do set in motion (and) make (these goddesses?) wage war against
 all illnesses O Māi!,
 minimize and do set in motion all illnesses of this person
 O Māi!,
 set in motion O Māi!,
 (set in motion) Buṛhā-Buṛhāuni, Cakmāyā Sikāri,
 Bek-Bidhuwā Māi, who play [in] the east [at] Mahatāri Bhir,
 Sawā Tār, Kāli Kholā, who play [at] Ghāsghāri,
 Thagar Khāri (and) Khabar Phed below Phedañ!,
 do set (them) in motion O Māi!,
 75 (I) have cried for help to Kamlañ-Kamlañni, Sikāri Māi,

*Lembu-Lembuni, Cepāṅ Guru. O Māi!,
set in motion the iron rifle, the lead bullet O my guru
Phaudāri Māi!*

Notes:

- 67: **Ajimā-Bajimā** < Ajimā (Sitalā) the small-pox goddess, here with reference to her sanctuary at Swayambhunāth = Simbhuthān; + Bajimā, coined, as an echo-word, from N. bajai, 'grandmother'? Newari ajimā means 'grandmother', and one of the Tamang names of the goddess Ajimā is Aji Mamo wherein mamo < Tib. ma-mo = 'grandmother' (cf. pp. 148, 150).
- **Gubhā-Gubhāju** < gubhāju, the Buddhist priest among the Newār. Apostrophizing Gubhā-Gubhāju as a divinity obviously derives from the fact that the sanctuary of Ajimā at Swayambhunāth is served by gubhāju priests (cf. also Slusser 1982: 341).
 - **Anamāju-Dhanamāju** ? < Manmā(i)ju = Mhaipi Ajimā whose sanctuary is on the eastern bank of the Bisnumati river, near Galkopākhā (s. also 100.953).
 - **Lālkumāri** =? Bālkumāri. Bālkumāri, with her sanctuaries at Saṅkhamul and Ṭhimi, is a protectress of children (bāla = 'child'). According to Slusser (1982: 334-337), Bālkumāri = Bālakaumārī who is possibly an amalgam of kaumārī (= the śakti of the god Kumāra) with a māi or ajimā.
 - **Bālakanne** (bālā + kanyā, lit. 'girl' + 'virgin') was said to be identical with T. Syar Ba:la Kanne in 47.361.
 - **Laṅga-Laṅgaṭā** ? < laṅgarā, lit. 'lame', 'cripple'; an allusion to the ghosts of disabled humans in the retinue (gaṇa) of certain gods, such as Bhairaw or Mahā Dew?
- 68: **Bhāt-Bhaṭeni** = a deified Brahmin couple, protectors of children; their temple is near Ṭaṅgāl in Kāṭhmāṇḍu.
- **Dhankumāri**, "adopted" from the maiden-name Dhan Kumārī? To my knowledge, there exists no goddess by the name of Dhankumārī.
 - **Gola-Golāni** ? < Gola/Gwala, the Newari name of Dewpāṭan. Gwala < Newari gwa, 'deity'. Perhaps, Gola = Śiva-Paśupati, and Golāni = Pārvaṭī (whose Newari name is Gwa Māju) or = Jaya Vāgīśvarī, the tutelary goddess of Dewpāṭan, known as one of the nine Durgās (Slusser 1982: 110 f.; and Lévi 1905,I: 378).
 - **Kumārī Māi** ('virgin' + 'mother') as a name seems to illustrate the confusion between kumārī and kaumārī, as stated by Slusser with regard to the Kathmandu Valley (s. p. 72.)
 - **Gubhājuni**, lit. 'the wife of a gubhāju priest', cf. line 67 above.
- 71: **manukhya** = manuṣya, 'man', 'mortal person'.
- 73: All names unexplained. **Buṛhā-Burhāuni** ? < buṛhā, 'old man' + buṛhi, 'old woman'. In the pantheon of the jhākris in Darjeeling, there are seven burhenis believed to cause various diseases (Macdonald 1976: 322 f.). Conspicuously, Mahā Dew is also apostrophized as Buṛhā Siddha Mahā Dew in our text (s., e.g., 28.235).
- 75: **Sikāri Māi**, s. 2.34.
- **Lembu** ? < Limbu (the ethnic group in eastern Nepal).
 - **Cobaṅ/Cyobaṅ** = N. Cepāṅ (Chepang). The shamans of this ethnic group (formerly hunters and gatherers) are said to be particularly versed in magic, and to have in the past been the gurus of a number of Tamang bōmbos. Cf. also pp. 36.
- 76: **Phaudāri** ? < phauj, 'army', or ? < phaujdarī, lit. 'highhandedness' (Turner 1965: 411), also 'criminal court'.

7.

Citwan Ṭār wāri-pāri khelne Durbisur (?), Paca Liṅga, tirpanna,
bāra Baṅgali [Baṅgālī?] dabaṅ garicalāu!,
calāu na, Mahākālī Bir, Mahākālī Masān calāu Māi!,
Dakkhin Mahākāla-Mahākālī, Bijuwā Kālī, Rakta Kālī Māi,
Siwa Dewi, Siwa Māi, Jal Dewi, Jal Māi,

- Didi-Didini [*sic*] Māi, Kusunḍā Phakkir, sai dhanukāṛa
 khelne Māi, calāu na Māi!,
 80 Kunāghāt, Nau Duna Sahar, Bommai Sahar [Bombay],
 Dhote Sahar (?), Lakhnau Sahar [khelne] bāunna bir,
 caūsatt̥hi masān, caūsatt̥hi bir calāu na Māi!,
 Barauli (?) Sahar khelne Barauli Masān, Barauli Bir
 calāu na Māi!,
 Thāk Kholā khelne Thā-Thākāli Māi calāu Māi!,
 sai barna, sora barna, chattis barna
 85 calāu na Māi!,
 kum baiṭhau, kum caṛhiāu na Māi!,
 ālā bālā jajmānlāi pireko dokh-docche sasānā bhaicalāu na Māi!,
 guhāryo [guhārē] Māi!

[Long, vigorous drumming to a gradually accelerated rhythm]

*

- Make invincible and set in motion Durbisur, Paca Liṅga,
 the fifty-three, the twelve Baṅgali who play on both sides of
 Citwan Ṭār!,
 do set in motion, set in motion Mahākāli Bir, Mahākāli Masān O Māi!,
 do set in motion Dakkhin Mahākāla-Mahākāli, Bijuwā Kāli,
 Rakta Kāli Māi, Siwa Dewi, Siwa Māi, Jal Dewi, Jal Māi,
 Didi-Didini Māi, Kusunḍā Phakkir, the Māi who
 plays one hundred bows and arrows, O Māi!,
 80 do set in motion the fifty-two birs, the sixty-four masāns,
 the sixty-four birs [who play in] Kunāghāt, Nau Duna Town,
 Bombay Town, Dhote Town, Lakhnau Town O Māi!,
 (do set in motion) Barauli Masān, Barauli Bir who play [in]
 Barauli Town!,
 do set (them) in motion O Māi!,
 set in motion Thā-Thākāli Māi who plays [in] Thāk Kholā, O Māi!,
 the one hundred classes, the sixteen classes, the thirty-six
 classes (of superhuman beings),
 85 do set (them) in motion O Māi!,
 sit on (my) shoulders, come and do mount (my) shoulders O Māi!,
 minimize and do set in motion all illnesses that trouble the
 young girl, (my) client, O Māi!,
 (I) have cried for help O Māi!*

[Drumming]

Notes:

77: Citwan Ṭār = Citwan, Rāpti Valley.

– Paca Liṅga ? < Pacali Bhairaw or Pañcaliṅga Mahādev.

– Baṅgali ? < Baṅgāli, lit. 'of Bengal'. Another text has "Bāra Baṅgāli Māi".

78: Mahākāli Bir/Masān = ? a particular bir/masān in the retinue of Mahākāli/Durgā.

79: Dakkhin... Mahākāli, possibly with reference to Cāmuṅḍā worshipped at Dakkhin Kāli in the southwestern corner of the Kathmandu Valley.

- **Bijuwā Kāli**, s. 5.60 note.
 - **Rakta Kāli**, possibly with reference to the Rakta Kāli temple in Teṅgāl, Kāṭhmāṇḍu; s. also 82.666 and 82.674.
 - **Siwa Dewi/Māi** = the goddess (Śivā) as a consort of Śiva/Mahā Dew?
 - **Jal Dewi/Māi** ? < jal, lit. 'water'. Either with particular reference to Jaleswar (Jaleśvara), one of the 64 Mahā Dew sanctuaries in and around the Kathmandu Valley (cf. Gutschow 1982: 19), or generally for any goddess represented in a sacred tank or public fountain (dhārā)?
 - **Didi-Didini** < didi, 'elder sister'; the female suffix -ni is a hypernepalism.
 - **Kusundā Phakkir** = ? a deified ascetic (fakir) among the Kusunda. The Kusunda are known as hunters and gatherers, just like the Chepang, and the mention of "bows and arrows" might be a reference to this. Elsewhere (82.673-674), our text also has Kusundā Māi. According to one informant, the above-mentioned Dakkhin Kāli is "the divinity of the Kusunda sui generis" (cf. also 93.849). As Reinhard (1968: 105) notes, the name of the supreme divinity worshipped by the Kusunda, Qaoli, may derive from Kāli.
- 80: **Kunāghāt**, one of the main recruiting centres for Gurkha soldiers, near Gorakhpur, Bihar.
- **Nau Duna** = Nautanawā, near Bhairawahā, Tarāi.
- 81: **Barauli** = ? Barwa-Barauli in Bihar.
- 83: **Thā-Thākāli** < Thākāli, the inhabitants of the Thāk Kholā region.

The next part of the text, in Tamang, is called "the evening incense-recitation" (*ñisyi saṅrap*)¹ and may be subdivided as follows:

- Sections 8.-14.: Invocation of the lineage forefathers who, in a rather wholesale manner, are informed about the state of the patient and requested to assist the bōmbo in carrying out his professional tasks as enumerated at length.
- Sections 15.-25.: Consecration of the ritual paraphernalia by incensing and by activating the divinities which they embody or represent; the creation myth (20.-23.) is part of the act and may be regarded as a full narrative variant of the "stories of origin" which in other instances are simply summarized by the epithets or emblematic periphrases describing the main properties of the paraphernalia-divinities.
- Sections 26.-32.: The first ritual journey (*rīrap*) that starts from the client's house and ends in the mystic-mythic country (*bę:yul*) located in the northern mountains and South Tibet, and is undertaken with the aim of "finding the abodes" (*lāgañ salba*) of the divinities enumerated.

Fast tempi (*presto-prestissimo*) predominate, and the bōmbo recites precipitately – as if he wanted to "get through" something which is a matter of course and nevertheless obligatory. The repeated exclamation 'hā:y, O lineage forefathers!' (*hā:y gyūppa mēme!*), which sounds nearly like a desperate cry for help, provides the only emotionally adumbrated part of the otherwise rather monotonously articulated enumerative sequences. If the text remains to a great extent audible, it is due to the fact that the drum is being beaten only in the intervals between the cola. The creation myth is an exception to this rule inasmuch as the bōmbo seems to make an effort to slow down the tempo and articulate more clearly.

¹ As a category, the term *saṅrap* is also applied to any longer enumerative sequence, even without incensing (*saṅba*); it thus includes the sequence of a ritual journey or the enumeration of flowers (s. below sections 51. ff.).

8. – 14. The state of affairs and the tasks ahead

While in section 2. above the *bombo* anchored his identity as a Nepalese *jhākri* in Mahādev and the Sun Jhākri, it is here in section 8. that he reveals his identity as a Tamang *bombo* sui generis – a specialist who acts by virtue of that “Gentilcharisma” (to borrow Max Weber’s term) which derives from his membership in a corporate group: the spiritual lineage consisting of all *bombos* among his ancestors (*gyúppa mème*) and their divine tutelaries (*phamo*).

8.

- chya:jało Phamo!
 90 ñeñdu salo, thu:la gomo!
 kekki chya: cal bumba nomba,
 yongi chya: syel bumba nomba, gyúppa mème,
 Mème Syel Bõn, Mème Naru Bõn, Mam Syiliñmo,
 Syaryuruñ Bõn, Mème Rañsyiñ Bõn, Mème Ta:gur Bõn,
 Mème Báldiñ Bõn, gyúppa mème,
 bõndam kha salyu, li: salyu, syerap salyu, sorap baryu!,
 95 yongi bami kalbi chyudañ baryu!,
 yongi [*recte*: kekki] bami kalbi meluñ baryu!,
 bõngi ñargyal cheyu, bõngi puñma gulgul jedyu!

*

- Hail O Phamo!*
 90 *Listen with the ears, ponder in the mind!*
The right hand takes the cal (=?) jug,
the left hand takes the crystal jug, O lineage forefathers,
Grandfather Syel Bõn, Grandfather Naru Bõn, Grandmother
 Syiliñmo, Syaryuruñ Bõn, Grandfather Rañsyiñ Bõn,
 Grandfather Ta:gur Bõn, Grandfather Báldiñ Bõn,
 (you) O lineage forefathers,
come down and make clear the mouth (speech), come down and make
 clear the body, come down and make clear the alertness,
 come down and make the voice (?) of the bõn expand!,
 95 *come down and make the sea-water (in the jug) put on (his) left*
 shoulder expand!,
 come down and make the flame put on (his) right shoulder expand!,
 come down and make the bõn’s arrogance grow, come down and make
 the bõn’s shoulders (?) quake!

Notes:

89: **phamo** refers (a), in a strict sense, to the mythic founder-tutelary of a spiritual lineage (*càwa, kàwa*, s. pp. 22-24); (b), by extension, to all human forefathers (*gyúppa mème*) in such a spiritual lineage; and (c) it can also be used for any divinity as a flattering term of address or even term of reference, as we shall see further below.

– OT **chya:jało** (< Tib. phyag ’chal-lo), a respectful greeting reserved for the gods.

90: OT **ñeñdu salo** is an idiom: ñeñdu < Tib. sñan-du, lit. ‘in the ears’.

- OT **thu:la gomba** < Tib. *thugs-la sgom-pa (Jäschke 1949: 117 gives thugs sgom-pa), 'to meditate', 'to ponder', 'to have in one's mind'.
- 91: **cal bumba**, cal ? < Tib. rcal, 'skill', 'energy'.
- 92: **syel bumba**, syel < Tib. šel, 'crystal', 'glass'. – The jug (bumba) is a source of purificatory and consecrating power. The two kinds of jug mentioned here, along with the chyudañ and meḷuñ in lines 95-96, might allude to the mystical transidentification the bomo is to undergo through the transfusion of power into his body. Cf. also 8.96 note below.
- 93: **Syel Bõn, Nãru Bõn, Syaryuruñ Bõn, Bãldiñ Bõn** were identified by SR as the four primordial bõns (s. pp. 21 ff.). **Nãru Bõn** is SR's tutelary (phamo), i.e., the founder of his spiritual descent line.
- **Syiliñmo/Syilikmo** was tentatively identified as the wife of one of the four primordial bõns.
 - **Rãnsyiñ** and **Ta:gur** are the names of two bõmbos among SR's ancestors in his patriline.
 - **gyúppa mème**, 'lineage forefathers', with reference to all bõmbos among the officiating bõmbo's ancestors, both paternal and maternal.
- 94: OT **bõn** (= MT bõmbo). Throughout the ritual, the officiating bõmbo refers to himself as bõn.
- **salyu** < OT salba, 'to make clear' + MT yùba, 'to come down', 'to descend'. To be understood as a request to the lineage forefathers to "make one body and mind" with their descendant, and to enlighten or inspire him.
 - OT **kha**, lit. 'mouth', obviously also 'speech'.
 - **li:** (< Tib. lus) means – in MT at least – both 'body' and 'back' (cf. pp. 27 f.).
 - **syerap**, 'alertness', < Tib. šes-rab, 'wisdom', or, in Guenther's (1963: 123, 269) rendering, 'discrimination-appreciation'.
 - OT **sorap**, 'voice' (?), ? < Tib. *sro-rab < sro, 'heat', 'ardour', 'passion'.
 - **bãryu** < MT bãrba, 'to grow', 'to expand', 'to blaze (of fire)', + yùba (s. above).
- 95: **chyudañ** (OT chy, 'water') was rendered by 'sea water'.
- 96: OT **meḷuñ/meḷoñ** (not to be confounded with the ritual implement called meḷoñ, cf. p. 62), 'flame', < Tib. me-liñ (Jäschke 1949: 417). – The chyudañ and meḷuñ placed on the shoulders = an allusion to the initiation ceremony in which the jug (bumba ≡ chyudañ) is brought to the head and shoulders of the novice by his guru, and which, in former times, perhaps also included a touching of his body with a burning lamp (= meḷuñ)? In any case, the MT idiom phamo kalba, lit. 'to place the tutelary on to (the novice)', refers to that part of the initiation in which the jug is applied to the novice "to send the tutelary into his body", as SR formulated it. For a Tibetan example cf., e.g., the "initiation into the worship of Padmasambhava" where various ritual utensils (thunderbolt symbol, ceremonial staff, conch shell, etc.) are applied to the head, throat, heart, etc. of the disciple (Huntington 1975: 68).
- 97: **nãrgyal** (< Tib. ña-rgyal) was rendered by 'arrogance', and the informants stressed that nãrgyal implied an excessive, coercive vitality or will-power that might also become effective "to the detriment of others" (cf. also p. 29).
- OT **puñma**, tentatively rendered by 'shoulder', < Tib. dpuñ-pa, 'shoulder'.
 - OT **gúlgul jeppa**, 'to make quake', possibly a reference to the shaking of the bõmbo's shoulders while dancing and drumming. **gúlgul** < Tib. 'gul-ba, 'to move', 'to shake', and **jeppa** < Tib. byed-pa/mjad-pa, 'to make'.

9.

- bõngi geppu khyurna syẽmbu cu:jiyi,
 sa gyámjye ṭhunbai bõn maýin, nãm bãrkap yiñle ṭhunbai bõn maýin.
 100 li: señnem ñinjen phamojye, sem kenem ñorjye lobonjye,
 cãwa bãppai bõnjye, kãwa bãppai bõnjye. mã.kuina kuibi bõnjye,
 mã.cu:na cu:bi bõnjye.
 jyinda ñodañ cu:na bõnda gyábna kha tañbai noccyen syoñla,
 ñonna chi: tañbai noccyen syoñla,
 gyábna tañmen syoñla, ñonna júkmen yóñla,
 bõmbo ñe:bai bõnsur syoñla, lãma chebai chesur syoñla,
 jõ:ri nãkpoi kuldap syoñla, jõ:ri nãkpoi ñendap syoñla,

- sañduñ-prañduñ yèrmai dā, jø:gi bìdi syoñla.
 dę:wa maçhyu:go, damba maçhyu:go thu: dambì Gúru Phamo,
 wañ dambì Gúru Phamo!
 barkap tiñle phamoi làgañ pheñi, nañbai tiñle phamoi làgañ pheñi!,
 105 sañsam sañbai temrul pheñi, ñensam ñembai temrul pheñi,
 gyúppa mème!
 chya:jalo!
 dā:mo ñinda nàwai bardo jyũnba – salñi, chàwai bardo jyũnba – salñi!
 yara blonbai khari pho:jyi wa:, mara blonbai khari pho:jyi wa:?,
 tàsya, wasya, lañsya, ñengi rụ:ri pho:jyi wa:?,
 karda rụ:ri pho:jyi wa:, marda rụ:ri pho:jyi wa:?,
 sawai khari pho:jyi wa:, ñalwai khari pho:jyi wa:?,
 110 dọwai khari pho:jyi wa:?,
 to sạbai khari pho:jyi wa:?,
 chyañ sạbai khari pho:jyi wa:?,
 a:ra sạbai khari pho:jyi wa:?,
 nàwai bardo jyũnjyi wa:?,
 115 yara syelne jyũnjyi wa:?,
 mara oine jyũnjyi wa:?,
 dā:mo ñinda thòmdom-rịri, riñriñ-phetphet jyũnjyi wa:?

*

- As the bõn's senior departed, another one has taken up (his work),
 (he) is not a bõn who originated from the earth,
 (he) is not a bõn who originated from the atmosphere,
 100 (his) body was made by the ðinjen phamo,
 (his) spirit was born of the ðorjye lobon,
 of a bõn who is descended from a càwa, of a bõn who is
 descended from a kàwa, of a bõn who could not
 help becoming a bõn, of a bõn who could not help
 performing (the rites).
 When performing the ceremony [for] the client, the bõn may be hurt
 at the back by a harmful agent which presents (its) mouth,
 may be hurt at the front by a harmful agent which presents
 (its) backbone,
 may be hurt at the back by a defamation, may be hurt at the
 front by an accusation,
 may be hurt by the bõmbo('s) harming magic bõn-weapon,
 may be hurt by the lama's harming magic weapon,
 may be hurt by the ferocious enemy's magic arrow,
 may be hurt by the ferocious enemy's harming charm,
 may be hurt by the sañduñ-prañduñ('s) magic arrow (made)
 of the yèrma wood, by the yogi('s) harming formula.
 Do not perturb the action (?), do not perturb the distinction
 (in the mind), O Gúru Phamo with the distinctive mind,
 O Gúru Phamo with the distinctive blessing (?)!
 Let us go and get at the phamo's divine abode in the middle
 of the atmosphere, let us go and get at the phamo's divine
 abode in the middle of the underground sphere!,
 105 If it is a good one, let us go and get at the good omen,*

*if it is a bad one, let us go and get at the bad omen,
O lineage forefathers!*

Hail!

*The dear mistress is befallen by a state of illness – let us go
and heal (her), (she) is befallen by a state of pain – let us
go and heal (her)!*

*Has (she) been affected by something which arises above,
has (she) been affected by something which arises below?,*

*has (she) been affected by the impurity of the horse-meat,
the pork, the ox-meat, (the impurity of) mating?,*

has (she) been affected by the karda-impurity?,

has (she) been affected by the marda-impurity?,

has (she) been affected while eating?,

has (she) been affected while sleeping?,

110 *has (she) been affected while walking?,*

has (she) been affected while taking a meal?,

has (she) been affected while drinking beer?,

has (she) been affected while drinking liquor?,

has (she) been befallen by a state of illness?,

115 *has (she) been befallen by a “rinsing-up”?,*

has (she) been befallen by a “flowing-down”?,

has the dear mistress been befallen by thòmdom-rīri,

by (all sorts of) illnesses and ailments (?) ?

Notes:

98: **geppu** (< Tib. rgad-po), lit. 'old man', here with reference to the youngest bõmbo-predecessor of the officiating bõmbo within his spiritual lineage, e.g., his father or father's father, etc., whose professing of shamanism is now being "continued" by the officiating bõmbo.

– OT **syembu** (< Tib. gžan-pa), lit. 'the other one', with reference to the officiating bõmbo.

– **cu:ba**, a polysemic verb, frequently employed in ritual texts, meaning, 'to begin', 'to do', 'to execute', 'to cause', 'to prepare', etc.

– **khyurna** < khyurba, lit. 'to turn', stands here for 'to die', as in the MT idiom gyábna khyurba, lit. 'to (re)turn back', for 'to die'.

99: OT **nàm b̄arkap yīnle** < Tib. gnam, 'sky', 'heaven', + bar-skabs, 'interval' (instead of Tib. bar-snañ, 'atmosphere'), + dbyiñs, 'space', + -las, 'from'. OT -le was in some cases interpreted as a locative suffix, cf. also "b̄arkap" in 9.104 note below.

– OT **m̄ayin** = MT àyin, 'is not'.

– **sa gyámjye... m̄ayin** = not originated from the earth/atmosphere. Meaning: the bõmbo is not a product of a miracle; rather, he was shaped in the womb and born like any human, and trained and initiated, like any other bõmbo. – The "earth-born shaman" (bhuiphor) of the Kham Magar (de Sales 1991: 104) seems correspond to the Tamang bõmbo with a "self-produced" charisma (àyo rañsyiñ), cf. p. 23.

– **sa gyámjye** < MT sa, 'earth', + MT gyámjye, 'from', 'because of', 'by way of' (lit. 'following the path [gyám]'); or ? < OT *sa gyám, 'underneath', 'grotto', < Tib. gyam, 'recess (in a rock)', 'shallow grotto'.

100: OT **ḍin̄jyen phamo** < Tib. drin-čan pha-ma. lit. 'kind parents' (cf. also Jäschke 1949: 262 f.). **ḍorjye lobon** < Tib. rdo-rje lop-dpon (Skt. vajrācārya), 'teacher' (who directs the adept to the path of salvation, s. Tucci 1970: 150). In Tamang, "ḍin̄jyen phamo" is both an epithet of the Divine Mother Kaliama (s. pp. 55-56) and a euphemism for 'one's own mother'. Similarly, "ḍorjye lobon" is both a euphemism for 'one's own guru' and 'one's own father'. There was disagreement among the informants as to which meanings were intended here. On the terms "ḍin̄jyen phamo" and "ḍin̄" cf. also March 1990: 11.

101: OT **b̄appa** (< Tib. 'bab-pa), lit. 'to come down', figuratively 'to become incarnated'. The "càwa/kàwa b̄appai b̄on" may also read: 'the bõmbo in whom all bõmbo-forefathers of his spiritual lineage became incarnated'.

- **ma.kuina... bõnjye**, 'a bõn who could not help becoming a bõn' = a reference to the involuntary character of the bõmbo's vocation resulting from the shamanic calling experience.
- 102: **jiyinda** (< Tib. sbyin-bdag), 'client (of a religious specialist)'.
- **ḡḡdañ**, 'ceremony' (with reference to the bõmbo's ritual only), ? < Tib. bro, 'dance', and ḡḡaḡñ, 'music'.
- **gyábna kha... nõnna chi:...** **syõña**, 'may be hurt at the back...' = the harmful agent attacks from behind and opens its mouth to swallow the victim, or it attacks from the front to carry away the victim on its back. **tanba**, lit. 'to give', 'to offer'.
- **noccyen**, 'harmful agent', may refer to both personal (gods, demons, witches) and impersonal agents (spells, magic projectiles, etc.). **noccyen** ? < Tib. *gnod-čan, 'the harmful one'.
- OT **syõnba**, 'to hurt', 'to befall'. **yõnba** (elsewhere 'to come on to', cf. 47.365 ff.) seems to be treated here as a synonym of **syõnba**.
- OT **chi**: (MT cikpa), lit. 'backbone', < Tib. chigs, 'joint', 'vertebra', and sgal-chigs, 'backbone'.
- **bõnsur/bõnsor** and **chesur/chesor**, -sur < sõr (< Tib. zor, 'magic weapon'), the "vehicle" of a spell or curse, which may be a dough figurine (tormo) or a slip of paper with a charm written on it. Cf. also **kuldap**, **ñendap**, **ḡḡ** and **ḡḡser**, below.
- **jõ:ri nákpõ**, 'ferocious enemy', or also 'black magician', according to the informants. **nákpõ** ? < Tib. sñags-po, 'sorcerer', or sñags-pa, 'Tantric magician'.
- **kuldap**, **ñendap**, (material or immaterial) magic projectiles "loaded" with a curse or spell, cf. also note on **ḡḡ** below. – **kuldap** ? < Tib. skul-ba, 'to exhort', 'to impose'; **ñendap** ? < Tib. ñes-pa, 'wrong', 'evil', 'damage'; + **-dap** < Tib. 'debs-pa, 'to hit', etc.
- **saḡduñ-prañduñ** < saḡduñ, a (non-initiated) specialist who is proficient in particularly powerful mantras, + **prañduñ** = obviously an echo.
- OT **yèrma**, a thorny shrub, *Zanthoxylum armatum*. **yèrma** < Tib. gyer-ma (Lo Bue 1981: 98; the etymology given in Höfer 1981: 24, 27 f. is probably erroneous).
- **ḡḡ** (? < Tib mda, 'arrow'), a particular type of magic projectile made, in the present instance, of the thorns of the **yèrma** shrub. **ḡḡ** is apparently synonymous with **ḡḡsyu** (11.125) and **ḡḡser** (12.130).
- **bḡḡḡ** < N. bidhi, 'formula', possibly with reference to the ascetics of the Kānpḡḡḡ sect, said to be proficient in magic.
- 103: OT **ḡḡ:wa**, 'action (?)', with reference to the bõmbo's ritual activities. **ḡḡ:wa** ? < Tib. bde-ba, lit. 'happiness'.
- **māchyu:go** < OT **chyu:ba** < Tib. 'čhug-pa/'phyugs-pa, 'to be mistaken'.
- **ḡḡmba** (< Tib. 'dam-pa, 'to select'), 'distinction', 'discriminatory faculty of the mind', 'to distinguish'; with reference to one of the bõmbo's main ritual techniques: the sorting out of what is relevant as a cause from among a number of possible causes, etc. (s. pp. 26, 305). The faculty by virtue of which this sorting out is being done is called **thudam**; hence "thū: ḡḡmbi phamo", an epithet which seems to express that it is the divinity (phamo) who inspires or enlightens the bõmbo while carrying out this task. – Cf. also sem **ḡḡmba sõnba** in 46.357, and **soisoi-ḡḡdam** in 57.469.
- **wañ** is a kind of life-power (Tib. dbañ) conferred through an act of blessing, cf. **ḡḡpçyoi waḡgur** in section 106. The "wañ ḡḡmbi phamo", 'the phamo with the distinctive life-power' (?) = the divinity with whose help the bõmbo is enabled to discriminate the source from which life-power can be obtained for the client?
- **Gúru Phamo**, here as a term of address for all tutelaries of all bõmbos among SR's ancestors.
- 104: **ḡḡarkap**, s. 9.99 note. **tiñle** < tiñ (< Tib. sdiñs), 'the middle', 'core', 'heart'. Note the fluctuation **tiñle/yiñle/liñle** (17.150, 20.189, 21.196, 23.207, 43.334, 110.1068).
- **phamo**, here for any of the divinities involved: those who will provide the various blessings, help in restoring the patient's soul, etc.
- **pheni** < MT **pheba**, 'to get at (a path, a decision)', 'to discern', 'to separate' (s. p. 26), + the hortative first person of **ñiba**, 'to go'.
- **nañba**, 'underground sphere', 'underworld', synonymous with **nañkap** in 104.995 and N. **pattāl** in 1.7.
- 105: **sañsam sañbai** < OT **sañba** (< Tib. bzañ-po), 'is good/favourable'.
- **temrul** (? < Tib. *ltas-'phrul), any sign to be interpreted as an omen (s. also **te:nen** in 37.281 and **jumrul** in 91.819). Meaning: may the bõmbo be enabled to recognize the omen which is relevant, whether it is a favourable or a bad one.
- 107: **ñinba/ñiñ**, 'dear', s. Höfer 1981: 62.

- **nàwa, chàwa** = MT *nàba*, 'illness', 'to be sick', and *chàba*, 'pain', 'to ache', both terms in a "Tibetanized" pronunciation.
- **bardo** (< Tib. *bar-do*), 'state', 'period'.
- **jyũba** (< Tib. 'byuñ-ba), 'to come about', 'to befall'.
- **jyũba – salñi!**, 'befallen – let us go and heal!', or 'befallen – let us go and find out (the cause)!'. Here the polysemy of the verb *salba* allows for either interpretation (cf. p. 26).
- 108: OT **yar(a) + mar(a)**, lit. 'above' + 'below', respectively, may, in some contexts, also be understood as meaning 'everywhere'.
- OT **blõba** (? < Tib. *lañ-ba/loñ-ba*), 'to rise', 'to arise'; MT *blõba*, 'to boil over'.
- OT **khari**, (here) 'due to', 'by what...'; elsewhere also 'in', 'at'. S. also Höfer 1981: 58, 104.
- **pho:ba** (< Tib. 'phogs-pa), 'to affect', 'to befall'.
- 109: **waşya** < OT *wā*, 'domesticated pig', + *sya*, 'flesh', 'meat'. The indigenous black pig is considered impure and seldom eaten by the Tamang.
- **lañsya** < OT *lañ* (< Tib. *ba-glañ*), 'ox'. As the cow is not mentioned, I have avoided translating the word by 'beef'. Seeing that the Tamang are notorious beef-eaters (the Nepalese legislation of the past did allow certain castes to eat beef of dead cattle), the idea of the impurity of ox-meat might be of Tibetan origin. On the avoidance of ox-meat in Tibetan Bon-po literature cf. Snellgrove 1967: 143 ff.
- **ñengi** < OT *ñen* (< Tib. *gñen*, 'kinsman') which has survived in the expression "ñen brẽba", 'to establish marital alliance' (by exchanging wives between clans).
- OT **ru:**, 'ritual impurity'.
- OT **karda** and **marda** = ?
- **şawai** < OT *şāba* (< Tib. *za-ba*), 'to eat', in a "Tibetanized" pronunciation.
- **khari**, (here), 'while', 'at the time of'.
- **ñalwai** < OT *ñalba* (< Tib. *ñal-ba*), 'to sleep', 'to lie down', in a "Tibetanized" pronunciation.
- 110: **ḍowai** < OT *ḍōba* (< Tib. 'gro-ba), 'to go', 'to walk', in a "Tibetanized" pronunciation.
- 111: OT **to** < Tib. *lto*, 'food'.
- 112: OT **chyañ** (< Tib. *čhañ*), 'beer'.
- 113: OT **a:ra** (< Tib. *a-rag*), 'liquor', 'brandy'.
- 115: OT **yara syelne** = "rinsing-up" = 'vomiting'. *syelne* ? < Tib. *bşal-nad*, 'indisposition from diarrhoea' (Jäschke 1949: 567). The informants' rendering of *syelne* by 'rinsing' might have been influenced by MT *şya/ba* (< Tib. *bşal-ba*), 'to rinse', 'to wash'.
- 116: OT **marā oine** = "flowing-down" = 'diarrhoea'. The "rinsing-up" + "flowing-down" was explained as a metaphor for gastroenteritis or cholera, the main symptoms of which are vomiting and diarrhoea. Cf. also "yara syelne, marā syelne" in 34.270 and p. 296.
- 117: **thõmdom-riri**, the OT name of a little-known illness; one of its symptoms is dullness or absent-mindedness, according to SB. Hence *thõmdom* ? < Tib. 'thom(s)-pa, 'to be dull/confused', + *rig-rig*, 'to stare with revolving eye-balls', 'to look timidly' (Das 1970: 609, 1180; Jäschke 1949: 246). Holmberg (1989: 166) gives 'fear' for what he spells "thomthom", and 'dark haze' for what he spells "rhi-rhi".
- OT **riñriñ-phetphet**, tentatively rendered by '(all sorts of) illnesses'.

10.

- da:moda kha ñammu, li: ñammu, so ñammu, ro ñammu, bu: ñammu,
 meḅdo ñammu, che.ḍarsyiñ ñammu, luḅdañ ñammu, pũila
 meḅluñ ñammu, tiñla tẽwa ñammu, che.ḍarsyiñ, ḍara luḅdañ
 ñammu da:moda.
 ha:y gyũppa mẽme,
 120 semjye maḅorna bu:jye luñ gyũrmu, li:jye nàwa sepmu,
 li:jye chyũ gyũrmu, li:jye dõnbo gyũrmu,
 awai sombo tapmu, mi:la migcyuñ brũpmu,
 da:mo gyādeñ.tõngi chyoppa phulma.ḍiri gayañ maḅamu,
 gyũppa mẽme.

da:mo ñinda karbo tha:ri ba:jyi wa:, ma:bo tha:ri ba:jyi wa?:
 kha:sari ba:jyi wa:, syi:nsari ba:jyi wa?:
 kha:sai noccyen wa:, syi:nsai noccyen wa?:

*

The mistress's mouth (speech) appears to be injured, (her) body appears to be injured, (her) vital principle appears to be injured, (her) life-principle appears to be injured, (her) breath appears to be injured, (her) flower appears to be injured, (her) life-pole appears to be injured, (her) respiration (?) appears to be injured, the flame in (her) knee appears to be injured, the centre in (her) heart appears to be injured, the mistress's life-pole, (her) respiration (?) appear to be injured.

- 120 *ha:y, O lineage forefathers,
 unawares, the breath appears to have turned into wind,
 the body appears to have withered into illness,
 the body appears to have turned into water,
 the body appears to have turned into a tree,
 (it) appears to have become dissolved in the living (lively?)
 air (?), tears appear to flow from the eyes, (and even)
 when offering a million sacrifices, the mistress appears
 not to become happy (not to get better),
 O lineage forefathers.
 Has (the harmful agent) affected the white blood,
 has it affected the red blood of the dear mistress?,
 has it affected the homestead, has it affected the fields?,
 is it a harmful agent (which inhabits the sphere) of the homestead,
 is it a harmful agent (which inhabits the sphere) of the fields?*

Notes:

118: **so** and **ro**, 'vital principle' and 'life-principle', respectively. No clear-cut conceptual difference could be established between these two notions. Both words occur in the terms *so.duñma* and *ro.duñma* (s. 27.228, 58.475, and pp. 310-311).

– **so** < Tib. *srog*, 'life', 'vitality'. In the Tibetan dialect of Lubra, *srog* is the 'life-principle' which does not survive the physical body (Ramble 1982: 339 f.). Again, in the Thakali language, the 'life-principle' – which is different from 'soul' (*bla*) and 'mind' (*sem*) – is called *rohk* (Vinding 1982: 313 f.), a term which appears to be etymologically related to Tib. *srog*, 'life'.

– **ro** ? < Tib. *sro*, 'ardour', 'passion', or < Tib. *ro*, 'body'. It cannot be excluded that both Tamang terms, *so* and *ro*, ultimately derive from Tib. *srog*; cf. the Thakali *rohk* < Tib. *srog*.

– **ñammu** < OT *ñamba*, 'to be injured/damaged' (here); as the particle *-mu* indicates, the speaker refers to an evidence yet to be confirmed.

– **mendo**, 'flower', with reference to the genital organs or the life-flower, or both, cf. pp. 54-55, 310-311.

– **che.darsyiñ**, 'life-pole', obviously a synonym or partial synonym of *ro.duñma* = 'life-beam' (s. 27.228 and pp. 310-311) and/or *sosyiñ* (s. 86.734) as the "axle" of the body. – *che.darsyiñ*, ? < Tib. *che*, 'life', + *dar-šiñ*, 'flag-staff'; *sosyiñ* < Tib. *srog-šiñ*, lit. 'life-tree', which is also the name of a stick or staff planted in the middle of a *gtor-ma* (dough figure) or a *mčhod-rten* in Tibet (cf. Jäschke 1949: 585 and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 496).

– **lundañ** = *da:ra lundañ* = *da:ra*, according to SR, who rendered all three terms tentatively by 'respiration' (?). *da:ra lundañ* ? < Tib. *brdar(-ša)*, 'nerves', + *rluñ* = *vāyu* (the name of one of the humours of the human body) + *mda:ñs*, 'vital fluid'.

- **pùlla mēluñ**, 'the flame in/of the knee', a euphemism?
- **tiñla tēwa**, 'the centre in/of the heart', a euphemism? OT *tēwa* < Tib. *lte-ba*, 'navel', 'centre'.
- 119: **hə:y** seems to be used, in some cases, as an exclamation of address, and in some others, as an onglide that helps the reciter to tune himself into what follows after a break.
- 120: **gyurmu** < OT *gyurba* (< Tib. 'gyur-ba), 'to become', 'to turn into'.
- **l̥j̥:jye...**, other texts also mention the 'blood having turned into water', and the 'bones having turned into stones', etc.
- OT **awai sombo/awai som**, 'living air' (?); *sombo* < Tib. *gson-po*, 'living', 'alive'. The contexts in which *awai* (< ?) occurs, suggest the connotations 'height' (upland), 'lofty' and 'air' (atmosphere). Cf. below "awai somgi mēdo/pi:bi somgi mēdo" = 'flower of the upland/flower of the lowland' (51.419, 56.468), and "awai jyara nəkpo" = 'black vulture of the air' (110.1069). – **awai sombo tappa**, 'to become dissolved in the living air'(?), may also convey the meaning 'to be reduced (socially) to nothing'/'to become lonely', as SB added.
- OT **migcyuñ/migcyu** < Tib. *mig-čhu*, 'tears'.
- 121: OT **gyaḍeñ.toñ**, 'a million', in the sense of 'innumerable'; etymologically < Tib. *brgya theñs stoñ*, '100 x 1000'.
- MT **chyoppa** (< Tib. *mčhod-pa*), a general term for 'sacrifice', 'sacrificial offerings' (cf., however, p. 331).
- **gayañ maḡamu** < OT *gayañ gəba* < Tib. *dga' yañ dga'-ba*, 'very good'.
- 122: **n̥inda** < OT *n̥iñ(gi)/n̥iñ(bai)*, 'dear', < Tib. *sñiñ*, lit. 'heart'.
- OT **karbo tha:** (< Tib. *dkar-po*, 'white', and *khraḡ*, 'blood'), 'white blood', may refer to 'marrow' or 'lymph', as one *bombo* informant added.
- **bə:jyi** < MT *bə:ba*, 'to cling to/on', 'to befall'; ? < Tib. 'bag-pa', 'to defile'.
- 123: OT **khañsa** (< Tib. **khañ-sa*, lit. 'house-site'), 'homestead'; cf. also "ghar-ghareri" in 93.851 note.
- OT **syj̥nsa** (< Tib. *žin-sa*, 'field', 'arable land'), 'fields', 'area under cultivation'.

11.

- 125 **sadañ.sò:i kuldap, sadañ.sò:i n̥endap,**
 yara khyugpai noccyen salñi, maḡa khyugpai noccyen salñi!,
 ta:dañ s̥urbai noccyen salñi, pha:dañ s̥urbai noccyen salñi!,
 maḡlamdai noccyen salñi, yaḡlamdai noccyen salñi!,
 phosyibi syimo salñi, moḡsyibi syimo salñi!,
 phoni seḡde salñi, moḡni seḡde salñi!,
 sonḡde-ḡemoi kuldap salñi, lasya-ḡemoi kuldap salñi!,
 boḡbo n̥embi n̥ensur salñi, l̥ama chebi chesur salñi!,
 sañduñ-prañduñ yèrmai ḡasyu salñi, gyúppa mème!,
 sa gyámjye ḡiñbai noccyen salñi,
 n̥am baḡkap tiñle ḡiñbai noccyen salñi!,
 ḡañboi si salñi, ḡañboi ri salñi!,
 phojye noppa – salñi, syañjye noppa – salñi!,
 si gyara salñi, gyúppa mème, si toñra salñi!,
 si ḡaḡpoi kuldap salñi, si gyálboi kuldap salñi!,
 hə:y gyúppa mème!

*

- 125 *Let us go and find the magic arrow (made) of the sadañ.sò: (wood), the harming charm (conveyed by the magic arrow made) of the sadañ.sò: (wood), the harmful agent which roams above!, let us go and find the harmful agent which roams below!,*

*let us go and find the harmful agent which roars with (like)
 the leopard,
 let us go and find the harmful agent which roars with (like)
 the wild boar!,
 let us go and find the harmful agent of the lower crossroads,
 let us go and find the harmful agent of the upper crossroads!,
 let us go and find the ghost of the dead male,
 let us go and find the ghost of the dead female!,
 let us go and find the male s̥eṇḍe,
 let us go and find the female s̥eṇḍe!,
 let us go and find the magic arrow of the sonḍe-ḍemo,
 let us go and find the magic arrow of the lasya-ḍemo!,
 let us go and find the b̥ombo('s) harming magic weapon,
 let us go and find the lama's harming magic weapon!,
 let us go and find the saṇḍuñ-praṇḍuñ('s) magic arrow
 (made) of the y̥erma (wood), O lineage forefathers!,
 let us go and find the harmful agent which soars (coming?)
 from the earth,
 let us go and find the harmful agent which soars in the middle
 of the atmosphere!,
 let us go and find the si of the past,
 let us go and find the ri of the past!,
 it does harm from the male side – let us go and find it,
 it does harm from the affinal side – let us go and find it!,
 let us go and find hundreds of si, O lineage forefathers,
 let us go and find thousands of si!,
 let us go and find the magic arrow of the fierce si,
 let us go and find the magic arrow of the si-king!,
 ha:y, O lineage forefathers!*

Notes:

- 125: OT **sadañ.sò:**, most probably the 'birch tree' (MT takpa), the twigs of which are said to have been used in former times for manufacturing "magic arrows".
- OT **khyugpa** (< Tib. rgyug-pa), 'to roam', 'to run about'.
 - OT **ta:** (< Tib. stag, 'tiger'), 'leopard' (MT cyen).
 - OT **pha:** (< Tib. [ri-]phag), 'wild boar'.
 - **y̥arlamdai, maṛlamdai** < MT lamda (< Tib. lam-mdo), 'crossroads', the place where evil spirits and ghosts are expelled to. Cf. also the rituals of the "upper crossroads" and "lower crossroads" (sections 97.-102., and 110.-111., respectively).
 - MT **syimo**, 'ghost', 'spirit of a dead person'.
 - **phoni** and **m̥oni**, morphologically obscure; in MT, only phonet and m̥onet, 'ghost of a male', and 'ghost of a female', respectively, are attested.
 - MT **s̥eṇḍe/saṇḍe** (< Tib. za-'dre, lit. 'eating demon'), the malevolent ghost of a lama, b̥ombo, witch or a saṇḍuñ (s. 9.102 note).
 - OT **sonḍe-ḍemo** (< Tib. gson-'dre + 'dre-mo), 'witch', 'sorcerer'.
 - **lasya-ḍemo**, another OT term for '(female) witch'. Cf. also Lasya, the name of the First Witch (pp. 54 ff.).
 - OT **ḍasyu** (? < Tib. mda'-gzu, 'bow and arrow'), 'magic arrow', cf. note on ḍa in 9.102 above.
- 126: **ḍiñba**, 'to soar', 'to hover'; on the translation of this verb cf. p. 49 f.
- **si** and **ri** were explained as particular demons who cause various mishaps and who can be "inherited" from one's father's or mother's ancestors. **si** < Tib. sri, 'a class of malevolent goblins', personifications of

dangerous periods of time in the life of a man (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 216, 300-303, 516 ff.; Beyer 1973: 299 f.; and Huntington 1975: 9). *ri* might be etymologically related to Gurung *rhi*, 'malevolent spirits' of non-human origin (Pignède 1966: 368 ff.), Thakali *rhi*, 'spirits which cause death' (Vinding 1982: 307), and ultimately – just like T. *si* – also with Tib. *sri* (s. above).

- **phojye** < OT *pho*, 'male side', here with reference to the ancestors in the lineages of both the (woman) patient's father and the patient's husband's father, i.e., their father's father, father's father's brother, father's father's sister, etc.
- **syañjye** < OT *syañ* (< Tib. *žañ[-po]*), 'affinal side', here with reference to the ancestors in those lineages which are "wife-givers" either for the (woman) patient's father's lineage or for the patient's husband's lineage, i.e., their mother's father's lineage, mother's mother's father's lineage, etc.
- **phojye... noppa** may also be translated by '[let us go and find] what does harm from the male/affinal side'.
- OT **gyāra** < Tib. *brgya-phrag*, 'a hundred'.
- OT **tonra** < Tib. *ston-phrag*, 'a thousand'.
- **ḍakpo** < Tib. *drags-po*, 'violent', 'terrifying', cf. also Höfer 1981: 15 f.
- OT **gyálbo** < Tib. *rgyal-po*, 'king'.

12.

- lam gyaram gu:ri dñ̄nbai noccyen salñ̄i!,
 durs̄a gu:ri dñ̄nbai noccyen salñ̄i!,
 kharda-chobda, sabda-luñ̄en, d̄ori ne:bi d̄obon chyembo,
 chyuri ne:bi chyubon chyembo, syiñ̄bon, brá:bon, b̄ir-màsa:n,
 kāco bāyu salñ̄i, gyúppa mème!,
 130 ñ̄emai ñ̄enser nañ̄ri dñ̄nbai noccyen salñ̄i!,
 d̄awai ḥoser nañ̄ri dñ̄nbai noccyen salñ̄i!,
 cengi ḍaser syoñ̄bai noccyen salñ̄i!,
 mengi ḍaser jyūñ̄bai noccyen salñ̄i!,
 chalam ñ̄ambi noccyen salñ̄i, bułam ñ̄ambi noccyen salñ̄i!

*

Let us go and find the harmful agent which soars near the crossroads!

let us go and find the harmful agent which soars near the grave!

let us go and find the kharda-chobda, the sabda-luñ̄en, the great d̄obon which dwells in the courtyard, the great chyubon which dwells in the water, the syiñ̄bon, the brá:bon, the b̄ir-màsa:n, the kāco bāyu, O lineage forefathers!,

- 130 *let us go and find the harmful agent which soars in the sun's beam of light!,*

let us go and find the harmful agent which soars in the moon's beam of light!,

let us go and find the harmful agent which hurts with the ḍaser of a cen!,

let us go and find the harmful agent which befalls (one) with the ḍaser of a men!,

let us go and find the harmful agent which injures the great-grandchildren (?), let us go and find the harmful agent which injures the grandchildren (!)

Notes:

- 127: OT **lam gyaram** (< Tib. lam, 'path', + rgya-gram, 'cross') for MT lamda, 'crossroads'. Cf. also mamoi gyaram in 83.685. **gū:ri** < MT gū:, lit. 'corner'.
- 128: MT **dursa** (< Tib. dur, 'grave'), the small mound heaped up over the calcinated bones collected from the funeral pyre of a dead person. Cf. also dursa kù in 39.301 where gū: 'corner', is replaced by kù, 'nine'.
- 129: **kharda-chobda**, a kind of aquatic monster. According to one informant, kharda denotes a male, and chobda a female being. kharda-chobda < Tib. mkhar-bdag mcho-bdag, lit. 'lord of the fortress, lord of the lake', originally the epithet of a klu (= MT lu), as it seems; cf. pp. 116, 258 f., 335 f. below and Höfer 1981: 16-17.
- **sabda-luñen**, another kind of aquatic monster, < Tib. sa-bdag, klu, gñan, cf. p. 296. The etymology as given in Höfer 1981: 17 is obviously erroneous.
 - **dōri** < MT dō, 'courtyard (in front of a dwelling house)', according to the informants, but in this instance dō- < Tib. rdo, 'stone', appears more probable (cf. the next note).
 - **dōbon, chyubon, brá:bon** and **syiñbon** were described as dwarf-bombos of non-human origin who inhabit stone boulders, water, steep rocky slopes and trees (dō, chyu, brá: and syiñ), respectively. Sometimes one can hear the sound of their drums: "tek-tek-tek, tek-tek-tek". According to Holmberg (1989: 154), they have tails with which they beat their drums. – The reference to these drumming dwarfs who are associated with the elements of the natural landscape, and to the ban jhākri (cf. 2.19 note) who lives in the wilderness and can only whistle (but not speak), seems to stress, among other things, that speech and music in shamanic performance are both rooted in, and distinct from, "natural" rhythms and sounds of a pre-linguistic articulation.
 - OT **chyembo** (< Tib. čhen-po), 'great', 'mighty'.
 - **bj̄r-māsa:n** < N. bir + masān (cf. 4.43 note). The hyphen reflects the pronunciation which in turn suggests these two goblins being, in a sense, inseparable from one another (both haunt cremation places).
 - N. **kāco bāyu** is the ghost of a person, who troubles his relatives; as long as it remains unknown why he does so and by what means he can be placated regularly, he is called "raw" (kāco) bāyu. On the bāyu worship among the Jaisi Brahmins in Nepal cf. Höfer and Shrestha 1973.
- 130: OT **ñema** (< Tib. ñi-ma), 'sun'; OT **ñenser/ñeser** (< Tib. ñi-gzer), 'the sun's beam of light'. "ñemai ñenser", lit. 'the sun's beam of sunlight', as one of the informants insisted, but my translation ignores the pleonasm.
- OT **dāwa** (< Tib. zla-ba), 'moon'; OT **hōser** (< Tib. 'od-gzer), 'beam of light'.
 - MT **dāser** (< ? Tib. mda', 'arrow', + gzer, 'nail') = dā, the magic projectile (cf. 9.102 note) which is believed to be shot by a superhuman agent or a human enemy into the body of the victim and to cause piercing or burning pain. When extracted by the bombo with the help of his sucking horn, it appears in the shape of some marble stone splinters, a few hairs, grains of sand or fragments of moss and various plants.
 - **cen**, s. pp. 53-54.
 - **men**, vaguely identified as the companion or child of a cen fairy; SB even suspected that *men* was but an echo-word of *cen*. – men < Tib. sman, a class of goddesses in the ancient Bon pantheon. Originally, sman denoted the female consort of any god or demon, according to Tucci (Tucci 1949: 720 f.; s. also Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 198-202). The Tibetan word sman also means 'medicine' and 'woman'.
- 131: **chalam** and **bułam** < OT chalam-bułam, approximately 'progeny'; the compound is artificially disjoined here. chalam < Tib. cha, 'grandchild', and bułam < Tib. bu, 'son'. Despite the etymological evidence (bu = 'son'), I have followed SB's attempt to give a literal translation of -bułam, namely 'great-grandchildren'.

13.

The task of restoring the family's prosperity in general (as alluded to in section 14.), and the patient's health and fertility in particular cannot be carried out without the help of Kaliama (Lasya), the Divine Mother. Indeed, the bombo will request her intervention at several stages of the ritual (cf., e.g., sections 24.-25., 34., 67.-68., 105.-106., 108.-109.) and try to "find her

abode” in the mythic-mystic country on at least three occasions: at the end of two of his ritual journeys (sections 32. and 87.) and in the “unio mystica” in the *yar lamda* act (section 111.). The first step in approaching Kaliama will be to narrate her myth (section 23.)...

- 132 Kaliama Hōsyē Nañsyē Ḍólmo, Kaliama Sergu Ḍólmo,
 Kaliama Mārgu Ḍólmo, Kaliama Khandā:mo Rá:ñi,
 tha:, lī: señbai ḍinjen phamo, bu:, lī: señbai ḍinjen phamo,
 kha keba, lī: keba, so keba, ro keba, bu: keba,
 luñdañ bārbai ḍinjen phamo, luñdañ keppai ḍinjen phamo,
 ñemadañ chebi ḍinjen phamo, ḍawadañ syarbai ḍinjen phamo.
 Kaliama phamoi lāgañ salñi, gyúppa mème!

*

- 132 Kaliama Hōsyē Nañsyē Ḍólmo, Kaliama Sergu Ḍólmo,
 Kaliama Mārgu Ḍólmo, Kaliama Khandā:mo Rá:ñi,
 the ḍinjen phamo who makes (creates) the blood, the body,
 the ḍinjen phamo who makes (creates) the breath, the body,
 of whom the mouth (speech) is born, of whom the body is born,
 of whom the vital principle is born,
 of whom the life-principle is born, of whom the breath is born,
 the ḍinjen phamo who makes the respiration (?) expand,
 the ḍinjen phamo who gives birth to the respiration (?),
 the ḍinjen phamo growing with the sun (shining like the sun?),
 the ḍinjen phamo rising with the moon (shining like the moon?),
 let us go and find the divine abode of phamo Kaliama,
 O lineage forefathers!

Notes:

132: Kaliama, Ḍólmo, Khandā:mo, s. pp. 54-57.

– Hōsyē and Nañsyē, obviously epithets of Kaliama, just like Hōsal and Nañsal, s. p. 56. Hōsyē ? < Tib. 'od, 'light', and Nañsyē < Tib. snañ-ba, 'light'. In line 134 below, Kaliama is likened to the sun and moon. On the epithets of Tārā (= Ḍólmo), such as “the brightly glorious”, “of white-moon brightness”, etc. cf. Getty 1962: 119 ff.

– Sergu ? < Tib. gser-sku, lit. 'image of gold', or Tib. *ser-sku, lit. 'yellow image/body'; and Mārgu ? < Tib. *dmar-sku, lit. 'red image/body', with reference to the different manifestations of Tārā? One of the 21 Tārās is called “the Golden Coloured One”; and the Yellow and Red Tārā belong to her wrathful forms (Getty 1962: 121-124 f.).

– Rá:ñi < N. rāni, 'queen'.

133: kha,... bu: keba, instead of kebai; except for the last member(s) of an enumeration, the participial suffix -i is often omitted, s. pp. 286-290 and 23.211 note.

– bārba, s. 8.94 note.

– keppa < OT keppa < Tib. skyed-pa, 'to procreate', versus OT keba < Tib. skye-ba, 'to be born'. In similar contexts and phrases, there is a frequent fluctuation between keba and keppa (cf. kha keppa in 23.211 versus kha keba here), even though keppa seems to be the correct form, from the etymological viewpoint at least.

134: ñemadañ chebi, ... ḍawadañ syarbai... 'growing with the sun, ... rising with the moon'. The alternative translation (in brackets) the informants gave is partly supported by etymology in that syarba < Tib. šar-ba/'char-ba, 'to rise', 'to shine'. – Both “ñemadañ chebi” and “ḍawadañ syarbi” also occur as epithets of various flowers (cf., e.g., 51.420) and constitute, thus, links in an associative chain: (botanical) Flower – “Flower” (life-flower plus womb-flower) – Kaliama, the Giver of “Flower”/The “Flower” – cen, the holder of Flower and the usurper of “Flower”.

14.

- 135 **hə:y gyúppa mème, brj:gi hoñ salñi, nõrgi yañ salñi!,
 khala se:, la:la nõr salñi!
 lañjyen nõrbu, balañ-pamo, rəbui hõma, dərə ñamba – salñi,
 gyúppa mème!,
 luwa-buwa ñamba – salñi!,
 luwa ñamba – salñi!,
 buwa ñamba – salñi!,
 luwa-buwa ñamba – salñi, gyúppa mème!**

*

- 135 **hə:y, O lineage forefathers, let us go and find the crops'
 blessing, let us go and find the riches' blessing!,
 let us go and find (the blessing of) the mouth's food,
 (of) the riches in (one's) hand!
 The milk, the buttermilk of the precious cattle, the cow, the
 goat is injured (spoilt) – let us go and find (out its cause),
 O lineage forefathers!,
 the downy hairs (of the cattle) are injured (damaged) – let us
 go and find (out its cause)!,
 the down (?) is injured – let us go and find (out its
 cause)!,
 the hairs (?) are injured – let us go and find (out
 its cause)!,
 the downy hairs are injured – let us go and find (out its
 cause), O lineage forefathers!**

Notes:

- 135: **brj:gi hoñ** < OT **brj:** (< Tib. 'bru), 'crops', and MT **hoñ**, a sort of magic substance inherent in, or attached to, the crops, hence 'blessing'.
 – **nõrgi yañ** < OT **nõr** (< Tib. **nor**), 'riches', and **yañ** (< Tib. **gyañ**), 'luck', conceptualized as a magic substance, just like **hoñ**.
 – **khala se:** < OT **kha**, 'mouth', and OT **se:** (< Tib. **zas**), 'food'.
 – **la:la** < OT **la:lakpa** (< Tib. **lag-pa**), 'hand'.
 – OT **lañjyen nõrbu**, rendered by 'precious cattle/ox', < Tib. **glañ čhen**, lit. 'precious ox', and **nor-bu**, lit. 'jewel'.
 – OT **balañ-pamo**, rendered by 'cow', < Tib. **ba-glañ**, 'ox', 'bull', and **ba-mo**, 'cow'.
 – OT **rəbu**, rendered by 'goat' (MT **ra**), < Tib. **ra-pho**, 'he-goat'.
 – OT **hõma** (< Tib. 'o-ma), 'milk'.
 – OT **dərə** (< Tib. **da-ra**), 'buttermilk' (here).
 – OT **luwa-buwa**, this term refers, in ritual texts, to anything 'flocky', 'fluffy', 'fuzzy', 'hairy' or 'downy', such as moss, the hairs and feathers of an animal, or the trichoma of plants and the "hairiness" of some flowers (cf., e.g., 21.195). The compound is artificially disjoined here, cf. pp. 297 f. **luwa-buwa** ? < Tib. **lbu-ba/dbu-ba**, 'foam'. A derivation from N. **ruwā**, 'cotton wool' + **bhuwā**, 'fine down', as suggested by SB, is rather improbable.

15. – 25. Divine paraphernalia and the creation myth

The following part is the incense-recitation proper designed to consecrate the paraphernalia as implements and to activate them as divinities.¹ The onset (section 15.), announcing² an incensing from “all” parts of the world by “all” kinds of incense³, sets a universal frame of reference for the act as a whole – a spatial frame of reference which will be completed, further below, by the myth as a temporal one. The sequence of incensing, first, the drum, the robe and the rosaries along with the bell-strings (section 16.), and then the paraphernalia on the altar (sections 17.-19.) is continued by the creation myth. The origin of the world and the proto-institutionalization of shamanism (section 20.) are recapitulated as the “logical precedents” of the stories of two beings represented in the altar, namely (a) the Khyuñ, the mythic bird-helper embodied by the hornbill’s beak (section 22.), and (b) Kaliama, the Divine Flower and Mother (section 23.), whose purifying, protective and life-bestowing powers are evoked (section 24.) and transferred to the last among the ritual paraphernalia to be consecrated: the jug with the flowers in it (section 25.). At the same time, the recitation of the myth also serves the purpose of “deriving” the patient’s life-beam and life-flower from the primordial cosmic tree (cf. also pp. 243 ff., 310 ff.).

15.

136 chya:jaló!
 ði:ba larú ðajye ði:ba, ði:ba menðu ðajye ði:ba,
 mrawai luñjye sañba jęsyiñ paina dúbi gyajye sañba,
 pañjye sañba pañsañ-lúgu [dúbi gyajye] sañba,
 lağai chyejye sañba syukpa pha:syu dúbi gyajye sañba,
 nuþjye sañba gúlgul dúbi gyajye sañba,
 syarjye sañba cendiri marbo dúbi gyajye sañba,
 lojye sañba arura-barura dúbi gyajye sañba,
 chyujye sañba chyuden-dérmo dúbi gyajye sañba,
 brá:jye sañba brá:jyu-noljyu dúbi gyajye sañba,
 rèkki lumbu sañba syiñne-na:jo dúbi gyajye sañba.

*

136 *Hail!*
(In order) to perfume, (I) perfume with the pure larú,
to purify, (I) purify with the pure menðu,
to incense from the lowland, (I) incense with one hundred
(portions of) the resin of the jęsyiñ,
to incense from the meadow, (I) incense (with the incense of)
the pañsañ-lúgu,
to incense from the region of the upland, (I) incense with
one hundred (portions of) the incense of the syukpa pha:syu,
to incense from the west, (I) incense with one hundred

1 Sections 16.-19. and 22.-25. come close to what de Sales calls the “chant d’accessoires” (or “chant d’objets”) in the Kham Magar shaman’s recitation. These are songs which substantiate the ritual usage of an instrument, an animal or plant, often by describing their mythical prototypes (de Sales 1985.I: 290 ff. and 1991: 271 ff.).

2 Actually, the incense was lit long *after* the recitation of section 15., s. below p. 105.

3 Cf. pp. 290-292.

(portions of) the incense of the gúlguł,
to incense from the east, (I) incense with one hundred
(portions of) the incense of the red cendiri,
to incense from the south, (I) incense with one hundred
(portions of) the incense of the arura-ḅarura,
to incense from the water (river), (I) incense
with one hundred (portions of) the incense of the
chyuden-dérmo,
to incense from the steep slope, (I) incense with one hundred
(portions of) the incense of the brá:jyu-ñoljyu,
to incense the whole world, (I) incense with one hundred
(portions of) the incense of the syinne-na:jo.

Notes:

137: OT **dj:ba** < Tib. dri-ma, 'smell', 'scent'.

- **laru** and **menđu**, said to be two plants growing at higher altitudes and no longer used for incensing. (According to one informant, menđu is the OT name of the dubo (N.) grass, while other informants denied this). **laru** ? < Tib. lug-ru, the name of 'several species of Pedicularis' (Jäschke 1949: 548); **menđu** ? < Tib. smin-drug, 'Eremurus spectabilis' (in the dialect of Purig, Jäschke 1949: 427). – With the exception of syukpa, jesyiñ and cendiri, to my knowledge none of the plants mentioned here is used for incensing in Tamang rituals.
 - **dajje** < OT *dā ? < Tib. dag-pa, 'pure', 'holy'.
 - OT **ḥhi:ba**, the informants derived the verb from ḥhi: (< Tib. khru, 'ablution'), the name of a purification ceremony.
 - **mrawai luñ**, 'lowland', < OT mrawai = ?, and MT luñ (< Tib. luñ), 'valley'. In ritual texts, one finds "mrawai luñ" contrasted to "awai som/awai sombo", cf. 10.120 note.
 - MT **sañba**, 'to incense', sañ being the smoke of any material (plant, resin, butter, etc.) which is burnt as an offering and/or for purifying a place, the body, etc. sañ < Tib. bsañ, 'suffimen', in Tucci's (1970: 220 f.) translation.
 - MT **jesyiñ**, the sāl tree, Shorea robusta. **paina**, said to be the OT word for 'resin'; in 55.456, however, paina appears to be used as part of the name of the sāl tree.
 - OT **dúbi** ? < Tib. dud-pa'i, lit. 'of the smoke'.
 - **gyajje** < OT gyā < Tib. brgya, '100'.
 - **pañsañ-lúgu**, the 'Saussurea gossypiphora'.
 - **lagai** < Tib. la-kha'i, lit. 'on the side of the pass', but la in MT = 'upland'.
 - **chyejje** < OT *chye, 'region', also 'direction'; instead of "lagai chyejje", some other ritual texts have "lagai chyo:jje", < MT chyo: (< Tib. phyogs), 'direction'. Cf. also "phu: lagai chyele" in 16.140.
 - MT **syukpa pha:syu**, 'Juniper sp.'
- 138: OT **gúlguł** ? < Skt. gulgul, Tib. gu-gul, the fragrant gum resin of the Amyris gallochum, used as a medicine and perfume (Jäschke 1949: 69; s. also Klaus 1985: 361 and Monier-Williams 1970: 356).
- MT **cendiri/cèndi marbo**, 'Artemisia wallichiana' or 'Artemisia roxburghiana', with reddish (marbo) flowers. S. also "cèndi" in 53.440 note.
 - **arura-ḅarura** (< Tib. a-ru-ru, Skt. arura + Tib. ba-ru-ra), said to be identical with Nepali harro and barro, i.e., 'Terminalia chebula' and 'Terminalia belerica', respectively, two varieties of the myroblan (s. also Shrestha 1984: 50, 79, Wayman 1973a: 158, and Lange 1976: 121).
 - **jyañ**, 'north', is actually lacking in the enumeration.
 - OT **chyuden-dérmo**/chyuden-dérmo ? < Tib. čhu-srin sder-mo, 'a medicinal plant useful in leprosy' (Das 1970: 421).
 - **brá:jje** < MT brá:, 'steep slope', originally also 'rock' (Tib. brag).
 - **brá:jyu-ñoljyu**, 'Didymocarpus sp.', said to grow in rocky places.
 - OT **rèkki lumbu/riḅki lumbu**, 'the whole world', < Tib. ri-rab lhun-po/ri-rgyal lhun-po, 'the mount Sumeru', the centre of the world.

- *syiñne-na:jo* (< Tib. *šiñ-nas sna-chogs*, lit. 'various sorts of trees'), the name of a bundle of twigs and stalks of various plants, bent into a "U" and kept smouldering by means of some glowing charcoal placed in the bend. Used in specific rituals only. Here, the expression stands for 'the totality of plants for incensing'.
- Such "universal incensings" with 'lowland'/'upland'/'meadow'/'water (course)'/ 'steep rocky slope'/'the whole world', plus the four corners as recurrent categories are to be found in some non-shamanic texts, too. On similar categorizations of the cosmic landscape in Tibetan and Ladakhi folk-songs cf. Tucci 1966, and Brauen 1980: 74.

16.

- N̄asyiñ Lamo sañba, Samḍul-Namḍul sañba,
 gyábna Syiñwai Lajo sañba, nõnna Ṭhòwai Lajo sañba,
 pe:ma cya:ri syí: sañba,
 Haha Lajo sañba, Hìhi Lajo sañba,
 140 phu: laḡai chyele ṭhũnbai Sinsin Ḍólmo sañba,
 brá:gai tinri ṭhũnbai tañsar-ḥosargi pa:ba sañba,
 khardai ḡl̄:ri ṭhũnbai krèggi jara-naṛa sañba,
 ña bõngi kañba kù, laḡpa kù sañba,
 cya:gi ḡosum kù sañba, sañgi ḡosum kù sañba,
 namba kù, ḡoila-ḡoijyen, syañsyañ rołmo, riṭṭhe pa:ni,
 syelgi ṭhèña, phrèñma ḡyaram kù, cya:gi rałbo kù,
 sañgi rałbo kù sañba.
 l̄i: señnem ḍinjen phamojye, sem kenem ḍorjye lobonjye,
 chya:jało Ḍeḡge Phamo!

*

- (I) *incense the N̄asyiñ Lamo (?), incense the
 Samḍul-Namḍul, incense the Mild Lajo at the back,
 incense the Violent Lajo at the front,
 incense the pe:ma cya:ri syí:,
 incense the Haha Lajo, incense the Hìhi Lajo,*
 140 *incense the Sinsin Ḍólmo (tree) which originates from the
 region of the upland,
 incense the skin of the ghoral which originates in the middle of
 the steep slope,
 incense the roots of the cane which originates in the kharda's
 place,
 incense my, the bõn's, own nine feet, nine hands,
 incense the nine iron ḡosums, incense the nine copper ḡosums,
 incense the nine stripes (of the robe), the vestments,
 the syañsyañ rołmo, the riṭṭhe bead, the rudrácche bead (in)
 the nine crossed rosaries, the nine iron rałbos,
 the nine copper rałbos.*
 (My) *body was made by the ḍinjen phamo, (my) spirit was born of
 the ḍorjye lobon,
 hail O Multitude-Phamo!*

Notes:

- 139: **Ñaṣyiñ Lamo**, lit. 'Drum-body Goddess'. On the terminology concerning the *bombo*'s drum cf. pp. 64 ff.
- **Samḍul-Namḍul/Samrul-Namrul** (? < Tib. *sa-sbrul, 'earth-snake', and *gnam-sbrul, 'sky-snake'), with reference to the carved snakes on the drum's handle (pp. 65-67).
 - **Syiwai/Ṭhōwai Lajo**, s. p. 68.
 - **pe:ma cya:ri syi:**, the four (syi:) zones of carved patterns of endless knots and rhomboids on the drum's handle (fig. 4b); pe:ma < Tib. pad-ma, lit. 'lotus', and cya:ri ? < Tib. lčags-ri, 'wall encircling an estate or town' (Jäschke 1949: 148; cf. also Tucci 1949: 728).
 - **Haha/Hihi Lajo**, the "laughing" faces on the top of the drum's handle (fig. 4b); haha (associated with the "violent side" of the drum) < Tib. ha-ha, 'the frightening laugh of a hero', and hihi (associated with the "mild side" of the drum) < Tib. hi-hi, 'the pleasing laugh of a hero' (Rigzin 1986: 248 f.).
- 140: OT **phu: laḡai** < Tib. phu, 'the upper part of a valley'; cf. also 15.137 note.
- **Sinsiñ Dólmo** < OT *siñsiñ* (MT *siliñ*), the name of the tree (unidentified). According to the informants, there are two varieties: a "male" tree which does not bear fruit, and a "female" one. Only the wood of the "female" tree is used for manufacturing the frame of the drum; hence apostrophized as a goddess (Dólmo, cf. p. 56).
 - **brá:gai** ? < Tib. *brag-kha'i, lit. 'of the side of the rocks'; cf. also 15.138 (MT *brá:*).
 - OT **tañsar-ḥoṣar**, 'ghoral' (wild goat), according to the informants. Its skin was used in former times for manufacturing the membrane of the drum. – The membrane of the drum of the Gurung *paju* in Gyasumdo is made of the skin of the deer called "thangsar" in the spelling of Mumford (1989: 64, 122).
 - **khardai gla:ri**, 'in the kharda's place', i.e., in a place with a pond or source which is likely to be inhabited by the aquatic monster *kharda-chobda*, cf. 12.129 note.
 - **krèggi** < MT *krèd*, 'cane', of which the drum stick and the tightening thongs for the membranes are made (fig. 4a).
 - **jara-ṇara**, 'roots'. *jara* ? < N. *jarā*, 'root', and *ṇara* ? < MT *narara*, 'densely thriving' (of roots and creepers).
 - OT **kañba** (< Tib. *rkañ-pa*), 'foot', 'leg'; OT **laḡpa/lappa/la:** (< Tib. *lag-pa*), 'hand'.
 - 'nine feet/hands' unexplained; the number 9 often denotes a symbolic totality. Cf. also "namba kù" below, or "ḍeḡge kù" and "ḍurṣa kù" in 35.274 note and 39.301 note, respectively.
 - **goṣum**, the amulet on the *bombo*'s back (s. p. 69). **cya:gi** < OT *cya*: (< Tib. *lčags*), 'iron'; and **saṅgi** < OT *sañ* (MT *sañmo* < Tib. *zañs*), 'copper'. On the protective qualities attributed to these metals (actually not contained in the amulet) cf. *pànja-ṛanna* in 24.213 note.
 - **namba kù** < Tib. *mam-pa dgu*, lit. 'nine parts', here with reference to the nine pieces of cloth in the robe (s. p. 69).
 - OT **goila-goijyen/goima-goijyen**, the *bombo*'s 'ritual robe' (N. *jāmā*); *goi-* < Tib. *gos*, 'dress', *goijyen* ? < Tib. *gos-chen*, 'silk fabric', 'Chinese satin' (Das 1970: 232). (Nowadays at least, the robe is made of simple bazaar cotton cloth).
 - **syañsyañ roḷmo**, the straps or chains with bells and rattles (cf. p. 69 f.) worn, along with the rosaries, crosswise on the *bombo*'s chest and back. *syañsyañ* ? < Tib. *gšañ*, the name of a 'low, broad bell' (cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 13, 256 ff., and Snellgrove 1967: 280); *roḷmo* < Tib. *rol-mo*, 'music', 'musical instrument'.
 - **riṭṭhe pa:ni**, with reference to the black beads either in separate rosaries or interspersed with the *rudrācche* berries (cf. p. 69 f.). *riṭṭhe* < N. *riṭṭho*, the 'black seed of the soap-nut tree'; *pa:ni* ? < Tib. *nañ-ga pā-ni* = the name of a rosary with the black seeds of a tree (Waddell 1959: 209) which appears to be the soap-nut tree.
 - **syelgi ṭhèna** < Tib. *šel-phreñ(-ba)*, lit. 'string of glass-beads', but interpreted by the informants as the OT name for the rosary of *rudrācche* beads, cf. pp. 63, 69. Both OT *ṭhèna* and MT *phreñma* derive from Tib. 'phreñ-ba, 'rosary'. Tibetan rosaries have beads of crystal, amber, pearl, emerald, lapislazuli, etc. (Waddell 1959: 205).
 - **phreñma gyaram kù**, rendered by 'the nine crossed rosaries', refers to all rosaries worn by the *bombo*, as the symbolic 'nine' indicates. **gyaram**, s. 12.127 note.
 - **raḷbo**, the long hairlock. The "iron/copper *raḷbo*" may allude to the practice of coiling some iron and

copper wire around the *raľbo* as a protective measure against the black magic of a rival *boľbo* (cf. note on *goľum* above and pp. 69-71).

141: *ľi*:... *ľobonjye*, s. 9.100 note.

142: **Dębge Phamo**, 'Multitude-Phamo', here as an honorific term of address for 'all divinities' (s. 8.89 note). Possibly, one should read "dębgei phamo", 'phamos in/of the multitude (of gods)'. Cf. 35.274 and 68.566 where we have "dębge kùì phamo", 'phamo(s) of the nine multitudes'. OT *dębge* < Tib. *sde-brgyad*, 'the eight classes (of gods and demons)', also in the sense of 'great many' (Jäschke 1949: 295, Das 1970: 718; cf. also pp. 21-23 above, and Höfer 1981: 68).

It is only now that the *boľbo* lights the incense⁴, dons his robe, uncoils his hairlock, puts on – after "blowing" some mantras on to them⁵ – his rosaries and bell-strings. He then lights the oil lamp (*caňsal-memmar*) - the first object mentioned in the following sections addressing the paraphernalia on the altar.

17.

[Long drumming]

ha-a-a-a-a-ay, Phamo *chya:jaľo!*

ňeňdu salo, thu:la goľo!

145 *caňsal-memmar nomge!*,

ňeňmai hoťta pheňi, daľwai hoťta pheňi!,

chya:jaľo!

[Repetition of section 15.]

Phamo *chya:jaľo!*

baľkap tiňle luňgi khorlo nomňi!,

150 *naňbai tiňle Tăbu Nórbu khurňi!*,

Phamo *chya:jaľo!*,

chy:si daľma ta:ňi, ľiňsyi daľma ta:ňi,

Phamo *chya:jaľo!*,

phraňđi phraňgu sya:ňi, ľaľmđi ľaňgu sya:ňi!,

155 *noccyen daľma ta:ňi, noccyen chyibda braľňi le Phamo!*

*

ha-a-a-a-a-ay, *O Phamo hail!*

Listen with the ears, ponder in the mind!

145 *Let us take the lamp!*,

let us go and get at the beam of the sun's light,

let us go and get at the beam of the moon's light!

Hail!

[Repetition]

O Phamo hail!,

let us go and take the whirlwind in the middle of the atmosphere!,

150 *let us go and carry (take along?) Tăbu Nórbu in the middle of the*

4 This "delay", along with the repetition of section 15. within section 17., was explained as SR's individual habit.

5 S. p. 74. – In so doing, the *boľbo* passes the beads of the rosaries through the thumb and index finger of his right hand.

- underground sphere!*
O Phamo hail!,
let us go and magically fix the four corners, let us go and
magically fix the four worlds!,
O Phamo hail!,
let us go and remove the phrañ-obstacle in the phrañ (=?),
let us go and remove the path-obstacle on the path!,
 155 *let us go and magically fix the harmful agent, let us go and*
break open the union (of) the harmful agents O Phamo!

Notes:

- 145: OT **cañsal-meṃmar**, with reference to the oil lamp; cañsal ? < Tib. *gcañ-gsal, (approximately) 'pure and bright', and meṃmar < Tib. mar-me, 'butter lamp' (as used in Buddhist ritual). Cf. also pp. 60, 62.
 146: OT **hoṭṭa** (= hoṣer, s. 12.130) ? < Tib. 'od-spro, 'light'.
 – **ñemai... pheñi**, 'let us go and get at the beam of the sun's/moon's light', might be interpreted as 'let us go and get at the cause of the trouble, etc. by shedding the light of the lamp = sun/moon on to it'.
 149: OT **luñgi khorlo** (< Tib. rluñ-gi 'khor-lo, 'wheel of wind'), 'whirlwind'.
 150: **Täbu Nórbu** (< Tib. rta-po nor-bu, 'precious horse') is a divine horse, actually not identical with the horses on top of the ritual dagger (cf. p. 62 and 19.170), also called Täbu Nórbu, according to SR.
 – OT **khurba**, lit. 'to carry (away)', but in the present context perhaps 'to take along' or 'to be taken along'.
 152: **chyo:syi** (< Tib. phyogs bži, lit. 'the four directions'), 'the four corners'; and **liñsyi** (< Tib. gliñ bži, 'the four continents'), 'the four worlds'. In other texts, the two terms occur as a compound: chyo:syi-liñsyi.
 – **chyo:syi... daṃla ta:ñi**, 'let us go and magically fix the four corners/the four worlds'. Meaning: it is by reiterating the original act of "fixing/establishing" (daṃla) that the bomo is enabled to extend his control to the whole world (cf. pp. 26, 111).
 154: **phrañdi** < OT phrañ ? < Tib. 'phrañ, 'foot-path'.
 – **lañgu** < OT laṃ, 'path', and *gü which the informants derived from MT gü:ba, 'to hold up', 'to hinder' (< Tib. 'gugs-pa, 'to draw back', 'to cause to return').
 – **sya:ñi** < OT sya:ba (? < Tib. skya-ba), 'to put aside', 'to remove'.
 155: **noccyen(gi) daṃla ta:ñi**, 'let us go and magically fix the harmful agent(s)', expresses the wish for control in the sense of a containment strategy: to confine the harmful agents to that identity and that sphere to which they were confined by the original act of "fixing".
 – **chyibda** (MT chyippa, 'to join', 'to be joined'), 'union', with reference to a characteristic feature of Tamang pantheon: the permanent association of a ghost (syimo) with a particular god (la, cen) or goblin (bir, masān).
 – **brañni** < OT braṅba (MT phralba), 'to force open', 'to split'.

18.

- Phamo chya:jaḷo!,
 böngi närgyal cheyu, böngi puñma gúlgul jeḍyu Phamo!,
 Phamo chya:jaḷo!,
 bönda misal, gáñsal thoñyu, hiṣye, nõsye thoñyu!,
 160 Phamo chya:jaḷo!,
 Chene Nolgi Da:mo, Chene Sergi Da:mo,
 Phamo chya:jaḷo!,
 Chene Palgi Da:mo, Chene Briḡaṅsyi Da:mo, Chene Chegara Sañmo,
 Phamo chya:jaḷo!,
 165 Phola Karbo, Phola Maṛbo, Phola Syelgar Jyomo,

cengi Phola, dıdgi Phola, cho:na dıdgi Phola,
 barkap dıdgi Phola,
 Gyagar Ṭha:duñ Nórbu, Gyagar Pànda, Gyagar Syitta Gúru Phamo,
 Darluñ Karbo, Darluñ Marbo, Darluñ Serbo, Darluñ Jyangu,
 Darluñ Thiñgu, Darluñ Siñga Rá:ñi,
 Tirsula Kharul Ma:deo sala đara đinba, nàmla đara đinba,
 Syal Sòmgi Də:mo,
 Phamo chya:jaló!

*

*O Phamo hail!,
 come down and make the bõn's arrogance grow, come down and make
 the bõn's shoulders (?) quake, O Phamo!,*

*O Phamo hail!,
 come down and have clear-sightedness, clear-sensedness (?),
 come down and have mystical wisdom, mystical knowledge to
 the benefit of the bõn!,*

- 160 *O Phamo hail!,
 O Chene Silver Mistress, Chene Golden Mistress,
 O Phamo hail!,
 O Chene Blissful (?) Mistress, Chene Brıgansyi Mistress,
 Chene Chegara Sañmo,
 O Phamo hail!,*
- 165 *O White Phola, Red Phola, Syelgar Jyomo Phola,
 Phola of the cen, Phola of the dıd, Phola of the cho:na dıd,
 Phola of the atmosphere-dıd,
 O Gyagar Ṭha:duñ Nórbu [Phola], Gyagar Pànda, Gyagar Syitta
 Gúru Phamo [Phola],
 O White Darluñ, Red Darluñ, Yellow Darluñ, Green Darluñ,
 Blue Darluñ, Siñga Rá:ñi Darluñ,
 O Tirsula Kharul Ma:deo (which) soars raking in the earth,
 soars raking in the sky, the Three-Faced Mistress,
 O Phamo hail!*

Notes:

159: **misal, gánsal thoñyu!**, 'come down and have clear-sightedness, clear-sensedness!', = it is the divinity (phamo) who imparts his/her clear-sightedness, etc. to the officiating bõmbo. In other texts, "misal-gánsal thoñba" or "misal thoñba" = 'to have a vision', 'to experience clairvoyance'. misal ? < Tib. dmigs(-kyi) gsal, 'clear to the mind' (Das 1970: 983); and gánsal ? < Tib. *gañ-gsal, lit. 'whatever is clear/perceptible'. OT thoñba (< Tib. mthoñ-ba), 'to see', 'to perceive'.

– OT **hiñsye**, 'mystical wisdom', < Tib. ye-šes, 'sublime wisdom'. OT **nòsye**, approx. 'mystical knowledge', cf. MT **nòsye:ba** (< Tib. ño-šes-pa), 'to know'; (for phonetic reasons, Tib. mñon-šes, 'clairvoyance', as an etymon is improbable).

161: **chene/chyene**, the metal vessel, the central piece of the altar (cf. pp. 59 ff.), apostrophized here as 'Mistress' (Də:mo), in other texts also as 'Master' (Də:bo).

– **ñolgi** < OT ñol (< Tib. dñul), 'silver'; **sergi** < OT ser (< Tib. gser), 'gold'.

163: **palgi**, 'blissful' (?), ? < Tib. dpal, lit. 'glory'.

– **chene brıgansyi də:mo** ? < Tib. mčhod-gnas 'bru gañ-kyi bdag-mo, lit. 'the mistress of the sacrificial vessel filled with seeds'.

- **chegara sañmo**, obscure. In other texts, OT **chegara** (< Tib. *ches-dga'-ba*) occurs with the meaning 'auspicious day'; **sañmo** ? < Tib. *bzañ-mo*, 'noble lady'.
- 165: **phola**, the stones of different colours placed in the chene, s. pp 62 f.
- **Syelgar Jyomo**, a female divinity believed to reside in whitish rocks, s. 29.240 note.
- **cho:na** < Tib. *chon-sna*, lit. '(of) different colours'.
- **duḍgi** < MT *duḍ* < Tib. *bdud*, often rendered by 'devil' or 'fiend' (s., e.g., Hoffmann 1950: 140 f.). The *duḍs* of Tamang belief are principally malevolent beings living in lakes, ponds or near springs.
- **baṛkap**, s. 9.99 note. In Tibetan belief, the *bdud* inhabit the intermediate sphere.
- 166: **Gyagar Tha:duñ... Syitta Gúru**, said to be the epithets of a divinity represented by the black phola stones, s. p. 62. **Gyagar** (< Tib. *rgya-gar*), 'India'. – **Tha:duñ** < Tib. *khrag-'thuñ*, lit. 'blood-drinking', an epithet of certain Tantric gods, such as Herukā, etc.; for its occurrence in our text cf., e.g., sections 19. (Tàmriñ, Dúba), 26. (Ḍabla), 46. (salu), 73. (Bhairawi), 84. (Gorkhai Ma:bon), 85. (Kirba) and 87. (Rongai Ma:bon). – **Nórbu** < Tib. *nor-bu*, lit. 'jewel'. – **Pànda** ? < Hindi *paṇḍā*, 'temple priest', also 'wisdom' (s. Turner 1965: 361). As van der Veer notes with reference to North India, the *paṇḍās* "are Brahman priests who work in sacred centres (*tīrthas*). Their position is highly equivocal. They act as sacrificial vessels by accepting gifts (*dān*) of all kinds. Sacrificers (*jajmāns*) try to get rid of sin (*pāp*) and illness (*rog*) by giving donations to these *paṇḍas*, who become tainted as a result" (van der Veer 1988: xiv, cf. also 183-267). – **Syitta** < N. *siddha*, cf. 2.31 note.
- 167: **ḍarluñ**, the stick with strips of cloth in five different colours, cf. p. 62. OT **karbo** (Tib. *ḍkar-po*), 'white', OT **marbo**, (Tib. *dmar-po*), 'red', OT **serbo** (Tib. *ser-po*), 'yellow', OT **jyaṅgu** (Tib. *ljañ-khu*), 'green', OT **thingu** (Tib. *mthiñ*), 'blue'. Cf. the same colours associated with the superhuman beings called *lu/nāg* (4.51 and 91.820). The term *ḍarluñ* looks like an inversion of MT *luñdar* (Tib. *rluñ-dar*), '(Buddhist) prayer flag'; cf. also Tib. *dar-dpyaṅs*, 'strips of silk' (on the headdress of a lama or on a thread-cross) (Tucci 1970: 147, 202).
- **Singa Rá:ñi**, *siṅga* ? < Tib. *siñ-ga/señ-ge*, 'lion', with reference to the great power of the *ḍarluñ*?; and *rá:ñi* < N. *rāni*, 'queen'. As already mentioned, the Tamang *bombo's* *ḍarluñ* is essentially identical with the Tibetan *mda'-dar* (s. p. 62); in Ladakh, the *mda'-dar* is referred to as "she-arrow" (*mda'-mo*), and its staff is believed to possess the strength of a tiger (Brauen 1980: 46).
- 168: **Tirsula Kharul Ma:deo**, explained as the full name of Mahādeu (MT *Ma:deo*), the god of the trident (N. *trisul*, cf. p. 63). *kharul* ? < N. *garul*, 'eagle', with reference to the trident "soaring" (*ḍiñba*) like a bird, and "raking" (*ḍara*) like the beak of a bird?
- **ḍara/ḍaḍa**, derived by the informants from MT *ḍaba*, 'to scratch (with a sharp tool)'.
- **Syal Sömgi**, lit. 'three-faced' or 'three-mouthed', obviously with reference to the three points of the trident.

The next items to be incensed are: the ritual dagger (lines 170-171), the porcupine quills (line 172), the peacock feathers in the *chene* and in the fan called *mḗloñ* (lines 173-174), the thigh-bone trumpet (?) and the second dagger (?) (lines 175-176), and finally the beak of the hornbill (lines 178-179).

19.

- 170 Phurba Ṭhilden Lajo, Hīdam Tàmriñ Ṭha:duñ,
 Haha Nái Lajo, Hīhi Nái Lajo,
 Tàmriñ Rura Ma:bon, Ḍakpo Calgi Lajo, Hīdam Tàmriñ Lajo,
 Tàmriñ Ṭha:duñ Nórbu.
 sala syururu ḍiñba, ñalna kuibam wágañ nañri ñalba,
 saḷa kuibam dónbo chyemboi kara saḷa kuiba,
 syai ama(i) bīsiri gyálboi syorai syalḍo saññi le!
 ò: nàmla phiriri ḍiñba, sala syururu ḍiñba,
 saḷa kuibam pe:ma gešere brḗbu saḷa kuiba,
 màpcyi amai mḗloñ karboi syorai syalḍo saññi le Phamo!

- 175 Sañliñ-Nañliñ, Chyu Geppu-Gemo saññi le Phamo!,
 Lemba Gara Đúba Ṭha:duñ, Đúba Thu:jyen Chyembo,
 Phamo chya:jaló!
 Khyuñ, Jyakhyuñ, Bikhyuñ, Khyuñ, Jyakhyuñ,
 Khyuñ Raḡu Chyembo, Mahākāla, Mahākāli, Khyuñ mi
 Raḡuñ Ṭha:yuñ Nórbu, Khyuñ Gaṛura Ma:bon,
 ha:y Gúru, gyábna li:jye khurñi, ñonna chya:jye teññi!

*

- 170 *O Phurba Ṭhilden Lajo, Hıdam Tàmriñ Ṭha:duñ,
 the Lajo of the Five Haha, the Lajo of the Five Hihi,
 Tàmriñ Rura Ma:bon, Đakpo Calgi Lajo, Hıdam Tàmriñ Lajo,
 Tàmriñ Ṭha:duñ Nórbu.*
*It soars [sic] scurrying on the earth, as to sleeping, it
 sleeps in a hole,
 as to eating, it eats the syrup of the (flowers of the)
 great tree,
 let us go and incense the bristliness of the wild animals(')
 prickly king!*
*ò: it soars fluttering in the sky, soars scurrying on the earth,
 as to eating, it eats the fruit of the pe:ma gesere tree,
 let us go and incense the bristliness of the white (bright ?)
 meḷoñ (made of the feathers) of the mother peacock O Phamo!*
- 175 *Let us go and incense Sañliñ-Nañliñ, Chyu Geppu-Gemo O Phamo!,
 Lemba Gara Đúba Ṭha:duñ, Đúba Thu:jyen Chyembo,
 O Phamo hail!*
*Khyuñ, Jyakhyuñ, Bikhyuñ, Khyuñ, Jyakhyuñ, Khyuñ Raḡu Chyembo,
 Mahākāla, Mahākāli, (and) from among the khyuñs (also)
 Raḡuñ Ṭha:yuñ Nórbu, Khyuñ Gaṛura Ma:bon.*
*ha:y, O Gúru, let us go and carry (the Khyuñ) at the back on the back,
 let us go and toss (the Khyuñ) at the front with the hands!*

Notes:

170: **phurba**, the ritual dagger with the two horse-riders on top of its handle (cf. pp. 62, 64 f.). The **ḡombo** had no explanation for the names in lines 170-171.

– **Phurba Ṭhilden Lajo** < Tib. phur-pa khri-ldan lha-chogs, approx. 'the (group of) divinities seated on the ritual dagger'.

– **Hıdam Tàmriñ Ṭha:duñ** < Tib. yi-dam rta-mgrin khrag-'thuñ. lit. 'tutelary divinity Hayagrıva blood-drinker', here with reference to the carved horse-riders (s. p. 62). On the Tibetan concept of yi-dam cf., e.g., Snellgrove 1957: 288.

– **Haha/Hihi Nái Lajo**, 'the Lajo (= gods) of the five Haha/Hihi', obscure. Possibly referring to the "five main aspects of the rDo-rje phur-pa divinity" in the Tibetan conceptualization (s. Huntington 1975: 16 f., 69-71). For "haha/hihi lajo" in connection with the drum's handle cf. 16.139 note.

171: **Rura Ma:bon** < OT rura, 'wrath' (according to SB), and Tib. dmag-dpon, lit. 'commander', 'general', i.e., Tàmriñ as the wrathful leader of hosts of gods and demons. The word **ma:bon** frequently occurs as an epithet of fierce gods in the **ḡombo**'s text; cf., e.g., the Khyuñ below and sections 26. (Đabla), 30.-31., 42.-44., 83.-87 (various gods of mountains and lakes).

– **Đakpo Calgi Lajo** < Tib. drag-po rcal-gyi lha-chogs. lit. 'the (group of) gods of the terrifying force'. rDo-rje drag-po-rcal is a manifestation of Padmasarñbhava, the patron of the phur-pa ritual in Tibet (Klaus 1985: 256 ff.; and Huntington 1975: 8-10, 68).

172: **syururu**, MT onomatopoe for the “scurrying” movement of the porcupine.

- OT **ñalna kuiba**, the intensive form for *ñalba*; similarly, **sała kuiba** = *sała*. Cf. 9.109 note.
- OT **kara**, ‘syrup’, ? < Tib. *ka-ra*, ‘sugar’.
- MT **syai ama**, lit. ‘mother of the flesh/meat’, a euphemism for ‘game’, ‘wild animal’.
- MT **bisiri**, onomatopoe for the ‘prickliness’ of the porcupine.
- **syorai** < OT *syora* < Tib. *gšor-ba*, ‘bristly’, ‘shaggy’.
- OT **syaldo** (< Tib. *žal-du*, lit. ‘in the mouth/face’), honorifically for ‘to’, ‘for’, ‘to the benefit of’.

173: MT **phiriri**, onomatopoe for the ‘fluttering’ of the peacock.

- MT **pe:ma gešere**, the red cotton tree (*Bombax malabaricum*), s. also 23.207-210 below.
- OT **brębu** (< Tib. ‘*bras-bu*), ‘fruit’.

174: MT **màpcyi ama**, a euphemism for the peacock, < *màpcyi* (< Tib. *rma-bya*), ‘peacock’ and *ama*, lit. ‘mother’, as in “*syai ama*” in 19.172 above.

- OT **męłoň karbo**, lit. ‘white *męłoň*’, with reference to the fan of peacock feathers (s. p. 62)?
- **syorai**, here with reference to the ‘bristliness’ of the feathers.

175: **saňliň-naňliň**, said to be another term for the thigh-bone trumpet (*kaňliň*, s. p. 63).

- **Chyu Geppu-Geřno**, (lit. ‘Water Old Man-Old Woman’), the OT name of *Loňai Mán* which in turn is said to be identical with the *Ban Jhākri* or *Sun Jhākri* couple (cf. p. 73 f. and 2.19 note; on the *Loňai Mán* s. also Höfer 1981: 23-24). In certain rituals, *Chyu Geppu-Geřno* is represented by a dough-figure (*tormo*) on the altar; actually this was not the case.

176: **Lemba Gařa Đúba... Chyembo**, said to be the divinity of the ritual dagger called *đúba phurba* (which was actually not displayed on the altar, s. p. 62). Other texts describe *Đúba* as wearing the headdress of a lama, holding a *đamaru*-type of drum (cf. 2.20 note), as a terrifying (*tha:đuň*) helper of the *bořno* (especially in rescuing a lost soul) and a benevolent protector of children. He is foolish (*lemba*), both a lama and a *bořno* in one person, speaks only Tibetan and is said to be a master of magic “because he can read books”. The *Đúba* of the *bořno* might have been inspired by the figure of the “mad saint” in Tibetan tradition (cf., e.g., Kretschmar 1981). Another name of *Đúba* is said to be *Đúba Khamburu/Đúbaru Khamburu*, cf. 106.1003 note.

