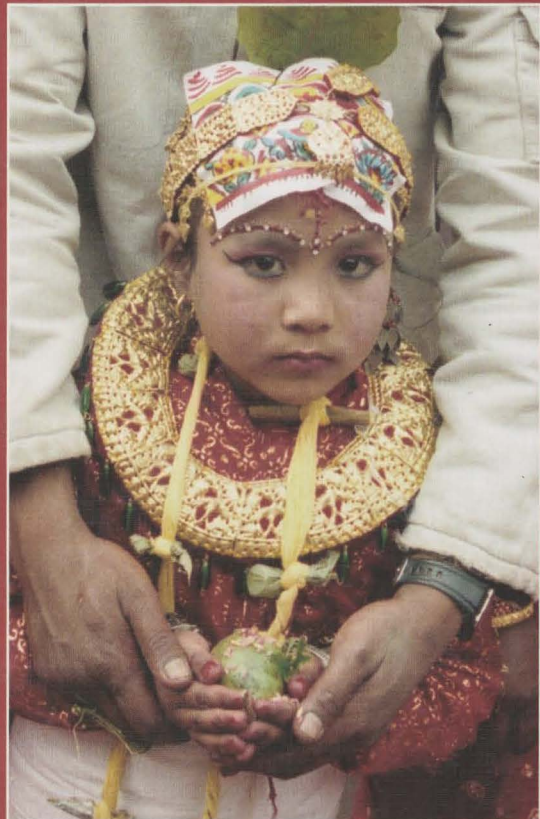


Niels Gutschow  
Axel Michaels

## Growing Up

Hindu and Buddhist Initiation Rituals  
among Newar Children in Bhaktapur, Nepal



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Niels Gutschow – Axel Michaels

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With a film on DVD  
by Christian Bau

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*Cover photo*

Left: Bibek Basukala, Kaytāpūjā, 30<sup>th</sup> January 2005

Right: Lipisa Lakhebindyo, Ihi, 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2007

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DVD *Growing Up* (Ihi and Kaytāpūjā/Mekhalābandhana)



# FOREWORD

## Outline of the Book

The present account of childhood and youth rituals is the second volume in an attempt to provide a comprehensive study of life-cycle rituals among the Newars of Bhaktapur. While *Handling Death*, the first volume, focussed on the dynamics of death and ancestor rituals among the Newars of the ancient city of Bhaktapur in Nepal, particularly on the (Nev.) *latyā* or (Skt.) *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa* rituals, the present volume deals with a number of rituals between birth and initiation. The male initiation rituals themselves, especially the Hindu *upanayana* – in Nepal mostly called *vratibandha(na)* or (Nep.) *bartamān* – have been omitted here because they will be treated in a separate work by Christof Zotter on *vratibandha* among the Bāhun-Chetri of Kathmandu. In our planned third and final volume we will concentrate on marriage rituals.

The first section of the present volume contains a general overview of studies on Hindu life-cycle rituals, and more specifically childhood and adolescence rituals in Nepal, based on textual and ethnographic material from various sources. Some of them have never previously been described. This is followed by a brief survey of life-cycle rituals among the Newars. A further introductory chapter focuses on the relevance of ritual time.

In the second section we present as a model a more detailed description of several adolescence rituals, especially the Kaytāpūjā, the “worship of the loin-cloth”, for boys and the Ihi, the “marriage” ceremony for girls, which are both particularly important rituals among Hindu and Buddhist Newars. These rituals are also documented on the DVD included in this book.

In the third part, we have edited and translated the texts used by Brahmin and Buddhist Vajrācārya priests during these and other rituals. Most of these texts have been chosen because of their significance for the textual histories of their genres. Some of them are unique. A specimen of the texts for the Ihi ritual, for example, has never been previously published. This combination of textual and contextual approaches – which we call the ethno-indological method – has been theoretically elaborated elsewhere (Michaels 2004a and 2005a). We shall try to show that the texts are not liturgical and normative in nature and thus not a restraint on action, but on the contrary texts that leave space for many variations and alterations or even *ad hoc* inventions which make for the dynamics of the ritual.

In our ethno-indological studies, special attention has been paid to the local handbooks and manuals of the following categories:

- Personal handbooks belonging to the priests, rarely published but occasionally microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project: such texts are written in a mixture of Sanskrit, Nevārī and Nepālī;
- Printed manuals in Sanskrit, often published with a commentary or translation in Nepālī;
- Elaborate ritual texts in Sanskrit, written by learned scholars and locally published by the Mahendra-Saṃskṛta-Viśvavidyālaya, Tribhuvan Viśvavidyālaya, Nepāla Rājakīya Prajñā-Pratiṣṭhāna, or private publishers;
- Ritual texts in Sanskrit belonging to the great tradition, with a pan-Indian distribution;
- Documents from private persons or from the Guṭhī Saṃsthāna related to the rituals performed;
- Grey literature (pamphlets etc.) from ritual organisations.

Our main intention is to understand both the agency in rituals and the function of texts in their context. We hold that the agency is not only exercised by the priest (*pūjārī*) but also the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) and his family, the spectators of the ritual, and even trans-human agents. From this point of view, we find rituals as well as ritual texts much less formal than they might at first appear.

By way of conclusion, we shall try to re-inforce our point that rituals and their texts have to be seen in a new light, because they offer far more freedom than has generally been accepted. Although it is true that such rituals are formalised, they are by no means strict, stereotypical, and unchangeable. As with most rituals, Newar rituals follow their own dynamics, and are as Don Handelman terms it “rituals in their own right” (see the introduction to the 2nd edition of Handelman 1998 and 2004) because they depend on situational factors.

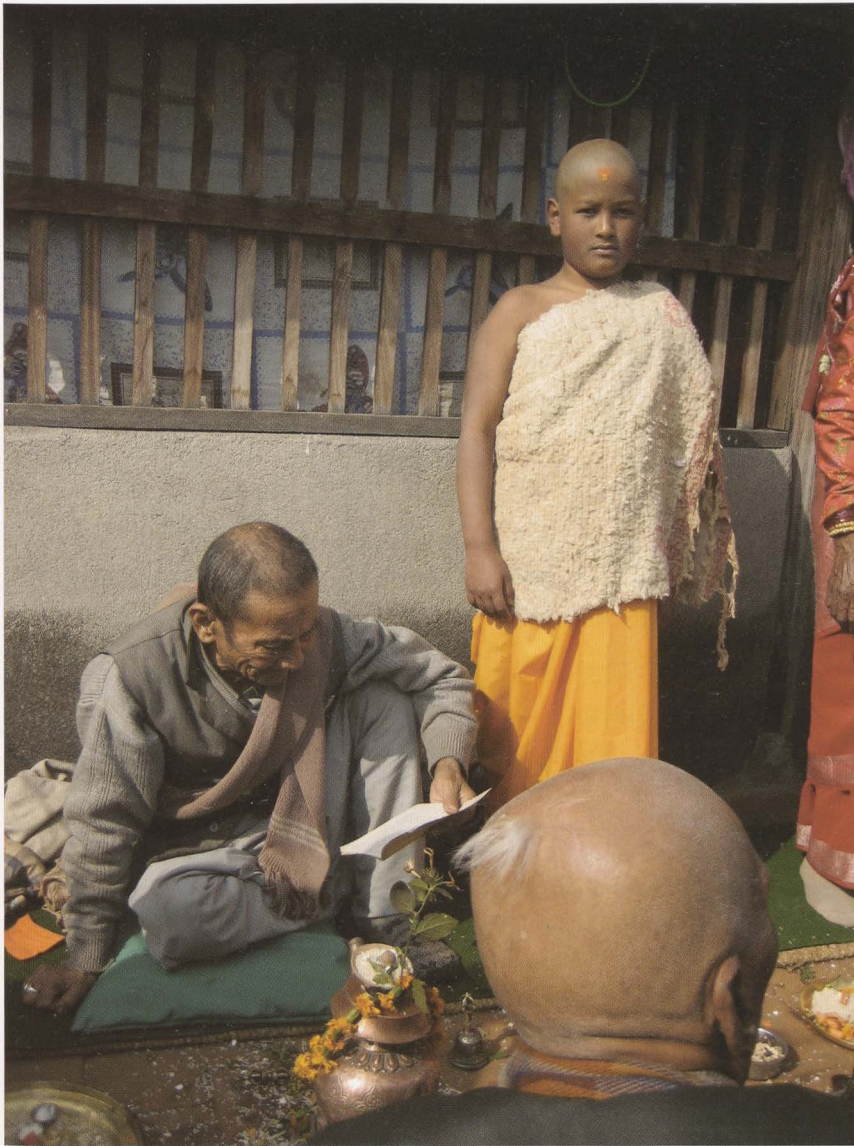
It has been argued by M.N. Srinivas (1952) as well as Dumont and Pocock (1957, 1959) that the rituals in the Sanskrit texts and the rituals in the local context are more or less different forms of the same religion, and that what is fixed in texts will vary in practice. This is why one often finds different forms of Hinduism being constructed – e.g. Sanskritic versus popular Hinduism. However, such distinctions are problematic when it comes to rituals as was first and aptly noticed by Stanley Tambiah: “It is surely inappropriate (...) to talk of popular Hinduism and Sanskritic Hinduism as separate levels, when the local Brahmin priest and perhaps educated members from other castes with literary traditions are active members in the local community and are using texts and orally transmitted knowledge which are directly or indirectly linked to the classical forms” (Tambiah 1970: 372).

This is even more so when – as often in Bhaktapur – local Brahmin priests and un-

educated members from “lower” castes come together. Both refer to Sanskritic texts (mixed with Nevārī instructions), but a great portion of the ritual knowledge is transmitted without in fact using the texts. This by no means makes these rituals (or texts) inferior, as is more or less directly insinuated by authors who refer to the “corrupt” form of the texts, “ignorant” priests, or “illiterates” participating in the rituals. On the contrary, seen from the perspective of practice, the reason why texts often look thin is not because of their bad Sanskrit, but because they lack the many sub-rituals, details and facets that actually take place. Rituals, as we see them, are only fully understood by outsiders if both text and context come together, if the priests and other ritual specialists are accepted (and respected) as ritual experts with an agency of their own that allows them a great number of variations, and if the participants are not only seen as passive partakers, but as active contributors who are in a constant verbal and ritual exchange with the priests and other ritual specialists.

## Actors and Places

In this book, we continue our practice of naming the actors and places involved. In the foreword to “Handling Death” we argued that ethnographic research has tended to anonymise places and persons, purportedly out of respect for those who were involved and whose actions were documented to support a more general analysis. We, however, feel that the observed ritual stands in its own right. It is the example *par excellence* in time and space. The dynamics of ritual are discussed from the perspective of an identified case, the prescriptions of the Brahmins, and the textbooks of the high culture. Rituals, then, show their “individuality”, their uniqueness as a specific event – despite the fact that they belong to categories and genres.



*Buddhist initiation (Kaytāpūjā) of Pranaya Chitrakar of the sub-caste of painters on 28<sup>th</sup> January 2007.*

*The initiate stands clad with a saffron dhoti and a shawl of raw cotton, the priest Ananda Muni Bajracharya recites from a text, the head of the lineage with his shaved head in the foreground.*

So once again our method is to focus on individual rituals and then try to understand them by using the priests' texts and the locally used or distributed texts of the so-called Great Tradition. This method is thus inductive rather than deductive. Our starting point is – as we must repeat – the actual ritual practice, and we do not consider these rituals or so-called “corrupt” texts as deviant, but as authentic. What happens *in situ* is for us not a more or less accurate realisation or enact-

ment of what is textually prescribed, but a ritual performance in its own right. This also means that we do not regard the ritual texts as secondary or corrupt simply because their Sanskrit or Nevārī does not follow certain rules of spelling and grammar.

At the same time we do not feel prey to the confusion that arises when it is mooted that there is a realm of privacy that should be left untouched. The families concerned agreed to be filmed, and close-up photographs were only ever taken after an affirmative gesture was given. We will also often introduce the family background to a described ritual in order to bring out the peculiarities and sometimes problems relating to the family or clan involved. In addition, we have maintained a long-standing relationship with most of the families whose rituals are documented in this volume. We feel that the identification of an actor and his or her place in time, space and society is an open expression of respect. The actors have been freed of the veil of anonymity in order to underline that they are not simply objects of research and victims of theory, but subjects, agents, often even ritual artists.

## Spelling and Transcription Rules

If not otherwise indicated or evident from the context, all terms and place names given here are based on Nevārī (Nev.) or Nevāḥ as spoken by farmers (Jyāpu) in Bhaktapur. The majority of these terms are also listed in the glossary. Some more common names and terms have been spelt in their anglicised form, i.e. without diacritics.

We are aware that there is neither a standard Nevārī language nor a standard spelling (cf. Gellner 1992: xxi-xxii and 35-38). Variations are commonly found among the different communities and especially between the urban and rural dialects of Kathmandu Valley. This variety is also reflected in the way

rituals are performed. Some of the problems of spelling and transcription stem from the language itself, others from the various techniques for reducing the language to writing, no matter whether Devanāgarī or Roman script, whether old or new.

Few of these issues were solved for the *Dictionary of Architectural Terms*, presented in 1987 by Niels Gutschow, Bernhard Kölver and Ishwaranand Shresthacarya. For example, the question of the high vowels, the *ie/ya-* and the *uo/va-* series: alternations within the series are a characteristic of Classical Nevārī manuscripts and persist to the present day. More worrying, because indubitably cutting across a phonemic opposition, are alternations between the low front and the low back vowels *ā/a* and *a/a*. In most cases we prefer to transliterate the closed *a*-vowel by *va*, pronounced *o*, e.g. *tvāḥ* = *toḥ*.

Sometimes the spelling is a matter of preference, and depends on the importance given to a term. Thus, since there are no retroflex sounds in Nevārī, loan words from Sanskrit or Nepālī can be regarded as foreign words or as incorporated words. In the first case one would, for example write (Nep.) *ṭikā* or (Skt.) *tilaka*, in the second (Nev.) *tikā*. We have mostly opted for the Nevārī version when it refers to a ritual context and to the Sanskrit version when the term appears in a textual context.

In addition to this are the effects resulting from the loss of certain consonants in the word-final position, which lead to compensatory lengthening – a process which some words appear to have undergone repeatedly, producing chains such as *cākala-* (obl.): *cākaḥ*, *cāka*, *cāḥ*, all of them renderings of Skt. *cakra*. Rules about which stem to select in compounds have yet to be discovered.

With regard to terms that have been recorded from an oral context, every single one was pronounced several times by native speakers from Bhaktapur and then noted down by Nutan Sharma.

Sanskrit or Sankritic (Skt.) terms and names are transcribed according to the standard conventions. However, at times it depends on personal choice and the meaning whether one regards a term as a *tatsama* (loan word from Sanskrit to be written in the standard form) or as a *tadbhāva* (loan word from Sanskrit that changes its spelling and meaning). Thus, (Nev.) *mandah* is not always the same as (Skt.) *maṇḍala*, but it is almost impossible to find coherent rules for such cases. Moreover, the inherent *a* in names of deities has mostly been spelt, although in spoken language it might not be heard (e.g. Gaṇeś versus Gaṇeśa). As for Nepālī (Nep.), mostly the transcription follows the *Bṛhad Nepālī Śabdakoṣa* or Ralph L. Turner's Dictionary.

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To Nutan Sharma and his father Aishwar-yadhar Sharma we owe special thanks for their help in editing and translating the texts and their constant readiness to help us with terminological and other problems.

We are also grateful to Rajendra Pradhan for permitting us to copy his insightful unpublished dissertation – the first comprehensive book on life-cycle rituals among

*Two Brahmin priests,  
Lava Kush Sharma (left) and  
Hari Sharan Sharma (right)  
studying and discussing text  
which had been handed down  
since generations.  
Photograph January 2007 in  
their residence in Lalāchē*



the Newars of Kathmandu – as well as to Kathleen Gögge, Anand Mishra, Astrid Zotter and Christof Zotter for their cooperation in preparing the edition and translation of the texts, and their help in identifying *mantras* and preparing the bibliography, index and glossary. Our thanks also go to Tessa Pariyar (Fischer) for her assistance in the fieldwork and Stanisław Klimek for providing several of the plates. However, it goes without saying that we alone are responsible for any mistakes that may arise in the present volume.

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# INTRODUCTION

## The Study of Life-Cycle Rituals

Life-cycle rituals are often regarded as paradigmatic for ritual theory. This is partly due to Arnold Van Gennep's (1909) and even more Victor Turner's (1969) pioneering studies. Both scholars have introduced key terms for the discussion of rituals: "rites de passage", "rites de séparation", "rites de marge" and "rites de agrégation", or "liminality", "communitas", "social drama", and "anti-structure".

Such rituals have mostly been understood as hierophantic events, or as events that help to overcome life crises, or to build up identity and personhood, or to strengthen the solidarity of a social group. In our view, functionalistic theories of this kind are insufficient to grasp the specific elements of such rituals. Instead we propose to concentrate on polyvalent and polythetic aspects and the specific components of rituals that have been outlined in the *Handling Death* volume (Gutschow/Michaels 2005: 6-7). The following is a brief summary of these principles that guide our research.

We think that ritual acts are mostly a) formal, stereotypical, and repetitive (therefore imitable); b) public; and c) irrevocable; in many cases they are also d) liminal. So they may not be spontaneous, private, revocable, singular or optional for everyone. Ritual acts are not deliberately rational; they cannot simply be revised to achieve a better or more economical goal. Therefore, formalism constitutes a central criterion in most definitions of ritual (see, however, Michaels/Buss forthc.). One element of the ritual act is the

formal, usually spoken decision that is required to carry the act out, i.e. the ritual declaration (*samkalpa*) that is found in almost every handbook for Sanscritic life-cycle rituals (see Michaels 2005). Rituals cannot be singular private functions; they can be imitated. Publicity in the sense of inter-subjectivity – even if it concerns only a small secret circle of initiated specialists – is thus another formal criterion. Moreover, life-cycle rituals in particular are effective independent of their meaning: *ex opere operato* (see Michaels 2000). This means that they cannot be reverted, for that requires a new ritual.

