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**The rulings of the night: An ethnographic exegesis of shamanic
oral texts from Western Nepal**

Maskarinec, Gregory Gabriel, Ph.D.

University of Hawaii, 1990

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THE RULINGS OF THE NIGHT:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC EXEGESIS OF
SHAMANIC ORAL TEXTS FROM WESTERN NEPAL

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

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BY

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अ॒हं रा॒ष्ट्रीं॑ स॒ंगम॑न्ती॒ वसू॑नां चि॒क्वि॒तुषीं॑ प्रथ॒मा य॒ज्ञिया॑नाम् ।

तां मां दे॒वा व्य॑दधुः पुरु॒त्रा भूरि॑स्थात्रां॒ भूर्यी॑वेश॒यन्ती॑म् ॥

Rgveda X.125.3

From a hymn to Vāc [Holy Utterance, Sacred Speech], who is herself speaking:

I am the queen, the gatherer of riches, the wise, the first of those worthy of worship. Me as such the gods distributed manifoldly, with many a place and entering upon many a form.

translated by Walter H. Maurer

ABSTRACT

A prominent feature of every shamanic ceremony in Western Nepal is the use of oral texts, both long public recitals and short private formulas, recited by shamans at every stage of their performances. These texts are meticulously memorized throughout years of apprenticeship and constitute a relatively fixed core of shamanic knowledge. By learning them, shamans acquire the knowledge necessary for their profession and obtain a thoroughly detailed view of the world and its participants. This study analyzes the discourse of several complete repertoires of such texts in order to identify the knowledge required to be a shaman, the ways that shamans conceive their vocation, and, more generally, of how they negotiate the relations between language, action, and social realities. It concentrates on showing what it is that shamans actually say as they perform ceremonies and the ways that their words inform their rituals and make them significant. The general question asked is: When examined through texts and ceremonies, what precisely are shamans and what is it that they do?

Throughout, the issues of context and interpretation, of the maintenance and reproduction of meaning, and of the limits of indexicality and reflexivity are addressed. A portrait emerges of shamanic intervention as a struggle against entropy, a striving to maintain world order by using language to force the accidents of reality to conform to ideal, divine patterns.

Chapter themes are: I) an overview of this project; II) its philosophical presuppositions, including Wittgensteinian semantics, ethnomethodology, and ironist neo-pragmatism; III) an ethnographic account of Jājarkoṭ, West Nepal, where research was conducted; IV) the contrast between shamans (Nepali: *jhākrī*) and oracles (Nepali: *dhāmī*); V) the variety and sources of afflictions which shamans treat; VI) the array of rituals performed; VII) how texts specifically relate to ritual activities; VIII) structural details of both texts and rituals, including openings, closings, and the moments of intense possession; IX) the contents and purposes of the private formulas (*mantars* and *japs*); X) initiation ceremonies; XI) death rites; and XII) a retrospective discussion of key issues. Two appendixes provide the originals of texts cited plus a literature review.

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Photo I.1. Jhākrī Karṇa Vīr Kāmī of Ciurī Village, Jājarkoṭ.



I. OVERVIEW

When Lord Mahādev created man, a Nepali *jhākrī*'s recital tells us, he commanded his creation to speak. Man managed only to mumble "ha ha, hu hu," which infuriated Mahādev. In his wrath, he cursed man with seven times of natural death, fourteen times of unnatural death. Compassionate Sitā intervenes on man's behalf, and Mahādev agrees to create different intercessors empowered to postpone or alleviate man's fate—*prakīis*, *pārkīis*, *gyānīis*, *dhāmīis*, *jaiśīis*, and, most importantly, *jhākrīis*, on whom this study concentrates. [Text I.1—see Appendix I.]

Jhākrīis are Himalayan shamans, intercessors who rely upon their extensive training in supernatural matters to diagnose and treat the afflictions of their clients. Intercession by *jhākrīis* is accomplished through elaborate rituals, whose central features include the chanting of long, public recitals, variously called *melās*, *okhās*, *khetīis*, or *dhūrs*, and the whispering of short, private texts, known as either *mantars* or *japs*. The former are directed both to the human audience present and to the unseen presences that have been summoned, while the latter are strictly communications to supernatural entities. The first time one encounters a shamanic ceremony, both forms of texts seem entirely submerged in the spectacular performance, in which drumming and dancing, now frenzied, now subdued, contend with the apparently incomprehensible mumbling, babbling, shouting, and whispering—utterances apparently not unlike that original speech which so

angered man's creator. A confusion as to who is speaking, and who is being spoken to, further obscures the language. Frequently, in a wide variety of possession events throughout the Himalayas, participants say that it is the agents of possession who are communicating through their chosen vehicle, either with each other, or with the shaman, or with the audience, or, conversely, that the shaman is ecstatically and spontaneously communicating with the spirits. Each of these explanations diminishes the possibility that one can ever really understand what *jhākrīs* say in their ceremonies, and certainly argue strongly against any suggestion that what they are saying could possibly provide the best understanding of what they are doing.

All of these confusions were initially part of my understanding of *jhākrīs*, who I first encountered when in the second month of my training as a U.S. Peace Corps volunteer. Ill for the first time, I decided that I would rather be treated by a shaman than by the training director (Linda Stone), who, as an anthropologist, encouraged this idea. My meager grasp of Nepali at that time naturally contributed to an initial impression that shamanic speech was completely incomprehensible. This conclusion was affirmed by the training staff of sophisticated Kathmandu Brāhmans and Newars, who were self-consciously embarrassed by the event, as were Peace Corps officials, not at all amused that I sacrificed a chicken to overcome a witch attack. Several years subsequently lapsed before I tried to understand what was recited such performances, for I was long misled by various commentaries, already mentioned, into

thinking that this was not something that really could be understood. Such remarks convinced me that such texts were privileged knowledge known only by specialists—the shamans, inaccessible to common men and women, who are simply and literally spellbound throughout the performances of these texts. It seemed that the audiences who overhear them no more expect to understand them than they would the Brāhmanic recital of Sanskrit at a Rudri Pātha, or the pages of small print in English wrapped around a vial of allopathic pharmaceuticals, and that any effort to penetrate the sense, or meaning, of these texts was alien to their use. The texts apparently supplied a backdrop of rhythmic sound overshadowed by the curing ceremonies, and that only the cure, not its means, interested the audience. These misconceptions were further reinforced by popular views of mantras, that it was the right sound, not the right sense, that must be achieved, that the words themselves have no real meaning. Discovering how completely untrue were all of these ideas was a major motivation for me to write this work.

For *jhākrīs*, both the long public recitals and the short private *mantars* are polished, well-constructed, orally preserved texts, meticulously memorized through years of training. These texts constitute the core of shamanic knowledge, and their faithful utterances are the chief means by which shamans intervene in the world. Extreme care is taken to learn and to perform them correctly, with expectations that their efficacy is lost if mistakes are made when saying them. For the most part, the public recitals are stories,

telling of the creation of the universe and the race of man, telling of the origins of worldly disorder and the histories of malevolent forces, telling of other extraordinary events and exceptional individuals. For example, when treating cases of witchcraft, the *jhākrī* chants the "Recital of the Nine Little Sisters," which relates the origin and career of the first witches, and their eventual subjugation by the original *jhākrī*, who seals an agreement with those witches that still binds their contemporary descendants. Along with such narratives, the recitals also contain lengthy enumerations of what shamans may need to know, including lists of symptoms attributable to different agents of affliction, the identities of those agents, or the places where such agents can most likely be found. The private *mantars*, as we shall see, are intense supplements to the recitals, directly addressing the unseen audience with promises, threats, and demands. Intended to directly manipulate the causes of affliction, the *mantars*, I will show, unexpectedly resemble the recitals quite closely, both structurally and thematically, and sometimes passages of text are even shared between the two genre.

Nearly all *jhākrī* performances take place at night, with the *jhākrī*, dressed in an elaborate costume, entering a trance and, as he drums, dances, and engages in various ritual activity, he speaks, sings, chants, whispers, and shouts: that is, he uses words in diverse ways. In those lengthy nocturnal performances, which continue to attract both a significant clientele and a large audience undeterred by familiarity, what are the participants trying to accomplish? This

is a central question which I attempt to answer in this work. To do so, I range through various corollaries, such as, "What does one need to know to be a *jhākrī*? "; "What kinds of afflictions are being treated, and what is expected to cure them?"; and, most importantly for my approach, "What is it, exactly, that the *jhākrīs* are saying in these performances?" It is by answering this last question that I undertake to provide answers to all of the other questions, for I will demonstrate that these oral texts themselves provide a solid basis within which all shamanic activities and beliefs can be systematically comprehended. What the *jhākrīs* say within their rituals can be used to understand what it is that they are doing in those same rituals. The oral texts, whose memorization forms the primary training needed to become a shaman, taken as a whole, form a coherent discursive space which defines and informs all shamanic activities. These texts not only teach the shaman about the world in which he is expected to intervene, they also, simultaneously, provide him with the resources for that intervention: the texts are the resources. By learning these texts, the shaman learns how the world in which he finds himself is constructed and the critical points at which his mediation is possible. He learns how the present disorders of the world have come about, an originary and crucial point from which to attend to those disorders, for as he learns to identify specific causes of worldly disorder, the agents of afflictions, he also learns ways to appease, pacify, or neutralize them and thereby reestablish universal order. He learns of the roles of shamans, of their position in the extended social order, which includes not only

kings and priests, blacksmiths and merchants, but also witches and ghouls, gods and demons. By publicly reciting the texts, the shaman affirms his mastery of this material, not only displaying his enormous cosmological and theoretical knowledge but also sharing it with his audience, giving them a perspective on their misfortunes while providing hope that relief is possible. The texts give reassurance that the role of shamans is precisely to reassert order in the world. Hence, to carefully listen to these texts is to hear both the self-image and the public image of the shaman, how he has learned to see his professional self and how he portrays that profession to clients. To analyze the discourse of such texts is to answer the question: "What is a shaman?"

By analyzing the language of shamanic oral texts, this work also looks beyond the specificity of those shamans to meditate on the general nature of language. Following Wittgenstein, I argue that since languages are commensurate with forms of life, to analyze a particular language is to unpack the form of life which it permeates and vitalizes. We do not live in private worlds, or speak private languages: in language we have our being. Language is not only the means by which we can inquire whether reality is intelligible, but also the medium in which we investigate the relations between thought, action and reality. The seemingly exotic events of spirit possession are as firmly part of the everyday, social world of Nepalis as they are not of the daily reality of a Western academic. While not insisting that language in any absolute sense determines perceptions, I do maintain that when we want to talk about those

perceptions, we can do so only within the current limits of our language. Conversely, it is within the medium of social life that language lives. Language is not only the primary means by which people are socialized, the chief way that they learn to participate in a society, it is also a primary means by which they participate in society. For these reasons, language is not only the most accessible social phenomenon, it is the most central social phenomenon.

To analyze shamanic texts, I do not apply a preconceived theory. Rather, I begin with a particular philosophic disposition, a perspective from which to discover what it is that I am doing as it evolves. Throughout, I privilege narrative over theory. While this perspective will be elaborated in the next chapter (and subsequently, throughout the work as a whole), a concise introduction to my starting position may be made by summarizing Richard Rorty's argument for the contingency of language: since language is a human construction, and sentences are constructed in a language, and truth is a property of sentences, it follows that we cannot profitably seek a perspective outside of language from which to evaluate a form of life—and more importantly, we cannot profitably seek a position outside of a particular language game from which to begin any such evaluation. As Rorty puts it:

To say that truth is not out there is simply to say that where there are no sentences there is no truth, that sentences are elements of human languages, and that human languages are human creations.

Truth cannot be out there—cannot exist independently of the human mind—because sentences cannot so exist, or be out there. The world is out

there, but descriptions of the world are not. Only descriptions of the world can be true or false. The world on its own—unaided by the describing activities of human beings—cannot. [1989:5]

The alternative to beginning from the *a priori* epistemological abstractions of a fully developed theory is to address a set of actual social phenomena. My method, following Alfred Schutz [1966], is to "bracket" such a set of phenomena (the texts), which are clearly and demonstrably, in Harold Garfinkel's words, "anthropologically strange." I then analyze the content and structures of those phenomena to uncover a stock of knowledge specific to *jhākrīs*, what it is that they use to construct their social world, what its factual properties are. Wittgenstein has observed: "Only in a stream of thought and life do words have meaning" [Z 173]. Accepting his position that meaning results from custom and training, oral texts such as these offer the perfect starting point to semantically and pragmatically analyze the traditional society in which they have prominence and continuing importance. To do so is to identify exactly how Wittgenstein's observations on the nature of language can be applied to a actual set of social phenomena, and to use that application to explain how spirit possession events make sense to those who participate in them.

One way to approach this problem would be through a strictly logico-grammatical analysis of events, which amounts to a structural approach. However, it seems to me unnecessary to rely only on the insights of ordinary language philosophy, since, based as they are on abstract speculation, they may be criticized as too

precarious a basis for concrete anthropological research. However, the body of sociological research collectively known as ethnomethodology (in which I will here include not only the work of Garfinkel and his associates, but also the work of the conversation analysts, particularly Harvey Sacks) has developed specific programmatic for this situation. Ethnomethodologists study ordinary activities in order to reveal the tacit reasoning that makes up their orderliness, attempting to discover, within actual settings, the formal properties that organize those settings. Garfinkel declares:

in contrast to certain versions of Durkheim that teach that the objective reality of social facts is sociology's fundamental principle, the lesson is taken instead, and used as a study policy that the objective reality as an ongoing accomplishment of the concerted activities of daily life. with the ordinary, artful ways of that accomplishment being by members known, used and taken for granted, is, for members doing sociology, a fundamental phenomenon. [1967:vii]

The chief initial modification to this agenda that I propose to make is to study events that the participants themselves claim are, in a traditional way, extra-ordinary, requiring powers that are ordinarily not present. By choosing to look at such events, the "seen but unnoticed" details of those events can be even more vividly identified and opened up to analysis, so that the practices of commonsense reasoning become even more apparent. I privilege the meanings that emerge through the uses to which expressions are put, though at the narrative level, I also contrast the meanings that

emerge with lexical and and etymological ones. Also at the narrative level of analysis, I attempt to make explicit the interconnections of meaning and event, of sense and reference, in order to secure a convincing interpretation of the material itself. Although I naturally aspire for coherency in my interpretations, it is not meant to be a conclusiveness that would deny the pluravocality of language. Consequently, I hope that my results will be judged by standards of consistency and cohesiveness, and not by either transcendental or empirical theories of "Truth."

Within both texts and ceremonies, I seek details that explain how spirit intercession is done as a practical activity, what the discursive resources available to intercessors and clients are, and how they make use of those details and resources to give sense to the actions in which they participate. That is, to use an apt phrase from Alfred Schutz, I will investigate the "fact of the fact": how it is that for both intercessors and their clients, spirit possession becomes a part of their everyday, factual world.

Why do this analysis for shaman texts? One overall goal is to find what it is that the details of ritual speech and ritual action actually contribute to healing and to curing practices, though I confess making little progress so far on that complex point and must relegate the issues of healing to the background. Some people apparently 'get better', or are 'cured' by shamanic intervention, just as some people are apparently 'cured' by allopathic, homeopathic, Ayurvedic (and just about every other form of) medicine. Although I am familiar with the usual theories that try to answer *why* they are

cured, none of them satisfy me. It may be, in fact, that questions of 'why' must remain outside the scope of discursive anthropology, that we have to settle for the 'what' and the 'how'. Still, in later chapters, I offer some tentative ideas about what seems to be going on at the ontological levels of healing within shamanic ceremonies, and I at least achieve the ability to discuss healing in the terms in which the shamanic texts themselves discuss it.

Throughout, I concentrate on showing how ritual language constructs a discursive space in which the use of precisely that language is required, how it sustains itself and its users. I try to isolate and explain significant variations between versions of the 'same' texts collected from different shamans, to discover how meaning is re-established. What is only an ambiguous phrase in one version, unclear to the shaman himself, can be shown to fit into a clear, comprehensible account in a different version. Unpacking these texts may not tell us much about "uncultivated" thought, or, for that matter, anything about any kind of thought whatsoever, at least if we regard reasoning as a part of mental activity, rather than a facet of language. There are, however, no inevitable reasons for a mentalistic approach, and I will instead advance a position contrary to the neo-Kantianism of Lévi-Strauss in *The Savage Mind* and in his own studies of mythologies. Instead, I follow the direction outlined by Ryle [1949] and his successors. Ryle's original insight was severely flawed by his choice of several particularly inept metaphors, and by the vocabulary of positivism that he inherited, with the result that even those who are in basic agreement

inevitably begin by criticizing him, but it seems unnecessary to go into all of that here. (An excellent discussion is found in Rorty [1979], especially pages 88–106 of Chapter II.) Concisely, the primary locus of rational processes is public language, of which thought is merely an internalized version. I too am studying reasoning, but not 'mind'. It is not what shamans think to themselves that interests me, but what they say to others: my perspective is entirely sociological, not psychological. Events in public, not thoughts in private, form the basis of my study. Again following Wittgenstein, I seek meaning within public discourse, not in private languages or 'internal' states. Situating meaning in public avoids any need to psychologize the study of shamanism. It allows, in fact, a complete circumvention of questions of 'mind' or 'private' experiences which, while they play a necessarily important part in our commonsensical reasoning about the world, remain inaccessible information for ethnographers. Social realities are intersubjectively constituted, creatively negotiated. This negotiation takes place through the actions and interests of the participants themselves, using the resources that language and history provide. To understand these realities, we must examine specific uses of language, language manifesting itself in social action. Language is built of webs of signification, but we ourselves participate in weaving the contemporary meanings of words, even as the meanings of our lives are woven by the past use of words. I suggest that Wittgenstein's concept of finitism—that a future meaning is not strictly determined by past meanings, can be usefully applied not only to our

interpretations of concepts, but to texts as well. The meanings of a text are no more ostensible features of the given world than are the meanings of the expressions that we use. Like our expressions, texts too are indexical and reflexive, not just open to, but relying upon, active negotiations in order to acquire sense. To find the meanings of ritual texts, as of the rituals themselves, one must explore the dimensions of discourse. Discourse, as Paul Ricoeur has observed, is everything beyond the word itself. In this work, I explore the labyrinth of nuance, the layers of metaphor, refusing to privilege the literal over the figurative, refusing to pretend that at last is reached the point of what the text "really means," remaining instead content with a "mobile army of metaphors," as Nietzsche aptly defined "Truth." This, as Rorty [1989:27] puts it, "amounted to saying that the whole idea of "representing reality" by means of language, and thus of finding a single context for all human lives, should be abandoned." Every explanation is hermeneutically cyclic, following what Garfinkel calls the "documentary method of interpretation," by which any action (such as an utterance) is taken as the "document of" some underlying pattern, while at the same time the underlying pattern is seen as "giving sense to" the action [Garfinkel 1967:78]. This circularity not only frees us from the objectifying deadliness of fixed conclusions, it also limits possible excesses of interpretive solipsism. We must explore the dialectical polarities summarized by Ricoeur [1977:23] under the four poles of event and meaning, of sense and reference, whose grid forms the linguistics of discourse.

It is the texts that are speaking, and we are the listeners. By we I mean not just the ethnographer (and others ordinarily outside the space of the discourse), but also the *jhākrīs* and their audiences. The intercessor too is bound by the semanticity of the texts, and struggles to re-create their meanings, even as his performances are given meaning by them. This is a point at which I depart from a radical interpretation of Garfinkel's suggestions, for I conclude that the indexicality and reflexivity of the texts is circumscribed rather rigidly by the range of possible meanings. Social realities are creatively negotiated, but not everything is up for negotiation at all times. This, after all, is only to reassert the observation that Bar-Hillel originally made, that "there are strong variations in the degree of dependence of the reference of linguistic expressions on the pragmatic context of their production." [1954:359] It should be clear, though, that I am not so revisionist as to agree with him that there actually are such things as "objective" statements, only that the degree of indexicality ranges widely.

By documenting the ways that phrases of ritual texts are given specific references, how specialists and their clients create contemporary meanings for the archaic details of ritual language, this work will provide a thoroughly anthropological test of Wittgensteinian semantics, of whether, for example, descriptions (as available in the memorized texts) can be successfully interpreted as "directions for use," or of whether the meanings of phrases can actually be found in their uses. The goal of my analysis at this level is a better understanding of discourse practices, of the

connections between discourse and behavior. I investigate the ways that language is integrated into practical actions taken within social realities. By studying these events in the context of extraordinary events in a traditional society, I attempt to uncover aspects of discourse that we as observers tend to ignore when looking at more 'ordinary' events in more familiar settings. How is it that something so unusual as possession by spirits comes to be regarded in some societies an everyday activity for some of its members? In a general sense, this is to ask how the distinction between what is real and what is unreal comes to be drawn differently in different societies. To a considerable extent, what we commonsensically regard as real is framed by what we can talk about: what distinctions our language allows us to draw. Therefore, by analyzing the language of these accounts, I will also be trying to reveal the ways that spirit possession fits into Nepali society as part of the real, everyday world of activities, to explore the implicit connections between language, mundane reasoning, and social action.

More prosaically, but also of more traditionally anthropological interest, the texts tell us of major traditional concerns in the society in which they are used, showing the interrelatedness and everydayness of illness, death, witchcraft, sorcery, astrological impasses, childlessness, problems with in-laws, accidents—how all of these fit in with the spirit world of the shamans. They detail the symptoms of these concerns with a precision ordinarily absent in most of the accounts that local people offer of their problems. They document the seamlessness of the

natural and the supernatural, the seen and the unseen, the extravagant and the prosaic with an unparalleled richness. Ordinary villagers, talking of their problems, tend to provide very informal and vague portraits of their problems, telling anecdotes rather than enumerating symptoms or diagnosing causalities. For them, simply saying "*boksi lāgyo*" [a witch has attacked] sums up a complex set of experiences which are nearly impossible to untangle. Shamans, too, are reluctant to casually discuss their profession. With considerable irony, and outright jokes, they deflect questions away from their personal experience, and poke considerable fun at their calling, showing a persistent reluctance to claim authority or power. Very compelling reasons for this reluctance are contained in Nepal's traditional legal code, which severely punishes acts of witchcraft and sorcery as well as accusations of either which cannot be vigorously proven, an aspect that is discussed further in Chapters IV and V. In contrast to the scarcity of self-descriptive information, the texts, with poetically formal elegance, provide detailed accounts of these concerns, descriptions whose accuracy is attested to by the spell-binding effect they have over and over again on their audiences, who affirm their mastery and relevance. To study these texts is to study precise, accurate accounts of the major disorders which individuals continue to experience in Western Nepali society, to the extent that it seems that Malinowski was scarcely exaggerating in observing that "linguistic analysis inevitably leads us into the study of all the subjects covered by ethnographic field research." [1923:302]

In quoting *jhākrī* texts, I have concentrated on the form in which they are initially learned. That is, most of the quotes that I provide were recited, not sung, unaccompanied by drumming or ritual activity. Such delivery is extremely rapid, as many as 187 words in 45 seconds, with few pauses or inflections that might indicate punctuation. I have nevertheless preferred this form of the text over that used in actual possession seances for three reasons. First, such seances go on all night, and the *jhākrī* is periodically in frenzy, dancing and drumming wildly, periodically lethargic and seemingly dazed. This results in some passages of the text being omitted, other passages reduplicated, and even passages of other recitals becoming included, a process of deterioration which increases as the night wears on and the *jhākrī* exhausts himself. Second, some texts are performed quite rarely. For example, Karṇa Vīr has performed the "Recital to Juma Kāl and Juma Dūt" only once, after the death of his father. Similarly, *mantars* are inevitably whispered within actual performances, their words deliberately concealed from the audience. Third, and perhaps most important, by listening to the texts outside of the context of their applications, I can begin with a more neutral, less context-sensitive version of them. This allows me to show the ways in which their semanticity limits their indexicality, the ways that meaning is not only or entirely a result of 'use'.

This work draws on texts, descriptions of rituals, and more general material which I collected from fourteen *jhākrīs* during 1977-1983, when I resided in Western Nepal, and during the spring of 1989, when I returned specifically to obtain more detailed

supplements and clarifications. These *jhākrīs* are identified throughout this work by their actual names, not pseudonyms, as they wished me to do. Much of their cooperation was obtained through the argument that although Brāhmans have their texts written down in books, *jhākrīs* don't, with the result that their extensive learning goes unappreciated. One district official even half-humorously characterized me as the Vyāsa of the *jhākrīs*, referring to the legendary compiler of the Mahābhārata. This remark, to my considerable advantage, circulated widely in the District. Eventually, I hope to prepare a critical edition of these texts, and more genuinely fulfill my promise to the *jhākrīs*. Until then, Appendix I of this work, in which the originals of those passages that I cite are given, must suffice. Since the *jhākrīs* with whom I worked are illiterate, this is not as limited a substitute as it may appear, for even an unreadable manuscript may contribute to their authority, as will be seen in Chapter III to be also true of astrological charts.

Thanks to the very gracious generosity of Professor Emeritus John Hitchcock, this work also draws on his unpublished material, which includes more than 25 hours of tapes of shamanic texts and ceremonies which he collected in the Bhujī Valley in 1961/1962 and 1967, along with extensive supplementary notes. This extensive material includes the complete repertoires of three Bhujī valley *jhākrīs*, along with preliminary transcriptions and casual translations. I have corrected those transcripts and prepared a consistent English translation of them. While that material will

hopefully appear in a complete edition elsewhere, some of it is, with Hitchcock's full permission, included in this work.

Before undertaking my analysis, I first provide two more introductory chapters. The next discusses in greater detail, both the philosophical and theoretical presuppositions that inform this inquiry, as well as the specifically anthropological precedents to a study of ritual language.

Chapter III provides a concise ethnographic account of Jājarkoṭ, the district of Nepal in which the research for this study was carried out. In it, I also provide introductory detail concerning different ritual practitioners of Western Nepāl, making preliminary use of *jhākrī* texts to do so. To supplement this chapter, I review the scant literature on Western Nepal and on Himalayan shamanism in Appendix II, which also sketches the outlines of ethnographic research throughout Nepal. That appendix concludes with a fairly comprehensive bibliography of Himalayan ethnography, providing the interested reader resources for a more thorough general introduction to the Himalayas than I find necessary to include in this work.

Because of persistent confusion over the use of the term 'shaman', I continue to develop the contrast, begun in Chapter III, of *dhāmīs* ('oracles' or 'mediums') and *jhākrīs* (properly called shamans), both of whom practice in Jājarkoṭ, in Chapter IV. This also begins my systematic inquiry into the shaman texts themselves, examining how the texts generally describe *jhākrīs* and their rituals, as well as what they say about his competitors, what,

as the chapter title suggests, can well be called "shamanic descriptions of shamanizing."

Chapter V examines the etiology of afflictions. In it concentrate on identifying the types of affliction which intercessors are considered effective in curing, e.g. witchcraft, malevolent spirit possession, and certain astrological disturbances, and show how these identities provide the rationale for shamanic intervention.

Rituals performed during the treatment of the various afflictions are then described in Chapter VI, which examines the descriptions of such activity found in the texts appropriate to the different rituals.

Chapter VII undertakes to bridge the gap between text and act opened up in the preceding two chapters. In it, I concentrate on the directions that one text gives to the shaman and his assistants on how to perform the ceremony, and examine the ways that texts may be heard as directions for use, and how those directions are negotiated in an actual ceremony.

Chapter VIII takes a discursive view of three of the most intense moments of shamanic ceremonies: the beginning, the end, and the moment of the spirit's arrival. In connection with these moments, I also discuss other technical points of the recitals, such as the ways that transitions—shifts from introduction to the narrative proper, and from the narrative to the conclusion, along with ensuing shifts in the accompanying performance—are

accomplished, and place these considerations into the overall framework of what is said and what is done.

Chapter IX examines the more private and secretive side of shamanism, analyzing various texts, "*mantars*," which are not publicly recited, though they are required in every ceremony. I apply various ideas about speech acts and performatives to identify the ways that these *mantars* resemble the publicly recited texts. Texts that I examine include, for example, those for raising and subsequently quelling spirits of the dead at the cremation ground [*ghāt*]. These are ordinarily performed in a private ceremony in the middle of the night, attended by no one except the shaman. I also consider the less sensational, but very important, formulas for beginning and ending public ceremonies, and show how these closely relate to those ceremonies and to the recitals used within them.

Chapters X and XI consider, respectively, the cases of shamanic initiation and death ceremonies as meta-ritual templates for all other shamanic rituals. In them, I look at both the relevant texts and the rituals that must be performed, examining the contribution of the two ceremonies to the continuity to shamanic practices.

The concluding chapter is a reflection on this project as it has unfolded, an attempt to concisely summarize the directions that it has taken. In it, I also address the issue of competence, of why anyone should accept my interpretations as particularly valid ones, and I also return to some of the general issues raised in Chapter II.

Throughout, I am occupied with the ways in which meaning is discovered and created, how it is sustained and transmitted. I seek

the various ways that what *jhākrīs* say in their performances answer the questions of what *jhākrīs* are, and what, exactly, they are doing.

II. CASTING INDRA'S NET

While systematic inquiry into the properties of language can be found in the Western philosophic tradition as far back as Parmenides, it has only been in this century that such inquiry has suddenly intensified, reaching a point where the philosophy of language seems to have become co-extensive with at least metaphysics, and perhaps with all of philosophy. At one extreme, this has been specifically heralded as the complete elimination of all of metaphysics (as, for example, A.J. Ayer argued in *Language, Truth, and Logic*). At the very least, the study of thought and of ideas has become the study of them through the intermediary of language. This is a development from which the social sciences are of course not immune, though they often lag a few steps behind each shift in philosophical emphasis. Since this study sets out to reorient a traditional anthropological abstraction, "shamanism," by utilizing this modern emphasis of the mediating role of language, some of the various steps that have led to philosophy's own reorientation deserve to be briefly outlined. It should be made clear at the outset, however, that while these twists and turns of theory themselves mediate my study, they remain for the most part as unemphasized background, so that my exploration of the specifically shamanic world-view (and especially the world-view that emerges from shamanic oral texts) can be more emphatically fore-grounded. I collapse much of the historical development here, and ignore, for example, the differences between logical atomism and logical

positivism, along with many other distinctions which are irrelevant to my purpose. A more thorough treatment of these issues can be found in Rorty [1982] and in Thompson [1981], to both of whom my own position owes much. Secondly, I will also briefly review some parallel developments in sociological theory. Finally, I will note a few anthropological antecedents that also take the "linguistic turn," in order to sketch more fully the theoretical settings in which I have endeavored to work. These notes may be read both as signposts for the way that I have conceived this study and as clues for the way in which I would like it to be read. Except in this chapter and in the final one, most of the issues discussed here, whether philosophical or sociological, are treated implicitly, and they rarely erupt as explicit comments, contrasts, or conclusions. While some reflections do occasionally emerge, too many such tangents would, I believe, weaken the particular focus of this work. I have therefore rather deliberately suppressed this undercurrent, though it nevertheless actively informs my project, as it necessarily shapes any modern intellectual life.

Much of the most recent redirection of philosophy may be traced to the logical positivists, who were interested in delineating "the form of any possible language." Logical positivism wished to construct a logically perfect language of well-formed propositions about the world which could be completely analyzed, bounded between tautologies and contradictions. Each such proposition would be defined by an ostensible reference to the objective world, and each proposition would be self-sufficient ("atomic"), so that all

nonreducible, synthetic propositions could be dismissed as nonsensical. This attempt to derive ontology from logic finds elegant expression in Wittgenstein's slogan "the limits of my language mean the limits of my world," and the overall approach is summarized by him earlier in the *Tractatus* as: "To give the essence of propositions means to give the essence of all descriptions, therefore the essence of the world." [36: 5.4711]

However, in trying to construct such a language, an irremediable need for an untestable set of "protocol" statements emerged, elusive limits apparently never part of the system for which they form boundaries. So too, did an awareness that that so-called "elementary" propositions required such properties as number, or color—expressing only different degrees of the same quality. Consequently, these propositions formed open-ended systems of affiliated propositions, related, as Wittgenstein put it, as are the marks on a ruler. If elementary propositions can contain, say, numbers, they can exclude one another, and hence such propositions are not logically independent. Developing an argument against his earlier efforts, Wittgenstein observed: "It isn't a proposition that I put against reality as a yardstick, it's a *system* of propositions." [1975:110] Gradually, the general direction of reductive analysis was itself called into question, for, as Strawson concluded:

Why should it be supposed that the only way to gain understanding of the words which express philosophically puzzling concepts was to translate sentences in which they occurred into sentences in

which they did not occur? [1956: 103-4, quoted in Thompson 1981:14].

This increasing awareness of unclosable gaps between logical grammars and formal theories of language on the one hand and the events of naturally occurring speech on the other led to new analytic approaches to discourse. Instead of the reductive analysis of sentences, an investigation into ordinary language was advanced. J.L. Austin characterized ordinary language philosophy as the examination of "what we say when." While warning of the traps that words set for us, of their inadequacies and arbitrariness, Austin was nevertheless confident that:

our common stock of words embodies all the distinctions men have found worth drawing, and the connexions they have found worth making, in the lifetimes of many generations. [1979:182]

Much of the way in which an investigation into ordinary language proceeds relies on what may be called Wittgensteinian semantics, particularly on his famous suggestion that very often, to discover the meaning of an expression, we need to look to its use [Pl.43], that "Only in a stream of thought and life do words have meaning." [Z.173] Instead of seeing language as a picture, Wittgenstein suggests that we look at it as a game. Such a view dispels the idea that there is one necessary form of language, one necessary source of meaning. Wittgenstein introduces the notion of "language-game" to suggest that meaning does not result from logical properties intrinsic to language, or to the mind, or to the world, but from custom and training. Language games are social

constructions, from which it follows that knowledge, along with properties such as objectivity and rationality, grow out of social usages. David Pears summarizes this "extreme anthropocentrism," observing that

It is Wittgenstein's later doctrine that outside human thought and speech there are no independent, objective points of support, and meaning and necessity are preserved only in the linguistic processes which embody them. They are safe only because the practices gain a certain stability from the rules. But even the rules do not provide a fixed point of reference, because they always allow divergent interpretations. What really gives the practices their stability is that we agree in our interpretations of the rules. [Pears 1970:179].

Wittgenstein's therapeutic reflections on language as games, and on language games as forms of life, are ideas to which social scientists are increasingly receptive. However, his own work was certainly more edifying than it was constructive. Wittgenstein aimed more at helping readers break free from outworn conventions and unprofitable lines of enquiry, than at systematically providing new conventions, so that any attempt to formulate a philosophic system out of Wittgenstein is self-contradictory. It is, in fact, tempting to read the *Philosophical Investigations* as the most sustained set of sarcastic remarks ever recorded. Wittgenstein himself compares it in the Preface to that work to an album of sketches made on a journey. Consequently, it is not always obvious, to say the least, how these meditative reflections might assist a task like ethnological research, though a number of authors have

tried to demonstrate their relevance. Peter Winch [1958,1970], for example, has outlined some ways that these ideas minimally challenge conventional social science and provide new directions for inquiry. Winch's basic argument is that "the central problem of sociology, that of giving an account of the nature of social phenomena in general, itself belongs to philosophy...this part of sociology is really misbegotten epistemology." [1958:43] Arguing that human action is based on the views which the actors themselves hold on what is the case of the world around them, it follows that "social relations are expressions of ideas about reality" [1958:23], a conclusion which Winch later restates as "Social relations between men and the ideas which men's actions embody are really the same thing considered from different points of view." [1958:121] By discussing language, we are discussing what counts as belonging to the world, and what doesn't. As Pears observed, stability depends on following rules, and even more crucially, on agreeing how the rules should be interpreted. While Winch concludes that to study social behavior is to elucidate the rules which people follow in their behavior, he recognizes the importance of procedures that identify when things are the 'same' and when they are 'different'. That is, the most important rules are those for establishing equivalency.

Other important procedures that have a rule-following, game-like nature are those for determining the correct use of expressions, a point emphasized by Strawson, who argued:

The meaning of an expression cannot be identified with the object it is used, on a particular occasion, to refer to. The meaning of a sentence cannot be identified with the assertion it is used, on a particular occasion, to make. For to talk about the meaning of an expression or sentence is not to talk about its use on a particular occasion, but about the rules, habits, conventions governing its correct use, on all occasions, to refer or to assert. [1950:171-172]

On all occasions, that is, within the playing of some particular language game, not in some atemporal eternity, since languages are products of particular, historical, contexts.

Accepting Wittgenstein's metaphor of languages as games, Winch insists that rules necessarily rest on a social context of common activity, an orientation which connects his perspective with that of Alfred Schutz, who undertook to anchor the social theory of Max Weber within the phenomenology of Edmund Husserl. In the Fifth *Cartesian Meditation*, Husserl recognized that the phenomenological perspective could be applied to different levels, one of which is the social world, where it would deal with the constitution of social acts:

Consequently there would come into consideration, as inseparable from and (in a certain sense) correlative to the set of problems indicated, the problem of the constitution of the specifically human surrounding world, a surrounding world of culture for each man and each human community; likewise the problem of the genuine, though restricted, kind of objectivity belonging to such a world. [Husserl 1960:131-132]

It was this plane of the phenomenological method that concerned Schutz, and which comes closest to the locus of Wittgenstein's

reflections. Within it, rules were one, very important, aspect of the "stock of knowledge at hand," out of which participants in a social order construct their explanations of that order. While Winch's interests remain those of a philosopher, not of someone actually investigating social phenomena, Schutz addresses actual social phenomena, but the similarities of their orientations is reflected in the following passage:

...the answer to the question "What does this social world mean for me the observer?" requires as a prerequisite the answering of the quite different questions "What does the social world mean for the observed actor within this world and what did he mean by his acting within it?" In putting our question thus we no longer naively accept the social world and its current idealizations as ready-made and meaningful beyond question but we undertake to study the process of idealization and formulizing as such, the genesis of the meaning which social phenomena have for us as well as for actors, the mechanism of the activity by which human beings understand one another and themselves. [Schutz 1964].

This recommendation has been taken up, in a radical way, by the ethnomethodologists. Ethnomethodology is the study of "commonsense" knowledge: phenomena that are used to construct the social world and its factual properties—the processes of sense making. Its purpose is not to show that this "naive attitude" is false, but how it is created and sustained. It does not attempt to establish "causes" for what people do, but how it is that people come to accept that their behavior does have causes. As Schutz directed, it identifies such aspects as the natural attitude of everyday life, the

practices of commonsense reasoning, and, as already indicated, the stock of knowledge at hand, (recipes, rules of thumb, social types, maxims, definitions...), and particularly relevant to this study, the way in which all of this stock is built upon and expressed in everyday language:

The typifying medium *par excellence* by which socially derived knowledge is transmitted is the vocabulary and the syntax of everyday language. The vernacular of everyday life is primarily a language of named things and events and any name includes a typification and generalization referring to the relevant system prevailing in the linguistic in-group which found the named thing significant enough to provide a separate term for it. The pre-scientific vernacular can be interpreted as a treasure house of ready-made preconstituted types and characteristics, all socially derived and carrying along an open horizon of unexplored content. [Schutz 1962:14]

Commonsense knowledge is not simply a static body of such ready-made features, however, for all of these features have what Schutz called an "open horizon of meaning." That is, all of the elements are pluravocal, each acquires particular meanings in particular contexts. Ethnomethodology examines, pretty much exclusively, the ongoing practices of commonsense reasoning, the ways in which the features of the factual world are creatively negotiated and sustained in particular situations. In Garfinkel's often quoted definition:

I use the term "ethnomethodology" to refer to the investigation of the rational properties of indexical expressions and other practical actions as contingent

ongoing accomplishments of organized artful
practices of everyday life. [1967:11]

To summarize ethnomethodology in one phrase, returning again to the words of Alfred Schutz, it is the sustained and concentrated study of the "fact of the fact": the study of how the social world is constituted for its members as a world of facts. Rather than trying to establish the "causes" of social behavior, ethnomethodologists instead ask, as Kenneth Leiter phrased the question: "How do people come to see forces like norms, values, social classes, and institutions as objectively real and as the cause of behavior?" [1980:25]. Ethnomethodology studies, for example, the "artful practices" by which speakers of a natural language accomplish an ordinary conversation, not the 'what' that is said, but the 'how' that it is said. Sense and meaning, like rules or rationalities, are treated as topics, devices used by members to constitute their ongoing everyday reality. As opposed to Winch, who advocated an investigation into both the ways in which words are used and of what there really is, ethnomethodology concentrates exclusively on the ways that the factual character of the social world is created and sustained. That is, it sustains its gaze on a domain of organizational phenomena used but ignored by classic sociology. This is not, observed Garfinkel, a fault of classic sociology, but an inherent, identifying feature upon which it depends.

It is as well a condition under which classic studies are able and permitted coherently to continue. Further, *that* the domain is ignored is a systematically produced feature of ordinary society and accompanies ordinary society's locally produced orderlinesses and

their natural accountability. That the domain is ignored is a systematically produced feature of ordinary society's practical objectivity, its observability, its recognition, its understanding, or its analysis. [1986: vii]

For my own project, Garfinkel's recommendations will be important, although less so than I imagined when I conceived of and conducted my research. Shamanic texts, I now conclude, even when vigorously decontextualized, continue to make sense. They elude the meaninglessness that ethnomethodology's emphasis on indexicality and reflexivity might suggest, for they themselves are artfully constructed to reestablish around themselves a particular version of reality, one that attempts to achieve independence of the circumstances in which it is invoked. The meaningfulness which the texts achieve in my study of them may not be the 'same' sense as that which they supply to active participants in their more traditional contexts, but even in those circumstances, the concept of 'the same' remains unclear: shamans, clients, and audiences are not constrained to construct a single, definitive meaning for anything. If, in the following chapters, (English translations of) shamanic texts make sense to the reader in the ways that I have contextualized them, it is at least partly because the texts succeed in asserting some sense inherent to them and transforming the contexts in which I put them. One result of my using them is that I inevitably end up playing a shamanic game with language in a way itself illustrative of shamanic language games, vindicating ethnomethodology in spite of my reservations toward it: it seems

that no genuinely complete de-contextualization of these texts is possible, other than one that would reduce them to meaningless sounds.

The directions followed by Schutz and Garfinkel are not the only ones through which a concern for discourse have been carried into my inquiry, and the speculations of both ordinary language philosophers and logico-grammarians have also been taken up in other ways. When discussing mantras in Chapter IX, I am indebted to Austin's theory of speech acts. Austin conceived of this theory as the study of specific meanings of utterances in use by actual speakers in concrete contexts. Austin made it clear that sentences have other purposes than just making assertions or "stating facts," a belief which he labeled the "descriptive fallacy." Austin demonstrated that sentences not only have a constative function, they also have performative qualities: they are not just propositions, they are also actions. He distinguished three dimensions of the performative aspect of speech acts:

the locutionary act (and within it the phonetic, the phatic, and the rhetic acts) which has a *meaning*; the illocutionary act which has a certain *force* in saying something; the perlocutionary act which is *the achieving of certain effects* by saying something.
[1965:121]

Performatives, observed Austin, cannot be evaluated as simply true or false, and he suggested that we instead measure them in terms of felicity and infelicity: a speech act properly done is felicitous. A good deal of unprofitable debate has gone into trying to improve or

make more rigorous this evaluative criteria, usually involving some notion of the speaker's intentions. The debate obscures Austin's original insight, simply that truth and falsity are not the measure of all sentences, that sentences are often meant to achieve other things than descriptions.

Shamanic mantras [*mantars*], it will be seen, are archetypal speech acts. By sorting out the meaning, the force, and the desired effects of shamanic texts, it becomes clear that the public recitals and the private mantras very closely resemble one another. Both rely heavily on imperatives and declaratives, undertaking to force the world to fit the words. As will be shown in Chapter IX, declaratives impose their own conditions on the world, reconstituting reality in their own image. As Stanley Fish put it: "Declarative (and other) utterances do not merely mirror or reflect the state; they are the state, which increases and wanes as they are or are not taken seriously." Fish goes on to explicitly connect his reflections on speech acts to Wittgensteinian language games, concluding:

words are responsible not to what is real, but to what has been laid down as real (as pickoutable) by a set of constitutive rules; the players of the game are able to agree that they mean the same things by their words not because they are able to see the same things, in some absolute phenomenal sense, but because they are predisposed by the fact of being in the game (of being parties to the standard story) to "see them," to pick them out." [1976: 1021-22]

'Things' have no necessary, *a priori* nature which language simply describes or designates, language constitutes those properties of

things which have importance to us, in a playful but conventionally bound (game-like) way.

By focusing on recorded oral texts, I have tried to avoid the two greatest weaknesses of the ordinary language philosophers, namely, their reliance on invented examples (even though he warned against thinking up words in our armchairs, Austin never really analyzed real utterances), and their focus on particular words (such as 'promise' or 'christen') rather than general discourse, criticisms developed by Jack Bilmes [1986:85-86]. Austin also leaves unresolved the problem of intentionality, though this, as I indicated in my first chapter, can be circumvented by rejecting its mentalistic connotations and concentrating on discourse in public rather than thoughts in private. Jeff Coulter [1979:14] points the way to this when he observes that:

Like all other actions, speech-acts depend upon their context of occurrence for their possible recognition as complaints, excuses, insults, jokes and the rest. And, like other actions, they are ascribable independently of psychic or neurological determinations by observers.

Garfinkel himself put it rather more memorably:

I shall exercise a theorist's preference and say that meaningful events are entirely and exclusively events in a person's behavioral environment...Hence there is no reason to look under the skull since nothing of interest is to be found there but brains. [1963:190]

Examining texts actually provides a rather simple solution to the problems of intentionality, since, as Paul Ricoeur put it, "the text's

career escapes the finite horizon lived by its author," whose possibly subjective original intentions become coincident with the meaning of the text, open to public exploration. This study will, however, break down the restrictive delineation of speech and writing which Ricoeur proposed, by showing that the characteristics of oral texts are the same as those of written ones.

Boundaries between speech and writing are breached in other ways, too. Chapter VIII, which looks at various technical aspects of the recitals, including how they open and close, is loosely inspired by the works of Harvey Sacks. Beginning from the programmatic of ethnomethodology, Sacks and his colleagues have shown, through a meticulously careful analysis of transcriptions of natural speech, just how carefully organized natural conversation is, finely tuned in such matters as turn-taking, openings and closings, and membership categorization devices: they uncovered the incredible amount of work that is involved in producing ordinary talk [cf. Sacks, Schlegloff and Jefferson 1974]. For my own purposes, it is not the particular observations of the conversation analysts in themselves that are of prime importance (though I find many of them interesting), but rather the lesson of how much detail can be uncovered through the careful analysis of a transcript. More than anything else, Sacks showed how one can begin with matters that seem too obvious and mundane to be bothered with and proceed to build up many subtle observations from them. The studies that he inspired have gone a long way towards showing that the texts of natural conversation, exactly like those that have been written, can

be treated without insisting on any subjective phenomenology of the speakers.

Unlike the ordinary language philosophers, whose work often appears no more than collecting and classifying 'facts' about language use, the conversation analysts concentrate on the production of actual events, a merit sometimes carried to extremes. Sacks [1984: 22] once remarked that "there is order at all points": consequently, everything becomes treated as a technical accomplishment. Still, the conversation analysts need be credited for dealing with things that participants themselves are sensitive to, and for indicating that coherency rather than causal adequacy or statistical occurrence can be a solid foundation for interpretation. Meaning is constituted by the interactions of representation, evidence, and context, negotiated by participants rather than fixed by the social structure or a world somehow external to society.

By concentrating on coherency, I try to avoid seeing my own investigation as one that concentrates exclusively on linguistic 'facts'. This is, as I have earlier indicated, to adopt a pragmaticist (or 'ironist') critique of investigations into facts. Much of the discourse of modernity is rooted in proclaiming the end of philosophy, a messianic message common to, among others, Marx, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Wittgenstein and Derrida. A closely related tendency of Western thought to proclaim teleological closure was invoked by Sacks, who began an attempt to define ethnomethodology in contrast to it:

A curious fact becomes apparent if you look at the first paragraph –it may occur in the third paragraph– of reportedly revolutionary treatises back to the Pre-Socratics and extending up to at least Freud. You find that they all begin by saying something like this: "About the things I am going to talk about, people think they know but they don't. Furthermore, if you tell them it doesn't change anything. They still walk around like they know although they are walking in a dream world." Darwin begins this way, Freud begins in a similar way. What we are interested in is, what is it that people seem to know and use– [Purdue Symposium]

Yet each discovery of the end(s) of philosophy hardens in a specific doctrine, with disciples eager to codify, apply and defend a precise set of new theoretical positions. A pragmatic approach is one that side-steps this debate, for while it avoids making polemical (and probably premature) pronouncements of death, it still suggests that there does exist some point at which we can safely leave off doing philosophy and get on with doing, for example, anthropology. This is the direction that Heidegger points us in, I think, when, in spite of his onto-theological nostalgia (as Derrida probably put it), he warned:

A regard to metaphysics still prevails even in the intention to overcome metaphysics. Therefore our task is to cease all overcoming, and leave metaphysics to itself. [1972:27]

The whole idea is to try to get some general sense of how things hang together, of meanings that are locally created and maintained, without forcing those meanings to correspond within a system judged by either empirical or transcendental standards of

what is 'true'. A pragmatist refrains from comparing descriptions of the world in terms of the adequacy of those descriptions in somehow representing the world. As already mentioned, the chief lesson from pragmatism that I utilize here is to thoroughly accept an ascendancy of narrative over theory—to listen well before beginning to interpret. Literally, when I first listened to shamanic texts, all that I heard was sound. A corollary is to listen to the debates of theory as those unfolding in another literary genre, often influential but not intrinsically privileged. That is, I accept the attitude that meaning exists strictly within discourse, rather than in a relation between language and things outside of it. Things do exist outside of texts, but none of them, whether of soul, mind, matter or other substance, have an intrinsic nature that strives to find expression in words. The world, as Rorty [1989:6] has put it, "cannot propose a language for us to speak." Rorty, following Nietzsche, sees the history of language as the history of metaphor, as a result of sheer contingencies, a non-teleological evolution. The result, loosely, fits rather well into discursive sociology, which as Bilmes has characterized it,

is an approach, not a theory or an analytic system....The crucial feature of the discursive approach is that behavior is viewed as meaningful by virtue of its articulation with a system of discourse rather than by virtue of its being "meant" or motivated. [1986:188]

Nor is behavior viewed as meaningful because it somehow corresponds with the world, for the pragmatic perspective drops the

whole concept of correspondence, whether of thoughts to things or of words to things [Rorty 1982:xvii].

Defined in this way, it becomes clear that some of the best practitioners of classical anthropology were doing something rather similar, and that a pragmatic orientation has long been a part of, in particular, the anthropological study of ritual language. Evans-Pritchard adopts basically this attitude in his classic study of Zande oracles:

I have always asked myself 'How?' rather than 'Why?' Azande do certain things and believe certain notions, and I have tried to explain a fact by citing other facts from the same culture and by noting interdependencies between facts. Explanations, therefore, will be found embodied in my descriptive account and are not set forth independently of it. My interpretations are contained in the facts themselves, for I have described the facts in such a way that the interpretations of them emerge as part of the description. [1937:5]

The agenda which he proposes here is one that I have striven to follow, and to anchor more effectively. My interpretations may also be seen as emerging from my descriptions, even as those descriptions are themselves founded within a discursive space created by shamanic texts themselves. Nor is it simply the interpretations that emerge from within the investigation; the very framework of that investigation takes fresh shapes as my inquiry proceeds. That is to say, pragmatically, that there is not, and cannot be, some fixed, eternal theory which can be first isolated and then systematically applied to some other equally well-determined body

of knowledge ("data"). The framework of investigation also evolves as the investigation proceeds. Once more, Rorty has summed up this position extremely well:

If we have a Deweyan theory of knowledge, as what we are justified in believing, then we will not imagine that there are enduring constraints on what can count as knowledge, since we will see "justification" as a social phenomenon rather than a transaction between "the knowing subject" and "reality." If we have a Wittgensteinian notion of language as tool rather than mirror, we will not look for necessary conditions of the possibility of linguistic representation. If we have a Heideggerian conception of philosophy, we will see the attempt to make the nature of the knowing subject a source of necessary truths as one more self-deceptive attempt to substitute a "technical" and determinate question for that openness to strangeness which initially tempted us to begin thinking. [Rorty 1979:9]

Yet within these bounds, I have also tried to present the material in such a way that my own conclusions need not be the only possible ones. I incorporate extensive passages directly into my discussions, and include the original texts of which they are translations as an appendix. This, hopefully, helps open up for reinspection the steps by which I have reached both interpretations and conclusions, which are, after all, interwoven.

An active evolution of theory within an investigation can be seen in another of anthropology's pioneers who taught us to listen carefully to what people are saying, and who concentrated (at least sometimes) his own work within the discursive space that thus emerges—Bronisław Malinowski. He, too, not only took an explicitly

pragmatic orientation to the Trobriand Island garden magic texts, but also developed a theoretical perspective strikingly similar to that of the latter Wittgenstein (and also similar, as Malinowski himself observed, to John Dewey's). Malinowski viewed language as most essentially a mode of behavior, and only derivatively as a vehicle for thought [1923:316], and he consequently classified human speech with the active modes of human behavior, rather than with the reflective and cognitive ones. Sounding practically indistinguishable from Wittgenstein, Malinowski argued:

it should be clear at once that the conception of meaning as *contained* in an utterance is false and futile. A statement, spoken in real life, is never detached from the situation in which it has been uttered. ...utterance and situation are bound up inextricably with each other and the context of the situation is indispensable for the understanding of the words. [1923:307]

Malinowski goes on to observe, in a passage which would fit right into the remarks in the *Philosophical Investigations* about 'slabs' and language games, that:

when a savage learns to understand the meaning of a word, this process is not accomplished by explanations, but by a series of acts of apperception, but by learning to handle it. A word *means* to a native the proper use of the thing for which it stands, exactly as an implement *means* something when it can be handled and means nothing when no active experience of it is at hand...A word is used when it can produce an action and not describe one, still less to translate thoughts. The word therefore has a power of its own, it is a handle to acts and objects and not a definition of them. [1923:321-322]

As an exemplary ethnologist, however, Malinowski never allowed his theory to constrain too rigidly his data, with the result that his best work forces a re-evaluation, a thorough diluting, of these theoretical extremes. While his conclusions of the complete indexicality of all meaning would suggest that oral texts become meaningless once removed from their contexts, he nevertheless produced excellent, clearly understandable, word-for-word translations of the texts used in Trobriand garden magic. Stanley J. Tambiah has acutely observed that this apparent contradiction was the result of Malinowski's "histrionic talent." Even though Malinowski dwelled on such issues as the "coefficient of weirdness" and insisted that words by themselves had no existence, Tambiah concludes:

In fact his translation was excellent, and he concluded that the "coefficient of intelligibility" in the spells was high. His strategy of teasing the reader and taking him on a circuitous and repetitious route, strewn with his sins of commission and omission, was adopted so that in the end a dramatic answer could be produced, which was that magical language was eminently intelligible. And he graciously conceded that the untranslatable words were untranslatable because he failed to get the services of a "competent commentator." [1984: 31]

Beyond his penetrating comments on Malinowski, Tambiah's essays have in themselves contributed to the general direction that this work has taken. His idea of "performative blueprints" as a way of trying to express "the conjunction of semantic and pragmatic features, and of thought and action, that occurs in ritual" [1985:2]

contributed to my initial conceptualizing of Chapter VII. Further, his suggestions on the intelligibility of magical language in general, and of South Asian mantras in particular, expressed in various essays now collected in *Culture, Thought, and Social Action* helped me considerably in my own re-evaluation of shamanic *mantar*, which I undertake in Chapter IX.

There are also, of course, numerous other ethnological antecedents for this study. Four that deserve to be specifically noted are works by G.J.Held [1945], Rolf Stein [1959], Anthony Jackson [1979], and Jeanne Favret-Saada [1980], each of which has acted as a gentle confirmation of my own inclinations, since each, in different ways, involves sociological research carried out within texts. It is as pathfinding precedents, rather than for any specific theoretical insights or analytic achievements, that I gratefully acknowledge them, for confirming that interesting and significant sociological discoveries can be made when concentrating on texts. Each, along with Evans-Pritchard and Malinowski, shows that good translation and good ethnography are practically indistinguishable.

One last anthropologist who clearly deserves mention is Claude Lévi-Strauss, with whose work my own may be at least superficially compared. A chief reason for this is that my study is concerned with texts that might be characterized as mythological, and it further sometimes examines the structure of such texts. A key way in which it differs, though, is that I take entirely seriously a dramatic subjunctive from Lévi-Strauss' own theoretical

delineations, namely, the passage of The Raw and the Cooked in which he states:

I therefore claim to show, not how men think in myths, but how myths operate in men's minds without their being aware of the fact...[I]t would perhaps be better to go still further and, disregarding the thinking subject entirely, proceed as if the thinking process were taking place in the myths, in their reflections upon themselves, and their interrelation. [Lévi-Strauss.1969:12]

Had Lévi-Strauss actually taken that suggested perspective, dropping any residual mentalism and making a final break with his neo-Kantian aspirations of trying to find transcendental universal mental relationships, our works would have a common ground in which comparisons might be fruitful. Even within such a comparison, however, it would be found that my effort to give voice to certain texts is entirely different from a search for relations of homologies and isomorphisms—the key characteristics of the structural method in anthropology. Instead, I am concerned throughout with the ways that texts are used to inform and make significant ritual events, with the game in which they are the markers. Even on a less methodological level, I am very uneasy about describing shamanic texts as being somehow “mythologies,” a term whose meanings in this context remain uncertain. Possibly, one could call shamanic recitals “specialists’ myths,” seeking some way of indicating that they provide precise cosmological instructions only to a few members of the society in which they are used, but I am unclear what the usefulness of such a definition might be. It has been

precisely to avoid having to re-appropriate too many exploited words (it takes enough effort just to reclaim 'shaman') that I prefer to call the texts by the more neutral term 'recitals', for these texts have a severely limited existence outside of their ritual contexts. Many myths of gods and goddesses, including those of the Hindu pantheon retold in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyana, are well known throughout Western Nepal: a project of contrasting the themes of those stories, as villagers tell them, with those of the stories found in *jhākrī* texts is one which I would certainly like to undertake. It is, however, an undertaking which I reserve for the future, one well outside of this present study.

It is only a truism to state that there are many directions not taken in this study, some deliberately avoided, and undoubtedly others of which I am not even aware. In Chapter XII, I return to this issue, once those directions actually taken have found their concrete expressions, to reconsider my reasons for having taken them. I also re-evaluate some of the theoretical issues left hanging here. Until then, many of the issues introduced in this chapter will only infrequently surface, and the "I" who speaks and is spoken will also for the most part remain submerged. There will be, still, occasional reminders that both the "I" and the theoretical issues together continue to supply the underpinnings of this endeavor, and that both are necessarily also subjects, along with more apparent issues, that actively undergo reformulation and revision throughout.

III. ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

The hills of Western Nepal offer a harsh, rugged setting in which the inhabitants continually struggle to survive. Agriculture is the only significant economic activity, yet harvests almost never exceed what is needed for subsistence, and are frequently much less, leading to chronic malnutrition and periodic famine, problems compounded by inequitable land distribution and an exploitive local aristocracy. Basic necessities from outside the area, such as salt and cloth, are ordinarily obtained through barter, for hard currency is scarce.

The economics of international 'development' are making inroads into this traditional economy, with increasingly large supplies of cash made locally available, filtering down through the system of political patronage. The two chief products of development efforts in Jājarkoṭ so far seem to be corruption and frustration, issues however peripheral to this study. In any case, recent changes are easy to exaggerate; returning in 1989 after an absence of nearly six years, I was mostly struck by how much remains the same as when I lived there from 1977 through 1983.

In this impoverished setting, it is perhaps a surprise to find that two competing forms of systematic spirit possession continue to be supported, at considerable cost, by the local population. This surprise is intensified when it is seen that both traditions exist outside the mainstream of the Hindu religion and social system, which dominate the local society. Both forms of intercessor must

compete not only with each other for clients, but also with the Brāhman priests and Jaiśī astrologers of popular Hinduism, and further compete with the recently introduced, government-sponsored practitioners of Western-style allopathic medicine. Nevertheless, in the District of Jājarkoṭ, where my six years of work and research were conducted, we find flourishing two distinct types of practitioners of spirit intercession, *dhāmīs*, who I will identify as oracles, or mediums, and *jhākṛīs*, who are shamans in the precise meanings of that term.

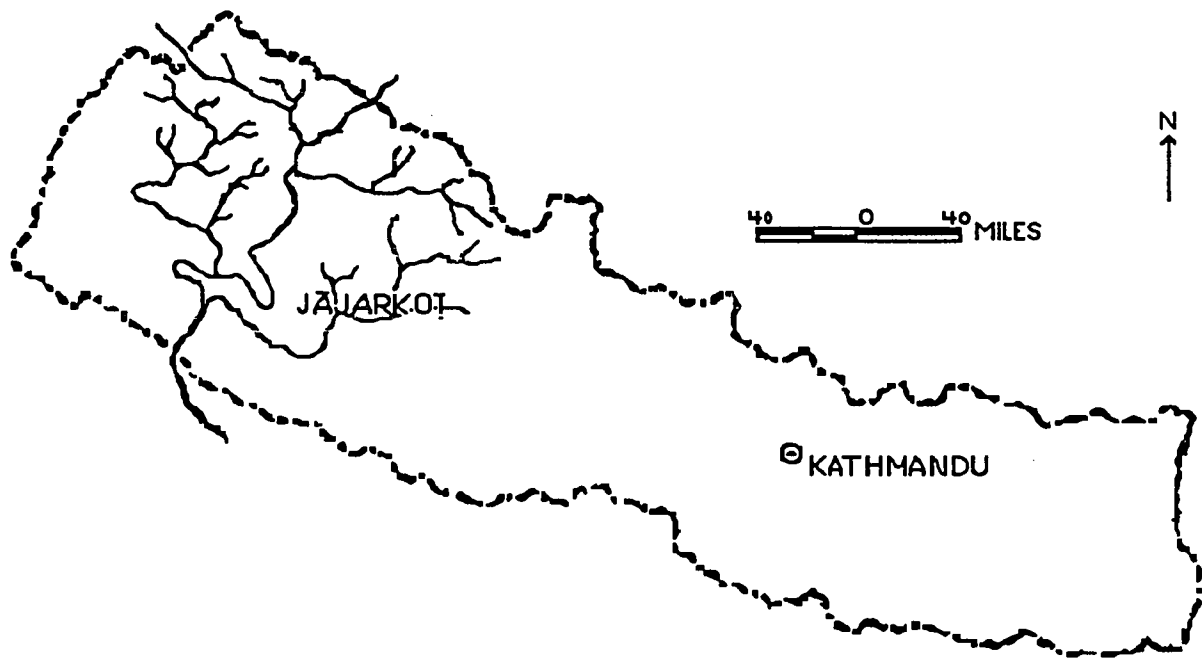
Though surprising at first, the plurality of practitioners is apparently the rule throughout the Himalayas, as ethnographers have gradually been discovering and is echoed in the shamanic texts themselves, as the opening passage of my first chapter demonstrated. It is not, however, my purpose to provide a comparative overview of the varieties of specialists, even less to synthesize them into a single 'system' that can then be analyzed as a complete 'structure.' Initially, I must admit, I considered trying to do so, to follow a recent trend in interpretive anthropology (of the kind best associated with Clifford Geertz), but the material itself has firmly resisted it. I have had to conclude that the co-presence of multiple forms of ritual activity is just that, an accidental co-presence, not a system of balance, nor a system of contradiction—simply, not a system. It is primarily convenience and convention, not some division that satisfies different social or psychological 'needs', that influences choices between alternatives when choices exist, and often, for reasons of availability, cost, or custom, choices

are not really present, decisions as to who to consult do not really have to be made. I will look at some of these issues later in this chapter and in the following one, when I develop the contrast between *jhākrīs* and *dhāmīs*, doing so in order to clarify a semantic confusion that exists about them, and as a device for bounding the sphere of *jhākrī* activities, but not in order to propose some system of beliefs, or activities, or whatever, that embraces both of them.

As an alternative to positing a 'totality' of ritual activity in Western Nepal, I choose instead to conduct a thorough, detailed study of one type of specialist, the shamans. Instead of limiting myself to the detailed study of a single village, as is typically done by most anthropologists, I analyze material that I collected from more than a dozen different villages, ranging from a dozen houses whose inhabitants are of a single caste to growing settlements of hundreds of diverse families where post offices, schools and shops have been established. Additionally, thanks to the generosity of John T. Hitchcock, I have been able to include selections from texts which he collected in the Bhujī Valley, a five days' walk east of Jājarkoṭ. There he tape-recorded more than thirty hours of texts during his research trips in 1961/62 and 1967. This material provides a geographic range and a time depth which clearly would have been otherwise impossible for me to obtain. The remarkable similarity of many texts also demonstrate their relative stability. To a considerable extent, it is this stability that has made the texts central to my study. I have concluded that such texts are in fact the most invariant, the least indexical or reflexive, of all the variables,

the most suitable material from which to begin any analysis amid a streaming flow of individual beliefs, which are often changing, contradictory, and inarticulately expressed. While I sometimes make generalizations on what people do or 'believe', I endeavor to keep such reflections to a minimum, and limit my focus to what the texts themselves say. Only with a collection of such sharply focused studies, I believe, can real justice be done to the incredible complexities of ritual activity in Nepal. The lack of such studies is perhaps not so much a consequence of the theories ethnographers find fashionable, but of the research situation itself in Nepal. Until the 1950s, Nepal did not permit any international research whatsoever within its borders. Even today, many areas of the country remain closed to research and it is bureaucratically difficult to stay long within the country, a situation that inevitably produces quick surveys rather than deep studies. There are also numerous topics, primarily of a political nature, which are rarely acceptable as research topics. Researchers who persist in examining such themes eventually find themselves unwelcome in the country.

Of the various regions of the country, the far west remains the least studied, a consequence of its remoteness. No literature whatsoever exists on Jājarkoṭ, and the situation for the surrounding districts is not much better. Appendix II provides a review of the literature on the surrounding areas, along with a comprehensive bibliography of Himalayan ethnography. To introduce Jājarkoṭ, I sketch a portrait of the district in this chapter, one which also generally holds true for the neighboring areas as well.



Map III.1.

Nepal, showing the Bherī-Karnāli Drainage and the locations of Jājarkoṭ and Kathmandu.

Jājarkoṭ lies in the foothills of the Himalayas, about 100 air miles west northwest of Kathmandu, as located on Map I. In the early 1970s, a grassy landing strip suitable for short-take-off-and-landing aircraft was constructed in the neighboring district of Rukum about ten kilometers from Jājarkoṭ Khalāṅgā, the district center. In 1981, a radio tower was added. Unfortunately, the generator for the radio is powered by kerosene, which is always in short supply, apparently sold by the officials on the blackmarket. Two flights a week provides a fair weather link to the capital and to

Nepālgañj, the chief bazaar town of Western Nepal, located on the Indian border north of Lucknow. If the cost, or the weather, prevents one from flying, one can reach Kathmandu by first walking forty miles to a road head leading south to the Indian border and then traveling two days by bus and train across Uttar Pradesh, re-entering Nepal by bus south of Kathmandu. Previous to the relative success in the 1960s of malaria control projects in the Terai, lowland jungles bordering India, for most of the year it was safer to walk the entire way on the postal route through Nepal's middle hills, a trip that commonly took thirty days, covering more than 300 miles.

The District Center is a small town with 200 houses dominated by the old palace (which now houses the offices of both the Chief District Officer and of the District Pañcāyat). It straddles a narrow ridge about 2500 feet above the Bherī River, itself about 2,000 feet above sea level at that point. Houses, like those throughout Nepal, are built out of stone, mortared with mud, and usually have slate roofs, though some are thatched. Wood is used for beams, doors, and windows. Floors and inside walls are periodically smeared with a mixture of cow dung and red clay; outside walls are plastered with either red clay or white lime. Houses are two storied, and divided into four or more rooms. Most have a courtyard, in which domestic tasks such as husking rice or winnowing grain takes place. In most villages, the ground floor of the houses is used to house domestic animals through the winter, but because fodder supplies have been depleted nearby, there are few animals kept in the district center. Every morning, dozens of children carry jugs of buffalo and

cow milk up the hill from either side, supplying the families of officials and some of the wealthier local families. Although there are many dairy animals throughout the area, milk is quite scarce, since most of the year they are grazed in high mountain pastures, where clarified butter, rather than milk as such, is their chief product. The quality of the animals is also poor, with four or five liters a day from a buffalo, and two or three from a cow, considered good yields.

Throughout Jājarkoṭ and its neighboring districts, foot trails provide the only means of travel. A few of these trails are suitable for horses and mules, but neither animal is commonly used for travel within the district. Some long-distance trade does make use of them, and some salt still reaches Jājarkoṭ on the backs of *dzoms* (the female crossbreed of yak and cow) from the north. Every winter, families of ethnic Tibetans as well as Khas from Jumlā, Mugu, and Dolpā winter in the area, but ever since the Chinese occupation of Tibet, nearly all trade is conducted to the south. One of the less important pilgrimage routes to Mt. Kailash and a fairly well used trade route between Jumlā and Nepālgañj (also not the major route) pass through Jājarkoṭ. These routes have provided traditional avenues for wider cultural contacts, and probably also ways in which external influences have reached the *jhākrīs* as well, of which the period wanderings of Kānpḥaṭa yogis should be especially noted. Kānpḥaṭas have established centers in both Jumlā Khalangā and at Swargadwārā in Sallyān, frequently traveling between the two through Jājarkoṭ. Some of their practices are strikingly similar to

those of *jhākrīs*, a point I examine further in the chapter on *jhākrī* death rites.

Until 1960, Jājarkoṭ remained an autonomous kingdom within Nepal. An annual tribute of 701 rupees was paid by the local king to the king in Kathmandu; local political and legal administration was left entirely to Jājarkoṭ's king, though he applied the national legal code. For three generations, however, Jājarkoṭ's kings have preferred to live in Kathmandu, and have rarely visited the area, leaving the management of affairs to relatives. The present king is a jet pilot for the state airline, as are two of his cousins. Everyone in Jājarkoṭ still calls him the "Rājā." When I first came to the district in 1977, I remarked that his picture hung in the office of the high school, while that of King Birendra was absent. Since 1960, government administrators have been appointed by the central authority. The remoteness of the area, however, still leads its inhabitants to discuss "Nepāl," synonymous with "*tin sahar Kāṭhmāṇḍu*," [the "three cities" of Kathmandu Valley] as if it were another country, and the traditional balances of and struggles for power between royal cousins, traditional ministers, and vassal chiefs continue despite the presence of the new officials, who in any case are frequently transferred and by whom such a remote posting is seen as close to exile.