178: **Jyākhyuň, Bīkhyuň, Rařuň**, vaguely explained as the names of different kinds of the hornbill (?). *Jyākhyuň* ? < Tib. *bya*, ‘bird’, as in *bya-čhen* which is another term for *khyuň* (Tucci 1949: 712). **Rařu Chyembo**, the epithet of all kinds of *khyuň*, according to SR. **Mahākāla, Mahākāli**, here as further names of the *Khyuň*? **Gařura** < Skt. *Garuđa* (s. p. 64); informants spontaneously rendered the word *khyuň* by N. *garuđ*. The epithet **Ma:bon** (s. 19.171 note above) alludes to the warlike character of the *Khyuň*, amply stressed in the myth in 22.200-203.

179: **gyábna li:jye... teňňi**, ‘let us go and carry at the back on the back, ... toss at the front with the hands’, the standard formula expressing the wish for a particularly close interaction with the superhuman agent (actually the *Khyuň* = *Gúru*) , s. pp. 27-28.

The creation myth exists in several variants in both shamanic and non-shamanic texts. Common to all variants are, to my knowledge, the themes of the primordial cataclysm, the two cosmic trees and *Urgyen Pe:ma*’s (i.e., *Padmasařbhava*’s) role in “fixing” the world by the magic act of *đamla ta:ba*. The dualism of the two trees, each associated with two beings (the *Khyuň* and *Kaliama* in our text), emerges more elaborately in some versions where we have binary clusters such as

“tree X/sun/daylight/lama/bird A” versus “tree Y/moon/night/*bořno*/bird B”.

For example, the *Khyuň* sitting on the *surjen* tree, and the raven sitting on the *pe:ma gešere* tree, swallow the fruit of these trees, and each lays one egg, out of which originate *Urgyen Pe:ma*, the First Lama, and *Đuňsur Bořno*, the First *Bořno*, respectively (cf. pp. 19-20, 335 ff.), etc.

All the variants I have come across so far may be said to have drawn on motifs from Indian and Tibetan mythology. Suffice it here to recall the cosmic fire which in epic and puranic tradition periodically burns the world to ashes⁶, or the cosmic tree and the cosmic egg in ancient Tibetan

6 For a summary s. O’Flaherty 1986: 37 ff.

mythology, still surviving in folk-songs⁷. Even Urygen Pe:ma's figure as the powerful "proto-institutionalizer" (rather than as a creator ex nihilo) owes much to the Tibetan hagiography of Padmasambhava who, being the manifestation of different gods or of the Buddha himself, civilizes the world by subduing and transforming the demons into guardians of the faith. The specifically Tamang element in the variants of the myth lies in the revaluation of the loan-motifs in terms of a conspicuous dualism and in treating these motifs as a kind of groundwork for numerous follow-ups that justify ethnic customs and institutions, such as the division of labour between the lama and the bombo, the clan exogamy, the office of the village headman or, say, the Tamang-specific celebration of the Hindu Dasāñ festival, etc. And the specifically "bomboic" element in the variant of our text, in particular, lies in the artifice with which the same loan-motifs are selected and elaborated on for symbol construction (s. pp. 314-323).

20.

- 180 chya:jaló!
 dañbo-đañbo ñema kù ðuñnem, đawa kù ðuñnem,
 chya:jaló!,
 ñema kù ðuñna, đawa kù ðuñna semjen repta gyurnem,
 sa ni meřa kù chya:nem,
 do thamjye meľuñ gyurnem,
 dóño thamjye yororo jednem,
 cadañ.ju, pradañpri repta gyurnem.
- 185 khadañwai nañri Gúru Urygen Pe:ma Jyũne ðuñnem,
 Gúru Urygen Pe:ma ðuñnam kai đamla ta:nem, thu:i đamla ta:nem,
 ñemai ñema đamla ta:nem, đawai đawa đamla ta:nem,
 lala largu đamla ta:nem, mi:la miřgu đamla ta:nem,
 chyui đamla ta:nem, doi đamla ta:nem,
 semjen đamla ta:nem,
 chya:jaló!,
 barkap tiñle mukpa rá:ru jednem,
 nañbai tiñle chyu mi símsim jednem, Phamo!,
- 190 chyu símsim jednam sa ni meřai khala sergi lãgañ chya:nem,
 ñolgi lãgañ chya:nem,
 sergi lãgañ, ñolgi lãgañ chya:nam
 bõn syí:la kàwa syí:, brañge syí: chya:nem, Phamo!

*

- 180 *Hail!*,
in primordial times, nine suns originated, nine moons originated,
hail!,
as the nine suns originated, as the nine moons originated.
all living beings perished.

⁷ Cf., e.g. Tucci 1949: 711 ff. and Brauen 1980: 77 ff. In one of the examples dealt with by Tucci (1949: 712), the world tree has three points, and six branches (corresponding to the six points of the compass) with six different birds (khyuñ, vulture, eagle, etc.) on each of them. Eastern Tamang myths collected by Santabir Lāmā (2025: 13ff., 28, 60) and myself show the influence of another topos of Tibetan cosmogony, namely the evolutionary sequence void-light-wind-[...]fire-water-sea-foam-tortoise-six eggs, etc. (Tucci: *ibid.*).

*there were nine (heaps of?) ash and dust remaining,
all stones turned into flames,
all trees crashed,
all insects, dung-beetles (?) perished.*

- 185 *At that time (?), Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Jyüñne originated,
(and) as Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma originated, he magically fixed
the word, magically fixed the mind,
magically fixed the sun as sun, magically fixed the moon as moon,
magically fixed the gods as gods, magically fixed the humans
as humans,
magically fixed the water, magically fixed the stone,
magically fixed the living beings,
hail!,
in the middle of the atmosphere, he made the clouds come up thinly,
in the middle of the underground sphere, he made the water
flow thinly, O Phamo!,*
- 190 *as he made the water flow thinly, in the ash and dust (on the
earth) there was (appeared?) the golden divine abode,
there was the silver divine abode,
as there were (appeared?) the golden divine abode, the silver divine
abode,
there were (originated?) the four kàwas, the four altars of the four
bons, O Phamo!*

Notes:

- 181: **dañbo-dañbo** may also be translated by 'long, long ago'. Roughly speaking, while MT **dañbo** refers to the historical-human past, **dañbo-dañbo** marks off what is prior to the latter. "dañbo-dañbo" is a short form of the usual proem of a myth (when recited), namely "dañbo-dañbo, samyuñ meppi tiñri, namyuñ meppi tiñri...", cf. 110.1063.
- 183: OT **-na/-nam** (as in **thuñna** here), may be translated by 'when', 'as', 'while', 'after' or 'because', depending on the context.
- OT **semjen** < Tib. **sems-čan**, 'sentient being'.
 - **repta gyurnem** < OT **repta gyurba**, 'to perish entirely'; **repta** is both morphologically and etymologically obscure, < MT **rep-** which, in absolutive verbs, connotes 'radically', 'without a remainder', 'completely and at once'; on **gyurba** s. 10.120 note.
 - **sa ni meṛa kù**, 'nine (heaps of?) ashes and dust', < **sai meṛa**, '(a layer of) ashes and dust'. In other texts, "sa myāra" and "sa meṛu" occur in the same context and with the same meaning. **sa**, 'earth', 'soil'; OT **ni** is identical with Tib. **ni**, the so-called isolating particle, but its function is not clear here (s. also p. 301); **meṛa/myāra/meṛu** ? < Tib. **me-ro**, 'cinders', 'extinct embers' (Das 1970: 970).
 - **chya:nem** < OT **chya:ba**, 'to reside' (honorifically), 'to sit', 'to be there', and MT **chya:ba**, 'to lie', 'to remain' (of a layer or sediment). In the present instance – contrary to the informants' translation – **chya:ba** might have originally meant 'to emerge', 'to originate', as suggested by both its etymology (Tib. **čhags-pa**, 'to be produced') and the context in which it occurs.
- 184: OT **ḍo thamjye** (< Tib. **rdo thams-čad**), 'all stones', or 'all that was of stone'.
- OT **meļuñ**, s. 8.96 note.
 - OT **yōroro jēdnem**, lit. 'made yōroro'; MT **yōroro** as an onomatopoe for the 'crashing'.
 - OT **cadañ.ju**, rendered by 'all insects', and OT **pradañpri**, vaguely rendered by 'dung-beetles'.
- 185: OT **khadañwai/khadañwalgi nañri**, 'at that time' (?), 'meanwhile' (?); MT **nañri/nañḍi**, 'in', 'inside'.
- **Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Jyüñne** < Tib. 'U-rgyan Pad-ma 'Byuñ-gnas.
- 186: **kai** < OT **ka** (< Tib. **bka'**), 'word', 'speech', 'mantra'; in some cases, **kha**, lit. 'mouth', is substituted for **ka**.

- **thu:i** < MT **thu:** (< Tib. **thugs**), 'mind', 'intellect'.
- 187: OT **lala largu**, lit. 'of the god(s) the gods'; **largu** < Tib. **lha-dgu**, 'nine = many gods'.
- OT **mj:la mǰrgu**, lit. 'of the human(s) the humans'; **mǰrgu** < Tib. **mi-dgu**, 'nine = many humans'.
- 189: **mukpa rá:ru**, approx. 'slightly overcast with clouds'; **símsim**, onomatopoe for 'flowing in a thin stream', ? < N. **sim-sim**, 'falling in light showers' (Turner 1965: 608).
- 190: OT **khala/khari**, 'in', 'on', 'at', cf. also 9.105 note.
- **lagañ**, 'divine abode', 'altar', with reference to the abodes/"altars" of the Four Primordial Bṛons = **bṛon syi:la... brąnge syi:**, cf. pp. 21-22, 42.

21.

- Phamo!,
 t̄abañ sombo chyū maṇḍal nañḍi ṭhuñnem,
 t̄abañ sombo ṭhuñnam yaṛa ḍaṇḍam, maṛa ḍaṇḍam cu:nem,
 195 luwa-buwa kena s̄urjen doṅbo ṭhuñnem,
 s̄urjen doṅbo ṭhuñna nañbai yiñle jaṛa sombo khilnem,
 ma ni sombo kenem, ha:ṅga sòm chya:nem,
 meṇdoi gyāra chya:nem, meṇdoi goṃbo chya:nem,
 meṇdoi liṅsyē chya:nem, meṇdoi kabu chya:nem,
 meṇdoi br̄ebu ṭhuñnem.

*

- O Phamo!,
 the living dubo grass originated in the round lake,
 as the living dubo grass originated,
 it grew densely above, densely below,
 195 as the downy hairs were born, the s̄urjen tree originated,
 as the s̄urjen tree originated, (its) living roots grew
 whirling in the underground sphere,
 (its) living trunk was born, (and on it) there were three
 branches, (and on these)
 there were hundreds of flowers, there were heaps of flowers,
 there were scores of flowers, there were buds of flowers,
 (and) the fruit of (from) the flower originated.*

Notes:

- 194: MT **t̄abañ**, N. **dubo** = the *durva* grass, *Cynodon dactylon*; here as a symbol of 'life', obviously because of its exuberant growth.
- OT **sombo** (< Tib. **gson-po**), 'living', 'lively' (MT **sombo**, 'life-time'). On **sombo** s. 10.120 note.
- **chyū maṇḍal** < OT **chyū**, 'water', and Skt. **maṇḍala**. Here, **maṇḍal** is a euphemism and connotes 'wholeness', 'completeness' in a symbolic or ideal sense, as is also reflected by the informants' translation: 'round lake'.
- MT **ḍaṇḍam**, onomatopoe for the 'vertical and horizontal proliferation' of the roots underneath (**maṛa**) and the shoots above (**yaṛa**) the soil.
- 195: **luwa-buwa**, here with reference to the 'bushiness' of the *dubo* grass, cf. 14.135 note.
- MT **s̄urjen** was identified by the informants themselves as 'a kind of sandalwood tree'; it is either *Pterocarpus santalinus* or *Daphniphyllum* sp. - **s̄urjen** ? < Tib. 'dab-zur-čan, a species of sandalwood tree, *agaru* (Das 1970: 678). - In Ladakhi marriage songs, too, the cosmic tree is the sandalwood tree (Brauen 1983a: 108 ff.).

196: MT *jàra*, 'root(s)', cf. *jàra-nàra* in 16.140 note.

- MT *khilba*, lit. 'to whirl', in ritual texts also of the dense growth of plants or roots.
- *mà ni sombo*, 'living trunk', < MT *mà*, 'trunk', and OT ni the function of which is as unclear here as in "sa ni" in 20.183. Cf. also "mà ni sòm" in 23.207-208 and 58.478.
- *hà:nga sòm*, 'three branches', MT *hà:nga* < N. *hāgā*, 'branch'. In some other texts, "hà:nga sombo", 'living branch', instead of "hà:nga sòm".
- *gyàra*, cf. "si gyàra" in 11.126 note.
- OT *kabu*, 'bud (in a half-opened state)', according to SB; ? < Tib. *kha-'bu-ba*, 'the opening of the buds of flowers' (Das 1970: 132).

22.

gyàgar menđu kùri Khyuñ Gàrura Ma:bon ùnñem,
 bàkpa tiñle luñgi khorlo nomnem, nàmle phiriri òññem,
 sùrjen dónboi hà:nga sòmđi chya:na sùrjen dónboi brèbu sàla kuinem,
 sùrjen dónboi hà:nga sòmđi chya:nam,
 syar.dègañ chyori ñembu syo:la kuinem,
 ñema kù nomnem, dawa kù nomnem,
 sala đara jèđnem, nàmle đara jèđnem,
 thaluñ-miñluñ gèñnem phamo Khyuñ Ma:bonjye.
 Khyuñ Ma:bonjye hà:nga sòmđi chya:nam kharda-chona đulñem,
 đori ne:bi đobon chyembo đulñem,
 chyuri ne:bi chyubon chyembo đulñem,
 syiñbon, brá:bon đulñem,
 đañboi si đulñem, đañboi ri đulñem.

200 chya:jàlo sergi làgañ!,
 Nàru Bòngi làgañ nàñri chya:na mi...,
 chya:jàlo!,
 ... Nàru Bòngi làgañ nàñri chya:nam
 đañboi si đulñem, đañboi ri đulñem,
 phojye noppa đulñem, syañjye noppa đulñem,
 si gyàra đulñem, si toñra đulñem, si đakpo đulñem,
 si gyálbo đulñem,
 mị:i kuldap đulñem, mị:i ñendap đulñem, mị: đakpoi kuldap
 đulñem,
 sala đursa gèñnem, nàmle mukpa sya:nem,
 sala đursa, syiwala khañsa gèñnem.

chya:jàlo Phamo Khyuñ Ma:bon!,
 205 gyábna lị:jye khurñi, ònna chya:jye teññi!,
 Phamoi le:dap sòññi le, Phamoi cyoldap sòññi le Khyuñ Ma:bon ò:!

*

*In India's nine wombs (?) Khyuñ Gàrura Ma:bon originated,
 it took the whirlwind in the middle of the atmosphere,
 it soared fluttering in the sky, (and)
 as it resided on the three branches of the sùrjen tree,
 it ate the fruit of the sùrjen tree,
 as it resided on the three branches of the sùrjen tree,
 (and) as it (later?) advanced to the eastern corner,*

*it took (swallowed?) the nine suns, took the nine moons,
raked in (through) the earth, raked in the sky, (and)
destroyed (the world) by turning it topsyturvy,
the phamo Khyuñ Ma:bon.*

*As Khyuñ Ma:bon resided on the three branches,
it tamed the kharda-chona,
tamed the great dōbon which dwells in the courtyard,
tamed the great chyubon which dwells in the water,
tamed the syinbon, the brá:bon,
tamed the si of the past, tamed the ri of the past.*

200 *Hail O golden divine abode!,
as (the Khyuñ) resided in Nāru Bōn's divine abode...,
hail!,
... as it resided in Nāru Bōn's divine abode,
it tamed the si of the past, tamed the ri of the past,
tamed (those which) do harm from the male side,
tamed (those which) do harm from the affinal side,
tamed hundreds of si, tamed thousands of si,
tamed the fierce si, tamed the si-king,
tamed the magic arrow of humans,
tamed the harming charm of humans,
tamed the magic arrow of fierce humans,
destroyed the grave on the earth,
removed the clouds in the sky,
destroyed the grave on the earth, the homestead of the dead.*

Hail O Phamo Khyuñ Ma:bon!,

205 *let us go and carry (you) at the back on the back,
let us go and toss (you) at the front with the hands!,
let us go and ensure the support of (you O) Phamo, let us go and
ensure the guardianship of (you O) Phamo, Khyuñ Ma:bon ò:!*

Notes:

197: *gyaḡar menḡu kù*, 'India's nine wombs' (?), obscure. OT *gyaḡar* < Tib. *rgya-gar/rgya-dkar* = India (= the Madeś of the informants) which is indeed the place of origin of certain gods of the Tamang pantheon. (Cf. the Tib. expressions for India as the 'birth place of the holy ones' and as 'the country of the saints', namely 'phags-'khruñs and 'phags-yul, respectively). OT *menḡu* is nowhere else attested with the meaning 'womb'. Interestingly, however, Holmberg's (1980: 294) informants rendered the same expression by 'originating in the nine constellation(s) of India'. Hence, highly tentatively, OT "gyaḡar menḡu" ? < Tib. **rgyu-skar smin-drug*, 'the lunar mansion of the Pleiads', wherein *rgyu-skar* might have been "misunderstood" for OT *gyaḡar* (Tib. *rgya-dkar*), 'India', as the place of origin of gods (cf. above). Possibly, the "originating in the Pleiads" was a panegyric label for "divine birth", and referred to the miraculous birth of the god of war, Skanda or Kārttikeya who, originating from Mahādeva's semen incubated in the water of the Ganges, was nursed by the six Kṛttikās, the six stars of the Pleiads (cf. O'Flaherty 1986: 104, 205 f., and Desgodins 1899: 772). In Tamang ritual texts, the "origin in *gyaḡar menḡu*" frequently occurs with gods who are apostrophized as *ma:bon* (cf. 19.171 note), i.e., have an epithet which etymologically and conceptually tallies with Skanda's role as a terrifying leader of divine armies (Tib. *lha'i dmag-dpon*). If the derivation of OT *menḡu* from Tib. *smin-drug* is correct, the "totalizing" *kù* = 'nine' in the Tamang expression might have been a later addition. – On the occurrence of the "pure" and "auspicious" Pleiads with *rgya-skar* (= ? *rgyu-skar*) in a Tibetan divination text cf. Thomas 1957: 122, 132, 139, 154.

– *luñgi khorlo nomnem*, 'took the whirlwind', as a metaphor for the flight.

198: *sūrjen... saḡa kuinem*, 'ate the fruit of the sūrjen tree'. In another version of the creation myth, the

- Khyuñ eats the fruit of the *pe:ma* *gešere* tree, becomes pregnant and lays an egg from which Urygen *Pe:ma* originates.
- *syar.dəgañ chyoy*: 'eastern corner', < Tib. *šar*, 'east', and *phyogs*, 'direction'; OT *dəgañ?* < Tib. *sde*, 'part', 'region'.
 - OT *ñembu syo:la kuiba*, rendered by 'to advance', 'to go', 'to come'; "ñembu syo:la" etymologically obscure, cf. 102.972 note.
 - *sala dāra... jədnem*, 'raked in the earth/sky', with reference to the powerful beak of the Khyuñ; s. also 18.168 where the same is said with reference to the trisul.
 - MT *thaluñ-miļuñ*, with reference to a 'mess', 'chaotic disorder' resulting from any destructive activity, here from the Khyuñ's search for harmful agents (s. 80.651-653 and also pp. 60, 64).
 - OT *gelba*, 'to destroy', < Tib. *sgyel-ba*, 'to throw down', 'to overturn'.
- 199: *kharda-chona* = *kharda-chobda*, cf. 12.129.
- *dulnem* < OT *dulba* (< Tib. 'dul-ba), 'to tame', 'to subdue'.
 - *dəbon... si*, cf. 11.126 and 12.129.
- 201: *Naru Bongi lāgañ*, 'Naru Bön's divine abode', with reference to the first *bombo*-altar (*lāgañ* = *brañge*), i.e., the altar of the mythic *bombo* who reformed or re-established shamanism (s. pp. 335 ff.), and who was the first *bombo* to act with the Khyuñ's assistance.
- 203: *phojye noppa... si gyálbo*, 'do harm from the male side... *si*-king', cf. 11.126.
- *kuldap, ñendap*, cf. 9.102 note.
 - *syiwala* < MT *syiba*, 'dead person', in a "Tibetanized" pronunciation. *khañsa*, 'homestead', here with reference to the grave (*dursa*), the place haunted by all sorts of spirits; cf. also 43.329.
- 206: OT *le:dap*, 'support', 'protection', ? < Tib. *legs-pa*, lit. 'good', + Tib. 'debs-pa, 'to make', as in *mthu btab-pa*, 'to pronounce a charm', or *gsol-ba* 'debs-pa, 'to make a request' (Jäschke 1949: 279).
- OT *cyoldap*, 'guardianship', 'protection', < MT *cyolba* (< Tib. 'čhol-ba), 'to entrust' (e.g., a child to a divinity for protection), + -dap as in *le:dap* above?
 - *ò:*, here as an appellative exclamation.

23.

- nañbai liñle pe:ma gešere dónbo tñuñnem, pe:ma gešere dónbo
tñuñnam jara sombo khilnem, ma ni sòm [sic] kenem,
ma ni sòm [sic] chya:nam hà:nga sòmđi mendoi gyara chya:nem,
mendoi liñsy chya:nem, mendoi kabu chya:nem,
luwa-buwa chya:nem.*
- Jyañ Doyañgi hà:nga sòmđi Kaliama chya:nem,
Kaliama Hoşye Nañsy Dólmo, Kaliama Dajyi Dólmo,
Kaliama Sergu Dólmo,*
- 210 *Kaliama Margu Dólmo, Kaliama Khand:mo Rá:ñi,
li: señbai đinjyen phamo chya:nem,
tha:gi li: [sic] señbai đinjyen phamo chya:nem,
bu:i li: [sic] señbai đinjyen phamo chya:nem,
kha keppa, li: keppa, so keppa, ro keppa, bu: keppa,
luñdañ keppa, mendo keppa,
luñdañ kednem, luñdañ barnem,
[hà:nga sòmđi] ñemadañ syarba, dawañ cheba, ñemadañ,
dawañ syarbi đinjyen phamo ga: chya:nem.*

*

*In the underground sphere, the pe:ma gešere tree originated,
as the pe:ma gešere tree originated,*

(its) living roots grew whirling, (its) three trunks [sic] were born,

as there were the three trunks [sic],

*on the three branches there were hundreds of flowers,
there were scores of flowers, there were buds of flowers,
there were downy hairs.*

On the three branches (pointing towards the corner?) of

Jyañ Doyañ, Kaliama resided,

Kaliama Hoşye Naňsyə Đólmo, Kaliama Đamjyi Đólmo,

Kaliama Sergu Đólmo,

210 *Kaliama Mařgu Đólmo, Kaliama Khañda:mo Rá:ñi,*

the đinjen phamo who makes (creates) the body resided,

the đinjen phamo who makes the body of the blood [sic] resided,

the đinjen phamo who makes the body of the breath [sic] resided,

(she who) gives birth to the mouth (speech),

gives birth to the body, gives birth to the vital principle,

gives birth to the life-principle, gives birth to the breath,

gives birth to the respiration (?), gives birth to the flower,

(she) gave birth to the respiration (?), made the

respiration (?) expand,

the đinjen phamo rising with the sun (shining like the sun?),

growing with the moon (shining like the moon?),

*rising with the sun, with the moon, resided [on the three
branches].*

Notes:

207: *nənbai liñle*, 'in/from the underground sphere', OT *liñ ?* < Tib. *gliñ*, 'region'. Cf. also 9.99 note, 9.104 note and 21.196 (*yiñle*).

– MT *pe:ma geşere*, *Bombax malabaricum*; *pe:ma geşere ?* < Tib. *pad-ma ge-sar*, which appears to be the name of a tree in Tibetan, too (Macdonald 1986: 34; s. also Jäschke 1949: 70, and Das 1970: 778).

– *ma ni sòm*, 'three trunks', erroneously for "*ma ni sombo*" (as in 21.196), according to SB and another informant. Cf. also 58.478 and p.301. A tree with three trunks does not figure in any other version of the Tamang creation myth, but, interestingly, in one of the Western Tibetan songs analysed by Tucci (1949: 712), the cosmic tree is mentioned as having *three* points and six branches.

209: *Jyañ Doyañ (Đúba)* is the name of the guardian divinity of the north, < Tib. *Byañ(-sañs-rgyas) don-yod grub-pa* (Amoghasiddhi). "on the three branches...", erroneously for "on the branch..."?

– *Kaliama Hoşye...* on the epithets of Kaliama cf. p.55. *Đamjyi ?* < Tib. *dam-chig*, 'vow', also with reference to the vow made by a divinity to save mankind. Cf. also Tib. *dam-chig-čan*, 'having pledges', with reference to 'divine yoginis who have received the four consecrations' (cf. Kalff 1978: 153).

211: *đinjen phamo*, s. 9.100 note.

– *kha, li;*, so... *keppa*, cf. 13.133 where we have "keba", instead of "keppa".

– *syarba, cheba*, s. 13.134 note.

– *ga:* is a padding here.

24.

212 *Kaliama Phamoi le:dap soññi le, Kaliama Phamoi cyoldap soññi le!*,

cya:gi koldo, sergi koldo, sañgi koldo,

raşwai koldo le:dap, pañja rañnai le:dap, Khyuñ Ma:bon!,

brá:ri do:na cima cu:ba, chyuri do:na samba đuppa.

dā:mola nārgyal cheba, lai lēnchya kùla lī:i bārye silba,
 lī:i dī:ma dā:ba, khāwai [recte: khai?] bārye silba,
 lī:nēn dī:ma dā:ba, ke:nēn bārye silba,
 kuldap, nēndap silba,
 syimo, sēṇḍe, bīr-māsa:n, kāco bāyu chamjo sōnbai
 pānja rānna rāwai koldoi le:dap,
 Kaliama chya: jālo!

*

- 212 *Let us go and ensure the support of (you O) Phamo Kaliama, let us go and ensure the guardianship of (you O) Phamo Kaliama!, support (by means) of the iron koldo, golden koldo, copper koldo, the koldo of protection, support (by means) of the pānja rānna, O Khyuñ Ma:bon!, support (by means) of the koldo of protection (in the shape of) the pānja rānna (which) provides steps when arriving at the steep slope, (which) provides a bridge when arriving at the water (river), (which) makes the mistress's arrogance grow, (which) washes off the god's nine youths' defilement-damage of the body, (which) cleans out the impurity of the body, (which) washes off the defilement-damage of the snow [recte: mouth?], (which) cleans out the impurity (caused by way) of the corpse-pollution, (which) washes off the defilement-damage (caused by way) of the childbirth-pollution, (which) washes off (the effects of) the magic arrow, the harming charm, which binds the ghost, the sēṇḍe, the bīr-māsa:n, the kāco bāyu, O Kaliama, hail!*

Notes:

- This section is a typical example of the emblematic periphrasis (cf. pp. 286 ff.) in which different formulas (text modules) are “compressed” to attributes or properties. Thus, the frequent prayer formula “Provide steps when arriving at a steep slope, provide a bridge when arriving at a river!” appears here as one of the properties of the protective bracelet.
- 213: **koldo**, the protective thread of cotton yarn, which the bōmbo will later tie around the neck of the patient (s. pp. 246-250). MT koldo ? < Tib. *'gol-thag, lit. 'separation-cord'.
- **pānja rānna** < N. pañca ratna, lit. 'five jewels', the name of a protective bracelet made of five metals: gold, silver, copper, iron and brass; here figuratively for the koldo.
- OT **rāwa**, 'protection', < Tib. ra-ba, 'fence'.
- **dō:na** < MT dō:ba, 'to reach', 'to arrive'; elsewhere (107.1030) replaced by OT dōba, 'to go', 'to walk', s. also p. 35.
- MT **cima**, 'artificial step' on any sloping surface, here with reference to the steps dug in slopes and supported by stones.
- OT **samba** (< Tib. zam-pa), 'bridge'.
- **nārgyal**, 'arrogance', cf. 8.97 note; the patient should be endowed with the same “arrogance” which the bōmbo has demanded for himself, as SB commented.
- OT **lēnchya** (< Tib. lañ-cho), 'youth', 'adolescent child'. “lai lēnchya kù”, lit. 'the nine youths of the

- god(s)', a euphemism for the children of the client, referring to the custom of placing small children under the special protection of a divinity (s. 22.206 note and pp. 19, 55).
- MT **barjye/barjyo**, 'defilement-damage', < Tib. bar-čhod/bar-čhad, 'obstruction', 'failure'. barjyo is a calamity (ill-luck, poor harvest, chronic ailment or death) resulting from a defilement produced by the violation of a taboo, such as, e.g., the intake of impure food, touching a woman in childbed, or defecation in the precincts of a cult place. The shamanic "calling illness", too, is often imputed to an initial defilement-damage. There is a rather neat distinction between the notions of barjye, on the one hand, and djkpa, on the other, in that djkpa denotes 'sin' or 'moral failure', such as transgressing the (Buddhist) prohibition of killing a living being, or a breach of the norms of the social code of conduct, which condemn aggression, envy, theft, exploitation, etc. Cf. also "djkpa" in 37.280 note.
 - **silba** (< Tib. bsil-ba), in MT, honorifically for khruba, 'to wash'.
 - OT **dj:ma**, 'impurity', < Tib. dri-ma, 'dirt', 'excrement'.
 - **khàwai** or recte **khai**? The informants could not reach agreement as to which of these terms were correct in this context: kha, 'mouth', or khàwa, lit. 'snow', but figuratively also applied to the 'white substance' which appears when the bombo receives the 'life-force' (che:) from the gods, cf. p. 246 and 61.496.
 - MT **da:ba** (< Tib. 'dag-pa), 'to clean', 'to purify'.
 - OT **lj:nen**, 'pollution caused by a corpse', < lj: (< Tib. lus), 'body', + nen < Tib. nan, lit. 'evil', 'harm'.
 - OT **ke:nen**, 'pollution caused by childbirth', < keppa (< Tib. skyed-pa), 'to give birth', + nen as above. Cf. kebi ru: in 25.218 below.
 - **syimo... kāco bāyu**, s. 11.125 and 12.129.
 - **chamjo sōnba/señba**, 'to bind' by magic (cf. English "spell-bound"), used in two senses: 'to paralyze' the adversary, or 'to make invulnerable/impenetrable' a body or space. MT chamjo < Tib. mchams gčod-pa, 'to draw a line of demarcation' (cf. Jäschke 1949: 455).

25.

- 215 gaṅgai ḍupcyo nomba, syoṅgai ḍupcyo nomba,
 meṅdoi gombo chya:ba, meṅdoi liṅsye chya:ba, meṅdoi gyāra chya:ba,
 meṅdoi kabu chya:ba,
 meṅdoi jara khilba,
 cya:gi bumba, sergi bumba, nolgi bumba, saṅgi bumba,
 gaṅgai ḍupcyo nomba, syoṅgai ḍupcyo nombai sergi, saṅgi
 bumba,
 da:bo, da:mola, lai leṅchyaḷa yaṛ bloṅba, maṛ bloṅba,
 tàsya, waṣya, laṅsyai ru:ri pho:ba thamjye silba,
 kebi ru:ri, ñengi ru:ri pho:ba thamjye silba,
 thabsaṅ-syoḷsaṅ ru:ri pho:ba thamjye silba,
 karda, marda, thabsaṅ-syoḷsaṅ ru:ri pho:ba thamjye silba,
 saṅwai, ñaḷwai khari ru:ri pho:ba thamjye silbai saṅgi bumba,
 mī:i kuldap silba, mī:i ñendap silba, maṅ gókpa, thaṅbi ñendap
 thamjye silbai saṅgi bumba.
- 220 Phamoi le:dap soṅñi le, Phamoi cyoldap soṅñi le Kaliama!,
 ha:y Gúru chya:jaḷo!
 Phamoi le:dap soṅñi le, Phamoi cyoldap soṅñi le!

*

- (The jug which) takes (receives) the holy water of the mountain,
 takes the holy water of the river,
 215 (put in the jug) there are heaps of flowers, there are scores of
 flowers, there are hundreds of flowers, there are buds of
 flowers.

the roots of the flowers grow whirling,
(in) the iron jug, golden jug, silver jug, copper jug,
(which) takes (receives) the holy water of the mountain,
which takes the holy water of the river,
(in) the golden, the copper jug,
the copper jug (which) washes off whatever (in the bodies) of the
master, the mistress, the god's youth has been affected
by the impurity of the horse-meat, the pork, the ox-meat,
(by the impurity which) arises above, which arises below,
(the jug which) washes off whatever has been affected by the
impurity of childbirth, the impurity of mating,
(which) washes off whatever has been affected by the
thabsañ-syḡbsañ-impurity,
(the jug which) washes off whatever has been affected by the
karda-, marda-, (and) thabsañ-syḡbsañ-impurities,
which washes off whatever has been affected by the impurity
(contracted) while eating, sleeping, walking,
the copper jug (which) washes off (the effects of) the magic
arrow of humans, (which) washes off (the effects of) the
harming charm of humans,
which washes off all bad dreams, harming charms (which are
the cause) of the thànba (illness).

- 220 *Let us go and ensure the support of (you O) Phamo!,*
let us go and ensure the guardianship of (you O) Phamo!,
O Kaliama!,
hə:y, O Gúru hail!,
let us go and ensure the support of (you O) Phamo!,
let us go and ensure the guardianship of (you O) Phamo!

Notes:

214-219: On the problem of translation cf. pp. 288 ff.

214: **ḡpucyo**, 'holy water', < Tib. sgrub-čhu, lit. 'water of realization', also with reference to a 'holy spring'. The water in the jug will be transubstantiated into ḡpucyo in a specific ritual (cf. pp. 246 ff.).

– **nomba**, 'to take', here in the sense of 'to receive', 'to be used as a receptacle'. On the polysemy of this verb cf. p. 308.

215-216: **məṇdoi gombo...**, 'there are heaps of flowers...', with reference to the flowers put in the jug on the altar. The set is clearly likened to the primordial scenery of the creation myth (cf. section 21. and pp. 288 ff.).

217: **bumba**, 'jug', s. pp. 60, 63-64.

218: **yəṛ/məṛ bləṇba... pho:ba**, s. 9.108-110.

– OT **thabsañ-syḡbsañ** = MT **thab.syḡb** (< Tib. thab-gžob, 'burnt smell', < thab, 'hearth'), the name of 'the inauspicious effect of a pregnancy resulting from an incest or intercourse with an Untouchable', but originally the 'defilement of the family hearth'. Cf. the Tibetan hearth-god (thab-lha) whose anger arises when the hearth is polluted (Hoffmann 1950: 169 ff., and Tucci 1970: 127).

219: **məṇ gókpa/məṇ gəkpa**, 'bad dream' with some unfavourable portent, < MT **məṇ**, 'dream'.

– **thànbi** < OT **thànba** = ? MT **thànli**, the name of an illness causing dark scabs, according to SB.

26. – 32. The first ritual journey: from the clan god to Lasya

As already stated, the term *řirap* denotes any longer enumeration of place names (pp. 29 ff.), which starts from the house of the client and ends at the “abode” or the place of origin of a certain superhuman agent. Such a “journey” has, in principle at least, the *chene* on the altar as both its starting point and terminal, inasmuch as the ritual cannot be effective without achieving a kind of fusion of the symbolizing with the symbolized, that is, of the altar with the *bę:yul*, the country of the gods. It is in this sense that the following *řirap* constitutes the final part of the “evening incense-recitation”. To be incensed and called upon are:

– (a) first, the gods associated with the client’s house and village, such as the god of the fire-place, the goddess of the main post (pillar), the clan god of the client (along with the clan god of the officiating *boṃbo*) (section 26.); the gods of the door, the floor/earth, the ceiling/sky, the courtyard (section 27.); and the divinities believed to be the owner-guardians of the village territory (section 28.);

– (b) then, various divine beings associated with certain places (boulders, springs, cult places, mountain peaks and lakes, etc.) which the *boṃbo*, coming from the client’s village, “visits” in following, first, a NW-N-NE route, with Gorkhā as its westernmost and Gosāikuṇḍ as its easternmost stations (sections 29.-31.), and then a straight northern route leading, via Kyirong, to the lake of Cho Mamo in South Tibet, the “divine abode” of Lasya-Kaliama (section 32.). The journey culminates in activating the positive aspect, and simultaneously disactivating the negative aspect, of Lasya, the tutelary of “all divine abodes”, “all altars”.

26.

phu:i la Alen Dęwa, da:i la Dą:dar Dólmo.
 pañlep syí:, ąalıñ syí:, sergi duñma, yoi duñma,
 khańsa ne:bi tembai la Jyañjyen Mařbo,
 Syabut, Țha:but, Hįsyę, Nńsyę Dąbla, Dąbla Kù Ma:bon,
 225 gyábna li:jye khurni, nńnna chya:jye tenńi, Dąbla Ma:bon!,
 na ńongi Dąbla Ma:bon, Syabut, Țha:but Dąbla, Phola Dąbla,
 Měme Dąbla, Hįsyę Phola Dąbla, Nńsyę Phola Dąbla,
 Rąsuwa Dąbla, Țha:duń Dąbla, Kirba Dąbla Kù Ma:bon,
 ma: gyábla kuińi, pi.dina yiń mačhya:ńi (=?)!,
 ńę:bi ąakpo dulńi, ńę:bi tińso nomńi Dąbla Ma:bon!

*

*O god of the fire-place, Alen Dęwa, god of the (main) post,
 Dą:dar Dólmo,*

*O clan god Jyañjyen Mařbo, Syabut, Țha:but, Hįsyę, Nńsyę
 Dąbla, Dąbla Kù Ma:bon who dwells in the four shingles, the
 four beams, the golden beam, the turquoise (?) beam, (who
 dwells) in the homestead,*

*let us go and carry (you) at the back on the back, let us go and
 toss (you) at the front with the hands O Dąbla Ma:bon!,*

225 *O my, the ńon's, (clan god) Dąbla Ma:bon, Syabut, Țha:but Dąbla,
 Phola Dąbla, Grandfather Dąbla, Hįsyę Phola Dąbla,
 Nńsyę Phola Dąbla, Rąsuwa Dąbla, Țha:duń Dąbla,
 Kirba Dąbla Kù Ma:bon,*

*let us go and smite the ma:, let us go and... [obscure]!,
let us go and tame the harming ḡakpo, let us go and take (its)
harming heart O Ḍabla Ma:bon!*

Notes:

- No information was available on the divinities Alen Dəwa, Də:dar Ḍólmo here, and Gəmosyi Rá:ja, Gərmen Ḍólmo, Akam.bə:ri in the next section. Both sections betray some parallels to Tibetan concepts of the dwelling house as a microcosmic entity inhabited by certain gods (s., e.g., Tucci 1970: 207-210, and Corlin 1980).
- 223: **Də:dar Ḍólmo/Də:dañ Ḍólmo** < MT də:, 'the main post/pillar' of the dwelling house, also associated with the clan god; and Ḍólmo, s. p. 56.
- MT **pañlep**, 'shingle', < Tib. spañ-leb, 'board', 'slate'.
- OT **ḡalín/ḡalen** (< ? Tib. gral-ma, 'rafter'), rendered by 'beam', probably 'rafter' (= MT dalin < N. dalin).
- OT **syí:**, 'four', possibly a metonymic allusion to the four corners delineating the house as a totality. The "four beams" are also reminiscent of the Tibetan house with its four horizontal beams supporting the ceiling, which run to the four corners and rest on the central pillar, as reported by Corlin (1980: 87).
- OT **duñma** < Tib. gduñ-ma, 'beam', possibly with reference to the beams supporting the rafters on the ceiling.
- **yoi** < OT *yo/yu: < Tib. gyu, 'turquoise'.
- **tembai la**, 'tutelary god of a clan', ? < Tib. brten-pa'i lha, lit. 'the supporting god'. Cf. Höfer 1981: 14. The clan god is also called díngi la, lit. 'god of the house'.
- **Jyañjyen Maṛbo Ḍabla Ma:bon**, the name of the clan god of the client, i.e., of the head of the patient's household, actually. The god of the bəmbo's own clan (line 225) is another (manifestation of) Ḍabla. The term **ḡabla**, deriving from Tib. dgra-lha/dgra-bla/sgra-bla, denotes a particular class of fierce divinities associated with mountains and hunting, cf. Höfer 1981: 15, 125. (For a recent discussion of the Tibetan dgra-lha/dgra-bla cf. Gibson 1985).
- **Syabut...**, the epithets of Ḍabla. **syabut**, lit. 'sacrificial share of meat'; **ṡa:but**, lit. 'sacrificial share of blood', cf. 98.922 note; **hişye** and **nòsyé**, cf. 18.159; **ḡabla kùì ma:bon** (< Tib. dgra-lha dgu'i dmag-dpon, lit. 'commander of the nine/many dgra-lhas) was explained by the informants as an epithet referring either to the nine (kù) manifestations or to the nine hairlocks ("pigtailed") of Ḍabla.
- 225: **Phola** ? < Tib. pho-lha, lit. 'male god', cf. p. 63³⁶; a clue for any link with the phola stones (pp. 62-63) could not be found. On the epithets of Ḍabla cf. also p. 284.
- **Ràsuwa** < N. Rasuwā, the name of a settlement on the Nepal-Tibet border, said to be the residence of a particularly powerful Ḍabla.
- **Kirba** < MT kirba (< Tib. khyir-ra), 'hunting'.
- **ṡha:duñ**, cf. 18.166 note.
- 226: **ma:** (< Tib. dmag, 'army'), most probably with reference to the 'host' of gods of the "wild hunter" type, such as the ḡakpos, s. below; **gyábla kuiñi**, 'let us go and smite!', < OT gyábla kuiba, the intensive form of *gyáppa, 'to smite', according to the informants. It cannot be excluded, however, that "ma: gyáppa" < Tib. dmag rgyag-pa, 'to wage war' (Jäschke 1949: 421). Cf. also 87.740, and p. 35.
- **pi.djina yiñ...**, obscure.
- **ñə:b(a)i** < ñə:ba (< Tib. ñes-pa), 'to cause harm', 'to do evil', 'to be at fault', s. also ñəndap in 9.102 note.
- **ḡakpo**, 'ferocious', 'fierce' (11.126 note), here as the name of a class of "wild hunters", overlapping with the class of the *ḡablas*, cf. Höfer 1981: 124-125.
- OT **tiñso** = MT tiñ, 'heart', according to the informants. Hence, **nomba**, lit. 'to take', here perhaps 'to devour' or 'to tear out'.

27.

chya:jaló!,
 mràbgi la Gòmosi: Rá:ja, sai la Temba Cuñne, nàmgi la Gòmèn
 Dólmo, dọ la Dọbon Chyembo Akam.bà:ri nàñri
 kedañ sali dụnma, ro.dụnmai le:dap sọññi!,
 dą:mola chalam salba, bųlam salba, syąbla tẹwa salba,
 pùila mẹluñ salba, tiñla tẹwa, mẹndo, che.darsyiñ, dąra
 ñamba salbai,
 luñdañ bąrba, luñdañ keppa,
 dą:moi nąrgyal chebi ro.dụnmai le:dap,
 230 nẹggi chamjo, rịngi chamjo sọba(i), ha-a-a-a-a-a-a,
 le:dap sọññi, cyoldap sọññi!
 brá:ri dọ:na cima cu:ba, chyuri dọ:na samba dұppa(i)
 kedañ sali dụnma.
 Phamoi le:dap sọññi le!

*

Hail!,

*O god of the door, Gòmosi: Rá:ja, god of the floor (earth) Temba
 Cuñne, god of the ceiling (sky), Gòmèn Dólmo,
 courtyard-god, Dọbon Chyembo Akam.bà:ri,
 let us go and ensure support for the kedañ sali-beam, the
 life-beam in [the courtyard]!,*

*support (for) healing the mistress's great-grandchildren (?), healing
 (her) grandchildren (?), healing the centre of (her) legs [sic],
 healing the flame in (her) knees, healing the centre of
 (her) heart, (her) flower, life-pole, respiration (?) (when)
 injured,*

*(support for) making (her) respiration (?) expand,
 for giving birth to (her) respiration (?),*

*(support) for the life-beam which makes the mistress's
 arrogance grow,*

230 *let us go and ensure the support, let us go and ensure the
 guardianship (which) bind the illness, bind the epidemic!,
 ha-a-a-a-a-a-a,*

*(the support by means of) the kedañ sali-beam (which)
 provides steps when arriving at the steep slope,
 provides a bridge when arriving at the water (river).
 Let us go and ensure the support of (you O) Phamo!*

Notes:

228: **Gòmosi: Rá:ja**, gòmosi: ? < Tib. sgo-mo bži, lit. 'four gates', with reference to the four gates of a building? + rá:ja < N. rājā, 'king'. On the Tibetan sgo-lha, who is believed to increase one's wealth, cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 333.

– **sai** < sa which in the colloquial language means both, 'earth' and 'floor'.

– **Temba Cuñne** < Tib. brtan-pa bču-gñis, the 'twelve earth goddesses', who are the protectors of Tibet (cf., e.g., Houston 1974: 212 f.; and Macdonald and Dvags-po Rin-po-che 1981: 263).

– MT **nàm**, lit. 'sky', 'rain'.

- MT **dọ**, 'courtyard'. The text has "dọ la", instead of the more frequent "dọi la". 'god of the courtyard'.
 - **Dọbon Chyembo...**, obviously identical with the dwarf "stone-bombo" (dọbon) in 12.129. (Notice the paronomastic linkage between OT dọ, 'stone', as in dọbon, and MT dọ, 'courtyard'). The passage runs in literal rendering: 'in the courtyard-god Dọbon Chyembo Akam.bà:ri'. The gods of the door, floor/earth and the courtyard are invoked (and apostrophized as phamo), since the pa:sam tree (kedañ), symbolizing the patient's life-tree/life-beam (ro.dụnma), is usually planted in a hole near the entrance of the client's house (pp. 243 ff.).
 - **kedañ**, the name of a non-identified high-altitude tree which was used in former times as a pa:sam; now replaced by the chestnut tree, MT teñsyiñ, *Castanopsis hystrix* or *Castanopsis tribuloides*.
 - **sali** (< ?) is frequently added to names of animals and plants, s. 53.437 note.
 - "**kedañ... dụnma, ro.dụnma**", the apposition stresses the identity between the pa:sam tree to be planted in the courtyard and the patient's life-beam.
- 229: **chalam... luñdañ**, cf. 10.118 and 12.131 note.
- **syąbla** < MT syąb, 'leg'.
 - "... **tiñla tẹwa, mendo...**", lit. '...the centre of the heart, the flower...'. Here the latter appears to refer to the 'life-flower' or the '(womb-)flower' or both. Yet elsewhere the text also has a "tiñla mendo" = 'flower of/in the heart', the name of a white spot of connective tissue on the outer surface of the heart. Cf. 43.355, 53.443, 79.641; and 84.697 note on "mendoi chercher".
- 230: **neggi** < OT neđ (< Tib. nad), 'illness'; **riñgi** < OT riñ (< Tib. rims), 'epidemy'.
- 231: **brá:ri... dұppa**, cf. 24.213.

28.

chya:jalo!,

Bhokteni yàr dọla [*recte*: phola] ne:bi yulgi syibda-nè:da,

màr dọla ne:bi yulgi syibda-nè:da,

kebam gyągar menđu kùri keba,

dịnbam Syàranjo nàñri dịnba,

thunbam Kalliri Gómboři thunnem,

dịnbam sa rẹkki lumbu kùri dịnba,

chya:bam Bhokteni dónbo chyembo, dọ.cha:jo, dọ.rágrog

nàñri chya:bai yulgi syibda-nè:da, La Wàngu,

La Gyábjen Nórbu,

sa ne:bi syibda, dọ ne:bi syibda, sai tẹwa maṭhu:go, nàngi

kàwa maṭhu:go!,

sa ne:bi syibda, dọ ne:bi syibda, sañrap ñembu syukhajyi.

235 Mahākālikā, Mahālutra Dewi, Bura: syitta Mạ:deo, Kāli Nāg, Bramha

Nāg, Bisnu Nāg, Dāmdar Deurāli, Gaṛura, Bura: syitta Mạ:deo,

sañrap ñembu syuñi le!...

*

Hail!,

O syibda-nè:da of the area, who dwells in the upper part,

syibda-nè:da of the area, who dwells in the lower part of

Bhokteni, (who),

as to birth, was born in India's nine wombs (?), (who),

as to soaring, soars in Syàranjo, (who),

as to origin, originated in Kalliri Gómbo, (who),

as to soaring, soars in the nine whole worlds,

syibda-nè:da of the area, who,

*as to residence, resides in the great tree, the rocky place,
the place full of boulders (within the area of) Bhokteni,
(and whose name is) La Wàngu, La Gyábjyen Nórbu,
O syibda who dwells in the earth (soil), syibda who dwells in
the stone,
do not disturb the centre of the earth, do not disturb the
kàwa (=?) of the sky!,*

*O syibda who dwells in the earth, syibda who dwells in the stone,
(I) have come to ask (you) to listen (?) to the incense-recitation.*

- 235 *O Mahākālikā, Mahālutra Dewi, Bura: syitta Ma:deo, Kāli Nāg,
Bramha Nāg, Bisnu Nāg, Dāmdar Deurāli, Garura,
Bura: syitta Ma:deo,
let us go and ask (you) to listen (?) to the incense-recitation!*

Notes:

233: OT (yap) **phola** < Tib. phu-la, 'in the upper part'.

– OT (maṛ) **ḍola** < Tib. mdo-la, 'in the lower part'.

– OT **yul** (< Tib. yul), 'area', 'country'.

– MT **syibda-nè:da** (< Tib. gži-bdag gnas-bdag, lit. 'lord of the soil of the place') is the collective name of the divinities believed to be the owners and guardians of the village territory, especially of the soil, cf. Höfer 1981: 12-14, also Toffin 1987 for a comparative analysis.

– **kebam... kùri dñba**, another typical example of an emblematic periphrasis (s. pp. 286 ff.) wherein **thunnem** erroneously for **thunba**, as it seems.

– **gyagar menḍu**, cf. 22.197.

– **Syàranjo** = Sirāncok, a village near Gorkhā. **Kalliri** = Jhārkalleri, a village on the left bank of the Trisuli river. These two villages were vaguely identified as the places of origin of two Gurung persons who, after their deaths, "joined" the syibda-nè:da divinities to form a "union" (chyibda, cf. 17.155) with them.

– **Gómbori** ? < MT **gómbu** (< Tib. dgon-pa, 'hermitage', 'monastery'), '(Buddhist) sanctuary' (chapel, stupa, mani wall, etc.). Other texts have "Kalliri pe:ma" or "Kalliri komburu", instead of "Kalliri Gómbori".

– **sa rèkki lumbu kùri**, 'in the nine whole worlds' (sic!), < **rèkki lumbu**, cf. 15.139 note.

– OT **ḍo:cha:jo** and **ḍo:rágrog**, for places covered with rocks and large boulders, as in river gorges or moraines (there is no such place near Bhokteni).

– **La Wàngu/La Wànbo** and **La Gyábjyen**, two of the many names of the syibda-nè:da; **La Wàngu/Wànbo** ? < Tib. lha'i dbaṅ-po, 'the lord of gods (Indra)'.

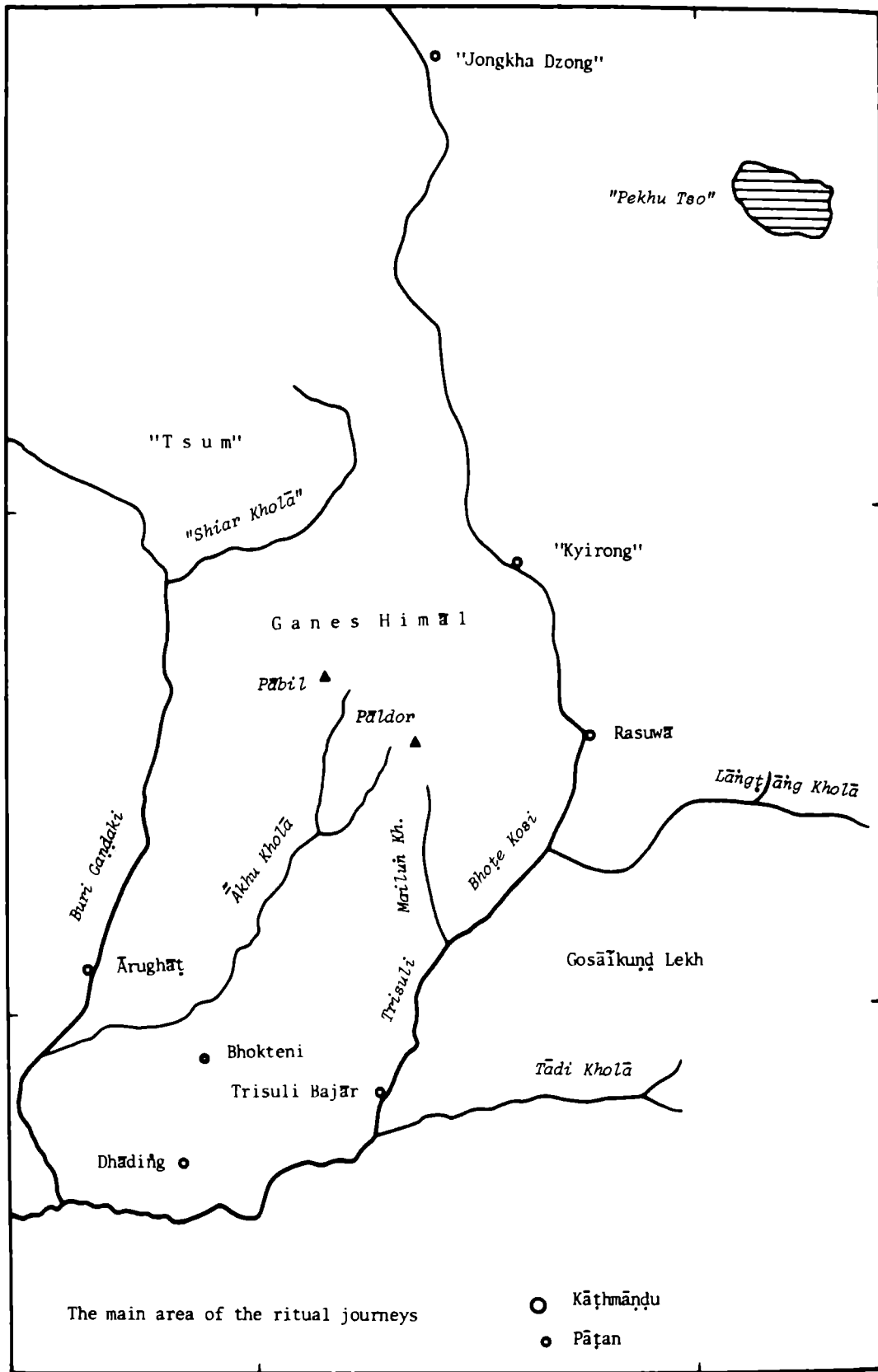
– **sai tèwa**, 'the centre of the earth/world', < Tib. sa-yi lte-ba, 'the centre/navel of the empire' (cf. Jäschke 1949: 218, Das 1970: 971, Stein 1962: 170 ff.; and "tiñla tèwa" in 10.118 above).

– **nàngi kàwa** < Tib. gnam-gyi ka-ba, 'the pillar of the sky' (axis mundi), with reference to sacred mountains, the yul-lha and gži-bdag, etc. (cf. Stein 1962: 170 ff.). For the Tamang informants, the word **kàwa** in the present context did not make sense at all.

– **maṭhu:go** < OT **ṭhu:ba** < Tib. 'khrug-pa, 'to be disturbed'; s. also "maçhyu:go" in 32.261 below.

234: **sanrap ñembu syukhaji**, tentatively rendered by 'I have come (MT khajyi) to ask (OT syu-) you to listen to the incense-recitation', in that the informants interpreted **ñembu** as an OT etymon of MT **ñemba**, 'to listen', 'to hear'. Yet since OT **syuḅa** < Tib **žu-ba**, 'to request', 'to communicate respectfully', and since OT **ñembu** probably = Tib. sñan-pa/ñan-po, 'well-sounding' (Jäschke 1949: 196 f.), the phrase might read: 'I have come to beg to present you a well-sounding incense-recitation'. Cf. also line 236 below.

235: **Mahākālikā... Ma:deo**, Hindu divinities whose cult places are situated on a crest above Bhokteni. **Mahālutra** = ? Mahārudrā (Durgā). **Bura:syitta**, a frequent epithet of Ma:deo = Mahā dew in some Tamang ritual texts, ? < N. buṛhā, lit. 'old', + N. siddha, cf. 18.166 note and 2.31 note. **Kāli Nāg**



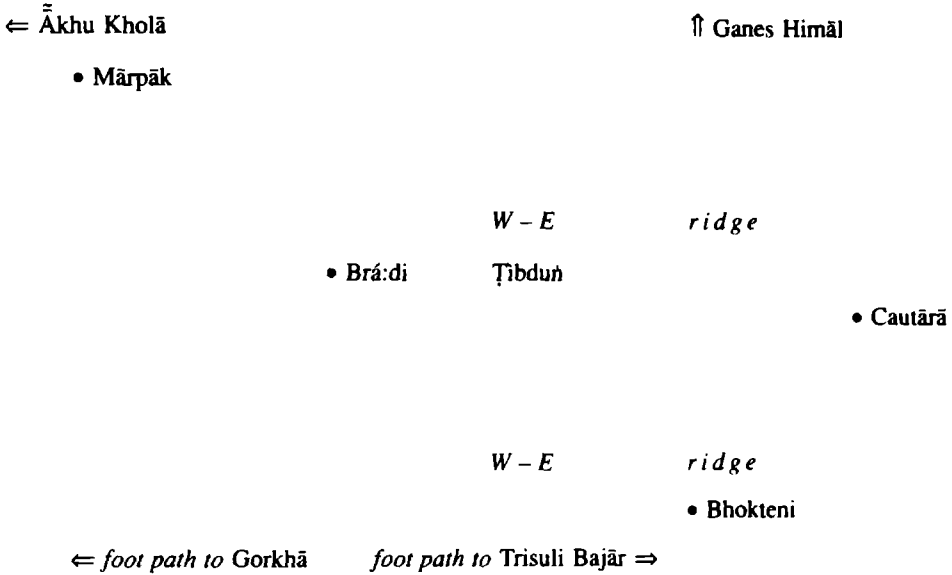
The main area of the ritual journeys

- Kathmandu
- Patan

? < Kāli Nāgīnī, the wife of the king of the nāgas. **Dām{o}dar Deurāli**, with reference to a cult place of Mahādev on the pass (deurāli) above Bhokteni, which is said to have been erected by the famous statesman Dāmodar Pāre; in some other texts, the same cult place is referred to as “Dāmodar Mahādev”.

– **Garura** = Garuḍa, the mythic bird-vehicle of Viṣṇu, possibly with reference to a cult place of the latter.

In continuing the *sahrap* and repeating, again and again, the greeting formula *chya: jaḷo*, the bōmbo now turns, first, to the area to the northeast and northwest of Bhokteni. His itinerary¹ is as follows:



29.

Kāli Nāg at Byúru Syoñ (R)

Near Cautārā (ST); no specific cult place, no regular worship.

Ḍuḗcyo-Menjyo Phamo, Phamo Cyañsyar Lamo, Karyul Jyōmo of Lápsyire (UN)

Lápsyire = a former pasture ground E of Cautārā (ST).

Ḍuḗcyo-Menjyo (Tib. sgrub-čhu, 'holy spring', + sman-čhu, 'medicine-water') Phamo is believed to provide the holy water of a spring at which an annual fair with the participation of a few Tamang bōmbos takes place at Māgh Sañkrānti. The goddesses Cyañsyar Lamo and Karyul Jyōmo (Tib. lha-mo and jo-mo, respectively) are believed to control the area around the spring. NI.

¹ Abbreviations: DIV = divinity; LK = lake; n. = name; NI = no information available; PK = mountain peak; R = river; ST = settlement (village); UN = uninhabited (meadow, bush, forest, slope, hill spur, etc.).

Names in quotation marks render the spelling as followed by the maps of the Survey of India.

Syitta Ma:deo, Indar Dewi, Gorkhā Kālikā of Cautārā (ST)

Siddha Mahā dew, Indar (= Indra) Dewi, Gorkhā Kālikā each having separate cult places (N. thān) within the village; Gorkhā Kālikā is chiefly worshipped by ex-Gurkha soldiers.

The *kharda-chobda* of Lüyüñ (UN)

Lüyüñ (< MT *lu* ≡ *nāg* + *yüñba*, 'stone') = n. of a place between Semdoñ and T̄ibduñ (STs), with a stone boulder inhabited by a *lu* which is worshipped irregularly, i.e., when believed to have caused a particular type of skin efflorescence. Cf. 4.50 and 91.820 notes.

La Kundu Sañbo, La Meḡduñ Remo of Jón dali (UN)

Names of the *syibda-nè:da* of this place above T̄ibduñ (ST); Kundu Sañbo < Tib. *kun-tu bzañ-po*, 'the Primordial Buddha'.

240 Lāma Khilden Ḍakpo, Phamo Syelgar Jyomo, Phamo Deḡsum Saṅge, Phamo Cañri Jyomo of Phoni Ḍapcoñ Jo (PK)

These three divinities are said to have their residence (*chya:bi glā:*) in the ruins of a building on the peak to the NW of Cautārā (ST). Tradition has it that the building was the palace of a legendary king of the Wāiba clan (although it rather looks like a hermitage). Lāma Khilden Ḍakpo (NI). Syelgar Jyomo = n. of a goddess who resides in whitish, marble-like stones on slopes and peaks (cf. Tib. *šel-dkar*, 'crystal', 'glass'); Cañri Jyomo is the name of one of the (two) clan gods of the Wāiba clan. Deḡsum Saṅge (< Tib. *dus-gsum sañs-rgyas*, 'the Buddhas of the three times') (NI); elsewhere occurring as an epithet of Urygen Pe:ma (s. 87.736).

Yapdeñ-yupgi Da:mo, Chyu Geppu-Gemo of Dḡ Ālijyo (UN)

Yapdeñ-yupgi was rendered by 'male-with-female', hence < Tib. *yab* + *yum*, 'father' + 'mother', respectively; probably with reference to the couple of Chyu Geppu-Gemo (s. 19.175).

Cyañsyar Lamo of Gómbo Gañ (UN)

Gómbo Gañ = n. of a hill spur below T̄ibduñ (ST), with a *máne*, i.e., a chörten-shaped memorial erected in memory of a lama (and referred to as *gómbo*, cf. 28.233 note on Kalliri Gómbo). Cyañsyar Lamo (DIV, NI).

Kāli Nāg (DIV, NI) of Tilijyet (UN)

Near T̄ibduñ (ST).

the *syibda-nè:da* of Pālañjyet (UN)

Near T̄ibduñ.

Saṅga Ma:deo [Mahā dew] of Byúruduñ (UN)

Near T̄ibduñ. Saṅga < *sankha* (*śaṅkha*), 'conch shell', which is blown by a Brahmin priest during the (regular) worship, according to the informants.

Mañḍili (Mañḍali?) of Kolo Syoñ (R)

NI. Near Brá:di ("Dhārādhiri") (ST)

Kālikā Dewi of Bhadre (UN)

NI. Near Brá:di ("Dhārādhiri")

Kanne (Kanyā) Nāg of Takpa Syoñ (R)

NI. Near Brá:di ("Dhārādhiri")

Syiri Kāne Ma:deo of Guinsa (UN)

Sri (Śrī) Kanyā Mahā dew, with reference to the female consort of Mahā dew? Guinsa = n. of a place near Brá:di.

Yajyo-Gañjyo, Ḍupcyo-Menjyo, Phamo Syelgar Jyomo, Phamo Cyañsyar Lamo of Mán.búdu (and) Thala Gañ (UN)

Yajyo... Lamo = names of the divinity said to control the area of the hill spur called Thala Gañ. The water of a spring is regarded as holy water (*ḍupcyo*). Annual fair with the participation of Tamang *bombos*.

The *bombo* now "jumps" to the sacred lakes and peaks in the Ganes Himāl, Lāngtāng and Gosāikuṅḍ massifs:

30.

Syar Ñëma Karsañ Dólmo (DIV, PK)

As can be inferred from other texts, it is also the name of the female consort of the guardian divinity of the East (MT syar), namely Dõrjye Semba (Tib. rdo-rje sems-dpa').

Larañ-Luruñ/Lañrañ-Luruñ (DIV, PK)

The well-known "Lāngtāng Lirung" peak, N of the Lāngtāng Valley.

Cye:ña Chiriñ (DIV)

NI. Also the n. of a peak?

god of the north Jyañjyen Maṛbo

Jyañjyen Maṛbo is the clan god of the Maṃba clan (cf. 26.223 note, and Höfer 1981: 14, 144). The guardian divinity of the North is otherwise Jyañ Doyañ Đúba, s. 35.273 below.

god of the south Lapsañ Karbo (DIV, PK)

Lapsañ Karbo as a peak = ? Mañāslu or Bauddha. The guardian divinity of the South is otherwise Lo Riñjyen Kù or Lo Riñjyen Jyuñne, s. 35.273.

Nuṇ Nàwa Mānuhuṅga Rá:ja (DIV)

Apparently a contraction of two names, namely (a) Nuṇ Nàwa Thá:ye, the guardian divinity of the West (nuṇ) (s. 35.273), and (b) Mānuhuṅga Rá:ja. Mānuhuṅga is said to be the n. of a ridge near Gorkhā, hence = ? "Mānungkot" peak at the confluence of the Seti and Mādi rivers. Rá:ja < N. rājā, 'king'.

245 Roṣyañ Ma:gi Gyálbo (PK, DIV)

NI. OT gyálbo, 'king'.

Gyáb Thaldorñ (DIV, PK)

NI.

Dõrjye Le:ba (PK, DIV)

A peak of the Ganes Himāl, according to the informants.

Paldor Jõ (PK, DIV)

The "Pāldor" peak in the Ganes Himāl.

Byándañ (LK)

The "Bridāng Kund" in the headwater area of the Ākhu Kholā, or the "Kālo Pokhri" behind the "Pāldor" peak? In other texts, Byánda Lạ or Phyaṅga Lạ, where the word lạ seems to stand for 'upland'.

Ma:bon (DIV) of Yaḍdeñ-yuṇ (PK) and Geluñ Sòm (PK), Phamo Gañser (DIV), Phamo Hoṣer (DIV), Mème Tha:gi Nórbu (DIV) of Kāli Raha and Seto Raha (LKs)

Kāli Raha and Seto Raha are said to be two lakes in the headwater area of the Ākhu Kholā, hence = "Kāloseto Raha" ?

Ma:bon (DIV) of Cho:na Ge: (LK?), Gañ Rañsyiñ [Ma:bon], Gañ Rura Ma:bon (DIV) of Khyuñkhyuñ Jõ-Syibon Jõ

These gods are particularly fierce and powerful helpers of the bõmbo. (Cho:na Ge:i Ma:bon = ? Cho:na Ge: Ma:bon in 43.328, and Cho:na Ge:i Đakpo in 87.736). Khyuñkhyuñ Jõ-Syibon Jõ = n. of one single peak in the headwater area of the Ākhu Kholā (?).

Here the enumeration of names is interrupted by:

247 ha:y, Gúru Gõrkhai Ma:bon Phamoi làgañ salñi, ne: gõma pheñi, sergi
gõma pheñi, saṅgi gõma pheñi!,
Be:yul Hõnga Rá:ja, Be:yul Hõnga Rá:ñi Phamoi làgañ salñi!

*

247 ha:y, *let us go and find the abode of (you O) Phamo Gúru Ma:bon of*

*Gorkhā, let us go and get at the ne: gōma (?), let us go and get
at the golden gōma, let us go and get at the copper gōma!,
let us go and find the abode of (you O) Bę:yul Hōnga Rá:ja, Bę:yul
Hōnga Rá:ñi!*

Notes:

247: **Gorkhai Ma:bon** = Gorakhnāth with his famous sanctuary at Gorkhā.

– **ne: gōma** < MT ne: (? < Tib gnas), 'the other world', 'the world beyond'; gōma ? < Tib. sgo-mo, 'gate', obviously with reference to the gate of the Other World = the bę:yul.

248: **Bę:yul** < bę:yul (< Tib. sbas-yul, lit. 'the secret country'), is what I have attempted to render by 'mythic-mystic country', cf. also pp. 29-31. MT lai yul, lit. 'the region of the gods', is a synonym of bę:yul. Here the term bę:yul might refer to the Gorakhnāth sanctuary "hidden" in a cave.

– **Hōnga Rá:ja/Rá:ñi** (Hōnga King/Queen) = ? Gorakhnāth and his śakti, Mankāmnā Dewi (cf. Unbescheid 1980: 35-45, 57, 183; also Gutschow 1985).

31.

**Mármén Dólmo, Dōmañ Kùì Dą:mo, Làma Kudañ Saño, Phamo Jyawa Jyūne (DIVs) of
Phyùguri Mármén Jọ (PK)**

Elsewhere (s. below), Làma Kudañ Saño is replaced by Kudañ Gyálmo. – Jyawa Jyūne, erroneously for Pho Jyawa Siñgi Lamo (s. below). Phyùguri Jọ = n. of a peak of the ridge "Tiru Danda" between the Ākhu and Mailuñ rivers. The peak is said to be a place of pilgrimage for some Tamang bōmbos.

**Pho Jyano Siñgi Lamo [recte: Pho Jyawa Siñgi Lamo], Kuñgar.syí: Dą:mo (DIVs) of Gyábna
Jọ Namjo (PK) and Nōnna Jọ Phurjo (PK)**

Kuñgar.syí:, lit. 'four kuñgar', < kuñgar, a stone monument erected in memory of a bōmbo (in former times); it consists of a pillar standing on a platform, and is different from the rather chörten-shaped memorials (máne) for lamas and laymen (s. Höfer 1981: plate 3). – Gyábna... Phurjo = two peaks, one of them behind (gyábna), and the other one in front of (nōnna), the above-mentioned Phyùguri Jọ, as the informants explained. Cf. also 91.821 note.

Mojyo Mengi Dą:mo (DIV) of Siñla Sergi Bumba (UN)

Siñla = the peak "Sangita" of the ridge between the Ākhu and Mailuñ rivers. Sergi Bumba, lit. 'golden jug/vase', here with reference to the pinnacle (resembling an inverted water jug) of a kuñgar memorial. (Usually, a kuñgar has no pinnacle). In some other texts, it is the above-mentioned Pho Jyawa Siñgi Lamo who resides in this kuñgar.

**250 Phamo Siñsiñ Rá:ñi, Jeşur Kuñđa Rá:ñi [= Jayiswar Kuñđa Rāñi], Phamo Khamja Rá:ñi,
Phamo Nōrja Dólmo, Phamo Syelgar Jyōmo, Phamo Cyañsyar Lamo (DIVs)**

These divinities are said to reside in the area around the Jayiswar lake = "Jāgesor Kunda" in the headwater area of the Mailuñ Kholā. According to a bōmbo informant who went up to this place on pilgrimage, the water gushes in jets from a kuñgar memorial and flows from there into a rather small lake. Several informants emphasized that the water of Jayiswar Kuñđa was considered the holy water (dųpcyo) sui generis, and that any dirt floating in the water of the lake was instantly removed by birds.

Phamo Yañri Dólmo, Kuñgar.syí: Bę:yul Kùì Dą:mo (DIVs) of Lari Gañri (PK)

NI. Kuñgar.syí: appears to refer, here again, to a place with four kuñgar memorials (cf. above). Bę:yul Kùì Dą:mo, 'Mistress of the nine mythic-mystic countries'. As already stated, the whole region of the Himalayan peaks and lakes, along with the Tibetan plateau behind them, is regarded as bę:yul. – Lari Gañri = n. of a ridge in the headwater area of the Ākhu Kholā, cf. also p. 246.

Khelañ Ma:bon, Dalañ Ma:bon (DIV) of Roᅅga (UN)

Two particularly powerful ma:bons. On the terms khelañ and dalañ s. 85.712-714. Roᅅga (= “Ronga Bhanjyāᅅg”), n. of a steep rocky slope near the confluence of the Bhoᅅe Kosi and the Lāᅅgtāᅅg Kholā.

Ma:bon of Syārka:li (PK), Ma:bon of Syārdola (PK), Ma:bon of Syānla Jo (PK), Ma:bon of Kudi.jón (ST)

These peaks were located in what the informants called Tibet (N. Bhoᅅ). Kudi.jón = ? N. Kuti = Kodāri = “Nyalam Dzong”.

Mème Tha:yal ᅅakpo, Mème Choyal ᅅakpo of Yaᅅgar.jón (ST)

These two names are said to be epithets of the clan god of the Dᅅmduñ clan the ancestors of which immigrated, according to a myth, from Yaᅅgar.jón.

Yaᅅgar.jón = ? “Yangra Kharka” in the upper valley of the “Chilime Kholā” (Ganes Himāl).

Gosāi Kuᅅᅅa, Dudhi Kuᅅᅅa, Issur Kuᅅᅅa, Mahādeu Kuᅅᅅa, Sarasoti Kuᅅᅅa, Bhairuñ Kuᅅᅅa

These lakes of the Gosāikuᅅᅅ massif – an important Hindu place of pilgrimage, for Kāᅅphaᅅā ascetics in particular – are revered by bombo among both the Western and Eastern Tamang (cf., e.g., Unbescheid 1980: 49-53, Macdonald 1975: 297-308, and Jest 1966). Issur = Iswar (Īsvara); Sarasoti = Saraswati (Sarasvatī).

Mème Lasyiñ ᅅabla, Mam Kuduñ Gyālmo, Gūru.cengi Ma:bon, Gūru.cengi ᅅakpo, Yᅅ ᅅorjye, Yᅅ ᅅorjye (DIVs)

Mème (grandfather) Lasyiñ is the deified ghost of a hunter who, after his death, became associated with ᅅablas and ᅅakpos, the hunter divinities par excellence (cf. 26.223 note and 26.226 note). Mam (grandmother) Kuduñ Gyālmo is Lasyiñ’s wife. The story of this couple is told in more detail in 85.707-718. Gūru.cengi Ma:bon... Yᅅ ᅅorjye, cf. 85.714.

Ma:bon of Yaᅅgar.jón

The same as Mème Tha:yal... ᅅakpo above.

32.**Syabut ᅅabla, Tha:but ᅅabla, Hiᅅye ᅅabla, Nōᅅye ᅅabla, ᅅabla Kūi Ma:bon (DIV) of Ñola Braᅅᅅe (UN)**

Cf. 26.223 above. Ñola Braᅅᅅe/Ñolo Braᅅᅅe, the abode or place of origin of ᅅabla Kūi Ma:bon, was located near “Kyirong” in South Tibet (s. also Höfer 1981: 133-138). Braᅅᅅe ? < “Bhrāᅅᅅe Kholā”, a tributary of the “Chilime Kholā”.

Phaba Cere.syi: (DIV) of Keruñ

Tib. 'Phags-pa sryan-ras-gzigs, the Bodhisattva Ārya Avalokiteᅅvara with his famous temple in “Kyirong” (Tib. skyid-groñ).

There follows a list of holy places, mainly monasteries and/or sanctuaries (*gómbo*), in South Tibet. According to the informants, the word *gómbo* in these names refers to both the ‘sanctuary’ (< Tib. *dgon-pa*) and the divinity (< Tib. *mgon-po*) of the same sanctuary (cf. p. 193):

255 Syārjoñ Gómbo, Nuᅅjoñ Gómbo NĪ.**ᅅaᅅar Pambar Gómbo**

ᅅaᅅar = ? “Dragkar Taso”, a monastery to the north of “Kyirong”; Pambar = ? “Pambar/Palbar”, near the holy mountain of “Ribo Palbar” (cf. Brauen 1983: 189: 41, 51, respectively).

Grá:ma Paᅅsyiñ Gómbo

Paᅅsyiñ = ? “Pangshing” on the trade route from “Kyirong” to “Jongkha”.

Chāᅅda-Chòᅅdi Gómbo

= ? “Tsongdu”, to the NW of “Kyirong”.

Lànda-Lèndi Gómbo

= ? “Lande/Lende” = n. of the region to the SE of “Kyirong”.

Kukur.gà:r Gómbo

= Kukurghât, between “Kyirong” and “Jongkha”.

Jónga Gómbo/Jõnga Gómbo

= “Jongkha Dzong”.

Lo Dajyũ Gómbo

NI. In other texts also Lo Dasañ Gómbo.

Sàme Darda Gómbo

= Uiseme Gómbo = Tib. dBu'i bSam-yas, cf. pp. 30, 190.

Pal.hĩsyẽ Gómbo, Cĩnba:ca Gómbo

NI. Pal.hĩsyẽ Gómbo < Tib. dpal-ye-šes mgon-po mahākāla (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 47; cf. also “Ijyet Gómbo” in 77.624 and 87.748).

Cha Bũmba Nombi Daj:mo

NI. In 87. below, and according to SB correctly, Cha Bũmba Nombi Gómbo, lit. ‘the salt jug-taking gómbo’. OT cha (=MT cada), ‘salt’, was interpreted by the informants as a reference to the traditional salt-rice barter between Tibetans and Nepalese prior to the Chinese occupation of Tibet.

Rañjyũ Wodi

NI.

Having “touched” Uiseme Gómbo, which is, in a sense, the very centre of the mythic-mystic *bẽ:yul*, the *bõmbo* now reaches the destination of his journey: the lake Cho Mamo, the abode of Lasya-Kaliama.

Myũnja Rá:ñi, Phamo Ťulbi Daj:mo (of) Cho Mamo

The name Myũnja/Yũnja figures in some other texts as part of the name of the lake, thus Cho Mamo Yuñja Chyu Manḍal Kũ (lit. ‘nine lakes’), or as the name of a goddess, namely Ama Yuñja (Mother Yuñja), who is apparently identical with Lasya. The epithet Phamo Ťulbi Daj:mo, lit. ‘the phamo-bestowing mistress’, is obscure. I understand: ‘the mistress who assumes her benevolent aspect and acts as a tutelary (phamo)’, or ‘the mistress who assumes her benevolent aspect as the one by whose mediation the *bõmbo* can obtain the help of other divinities’ (who are usually apostrophized as “phamo”, cf. 8.89 note). S. also Lagañ Kũ Ťulbi Daj:mo in line 260 below.

The name of the lake, Cho Mamo (< Tib. mcho, ‘lake’), was tentatively brought in connection with the myth of the Fallen Bõmbo, Dũnsur Bõn, who had turned into an ogress, mamo (Tib. ma-mo, cf. 43.325-328 note, and pp. 55⁸, 148). Cho Mamo was located “somewhere in Tibet”, and since this name often occurs together with Palgu Jõn (109.1062, 110.1067), the Cho Mamo of the *bõmbo* may be identical with the lake “Pelgu Tso”/“Pekhu Tso” of the maps. According to Aufschnaiter (Brauen 1983: 52, 188), by contrast, “Pelgu” is the name of a plain to the SW of this lake, while the lake itself is also known as “Lam Tso Shim Tso”. – A Tibetan text quoted by Neumaier (1966: 25 f.), localizes the abode of Remati, the chief ma-mo, in a fortress constructed of human skulls and situated near a blue lake in the Northwest.

260 ... sergi lagan pheñi Gyagar Khandaj:mo, Lagan Kũ Ťulbi Daj:mo,
Lagan Kũ Phebi Daj:mo!,
Gũru Phamoda phamoi syabdo cu:jyi,
Phamo, de:wa machyu:go, damba machyu:go!

[Long drumming]

phott!, syott!

[Drumming]

*

260 ... *Let us go and get at the golden divine abode O Gyagar Khandamo,*
(O you) the Mistress-who-bestows-the-nine-divine abodes,
the Mistress-who-gets-at-the-nine-divine-abodes!
(I) have paid phamo-homage to (you O) Gúru Phamo,
O Phamo, do not perturb the action (?), do not perturb the
distinction!

[Long drumming]

phott!, syott!

[Drumming]

Notes:

260: *sergi lagan*, 'golden divine abode', with reference to Lasya's residence, which is at Cho Mamo, and which is also the abode of the Four Primordial Bõns, the proto-altar of all human bõmbos (cf. pp. 21-22, 31).

– *Gyagar Khandamo* < Tib. *rgya-gar mkha'*-*'gro-ma*, lit. 'Indian *ḍākinī*', one of Lasya's names (cf. pp. 56, 256).

– *Lagan Kù Tulbi Da:mo*, lit. 'the mistress who bestows the nine divine abodes', obscure. Obviously alluding to Lasya's role as the co-founder of the institution of shamanism. I understand: 'the mistress who assumes her benevolent aspect as a guardian of the nine (= all) divine abodes'.

– *Lagan Kù Phebi Da:mo*, lit. 'the mistress who gets at the nine divine abodes', obscure. I understand: 'the mistress who assumes her benevolent aspect as the one with whose help the bõmbo is enabled to get at the nine (= all) divine abodes'.

– *Tulbi* < MT *ṭulba*, 'to bestow', 'to assume/make someone assume the form of', < Tib. *sprul-pa*, 'to change', 'to transform one's self', 'to alter by magic', 'emanation' (s. Jäschke 1949: 336 f., and Das 1970: 812).

261: *Phamoda phamoi syabdo...*, "phamoi" is a pleonasm here.

– OT *syabdo cu:ba*, 'to pay homage', *syabdo* < Tib. *ḥabs-tog*, 'worship', 'service'.

– *de:wa... machyu:go*, s. 9.103 note.

262: *phott*, the mantra-syllable to make the result of an act (here the finding of Lasya's abode) definitive (s. 1.3. note).

– *syott*, the mantra-syllable to drive away ghosts and spirits (cf. p. 331), used here in order to "bind" the negative aspect of Lasya and to separate it from her benevolent one, I presume.

33. – 45. In search of the harmful agent (*not máiba*)

This part of the recitation focusses on the soul (*bla*) of the patient and elaborates, at first sight, on the well-known theme of the “lost soul” as the cause of the trouble. Yet on examining the text more closely, the Tamang *bombo*’s operations turn out to differ from what we know of the classical ethnography of shamanism.

One may first state that if the Tamang *bombo* undertakes a ritual journey, as was the case in the preceding chapter, he does so in search of the gods, rather than in search of the soul. Or, if one insists on the term “journey”, his search for the soul, then, may be said to require a movement more across categories¹ than through space. Second, in the text itself, it is not the fate of the soul as such which stands in the foreground. Rather, the long enumerations show the *bombo* concentrating his efforts on a double quest starting from, and returning to, the question of “which kind of harmful agent might have caused which kind of trouble for the patient?” This quest, anticipating a potential plurality of troubles caused by a potential plurality of harmful agents, is continued even after that specific ritual act in which the *bombo* restores the soul to the patient (section 41.). Interestingly, the text does not disclose the identity of that particular agent from which the soul has been rescued; nor did SR himself comment on it in a talk with the clients.² All we learn in listening to the text is that “*the harmful agent*” is summoned to come into the altar (section 40.), and then even into the *bombo*’s own body (so that it may become tractable) (section 41.). What follows thereafter is made up – again – of enumerations of various harmful agents causing various kinds of troubles which the *bombo* wants to be “dealt with” (*señkhulba*) by certain beings, such as the powerful mountain *ma:bons* and even the *mamo* ogresses (sections 42.-45.).

It should be stressed that the term *noccyen*, ‘harmful agent’, can refer to any personal or impersonal cause of affliction: a superhuman being or an act of black magic or a poison, for example. And in the *bombo*’ case at least, the term is an essentially neutral one. That is, it depends on the actual context who or what is considered harmful. A god or spirit who turns out to be, actually, the harmful agent in question may, on other occasions or even at the same time, become a helper, a “tutelary” or a “guru”, and vice versa. Thus in section 41., “O Phamo!”, lit. ‘O Tutelary God!’, is meant – flatteringly or in all seriousness – as a term of address for that harmful agent which should “unite mouth, unite body” with the *bombo*. As a rule, the *bombo* transcends the (rather broad) exoteric and “popular” distinction between principally benevolent and principally evil beings. One may perhaps go as far as to say that a divinity is either ambivalent *sui generis*, like Lasya, the *māis*, etc., or is made ambivalent by the *bombo* himself, as is the case with the *mamo* ogresses or the *duds*³. In the former case, the *bombo* will try to separate the benevolent aspect from the evil aspect, while in the latter case he will try to appropriate and “convert” that energy which is, in a sense, inherent in the evilness as its very driving force.

1 This is what I shall term “categorical enumeration”, in contrast to “itinerary enumeration”, cf. pp. 284-285. - As Desjarlais (1989: 291 ff.) stresses, the Nepalese shaman’s journey in search of the soul is a combination of environmental features and metaphoric images that are icons symbolic of human experience of illness and health. It is interesting to note that in the enumerations of the Tamang *bombo* in sections 33.-44., the percentage of such images (“grave”, “sky and earth shaking”, “drooping clouds”, etc.) is rather low. What prevails are clusters of names, many of which are too abstract or archaic for the patient to be associated with some personal experience.

2 Generally, unconsciousness (fainting, coma) is attributed to the loss of one’s soul. Asked why it was necessary to search for the soul of a patient like Najom who had not been troubled by unconsciousness, both SR and a lay informant replied spontaneously, saying that actually the search for the soul was “just for the sake of singing”.

3 On the *dud* cf. p. 62 and 18.165 note.

Dramatic emphases and a portion of empathy, suggestive of a personal commitment to struggling for the patient's well-being, prevail in the musical performance. In the first part (sections 33.-41.), entire clusters of enumerations, neatly articulated, are recited without the usual interruptions by drumming in the intervals between the cola – quite in contrast to the second part (sections 42.-45.) in which the text is accompanied by incessant drumming.

The recitation begins with the invocation of the founders and forefathers of the spiritual lineage.

33.

họ Gúru, Mème Syel Bọn, Mème Nạ(u) Bọn, Mème Syaryuruñ Bọn,
 Mam Syiliñmo, Mème Rañsyiñ Bọn, Mème Ta:gur Bọn,
 Mème Báldiñ Bọn,
 sañsam sañbai temrul phekhajyi, ñensam ñembai temrul
 phekhajyi,
 de:wa maçhyu:go, daмба maçhyu:go!,
 265 chya:jaló!

*

họ, *O Gúru, O Grandfather Syel Bọn, Grandfather Nạ(u) Bọn,
 Grandfather Syaryuruñ Bọn, Grandmother Syiliñmo,
 Grandfather Rañsyiñ Bọn, Grandfather Ta:gur Bọn,
 Grandfather Báldiñ Bọn,
 if it is a good one, I have come to get at the good omen,
 if it is a bad one, I have come to get at the bad omen,
 do not perturb the action (?), do not perturb the distinction!.*
 265 *Hail!*

Notes:

263: Mème Syel Bọn,... Báldiñ Bọn, s. 8.93.

– sañsam..., s. 9.105.

The bõmbo then addresses Kaliama, the Divine Mother:

34.

da:moi blạ gạna khurjyi, ro gạna khurjyi, mendo gạna khurjyi?,
 Phamoi lạpañ salkhajyi.
 lị: señbai Dịjyen Phamo, sem kebi Dọrjye Lobon,
 ẵa:gi lị: [sic] señbai Dịjyen Phamo,
 bụ:gi lị: [sic] señbai Dịjyen Phamo,
 kha keba, lị: keba, so keba, ro keba, mendo keba, che.dạsyiñ keba,
 luñdañ bạba, luñdañ keppi Dịjyen Phamo!
 họ-o-o-o-o-o-o Gúru!,
 270 da:mo(da) nàwai bardo jyunmu, chàwai bardo jyunmu.

yara syelne jyũnu, maṛa syelne jyũnu,
khokpai ḍani jyũnu, thòmdom-ṛiṛi jyũnu...,

[Repetition of 10.118-121]

... ḍa:mo mi.

ḍa:mo(da)m syai ṣerne jyũnu, ṭha:gi ṣerne jyũnu,
kañbai ṣerne jyũnu, laḅpai ṣerne jyũnu,
chye:ne-wábne jyũnu, ḍa:moda.

*

*Where has the mistress's soul been carried off to, where has (her)
life-principle been carried off to, where has (her) flower
been carried off to?,*

(I) have come to find the divine abode of (you O) Phamo,

*O Ḍiṅjyen Phamo who makes the body, O Ḍoṛjye Lobon of whom the
spirit is born,*

Ḍiṅjyen Phamo who makes the body of the blood [sic],

Ḍiṅjyen Phamo who makes the body of the breath [sic],

Ḍiṅjyen Phamo (of whom) the mouth (speech) is born, (of whom)

the body is born, the vital principle is born,

the life-principle is born, the flower is born,

the life-pole is born, (who) makes the respiration (?)

expand, who gives birth to the respiration (?)!

ho-o-o-o-o-o, O Gũru!,

- 270 *the mistress appears to have been befallen by a state of illness,
appears to have been befallen by a state of pain,
appears to have been befallen by a "rinsing-up",
appears to have been befallen by a "rinsing-down",
appears to have been befallen by a magic arrow (causing an
illness) of the interior of the body,
appears to have been befallen by thòmdom-ṛiṛi...*

[Repetition]

... the mistress.

*The mistress appears to have been befallen by a disease of the flesh,
appears to have been befallen by a disease of the blood,
appears to have been befallen by a disease of the feet,
appears to have been befallen by a disease of the hands,
appears to have been befallen by tearing pain and burning pain,
the mistress.*

Notes:

266: MT **bla** (< Tib. bla), 'soul'.

– OT **gana** occurs together with its MT synonym **khàna**, 'where', 'where to'.

– **khurjyi** < OT khurba, 'to carry', 'to carry away', cf. also pp. 27 ff.

– **salkhajyi** < salba, cf. pp. 26 f.

- 267: **Dorjye Lobon**, here the *bombo*'s own guru glorified as a kind of Divine Father to provide *Kaliama* with a male counterpart, as it seems. Cf. also 9.100 note.
- 267-268: **li:...** **luñdañ**, cf. 10.118 notes, and 13.133 notes.
- 270: **nàwai bardo...**, **yàra...** **syelne**, cf. 9.107 and 9.115-116 notes and p. 296.
- OT **khokpai dani** < MT **khokpa** (< Tib. **khog**), 'the interior of the body' (hon.), also 'diarrhoea', + OT **dani/dáni**. The latter was derived from **də**, the 'magic projectile' (cf. 9.102 note), and explained as the 'focus of the illness', which tends to form where the magic projectile gets stuck in the victim's body.
 - **thòmdom-rjiri**, cf. 9.117 note.
- 271: OT **serne**, 'disease', < Tib. **gzer-ba**, 'pain', + **nad**, 'disease'. Cf. also MT **serba-gumba**, 'arthritis', 'rheumatism'.
- **chye:ne-wábne** < MT **chye:ba**, 'to ache with a tearing sensation', + MT **wáp̄pa**, 'to ache with a burning sensation'.
 - "**də:mo(da)m... jyũnm̄u də:moda**", the repetition of "**də:mo**" as an epiphraasis may also be interpreted as a deictic construction conveying the sense: 'as to the mistress, she appears to have been befallen...'

35.

- noccyen **dəm̄la ta:n̄i**, noccyen **chyibda brálñi**, noccyen **salñi le!**,
 sa **gyámjye salñi**, **nàm barkap yinle salñi!**,
 Nup Nàwa Thà:ye nañle salñi!,
 Lo Rjinyen Kùle salñi!,
 Jyañ Doyañ nañle salñi!,
 Ui Nañbar nañle salñi!,
 Syar Dorjye Semba nañle salñi!,
dəbge kùì Phamo, **Phamo chya:jalò!**
- 275 **kha ñammu**, **li: ñammu**, **so ñammu**, **ro ñammu**, **bə: ñammu**,
 məndo ñammu də:mola.

*

- Let us go and magically fix the harmful agent!*
let us go and break up the union (of) the harmful agents!
let us go and find the harmful agent!
let us go and find it (by starting?) from the earth!
let us go and find it in the atmosphere!
let us go and find it in (the corner dominated by)
Nup Nàwa Thà:ye!
let us go and find it in (the corner dominated by)
Lo Rjinyen Kù!
let us go and find it in (the corner dominated by)
Jyañ Doyañ!
let us go and find it in (the corner dominated by)
Ui Nañbar!
let us go and find it in (the corner dominated by)
Syar Dorjye Semba!
O Phamo of the nine multitudes, O Phamo hail!
- 275 *The mouth appears to be injured, the body appears to be injured,*
the vital principle appears to be injured, the life-principle
appears to be injured, the breath appears to be injured,

the flower appears to be injured, of the mistress [sic].

Notes:

272: **noccyen(gi)...** **brálñi**, cf. 17.155.

273: **Nup Nàwa Thà:ye**, the guardian divinity of the west, < Tib. nub, 'west', + (sañs-rgyas) snañ-ba mtha'-yas = the Buddha Amitābha.

– **Lo Riñjyen Kù**, alias Lo Riñjyen Jyñne, the guardian divinity of the south, < Tib. lho, 'south', + (sañs-rgyas) rin-chen 'byuñ-gnas = the Buddha Ratnasambhava.

– **Jyañ Doyañ**, alias Jyañ Doyañ Đúba, the guardian divinity of the north, < Tib. byañ, 'north', + (sañs-rgyas) don-yod sgrub-pa = the Buddha Amoghasiddhi.

– **Ui Nañbar**, alias Ui Nañbar Nañje, the guardian divinity of the zenith, < Tib. dbus, 'centre', + (sañs-rgyas) mam-par snañ-mjad = the Buddha Vairocana.

– **Syar Dərjye Semba**, the guardian divinity of the east, < Tib. šar, 'east', + (sañs-rgyas) rdo-rje sems-dpa' = the Buddha Vajrasattva. – On further names of divinities associated with the four corners cf. also section 30.

274: **deḅge kùì phamo**, 'the tutelary of the nine multitudes' (cf. 16.142 note), here with reference to Lasya-Kaliama, the Divine Mother, or just as a term of address for all divinities whom the bōmbo is approaching?

255: **kha...** **ñammu**, s. 10.118 note.

36.

- 276 [dā:moi blə] khañsai noccyen glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 syñsai noccyen glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 mī: thamai kuldap glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 mī: thamai ñendap glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 yāra khyugpai noccyen glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 māra khyugpai noccyen glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 ta:dañ sərbai noccyen glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 pha:dañ sərbai noccyen glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 sadañ.sò:i kuldap glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 sadañ.sò:i ñendap glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 yāra khyugpai noccyen glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 māra khyugpai noccyen glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 yārlamdai noccyen glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 mařlamdai noccyen glə:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 dā:mola blə khàna khurjyi, ro khàna khurjyi, mēdo khàna khurjyi?,
 chalam ñamba – salñi!, bəlam ñamba – salñi!

*

- 276 *Has [the soul of the mistress] been carried off to the place
 (of) a harmful agent (which inhabits the sphere) of the
 homestead?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
 (which inhabits the sphere) of the fields?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) the magic arrow of
 a malevolent human?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) the harming charm of
 a malevolent human?,*

*has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
 which roams above?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
 which roams below?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
 which roars with (like) the leopard?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
 which roars with (like) the wild boar?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) the magic arrow
 (made) of the sadañ.sò: (wood)?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) the harming charm
 (conveyed by means of the magic arrow made) of the sadañ.sò:
 (wood)?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
 which roams above?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
 which roams below?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent of
 the upper crossroads?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent of
 the lower crossroads?,
 where has the mistress's soul been carried off to, where has (her)
 life-principle been carried off to, where has (her) flower been
 carried off to?,
 the great-grandchildren (?) are injured – let us go and heal (them)!,
 the grandchildren (?) are injured – let us go and heal (them)!*

Notes:

- 276: **noccyen gla:ri**, instead of “noccyengi gla:ri”, ‘to the place of a harmful agent’. The present section, along with the following ones, is a fine example of the combinatory technique which uses different text modules as substitution frames to be filled in with some “actual” content, cf. pp. 307 ff.
- OT **mj: thama**, ‘malevolent human’, < Tib. mi, ‘man’, + tha-ma, ‘last’, ‘vile’.
 - **yara khyugpai... marlam dai noccyen**, s. 11.125.
 - 278: **chalam, bɔlam**, s. 12.131.
 - **salñi**, the verb salba means here ‘to heal’, in contrast to, e.g., 35.272-273 and 37.280 where it occurs with the meanings ‘to find (out)’, or ‘to seek (for)’.

37.