Along with these three strict, formal criteria, many rituals also contain another one, which Victor Turner has described as "liminality" (from the Latin, *limen*, "threshold"). In this he refers to the non-everyday and yet reversible, paradoxical, sometimes absurd and playful parts of rituals, especially in life-cycle border situations.

Almost every ritual act also takes place in an everyday context. But whether the act of "pouring water" is performed to clean or to consecrate a statue cannot be decided solely on the basis of these external, formal criteria, but also depends on "internal" criteria regarding intentions, which can relate to social aspects (solidarity, hierarchy, control, or establishment of norms), psychological and more individual aspects such as alleviating anxiety, experiences of enthusiasm, desire, etc., or to transcendental aspects concerning the other, higher, sacred world. In the latter case, everyday acts acquire sublimity and the immutable, non-individual, non-everyday is staged. Although this criterion is particu-

larly controversial, because it links religion with ritual, we hold that the majority of rituals, at least most life-cycle rituals, cannot do without it. Thus we follow Emile Durkheim's (1912: 50) dictum that "the ritual can be defined only after defining the belief".

Finally, life-cycle rituals involve temporal or spatial changes; they refer to biological, physical, or age-related alterations or changes. Consequently, a tangible change is brought about by the ritual. For example, the participants must acquire an ability they did not previously have, or a new social status with new social repercussions: e.g. the initiate becomes a marriageable Twice-Born, the initiated girl a potential mother, the deceased a "departed one" (*preta*) or a forefather (*pitṛ*).

Most important, however, is that rituals are not limited to just one meaning or purpose, such as auspiciousness. They are complex events in which actions and words are constantly adapted to situations, needs, ritual specialists and other persons involved. Only in some cases do the priests or family members know what exactly they are doing and why exactly they are doing it in this or that way. The only thing they know is that they have to get it right, as Pierre Bourdieu aptly remarks:

Rites are practices that are ends in themselves, that are justified by their very performance; things that one does because they are 'the done thing', 'the right thing to do', but also because one cannot do otherwise, without needing to know why or for whom one does them, or what they mean, such as acts of funeral piety. This is what the work of interpretation, which seeks to restore their meaning, to grasp their logic, makes one forget: they may have, strictly speaking, neither meaning nor function, other than the function implied in their very existence, and the meaning objectively inscribed in the logic of actions or words that are done or said in order to

'do or say something' (where there is 'nothing else to be done'), or more precisely in the generative structures of which these words or actions are the product, or even in the oriented space within which they are performed (Bourdieu 1990: 18).

We believe that life-cycle rituals mostly focus on individuals, but cannot be separated from other rituals that take place in the prevalent social groups. So in contradistinction to many similar studies we do not regard them primarily as events in the life of individuals but as events that constitute and reaffirm socio-religious relations and groups. Such rituals deal not only with purity or impurity and auspiciousness or inauspiciousness regarding the initiated or married person, but even more so with the social and psychological identities of the group members. Thus pollution at birth, death or during menarche seclusion affects many natal or conjugal members of a family or clan. Moreover, close or distant relatives, wife-givers and wife-takers, lineage members or members of the same *siguthī* (death association) are variously and to different degrees involved in life-cycle rituals, but also in other rituals and festivities of the households or lineages. So it is just as important to look for comparable structures in these rituals as it is to elaborate on the unique features not only of a certain type of ritual but of the event itself (see Handelman 2004).

This search for a matrix rather than the unique in life-cycle rituals was to a large extent due to the influence of text-related indological studies: See, for instance, Hillebrandt 1897, Gonda 1965 and 1980, Bhattacharya 1968, Kane 1968 ff., Pandey 1969, and Olivelle 1993. The practice of such rituals, however, has only rarely been touched on, or if so only marginally. Even with regards to the so-called educational *samskāras*, childhood and youth rituals have



only occasionally been studied on the basis of fieldwork.

Basically the same holds true for Nepal, and even more so for Bhaktapur: “Bhaktapur’s *samskāras* are sufficiently complex in themselves, in their social distribution, and in their relations to traditional South Indian [Asian?] versions, that they would warrant a full study in themselves” (Levy 1990: 660).

Childhood rites, especially of the Newars, have so far mostly been studied as part of more comprehensive studies, e.g. Nepali 1965, Greenwold 1974, Bennett 1978, Toffin 1984: 117-82, Pradhan 1986, Levy 1990, Gellner 1992, Löwdin 1985, and Lienhard 1986 and 1999. Some studies have concentrated on such rituals in connection with the *kumārī* cult (Allen 1975 and 1976, Lienhard 1999), the girl’s marriage to the *bel* fruit (Ihi), or the girls seclusion (Bārḥā tayegu: Bennett 1978, Allen 1982, Vergati 1982, Khatri 1983-84, Kunreuther 1994), the Buddhist Tantric initiation (Locke 1975, Vaidya 1986, Gellner 1988 and 1989, Hartmann 1996, Lewis 1994, Lienhard 1999, von Hinueber 2001, and von Rospatt 2004), or the monastic initiation (Greenwold 1974, Locke 1975, Gellner 1988, or the photographic documentation by Mühlich 2004). The study that comes closest to our approach is Gellner’s article (1988) on the monastic initiation, in which he also edited some basic texts.

These publications are supplemented by scholars from Nepal who focus on such rituals viewed from the perspective of the tradition (Bajrācāryya and Bajrācāryya 1962, Prajapati et al. 1997). To our best knowledge, no monographic study on childhood rituals in Nepal has previously been published.

## Newar Rites of Passage

Newars nowadays generally observe the following life-cycle rituals:

Childhood and Adolescence Rituals: *macā-bu byēkegu* (birth purification), *nā chuyegu* or *nāmakaraṇa* (name giving), (*macā*) *jākva* or Skt. *annaprāsana* (first feeding of cooked rice), *kaytāpūjā* or Skt. *mekhalābandhana* (initiation, Skt. *vratibandha*), and *ihi* (girl’s marriage to the *bel* fruit) and *bārḥā tayegu* (girl’s seclusion). Most of these rituals will be described in Part II.

Marriage (Skt. *vivāha*, *pāṇigrahaṇa*, Nev. *ihipā*<sup>1</sup>) is celebrated in various forms. Core elements include the confirmation of the marriage by the groom’s family giving 10 betel-nuts along with fruits and sweets (known as *lakha*) to the bride, circumambulation of the domestic fire, holding hands, exchange of rings, and a joint meal. It is also common for the bride’s family to visit the groom’s house on the 4<sup>th</sup> day after marriage in order to show them the bride’s face – a rite called *khvaḥ soye* (“seeing the bride’s face”). These rituals will be treated in a separate volume.

Death rites: the veneration of the aged (*jyaḥ jāko*)<sup>2</sup> is not always observed by the Newars, but the death rituals certainly are observed, above all the cremation of the corpse (Skt. *antyeṣṭi*, Nev. *sī uyegu*, *murdā utayegu*), the “ten” works (Skt. *daśakriyā*), the feeding of the deceased (*nhenumhā*), the removal of death pollution (*du byēkegu*), the offering of food to the deceased (*ekādasicā bvayegu*), the purifying bath (*svamva luyegu*), as well as the feast to the relatives, neighbours and friends. These rituals have been studied by Gutschow/Michaels 2005.

Ancestor rites: of the ancestor rites, mostly the following are performed: the unification with the ancestors (Skt. *sapiṇḍīkaraṇa*, *antyeṣṭi*; Nev. *latyā*), regular offerings to the ancestors (Skt. *śrāddha*, *sohraśrāddha*, *nāndī-* or *vṛddhiśrāddha*), and worship of the ancestral deity (*dugudyahpūjā*). These rituals have also been studied by Gutschow and Michaels 2005.

<sup>1</sup> More colloquially also called (*paynam*) *hiyā chvayegu*, lit. “to send for having sex”, or *hvākegu*, “to let (the couple) join.”

<sup>2</sup> See von Rospatt 2005.

However, many more life-cycle rituals are celebrated, and “traditional” lists contain between ten and over forty rituals, the majority being concerned with birth, childhood and adolescence. Three examples can be given:

Commonly encountered is a list of “Ten Rites” (Skt. *daśakriyāḥ*) that is found in both Brahminical and Buddhist sources such as the 11<sup>th</sup>-century Kriyāsaṅgrahapañjikā, most likely a text of Nepalese origin (cf. KSP Table 1.1): “1. purifying the womb (*yoniśodhana*), 2. transforming the fruit of love to a male foetus (*pumsavana*), 3. parting the mother’s hair (*sīmantonnayana*), 4. birth (*jātakarman*), 5. naming (*nāmakaraṇa*), 6. initiation (*upanayana*), 7. tonsure (*cūḍākaraṇa*), 8. instruction in post-initiatory observances (*vratādeśa*), 9. end of studies (*samāvartana*), and 10. marriage (*pāṇigrahaṇa*).”<sup>3</sup>

In a modern list of the ten life-cycle rituals (*nevā daśakarma*) prepared by the Jośi Society (Jośi Samāj N.S. 1129: 1) we find the following list: 1. birth purification (*jātakarma*), 2. cutting the umbilical cord (*nābhicchhedana*), 3. sixth day ritual (*chaitihī*), 4. impurity, especially the ten days period of impurity observed after death and child-birth (*āśauca*), 5. name giving (*nāmakaraṇa*), 6. first feeding of solid food (*annaprāśana*), 7. first head shaving (*cūḍākaraṇa*), 8. initiation (*vratibandha*), 9. marriage (*bibāha*), and 10. death ritual (*antyeṣṭi*).

And according to a small Buddhist Newar compendium (Bajrācārya & Bajrācārya 1962, also edited and translated by Lewis 1994) one should practice the following life-cycle rituals:<sup>4</sup>

1. (Introduction on embryology)
2. Cutting the umbilical cord (*nābhikṣedana* [sic], [Nev.] *pī dhenegu*)
3. Birth purification (*jātakarma*, *macābubemke*)
4. Name giving (*nāmakarma nāṃchuye*)
5. Showing the sun ([*niṣkramaṇa*], *sūryajope*)

6. First feeding of fruits and cooked rice (*phalaprāśana*, *annaprāśana*, *macājamaṅko*)
7. Protection against the grahas with a necklace (*graharakṣā*, *amaṅko kokhā*)<sup>5</sup>
8. Opening the throat (*kaṇṭhaśodhana*, *kaṇṭhakhu*)
9. First head shaving ([*cūḍākarma*], *buśakhā*)
10. Initiation (*bartabandhaṇa* [sic])
11. First monastic initiation (*pravaryyāgrahaṇa*)
12. Consecration of a Vajrācārya (*vajrācāryyābhiṣeka*)
13. Marriage of the girl to the *bel* fruit ([= *ihī*], *pāṇigraha*)<sup>6</sup>
14. Marriage ([*kanyādāna*], *satabhedikā taye*)
15. Eating dishes together from the same ritual plate (*nikṣāḥbhū*)
16. Dressing the hair (*keśabandhana*, *saṃḥpyāko*)
17. Girl’s seclusion (*nārī jāti yāta yāyāgu kriyā raja śolā bidhi*, *bādhā taye* [= *bārhā tayegu*])
18. Worship of the aged 1 (*bhimaratha kriyā*, *br[hat] nara br[hat] narī 1 amaṅko*)
19. Worship of the aged 2 (*debaratha*, 2 *amaṅko*)
20. Worship of the aged 3 (*mahāratha*, 3 *amaṅko*)
21. Ripening of the *karma* (*karmavipāka*)
22. First death rites (*utrānti*)
23. Death rites (*mṛtyukriyā*)
24. Removal of impure things from the deceased (*chvāse vāyegu*)
25. Fumigation by smoke (*pākhākūṃ thanegu*)
26. Removal from the house and making the litter (*duḥkhā pikhāṃ tiya*, *sau*, *sāyegu*)
27. Death procession (*siṭhaṃ amaṅkegu*)
28. Rituals at the cremation *ghāṭ* (*dīpe yāyāgu kriyā*)
29. Disposal of the ashes (*aṣṭi parikṣāraṇa*)
30. Drawing a *maṇḍala* to prevent a bad rebirth (*duṛgati pariśodhana maṇḍala kriyā*)

<sup>3</sup> For the *daśakriyā* rites at statues see also Locke 1980: 208-221 and Kölver 2003: 331-334.

<sup>4</sup> The Sanskrit and Nevārī terms and their spellings are from the text. The numbering follows Lewis 1994.

<sup>5</sup> Lewis translates “in-House protection (Jamaṅko Necklace)”. However, this ritual is certainly related to *grahaśānti*; cf. Kropf 2005.

<sup>6</sup> According to Lewis 1994, no. 13 refers to marriage and no. 14 to *ihī*. However, *ihī* is also regarded as a kind of marriage, but only in no. 14 is the bride given away. Moreover, the text mentions under 13. *īparasī*, the *ihī sarī*.

31. Feeding of the deceased (*nhenumā*)
32. Setting out cooked rice etc. for the departed spirit (*pākhājā khāye*)
33. Removal of death pollution (*duvemke*)
34. House purification (*grha sūddha gvāsagam kriyā*)
35. Offering of balls (*piṇḍa*) on ten days (*daśapiṇḍakriyā*),
36. Offering of *piṇḍas* on the 11th day after death (*ekādaśa piṇḍa kriyā*),
37. Further *piṇḍa* rituals (*piṇḍa thayegu kriyā*)
38. Offering of *piṇḍas* to three generations (*lina piṇḍa*)
39. Protection of the guru (*gururakṣaṇa*)
40. Ancestor ritual (*śrāddha*)
41. Removal of the *piṇḍas* (*piṇḍa cuyegu sthāna*).

This text, written in Nevārī with Sanskrit quotations from a number of Buddhist and Hindu texts<sup>7</sup>, is remarkable not only for its detailed list of various life-cycle rituals but also for the mixture of Hindu and Buddhist rituals, the combination of important and obsolete rituals, and for its diligence in certain aspects (e.g. death rituals) as well as its negligence in others (e.g. marriage). However, the text is authoritative only for Vajrācāryas and by no means valid for other castes or locations. For, “each caste, and indeed each local clan, has its own traditional ways of performing these rites,” (Gellner 1992: 200). Some castes call in a Hindu (Brahmin) or Buddhist (Gubhāju) priest for the childhood rituals, others do not. Particularly high castes celebrate them with great outlay involving auxiliary priests such as Jośi and Karmācārya and considerable amounts of food with sometimes hundreds of invited guests. Other castes perform them in a hasty fashion. Some castes, especially the priestly castes, carry out almost all of the prescribed rituals, others only the most important.

With regard to current practice, we have listed the Newar life-cycle rituals in Appen-

dix 2. They bring life into a certain order and represent the social structure of a given society. As mentioned earlier, we refrain from classifying the rituals according to functions because rituals do not fulfil one sole purpose. It is inappropriate to reduce certain initiation rituals, for instance, to the educational aspect, as is sometimes preferred by the Brahminical Dharmaśāstra and Gṛhyasūtra literature or certain priests. Such rituals also mark the boy’s adolescence and social rights.

### Finding an Auspicious Date (*sāit*)

In order to define the auspicious moment (*sāit*, Skt. *muhūrta*) for an initiation, a number of criteria regarding age and the auspicious time must be adhered to (cf. Kropf 2005: 54 and 86-124 for details). This allows the individual’s position to be determined within a cosmological system. The position of the planets, the seasons, and the days of the week, even the numbers themselves, are forces and powers that must be used with the help of specialists. Thus, the astrologer usually determines the favourable date for the individual’s ritual in advance by comparing the precise time with that suitable for the ritual, and calculating favourable times. The spring months (Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, Vaiśākha), when the sun is in the northern, propitious hemisphere, are considered favourable. “Impure” days are avoided, especially eclipses. What is crucial is the time specific to the individual, not a common time for all.

Thus, among the Newars of Bhaktapur it is generally believed that a male initiate should be three, five, seven, nine or eleven years old. Girls, however, can have an even or uneven age for their Ihi ceremonies. These rules are not confirmed through the prescriptive texts used by the Brahmin priests but normally mutually agreed on. On the other hand, boys should be six or eight months old for their

<sup>7</sup> The authors mention the following: Saṃvaratantra, Mañjuśrīpārājikā, Nemasūtra-pārājikā, Pāṇigrahaṇavidhāna, Kriyāsaṃgraha, Bauddhoktaḥ Saṃsārāmaya and Piṇḍavidhāna.

Macā jākva or Annaprāśana rituals, whereas girls may be five or seven months old.

It seems that this practice of determining the right age sometimes differs from the rules prescribed in the Dharmasāstra (see Kane 1974: 274ff., Pandey 1969: 117ff.), although the picture given in the Dharmasāstra and Ṛghyasūtra texts is far from coherent. According to the majority of texts, the age of initiation should be eight for Brāhmaṇas, eleven for Kṣatriyas, and twelve for Vaiśyas (see for example Manu 2.36). It is, however, a matter of dispute whether one should count the age from the insemination ritual (*garbhādhāna*) or from birth. Moreover, several texts allow for other ages. The Kāthakagr̥hyasūtra (41.1-3), for instance, mentions the age of seven, nine or eleven, the Mānavagr̥hyasūtra (1.22.1) prescribes the age of seven or nine for all Varṇas, the Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra (2.5.5) any year between eight and sixteen for a Brāhmaṇa boy.