Jājarkoṭ has an area of about 100 square miles and a population of perhaps a 100,000 (A national census takes place every 10 years, but the officials tend to summon someone from each village to report on the population there, rather than venture

themselves out of the district center). The entire district is an unending succession of ridges and valleys, whose elevations vary from 2,000 to 21,000 feet above sea level, providing a wide range of environments ranging from semi-tropical jungles to permanently snowcapped mountains. Average rainfall is moderate, around 1000 to 1500 mm a year, most of it falling during the summer monsoon. The chief crops are corn and wheat, with considerably smaller amounts of rice, millet, and barley also grown. Oxen are used to plow the fields and to thresh grain, but otherwise, all agricultural activity is done by hand. Although 98% of the economically active population is engaged in agriculture, because of the rugged terrain, only some 10,000 hectares—5% of the total surface—are under cultivation, in terraced plots along the rivers and on the less steep slopes. Nearly all of the better land remains under the control of the former royal family, but even so there are only 200 holdings of more than 1.5 hectare, out of a total of 14,000 titles. Of those, 6000 are for parcels smaller than 0.2 hectare. (Statistics quoted are from *Mechī dekhi Mahākālī*, B.S.2031.) The total agricultural land available per person is only 0.1 hectare. Frequently inadequate rainfall (and occasional complete failure of the summer monsoon to arrive), periodic insect swarms, poor nutrient levels of the soil, and the introduction of inappropriate crops complete the bleak agricultural picture. Modern varieties of wheat have become popular, because of their flavor, and have tended to supplant the traditional crops of millet and barley even at altitudes with too short a growing season to ensure a good wheat harvest. Consequently, adequate subsistence

is a goal not often reached by many families, and periods of famine are common. Rice, the preferred food throughout Nepal, is so scarce throughout most of the district that children go out and sing a song about it to brag when their family is cooking some. Par-boiled rice, supplied by international food aid and marketed by a government shop, is the chief staple for officials. With current population growth estimated at 2% annually, pressure to emigrate to recently opened land in the Terai, or to India, is increasing. It is still uncommon for entire extended families to leave; more often, younger sons will depart, only sometimes taking their families with them. A new trend, however, is for more educated family members to seek employment or opportunities for further study in Kathmandu or Nepālganj, in which cases more members of the family are usually anxious to go along.

Along with the marketing of occasional crop surpluses by those with more land, small incomes are generated by trade in hashish, wool, clarified butter, and medicinal herbs. Trading is conducted both through local merchants and in winter caravans to the bazaars of the Indian border. On such trips, many men from the same village travel together, taking their sheep and goats as pack animals. The round trip takes several months. Besides providing a better value for one's goods, such trips also offer the lure of seeing a different world, one with wheeled vehicles, electric lights, and even a cinema. The only comparable excitement locally is when the government occasionally sponsors movies on such themes as family planning or the king's latest diplomatic triumphs, the projector

being powered by a portable kerosene generator. The hydro-electrification of the district center was undertaken in 1989, providing current for a few street lights for two hours a night, enough however, to power Jājarkoṭ's first videocassette player, which now attracts audiences nightly and promises to be a significant vehicle for cultural change.

Literacy remains less than 5%. Until 1980 (when more lenient grading was introduced) only a dozen individuals, one woman among them, had passed the high school leaving examination, so nearly all government posts, even minor clerical jobs, go to outsiders. Locals do necessarily make up the village *pañcāyat* (self-government) system, but except for the secretary of each *pañcāyat*, these are unsalaried. Most school teachers, however, are now locals, earning an average monthly salary of U.S. \$20. These positions have become available to locals since completing any grade of school is considered adequate qualification to teach any lower grade. This obviously tends to perpetuate a very low standard of education, particularly when decisions as to who passes are often based on favoritism and nepotism rather than standards of merit. A dozen shops selling basic necessities to the locals, and 'luxuries' to the government officials, are well established in the district center, and some have branched out to a few other localities in the district. The number of tea shops (which were forbidden anywhere in the country by the national government until the mid-1950s) are also slowly multiplying. Recently, there has been something of a building boom in the District Center, with numerous new government offices,

paid for by international aid, under construction, which has opened up a few jobs for both contractors and laborers. Other than these few economic activities, only political patronage offers any potential for improving one's economic situation.

By waves of successive migrations, especially those following the Mogul invasion of India, society in Jājarkoṭ has been sufficiently Sanskritized to possess a basic Hindu caste system, at least a version of that system which is prevalent throughout Nepal. Simpler than the caste systems of India, caste demarcation in Nepal concentrates on the "water line"—a division of all caste groups into two levels, those from whom water may be accepted without becoming ritually impure (such as Brāhmans and Chetris) from those from whom one may not (the crafts castes, locally known collectively as 'Ḍum'). A Nepali historian, Fr. Ludwig Stiller [personal communication] estimates that 20% of the country's population falls below the water line, an estimate which seems reasonably accurate for Jājarkoṭ as well.

Considerable confusion has resulted from the attempt to make caste in Nepal fit into traditional Hindu models, an effort that does not however originate with Western ethnographers. Rather, it was a consequence of Nepal's political unification under a Hindu dynasty two hundred years ago and of its attempts to establish religious uniformity throughout the country, one centered on the king's claim to be an incarnation of the Hindu god Viśnu. This found expression in Nepal's first legal code, the Muluki Ain of 1853/1854, which tried to fit the country's ethnic diversity into the 4-fold model of the

Manuśmṛti. What it really produced in place of the Classic division of Brāhman, Kṣetriya, Vaisya, and Śudra, was a division into

a) those entitled to wear the sacred thread of the Hindu twice-born (Brāhmans, Ṭhakuris, and some Chetris);

b) those who traditionally drink alcohol but who are non-enslavable;

c) those who are enslavable but from whom water is not polluting; (Slavery was officially banned in Nepal in 1924. It never seems to have been particularly significant in Jājarkoṭ.)

d) those from whom water is polluting, but whose touch did not require ritual cleansing; and

e) those whose touch did require ritual cleansing.

The divisions of the Ain were, at least initially, more of a legal fiction than a reflection of actual circumstances. Newars, for example, who have their own elaborate caste hierarchies, were simply put in the second category. (The best discussion of the relations between the Muluki Ain and caste in Nepal is found in Höfer [1979]. See Appendix II for other references.) Still, the legal code, and, more importantly, the centuries of migrations from the South and West, have strongly left their imprint on the Far West.

In Jājarkoṭ, as in India, the priestly clans of Brāhmans are identified by everyone as being at the top. In actual social practice, though, Brāhmans, or Bāhuns as they are locally called, are treated as being little better than privileged servants of the royal Ṭhakuri families, who, along with one family of Chetris, are the principal users of Brāhmans in performing life-cycle rites. This patronage is

in imitation of Hindu kingdoms elsewhere (foremost, that of Kathmandu). The Ṭhakuris include the Śāh family of Jājarkoṭ royalty, who claim Rājput ancestry, a claim which is recognized by the court of Kathmandu, even though it depends on a rather fanciful story of one pregnant woman escaping alone from the Moghul siege at Udiapur (or, in some versions, Chittor) and fleeing into the mountains as far as Jumlā. Because this claim has been accepted, there have been several important marriages between local Śāhs and the Rana prime ministers who ruled from Kathmandu from 1846 until 1951. One local woman became the favorite wife of Candra Shumseer, Prime Minister of Nepal in the early part of this century. This resulted in the District Center, Khalaṅgā, having the first 'modern' water system outside of Kathmandu, complete with a surveyor, cement and lead pipes, built in 1930, bringing water to a dozen communal taps which still work, and having the Bherī River below Khalaṅgā bridged by the first iron suspension bridge to be built in the hills. The iron was cast in Scotland, shipped through Bombay, brought from the railhead at Nepālgañj by a parade of elephants, and assembled under the supervision of a Scottish engineer, who was undoubtedly the first Westerner to visit the area. The Śāh family, together with its former vassal chiefs (*nāyaks*, mostly Śāhi Ṭhakuris) and its former ministers (*kājīs*, all Kārki Chetris—the original meaning of Kārki, in fact, seems to be 'minister'), has a nearly complete monopoly on all wealth and political power in the area, and they clearly have the highest social status and prestige. Until 1950, only the Śāhs had the privilege of wearing manufactured rather than home-spun cloth, and

only Śāh women could wear gold jewelry or full-length *sārīs*. As recently as the past twenty years, there have been cases of lower caste women being beaten when they tried to wear a long *sārī* in public, but now even verbal abuse for such an offense is relatively rare.

Chetris rank clearly below both Ṭhakuris and Brāhmans, to the extent that intermarriage with them by either higher group remains scandalous. Along with the very low castes, they perhaps represent the original inhabitants of Western Nepal, the Khas, or at least waves of much earlier migrations no longer remembered in local mytho-genealogies. It has been suggested that they may have come from Central Asia around the time that the Aryans reached the Gangetic plain (around 2000 – 1500 B.C., assuming of course that those migrations did in fact take place and are not also only convenient historical constructs). The Chetris are locally subdivided into *tāgādhārī*—those who wear the sacred thread of the Hindu twice-born, and the *matawālī*—those who traditionally eat meat and drink alcohol. The distinction between the two groups is rather blurred in actuality. Many clans traditionally considered *matawālī* have recently begun to wear sacred threads, while the consumption of alcohol is increasing among all castes. (In 1989, the chief source of government revenue in Jājarkoṭ was the tax on legally distilled alcohol sold in the district, with sales recorded at nearly a hundred thousand rupees every month. The second leading source was the tax on Government sponsored tobacco products.) P.R.Sharma [1972] suggests that all *tāgādhārī* Chetris have emerged by a gradual

process of social promotion from their original *matawālī* status, and Narharinath [B.S. 2012, pp. 245-257] has published a historic document from Jumlā which illustrates this thesis. These record royal proclamations granting the right to wear the sacred threads to favored individuals and rescinding that right from those in disfavor. It is not unlikely that many of the groups now recognized as Ṭhakuri similarly emerged from disparate backgrounds. Most of the current Ṭhakuri surnames like Śāh, Śāhi, Singh or Malla, are etymologically honorifics, probably bestowed on the group or else successfully self-applied. Like the Ṭhakuris, nearly all Chetris in Jājarkoṭ trace their origins back to Jumlā, (claims which are also impossible to document), and many continue to intermarry with Jumli families.

At the bottom of the caste hierarchy, and the only ones to fall below the water line, are the Ḍums. These are the craft castes of blacksmiths, tailors, potters, leather workers, and musicians. Their status compares roughly to the Śudras in India, not to the untouchables proper, for whom there is no true equivalent in Jājarkoṭ (though the contempt held by everyone for the musician/prostitute caste of Baḍai at least approximates Indian sentiments). Many Ḍums also claim to have originally migrated from the North, and, inevitably, trace themselves to degraded high-caste individuals who transgressed various rules of ritual purity. Again, no firm documentation exists, but the changeable nature of the caste boundaries remain observable today, at least upwardly, since ritual degradation has become uncommon in the past 30 years. Individuals, and even whole groups, 'improve' their surnames. A good example is

found in Saru. Over the past three generations the dhāmī's family have successively called themselves Rokā then Rokāya then R.C.—the last written in Devanāgarī but taken from the English abbreviation for 'Rokāya Chetri', distancing themselves from probable Khas origins, and now basically accepted as *tāgādhārī*. Even more extreme was a case of some of my students changing from 'Thapa Magar' to 'Thapa Chetri' when registering for the school leaving exam, while students from the lowest castes enter their surname as simply "Nepali." This fluidity and mobility (at least as far as ethnonyms are concerned) has also been observed elsewhere in the Far West (see Appendix II), always considered the most conservative area of the country, so such mobility is very likely to be found throughout Nepal.

There are also three or four Muslims in the District, including two old women previously attached to the Śāh families (allegedly as abortionists, an accusation that I was unable to substantiate) and one family of Bengali traders. Another group sometimes found within Jājarkoṭ is the Raute, a small band of migratory hunter-gatherers, whose language has not yet been conclusively classified. As the forests of Western Nepal continue to shrink, the Raute have been spending more time within Jājarkoṭ than was apparently true in the past, for the district retains more forest cover than do the adjacent districts. However, numbering no more than 200, their involvement with the people settled in the district is very limited. Some bartering is conducted, but the Raute prefer not to enter villages and forbid everyone to enter their camps, while locals accuse them of kidnapping women and children.

With the exception of the Raute, all of the castes described so far speak similar dialects of archaic Nepali, i.e. these dialects show more similarity to the language recorded from the time of Prithvi Narayan Śāh than to the language now current in Kathmandu, which reflects considerable Hindi influences, rapidly growing use of English, and, through Hindi, many Persian and Arabic loan words as well. These influences have been slow to reach Jājarkoṭ, though are slowly spreading as radios become more common. Within Jājarkoṭ, the variation in language is greater by geographic lines than by castes, though the speech of the Ṭhakuris of the district center has been influenced by the royal court language. The only other language represented in Jājarkoṭ is Kham, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by Magars, who occupy a few scattered communities in Jājarkoṭ. Magars might better be described as a tribe rather than a caste, since they are outside the traditional system and have little interaction with it. In some areas to the east of Jājarkoṭ, Magars are a majority, but within the district their presence is marginal. In Jājarkoṭ, most, if not all, Magars now speak Nepali as their primary language and are losing their knowledge of Kham. (More about Magars will be found in Appendix II.)

Most villages are scattered across the hillsides, consisting of small clusters of a few houses ordinarily inhabited by related families, separated from the next cluster by fields but connected by labor arrangements and political alignments. Water is usually obtained from streams or springs, both of which are common, so that settlement patterns are determined more by topography—of where

the slopes can be terraced—than by other resource considerations. The central government is currently in the process of surveying and classifying all land, in an effort to prevent more forest from being converted to crops, to prevent abuses of share-cropping, and in hopes of generating more revenue through land taxation. So far, land reforms have had negligible impact locally.

Brāhman, Ṭhakuri, and *tāgādhārī* Chetri marriages follow the traditional Hindu guidelines; they are negotiated early by families, approved by astrologers, and conducted by Brāhmans, the ceremonies completed by the time the bride and groom are in their early teens. *Matawālī* Chetri marriages are quite distinctive, often involving what amounts to a bride price instead of a dowry, which probably reflects original Khas practices, discussed further in P.R. Sharma [1971], and in B. Shrestha [B.S.2028]. Since such payments for women are now illegal in Nepal, 'gifts' of money and goods are made at various stages of the wedding negotiations from the groom's family to the bride's. It is also possible for a prospective son-in-law to earn his future wife by working for a negotiated number of years for his future father-in-law. Marriage by capture is not unknown, though it is locally romanticized out of proportion to its actual occurrence, it being quite rare. In many cases, though, for both *matawālī* Chetris and Dums, marriages are very casual, with teenage boys and girls simply pairing together and eloping, and not infrequently parting again, even after the birth of children, who often stay in such cases with the mother. Mixed-caste marriages are not rare, though they are generally disapproved. In nearly all cases (except, for example,

when parents strongly disapprove a son's choice of wife), residence is patrilocal in extended families. Once a younger son is well established and has several children, he will often build a house of his own. Until such independence can be established, some families will spend most of the year herding animals, housed in temporary sheds along with the animals, with the older males away the rest of the year on trading trips. The eldest son eventually inherits the house, (or the larger part of it, if it is large enough to be subdivided) with land and animals divided among male descendants. Families tend to be large, with pregnancies following one upon another. Women do all of the household work, collect all the firewood and fodder, have most of the early child-rearing responsibilities, and also provide most of the agricultural labor other than plowing. Children also help with these tasks as soon as they are able, in addition to having primary responsibility for tending both the animals and their younger siblings. Other than plowing and trading, men engage in collectively building new houses and terraces, repairing old ones, threshing, and sometimes help with planting and harvesting, but have considerably more leisure time than do women, who begin working before dawn and continue past sunset.

Two meals are ordinarily eaten, the first in mid-morning, the second after dark. There is little variety in them, unleavened flat bread made from corn, wheat, or millet being the usual main course, supplemented with a little lentil broth or seasonal vegetables such as mustard greens, potatoes or yams. Few other plants are

cultivated, though other traditional ones such as nettles and fern-shoots grow wild. Salt and chilli peppers are the ordinary seasonings, with turmeric, cumin, and coriander also available in local shops but frugally used. Other than at festivals that include animal sacrifice, meat is scarce, as are eggs or any fruit.

The yearly agricultural cycle centers around the monsoon, which ordinarily begins in late May, increases during the next three months, and then diminishes in September. Plowing, fertilizing, and preparing rice seed beds all precede the monsoon, and it is followed by the harvest, with planting, tending, weeding and related activities conducted throughout it. Activity the rest of the year is less intense. The harvest is processed, houses are repaired and new ones built, trails and terraces are maintained. The winter is a time of relative leisure for many men, though women are rarely inactive at any time of the year.

As may be expected from the marginal level of subsistence, the quality of health in Jājarkoṭ is low. For Nepal as a whole, the World Bank estimates the average life expectancy to be around 40 years, with a child mortality rate above 25%, statistics that must be regarded as quite conservative when applied to Jājarkoṭ. My own observations and the family histories that I collected throughout Jājarkoṭ suggest that child mortality there may exceed 40%. A Dutch survey of leprosy throughout Nepal found the highest incidence of that disease to be in Jājarkoṭ, and also estimated that the incidence of tuberculosis is among the highest in Nepal. Cholera, typhoid, and rabies epidemics occur, and other severe diseases like encephalitis,

meningitis, and hepatitis are common. Following up on their survey, the Dutch built an expensive hospital at the district center, completing it in 1983. It is the only building in the district to have glass window panes, and most of its furnishings were imported from India. It has remained inoperative, however, for no agreement had been reached with H.M.G. over staffing it. A temporary collection of staff and patients were rounded up for the Royal inauguration in 1989, but this was more of a photo opportunity for the queen than anything relevant to health care.

There is also a four-room government health center in Jājarkot Khalāngā and four one-room health posts in outlying villages. After an initial period of considerable experimentation, most villagers accurately concluded that these are best avoided, except in cases that are probably hopeless anyway and when all other options have failed. Mismanagement, corruption, and medical incompetence have all contributed to this conclusion. A single M.B.B.S (an Indian degree of Bachelor's in Medical Science) is assigned to cover the entire district, and, like many other officials, he is frequently away on official or casual leave. One that was assigned to Jājarkot for much of the time that I lived there was a chronic alcoholic, more in need of treatment than capable of dispensing it. Drug consignments are limited and are ordinarily long past their expiration dates. They are consistently blackmarketed, either sold to middlemen who hoard them or else sold at exorbitant prices directly to the patients, who are supposed to receive them at nominal cost. Generous 'gifts' are often made to the 'doctor' just to be seen by him. Several cases of

penicillin reaction resulting in death have occurred, for the powerful antibiotics that do become available are used indiscriminately, with drug therapy almost inevitably mismanaged. Nevertheless, as throughout the world, injections and capsules have rapidly acquired a nearly magical status, so that most villagers who do consult a "modern" medical practitioner expect these medicines to have an immediate curative effect on all ailments. They are thoroughly disappointed if their treatment doesn't include these techniques, regardless of their symptoms. The health post officials, who have received a three-month training course beyond their high school education, which earns them locally the title of "doctor," actively encourage this attitude towards drugs, since a major portion of their income is derived from charging for services which are supposed to be either free or minimally priced. Even so, a visit to the health post can be a much less costly undertaking than is consulting a spirit intercessor, so we must look beyond economics to understand the continuing success of the spirit intercessors. One explanation may be provided by local theories of disease causality, an issue I investigate in Chapter V, and by the fact that spirit intercession is more familiar, less frightening and less intrusive than is Western-style medicine, and its practitioners are both less condescending and far easier to understand.

There are, as I have mentioned, two distinct types of ritual practitioners in Jājarkoṭ who both rely on systematic spirit possession as a definitive part of their practices, *jhākrīs* and *dhāmīs*, as well as other religious specialists, such as Brāhman

paṇḍits and Jaiśī astrologers, who do not use spirits. As I have explained, it is not my primary purpose in this work to contrast all of these throughout, but some comparison is helpful, serving to highlight more quickly some of the distinctive features of the *jhākrīs*, as well as to complete the ethnographic portrait of the area.

Dhāmīs, who are the exclusive vehicle for spirits elsewhere in the Bherī/Karnālī area, are the most common form of spirit intercessor found in Jājarkoṭ, outnumbering *jhākrīs* by more than twenty to one. *Dhāmīs* come from all castes, including those who wear the sacred thread, while all *jhākrīs* are either Dums or Magars, most being Kāmīs (blacksmiths). All currently practicing *jhākrīs* and a majority of the *dhāmīs* are male, although it is theoretically possible for a woman to practice either calling. Since for both *dhāmīs* and *jhākrīs*, the transition over generations tends to remain within the patrilineage of a single family, passing from father to son, males are favored, though there is no rule demanding this and exceptions are fairly common. In particular, it is not unusual for a *dhāmī*'s wife to succeed him, especially when there is no son or until an infant grows up. There are also certain minor dhāmic spirits who are ordinarily represented by women (in most cases, these are the spirits of female suicides).

In villages where a particularly powerful *dhāmī* resides, such as that of Maṣṭā in Pāīk, *jhākrīs* are not permitted to perform, nor are they ever summoned to certain households elsewhere which have a particularly strong relation with a dhāmic god. For example, the Kārkis of Jājarkoṭ Khalaṅgā are connected through several

intermarriages with the Rokāyas of Pāṭk, from whom the Maṣṭā *dhāmī* traditionally comes, and they will never summon a *jhākrī* to their houses, and *jhākrīs* are not allowed even to enter Pāṭk village. Maṣṭā is rather exceptional, however, being respected by everyone in the area as the most powerful god of Western Nepal. While other *dhāmīs* aspire to imitate his exclusiveness, most are not as successful. Although the Śāh family of Jājarkoṭ Khalangā has their own dhāmic spirit (an ancestor who was murdered and returned to demand regular sacrifices), they regularly consult both their *dhāmī* and the local *jhākrīs*, often consecutively for the same cases. At least according to the recitals, *jhākrīs* sometimes send their clients to appease the dhāmic gods, but I have never heard of a case in which a *dhāmī* recommended going to a *jhākrī*. Supplicants travel for weeks to consult a particular *dhāmī*, but would never consider such a trip just to see a *jhākrī*. Nevertheless, *jhākrīs* manage in several recitals to assert their supremacy over *dhāmīs*, and over the other ritualists as well, even if there are few other opportunities to express these sentiments. For example, when the first afflictions have been introduced into the world, intercessors are sought. Before the ordinary ones come, a local version of Brahma himself, here called "Four-faced Barmā" is summoned. Earlier in the same recital we are told that he was born from a lotus at the creation of the earth but retreated to the north rather than fight with the demons. "The North" locates him at the headwaters of the Uttar Gangā, at Dhorpaṭan, where there is a four-faced stone image of him. Since Dhorpaṭan is the site of annual *jhākrī* competitions, it is not such a surprise that

this Hindu element should be developed here, but it is carefully contained, for while he tries to perform a cure, one which combines elements of ritual activity borrowed from the other specialists, it is unsuccessful:

The race of man, sought a jhākrī, sought a jaiśī.

"Who may be learned, who may have listened?
knowledge is dying," thus they began to speak.

"Go to the Northern Parts, Four faced Barmā,
he's read the Four Veda, he's really learned,
he has really listened, summon him here."

Four-faces, going, brought the White Veda,
brought the Black Veda.

Having brought the Garul Veda,
having brought a black yak tail,
having brought a white yak tail,
the Gangā, the Jamunā, immortal water,
he came spattering, he came scattering.

Oh, Four-faces, going,

"He's come, Four-faces, now, he may consume us,"
the nine planets, saying, the seven times of death,
from the race of man, having left off,
climbed a tree to watch.

Oh, the race of man, rose, stood up.

There weren't aches and pains, there weren't fevers born,
there weren't chills and shivers for the race of man.

Four-faces, going,

[with] the white Veda, going,
 he began to draw patterns in the dust.
 [With] the black Veda, going,
 he began to distance the Time of Death.
 [With] the Gaurī Veda, going,
 he began to distance the planets.
 [With] white yak tail, black yak tail,
 he began to distance the obstructions.
 The Gangā, the Jamunā, immortal water, fanning this,
 he wakened them, curing that, he wakened them.
 Against the race of man, there weren't aches and pains,
 there weren't fevers born,
 there weren't chills and shivers,
 there weren't side attacks, there weren't heart attacks.
 Four faced Barmā, went to the Northern Parts.
 The seven times of death, the nine planets, going, [said]
 "Four-faces, going, for the race of man,
 only moved us a little, only raised the Time of Death."
 The seven times of death acted, the nine planets acted.
 Oh, the race of man, had chills and shivers,
 had aches and pains, had fevers born,
 had side attacks, had heart attacks.
 It was again as before. [III.1]

That is, Barmā is quite ineffective. When he first arrives, he scares off the first causes of men's problems, the nine planets and the Time of Death. They initially express fear that he may consume them, but

then just climb a nearby tree to amusedly watch his actions, and return to plague their victims as soon as he departs. The text irreverently puns on Veda, the sacred texts of the Brāhmans, and *veta*, 'cane', used ritually by *jhākrī*, suggesting that Brahma uses his Vedas in exactly the same way that *jhākrīs* use canes, to draw patterns in the dust. He also waves yak tails, which are sometimes worn by *jhākrīs* as well as waved by both *dhāmīs* and *lāmās*, and scatters holy water as a Brāhman might, but his syncretic performance is to no avail. Next summoned are a *dhāmī*, a *jaiśī* (astrologer) and a *paṇḍit* (Brāhman priest).

The race of man [said],
"Even now, who may be learned, who may have listened?"
The race of man, sought a *jhākrī*, sought a *jaiśī*.
In Takabāchī Village, self formed, self taught,
there's still Maitā Dhāmī. He has a Copper drum,
he has a wooden drumstick, he has a brass bell.
There is Kālu Jaiśī, there's still Bharṣā Paṇḍit.
They are really learned, summon them, bring them here."
Maitā Dhāmī, going,
arranged nine *saiyā* [sets of offerings],
arranged nine *garam* [offerings of grains].
On a golden throne, on a silver throne cover,
he began to summon the spirits,
he began to summon the powers.
Kālu Jaiśī, going, scratched the heavens above,
scratched the earth below, scratched on a slate.

Bharṣā Paṇḍit, going, inside twelve books,
looked at a Banares calendar, looked at a local calendar.
They could not say this was a spirit,
could not say this was a power,
could not say this was a witch,
could not say this was a bewitcher,
could not say this was a Bāyu,
could not say this was a Badāl.
Also, Asān Masān, they could not say this was.
Also the seven times of death, also the nine planets,
they could not say this was. They fled away.
Oh, the race of man, had chills and shivering,
had aches and pains, had fevers born. [III.2]

The text provides here brief and rather satiric, but accurate, accounts of the three different specialists, who conclude their diagnostic attempts by fleeing. As the text describes, *dhāmīs* do have drums and bells (though they do not do their own drumming, a point that I will elaborate in the next chapter), they sit on a 'throne', a low stone platform covered with cloths, they have offerings of rice arranged in front of them, and they are possessed by spirits—though I will also dispute in the next chapter that they summon them—perhaps, 'began to summon' should be heard in a negative sense, as 'tried to summon' since if the spirits and powers actually had come, they might have made a correct diagnosis. In any case, Maitu Dhāmī is also unable to help the race of man.

As in the quoted passage, *jaiśīs* make use of a slate on which they make astrological calculations in preparing charts, whose purposes are listed in another recital, putting the words in Kalū Jaiśī's mouth:

We look at men's planets and at their configurations,
We choose auspicious days, calculate the correct time,
draw up horoscopes, [III. 3]

further clarified as horoscopes in order to

check the times to travel,
to fight, to marry, to build a house. [III.4]

Actually, most important are the charts which the *jaiśīs* that draw up at a birth. Virtually all parents have an astrological prediction made when a child is born to them. How seriously these may be taken is well illustrated by the example of *mūl paryo* (when certain planets of both the newly born child and either of its parents occupy the *mūl nakṣatra*). A *mūl* conjunction, when considered independently from a parent's chart, can be either extremely fortunate or extremely unfortunate. But when both child and parent share a *mūl* conjunction, it is held that simply seeing the child will cause the parent's death. Such a child will be disposed of. If not simply abandoned, then it will at least be given away to be raised by others. In one local Ṭhakuri family, all three children have shared the *mūl* conjunction with their father, and all died after being turned over to relatives immediately after their births.

जुस मारवा संचि

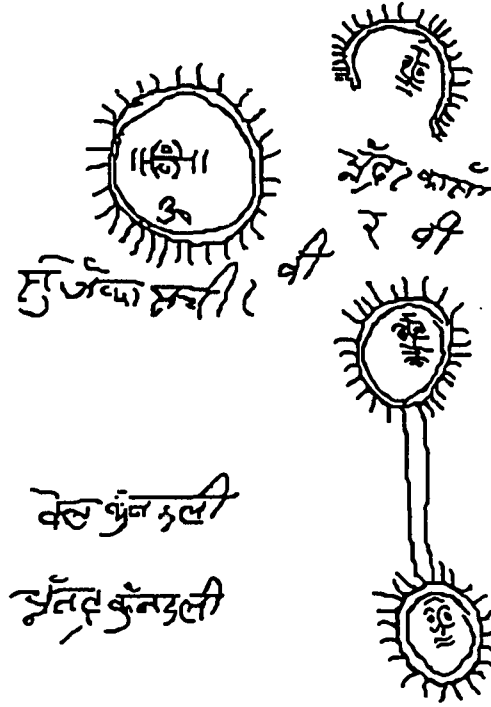


Figure III.1.

Jantar drawn by Karṇa Vīr Jhākṛī.

Jaiśīs are also consulted on many other occasions than just births, as the text indicates. Their intercession is, however, limited to giving advice, and to preparing *jantars*, amulets worn around the neck which contain a drawing of auspicious astrological configurations copied out of a book. The preparation of such amulets is not exclusively done by *jaiśīs*; anyone who has access to such books, and there are many in circulation, and who can read enough to copy letters, can prepare one, including some *jhākṛīs*. For example, Jhākṛī Karṇa Vīr Mohar Kāmī of Ciṇṛī Village drew up the one in

Figure III.1. He painstakingly copied it from a book that has belonged to his family for several generations. The picture undertakes to re-map relations between the sun and moon at the top of the picture [identified as *ravī* and *candra*], in order to achieve the alignment at lower right, which is more favorable to the patient. *Jaiśīs* do not otherwise actively intercede to try to correct unfortunate conditions, in the way the *jhākrīs* do, nor do they diagnose ills other than those that originate astrologically.

There are very few *paṇḍits* in Jājarkoṭ. As locally used, the term means any Brāhman who performs Hindu ceremonies which include the chanting of Sanskrit texts. One local *paṇḍit*, for example, does the ceremonies for the royal family, another for the Kārkis. Neither has much command of Sanskrit, being barely able to pronounce it, and are unable to translate it into Nepali. In the recitals, the activities of *paṇḍits* are summarized when Bharśā Paṇḍit tries to perform another cure:

Bharśā Paṇḍit did knowledge, did meditation,
read the stories, read the seven day ritual,
worshipped Satya Nārāyaṇ.

"I don't know this illness,
don't know its cause" he said. [III.5]

Paṇḍits do worship by reading, in Sanskrit, stories such as the *Srīswastānī Bratakathā* [Purājulī B.S. 2036], over periods of seven or twelve days, so again, the text concisely summarizes a form of ritual activity, one which is, however, more concerned with merit and status than with affliction and problems.

Returning to the main narrative, the *jhākrī* is finally summoned, and makes a correct diagnosis, to which we will return in Chapter V when discussing the causes of afflictions.

"Even now, who may be learned, who may have listened?"

They sought a *jhākrī*, sought a *jaiśī*,
did the race of man.

"Below *Tāli Bhoṭ*, below *Hābā Sābā*,
at *Kaṭu Cauwarai*, self formed, self taught,
having a copper drum, having a lead drumstick,
is *Rammā Purucan*.

He is really learned, he has really listened,
summon him, bring him here."

Rammā Purucan, holding a cane wand,
oh, *Rammā Purucan*, then came there.

At the door, the doorway,
he struck 'twak twak' above, struck 'twak twak' below.

He arranged nine *saiyā* [sets of offerings],
arranged nine *garam* [offerings of grains].
arranged a great *saiyā*.

he lit a lamp, burned incense.

On a golden throne, on a silver throne cover,
he began to summon the spirits,
he began to summon the powers.

did *Rammā Purucan*.

The spirits began to speak, the powers began to speak,
"An *Asān* trick," they said, a *Masān* trick," they said,

"the seven times of death, the nine planets," they say.

"The seven times of death, going, the nine planets, going,
of the Naujā Ghunāmī, tricks were taking place,
pricks were taking place."

The spirits said this, the powers said this. [III.6]

In this description of what a *jhākrī* does, very little distinction is made between the practices of *dhāmīs* and *jhākrīs*. Using the same words, both are said to call the spirits and the powers, but the *jhākrī* makes a successful diagnosis, the *dhāmī* doesn't. Otherwise, what he does closely parallels what the *dhāmī* also did. In other passages, though, the contrast is further developed. For example, an alternate description of a *dhāmī* tells of his being summoned to Indra's house, and of his ritual:

They went to Tārābhṛṣṭ,
brought back Maitu Dhāmī.
He slaughtered a goat at the goat pole,
tossed out sixteen patterns of sacred rice,
gave one handful to Indrajaṅgū,
gave one handful to Vāsudeu,
postponed the crises,
postponed the star positions.
"I don't know this illness,
I don't know its cause." [III.7]

Sometimes the similarities are emphasized, allowing the *jhākrī* to make a claim to higher status by equating his rituals with those of *dhāmīs*, at other times the differences are made clear. *Jhākrīs* are

very sensitive to the claims of important *dhāmīs*, an issue emphasized in a story told by Gumāne Jhākrī of how ancestors of his (two brothers) were summoned to Nepal (Kathmandu) and treated the queen, who was unable to give birth. He diagnosed that Maṣṭā was responsible for her prolonged labor, orders the king to appease Maṣṭā, and is honored by the *dhāmī* for doing so:

"Where is this god? How should we worship Maṣṭa?
What must be done?" [said the king.]

They said

"Maṣṭā is at Kawā Kāḍā, at Bijulī Ḍāḍā.

Give him the rice field at Saro,
give him a brass bell for his temple,
order that all the people worship him."

The king ordered that all of this be done.

The Mahārānī's body was lightened, a son was born.

Later the jhākrī went to Bijulī Ḍāḍā,
and was welcomed by Maṣṭa.

"You have made my arrangements for me,
I give you thanks."

Then he patted the jhākrī on the back.

"May all that you do as a jhākrī be good" he said,
gave him a blessing, sent him away. [III.8]

This story is entirely discounted by the present *dhāmīs* of Bijulī Ḍāḍā and those of Paīk, who now control the field at Saro, who tell a different story of how they came to possess that land, an incident which will also figure in the next chapter, in which I look more closely at the differences between *dhāmīs* and *jhākrīs*.

Before doing so, one absence in the texts should perhaps be noted, that of any significant roles for Buddhist lāmās. This is noteworthy, for while none practice in Jājarkoṭ proper, there are important ones in the adjacent areas of Jumlā and Ḍolpā, the areas

of mythical origin for most of the characters, including both the original *dhāmīs* and *jhākrīs*, who figure in the texts. All mention of *lāmās* in the recitals are very brief and entirely negative, included only as another source of problems to be dealt with. The history of one powerful spirit that many *jhākrīs* summon, Satī Barbā, includes him subduing the descendants of the Kubāms Lāmā, the *lāmā* of 'bad lineage'. That other local specialists are all mentioned more favorably, and only *lāmās* are represented so badly, may be an indication of some possible affinity between Nepali *jhākrīs* and practitioners of *bon* (the supposedly indigenous religion of the inner Himalayas), though the texts offer no further evidence for this.

Lāmās, incidentally, are not prominent in *dhāmic* stories either, even though the *dhāmic* spirits also migrated down from the north. For example, the history of Mahākāl relates that once, an eighty-four *avatār lāmā* used his own wisdom to dry up the ponds where Mahākāl (a thirsty, demonic sort of spirit) was living. But Mahākāl took the form of a wasp and stung the lama in his eyes, blinding him. He could no longer read his books, and all his power was lost. A similar story is told in Jājarkoṭ Khalāngā concerning the Śāh's *dhāmic* spirit. Since none of the other many stories that the *dhāmīs* tell that I have collected include antagonistic references to other classes of intercessors, only to other spirits who have their own *dhāmīs*, these stories are certainly significant, indicating that a considerable animosity towards *lāmās* is shared by *jhākrīs* and *dhāmīs* alike.

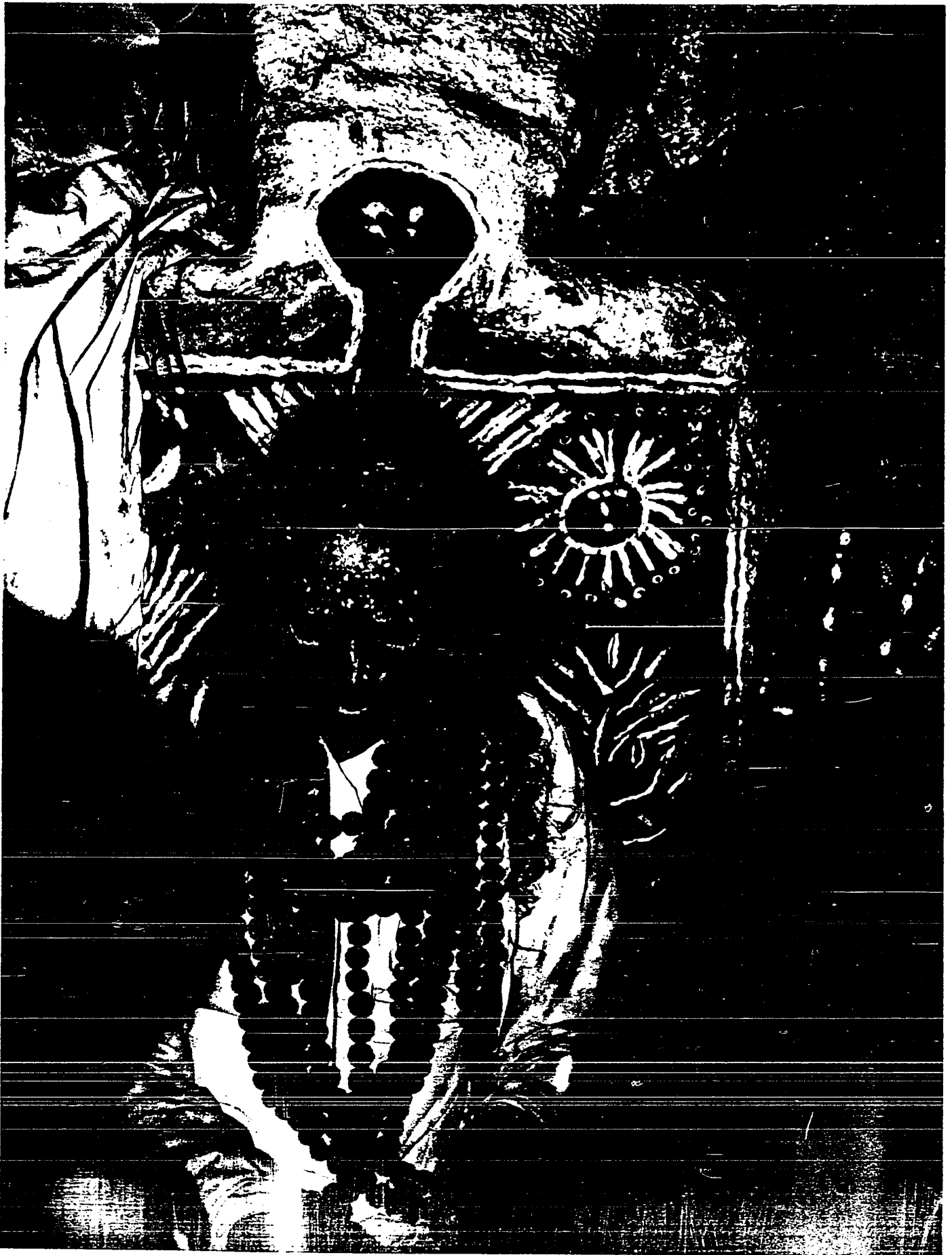
Finally, this description of the variety of ritual practitioners should be concluded by mentioning that many villagers also know at least a few mantras, some read palms, others check pulses, and a variety of herbal treatments are known to nearly everyone. Those who know these things are not considered specialists, however, though individuals who know significantly more than average may be the *gyānīs*, *prakīls* and *pārkiīs* of my opening passage [I.1], of whom the texts only tell us that they

do knowledge, do meditation,
make oblations, measure pulses,
...examine and discriminate, [III.9]

which broadly sums up the things that everyone does when they first encounter problems. The three terms are not in common usage in Jājarkoṭ, other than a loose application of *gyānī*, 'knowledgeable', to any display of cleverness, especially that of children. Karṇa Vīr Jhākrī offered a definition of a *prakīl* as someone who makes a diagnosis on the bases of reading the nine pulses of the body, and of a *pārkiī* as someone who knows the hearts of others. Another suggestion was that the terms might refer to lawyers and government officials, that *prakīl* is possibly a corruption of *vakīl*, lawyer, a profession whose members can be accurately described as examining and discriminating. (This would, however, rely on a unusual distortion of a word recently borrowed through Hindi from Persian.) Otherwise, none of the three presently exist as recognized specialists, at least in Jājarkoṭ.

Distinguishing the cases when home remedies are adequate, and those that require the intervention of specialists, will be undertaken in chapter V, in which the theory of spirit intervention is examined. First, though, as a more thorough introduction to ritual practices in Western Nepal, follows a more detailed comparison of *dhāmīs* and *jhākrīs*.

Photo IV.1. Anarup Rokāya, Maṣṭa Dhāmī of Paīk.



IV. SHAMANIC DESCRIPTIONS OF SHAMANIZING

Both *dhāmīs* and *jhākrīs* are sometimes called "shamans." This parallels a confusion which exists in 'standard' Nepali (the language as it is spoken elsewhere in Nepal outside of the Bherī/Karnālī area), in which the two words are often treated as synonyms, and the compound *dhāmī-jhākrī* can be used to refer, usually disparagingly, to any kind of ritual practitioner who calls spirits, a connotation also present in Jājarkoṭ. This usage is even displayed in a *jhākrī* text [IV.1], in which a Nepali king abusively taunts ancestors of the present *jhākrī* with the term.

In this chapter, I sort out the confusion between the two types of practitioners, relying extensively on self-descriptive passages taken from their texts. Thoroughly developing the contrast between them serves two purposes beyond clarifying a definitional problem. First, it demonstrates the potential that these texts have for clarifying problems of meaning. Second, this offers a portrait of some of the activities that these specialists regard themselves as capable of doing. Hence, a preliminary, tentative answer to the question "What does a *jhākrī* do?" emerges, one which will gradually be modified throughout this work.

That the word 'shaman' comes from Siberia is a major reason why comparisons are inevitably drawn between 'shamanic' phenomena elsewhere and those of Central Asia, for those happened to be first to attract a scholarly interest. Unfortunately, in an effort to delineate manifestations of 'primitive' religion throughout the

world, such comparisons have been made so widely, involving such a great variety of phenomena, that the word has become extremely ambiguous (hopelessly ambiguous, some have suggested). Even for Central Asia, there is disagreement over what really constitutes the 'essence' or necessary features of shamanism. The word was introduced to the West from Tungus, for whom it is also apparently a loan-word: Mironov and Shirokogoroff [1924] convincingly argue that the Tungus word 'shaman' can be traced back to the Sanskrit *śramaṇa* [Buddhist monk, or, more generally, any religious adept], via the intermediary Pāli form *samaṇa*. It entered English through Russian by way of the 17th century travelers who first described the Siberian peoples and their customs. An excellent definition is provided by Shirokogoroff in his discussion of the Tungus:

In all Tungus languages the term refers to *persons of both sexes who have mastered spirits, who at their will can introduce these spirits into themselves and use their power over the spirits in their own interests, particularly helping other people, who suffer from the spirits: in such a capacity they may possess a complex of special methods for dealing with the spirits.* [1935:269, italics in original]

This definition is further clarified with the remark that "the most important and characteristic condition which makes of an ordinary man a shaman is that he is a *master of spirits*, at least of a group of spirits." [1935: 271] Shirokogoroff mentions the undertaking of 'soul-journeys' to the underworld as an infrequent and relatively unimportant characteristic [p. 310]. Yet it is precisely supernatural travel that Eliade, usually considered the foremost expert in the

field of shamanic studies, insists to be its central feature, in conjunction with 'ecstasy'. He argues that historically, "the shaman specializes in a trance during which his soul is believed to leave his body and ascend to the sky or descend to the underworld." [1964: 5] That is, Eliade explicitly excludes spirit possession as a necessary element of shamanism, arguing that it is a historically derivative feature, whereas a soul journey is not a necessary characteristic of Tungus shamanism. It is of course not difficult to combine these two definitions, and avoid arguing about hypothetical chronologies and 'classic' versus 'degenerate' forms. This is exactly what Johan Reinhard has done for the specific context of Nepal :

A shaman is a person who at his will can enter into a non-ordinary psychic state (in which he either has his soul undertake a journey to the spirit world or he becomes possessed by a spirit) in order to make contact with the spirit world on behalf of members of his community. [1976:16]

Reinhard commendably tried to find a way around much of the debate, particularly by shifting the focus away from the extremely subjective concept of 'ecstasy'. However, using his definition, or ones similar to it, can lead to both *dhāmīs* and *jhākrīs* being described as 'shamans', which would emphasize a false sense of equivalence between the two practices. *Jhākrīs* may themselves have goals of professional enhancement for suggesting just such an equivalence, since there is higher status attached to *dhāmīs*, but the two practices can be shown to be remarkably distinctive.

Both the *dhāmīs* and *jhākrīs* of Jājarkoṭ do enter what may be considered ecstatic states, in which they are considered by themselves and their clients to be possessed by one or more spirits, and they also undertake forms of supernatural travel through this and other worlds, which might be called soul journeys, while so possessed. These conditions are easily illustrated for both forms of spirit intercession. When the first *jhākrī*, Rammā Jumrātam, prepares to match his strength against that of the first witches, the Nine Little Sisters, the account states:

He began to tremble lightly,
began to tremble heavily,
with twelve familiar spirits [*vīr*],
with twentytwo bloodthirsting spirits [*māphī*],
the fields shook, the forests shook,
the land shook, the ground shook,
Rammā Jumrātam began to be possessed. [IV.2]

Four other classes of spirits are mentioned in another account of a *jhākrī* possession:

He lit a lamp, burned incense.
He set out a golden stool,
set out a silvery cloth covering.
Syāulā Rammā, going,
began to assemble the gods [*deutā*],
began to assemble the powers [*dhām*],
assembled nine wraiths [*dhuwā*],
assembled twentytwo *barāng*. [IV.3]

All six types—*vīr*, *māphī*, *deutā*, *dhām*, *dhuwā*, and *barāṅ*—are commonly summoned by *jhākrīs*, frequently in multiple combinations.

An excellent example for *dhāmīs* of becoming possessed is found in an account provided by the Maṣṭā *dhāmī* of Paīk village regarding the first time that an early king of Jaktipur, Mahādev Śāhi, came to consult the *dhāmī* of Khaphallā:

...the god arrived. The god leapt from one person's shoulders to another's, causing everyone to tremble, until it finally settled on the *dhāmī*, who grabbed the king and dragged him onto the throne. [IV.4]

For examples of soul travel, *jhākrī* texts have the more eloquent illustrations. The *mandāmī*, the seven levels of the world, are ascended and descended by *jhākrīs* throughout their recitals. These levels range from Indra Lok, where Jumrātam is reported to cure "Śiva's daughter, Kṛṣṇa's mother Padmā" (names, rarely other details, are sometimes borrowed from Hindu mythology, with little regard to their contexts in that mythology), down to the lowest level, Tilīgramā, where Jumrātam learns to be a blacksmith:

He lowered a loosely spun thread, from this thread
he descended the seven levels of the world,
descended to Tilīgramā. [IV.5]

There are two paths to Tilīgramā, one used by *jhākrīs* and one used by witches, resulting in a riddle discussed in Chapter XI. A few shamans pronounce the name "Tilīkarma," which would suggest that it may mean "Iron-work" [the karma of blacksmithing], an

appropriate meaning, since the first shaman learns that trade there. Those to whom I suggested this thought it possible, but would not commit themselves to actually endorsing the idea, which is strictly my own.

Within my collection of texts, no such cosmic examples are found for the *dhāmīs*, and we have to content ourselves with stories of instantaneous bodily transmigrations over great distances, and incredible leaps into the air, which, admittedly, is to stretch the definition of "soul-travel." When the Mahādev *dhāmī* of Aulrijā, the 'Mukhiyā' agreed to intercede in a dispute that others had with the Sundārgaū *dhāmī* in Jumlā, he sent the others on ahead.

They traveled for three days to reach Sundārgaū. Since the Mukhiyā had not accompanied them, the Sundārgaū *dhāmī* ignored the supplicants and went to bathe. At the time he went to bathe, the Mukhiyā finally left his home in Aulrijā. By the time the Sundārgaū *dhāmī* returned from his bath, the Mukhiyā was seated beside his throne, smoking tobacco. [IV.6]

In general, the activities of the *dhāmic* spirits are firmly part of this world, or, at least, of an enlarged version of it, one that has room for such spirits. Those spirits travel on, and belong to, this earth's surface, which is only one level of seven for the *jhākrīs*.

So far, these examples illustrate the apparent appropriateness of calling both *jhākrīs* and *dhāmīs* "shamans." The key phenomenal attributes of the major definitions of the term shaman, possession by spirits and supernatural travel, characterize both kinds of intercessors. But one key difference remains: whether or not the intercessors regard themselves as possessed 'at will'. While

seemingly a minor point, this, perhaps more than anything else, distinguishes their own characterizations of their states of possession. Reinhard clarifies his definition as follows:

The phrase 'at his will' serves to differentiate a shaman from a simple medium or a person who may become possessed in various situations but who does not have the ability to do this whenever he so desires, or who requires the assistance of others in order to become possessed. [1976: 16]

A *dhāmī* is characterized by having been spontaneously selected by a single tutelary god, always called a *deutā*, by which god alone the *dhāmī* is regularly possessed. The possession, too, is spontaneous, a consequence of the god's will, not the *dhāmī*'s, as we have seen above in the example involving Mahādev Śāhi. If the *dhāmī* offends the *deutā*, it will chose someone else.

Dhāmic possessions take place on a fixed schedule, which is based on the lunar calendar. These possessions take place either in small shrines set outside the villages or in special throne rooms within the *dhāmī*'s house. They take place whether or not supplicants are in attendance.

Each of these points contrasts to a *jhākrī*'s practice. *Jhākrīs* compel, through their recital of memorized texts, many different spirits to come, at the former's convenience: "Come when I say come, go when I say go," as one phrase of a summons puts it [IV.7]. Also, as we have seen in the above quotes, such spirits may be *deutā*, or they may be *māphī*, *vīr*, *barāṅg*, *dhām*, or *dhuwā*, all of which are, to a *jhākrī*, distinct, each summoned for distinct purposes. Some of these

are protective, others are malicious, oppressive, and threatening. "Go in the middle of the night. Whoever you like, that person strike" states the conclusion of another *mantar*.

In terms of the schedule of possession, a *jhākrī* is called upon to perform at the house of his patient, and is ordinarily willing to summon spirits on any night of the month, regardless of the phase of the moon, excepting days of an eclipse. Certain performances may even take place in the daytime. That is, a *jhākrī*'s possession is fixed neither in time nor in space, while that of a *dhāmī* is fixed in both. A *dhāmī* is regularly possessed by a single, identifiable, god, who chooses the *dhāmī*, while a *jhākrī* is often possessed by a multitude of spirits, not all of whom are identifiable, at least to the audience. The god is said to 'ride' the *dhāmī*, who carries it and is called its 'horse', terms not used for a *jhākrī*; the *dhāmī*'s possession is usually described intransitively, the *jhākrī*'s, transitively [Nepali *kamnu*, locally *karnu*, versus *kamāunu*].

When a *jhākrī* is summoned, a member of the patient's household must personally invite him. The patient's family must arrange for someone to carry the basket of the *jhākrī*'s paraphernalia, or perhaps pay an assistant, a *curmi*, of his to do so; in no circumstances will the *jhākrī* carry this basket himself, though he may agree to find someone to do it. Typically, he arrives in the early evening, but does not eat before the ritual, which begins after sunset, when at least three stars can be seen in the sky. The seance often continues until dawn, culminating in a blood sacrifice. A small space for a fire is prepared on the ground outside the

patient's house. The *jhākrī* sits on a circular mat or flat stool in front of this fire, facing east. Besides his drum and elaborate costume, he may require numerous things, which the patient's family must supply. Requirements vary from ceremony to ceremony, but the minimal requirements include firewood for the fire, some handfuls of rice, a deposit of one to twenty-five rupees; at least a chicken to sacrifice, if not a goat, sheep, or pig; two types of mustard-like seeds [*rāyā* and *sarsu*] cotton wicks to burn clarified butter or oil in small leaf dishes, and a bunch of fresh leaves, preferably cinnamon or guava. A copper plate, rather than the skin drum, is used by shamans when no animal is going to be sacrificed to their *māphī*, the bloodthirsting spirits that they often summon in a ceremony. It is described as being ritually pure [*choko*], rather than impure [*juṭho*], which is said of a drum for which blood has been shed.

The necessary items are arranged around the fire. The *jhākrī* begins by crushing mustard seeds under his heel, protects himself with a *mantar*, and then prays publicly to the gods that he may succeed. He then unpacks his drum, recites another *mantar* as he warms it over the fire, and starts to tap it lightly, praying out loud to his ancestral spirits, especially that of his own guru. He then dresses in his costume, which receives the protection of yet another *mantar*. Every costume varies somewhat, but an idealized version of it is thoroughly described in the Recital of the Nine Little Sisters. In danger of being attacked by the witches, the *jhākrī*'s wife assembles it for him for the first time:

From a *syālī* tree, she brought matted locks of hair,

from Chārkaḅhoṭ, she brought pheasant feathers,
from Kālā Pāṭan, she brought fragrant leaves,
put these on his head.

From a kacur garden, she brought a piece of kacur root,
put it in his mouth.

From a merchant's store, she brought cowrie shells,
from a puwā grove, she brought a tie string,
put these around his neck.

From the best Malāyāgirī sandalwood,
she brought charcoal ashes, put them on his forehead.

From the tree over an ancestral jhākrī's tomb,
she brought the sādan wood hoop for a drum,
from Rātā Pahar, she brought a wild goat's skin,
from Sudār Pānī, she brought a drum's inner handles,
made a complete drum.

From a gharī vine, she brought a gharī wood drum stick.

From a brass worker's store,
she brought a pair of clanging bells.

From a khair grove, she brought a leather belt.

From a wild edible fig tree,
she brought a pair of bells and a pair of bell strikers.

From Chārkaḅhoṭ, she brought a swirl of yak's tail.

From new born animals,
she brought the long teeth of wild sows and wild boars.

"Elder brother Tikhu Kāmī,

Elder brother Ghāro Kāmī,

make for me a cowbell, a perforated bell, a solid bell,
a ringing bell," she said,
brought them when they were made.

From a tailor's shop,
she brought two kinds of women's outer wraps,
brought stitched pajamas.

From a śīśa tree, she brought a wild boar's skin.

She assembled all the equipment for a *jhākrī*. [IV.8]

This description is closely matched by all of the costumes which I have seen, though the places of origin for the various items vary widely, and additional items, such as various animal skins and miscellaneous metal trinkets, are not uncommon. One major variation in the Bhujī Valley is the wearing of an archer's wristguard [*bhoṭo*], which I have not seen in Jājarkoṭ. All *jhākrī* drums in both Jājarkoṭ and in Bhujī are one sided. The preferred hoop wood is *sādan*, the skin is from a wild goat, the handles are of cane and mounted in a narrow 'X' inside, loosely attached by iron loops. For major ceremonies, the drum is decorated with simple line drawings of white clay. One such pattern was sketched by Karṇa Vīr [Figure IV.1]. Every *jhākrī* also wears two kinds of women's outer wraps and men's pajamas, wears the mentioned leaves and feathers on his head, has a leather vest with bells and other iron trinkets attached, wears various necklaces, and places a piece of *kacur* root in his mouth [a bitter root similar to turmeric]. All of this is intended as protection against malevolent attacks.

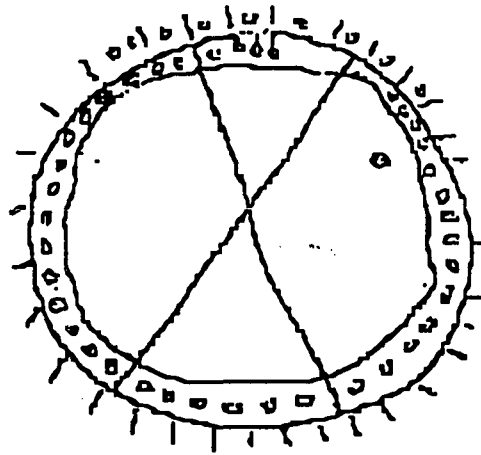


Figure IV.1. Decorated Drum Skin.

Having put on his costume, the *jhākrī* again sits and resumes drumming. The beat becomes more insistent and suddenly he is possessed, trembling violently and often thrashing about. Quickly, he calms down, enough to resume his seat, and his drumming becomes more restrained and rhythmic. Finally he begins to recite the text appropriate to the occasion. The intensity of the performance is not uniform, but ranges from nearly inaudible muttering through rigorous singing to frantic leaping and shouting in the four directions. At other times the *jhākrī* will pause and rearrange things, smoke, and, still in trance, listen to questions of the spectators, who he advises.

Again, a *dhāmī*'s performance is quite distinct. Each god has a small shrine dedicated to it, usually located on the outskirts of a village, in forest clearings, or on hill tops. These shrines contain a small stone and mud platform raised about a foot off the ground, the *dhāmī*'s throne, and are often cluttered, inside and out, with

tridents, iron lamp-stands, and strips of cloth, all offerings from supplicants.

The *dhāmī* wears no special costume, though he observes certain restrictions of dress which indicate his subservience to his god. He must never wear shoes or other foot-wear and must always be dressed in home-spun cloth. Hats and caps are also forbidden, though a turban is often worn, in which the *dhāmī*'s long hair, which is never cut, is wrapped. This hair, which may reach the ground, is ordinarily unwound in preparation for a possession, but sometimes the turban is retained. The *dhāmī* himself makes no special preparations for the ceremony, other than fasting and bathing on the days for which a possession is scheduled. Technical details, such as cleaning the throne and unpacking the *akṣeta* [grains of pure rice used for sacred purposes] brought by supplicants into a mound at the front of it, and lighting small oil lamps, are attended to by the *dhaṅgrī* [the *dhāmī*'s assistant, also called a *pujārī*]. The *dhāmī* rests, seated, beside the throne. If drumming is involved, as at all major full moons, the *damāis* [the tailor caste, who are the traditional drummers] assemble outside. On the most important occasions, a group of village women sing *māṅgals*, auspicious hymns to the god, and rarely, when a literate Brāhman comes to consult, Sanskrit texts may even be recited. Suddenly the *dhāmī* shakes, and leaps trembling onto the throne. His shaking becomes controlled as the *dhaṅgrī* places a *rudrākṣa* seed necklace on him. He may, rarely, recite the god's *parelī*, its personal history, but more often he says nothing, simply distributing *ṭikā* [forehead dots] and "three grains" of *akṣeta*

[the whole grains of rice offered to the spirit] to the supplicants, and they begin to consult him.

Sometimes other *dhāmīs* are also present, both inside and outside the shrine, and they also become possessed. For example, at Bhadau *puṛṇimā* [the full moon in the lunar month of Bhadau, which usually falls in September or October] in Pāṭk, over forty *dhāmīs* and *dhāmainīs* [female *dhāmīs*] may be simultaneously possessed, dancing together in front of Maṣṭā's shrine. Those possessed by spirits subdued by Maṣṭā carry his *dhāmī* on their shoulders around the shrine. But most often, dancing has no part in a *dhāmī*'s ceremony and the *dhāmī* rarely leaves his throne until the god departs from him. For blood-thirsty gods such as Maṣṭā, many goats are sacrificed, but this takes place after the possession ceremony proper, and the *dhāmī* is simply an onlooker, doing no more than distributing the quarters of the animal to the supplicants and the villagers. This, and the distribution of any *prasād* [blessed food prepared from offerings, such as rice pudding], concludes the event.

In contrast to *jhākrīs*, who use oral texts as part of every ceremony, *dhāmīs* may or may not begin a ceremony with a *parelī*, the formal recital of the god's personal history. Dhāmic *parelīs* are also far more public, known and elaborated in casual retellings by most of the villagers within a particular god's range of influence. The *māṅgal* sung at major ceremonies may also be regarded as part of the collections of dhāmic texts, although their purpose is different than that of the *parelī*. They invite and supplicate the god, whereas the *parelī* authenticates its presence. These hymns are, of

course, also public, known and freely taught by the women associated with that god, either through kinship with the *dhāmī* or simply by identifying themselves as followers of that god.

Dhāmīs receive no training, and so never formally memorize texts. The stories of the dhāmic gods, however, are common knowledge, even if no "canonical" version exists (as it does for a *jhākrī* text, since the *jhākrī* corrects his pupil's recitation over and over again throughout the years of apprenticeship). Despite the importance of *parelīs*, they are, as has been mentioned, rarely performed. Jājarkoṭ's most important *dhāmī*, Anarup, Maṣṭā *dhāmī* of Pāṅk, reports that in 27 years as a *dhāmī*, he has recited Maṣṭā's *parelī* only three times. The first time was when the god first came to him, at the full moon of Bhadau, B.S. 2013, during a fierce dispute between the then reigning Maṣṭā *dhāmī* and that *dhāmī*'s younger brother, who insisted on being recognized as the Mahākāl *dhāmī* and receiving rights to a share of the god's land, which is the most productive rice field in the area. He grabbed the necklace of his older brother and threw it out of the shrine. Anarup put it on, became possessed, recited Maṣṭā's *parelī*, and continued the ceremony. The second time he recited it was three years later, as the dispute over who was the authentic *dhāmī* continued, having reached such a violent level that the military intervened and placed all three disputants, and their supporters, under arrest. Anarup traveled to Kauwā, in Mugu, whose own Maṣṭā *dhāmī* is recognized as senior to that in Pāṅk and receives a goat every five years from him. There the *dhāmī* challenged him:

When the god had come to the Kauwā dhāmī, he turned to Anarup and shouted:

"You say that you are Bijulī Maṣṭā.

There are twelve brothers,
and each has his own path.

Among those twelve paths,
teii me now yours.

What is older brother's Ḍaḍār's path?

What is Tharpā's path?

Now, what is your path?

If you know, come on, tell it.

If you don't, I'll beat you over the head with a stick
until you crawl away from here,
with blood dripping from your feet."

When the Kauwā dhāmī had said this, the god came to Anarup. He jumped onto the throne, and he chanted the entire history.

"I am satisfied" announced the Kauwā dhāmī.

"You are my brother Bijulī," and he said to everyone,

"This is the true dhāmī." [IV.9]

The third time that Anarup has recited the *parelī* was some twenty years later, after I had approached as a supplicant for a dozen times and requested it.

Other *dhāmīs* report having performed the *parelī* only once in their lives, though a few, such as the pair of Suwākotī *dhāmīs* in Caurātā include at least fragments of it in every ceremony. Clearly, *parelīs* do not have the same relation to dhāmic ceremonies as do the *melās* in the *jhākrī* ceremonies. The importance of *jhākrī* texts is evident in every ceremony. When the *jhākrī* is in trance, dressed in full costume, beating his drum and dancing excitedly, his recital is regarded by the audience, and glossed by the *jhākrīs* themselves, as direct communications with the spirit(s) possessing him. Despite

this, the *jhākrīs* do not deny that they have had to laboriously learn these texts in hundreds of hours of rote drill throughout years of apprenticeship. Great care is taken to memorize them accurately, for their power is held to reside in the act of repeating them correctly, similar to the recital of *mantars*. These texts are known primarily, by the *jhākrīs* and are regarded by them as their private specialized knowledge. (I have, however, found a few individuals who know and use some of the recitals and *mantars*, even though they are definitely not, and do not claim to be, *jhākrīs*.) Dhāmic texts, too, bind the *dhāmī* to a particular vision of the world, but they lack the instrumental quality of the *jhākrī melās*; their recital provides no particular means of controlling events in the world, only a general framework for the involvement of a single god in those events.

Since the dhāmic texts have much less importance attached to their exact reproduction, and there is no formal teacher who could correct them (other than for the *māṅgals*), their meanings have more of a problematic quality to them, to the extent that it would be accurate to say that many dhāmic ceremonies have no text, other than the consultations between intercessor and supplicant. Nevertheless, the ability to spontaneously produce the *parelī* is the crucial criterion in the selection of a new *dhāmī*, so in this sense texts are just as important to *dhāmīs* as they are to *jhākrīs*.

In both traditions, texts provide the basis for authenticating the spirit's intercessor. But for *dhāmīs*, every aspect of the possession, its agent, timing, location, every circumstance, is held to be determined by the god, who legitimates his chosen vehicle

with a text. This is always the "same" text, telling the origin story of the particular spirit who controls the entire event. However, the words, names and incidents themselves may vary. That is, using Frege's distinction [Frege 1970], a *parell* always has the same referent [*Bedeutung*]-that aspect of experience about which it says something, but is distinct in terms of its sense [*Sinn*]-what it expresses about that which it designates. The spatio-temporal event, too, is the same, always held in the same locations and following a rigidly prescribed calendar.

On the other hand, each *jhākrī* text is used to treat a particular set of ailments, to mediate or aggravate particular crises. The *jhākrī* himself claims control over the event of possession, compelling a spirit to come, using different texts to compel different spirits. These texts, then, may be thought of as the same in terms of the sense, the words that are carefully reproduced in each performance, but distinct in their referents. Three axes of the dialectics of discourse suggested by Ricoeur [1977a] provide convenient contrasts between the two practitioners. Ricoeur's fourth axis, 'meaning', is less usefully contrastive. The texts of both kinds of intercessors define a space of social meanings. This is minimally true as a consequence of their being oral, so that the persons who recite them have, of course, had to memorize them, and so are familiar in at least this way with their content. Some familiarity is crucial, for I maintain that certain meanings contained in the texts give charter to certain social actions. Consequently, to examine those meanings is to examine how behavior

is made sensible by those performing it. Any social world is operationalized by meaning, by meanings that the actual participants have selected as significant to them, not by concepts imposed by an observing subject. What we are looking at here is how certain meanings have been construed within the oral texts used by both *dhāmīs* and *jhākrīs*, and how those meanings make intelligible the social practices that such ceremonies constitute.

Not only do the dhāmic texts vary with each performance, but different *jhākrīs* recite different versions of the same texts. This in itself is not remarkable, and would be expected for an orally transmitted tradition. But in different versions the stories are equally coherent; it is not only a process of deterioration that has produced new versions, but also a process of re-creation, of meaning being re-invented. This clearly indicates that the *jhākrīs* do not simply memorize these texts as if they were meaningless chants, nor is the sound so important that meaning is submerged beneath it. Rather, intervention must at least occasionally take place, in which the *jhākrīs* thoroughly participate in the meanings that the texts contain, re-establishing a foundation of meaning when the text is overly threatened by ambiguity. Certainly, not every *jhākrī* need do this, but meaning is periodically recreated, the texts are periodically worked on by *jhākrīs*.

While *dhāmīs* repeat the same ceremony over again and again, *jhākrīs* perform a variety of different ceremonies, as can be documented by examples from their texts. One of the most surprising of these is to cause, rather than to cure, problems—performing

deliberate acts of sorcery. For example, in the next selection, the *jhākrī* raises spirits from the dead (*masān*), performs a secret ritual, and sends those *masān* to plague his enemies. This kind of activity was explicitly banned in Nepal's traditional legal code. Causing death through sorcery was punished by the confiscation of a man's property and his banishment from the country; a woman similarly had her property seized and was exiled from her village. Nevertheless, the texts not only describe acts of sorcery, in doing so they even provide directions for conducting them, as in the following example:

He assembled his equipment.
Having put on the riṭhā [black seed] necklace,
having put on the snakebone necklace,
having put on the Gurai necklace,
having put on the kacur necklace,
late in the evening, in the deepest time of night,
in the darkest time of night,
dancing with straight steps,
dancing with backward steps,
he descended to the sixth crossroad,
descended to the Masān Ghāṭ.
Of the Bhampā kacur, going,
biting out one bit, he spat it towards the north.
Biting out one bit, he spat it towards the south.
Biting out one bit, he spat it towards the west.
Biting out one bit, he spat it towards the east.

Biting out one bit, he spat it towards Heaven.
 Biting out one bit, he spat it towards Hell.
 Going to the sixth crossroads, going to the Masān ghāt,
 he dances with reversed steps,
 he dances with upsidedown steps.
 Of the Nine Little Sisters, Acam Sera's daughters,
 their sides throbbed with pain,
 they convulsed with pain,
 their lives were convulsed.
 "O Eldest Sister, our sister,
 Paternal Uncle Kabare, Paternal Uncle Masān,
 has become threatening, has become challenging.
 What secret knowledge [bhed] has been done,
 what secret action [ched] has been done?"
 thus they began to speak.
 "O Eldest Sister, our sister, our lives have been
 convulsed,"
 thus they began to speak.
 Oh, Paternal Uncle Rammācan,
 from the sixth crossroads, from the Masān Ghāt,
 dancing with backward steps, biting the Bhampā kacur,
 then came to there. [IV.10]

While in the above case, the *jhākrī*'s victims are witches, and so perhaps deserve to be treated this way, another case is of a *jhākrī* being taunted by his brother-in-law, the king, angering the *jhākrī*, who then makes the king's son deathly ill before fleeing and hiding:

"You can't identify witches, you can't identify bewitchers,
you can't identify bāyu, you can't identify batās.
what kind of a jhākrī are you,
what kind of a dhāmī are you?"
He was sarcastic, he was sardonic.
Syāulā Rammā, going,
having been frantically possessed, [*ranga bhanga*]
to Rājai Rautyālā [the king's son],
taking a straw from the roof, poked him in the eyes.
Ai, taking off his great wristguard, Rājai Rautyālā,
he poked in his right side, poked in this left side.
With a twig of the Tāre tree, with a twig of the Māre tree,
he poked in the ears Rājai Rautyālā.
His ears couldn't hear, his eyes couldn't see,
his sides ached, his heart ached.
Ai, oh Rājai Rautyālā, was a complete wreck.
He was half alive, half dead, felt fevers, chills.
Oh, Syāulā Rammā, going, fled, ran away. [IV.11]

Another version of the same story has the *jhākrī* curse the king directly:

He jhākrīed, struck a blow, used his power,
played a secret trick on the Sijāpati rājā.
The throne was cheerless,
the kingdom was cheerless,
the people were cheerless,
the offices and courts all closed.

He struck him with nasal blockage,
struck him with blocked ears,
struck him with a blocked stomach,
bit him with bone aches.

he went to Tilīgramā, stayed there. [IV.12]

The dhāmic gods also cause afflictions, but, at least ordinarily, this is not done through the active intervention of the *dhāmī*. The best known case comes from Pāīk and concerns the same rice field whose ownership was later disputed. Maṣṭa's *pareII* tells the story in the first person:

I declared this my home, I had nothing at all,
what else could I do, I chose a small field,
there at a resting place, I made him dance on his hands,
the nāyak's son, Pasāṅgro, Nātā Rāj the nāyak,
Pasāṅgro who had no sons, I seized him and held on,
Oh my brothers, this was done,
for twelve years I held him,
this is what I had to do,
this solved my big problem... [IV.13]

Pasāṅgro, we are told, for twelve years neither died nor recovered; insects hatched from his body, so many that every morning his mother filled up a bowl with them. This persisted until the land in question, the most productive irrigated field in Saru, was turned over to the Maṣṭā *dhāmī*. Even when Maṣṭā promises a cure, often his curse is only lifted after twelve years, a tenet that certainly must test supplicants' patience, as it did the *nāyak*'s, who attacked the

dhāmī's brother with a knife and nearly killed him. The *dhāmī* does not, however, play an active part in causing the afflictions, the agency being entirely attributed to Maṣṭā himself, and similarly, their cure has to be left to Maṣṭā as well.