- chya: jalo!,
 280 layo meppi noccyen salñi, diḱpa meppi noccyen salñi!
 gyábna kha tañbai noccyen gla:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 ñonna chi: tañbai noccyen gla:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 mañ gókpai te:nen gla:ri khurjyi wa:, da:mola [bla]?,
 thañmai ñendap gla:ri khurjyi wa:?,...
 chya: jalo!,
 ... phosyibi syimo gla:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 moşyibi syimo gla:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 sonde-ḱemoi gla:ri khurjyi wa:?,

lasya-ḍemoi gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 ɓombo ñɛmbi ñɛnsur gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 làmai chebi chesur gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 sañduñ-prañduñ yèrmai ḍasyu gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 ɓoimi thaldap gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:, ḍa:moi bl̥a?,
 ḍa:mola mɛndo khàna khurjyi?

chya:jalol,

- 285 sa gyámjye dɛ̃nbai noccyen gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 ɓarkap yinle dɛ̃nbai noccyen gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 sala ḍasyu, nàmla ḍasyu, cengi ḍasyu, mengi ḍasyu gl̥a:ri
 khurjyi wa:?,
 ḍa:mola ro khàna khurjyi, bl̥a khàna khurjyi?,
 j̥o:ri ḍakpoi gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 j̥o:ri nákp̥oi gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 ḍa:mola ro khàna khurjyi, bl̥a khàna khurjyi?,

*

Hail!,

- 280 *let us go and find the harmful agent which commits the crime of
 killing, let us go and find the harmful agent which commits
 (this) sin!*
*Has (the soul) been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
 which presents (its) mouth at the back (from behind)?,
 has (the soul) been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
 which presents (its) backbone at the front (from ahead)?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a bad omen of a bad
 dream, [the soul] of the mistress?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) the harming charm
 (which is the cause) of the thànma (illness)?,...*
hail!,
*... has (the soul) been carried off to the place (of) the ghost
 of a dead male?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) the ghost of a dead
 female?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a sonḍe-ḍemo?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a lasya-ḍemo?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) the ɓombo('s)
 harming magic weapon?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) the lama's harming
 magic weapon?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) the
 sañduñ-prañduñ('s) magic arrow (made) of the yèrma
 (wood)?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) swaggering, the
 mistress's soul?,
 where has the mistress's flower been carried off to?*

Hail!,

- 285 *has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent which
 soars from the earth?,
 has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent*

*which soars in the atmosphere?,
has it been carried off to the place (of) the magic arrow of
(from) the earth, the magic arrow of (from) the sky,
the magic arrow of the cen, the magic arrow of the men?,
where has the mistress's life-principle been carried off to,
where has (her) soul been carried off to?,
has it been carried off to the place of a fierce enemy?,
has it been carried off to the place of a ferocious enemy?,
where has the mistress's life-principle been carried off to,
where has (her) soul been carried off to?*

Notes:

- 280: MT *lajo* (< Tib. la-yogs), 'the sin of killing a living being', whereas MT *dikpa* (< Tib. sdig-pa) is a rather general term for 'sin'; cf. also "barjye" in 24.213 note.
– *mēpp(a)i* < OT *mēppa* (? < Tib. smad-pa, 'to violate', 'to blaspheme'), lit. 'to fail', 'to disregard'.
281: *gyábna... tañbai*, cf. 9.102 note.
– MT *te:nen* < Tib. ltas-nan, 'evil omen'.
– *thänmai* < *thänma* = *thänba*, cf. 25.219.
283: *phosyibi... yèrmai dasyu*, cf. 11.125.
– OT *bōimi thaldap*, 'swaggering', 'idle talk'; *thaldap* < MT *thalba* (< Tib. thal-ba), 'to exceed', 'to go beyond'.
285: *sala/nàmla dasyu*, 'the magic arrow from the earth/sky', possibly identical with N. "ākās/pattāl bān" ≡ MT "sa/tho: bā:n", cf. 4.43 note. On *dasyu*, cf. 11.125 note.
285: *cengi/mengi dasyu*, 'the magic arrow of the cen/men', cf. "cengi/mengi dāser" in 12.130.
287: *ḍakpo*, cf. "si ḍakpo" in 11.126, and "mj: ḍakpo" in 22.203.
– *jō:ri nākpo*, cf. 9.102.

38.

hō-o-o-o-o-o Gúru!,
noccyen chya:bam khàna, ṭhunbam khàna, dīnbam khàna?,
290 noccyengi chen cyi yīnjyi?
noccyen ò:!,
ña bōdeñ kha nolkho, lī: nolkho, syajyik soñkho,
ṭha: jyik soñkho noccyen ò:!
[blā] khyugu jyīnbai noccyen glā:ri khurjyi wa:?,
lañjyen jyīnbai noccyen glā:ri khurjyi wa:?,
jyābu dīrbai noccyen glā:ri khurjyi wa:?,
dō chyembo rīlbai noccyen glā:ri khurjyi wa:?,
sa mēra kù thaluñ-mīluñ jēppi noccyen glā:ri khurjyi wa:?

*

hō-o-o-o-o-o, O Gúru!,
*the harmful agent resides – where?, originates – (from) where?,
soars – where?,*
290 *what is the name of the harmful agent?*
*Harmful agent ò:!,
come and unite mouth, come and unite body with me, the bōn!.*

*come and make one flesh, come and make one blood (with me)
O harmful agent!*

*Has [the soul] been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
which scares the dog?,
has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
which scares the ox?,
has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
which makes the cock crow?,
has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent which
turns the great stone over?,
has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
which turns the nine (heaps of?) ash and dust topsyturvy?*

Notes:

289: **chya:ba**, **ṭhun̄ba** and **d̄in̄ba**, with reference to the place(s) of 'residence' (abode), 'origin' and 'soaring', respectively, which are the most important identity markers of a superhuman being.

290: OT **chen** < Tib. mchan, 'name', 'distinctive feature'.

– **cyi** = Tib. či, 'what'.

291: **ò:**, an exclamation stressing a question or command.

292: **kha/lij: nolkho**, 'come and unite mouth/body', cf. p. 27. MT nolba (< Tib. snol-ba), 'to join'.

– **syajyik** and **ṭha:jyik** < Tib. ša, 'flesh', and khrag, 'blood', respectively, + Tib. gčig, 'one'.

293: OT **khyugu/khyigu**, 'dog', < Tib. khyi-gu, 'puppy'.

– OT **jiñba** (? < Tib. 'jigs-pa), 'to scare', 'to be afraid'.

– OT **jaḅu** (< Tib. bya-pho), 'cock'. It is a bad omen if a cock crows at night before dawn.

– **lañjyen**, cf. "lañjyen nórbu" in 14.135.

294: OT **d̄o chyembo** (< Tib. rdo čhen-po), lit. 'great stone', here obviously with reference to 'boulder'.

– **riłbai** < MT riłba (< Tib. sgril-ba), 'to turn over', 'to roll'.

– **sa meṛa kù** and **thaluñ-m̄iłuñ**, obviously borrowed from the creation myth, cf. 20.183 and 22.198.

39.

295 h̄o-o-o-o-o Gúru!,
sa r̄ekki lumbu k̄uri jȳndai ḍoḍaḅ cu:bi ḅonjye lam gȳaram ḡu:ri
chyoppa cu:la noccyenda.
raḅu saḅi noccyen wa:?,
jyaḅu saḅi noccyen wa:?,
phesor cañma saḅi noccyen wa:?,
cañdor, m̄idor [*recte*: m̄iñdor] saḅi noccyen wa:?,
sergi goña karbo saḅi noccyen wa:?,
cañdor, m̄idor [*recte*: m̄iñdor] saḅi noccyen wa:?
noccyen chya:bam khàna, noccyen d̄in̄bam khàna, noccyen ṭhun̄bam
khàna?,...
chya:ja!o!

300 ... yul gaḅbai khale d̄in̄bai noccyen wa:?,
[bl̄a] yul gaḅbai khale d̄in̄bai noccyen gla:ri khurjyi wa:?,
lam gȳaram ḡu:ri d̄in̄bai noccyen gla:ri khurjyi wa:?,
ḍur̄sa kù nañri d̄in̄bai noccyen gla:ri khurjyi wa:?,
d̄ónbo chyembo, ḍo.cha:jo nañri d̄in̄bai noccyen gla:ri khurjyi wa:?,

sabda-luñen, dōri ne:bi dōbon chyembo, chyuri ne:bi chyubon
chyembo, syiñbon, brá:bon, bīr.ma:bon gla:ri khurji wa:?

*

- 295 hō-o-o-o-o-o, *O Gūru!*,
*(I) the bōn, who performs the ceremony (for the benefit) of the
client in the nine whole worlds, will perform near the
crossroads a sacrifice to the harmful agent.
Is it a harmful agent which eats (the sacrificial share of) a
goat?,
is it a harmful agent which eats (the sacrificial share of) a
cock?,
is it a harmful agent which eats (the offering of) the pure
phesor?,
is it a harmful agent which eats (the offering of) the cañdor,
the miñdor?,
is it a harmful agent which eats (the offering of) the golden
white [sic] egg?,
is it a harmful agent which eats (the offering of) the cañdor,
the miñdor?*
*The harmful agent resides – where?, the harmful agent soars –
where?, the harmful agent originates – (from) where?...
hail!,*
- 300 ... *is it a harmful agent which soars in the whole (?) area?,
has [the soul] been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
which soars in the whole (?) area?,
has (the soul) been carried off to the place (of) a harmful
agent which soars near the crossroads?,
has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
which soars in the nine graves?,
has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
which soars (near) the great tree, in the rocky place?,
has it been carried off to the place (of) the sabda-luñen,
the great dōbon which dwells in the courtyard, the great
chyubon which dwells in the water, the syiñbon, the brá:bon,
the bīr.ma:bon?*

Notes:

295: sa rēkki lumbu = “rēkki lumbu”, cf. 15.138 note.

296: dōdañ, cf. 9.102 note.

– lam gyaram, cf. 12.127.

297: OT phesor = MT phemar, the ‘kneaded mixture of maize flour and ghee’ which is put on a piece of glowing charcoal and kept smouldering as a kind of incense in certain rituals. phesor < Tib. bsur, ‘mélange de farine et de beurre pour fumigation’ (Dollfus 1987: 218, for Ladakh); phemar < Tib. phye-mar, ‘flour roasted with melted butter, sweetened with sugar’ (Jäschke 1949: 352; cf. also Brauen 1980: 65, 103, and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 363 f.).

– OT cañma < Tib. gcañ-ma, ‘pure’.

- **ṣab(a)i noccyen**, 'the harmful agent which eats', with reference to the particular items required for sacrificing to a particular god or spirit.
- MT **caṅdor** and **mīṅdor**, two types of tormo (< Tib. gtor-ma), dough-figures which are conceived of as both a representation of, and an offering to, a superhuman being. The **mīṅdor** is anthropomorphic (with head, arms, etc.) and offered to a particular superhuman being "known by name" (Tib. miñ, MT min). The **caṅdor**, by contrast, is a simple, conically shaped figure offered to a "nameless" being, usually regarded as a consort or companion of the one represented by the mīṅdor. Cf. also pp. 229 ff.
- OT **sergi ḡoṅa karbo** (< Tib. gser-gyi sgo-ṅa dkar-po), lit. 'golden white egg'; the expression was interpreted by SB as a double reference to the "golden" yolk, on the one hand, and the white egg-shell, on the other (?).
- 300: OT **yul ḡaṅbai khale**, 'in the whole (?) area'; ḡaṅbai ? < Tib. ḡaṅ-ba, lit. 'full'; khale = khari, cf. 9.108 note, 9.109 note.
- 301: **ḡursa kù**, 'nine graves', versus "ḡursa ḡu:" in 12.128.
- **sabda-luṅen... brá:bon**, cf. 12.129 notes.
- **bir.ma:bon**, instead of bir.màsa:n (N. bir + masān), as in 12.129; possibly a reference to the fierce nature of the bir. On ma:bon cf. 19.171 note.

40.

- ḡa:y ḡeḡge kùì Phamo, ṅa ḡoṅi chene brīḡaṅsyi ṅaṅri ula maṛa
 bapkho noccyen!,
 ḡyábna li:jye khurma, ṅoṅna chya:jye teṅna lam ḡyaram ḡu:ri chyoppa
 cu:la, noccyen!
 jḡ:ri ḡakpoi kha ḡarbai noccyen wa:?,
 lāma chebi chesur, ḡombo ṅeḡbi ṅeṅsur, ḡakpoi kuldap wa:?,
 305 [bla] phosyibi syimo ḡa:ri khurjyi wa:?,
 moṣyibi syimoi ḡa:ri khurjyi wa:, ḡa:mo mi?
 chya:jalo!, noccyen ṅuṅbam khāna, noccyen ḡiṅbam khāna?,
 chya:jalo!
 layo maḡhuro, diḡpa maḡhuro!,
 semjen reṗta ḡyurbi layo pho:la noccyenda.

*

- ḡa:y, *O Phamo of the nine multitudes, come and descend into my,
 the ḡoṅ's, chene brīḡaṅsyi, O harmful agent!,
 while carrying (you) at the back on the back, while tossing (you)
 at the front with the hands, (I) will perform a sacrifice near
 the crossroads, O harmful agent!*
*Is it a harmful agent which conjures (one on behalf) of a fierce
 enemy?,
 is it the lama('s) harming magic weapon, the ḡombo('s)
 harming magic weapon, the ḡakpo's magic arrow?,*
 305 *has [the soul] been carried off to the place (of) the ghost of a
 dead male?,
 has it been carried off to the place of the ghost of a dead
 female, (the soul of) the mistress?*
*Hail!, the harmful agent originates – (from) where?,
 the harmful agent soars – where?*
Hail!
Do not carry the crime of killing, do not carry (this) sin around

*with you!,
the blame for the crime of killing, through which a living
being has perished, will fall upon (you O) harmful agent!*

Notes:

302: **O Phamo** appears to apostrophize the harmful agent here.

– **ula m̄ara b̄ap̄k̄ho** was treated as an idiom and rendered by 'come and descend!'; < OT *m̄ar(a)*, 'down', 'below', + OT *b̄appa*, 'to descend' (cf. 9.101 note), + MT *k̄haba*, 'to come'. If OT *ula* ? < Tib. *dbu-la*, lit. 'on(to) the head', the expression would roughly correspond to N. "sir *cañhiānu*" = 'to come and mount the head' (5.58).

– **chene br̄igañsyi**, with reference to the "core area" of the altar as the focal point for all transactions between the *bombo* and the superhuman beings, cf. pp. 59 ff., and 18.161-163.

303: **gyábna... teñna**, 'while carrying on the back..., tossing with the hands', the key-image of close interaction, cf. pp. 27 ff.

304: **jo:ri đ̄akpoi k̄ha đ̄arbai noccyen**, I understand: 'the harmful agent through which a fierce enemy imposes his will on the victim'. OT **k̄ha đ̄arba**, 'to conjure', in the sense of imposing one's own will by an act of magic, and also 'to conjure up'. *đ̄arba* < Tib. *bdar-ba*, 'to pray earnestly in casting lots and divination' (Das 1970: 666), 'to invoke or pray to a divinity' (Snellgrove 1967: 300).

308: **layo/đ̄ikpa m̄akhuro** < *layo/đ̄ikpa khurba* which corresponds to N. *pāp boknu*, 'to live with an unexpiated sin'.

– **semjen repta...**, cf. 20.183 note.

– **pho:la** < *pho:ba*, 'to affect', 'to fall upon', 'to accrue', cf. also 9.108 note, and "hatyā lāglā" in 100.937.

41.

h̄a:y Ḡuru!

- 310 *s̄aṅsam s̄aṅbai temrul p̄heyu, ñ̄eṅsam ñ̄embai temrul p̄heyu!*
[bl̄a] *N̄up N̄awa Th̄a:ye ñ̄aṅri đ̄iṅbai noccyen gl̄a:ri khurjyi wa:?,*
Jyaṅ Đ̄oṅaṅ ñ̄aṅri đ̄iṅbai noccyen gl̄a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
Syar Đ̄oṅjye Semba ñ̄aṅri đ̄iṅbai noccyen gl̄a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
Lo Riṅjyen K̄u ñ̄aṅri đ̄iṅbai noccyen gl̄a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
Ui Naṅbar ñ̄aṅri đ̄iṅbai noccyen gl̄a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
cyi đ̄oṅle layo mejjyi, cyi đ̄oṅle đ̄ikpa mejjyi noccyenjye?
[bl̄a] *m̄endoi na:jo, m̄endoi liṅsyē, m̄endoi đ̄ebge k̄u, mukpa r̄árlul*
ñ̄aṅri đ̄iṅbai noccyen gl̄a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
gyálboi l̄agaṅ ñ̄aṅri đ̄iṅbai noccyen gl̄a:ri khurjyi wa:?,
cyi đ̄oṅle layo mejjyi, cyi đ̄oṅle đ̄ikpa mejjyi noccyenjye?
315 *ña b̄oṅdeṅ k̄ha nol̄kho, li: nol̄kho, syajyik soṅo, th̄a:jyik soṅo noccyen!*

[Long drumming]

*

h̄a:y, O Ḡuru!

- 310 *if it is a good one, come down and get at the good omen.*
if it is a bad one, come down and get at the bad omen!
Has [the soul] been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
which soars in (the corner dominated by) N̄up N̄awa Th̄a:ye?,
has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent
which soars in (the corner dominated by) Jyaṅ Đ̄oṅaṅ?,

- has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent which soars in (the corner dominated by) Syar Dərjye Semba?, has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent which soars in (the corner dominated by) Lo Rıjnyen Kù?, has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent which soars in (the corner dominated by) Ui Nəhbar?, for what reason has the harmful agent committed the crime of killing, for what reason has (the harmful agent) committed (this) sin?*
- Has [the soul] been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent which soars in (near) various flowers, scores of flowers, the nine multitudes of flowers, (in) cumulous, drooping clouds?, has it been carried off to the place (of) a harmful agent which soars in the king's divine abode?, for what reason has the harmful agent committed the crime of killing, for what reason has it committed (this) sin?*
- 315 *Come and unite mouth, come and unite body, with me, the bəm, make one flesh, make one blood (with me) O harmful agent!*

Notes:

310: **pheyu** (versus “pheñi”, as in 9.105) < MT yùba, ‘to come down’.

311: **Nup Nəwa Thà:ye...**, s. 35.273.

312: **cyi dənle** = Tib. či don-las, ‘for what reason’.

– **mejji** (/mɛt-cyi/) < OT meppa, cf. 37.280.

313: OT **na:jo** < Tib. sna chogs, ‘various sorts’.

– **məndoi dəbge kù**, ‘the nine multitudes of flowers’, cf. “the phamo of the nine multitudes” in 35.274. The mention of flowers might allude to the cen fairies who inhabit flowers, cf. pp. 53-54.

– **gyálboi ləgañ**, ‘the king’s divine abode’, i.e., ‘palace’ here. As one informant stressed, “the King (of Nepal) is like a god, and his palace harbours several cult places”. Cf. also 43.326 below, and 75.610-611.

There follows a long sequence of drumming. Impressive crescendos and sudden stops stress the dramatic moments of the process in which the bəmbo is now trying to “get at” the harmful agent(s) in question. Finally, the rhythm slows down, and the strength of the strokes gradually decreases – till only the rattling of the coins and berries⁴ inside the drum is audible. The rattling is caused by the bəmbo’s rocking his torso, as if he were dozing in a sitting position. After having pondered, with his eyes shut, for a while, he performs the act of *blə ta:ba*, lit. ‘receiving the soul’. He holds out the drum horizontally, strews a few grains of husked rice (*mone* or *mone syit*) on to its membrane and examines them. If the grains, to which the rescued soul clings, appear to be covered with a reddish dew resembling blood, the patient may die soon. If the dew remains limpid like water – as was actually the case – it is a favourable omen.⁵ The bəmbo now approaches the patient and “blows away” the harmful agent(s) from her body with a noisy

“s-s-s-s-s-s-phott!”

4 S. p. 68.

5 Different bəmbos have different ways of interpreting the position of the grains and the colours and substances appearing on the membrane of the drum.

and pours, then, the grains from the drum on to her head (plate 10). Having, thus, restored the soul⁶ to her, the *bombo* resumes the recitation and calls upon certain mighty *ma:bon* divinities to “deal with” the various harmful agents as enumerated in the inquiry before.

42.

- hɔ:y sɛno, hɔ:y Ma:bon, Syarka:li Ma:bon!,
 layo mɛppi noccyen wa:, di:kpa mɛppi noccyen wa:?,
 karbo ʒa:ri ba:bai noccyen wa:, ma:bo ʒa:ri ba:bai noccyen wa:?,
 kha:sari ba:bai noccyen wa:, syi:sari ba:bai noccyen wa:?,
 hɔ-o-o-o-o!
 320 dɔ chyemboi khale gɛlɛnu, donbo chyemboi khale ralɛnu
 sa linlin jɛppi Ayo Singal Dɔrjye!,
 sa linlin jɛdɛnu, sɛnkhulɛnu!,
 gyabna pe:ma nambi noccyen, nonna lagu nambi noccyen,
 syabla tɛwa nambi noccyen, pɛila mɛluɛn nambi noccyen,
 tiɛla tɛwa nambi noccyen, che.darsyiɛn, dara nambi noccyen,
 chalam nambi noccyen, buɛlam nambi noccyen sɛnkhulɛnu
 Ma:bon!

*

- hɔ:y, act, hɔ:y, O Ma:bon, Syarka:li Ma:bon!,
is it a harmful agent which commits the crime of killing,
is it a harmful agent which commits (this) sin?,
is it a harmful agent which affects the white blood,
is it a harmful agent which affects the red blood?,
is it a harmful agent which affects the homestead?,
is it a harmful agent which affects the fields?
 hɔ-o-o-o-o-!,
 320 go and destroy (the abode of the harmful agent) in (the shape
 of?) the great stone, go and pull it down in (the shape of?)
 the great tree
 O Ayo Singal Dɔrjye who causes the earth to shake!,
 go and cause the earth to shake, go and deal with it!,
 go and deal with the harmful agent which injures the lotus at
 the back,
 the harmful agent which injures the god's image at the front,
 the harmful agent which injures the centre of the legs,
 the harmful agent which injures the flame of the knees,
 the harmful agent which injures the centre of the heart,
 the harmful agent which injures the life-pole, the respiration (?),
 the harmful agent which injures the great-grandchildren (?),

6 There will be a second *blɔ ta:ba* to rescue the soul, this time from the *māis* (section 92.). This repetition was explained as a speciality of SR, while other *bombos* content themselves with one single act. – The *blɔ ta:ba* is an obligatory part of any greater ritual, to be performed even when the client is not sick, as is the case, e.g., with the votive ritual for a child whom the *bombo* places under the protection of a particular divinity.

*the harmful agent which injures the grandchildren (?),
O Ma:bon!*

Notes:

316: **Syarka:li**, cf. section 31.

318: **karbo țha:ri ba:bai...**, 'which affects the white blood...', cf. 10.122-123 notes.

320: **raľnu** < OT *raľba* (< Tib. 'dral-ba), 'to pull down', + MT *naiba*, 'to go'.

321: **liľliľ jepp(a)ji** < OT *liľliľ jeppa*, 'to cause to shake', ? < Tib. *liň-liň*, 'dangling', 'reeling' (s. Das 1970: 1214). Cf. also "gulgul jeppa" in 43.335 below.

– **Àyo Siňgal Đorjye**, alias *Saňgul Đorjye* (< *saňgul*, 'earthquake'), names of the *ma:bon* divinity of *Roňga* (s. section 31., and also 84.689, 87.740).

322: **seňkhulba**, 'to take action', 'to deal with', 'to do down/for', < MT *seňba*, 'to make', + OT *khulba* ? < Tib. 'khul-ba, 'to subdue'.

– **gyábna pe:ma**, lit. 'the lotus at the back', obviously just a euphemism for the 'back'. Cf. also Jäschke's (1949: 472) note on the Tib. expression *žabs-pad*.

– **nonna lagu**, lit. 'the god's image at the front', obviously just a euphemism for the 'face' or for the 'front of the body'. MT *lagu* (< Tib. *lha-sku*), 'statue of a god'.

– **syabla tewa... buľam**, cf. 10.118, 12.131, and 27.229.

In the following section, the *bombo* mobilizes as his helpers the *mamos*, those hideous ogresses who devour children, cause various diseases and who live on dirt. Their chief is *Neđgi Ama*, the 'Mother of Illness'. In exorcistic rituals, she is represented by a *tormo* which is wrapped in the bowels of the sacrificial animal and fed with all kinds of ordure, saliva and nasal mucus. The *mamos* no doubt embody the negative aspect of the mother goddess, the *māi*, and informants did not hesitate to identify one of the *mamos*, namely *Ajyi Maľmo* (s. below), with *Ajimā*, the goddess of small-pox in the Newar pantheon. Historically, the *mamos* of Tamang belief correspond to the Tibetan *ma-mos* who are depicted as ugly, ferocious women, half-naked and with emaciated breasts, carrying sacks full of diseases; they both cause and counteract illness, and are at the same time both, evil demonesses and guardians of the doctrine.⁷

43.

hə-o-o-o-o! [whistle],

seňkhulňu Naňsur Ma:bon!,

325 tuňbam gyagar menđu kùri tuňnem,

dįnbam gyálboi lağan naňri dįnnem,

chya:bam Àsoro-Pràsoro naňri chya:nem,

Ajyi Maľmo, Syijyi Maľmo, Naňsur Ma:bon, Cho:na Ge: Ma:bon,

Neđgi Ama.

naľmla mukpa sya:ňu, sala dursa geľňu!,

syiwala khaňsa, phürsyiň sombo, nembra kù thaluň-miľuň

geľňu Naňsur Ma:bonjye!,

330 hə-o-o-o-o! [whistle],

khaňsai noccyen, syiňsai noccyen,

7 Cf. p. 55⁸ above, and Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 269-273. – Seeking the help of the most powerful *mamos* is paralleled by the Tibetan practice of requesting the Chief Ma-mo, Rematī (dPal-ldan Lha-mo, Śrī Devī) to pacify the *ma-mos* who are her subordinates (Neumaier 1966: 20).

- sadañ.sò:i kuldap, sadañ.sò:i ñëndap,
 yarlamdai noccyen, marlamdai noccyen,
 phosyibi syimo, moşyibi syimo,
 phoni seṇḁe, moṇi seṇḁe, lasya-ḁemoi kuldap,
 làmai chebi chesur, bomboi ñembai ñensur,
 kharda-chona, sabda-luñen, ḁori ne:bi ḁobon chyembo,
 chyuri ne:bi chyubon chyembo nañbai tiñle thim.gyurñu!,
 cya:lañ kùjye nenñu Ma:bonjye, sarma kùjye nenñu!,
 335 hō-o-o-o-o!, sala ḁasyu, nàmla ḁasyu,
 sa gúlguł jeppi noccyen ḁulñu!,
 nàm gúlguł jeppi noccyen ḁulñu!,
 chalam-bulam ñambi noccyen ḁulñu!,
 syabla tewa, pùila mełuñ, tiñla tewa, meṇḁo,
 che.ḁarsyiñ, ḁara ñambi noccyen [ḁulñu]!

*

- hō-o-o-o-o! [whistle],
 325 *Go and deal with (them) O Nañsur Ma:bon!,
 as to origin, (you) originated in India's nine wombs (?),
 as to soaring, (you) soared in the king's divine abode,
 as to residence, (you) resided in Àsoro-Pràsoro,
 O Aji Mamo, Syiji Mamo, Nañsur Ma:bon, Cho:na Ge: Ma:bon,
 Neḁgi Ama.
 Go and remove the clouds in the sky, go and destroy the grave on the
 earth!,
 go and destroy the homestead of the dead, the living phùrsyiñ,
 the nine nembas by turning them topsyturvy,
 O Nañsur Ma:bon!,*
- 330 hō-o-o-o-o! [whistle],
*the harmful agent (which inhabits the sphere) of the homestead,
 the harmful agent (which inhabits the sphere) of the fields,
 the magic arrow (made) of the sadañ.sò: (wood), the harming charm
 (conveyed by the magic arrow made) of the sadañ.sò: (wood),
 the harmful agent of the upper crossroads, the harmful agent
 of the lower crossroads,
 the ghost of a dead male, the ghost of a dead female,
 the male seṇḁe, the female seṇḁe, the magic arrow of the
 lasya-ḁemo,
 the lama's harming magic weapon, the bombo's harming
 magic weapon,
 the kharda-chona, the sabda-luñen, the great ḁobon which dwells
 in the courtyard, the great chyubon which dwells in the water,
 go and make (these beings) sink into the middle of
 the underground sphere!,
 go and load (them) down by nine cya:lañs, O Ma:bon,
 go and load (them) down by nine (stalks of the) sarma-grass!,*
- 335 hō-o-o-o-o-o!, *go and tame (the harmful agent which sends?) the
 magic arrow of (from) the earth, the magic arrow of (from)
 the sky, the harmful agent which makes the earth quake,
 go and tame the harmful agent which makes the sky quake!,*

*go and tame the harmful agent which injures the progeny (?)!,
[go and tame] the harmful agent which injures the centre of
the legs, the flame of the knees, the centre of the heart,
the flower, the life-pole, the respiration (?)!*

Notes:

325: **gyagar...**, cf. 22.197 note.

326: **gyálboi làgañ**, 'the king's divine abode', here referring to the palace of the Newar king at Bałbu Jón where the *mamos* once resided according to some rather fragmentary myths. – The story of the *mamos* alluded to in 43.325-328 is somewhat confusing. In one version, Urygen Pe:ma had "established" them in a place called Bałbu Jón in the Kathmandu Valley, but as they subsequently killed a large number of Newar inhabitants, they were finally banned to Àsoro Pràsoro. In another version, the *mamos* were banned to Cho *Mamo* (cf. section 31.) which, in turn, is associated with Palgu Jón, the site of the mythic defeat of Dunsur Bõn, the First Shaman who finally turned into a *mamo* (cf. pp. 336-338). What further complicates the case is that in numerous other instances Bałbu Jón occurs as the OT name of Nuwākoṭ (MT Nā:gor), and not as that of a place in the Kathmandu Valley, as the first version of the story has it. All these fragments and names in the Tamang versions betray the influence of the Tibetan legends of Padmasambhava's civilisatory feats. Interestingly, OT Bałbu Jón is Tib. Bal-po rJoñ ('Newar Fortress') = Nuwākoṭ, and a Tibetan author indeed mentions some residences of the *ma-mos* of the Hindus in the area of Nuwākoṭ, adding that the place had been visited by Padmasambhava and Mi-la ras-pa (Macdonald and Dvags-po Rin-po-che 1981: 269-270; cf. also Wylie 1970: 28). Even more interesting is the place name Àsoro-Pràsoro which obviously derives from A-su-ra'i brag-phug, the Tibetan name of the Gorakhnāth Cave near Pharping in the Kathmandu Valley, the place where, as Tibetan tradition has it, Padmasambhava subdued the demons forever (Kaschewsky 1982: 432, 435; s. also Unbescheid 1980: 79-81).

327: **Àsoro-Pràsoro** (cf. above), in 83.683 mentioned as a peak, Jo, and in other texts also as a slope, Brá:

328: **Ajyi Mamo, Syijyi Mamo, Nañsur Ma:bon and Neggi Ama**, the names of the most important *mamos*. Neggi Ama, 'Mother of Illness', < Tib. nad. 'illness'. In Tibetan, the *ma-mos* are called "nad bdag-mo", 'mistresses of illness' (Neumaier 1966: 20).

– **Cho:na Ge:(i) Ma:bon** is, to my knowledge, not regarded as a *mamo*; cf. section 30. and Cho:na Ma:bon in 65.525.

329: **nàmla... gəlñu**, cf. the Khyuñ myth in 22.203.

– **nemba kù**, 'nine nembas', < nemba, 'what is being pressed down' = hidden as the cause of a trouble, with reference to black magic, cf. "dõi nemba" on p. 60, and also "nenñu" in line 334 below.

– **phürsyiñ sombo** < MT phürsyiñ, the name of four wooden stacks which prevent the funeral pyre from collapsing before the corpse is consumed by the fire. The stacks are pointed at both ends, rammed into the soil, then pulled out and rammed again, but now with their upper ends, into the soil one by one at the four corners of the pyre. The practice was explained as a precautionary measure taken "to separate death from life". – In SB's view, what is to be "destroyed" here is the fatal consequence of the evil omen which the sight of the phürsyiñ in a dream means, rather than the stacks themselves; hence, SB argued, the adjective **sombo**, 'living', since the tree out of which the stacks are likely to be made for one's pyre is still living at the moment the omen appears. – The term phürsyiñ also occurs as the name of an inauspicious constellation that governs every fourth year reckoned from the year of one's birth.

331-333: **khañsai... ñeñsur**, cf. 10.124 and 11.125.

334: **kharda-chona... chyembo**, cf. 12.129.

– **nañbai tinle**, lit. 'in/from the middle of the underground sphere'; cf. 20.189 where the same expression is used for describing the mythic event.

– OT **thim.gyurñu** < thimba (Tib. thim-pa), 'to sink', + gyurba, cf. 10.120 note.

– MT **cya:lañ** (< Tib. lčags-slañ), the name of a large, spherical iron pan with a vertical handle, which is used for roasting cereals and preparing popcorn. Just like certain other utensils of iron (such as the tripod for cooking pots), the pan is believed to keep away evil spirits. In another text, the harmful ghost of a *bombo* is "loaded down" by nine such iron pans.

– **nenñu** < MT nemba, 'to press down', 'to load down'; here in the sense of immobilizing and neutralizing the harmful agent, in contrast to line 329 above where nemba as a noun refers to the cause or source of evil which is hidden and thus inaccessible to any effort to neutralize it.

- OT **sarma** (MT sarsyi) = N. amreso/amliso, *Thysanolaena agrestis*, the stalks of which are used as a broom. Here with reference to a particular apotropaic act in which the harmful superhuman agent is “loaded down” by a pile of flat stones with a few stalks of sarma between them. – It is also with the sarma stalks that one sweeps off spirits and witches believed to cling to one’s body. On sarma s. also p. 336.

335: **dasyu**, cf. 11.125 and 37.285.

- **gúlgul jèppa**, ‘to make quake/shake’, cf. 8.97 note.
- **dulñu** < dulba, cf. 22.199 with reference to the Khyuñ’s activities in the myth.
- **chalam-bulam**, here in its normal form as a compound and thus rendered by ‘progeny’ (?), cf. 12.131 note.
- **tiñla tèwa, mendo**, cf. 27.229 note.

The bombo now urges the mountain *ma:bons* to “deal with” the harmful agent:

44.

Syàrka:li Ma:bon, Syàrdola Ma:bon, Syánla Jøi Ma:bon,
 Yaŋgar.jóngi Mème Ťha:yal Gúru, Mème Choyal Đakpo!,
 seŋkhulñu Ma:bon!,
 Gaŋ Raŋsyiñ, Gaŋ Rura Ma:bonjye!,
 Gorkha Jóngi Ma:bonjye, Gyáb Thaldon Đorjyei Ma:bonjye,
 Paldor Jø, Byándal, Ganes Kuŋđai Ma:bon!,
 340 Cho:na Ge: Ma:bonjye seŋkhulñu!,
 Ma:bon!...

[Enumeration of further harmful agents, as in 43.331-332]

... seŋkhulñu!,
 syar seŋđe, nup seŋđe, ज्याŋ seŋđe, lo seŋđe, ui seŋđe đakpo,
 seŋđe ma:bon
 seŋkhulñu Ma:bon!,
 sa líñliñ jèppi Ma:bonjye jø:ri đakpoi ro gełñu, Ma:bon!,
 jø:ri đakpoi sya syípsyip, ťha: syípsyip jeđñu, Ma:bon!,
 sala đursa gełñu, nàmla mukpa sya:ñu!,
 syiwala khaŋsa gełñu, phùrsyiñ sombo gełñu Ma:bon!

[Long vehement drumming, repeated whistles]

*

*O Syàrka:li Ma:bon, Syàrdola Ma:bon, Ma:bon of Syánla Jø,
 Grandfather Ťha:yal Gúru of Yaŋgar.jón,
 Grandfather Choyal Đakpo!,
 go and deal with it O Ma:bon!,
 O Gaŋ Raŋsyiñ, Gaŋ Rura Ma:bon!,
 Ma:bon of Gorkha Jón, Ma:bon of Gyáb Thaldon Đorjye,
 Ma:bon (of) Paldor Jø, Byándal, of Ganes Kuŋđai!,
 340 go and deal with it O Cho:na Ge: Ma:bon!,*

O Ma:bon!...

[Repetitions]

*... go and deal with it!,
the east-ṣeṇḍe, the west-ṣeṇḍe, the north-ṣeṇḍe,
the south-ṣeṇḍe, the fierce zenith-ṣeṇḍe, the ṣeṇḍe ma:bon,
go and deal with it O Ma:bon!,
O Ma:bon, who causes the earth to shake,
go and destroy the fierce enemy's life-principle O Ma:bon!,
go and cause the fierce enemy's flesh to be sucked out, (his)
blood to be sucked out O Ma:bon!,
go and destroy the grave on the earth, go and remove the
clouds in the sky!
go and destroy the homestead of the dead, go and destroy the
living phürsyiñ O Ma:bon!*

Notes:

336-339: On these divinities cf. sections 30. and 31. above.

339: **Ganes Kuṇḍa** = N. Ganes Kuṇḍ (pronounced Gāñes/Gāñisya Kuṇḍ by Tamang speakers), the name of a lake located "somewhere in the Ganes Himāl" by the informants; s. also 66.637, 106.1018 and 113.1099.

342: **syar ṣeṇḍe... ui ṣeṇḍe**, 'east-ṣeṇḍe... zenith-ṣeṇḍe', here with reference to all kinds of harmful agents, especially those whose identity is not known, as SR explained. It is with a similar extension of meaning that the term is used in the veiled language of the divination, s., e.g., 49.395. On the meaning of the term ṣeṇḍe in the stricter sense cf. 11.125 note.

– **ṣeṇḍe ma:bon**, original meaning: 'chief ṣeṇḍe'; in SB's view, the term may refer either to any particularly fierce harmful agent or to any deified ṣeṇḍe, i.e., the ghost of a lama, bōmbo, witch, etc. To illustrate the latter, he added that, to his knowledge, Mankāmnā Dewi of Gorkhā (cf. 30.248 note and 71.580 f.) originated from the ghost of a Magar witch.

344: **sa liñliñ jeppi Ma:bon**, the 'Ma:bon who causes the earth to shake', identical with Àyo Siṅgal Dōrje in 42.321.

– OT **syípsyip** < Tib. 'jib(s)-pa, 'to suck out'; cf. also MT **sya syíppa**, 'to feel a tearing pain in the body (flesh)'.

The bōmbo concludes with an invocation, in Nepali, of a goblin of the *masān* class, and then one of the mother goddesses (*māi*):

45.

345 ho-o-o-o-merai Kelāti [Kirāti] Guru!,
sai gyān phirāi calāu!,
yahi dokh-docche harān gari calāu!, ho Māi, ho!,
pattāl bān, ākās bān,
purba bān, pacchim bān, dakkhin bān, uttar bān harān gari calāu,
merai Guru Maṅgāla [Maṅgalā] Dewi!

[Long, vehement drumming, immediately followed by the recitation of section 46.]

*

345 ho-o-o-o-o, *O my Kelāti [Kirāti] Guru!*,
turn back and set in motion the one hundred magic arts!,
seize and set in motion all these illnesses, ho, O Māi, ho!,
the magic underworld-arrow, the magic sky-arrow!,
seize and set in motion the magic east-arrow, the magic west-arrow,
the magic south-arrow, the magic north-arrow!,
O my Guru Maṅgāla [Maṅgalā] Dewi!

Notes:

345: **Kelāti** or **Kirāti**, identified as a particular *masān* (s. 4.43 note). *Kelāti* roams the cremation grounds and carries a blazing torch which scares away ghosts and spirits, and can thus be activated as a helper, according to SR.

346: **gyān**, lit. 'knowledge', 'wisdom', 'science', but here in the sense of *kugyān* (cf. 4.45), i.e., knowledge of, or misused for, black magic.

347: **dokh-docche**, cf. 4.42 note.

– **bān** and **pattāl/ākās bān**, cf. 2.22 note and 4.43 note, respectively.

348: **purba... uttar bān**, 'east-arrow... north arrow', might be seen as a "translation" of 'east-ṣeṇḍe... zenith-ṣeṇḍe' in the preceding section.

349: **Maṅgalā**, cf. 5.60 note.

46. – 49. The divination (*ñisyi saldap*)

'Prophecy' – in the sense of a communication of paranormal experience concerning the past and the future – seems to be the best possible translation of the MT word *saldap*.¹ In any larger-scale ritual, two such *saldaps* are the norm: the divination called 'evening-*saldap*' (*ñisyi saldap*), delivered in Tamang, and the oracle called 'night-*saldap*' (*mūnai saldap*), delivered in Nepali (sections 93.-96.). In contrast to the latter, in which the divinity speaks through the *ḅombo* as a medium, the evening-*saldap* is a discourse on omnia. Referring to himself, conventionally, in the third person singular, and reciting with a nasal intonation, as if to stress his speaking "from the offstage" of a particular state or level of consciousness, the *ḅombo* describes, interprets² and submits to further interpretation by the clients what he experiences in a combination of a dream-like vision (*misal*, *gāñsal*) and intuitive insight (*hiṣye*, *ñòṣye*)³ thanks to divine inspiration. He is said to perceive certain signs which appear as wavering shadows or blurred contours in a flickering dim light; "it is just like in a dream or in a moonlit night", or, according to another *ḅombo* informant, "like the delusion one has when dazzled by the glaring light of the sun". A quivering inside the *ḅombo*'s body confirms that his actual interpretation of a sign as an omen has been pertinent, and/or it indicates "what applies" in a list of possibilities enumerated by him in a process of pondering (*gōmba*).

The *ḅombo* frequently cautions the client against taking his words for a quotation from, or translation of, a divine message. When he says:

"it may be caused to come on or not to come on" (47.365, 48.368), the *ḅombo* concedes that a sign X cannot with absolute certainty be interpreted as an omen meaning Y and entailing Z. And when he says:

"(the quivering which indicates Y) appears to have been caused to come over the *ḅon*" (48.382),

he even questions his own perception, i.e., his perceiving of a sign X (the quivering) as such.

To fulfil the triple function of providing information with regard to diagnosis, therapy and prognosis, any *saldap* is an attempt to make both the past and the future "present". Thus, the verbal suffix *-nem*⁴ indicates that the fact stated with reference to the past has only just become known to the speaker.⁵ Furthermore, the distinction between diagnosis, on the one hand, and prognosis or prognostics, on the other, often tends to be blurred. Thus, the suffix *-la*, otherwise the marker of a future tense which implies a condition ('will be'/'may be'), can, in the actual context, also make "present" something that has already happened in the past and will have a bearing upon the future. For example, when interpreted against the background of Najom's story, the phrase "the *cen*... may be caused to come" can also read "the *cen*... might have been caused to come" (47.365). Rather than to predict a future event, the phrase in this reading corroborates a precedent: what has been presumed well before as the cause of the patient's trouble (cf. p. 53). Or if it is read (or is meant) as a prediction, it predicts the corroboration of the precedent by anticipating that act in which the *ḅombo* will identify the particular *cen* who has caused the trouble (s. p. 179).

On the whole, as the text suggests, both the reconstruction of the past and the correction of future fate is left to the client; the *ḅombo* contents himself with contributing some clues to the former, and recommending some means – more or less on a trial-and-error basis – for the latter. The client is aware that what is said is not always what is meant. The *ḅombo* often

1 *saldap* < Tib. *gsal btab-pa*, 'to meditate', 'to refresh the memory' (Das 1970: 1305). *saldap syeppa* is the expression used for 'to recite the *saldap*', from MT *syeppa*, 'to tell', 'to explain'.

2 Cf. also pp. 43, 59.

3 Cf. 18.159 notes.

4 Elsewhere, the same suffix marks an "epic preterite" used in accounts of a mythical-historical past, as is the case, e.g., in the creation myth in sections 20.-23.

5 Cf. also the use of Nepali *rahecha* in the oracle, sections 94.-96.

circumscribes; substitutes one name for another; enumerates several names that may denote one and the same thing, or, vice versa, relates one single name to different things; and combines nouns and adjectives in a rather unusual manner. Thus, *jyañ seṇḍe* may refer to a witch living in a house to the north (*jyañ*) of the patient's house, or to a malevolent spirit which has its residence "in the north" (49.395). Again, rather than referring to the superhuman beings themselves as the cause of the trouble, the enumeration of their names in "*salu ḍakpo, ... sabda-luñen*" may be a "cipher" and mean, say, that the site of the patient's house is inauspicious (46.353-355).

The complex and partly enigmatic text of the *saldap* with its fragmented phraseology contrasts with the neat articulation throughout its performance. Each word is clearly audible for the clients who listen attentively.

Sections 46.-48. concern the patient, Najom, while section 49. is one of those four additional *saldaps* which SR recited for other clients.

46.

- 350 ɔho, ñenjem salo, thu:la gomo!,
 bɔnjye lãgañ nañri deḅge phemai dešo nañri semjyeno!,
 ɔho, khañsa dila, semjyeno!,
 khañsa dila, nañbai yiñle, semjyeno!,
 salu ḍakpo, salu ma:bon, sabda khelañ semjyeno!,
 355 salu ṭha:duñ, sabda-luñen semjyeno!,
 sínsiñ-khòlkhol cu:khamu, semjyeno!,
 sem damba soño, semjyeno!,
 bɔnjye lãgañ nañri phẽmai dešo nañri ñẽmai hoṭṭa maḅheyumu,
 daḅwai hoṭṭa ka cheyumu, semjyeno!,
 semjyeno!, da:moda lai lãgañ nañri bɔnjye deḅge phemam
 da:moi meṇdo ñambam,
 360 da:moi ro ñambam, semjyeno!

*

- 350 ɔho, *listen with the ears, ponder in the mind!*,
 while the bɔn gets at the multitude in the divine abode,
 consider!,
 ɔho, *in this homestead, consider!*,
 in this homestead, in the underground sphere, consider!,
 consider the fierce salu, the salu ma:bon, the sabda khelañ!,
 355 *consider the salu ṭha:duñ, the sabda-luñen!*,
 the quivering appears to have been caused to come (over the bɔn),
 distinguish well, consider!,
 while the bɔn gets (at the multitude) in the divine abode, the beam
 of the sun's light appears not to have come out (yet),
 instead, the beam of the moon's light appears to have come
 out, consider!,
 consider!, the mistress's (flower), while the bɔn gets at the
 multitude in the divine abode, (he learns that) the mistress's
 flower is injured,
 360 *the mistress's life-principle is injured, consider!*

Notes:

350: **n̄enjye(m) salo** is the MT version of OT “n̄endu salo”, s. 8.90.

351: **l̄agañ n̄anri d̄ebge phemai d̄eso n̄anri**, ‘while getting at the multitude (d̄ebge) in the divine abode (l̄agañ)’, i.e., ‘while gaining access to a multitude of possible causes to be examined in the presence/with the assistance of the tutelary god(s)’. The word **l̄agañ** refers to both the permanent abode of a divinity and the altar as his/her temporary abode (cf. pp. 22, 31).

– **phemai/phebai** < MT pheba, cf. 9.104 note.

– **d̄eso n̄anri**, ‘while’, ‘during’, is of frequent occurrence in the narrative parts of ritual texts; OT **d̄eso** < Tib. dus-su, lit. ‘at the time of’, + MT **n̄anri**, ‘in’, ‘within’.

– **semjyeno**, ‘consider!’, ‘think over!’, the imp. of OT *sem cyemba (? < Tib. sems, ‘mind’, + Tib. spyan-pa, ‘to give heed’).

352: **d̄ila** = Tib. ‘di-la, ‘in this’.

353: **n̄anbai ȳinle**, ‘in the underground sphere’, cf. 20.189 and “b̄arkap tiñle” in 9.104 note.

354-355: **salu ma:bon... sabda-luñen**, here interpreted as an allusion to the inauspicious site of the patient’s family’s house. No informant could explain the occurrence of “salu” with “ma:bon”, “khelañ” and “ṭha:duñ”; cf. also pp. 292-293.

– **salu**, identified as a variety of *lu* dwelling in the soil (sa).

– **sabda** < Tib. sa-bdag (‘lord of the soil’), the name of a class of demons who are bound to that particular piece of soil over which they preside (Tucci 1949: 722, and Hoffmann 1950: 159 f.).

– **khelañ/khailañ**, in other contexts identified as ‘revenant’ (s. 85.712, 85.714).

– OT **ṭha:duñ** < Tib. khrag-‘thuñ, ‘blood-drinker’, cf. 18.166 note.

– **sabda-luñen**, cf. 12.129 note.

356: **s̄ins̄in-khòlkhòl**, the quivering sensation in the b̄ombo’s body as a numinous signal confirming the pertinence of what is thought of by the b̄ombo, cf. p. 26.

– **cu:khamu**, ‘appears to have been caused to come’, < cu:ba, here ‘to cause’, ‘to be caused’, + khaba, ‘to come’, + -mu, a suffix indicating the subjective character of the speaker’s experience (cf. also 10.120-121).

357: **sem d̄amba soño** < sem d̄amba soñba, ‘to distinguish carefully’, < sem, ‘mind’, + d̄amba, ‘distinction’, cf. 9.103 note, and “soisoi-d̄amd̄am” in 57.469.

358: **d̄awai hoṭṭa ka...**, ‘instead, the beam of the moon’s light...’, explained as a double reference (a) to the customarily nocturnal ritual, and (b) to the dimness of the b̄ombo’s vision.

– **m̄acheyumu**, ‘appears not to have come out’, < cheba, ‘to shine’, ‘to rise’, ‘to come out’, + ȳuba, lit. ‘to come down’, here perhaps for ‘to shine from above’.

After a short pause, the b̄ombo continues with the diagnosis:

47.

Syar B̄a:la K̄anne khurbi d̄emojyenjye l̄ennem,
Dakkhin K̄alikā, Dolakhā Budhbāre khurbi d̄emojyenjye,
Syar B̄a:la K̄anne khurbi d̄emojyenjye l̄enla kuinem
d̄a:m̄oi ro, m̄endo,

lai l̄agañ n̄anri b̄onjye d̄ebge phemam semjyeno!,
m̄i: thamajye kha d̄arnem d̄a:moda, semjyeno!,
sem d̄amba soño, b̄onjye lai l̄agañ n̄anri d̄ebge phebi d̄eso
n̄anri semjyeno!,

365 Jyañ D̄oyañ n̄angi cen d̄akpo ṭha:duñ ȳón-m̄ayoñ cu:la, semjyeno!,
ȳarsoi chyoppa cu:go, m̄arsoi chyoppa cu:go!

- A witch carrying (being the vehicle of) Syar Bə:la Kānne turns out to have licked (taken possession of),
a witch carrying Dakkhin Kālikā, Dolakhā Budhbāre,
a witch carrying Syar Bə:la Kānne turns out to have licked (taken possession of) the mistress's life-principle, (her) flower,
while the ɓon gets at the multitude in the god's divine abode, consider!,
a malevolent human turns out to have conjured the mistress (with a charm), consider!,
distinguish well, while the ɓon gets at the multitude in the god's divine abode, consider!,*
- 365 *(the mischief of) the fierce cen ʈa:duñ in (the corner dominated by) Jyañ Doyañ may be caused to come on or not to come on (to the mistress), consider!,
perform the sacrifice of ɣarso, perform the sacrifice of maṛso!*

Notes:

- 361: **Syar Bə:la Kānne** = Nepāl Bālākanne (95.872) = Bālākanne (Bālā Kanyā) (6.67 note), as one of the manifestations or names of the Mother (Māi) alias Spirit of the Kathmandu Valley (s. pp. 72-73).
- **khurbi ɖemojyen**, 'the witch who carries', with reference to the specific symbiosis of a human witch with the goddess. While the verb 'to carry' may convey, here, the sense that the woman in question is but a passive "carrier" of the goddess, the phrase "... the witch who makes Dakkhin Kālikā play" (95.872) indicates the contrary, namely the manipulation of (the powers of) the goddess by the witch. Cf. also "khubai" in 85.714 note and pp. 55-56, 72.
 - OT **ɖemojyen**, 'witch', < Tib. dre-mo-čan, lit. 'the one with a demoness'.
 - **leñnem/leñla kuinem** < lemba; there was disagreement among the informants whether MT lemba, 'to lick', or OT lemba, 'to take', was meant here. On a similar conflict cf. 97.914 note: on "licking a woman's 'flower'" cf. pp. 55, 228.
- 362: **Dakkhin Kālikā**, cf. 7.79 note.
- **Dolakhā Budhbāre** alias Dolakhā Budhbāre Bhut alias Māyi Mán ('Buffalo Spirit') is to be worshipped on Wednesdays (budhbār) only, according to the informants. The cult of this goddess (?) is said to have originated from the Newar town of Dolakhā.
 - **leñla kuinem**, the OT intensive of the verb lemba, cf. above. In some cases, OT kuiba also fulfils a causative function, as it seems.
 - **ro** and **męndo**, 'life-principle' and 'flower (= womb)', respectively; cf. 10.118 notes and pp. 310 ff.
- 364: **mj: thama**, 'malevolent human', here for the witch referred to as "ɖemojyen" above. The identity of the woman suspected of being a witch was not disclosed to me. Open witchcraft accusations, considered a slander, are avoided as far as possible.
- **kha ɖarnem** < kha ɖarba, here in the sense of 'to bewitch', cf. 40.304.
- 365: **Jyañ Doyañ nañgi cen**, 'the cen in Jyañ Doyañ (= north)', anticipating that cen divinity of the Ganes Kuñḍ lake in the northern mountains, which the ɓombo later (section 66.) diagnoses as the cause of the trouble? Jyañ Doyañ, cf. 35.273 note.
- **yón-mayoñ**, lit. 'come-not come', < OT yónba (Tib. yoñ-ba/'oñ-ba), 'to come (on to)', 'to happen to'; cf. also 9.102 note. Following its interpretation by the informants, I have preferred a literal rendering of this OT form.
- 366: OT **ɣarso**, the 'upper (ɣar) half of the year', roughly corresponding to spring and summer; and OT **maṛso**, the 'lower (maṛ) half of the year', roughly corresponding to autumn and winter. ɣarso and maṛso are probably synonymous with yarsañ and maṛsañ (cf. 66.543 note and Appendix III), respectively, and reminiscent of the division of the year in a "rising" and a "falling" period among the Indo-Nepalese (N. ūbhaulī and ūdhaulī, cf. Gaenszle 1991: 164 with reference to eastern Nepal). – The "sacrifice of maṛso" may refer to the ritual to be performed on the full-moon day of Mañsir Purne (November-December), as mentioned in 54.446.

48.

- mędoi na:jo sabaı...,
 ọho!, ... cengi pruldap yón-mayoń cu:la da:moda,
 ọho!, semjyeno!,
 370 da:moda yáyal-dúpdup cu:ba, syai serne jyũaba, ẵa:gi serne jyũaba,
 thòmdom-rịri jyũabam, cen-mengi dặser yónnem da:moda,
 sem damba sọno, bọnyje lặgań nặri dặge phejyi, semjyeno!,
 Dakkhin Kālikā, semjyeno!,
 Dakkhin Kālikā apso cu:go, Dolakhā Budhbāre apso cu:go!,
 375 Syar Bặ:la Kānneda apso cu:go, semjyeno!,
 mengi damla ta:go, nặrai damla ta:go!,
 lai lặgań nặri dặge phebi dặso nặri, semjyeno!,
 Gorkhā Kālikā apso cu:go!,
 rặngi khańsa dặla Bhimsen ẵhặkur apso cu:go!,
 380 semjyeno!,
 khańsa dặla, semjyeno!, dặnboi si yónla, dặnboi ri yónla, salu khelań,
 sabda-luńen, salu dặkpo, khelań ma:bon yón-mayoń cu:khamu,
 sem damba sọno, bọnyje dặge phejyi lai lặgań nặri, semjyeno!,
 hặ-a-a-a-ay, semjyeno!,
 385 khańsa nặri yám mi gặn khyugpai noccyen yón-mayoń cu:yumu,
 yám mi bặr.ma:bon yón-mayoń cu:khamu,
 sínsiń-khòlkhol cu:khamu, semjyeno!,

[Drumming]

*

- The magic of a cen which eats various flowers,...*
 ọho!,... may be caused to come on or not to come on to the mistress,
 ọho!, consider!,
 370 *the mistress (suffers from an ailment which) at times recedes, at
 times worsens, a disease of the flesh befalls her, a disease
 of the blood befalls her,
 the thòmdom-rịri befalls her, the dặser of the cen-men turns
 out to have come on to the mistress,
 distinguish well!, the bọn has got at the multitude in the divine abode, consider!,
 Dakkhin Kālikā, consider!,
 put trust (in) Dakkhin Kālikā, put trust (in) Dolakhā Budhbāre!,
 375 put trust in Syar Bặ:la Kānne, consider!,
 magically fix the medicine, magically fix the formula!,
 while the bọn gets at the multitude in the divine abode,
 consider!,
 put trust (in) Gorkhā Kālikā!,
 put trust (in) Bhimsen ẵhặkur in this (your) own homestead!,
 380 consider!,
 in this homestead, consider!, the si of the past may come on (to
 the inhabitants), the ri of the past may come on,
 the salu khelań,
 (the quivering which indicates that) the sabda-luńen, the fierce
 salu, the khelań ma:bon come on or do not come on (to the*

*inhabitants) appears to have been caused to come (over the
bõn),*

*distinguish well!, the bõn has got at the multitude in the divine
abode, consider!,*

hã-a-a-a-ay, consider!

385 *for a while (a quivering which indicates that) a harmful agent
which roams the mountain comes or does not come on (to the
inhabitants) in the homestead, appears to have been caused
to come (over the bõn),*

*again, for a while (a quivering which indicates that) a bõr.ma:bõn
comes or does not come on (to the inhabitants), appears to
have been caused to come (over the bõn),*

*the quivering (which indicates this) appears to have been caused
to come (over the bõn), consider!*

Notes:

368: MT **pruldap**, 'magic', 'an act of magic', ? < Tib. sprul-ba, 'witchcraft' (i.a.), or 'phrul, 'jugglery', 'magical deception' (Jäschke 1949: 336f., 360), + -dap ? < Tib. 'debs-pa, 'to hit' (as in le:dap, cf. 22.206).

370: OT **yályal-dúpdup cu:ba**, approx. 'to have an alteration of chronic and acute phases'. yályal ? < Tib. yal-ba, 'to vanish', or yel-yel, 'clear' (Jäschke 1949: 514); dúpdup ? < Žažžuñ dub-dub, 'misery', 'distress' (Haarh 1968: 34).

– **serne**, cf. 34.271 note.

371: **cen-men**, with reference to the *cens* and their children or companions, the *mens*, cf. 12.130 note.

– **dãser**, cf. 12.130 note.

374: OT **apso cu:ba** = MT apso laba, 'to trust', 'to believe in'. Cf. also the oracle (95.890-895) where the Nepali word bhakti ('devotion') seems to have been chosen as an adequate "translation" of apso. – apso ? < Tib. bzod-pa, 'patience', 'indulgence', 'perseverance', 'steadfast adherence to the four truths' (Das 1970: 1111-1112).

376: **mengi/narai ðamla ta:go!**, 'magically fix the medicine (men)/the formula (nara)!', implying that neither the medicine nor the mantra would be effective without repeating, through the ritual, that primordial act which "magically fixed" (ðamla ta:ba) them as such. Cf. also "noccyen ðamla ta:ñi" in 17.155 note. Ideally at least, no medicine should be administered without activating it by a mantra.

– MT **men** (< Tib. sman), 'medicine', 'drug', also 'poison' (!); **nara** = ña: (< Tib. sñags), 'mantra', 'spell'.

378: **Gorkhã Kãlikã**, cf. 5.57 note.

379: **Bhimsen**, here for the clan god of the head of the household, cf. 4.49 note.

381: **si** and **ri**, cf. 11.126 note.

385: MT **yãm**, 'a moment'; the particle **mi** stresses the contrast between two different perceptions.

– **gãñ khyugpai noccyen**, 'the harmful agent which roams the mountain', was suspected to be identical with Paca Bhaiyã, a divinity of the "wild hunter" type (cf. Höfer 1981: 21, 124), also mentioned in 94.863.

386: **bõr.ma:bõn**, cf. 39.301 note.

385-386: **cu:yumu** < yùba, 'to come down', 'to descend', possibly with reference to the harmful agent which might come down from the mountain, – in contrast to **cu:khamu** < khaba, 'to come', with reference to the bõr.ma:bõn.

The bõmbo now performs the *saldaps* for a few clients outside the family of the patient. Each client has deposited on the altar a fistful of husked rice brought in a leaf-cup from his home, and it is by sniffing at the rice grains that the bõmbo is expected to gain insights for the divinatory

diagnosis.⁶ The first such *saldap* concerns an old woman and her grandson (who both died a few days later) and reveals their being troubled by the mother goddess Syar Ba:la Kanne and a *jyañ seṇḍe*.

49.

390 *aha-a-a-a-a*, *semjyeno!*,
 mone cañmai noccyen semjyeno!,
 mì: thamai kuldap maýin, mì: thamai ñendap maýin, leñchya...,
 aha-a-a-a-a, *semjyeno!*,
 ... Syar Ba:la Kanne, *semjyeno!*, *šana se:nen yónnem, sya šana*
 se:nen yónnem,
 a:ra šana, chyañ šana Syar Ba:la Kanne ðu: ma꤁po kednem,
 Syar Ba:la Kanne li:mam, semjyeno!,
 395 *jyañ seṇḍei pruldap yón-mayoñ cu:mu,*
 boñjye lai làgañ nañri deḅge phejyi,
 kaṣṭa ka yón-mayoñ cu:mu, semjyeno!,
 da:moda, semjyeno!, *jyañ seṇḍei pruldap yón-mayoñ... – chyoppa cu:go!*
 400 *lai leñchya, da:moda, semjyeno!*, *Syar Ba:la Kanne Deḅwi*
 noccyenda chyoppa cu:go!
 boñjye làgañ nañri deḅge phejyi,
 Syar Ba:la Kanneda chyoppa cu:ma.ðiri gaýaṅ maḡasam jyañ seṇḍei
 chyoppa cu:go, semjyeno!,
 boñjye lai làgañ nañri deḅge phemam ñemai hoṭṭa maḡheyumu,
 daḡai hoṭṭa cheyumu,
 semjyeno!

[Drumming]

*

aha-a-a-a-a, *consider!*,
consider the harmful agent (as indicated by the smell) of the
pure rice!,
 390 *(this harmful agent) is not the magic arrow of a malevolent human,*
 is not the harming charm of a malevolent human,
 (rather) to the youth... ,
aha-a-a-a-a, *consider!*,
 ... Syar Ba:la Kanne, *consider!*, *as he ate, a dietary damage*
 turns out to have come on (to the youth), as he ate meat,
 a dietary damage turns out to have come on (to the youth),
 as he drank liquor, as he drank beer, Syar Ba:la Kanne turns out
 to have got very irritated,
 (and the quivering which indicates that) after Syar Ba:la Kanne,...
 consider!

6 Before depositing it on the altar, the leaf-cup is brought into contact with the forehead, shoulders and knees of the client. – Rice used for this purpose is called *mone syit* or *muḍu syit*, lit. 'divination rice' (cf. p. 59), hence the name of the procedure: *muḍu syit saldap*, in contradistinction to the "normal" *saldap* for the patient, for which a rice-smelling is not required.

- 395 ... *the magic of a north-ṣeṇḍe comes on or does not come on (to the client), appears to have been caused (to the ḅon), the ḅon has got at the multitude in the god's divine abode, (a quivering which indicates that a state of being) very seriously ill indeed comes on or does not come on (to the client), appears to have been caused (to the ḅon), consider!, to the mistress..., consider!, the magic of the north-ṣeṇḍe comes or does not come on (to the mistress) – perform a sacrifice!,*
- 400 *(for the benefit of) the god's youth, for the benefit of the mistress..., consider!, perform a sacrifice to the harmful agent (who is) Syar B̄a:la K̄anne D̄ewi!, the ḅon has got at the multitude in the god's divine abode, if (the client) does not become happy (does not get better) through the sacrifice to Syar B̄a:la K̄anne, perform the sacrifice (for the propitiation) of the north-ṣeṇḍe, consider!, while the ḅon gets at the multitude in the god's divine abode, the beam of the sun's light appears not to have come out (yet), (instead) the beam of the moon's light appears to have come out, consider!*

[Drumming]

*

Notes:

389: **mone cañma**, 'pure divination rice', < Tib. mo-nas gcañ-ma, 'pure divination barley'.

390: OT **maṅyin**, 'is not'.

– **leñchya**, cf. 24.213.

392: OT **ṣe:nen** = MT cabai ṇosse = N. khāibigār (s. 96.903), which I have preferred to render by 'dietary damage', because it refers to a specific concept of nosology. The "damage" is caused by the intake of food which is either inappropriately prepared (not sufficiently cleaned, not well done) or considered impure (pork) or yet again contraindicated in case of certain illnesses and in certain stages in one's life (childbirth, mourning). Such food is believed to "get stuck" in the entrails and to cause various complications ranging from diarrhoea to death. – **ṣe:nen** < Tib. zas-nan(-pa), lit. 'bad food'.

393: **a:ra**, **chyañ**, cf. 9.112-113 notes.

– OT **ṭhu: maḵpo kednem**, 'got very irritated/angry'. **ṭhu: maḵpo** ? < Tib. 'khrug(-pa), 'disorder', 'to be disturbed', + smag-po, lit. 'dark', reminiscent of MT "black anger", an idiom for 'excessive anger'; **kednem** < **keppa** (< Tib. skyed-pa), 'to produce'. – Despite his fever afflicted by Syar B̄a:la K̄anne, the boy (**leñchya**) went on partaking of what this goddess detests and what is generally believed to result in a "dietary damage" in case of fever, namely meat and alcohol.

394: OT **li:mam**, 'after'.

395: **jyañ ṣeṇḍe**, 'north-ṣeṇḍe', seems to correspond to "northern *bir*" in 96.905. The relatives of the clients reportedly agreed, after some discussion, that these two terms had alluded to Ra M̄añ, 'Goat Spirit', which is a "union" of the ghosts of a Tamang man and a Ghale woman.

397: MT **kaṣṭa/kaṣṭa**, 'very seriously ill', < N. kaṣṭa 'misfortune', 'trouble'. 398: **ḍa:moda**, 'to the mistress', with reference to the grandmother; read: 'the magic by the north-ṣeṇḍe [turns out to have come on] to the mistress'.

400: **Dēwi** = N. dewi (devī).

401: **gayañ maḡasam** < OT *gayañ gāba*, cf. 10.121 note.

On having finished the divination for three further clients the *bombo* lays his drum aside and asks for a drink. In the break – the first one since the beginning of the ritual – the conversation among the participants does not touch the issues treated in the *saldap*, contrary to what will happen in the break following the oracle (sections 93.-96). It should be noted in passing that in a talk with the ethnographer a few days later, neither SR nor the patient's husband appeared to exactly remember all details mentioned in the recitation. As SB commented: If a *saldap* happens to abound in names and details, "it is too much" for the client who, as a rule, would pick up only what appears instantly plausible to him, or what he finds conspicuously contradicted by a previous diagnosis. In any case, whatever has been stated in the first *saldap*, the divination, requires confirmation by the second one, the oracle (s. also pp. 227-228).

50. – 77. The second ritual journey: in search of the *cen* (*cengi sañrap*)

The “incense-recitation for the *cen*” (*cengi sañrap*)¹ is an impressive effort to interrelate three “worlds”, namely the inner one of the patient’s organism, the outer one of physical nature, and the hidden one of metaphysical nature. It is undertaken (a) to find out which botanical species of flower corresponds to the “life-flower”/“(womb-)flower” of the patient, and (b) to identify the one particular *cen* who controls both these flowers. The search is effected by means of applying two grids that are either intercalated with one another or superimposed on to one another: the enumeration of genera and species, on the one hand, and the enumeration of places (itinerary), on the other.

The ritual journey (*riñrap*) – which starts, strictly speaking, from the *chene* on the altar, leads to Uiseme and then back to the *chene* (sections 50. and 77. respectively) – does more than just provide a frame for the *cengi sañrap* as a whole. With its meandering but nevertheless fixed itinerary, the journey also subdivides into clusters and provides with spatial coordinates what otherwise would remain random and, due to repetitions, redundant: the enumeration of names of flowers and *cens*. The entire journey up to Uiseme must be completed, regardless of where, at which point in the itinerary, the *bombo* succeeds in finding the *cen* which has caused the trouble. SR himself explained the double-grid procedure as follows: The *bombo* has to enumerate name after name until the quivering in his body indicates which of these names is the right one; at the same time, he must also seek the support of gods of many different places to be enabled to “meet” the *cen* in question. As the text reveals, the *cen* is invited to come into the “divine abodes” of each of the gods enumerated, i.e., into the altar, so that the *bombo* may interact with her, – and this effort results, here again, in a blurring of identities² in that the “abode” of each god called on tends to become fused with that of the *cen* sought, or in that the *cen* tends to be merged in a tutelary (*phamo*) or even in Kaliama, the Divine Mother.

Fresh incense is brought, and after a long drumming sequence, the *bombo* greets the “All Gods” (*Deḅge Phamo*) whom he will, in the following sections, visit in their residences and simultaneously convoke in the *chene*. The *sañrap* starts with the “universal incensing” (cf. section 15.).

50.

405 ha-a-a-a-ay, chya:jało Phamo!,
 ñendu salo, thu:la ḡomo!,
 Deḅge Phamoi syaldo chya:jało!, Chene Nólgi Da:mo,
 Chene Sergi Da:mo chya:jało, hoy!
 ha-a-a-a-a, Phamo chya:jało!,
 ñendu salo, thu:la ḡomo!

[Repetition of the “universal incensing”, as in 15.137-138]

ha-a-a-a-a, sañrap ñari cu:ba, sañrap-ḡensal cu:ba,
 Phamo chya:jało!

After dancing for a few minutes, the *bombo* sits down in front of the altar and continues:

1 Also called “searching for the *cen*” (*cen máiba*).

2 Informants were rather confused when asked to identify the addressee in some of the passages in this part of the text. For example, no agreement could be reached on whether “Dĩñjen Phamo” was meant to address Kaliama or – flatteringly – the *cen*, in sections 67.-68.

- 410 saṅrap ṅari cu:ba, saṅrap ṅari dīṅba,
Phamo chya:jaló!

*

- 405 ḥa-a-a-a-ay, *hail O Phamo!*,
listen with the ears, ponder in the mind!,
hail to (you O) Multitude-Phamo!,
hail O Chene Silver Mistress, Chene Golden Mistress, hoy!
ḥa-a-a-a-a, *O Phamo hail!*,
listen with the ears, ponder in the mind!

[Repetition]

ḥa-a-a-a-a, *(I) perform the incense-recitation to the rhythm of
the drum (?), perform the declamation (?) of the
incense-recitation,*
O Phamo hail!

[Dance]

- 410 *(I) perform the incense-recitation to the rhythm of the drum (?),
(I) soar (from place to place through) the incense-recitation
to the rhythm of the drum (?),*
O Phamo hail!

Notes:

406: OT *syaldo* (hon.), 'to', 'in honour of', ? < Tib. *žal-du*, lit. 'in the face'.

– *Chene*, cf. pp. 59 ff. and 18.161-163.

408: *saṅrap*, cf. p. 87.

– OT *ṅari*, tentatively interpreted by SB as 'to the rhythm of the drum (*ṅa*)' (?). I presume that in the present context, OT *ṅari* (**ṅari*?) < Tib. *sṅar/sṅa-ru*, 'ahead', 'onward', with reference to the *ḅombo*'s movement from place to place in the ritual journey (section 58. ff.).

– OT *ḍensal*, 'declamation', 'recitation' (?), < *ḍemba* (< Tib. 'dren-pa), 'to recite', 'to enumerate', 'to invite'.

410: *dīṅba*, lit. 'to soar', here figuratively for the dancing *ḅombo*'s movement from place to place in the subsequent journey, according to SR (?). On *dīṅba* cf. also p. 49 f.

In extolling the beauty of flowers and *cens*, the following sections (51., 53.-57.) are recited with lyric, or even elegiac, overtones. The *ḅombo*'s singing "into" the drum produces a fine echo-effect.

51.

- sala kebi mendo, nàmla charbi mendo,
sala ci:ji mendo,
cendaṅ je:bi mendo, cengi mendo,
415 chya:jaló!

- 420 gənai cen ka ñe:le, gənai men ka ñe:le,
 mendoï gombo nombai da:mo, mendoï deḅge nombai da:mo,
 mendoï liṅsye nombai da:mo, mendoï deḅge nombai da:mo,
 mendoï gyara nombai da:mo, mendoï kabu nombai da:mo.
 awai somgi mendo, cengi mendo, pi:bi somgi mendo, cengi mendo,
 cendañ je:bi mendo, ñemadañ chebi mendo, dawadañ syarbi mendo,
 chya:jalo!
 jyɪnlap tembi mendo, khàwai mendo,
 chalam tembi mendo, bulam tembi mendo,
 chya:jalo!
 425 gənai cen ka ñe:le, gənai men ka ñe:le, yulsañ cendañ ñe:le,
 cyen.ḍenjyi,
 syò: Cendañ Rá:ñi!

*

- 415 *O flower born in the earth, flower thriving in the sky,
 tiny flowers on the earth,
 flower lovely like the cen, flower of the cen,
 hail!*
*The cen of whichever place may cause harm, the men of whichever
 place may cause harm,
 the mistress who takes (up her abode in) heaps of flowers,
 the mistress who takes (up her abode in) a multitude of
 flowers,
 the mistress who takes (up her abode in) scores of flowers,
 the mistress who takes (up her abode in) a multitude of
 flowers,
 the mistress who takes (up her abode in) hundreds of flowers,
 the mistress who takes (up her abode in) buds of flowers.*
*O flower of the living air, flower of the cen,
 flower of the living pi:bi, flower of the cen,
 420 flower lovely like the cen,
 flower growing with the sun (shining like the sun?),
 flower rising with the moon (shining like the moon?),
 hail!*
*O flower which provides the boon, flower of the snow,
 flower which provides the great-grandchildren (?), flower which
 provides the grandchildren (?),
 hail!*
 425 *The cen of whichever place may cause harm, the men of whichever
 place may cause harm, the cendañ (of whichever?) area may
 cause harm, (I) have invited (them),
 come O Cendañ Rá:ñi!*

Notes:

- 412: **nàmla charbi mendo**, 'flower thriving in the sky' = flowers above the ground, i.e., growing on a tree or shrub. – charbi < MT charba (< Tib. 'čhar-ba), 'to grow', 'to thrive'.
 413: **sala ci:ji mendo**, a collective name for low-growing plants with (relatively) small flowers.
 414: **je:b(a)i** < MT je:ba (< Tib. mjes-pa), 'to be beautiful/pleasing', 'to adorn'.

- **cengi mendo**, 'the flower of the cen': the flowers are both abode and ornament of the cen, cf. pp. 53-54.
- 416: **gənai** < OT *gəna*, cf. 34.266 note.
- **ñe:le** < MT *ñe:ba*, 'to cause harm', etc.; cf. 26.226 note.
- 417: **məndoi gombo... nombai də:mo**, 'the mistress who takes heaps of flowers', wherein the verb "nomba" may mean both: (a) the cen (mistress) who takes up her abode in flowers, and (b) the cen who eats (damages) the life-flower/(womb-)flower of a female. The context suggests version (a). Cf. also "məndoi na:jo səbai cen" in 48.367-368.
- 417-418: **gombo, linsye, gyəra, kabu**, cf. the primordial tree in 21.196.
- 419: **awai somgi** < OT *awai som(bo)*, cf. 10.120 note. Here as a metaphor for 'lofty height', that is, 'upland', 'hillside', contrasted with **pi:bi som(bo)**, metaphorically for 'lowland', 'valley'. The latter term was derived from MT "pi:bi rappa", 'to produce a buzzing sound by blowing on to a leaf held between the lips'; this "music" is believed to please the cen, and is to be executed by the clients in certain cen rituals; the leaf must be from the *kəsyin* tree (N. *aule cilāune*, *Schima wallichii* sp.) which is classified as a tree of the lowland. – pi:bi ? < Tib. pi-pi, 'flute', 'fife' (Jäschke 1949: 323).
- 420: **ñemadañ... syarbi**, cf. 13.134.
- 422: **jiŋlap tembi mendo**, 'the flower which provides the boon', interpreted by the informants as an allusive reference to the flowers placed in the jug with holy water (cf. section 25.); the purificatory and invigorating power of this water is regarded as a boon (section 106.). The expression is also reminiscent of the Hindu concept of *prasād* (familiar to the Tamang, too), that is, that part of an offering which, "enriched" by divine boon, is distributed among the participants in a sacrificial act; for example, flowers (or a few petals) picked up from a plate with offerings and stuck in the hair of the participants, can also serve as a vehicle of boon. – **jiŋlap** (< Tib. *byin-rlabs*), 'blessing', 'boon'; **tembi** < OT *temba*, 'to provide', 'to keep', 'to put'.
- **khəwai** < MT *khəwa*, lit. 'snow', here with reference to that snow-like white substance which, as the vehicle or the materialization of divine blessing, appears either on the membrane of the drum or between the thumb and the index finger of the *bombo*, and is, then, transferred on to a flake of fresh butter; the butter is applied to the client's forehead as a *ṭikā* mark (cf. p. 250). "May *khəwa* descend upon you!" is a standard formula of blessing. Cf. also "*khəwadañ bəppi mendo*" in 58.477.
- 423: **chalam, bułam**, cf. 12.131 note; the line alludes to the "(womb-)flower" for whose fertility **jiŋlap** and **khəwa** are indispensable.
- 425: OT **yulsañ** = *yul*, 'country', 'area', 'territory of a village'; *yulsañ* < Tib. *yul-bzañ*, lit. 'good country' (s. also Das 1970: 1141).
- **cendañ** = ? a variety of cen, addressed below as "Queen" (*Rá:ñi*).
- **cyen.đəŋji** < MT *cyen.đəmba* (< Tib. *sphyan 'dren-pa*), 'to invite ceremonially'.
- 426: **syò:** = Tib. *šog*, 'come!'.

Addressing the divine personification of the *chene* at the very beginning (50.406) and, again, at the very end (77.628) of this *sañrap* is obviously meant to re-establish the relationship between the symbolizing (the *chene* as a group of paraphernalia) and the symbolized (the abodes of the gods to be rallied for support). In the section which follows, by contrast, the *chene* appears just to be addressed as the abode of the first god among those to be rallied for support in the course of the journey: the divinity of the *phola* stones.

52.

- gəna ṭuñbi cen jyabu bomo, gəna chya:bi cen jyabu bomo?
 Chene Nəlgi Də:mo, Chene Sergi Də:mo, Chene Palgi Də:mo,
 Chene Briğənsyi Də:mo, Chene Chegara Sañmo chya:jalò!
 Phola Karbo, Phola Mařbo, Phola Syelgar Jyomo,
 cengi Phola, duduđgi Phola, cho:na duduđgi Phola,
 barkap duduđgi Phola,
 430 Gyəgar Ṭha:duñ Nórbu, Gyəgar Pànda Syitta Gúru chya:jalò!

*

*Where did the beautiful cen-maiden originate, where does the beautiful
cen-maiden reside?*

*O Chene Silver Mistress, Chene Golden Mistress,
Chene Blissful (?) Mistress, Chene Brigaṅsyi Mistress,
Chene Chegara Saṅmo hail!,*

*O White Phola, Red Phola, Syelgar Jyomo Phola,
Phola of the cen, Phola of the dūd, Phola of the cho:na dūd,
Phola of the atmosphere-dūd,*

430 *O Gyagar Ṭha:duñ Nórbu, Gyagar Pàṇḍa Syitta Gúru hail!*

Notes:

427: **jyabu bomo**, 'beautiful maiden', < OT jyabu (< Tib. 'jag-po) = MT jyaba, 'good', 'pretty', 'pleasant';
+ OT bomo (< Tib. bu-mo), 'girl', 'daughter'.

429: **Phola**, cf. pp. 62-63 and 18.165.

430: **Gyagar... Gúru**, cf. 18.166 note.

53.

*cendañ gawai cènso, mendañ gawai mènso,
mendoì gombo nombi dā:mo, mendoì liṅsyē nombi dā:mo, mendoì
gyara nombi dā:mo.*

*gānai cen ka ñe:le, gānai men ka ñe:le,
sala ci:ji mendo wa:?,*

435 *nāmla charbi mendo wa:?,*

*cendañ je:bi mendo, cengi mendo,
sala ci:ji mendo, tābañ sali mendo,
cendañ je:bi mendo, awai somgi mendo, cendañ je:bi mendo,
syonḍi dō:na pi:bi somgi mendo, cendañ je:bi mendo.*

440 *cèṅḍi sali mendo, gōrjawali mendo, sàipadi mendo, cendañ je:bi mendo, cengi mendo,
sala ṭhūñbi mendo, cèṅḍi sali mendo wa:?*

*cen jyabu bomo, cen jyabu... [stammering] bomo,
dā:moda kha ñāmbai cen jyabu, l̥j: ñāmbai cen jyabu,
chalam [-bulam] ñāmbai cen jyabu, syābla tēwa ñāmbai cen
jyabu, pūila meḷuñ ñāmbai cen jyabu, tiñla tēwa, mendo
ñāmbai cen jyabu bomo, che.dārsyiñ, dāra ñāmbai cen jyabu
bomo,*

gāna chya:bi cen jyabu bomo, gāna ṭhūñbi cen jyabu bomo?

*

*The cènso which pleases the cen, the mènso which pleases the men,
the mistress who takes (up her abode in) heaps of flowers,
the mistress who takes (up her abode in) scores of flowers,
the mistress who takes (up her abode in) hundreds of flowers.
The cen of whichever place may cause harm, the men of whichever
place may cause harm,*

- (is their abode in) the tiny flowers of the earth?,
 435 the flower thriving in the sky?,
 the flower lovely like the cen, the flower of the cen,
 the tiny flowers on the earth, the *tàbañ sali* flower,
 the flower lovely like the cen, the flower of the living air,
 the flower lovely like the cen,
 the flower of the living *pi:bi* (which one gets) when arriving at
 the river, the flower lovely like the cen.
 440 The *cènđi sali* flower, the *gõrjawali* flower,
 the *sàipadi* flower, flower lovely like the cen, flower of
 the cen,
 the flower which originates in the earth, is it the *cènđi sali*
 flower?
 The beautiful cen-maiden, the beautiful cen-maiden,
 the beautiful cen which injures the mouth,
 the beautiful cen which injures the body,
 the beautiful cen which injures the great-grandchildren (?),
 the beautiful cen which injures the centre of the legs,
 the beautiful cen which injures the flame of the knees,
 the beautiful cen-maiden which injures the centre of the
 heart, the flower (of the heart),
 the beautiful cen-maiden which injures the life-pole, the
 respiration (?) of the mistress,
 where does the beautiful cen-maiden reside, where did the
 beautiful cen-maiden originate?

Notes:

- 431: *gawai* = OT *gābai*, 'pleasing', 'happy', in a "Tibetanized" pronunciation (< Tib. *dga'-ba'i*).
 – *cènso*, *mènso* < MT *cènso-mènso* (disjoined here), the name of the bunch of twigs and flowers fastened to the top of the *pa:sam* tree (cf. p. 243). If possible, this bunch should include twigs of the plant called *cènso* = *Gaultheria* sp. (identified as *Gaultheria fragrantissima* Wall. in Toffin and Wiert 1985: 134, 142). The same plant is also used in the *syinne na:jo*, cf. 15.138; its smoke is said to kill bedbugs. The term *mènso* does not denote, to my knowledge, a botanical species.
 437: *tàbañ sali* < *tàbañ*, the *dubo* grass, cf. 21.194; + OT *sali*, frequently added to names of plants and animals, cf. 27.228, and "jyabu *sali*" in 97.914.
 439: *syonđi do:na*, lit. 'when arriving at the river', i.e., at the lowland/valley which is associated with "pi:bi som", cf. 51.419 note above, and 56.468 below.
 440: *cènđi* = *Artemisia japonica* Thunb. var. *parviflora* (Toffin and Wiert 1985: 142). MT *cènđi* and *cendiri* are alternatively used for various *Artemisia* subspecies; cf. also "cendiri *mařbo*" in 15.138.
 – *gõrjawali*, the name of a yellow chrysanthemum (?).
 – *sàipadi* < N. *saipatri*, 'marigold', *Tagetes erecta*.
 443: *kha... namba*, cf. 10.118, 12.131 and 27.229.

54.

- 445 *chya:jało!*,
Mànsyir Pürñe bařdo(i) khari sergi làgañ cu:nam mana kùì
tormo-torsyol, brõmo-brõsyol, laral-dunđal, gyábdol,
mẽnđo cu:la, sergi làgañ cu:la,

cen jyābu bōmo chya: jālo!

*

- 445 *Hail!*,
*within the period of Maṅsir Purne, when preparing a golden divine
 abode, (we) will prepare the tormo-torsyol, the brōmo-brōsyol
 of nine mānā (of grain), the loral-dunḍal, the gyābdol,
 the flower(s), (we) will prepare the golden divine abode,
 O beautiful cen-maiden, hail!*

Notes:

- 446: **Māṅsyr Pūrṇe** = N. Maṅsir Purne (Pūrṇimā), the full-moon day bearing the name of the month Maṅsir/Maṅsir (November-December) of the Nepalese calendar. This full-moon day may also fall in the month of Kārtik (October-November).
- **baṛdoi khari**, 'within the period', meaning that the ritual can be performed either on the full-moon day itself or within five days after the full-moon day.
 - **sergi lāgañ**, 'golden divine abode', here with reference to the bōmo's altar in the ritual of "cen syarba" promised to the cen, cf. pp. 266 ff., 271.
 - **mana** < N. mānā, the weight by volume, actually about 0.40 to 0.45 kg of maize or husked rice. In reality, the amount of grain, ground and boiled for the dough with which the tormos are made, is much less than nine mānā.
 - **tormo-torsyol**, a general term for the dough figures, tormo, cf. 39.297 and pp. 229-230.
 - **brōmo-brōsyol**, a general term for the dough pieces pasted on the top and sides of a tormo; they look like ears or tentacles said to represent the hairlocks of the divinity. -syol ? < Tib. žol, lit. 'that which hangs beneath', 'beard' (Das 1970: 1077).
 - **loral-dunḍal/ladar-dunḍal** is the name of an offering of a few coins (1-3 pices) tied to the top of the pa:sam tree in certain rituals; loral/ladar < ladar, cf. p. 63.
 - **gyābdol/gyābdal** refers, here, to the screen of plain cloth on the two sides and at the back of an altar-platform (cf. braṅge, p. 59). – gyābdol ? < Tib. rgyab-yol, 'back piece (of a ceremonial throne)', (Snellgrove 1967: 283).
 - **mēndo**, 'flower', the altar prescribed for the ritual as promised is decorated with flowers of the season.

55.

- chya: jālo!,
 ṇēmadañ jē:bi mēndo, cengi mēndo,
 450 dāwadañ syarbi mēndo, cendañ jē:bi mēndo nombai cen jyābu bōmo,
 sala ṭhūñbi mēndo, ṭāṭṭep sali mēndo, cendañ jē:bi mēndo,
 chya: jālo, haṅ cengi mēndo!
 gaṇa chya:bi cen jyābu bōmo, gaṇa ṭhūñbi cen jyābu bōmo?
 dā:mom nāwai baṛdo jyūñmu, chāwai baṛdo jyūñmu,
 455 yaṛa syelne jyūñmu, maṛa oine jyūñmu,
 chalam ṇāmmu, buḷam ṇāmmu, mēndo ṇāmmu,
 thōmdom-riṛi, riñriñ-phetphet jyūñmu, dā:mo mi.
 chya: jālo mrawai luṅgi mēndo!,
 jēsyiñ paina mēndo, cendañ jē:bi mēndo,
 mrawai luṅgi mēndo, bēl sali mēndo, byūru sali mēndo,
 dāwa sali mēndo, cendañ jē:bi mēndo, cengi mēndo,
 chya: jālo!

- 460 cen jyabu Karcen wa:, cen jyabu bomo wa:?,
 cen Cañsal wa:, cen Dịncen wa:, cen Karcen wa:?,
 cen mi Cañsal Rá:ñi wa:, cen Dịncen wa:?,
 gana ʒuñbi cen?,
 Sa:cen wa:, Tha:cen wa:, Ma:cen wa:?

*

Hail!,

- O flower lovely like the sun, flower of the cen,*
 450 *the beautiful cen-maiden who takes (up her abode in) the flower rising*
with the moon (shining like the moon?), the flower lovely like
the cen,
the flower which originates in the earth, the ʒàp̄t̄ep sali flower,
flower lovely like the cen,
hail, hay flower of the cen!
Where does the beautiful cen-maiden reside, where did the
beautiful cen-maiden originate?
The mistress appears to have been befallen by a state of illness,
appears to have been befallen by a state of pain,
 455 *appears to have been befallen by a “rinsing-up”, appears to have*
been befallen by a “flowing-down”,
the great-grandchildren (?) appear to have been injured,
the grandchildren (?) appear to have been injured,
the flower (of the mistress) appears to have been injured,
(she) appears to have been befallen by thòm̄dom-r̄i:ri, by
(all sorts of) illnesses and ailments (?), the mistress.
Hail O flower(s) of the lowland!,
the ʒesyĩn paina flower, flower lovely like the cen,
flower(s) of the lowland, the b̄el sali flower, the byúru sali flower,
the ɖáwa sali flower, flower lovely like the cen,
flower of the cen,
hail!
 460 *Is the beautiful cen (in question) Karcen, is (Karcen) the*
beautiful cen-maiden?,
is the cen Cañsal, is the cen Dịncen, is the cen Karcen?,
is the cen Cañsal Rá:ñi, is the cen Dịncen?,
where did the cen originate?,
is she Sa:cen, is she ʒha:cen, is she Ma:cen?

Notes:

451: ʒàp̄t̄ep, *Anaphalis* sp.

454: ɖa:mom, lit. 'as to the mistress', instead of ɖa:moda.

– nàwa and chàwa, cf. 9.107.

455: yara syelne... riñriñ-phetphet, cf. 9.115-117.

456: mrawai luñ, cf. 15.137.

457: ʒesyĩn paina m̄endo, lit. 'sāl resin flower' (cf. 15.137 note), erroneously for "ʒesyĩn sali m̄endo"?

458: b̄el = MT b̄el, *Rhododendron campanulatum* D.Don (Toffin and Wiart 1985: 156), or = N. bel, the tree *Aegle marmelos*?

– MT byúru, *Prunus cerasoides* D.Don.

– MT **dáwa**, *Ficus lacor* Buch.-Ham.

460: **Karcen**, **Cañsal...** **Ma:cen**, the names of different cens on whose identity no further information was available.

56.

cen chya:ba gaṇa wa:, cen ʃuṇba gaṇa wa:?,
 dā:moda li:ri noppa, sori noppa, bu:ri noppa(i) cen jyabu bomo mi.
 hay, mrawai luṅgi mendo mi, byúru sali mendo, kùrna sali mendo,
 465 phu: gaṅgai mendo, pà:to sali mendo, teṅsyiṅ sali mendo wa:?,
 chya:jaḷo!,
 sala ci:ji mendo, cengi mendo,
 gaṅri dọ:na awai somgi mendo, cendaṅ je:bi mendo,
 syoṅdi dọ:na pi:bi somgi mendo chya:jaḷo!

*

*The cen resides – where?, the cen originates – where?,
 the beautiful cen-maiden (who) does harm to the mistress in (her)
 body, does harm in (her) vital principle, does harm in (her)
 breath.*

hay, among the flowers of the lowland, (is it) the byúru sali flower,
 the kùrna sali flower?,
 465 (among) the flowers of the upland, is it the pà:to sali flower,
 the teṅsyiṅ sali flower?,
 hail!,
*O tiny flowers on the earth, flower(s) of the cen,
 O flower(s) of the living air (which one gets) when arriving at
 the mountain, flower(s) lovely like the cen,
 O flower(s) of the living pi:bi (which one gets) when arriving
 at the river, hail!*

Notes:

464: **kùrna**, *Wendlandia* sp.

465: OT **phu: gaṅgai**, 'of the upland', (? < Tib. phu, 'the upper part of a valley', + *sgaṅ-kha'i, lit. 'of the side of the mountain spur'); synonymous with "phu: laḡai", cf. 16.140.

– **pà:to**, *Rhododendron* sp.; Toffin and Wiat (1985: 137, 142) give *Rhododendron arboreum* J.E.Smith for what they spell "páda".

– **teṅsyiṅ**, the chestnut tree, *Castanopsis hystrix* or, according to Toffin and Wiat (1985: 142), *Castanopsis tribuloides*. This tree is of particular relevance for the bomo; its branches serve as the symbol of the "life-beam" of the patient (cf. pp. 243, 266 and 27.228 note), while its twigs and foliage provide the material for the basic structure of an altar platform.

57.

470 sarluṅ-djrluṅ soisoi-damdarn cu:khajyi làgaṅ naṅri,
 cen chya:ba khàna, cen ʃuṇba khàna?
 na bodeṅ kha nolju, li: nolju, syajjik seṅyu, ʃa:jjik seṅyu

cen jyabu bomo mi!

*

*(I) have come to distinguish and sort out from the jumble
(of possibilities) in the divine abode,*

- 470 *the cen resides – where?, the cen originates – where?
Come down and unite mouth, come down and unite body with me,
the bon, come down and make one flesh, come down and make
one blood (with me) O beautiful cen-maiden!*

Notes:

469: MT *sarluñ-dirluñ*, 'jumble', 'welter', 'chaotic disorder'.

– MT *soisoi-damdām*, 'selecting/sorting one by one'; *soisoi* < MT *soso* (Tib. *so-so*), 'different'; *dāmđam* < *damba*, 'to distinguish', etc., cf. 9.103 note.

471: *kha nolyu... señyu*, 'come down and unite mouth', etc., cf. "kha nolkho..." in 38.292. The verb for 'to come down/descend' might refer to the fact that the most powerful *cens* are believed to reside in high-altitude areas. – *señ-* < MT *señba* = OT *señba*, 'to make'.

The journey proper sets out, here again, from the fire-place in the client's house. After having repeated section 26., the *bombo* continues by reciting a modified version of section 27. elaborating on the "floral aspect" of the patient's "life-beam" (alias life-tree alias primordial tree) and its connection with the *cen*.

58.

*mràbgi la Gōmosyi Rá:ja, sai la Temba Cuñne,
nàmgi la Gōrmen Đólmo, đoi la Đobon Chyembo,
dạ:moi ñiñla kha keppa, lị: keppa, ro keppa, so keppa, bụ: keppa,
luñđañ bảba, luñđañ keppa, ñemadañ cheba, dằwadañ
syarba(i) kedañ sali đũama,*

- 475 *dạ:moi ro.đũama, dạ:moi nằrgyal chebi ro.đũama,
cengi mằndo,
khằwadañ bằppi mằndo, jyìnlap tembi mằndo chya:..jạlo!
jạra somboi le:dap, mằ ni sòmgi [sic] le:dap, hà:ngạ sòmgi le:dap,
mằdoi gằra(i) le:dap, mằdoi gằmbo(i) le:dap, mằdoi
liñsyẻ(i) le:dap [syùkhajyi (?)].*

*

*O god of the door, Gōmosyi Rá:ja, god of the floor (earth),
Temba Cuñne,
god of the ceiling (sky), Gōrmen Đólmo, god of the courtyard,
Đobon Chyembo,
O kedañ sali-beam (which) gives birth to the mouth, gives birth
to the body, gives birth to the life-principle, gives birth to
the vital principle, gives birth to the breath,
(which) makes the respiration (?) expand, gives birth to*

- the respiration (?) of the dear mistress,
(O kedañ sali) growing with the sun (shining like the sun?),
rising with the moon (shining like the moon?),*
- 475 *O life-beam of the mistress, life-beam which makes the mistress's
arrogance grow,
flower of the cen,
flower descending with the snow (falling like the snow?),
flower which provides the boon, hail!
[I have come to ask for (?)] support for the living roots,
support for the three trunks [sic], support for the three
branches, support (for) the hundreds of flowers, support (for)
the heaps of flowers, support (for) the scores of flowers.*

Notes:

472-473: **mrābgi...**, cf. 27.228.

474: **kha... keppa**, cf. 13.133 and 23.211 note.

- **ñemadañ... syarba**, 'growing with the sun, rising with the moon', cf. its occurrences with Kaliama (13.134) and with "the flowers of the cen" (51.420).
- **kedañ sali duñma**, referring, here too, to the symbol of the patient's "life-beam", the pa:sam which will be erected in the courtyard, cf. 27.228 note, and pp. 243, 266.

475: **nārgyal...**, cf. 27.229.

476: **cengi meṇdo**, 'the flower of the cen', here with particular reference to the flowers to be tied to the top of the pa:sam tree (cf. "cēso-mēso" in 53.431).