What are the reasons for these differences? One reason, repeatedly referred to, is given by Medhātithi on Manu 2.36 who links the various ages to the number of syllables in the Sāvitrī verse (RV 3.62.10), which happen to be eight, eleven and twelve, (Pandey 1969: 119), while others have tried to link the age to educational or practical requirements. The age of the Brāhmaṇa could be lower because he has been taught by his father, whereas the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya boys had to leave their paternal home. Another reason mentioned is that the Brāhmaṇa boy had to learn more than the boys from other Varṇas.

None of these arguments really convinces because the options mentioned by the majority of Dharmasāstrins in any case allow for many variations. Thus, Manu (2.37) says that a Brāhmaṇa desiring eminence in Vedic knowledge could be initiated at the age of five, a Kṣatriya aspiring to power in the sixth year, and a Vaiśya seeking wealth in the seventh year. Moreover, it is also often stat-

ed in the Dharmasāstra that the rules of the families, clans or regions also have a bearing. The practice of the Newars in Bhaktapur does not therefore deviate from the great tradition, which has never been homogeneous in this respect.

Other major preconditions concern the number of possible lunar and solar dates, the weekdays and the lunar mansions (*nakṣatra*). In accordance with most Dharmasāstra and Ṛghyasūtra texts (cf. Pandey 1969: 27, Kane 1974: 276ff.), Kaytāpūjā and the Vratibandha generally take place when the sun is in the *uttarāyaṇa*, on its northern course, which is between 16<sup>th</sup> December and 16<sup>th</sup> June. Pauṣa/Puṣ, the month preceding the winter solstice, is never considered however for boy's initiation and only rarely for Ihi. Likewise, it is rare for Kaytāpūjā to be performed in the month of Āsāḍha. The best constellations are always found in the months of Māgha and Phālguna, i.e. mid-January to mid-March.

In marked contrast to the Pūrbīya of Nepal, the Newars also perform initiation rituals in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa/Maṅsir (November/December) dedicated to Viṣṇu, which is also the favourite time for the annual celebrations of the death associations around *yaḥmāripunhi* (full moon). It is said that because in old times, lots of people left the valley in December to take care of the crops in the Terai (a journey called *jara vanegu*), one additional month preceding the absence was found to perform such rituals.

The distinction that different seasons are meant for different castes (Baudhāyanagr̥hyasūtra 11.5.6) does not seem to be made among the Newars of Bhaktapur.

Apart from favourable constellations, four days in the year are always auspicious for Kaytāpūjā and of these, three days are also auspicious for Ihi. These days, called "god's days" (Nev. *dyaḥ din*) are the Indestructable Third (*akṣayatṛtīyā* after full moon in April), the Victorious Tenth (*vijayadaśamī*, the tenth

day after new moon in October), the Marriage Fifth (*bibāhapañcamī*, the fifth day after new moon in December) and the Spring's Fifth (*śrī-* or *basantapañcamī*, the fifth day after new moon in January/early February). The Indestructible Third, which recalls the beginning of the golden age (*satyayuga*), opens the season for Ihi rituals in Bhaktapur. The Victorious Tenth recalls the victory of the goddess Durgā over ignorance and evil in the shape of the buffalo-demon Maḥiṣasuramardīnī, and the Marriage Fifth the mythic marriage of Rāma and Sītā. The most favoured day is finally the formal beginning of spring (*Skt. vasanta*) in early February.

The number of auspicious days varies considerably with each year. While, for example in 2003/2004 there were – apart from those for *dyah din* just mentioned – ten days defined to perform Kaytāpūjā, there were only three such days in 2004/2005.

Saturdays and Tuesdays, dedicated to the planets Saturn (Śani) and Mars (Maṅgala) and Yama and Skanda respectively, are considered “cruel and violent” (Shivapriyananda 1990: 38) and therefore inauspicious for initiation rituals, while one of the other weekdays has to fall on the second, third, fifth, seventh, tenth or eleventh day of the bright lunar half or on the second, third or fifth day of the dark lunar half.

Moreover, the days of the week and the appearance of the planets have to be in conjunction with the zodiac, an imaginary belt of stars along the ecliptic that marks the annual path of the sun around the earth. Since the zodiac is the fixed background against which the movements of the planets are measured, it symbolises the cyclic nature of the universe (Shivapriyananda 1990: 90). Only 16 of the 27 divisions of the lunar asterisms are considered auspicious. In its journey across the heavens the sun passes  $2\frac{1}{4}$  asterisms every month, while the moon travels past over just one asterism every solar day. “The 27 lunar

asterisms symbolise the transcendental aspect of the Universal Being as they are beyond our solar system and therefore unlimited by time and space” (Shivapriyananda 1990: 59).

Finally, some planets are benevolent (*śubha*), others malevolent (*aśubha*). Mercury (Bṛhaspati), sun (Sūrya) and moon (Candra) ensure well-being in conjunction with the lunar day: the first, fifth, ninth, tenth and eleventh are considered excellent, the third, sixth and seventh good, and the fourth, eighth, twelfth and fourteenth inauspicious and malevolent. To perform an initiation ritual on an inauspicious day would mean “to locate one’s ancestor deity in the leg” (*Nev. dugudyaḥ tutipali*). There is a notion among the Newars that the ancestor deity dwells in one’s body, preferably in the shoulders. This is perhaps why the wooden measuring vessel (*siphā*) is touched to the shoulders. The location in the legs is absolutely inappropriate as it is quite unthinkable to touch the gods with one’s feet.

In general, calculating and observing the right moment (*sāit*) brings a number of significant challenges. For example, finding an appropriate day for Bibek Basukala – whose initiation is documented below – proved to be difficult: born on the fourth day of Vaiśākha, the family had to choose a day in winter, because the initiation is not appropriate in the initiate’s month of birth. Moreover, his birth happened in the *brikhalagna* period of the day before new moon (*caturdaśī*), and it was a Tuesday (*maṅgalbar*) in the lunar Zodiac Uttarara-Bhadrapāda. The 17<sup>th</sup> of the month of Māgha (30<sup>th</sup> January, 2005) turned out to be the most auspicious day for Bibek: he was nine years old, the sun was on its northern circuit (*uttarāyana*), it was a Sunday, the fifth day of the dark moon, in the Uttaraphalgunī asterism. Mercury was in its seventh position, the sun in its eleventh and the moon in its seventh. The auspicious time for binding the knot (*mekhalābandhana*) of the girdle

was calculated for 9.28 to 9.38 in the morning. However, although it is largely believed that the main ritual act should start at a given time, this often fails to occur due to logistical problems in attending the ritual: participants or priests do not show up, necessary materials have not been supplied, or nobody keeps an eye on the time. So it sometimes happens that the *sāit* is simply ignored, despite being publicly announced on a sheet of paper that is often fixed on the wall of the room where the ritual takes place. Nevertheless, it is believed that the ritual will only be successful if it is performed in the right, auspicious moment, with the consequence that sometimes the moment has been determined by an astrologer but is not observed.



*Above*  
 Bhupendra Raj Joshi with five clients who are seeking an auspicious time and date for an urgent hospital operational, for a journey, and for a marriage. He consults the horoscope and draws up a chart with chalk on a blackboard.  
 Photograph 20<sup>th</sup> September 2005

*Opposite*  
 Bhaktapur, view from the south across the fields and the Hanumante river with the Rāmmanjil. In 1971 the townscape was still intact with its tile roofs. The five-storeyed Nyātāpvala temple dominated the skyline, the pinnacle pointing to the ancient sanctuary of Cāṅgu Nārāyaṇa on top of a hill. In the background the Gosaikuṇḍa range of mountains covered with early snow.  
 The historic city had visible edges and did not expand across the river. Kvapade was thus not only a ritually defined territory but a visual entity.  
 Photograph 10<sup>th</sup> December 1971

Part I

**BHAKTAPUR**  
**The City and its Ritual Specialists**



## The Urban Realm

### Historical Development

It is not known where the settlement pattern of the Newars with its specifically urban life-style originated. When they arrived in the Kathmandu Valley (in inscriptions often named Nepāla-Maṇḍala) more than two millennia ago, they must have brought a tradition of living in clusters. Their settlements developed along narrow lanes and around courtyards in such a way that there was hardly any space left for kitchen gardens. The fields were not kept behind the three-storeyed houses with their pitched tile roofs, but beyond the architectural clusters. The opposition between an essentially narrow and dark living space and the open continuum of the landscape of fields and bamboo groves could not be more striking.

We do not know how large the settlements were in the early era (4<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century), but they must have had an urban character, with palaces and monasteries, and with brick makers and carpenters who produced veneer bricks, elaborate door-frames, wells and fountains – all those architectural elements that were further developed in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries before new ideas imported from India radically changed the notions regarding space and place.

The royal cities of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur did not exist at that early period but developed gradually by incorporating a couple of village-like clusters and thus forming a larger entity (see also Gutschow 1982 and Gutschow and Michaels 2005: 15-23). The cluster units somehow survived as quarters, which are invariably grouped around squares, with shrines and temples housing the non-iconic forms of the neighbourhood deities that maintain the life and well-being of those who offer blood sacrifices.

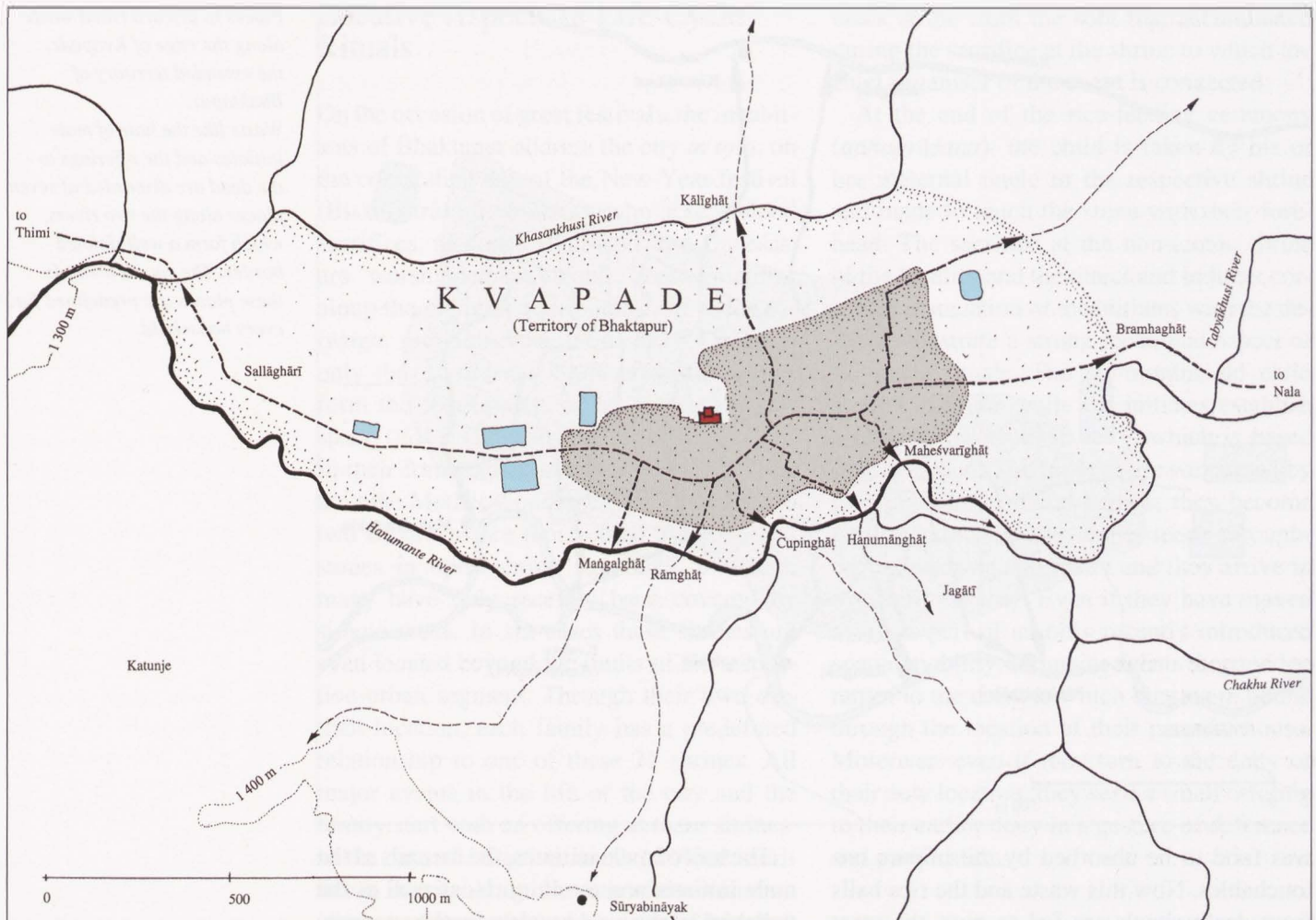
The impulse to settle in clusters guided the Newars even at the trading stations that had developed along the main routes across the country since the advent of the unifying Śāha dynasty at the end of the 18th century. If only six houses had to be built to shelter a small community, a road would emerge twenty feet wide, with three houses lined up on either side. The basic unit of an urban cluster was replicated regardless of the specific landscape and climate. And no unit was without a shrine dedicated to Gaṇeśa.

### Kvapade: The Territory Defined by Rivers

Transcending the narrow and until the early 1970s visible and experienceable limits of the urban cluster, the notion persisted of a *deśa*, a territory in between rivers. For Bhaktapur, this is Kvapade, the territory confined between the Hanumante River to the south and the Kasankhusi River to the north. In the south the Tabyākhusi River forms a confluence, an auspicious “*trivenī*”, together with the Chalkhu River before forming the river Hanumante. From the confluence, the Tabyākhusi turns north but leaves a 700 metres-wide gap to the Kasankhusi. This area remains without a topographically defined border.

Covering the best part of two square kilometres, Kvapade is the realm which male initiates are not supposed to leave. Brahmin as well as Buddhist priests confirm that the territory of Kvapade represents a realm with the quality of interiority and of belonging to the city proper. Transcending the rivers or following the roads to the east would mean that for years the initiated boys would be obliged to travel and pursue their studies at Varanasi, the famous centre of learning. At the time of initiation (*Vratibandha* or *Kaytāpūjā*) the rivers mark a meaningful border between the fa-





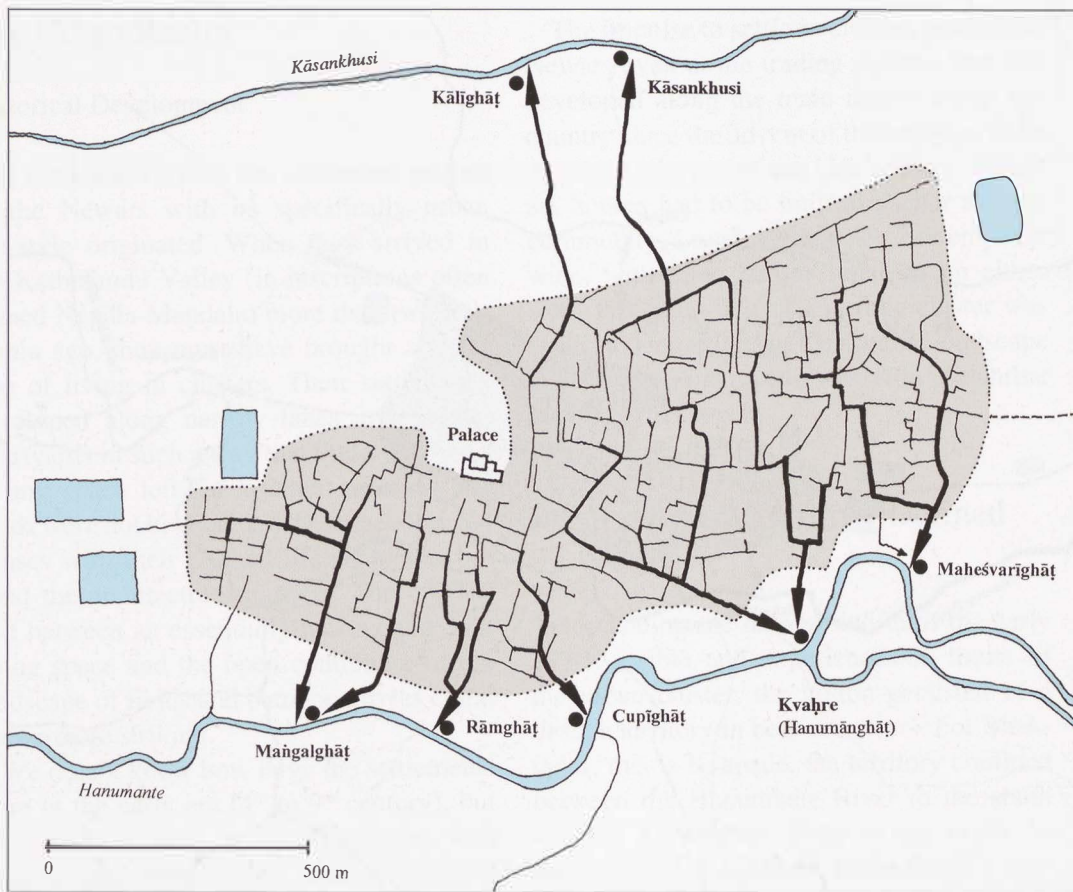
*Kvapade, the defined territory of Bhaktapur, which male initiates may not leave on their ritual journey. The two rivers in the north (Kasankhusi) and the south (Hanumante) form natural borders, while the edge of the territory to the east remains vague.*

miliar, safe and pure territory and a limitless continuum that even transcends the confines of the Valley as part of the mythical rose apple continent (*jambūdvīpa*).

Five roads lead down a slope towards the Hanumante River (Maṅgalghāt, Rāmghāt, Cupinghāt, Hanumānghāt and Maheśvarighāt) in the south and one to Kālighāt at the Kasankhusi. These are six of those seven places designated for discarding ritual waste that is considered impure. In a widely practiced ritual found in settlements all over the world, impurities are discarded beyond a marked border that defines an interior. This notion does not come into conflict with the neighbouring entity, which in itself can be an interior.