Other examples of what a *jhākṛī* does will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The passages already offered are sufficient to show how distinct a *jhākṛī*'s activities are from those of a *dhāmī*. Returning to Shirokogoroff's discussion of Tungus shamans, we see that every major aspect which he attributes to them can be documented for the *jhākṛīs* of Western Nepal as well: He concludes:

the essential formal characteristics indispensable for shamanism in full function: (1) the shaman is a master of spirits; (2) he has mastered a group of spirits; (3) there is a complex of methods and paraphernalia recognized and transmitted; (4) there is a theoretical justification of the practice; (5) the shaman assumes a special social position. [1935:274]

are all applicable to the *jhākṛīs* as well. As has been seen, a *jhākṛī* is "a *master of spirits*, at least of a group of spirits." He controls different spirits who possess different qualities. *Jhākṛīs* do possess a complex of special methods for dealing with the spirits, (methods which will later be examined in greater detail), and they use and transmit an elaborate array of paraphernalia, chief of which is, as also for the Tungus, the drum. Their 'special social position' is argued for eloquently in their texts, although it is admittedly ambivalent within Nepali society. Shirokogoroff himself, however, only meant by this "social recognition—a group which distinguishes one of its members by bestowing on him their confidence," which is

something that the numerous clients of the *jhākrīs* clearly do. Finally, they articulate, within their texts, a "general theory of spirits, their particular characteristics, and the practical possibilities of dealing with spirits," all of which is the theme of the next chapter.

Overall, all of these characteristics, along with the technicalities of their practices, clearly distinguish *jhākrīs* from *dhāmīs*. What I advocate, then, is to use in its original form the definition of "shaman" provided by Shirokogoroff's description of the Tungus, not the revisions attempted by either Eliade or Reinhard, which then clearly authorizes calling a *jhākrī* a 'shaman', which in turn allows us to more accurately discuss the variety of religious activities found in Nepal. Consequently, throughout the remainder of this work, the Nepali "*jhākrī*" and "shaman" are used as synonyms throughout. *Dhāmīs* I will refer to as "oracles."

Photo IV.2. Jhākrī Gumāne Kāmī of Sýāula.



V. THE ETIOLOGY OF AFFLICTION

That traditional methods of healing, including the services of shamans and oracles, flourish throughout Western Nepal can certainly not be traced to the current failure of modern medicine to satisfy basic health needs, outlined in Chapter III, which is, after all, too recent a phenomena to have had much impact. Rather, these choices are readily traceable to local theories of disease causality.

When a clear causative agent can be identified, some illnesses may be attributed entirely to natural causes. Snakebite, drinking milk from cows that have fed on hemlock, indulging in too much wild honey, or upsetting the body's humoral balance, as by taking milk and fish at the same meal, are all examples of natural causes that are in themselves considered an adequate explanation of a state of temporary ill health. Frequently, however, such explanations are elaborated, for all villagers, irrespective of their level of education or exposure to secular medicine, will commonly cite supernatural explanations of illness, i.e. causes that are ordinarily unperceived by the senses, and which fall outside of cosmopolitan theories of illness.

Supernatural explanations commonly involve some combination of five sorts of causes:

- 1) the activities of spirits;
- 2) curses and spells, especially acts of witchcraft or sorcery;
- 3) misfortunate astrological configurations;
- 4) damage to the body's life force or soul;

5) the intrusion of quasi-physical substances into the body. These sources are commonly held responsible not only for many illnesses, but also for most other kinds of misfortunes and accidents, such as the illness or death of domestic animals, the eroding away of land, expensive court litigation, and, in fact, nearly anything unfortunate that may befall someone, their family, or their possessions. This chapter elaborates on the sources of affliction that can be identified in the shamanic texts, and provides brief discussions of the texts used to treat them. To more thoroughly display the internal consistency of these causes as a coherent theory of etiology, I restrict the discussion in this chapter to the texts of three shamans, two brothers, Karṇa Vīr Kāmī and Abi Lal Kāmī of Churī Village, and their cousin, Gumāne Kāmī of Syālā. When significant variations occur in the texts of other shamans, such as those of the Bhujī Valley, these are sometimes noted, but the texts of other shamans inevitably show that any more general scheme of shamanic theories of affliction is consistent with that drawn from only these three shamans and follows the same patterns that I illustrate here.

The less applicable a straightforward natural explanation is to the situation, the more general and wide-ranging the misfortunes (and as simple methods and household cures are exhausted without success), the more necessary extended, supernatural causalities become, and the more urgent become the services of a professional capable of dealing with them.

What kind of cases require the intervention of a shaman? As already shown in the previous chapter, the texts explicitly document examples of shamans maliciously causing supernatural disturbances. Clearly, shamans would be expected to cure afflictions for which they themselves are held responsible. This, however, makes up a negligible number of the cases for which they are consulted; at least, this cause does not enter into the public discussion of the consultations. No one is anxious to openly accuse someone of being the cause of their problems and at the same time pay that same person to cure them. Shamans also have professional reasons not to accuse fellow practitioners, since too many negative impressions could cause clients to conclude that shamans are rather too dangerous to deal with and to seek alternate forms of treatment (such as undertaking a pilgrimage to an important dhāmic shrine or venturing into the health post). Also, both shamans and clients face the possibility of legal sanctions if they openly make accusations of sorcery and cannot prove them, sanctions that were traditionally very harsh. The Legal Code [*Muluki Ain*] of 1853/1854 stated:

If someone complains (in court) that a man or a woman bewitched him and if after investigation the bewitchment is not proven, he who lodged the complaint must pay a fine of Rs. 20. If the fine is not paid, the man or woman in question will be imprisoned, according to the *Ain*. [Translated by Macdonald 1976:378.]

Acceptable proofs, besides a confession, include vicariously branding the sorcerer by directly branding the patient, vicariously causing the sorcerer's head to be shaved by shaving the patient's

head or causing the sorcerer to dance by making the patient to dance with a mantra. I have heard reports of all three proofs, both in Jājarkoṭ and elsewhere (they seem particularly common in Kathmandu, in fact), but have never witnessed any successful application of them. The fine of twenty rupees was, until the inflation of the last 30 years, more than most villagers would spend in a year, so the financial penalty is a severe one, and was a very strong discouragement to discuss too precisely issues of sorcery and witchcraft. Currently, possible fines are still significant and any litigation inevitably very expensive; even so, accusations do get made, and lead to bitter disputes.

Shamans are understandably reluctant to openly brag of their abilities in these matters, and for a long time, none would discuss the issue with me. A serendipitous rupture of this silence occurred, however, when I was discussing cures for madness. One shaman requested clarification: "Do you mean madness caused by spirits, or madness that we've caused ourselves?" This led to a detailed discussion, complete with instructions, of techniques used to cause madness, which I was afterwards able to elicit from other shamans as well. (It was nearly always the case that once I had acquired a precise vocabulary for discussing some subject, it became extremely easy to obtain material, even secret mantras, that concerned it. No shaman wants to confess that he knows less than another, and certainly would not want to admit that he knows less on some subject than I do.) The basic technique is to use mantras to send *vāṇ*, which may be thought of as either 'arrows', from Nepali

vān, otherwise as 'supernatural assistants', from Sanskrit *vāhana* [vehicle], who drive the victim crazy. As might be predicted from the passages already quoted, the public text used when cancelling their effects is Tilīgramā.

To avoid explicit and dangerous confrontations, cases of malicious 'shaman-izing' (a transitive use of *jhākrī* as a verb, as in "He *jhākrī*ed, struck a blow, used his power...") are ordinarily subsumed within a larger category of disturbances, those of *gauḍā lāgyo*, which can be glossed generally as "to have a crisis, or catastrophe," and more technically as "to suffer a star obstruction." In particular, the most serious *gauḍā*, called the 'eldest' in the texts, is to reach the appointed time of death, receiving the summons of death's messenger, a situation that requires a shaman to interfere with man's appointed fate (just as that fate must be tampered with in order to kill an enemy). A set of cosmological texts is used to supplement the Tilīgramā recital, relating the creation of the world, the planets, and the race of man. All of these show considerable influence of Hindu popular beliefs; one version of the text of man's creation explains that man's fate was assigned just prior to the moment of creation. After trying to fashion man out of a variety of other materials, including gold, silver, nickel, brass and iron, none of which succeed, Mahādeu finally settles on a mixture of sandalwood ashes and chicken dung (in these versions, the chicken itself comes from the realm of the *Kamisa Rānī*, but in others, it must first be created by Mahādev):

He joined hands, joined feet, joined a head, joined legs.

"Well, put in a full breath," so saying,
he put in a full breath, left it a bloodline.
"Well, now on the sixth night, look man, your share,"
so saying, Bhābi wrote, "The day of birth yields fate."
Mahādeu waved a white yak tail at the head,
waved a black yak tail at the feet,
with a power bolt staff delivering seven blows,
"Speak, man" he said, "Hā Hā, hū hū," it went.
"Go and die," said Mahādeu, he gave a curse. [V.1]

This passage is from Gumāne's recital. Karṇa Vīr's is somewhat different, with man cursed only after the population increases so greatly as to threaten the survival of the world.

The race of man didn't die,
became so many they didn't fit, didn't diminish.
"The soft unstable earth is finished.
I will trick the race of man." [V.2]

The curse itself is rather peculiar, involving a metaphor of cucumbers for man, and has some very different versions. The version of Man Dev Kumai from the Bhujī Valley, for example, has the race of man, described as a swarm of ants, picking the buds off the cucumber vine in Sitā Apsarā's garden, for which she directly curses them.

Man was created, man was formed.
Oh, the race of man, like a swarm of ants,
they scrambled here, they scrambled there.
Of Sitā Apsarā, even in the flower garden,

a cucumber vine, gave bud.

The race of man, of Sitā Apsarā,
of the cucumber vine, they took the buds.

"Oh, race of man," spitting, she spoke,
she gave the truth, she gave a curse.

Sitā Apsarā, to the race of man:

"Don't say it's time to die,
don't say it's the wrong time to die,
don't say you're old, don't say you're young,
don't say you're immature, don't say you're mature.

The time of death has come, the mis-time of death stays,
oh, race of man," thus she spoke. [V.3]

In the Jājarkoṭ versions, Mahādeu tricks Parvatā, who wanted him to create man in the first place, into administering the curse herself, so that she sees the justice of it. He requests that she go and pick cucumbers to satisfy his thirst, and she picks ones at different stages of ripeness. Mahādev then interprets the cucumbers, a plant of little value which sprouts in dung heaps, whose flowers frequently fall off without setting, and whose fruit rots quickly, as a metaphor for man:

Flowers that you picked and put on your head,
they are miscarriages;
tiny ones you picked and put in your mouth,
they are infants' deaths;
half ripe cucumbers you picked,
they are three and two year olds' deaths;

those the size of sickle handles you picked;
they are adolescents' deaths;
those with a yellow shadow you picked
they are thirtysix, thirtytwo year olds' deaths;
those that were completely yellow you picked,
they are middle aged deaths;

split open ones you picked, they are old ones' deaths. [V.4]

Sitā weeps, and Mahādev agrees to create different intercessors who can attempt to postpone man's fate, including the *paṇḍits*, *jaiśīs*, *dhāmīs*, *gyānīs*, *prakīls*, and *pārkīs* already mentioned, and of course, most importantly, *jhākrīs*. The sequel follows in a text called the Recital to Postpone the Star Obstructions, whose beginning overlaps with the creation recital just quoted. In it, each of the newly created experts is tested in turn by a summons to Indra's house, Śiva's palace, where Daughter Kṛṣṇa, Mother Padmā have felt "the touch of death." Only Jumrātam successfully diagnoses the problem and cures them. In this episode (cited as an example of soul travel in the previous chapter), not only is Jumrātam's ability to ascend to the heavens and even cure beings there demonstrated, so too is his superiority over the other specialists, and most relevantly asserted is also his ability to repair the problems, like astrological fate, that originate in the heavens—precisely what the shaman is attempting to accomplish as he recites the story.

Treatment of cases of *gauḍā* requires various texts in addition to the Recital to Postpone the Star Obstructions. When the patient is male, the basic text used is the Recital of Tilīgramā, which is also

known as the Gauḍā Phāine Melā [Recital to Cast Off Star Obstructions]. Every shaman that I know has unequivocally stated that this is their most important *melā*. Not only used to treat cases of crises, and of shamanic sorcery, it also plays a prominent part in the initiation and death ceremonies of every shaman, and so will be further discussed in Chapters X and XI, where those ceremonies are examined. Every version of Tilīgramā relates how the first shaman (Jumrātam in some versions, Purācan in others), acquires a wife whose sister marries the local ruler (whose identity also varies, depending on the sources of the various versions of the text). The king and the shaman become enemies, and the shaman afflicts the king (or his son, the prince). In most cases, the vindictiveness of the shaman is moderated by the extreme provocations of the king, who, for example, is upset that his wife has stayed away scandalously long on a visit to Jumrātam's home, even though he keeps trying to send her home. The king sends his attendants to bring back Jumrātam's heart:

"He has confused my queen, confounded my queen,
go attendants,
bring me that longhair's warm heart, I'll eat it,
grind it in a grindstone, husk it in a rice-husker,
leave it out to dry on a hill," he said. [V.5]

Only when the Jumrātam tricks the messengers by removing an imitation of his own heart, and the king has actually had it processed and eats it, does he become deathly ill. Given this elaboration, it is the shaman's skill at maintaining social order,

rather than his abilities as a sorcerer, which the text emphasizes. Equally emphasized is his accessibility and impartiality, for at the end of the recital, when the king rewards him royally, Jumrātam's wife makes him return most of the loot:

Taking nine shares of grain, nine rolls of cloth,
a payment of ninety thousand rupees,
the jhākrī came to his own home.

The jhakrenī said,
"Oh ho, these are a king's presents.
You must consult in happy homes,
you must consult in unhappy homes,
You must consult in homes that have much,
you must consult in homes that have nothing,
the ordinary people cannot give that much,
set a payment of one rupee, one hen,
one share of grain, one share of sacred rice,
one role of cloth, give back everything else,
the rulings of the day are the king's
the rulings of the night are yours, that's okay,
you must make the rulings of the night,
the king can make the rulings of the day."

All of this the jhakrenī said.

This is still true today. [V.6]

Thus the text also sets the parameters of payment for a shaman's services, and establishes the principle that he must go when and wherever called, guidelines of which every shaman is aware, even to

the extent of insisting that they would have to pay a fine if they were summoned sincerely but failed to go.

Tilligramā is not the only text used to treat *gaudā*. When the patient is female, the Daijo Meiā [Dowry Recital] is performed. This continues the story of the world's creation, introducing women into their proper place in the order of the world. The first human requires a wife, and later, after the birth of a son, a daughter-in-law is also required. Both times Indra sends down to "the world of death" one of his descendants. But the world is "dark at night, dark at day," and the daughter-in-law is sent back to obtain a dowry of nine suns and nine moons. Indra first declines to give her this, but after she commits suicide by burning herself on a funeral pyre, and he has to bring her back to life, the gifts are finally given. They prove to be too much, however:

With nine moons, with nine suns,
the night was day, the day was day,
there was hissing, there was trembling,
dry trees were torched, green trees were scorched,
wet season springs dried up, dry season springs dried up,
the sixty great rivers were struck down,
proper rivers were drying,
the stupid race of man sat in the shade of a lentil bush,
the land began to burn, the soil began to burn. [V.7]

The father-in-law tells her to do inauspicious things, the first being to address him abusively—there is a special verb conjugation in Nepali reserved for animals, very small children, wives and

daughter-in-laws, and this is what he tells her to use back to him. She is shocked, but eventually complies, and one sun, one moon disappear. A pair of them departs with each successive inauspicious act of the daughter-in-law, such as telling a traveler arriving at dusk that there's no place to stay, spitting on the courtyard, or blowing her nose on the drying rack above the hearth. When only one sun and one moon remain, Indra resuscitates the dying race of man, repeating the same acts by which he revived his daughter earlier, and which are mimicked by the shaman over his own patient. Finally, he (Indra in the recital, the shaman in the present) transfers away the black star obstruction stage by stage, from the house top to the feet, to the door step, to the court yard, and out to the crossroads. The star obstructions complain "What will we eat when we go, what will we take as we go?" Indra negotiates with different animals to take the place of man, with Mother Goat finally agreeing to sacrifice a son, so long as his flesh is eaten, with half of it going to the master of the house, and the other half given to the shaman [V.8]. The *gauḍās* are satisfied and postponed. Unable to cure death, the shaman more modestly claims only to delay it, getting it to retreat a few steps although it inevitably returns. The recital gives the step-by-step directions for escorting the *gauḍās* from the house; it also vividly reminds women to behave properly, or else expect cosmological catastrophe.

The severity of the lesson which the Dowry Recital delivers to women is somewhat softened by the recital that treats children's crises, which are called *khaḍgā* rather than *gauḍā*, for it warns

parents-in-law not to be too harsh to their daughter-in-laws. Those in the recital expect impossible tasks, and the poor daughter-in-law, whose husband is away trading, has no time even to nurse her infant son. The baby metamorphizes into a bird, is nourished by various trees with their milky or bloody sap, and flies away. In other versions, the bird even causes his father's death, luring him higher and higher into a tree until he falls. The recital warns the child's spirit that it can find no other home, and should return to its parents, repeating the sentiments of the mother in the recital:

You will not stay in the form of a bird,
you will find no place, you will come to stay in my lap...

She prophesies the child's fate if it chooses to be born to a horse, buffalo, cow, sheep, goat, pig, or chicken, all of which the child nevertheless tries, but dies violently every time, and she concludes her curse:

you will find no path to take, you will find no alms to take,
you will come to be born in my lap.
If you rise into the sky, Indra will stop you,
if you sink into the hell, Vāsu Deu will stop you,
if you go east, Bhairabnāth will stop you,
if you go south, Gorakhnāth will stop you,
if you go west, Ratannāth will stop you,
if you go north, Candannāth will stop you,
if you rise into the sky, a hand will hold your foot,
if you sink into the underworld,
a hand will hold your top-knot,"

the mother delivered a prophesy, delivered a curse. [V.9]
After the child in the recital has tried different reincarnations but has to finally return to its mother, the force of the narrative shifts and the shaman directly addresses the child (whether present or unborn) of his patient:

Don't let your heart wander, don't let your mind wander,
your mother's lap provides protection,
your father's lap provides protection...

Where would you go, son?

You will find no path, you will find no alms...

stay in your mother's lap, stay in your father's lap,
don't let your heart or mind wander,
don't take them elsewhere,

don't leave home, don't leave your own house. [V.10]

This is addressed either to a dying child, or to one's still unborn child (in the case of a woman unable to properly bear children, or whose children all die at an early age), or to recently deceased children whose presence still troubles their family—the bodies of young children being buried, not cremated, so that they may more easily have re-birth. This same recital is also applied in conjunction with others to treat cases of a child's soul loss, discussed below.

All three of the texts used to treat *gaudā* translate what are said to originate as astrological disturbances into more local problems of social order, and all three teach their listeners the correct forms of that order. *Tilīgramā* tells kings to be just, and shamans not to be greedy; the *Daijo Melā* warns women of the

dangers of unseemly behavior; the *Khṛgā Melā* teaches parents-in-law to moderate their demands of a daughter-in-law. It also tells the spirits of children that they are better off in human than in animal form, that they should remain home and be dutiful. That is, all three explicitly relate cosmology to the maintaining of social order, and translate those relations into moralistic injunctions complete with heuristic examples of the consequences of their infringement.

Another specific *gaḍā*, (or, for the child involved, a *khṛgā*) is the astrological disturbance of *mūl*, mentioned in chapter II. *Mūl* occurs when certain planets of both a newly born child and either of its parents occupy the *mūl nakṣatra*. In such a case, it is held that seeing the child will cause that parent's death. A shaman is sometimes summoned to intervene in these cases, and uses the *Tilīgramā* and *Nyāulo Recitals*. The spirit *Maṣṭā* was himself a *mūl* birth, so, as may be anticipated from this, his mediums show considerable effectiveness in dealing with this problem. As for other-problems, of course, the spirit simply promises his protection to the affected individual, the generic solution applied to all problems for which dhāmic spirits are consulted. *Mūl* is usually diagnosed at birth by a *jaiśī*, but is usually not treated in any way by them. One imaginative shamanic treatment involves burying the child for a moment at a crossroads and then declaring it reborn, but this technique is apparently quite rare and not well known.

Other specific astrological configurations that are considered misfortunate also exist, but these are ordinarily not sufficiently

serious that a shaman would become involved in them, other than perhaps to supply an amulet [*jantar*] to ward them off, a practice, as has been noted, more commonly done by *jaiśīs*.

Astrologically determined fate often compounds other supernatural causes in the cases of women's reproductive problems, another group of problems that requires shamanic intervention. This group includes not only miscarriages and stillbirths, but also infertility, the repeated death of children at an early age, and the failure to bear male offspring. All of these are serious afflictions, since the desire for healthy children is a major preoccupation throughout Nepal, as elsewhere. While such problems are sometimes considered to be a case of a child's crises (*khardgā*), other possible contributory causes for these problems include:

1) offending spirits, particularly the patrilineal family gods (*kūl deutā*);

2) careless acts of ritual pollution, such as stepping over another woman's menstrual flow;

3) having once had an abortion performed, in this or in a previous life.

But from the perspective of shamans, three sets of causal agents—the Nine Nāgs, *moḥ*; and *rāh*—are most commonly held responsible for these problems:

All three are related classes of quasi-physical entities that can find their way into a woman's womb, and must be extracted by the shaman. This is done by sucking on the woman's stomach following a recital of the Recital of Kadum and Paḍum. This recital relates the

impious behavior of the younger of two sisters, whose actions resulted in the introduction of these forces into the world by Bhagavān. She herself was their first victim. The elder sister had performed austerities for twelve years to obtain the blessing of having sons, while the younger sister lives luxuriously instead:

I eat richly, dress richly, wrap up richly,
I have a wealth of blankets, a wealth of bedding,
I have everything, I will not meditate,
I will not request the blessing of sons. [V.11]

When the time comes for the elder sister to receive her blessing, however, the younger sister tricks Bhagavān and receives it instead. Learning of his mistake, he turns the nine sons that he had blessed her with into the Nine Nāgs, as well as into *moc* and *rāh*. The Nāgs are perhaps the Nine Nāgās, the serpent kings of the underworld of popular Hindu mythology, who are also associated with fertility, but with the exception of Vāsuki Nāg (who was the rope when the gods and demons churned the ocean), all of the names listed in the recital are different than the standard ones. Ten actually are named in the recitals, viz. Kāli Nāg, Kurmi Nāg, Pṛthvi Nāg, Māu Nāg, Tuḷasi Nāg, Raktai Nāg, Dudhai Nāg, Vāsuki Nāg, Sarko Nāg and Marko Nāg. Tuḷasi Nāg [Basilicum Serpent] is said to live under the *tulasīko maṭh*, a small pedestal erected in the courtyards of Hindu homes, atop which basil, sacred to Viṣṇu, is grown for six months of the year. The other names can be translated as Female Serpent, Earth Serpent, Milk Serpent, Blood Serpent, Twitchy Serpent, Twisty Serpent, Black Serpent, Brown Serpent. The shamans identified them as causes of

infertility, premature births and stillbirths, and also capable of causing a mother's milk to run dry.

Moc are items that simply fall out of the sky, and when a woman is unfortunate to step over one, it may enter her womb and cause her to be infertile by drying up her menstruation. They can also be deliberately inserted by acts of witchcraft. There are several different forms which *moc* can take; Abi Lal sketched four possibilities:



simṭāle moc

syāuṭule moc

āndre moc

raktyā moc

Figure V.1. Varieties of Moc.

In general, it was agreed, *moc* resemble bird embryos, an image which may have its origins in the appearance of a two or three months' old human embryo, a time when miscarriages are particularly common.

Rāh, finally, are spirits of deceased children, including stillbirths, who wander around trying to participate in the family, or who reenter the womb in a futile attempt to be reborn. *Rāh* also may have a quasi-physical existence, once it reenters the womb, and closely resembles *moc*. When drawing *moc*, Abi Lal included a picture of one:



Figure V.2. *rāh moc*.

When neither *moc* nor *rāh* can be found in the womb, it is still possible that *rāh* is having an adverse affect from a distance, possibly along with the myriad other spirits of the forest. In such cases, the appropriate recital is that of Satī Barbā, a mythical hero who was the first being strong enough to successfully subdue those spirits. This recital is also the one used to retrieve lost wits, a condition known as *sāto gāyo*, a fairly common problem that can result from falling or from fright. Ordinarily it is not serious, something that can be simply treated by a household *mantra*, but occasionally the victim's wits fail to return, and are said to have been captured by Hiyā Rāj. Another spirit of the forest, he resulted when Satī Barbā killed an evil king, and has joined the many other malicious forces. Many of these are explicitly named in the recital (which also includes subduing the descendants of the Kubāms Lāmā, as has already been noted). Satī Barbā announces his intentions to protect the world, protect the days, to kill evil forces, and goes off into the forest:

Turning around backward-flowing rivers,
killing Forest Rāh, killing Hiyā Rāj,
killing spells and charms,
grinding the cliffs to make the plains. [V.12]

Others mentioned are part of much larger classes of minor spirits, many of whom cause uncontrolled and disruptive states of possession along with numerous other symptoms, including many varieties of madness. These spirits include the *Burmā* and *Bajyū* (the haunting spirits of, respectively, male and female *Brāhman* suicides) the eighteen brothers *Barāh* (whose story of origin appears in the recital to treat such possessions), *Deurālī* (the spirit of springs), particular ghosts such as *Ṇyāl Ṭhinyāl* (who tries to enter villages during the month of *Sāun* to offer fish at the local shrines), and all the various spirits (as well as physical curses like wasps) who inhabit hilltops, trees, waterfalls, and rivers. Sometimes the specific spirit responsible can be conclusively identified, most often by possessing its victim and announcing the offence that incurred its wrath, such as polluting a sacred spot, or failing to make a promised offering. In such cases, that spirit will be personally appeased, with an offering at its shrine. Often, the spirit cannot be identified, and a more general appeasement is necessary, which begins with the Recital of *Gorāpā* (also called the *Ban Bhampā Melā*). This tells of the competitions and conflicts of two autochthonous brothers, *Gorāpā* and *Serāpā*, born one day apart from trees on the high *lekhs*. They play various games, all of which *Serāpā* wins, and then decide to divide up all the land between themselves. *Gorāpā* tricks his older brother *Serāpā* out of ownership of the fertile lands, and later, *Gorāpā*'s sons murder *Serāpā* by setting out hunting traps in the forest where he has taken residence. He falls into a pit and is impaled on sharp stakes. His sons come to claim

vengeance, but Gorāpā appeases them by turning over all the fertile land to them, while he and his own sons go into hiding.

They went to stay in the middle of Budo Lake,
went to stay in the middle of rivers,
went to stay as wasp stingers in trees,
went to stay as wild bee stingers on cliffs,
went to stay as short tailed star vipers in Śilā Khāgar,
went to stay as young wild goats on Rātā Pahar,
went to stay as ḍāphyā wings in Chārḱābhoṭ,
went to stay as honey bee stingers in hives,
went to stay as hornet stingers in leaves,
went to stay as bears and she-bears,
tigers and she-tigers in Śilā Khāgar,
went to stay as young red deer in Khairyān groves,
went to stay as wild sows and wild boars in Bārejatāka.

Gorāpā's sons said

"What would we eat, father, what would we wear?"

Those sons that stayed in the water were Jal Barāh,
those that stayed on hilltops were Inyāi Ṭhiṇyāi,
those that stayed in trees on jhākrī tombs were jhākrīs,
those that stayed in waterfalls were ghosts,
those that stayed in springs were Deurālī,
those that stayed in rivers were Vāi,
those that stayed in bodies were Rāi. [V.13]

Gorāpā and his sons collectively represent all of the potential threats that may originate in the uncultivated, wild parts of the

earth, from the forests, streams, lakes and ridges found outside the boundaries of human settlement. The recital reminds them of their subsidiary positions, and exhorts them to return to the wilderness which is theirs, leaving alone the human descendants of Serāpā, to whom they relinquished all rights to the better, more productive, lands.

It should be noted that this class of possessing agents does not include the greater local spirits, such as Maṣṭā or Mahākāl, for whom individual mediums exist. The shamans, though, claim to be able themselves to treat these problems, which is yet another application that Karṇa Vīr cited for the Recital of Tiligramā. Finally, there are some spirits, such as Ālaṅg and Mālaṅg, who apparently specialize in driving victims mad, a not uncommon occurrence, also attributed to Barāh and the other Mālās, which which these two are usually grouped.

We can summarize the variety of spirits that can cause problems in the following loosely structured hierarchy:

- 1) the chief local gods (*deutā*), particularly Maṣṭā;
- 2) minor deities of non-human origin, such as the Barāh and Mālā;
- 3) avenging spirits of high-caste suicides, the Burmā and Bajyū;
- 4) unpacified ancestors (*pitār, vāyu*)
- 5) villagers who died by suicide or by accident (*pret*);
- 6) ghosts of human origin (*Hiyā Rāj, masān*, the spirits of dead *jhākrīs*, of dead witches—*ḍamkī*),

7) ghosts of non-human origin (Inyāl Ṭhinyāl, *bhut*);

8) quasi-spirits (*nāg, moc, rāh*).

The entries identified in each category are not meant to be exhaustive—hundreds of such spirits can be individually named. For example, when I asked Abi Lal to name the *deutā* that he might summon, he recited a list that included more than 250 of them [VIII.16]. However, even this short summary is adequate to show that shamanic conceptualizations of spirits are well differentiated, and that many distinct types of spirit-entities are recognized. It should be made clear, however, that this ordering of those spirit entities is my own. I have discussed it with the shamans, who offered no objections to it, but their own accounts are less hierarchical, far more ambiguous, and much less structured. How severely blurred these categories can be is well illustrated by a mantra against ghosts, discussed in Chapter IX, in which "gods and goddesses" are specifically listed in the midst of "ghost, ghouls, and witches" as forces to be thrust into hell.

All of the problems so far discussed are reasons to consult a shaman, as we have shown. However, the most common reason to summon a *jhākrī* is for cases of suspected witchcraft. Ever since the battles between the first shaman and the first witches, the two groups have been antagonists, and cases of witchcraft are the special provenance of shamans, a specialization recognized by everyone. Technically, the protection of a dhāmic spirit should also cure a sufferer from the affects of witches, but in fact, mediums are rarely consulted in witchcraft cases. At least, witchcraft is

rarely explicitly mentioned in such consultations. Of over a hundred consultations of the Maṣṭā medium that I've taped, only three involved witchcraft accusations, and in none of those cases were the accusations, suggested by supplicants themselves, developed by the medium. I would not want to strongly argue here from a statistical point of view, however, since major dhāmic spirits are expected to protect all who pay them homage, from any manner of affliction. Mediums have no interest in exploring causes and effects, the spirit either promises or declines to help, so there is no effort to identify specific causes of afflictions, as is done by shamans.

In Jājarkoṭ, witches are almost inevitably female. Stories of a single male witch in the last generation circulate, vaguely. Both in the *jhākrī* texts and in popular belief, three classes of witches are distinguished: *ḍamkī*, *boksī*, and *kapṭī*, each often referred to by its diminutive: *ḍamkinī*, *boksinī*, and *kapṭinī*. *Ḍamkī*—sometimes identified as spirits of dead witches—are the most powerful, credited with the ability to cause sudden death with just a glance, even, for example, of a bird passing overhead in flight. *Kapṭī*, at the other extreme, are capable only of minor mischiefs, such as tense stomachs, facial blemishes, or swelling, usually in children. Throughout Nepal, witches are most commonly referred to as *boksī*, and this is the term most commonly used in Jājarkoṭ as well.

What are the chief characteristics of witches? A hatred of males (of all species) is the most important;

They went to the elephant sheds,
consumed the tusked bull-elephants.

They went to the horse stables,
consumed the white hoofed stallions.

They went to the buffalo sheds,
consumed the good stud buffalos.

They went to the cow sheds,
consumed the good bulls.

They went to the homes of men,
consumed the virile men.

They went to the sheep corrals,
consumed the good billy goats.

They went to the pig pens,
consumed the good boars.

They went to the chicken coops,
consumed the good cocks.

They left behind no male seed,...

"Now let's wander in the world of death,
let's eat all the males there, older sister,

let's eat them, younger sister," they said. [V.14]

They decide to attack Jumrātam next, but he outwits them by donning a costume that confuses them: "In this strange form, in this strange norm, what animal have we met?" they ask, and are prevented from consuming him. He leads them on a tiring journey throughout the world, until they are so exhausted that he can eliminate them.

It should be noted that witches do not only attack men. The recital even tells of them consuming their own mother, having found

her head lice so tasty that they couldn't resist eating her flesh as well. Witches apparently attack close relatives more often than they do other villagers, and they seemingly attack children and women as often as they do men.

Witches are also the cause of many maladies less extreme than death. As the Nine Little Sisters were subdued, they danced. Speaking directly to the witches, Karna Vīr's recital relates this dance:

Go down or I'll put you down,
be put down or else go down,
at this point you began to dance,
you danced with a hold on your heads,
became the *vāi* of aching heads;
you danced with a hold on your hair,
became the *vāi* of oozing blisters;
you danced with a hold on your torsos,
became the *vāi* of sharp pains;
you danced with a hold on your flesh,
became the *vāi* of white skin splotches;
you danced with a hold on your bones,
became the *vāi* of burning joints;
you danced with a hold on your waists,
became the *vāi* of stomach cramps;
you danced moving your whole bodies,
became the *vāi* of bloody blisters;
you danced with a hold on your teeth,

became the *vāi* of loose teeth;
you danced with a hold on your lips,
became the *vāi* of blistered lips;
you danced with a hold on your eyes,
became the *vāi* of failing sight;
danced with a hold on your noses
became the *vāi* of blocked noses;
danced with a hold on your ears,
became the *vāi* of infected ears;
you became the curse of cramps,
the curse of shifting pains,
the *vāi* of deformities,
you became the eightyfour *vāi*. [V.15]

Vāi have attained a quasi-independent character from the witches themselves, and were said to resemble *vāyu*, the spirits of those who died by accident or suicide, or whose corpses were polluted. *Vāyu*, who are known throughout Nepal (see Appendix II), result, however, from the deaths of particular, identifiable, members of one's own family, while the *vāi* survive anonymously on the edges of villages. As this text indicates, they may be the result of death agonies of witches. The eightyfour *vāi* are all identified as the causers of localized aches, pains, and other physical problems of the body, and this, significantly, is all that is attributed to the witches. Popularly attributed problems like loss of breath in the night [*aiṭhān lāgnu*], mysterious bites, non-physical catastrophes and other vague symptoms are not mentioned in the texts, and shamans

laughed dismissively when I questioned them about popularly held beliefs. Most wouldn't actually deny any symptoms whatsoever, but one drew careful distinctions between superstition and reality when it came to witches, upholding the texts' versions as accurate. From the shamans' point of view, witches, when unable to cause outright death, produce very physical afflictions, which is consistent with their own physical state as humans. This conclusion is supported by Gumāne's version of this recital, even though its details are very different. In his story, the shaman drowns each of the older eight witches at different river fords along the Bherī River, with the result that each one becomes a different affliction:

1) *aulo āgan vāi*. Causer of malarial, and other periodically recurring, fevers.

2) *hāḍyā vāi*. Causer of bone aches.

3) *dhade vāi*. Causer of diseases in children's stomachs.

4) *lāṭā aulo vāi*. Causer of the severest malarial fevers, and of deafness.

5) *Kārtik maināmā lāgne āgan vāi*. Causer of fevers that come in the month of Kārtik.

6) *nakṣaro vāi*. Causer of diseases of the nose, and of blocked noses.

7) *hāḍ khānyā, muṭu khānyā, salkyā vāi*. Consumer of bones; of the heart;

8) *cālne vāi*. Causer of aches throughout the body, which, if they reach the heart, cause death.

While the details are different, the afflictions have a very physical reality, just as do those of Karṇa Vīr's version.

Both the problems of gender relation and the ambivalence between curing and causing problems found in the Tilīgramā and Daijo texts are further highlighted in the Recital of the Nine Little Sisters, which is told when treating problems caused by witches. At the end of the recital, Jumrātam [called Jhīngrātam here, with a vocative suffix attached], forms a pact with the youngest of the sisters, who are the first witches. Having subdued the older eight sisters, he prepares to stomp her into the underworld. She seizes his foot, and pleads

Don't kill me, Jhākrī Jhīngrātamau, Rammā Purācamau,
I will cause illness, you will cure it,
you will receive wealth, you will receive grain,
I will apply reversed knowledge,
you will apply straightened spells,
I will obey your assigned times and assigned cures,
I will put frogs and turtles into victims,
you will cure them...
throughout the world, I'll cause illness,
you'll cure it, don't kill me. [V.16]

Jumrātam agrees, allowing witches to perform their tricks in the world, so that he is guaranteed a profitable career, an extraordinarily candid explanation of why the world needs shamans. (For a different version of these negotiations, see Chapter VIII.) The texts set up a clear dichotomy between the deviousness of this

witch and the virtuousness of Jumrātam's first wife, who, as we already have seen, provided him with the costume he needed to successfully fool the witches. While it is clear that Jumrātam is sexually attracted to the youngest witch and praises her beauty, he clearly refuses to let her to enter his house. The text is silent on whether they marry. This issue was inconclusively debated by the shamans, some of whom were convinced that he did, others equally convinced that he didn't, while some had no opinion on the matter, pointing out that the texts don't tell us, so it is pointless to speculate. Gumāne was particularly horrified at the suggestion: "She was his sister, how could he marry her?" He could not offer any evidence to support this relationship, however, and I could not find anyone else who would agree that the witches were actually sisters of the shaman. Whatever their exact relation, shamans are expected to cure afflictions caused by witchcraft, as the pact indicates, and it is this which they do best.

Methods of treating these various afflictions are discussed in the next chapter, but, so far, what can be concluded about shamanic theories of afflictions? Throughout the texts, sources of ailments and crises are made explicit. Taken together these sources constitute a system of etiology, one which inevitably postulates nonphysical causes. This uniformly nonphysical causality provides the rationale for the intervention by spirit possession. It clearly shows the unreasonableness of considering the practice of shamans as somehow comparable to other, secular, systems of medicine. Their practice is better thought of as having a practical religious

nature, dealing in a spiritual way with everyday problems of illness, affliction, and death, satisfying human needs which no purely human medical system is able to treat. This is summarized in a speech which the Sijāpati Rājā makes to Jumrātam, at the end of the Tilīgramā recital:

Older brother, the rulings of the day are mine,
the rulings of the night are yours.

When someone is attacked by a spirit of the dead,
when someone is attacked by a ghost,
when someone is attacked by a god,
those rulings you will make at night.

When the people have problems,
when someone is worried,
when someone has a dispute over land,
when someone has a dispute over a divorce,
those rulings I will make" said the king.

"You are the older brother,
I am the younger brother,
the rulings of the night are yours,
the rulings of the day are mine" he said. [V.17]

VI. RITUAL ACTS

Paralleling each of the texts that are recited within a shamanic performance are distinctive rituals, which supplement the generic performative framework that was described briefly in Chapters III and IV. In this chapter, specific rituals will be examined in greater detail, in order to provide more extensive descriptions of the activities in which shamans engage, in turn developing a more thorough understanding of what it is that a shaman is. I focus primarily on those activities which shamans perform as they treat each of the afflictions identified in the preceding chapter, but include also rituals which do not correspond to any particular affliction, such as those done to diagnose a problem. As will be seen, the variety of ritual activity is no less limited than is either the variety of possible afflictions or the texts used to treat, and they are used even more flexibly than are the texts. That is, there are few specific techniques that are uniquely used to treat only a particular affliction or to accompany only a particular recital; instead, many of the activities are repeated in different performances even when distinct texts are used and distinct afflictions are being treated. I show that most of the rituals, even though extremely elaborate, can be broken up into smaller ritual activities, different sequences of which are used in different cases, and I conclude with a tentative classification of these constituent elements.

As throughout this work, I privilege whenever possible the descriptions found within shamanic texts. This too follows the

practice of the shamans themselves. Inevitably when discussing techniques with the shamans, they would resort to quoting from the appropriate text that describes what should be done, rather than try to elaborate extemporaneously an account of that activity. The reverse, using the ritual activity to clarify the text, was extremely rare and difficult to elicit. The usual response that I got when trying to clarify an obscure passage of text was for the shaman to carefully repeat it a few times, so that I could 'understand' it clearly—the test of my understanding was to be able to repeat it back accurately. This suggests that for the shamans, words and what they designate have a much closer connection than they do for, say, someone familiar with modern language philosophy: that theirs is still a pre-denotative theory of language, in which there remains a direct correspondence between words and objects.

Sometimes, sections of the recitals in which ritual activity are described are so indexically tied to what it is that should be done as they are recited (e.g. "he made one motion," below) that they absolutely required additional explanations and gestures from the shamans to clarify them. Such explanations were often not very satisfactory, though, being nearly as vague as the passages themselves. Only by filming these gestures, I think, would it perhaps be possible to eventually better understand just what it was that the shamans were trying to describe. Just attending ceremonies in which they are performed is little help, since it is generally too dark to see much. Thus, however, it is also true that the audience is equally unable to penetrate this opacity, so that as long as we are

chiefly concerned with the public side of shamanism, this obscurity is not as great a problem as it might initially seem, since it is experienced as much by the patient and audience as by the ethnographer. The occasionally irremediable indexicality can therefore be marginalized, and does not seriously threaten my argument, begun in this chapter and sustained in the next, that the shaman texts are themselves the best possible basis from which to gain a grasp of shamanic ritual activity. In this chapter, I show how the texts not only refer to, but also help clarify, both the details and the meaning of the rituals which shamans perform. Listening to the texts that accompany each performance reveals both the structure of the ritual activities as well as their rationale and significance.

A convenient place to begin discussing shamanic ritual is with an account of the very first shamanic performance, found in Karṇa Vīr's Recital for Postponing the Star Obstructions. The passage relates what Jumrātam does when summoned to Indra's heaven to evaluate his abilities as an intercessor:

He assembled his equipment, beat a copper plate,
"Begin a transfer with the right foot,
a good period of sunlight will result,
"Begin a transfer with the left foot,
a good period of twentyfour hours will result," he said.
Chirenāth, Ciplai Gaurī, Cāyāneṭī he crossed,
he went to Indra's house.
He danced and drummed out to the crossroads,
he danced and drummed back from the crossroads,

[was possessed by Ālaṅg and Mālaṅg]
searched from the top of a ceremonial pole,
"The seven times of natural death,
I will make into one time,
the fourteen times of unnatural death,
I will make into one time,
I will postpone the planets,
will postpone the star obstructions,
will postpone the crises,
will postpone the planet positions,
barren cows, lame oxen,
I will make into valuable property" he said. [VI.1]

The chief features of a shaman's performance are all referred to in this passage: the need for paraphernalia (including the costume and drum), the making of cryptic pronouncements—the part of a seance known as *baknu* [speaking], when the audience asks questions and the shaman gives advice; magical travel, here, instantaneously crossing the difficult mountain passes and valleys which lead to heaven; dancing and drumming to and from the crossroads while possessed by specific, identifiable spirits; and making a diagnosis. It also explicitly announces his deliberate intervention in order to postpone fate. Finally, the 'ceremonial pole' refers to the rites of initiation and their yearly re-enactment, which are discussed in detail in Chapter X. Only the most basic requirements, such as mustard seeds and a fire, are absent, perhaps also subsumed under "he assembled his equipment."

The 'star obstructions' mentioned in this passage are, of course, the *gauḍā*, which are, as has been shown, one of the most significant shamanic concerns, calling for several of the most important and most cosmological texts. Correspondingly, they call for a greater variety of ritual activity than do other situations. The crucial part of the treatment, though, like the treatment of nearly all other afflictions, is an animal sacrifice. The passage quoted above continues with Jumrātam's attempts to find an animal willing to be the substituted victim in place of man:

"Mother Buffalo, you must go to the star obstructions."

"This is not my share of sacrifice,
my male buffalos I will give at the goddess' post,"
she said.

"Mother Cow, you must go to the star obstructions."

"This is not my share of sacrifice,
my oxen plow for men, I let them be raised,
my milk is a pure offering to Nārāyaṇ,
my urine and dung are pure,
I let men use them to purify."

"Mother Sheep, you must go to the star obstructions."

"This is not my share of sacrifice,
my rams I will give at Barāh's post."

"Mother Goat, you must go to the star obstructions."

"This is not my share of sacrifice,
my sacrifices I will give at the goddess' shrine,
I will go for important things,

I will not go for unimportant things," she said.
"Mother Pig, you must go to the star obstructions."
"This is not my share, this is not my sacrifice,
my piglets I will give to be killed by jhākrīs."
"Go now attendants, in Marañ Land, Rāvan's house,
there's an old cock, and old hen, bring them here,"
he said. [VI.2]

After negotiations, first with Rāvan and then with the chickens themselves, the cock and hen agree to go in place of man to satisfy the star obstructions, provided that they are granted a list of privileges, such as being allowed to scratch for food and defecate even inside kitchens:

They went to Marañ Land, Rāvan's house.
"You must give the old cock, the old hen,
Rāvan Mother," they said.
"You cannot buy my hen,
diamond, pearls, a thousand rupees is the price," she said.
From the cage, "Open up my cage,
I will change my price myself," said the old hen.
They opened the cage, the old hen spoke,
"Full pots I will upset, clean pots I will dirty,"
she trembled lightly, trembled more heavily,
"That is my price,
I will go for happy deaths, I will go for unhappy deaths,
will increase what's around, will increase what's found.
[VI.3]

Of course, if the family has arranged to sacrifice a goat, a different passage of text must be recited. In it, when the goat mother responds: "I will go for important things, I will not go for unimportant things," the shaman replies "This is important, you must go," and the goat is eventually convinced, so long as the flesh of its sons is divided and eaten by the sacrificing family and the shaman. Clearly, the text must be meaningful to the shaman, who is responsive to events, otherwise such a substitution of a more relevant passage would be unnecessary.

The other sacrifices mentioned in the passage refer not only to shamanic events, but to events in the festival cycle of Western Nepal as well. A male buffalo is slaughtered for the Nine Goddesses, the Nau Durgā Bhawānī, each fall at the culmination of the Dasāī festival, at a permanent post in front of their shrine; milk is offered to the chief Hindu deities on their feast days; the piglet is an essential part of the shaman's annual pole climb, in which he predicts the villagers' fates. Where there are major shrines to the Barāh brothers, in Sallyān and Rukum for example, annual sacrifices of a ram are performed on the full moon of Sāun [July/August]. In Jājarkoṭ, there are no important Barāh shrines, and the brothers' status is closer to that of mere ghosts than of gods, though they are sometimes, however, the *kūl deutā* [family spirits] of some lineages. Even here, however, those afflicted (usually with madness) after offending the Barāh find a suitable hilltop at which to sacrifice a ram to them. At all of these occasions, whether performed by

shamans, by Brāhmins, or by villagers, the sacrifice is carried out in a way that is structurally similar to the common pattern of animal sacrifices throughout Nepal, whose details can be traced back to Vedic ritual. When I asked Karṇa Vīr what else was needed at such a ceremony besides the animal, after a hesitant attempt to list the requirements, he quoted directly from The Recital for Offering to the Nine Planets (which relates the creation and cursing of man) the list of things that were first demanded by Mahādev himself when he descended to earth to perform a *pūjā* and accept the fate of man as an offering:

He got nine grains, got nine mustard seeds,
got nine flowers, got nine cloths,
got black goats, got black cloth,
made an offering of grain, made an offering of wealth,
made an offering of gold, silver, copper,
made nine shares of garlands,
got nine trees, the fruit of nine trees,
the leaves of nine trees,
nine little sacks, nine little packs,
to the time of death, the messenger of death,
he gave their share.

Mahādev took his pair of begging bowls to the road,
put main man in the begging bowls, gave away main man,
Mahādev took the black goats, took them to the crossroads,
gave away nine shares,
gave away nine little sacks, nine little packs,

gave away at the Barmā crossroads, cut the black goats,
gave away a load of blood. [VI.4]

Nine, the number of planets of Viṣṇu's incarnations so far, of the Bhawānī sisters, and of the original witches, has been a crucial number in Himalayan rituals for millennia, having settled into unquestioned tradition. It may be noted that the nine planets, named in another recital that relates their creation from a discarded, leprous body of Mahādeu, do not quite correspond to those of Western astronomy. They are: the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, and the nodal points of the moon, Rāhu and Ketu. Since these latter are the only points at which an eclipse can take place, and since due to parallax it is sometimes possible for an eclipse to occur when both the sun and moon are still above the horizon, it is more reasonable than it may first seem to regard these points as genuinely physical (but invisible) bodies, responsible for eclipses. I could not engage the shamans in any interesting speculation as to the importance of the number nine—"That's just how it is," [*tyestai cha*] or "Whatever the guru taught us, that is what we do," [*jo jo gurule sikāyo, tyai ho*], typify the inevitable response to such lines of inquiry. Only Mahādev himself would demand nine goats, though—contemporary shamans are keenly aware of the more limited resources now available to their clients. In any case, nine is only an ideal number for any of the things mentioned, and ordinarily a dishful of each item suffices—only when the offering is made to witches is it crucial that nine dishes of offerings (balls of ash mixed with blood, with chicken feathers stuck into them) be set at

the crossroads. (Hitchcock, however, observed that pieces of nine differently colored cloths were actually used (viz. yellow, white, black, red, green, violet, *pālas*—Chinese multicolored cloth, *jin*—also called *gabrang* or *cibre gabryang*, and grey), as were bits of nine different plants: *bhaise geḍi*, *gāi geḍi*, *pānī geḍi*, *āre*, *bijauri phūl*, *hajāri phūl*, *rāto phūl*, *kapteri phūl*, and *ghoḍe jānu*. Clearly, some shamans may be more precise than others about their ritual requirements, but all with whom I am familiar seem quite casual about this.)

As explained in the preceding chapter, *gaḍḍā* require different texts depending on whether the patient is a man, a woman, or a child, but for each, the ritual possibilities that accompanies these recitals are fairly similar, though a chicken rather than a goat is usually considered an adequate sacrifice when a very young child is the patient. Instead of distinct rituals for different cases, there are for any given case a variety of options open to the shaman. Each of these differently illustrates the activities of repairing and postponing adverse fate and setting up barriers to protect the patient from its return. The different possibilities are not in any sense exclusive; several them may be performed for the same patient and even in the same session, depending on how close death seems and how extensive the offerings the patient's family is willing to make are (or how closely related the patient is, since shamans frequently treat members of their own family). Karṇa Vīr, for example, explicitly stated that the more important the patient, the more elaborate the ritual. Some possibilities, furthermore, may

be saved for a repeat performance if the patient has shown no signs of improvement after the first try.

Two of these rituals incorporate explicit acts of raising the patient heavenward, where the crossed stars need to be repaired. In the first, the patient's foot is moved by the shaman step by step up a small model of a pole ladder, which is of course supposed to have nine notches cut into it; in the second, the patient is physically lifted up, by nine persons, while crouching in a winnowing tray. To re-enforce the sense that the patient is being conveyed into the heavens, a model of the sun and moon are sometimes suspended from the main roofbeam of the central room of the house along with a plant shoot (sometimes just a bunch of cinnamon or guava leaves suffices), and the patient is lifted up to them. While elevated, the patient should bite the plant shoot, and upon return, the recital takes the form of a dialogue between the shaman and the patient:

Did you eat the green grass, the fresh water?

Yes, did you see the nine suns, the nine moons?

Yes, did you cross the seven gauḍā, the seven galva [*graha?*] ?

Yes, if you ascend to the sky, I'll pull you pack by your feet.

If you descend to hell, I'll pull you back by your top-knot. [VI.5]

When a shoot has been tied to the roofbeam for this ritual, the patient bites it ("tastes it") when lifted, and it is planted the next day. It's life course will mirror that of the patient; if it catches and sprouts, the patient will recover, otherwise not. Another measure of success is calculated by filling the tray under the patient with grain (ideally, nine measures of it), usually corn kernels, some of which

the patient grasps in his or her foot. Upon the patient's return, the shaman counts the number of kernels that were grasped in the toes and decides on that basis whether the ritual has succeeded. However, no clear system seemed to exist for this calculation—some said that an even number of kernels was auspicious, others said an odd number indicated success, a confusion that Hitchcock also notes for the Bhujī valley, where the same rituals are performed. There, following the ceremony, the nine measures of grain that were raised in the winnowing along with the patient are later brewed into beer, which is shared by the *jhākrī* and the patient.

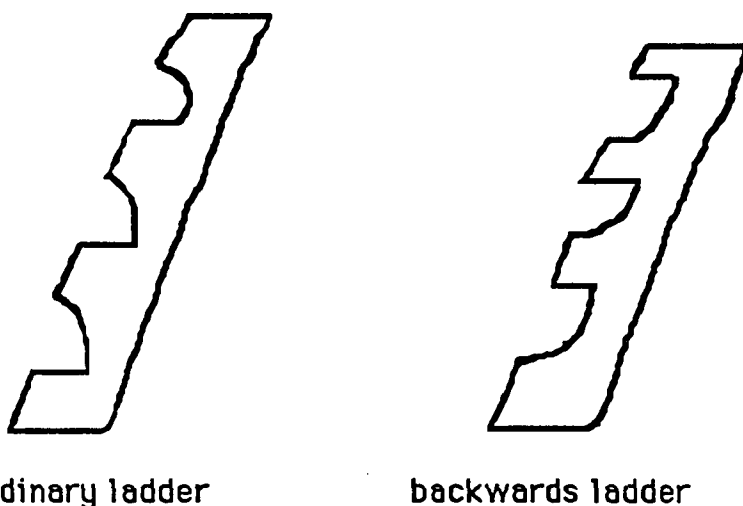


Figure VI.1. Pole ladders.

When a ladder is used and the foot has been assisted to the top and back down again, the ladder itself is buried upside down at a crossroads, to prevent the star obstructions from following down the steps to the patient. A variation on this is to cut a 'backwards' ladder, one on which the notches are cut in reverse so that it cannot

be used. (It is identical to an upside down ladder, except that the wider part of the each pole is at the bottom, as illustrated in Figure VI.1.) This backwards ladder stands in front of the shaman's fire throughout the ritual, sometimes with a clay or turmeric powder circle drawn around it, and it too is buried at a crossroads towards the end of the session (or the next day, since no one, not even a shaman, seems to want to spend much time at crossroads at night— one of the most frequently cited criteria of the better shamans is that they go to more distant crossroads, and stay longer, than do others). In the Bhujī Valley, Deo Ram reported using a single model of a ladder, with nine steps cut upward on one side, and seven downward on the other, nine for the planets, seven for the levels of the earth. The patient's big toe is first moved down the seven steps, then the ladder is turned over and the toe is moved up nine steps. Afterwards, the ladder is buried, not at a crossroads, but under the place where the patient's head rests when sleeping [the *sirān*].

Often, at the conclusion of the night-time ceremony, a barrier resembling a funeral pyre is woven together in front of the patient's house, also to keep away the *gauḍā*, and particularly to satisfy the King of the Underworld, Jama [Sanskrit: Yama] Rājā (the Time of Death personified), and his ambassador, Jama Dūt. The conclusion of the Tilīgramā text describes its construction by the first shaman when treating his brother-in-law the king:

He danced and drummed out to the crossroads,
 he danced and drummed back from the crossroads,
 [was possessed by Ālaṅg, was possessed by Mālaṅg]

he began to sacrifice the blood of the offerings.
He made one motion, collected one strip,
made two motions, collected two strips,
[through nine]
he made one pass, wove one line,
made two passes, wove two lines,
[through nine]
He wove a protective net, wove a selective net,
wove the warp, wove the woof,
wove a solid weave, wove a net-like weave,
charmed the planets, charmed the star obstructions,
freed the spirits, freed the powers,
charmed the planets, charmed the star obstructions.

[VI.6]

This is a passage of considerable difficulty; the words for 'motion', 'strip', 'pass', and 'line' are all extremely vague, and required considerable discussion with the shamans before I arrived at these translations. But the interpretation provided by Karṇa Vīr and Abi Lal finds support in a passage from the Bhujī Valley texts, which describes in greater detail how the chief divinities weave a barrier to reduce the original dowry of nine suns, nine moons, and nine lakh stars (they do this instead of the daughter-in-law's inauspicious actions causing the excess to depart, as in Karṇa Vīr's version, quoted in the previous chapter):

Good Parameśvara, Good Mahādeu, Good Goronāth,
[made] four oaths, going.

They were very embarrassed, were very worried.
"What was desolated, let's make productive."
From Maṅṭā Lok, descending to Ciṅṭā Lok,
they went to the Western House, ha!
They buried an iron Lingum, they buried an iron pillar.
They came to the Southern House, they buried a brass Lingum,
they buried a brass pillar.
They came to the Northern Direction,
they buried a copper Lingum, they buried a copper pillar.
They went to the Eastern House, they buried a bronze Lingum,
they buried a bronze pillar.
"Black Spider, weave a web," saying
Black Spider, began to weave a web,
began to spread a web.
From East to West, from North to South,
he finished weaving a web, finished spreading a web.
Black Termitè,
finished carrying dirt, finished drying dirt.
Good Parameśvara, Good Mahādeu,
began to transfer the suns,
began to transfer the moons.
Sealing one barricade, completing one barricade,
transferring one thread of the warp,
smearing it with white clay,
they prepared the transfer.
Of the nine suns, a first sun was transferred.

Of the nine moons, a first moon was transferred.
Of the nine lakh of stars, one lakh was transferred.
Sealing one barricade, completing one barricade,
smearing it with white clay, they prepared the transfer.
transferring one thread of the warp,
a second sun was transferred.

[and so forth, through the transfer of eight of each] [VI.7]

This is essentially the same ritual that Karṇa Vīr described doing, splitting strips of cane and weaving them back and forth. As the text says, the result resembles as much a net as a pyre, an allusion which is certainly deliberate, since nets as well as pyres play a major part in shamanic ceremonies. For example, when a *siyo*, a lost part of the soul, is being pacified, the relevant text instructs that the entire family of the patient should be wrapped up in a fishing net while the *siyo* is trapped in a gourd, having been aroused by whistling and then lured by chicken's blood along with small pieces of bread—a ritual examined in detail in the next chapter, in which the textual passages which describe these actions are quoted. Additionally, a small net is sometimes hung over the doorway of a house troubled by ghosts, to ward them off—it being said that any spirit who wishes to enter must first pass through all the openings and gets thoroughly confused in the attempt.

Besides resembling a pyre or a net, the object constructed at the end of a *gauḍā phāīne* ceremony can also be appropriately interpreted as a fence, for it also resembles a section of the split cane fences put around vegetable gardens or temporary animal pens.

This allusion is also textually supported; as Gorāpā and Serāpā's sons divide the earth between them, the passage describes this kind of fence being constructed to separate them:

As far as a hand can reach is ours,
as far as a stick can reach is yours,
may you and us not see each other,
may these sons not meet,
between us and you there is a fence,
there is a woven fence, there is a wooden fence,
from today you and us will be as the son and the moon,
may we not meet, may we not see each other. [VI.8]

The pyre, on the other hand, explicitly reappears in a final ritual attempt to postpone *gaudā* after every other technique has been tried without success. The shaman lies at a crossroad at night, wrapped in a shroud. He sets splinters of wood crisscross on his chest, and lights them, offering himself as a ransom to the star obstructions (he finishes the ceremony before the flames actually reach his chest). In doing this, he performs a neat inversion of the normal order of placing a dead body on top of a pyre, rather than a living one under it, an observation clear to villagers themselves, who pointed it out to me in case I hadn't realized it, though no one had any explanation to offer of what the inversion might actually mean.

A somewhat more elaborate version of this ceremony also exists, when the patient's family is willing to invest in an extra goat. This goat is brought to the crossroads by assistants who accompany the shaman. The *jhākrī* lies down in a shroud and a small

fire is lit in a bowl on his chest. The goat is beheaded next to him, and immediately, as the head falls, the shaman leaps up, scattering the fire around the crossroads. (If the head is not separated in one blow, it is said that the shaman is in danger of being dragged off by the *masān* [*latārdai laijāncha*, which also means to 'gobble up in a greedy fashion'] who have assembled to drink the blood.) The goat is disemboweled and the liver and spleen are carefully examined. Only if the signs show the relatives coming to a funeral, indicating that the patient is in grave danger, is the nine level pyre next lit on the shaman's chest. He is possessed with the *māphī* at his head and the 'Monkey Dhuwā' familiar at his feet. He calls out to the Time of Death and the Messenger of Death:

The cremation of so-and -so,
the cremation of such-and-such a man has begun!
Come now! The pyre is lit.
Any which way, wandering here and there, now depart!
[VI.9]

Of course, patients and shamans all realize that the best that can be done is to postpone the time of death, sometimes only for minutes, and that everyone is still going to die when their appointed life-span is up. The urge to hope for miracles is tempered with a strong degree of fatalistic realism, even within shamanic texts. In Karṇa Vīr's Historical Recital, a more modern and less elegant text than the rest of his repertoire that tells specifically of more-or-less historic ancestors of his, two *jhākrī* brothers are summoned to Nepal (Kathmandu), where the queen is experiencing a difficult

childbirth. Passing every test the king poses for them, they finally conduct a successful ritual and sacrifice, and a son is born. The king remained unsatisfied:

One son is no security, can you give another son or not?"

Majesty, we need two black goats.

They repeat their ritual, and a twin son is born, but the king wanted yet another. The brothers agree, but they observe:

"Five days after birth,

it won't be able to survive," they said.

Five days after birth it was in distress.

"So, what can be done to save it, do something, quick."

"Majesty, we need one black goat."

The black goat was sacrificed as before.

One drop of hail fell, was fed [to the child].

"Mahārāj, having obeyed your command,

it will survive two hours only."

From then, in two hours, it departed. [VI.10]

Despite the death of his third son, the king rewards them generously with a land grant, acknowledging, as do villagers, that to correctly diagnose some cases as hopeless adds to the shaman's reputation. Such diagnoses are seen as proof of the shaman's ability to discern, not as evidence of his powerlessness.

As part of every treatment of *gaudā*, the shaman also waves a yak tail at the head and feet of his patient, blows into the ears, sprinkles the body with water and strikes it with an iron staff, all gestures reported to have accompanied each of Mahādev's attempts

to create man, and which Four-faced Barmā also performed on his patient [III.1].

Second only to the variety of rituals called for by cases of *gaṇḍā* are those required for treating witchcraft. Again, a blood sacrifice is always essential, though most often only a cock has to be offered, rarely a goat. Actually, there was some confusion about this, since a few shamans claimed that while the witches are satisfied by a chicken, the *vāi* require a goat. As was seen in the last chapter, the *vāi* are quasi-independent manifestations of the first witches which came into being during their death dance, and their symptoms are identical to those of witches; I was unable to clarify how to tell when a patient was suffering from one rather than the other, though a diagnosis of *vāi* affliction is clearly well suited to cases when no one wants to take responsibility for actually identifying a witch. One major difference in the treatment was the choice of sacrificial animal. In either case, the animal's blood is mixed with ashes taken from under a three-footed iron cooking ring, and kneaded into little balls, which are set into dishes made from green leaves stitched together with twigs (mentioned in the passage below, and in the Recital of Kadum and Padum). As previously mentioned, when performing this ritual, there seems to be a serious effort to actually make nine such dishes. The recital tells the witches how tasty this offering is, and provides further details on what else should be included:

With rice grains of sand, fish of tusārā leaves,
tobacco of dhaturā, cooked rice kneaded with blood,

chilli peppers of ashes, half-cooked flatbreads,
he filled nine open leaf dishes, nine closed leaf dishes,
the rammā set out a snack for the witches.
The rammā set out sweet flaky cakes,
milk solid sweets, rice flour cakes.

The Nine Little Witch Sisters find this treat on their way to attack
the first shaman, and consume it with relish, though it is not enough
to satisfy them.

Now the nine great witch sisters arrived.
"We'll leave no breath, we'll leave no life," they said,
they ate the nine dishes, took the nine shares,...
They ate the rice grains of sand, the tobacco of dhaturā,
the rice kneaded with blood, the chilies of ashes,
the half cooked flat-breads.
" The rammā's snack is so tasty,
how tasty will be the rammā's flesh,
let's eat the rammā," they said. [VI.11]

This begins the battle between the witches and the shaman, which,
although he wins it in the recital, continues to this day and it
reenacted whenever a *jhākrī* is called upon to treat a witchcraft
victim.

Besides all of the offerings given to witches, *vāi* sometimes
receive in addition a set of small scale models of household
equipment, a plate, a bowl, a drinking vessel, a water carrying
vessel, a hoe, a sickle—as many as twenty items, which a blacksmith
makes of iron. These are placed at the edge of the village along with

scraps of the patient's clothing. A goat is then sacrificed over the offerings. Often, though, this act is performed by villagers without a shaman's assistance, as, for example, when a particular *vāi* has identified himself (they are considered *maie*) in a dream.

Both witches and shamans use a technique known as *cakra katāunu* [cutting a circle, or pentagram], which involves the drawing of diagrams at a crossroads and then burying personal artifacts inside the charmed space. Such diagrams are not elaborate *maṇḍalas*; often, a simple circle or cross hatching, made with flour or turmeric powder, is all that is prepared. Inside the demarcated space, a hole is dug, and personal relics of the witch—hair, nail clippings, bits of used clothing (the tips of blouse and tie-straps of headbands are preferred), earth on which she has stepped barefoot, and ashes from her main hearth (all usually supplied by the family who she is troubling, to whom the burden of actually identifying the witch is thus shifted) are all buried by the shaman after blowing a *mantar* on them. The witch is expected to die as a result. Another *mantar* may be used to compel a witch to unearth any such preparation that she has buried, for if she is not forced to unearth it, the power of her own *mantar* is expected to cause the death of the patient. Yet another technique against this act of witchcraft, called *lāgu pharkāune* [returning the effects], using a different *mantar*, is done to deflect the ill effects that she has caused back to a witch. This is often recited after sucking foreign debris, called *putlā*, out of the patient, which is spat into a bowl and disposed of at the crossroads. *Putlā* is not necessarily a corporal object, however, and was described

by some *jhākrīs* as definitely non-corporal. One even called it a "younger brother" of *sāto*, and equated it to *siyo* (the subject of the next chapter), except that it afflicts persons when directed to do so by a witch. Sometimes, a small model of a plow, made from *kharsu* [species unidentified] wood is also buried at the crossroads, the iron-clad tip pointing upwards to prevent the witch from returning. Alternatively, a gourd with a nail pounded into it may be buried instead, for the same reason.

While the actual rituals used to treat witchcraft are not so diverse as those for *gauḍā*, every shaman had a surprisingly extensive repertoire of *mantars* to use against witches. While for most other situations, one or perhaps two *mantars* were all that were known, most shamans knew a half dozen or more to use against witches. Both shamans and villagers tended to identify the practices of witches as closely paralleling those of *jhākrīs*. That is, they state that witches must learn texts, at least *mantars*, in order to practice. The most infamous of these witch texts, known of throughout Nepal, is the *Indra Jal* [Indra's Net], taught to them by Indra himself when requiring their help in the primordial battle between the heavenly gods and the demons who originally controlled the earth. In Kathmandu, the *Indra Jal* is even said to exist in manuscript, though no one seems to know the whereabouts of any copy. Witches also have helping spirits, including *vīr* and *māphī* [confirmed in V.14], and they perform various rituals similar to those of *jhākrīs*, such as the *cakra katāunu* mentioned above. However, since I never found anyone who would actually admit to

being a witch, and most specific identifications made to me were of women already dead, all of these claims must remain speculative.

Sucking is done not only to remove items that witches have inserted into victims; it is also an important technique in cases of women who have *moc* or *nāgs* lodged in their wombs. On these occasions, it is accompanied by different *mantars*, which I plan to discuss at length elsewhere. A *mantar* is also said over an iron blade which is then waved around the patient, to cut loose the foreign intrusions stuck inside the body. This technique better conforms with the traditional laws concerning shamans, which specifically forbid them to apply their lips directly to women. Despite the law, however, such direct sucking is still done, at least in Jājarkoṭ, though Hitchcock records that *jhākrīs* in the Bhujī Valley interposed their drum sticks between their mouth and the patient's body.

Shamans also suck on patients to dislodge the invisible arrows, *vāṇ*, which forest spirits shoot into those who defile their sanctuaries. *Vāṇ* are not only the weapons of forest spirits; shamans themselves also send them at their enemies, as mentioned in Chapter IV. As I noted, what *vāṇ* denotes is rather ambiguous; while it is interpreted as 'arrows' in this context most of the time, it can also mean the auxiliary spirits of a deity. What is actually sucked out does not much resemble either. When discussing this technique, Jhākrī Kamāro Kāmī of Karuwā Village drew a distinction between removing blood, mucus, or small stones from a patient, which he himself has done, and reports of removing balls of hair or small animals such as lizards or toads, which he dismissed as pure

superstition [*andhaviśwās*], another example of theoretical distinctions between the possible and the impossible which shamans themselves make. In any case, what is actually produced tends to most resemble a stone, or lump of some kind, along with blood. Actually, no one seems to be much impressed by this activity, and there are common expressions of skepticism that this is just a slight of hand, like the tricks of a magician, done purely to enhance the shaman's performance.

Other than treating cases of *gauḍā* or witchcraft, the next most elaborate shamanic ritual is probably that for binding a house. This is a ceremony called for when a family is suffering a series of inexplicable misfortunes, and which attempts to protect the family, their house, animals and property, from all possible sorts of threats. Depending on the symptoms that family members report, and what the major threats are suspected to be, different texts can be used, but most commonly, either *Tilīgramā* or the *Gauḍā Tāḍā Garāune* Recital, followed by either the Recital of *Sati Barbā* or the *Ban Bhampā* (or both) are used. Such a set of recitals together serve the purpose very well: deal with the big cosmological issues, like *gauḍā*, first, then the smaller mundane ones, like *chedī bhedī*, *nāgs*, and all various threats that arise from the forest, second.

"Binding a house" is not just a metaphorical title of the ritual. The shaman actually takes a long cord, roughly woven out of strong vines [*kukur ḍāṅgu*], and wraps it around the house, a visible sign of the protection that he conveys, and a reminder to the spirits of the boundaries between human settlements and the uncultivated

wilderness which is their rightful domain. To reinforce these boundaries, the shaman also pounds stakes of wood cut from a wild plum tree into the four corners of the property on which the house stands, setting up a leafy branch at each, and implants a long iron rod in front of the entrance. A goat is sacrificed amid the usual ritual preparations of leaf dishes containing various offerings, such as vermilion powder and betel nuts. Sometimes, again to send back any *lāgu* and prevent it from returning, a small model of a plow, or a cowrie shell, is buried at a crossroads. Once again, most of the details of the ritual are explicitly mentioned in the appropriate recital:

They went to Tārātāli,
brought back the great rammā Jumrātam.
He danced and drummed out to the crossroads,
he danced and drummed back from the crossroads,
began to bind the house.
Raising the foundation stone,
[or, setting down the challenge]
he firmly fixed the foundation stone.
Breaking up the pentagrams,
he released the pentagrams.
He bound the shares of grain,
he bound the shares of wealth,
he bound the shares of land.
He killed forest Rāh,
killed the descendants of Kamsa,

killed the ghosts and goblins,
killed the major spirits of the dead,
killed the spells, charms, tricks of witches,
began to bind the house...
He bound the four corner pegs, cut with four gestures...
bound the four directions, bound the four quarters,
drove in a four cornered iron peg,
drove in a thunderbolt staff.
He struck it for all time,
killed the effects of all time,
buried a cowrie, wrapped everything into a ball. [VI.12]

The passage also makes clear the generic nature of this ritual, covering a very wide variety of sources of supernatural trouble, sweeping clean the house and property of both major and minor threats to its security.

Binding is also done to individual patients, a much simpler ritual at the conclusion of which a string is tied around the patient's neck or wrist to offer general protection. A recital gives a somewhat exaggerated account of this technique, but also observes the similarity between such a tying and the tether used to lead or secure a domestic animal:

Having gone to heaven, you're brought back by the feet.
Having gone to hell, you're brought back by the hair.
[With] cotton thread, going, with nine strands,
I've bridled the mouth, bound the feet,
bound the hands, bound the neck. [VI.13]

Sometimes, as the text suggests, strings are tied around all the various limbs, but a single one around the wrist or neck is, I've observed, far more common.