477: **khāwadañ baṇṇi meṇdo**, lit. 'flower descending (falling) with the snow', cf. "khāwai meṇdo" in 51.422 note.

478: **jaṛa sombo... liṅsyē**, cf. the creation myth in 21.195-196 and 23.207-208, and also 25.215-216, 51.417-418.

- **mā ni sòm**, 'three trunks', recte: "mā ni som(bo)", 'living trunks', cf. 23.207 note.

59.

- 480 **Bhokteni ne:bai Kāli Nāg**, sañrap ñembu syūkhajyi,
Dāmdar Deurāli, Gaṛura, Bura:..syitta Ma:deo.

[Repetition of 28.233-234 addressing the *syibda-nè:da* of Bhokteni]

Tharpu, Tamāi, Āru Kharka, Ghormu, Breñbreñ Na:ni Syiri Kāne
Ma:deo, sañrap ñembu syūñi le cen jyabu bōmoda!
gana ṭhunbi, gana chya:bi cen jyabu bōmo?
Cēṇḍi Gañ, Labaṇ [Syōṅgi] Kālikā Dewi, Sādhi Syelgar Jyōmo,
sañrap ñembu [syūñi le], sañrap-ḍensal cu:ñi le!

*

- O Kāli Nāg who dwells in Bhokteni, (I) have come to ask (you)
to listen (?) to the incense-recitation,*
- 480 *O Dāmdar (of) Deurāli, Gaṛura, Bura:..syitta Ma:deo.*

[Repetitions]

Tharpu, Tamāi, Āru Kharka, Ghormu, O Na:ni Syīri Kānne Ma:deo
(of) Brēnbreñ [Syōñ], let us go and ask the beautiful
cen-maiden to listen (?) to the incense-recitation!

Where did the beautiful cen-maiden originate, where does she
reside?

Cēñdi Gañ, O Kālikā Dewi (of) Labañ [Syōñ], Syelgar Jyōmo (of) Sādhi,
[let us go and ask to] listen (?) to the incense-recitation,
let us go and perform the declamation (?) of the incense-recitation!

Notes:

479-480: **Kāli... Ma:deo**, cf. 28.235.

481: **Tharpu, Tamāi, Ghormu**, non-Tamang villages near Bhokteni; **Āru Kharka**, a slope near Tharpu.

– **Na:ni Syīri Kānne Ma:deo** < N. Nāni Sri (Śrī) Kanyā Mahā dew (according to the informants), with reference to a cult place of Mahā dew and his female consort (Nāni, lit. 'girl', elsewhere also identified as Kālikā) in the valley of the **Brēnbreñ Syōñ** river to the east of Bhokteni.

– **sañrap nēmbu...**, cf. 28.234 note.

483: **Cēñdi Gañ** = N. Pāti Ḍāṛā, a hill spur near Bhokteni.

– **Sādhi**, an uninhabited place near Bhokteni, from where that steep slope can be seen which is believed to be the residence of the goddess **Syelgar Jyōmo** (cf. 29.240).

– **Labañ Syōñ**, a river to the north-west of Bhokteni.

In continuing the journey the bōmbo groups the names in rather hastily enumerated clusters, and repeats, in the intervals between the clusters, the greeting *chya: jālo*; the requests “to listen”, “to protect the patient”, and “not to disturb the centre of the earth”, etc.; the inquiry about the identity of the *cen*; and the formula “I have come to find you O Phamo in your divine abode”. His itinerary³ is as follows:

60.

Kāli Nāg at Byūru Syōñ (R), **Kāli Nāg, Ḍupcyo-Menjyo Phamo Syelgar Jyōmo, Phamo Cyānsyar Lamo** (DIVs) of Lāpsyire (UN)

S. section 29.

Syitta Ma:deo [Siddha Mahā dew], **Gorkhā Kālikā** of Cautārā (ST)

S. section 29.

485 The *kharda-chobda* and *Ḍud Leḡen Chyembo* (DIVs) of Lūyuñ, **La Kundu Sañbo, La Meḡduñ Reḡmo** (DIVs) of Jōñdali (UN)

S. section 29.

Kālikā Dewi of Sēmdoñ (ST)

A village W of Cautārā.

Syōlmojyet, Chaja-Parma, Ṭhilden Gu:, **Bārmajyet** (UN)

Slopes above Cautārā; no divinities mentioned.

3 Abbreviations: DIV = divinity; LK = lake; n. = name, NI = no information available; PK = mountain peak; R = river; ST = settlement (village); UN = uninhabited (meadow, bush, forest, slope, hill spur, etc.).

Names in quotation marks render the spelling as followed by the maps of the Survey of India.

Làma Khilden Đakpo, Phamo Syelgar Jyomo, Phamo Deşum Saŋge, Phamo Cañri Jyomo (DIVs) of Phoni Đapcoñ Jo (PK)

S. section 29.

Yapdeñ-yupgi Da:mo, Phamo Karyul Jyomo, Phamo Cyañsyar Lamo (DIVs) of Do Àlijyo (UN)

S. section 29. Chyu Geppu-Geṃo omitted.

The *kharda-chobda* and *Đud Leḡen Chyembo* of Pà:syiñ.đun (UN)

NI.

490 Rá:ja-Rá:ñi, Syiri Syitta Ma:deo of Kimdañ Wodi (UN)

Rá:ja-Rá:ñi (N. rājā-rāni, 'king-queen') is believed to send leopards into the cattle-shed when angered by man. Kimdañ Wodi = n. of a watering place N of Cautāra.

61.

sañrap ñembu syukhajyi cen jyabu boṃoda,

chya:jaḷo Cen Rá:ñi!,

cen jyabu boṃoda, meṃdoi gyara nombi da:mo, meṃdoi liñsye nombi

da:mo, meṃdoi kabu nombi da:mo, meṃdoi goṃbo nombi

da:mo[da]

sañrap ñari cu:ba [cu:ñi], sañrap-ḡensal cu:ñi le!

495 chya:jaḷo!,

da:moda li:i bañjyo silba, li:i ḡi:ma da:ba, khàwai bañjyo silbai

sañrap ñembu syuñi le!

chya:jaḷo!,

da:moda gyábna li:jye khurñi, ñonna chya:jye teññi!,

phamoi làgañ nañri khàwai bañjyo silñi!,

500 bañjyo silbi sañrap ñembu syuñi le!

*

(I) have come to ask the beautiful cen-maiden to listen (?) to the incense-recitation,

hail O Cen Rá:ñi!,

for the beautiful cen-maiden,

the mistress who takes (up her abode in) hundreds of flowers.

the mistress who takes (up her abode in) scores of flowers.

the mistress who takes (up her abode in) the bud of flowers,

the mistress who takes (up her abode in) heaps of flowers.

[let us go and] perform the incense-recitation to the rhythm of the drum (?), let us go and perform the declamation (?) of the incense-recitation!,

495 *hail!,*

let us go and ask (her) to listen (?) to the incense-recitation

(which) washes off the mistress's defilement-damage of the body,

(which) cleans out the impurity of the body,

which washes off the defilement-damage of the snow (?) !

Hail!,

let us go and carry the mistress at the back on the back.

let us go and toss her at the front with the hands!,

let us go and wash off in the phamo's divine abode the

defilement-damage of the snow (?) !,
 500 *let us go and ask (the cen) to listen (?) to the incense-recitation*
which washes off the defilement-damage!

Notes:

493 **da:mo**, 'mistress', here with reference to the cen, while in line 496 with reference to the patient.

496: **baꞑjyo** and **ḍi:ma**, cf. 24.213 notes.

– **khàwai** or **khai**? Cf. 24.213.

499: **phamoi làgañ**, 'the phamo's divine abode', may refer, here, to the cen's permanent residence or to the residence of one of the gods visited during the journey, in which the **boꞑbo** intends to meet the cen (cf. above p. 163). Likewise, "phamo" may be interpreted either as an honorific term of address for the cen, or as an honorific term of reference for one of the gods visited.

62.

Mahākālikā Dewi, Mahālutra Dewi of Nāmunduñ (UN)

S. section 29.

Cyañsyar Lamo, Kālikā Dewi, La Kundu Saꞑbo, La Meḡduñ Reꞑmo (DIVs) of Góꞑbo Gañ (UN)

S. section 29. where only Cyañsyar Lamo is mentioned with reference to this place. La Kundu... Reꞑmo = names of the **syibda-nè:da** of this place. La Kundu Saꞑbo < Tib. lha kun-tu bzañ-po, 'the Primordial Buddha'.

Kāli Nāg of Tiliꞑyet (UN)

S. section 29.

The syibda-nè:da of Pàlañꞑyet (UN)

A place near Tìbduñ village, W of Cautāra.

505 Pho Jyawa Siñgi Lamo (DIV) of Ṭhana Jø (PK)

Cf. section 31. where this divinity is mentioned in connection with another place. Ṭhana Jø = a peak near Tìbduñ.

Tañja Máne, Sèdere Gañ, Jø:gi Gañ, Sàmrañ, Àmbajyet (UN)

Uninhabited places near Tìbduñ and Brá:di villages.

The syibda-nè:da of the Kol Ḍāṛā area

Kol Ḍāṛā = a ridge near Brá:di.

Kālikā Dewi of Bhadre (UN), Saṅga Mahāḍew of Byúruñ (UN), Kanne Nāg of Takpa Syoñ (R), Syiri Kanne Maꞑ:deo of Guñsa (UN)

S. section 29.

Yajyo-Gañjyo, Ḍuꞑcyo-Menjyo, Phamo Syelgar Jyømo, Phamo Cyañsyar Lamo (DIVs) of Kèora (ST), Mán.búdu (and) Thàla Gañ (UN)

S. section 29. Kèora = N. Keorā ("Kenra"), a village near Tìbduñ.

Chyu Geꞑpu-Geꞑmo of Do Àliꞑyo

S. section 29.

Phamo Karyul Jyømo (DIV) of Rì:p Gañ (ST)

Rì:p Gañ = "Rip" (village).

Gorkhā Kālikā of Càrañge (ST)

Càrañge = "Chaurangi", a Tamang village NW of Kaṭunje (s. below).

Phamo Cyañsyar Lamo (DIV) of Tørke Gañ (UN)

Tørke Gañ, n. of a hill spur near Càrañge.

Bāgh-Bāghini Dewi of Kàruñjyet (ST)

Bāgh-Bāghini, lit. 'Tiger-Tigress'. NI. Kàruñjyet = N. Kaṭunje, a bazaar settlement W of Bhokteni.

63.**510 Lāmā Thān, Kumāi Jyāmruṅ, Nārsai Darbār, Dhola, Phursut, Maidi (STs)**

Cf. "Lāmāthān", "Kumāi Jamairāṅ", "Dhola", "Phursu" "Maidi". Non-Tamang villages W and SW of Kaṭunje. No divinity mentioned.

Jalmukhini [sic] Dewi of Khari (ST)

NI. ? < Skt. Jvālāmukhī Devī, a form of the goddess Durgā.

Riṭṭhe Guru of Sālen Jō

Riṭṭhe Guru = ? Gorakhnāth. Sālen Jō = Salyāncok, the upper part of Salyāntār ("Salintār") village near the confluence of the Buri Gaṇḍaki and the Ākhu Kholā rivers.

515 Saptār, Mébalañ, Bare Khāni (STs)

Villages on the eastern bank of the Ākhu Kholā. Saptār = "Saptāri". No divinity mentioned.

Pōljyēt, Lāmedāṛā, Thāla

Villages near Mārpāk, s. below. No divinity mentioned.

Phamo Karyul Jyōmo, Phamo Cyañsyar Lamo, Indra Dewi (DIVs) of Òm-brība-gyaram (and) Ménjyo Pùkhri (ST)

Òm-brība-gyaram = n. of a place with a rock on which two thunderbolt symbols in the shape of a cross (Tib. rdo-rje rgya-gram) are carved. Near Ménjyo Pùkhri = N. Mārpāk Pokhri ("Mārpāk", "Pokhri").

Syelgar Jyōmo of Tar Brá: (UN)

NI.

Chàgare Gañ (UN), Yi.khàpjyēt (UN), Ñènamjeyēt (UN)

Near Mārpāk. No divinity mentioned.

Kharda Gaṛura Chyembo (DIV) of Nàphum Jō (PK)

Read: *kharda(-chobda)* + Gaṛura (Ma:bon). NI.

Kāilā-Ṭhāilā Dewi (DIV) of A:ljañ (ST)

N. kāilā-ṭhāilā, lit. 'fourth eldest-fifth eldest'. NI.

Barsuñjyēt (ST), Nagur Jō (PK), Na:dañ-Mjdañ.syí: (UN), Nāmbal Gómbo (UN)

Barsuñjyēt = "Barsanchet", NE of Mārpāk. No divinity mentioned.

Pho Jyāwa Siṅgi Lamo (DIV) of Dāna Phulum Jō (PK)

S. sections 31. and 62. The peak lies E of Ṭhana Jō, N of Cautārā.

520 Pleñ Neñ (UN), Kùnduluñ Syoñ (R), Kimdañ-Méngañ (ST), Siliñ.nàr (ST), Prunduñ Gómbo (UN), Ḍabla.sañ (UN), Gañ Mrān (UN)

No divinity mentioned. Kùnduluñ Syoñ = "Kundal Kholā", Kimdañ-Méngañ = "Kintāng Mengāgaon", Siliñ.nàr = "Kintāng Salengar".

Phamo Syelgar Jyōmo of Padi Kharka (UN)

A former pasture land above Kimdañ village ("Kintāng").

64.**Gyále Mensyar Jyōmo (DIV) of Sere Gañ (and) Gyále Brá: (UN)**

In the Mailuñ Kholā valley.

Lāñlañ Gu: (UN), Cyarlañ U: (UN, a cave) Thañ Brá: (UN), Duḍ Leḡen Chyembo (DIV) of Naiba-Kharda (UN)

In the Mailuñ Kholā valley.

Rá:m Cyañba, Rá:m Greñ (UN)

In the Mailuñ Kholā valley?

Dúnsyel (UN), Thambu (ST), Mâgur (ST), Ragli.jyēt (UN), Nañsere Gañ (PK, ST), Dajmyet (UN)

Mâgur (= “Māhur”) and Thambu, N of Kimdañ; Nañsere (=“Nahsari”), NW of Kimdañ. No divinity mentioned.

Dö Syelgar Jyomo (DIV) of Amba Gañ (PK)

A hill spur near Gomboñ = “Gumbung”, NW of Kimdañ.

Gomboñ.jón (ST), Para Guisye (?), Darkhā, Chimrekarkha, Khanniyābās (STs), Tim Brá: (UN), Byúrujyet (UN), Mařja Gañ (UN), Kyuñ (ST), Kandarañ (ST)

Cf. “Gumbung”, “Chinyakhark”, “Darkha”, “Khanayābās”, villages on the eastern bank of the Ākhu Kholā, NW of Kimdañ. – Kyuñ = “Kyun”, Kandarañ = “Kandrang”, both in the valley of the “Gasli Kholā”.

525 Chona Ma:bon Nórbu (DIV) of Bendi Wàla (UN)

NI.

The *kharda-chona* of Kùire Mandañ (ST) (and) Bijuli Dhuñgā (UN)

kharda-chona = kharda-chobda. Mandañ = ? “Mungang” in the “Gasli Kholā” valley.

Singañ, Gajuwali (STs), Dhobi Kilo (UN), Tāmā Kilo (UN), Jarmañ (ST), Giliñjo Gómbo, Larjo Gómbo

Singañ = “Singāng”, NE of Darkhā. Gajuwali... Tāmā Kilo are places near Jarmañ = N. Jhārlāng, a large Tamang village on the eastern bank of the Ākhu Kholā. Giliñjo Gómbo is the n. of a Buddhist shrine in Jarmañ.

Phamo Cañsal Rá:ñi (DIV) of Kāsyauba-Bīdisyubi Gómbo, Cen Cañsal Rá:ñi (DIV) of Giliñjo Gómbo

Cañsal is the n. of one of the cen, cf. 55.460 above. Kāsyauba... Gómbo is another shrine in Jarmañ.

530 Û:lañ (UN), Bárañ, Awai, Serduñ, Cālise, Timliñ, Yàñjo, Liñjo, Naḅer, Yõndoñ (STs)

Û:lañ = a cave (u:) near Jarmañ. Bárañ = “Burāng”; Awai = “Āvigaon”; Serduñ = “Sāthigaon”; Cālise = “Chālisgaon”; Timliñ = “Tiplinggaon”, Yàñjo = “Yangju”; Liñjo = “Linju”; Naḅer = “Nebar”; Yõndoñ = “Himdung”, all villages in the upper Ākhu Kholā valley, inhabited mainly by Tamang.

65.

Tāwal-Dhūsyini (ST)

“Tāol” and “Dhuseni”, two neighbouring villages on the western bank of the Ākhu Kholā.

Ma:bon (DIV) of Khyuñkhyuñ-Syibon Jō (PK)

The peak is said to be situated N of Tāwal-Dhūsyini.

Gyámdi Cengi Da:mo, Mème Hõser Bõn, Góngowali Cen, Karcen, Tha:cen, Ma:cen (DIVs) of Pa:sam Jō (PK)

Grandfather Hõser Bõn, who hailed from Tāwal-Dhūsyini, is the deified ghost of a bõmbo, now acting in a “union” (chyibda) with a cen by the name of Góngowali Cen alias Si:si Rá:ñi Gyámdi Cen Đakpo (s. Höfer 1981: 100-114). Cengi Da:mo, lit. ‘the mistress of the cen’. – Karcen, Tha:cen, Ma:cen, cf. 55.460 above. – Pa:sam Jō = n. of a mountain peak N of Tāwal-Dhūsyini.

66.

535 gyábna li:jye khurjyi, nõnna chya:jye teñjyi, Mème Hõser Bõn,
sañrap ñembu syukhajyi, sañrap-ḁensal cu:khajyi.
chya:.jalo!,

Gyáb Thaldon, Dõrjye Lẽ:ba, Rõsyañ Ma:gi Gyálbo, Kālo Raha,
 Seto Raha, Yapdeñ-yup, Ganes Kuñða nañri chya:bi cen
 jyabu bõmo wa:?
 Dõrjye Lẽ:ba, Rõsyañ Ma:gi Gyálbo, Kālo Raha,
 Seto Raha, Yapdeñ-yup, Ganes Kuñða nañri chya:bi cen
 jyabu bõmo wa:?

On uttering “Ganes Kuñða”, the bõmo feels the quivering that indicates Karcen as the *cen* who might have caused the trouble. As a test, a part of the enumeration is repeated – with a positive result.

hã Gúru!,
 Phamoi lægañ salkhajyi, Phamoi lægañ phekhajyi,
 540 gana ðhunbi cen jyabu bõmo, gana chya:bi cen jyabu bõmo?,
 ña bõden kha nolsam, lĩ: nolsam, syajyik soñsam, ðha:jyik soñsam
 yarso(i), mañsoi chyoppa cu:la cen jyabu bõmoda,
 Māñsyir Pũrñe bardo(i) khari sergi lægañ cu:la, ñolgi lægañ cu:la,
 sergi lægañ cu:na, ñolgi lægañ cu:na, sergi brañge cu:na, ñolgi brañge
 cu:na yarsañ gawai brañge mayin, mañsañ gawai sergi lægañ
 cu:la,
 mana kũi tormo-torsyol, bromo-brõsyol, lalal-dunðal, gyábdol,
 mẽndo cu:la,
 545 awai somgi mẽndo phulla jyabu bõmoda,
 pi:bi somgi mẽndo phulla jyabu bõmoda,
 yarsoi chyoppae cu:la, mañsoi chyoppae cu:la.

*

(I) have carried (you) at the back on the back, have tossed (you)
 at the front with the hands, O Grandfather Hõser Bõn,
 535 (I) have come to ask (you) to listen (?) to the incense-recitation,
 have come to perform the declamation (?) of the
 incense-recitation.

Hail!,

is it the beautiful cen-maiden who resides in Gyáb Thaldon,
 Dõrjye Lẽ:ba, Rõsyañ Ma:gi Gyálbo, Kālo Raha,
 Seto Raha, Yapdeñ-yup, Ganes Kuñða?,
 is it the beautiful cen-maiden who resides in Dõrjye Lẽ:ba,
 Rõsyañ Ma:gi Gyálbo, Kālo Raha, Seto Raha,
 Yapdeñ-yup, Ganes Kuñða?

[Quivering, seizure]

ha:y, O Gúru!,
 (I) have come to find the divine abode of (you O) Phamo,
 have come to get at the divine abode of (you O) Phamo,
 540 (and I ask:) where did the beautiful cen-maiden originate, where
 does the beautiful cen-maiden reside?
 if (she) unites mouth, if (she) unites body, if (she) makes one flesh,
 if (she) makes one blood, with me, the bõn, (we) will
 perform the sacrifice of yarso (and) mañso to the

*beautiful cen-maiden,
 within the period (of) Mañsir Purne, (we) will prepare the golden
 divine abode, will prepare the silver divine abode,
 (and) when preparing the golden divine abode, when preparing the
 silver divine abode, when preparing the golden altar, when
 preparing the silver altar,
 it will not be the altar of the pleasant yarsañ,
 (instead we) will prepare the golden divine abode of the
 pleasant mařsañ,
 will prepare the tormo-torsyol, the bõmo-bõsyol of nine mǎnā
 (of grain), the laral-dũndal, the gyábđol, the flower(s),
 545 (we) will offer the flower(s) of the living air to the
 beautiful cen-maiden,
 will offer the flower(s) of the living pi:bi to the beautiful cen-maiden,
 will prepare both the sacrifice of yařso and the sacrifice of mařso.*

Notes:

534: **Mème Hõser Bõn**, the same as in the preceding section.

539: **lǎgañ salkhajji/phekhajji**, 'have come to find/to get at the divine abode', appears to refer to Ganes Kuñđa, the abode of Karcen.

543: **yařso, mařso**, cf. note on yarsañ and mařsañ below.

– **brañge**, 'altar' on a platform, as used in larger-scale rituals, s. p. 59. Here the "golden/silver divine abode (lǎgañ)" refers to such a brañge.

– **yarsañ** and **mařsañ**, probably synonymous with yařso and mařso, respectively, that is, yarsañ = 'spring + summer'; and mařsañ = 'autumn + winter', approximately. Cf. 47.366 note and Appendix III.

– **yarsañ... mañin**, 'it will not be the altar of the pleasant yarsañ', means that the bõmo would not wait until the spring, but fulfil the promise to perform the sacrifice on Mañsir Purne within the current mařsañ season (cf. 54.446 note and p. 271). Again, **yařso, mařsoi chyoppa cu:la**, 'will perform the sacrifice of (both) yařso and mařso' (lines 541 and 547), is to be interpreted as a promise to worship the cen twice a year. As SR himself commented, such a generous promise is "just to coax the cen" to reveal her identity; and SB added that, as a rule, a bõmo would prefer to announce mařso/mařsañ (autumn and winter) as the date for the sacrifice, because this is "the more pleasant season" in which clear sky and sunshine predominate.

544: **mana kùi...**, cf. 54.446.

545: **awai...**, cf. 51.419.

546: **pi:bi...**, cf. 51.419.

67.

hǎ-a-a-a-a, Gúru!,
 dǎ:moda lǐ:i bǎjyo silba, lǐ:i đǐ:ma dǎ:ba, khǎwai bǎjyo silba,
 ke:nen bǎjyo silba,
 550 lǐ:nen đǐ:ma dǎ:go ò!,

[Repetition of 25.218 without mentioning the jug (*bũmba*)]

Gúru Phamoda syǎbdo cu:jyi,
 Phamoi đũđđi bǎjji, Phamoi apso cu:jyi,
 Phamoda Phamoi lǎgañ nǎñri gyábna lǐ:jye khurna, ònna chya:jye
 teñna Phamoi syǎbdo cu:jyi, Dǎ:mo mi,

- chya: jalo!,
 555 Phamoda le:dap soñjyi,
 Phamoda cyoldap soñjyi,
 li: señbai D̄injen Phamoda, ñemadañ cheba, dawadañ syarbai
 D̄injen Phamoda le:dap soññi le!

*

- ha-a-a-a-a, O Gúru!,
 (you who) washes off the mistress's defilement-damage of the body,
 cleans out the impurity of the body, washes off the
 defilement-damage of the snow (?), washes off the
 defilement-damage (caused by way) of the
 childbirth-pollution,
 550 do clean out the impurity (caused by way) of the corpse-pollution!

[Repetition]

- (I) have paid homage to (you O) Gúru Phamo,
 have attended on (you O) Phamo, have put trust in (you O) Phamo,
 in carrying (you O) Phamo at the back on the back, in tossing (you)
 at the front with the hands in the Phamo's divine abode,
 (I) have paid homage to (you O) Phamo, the Mistress (. . .),
 hail!,
 555 (I) have ensured the support of (you O) Phamo,
 have ensured the guardianship of (you O) Phamo,
 let us go and ensure the support of (you O) D̄injen Phamo who
 makes the body, the D̄injen Phamo growing with the sun
 (shining like the sun?), rising with the moon (shining like
 the moon?) !

Notes:

- 548-557: Gúru, Phamo, D̄injen Phamo, informants disagreed on whether the present section and section 68. are addressed to Kaliama, the Divine Mother, or – flatteringly – to the cen Karcen of Ganes Kuṇḍa, or yet again to one of the gods whom the bombo visits in journeying from place to place.
 549-550: li:i barjyo..., cf. 24.213.
 551: OT syabdo, cf. 32.261 note.
 552: d̄unḍi bapji < OT d̄unḍi bappa ? < Tib. *druñ-du 'bab-pa, in the sense of 'to bow down', 'to prostrate oneself'.
 – apso, cf. 48.374 note.
 555-556: le:dap, cyoldap, cf. 22.206 notes.
 557: D̄injen Phamo, the epithet of Kaliama, cf. 9.100 note and 23.211.

68.

- Kaliama chya: jalo!,
 de:wa mačhyu:go, damba mačhyu:go D̄injen Phamo!
 560 Phamoi lagan salnam, Phamoi lagan phekhanam
 cen jyabu bombo mi Cañsal Rá:ñi wa:, Hoşal Rá:ñi wa:?,
 jyabu Karcen wa:, jyabu bombo wa:?,

Dṛncen Rá:ñi wa:, Ṭha:cen Rá:ñi wa:?,
 Ma:cen Rá:ñi wa:, Caṅsal Rá:ñi wa:?,
 Ma:cen Rá:ñi wa:, Saçen Rá:ñi wa:, Khelañ Rá:ñi wa:?,
 Phamoi làgañ salkhajyi ña bõngi Dëbge Phamo!

[Repetition of 10.118: “dạ:moda... ñammu”]

cyi dõnle lăyo mejjyi, cyi dõnle dṛkpa mejjyi?
 ạ:moda dëbge pheñi le, ạ:moda!,
 565 Phamoi làgañ ñañri, gañser, hõser ñañri salkhajyi ạ:moda,
 chya:jalo dëbge kùì Phamo!
 phrañḍi phrañgu sya:ñu, lamḍi lamgu sya:ñu, noccyen chyibda braññu!
 chya:jalo dëbge kùì Phamo!

*

*O Kaliama hail!,
 do not perturb the action (?), do not perturb the distinction
 O Dṛñjyen Phamo!*
 560 *In finding (looking for?) the divine abode of (you O) Phamo,
 in coming to get at the divine abode of (you O) Phamo (I ask:)
 is the beautiful cen-maiden Caṅsal Rá:ñi, is she Hõsal Rá:ñi?,
 is she the beautiful Karcen, is (Karcen) the beautiful cen-maiden?,
 is she Dṛncen Rá:ñi, is she Ṭha:cen Rá:ñi?,
 is she Ma:cen Rá:ñi, is she Caṅsal Rá:ñi?,
 is she Ma:cen Rá:ñi, is she Saçen Rá:ñi, is she Khelañ Rá:ñi?,
 (I) have come to find the divine abode of (you O) Phamo,
 O my, the bõn's, Multitude-Phamo!*

[Repetition]

*For what reason has (the cen) committed the crime of killing,
 for what reason has (she) committed (this) sin?
 Let us go and get at the mistress in the multitude (of cens),
 the mistress!,
 565 (I) have come to find the mistress in the divine abode of (you O)
 Phamo, in the ray of light, the beam of light,
 hail O Phamo of the nine multitudes!
 Go and remove the phrañ-obstacle in the phrañ (=?), go and remove
 the path-obstacle on the path!,
 go and break up the union of the harmful agents!
 Hail O Phamo of the nine multitudes!*

Notes:

559: dẹ:wa, damba, cf. 9.103.

561: Caṅsal... Khelañ, names of particular cens, cf. also 55.460-461.

562: Dëbge Phamo, 'Multitude-Phamo', cf. 16.142 note.

563: cyi dõnle, cf. 41.312.

– lăyo, dṛkpa, cf. 37.280.

564: “**d̥a:moda**” can also be understood here as ‘on behalf of the mistress = the patient’, whereas in line 565 “**d̥a:mo**” refers to the cen, as it seems.

565: OT **g̥aṅser**, tentatively explained as ‘the rays (-seṅ) of the sunlight appearing at sunrise from behind the mountain crests (gaṅ)’. Cf. also 108.1046.

567: **phraṅgu...**, cf. 17.154.

– **chyibda...**, cf. 17.155 note.

The **bombo** continues the journey:

69.

Saptār, Mébalaṅ, Dhārāpāni, Ārjale (STs)

Saptār, Mébalaṅ repeated here, cf. 63.615 above. – Ārjale = “Archale”, NE of “Dhārāpāni”. No divinity mentioned.

D̥o Syelgar Jyomo of Dhokarpu (ST)

Cf. “Dhokarpu”.

Bāraṅ (ST)

Cf. “Borāṅ”.

The **bombo** now continues in the area lying between the Ākhu Kholā and the Buri Gaṅḍaki rivers, his next important station being Gaṅgā-Jamunā (section 70.):

Sālduṅ, Kāsaurā, Canaure, Chyulaṅ/Chyūlaṅ, Gánbar, Baṛtemba, D̥āṛāgāu (STs)

No divinity mentioned. Cf. “Sāldung”, “Chholāṅ”, “Bartamba”. Gánbar is a separate Tamang village within the larger settlement of Gumdi, s. below.

Syelgar Jyomo of Cyòmjo (ST)

Cyòmjo = N. Cimcok = “Chimchok”.

Gumdi, Phulkharka, Dāṅsyiṅ, D̥āṛāgāu, Sa.nen, Boṣyoro (STs)

No divinity mentioned. Cf. “Gumdi”, “Phulkhark”, “Dangshing”, “Sanon”.

Gaṅgā-Jamunā belongs to the most popular places of pilgrimage of the area between the Trisuli and the Buri Gaṅḍaki rivers (and even beyond), and is also frequented by Tamang couples who desire a son. On his way to the sanctuary, which is in a cave and attended by a Kānphaṭā ascetic, the pilgrim has to pass through a waterfall, and being splashed by it is believed to be equivalent to a ritual bath in one of the holy rivers of India.

70.

570 Phamo Gaṅga Rá:ṅi, Phamo Jamuna Rá:ṅi,

Yāra.piṅbiṅ, Māra.piṅbiṅ Rá:ṅi,

wāri Jamunā, pāri Jamunā, wāri Gaṅgā, pāri Gaṅgā,

Phamo Khailaṅ Ḍakpo, Phamo Syelgar Jyomo,

Phamo Cyaṅsyar Lamo, l̥i:i baṛjyo silbi D̥a:mo,

l̥i:i ḍi:ma ḍa:bi D̥a:mo, khāwai baṛjyo silbi D̥a:mo chya:ja!o!,

Phamoda syābdo cu:jyi, Phamoda ḍuṅḍi baṛjyi, Phamoda apso cu:jyi.

Phamo Gaṅga Rá:ṅi, Phamo Jamuna Rá:ṅi,

Yāra.piṅbiṅ, Māra.piṅbiṅ, wāri Jamunā, pāri Jamunā,

Khailaṅ Ḍakpo, Syelgar Jyomo, Cyaṅsyar Lamo,
 575 le:dap soṅṅi da:moda!,
 Phamoi laḡaṅ naṅri le:dap soṅṅi le!
 kha ṅamba – salkho!, ro ṅamba – salkho!, bu: ṅamba – salkho!,
 li: ṅamba – salkho!, so ṅamba – salkho da:moda!
 ho Gúru, khe Phamoi syabdo cu:jyi, khe Phamoi duṅdi baḡjyi,
 Deḡge Phamo,
 saṅrap ṅari cu:ba, saṅrap ṅari deḡmba.

*

570 *O Phamo Gaṅga Rá:ṅi, Phamo Jamuna Rá:ṅi,*
Yaṛa.piṅbiṅ, Maṛa.piṅbiṅ Rá:ṅi,
on this side Jamunā, on the other side Jamunā,
on this side Gaṅgā, on the other side Gaṅgā,
O Phamo Khailaṅ Ḍakpo, Phamo Syelgar Jyomo, Phamo Cyaṅsyar
Lamo,
Mistress who washes off the defilement-damage of the body,
Mistress who cleans out the impurity of the body,
Mistress who washes off the defilement-damage
of the snow (?), hail!,
(I) have paid homage to (you O) Phamo, have attended on (you O)
Phamo, have put trust in (you O) Phamo.
O Phamo Gaṅga Rá:ṅi, Phamo Jamuna Rá:ṅi,
Yaṛa.piṅbiṅ, Maṛa.piṅbiṅ,
on this side Jamunā, on the other side Jamunā,
O Khailaṅ Ḍakpo, Syelgar Jyomo, Cyaṅsyar Lamo,
 575 *let us go and ensure (your) support for the mistress!,*
let us go and ensure support in the divine abode of (you O)
Phamo!
The mistress's mouth (speech) is injured – come and heal it!,
(her) life-principle is injured – come and heal it!,
(her) breath is injured – come and heal it!,
(her) body is injured – come and heal it!,
(her) vital principle is injured – come and heal it!
 ho Gúru, *(I) have paid homage to you O Phamo, have attended on*
you O Phamo, O Multitude-Phamo,
(I) perform the incense-recitation to the rhythm of the drum (?),
declaim (?) the incense-recitation to the rhythm of the drum (?).

Notes:

570: **Gaṅga Rá:ṅi** = Gaṅgā Rāni ('queen'); **Jamuna Rá:ṅi** = Jamunā Rāni; Indo-Nepalese refer to the place as Gaṅgā-Jamunā Dewi.

571: **Yaṛa.piṅbiṅ**, **Maṛa.piṅbiṅ**, explained as the names of the waterfall through which the pilgrim has to pass on his way to the cavern.

– N. **wāri**, **pāri**, lit. 'on this side', 'on the other side' (of a river, etc.). The "wāri Jamunā,... pāri Gaṅgā" may be interpreted as a formulation stressing that the waterfall is both Gaṅgā and Jamunā, no matter from which side one approaches it.

572: **Khailaṅ Ḍakpo**, **Syelgar Jyomo** and **Cyaṅsyar Lamo** were said to be the names of the divinities residing on the rocky slope of Gaṅgā-Jamunā. Syelgar Jyomo is possibly represented by the crystal (Tib. *šel-dkar*) inside the cavern which harbours the cult place proper. cf. also 29.240.

- 'the Mistress who washes off...' = the water of Gaṅgā-Jamunā is considered holy, i.e., *ḍupcyo* (cf. 25.214).
 – *l̥i:i b̥arjyo...*, cf., i.a., 24.213 and 67.549-550
 577: *kha n̥amba...*, cf. 10.118.
 578: OT *khe* < Tib. *khyed/khyod*, 'you'.
 579: *ḍemba*, 'to declaim' (?), cf. *ḍensal* in 50.409 note.

71.

580 *Māngu*, *Kāruṅjyet*, (STs) *Ṭasyi Gaṅ* (UN?), *Dúnjyet*, *Dórok* (STs)

Māngu = "Mānbu", *Dúnjyet* = "Dhunchet", *Dórok* = ? "Dhorat", all on the eastern bank of the *Buri Gaṅḍaki*.

Ma:bon of *Gorkhā*, *Mānagam Mài* of *Gorkhā*

Ma:bon = *Gorakhnāth*, *Mānagam Mài* = *Mankāmnā* (*Manahkāmāna*) *Mài*, cf. 30.247-248 notes.

Salañ-Nàlañ, *Bhadaure* (STs)

Cf. "Nalāng", W of *Dhādiṅ*.

Sāt Kanne (*Kanyā*) *Dewi* of *Dhādiṅ*, *Sri Kanne Mahā Dew* of *Kallawāri*

NI. *Dhādiṅ*, the district capital of *Dhādiṅ Jillā*. *Kallawāri* = "Kallābāri", a *Tamang* village near *Sāmari Bhanjyāṅ*, NE of *Dhādiṅ*.

From *Dhādiṅ*, the *bombo* moves northeastwards, past the area of *Bhokteni* and via the region bordering on the western bank of the *Trisuli* river, to the lakes in the *Ganes Himāl*:

585 *Dánsyiñ*, *Gáira* (STs), *Siñla Sergi Bumba* [= erroneously for] *Siñla* (PK)

Dánsyiñ = "Dānsing", S of *Kallawāri*; *Gáira* = "Gairi", E of *Cautārā*. *Siñla* = n. of a peak N of *Gáira*; the pond below this peak is believed to be the residence of a *khārda-chobda*, its water is regarded as *ḍupcyo*.

Amdañ, *Bomdañ*, *Mānegañ*, *Kalliri*, *Kāule*, *Nujyet*, *Tājyi-Báljyi* (STs)

Cf. "Ambathāng", "Bangtāng", "Mānegaon", "Jhārkaliri", "Kahule", "Nuchet", "Bhalche"; *Kalliri* = *Jhārkalleri*, the place of origin of the *syj̥bda-n̥e:da*, cf. 28.233.

590 *Yaṅgar.jón*, *Tiru*, *Kārmañ*, *Hāgu* (STs), *Jeṣur* (*Jayiswar*) *Kuṅḍa*, *Ganes Kuṅḍa* (LKs)

Yaṅgar.jón, cf. section 31. *Tiru* and *Kārmañ* ("Karmāṅ") = villages near the confluence of the *Trisuli* and the *Mailuñ Kholā*. *Hāgu* = "Hāku" on the western bank of the *Trisuli*. *Jayiswar/Jeṣur* cf. section 31. *Ganes Kuṅḍa* (cf. 44.339 note and section 66.) was located "somewhere in the *Ganes Himāl*"; it is not identical with the "Ganesh Kund" (NE of the *Gosaikuṅḍ* lakes) of the maps.

On uttering the name "Ganes Kuṅḍa", the *bombo* feels, anew, a quivering (s. p. 179), and so he addresses the *cen* *Karcen* of this lake:

72.

- gañri d̥o:na awai somgi meṅdo nomla*,
syoñdi d̥o:na pi:bi somgi meṅdo nomla,
l̥o l̥e:na chyoppa l̥e:la cen jyābu b̥omoda,
l̥o maḷe:sam chyoppa maḷe:la cen jyābu b̥omoda,
 595 *sala ci:ji meṅdo, tàbañ sali meṅdo, goṛjawali meṅdo*,
cendañ je:bi meṅdo nomla...

[Long enumeration of flower names, some of which are repeated several times]

- Mānsyir Pūrñe bardoī khari lə lə:bi chyoppa cu:la,
sergi deñle syu:go, nəlgi deñle syu:go cen jyabu bomo!
chya:jalo!,
sai tewa maṭhu:go, nāngi kawa maṭhu:go cen jyabu bomo!,
600 saṅrap ṅari deññi le Phamo!,
phoi liṅdo salñi, doī nemba geḷñi le Phamo!,
phoi liṅdo salna, doī nemba geḷna bōnda syerap salyu, sorap
baryu!,
kekki baṁḍi meḷuñ baryu, yongi baṁḍi kalbi chyudañ baryu le!,
phraṅḍi phraṅgu sya:ñi, laṁḍi laṁgu sya:ñi!,
phoi liṅdo salñi, doī nemba geḷñi!

*

- (We) will take the flower(s) of the living air when arriving at
the mountain,
will take the flower(s) of the living pi:bi when arriving at the
river,
if it is a good year, there will be a good sacrifice (to be offered) to the
beautiful cen-maiden,
if it is not a good year, there will be no good sacrifice (to be offered) to
the beautiful cen-maiden,*
595 *(we) will take the tiny flowers (thriving) on the earth,
the tabañ sali flower, the goṛjawali flower,
the flower lovely like the cen,...*

[Repetitions]

- Within the period of Mānsir Purne, (we) will perform a sacrifice
for a good year,
throne on the golden throne, throne on the silver throne
O beautiful cen-maiden!
Hail!,
do not disturb the centre of the earth, do not disturb the kawa (=?)
of the sky O beautiful cen-maiden!,
600 let us go and declaim (?) the incense-recitation to the rhythm
of the drum (?) O Phamo!,
let us go and heal the phoi liṅdo, let us go and destroy the
doī nemba O Phamo!,
(and) when healing the phoi liṅdo, when destroying the
doī nemba,
come down and make clear the alertness, come down and make
the voice (?) of the bōn expand!,
come down and make the flame on (his) right shoulder expand,
come down and make the sea-water (in the jug) put on (his)
left shoulder expand!,
let us go and remove the phrañ-obstacle in the phrañ (=?),*

*let us go and remove the path-obstacle on the path!,
let us go and heal the phoi liñdo, let us go and destroy the
đoi nemba!*

Notes:

591-592: **gañri/gañdi... pi:bi...**, s. 53.438-439.

593: OT **lọ lẹ:na** < Tib. lo(-thog) legs-na, 'when/if it is a good/happy year'.

– **lẹ:la** < OT *lẹ:ba, 'to be good/favourable'. – I understand: 'if it is a favourable year (with a good harvest and plenty of flowers), (we) will favour the beautiful cen-maiden with a sacrifice.'

594: **mạ:sa:m**, lit. 'if not good'; it is a combination of OT and MT, namely of OT **mạ-** 'not', 'no', and MT **-sa:m**, 'if' (in contrast to OT **-na**, 'if', 'when', in "lọ lẹ:na" above).

595: **sala... jẹ:bi**, cf. 51.413-414, 53.437 and 53.440.

596: OT **lọ lẹ:bai** < Tib. lo legs-pa'i, lit. 'of a good/happy year'.

597: **sergi... đenle syu:go!**, 'throne on the golden... throne!', < OT **đen** < Tib. gdan, 'throne', 'seat' (MT **đen**, 'platform'), + MT **syu:ba** (< Tib. bžugs-pa), 'to sit' (hon.).

599: **sai... maṭhu:go**, cf. 28.233.

601: OT **phoi liñdo** was tentatively explained as the name of a particular illness of the stomach (MT **pho**).

– **đoi nemba**, approx. 'what is loaded down by a stone', a notion of black magic, cf. p. 60, and "nemba kù" in 43.329.

– **gəlñi** < **gəlba**, cf. 22.198.

– **syerap... baryu**, s. 8.94-96.

The itinerary of the journey "jumps" now from the Ganes Himāl to the Trisuli Bajār area:

73.

Khà:re Jọ (PK), Pà:ra Ṭhoñbana (UN), Asa Làma (?), Baktār (ST)

Near Trisuli Bajār.

Seto Bhairawi Ma:bon, Kālo Bhairawi Ma:bon, Bhairawi Ṭha:duñ Nórbu (DIVs) of Nạ:gor

Epithets of the famous Bhairawi Dewi of Nuwākoṭ = T. Nạ:gor (also Nạ:gor/Nạgor). That Bhairawi is called **Ṭha:duñ**, i.e., etymologically 'blood-drinker' (s. 18.166 note), may refer to the custom of drinking the blood of the sacrificed animals by the Newar priest (dhāmi) during the Dewighāt Jātrā, an annual fair which attracts a large number of Tamang, too. (cf. Höfer 1981: 163-164; Wajrācārya and Śreṣṭha 2032: 3-6, 9-11, 103-114). To my knowledge, the epithets "Seto" and "Kālo" ('white', 'black') are not applied to this goddess, and their use here might perhaps be seen as a contamination by the Seto Bhairaw and Kālo Bhairaw of the Kathmandu Valley.

Ghāt Dewi, Sāt Kanne (Kanyā) Dewi

Ghāt Dewi = Jālpā Dewi of Dewighāt on the eastern bank of the Tirsuli river, worshipped together with Bhairawi of Nuwākoṭ at the Dewighāt Jātrā in the spring. – Sāt Kanyā (Seven Virgins): NI. It perhaps alludes to the "sisterhood" of Bhairawi, Jālpā Dewi and other goddesses in the Nuwākoṭ area.

Baṭār, Dambare (STs)

Two settlements below Nuwākoṭ. **Baṭār/Baṭṭār** is one of the stations of the procession that takes place during the Dewighāt Jātrā.

Tirsul Ṭha:duñ Nórbu (DIV)

Perhaps with reference to the trident symbol (T. tirsul = trisul) standing in front of the temple of Bhairawi in Nuwākoṭ.

Gaṅgoṭe (ST), Serā Darbār

Serā Darbār = the winter palace of king Prithwi Nārāyan Śāh in the valley of the Tādi Kholā.

Syilpattar Ma:deo (DIV) of Malekoṭ

Syilpattar < śilapatra, 'inscription on stone'; obviously with reference to a cult place of Mahā Dew with an inscription. – Malekoṭ = Mālkoṭ ("Mālakoṭ"), a settlement near Nuwakoṭ.

605 Ḍabla Kūi Ma:bon (DIV) of Caṅgala (?) in the Likhu Kholā area.

NI. On Ḍabla cf. 26.223 note.

Syitta Ma:deo (Siddha Mahā Dew) of Ḍhukuri (ST)

NI. Ḍhukuri = Ḍhikure = "Dhikure" in the Tādi Kholā valley.

Āyo Raṅsyiñ Ṭhuñbi Syilpattar Ma:deo, Kāmthuni Ma:deo, Syelgar Hoḱki Da:bo, Syelgar Hoḱki Da:mo (DIVs) of Sikār Bēsi and Ņergu-Ḍupjyet (STs)

Āyo... Ma:deo, lit. 'the Self-born Mahā Dew', explained as an allusion to the miraculous growth of a tree at the cult place of this Mahā Dew. On the terms āyo and raṅsyiñ cf. pp. 21-23. – Kāmthuni, Syelgar... Da:mo NI. - Sikār Bēsi = "Sikharbyānsi" in the valley of the Tādi Kholā.

Sindere Phedi, Belsorā, Chahare, Ḍuñduñ, Wāla Pojjo, Góndoñ Máne, Philiñne Darbār

Places between the Tādi Kholā and the ridges bordering on the Kathmandu Valley. Chahare = "Chhahare", Ḍuñduñ = Dhuñge = "Dungepauwā", both near Rānipauwā. Wāla Pojjo, lit. 'Red Peak' = Kakani. Góndoñ Máne = one of the numerous máne memorials of Tamang origin near Rānipauwā (on máne s. p. 130). Philiñne Darbār = the former summer bungalow of the British envoys. philiñne < Tib. phi-liñ-pa, 'European', 'Englishman' (Das 1970: 822).

The bombo now enters the Kathmandu Valley from the north-west:

74.**Jitpurphedi, Dharamthali (STs)****Saṅge Topliñ, Syandañ-Bandañ Kharda-Chona Ma:bon (DIV) of Bālāju**

With reference to the supine statue of Nārāyan (Viṣṇu) at Bālāju, here identified with the Buddha (Saṅge) and, since the statue lies in a tank, also called kharda (cf. 12.129 note). Both MT topliñ and MT syandañ-bandañ mean 'lying on one's back'. Ma:bon (cf. 19.171 note) seems to fulfil the function of an honorary title.

Bāis Dhārā

The water-fountains at Bālāju.

Nayābajār, Sorakhuṭte [Pāṭi], Asaṅṭol

Quarters in Kāṭhmāñḍu.

Syiñmon, Khasyor

Syiñmon < Tib. ('phags-pa) śiñ-kun = Swayambhunāth. Khasyor < Tib. (bya-ruñ) kha-šor = Bodhnāth (s. Wylie 1970: 20, 22).

Halimān [Hanumān] Ḍhokā, Siñgha Darbār

The old royal palace, and the palace with the Prime Minister's office, respectively.

Kirtipur, Pāṭan, Pharphiñg

Pharphiñg is known to some Tamang as the place of the Bajrajogini temple; cf. also 43.326 note.

75.

610 gyálboi làgañ ṅaṅri chya:nem,
noṅgi yañ tembai Da:mo, jyinlap tembai Da:mo.

*

610 *She resided in the king's divine abode,
the Mistress who provides the riches' blessing, the Mistress who
provides the boon.*

Notes:

610: **gyálboi làgañ**, 'the king's divine abode', with reference to the Royal Palace which is considered a sanctuary, since the King is an incarnation of Nārāyan.

611: **noṛgi yañ... tembai Da:mo**, 'the Mistress who provides the riches' blessing...', obviously the Queen as an incarnation of the goddess Lacchmi (Lakṣmī).

– **yañ**, s. 14.135.

The boṃbo continues in calling at:

Paspati Thān, Bauddha

Paśupatināth and, again, Bodhnāth.

Syḃbur La

Siwapuri Lekh = "Sheopuri Lekh", the mountain ridge on the northern border of the Kathmandu Valley.

76.

Laure Binā

A pass in the Gosāīkuṇḍ massif.

Gosāī Kuṇḍa, Dudh Kuṇḍa, Bhairuñ Kuṇḍa, Issur (Iswar) Kuṇḍa, Mahā dew Kuṇḍa, Sarasoti (Saraswati) Kuṇḍa (LKS)

The lakes at Gosāīkuṇḍ, cf. section 31.

Lañbo (?), Thañdor (ST)

NI.

Kùlu Yólmo

The region commonly known as Helambu, N of the Kathmandu Valley.

Àrjale (ST), Dáldoñ Syoñ (R), Awa Ləpso Kheṇḍo (UN)

Tentatively located in the headwater area of the Trisuli Kholā.

Dánga Cyanba, Dánga Grəñ (STs)

Near the confluence of the Mailuñ and Trisuli rivers.

Sarsyi Brá: (UN), Ñəpsyi Brá: (UN)

Rocky slopes near Hàgu (s. below).

615 Cenjene (ST)

Near Hàgu.

Hàgu (ST), Pe:ma Máne (UN?)

Hàgu = "Hāku" on the western bank of the Trisuli river.

Brə:mràñ Gómbo, Gəlañ

(STs)

Gəlañ = N. Ghaṭlāng = "Gadlāng" on the western bank of the Trisuli river.

Khelañ Ma:bon (DIV) of Roṅga (UN)

Cf. section 31.

Medañ.búdu (UN?)

Near Rasuwā?

The final part of the itinerary is an abbreviated version of section 31. The destination, this time, is Uiseme Gómbo alias Sàme Darda (Tib. dBu'i bSam-yas) – both as the place of origin of Tamang culture in general,⁴ and as the place of origin of the spirits called Wõnden-Wõnsya in particular. Wõnden-Wõnsya is a “union” of the spirits of four orphans who are the First Spirits of the Dead and stand proxy for all⁵ spirits of the dead, all inferiors, all hungry and neglected drop-outs of society.⁶ In Holmberg’s (1989: 94, 98, 112) apt formulation, Wõnden-Wõnsya is “prototypical of all evils”, the one always “going and never staying”, the one which “hangs about in intermediate voids”. Therefore, Wõnden-Wõnsya has to get a share on nearly every occasion when humans share among themselves and/or with the gods: exorcizing these four orphans (the main task of the specialist *lámbu*) constitutes an important part of festivals, life-cycle rituals and the communal ceremonies for placating the divinities of the village soil, the *syibda-nè:da*. The harvest and the acquisition of valuables by the family also necessitate a sacrifice to Wõnden-Wõnsya. “It is like the Hindus worshipping, first, the whimsical god Ganes before making the *pujā* proper”, as Phurba commented.

For the *bombo*, “getting at” (*pheba*) Wõnden-Wõnsya in Uiseme, the very place where these spirits were exorcized for the first time, is tantamount to acquiring not only the power, but also the “sanction” for dealing with all the spirits of the dead.

77.

Ñola Braṅge [Dḁbla] Kùì Ma:bon, Syabut Dḁbla, Ṭha:but Dḁbla,
Hìsyè Dḁbla, Phola Dḁbla, Mème Dḁbla, Ràsuwa Dḁbla,
Syaduñ Dḁbla, Ṭha:duñ Dḁbla,...

[Whistle]

620 Phamoda syabdo cu:jiyi, Phamoda [Phamoi?] ḁuñḁi baḁjiyi.
Keruñ Gómbo, Kukur.gà:r Gómbo, Sàme Darda, Cinba:ca,
Cha Bumba Nombi Dà:mo,

[Vehement drumming]

ṭhuñbam gyagar menḁu kùri ṭhuñba,
chya:bam Sàme Darda nañri chya:ba,
Mìge Ama Kormojyet Sasa Ba:ri, Wõnden-Wõnsya,
nàm barkap yiñle ḁiñbai Ijyet Gómbo,

4 Cf. pp. 30, 132.

5 The four orphans are also called Mìga syí: Lènṭe, wherein *lènṭe/lànṭe* might derive from Tib. *lha-'dre*, lit. 'gods (and) demons', especially those whom Padmasambhava bound by an oath, but who could not attain salvation and thus cause all sorts of mischief (s. Blondeau 1971). The same word also occurs in MT *jiyumbu lènṭe*, an expression denoting a kind of collective manifestation of 'all harmful superhuman beings' condensed or reified into one single archetypal being. To be possessed by the *jiyumbu lènṭe* for the first time is regarded as a proof of a *bombo*'s “genuineness” (*pakkā*).

6 The most frequently used names of the Four Orphans, such as Mìga/Mìga syí:/Mìgama, might go back to Tib. *mi-dga'-ba*, lit. 'unhappy', 'unpleasant'; hence Mìga syí: ? < Tib. **mi-dga' bži*, 'the Unhappy Four'. Since the Four Orphans are the “have-nots” par excellence, one is also reminded of the Tibetan concept of *dga'(-ba) bži*, 'the four joys', which are piety, wealth, men and land (Das 1970: 266, cf. also Rigzin 1986: 51).

[Vehement drumming]

625 syott!, phott!

[Vehement drumming]

hə:y Phamo chya:jalə!,
 ñëndum salo, thu:la gomo!,
 Chene Nəlgi Də:mo, Syał Sòmgi [Də:moi] syaldo [chya:jalə]!

*

*O [Dəbla] Kùì Ma:bon (of) Ñola Brəŋge, Syabut Dəbla, Ťha:but Dəbla,
 Hısyə Dəbla, Phola Dəbla, Grandfather Dəbla, Rəsuwa Dəbla,
 Syaduñ Dəbla, Ťha:duñ Dəbla,...*

[Whistle]

*(I) have paid homage to (you O) Phamo, have attended on (you O)
 Phamo.*

620 *Keruñ Gómbo, Kukur.gə:r Gómbo, Sàme Dərda, Cinba:ca,
 Cha Bumba Nombi Də:mo.*

[Vehement drumming]

*As to origin, (you) originated in India's nine wombs (?),
 as to residence, (you) reside in Sàme Dərda,
 O Mıge Ama Kormojyet Sasa Bə:ri, Wəndəñ-Wənsya,
 (and?) İjyet Gómbo who soars in the atmosphere,*

[Vehement drumming]

625 syott!, phott!

[Vehement drumming]

hə:y, O Phamo hail!,
*listen with the ears, ponder in the mind!,
 [hail] to the Chene Silver Mistress, the Three-Faced [Mistress]!*

Notes:

618: **Ñola Brəŋge**, cf. section 32.

– **Dəbla Kùì Ma:bon**..., cf. 26.223-225.

– **Syaduñ**, most probably an annominative neologism coined on the model of “Ťha:duñ”, cf. p. 284 and 18.166 note.

620: **Keruñ**..., s. section 32.

621: **gyəgar menđu**, cf. 22.197 note.

623: **Mıge Ama...Bə:ri**, said to be the names of the four orphans (obscure).

624: **nəm bərkəp yinle**, lit. ‘sky’ + ‘atmosphere’; cf. 9.104 note, also 17.149-150.

– **Ijyet Gómbo**, obscure, tentatively explained as a further name of (one of?) the four orphans. Cf. also 87.748 note.

625: **phott** is to make, here again, definitive what has been achieved by **syott**, namely the acts of “binding”, and thereby separating oneself from, the evil previously “assumed” through the identification with the **Wõndeñ-Wõnsya**, cf. also 32.262 notes.

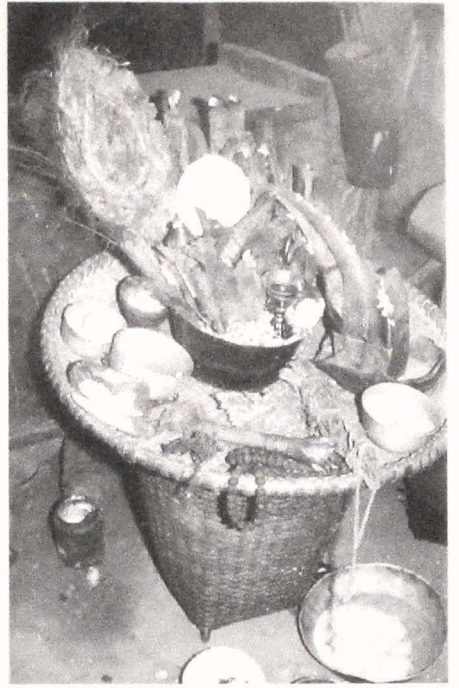
628: **Syał Sòmgi Dą:mo** seems to refer to the trident in the chene, cf. 18.168 note.



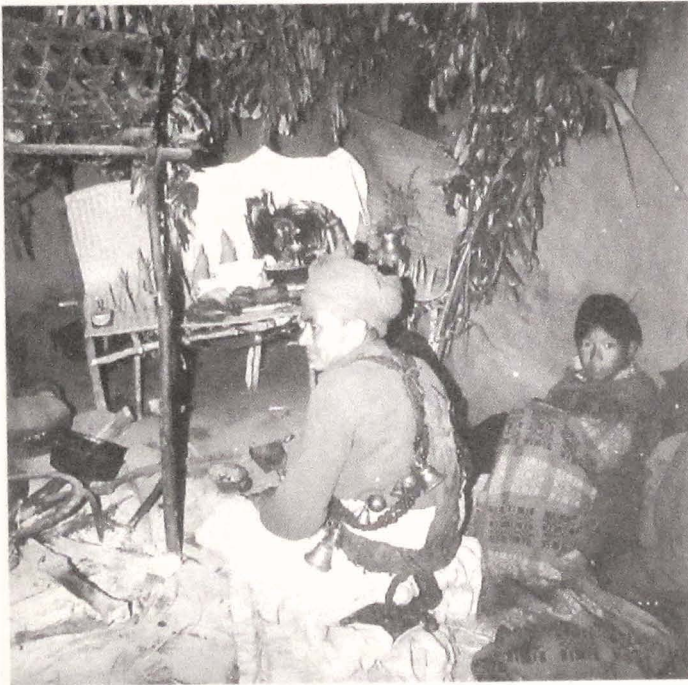
1. Śer Bahādur preparing *tormos*.



2. The clients sitting on the *mondar* side of the dwelling house.



3. A simple altar on a bamboo tray.



4. Léksare Bõmbo in front of an altar-platform.

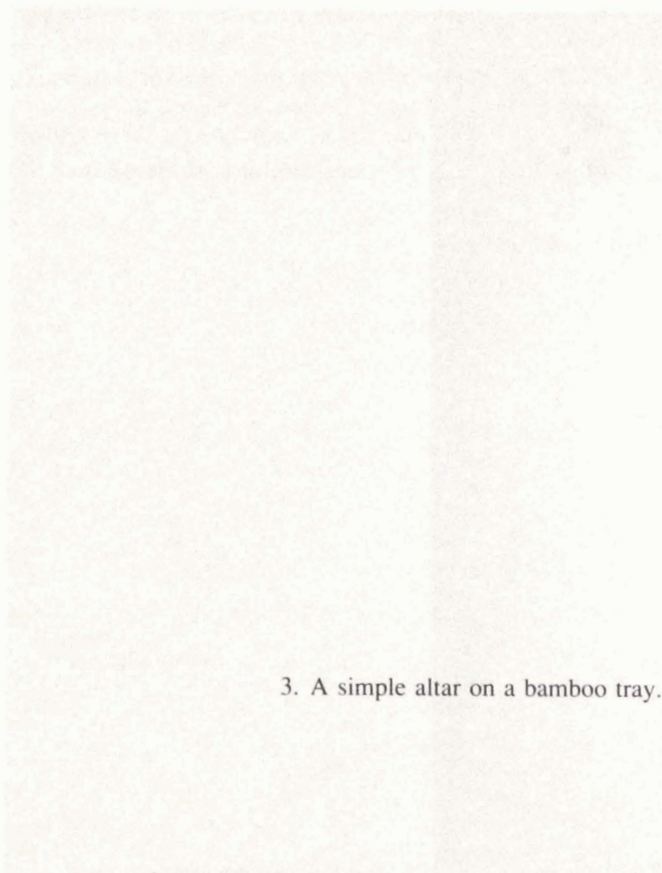


5. Beating the "violent side" of the drum.

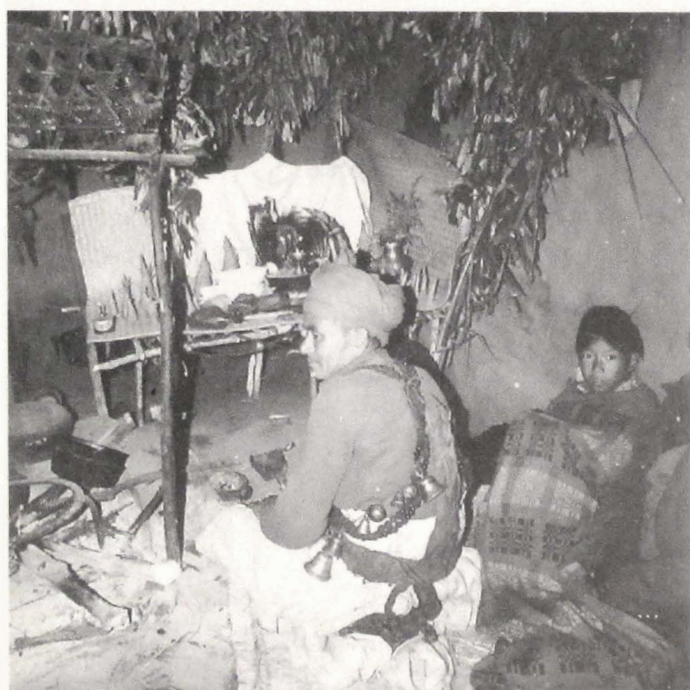


6. The rosaries, the *syãnsyañ rólmo*, and the *krassu phũnda* on the bõmbo's back.





3. A simple altar on a bamboo tray.



4. Léksare Bõmbo in front of an altar-platform.



5. Beating the "violent side" of the drum.



6. The rosaries, the *syahsyah rolmo*, and the *krassu phunda* on the bombo's back.





7. Syırjaroñ Bõmbo invoking the
syıhda-në:da...



8. "who resides in the great tree ..."



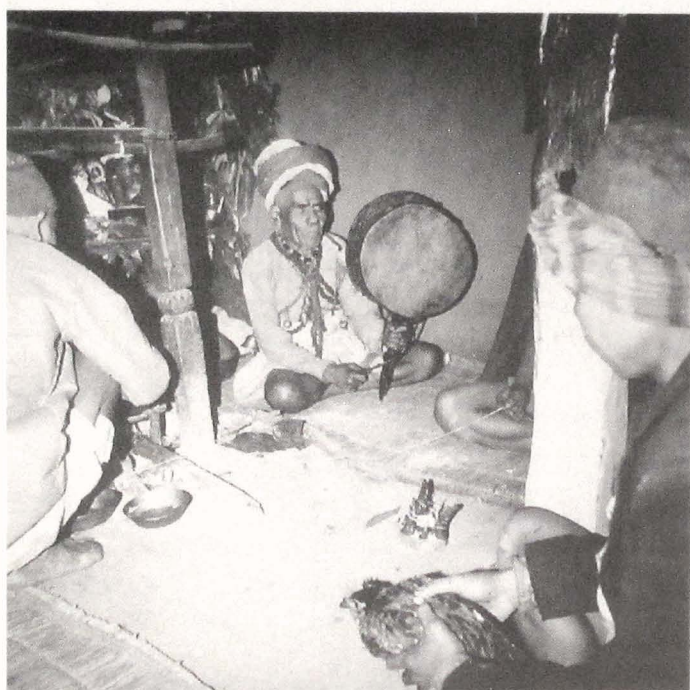
9. "... who resides in the rocky place".



10. Restoring the soul to the patient.



11. The *jhārjhur* for a child.



12. Chyamba Bõmbo performing the *mār lamda* ritual.



13. The *syimo tormo*.



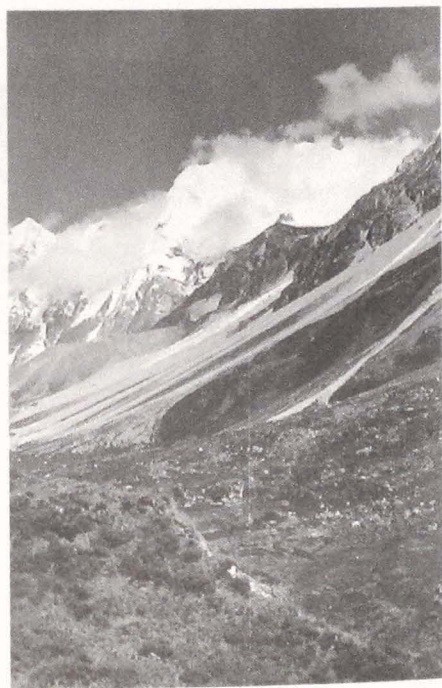
14. Examining the liver of the chicken.



15. Lay-helpers sitting in a row behind the bōmbo.



16. View of the upper part of the Ākhu Kholā valley.



17. In the country of the gods.

78. – 92. “Going to the gods” (*lari ñiba*)

There follows, after a break of about 30 minutes, a ritual which will culminate in the *ḅombo*'s “going to the gods” and conclude with two acts designed to reconstitute the preconditions of health for the patient and the members of her family.

“Going to the gods” (*lari ñiba*) is a label for that stage at which the *ḅombo* collapses and is said to lose consciousness (s. p. 209 below). *ḅombo* informants seemed rather reluctant to describe what they experience in this state. One of them compared his experience with those “dream-like” visions that one has when the divination is made (sections 46.-49.), and hinted at the necessity for the *ḅombo* to “join the company of the most powerful gods and dreadful spirits” in order to be able to perform the oracle (sections 93.-96. below). What makes *lari ñiba* unique is precisely the *ḅombo*'s absence. “Lying there like dead”, his performance is reduced to performing an absence.¹ Quite in contrast to other phases of the ritual, including the “ecstatic” ones, in which he is still communicating as a human or a divine subject, he now escapes the control of the audience. He stops interacting with the client and is, instead, directly exposed to the divine, experiencing by himself and for himself alone.

There is some evidence to suggest that the conceptual background of *lari ñiba* might have originally been inspired by some esoteric rites of Tantric Buddhism, which include, among other things, a seclusion of the adept, and his contemplative experience of dreadful apparitions, such as images of death and violence, with the aim of realizing himself as a divinity. The etymology of some of the names in 87.746-749 seems to support such a hypothesis; it shows at least that some of the divinities invoked by the *ḅombo* go back to those who in the Tibetan pantheon are classified as “Protectors of the Doctrine” (*dharmapāla*) and are frequently resorted to as identification-guides (*yi-dam*) in a process of meditative self-generation. Thus, the name *Gómbo* in 87.746 and 87.748 may, in this context, derive not from Tib. *dgon-pa*, ‘monastery’, but from Tib. *mgon-po*, a collective term for those divinities who are worshipped in a sanctum of that monastery which they are believed to protect.² The *ḅombo*'s “Pal.ñisye Gómbo” is clearly Tibetan dPal ye-šes mGon-po mahākāla,³ one of those protectors. Furthermore, Palden Lāma (said to be a name of Lasya, the First Witch) in our text certainly derives from Tib. dPal-ldan Lha-mo (Mahākālī). The latter is the chief protective goddess of the Buddhist pantheon; chief of the so-called wrathful (*khro-bo*, *drag-gšed*) divinities; the “chief *ma-mo*” (= Tamang *mamo*); the “Queen of the *dgra-lha*” (= Tamang *ḅabla*); the consort of the Lord of the Dead, Yama, and/or of the king of the *rākṣasa* demons; the divinity who determines the fate of man, and who is associated with divination.

The complex structure of this part of the text, as manifest in the intertwinement of sections recited in Tamang and sections recited in Nepali, was justified on the grounds that the *ḅombo* needed the help of both the mighty gods of the “upper region” (*torgi la*) and those of the “lower region” (*morgi la*), that is, the *ma:bons* and *ḅablas* of the mountains, on the one hand, and the *māis* of the Kathmandu Valley, on the other. The following sub-units can be distinguished:

(a) *lakher*⁴: The *ḅombo* summons his lineage forefathers, his tutelary, the divinities of the *chene* and the powerful *ḅabla Ma:bon* to invade his body and “to drive back” the harmful agents (sections 78.-81.).

1 I could find no clue for interpreting the collapse as a ritually staged repetition of the shamanic initiation involving the symbolic death of the novice.

2 Cf., e.g., Beyer 1973: 47 ff., and Snellgrove 1987: 150, 317.

3 Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 47.

4 The term *lakher* was rendered by ‘bringing the gods’, or ‘gathering the gods’; hence *-kher* ? < Tib. ‘*khyer-ba*, ‘to carry away’, ‘to bring’, ‘to be overcome’.

(b) *ḍaksyer* or *ḍa:syer*⁵: Activating, first, the *māis* or The Māi (section 82.) and then the *mamos* (section 83.), the divinities of the peaks and lakes in the northern mountains (sections 84.-86.) and finally Wõnden-Wõnsya, Urgyen Pe:ma and even Lasya (section 87.), who are conjured to “deal with” all the harmful agents.

(c) Interruption by the act of *lari n̄iba*: losing his senses, the *bombo* is said to “go to the gods”.

(d) In resuming the *ḍaksyer*, first, Mahā dew and the Māi (sections 88.-89.), then, again, the powerful Ma:bon divinities are urged to remove and annihilate the harmful agents (sections 90.-91.).

(e) Restoring, for the second time, her soul to the patient (*bla ta:ba*, section 92.), which is followed by

(f) the *jhārjhur* (N.), the act of “sweeping” all harmful agents off the bodies of the patient and the members of her family.

One can easily perceive the “bricolage” in this part of the text, section 82. being a slightly varied repetition of “Invoking the Māi” (sections 1.-7.), and sections 83.-86. a more detailed variant of a part of “In search of the harmful agent” (sections 42.-44.), etc.

78.

h̄a-a-a-a-a,

- 630 kekki chya: cal bumba nomla kuiba,
yongi chya: syel bumba nomla kuiba,
Mème Syel Bõn, Mème N̄ar(u) Bõn, Mam Syilikmo/Syiliñmo,
Syaryuruñ Bõn, Mème Rañsyiñ Bõn, Mème Ta:gur Bõn,
Mème Báldiñ Bõn,
bõngi n̄argyal chela kuiyu gyúppa mème, bõngi puñma gúlgul j̄edla
kuiyu gyúppa mème!,
misal, ḡańsal thoñla kuiyu, h̄isye, ñòsye phela kuiyu gyúppa mème!,
635 ula ma:ra ba:pla kuiyu, ula ma:ra teñla kuiyu!,
cya:na ðenji Gyúppa Phamoda, cya:na ðenji.

*

h̄a-a-a-a-a,

- 630 *the right hand takes the cal (=?) jug,*
the left hand takes the crystal jug,
O Grandfather Syel Bõn, Grandfather N̄ar(u) Bõn,
Grandmother Syilikmo/Syiliñmo, Syaryuruñ Bõn,
Grandfather Rañsyiñ Bõn, Grandfather Ta:gur Bõn,
Grandfather Báldiñ Bõn,
come down and make the bõn's arrogance grow
O lineage-forefathers, come down and make the bõn's
shoulders (?) quake. O lineage-forefathers!,
come down and have clear-sightedness, clear-sensedness (?),
come down and get at the mystical wisdom, the mystical
knowledge (to the benefit of the bõn) O lineage-forefathers!,
635 *come down and descend (into my body), come down and toss [sic]*

5 *ḍaksyer/ḍa:syer* was rendered by ‘causing to become violent/fierce’; hence ? < Tib. *drag-ḡšer, lit. ‘bid for violence’. – Some informants used *lakher* and *ḍaksyer* as synonyms.

(my body?)!

(I) have summoned (you O) Lineage-Phamo, (I) have summoned (you).

Notes:

630-632: **kekki... Báldin Bøn**, s. 8.90-93.

– **nomla kuiba**, OT intensive form of **nomba**, 'to take'. The intensive is used for all verbs (**cheba**, **jeppa**, **pheba**, **baþpa** and **teþba**) in the present section.

633: **nàrgyal chela kuiyu**, OT intensive form of "nàrgyal cheyu" in 8.97.

– **puþma...**, s. 8.97.

634: **misal... nõsye**, cf. 18.159. – **phela kuiyu** seems to mean: 'come down and have the wisdom which enables one to get at (**pheba**) what is relevant/what applies/what is to be dealt with'.

635: **ula maþa...**, cf. 40.302 note.

– **teþla kuiyu**, obscure. **teþla** < **teþba**, 'to toss', with reference to that close interaction which is elsewhere expressed by "carrying on the back, tossing with the hands" (19.179 note)? In other texts "ula maþa diþla kuiyu" < **diþba**, lit. 'to soar', 'to hover'.

636: **cya:na deþjyi** < OT **cya:na deþba**, 'to summon', 'to invite to be present', ? < Tib. **spyen 'dren-pa**, 'to invite'.

– **Gyúppa Phamo** = the personal tutelaries (**phamo**) of all forefathers in the officiating **bõmbo**'s own spiritual lineage (**gyúppa**); and by extension also = the **bõmbos** among the lineage forefathers of the officiating **bõmbo**, cf. pp. 21 ff. and 8.89 and 8.93 notes.

79.

noccyen thamjye deþku:ñu!,
da:bo, da:mo, lai leþchya[da] li:ri, sori, bu:ri noppa thamjye
deþku:ñu gyúppa mème!,

cya:na deþjyi.

640 **nàwai bardo jyþnba thamjye, chàwai bardo jyþnba thamjye deþku:ñu!**,

chalam ñambi noccyen, buþam ñambi noccyen, syþbla tèwa ñambi

noccyen, pùila meþuñ ñambi noccyen, tiþla meþdo ñambi

noccyen, che.daþsyiñ, daþa ñambi noccyen deþku:ñu!,

cya:na deþjyi Gyúppa Phamo, cya:na deþjyi.

layo meþpi noccyen, diþpa meþpi noccyen deþku:ñu!,

karbo þa:ri baþpai noccyen, maþbo þa:ri baþpai noccyen deþku:ñu!....

[Following the same pattern, the **bõmbo** goes on enumerating other harmful agents, as mentioned in 11.125-12.131 above]

*

Go and drive back all harmful agents!

*go and drive back whatever does harm to the master, the mistress,
the god's youth in the body, the vital principle, the breath,
O lineage-forefathers!,*

(I) have summoned (you).

640 *Go and drive back whichever state of illness befalls (the clients),*

whichever state of pain befalls (them)!,

go and drive back the harmful agent which injures

the great-grandchildren (?), the harmful agent which injures the grandchildren (?), the harmful agent which injures the centre of the legs, the harmful agent which injures the flame of the knees, the harmful agent which injures the flower of the heart, the harmful agent which injures the life-pole, the respiration (?)!

(I) have summoned (you O) Lineage-Phamo, have summoned (you). Go and drive back the harmful agent which commits the crime of killing, the harmful agent which commits (this) sin!, go and drive back the harmful agent which descends [sic] into the white blood, the harmful agent which descends [sic] into the red blood!...

[Repetitions]

Notes:

637: **derku:ñu** < OT **derku:ba**, 'to drive back by chasing from behind' (as in a hunt); OT **ku:ba** = MT **khu:ba** < Tib. 'gugs-pa, 'to bend', 'to cause to return'.

638: **lai lenchya**, cf. 24.213 note.

– **li:**, **so**, **bų:**, s. 10.118.

640: **nàwai...**, s. 9.107.

641: **chalam... dāra nāmbi...**, cf. 10.118 and 12.131.

– **tīnla mēndo**, 'the flower of/in the heart', cf. 27.229 note.

644: **karbo/maṛbo ṭha:**, 'white/red blood', cf. 10.122 where we have "bā:bai" ('which affects/clings to'), instead of "bāppai" ('which descends').

80.

- 645 Phola Karbo, Phola Maṛbo, Phola Syelgar Jyomo, cengi Phola, dūdgi Phola, bākap dūdgi Phola,
Gyaḡar Ṭha:duñ, Gyaḡar Syitta [Gúru],
Daṛluñ Karbo, Daṛluñ Maṛbo, Daṛluñ Karsañ cya:na deñjyi.
Phurba Ṭhilden Lajo, Hīdam Tāmriñ Lajo, Tāmriñ Karbo,
Tāmriñ Maṛbo, Tāmriñ Serbo, Tāmriñ Jyañbo [sic],
Tāmriñ Siṅga Ḍakpo Cal, Hīdam Tāmriñ Lajo,
Phurba Jyāmbalgi Lajo cya:na deñjyi.
Tirsula Kharul Ma:deo, sātauṭā, nawauṭā [sic] diñba,
Syal Sòmgi Da:mo cya:na deñjyi,
- 650 Mēme Nañle Chyu Geppu-Gemo, Lemba Gaṛa Dúba Ṭha:duñ,
Dúba Thu:jyen Chyembo,
Khyuñ, Jyākhyuñ, Bīkhyuñ, Khyuñ Raḡu Chyembo,
Khyuñ Raḡuñ Ṭha:yuñ Nórbu, Khyuñ Gaṛura Ma:bon
cya:na deñjyi.
nām̄la mukpa sya:la kuiñu, sala dursa geḷna kuiñu!,
phūrsyiñ sombo kù nenla kuiñu, thaluñ-mīluñ, sarluñ-dīrluñ
jeḍla kuiñu!,
cya:na deñjyi.

- 645 *O White Phola, Red Phola, Syelgar Jyomo Phola,
Phola of the cen, Phola of the dud, Phola of the
atmosphere-dud,
Gyagar Ṭha:duñ, Gyagar Syitta [Gúru],
White D̄arluñ, Red D̄arluñ, D̄arluñ Karsañ, (I) have summoned (you).
O Phurba Ṭhilden Lajo, H̄idam Tàmriñ Lajo,
White Tàmriñ, Red Tàmriñ, Yellow Tàmriñ, Green Tàmriñ,
Tàmriñ S̄inga D̄akpo Cal, H̄idam Tàmriñ Lajo,
Phurba Jyámbalgi Lajo, (I) have summoned (you).
O Tirsula Kharul Ma:deo, (of which) seven, nine ones soar [sic],
the Three-Faced Mistress, (I) have summoned (you).*
- 650 *O Grandfather Nanle Chyu Geppu-Gemo,
Lemba Gara D̄úba Ṭha:duñ, D̄úba Thu:jyen Chyembo,
O Khyuñ, Jyākhyuñ, B̄ikhyuñ, Khyuñ Raḡu Chyembo,
Khyuñ Raḡuñ Ṭha:yuñ Nórbu, Khyuñ Garura Ma:bon,
(I) have summoned (you).
Go and remove the clouds in the sky, go and destroy the grave on
the earth!,
go and load down the nine living phürsyiñs,
go and turn (everything of evil) topsyturvy, into a jumble!,
(I) have summoned (you).*

Notes:

645-647: **Phola...** **D̄arluñ**, cf. 18.165-167. **Karsañ** is new here.

648: **Phurba...** **Tàmriñ**, cf. 19.170-171. The association of **Tàmriñ** with different colours is obscure. – **Jyañbo**, erroneously for **jyañgu**, 'green'.

– **S̄inga D̄akpo Cal** ? < Tib. *señ-ge('i) drag-po rcal*, lit. 'the terrifying prowess of the lion'. Cf. also "D̄arluñ S̄inga Rá:ñi" in 18.167 note, and "Phurba D̄akpo Calgi Lajo" in 19.171 note.

– **Jyámbalgi Lajo** < Tib. 'Jam-dpal-gyi lha-chogs, lit. 'the gods of the Buddha Mañjuśrī'; on the relationship between the ritual dagger, the phur-ba, and 'Jam-dpal sku'i lha in Tibetan iconology cf. Huntington 1975: 10 f., 62, 70.

649: **Tirsula...**, cf. 18.168.

– **N. s̄ataut̄ā, nawaut̄ā**, 'seven', 'nine', erroneously for OT "sala ḡara" and "nàmla ḡara", respectively? Cf. 18.168 note. SR refrained from commenting on the case.

650: **Mème Nanle**, another name of **Chyu Geppu-Gemo** alias **Loñai Máñ**, cf. 19.175.

– **Lemba...**, cf. 19.176.

651: **Khyuñ...** s. 19.178. – Lines 652-653 are addressed to the **Khyuñ**.

652: **nàmla...** **geḷna kuiñu**, 'go and... destroy', cf. 22.203.

653: **phürsyiñ**, cf. 43.329 note.

– **thaluñ-m̄iḷuñ**, cf. 22.198 note.

– **sarluñ-d̄ir̄luñ**, cf. 57.469 note.

81.

- 655 *ḡa:mo ñiñgi tembai la Jyañjyen Marbo cya:na ḡenji,
ña bõngi D̄abla Ma:bon,...*

[Enumeration of all **D̄abla** names, as in 26.225]

... cya:na deṅjyi.

Gyúppa Phamoda cya:na deṅjyi,

àyo gyúppi Phamoda cya:na deṅjyi,

- 660 yulgi syibda, syargi, nupgi, jyaṅgi ma:bon, loi ma:bon cya:na deṅjyi,
syar deḅge, nup deḅge, jyaṅ deḅge, loi deḅge, ui deḅge cya:na deṅjyi,
Gorkhai Ma:bon cya:na deṅjyi.

[Vehement long drumming]

*

- 655 *O clan god of the dear mistress, Jyaṅjyen Maṛbo, (I) have summoned (you),
O my, the boṅ's, Dḅbla Ma:bon...*

[Repetitions]

... (I) have summoned (you).

(I) have summoned (you O) Lineage-Phamo,

have summoned (you O) Phamo of the àyo-lineage.

- 660 *O syibda of the area, ma:bons of the east, the west, the north,
the ma:bons of the south, (I) have summoned (you),
O east-multitude, west-multitude, north-multitude, multitude of
the south, zenith-multitude, (I) have summoned (you),
O Ma:bon of Gorkhā, (I) have summoned (you).*

[Drumming]

Notes:

655: **Jyaṅjyen Maṛbo**, cf. 26.223.

659: **àyo gyúpp(a)i** can also be translated by 'àyo-transmitting', with reference to the tutelary (phamo) whose charismatic quality (àyo) has been transmitted, from boṅbo to boṅbo, within a spiritual lineage. Cf. pp. 22 ff.

660: **yulgi syibda**, s. 28.233.

660-661: **syar... ui**, cf. 44.342 (seṅde).

661: **deḅge**, 'multitude', i.e., all the divinities classifiable as ma:bon, cf. 19.171 note.

662: **Gorkhai Ma:bon**, cf. 30.247 note.

The boṅbo shivers – which is a sign for his being “seized” (*cuṅba*) by all the gods he has just invoked.

Increasingly excited, he now addresses the Māi:

82.

ho-o-o-o-o-o!,

dhupā[hāmā?] dhup lagāūlā, x x x x [*distorted*]

- 665 cār nisān khelne Siwa Māi,
Biba Rājā, Biba Rāni, Kāli Māi, Rakta Māi, Hariyo Māi, Pahēlo Māi,
bāra Siddha Māi, bāra Maṅḅali [Maṅḅali?] Māi, bāra masān

- khelne [Māi],
 hare, cokho dhup lagāūlā Māi,
 cārai Kailās [khelne?] Sikāri Māi, x x x x [distorted]
 dhup lagāūlā,
 670 Harini Māi, Jogi Laṅga Tapasi Guru, Jogi Paṭṭā,
 hare Māi, gājāko dhup lagāūlā,
 hare!,
 calāu na Māi, Dakkhin Mahākāla, Mahākāli, Kusuṇḍā Māi!,
 Dakkhin Mahākāla, Mahākāli, Kusuṇḍā Māi, Rakta Kāla [sic],
 Rakta Kāli, Kamalā Māi, Kapurna Māi!,
 675 hare Māi!,
 calāu na Māi!...

[Repetition of 1.5.-7.86 with slight variations in the sequence of phrases and *furioso*]

... phoṭṭ!

[Long vigorous drumming]

*

- ho-o-o-o-o-o!,
 (we) shall use incense [in?] the censer, x x x x,
 665 O Siwa Māi who plays (at the place of?) the four flags,
 Biba Rājā, Biba Rāni, Kāli Māi, Rakta Māi, Hariyo Māi, Pahēlo Māi,
 twelve Siddha Māi, twelve Maṇḍāli [Maṇḍali?] Māi,
 [the Māi] who plays (at the place of?) the twelve masāns,
 hail, (we) shall use pure incense O Māi,
 Sikāri Māi [who plays at?] all four Kailās, x x x x,
 (we) shall use incense,
 670 O Harini Māi, Jogi Laṅga Tapasi Guru, Jogi Paṭṭā,
 hail O Māi!, (we) shall use incense of hemp,
 hail!,
 do set in motion Dakkhin Mahākāla, Mahākāli, Kusuṇḍā Māi, O Māi!.
 (set in motion) Dakkhin Mahākāla, Mahākāli, Kusuṇḍā Māi,
 Rakta Kāla [sic], Rakta Kāli, Kamalā Māi, Kapurna Māi,
 675 hail O Māi!.
 do set (them) in motion O Māi!...

[Repetitions]

... phoṭṭ!

[Drumming]

Notes:

– x x x x = distorted on the tape, SR was unable to reconstruct these passages.

664: **dhupā?** < dhupāhā, for dhupāro, 'censer'?

665: **Siwa Māi**, cf. 7.79 note.

- **cār nisān**, possibly a reference to the emblematic symbols (nisān, here) of the four corners. Cf. also 2.31 note.
- 666: **Biba**, obscure.
- **Hariyo**, 'green', and **Pahēlo**, 'yellow'; these colours (otherwise unattested as epithets) seem to have been added to 'black' (Kāli) and 'red' (Rakta, 'blood') in order to make the list of the Māis as "complete" as possible. Perhaps "inspired" by the example of the "eight mother goddesses" (aṣṭamātṛkā) who, in the Newar towns of the Kathmandu Valley, are associated with the four cardinal and the four intermediate corners each symbolized by a different colour.
- **Maṇḍāli**, identical with Maṇḥāli in 2.31? Or Maṇḍāli < maṇḍali, 'group', 'assembly'; hence "bāra maṇḍāli māi" = 'the twelve groups [of] māis'?
- **bāra masān khelne...**, with reference to the twelve Māis playing in twelve places inhabited by the masāns? On khelnu cf. p. 73, and on masān 4.43 note.
- 668: **Sikāri Māi**, cf. 2.34 note. – **cārai Kailās**, lit. 'all four Kailās (Kailāśa)'.
- 670: **Harini** ? < Hāriti = Ajimā (cf. 6.67 note). Harinī, the name of Viṣṇu's mother, appears improbable.
- **Jogi Laṅga Tapasi Guru**, tentatively identified by some informants as Mahādew, and by some others as the name of a great Chepang (Cepāṅg) ascetic (jogi, tapasi) whose spirit is to be propitiated by offering the smoke of hemp. Cf. also 93.845. – **Laṅga** ? < Laṅkā as the the mythic country of demon-ascetics (such as Rāvaṇa and his grandfather who through extreme austerities succeeded in becoming as powerful as the gods). Cf. also "Laṅga" and "Palaṅga" in 4.54 note.
- **Paṭṭā**? < (Hindi) paṭṭa, 'chief', 'main'.
- 674: **Dakkhin...**, cf. 7.79.
- **Kusunḍā Māi** = Dakkhin Kāli? Cf. 7.79 note on Kusunḍā Phakkir.
- **Kamalā**, an epithet of the goddess Lacchmi/Lacchimi (Lakṣmī).
- **Kapurna**, obscure. Tamang regularly worship Kapurna Māi together with Dakkhin Kāli, according to SB.

83.

- nām barkap yiñle diñbai, ñema kù, ḍawa kù nombai Ma:bon ò!,
seño Ma:bon ò!,
- 680 cya:gi meḷoñ khurba, saṅgi meḷoñ khurbai Ma:bon,
ḷayo meppi noccyen, ñikpa meppi noccyen seṅkhulñu!
ṭhuñbam gyagar menḍu kùri ṭhuñnem,
 chya:bam gyálboi ḷagañ nañri chya:nem,
diñbam Jo Àsoro-Pràsoro nañri diñnem,
ha:y Nañsur Ma:bon,
- 685 Nañsur Maṃmo, Ajyi Maṃmo, Syijyi Maṃmo, Chaja Maṃmo,
 maṃmoi gyaram, Neḡgi Ama,
syiwala khañsa geḷñi, syiwala ḍursa geḷñi, phùrsyiñ, nempa kù
thaluñ-miḷuñ geḷñi le Nañsur Ma:bon ò!,
ḷayo meppi noccyenda ḷayo meṭñu, ñikpa meppi noccyenda ñikpa
meṭñu, khañsa, syiñsa nañri yaṛ khyugpa, maṛ khyugpai
noccyenda ḍulñu Ma:bonjye!

*

- O Ma:bon who soars in the atmosphere, who takes (swallows?)
the nine suns, the nine moons,
do act O Ma:bon!,*
- 680 *O Ma:bon (who) carries the iron meḷoñ, Ma:bon who carries
the copper meḷoñ,*

go and deal with the harmful agent which commits the crime of killing, the harmful agent which commits (this) sin!

As to origin, (you) originated in India's nine wombs (?),

as to residence, (you) resided in the king's divine abode,

as to soaring, (you) soared in Jḡ Àsoro-Pràsoro,

ha:y, O Naṅsur Ma:bon,

685 *Naṅsur Mamo, Aji Mamo, Syijyi Mamo, Chaja Mamo,*
the come-and-go of mamos [sic], O Neḡgi Ama,

let us go and destroy the homestead of the dead, let us go and destroy the grave of the dead, let us go and destroy by turning topsyturvy the phürsyiñ, the nine nembas, O Naṅsur Ma:bon!,

go and commit the crime of killing against the harmful agent which commits the crime of killing, go and commit (this) sin against the harmful agent which commits (this) sin, go and tame the harmful agent (which) roams above, which roams below in the homestead, in the fields O Ma:bon!

Notes:

678: “**Ma:bon who soars..., takes the nine suns, the nine moons**”, probably with reference to the Khyuñ, cf. 22.198.

680: **meloñ**, cf. p. 62.

– “**who carries the iron/copper meloñ**”, obscure. Perhaps referring to the ritual implement meloñ (a fan of peacock feathers) worn as a headgear by some jhākris in eastern Central Nepal. Since MT meloñ < Tib. me-loñ, ‘mirror’, one is also led to think of the role of mirrors in Tibetan ritual and iconography: mirrors provided with the “seed-syllable” of the divinity are worn by the medium in the Tibetan state oracle and belong to the heroic outfit of the dharmapāla gods (s. Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 8, 411, 546).

681: **seṅkhuḷñu** < seṅkhuḷba, cf. 42.322 note.

682: **gyaḡar menḍu...**, cf. 22.197 note.

– **gyálboi lāḡan**, ‘the king’s divine abode’, with reference to the myth of the mamos, cf. 43.326 note.

683: **Jḡ Àsoro-Pràsoro**, cf. 43.326-327 notes.

684-685: **Naṅsur, Aji...**, cf. 43.328 note. **Chaja**, another name or kind of mamo.

685: **gyaḡam**, lit. ‘crossed’, ‘crossing’, here of the ‘come-and-go’ of a multitude of mamos. Cf. also “**lam gyaḡam**” in 12.127 note.

686: **syiwala...**, s. 22.203.

– **nemba kù**, cf. 43.329 note.

687: “**go and commit the crime...**”, that is, in dealing with the harmful agent, the mamo may commit the same crime the harmful agent has committed against the patient.

– **khānsa... yaḡ(a)/maḡ(a) khyugpai** is a blend of two phrases occurring in 10.123-124 and 11.125, respectively.

The bombo now approaches the great *ma:bons* of the northern mountains and Gorkhā. His voice turns shrieky, the tempo is accelerated, and the drum is being beaten with a maximum of energy. This is the stage of “going mad” (*myoba*).

84.

ò seño Ma:bon!,
sa gyámjyei yiñle dññbai Àyo Saḡgul Dḡrjye

- 690 sa línlín jédñi!,
 seño Ma:bonjye!,
 Gorkhai Ma:bonjye seño le!
 Gyáb Thaldon Nórbu, Røsyañ Ma:gi Gyálbo, Paldor Jo, Byándal,
 Ganes Kuṇḍa, Kālo Raha, Seto Raha, Yapdeñ-yupgi
 Ma:bonjye, Tombo La Geloñ Sòmgi Ma:bonjye,
 Mème Gañser, Mème Høserjye seño le!
 Mème Tha:gi Liñma, Chyu Geppu-Gemo Ma:bonjye seño le!,
 ha:y, da:moda li:ri, sori, bu:ri noppi noccyenda seño le!,
 695 chalam ñambi noccyen, bułam ñambi noccyen, gyábna pe:ma ñambi
 noccyen, nõnna lagu ñambi noccyen, señkhułñi le Ma:bonjye!
 ha-a-a-ay, phosyibi syimo dułñi, moşyibi syimo dułñi,
 lasya-ḍemoui kuldap dułñi le Ma:bonjye!,
 syabna [syabla?] tewa, jo ñambi noccyen, puila mełun ñambi noccyen,
 tiñna [tiñla?] jo, meṇdoi chercher, ḍara ñambi noccyen,
 luñdañ ñambi noccyen, señkhułñi Ma:bon ò!,
 ha-a-a-ay,
 ḍañboi si, ḍañboi ri, phojye noppa thamjye, syañjye noppa thamjye,
 ri gyara, ri toñra, ri ḍakpo dułñi le Ma:bon ò!,
 700 ha-a-a-ay,
 Gorkhai Ma:bon, Gorkhai Khelañ Ma:bon, Gorkhai Tha:duñ Ma:bon,
 Syañla Joi Ma:bon,
 gyábna kha tañbai noccyen, nõnna chi: tañbai noccyen señkhułñu
 Ma:bon!,
 bombo ñembi bonşur, lamma chebi chesur, sañduñ-prañduñ yemai ḍa,
 jo:gi biḍi, boimi thaldap, kharda-chona, ḍori ṭibi ḍobon,
 syiñbon, brá:bon dułñi le Ma:bon!

[Whistle]

*

- ò, *act O Ma:bon!*,
O Àyo Saṅgul Døryje who soars from (?) the earth,
 690 *let us go and cause the earth to shake!*,
act O Ma:bon!,
act O Ma:bon of Gorkhā!,
O Ma:bon(s) of Gyáb Thaldon Nórbu, Røsyañ Ma:gi Gyálbo,
Paldor Jo, Byándal, Ganes Kuṇḍa, Kālo Raha, Seto Raha,
Yapdeñ-yup, Ma:bon of Tombo La Geloñ Sòm,
act O Grandfather Gañser, Grandfather Høser,
act O Grandfather Tha:gi Liñma, Chyu Geppu-Gemo
Ma:bon!,
 ha:y, *act against the harmful agent which does harm to the mistress in*
(her) body, (her) vital principle, (her) breath!,
 695 *let us go and deal with the harmful agent which injures*
the great-grandchildren (?), the harmful agent which injures
the grandchildren (?),
the harmful agent which injures the lotus at the back,
the harmful agent which injures the god's image at the front,

O Ma:bon!