## Spatial Purity

Ritual waste is either absorbed by the threshold stone, the *pikhālākhu* in front of the house, or by the stone set at road crossings, the *chvāsaḥ*. Transcending the scale of the quarter, the next larger spatial entity is the broader territory referred to as Kvapade. The rice balls (*piṇḍa*) produced in the context of death rituals (*śrāddha*) and dedicated to the ancestors have to be discarded at the designated places. The leftovers from household rituals such as *mhāpūjā* in autumn are discarded in such huge quantities that the untouchables come to collect the *mutumāri*, small cones of steamed rice flour. Until a generation ago, this



*Places to discard ritual waste along the edge of Kvapade, the extended territory of Bhaktapur.*

*Waste like the hair of male initiates and the offerings to the dead are discarded at seven places along the two rivers, which form a well-defined border. The routes towards these places are predefined for every household.*

was food to be absorbed by the impure un-touchables. Now this waste and the rice balls from death rituals are fed to pigs, the meat of which finds growing acceptance. Sold on the shelves of anonymous supermarkets, it is consumed by the urban elite and by expatriates. The sods of grass that formed the hearth to cook food for the deceased on the seventh day are likewise discarded at the designated stones. In addition, all those offerings such as the feast offered to the souls of the deceased on the seventh day and the offering to the funeral priest on the tenth day are discarded at these places because members of the once absorbing purity specialists, such as the Jugi and Bhā, stopped absorbing such highly polluted offerings in the 1990s.

The hair of male initiates, the toenails of the male initiates and the Ihi girls, as well as the unbaked bricks used by girls for the sun worship after they are released from their twelve-day long seclusion (Bārḥā tayegu), are also discarded at the seven designated places. The rivers absorb all these impurities.

Not all leftovers are considered impure. The unbaked bricks used to frame the pit of the sacred fire (*homa*) that forms the centre of the Ihi ritual are put aside. A carefully chosen relative will have the privilege of using the bricks for the foundations of a new house. The potential mothers addressed in the Ihi ritual obviously have imbued the bricks with a quality that ensures well-being and procreativity in a new house.

## Locative Aspects of Life-Cycle Rituals

On the occasion of great festivals, the inhabitants of Bhaktapur address the city *in toto*: on the concluding day of the New Year festival (Bisketjātrā) all 35 deities who accept blood sacrifices, Mātṛkās, Bhairavas and Gaṇeśas, are worshipped as iconic representations along the processional route (*dyah svagā bijyāigu*, see Gutschow 1996: 297). Of these, only the 21 old and more powerful deities form the focal points of urban segments of space (*ilākā*, Gutschow/Michaels 2005: 22). In their form as non-iconic, chthonic deities, the nine Mother Goddesses, ten Gaṇeśas and two Bhairavas are represented by unworked stones in open shrine structures, of which many have only recently been covered by simple roofs. In six cases these shrines are even located beyond the limits of the respective urban segment. Through their own distinct location, each family has a predefined relationship to one of these 21 shrines. All major events in the life of the city and the family start with an offering at these shrines. In the case of initiation rituals, a blood sacrifice is inevitable. In the case of the initiation of a boy of farmer status, the second loin cloth is tied around the boy's body by the maternal uncle within the shrine's premises while the attending assistant priest, the Jyāpu Ācāju, graces the boy's hands and fixes unnamed deities (*pratimā*) in the shape thin gold and silver platelets onto the deity's representation in stone.

The soot that accumulates during the sacrifice on an inverted earthen cup is used for the black stroke placed on the forehead of lineage members, wife-takers and wife-givers before joining the ensuing feast, which confirms the community of which the initiate is now a member. Likewise, after the ritual of "offering the virgin" (*kanyādāna*), all Ihi girls and their mothers and fathers receive a

black stripe from the soot that accumulated during the sacrifice at the shrine to which the chief organiser of the event is connected.

At the end of the rice-feeding ceremony (*annaprāśana*), the child is taken by his or her maternal uncle to the respective shrine and made to touch the stone with their forehead. The sacrifice at the non-iconic shrine of the locality and the direct and indirect corporeal association of the initiates with the deity demonstrate a strong locational aspect of life-cycle rituals. The six-months-old child arrives in space while the initiates establish a relationship to their deity, which is based on interaction. The initiates are welcomed by their lineage as social beings; they become part of a social body that extends throughout a certain spatial realm and they arrive in a specific locality. Even if they have moved away as part of an only recently introduced spatial mobility, for major events they tend to return to the deity to which they were bound through the location of their parental house. Moreover, even if they turn to the deity of their new location, they send a small offering to their earlier deity in a gesture of deference and pacification.

## Social Topography

The traditions of the *śāstras* are all based on a more or less centralised concept of spatial ordering. The palace occupies the centre, the Brahmins would settle near the palace, and the impure sub-castes on the periphery or even beyond. Such traditions have often been misinterpreted as mandatory prescriptions for the planning and building of cities. As guidelines they did, however, influence a general sense of order. As Bhaktapur is a linear city that has developed along a main road as its backbone, notions of centre and periphery prevail along a single ritual axis, starting from the palace, which itself occupies a peripheral location

upon a ridge. Up until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the city only developed on the slope extending down to the Hanumante River as the southern edge of the territory of Kvpade. The Rājopādhyāya Brahmins of Bhaktapur, who can trace their origins to the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, occupy a few courtyards opposite the palace, where their esoteric shrine, the *āgāchē*, is also located. Only two hundred years later branches of the lineage were either expelled from the centre, or moved of their own accord to escape the crampedness of the original location.

The other end of the ritual axis is marked by the main cremation place across the river. In obvious contrast to the notion of the territory of Kvpade being pure, the quarter of some 80 untouchable Pvaḥ families is not found across the river but on the river bank, in a dense cluster of originally one-storeyed houses with thatched roofs just beyond and below the urban fabric of three-storeyed brick houses. Even the cremation grounds of the marginally pure and impure sub-castes are found on the riverbank. The periphery is also the realm of the impure butchers (Gutschow/Michaels 2005: 59), while the 56 households of barbers and even the 44 households of Jugi in their capacity as purity specialists do not form clusters but have set out their dwellings in a scattered fashion.

The example of oil-pressers and potters – as presented in the following chapters – illustrates how almost every sub-caste, pure or marginally pure, contributes to the ritual universe of the community. Occupational sub-castes offer the products of their trade and are thus bound to the social and religious body of the city. Beyond serving the households with oil and fired earthenware, their aid in rituals makes them indispensable. The body of the Newar society indeed appears as a fabric, a closely-knit web. Occupational sub-castes with a large number of members, such as potters (Kumaḥ/Prajapati) and oil-pressers (Sāymi/

Mānandhar), settle in clusters – but these clusters do not carry the notion of impurity that leads to the feelings of stigmatisation found in the clusters of butchers and sweepers.

### The Oil-Pressers (Mānandhar/Sāymi)

Being of marginally pure status, the oil-pressers form five distinct clusters, originally organised around traditional oil mills (*sah*), which were replaced in the late 1970s by mills operated by diesel motors. As Buddhists they call in a Vajrācārya priest for their sons' initiations and they join the Ihi ritual organised annually by the Paśubāhā in the quarter of Kvathādaḥ. Being Buddhists does not exclude their participation in the Indra-jātrā, a major festival at the end of the summer in September. Beyond the bounds of their religious designations, the entire population is involved in thanking Indra for the life-sustaining rains. The lord of the demons and enemy of Indra (and thus of the rains) is chased along the prescribed processional route on three successive days after full moon in September, headed at a safe distance by the Mānandhar who carry elaborate torches fed by the mustard oil from their mills. Representing the mills of the upper town (*thatusah*) of Tācāpaḥ and Kvathādaḥ, the lower town (*kvathusah*) of Tekhācva and Tapalāchē and the middle area (*dathusah*) of Gvaḥmādhī, the Mānandhar share the central role in this urban ritual. On other occasions, they are needed to tie Betāl, the naughty companion of Bhairava to the shaft of the ritual chariot with reeds, and they tie the ropes around the world tree, the *yaḥsi*, with which it is pulled on New Year's Eve.

Quite a few sub-castes tell stories that explain their low or justify their high status. The Mānandhar maintain that they had originally been a "high" caste, but after a cow was killed

*Bhaktapur settlement patterns according to sub-caste:*

*Above*

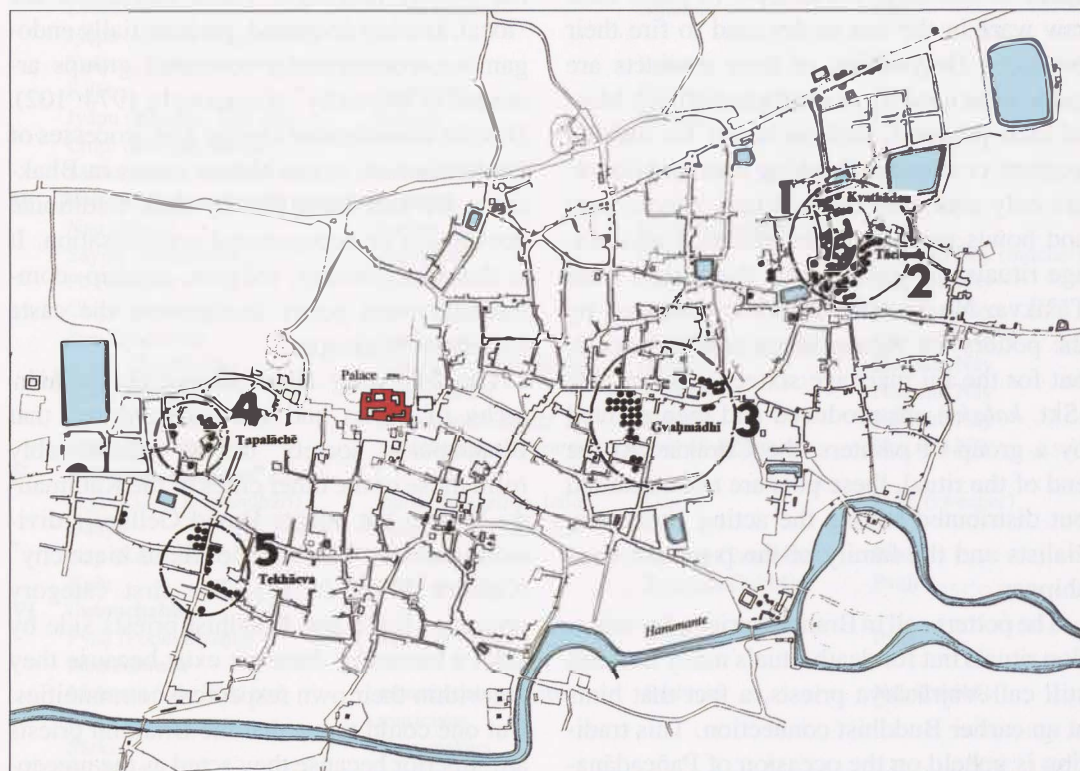
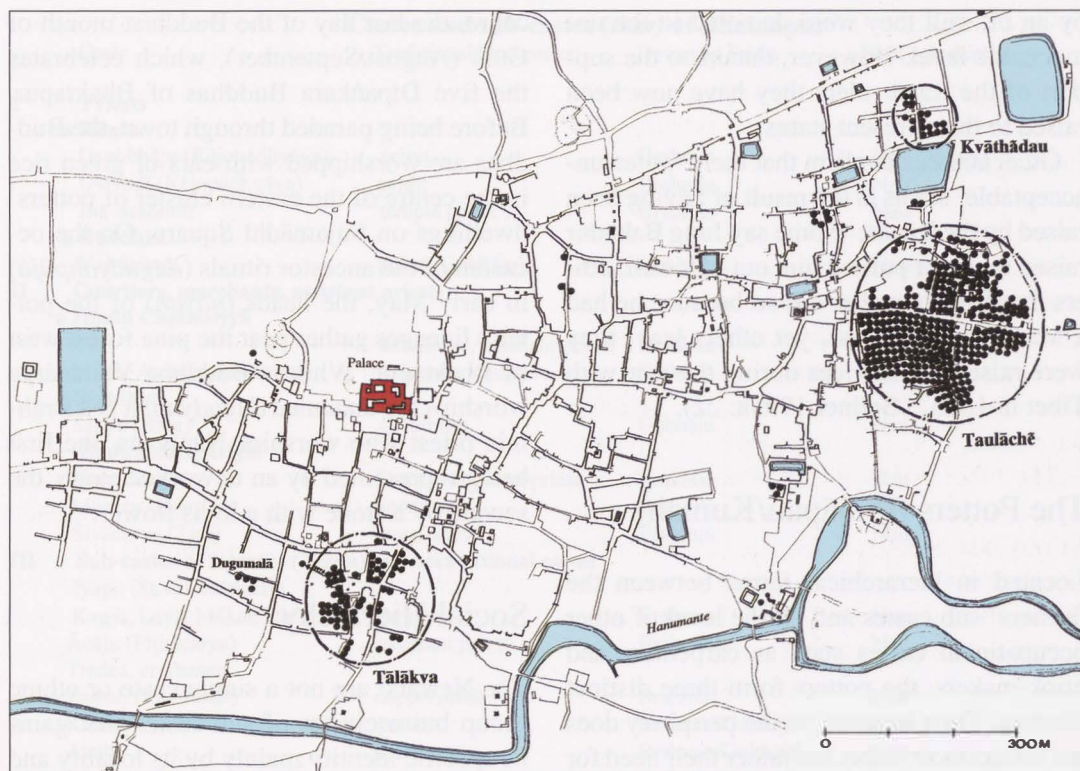
With 410 households, the potters (Nep. *Kumaḥ* or Nep. *Prajāpati*) form the largest sub-caste of the city's society. The largest group at Taulāchē dominates the eastern quarter of Bhaktapur, while some 60 households at Talākva have settled together with farmers. A few scattered households at Dugumalā, Khācā, Cvāchē and Kvāthādaḥ already moved there generations ago. Brahmin priests are called for initiation rituals, while Buddhist *Bajrācārya* are sometimes preferred for death rituals.

*Below*

The oil-pressers (Nep. *Sāymi*, Nep. *Mānandhar*) are organized into five groups, which centre around former oil-mills (*saḥ*), which until the early 1970s worked with traditional techniques. As specialists, the oil-pressers are called on for rituals requiring ropes or reed to be bound, and on the occasion of *Indrajātrā* in September they lead the procession on three successive days with festive torches, fed with mustard oil from their own production.

For all life cycle rituals only Buddhist *Bajrācārya* priests are called on.

Mapped in 1974 on the basis of a city-wide household survey



by an oil mill they were demoted to the un-touchable level. However, thanks to the support of the Rāṇā rulers they have now been raised to their present status.

Other sources confirm that their ‘water-unacceptable’ status is the result of having been raised by the Rāṇās: “Some say Jung Bahadur raised them for pulling him out of a well, others that Bir Shumsher did so because he had a Mānandhar mistress, yet others [say] they were raised for services during the war with Tibet in 1855” (Gellner 1995a: 22).

### The Potters (Prajāpati/Kumaḥ)

Located in hierarchical terms between the farmers’ sub castes and on the level of other occupational castes such as carpenters and brick-makers, the potters form three distinct clusters. Their location on the periphery does not reflect their status but rather their need for space to run their workshops, to place their raw ware in the sun to dry, and to fire their products. Only a few of their products are made to be used for several generations. Most of their products, such as bowls for making yoghurt or cups for drinking beer and liquor, are only ever used once. Ritual objects, pots and bowls used in death, initiation and old-age rituals are produced by the potters from Tālākva. No specific object is produced by the potters for Annaprāśana and Kaytāpūjā, but for the Ihi marriage sixteen *gapacā* pots (Skt. *kalaśa*) are produced and then painted by a group of painters, the Citrakār. At the end of the ritual, these pots are not discarded but distributed among the acting ritual specialists and the family of the principle worshipper.

The potters call in Brahmin priests for initiation rituals but for death rituals many families still call Vajrācārya priests, a fact that hints at an earlier Buddhist connection. This tradition is upheld on the occasion of Pañcadāna-

caḥre, the last day of the Buddhist month of Gūlā (August/September), which celebrates the five Dipaṅkara Buddhas of Bhaktapur. Before being paraded through town, the Buddhas are worshipped with ears of green rice in the centre of the eastern cluster of potters’ dwellings on Sujamādhī Square. On the occasion of the ancestor rituals (*dugudyaḥpūjā*) in early May, the heads (*nāyah*) of the potter’s lineages gather near the pine forest west of Bhaktapur. While a Buddhist Vajrācārya worships the unnamed *dugudyaḥ*, it is a Brahmin priest who worships Nārāyaṇa, the first being represented by an unworked stone, the second by a stone with a lotus flower.

### Social Hierarchy

The Newars<sup>8</sup> are not a single caste or ethnic group but a cluster of sub-castes that gains its specific identity mainly by its locality and the Nevārī language. These sub-castes are “local, kinship delimited, preferentially endogamous, commensally restricted groups arranged in hierarchy” (Greenwold 1974: 102). Despite considerable change and processes of modernisation, many Newar castes in Bhaktapur are still identified by their traditional occupation or occupational specialisation. It is therefore locality, religion, kinship, commensality and purity that govern the caste system of Bhaktapur.