Another, uncommon, ritual also involves the crossroads—that of actually burying for a moment a child born under the *mūl* configuration. *Mūl* is a crisis that lasts for a determined length, sometimes a lifetime, sometimes for just a few moments. If the latter is the case, the child who is affected is buried up to the neck at the crossroads for the duration of the *mūl* period, and then uncovered and declared reborn under a new configuration. While the child is buried, scraps of old cloth taken from nine houses are burned, then the parents are brought to the crossroads, along with a group of neighbors and friends, and, if available, a Brāhman. They claim the child, exclaiming: "Look what I've found at the crossroads, who could have put this here! We should keep it!" The father presents the mother with a small gift of money. A goat is cut, the child is submerged in its blood, and is then washed with water from "100" springs, sprinkled through a copper sieve and coursed down a banana stalk spout, with the water and blood then disposed of at the crossroads. Juice from the leaves and roots of "100" trees [probably a particular herbal preparation, but I could not confirm this] is fed to the child daily for nine days, with the remainder thrown out at the crossroads on the ninth day, after which the *mūl* is said to have departed. Karṇa Vīr, who described this technique to me, made it clear that you don't need knowledge to do this [*gyān cāen*], it's only a technique. The decisive distinguishing factor is that there is no

recital, not even a *mantar*, to be said when you do it, though there are a few lines of *bedani* [scripture? perhaps from *veda*], which simply tell the *mūl* to go away. Apparently, no other shaman was familiar with this ritual; most said either that only an astrologer could do anything about *mūl*, or that nothing could be done about it.

Finally, as I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there are also techniques not directly connected to any recital, chiefly either diagnostic or evaluative divinations. These are used either at the beginning of treatment to identify the source of affliction, or afterward to determine if the ceremony has been efficacious. For the very reason, I think, that they are unaccompanied by any text, they vary from shaman to shaman much more than do any of the other rituals.

The simplest of these diagnostic techniques, though, does not actually vary much from shaman to shaman. After a goat has been beheaded, the man who cuts it puts the head into the shaman's drum. The shaman, possessed, picks up the head in his teeth, shakes it back and forth, and tosses it back toward the body, checking to see if it aligns properly with the neck, which is a good sign. The heart is then put in the drum, and the shaman tosses it with his teeth towards the body. It should land against the stomach between the legs.

More complicated techniques do vary widely: often, in place of the test just described, after an animal has been sacrificed the liver of a goat, or the gall bladder of a chicken, is carefully examined to decide whether the patient will benefit from the offering. I discussed this with a dozen different shamans, and learned a dozen

different ways to evaluate the organs. The simplest was Karṇa Vīr's: "If their color is good, then the result is good; if their color is bad, then the result is bad." Pressed for further details, he said that the half of the goat's liver toward the gall bladder is the patient's half, the other side represents the village, and that if you could see "funeral goers" [*malāmi*] arriving in the patient's half, or a grave (a deep cleft) at the top, then the patient would die. He also commented that if a chicken's gall bladder is clear, then the ritual has to be repeated, or the patient would suffer. Other shamans, including Man Dev Kumai of the Bhujī Valley, felt that the amount of grayish membrane around the liver was the critical factor, others divided it into quadrants rather than halves, one for the patient, one for his house, one for the house's god, and one for the village. One shaman, Sibe Damāi, divided the liver into three parallel bands from top to bottom, and said that there was nothing to worry about if any two of them were firm. Others were concerned most about the depth and direction of creases in the liver. Still others practiced classic haruspication, counting the bumps on the intestines, with different ways of calculating success and failure.

Similarly, the "standard" technique for deciding at a distance whether a patient is treatable, called *māilo herne* [literally, 'looking at dirt'] shows a wide range of variation. Most of these use pieces of cloth cut off the patient's clothing, but what is done with them vary from practitioner to practitioner. Some shamans put these on the skin of their drum, beat it lightly, and see if the (usually three) pieces come together or go separate ways. One reported variation on

this is to request a piece from the mother and father's, as well as the patient's, clothing—if the two others come to join the patient's scrap, the patient can be cured, otherwise not. Other shamans put the pieces in a bowl of water and see if they float or sink, others put them in alcohol and watch if they move to the left or right, still others just feel them to see if they are warm or not.

I brought the rather contradictory diversity on these subjects to the attention of both shamans and villagers, who failed to find it remarkable or provocative. This recalls Evans-Pritchard's remark that "A witch-doctor divines successfully because he says what his listener wishes him to say, and because he uses tact." [1937: 170] However, I myself find it very noteworthy, as another example of how knowing and reciting texts are important means of producing standards of activity. In their absence, the alternate is a wide divergence of practice. A more detailed look at how the texts act to standardize shamanic behavior is taken up in the next chapter, a "case study" of textual directions.

To conclude, we can perhaps summarize the variety of ritual activities in which shamans engage as being either propitiary or magical, though the shamans themselves declined to suggest any such summary or classification, and were puzzled by the question. Propitiary rituals include sacrifices and offerings, while 'magical' acts include rituals of binding and burying, sucking or blowing, raising the patient towards the heavens, and all the acts of divination. Clearly, though, the two categories are not genuinely exclusive, and all activities would simply fall into a more general

one such as "acts of intervention," which is probably the most precise summary with which the shamans themselves might agree.

VII. STAGE DIRECTIONS

As we have seen in the preceding two chapters, there are two obvious components of every shamanic performance to which any observer has access: the shaman says things (prayers, chants, songs, conversation...) and he does things (drums, dances, manipulates objects...). Chapter VI began to look at the connections between these two sets of activities, between what is said and what is done, and that investigation is continued here. Specifically, in this chapter, I explore the reflexive character of shamanic speech and shamanic action, again using, as far as possible, what is said to understand what is done. I am interested in the connections between what can be taped during an actual performance and what can be observed and reported either by outsiders (whether anthropologist or local audience) or by participants (shaman or patient). In trying to sort out the ontological problems involved between these three sets of accounts, I make use of ethnomethodology's realization that social situations are not necessarily ready-made nor unproblematically available to their participants, but that they are actively constituted by the on-going interaction of the participants, who work to arrive at a sensible construction of the situation. I am also further supporting the methodological argument (though I doubt that there can be many objections) that the use of tapes, repeatable and public, offers the best approach from which the situational reflexivity of shamanic activity can be tackled, and, somewhat more problematically, that most of the work that goes into making a

performance performable as well observable can be demonstrated to be contained within the texts themselves.

Shaman texts not only contain the rationale for the action performed in their ceremonies and describe the causal agents of the afflictions for which the patient is being treated, as we saw in Chapter V, and descriptions of the ideal performance of the ceremony which the shaman strives to recreate, as shown in Chapter VI, they are also filled with precise 'stage directions', straightforward accounts of what should be done sequentially as the ceremony unfolds. Curiously, as will be shown, these directions do not necessarily occur as the actions they direct are taking place—text and ritual follow parallel but separate courses. Also, not every detail of the ritual is explicitly mentioned in the texts; some must be supplied extra-textually by the shaman, though it will be seen that these tend to be points that the shaman himself regards as trivial.

To demonstrate these aspects of the texts, I will concentrate on giving a detailed description of an actually performed version of the *siyo mārne* [Killing the *siyo*] ceremony. The accompanying recital is an extremely simple text, one that tells no story whatsoever. It is recited as part of a ceremony performed when an individual or family is persistently troubled by a *siyo*, whose malignant influences the shaman is expected to disperse. By examining one extremely simple text in greater detail than I have any text thus far, I hope to give a better sense of what a shaman's performance can really be like. I concentrate on examining segments of the text as it

was recited in performance, along with the asides of clarification that were necessary for the shaman to make as he performed it and the interruptions that his assistants made to find out what to do next. When it offers some potential insight, I also look at the differences between the performed and the dictated versions, and offer some possible reasons for the discrepancies.

The specific ceremony that I examine was performed by Jhākri Man Dev Kumāī and took place on October 5th, 1967 in the Bhujī Valley. It was taped by John Hitchcock, who later also taped a version recited by the shaman specifically for the ethnographer without an accompanying performance. For additional details of the ritual I rely on notes which Professor Hitchcock and his assistant made of the performance. I also draw on my own familiarity with nearly identical rituals in Jājarkoṭ and descriptions which the shamans I know also provided, but I have found this to be the most suitable occasion to include an extended example from his material. It opens up the points that I want to make far better than do any similar cases from my own fieldwork. Reasons for this include his using two tape recorders, one inside and one out, and having several assistants who could not only operate the machines, but were also trained to record their own observations, resources beyond my own severely limited ones. Of equal importance, though, is that by examining a situation at which I was not personally present, involving a shaman now dead who I never met, I also demonstrate how tapes open up situations for re-analysis (a point which I hope is transparently obvious). Finally, the example incidentally illustrates

the extreme similarity between events of 23 years ago and those that continue to be enacted in the present day, though such continuity is admittedly nowhere central to any of my arguments in this analysis, and should in any case be anticipated by the conservative nature of both texts and practices themselves.

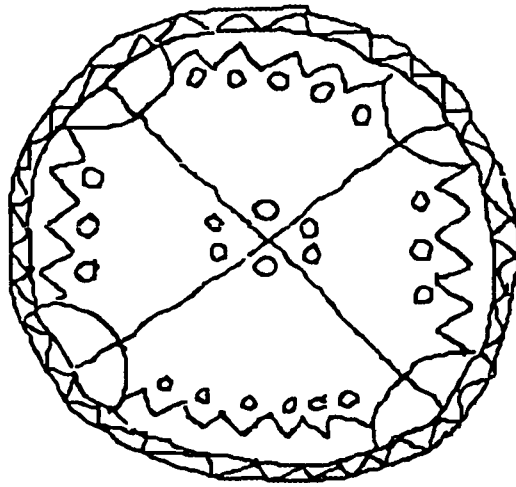
My discussion does not begin with the beginning of events that evening. Man Dev began, as usual, with protective *mantars* and the scattering of grain inside the house. He next recited the *deutā bolāune* [summoning the spirits] *mantar*. This was followed by a predictive ceremony, one of throwing leaves and water out of a water pitcher to see if they landed shiny or dull side up, another ritual that seems rather arbitrary, since the shaman simply keeps tossing until he gets a favorable throw. He then donned his costume, burned incense in the fire, and, as he began to sing aloud a few lines of the *deutā bolāune*, became possessed. Man Dev's *deutā bolāune* was sometimes sung publicly while beating his drum, as though it were a recital, and sometimes quietly hummed, as both a little earlier, and also later in this same performance. In discussion, he called it either a *mantar* or a recital (*khetī*), depending on the context. During these opening lines, another piece of clear evidence that the shaman listens to his own recital occurs. When he mentions extending protection over the bronze and copper utensils of the house, he abruptly stops and exclaims: "We've forgotten to put in Mahādeu!" By this he meant the copper coin placed before the shaman as a representative of that god. He then waited until someone came up with a Nepali 10 paisa coin, which he put in the plate with the rice,

black stones, and the oil lamp, and then resumed singing where he had left off.

Once possessed, he quit singing, and offered some general consultations [*baknu*] including some rather redundant remarks about *siyo*, it having been decided in advance that this is what needed to be treated. The patient was the son of the shaman's younger brother, who had fallen from a cliff while drunk. Although he physically recovered after a few weeks, he and his family felt uncomfortable afterwards and desired treatment.

When the *baknu* was finished, Man Dev next performed the Ban Bhampā (the story of Gorāpā and Serāpā dividing the wild and the cultivated lands between their descendants). In this way, several hours elapsed between the beginning of the ceremony and the preparations for the *siyo mārne*; it was nearly midnight when the following events began. Before Man Dev began the final part of the ceremony, the women of the family cooked flat breads fried in clarified butter (a special treat), ten to feed the assistants necessary to carry out the ceremony, and nine miniature ones (the size of small coins) that are put inside the gourd to entice the *siyo* to enter it.

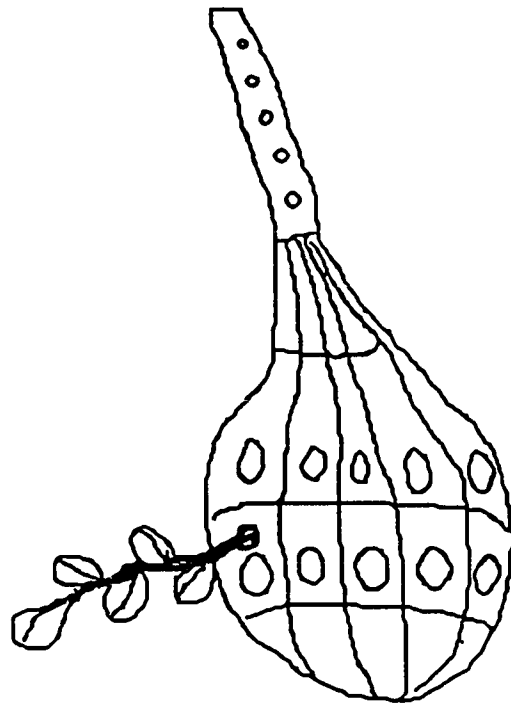
While the breads were being fried, Man Dev smoked, and began to direct his pupil and the family as they began the final preparations. First they softened white clay in water, and then used a stick to paint a simple pattern on the drum (Figure VII.1).



VII .1 Decorations on Man Dev's Drum.

(Compare the similar pattern drawn in 1989 by Karṇa Vīr of Jājarkoṭ, found in Chapter IV).

Next, they stripped the bark off of a freshly picked branch of an *aulāko patko* [species unknown] tree, cut it into three approximately equal lengths, and warmed them in the fire. One becomes a handle inserted into the top of a bottle gourd [*chiṇḍo*], another is given to the shaman, the third becomes the "sword" later used to smash the gourd. Both the handle and the gourd are also painted with the white clay, as in Illustration VII.2. The pupil asked if they should use black ash as well as white clay, but Man Dev said no, just clay. A small hole is cut into the side of the gourd, into which a leafy branch of *kāthe kāulī* is inserted.



VII.2. Decorations on the *Chiṅḍo*.

Once the sticks have been dried and heated in the fire, Man Dev takes one, taps his drum rim with it, and then inserts it into the rim. Having taken up his drum, he begins the recital as the painting of the gourd is completed, after telling the men to cut the chicken once he begins to sing. The text as performed begins with a general list of afflicting agents which includes *siyo*, though without giving it any particular prominence, and affirms the shaman's ability to quell such forces with the help of the tree branches. Because this text follows the Ban Bhampā, it does not have a formal beginning of its own that would situate it in mythic time and space, as this is always a feature of the first text to be performed in any session, as

discussed in the next chapter. Instead, it begins with an address to the branch that has just been put into the gourd:

O, branch of the Kāṭhe Kāulī tree, [twice]
approved by the spirits [*deo*],
approved by the powers [*dhām*],
you who drive away witches,
you who drive away bewitchers,
you who drive away Rāh, you who drive away Siyo;
branch of the Kāṭhe Kāulī tree, [twice]
approved by the spirits, approved by the powers,
you who drive away Asān, you who drive away Masān,
you who drive away Siure, you who drive away Biure;
branch of the Kāṭhe Kāulī tree,
you who drive away Sirum, you who drive away Bārum...
[VII.1]

[*siure* is the Kham equivalent of *siyo*, while *sirum*, *barum*, *lul* and *lulapā* are said to all be collective ways of referring to the descendants of Serāpārun.

The dictated version listed several additional pairs of such forces: *bāyu* and *batās*, *asān* and *masān*, *jal* and *mūl*, *ched* and *bhed* and also *moc*.]

After these few lines, the men, who are now ready to cut the chicken, call out and interrupt Man Dev. He quits singing to resolve their argument over how to put the blood in the gourd, telling them that it doesn't matter, either through the hole in the neck or the one cut in the side. He resumes where he left off:

you drive away Lul, you drive away Lulapā,

you drive away Rāh, you drive away Siyo. [VII.2]

but stops again after a few lines to remind them not to forget to put in the little breads. He then starts over again at the beginning, and pauses at the same point to ask if they've put the blood in yet or not. They hadn't, and after a few more lines they interrupt again because they think that it does matter how the blood should be put in, and he again tells them it really doesn't matter. He himself stops after a few repeated lines, to test each of ten whistles that have been cut from bamboo. Man Dev clearly did not want to begin the next section of the recital until all the preparations are finished, and he also tells everyone several times to be quiet before he finally begins it. As opposed to just four times in the recited version, he has addressed the *kāṭhe kāulī* branch sixteen times, giving it extreme prominence in the performance. He has also repeated the line "you drive away Rāh, you drive away Siyo" four times. This coupling of *siyo* with *rāh* is not arbitrary, for the ritual treatment of both is very similar, with a *rāh* also lured into a gourd which is then shattered. As has been observed in Chapter V, *rāh* are spirits of children who die at birth or at an early age (before the second teeth appear). But just what is a *siyo*? The next section of the text obliquely provides an answer, by listing many of the most prominent varieties of *siyo*, acting as a summons as well:

Siyo of one who has fallen from a tree,

Siyo of one who has fallen from a cliff,

Siyo of one who has fallen from a bridge,

Siyo of one who has fallen into a hole,
Siyo of one who has been struck by a rock,
Siyo of one who has been struck by a log,
Siyo of one who has been eaten by a tiger,
Siyo of one who has been eaten by a bear,
Siyo of one who has been bitten by a serpent,
Siyo of one who has been struck by a stone,
Siyo of one who has been eaten by a serpent,
Siyo of one who has been burned by a fire, [VII.3]

It is minimally clear that a *siyo* results from a misfortune, and would seem to be the result of an unnatural death. I first thought that a *siyo* must be the soul of someone who died in some such way, but both *jhākrīs* and non-specialists in Jājarkoṭ corrected this impression, explaining the such a spirit would be a *masān*, and if it troubled its former family, would either have to be worshipped as a *pitār* [ancestral spirit] or treated as a *vāyu* [spirit of someone who died by accident or suicide, or whose corpse was polluted –see Appendix II]. Rather, a *siyo*, they insisted, is the result of someone having narrowly escaped such a death, and this ceremony is performed after a severe accident, when the person remains 'shaken up' by the event, and whose family may also remain upset afterwards. As a consequence of the close call of death, a non-physical part of a person, the *siyo*, has become detached and wanders throughout the world, having obtained a malicious, or at least threatening, aspect that has to be quieted. This interpretation, the most common in Jājarkoṭ, equates *siyo* with *sāto*, as in "*sāto gāyo*"–

to lose one's wits. It would seem to fit the situation under discussion as well, since the individual who fell survived. Unfortunately, applying this solution to the Bhujī Valley is clouded by remarks that Man Dev made during the *baknu*, in which he referred to a "*siyo rāh*" that resulted from being killed by a tiger. Also, at the end in the divination, he referred to *siyo* that remains from the time of the ancestors. Further, in his version of the Rāh Mārne [Killing the *rāh*] Recital, the child becomes a bird and lures his father high into a tree, from which the father falls and dies:

Falling from the pipal tree, he dies right there.

Oh, Father Nilawaṭā, went to become a *siyo*.

His son also, oh, Kālu Bhaṇḍāre, oh, Kūrjā Bhaṇḍāre,
became a *rāh*, a *moc*. Oh, Kūrjā Bhaṇḍāre [said]

"You have become a *siyo*, I have become a *rāh*,"

thus he said then. [VII.4]

The issue is here carried farther from a clear, unambiguous solution, for the passage further equates *rāh* and *moc*, a casual conflation that I have also noted for the Jājarkoṭ area. A definitive explanation does not emerge, and does not, I would suggest, exist. However, the crucial factors seem clear: some aspect of personhood has become detached, either from the patient or from close relatives of the patient, sometimes including those who have died. The result is troublesome, and the entire family must be involved in an effort to resolve the disturbance. Unlike *sāto*, which is eventually reunited with its source, *siyo* are driven off, "killed" as the title of the recital suggests.

The variety of *siyo* that is particularly relevant to this occasion, of one who fell from a cliff, is not given any particular prominence in the text here—Man Dev does not alter the text to fit the circumstances, and it is recited exactly the same as is the dictated version. This suggests that *siyo* are perhaps more important as a collective force than as individual entities. Another possibility, suggested by a story that Karṇa Vīr told about "*hiyo*" (in Jājarkoṭ, as in Jumlā, 's' often becomes 'h'), is that what is really important is to placate the king of *hiyo* who has captured the one now in question, so that the place where the present *hiyo* (or *siyo*) happened to originate remains incidental:

Satī Barbā and Luwā Naṅgrayā were two brothers. The king of Khātī climbed a *pharsā* tree [a type of fodder tree]. They shot a golden pellet from a pellet sling and it struck him in his heart. The *ḍāmnyā* disease rose in his heart and he died, he became Hiyā Rāj. When he takes a *hiyo*, we can awaken the victim. And when a *hiyā* goes to stay in the forest, we can retrieve it. [VII.5]

Even Man Dev's text mentions a "golden sword, a silvery shield," used for bringing the *siyo* back, which would seem more appropriate as offerings for Hiyā Rāj than as lures for the wandering *siyo* [below, VII.7].

That the *siyo* is certainly something that wanders independently of its source is clarified by the next section of the text, which enumerates and searches through a very long list of places where the *siyo* might be resting. The local minor spirits (*simī-bhūmī*) of each of those places are offered a share of the

sacrifice, in return for their assistance in compelling the *siyo* to attend the ceremony in progress. *Simī-bhūmī* are extremely minor divinities, and are usually nameless; they occupy, explained Man Dev's pupil, a lowly place in the divine hierarchy comparable to *Kāmīs* in the human social order. The shaman, 'traveling' through the many places, calls on them by location:

Ai, O *simī* of Tamghās Garkhā Wetlands,
O *bhūmī* of Tamghās Garkhā Drylands,
your share is here, your portion is here,

Simī Sa La La La La, Bhūmī Sa La La La, [VII.6]

with 164 more specific places subsequently mentioned, gradually approaching from afar the site of the ritual. The 'Sa La La La La' refrain is, as it sounds, onomatopoeitically imitative of the bamboo whistles. (There is a commonly held belief throughout Nepal that whistling summons ghosts.) In the text, some of the chief divinities of each quadrant are called upon by name as the locations of that region are iterated, and told to force the *siyo* to leave there and return home. Also, as places in the west are named, the spirits of two deceased but important *jhākrīs*, Kusan Rammā and Bethan Rammā are told to block the path of the King of the Dead, Yama Rājā:

going to the Western House, Kusan Rammā, going,
Bethan Rammā, going, to Yama Rājā,
you don't give a path, you don't give a way.

In the doorway, the door, into the bottle gourd, going,
the white clay, going, with that began to write,
with a branch of the Paṭkā tree, going,

made a golden sword, made a silvery shield.

The white clay, going, with that began to write.

O branch of the Kāṭhe Kāulī,

approved by the spirits, approved by the powers,

you bring the siyo, you drive the siyo,

into the bottle gourd, going. [VII.7]

Once again, there are more spirits mentioned in the dictated version than in the performed version. The dictated version also calls on the shaman's personal twelve *barāṅg* and nine *dhūwā*, who he failed to include (or whose assistance he didn't need) in the performance. After mentioning a few distant places to the south, west and north, Man Dev pauses and tells the family where to sit, then begins to round up the ten men who are supposed to help in the ceremony. Some have fallen asleep, others have wandered outside, but eventually nine of them can be found. Man Dev says "Nine are enough, give each one a bread." As each receives a bread from the patient's family, the shaman also gives them a *ṭikā* [forehead dot] of ashes, for protection. He next gives them directions. Two should take bowls of sand and water to throw at the family, two more take nettle fronds with which to beat the patient, the rest are to position themselves outside with whistles, as the text directs (below). Finally everyone is in place, and the shaman resumes his litany of place names. He breaks off after naming a few more and tells the young men that they should be outside and be ready. They argue about who should take the third stick and have the responsibility for breaking the gourd, a task finally assigned to the shaman's pupil.

Along with the gourd, a small model of a plowshare, a long needle that will be driven into it, and a stake of wild plum wood [pāiyū], are all to be taken to the crossroads, to bind the *siyo* there. Specific directions as to what the plow and spike should be made of, given in the text, are carefully followed. As is the net, the plow is glorified with idealized connections to the first blacksmith:

of the Kharsu branch, going, making a great plow,
of a Paiyā branch, going, making a great spike,
atop the three-pronged one [the plow],
chips were cut out. O Tikhu Kāmī, Elder Brother,
hammered the great plow, forged the great plow. [VII.8]

However, unlike the description of the net (below), which was included in the performance by being added on at the end, this passage about the plow and spikes appears only in a much longer coda of the dictated version, all of which was omitted that night. The directions are contained in the text, and are followed, but their recitation is not necessarily part of every performance. This seems significant, but also certainly reasonable: you can't wait for a passage about sacrificing a black goat, for example, and only then start looking for an appropriate one, as this could easily result in a delay of days. Even a simple ceremony like this one requires a goat, a chicken, a bottle gourd, branches of a particular tree, white clay, a model of a plow, an iron needle, and a fishing net, which take time to assemble. But it is also clear that other people, not just the shaman, know what is needed and what should be done, to the extent even of challenging the shaman's own version of the instructions, as in the

dispute over how to put the chicken's blood into the gourd. Attending the same ceremonies over and over, observing and, at least occasionally, listening to parts of the recital, result in a general diffusion of specialist knowledge throughout the interested population, so that the shaman needs only to remind them of what to do and does not have to give meticulously detailed instructions to the participants, even though they then enact the ritual just as the text says it should be enacted.

Returning to the actual performance, as Man Dev sings the long list of place names, two men inside the house take the model of the plow, break a long iron needle into three pieces, and pound each piece into the plow. (The common word for 'needle' in Nepali is *siyo*, which probably explains its use in this ceremony. Yet another common homonym, meaning 'border', also occurs in the Ban Bhampā recital, which may be another reason why it is recited preceding a performance of the *siyo mārne*, though the *siyo* has clearly become a force of the wilds, and so falls under the jurisdiction of Serāpārun's descendants.) They then take the plow outside. Man Dev now stops singing the recital and instead quietly hums the *deutā bolāune* [summoning the god] text. Suddenly, he shakes hard to herald the god's presence. The faces of the patient and his family (five people in all) are blackened with soot, they are wrapped together in the fishing net, and the net is then suspended from the main house beam. One of the assistants throws sand at those in the net, another sprinkles them with water, and then both beat the patient and his family with nettle fronds, so that the *siyo* is not tempted to enter

them. The shaman now moves outside and squats next to the gourd where he resumes singing the list of place names, until at last the *siyo* is found, apparently at a place called Kāule Garkhā. This is not, as one might expect, the spot where the original fall from a cliff took place. (I would have liked to have known if this spot has other significance, but this question wasn't raised at the time.)

When the shaman locates the *siyo*, he makes this known by calling it by the apparently meaningless name "Garan Kāle Garan." (Meaningless, at least, to the shaman and his audience; Man Dev thought that it might be a phrase of the Kham language, but this could not be confirmed. He uses a similar phrase, "Garan Sele Garan," to address a *rāh* in the parallel ceremony of *rāh mārne*.)

O Garan Kāle Garan,
in the doorway, the door, in the golden door frame,
in the silvery door, O Garan Kāle Garan,
going into the bottle-gourd, going into the white clay,
feast on this blood, feast on this flesh,
eating the Bābān bread, eating the Jogi bread,
O Garan Kāle Garan. [VII.9]

The 'golden door frame' and 'silvery door' refer to the decorated gourd into which the *siyo* is being lured. At the same time as the *siyo* is being trapped into the gourd outside, inside the house the family of the patient remains bound inside the fishing net. Each, in a sense, is trapped. The net not only puts them physically in the shaman's protection, it also affirms their connections to the greater society around them, by detailing an idealization of the net's

construction. This invokes the original blacksmith, Tikhu Kāmī, who takes responsibility for the iron weights that hold down the net, and the first potter, who is responsible for weaving the net itself. The net brings the family actively into the ritual, and also provides an opportunity to weave mythical characters into their presence, an aspect whose thread I will follow later. Fitting in these mythic prototypes is standard practice throughout the recitals, but here, where there is no story whatsoever, it requires considerable artifice, and takes place as a coda sung at the end of the ceremony, after the *siyo* had been trapped, the gourd shattered, and the pieces disposed of at a crossroads:

Tikhu Kāmī, Elder Brother,
from a black she-goat, stripping off the great skin,
made a bellows, was pumping it.

Tikhu Kāmī, Elder Brother, carries coal, charcoal.
having set up a forge, having set up a firepit,
the bellows from the black she-goat he pumped.
Dhurkoṭe iron, carrying that, he brought it.

On the True Forge, he begins to forge weights. [VII.10]

Tikhu Kāmī forges various types of weights—round weights, flat weights, and axe-blade shaped weights—here, they are not enumerated, while in the dictated version the counting is actually done, slowly and clearly, to one hundred. The potter [*kumāle*] prepares the net:

Brother Kumāle,
of nettles fiber, of flax fiber,

with white clay, he begins to cook it.
From the nettles fiber, going, pulling out a great thread,
O Brother Kumāle, begins to weave a net.
He put in the first line of the warp,
shifted the first line of the woof, wove the first woof.
He put in the second line of the warp,
shifted the second line of the woof,
wove the second woof. [VII.11]

The weaving continues, fading off into rapid mumbling, up to at least twenty strands. Again, in the dictated version, the weaving of one hundred strands is actually done. I am not sure whether being able to count to one hundred is a significant feat in a non-literate society; perhaps this is a notable achievement worth showing off, which would explain why the shaman does it. It may also be a device to lengthen the ceremony, so that preparations can be completed while the recital continues—here, everything was ready, so the extra time wasn't needed. The recital can further expand by attaching each of the 100 weights that complete the net. Such repetitive passages are common throughout the shamanic recitals, and may have a rather more profound effect than simply lengthening the ceremony.

Discussing the border between the normal and the abnormal, the sane and the insane, a theme which runs throughout *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*, Milan Kundera notes:

The border is not a product of repetition.
Repetition is only a means of making the border
visible. The line of the border is covered with dust,

and repetition is like the whisk of a hand removing the dust.

Uncovering this same border—which also separates the natural and the supernatural, the real and the ideal—is clearly important for a shaman to have any effect in the world, a point which I develop extensively in the next two chapters. While I would not insist that this is the deliberate intention of including so many repetitions and enumerations in the texts (their suitability to inducing and maintaining trance states are a more obvious explanation for them), it may certainly be a contributing reason that so many repetitions and enumerations have been found to be effective in delivering these oral recitals.

The fishing net is tied to the main house beam, close to the hearth, and it explicitly connects the patient and his family to the cosmos:

Its top was in heaven, its roots were in hell. [VII.12]

The dictated version of the recital also gives directions as to who should be put in the net, and by whom:

O my patient, going, and the householder,
and the whole family, and the children, going,
and all the male and female servants,

tie [the net] to the main beam, then cover them. [VII.13]

With the family inside the net, the major protecting spirits of the six directions and of the house are invoked and the *siyo* is trapped. Everyone else present, so long as they stay awake, has been already protected by mustard seeds scattered at the beginning of the

ceremony, with the exception of the goat. Since it is going to be sacrificed at the end of the events, the shaman could not extend his protection to it as well. It was tethered in the doorway covered by a blanket at that point a point also covered by the text:

Atop the four-footed one [the goat],
in the door, the doorframe, covered this there. [VII.14]

This, Man Dev explained afterwards, is because otherwise the *siyo* now present might trouble him. To be sure that the *siyo* enters the gourd and not some other receptacle, all other open containers in the house, such as water jugs and cooking pots, are covered. The (dictated) text finally gets around to the chicken, which has already been cut:

Of the cock [Kham-*pui bājā*],
of the hen [Kham-*tirī bājā*],
the cock, going, then cutting this,
in the bottle gourd, going, having put this there,
put in Bāban bread, put in Jogi bread, [VII.15]

Once the *siyo* has been located and addressed, the ten villagers, who have been assembled to assist the shaman (and by doing so, express their solidarity with the afflicted family), carefully follow through the directions for them, although these, again, occur only in the dictated version and not in the text as recited that night:

Some of the men, going, then with sand,
then begin to scatter it.
Some of the men, going, holding nettles, strike.

Some of the men, going, with pure water, going,
then begin to scatter it.
Of Devā Ningālī bamboo, going, making great whistles,
two men above, going to the Eastern Direction,
going to the great conjunction [gauḍā],
one turning to this side, one turning to that side,
having joined their buttocks, then begin to blow. [VII.16]

Two men are likewise directed to go to the Western Direction and blow their whistles there. The spot where the whistlers bump together and whistle is called, both in the text and in the directions to them, *gauḍā*. Here, rather than being a "star obstruction" or a "crises," *gauḍā* means the meeting place, or place of conjunction, giving a somewhat more prosaic overtone to the otherwise esoteric astrological term. The directions continue:

Two of the men, going,
climbing atop the great roof beam,
having joined their buttocks,
then begin to blow. [VII.17]

Two men actually do this, and as all six blow their whistles, the shaman drums fiercely and dances through the courtyard. He sings a few lines of closer and closer place names and helping spirits every few minutes, but mostly he drums. The commotion intensifies, as he announces that the *siyo* is in the courtyard and is now hovering around the gourd, as the spirits give it no other path. The gourd is unplugged and held in the left hand of one of the two men with sticks, with the shaman squatting next to them. It is at this point

that the only major variation between the way the ceremony is performed in the Bhujī Valley and in Jājarkoṭ occurs. In Jājarkoṭ, instead of being cut at the beginning, the living chicken is hung head downwards over the gourd. When it suddenly flutters and trembles, this is proof that the *siyo* has entered the gourd, which is then stoppered. The chicken is only cut later at the crossroads, and a goat is not required. In Bhujī, the *jhākrī* himself trembles when the *siyo* arrives. He shouts Hoi!, pointing to the gourd, and, as the audience joins in with shouts and whistles, the men shatter it.

O Garan Kāle Garan, in the door, the door frame,
in the bottle gourd, going,
Striking the bottle gourd, shattering the bottle gourd,
while going 'hā hā', while going 'ho ho'. [VII.18]

The broken gourd is then carried to the crossroads along with the plowshare. The sticks with which the gourd was shattered are stuck into the plow, to act as a handle, and the the plow is used to dig a shallow hole. The pieces of gourd are tossed into the hole. The men bite through the bamboo whistles and throw them in as well, while the plow is rammed into the ground next to the hole. The goat has its neck slit so that its blood drains onto the plow and into the hole.

At Sātai [True] Crossroads, doing this there,
of the Karsu branch, going, the great plow, going,
turning its face toward the forest, burying that there;
of the Paiyā branch, going, burying the great spike;
of the Deva Ningālī, going, shattering the great whistles;
the great goat, going, at Sātai Crossroads,

going to the great obstruction, going to the great plow,
then cutting this there;

āruḷā, bāruḷā. [?]

The Paiyā spike, the iron spanner,
I'll strike it, I'll bury it. [VII.19]

Man Dev dances and drums, then returns to the house, where he hums the *Dev Bolāune mantar* again. The patient and his family are released from the net as the shaman concludes the performance with the fragment of text about the construction of the net. At this point, he should also have knotted a string around the wrist of each member of the patient's family, and then slit upward through the knot with a large knife [*khukuri*], but he forgot this and had to do it the next morning instead.

The goat's spleen is extracted and given to the shaman, who carefully examines it, with everyone crowding around to get a look. He concludes that the *siyo* has survived the ritual and may still trouble the village, if not the family. Perhaps it will bother the daughter-in-law's house, or to the houses of the daughters who have married away. As evidence, he points to a dark red spot at the upper edge of the spleen and a white vein running vertically across it, which shows that the *siyo* still lives among the *bhāi-bandu* [the extended family]. He concludes, though, that perhaps this is a *siyo* surviving from the time of forefathers, not the one from the most recent cliff fall. With these remarks, the ceremony is over.

A last aspect of this particular text, which illustrates flexibility towards materials, may also be briefly mentioned. In the

dictated version, three other trees, *paṭkā*, *khaniyā*, and *tusāro*, as well as the *kāṭhe kāuli*, are named, with sticks and leaves from all four said to be acceptable to the spirits. This clearly suggests that if one is unavailable, the others could be substituted. The dictated version also includes a passage about inserting a dry, leafy branch into the side of the gourd, as shown in Figure VII.2. This branch rustles when the *siyo* enters, announcing its arrival.

What have I tried to show by this detailed account of one ceremony, besides trying to give some sense of its complexity and confusion? First, that a performed text can significantly diverge from the text as memorized by the shaman, and not just in trivial ways. Here, the most detailed passages of the text were not included in the performance. Second, that the directions for performing a ceremony contained in a text can be closely followed, even when they are left out of the particular ceremony. The relation between text and performance can be summed up, I think, with reference to Garfinkel's concept of the "documentary method of investigation," mentioned in Chapters I. Here, we need to consider the reflexive pattern established between the performance and its text. At one level, the ritual can be read as the 'document of' the text, while the text is the underlying pattern that gives sense to the ritual. The next level reverses these roles, with the text as document, the ritual as pattern (cf. Garfinkel 1967:78). Each performance makes sense out of, and puts sense into, the text, just as each recital does the same for each ceremony. This should not be considered a surprising discovery, of course, for one point which Garfinkel was trying to

make, and to make problematic, was that ethnomethodology is just what we are always doing, but failing to recognize, and so this reflexivity is necessarily as much a feature of shamanic activity as it is of any other activity. The difference, if there is one, lies in process being less transparent in the case of shamans than for the rest of us. Shamans are trying hard to follow a set of directions for creating order, even as they create the conditions for changing it. Their efforts can be read as a struggle against the inevitable indexicality and reflexivity of language, a point to which I will return in my conclusions.

VIII. BRIGHT MOMENTS

Like nearly any event, a shamanic session is neither uniform in its drama nor consistent in its intensity. Some parts are extremely captivating, others entirely boring. Alternations between these extremes do not necessarily occur randomly, however, but follow certain predictable patterns. Comparing all the ceremonies as a whole, there are each time key moments that are consistently more intense and more dramatic than the rest. In this chapter I examine the three most important, most consistently captivating, of such moments, and speculate on their possible purposes.

The first comes, predictably enough, at the beginning of each ceremony, when the shaman shifts into the public side of a performance, having concluded the private *mantars* and material preparation for event and begins the actual recital. Certainly, this is a reasonable time for some intensity, since at the very beginning the attention of the audience (and of the patient if conscious) can be relatively easily obtained and, for a few moments at least, held, by the shaman. The second such moment is the arrival of the spirit(s), an event which can recapture the audience's attention, who tend to be momentarily awed and respectful at the presence of something divine, although mundane concerns—gossip, a chance to share a smoke—soon intrude, as the performance settles back into predictable routine. This inevitable loss of attention helps explain the need for relatively spectacular endings, the third moment I examine, a time when the shaman tries to recapture and focus the

audience's (and patient's) attention, and to fix in place the order that the ceremony has constructed.

As well as descriptions of how the consistently most intense moments of every ceremony are structured and how they are fitted into the overall ceremony, this chapter includes some observations on their overall purpose. I suggest that the shaman's cure is a remedy for entropy, an attempt to force the world back into its original satisfactory arrangement by recalling that original orderliness and compelling its presence, an effort to manipulate the physical world by manipulating the linguistic world. These observations on language and purpose are further supported by an analysis of the *mantars* that initiate, conclude, and are inserted at intervals into every ceremony, which is undertaken in the next chapter. It is appropriate, however, to first look at those parts of a ceremony available to any observer.

How is the opening of the public part of the ceremony marked? Consider four examples, each from a different shaman, each the beginning of the "Recital of the Nine Little Sisters," which I offer in order of declining complexity:

The eldest god is skyfallen Mahādev,
the eldest age the Golden Age,
the eldest valley is the valley of Nepāl,
the eldest level of the world is Tilīgramā,
the eldest direction east,
the eldest month Cait,
the eldest weekday Sunday,

the eldest conjunction Tuesday's conjunction,
the eldest lunar day the eleventh,
the eldest shaman Jumrātam. [VIII.1] (Kaṛṇa Vīr)

Where did my Mahādeu originate, at Indra's house.
Where did my Sitāyā originate, at Nārāyaṇ's house.
Where was my Mahādeu's head; to the east.
Where were his feet; to the west.
His right hand to the north, his left hand to the south,
Mahādeu came into being. [VIII.2] (Gumāne)

When Earth was mother, when Heaven was father,
as the Age of Truth passed, the true level of the world,
as the Third Age passed, the third level of the world,
on that day, at noon; [VIII.3] (Man Dev)

Yes, in the Age of Truth, on that very day, hai!
[VIII.4]. (Deo Ram)

While more such examples could be given, since every shaman has in his repertoire at least one similar opening, these four suffice to reach at least one important conclusion, clear even in the final, shortest, opening: that the ceremony must be shifted at its very beginning out of the mundane present and into mythical time, and preferably, to a precise point of that mythical time. That point may be expressed more vaguely, as "that very day," or more precisely, as the time of Mahādev's origin, or even with the acute precision of an

exact moment of astronomical time, as the eleventh day of the moon falling on a Sunday in the month of Cait in conjunction with Tuesday (Mars with the sun ascendant). That such a shift into the Golden Age, the Age of Truth, is really intended is underscored by a set formula, variations of which Man Dev, and others, commonly used to interrupt a recital so that a consultation [*baknu*] can take place: "In this finished time, when the strong shove, in this time of murder, what shall I say? Hai! In the King's house, in the God's house, there are disturbances. Hai! There are sins and greediness. Hai! " [VIII.5]. The present time is, of course, the Kali Yuga, the Age of Destruction, a time in which one can hardly expect that intercessions with the gods will be successful, whether they are conducted by shamans or by anyone else. If someone is going to be cured, it is only because the continuity that roots the present age in the Golden Age parallels the continuity of modern shamans with the intercessors of that former age, a time when the world, freshly created, was still responsive to intercession—it is explicitly described as "soft and unstable," and "just a few hours old," in several recitals [VIII.6], not yet hardened and impenetrable. Events of miraculous import must take place in miraculous time, either by shifting the banality of the everyday into the Golden Age, or by establishing a fresh sense of responsiveness to ordinariness. The most ideal time, the best day, the most ideal moment—these are all conditions for a genuinely successful ceremony: if they don't happen to be there, they must be introduced. Shamans inevitably said, for example, that Tuesdays and Saturdays were the best days for ceremonies, that one should sit facing

eastward, but would go ahead and perform on any day and face in any direction. But the recital then would redefine the day as Tuesday, the direction faced as east. The words uttered take precedence over the accident of mundane details. By invoking the Golden Age, the ceremony is situated there, just as invoking familiar spirits induces their presence.

Another such necessary condition is the involvement of the best *jhākrī*, a requirement which helps to account for the recurring presence of the original shaman throughout the recitals and the detailed attention given to how he performed his rituals. The contemporary shaman may be able to cure, but only because his knowledge is still the knowledge of the first shaman. The limitations of the present shaman are not due only to the decline of the world through its ages, however; when I was discussing the limits of shamanic knowledge with Karṇa Vīr, he told a story of how even Jumrātam's knowledge was curtailed by the gods. At first, the story goes, Jumrātam knew everything, but one day, someone wanted to find Mahādev, who had retired to the Himalayas to make love in private with Parvatā. Jumrātam however told the enquirer exactly where to find them, and the searcher surprised them in an intimate condition. "Damn," exclaimed Mahādev, "This is our own fault. We've given the seers [*herneharu*] too much ability. Let them know some things, let them not know others." And ever since, they have known some things but have been unable to know everything." [VIII.7]. Another explanation for shamanic failures, offered by Jhākrī Man Singh Kāmī of Rārī, was that, in this Kali Yuga, even the gods have

become corrupt and lie, so that their pronouncements can no longer be trusted. Both explanations support the conclusion that one must somehow approximate the Satya Yuga, to return to the time before the gods were offended or language corrupted, in order to produce a real cure.

Not only does the Golden Age and the first shaman figure prominently in the beginnings of recitals; the recitals often show an effort to incorporate the eldest, hence the most respected, and, by implication, the best, of a very wide variety of categories, as in the first opening passage cited above. In the example quoted, ten such categories are included, but such a list can be two or three times as long, expanding to include also the eldest of such categories as stones, metals, rivers, fishes, animals, birds, trees, grasses, grains, planets, and, when appropriate to the recital, the eldest intercessors (besides just the first *jhākrī*), the eldest obstructions, even the eldest disease [VIII.8]. Karṇa Vīr, for example, would sometimes continue the "Nine Little Sisters" after the opening cited above with another block of text that would also appear, slightly modified, in some of the other of his recitals:

Where did Jumrātam Jhākrī originate,
he originated at Tārātālī.

The eldest sage, Sāto Gyānī, originated at Chārkābhoṭ.

The eldest paṇḍit, Bharṣā Paṇḍit,
originated at Chārkābhoṭ.

Where did Prajā Prakīl originate,
he originated at Chārkābhoṭ.

Where did Ratan Pārki originate,
he originated at Tāgāserā.

The eldest Jaiśī, Kālu Jaiśī, originated at Bāchigāū.

The eldest dhāmī, Maitī Dhāmī, originated at Tārābhoṭ.

The eldest rammā, Jumrātam originated at Tārātālī.

The nine great witch sisters, where did they originate,
they originated in the east, at Hāgābāng, Pāṭan Melā.

[VIII.9]

This passage asserts further continuities between the ceremony and the past, and connects the contemporary problem of witchcraft with its origins, which the recital then goes on to recount. It also brings in the rest of the "*herneharu*" [the various seers], even though they do not figure prominently in this particular recital. It shows too that not only do the cures date back to the original intercessors, the problems can likewise be traced back to the original agents of affliction. Nearly all the shamanic recitals are, after all, primarily stories of origin, and reflect this concern for the beginning of things not only at their own beginnings, but throughout. To cure acts of witchcraft, you retell the origins of witches; to repair a star obstruction, you recount the origins of the heavenly bodies. In each case, the *jhākrī* tries to establish some influence over the history of the cosmos, to reestablish a natural order that has been disrupted, to produce a present time more favorable for his clients.

A more versatile shaman probably has more openings, since this would be more impressive to a recurring audience. Of the shamans with whom I worked, Karṇa Vīr was the most adept at this.

He made use of at least five different ways to begin, and sometimes strung several of these together. This was not done at random, but was both in response to circumstances, and a result of his training, although, predictably, he had no insightful views on why a particular opening went with a particular recitals—it is just that he learned that it should. The list of the "eldests," he explained, always precedes the recitals of the Nine Sisters, *gauḍā phāṇe*, and for binding a house, and, appropriately, the eldest witches would only be listed when witchcraft was going to be treated, the eldest planet and star obstruction only when their story followed. Furthermore, when using the Creation Recitals to treat in the most elaborate possible way a serious case of *gauḍā*, he would precede the two passages already given with three others, which themselves could also occur elsewhere, grouped together or singly.

To remove the planets,

to remove the star obstructions, listen!

If feelings are upset, if the heart is angered,

if a mirror has been used [to curse],

if red cloth has been used,

if a stone's been overturned [to issue a challenge]

if a pentagram has been transferred,

to this ancient recital, listen!

The star obstruction of birth,

the star obstruction of death,

the star obstruction of children's crises,
the star obstruction of position,
the star obstruction of the inner heart,
the star obstruction of what is hidden,
death at the head, Nihu at the feet,
the time of death, the messenger of death,
Rāhu, Ketu, Śaniśacar, Māgal,
Bṛhaspati, Uikā, Śākata,
to this ancient recital, listen! [VIII. 10]

All five opening passages also precede the beginning of the Recital to Juma Kal and Juma Dūt, performed at the funeral of a *jhākrī*, discussed in Chapter XI, and the Toyo Khāne Melā, used at initiations (Chapter X), which are certainly the two most important events in any shaman's career. Thus, it may even be said that the degree of formality at the opening to a session indicates, at least for some shamans, the degree of importance with which they regard the session that follows. Multiple openings are not a feature of every shaman's repertoire, however. Man Dev and Deo Ram of the Bhujī Valley apparently always used the same opening lines (VII.3 and VIII.4) on every occasion and for every text.

The imperatives "Listen!" that mark each of the three sections of text last cited are also common at the beginning of various recitals. They are directed both to the shaman's human audience (who are, as we saw in the last chapter, sometimes admonished to be quiet) and also to the spirits or forces evoked, the listing of which fits together with each "Listen!". It is, after all, the

cooperation of supernatural forces, rather than help from members of the audience, which is theoretically needed to improve whatever situation the shaman is trying to improve, although an outside observer might consider the "moral support" of an engaged audience equally important. Most serious negotiations with the supernatural forces are, however, carried out in the privacy of whispered *mantars*, not in the public recitals, so the discussion of such negotiations comes more appropriately in the next chapter, and it suffices here to emphasize that those forces are always considered part of the audience for whose attention the shaman is vying, and to whom he is reciting throughout.

It is noteworthy of opening passages that there are also a few lines standardly used to connect one recital to another on occasions when two or more are used. For example, when he told the story of the Nine Little Witch Sisters after one or more parts of the Creation cycle, Karṇa Vīr would omit the formal opening, given above, and simply substitute the line "Arising in the Satya Yuga," and then proceed with the story. An even shorter way to begin a new story is to simply use the line, "In the Satya Yuga." Both examples again demonstrate the importance of situating the recitals in mythical, ideal, time. They also indicate a minor way in which shamans do respond to circumstances, and make changes in the recitals when appropriate.

Besides establishing the performance in mythic time, it must also be situated in mythic, or at least consecrated, space. The second opening quoted above maps Mahādev's body as geographically

vast, perhaps co-extensive with the earth. The Recital of the Nine Planets tells us that the planets originated from a leprous skin which Mahādev cast off when he took a new avatar, so his vastness may even be considered cosmic. (For counterparts in the Hindu theory of *yantra*, see Padoux [1989] and Rosu [1986].) In a different recital, the origin of the earth is the result of Mahādev slaying a demon, Madhu Kaiṭi, who himself originated from Viṣṇu's earwax :

He finished meditating, he finished contemplating,
twelve divine years, eighteen ages,
Good Parameṣvara, Good Mahādeu.
going to Jalathala, he came awake.
Of Madhu Kaiṭe, going, oh, of his great blood,
rivers and streams formed,
the sources of lakes settled.
Of Madhu Kaiṭe, going, of his great fat, going,
the frost settled, the snowy regions formed,
the mountain regions formed.
Of his great flesh, also, of Madhu Kaiṭe, going,
having formed the clay, settled.
His bones, also, formed all the hills,
went to form the hills.
Of Madhu Kaiṭe, going, oh, his great flesh,
having formed the clay, settled.
Oh, his bones, went to form the hills.
The earth was created, the earth was formed.
Good Parameṣvara, Good Mahādeu,

Viṣṇu Rājā, going,

what was desolated, they made productive. [VIII.11]

Some way of incorporating the directions, with a spirit assigned to each, figure in every ceremony, at the very least in the opening and closing *mantars*, if not always in the publicly recited texts. For example, Karṇa Vīr's *mantra* for the seeds of grain which are scattered to protect and bind the surrounding forces begins:

Awake! Awake!

In the East, Candannāth, awake!

In the North, Bhairavnāth, awake!

In the South, Gorakhnāth, awake!

In the West, Ratannāth, awake!

Of the four directions, of the four nāths,

yogi who travels around, awake, go there! [VIII.12]

a passage which recalls the mother's curse on the wandering soul of her departing child, quoted in Chapter V, in which each of the spirits of these four shrines [*nāths*—temples dedicated to aspects of Mahādev. They are closely associated with the Kānpaṭas] are called upon by name to stop the soul and send it back. As in that passage, the four, or six, directions are mentioned in practically every one of the public recitals, besides occurring in many *mantars*. We saw in the previous chapter how certain prominent spirits of the four cardinal directions were enlisted in the search for the *siyo*; in Chapter VI, the burial of lingums in the four directions as part of the world's creation was cited; the spitting of *kacur* root to the six directions in the ceremony to raise a *masān* was noted in Chapter IV.

A major part of the Recital of the Nine Little Sisters involves taking the witches on a tiring journey to each point of the compass; stakes of wild plum wood are pounded in the four corners of a property when binding a house. A more general example, one which does not name the directions, but which explicitly shows the attempt to re-establish spatial order, is the refrain of the Jarman Karman Recital, which searches for a soul amid the roots of plants:

you've gone to look for a place,
you've gone to look for a space,
I've brought you back to your place,
I've brought you back to your space. [VIII.13]

The pattern that emerges is not just that of an ideal geography of sanctified earth, but an active incorporation of geographic elements into the cure as prototypic order. The original patterns of the earth follow a sacred order, the same order that has to be recreated in the patient's life by the shaman. Entropy, rather than evil, emerges as the true enemy of a shaman. He cures by returning the universe of which the patient is part to its original well-ordered pattern.

After the opening passages, the texts launch either into narratives, telling of such things as how witches came into the world or how the land was divided into wild and cultivated, or else into enumerations, such as lists of places (seen in Chapter VII), or of plants (the Jarman Karman Recital, just mentioned, names 130 different plants and trees). Audience attentiveness fades throughout these sections, and for a long time, I thought that most villagers did not even know what shaman stories were about, despite having heard

them so often. This conclusion was vigorously sustained by the villagers themselves, who, whenever I tried to discuss the contents of the recitals with them, would demure and insist that these were things which only *jhākrīs* knew, and that in any case the language used was that of the spirits, so how could they know anything of it. This stance was finally proven deceptive only when one day, while I was working on a transcription with, as usual, a fairly large audience, some younger villagers started to amuse themselves by guessing what the next line would be, with remarkable accuracy. It turned out that they could not only parody the recitals, they could often reproduce them word for word. But even after I had found them out, they still did not want to discuss the texts, apparently out of both respect for and fear of the supernatural powers involved, certainly not out of ignorance of them. At least three factors are involved. First, there is a commonly held belief throughout Nepal, well documented anecdotally, that if you begin to learn a secret knowledge, whether that known by *jhākrīs*, or by witches, or by Tantricians, you are compelled to learn it in its entirety, otherwise the partial knowledge will eventually drive you crazy. This belief contributed to my loss of several potential transcribers, who were scared to write down, or even listen to, tapes of *mantars* that I recorded. Similarly, when I gave a copy of my M.A. thesis to Yogiswar Kārki in gratitude for his assistance on it, relatives of his cautioned him not to keep it in his house, since the material it contained was dangerous. Secondly, shamans, like witches, may take offence and seek revenge if your accounts are unflattering, and they may possess

the power to overhear what you say in private (though the further from home people were, the more open they tended to be about these subjects). Finally, admitting that you know a great deal about practices like manipulating spirits for personal power might open you to suspicions that you actually do those things yourself, since not only *jhākris* and witches, but also otherwise ordinary people, are sometimes accused of nursing a *vīr*, which in return for being regularly fed helps them in various ways and afflicts their enemies. Hence, it is far better to claim that you know nothing at all, than to admit you know too much. It seems, though, that attentiveness is low at shamanic performances because of excessive familiarity, not from excessive disinterest. Sheer attendance, also, remains high at shamanic ceremonies, and this too suggests that general disinterest cannot be too pronounced, for nothing except the thrill of the spectacle compels uninvolved onlookers to assemble each time. Seances provide entertainment, whatever else they do, to communities for whom an early bedtime is ordinarily the only way to conclude a long day. Once the villagers have assembled, though, unusually safe from the night roaming spirits that may otherwise trouble them outside their houses, they are also going to take advantage of the occasion to visit with neighbors, to chatter, flirt, and smoke.

A good way to recapture an audience whose attention has been lost, whether the human onlookers or those in the spirit world, is through spectacular possessions. Usually, one or more class of spirits is called at the beginning of a session, once the space for the

ritual has been prepared, the mustard seeds or other grains have been scattered for protection, and the shaman has put on his costume. As noted in Chapter VII, the *deutā bolāune* [summoning the spirits] *mantar* is normally used for at least the first summons, each time affirming that the shaman controls the spirits, not vice versa, although their arrival is always marked by at least a few moments of uncontrolled trembling, requiring that the shaman actively demonstrate his power over the spirits whenever they appear. The shaman grimaces and shouts, and then drums rigorously and dances back and forth in a frenzy to bring the spirits under control. While such a possession is an inevitable part of every session, it does not have to occur at the beginning, however, and it is also often repeated several times throughout the ceremony. The moments of possession additionally allow the shaman to establish some momentary physical power over the human audience, scattering the fire onto any onlookers who have settled too near, sending them tumbling as he breaks out of the circle of onlookers to dance, perhaps even managing to kick those who have fallen asleep.

Besides there being specific *mantars* to summon various classes of spirits, some passages of the public recitals apparently must be accompanied by possession, as I found when taping these texts outside of regular performances. Such a point regularly occurs in the Tilīgramā Recital, for example. Taking up the story where we left off in Chapter V, in all versions, Jumrātam descends to the underworld after cursing the king (or the prince, or the entire royal family), leaves behind a tomb and monument (see Chapter XI), tells

his wife to display all the signs of mourning, and disguises himself as a blacksmith (or copperworker). When messengers are sent to find the *jhākri*, his whereabouts are eventually revealed by his wife, the *jhakrenī*, by means of a riddle. He is found, but strenuously denies being a *jhākri*, even though the messengers point out all the revealing signs, such as callouses on his hands from the drum and drum stick or on his head from the leaves and feathers, repeating the complete list of a *jhākri*'s equipment. Finally, following the *jhakrenī*'s instructions, they throw a bunch of *surkā rejī* [fragrant leaves], or in some versions, *kacur* root, into the smithy's fire, the fumes of which cause Jumrātam to become frantically possessed:

He began to tremble lightly,
 began to tremble more heavily,
 with twelve *vīr*, twentytwo *māphī*,
 twentytwo *barāṅg*,
 the fields shook, the forests shook,
 Rammā Jumrātam began to be possessed. [VIII.14]

I taped seven variations of this passage, and five times the shaman recording it began to tremble as he recited it. Some degree of trembling happened to Karṇa Vīr, Abi Lal, Nar Singh, Kamāro Kāmī, and Padum Bahadur Pun, though most of them were able to contain it without the spirit becoming too manifest. Only Gumāne, who, perhaps because he alone practiced regularly in the District Center and included various District officials among his clientele, was the most sophisticated of the shamans, and Sibe Damāi, who no longer even claimed to be a practicing *jhākri* ever since losing all his

equipment in a house fire a dozen years ago, were not susceptible to the force of this passage. I do not wish to argue from casually obtained statistics (all future occasions might not conform to the pattern suggested here), but the significance of this trembling five times out of seven seems undeniable. Apparently, just mentioning the agents of possession in such a context as this where they are possessing the eldest *jhākrī*, can induce a state of possession as effectively as can any *mantar*. This is less surprising, though, when it is noted that basically the same method is at work in *mantars* that summon *vīr*, *māphī*, or *barāṅ*. These are primarily demands that those spirits move, as in the following example:

Hey, twelve *māphī*, move; twentytwo *barāṅ*, move.

Atop my head, move; atop my shoulders, sit.

Shaking the earth, move; shaking the world, move.

Coming, shame the mouth; going, press upon the back...

Make the truth known, mend any falsehoods. [VIII.15]

One explanation is simply that spirits come when they hear their name being called. But in the same sense that a word may be confused with or substituted for the object that it ostensibly represents, the evocation of a spirit *is* that spirit. The spirits are present because their naming grants them presence. This too can be added to the list of possible reasons why ordinary villagers are reluctant to discuss *jhākrī* texts, the possibility that such a discussion might result in the unwanted presence of spirits, or that those spirits may take offense. Throughout South Asia, it should be recalled, names are personal property and their casual use is

avoided, being disrespectful. Whenever possible, one uses a (real or fictive) kinship designation or a title either to address someone or to refer to them. Even the shamans prefer to use terms like "The Twelve Māphī" or "The Twenty-two Barāṅg" instead of their individual names. In the Recital of the Nine Little Sisters, the moment when the *jhākrī* first addresses the witches by their names has special prominence. It comes when their attack on him has failed and he begins his triumphant seduction of them. "He did their names" [*nām garyā*], the text explicitly informs us.

For any particular ceremony, only a few spirits usually need to be called. But even when not every spirit is actually summoned, it is important to locate them, to establish a further web of connections connecting the present situation to the sensational, miraculous events associated with the divinities. When Abi Lal named all spirits that he could call [VIII.16], he coupled each name with the site of its shrine. This was not just a simple listing, even though we were just conversing and no ceremony was underway. Having invoked them, they needed to be addressed:

Come when I say come, go when I say go.

Give me honor, give me strength, give me a good name.

Put brightness in my patient's eyes,

put life force in my patient's body.

Return his spirit, return his soul. [VIII.16]

which resembles a prayer, except for the use of imperatives. This conclusion, which he continued by requesting the spirits to return any lost wits, and then to swoop back to their shrines, indicates

that you don't just casually name a spirit without doing something with them once they are present, even if that activity is only to send them away again. In most cases, these spirits, who Abi Lal referred to as the *bāyu* and *burmā*, and who each have their own shrines, are rarely summoned to collectively possess the shaman. After all, each one would then have to be placated with a blood sacrifice, and no one is going to pay for hundreds of animals. Instead, the shaman relies on his familiar spirits and those of deceased shamans, who make smaller demands and can be collectively fed at the end, often with just the blood of a single chicken. Still, explicitly mentioning the ranks of divinities establishes one more level of order in the world, one more orderly grid to be superimposed on the present disorder along with those of time and space already introduced. As with the previous networks of time and space, the shaman tries to utilize the order of the spirit world, of each divinity in its own shrine, to reproduce the balance they represent in his patient's currently unbalanced situation. (Further reflections on the reproduction of cosmic order will be found in the next chapter, in the context of the *mantars* used to begin and end ceremonies.)

Besides there being passages within recitals that require an accompanying act of possession, some recitals also appear absolutely to require a fresh possession in order to be brought to an end. The performance (though not necessarily the telling) of *Tilīgramā* ends with a possession for all the shamans, occurring when *Jumrātam* has returned to this world and lifts his curse from the king. The *Toyo Khāne* Recital, used for initiations and the yearly

village prophesy from atop a pole, is an even stronger example of such a recital. Shamans were regularly unable to reach the end of even a telling of this recital without becoming possessed, unless, as often happened, they just broke off midway: it just doesn't end otherwise. This was true even though it concludes differently in different versions. Some versions, for example, repeat the weaving of the pyre/net/fence done at the end of Tilīgramā, cited in Chapter VI, the numbers going higher and higher until the shaman begins to tremble. Other versions conclude with the negotiations with the sacrificial animal (or even its construction from scratch, see Chapter X), but these too go on, including dialogues with more and more animals, until the trembling begins.

As for Tilīgramā, endings that include possession usually are fitted into the recital through the narrative device of summoning the first shaman, Jumrātam, to perform a particular ritual, which the contemporary shaman then reenacts as he recounts it. The house binding recital, for example, tells the story of a father and son who search for yogis capable of taking away their pollution. No where until the very end of the recital is any mention made of shamans, until abruptly at the very end:

They went to Tārātālī,
brought back the great Rammā Jumrātam.
He danced and drummed out to the crossroads,
he danced and drummed back from the crossroads,
began to bind the house. [VIII.17]

The contemporary shaman, at these lines, also dances and drums, while possessed, out to a crossroads near the house and returns to conclude binding the house, so that as Jumrātam completes his ritual, the contemporary ceremony likewise ends.

Such transitions do not occur only at the end of recitals, however, and can be quite involved, involving stories within stories, quotes of other texts within a text. For example, the Recital to Postpone the Star Obstructions recounts the creation of the original experts and their testing by the gods. When Jumrātam is summoned to Indra's heaven to cure Padmā, he recites the Daijo [Dowry] Melā to cure her, himself beginning by naming the eldest of each category, using the first opening quoted above. Sometimes the entire recital may be embedded here. Continuity between the activities of the first shaman and those of his modern descendent are thus re-emphasized throughout the performance, not just noted in the openings and closings.

Many endings symmetrically parallel the time shift of the openings, involving a return to the present out of mythic time and space, or, perhaps putting it more accurately, they eliminate the residual distinctions between the real and the ideal. Jumrātam's negotiations with the original witches merges with those between the contemporary shaman and the contemporary witches. Following the dance that creates the *vāi* (Chapter V), Jumrātam banishes the Nine Little Sisters, declaring: "I'll stomp you into the underworld." He does so to eight of them, but the youngest manages to negotiate:

"No, my elder brother, leave me breath and life,

you were born inside, I was born outside,
we've done so much together,
leave me breath, my brother,
leave me life, my brother," all of this was said.
"What you throw towards me,
I'll take with great respect,
what you give to me carefully,
I'll carry with me always,
I'll come as would a supplicant,
leave as for my parents' house,
set a time for me, that time I will observe,
set a promise for me, that promise I will keep,
I will do all this, my brother, leave me breath and life."
All of this was said, one level of oaths,
[through five levels of oaths]
All of this was set. [VIII.18]

Suddenly, the tenses shift from past narrative into present imperative. No longer is the story of the original witch sisters being told, it is their present descendants who are being addressed:

You were bound by oaths and promises,
all of this was set.
Charms that are your fault, spells that are your fault,
ills that are your fault, deceits that are your fault,
set away all your curses, set away all your afflictions,
set away all your attacks, set away all your abuses,
heaven and the stars compel you

from this crossroads here,
move to the far four corners. [VIII. 19]

Likewise, a similarly sudden shift into the present also occurs at the end of the Nyāulo Dhūr. The mother of the departed child in the story has prophesied that it will find no place to stay, no matter what form of birth it takes. In each form, it suffers an untimely death, and then the recital addresses the contemporary child:

He took a birth in a pig pen,
he was sacrificed to honor a jhākṛī,
he found no place to stay.
He took a birth in a chicken coop,
he was born as a good cock,
he died at the right time and at the wrong time,
he found no place to stay.
He wandered around,
he came to stay in his mother's lap,
he came to be born in his mother's lap.

Then, without a break:

Don't let your heart wander,
don't let your mind wander,
your mother's lap provides protection,
your father's lap provides protection,
your gold and silver provide protection,
your home and land provide protection,
so, make your place in your mother's lap.
Where would you go, son? [VIII.20]

Having strived throughout his ceremony to achieve the complete superimposition of the ideal upon the real, the shaman's final task is to preserve the new reality that he has constructed. To this end, whether or not a concluding possession is involved to end a particular recital, the overall ceremony is finished with lists of witnesses, oaths, and bindings:

The edible offerings have been made,
my good knowledge has been displayed,
Bhūmi Basundharā a witness,
the Bār Pipal tree a witness,
Bhāgirathī River a witness,
fresh leaves a witness,
Dhartī Mātā a witness,
Jwālā Devī a witness,
Sijāpati Rājā and Jumrātam Jhākrī a witness,
my own lord Mahādev's oath. [VIII.21]

Grain is scattered in the six directions, the levels of oaths are increased in number, and the bindings of the initial *mantar* are repeated, now trying to fix in place the newly achieved order. For a moment, the ongoing disintegration of the world has been halted, even reversed, though no shaman is powerful enough to compel it to resist the forces of entropy for very long, and cosmic disintegration inevitably returns.

IX. THE WORLD AS SOUND

Every shaman has an extensive collection of secret formulas, which are ordinarily called either *mantars* or *japs*. The distinction that shamans may draw, if any, between these two terms is unclear, despite my persistent questions about it. In most cases their use of these terms appear completely interchangeable—a *jap* by definition needs to be repeated over and over, but a *mantar* also gains effectiveness with repetition, and occasionally a text with the title *jap* concludes with the line "Blow, *mantar*!" It may be observed, however, that the ordinary meaning of *jap*, "Muttered repetition esp. of a god's name or a religious formula" [Turner 208] is quite appropriate. It is less clear if any of the multitude of 'ordinary' meanings of *mantra* fit these texts, if only because there is no single accepted definition. The simplest way of defining a mantra, as an "instrument of thought" is, it will be shown, quite inappropriate to the ways that shamans make use of them. Hence, I have preferred to retain the Nepali word '*mantar*' when discussing texts that the shamans so named, while using the far more common '*mantra*' for general discussion, trying to avoid semantic controversies that are peripheral to my study. As a rule, I use '*jap*' when the shaman who supplied the text called it a *jap*, and likewise '*mantar*' when it was so designated.

However designated, these texts can be conveniently viewed as an extensive subset of any shaman's repertoire of oral texts. Alternatively, they could also be viewed as an extensive subset of

the (otherwise quite different) oral material known to everyone in Nepal (or in South Asia, for that matter), for it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that every adult villager, whether man or woman, knows and makes use of at least a few mantras. Some individuals may claim, at least when they are themselves free of severe problems, that *jhākrīs* and *dhāmīs* are just frauds, fakes, but I have never heard anyone deny the potential efficacy of a properly recited mantra. Mantras after all figure prominently in all life cycle activities among anyone in Nepal who claims to be either Hindu or Buddhist, so only the most severe apostates would be in a position to deny them entirely.

The pervasive role of mantras in South Asian religious life goes back at least to the Vedic period, and forms a major link between Vedic, Hindu, and Tantric (whether Indian or Tibetan) practices, all of which share the conviction that the world can be transformed by a correctly uttered formula. Providing such a central link between those traditions, the practice of mantras has received surprisingly little attention by researchers. A review of critical efforts can be traced through the excellent annotated bibliography that concludes Alper [1989], supplemented with newer references found in Padoux [1989]. However, I mention this possible secondary orientation in passing, for in this chapter I am less interested in situating shamanic mantras into the labyrinth of South Asian religious life, than to examine their specific contribution to defining shamanic practices and shamanic identity. To this end, I have to chosen to analyze a few exemplary texts. As will be seen,

these texts are clearly not themselves rooted in Vedic passages, nor have they much in common with the sophisticated metonyms of the *mahāvākyas*, such as the famous "*tat tvam asi*" or "*om̐ mani padmi hūm̐*." It is equally true that the subtle discussions of sonic mysticism found in Indian linguistics and philosophy would seem at least as foreign to the practical orientation of the shamans themselves as would the hypotheses concerning language made by Western ontological hermeneuticists such as Gadamer. (I have in mind in particular his remarks on the "sense in which language speaks us." [1989], which themselves echo Ṛgveda X.125.3&4: "...though not aware of it, they dwell in me. Hear, you who are heard!") While my own discussion is partly informed by the intersections and divergences of those two traditions, both remain for the most part as background. It seems appropriate, though, to conclude these general remarks with one of the premises against which Parmenides cautioned:

That which can be spoken and thought need
must be; for it is possible for it, but not for nothing
to be; that is what I bid thee ponder. [Kirk and Raven
1963: 270]

The fragment shows how divergences between Eastern and Western traditions can be documented as far back as the pre-Socratics. Every shamanic ceremony is an attempt to prove wrong the advice which the goddess gave to Parmenides, directly asserting the exact contrary—what can be spoken must be. Logically, shamanic formulas may be said to take the unproblematic form, *p*, and, if *p* then not not-

p , as, but where p stands not for a proposition or assertion, but for an imperative—for example, live!, and by living, don't die!.