*h̄a-a-a-ay, let us go and tame the ghost of a dead male, let us go
and tame the ghost of a dead female, let us go and tame
the magic arrow of the lasya-ḍemo, O Ma:bon!,
let us go and deal with the harmful agent which injures the
centre, the tip (?) of the legs, the harmful agent which
injures the flame of the knees, the harmful agent which injures
the tip (?), the bud of the flower of the heart,
the respiration (?), the harmful agent which injures the
respiration (?), O Ma:bon!,*

h̄a-a-a-ay,

*let us go and tame the si of the past, the ri of the past,
whatever does harm from the male side, whatever does harm
from the affinal side, the hundreds of ris, the thousands of ris,
the fierce ri, O Ma:bon!,*

700 *h̄a-a-a-ay,*

*O Ma:bon of Gorkhā, Khelañ Ma:bon of Gorkhā, Ṭha:duñ Ma:bon
of Gorkhā, Ma:bon of Syánla J̄o!,
go and deal with the harmful agent which presents (its) mouth at
the back, the harmful agent which presents (its)
backbone at the front, O Ma:bon!,
let us go and tame the b̄ombo('s) harming magic weapon,
the lama('s) harming magic weapon, the sañduñ-prañduñ('s)
magic arrow (made) of the ȳerma (wood),
the yogi('s) harming formula, the swaggering,
the kharda-chona, the ḍobon which stays in the courtyard,
the syiñbon, the brá:bon, O Ma:bon!*

[Whistle]

Notes:

689: *sa gyámjyei yinle*, instead of “*sa gyámjye*”. Judging by the standard of other texts, this combination with the possessive suffix “-i” + “yinle” appears unusual; one would expect “*n̄añbai yinle*” or “*sala*”, i.e., ‘in the underground sphere’, or ‘on/in the earth’, respectively, in a context of earthquake. Cf. “*sa gyámjye ḍinbai noccyen*” in 11.126, and “*sa gyámjye*” in 9.99 note.

– *Àyo Saṅgul Ḍorjye* = *Àyo Siṅgal Ḍorjye*, cf. 42.321 note.

690: *sa línlín*, s. 42.321.

693: *Gyáb Thaldon...*, cf. sections 30., 31. and 71.

– *Mème Gañser, Mème H̄oser* = ? Phamo Gañser, Phamo H̄oser in section 30.

– *Mème Ṭha:gi Línma*, lit. ‘Grandfather Pond of Blood’.

– *Chyu Geppu-Ḡemo*, cf. 19.175 note.

695: *chalam... n̄ambi noccyen*, s. 10.129, 12.131 and 42.322.

696: *phosyibi...*, s. 11.125.

697: *syābna*, instead of “*syāb/la*”, as in 27.229; cf. also 10.118. Similarly, *tiñna*, instead of “*tiñ/la*”. OT -na here in a locative function, as in Tibetan? Cf. also “*yulna*” in 85.711 below.

– *j̄o*, lit. ‘peak’, ‘top’, ‘tip’, referring to the tip of the heart?

– *m̄endoi chercher*, tentatively rendered by ‘the bud of the flower’, with reference to that white spot of connective tissue on the surface of the heart, which is called “flower”, cf. 27.229 note and 79.641. MT *chercher*, ‘bud’, ‘granule’, ‘granulated part’, ? < Tib. *mjer-pa*, ‘excrescence’, ‘wart’, ‘knot’.

699: *ḍañboi si/ri*, cf. 11.126 notes.

701: *Gorkhai Khelañ/Ṭha:duñ*, further names of *Gorkhai Ma:bon* alias *Gorakhnāth*, s. 30.247.

– **Syánla Jø**, s. section 31.

702: **gyábna kha tañbai...**, 'which presents its mouth at the back (= from behind),... its backbone at the front (= from ahead)', cf. 9.102 note.

703: **bombo ñembi/ñe:bai...** bïdi, cf. 9.102 notes.

– **boimi thaldap**, s. 37.283.

– **kharda-chona/kharda-chobda...**, s. 12.129, 39.301.

– **ṭibi** < MT ṭiba, 'to sit', 'to stay', instead of OT ne:ba, 'to dwell', as in 12.129, for example.

85.

- Paldor Jø, Byándal, Ganes Kuṇḍa, Kālo Raha, Seto Raha,
 Gyáb Thaldon, Døꝛjye Lẹ:ba, seṅkhuḷñu!,
 705 cya:lañ kùri, dursa kù, dónbo chyembo, dọ ni cha:jo [nañri]
 diñbai noccyen seṅkhuḷñu Ma:bon ò!,
 ñe:ba.cenla ro ni duñma geḷñu, syala huḗhup jeḍñu, ṭha:la syípsyip
 jeḍñu, ro.duñma geḷñu Ma:bon, seño le!,
 Kudi Jø nañri diñbai Ma:bon!,
 ṭhuñbam Gúlguljyet nañri ṭhuñnem e,
 diñbam Sadañ.sø-Lẹ:so nañri diñnem e,
 710 maꝛa baꝓnem e,
 Bø.kham yulna baꝓna
 gyálboi làgañ nañri baꝓnem e, gyálboi làgañ nañri baꝓna ejye
 Bai sya khelañ [khurnem?],
 ha:y, Cho Maꝓmo, Phyuguri [Mármén Jø?], Puju Wala, Ràtna Kù
 nañri chya:nem e, Mème Lasyiñ Ḍabla,
 Mam Kuduñ Gyálmo, Gúru.cengi Ma:bon, Gúru.cengi Riñjyen,
 Yap Døꝛjye, Yup Døꝛjye, Bai sya khelañ khurba,
 daḷañ khurbai, Kirba ṭha:duñ khurbai Ma:bon ò!
 715 phu: gaṅgai chyela yaṅgar[mo?], jyógarmo, ñàgyuñ, ṭhiljyuñ,
 khaisyurgi khabut saꝓa,
 ta:jyen náꝛbo, dọmꝓyen náꝛboi khabut saꝓai Mème Lasyiñ Ḍabla Kù
 Ma:bon!,
 mrawai luṅgi maꝓcyi amai khabut saꝓai
 Mème Lasyiñ Ḍabla, Mam Kuduñ Gyálmo, Gúru.cengi Ma:bon,
 Gúru.cengi Riñjyen, Yap Døꝛjye, Yup Døꝛjye,
 Bai sya khelañ, daḷañ khurbai Ma:bon ò!,
 ñe:ba.cenda ṭha:gi liñma nomñu, syala huḗhup jeḍñu,
 ṭha:la syípsyip jeḍñu, seño Ma:bon!,
 720 kha daꝛjyi, mènò!

*

*Go and deal with (them) O [Ma:bon of] Paldor Jø, Byándal,
 Ganes Kuṇḍa, Kālo Raha, Seto Raha, Gyáb Thaldon,
 Døꝛjye Lẹ:ba!,*

- 705 *go and deal with the harmful agent which soars [in/near] the nine
 cya:lañs, the nine graves, the great tree, the rocky place,
 O Ma:bon!,
 go and destroy the life-beam of the one who causes harm,*

go and cause (his) flesh to be torn asunder, go and cause (his) blood to be sucked out, go and destroy (his) life-beam, O Ma:bon, act!

- O Ma:bon who soars in Kudi Jo, as to origin, you originated in Gúlguljyet, as to soaring, you soared in Sadañ.sq-Lę:so,*
- 710 *you descended (went down to Bq.kham), when descending to Bq.kham country, you descended into the king's divine abode, (and) when descending into the king's divine abode, you [carried?] the revenant (of) a Newar woman, ha:y, you resided in Cho Mamo, Phyuguri [Mármén Jo?], Puju Wala, Ràtna Kù, O Grandfather Lasyiñ Dabla, O (you), Grandmother Kuduñ Gyálmo, Gúru.cengi Ma:bon, Gúru.cengi Rįnjyen, Yap Dorjye, Yup Dorjye, O (you) Ma:bon (who) carried the revenant (of) a Newar woman, who carried (her) spectre, who carried Kirba Tha:duñ,*
- 715 *(O Lasyiñ Dabla Kù Ma:bon who) eats in the region of the upland the sacrificial share (from the flesh) of the roebuck (?), the doe (?), the fish, the crab (?), of various birds (?), O Grandfather Lasyiñ Dabla Kù Ma:bon who eats the sacrificial share (from the flesh) of the leopard, the bear, who eats the sacrificial share (from the flesh) of the peacock of the lowland, O Grandfather Lasyiñ Dabla, Grandmother Kuduñ Gyálmo, Gúru.cengi Ma:bon, Gúru.cengi Rįnjyen, Yap Dorjye, Yup Dorjye, O Ma:bon who carried the revenant, the spectre (of) a Newar woman, go and take (drink) a pond of blood of the one who causes harm, go and cause his flesh to be torn asunder, go and cause his blood to be sucked out, act O Ma:bon!,*
- 720 *(I) have conjured (you), obey!*

Notes:

- 705: **cya:lañ**, with reference to the harmful agents which have been “loaded down” (nemba) by nine iron pans (cya:lañ), cf. 43.329 and 43.334 notes.
- **dq ni cha:jo** = dq.cha:jo, s. 28.233. On the rather obscure (deictic, euphonic?) function of the particle *ni* cf. p. 301. Cf. also “sa ni meṛa” in 20.183, “ma ni sombo” in 21.196, and “ro ni duñma” in 85.706 below.
- 706: OT **ñe:ba.cen** (? < Tib. *ñes-pa-čan), ‘the one who causes harm’; first erroneously interpreted by SB as meaning ‘the harmful *cen*’.
- OT **syala huphup jeppa**, ‘to tear the flesh asunder’; ? < Tib. hub-hub byed-pa, ‘to drink in large draughts’ (Jäschke 1949: 597).
- **tha:la syıpsyip** = tha: syıpsyip in 44.344.
- 707-720: **Lasyiñ Dabla** is the deified spirit of a hunter, Lasyiñ, who lived in a specific symbiosis (khuba) with the ghost of a Newar woman and with hunter divinities whom the text apostrophizes as Dabla, Kirba Tha:duñ [Dakpo], Gúru.cengi Ma:bon, etc. Different texts and different informants give different versions of the story, but all versions have in common that Lasyiñ provided a Newar king with game, and that he became associated with the ghost of a Newar woman (Baı sya khelañ) when he once left the mountains and went down to the lowland to pay a visit to the king.

- 707: **Kudi Jo**, the name of a peak or = ? Kudi.jón, as in section 31.
- 708: **Gúlguljyet**, location unknown.
- 709: **Sadañ.sə-Lə:so**, a twin settlement in South Tibet (?), according to SB.
- 710: **bəpnem** < OT bappa, 'to descend'. The use of this verb together with "lagañ" is likely to evoke a double association, namely (a) "coming down from the northern mountains to the palace (lagañ) of the Newar king", and (b) "descending into the bomo's altar (lagañ)" (cf. 40.302 and 78.635).
- 711: **Bə.kham** < Tib. Bod-khams, 'Tibet'.
- 712: **gyálboi lagañ**, 'the king's divine abode', cf. 75.610 note; here with reference to the palace of the Newar king.
- MT **Bai sya**, 'Newar woman'.
 - MT **khelañ**, 'revenant', especially the revenant of a lama who haunts Buddhist sanctuaries. khelañ ? < Tib. khas-blañ, '(a monk who) has taken the vows'.
- 713: **Cho Mamo.... Ràtna Kù**, explained as the places frequented by Lasyiñ on his hunting trips. The mention of Cho Mamo seems to have no contextual relationship with the myth of Lasya and Dunsur (cf. sections 32. and 110.-111.).
- **Phyuguri** = ? Phyuguri Mármen Jo in section 31.
- 714: **Mam Kuduñ Gyálmo**, lit. 'Grandmother Rice-Flour Dough Queen' (in MT), the name of the Newar woman referred to above?
- **Gúru.cengi Ma:bon/Rinjyen**, tentatively explained as the name of the guru of the cen fairies. More probably, Gúru.cengi < Tib. gu-ru mchan-brgyad, the 'eight manifestations of the Great Teacher', i.e., of Padmasambhava. Rinjyen (< Tib. rin-chen) also occurs, in Tamang texts, as part of the names of Padmasambhava (Urgyen Pe:ma). These prestigious names seem to have originally been adopted to stress the divine nature of Lasyiñ.
 - **Yap/Yup Dərjye** (? < OT yap, 'father', yup, 'mother'), the name of a couple?
 - OT **dañ**, 'revenant', 'spectre', ? < Tib. 'das-log, 'ghost'.
 - **khurbai** < OT khurba, 'to carry', here for 'to be permanently associated with, and controlled by, a superhuman being', = MT máñ nà:ba = N. bhut boknu, lit. 'to carry a spirit'. Cf. also "khurbi ðemojyen" in 47.361 note.
- 715: **phu: gañgai**, cf. 56.465 note.
- **chyela** < OT chye, cf. 15.137 note.
 - OT **yañgar(mo)/yañgara**, 'roebuck'(?), ? < Tib. *gyag nar-po, 'ferocious (wild) yak'.
 - OT **jyógarmo/jógarmo**, 'doe' (?), ? < Tib. *mjo-rgod nar-po, 'ferocious wild cattle', or ? < Tib. mjo-'gar-mo, the '(female) cross-breed of dzo'.
 - OT **ñañgyuñ**, 'fish' (?); more probably a bird, cf. "nga" = the 'monāl pheasant', according to Toffin (1985: 119).
 - OT **thiljyuñ**, 'crab' (?); more probably a bird, cf. "teljung"/"theljung" = the 'snow-grouse Lerwa lerwa (?), according to Toffin (1985: 119).
 - OT **khaisyur**, 'various birds' (?) or 'wildfowl' (?); khaisyur ? < Tib. kha-žur, 'water-hen' (Jäschke 1949: 37).
 - OT **khabut**, 'sacrificial share (set apart for the divinity)', including, i.a., syabut, ʃa:but and gyuma-gyuser (cf. 26.223 notes and 98.922 note, respectively).
 - "who eats... the sacrificial share" is obviously alluding to the hunter being obliged to offer to Lasyiñ's spirit a share from any game killed.
- 716: OT **ta:jyen nárbo**, 'leopard', < Tib. stag, 'tiger', + Tib. nar-po, 'ferocious', cf. above.
- **ðomjyen** < OT ðom (< Tib. dom, 'brown bear') 'bear'.
- 717: **məpcyi ama**, cf. 19.174 note.
- 720: **kha dərjyi** < kha dərba, cf. 40.304 note.
- **məno!**, 'obey!' in SR's translation, but more correctly 'heed!' or 'mind!' (< MT mēm̄ba, 'to think', 'to think of', 'to consider', 'to want to').

- Gyábna Jọ, Pho Jyawa Síngi Lamo, Sìñla Sergi Bumba Mojyo Mengi
 Dà:mo, Dàwa nañri dīñbi Ma:bonjye seño!,
 Jęsur (Jayiswar) Kuñda nañri dīñbi Ma:bon,
 dā:bo, dā:mo, lai lęchya kùda sori, bụ:ri noppi nocyenda
 kidu-łę:nen sañu!,
 725 señkhułñu Ma:bonjye!,
 kha dājyi, mēno!,
 Jęsur (Jayiswar) Kuñda nañri dīñbi Ma:bon,
 dā:bo, dā:mo, lai lęchya kùda sori, bụ:ri noppi nocyenda señkhułñu
 Ma:bonjye!
 Nụp Nàwa Thà:ye nañri dīñbi nocyenda señkhułñu Ma:bonjye!,
 Lo Rįjyen nañri dīñbi nocyenda señkhułñu!,
 Jyañ Doyañ nañri dīñbi nocyenda señkhułñu!,
 Syar Dọjye Semba nañri dīñbi nocyenda señkhułñu!,
 Ui Nanbar nañri dīñbi nocyenda señkhułñu!,
 730 seño le Ma:bon!,
 Syarka:li Ma:bon, Syàdolai Ma:bon, Syáñla Jọi Ma:bon,
 Kudi.jóngi Ma:bon, Yañgar.jóngi Ma:bon,
 Mēme Thà:yal Dąkpo, Mēme Choyal Dąkpo,
 seño!,
 mełoñ gombo nombi Ma:bon, cya:gi mełoñ nombi Ma:bon,
 sañgi mełoñ nombi Ma:bon, cya:gi gọjya kù pheñu!,
 cya:gi bija nomna ñę:ba.cenla jara sombo kù gęłñu,
 ma ni sombo kù gęłñu, sosyiñ-dųñma gęłñu!,
 kidu-łę:nen sañu!
 735 ña bonjye kha dārla mēnjyi.

[Drumming]

*

- Act O Ma:bon of Ma Chyembo Jọ, Gañ Rura,
 (Ma:bon of) Gyábna Jọ, O Pho Jyawa Síngi Lamo, O Mojyo Mengi
 Dà:mo (of) Sìñla Sergi Bumba, O Ma:bon who soars in
 Dàwa!,
 O Ma:bon who soars at Jayiswar (Jęsur) Kuñda,
 go and tackle, come what may, the harmful agent which does harm
 to the master, the mistress, the god's nine youths in (their)
 vital principle, (their) breath!,
 725 go and deal with it O Ma:bon!,
 (I) have conjured (you), obey!,
 O Ma:bon who soars at Jayiswar Kuñda,
 go and deal with the harmful agent which does harm to the master,
 the mistress, the god's nine youths in (their) vital principle,
 (their) breath!,
 go and deal with the harmful agent which soars in (the corner
 dominated by) Nụp Nàwa Thà:ye!,
 go and deal with the harmful agent which soars in (the corner
 dominated by) Lo Rįjyen!,
 go and deal with the harmful agent which soars in (the corner
 dominated by) Jyañ Doyañ!,*

go and deal with the harmful agent which soars in (the corner dominated by) Syar Dərjye Semba!,

go and deal with the harmful agent which soars in (the corner dominated by) Ui Nañbar!,

730 *act O Ma:bon!,*

Syārka:li Ma:bon, Ma:bon of Syàrdola, Ma:bon of Syánla Jə,

Ma:bon of Kudi.jón, Ma:bon of Yaŋgar.jón, Grandfather

Ṭha:yal Đakpo, Grandfather Choyal Đakpo,

act!,

O Ma:bon who takes (carries?) heaps (of) mełoñs, Ma:bon who takes the iron mełoñ, Ma:bon who takes the copper mełoñ,

go and get at the nine iron locks!,

in taking the iron implement (sword?), go and destroy the nine

living roots of the one who causes harm, go and destroy (his)

nine living trunks, go and destroy (his) life-tree-beam,

go and tackle (him), come what may!

735 *You have obeyed as I, the boñ, had conjured (you to do).*

[Drumming]

Notes:

721: **Mə Chyembo Jə**, lit. 'Great Tree Trunk Peak', location unknown.

– **Gəñ Rura**, s. section 30.

722: **Gyábna... Đa:mo**, s. section 31.

– **Đawa**, a settlement?

723: **Jayiswar**, s. section 31.

724: **lai leñchya kù**, 'the god's nine youths', cf. 24.213 note.

– OT **kidu-łe:nen saba** (idiom), 'to do, come what may', 'to pursue a task through thick and thin'. *kidu-łe:nen* < Tib. *skyid-sdug legs-nan*, lit. 'happiness (and) misery, good (and) bad', + OT *saba*, lit. 'to eat'.

729: **Nup Nawa... Ui Nañbar**, cf. 35.273 notes.

731: **Syārka:li... Đakpo**, s. section 31.

733: **mełoñ nomba** = *mełoñ khurba*, as in 83.680?

– **cya:gi gəljiya kù pheñu!**, 'go and get at the nine iron locks!'; MT *gəljiya* (< Tib. *sgo-lčags*), 'door-lock'; in the present context, the verb *pheba* may be understood in both senses: 'to get at' and 'to open'. The phrase refers to the *boñbo*'s effort to get access to the residence of a superhuman being, cf. 108.1039 and 111.1077. Here again, the number "nine" seems to have no specific conceptual significance.

734: OT **cya:gi bija**, 'iron implement', refers, in ritual texts, to various tools, such as 'fire-poker', 'sword', 'axe', 'matchlock'.

– "destroy... the roots,... trunks,..." , notice the negative context into which the imagery of the primordial tree is placed here.

– **sosyiñ-đuñma** < *sosyiñ* + (ro./so.)*đuñma*. MT *sosyiñ* < Tib. *srog-šiñ*, lit. 'life-tree', cf. note on "che.đarsyiñ" in 10.118. For the term *srog-šiñ*, Das (1970: 1296) also gives: "... the life tree. The later Indian Buddhist used to preserve a particular tree, believing that the duration of his life depended on its existence". On the Tibetan concept of *bla-šiñ* (soul tree) and *lha-šiñ* (god-tree) cf. also Stein 1962: 192 f.

Surje Kuṇḍa, Mahā dew [Kuṇḍa] nañri dīnbai Ma:bon,
 Cho:na Ge:i Ḍaḳpo, Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Deṣum Saṅge,
 Naṡa Namgyal Gúru seño le!,

[Exhausted, panting and with a hoarse voice:]

- ṡhuṅbam gyagar menḍu kùri ṡhuṅnem, chya:bam Uiseme Sàme Ḍarda
 Kùri (?) chya:nem, Miḡe Ama Kormojyet, Miḡe Ama Ta:sañ
 Gyálmo Kormojyet, Woñdeñ-Woñsya.
 Roṅgai Ma:bon, Roṅgai Khelañ Ma:bon, Roṅgai Ḍalañ Ma:bon,
 Roṅgai Cho:na Ma:bon, Roṅgai ṡha:duñ Ma:bon,
 740 Mème Siṅgal Ḍorjye, ma: jyiññu, ma: gyábñu!,
 seño le Ma:bon!,
 syar seṅde, nuṡ seṅde, ज्या seṅde, lo seṅde, ui seṅde ḍaḳpo ma:bon,
 seṅde ma:bon nañbai yiñle thimñu, cya:lañ kùjye nenñu!,
 kekki syābruje nenñu, yongi syābru[jye] nenñu!,
 seño le Ma:bon, Yaṅgar.jóngi Ma:bon, Mème ṡha:yal Gúru,
 Mème Choyal Ḍaḳpo, do chyembo riłbi, semjen [reṡta
 gyurbi?] Ma:bon!,
 745 seño le Ñola Braṅge(i) Syabut Ḍaḅla, ṡha:but Ḍaḅla, Hiṣye Ḍaḅla,
 Nòsye Ḍaḅla, Mème Ḍaḅla, Ràsuwa Ḍaḅla, Syaduñ, ṡha:duñ
 Ḍaḅla, Kirba Ḍaḅla Kùri Ma:bon ò!
 Keruñ Phaba Cere.syj:, Syārjoñ Gómbo, Nuṡjoñ Gómbo,
 Grá:ma Pañsyiñ Gómbo, Chànda-Chòndi Gómbo,
 Lànda-Lèndi Gómbo, Jóngá Gómbo, Lo Ḍarjyuñ Gómbo,
 Sàme Ḍarda Gómbo, Pal.hiṣye Gómbo, Cīnba:ca Gómbo,
 Cha Bumba Nombi Gómbo!,
 Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Deṣum Saṅge, Gúru Pe:ma Jyūñne Deṣum Saṅge,
 Naṡa Namgyal Gúru seño le!,

[Repetition of lines 737-738]

- baḳap yiñle dīnbai Ijyet Gómbo,
 nañbai yiñle dīnbai Miḡa Ḍembarjye, Palden Làma, Nenjyurmo,
 neḍ dulñu le Ma:bon!
 750 Mème Subira!,
 seño le Ma:bon ò!,
 phott!

[Drumming]

syott, syott!

The bōmbo collapses in front of the altar and remains lying, prone, for about eight minutes.

*

*O Ma:bon who soars at Gosāi Kuṇḍa, Iswar Kuṇḍa, Dudh Kuṇḍa,
 Bhairuñ Kuṇḍa, Surje Kuṇḍa, Mahā dew [Kuṇḍa],*

*O Ḍakpo of Cho:na Ge:, Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Deṣum Saṅge,
Nawa Namgyal Gúru, act!,*

[Exhausted]

*As to origin, (you) originated in India's nine wombs (?),
as to residence, (you) resided in nine (?) Uiseme Sáme Darda,
O Miḡe Ama Kormojyet, Miḡe Ama Ta:saṅ
Gyálmo Kormojyet, Wõndeḥ-Wõṅsya.*

*O Ma:bon of Roṅga, Khelaṅ Ma:bon of Roṅga, Dalaṅ Ma:bon of
Roṅga, Cho:na Ma:bon of Roṅga, Ṭha:duṅ Ma:bon of Roṅga,
740 O Grandfather Siṅgal Dorjye, go and scare the ma:, go and smite
the ma:!*

*Act O Ma:bon!,
go and make sink into the underground sphere, go and load down
by nine cya:laṅs the east-seṅde, the west-seṅde,
the north-seṅde, the south-seṅde, the fierce
zenith-seṅde-ma:bon, the seṅde-ma:bon!,
load (them) down with the right foot, load (them) down [with] the
left foot!,*

*act O Ma:bon, Ma:bon of Yaṅgar.jõn, Grandfather Ṭha:yal Gúru,
Grandfather Choyal Ḍakpo, Ma:bon who turns the great stone
over, Ma:bon [who causes] the living beings [to perish?],*

*745 act O Syabut Ḍabla (of) Nõla Braṅge, Ṭha:but Ḍabla, Hiṣye Ḍabla,
Nõsye Ḍabla, Grandfather Ḍabla, Ràsuwa Ḍabla, Syaduṅ, Ṭha:duṅ Ḍabla, Kirba
Ḍabla Kùì Ma:bon!*

*O Keruṅ Phaba Cere.syi:, Syàrjõn Gómbo, Nuṗjõn Gómbo,
Grá:ma Paṅsyiṅ Gómbo, Chànda-Chòndi Gómbo,
Lànda-Lèndi Gómbo, Jónḡa Gómbo, Lo Darjyuṅ Gómbo,
Sáme Darda Gómbo, Pal.hiṣye Gómbo, Cinba:ca Gómbo,
Cha Bumba Nombi Gómbo!,*

*act O Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Deṣum Saṅge, Gúru Pe:ma Jyũṅne Deṣum
Saṅge. Nawa Namgyal Gúru!*

[Repetition]

*O Ijyet Gómbo who soars in the atmosphere,
O Miḡa Deṃbarjye, Palden Làma, Nenjyurmo who soar in the
underground sphere, go and tame the illness O Ma:bon!,
750 Grandfather Subira!,
act O Ma:bon!
phott! phott!*

[Drumming]

syott!, syott!

[Collapse]

Notes:

736: **Gosāi Kuṇḍa... Mahā dew Kuṇḍa**, s. section 31.

– **Surje (Sūrya) Kuṇḍa**, another lake in the Gosāikuṇḍ massif.

– **Cho:na Ge:i Ḍakpo** = Cho:na Ge: Ma:bon in section 30.? Cf. also 43.328 note.

– **Deṣum Saṅge** < Tib. dus-gsum saṅs-rgyas, 'the Buddha of the Three Ages', here as one of the names of Urgyen Pe:ma.

– **Naṅwa Namgyal** ? < Tib. na-mo mam-rgyal gu-ru, 'praise to the Complete Victory Guru', adopted here as a further name of Urgyen Pe:ma.

737-738: **ṭhuṅbam... Wōnden-Wōnsya**, cf. 77.621-624.

739-740: **Rōṅgai... Siṅgal Ḍorjye**, names of the Ma:bon of Rōṅga, s. section 31. and 42.321.

740: **ma: jyīṅṅu** < ma: jyīṅba, 'to scare the *ma:*', i.e., the (hosts of) harmful agents, such as the "seṅḍe ḍakpo ma:bons" in line 742. Both Chyamba and SB stressed that OT jyīṅba implied, in the present context, the meaning 'to frighten up and cause to go mad with fear or rage'. It cannot be excluded that the verb was, originally, part of an idiomatic expression; perhaps, "ma: jyīṅba" < Tib. *dmag 'jiṅ-ba, 'to make war', 'to give battle'.

– **ma: gyábṅu** < ma: *gyáppa, cf. "ma: gyábla kuiṅi" in 26.226 note.

742: **syar seṅḍe... ma:bon**, cf. 44.342 notes.

– **naṅbai yiṅle thimṅu**, 'go and make sink into the underground sphere', is a variant of "naṅbai tiṅle thim.gyurṅu" in 43.334.

743: OT **syābru**, 'leg', 'foot', with reference to dancing only; syābru ? < Tib. žabs-bro, 'dance'. Cf. also "syābru cu:ba" in 110.1068 note. – **syābruṅje nembra**, 'to load/press down with the foot', alludes to the dance through which the harmful agent is to be "stamped" into the ground.

744: **Yaṅgar.jōṅgi... Choyal Ḍakpo**, s. section 31.

– **ḍo chyembo riṅbai**, 'the one who turns the great stone (boulder) over', is one of the tokens of numinous power in the ritual texts.

– **semjen** [reṅta gyurba], cf. 20.183 note.

745: **ṅola Braṅge**, s. section 30.

– **Syabut Ḍabla...Kūi Ma:bon**, s. 26.223-225.

746: **Keruṅ... Cha Bumba Nombi Gómbo**, s. section 32.

– **Pe:ma Jyūne**, cf. 20.185 note.

748: **Ijyet Gómbo**, cf. 77.624 note. If, in this instance, Gómbo < Tib. mGon-po (cf. p. 193 above), the name Ijyet, sometimes also pronounced Hijyet, might derive from a Tibetan expression containing the term yid, 'mind', etc., or the term ye-šes, 'wisdom': cf. Tib. yi-dam > Tamang hiḍam, and Tib. ye-šes > Tamang hiṅsyē.

749: **Miga Ḍembarjye** is said to be another name for the Four Orphans (Miga syí:, Wōnden-Wōnsya). Possibly adopted from the epithet of another Tibetan dharmapāla divinity; Ḍembarjye ? < Tib. 'dren-pa-rje/che, lit. 'chief/great leader'; cf. also Tib. ru 'dren-pa, 'groups of companions of a dharmapāla' (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 21).

– **Palden Lāma** and **Nenjurmo** are further names for Lasya. Palden Lāma < Tib. dPal-Idan Lha-mo; Nenjurmo < Tib. mal-'byor-ma, 'yoginī', cf. pp. 56-57.

750: **Subira**, obscure.

While reciting the section which follows (and in which the bōmbo ad-identifies himself to the Sun Jhākri), the drum is being beaten over the head of the patient so that "all evil may be separated from her body".

88.

merai Guru Dhanasri Mahā dew, Buddhasri Mahā dew,
755 nau tala [tale] ākāsmā utpanna bhaeko,

hare, pattāl[mā], sāttai tale,
 sāttai dharti,
 pattālamā utpatti hunubho [hunubhayo],
 Buddha Kailāsa[mā] utpatti hunubho,
 760 hare Bāsuki Nāg, Rām, Lacchiman!,
 hare Sri Krisna, Mahā Dew!,
 Buddha Kailāsa[mā] utpatti hunubho,
 Sunai Jhākri, Sunai Jhākrini,
 laṭṭā phīji [phijāi], ghāgro-mālā lagāi,

[Whistle]

765 sunako jāmā lagāi,
 sunai gaju [gajā], sunai ḍamburu,
 ekkai hāta sunako gaju [gajā] khelāikana,
 ekkai hāta ḍamburu khelāikana,
 sailuñ bāna, cakra bāna,
 770 hare, kharḡa bāna,
 hare, Mukṭichetra, Mukṭichena (?), Bhukṭiparwāda (?),
 Dolakhā ra Nandā pradhāra [padhāra?].

*

755 *O my Guru Dhanasri Mahā Dew, Buddhasri Mahā Dew,
 who originated in the nine-storeyed heavens,
 hail, [in] the underworld, the seven-storeyed (one),
 (in ?) all the seven earths,
 (you) originated in the underworld,
 originated [on] Buddha Kailāsa,*
 760 *hail O Bāsuki Nāg, Rām, Lacchiman!,
 hail O Sri Krisna, Mahā Dew!,
 (you) originated [on] Buddha Kailāsa,
 O Sun Jhākri, Sun Jhākrini,
 in uncoiling the hair lock, in putting on the bell-string,*

[Whistle]

765 *putting on the golden robe,
 (taking?) the drumstick of pure gold, the ḍamaru of pure gold,
 (with) the one hand making the golden drumstick play,
 (with) the other hand making the ḍamaru play,
 (setting in motion?) the magic sailuñ-arrow, the whirling magic
 arrow,*
 770 *hail, the magic sword-arrow,
 hail, Mukṭichetra, Mukṭichena (?), Bhukṭiparwāda (?),
 come (?) O Dolakhā and Nandā!*

Notes:

754-761: Dhanasri... Mahā Dew, s. 1.8 and 1.16-18.

763-771: Cf. 2.19-23.

- 763: **Sunai Jhākri**, the emphatic *-ai* in **Sunai** influenced by “*sunai gaju/ḍamburu*” in line 766 below?
 765: **jāmā**, the long robe of the *ḅombo*, s. p. 69.
 769: **sailuñ**, erroneously for “*sabyuñ*” (as in 89.791 below)?
 771: **Muktichetra** = Muktināth (as in 2.23); **Muktichena** = Muktichetra (Muktikṣetra). As Jackson (1984: 11 f.) notes, the name Muktināth refers to a whole class of places of pilgrimage which probably also includes Muktināth proper.
 – **Bhuktiparwāda**, obscure. A contraction of “*Bhukti(chetra)*” and “*(Sorga) Parpāta*” in 2.23?
 772: **Dolakhā**, with reference to the famous temple of Bhimsen at Dolakhā (s. 4.49)?
 – **Nandā**, here as the epithet of the goddess Durgā?
 – **pradhāra** ? < corrupt form of the Hindi verb *padhāmā*, ‘to come’, with a “Nepalized” imperative?

89.

- sunai pachāri x x x khelāikana,
 yasai jananiko,
 775 hare, disāri (=?),
 hare, baiṭhau na!,
 x x x
 cārai jāta, cārai barna,
 Dukkhini Rājā, Dukkhini Rāni,
 780 Mahākāli Bir, Mahākāli Masān calāu!,
 uṭhāki, parlābi [prabhāwi?] utpatti hunubho [hunubhayo],
 uṭha, calāu na!,
 uṭha, calijāu na!,
 Satte Nārāyan[ko] pālomā utpatti hunubho,
 785 Pirthi Nārāyan[ko] pālomā utpatti hunubho,
 hare, dokh-docche sasānā bhaicalāu na mero Guru!,
 mero pyāro baccā ho, Māi!,
 mero ākhini bān calāu na Māi!,

[Whistle]

- 790 hare, kugyān calāu na Māi!,
 yahi janani[lāi lāgeko] pir, docche pheri [phirāi] calāu na!,
 sabyuñ bān, bibyuñ bān, ulṭo-sulṭo [bān] harān gari calāu!

*

- Of pure gold behind x x x making play,
 of this mother,*
 775 *hail, the disāri (=?) (of this mother),
 hail, do sit!,
 x x x
 (the beings of) the four castes, the four classes,*
 779-80 *set in motion Dukkhini Rājā, Dukkhini Rāni,
 Mahākāli Bir, Mahākāli Masān,
 arisen, mighty (?), (you) originated.
 get up, do set in motion!,
 get up, do go away!,
 (you) originated in the time [of] Satte Nārāyan.*

785 *originated in the time [of] Pirthi Nārāyan,
hail, minimize and set in motion all illnesses O my Guru!,
(this client) is my dear child, O Māi!,
do set in motion the magic arrow of my glimpse O Māi!,*

[Whistle]

*hail, do set in motion the black art O Māi!,
790 turn back and set in motion the distress, the illness
this mother [is suffering from]!,
seize and set in motion the magic arrow (which comes) the right
way round, the magic arrow (which comes) the wrong way
round, [the magic arrow which comes] reversed!*

Notes:

– x x x x = distorted on the tape, SR was unable to reconstruct these passages.

779: **Dukkhini...**, s. 2.30.

780: **Mahākālī Bir/Masān**, cf. 7.78 note.

781: **uṭhāki** ? < uṭhākī < Hindi uṭhnā, 'to arise', 'to originate', influenced by N. "uṭhnu" in the subsequent line?

783: **calijāu**, 'go away!', unclear whether it is addressed to the Māi or the birs and masāns.

784: **Satte Nārāyan...**, cf. 2.27 note.

791: **sabyuñ** < sabbiū, 'right'. – **bibyūñ** < bibbiū, 'wrong'. – **ulṭo-sulṭo**, lit. 'upside-down'. Meaning: the magic arrows (bān) which come "the wrong way round" and "reversed" are those spells, curses, etc. which had originally been aimed at other persons, but have, then, been repelled by counter-magic and happened to hit the patient.

There follows a long drumming sequence during which the bōmbo is said to "meditate on the Māi".

He then urges the mountain Ma:bons again to "deal with" the harmful agents:

90.

hə:y,
kha dəṛṅu Ma:bon, l̥i: dəṛṅu Ma:bon!,
ləyo məppi noccyen, d̥ikpa məppi noccyen,
795 gyábna j̥o [sic] kha tañbai noccyen, ñonna j̥o [sic] chi: tañbai noccyen,
hə:y,
də:moda yara syelne, məra oine, khokpai dəni, riñriñ-phetphet,
thòmdom-riñri j̥yũnbai noccyen,
gyábna kha tañba, ñonna chi: tañbai noccyen thaluñ-m̥luñ cu:ñu!,
d̥aṅboi si, d̥aṅboi ri, phosyibi syimo, məsyibi syimo gəlñu!,
800 señkhuñu Ma:bon ò!,
sa línl̥iñ j̥eppi Saṅgul D̥orjye sa línl̥iñ j̥eḍñu!,
Ma:bon, kha d̥arjyi, señkhuñu!,
sa gyámjyei g̥u:ri d̥iñbai noccyen señkhuñu!,
nàm b̥arkap [tiñle] phiriri d̥iñbai noccyen señkhuñu!,
805 sa línl̥iñ j̥eppi Ayo Saṅgul D̥orjye sa línl̥iñ j̥eḍñu!,

kha d̄arjyi, m̄eno!
 ɭayo m̄ejjyi, d̄ikpa m̄ejjyi – s̄ɛŋkhuɭŋu!,
 ula m̄ara b̄appai noccyen ula m̄ara d̄iŋŋu!,
 d̄aŋboi kha taŋba, d̄aŋboi chi: taŋbai noccyen s̄ɛŋkhuɭŋu!,
 810 sa gyámjyei [ḡu:ri?] d̄iŋbai noccyen mi,
 sa gyámjyei noccyen ula [m̄ara?] d̄iŋŋu, ula [m̄ara?] b̄apŋu!,
 che.darsyiŋ ŋamba, chalam ŋamba, buɭam ŋamba, d̄ara ŋambai
 noccyen kidu-ɭe:nen saŋu Àyo Saŋgul D̄orjye,
 N̄awa Namgyal Gúru!

[Following the same pattern, a number of further harmful agents are enumerated, as in 11.125 and 12.127-130]

*

h̄a:y,
 go and conjure O Ma:bon, go and conjure (?) O Ma:bon!,
 (conjure) the harmful agent which commits the crime of killing,
 the harmful agent which commits (this) sin,
 795 the harmful agent which presents (its) mouth at the back top
 [sic], the harmful agent which presents (its) backbone at
 the front top [sic]!,
 h̄a:y,
 go and turn topsyturvy the harmful agent which causes the
 mistress to be befallen by a “rinsing-up”, a “flowing-down”,
 (by) a magic arrow (causing an illness in) the interior of the
 body, (by all sorts of) illnesses and ailments (?),
 (by) thòmdom-r̄i,
 the harmful agent which presents (its) mouth at the back,
 which presents (its) backbone at the front!,
 go and destroy the si of the past, the ri of the past,
 the ghost of a dead male, the ghost of a dead female!,
 800 go and deal with it O Ma:bon!,
 O Saŋgul D̄orjye who causes the earth to shake, go and cause the
 earth to shake!,
 O Ma:bon, (I) have conjured (you), go and deal with it!,
 go and deal with the harmful agent which soars near the
 earth (?),
 go and deal with the harmful agent which soars fluttering in
 [the middle of] the atmosphere!,
 805 O Àyo Saŋgul D̄orjye who causes the earth to shake, go and cause
 the earth to shake!,
 (I) have conjured (you), obey!
 (The harmful agent) has committed the crime of killing, has
 committed (this) sin – go and deal with it!,
 O harmful agent which descends, go and soar downwards (?)!
 Go and deal with (the harmful agent) of the past,
 (which) presents (its) mouth, the harmful agent of the past,
 which presents (its) backbone!,
 810 as to (you O) harmful agent which soars near the earth (?),
 O harmful agent (which soars near) the earth (?), go and soar

*downwards (?), go and descend!,
 O Àyo Saṅgul Dḥjye, Nawa Namgyal Gúru, go and tackle, come what
 may, the harmful agent which injures the life-pole, injures
 the great-grandchildren (?), injures the grandchildren (?),
 injures the respiration (!)*

[Repetitions]

Notes:

- 793: **l̥j̥: d̥ar̥ñu** < *l̥j̥: d̥ar̥ba, obscure. A pleonastic “supplement” to the preceding idiom “kha d̥ar̥ba”, ‘to conjure’, influenced by those phrases in which the word kha (‘mouth’, etc.) precedes the word l̥j̥: (‘body’, etc.)? Cf. “kha/l̥j̥: salyu” (8.94), “kha/l̥j̥: ñammu” (10.118) or “kha/l̥j̥: nolkho” (38.292).
- 794: **l̥ayo meppi...** s. 37.280.
- 795: **gyábna j̥o kha/ñonna j̥o chi: tañbai**, lit. ‘which presents its mouth at the back top/its backbone at the back top’, cf. pp. 304 f., 310.
- 797: **yara syelne... jyũñbai**, s. 9.115-117 and 34.270.
- 803: **sa gyámjyei gu:ri** appears to be a pleonastic “cross-breed” between “sa gyámjye d̥iñbai” (37.285) and “l̥am gyaram/d̥ursa gu:ri d̥iñbai” (12.127). Cf. also the problem of “sa gyámjyei yiñle” in 84.689 note.
- 804: **nàm... phiriri**, s. 19.173, 22.197 and 37.285 with reference to different beings.
- 808: **ula maṛa bappa**, cf. 40.302 note and 78.635.
- **ula maṛa d̥iññu**, ‘go and soar downwards (?)’, obscure.
- 809: **d̥añboi kha/chi: tañbai noccyen**, a combination of “gyábna kha/ñonna chi: tañbai” (line 798) and “d̥añboi si/ri” (line 799).

91.

- seño le Ma:bon!,
 b̥ombo ñembi ñensur, l̥ama chebi chesur ló:ñu!,
 815 kharda-chobda, sabda-luñen, d̥ori ne:bi d̥obon chyembo, chyuri ne:bi
 chyubon chyembo, syiñbon, brá:bon d̥ulñu!,
 gyaḍen.toñgi chyoppa phulla, gyañ maḡamu,
 ma: jyiññu!

[Repetition of 83.681-687 (the invocation of the maḡos) and
 84.691-694 (invocation of the mountain Ma:bons)]

- Mème Ṭha:gi Nórbu nombai Ma:bonjye, Syánla J̥oi Ma:bonjye,
 G̥orkha J̥óngi Ma:bonjye
 phu: gañgai khale jumrul yónbi noccyen, d̥añboi khelañ geññu!,
 820 salu karbo, salu maṛbo, lu karbo, lu maṛbo, lu serbo, lu jyañbo
 [jyañgu] nañbai yiñle thimñu, cya:lañ kùjye nenñu,
 kekki syaḡbru[jye] nenñu, yongi syaḡbru[jye] nenñu!

[Repetition of 86.730-732 (invocation of further mountain Ma:bons)]

[Drumming]

[Repetition of 87.739-740 (invocation of Roṅgai Ma:bon and Siṅgal

Doryje]

Phyùguri Jò dɪnbai [i Ma:bon], Gyábna Phurjo, Nònna Larjo Pho
 Jyáwa Sìngi Lamo,
 Sìnla Sergi Bumba Mojyo Mengi Dà:mo, Lari Gəñri,
 Lari dɪnbai [Ma:bon]
 señkhulñu!

[Drumming]

*

*Act O Ma:bon!,
 go and avert the bɔmbo('s) harming magic weapon,
 the lama('s) harming magic weapon!,
 815 go and tame the kharda-chobda, the sabda-luñen, the great dɔbon
 which dwells in the courtyard, the great chyubon which dwells
 in the water, the syinbon, the brá:bon!,
 (we) will offer a million sacrifices, (since the mistress) appears not
 to become happy (get better),
 go and scare the ma:!*

[Repetitions]

*O Ma:bon who takes (along as a helper?) Grandfather T̥ha:gi Nórbu,
 O Ma:bon of Syánla Jò, O Ma:bon of Gorkha Jón,
 go and destroy the harmful agent the portent of which comes on from
 (the direction of) the upland, (destroy) the revenant of the
 past!,
 820 go and make sink into the underground sphere, go and load down
 by nine cya:lañs, go and load down
 [with] the right foot, go and load down [with] the left
 foot the white salu, the red salu, the white lu,
 the red lu, the yellow lu, the green lu,!*

[Repetitions]

[Drumming]

[Repetitions]

*[O Ma:bon who] soars (in) Phyùguri Jò. O Pho Jyáwa Sìngi Lamo (of)
 Gyábna Phurjo, Nònna Larjo.
 O Mojyo Mengi Dà:mo (of) Sìnla Sergi Bumba, [O Ma:bon] who soars
 (in) Lari Gəñri, (in) Lari,
 go and deal with it!*

Notes:

814: bɔmbo... chesur, s. 9.102.

– ló:ñu < OT ló:ba (< Tib. zlog-pa), 'to avert', 'to cause to return'.

815: **kharda-chobda... brá:bon**, cf. 12.129 notes.

816: **gyaḍeñ.tongi... maḡamu**, cf. 10.121 notes.

818: **Ṭha:gi Nórbu** and **Syáñla Jḡ**, s. sections 30. and 31. respectively.

– **Gorkha Jón** = Gorkhā, s. 30.247. Jón (< Tib. rjoñ, 'castle'), refers to the palace at Gorkhā.

819: **phu: gaṅgai**, s. 56.465; **khale** = khari, cf. 9.108-109 notes; s. also 39.300 and 42.320.

– MT **jumrul** (< Tib. rju-'phrul), 'omen', 'portent', 'apparition', mostly with a negative connotation; a partial synonym of temrul (9.105 note).

– **yónbai** < yónba, 'to come on', cf. 9.102 and 47.365 notes.

– "the portent of which comes on from the upland", perhaps an allusion to the "harmful agent which roams the mountain", mentioned in the divination in 48.385.

– **khelañ**, cf. 85.712 note.

820: **salu**, cf. 46.354 note.

– **lu** (< Tib. klu), believed to dwell beneath stones and near certain springs; harmful only when molested by man. (According to Holmberg [1989: 99], "... each house has its attached lu", too). Informants were not sure whether the lu was identical with nāg, even though the text treats both as categories corresponding to, or congruent with, each other.

– "white, red... lu", cf. the *nāgs* of different colours in 4.50-51. On the association of the *klus* with different colours corresponding to the eight points of the compass cf., e.g., Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 6-7.

– **nañbai... nenñu**, s. 43.334 and 87.742.

– **kekki/yongi syābru(jye)**, cf. 87.743 note.

821: **Phyūguri Jḡ**, **Pho Jyāwa Singi Lamo**, s. section 31.

– **Gyábna Phurjo** and **Nōnna Larjo**, (erroneous?) variants of **Gyábna Jḡ Namjo** and **Nōnna Jḡ Phurjo**, respectively, the names of two mountain peaks. Viewed from the South, one of these peaks is situated behind (gyábna), and the other one before (nōnna), a third peak called **Phyūguri Mármen Jḡ**, as explained by the informants.

822: **Sinla... Lari**, s. section 31.

The **bombo** now proceeds to the act of the second restoring of the soul (*blā ta:ba*, cf. pp. 146-147). The latter is rescued from, and with the aid of, the **Māi**:

92.

- ho-o-o-o-o-o,
 825 hai, mero bālā ho,
 hare, supāni (?) bālā jagāileu!,
 merai bālā ho,
 gunasiṅ jagāileu, phul jagāileu!,
 pattāla kholileu na, ākāsa kholileu na!,
 830 merai bālā ho,
 purba calileu [calāileu], uttar calileu [calāileu]!,
 mero bālā ho,
 sāto bolāileu na!,
 mero bālā ho, mero rāni ho,
 835 pattāla, Yendra [Indra] dhasi, Yendra phoṛileu na,
 Syilpattar phoṛileu na!
 jagāileu na!,
 mero bālā ho,
 sāttai gaṅgā, sāttai samundra jagāileu na!,
 mero bālā ho,
 840 phulai phula, phula phulai jagāileu!,

Laṅga māṛileu, Laṅga jalāileu!,
mero bālā ho, hare, mero bālā.

*

- ho-o-o-o-o-o,
825 hai, (*the patient*) is my girl,
hail, awaken and bring the supāni (=?) girl!,
(*she*) is my girl,
awaken and bring the gunasiṅ, awaken and bring the flower!,
do open and bring the underworld, do open and bring the heavens!,
830 (*she*) is my girl,
set in motion and bring the east, set in motion and bring the
north!,
(*she*) is my girl,
do call and bring (*her*) soul!,
(*she*) is my girl, is my queen,
835 pierce the underworld, (*the abode of*) Indra, do break open and
bring (*the abode of*) Indra, do break open and bring
Syilpattar!,
do awaken and bring (*them*)!,
(*she*) is my girl,
do awaken and bring all the seven rivers, all the seven oceans!,
(*she*) is my girl,
840 awaken and bring all the flowers, every flower!,
kill and bring Laṅga, burn and bring Laṅga!,
(*she*) is my girl, hail, my girl.

Notes:

825: **bālā**, lit. 'girl', 'female child', here as an affectionate hypocorism for the woman patient.

826: **supāni** ? < supātri as the feminine form of supātra, 'able', 'fit'.

828: **gunasiṅ, phul**, cf. 3.38 notes.

831: **purba... calāileu**, 'set in motion and bring the east/north!', i.e., the beings inhabiting these corners?

833: **sāto**, 'soul', as the equivalent of MT blā, cf. 3.38 note.

835: **Yendra/Indra**, cf. 2.36 note.

– **Syilpattar**, obscure in this context; cf. "Syilpattar Ma:deo [Mahā dew]" in section 73.

840: **phulai phula, phula phulai**, correctly: "phulai phul, phul phulai", 'all the flowers, every flower'.

841: **Laṅga jalāileu**, 'burn and bring Laṅga!', perhaps inspired by the motif of the firebrand devastating Laṅkā in the Rāmāyaṇa; cf. also "Laṅga" and "Palaṅga" in 4.53-54 notes.

The procedure of "receiving" and restoring the soul to the patient is the same as described above, pp. 146-147. Again, the omen turns out to be favourable.

This is followed by the act called *jhārjhur*.⁶ While the drum is being beaten by one of the laymen present, the *ḥombo* takes the thigh-bone trumpet (*kanliñ*) in his left hand and moves it around a bunch of twigs of the *kèsyiñ*⁷ tree, held in his right hand – till both hands start trembling. He then approaches the patient and the members of her family, seated in a row, and

6 N. *jhārjhur*, 'shaking', 'flapping' (Turner 1965: 233).

7 Schima wallichii.

flaps, gently, with the bunch of twigs over their bodies – starting, each time, with the head, continuing with shoulders, back, lap, knees and feet – to sweep off all evil that may cling to them. His conspicuous “snuggling” to the client during the treatment was explained as a technique designed to absorb the evil into the bombo’s own body. The flapping is repeated, this time with the twigs being dipped into hot ashes said to “singe the harmful agents”. The ritual of *jhārjhur* concludes with blowing the thigh-bone trumpet three times, which puts the spirits to flight (cf. p. 63).

93. – 96. The oracle (*mūnai saldap*)

The oracle, called “night-*saldap*” and always performed in Nepali, is claimed to verify the results of the divination, the “evening-*saldap*” (sections 46.-49.). This verification derives its authoritativeness from the fact that the *ḥombo* declares to act, this time, as a mere mouthpiece of a divinity (93.846-849).

The *ḥombo* recites standing in the “upper half” of the house between the fire-place and the central post (fig. 1); he is facing the clients seated in the “lower half”, without looking at them, however. His gaze directed towards the door,¹ and the same slightly nasal articulation which prevailed in the divination, too, stress his being in a particular state of consciousness, but he shows no sign of what one would call a trance or medial possession. Here again, he takes care to recite neatly and with a solemn deliberateness, so that every word is clearly audible to the clients.

Sections 93.- 95. concern the patient, while section 96. is devoted to the old woman and her grandson whose case was also dealt with in the divination (section 49.).

93.

- 845 hare manuwā!, cokho dhup lagāideu!,
 hare manuwā!, maṅsako dhup lagāideu!,
 gājāko dhup lagāideu, hare manuwā!,
 hāmi Laṅga Tapasi,
 hare manuwā!, cāwarko dhup [lagāideu]!,
 hāmi Kapurna Māi ho [haū],
 hare, Dakkhin Kālikā, Kusuṅḍā [Māi] ho [haū], [tite-]pātiko dhup
 lagāideu!,
 850 hare manuwā!, Mahākāla, Mahākāli[lāi] sāt samundra[ko?] jal-dhup
 lagāideu!
 hai manuwā, laganmā, manuwā, kaunai kurā pani, manuwā,
 ghar-gharimā kaunai kurā[ko] racchā chaina,
 sunilinu, bujhilinu manuwā!

*

- 845 *Hail O creature!, use pure incense!,
 hail O creature!, use the incense of flesh!,
 use the incense of hemp!, hail O creature!,
 we (are) Laṅga Tapasi,
 hail O creature!, [use] the incense of husked rice!,
 we are Kapurna Māi,
 hail, (we) are Dakkhin Kālikā, Kusuṅḍā [Māi],
 use the incense of [tite-]pāti!,*
 850 *hail O creature, [for] Mahākāla, Mahākāli use the water-incense
 [from?] the seven oceans!,
 hai, O creature, in the constellation, O creature, (there is no
 protection for) anything, O creature,
 in the homestead, there is no protection [for] anything.*

¹ The door lies in the direction of the ideal South-East, the “corner” associated with the *māis*, one of whom is now to speak through the *ḥombo*.

hear, notice O creature!

Notes:

- 843: **manuwā**, 'man', 'creature', used in ceremonial language only (Turner 1965: 492).
- 844: **maṅsa** < Skt. māṁsa, 'flesh', 'meat'. The peculiar use of meat/rice/water as an "incense" is reminiscent of a 'burnt offering' (homa) on a sacred fire. – Actually, a chip from the fried egg on the altar was put into the censer.
- 845: **gājako dhup**, 'incense of hemp', is meant for Laṅga Tapasi, the ascetic; cf. p. 59 and 82.670. Actually, some hemp was put into the censer.
- 846: **hāmi**, 'we', obviously a pluralis majestatis for 'I'.
– **cāwarko dhup** = cāmalko dhup, lit. 'incense of husked rice'. Actually, a few grains were put into the censer.
- 848: **Kapurna**, cf. 82.674 note.
- 849: **Dakkhin... Kusuṇḍā**, cf. 7.79 and 82.674 notes.
– **tite-pāti** = MT cēṇḍi/cendirī, Artemisia sp.; cf. also 15.138 note. A twig of this plant, stuck in the jug (bumba), was used as an aspergill for what is referred to here as "jal-dhup".
- 850: **jal-dhup**, 'lit. water-incense'. Actually a few drops of water from the jug were sprinkled into the censer.
- 851: **lagan**, 'constellation', may also mean here 'omen' or '(specific) configuration of omina'.
– **kaunai** (Hindi?) = N. kunai.
– **ghar-ghaṛeri**, used here as a compound, < ghar, 'house', + ghaṛeri, 'the ground on which a house stands'. The artificial compound is possibly to provide a mirror-translation of OT khaṁsa < khañ, 'house', + sa, 'earth', 'ground'.
– **racchā/racche** = rakṣā, 'protection'.

94.

- 855 hare manuwā!, pattāl, bhuicālo bān,
pattāl bān uṭhāune [uṭhne] ghar-ghaṛerimā,
ghar-ghaṛerimā bahuttai kharābi bhayo,
kaunai kurā[ko] racchā chaina,
hare manuwā!,
ek kai barsa, dui barsamā
- 860 yahi ghar-ghaṛerimā ek kai murdā holā,
sunilinu, bujhilinu manuwā!,
pattāl bān, bhuicālo bān khelāune, manuwā,
ākās bān, Paca Bhāi khelāune, manuwā,
Paca Bhāiko pachi kālo bir khelāune rahecha, manuwā,
- 865 yasai thapanāmā uttarpaṭṭiko bir khelāune rahecha, manuwā,
hai manuwā, yahi thapanā
satturle [satturle] bahuttai ākhi pani garne rahecha,
sunilinu, bujhilinu manuwā!

*

854-55 *Hail O creature!, in the homestead where the underworld[-arrow],
the magic earthquake-arrow, the magic underworld-arrow
emerges,
in (this) homestead, something very bad has happened,
there is no protection [for] anything,*

- hail O creature!,
in just one year (or in) two years*
860 *there may be one corpse in this homestead,
hear, notice O creature!,
(it is a witch) who makes the magic underworld-arrow, the
magic earthquake-arrow play, O creature,
who makes the magic sky-arrow (of?) Paca Bhāi play, O creature,
it is (a witch) who, after Paca Bhāi, turns out to make a black bir play,
O creature,*
865 *it is (a witch) who turns out to make a bir of the northern side play in
in this cult place, O creature,
hai, O creature, (on) this cult place
the enemy turns out to have also cast a great deal of evil eye,
hear, notice O creature!*

Notes:

854: **bhuicālo bān**, 'magic earthquake-arrow', synonymous with "pattāl bān"?

855: **pattāl bān**, cf. 4.43 note.

860: **ekkai murdā**, the emphatic "ekkai" ('one') is misleading in that it conveys the meaning "the whole family may become one single corpse". Actually, however, the death of only one person is predicted.

862: **khelāune**, '(the one) who makes play', i.e., the witch who manipulates the powers and superhuman beings thanks to her/his acquaintance with the appropriate mantras. Cf. 47.361 where the contrary is the case: the witch being controlled by the divinities. On the verb *khelnu* cf. p. 73.

863: **ākās bān**, cf. 4.43 note.

– **Paca Bhāi/Paca Bhaiyā**, lit. 'The Five Brothers', a divinity of the "wild hunter" type, who roams about the forests and mountains, and shoots arrows at humans; cf. "gañ khyugpai noccyen" in 48.385 note.

864: **bir**, cf. 4.43 note and 7.78 note.

865: **thapanā/thāpanā** < *sthāpanā*, lit. 'establishing', 'founding', hence also 'cult place' established for the regular worship of a superhuman being (cf. 99.929 and also Höfer and Shrestha 1973: 54, 62). In the present context, *thapanā* is a euphemism for the house of the client.

867: **sattur** < *sattru*, 'enemy' (corresponding to OT "j̄o:ri nākpo" and "m̄j: thama", cf. 9.102 and 36.276 respectively), here for the witch in question.

– **bahuttai** < Hindi *bahut*, here 'a great deal', 'to a great extent'.

95.

- yahi janani, manuwā,
870 jananiko gunasiṅ, phulamā [phulmā],
hare manuwā!, satturle ākhi gardā, manuwā,
Nepāla Bālākanne khelāune, Dakkhin Kālikā,
Dolakhā Budhbāre khelāune boksile, manuwā,
yo jananiko phul jammai khāisakeko rahecha,
875 hare manuwā!, pacchimpaṭṭiko boksile
bahuttai ākhi-dābi garne rahecha,
sunilinu, bujhilinu manuwā!,
sāgare bir khelne [khelāune], manuwā,
Dakkhin Kālikā, Budhbāre, Nepāl Kanne khelāune, manuwā,
880 boksile bahuttai ākhi gardā
yo jananiko phulmā [phul] khāisakeko rahecha,*

- hare manuwā!, sunilinu, bujhilinu manuwā!,
 uttarpaṭṭi kukhrā khāne deutālāi
 Jeṭh Purnemā, Maṅsir Purnemā ek bhākal garne,
 885 yo jananile ek barsa, dui barsa[samma], manuwā,
 ahile pani nikai kaṣṭa rahecha, manuwā,
 yahi janani jogāune kām garne, laganmā kaunai kurā[ko]
 racchā chaina,
 hare manuwā!, Ākās Dewi pani khelāune, manuwā,
 boksile bahuttai ākhi gardo rahecha,
 890 Dakkhin Kālikā[lāi] bhākal,
 bhakti garne,
 Dolakhā Budhbāre[ko?] bhakti garne,
 Nepāl Bālākanneko bhakti garne, Mankāmnā Sāt Kanne Māiko bhakti garne,
 bhākal, bhakti garnu manuwā!,
 895 Nāgoṛ [Nuwākoṭ] Bhairawi Māiko bhakti garnu manuwā!,
 kaunai kurāko racchā chaina.

*

- This mother, O creature,*
 870 *on (this) mother's gunasiṅ (and) flower,*
hail O creature!, the enemy has cast an evil eye and thus,
O creature,
the witch who makes Nepāl Bālākanne play, who makes
Dakkhin Kālikā,
Dolakhā Budhbāre play, O creature,
turns out to have already eaten up the whole flower of this mother,
 875 *hail O creature!, the witch of the western side*
turns out to have cast a great deal of envying evil eye,
hear, notice O creature!,
(the witch) who makes a sāgare bir play, O creature,
who makes Dakkhin Kālikā, Budhbāre, Nepāl Kanne play, O creature,
 880 *by casting a great deal of evil eye, the witch*
turns out to have already eaten up this mother's gunasiṅ (and) flower,
hail O creature!, hear, notice O creature!,
to the chicken-eating divinity (of) the northern side
a vow (to sacrifice) on Jeṭh Purne, on Maṅsir Purne is to be made
 885 *by this mother (so that she may be protected for?) one year,*
two years, O creature,
(she) turns out to be very seriously ill even now, O creature,
a rite which shields this mother is to be carried out,
in (her) constellation there is no protection [for] anything,
hail O creature!, the witch who also makes Ākās Dewi play,
O creature,
turns out to have cast a great deal of evil eye,
 890 *a vow (to sacrifice) is to be made [to] Dakkhin Kālikā,*
(this goddess) is to be worshipped,
Dolakhā Budhbāre is to be worshipped,
Nepāl Bālākanne is to be worshipped, Mankāmnā Sāt Kanne Māi
is to be worshipped,
make a vow (to sacrifice), worship O creature!,

895 *worship Nuwākoḥ Bhairawi Māi O creature!,
there is no protection for anything.*

Notes:

870: **gunasiṅg, phul**, cf. 3.38 notes.

872: **Nepāl(a) Bālākanne** (Bālākanyā) = Bālkumāri = Syar Ba:la Kāne, cf. 6.67-69 notes and 47.361, respectively.

873: **Dolakhā Budhbāre**, cf. 47.362 note.

875: **pacchimpaṭṭiko boksi**, 'the witch of the western side', may be interpreted both ways, (a) a witch living in a house that lies to the west of the patient's own house, or (b) a witch living to the west of the Kathmandu Valley (the māis' residence), i.e., a Tamang witch.

– **ākhi-dābi**, lit. 'envying evil eye', < dābi, 'envy', 'claim'.

878: **sāgare bir**, a particular kind of bir (goblin, cf. 4.43 note); sāgare ? < sāgar, 'ocean'.

883: "the chicken-eating divinity of the northern side", obscure, cf. p. 228⁸ below.

884: **Jeṭh Purne**, the full-moon day bearing the name of the month Jeṭh (May-June).

– **Maṅsir Purne**, cf. 54.446 note. It is on these two full-moon days that the so-called Gaiḍu Pujā is performed; it is addressed to the (vegetarian) Gaiḍu alias Mahādev, and the (carnivorous) goddess Dewi.

886: **kaṣṭa**, cf. 49.397 note.

888: **Ākās Dewi**, the female consort of Ākās Bhairav?

889: **ākhi gardo rahecha** may also be translated by 'I find, (the witch) is casting an evil eye'.

893: **Mankāmnā Sāt Kanne Māi**, Mankāmnā Māi = Mānagam Māi of Gorkhā (30.247 and 71.580 f.), here as one of the Seven (sāt) Sister Goddesses? According to Unbescheid (1985: 106-108, 118, 124), the Nuwākoḥ Bhagwati of Kāṭhmāṇḍu, the Kālikā of Gorkhā and the Bhairawi of Nuwākoḥ (line 895 below) are recognized as sisters of Mankāmnā.

895: **Bhairawi Dewi/Māi** of Nuwākoḥ, cf. p. 187.

The following section is devoted to the old woman (*janani*) and her grandson, without mentioning the latter explicitly (cf. section 49.):

96.

achetāko dokh-docche,
sattruko gyān pani hoina,
sattruko bān pani hoina, manuwā,
900 yahi janani cārai din, pācai din, manuwā,
sāttai din, pandra din[mā], manuwā, bahuttai kaṣṭa holā,
tin bhāgmā dui bhāgko ek bhāg bāki rahecha.
khāibigār pareko, manuwā,
tyahi thapanā, manuwā,
905 uttar bir[ko] thapanā pareko rahecha,
khāibigār pani pareko rahecha, manuwā,
ek nañ bāki rahecha,
jogāune kām garnu!,
lagan[mā] racchā chaina, manuwā,
910 bahuttai kaṣṭa holā.

[Drumming]

Phamo chya: jālo!

*

*The (cause of the) illness (as indicated by the smell) of the achetā,
is neither the enemy's (black) art,*

nor the enemy's magic arrow, O creature,

900 *this mother may become very seriously ill [in] just four days,
just five days, O creature,*

just seven days, just fifteen days, O creature,

from two shares in three shares one share has remained,

(she) is afflicted with a dietary damage, O creature,

that cult place, O creature,

905 *turns out to have become the northern bir[']s] cult place,
(this mother) turns out to have also been afflicted with a
dietary damage,*

*one fingernail(-breadth of chance for her survival) turns out to have
remained,*

carry out the rite that shields (her)!,

[in] (her) constellation there is no protection, O creature,

910 *(she) may be very seriously ill.*

[Drumming]

O Phamo hail!

Notes:

897: **achetāko dokh-docche** corresponds to T. "mone cañmai noccyen" in 49.389.

898-899: **sattruko gyān/bān** corresponds to "mī: thamai kuldap/ñēndap" in 49.390.

902: "from two shares...", i.e., there is one third of probability for the client to survive.

903: **khāibigār**, 'dietary damage', corresponds to OT "ṣe:nen" and refers to the grandson, cf. 49.392 ff.

904: **thapanā**, here again referring to the house of the client, s. 94.865.

905: **uttar bir** seems to correspond to "jyañ ṣeṇḍe" in 49.395 ff.

The **ḃombo** puts his drum aside... The long silence that follows is broken by the patient who says, with a sigh and obviously impressed by the prophecy which has turned out to be even more unfavourable for her than the one in the "evening *saldap*": "So this house may be affected by something very bad". The ensuing conversation revolves around the theme *bir*. One of the onlookers relates a story which stresses how exactly a **ḃombo** can succeed in foretelling the future; another one reports on his uncle's encounter with a *bir* which, assuming the shape of a rather fabulous bird, came to sit in the porch of his house at night. SR, jokingly and alluding to the belief that a *bir* bestows wealth upon the person who knows how to influence it by the appropriate mantra: "Tell him (your uncle) to send his *bir* to my home, I'm in need of money!"...

* * *

We are now in a position to specify the claims that the *bombo* acts as a mouthpiece of the divinity, and that the oracle is to verify the results of the divination. First, if the *bombo* is a mere mouthpiece, why does the message sometimes become as tentative as it did in the divination? Formulations, such as “may be”, “may become”, “in one year or two years”, “in four or five or seven or fifteen days”, or yet again the repeated “turns out to be/have been”, are likely to cast some doubt on the divine speaker’s omniscience. One is thus led to conclude that here, in the oracle, the *bombo* is a mouthpiece in the sense that he renders the divinity’s analysis of symptoms and omnia – in contrast to the divination where he rendered his own analysis.²

Second, for what reasons is Nepali the medium chosen for “verifying” what has been said, previously, in Tamang?³ And if the oracle is to verify, to what extent can it be regarded as a kind of “official translation” not simply from Tamang into Nepali, but also from one pantheon into another? A synopsis of the divination and the oracle shows, i.a., the following “correspondences”:

- the witch associated with the Māi and taking possession of the “flower” (47.) =
the witch associated with the Māi, and who has eaten up the “flower” (95.)
 - the ‘malevolent human’ (witch) (47.) =
the ‘enemy’ (witch) (95.)
 - the ‘harmful agent which roams the mountain’ (48.) ≡
Paca Bhāi, the “wild hunter” (95.)
 - salu, sabda* (earth, underworld) (46., 48.) ≡
‘the magic underworld-arrow/earthquake-arrow’ (94.)
 - ‘dietary damage’ (49.) =
‘dietary damage’ (96.)
 - ‘the fierce *cen*’ in the northern corner (47.) ≡ ?
‘the *bir* of the northern side’ and/or ‘the chicken-eating divinity of the northern side’ (94., 95.)
 - ‘an ailment which at times recedes, at times worsens’ (48.) ≡ ?
‘very seriously ill’ (95.), ‘one corpse’ (94.)
- etc.

Besides clear occurrences of translation (*ḍemojyen* = *boksi*; *mī: thama* = *sattru*, with reference to the ‘witch’; *se:nen* = *khāibigār* with reference to the dietary damage), there are several “rapprochements” which appear “oblique” (earth/underworld; the mountain-roamer) and even obscure (the harmful agents associated with the North). It should also be stressed that the oracle has no Nepali term which could be regarded as an adequate and unequivocal rendering of *cen* (a term which denotes a superhuman being specific to the Tamang pantheon).

In the issue of the old woman and her grandson (section 96.), the oracle may be said to “prove” the main results of the divination (Māi, “dietary damage”). Najom’s case appears more complex. In it, the language of the oracle, Nepali, does not simply decode the message of the divination given in Tamang. The oracle “proves” the divination in confirming three facts only: the witch, the damage done to the “flower” of the patient, and the latter’s serious state of health. As to the rest, the oracle “corrects” the divination. While the divination mentioned a plurality of possible causes without any interdependence at work, here in the oracle, the focus is narrowed down on the witch being the cause of all troubles: it is the “evil eye” (envy) of the witch which prompts her to “make play” the “magic arrows”, Paca Bhāi, the “northern *bir*” and the Māi, on the one hand, and to eat up the patient’s “flower”, on the other. It remains, however,

2 This seems to be supported by the fact that the expression *saldap syeppa*, ‘to explain the *saldap*’, is used indistinctly for both the divination and the oracle.

3 Whether the divination is the historically older type of prophecy in Tamang shamanism, on to which the oracle has been “grafted” later in a process of continuing acculturation, is an intriguing question.

open to interpretation whether (a) the witch as a “flower-eater” in the oracle corresponds to the “flower-licker”, the *cen*,⁴ in the divination, or (b) refers to a separate agent which does harm to the “flower” in addition to the *cen* the *ḅombo* has already diagnosed as such in section 66. In sum, whatever remains open, oblique or obscure in the comparison between the two prophecies is likely to make the client wonder whether the oracle, too, always means what it says (cf. p. 154). Where translation problems arise, and where a term obstinately refers back to itself, the comparison tends to become suspended in a synopsis: the texts of the divination and the oracle offer themselves for being read “beside”, or even “against”, each other. Rather than being a hypothesis to be “verified”, the divination completes, in such cases of indeterminacy, the oracle.

The Tamang client is used to enduring the “resistance”⁵ the texts of prophecies develop. He might be said to consider both types of prophecy a supply of mementos for selective reflection⁶ in which he is aided by pre-exegesis through informal talks and diagnoses before, and through further divinatory findings by the *ḅombo* himself⁷ during, the *séance*. Some of these mementos may prompt him to rethink certain events in his life, while some others are ignored because they may appear irrelevant or too obscure, for the moment at least. The dynamics with which a certain meaning can gather momentum or suddenly lose its relevance, and the extent to which the client follows, ultimately, the hints given by the prophecies depend on a number of circumstances: an improvement or worsening of the state of the patient immediately after the ritual,⁸ the influence certain opinion leaders⁹ within or outside the family may exercise according to their status and/or experience in the interpretation of the anamnesis and diagnosis, the confidence the *ḅombo* in question enjoys, etc.¹⁰ In *Najom*’s case, except for the *cen*, none of the suggestions given for the diagnosis (*salu*, etc. ≡ “magic earth-arrow”, etc.; *bir*; witch) and none of the measures advised for remedy (worshipping the *Māi* and *Bhimsen*) came to prompt her family to undertake anything whatsoever (s. also p. 271).

4 Both the witch (*Lasya*) and the *cen* are said to “lick the flower” of a female, cf. pp. 54-55.

5 I am borrowing this term from Park who stated that “divination must ‘resist’ in order to produce conviction”. Resistance “is functionally equivalent to the merely ritual or emotive dramatization found in other contexts”, since it does not refuse, but parries, reverses and redirects questioning until the procedure “finally culminates in a meaningful resolution, a denouement which, ideally, suddenly reveals the hidden clue to the drama...” (Park 1965: 387).

6 One informant made the point in saying that the *ḅombo*’s divination would just provide material for a further divination to be made by the client himself.

7 It might be recalled that the bulk of the *ḅombo*’s ritual consists of divinatory procedures as implied in the searches for the harmful agent, for the divinities who provide boon and protection, for the omnia in the flesh and bones of the animals slaughtered for sacrifice, etc. (s. pp. 23 f., 26, 146, 154 ff., 163, 219, 230, 241, 246, 248, 254, 262).

8 The “chicken-eating divinity” (95.883) could not be identified by the informants who attended the ritual. When I returned to the issue a couple of years later, the husband of the patient remarked: “I would have tried to find out which kind of being had been meant, if she (*Najom*) had not felt cured so soon after the ritual”.

9 Ritual specialists (*lāma*, *lāmbu*, *ḅombo*) or elder laymen recognized as “experienced”, either because “they have seen the world”, or because they are conversant with the astrological calendar (printed in Nepali or Hindi) or with organizing the complex death-feast, etc. If the patient is a child, the final decision on interpreting the diagnosis and choosing the appropriate therapy is left to the mother.

10 The confidence depends not only on his reputation, but also on the immediate results of his actual intervention. An old man who was highly “superstitious” even by Tamang standards, said: “The *ḅombo*’s prophetic insight is one thing, getting cured by him is quite another”. The influence the *ḅombo* exercises in directing the client’s interpretive attempts is considerable, but not necessarily decisive. The client is free to consult with another *ḅombo* (in one case I counted eight *ḅombos* called for successively) who may either reject or reinterpret the diagnosis made by his colleague. A particular way of reinterpretation, frequently resorted to, consists in diagnosing a “secondary cause”: *Phurba*, an ex-Gurkha soldier, used the English word “doubling” for those cases in which, say, a further spirit (hitherto unperceived) or an additional dietary damage (due to the patient’s negligence or to an incomplete first diagnosis) prevent healing.

97. – 103.: The ritual of the lower crossroads (*mār lamda*)

mār lamda, lit. 'lower crossroads', contrasts with *yār lamda*, lit. 'upper crossroads', to be performed later (s. below pp. 253 ff.). The adjective 'lower' derives, according to the informants, from the fact that during this act, the *bombo* is facing the door and the courtyard which correspond to "below" and the (ideal) south. Yet *mār*, in this context at least, also connotes 'dark', 'death', 'evil', 'outside', 'spirit/ghost', etc. The substantive 'crossroads' refers to any juncture of paths, that is "below" the actual site of the rite, i.e., downhill.

The chief requisites are a chicken (not necessarily a cock, *iyabu*, as referred to in the text), and a group of *tormos* modelled from dark millet-dough and collectively called *syimo tormo* (lit. 'ghost-tormo') or *liṅga*. The latter consists of (a) three *caṅdor*, that is, simple, conical figures, and (b) three *mīṅdor*, that is, anthropomorphous figures with conspicuously elongated heads said to symbolize, or to be "just like", the *bombo*'s long hairlock (*raḷbo*). The largest of these three *mīṅdor* also has dough-strips pasted crosswise on its chest and back, said to symbolize, or to be "just like", the rosaries and bell-strings (*gōmdo*) of a *bombo*.¹ The whole group is arranged on a piece of flat stone on the edges of which a "dam" of millet-dough is erected; each of the six figures receives a *ṭikā* mark of fresh butter, the vehicle of blessing, and a "turban" (N. *phetā*) of some white thread taken from the hank placed on the altar. At the centre, a round "bowl" (*kōsyo*) made of dough contains the offerings: bits of stale food (boiled rice, maize or millet and vegetables), some hookah-tobacco, and *phemar*² which is being kept smouldering. Finally, a long white cotton thread is wound round the whole group of *tormos*.

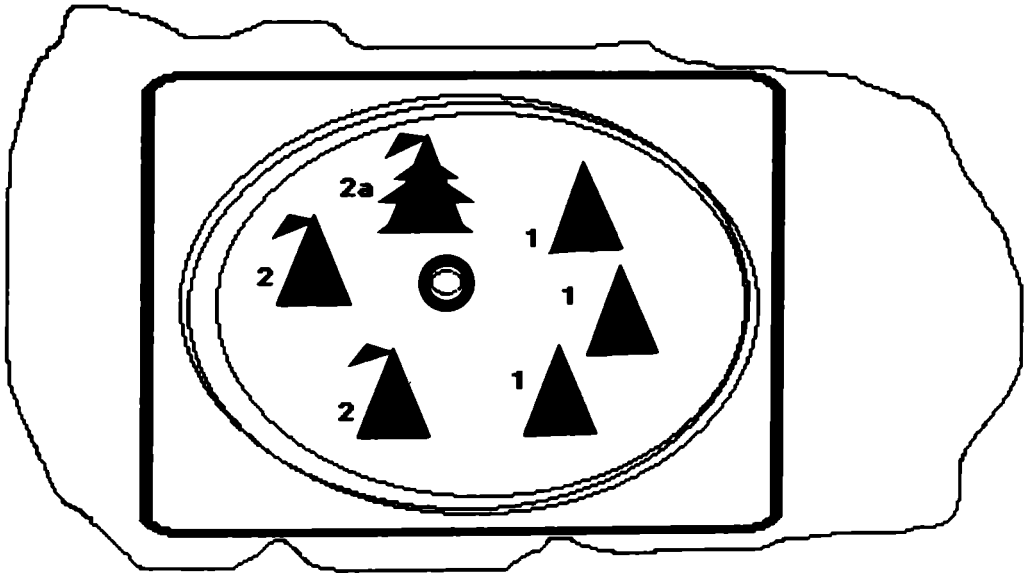


Fig. 5. The *syimo tormo* or *liṅga*.

1 = *caṅdor* (conical); 2 = *mīṅdor* (heads elongated = "raḷbo"); 2a = main figure (*mul tormo*, with "raḷbo" and "gōmdo"); o = "bowl" (*kōsyo*).

After having been purified in the porch with a few drops of holy water from the jug, the chicken is brought in and is "connected" with the patient by a special thread called *lamdai*

1 On the problems of interpretation cf. Appendix I.

2 Consisting of maize flour kneaded with butter and kept smouldering by a piece of glowing charcoal. s. *phesor* in 39.297 note.

cyalda, lit. 'the chain of the crossroads', or simply *nalmo t̥up*.³ One half of it is coloured yellow with turmeric, the other half is blackened with soot. The end of the yellow-coloured half of this thread is wound around the right wrist of the patient, and the end of the black half is tied to the legs of the chicken held by a helper; a second helper holds the thread at the juncture between its two halves (fig. 6).

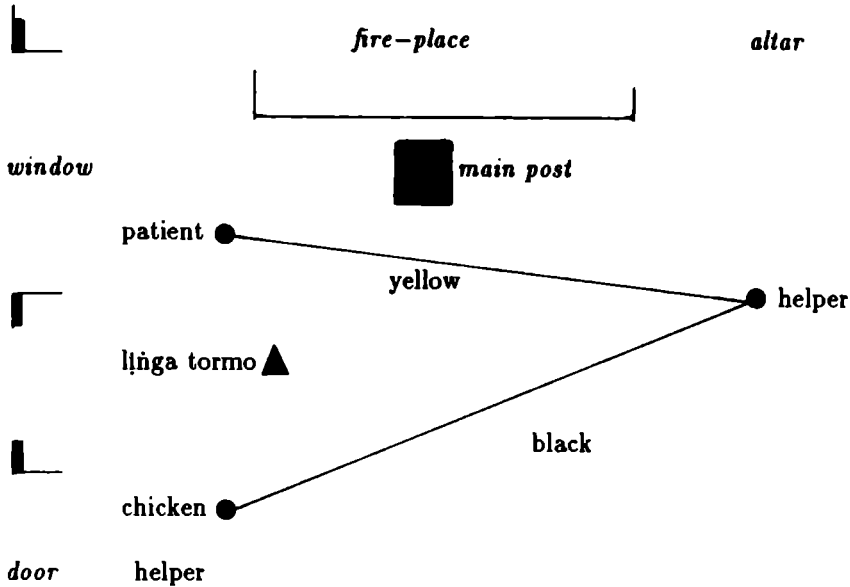


Fig. 6. The setup of the *mār lamda* ritual.

First, the chicken and a piece of burning incense⁴ are moved around the patient's head,⁵ again and again, while the *ḥombo* recites sections 97.-98., inviting the harmful agents to take possession of the animal instead of the patient. Then, the helper takes the chicken near the door and tries to make it shake through splashes of holy water poured over its head. No sooner does he succeed in doing so, the chicken – now accepted as a sacrifice by the superhuman⁶ – is “severed” from the patient in that the second helper cuts the thread at the juncture of its two halves. The yellow half is wound around the patient's right wrist, while the black half is taken along with the chicken which the helper kills in the porch. Meanwhile, the *liṅga* group is seized (actually by the second helper) and rushed to the next “lower crossroads” where the *ḥombo* will turn it upside down and stamp it into the earth. While the chicken and the *liṅga* are removed from the house, the *ḥombo* stands “at the rear” and drives the harmful agents out of the house by stabbing the tip of the handle of his drum into the (soft) mud floor and by throwing splinters of marblestone – “heated” by the power of special mantras – in all directions.

3 *nalmo t̥up* = N. *kāco dhāgo* = raw, i.e., unrefined and undyed thread.

4 Actually, a special kind of incense available in the bazaars. Its powdered ingredients are wrapped in paper which is twisted so as to form a tube; hence its name in Nepali: *bāṭeko dhup* (from *bāṭnu*, ‘to twist’). Tamang use this kind of incense in the worship of Hindu divinities, and in the actual instance it seems to be designed for pleasing the *Māi* (cf. 100.956 below).

5 This technique of “moving around” is called *syuppa* (< Tib. *ṣud-pa*, ‘to hang’, ‘to rub’, ‘to twist’). It is also applied when one makes a vow and “reserves” a chicken or an egg for sacrifice to be carried out on the next full-moon day or on another suitable occasion. Cf. p. 266 and also Höfer 1981: 77 ff.

6 The shaking is a token of divine acceptance throughout South Asia and Nepal. The MT verb for this type of shaking is *khārba* which the informants translate by Nepali *mānnu*, lit. ‘to accept’. A synonym is *yā: caba*, an expression which also means ‘to be proven’, ‘to become evident’.

Some *bombos* take the opportunity of showing their extraordinary faculties in that they rake bare-handed through the embers in the fire-place or seize the hot iron tripod and dance with it in a threatening posture⁷.

There is general agreement on the function of the ritual act: The chicken is given in exchange (*lud*) for the patient to the hungry spirits and ghosts (*mān* and *syimo*) who are to be “detached” from the body of their victim and separated from the luminous world of the living and sent back into the darkness by means of the yellow-black coloured thread (*nalmo t̥up*), the “bridge for the spirits”, and by means of the black dough-figure (*liṅga* or *syimo tormo*) which serves both as their bodies and as an additional gift of food.⁸ Both by its form and function, the thread anticipates the crossroads as a place of meeting and parting, and the act of alluring the spirits into the black half of the thread and into the black *tormo* was expressly interpreted as a “turning-the-black-side-towards-the-spirits” in order to render humans invisible to them. Informants cited in support of this explanation the custom of covering the head of a child with a pot, the sooted bottom of which serves as a screen protecting the child from the greedy glimpses of ghosts and spirits.

Extra-textual evidence allows for further interpretations. The main figure of the *liṅga*, which is modelled like a *bombo* (s. above), represents Thorgyap *Bon* and/or *Donsor* (also *Donsor*) *Bon* whom a myth introduces as the First Spirits the Tamang *bombo* had to deal with (s. Appendix I). Actually, they act on behalf of the *bombo* (hence the “*Bon*” in their names) and “drive back” the hosts of ghosts and spirits into the *liṅga tormo* - to be cast away along with them. Casting away the figure of a *bombo*, which embodies both what is negative (harmful, “dark”, “deadly”) and positive (helping to ward off the negative), has at least one more connotative significance in that it suggests itself as an act by which the (human) officiating *bombo* gets rid of his own negative “half” implied in his institutionally-conditioned ambivalence.⁹

Sections 97. and 98. provide a kind of introduction explaining the *raison d'être* of the rite and inviting the harmful agents to accept the sacrificial animal in replacement of the patient, while section 102. constitutes the *mar lamda* proper, and section 103. is to finalize the result and ensure permanent protection (*chamjo*). In between, we have three sections (99., 100., 101.) recited in Nepali and summoning the *māis* or the *Māi* (alias ‘Spirit of the Kathmandu Valley’) to leave the patient and return to their cult places. As obvious insertions, they contain no reference to the main acts (*liṅga*, animal sacrifice) in the ritual itself; and typologically, they anticipate that part of the recitation in Tamang, which – much later – dismisses the divinities (*syā: solba*, section 112.). In these sections devoted to the *māis*, the exorcizing of the evil (*derku:ba, nemba*) falls in with the dismissal (*syā: solba*) of the divine. The explanation lies in the very ambivalence of the *māis* who are both goddesses (*dewi*) and spirits (*bhut*), both helpers of the *bombo* (cf. sections 2.-7.) and “foreign” (*nepāli*) females, both mothers and witches. The *mar lamda* rite thus provides an opportunity of neutralizing them as negative agents and demobilizing them as positive agents at the same time.

7 “Destroying” the fire-place may also be interpreted as a symbolic destruction of the client’s spirit-infested house. A similar practice among the Kham Magar shamans is explained by de Sales (1985.I: 154 f.) as the shaman’s privileged way to communicate with the ancestors.

8 Such black *tormos* of millet-dough are not supposed to be eaten by humans, in contrast to the “white” ones of maize-dough for the gods; shares of the latter type are customarily distributed among, and eaten by, the participants at the end of the ritual. - *liṅga* < Tib. *liñ-ga*. On the *liñ-ga* in Tibetan rituals cf. Klaus 1985: 368 with further references.

9 Conspicuously, all dough-figures labelled *liṅga* and serving as scape-goats in other rituals (including those of the lama), too, are shaped just like the main *tormo* in the *mar lamda*, namely “like” a *bombo* (cf. Appendix I and II). - In certain Tibetan protective rituals, even effigies of the Dalai Lama or Padmasambhava and the tutelary divinity of the officiating priest are disposed of along with those representing the evil (Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 508-513). The practice conveys the idea of “ceding all what is evil in the good to the evil” and/or the idea of “letting the evil be accompanied by the good to ensure that the former can be effectively warded off by the power of the latter”.

97.

həy, də:mo n̄iŋgi syai dəbjye, ʈa:gi dəbjye,
 ri:bai dəbjye, kaŋbai dəbjye, ɭəkpai dəbjye
 Urygen Pe:majye dəmla ta:nem.
 gyálboi làgaŋ nəŋri ʈuŋnem,
 sa ni rəkki lumbu nəŋri səbai jyabu sali(i)
 gyuma-gyuser, nagu, mi:gu, kaŋba, ɭəkpa, luwa-buwa
 nomla kuisyi ludu len̄nu noppi noccyen!

915 noppi noccyen!,
 də:mo n̄iŋgi nəwai bardo jyun̄ba thamjye,
 chàwai bardo jyun̄ba thamjye,
 yara syelne, məra oine, khokpai dani, oŋne-byun̄ne,
 chye:ne-wábne jyun̄ba thamjye salsyi ludu len̄nu
 noppi noccyen!

[Following the same pattern, further harmful agents are
 enumerated as in 11.125-126 and 36.276-39.301.]

... bəmbo n̄embi bənsur n̄e:le, làma chebi chesur n̄e:le,
 saŋduŋ-praŋduŋ yèrmai də, jə:gi biđi n̄e:le, ludu len̄nu
 noppi noccyen!
 kesa, nasa, nəđiŋ phumsum, mēwa, pàrga, kùđiŋ dursa,
 maŋgale graha, ketu graha, sansāre graha, nau graha,
 jarma [janma] graha thamjye [sya:syi?] ludu len̄nu!,
 ù syoso: noppi noccyen!

[Repetition of the list of harmful agents as indicated above.]

*

həy, *Urygen Pe:ma magically fixed (the custom of offering a
 ransom-sacrifice) instead of the flesh, instead of the blood,
 instead of the bones, instead of the feet,
 instead of the hands of the dear mistress.*

*(The cock to be given) originated in the king's divine abode,
 in taking the gyuma-gyuser, the nose (beak), the eyes, the legs
 the hands (wings), the downy feathers of the cock which eats
 (pecks) in the whole world,
 go and take possession of the ransom-sacrifice O
 harming harmful [sic] agent!*

915 *O harming harmful agent!,
 in healing all states of illnesses befalling, all states of pain
 befalling the dear mistress,
 all "rinsing-ups", "flowing-downs", (all effects of) the
 magic arrow (causing an illness) of the interior of the body,
 hacking and coughing, tearing pain and burning pain befalling
 (the mistress),
 go and take possession of the ransom-sacrifice
 O harming harmful agent!*

[Repetition]

... *Whether the bömbo('s) harming magic böṇ-weapon may cause harm, whether the lama('s) harming magic weapon may cause harm, whether the saṅduñ-praṅduñ('s) magic arrow (made) of the yërma (wood), the yogi's harming formula may cause harm,*

*go and take possession of the ransom-sacrifice
O harming harmful agent!*

*In [removing?] all (effects of) the kesa, the ṇāsa, the ṇādiñ phumsum, the mèwa, the pàrga, the kùdiñ dursa, the maṅgale graha, the ketu graha, the sansāre graha, the nau graha, the janma graha, go and take possession of the ransom-sacrifice!,
ù syoṣo:, O harming harmful agent!*

[Repetition]

Notes:

912: OT **rj:ba** < Tib. rus-pa, 'bone'.

913: **gyálboi lāgañ**, 'the king's palace', here a euphemistic exaltation of the sacrificial animal, without any specific mythological relevance, as it seems.

914: **sa ni rēkki lumbu**, on "ni" cf. 20.183 and p. 301.

– **jyābu sali**, OT **jyābu** < Tib. bya-pho, 'cock'. On "sali" cf. 53.437 note.

– OT **gyūma-gyūser** < Tib. rgyu-ma, 'entrails'. The composition of the sacrificial share called **gyūma-gyūser** includes more than the internal organs only. In the case of a fowl, it contains the beak, larynx, crop, lungs, some blood, the tip of the wings and the feet. In the case of a mammal, it contains the eyes, nose, claws and sometimes also the tips of the ears. The difference to the share called **syabut** (s. 98.922) lies in the fact, that most parts included in the **gyūma-gyūser** are inedible.

– OT **nagu, mī:gu** < Tib. sna, 'nose', and mig, 'eye', respectively.

– **lud(u)** < Tib. glud, 'scape-goat', 'ransom'. The paragon -u seems to be conditioned by euphony.

– **lənñu** < OT **lēm̐ba**, 'to take possession of', was also interpreted as MT **lēm̐ba**, 'to lick', cf. 47.361.

– **noppi noccyen**, lit. 'harming harmful agent', a pleonasm possibly meant to underscore the fact that this part of the recitation addresses those among the many harmful agents which actually do harm to the patient.

916: **oñne-byuñne** < OT *oñba, 'to cough' (?) + MT **byuñba**, 'to cough'.

– **chye:ne-wábne**, s. 34.271 note.

918: **kesa...kùdiñ dursa** are names of astrologically inauspicious periods and/or constellations. **kesa** = the day preceding that day of the week on which one was born. **ṇāsa** = the day on which one was born. **ṇādiñ phumsum** = the inauspicious constellation (N. graha) that dominates every fifth (ṇá) year reckoned from the year of one's birth within the twelve-year cycle (MT **lę:gor**, Tib. lo-skor) of the Tamang-Tibetan calendar. **mèwa** < Tib. sme-ba = the astrological diagram used along with the **spar-kha** > OT **pàrga** (Waddell 1959: 450 ff.); the precise meaning of these words is unknown to the Tamang. **kùdiñ dursa** = the inauspicious constellation which dominates every ninth (kù) year reckoned from the year of one's birth; **dursa** ? < Tib. dur, 'grave', + gza', 'planet'.

– **maṅgale... graha** = Nepali names of inauspicious constellations enumerated without thorough acquaintance with Indian astrology. **maṅgale** < N. Maṅgal = the planet Mars. **ketu**, lit. 'comet' ("dragon's tail"). **sansāre** ? < Skt. Śanaīścara = the planet Saturn. **nau** = 'nine', corresponding to the nine planets; according to Slusser (1982: 344 f.), the goddesses Nava Durgā and the nine grahas (nau graha) are identified, in the Kathmandu Valley, as *one* divine manifestation. **janma graha**, lit. 'birth graha', explained as that constellation by which a person is likely to be affected from his birth on.

919: **ù syoṣo:** is an exhortation of spirits and ghosts to accept an offering. **syoṣo:** ? < Tib. šog!, 'come!' + Tib. so!, so!, 'take, take!' (Waddell 1959: 416).

The helper continues to move the chicken around the patient's head, while the bombo goes on:

98.

- 920 da:moi syai dəbjye, ʈa:gi dəbjye,
 ri:bai dəbjye, kaŋbai dəbjye, ʌkpaɪ dəbjye
 Urygen Pe:majye da:mla ta:nem.
 gyálboi làgaŋ naŋri ʈuŋnem,
 sa rèkki lumbu kùri salbi [*recte saʒi?*] jyabu sali;
 chyachya:ba, dúmdumba, ʈoʈho:ba, kaŋba, ʌkpa,
 luwa-buwa maŋambi jyabu sali(i) syala syabut,
 ʈa:la ʈa:but, glɔma-glɔser, gyuma-gyuser, nagu, mi:gu
 nomla kuisyi ludu lenŋu noppi noccyen, ù syoso:!
 ù syoso:!
 tà: syuba? – bla syuba, che: syuba, bri:gi hoŋ syuba,
 noŋgi yaŋ syuba, khala se: syuba, ʌ:la noŋ syuba,
 laŋjyen nórbu syuba, doya:jyen nórbu syuba.
- 925 da:moda li:ri, sori, bu:ri noppa thamjye maŋdokŋu!,
 ù syoso:!

[Drumming]

*

- 920 *Urygen Pe:ma magically fixed (the custom of offering a ransom-sacrifice) instead of the flesh, instead of the blood, instead of the bones, instead of the feet, instead of the hands of the mistress.*
It originated in the king's divine abode, the cock which searches (scratches for food) in the nine whole worlds: in taking the share of meat from the meat, the share of blood from the blood, the glɔma-glɔser, the gyuma-gyuser, the nose (beak), the eyes of the fat, suitable cock which is as small as a handful, which has uninjured legs, hands (wings), downy feathers, go and take possession of the ransom-sacrifice
O harming harmful agent, ù syoso:!
 ù syoso:!
What do (we) ask for? – (We) ask for the soul, ask for the life-force, ask for the crops' blessing, ask for the riches' blessing, ask for the mouth's food, ask for the riches in (one's) hand, ask for (the thriving of) the precious cattle, ask for (the thriving of) the precious yak.
- 925 *Whatever (whoever) does harm to the mistress in (her) body, in (her) vital principle, in (her) breath – go away!.*
 ù syoso:!

Notes:

922: *salbi/sābi?*: In 97.914 *ṣab(a)i*, 'which eats'. *salb(a)i* < MT *salba* with its connotation of 'to search' (here 'to search by scratching the soil') would also make sense in this context.

– *syabut* is, strictly speaking, a sacrificial share of meat (taken from a rib or the leg) plus a piece from the liver, but in common parlance it is often used as a hyperonym for any sacrificial share, including various parts of the entrails (colon, crop, etc.) and even what is termed the *gyūma-gyūser* (cf. above 97.914). -but < Tib. *phud*, 'a thing set apart', 'offering'.

– *ṭha:but* < OT *ṭha*: (Tib. *khrag*), 'blood'. The share of blood is often offered in a separate leaf-cup.

– OT *glōma-glōser* is the name of a sacrificial share no longer distinguished as such. *glōma* ? < Tib. *glo-ba*, 'lungs'.

924: OT *dōya:jyen/dōyajyen* ? < Tib. *do(-po) *gyag-čhen*, lit. 'the load (carrying) precious yak'.

925: *maṛdokñu*, translated by 'go (ñu) away!'. *maṛdok-* ? < OT *maṛ* **dōkpa* < *maṛ*, 'down', 'downwards' (the direction to which the spirits and ghosts are to be sent away) + *dōkpa* < Tib. *ldog-pa*, 'to return', 'to depart', 'to go home' (Jäschke 1949: 292).