The following table presenting the hierarchy of castes and sub-castes shows that Bhaktapur’s society differs considerably from those of the other cities of the Kathmandu Valley, but adopts David Gellner’s division into “six ‘blocs’ or levels of hierarchy” (Gellner 1995: 16-18). The first category presents Hindu and Buddhist priests side by side: a hierarchy does not exist because they act within their own respective communities. But one could argue that the Brahmin priests are superior because they acted as the precep-

<sup>8</sup> On the Newar caste system see Levi vol. I 1905:230-48, Chattopadhyay 1980 (1923), Nepali 1965:146-97, Rosser 1966:68-139, Greenwold 1974, Gutschow/Kölver 1975, Toffin 1984 and 2007, Löwdin 1985, Pradhan 1986: 14-35, Gellner 1992, Levy 1990.

<b>Castes and sub-castes (<i>thar</i>) of Bhaktapur<sup>9</sup></b>			
Caste	Traditional Occupation	Domestic Priest	Purity Specialist
<b>I Priests</b>			
<b>a Hindu</b>			
Dyaḥbhāju (Rājopādhyāya)	priest	Brahmin	Nau (barber)
Dvivedī (Rājopādhyāya)	priest	Brahmin	Nau
Jhā Brahmin	temple priest	Brahmin	Nau
<b>b Buddhist</b>			
Vajrācārya	priest (Gubhāju)	Gubhāju	Nau
<b>II Courtiers, merchants, assistant priests</b>			
<b>a Hindu Chathariyā</b>			
Joṣī	astrologer, assistant priest	Brahmin	Nau
Malla, Amātya, Hādā etc.	ministers, courtiers	Brahmin	Nau
<b>b Buddhist</b>			
Śākya (Bare)	goldsmith	Gubhāju	Nau
<b>c Hindu Pañthariyā</b>			
Karmācārya	Tantric assistant-priest	Brahmin	Nau
Māskey, Dristī etc	merchants	Brahmin	Nau
Śivācārya (Tini)	para-priest	Brahmin	Nau
<b>III Sub-castes of formers (Jyāpu) and occupational castes</b>			
Jyāpu (Suvāl, Bāsukala,			
Kvaju, Lava, Mākaḥ etc.)	farmers	Brahmin	Nau
Ācāju (Pīṭhācārya)	assistant priest	Brahmin	Nau
Trades, craftsmen			
Tāmaḥ (Tāmraḥ)	coppersmith	Brahmin	Nau
Kumaḥ	potter	Brahmin/Gubhāju	Nau
Avaḥ	mason	Brahmin/Gubhāju	Nau
Sikaḥmi (Śilpakār)	carpenter	Brahmin	Nau
Lvahākaḥmi	stone masons	Brahmin	Nau
Jyāpu (Rājcal, Svāgamikhā,			
Tvāyna, Datheputhe etc.)	farmers	Brahmin	Nau
Kilābu	carpenters	Brahmin	Nau
Jyāpu (Khicāju, Libi etc)	farmers	Brahmin	Nau
Chipi (Śreṣṭha, Bhuju,			
Śākhaḥkarmi, Pradhān etc.)	merchants	Brahmin	Nau
<b>IV Nau Jāt ("nine castes", marginally pure)</b>			
Nau (Napit)	barber	Dvivedī Brahmin	Nau
Sāymi (Mānāndhar)	oilpresser	Gubhāju	Nau and Nāy (butcher)
Pū (Citrakār)	painter	Gubhāju	Nau and Nāy
Chipā (Rañjītkār)	dye	Gubhāju	Nau and Nāy
Kau (Nakarṁi)	blacksmith	Gubhāju	Nau and Nāy
Kataḥ (Śuddhakār)	cutters of umbilical cord	Gubhāju	Nau and Nāy
Bhā (Kārāñjit)	funeral priest	Śivācārya	Nau and Nāy
Cālā (Divākar)	funeral torch bearer	Gubhāju	Nau and Nāy
Gāthā Banmālā	gardeners, mask bearer	Dvivedī Brahmin	Nau and Nāy
<b>V Polluting, "unclean" castes</b>			
Jugi (Kusle, Darśandhārī)	purity specialists, tailor	Danyā	Pvaḥ (sweeper)
Danyā	purity specialist, tailor		
Nāy (Kasāi, Śāhī)	butcher	Khusaḥ (Tandukar)	Pvaḥ
Kulu	drum-maker	Brahmin/Gubhāju	Pvaḥ
<b>VI Untouchables</b>			
Pvāḥ (Poḍe, Dyaḥla)	sweeper, fisher	Pvāḥ	Pvāḥ
<b>Non Newars</b>			
Mahanta (Girī, Purī etc)	monasterial managers	Brahmin	Nau (barber)
Gāine	musicians		
Śārki	shoe-makers		
Muslim	bangle makers		

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Rosser 1966, Greenwold 1974: 103-04, Pradhan 1986, Gellner 1992: 44, Levy App. 2.

tors of the Malla Kings and only serve clean-castes, while a very small group of debased Brahmins, the Dvivedī Brahmins, and the Buddhist Vajrācārya priests serve marginally pure castes and, as the example of the drum-makers (Kulu) demonstrates, even impure castes. The Dvivedī Brahmins are also called Lakhe Brahmins although they maintain their original designation as Rājopādhyāya.

The Brahmin priests serve all families of high status (Chatharīya and Pañtharīya), all of them former courtiers, merchants and ritual specialists, while the Vajrācārya serve goldsmiths (Śākya) who in the table are placed at the bottom of the Pañtharīya, although they should be seen as in a parallel location.

As “fallen” Brahmins (Levy 1990: 358), the Śivācārya mark the border between “high” and “middle” in the social hierarchy. They act as priests on the tenth day after death (Gutschow and Michaels 2005: 109) to purify the mourning family and the house, and in Ihi rituals they empower the fruits of the wood-apple tree (*belpūjā*). Śivācārya, moreover, have a special role inasmuch as they serve as family priests to the marginally pure Kārāñjit, whose members have their own de-contaminating function as funeral priests.

Within the sub-castes of Jyāpu (farmer) and occupational groups, the notion of hierarchy varies according to the perspective of each of these sub-castes. The next lower group, the disparagingly termed Chipi, marks, however, the border between clean and “borderline clean status”. Offspring of inter-caste marriages often hide their origins behind names that veil them. Only when the western researcher comes is the hidden story behind these names revealed, while people of Bhaktapur are only really concerned when it is a question of their daughters marrying a Chipi. Already a girl from the higher levels of Jyāpu such as Suvāl or Bāsukala marrying a member of an occupational caste poses a problem. Even if the lineage members agree to such a

liaison, the death association (*siguthī*) usually accepts neither the wife of their member nor their children. The *siguthīs* of Jyāpu serve in fact as the guardians of status. The judgement of their elders confirms who is of their status and who is “low” and thus unacceptable. Inter-caste marriages do not, however, have any impact on the ritual for initiating boys, because dissenting branches of the lineage would already have split on the occasion of marriage. But they may have consequences for the Ihi ritual, as could be seen in one particular case. A Buddhist Śākya who had married a non-Newar girl preferred to join the Ihi ritual under the guidance of a Brahmin. Obviously he was avoiding taking part in the corresponding Buddhist ritual.

Beyond the middle section with contested hierarchies follow the “nine castes” (*nau jāt*), which are of “borderline clean status”, as Robert Levy says (1990: 358). These are served in rituals by Dvivedī Brahmins or by Buddhist Vajrācārya priests. The barbers mark the border, because they serve all those who are “higher” while butcher women have to serve those who are “lower”. The question, why Buddhist priests serve the *nau jāt* cannot be answered. However, it seems instructive that the members of these “nine castes” are either purity specialists, or belong to occupational groups such as oil-pressers, dyers or blacksmiths, whose activity is considered to be “unclean”.

Girls from all nine castes undergo the Ihi marriage in either a Hindu or Buddhist framework. The daughters of the Gāthā, however, only join the ritual on the second day because their joining the feast on the first day is considered pollutant. It is unclear what specific quality it is that excludes them from full participation. Is it the fact that they will act as the wives of those who perform as the Navadurgā deities, the “living” gods who grace the city with their presence? Their sons are usually initiated by the eldest of the lineage.



Referring to “marginal groups” similar to the nine castes on the edge of the Valley and in neighbouring towns, Gerard Toffin (1984: 19-20) has argued that these are “relatively poorly assimilated to the Newars”. Asking whether “these groups represent an old, strictly Newar tribal substratum that was gradually pushed back towards the edges of the Valley [and to the edges of society, we should add] and in which it should be possible to discover the traces of a putative ‘primitive’ social organisation”, Toffin touches on issues that have also been discussed by Gellner (1995a: 32) but that remain unsolved.

Below the nine castes follow sub-castes whose touch does not require purification by those who consider themselves “higher”. These are butchers (Nāy) and purity specialists (Jugi) who as musicians until recently headed the processions on the occasion of Macā jākva (Skt. *annaprāsana*), Kaytāpūjā (Skt. *mekhalābandhana*) and Ihi, and who work as tailors. Buddhists priests from Patan, so-called Nāyguhājū, serve the butchers, while the Jugi are served by the single Danyā of Bhaktapur who belongs to the larger group of Jugi. The only remaining drummer (Kulu) in Bhaktapur had, until fifteen years ago, life-cycle rituals performed by the eldest (*nāyah*) of the lineage. In an attempt to attain a higher status, the Kulu started to call in a Subedi Brahmin from Harasiddhi, but shifted to a Vajrācārya from Patan seven years ago. Such shifts demonstrate the wide range of possibilities in a society in the throes of change. For Jugi, the boys’ initiation is introduced by music played on shawm, an instrument that is played exclusively by them. Nāy celebrate the tying of two loincloths, a white one by the eldest of the lineage, and a green one by the paternal aunt (*nini*) without the presence of a priest. The knot, however, is not worshipped.

At the bottom of the hierarchy are the untouchables (Pvaḥ), from whom “clean castes”

take no water and, if touched by them, are supposed to purify themselves. The Pvaḥ do not require any priest for the enactment of their life-cycle rituals; the tying of the loincloth is done by the eldest of the lineage. Neither members of unclean nor of untouchable status perform the Ihi marriage.

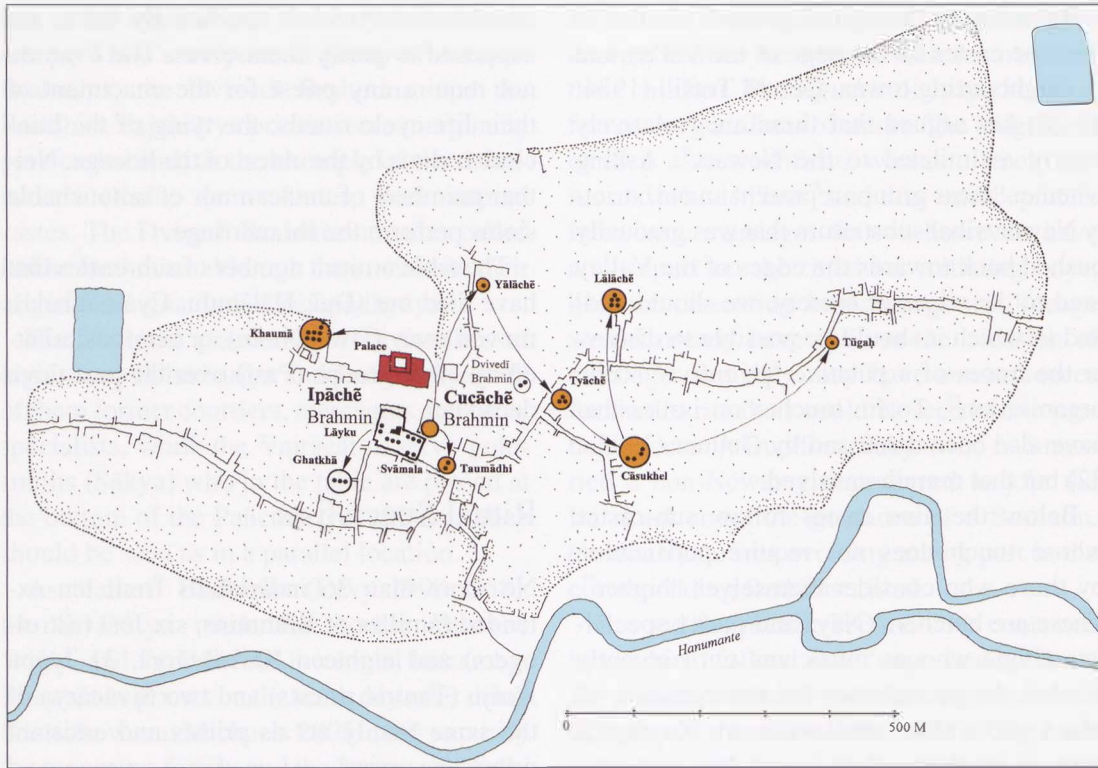
The table omits a number of sub-castes that have died out (Duī, Hālāhulu, Cyāmākhala), moved away (Dvā, Dhobi), or been assimilated by other groups (Pasi) over the past three decades.

## Ritual Specialists

No more than 36 individuals from ten extended families of Brahmins, six Jośi (astrologers) and eighteen Karmācārya, 31 Jyāpu Ācāju (Tantric priests) and two Śivācārya of the same family act as priests and assistant priests (see map).

### Brahmins

Of the five groups of Brahmins, the Newar Brahmins (Dyaḥbhāju) from India began settling in the Kathmandu Valley at the end of the first millennium and not, as is often said, in the early days of the Malla dynasty in the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Witzel 1976: 156). Michael Witzel has traced documents in the possession of Ratnaraj Sharma to prove that the Dyaḥbhāju of Bhaktapur arrived in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. Uhlāsārāja, their progenitor, died in 1576. They probably settled right from the beginning in the Khāisima courtyard opposite the palace where their esoteric shrine is located. The original family is said to have split some two-hundred years later into the Ipāchē clan and the Cucāchē clan. While the former remained in its central location, the latter moved across town, and its 23 active priests settled in seven different locations. The Khaumā branch, which according to family



*Bhaktapur, location of 36 Brahmins, Rājopādhyāya, who act as priests in life cycle rituals.*

*Some time in the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century they split into two clans. The Ipāchē clan remained settled around the Khāisima courtyard opposite the palace and kept the privilege to worship Taleju. The Cucāchē clan of Yābvaḥ moved to Taumādhi, Yālāchē and Khaumā. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, one member of the Cucāchē clan shifted to Tyāchē and his descendants further to Cāsukhel, Lālāchē and Tūgah. Two Dvivedī Brahmins, who migrated from Benares, are located at Tulāchē. They have the exclusive privilege to perform the life cycle rituals for families of the barber's community (Nau).*

*Mapped in January 2007 by Nutan Sharma*

tradition was deprived of its property by the Śāha rulers after 1768, was forced to move to the periphery (Gutschow/Michaels 2005: 35/36). It is not known why other members of the Cucāchē clan have moved away from the central location since the late 19th century. Some families like those from Lālāchē and Cāsukhel still share their inherited clients. No more than four or five of these Newar Brahmins preside over or, as is the case with the Khaumā branch, organise Ihi rituals. Others serve as assistants.

Two families of Dvivedī Brahmins are said to be the offspring of an improper marriage and thus of “lower” status; they do not preside over Ihi marriages but are occasionally called on by Nau or Gāthā for initiation rituals. The Mahantās of Bhaktapur’s fourteen Hindu monasterial institutions (*maṭhas*) do not perform Ihi. For the initiation of the boys Pūrbiya or Tirhutya Brahmins are called in.

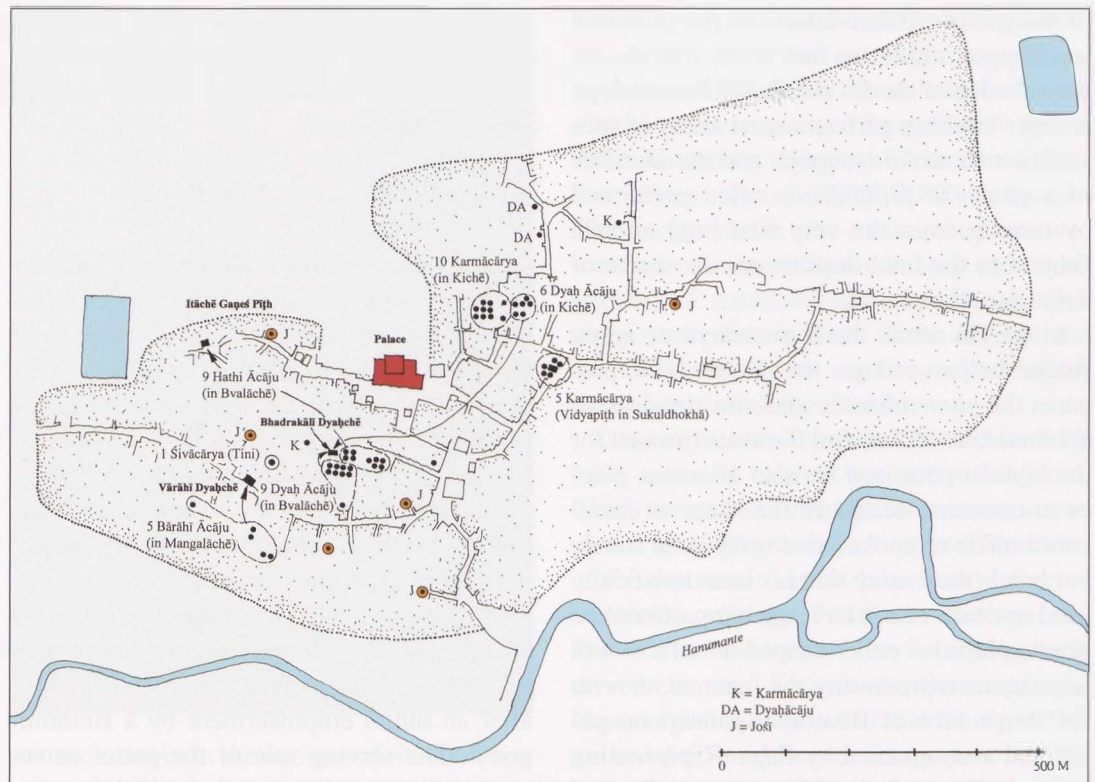
The Brahmin is by no means the master of the ritual place, but he guides the entire ritual

and announces the actions to be performed by the participants, in Ihi rituals often with the help of a microphone. On the second day, he tends the sacred fire, while his wife prepares the food on the first day (*ihijā*), sprinkles sacred water (*jal*) and is a helping hand.