To contextualize these assertions, I concentrate on showing, first, that shamanic *mantars* are remarkably intelligible and senseable, even if they do make use of a few nonsensical, 'abracadabra' type phrases, which give them a more exotic flavor than that of the public texts. Such phrases are, in any case, never more than a line or two in any given *mantar*. Second, I argue that *mantars* set out to achieve the same ends as do the public texts, the reconstruction of order in the present world. Finally, I suggest that they try to do this by trying to force the mundane world to conform to the world as expressed in language. In essence, I demonstrate that the private texts are not in any essential way, whether in design, purpose, or comprehensibility, different from the publicly recited texts, just more laconic, less in need of material representation, and, of course, private. My conclusion that shamanic *mantar* are neither unintelligible nor incomprehensible is similar to Stanley J. Tambiah's remarks on supposedly esoteric mantras, though in the case that I present here, their meaning does not require profound meditation or mystical insight to be comprehended:

The theory of the *dhāranī* is that the phonemes are "supports" for concentration and meditation. The sounds as such are not "meaningless"; they will reveal their meaning to the initiated only during meditation accompanied by yogic exercises. Thus, the sounds are secret to the initiated and unintelligible to the uninitiated. Furthermore, the *dhāranī* are different from ordinary secular language

only because the latter is considered inadequate to communicate the mystical experience; they represent a language that discovers the primordial consciousness.. This theory then places the language of dhāranī within the confines and conventions of normal language as a system of communication. The phonemes and "distorted" words are taken from the secular language and put to special use by the sects. [Tambiah 1985, footnote to page 27(p. 378)]

This last key characteristic, that *mantars* are always secret, makes appropriate here a few remarks about the ways in which I acquired my own, now very extensive, collection of them. In fact, I remain surprised, when I listen to the tapes of these conversations, at just how willingly shamans taught me their *mantars*, volunteering them in sets in response to a single enquiry. They would often, for example, recite five or six *japs* against witches, when I would have only expected, and been satisfied with, one or perhaps two. This is perhaps less surprising when it is realized that this is apparently how they originally learned them, but it still shows their willingness to teach me whatever they were taught. Two factors were primarily involved. First, as I noted in the last chapter, there is the causal association between partially acquired secret knowledge and madness. This belief was explicitly cited by one shaman, Gore Sārki, as a reason why he felt compelled to teach me all the *mantars* that he knew, and it probably influenced others as well; once I could recite the public texts, the shamans had a moral responsibility to teach me their private ones, otherwise their karma would be burdened by having contributed to my insanity. The second decisive factor was that I gathered information from a relatively

large number of different shamans, each of whom had a professional interest in being acknowledged as possessing significant knowledge. This parallels exactly the way that I first began to collect recitals (outside of their actual performances): one night, I challenged Karṇa Vīr to substantiate a claim that he knew more than did any other shaman in Jājarkoṭ, and he complied by taping texts for the rest of the night and through the next morning. No shaman wanted to admit that another knew texts that he himself didn't, which would be equivalent to a confession of possessing lesser powers, but the only conclusive confirmation of the extent of anyone's knowledge was to actually recite the texts. Once I knew, for example, that *putlā tānne* [removing the substances that a witch has put into a victim] is always accompanied by a *mantar*, I could expect to learn it from each shaman. My own experience confirms Evans-Pritchard's remark:

In the long run... an ethnographer is bound to triumph. Armed with preliminary knowledge nothing can prevent him from driving deeper and deeper the wedge if he is interested and persistent. [1937: 152]

Having learned a few *mantars* and *japs*, it was only a matter of time (admittedly, it's involved twelve years now) before I learned many.

Until my most recent trip in 1989, I was in no position to reward my informants financially (the Mahendra Scholarship that supported me for two years provided me with 500 rupees a month, about U.S.\$30 at the then current exchange rate, even less than subsistence allowance of the Peace Corps, on which I survived the previous three years. Hence, I never purchased the cooperation of any

informants, nor, for that matter, the assistance of any transcribers or field assistants, a burden that fell on my friends in the district. Only on my field trip in 1989 was I in a position to financially reward shamans and assistants for their help, but still only with small gifts. The shamans seemed, however, to directly benefit from the prestige attached to my inquiries, which usually resulted in an almost immediate increase in clients. This was, I think, another reason why they were so cooperative. Prestige was involved in another way at the beginning of my research, in the form of the keen support that my research consistently received from Yogiswar Kārki, the former District Chairman of the "Back to the Village" campaign and chairman of the District Education committee. For example, Karṇa Vīr was an Upapradhān Pañc [assistant village leader] at the time of our first meeting and was trying to get an elementary school built in his villager. Told to cooperate with my research by Yogiswar, who twice accompanied me to his village, Karṇa Vīr cooperated, setting a decisive precedent for the other shamans of the district.

Before discussing specific *mantars*, a few remarks about how they are delivered are also relevant. These texts are muttered in undertones, but not recalled in complete silence. The client and human audience know when one is being applied. The shaman shows signs of intense concentration, having paused in his drumming and dancing, if they had already started. The muttering sounds rather impressive, actually, with a lot of breathy snorts and puffs, and, of course, they often end with a spectacular possession. The distorted

syllables of the words disintegrate, the phonemes stretched to the breaking point, almost achieving a point at which their soundings might overtake their meanings. The shaman pounds on the words like he pounds on the drum, as if to shatter them, testing the elasticity of language, pulling it apart to reveal within it the vulnerable points of the world, where it may be most susceptible to manipulation. Yet enough meaning must be preserved to demonstrate to the audience that the *jhākrī* remains in control, that he hasn't succumbed to the disorder that constantly threatens the world. Just as the possession by spirits is rapidly brought under control, so too is the delivery of a *jap*. I am convinced that onlookers commonly overhear much of their content, though no one was willing to confirm this. But as the following examples show, if the words are occasionally uttered loud enough to be heard, then they can also be understood, for their content is not exceptionally obscure or esoteric.

To begin with what is probably the simplest form that any *mantar* can possibly take, consider first one to quieten the planets, Nar Singh Kāmī's "Graha Santa Garne." This is actually a formula directly borrowed from Brāhmans, and Karṇa Vīr used it only to parody priests, and perhaps by extension, any shamans who themselves used it (Nar Singh had treated Karṇa Vīr's brother Abi Lal's son, who both Karṇa Vīr and Abi Lal had treated unsuccessfully). It is nevertheless illustrative of a key feature of shamanic texts, they undertake to compel, to restrain, and to change. This text consists entirely of a list of rather ordinary names (only

one planet, Ulkā, along with its rhyme, is actually mentioned) each coupled with repeated imperative:

Obstructions, be peaceful; Earth, be peaceful;
Planets, be peaceful; Nine Planets, be peaceful;
Ulkā, be peaceful; Bilkā, be peaceful;
Land, be peaceful; Ground, be peaceful;
House, be peaceful; Home, be peaceful. [IX.1]

Exactly the same basic structure, name plus imperative, can be seen in Abi Lal's "Jap to Summon the Vīr":

Kālyā Vīr, move! Dhālyā Vīr, move!
Kaile Vīr, move! Chaḍke Vīr, move!
Arjun Vāṇ, move! Lamkā Vāṇ, move!
Ubā Vīr, move! Ghunimaṭyā Vīr, move!
[more names follow] [IX.2]

I expressed surprise that this was all that was needed to summon the shaman's familiar spirits, but Abi Lal succinctly commented "You say 'Move, barāṅ!', they move. Having said, 'Come here!', they must move on your body." When I remained unsatisfied, he supplied a slightly more elaborate text, in which each *vīr* is named, along with the line "there will be a sacrifice for you," and which also has a more formal beginning and ending. It still preserves, though, the main structure of the passage above, with the theme of the imperative "move!" still featuring most prominently:

Seven pines, nine doors, creaking open.
For Chanimumṭyā Vīr, there will be a sacrifice.
For Kālyā Vīr, there will be a sacrifice.

For Kailāyā Vīr, there will be a sacrifice.

Move! Narsingh Vīr. Move! Narsingh Vīr.

[etc.]

Beloved of the Sun and Moon,

Darling of the Twelve Vīr.

Chanimunṭyā Vīr will play on my body,

will play on my headdress,

will bring soul, wits, into my belly. [IX.3]

Having at least two forms, a simpler and a more elaborate one, turns out to be a rather common feature of the *mantars*. Rather than being completely fixed and unchanging, they too, like public texts, may be expanded or contracted. If you begin to shake after naming a single Vīr, or by just collectively appealing to the "Twelve Vīr" (or the "Eighteen Māphī," or the "Twenty-two Dhuwā"), then it is superfluous as well as impertinent to call upon each of them by name. But while lists of potentially active agents may be deliberately curtailed, those of the features of the world that are to be quelled or protected are generally elaborated. Such lists feature prominently in the *mantars*, just as they do in the recitals, and are found in nearly every *mantar*. They tend to become exhaustively comprehensive. Named are each of the obstructions and each of the planets, the parts of the body, the parts of the house and the objects in it. Clearly, more than just a simple acknowledgement in passing is going on here. Naming is an assertion of authority—to know the correct name of something is the first step in being able to control it. A second step is to actually utter the name, as an application of

one's knowledge, in conjunction with some command, such as "be bound!" Naming assigns the word, and by extension its referent, a specific place in the order that is being reconstructed, and a command fixes it to that assigned place. The lengthiest part of the Rāyā Sarsu Jap, which is blown onto the mustard seeds [*rāyā* and *sarsu*] at the beginning of each seance and scattered to the six directions, consists of just such a list. This particular *jap*, all shamans agreed, was the very first thing that you had to learn from your guru, before you could take up a drum and before you could learn other *mantars* and recitals. (There is a somewhat similar *jap* (though only in translation, and very short) quoted in Gaborieau's Introduction to Oakley and Gairola [1977: 27], indicating that the use of mustard seeds is wide spread.) The first lines of Nar Singh's version will be found at the beginning of the next chapter, where I discuss how a shaman acquires his knowledge. After the opening passage, his *jap* next relates the origin of the seeds (see below), and then begins to bind a predictable list of suspect forces:

With this Rāyā Sarsu, bind the four directions.
Bind the river spirits, bind the human ghosts.
Bind the giant ghosts, bind the other ghosts.
Bind the Masān of timely deaths,
bind the Masān of untimely deaths.
Bind the Masān of those swept away in rivers,
bind the Masān of those who fell from cliffs.
Bind major witches, bind minor witches,
bind spells, bind charms,

bind the threats from waters, from springs. [IX.4]

[The listing continues with both new entries and extensive repetitions.]

Karṇa Vīr and Abi Lal's version is rather distinctive: it begins with the call to awaken both the deities of the four *nāths* (shrines) and the wandering yogi, quoted in the previous chapter. It then actually describes that yogi, establishing another intriguing hint that may connect *jhākrīs* to the wandering ascetics of the Kānpḥaṭa sect. This same description of a yogi appears in the Recital of the Nine Little Sisters, as the disguise that Mahādev takes when he comes to this world to play a trick—the creation of the first witches—on men. This is one of several cases in which a passage of a *jap* is the same as a passage of a recital. In fact, both Nar Singh and Kamāro Kāmī also used this same description within both *japs* and recitals as well:

You, yogi, have come,
where can you be sated, where can you be stuffed.
Worn on the head, a tiger's skin,
worn on the forehead, sandalwood ashes,
worn on the ear, a large pendant,
worn around the neck, a rudrākṣa necklace,
slung over the shoulder, a pair of begging bowls,
held in the hand, a thunderbolt staff,
slung in the waist, a double-edged knife,
put on his ankles heavy anklets,
dressed in frayed saffron cloth,
began to do knowledge, began to do meditation,

began to exclaim in disgust,
began to exclaim in contempt.
Barren cows, lame cows, the cow of wishes,
from the burned dried cowdung, ashes...
he began to put a jap on the ashes.
Indra God of Heaven, Bāsu God of Hell,
Kālu Jaiśī, Maitu Dhāmī, Satava Gyānī, Bharṣa Paṇḍit,
Rammā Jumrātam began to put a jap on the seeds. [IX.5]

Another *jap*, one to suppress witches, also contains this same description, but further elaborates the *rudrākṣa* necklace, stringing onto it twentytwo beads one by one, each with a different number of faces, devoting each one to a different force, concluding:

the five faced rudrākṣa
was worn by the Five Bhuwānī,
the four faced rudrākṣa
was worn by the Fourteen Goddesses,
the three faced rudrākṣa
was worn by the Three Threeworlds,
the two faced rudrākṣa was worn by the Goddess Durgā,
the one faced rudrākṣa was worn by our guru,
was worn by us. [IX.6]

The two opening sections of the Rāyā Sarsu Jap—the call to awake and the description of the yogi—have obviously similarities to opening passages of public recitals, discussed in the previous chapter. They immediately introduce the points of the compass, each associated with a particular spirit, and this introduction is followed

with a citing of the various experts, casting the activity that follows as the act of those experts along with Indra and Bāsu, and of course as that of first shaman as well. The *jap* proceeds:

Wherever you go, there you bind.

Bind, bind, first bind this house, this home. [IX.7]

continuing with a list of some 50 different objects or forces. Most of these items that are to be bound are predictable, following closely the lines suggested by the beginning of Nar Singh's list, but a few inclusions are particularly interesting. Perhaps the most remarkable one, in which Borges might have delighted, is "species that shake," foremost of which are listed, not shamans, but cows. Anyone who has ever observed a cow has perhaps noticed that they often tremble, their sides rippling with involuntary shudders, but has anyone drawn the connection between this shaking (to dispel flies?) and their sacredness? The category includes pipal trees (also revered), which shake without a perceptible breeze, and could offer a starting point for a "superstructural" revision of current materialist theories of why cows and trees are sacred. It should also be noted in this context that *jhākrīs* sometimes, though not in this particular list, call themselves "*viprāli*," using a diminutive of the Vedic term *vipra* [one who trembles, a particular kind of priest], a name which also shows up in this sense some *mantars*, such as at the conclusion of Nar Singh's *Jap to Awaken Masān*: "Come, Brother Kāmśa, accompany this *viprālī*!" [IX.8], a line whose unusually heavy Hindu influence is scored by its reference to the demonic maternal uncle of Kṛṣṇa who ordered the slaying of his sister's children.

The list continues, binding ghosts who stay in waterfalls, *masān* who stay at crossroads, *Barmās* who stay in shrines, and various spirits who stay in springs, cliffs, and forests. In the middle of this sequence we find "*jhākrīs* who stay in *gels*" [the tree over a shaman's tomb], noteworthy for explicitly associating dead shamans with other generally malevolent forces. "The hand that strikes, the tongue that speaks, the eyes that see, the soles that stomp" are bound, the "seven doors" [the entrances to the head] are bound, the patient is bound head to foot, and the *jap* concludes, as do most public recitals, with oaths made on sacred forces.

Before the end of this *jap* is reached, the origin of the *rāyā sarsu* seeds themselves is related, rather oddly placed in the midst of the bindings, as though at least some bindings were so urgent that they must be done immediately, before any narrative could be more leisurely undertaken:

Sarsu, sarsu, you sarsu, where did you originate?

In the Southern quarter, in Rām Lakṣman's deep field,
in Arjuna's deep field. The forest was plowed, was dug.

Rām Lakṣman plowed, Sitā Parvatā broke up the clumps. [IX.9]

The seeds are sown, they sprout after nine days, they grow branch by branch, they ripen and turn the fields first green, then yellow, black, and white, and they are harvested. This descriptive narrative also occurs in Nar Singh's version (as in others), except that his text explicitly assigns their origin to the Kali Yuga, the Age of Murder. This, though, is not really so far removed from the time of Rām and Sitā, since Rām's death, linked to the aspirations of an untouchable

to sainthood, itself a violation of (the Brāhmanical version of) order, marked its onset.

As onto mustard seeds in this example, *japs* are often applied to some common physical substance, such as rice, a mixture of grains, water, or iron shavings, and then that substance is distributed to convey its power more widely by spreading it more physically—"Wherever you go, there you protect." The application is conveyed with the onomatopoeic word "*Phū*" or "*Phūki*" [Blow!], as in "May you who cause trouble be turned to ash! *Phū* mantar! *Shrī* Mahādev's oath!" a line with which many *japs* end, especially when they are blown onto something. At times, a substance, usually just water, but sometimes milk, yoghurt, or herbal leaves, that has been japped is also fed to the patient, extending its force internally as well as externally. This is especially true in the treatment of pregnant, or childless, women, cases where the disorder seems to be specifically located inside the body rather than have an external source. Small children, too, whose problems are not usually thought of as independent from their mothers (cf. Chapter V), are likewise also fed these things, though less commonly, and their use in other cases is fairly rare.

Done at the beginning of each ceremony, the scattering of mustard seeds is foremost to protect the shaman himself. Before he summons selected spirits, themselves potentially threatening, he binds the surroundings in an attempt to limit the variety of threats and problems that confront him, allowing him to deal with a single aspect of the whole deteriorating world. He goes on to apply other

japs to the fire, to his equipment, to the ashes he puts on his forehead, and the piece of *kacur* root that he puts in his mouth. In each case, the protection that is provided is one of holding potential threats in check. That is, this particular set of *mantar* also serve to compel order in the world. Like the recitals, they attempt to halt the world's progressive decline. Further, the ordering function of the opening formulas are directly paralleled at the end of every session. Now that things have been straightened up by the ceremony, they need again to be fixed in place, for the new order to supplant the old disorder. Some version of a list is again recited in conclusion, often both at the end of the public recital, and in a concluding *jap*. Each enumerates all the items that are to remain repaired and stay within the *jhākrī*'s protection. Hence, the protection offered by the *mantars* that open and close any ceremony is one of systematic prescription. The world is molded into an initial pattern, some things in that pattern are then improved upon, and finally, the resulting system is fixed in place and held there with oaths, promises, and threats.

Within distinctive ceremonies, specific features of different *mantars* can differ widely, though all undertake to compel something, which is just to say that each is a speech act with some specific perlocutionary force. A common use is to compel spirits to be present, for example, as in the second example above (and noted too in the last chapter), and they may have other performative aspects as well, such as promising and threatening, honoring, appeasing or suppressing. Several of these characteristics can be

seen in the *mantars* for raising, and then later suppressing, *masān* [spirits of the cremation ground]. First, to raise a *masān*:

Guru Deu, Guru Maheś,
I've brought sixteen cowries in my hand,
I've given a sacrifice of blood,
I'll give a flute to your right hand,
I'll give a pipe to your left hand,
your heart's cut, I'll give a chunk of meat,
your skin's cut, I'll give a wrap,
your head's cut, I'll give a pot,
your hand 's cut, I'll give a stirring stick,
your intestines are cut, I'll give a string.

Get up, get up!

Mother Syāuryā [?], get up,

Father Syāuryā [?], get up!

Chin culā, chin culā [said to be meaningless]

the force of the sky may knock you over,

split the earth, split it, *masān*, awake!

Awaking, awake,

if you don't awake,

be caught in the noose of birth. [IX.10]

The names of nine different well-known *masān* conclude the *mantar*. But it is not only well-established *masān* who a shaman can raise; it is also possible to capture new ones. Kamāro Kāmī explained: "If on a Tuesday or a Saturday, an important person of the village dies, then his pyre will produce soot. Take that soot and spread it on your body.

Blow the *mantar* onto four grains of rice and strike with them."

White grains of rice are used to raise a *masān*, while grains yellowed with turmeric are thrown to suppress one. He explained too that common reasons for wanting to raise a *masān* include a desire for more power and control [*kabjā*], and there are stories of people keeping a *masān* as a slave to plant their fields, move rocks, and perform other menial tasks. Professionally, a shaman may also just want to discuss some issue with a *masān*, as in Man Dev's Recital of Payalpur. Payalpur is the son of a shaman, Syāulā Rammā. After his father's death, he begins to experience fits of trembling:

the spirits wouldn't leave him in peace,
the powers wouldn't leave him in peace.

He shakes 'dak dak' at night, he shakes 'dak dak' at day.

His step mother hides all of his father's paraphernalia from him, hoping that her own son will eventually become the *jhākrī*. Payalpur seeks the advice of other shamans, who fail to help him. Finally:

having been furiously [*ranga bhanga*], possessed,
he descended to the sixth crossroad,
descended to the Masān Ghāt.

In the middle of the night, at the pitch dark time,
the Masān began to lurk about.

Going to the Masān Ghāt, Mājhā Payalpur [said]

"I've had much pain, I've found many problems."

Having then said this, oh, Syāulā Rammā, going,
then waking, sat up.

He met with Payalpur, his own son as well,

they met at the ghāt.

"You've had much pain, you've had many problems."

To Mājḥā Payalpur, shaking 'kara kara, mara mara',
his own father as well, Syāulā Rammā, going,
gave advice and ideas. [IX.11]

This selection incidentally includes two (untranslatable) puns. The first is on *dukne-bhukne*, which means 'pain and problems', but if a retroflex aspirate 'ḍh' is substituted for the dental unaspirated 'd', it then means to creep and crawl about. The second is on *bheṭ-ghāt*, a common phrase for meeting, but a *ghāt* is also the cremation grounds.

Yet another reason to raise a *masān* is to discuss whether it needs to become a *pitār* [ancestral spirit] and worshipped as such. Alternately, it may only continue to covet some familiar household item, which needs to be identified and then delivered to the cremation ground. Finally, a *masān* may also be sent as a curse, as is explicit in the following *mantar* from Gumāne:

Wake up, *masān*, wake up!
Go to the east, go to the west!
Go to the north, go to the south!
Go in the middle of the night,
stay in the village,
whoever takes your fancy, strike them!
Go, *masān*, go! [IX.12]

For whatever reasons a *masān* is raised, the promises made to it in the *mantar* are strictly empty words: except for some blood and

perhaps little pieces of meat and bread, the items mentioned in the text are not even assembled, let alone presented to the *masān*. No effort is made to have on hand a noose to emphasize the concluding threat, either. Unlike the often elaborate ritual accessories used to illustrate the recitals, discussed in Chapter VI, *mantars* are not usually accompanied by visual devices, other than the grain or water that is scattered. Illustrations are a feature only of the public side of ceremonies, done for the benefit of the visible clients. Words (and their vehicles) alone seem to suffice for the supernatural entities, who do not need to have things shown to them. Any hypothetical division that would place speech and the supernatural on one side, action and the natural on the other, tempting as it might be to draw, cannot however be advanced very far, for it is clearly straddled by the blood sacrifice, which is done for the unseen as well as for seen, so even on this point the *mantars* do not significantly differ from recitals.

After a *masān* has been raised, and presumably, after it has performed whatever task that has been assigned to it, or answered the questions addressed to it, it is sent away by a different but related *mantar*. The *mantar* that suppresses a *masān* tells it that it has now taken substitutes for its missing body parts (and so should be satisfied). Other than the two flutes, which are not actually given either, these parts with which it should be satisfied are not even those that were promised, however, and seem to be rather what was left to the *masān* in the first place, such as a shoulder, when it was promised arms, or a belly when it was promised a heart and

intestines. Either *masān* must be considered rather dim-witted, that they would respond to these promises but then leave empty handed (still armless would be putting it more accurately), or else the force of threats and compulsions must be sufficient to overcome the emptiness of the promises:

Guru Deu, Guru Maheś,
your intestines are cut, you've taken a belly.
your hand's cut, you've taken a shoulder,
your head's cut, you've taken a noose,
your heart's cut, you've taken a belly,
You've taken a flute in your right hand,
You've taken a pipe in your left hand,
you may have gotten up, you may have gotten up,
you may be frightened, you may go back! [IX.13]

[Oaths in the names of specific gods and goddesses follow.]

It may be noted that the order of enumeration of the body parts has been reversed in the second *jap*, so that the suppression is at least a partial inversion of the summons. At the end, the *masān* is bombarded with oaths, the same ones that conclude a public performance, which presumably scare it back to the cremation ground or crossroads. Once again, like the witch evil which is limited but not abolished, or the crises which are postponed but not eliminated, *masān* are at the end suppressed but not destroyed, their potential further usefulness preserved.

Some *japs* do, however, use far more threatening language and do try harder to completely suppress or eliminate something. This is

best seen in the formulas used against witches and malignant ghosts. For example, troublesome *masān* that one has not oneself awakened may also have to be quelled, with *japs* that use rather more forceful language, and also make use of mustard seeds. A good example is the Nar Singh Jap, which also allows for some bragging about one's guru:

Eight sarsu, twelve rāyā, the water of nine ridges,
spelling, spelling, you, ghost, be destroyed!
Other gurus play, our guru moves,
other gurus' staffs [are] of cane,
our guru's staff [is] of iron.
Striking with diamond-eared, iron pentagram,
dead ghosts, masān, turn to ash! [IX.14]

Likewise, although the first shaman showed in the recital a selfish interest in letting the youngest of the Nine Sisters survive (quoted in Chapter IV), the *japs* used at the end of a ritual against witches show a much less flexible attitude, perhaps hinting at a duality of useful witches and useless ones, just as useful *masān* are placated while useless ones are turned to ash. These *japs* use a language of uncompromising antagonism:

Wherever there are witches,
the tricks of you witches I attack!
Killing you witches,
transferring the spells of you witches into a hole,
stomping you witches beneath my sole,
you witches I kill!

Blow! mantar, Shri Mahādev's oath! [IX.15]

Another version, specifically to treat small children upon whom a witch has gazed enviously, threatens to poke out the witch's eyes. This opens up not improbable interpretation that the public recital is intended to lure the witches near and seduce them so that their defences are lowered before the *japs* that try to destroy them are recited.

The animosity towards possible agents of afflictions may be extended to surprisingly comprehensive ends. One of Nar Singh's *japs* against ghosts [*bhutān*—the archaic plural of *bhut*] well illustrates the extremes of attitude, for it puts gods and goddesses into exactly the same category as ghosts and witches. I was unable to ask him to explain this, for my sessions with him were unfortunately terminated on their second day by a truculent local police official, who was unable to read the documents that authorized me to conduct research in the district and who tried to order me to return to the district center. Although I didn't, Nar Singh was made sufficiently nervous that our sessions were effectively ended. (The *jhākrīs* of Raṛi also reported harassment from local police, and one even had his equipment burned by them.)

This *jap* begins with the four directions and the four quarters, assigning to them Gorakhnāth, Candannāth, Debīnāth, and Bhairabnāth, similar to Karṇa Vīr's Rāyā Sarsu Jap, and also continues with a description of the wandering yogi, as in that version, cited above. But it concludes:

He did 'aum', he did 'aum',

Māi Masān of the Dead,
Gods and Goddesses [*devī* and *devatā*],
Major Witches and Minor Witches [*kapṭī* and *bokṣī*],
Ghosts and Ghouls [*bhut* and *pret*],
he thrusts into hell. [IX.16]

Another example of a very forceful attempt at suppression is found at the very end of the House Binding Jap, with which the ceremony to bind a house concludes, which provides an example of how a *jap* to conclude a ceremony ends as well:

Killing Jama Rāj, killing Jama Rānī,
killing those who died at the right time,
killing those who died at the wrong time,
killing those hung on a pole,
killing those hung in a noose,
killing those swept off in streams,
killing those fallen from cliffs,
striking the eastern direction,
killing Bhasam Ghost of the Eighty maund iron rod,
striking the southern direction,
killing Kamsa Sur [name of a particular demon],
striking the western direction,
killing Maiyā Sur Demon [*dānvā*],
striking the northern direction,
killing Long-ear Demon [*Lāmkānyā dānvā*],
take away, driving east, driving east,
take away, driving south, driving south,

take away, driving west, driving west,
[then references to the Kānphaṭa yogi and to seven, named, Bhairam]
May there be no tricks, may there be no deceits,
may there be no minor witches,
may there be no major witches,
the main oaths of the Nine Nāths, the Twelve Bhairam,
will strike the treachery of ghosts, ghouls,
will kill them, thrust them into hell,
will bind this house. [IX.17]

The harshness of these threats recalls a final subject, without which any discussion of *mantars* remains incomplete—those with which to administer a curse, one of which has already appeared above [IX.12]. These were, naturally, some of the *mantars* that the shamans were generally the most reluctant to divulge, even to admit knowing. Others that they were noticeably reluctant to divulge were those that are major sources of income, and which can be used without a specifically shamanic ritual, particularly the ones to prevent death by snakebite—Abi Lal's wife vocally objected to him taping it, though he ignored her. Still, I obtained three versions of the *mantar* against snakebite. Each addresses the snake directly: "your poison is killed, my poison makes stiff," and in general conforms structurally to the other *mantars* that I discuss in this chapter.

To curse, several *jhākrīs* said that you just summon your familiar spirits (the *vīr* and *barāṅg*) and direct them at someone, or that you do the "Cutting of the Circle" Ritual, described in Chapter

VI, both of which are also acts commonly attributed to witches. Gore Sārki claimed that his own father, long deceased, who remains one of the two most famous *jhākrī* around Jājarkoṭ, never taught him his curse to sicken enemies. Eventually I believed him, for he appeared to be genuinely troubled by this gap in his own training: he even proposed that when I go to Takaserā to interview *jhākrīs* there (the Magars are popularly said to have the best curses, able to dry the throats of rival *jhākrīs*), he would accompany me, and we could both complete this aspect of our training. Karṇa Vīr parodied the singing style of the Magar *jhākrīs* with exactly this line:

"Hai! Your father, guru *jhākrī*'s throat has gone dry, Hai!"

He, and most other Kāmī *jhākrīs*, did not think much of the powers attributed to Magars, who they say, simply sing louder and are more aggressive to conceal their lack of knowledge.

Jājarkoṭ's other most famous *jhākrī* was Karṇa Vīr and Abi Lai's father, who was known as Lāṭo Jhākrī, while Gore Sārki's father was called the Kālā Jhākrī. Many stories are told about each. One rather relevant to my own research was of a cloth merchant, Karṇa Bahadur Rāul, who passed through Ciurī Village in B.S. 2023. He met Lāṭo Jhākrī on the trail and asked to hear his recitals. Lāṭo Jhākrī asked the merchant to light a stick of incense, sat down in front of him and began to recite. He became furiously possessed, and went on for hours. The merchant became distraught, fearful of the spirits who were apparently responding to so many *melās*, and begged him to quiet the gods, but Lāṭo Jhākrī went on and on, until

finally Rāul presented him with a new turban cloth, three hands of the best *markin* cloth, at which the spirits finally became peaceful.

Besides general directions, Abi Lal supplied one specific curse (at least in its simple form), and his brother Karṇa Vīr provided its reversal:

All around the seven seas, shrines of the gods,
you gods are the Lord God's agents [Iśvara's Vāṇ].
You gods, do a possession, do a concealed attack,
Rājā Iśvara's Vāṇ. [IX.18]

This example clearly indicates that curses are not significantly different in structure from other *mantars*. They, too, list agents, but compel them to attack, rather than to abate. The curse is lifted by saying:

All around the seven seas, shrines of the gods,
you gods are the Lord God's agents
wherever you are enshrined, to there be assigned,
wherever you go, go there. [IX.19]

The illustrations which I have provided in this chapter seem sufficient to allow several conclusions to be drawn. First, the texts which shamans call *mantars* and *japs* are very similar in form to the lengthier public recitals (which they call *dhūr*, *melā*, and *okhā*). Those that are used at the beginning of a ceremony have formal introductions into mythic space and time, and draw explicit continuities with that time through devices such as introducing the eldest experts or an archetypal yogi. This opening is then often followed with a narrative story of origin, or an enumeration of

forces and objects. Finally, they conclude with oaths, just as the recitals do. Like the recitals, the *japs* are also very concerned about the tension between order and disorder in the world. They attempt to re-establish some balance in the world, trying to impose the shaman's sense of how things should be, acting to isolate the most problematic areas of the world's chaos and to refashion the general disorder into a more hospitable pattern.

I have also, I think, convincingly demonstrated that *mantars* and *japs* are quite intelligible, requiring no special insight or training in order to understand them. They may be spiced with a few 'mumbo-jumbo' phrases (like '*chin-culā*' in IX.10 above), though even these might be penetrated by a more acute philological analysis than that of which I, the shamans themselves, or my Nepali friends were capable. The language of the *mantars* is that of other shamanic texts, in vocabulary, syntax, and semantic purpose; they also retain much of their meaning even when divorced from context and appearing in translation. As observed in Chapter II, extremes of what Malinowski called the "coefficient of weirdness" are practically absent in shamanic speech, and the words of most of the secret texts are likewise straightforward, just as a *jap* directed to witches describes them:

Your spells are reversed, my spells are straight,

Blow, mantar, Shrī Mahādev's oath. [IX.20].

They present a portrait of the world to which shamans expect the world to conform, ordering it into a pattern in which their

interventions may succeed, suppressing malign threats and encouraging benevolent powers.

Photo X.1. Jhākrī's Dancing at the end of a Drum Feeding Ceremony.



X. IN THE BEGINNING...

In the past several chapters, we have examined, in an increasingly detailed way, what a *jhākrī* repeatedly does throughout his career. This chapter and the next now tries to contextualize those details somewhat more widely, and in doing so, complete the portrait of a shaman. In this chapter, I examine how the profession is entered, the details of how the necessary knowledge is obtained and how mastery of it is displayed. The subject of the next chapter is the death ceremonies that conclude such a career. I try to show that the initiation and death ceremonies not only define the parameters of a shaman's career, and firmly situate it in a wider setting of kinship ties and village relations, they also can be taken as paradigmatic of every ceremony that a shaman performs. As such, they provide a convenient summary of this work. Finally, describing these two important episodes also permits me to discuss a few remaining significant texts which are most closely connected to those events.

The best description of the very beginning of a shamanic career was provided by Nar Singh Kāmī, who gave a thorough account of how to prepare your house to receive the *jhākrī* guru who has agreed to teach you, and the very first steps of acquiring his knowledge:

First, one puts up leafy branches to mark the house,
nine inside, seven outside on its top.
Then the guru sits with you.

I get possessed then.
First I capture my own spirits, inside,
my own family spirits [*kulān deutā*],
then the [other] gods are captured.
I capture the spirits of my own house,
I capture ālaṅg mālaṅg,
I capture bhut, pret. [X.1]

The branches, he explained, are for witches [both *kapṭī* and *ḍamkī*], forest spirits [*ālaṅg mālaṅg*], spirits of the dead [*māī masān*], ancestors [*pitar*], and ghosts [both *pret*, and *bhut*]. After these preparations, one begins to learn the Rāyā Sarsu Jap. All the *jhākrīs* confirmed that this is the starting point, probably because the mustard seeds onto which it is blown are essential for protecting every sitting, and so they become the first ritual implement needed by any novice shaman. One learns this *jap* by making a formal request to the guru, simultaneously learning to make the formal request itself, as is evident in the way that Nar Singh taught it to me:

First, at the beginning, "Teach me rāyo sarsu."
Say, "Guru Father, Guru Father, all honor to you.
Say, "Guru Father, all honor to the soles of your feet."
[You lift his feet, one by one, and touch them to your head.]
Say, "Nourishing guru, nurturing guru,
Teaching guru, training guru."
Say "When did rāyo sarsu arise?"
Say "In that age, on that day, they arose."
Say "Jaya Jaya Guru, In the Age of Truth, you arose."
Say "In the Kali Yuga, the Age of Murder, they arose." [X.2]

The instructions on how to ask continue directly into the *jap* itself, line by line, interspersed with the simple instruction "you say."
Dictated in this way, the first *jap* is learned. Others then follow in a less rigidly prescribed order, loosely in the sequence that they are

actually used in the ceremony. The learning of the recitals is begun at the same time. Before study of the recitals really gets underway, however, one needs to take up a drum, so that one can beat it while reciting in antiphonal harmony with the guru whenever he performs. Therefore, one must be constructed, a very important procedure which has a recital of its own, the drum being one of the very few items of a shaman's equipment to be so honored (home-brewed beer is another, with its recital examined below). This text provides detailed instructions which illustrate a typically shamanic blend of mundane and cosmological knowledge. The text names the best kinds of wood for a hoop, the best bamboos for liners, the best skin for a cover, the best leather for the thongs, etc., setting each piece of practical advice in a supernatural context. For example, the felling of the tree for the wood that will become the hoop is elaborately described. Assistants, referred to as 'logs of wood' (which is also a sarcastic term for a corpse) are sent to a tree chosen by the novice. Most often, *sadān* [a kind of sandalwood?, which bleeds thick red blood-like sap when cut] is selected. Some shamans report seeing this tree in a dream, others use the *Suwā Khetī* (see below) to identify it, but most just send the assistants out to locate a suitable tree, one "acceptable to the spirits, acceptable to the powers."

The two went, the 'logs of wood'.

Looking at the base, there was a coiled cobra;

looking at the top, there were black hornets.

"They don't let us cut, they don't let us." [X.3]

They return without it to the shaman, who instructs them to make obeisance to it. They tie strips of cloth onto it, throw four-colored grains of rice at it (white, black, yellow and green), and sprinkle it, and the six directions, with alcohol. Some report that the tree should also shake before it is cut, as must a sacrificial animal, though to a few shamans (e.g. Karṇa Vīr and Gumāne) this seemed ridiculous and they thought I was being sarcastic when I suggested it. The tree is felled:

"Go now, yes, go now, O 'logs of wood'.

Tie a pair of cloth strips in the four directions."

The vāi of the trunk's power [muṭhi sakti vāi],

the coiled cobra at the trunk,

the black hornets, all turned to ash.

Vanishing, they ignored the injury,

they ignored the theft.

They struck the first injury, made a second blow,

a first chip fell out, they gave it as a share to heaven.

They made a third blow, a second chip fell out,

was the share of hell. They struck a fourth blow,

a third chip fell out, was the share of local gods.

They struck a fifth blow, a fourth chip fell out,

was the share of witnesses. They struck a sixth blow,

a fifth chip fell out, was the share of leaders.

They struck a seventh blow, a sixth chip fell out,

was the share for Good Rammā's untimely death.

They struck an eighth blow,

a seventh chip fell out, was the share of the world.
They struck a ninth blow, an eighth chip fell out,
was the share of the Siddha [holy man],
was the share of Sirum [forest spirits].
They struck a tenth blow, a ninth chip fell out,
of the good drumwood, the share of the nine planets.
The drumwood was felled,
its head to the east, its base to the west. [X.3, continued]

Clearly, the felling of the tree takes on sacrificial import, each chip devoted to some power or threat in the universe. A different version assigns each chip to the six directions, that is, to the universe without intermediaries, but in either version, and in passages to follow, it is the connectedness of the drum with the entire world that is emphasized.

The text next describes the hunt for the wild goat whose skin will be used for the drumskin, followed by the gathering of the rest of the parts, identifying those acceptable and those unacceptable to the spirits. The hoop is roughly shaped, then buried "in the underworld" for three days to soften it. Next, the first blacksmith, Tikhu Kāmī, pounds in the iron nails and rivets to form the uniformly round hoop, a passage which introduces the potency of the drum itself, as a force having its own spiritual life:

Pounding in one nail, Lamjā Tikhu Kāmī,
his topknot became bent.

"O Lamjā Tikhu Kāmī, Honor to you, my Father's Father.
Oh, this drum of mine, appears to be a great pain.

O Elder Brother Tikhu Kāmī, finish pounding in the nails,
finish pounding in the spanners, I'll fix things up,
I'll make things better."

He pounded in the second nail, his ears became deaf.

He pounded in the third nail, his eyes became crossed.

He pounded in the fourth nail, his nose became crooked.

He pounded in the fifth nail, his mouth became crooked.

He pounded in the sixth nail, his neck became crooked.

He pounded in the seventh nail, his hands became crippled.

He pounded in the eighth nail, he became hunchbacked.

He pounded in the ninth nail, his feet became crippled.

He pounded in the nine nails, pounded in the nine spanners.

At Cuwai Crossroads, the drumhoop was prostrated,

the drumskin was fastened on, the liner was attached.

Attaching the drumhoop liner,

the liner didn't agree, the drumhoop liner didn't agree.

"Strike it with hard alcohol, strike it with corn beer."

The liner agreed, the drumhoop liner agreed. [X.4]

The shaman takes up the drum, and with one thump the blacksmith's topknot is straightened, a second blow returns his hearing, and so on until he is cured of each affliction which nailing the drum created, the sound being the agent of the cure, just as the blows of the blacksmith's hammer were the cause. With the restoration of Tikhu Kāmī, the recital concludes.

The Recital of Building a Drum is an example of what could be described as a 'private' text, since the only circumstance other than

the construction of a new drum in which it is afterwards used are the ceremonies to feed or to repair the drum, which treat no patient. Their only purposes are to replace a cracked drumskin, or to cleanse the drum of ritual pollution, such as being touched by a dog. The ceremony is very short and rarely performed, and I doubt that many villagers are familiar with it. At the climax, a chicken is beheaded and the drum is placed over its flapping body, which momentarily resounds the drum. (If the skin of his drum is cracked, the shaman borrows a drum to accompany the text when the new drumskin is being affixed.) The entire text can be incorporated into either the Nine Little Sisters or Tilīgramā, at the point when the first shaman is assembling his equipment, though this too appears rare—I've heard only one instance of each. Rather, the text is ordinarily reserved for the drum itself. As such, it is more a repository of knowledge, an ornamented set of instructions, than a communication to anyone (human or not) outside the shamanic profession. It helps complete a portrait of the world as the shaman learns to see it, a portrait in which his drum is a potent crossroads of the universe.

Once one has a drum, the other items of a *jhākrī*'s costume are also gradually assembled, following as closely as possible the descriptions contained in both the Recital of the Nine Little Sisters and Tilīgramā. The equipment can also sometimes be purchased from a *jhākrī* who no longer practices, and is often inherited from a father or uncle. When all the texts have been learned, and the onsets of possession can be sufficiently controlled (twelve years was the standard answer whenever I asked how long this process took), the

initiate can himself undertake his first pole climb. It is noteworthy that all of the shamans with whom I discussed details of acquiring competence emphasized the mastery of the corpus of texts, and none had much of interest to say about private experiences that they might have had before deciding to become a *jhākrī*. Each followed their father, or other relative, into the profession. Kinship, not any extraordinary adventures or possessions beforehand, seemed to be the decisive factor in their decision, although many of the most notable shamans have also instructed pupils with whom they were not related. Most novices trembled with possessing spirits at an early age, but this is commonplace throughout the populace. Most of them also reported childhood dreams involving visitations of spirits, but this, too, is something that practically every villager reports, so neither experience is particularly extraordinary. All shamans were agreed that anyone could learn to be a shaman, and none thought that remarkable childhood experiences or visionary dreams were necessary to qualify a pupil. One *jhākrī* (Man Singh Kāmī of Rādī) had even first been a *dhāmī* before deciding to become a *jhākrī*, incorporating his dhāmic god into his collection of shamanic spirits.

The prosaic accounts which all the *jhākrīs* with whom I am familiar told of their decision to enter the profession contrast significantly with wild stories apparently told elsewhere in Nepal (see Appendix II), which involve being kidnapped and trained by "Forest Shamans" [*ban jhākrīs*]. A shaman who dies away from home and whose funeral is not properly performed does become a *ban jhākrī*, and can possess people, but does not figure in the selection

of new *jhākri*s or in the transmission of shamanic knowledge. A dozen or so *ban jhākri*s are known by name in Jājarkoṭ. Karṇa Vīr, for example, listed ten when discussing his helping spirits [X.5], and explained that they do exactly the same work as do the lineage gods [*kulān deutā*]. In the Bhujī Valley as well, shamanic training and initiation were straightforward, though Deo Ram also commented that a *jhākri* who never climbs a *suwā* will never be reborn, and will instead become a *ban jhākri*, which, he noted, resembles a demon [*rakṣas* or *picasas*]. In Jājarkoṭ, the more crucial issue regarding rebirth is the proper performance of the funeral, which will be examined in the next chapter, though the two ceremonies are closely intertwined. Villagers in both areas sometimes tell stories of individuals who were kidnapped by a *ban jhākri* and who are trained by them, but the only similar stories told by *jhākri*s themselves always involve a *siddha*, a forest dwelling Hindu ascetic, not a *ban jhākri*, and reinforces the possible connections between *jhākri*s and *kānphaṭa* yogis rather than making preposterous claims.

The ceremony of initiation and its periodic re-enactment are appropriately known as the Toyo Khāne [Blood Consuming] ritual, not only because of the relatively large number and variety of sacrificial animals—at least one goat, a piglet or lamb, a ram, and several chickens—but also because of the blood which the shaman actually drinks. Ideally, every shaman insisted, this ritual should be done annually. In fact, it is rather rare. One factor is the interference of forestry officials, who have in the past ten or fifteen years become quite important throughout Nepal, and who

must be bribed (often with, ironically enough, meat and alcohol) before anyone dare fell a tree. Other factors also interfere, such as a death in the shaman's family, or another source of ritual pollution such as a wife's pregnancy. Altogether, I failed four times to see it, once because the villagers were expecting forestry officials and did it secretly a day early, once because I was too ill to attend, another time because of an intercalculated full moon that confused the calendar, and once because the shaman's wife began menstruating the day before and the ceremony was called off. Consequently, I have still never seen it performed, and rely throughout this chapter on descriptions, and, of course, on the relevant texts.

As the large number of sacrifices heralds the importance of this rite, another measure of its significance is the number of texts specific to it. The first of these is the Lāru Melā [The Recital of the Origin of Alcohol—it is also called the Chākī Recital, the Paglā Recital, or the Jād Recital, reflecting local nicknames affectionately given to home distilled alcohol]. The subject of this text—alcohol—is alluded to in the final lines quoted above. This text, like the Drum Recital, is primarily a repository of knowledge with no apparent application beyond its ostensive subject—a mythical history of fermentation, in which the first shaman gets involved. Barley seeds are discovered by the eldest ordinary people, the 'Bent Old Man' and 'Bent Old Woman' in the gullet of a dove, who recommends that they sow the seeds. The barley grows month by month, ripens, is harvested and stored with some 'Greatroot'

[*mahājarī*]. "In three days, it was fizzy-whizzy." It bubbles, it thunders. They ask: "What kind of grain is this?" They consult Rammā Jumrātam, who "goes to Indra's house" [ascends to the heavens], searches from the top of a ceremonial pole, dreams, consults, and cautiously recommends that a few experiments be performed with it. They feed it to a worthless dog, who tracks the spoor of wild animals over ridge and valley. They feed it to an aged cock, who crows the dawn and the dusk [X.6]. Still wary, they keep experimenting:

"Let's feed it to the lāṭā [male congenital cretin],
let's feed it to the lāṭī [female congenital cretin],
If the lāṭā dies, he dies, if the lāṭī dies, she dies."
They fed it to the lāṭī, they fed it to the lāṭā.
The lāṭā didn't die, the lāṭī didn't die.
The lāṭā went 'hāhā', the lāṭī went 'hīhī'.
"Ah, it's something that can be eaten,
ah, it's a fruit that can be eaten,
it's an immortal feast."

They next feed it to local officials, the *rikhe*, and *mukhye*, a clear allusion to the propensity of government officials to drink, and to demand to be feted before they perform their duties:

The rikhe, the mukhye, going,
in the towns and cities, in the neighborhoods,
began to give judgements, began to make decisions.

Next they feed it to other important government officials, the *mijār* and *kaṭuwāl*.

In the towns and cities, in the neighborhoods,
they began to spread rumors,
they began to spread gossip. [X.7]

Finally they conclude that it is safe to consume, and the recital concludes with a direct request for it by the *jhākrī* to the women of twelve different alcohol-consuming castes. This, too, is part of the Toyo Khāne ceremony, and is a first hint of its collective nature. In the morning before drinking blood, the shaman goes from house to house, receiving meat and alcohol, or money as a substitute, from each family, an event referred to as consuming *jal toyo* [Water Blood]. The chickens are offered to the spirits of the wild who surround the village, the descendants of Gorāpā (listed in Chapter V), and the seasonal threats associated with them. In Chapter V, I quoted the list of what became of Gorāpā's sons. Earlier in that recital, the two brothers divide the earth. They set out boundaries in the middle of the monsoon. Gorāpā chose markers of fixed rocks, fixed trees, fixed springs, while Serāpā chose straw and logs. Each month afterwards, Serāpā urged that he and his brother should re-examine the landmarks, but each month, Gorāpā had a different objection, pointing out, along with a citation of the appropriate sign of the zodiac, that: in Asoj, the ancestors must be worshipped; in Kārtik, there is fever-causing dew in the forest; in Mānsir, Phālgun and Cait, *rāh* wander and may capture souls; in Māgh, there is snow. Only in Baiśākh, after the annual forest fires, do they finally go, with the predictable results that Serāpā's boundaries are all gone, and Gorāpā claims the entire earth. In this way, the text contributes

a calendric awareness to the year's cycle, and establishes a sense in which the coming year can fall under the shaman's protection, a protection extended to the village in exactly this ceremony. Other versions of this cycle differ. To summarize Man Dev's version, for example: Asoj is the month for worries, the month for cares, "even the *dānphe* pheasants from the ridges descend to the lowlands this month." Kārtik is the month to sow black barley, to sow white barley. Mañsir is the month the rice rolls over, the month the paddy falls down. Puṣ "just comes and goes, the nights are long, the days are short." Māgh is the month to honor Brāhmans, the month to honor virgins, the month to honor yogis. Cait is an empty month, "there are no leaves on the trees, there is no grass on the ground." In this version, the threatening aspects of the forest for each month are given less prominence, but an acute sense of the passage of time remains, as it does in every version of this recital.

The money collected from the households goes toward purchases of a ram and a piglet, both sacrificed later in the ceremony, along with, at least in an initiation, a goat contributed by the shaman's own family.

This introduces yet another preliminary text of the Toyo Khāne ceremony, one which concerns the meat and blood that the shaman consumes. Responsibility for sacrificial animals has to be negotiated, and is learned in the Toyo Khāne Melā, which is recited when it is time for the pole to be climbed. In this recital, the shaman has to reconstruct the animal and provide it with a new

form, the original having been singed away by the heat of the Nine Suns and Nine Moons that formed the original dowry.

The Water Animal was in the watery water.

While in the water,

"Go, it's time to do Toyo Khāne.

We need the Water Animal, go, bring the Water Animal."

Going to bring the Water Animal,

"Where is the Water Animal?" they asked.

Speaking from the water, the Water Animal said,

"I'm in the water, empty.

I have no ears, no eyes, no tail,

I have no mouth, no feet." [X.8]

The assistants return empty-handed to Rammā Jumrātam and repeat what the Water Animal has said. He *japs* black seeds, tells them to throw them where they the voice speaks from, and they become the Water Animal's eyes. He *japs* leaves to be ears, *datura* to be a mouth, bamboo to be feet, thread to be a tail, and in this way prepares the animal for sacrifice. There are, however, no hints at any symbolic dismemberment of the shaman himself nor any implications of a new body being prepared for him. When the animal has been reconstituted, the shaman raises the spirits and the powers, reciting the weaving passage of Tilīgramā (Chapter VI). He is possessed and ascends the pole. In preparation, a living piglet has been tied towards the top. Shamans said that if your personal familiar spirits are ritually pure [*choko*], if your only *barāṅ* were, say, Sati Barbā or Barāh, a young ram would be substituted, but all the shamans I know have unclean

helping spirits, the *māphī*, as well as 'pure' spirits, and so actually use a pig during the pole climb. They classified the 'pure' spirits as clan gods [*kūl deutā*], and offer them a goat at the conclusion of this ceremony. At the climax of the pole climb, the shaman drives his drumstick into the pig's neck and sucks out its blood. Like Teiresias in Hades, after drinking blood, he prophesies future events for the village.

However, before this point is reached, and before he dances and drums from house to house eating and drinking in the morning, the shaman first recites all night long. He needs to complete the Lāru Melā (on the origin of alcohol), Ban Bhampā (the story of Serāpārun and Gorāpārun—for whom the chickens will be offered in the morning), and, of course, Tilīgramā. If there is still time, he may also do the Creation Recitals, and the Nine Sisters, but these can be omitted. When he reaches the central courtyard or crossroads where the ceremony will take place, charcoal ash that has been vitalized by a *mantar* (one which closely resembles a very condensed version of the Rāyā Sarsu Jap) is rubbed on his eyes, hands, feet, and tongue:

Pinnacle medicine [ashes for the eyes]
 seeing near, seeing far,
 sexually welcomed [*?—candai gardā rat baranā*]
 binding the stomping feet, binding the striking hand,
 binding the speaking tongue, binding the seeing eye,
 binding the tricks of village witches [*gāūkī damkinī*],
 binding (their) tricks [*chedī*],
 binding (their) deceits [*bhedī*],

binding the eyes of the four castes,
great liquid, magical [*siddhi*] liquid, tongue liquid,
cutting the tip of the tongue, dry it in the sun.
Binding the Burmās of shrines,
binding the ancestral spirits in nooks,
binding the jhākṛīs of gels,
binding the masān of crossroads,... [X.9]

Next he is blindfolded and recites the *Suwā Meīā*. The *suwā* is the most prominent ritual accessory of this ceremony, the trunk of a pine tree, which is erected at a prominent crossroads in the center of the village, or in the courtyard of either the shaman's house or that of a principle sponsor in the village. The text devoted to the *suwā* is primarily concerned with identifying a suitable tree, and lists many which are "not acceptable to the spirits, not acceptable to the powers." The correct one is made known by the shaman becoming possessed when he says its name. It is inevitably a *sallī* (pine), which is convenient, since it has already had to be erected in advance, but it is then redefined as precious Red and White Sandalwood:

The dead assistant, the living assistant,
bringing, giving oil, White Sandalwood,
from the Eastern House, brought a *sallī* trunk,
brought a *bhallī* [for rhyme only] trunk,
brought it, dragging it along, brought it, knocking it down.
Rammā Puranjā, going, to the *sallī* trunk, going,
it was acceptable to the spirits,

it was acceptable to the powers.

It was a Red Sandalwood climbing-pole,

it was a Sandalwood climbing-pole. [X. 10]

Assistants were sent a day earlier into the forest to find a suitable tree, which is placated in the same way as the one cut for the drum hoop. Branches are trimmed, with a crown left at the top, and the tree is carried back to the village. Ideally, it should be carried vertically, but if this is not feasible, then at least the top should be oriented away from the village and kept higher than the bottom as it is carried. Once erected, strips of red and white cloth dedicated to the gods [*dhājā*] are hung on the top of the pole. Long *torans* [cords of woven grass with rhododendron or marigold flowers inserted] are hung from the pole to neighboring house, creating a festive space similar to that of a wedding. Villagers bring dishes of rice grains and jugs of home-distilled alcohol and set them beneath the pole. Near the top, the piglet is fastened, and the ram is tied to a stake nearby. The pole and the space around it are *japped* with mustard seeds. As soon as the shaman is possessed, he jumps onto the *suwā*, with drum and drumstick in one hand, holding the *suwā* with the other. If this is an initiation, the guru assists the novice upwards, pushing from below, singing:

In the sky, the sun and moon are witnesses,

in hell Bāsuke Nag is a witness. [X.11]

Once perched in a crotch of the trunk, the shaman drums and sings to the spirits:

The time for toyan is here,

it's come, your chance,
True Gods, your festival, your fair,
your chance for toyan. [X.12]

continuing with pleas for truth to be spoken, lies to be banished, evil to be identified. The *māphī*, *vīr*, and *barāng* all arrive. Meanwhile, two metal bowls, one holding water, the other alcohol, have been placed beneath the pole on opposite sides, covered with white cloths, a copper dish with coins that have been contributed by the villagers is placed there, and four iron rods (or wooden sticks) are driven into the corners of the crossroad. The shaman trembles vigorously with the force of his collective familiar spirits, all of whom assemble to feast on the blood. With a sudden shout, he drives his drumstick into the pig's neck, piercing the vein under its chin. He sucks the blood, trembling frantically. Once the pig has been drained, the *jhākri*, still blindfolded, contemplates shadows in the two bowls at the base of the pole. He empties out the honor of the village in front of his familiar spirits:

The King's neighborhood, the Kingly women's honor,
the Minister's neighborhood, the Minister women's honor,
the Ṭhākur's neighborhood, the Ṭhākur women's honor,
the Bāhun's neighborhood, the Bāhun women's honor,
the Magar's neighborhood, the Magar women's honor,
the Kāmī's neighborhood, the Kāmī women's honor,
the Sārki's neighborhood, the Sārki women's honor,
the Dolī's neighborhood, the Dolī women's honor,
the Gāin's neighborhood, the Gāin women's honor,

the Bādī's neighborhood, the Bādī women's honor,
the Hurkyā's neighborhood, the Hurkyā women's honor,
the Phurkyā's neighborhood, the Phurkyā women's honor,
the Porā's neighborhood, the Porā women's honor. [X.13]

In the list of castes that occurs in the request for alcohol, mentioned earlier, the higher castes are omitted, and Magar is replaced by four clan names: Pun, Dharti, Rokāya, and Rānā; otherwise the two lists are the same. The emphasis is clearly on lower castes, who may be identified as more devoted patrons of *jhākrīs* (though higher castes also consult them). Listing Kāmī directly after Magar reflects the fact that most *jhākrīs* are Kāmīs, are so naturally place themselves as high in the list as is possible. More significant than these details, however, is the occurrence of the list itself twice in this ceremony, a clear indication of its communal nature, for Toyo Khāne is undertaken on behalf of all the villagers, neutralizing both the untamed threats that surround them, and also the malign side of the shaman (in the persona of his familiar spirits). The role of the shaman as intermediary between worlds is rather obviously dramatized as he hangs halfway between the earth and the sky, on the pole whose "roots are in hell, whose branches are in heaven." He drums the drum which was first buried in the underworld, and takes through his own mouth the blood drunk by the spirits who penetrate his body. The demands of those spirits have become his demands.

If this is an initiation, the novice is interviewed by the guru, seeking proof of his visionary powers. The dialogue unfolds in a

stylized fashion, as in this example, which was recalled years later by Deo Ram:

The guru takes a few grains of rice, blows a *mantar* onto them, and throw them at his pupil.
"Tell me what is at the foot of the pole."
"In four directions there are four pointed sticks."
"Besides this what more is there?"
"There is Mahādev's wealth" [a copper dish].
"Anything else?"
"I find *jas khaṇḍa* [water]."
"Anything else?"
"I find a clean white cloth covering the *thāulo*." [dish]
"Alright, can you say, how long will your guru live?"
"The guru who helped this pupil climb this pole will live for as many years as there are coins in the dish [offerings from the village families]."
"I've helped my pupil to climb this pole. How long will he live?"
"After seven years, the pupil's father will die. The pupil will live to be 75 years."
"How long will your mother live?"
"When the pupil has lived 71 years, his mother will die."
[X.14]

In the annual pole climbing ceremony, which may be conducted on the full moon of either Mānsir (the onset of the cold season) or Jeth (just before the monsoon rains arrive), the prophecies made are even simpler. An example was provided by Nar Singh as part of his instructions of how to conduct that ceremony:

"Below, you must put a bowl of water.
You must put an offering of one rupee.
From above, you look into the liquid.
If it's time for rain, it will be cloudy above the water.
If it is not going to rain, the water will be clear.
Then you must say, 'La, it's not going to rain.'
If the water looks cloudy, you say,

'On such-and-such day, on such-and-such date, the rain will come." [X.15]

Besides the onset of the rains, the number of deaths and births may be predicted, vaguely described in terms of the four directions, and the village is frequently admonished that it is not paying sufficient respect to the spirits. The relatively trivial and unemphasized nature of these prophecies again underscores that this is more a ritual of supplication than one of divination. On the earthly side, the untamed descendants of Gorāpā and the seasonal afflictions associated with them are offered the blood of numerous chickens. In the intermediary regions (on the pole, between heaven and earth) the *jhākrī*'s own *māphī*, *barāṅg* and *vīr* are placated. Finally, the established village spirits, representatives of a heavenly 'higher' world, are offered a goat and a ram at the post in the courtyard.

Having reaffirmed his farsightedness by his comments on the future, the shaman may now descend the pole. The dishes are moved away to one side. In an initiation, the guru may try to trick his pupil, perhaps putting, for example, his own snake-bone necklace at the bottom of the pole. "I can't come down, there's a *nāg* below," complains the initiate. The guru coaxes him down slowly, assuring him that it is safe in every direction:

Make my pupil as bright as the sun,
make my pupil as beautiful as the moon,
then I will get my fame.
To the east, I put Bet Barāṅg.
To the north, I put Kaput Khamba.

To the west, I put Burmā Deo.

To the south, I put Devī Bhuvānī. [X.16]

With each placement, the pupil descends lower. When he reaches the ground, he puts his drum at the foot of the pole and prostrates his head to it, and his guru removes the blindfold. In one variation (reported by Man Dev), the pupil lifts his teacher onto his shoulders and carries him around the pole. Next, still blindfolded, he seeks out the members of his own family and carries each of them, one by one, around the pole as well, allowing them to partially share in his ascent. When everyone is back on the ground, it is time to sacrifice the ram, who is tied upside down by his front legs and horns to the *suwā*, and reminded of his debt to the shaman:

Your fate is to lose, my fate is to eat.

Having pounded iron, that became your hoofs,
that became your horns.

Of balls of cotton, going, those became your wool.

Putting in tiṭhā seeds, those became your eyes. [X.17]

and so forth, through a complete reconstruction of the ram by the shaman. Water is sprinkled on it, and it shakes. Holding the rear feet, an assistant cuts open the chest and removes the heart, tossing it to the shaman, or, in an initiation, to the guru. The recipient catches it in his drum. He takes it in his teeth, slurps up some blood, dances around and tosses it back to the ram, aiming so that it lands near the chest. The ram is then untied and beheaded. The pupil catches the head in his drum, takes it in his teeth, dances, and also tosses it back to the ram. It should align with the neck. Both alignments—of

the heart to the chest and of the head to the neck—are considered auspicious if they fall properly in place, inauspicious if they don't. Should they fall inappropriately, the tosses may be repeated until the result is suitable. While there are no tales of a shaman ever restoring life to the dead (though this does occur in the recitals) the goal here has a semblance of restored life, in the proper alignment of the severed organs with the corpse. Once more, illustrating the goal of restoring order in the world is an important feature of the performance.

Finally, the spleen of the ram is examined, with both the guru's fate and that of his pupil sought out. Afterwards, the guru and his pupil relax and drink the offered alcohol. The meat is cooked and eaten. Toward evening, a final offering is made. Villagers set nine dishes of the ram's blood mixed with uncooked rice on top of an upside down winnowing tray [*ul̥to nānglo*]. An unmarried man, dressed in a woman's shawl, skirt, bracelets and necklace, will carry the tray to a prominent crossroads dancing a 'backwards' [*bippe*] dance-step, followed by the men carrying the *suwā*, who should carry it reversed and themselves leave the village backwards. At the rear of the procession comes the shaman, carrying a jug of alcohol. The *suwā* is deposited in an unpolluted spot by leaning it against a tree. The shaman dips his drumstick into the alcohol and scatters it in the six directions as a parting benediction. The dishes of rice mixed with blood are set around it, to satisfy any remaining hungry spirits and keep them away from the village. That there are

nine dishes suggests that this may be also, or primarily, an offering to witches, who otherwise do not feature in the initiation.

Upon returning home, the shaman's family is now supposed to sacrifice a goat for their ancestral spirit, who is, in most cases that I recorded, Sati Barbā (who is sometimes called 'Sati Garbā'). The recital relates that he was the son of a human father and a divine mother. He describes his mission in the world as:

I will protect the world, protect the days.
I will kill Forest Rāh,
will kill their spirits, kill their descendants.
witches [ḍamkī], ghosts, prets,
the descendants of Kaṁśa,
The Black Brown Nāg, the Earth Nāg,
Female Nāg, destroying them I go,
to the forest I go. [X. 18]

(Jhākrī Jumrātam says the same thing when he is summoned at the end of the recital, VI.12.) Sati Barbā wanders about destroying all of the threats he listed above, along with spells and charms and other Nāgs. He grinds cliffs into plains and reverses wrong-flowing rivers. An evil lama tries to subdue him, without success, and instead Sati Barbā impregnates the lama's queen and his four daughters. The queen's son follows his father's example, but his four half-brothers plot against them and must be defeated. They are, and then seek release from the weight of their sins through wandering mendicants (not from their father the lama):

Kāśī Kasmerā's Aḷabya Talabya Brāhman,

the pierced ear Gosāī,
carried away all the bad days,
poured out good days. [X.19]

The contrast that develops between lamas who plot and yogis who redeem is interesting, but what is important for the discussion here is that Sati Barbā indiscriminately suppresses all agents of affliction, protecting everyone who might be threatened by them, and even offers his enemies a chance to renounce the consequences of their evil actions, once again emphasizing the comprehensively communal aspects of this entire set of ceremonies.

Before being sacrificed, the goat is also reminded of its ritual obligations to the shaman:

My share, your share,
your sacrifice, your sin of killing,
it's not on me, it's not on my patients,
it is your birth that has made it so. [X.20]

Water is sprinkled on the goat and it is beheaded. In an initiation, the guru receives the head in his drum and picks it up in his teeth. Sipping the blood, he circles it around the pupil's head three times, then tosses it back to the goat. Again, the alignment indicates the success of the pupil's career. The goat's liver and spleen are also examined, and a few of its hairs are burned in the fire, to satisfy any spirits attracted by the smell of its blood. Finally, the pupil's family cooks the meat along with huge pots of rice, which are served to everyone who attended the ceremony, concluding the events.

At the beginning of this chapter, I noted that this ceremony occupies a rather archetypal relation to the other ceremonies that the shaman will perform throughout his career. It is, clearly, the dramatization of the shaman's interstitial role that primarily gives it this character. In other ceremonies, his journeys to heaven and hell take place by superimposing textual descriptions of such travels upon his sitting and getting up to dance. Here, he actually does travel, first from house to house throughout the village, and then into the region between earth and heaven, where he finds all of his familiar spirits. Secondly, the ritual unfolds as a communal event, every household contributing to it, with the largest contribution made by the shaman's own family (who he may acknowledge by carrying on them around the pole on his shoulders, just as he carries his guru and his spirits). Performed as an initiation, the approval of the new shaman's career is publicly given by his guru. When performed annually, it is as a re-enactment of initiation in which the shaman's personal spirits are fed by the community, and they respond with a few visionary pronouncements. Rather than treating a single patient or a single household, the ritual pre-empts dangers to entire community. With each pole climb, the *jhākrī* accepts the role as protector of the village, mediator between it and the less hospitable worlds around, controlling both the spirits who possess him and those that threaten, for the common good.

XI....AND AT THE END

Although I said at the beginning of the previous chapter that the death ceremonies mark the end of a shaman's career, this is not an opinion shared by the shamans themselves. From their own point of view, the career of a successful shaman, once begun, never ends, least of all with death. Death instead provides the outstanding opportunity to prove one's success, to reveal that one has really obtained control over spirits, especially one's own soul. Events following death allow a conclusive demonstration of one's ability to postpone crises, to deflect the ongoing deterioration of this world, and to manipulate forces in other, spiritual, worlds. It should immediately be noted, however, that *jhākris* perform death ceremonies only for other *jhākris*. They do not participate in any way in other funerals, and do not undertake to guide souls to the underworld, as has sometimes been held to be a decisive aspect of shamanism. Actually, as was noted in Chapter IV, this essentially conforms to Shirokogoroff's observations about Tungus shamans, for he observed [1935:310] that journeys to the underworld were infrequently taken and were relatively unimportant, leading one to wonder just how necessarily 'shamanic' a role as 'psycho-pomp' (Eliade's emphasis on the shaman as a guide of the soul) really is. While *jhākris* guide back lost souls to their owners, summon and dispatch the souls of the dead, and lead away malevolent spirits, I have found no evidence, whether in texts or in discussing the issue with them, that the *jhākris* have ever played a part in funerals of

ordinary individuals. Perhaps more than for Tungus, "soul-journeys" do play an important role in many *jhākrī* ceremonies, and certainly are referred to in many texts, but are never done to lead a soul away to some land of the dead.

The death ceremonies for a shaman have two parts. The first half of the ceremony is known as the *jhākrī walpāune* [to make a shaman disappear], while the second half is called the *jhākrī ukāsne* [the raising of the shaman]. The first part begins with the actual death. A shaman should predict the moment of his own death, which can then take place at his home, with his former pupils summoned to attend it. Dressed in his costume, he dies sitting up, cross-legged. At death, a silver coin is placed in his mouth, as is done for ordinary persons—if it is not spat out, it indicates that the person has accepted his death. A final drop of *sun-pānī*—water purified by having gold immersed in it, is poured through the lips. The corpse is tied to a board to support it, and is carried outside in this posture, upright, by his pupils. It is disposed of, explained Karṇa Vīr, "exactly like a yogi." By this he meant, as will be seen from the description, a *kānphaṭa* follower of Gorakhnāth, for the funeral corresponds very closely to that described by George W. Briggs [1938: 39-43] for the *kānphaṭas*. A shallow, round grave is dug not far from the shaman's home, at a spot chosen by him in advance. The corpse, in full costume, is first placed in the courtyard. A piece of *kacur* root is put under the tongue, a staff into the left hand, a drumstick into the right. (In Bhujī, the drum is apparently tied to the left hand for the journey to the grave, and replaced by the staff afterwards.) Ashes

which have been treated with a *mantar* ("seeing far, seeing near," quoted in the previous chapter) are applied across the closed eyes, which are then blindfolded. *Syāulā* leaves are put behind the ears and the head is wrapped in a new turban of white cloth, which also holds the headdress in place. The former pupils, in full costume, sit facing their guru and sing the first half of *Tilīgramā*. The text describes the marriage of the first shaman, Jumrātam, to the younger daughter of Gorāpā (see below), and his cursing of the Sijāpati king. At the passage that describes Jumrātam's departure for the underworld, the former pupils dance around the body, counterclockwise. They address the next section of the text, in which Jumrātam gives instructions to his wife, to the widow of the deceased *jhākri*:

Examining, consulting,
"Imagine, dream,
how much have I brought you, dear jhakrenī,
who will give you skirts, who will give you blouses?...
Put a tomb for me in the valley,
put a monument for me on the hill,
cry a fountain of tears,
wear your blouse inside out,
wear your skirt inside out,
I am going, to Tilīgramā.

Rammā Jumrātam set out forthright. [XI.1]

The text also instructs the widow to break her bangles, remove her necklaces, and wear her hair disheveled, as is expected of any Hindu widow, and she follows the directions which it provides:

Jhumā Jhākrelnī took off her gold earrings,
took off her nose jewel, took off her finger rings,
wore her blouse inside out, wore her skirt inside out,
took off her finger rings, took off her pointed bracelet,
took off her necklace, moved her hair bun forward,
wore her hair bun backward.
She was really colorless,
she was really without color. [XI.2]

Distraught, she asks where he will go, and Jumrātam replies:

I am going, to Tilīgramā.
On the trail I take,
there may be marks of a walking stick,
may be a loosely spun thread,
may be a line of turmeric.
On a trail for witches,
there may be a spun thread of nettles,
may be a line of ashes. [XI.3]

This is a simple version of a recurring riddle, to be solved by anyone who might try to follow a dead shaman. Here, it just suggests the difficulty of distinguishing the path of a departed shaman from that which witches use. Often, the riddle is often elaborated to include the trails of cremation ground spirits [*masān*], lost souls [*siyo*], and forest spirits [*banpā*]: in each case the trails are practically indistinguishable. That which *masān* walk may be marked by charcoal and ashes, that of *siyo* by broken fragments of gourd

streaked with white clay, that of forest spirits by lumps of rice mixed with blood, as in Deo Ram's version:

The path the masān walk,
[there] may be charcoal, ashes.
The path the siwari walk,
[identified by Deo Ram as "witches"]
may be a row of lumps, rice mixed with blood.
The path the forest spirits walk,
may be fragments of gourd, streaked with white clay.
The path the rammā walk,
may be at the crossroads, rubbish, dried leaves. [XI. 4]

Even after the shaman's widow finally instructs them by repeating the shaman's words, the messengers dispatched by the king get lost along the way and encounter demons. Eventually they find the underworld. Every version of Tilīgramā includes some version of this riddle, always suggesting that a dead shaman resembles other potentially malevolent forces, that he walks the secret paths used by those who cause harm to the villagers. Also suggested is that the path to the underworld is both near at hand and requires no special entrances (though they exist), just a sense of which way to go. Often, the shaman simply splits the earth open where he sits with a timely blow of the drumstick and descends down a loosely-spun thread. Sometimes the way includes a circuit of distant travels, leading through the rocky scree, the snowy mountains, and the swampy jungles, with the final descent undertaken from a rock called Gawā Ḍhungā (whose location no one could specify). The

passage of text that describes this journey is not, however, unique to the death rites, and occurs rather frequently. For example, it occurs when Jumrātam is first summoned by the old woman who has become pregnant with the nine witches, and also when he leaves to be tested by the gods in Indra's heaven. That is, the departure at death is not unique, but is essentially equivalent to every shamanic sitting, a point which the funeral ceremony further emphasizes by dressing the corpse as if for a performance. Likewise, by using this text at both initiations and funerals, the audience is vividly reminded that the potential malevolence of a shaman is also always near at hand, retelling on each occasion the afflictions brought down on the royal family for failing to respect the *jhākrī*.