In the following three sections recited in Nepali, the *ḅombo* summons the *māis* to leave the patient's body and go back to their cult places in the Kathmandu Valley. After repeating a part of the initial appeal mobilizing the *māis* "in the name" of the Sun *Jhākri* couple (1.9-2.27), he reconducts them, station by station, to their residence(s). His itinerary starts from *Bhokteni* and follows the old trade route that connects *Pokharā* and *Gorkhā* with *Nuwākoṭ* and the Kathmandu Valley. Coming from *Nuwākoṭ*, the *ḅombo* enters the Kathmandu Valley from the north-west (*Jitpurphedi*) and proceeds, then, via *Kāṭhmāṇḍu* (old city and *Dharaharā*), *Kirtipur*, *Pharphing* in the southwestern corner of the Valley, *Pāṭan*, and finally back to *Kāṭhmāṇḍu*, to the *Kāṭhe Simbhu* sanctuary.

99.

hare *Dhanasri Mahāḍew!*,...

[Repetition of 1.9-2.27]

- ... *yo jananiḷāi choṛicalāu*, *sohāri* [*sawāri*] *calāu!*,
tapāiko laganmā, *thapanāmā sohāri calāu!*,
930 *tapāiko pratāpile* [*pratāple*] *calāu na, ho!*, *Nepāli Māi Ajimā!*,
sabyuñ bān, *bibyūñ bān*, *sola* [*sul*] *bān*, *golā bān*, *jaro bān*, *autha bān*,
khokne bān, *cherne bān choṛicalāu Ajimā!*,
āṅg khulā [*gari*] *calijāu!*,
khum khulā [*gari*] *calijāu!*,
nau gunasiṅg, *nau nāri*, *nau nasā khulā gari calijāu Ajimā Māiju!*,
935 *Anamāiju*, *Dhanamāiju*, *Lālkumāri* [= ? *Bālkumāri*], *sātsorasai*
Parameswari sohāri calāu!,
relgāri, *hawāi*[*jahāj*] *saṅga calijāu!*

*

Hail O Dhanasri Mahāḍew!...

[Repetition]

- ... release (leave) this mother and move, please move away!,
 please move away (back) to your constellation (and) cult place!,
 930 do move by virtue of your glory, ho!, O Nepāli Māi Ajimā!,
 release and set in motion the magic arrow (which comes) the right way
 round, the magic arrow (which comes) the wrong way round,
 the magic colic-arrow, the magic golā-arrow, the magic
 fever-arrow, the magic autha-arrow, the magic arrow which
 causes coughing, the magic arrow which causes diarrhoea,
 O Ajimā!,
 clear the back (of this mother) and go away!,
 clear (her) shoulders and go away!,
 clear the nine gunasings, the nine veins, the nine nerves and
 go away O Ajimā Māiju!,
 935 O Anamāiju, Dhanamāiju, Lālkumāri, seven (times) sixteen hundred
 Parameswari, please move away!,
 go away with [sic] the railway train, the aeroplane!

Notes:

927: **Dhanasri**, s. 1.8.

928: **choricalāu**, -calāu is to be seen here as part of the idiom sawāri calāunu (hon.), 'to move' (intr.), 'to go away'.

931: **sabyuñ**..., cf. 89.791 note.

– **sola** = sul, 'colic', 'a sudden, sharp pain'.

– **golā**, obviously referring to an illness termed gānu-golā, the symptoms of which are reminiscent of flatulence or even the "globus hystericus". The golā, described as something roundish (golo) in the stomach or belly, is believed to undergo a pathological alteration when it starts "moving up and down". gānu-golā is not specific to Tamang nosology alone (cf. Heller 1985: 99-115; Macfarlane 1981: 87-88; and also Turner 1965: 140 and 150 respectively).

– **autha** is a pathologically excessive heat inside the body, as in a state of high fever.

– **khokne bān, cherne bān**, 'the magic coughing-arrow', 'the magic diarrhoea-arrow', in a more literal translation.

– **choricalāu**, here (in contradistinction to line 928) with reference to the different bāns which should be removed from the patient and sent away. choṛnu, lit. 'to let go', 'to release'.

934: **nasā**, lit. 'vein', 'nerve'; the number nine is to express a symbolic totality and has no significance in Tamang anatomy.

– **khulā**, lit. 'open', 'clear' (of the sky, etc.). Notice the contrast between, e.g., 3.38-39 and the present passage: while in 3.38-39, at the beginning of the ritual, the Māi alias Nepāli Bhut alias Nepāli Māi Ajimā, etc. is requested to "open", "awaken" and "bring" the gunasiṅg, "flower" and veins (kholileu, jagāileu), that is, to render the patient's body accessible to the intervention by the boṃbo, here the same Māi is exhorted to "clear" the patient's body. For a second contrast cf. 2.32: "sit on the shoulders, mount the head" versus "clear the back..., clear the shoulders" in 99.931-933. Cf. also pp. 73-74.

935: **Anamāiju**..., s. 6.67.

– "sixteen hundred", on the number "sixteen" cf. 5.66 note.

100.

yo jananiko bramhahatyā, bisnuhatyā, sāt gāi mārne hatyā, guru
 mārne hatyā, sāt kanne [kanyā] mārne hatyā lāglā,
 he!, Gubhāju Māi,
 calāu na, sāt doḃāto khelna sohāri [sawāri] calāu na Māi!,

- thānai thān,
 940 Tharpu Ḍāṛā thānai thān,
 Sāmari Ḍāṛā, Trisuli Bajār [bhaera] Ajimā, Anamāiju, Gubhāju Māi,
 Dhanamāiju, Lālkumāri,
 Nāgoṛ [Nuwākoṭ] Bhairawi-Bhairuñ thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 Baṭṭār Sahar thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 Serā Darbār thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 945 Mālkoṭ thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 Caturāli thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 Jagatkunā thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 Ḍhuñge thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 Rānipauwā thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 950 Jitpurphedi thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 Dharamthali (Dharmathali) thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 Bālāju Bālākanne Māi utpanna hunubhaeko thānai thān sohāri calāu!,
 Ajimā, Bajimā, Anamāiju, Dhanamāiju, Lālkumāri, sātsorasai Māi,
 Bālākanne Māi, Lāṭā-Lāṭini,
 955 Bhaṭā-Bhaṭeni [Bhāt-Bhaṭeni], Kheli-Khelini (?), Nausiñge
 Baju-Bajuni (?), Kālo Dewi, Pahēlo Dewi, Nilo Dewi,
 Hariyo Dewi, Nau Dewi, Sora Dewi, Bittisora (?) Deutā
 gulgul dhup khāi sohāri calāu na!

*

*This mother's guilt of having killed a Brahmin, guilt of having killed
 Bisnu, guilt of having killed seven cows, guilt of having killed a
 guru, guilt of having killed seven virgins will be yours, he!,
 O Gubhāju Māi!,*

*do move, please do move away to play on seven crossroads O Māi!,
 (go) via all the cult places.*

- 940 *via all the cult places (of) Tharpu Ḍāṛā,
 [via] Sāmari Ḍāṛā, Trisuli Bajār, O Ajimā, Anamāiju, Gubhāju Māi,
 Dhanamāiju, Lālkumāri,*

*please move away via all the cult places (of) Bhairawi-Bhairuñ (of)
 Nuwākoṭ!,*

*please move away via all the cult places (of) Baṭṭār Town!,
 please move away via all the cult places (at) Serā Darbār!,*

- 945 *please move away via all the cult places (at) Mālkoṭ!,
 please move away via all the cult places (at) Caturāli!,
 please move away via all the cult places (at) Jagatkunā!,
 please move away via all the cult places (at) Ḍhuñge!,
 please move away via all the cult places (at) Rānipauwā!,*

- 950 *please move away via all the cult places (at) Jitpurphedi!,
 please move away via all the cult places (at) Dharmathali!,
 please move away via all the cult places where Bālākanne Māi (of)
 Bālāju originated!,*

*O Ajimā, Bajimā, Anamāiju, Dhanamāiju, Lālkumāri, seven (times)
 sixteen hundred Māi.*

Bālākanne Māi, Lāṭā-Lāṭini,

- 955 *Bhāt-Bhaṭeni, Kheli-Khelini, Nausiñge Baju-Bajuni, Kālo Dewi,
 Pahēlo Dewi, Nilo Dewi, Hariyo Dewi, Nau Dewi,*

*Sora Dewi, Bittisora Deutā,
take the incense of gulgul and please do move away!*

Notes:

- 937: **bramhahatyā, bisnuhatyā...** Meaning: the patient has contracted her illness due to a grave sin (equivalent of having killed a Brahmin, etc.), which is conceded just to flatter and threaten the Māi. Actually, as revealed in 46.-48. and 93.-95., the illness was not imputed to any moral failure on the patient's part. (Only in 49., the divination for another client, is there mention of the goddess being angered by the client's conduct). – bramhahatyā, 'the killing of a Brahmin', which becomes "Bramhā mārṇe hatyā" in the next section (101.968). The word bisnuhatyā, 'the killing of (God) Bisnu/Viṣṇu', is not attested in Nepali; its use here seems to be based on a "misunderstanding" of the term bramhahatyā for 'killing the (God-Creator) Brahmā'. Cf. also p. 36.
- **Gubhāju...**, s. 6.67.
- 938: **calāu!** = sawāri calāu!, s. 99.928.
- **sāt dobāto** means, more precisely, 'a juncture of seven roads', or 'sevenfold crossroads'. Sāt Dobāto is also the name of a locality to the south of Pāṭan in the Kathmandu Valley, and this is suggestive of a double reference: like any harmful agent, the Māi is sent back (a) to any of the crossroads, and/or (b) to a particular place in the Kathmandu Valley as her residence.
- 940: **Tharpu Dārā** = a ridge SE of Bhokteni village.
- 941: **Sāmari Dārā** = a ridge E of Bhokteni.
- **Trisuli Bajār** = the well-known bazaar town on the western bank of the Trisuli river, on the opposite side to Nuwākoṭ.
- 943 ff.: **Baṭṭār/Baṭār... Mālkoṭ**, s. section 73.
- 946: **Caturāli** = a village near Rānipauwā, on the old road between Trisuli Bajār and the Kathmandu Valley.
- 947: **Jagatkunā** = a village near Rānipauwā.
- 948: **Dhuṅge** = Dhuṅgepauwā, s. section 73.
- 949: **Rānipauwā**, s. section 73.
- 950 ff.: **Jitpurhedī, Dharmathali, Bālāju**, s. section 74.
- 952: **Bālāju Bālākanne Māi**, obviously with reference to Hāriti Ajimā alias Sitalā Māi with her famous shrine at Bālāju.
- 953: **Ajimā...**, probably conditioned by rhythm, here the names Ajimā + Bajimā and Anamāiju + Dhanamāiju are not pronounced as jingle-names, in contrast to 6.67.
- 954: **Lāṭā-Lāṭini**, lit. 'Dumb and Deaf Male-Dumb and Deaf Female' = ? a reference to the retinue of certain gods, consisting of ghosts of disabled persons. Cf. also Laṅga-Laṅgaṭā in 6.67.
- 955: **Bhāṭ-Bhaṭeni**, s. 6.68.
- **Kheli-Khelini** ? < Ṭūṛikhel, the name of the parade ground in Kāṭhmāṅḍu, which is also the "area" of the goddess Bhadrakālī.
- **Nausiṅge Baju-Bajuni** = ?; nausiṅge, lit. 'the one with the nine horns'.
- **Kālo... Dewi**, s. 82.666 note.
- **Nau Dewi** = ? Nawa Durgā. – **Sora Dewi**, lit. 'Sixteen Goddesses' = ?
- **Bittisora** = ? Bitteswar in 5.61.
- 956: **gulgul dhup** (s. 15.138), with reference to the incense moved, along with the chicken, around the patient's head (s. above p. 230).

101.

- Nepāl Sahar, Kantipur [Kāntipur] Sahar sohāri [sawāri] calāu!,
Nayābajār sohāri calāu!,
Bāṅgemuḥhā sohāri calāu!,
960 Dharaharā sohāri calāu!,

- Phyuttali (?) sohāri calāu!,
 Halimān [Hanumān] Ḍhokā sohāri calāu!,
 Kirtipur Bajār sohāri calāu!,
 Pharphing Saharmā sohāri calāu!,
 965 Pāṭan Sahar thānai thān sohāri calāu na!,
 tapāiko bujhaki lagan, thapanā (?),
 Kāṭhe Simbhumā utpanna bhaeko Ajimā, Bajimā, Bālākanne ho,
 Lāṭā-Laṅgaṭā ho, Bhaṭā-Bhaṭeni [Bhāṭ-Bhaṭeni],
 Bramhā mārne, Bisnu mārne, sāt gāi mārne, guru mārne hatyā lāglā,
 calāu na!

[Long, vigorous drumming]

*

- Please move away to Nepāl Town, to Kāntipur Town!,
 please move away to Nayābajār!,
 please move away to Bāṅgemurhā!,
 960 please move away to Dharaharā!,
 please move away to Phyuttali!,
 please move away to Hanumān Ḍhokā!,
 please move away to Kirtipur Bajār!,
 please move away to Pharphing Town!,
 965 please move away via all the cult places (of) Pāṭan Town!,
 (I) know (?) your constellation (?), (your) cult place,
 O Ajimā, Bajimā who originated in Kāṭhe Simbhu,
 it is (the cult place of ?) Bālākanne, Lāṭā-Laṅgaṭā,
 Bhāṭ-Bhaṭeni.
 The guilt of having killed Bramhā, having killed Bisnu,
 having killed seven cows, having killed a guru will be (yours),
 do move!*

[Drumming]

Notes:

957: **Nepāl Sahar** = Kāṭhmāṅḍu; **Kāntipur** = Kāṭhmāṅḍu (s. Slusser 1982: 89 f.).

958: **Nayābajār**, s. section 74.

959: **Bāṅgemurhā** = name of a ward in the northwestern part of the old city of Kāṭhmāṅḍu.

960: **Dharaharā** = the so-called Bhimsen Tower in Kāṭhmāṅḍu.

961: **Phyuttali** = ? Puttali Saḍak, the name of a road in Kāṭhmāṅḍu.

962 ff.: **Halimān...** **Pāṭan**, s. section 74.

966: **bujhaki**, lit. 'wise', 'intelligent', erroneously for "[maile] bujheko" = '[the one which I] know'?

– **lagan**, lit. 'auspicious time/constellation', here perhaps in the sense of 'auspicious place'. with reference to the cult place (thapanā).

967: **Kāṭhe Simbhu** = Śrigha Caitya in Naghal ward in the northwestern part of the old city of Kāṭhmāṅḍu, regarded as a replica or substitute of Swayambhunāth = popularly Simbhu. The text seems to refer here to the goddess Hāriti/Ajimā whose shrine is in Kāṭhe Simbhu.

– **Lāṭā-Laṅgaṭā**, cf. Laṅga-Laṅgaṭā in 6.67, and Lāṭā-Lāṭini in 100.954.

The bombo continues in Tamang:

102.

- 970 ò liṅga kùri dərku:go noppi noccyen!,
om holo, holo, holo bācā br̥:gi hōṇḍi bə:bi noccyen,
yāra blōṅbi noccyen, ta:dañ sūrbi noccyen,
pha:dañ sūrbi noccyen, yāra blōṅbi noccyen,
māra blōṅbi noccyen thamjye liṅga kùri dərku:jjim kho!

[Following the same pattern, further harmful agents are enumerated again, as in 11.125-126 and 36.276-39.301...]

... sem gəṇḍo-məṇḍo məseño, kàwa-cherba məseño,
ñembu syo:la kuigo noppi noccyen!,
syemba-peppa məlo:go, ludu ləṅṅu noppi noccyen, kho, kho!

The chicken is sprinkled with water to make it shake (s. above p. 230).

- 975 cya:gi bumbajye silñi, saṅgi bumbajye silñi noccyen ò!,
ludu ləṅṅu, kho, kho!, c-c-c-c-c-c !,
nañla thurthur gomo, dila cye:nen (=?) si:ñu!,
kho, kho!,
ñembu syo:la kuiñu noppi noccyen!,
kho, kho, ludu ləṅṅu, kho mərləmdai noccyen ò!,
c-c-c-c-c-c-c !

[The enumeration of various harmful agents is repeated, as indicated above.]

- 980 ... syiṅsari bə:bi noccyen kho, kho!

*

- 970 *May you be driven back into the nine liṅgas O harming harmful agent!*
Om holo, holo, holo bācā, O harmful agent which affects the crops' blessing,
harmful agent which arises above, harmful agent which roars with (like) the leopard,
harmful agent which roars with (like) the wild boar, harmful agent which arises above, harmful agent which arises below,
may (you) all be driven back into the nine liṅgas and come!

[Repetitions]

Do not be absent-minded, do not worry (?) and grieve, advance O harming harmful agent!,
do not doubt and be not ashamed, go and take possession of the

On returning into the house, the *bombo* recites a concluding section which is to finalise the results and ensure permanent protection (*chamjo*):

103.

ò hoy, ma: gəlñu, ma: jyĩññu Ma:bon ò!,
 layo meppi, ðikpa meppi noccyenda
 ma: jyĩññu!,
 syai phoprañ nomñu, ðha:gi phoprañ nomñu!,
 ro gəlñu, cya:lañ kùjye nenñu!,
 sarma kùjye nenñu Ma:bon ò!

[In repeating line 984 several times, further harmful agents are enumerated again, as in 9.102, 11.125-126 and 36.276-39.301]

985 thim so thim!

*

ò hoy, *go and destroy the ma:, go and scare the ma: O Ma:bon!, the harmful agent which commits the crime of killing, which commits (this) sin!*
go and scare the ma:!
go and take a mess of flesh, a mess of blood (of the harmful agent)!
go and destroy (its) life-principle,
go and load (it) down by nine cya:lañs!,
go and load (it) down by nine (stalks of the) sarma grass
O Ma:bon!

[Repetitions]

985 thim so thim!

Notes:

981: **ma: jyĩnba**, cf. 87.740 note. If my etymological derivation is correct, the original meaning of lines 981-983 would be: '... go and make war upon the harmful agent which commits the crime...'

984: OT **phoprañ**, vaguely translated by 'mess', 'disorderly accumulation of various parts'.

– **cya:lañ, sarma**, s. 43.334.

985: **thim so thim**, a mantra for "loading down" the harmful agents. *thim* < *thimba*, s. *thim.gyurba* in 43.334.

104.: Protecting the life-tree (*pa:samgi le:dap*)

Having secured the soul by means of sacrificing an animal, the *bombo* now reverts to the floral-arboreal aspect and ensures divine protection for the life-tree, the *pa:sam*.¹ In the present instance, two life-trees are to be dealt with by the *bombo*: the first one is the outer manifestation or symbol of the patient's life-beam (*ro.duñma/so.duñma*),² while the second one will be promised to the *cen* towards the end of the ritual (section 113.). It is to the first type that the present section is devoted.

A long branch of the chestnut tree³ is tied to the post of the porch on the right side of the entrance to the client's house. Its lower end stands in a hole dug in the courtyard, and its "crown" is hung with a bunch of twigs and flowers, called *cênso-mênso* (s. 53.431 note) and a little bag containing a few grains of maize, millet and husked rice. As a mark of consecration, the *bombo* applies to the "trunk" three *ṭikās* of fresh butter taken from the altar and thus enriched with boon.

Standing in the courtyard and facing the life-tree throughout the ritual, the *bombo* interrupts his recitation – performed in *allegretto* and accompanied by incessant drumming – time and again by a dance. The long text, the recitation of which lasts about 30 minutes, first addresses the divine mother Kaliama, apostrophized as Phamo, and the life-tree itself in identifying it with the primordial tree, as the quotation from the creation myth⁴ in line 987 clearly shows. Then, repeating lines 986-996 each time, the *bombo* addresses his bid for support and guardianship successively to (a) the divinities of the village soil (*syibda*) along with their story of origin (*kerap*), as in 28.233; (b) to the divinities of the various cult places around the village of the patient, and of the lakes and mountains in the north, as enumerated in the *ṛirap* from 28.235 up to Gosāikuṇḍ in section 31.; (c) to the clan god of the patient's husband, as in 26.223; and finally (d) to the gods of the door and the floor of the house, as in 27.228. On the whole, this "withdrawal" into the patient's home inverts the order hitherto followed in a ritual journey, namely: fire-place,... clan god,... door, courtyard, *syibda*, village area,... the northern regions with their sacred lakes and mountains. It could not be ascertained why the enumeration in (b) stops at Gosāikuṇḍ; in any case, it is the divinity of the lake(s) of Gosāikuṇḍ which will provide, in section 106., the blessing for the water used for purifying the clients...

104.

ò Phamo chya:ja!o!, Phamoi le:dap soñjyi.
 sala sabsyi amai khari jara sombo khilñu, ma ni sombo keñu!
 hà:nga sòm chya:go, meṇdoi gyara chya:go!,
 meṇdoi buwa chya:go, meṇdoi liñsye chya:go!,
 meṇdoi goṃbo chya:go!,
 sala kebi duñma, nàm!a charbi duñma,
 Phamo chya:ja!o!, Phamoi le:dap soñjyi.

1 MT *pa:sam* < Tib. *dpag-bsam(-ñin)*, the 'Wish-granting Tree' of Indo-Tibetan cosmology. Cf., e.g., Mumford (1989: 97): "The Life Tree, which in the view of the Gyasumdo shamans unites the three worlds, becomes for the lama the Wish-granting Tree that has its roots in the underworld treasure store and grows up through Mount Meru [...], emerging at the top to provide fruits and medicines for the gods." Cf. also Karmay 1986: 63, 68.

2 SB insisted that the *pa:sam* symbolized the life-trees of all members of the patient's family, or, in a sense, even the life-tree of the homestead of the patient's family.

3 Cf. *kedañ sali* in 27.228 note, and *teñsyin* in 56.465 note. The chestnut can be replaced by the juniper or the prunus (*Prunus cerasoides*), I was told.

4 Cf. 20.195-196 and 23. 207-208.

- 990 syābla tēwa nāmba – salñi!,
 pūila meļuñ nāmba – salñi!,
 che.đarsyiñ nāmba – salñi!,
 đạ:moi ro nāmba – salba, so nāmba – salba, kha nāmba – salba,
 bla nāmba – salba, bụ: nāmba – salba, ro.đụñma nāmba –
 salba(i), luñđañ bảbại le:đap, cyoldap sọñjyi.
 Phamo chya:ja!o!, Phamoi le:đap sọñjyi.
- 995 bảkạp yiñle luñgi khorlo nomñu!,
 nảkạp yiñle Tàbu Nórbu khurñu!,
 gyábna jọ kha tañbại noccyen, ñònnna jọ chi: tañbại noccyen,
 syimo, señđe, bự-màsa:n, kãco bãyụ pharasya:ysi
 khañsai rạwa seño, syiñsai rạwa seño!,
 đạ:moi ro.đụñma(i) le:đap, cyoldap sọño!

[Repetitions in addressing the *syibda* (28.233); the divinities in the village area, and of the lakes and mountains (from 28.235 up to Gosāikupđ in section 31.); the clan god (26.223); and the gods of the door and the floor (27.228), s. above.]

... mrảbgi la Gọmosyi: Rá:ja, sai la Temba Cuñne
 khañsai rạwa sọño, le:đap, cyoldap sọño!

[Drumming]

*

- ò, *O Phamo hail!, (I) have ensured the support of (you O) Phamo.*
Go and grow whirling O living roots in the mother earth, go and
be born O living trunk!,
may there be the three branches, may there be the hundreds of
flowers!,
may there be the (downy) hairs of flowers, may there be the
scores of flowers!,
may there be the heaps of flowers!,
O beam being born in the earth, beam thriving in the sky,
O Phamo hail!, (I) have ensured the support of (you O) Phamo.
- 990 *The centre of the legs is injured – let us go and heal it!,*
the flame of the knees is injured – let us go and heal it!,
the life-pole is injured – let us go and heal it!,
(I) have ensured the support, have ensured the guardianship
(which) heal (when) the mistress's life-principle is injured,
heal (when her) vital principle is injured,
heal (when her) mouth is injured,
heal (when her) soul is injured,
heal (when her) breath is injured,
heal (when her) life-beam is injured,
which make (her) respiration (?) expand.
- O Phamo hail, (I) have ensured the support of (you O) Phamo.*
- 995 *Go and take the whirlwind in the atmosphere!,*
go and carry (take along?) Tàbu Nórbu in the underground
sphere!,

*in removing the harmful agent which presents (its) mouth at the
back top [sic],
the harmful agent which presents (its) backbone at the
front top [sic],
the ghost, the seṇḍe, the b̄ir-màsa:n, the k̄āco b̄āyu,
protect the homestead, protect the fields!,
ensure support, ensure guardianship (for) the mistress's life-beam!*

[Repetitions]

*... O god of the door, Ḡomosyi: Rá:ja, god of the floor (earth)
Temba Cuñne,
protect the homestead, ensure support (and) guardianship!*

Notes:

987: **sala sabsyi ama**, lit. 'in the earth mother', OT **sabsyi ama** is to be understood metaphorically.

– **b̄uwa**, instead of "luwa-b̄uwa", 'downy hairs', cf. 14.135 note.

988: **sala kebi, n̄amla charbi**, s. 51.412.

990-993: **sȳabla... luñdañ b̄arbai**, s. 10.118, 13.133 and 27.229 notes.

995: **n̄añkap** = **n̄añba**, 'underground sphere', s. 9.104 note.

996: **gȳábna j̄o... noccyen**, cf. 90.795 note.

– **pharasya:syi** < OT **pharasya:ba**, 'to remove', 'to shift aside', < Tib. **phar**, 'away', + OT **sya:ba**, s. 17.154.

The **bombo** enters the house and, facing the door which has been shut behind him, murmurs a long mantra "for the protection of the corner at the door", i.e., that corner through which harmful, hungry spirits are likely to sneak into the house.

105. – 107.: The sources of health: life-power and purity

There follows a break of about two and a half hours. The *bombo*, seemingly tired by then, lies down on the mat spread in front of his altar and falls asleep. Soon, even the patient and the helpers doze, leaning their backs against the wall. At the first cock's crow, actually at about 5 a.m., the patient's husband, who has been up all the time, wakes up the *bombo* and fetches firewood from the porch.

The subsequent acts are to bestow on the patient and the members of her family the "life-force" (*che:*) and "life-power" (*waṅgur*) that the *bombo* acquires from divine sources and confers on to substances applied for purifying and protecting: the water of the jug is transubstantiated into holy water (*dupcyo*), a flake of fresh butter and a piece of thread are imbibed with "life-force" in order to be used as a *ṭikā* and a protective "necklace" (*koldo*), respectively. Informants had difficulty in trying to draw a conceptual distinction between *che:* and *waṅgur*.¹ In a sense, the *che:* constitutes the essence of any human or animal life, and it can materialize in a white, snow-like substance appearing between the tips of the thumb and the forefinger of the *bombo* or, as is the case here, on the drumhead. The *che:* vitalizes, instils life, while the *waṅgur*, invisible, is a spiritual power that not only vitalizes, but also consecrates and thus transforms.

Section 105. is a kind of ritual journey in search of the divinity who may provide the *che:*, and it starts by invoking Kaliama, the Divine Mother.

105.

Phamo chya:ja!o!,
 Kaliama Sergu Rá:ñi, Maṅgu Rá:ñi, Hoṣye Rá:ñi, Naṅsye Rá:ñi,
 1000 da:bo, da:moda, lai leṅchya.má:da kha salba, l̥i: salba,
 gyábna puñro, ñonna daṛo s̥onbai chedañ palgi waṅgur
 syukhajyi...

*

*O Phamo hail!,
 O Kaliama Sergu Rá:ñi, Maṅgu Rá:ñi, Hoṣye Rá:ñi, Naṅsye Rá:ñi,*
 1000 *(I) have come to ask for the invigorating, blissful (?) life-power
 (which) heals the mouth, heals the body of the master,
 the mistress, the god's youths,
 (life-power) which assists (them) at the back,
 makes (them) strong at the front...*

While repeating the request for life-power (line 1000) again and again, the *bombo* enumerates the names of powerful gods of mountains and lakes (cf. sections 30.-32.), some of them several times. Finally, he stops at *Lari Gañri Phamo Yañri Dólmo*, for – as the quivering in his body indicates – this is the divinity who will provide the *che:*. To "receive the *che:*" (*che: ta:ba*), he holds out the drum horizontally and waits until the white substance appears and is "absorbed" both by the flake of fresh butter which he had previously pasted on to the drumhead, and by the thread he had torn off from the hank on the altar and attached to the drum-frame. The butter flake is then shifted back to the place from where it was taken: the *bombo* smears it, with his thumb, on to the beak of the *Khyuñ* in the altar, to use it later for the *ṭikā* mark. The thread

¹ *che:* < Tib. *che*, lit. 'life'; and *waṅgur* < Tib. *dbañ-bskur*, lit. 'conferment of spiritual power'.

is laid over the cloth-strips of the symbol of prosperity and “accumulator” of good-luck, the *darluñ*,² in the vicinity of the Khyuñ, to reserve it for the *koldo* (section 107.).

Notes:

1000: *da:bo... lenchya.má:*, ‘the master... the youths’, for the patient’s whole family will be provided with the protective *koldo* thread.

– OT *puñro*, lit. ‘close friend’, < Tib. *dpuñ-grogs*, ‘helper’.

– OT *đaro*, lit. ‘helper-friend’, ? < Tib. *zla(-bo)*, ‘helper’, + *grogs*, ‘friend’.

– *lai lenchya*, s. 24.213 note.

– *chedan palgi wañgur*, ‘invigorating, blissful (?) life-power’, ? < Tib. *che dan dpal-gyi dbañ-bskur*, lit. ‘conferment of power of life and happiness’.

The next step is to ask for life-power (*wañgur*) that makes the water in the jug turn into holy water, *đupcyo*. The melodious section, sung, literally, “into the drum” that produced a fine echo-effect, gave SR an opportunity to make the best of his performing skill.

The invocation of *Dúbaru Khamburu* (line 1003) is followed by a reprise (in lines 1005-1009) of those passages in which the flowers put in the jug are approximated to the flowers of the primordial trees, and which highlight the function of the holy water (s. section 25.). The rest is an abbreviated ritual journey (*rjrap*) that sets out, as usual, from the altar (*chene*). Invoking the divinities represented by the ritual implements displayed on the altar – *Darluñ*, the “Accumulator” of boon and prosperity, *Tàbu Nórbu*, the swift Rider, or *Khyuñ*, the “raking” Explorer and flying Salvor, etc. – serves no other purpose than to mobilize them as helpers; the same seems to hold true of the divinities of the village territory (*syibda*) (lines 1010-1016). The *wañgur* itself is to be granted by the divinities of the “northern” mountains and lakes, the locus of purity par excellence (lines 1018 ff.)... The section concludes with an invocation of *Kaliama*, the Origin of all florality, the Mother-Reproducer of all life sustained by *che*: and restored by *wañgur*.

106.

hə:y wañgur(u)!,

gañgai đupcyo nomba, syoñgai đupcyo nomba(i) sergi bumba,

sañgi bumba,

đupcyoi wañgur syukhajyi, Dúbaru Khamburu,

gañgai đupcyo nombai sañgi bumba,

syoñgai đupcyo nombai bumba.

1005 *məndoi gombo chya:ba, məndoi gyara chya:ba,*

məndoi liñsye chya:ba, məndoi kabu chya:ba,

đupcyoi wañgur syukhajyi.

məndoi gyara nomba, mər blonba, tasya, wasya, lañsya, pha:sya,

ñengi ru:ri pho:ba, karda, marda, thabsaň-syobsaň,

sawai, ñalwai khari pho:ba silbi sañgi bumbai đupcyoi wañgur

syukhajyi,

ke:nen barjyo silba, li:nen đi:ma da:ba, khawai barjyo silbi

đupcyoi wañgur(u),

mì: ni ñendap, mì:i kuldap, thañbi ñendap silbi đupcyoi wañgur

syukhajyi,

1010 *Chene Nolgi Da:mo, Chene Sergi Da:mo, Chene Briğaňsyi Da:mo,*

2 S. pp. 60, 62.

- Chene Chegara Də:moi ɖɔpcyoi waŋgur syʊkhajyi,
 ɗarluŋ Karbo, ɗarluŋ Marbo, ɗarluŋ Siŋga Rá:ni, ɗarluŋ Karsaŋ
 Rá:ni,
 Phurba ʔhilden Lajo, Hɪdam Təmriŋ Lajo, Hɪdam Təmriŋ Nórbu,
 Haha Lajo, Hɪhi Lajo,
 Saŋliŋ-Naŋliŋ, Chyu Geppu-Gemo, Lemba Gara ɗúba ʔha:duŋ
 Khamburu(i) ɖɔpcyoi waŋgur syʊkhajyi,
 1015 Khyuŋ, Jyakhyuŋ, Bɪkhyuŋ, Serkhyuŋ(gi) ɖɔpcyoi waŋgur syʊkhajyi,
 Bhokteni ne:bi yulgi syɪbda-nè:da saŋgi bumba naŋri
 ɖɔpcyoi waŋgur syʊkhajyi,
 Syar Nema Karsaŋ ɗólmo, jyɔŋgi la Jyaŋjyen Marbo,
 Loni Lapsaŋ Karbo, nɔpɪgi [la] Jyau Mānuhuŋga Rá:ja,
 Roŋyaŋ Ma:gi Gyálbo, Paldor Jo, Byáŋdal, Ganes Kuŋɗa, Kālo Raha,
 Seto Raha, Tombo La ɖeluŋ Sòmgi Ma:bon,...

Further gods of peaks and lakes are enumerated, most of them several times, until the bombo feels the quivering which indicates that actually it is the lake (the divinity of one of the lakes) of the Gosāikuŋɗ area which has provided the *waŋgur*. Beating, now, the drum with his left hand, the bombo lifts the jug to his lips and blows through the spout to transfer the *waŋgur* to the water which thereby turns into *ɖɔpcyo*.

- ... Gosāi Kuŋɗa, Issur (Iswar) Kuŋɗa, Bhairuŋ Kuŋɗa, Mahā dew
 Kuŋɗa Phamoda ɖɔpcyoi waŋgur syʊkhajyi,
 1020 Kaliama Hoŋser ɗólmo, Kaliama Le:den ɗólmo,
 gaŋgai ɖɔpcyo nomba, syoŋgai ɖɔpcyo nomba.

[Drumming]

*

- ha:y, *O life-power!*,
*the golden jug, the copper jug (which) takes (receives) the holy
 water of the mountain, takes the holy water of the river,
 (I) have come to ask for the life-power of the holy water,
 O ɗúbaru Khamburu,
 (in) the copper jug for taking the holy water of the mountain,
 the jug for taking the holy water of the river.*
 1005 *(Put in the jug) there are heaps of flowers,
 there are hundreds of flowers,
 there are scores of flowers, there are buds of flowers.
 (I) have come to ask for the life-power of the holy water.
 (I) have come to ask for the life-power of the holy water of the
 copper jug (which) takes (contains) hundreds of flowers,
 (the holy water) which washes off (whatever impurity) arises
 below, (which washes off whatever) has been affected by the
 impurity of the horse-meat, the pork, the ox-meat,
 the wild boar-meat, (by the impurity) of mating,
 (which washes off) the karda-, marda- (and)
 thabsaŋ-syɔbsaŋ-impurities.
 (which washes off whatever) has been affected while eating,
 sleeping, walking,*

*(I have come to ask for) the life-power of the holy water
(which) washes off the defilement-damage (caused by) the
childbirth-pollution, cleans out the impurity (caused by) the
corpse-pollution, which washes off the defilement-damage
of the snow (?),*

*(I) have come to ask for the life-power of the holy water which
washes off (the effects of) the harming charm of humans,
the magic arrow of humans, the harming charm
(which is the cause) of the thàŋba (illness)...*

1010-1018

[Invocation of the Chene, Daŋluñ,... Geŋluñ Sòmgi Ma:bon,
untranslated]

[Repetitions: lakes and mountains]

[Quivering]

*...(I) have come to ask (you O) Phamo Gosāi Kuṇḍa, Iswar Kuṇḍa,
Bhairuñ Kuṇḍa, Mahādev Kuṇḍa for the life-power of the
holy water,*

1020 *O Kaliama Hoser Dólmo, Kaliama Le:den Dólmo,*

*(I) take the holy water of the mountain, take the holy water of
the river.*

Notes:

1003: **Dúbaru Khamburu**, obviously identical with (a) Lemba Gara Dúba Tha:duñ Khamburu in line 1014 below, and (b) Lemba Gara Dúba Tha:duñ, Dúba Thu:jyen Chyembo, see 19.176 note. – The waṅgur-ḍupcyo ritual might have been inspired by the Tibetan notion of bum-skyed, i.e., the “creation of the divinity in the sacred vase (bum)”; and the name of the divinity with whose help the bōmbo receives the “life-power” in the jug, namely Dúba(ru) Khamburu, might go back to Tib. sgrub-mkhan (sgrub-pa-po, mkhan-po), the ‘officiant in the ritual of creation/realization (sādhana)’ (s. Lessing 1976: 3; Tucci 1970: 115 f.).

1007: **m̄ar bl̄oŋba...**, s. 9.108-109 and 25.218.

1008: **ke:n̄en...**, s. 24.213 note.

1009: **m̄j: n̄i** [sic], instead of m̄j:i; on n̄i s. p. 301.

1015: **Serkhyuñ**, another kind or name of the Khyuñ bird, not mentioned in 19.178,

1020: **Le:den Dólmo**, another epithet of Kaliama. Informants derived it from MT le:den, the name of a piece of cloth on which the new-born child is customarily laid. Le:den < Tib. legs-ldan, as occurring, e.g., in the names of Tibetan protective deities, such as A-ma Legs-ldan, ‘Mother with Good Things’ (Snellgrove 1961: 192), etc.

The final act is called *ḍupcyo ta:ba*, ‘receiving the holy water’, even though it is the *waṅgur* which is now “received” for a second³ time: The bōmbo takes a few grains of husked rice (*achetā/mone*) from the altar and strews them on to the skin of his drum which he holds out horizontally, just as he did previously to receive the *che:*. When, after a while, the grains have “absorbed” the *waṅgur*, they are dropped into the jug.

The following section is recited over those acts which are called “washing off the impurity”, *ḍipsol silba*,⁴ and “receiving the protective thread”, *koldo ta:ba*. On concluding with the

3 Why this is so, remains obscure. One informant even stressed that it is the *jiñlap*, lit. ‘blessing’ (s. 51.422 note), rather than the *waṅgur*, which was actually received by the bōmbo.

4 *ḍipsol*, synonymous with *ḍip* (< Tib. *grib*) ‘impurity’, ‘pollution’.

benediction (107.1034) the *bombo* walks over to the “women’s side” (*mondar*) where the patient and her stepchildren have been sitting all the time. The patient, squatting, holds out her palms joined – the usual polite gesture of accepting a gift – to receive a portion of water which the *bombo* pours from the jug, and she washes, first, her hands and, then, her face in such a way that the water drips on to a glowing piece of charcoal in a plate on the floor. This method is said to make the impurity evaporate along with the water which has absorbed it. And to remove the rest of impurity that might still cling to her, the *bombo* blows repeatedly on to the patient’s hands, head, chest and back. Having done thus, the *bombo* puts on to the patient’s forehead a *ṭikā* mark from that butter in which the *che:* has been stored, and hands over the *koldo*, the protective thread – likewise impregnated with *che:* - tied together with three knots and to be worn like a necklace.⁵

The same procedure, and the recitation of the entire section, too, is to be repeated for each member of the family, first for the children, then for the adults. Actually, two adolescent sons were absent (tending the cattle kept, at that time of the year, in the forest), and their father, Ṭāsyi, declined the *koldo* because of some “very bad experience in the past”, as he explained to me.

107.

[Drumming]

kewa ru:ri phowa thamjye, syiwa ru:ri phowa thamjye,
sòwa naḅpai ru:ri phowa thamjye,...

hara, hara, gaṅgāni, sunpāni,
... thabri thabsañ, syoḅri syoḅsañ phowa thamjye,
ñengi ru:ri phowa thamjye,
sòwa naḅpai ru:ri phowa thamjye,
ḁa:bara thamjye ḁa:bara gyuro!.

1025 hara, hara, gaṅgāni, sunpāni,
maṅgale graha, ketu graha, sansāre graha ḁa:bara gyuro!,
hara, hara, gaṅgāni, sunpāni, kili, kili, hara, hara,
ḁa:ba thamjye ḁa:bara gyuro!
chedaṅ palgi waṅgur(u),
gyābgi pe:ma ñamba – salo!,
nòngi lagu ñamba – salo!,
cya:gi koldo, sergi koldo, saṅgi koldo, raḁwai koldo,
paṅja raṅna raḁwai koldoi waṅgur(u)!

1030 brá:ri ḁo:na cima cu:go!,
chyuri ḁo:na samba cu:go!,
yara ḁole raḁwa soṅo!,
mara ḁole raḁwa soṅo!,
neḁjye maḥoṅo, riṅjye maḥoṅo lala lakpai li:ri!
gaṅa ḁole ñaṅgyal chego!,
chalam ñamba – salo!,
bulam ñamba – salo!,
syabla tèwa ñamba – salo!,

5 In some rituals I attended, children and relatives of the patient were given a *koldo* to be worn as a “bracelet”. Any such protective thread, even the yellow half of the thread that was wound around the patient’s right wrist during the *mar lamda* sacrifice (cf. pp. 229-230), is called *koldo*.

pùila meḷuñ ñamba – salo raḡwai koldoi waḡgur(u)!
 khañsai noccyen chamjo soḡba, syiñsai noccyen chamjo soḡba,
 sadañ.sò:i kuldap thamjye, ñeḡdap thamjye(i) chamjo
 soḡbai waḡgur(u), ...

[Following the same pattern, all kinds of harmful agents are
 enumerated, as in 9.102, 11.125-126 and 36.276-39.301.]

yongi baḡḡdi kalbai chyudañ baḡo!,
 kekki baḡḡdi kalbai meḷuñ baḡo!,
 syerap baḡo, sorap salo!

*

*Whatever has been affected by the impurity of childbirth,
 whatever has been affected by the impurity of death,
 whatever has been affected by the impurity of the dark (?)
 life,...*

hara, hara, gaḡḡāni, sunpāni,
*...whatever has been affected in the thab by the thabsañ,
 in the syoḡb by the syoḡbsañ,
 whatever has been affected by the impurity of mating,
 whatever has been affected by the impurity of the dark (?)
 life,
 may whatever is to be cleaned out be cleaned out!*

1025 hara, hara, gaḡḡāni, sunpāni,
*may the (effects of) the maḡgale graha, the ketu graha,
 the sansāre graha be cleaned out!,
 hara, hara, gaḡḡāni, sunpāni, kili, kili, hara, hara,
 may whatever is to be cleaned out be cleaned out!
 O invigorating, blissful (?) life-power,
 the lotus of the back is injured – heal it!,
 the god's statue of the front is injured – heal it!,
 O life-power of the iron koldo, the golden koldo,
 the copper koldo, the koldo of protection,
 the koldo of protection (as provided by) the paḡña raḡna!*

1030 *Provide steps when arriving at the steep slope!,
 provide a bridge when arriving at the water!,
 protect (the client) when going up (above)!,
 protect (him) when going down (below), too!,
 may (he) be unperceived by illness, may (he) be unperceived by
 epidemic in (his) god-like (?) body!
 Wherever (he) may go to, make (his) arrogance grow!, (when)
 the great-grandchildren (?) are injured – heal (them)!,
 (when) the grandchildren (?) are injured – heal (them)!,
 (when) the centre of the legs is injured – heal it!,
 (when) the flame of the knees is injured – heal it!,
 O life-power of the koldo of protection!
 O life-power (which) binds the harmful agent (that inhabits the
 sphere) of the homestead, binds the harmful agent
 (that inhabits the sphere) of the fields, which binds all*

*magic arrows (made) of the sadañ.sò: (wood), (which binds)
all harming charms...*

[Repetitions]

*Make the sea-water (in the jug) put on the left shoulder expand!,
make the flame put on the right shoulder expand!,
make the alertness expand [sic], make clear the voice (?)!*

Notes:

- 1022: **kewa** and **syiwa**, Tibetanized pronunciation of OT keba < Tib. skye-ba, 'childbirth', and MT syiba < Tib. ši-ba, 'dying', 'the deceased'; s. also kebi ru: in 25.218.
- **ru:**, s. 9.109.
 - **phowa**, Tibetanized pronunciation of MT pho:ba, s. 9.108.
 - OT **sòwa** (< Tib. 'cho-ba), 'life', 'existence'.
 - OT **ṅakpa**, ? < Tib. gnag-pa, 'black', also 'wicked', 'sinful'.
- 1023: N. **hara, hara**, an interjection pronounced while taking a ritual bath, as an invocation of Mahādev to wipe away sin (Turner 1965: 631).
- N. **gaṅgāni**, obviously with reference to the purificatory power of Ganges water. The form with -ni (unattested to my knowledge) may allude to the Ganges as a goddess, and/or be conditioned by the rhyme with sunpāni.
 - N. **sunpāni**, water that has been brought into contact with some gold, acquiring thereby a purificatory effect.
- 1024: **thabsañ, syõbsañ**, originally with reference to the defilement of the fire-place, s. 25.218. – **thabri** < OT *thab < Tib. thab, 'hearth'; thabri thabsañ = '(affected) in the fire-place by the fire-place defilement' (as its original meaning), does make sense; by contrast, if OT *syõb < Tib. (thab-)gžob, 'burnt smell', the OT "syõbri syõbsañ" is a pun modelled on the preceding "thabri thabsañ", as it seems.
- **ḍa:bara thamjye ḍa:bara gyuro** is Tibetan dag-par tham-čhad dag-par 'gyur-ro < Tib. dag-par 'gyur-ro, lit. 'it will be/become clean'; gyuro is automatically interpreted as an imperative or hortative by speakers of modern Tamang.
- 1026: **maṅgale...graha**, s. 97.918.
- 1027: **kili, kili** ? < Skt. kīlikīla, lit. 'he who hits with the magical dagger' (Bischoff and Hartmann 1971: 11 ff.).
- 1029: "the lotus at the back" (**gyábgi pe:ma**)..., s. 42.322.
- 1030: **brá:ri... samba**, s. 24.213. Notice the alternation MT ḍo:ba (in ḍo:na) versus OT ḍoḅa (in ḍoḅe), 'to go', 'to walk' (s. p. 35).
- 1031: **ṅedjye/rinjye maṅhoṅo**, ('may be unperceived by illness/epidemic') < OT ṅed, 'illness', + OT rin, 'epidemic', + OT thoṅba, s. 18.159.
- OT **lala lakpai li:**, 'the god-like body' (?), as suggested by the informants; obviously borrowed from Tibetan *lha-la (lha-las) lhag-pa'i lus, lit. 'body superior to the god(s)'.
- 1034: **yongi... sorap...**, the bombo's prayer for a physical and mental condition that enables him to perform the ritual (s., e.g., 8.94-97) is applied here to the patient as a formula of benediction. – "syerap ḅarba", 'to make the alertness expand (= grow)', instead of "syerap salba", appears to be unusual.

108. – 111. The ritual of the upper crossroads (*yar lamda*)

The *yar lamda* is the last act in which the *bombo* seeks “direct”, ecstatic contact with the supernatural: the “encounter” with *Lasya*, the First Witch, belongs to the most dramatic steps, and its importance emerges from the fact that the myth of its origin is also the myth of origin of Tamang shamanism itself (sections 110. and 111., s. also Appendix II).

The term *yar lamda*, lit. ‘upper crossroads’, implies that the *bombo* has to perform the ritual in such a way that he is facing the altar. In other words, it is in looking in the direction classified as “above” (MT *tor* = OT *yar*) that he “moves northwards” to meet *Lasya* in her abode (*lāgan*) in the mystic-mythic country (*bə:yul*) in “Tibet”, – that country which is, at the same time, identified with the *bombo*’s altar which in turn is identical with the First Altar of one of the Four Primordial *Bons* (pp. 21-22). In contrast to the nocturnal ransom-sacrifice of the *mar lamda* rite directed “downwards” to repatriate the denizens of darkness, the spirits and ghosts (pp. 229 ff.), the present act, performed in the morning when the first rays of the sun appear from behind the mountain crests, addresses a being recognized – in spite, or precisely because, of its ambivalence – as divine (*la*) and apostrophized as “Sunbeam Ma:bon”.¹

On the other hand, the term “crossroads” implies, here too, both a meeting and a parting. If the ransom-sacrifice in the *mar lamda* rite is designed for coming into close contact with the dead only in order to separate them from the living, then the “encounter” in the *yar lamda* rite pursues the goal of separating the two aspects inherent in *Lasya*’s nature, that is, neutralizing the negative and activating the positive component of femalehood: the Witch who renders a woman barren by licking her “flower”, on the one hand, and the Goddess who controls and gives the “life-flower” to *Kaliama*, the divine surrogate mother, on the other (cf. pp. 54-55). Quenching the blood-thirst of the former by sacrificing a cock² in exchange for the patient is not enough. Rather, the *bombo* himself is to gain control over *Lasya* through an encounter which is unique in its kind. There is general agreement about a few “facts” of this encounter, while its consequences or implications remain open to interpretation. The *bombo*, we are told, approaches with the sacrificial animal in his hand and whistles a sweet melody to allure *Lasya*. After having forced open, by means of the sound of his drum, the lock of the gate of *Lasya*’s abode and having escaped the bites of her watchdog, he suddenly finds himself in front of *Lasya*, a huge figure of a woman with dishevelled hair and standing with her legs astride.³ The encounter (OT *ñomdar*, MT *khadu*)⁴ culminates in the *bombo*’s creeping through between the legs of *Lasya* and expressing his disgust by sneezing three times⁵ (111.1080-1084).

This means much more than just an act of submission. The peculiar *unio mystica* goes hand in hand with an “intimacy” not to be found in that usual type of shamanic interaction which we have termed ad-identification; it has a sexual connotation and is, in any case, tantamount to perversion. The passing through between *Lasya*’s legs results in a position which is “impossible” because it breaks the taboo forbidding a woman to step over the body (and be it just over the legs stretched out while sitting on a mat) of a male, her husband in particular. To do so is an

1 i.e., *Ñeser/Ñenser Ma:bon* (108.1042 and 109.1055, s. also 111.1077 and 111.1079). Another name of *Lasya*, namely *Nañsal Rá:ñi* (111.1080) may also allude to sunrise or sunlight: *Nañsal* ? < Tib. *snah-gsal*, ‘bright light’, cf. p. 56.

2 *Lasya*’s ambivalence also emerges from the choice of the term for this sacrifice which in several texts is called alternately *lud* (ransom-sacrifice for spirits) and *chvoppa* (sacrificial gift for gods).

3 Cf. pp. 56-57.

4 The *yar lamda* rite is also called “*Lasya gyám*”, approximately ‘(following/crossing) *Lasya*’s path’.

5 In one instance, the sneezing was interpreted as a means of getting rid of the impurity inhaled by the *bombo*. – On sneezing caused by a superhuman agent entering one’s body cf. Brauen 1980: 147 with regard to Ladakh, and Croke 1968: 240-241 with regard to India. – In a myth collected in Maharashtra, the gods trying to reach *Baṅgāl* have to pass through under the outspread legs of the goddess who rules over the fifty-two magical sciences. She urinates and the gods are nearly drowned (Sontheimer 1976: 55 f., and Sontheimer 1989: 50-56).

explicitly social perversion, since it corresponds to a symbolic reversal of male dominance, and an implicitly sexual perversion, since the posture is not only reminiscent of an illicit form of intercourse, but also exposes the person, who is stepped over, to the impurity of the abdomen of a female, more impure, *sui generis*, than the abdomen of a man.⁶ Whether or not interpretable as some sort of a “stylized” sexual union or even a *regressus ad uterum*, the encounter with Lasya serves to absorb her impurity and thereby to “bind” and divert the negative, destructive energy of uncontrolled female sexuality from the patient. Lasya’s perversion of a witch – also alluded to by the idiom which asserts that she likes licking the “flower” (womb/vulva) of a woman – cannot be neutralized by the *ḥombō* otherwise than by committing a counter-perversion,⁷ as it were.

Lasya’s double nature emerges from the following two sections in which Kaliama and Lasya are simultaneously invoked to the extent of merging into one person: *as* Kaliama, Lasya is called upon for protection, and *as* Lasya, Kaliama is to be neutralized, if one might put it this way. Otherwise, the text itself is silent about the negative aspect, for, as the informants stressed, the *ḥombō* cannot “get at” (*pheba*) Lasya, the wanton, coquettish and dangerous woman, without flattering her suitably.

Section 108. opens with invoking the goddess of the *chene*, that central part of the altar which is to become identical with the abode of Lasya (s. above), and which is, as always, the starting point of a new ritual journey (108.1041-109.1062). This time, the *ḥombō*’s destination is Cho Mamo in the north (s. pp. 132-133), the place where the First *Ḥombō*, *Dṅsur Ḥon*, was defeated and where Ugyen Pe:ma “established” Lasya in her present role (sections 110.-111.). Before reaching there, the divinities of lakes and peaks must be “called at” to find out which one among them would be “fit” to provide – additional – protection for the patient’s “life-flower” now endangered by Lasya’s presence. Here again, the “double grid” already familiar to us (cf. sections 51. ff.) is applied in that the enumeration of the divinities is interspersed with enumerations of flowers (108.1046 and 109.1058 ff.), namely those botanical species among which one particular flower is likely to “correspond” to the “life-flower” to be protected.⁸

Let us add that a text recorded with Chyamba *Ḥombō* (who had a fortunate leaning towards weaving a few improvised explanations for the ethnographer into his recitation) clearly shows Lasya as the one who is both the destination of the *ḥombō*’s journey and his companion helping him to reach this destination.⁹ Of particular interest is a passage in which Chyamba is requesting Lasya to “return” with him, the *ḥombō*, into the time and to the site of her own myth...

By the time the *ḥombō* begins reciting, the helpers have already arranged for the animal sacrifice, the setup being the same as in the *maṛ lamda* rite (s. pp. 229 ff.), with the difference that this time no *tormo* is required: a young, tiny cock¹⁰ is connected with the patient by the

6 A similar taboo is observed in Tibet (Klaus 1985: 265, 268) and among the – mainly – Hindu neighbours of the Tamang. The MT verb *yeppa*, ‘to step over’ (in this sense), corresponds to Nepali *nāghnu*. – On the sexual symbolism implied in the stance of “legs astride” in Shaiva mythology cf. O’Flaherty 1980: 139-141 f.: Kālī is prevented from imitating Śiva’s posture of dancing with one leg lifted high above his head (*ūrdhvatāṇḍava*).

7 In Tantric Buddhism, the sexual union between the adept and his female partner, the “wisdom-maiden” who embodies a *ḍākinī* or another goddess, does include “perversion”, such as the oral contact with excrements, s. Snellgrove 1987: 258 ff., 290 ff.

8 Cf. pp. 54, 163. The identity of this (botanical) flower was not disclosed, it is presumably the *ḍāwa sali meṇdo*. It remains unclear why this flower has to be identified here for a second time after it has already been found out on the occasion of the *cengi sahrap*. The *ḥombō* contented himself, in the interview, with stressing the necessity of testing the results he had been obtaining previously. Be that as it may, it should be mentioned that, as a rule, each time he performs a ritual for a particular client, the *ḥombō* is obliged to have confirmed by the divinity whether the latter’s special protection (*le:dap, cyoldap*) is still valid, “because it may happen that – between two rituals – one and the same client has in the meantime been ‘taken over’ by another divinity”, as SR explained.

9 Cf. also 111.1077-1079 in our text, suggesting a similar interpretation.

10 For the sacrifice to Lasya, a cock is invariably required.

same type of yellow/black-coloured thread which will be torn at the juncture of its two halves at exactly the moment when the bombo reaches Lasya's abode (section 111.)...

108.

[Long drumming]

- 1035 ha:y Phamo chya:.jalo!
 ñendu salo, thu:la gomo!
 Chene Nolgi Da:mo, Chene Briḡaṅsyi Da:mo,
 Lasya Khandā:mo, Lasya Philmen Đólmo,
 cya:gi ḡoljya pheñi, saṅgi ḡoljya pheñi!,
 1040 Lasya Khandā:mo, Lasya Philmen Đólmo, Lasya Ma:bon,
 Lasya Philmen!
 Gaṅgā-Jamunā(i) le:dap wa:?.
 Lasya Khandā:mo, Ñeṣer Ma:bon, Phyuḡuri Jo, Mármén Kù,
 Đomañ Kùì Da:moda [Da:mojye?] ñen thupla wa:?,
 Lari Gañri, Jeṣur (Jayiswar) Kuṅḡai Da:mojye ñen thupla wa:?,
 Da:moi apso cu:jyi, le:dap cu:jyi.
 1045 Syarka:li, Gosāi Kuṅḡa, Bhairuñ Kuṅḡa(i) le:dap soññu da:mo[da],
 Kaliama!
 phu: ḡaṅgai meṅdo, pe:ma sali meṅdo, pe:ma daḡgi meṅdo,
 ḡorjawali meṅdo, khaima-khaijyuñ meṅdo, ser-gulḡul meṅdo,
 byúru sali meṅdo, taḡaṅ sali meṅdo, paṅsañ-lúḡu sali meṅdo,
 chyuden-dérmo meṅdo, ñema sali meṅdo, dáwa sali meṅdo,
 ḡaṅser, hoṣer meṅdo, khàwai meṅdo, da:moi ro.meṅdo,
 ro.meṅdoi meṅdo[da] le:dap soño Đinjen Phamo!

[Names of further flowers are enumerated, as in sections 53.-56.]

*

- 1035 ha:y, *O Phamo hail!*
Listen with the ears, ponder in the mind!
O Chene Silver Mistress, Chene Briḡaṅsyi Mistress,
Lasya Khandā:mo, Lasya Philmen Đólmo,
let us go and get at the iron lock, let us go and get at the
copper lock!,
 1040 *O Lasya Khandā:mo, Lasya Philmen Đólmo, Lasya Ma:bon,*
Lasya Philmen!
(Can the client obtain) the support (of) Gaṅgā-Jamunā?,
will Lasya Khandā:mo, Ñeṣer Ma:bon, the Mistress(es) of
Phyuḡuri Jo, Mármén Kù, Đomañ Kù be fit (to provide
protection to the client)?,
will the Mistress(es) of Lari Gañri, Jayiswar Kuṅḡa be fit?,
(I) have put trust in the Mistress(es?), have ensured (their?)
support.
 1045 *Go and ensure the support (of) Syarka:li, Gosāi Kuṅḡa,*
Bhairuñ Kuṅḡa [in favour of] the mistress, O Kaliama!

*Ensure support, O D̄in̄jyen Phamo, (for) the flower of the upland,
 the pe:ma sali flower, the pe:ma d̄ap̄gi flower,
 the goꝛjawali flower, the khaima-khaijyuñ flower,
 the ser-gúlgul flower, the byúru sali flower,
 the tàbañ sali flower, the pañsañ-lúgu sali flower,
 the chyuden-dérmo flower, the ñema sali flower,
 the d̄áwa sali flower, the gañser, the hoşer flower,
 the flower of the snow, the life-flower,
 the flower of the life-flower [sic] of the mistress!*

[Repetitions]

Notes:

- 1038: **Khañda:mo...**, on the names and epithets of Lasya s. pp. 55-57. Philmen ? < Tib. *'phel-sman, lit. 'Remedy-for-Growth' or '(the one who acts for) the benefit of thriving', as an epithet of the Divine Mother who gives and protects life.
- 1039: **goljya** (s. 86.733), referring to the lock of Lasya's gate.
- 1041: **Gaṅgā-Jamunā**, s. section 70.
- 1042: **Ñeşer Ma:bon**, another epithet for Lasya; ñeşer/ñeşer, 'beam of sunlight', with reference to the early morning, the time for performing the yaꝛ laṃda rite for Lasya.
- 1042 ff.: **Phyùguri...**, on the lakes and peaks enumerated here cf. section 31. – The mistresses of some of these places belong to the category of *cen* who control the flowers and the "flowers" ("life-flowers", "[womb-]flowers") of humans.
- OT **ñen thuppa**, 'to be fit/capable', < Tib. ñen, 'risk', 'danger', + Tib. thub-pa, 'to be able to bear'.
- 1044: **apso**, s. 48.374.
- 1046: **pe:ma sali** = a kind of lotus; **pe:ma d̄ap̄gi meṇdo** = the flower of the pe:ma geşere tree (*Bombax malabaricum*); **khaima-khaijyuñ** = a class of flowers growing at high altitudes, according to SB.; OT **ñema sali** = MT d̄iñi sali, a kind of sunflower, according to SB. For further plant names cf. sections 15., 53. and 55. Neither **gañser meṇdo** nor **hoşer meṇdo** could be identified as botanical species. OT **hoşer**, lit. 'ray of light'; the word **gañser** was tentatively explained as meaning the 'rays (seꝛ) of the sunlight appearing at sunrise from behind the mountain crests (gañ)'. Probably, both **gañser** and **hoşer meṇdo** have to be treated as metaphoric expressions likening the brilliant colours of the flowers to the sunshine, and in this case **gañser** ? < Tib. *gañ-(g)zer, lit. 'full of rays'.
- **khàwai meṇdo** = flower of the snow, cf. 51.422 and 58.477 notes.
- **d̄a:moi... ro.meṇdoi meṇdo** = the flower of the life-flower of the mistress, according to SB a pleonasm; however, s. also pp. 324-325.

Following the same pattern and reciting in a kind of low-voice *pensieroso*, often with a brief pause after a name, the bombo continues his journey towards the north, the mythic-mystic region of *be:yul* that lies in the high mountains and in South Tibet. – As it consists of enumerations, the section does not need to be translated.

109.

Kaliama Phamo Khañda:mo, Kaliama Sergu Đólmo, Maꝛgu Đólmo,
 Kaliama Hoşye Nañsye Rá:ñi,
 tha:, li: seṅbai D̄in̄jyen Phamo,...

[Repetition of 13.133-134: the epithets of Kaliama]

... le:dap soññu!

- 1050 Syar Ñema Karsaŋ Đólmo, jyaŋgi la Jyaŋjyen Marbo,
 loi la Lapsaŋ Karbo, Nuþ Nàwa Thà:ye,
 Roşyaŋ Ma:gi Gyálbo ñen thupla wa:?
 Phamo Gaŋgā-Jamunā, Yaṛa Piŋbiŋ, Maṛa Piŋbiŋ Phamo Syelgar
 Jyomo, Gorkhai Ma:bonjye ñen thupla wa:?
 Roşyaŋ Ma:gi Gyálbo, Paldor Jo, Kāli Raha, Seti Raha
 Yapdeŋ-yuþgi Da:mojye ñen thupla wa:?
 Kaliama, Hoşye Naŋsye Đólmo, e-e-e-e-e-e,
 1055 Lasya Khaŋda:mo, Lasya Nenjyurmo, Ñeŋser Ma:bon!
 Doṃaŋ Kùì Da:mojye ñen thupla wa:?,
 Gyábna Phurjo, Nònna Larjo, Pho Jyawa Siŋgi Lamo,
 Laṛi Gaŋri, Issur (Iswar) Kuŋða ñen thupla wa:?,
 Syarka:li, Gosāi Kuŋða, Bhairuŋ Kuŋða ñen thupla wa:?

[Enumeration of flowers, beginning in the same order and ending with the same request for protection, as in 108.1046]

- Roŋgai Ma:bon ò!,
 1060 Keruŋ, Syàrjoŋ [Gómbo], Nuþjoŋ Gómbo, Đagar Gómbo,
 Chànda-Chòndi Gómbo, Lànda-Lèndi Gómbo, Jónga Gómbo,
 Lo Darjyuŋ Gómbo, Sàme [Đarda] Gómbo, Grá:ma Gómbo,
 Pal.hişye Gómbo,
 Cho Maṃo naŋri, Cho Maṃo, Palgu Jón naŋri Gyagar Khaŋda:moda
 le:dap [soŋo!].

Notes:

1050-1053: **Syar Ñema... Da:mojye**, on these names cf. section 30.

1057-1062: **Gyábna Phurjo... Cho Maṃo, Palgu Jón**, on these names cf. sections 31.-32.

1062: **Gyagar Khaŋda:moda le:dap**. '[ensure] protection for Gyagar Khaŋda:mo!', or recte: Gyagar Khaŋda:mojye le:dap, '[ensure] protection O Gyagar Khaŋda:mo!'?

Having arrived at Cho Maṃo, the bõmbo is now reciting the story of the mythical event that had taken place there (cf. Appendix II). As the bõmbo himself commented: "You must remind Lasya of her being bound by Urgyen Pe:ma's *damla* [act of 'fixing'], and it is this *damla* you, as a bõmbo, are renewing." The opening formula, in quoting from the creation myth, marks off what follows as a "document" of primordial foundation. The conspicuously archaic, or even archaizing, wording of the entire section stresses the mythic character of the account, its being a text "as old as" the event it narrates. A few expressions appear to have been forcibly applied as if to link up the myth with the ritual as a whole (cf. pp. 280 ff.). On the other hand, SR's formulation, as rendered here, had been improvised to some extent; afterwards he himself found it "a bit confused".

110.

daŋbo-daŋbo, samyuŋ meppi tiŋri, namyuŋ meppi tiŋri
 ñema kù ðuŋnem, daṃwa kù ðuŋnem,
 semjen riwa repta gyurnem,
 sa ni kù meṛa [recte: sa ni meṛa kù] chya:nem,

- dónbo thamjye meḷuñ gyurnem,
 cadañ.ju, pradañpri repta gyurnem.
 Gúru Urygen Pe:majye kha [ka?] daṃla ta:nem,
 thu: daṃla ta:nem, lala largu, mi:la miḡgu, semjen riwa,
 chyui daṃla, doi daṃla ta:nem ò.
- 1065 Gúru Urygen Jyũñne ṭhuñnem, Dũsur Bõn ṭhuñnem wa:,
 “Ui Nañbar Nañjyen, Cho Maṃo, Palgu Jón nañri
 kharda dulñi, phep.ḍola kuiñi!”, binem
 Gúru Urygen Pe:majye.
 Dũsur Bõn yul gañbai khala chyejyu górmu, bija-bõmo Dũsur
 Bõnjye gyábna li:jye khurnem, nõnna chya:jye teñnem,
 Cho Maṃo, Palgu Jón(gi) kharda dulna kuimam
 ḍowai lamda cyotnem.
 “ñẽdam [ñẽdu?] salo Lasya Philmen Ḍólmo, ña Dũsur Bõn
 nañbai yinle kekki syãbru cu:na, yongi syãbru cu:na
 kharda dulysi, phepnañsyi ṭhõwai ñasyiñ cu:go!”,
 binem Lasya Philmen Ḍólmoda.
 Gúru Urygen Pe:ma Jyũñnejye nàmla phiriri diñna
 awai jyara naḱpoi li: señna kuina sergi deñle syu:nem.
- 1070 ò Dũsur Bõn kharda dulysi phũrhoñla kuina Lasya Philmen
 Ḍólmojye syiwañ ñasyiñ cu:nem.
 Gúru Urygen Pe:majye kha [ka?] daṃla ta:na, thu: daṃla ta:na
 [Dũsur Bõn] tẽmba ñalñem, khardajye sañem,
 khardajye sañam Lasya Philmen Ḍólmom
 “yaḡ ḍola wa:, maḡ ḍola wa:?” binem,
 migla migcyuñ brupñem, awai sombo tapñem.

*

*In primordial times, amidst (the period when) there was no
 earth, amidst (the period when) there was no sky,
 nine suns originated, nine moons originated,
 all living beings perished,
 there were nine (heaps of?) ash and dust remaining,
 all trees turned into flames,
 all insects, dung-beetles (?) perished.*

*Urygen Pe:ma magically fixed the mouth (speech),
 magically fixed the mind,
 magically fixed the gods as gods, the humans as humans,
 the living beings, the water, the stone (as such) ò.*

- 1065 Gúru Urygen Jyũñne originated, Dũsur Bõn originated wa:
 “Let us go and tame the kharda in (the heights dominated by)
 Ui Nañbar Nañjyen, (in) Cho Maṃo, Palgu Jón, let us
 depart!”, Gúru Urygen Pe:ma said.
 Dũsur Bõn (gathered), in the whole (?) area, friends and
 relations, sons and daughters, Dũsur Bõn carried (them) at
 the back on the back, tossed (them) at the front with the
 hands, while [sic] taming the kharda (of) Cho Maṃo,
 Palgu Jón, (they) travelled (to these places).
 (Dũsur) said to Lasya Philmen Ḍólmo: “Listen with the ears O
 Lasya Philmen Ḍólmo! Tame the kharda, proceed and operate

the violent (side of the) body of the drum, when I, Dunsur Bön, step with the right foot, step with the left foot in the underground sphere!"

[line 1068 as emended by SR:

"Listen with the ears O Lasya Philmen Dólmo! Operate the violent (side of the) body of the drum when I, Dunsur Bön, proceed to the underground sphere and, in taming the kharda, step with the left foot, step with the right foot!"]

After having soared fluttering in the sky, after assuming the body of the black vulture of the air, Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Jyüñne throned on the golden throne.

1070 ò *Dunsur Bön tamed the kharda and when he betook himself (to the underground sphere?), Lasya Philmen Dólmo operated the mild (side of the) body of the drum.*

As Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma magically fixed the mouth (speech), as he magically fixed the mind, [Dunsur Bön] died at once, the kharda ate (him) up, (and)

as the kharda ate (him) up, Lasya Philmen Dólmo, in her turn, said: "Shall (I) go up, shall (I) go down?" [sic], (and), tears flowed from (her) eyes, (she) became dissolved in the living air (?).

Notes:

1063: **dañbo-dañbo... meppi tiñri**, a frequent proemial formula opening the account of any primordial event, s. also 20.181. OT *samyuñ*, *namyuñ* (in other texts also *samyañ* and *namyañ*) were translated by 'earth' and 'sky' respectively. OT *meppa* < Tib. *med-pa*, 'to be not'.

– OT **semjen riwa** < Tib. *sems-čan*, 'animated being', + *ri-dwags*, 'game'. 'wild animal'.

1064: **kha(i)/ka(i) dañmla...**, as already stated, there is an occasional fluctuation between *ka* ('word', 'utterance') and *kha* (lit. 'mouth', 'face'), s. 20.186 note.

1065: **wa**: is, here, not identical with the interrogative particle, but a padding frequently used in recitals of a myth.

1066: **Ui Nanbar Nañjyen** [sic], the guardian god of the zenith (s. 35.273), is perhaps mentioned here to stress the high altitude of the place (Cho Mamo).

– **kharda** = *kharda-chobda*, s. 12.129.

– OT **phep.ḍola kuiba** < **phep.ḍoba* < Tib. *pheb-pa* (hon.), 'to come/go', + 'gro-ba', 'to walk'.

1067: **yul gañbai khala**, s. 39.300 (where *khale*, instead of *khala*).

– OT **chyejyu górmó**, translated by 'friends and relations'; *chyejyu* ? < Tib. *mched*, 'brother', 'sister'; *górmó* ? < Tib. *sgor-mo*, lit. 'circle'.

– OT **bija-bomo** < Tib. *bu-cha*, 'son', + *bu-mo*, 'daughter'.

– **gyábna li:jye... tennem**, 'at the back, on the back... tossed', here applied, somewhat forcibly as it seems, in the sense of 'he took them along as his companions', as the informants explained. On this expression (denoting a particular ritual technique) s. pp. 27 ff.

– OT **ḍowai lamda cyotnem**, 'they travelled' (?), s. p. 281.

1068: **ñendam/ñendu salba**, s. 8.90.

– **nañbai yiñle**, lit. 'in the underground sphere' (9.104 notes), here with reference to the space below the surface of the water of the lake.

– OT **syabru cu:ba**, lit. 'to do foot' = 'to step with the foot', with reference to Dunsur's underwater dance to "tame" the *kharda* monster. As might be recalled (p. 29), the dance is one of the *bombo*'s "close combat" methods.

- MT **phepnanba**, (hon.) 'to go/come', used in addressing a lama.
- OT **ṭhòwai nāsyiñ cu:ba** = MT **ṭhòwa rappa**, 'to beat the drum with its (so-called) violent side turned ahead', i.e., towards the adversary. S. p. 68 and 16.139.
- 1069: **nàmla phiriri dīnba**, 'to soar fluttering in the sky', just as the peacock and the Khyuñ do, cf. section 19.
- OT **awai jyāra nākpo**, 'black vulture of the air' (?). In other versions of the myth, it is the cuckoo into which Urgyen Pe:ma transforms himself; and in other ritual texts, **jyāra nākpo** unequivocally refers to the raven (**jyāra** < Tib. **bya-rog**).
- OT **sergi dēnle**, lit. 'on the golden throne', but here with reference to the walking stick on which the bird alias Urgyen Pe:ma sat down, cf. p. 335. **dēn** < Tib. **gdan**, 'seat'.
- 1070: OT **phūrhonba** ? < Tib. 'phur-ba, 'to fly', + 'oñ-ba, 'to come'.
- **syiwai nāsyiñ** = the "mild side" of the drum, turned towards the one to be pleased or worshipped (in contrast to "ṭhòwai nāsyiñ" in line 1068 above). Disregarding Dṅsur's instructions, Lasya was beating the drum on the "wrong" side (cf. p. 336¹⁸), to the effect that the aquatic monster could not be "tamed".
- 1071: **ḍamla ta:ba** refers, here, to the magic act by which Dṅsur was rendered helpless in his struggle with the **kharda**; it may, at the same time, also be interpreted as an act of creation in the specifically Tamang sense: a "fixing" of speech and mind so that this primordial event may henceforth be commemorated (through speech) and conceived of (in the mind) as a precedent "establishing" a present situation as such, e.g., the present division of tasks between the lama and the **bombo** (cf. also pp. 19-20, 26).
- OT **tēm̄ba nālba**, 'to die at once', ? < Tib. *brtan-pa(r) ñal-ba, 'to sleep soundly'.
- 1072: **yāṛ ḍola wa:**, **māṛ ḍola wa:?**, lit. 'Shall I go up, shall I go down?', here in the sense of 'Where shall I go to?'. The phrase seems to have been adopted from "yāṛ ḍole, māṛa ḍole" (e.g., in 107.1030), but it obviously also alludes to Lasya's dilemma between either (a) becoming a goddess by going to the "upper crossroads" (**yāṛ lamda**) or (b) becoming a spirit by going to the "lower crossroads" (**māṛ lamda**), cf. p. 281.
- OT **mīgla migcyuñ** = **mì:la migcyuñ** in 10.120.
- OT **awai sombo tappa**, cf. 10.120 note.

The story is continued:

111.

- Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Jyūñnei bomo ṭha:jyuñda mì:gi sēr̄ne jyūñnem.
 "mì:gi sēr̄ne jyūñbai pruldap cyi yīñjyi?", bīnem Gúru
 Urgyen Pe:ma Jyūñnejye, "cyi ḍamla ta:na gāyañ gāla,
 che:yañ che:la?", bīnem.
 mone cañmai khari ci ḍarmai.diri "Dṅsur Bōngi pruldap", bīnem,
 "Lasya Khandā:mojye lēnnem ñai bomo ṭha:jyuñda."
 1075 Dṅsur Bōngi kàwa Nāru Bōnjye lēnnem,
 Nāru Bōn ṭhuñnem, Nāru Bōn ṭhuñnem, Ui Syel Bōn ṭhuñnem,
 Jyañ Sonam Bōn ṭhuñnem, Nup Bálđiñ Bōn ṭhuñnem.
 "bōn syí:la kàwa syí:, brāñge syí: ñañri, ñēmai ñēser ñañri
 cya:gi gōljya pheñu!", bīna
 kha ḍamla ta:nem, thu: ḍamla ta:nem,
 Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Jyūñnejye kha ḍamla ta:na, thu: ḍamla ta:na
 gāyañ gānem, che:yañ che:nem.
 "bōn syí:la kàwa syí:, brāñge syí: ñañri, ñēmai ñēser ñañri
 cya:gi gōljya pheñu, jyābu salí(i) lud lēnla kuiñu!"
 bīna ḍamla ta:nem, bīmam gāyañ gānem, che:yañ che:nem
 Lasya Khandā:mo, Lasya Philmen Dólmo[da].
 1080 "ñēmai ñēser ñañri lud lēnla kuiñu Lasya Khandā:mo, Lasya Philmen

Ḍólmo, Lasya Nañsal Rá:ñi, Lasya Nenjyurmo!"

Accompanied by a gentle beating of the drum, the bõmo now whistles the "sweet" melody which pleases Lasya. – Energetic drumming. – The "sweet" melody is whistled again. – After a few seconds of silence, the tinkling of the bells on his bell-strings indicates that the bõmo is feeling the quivering which is a token of his being "seized" by Lasya. – He sneezes three times "for disgust" (s. above):

àchyu:!

[Vehement drumming]

àchyu:!

[Vehement drumming]

àchyu:!

phott!

[Vehement drumming]

*

Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Jyũne's little daughter was befallen by a disease of the eyes.

"What kind of magic has caused the disease of the eyes to befall (my daughter)?" , Urgyen Pe:ma said (and wondered:) "What is to be magically fixed so that (she) may become happy, may get well?" , (he) said.

While calculating in (a divination by counting the grains of) the pure rice, "The magic of Ḍũnsur Bõn (has caused the trouble)" , (he) said, "Lasya Khaḇa:mo has taken possession of (the soul of?) my little daughter."

1075 *Naru Bõn took possession of Ḍũnsur Bõn's kàwa, Naru Bõn originated, (and after?) Naru Bõn originated, Ui Syel Bõn originated, Jyũn Sonam Bõn originated, Nup Báldiñ Bõn originated.*

In saying "Go and get at the iron lock in the four bõns' four kàwas, four altars in the beam of the sun's light!" , (Urgyen Pe:ma) magically fixed the mouth, magically fixed the mind,

(and) as Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma Jyũne magically fixed the mouth, magically fixed the mind, (his daughter) became happy, got well.

In saying "Go and get at the iron lock in the four bõns' four kàwas, four altars in the beam of the sun's light, go and take possession of the ransom-sacrifice of the cock!" , (Urgyen Pe:ma) magically fixed (Lasya in her role), (and) in saying so, Lasya Khaḇa:mo, Lasya Philmen Ḍólmo became happy, got well.

1080 *(when Gúru Urgyen Pe:ma said:) "Go and take possession of the*

*ransom-sacrifice in the beam of the sun's light
O Lasya Khaṇḍa:mo, Lasya Philmen Ḍólmo,
Lasya Naḥsal Rá:ñi, Lasya Nenjyurmo!"*

[“Seizure”; sneezing “àchyu:!” three times]

phott!

While the *bombo* is still drumming, the thread connecting the patient with the sacrificial animal is torn at the juncture of its black and yellow halves, just like in the *mār lamda* rite, and a helper rushes the cock to the porch where it is slaughtered. The head is to be thrown far away, and neither the women in the family of the client nor the *bombo* are supposed to eat from the meat “for fear of turning, themselves, into witches”. Actually, contrary to the usual practice, the husband of the patient did not find it necessary to examine the carcass for omina.

The *bombo* concludes with greeting the divinity of the *chene*, the centre of the altar where his encounter with Lasya has just taken place.

1085 Phamo chya:ja!o!,
ñendu salo, thu:la goṃo!
Chene Ñolgi Da:mo, Chene Brigaṅsyi Da:mo,
noppi kuldap, ñendap thamjye[da] yaṛlamdai chamjo soṅjyi,
Àyo Phamoi syaldo chya:ja!o!

*

1085 *O Phamo hail!,
listen with the ears, ponder in the mind!
O Chene Silver Mistress, Chene Brigaṅsyi Mistress,
(I) have bound all magic arrows, charms which do harm,
through the yaṛ lamda(-rite),
hail to (you O) Àyo Phamo!*

Notes:

1073: OT **ṭha:jyuñ** < Tib. *čuñ-ba*, ‘little’, ‘young’.

– OT **gayañ gaba** < Tib. *dga’ yañ dga’-ba*, lit. ‘very good’; and OT **che:yañ che:ba** < Tib. *mjes yañ mjes-pa*, lit. ‘very beautiful’.

1074: **ci darmai.diri**, ‘while calculating’, < OT *ci darba*, ‘to divinate by calculation’, < Tib. *rcis*, ‘calculation’, ‘astrology’, + *bdar-rdar-ba*, ‘to examine closely’, ‘to pray earnestly in casting lots and divination’ (Das 1970: 666). **mone cañma** < Tib. *mo-nas gcañ-ma*, lit. ‘pure divination-barley’, but for the Tamang informants, familiar with the rice-counting method only, ‘pure rice’.

– **lennem**, ‘took possession’, may also be understood as ‘(Lasya) licked (the daughter or the daughter’s body or genitals)’, depending on whether *lamba* is treated as an OT verb meaning ‘to take possession of’, or as a MT verb meaning ‘to lick’. Cf. also p. 55 above.

1075: **kàwa lemba** is also to be understood here as ‘to inherit or continue the spiritual descent line’, s. pp. 21-23.

1076: **Naṛu... Nup Báldin** are presented here as the *bōn syí:*, i.e., the Four Primordial *Bombos*, cf. pp. 21 ff.

1077: “Go and get at the iron lock...” is addressed to the (human) *bombos* of our days, whereas “Go and get at the iron lock...” in line 1079 gives the impression of being addressed in part to these *bombos*, in part to Lasya, or even to both at the same time.

- 1084: **phott**, the mantra for making definite the effect of an act (s. 1.3 note), here the effect of the bõmbo's effort to neutralize the evil aspect of Lasya.
- 1086: **Àyo Phamo** = àyo gyúppai phamo, addressing Nàru Bõn who is SR's personal tutelary (phamo), i.e., the founder of his spiritual descent line, cf. pp. 21-23.

112. – 113. Dismissing the divinities (*syā: solba* and *cen syuppa*)

After a short break, the second life-tree, the *pa:sam* for the *cen*, is brought into the house. The *bombo*, who has meanwhile taken off his bell-strings and rosaries, and also laid aside the drum “because he no longer needs to be and act as a *bombo*” (*bombo seṅ àtho:*), now concludes the ritual with dismissing all the divinities he had been invoking the previous night. The dismissal proper – called *syā: solba*¹ and also practised in a number of non-shamanic ceremonies – in section 112. is to request the divinities to return to their abodes, while the following, last, section 113. is devoted to renewing the promise made to the *cen* (s. sections 54., 66., 72.); the name of this part, *cen syuppa*, derives from the ritual technique applied to confirm the promise, which consists in moving the *pa:sam* in circles (*syuppa*) several times around the patient’s head (s. p. 230). Both sections are recited without using the drum.

Section 112. – repeating the complete itinerary of the *rīrap* from the altar (*chene*) up to Uiseme (Wõndeñ-Wõnsya, s. pp. 19, 190) – was interpreted by the *bombo* as follows: “Just as I have brought [invoked and mobilized for help] the gods, so I now have to accompany them back to their abodes.” Another informant highlighted the fact that even though following the itinerary of the *rīrap*, the enumeration was not to be seen as a journey in the usual sense, for here the *bombo* was “just saying” what he had been “doing” in the *rīraps* in the previous parts of the ritual. A third informant, another *bombo*, added that – whatever the term might exactly mean: ‘farewell!’, ‘be dismissed!’ or ‘thank you!’ – the act of *syā: solba* aimed at acquitting the gods from their active participation in the ritual. The thesis of demobilization, as advocated in the latter comment, tallies well with the use of the formula “throne for a moment...!”, which is addressed to the gods of the house and the clan god only² (112.1091) and appears to counterbalance, as it were, the effect of the dismissal in expressing the wish to keep these gods in the house of the client.

112.

Phamo chya:jaló!, àyo gyúppi Phamo!,
Chene Nólgi Də:mo, Chene Sergi Də:mo,
Phola Karbo, Phola Maṛbo, cho:na dḍgi Phola syā: solo!...

[Following the same pattern, all the divine ritual implements, as enumerated in 18.165-168, 19.170-178, are dismissed.]

... sadañ.sò:i ñendap ló:ysi syā: solo!,
khañsai raḡa seṅsyi syā: solo!.,
syiñsai raḡa seṅsyi syā: solo!

1090 deḡge kùì phamoi syaldó syā: solo!,
phu:i la Alen Dəwa, də:i la Də:dar Dólmo, mraḅgi la Gõmosyi Rá:ja,

1 *syā: solba*, also *syā: sol*? < Tib. *bšegs-gsol*, ‘requesting a god to take his abode elsewhere’ (Schuh 1973a: 413), or **bšags-gsol*, ‘prayer of atonement’, reinterpreted in Tamang oral tradition as ‘bid for acquittance’? More probably, *syā:* < Tib. *’jog-pa* (*bžag*), ‘to leave’, ‘to abandon’, ‘to lay aside’ (Jäschke 1949: 179); cf. also Snellgrove’s (1967: 307) comment on *bžag-pa*. - The act of *syā: solba* is reminiscent of what Lessing (1976: 3, 6, 12) terms the “Entwerdung” of the gods at the end of a ritual in Tibetan Buddhism: the gods are reconducted into the void from where they hail and out of which they have been “created” or “realized” by the officiating priest during the ritual.

2 The same formula occurs in non-shamanic texts, too; in some of them the clan god is expressly requested to “reside (*ne:ba*) in the house” or declared to be the “inhabitant” (*ne:bo*), in contrast to man being just a “guest” (*dõmbo*) in it. - Cf. also 113.1121.

sai la Temba Cuñne, nàmgi la Gormen Dólmo, tembai la
 Jyānjyen Mārbo yáp sergi deñle syu:go, yáp nolgi deñle
 syu:go, sya: solo!...

[Following the same pattern, first the divinities of the village
 territory (*syibda-nè:da*) of Bhokteni, then the divinities of the
 mythic-mystic region (*bę:yul*) are dismissed, in the same order as
 in 28.233-234 and 30.245-32.259, respectively.]

...Mige Ama Kormojyet, Mige Ama Ta:sañ Gyálmo Kormojyet,
 Wõnden-Wõnsya sya: solo!,
 Phamo sya: solo!

*

*O Phamo hail!, O Phamo of the àyo-lineage!,
 Chene Silver Mistress, Chene Golden Mistress,
 White Phola, Red Phola, Phola of the cho:na dud, please be
 dismissed! . . .*

[Repetitions]

*... avert the harming charm (conveyed by the magic arrow
 made) of the sadañ.sò: (wood) and please be dismissed!,
 protect the homestead and please be dismissed!,
 protect the fields and please be dismissed!*

- 1090 *To the phamo(s) of the nine multitudes (I am addressing the
 farewell formula:) please be dismissed!,
 O god of the fire-place, Alen Dewa, god of the (main) post,
 Dą:dar Dólmo, god of the door, Gõmosyi Rá:ja, god of the
 floor (earth), Temba Cuñne, god of the ceiling (sky),
 Gormen Dólmo,
 O clan god, Jyānjyen Mārbo, throne for a moment on the
 golden throne, throne for a moment on the silver throne,
 please be dismissed!...*

[Repetitions]

*... O Mige Ama Kormojyet, Mige Ama Ta:sañ Gyálmo Kormojyet,
 Wõnden-Wõnsya, please be dismissed!,
 O Phamo, please be dismissed!*

Notes:

1089: *ló:nyi* < OT *ló:ba*, 'to avert', < Tib. *zlog-pa*, 'to cause to return'.

1090: *deḅge kùì phamo*, with reference to the totality of the divinities invoked, s. 16.142 and 35.274.

1091: OT *yáp* (MT *yám*, cf. 48.385-386), 'a moment'.

– *deñle syu:ba*, cf. 72.597 and 110.1069.

The final section addresses Karcen of Ganes Kuṇḍa, i.e., that *cen* which has been identified as the one responsible for the patient's barrenness (s. pp. 54, 179, 185). Rather than "dismissed" like the gods beforehand, or expelled like the spirits in the *maṛ lamda* rite, Karcen is to be placated so that she "detaches" herself from the patient. To this end, she is to be, literally, "brought into contact" (*syuppa*) with the second life-tree (*pa:sam*), an act which confirms the vow to perform the great ceremony on the full-moon day called Māṅsyir Pūrṇe. This life-tree – here again a branch of the chestnut tree decorated with some flowers of the season in anticipation of the lavish flower-offerings promised – is being moved around the patient's head³ in order to allure the *cen*. At the same time, the body of the patient is purified with incense, for "a *cen* abhors impurity" (s. p. 54).

The text of section 113. is conspicuous by its suggestive repetitions and enumerations – designed to "convince" the *cen*, as the informants explained. Both the vow to sacrifice and the description of the sacrifice are being repeated eight times, as if the *bombo* wanted his words to materialize in what they mean and promise, so to speak. The enumeration of the sacrificial gifts is interspersed with (a) enumerations of flower names (six enumerations mentioning about three categorial terms for flowers plus a total of at least 18 individual species of flowers, of which four species are repeated twice), and (b) standard text modules enumerating all sorts of troubles that (might) affect the various parts or organs of the patient's body. The section thus resorts to the strategy pursued in sections 51.-56. ff.: a double procedure of dislocation and dispersal by projecting the human individual on to a divine individual and, simultaneously, projecting the human body on to diverse species of flowers. Again, the patient as an *individual* in a particular situation is "circumvented". Instead, the recitation focusses on an individual *cen*, Jyābu Karcen, who is made responsible for the patient's future well-being (defined, synecdochically, as the absence of the sum total of the various dysfunctions), and on the flowers as the "counterparts" of her reproductive organ "out there" in the natural world.

113.

saṅ solo!,

- 1095 saṅba laru dajye saṅba, ʈhi:ba meṇḍu dajye ʈhi:ba,
da:mo nīnda yāra blōṅbai thabsaṅ ru:ri pho:ba thamjye saṅ solo!,
maṛa blōṅbai thabsaṅ ru:ri pho:ba thamjye saṅ solo!...

[Repetition of all other impurities (*ru:*), as mentioned in 25.218]

... saṅba laru dajye saṅba, ʈhi:ba meṇḍu dajye ʈhi:ba,
jyābu bomo, meṇḍoi gombo nomba, meṇḍoi gyāra nomba,
cendaṅ gawai cēso, mendaṅ gawai mēso, jyābu bomo.
Ganes Kuṇḍa ṅaṅri chya:bi jyābu bomo, meṇḍoi gyāra nomba,
meṇḍoi kabu nomba,

- 1100 gaṅri dō:na awai somgi meṇḍo,
syoṅḍi dō:na pi:bi somgi meṇḍo,
cengi meṇḍo.
yarsaṅ gawai meṇḍo mayin,
maṛsaṅ gawai meṇḍo nomba, cen jyābu bomo,

3 This technique of bringing the beneficiary of a vow into contact with the sacrificial gift promised to a superhuman being is called *syutthemba* (from *syuppa*, s. above p. 230), a term the informants rendered by the Nepali verb *pañchāirākhu* < N. *pañchāunu*, lit. 'to put aside', or 'to push aside' (cf. Turner 1965: 363-364, and Śarmā 2019: 607).

1105 chya:.jalo!
ser.maṇḍal chya:deñ phuljyi.

[Enumeration of flower names, starting with *sala kebi meṇdo*,... *tabah*,
cèṇḍi, *gorjawali*, *sàipadi*..., s. sections 51.-56.]

ḍa:moda nàwai bardo jyũba – salo!,
chàwai bardo jyũba – salo!,
kha ñamba – salo!, li: ñamba – salo!, so ñamba – salo!
ro ñamba – salo!, bu: ñamba – salo!, meṇdo ñamba – salo!,
che.ḍarsyiñ ñamba – salo!, pùila meḷuñ ñamba – salo!,
tiñla tèwa ñamba – salo!, ḍara luñḍañ ñamba – salo!

[Enumeration of further flower names]

1110 Mānsyir Pùrñe bardo khari sergi làgañ cu:nam
mana kùì tormo-torsyol, brõmo-brõsyol, laraḷ-ḍuṇḍal,
gyábdol, meṇdo cu:la cen jyabu bõmoda.

[Repetition of 113.1095-1110, interspersed with further flower names]

Syar Ñema Karsañ Ḍólmo, Lapsañ Karbo, Roṣyañ Ma:gi Gyálbo,
Paldor Jo, Byáñdal, Ganes Kuṇḍa nañgi jyabu bõmo
chya:.jalo!
nõnna lagu ñamba – salo!, gyábgi pe:ma ñamba – salo!,
syabla tèwa ñamba – salo!, ḍara luñḍañ ñamba – salo!,
jyabu Karcen!

[Repetition of 113.1109]

yáp sergi ðeñle syu:go, yáp nõlgi ðeñle syu:go!,
1115 ù syõso:!,
phoi liñdo salo, ðoi nemba geḷo, ù syõso:!
brá:ri ðõ:na cima cu:go, chyuri ðõ:na samba cu:go
cen jyabu bõmo!
syai seṇe jyũba – salo!, tha:gi seṇe jyũba – salo!,
ri:bai seṇe jyũba – salo!,
jyabu bõmo, jyabu Karcen!

The melodious song ends here; and in addressing the clan god, the bõmo continues in prose:

1120 chya:.jalo!, ser.maṇḍal chya:deñ phuljyi,
khañsa ne:bi tembai la ka maṭhu:go, thu: maṭhu:go!,
neggi ma:lo pharasya:go, riñgi ma:lo pharasya:go!,
yáp sergi ðeñle syu:go, yáp nõlgi ðeñle syu:go!,
khañsai raḡa seño, syiñsai raḡa seño!,
miḡam ma:ro.jedo, rañgam thuru.jedo!
khañsa nañri ðeñdo syu:go!,
chya:.jalo!

*

- May incense be burnt!*,
 1095 *(in order) to incense, (I) incense with the pure laru, to
 purify, (I) purify with the pure menḍu,
 may incense be burnt (in order to purify) whatever (part of the
 body of) the dear mistress has been affected by the
 thabsañ-impurity which arises above!,
 may incense be burnt (in order to purify) whatever has been
 affected by the thabsañ-impurity which arises below!...*

[Repetition]

- ...(In order) to incense, (I) incense with the pure laru,
 to purify, (I) purify with the pure menḍu,
 O beautiful maiden, (I) take heaps of flowers, take hundreds of
 flowers, (take) the cènso which pleases the cen,
 the mènso which pleases the men,
 O beautiful maiden.
 O beautiful maiden who resides at Ganes Kuṇḍa, (I) take hundreds
 of flowers, buds of flowers (to be offered to you),
 1100 the flower(s) of the living air when arriving at the mountain,
 the flower(s) of the living pi:bi when arriving at the river,
 the flower(s) of the cen.
 It is not the flower of the pleasant yarsañ,
 (instead I) take the flower of the pleasant maṛsañ,
 O beautiful cen-maiden,
 1105 hail!,
 (I) have offered the "rice-circle" with (my) hand.*

[Repetitions]

*The mistress is befallen by a state of illness – heal (her)!,
 is befallen of a state of pain – heal (her)!,
 the mouth is injured – heal it!, the body is injured –
 heal it!, the vital principle is injured – heal it!,
 the life-principle is injured – heal it!, the breath is
 injured – heal it!, the flower is injured – heal it!,
 the life-pole is injured – heal it!, the flame in the
 knee is injured – heal it!,
 the centre in the heart is injured – heal it!,
 the respiration (?) is injured – heal it!*

[Repetitions]

- 1110 *Within the period of Mañsir Purne, when preparing a golden
 divine abode, (we) will prepare the tormo-torsyol,
 the bromo-brösyol of nine mănā (of grain), the laral-ḍuṇḍal,
 the gyābdol, the flower(s) to the beautiful cen-maiden.*

[Repetitions]

*O beautiful maiden (who resides in the areas) of
 Syar Nema Karsaṅ Dólmo, Lapsaṅ Karbo,
 Roṣyaṅ Ma:gi Gyálbo, Paldor Jo, Byándal, Ganes Kuṅḍa,
 hail!,
 the god's statue of the front is injured – heal (it)!,
 the lotus of the back is injured – heal (it)!,
 the centre of the legs is injured – heal (it)!,
 the respiration is injured – heal (it) ,
 O beautiful Karcen!*

[Repetition]

*Throne for a moment on the golden throne, throne for a moment
 on the silver throne!.*

- 1115 *ù syoṣo:!,
 heal the phoi liṅdo, destroy the doṅi nemba!, ù syoṣo:!
 Provide steps when arriving at the steep slope,
 provide a bridge when arriving at the water,
 O beautiful cen-maiden!
 (The mistress) is befallen by a disease of the flesh – heal (it)!,
 befallen by a disease of the blood – heal (it)!,
 befallen by a disease of the bones – heal (it),
 O beautiful maiden, beautiful Karcen!*
- 1120 *Hail!, (I) have offered the “rice-circle” with (my) hand,
 O clan god who dwells in the homestead, do not disturb (confuse)
 the word, do not disturb the mind!,
 remove the magic arrow of illness, remove the magic arrow of
 epidemic!,
 throne for a moment on the golden throne,
 throne for a moment on the silver throne!,
 protect the homestead, protect the fields!,
 weaken the others' will-power,
 strengthen one's own will-power!,
 throne in the homestead!,
 hail!*

Notes:

1094: **saṅ solo**, 'may incense be burnt!'. < MT saṅ, the smoke of any substance, which is believed to have a purifying effect; cf. “saṅba” in 15.137 note. As to **solo**, I follow the MT interpretation of this form as a hortative (or imperative), even though in this phrase the verb “solo” seems to be = Tib. *gsol-lo*, 'it is served/offered respectfully'.