Assistant Priests (Jośi, Karmācārya, Jyāpu Ācāju and Śivācārya)

The Brahmin priest has an established relationship with the assistant priests. In Bhaktapur, the Jośi already appears at the potter’s square to arrange the ritual place for the Alīdyaḥpūjā. Should the Śivācārya not be there, the Jośi also presents the Alīdyaḥ to the potter boy (see below). Such changes of duties have become common in recent decades. The astrologer and the Tantric priest both know their trade and can easily take on the job of other specialists. On the second day the astrologer’s duty is to perform the *sinhapūjā*, worshipping the vermilion powder needed to

Bhaktapur, location of assistant priests acting in initiation rituals: Karmācārya, Jyāpu Ācāju and Jośi. Of the 18 Karmācārya, most of them are settled in a cluster in Kichē. Divided into two groups, they are organised around different esoteric shrines (āgāchē). Those Karmācārya attached to the Vidyāpīṭh have ritual obligations in the Taleju temple and serve exclusively in life cycle rituals of upper caste (Chathāriya) families. Families of farmers (Jyāpu) or privileged workmen like carpenters, masons and potters call on Jyāpu Ācāju, who are divided into three groups. Seventeen Dyaḥ Ācāju from Kichē and Bvalāchē regard Bhadrakālī as the esoteric deity, nine Hāthi Ācāju turn to the Gaṇeśa shrine in Itāchē and five Bārāhī Ācāju turn to Vārāhī. Only six Jośi ("J" on the map) act as astrologers and as assistant priests, who perform the vermilion pūjā.



colour the girl's forehead and the parting of her hair in an act that indicates marital status.

The eighteen Tantric Karmācārya priests who serve families of "high" status and their "lower" counterparts, the 29 Jyāpu Ācāju who serve exclusively sub-castes of farmers and occupational castes, act as assistants to prepare the ritual place, often prior to the arrival of the Brahmin priest. The Karmācāryas are divided into three groups, each centering on a separate esoteric shrine, where they are initiated. Of particular importance is the group around the *vidyāpīṭha* (which serves as their esoteric shrine) at Sukuldhokā, the members of which serve in the Taleju temple.

The Jyāpu Ācāju, also called Pīṭhācārya (Mishra/Shrestha/Shrestha 2004: 77), are divided into three groups, named after their association with a deity, Bhadrakālī (Dyaḥ), Vārāhī or Gaṇeśa. The Dyaḥ Ācāju from the quarters of Kichē and Bvalāchē are tied to

Bhadrakālī, who presides over the urban territory of Bhaktapur. As the consort of Bhairava, this deity occupies a powerful position in the city's pantheon. The Bārāhī Ācāju from Maṅgalāchē are connected to Bārāhī, the fifth of the protective Mother Goddesses. Referring to the theriomorphic shape of their deity, those who worship Gaṇeśa in the quarter of Itāchē are called Hāthi Ācāju (*hāthi*, "elephant").

The Tantric priest, either the Karmācārya or the Jyāpu Ācāju, ties the respective ritual place to the eight protective Mother Goddesses, the Aṣṭamātṛkā, whose non-iconic shrines have to be worshipped on the preceding day or in the early morning of the first day (*duṣva*) of Ihi. In January 2007 a variety of such performances could be observed: the eight shrines of the Mother Goddesses and the one dedicated to Tripurasundarī at the centre were visited by the Karmācārya or Jyāpu Ācāju in the company of the representative

of the group of wife-takers of the principle worshipper, either on foot or by car. As on the first day of the Ihi ritual, the Karmācārya is kept very busy performing a variety of sub-rituals such as Alīdyaḥpūjā, and the sacrifice of a goat, the *pīṭhpūjā*, is often performed by turning from the very first *pūjā* at Salā Gaṇeśa to the final destination, the shrine of Tripurasundarī.

In the Ihi ritual, the Karmācārya or Jyāpu Ācāju helps arrange the firepit and prepares the *yantra* for the ancestor ritual (*nāndikāmukhaśrāddha*) and the seats (*āsana*) for the sixteen pots, and he also allocates places to unnamed deities in the shape of small cones made of cooked rice (*gvajā*). In a copper bowl (the *kvalaḥ* that is characteristically used in death rituals) a large lump of cooked rice is placed – either shaped as a face with soya beans representing the features, or with the fierce face of Bhairava, painted on paper and accompanied by flags. Representing a *bau*-offering dedicated to potentially evil spirits, this lump is cast onto a stone in the pavement of a neighbouring street crossing. Such stones, called *chvāsah*, absorb ritual waste and offerings dedicated to unidentified spirits called *bhūt-pret*.

Of the Śivācārya, who are needed to arrange the platform for the nine sacred vases and the consecration and distribution of the bel fruits, only one family was still acting in 2006/2007. Quite a few organisers do not invite the Śivācārya any more and engage the Karmācārya for this job.

### Helpers

Potters (Kumaḥ) and painters (Citrakār) are neither classifiable as auxiliary priests of “high” status nor as purity technicians of “low” status, although their service is obligatory in Ihi rituals. In Bhaktapur at least their role is unquestioned, while in Kathmandu and Patan their trade is often taken over by

others. The recently established Buddhist ritual school at Nyākhācuka in Patan even trains young Vajrācāryas in the painting of *ihipā* bowls and pots.

### The Potters (Prajāpati, Nev. Kumaḥ)

In Bhaktapur a group of potters from Tālākva in the western half of the city has the privilege to produce the sixteen pots needed in the Ihi ritual and the bowls (*salāpā*) used by the girls to keep the *bel* fruit and to receive a formal offering of rice from the participating parents. The pots are ordered only a few days in advance, but stocks are large enough to allow the potter to bring them to the ritual site where they are painted in the evening hours of the first day (*dusva*). The potter also produces the lump of clay representing the mysterious Alīdyaḥ, which he shapes on his wheel only after an initial empowerment by a Brahmin priest. The serving role of the potter enters a semi-divine sphere as the principle worshipper, with the help of an assistant priest – either the Śivācārya or the Jośi – hands the lump of clay over to his son. The tying of a white turban and a gift of clothes indicate a kind of union with the potential deity. The young lad receives the rough form of the deity and hands it over indirectly to his father to be given a sophisticated shape. A few hours later, the new form is empowered again, this time by the Tantric Karmācārya priest.

### The Painters (Citrakār, Nev. Pū)

The painters of Bhaktapur established an Ihi *guthī* in the 1960s in order to allow and even force all the Citrakār families – which are organised as a *deguthī* (*de*, “territory” or “country”) – to participate in painting the pots and bowls that are needed not only in the context of the Ihi ritual, but also in old-age rituals (*jākva*), and for Satyanārāyaṇa and Nāga worship. The painters of Bhaktapur

Surje Chitrakar, having just completed the painting of the Gaṇeśa kalaśa for the Ihi ritual at Cvāchē on 21<sup>st</sup> January 2007.



act exclusively in the context of rituals. They renew wall paintings and produce objects – pots, sandals, block prints and paintings on cloth or paper – that are used in life-cycle rituals or for annual events. Until recently, the Citrakār received only a humble return for their services: the block prints were sold for a rupee and painting the pots was rewarded by 50 grams of vermilion, two kilograms of unhusked rice, half a kilogram of flattened rice, and some paper. To free themselves from such a demeaning situation, the painters of Bhaktapur established the Ihi Guthi, which discusses the prices in the light of the ongoing inflation every year six days after full moon in March (Holipunhi). The leadership (*palah*) of this association changes by rotation. Prior to presenting the annual accounts and handing out the shares of the annual income to the participants, the entire group visits the Chumā Gaṇeśa in Cvāchē, the most powerful Gaṇeśa of Bhaktapur, who is considered by the painters as their Viśvakarma, the protector of crafts. The *guthi* is therefore also named

Viśvakarmaguthi. In the 2006/2007 season, the collective fee for painting the pots was raised from 300 to 400 rupees and the fee for a block-print was raised from 5 to 7 rupees. Fines for failing to appear add to the collective income. Thus, in 2006/2007 the thirteen Citrakār *guthiyārs* who participated received some one thousand rupees in cash and 60 kilograms of unhusked and husked rice. One share of the rice is given to the *deguthi* and the 15<sup>th</sup> share will be used to make beer for the convention of the *deguthi*.

Originally, the Citrakār are said to have been confined to their respective kingdom, which meant that Bhaktapur's painters served clients up to Thimi in the west and Dhulikhel in the east, and that Ihi pots were delivered to Sankhu, Cangu, Nikosera, Katunje and Panauti. In recent years, one family regularly served clients in Kathmandu, Biratnagar and Narayanghat. The only Citrakār family in Thimi had delivered the necessary pots in 1997 to Sankhu and in 1998 as far as Baglung in West Nepal. Painters also worked in Citlang (until 1965), Tokha and Capagaon. Only five families each in Kathmandu and Patan pursue their inherited trade. The Pū Society of all painter families in Nepal, established in 1995 to represent the social and ritual obligations, as well as the economical and artistic interests of their 700 member families, discusses the endangered crafts and proposes regularly to run classes to teach the iconographical details of painting. However, only the painters of Bhaktapur have so far managed to ensure the participation of the younger generation.

The Newar painters not only paint the required earthenware needed for the Ihi ritual, they are also engaged in the ritual act of opening the eyes painted on the neck of the pots. The opening of the eyes with a stroke of the brush using the soot that has accumulated during the sacrifice of a goat at the local Gaṇeśa shrine is an act of consecration. The acting Brahmin has empowered the brush to

be used, similar to the empowering of the razor chisel (*cahlā*) used by the barber women to pare the toenails of the Ihi girls. With his empowered brush, the painter almost attains the status of an auxiliary priest. Until a generation ago the most respected painters in town, called *khvāpināyaḥ*, even had to be initiated by a Buddhist priest, a Vajrācārya, in order to be entitled to paint the central sacred vase (*pūrṇakalaśa*) with a blue diamond (*nīlavajra*) symbolizing Akṣobhya, the Tathāgata of the eastern direction. In order to avoid obligations that would complicate daily life, no painter in the last generation has received initiation (*āṅkṣā*).

In Patan and Kathmandu, earthen bowls (*salāpā* or *ihipā*) are now rarely used. Small pieces of paper, often depicting only a faint idea of a *svastika* are placed on plates of brass. The entire set of earthen pots has been replaced by three copper pots that are used in various rituals.

The extent to which the duties of the painters supported their rights, which sustained their families, is documented by a legal case<sup>10</sup>. For an Ihi ritual for 22 girls on the Indestructible Third, at the end of April in 1907 in Khadpu, a small Newar settlement near Bane-pa, a Rājopādhyāya from Bhaktapur painted the pots and the block prints himself. On being questioned by the leader (*nāike*) of the Citrakārs of Bhaktapur, the Brahmin priest confessed to his guilt of having done something “untraditional” (*vithithi*). In the presence of his chief tiller, Būkumān Gojā from Byāsi as witness, he paid twice the amount the painters would have charged as fine on the 25<sup>th</sup> July 1907, a Thursday.

Women-Givers and Women-Takers  
as Helpers (*jyāḥcvanipū*)

Members of Chatharīya and Pañthārīya sub-castes do not classify as mandatory helpers (*jyāḥcvanipū*) in initiation rituals. Instead, the

tillers (*mhaynāyaḥ*) of their fields and their relatives have to act: not in death rituals but in any other lifecycle ritual they act as cook.

Among the farmers, the helpers come from two essentially different groups. The first can be classified as those who took women – a gift for which they return a service in a relationship for which Michael Oppitz has coined the term “wife for compulsory work” (Oppitz 1988). However, the social context of the Magar of western Nepal is based on a threefold alliance: those who take women provide compulsory work and are obliged to give women to a third group. As Newar farmers are not tied to an identifiable group of “women-givers”, the reciprocity of taking a woman and providing assistance in return is based on a different notion that surfaces particularly in death rituals. These are father’s and grandfather’s sisters (*nini* and *niniāji*), women who leave their paternal home, the *thachē* (lit. “your (own) house”). They are regarded as “living ancestors” (Nev. *māmhā pitr*) because they have joined a new lineage and worship a different ancestor deity. But the relationship to the maternal home remains remarkably strong, for they regularly return to their brother’s, nephew’s or grandnephew’s house on the occasion of urban rituals such as Dasāi (October), Kijāpūjā (November), Yaḥmāripunhi (December), Gyaḥcāku-saṃkrānti (January), Bisket (April), Sitīnakaḥ (June) and Gunipunhi (August). Having left the maternal house, these women are only marginally polluted in cases of death and therefore predestined to act as cooks in their *thachē*.

Their husbands, named *jicābhāju*, not only act as helpers in cases of death, but also on the occasion of Kaytāpūjā. They are the masters of the kitchen, supplying food continuously. Before long, these *jicābhāju* will replace the ritual specialists like Bhā, Jugi and Tini and eventually even the priest in death rituals. Since the 1970s, purity specialists like

<sup>10</sup> Document written in Nepālī, in the possession of Narain Kumar Chitrakar in Bhaktapur, a text of 16 lines, for which a notebook with iconographical details was used.

Jugi and Bhā only reluctantly follow the call of their clients, while only one Tini is left in Bhaktapur, and he is rarely called on.

The second group of helpers come from the “wife-givers”. These are the maternal grandfather and his brothers (called *aka* by the initiate’s mother, *bājya* by the initiate) and mother’s maternal uncle (*māma* and *tama*). They all help in the kitchen, as do the paternal relatives.

#### Relatives and Lineage Members (*phukī*)

A lineage rarely traces its origin back for over three generations. Members are male agnates, i.e. brothers, father and his brothers and grandfather and his brothers and their male descendants. Male descendents of the great-grandfather and even great-great-grandfather are often remembered and invited for the concluding feast, but they rarely form an enlarged *phukī* on the occasion of the annual worship of the ancestor deity. Nor do they share duties in the context of initiation rituals.

The lineage members are kept extremely busy in almost all of the major life-cycle rituals. In the Kaytāpūjā, for instance, they are engaged for days in advance in finding the sacrificial animals and the wood for the fire of the temporary kitchen, because food has to be served for three days. They also join in the procession to the river to discard the sacrificial balls (*pinḍa*) dedicated to the ancestors. The ensuing feast that same evening is attended by all *phukī*-members as well as helpers, the husbands of the paternal aunts, and the helpers from the initiate’s mother’s and his father’s maternal uncle’s side. The mistress (*nakhī*) of the lineage discards the food (*kalaḥ*) dedicated to the ancestors on the nearest protective stone, the *chvāsah*. The lineage members are present at every single act of the initiation ritual and they lead the procession to the seat of the deity, where the initiate receives the second loincloth from the maternal uncle.

## Ritual Agency

The distinctiveness of the sub-castes is created, constituted and publicly displayed in their life-cycle rituals. Caste depends on birth, but it is not so much the natural birth that matters in this social context as ritual birth. Only the ritual birth goes to make up the status and identity of a sub-caste because one becomes a member of the *phukī* (lineage covering three generations), *thar* (sub-caste) or *siguthī* (funeral association) only by a series of life-cycle and initiation rituals. The status thus acquired must be reaffirmed over and over again by communal rituals. Viewed from this angle, life-cycle rituals are to be seen – and this is our basic argument – not as a singular event in the life of an individual but as a process that connects the various steps in the life of a certain man or woman as well as the members of various social groups in order to maintain or create the identity and purity of a social group.

A major factor in this ritual process is the relationship between the various purity specialists. In *Handling Death* (Gutschow/Michaels 2005: 34-61), we have described the main groups and castes that take active part in death rituals and how they are related (or not) to the Brahmin’s dominant role. Much of what has been said there also holds true for the present volume (cf. also Levy 1990: 341ff.). Life-cycle rituals are a complex interplay between various ritual specialists and their “customers” or principle worshippers, between priests, auxiliary priests, para-priests, and ritual experts. It is a matter of definition and choice whether these ritual specialists are to be called priests or not. If emphasis is placed on their relation to scripture and temple, only few such specialists can be seen as priests. If, however, their expertise and proficiency in non-verbal aspects is considered, a great number of other specialists must also be regarded as persons with priest-

ly functions. They also mediate between this world and the other world; among the Newars they do this sometimes without the guidance of Brahmins.

It is often said that in this multifaceted setting, the Brahmins play a dominant role and that they are regarded as especially pure because they perform the majority of rituals (Greenwold 1974: 103-104). The frequency of rituals might indeed be seen as an indicator of status, but it should be borne in mind that many rituals of the so-called lower strata of the Newar society are not or little known – certainly not to the members of high castes or priests. We are concentrating in the present study on a group that belongs to the middle sector of Bhaktapur society, the Jyāpu, which makes up the majority of the city's population. In general, they employ Brahmins as priests for their domestic rituals but at times they also perform such rituals without them. Moreover, a number of non-Brahmin specialists have to be involved, so their rituals are distinctively different from traditional Sanskrit life-cycle rituals or *samskāras*.

However, certain Newar castes do not call in these priests for their life-cycle rituals. They either have their own priests or do not need a priest at all – like the Jugī for whom the Dhaniya perform the death rituals, or the Gāthā, among whom the maternal uncle (Nev. *pāju*) acts as the ritual specialist. Moreover, some domestic rituals such as birthday rituals, the worship of the goddess Śaṣṭhī or, among Jyāpu sometimes even Kaytāpūjā, do not require any priests. Even high castes do not always call in a priest.