Once the recitation reaches the riddle, male relatives (sons, grandsons, brothers, or nephews) pick up the body, and the former pupils, dancing and drumming, lead the way to the grave. The recital is continued to the point at which Jumrātam takes up residence as a blacksmith (or copperworker) in the underworld. The body is placed waist deep in the hole, ideally facing north, and most of the costume is removed, "returned to its owners," explains the text (though if a son or nephew has become a shaman, he inherits parts of it):

Rammā Jumrātam went, returning his pledges.

"Take back the pledge of matted locks of hair,

to the syālī tree,

take back the pledge of pheasant feathers,

to Chārḱābhoṭ,

take back the pledge of fragrant leaves, to Kālā Pāṭan."

(etc. explicitly naming each piece of equipment) [XI.5]

At least one string of bells and a few feathers are left on the corpse, as is the blindfold and turban. A foundation for a conical shaped tomb (called a *raṅg*, or *maṭṭī ghaudā*) is laid out around the body. Next, a pole identical to the *suwā* used for initiations (some shamans even reported that top of the original *suwā* should be saved for this use, but others were apparently less meticulous), now called a *gel*, is mounted in front of the corpse by his sons-in-law. It is aligned between his crossed legs. One of his hands is wound around the *gel*, a staff or drumstick held by the other. The tomb is then built up as high as the shaman's head, and filled with clay. A flat stone is aligned over his head. Centered on this stone is a bamboo basket, in the center of which is placed a wooden jug of home-distilled alcohol. Around the jug nine small *roṭi* [flat breads] are arranged, with grains of sacred rice scattered over everything. Another flat stone is set on top of this ensemble, and the tomb is then built up into a room-like cubicle, with a triangular opening to one side, which faces out at the pole that sticks up out of the tomb. The top of the tomb is tapered to a point, and the entire cone is then smeared top to bottom with a mixture of clay and cow dung by the deceased shaman's daughters and daughters-in-law. On the protruding pole, the *gel*, are hung the deceased shaman's long top-knot [*laṭṭā*], some of his feathers and bells, and his drum, which is first shattered. (Should a shaman have the misfortune to die away from home, his top-knot is returned to his family, and the entire ceremony is performed for it as a substitute for the corpse. This is

the only hint of any "ritual dismemberment" of a shaman.) A chicken is sacrificed, and the pupils dance two or three times around the completed tomb, beating their drums, and then all the funeral goers return to the dead shaman's house, where they are fed.

The parallels and inversions between this ceremony and that of an initiation are rather obvious. The shaman, again blindfolded, is once again suspended on a pole between two worlds, now half in the underworld, half still in the surface world. The offerings and the container of alcohol, formerly beneath his feet, are now over his head, and the alcohol will again, as we shall see, contribute to forecasting the future. This use of liquids is a fairly common fortune-telling technique in Nepal, and is also mentioned in the recitals, as recommended by the young Jumrātām to his mother when he set out in search of his father, Purācan (it should be recalled that all the shamans insist that their ancestors, including the first shamans, were of high caste, so alcohol is naturally not mentioned here):

Mother, put water in one bowl,
put your milk in another bowl.
If I die then the milk will turn to blood,
the water will dry up.
If I live then the milk will remain milk,
the water will increase a little. [X1.6]

Some of the possible symbolism of a container of liquid placed at the bottom of a pillar, or inverted at the top of one, has been explored by Gerritt Jan Held [1935:206-216], whose speculations on

the significance of doors and fences in sacral houses in India also have relevance to the shamanic ceremonies. Held interprets the container at the base of the pillar as "the underworld represented as a woman, in which Śiva's *liṅgā* turns round as a churning-stick" [p. 209], and the container at the top as a representation of the celestial ocean, so that the three elements provide "a perfect representation of cosmic motion." While such symbolism is perhaps too sophisticated for the shamans themselves or their audiences, who for the most part remain satisfied with literal meanings, it might not have been lost on the *kānpaṭa* yogis, who also include it in their tombs. There is probably no way of knowing whether the funerals of shamans and yogis share a common origin, or whether one was borrowed from the other, but in either case, it seems possibly more productive to trace parallels between Nepali *jhākrīs* and the rituals of Hindu ascetics than has commonly been observed—the feeble comparative efforts made so far have all been drawn northward to that fictitious construct known as "classical Asiatic shamanism," whose disparate elements probably borrowed much from Southern neighbors.

For nine days, a simple ritual is conducted at the tomb, with oil lamps and incense kept burning. On the ninth day (in another version, on whatever day the guru foretold, as much as a year later), the former pupils of the shaman gather around the tomb, sing the Recital of Offering to Jama Dūt and Jama Kāl [The Messenger of Death and The Time of Death]. This is the only time this recital is performed, but actually, it is composed entirely of passages from

other recitals, those that concern the creation of the world and the origins of animal sacrifice, rearranged to place particular emphasis on rebirth and regeneration. Given particular prominence is the part of the story, when, denied a dowry of nine suns and nine moons, Candra cremates herself, becoming the first higher being to die. Out hunting in the middle of the forest, Bhagavān and Nārāyan see the pyre burning, and wonder whose funeral it could be:

"At our Rānī Sagar, what corpse is that,
the pyre begins to burn,
is it Annakelī's daughter Candra,
or some son, or not?"

"Is it, father?" they said.

"It may be father Bhagavān's descendant,
let's smear out the fire, she'll live."

They predicted the truth, truthfully.

They went to smear out the fire,
they reached Rānī Sagar, came to Morī Ghaṭ.

They scattered the ashes, they blew through a tube,
they found the ring finger.

They gave the body blood,
the arms pith, the legs marrow,
put in breath, put in a soul.

They struck her with a sandalwood staff,
struck her with a cane staff.

They brushed her with a black yak tail,
brushed her with a white yak tail. [XI.7]

That is, they repeat the gestures of creation (cf. V.1), when the first man was formed and animated. The ritual revives her, and she is granted her desired dowry. Soon afterwards, exactly the same procedure of re-animation is required for the race of man, which has dried up from the heat of the nine suns brought to this world by Candra. The eldest items, which survived the searing heat, are listed, and immediately afterwards the *gauḍā* (the star obstructions) are transferred away:

The black star obstruction atop the house,
was transferred to the foot of the bed.

The black star obstruction at the foot of the bed,
was transferred to the door step.

The black star obstruction of the door step,
was transferred to the courtyard.

The black star obstruction at the courtyard,
was transferred to the crossroads

["Hari Gauḍā, Burmā Dhūwā"].

"What shall we eat if we go,
what shall we wear if we go?"

said the black star obstructions. [XI.8]

The recital then concludes with the shaman's negotiations with the different animals who might be sacrificed, as had been described earlier [VI.2]. Thus, there is nothing actually unique in this recital for a shaman's funeral. Rather, the Recital of Offering to Jama Dūt and Jama Kāl is simply a rearrangement of passages particularly relevant to the occasion. As was first observed concerning opening

and concluding passages, the recitals themselves turn out not to be rigidly fixed, but are, rather, composed of episodic blocks of text that can be juggled to suit particular occasions.

Finally, of course, the former pupils sing the second half of Tilīgramā, beginning with the king's messengers being sent to summon for Jumrātam. They ask the *jhākrī*'s widow where to find him, but she shows them the signs of mourning and the tomb. They return to the court with Ghobre Rammā, instead of Jumrātam, a pupil of his who seems not to have learned very much from his guru, for he has a drum hoop of *tusārī* wood (whose sap is milky rather than bloody), drumskin from a domesticated goat rather than the required wild one, and a lizard for an assistant. Still, he can perform moderately well as a shaman, and correctly diagnoses the problem:

He danced and drummed out to the crossroads,
he danced and drummed back from the crossroads,
was seated in the underworld,
rose from the underworld.
"Having been cut, O king, be cut.
Having been killed, O king, die.
I am not your *jhākrī*.

Your *jhākrī* is in Tilīgramā." [XI.9]

For this information, the king rewards him with his request—the lungs of a goat—and he returns home. However, the pupil's wife, incensed by her husband having eaten the pieces of lungs out of the broth when she steps out of the kitchen for firewood, drenches him with the hot broth. Writhing and squirming, in parody of one

possessed, he flees. Besides providing a comic interlude, one which actually raises a few laughs; the text instructs clients to patronize "their own" shaman, not others—the pupil does not even attempt to cure the king once he realizes that Jumrātam is still alive. It also warns pupils not to assist patients who aren't theirs, nor to be innovative with equipment. The description of what the pupil uses is clearly meant to be comic regalia and would not be taken seriously, but it still suggests that serious consequences may result from ungrounded innovations.

A third time the king's messengers return to the shaman's widow (in some versions, the queen herself goes), but now they approach in humble supplication rather than in anger. They promise the *jhakrenī* that the shaman will be given half the kingdom, and she finally instructs them of the path to Tilīgramā, which they follow. When the recital reaches the point where they identify Jumrātam and cause him to be possessed, the passage which so often induced possession in the shamans when they recited it (Chapter VIII), the *gel* shakes—the spirit of the dead *jhākrī* has returned from the underworld. He possesses his successors and chants with them the conclusion of the recital (the curing of the king and the receiving of rewards). His spirit, now genuinely a 'tutelary' one from whom instructions may be received, is added to the spirits who his successors summon whenever they perform, assuring that his career as a shaman continues and that he continues to receive a share of blood that is sacrificed.

At this point in the ceremony, the pupils open the top of the tomb and take out the container of alcohol. Were it to be dry, of course, it would mean that the shaman was really dead and gone, but a few drops are inevitably found. They dip their drumsticks into the alcohol and scatter drops on the tomb, saying:

Honor to you, guru father,

tell us where, tell us what's left. [XI.10]

They drink the remainder, and all become frantically possessed by their guru. He now tells them where he would like his permanent monument to be constructed, and what direction it should face (usually, north). The stone which covered the alcohol is removed from the tomb, along with the top knot of hair. These will become the foundation for the permanent monument, called a *bisāunā*, which will now be constructed. Dancing and drumming, the pupils lead the way to where their guru has told them that he wants his monument, usually on a hill top or at a prominent place along a trail. They set down the flat stone, and relatives build up a four-walled solid box, about four or five feet high. At the top, a triangular window is inserted into each side. The daughters and sons-in-law of the departed shaman smear the monument with white clay. They also smear each other's faces as well, and throw containers of water colored with clay over one another, rather like the celebration of Holi Purnimā (the pan-Hindu festival in which everyone throws colors over everyone else). Finally, a few branches of a tree "approved by the spirits and powers," usually pine, or juniper, are erected on top of the *thān* [shrine] by a male relative, who also ties a

few strips of red and white cloth to the branches. Other relatives next hang such strips as well. The pupils dance around the monument, and finally, a goat or ram (or at least a chicken) is sacrificed at the foot of the stones, explicitly offered as a substitute for the dead shaman:

Blood measured out for blood,
flesh measured out for flesh,
sense measured out for sense,
breath measured out for breath. [XI.11]

Everyone returns to the shaman's home, where they are feasted on rice and meat.

The sacrifice at the *than* should be repeated annually, though it seems to eventually lapse, as the memory and power of the departed shaman fades. Deo Ram's instructions recognized this, saying the a ram should be offered annually for nine, or at least for three, years, while afterwards a chicken is sufficient. In practice, this is often further reduced to just the red and white strips of cloth, unless the dead *jhākrī* manages to re-assert himself by violently possessing his descendants in order to remind them of their obligations.

If the dead shaman had many pupils, then the night before they open the tomb, they first gather at their former guru's house, and spend one or more nights reciting together, covering the stories of creation and of the Nine Sisters, and especially those of Gorāpā and Serāpā and the first half of Tilīgramā. Emphasized in this context are the kinship ties of the characters in these recitals, which connect the shaman to both the world of men and to the world of

spirits. While the recital of Gorāpā and Serāpā (also called the Ban Bhampā) illustrated the negotiated relations between the world of men and the malevolent forces of the forest, the beginning of Tilīgramā makes explicit the relation between Gorāpā, the shaman, and the different castes of Nepali society. Three main versions of the beginning of Tilīgramā exist, and, given the peculiar prominence that this text has, not only in the ceremonies of initiation and death, but also in the postponement of major crises, it seems worthwhile to conclude this chapter with a somewhat detailed examination of them. Each begins with Gorāpā (or his descendant Khanuserā) reaching the time of his death, a widower with unmarried daughters, different versions assigning him two, three, or four daughters. He sends them to fish, to gather fern shoots, and to hunt, and each time he assumes a form as that is half himself, half what he has sent them fetch, as though the division between the world of men and the world of nature had not yet rigidly solidified. His purpose is to die by the hands of his own daughters, for death has just been introduced into the world. No man has yet died, and Gorāpā has no other ideas about dying than those supplied by fishing, gathering, and hunting. Each time, his daughters recognize him as part of what they were sent for, and return empty handed. When he sends them to fetch meat, they

beat along the rivers, hid in blinds on the ridges,
hunted in the forests.

Half the body father Khanuserā,
half the body a living deer, came,

the elder sister blocked a narrow part of the trail,
the younger sister shot,
the arrow entered the right side.
He pulled the barb out, put on an herbal poultice,
went off with blood streaming out. [XI.12]

Unable to find his tracks, the sisters interview various plants and animals, awarding those who saw him with a blessing, and cursing those who didn't. Animals that may be sacrificed are again reminded: "there is no sin in killing you, there is no merit in keeping you." By the blessings and curses, the text establishes a set of reciprocal relations between the descendants of Gorāpā, the inhabitants of the untamed spaces, and the animals that the shaman uses. Finally, the daughters seek the advice of men. In versions with just two sisters, one goes to the king, and the other consults Jhākri Jumrātam. When a third sister is added, she consults Tikhu Kāmī, the first blacksmith, and when a fourth sister is added, she consults the first Brāhman, Hunyā Bahun. In every case, advice is promised if the girl agrees to marry, which each does, establishing the first shaman as the brother-in-law of, minimally, the king, and in the more elaborate version, of the three most important caste strata in Nepali society. Further, by marrying a descendant of Gorāpā, the shaman also becomes a brother-in-law of the malevolent forces that surround the village (the sons of Gorāpā's brother, Serāpā). Just as the initiation ceremony emphasizes connections between the shaman and the wider (visible and invisible) societies of which he is part, so too

do these passages, which are repeated throughout the death ceremony.

With the help of their future husbands, the daughters find the corpse of Gorāpā (or Khanuserā). They prepare for the funeral, the first to take place on earth. Cremating the body requires fire, and a grasshopper is sent to heaven to obtain it. First burned when he tries to carry it in a sack, he finally returns with flint and steel, making a permanent contribution to the domestication of Gorāpā's descendents.

Tilīgramā next asserts the shaman's superiority over the other branches of his society. After Gorāpā's daughters observe a year of mourning and pilgrimage, each marries. Years pass, and later they come to meet at a water tap. Here, too, the versions differ. In one, the elder sister decides to visit her younger sister, who is now the queen, unannounced, although the *jhākrī* warns her not to do so. The queen accuses her sister of coming to the water tap where she bathes in order to bewitch her, and has the guards throw her out:

"My little sister will come here,
I will meet her, I will wait here," said the *jhakrenī*,
and she waited at the tap.
With music, with drumming, came the chief queen,
she saw the *jhakrenī* there.
"Hey, what evil witch, what little witch are you,
why have you come to my gold tap, my silver tap...
you want to curse me, put a spell on me.
Go, attendants, remove her from here,"

said the chief queen.

Crying and weeping she left. [XI.13]

To punish the queen for these insults, the shaman "jhākrīes" and strikes the king down with terrible afflictions, which have been listed in Chapter IV.

In other versions, the sisters meet to reflect on their fates, comparing the merits and defects of their husbands. The younger sister, having become the queen, refuses to bow her head to her older sister, and insists that she receive homage instead, to which the elder sister objects.

"O little sister, I am the elder sister,
bow your head to my feet."

The younger sister said:

"I am now the chief queen.

The country is mine, the fields are mine,
bow your head to my feet, elder sister."...

"No, little sister, have you come to crush my head?

I've eaten the elder share,
your king collects fees, collects fines,
collects tithes, collects taxes,
your king is like the day, my jhākrī is like the night.

He consults in unhappy homes, consults in happy homes,
he consults when fed, consults when not fed,
my jhākrī is big."

"Make it known, have it shown,
a jhākrī's house has what norm, what form,

what do you wear, how do you fare,
I will go home with you, big sister" she said.
"No, little sister,
your king will be shamed, will be inflamed,
a *jhākrī* means being a sorcerer, being an unsorcerer,
one does not go to a *jhākrī* house," she said. [XI.14]

However, the queen comes anyway to visit her brother-in-law's house. "Examining, consulting," the shaman anticipates this, and once more asserts his control over the dangerous elements of the world by using poisonous snakes and stinging insects to magically construct a beautiful dwelling. The queen is so dazzled she faints. She moves in with the shaman, where she is fed only fresh foods, all stale foods being thrown out, is richly dressed, and even eats the offerings [*arni*] made to a bride at a wedding.

The food was dazzling, the clothing was dazzling.
Six months, a full year, she stayed.

The chief king became shamed, became inflamed. [XI.15]

This initiates the dispute between the king and the shaman, and brings us back to his departure for the underworld after he curses the king with afflictions. And when the first shaman is finally identified and returns, along with the return of the currently departed shaman, the king is finally cured. Sometimes, the entire cycle of growing *rāyā sarsu* seeds is inserted, so that the king has to wait an additional ten months. The shaman is richly rewarded at the end, and the king, addressing the shaman as "older brother" (as quoted at the end Chapter V), apportions their spheres of influence,

declaring: "the rulings of the day are mine, the rulings of the night are yours."

Clearly emphasized in both the initiation and death ceremonies is a careful and deliberately equivocal positioning of the shaman. Spatially, he finds himself literally suspended between worlds, his head in heaven, his soles in hell. Socially, his position is equally ambiguous, inferior by caste, superior by the powers of his profession. He is not only an intermediary between the world of men and to the world of spirits, a participant in both the world of life and the world of death, his kinship ties cut across those worlds. He intervenes in both, with cures and with curses: each of these ambiguities are underlined in the Tilīgramā text, which poises the shaman, at death, for a triumphant return, a welcoming as the king's acknowledged older brother, a return to the world of men in which he will continue, by balancing good together with evil, to take part.

Photo XII.I. Karṇa Vīr, Abi Lal, and myself during a performance.



XII. THE VIEW LOOKING BACK

During the first years that I lived in Jājarkoṭ, events around me all seemed extraordinary and mysterious, and I immediately saw them as puzzles that required some theory by which they could be explained. At different times, I would achieve two distinct kinds of provisional understanding. In one, prompted by ethnographies I had read, I would discern some underlying pattern, of religious or political doctrines, say, or economic relations, or environmental constraints, that would provide a foundational account by which Nepali society and various actions taken within it seemed to fit together. Each such pattern would eventually dissolve. Sometimes a new pattern gradually emerged from the old in dialectic developments. At other times I just discarded whatever theories I had formed and started over. In a completely alternate, novelistic way of understanding, Joycean epiphanies would at times momentarily connect events within an intuitively striking illumination. These patterns, too, would eventually lose their power of insight. Gradually the strategies by which I sought understanding changed, too, as the urge to find theoretical grounds of explanation diminished, along with the expectation of key insights of durable understanding. Eventually, after three or four years, most events were suffused with a thick aura of normalcy and no longer provoked efforts to make sense. In fact, their very normalcy thoroughly discouraged any such efforts. I no longer contended daily with disconcerting confusion or constant misunderstandings. Still, there

remained provocative reminders that I still had not achieved any expressible understanding of events around me in their entirety (just as I haven't elsewhere, though I no longer expect to). Through those persisting provocations, I was still fascinated by particular, intriguing issues, which I did not try to necessarily fit together with everything else into a seamless whole. Ultimately, I concentrated exclusively on these smaller, semi-isolatable and rather sensational phenomena.

Meanwhile, I continued throughout those years to make clear, non-contradictory progress in understanding spoken dialects of local Nepali. I visited more and more villages, taped songs and stories, collected proverbs and phrases. I also taped natural conversations, disputes, oracular consultations, and shamanic sessions, initially as heuristic tools to better understand the language, but gradually as the best examples of precisely those smaller parts of events that continued to interest me the most. I came to realize that going over such recordings again and again not only provided the best method for improving my understanding of spoken Nepali, but also the best method by which to better understand those phenomena which continued to interest me, or at least that aspect of them which was most accessible and most open to analysis. At the time, I had not read Garfinkel or the conversation analysts, but I was slowly approximating key features of their approach, which made me so receptive to it later.

As I now retell the story, it seems that precisely these two tendencies, to focus on smaller, more precise topics, involving

relatively conspicuous phenomena, and to know that I really knew something when it came to learning language, have coalesced into and sustained this project. As I said at the beginning, the decisive factor for selecting shamanic texts as my most intensive project so far was my discovery, after years of thinking otherwise, that these texts actually and with unremitting thoroughness made sense. Had I not been misled about this for so long, this discovery might have seemed less momentous. As it happened, the incredible detail, the elegant constructions, and the relative profundity of these oral texts continues to amaze me, particularly when I listen again to tapes that once meant nothing to me.

To write this study, I have made some effort, as a methodological device, to see daily events of Western Nepali society as "anthropologically strange," to reconnect the everyday with the extraordinary. At the same time, I cannot, nor would I wish to, entirely discard the approximation of quasi-native competence that six years of interaction somewhere necessarily confers, an ability to draw the boundaries of the everyday and the extraordinary of Nepali society in the same ways as Nepalis themselves do. In general, it is exactly this competence that permits me to write with a certain authority, to offer translations of texts and interpretations of events with some assurance that I have got things right, at least in the limited field in which I have sought meaning. This claim is not particularly remarkable: every ethnologist makes, at least implicitly, a similar claim in every ethnography, writing from some perspective unattained by native members and exceeding

theirs in scope. Ethnographies are ordinarily written for audiences supposedly wider than just the people who have been studied, and they may also be judged by standards unavailable to those who have been studied. Dubliners who happened to live through June 16th, 1904 are not the only, or necessarily the best, judges of *Ulysses*. But the claim of competence that I am making goes much further. I not only see what I have studied with the understanding that an ethnologist attains in a dozen years of studying some particular culture. Far more significantly, I also have learned to see shamanic events in the very same ways that the shamans themselves learn to see them as they study to attain professional status as shamans. Completely within their own terms, I can claim to have achieved a competence surpassing theirs, one which I can unhesitatingly submit to their own evaluations. As this study shows, shamans learn to shamanize by learning texts. By now, I have learned more shamanic texts than are known to any shaman in Nepal. Admittedly, I have memorized them imperfectly and sometimes improvise when reciting, but this is also true of every shaman that I have ever met, and such lapses would not be held against me. They would agree, too, that in the current context, any resulting imperfections do not endanger the (perfectly shamanic) goals to which I am now putting those texts, gaining status in my own community as someone who possesses specialized knowledge, making a public display of that knowledge, and trying to refashion relations in the world through that display.

Shamans evaluate each other and their pupils in terms of how many texts they have learned. In Chapter VIII, when discussing the

opening passages of public recitals, I noted that Karṇa Vīr knew and used at least five different openings, more than any other *jhākrī* in Jājarkot. In comparison, I know more than two dozen examples upon which to draw when analyzing openings. Every shaman possesses, to give a different example, a single version of Tilīgramā, the most important of recitals, used to manipulate fate for the most seriously afflicted patients, and which figures prominently in shamanic initiation and death ceremonies: I possess ten versions of that recital. In this way, I can unhesitatingly lay claim to a singular competence, to knowing more about how to be a shaman than any single *jhākrī* himself knows. I have, it seems, gone further than the ethnomethodologists, having not just uncovered native methods of constructing sense, but having actually applied those methods in order to make sense. As I concluded at the end of Chapter VII, shamans themselves are engaged in the "documentary method of interpretation" in every performance, using the directions memorized as oral texts to give meaning to the rituals which they are performing, the texts being heard as underlying patterns. At the same time, each performance also puts meaning back into the texts through interpretive illustration. The ritual of writing in which I here engage performs a similar process of sense making through interpretive emphasis, a struggle like that in which shamans engage against the inevitable indexicality and reflexivity of both language and method. A shaman's competence, then, is not simply a matter of knowing texts; it is equally a matter of knowing when and how to use them, and of knowing what they mean. The texts must be heard

by those who recite them as directions which shape and inform the course of their activities. Shamanic texts are not just descriptions of ideal performances, they impose their sense of the ideal, atemporal, divine performance on the accidental, time-bounded and thoroughly human actions of the particular shaman who invokes them. Through the texts the gods attend the ritual.

Knowing a lot of texts, knowing the contexts in which they are used, and having a firm sense of what they mean meets specifically shamanic standards of shamanic understanding. More problematic are standards by which may be judged any understanding of particular passages. Nearly always, when I listen to a tape again, I hear new aspects to it, puns I hadn't caught before, allusions to Sanskrit texts, metonyms that suddenly fit into place. Each new discovery undermines the quality of the translations that I have previously made. Paralleling these hearings, each time I re-read my own translations, I become aware of possible nuances within my choice of English words that I would not claim are present in the originals. These problems are inevitable and insurmountable; but if translation is given up as impossible, then the endeavor of ethnography must also be abandoned, for the two are inseparable. I have, at least, created a context in which my translations sound plausible, read coherently, and are internally consistent. The ethnography I construct out of them is, consequently also plausible and coherent—anything more is, I insist, beyond our abilities, for we will never find some position outside of language from which we can evaluate, with privileged certainty, remarks made within it. My goal, rather,

has been to limit the pluravocality of a particular language, to give it a voice which speaks clearly, not to achieve a certitude which I do not believe exists.

That shamanic texts are entirely oral introduces levels of indeterminacy that apparently exceed the 'ordinary' pluravocality of written texts. Mispronunciations, malapropisms, inadvertent slips of the tongue and of memory all compound the ambiguities found in written documents. In Chapter IX, I have given reasons against the likelihood of deliberate falsification, but occasional concealment by omissions and substitutions is nevertheless possible. All of these things slip through the net of my interpretations, their places most likely taken by others, ambiguities of English replacing ambiguities of Nepali. For the most part, most of these moments of extreme indeterminacy probably slip past the shamans themselves, and are also lost to their primary audiences. I have sometimes, with effort, shown to a *jhākrī* a pun in his 'own' text of which he was previously unaware. I have also introduced to them solutions of riddles in their texts, based on other texts, that they had not even heard as riddles. To me, such moments clearly affirm my theoretical preference for separating issues of intentionality from any form of mentalism. Shamanic texts can be treated like archaeological monuments—they have been freed of the subjectivity of individual authors. While I had always thought it extremely egocentric and arrogant of anthropologists to speak of their subject with genitives, as in "my people," "my village," I have uncovered a similar temptation to speak of "my texts," for they seem to have become at least as much mine

as they belong to anyone else. But to do so would seriously misrepresent their autonomy, which is one of their most enduring, monumental, characteristics. Meaning is overproduced at all points, with bottomless subtlety.

Were I to climb to the top of an initiation pole, summon blood-thirsting spirits and satisfy them by drinking blood from the neck of a living piglet, I would see some things differently than I do now. The point is, however, I would still use the same words to describe what I see, for every *jhākrī* expresses his experiences in the phrases of the texts that he has memorized. Beyond those phrases, with which and of which we can speak, one must, as the bottom line of the *Tractatus* taunts us, remain silent.

It may be asked that if I have really obtained a thorough perspective, why the interpretations that I have reached and the conclusions that I have drawn aren't far more extensive. I can only appeal to what I have called the "aura of normalcy" which shamanic texts and shamanic practices have increasingly attained the longer I examine them. For example, it seems hardly necessary to reinterpret the incident of Gorāpā's daughters killing their own father, since they do so in every version of Tilīgramā, he himself plans it that way, and the following actions all depend upon the murder. Were he not to die, the first shaman would never become firmly attached to the world of events, of kinship ties, of suffering. His death, the first human death, is historically necessary to bind the first shamans and his descendants to this particular world in which we find ourselves. That is, the event speaks clearly through its narrative consequences.

There are other perspectives, such as that of psychoanalysis, in which this event could be decontextualized and deconstructed into an alternate set of insightful symbols. A psychoanalytic perspective would not only, however, not be a shamanic one, it would introduce a language game entirely foreign to the *jhākris*, one neither readily understandable by them nor of interest to them. Whenever I have gone beyond translating texts and offered extra-textual conclusions, it has been with a certain uneasiness, and I have always tried to decide what the shamans who taught me their texts would say about what I have drawn from those texts. Imagined laughter sometimes haunts me, but for the most part, I feel that I could actually convince them of what I have concluded. Throughout, my goal has consistently been to create the text, to play the language-game, which accounts for the words and actions of *jhākris* in words that they themselves might come to accept, to have ideas that they might see as reasonable. It is, furthermore, as both a successful playing of the game, and of providing a coherent explanation of how it is played, more than an overall achievement of reasonableness, that I hope this work can be judged, for as Wittgenstein warned:

"You must bear in mind that the language-game is so to say something unpredictable. I mean: it is not based on grounds. It is not reasonable (or unreasonable).

It is there—like our life."

[On Certainty #559.]

Taking a pragmatic approach to language diminishes the temptation to choose alternate perspectives of interpretation, or to

take particular symbols too seriously. Once it is accepted that the best way of conceiving "truth" is as "warranted assertibility" (or any other provisional status) and that the history of language is the history of tropes, then there is little compelling reason to substitute one set of metaphors for another so long as that original set remains potent and still retains an ability to transform the world. Only when metaphors have grown stale and "paint their grey on grey" do they need to be overthrown for fresh ones. For both of my audiences, that of Western ethnologists and that of Nepali *jhākrīs*, the metaphors found in these texts, I believe, remain remarkably potent, still capable of reconstituting reality through their images. By refashioning the narrative, choosing between alternate passages those most striking to me, I select those metaphors that I expect to most thoroughly engage readers. The picture of man, freshly fashioned from ash and chicken shit and immediately cursed with death for mumbling incoherently, is as good an onto-theological anecdote as any with which I might replace it, in no need of a psychoanalytic, or any other, gloss.

Because shamans battle entropy, shamanic texts resist indexicality and reflexivity. They are, as I have observed, artfully constructed to reproduce their own reality in whatever context they are invoked, a production of which they are still relatively capable, despite the inevitable decay of language and the decline of relevant contexts which permit them to be effective. In discussing this issue, I once recalled Rousseau's charming remark that the first speech was all in poetry, prose only came much later. Karṇa Vīr

unhesitatingly agreed, and noted that it follows from Mahādev being the first speaker, not men. Our efforts at imitating divine poetry are feeble, but our world is still sometimes responsive to them. To be a shaman is to achieve a practical mastery over language, like a blacksmith's mastery of fire. As metal is hammered on the anvil, words are pounded on the shaman's drum, tempered until they crack to reveal a unspeakable, divine, presence. Shamanic texts must be heard also as winks and nudges (*Winke und Gebärden*), as provisional instruments for grasping at things which they can never entirely contain or express, not as definitive, confrontational concepts.

Shamanic recitals never focus on the mundanely organic symptoms of illness, but always address the fundamental ontological conditions that allow the possibility of illness. Attempting to both establish and to manipulate *ṛta*—cosmic order—shamans do not simply uphold the seamlessness of the natural and the supernatural, the extravagant and the prosaic, the ordinary and the extraordinary. They also undertake to refashion those seams, to tighten the relations that have loosened into an unrelenting daily drudgery of hopelessness. Shamans, like Prometheus, return from their journeys with a gift of hope. Disorder in the world is countered through orderliness in language. Each shamanic performance affirms that reality truly is socially constructed through the medium of language, and consequently, only through language can one have any genuine effect on the world. In *The Twilight of the Idols*, Nietzsche voiced his fear that a belief in god remains inevitable, so long as we still believe in grammar. Shamans affirm the ties of grammar and

divinity fearlessly, with faith that meaning and hope are, finally, synonyms. Though knowing that his knowledge is incomplete, that he is unable to fully control all the forces that need controlled, the shaman undertakes, through language, to repair and refashion the cosmos. Through a practically endless series of inversions, he tries to return time to timelessness, corruption to original innocence.

Allusions to Hegel, Rousseau, Heidegger, and Nietzsche in just the preceding two paragraphs reopen my claim to leave philosophy to one side. What has appealed to me most about neo-pragmatism is Rorty's characterization of philosophy as "just another literary genre," one which instructs us about alternate ways of seeing the world exactly as a good poem or a good novel—or a good shamanic recital—instructs us. For Rorty, philosophy is all about keeping going an interesting conversation, of seeing "human beings as generators of new descriptions rather than beings one hopes to be able to describe accurately" [1979:378]. That is what I see this work, too, as undertaking: offering to an audience previously unaware of them new ways of describing some of us, those who see their role as making the "rulings of the night," of taking a stand against the ongoing deterioration of the world. If, perhaps, through this description, we also get a new glimpse of ourselves, of our struggle against the limits of death, disease and decay that bound our lives, and of the simultaneous moments of transcendent sublimity for which we can nevertheless strive, then my text too has become a shamanic one. As such, my goal, then, can also be seen, through another of its unending revisions, less as one of making sense of

lives in Nepal, so much as coming to terms with our own, my own,
life. Provisional goals, provisional answers: a continuing
conversation.

APPENDIX I: CORPUS INSCRIPTORUM

Recognizing the provisional nature of all translation and wishing to encourage the reinterpretation of this work by others, I provide here the original Nepali of each quote from, or paraphrase of, an oral text cited in this work. I realize that without the entire set of complete recitals, and without the critical apparatus that I have developed with the assistance of *jhākris* and other native speakers in Jājarkoṭ, this selection will permit only limited possibilities of reinterpretation. However, this material is fairly representative and includes, at least, those passages that I have found most interesting. I have also frequently included here additional lines that further contextualize the passages which I choose to quote, and sometimes alternate versions from other texts as well. It provides a beginning, however insufficient, until it is possible to more completely fulfil my promise to the *jhākris* and bring out a complete edition of the texts. Extensive notes on particular words can be found in Maskarinec [1986]. Since then, I have come to realize that a thorough explanation of context is even more critical than are extensive glosses if these texts are to be understood and interpreted, with the present work consequently refocused in that direction.

Passages are sequentially numbered, so that I.1 is the first passage of Chapter I, etc.

I.1. Gumāne, Manutyālāi Sṛṣṭi Garnako Melā. (see V.1 for the passage that precedes this):

बोल मन्जुत्या भने, हाँ हाँ हुँ हुँ गज्यो,
मरि गयाइ भनी महादेवले सराप दिए ।

III.1. Man Dev, Nāujā Ghunāmī:

मनुखेको जातले,
भाँक्री खोज गर्छ, जैशी खोज गर्छ,
को र होला जान्ने, को र होला सुन्ने,
ज्ञान मर्न लाग्यो, तदा भन्न लाग्छ ।
उत्तर खण्ड जामा, चतुर मुखे बर्मा,
चारै बेद पढ्ने, तीनै छन नी जान्ने,
तीनै छन नी सुन्ने, उकाई बोलाई लियो,
चतुर मुखे जाले, सेती बेद लिए,
काली बेद लिए, गरुल बेद लिए,
काली चौबर लिए, सेती चौबर लिए,
गंगा जमुनाले, अमृतैको पानी,
हनाउदैमा आए, खनाउदैमा आए,
चतुर मुखे जा त ।
आयो चतुर मुखे, अब खन्छ भनी,
नवै ग्रह जाले, सातै काल जा ले,
मनुखेको जातलाई, तदा छोडीकन,
रुखमा चढी हेर्छ ।
मनुखेको जात त, ठाडो उठी बस्यो ।

राहु रागन छैन, जरो पैदा छैन,
 त्यो सो सो डल डल छैन, मनुखेको जात त,
 चतुर मुखे जा ले,
 सेती बेद जाले, धुलो पूर्ण लागे,
 काली बेद जाले, कालै तार्न लागे,
 गौरी बेद जाले, ग्रह तार्न लागे,
 काली बेद जाले, कालै तार्न लागे,
 गौरी बेद जाले, ग्रह तार्न लागे,
 काली चौबर, सेती चौबर, गौडा तार्न लागे ।
 गंगा जमुनाले, अमृतैको पानी, हम्की यो जगाए,
 स्याँची यो जगाए ।
 मनुखेको जातलाई, राहु रागन छैन,
 जरो पैदा छैन, सो सो डल डल छैन,
 कोखी खानु छैन, मुटु खानु छैन ।
 चतुर मुखे बर्मा, उत्तर खण्ड गए ।
 सातै काल जाले, नवै ग्रह जाले,
 चतुर मुखे जाले, मनुखेको जातलाई,
 आलै मात्र टाडीस्, कालै यो उचालीस् ।
 सातै काल गरे, नवै ग्रह गरे,
 मनुखेको जात त, सो सो डल डल भयो,
 राहु रागन भयो, जरा पैदा भयो,
 कोखी खान लाग्छ, मुटु खान लाग्छ ।
 फेरी भयो उस्तै, अफ अफ पनि,

III.2. Man Dev, Nāujā Ghunāmī (continues from the previous passage without a break):

मनुखेको जातले,
को र होला जान्ने, को र होला सुन्ने,
मनुखेको जातले, भाँक्री खोज गर्छ, जैशी खोज गर्छ ।
अभ्र अभ्र पनि,
को र होला जान्ने, को र होला सुन्ने ।
तकबाछी गाँउमा, आफै उब्जेको, आफै निब्जेको,
मैता धामी छन नी, ताँबै ढयाङ्गी हुने,
काठै गजी हुने, काँसै घण्ट हुने ।
कालु जैशी छन, भर्सा पण्डित छन नी ।
तिनै छन नी जान्ने, डकाई बोलाई लिए ।
मैता धामी जाले,
नवै सैया थाप्यो, नवै गरम थाप्यो ।
सुनै मचियामा, रुपै थरकीमा,
दिवै खेरन लाग्छ, धामै खेरन लाग्छ ।
कालु जैशी जाले, माथी स्वर्गे कोर्छ,
तल धर्ती कोर्छ, दोलौटो पो कोर्छ ।
भर्सा पण्डित जाले, बाह्र पुस्तक भित्र,
बेलो पात्रो हेर्छ, मुले पात्रो हेर्छ, ।
देवले यो भन्दैनन्, धामले यो भन्दैनन्,
काक्सी यो भन्दैनन्, बोक्सी यो भन्दैनन्,
बायु यो भन्दैनन्, बडाल यो भन्दैनन्,
अशान मशान पनि, तथा यो भन्दैनन्,
साते काल पनि, नवै ग्रह पनि,

तदा यो भन्दैनन्, । भागी नासी गए ।
मनुखेको जात त, सो सो डल डल छ नी,
राहु रागन छ नी, जरो पैदा छ नी ।

III.3. Gumāne, Nau Bainīkā Melā:

हामीलाई मन्जुत्याको दशग्रह हेर्ने हुँ
दिन लगन हेर्ने हु, घडी पला हेर्ने हुँ
ग्रह लक्षण हेर्ने हुँ

III.4. Karṇa Vīr, Gauḍā Tāḍā Garāune Melā:

कालु जैशी ल्याया ।
मच्या पात्रो हेच्या, बारै लगन हेच्या,
धुल धुल्यौटा हेच्या, हात जाने लडाई भडाई
व्याह लगन घर लगन दिन्या भया ।

III.5. Karṇa Vīr, Gauḍā Tāḍā Garāune Melā (see also III.7 and VI.1-3):

भर्षा पंडित ज्ञान गच्या, ध्यान गच्या,
कथा लगाउन्या, सप्ताह लगाउन्या,
सत्य नारायण पूजा दिन्या भया,
रोग दोख चिन्या भैन भन्या ।

III.6. Man Dev, Nāujā Ghunāmī follows III. 2 without a break):

अभ्र अभ्र पनि,
को र होला जान्ने, को र होला सुन्ने,
भाँक्री खोज गर्छ, जैशी खोज गर्छ,
मनुखेको जातले ।
ताली भोट मुनी, हाँबा साँबा मुनी,
कतु चौवरैमा,
आफै यो मल जाक, आफै निन्द्र जाक,
ताँबे ढ्यङ्कर हुने, सिसे गजी हुने,
रम्मा पुरुचन नी ।
तिनै छन नी जान्ने, तिनै छन नी सुन्ने ।
उकाई बोलाई लिए ।
रम्मा पुरुचनलाई, बेत ढण्डा समाई,
रम्मा पुरुचन त, तदा योमा आए ।
उभो द्याक द्याक मान्यो, उँधो द्याक द्याक मान्यो,
नवै सैया थाप्यो नवै गरम थाप्यो, महा सैया थाप्यो,
दियो बत्ती बाल्यो, धूव ध्वंकार गन्यो,
सुनै मचियामा, रुपै थर्किमा,
दिवै खेर्न लाग्यो, धामै खेर्न लाग्यो,
रम्मा पुरुचनले ।
देउले भन्न लाग्यो, धामै भन्न लाग्यो,
अशान छल भन्यो, मशान छल भन्यो,
सातै काल भन्छ, नवै ग्रह भन्छ ।
नौजा घुनामीको, नौ जा जनानीको,
छल पर्न गयो, कल पर्न गयो,

रानी गाँउ जामा ह, माने चौवरैमा
अचम जुझा सेरको, नवै बैनी जाको
तिनकै थाण भेटे, तिन्कै बाण भेटे,
देउले भनी दियो, धामले भनी दियो ।

III.7. Karṇa Vīr, Gauḍā Tāḍā Garāune Melā:

ताराभोट गया मैतु धामी ल्याया ।
पाठी लङ्गया पाठी हाल्या,
सोर टिला आगत फाल्या,
एकै मुठी इन्द्रज्यूलाई दिया,
एकै मुठी बासुदेउलाई दिया,
खड्का टार्न लाग्या, पदका टार्न लाग्या,
रोग चिन्या भैन, दोख चिन्या भैन ।

III.8. Gumāne's Version in prose of the story of Lāṭā Mairam and Basu Birbal:

देउता कहाँ छन, हामी मान्छौ मष्टाको पूजा गछौ अब
क्या गर्नु पच्यो भने र भाँक्री सँग राम्रो सँग कुरा गच्यो भने
मष्टा देउता कावा काँडा बिजूली डाँडामा छन । सय मूरी सेरो
खेत र घण्ट बनाई दिनु पच्यो सबै जनताले मान्ने ओदेश गरि
दिनु पच्यो भन्दा स्व अनुसार को बन्दो वस्त मिलाई दिने राजा
बाट हुकुम हुने साथ महारानीको जिउ हलुका हुन गई युव राज
को जन्म हुन आएछ ।

यसपछि निज भौँक्री बिजुल डौँडामा जाँदा मष्टा देउता
प्रसन्न भइ तिमि भौँक्रीले मेरो राम्रो बन्दो वस्त मिलाउने
काममा मदत गरेकाले तिमिले धन्यवाद छ भनि पिठ्यूमा
हातले छाप लगाई भौँक्री भई काम गर्नु सबैको भलो गर्नु भनि
अशिर्वाद दिई पठाएछन ।

III.9. Karṇa Vīr, Gauḍā Tāḍā Garāune Melā:

ज्ञान गन्या, ध्यान गन्या,
अर्घीया पकीया गन्या,
आख गन्या पारख गन्या,

IV.1. Karṇa Vīr, Purānko Dhūr:

अब नेपालका महाराजाधिराजको,
कोठामा चेली जाँदा, धामीभौँक्री
सबै धेरै गरेछन, तर कसैको ठाँउ लागेन ।
त्यसपछि, धामीभौँक्री, जैशी,
सबै चोर हुने रहेछन, जाली हुने रहेछन,
राजाले भनेर तिनीलाई लिदै मास्तै गरेछन ।

IV.2. Karṇa Vīr, Nau Bainīkā Melā. Included in V.14.

IV.3. Man Dev, Gauḍā Khetī:

दियो बत्ती बाल्यो, धूप धंकार हाल्यो,

मुने मचिया थाप्यो, रुपै थकीं थाप्यो ।
स्याउला रम्मा जाले,
देवै खेर्न लाग्यो, धामै खेर्न लाग्यो,
नवै धूवाँ खेच्यो, बाइसै बराङ्ग खेच्यो ।
देवले भन्न लाग्यो, धामै भन्न लाग्यो,
गले राजा जालाई, गले रानी जालाई ।

IV.4. Dhāmī Anarup's version of Maṣṭa's history, told in prose:

देउता आयो ।
देउता आउदा हरर काँधे काँधमा आएर राजालाई समात्यो
र गदिमा लियो ।

IV.5. Karṇa Vīr, Tilīgramā:

रण कोश गया, भुन कोश गया ।
फुको धागा छोज्या, फुको धागा बाट
सातै तला मान्दम भज्या, तिलीग्रमा भज्या ।

IV.6. Story told of the Aulrijā mukhiyā:

तीन दिनमा त्यँही पुगोछन । त्यहाँ पुग्न तीन दिन लाग्ने
तर मुखिया औलरिजामै थिए । सुदारगाँउ जाँदा पहिले दिन मुसे,
मुसेबाट आधा र आधा बाट सुदारगाँउ पुगिन्थ्यो । मुखिया
नआउने भए भने ठानेर सुदार गाँउको धामी आड नुहाउन
गएछ । मुखिया औलरिजाबाट उठेछन । हिडेर जान तीन दिन

लाग्ने भए पनि सुदारगाँउको धामी जुहाएर आई तमाख खान
लागेको बेला उनी टपक्क त्यहाँ पुगेछन ।

IV.7. See IX.10 (Abi Lal's masān jagāune jap).

IV.8. Karṇa Vīr, Nau Bainīkā Melā. Included in V.14.

IV.9. Story told by the Maṣṭa dhāmī, Anurup:

काँवाको देउता चल्दाखेरी उ गर, तो बिजुल्या होई भन्या
पछि चेत गरिकन आँ बाह भाईका बाह बाटा हुन्छ । ति बाटा
मध्यको आफ्नो बाटो क्या हो । दाजि ढडारको बाटो क्या हो ।
गुरुको बाटो क्या हो । कौवाको बाटो क्या हो । थार्पाको बाटो
क्या हो । तेरो बाटो क्या हो । बाटो चिनिकन आँ । बाटो
नचिन्या पछि ताँलाई लुवाको लाट्टी तालुमाट हानेर पैतलो
निस्कन्छ भनिगन देउताले भन्या । भन्दाकेरी मेरो अँडमा देउता
चली आफ्नो बाटो चिनेर गदिमा गयो । मैले पत्याँए भाई
बिजुल्या तोई होई भन्या । तो तेरो पाली पत्या भन्यो । चार
दाना अक्षिता दियो ।

IV.10. Man Dev, Naujā Ghunāmī:

हाँडा भाँडा गराई,
रिठा माला लाएर, हाडै माला लाएर,
गुरै माला लाएर, कचुर माला लाएर,
साँभै सम्भे बेला, सम्म घम्म रातमा,

सुनौलीको बेला,
 सिप्ये पाइलो नाँचदै, बिप्ये पाइलो नाँचदै,
 छ है दुवा भञ्यो, मसान घाटमा भञ्यो,
 भम्पा कचुर जालाई, एकै चिम्टी टोकी,
 उत्तर करे फूक्यो ।
 एकै चिम्टी टोकी, दक्षिण करे फूक्यो ।
 एकै चिम्टी टोकी, पष्चिम करे फूक्यो ।
 एकै चिम्टी टोकी, पूब दिशा फूक्यो ।
 एकै चिम्टी टोकी, अकाशैमा फूक्यो ।
 एकै चिम्टी टोकी, पतालैमा फूक्यो ।
 छ है दुवा जामा, मसान घाट जामा,
 उल्टै पाइलो नाच्छ, बिल्टे पाइलो नाच्छ ।
 नवै बैनी जाको, आचम सेराकी छोरी,
 कोखी चस्म गञ्यो, कोखी तस्म गञ्यो,
 जियान थर कियो ।
 जेठी हाम्रो दिदी,
 काकू कबरेले, काकू मसानेले,
 हाका हाका भाका, ताका ताका भाका ।
 के र भेद गञ्यो, के र छेद गञ्यो,
 तदा भन्न लागिन् ।
 काकू रम्माचन त, तदा योमा नाँचदै,
 छवै मसान घाट बाट,
 बिपे पाइलो नाँचदै, भम्पा कचुर टोकदै,
 तदा योमा आयो ।

IV.11. Man Dev, Gauḍā Khetī:

काक्सी न खुटाँउने, बोक्सी न खुटाँउने,
बायु न खुटाँउने, बतास न खुटाँउने,
क्या को भाँक्री होलास, क्या को धामी होलास,
पेचै लाएर दिन्छ, तेचै लाएर दिन्छ ।
स्याउला रम्मा जा लाई, राग भंग भएर त,
राजै रौटयालालाई,
खरै बदिया भिकी, आखै पोची दिए ।
ए मा भोल्टाली पो, राजै रौटयालालाई,
दावै कोखी कोच्यो, बावै कोखी कोच्यो ।
तारे हाँको डाली, मारे हाँको डाली,
कानै कोची दियो, राजै रौटयालालाई ।
कानै सुन्नै भइन, आँखे देखने भइन,
कोखी खान लाग्यो, मुटु खान लाग्यो ।
ए राजै रौटयाला त, रन्द मन्द भयो ।
सो सो डल डल भयो, राहु रागन भयो ।
स्याउला रम्मा जा त, भागी नासी गयो ।

IV.12. Gumāne, Tilīgramā:

भाँक्री लाग्यो, हान दिया, जरम बाजीलाई,
सिजापति राजालाई गाभ खेलाई दिया ।
गादी निस्पली भया, राज्या निस्पली भया,
दुणिया निस्पली, माल अदालद सब बन्दा ।
नाक नकसारो हान दिया,

कानसारो, पेटसारो हान दिया,
हाड्यां बाइ टोक दिया,
तिलीग्रमा गया, पसिगो ।

IV.13. Selection from Maṣṭa's Pareli:

है मेरो भाई हो नि,
मेरो र ठेगाना, केही पनि छैन,
क्या गर्ने होला नि, भनी यो हाल्यो नि,
यो मेरो खेतीको, चौतारो फोकटी,
हातैमा नाच्यो नि, पसङ्गो नायकैया,
नाथ राज नायकैको,
पसङ्गो पुत्रैन, समाति हाल्यो नि,
है मेरा भाई हो नि, बाहे र बर्षेमा,
पाइ पनि हाल्यो नि, त्यो किन भएछ,
यो मेरा आकाश, यो धामैमा पाउनैलाई खुवाउने,
यो मेरा गुठीको, ठेगाना हाल्यो नि,

V.1. Gumāne, Manutyāīai Srṣṭi Garnako Melā:

हात जोडया, पाव जोडया,
शिर जोडया, गोडा जोडया,
लौ पूरा सास हालौ भनेर
पूरा सास हाल्या, रगत वंश छोडया ।
लौ अब छैटै रातमा, खोज मन्जुत्या,
तेरो भाग भनेर भाबीले

जर्म दिन कर्म फल लेखे ।
महादेवले सेता चौरु शिरानमा हौक्या,
काला चौरु गोच्यानमा हौक्या,
वज्रठीङ्गाले सात चवक मारदा
बोल मन्जुतै भने, हाँ हाँ हुँ हुँ गच्या ।
मरी गयाई भनी महादेवले सराप दिया ।

This version is from 1983. In 1989, Gumāne delivered the final two lines as:

बोल मन्जुत्या भन्दाखेरीमा
हाँ गर्न लाग्यो, हुँ गर्न लाग्यो,
मरि गयाइ भनी सराप दिए ।

This is an extreme case of variation, even for Gumāne, whose texts tend to be the least structured of any of the shamans with whom I worked, and who was only shaman who could recount in conversational prose the events of the recitals. It is noteworthy, though, that the changes have no effect whatsoever on the sense of the passage.

V.2. Karṇa Vīr, Graha Danko Melā:

अब रहेयो मन्जुत्याको जात ।
मन्जुत्याको जात आभै मारी दिया ।
अती बरी अटाउने भैन खटाउने भैन
जलथल मान्दम भैगो ।
मन्जुत्याको जात छलवादी गरौला ।

V.3. Man Dev, Naujā Ghunamī:

मनु सिर्जाई गए, मनु उब्जाई गए ।
मनुखेको जात त, किमले सरा बरी,
यता टयाँऊ टयाँऊ गर्छन, उता टयाँऊ टयाँऊ गर्छन,
सिता अपसाराको, फूलबारी पनि,
काँक्रीको भयाल, छियाँलीमा दिए ।
मनुखेको जातले, सिता अपसाराको,
काँक्रीको भयाल, छियाँलीमा लियो ।
मनुखेको जात त, थूयाँ थूयाँ भनिन्,
सत्य हाली दिए, सराप हाली दिए,
सिता अपसाराले, मनुखेको जातलाई,
काल भन्नु छैन, बिकाल भन्नु छैन,
बुडो भन्नु छैन, बालो भन्नु छैन,
छर छर भन्नु छैन, भरभर भन्नु छैन,
काल मृत्यू आए, बिकाल मृत्यू बासे,
मनुखेको जात त, तदा भन्न लागिन् ।

V.4. Gumāne, Manutyālāi Sṛṣṭi Garnako Melā, with passage that precedes it also included:

सिता पार्वता ठारी गाढी पारीन्,
दोलामे चुलठी बाटीन्, काँक्रीका भालमा गइन् ।
फूल टिपेर माथ लगाइन्, छियाँ टिपेर मुखमा हालिन्,
अतर्ताल्या काँक्री टिपीन्, आँसी बिच्या,

सातु बिच्या काँक्री टिपीन्,
 पियाल छायाको काँक्री टिपीन्,
 पियाल पूरा काँक्री टिपीन्,
 खर्च्याकौ टिपीन्, ल्याइन् ।
 लौ महादेव, घाम घमायौ, पानी पिसायौ,
 लौ, काँक्री खाऊ भनेर दिइन् ।
 हामी काँक्री खा दाउ,
 तिमिले फुल टिपेर माथ लगायाकिछौ,
 गर्व गल्ने भयो ।
 छियाँ टिपेर मुखमा हाल्याइछौ, बालक मर्ने भयो ।
 अतर्ताल्या काँक्री टिपेछौ, तीन, दुई बर्षो मर्ने भयो ।
 सातु बिच्या काँक्री टिपेछौ, तन्नेरी मर्ने भयो ।
 पियाल छायाको काँक्री टिपेछौ,
 छौरीसे बतीसे मर्ने भयो ।
 पियाल पूरा काँक्री टिपेछौ, अदबैशे मर्ने भयो ।
 खर्च्याकौ पाउ काँक्री टिपेछौ, बुदो भइ मर्ने भयो ।

V.5. Karṇa Vīr, Tilīgramā:

मेरी रानी रंगाइ दिएछ, बंगाइ दिएछ,
 जाऊ न जोलेउ,
 त्यै लट्याका तातो मुटु ल्याऊ र खान्छु,
 जाँता हाली पिस, ढिकी हाली कुट,
 डारा हाली ओसाई भन्न लाग्या ।

V.6. Gumāne. Tilīgramā. Follows V.17:

नौ मुरी छाँगो, नौ कोरी कपडा,
नौ लाख रुपैया भेटी लिएर
भ्रँक्री आफ्ना घरमा आया ।
भ्रँक्रेनीले भनीन् कि
ओ हो त्यो महाराजले असबजर दिया,
तिमी सुखी घरमा चल्लु पर्ला,
दःखी घरमा चल्लु पर्ला,
हुने घरमा चल्लु पर्ला, नहुने घरमा चल्लु पर्ला,
दुणियाले यति कुरा दिन सक्दैन,
एक रुपैया भेटी राख, एउटै बल्ल राख,
एउटै मुरी छाँगो राख, एउटै मुरी अक्षिता राख,
एकै कोरी कपडा राख, अरु सब फिर्ता दे,
दिनै निसाफ राजाको भया,
राती निसाफ तिम्रो भया, लौ, टीकै कुरा भया,
राती निसाफ तिमी गर्नु पर्छ,
दिने निसाफ राजा गर्नु पाउछ,
भ्रँक्रेनीले सबै कुरा भन्दिन् ।
साचा वाचा भया ।

V.7. Karṇa Vīr, Dāijoko Melā:

नवै जून नवै बेलको
रातको दिनै भया दिनको दिनै भया ।
हरं हरं भया, धरं धरं भया,

सुका वृक्ष बल्लन लाग्या, काँचा वृक्ष जल्लन लाग्या,
साउने मूल सुकि गया, बादा मूल भङ्ग भया,
सति बटी गंगा छाल हान,
सुवा नदी सुक्न लाग्या,
मन्जुत्याको माजो जात
मसुराको छाइल बस्न लाग्या ।
जिमी बल्लन लाग्या, भूमी बल्लन लाग्या ।

V.8. Karṇa Vīr, Daijoko Mela, follows immediately V.7:

दे बुहारीयौ अलक्षणै गर भन्या ।
क्या अलक्षण गरौ समुरा भनिन् ।
तिम्रा पुरखालाई तुकारी बोल भन्या ।
आफ्ना पुरखालाई कसो गरि तुकारौ ।
बोल भन्या ।
एकै जून एकै बेल उडया ।
सन्ज्या आउने प्रबासीलाई
बास छैन भन भन्या ।
एकै जून एकै बेल उडया ।
धेला बस्न्या कुकुर लातीले हान बुहारी ।
एकै जून एकै बेल उडया ।
कपाल छाति वरि रिता गर,
एकै जून एकै बेल उडया ।
सुवा काटले उल्टा केश फटकार बुहारी ।
एकै जून एकै बेल उडया ।
भाडाले भाडा बजाऊ भन्या ।

एकै जून एकै बेल उडया ।
 धब्रे गोडाले दाइनै गोडा कोच्या बुहारी ।
 एकै जून एकै बेल उडया ।
 बार माथी थुक बुहारी ।
 एकै जून एकै बेल उडया ।
 आठै जून उडया आठै बेल उडया
 एकै जून रहयो एकै बेल रहयो ।
 पूर्ब उदाउन्या भया, पसिम अस्ताउन्या भया,
 रातै पन्या भया, घोडै भयाउने भया,
 जिमी ओसाइ गया, भूमी ओसाइ गया ।
 साउने मूल पग्री गया, बाद मूल हर्न लाग्या,
 सत्ती बठी गंगा छाल हान्न लाग्या ।
 मन्जुत्याको जात आड रात दिया,
 बाहाँ बल तिघ्रा मासी, पून पुरुष हाल्या,
 अमर चण्डी ठोक्या, वेत दण्डी ठोक्या,
 काला चौउर फाच्या, सेती चौउर फाच्या,
 मन्जुत्याको जात दिनको उभै भया,
 मासको उभै भया ।
 गुवाउरीका काल गौडा गोच्यानैमा साच्या ।
 गोच्यानैमा काल गौडा धेल ठानीमा साच्या ।
 धेल ठानीमा काल गौडा आगन छेउती साच्या ।
 आगन छेउती काल गौडा,
 हरि गौडा बर्मा दुवा सार्न लाग्या ।
 हामी क्या खाएर जाउ, क्या लाएर जाउ
 भन्न लाग्या कालै गौडा जुम काल जुम दूतले ।
 तिमिलार्ई भोग दिन्छु मन्जुत्याको सट्टा ।

थारी गाई गाल्या बल्ल राँगा मासैले
 भोग दिछु भन्न लाग्या ।
 भैसी आमै गौडा जानु पच्या
 जुम कालको भोग जानु पच्या भन्या !
 मेरो आटै छैन मेरो भोग छैन
 मेरो राङ्गो देबी मौला दिउला
 म जाने छैन भनीन् ।
 गाई आमै गौडा जानु पच्या
 जुम कालको भोग जानु पच्या भन्या ।
 मेरो आटै छैन मेरो भोग छैन
 मेरो दूधदार नाराणलाई शुद्ध
 गौड गोबर मन्जुत्याले लार्दा पच्या शुद्ध पच्या
 मेरो बल्ल मन्जुत्यालाई जोत्ने भने पाल्या दिनैछु ।
 भेडी आमै गौडा जाऊ भन्या ।
 भेडी आमाले, मेरो आटै छैन मेरो भोग छैन
 मेरो साद् बराह मौला दिउला भनीन्
 मन्जुत्याको सट्टा जाने छैन भनिन् ।
 छेकरी आमै गौडा जानु पच्या भन्या ।
 मेरो भोग देबी थाना दिउला
 ठूलो काममा जाउला
 सानो काममा जाने छैन भनीन् ।
 ठूलो काममा पच्या जानु पच्या, छेकरी आमै ।
 मेरो मांस भोग्ने भया जाउला
 नत्र जाने छैन भनिन् ।
 आधी आड कान खुरि
 हरि गौडा दिउला

आधी आड घर गोसाँले खाला
 आधी आड उठने बस्ने खाला
 ठाउकी खुट्टी ताराताली भॉक्री जुम्रातम लिउला भन्या ।
 छेकरी आमा हातै गाजै टार्न लाग्या
 गौडा टार्न लाग्या ।
 गुवाउरीका काल गौडा गोच्यानैमा साच्या ।
 गोच्यानैमा काल गौडा धेल ठानीमा साच्या ।
 धेल ठानीमा काल गौडा, जुम काल जुम दूत,
 आगन छेउती साच्या ।
 आगन छेउती काल गौडा, जुम काल जुम दूत,
 रानी सागर मोरा घाट चियान बगर
 बर्मा दुवा सच्या ।

V.9. Karṇa VTr, Nyāulo Dhūr:

रुदै मर्दे गैगई, सत ढोल्न लाग्या, सराप ढोल्न लाग्या ।
 चरी भेष बासै नपाया,
 ठाउ नपाया, मेरो कोली बास लिन आयाई ।
 हात्ती सार जन्मन लियाई, दन्त हात्ती भयाई,
 किमीलाले खाई, मारी गयाई, पुत ।
 मेरो कोली जन्मन लिन आयाई ।
 मेरे पुत, घोडी तबेला बास लियाई,
 धौले घोडो जर्म्याई, उकुची मुकुची मारदा
 मुट्टु फुटि जायाइ,
 मेरो कोली बास लिन आयाई ।
 भैसी गोठ जन्मन लियाई, भलो राँगो जर्म्याई,

देवी मौला चढ्याई,
 मेरो कोली बास लिन आयाई ।
 गाई गोठ जन्मन लियाई, भलो बहर भयाई,
 मतमताउन लाग्या, किला परि गयाई,
 मेरो कोली जन्मन लिन आयाई ।
 भेडी खोर जन्मन लियाई, भलो सार जम्प्याई,
 बराह मौला चढ्याई,
 मेरो कोली बास लिन आयाई ।
 छेकरी खोर जन्मन लियाई, भलो बोको जम्प्याई,
 देवी मौला चढ्याई,
 मेरो कोली जन्मन लिन आयाई ।
 बर्जमुखा कोखी जन्मन लियाई,
 भलो सुँगुर जम्प्याई, भौँक्री थाना चढ्याई,
 मेरो कोली जन्मन लिन आयाई ।
 चल्ला खोर जन्मन लियाई, भलो पहरी जम्प्याई,
 बेला कुबेला मज्याई,
 मेरो कोली जन्मन लिन आयाई ।
 सत ढोली, सराप ढोली, आमा सत्कलैले ।
 हिज्या बाटो पाउने छैन, माग्या भिक पाउने छैन,
 मेरो कोली जन्मन आयाई भन्न लाग्या ।
 अकाश उडन जालाई, इन्द्रज्यूको चौकी,
 पताल बुडन जालाई, बासुदेउको चौकी,
 पूर्ब दिशा जालाई, भैरबनाथ चौकी,
 दक्षिण दिशा जालाई, गोरखनाथ चौकी,
 पसिम दिशा जालाई, रतननाथ चौकी,
 उत्तर दिशा जालाई, चन्दननाथ चौकी,

चारै दिशा जालाई, चारै नाथ चौकी,
अकाश उडन जालाई, पैतालो छ हात,
पाताल बुडन जालाई, टुपी छ हात,
सत ढोली, सराप ढोली, आमाले ।
मेरो कोली जन्मन लिन आयाई, आमा सत्कलैले ।

V.10. Karṇa Vīr, Nyāulo Dhūr:

मन नडोलाऊ, चित नडोलाऊ,
तेरो आमा कोली भौती जुराउछ,
बाबु कोली भौती जुराउछ,
तेरो सुन चाँदी भौती जुराउछ,
तेरो गृह जिमी जग्गा भौती जुराउछ,
दे आमा कोली बास गन्याई,
कहाँ जालाई, पुत,
हिन्या बाटो पाउन्या छैनई, मागे भिक पाउन्या छैनई,
तेरो मनचित कासा थाल राख्याई, कासा बटुकी,
आमा कोली राख्याई, बाबु कोली राख्याई,
तेरो मनचित अन्तर नडोलाई, अन्तर नलियाई,
गृह नछोडाई, आफ्नो घर नछोडाई ।

V.11. Karṇa Vīr, Kadum ra Padumkā Melā:

जेठी बैनी कदुम, कान्छी बैनी पदुम, दुई बैनी ।
जेठी बैनी कदुमले म त भगवानको ध्यान गर्छु,
पुत्र बरदान माग्छु ।

कान्छी बैनी पदुमले म धनै खान्छु, धनै लाँउछु,
धनै आडनु, धनै ओछयान, धनै ओछयान छ,
म पूरे छ, म तपस पनि गर्न गर्देन,
पुत्र बरदान माग्ने गर्देन ।

V.12. Karṇa Vīr, Sati Barbāko Melā:

सती बर्बाले म त मान्दम रक्षा, दिन रक्षा,
बन राह मान्या, हंश मान्या, वंश मान्या,
भुत प्रेत, कंश वंश, डंकी,
काली कुर्मी नाग, पृथ्वी नाग,
माउ नाग मास्दै जान्छु, बन जान्छु भन्न लाग्या ।
असी मनको लुवा मही चाल्न लाग्या,
बन राह मादै, कंश वंश मादै, छेदी भेदी मादै,
बन पस्न लाग्या ।
पहर कंकर पिस्दै मैदान पादै गया ।
काली कुमी नाग, वासुकी नाग,
तुलसी नाग, माउ नाग,
रुँ नै नाग, दुधै नाग मास्दै गया ।
बन राह, राह कंश वंश मादै गया,
उल्टी गंगा फर्काउदै सती बर्बा गया ।

V.13. Karṇa Vīr, Gorāpā ra Serāpākā Melā:

काटी दिन्छौं, मारी दिन्छौं, भन्या ।
रुदेउ छोरा, अति नगर, जिवै जाला,

हात पुग्दो हाप्रा भया, ट्याडा पुग्दो तिम्रा भया ।
 तिम्रा हाप्रा देखु नहाई, छोरा भेटु नहाई,
 तिम्रा हाप्रा माभै बार भया,
 चेत्या बार भया, काठ्या बार भया,
 आजदेखी तिमी हामी जुन बेल भयो,
 भेटु नहोस, देखु नहोस,
 सत ढोल्या, सराप ढोल्या, हिया ताल खोल्या ।
 माभ बुदो ताल पर्न गया, माभ गंगामा पर्न गया,
 अरिगाल बाण रुख लाग्न गया,
 भेरी बाण पहरा लाग्न गया,
 लिच्या ताच्या सर्प शिला खागर पस्न गया,
 घोरल पाठी राता पहर पस्न गया,
 डाफ्या पाटन छार्काभोटमा लाग्न गया,
 मौरी बाण घर पस्न गया,
 फिम्री बाण पात लाग्न गया,
 भालु भलुनी बाग बगरी, शिला खागर पस्न गया,
 फट्के पाठा खैच्यान पाखा पस्न गया,
 गल्ल्या वीर छड्के वीर वारेजताकामा लाग्न गया ।
 गोरापाका छोराले क्या खान्या थिया, बाबै,
 क्या लाउन्या थिया भन्या ।
 कोही छोरा जल पसी जल बराह भया,
 डारा पसी इड्याल ठिड्याल भया,
 गेल पसी भौंकी भया,
 छहरा पसी भुत भया, मूल पसी देउराली भया,
 खोला पसी बाई भया, अंग पसी राइ भया ।

भिरगाँ रन्को खान लागिन्, माखा भन्को खान लागिन् ।
लाटा पारान ध्यापा रंजन
राडीगाँऊको कोखमा जन्म्या,
कान्छै कान्छौ लाच्या भाइलु भया ।
हाती सार पसिन् दन्त हाती खाइन्,
घोडी तबेला पसिन् धौल्या घोडी खाइन्,
भैसी गोठ पसिन् भलो राङ्गा खाइन्,
गाई गोठ पसिन् भलो बल्ल खाइन्,
मन्जुत्याका घर पसिन् मर्दवाका खाइन्,
भेडी खोर पसिन् भलो साँढ खाइन्,
सुगुर खोर पसिन् भलो घेच्या खाइन्,
चल्ला खोर पसिन् भलो परी खाइन् ।
मर्दवाका वीर्ज राख्ने छैनन,
राडीगाँऊ भया, माडीगाँऊ भया ।
अब मृत्यू मण्डल घुमौ,
मृत्यू मण्डलका पूसाँडि जात खाउला दिदी,
खाउला बैनी भन्न लागिन् ।
ताराताली रम्मा जुम्रातम
भलो जन्ने भलो सुन्ने छन भन्छन दिदी,
ताराताली जाऊ र वर्ष रम्मा खाउला,
तब मृत्यू मण्डल घुमौला भन्न लागिन् ।
ताराताली जसै जान लागिन् ।
ताराताली रम्मा जुम्रातमले
आख गदाँ पारख गदाँ,

कठै मेरै लान्या भक्रेनी
 कैले गावन देला, कैले चोली देला,
 दुई गाँऊ राडीगाँऊ भैगो माडीगाँऊ भैगो,
 पूसाँड जातका वीर्ज रहने भैन,
 म त बोक्सी घर जान्छु भन्न लाग्या ।
 कठै मेरो भौँक्री,
 नवै बैनी बोक्सीले खाइदिन भनिन् ।
 स्याली रुख बाट सर्व लठी ल्याइन् ।
 छार्काभोट बाट डाफे पाटन ल्याइन् ।
 काला पाटन बाट फुर्का रेजी ल्याइन्
 मूर लगाई दिइन् ।
 कचुर बारी बाट कचुर बास ल्याइन्
 मुख हाली दिइन् ।
 बानीया दोखान बाट शंख कौरी ल्याइन् ।
 पूवा बारी बाट कसन डोरी ल्याइन्
 गला लगाई दिइन् ।
 चुवा चन्दन श्री खण्ड मलायागिरी बाट
 गोला भूत चण्डी भूत ल्याइन्
 चाँदी लगाई दिइन् ।
 गेल रङ्ग बाट सदन बारी ल्याइन् ।
 राता पहर बाट घोरल छाला ल्याइन् ।
 सुदार पानी बाट वेतै अल्जा ल्याइन्
 सवी वारा गरिन् ।
 घरी भ्रार बाट घरी गजा ल्याइन् ।
 कस्यारा दोखान बाट
 जोली जुङ्गा ल्याइन् ।