1098: **cènso**, **mènso**, with reference to the flowers of the season, with which the life-tree is decorated (s. 53.431).

1106: **ser.māṅdal**, “rice-circle” is a literal translation as suggested by the informants themselves. The term refers to the husked rice arranged in a circle usually on a (circular) plate, the grains serving as a “bedding” for further offerings to be put on it. Cf. also Snellgrove (1979: 123) who explains that in Tibetan rituals, “a māṅdal (so spelt in Tibetan) is a symbolic offering of the whole universe, represented by a set of rings of ornate metal [...] between which rice is heaped up [...]”. Actually, no such **ser.māṅdal** was offered to Karcen, and the term might thus have been used as a euphemism for the altar-tray with the *syiṅe-syimrol* on it (s. p. 59 f.).

- **chya:deñ**, I follow the informants' rendering by 'with the hand', even though one would expect the instrumental "chya:jye". Since OT chya: < Tib. phyag, which means both 'hand' and 'reverence', the original meaning of "chya:deñ" might have been 'respectfully', 'with compliments'.
- 1107-1109: s. 10.118.
- 1110: s. 54.446.
- 1112-1113: s. 42.322.
- 1115: **ù syo:so:**, the surprising use of this formula (cf. 97.919 note) seems to indicate that the *cen*, otherwise classified among the gods (*la*), is to be treated, here, just like a spirit.
- 1116: **phoi liñdo...**, s. 72.601.
- 1118: **syai se:rne...**, s. 34.271.
- 1121: **tembai la...**, 'clan god', s. 26.223.
- **ma:thu:go** < OT *thu:ba*, s. 28.233.
- **ne:gi** < *ne:d*, 'illness', cf. 43.328 note on Ne:gi Ama.
- **ma:lo**, tentatively translated by 'magic arrow'; ? < Tib. *dmag-log*, lit. 'the returning army', with reference to the hosts of evil forces and harmful agents which are likely to return and threaten one anew?
- **yáp... syu:go**, s. 112.1091.
- 1122: "**weaken/strengthen... will-power**", a frequent concluding formula addressed to one's own clan god; in some other texts also "**rañgam cheba, mi:gam phamba**" with approximately the same meaning, cf. Höfer 1981: 156-157. - The logic implied in this wish is reminiscent of the conceptual background of the "raising one's head" among the Limbu for whom one's own vital force cannot be "maintained" but to the detriment of someone else's vital force, cf. the excellent analysis by Sagant (1981).
- OT **mi:gam**, 'the other's will-power', < *mi:*, 'man', 'the other one(s)', + *kham*, 'will-power'.
- OT **ma:ro.je:do**, *ma:ro* = ? a petrification < Tib. *dma'-ru 'gro(-ba)*, 'to become lower/inferior' (Goldstein 1983: 862); + *je:do* < OT *je:ppa*, 'to make'.
- OT **rañgam** < *rañ*, 'self', 'oneself', + *kham* as above.
- OT **thuru.je:do** < **thur.je:ppa* (? < Tib. **mthur byed-pa*), 'to make strong'.
- OT **de:ndo** ? < Tib. *gdan-du*, lit. 'on the seat'.

The *bo:mbo* to the ethnographer at 7 o'clock in the morning: "Now it's finished, that's all,... such is the *bo:mbo*'s pain (N. *dukha*), Saheb, what to do about it? Wherever I may be sitting, wherever I may be walking to, they (the clients) harrass me, 'Come in and have a look at my child, come and have a look at our father!' It's true, there are too many sick in this area, right?" And while he strews a few rice grains (*sergi mone, achetā*) towards the altar, the husband of the patient takes the life-tree to the top floor where it will be kept until Mañsir Purne.

Epilogue

The vow to perform the ritual on the Mañsir Purne day was not kept. As a rule, once such a vow has been made, the worship of a particular *cen* (*cen syarba*)⁴ is to be repeated regularly (biannually, triannually) until the death of the woman concerned, regardless of her state of health. Actually, however, the ritual had been performed on the full-moon day of Jeṭh Purne, that is, about six months later than promised, as I found out afterwards. It was never repeated. After the patient gave birth to a son in 1973,⁵ the whole issue seems to have gradually been lost to sight.

4 According to SB, the word *syarba* is identical with the verb meaning 'to rise', 'to shine' in 13.134 (*dawadañ syarba*).

5 Naḷjom attributed this to both the intervention by the *bombo* and the "medicine" (dozens of multi-vitamin pills) the ethnographer had administered to her "to strengthen her body".

PART THREE
NOTES ON THE
PRAGMATIC FUNCTION OF
SOME FIGURAL PATTERNS

1. Introduction

Rather than to attempt a systematic text linguistic analysis or an essay on the effectiveness of symbols, the present chapter is to draw attention to a component which has until recently rather been neglected by students of shamanism and curing: the poeticity. To what extent is the bombo a poet, and what may be seen as specifically “shamanic” in his poeticity? How far is the aesthetic effect essential for the psycho-physical effectiveness, i.e., healing, or what do poetic manipulations contribute to symbolic constructions? In particular, I shall try to show how “form” and “content”, if it is at all possible to isolate them as such, condition each other in the process of organizing experience. This involves, among others, the quest for the pragmatic intent in the text, and the pragmatic effect the recitation may have on the listener. As to the latter, an attempt shall be made to show how in associative processes certain figural patterns, above all metonymies and metaphors, are *decomposed*, on the one hand, and how, on the other, the so-called zero-grade restitution resulting from this decomposition is linked back to the figural¹. The underlying assumption is that there is an oscillatory movement establishing a kind of dynamic cross-reference between the non-figural and the figural, between the “norm” of the colloquial and the “deviation” in the poetic language.² Finally, I shall delve into the metafigural “hints” in the text itself. First some problems of interpretation.

Somatization

If, as already stated (pp. 39 f., 43 ff.), neither the audience nor even the patient listen to the entire recitation with full attention, can we anticipate a pragmatic effect at all? I think we can. It would be erroneous to infer from the lack of attentiveness a lack of any reception. Much in the same way as we can write a letter or read a book and simultaneously enjoy music from the stereo-box without listening to it in the proper sense of the term – so we can admit that the recitation somehow reactivates in the Tamang layman’s mind the text (the variants of) which he might have heard on dozens of occasions already, and from which he can often quote longer passages. As we learn from experimental psychology, there exists not only a dichotic apprehension (through which the left eye or ear apprehends one thing, and the right one quite another), but also a subliminal or subrational processing of information which enables words to be recognized and semantically analysed unconsciously.³ Only those blinded by the “exegetic illusion” (s. pp. 46-48) can wonder how such a text can be recited day by day and expected to have an impact on reality if it is, at the same time, so poorly understood, or found so problematic in some respects, precisely by those who “make use” of it.⁴ But the truly crucial problem remains

1 The adjective “figural” is meant here to treat rhetorics as a sub-aspect of the poetic, i.e., to include the figurative language in the larger category of “form” and imagery.

2 Here I am following Dubois et al. 1974: 39-48 ff., who also highlight the problems involved in the distinction between norm and deviation, and stress that the psycho-aesthetic effect, the Aristotelian *ethos*, does not depend on purely linguistic mechanisms alone. - It is to be stressed that the native Tamang speaker does – more or less consistently – distinguish between literal and figurative languages.

3 Dixon 1981: 243. He subsumes subliminal perception, along with dream, intuition and creative processes, under the notion of “prelogical experience” (Dixon 1981: 258). As Dixon states, conscious experience, even in normal subjects, is but a small flawed window on underlying knowledge and events; furthermore, though unrepresented in consciousness, the unperceived, the residue of subliminal and/or unattended inflow may have profound effects not only upon perception, memory and emotional responses, but also upon consciousness itself (Dixon 1981: 254 ff., 4 ff.).

4 Writing on music and meaning in the voices of poetry, Porter (1991: 3) stresses that “shock of recognition precedes enlightenment by cognition. Eliot’s suggestion that a poem may communicate before it is understood might be extended to proposing that it is never completely understood at all. It only becomes more familiar.”

to know more about the perlocutionary “return” of the text’s performance, i.e., to know why and how the patient as a receiver responds to the text. While we can infer from the text by what means it is likely to structure the receiver, we know very little of how the receiver is effectively structured by it, – possibly by re-structuring the structures offered according to his individual situation.⁵

Hypothetically, one may isolate three different levels of reception, the first one being the subliminal processing; the second one that subjective (conscious) mental processing which may be called understanding; and the third one that verbal expression for communication which may be called interpretation.⁶ The first problem is to know how these levels are interrelated. Presumably, the subliminal and mental processings are basic for the psycho-physical effectiveness, while the interpretation draws on both: one’s own experience of this effectiveness and the others’ interpretation of their own experiences, and is, ultimately, articulated in terms of traditional doctrinal knowledge.

The second problem is to know how these levels become inter-relevant for each other. If, as shown by ample evidence, the Tamang layman is far from being Frazer’s primitive “literalist”, and if, as already stressed, both the doctrinal knowledge and the individual interpretation remain incomplete and disputed, are, then, subliminal processing and understanding alone to “guarantee” an intersubjective validity of what the text is constructing as a truth? This question is important since if we do not presuppose an intersubjective validity, the text (and the ritual as a whole) would be useless: it could not be expected to heal, nor could it succeed – as it often does – in healing. Evidently, the quest for the psychosomatic effectiveness cannot be pursued without investigating into the polymedial presentation of the text, above all into the role of music as a kind of catalysator. This is not our task. But if the text alone provides no sufficient basis for clarifying the problem of how the verbal is being somatized in the patient, we should at least ask how it tackles the problem of verbalizing the somatic.

Intent and effect

Considering the fact that the text is designed to produce an immediate effect on the patient, it is quite natural to expect from the “author” or from the reproducer an intent to exploit a repertory of traditional stylistic devices in order to communicate the conceptual ideation with a maximum of effect. Such an intent, however, is in many cases not easily identifiable. Often we have to content ourselves with stating the effect⁷ such devices are likely to generate in the listener.

5 On the notion of the structural “rearrangement” by the receiver cf. Gülich and Raible 1977: 290 ff. – It is an intriguing question as to how far the bombo, in becoming an audience to himself, is exposed to the persuasive effect of what he is reciting. Recently, Siikala (1992: 32 ff.) has stressed the positive function that songs describing the world and character of the spirit-helpers have in the process of shamanic role-taking.

6 The translation theorist Vermeer (1983: 3 f.), ignoring the subliminal level and referring to written texts, distinguishes three transfers, namely perception (Wahrnehmung), apperception (Verstehen) and interpretation, in the processes of decoding “what is meant” in the source language and encoding the same in the target language. For Vermeer, apperception includes the naming of the perceived by means of linguistic signs, while interpretation consists of the apperception *and* communication of “what is meant”.

7 Since we cannot identify the author of our text as a person, the *intentio auctoris* is lost forever. Moreover, it is understood that what the listener or reader receives is never the sender’s intention, but just a realization of this intention in text form. All we can do is to try to unravel that dialectical relationship between *intentio operis* and *intentio auditoris* which is susceptible of providing what I call here the “effect”. As Eco (1990: 706) writes: “Between the mysterious history of textual production and the uncontrollable drift of its future readings, the text *qua* text still represents a comfortable presence, the point to which we can stick.”

For example, can we infer from the conspicuous frequency of the paragodic *-a* a conscious design to make Nepali words sound like Sanskrit, say, in imitation of Brahmins reciting holy texts? Is the conceptual zeugma applied voluntarily to express a shamanic ad-identification (as suspected elsewhere, s. pp. 27-29) or is it to be regarded as a prosodically conditioned phenomenon? Let us consider an example (2.19-24 ff.) where both, the paragogue and the zeugma, occur together:

- 19 "hare Suna Jhākri, Suna Jhākri, [Suna] Jhākri!
 20 hare, jhākri laṭṭā phijāi, ghāgro-mālā lagāi, eka hāta
 sunako ḍamburu, eka hāta rupako gaju,
 21 hare, **khelāikana calāu** na Māi!,
 22 gailo bāna, cakra bāna, kharḡa bāna, tirsula bāna,
 23 Bhuktinātha, Bhuktichetra, Sorga Parpāta, Sorga Ānanda
 Prakāra, Ānanda Parpāt,
 24 hare, **calāu** na Māi!..."

That is,

- 19 'Hail O Suna Jhākri, Suna Jhākri, [Suna] Jhākri!,
 20 hail, uncoil the *jhākri*-hairlock, put on the bell-string, and
 make play the golden *ḍamaru* [with] the one hand,
 the silver-like (?) drumstick [with] the other hand,
 21 hail, make (them) play, do set in motion O Māi,
 22 hail, the magic *gailo*-arrow, the whirling magic arrow,
 the magic sword-arrow, the magic *trisul*-arrow,
 23 Bhuktinātha, Bhuktichetra, Sorga Parpāta,
 Sorga Ānanda Prakāra, Ānanda Parpāt,
 24 hail, do make them play O Māi!...'.

If extra-textual evidence is correct, that is, if lines 2.19-21 allude to an ad-identification of the type

Sun Jhākri + Sun Jhākri (divine bōmbos) ≡ the bōmbo (actually reciting) ≡ Māi (goddess),

we may say that the passage is multipositional for the following reasons: (a) We cannot exclude that line 2.21 is a further paratactic addition to what we have in the preceding lines in 2.19-20, for there is no firm proof to determine whether or not the verbs for 'to make play' and 'to set in motion' refer to what follows in 2.22, i.e., to the 'magic arrows' (s. below). At any rate, the three names (Sun Jhākri, Sun Jhākri, Māi) in 2.19-21 seem to be treated as different subjects of the clauses, since they are not interconnected by case suffixes or conjunctions, such as *ra* = 'and'. – (b) *Hare!* = 'hail!', at the beginning of each line, can be both: either an exclamation addressed to Māi exclusively, or an exclamation addressed to each of the four subjects separately, that is to Māi, the Sun Jhākri couple and, perhaps also to *jhākri* (= the bōmbo actually reciting) himself. – (c) The object(s) of the verbs *calāunu* = 'to set in motion', and *khelāunu* = 'to make play' in 2.21 cannot be determined with certainty. My translation treats them as an apokoinou interconnecting two lines only (2.20-21), but if one accepts extra-textual evidence, the apokoinou does more: it telescopes, as it were, the subjects and objects in three lines (2.19-21), which would imply that

...the Māi makes play the Sun Jhākri couple
 who in turn makes play the bōmbo (*jhākri*) actually reciting

who (whose hand) in turn makes play the drum (ḍamaru)
 which in turn is identical with the Sun Jhākri couple's drum
 which in turn is identical with the Māi's drum...

The text leaves the question open. The *calāunu* and *khelāunu* may also be seen as referring to the 'magic arrows', since first, in colloquial Nepali 'to play a musical instrument' (drum, etc.) is *bajāunu*, and not *khelāunu*; and, second, because the occurrence of *calāunu* and *khelāunu* elsewhere in the text does not fully support the interpretation on which my translation is based. As to the latter, compare, for example, 2.35 where the absence of the locative suffixes leaves open whether it is *the* heavens, underworld, etc., or certain divinities *in* the heavens, underworld, etc. which the Māi is to 'make play and set in motion'.

The multipropositionality⁸ arises chiefly from elisions of the case suffixes (Jhākri[**ko**], Jhākri[**le**], etc.), personal pronouns ([**ma**] jhākri = 'I the ḍombo'), and conjunctions (Sun Jhākri [**ra**] ma/maile = 'Sun Jhākri and I'). It is difficult to decide whether or not these elisions are conditioned by prosodic constraints, since on the whole the length of lines (phrases) in sections 1.-7. varies to a considerable extent, and syllabic rhythm follows no regular pattern.⁹ Nevertheless, it is an intriguing question as to why the elision of suffixes and conjunctions goes hand in hand with a syllabic extension by the above-mentioned paragoues in

Suna Jhākri, Suna Jhākri, Suna Jhākriṇi and eka hāta sunako ḍamburu (2.19.-20).

If we examine in which words a monosyllabic case suffix or conjunction could replace the paragogue, and/or to which words such a suffix or conjunction could be added, without "derailing" rhythm and melody, the result is as follows: Inasmuch as

"hare-e Suna Jhākri, Suna Jhākri..."

is recited more or less in repeating the melodic pattern of "khelāu na,... calāu na" (in 1.5), the paragogue in Suna is a necessity from the prosodic point of view, while the addition of a suffix or conjunction could at least be tolerated: Jhākriṇile/Jhākriṇiko/Jhākriṇi sāth/Jhākriṇi ra (= 'by/of/along with the Jhākriṇi' + 'the Jhākriṇi and', respectively). The case with *eka hāta* is different: the *-a* in *eka* could not be suppressed without jeopardizing the syllabic rhythm, while

8 With regard to the sections recited in Nepali, there is also an additional, cognitive, factor to be taken into account: the average Tamang speaker's, and thus the ḍombo's, restricted command of Nepali. The indistinct use of the 3rd person singular of a verb ("hāmi ho", instead of "hāmi hau", for 'we are', etc.) alone may result in equivocality. – Another problem is posed by the use of verbs in the hortative 1st person. MT does not distinguish between 1st person singular and 1st person plural of this mood, but informants were in favour of the latter and translated *salñi* by 'let us go and find out', or *khurni* by 'let us go and carry', instead of 'may I go...' or 'let me go...'. Such "commands" are suggestive of a plurality of addressees (including the speaker himself) and appear to indicate that the ḍombo carries out his tasks "together" with other agents, namely either with the patient or with a superhuman being to whom he actually ad-identifies himself (s. pp. 27-29). We cannot exclude that this hortative is an idiom or a kind of stylistic convention; all we can say is that it *can* also be interpreted in the context of shamanic ideology as a construct expressing ad-identification, all the more as in texts of non-shamanic specialists the same hortative does not seem to occur.

9 Sections 1.-7. are executed in a *recitativo* interrupted here and there by a short melismatic modulation of the words "hare!", "Māi", "ho!" and "calāu!" The *recitativo accompagnato* changes in 2.30 into a *recitativo secco*; from then on, the drum is being beaten in the pauses only, i.e., in the breaks between the lines. Both loudness and tempo tend to increase, and longer lines containing enumerations are recited in haste, often detrimental to acoustic discernment.

the *-a* in *hāta* could well be substituted by the ergative suffix *-le* or the locative suffix *-mā* (*hātle*, *hātmā*).¹⁰

To sum up, we can only guess that in the present example both factors are at work: prosodic and other aesthetic constraints, on the one hand, and a conceptual expressive intent, on the other. All we can state with some certainty is the effect the interplay of these factors is likely to provoke in the listener. In the present case, this effect could be confirmed by extra-textual evidence stemming from the informants' interpretation. We do, however, encounter other cases where any attempt to give a coherent interpretation is frustrated and where one must concede that figural patterns express nothing but themselves. Of course, recognizing the autonomy of the aesthetic, or at least the fact that some figural patterns are not wholly subordinate to an expressive intent (in the original authorial referentiality) does not mean denying their ritual effectiveness. Quite the contrary, the affective reaction which makes up the aesthetic effect, above all the experiencing of the figural as an organized self-performing movement, may very well serve as a means of naming, ordering and emotional mobilization. What Moore and Myerhoff remark on ritual in general, also applies to our text in particular: whether it is found accessible to interpretation or obscurely playful, the figural "is a good *form* for conveying a message as if it were unquestionable, it often is used to communicate those very things which are most in doubt".¹¹

10 Although the choice between the nominative and ergative is optional in this tense, in the present instance, colloquial Nepali would prefer the ergative *hātle*.

11 Moore and Myerhoff 1977: 24, emphasis mine.

2. Archaisms¹²

"It is probable that if the Tamang would not have an obscure or archaic language, they would invent one" (Holmberg 1989: 138). It is almost commonplace to say that the use of an archaic language or archaic expression is to stress the "holiness" of the idiom as part and parcel of practices and beliefs sanctioned by Tradition. The "holiness" is maintained by most Tamang – as an ideal. This does not mean, however, that in everyday practice the ritual idiom regarded as Old Tamang would be treated indistinctly with respect or even awe and just reproduced slavishly. The pragmatic effect of archaisms cannot be adequately assessed without considering the "literary competence" which the Tamang layman has in dealing with the bombo's recitation (cf. pp. 40-48), – a competence likely to complete or relativize to some extent what one may call his "exegetic competence".¹³

The Dunsur-Lasya myth provides a salient illustration of the "implementation" of archaisms. In sections 110. (beginning from line 1065) and 111., there are 28 archaisms, some of them of repeated occurrence, out of which 14 also occur in various other sections, either prior to, or after, the myth.¹⁴

The frequency of archaisms in the two sections in question is of course to be attributed to their function to "make a myth what it is" and to distinguish the narrative as an account of the primordial past from other parts of the text. Yet those 14 archaisms, which are also to be found in other sections, ensure that the myth remains linked with the recitation as a whole (s. below and Appendix IV). What strikes one first is that from the viewpoint of modern colloquial Tamang, some of these 14 archaisms seem to be employed "at all costs". Thus,

gyábna li:jye khurba, ñonna chya:jye tenba, a phrase denoting a particular ritual technique (possession or a particularly intimate closeness between interacting agents, s. p. 27), lit. 'to carry on the back at the back, to toss with the hands at the front',

is used here in the myth to convey the meaning 'to be accompanied by', as both the context and the informants suggest. This sounds as forced as does 'golden throne', *sergi den*, for 'walking stick' – even if one concedes that it is the divine Ugyen Pe:ma whose bird-appearance is meant here to sit on this stick (110.1069). The expression *sergi den* might have been chosen here "under the influence" of the high-grade honorific *den.chya:ba*, 'to sit', 'to throne', which is attested in the same context of "Ugyen Pe:ma's bird-appearance sitting" in another version of the same myth recorded in the field.

The following expressions and phrases are also likely to sound forced or at least précieux to the Tamang listener:

- (a) *yar ðola wa:; mar ðola wa:?*, lit. 'Shall (I) go up, shall (I) go down?', here for 'Where shall I go to?' (110.1072, s. also below);
- (b) *nañbai yihle*, lit. 'in the underground sphere', here for 'inside the lake', i.e., 'below the surface of the lake' (110.1068);
- (c) *kekki syabru cu:ba; yongi syabru cu:ba*, lit. 'to put/prepare the right foot, to put/prepare the left foot', here for 'to dance' (MT *syàba*) (110.1068); and

12 Nepali is not considered, for Nepali archaisms, if there are any, would hardly be identifiable as such for the average Tamang speaker.

13 I borrow the term from J. Culler who uses "literary competence" to denote the institutionally acquired ability of readers to read a text as literature and find out what constitutes an acceptable interpretation of a particular work, cf. Selden 1989: 376.

14 For a detailed list of their occurrences s. Appendix IV. Archaic grammatical forms, such as the conjunctival verbal suffix *-syi* or the intensive form consisting of verb stem + *la* + *kuiba*, etc., are not counted.

(d) *ñasyiñ cu:ba*, lit. 'to put/prepare the drum-body', here for 'to beat the drum' (MT *ñā rappa*)(110.1068, 1070).

The partly sylleptic use of high-grade honorific absolutes also enhances the prim solemnity of the narrative. Thus, the verbs *phep.ḍoba* and *phūrhoñba* (110.1066 and 1077 respectively), for 'to move', 'to go/come', are to my knowledge neither part of MT nor attested in other ritual texts, and might thus perhaps be regarded as artificial compounds. By contrast, the high-grade honorific *phepnañba* (110.1068), 'to go', 'to come', is attested in MT, but here its use in the first person singular and by a *bombo* (Dun̄sur Bõn speaking) is surprising, to say the least, since *phepnañba* is, in MT, exclusively employed in respectfully addressing a lama. And if the above-mentioned *phep.ḍoba* turned out to be meant as an honorific, its use here in 110.1066 in the 1st person plural (Urgyen Pe:ma speaking) would amount to a similar breach of the rules of grammar and etiquette – even in a myth and even from the mouth of the divine First Lama. Let us also recall in passing that *tẽmba ñal̄ba*, translated by 'to die at once' (110.1071), is used, just as some other archaisms, in MT with a sarcastic or even pejorative connotation ('to croak') which seems to be supported by its derivation from Tibetan 'to sleep soundly' (s. note on 110.1071)...

On the one hand, the *bombo*'s effort to sound solemnly archaic is likely to result in obscurity, as is shown by some hysteron proteron-like constructs and the confusion about the subject of some phrases, so much so that he himself deemed it necessary to contribute one emendment to what had been tape-recorded on the spot. On the other hand, his (conscious?) attempt to link up the myth with the ritual as a whole may produce creative misunderstandings, as it seems. Thus the archaic *ḍowai lamda cyoppa* (110.1067) is apparently Tibetan *'gro-ba'i lam-du gčod-pa, lit. 'to stop on the path (journey) leading to...', – in contrast to the approximate meaning the informants gave, namely 'to travel (on foot)'. Provided this etymology is correct, it is interesting to see that Tibetan *lam-du*, lit. 'on the path', has actually become *lamda*, i.e., 'crossroads', in the Tamang text of the myth. That is, *lam-du* has obviously been "transformed" in order to provide a meaning which is of no relevance for the narrative itself (there is no mention of a crossroads in the variants of the same myth I collected) but is "welcome" as an additional means to refer the myth to what it is said to have established, namely the ritual called *yar lamda*, lit. 'upper crossroads'. A similar reference to the same ritual is provided by "yar ḍola wa:, mar ḍola wa:?", 'Shall (I) go **up**, shall (I) go down?' (s. above). This – somewhat unusually formulated – phrase may also be interpreted as an allusive hint at Lasya's possible dilemma as to whether she should become the addressee of the *yar lamda* rite, as is actually the case, or the addressee of the *mar lamda* rite (s. pp. 260, 336).

The terms and expressions common to both the myth and other parts of the recitation, providing modular links between the two, are also suggestive of "parallels" and "congruencies" or even "identities". Suffice it to give just two examples.

The idiom *gyábna l̄:jye khurba, ñonna chya:jye teñba*, 'to carry on the back at the back, to toss with the hands at the front', however inappropriate it may sound against the background of the informants' interpretation of it, appears to suggest that Dun̄sur, the First *Bombo*, had, at that time, the same type of intimate interaction with his "friends and relations" (110.1067) as the *bombo* has in our days with the superhuman beings in general. Still more striking are the parallels between Lasya and/or Urgyen Pe:ma's daughter, on the one hand, and the patient, who was actually a woman, on the other.

Both Lasya's state after Dun̄sur's death and the state of the actual, human patient are described partly in the same terms. Thus we have in 10.120:

"awai sombo tapmu, mi:la migcyuñ brupmu" =

'(the patient) appears to have become dissolved in the living air, tears appear to flow from her eyes',

and in 110.1072:

“migla migcyuñ brupnem, awai sombo tapnem” =
 ‘tears flowed from (Lasya’s) eyes, (she) became dissolved in the living air’.

Or to give two more examples, we have in 10.121:

“gayañ maḡamu” =
 ‘(the patient) appears not to become happy (get better)’,

and in 111.1073 and 111.1078:

“gayañ ḡala, che:yañ che:la” =
 ‘she may become happy, may get well’,

“gayañ ḡanem, che:yañ che:nem” =
 ‘(Urgyen Pe:ma’s daughter/Lasya) became happy, became well’.

The double strand of approximation

“Lasya \cong patient, Urgyen Pe:ma’s daughter \cong patient”

is further corroborated by two parallels: In the myth, Urgyen Pe:ma’s daughter was made ill by Dṅsur, and Lasya “took possession” (*lemba*) of her, obviously as a kind of indemnity or as an act of vengeance for Dṅsur’s death. Urgyen Pe:ma’s act of establishing the *yar lamda* rite ensured, in turn, Lasya a sacrificial gift, that is, a ransom (*lud*) which Lasya is summoned to “take possession of” (*lemba*) - first in exchange for Urgyen Pe:ma’s daughter in the primordium and thenceforth for all human patients (cf. 111.1073-1074, 111.1077-1080). To sum up, Lasya, too, was once afflicted, literally “in the same terms”, as the patient is now; and both Urgyen Pe:ma’s daughter and Lasya were restored to health “in the same terms” as the patient is actually to be restored, by virtue of the same kind of ransom-sacrifice.

The “interchangeability” of these three protagonists is further supported by Tamang belief: Lasya is the Queen of Witches, the First Witch who turns humans into witches by possessing them in a permanent manner – in contradistinction to the temporary, ecstatic type of possession. Lasya’s “taking possession” (*lemba*) of Urgyen Pe:ma’s daughter might also be interpreted as an indication that she, Lasya, caused the daughter to become a witch; it indicates at any rate an assimilation of the identities of the two, the appropriating Lasya and the appropriated daughter. And as to the identification between Lasya and the woman-patient, it should be recalled that, according to Tamang belief, the “life-flower” of a new-born human is “passed on” by Lasya to the divine Mother Kaliama (s. pp. 55-56)...

Let us stress that these allusive approximations “Lasya \cong Urgyen Pe:ma’s daughter \cong (woman-)patient”, i.e., approximations between mythic and human protagonists, were not part of the informants’ interpretation; all we can assume is their implicit, subrational impact on the patient, the woman-patient in particular.

The oscillation between “archaicity” and “artificiality” counterbalancing each other is likely to confront the listener with a series of dilemmas: “bluff or incidence”, “mystic language or lost meaning”, “religious truth or poetic freedom”, etc.; yet at the same time, it also serves as a repeated cross-referencing between myth and ritual by generating an alternation of perspectives at times “from within”, at times “from without” the myth – instead of reconciling the myth and the ritual so as to make both fit perfectly together.

The process through which archaisms become pragmatically effective does not stop at the level

where the “literary competence” is prompted to distinguish – at individually varying degrees of certainty – “genuine” or “appropriate” forms from “fakes” or “inappropriate” ones. On the one hand, archaisms, once employed within the narrative of the myth, tend to sound even more archaic than they do when employed in other contexts. On the other hand, many of them sound, in the myth, artificial, forced or even forged, precisely by their being “torn out” of, or “concocted” from, other contexts in other parts of the recitation. These two effects – “archaicity” and “artificiality” – counterbalance each other while they, both, fulfill the same function, namely to provide explicit or allusive cross-references between the myth and the rest of the text, between the primordial event of the narrative and the actual event of the ritual.

By virtue of their “archaicity”, archaisms in the myth are susceptible of legitimating their occurrences in other parts of the text. Their “artificiality”, by contrast, tends to relativize the credibility of the myth and the legitimating capacity of the latter for the ritual. Conversely, “archaicity” tends to relativize “artificiality” inasmuch as the latter results from the same process which the former is initiating for the sake of the cross-references between the myth and the rest of the recitation. Therefore, the more convincingly and meaningfully “archaicity” is able to perform this task, the more the listener is led to suspect some sort of a trick in “artificiality”: he is prompted to seek for a purpose, a sense hidden beneath what at first seem appears so much “out of place”, so inappropriate and even funny. And it is precisely due to this effect that “artificiality”, too, may sometimes succeed in evoking situation-relevant associations and producing surprising “insights” in the individual listener, we may presume.

3. Enumerations and related hyperpragmatic patterns

General

As a rule, the *bombo* does not excel in brachylogy, and we find in his text very few abstractions for reducing the manifold to a “sum”, a “generic term” or a “lowest common denominator”. Among these few abstractions are *rèkki lumbu*, ‘the whole world’; *debge*, ‘multitude’; *thamjye*, ‘all’; etc. The text shows a conspicuous concern for the parts which make up the whole, for detailing and completing, as manifest in its preference for enumerations of various kinds.

About three quarters of the text consist of enumerations. Among a total of 113 sections in our transcript edition, only six contain no enumerations; a further 16 sections contain what one may term “weak” or “restricted” enumeration, such as the multiple namings in the divination (sections 46.-49. and 94.-96., s. also below pp. 292 ff.). Three predominant types may be distinguished:

(1) Itinerary enumerations are what has been termed further above “ritual journey” (*rjrap*, *sahrp*), i.e., the recitation of names of places and divine beings following a more or less fixed itinerary (cf. pp. 29-31, 87¹).

(2) Categorical enumerations comprise different sub-types that may occur separately or combined with each other within one and the same section or context: (a) proper names: names of superhuman beings and ritual utensils representing superhuman beings; (b) “species”: names of animals, plants, illnesses and their causes, kinds and devices of black magic, magic substances or energies (*hoñ*, *che.*, *wañ*, etc.), categories of superhuman beings, kin categories, etc.; (c) parts of a whole: parts or organs of the human or animal body, components of the physical environment (lowland versus upland, etc.); (d) “properties” or “attributes”: origin and specific faculties or origin of the items mentioned in (a) to (c), and often appearing in a specific pattern which I shall term “emblematic periphrasis” (s. below pp. 286 ff.).

(3) Cumulative enumerations: (a) accumulation of synonyms or quasi-synonyms, as for example in the description of the mass of flowers in the creation myth and elsewhere (sections 21., 23., 25., 104., 106. and 113.); (b) accumulation of the various names and epithets of a divinity, such as of Kaliaama (13., 23., 105., 109.), the Khyuñ (19.), Lasya (108.) or Ðabla (26., 77.), etc. – In contradistinction to categorical enumerations, cumulative enumerations contain some names which are etymologically or conceptually obscure and cannot therefore be treated as epithets or other unequivocally functional or categorical specifications. The cumulative tendency is particularly manifest in the case of Ðabla in that some of the names of this divinity are obviously combined together to provide further names. Thus, we have Hısyə Ðabla and Phola Ðabla, on the one hand, and their combination into Hısyə Phola Ðabla, on the other. The same tendency seems to have led to the “invention” of names which are nonsensical from the etymological viewpoint at least: this is the case when the epithet Țha:duñ < Tib. *khrag-'thuñ*, ‘blood-drinking’, becomes completed by a Syaduñ which would literally mean ‘flesh-drinking’ (Tib. **ša-'thuñ*) (s. 77.618 note).

All three enumeration types may occur in combinations: for example, the recitation called *cengi sahrp* (sections 51.-58. ff.) is a combination of categorical and itinerary enumerations, the creation myth (20.-21.) a combination of categorical and cumulative enumerations, etc. Often these combinations are constructed in such a way that the different enumerations not only intersect each other, but they also mutually complete or explicate each other so as to provide synopses or parallel readings. Take the creation myth (sections 20.-22.) as an example. On the one hand, it contains “encysted” categorical enumerations in that the story of the mythic bird Khyuñ also serves as a pretext for enumerating various harmful agents, etc. On the other hand, the myth’s evolutionary sequence as a whole may be seen as an enumeration in temporality; it may also be read as telling the story of what elsewhere – say, in sections 15. and 25. – appears

in a static enumeration, and parts of it may even be read as periphrastic enumerations of the attributes of the divine mother Kaliama or the Khyuñ bird (s. below pp. 288, 302, 315, 316).

Crisis, ellipsis

A conspicuous feature of categorical enumerations is the frequent omission of suffixes that serve as copulas, such as the suffix *-i/-gi* which is “genitive” when affixed to a substantive and “participial” when affixed to a verb.

In sections 36.-41., the genitive suffix is consistently suppressed in all phrases of the type

“nocyen gl̩:ri khurjyi wa:?” (instead of “nocyengi gl̩:ri...”)
 ‘has (the soul) been carried off to the place [of] the harmful agent?’

One may say that the suppression of the suffix de-specifies the relationship between the ‘agent’ and the ‘place’. this becomes evident if one considers the possible types of relationships the Tamang concept of pantheon allows for:

possessed:	relationship:	possessor:			
the place (gl̩:) is	<table style="border: none;"> <tr> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> <td style="padding: 0 10px;"> place of origin of? abode of? controlled by? like?, etc. </td> <td style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle;">}</td> </tr> </table>	}	place of origin of? abode of? controlled by? like?, etc.	}	the harmful agent (nocyen)
}	place of origin of? abode of? controlled by? like?, etc.	}			

Which of these relational modalities is meant is left open.¹⁵ Instead, a fusion between the ‘harmful agent’ and the ‘place’ is asserted. The ‘place’ seems to have no other role than to externalize the evil by stressing the spatial distance that actually separates the captured soul from the body of the patient and, as a rule, also separates the harmful agents from healthy humans.

Evidently, such compressions by means of crisis allow for a particularly trenchant listing: the enumeration remains exhaustive with regard to what is essential in the situation concerned and leaves the rest implicit, to be explicated elsewhere in the text or to be completed by exegetic knowledge. What stands in the foreground is not the specific place where the soul is held prisoner, but the specific harmful agent which has captivated it. The task, at this point of the recitation, is to “scan” a complete list of possible harmful agents. This act presupposes their being identified through distinctive functional epithets, such as ‘which roams above’ or ‘of the lower crossroads’, etc. – the same epithets with which these agents re-occur in other parts of the text. The ample utilisation of the recurrent in the shape of the epithets, which is of course likely to suggest a conceptual coherence of the text as a whole, would not be feasible without the economy of the implicative crases facilitating the concentration on what is essential for the actual task to be tackled by the b̩mbo.

This conclusion – let us stress it here again – states the *effect*, rather than the *origin* of the crisis. While the suppression of the suffix in *nocyen[gi]* is to be considered a metaplasm, its origin cannot be imputed with certainty to referential intent alone. Its – possibly gradual – disappearance might well have been conditioned by prosodic factors in that the needs of euphony and a rapid pronunciation resulted in “compression” justified by the fact that the *-gi* was felt to be sufficiently represented by the subsequent *g-* in *gl̩:ri*; graphically illustrated:

¹⁵ As a rule, to specify these modalities, a further “relator” would have been necessary, such as, say, *thun̩b(a)i* in the phrase “yara khyugpai nocyen *thun̩b(a)i* gl̩:ri” = ‘to the place of origin of the harmful agent who roams above’.

→
noccyen([gi] = g)l̩a:ri, since -gi ∈ g-.¹⁶

Emblematic periphrasis

This sub-type consists of a categorical enumeration of functional epithets describing the origin and the “action potential” of superhuman beings, ritual implements or magic acts. I call these enumerations emblematic periphrasis inasmuch as they constitute recurrent, syntactically stable patterns. Morphologically, two main configurations may be distinguished, namely (a) sets of verbal phrases, and (b) sets of participial phrases. The first configuration (a) is illustrated by 19.172-174:

“sala syururu d̩n̩ba, ñ̩l̩na kuibam wágañ nañri ñ̩l̩ba,
s̩l̩a kuibam dónbo chyemboi kara s̩l̩a kuiba,
syai ama(i) b̩siri gyálboi syorai syald̩o sañ̩ni le!
ò: n̩mla phiriri d̩n̩ba, sala syururu d̩n̩ba,
s̩l̩a kuibam pe:ma g̩sere br̩bu s̩l̩a kuiba,
m̩p̩cyi amai m̩l̩oñ karboi syorai syald̩o sañ̩ni le phamo!”

That is,

‘It soars scurrying on the earth, as to sleeping it sleeps in a hole,
as to eating, it eats the syrup of the (fruits/flowers of the) great tree,
let us go and incense the bristliness of the wild animals(’
prickly king!
It soars fluttering in the sky, soars scurrying on the earth,
as to eating, it eats the fruit of the *pe:ma g̩sere* tree,
let us go and incense the bristliness of the white (bright?)
m̩l̩oñ (made of the feathers) of the mother peacock O Phamo!’

Formulated in phrases with a finite verb and thus presented as events rather than attributes, the epithets here serve as a kind of pro-text. A formally more closed variant of the same configuration appears in the “stories of origin” (*kerap*, *ṭhuñrap*). Let us take as an example the emblematic periphrasis referring to the divinities of the village territory (*syibda-nè:da*) in 28.233:

“Bhokteni yar phola ne:bi yulgi syibda-nè:da,
m̩r̩ d̩l̩a ne:bi yulgi syibda-nè:da,
kebam gyagar men̩ḍu k̩ri keba,
d̩n̩bam Syàranjo nañri d̩n̩ba,
ṭhuñbam Kalliri Gómbori ṭhuñnem,
d̩n̩bam sa rèkki lumbu k̩ri d̩n̩ba,
chya:bam Bhokteni dónbo chyembo, d̩.cha:jo, d̩.rágrog
nañri chya:bai yulgi syibda-nè:da, La Wàngu,
La Gyábjyen Nór̩bu,
sa ne:bi syibda, d̩ ne:bi syibda,... n̩m̩gi... m̩ṭhu:go!...”

16 Other words of the cvccvc type, such as *kuldap*, *ñ̩ndap*, were affected by the same abrasion of -gi, whereas the use of -i affixed to words of the cvcv or cvccv type, such as *-ḍemo*, *syimo* or *ḍakpo*, *nákpo*, remained optional, cf. sections 36.-41.

That is,

'O *syibda-nè:da* of the area, who dwells in the upper part,
syibda-nè:da of the area, who dwells in the lower part of
 Bhokteni, (who),
 as to birth, was born in India's nine wombs (?), (who),
 as to soaring, soars in Syàranjo, (who),
 as to origin, originated in Kalliri Gómbo, (who),
 as to soaring, soars in the nine whole worlds,
syibda-nè:da of the area, who,
 as to residence, resides in the great tree, the rocky place,
 the place full of boulders (within the area of) Bhokteni,
 (and whose name is) La Wàngu, La Gyábjyen Nórbu,
 O *syibda* who dwells in the earth (soil), *syibda* who dwells in
 the stone,
 do not disturb... the sky!', etc.

The deictic function of the repetition of each verb (quasi-epanalepsis) at the end of the colon is evident: the "infinite" form of the verb with the enclitic *-m* at the beginning of the colon is to draw attention to what follows, namely the definitory attribute which is presented as an event by the finite form of the same verb at the end of the colon. Thus we have:

kebam... keba / dįnbam...dįnba / ʃuñbam...ʃuñnem (ʃuñba), etc.

This repetitive pattern does, however, more than to just frame, as it were, the names of the hagiographically relevant places. Its figural tectonics also enhances the persuasive impetus: it lends the story a massive groundwork so as to make the truth of the utterance gain in weight and stability.

The second configuration (b) groups the functional epithets in participial phrases, as illustrated, i.a., by 61.493-496:

- 493 "cen jyabu bomodā,
 mędoi gyara **nombi** dā:mo, mędoi lińsyę **nombi** dā:mo,
 mędoi kabu **nombi** dā:mo, mędoi gombo **nombi** dā:mo[da]
 494 sańrap ńari cu:ńi, sańrap-ęęsal cu:ńi le!
 495 chya:jało!,
 496 dā:moda li:i barjyo **silba**, li:i di:ma **dā:ba**, khàwai barjyo **silbai**
 sańrap ńęmbu syuńi le!", etc.

That is,

- 493 'for the beautiful *cen*-maiden,
 the mistress **who takes** (up her abode in) hundreds of flowers,
 the mistress **who takes** (up her abode in) scores of flowers,
 the mistress **who takes** (up her abode in) the bud of flowers,
 the mistress **who takes** (up her abode in) heaps of flowers,
 494 [let us go and] perform the incense-recitation to the rhythm of
 the drum (?), let us go and perform the declamation (?) of
 the incense-recitation!,
 495 hail!,

- 496 let us go and ask (her) to listen (?) to the incense-recitation
 (**which**) **washes off** the mistress's defilement-damage of the
 body, (**which**) **cleans out** the impurity of the body,
which washes off the defilement-damage of the snow!', etc.

Here we have two variants: (i) In line 493, the participle *nombi/nombai*, 'taking', and the noun *də:mo*, 'mistress', are repeated in every phrase. (ii) In line 496, the participle *silbai*, 'washing off', and the noun *sənrəp*, 'incense-recitation', appear in the final phrase only, whereas in the preceding phrases, the absence of the same noun goes hand in hand with the elision of the participial (or adjectival) suffix *-i*, that is, with a reduction of the participle to a finite verb: *silbai* = 'washing off' > *silba* = 'washes off'. This variant also allows for the integration of different such "reduced" participles in one and the same emblematic periphrasis, as is the case in the following example from 24.213 where *şənbai* is the only participle, whereas *cu:ba*, *đuppa*, *cheba*, *silba* and *də:ba* are deprived of the suffix *-i*.

- 212 "Kaliama Phamoi le:dap şəññi le, Kaliama Phamoi cyoldap şəññi le!,
 213 cya:gi koldo, sergi koldo, şəñgi koldo,
 rəwai koldoi le:dap, pəñja rəñnai le:dap, Khyuñ Ma:bon!,
 brá:ri dọ:na cima **cu:ba**, chyuri dọ:na samba **đuppa**,
 də:mola nərgyal **cheba**, lai ləñchya kùla lị:i bəjye **silba**,
 lị:i dị:ma **də:ba**, khəwai bəjye **silba**,
 lị:nen dị:ma **də:ba**, ke:nen bəjye **silba**,
 kuldap, ñəndap **silba**,
 syimo, şəñde, bįr-màsa:n, kăco bāyu chamjo **şənbai**
 pəñja rəñna rəwai koldoi le:dap,...", etc.

That is,

- 212 'Let us go and ensure the support of (you O) Phamo Kaliama, let us
 go and ensure the guardianship of (you O) Phamo Kaliama!,
 213 support (by means) of the iron *koldo*, golden *koldo*, copper *koldo*,
 the *koldo* of protection, the *koldo* of protection (in the shape)
 of the *pəñja rəñna*, O Khyuñ Ma:bon!,
 support (by means) of the *koldo* of protection (in the shape)
 of the *pəñja rəñna* (**which**) **provides** steps when arriving
 at the steep slope, (**which**) **provides** a bridge when arriving at
 the water (river),
 (**which**) **makes** the mistress's arrogance **grow**, (**which**) **washes**
off the god's nine youths' defilement-damage of the body,
 (**which**) **cleans out** the impurity of the body, (**which**) **washes**
off the defilement-damage of the snow,
 (**which**) **cleans out** the impurity (caused by way) of the
 corpse-pollution, (**which**) **washes off** the defilement-damage
 (caused by way) of the childbirth-pollution,
 (**which**) **washes off** (the effects of) the magic arrow,
 the harming charm,
which binds the ghost, the *şəñde*, the *bįr-màsa:n*,
 the *kăco bāyu*,...' , etc.

In the last two examples from 61.496 and 24.213, the participial suffix does not assume its task as a relator (copula) between the epithets and the nouns – except in the final phrase. Its

consequent elision furnishes, instead, simple, seemingly self-sufficient syntactic units in which the participle is replaced by the corresponding verb in the “present indicative”:

“(he/she/it) washes off the defilement-damage of the body,
cleans out the impurity of the body”, etc.,

instead of

“(who/which) washes off..., cleans out...”, etc.

Thus, in the sequence of the type

-ba, -ba, -ba (finite verbs)... *-bai* (participle),

it is only the final participial member which relates the preceding members to one another, an accumulation of verbal phrases, by referring them to what is central to the actual context of the ritual. It is as if it provided a solution to a riddle. In other words, instead of the grammatically correct but pragmatically insufficient participial constructions (insufficient because they would often keep one wait quite a long time until it is revealed, in the final member, to what or whom they are to refer), we have quasi-prototypical units – arranged in series like cartoons in a comic strip – that present attributes as events, or transform properties into acts. (This technique of “departicipialization” makes it often difficult even to native informants to recognize at once an emblematic periphrasis, especially in longer sequences). We may perhaps even go a step further. Since the “present indicative”, resulting from the loss of the participial suffix, is also the “infinitive” of the verb in question and is treated by the Tamang themselves as a kind of lexical entry, its application is more suggestive of permanence or pre-established givenness than that of the participle, once separated from “its” noun, could ever be.

The reliance on this suggestive potential might also explain, partly at least, why in 67.549-550 the imperative *də:go* (instead of the participle *də:bai* + the name of the divinity) is preceded, here again, by verbs in the “present indicative” (which is also the “infinitive”), such as *silba* and *də:ba*.

549 “*də:moda li:i bəjyo silba, li:i d̄i:ma də:ba,*
khàwai bəjyo silba, ke:nən bəjyo silba,
550 *li:nən d̄i:ma də:go ò!”*

That is,

549 ‘(you who) washes off the mistress’s defilement-damage of the body,
cleans out the impurity of the body, washes off the
defilement-damage of the snow (?), washes off the
defilement-damage (caused by way) of the
childbirth-pollution,
550 do clean out the impurity (caused by way) of the corpse-pollution!’

The conspicuous shift from one mood to the other seems to betray an attempt to combine an emblematic periphrasis (in line 549) with a command (in line 550), so as to coerce the execution of the latter by reference to the former: by an appeal to the “fact”, as established by the functional epithets, that it is the addressee’s very attribute to be able/to be obliged to execute.

It should be noted in concluding that both configurations, type (a) and type (b), are treated throughout the text as a kind of substitution frames to be filled in with various names, to be

protracted or widened, as required by the context to which they are actually applied to. The occurrences of the emblematic periphrasis with *silba(i)* in sections 24., 25. and 70. may suffice as examples to demonstrate how, thanks to the interchangeability of the nouns *le:dap*, *bumba*, *sañrap* and *dq:mo* within fairly homologous sequences, the various contexts of the recitation become interconnected.

The parts and the whole

Let us examine the metonymic structures in sections 15.-19. In section 15. (incensing of the universe *pars pro toto*) we have:

“*d̥i:ba laru d̥ajye d̥i:ba, ʰi:ba men̥du d̥ajye ʰi:ba,*
mrawai luñjye sañba j̥syiñ paina d̥ubi gyajye sañba,
pañjye sañba pañsañ-lúgu [d̥ubi gyajye] sañba,
lagai chyejye sañba syukpa pha:syu d̥ubi gyajye sañba,
nupjye sañba gúlgu d̥ubi gyajye sañba,
syarjye sañba cendiri maɾbo d̥ubi gyajye sañba,
lojye sañba arura-baɾura d̥ubi gyajye sañba,
chyujye sañba chyuden-dérmo d̥ubi gyajye sañba,
brá:jye sañba brá:jyu-ñoljyu d̥ubi gyajye sañba,
rèkki lumbu sañba syiñne-na:jo d̥ubi gyajye sañba.”

That is,

’(In order) to perfume, (I) perfume with the pure *laru*,
 to purify, (I) purify with the pure *men̥du*,
 to incense from the lowland, (I) incense with one hundred
 (portions of) the resin of the *j̥syiñ*,
 to incense from the meadow, (I) incense (with the incense of)
 the *pañsañ-lúgu*,
 to incense from the region of the upland, (I) incense with
 one hundred (portions of) the incense of the *syukpa pha:syu*,
 to incense from the west, (I) incense with one hundred
 (portions of) the incense of the *gúlgu*,
 to incense from the east, (I) incense with one hundred
 (portions of) the incense of the red *cendiri*,
 to incense from the south, (I) incense with one hundred
 (portions of) the incense of the *arura-baɾura*,
 to incense from the water (river), (I) incense
 with one hundred (portions of) the incense of the
chyuden-dérmo,
 to incense from the steep slope, (I) incense with one hundred
 (portions of) the incense of the *brá:jyu-ñoljyu*,
 to incense the whole world, (I) incense with one hundred
 (portions of) the incense of the *syiñne-na:jo*.’

Here we have:

(a) three points of vertical orientation, namely “high”, “middle” and “low”, as represented by *la* = ‘upland’, *pañ* = ‘meadow’, and (*mrawai*) *luñ* = ‘lowland’ or ‘valley’;

- (b) four points of horizontal orientation, namely the four corners (one of which, the north, is actually missing); and
- (c) two elements, or two kinds of matter of different consistency, namely liquid versus solid, as represented by *chyu* = 'water', and *brá:* = lit. 'steep slope', but also = 'rock', since such a slope is by its very nature a rocky place. And
- (d) the section concludes with *rèkki lumbu* = 'the whole world'/'universe', which subsumes what has been enumerated in the preceding phrases.

Evidently, (a) and (b) constitute coordinates defining the spatial totality within which the two elements (c) are distributed. And while the four corners provide absolute coordinates, "high", "middle" and "low" are to some extent relative positions.¹⁷ More important, both the relative positions and the two elements are obviously interrelated as terms, each of which has an explicit association and several implicit, connotative associations. Thus, 'water' has an explicit association with 'valley' and consequently also with "river" or "lake"; and it has implicit associations with 'upland' or 'meadow' (where water is also present), and even with "rain" and "sky" (*nàm* is the word for both 'rain' and 'sky'). On the other hand, 'water' must of course be mentioned here instead of, say, "river", inasmuch as the latter is also implicit in 'valley', and inasmuch as 'water' stands here for one of the two elements (liquid + solid). In the same way, the second element, *brá:*, can be seen as being explicitly associated with 'upland', but implicitly also with 'valley' and 'lowland' (where rocky slopes also occur, albeit less frequently); or "zenith" and "nadir" (actually absent in our text, but often found in some other texts) may be regarded as implicit in 'upland' and 'lowland' respectively, and so forth...

As to the concluding 'the whole world', one is led to wonder why it is necessary at all to name the whole after having already named its parts so exhaustively in metonymic or synecdochic operations. The formula appears to complete, rather than simply subsume or explain, what precedes it. This kind of complementarity, we may suspect, is necessitated by a general insufficiency attributed to names of both the whole and the parts. It seems that while the naming of the whole alone is found to be too abstract to take account of the full extent of the notion referred to, too much "condensed" to activate the listener's associative imagination, the naming of the parts alone is feared to result in incompleteness or in confusion precisely because of the numerous implicit connotations. In other words, there is – from the viewpoint of pragmatics – an unreliability inherent in synecdoches, however advantageous or even unavoidable their economy otherwise may be; and there is some sort of a vacuity inherent in abstractions, which results in their not having enough evocative potential to dispense with illustrative exemplifications, as it were. Thus, the name of the whole and the names of its parts complement each other, so as if the "sum" sought for were not just the whole *as a sum* of its parts, but rather the whole *plus* its parts (cf. also pp. 297-298, 299, 305, 326).

The same inclusivism – if this is the right term – setting the totalizing perspective for different focuses and allowing for at times narrowing, at times widening variations, prevails in the subsequent sections, too. Thus, the junction between 15. and 16. is provided by the word *syiñ* ('wood', 'tree') in (a) *syiñne na:jo*, the name of a bundle of twigs and stalks of plants (15.139), and (b) in *ñasyiñ*, the name for the wooden frame of the bombo's drum. The cosmic scheme from the preceding section is in part reproduced, but now focussed on both the drum and the apparel which constitute an integral part of what one may call the "ritual body" of the bombo. Compare the correspondences:

17 As emerges from the use of terminological distinctions in Tamang, a 'valley' or 'meadow' may also be part of an upland area, and, vice versa, an 'upland' may also be part of a lowland area.

in section 15.:

lagai chye = 'upland'
brá: = 'steep slope'
mrawai luñ = 'lowland'
 and
chyu = 'water'
 four corners +
rèkki lumbu = 'whole
 world'

in section 16.:

= *phu: lagai* = 'upland'
 = *brá:*
 = { the *kharda*'s watery place
 (where
 the cane grows)
 = { *kù* = 'nine' (= completeness)
 ≡ { *lì:* = 'body' + *sem* = 'mind'
 (≡ totality of person)

In section 17., the cosmic scheme from 15. is repeated at full length and completed by (a) the pairs sun/day/light versus moon/night/(darkness), and (b) atmosphere versus underground sphere. The concluding *chyó:ysi* and *lìnsyi* ('four corners' and 'the four worlds') may be regarded as functionally identical with *rèkki lumbu* ('the whole world')...

“Differential enumeration”

The divination in Tamang and the oracle in Nepali contain enumerations which one may term “differential”; they are a combination of categorical and cumulative enumerations (s. above pp. 284, 286). Examined more closely, many of these enumerations turn out to consist of redundant groupings and amplifications that result from (a) a multiplication of names either by variation or by translation; and from (b) explicit exclusion (paraleipsis) or explicit inclusion. Let us first examine a passage from the divination in Tamang (46.351-356), which, slightly emended for the sake of demonstration, reads as follows:

351 “*bõnjye làgañ nañri debge phemai deşo nañri* !/ [bõnda]
 352-3 *khañsa dila* !/ *khañsa dila, nañbai yinle* !/
 354 *salu đakpo, salu ma:bon, sabda khelañ* !/,
 355 *salu řha:duñ, sabda-luñen* !/
 356 [pàñbai] *sínsin-khòlkhòl cu:khamu* !/...”

That is,

351 'while the *bõn* gets at the multitude in the divine abode,
 356 a quivering appears to have been caused to come [over the *bõn*],
 354-6 [a quivering which indicates] a *salu đakpo, salu ma:bon, sabda khelañ,*
salu řha:duñ, sabda-luñen
 352-3 in this homestead, in the underground sphere...'

The epiphoric and in some cases also anaphoric hyperbaton *semjyeno!* = 'consider!', marked by !/ in the quotation, repeatedly interrupts the description of the *bõmbo*'s visionary experience; its conspicuous frequency makes it an appeal which almost pressurizes the client to cooperate in deciphering and verifying. Its distribution fracturizes the – eo ipso elliptically formulated – message without increasing its opacity, however. On the contrary, the hyperbaton seems to fulfill a double function. Not only does it shift the entire responsibility to the client, it also acts as a pause: a pause that underscores an important noun or a phrase and/or draws attention to what is

being said “in-between”. Due to its frequency, it is likely to protract, slow down the message in such a way that the client is optimally enabled to follow.¹⁸

If we now examine what is enclosed by these hyperbatons, the first thing to strike us is a proliferation of names. In 46.354-355 we have terms which refer to different superhuman beings, but which, in this combination, lack conceptual clarity: *salu ḍakpo*, *salu ma:bon*, *sabda khelañ*, *salu ṭha:duñ*, *sabda-luñen*... All we can state first is the presence of two nouns: *salu* (three times) and *sabda* (twice), and their combination with terms, such as *ḍakpo*, *ma:bon*, *ṭha:duñ* and *khelañ*. The latter seem to function as adjectives and/or classifiers specifying the former; *-luñen*, too, may perhaps be treated as a classifier particularizing the first member of the compound, namely *sabda*.¹⁹

Compare now 48.381-382 where we have:

“*salu khelañ*, *sabda-luñen*, *salu ḍakpo*, *khelañ ma:bon*”.

That is, *khelañ* is combined here with *salu* and *ma:bon* (not with *sabda*, as in the previous example), and appears in the second combination as a noun, no longer as a classifier. What further complicates the exegesis is that the words *ḍakpo*, *khelañ* and *ma:bon* also occur as nouns which each denote separate classes of beings. In sum, one cannot know with certainty whether these two passages are to be interpreted as enumerations of nouns plus their adjectives/classifiers, or as enumerations of nouns only. The hiatus in the articulation, as indicated by the commas in my transcription, would support the former alternative, of course, but in default of clear-cut conceptual delimitations the Tamang listener is confronted with a series of multiple namings and redundant amplifications which pretend, as it were, to turn things round from end to end, to examine them from all sides, in all possible combinations and in every detail.²⁰

The same “multiplicatory” tendency characterizes some other passages. In sections 47. and 48., for example, the Yembui Máñ, the ‘Spirit of the Kathmandu Valley’, is “broken down” into different divinities individualized by the locality of their places of worship: Dakkhin Kālikā, Gorkhā Kālikā, Dolakhā Budhbāre, Syar Ba:la Kāñne, etc. And besides Yembui Máñ, the main cause of the trouble of one and the same patient, ten more causes are additionally named: *ḍemo*, *mī*: *thama*, *cen ḍakpo ṭha:duñ* in section 47. and *cen-men*, *si*, *ri*, *salu khelañ*, *salu ḍakpo*, *sabda-luñen*, *khelañ ma:bon* in section 48. Or, to take an example from the oracle in Nepali, it is not easy to decide whether three or four or even five causes are meant in section 94., for *pattāl bān* and *bhuicālo bān* may be taken as synonyms; *ākās bān* may also be treated as a synecdoche of the divinity Paca Bhāi, and *kālo bir* may be identical with *uttarpattiko bir*... Needless to demonstrate in detail the amplificatory redundancy that results from the “luxury of translation” in that the divination in Tamang is to be “repeated” for verification in the oracle in Nepali.

Exegetically less problematic are some other manifestations of the same tendency, for example the propensity for the explicit exclusion of the irrelevant by “crossing out what doesn’t apply”:

18 Indeed, in no other part of the text do we find such an intense appeal to the audience to cooperate. – The *sunilinu*, *bujhilinu manuwa!* = ‘hear, notice O creature!’, in the oracle in Nepali (sections 93.-96.) corresponds, both from the viewpoint of its meaning and hyperbatonic position, to Tamang *semjyeno!*.

19 According to some informants, *sabda-luñen* denotes one particular class of being (cf. below p. 296); the conceptual delimitation of *sabda* alone, however, was not possible for them. On *salu*, *sabda*, *khelañ*, *ṭha:duñ* s. 46.354-355 notes; on *ḍakpo* and *ma:bon* s. 11.126 note and 19.171 note, respectively.

20 As noted elsewhere (s. pp. 154-155), the bōmbo can justify this procedure by saying that he is only describing what appears to him in his “dim” visions. – Holmberg (1989: 160 ff.) has aptly characterized the bōmbo’s rituals and self-interpretations as “shamanic suspensions”. It is here, in the divination, that these suspensions reach their climax, as it seems.

“*n̄mai hoṭṭa macheyumu, ḍawai hoṭṭa ka cheyumu*” =
 ‘the beam of the sun’s light appears not to have come out,
 instead, the beam of the moon’s light appears to have come out’
 (46.358, 49.402),

or

“*m̄i: thamai kuldap maṃyin, m̄i: thamai n̄ṇdap maṃyin*” =
 ‘it is not the magic arrow of a malevolent human,
 it is not the harming charm of a malevolent human’ (49.390),

which has its Nepali equivalent in

“*sattruko gyān pani hoina, sattruko bān pani hoina*” =
 ‘it is neither the enemy’s (black) art nor the enemy’s magic arrow’
 (96.898-899).

A specific type of amplificatory redundancy may be observed in the following examples:

“*ek kai barsa, dui barsamā... ek kai murdā holā*” =
 ‘in just one year, two years... there may be (just) one corpse’
 (94.859-860).

Instead of saying *ek-dui barsamā* = ‘in one (or) two years’, the *ḅombo* prefers to “pass through” time unit by unit. A similar retardative tendency manifests itself even more neatly in

“*cārai din, pācai din,... sāttai din, pandra din... bahuttai kaṣṭa holā,*
tin bhāgmā dui bhāgko ek bhāg bāki rahecha,... ek nañ bāki rahecha” =
 ‘(the client) may become very seriously ill (in) just four days, just five
 days,... just seven days, just fifteen days, from two shares in three
 shares (just) one share has remained,... one fingernail(-breadth of
 chance) has remained’ (96.900 and 96.907).

The progression (climax) from 4 to 15 days runs parallel to, and is in a sense also explained by, the degression (anticlimax) from three shares to one share. If the *ḅombo* named just “what applies”, namely ‘one third’ (*ek tihāi*), he would risk seizing just a state, instead of reiterating an entire process step by step. In making explicit, in this manner, that the whole is made up of “three times one third” or of “two thirds plus one third”, the figure converts an analytic proposition into a synthetic one, as it were (to resort to Kant’s terminology). The proportion fixed in this operation is filled in with absolute quantities through the preceding numbers of days, on the one hand, and through the final ‘one fingernail’, on the other. Being one of the smallest conspicuous segments of the human body, ‘one fingernail’ is likely to give a particularly palpable concretization of “how much” this 1/3 is.

Binarisms

For the purpose of the present study I use the term binarism in a wider sense for any coupling of two units (terms, phrases) into a pair justified as such by any structuring principle whatsoever.²¹ I treat as binarisms (a) binomials and echo-words, such as

gyūma-gyūser = 'entrails', *luwa-būwa* = 'downy hairs/feathers';
māh-muñ = 'spirits' ('*māh* and related superhuman beings');
 Ajimā-Bajimā = name of a goddess, etc.;

and (b) paratactic configurations, which in some instances are identical with parallelisms, such as:

"khañsai noccyen wa:? (+) syiñsai noccyen wa:?" =
 'is it a harmful agent (which inhabits the sphere) of the homestead?
 (+) is it a harmful agent (which inhabits the sphere) of the fields?'
 (10.124),

and

"jō:ri nākpoi kuldap syoñla, (+) jō:ri nākpoi ñēndap syoñla" =
 'may be hurt by the ferocious enemy's magic arrow,
 (+) may be hurt by the ferocious enemy's harming charm' (9.102),

or as a variant

"mī: thamai kuldap mayin, (+) mī: thamai ñēndap mayin" =
 'it is not the magic arrow of a malevolent human,
 (+) it is not the harming charm of a malevolent human' (49.390),
 etc.

Binarisms in this sense occur frequently together with what we have termed categorical enumerations, and they are obviously resorted to in order to break down the listings into smaller units. A rapid survey shows that there are sections with a "strong" presence, and sections with a "weak" presence of binarisms. A "weak" presence means that binary structures tend to remain inchoate in that they are interrupted by linear, basically asyndetic enumerations (often recited in haste) or by enumerative configurations with predominantly triadic and tetradic patterns, or yet again by non-enumerative elements, such as a story, a command, a pro-text, etc.²²

More often than not, binary units are clearly audible as a kind of two-stroke modulation in the recitation. This does not, of course, mean that their existence is conditioned by prosody, verbal or musical, alone. On the contrary, what holds them together or makes them contingent is basically a semantic relationship: either they draw on opposition, such as above/below, front/back, earth/sky, sun/moon, good/bad, male/female, consanguineal/affinal, etc.; or they suggest the exploitation of some complementary relationship. Thus, in the example above (b), the terms *kuldap* and

21 Cf. Allen's (1978) excellent analysis of "canonical parallelisms" and "irreversible binomials" in Thulung Rai ritual texts, and Strickland's (1982: 64-104) detailed stimulating discussion of paired terms and other kinds of pairing in the Gurung *pé*. Cf. also Holmberg 1989: 87, 93 on what he terms "classificatory phrases".

22 For a "strong" presence s. sections 9., 11., 36., 37., 43., 72., 78., 83., 92., 97., 102., 103., 107.; examples of a "weak" presence are to be found in sections 42., 51., 68., 70., 84., 88., 90., 104., sporadic occurrences not counted.

ñendap are presented as complementary to each other, in spite of the lack of a clear-cut lexical distinction between them.

Nevertheless, many binarisms prove to be secondary patterns that seem to result from the autodynamics of a general tendency to “make two out of one”. Thus, in example (c),

“nagu (+) mī:gu” = ‘nose’/‘beak’ (+) ‘eyes’,

and

“kañba (+) laḳpa” = ‘legs’ (+) ‘hands’/‘wings’ (97.914)

sound contracted into *nagu-mī:gu* and *kañba-laḳpa* in the recitation, and it is indeed difficult to decide whether they are to be seen as complementary pairs (nose and eyes standing for the totality of head, feet and hands for the totality of the extremities of the body) or simply as a product of an irradiation, that is, a contamination by the overriding binary modulation in the environment, without any semantic justification.

By contrast, the name *sabda-luñen* (clearly articulated as a compound term) seems to owe its existence to irradiation alone. From the etymological viewpoint, it is a ghost-word, the result of a metanalysis through a creative misunderstanding, that derives from a standard enumeration in Tibetan, namely “*sa-bdag, klu, gñan*”. This enumeration, originally denoting three different kinds of superhuman beings (cf. 12.129 note), has become in Tamang a composit denoting one single kind of being. Although it is not a binarism (for it conveys no parallels, opposition and/or complementarity recognizable as such), *sabda-luñen* is a by-product of the same contractive tendency to form pairs, which facilitates the emergence of binary patterns in general. A similar precedence of the structural over the conceptual might have resulted in a genuine binarism in example (d):

“yara syelne, (+) maṛa syelne” =

lit. ‘rinsing-up, (+) rinsing-down’, for ‘vomiting’ + ‘diarrhoea’,
i.e., the symptoms of cholera and gastro-enteritis (34.270),

in which *yara syelne* appears to be a later addition to complete *maṛa syelne* for the sake of a polar totality ‘up’ versus ‘down’.²³

Let us consider a few more cases. In example (e), we have

“phoi liñdo salba, (+) ðoi nemba geḷba” =

‘to heal the *phoi liñdo*, (+) to destroy the *ðoi nemba*’ (72.601, 72.603,
113.1116).

These two phrases also sound contracted in the recitation, but inasmuch as the meaning of *phoi liñdo* is unknown, its opposition or complementarity to *ðoi nemba* cannot be ascertained

23 The phonetic difference between MT *syal(-ba)*, ‘to rinse’, and *syel-* in OT *syelne* suggests that the latter was directly borrowed from Tibetan. The steps of the process were possibly as follows: (1) The starting point was Tib. *dmār-bṣal*, ‘dysentery’, ‘blood flux’, + Tib. *bṣal-nad*, ‘diarrhoea’. (2) Tib. **dmār-bṣal-nad*, lit. ‘red-diarrhoea-illness’, > OT *maṛa syelne* wherein Tib. *dmār*, ‘red’, was “misunderstood” for Tib. *ma(r)* = OT *maṛ(a)*, ‘down’, ‘below’, the “misunderstanding” being facilitated by the fact that OT *maṛ(a)*, ‘down’, and OT *maṛ(bo)*, ‘red’ (Tib. *dmār-po*), have the same pitch. (3) OT *maṛa*, once established as such, required a completion by OT *yaṛ(a)*, ‘up’, ‘above’. The pair thus obtained was semantically justifiable as referring to the well-known symptoms of cholera. Cf. also *yara syelne*, *maṛa oine* in 9.115-116 note. – Interestingly, in a ritual text collected among Eastern Tamang, we have Torsyal-Marsyal, said to be the name of a cholera god, which local informants rendered by ‘Face above-Face below’, in identifying – *syal* with the word for ‘mouth/face’ (Western Tamang *syal*), and not with that for ‘to rinse’, as Western Tamang informants did.

semantically. All one can state is that an opposition is established by what is different between the two phrases (3 words versus 3 other words), and that what makes them cohere consists in a homoeophony of *phoi* and *doi*, the end echo *-oi* being common to both.

A similar phonic equivalence (homoioptoton) is present in example (f):

“br̥i:gi hoñ salñi, (+) noṛgi yañ salñi!” =
 ‘let us go and find the crops’ blessing, (+) let us go and find the
 riches’ blessing!’ (14.135).

The equivalence appears to additionally affirm that the two phrases belong together, as if *salñi*, the verb common to both, would not suffice to delimitate them as an autonomous binary unit – due to the fact that *salñi* also occurs in some adjacent phrases: once before, and repeatedly after, *br̥i:gi hoñ... + noṛgi yañ...*

A further type of secondary pattern results from the extension of a binomial into a paratactic binarism in example (g):

“luwa-bywa ñamba – salñi!,
 luwa ñamba – salñi!,
 bywa ñamba – salñi!,
 luwa-bywa ñamba – salñi!”

That is,

‘the downy hairs are damaged – let us go and find (out its cause)!,
 the down (?) is damaged – let us go and find (out its cause)!,
 the hairs (?) are damaged – let us go and find (out its cause)!,
 the downy hairs are damaged – let us go and find (out its cause)!’ (14.135).

In colloquial Tamang, only *luwa-bywa* is attested. Its artificial disjunction (tmesis) into *luwa* and *bywa* (in lines 2 and 3) separates what is normally united – whereas some of the examples cited previously aimed at the contrary, namely to unite what is normally separate, different, opposed or at best contingent. The passage constitutes a movement from the whole back to the whole over a pseudo-parallelismus membrorum that dissects the whole into its parts so as to pretend a minute search to the extent of forcibly disassembling, in a kind of “exploded view”, what is otherwise indivisible. The operation is prompted by an effort to “palpate” a totality literally “down to the ground”, but its tautological circularity betrays at the same time the hesitation in which this effort ultimately gets stuck: a hesitation between the whole and its constituent parts.

As example (h) shows, the same amplificatory aim can also be achieved by the contrary of tmesis: repetition. Thus in the names of (partly obscure) divinities, such as

Thā-Thākāli Māi, Laṅga-Laṅgaṭā, Gubhā-Gubhāju(ni), etc.,

“Thā-”, “Laṅga-” and “Gubhā-” are each a part of the wholes “Thākāli”, “Laṅgaṭā” and “Gubhāju(ni)” (7.83, 6.67). What these reduplications express is not a complementarity between parts, but – conspicuously – a complementarity between the whole, on the one hand, and just one part of this whole, on the other. The binomials thus obtained are reminiscent of, and have most probably also been influenced by, those typical compound names which either include both the male and the female partner of a divine couple, such as Bhāṭ-Bhaṭeni (6.68), or particularize a divinity by indicating its specific attribute, the locality of its worship, etc., such as, say, Kālo Bhairaw or Gorkhā Kālikā (5.57, 5.66 and elsewhere). While Thā- in Thā-Thākāli resists any

further attempt at analysis, *Laṅga-Laṅgaṭā* and *Gubhā-Gubhāju* seem to derive their “right of existence” from associative ramifications: both binomials draw on a semantic plasma to make the reduplication appear less playful, less arbitrary, since *Laṅga*, “grafted on to” *Laṅgaṭā* (< *laṅgaṭā/laṅgaṭā*, lit. ‘lame’), does occur elsewhere in the text as an obvious derivate of *Laṅkā* (Ceylon); and *Gubhā*, “grafted on to” *Gubhāju* (Newar Buddhist priest), is likely to evoke the word *guphā* (lit. ‘cave’) in the idiomatic expression for ‘initiation’ (*guphā pasne*) (cf. 4.53-54 note and 6.67 note).²⁴

In the following example (h),

“*syala syabut, (+) ṭha:la ṭha:but*” =
 ‘the share of meat from the meat, (+) the share of blood from the blood’ (98.922),

the insisting repetition of *sya* and *ṭha:* (‘flesh’/‘meat’ and ‘blood’, respectively) aims at completeness in a processual sense, namely by hinting at the exact provenance of the particular sacrificial shares (*syabut* vs. *ṭha:but*) that are in a sense complementary to each other.

The contrasting of two repetitions, as is the case in example (i),

“*saṅsam saṅbai temrul pheṅi, (+) ṅeṅsam ṅeṅbai temrul pheṅi!*” =
 ‘if it is a good omen, let us go and get at the good omen,
 (+) if it is a bad omen, let us go and get at the bad omen!’
 (9.105),

lends not only additional rhetorical emphasis to the resoluteness of facing both possibilities, come what may. It also stresses the opposition between these possibilities, and accommodates it at the same time, in a complementary relationship by means of the double repetition, namely the repetition of the differing and the repetition of the common. That is, while the polyptotonic repetitions (*saṅsam saṅbai + ṅeṅsam ṅeṅbai*) aggrandize the difference between good and bad (*saṅba* versus *ṅeṅba*), the repetition of the common element, namely *temrul pheṅi*, connects good and bad as antithetic qualities so as to make them appear as parts constitutive of a whole.

Let us note in passing that the same striving for completeness may also manifest itself in the paraleipsis-like mention of what is irrelevant (already dealt with above, p. 294), as is the case in example (j):

“*ṅeṅmai hoṭṭa maḥeyumu, (+) dāwai hoṭṭa ka cheyumu*” =
 ‘the beam of the sun’s light appears not to have come out,
 (+) instead, the beam of the moon’s light appears to have come out’
 (46.358).

The repetition can also involve a positional change:

“*phulai phul, (+) phul phulai jagāileu!*” =
 ‘awaken and bring all the flowers, (+) every flower!’ (92.840).

This example (k) shows how “two is made out of one” by the inversion

phulai phul → *phul phulai*,

24 Cf. also Strickland (1982: 103) on the importance of “collateral information which can [...] be brought to bear upon” certain pairings in Gurung texts.

which takes advantage of the repetition of the emphatic particle *-ai*. While 'all the flowers' delimitates a multitude in its exclusive completeness, 'every flower' specifies what this multitude contains and suggests a counting or checking "one by one". In contrast to example (j), in which the opposition is presented as a complementarity, here the complementarity of the two operations is turned into an opposition precisely by the chiasmic position that results from the inversion. This type of inverted repetition appears to reveal the same distrustful hesitation between the whole and its parts, that was conspicuous in example (g).

To sum up, these few quotations seem to show how a specific expressive intent (a "thinking in contrasts", a "striving for completeness" in terms of complementary opposition) and the phonic-prosodic potential of the language exploit each other; how the former gains in plasticity thanks to the latter, and how the latter, as an irradiation of the former, often develops its autodynamics in producing configurations with no lexical significance of some of their parts. This is not to say, of course, that "content" and "form" can be neatly isolated as such. All we can perceive is an interaction between the two – and it is precisely this interaction which makes up the truly poetic component in the self-organization of binary patterns.

Such symmetries, linking two homologous elements in a pair, subdivide the text into smaller units, enhance its organizational transparency and supersede, to some extent, conscious analysis (cf. Jakobson 1979: 253 ff.).²⁵ In the examples dealt with above, binarisms prove to do more than simply marking off sub-totalities; they also *perform* these sub-totalities and make them "experiencible" through the operations which set, amplify and accommodate the empirically disparate in oppositions and/or complementarities. This dynamic character of theirs provides an additional illustration of Jakobson's (1979: 254) thesis that grammatical figures can be a substitute for the tropes proper.

In most cases, binarisms appear within enumerative sequences: they seize and magnify bits or facets of the same complete wholes the enumerations are aiming at. However, it is important to note that the sub-totalities of the binarisms are not synecdoches for the larger totalities in the enumerations, unless one employs the term synecdoche in a very broad sense. Their relationship is more intricate, as it seems. On the one hand, the binarism, being just a sub-unit, cannot of course be as exhaustive as the enumeration pretends to be. On the other hand, due to its symmetry, the binarism appears more closed and more compact than what comprises it, since the enumeration lacks any similarly strong structural geometry that could regulate its extension and make its exhaustiveness predictable: while the binarism is self-contained without being sufficient, the enumeration allows for many more details without being convincingly complete; it is virtually illimitable. There is, we may perhaps conclude, an interdependence between these two patterns. Driven by the same concern, namely that one can never name enough to seize enough of what is relevant and coherent, each pattern brings its own means into action and comes upon its own limitations – to be thrown back upon the other. The dilemma manifest in this interdependence seems to repeat, at a higher level, that "hesitation between the parts and the whole" which has been found characteristic of some of the examples discussed above (s. also further below pp. 305, 326).

Binary patterns and also what we have termed "differential enumerations" provide a particular illustration of a tendency towards detailing and multiplying. Quite a similar propensity for overdetermination by means of synonyms, parallelisms, etc. was found by F. Zimmermann (1982: 150 ff.) characteristic of Ayurvedic classifications.²⁶ One cannot but agree with Zimmermann when he stipulates an intimate linkage between logic and poetry, or when he contends that

25 It might be recalled that for some authors a "thinking in balances, antitheses, appositions and parallelisms is intrinsic" to oral tradition in general, s. Finnegan 1977: 128 ff.

26 In his opinion, this kind of poetification is to be traced back to a basic property of Indian epistemology, namely to its pragmatism stressing the authority of Tradition, on the one hand, and practical utility, on the other, – both to the detriment of analytical understanding.

the stereotypification through poetic language is to assert the authority of Tradition. I would, however, go a step further. In the bōmbo's text, the "form" does more than to liberate the perception from its habitual automatism; the formal structuredness and self-containment are, to some extent at least, also to mask the conceptual vagueness "behind" the many names: the "form" also shams the "content", instead of simply organizing and articulating it. In other words, the formal-structural constraints, to which the text subjects itself and to which, at the same time, it owes its referential freedom, also serve to fill the vacuum left by the lack of shared and authoritatively fixed knowledge. In particular, these constraints help to structure the semantic plasma accumulated by the adoption of names and terms from Hinduism and Lamaism. Of course, the shamming of "content" is bound to lead to creating "content", since thanks to its position, as determined primarily by the exigence of structure, a term may alter its meaning; and even more interesting are those cases in which the signifier is in a sense pre-existent to the signified, i.e., cases in which the epitaxis of structural requirements stimulates the "invention" of a new term, or a new configuration of terms, which is then – gradually, tentatively – provided with a meaning, as the examples of *sabda-luhen* (resulting from a metanalysis), *syaduñ* (completing *tha:duñ*) and *yara syelne* (completing *māra syelne*) seem to suggest. Nevertheless, such processes often remain incomplete, and this seems to guarantee that the autonomy of the structural is preserved as such. Neither listeners nor even reciters can ever determine with certainty where exactly this autonomy begins and where it stops being valid.²⁷ Not only is this non-reducibility of "form" in line with the specificity of shamanic performance with its ludic fabrications; it is also what makes up the genuinely poetic in our text.

Excursus: Parapraxis

There are certain formulations which the Tamang informants find "odd" or even "absurd". Since they appear, indeed, to be slips of the tongue resulting in seemingly nonsensical mutilations or increments (nonsensical at least if judged by the understanding the Tamang of our days have of both their ritual and colloquial languages), I subsume them under the term parapraxis. It should be stressed, however, that such "mistakes" tend to occur repeatedly in the text, and that they represent anomalies from the conceptual or paradigmatic viewpoint only; structurally, by contrast, they seem to conform to the general organizing principles that underlie some of the typical figural patterns and appear as bastard offshoots of amplifications, of the characteristic interweaving of enumerative text modules and the like.

We need to know more about the formation and frequency of such parapractic phenomena to be able to delimitate them more neatly than is possible here from corrupt archaic expressions, on the one hand, and from casual blunders (heterophemy, "generic override"²⁸) due to fatigue and other problems of individual articulation, on the other. All we can state at the present stage of research is this: There is a portion of conventionality inherent in such unconventional formulations inasmuch as they are regarded, by the Tamang, as specific of the bōmbo and conceded – ultimately – as an expression of the eccentric and even subversive individualism of a poet-ecstatic. We can, however, by no means regard them as *spontaneous* manifestations of an ecstatic or other "altered state of consciousness", bordering on paraphasia or glossolalia. Their

27 The point deserves particular emphasis because the anthropologist's approach to texts is often based on the tacit assumption that language is a rather passive vehicle of ideas, and that any linguistic configuration owes its existence to an authorial referentiality or meaning that is invariably pre-existent to this configuration as such.

28 "Generic override" is applied by Foley to a faulty choice between alternatives that are equivalent in terms of story pattern, but not in terms of actual narrative content. Such errors are the result of story-pattern congruency and the Serbo-Croatian bard's traditional impulse towards analogy (Foley 1990: 373-374, 377, 386-387).

irregular distribution alone disproves this, for such *parapraxes* also occur in those stages of the ritual which do not require any “paranormal” state or experience.²⁹

(a) Compare the two variants of the passage describing the growth of the primordial trees. We have in 21.196:

“*jara sombo khilnem, ma ni sombo kenem, ha:nga som chya:nem, mendaio gyara...*” =

‘the living roots grew whirling, the living trunk was born, (on it) there were three branches (and on these there were) hundreds of flowers...’

and in 23.207-208:

“*jara sombo khilnem, ma ni som kenem, ma ni som chya:nam ha:nga somdi mendaio gyara chya:nem*” =

‘the living roots grew whirling, the three trunks were born, (and) when there were the three trunks, on the three branches there were hundreds of flowers’.

The form *ma ni som* struck both the informants and myself, since it is nowhere attested that the primordial trees had had **three** trunks. After some discussion, SB saw in it a mistake for *ma ni sombo* (as in 21.196), while the *bombo* himself (insisting, at first, on *som*) and a third informant said that both versions were possibly correct.³⁰

Morphologically, *ma ni sombo* has its parallels in a number of other configurations of the type monosyllabic noun + *ni* + bisyllabic noun or adjective, as in, e.g., *sa ni mera* (20.183), *do ni cha:jo* (85.705) and *ro ni duñma* (85.706), instead of the normal *sa mera*, *do cha:jo* and *ro.duñma* respectively. The alternation of forms with and without *ni* (etymologically identical with the isolating or deictic *ni* in Tibetan) is not conditioned by a metric adaptation to the respective environments; and so far I have found only one instance in which *ni* clearly replaced the genitive suffix *-i*, namely in *mj: ni ñendap* (106.1009), instead of the normal *mj:i ñendap*. Consequently, the insertion of *ni* is (has become?) a matter of convention or style in the examples cited, having no other function than to augment the first (monosyllabic) noun in order to establish a 2 + 2 syllables symmetry.

The problem, however, is that the ominous *ma ni som* does not establish such a symmetry, and that its repeated occurrence (twice in section 23. and at least once more in 58.478) nevertheless warns against treating it outright as a casual mistake. All we can do is to trace the conditions that might have facilitated its formation or, to be more precise, its interpretation as *som*. The fluctuation between *ma ni sombo* and *ma ni som* seems to have been conditioned by the intermediary position of *ma ni* between *jara sombo* and *ha:nga som* = ‘living roots’ and ‘three branches’, respectively. And the effect of the resulting interference is to stress – by sacrificing referential unequivocality – the metonymic contiguity that exists between roots, trunk and branches, each constituting an organic part of a triadic whole: the Tree. What defies exegesis based on extra-textual evidence may still be meaningful as a “poetic construct”.

29 Non-shamanic specialists, by contrast, are *supposed* to recite correctly, i.e., to render their texts word by word as taught by their guru. The *lambu* even apologizes in advance by reciting: ‘If I should fail in applying the rules of recitation, may the correct application of the rules of the ritual be regarded as a compensation!’, and vice versa, ‘If I should fail in applying the rules of the ritual, may the correct application of the rules of the recitation be regarded as a compensation!’ (cf. Höfer 1981: 69 f.).

30 Objectively, SB seems to be right. What SR heard (as a listener to his own recitation during the transcription of the text from the tape) as *som*, ‘three’, might be a short form of the word *sombo*, ‘living’, cf. the fluctuation between *awai sombolawai som* and *pi:bi sombolpi:bi som* (s. 51.419 note).

(b) Contrary to the last example in which a subtraction (*som-bo*) creates confusion, in the present one, it is an adjection (to use a term of Dubois et al. 1974) which is likely to cast doubt on the *bombo*'s seriousness. Compare two variants of the emblematic periphrasis extolling the power of the divine mother Kaliama. In 13.133 we have

“*ṭha:*, *li:* *seṅbai ḍinjen phamo*, *bụ:*, *li:* *seṅbai ḍinjen phamo*, *kha keba*, *li:* *keba*, *so keba*, *ro keba*, *bụ:* *keba...(-i) ḍinjen phamo...*”.

That is,

'the *ḍinjen phamo* who makes (creates) the blood, the body, the *ḍinjen phamo* who makes the breath, the body, the *ḍinjen phamo* of whom the mouth (speech) is born, of whom the body is born, of whom the vital principle is born, of whom the life-principle is born, of whom the breath is born...’.

With two exceptions, 23.211 shows a similar pattern:

“*li:* *seṅbai ḍinjen phamo chya:nem*, *ṭha:gi li:* *seṅbai ḍinjen phamo chya:nem*, *bụ:i li:* *seṅbai ḍinjen phamo chya:nem*, *kha keppa*, *li:* *keppa*, *so keppa*, *ro keppa*, *bụ:* *keppa...(-i) ḍinjen phamo...*”.

That is,

'the *ḍinjen phamo* who makes (creates) the body resided (in the Tree's crown), the *ḍinjen phamo* who makes the **body of the blood** resided, the *ḍinjen phamo* who makes the **body of the breath** resided, the *ḍinjen phamo* (who) gives birth to the mouth (speech), (who) gives birth to the body, gives birth to the vital principle, gives birth to the life-principle, gives birth to the breath,...’.

The amplificatory pattern (cf. the repetition of *li:* and *bụ:*) in the first example from section 13. develops, here in 23. and in 34.268 again, into

li: *seṅbai* + *ṭha:gi li:* *seṅbai* + *bụ:i li:* *seṅbai* + *li:* *keppa(i)*, *bụ:* *keppa(i)*,
etc.,

wherein *ṭha:gi li:* and *bụ:i li:* appear to have conglutinated, by means of the genitive suffix *-i/-gi*, what in 13. constituted independent members in the enumerative sequence

ṭha:, *li:*... and *bụ:*, *li:* (in 13.) → *ṭha:gi li:* and *bụ:i li:* (in 23.).

The 'body of the blood' and 'body of the breath' are obscure, and SB found my proposal to interpret them as 'the body as the receptacle for blood/breath' forced. Be that as it may, both *ṭha:gi li:* and *bụ:i li:* can be regarded as amplifications of the preceding

li: *seṅbai* = '(divine mother) who creates the body', etc.

The conceptual clarity thus tends to be sacrificed in favour of a formal manipulation the very intent of which is – paradoxically – a semantic enrichment of *li:*, 'body'. In analogy to the photographic procedure of a blow up which, beyond a certain limit, results in blurring the detail

in the enlarged picture, adding *tha:gi* and *bu:i* to *li:* is likely to aggrandize the importance or complexity of the latter by expanding it, as it were, by a pseudo-explanatory operation which frustrates any exegetic attempt focussing on the lexical meaning of the configuration thus obtained in isolation.

Let us add that in the instance in question, the hasty recitation facilitates the oddity being smuggled in, and that, if confronted with the problem of interpretation in a conversation afterwards, the Tamang layman may find a 'body of the blood' or a 'body of the breath' hard to imagine and yet ultimately tolerable as expressions with a possibly mystic or lost meaning and/or as a token of that shamanic freedom which allows for surprising eclecticism and rollicking permutations. A smile or a shrug of the shoulders betray his uncertainty in deciding to what extent religious truth and poetic exuberance can coexist.

(c) The confrontation between the text and the listener is more dramatic in the following case (90.795 and 104.996):

“*gyábna jø kha tañbai noccyen, ònna jø chi: tañbai noccyen*”,

that is,

'the harmful agent which presents its mouth at the back **top** (peak),
the harmful agent which presents its backbone at the front **top** (peak)'.

Formally speaking, this curious passage results from an interlocking of two elements that have occurred previously in the text, namely

{	<i>Gyábna</i>	}	<i>Jø</i>	
{	<i>gyábna</i>	}		<i>kha tañbai, etc...</i>

from:

– the names of two peaks (*jø*) called *Gyábna Jø* and *Ònna Jø* (alias *Gyábna Phurjo* and *Ònna Larjo*) (86.722, 91.821); and

– “*gyábna kha tañbai noccyen, ònna chi: tañbai noccyen*” = 'the harmful agent which presents its mouth at the back (to swallow the victim from behind), the harmful agent which presents its backbone at the front (its back to carry the victim away on it)' (9.102 note, 37.281, etc.).

The unexpected formulation (aprosdoketon) results in some sort of a concrescence of the images of the human body and the physical landscape. Such a “lumping together” is conceptually unjustifiable. Astonished, the listener is prompted to oscillate between this concrescence and its elements which he has previously been made familiar with and which now appear so strangely coalesced. A fraction of a second may suffice for this oscillation to spark off its “synergetic” effect deadlocking the listener in a labyrinth of dilemmas (which I shall try to reconstruct somewhat speculatively as follows): Is this insertion of *jø* an individual (conscious, spontaneous) creation or just a slavish reproduction by the *bombo* actually reciting? Is it the inarticulate product of an ecstatic enthusiasm or just an inexplicable, monstrous blunder, part of an esoteric word-puzzle yet to be completed or a pantagruelism just for fun, a corrupt expression or just a padding conditioned by rhythm – or all this at the same time perhaps? One finds oneself trapped in the confrontation between one’s own paradigmatic competence and the communicative competence of the *bombo* and/or the original author of the text. One is caught in the dilemma as to whether to accept this formulation as a kind of performative truth in its own right or to

treat it as a denotative that grasps an un-truth. Can the impossible be trustworthy and preferred, in certain cases at least, to what is untrustworthy even though possible?³¹

If asked later, the *bombo* is unlikely to give a convincingly serious or satisfactorily definitive answer (and neither did SR when confronted with the problem). The uncertainty in which he leaves one is, of course, likely to make the responsibility entirely his, which in turn, amounts to postponing the arbitration to “future hermeneutics”. This may buffer the shock – after a while. But for the moment there is no authority to which to lodge the assumption; one cannot even decide who is defaulting or, even worse, whether there is a breach of the terms of the client-reciter and client-text relationship at all. And so the listener cannot help acknowledging his impasse with laughter and a shake of his head.

Liminality – a state in which elements of what is familiar and possible emerge in an unfamiliar, impossible assemblage – is the term which lends itself best for subsuming the crisis of identities, resulting from the collapse of imagery. The momentary suspense of the consensual nature of the text (its capability of “telling” the listener what to anticipate) inevitably impeaches the identities of those who otherwise claim to participate in it as a discourse.

One is also tempted to interpret this crisis as a specific type of what in modern analyses of ritual is called self-distancing (cf., e.g., Kapferer 1983). Generally, the self-distancing is thought to pave the way for catharsis in that it implies a role-reversal by means of parody, comic distortion or even a transposition into the absurd. In the present instance, the distortion would consist of a sudden conversion of the parabasis into liturgy, since the absurdity of the formulation in our third example is only paralleled by those derisory comments and puzzling gambados which the *bombo* otherwise affords in off-stage situations, i.e., in everyday conversations on therapy or diagnosis, or in the pauses of the ritual itself (cf. pp. 17, 40, 45). He thus appears, in his clients’ eyes, as distancing himself not only from his role as a holder of religious truth and curer in divine commission, but also from his role as a poet. But I doubt if the impasse into which he manoeuvres the patient as a listener is likely to generate any *direct* cathartic effect in the latter; all one can say is that the listener’s laughter is an attempt to distance himself from his own helplessness vis-à-vis the text. If there is any catharsis to be generated in the patient, it is, then, likely to be triggered off by the total effect of all self-distancings in the ritual as a whole, by their dramaturgy and specific ordering in more or less coherent sets. Instead of considering it in isolation, we should examine (a) how this type of self-distancing in question is interconnected with, and/or contrasted to, other types of self-distancing within and even outside the framework of the ritual, and (b) how each of these types becomes effective, be it as a “direct supply” to the patient, be it as a “feed-back” via the reactions by the audience. Only then will we be in a position to know more about how the subtle psycho-logistics of the on-and-off arrangement of such self-distancings really works. All this must be reserved to a future study focussed more on the therapeutic strategies of the ritual as a whole and based on systematic empirical observations including psychological tests, medical examinations and the like. Even so it is evident that each type of self-distancing is bound to shift the mirrors around the *bombo*-patient-public triangle, or to highlight, each time, a different facet of the *bombo*-client relationship. The primary effect of such shiftings appears to come close to that confusion about identities, resulting from contextual interference and frustrated anticipations, which social psychologists call a double-bind. And, perhaps, it is only in exploring this double-bind that we can arrive at a better understanding of the transformation which is expected to take place in the patient to the effect of being cured, or at least of feeling cured subjectively...

31 I am paraphrasing Aristotle (1982: 93) who regarded this preference as a necessity for the drama to unfurl its eudaemonic, cathartic effect.

Conclusion

Although itinerary enumerations make up a considerable portion of his text, the Tamang shaman is travelling chiefly across words, rather than worlds.³² Why this profusion of words? Evidently, enumerations and related patterns contribute to structuring the text. Not only do they render mnemotechnically more accessible “what is to be said”, but by providing clear-cut starting points, terminations, ordering grids, etc. they enhance the plausibility of the text as a set of organized and purposeful progressions.

A particular purpose, explicitly stated as such in the recitation, of the enumerative operations is “to hit the proper”, i.e., to identify what is relevant from among a multitude of possibilities (*pheba*, s. pp. 26-27, 228⁷). Examined more closely, however, all this listing and naming, contrasting and completing, mixing and separating, detailing the total and totalizing the detail turn out to be procedures of a “sorting in”, rather than a “sorting out”. The “proper” cannot be such unless it is named along with all the “improper”, located in, and determined as part of, several totalities. Enumerative operations execute integral evaluations, rather than merely differential diagnoses, so to speak: in moving – back and forth – across totalities they establish, and even perform, relationships, instead of simply isolating “what applies” as a substance (if one is permitted to resort to the structuralist jargon).