Given this fact, we prefer a model of centrality rather than hierarchy that places various ritual specialists and participants in the middle of the ritual action. For in Hinduism, it is clearly quite difficult to define a certain substance or material as absolute and thus allowing a unifying hierarchy to be built on it. This even holds true for the Veda as the main

source for the dominance of the Brahmins. Among the Hindu Newars (and partly also among Buddhist Newars) the Veda – represented by the Vedic mantras that accompany almost all actions performed by a Brahmin – is generally accepted as the principal religious foundation. However, even “Vedic” rituals are supplemented and sometimes even substituted by a number of non-Vedic elements for which the Brahmin is neither regarded nor required as a ritual specialist. A look at the elements of Newar rituals shows such ritual sequences that often have a non-Brahmin and non-Vedic origin and performance. Thus, the care of the absorbing stones (*pikhālākhu* and *chvāsaḥ*) at thresholds and street crossings, animal sacrifices, the application of pulverised oil-cake (*sarvakhau*), the welcoming ritual (*lasakusa*) and many other Newar ritual elements are performed not by a Brahmin but another ritual specialist of lower status, who works more or less independently. It is perhaps significant that the principle worshipper and the eldest from the group of wife-takers are called “leader” (*nāyaḥ*) although their leadership is based on seniority.

In the course of initiation rituals, astrologers (*Jośī*), Tantric priests (*Karmācārya*), “fallen” Brahmins such as Śivācārya and even painters (*Citrakār*) act independently, without any guidance. This is also acknowledged in the texts:

The Śivācārya should invoke Brahmā. The Citrakāra (painter) should draw the eyes of the Brahmā (*kalaśa*) with the black soot (brought) from the worship of the *pīṭha* (power place, reciting) *tac cakṣur devahitam* (VS 36.24). (Ipv, p.2, no. 8)

They prepare the ritual place and provide necessary objects for the participants and essentially they contribute to the flow of actions. If need be, the Brahmin priest in turn assists them. They also receive *ḍakṣiṇā* (see Dkv,



fol. 20r). The *deśabalipūjā*, for example, the sacrifice of an egg and empowerment of the *gvajā*-offerings to the city's territory – *Kvapade* – is usually performed by a *Karmācārya*, but it can also be performed by a *Śivācārya* or the Brahmin priest. Nevertheless, it remains true that a Hindu Brahmin or Buddhist *Vajrācārya* priest more or less directs the other ritual specialists and the participants at the major life-cycle rituals. His dominant role does not become manifest, because for *Kaytāpūjā* the *Ācāju* has left the scene before the Brahmin arrives or he acts parallel with the others. The assistant priests receive their “high” status not because they serve high or higher castes but because they refuse to serve “low” castes. These call in their own priests or ritual specialists, sometimes called “fallen” Brahmins, Buddhist *Vajrācārya* (for most of the marginally pure castes) or Buddhist *Khusaḥ* (for untouchables and drum-makers). So the involvement of priests does indeed reveal a clear and widely accepted agency and hierarchy.

## Status and Purity

For the castes at the upper end of the hierarchy – *Chathariya* and *Pañchariya* – the major life-cycle rituals are performed by Brahmins. While tending the sacred fire (Nev. *jage*, Skt. *homa*), they are, as on many other occasions, assisted by a *Karmācārya*, and in all those cases where the initiate is receiving a Tantric initiation (*dekhā*), a *Jośi* (astrologer) also attends the ceremony.

Among craftsmen, e.g. *Śilpakār* (carpenters), *Kumaḥ* (potters), *Tamrakār* (coppersmiths), *Āvāḥ* (brickmakers), some 700 families who make up ten per cent of the population, and also among farmers, the situation varies: those who for personal reasons feel forced to demonstrate or even reconfirm their status, will either invite their Brahmin

or the *Vajrācārya* family priest, whose presence is obligatory in the case of death rituals. The overwhelming majority has a hereditary link to a Brahmin priest, while a few potters, bricklayers and farmers call their Buddhist priest in defiance of a gradual shift from the Buddhist to a Hindu priest. This ambivalence is convincingly demonstrated in the collective annual worship of the ancestor deity by some 200 lineages (*phukī*) of potters from the eastern quarter of *Sujamādhī*. On that occasion the Brahmin priest worships an aniconic representation of *Nārāyaṇa*, while the *Vajrācārya* priest worships the ambiguous and undefined ancestor deity, the *dugudyaḥ*.

Most sub-castes of farmers, irrespective of their own judgement of their either “low” or “high” status, enlist neither a Brahmin nor a *Vajrācārya* for their sons' initiations, but simply a *Jyāpu Ācāju*. The *Ācāju* acts either as an assistant to the Brahmin or as the sole performer of the entire initiation and the following sacrifice, i.e. as a kind of “para-priest” (Levy 1990: 253). The *Ācāju* has learned his trade from his father and uses no texts. His duty is to produce the rice cones (*gvajā*) needed for the *kalaśapūjā*, which he will perform in the absence of a Brahmin. He will also hand over the mirror to the initiate's father who has his son look into it, and he will perform the ritual of introduction at the seat, the *pīṭha* of a deity, be it a *Mātṛkā*, *Gaṇeśa* or *Bhairava*.

The barbers (*Nau*), who call on a “fallen” Brahmin for their life-cycle rituals, mark the divide between those “above” them, for whom their wives pare the toenails in an act of purification, and those “below” them, for whom they shave the heads but who have to call on a butcher's wife to have their toenails pared with a sharp chisel (*cahlā*). These are the dyers (*Chipā*), torch-bearers (*Cālā*), funeral priests (*Bhā*), painters (*Pū*), oil-pressers (*Sāymi*), cutters of the umbilical cord (*Kataḥ*) and blacksmiths (*Kau*). The “low” status of

this almost five per cent of the population is reaffirmed by the fact that they call in a Buddhist Vajrācārya priest for domestic rituals.

Below these marginally pure sub-castes come the Gāthā, those forty families whose male members serve as the dancers of the Navadurgā troupe on a rotational basis, while the female members supply the people of Bhaktapur and the temples with flowers. This “profession” was instrumental in their being named Banmālā or simply Māli (gardener). The Gāthā do not call in a priest for their life-cycle rituals, and their toenails are pared by a butcher’s wife. The initiation of their sons is done by the maternal uncle, the *pāju*, who acts under the guidance of the eldest of the lineage, the *nāyaḥ*.

Beyond these marginally pure sub-castes come overt para-priests, the musicians and tailors (Jugi) and Pvaḥ who remain in a permanent state of impurity, like the butchers (Nāy), who are unclean because of what they do. Butchers are needed for the initiation ritual if the family decides to offer a fivefold sacrifice (*pañcabali*) to the non-iconic deity to which its household is tied. Such a sacrifice requires a duck, a cock, a ram, a goat and a buffalo. At least two skilled butchers are needed to isolate the carotid artery and to sprinkle blood from a tiny hole onto the seat of the deity for a period of over five minutes.

The Jugi have designated the job of paring their toenails to a separate family of Dhaniya and perform an initiatory ritual for their sons with an introduction on their musical instrument, the shawm. On the occasion of Kaytāpūjā of Jyāpu, the Jugi collect five leaf plates with food for the ancestors (*jugibvaḥ*) the moment the procession returns from the river.

Such offerings of food are dedicated to the ancestors not only during death rituals but also on annual occasions such as *mhāpūjā* (the worship of the body, after new moon in November), full moon in November/December

(Yaḥmāripunhi), New Year’s Eve in April, and the eighth day of the Dasāi festival.

The butchers have their toenails pared by the untouchable Pvaḥ and enact the initiation without any priest, although for death rituals Buddhist Khusaḥ from Patan are called on. Finally, the Pvaḥ do not perform any initiation ritual.

The presentation of sub-castes as either “on top” or “at the bottom” of the social hierarchy follows conventions prevalent in Bhaktapur. Levy (1990) uses terms like “pure”, “marginally pure” (for Nau etc.), and of a “depressed status” (for Jugi and Pvaḥ) to avoid a general judgement. However, he states that the nature of these oppressed groups form “an orienting and defining contrast” (p. 366) to the way of life of those who consider themselves “pure”. Such observations are by no means a thing of the past. To this day, the butchers serve as a kind of scapegoat and are not allowed to join the routine of life in many ways. A good example can be observed during the Dasāi festival. On the eighth day of the festival every farmer-household receives a share from the buffalo slaughtered by its respective death association. Then all of the household members convene for the feast (*kuchibhvay*) on that same evening. By contrast, the butchers do this on the seventh day. And if someone wants to tease a friend he would insinuate in a mean way that he is a “*kuchibhvay*-eater of the seventh day”.

In the context of the initiation, the maternal uncle, the *pāju*, can also be called a ritual specialist. He is the central figure who masters the entire household over a period of four days, and it is he who ties the knot of the loincloth on the right side of the thigh – an act that created the name for the ritual – *mekhalābandhana*.

As we have seen, a decisive marker of caste status are the rituals of body purification: The higher castes (Brahmins to Jyāpu) employ the barber’s wife (*naunī*) to pare the toenails, eight

sub-castes below the barber (Sāymi to Kau) call in a member of the butcher's community (Nāy), and butchers call on an untouchable (Pvaḥ). Until recently, a barber and a butcher woman had to attend the Buddhist Ihi ritual in Bhaktapur side by side. The barber's wife had to pare the toenails of the higher Buddhist castes (Vajrācārya and Śākya) and the butcher woman did the same for the six lower Buddhist sub-castes, the Citrakār (painters), Mānandhar (oil-pressers), Rañjītkār (dyers), Divākār (funeral torch-bearers), Nakarmi (blacksmith) and Śuddhakār (whose women-folk cut the umbilical cord).

However, as a result of the dynamics of rituals these relations are often subject to change and debate. Castes who previously did not employ Brahmin priests try to raise their status by using them in their rituals, or by imitating high caste rituals. Since the 1990s, the nine marginally pure sub-castes (*nau jāt*) do not call in a butcher woman any more and butchers do not call on an untouchable. Paring toenails is no longer part of the initiation ritual, it is done quietly by members of the household. It is not even an issue any more. In the same way, "unclean" castes increasingly refuse to take or absorb polluting substances from the "higher" castes. The Jugi are in the process of refusing to perform the *cakrapūjā* on the seventh day after death on the occasion of which they had to accept the food offered to the deceased. The Jugi also no longer accompany the processions on the occasions of Kaytāpūjā or Annaprāśana with their music. In the same way the funeral priest (Bhā) does not accept the offerings of the 10<sup>th</sup> day. Similarly, the Divākār no longer head the death processions with torchlights and cymbals, and the Gāthā do not carry the bride to her groom's house. Polluting material is now simply discarded by a member from the group of wife-takers, usually the *mhaynāyaḥ*, who in initiation rituals acts as the helper of the Karmācārya; musicians playing drums

and flutes are now exclusively of farmer (Jyāpu) status; and brides are brought to their destination in cars.

It has also been stated by Per Löwdin, who did his fieldwork in the early 1980s mainly in Lubhu, that "polluted things" determine a caste's standing in the hierarchy:

The more a caste by tradition works with polluted things, the lower its rank will be. And inversely, the less a caste handles polluting matters and the more it handles sacred matters, the higher it will be ranked. Subsequently, sweepers (Pvaḥ), who take care of others' refuse, and cobblers, drum makers (Kulu), and butchers, (Nāy) who handle leather and the bodies of dead animals, are ranked among the lowest, whereas priests, astrologers, and courtiers, whose refuse is handled by others, are among the highest. The priests are the highest as they perform most purificatory rituals and pass several initiations that members of other castes are not entitled to. (Löwdin 1985: 32)

Indeed, there are substances that are regarded by most, if not all Newars as polluting. They have mostly to do with the body, but even more so with alterations and transformations in life. The body receives and excretes. "We should expect the orifices of the body to symbolize its especially vulnerable points," notes Mary Douglas (1966: 121). All liquid excretions – sweat, saliva, semen, blood, especially menstrual blood, excrement – but also hair, fingernails and toenails can therefore be polluting if someone else comes in contact with them. However, these excretions as well as other substances are not polluting in themselves, but because they are an expression of a visible, biologically physical process, hence a change. Life-cycle rituals try to bring these changes to a standstill, to create a realm in which everything is something that has always been and never changes.

Moreover, it is not the individual body that is polluted through its biological changes (birth, food, menstruation, death), but the social body of the extended family and the clan. Thus, pollution is not a question of personal feelings, such as disgust, but due rather to biological change or the violation of the norms of an extended family and the position of the individual within it.

Likewise, pollution is also not a material substance that is independent of the status of its originator or bearer. Dust and sweat on feet are not impure in principle, but only depending on the person in question. If a younger person touches the feet of an older person, if a woman touches the feet of her husband or of her child (see, for example, the chapter on *Annaprāśana*), this is a sign of subordination and respect. And even when a person has ritually purified himself after pollution he or she is still not pure for all other members of his or her sub-caste. The status of purity of the extended family as a whole can only be

elevated collectively but not through the virtuous behaviour of the individual.

Biological intervals imply extreme changes of the body and thus are extremely polluting. This relates above all to birth and death. According to the *Dharmaśāstra*, the woman in childbirth is on the same level as corpse-bearers or dogs. Or, for example, death: for days, many relatives are polluted. But life-cycle turning points such as birth, initiation or marriage are also changes that require special purification. At these points the social body changes to a certain extent. A child becomes a Twice-Born; a virginal daughter becomes a marriageable girl or a wife. These are rites of passage in which the extended family changes because the family roles have to be redefined.

In short, it is contact and change that are polluting, and life-cycle rituals help to overcome such critical moments by creating timelessness and changelessness, in other words immortality.

*Opposite*  
*Homa, the sacred fire*  
*performed on the occasion of*  
*the Buddhist initiation, Bāre*  
*chuyegu, on 21<sup>st</sup> November*  
*2006 at Ukubāhā in Patan.*

## Part II

### THE RITUALS



## Introduction

Newar life-cycle rituals as performed by Rājopādhyāya Brahmins follow a certain pattern or basic structures that are given in the normative texts and widely followed in the ritual practice (partly also by Buddhist priests).

Any ritual starts with a more or less extended preparatory phase which includes fixing the auspicious moment (*sāit*), purifying (*nisi yāyegu*) the specialists and family members involved, arranging the sacred place with sacred vases and pots, and drawing diagrams on the ground. Part of these preparations also consists of the ritual commitments made by the priest and ritual specialists: the ritual bath (*abhiṣeka*) with water from a certain pot (*arghyapātra*), mental commitment (*nyāsa*), and the ritual decision (*saṃkalpa*).

Among the preliminary rites, the worship of the ancestors (*nāndī-* or *vṛddhiśrāddha*), the worship of the sacred vase (*kalaśapūjā*) or the Buddhist *gurumaṇḍalapūjā*, and the fire sacrifice (*homa, yajña*) are the most elaborate.

The actual ritual normally begins with handing over the sacred vase (*kalaśa*) and a plate with flowers and other items to the priest, who then recites the *puṣpabhājana-mantra*.

I salute the sacred vase which is full with water from all the religious places, which is decorated with many leaves (and flowery garlands), which is the object of sacrifice in a sacrificial ritual, which is eulogised by the sages (and) which has the presence of Śiva and Śakti. (Dkv, 8<sup>v</sup> *et passim*)

This is followed by the invocation and salutation of the sacred vases, which represent deities, with flowers. Afterwards a share of the *pūjā* is sent to the local Gaṇeśa shrine. Then the main participants are ritually welcomed (*lasakusa*) by the senior-most male

(*nāyah*) or female (*nakhī*) elder of the clan or household, during which the priest recites the *mantra asuraghnam* (RVKh 2.4.1b). After that the smoke of mustard seeds on charcoal is wafted over the sacred place and participants in order to ward off any evil influence; the priest then recites *rakṣohanam* (VS 5.23).

An essential part of the rituals is the constant use of light (*dīpa*). Mostly it is provided in the form of oil lamps or the *sukūda* lamp accompanied by reciting *tejo 'si* (VS 22.1). In addition, quite frequently a clay cup with fire, together with other things, is sent to the protective and absorbing stones in front of the house (*pikhālākhu, chvāsaḥ*). Also common is the sprinkling of purifying water while reciting *devasya tvā* (VS 1.10) and the auspicious worship with a lamp, a wooden measuring vessel, and iron key(s) mostly reciting *agnir mūrdhā* (VS 3.12), *trātaram indram* (VS 20.50) and *asuraghnam* (RVKh 2.4.1b). This is performed by waving all three items together over the head of the person concerned. Another purifying sub-rite is the offering of *svagā* with *dadhi krāvṇo* (VS 23.32) and an oil-cake reciting *kāṇḍāt kāṇḍāt* (VS 13.20) or *dirghāyutvāya* (KS 3.9.6), often followed by the recitation of the *ratnośadhi* hymn (see Dkv1 fol. 8v). Fragrant materials as well as the application of a *tikā* made of sandalwood (*candana*) paste given to the deities is mostly accompanied by *yad adya kac* (VS 33.35), whereas the *tikā* made of vermilion and rice is more often than not applied to humans while reciting *tvam yaviṣṭho dā* (VS 13.52). A regular part of worshipping deities and persons is the use of husked, uncooked and unbroken rice (*akṣata*), quite often while reciting *askannam adya* (VS 2.8) or *dirgāyutvāya* (KS 3.9.6). Also quite frequent is a change of the dress or the presentation of new clothes to the priest or participants while reciting *vasoḥ pavitram asi* (VS 1.3).