खैर पाखा बाट सामर पेटी ल्याइन् ।
 खनीया तिमिलाबोट बाट
 जोली घण्ट जोली घुउरा ल्याइन् ।
 छाकाभोट बाट चौरु भौरु ल्याइन् ।
 बाली जातक बाट
 गल्ल्या छड्के वीर ल्याइन् ।
 तिखु कामी दाज्यै घारो कामी दाज्यै
 खर्क साग्ली चुहुने घारी पुहुने घारी
 कोर्लड साग्ली काटी देऊ त भनिन् ।
 काटी दिया ल्याइन् ।
 सुचीया दोखान बाट ठारी हलेक
 तेछीं गादी सुची सुरुवाल ल्याइन् ।
 शीश रुख बाट जंग्या वीर ल्याइन् ।
 लादन बादन जम्मा गरिन् ।
 थार थार गर्न लाग्या थुर थुर गर्न लाग्या
 बाह वीर बाइसै माफी सीत
 रण थर्काइ बन थर्काइ
 जिमी थर्काइ भूमी थर्काइ
 रम्मा जुम्रातम काम्न लाग्या ।
 बालुवाका चावल तुसाराका माछा
 धतुराका तमुख रगत मुख्या भात
 खरानीका पीरो एकै कोल्टया रोती
 नवै खोची नवै पोकी गज्या
 रम्मा बोक्सी अर्नी हाल्या ।
 रम्मा अर्सा गोजी लाड्डू अर्सा गोजी हाल्या ।
 दायँ गोरी पाइत साज्या, सुदिन पज्याई

बायाँ गोरी पाइत साज्या, सुबार पज्याई भन्या
 छिर्नेनाथ, चिल्लै गौरा, चायानेटी गावु, दुङ्गा भज्या
 गावु दुङ्गा बाट जसै रम्मा जान लाग्या ।
 उदो बाट नवै बैनी बोक्सीटारा
 कालीजीको भेष गरी
 काल काल गर्दै किल किल गर्दै
 आँखै शंकार मुखै अंकार,
 चिनै चिउ, चटनी चटाउला,
 उदो बाट आइगिन् ।
 अब नवै बैनी बोक्सीटारा आइगिन् ।
 सास राख्न्या होइनन्,
 प्राण राख्न्या होइनन् भनिन् ।
 नवै खोची खाइन् नवै भाग लायाइन् ।
 बोक्सीहरुले नवै भाग लायाइन्
 उदो बाट आयाइन् ।
 यसा अनुहारको, यसा पुनुहारको,
 क्या जिनवार भेट्यौ दिदै,
 क्या जिनवार भेट्यौ बैनै भन्न लागिन् ।
 तारातालीका रम्मा जुम्रातम
 भलो जान्ने भलो सुन्ने छन भन्छन,
 यिनै हुन कि दिदै,
 यिनै हुन कि बैनै भनिन् ।
 तारातालीका रम्मा,
 जुम्रातम भ्रँक्रीको अर्नी पर्नी खाऊ,
 कस्ता रेछ भनिन् ।
 बालुवाका चावल, धतुराका तमुख

रगत मुख्या भात, खारानीका पीरो,
 एकै कोल्टया रोती खाइन् ।
 रम्मा अनीं यति मीठो रैछ,
 रम्मा मासु कति मीठो होला,
 खाऊ रम्मा भन्न लागिन् ।
 खाँदा त खाऊ रम्मा,
 दायौं हात बाट खाऊ रम्मा ।
 सबी वारा रैछ बाटो दिन्या भैन ।
 बायाँ हात बाट खाऊ,
 घरी गजा रैछ बाटो दिन्या भैन ।
 मूर बाट खाऊ,
 सर्व लठी रैछ कसन डोरी रैछ,
 शंख कौरी रैछ बाटो दिन्या भैन ।
 मुख बाट खाऊ,
 कचुर बास रैछ बाटो दिन्या भैन ।
 चाँदी बाट खाऊ रम्मा,
 गोला भूत रैछ बाटो दिन्या भैन ।
 कुम बाट खाऊ रम्मा,
 जोली जुङ्गा रैछ बाटो दिन्या भैन ।
 छाती बाट खाऊ रम्मा,
 जोली घण्ट जोली घुउरा रैछ बाटो दिन्या भैन ।
 दायौं कोख बाट खाऊ,
 गल्ल्या वीर रैछ बाटो दिन्या भैन ।
 बायाँ कोख बाट खाऊ,
 छड्के वीर रैछ बाटो दिन्या भैन ।
 पछि बाट खाऊ,

चौरु भौरु रैछ बाटो दिन्त्या भैन ।
 अघि बाट खाऊ रम्मा,
 खर्क साग्ली चुहुने घारी
 कोर्लड घारी रैछ बाटो दिन्त्या भैन ।
 कता बाट खाऊ,
 ठारी हलेक तेछीं गादी सुची सुरुवाल रैछन,
 बाटो दिन्त्या भैन ।
 पछि बाट खाऊ रम्मा,
 जंग्या वीर रैछ बाटो दिन्त्या भैन ।
 कता बाट खाऊ भन्न लागिन् ।
 कुर्कुञ्जी बाट खाऊ रम्मा,
 अगनीका दुहाई रैछ बाटो दिन्त्या भैन ।
 पैतोला बाट खान लागिन्,
 बाटो पाइनन, घाटो पाइनन,
 जसै खान लागिन् ।
 बाह वीर खेच्या, बाइसै माफी खेच्या,
 रण थर्काइ, जिमी थर्काइ, भूमी थर्काइ,
 सात नाम्जा उठी गया ।
 नवै बैनी बोक्सीटारा वाराड टोकी दिया,
 आफ्नो माफी टोकी सक्या,
 बाइसै माफी टोक्या, बाइसै वराड डोल्या ।
 हुमोस्तु आज भन्या, हुमोस्तु पुग्या टाढा बाट
 रुन मर्न लागिन् ।
 कठै मरै दिदै कठै मरै बैनै
 अघिनै उस्ती थियो, अहिले यस्ती किन भयो
 च्याक मरिगो भन्न लागिन्, रुन मर्न लागिन् ।

म पनि बैनी अधिनै उस्ती थियो
 अहिले यस्ती किन भयो
 आफ्नो नाडी पनि छोड्या ।
 ओवा रानी भयो बिवा रानी भयो
 माला रानी भयो ध्यापा रानी भयो
 डिडिड माला पकुमसेरा मायाकि
 ठुमुके बारुले बैनौ तिमि बैनी भयो
 म त दाज्यू भया ।
 एकै दिनले जेठो भया एकै दिनले कान्छी भयो
 म त भित्र जम्या तिमि बाहिर जम्यौ
 दे बैनी भोरा खेलौला मागल गाओला
 मेरो पनि कोही छैन तिम्रा पनि कोही छैन
 तिमि बैनी भयो म दाज्यू भया ।
 साथै माफी तान्दा साथै वराड तान्दा
 बोक्सी माफी पनि साथै उकसी गया ।

V.15. Karṇa Vīr, Nau Bainīkā Melā:

बोक्सी ताल पुग्या थाकी गया बैनै
 तिम्रो बुदो दाज्यू नचाल बैनै बोल्या
 धाउकी जाऊ कि धबाड, धाउकी जाऊ कि धबाड
 धाउकी जाऊ कि धबाड, गरी नाचन लागिन् ।
 कपाल समाई नाचिन् कपाल्या वाइ भया ।
 भ्राक्का चाली नाचिन् चाल्ल्या वाइ भया ।
 सल्क्यर आनी नाचिन् सल्क्यार वाइ भया ।
 फल समाई नाचिन् छोडेर वाइ भया ।

हाड समाई नाचिन् हाडे वाइ भया ।
 भुडी समाई नाचिन् लाँसी गाँसी भया ।
 आड चाली नाचिन् चाल्ल्या वाइ भया ।
 दात समाई नाचिन् दन्त भर्न वाइ भया ।
 ओट समाई नाचिन् चमानी वाइ भया ।
 आँखा समाई नाचिन् भौरा वाइ भया ।
 नाक समाई नाचिन् नगन सेरो भया ।
 कान समाई नाचिन् कान सेरो भया ।
 पेट समाई नाचिन् लाँसी र गाँसी भया,
 सल्लु र मल्लु भया, चाल्या वाइ भया ।
 वाइ चौरासिलाई, पेदा गर्न लागिन् ।
 बाइसे माफी गया, बाइसे धूवाँ खेज्या,
 लात्या हानी दिया ।

V.16. Gumāne, Nau Bainīkā Melā:

भाँक्री फिङ्गातमौ,
 म लागुला तिमि फारौला,
 तिमिले आनु खाउला, मानु खाउला ।
 उल्टा भेद म गरुला, बिल्टा छेद तिमि फारौला ।
 तिमिले गरेको साका भाका म वानुला,
 कछेवा भेगता म हालुला, तिमि फारौला ।
 हाज्या वाई पनि फारौला ।
 तिमि पहिला दुवा जाँदाखेरी मेरो दूर ब्याड गरौला ।
 तिप्रो हाप्रो टगान मूल दुवामा होला, चोदुवामा होला ।
 नमार भाँक्रीयौ मलाई ।

संसारमा म लागुला तिमी फारौला, नमार भनेर
बोक्सीलै भन्दा एक बैनी बुचाया ।

V.17. Gumāne, Tiligramā:

लौ दाज्यू, दिनै निसाफ मेरो भया,
राती निसाफ तिम्रा भया ।
कोई बाइ लाग्ला, कोई भुत लाग्ला,
कोई देउता लाग्ला, ति निसाफ राती तिमिले गर्नु ।
कोई दुणिया दःख पर्न होला,
कोई पीर होला, कोई जग्गाका बपाट होला,
कोई छोरी जारी बपाट होला,
त्यसका निसाफ म गरौला भन्या राजाले ।
तिमी दाज्यू भयौ, म भाई भया,
राती निसाफ तिम्रो भयो,
दिनै निसाफ मेरो भयो भनेर
नौ बारो नौ तोरा दिया,
आलमाल बोक्न भरिया राजाले दिया,
नौ मुरी छाँगो, नौ कोरी कपडा,
नौ लाख भेटी लिएर भाँक्री आफ्ना घरमा आया ।

VI.1. Karṇa Vīr, Gauḍā Tāḍā Garāune Melā:

जाऊ न जोल्या, बर्सा रम्मा जुम्रातम ल्याऊ त ।
जोल्या गैगया तारातालीमा ।
जसिलो रम्मा, पूर्ब शिरान, पसिम गोच्यान,

एकली गादा, सुकाली बिस्तरा,
 एकै कान सिउतो, एकै कान बिउतो,
 ओटी धमकीय, लौरी खुरुकीया,
 काँको जोल्या आयौ, काँको पाउना आयौ ।
 इन्द्र घरमा शिवाजीका भलो छोरी
 कृष्ण आमा पद्मा,
 मर्ने छिर्न लागीन्, कर्ण सेपा लागीन् ।
 उठी जाऊ न जसिलो रम्मा ।
 लादन वादन पाज्या, तामा ढ्याङ्गी ठोक्या,
 दायाँ गोरी पाइत साज्या, सुदिन पज्याई,
 बायाँ गोरी पाइत साज्या, सुबार पज्याई भन्या
 छिर्नेनाथ, चिप्लै गौरी, चायानेटी काट्या,
 इन्द्र घरमा गया ।
 आलड बरी खेल्या,
 मालड बरी खेल्या,
 लड लड सुहा खेल्या ।
 सातै कालको एकै काल गर्छु,
 चौध बिकालको एकै बिकाल गर्छु,
 ग्रह टाछु, गौडा टाछु,
 खड्का टाछु, पदका टाछु,
 थारी गाई, गल्ल्या बल्ल,
 रकान ठकान गर्छु, भन्न लाग्या ।

VI.2. Karṇa Vīr, Gauḍā Tāḍā Garāune Melā, continued:

भैसी आमै गौडा जानु पज्या ।

मेरो आटै भोग छैन,
 मेरो राङ्गो देबी मौला दिउला भनीन् ।
 गाई आमै गौडा जानु पन्या ।
 मेरो आटै भोग छैन,
 मेरो बल्ल मन्जुत्यालाई जोल्ने भया,
 पाल्या देउला,
 मेरो दूधदार नारायणलाई शुद्ध,
 गौड गोबर लार्दा पन्या,
 मन्जुत्याले शुद्ध गर्नेछु ।
 भोडी आमै गौडा जानु पन्या ।
 भोडी आमाले मेरो आटै भोग छैन,
 मेरो साङ् बराह मौला दिउला भनीन् ।
 छेकरी आमै गौडा जानु पन्या भन्या ।
 मेरो आटै भोग छैन,
 मेरो भोग देबी थाना दिउला,
 ठूलो काममा जाउला,
 सानो काममा जाने छैन भनीन् ।
 बर्जमुखा आमै गौडा जाऊ भन्या ।
 बर्जमुखा आमाले
 मेरो आटै छैन मेरो भोगै छैन,
 मेरो गोडो भाँक्री मारन दिउला भनीन् ।
 जाऊ न जोल्या,
 मोरङ् देश रावन्नेको घर,
 सुन्या भाल्या, सुन्या पोथीया छ,
 त्यही ल्याऊ न भन्या ।

मोरड देश रावन्नेको घर गया ।
सुन्या भाल्या सुन्या पोथीया दिन्या पन्या
रावन्नेया आमै भन्या ।
मेरो पोथी किन्त्या सकने छैन,
हिरा मोती हजार रुपिया
मोल छ भन्न लाग्या ।
पिजडा बाट, मेरो पिजडा खोली दिउला,
मेरो मोल आफै बदला, सुन्या पोथीले भन्या ।
पिजडा खोली दिया, सुन्या पोथीले भन्न लाग्या ।
भरी भाँडो सारङ्गे सोरा, पोत्त्या ठाउ बिफुतीका सोरा,
थार थार गर्न लाग्या, कील कील गर्न लाग्या,
मेरो मोल त्यती भया ।
सुकी मारी जाउला, दुःखी मारी जाउला,
आउनु आउला पाउनु आउला ।

and the recital concludes:

गर्जो टार्लो गौडा टार्लो, मन्जुत्याको सट्टा जाउला ।
मनया बिना मान्दम रहने छैन ।
मेरो मोल पाचै पैसा भया, पोथी मोल चारै पैसा भया ।
सुन्या भाल्याले, म अट्या, तेरो अट्या तैरै बोक्या,
तैरै हात पाप मलाई पनि छैन,
मेरो मदौरोलाई छैन ।
ग्रह पुजा ल्यायाई, गौडा पुजा ल्यायाई,

स्याउरया गाजा पुजा ल्यायाई,
 असन मसान टारी ल्यायाई,
 कक्सा बोक्सा टारी ल्यायाई,
 तेरो जन्म सामा हामा भया,
 वासै बस्ने धेला ठानिया भया ।
 फुतफुती खेलना कुलस्याउरा नाम्जा,
 पोल्या ठाउ रजन,
 चरन चरने ढिकी बोट भया ।
 तेरो भोजन डलसिड दुङ्गो भया,
 इयजर बाजा तुतुर बाजा, डलसिड बाजा फरन बाजा,
 तेरो अट्या तैरे बोक्सा, तैरे हात पाप मलाई छैन,
 मेरो मदौरोलाई छैन,
 तेरो जन्म सामा हामा भया ।
 वासै बस्ने धेला कुनाया भया ।
 फुतफुती खेलना कुलस्याउरा नाम्जा,
 दाइने पाकले ढोकी ल्यायाई,
 कुचा टिपी नङ्गा खासीं ल्यायाई,
 ग्रह टारी ल्यायाई गौडा टारी ल्यायाई,
 खड्गा टारी ल्यायाई पट्का टारी ल्यायाई,
 सिगापात सपारी ल्यायाई,
 दाइने पाकले ढोकी ल्यायाई,
 कुचा टिपी ल्यायाई नङ्गा खासीं ल्यायाई,
 गाजा छोपी ल्यायाई, भागा भोली ल्यायाई,
 मैना जोहर ल्यायाई, गाजा साम्ला हाल्याई,
 काना मतो हाल्याई, हँश सात ल्यायाई,
 वँश सात ल्यायाई, जल सात ल्यायाई,

मूल सात ल्यायाई, छर सात पर सात,
सात घट्ट ल्यायाई, घट्ट पेट ल्यायाई ।

VI.4. Karṇa Vīr, Graha Danko Melā:

जोगी स्वरूप गज्या,
धेला धेला घुम्या अलख गज्या ।
लैजाऊ बाबुजी,
हाती अलग लैजाऊ घोडी तबेला लैजाऊ
हीरा मोटी लैजाऊ ।
लिन्नौ बाबु मेरो देउन छ ।
क्या लिन्छौ तिमी ।
नौ वृक्षका पात गर, नौ वृक्षाका फाल गर,
नौ अन्न गर, नौ तीला गर,
नौ काला बाक्रा गर, कालै कपडा गर,
मुल मन्जुत्याको देउन,
त्यही लिन्छु भन्न लाग्या ।
नौ अन्न गज्या, नौ तीला गज्या,
नौ फूल गज्या, नौ कपडा गज्या,
काला बाक्रा गज्या, कालै कपडा गज्या,
नौ फूल गज्या, नौ तिला गज्या,
अन्न दान गज्या, धन्न दान गज्या,
सुन चाँदी तामा दान गर्न लाग्या ।
अन्न दान, धन्न दान,
नौ हाज्या ठाहा गज्या,
नौ वृक्ष गज्या, नौ वृक्षका फाल,

नौ बृक्षका पात, नौ जोगी नौ पोकी,
जुम काल जुम दूतको भाग दिन लाग्या ।
महादेवले भोली तुम्बा बाटो लिया ।
मुल मन्जुत्यालाई भोली तुम्बा हाल्या,
मुल मन्जुत्यालाई दिया ।
महादेवले कालै बाक्रा लिया,
दोबाटामा लिया, बर्मा दुवा लिया
नौ भाग दिया, नौ जोकी, नौ पोकी दिया,
बर्मा दुवा दिया,
काला बाक्रा काट्या रक्र पोका दिया ।

VI.5. Deo Ram, Gauḍā Khetī:

हरियो घांस चिसो पानी खाइस्,
खाए र नौ सूर्ज नौ चन्द्र देखिस्,
देखे र सात गौडो सात गल्ब काटिस्,
काटे र अकाश गइस् भने खुट्टा बाट तानूला,
पत्ताल गइस् भने टुपी बाट तानूला ।

VI.6. Karṇa Vīr, Tilīgramā:

आलड वरी खेल्या,
मालड वरी खेल्या,
रकम सकम तोयो गर्न लाग्या ।
एकै छल्ला गन्या, एकै पुषसाडि टिप्या,
दुवै छल्ला गन्या, दुवै पुषसाडि टिप्या,

तीनै छल्ला गज्या, तीनै पुषसाडि टिप्या,
 चारै छल्ला गज्या, चारै पुषसाडि टिप्या,
 पाँचै छल्ला गज्या, पाँचै पुषसाडि टिप्या,
 छै छल्ला गज्या, छै पुषसाडि टिप्या,
 सातै छल्ला गज्या, सातै पुषसाडि टिप्या,
 आठै छल्ला गज्या, आठै पुषसाडि टिप्या,
 नावै छल्ला गज्या, नावै पुषसाडि टिप्या,
 एकै सल्ला गज्या, एकै सुर्का टिप्या,
 दुवै सल्ला गज्या, दुवै सुर्का टिप्या,
 तीनै सल्ला गज्या, तीनै सुर्का टिप्या,
 चारै सल्ला गज्या, चारै सुर्का टिप्या,
 पाँचै सल्ला गज्या, पाँचै सुर्का टिप्या,
 छै सल्ला गज्या, छै सुर्का टिप्या,
 सातै सल्ला गज्या, सातै सुर्का टिप्या,
 आठै सल्ला गज्या, आठै सुर्का टिप्या,
 नावै सल्ला गज्या, नावै सुर्का टिप्या,
 आवर सिङ्ग्या माल्या, तावर सिङ्ग्या माल्या,
 दाहिनै मेसो माल्या, दाब्रै मेसो माल्या,
 चेल्या मेसो माल्या, डोक्या मेसो माल्या,
 ग्रह व्याँसी गज्या, गौडा व्याँसी गज्या,
 देव उकास गज्या, धामी उकास गज्या,
 ग्रह व्याँसी गज्या, गौडा व्याँसी गज्या,
 थारी गाई गाल्या बल्ल रकम सकम
 तोयो दिन लाग्या षाज्रा राजाले ।

धन्दा परमेश्वरलाई, धन्दा महादेउलाई,
धन्दा गोरनाथलाई, चारै बाँचा जाले,
धेरै लाज भइगो य, धेरै फिजो भइगो य,
उजारीमा भाको, गुञ्जारेमा बनाऊ,
मन्टा लोक बाट, चिन्टा लोकमा भरे,
पश्चिम दिशा गए हो, पश्चिम घरमा गए,
लोहै लिंगो गाडे है, लोहै खम्बो गाडे ।
दक्षिण घरमा आए,
पित्तल लिंगो गाडे, पित्तल खम्बो गाडे ।
उत्तर घरमा आए,
ताँबै लिंगो गाडे है, ताँबै खम्बो गाडे ।
पूर्व घरमा गए,
काँसे लिंगो गाडे है, काँसे खम्बो गाडे ।
काली मागरीले, जालै बुन भनी,
काली मागरीले, जालै बुन्न लाग्यो,
जालै फिजन लाग्यो ।
पूर्व बाट पश्चिम, उत्तर बाट दक्षिण,
जालै फिजी सक्यो, जालै बुन्नी सक्यो ।
काली दयामरीले,
माटी बोकी सक्यो, माटो पोली सक्यो ।
धन्दा परमेश्वरले, धन्दा महादेउले,
सुज्ये सार्न लागे, चन्द्र सार्न लागे ।
एकै हेर मारी, एकै हेर पारी,
एकै मेसो सारम ।

कमेराले मारम, तयेराले सारम ।
नवै सूज्यैमा, एकै सूर्य सारे ।
नवै चन्द्रैमा, एकै चन्द्र सारे ।
नव लाख तारा जा ल, एक लाख सारे ।
एकै घेरो मान्ये, एकै घेरो पान्ये,
कमेराले मान्ये, तयेराले सारे ।
एकै मेसो सारम, दुवै सूर्य सारे,
नवै चन्द्रैमा, दुवै चन्द्र सारे ।
नव लाख तारा, दुव लाख सारे ।

VI.8. Karṇa Vīr, Gorāpā ra Serāpā kā Melā, included at the beginning of V.13, above.

VI.9. Gore Sārki, directions to postpone Gauḍā (not a recital):

फलानो जनो यस्ता रङ्गको यस्तै किसिमको मान्छ भोली
भुल्के घामको बेला तुरुन्त आउने छ है । रानी सागर
बल्यो । भन्दिने हो भने त्यो पाइयो पर्छ । कैले भल्याड
भुलुड गरी रीङ्गे घुम्प गरी गैगो भन्या त्यसलाई बार
बथान लाग्दछ ।

VI.10. Karṇa Vīr, Purānko Melo:

तिमी जान्ने रहेछौ, एक पुत्रको भर हुदैन,
अर्को पुत्र पनि दिन सक्छौ कि भन्या ।
सरकार, दुई काला खसी चाहिन्छन ।

दुई काला खसी गराउन पठाया,
 ज्ञान गर्दा गर्दा दुई थोप्ला असिनु च्वाया,
 त्यहि दुई काला खसी जलाया र खुवाई दिया ।
 जोली पुत्र देऊ भन्या ।
 जोली पुत्र हुनकेल सम्महि बस्या ।
 लौ महाराज, हामी बिदा पाऊ भन्दा
 नाई एक पुत्र अर्को देऊ
 तिमी पुत्र दिन सक्नेछौ, पुत्र दिन पर्छ भन्या ।
 हामी सरकारको हाल हुकुम थाम्छौ,
 एक पुत्र दिन्छौ, तर बचाउने सक्ने छैनन भन्या ।
 त्यहि काला खसी काट्या, असिनु च्वाया खुवाया,
 एक पुत्र दिया ।
 जन्मेको पाच दिनको कष्ट लाग्यो ।
 लौ कसो गरि बाच्छ, केही उपाया गर, लगाया तातो ।
 सरकार, एउटा काला खसी चाहिन्छ भन्या ।
 काला खसी जलाया, खसी मोसी पन्या,
 एक दाना असिनु च्वाया खुवाया,
 महाराज, हाल हुकुम थाम्यालाई
 पाचै घडी मात्र बचाउछ भन्या ।
 त्यहाँ देखी पाच घडी पछि गैगयो ।

VI.11. Karṇa Vīr, Nau Bainīkā Meḷā, included in V.14.

VI.12. Karṇa Vīr, Sati Barbākā Meḷā:

ताराताली गया, बर्ष रम्मा जुम्रातम ल्याया ।

आलङ्ग बरी खेल्या,
 मालङ्ग बरी खेल्या,
 गृह बान्न लाग्या ।
 सिला उठया सिला थाम्या
 चक्र छाडया चक्र थाम्या
 अन्न सेरा बान्या बन्न सेरा बान्या
 जग्गा सेरा बान्या
 बन राह माज्या कंश बंश माज्या
 भुत प्रेत माज्या मुल मसान माज्या
 गृह बान्न लाग्या ।
 सिला उठया सिला थाम्या
 चक्र छाडया चक्र थाम्या
 अन्न सेरा बान्या बन्न सेरा बान्या
 जिउला सेरा बान्या
 चारै किल्ला बान्या चारै किल्ला काट्या ।
 एकै छल्ला गज्या पूर्व दिशा बान्या
 दुवै छल्ला गज्या दक्षिण दिशा बान्या
 तीनै छल्ला गज्या उत्तर दिशा बान्या
 चारै छल्ला गज्या पसिम दिशा बान्या ।
 एकै छल्ला गज्या गृह माता बान्या
 दुई छल्ला गज्या माइन खामु बान्या
 तीनै छल्ला गज्या चोर धेली बान्या
 चारै छल्ला गज्या धूरी धजा बान्या
 लगन थाम्या गृह माता बान्या ।
 चुली बान्या सुन सिगार रुपा दुवार बान्या
 गृह माता बान्या

अन्न सेरा बान्या बन्न सेरा बान्या
जग्गा सेरा बान्या जिउला सेरा बान्या
सिलाको जग सिला हाल्न्या ।
ग्रह टान्या, गौडा टान्या, दुङ्गा टान्या,
चार दिशा बान्या चार तिर बान्या
चार खण्ड लुवा किलो ठोक्यो
बज्र ठिङ्गा ठोक्यो ।
जुगै जुग हान्या जुगै जुग मान्या
रीटा कौरा बिनिन सर्व गोला पान्या ॥

Alternate ending to the same recital:

ताराताली गया, बर्ष रम्मा जुमातम ल्याया ।
आलङ्ग बरी खेल्या,
मालङ्ग बरी खेल्या ।
गौडा दान घटाउन लाग्या,
गौडा दान फाल्या ।
अन्न दान गच्या, धन्न दान गच्या,
चाँदी दान गच्या, सुन चाँदी दान गच्या,
कासा दान गच्या, तामा दान गच्या,
नौ ग्रह उल्टा सुल्का मारु बृहस्पति छंयर
कुदिन भरी टान्या लाग्या, सुदिन ढल्काई दिया ।
सिला उल्टया सिला हाल्या,
चक्र छोड्या चक्र फाल्या,
अन्न सेरा बान्या, बन्न सेरा बान्या,
जग्गा सेरा बान्या, जिउला सेरा बान्या, घर सेरा बान्या,

कुदिन भरी टान्यां लाग्या, सुदिन ढल्काई दिया ।
सिला हाल्न लाग्या,
चारै खाम टोक्या, लुवा खाम टोक्या, वज्र किला टोक्या ।
जुगै जुग हान्या, जुगै जुग मान्या,
कुदिन भरी टान्यां दिया, सुदिन ढल्काई दिया ॥

VI.13. Man Dev, Jaḍ Khetī:

अकाशैमा गए, खुट्टै बाट लियो,
पतालमा गए, कपालैमा लियो ।
सुता धागा जाले, नवै सेर माथी,
मुखै कैंचा लायो, गोडी बन्धन लायो,
हातै बन्धन लायो, पन्टै बन्धन लायो,
गुरुका शक्ति सित, मेरा भक्ति सित,
सिद्ध गरुल बाँचा ।

See also Karṇa Vīr's version of the same lines, included in V.9 above,
to which Abi Lal also added the line:

"There's oil on your fontenelle, there's fetters on your feet":

थाप्ला तेल छ, गोरा नेल छ ।

VII.1. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī:

ओ, काठे काउले डाली, काठे काउले डाली,
देवमा ठहर भाका, धाम्मा ठहर भाका,
काक्सी हाँक्ने तिमी, बोक्सी हाँक्ने तिमी,

राह हाँक्ने तिमी, सियो हाँक्ने तिमी,
काठे काउले डाली, काठे काउले डाली,
देवमा ठहर भाक्का, धाम्मा ठहर भाक्का,
अशान हाँक्ने तिमी, मशान हाँक्ने तिमी,
सिउरे हाँक्ने तिमी, बिउरे हाँक्ने तिमी,
काठे काउले डाली,
सिरुम हाँक्ने तिमी, बारुम हाँक्ने तिमी,

VII.2. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī:

लुल हाँक्ने तिमी, लुलपा हाँक्ने तिमी,
राह हाँक्ने तिमी, सियो हाँक्ने तिमी,

VII.3. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī:

रुख खसी सियो, भिर लोटनी सियो,
साँगो खसी सियो, गाहो लोटी सियो,
ढुँगो लागी सियो, मुडो लागी सियो,
बागले खाएर सियो, भालु खाएर सियो,
साँगो खसी सियो, गाहो लोटी सियो,
नागले खाएर सियो, बागले खाएर सियो,
मुडो लागी सियो, ढुँगो लागी सियो,
नागले खाएर सियो, बागले खाएर सियो,
भालु खाएर सियो, बागले खाएर सियो,
आगामा पोली सियो,

VII.4. Man Dev, Rāh Mārne Khetī:

पिपलैको रुखमा, तथा खसीकन,
बाबु निलवटा त, सियो भइर गयो ।
छोरो असको पनि, कालु भण्डारे त,
राह मोच भइगो ।
कुर्जा भण्डारेले तिमी सियो भयो,
म त राह भए, तथा योमा भन्यो ।

VII.5. Karṇa Vīr, Story of Sati Barbā and Luwā Naṅgraya:

सति बर्बा लुवा नङ्ग्या दुई भाई जन्मा भया ।
फर्सा रुख खाती राजा चन्या, मुन मटीङ्गाले हान्या
र त्यसलाई मुटु समात्यो र त्यसलाई गयो
र दाम्न्या भन्न मुटु अठयो र गैगो ।
हिया राज भयो ।
यै हियो ल्याएर हामीहरु जगाऊन्या ।

VII.6. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī:

ए, अ तमगास गर्वा सिमी, तमगास गर्वा भूमी,
डा सीमेनी बिलो, डा रिमेनी बिलो,
सिमी स ल ल ल ल, भूमी स ल ल ल ।

VII.7. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī:

पष्चिम घर जा त, कुसन रम्मा जाले,
बेथन रम्मा जाले, जम राजा जालाई,
बाटो दिनु छैन, घाटो दिनु छैन ।
धैली दुवारैमा, लौका तुम्बा जालाई,
साराजे जाले, तथा लेखन लाग्यो,
पटका डाली जालाई,
सुनै तर्वाल बनायो, रुपै ढाल बनायो,
साराजे जाले, तथा लेखन लाग्यो,
काठे काउली डाली,
देवमा ठहर भाका, धाम्मा ठहर भाका,
सियो ल्याउने तिमी, सियो हाँक्ने तिमी,
लौका तुम्बा जालाई ।

VII.8. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī:

खर्मु डाली जाका, महा हलो बनाई,
पेयाँ डाली जाका, महा किलो बनाई,
तीनै पोरे माथी, करुवामा काटयो,
तिखू कामी दाई,
महा लामा ठोक्यो, महा लामा काटयो ।

VII.9. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī:

गरन काले गरन,

दैली दुँवारैमा, सुनै सँगार जामा,
रुपै दुँवार जामा, गरन काले गरन,
लौका तूम्बा जामा, साराजे जामा,
रक्तै यो भोगन, मसै यो भोगन,
बाबा रोटी खाँदै, जोगी रोटी खाँदै,
गरन काले गरन ।

VII.10. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī:

ए, तिखू कामी दाज्यू,
काली बाख्री को, तथा धाउन लाग्यो,
खाले धुँदो रहयो ।
तिखू कामी दाज्यू, गोल अगांर बोक्छ,
तिखू कामी दाज्यू, ठाडै आरण लाइर,
तेछै गल्ली लाइर,
काली बाख्रीको, छालै धाँउदो छ,
धुरकोटे फलाम, बोकेरमा ल्याँउछ,
सातै आरणैमा, गोटा काट्न लाग्छ !

VII.11. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī, continues directly from 10:

कुमाले त दाजै,
सिसने पूवा जाको, काठे पूवा जाको,
साराजे सगँ, पकाउनैमा लाग्छ,
सिसने पूवा जाको, महा धागो तनी,
कुमाले त दाजै, जालै बून्न लाग्छ ।

एकै बारह हाल्यो, एकै मेसो साज्यो,
एकै मेसो बुन्यो ।
दुवै बारह हाल्यो, दुवै मेसो साज्यो,
दुवै मेसो बुन्यो ।

VII.12. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī, at the end of the net construction:

अकाश टुप्पी भयो, पत्तालमा गाडा भयो ।

VII.13. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī:

डादन खेदन जा र, घाइ घरपति र,
जहान कबिला र, नल्जा नल्मील जा र,
चल्ना चल्मील जा र, माधूरीमा बानी,
तथा ढाकी दियो ।

VII.14. Man Dev, Siyo Mārne Khetī, including the final passages 15
through 19 as well:

लौका तुम्बा जालाई,
तथा योमा खोली, तथा योमा गाड्यो ।
पुँई बाजा जाको, तिरी बाजा जाको,
पुँई बाजा जालाई, तथा यो मा काटी,
लौका तुम्बा जामा, तथा यो मा हाली,
बाबन रोटी हाल्यो, जोगी रोटी हाल्यो ।
खर्सु डाली जाको, महा हलो बनाई ।

पैया डाली जाको, महा किलो बनाई ।
 तीनै पोरे माथी, अरुवामा काटयो ।
 तिखू कामी दाई, महा लामा ठोक्यो ।
 महा लामा काटयो ।
 चारै गोडे माथी, महा बाखा बनाई,
 तथा योमा ढाक्यो,
 कोही जना जाले, तथा बालौटाले,
 तथा हान्न लागे ।
 कोही जना जाले, सिसनु समाई हाने,
 कोही जना जाले, चोखो पानी जाले,
 तथा हान्न लागे ।
 देव निङ्गाली जाको, महा दोग्राँ बनाई,
 दुवै जना माथी, पूर्ब दिशा जामा,
 महा गौडा जामा,
 एउटो उता फर्की, एउटो यता फर्की,
 कण्डा जोडीकन, तथा फूकन लागे ।
 दुवै जना जा त, पष्चिम दिशा जामा,
 एउटो उता फर्की, एउटो यता फर्की,
 कण्डा जोडीकन, तथा फूकन लागे ।
 दुवै जना माथी, महा धूरीमा चढे,
 कण्डा जोडीकन, तथा फूकन लागे ।
 गरन काले गरन, गरन काले गरन,
 धैली संगारैमा, लौका तुम्बा जामा,
 काली माटी रिमी, नाच्ने दुगां भूमी,
 गरन काले गरन, गरन काले गरन,
 गाँब्रै नगर भूमी, गाँब्रै नगर रिमी,

डा सिमेनी बिलो, डा रुमेनी बिलो,
 उत्तर दिशा जाले, सिद्ध रम्मा जाले,
 बेतन रम्मा जाले,
 बाटो दिनु छैन, घाटो दिनु छैन,
 दैली धुवारैमा, बानी छानी लेऊ ।
 पष्चिम दिशाको,
 कुसन रम्मा जाले, बेतन रम्मा जाले,
 बाटो दिनु छैन, घाटो दिनु छैन,
 जम राजा जालाई,
 दैली धुवारैमा, बानी छानी लेऊ ।
 दक्षिण घर जाको,
 कौर देवरालीको, हिला पोखरीको,
 पालड रम्मा जाले, भैसा सुर जाले,
 जम राजा जालाई,
 बाटो दिनु छैन, घाटो दिनु छैन,
 दैली धुवारैमा, लौका तुम्बा जामा,
 बानी छानी लेऊ ।
 गृह माता जाको,
 मुली धुवाँ जाले, जम राजा जालाई,
 बाटो दिनु छैन, घाटो दिनु छैन,
 दैली धुवारैमा, लौका तुम्बा जामा,
 बानी छानी लेऊ ।
 पूर्व दिशा जाको,
 सिरुम भाँक्री जाले, बारुम भाँक्री जाले,
 जम राजा जालाई,
 बाटो दिनु छैन, घाटो दिनु छैन,

दैली धुवारैमा, लौका तुम्बा जामा,
 बानी छानी लेऊ ।
 लौका तुम्बा हाने, लौका तुम्बा फोरे,
 हा हा गर्दै लागे, हो हो गर्दै लागे,
 सातै दोबाटीमा, तथा योमा लागे,
 खसु डाली जाको, महा हलो जालाई,
 बनै मूख फर्काई, तथा यो मा गाडी,
 देब निङ्गाली जाको, मरा दुँग्रो फोरी,
 महा बाखा जालाई, सातै दोबाटोमा,
 महा गौडा जामा, महा हलो जामा,
 तथा यो मा काटे ।
 आरुला, बारुला,
 पैयाको किलो, लुहकी टाँस,
 मै मरुला, मै गाडूला ॥

VIII.1. Karṇa Vīr, Nau Bainīkā Melā, identical to the standard opening of both Abi Lal and Kamāro Kāmī:

देव जेठा वस्यार्था महादेव भया
 जुग जेठा सत्य जुग
 खाल जेठा नेपाल खाल भया
 मान्दमी जेठा तिलीग्रमा
 दिशा जेठा पूर्ब दिशा
 मैना जेठा चैत मैना
 बार जेठा आइतबारको दिन
 जोग जेठा मंगलबारको जोग

तिथी जेठा एकादशी
रम्मा जेठा जुम्रातम ।

VIII. 2. Gumāne, Manutyālāi Sṛṣṭi Garnako Melā:

मेरो महादेव कहाँ उब्जाऊ, इन्द्र घरमा
मेरो सितायाँ कहाँ उब्जाऊ, नारायण घरमा
मेरो महादेव सिरान कहाँ पच्यो, पूर्ब दिशा
गोरान कहाँ पच्यो, पश्चिम दिशा
दयाँ हात उत्तर दिशा, बयाँ हात दक्षिण दिशा
महादेव इत्पन्न भयो ।

VIII.3. Man Dev, all recitals:

धरती माता हुँदा, स्वर्गे पिता हुँदा,
सती जुग जा र, सती मानामी र,
तीर्थ जुग जा र, तीर्थ मानामी र,
उना दिन ल, दुवा पहरु ल ।

VIII.4. Deo Ram, all recitals:

हो, सती जुग नी है, उनै दिनमा है ।

VIII.5. Man Dev, *baknu* of October 4th, 1967:

है सक्येको बेला, बल्याको ठेला,

यो हत्ये जुगमा, के भन्ने होइ ।
राज घरमा देव घरमा पनि यस्तै खलबली छन,
शहर घर क्षिमेकी खलक रैती, के भन्ने खोई
लोभ र पापले छोड्ने छैन

VIII.6. Karṇa Vīr, common to various recitals:

देव जेठा वस्यो महादेवले
जलथल मान्दम रचेयो ।
जल घण्ट मान्दमी भया ।

VIII.7. Karṇa Vīr. The story is short enough to be included in its entirety:

अब रम्मा जुम्रातम, भर्षा पण्डित, कालु जैसी, मैतु धामी, सतौ ज्ञानी, यिनी भगवनले दृष्टी दिएका हुन । सत्य जुगमा अवतार भएका हुन । यिनी उदाय अस्ताय आज यो मान्छ यहाँ छ यले यो दाना खान्छ यो यस्ता ठाँउमा छ सब जानेका हुने छन । महादेवले आफ्नु भोग चलन गर्ने बेला मुलुकले देखिन्छ भनेर आफ्नु सरम हुन्छ भनेर कैलाश पर्वतमा गएर महादेव र पार्वतीको भोग थियो ।

एउटा मान्छेलाई महादेव र पार्वती चाहिएछ । आएर उसले खोज्न लाग्यो । कहि नभेटाएर हेर्यो हेनीहरुलाई । आज महादेव र पार्वती कैलाश पर्वतमा भोगमा छन । भन दिया, हेर्नेले । सरर गएर महादेव र पार्वतीलाई भोग गर्ने बेला भेटायो । थक, यो हामीले दिएको दृष्टी हो, मान्छेले हामीलाई भेटायो । यो हेर्ने

मान्छेले केही जानुस केही नजानुस भनेर सत्कल गर दिया ।
त्यही बाट हेर्ने मान्छेले केही जाने केही नजाने भएका हो ॥

VIII.8. Karṇa Vīr, Ghar Bānne Melā, extension to the list of "eldests":

रोग जेठा बाइ घाइते
ग्रह जेठा केतु ग्रह
गौडा जेठा काले चक्र
खड्का जेठा जरम खड्का ।
मछेरुको जेठा मगलुन्या भयो ।
नदि जेठा सत्तिवति गङ्गा भागिराथी
बृक्ष जेठा काली तेलपारी बर पिपल
खर जेठा दुवा नरम
बाब्ब्यो जेठा लाटो बाब्ब्यो
पत्थर जेठा शालीग्रम ।

VIII.9. Karṇa Vīr, Nau Bainīkā Melā, follows VIII. 1:

जुम्रातम भौँक्री कहाँ उब्ज्या तारातालीमा उब्ज्या ।
ज्ञानी जेठा सतो ज्ञानी छाकाभोटमा उब्ज्या ।
पंडित जेठा भर्षा पंडित छाकाभोटमा उब्ज्या ।
प्रजा प्रकिल कहाँ उब्ज्या छाकाभोटमा उब्ज्या ।
रतन पाकी कहाँ उब्ज्या तागासेरा उब्ज्या ।
जैशी जेठा कालु जैशी बाछीगाँउमा उब्ज्या ।
धामी जेठा मैती धामी ताराभोटमा उब्ज्या ।
रम्मा जेठा जुम्रातम तारातालीमा उब्ज्या ।

नौ बैनी बोक्सीटारा कहाँ उब्जीन्
पूर्ब दिशा हाँगाबाङ्ग पाटन मेलामा उब्जीन् ।

VIII.10. The various beginnings to the Creation Story of Kārṇa Vīr:

ग्रह फाल्न दिया गौडा फाल्न दिया, सुनि लिया ।
जरम गौडा, मरम गौडा, खड्का गौडा, पड्का गौडा
हिया गौडा, छेल्या गौडा, शिरान काल, गोच्यान निऊ
जुम काल, जुम दूत, राहु, केतु, शनिश्चर, मंगल
बृहस्पति, उल्का, शंकष्टा, सुन्न पुरानु मेलो ।

चित्तै खसीगो, मनै गलिगो
आसीं पारीको तुल्सी पारीको होला
सिला उत्रेको चक्रा सरेको होला
सुनी लैजाऊ पुरान मेलो ।

उहि दिनको साका उहि दिनको भाका ।

देव जेठा वस्यार् महादेव
जुग जेठा सत्य जुग
खाल जेठा नेपाल खाल
मान्दमी जेठा तिलीकरम
दिशा जेठा पूर्ब दिशा
मैना जेठा चैत मैना
बार जेठा आइतबार
जोग जेठा मंगलबारको जोग

रोग जेठा भाइ जगमी ॥

रम्मा जेठा जुम्रातम कहाँ उब्ज्या ताराताली ।
पंडितको जेठा भर्सा पंडित कहाँ उब्ज्या
भर्सा पंडित, सतो ज्ञानी, पर्जा बैकील कहाँ उब्ज्या
छार्काभोटमा उब्ज्या ।
पारागीको जेठा रतन पारागी कहाँ उब्ज्या
तागासेरा उब्ज्या ।
धामी जेठा मैती धामी ताराभोटमा उब्ज्या ।
जैशी जेठा कालु जैशी बाछीगाँउमा उब्ज्या ।
बिर्छे जेठो काली तेल पाइरी वर पीपल मान्नामी टेक्यो ।
नदी जेठो भागीरथी, मछेरुको जेठो मागलुज्या ।
* जेठो सुन चाँदी भयो ।
राजा जेठो सिजापती भयो ।

VIII.11. Man Dev. Manutyālāi Sṛṣṭi Garnako Melā:

ज्ञानै पुगी सक्यो, ध्यानै पुगी सक्यो,
बाह्र बर्ष दिब्ये, अठारैमा जुग,
धन्दा परमेश्वर, धन्दा महादेऊ,
जलथल जामा, सनीचैमा आए ।
मधु कैटे जाको, महा रगतै त,
खोला नाला बग्यो, कौवा ताल बस्यो,
मधु कैटे जाको, महा बोसो जाका,
तुसरैमा बस्यो, हिऊ खण्ड भयो,
हिमाल खण्ड भयो ।

महा मंस पनि, मधु कैटे जाको,
माटी भएर बसे ।
हाड खोड पनि, सर्वत पर्वत बन्यो,
पर्वत बनी गयो ।
मधु कैटे जाको, महा मंस त नि,
मट्टी भएर गए ।
हाड खोड त नि, पर्वत बनी गए ।
मन्यु सृजाइ गए, मन्यु उब्जाइ गए ।
धन्दा परमेश्वरले, धन्दा महादेउले,
विष्णु राजा जाले,
उजारीमा भाको, गुञ्जारीमा गयो ।

VIII.12. Karṇa Vir, Rāyā Sarsu Jap:

जाग जाग
पुर्ब दिशामा चन्दननाथ जाग ।
उत्तरी दिशा भैरवनाथ जाग ।
दक्षिण दिशा गोरखनाथ जाग ।
पश्चिम दिशा रतननाथ जाग ।
चारै दिशा चारै नाथ का
वारै रम्टा जोगी जाग होईजाऊ ।

VIII.13. Man Dev, Refrain of the Jarman Karman Kheti:

जर्मन खोज्न गयो,
कर्मन खोज्न गयो ।

जर्मन फर्काई लिए,
कर्मन फर्काई लिए ।

VIII.14. Karṇa Vīr, Tilīgramā:

नाला खाला बाट
सुर्का रेजी चुली हाली दिया ।
थार थार गर्न लाग्या थुर थुर गर्न लाग्या
बाह वीर बाइसै माफी सीत
बाइसै बराड सीत
रण थर्काई बन थर्काई
काम्न लाग्या ।
हाप्रा मण्डलका रम्मा भौंकी भनी तिमी रेछौ
भन्या पक्रिकन ल्याया ।

VIII.15. Kamāro Kāmī, Māphī calāune mantra:

हे बाह माफी चल, बाइसै बराड चल,
शिर र उपर चल, कुम र उपर बस,
जिमी र थर्काई चल, भूमी र थर्काई चल,
आउँदा र मुख लाज, जाँदा र पिठ छाप,
बारै बार दैवौ,
तिमी र देवा छैन, मत र डाँगर छैन,
एग र जुनी भयो, एगै चोला भयो,
साँचो र चिन्नै पज्यो, भुठो र टाल्ने पज्यो,
यसु र गृह ष त,

नुन र भारा लाग्ला, तेल र भारा लाग्ला ।

VIII.16. Abi Lal. Names of the Bāyu and Burmā:

पूर्ब पष्चिम उत्तर दक्षिण
बायु बर्मा बोलाई लैजाऊ ।
दक्षिण खण्डमा
काली मठ, पथ्यर माला, लाटु माला,
लाटु काइली, गँगा माला ।
बँगार जिउलीमा, लाटु माला, लाटु काइली ।
माथि, कइन्वारमा, गार माला, सत्रु मांला ।
खार खोलामा, गँगा जैसी ।
थनारामा गँगा माला ।
माथि, बास खोलामा, बार हिमेरे ।
नाखीरमा, काल जैसी ।
घारी गाँउमा, कैला बाछीला ।
मन्कोटमा, कालु जैसी ।
बिदासेनी, माई कालिका ।
परिमल, जार्ज गजा, पर गजा, शँख जार्ज ।
जक्रिपूर, चतुर माला, खोले धामी ।
साल्टाकुरा, बाला बर्मा, गुरु जैसी,
गुरु नन्द, गँगा जैसी ।
माथि, भेच्यामा, कालीका, मालीका ।
तल गैजाऊ, खैरेनीमा, जल दान्तु ।
पर, सीबालयमा, राज दीर [पितर ?], डेउरा पितर ।
खरे खोला, कवल जैसी, कर्ण जैसी ।

* काल परे, काल काँधे ।
 जाजरकोटमा, चतुर माला ।
 दार खर्कामा, गंगा माला, रुपा माला ।
 दानेनेटीमा, हात्ता पौल्या ।
 पोख गाखा, बस्या महादेऊ ।
 डिडा गाखा, मष्ट महङ्गाल ।
 तिमिलेमा, कर्ण जैसी, दारे मष्ट ।
 माथि लैजाऊ, दँदालामा, रुप्स्या भयार, राता भयार ।
 दीमे गाखा, मान्छे काटया भादेउ थानी ।
 खुर्पा गाखा, बस्या महादेऊ ।
 कफल्नामा, दुधै मष्ट, दारे मष्ट,
 पिमल मष्ट, ठीमा मष्ट ।
 कौवा घाटी बिजुली डाँडी, बुडा थर्पा,
 पैकेली मष्ट, सोलारी मष्ट, मष्ट बाबु ।
 त्यहा बाट फर्की फाल माथि,
 मैदे गाखामा, कवल जैसी, कर्ण जैसी ।
 बेतेनीमा सल्ले भाँक्री, उब्ज्या भाँक्री ।
 माथि गया, मारकाटयामा, ***, साइ बारी ।
 गैरी खर्क, खर्सु रुम्मा ।
 जुरेलीमा, पोरा गाच्या ।
 *** ***, *** सिद्ध ।
 पाली गाखा, पारेल बर्मा ।
 पुव डांडा, रतु रुम्मा ।
 कल्पट गाखा, सल्ला भाँक्री, उब्ज्या भाँक्री ।
 ग्यानेचबर, रातो पज्या ।
 च्याड्या लेख, समाज सिद्ध, साइ बारी ।

चिउरी पाखामा, जोली कल्सारा ।
 उनी कोटया, जल बराह ।
 बैरी ताल, हात्ती सुरे, हात्ती पौलो ।
 डाडा गाऊ, बिर्ता बाहुन, धनि ठाकुर, मष्ट महङ्गाल ।
 चाइपाटामा, रुप्स्या भयार, राता भयार, नौला भयार ।
 बाहुन गाऊमा, मष्ट महङ्गाल ।
 हिरे बगर, बराज्यू, कवल जैसी, कर्ण जैसी ।
 बाइसे खोलामा, कवल जैसी, रुप्स्या भयार ।
 पखापानी, बस्या खोल्या ।
 लँह गखा, चुर्मा जैसी ।
 टटु गखा, बराह कैलु ।
 चावले चवर, राता भयार, नौला भयार, हिरे बगर,
 टाटूके भयार, *** भयार ।
 असारेमा, जल दान्न्वा, लाम काने, सुवा काने ।
 भार गाऊमा, बार कैलासी, सिद्ध बराह ।
 गर्छिनामा, रुप्स्या भयार, माटो भयार ।
 माइली घर, दारे मष्ट, कर्ण जैसी ।
 लवीसरमा, बस्या महादेऊ ।
 सीपार चौर, बार कैलासी ।
 रामी डाडा, राजा पितर ।
 आगर खर्क, बाजे लोकाने ।
 धवला कोट, कवल जैसी, रुप्स्या भयार ।
 लिम्सा खर्क, लाटु माला, लाटु कोइली ।
 सीउर खाली, सिद्ध रुपी, बायु रुपी ।
 मुसाम, काला सिला, काला भवरा ।
 बज्याम गखा, कर्ण जैसी, साउन जैसी ।

कालु खोली, जगरनाथ, माउली बर्मा ।
पर भैली गाऊ, कर्ण जैसी, दारे मष्ट ।

(first pause in reciting this list)

पर हारे, कवल जैसी, कर्ण जैसी ।
सीर्के जिउली, चार जकस, चार बर्मा ।
घुली पावर्ती । कोटाल थानी ।
वण्डा लामा, रुपा छन्या, पान छन्या ।
भण्डारी गाऊ, कवल जैसी, कर्ण जैसी,
साउन जैसी, मष्ट महङ्गाल, दारे मष्ट ।
दल्ली गर्वा, पसानेमा, लाटो भयार ।
चामा खेत, लाटी छरी ।
खगेनकोट, राजा पितर ।
हल्चौर, मष्ट मङ्गकाल ।
मन्मै तरा, लुहाबिन्या ।
मैद्या गर्वा, बराज्यू कवला ।
तात्त गर्वा, सुन खाप्र, रुप खाप्र ।
घरङ्गल, मष्ट मङ्गकाल ।
रावत गाँऊ, तितिकोटी, चौध भवानी, टिपुरा सुन्दरा ।
ध्यार गाँऊमा, बार कैलासी ।
बान्या गाँऊ, जगराई महावई बर्मा,
*** सारदा बज्यू ।
तल्लु गर्वा, सारदा बज्यू, धुर्वदा बज्यू ।
गुल्ला गर्वा, रुम्स्या भयार, रातो भयार, नौला भयार,
*** *** !
गइरी गोताम चेतो पाटन, फुटाशिल देउरलि ?

भवाइशि रोमा ।

गइर खोली लामकाने, जल दानमा ।

खदि गर्वा, मष्ट मङ्काल, दारे मष्ट ।

तल गए,

रारी जिउला, सिमे बराह ।,

स्यानी बाखुंमामै जगतनाथ ।

**, कवल जैसी, कर्ण जैसी ।

भ्याम्य खोला, आसा मसाने ।

तर्बन्यामा, लामकाने, जल दान्वा, सुबकाने,

पर गए, धागेछेरी बाज्या,

नदवा नामी, सति बर्मा ।

मम्मा गर्वा, मष्ट मङ्काल ।

बुली गर्वा, बराज्यू कउल्या ।

बाफेकोट स्यारपु दह, बार फुर माँस्या ।

जिबु गर्वा, लिलन जैसी, रामू जैसी ।

*** *** ।

गामा लेख, सई भेरी, भोरौ खान बार भाई बराह थानी,

कालु बराह, पालु बराह, हाँसु बराह, लटु बराह,

जुँगु बराह, शहदेउ बराह, मनेले बराह, दुदया बराह,

भृगानी बराह, साहु बराह, सिद्ध बराह,

बार भाई बराह थानी,

बाइसमुनी बज्यू, हिउन माला, जिउन माला,

आलेङ्गेनी मालेङ्गेनी, उर्बेनी, पुर्बेनी,

बाख्रया बज्यू, चल्या बज्यू, कुज्या बज्यू, लाटी बज्यू,

धितु माला, थितु माला,

बज्यू दोल्यानी, बज्यू चमानी

चाम माला, हाम माला,
 रगु माला, ठगु माला, रुद्र माला,
 बार भाई बराह थानी ।
 बाइस बहिनी बज्यू ।
 त्यहाँ बाट तल गैजाई,
 रोरी गाउ, देउ भक्त,
 ठारु दुङ्गो, कवल जैसी,
 बाक्ने लेख, समा सिद्ध, साइ कुवारी,
 छिबाङ्गमा, बराज्यू, कवल जैसी, कर्न जैसी,
 तल गैजाई, लोरी बाङ्ग सुन्दर पानी,
 लाहागतमा, सात सल्ले,
 घारी दरमा, सात राँग्या बज्यू,
 रबाङ्ग लुरिबाङ्ग सुन्दर पाने, नारु सुमे,
 गिठाकोट, माई कालीका,
 चित्र लेखी, पिण्ड लेखी
 दोसिङ्गलामा, मङ्गला खानी ।
 फुरु गर्खा, घोरु जैसी, घोरु नन्द ।
 तल गैजाऊ,
 गराउलामा, गङ्गा जैसी, लाटु माला ।
 भला चौर, गङ्गा जैसी, लाटु माला ।
 मेघा गर्खा, बाजे भूरु ।
 जमाल गाउ, मष्ट, मङ्गकाल, दाज्या मष्ट ।
 रिबन * बराज्यू कवला ।
 बाक्या गर्खा, बाजे बिजुल्या ।
 ज्यामिर कोट कालो मङ्गकाल !
 पिपल चौर, चिन्ता मणि, मण्टा जुज्या ।

घेत्तु गार्वा, बराज्यू कवला ।
चिसा पानी, राङ्गा जैसी, लाटु माला, लाटु जैसी ।
चवर गार्वा ** ।
असी बाक्सी, धनि ठाकुर ।
भयारम खोला, आसे मसाने ।
तरबज्या, जल दान्ने, लाम काने ॥

Conclusion:

डाँगर थाकी गया,
कुल देव, कुल पितर ।
आँऊ भन्या आउनु, जाऊ भन्या जाउनु ।
जस हाँगु दिया पत हाँगु दिया ।
दायाँ जस दिया, बायाँ बल दिया ।
जसका जसिला भया, पतका बाचीला दिया,
मेरा मदौरुलाई पुन पुरुस हाल्या,
नजर ज्योती हाल्या, पुन पुरुस हाल्या,
हंश सातो ल्याया, बंश सातो ल्याया,
घर सातो, पर सातो, जल सातो, मूल सातो ल्याया,
डाँगर थाकी गया, कुल देव, कुल पितर ।
धागा डोरी लाउनु, मैना डोरी लाउनु,
सातै बार हान्नु, चौध बथान हान्नु,
रिठै ल्याउनु, भवरै ल्याउनु,
बर्मा थानी बेगला भया, मष्ट बाबु बेगल होइजाऊ ।
बालो डाँगर थाकी गया, भयार थानी हौला,
मष्ट थानी हौला, मंङ्गाल थानी हौला, ।
बर्मा थानी हौला, बेगल होइजाऊ ।

बालो डाँगरलाई
जस हाँगु दिया पत्त हाँगु दिया,
दायाँ जस दिया, बायाँ बल दिया ॥
(त्यहा बाट धूप सुप हाल्यो, फुर्का सुर्का भया काट्यो)

VIII.17. Karṇa Vīr, House Binding Recital (Satī Barbā Melā):

ताराताली गया
बर्ष रम्मा जुम्रातम ल्याया ।
आलङ्ग बरी खेल्या मालङ्ग बरी खेल्या
गृह बान्न लाग्या ।

VIII.18. Karṇa Vīr, Recital of the Nine Little Sisters:

कान्छ कान्छी बैनी रम्मा खुट्टो पक्ति
पताल धस्छु भन्या ।
नाह मेरो दाज्यू सास र प्राण राख
तिमी भित्र जम्यौं म बाहिर जम्या
साथ र सगँ गन्यौ
सास राख दाज्यू प्राण राख दाज्यू ।
बाबा भन्न लाग्या ।
एक हातले देउला दुई हातले लिउला
दुई हातले देउला कुम्ली पारी जाला
आउन कि पाहुनी जान कि भैतालु ।
थिती राखौला नि थिती म रेजाला

वाचा राखौला नि वाचैमा रहने छ ।
सास र प्राण राख
हुन्या छु पा दाज्यू बाबा भन्न लाग्या ।
एक त्यालीका वाचा दुई त्यालीका वाचा
तीन त्यालीका वाचा पाच त्यालीका वाचा
वाचा बन्धन खुवाया
बाबा राखि दिया ।

VIII.19. Karṇa Vīr, Nau Bainīkā Melā (follows immediately after the previous passage, and concludes the recital):

छेद तिप्रै दोष भेद तिप्रै दोष
कुल तिप्रै दोष कप्तै तिप्रै दोष
सल्यु र हल्याड पारी मल्यु र हल्याड पारी
खाइनो हल्याड पारी खाइ नेरो हल्याड पारी
स्वर्ग र तारा भारी
चौबाटामा गारी चौबाटामा सारी ॥

VIII.20. Karṇa Vīr, Nyāulo Dhūr:

बर्जमुखा कोखी जन्मन लियो,
भाँक्री थाना चढयो,
बास पाउन्त्या भैन ।
चल्ला खोर जन्मन लियो,
भलो चल्लो जम्प्यो,
बेला कुबेला मर्ने भयो ।

बास पाउन्या भैन ।
रिंगी घुमी आमा कोली बास लिन आयो,
आमा कोली जन्मन लिन आयो ।

मन नडोलाई, चित नडोलाई,
तेरो आमा कोली भौती जुराउछ,
बाबु कोली भौती जुराउछ,
तेरो सुन चाँदी भौती जुराउछ,
तेरो गृह जिमी जग्गा भौती जुराउछ,
दे, आमा कोली बास गन्याइ,
कहाँ जालाई, पुत,
हिन्या बाटो पाउन्या छैनइ,
मागे भिक पाउन्या छैनइ,
तेरो मन चित कासा थाल राख्याइ, कासा बटुकी,
आमा कोली राख्याइ, बाबु कोली राख्याइ,
तेरो मन चित अन्तर नडोलाइ, अन्तर नलियाइ,
गृह नछोडलाइ, आफ्नो घर नछोडलाइ ॥

VIII.21. Karṇa Vīr, Graha Dan Meḷā, and at the end of other recitals:

खाने आरा डीट गन्या,
मेरो बालो पिठ गन्या ।
भूमी बसुन्धरा साची
बार पिपल साची
सठी वटी गंगा साची
नौला पात साची

धर्ती माता साची
ज्वाला देवी साची
सिजापति राजा र जुम्रातम भॉक्री साची
आफ्ना इष्वर महादेवको बाचा ॥

IX.1. Nar Singh Kāmī, Mantra to make the planets peaceful (complete):

गौडा सन्त, जिमी सन्त,
ग्रह सन्त, नौ ग्रह सन्त,
उल्का सन्त, बिल्का सन्त,
जिमी सन्त, भूमी सन्त,
गृह सन्त, ग्रह सन्त । भन्छ ॥

IX.2. Abi Lal, Jap to Summon the Vīr, first version, beginning:

काल्या बिर चल, धौल्या बिर चल,
कैले बिर चल, छडके बिर चल,
अर्जुन बाण चल, लंका बाण चल,
जोदा बिर चल, पानी बिर चल,
उबा बिर चल, घुनिमन्टया बिर चल,
दन्त हात्ती चल, अन राङ्ग चल,
बान्द हात्त्या चल, एकले गुण चल,
जोली बासी चल, जोली मुस चल ।
[यिनी हाम्रा बाण हुन ।]
हनुमान बिर चल, जोदल बिर चल,
पानी बिर चल,

जल सातो हौला, मूल सातो हौला,
 मसान सातो हौला, भुत सातो हौला,
 हनुमान बिर काखी चोपी ल्याए, नङ्गा खोसी ल्याए,
 जोली बासी चल, कोली प्राप्ती चल,
 पाइलि जनाई लैजाऊ, पलान जनाई लैजाऊ,
 दन्त हात्ती चल

[repeats names]

IX.3. Abi Lal, Jap to Summon the Vīr, second version, beginning:

सात सल्ली नौ दवारी घुरुक्क उघारी ।
 छनिमुन्टया बिरका भोग परौला ।
 काल्या बिरका भोग परौला ।
 कैल्या बिरका भोग परौला ।
 चल नरसिणका बिर, चल नरसिणका बिर,
 चन्द्र सूर्यकी हियारी बार बिर की पियारी ।
 छनिमुन्टया बिरले रुपा खैलुला, बम्पा खैलुला,
 हंश सात पेटमा लिला ।

IX. 4. Nar Singh, Rāyā Sarsu Jap, selection follows X.1 and 2 below:

"यिनी रायो सर्सु ले कहाँ मागु,
 चारै दिशा बान्नु, चारै खाण्ड बान्नु,
 खोला * बान्नु, गार भुत बान्नु,
 लेख टिड्याल बान्नु, गार भुज्याल बान्नु" भन्दिमा ।
 "अकाल को मसान बान्नु, बिकालको मसान बान्नु,

गारे भागेको, भिर लोटेको मसान बान्नु,
कप्टी बान्नु, बोक्सी बान्नु,
छेदी बान्नु, भेदी बान्नु,
जल दोख, मूल दोख बान्नु,"

IX. 5. Karṇa Vīr, Rāyā Sarsu Jap (follows the description of the yogi,
which itself follows the Awake! passage above):

आयो जोगी,
तिमी जोगी क्यागा ओउरन क्यागा पैरन,
मूर लाया बागम्बरको छाला,
चाँदी लाया रानी भूत गोला भूत चण्डी भूत,
कान लाया दर्शन जोली,
गली लाया रुद्रक्षको माला,
काँध बेच्या भोली तुम्बा,
हात समात्या बज्रठिङ्गा,
कम्मर बेच्या छुरीकाटारी,
गुरि लाया कल्ली घर बर्ज धारी,
ज्ञान गर्न लाग्या, ध्यान गर्न लाग्या,
धत धत गर्न लाग्या, धू धू गर्न लाग्या,
खैरी गाई, गोब्रबा गाई, काम धेनु गाई,
गुइठा लाई ग्वाला, रानी भूत, चण्डी भूत, अष्नु भूत,
रानी भूत, गोला भूत, चण्डी भूत, अस्तुति भूत,
तिनी गोला जप्न लाग्या ।
आकास इन्द्र देउले, पताल बासु देउले,
कालु जैसी, वैतु धामी, सतव ज्ञानी, भर्ष पण्डित,

रमा जम्रातमले जप्न लाग्या ।

IX.6. Karṇa Vīr, Bokṣī Jap, including the complete list of who wears the twentytwo different rudrākṣas:

बाइसै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष बाइस बसु देवले लाया
एक्काइस मुख्या रुद्राक्ष एक्काइसे लामाले लाया
बिस मुख्या रुद्राक्ष विष्णु गादीले लाया
उन्निस मुख्या रुद्राक्ष उन्निसी लामाले लाया
अठारै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष अठार देवीले लाइन्
सत्रै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष सत्र रोखीले लाया
सौरै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष अठार सौर सय गोपीले लाइन्
पन्ध्रै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष पाच भुवानीले लाइन्
चौधै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष चतुरा देवीले लाया
तेहै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष तैरे त्रिलोकले लाया
बारै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष बाह बर्माले लाया
एघारै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष एक्कासि लामाले लाया
दशै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष राजा दशरथले लाया
नौ मुख्या रुद्राक्ष नौ लाख तेत्तिस कोटीले लाया
आठ मुख्या रुद्राक्ष अठ्ठासी देवीले लाया
सातै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष सप्त रोखीले लाया
छै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष छपन्न कोटिले लाइन्
पाचै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष पाच भुवानीले लाइन्
चारै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष चतुरा देवीले लाइन्
तिनै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष तिनै त्रिलोकले लाया
दुवै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष दुर्गा देवीले लाइन्

एकै मुख्या रुद्राक्ष हाम्रा गुरुले लाया, हामीले लायौ ।

IX.7. Karṇa Vīr, Rāyā Sarsu Jap, continued:

जाँ हानुला त्यही बानुला
बानु बानु पहिला बानु यसु घर गृह

IX.8. Nar Singh, Masān Jagāune Jap, end:

तेल र चन्दन, तेलौटी बात,
आऊ भाइ कँश, विप्राली का साथ ॥

IX.9. Karṇa Vīr, Rāyā Sarsu Jap:

ससुँ ससुँ तिमी ससुँ कहाँ उब्जेऊ
दक्षिण खण्ड राम लक्ष्मनको गहिरा बारी ।
अजुनाका गहिरा घारी
बन्या जोत्या कन्या भया,
राम लक्ष्मनले जोत्या भाया ।
गहिरा मैशरले जिलाया कलाया,
सिता पार्वताले डल्ला हान्या ।
रिट्या कौन्या बल्ल धाया ।

IX.10. Abi Lal, Jap to Summon a Masān (complete):

गुरु देऊ, गुरु मष्ट,

सोर कौरी हात लिया, रगतै को भोग दिया ।
 दाँया हात बासली दिउँला,
 बाँया हात मुराली दिउला,
 मुट्टु काटी बिला दिउला,
 छाला काटी बिछयाइ दिउला,
 टाउको काटी खब्यौ दिउला,
 हातै काटी पन्यू दिउला,
 उठी जानु उठी जानु
 स्याउच्या आमा उठी जानु
 स्याउच्या बाबै उठी जानु
 छिन्चुला, छिन्चुला,
 सागर करमा लोटाउँला,
 धर्ति उधारी, उधारी, मसान जगाउला,
 जाग्या जगाउला, न जग्या जमका पासा परौला ।
 करबीर मसान, भिउदल मसान, राजा मसान,
 भाइ उरठया जुठया, भाई बिन्दु, असन कार, मसन कार,
 गँगाराम मसान, जाग भाई जाग ॥

IX.11. Man Dev. Recital of Payalpur:

देवले सञ्चो दिइनन, धाम ले सञ्चो दिइनन,
 राती दक दक गर्छ, दिनै दक दक गर्छ,
 पयलपुर जा त, रंग भंग भएर,
 छ है दोबाटो भान्यो, मशान घाट भान्यो ।
 सम्म घम्म रातमा, सुनौलीको बेला,
 तथा योमा भरि,

मशान दुक्न लाग्यो, मशान घाट जामा,
 माफ पयलपुर त,
 धेरै दुःख भयो, धेरै भुक्त पायो,
 तथा यो भनेर, स्याउला रम्मा जा त,
 तथा जागी बस्यो ।
 मशान घाटै जामा, पयलपुर सित,
 छोरो उसको पनि, भेट घाट भए ।
 धेरै दुःख पाइस्, धेरै भुक्त पाइस्,
 तथा भन्न लाग्यो, बाबु उसको पनि,
 स्याउला रम्मा जाले, धेरै गृहमा,
 तथा योमा जा, माफ पयलपुर त,
 कर कर मर मर गर्दै, बाबु उसको पनि,
 स्याउला रम्मा जाले, अर्थ बार्थ लायो ।

IX.12. Gumāne, Jap to Raise Masān:

जागो मसान जागो
 पुर्ब दिशा जाऊ पश्चिम दिशा जाऊ
 उत्तर दिशा जाऊ दक्षिण दिशा जाऊ
 तिमी रातका बिचमा गाऊ
 नगारी पसी जो तिमी मन लाग्छ उसलाई हानौ
 जाऊ मसान जाऊ ॥

IX.13. Abi Lal, Jap to Suppress a Masān:

गुरु देऊ, गुरु महेश,

टाउको काटी पास ल्याए,
आन्द्रा काटी, पेट ल्याए,
हात काटी, कुम ल्याए,
टाउको काटी पास ल्याए,
आन्द्रा काटी, पेट ल्याए,
मुटु काटी, पेट ल्याए,
दाया हात बासुरी ल्याए,
बाउ हात मुराली ल्याए,
जगाउला, जगाउला, बक्यौला, फक्यौला,
गज केशरीले बान ॥

IX.14. Karṇa Vīr, Narsinghko Jap:

देखि मेरी तमाशा
गुरु लामा की बाचा
आठ सस्युं बार राया नौ डाँडा का जल सिंह
जपना जपना तो भुतको नास्ती पारु
अरु गुरु खेल्दा हाम्रा गुरु चल्दा
अरु गुरुका बेतका लौरी
हाम्रा गुरुका लोहाका लौरी
हिरा कान लुहा चक्रले हानी
मारि भुत मसान भसम पारु ॥

IX.15. Gumāne, Jap Against Witches, conclusion:

जा बोक्सी तो बोक्सीको छाल कारी

तोइ बोक्सीलाई मारी
तोइ बोक्सीलाई छेद खाल्टो सारी
तोइ बोक्सीलाई मेरो पैतलामा दबाई
तोइ बोक्सीलाई मारौं
फूल मन्तर श्री महादेवकी बाचा ॥

Conclusion of version to treat children upon whom a witch has
enviously gazed:

उल्टा छेद तेरो,
बिल्टा छेद मेरो,
तेरो छेद भस्म पारौं,
मेरो छेद उपर लिऊ,
बोक्सीका आँखा फोरी,
तुइ बोक्सीलाई मारी,
खतम पारौं ।
फूल मन्तर श्री महादेवकी बाचा ॥

IX.16. Nar Singh. Conclusion of the Bhutānlaī Dabāune Guṇ:

ॐ गज्या, ॐ गज्या,
मज्या को माइ मसान,
देवी देवता,
कप्टी बोक्सी,
भुत प्रेत,
पत्ताल धस्या ॥

IX.17. Karṇa Vīr, Ghar Bānne Jap:

जम राज मारे जम रानी मारे
काल मज्याई मारे बिकाल मज्याई मारे
लिशी गज्याई मारे पाशी गज्याई मारे
गार बज्याई मारे भिर ल्याट्याई मारे
पूर्व दिशा हाने असिमन लुहा सरको भसम भुत मारे ।
दक्षिण दिशा हाने कंसा सुर मारे ।
पश्चिम दिशा हाने मैया सुर दान्वा मारे ।
उत्तर दिशा हाने लाम कान्या दान्वा मारे ।
पूर्व पूर्व धपाई लैजा दक्षिण दक्षिण धपाई लैजा
पश्चिम पश्चिम धपाई लैजा
सिर मकुट चादी भगुत कान छनाई हात वज्रसोटा
गाली रुद्र माला बगम्बरकी छाला
फिरफिर गर्वा वचा
काला भैरम गौरा भैरम जागा भैरम निला भैरम
पिला भैरम टिङ्गा भैरम पट्का भैरम
छेदी भैना बेदी भैना कुली भैना कपती भैना
नौ नाता बाहू भैरम कपतले
भुत प्रत मुल बचना हानी यि मारी
पताल धशी गृह बानौ ॥

IX. 18. Abi Lal, Curse, untitled (complete):

सात समुद्रमा बरि बरि देउता थान

तिमी देउता इश्वरका बाण ।
तिमी देउता लागौला, छिबौला
राज इश्वरीले बाण ॥

IX.19. Karṇa Vīr: Revoking a Curse (Lāgu Pharkāune Jap), complete:

सात समुद्रमा बरि बरि देउता थान
तिमी देउता इश्वरका बाण
जहाँ तिम्रो थान होई तिम्रो भान
जहाँ जाऊ होई जाऊ ॥

IX.20. Gumāne. Jap Against Witches, second version of IX. 15 above.