The “sorting-in” tendency is also corroborated by the ritual itself in that the recitation has to go on even after the “proper” has been identified as such, as shown, e.g., by the *cengi sañrap* (pp. 163 ff.). But, paradoxically, the best illustration is provided by the multiplication of the “proper” itself. Its dissolution into facets, aspects or components – each different and yet contiguous or even contingent upon each other – is manifest most strikingly in the multiplication both the patient and the illness undergo in the course of the ritual: the patient’s soul, life-principle, vital principle, flower (*bla, ro, so, mendo*), etc. have to be recuperated; a number of superhuman beings have to be “found out”, “got at” as responsible for a plurality of causes of the trouble, and/or as providers of protection, blessing, purity, etc., etc.

All this is achieved through procedures which appear often too allusive, swerving, intertwined or even circular. Suffice it to recall how the potential of amplifications and tmeses, synonyms and compounds, crases and hyperbatons is exploited, at times to expand, at times to dissect the object of scrutiny in varying frames of reference; or to point to the – eo ipso amplificatory – preference for combining, again and again, different enumerations with each other and/or with their corollaries into intermittent series resulting in a plethora of variations; or, yet again, to refer to those operations which remain in suspense between the whole and its parts, so as if there existed a distrust in the comprehensiveness of the metonymy and the representativeness of the synecdoche, or a distrust in both the “essence” and the instrumentally “significant part”. The overdetermination resulting from the kaleidoscopic change of perspectives, at times converging, at times separating, is likely to blur the distinction between “what applies”, on the one hand, and “what doesn’t”, on the other, to the effect that one cannot know where the suggested polymorphism of the former ends and where the polyvalence of the latter begins. One is thus led to ask: *what* is to be sorted in *into what* more precisely? Naming the “proper” together with the “improper”, as we have put it above, is to locate the former in totalities; but it remains unclear how these totalities are connected. That “higher-level” totality, which might in a sense subsume them as parts of a hierarchy or a “polythetic” classification (Needham 1975), is only implicitly present, just as if it were unnamable. The “convincing” strength which the figural operations develop, each on its own account, seems to stand in a striking contrast to the dilatoriness their

32 His ritual journeys lead him across the physical landscape; even the abode of the gods, the *be:yul*, is part of this landscape (cf. pp. 30, 58, 87). Spheres which one would classify as the nether world, such as heaven or underworld, are not included in the itinerary of the *rjrap* and *sañrap*.

sum total conveys, and thus to their net output with regard to a conceptual apprehensibility or doctrinal transparency.

The crucial question is, of course, what carries the greater weight – the figural or the doctrinal – for the text to become some sort of psychological reality in the patient...

4. Florality-Arboreality: Metonymy, Metaphor and Symbol

Interweaving

Another conspicuous structural property of the text is the interweaving of different syntactic units as modules.¹ It effects that certain modules appear in a number of conceptually different contexts and/or grammatically different constructions, often at the risk of sounding forced. This procedure is to make the lateral dimension of the text explicit by providing cross-references. The cross-references result from what I shall call re-referencing: the repetition or variation of modules in such a way that any occurrence of one and the same module constitutes an anticipation and/or “retroicipation”, an implication and/or explication (a) of its other occurrences, or (b) of the occurrence of other modules. The different contexts of the occurrences thus become at times substitutable to, at times intersected with, each other. Analogous to telescoping, lap-dissolve, stereoscopy, etc., the re-referencings result in an interlocking of similarity and contiguity operations, that is, in a network of metaphorizations and metonymizations, respectively.

Before demonstrating this in detail, let us first point out that the large variety of syntactic units in our text is the outcome of a combination of a relatively restricted number of elements. Such elements are: a recurrent substantive and a recurrent verb constituting primary units (syntagmas). Variation is produced by

- various functional markers;
- various tenses or modes or absolutes of the same verb;
- extension by introducing additional substantives, verbal participles or adjectives, providing secondary units.

Take the occurrences of *kha* = ‘mouth’/‘speech’ as an example of the variation from simple to complex sentences :

	<i>b</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>c1</i>	<i>a1</i>	<i>c</i>
1	də:moda	kha	ñamba			
2	də:moda	kha	ñamba			salo!
3	də:moda	kha	ñamba	salbai	le:dap	soñjyi
4	də:moda	kha		ñambai	noccyen	dulñi
5	də:moda	kha	keppa			
6	də:moda	kha		keppai	đinjyen phamo	salñi!

a = subject/object; a1 = subject/object of the secondary unit; b = functional marker; c = verb; c1 = verbal participle in the secondary unit; a+c = primary predicative unit. – 1: ‘The mistress’s mouth (speech) is injured.’ 2: ‘The mistress’s mouth is injured – heal it!’ 3: ‘(I) have come to ensure support for healing the mistress’s mouth which has been injured.’ 4: ‘Let us go and tame the harmful agent which has injured the mistress’s mouth.’ 5: ‘(Who) gives birth to the mistress’s mouth.’ 6: ‘Let us go and find the *đinjyen phamo* who gives/gave birth to the mistress’s mouth!’

Both the profusion of the syntactic variations thus obtained and the profusion of names these variations can integrate stand in a striking contrast to the parsimonious verb repertory. The

¹ My “interweaving of modules” bears some similarities to what is termed “formulaic composition” in oral texts (cf. Finnegan 1977: 57 ff., 129 ff.), but my “module” is not congruent with the “formula” (a group of words regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express an essential idea) as defined by Parry and Lord (for a recent critical discussion s. Foley 1990: 13 f., 122 f., 171 ff.).

tendency to restrict the number of verbs² is such that some of the verbs seem to be employed forcibly by over-exploiting their polysemy.

Let us now examine the “pedigree” of a few modules to demonstrate how all harmful agents (superhuman beings, vehicles of black magic, etc.), either listed in detail or named synecdochically only (‘homestead’ vs. ‘fields’, ‘above’ vs. ‘below’, etc.), are brought into the context of different ritual acts. In the long enumeration of harmful agents to whose places the soul of the patient is suspected to have been carried off we have:

“khañsai noccyen gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:,
 syiñsai noccyen gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:,
 m̥i: thamai kuldap gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:,
 m̥i: thamai ñendap gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:,
 yaṛa khyugpai noccyen gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:,
 maṛa khyugpai noccyen gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:,...
 sadañ.sò:i kuldap gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:,
 sadañ.sò:i ñendap gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:,...
 yaṛlamdai noccyen gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:,
 maṛlamdai noccyen gl̥a:ri khurjyi wa:?” (cf. 36.276).

The bulk of the passage may be seen as a combination of previous modules, namely
 (a) in 10.124:

“khañsai noccyen wa:, syiñsai noccyen wa:?” =
 ‘is it a harmful agent (which inhabits the sphere) of the homestead,
 is it a harmful agent (which inhabits the sphere) of the fields?’

and (b) in 11.125:

“sadañ.sò:i kuldap, sadañ.sò:i ñendap, yaṛa khyugpai noccyen,...
 yaṛlamdai noccyen salñi!” =
 ‘let us go and find the magic arrow made of the *sadañ.sò:* (wood),
 the harming charm made of the *sadañ.sò:* (wood), the harmful agent
 which roams above,... the harmful agent of the upper crossroads!’

The combination thus obtained further develops, among others, into:
 (c) in 43.331-332:

“khañsai noccyen,... yaṛlamdai noccyen, maṛlamdai noccyen...” =
 ‘the harmful agent (which inhabits the sphere) of the homestead,...
 the harmful agent of the upper crossroads, the harmful agent of the
 lower crossroads (which are to be neutralized)...’, etc.;

2 A rapid survey of 14 occurrences of the verb *nomba* shows the following list of meanings: ‘to take’/‘to hold’ (*bumba* in 8., *cañsal-męmar* in 17., *cya:gi bija* in 86.); ‘to mount as a vehicle’ (*luñgi khorlo* in 17., 104.); ‘to remove’/‘to swallow’ (*ñęma kù, dąwa kù* in 22., 83.); ‘to tear out’ (*tinso* in 26.); ‘to accept’/‘to take possession of’ (*gyuma-gyuser*, etc. in 97.); ‘to contain as a receptacle’ (*dupcyo* in 25., 105. etc.); ‘to choose’/‘to use as’ (*maṛsañ gąwai mędo* in 113.); ‘to take up abode in’ (*mędoi gombo*, etc. in 51., 113.); etc. In modern colloquial Tamang at least, all these meanings could be expressed by a variety of verbs more adequate to the contexts. Cf. also de Sales 1985, I: 317, who states that in Kham Magar shamanic texts a relatively small repertory of about 1,100 words appears in practically innumerable metaphoric or metonymic combinations.

(d) in 83.687:

“khañsa, syñsa nãñri yãr khyugpa, m̃ar khyugpai noccyenda ðulñu!” =
 ‘go and tame the harmful agent (which) roams above, which roams
 below in the homestead, in the fields (O Ma:bon)!’;

(e) in 106.1009, a slightly varied segment from 36.276 is to be found, namely

“m̃i: ni ñendap, m̃i:i kuldap, thànbi ñendap silbi ðupcyoi wañgur syukhajyi.” =
 ‘(I) have come to ask for the life-power of the holy water which
 washes off (the effects of) the harming charm of humans, the magic
 arrow of humans, the harming charm (which is the cause) of the
 thànba illness.’;

(f) in 107.1033:

“khañsai noccyen chamjo s̃onba, syñsai noccyen chamjo s̃onba, sadañ.sò:i
 kuldap thamjye, ñendap thamjye(i) chamjo s̃onbai wañgur...” =
 ‘O life-power (which) binds the harmful agent (that inhabits the
 sphere) of the homestead, (which) binds the harmful agent (that
 inhabits the sphere) of the fields, which binds all magic arrows (made)
 of the sadañ.sò: (wood), (the life-power which binds) all harming charms...’;

and finally (g) in 112.1089:

“sadañ.sò:i ñendap ló:ysi syã: solo,
 khañsai rãwa s̃eñsyi syã: solo,
 syñsai rãwa s̃eñsyi syã: solo!” =
 ‘avert the harming charm (transmitted by the magic arrow made) of
 the sadañ.sò: (wood) and please be dismissed,
 protect the homestead and please be dismissed,
 protect the fields and please be dismissed!’.

Or, to take a second example, the module in 9.102:

“bõnda gyábna kha tañbai noccyen syoñla, nõnna chi: tañbai noccyen
 syoñla...” =
 ‘the bõn may be hurt at the back by a harmful agent which presents
 (its) mouth, may be hurt at the front by a harmful agent which
 presents (its) backbone (back)...’

shows at first sight the same development: repetition and variation in 37.281, 84.702, 90.798,
 90.809 and 104.996. In addition, the module also has “collateral” variants providing diagonal
 connexions, namely in 42.322 (cf. also 84.695, 107.1029, i.a.):

“gyábna pe:ma ñãmbi noccyen, nõnna lagu ñãmbi noccyen...” =
 ‘(go and deal with) the harmful agent which injures the lotus at the
 back, the harmful agent which injures the god’s image at the front...’;

and in 19.179 (cf. also 61.498, 66.534, 67.553, etc.):

“gyábna l̥j:jye khurñi, ñonna chya:jye teññi!” =

‘let us go and carry (the Khyuñ) at the back on the back,
let us go and toss (the Khyuñ) at the front with the hands!’

Finally, in 90.795 and 104.996, our initial module “gyábna kha tañbai..., ñonna chi: tañbai noccyen” undergoes a surprising extension and becomes

“gyábna j̥ kha tañbai noccyen, ñonna j̥ chi: tañbai noccyen...” =

‘the harmful agent which presents (its) mouth at the back **top/peak**,
the harmful agent which presents (its) backbone at the front **top/peak...**’,

which is an extreme development in that the interweaving of modules results in a mere interference – to the detriment of meaning (cf. above pp. 303-304).

Even a cursory examination of the contextual environments of these two examples above can show how repetition or variation (by substituting different subject-agents, adding or subtracting segments, etc.) interconnect the different stages of the ritual by creating, as it were, tributaries, confluences and deltas...

Florality-Arboreality: Preliminaries

To illustrate the role the interweaving of text modules and figural patterns plays in the process of symbol construction, let us concentrate on a metaphor and symbol central to the text as a whole: the Flower. (I shall go into more detail and also digress slightly in order to facilitate the orientation for the reader unfamiliar with the language). First a recapitulation of the various connotations of the terms *mendo*, ‘flower’, and *duñma*, lit. ‘beam’:

MENDO (PHUL in Nepali) =

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (1) | <i>botanical</i> | (a) ‘flower/blossom/bloom’
(b) ‘any low-growing, flower-bearing plant’ |
| (2) | <i>metaphoric</i> | ‘a kind of ornamental pattern on wooden or metal objects’ |
| (3) | <i>metaphoric</i>
& <i>symbolic</i> | ‘a white spot of connective tissue on the
outer surface of the heart’ (human, animal) ³ |
| (4) | <i>metaphoric</i>
& <i>symbolic</i> | ‘womb’, ‘vagina’
(human only) |
| (5) | <i>metaphoric</i>
& <i>symbolic</i> | ‘life-flower’ (<i>ro.mendo</i>) in a child and in an adult
female (s. comment below) |

Let us note that children are generally said to have a ‘life-flower’ only. According to one version, from the age of 12-13, the ‘life-flower’ of males turns into a ‘life-beam’ (*ro.duñma*), while females retain their ‘life-flower’. Another version holds that even adult males retain their

3 The symbolism of the ‘flower of the heart’ (*tiñla mendo*) (3) is obscure. Its vital function can be inferred from its role in divination: its absence on the heart of a sacrificial animal is a portent that the person to whose benefit the animal has been killed will be, or has been, tormented by a witch (cf. Höfer 1981: 79 ff.). In the present text, there is mention of the patient’s own ‘flower of the heart’ injured by a harmful agent (79.641, probably also in 43.335 and 53.443).

'life-flower' besides their 'life-beam', and that even adult females develop a 'life-beam' in addition to their 'life-flower'. Our text seems to corroborate the latter version in that it repeatedly refers both to the 'life-flower' and the 'life-beam' of the woman patient in question. It also clearly indicates an organic continuity between the two, which amounts to suggesting a metonymic relationship between the "florality" and "arboREALITY" of the human person in general, as we shall see. The Flower as a fruit-bearing organ that grows on the branches of a tree is a key-image above all in the creation myth. And the Tree/Trunk/Beam/Pole (*dónbo/mə/dũnma/syĩn*) is both a poetic metaphor and a ritual symbol of the backbone or the whole body in shamanic spiritual anatomy:

<i>botanical</i>	<i>symbolic object in the ritual</i>	<i>in shamanic anatomy</i>
tree (<i>dónbo</i>)	<i>kedañ/pa:sam</i> = the	<i>dónbo</i> = 'tree'
trunk (<i>mə</i>)	sapling/branch erected in the courtyard, symbolizing the 'life-tree' of the patient	<i>mə</i> = 'trunk' <i>dũnma</i> = 'beam' + <i>its synonyms:</i> <i>ro.dũnma</i> <i>sosyĩn</i> <i>che.darsyĩn</i> <i>gunasiĩg</i> (Nepali) <i>so.dũnma</i> * ⁴ <i>sosyĩn-dũnma</i> <i>rosyĩn-dũnma</i> * <i>àyo.dũnma</i> *

All these terms connote associatively: 'erect', 'hard' (as wood), 'organic', 'organismic' and 'living'; and the last connotation obtains a particular stress when *-syĩn* occurs in a compound with *so-*, *ro-* or *che(-)*-, all three meaning 'life'/life-force'. In addition, from myths and the symbolism of the death-ritual we can also infer the following: (a) In magic fights, the adversary is annihilated no sooner his *dũnma/ro.dũnma* is "pulled out". This happens to the primordial shaman *Dũnsur Bõn* (cf. pp. 336-338). (b) Prior to cremation, the lama tears out a tuft of hair from the fontanel of the corpse's head. (It is the same tuft [N. *ĩupi*, T. *brõndo*] which, similar to Hindu custom, adult males keep even after shaving the head). This may also be regarded as an act of "pulling out" of the *ro.dũnma*, for the removal of the hair tuft is explicitly stated to "definitely make dead" the person for whom the death-ritual is going to be celebrated.

If there is anything like a hypogramme underlying those sections which elaborate on the theme of florality-arboREALITY, a part of it might, then, be represented as in fig. 7.

4 Words marked with an * do not occur in the present text. – For *ro*, *so* and *che.darsyĩn* s. 10.118 notes; for *sosyĩn* s. 86.734 note. – The *-syĩn* < *syĩn*. lit. 'wood', frequently appears in names of trees, wooden tools and wooden elements of the house construction. Irrespective of its unclear etymology, the last syllable in the Nepali synonym *gunasiĩg* sounds – in the Tamang pronunciation of Nepali – like the Tamang word *syĩn*, namely [ʃjiŋ], cf. 3.38 note.

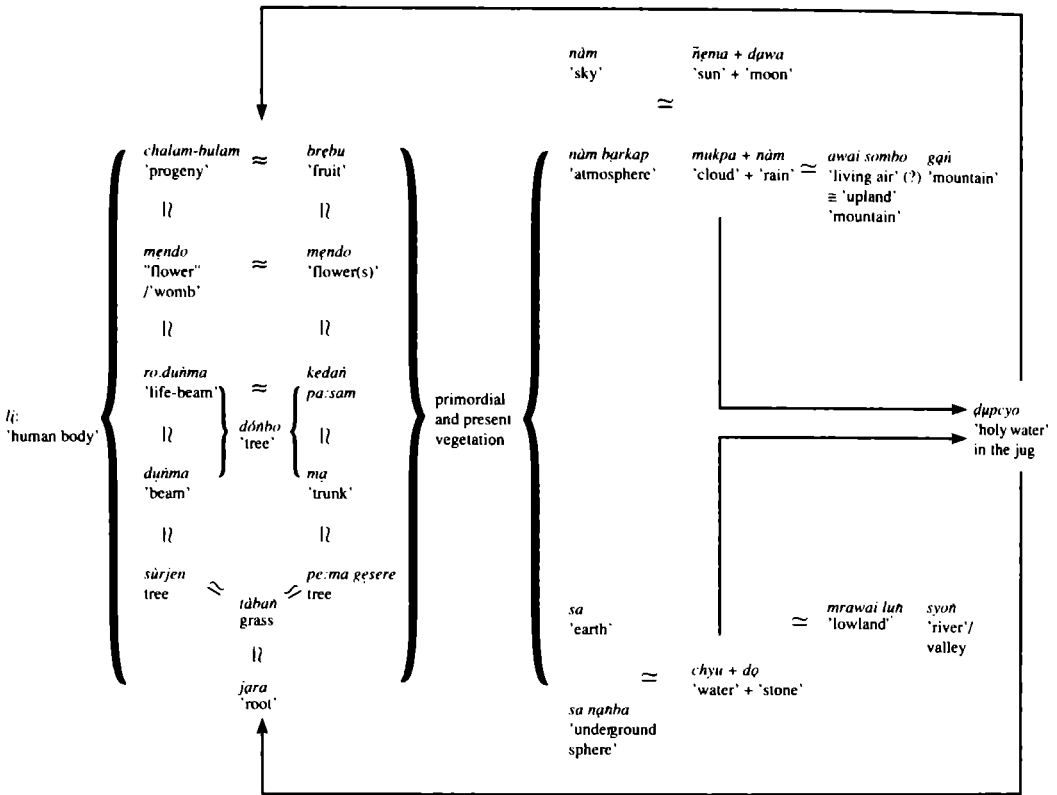


Fig. 7. Body, plant, world.

Fig. 7: The different levels of florality-arboREALITY (roots – grass – tree trunk – flowers on the branches) as referred to both the human and the cosmo-mythical dimension (left); and the circulation of the holy water (right); = basically metonymic/synecdochic link; ≈ metaphoric link; ≡ congruent/approx. identical.

Let us now demonstrate how the multicontextual utilization of metaphors and text modules result in a series of “re-referencings”, and how the latter provide a totalizing network of metonyms.

Introducing the theme

Section 3. contains the first mention of the womb-‘flower’ (*phul*) as one of the vital organs to be “activated” for examination: ‘...awaken and bring the *gunasiñg*,... the flower...’. In section 10.118, the ‘flower’ (*mendo* = ‘womb’ here) appears again, along with the ‘life-pole’ and other vital organs and functions. Of particular interest is line 120 in which the dissolution of the body into the elements wind, water and air, and its transformation into a tree⁵ are announced:

‘unawares, the breath appears to have turned into wind,
the body appears to have withered into illness,

5 In some other texts, the dissolution is more elaborate in that the blood turns into water, the bones into stone, etc.

the body appears to have turned into water,
 the body appears to have turned into a tree,
 (it) appears to have become dissolved in the living
 air (?), tears appear to flow from the eyes, (and even)
 when offering a million sacrifices, the mistress appears
 not to (get better)...

Thus, human anatomy, as specified in line 118, becomes extended into “external nature”, anticipating the step which in the creation myth and elsewhere will elaborate on the cosmic dimension of the human person and organism (section 20. ff.). However, in striking contrast to the creation myth and numerous other sections where the arboreality is extolled as the quintessence of Life, – the term ‘tree’ stands here for ‘dead body’ or ‘body-about-to-decompose’. One may object that the “body *withering* into illness” is sufficiently emphatic to infer that a dead tree is meant, yet it remains a fact that – contrary to our expectation – we have ‘tree’, and not ‘wood’, nor ‘withered tree’.⁶ Here, ‘tree’ counts as just one of those non-organismic and/or dead substances into which the human organism gets dissolved. It is as if the passage wanted to denounce the arbitrariness of any metaphor or symbol, and warn against conceiving the relationship between the living body and the living tree otherwise than as an ad-hoc metaphoric relationship, i.e., not as a kind of ontological identity, but merely as a partial similarity or mutual referability. And yet if read “against” the creation myth (in 20.-21. in particular), this theme of the human body’s withering and dissolution turns out to be a regression that constitutes, in part at least, an inversion of the evolutionary progression alluded to in the myth: water → grass → tree → flower → fruit, etc. One may also see the disintegration as a disindividualization and thus as a movement reversing the successive individualization the creation myth initiates inasmuch as the primordial vegetation shall prove, from section 51. onwards, just as a prototype of the different species that “correspond” to the human individuals’ life-trees and life-flowers (cf. pp. 54-55, 163).

In sum, once read “against” the myth, the figure in 10.120 gains in propositional depth. The “naturalization” of the body in dissolution turns out to be much more than a hyperbolic metaphor that rests on more or less incidental similarities: it reveals itself as part of a system of symbolic thought. To this, we shall return below (pp. 320 ff.). Meanwhile it should be noted that nowhere else in our text is it said with the same explicitness as here that the human body *is* or *becomes* a tree.

In section 12., the passage referring to the harmful agent which injures the womb (s. 12.131 note), namely

“chalam ñambi noccyen..., bułam ñambi noccyen”

alludes to the connection between fertility and the ‘flower’=womb, inasmuch as this passage is followed immediately by a section addressing the divine mother Kaliama. Her close association with florality par excellence, emergent in section 23., among others, is anticipated in section 13.:

“ñemadañ chebi..., dawadañ syarbai... Kaliama” =
 ‘Kaliama... growing with the sun... rising with the moon’,

which is the emblematic periphrasis (cf. pp. 286-290) applied both to Kaliama and to (botanical) species of flowers, as is the case in sections 51. and 55. for example...

⁶ One informant understood *tònbo*, lit. ‘indifferent’, ‘senseless’, instead of *dónbo*, ‘tree’, in the passage in question.

Section 15.: The enumeration of plants, providing incense and each connected with one of the elements of the “world landscape”, is the first step to anchor the floral and arboreal in a cosmic scheme. The cosmic perspective is extended to various further entities, thus in section 16.: (a) to the bombo’s ritual apparel; in sections 16.-19.: (b) to the most important ritual implements;⁷ and is, finally, treated in sections 20.-23. in terms of Origin and Time.

The creation myth

Our myth is not a comprehensive story of the origin of the world; it rather contents itself with focussing on the key-episteme of Life: florality-arboREALITY.

Section 20.: Total destruction of the old world. The vegetal life in the new world originates thanks to both heavenly and underground waters, and starts in section 21.: with the appearance of, first, the dubo grass (*tàbañ*) and, then, the *sùrjen* tree:

195 “... *tàbañ sombo chy* mandal nañdi ðhunnem,
 *tàbañ sombo ðhunnam yara ðamdam, ma*ra ðamdam cu:nem,
 luwa-buwa kena sùrjen dónbo ðhunnem,
 sùrjen dónbo ðhunna nañbai yiñle jara sombo khilnem,
 ma ni sombo kenem, hà:nga sòm chya:nem,
 mëndoi gyara chya:nem, mëndoi gombo chya:nem,
 mëndoi liñsye chya:nem, mëndoi kabu chya:nem,
 mëndoi brëbu ðhunnem.”

That is,

195 ‘...the living *dubo* grass originated in the round lake,
 as the living *dubo* grass originated,
 it grew densely above, densely below,
 as the downy hairs were born, the *sùrjen* tree originated,
 as the *sùrjen* tree originated, (its) living roots grew
 whirling in the underground sphere,
 (its) living trunk was born, (and on it) there were three
 branches, (and on these)
 there were hundreds of flowers, there were heaps of flowers,
 there were scores of flowers, there were buds of flowers,
 (and) the fruit of (from) the flower originated.’

What strikes one first is the order of phrases suggestive of a direct evolution of tree-ness out of grass-ness. The ‘birth of the downy hairs’ appears inserted, as if to mark the transition from grass to tree.⁸ One might also say that this transition remains in a sense hidden behind a downy-fuzzy-fluffy something of which it is not known to what it refers: to the hairiness of the flower or of the roots of either the grass or the tree, or yet again, to some sort of an archi-plant

7 The cosmic scheme in section 15. is repeated at full length and completed by (a) the pairs sun/day/light versus moon/night/(darkness), and (b) atmosphere versus underground sphere in section 17. (s. p. 105). On the whole, the static and spatial model here stands in a contrast to the dynamic, evolutionary model of the creation myth in sections 20.-23., as we shall see...

8 As already noted, ‘downy hairs’ (*luwa-buwa*) occurs in ritual texts as an essential part of both vegetal and animal organisms, cf. 14.135 note.

in-between the two? Whatever may be the case, the evolutionary sequence is represented in terms of synecdochic relationships: the *dubo* grass stands for all non-arborescent plants, and the *sürjen* tree, later completed by the *pe:ma gësere* tree (in section 23.), for trees in general; or the 'densely grew above/below' (= upwards/downwards) of the grass anticipates both the whirling growth of the roots of the tree *below* and the density of the innumerable flowers on the tree *above*. Supported by recurrent text modules, such synecdoches at the same time anticipate the next stages of the evolution, and the convergence/divergence, as manifest in these stages, may also be regarded as basically synecdochic operations: on the one hand, the two primordial trees converge in one Tree, namely the *pa:sam* (to be erected in the courtyard) symbolizing the patient's life-tree as a genus; on the other, these primordial trees diverge in all those botanical tree species, one of which is the individual life-tree/'life-beam' of the patient.

In the second part of 21.196, the vertical evolutionary sequence from roots to fruit is interrupted and gives way to a retardative amplification as manifest in a symploke: the fivefold occurrence of *mendo*, 'flower', and *chya:nem*, 'there was', furthermore the three quasi-synonymous words for 'multitude' vividly evoke the largeness of the Tree's crown repleted with flowers. Not only does this figure draw attention to the symbol that is central to the ritual as a whole, but it also anticipates those sections in which the *pa:sam* "tree", adorned with the flowers of the season and erected in the courtyard, will be extolled as *the* life-tree of the patient (cf. p. 243). Variants of the same symploke occur in several contexts, thus in 25., 58., 104. and 106. with direct reference to both the patient's life-tree and "flower", and in 51., 53. and 61. with indirect reference to the patient, namely as an emblematic periphrasis of the *cen* divinity supposed to do harm to the patient's floral-arboreal organism.

Let us now demonstrate how the mythical bird, the Khyuñ, – first mentioned in section 19. where it provides a pretext for interrupting an enumeration and beginning with, instead, the creation myth – serves as an actor (grammatical subject) integrating a number of adjectival and verbal modules into the myth. In section 22., the Khyuñ "retrocipates" the following modules from previous sections:

- from 11.126 (subject: *bombo*/lineage forefathers): 'find (here: tame) hundreds, thousands of the *si* and *ri* of the past', etc.; and 'find (here: tame) what does harm from the male and affinal side', etc.;
- from 12.129 (subject: *bombo*): 'find (here: tame) the *kharda-chobda*, the great *dobon*, the great *chyubon*, *syinbon*, *brá:bon*', etc.;
- from 17.149 (subject: *bombo*/his tutelary): 'take the whirlwind'.

At the same time, the Khyuñ also introduces, in section 22., some new modules that anticipate other occurrences or variants with partly other subjects in the subsequent sections, such as:

- in 38.294 (as a variation of 22.198 and 20.183): *sa mera kù thaluñ-milun jeppi noccyen* = 'the harmful agent which turns the nine (heaps of?) ash and dust topsyturvy', (the expression *thaluñ-milun* = 'topsyturvy' will occur four more times combined with the verbs 'to make' or 'to destroy' in 43.329, 80.651-653, 83.686 and 90.798);
- in 39.301 (as a variation of 22.203): *dursa kù nãñri dññbai noccyen* = 'the harmful agent which soars in the nine graves';
- in 43.329 (as a variation of 22.203): *nàmla mukpa sya:ñu, sala dursa gëlñu, syiwala khañsa... gëlñu... O Nãñsur Ma:bon!* = 'go and remove the clouds in the sky, go and destroy the grave on the earth,... the homestead of the dead... O Nãñsur Ma:bon!' (a variant of this module is repeated in 83.685-686); and
- in 43.334 (as a variation of 22.199 and 12.129): concerning the *kharda-chobda* (here: *kharda-chona*), the great *dobon* and *chyubon*, etc.

These few examples show how the validity of the truth-establishing creation myth is extended to farther contexts through "retrocipations" and anticipations plus their interweaving – sometimes even at the risk of resulting in stiff mannerism. Thus, the afore-mentioned module in 38.294:

'the harmful agent which turns the nine (heaps of?) ash and dust topsyturvy'

may be seen as a further elaboration on the cosmic dimension of Body and Illness in that it refers one back to the creation myth. Precisely by its recourse to the phraseology of sections 20. and 22., this module equates the power of the harmful agent to that of the divine helper and co-creator, the Khyuñ, and suggests in addition that the harmful agent's doings threaten the world order to the extent of bringing about a cataclysm like the one in the primordium.

Mother and Flower

Kaliama, the Divine Mother, is the most important protagonist for referring the myth to the floral-arboreal human organism. In section 13., she has already been approximated to a flower by the

'growing with (shining like) the sun,... rising with (shining like) the moon',

epithets which will be employed again to extol the beauty of flowers from section 51. onwards (s. pp. 320 ff.). Here, in the next part of the creation myth, namely in section 23., we find a double approximation. First, in line 209, Kaliama is suggestively presented as just one of the flowers covering the branches of the primordial *pe:ma gēsere* tree; then, in lines 210-211, she emerges as the "Flower", the Divine Womb or the Organ which generates and shapes the organs of the human body. (The double approximation owes its existence to the "homogeneizing" effect of the repeated *chya:nem*, the verbal predicate of both Kaliama and the flowers). The first approximation (Kaliama ≡ botanical flower), new here, thus provides a reading that explicates the second approximation (Kaliama ≡ "flower" [life-flower/womb]), executed, allusively though, in section 13. already.⁹

Flowers in holy water

A further explicating development takes place in sections 24. and 25. where the crisis assumes a dominant role in elaborating on the correspondences between Kaliama, Flower and Purity, on the one hand, and between the myth and the ritual, on the other.

- 214 "gaṅgai ḍupcyo nombā, syoṅgai ḍupcyo nombā,
 215 meṇdoi goṃbo chya:ba, meṇdoi liṅsye chya:ba, meṇdoi gyāra chya:ba,
 meṇdoi kabu chya:ba,
 216 meṇdoi jara khilba,
 217 cya:gi buṃba, sergi buṃba, ṅolgi buṃba, saṅgi buṃba,
 gaṅgai ḍupcyo nombā, syoṅgai ḍupcyo nombai sergi, saṅgi
 buṃba,
 218 da:bo, da:mola, lai leṅchyaḷa yaṛ bḷoṅba, maṛ bḷoṅba,
 tāsya, waṣya, laṅsyai ru:ri pho:ba thamjye silba,
 kebi ru:ri, ṅengi ru:ri pho:ba thamjye silba,
 thabsaṅ-syoḃsaṅ ru:ri pho:ba thamjye silba,
 karda, marda, thabsaṅ-syoḃsaṅ ru:ri pho:ba thamjye silba,

⁹ Lines 23.210-211 repeat, with slight variations, section 13., and it is perhaps not incidental that in the enumeration of the organs in the latter section, the word *meṇdo* is missing. Cf. also 67.557 and 109.1048 where the same epithets, 'growing with the sun...', etc., are applied to Kaliama.

sawai, ñalwai khari rụ:ri pho:ba thamjye silbai saᅅgi bumba,
 219 mị:i kuldap silba, mị:i ñendap silba, maᅅ gókpa, thànbi ñendap
 thamjye silbai saᅅgi bumba.”

While lines 215-216 “retrociate” the creation myth, lines 214 and 217 introduce new elements: it is here that ‘holy water’ (*ᅁupcyo*) and ‘jug’ (*bumba*) are mentioned for the first time. The suppression of the *-i* in *nomba(i)*, *chya:ba(i)* and *khilba(i)*, and a short pause in the actual recitation after *khilba* in line 216 allow for two different readings: lines 214-216 are either (a) verbal phrases grammatically independent from what follows in the rest of the section (217-219), or (b) an integral part of an emblematic periphrasis the sole grammatical subject of which is the **jug**. The first version (a) – spontaneously preferred, but later questioned by the informants – would read as follows:

“gaᅅgai ᅁupcyo, syoᅅgai ᅁupcyo nomba” =
 ‘(I) take the holy water of the mountain, take the holy water of the
 river’,

and

“meᅅdoi goᅅbo chya:ba, meᅅdoi liᅅsye chya:ba, meᅅdoi gyara chya:ba,
 meᅅdoi kabu chya:ba, meᅅdoi jara khilba” =
 ‘(put in the jug) there are heaps of flowers, there are scores of
 flowers, there are hundreds of flowers, there are buds of flowers,
 the roots of the flowers grow whirling’.

In this version (a), line 214 refers to the *bombo*’s ritual act of using the water in the jug for purifying the clients, while the symploke in lines 215-216 is a quotation in the present tense from the creation myth (cf. 21.196, 23.207-208). The combination of the three lines is to conjure up, as it were, an event from the myth, and to assert it to be as real or objectively as valid as what the *bombo* is actually doing in his clients’ presence. In other words, the parallelism between what is actually being *done* in manipulating the jug, and what is being *told* in 25.214 about the same manipulation of the jug is effective as a “proof”, and this “proof-effect” is, by way of irradiation¹⁰ into 25.215-216, likely to “prove” the reality of the creation myth, too.

The second version (b) in which lines 214-216 are part of an emblematic periphrasis of the jug, reads as follows:

‘the copper... jug (which) takes [= receives/contains] the holy water from
 the mountain,... (in which) there are heaps of flowers,... scores of flowers,...
 (in which) the flowers’ roots grow whirling,... (the water in the jug) which
 washes off whatever has been affected by the impurity’, etc...

¹⁰ The “proof-effect” and its irradiation are close to the device of paralognism or verisimilitude. cf. Tedlock’s (1983: 159 ff.) comments on Zuni tale-telling.



Fig. 8. The *humba*.

These two versions mutually reinforce, rather than exclude, each other. The suppression of the suffix *-i* in *khilba(i)* (line 216) allows for a literal quotation from the myth, and it is thanks to the momentary amphibology that the approximation of the jug to the primordial scenery receives a double emphasis. The confusion *khilba(i)* has caused is “corrected” in line 217 which repeats line 214, but this time without crasis (*gəŋgai... dʊpɕyo nombai... bumba*).

The structural “looseness” at its onset (lines 214-216) is also made good by the density of – anaphoric or cataphoric, explicating or implicating – references in the second part of the emblematic periphrasis. For example, the hyperbolic assertion that the jug is of iron, gold, silver and copper (while in reality there is only one jug used in the ritual) is an anaphoric reference to the protective bracelet *pənja ranna* mentioned in the preceding section (24.213). Traditionally, this bracelet contains the five metals (iron, gold, silver, copper and brass) known for their magic protective powers. So the hyperbole is to “explain” that purification is also protection, and vice versa, protection is also purification. It “explains” why the protective power (*raqwa, le:dap, chamjo*) of the special bracelet has a purifying effect, too: because the jug, the utensil for purification, is “made” of the same metals; and it also “explains” that precisely due to these metals, the water in the jug possesses a protective power.¹¹

To sum up, both the amphibology resulting from the crasis and the interweaving of text modules in the present section illustrate how the text can be endowed with a persuasive potential. By establishing the approximations

water in the jug \equiv holy water \equiv primordial water (the origin of primordial vegetation, hence) flowers in the jug \equiv primordial vegetation, etc.

it is “proved” that the *bombo* actually manipulates the jug by virtue of the mythical *urstiftung*, and it is anticipated that this manipulation is to have a direct bearing on the patient’s floral organism in general, and “flower” in particular. It must be borne in mind that the purification with holy water and the tying of the protective thread (*koldo*, asserted to be equivalent to the bracelet made of the five metals) constitute two particularly important acts of the ritual (s. sections 105.-107.).

Life-tree, life-beam

The focus is then shifted from florality, predominant in sections 23.-25., to arboreality. In section 27., new terms and new approximations are introduced: it is here that the terms *kedañ sali dʊñma* = *pa:sam* (the material symbol of the life-tree) and *ro.dʊñma* = ‘life-beam’ appear for the first time, and as it emerges from the text, these two kinds of *dʊñma* are approximated: *kedañ* \equiv *ro.dʊñma*.¹² A further parallelism between *kedañ* (as *dʊñma*) and the two primordial

11 It is not a coincident that the act of purifying the clients with holy water is immediately followed by the act of tying the protective thread (*koldo*, euphemistically equated to the bracelet of five metals) around the client’s wrist, s. sections 106. and 107. – Compare also section 25. with sections 9., 24. and 106., in particular. Thus, in 25.218-219, the only new module (to be re-used in 37.281 below) is *məñ gókpa, thànbi ñəndap thamjye* = ‘all bad dreams, harming charms (which are the cause) of the *thànba* (illness)’. The rest is in part a slightly modified quotation from 9.108-109 and 9.102., and in part a paraphrasis of 24.213. This paraphrasis amounts to “saying the same in other and more words”. That is, seen apart from the obscure *khàwa*, 24.213 is explicating by 25.218-219 in that the latter enumerates in detail the sources and/or kinds of impurities which the former mentions rather summarily: the ‘defilement-damage (caused by way) of the childbirth-pollution’ (*barjye, ke:nen*) is now told to result from ‘whatever has been affected by the impurity of childbirth’ (*kebi ru:ri pho:ba thamjye*); and the ‘magic arrow’ and the ‘harming charm’ now turn out to stem from humans (*mj:i kuldap, mj:i ñəndap*), etc.

12 Cf. pp. 310-312 above. – The term *dʊñma* replaces here *dónbo*, ‘tree’, and *mə*, ‘trunk’, that were used in the creation myth.

trees, is only alluded to here; their approximation shall be made explicit much later in sections 58. and 104. (s. pp. 321 ff.) where

kedañ/pa:sam ≡ {
 the 'flower of the *cen*'
 the 'life-beam' (*ro.duñma*) of
 the patient
 the primordial trees
 Kaliama the Divine Mother

From figure to symbol

Sections 51.-77. make up what is called “the incense-recitation for the *cen*” (*cengi sañrap*), and it should be recalled that this part of the text is linked with an important ritual act, namely the identification of the particular *cen* which has caused the trouble. I shall first concentrate on two strategies emergent in the metonymic and metaphoric operations: (a) *particularization* which implies a propensity for individualizing and concretizing, as manifest in the naming of species or individuals, and in the focus on the material or object world; and (b) *condensation* which aims at a “fusion” of the concrete with the imaginary, the external world of nature with the internal world of the human body, the symbolizing with the symbolized.¹³

Let us first briefly review a few passages preceding the “incense-recitation for the *cen*”: Thus in 41.313, the phrase

'has (the soul) been carried off to the place of a harmful agent which soars near various flowers, scores of flowers, the nine multitudes of flowers?'

anticipates the search for the *cen* (who is believed to dwell in flowers). A little further, the oracle in 46.359 first states that actually the patient's 'flower' (life-flower, womb-flower?) is injured and diagnoses, then, in 48.367-368

'the magic of a *cen* which eats various flowers...'

as one of the causes of the trouble.

These three passages may be seen as the first steps towards locating the particular within the general, towards applying the symbolic sceneries of myth, ritual act and spiritual anatomy – stereoscoped, as it were, by re-referencings – to an individual case. What strikes one first in sections 51.-77. is that the enumeration of flower species is resorted to in order to identify not just the particular *cen* divinity, but also that botanical species which “corresponds” to the patient's individual 'life-flower' and/or 'life-beam'.

Section 51. starts with enumerating categories of flowers which, from section 53. on, are specified: about forty species of plants and trees are mentioned and interwoven, here again, with modules “retroicipating” the primordial vegetation and/or bearing on the floral anatomy of humans. The strategy of condensation becomes effective in sections 51. and 53. already, where the botanical species are addressed as

- 'flowers of the *cen*' (abode of/controlled by/adorning the *cen*);
- 'flowers lovely like the *cen*' (reminiscent of the belief that flowers

13 For a lucid analysis of the Kham Magar shaman as an agent of particularization, whose task is to “connect” words with objects in such a way that his recitation obtains a relevance for the particular situation of the patient, cf. de Sales 1985, I: 314 ff.

- are the jewels of the *cen*); and
 – ‘flowers which provide the boon (for the fertility of the womb),...’.

The condensation is further enhanced by the respectful greeting *chya: jalo* which, as suggested by its position, is addressed to the botanical species, too. As confirmed by further occurrences, for example in 55.448-452 (cf. also 54., 61., 66. and 68.), through this prosopopoeia, the three aspects *botanical flower + symbolic-metaphoric flower (life-flower/womb) + cen/Kaliama* become almost fused or at least blurred into one another.

The second strategy, particularization, reverses the progression hitherto pursued. As may be recalled, the text started with the ‘flower’ as a metaphor and as the symbolized with reference to anatomy (section 10.), it then went on to the botanical flower as a genus and as an (imaginary) element of the primordial vegetation (sections 21.-23.), and, finally, to the botanical flower as a genus and as a concrete (physically present) specimen placed in the jug (section 25.). In the sections (51. ff.) under consideration here, the progression takes place in the reverse order: (a) the transition from nature to supernature, from the botanical flowers to the divine florality of the *cen*, corresponds to a transition from the symbolizing to the symbolized; (b) at the same time, the general is replaced by the particular: names of species of plants and names of individual *cen*. It should be pointed out that the botanical species undergo a further concretizing by being projected on to the real landscape: not only are the flowers located in their respective biotopes, such as valley, upland, etc., but their enumeration is interspersed with the enumeration of places in connection with the ritual journey that starts in section 58. from the house of the patient.¹⁴

The more the text elaborates on the concreteness of the flowers the more the character of The Flower as the merely symbolizing is stressed, while the condensation, along with re-referencings¹⁵, gradually enriches this Flower with symbolized content. It is here, in sections 51.-77., that the transformation of the metaphoric link *flower ≈ life-flower/womb* into a genuine symbolic relationship, the transfiguration of the sense-image¹⁶ Flower into a religious symbol reaches its climax. This is achieved in that an element of the object world is treated in such a way that while it gains in material presence, it at the same time comes to stand for a whole nexus of associations centred around ideas such as Life, Motherhood, Health, Purity, etc.

Section 58. provides perhaps the most illustrative example of how such a nexus is constructed by operations mutually completing each other, such as explicating what has already been implicit, elaborating on what has already been anticipated, equating what has already been approximated or set into parallel, and condensating to the effect that the hitherto disparate appears interconnected.

“mràbgi la Gòmoyi Rá:ja, sai la Temba Cuñne,
 nàmgi la Gormen Đólmo, đoi la Đobon Chyembo,
 đạ:mò ñiñla kha keppa, lị: keppa, ro keppa, so keppa, bụ: keppa,
 luñdañ bảrba, luñdañ keppa, ñemadañ cheba, đạwadañ
 syarba(i) kedañ sali đụñma,

475 đạ:moi ro.đụñma, đạ:moi ñàrgyal chebi ro.đụñma,
 cengi mendo,

14 Strictly speaking, this ritual journey starts from the altar referred to in section 50. already.

15 Needless to demonstrate in detail how the floral landscape, as displayed in the intercutting of biotopes and the stages of the ritual journey, is made to refer back to the sceneries of the creation myth and the jug with the flowers stuck into it. Cf. also 53.432 and 61.493 where the modules originally describing the mass of flowers on the branches of the primordial tree, now appear converted into epithets of the *cen*.

16 Leach (1981: 14-17 ff.) prefers “sense-image” to “sound-image” in order to extend de Saussure’s notion to non-verbal communication. – By “religious symbol” I understand an object or image which not only refers to, but also represents, what it stands for.

khàwadañ bappi mendo, jyinlap tembi mendo chya:jalò!
 jara somboi le:dap, ma ni sòmgi [sic] le:dap, hà:nga sòmgi le:dap,
 mendoi gyara(i) le:dap, mendoi gombo(i) le:dap, mendo
 liñsyè(i) le:dap [syùkhajyi (?)].”

That is,

- 'O god of the door, Gòmosi Rá:ja, god of the floor (earth),
 Temba Cuñne,
 god of the ceiling (sky), Gòmèn Dólmo, god of the courtyard,
 Dòbon Chyembo,
 O *kedañ sali*-beam (which) gives birth to the mouth, gives birth
 to the body, gives birth to the life-principle, gives birth to
 the vital principle, gives birth to the breath,
 (which) makes the respiration (?) expand, gives birth to
 the respiration (?) of the dear mistress,
 (O *kedañ sali*) growing with the sun (shining like the sun?),
 rising with the moon (shining like the moon?),
 475 O life-beam of the mistress, life-beam which makes the mistress's
 arrogance grow,
 flower of the *cen*,
 flower descending with the snow (falling like the snow?),
 flower which provides the boon, hail!
 [I have come to ask for (?)] support for the living roots,
 support for the three trunks [sic], support for the three
 branches, support (for) the hundreds of flowers, support (for)
 the heaps of flowers, support (for) the scores of flowers.'

Notice, first, the interconnections:

- (473:) god of the courtyard (in which the symbolic life-tree = *pa:sam* shall be erected);
- (474:) the vital organs and functions of the patient, which are produced (*keppa*) by
- the life-tree (*kedañ/pa:sam*) which is identical with
- (475:) the patient's 'life-beam' (*ro.duñma*, which as a tree brings forth the flower which, in turn, is)
- (476:) the flower of the *cen* (and, in turn, is)
- (477:) the flower which bestows life-generating boon (and which grows on the tree alias 'life-beam' = *ro.duñma* alias life-tree = *kedañ* alias primordial tree with its)
- (478:) roots, trunk, three branches and innumerable flowers blossoming.

The nexus is also laterally widened by applying the epithet 'growing with the sun, rising with the moon' to both the life-tree and the 'life beam' – an epithet of the divine mother Kaliama and the botanical species (cf. 13.134, 23.211, etc. and 51.420 respectively). In sum, the section reaffirms what has already been affirmed by several anticipations and implications, namely the metonymic ties between 'tree' and 'flower' in all their connotations and contexts, on the one hand, and those between the primordial scenery, the actual ritual and the patient's body, on the other. Obviously, the nexus is now tight enough to allow for omitting the 'life-flower' and the '(womb-)flower' in the enumeration of the vital organs...

In addition to nexus-tightening, the prosopopoeia proves to be a particularly powerful device for symbolic construction. Its role in the strategy of condensation has already been dealt with above. It can also be resorted to as a means of particularization: whatever it “personalizes” is likely to become individualized and thus tractable as a partner for interaction. Turning the referent into an addressee also contributes to endowing it with external authority. Rather than a mere literary convention, the personification is part of a rhetoric objectification, and it serves as a persuasive tool, for, as the text amply demonstrates, the *bombo* aims at altering the state of the ‘flowers’ in the human organism by exerting influence on both the divinities who control these ‘flowers’ and the botanical species which “correspond” to these ‘flowers’.

It is interesting to see how the prosopopoeia is likely to unfurl its persuasive potential. For example, while the *cen* is addressed in the imperative mood right from section 51. onward, the personification of the botanical species remains, first, at the level of what may be called an “in-vocative” mood, as is manifest in the flowers being greeted. It is only much later, in section 104., that the botanical species, too, is approached in the imperative in that the materialization of the life-tree or ‘life-beam’, the *pa:sam* (which has just been erected in the courtyard), is enjoined as follows:

“sala sabsyi amai khari jara sombo khilñu, ma ni sombo keñu,
 hà:nga sòm chya:go, mendoï gyara chya:go, mendoï (luwa-)bùwa
 chya:go, mendoï liñsyè chya:go, mendoï gombo chya:go!,
 sala kebi ðunma, nàmla charbi ðunma...”.

That is,

‘go and grow whirling O living roots in the mother earth, go and be born O
 living trunk,
 may there be the three branches, may there be the hundreds of
 flowers, may there be the downy hairs of flowers, may there be the
 scores of flowers, may there be the heaps of flowers!,
 O beam being born in the earth, O beam thriving in the sky...’.

The blurring of the (grammatical) subjects or objects into one another, which has been initiated by the prosopopoeia in particular, may also result from the indeterminacy of a referent. For example, certain occurrences of the word *dq:mo* = ‘mistress’, an honorific term applied to both female divinities and the woman patient, make it often difficult for the listener to decide at once as to whom it refers. This is the case, e. g., in 68.562-565 with regard to the *cen* and the patient. Obviously, such blurrings and identity fluxes further widen the depth of focus on *Mendo* (Flower) to wake up to what is part of the doctrinal knowledge: the particular *mendo* owned by the patient is the *mendo* owned and controlled by the *cen*, which, in turn, implies a kind of correspondence between external nature (botanical species), internal nature (‘life-beam’, ‘life-flower’, ‘[womb-]flower’) and supernature (*cen*, etc.).

Back to figure?

We have seen how different strategies intersect and interpenetrate each other in order to tighten a nexus of associations to the extent of suggesting a oneness of thing, thought and word. One is prompted to ask how this fusing process can be developed any further. In this regard, a passage recited long after the sections hitherto discussed seems to deserve our attention. In 108.1046 we have an enumeration of flowers:

“phu: gaŋgai mendo, pe:ma sali mendo, pe:ma dapgi mendo,
 gorjawali mendo, khaima-khaijyuñ mendo, ser-gúlgul mendo,
 byúru sali mendo, tàbañ sali mendo, pañsañ-lúgu sali mendo,
 chyuden-dérmo mendo, ñema sali mendo, dáwa sali mendo,
 gañser, hoşer mendo, khàwai mendo, da:moi ro.mendo,
 ro.mendo mendo[da] le:dap soño Dìnjyen Phamo!”

That is,

‘Ensure support, O Dìnjyen Phamo, (for) the flower of the upland,
 the *pe:ma sali* flower, the *pe:ma dapgi* flower,
 the *gorjawali* flower, the *khaima-khaijyuñ* flower,
 the *ser-gúlgul* flower, the *byúru sali* flower,
 the *tàbañ sali* flower, the *pañsañ-lúgu sali* flower,
 the *chyuden-dérmo* flower, the *ñema sali* flower,
 the *dáwa sali* flower, the *gañser*, the *hoşer* flower,
 the flower of the snow, the life-flower,
 the **flower of the life-flower** of the mistress!’

The enumeration of botanical species ends with *dáwa sali mendo*; the subsequent *gañser mendo* and *hoşer mendo* are probably mere metaphoric names adumbrating the sunlight-like brilliance of any flower; and *khàwai mendo* obviously refers to the potential of any flower to provide boon (*khàwa*) (s. 108.1046 notes). The shift from the concrete and particular to the metaphoric and general (from *dáwa* to *khàwa*) is, then, followed by a shift to the metaphoric and particular with reference to the human body: ‘the life-flower of the mistress’. But how should one interpret the last member of the enumeration, namely ‘the flower of the life-flower’ (*ro.mendo mendo*)? SB regarded the adding of *mendo* to *ro.mendo* as a pleonasm, whereas SR did not find it necessary to make any emendments. Correct or wrong (from the viewpoint of an original authorial intention and/or the doctrinal knowledge), since this formulation was used on the spot it appears expedient to examine it as such.

If it is not a pleonasm, the word *mendo* may perhaps be interpreted as referring to that particular botanical species which corresponds to the individual ‘life-flower’ of the patient. If, by contrast, it is a pleonasm and its occurrence cannot thus be justified by doctrinal knowledge, it may still make sense from the pragmatic viewpoint in that – just like some other figural patterns – it leaves open the question as to what is the religious truth and what the “merely poetic” operation in the text. Pleonasm or not pleonasm – the formulation may be seen as a metafigural figure which furnishes a rectification of what may be thought or felt to be implied in the *mendo*-ness of both the ‘life-flower’ and the ‘(womb-)flower’. It tends to denounce the symbolic, built up in sections 51.-77., as a purely metaphoric and metonymic construct. It is as if *mendo mendo*, ‘flower of the flower’, were to refer one back to the concrete, to the botanical, and to warn against a “substantialistic superstition” that would mistake the (material) symbol for the symbolized and believe in their being fused, since what connects the two – flower and ‘flower’ – is just a certain grade of homology, rather than identity. It is as if this sudden shift back to the concrete asserted a tautology: ultimately, the connection consists merely by virtue of the fact that it is a connection at all – a tautology which, at the same time, betrays one’s helplessness in realizing that nothing can bring to one’s mind the symbolized better than the symbolizing, i.e., that what stands for it out there in the material world with its masses, shapes and colours. The term *mendo* thus turns out to be just a shorthand – but still the best one – for what thousands of words, dozens of images and their manifold interweavings attempt to circumscribe: something ultimately as unspecific as is florality-arboREALITY. And to recognize the term *mendo* as a shorthand for much more than just the botanical phenomenon is, of course.

also to recognize its autonomy as a figural construct.¹⁷ One is reminded of the fact, banal as it may sound, that the thing Flower provides just another *name* for what *is called* 'life-flower' (metaphor) or what *is called* 'life-beam' (metonymy).

17 As Todorov (1971: 50 f.) remarks, to call a ship *navire* is to annihilate both the object and the word, while calling it, say, *voile* is to make our glimpse cling to the word. The same glimpse which kills Eurydice gives life to the figure – which is a beautiful reformulation of the well-known Jakobsonian thesis that poeticity is present whenever the word is felt as a word, and not as a mere representation of the object being named.

5. Conclusion

Metonymy and metaphor

The first thing which strikes the student of the text is the verbosity of the *bombo*. Evolutions from the less to the more alternate with regressions from the more to the less, and explicating operations may be preceded or followed by, or intertwined with, implicative operations. Basically, all these operations are metonymic or metaphoric ones. The first characteristic to be noticed is their interdependence. While metonymies are bound to observe “natural” limits (not everything can be part of everything else), metaphors live on the free interchangeability of things (virtually anything can be projected on to anything else) and are capable of converging what is empirically disparate. On the one hand, the metaphor sets in where the metonymy has reached its limits, while on the other, the metaphor itself rests on a synecdochic link and is thus also a metonymic operation in the last analysis.¹⁸

There is a second characteristic to be stressed. As we have seen, many of these metonymic and metaphoric figures are textual ones in the sense that both the (metonymic) “series connection” and the (metaphoric) interpenetration of images owe their existence to the movement “across” the text as a texture resulting from “re-referencings”, *prosopopoeia* and the like. In addition to this movement which creates them, both metaphors and metonyms create a movement within themselves. The inner dynamics of metonymic operations, as manifest in what we have termed the “hesitation between the parts and the whole”, has already been pointed out. The inner dynamics of the metaphor, by contrast, is not as demonstratively “performed” by our text as that of the metonymy; it remains hidden in the tension inherent in the metaphor’s very nature.

Our text suggests a plea for a synthesis of two theories of metaphor: the interactional and the synecdochical one.¹⁹ There is a metonymic relationship inside the metaphor, namely between the substituting and the substituted elements, inasmuch as the latter remains “virtually present” as Jallat (1975: 173 f.) notes. One may elaborate on her idea by stating that the metaphoric substitution is by necessity incomplete precisely because of the incongruity it implies: Given the virtual presence of the substituted (which we automatically associate when “reading” a metaphor), the operation does not fully replace the latter; the metaphor is not a static image, it rather tends to be experienced as a process in which the substituting is projected over the substituted in such a way that the latter still gleams through the former. If one calls the genitals of a female a ‘flower’, it is a concrescence of two images one produces mentally, a concrescence which is irritatingly anomalous, since it is – after all – just a thin link of common properties, that “holds together” two things which are otherwise distinct. What is common to both is stressed to excess so that it ignores or supplants the differences for a while. (The metaphor is more a “synattribution” than a simple substitution). At the same time, it is precisely to this irritation that the metaphor owes all its power, for the tension built-in prompts an oscillatory movement between the substituting and the substituted and thus facilitates the experience of what lies

18 Classical rhetorics treats the synecdoche as a particular form of metonymy, while for de Man (1988: 96, 114 f.) it is a marginal figure between metonymy and metaphor.

19 While Jakobson stresses the epistemological incompatibility between metaphor and metonymy, others (a) maintain that what is metaphoric in one context may be metonymic in another (Selden 1989: 371 ff.), or (b) regard the metaphor not as a substitution, but as a double synecdoche resulting from intersecting semes (Dubois et al. 1974: 176 ff.), or, (c) yet again, assert that when we use metaphor we have two thoughts of different things active together and supported by a single word or phrase whose meaning is a resultant of this interaction (Ducrot and Todorov 1987: 275 ff.).

between the two: the unnamed. It is partly in this sense that Paul Valéry calls the metaphor (and the figure in general) an “event”.²⁰

Interim constructs

Conspicuously, the *ḥombo*'s verbosity lacks a hierarchy of arguments. His evolutions and regressions, his meticulous distinctions and blurring projections avoid naming the “essential”, the “core-formula”. The listener is guided, back and forth, to pathways which are often landslided by seemingly alien materials and yet on the whole follow circular lines of “telling”, just like in a labyrinth of mirrors with no centre and no exit. The verb *dj̄nba*, lit. ‘to soar’, ‘to hover’, describing the *ḥombo*'s own movement across the double grid of the ritual journey and the enumeration of names, provides a good illustration of this specificity of the shamanic discourse as a whole.

As recognized by Paul Valéry already, in poetic discourse there always remains something unverbalizable, something we can only approach, encircle and “make feel” through a plurality of words and images, but never reduce, as it were, to a subsuming formulation, to what he called *l'informe*, *la non-figure* or *l'innommable*. This non-figure is the referent without symbol, the “thing” without name, of which we only have a vision but no abstraction.²¹ The verbosity is indeed one of the chief characteristics of Valéry's “Dionysian language”. Precisely the incoherence resulting from applying dissimilar images enables Dionysus to have a better command of the unity his eyes perceive only dimly. The things he aims at are inexpressible, and so he tells just what they are *not* by means of countless names “less the proper” (*moins le propre*).²² The “proper” thus lies in the intervals: it is in between the names and figures, rather than inscribed in, or described by, them. Gregory Bateson (1973) means the same when he states that a work of art is never “about” just one signified, but rather “about” the manifold relationships between a whole range of possible signifieds.

The circulation in the labyrinth of the *ḥombo*'s text, its progressions from figure to figure, corresponds to Valéry's concept of *latéralité*. This laterality, the very dimension of the *non-figure*, results from what Jallat (1975: 171 ff.) calls the “metonymization of metaphors” at the discourse level. In short, single metaphoric operations are not fitted together in a suprasyntagmatic synthesis, traditionally called allegory; rather, they turn out to be related metonymically, each being a metonymy of another metaphor which is, in turn, a metonymy of a third metaphor, etc. This effects a “metonymic escape” in that one is being constantly referred to the next metonymy – and thus to the implicit which cannot be contained but in the “plural” of names and connotations, that is, in the intervals between the latter. There is no need to demonstrate how far this is valid for the *ḥombo*'s text, too...

All that is figural in our text, especially the metaphor with its tension built-in, is to be regarded as “interim constructs”²³ of which one cannot know in advance if they just “compress”, “solidify” pseudo-evidences by way of poetification or if they are capable of generating individual

20 Cf. Jallat 1982: 57 f., and also Jallat 1975: 164, 173 ff. – Dubois et al. 1974: 39 ff. put forward a similar argument without stressing the oscillation. however: a metaphor cannot be perceived as such unless it refers to both the “original” and the figurative meaning. Rather than the deviation alone, it is the norm-deviation relationship which makes up style.

21 Cf. Jallat 1982: 19-30 ff., and also Jallat 1975: 163.

22 Quoted in Jallat 1975: 178.

23 “Interim construct” is a term applied by Blumenberg (1986: 405) to metaphor in natural science: metaphors on the structure of matter, etc. render the world “readable”; once recognized as such, they problematize themselves and serve as a device for screening what is necessary as heuristic venture in them and what is irresponsible as a mere suggestion imposed by their endo-figural logic – until they are dismantled by the progress of theory.

experience that is felt as authentic in the sense of imposing itself as an experience of objective truth. In any case, such constructs tend to become virulent in situations of strain precisely because of their indispensability, *faute de mieux*, as heuristic problem-solving strategies. As a metaphor or metonymy, *Mendo* (Flower) cannot do more than to pretend to be capable of making the patient's subjectivity tractable and thinkable by mediating, as Michael Jackson puts it, a transference from the area of greatest stress, the body, to a neutral area in the external world, and by suggesting that the latter is an "objective correlative" of the former.²⁴

We are led to the conclusion that to formulate any sense or meaning, the interpreter (the Tamang informant and in a sense the ethnographer, too) simply continues what the text itself is doing, namely "saying the same with other words", adding further figures to those already in the text, adding further permutations to its paraphrases and periphrases, quoting from other texts or other rituals – with less organizational discipline than the text itself does, but perhaps with all the more freedom in making bits of it relevant for one's own situation as an individual. This is not to take the extremist stand and suggest that a text can mean anything you like. It is simply to recall that there is a relatively wide range of possible understandings within one and the same culture, and that the meaning these understandings try to formulate ultimately consist in references to what remains unsaid. The impossibility of reducing all these figural formulations of meaning to a "meaning of meanings" (to alienate the title of a well-known book), to a formula that could claim to be exclusively valid and perfect in its "coverage" – as ought to be the ideal allegoresis in traditional exegesis – refers to a realm beyond that of language and verbality. If there is anything like a "meaning of meanings" of intersubjective validity, it is a psychological, or better, a psycho-somatic reality. Whether accessible to exegesis or obscurely playful, the figural appears to be designed as part of that nomination and ordering which "speak directly to the body": it is not the mind, but the body which should take metaphors literally, to paraphrase Bourdieu (1989: 13) writing on Kafka.

It is perhaps his awareness of this non-subsumability of the figural which accounts for the bombo's evasiveness and resorting to anecdotes or even to word-by-word quotations from his own texts when pressed hard to try some sort of a pre-exegesis for the ethnographer. The same awareness lies, at any rate, at the root of the bombo's verbosity: one can never say enough to seize enough. It even explains, partly at least, his option for executing the text as a musical ritual drama. Verbal figurality can only be further completed by the figural repertory of other media, additionally concretized in the symbolic gestures and even made to assume some more reality in the emotional response to musical sound.²⁵

24 Cf. Jackson (1983) who in a particularly stimulating essay on "poetry as therapy" argues that critical situations are likely to activate anthropomorphic catacreses as metaphors that are to effect a double transformation, namely (a) a shift "from the domain of individual anatomy to the comparatively neutral domain of landscape", and (b) a "scale reduction" in which the individual body and its objectification are "made to assume the same proportions" (Jackson 1983: 141). For Kapferer (1983: 233 ff.), healing is produced by relating the patient's subjective identity with the experience of [normal, healthy] others, i.e., by making the patient's experience meaningful by reference to the outer world. On the shifting of "domains of experience" through the manipulation of images in Nepalese shamanism cf. also Desjarlais 1989; and on the theme of activation of metaphors s. Bellman's (1983: chapter 7) excellent analysis of Poro initiation ritual. – As a contrast, Susan Sontag's theses on "illness as metaphor" may also be recalled here: for her, the healthiest way to be ill is to break away from a thinking in metaphors (Sontag 1989: 5).

25 The process through which the essentially digital code of language becomes completed by the analogical code of symbolic gestures (dance, manipulation of objects and bodies) and musical articulation resembles what Antonin Artaud saw in the *rapprochement* between the verbal and the "spatial" languages in theatre: through the specific articulation and the use of gestures, the verbal becomes concretized, the signified (always likely to be supplanted by a purely verbal medium) gains in autonomy and is more readily grasped; the words – sounds stressed, vibrating, pounded to trodden rhythms – are thus relinked to those physical movements which have given them birth (Todorov 1971: 213 ff.). – For an excellent anthropological interpretation of multimediality in healing rituals cf.

To conclude, it is the aesthetic, not the religious as belief, which seems to provide the basis for the intersubjectivity of experience. The (re)production of the text by the *bombo* and its reception by the client are grounded in the same experience, namely in that of the inadequacy of the sign-object relationship which Jakobson (1979) showed to be the very *raison d'être* of poetics. This is not to deny the existence of a demand for meaning, quite the contrary; it is to presume that what is decisive for the effectiveness of the recitation, and the ritual as a whole, is not the access to an "exact" meaning of the terms and symbols, but the order, combination and variation in which single terms and symbols can be experienced, – both consciously and subliminally.

Valéry's *ars poetica* applies admirably to the *bombo*'s work as an artist-curer: One should not seek for the truth, but cultivate those forces and organizations which create it.²⁶ This is precisely what the Tamang *bombo* is doing when *performing* his recitation, when he makes music speak and language sing or dance, to quote Valéry once again.²⁷

Kapferer 1983. Cf. also Holmberg 1989: 133 on the relationship between language and non-verbal action in the Tamang context.

26 In Jallat's (1982: 32) rendering: "...il faut non pas chercher la 'vérité' mais 'cultiver les forces et les organisations' qui la font".

27 "... faire parler la musique et chanter ou danser le langage" (Hytier 1953: 121).

APPENDIX I

The origins of the *mar lamda* rite¹

The following version of the myth was told² and explained by Léksare Bombo. It deals with the confrontation between two spirits (alternately called *mán* or *syimo*) by the names of Thorgyap Bõn and Dõnsor Bõn/Dõnsor Bõn, on the one hand, and four human bombo, on the other. (In another version, Thorgyap and Dõnsor/Dõnsor occur as the ghosts of two young men who once starved to death and now live in a forest “without paths, without fire, without food”).

*

One night, attracted by the light of an oil-lamp, Thorgyap and Dõnsor (enter the village and lurk around the house in which three bombo are busy worshipping the gods (*la*) (who are present) in the altar (*brañge*). “We have no *chyoppa* (offering to the gods)”, remarks one (of the two spirits), and in order to get a share they sneak closer to the door, snatch and eat the *syoccy*³ (offering to the spirits) the three bombo have thrown through the window. (The same happens in the next night, but) in the third night, one of the two spirits persuades his companion, who is at first reluctant, that they should both sneak into the house (and make an attempt to climb the altar where the *chyoppa* for the gods is displayed). He says: “If the gods cannot see us, then they are no gods, and we can test this by trying to make their disciples weep”. And behold!, they actually succeed in doing so. The three bombo stop sobbing only after the two spirits have withdrawn to the courtyard. “What’s wrong, what’s the matter?”, the three bombo wonder. (The gods, of course, did perceive the two spirits, in contrast to the bombo, as Léksare added later).

Inside the house again, the two spirits sidle up to the first bombo from behind and break off his long hairlock (*ralbo*) which turns out to be of millet-dough! Then they mount the back of the second bombo (with the same result because) his *ralbo*, too, is of millet-dough.... Dazzled by the success, the two grope their way to the (third, fourth?) bombo, Lemba, – but as his *ralbo* is of iron, the attempt fails. Lemba, now aware of the presence of some spirits, shouts “*syott!*”, and the two spirits land in the courtyard. Lemba mumbling (*lemba* = mute, dumb): “Come on!”, and as the two spirits sneak in again to get hold of the *tormos* (= both the bodies of, and offerings to, the gods), he in vain tries to smash them with his drum. (He fails to hit them, since they are invisible, but) as he shouts “*syott!*”, the two are hurled out of the house again. Lemba (provoking them afresh) mumbles: “Come on!”, and this time the “*syott!*” hurls them back at the moment they pop their heads in from the threshold. (Later, Léksare added a detail he had omitted: Lemba, the mute bombo, chases the two spirits, hitherto invisible, into the altar, *brañge*, on which – as usual – an oil lamp is kept burning, and it is in the light of the lamp that he gets a glimpse of Dõnsor standing upright amidst the offerings).

1 Cf. sections 97.-98. and 102.-103.

2 I render it in the present tense and neglect the prosodic features of the narration.

3 *chyoppa* = *chyoccy* ? < Tib. *m̄chod-byed*, ‘offerings’, ‘libations’ (Das 1970: 439); *syoccy* ? < MT *syott!*, the exclamation for driving away spirits and ghosts, cf. 32.262 note. As a rule, a *chyoccy* is given in three separate portions and consists of fresh food; a *syoccy*, by contrast, is given in one portion and consists of stale food, i.e., left-overs in cooking pots.

Since then the *bombo* has had to perform the *mar lamda* rite in enjoining the spirits and ghosts: “Go to that corner where the ‘lower crossroads’ are!” This, too, was “fixed” (*damlata:ba*) by Urgyen Pe:ma (Padmasambhava).

*

(1) When, some time later, I confronted him with a second, formal, i.e., recited, version recorded from Chyamba *Bombo*, Léksare made some further comments:

(a) As this second version has it, the four *bombos* are identical with the Four Primordial *Bons* (*bön syf:*) who, unable to manage the two spirits, call Lemba for help. Léksare: No, the *bombos* (in his version) are not the Four Primordial ones, rather they deal with the gods in the altar (*bränge*) of the Four Primordial *Bons*. (Any altar of the *bombos* in our days is identified with the altar(s) of these four mythical *bombos*, s. pp. 21-22, 31).

(b) Who are Thorgyap *Bön* and *Dõnsor Bön*, and why are they called *bön* = *bombo*? Whether *Dõnsor/Dõnsor Bön* is identical with the *Dõnsur Bön* of the *yar lamda* myth (s. Appendix II) could not be ascertained convincingly, but at any rate, three informants, including Léksare, denied their being one and the same person. Léksare could provide no explanation for the word “*bön*” in the names of Thorgyap and *Dõnsor*, while Chyamba’s version clearly suggests that the epithet “*bön*” is applied to them because they, as a kind of helper-spirits whose role as such was “fixed” by Urgyen Pe:ma, do the work of *dërku:ba* for, or together with, the officiating *bombo*: they “round up” and chase all harmful beings into the *liṅga*, that tormo of black millet-dough which will be cast away at the crossroads. In Chyamba’s version, the two are also apostrophized as *Ma:bon*, that is, as ‘leaders’ of the same class of beings to which they themselves belong: the spirits and ghosts (*mân* and *syimo* respectively).

(c) Whom does the main figure in the *liṅga tormo* represent? As might be recalled, this figure is provided with dough-strips that cross each other on its back and chest, looking like the rosaries and bell-strings (*gõmdo*) of a *bombo*; and its head is elongated so as to form a tip which, bent downwards, is reminiscent of the *bombo*’s long hairlock (*raḷbo*). Interestingly, SB expressed doubt as to whether these additions were meant to symbolize a *bombo*’s apparel at all; SR gave an evasive answer; while Léksare and Chyamba insisted that – whether or not modelled as a *bombo* – the figure represented Thorgyap and *Dõnsor* in one. One cannot help finding this indeterminacy striking, since in Chyamba’s own recited version (which is unique in that it describes more details of the ritual than other texts do) the *liṅga tormo* is expressively referred to as having both a *raḷbo* and a *gõmdo* and identified as the one offered to Thorgyap *Bön*.

(2) While Chyamba’s (recited) version explains the origins of the ritual by giving a fairly detailed description of its First Performance, Léksare’s account (told in conversational prose, and in the presence of another informant), more dramatic and elliptic, concentrates on the very event that necessitated The Performance. As such, it is a narrative, a myth in its own right. Yet the text also proposes itself as just a fragment of a context within the triangle of evidence furnished by itself, the ritual and shared belief. The context is a network of contingencies and approximations which are likely to produce inter-relevances between the myth and the ritual beyond or “beneath” the informants’ spontaneous exegetic comments. To give just a few examples:

Lemba *Bombo* (whose droll demeanour Léksare mimed with conspicuous hilarity and pleasure) is a specific variant of the “holy fool” or the “divine clown” whose figure expresses a series of implicit, unmarked contrasts. The word *lemba*, meaning both ‘mute’ and ‘imbecile’ or ‘foolish’ (but not ‘mad’), in his name stresses that a clear articulation (the hallmark of artistic quality in the clients’s eye) is of little importance in comparison to shamanic clear-sightedness. Lemba’s success contrasts him, the amusingly disabled, the apparent clown, with the abled, artistically perfect *bombo* who is denounced as a mere entertainer. The success also contrasts

him, the genuine *bombo* whose *ralbo* is of iron, with those whose *ralbo* is of millet-dough: iron being the metal capable of keeping off or “loading down” harmful spirits (s. pp. 117-118, 149-150), millet-dough being the stuff (body and food) of the spirits. Again, the contrast obtains further relevance through the episode of breaking off the *ralbo* of millet-dough. That Lemba’s unfortunate colleagues have themselves become what the millet-dough “stands for”, namely spirits, “follows” from the belief that a *bombo* who has been deprived of his *ralbo* (in a fight with a rival, etc.), loses his tutelary (*phamo*) and turns into a ghost. This, in turn, is likely to “explain” a detail in the *mar lamda* rite: the main figure of the *liŋga tormo*, shaped “like” a *bombo* (s. above) and made of millet-dough, becomes “equated” with the unfortunate *bombos*. In the light of these contrasts and approximations, the *mar lamda* rite can also be seen as an act designed to liberate the *bombo* himself from his inherent ambivalence by separating him from what is “dark”, “lower”, “ghostly”, in sum, negative in him.

APPENDIX II

The origins of shamanism and the *yar lamda* rite:⁴ Urgyen Pe:ma, Dunsur Bön and Lasya.

The account below, told⁵ and commented by Léksare Bõmbo, is just one of several versions that exist both among Western and Eastern Tamang groups.⁶ Regardless of the relative diversity of its versions, the myth is a specifically Tamang myth inasmuch as all its variants substantiate a situation specific to the Tamang: the present divisions of tasks between the lama and the bõmbo. The story doubtless draws on, and transforms (in the Lévi-Straussian sense), a number of mythemes common to Indo-Tibetan, and especially Himalayan, mythology, as it seems. Thus the confrontation between two ritual specialists already appears in some documents of Tibetan Bon literature, where the priest of the “popular religion”, first resorted to, fails to mediate between man and the gods and must yield to the priest of the orthodoxy, who finally succeeds in curing the sick and overcoming even death.⁷ A similar confrontation is the theme of the well-known Tibetan legend of the Buddhist saint Mi-la ras-pa’s victory over a *Bon-po* shaman whose name, Na-ro bon-čhuñ, might have survived in the Nāru Bön of the Tamang myth.⁸ The “fight in/near a lake” appears in a number of accounts, for example, (i) in the subduing of the demoness Gañs dkar-mo in a lake by Padmasambhava;⁹ and (ii) in the magic competition between two perfect (*siddha*) yogis in the valley (lake) of Jumlā in Far Western Nepal.¹⁰ The “struggle with an aquatic monster” (the *kharda* in the Tamang myth), in particular, is echoed (iii) by the confrontation between the masters of rain and water, the *nāgas*, on the one hand, and Gorakhnāth or some “male outsiders with power over control of water”,¹¹ on the other, in the Macchendranāth myth in the Kathmandu Valley; and is (iv) anchored in the general opposition between the aquatic-subterranean beings (*nāga/klu*) and the mythic bird¹² Garuḍa/Khyuñ in Indo-Tibetan mythology... The “struggle with the aquatic monster” may also be connected with (v) the theme of the conflict between “nature” and “civilization”. Thus, in two myths collected from Tamang informants in the Trisuli Watershed Area by Jest (1990) and in Timāl (to the southeast of the Kathmandu Valley) by myself, the bõmbo emerges as a “dragon-killer” and cultural hero: he defeats the *nāg* of a lake, whereupon the water disappears, thus allowing man to utilize the bottom of the lake for cultivation. (In one episode of Jest’s version, the bõmbo is assisted by a woman in the wrong way – a close parallel to Lasya’s fatal mistake in the myth of Dunsur discussed below). The theme has also some parallels in ancient Tibetan concepts. In some of the Bon manuscripts of Tunhuang, the subject of a masterly study by Stein (1971: 483 ff.), the conflict takes place between the “homo faber” and those who were there prior to him:

4 Cf. sections 110.-111.

5 I render it in the present tense and neglect the prosodic features of its narration.

6 For Western Tamang versions s. also Holmberg 1980: 340 ff.; one Eastern Tamang version was recorded by me in the Timāl area in 1968.

7 Stein 1971: 483 f.

8 Cf., e.g., Hoffmann 1950: 266-277.

9 Toussaint 1933: 244 f., Blondeau 1971: 75 f.

10 Bouillier 1989: 199.

11 Allen 1986: 78 f., 91.

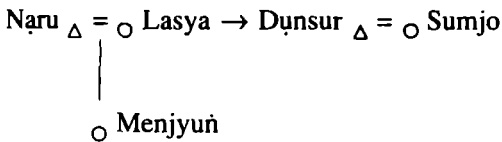
12 Cf. the flight of Urgyen Pe:ma/Nāru and Kālden metamorphosed into a bird in the Tamang myth below.

the masters of the natural world, such as the *klu*, the *sa-bdag* and the *bcan*; and it is a divinity or a divine preceptor, the mythic prototype of the Bon priest, who acts as a mediator between the two parties.

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The present (Léksare Bõmbo's) version confronts two lamas and two bõmbos, namely Urgyen Pe:ma and Kàlden Sañge (or Kàlden Làma), on the one hand, and Dũnsur Bõn and Nàru Bõn, on the other. While Nàru, as a bõmbo, and Kàlden, as a lama, clearly represent "normal" prototypes of those specialists who act in our days, Urgyen Pe:ma and Dũnsur are presented as "supernormal" or exceptional protagonists, the former being a triumphant cultural hero who creates (and redresses) order, the latter an abortive cultural hero who transgresses the rules.

In the present version, Kàlden is an ally or assistant of Urgyen Pe:ma; Nàru's wife is Lasya, his daughter Menjyũ; Dũnsur's wife is Sumjo; and part of the plot will be Lasya's elopement with Dũnsur.



Dũnsur Bõn (arrogates the lama's privilege of intervening in the transition from life to death and) performs the death ritual over his own wife Sumjo whose corpse is placed in a basket¹³. He notices, to his surprise, that Sumjo is eating (the offerings) inside the basket – quite in contrast to the corpse in charge of Kàlden Làma. Kàlden declares that Sumjo is not really dead, and to make her really dead he, Kàlden, performs the *phowa*¹⁴ for her. Urgyen Pe:ma (stresses the disorder arising from a "false" ritual by a "false" specialist over a "false" corpse in pointing out that, unlike the lama) the bõmbo is not in possession of *syo:syo* (= paper/book) and *chye:* (< Tib. *chos* = religion, *dharma*). A person who is really dead does not eat really (but only symbolically), he says.

On seeing that his wife is really dead, Dũnsur curses both Urgyen Pe:ma and Kàlden Làma. (Probably to avenge his defeat and/or the loss of his wife) Dũnsur elopes with Nàru's wife Lasya whom he makes believe that both Nàru and Kàlden have died. Dũnsur also steals Nàru's ritual implements and exclaims: "The *kàwas* of Kàlden and Nàru have been wiped out, the *kàwa*¹⁵ of Dũnsur has grown!" And they both, Dũnsur and Lasya, dance to the frenetic rhythm of Nàru's drum (beaten by Dũnsur?).

Three days later, Nàru returns home and is informed by his daughter about the elopement. Now, (having decided to challenge Dũnsur) Kàlden Làma transforms himself into a cuckoo; he, then, transforms his ally Nàru Bõn, too, into a cuckoo with Urgyen Pe:ma's help. (In some other versions, it is Urgyen Pe:ma himself who assumes the form of a cuckoo or vulture, and takes up the fight with Dũnsur). The two birds fly to the lake of Cho Mamo in the northern mountains (s. pp. 121, 132, 257), and on arriving there, they sit down on their walking sticks which have been sent on for them (by magic). They watch, from the western shore, Dũnsur dancing on the eastern shore of the lake. Kàlden shouts to Dũnsur: "Let's tame the *kharda* (the aquatic monster

13 In Tamang mortuary rituals, the effigy of the deceased is shaped like a basket.

14 *phowa* refers here to the ritual act which in a sense finalizes one's death: the lama takes a few hairs from the fontanelle of the dead person's skull, coils them around the powerbolt symbol (*dorjye/vajra*) and tears them out.

15 *kàwa* = spiritual descent line, s. pp. 21-24.

residing in the lake, s. p. 258 f.)” He then takes out his spoon, turns it upside down, and (as a result) the whole area of the lake is turned upside down to the effect that Dũnsur falls into the water. (Yet Dũnsur is not afraid and boasts loudly:) “The *kharda* can’t do any harm to me!” And while fighting with the monster, he sends (*pippa*) a curse (*ñeñ*) which makes one eye of Menjyuñ (daughter of N̄aru) burst. (As they notice this, the two allies) N̄aru and Kalden both weep and laugh at the same time. Finally, Kalden asks Dũnsur: “What kind of *pa:sam*, what kind of *dũnma* should we send?” Dũnsur: “Do send (*pippa*) whatever it may be!” And while Kalden is reciting from his book, N̄aru sends (throws?) successively four *dũnmas* into the water, (namely the life-beams [*ro.dũnma*] of the Four Primordial Bõmbos:)

- the trunk of the *syukpa* (juniper) tree, which is the *ro.dũnma* of N̄aru himself;
- the trunk of the *bél* (rhododendron) tree, which is the *ro.dũnma* of Jyañ Sonam Bõn;
- the trunk of the *byúru* (prunus) tree, which is the *ro.dũnma* of Syar Yuruñ Bõn; (and)
- the trunk of the *teñsyiñ* (chestnut) tree, which is the *ro.dũnma* of Nup Bálđiñ Bõn.

N̄aru, then, sends the trunks of various other trees (without any result). Finally, he sends a stalk of the *sarsyi* shrub (N. *amresol/amliso*) which is the *ro.dũnma* of Cal Bõn, another mythic bõmbos, and succeeds in coiling Dũnsur’s hairlock (*raľbo*) around the stalk.¹⁶ This being done, Kalden performs the *phowa* (s. above) by tearing out Dũnsur’s hairlock. Dũnsur (dies¹⁷ and his soul) is banished to a place called Syar.degañ. “May you become Dũnsur M̄amo forever!”, (thus being cursed) Dũnsur’s *k̄awa* becomes extinct.

Lasya¹⁸, lonely, starts sobbing: “What shall become of me? Where shall I go to?” Kalden “fixes” (*daľmla ta:ba*) Lasya by saying: “From now on you are the Witch of the Four Primordial Bõmbos (*bõn syí:i ðemo*)”. This is why the bõmbos has to perform the *yar lamda* rite (devoted to Lasya).

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(1) In several respects, the message of the myth is clear. It confirms the superiority of the lama over the bõmbos and substantiates the ritual. The new order, on which the ritual rests, is finalized by a double “fixing” by mantra-like pronouncements (*daľmla*): Lasya acquires her divine status, albeit “just” as The Witch, by being admitted to the “altar” (*br̄aņge*) of the Four Primordial Bõmbos, and thus the altar of all human bõmbos, while Dũnsur is “damned” and expelled from the divine community.

(2) Several aspects appear to remain fragmentary, and a comparison with other versions is often rather confusing. And yet, in a sense, the story is the more “telling” the more it leaves the details obscure and the more it comes into conflict with its different versions and their different interpretations. The different versions, at times seemingly complementing, at times obviously contradicting each other, provide a plurality of perspectives. At some points, these perspectives intersect one another to the effect that divergences appear interconnected to the extent of suggesting themselves as meaningful ambiguities, or to the effect that identities and symbolic relevances become widened. The problem is that most of these interconnections and widenings provide hardly more than extrapolative evidence for which one finds no unequivocal confirmation in the recitation texts or in the doctrinal knowledge. (When asked, informants tend to answer evasively or to find – after some reflection – one of the solutions suggested by the

16 The stalk of the *sarsyi* is used as a kind of harpoon, as it seems. The heads of this plant feel smooth when stroked with one’s finger in the direction of growth, but coarse when stroked in the opposite direction; hairs or fibres of cotton or wool are likely to get caught on its tiny “barbs”.

17 This is paralleled by the belief that if, in our days, the long hairlock of a bõmbos is cut by a rival the former loses his tutelary (*phamo*) and turns into a ghost.

18 The present version makes no mention of Lasya’s fatal failure in handling the drum during Dũnsur’s struggle with the monster, cf. section 110. of our text.

ethnographer's questions to be appropriate, or to acknowledge the "multivocal" character of a detail). To give just a few examples:

(a) Lasya, the goddess-witch, is generally recognized as an ambivalent being, and the gaps and discrepancies in the parts she plays in the different versions of the myth confirm and further enhance this ambivalence, as it seems. The present version of the myth excuses Lasya by showing her to be a victim of D̄unsur's lie. But in the version of our text (sections 110.-111.) the question of her guilt is open to different interpretations. Is she victim or culprit or both? Is she the victim of her being unaware of the unholy plot in which she is involved, the victim of her own psychic mechanisms or the mechanisms of fate? Is her disregard for D̄unsur's instructions for handling the drum to be seen as the outcome of inattentiveness of a woman who is innocent because of her own ignorance of the method, and who is pressurized by the impostor, or the outcome of evil will towards D̄unsur (the impostor against the impostor), – a will which is also "good" because it thus contributes to the defeat of D̄unsur? And is her "taking possession" of Urygen Pe:ma's daughter the wilful act of a principally evil woman, or the automatic reaction of a faithful woman avenging the loss of her consort? ... – The version of our text (section 110.) also allows Lasya ultimately to be understood as a victim of her own androgynous ambivalence which arises from the fact that she endeavours to beat the drum and thus does something which, in our days, no woman is supposed to do: shamanizing.

(b) All versions known to me converge in stressing D̄unsur's final and complete defeat in that he becomes alienated to the shaman's institution and is transformed into a being who is "apart" and radically different from what is "good" and "normal"; however, most versions (and their interpretations) diverge in determining the closer identity of this being. The present version, as told and explained by Léksare B̄ombo, stresses that D̄unsur became a *m̄amo* (s. below) and his *k̄awa* (spiritual descent line) was extinguished, while another version, told by a layman (Höfer 1975), concludes by stating that D̄unsur reappeared among the Chepang¹⁹ and became the tutelary of their shamans. Again, the version in our text (111.1075) says that D̄unsur's *k̄awa* was "taken" by the good/normal b̄ombo N̄aru, but the corresponding OT verb *l̄emba*, 'to take', 'to take possession of', may be interpreted in both ways: it may mean that N̄aru has *taken over* to continue, or *taken away* to annihilate, the descent line. Interpreted in the latter sense, it may refer, elliptically, to N̄aru's act (in Léksare's version) of extirpating D̄unsur's hairlock (*rālbo*) as the synecdochic equivalent of his descent line...

(c) In Léksare's interpretation, D̄unsur has been excluded forever from the world of the gods and humans, just as, in our time, the spirits and ghosts (*m̄án*, *syimo*) are. He has been turned into an evil spirit (*àjyabi m̄án*) which, in our time, is represented by a large *l̄iŋga tormo* of dark millet-dough that the b̄ombo turns upside down, then stamps into the earth with his feet and finally, "loads down" with some twigs of the *sarsyi* shrub (s. above) – the same shrub by means of which, in the myth, D̄unsur was deprived of his hairlock, of his b̄ombo-ness, of life. The *l̄iŋga tormo*, called Saŋgen²⁰ Tormo, is provided with dough-strips laid crosswise on its chest and back, and has an elongated head, said to symbolize D̄unsur's rosaries plus bell-strings (*ḡomdo*) and his hairlock respectively.

(d) The "turning the lake upside down" (a mytheme occurring in almost all versions) obviously marks a turning point: it is a *reversal* of positions that paves the way for eliminating the disorder that has resulted from a *reversal* of roles. (The reversal is accompanied, in the present version, by a "classical symptom" of liminality, a state of "neither-nor", that appears to be conveyed by "N̄aru and K̄alden both weeping and laughing at the same time"). In addition, the "turn" can also be seen as an act initiating D̄unsur's transformation into an evil spirit: D̄unsur is "reversed"

19 Cep̄ang, the ethnic group, cf. p. 36, and 6.75 note.

20 The name Saŋgen was derived by the informants from MT *s̄àna ken*, 'cooked millet'. The casting away of the Saŋgen Tormo is part of several rituals, including those of the lamas.

and thus becomes associated with all malevolent spirits and ghosts who, in our days, are to be expelled “downwards” (cf. “*lower crossroads*” below).

(e) Is D̄nsur a paragon or master or ancestor of all spirits and ghosts? The *m̄ar l̄amda* rite²¹ serves to send “down” (*m̄ar*) and separate all harmful spirits and ghosts from the worlds of humans and gods. The “chief” of the *tormo* figures representing these spirits and ghosts is similar to the Saŋgen Tormo alias D̄nsur B̄n described above: it, too, is modelled from dark millet-dough, has the same elongated head and the same dough-strips pasted crosswise on chest and back, which in the case of the Saŋgen Tormo have been identified as symbolizing D̄nsur’s *rālbo* and *ḡomdo*. Are the two *tormos* identical? I could obtain no satisfying answer to the question as to why the *tormo*, symbolizing an epitome of all spirits and ghosts, is to be shaped “like” a *b̄ombo*.

(f) Furthermore, how should the sentence “Become D̄nsur M̄amo!” in the present version of the myth be interpreted? The *m̄amos* are recognized as “the evil... in pure form” (as Holmberg 1990: 18 f. rightly calls them): ogresses, the embodiments of the “negative mother”, who are expelled in specific rituals. Has D̄nsur undergone a change of sex, too? Conspicuously, the lake at which D̄nsur was defeated is called Cho *M̄amo* in several versions (s. pp. 121,132).

21 S. Appendix I and pp. 229 ff.

APPENDIX III

The terms *yarso*, *marso* and *yarsaṅ*, *maršaṅ*²²

In ritual texts, terms denoting certain periods or seasons of the year occur in three antonymic configurations:

- *yarso* versus *marso*,
- *yarsaṅ/yarsoṅ* versus *maršaṅ/marsoṅ*, and
- *yarsaṅ* versus *gōnsaṅ*.

The terms *yarso/yarsoṅ*, on the one hand, and *marso/maršaṅ/marsoṅ*, on the other, are probably synonymous, meaning 'upper (*yar*) half of the year' = 'spring + summer', and 'lower (*mar*) half of the year' = 'autumn + winter', respectively. The fluctuation between *yarsaṅ* (high-level pitch) and *yarsoṅ* (deep-level pitch) is confusing,²³ and we can only presume that, originally, *yarsaṅ* was used as the antonym of *gōnsaṅ* exclusively. We would thus have as original pairs:

- (a) *yarsaṅ* versus *gōnsaṅ*, wherein *yar-* < Tib. *dbyar*, 'summer', *gōn-* < Tib. *dgun*, 'winter', and *-saṅ* < Tib. *bzaṅ*, lit. 'fine', 'auspicious';
- (b) *yarsoṅ* versus *marsoṅ*, wherein *yar-* < Tib. *yar*, 'upper', *mar* < Tib. *mar*, 'lower', and *-soṅ* ? < Tib. *zuṅ*, 'a pair', 'a couple', 'a single piece'²⁴; and as a probable synonym,
- (c) *yarso* versus *marso*, wherein *yar-* and *mar-* have the same etymology as in *yarsoṅ* and *marsoṅ* ('upper', 'lower'), while *-so* ? < Tib. *sa/so*, 'stage', 'division', 'state'.

As can be concluded from the names of the (ritually relevant) full-moon days,

- *yarsaṅ* = recte: *yarsoṅ/*yarsaṅ* denotes the period from the first day of the month *Māgh* (January-February), i.e., the *Māgh Saṅkrānti* day which is also called New Year (*Lḡ.sa*) in Tamang,²⁵ until the full-moon day called Bhadau Purne which is generally in the month of Bhadau (August-September); while
- *maršaṅ* denotes the period which begins with Bhadau Purne itself and ends on the last day of the month Puṣ (December-January). The original reckoning might have been based on the lunar calendar exclusively in that the beginning of the *yarsoṅ*-half of the year also coincided with a full-moon day. This is suggested by Holmberg's (1980: 157) data: according to his informants, the period of "yharsung"²⁶ lasts from the full moon of February-March until the full moon of August-September, on the one hand, and the period of "mharsung" from the full moon of August-September until the full moon of February-March, on the other.

22 Cf. 47.366 and 66.543 notes.

23 At first, some informants tentatively rendered *yarsaṅ/yarsoṅ* by 'summer' = 'rainy season' (MT *syi:*), and *maršaṅ/marsoṅ* by 'winter' = 'cold, dry season' (MT *serga*).

24 This would be reminiscent of the words for 'upper' (*yar*, *stod*) and 'lower' (*mar*, *smad*) in Tibetan expressions denoting the first and the second half of a season/the lunar month/the night, respectively. – For Tib. *zuṅ* cf. the entries in Jäschke 1949: 488 and Das 1970: 1095.

25 On *Lḡ.sa* cf. Höfer 1981: 165.

26 In Holmberg's spelling the "yh-" obviously indicates breathiness and thus a deep pitch, which confirms that there does exist both a high-toned *yarsaṅ* and a low-toned *yarsoṅ/*yarsaṅ*.

APPENDIX IV

Archaisms in the myth of Dunsur and Lasya²⁷

Archaisms in the myth (sections 110. and 111.) and their occurrence elsewhere in the text (indented column) with reference to:

- 110.1067: yul gañbai khala/khale
39.300: harmful agent
- 110.1067: gyábna li:jye khurba, ñonna chya:jye teñba
19.179, 22.205: Khyuñ (mythical bird)
26.224: clan god Dąbla
40.303: harmful agent
61.498: cen divinity
67.553: goddess Kaliama
- 110.1068: ñenda/ñendu salba
8.90, 17.144, 46.350, etc.: client
50.405, 50.407, 77.627, 108.1036, 111.1086: gods/clients
- 110.1068: nañbai yiñle/tiñle/linle
17.150: Tąbu Nórbu (god)
20.189: water (creation myth)
21.196, 23.207: roots (creation myth)
46.353: harmful agent
87.749: gods
- 110.1069: nąmla phiriri dįñba
19.173: peacock
22.197: Khyuñ
90.804: harmful agent
- 110.1069: sergi deñ
72.597: cen
112.1091, 113.1121: clan god
113.1114: cen
- 110.1072: yař dąba, mař dąba
107.1030: client/patient
- 110.1072: mięla/mi:la migcyuñ bruppa
10.120: client/patient

²⁷ Cf. pp. 280 ff.

110.1072: awai sombo tappa
 10.120: client/patient

111.1073: cyi
 38.290, 41.312, 41.314: harmful agent
 68.563: cen

111.1073: gəyañ gəba, che:yañ che:ba
 10.121, 91.816: client/patient

111.1077: ñəmai ñəser/ñənsər
 12.130: harmful agent
 the synonymous ñəmai hoṭṭa in 17.146: lamp, and in 46.358, 49.402: divination

111.1079: jyəbu
 38.293: harmful agent
 39.297, 98.922: sacrifice

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II. INDEXES TO SELECT TERMS AND NAMES

Numbers indicate the pages where a term or name is commented on. To facilitate the orientation for those not acquainted with Sanskrit and Tibetan, the order of entries follows the Roman alphabet, with the specifications (a) that letters *without* diacritics precede the corresponding ones *with* diacritics, thus (palatal) *n̄* and (velar) *n̄* follow after (dental) *n*; (retroflex) *ṅ* after (dental) *ṅ*; *ā*, *ā/a*: after *a*, etc.; and (b) that non-aspirated consonants precede the corresponding aspirated ones. In Tamang words, *cy*, *chy*, *jy* and *sy* are treated as separate clusters. Sanskrit equivalents or etyma are rendered in italics (*Pārwati* = *Pārvati*, etc.).

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