X.1. Nar Singh. Introduction to the Rāyā Sarsu Jap:

पहिले स्याउली चिनाई दिया ।
सात मुठा बनाउन पर्छ ।
नौ मुठा भित्र, हाम्रो घर भयो ।
घर गुवाउरोमा सातै मुठा बान्न दियो ।
(शिव ॐ नाराण)
त्यहा अब गुरुले आफू सित बसाल्या ।
म बौलीया अब । हवा आए,
बौलीया र यँही आएर आफ्नो देउता समात्या ।
हवा भित्र गए, आफ्नो कुलान देउता समात्या ।
समात्या, त्यहाँ बाट देउता थामीनु भयो ।
आफ्नो घरैको देउता समात्या,

आलड मालड समात्या, भुत प्रेत समात्या ।
 सात बटा को, एउटा कप्तीको,
 एउटा बनको मालड भयो,
 एउटा भुतको, एउटा डंकीको,
 एउटा माइ मसानको,
 एउटा आफ्नो मान्दखेरी जिजू बिराजू मानेको कुलान,
 एउटा पितरको ।
 सात बटा स्याउली भित्र, गुवाउरोमा,
 सात बटा स्याउली बाहिर ।
 जो हाम्रो तिर्थ गऱ्यो,
 आफ्नो मूल देउता को च्याहै पाटी हामीले चिन्यौ,
 भित्र पनि चिन्यो ॥

X.2. Nar Singh. Introduction to the Rāyā Sarsu Jap, continued:

पहिले, सुरुमा, रायो सर्सु सिकाई दिऊ ।
 "गुरु बाबै, गुरु बाबै, नमो नमाः" भन्दिया ।
 "गुरु बाबै, तिप्रो पाई सरनम" भन्दिया ।
 "लाकायो गुरु, पलायो गुरु,
 सिकायो गुरु, सदायो गुरु" भन्दिया ।
 (अब गुरुले फेरी लाकायो, सिकायो, सदायो)
 अहिले चारम गाया ?
 "रायु सर्सु कहिले उब्ज्या" भन्दिया ।
 "उनी जुग, उनी बारमा उब्ज्या" भन्दिया ।
 "जय जय गुरु, धर्म जुगमा उब्ज्या" भन्दिया ।
 "काली जुगमा, हत्मा जुगमा उब्ज्या" भन्दिया ।

“यिनी रायो ससुं एकै दिनमा, एकै पाते भया,
दुवै दिनमा, दुवै पाते भया” भन्दिया ।

X.3. Deo Ram. Dyaᅅgro Banāune Okhā:

दुवै जना गए, कठ मुरीख,
फेवैमा ज हेरे, साँबे सरीप,
टुपै जो हेरे, काली अरींगल छन ।
दिदैँन काटन दिदैँन प, वकीं फकीं आए ।
भलो रम्मा संग, जाऊ न जाऊ न हौ,
कठी मूर्ख, जम्ले धजा चारै दिशा बाँध ।
मुठी सक्रि वाइ, कुभ साँबे सरीप,
कालो अरींगल, भष्म परि गए ।
लुकी चोट छोडे, चोरी चोट छोडे ।
एकै र चोट हान्यो, दुवै थप्की लायो,
एकै चप्री फाल्यो, अक्काश भाग दियो ।
तीनै थप्की लायो, दुवै चप्री फाल्यो,
पत्ताल भाग भयो । चारै थप्की हान्यो,
तीनै चप्री फाल्यो, त्यसरां भाग भयो ।
पांचै थप्की हान्यो, चारै चप्री फाल्यो,
चौका भाग भयो । छै चोट हान्यो,
पांचै चप्री फाल्यो, पांच भाग भयो ।
सातै थप्की हान्यो, छवै चप्री फाल्यो,
भलो रम्माको, अकाल मृत्यूक भाग ।
आठै थप्की हान्यो, सातै चप्री फाल्यो,

संसार भाग भयो, नबै थप्की हान्यो,
आठै चप्री फाल्यो, सिद्ध भाग भयो ।
सिरम भाग भयो, दशै थप्की हान्यो,
नाबै चप्री फाल्यो, स्याखुर ठली गयो,
पूर्व सिर भयो, पष्चिम पैरा भयो ।

(१ त्यस ठांडको देवी देवता)

X.4. Deo Ram. Dyāngro Banāune Okhā:

खिलै मार दाजु, टासै मार दाजु,
जदौ डा बराजु,
खिलै डा मारम टासै डा मारम,
एकै खिलै मारे, लम्जा तिलु कामी,
दुपी बाँगो भयो,
लम्जा तिलु कामी, जदौ डा बराजु,
नाजै जबर त, महा दोख रेछ ।
दाजु तिलु कामी, खिल मारी सक,
टांस मारी सक, आके फुर्मान दिउला,
बाके फुर्मान दिउला, दुवै र खिला मान्यो,
लम्जा तिलु कामी, कानै बैरा भयो,
तीनै र खिल मान्यो, लम्जा तिलु कामी,
नजर डेरो भयो, चारै खिल मान्यो,
लम्जा तिलु कामी, नाके बाङ्गो भयो,
पांच खिल मान्यो, लम्जा तिलु कामी,

मुखै बाङ्गो भयो, छवै खिल मान्यो,
 लम्जा तिखु कामी, मन्टो बाङ्गो भयो,
 सातै खिल मान्यो, लम्जा तिखु कामी,
 हात लुलो भयो, आठै खिल मान्यो,
 लम्जा तिखु कामी, कन्धो कुप्रो भयो,
 नवै खिल मान्यो, लम्जा तिखु कामी,
 गोरी लुला भयो, नवै किल मान्यो,
 नवै टांस मान्यो, चवै दोबाटोमा,
 स्याखुर घोप्टो पाच्यो, लुब्जा छोपी दियो,
 हेम चराउदे छन, हेल्मा चराउदे छन,
 हेमो चर्ने भएन, हेल्मो चर्ने भएन,
 लाडू स हान, घोगो छागा हान,
 यम चरी गयो, हेल्मा चरी गयो ।

X.5. Karṇa Vīr. Names of the *ban jhākrī*:

सल्ला रम्मा, बल्ला रम्मा, खयर रम्मा, बयर रम्मा,
 इगना रम्मा, खर्सु रम्मा, भला भाँक्री, सल्ली भाँक्री,
 एर्सु भाँक्री, कोराकाने भाँक्री ।

At the same time, Karṇa Vīr also named a few of his *vān*:

हर्दो वाण, कुइरो वाण, बृक्षी वाण, शौला वाण

and some of his *vīr*:

हनुमान वीर, धौल्या वीर, नरसिङ्ग वीर,
 हल्यै वीर, गल्यै बिर, छड्के वीर.

For other names, see also IX.2.

बस्यार् रम्मा बोलाई लियो ।
इन्द्र घरमा गया ।
आलड वरी खेल्न लाग्या, मालड वरी खेल्न लाग्या,
सहना धिरैया, सपना धिरैया,
आरग गछु, पारग गछु,
लादन सोइया गछु, बादन सोइया गछु,
लड लड सुहा खेल्या,
घारी गजा हान्या, घुइचा बुज्जा फाल्या
यिनी फलका टुना दाखे कुकुरलाई दिउन
दाखे कुकुरलाई देउन भया
दाखे कुकुरलाई खायो
लेख पाइली गार चिन्यो, गार पाइली लेख चिन्यो
लेख बिन्ना लाग्या, हलसीको पाइला चिन्न लाग्या ।
खाने फल हो कि । मरे मर्ला ।
बजर मुखलाई देऊ ।
बजर मुख खायो ।
जल उजल गर्न लाग्यो, मूल उर्जल गर्न लाग्यो,
उदिर्ड बिदिर्ड खेल्न लाग्यो ।
खाने फल रैछ भने मरे मर्ला ।
निबोल लाटो देऊ न भन्या ।
निबोल लाटो दिया ।
निबोल लाटो खायो ।
कुरा गर्न लाग्यो, न्याय गर्न लाग्यो,
सिनाफ चिन्न लाग्यो, केचरिमा बस्न लाग्यो ।

खाने फल रैछ भन्या ।

X.7. Man Dev. Jad Kheti, which expands on the version just cited:

तीनै दिन जामा, रँग भँग भयो ।

क्याको अन्न रैछ ।

लाटा खुवाई दिऊ, लाटी खुवाई दिऊ,

मन्यय लाटा मर्ला, मन्यय लाटी मर्ला ।

लाटा खुवाई दिए, लाटी खुवाई दिए,

लाटा यो मारैँन, लाटी यो मारैँन,

लाटा हा हा गर्छ, लाटी ही ही गर्छ,

खाने चीज पो रैछ, खाने फल पो रैछ,

अमृत भोजन रहैछ ।

कुचन बुडा जाले, कुचन बुडी जाले,

अफ्र अफ्र पनि,

रिखे खुवाई दिऊन, मुख्ये खुवाई दिऊन,

मन्ये मुख्ये मर्ला, मन्ये रिखे मर्ला,

मुख्ये खुवाई दिए, रिखे खुवाई दिए,

रिखे मन्ये जाले, गाँउ नगरैँमा,

छर छिमेकैँमा,

बिचार गर्न लागे, निसाफ गर्न लाग ।

खाने चीज पो रैछ, खाने फल पो रैछ,

अमृत भोजन रहैछ ।

कुचन बुडा जाले, कुचन बुडी जाले,

अफ्र अफ्र पनि,

बिचार खुवाई दिऊन, कटुवाल खुवाई दिऊन,

मन्थे मिचार मर्ला, मन्थे कटुवाल मर्ला,
 कटुवाल खुवाई दिए, मिचार खुवाई दिए,
 गाँउ नगरैमा, छर छिमेकैमा,
 उडास हाल्न लाग्यो, बितास हाल्न लाग्यो ।
 खाने चीज पो रैछ, खाने फल पो रैछ,
 अमृत भोजन रहैछ ।

X.8. Karṇa Vīr. Tōyo Khāne Melā:

जल जन्तु जलि जलमा थियो ।
 जल भित्र हुँदा जाऊ तयो खाने बेला जल जन्तु
 चाहिन्छ ।
 जल जन्तु ल्याऊ भन्या ।
 जल जन्तु ल्याउदा जल जन्तु कहाँ छन भनि
 जलमा बोलाउदा जल जन्तुले म जलमा छु ।
 खालीमा कान पनि छैनन आँखा पनि छैनन
 पुछर पनि छैनन मुख पनि छैनन खुट्टा पनि छैनन
 जल जन्तुले भन्दा
 फेरी आएर रम्मा जौरातम संग जल जन्तु लिएनौ ।
 जल जन्तुले जलमा छु
 बिना आँखाको बिना नाकको बिना कानको बिना मुखको
 म कसरी जाऊ भएकी घर भन्दा भन्यो ।
 जाऊ जोल्या रिठा गेरा जपेर जहाँ बोल्छ ह्याई आँखा
 माथी फालदिनु ।
 कचेवाको पात जपेर ह्याई कान माथी फालदिनु ।
 धतुरो जपेर तेरो मुख यहि भयो भनेर

जहाँ बोल्छ ह्याई फालदिनु भन्यो ।
 बासको ठेउली जपेर तेरो खुट्टा यिनी भया भनेर फालदिनु ।
 धागाको डोरी जपेर तेरो पुछर यहि भयो भनेर फालदिनु ।
 जल जन्तु जहाँ बोल्थो त्यहाँ फाली दिया ।
 जल जन्तु तयार भयो ।
 त्यहाँ बाट जल जन्तु ल्याए
 उकास गर्न लाग्या पकास गर्न लाग्या
 देउ उकास गन्या धामै उकास गरे
 गृह उकास गन्या तोयो खान लाग्या ।

X.9. Karṇa Vīr. Gol ra Aṅg bāndhne mantar:

गजुरै आव्ती
 वर देखना पर देखना
 चन्दै सुर्दा रत बरना
 घोरनैका तल पाव बन्ना
 हान्नैका हात बन्ना
 बोल्नैका जिब्रा बन्ना
 देखनै का नजर बन्ना
 गाउँकी डङ्गीनीका छेदी बन्ना भेदी बन्ना
 चारै (जात) नजर बन्ना
 महामै जल सिदी जल जिबा जल
 सीभाका जिब्बा काटी सुर्ज सुकाऊ
 थानाका बर्मा बन्ना
 कुनाका पितर बन्ना
 डाँडाको ठीङ्ग्याल बन्ना

गेलको भाँक्री बन्ना
दुवाँको मसान बन्ना
सावै सेरो बन्ना [सागरको सेरो?]
राजै छुर बन्ना
बागै चुर बन्ना
चारै जात नजर बन्ना
महामै जल सिदी जल जिबा जल
सीभा जिब्बा काटी सुर्ज सुकाँऊ ॥

X.10. Man Dev. Suwā Khetī:

मढाँ सगौतीको, जिउदो सगौतीको,
ल्याएर देवर तेल, चुवा चन्दन काठ,
पुर्वे घर बाट,
सल्ली डाली लियो, भल्ली डाली लियो,
लछाँदैमा लियो, पकाँदैमा लियो ।
रम्मा पुरनजाले, सल्ली डाली जालाई,
देवमा ठहर भए, धाममा ठहर भए,
लालै सुवा भए, चन्दन सुवा भए ।

X.11. Deo Ram, quoted as he discussed his own initiation. Probably
from the Bhārī Bhampā Sirjāune Khetī:

सुर्य चन्द्र साँछी, नौ लाख तारा साँछी,
सत्य जुग सिता साँछी,
द्वापर जुग द्रुपदा साँछी,

त्रेता जुग तुलसा माई साँछी,
काली जुग कालीका माई साँछी,
सत्य मेरो गुरुको साँछी ।

X.12. Gore Sārki. Toyo Khāne:

तोयन जेलान भैगो, आयन तिम्रा मौकान,
सत्यला देवय, राम र मेला तिम्रै,
तोयन जेलान तिम्रै,
आयन तिम्रा मौकान ।

X.13. Karṇa Vīr. Toyo Khāne:

राजा बारा रजेनी मान
काजी बारा कजेनी मान
ठाकुर बारा ठौरानी मान
बाहुन बारा बाहुनेनी मान
मगर बारा मगरनी मान
कापी बारा कामेनी मान
सार्की बारा सार्केनी मान
दोली बारा दोलेनी मान
गाइन बारा गैनेनी मान
बादी बारा बदेनी मान
हुकर््या बारा हुर्केनी मान
फुकर््या बारा फुर्केनी मान
पोरा बारा पोच्यानी मान

X.14. Deo Ram. Description of Initiation, collected by John Hitchcock in 1962. Partly translated, partly transliterated; original text unavailable.

X.15. Nar Singh Kāmī. Description of Toyo Khāne (also including remarks incorporated elsewhere in my text):

एक मडसिर पूर्नी, एक जेठस्य पूनी भया ।
एक पाठो, एक भेडा चाहिन्छ ।
सुवा चाहिन्छ ।
छोको देउता खेलाउँछ, एक भेडा बराहलाई ।
एउटा पाठो प्रेतलाई ।
एक बन भाँक्री छ, बणस खण्डी, एक मूर्का चाहिन्छ ।
सल्ली रुख ढयाङ्गोमा चढेर उहि उठाई
दिएर पाठो भेडो माफी खेलाउँछन ।
राया ससुं जपेर सुवा बानेयौ,
त्यै गुण बाट सुवा बान्यौ, माथी चदेयो ।
त्यै माथी बाट, लागु जासु, पानी सुगा, पानी आउँछ भने,
पानी आउँछ, * जलमा सरा देखीछ ।
तल बटुकामा पानी बसाउनु पर्छ,
एक रुपिया दाम बसाउनु पर्न्यो,
माथी बाट तल उहि जल हेर्छन ।
हेर्न्यो भने पानी आँउने ताइम (TIME) भयो भने
कुइरो लागेको हुन्छ, पानीमा माथी ।
सुगा परेन भने पानी छर्लङ्ग देखीछ ।

"लौ, सुगा आउदैन" भन्नु पर्छ ।
 तल पानीमा कुइरो देख्यौ भने
 "लौ, यस्तो थिती, यस्तो मिती मा पानी आयो"
 * तल सुगा गाएको हुन्छ,
 त्यहीमा जल बट्टु हुन्छ, पानीको,
 थालमा पानी बनायो, पानी * दिनु पर्छ ।
 त्यही माथी, रुमाल ले तोडी दिनु पर्छ ।
 त्यही माथी गएर "रुमाल फाल्दे" भन्नु पर्छ ॥

X.16. Deo Ram. See X.14.

X.17. Man Dev. Tok Khāne Khetī:

हारी कर्म तेरो, भोगी कर्म मेरो ।
 फलाम कुचीकन, तेरो खुर भइगो,
 तेरो सिंग भइगो ।
 कपास गंडा जाको, तेरो भुतला भइगो ।
 रिठा गंडा हाली, तेरो आँखा भइगो ।
 बागै स्वरुप जस्तो, तेरो कान भइगो ।

X.18. Karṇa Vīr, Sati Barbā, a slight variant of V.12.

X.19. Karṇa Vīr, Sati Barbā, immediately precedes VI.12:

हामी उजै चन, बीजै चन, सागी चन, भागी चन,
 काशी कस्मेरा जाने हौ ।

हाप्रा अल्छी पञ्या, तुल्छी पञ्या,
 दुर्दिन लागी गया ।
 अलब्य तलब्य बाउन, कान चीरा गोसाईंले
 दुर्दिन भरी बोकी लिन्छन रे,
 सुदिन ढल्काई दिन्छन रे,
 अलब्य तलब्य बाउन, कान चीरा गोसाईंलाई भेटन
 काशी कस्मेरा जाने हौ,
 सुदिन लाउन जाने हौ ।
 काशी कस्मेरा अलब्य तलब्य बाउन,
 कान चीरा गोसाईं हामी हौ भन्न लाग्यो ।
 त्यसा भया, सुदिन ढल्काई दिनु पञ्या,
 दुर्दिन बोकी लिनु पञ्या भन्या ।
 दुर्दिन भरी बोकी लिया,
 सुदिन ढल्काई दिया ।
 सुदिन ढल्काई, घर आया ।

X.20. Karṇa Vīr, Gauḍā Tāḍā Garāune Melā:

मेरो आटै, तेरो आटै,
 तैरे भोग, तैरे हातपाप,
 मलाई पनि छैन, मेरो मदौरु छैन,
 तेरो जन्मन सन्माउन भयो ।

XI.1. Karṇa Vīr, Tilīgramā:

आरख गर्दा, पारख गर्दा,

सुइन गर, सपना गर,
कति लाया, भक्केनीयो,
कैले गावन देला, कैले चोलो देला,
तित्रै बैनी लाइन लिएर माजा राजाले,
सास राख्या छैन, प्राण राख्या छैन,
म त जान्छु, तिलीग्रमा ।

दार आँशु रोया
बिब्या गावन रया बिब्या चोली रया
म त जान्छु तिलीग्रमा भन्या ।
जसै रम्मा जुम्रातम बाटो लाग्न लाग्या ।
नौवै स्याउली जप्या राजा मुट्टु छोडी दिया ।
रम्मा जुम्रातम गया नासो बाड्न लाग्या ।
सर्व लटी नासो लैजाऊ स्याली रुखमा ।
डाफे पाटन नासो लैजाऊ छार्काभोटमा ।
सुर्का रेजी नासो लैजाऊ काला पाटनमा ।
कसन डोरी नासो लैजाऊ पूवा बारीमा ।
शंख कौरी नासो लैजाऊ बानीया दोखानमा ।
कचुर बास नासो लैजाऊ कचुर बारीमा ।
गोला भूत नासो लैजाऊ चुवाचन्दनमा ।
म त जान्छु तिलीग्रमा ।
जोली जुङ्गा नासो लैजाऊ कस्यारा दोखानमा ।
घोरल छाला नासो लैजाऊ राता पहरमा ।
सवी बारा नासो लैजाऊ गेल रङ्गमा ।
बेतै अल्जा नासो लैजाऊ सुदार पानीमा ।
म त जान्छु तिलीग्रमा ।

घरी गजा नासो लैजाऊ घरी रूखमा ।
 जंग्या वीर नासो लैजाऊ शीश रूखमा ।
 जोली घण्ट जोली घुउरा नासो लैजाऊ
 खनीया तिमीलाबोटमा ।
 चौरु भौरु नासो लैजाऊ छाकाभोटमा ।
 गाल्ल्या छड्के वीर बाली जातका नासो भया
 म त जान्छु तिलीग्रमा ।
 ठारी हलेक तेछीं गादी सुची सुरुवाल नासो लैजाऊ
 सुचीया दोखानमा ।
 म त जान्छु तिलीग्रमा ।
 नासो भरी वारी सक्या
 रण कोश गया भुन कोश गया
 छिर्नेनेटी चिप्लै गौरी गया चायानेटी गया
 घरी गजा हान्या
 रण कोश गया भुन कोश गया ।
 फुको धागा छोज्या फुको धागा बाट
 सातै तला मान्दम भञ्या तिलीग्रमा भञ्या ।

XI.2. Man Dev, Gauḍā Khetī:

भुमा भाँक्रेलनीले,
 कानै सुन फिक्को, नाकै नदिया फिक्को,
 औले मुन्द्री फिक्को,
 बिप्ये चोली लायो, सिपे गावन लायो,
 औले मुन्द्री फिक्को, हातै ठोका फिक्को,
 मण्टै हैमाल फिक्को,

सिप्ये खोली पारी, बिप्ये खोपी पारी,
अवर्णे पो भयो, विवर्णे पो भयो ।

XI.3. Karṇa Vīr, Tilīgramā:

म त जान्छु तिलीग्रमा ।
म हर्ने बाटो बैसलकीको खत होला
पूवा घारी होला बेसारको रेखा होला
बोक्सी हर्न्या बाटो होला सिस्नु घारी होला
खरानीको रेखा होला भनी
नौवै स्याउली जप्पा राजा मुट्टु छोडी दिया ।
मट्टी गोर गौरा लाउनु हंश मठ डारा लाउनु

XI.4. Deo Ram, Gaudā Khetī:

मशान गए बाटो, अंगार कोइला होला,
सिउरे गए बाटो, मिदुरो को रेला,
रगतको पिण्डो,
बन्या गए बाटो, लौका चिण्डो सित,
रम्मा गए बाटो, चवै दोबाटोमा,
घुरेन मुरेन होला, सर्गा स्याउली होला ।

XI.5. Karṇa Vīr, Tilīgramā:

ठारी नाल गन्या तेछीं ढोकान गन्या
ताउली धार्न लाग्या गाद्री धार्न लाग्या

टाड टाड गर्न लाग्या टुड टुड गर्न लाग्या
टुमट्टैको भेष लिया ।

while the returning of the pledges is included in XI.1 above.

XI.6. Kamāro Kāmī: Nau Bainīkā Melā:

आमा, एक टपरीमा पानी हाल,
एक टपरीमा तिप्रो दुध हाल ।
म मच्या भन्या दुध को रगत बन्न जाला,
पानी सुक्न जाला ।
म बाँचे भन्या दुध को दुध हुन जाला
र पानी थोरै बदन जाला ।

XI.7. Karṇa Vīr, Juma Kāl Juma Dūtkā Bhog Dinu Melā:

क्या काजमा आयौ चेली, क्या काममा आयौ ।
नौ जून दाइजो लिन आयौ बुवा,
नौ बेल दाइजो लिन आयौ,
मृत्यू मण्डलमा, रातको रातै छ दिनको रातै छ,
कसो राखु दिनु कसो राखु मानु भन्न लागिन् ।
नवै जून दाइजो छैन, छोरी, नवै बेल दाइजो छैन ।
हाती अलाग घोडी तबेला, हीरा मोठी हजारौ रुपिया,
जो चाहिन्छ लैजाउ, नवै जून नवै बेल दाइजो छैन
भन्या ।
लौ त जियइ, मार पुगेर जुन मुन गर ।
मोही ठीको फर्राई,

खुङ्गी बाँसको धनु लेब्रे बाँसको ताँदो,
 जमुटाको सर खाठे रैमा बिष,
 छुनुमुनु घारो लोती फिग्री भाको,
 लेख कुर्लि गार चार गार कुर्लि लेख बथान,
 बन सिकार खेल्न बाबु छोरा गया ।
 दाज्यू नाराण बाबु भगवान गैग्या ।
 नाराणकी बैनी हुलाँ
 बाबु अन्नकेली छोरी हुलाँ त
 छोरी हत्या लागोई बैनी पाप लागोई
 मरी जान्छु भनीन् ।
 नरनामको जोल्या मलाम्यामा होई देऊ भनीन् ।
 नरनामको जोल्या मलाम्यामा गया,
 रानी सागर बैनी सागर रुइनि सागर मोच्या,
 घाट भच्या, चियान बगर भच्या ।
 चुवा चन्दन श्री खण्ड मलायागिरी दाउरा चिर्या,
 एकै तल्या सला चिन्त्या, एकै सगर भया,
 दुवै तल्या सला चिन्त्या, दुवै सगर भया,
 तीनै तल्या सला चिन्त्या, तीनै सगर भया,
 चारै तल्या सला चिन्त्या, चारै सगर भया,
 पाँचै तल्या सला चिन्त्या, पाँचै सगर भया,
 छै तल्या सला चिन्त्या, छै सगर भया,
 सातै तल्या सला चिन्त्या, सातै सगर भया,
 आठै तल्या सला चिन्त्या, आठै सगर भया,
 नवै तल्या सला चिन्त्या, नवै सगर भया,
 नाराणका जोल्या फिर्ता गैजाऊ भनिन् ।
 सत्य नाराणकी बैनी हुलाँ,

बाबु भगवानकी चेली हुलाँ,
 छोरी हत्या लागोस्, बैनी पाप लागोस् भनि,
 नवै सलो जाला सला ।
 सतकल गरि सला परिन् ।
 बन मौजा बाट
 दाज्यू नाराण भगवानले देखी पाया ।
 हाप्रो रानी सगर कौन मोरो पञ्या,
 सला बल्लन लाग्या,
 अन्नकेली छोरी चन्द्र हो कि छोरी हो कि ।
 हो कि बुवा भन्न लाग्या ।
 सत्य नाराणकी बैनी होला,
 बाबु भगवानकी चेली होला,
 सला लिपी जीवै भया ।
 सत दोली सतकलले सला लिपी गया ।
 आई पुग्या रानी सगर मोरा घाट आया
 सिचीनीले सेच्या भेपेनीले फुक्या
 पैते औठी भेट्या, आड रगत दिया,
 बाहाँ बल तिघ्रा मासी, पून पुरुष हाल्या,
 अमर चण्डी ठोक्या, वेत दण्डी ठोक्या,
 काला चौउर भान्या, सेती चौउर भान्या,
 गैजा बैनी अन्नकेली छोरी चन्द्र ।
 जुजु माला रुपैया आलम गरिन्
 इन्द्र घर गइन् ।
 लैजाऊ चेली रुज दाइजो तिप्रो ।
 नौ जून दाइजो दिया नौ बेल दाइजो दिया
 गादी हाल्या, गादी जल्य्या,

खोक्याली हाल्या, खोक्याली जल्या,
 डोगी हाल्या, डोगी जल्या,
 रुन मर्न लागिन् ।
 कसो बरी गरुँ भन्न लागिन् ।
 सुन ठ्याउली गज्या, रुप बिकीं गज्या,
 हिउ चरी हाल्या, कुइरीका बिकनु,
 बिजुली चम्को, अध्यारीका भन्का हाल्या,
 लैजाऊ चेली तिप्रो घरमा,
 उचा डाँडा जाऊ तिप्रा मण्डलमा,
 उचा डाँडा गया उचा डाँडा बाट,
 हिउचरी उतर दालमा छोड्नु,
 आधी बरी दक्षिण दालमा छोड्नु,
 बिजुली चम्को कुइरीका भन्का,
 पसिम दालमा छोड्नु,
 नवै जून नवै बेल पूब दिशा छोड्नु ।
 एकै तला भरिन्,
 दुवै तला तीनै तला चारै तला पाँचै तला
 छै तला सातै तला मान्दम भरिन् ।
 उचा डाँडा बाट नवै जून नवै बेल
 पूब दिशा छोड्नु दिहन् ।
 हिउ चरी उतर दालमा छोडिन् ।
 आधी बरी बिजुली चम्को कुइरीका भन्का
 पसिम दालमा छोडिन् ।
 आधी बरी दक्षिण दालमा छोडिन् ।

(the rest is the same as V.7).

XI.8. Karṇa Vīr, Juma Kāl Juma Dūtkā Bhog Dinu Melā, but identical to the Daijo Melā, quoted as V.8:

XI.9. Karṇa Vīr, Tilīgramā:

सिजापति राजा घडी छिर्न लाग्या घडी मर्न लाग्या ।
जाऊ न जोल्या मेरो बाबु उही हो
सास राब्ला प्रान राब्ला, ल्याई देऊ भन्न लाग्या ।
कोकलसारो लिज्या मुष्टी बिष्ट कालो कटुवाल चिभ्या
डाफेया पाटन मुस्यालिरी
पाँचै जना जोल्या ताराताली गया ।
कठै भक्नेनीयौ तिम्रा भक्की कता गया
सिकाई देऊ त भन्या ।
मेरो भक्की मरि गया,
डारा हेर हंश मठ, गैरा हेर मट्टी घौडा
चुहुदा आशु भुदा केश, बिब्या गावन बिब्या चोली छु
जोल्या भन्न लागिन् ।
त्यसो भया जोल्या फर्कि जाऊ ।
जोल्या फर्कि गया स्याङ्गबोट गया ।
भोटया रुमाले
कहाँका जोल्या भयौ कता बाट आयौ भन्न लाग्या ।
ताराताली रम्मा जुम्रातम ल्याउन गयौ
भक्की मरि गैछन भन्न लाग्या ।
तिम्रो मण्डलका भक्की मरिगो जोल्या
त्यसो भया हर भक्की भन्या ।
खेपाराको चुर्मी गन्या, दियालोको गजा गन्या,

तुसारीको वारो गच्या, छेकरीको छाला गच्या,
 सिजाकोट गया ।
 आलड वरी खेल्या मालड वरी खेल्या,
 सात नाम्जा पस्या, सात नाम्जा उठी गया ।
 काट्या काट, राजै, मान्या मार, राजै,
 तिप्रो भाँक्री म होइन, तिप्रो भाँक्री तिलीग्रमा छ ।
 ठारी नाल छ, तेछीं दोकान छ,
 टुमट्टैको भेष लिया, ताउली माछ गाग्री माछ
 तिप्रो भाँक्री तिलीग्रमा छ भन्या ।
 त्यसो भया जान्ने रैछ भाँक्री, क्या लिन्छै भन्या ।
 फोक्सो रोज्यो स्याकुबोट गया ।
 काटी कुटी तिउन टेकाया, जोइ त गैगै,
 दाउरा बाट फल सरी आइगइ,
 दाउरा बाट फल सरी खाया ।
 यमु फल कैले खाया भाँक्री ।
 मैले खाया भाँक्रीले भन्या ।
 त्यसो भया जैले फल खाला,
 उहीले भोल खाला भन्या ।
 तातो भोल आडमा हाली दिया ।
 भाँक्रीले फटाड गच्या फुटुड गच्या
 भाँक्री भागी गया ।

XI.10. Deo Ram, quoted in his discussion of the death rites:

जदौ गुरु बाबु, अक्के फुर्मान देऊ, बक्के फुर्मान देऊ ।

XI.11. Deo Ram, Gauḍā Ucalne Okhā:

रक्र जोरी रक्र,
मंस जोरी मंस,
ज्यान जोरी ज्यान,
पौन जोरी पौन ।

XI.12. Karṇa Vīr, Tilīgramā:

गार चारन गरिन्, लेख बथान गरिन्,
वन सिकार खेलन् गइन् ।
आधै आड बाबु खनुसेरा,
आधै आड जाग्या मृग आया ।
जेठी बैनी गौरा छेक्न गया,
कान्छी बैनी हान्या,
दाहिने कोखी लाग्न गया ।
क़ारी तानी दाल्या, उन्न्यू बुजो लाया,
रक्र होरी लाग्दै गया ।
पाइली पाउन्त्या भैनन, पलास पाउन्त्या भैनन ।

XI.13 and 14. Karṇa Vīr, Tilīgramā:

दे बैनै, म त जेठी बैनी भया,
मलाई दोक ।
क़ान्छी बैनीले
म त माल रानी भया,

मुलुक मेरो भया, मैदान मेरो भया,
 मलाई दोक दिदै भन्न लागिन् ।
 नाई बैनै, शिर कुच्ची आया,
 जेठो मानु खायाँ, मलाई दोक भन्न लागिन् ।
 नाई दिदै, मुलुक मेरो भया,
 मेरो राजाले सिर्ता खान्छ, बिर्ता खान्छ,
 डारी खान्छ, मारी खान्छ,
 राजा ठूलो हुन्छ, भाँक्री सानु हुन्छ,
 मलाई दोक दिदै भन्न लागिन् ।
 नाई बैनी, शिर कुच्ची आया,
 जेठो मानु खायाँ,
 तेरो राजाले डारी खान्छ, मारी खान्छ,
 सिर्ता खान्छ, बिर्ता खान्छ,
 दिनको सरी तेरो राजा हुन्छ,
 रातको सरी मेरो भाँक्री हुन्छ ।
 दुःखी घर चल्छन, सुखी घर चल्छन,
 ख्वाई चल्छन, नख्वाई चल्छन,
 मेरो भाँक्री ठूलो हुन्छ ।
 जिवै बिनी, जिवै चिनी,
 भाँक्री घर कस्ता अनुहार, कस्ता पुनुहार,
 कसा लाउनु, कसा खानु,
 घर जानछु दिदै भन्न लागिन् ।
 नाई बैनै,
 तेरो राजाले रिसै मान, खिसै मान,
 भाँक्री भन्या अब्याग्री हुन्छ, व्याग्रा हुन्छ,
 भाँक्री घर जानु हुदैन भनिन् ।

नाई दिदै,
 न नगइ छोड्दिन भनिन् ।
 ताराताली वर्षा रम्मा जुम्रातमले
 आरख गर्दा पारख गदा
 रम्मा भक्केनी माल रानी इठी
 मेरा घर आउछे भन्या ।
 आला सापको डारा गच्या,
 तिरीसैका बला गच्या, हरिकाना बाता गच्या,
 डाफै पाटन छाना गच्या, सुन कौरी वान्तु गच्या,
 भेरी भक्कमक्क पाच्या, राती भक्कमक्क पाच्या ।
 माल रानी गइन्, मर्छा गिरिन् ।
 भाँक्री भिना घर अति रुप्स्या रैछ भन्न लागिन् ।
 आला टाउका खुट्टा खान्या, बासी टाउका खुट्टा फाल्या,
 आला दही केरा खान्या, बासी दही केरा फाल्या,
 आला लड्डू बतासा खाना लागिन्,
 बासी लड्डू बतासा फाल्न लागिन् ।
 खाना भुलाइ, लाउन भुलाइ,
 छ मास, बर्ष दिन बसिगई ।
 माल राजा रीस मान लाग्या, खीस मान लाग्या ।

XI.15. Gumāne, Tilīgramā:

भाँक्रीले नजाऊ भन्या,
 म भाँक्री बस्न खाने मान्छे छ, दुब्ली छ,
 उ महारानी मानछ, मलाई सरम पर्छ,
 नजाऊ भन्या ।

मान्दै मन्नीन, भक्केनी आग्यै ।
 महारानी सुन धारा रूप धारा
 बाह बजे असुन धारा नुवाउन आउँछ,
 मेरे बैनी यहि आउले, म भेटउला,
 म यहि बस्छु भनेर धारामा बसिन्, भक्केनी ।
 पंच बाजा सँग, ढोली सँग आया, महारानी ।
 देखी त्यही भक्केनीलाई ।
 है काँकी रक्सीनी, काँकी बोक्सीनी होइ,
 मेरा नुवाउने सुन धारा रूप धारा किन आयाछे,
 बाह बजे असुन धारा म आएकिछु,
 तो किन आयाछे यहाँ ।
 मलाई छेद गर्लैइ, भेद गर्लैइ,
 मलाई बोक्सी ओडले ।
 जाई जोलेउ, निकाल यहाँ बाट
 भन्दा भनिन्, महारानीले ।
 रुदै मर्दै गैग्या । आज भौँक्रीयौ,
 एउटा आमै एउटा बाबु, गोरापाकी छोरी,
 म उदो गुनी देखीयौ, उमो चोली देखीयौ भन्दिकन
 मलाई बोक्सीनी कक्सीनी भन्दा भनिन् ।
 सय नल बन्दुक जम्कीर, रुदै मर्दै म आइग्या ।
 भौँक्री सित कुरा गर दिया ।
 ए पक्दा, तेस्रो गर्दा म काटै दिन्छु ।
 भौँक्री लाग्या, हान दिया, जस बाजीलाई,
 सिजापति राजालाई गाभ खेलाइ दिया ।
 गादी निस्थाली भया, राज्या निस्थाली भया,
 दुणिया निस्थाली, माल अदालत सब बन्दा ।

नलक नकसारो हान दिया,
कानसारो पेटसारो हान दिया,
हाडया बाइ टोक दिया,
तिलीग्रमा गया, पसिगो ।

APPENDIX II: LITERATURE REVIEW AND
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIMALAYAN ETHNOGRAPHY



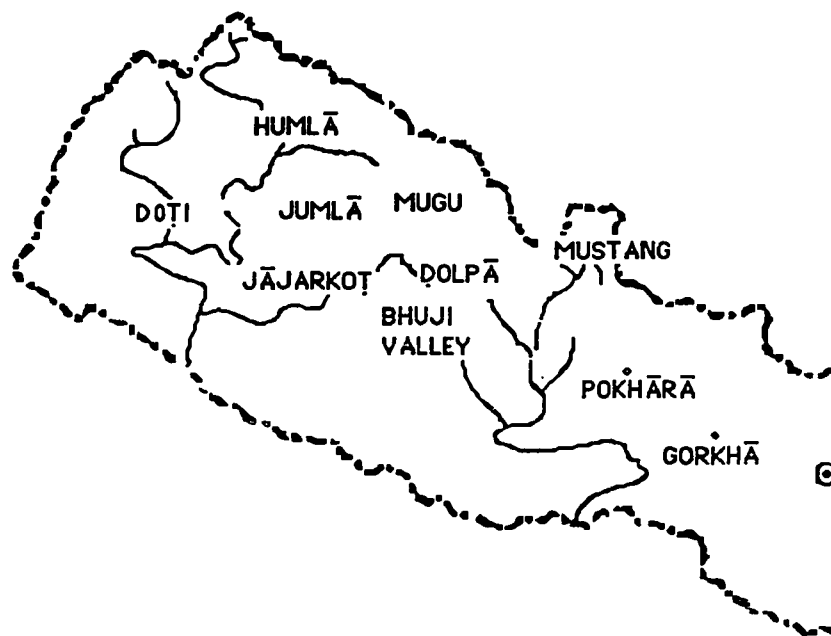
MAP II.1:
Location of Nepal
in South Asia

The kingdom of Nepal, which for a brief time included most of the southern slopes of the Himalayas, began to emerge 220 years ago, when the king of one of many petty hill states, Gorkhā, embarked on the conquest of his neighbors, successfully conquering the Newari cities of the Kathmandu Valley in 1769. That king, Prithvi Narayan Shah described his kingdom as "a flower garden of four castes and thirty-six subcastes" [*cār varṇa chattis jātko phūlbārī*], a remark which, by emphasizing the ethnic distinctions of Nepal, may be figuratively regarded as the beginning of Himalayan ethnography. Prithvi Narayan's son and grandson extended his conquests as far east as Bhutan and threatened Kashmir in the west, until Nepal's expansion was contained by the defeat at Koṭ Khangra, and by the intervention of the British, in the early 1800s. For a good history of this period, see Stiller [1973 and 1976]. Negotiations with the British, who were then expanding their control over India, established the present borders of the kingdom. By then, the many kingdoms of the Bherī-Karnālī drainage had been added to Nepal, by

conquest or negotiation, although three of them, Mustang, Salyān, and Jājarkoṭ, were granted special autonomous status, which they still retain.

Little is known of the earlier history of Western Nepal. The first Western scholar to visit the area was Guiseppe Tucci. He uncovered evidence of the previously unknown medieval kingdom of the Mallas, which for centuries ruled not only all of Western Nepal but also, apparently, most of Western Tibet (as indicated by monastic records there). The Mallas spoke an Indo-European language, and practiced Buddhism, both evidenced by pillar inscriptions. Stone temples and pillars attributed to them are scattered throughout the area, and are found as far east as Jājarkoṭ and Rukum. Their kingdom fragmented in the late fourteenth century, and was gradually replaced by numerous hill states ruled by Thakuris. Tucci [1956, 1962], supported by Petech [1958], provides the most detailed account of this early history; unfortunately, his interests were almost exclusively historical, and he was seemingly oblivious to local customs and practices; at least, he failed to record them in his books. Yogi Narharinath [B.S. 2012, 2013] is the other major source of historical background for that region. His work is a collection of documents, copies of originals that appear inscribed on stone pillars or copper plates, or written on leather or paper, which he himself copied during his travels through the area. These are fragmentary, provided without commentary or analysis, but they are practically the only historical documents known for the region, supplying at least the names of otherwise forgotten

kingdoms and their kings, many far more obscure than those of Jājarkoṭ. Nepali historians follow Tucci in their accounts; Satyamohan Jośi [B.S. 2036] or Ram Niwas Pandey [1970] add little to his original findings. Finally, a more speculative work on the Khaśa kingdom has recently appeared [Adhikary 1988], which includes a discussion of such subjects as society and culture, though the documentation is meager. There exists a one page article on King Hari Śah of Jājarkoṭ [Baiddha 2034], and one on the royal genealogy [Bhattarai 1974]; otherwise, all material relevant to Jājarkoṭ has been collected elsewhere.



MAP II.2. Nepal West of Kathmandu.

The first anthropologist to work west of the Kāli Gandaki River was John Hitchcock, exploring the Bhujī Valley in 1961/62 and

again in 1967. (See Map II.2 for its location relative to Jājarkoṭ.) His published literature on that area, unfortunately, is extremely brief, consisting of a series of very short articles [Hitchcock 1966, 1967, 1974 a,b, 1976, 1978]. This set of articles does include, however, the first published report of the *jhākrīs* that are found in Western Nepal [1967], an article which draws comparisons between the Nepali complex and the "classical" Central Asiatic tradition of shamanism, comparing in particular the symbolism of ritual flight and travel. Two other articles [1974 a, 1976] discuss, though in limited detail, a version of the Nine Sisters text, and conclude with a call for a more thorough study of such texts as an urgent project in Himalayan ethnology. His other article on shamans [1974 b] describes the performative aspects of ritual, and includes some excellent illustrations of a *jhākrī's* ritual paraphernalia. More significant for my analysis has been his extensive unpublished material, cited in my first chapter, which includes many hours of taped shaman recitals and extensive notes on performances, which I have used throughout, and in Chapter VII in particular.

For Magar areas to the east of Jājarkoṭ, a fair amount of recent research has been conducted, much of which has included shamanism as a topic of focused interest. Oppitz [1982, 1983, 1986, 1988], Watters [1975], de Sales [1985, 1989], and Molnar [1981, 1984] have all studied Magar communities, while the original monograph on them was published by John Hitchcock in 1966. Of these studies, those of Michael Oppitz and Anne de Sales include the most important accounts of Magar shamanism. Oppitz shows its

relation to death rites [1982], to kinship [1988], and compares it to astrologers' practices [1986]. David Watter's article also quotes excerpts from a shamanic recital which appears to combine the Nine Sisters story with that of Tiligramā, and again compares the complex to that of "classical" Central Asiatic shamanism. De Sales [1989] includes brief translations of fragments of shamanic recitals, and gives one specimen of the mixed Kham/Nepali language that they use, but her claim that the shamans form a paradigm for the village community by virtue of being "sons-in-law of the spirits" remains, I think, unproven. The Magar homeland overlaps Rapti and Dhaulagiri Zones, immediately to the east of Jājarkoṭ. In this area, many continue to speak Kham as their primary language and they show relatively little Hindu influence, either in terms of concepts of caste and ritual pollution or of marriage patterns. Their shamanic complex, however, is very closely related to that of the *matawālī* and *Ḍum jhākris*, (who are also found throughout that area), even to the extent that most Magar shamans sing most of their material in the Nepali language, not in Kham. The connections between these two overlapping cultures remains to be taken up, a possibility that may be more easily realized if Oppitz ever fulfills his promise to publish a study of Magar shaman texts. He suggests [1988], for example, that the difference in kinship patterns of Magars and for Ḍums are reflected in differences in the texts, a reasonable conjecture, although conclusive evidence on this point has not yet been provided. A dissertation by Marie Lecomte-Tilouine is underway on a Magar community of Gulmi District, which will include information on

jhākrī practices. She has also published an article that discusses a prosaic version of the Recital of Gorāpā and Serāpā [1987].

One complication not yet examined in the literature is the extensive clandestine Christian missionary work (especially that begun by the Watters team) that has gone on among Magars since the 1960s, a result of which is the government's increasing reluctance to admit Westerners into the area (converting anyone considered a Hindu to any other religion being a criminal offense in Nepal). This situation is further complicated by the establishment of a major Tibetan refugee settlement at Dhor Paṭān, one which is infamous for smuggling and gun running, so this inaccessibility will probably be a problem for some time.

Of additional interest on Magars are three 16 mm. films that have been made of shamanism east of Jājarkoṭ, two short ones by John and Patricia Hitchcock [1966a and 1966b], and a much longer one (220 minutes in one version) by Michael Oppitz [1980]. The latter includes particularly interesting footage of a three day initiation ceremony of a Magar *jhākrī*, and the soundtrack also shows the predominance of Nepali texts in the shamanic performances. Stills from his film with supporting photographs have also been published as a picture book [Oppitz 1981], which further documents the similarities of shamans in Jājarkoṭ and those found in Magar communities.

Jhākrīs still recognizable as related to those of Jājarkoṭ, Rukum, and Dhaulagiri can also be found still further to the east as far as Parbat, as the brief articles of Greve [1981/82 and 1982] and

Michl [1974 and 1976] have shown. Their accounts unfortunately add little new information about the complex, except to show that the intensity of the tradition apparently diminishes as one goes eastward, with fewer complex rituals, less paraphernalia (e.g. no headdress), and fewer texts (Greve was able to collect only a short version of the Nine Sisters Recitals, though it is not impossible of course that the single *jhākri* with whom he worked concealed others from him). Their research does, however, indirectly support my intuition that Kāmī [blacksmith] caste members most often practice the calling of shamans, even in the midst of other distinctive ethnic groups such as Chantals and Thakalis. Von der Heide [1988:71] claims that among the Thakalis, the *jhākri* are of the "tailor caste," while Parker [1988] states that among Thakalis with whom she worked, the shaman was a Kāmī. How far to the east this pattern holds true remains to be seen, since there have been no extensive studies the lowest castes of Nepal, though they are often peripherally mentioned in most ethnographies. Bouillier [1977] and Caplan [1972] provide introductory accounts of economic relations between higher and lower castes.

For the area north of Jājarkoṭ, less intensive research has been conducted. In the late 1960s, Marc Gaborieau conducted quick surveys of the Karnālī Drainage system (of which the Bherī is a part), publishing the first report on the God Maṣṭa [Gaborieau 1969], which is the first account of the *dhāmīs* (oracles) in Western Nepal. To date, the only other moderately detailed account of that complex is that of P. R. Sharma [1974]. His other publications [1970, 1971,

1972], all unfortunately of only a few pages apiece, are some of the only studies to have been made of the *matwālī* Chetris of the region, containing material that is also relevant to the Chetris of Jājarkoṭ. In 1971/72, the Royal Nepal Academy published a set of five monographs, by Cūḍāmani Bandhu, Pradip Rimala, Biharikṛṣṇa Shrestha, Satyamohan Jośī, and S.J. Singh on the Karnālī Zone (directly north of Jājarkoṭ). All of these are based on a total of 48 days of collective field research in the Siñjā area, and are consequently rather sketchy. Of these, the works of Bandhu [B.S. 2028] on language and Shrestha [B.S. 2028] on daily life contain some useful but spotty information, including an account of oracular practices in that village, most of which is incorporated into Campbell [1978], who chose the same field site and adds to their reports little that is new. Inga-Britt Krause [1982, 1988] has also provided two brief articles (and an unpublished dissertation) on *matwālī* Chetris of Rara, a Karnālī village which no longer exists, having been removed for the establishment of a national park. Her work concentrates on caste and labor relations. Devkota [B.S. 2027a,b] has published the only other significant work on Jumlā, a series of short essays on language, proverbs, and folklore, as well as a glossary of local words. Despite their brevity, his work ranks as the most useful of the material on the Karnālī Zone. Other work on Jumlā includes Unbescheid [1986], Jośī [2032], Nepal [1982/83], Nyaupane [2026], and Pāṇḍey [2032]. Limited though it is, this set of literature is at least sufficient to establish that the *dhāmīs* of Jājarkoṭ are an exact counterpart of those found throughout the

greater Karnāli drainage basin, a point which my own travels throughout the area confirm.

For Humlā, north of Jumlā, the best ethnographic work has been conducted by Nancy Levine, with contributions also by Mel Goldstein [1974, 1975, 1976] and Hanna Rauber [1980]. Both Levine and Hanna have noted a similar fluidity of ethnonyms to that which I noted in Jājarkoṭ. A not untypical case is found in Rauber [1980], that the Humli Kyambas sometimes call themselves "Lamas," sometimes "Gurungs," yet are called by everyone else "Bhote," while Levine [1987] observes an even more extreme case of a group in Humlā that oscillates in their own definition between being 'Bhote' and 'Kṣetri', depending on whether they are trading with Tibetans to the North or with Nepalis to the South. Levine's work concentrates on kinship (particularly of polyandry) [1982, 1985, 1988], which is also Goldstein's main concern, but she has also recently contributed a short essay on spirit possession [1989]. Many important *dhāmīs* are located in Humlā, a subject which remains to be thoroughly studied. An attractive book of photos of Humlā, including portraits of a few *dhāmīs*, by Kelly and Dunham [1986] has also appeared.

For the area to the west of Jājarkoṭ, Winkler [1976] offers a short descriptive account of oracles in Ḍoṭi, but the more detailed study that he promised has never emerged beyond his unpublished thesis [1978] and a brief discussion of political authority [1984]. A series of idiosyncratic and impressionistic books on the Ḍoṭi area have also been published by Purnā Prasād Nepāl "Yatri" [Traveler] [B.S. 2034a, 34b, B.S. 2035, and others], which contain scattered

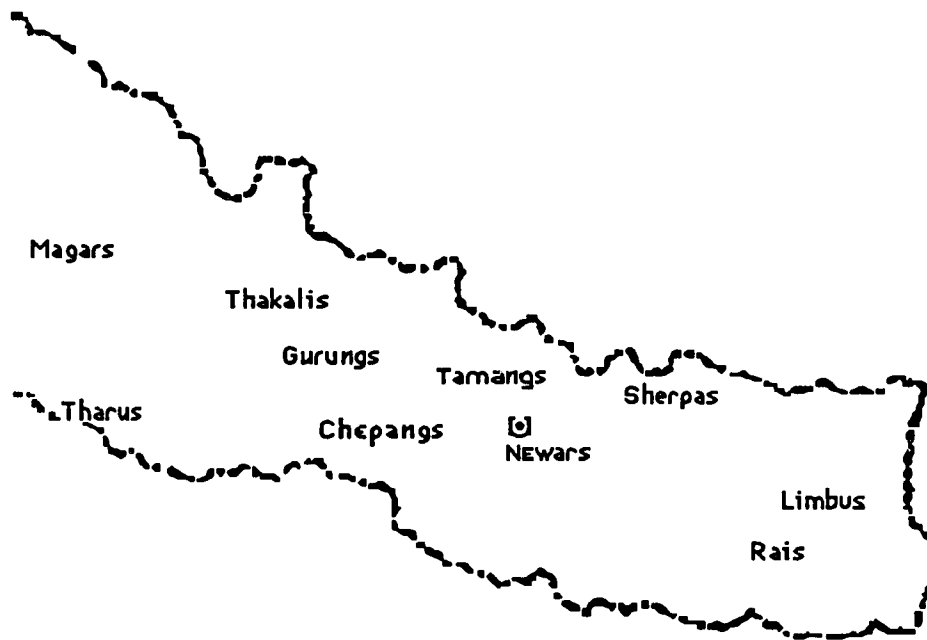
information of ethnographic significance, including accounts of dhāmic activity. Like Ratnākar Devkoṭā's work on Jumlā, "Yatri"'s work evidences a strong self-motivated concern for recording the unique features of local culture, an element not often found among Nepal's educated elite. An early study of administrative politics in Dailekh (the district adjacent to Jājarkoṭ to the West) was done by Lionel Caplan [1975], whose wife Patricia has also published on Dailekh [1972, 1973].

None of these studies conducted to the north and west of Jājarkoṭ even mentions *jhākrīs*, however, nor could I find any in those areas, which seem to be exclusively the domain of *dhāmīs*. It is possible that in Surkhet, to the south-west of Jājarkoṭ, and perhaps also in Dailekh, there may be isolated *jhākrīs* similar to those of my study, but Jājarkoṭ seems to be the north-western extreme of the complex.

To the north-east of Jājarkoṭ is the District of Ḍolpā, an area of traditional Tibetan Buddhism with remnants of 'bon', or whatever one wishes to call the supposedly indigenous, pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet. The first work on Ḍolpā was by Snellgrove [1961], followed by ethnographic accounts by Corneille Jest [1974 b, 1975]. The *jhākrī* recitals of both Jājarkoṭ and of the Bhujī Valley locate important places in Ḍolpā, including the birthplace of the first shaman. However, to judge from the published literature, there no longer seem to be any *jhākrīs* practicing there. Again, though, the Ḍum communities of the area have been practically overlooked in the literature so far in favor of the more 'exotic' Tibetan cultures, and

the region may still harbor at least variations of shamanic practices. For example, Fisher [1985], who worked with a community who called themselves 'Magars' located at the foot of the pass that connects Ḍolpā with the Takaserā area, identifies a clan called "Jhankri," but does not ascribe any ritual practices to them, identifying the local *dhāmī* as the "shaman." I had hoped to look into this on a trip there in 1979, but my arrival in the district unfortunately coincided with an attempted revolution throughout the country, and the nervous district officials requested that I leave the area "for my own safety."

Distinct shamanic complexes, among groups that speak a language other than Nepali, are found throughout Central and Eastern Nepal. While these groups are peripheral to my own research, brief mention should perhaps be made of some of the better studies of them, useful for a more thorough overview of the diversity of ritual practices within Nepal. General locations of these groups are indicated on Map II.3.



MAP II.3. Some Major Ethnic Groups of Nepal.

Sherpas are of course the best known, and best studied, of Himalayan communities. Good studies include those by Oppitz [1974], Ortner [1978, 1989], Paul [1976, 1979, 1988], Fürer-Haimendorf [1955, 1964, 1984], Kunwar [1988] et al. There is some evidence of shamanic practices, pretty much submerged in Buddhist ritual, among Sherpas; Paul [1976] looks briefly at these practices, and predicts their imminent disappearance. He notes, too, [1982, p.82], that while there are indigenous Sherpa shamans, often the shamans are Tibetans or Nepalis "of various castes."

Other than Sherpas, the next best studied of ethnic groups found in Nepal are Tamangs, on whom studies have been made by Christof von Fürer-Haimendorf [1956], András Höfer [1969, 1974 a,b, 1975, 1981, 1986], David Holmberg [1983, 1984, 1989], Kathryn

March [1979, 1984, 1987], Brigitte Steinmann [1987a, 1987b, 1988, 1989], Thomas Fricke [1986], and Larry Peters [1981]. Tamang shamanism has been a particular focus in the works of Höfer, Holmberg, and Peters, and also figures in Steinmann's. While Peter's work is exclusively a study of shamanism, it should not, however, be cited without noting comments made in a review by Höfer [1985b: 422], who observes, with what I regard as considerable restraint:

The epistemology of some of the key notions (such as "shaman", "trance," "illness") seems to pose no problem for him. Many, if not most, of the indigenous terms and names (including that of Peter's chief informant) are misspelled..

Obviously, Peters lacked the time to familiarize himself with both the language and the conceptual framework. This may also explain the premature failure of his experiential attempt. He thought it sufficient to attain to paranormal experience by merely playing the drum and attributes his incapability of completing his apprenticeship to the fact that he did not believe in spirits. Yet one strongly suspects that he could have achieved a higher degree of cultural conversion if he had tried to learn the complex recitals that every Tamang adept has to learn.

The review also observes that "the imagery of these texts is indispensable for both the understanding of concepts and the practice of the ritual techniques."

Höfer's own work with texts [1981, and volume II, forthcoming] is a model of philological precision, though they in turn are somewhat inhibited by his complete reluctance to theorize or to draw even the most tentative of conclusions. Holmberg's work, on

the other hand, too readily sacrifices ethnographic detail in the interest of comprehensive theorizing. His most recent work begins with a beautiful expression of the diversity of Himalayan ritual events:

Throughout Himalayan Nepal one finds an abundant array of ritual expressions reflecting multiple Hindu, Buddhist, and indigenous forms. Lamas, Brahmans, shamans, sacrificers, monks, nuns, tantrics, ascetic mendicants, and other ritualists practice in innumerable temples, houses, fields, and forests, at crude and elaborate alters, at all social gatherings, at remote peaks and high lakes, in river valleys, along trails, and in bazaars. [1989: xi].

Holmberg identifies eight distinct ritual practitioners among one community of the Western Tamang, which he groups into lamaic, sacrificial, and shamanic practices, and goes on to elegantly analyze them as a single overdetermined structure, one characterized though not by balance and harmony but by 'dynamic tension' [p.7], though he immediately notes that the closure of three ritual domains that he imposes on the Tamang field is temporary and that it is undermined by his analysis. Partly paralleling my own experiences with *jhākris*, he also observes:

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 an elusiveness. Although often deadly serious, some joke that their soundings are deceptions. [1989:160]

Too rarely does he realize the extent those measured chants to which they revert might answer his questions. By contrast, Höfer begins his own work with a plea to concentrate on oral texts, precisely for the diversity which they reveal:

(a) With a few laudable exceptions, anthropological studies of religion have not made much fuss about oral texts. They have rather tried to conceal the existence of divergent individual interpretation; at least they have tacitly assumed a substantially wider consensus about ideas, beliefs and meanings than is really the case.

(b) To acknowledge the contrary would have been unfavorable to their aim at coining theories. My reserve against the lightheartedness with which we often process (an ugly word) our data for models in the spirit of "structural" or "symbolic" anthropology was fully corroborated by my own field situation. [1981:1].

Despite (or because of) such opposing orientations, the work of both Holmberg and Höfer add much to the beginnings of a comprehensive picture of shamanic variations throughout the Himalayas.

Interestingly, in a recent essay, Höfer notes that around 30% of the texts recited by Tamang shamans is in Nepali; once those texts are published much more thorough comparison between them and Kāmī *jhākrīs* may be possible.

Work on Gurungs, another Tibeto-Burman peoples who are mostly found between the lower Kali Gandaki and the Marsyandi Rivers (but with isolated settlements far to the east and west as well), was pioneered by Bernard Pignède, whose work has appeared posthumously [1962, 1966]. Special note should be made of Chapters

XII, XIV, and XV, which introduce two types of shamanic specialists, the *klihbṛī* and the *pucu*, the latter having significant resemblances to *jhākrīs*. A volume of the texts which he also collected, to be edited by Macdonald, has been long awaited. The most significant work on Gurung shamans is that by Strickland [1981, 1982, 1987], whose work is centrally concerned with oral texts and legends of the two different specialists, including transcriptions and painstaking translations of shamanic oral texts. A use summary of Gurung religious terms and rituals can be found at the end of the dictionary of Glover, Glover, and Gurung [1977, pp. 309–313]. Other work on Gurungs includes that of Glover [1972], Messerschmidt [1976a, b], Mumford [1989a,b], and McHugh [1989]. Messerschmidt [1976a, p. 207] notes a *pajyu* (*pucu*) funeral ritual that involves suspending a chicken by its feet from an archway that recalls the ritual described in Chapter VII, while Mumford [1989b] (cf. my review in the *American Ethnologist* 17.3, especially the comparison of his work to Strickland's, who he fails even to cite) paraphrases a few passages of texts which echo themes found in my own studies. Within many Gurung communities, Kāmī blacksmiths have also often settled, and apparently include practicing *jhākrīs* among them, a thread not yet taken up in studies of *klihbṛī* and *pucu*. A more comprehensive study of Gurung shamanism, and also work on Chepang shamanism, would certainly contribute much to a better understanding of Western Nepali *jhākrīs*.

Chapangs are a rather assimilated Tibeto-Burman people found south and east of the main Gurung settlements, on whom very

preliminary studies have been done by Corneille Jest [1966] and Navin Rai [1985]. Their shamanic complex remains completely unstudied. Like Gurung *klihbṛī* and *pucu*, and *jhākṛīs*, their shamans also recite lengthy texts, so that a comparative study of their complex might be particularly rewarding.

Thakalis of the Upper Kali Gandaki have been studied by Messerschmidt [1982], Chetri [1987], Vinding [1982, 1984, etc.], Vinding and Gauchan [1977], Snellgrove [1979], Manazardo [1985], and von der Heide [1988]. Their Tibetan neighbors to the north are the subject of Schuler [1977, 1978, 1979, 1981, 1987], but none of these works contributes to an understanding of Himalayan shamanism.

The studies of Tamangs overlap the Kathmandu valley (Peter's work, for example, was done entirely within the valley), as do Tamang settlements themselves, and a new study of several shamans in and around the valley by Mastromattei [1988] has recently appeared, though it is primarily concerned with defining the 'ecstatic condition', and fails to record what the shamans are saying. Surprisingly little work has been done among Newars, the original and still most populous inhabitants of the Kathmandu Valley, but the situation is gradually improving. The initial monograph on Newars was by Gopal Singh Nepali [1965], with more recent contributions made by Michael Allen [1973, 1975], Lienhard [1984, 1986], Greenwold [1978], Locke [1980], Vergati [1982], Löwdin [1985], and Coon [1989], with more work in progress. Equally surprising, since they are both the most prominent and the most numerous overall, is

the meager amount of studies concerning Brahman/Chetris or the lower trades castes found throughout the country. Noteworthy exceptions are the works of Lynn Bennett [1983] and Linda Stone [1988]; note may also be made of Czarnecka [1984], Dougherty [1974], Gray [1980], and von Fürer-Haimendorf [1966], otherwise, the attraction of ethnic groups far more distinct than those of Northern India has been too strong for most anthropologists. Stone's work includes descriptions of material aspects of "jhankri" practices in the Trisuli valley, which are, as she puts it (p.15), very much a "watered down" version of Tamang *bombo* or Western Nepali *jhākrīs*. Best described is a ceremony for the exorcism of a *bir*. Mantras and chants used in those practices are unfortunately absent in her description, but the considerable Hindu influences on the ceremony are clear. She also discusses the creation of *vāyu*, sometimes transliterated as "bayu," mentioned in Chapter V, a subject treated in more detail by Höfer and Shrestha [1973], Sharma [1970], and Gaborieau [1975a]. *Vāyu* are also found among Gurungs, as Messerschmidt [1976b, p.79], observes, and are known to other groups throughout Nepal as well.

Studies of the Nepali legal code and of caste relations include the work of Macdonald [1968], Höfer [1979], Regmi [1975], P.R. Sharma [1977], Hitchcock [1978], Fezas [1983 and 1986] and Adhikari [1976]. Studies on slavery in Nepal include Levine [1980] and Sen [1973]. The limited relevance of these issues to Jājarkoṭ were noted in Chapter III.

Exploratory work on ascetics includes the studies of Bouillier [1976, 1978, etc.], Burghart [1976, 1983], Cohn [1964] and Michaels [1986], though much remains to be done on this fascinating topic.

Eastward from the valley, studies which have included an interest in spirit possession, or at least in the variety of ritual experience, include a study of "faith-healers" of lower Hindu castes of Dolakhā by Casper Miller [1979]. I have, I think, demonstrated in my discussion of sorcery the inaccuracy of calling shamans "faith-healers," a far too benevolent term, but otherwise the work provides some good accounts of shamanic ritual. Another good but extremely brief account of *jhākrīs* is that of Alexander Macdonald [1962], translated into English as Macdonald [1976], in which he acutely, and, I think, entirely correctly, observed that a *jhākrī* is:

both a privileged intermediary between spirits (who cause and cure illness) and men: between the past, present and future; between life and death, and most importantly between the individual and a certain social mythology. [1976: 310]

On page 376 of the same article, Macdonald provides translations of definitions from the standard Nepali dictionary, Śarma [V.S. 2019]. He also translates passages of the Muluki Ain of 1854, which also indicate that '*dhāmī*' and '*jhākrī*' were used synonymously in that document, supporting the confusion that I note at the beginning of Chapter IV.

In the introduction to that volume [1976: pp. 4-5], Rex Jones suggests a contrast of types of spirit possession, which is, I think, demonstrably wrong. I also disagree with his using the presence or

absence of a tutelary spirit as a means of distinguishing types of practitioner, while his inclusion of 'reincarnate possession' seems to obscure rather than clarify the discussion.

Elsewhere in Eastern Nepal, work on Thulung Rai has been done by Nick Allen [1976a, b, 1978a, b, 1981, and elsewhere], and on Athparhariya Rais by Dilli Daha! [1985]. Limbus have been studied by Rex Jones [1976 a, b], Shirley Jones [1976], and Phillippe Sagant [1968, 1969, 1970, 1973, 1976], Sunuwar by Alain Fournier [1974, 1976, 1977, 1978], all of which also add to the discussion of variations on religious practices that involve possession, mediums, and of what can perhaps also be called "shamans," though the practices that they describe differ considerably from those found in the western part of the country. Fournier [1974] includes rather wild stories of persons being kidnapped and taught by *ban jhākriīs* (cf. also Macdonald 1975, pp. 122-23), but the shamans in Jājarkoṭ laughed at these, though similar stories are sometimes told by laypersons in both Jājarkoṭ and in Bhujī. Shamans report ancestors learning from Hindu ascetics (*siddhas*), as noted in Chapter X, which might help account for such tales.

For all of these peoples, however, with the important exceptions of Magars (who are very similar) and Tamangs (who are apparently distinct), it remains unclear just how similar or how different their shamans may be to those of *Dums* of the Far West, since few of these studies have included any analysis of what the intercessors actually say in their ceremonies, and only sketchy accounts of what they do, which might indicate how close the

traditions are. In fact, not only do the studies of shamans elsewhere in Nepal contain this defect, the studies done so far of oracles in Nepal, and of Western Nepali shamans lack much attention to what is actually said by the intercessors, or by their clients. Consequently, exact parallels between the *jhākris* or *dhāmis* of Jājarkoṭ with those elsewhere are difficult to draw. Furthermore, South Asian vernacular oral texts have been all but overlooked in favor of the classical tradition of Sanskrit religious and medical texts, and the situation for Nepal in particular is little better.

Of the works cited, the noteworthy exceptions are the works of Allen, Höfer, and Strickland. These studies do carefully examine oral material, though the languages studied are not Nepali. The need to hear what is actually being said is gradually being recognized as essential to the analysis of ritual activity; it is hoped that this work contributes to demonstrating the merits of listening carefully.

Finally, there is a growing literature of "development" oriented ethnography, of which the volumes edited by Meena Acharya and Lynn Bennett are probably the most noteworthy. Also among this literature is the rather outlandish work of Shrestha and Lediard [1981], which ignores all the differences of the varieties of "healers" throughout Nepal and concludes that with a little education—learning how to recognize the symptoms of tuberculoses, for example, or being convinced of the need for family planning, these "healers" could easily be utilized for the "development" process. Such proposals are rightfully dismissed by Father Miller [1979], who concludes his own study of *jhākris* with the observation:

The *jhākri* knows little about this Scientific Age. He knows that people are sick here in the present and that being a *jhākri* is a way of helping them. The services he provides to the sick through his skill at relieving tensions and contributing to the cure of psychosomatic illnesses are to be encouraged as his contribution to the health of the nation, health which is not just one of the goals of developments but an essential basis for improving the quality of life. In achieving the goal of bringing more modern methods of health care to the hills, already functioning indigenous methods (methods which as I write are bringing comfort and relief to the sick in countless villages) should not be uprooted or even interfered with by attempts to train *jhākris* along lines unfamiliar to them...respect for their special contribution on the part of practitioners of other systems of curing will be the most effective form of encouragement that can be given to these traditional faith-healers in the Himalayas, the *jhākris*. [Miller: 1979:187].

The bibliography that follows is not, of course, intended to be a comprehensive bibliography of all subjects relevant to Himalayan studies; instead, I have selected items with a particular, personal, hierarchy of interest. First, anything relevant to the study of shamanism, spirit possession, and indigenous medical and religious systems is included. Second, material that contributes to a general ethnographic understanding of the Himalayas have been selected, but my selection is considerably less exhaustive. I have included nearly everything available on Western Nepal, but have been more selective about other areas. Third, I have included some works on history, botany, law, economics, and development, as well as some standard

dictionaries. Finally, a very small number of particularly relevant works on Tibetan and North Indian subjects have also been included. My chief purpose has been to allow interested readers to pursue their particular interests with a minimum of difficulty, by providing possible starting points for further inquiry, since anyone will be quickly lead by the bifurcations of the bibliographies of any of the articles to more specialized material. An excellent bibliography of research on Nepal between 1975 and 1983, with more than 2300 entries, can be found at the end of Seeland [1986], which was intended to supplement the bibliographies of Heuberger and Höfer [1976], and Boulnois [1975]. The quarterly *Himalayan Research Bulletin*, and the new journal *Himal*, frequently review new material in diverse fields, as do *Kailash* and the *Contributions to Nepalese Studies* when they appear.

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