The main parts of the ritual, such as the initiation or the marriage rites, are followed by a

number of recurrent ritual elements: sending leftovers to the absorbing stone, waving the wooden measuring vessel with *yāḥ phalinīr* (VS 12.89), or the lamp with *tejo 'si* (VS 22.1). Frequently performed is a rite called *pratiṣṭhā* in which the participants scatter popped rice over the deities, the sacred place and the ritual specialists while the priest recites *mano jūtīr* (VS 2.13). A feature of the concluding rites is *annasamkalpa*, literally “the decision for food,” but in practice a kind of offering of rice to the Brahmin priest, whereas the *dakṣiṇā* mostly consists of an offering of money. At the end of a ritual follows *āśīrvāda* or the blessing of the participants by the Brahmin priest. In the final rites, the sacred vases and other holy items are removed (*visarjana*), a *tikā* is given to the participants reciting *devasya tvā* (VS 1.10), and a mirror is shown to everybody to clean their soul or as a witness of the change. Finally the witness deities such as the Sun or Viṣṇu are released and a share of the *pūjā* material is sent to the Kumārī or any other Mother Goddess shrine. The very last part is *khē svagā*, the offering of eggs and alcohol, or a joint meal (*bvay*, Skt. *bhojana*).

This procedure frames the life-cycle ritual, which is itself framed or introduced by accompanying rites such as the fire ritual (*homa*), the ancestor rituals (*śrāddha*), or the Buddhist *gurumaṇḍalapūjā*. All life-cycle rituals are characterised by some special features or by core events which are related to age, function and social group. In the following we will chiefly concentrate on these characteristics.

## Pregnancy and Birth Rituals

Newars generally do not perform the various pre-natal rites prescribed in the Dharmasāstra (Hüsken 2008). However, it is quite common to offer yoghurt and flattened rice along with

*yahmāri* and sweets during pregnancy in a rite called *dhau baji nākegu* (lit. “the feeding of yoghurt and flattened rice”) or *dhau baji nāke vanegu* (“to go to feed yoghurt and flattened rice”). The ritual is normally performed a few weeks before delivery. The food, which also includes meat, eggs and sweets, is then sent from the wife’s house to the husband’s house. The pregnant woman can also demand food she is especially fond of. It is believed that the foetus refuses to be born “unless the mother is adequately fed with *dhau* and *baji*” (Nepali 1965: 88). The food is offered by the wife’s natal women relatives.

It has been argued that the giving of yoghurt is a substitute for the pre-natal *pumsavana* rite (Pradhan 1986: 77), because yoghurt in Newar rituals stands not only for auspiciousness but also for male semen. However, even Pradhan’s informants reject such generalisations.

Birth is regarded as impure in Hinduism. According to wide-spread Brahminical views it is only the ritual birth or second birth, i.e. the initiation, that purifies the boy. In general, Newars also regard birth as polluting, and thus one is born polluted and becomes purified only after the *macābu byēkegu* (Skt. *jātakarma*) rite on the forth, sixth or tenth day after childbirth. This pollution affects the families of both the mother and the father. Only after sending sweets, nutmeg, ginger and other food items to the mother’s natal home – the first of a series of affinal gift exchanges – does the family become pure.

The birth rituals include the delivery with the (ritual) help of the midwife, who among other things worships the Chvāsaḥ Ajimā; the cutting of the umbilical cord (*pī dhenegu*) done by the Śuddhakār women, of whom only one family is now left in Bhaktapur; the birth purification (*jātakarma*, *macābu byēkegu*); the sixth day ritual (*chaitihī*), when the father’s sister (*nini*) worships various deities, among them the Ṣaṣṭhī goddess; and

various affinal gift exchanges. Brahmins say that they used to go to the newborn and touch its tongue with a golden needle (*vācpūjā*) in order to enable the child to speak and to make him or her intelligent.

Among the Jyāpu of Bhaktapur the name giving ceremony (Nev. *nā chuyegu*, Skt. *nā-makarāṇa*) is celebrated without a Brahmin priest, sometimes without any ritual. It often takes place on the day of birth purification when the eldest of the patrilineage, the *nāyah*, whispers a real and a secret name into the child's right ear, if it is a boy, or into the left ear if it is a girl. The secret name, written in the horoscope, is never revealed to strangers. Sometimes the public name is also given or announced during the rice-feeding ceremony. According to Dkv<sub>2</sub>, the name is written on a betel leaf, and the Jośi has the right to write the name on the horoscope and the eldest member of the clan, the *nāyah*, whispers the name in the ear of the child:

After smearing ghee on a betel leaf, write the name (of the child on it). Place the betel leaf on the sacred vase. The Jośi has the right to write the name of the child with sandalwood paste on the horoscope. The *nāyah* should spell the name in the ear of the child. The *nāyah* should feed (the child) with ghee (and the *mantra*) *prāṇāya svāhāpānāya* ... (Dkv<sub>2</sub>, fol.2<sup>v</sup>)

The child is then fed with ghee and receives a new dress on which is placed a *gvēsvā* flower and a small clay saucer with oil, rice, a ring and a case with black soot (Skt. *añjana*). Afterwards the child gets a betel leaf besmeared with ghee.

## The First Feeding of Solid Food: Macā jākva or Annaprāśana

The Macā jākva or Annaprāśana ritual<sup>11</sup> is a joyful event in which lots of family members come together in order to celebrate the child's first feeding of solid food as a sign and wish of his or her future strength and prosperity. It is a ritual in which the child is transformed and transferred on various levels, from mother (or mother's brother) to the father, from the female side to the male side, from naked to dressed, from being fed with breast milk to being fed with solid food and alcohol, from a presocial to a social being, from impure to pure, from a human being to a deity.

The ritual is probably celebrated among all high caste Newars but only Chathariya and Pañcthāriya Newars perform it according to Brahminical prescriptions. In Bhaktapur, Jyāpu rarely perform the Macā jākva ritual. If so, they worship the Gaṇeśa shrine of their quarter and bring rice from the Taleju temple after feeding rice pudding to the child. The barbers or Nau never employ a Rājopādhyāya, but instead "fallen" Brahmins, so-called *lākhe bhājus* or Dvivedīs.

When a Rājopādhyāya Brahmin priest is involved, the Macā jākva normally takes place during the sixth or eighth month after delivery in the case of a boy, and during the fifth or seventh month in the case of a girl.

### The Setting

The following description is based on the Annaprāśana ritual of Ishan Joshi, son of Ishvarananda Joshi and his wife Sahan Shila. It took place on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November 2006 at Sukuldhokā in Bhaktapur. The Brahmin priest was Lava Kush Sharma, a Rājopādhyāya; the *nāyah* was Damodhar Joshi. The ritual text used by the priest was the Daśakar-mavidhi (Dkv<sub>2</sub>).

<sup>11</sup> Nep. *pasni*, also called Nev. (*macā*), *jā nakegu*, "to feed cooked rice (to the child)", or *cipā thiyakegu*, "to feed", lit. "to make impure" (*cipā*); for further descriptions see Pradhan 1986: 88-95, Shakya 2006: 101-102; for a comparative study see Parpola 1986.



A few words on the family background and on the ritual situation may be useful to introduce the setting. Three generations ago, at the time before the 1934 earthquake, three brothers shared a house near the Bhusanani, a courtyard behind Sukuldhokā, one of the main market places along the main street of Bhaktapur. To this day, the grandchildren refer to this house as their ancestral home (*kulchē*). One of the three brothers, the grandfather of Ishvarananda, was allotted the plot along the main road to build a new building after the earthquake, which houses a pharmacy on ground floor level. Even today the inhabitants of the new house discard their ritual waste (like *kalah* *vayegu*) on a stone (*chvāsaḥ*) in front of the ancestral house, although the new location is usually connected to a stone located nearer to the house (see map).

Ishvarananda's father Kamalananda was born in the ancestral house in 1911, but married in the new house. His first wife was Tulsi Maya, whose son Charananda died in an accident in the Terai. His second wife, Ganesh Maya, had two sons, of whom the first, Damodar, acts as the *nāyāḥ* of the lineage, the *phukī*. To date he has remained unmarried, so the wife of his brother Bimalananda acts as the mistress of the household (*nakhī*). Kamalananda's third wife, Nhuche Maya – now 86 years old – has no more ritual role to play since her husband died in 1988, one month after his *jākva* was celebrated on the occasion of his 77<sup>th</sup> birthday.

Nhuche Maya had eight children, of whom two died at the age of two and five years. Of the remaining six sons, besides Ishvarananda, four were present on the occasion of the rice feeding ceremony of Ishan. Since the two sons of the second wife have moved to a new location at Surya Binayak south of Bhaktapur, it is Hiranya, the eldest son of the third wife, who guides the rituals of the house. He has to be asked first, and if he says that the child's maternal uncle, the *pāju*, is not to be invit-

ed to carry the child to be introduced to the quarter's main deity, Dahibināyak, his word is binding. His decisions or orders are never discussed but accepted at once. His wife, Ramani, is actively involved in the ritual as she will accompany the *nakhī* to discard the food (*kalah*) dedicated to the ancestors at the absorbing *chvāsaḥ* stone. Hiranya also carries the water pitcher (*karuvā*) with which he marks a line of water that leads to that stone.

The second brother, Padma, carries the used bodice of the child to discard it at a street crossing. Surendra and Jagya, the two following brothers do not have any specific role but they constantly caress the child. Ishvarananda, the fifth of the six brothers and father of the celebrated boy has no role in the ritual except to ceremoniously receive his son from the *nāyāḥ*. He is busy with his digital camera and has repeatedly to promise his second daughter ice cream or sweets to pacify her as she jealously tries to occupy her mother's lap.

His younger brother, Nirmalananda, did not attend the occasion because he has not been on speaking terms with Ishvarananda for many years. He has established his own kitchen, which also serves his brother Jagya, who is not yet married. Hiranya established his own residence in Kathmandu years ago, and Padma as well as Surendra have built their own house south of Bhaktapur. Their children stay with their grandmother, while Ishvarananda has moved to a new location east of Bhaktapur.

Although five of the six brothers have now moved from the parental house, they return there for life-cycle rituals and they continue to occupy some symbolic space to indicate their presence and thereby their right to inheritance. Thus, only two of a total of eight brothers remain in the parental house, but all of them pretend to live under one roof. It seems impossible to start the process of dividing up the parental property while the mother is still alive.

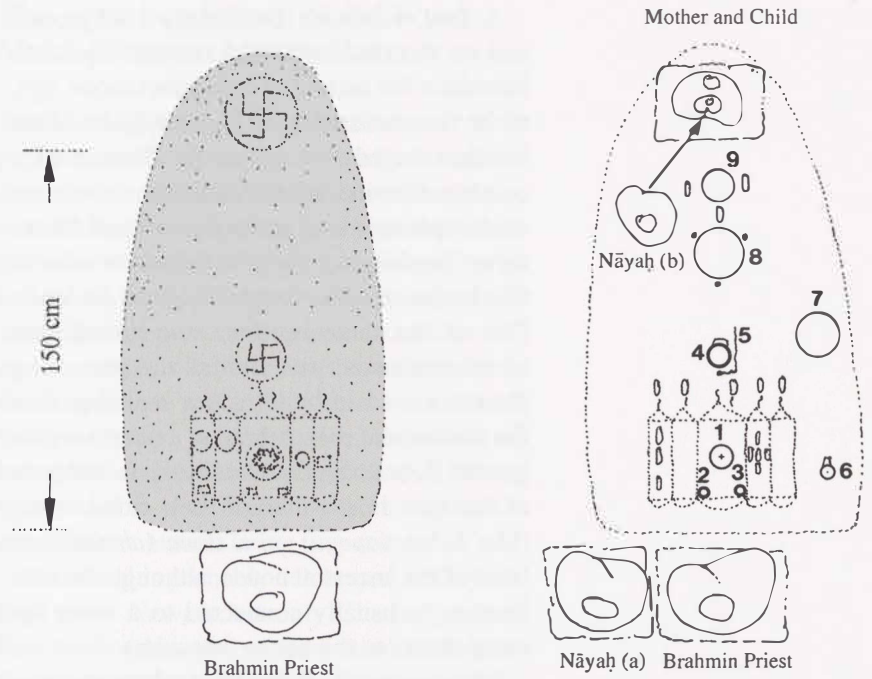
Besides the five brothers, their wives and five children, three researchers from Heidelberg were present on the occasion of Ishan Joshi's Annaprāśana. Ishvarananda has learned German at the Goethe Institute in Kathmandu and came to Germany in 1998 as the guest of Niels Gutschow. Since 2003 he and his wife run an orphanage called *Kinderhaus* for a charitable organisation from Cologne. (A few of the children of that orphanage had been invited to watch the ceremony, but preferred to watch TV in another room.) Axel Michaels has known Ishvarananda for a decade, Katharina Weiler, a PhD student in Art History from Heidelberg, has already been staying in Bhaktapur for several weeks.

Three people photographing, making notes and repeatedly interrupting the Brahmin priest to identify all the items used in the ritual and not to miss the right sequence in the preparatory stages – all this added to the elevated spirit of the event. Almost twenty people, a Brahmin and a drake acting in a small space of some twelve square metres produced an intense atmosphere without the slightest feeling of disturbance.

### The Preparations

Before the priest arrived, the eldest housewife had already purified the floor of the kitchen with cow dung and red mud. The ritual thus takes place in that part of the house where traditionally the pure and auspicious rituals are performed: the kitchen on the top floor (*baigah*). It is the place where family members share food, thereby constituting and demonstrating social unity.

The priest takes his seat at the western wall, facing east, and prepares a *yantra*, which the women of the household identify as (Nev.) *mandah* irrespective of the fact that the diagram is not based on a circle (*mandala*). He uses fine rice flour (*pacū*) the colour of which changes to light yellow when some



turmeric is added, and in a second go he adds a dark red pigment (*abīr*), which is usually employed for the *svagā* mark painted on the forehead above the *tikā*, mixed together with yoghurt and popped and husked rice. In a finishing gesture, the priest scatters a handful of popped rice across the diagram.

The diagram is made up of three rectangles of equal size: on the central one he draws a lotus flower (*padma*), onto which the priest later puts a heap of unhusked rice which later on receives the sacred vase, the *kalaśa*, bearing a twig of jasmine (*daphahsvā*). The rectangles to the left and right are divided into two equal parts, thus producing a total of five rectangles, with triangles to the east, representing the *pañcāyatana* group of deities present in many rituals: from south to north Sūrya, Sadāśiva, Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī and the lineage deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) of the extended family (*phukī*). An offering of watered rice is given to these deities on a piece of the *jēlālapte* leaf. In addition, rice is offered on the tips of the triangles (*akṣata*). The central tip – called *gajura*, like the pinnacle of a temple – of the central tri-

*The site of the Annaprāśana ritual for Ishan Joshi at Sukuldhoka in Bhaktapur on 10<sup>th</sup> November 2006.*

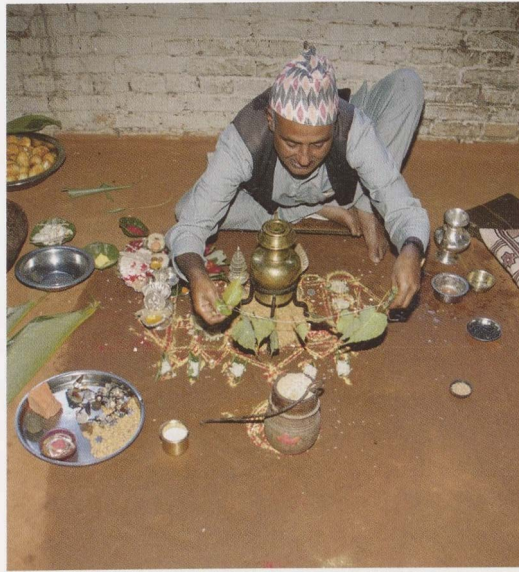
#### Left

*The purified site with yantras made of fine rice powder mixed with turmeric.*

#### Right

*Location of ritual instruments: 1 sacred vase (kalaśa), 2 mirror (jvālanhāykā), 3 vermilion container (sinhamhū), 4 wooden container (kule) filled with husked and unhusked rice, 5 key of the house (tācā), 6 lamp (sukūda), 7 plate with items for "the examination of life" (jīvana parīkṣā), 8 plate with full meal (thāybvah) on a tripod, 9 stainless steel bowl surrounded by lumps of mashed banana, the one in the axis is dedicated to the child. The head (nāyah) of the clan acts beside the priest (a) or face on to the child (b).*

The Brahmin priest Lava Kush Sharma prepares the ground with the wooden container bearing the face of Bhairava.



angle remains without any offering as it indicates the location of the sacred vase. Below the sacred vase, two squares called *bhūpura* are formed, which serve as the base for the mirror (left/north).

Within the northern rectangle a *svastika* is inscribed, and on the far left a *kalaśa*, receiving an offering to Kumārī, while an offering to the cow called *gogrās* is placed below. A square at the bottom indicates the place for

an offering dedicated to Gaṇeśa. A circle on the rectangle south of the centre indicates the fivefold sacrifice (*pañcabali*) dedicated to Bhailaḥḍyaḥ (Bhairava). A square to the far right (south) indicates the position of the *sukūda* lamp, which is included in all rituals to demonstrate the presence of the sun-god Sūrya as a witness and Gaṇeśa for success and auspiciousness.

All thirteen offerings made on fragments of *jēlāapte* leaves include watered husked rice (*jāki*) and watered flattened rice (*baji*). Ritually speaking, these are *kigaḥ* and *niḥā*, unbroken rice and cooked rice (see Levy 1990: 640f.). Being watered with pure water (*ninā*), the husked rice attains the quality of unbroken rice and the flattened rice attains the quality of cooked rice.

The priest also uses yellow and red pigment to create two seats (*āsana*) in the shape of a *svastika*, contained within a circle. One seat is dedicated to a wooden measuring vessel or container (*kule*) measuring two *mana* (1 *mana* = 0,545 litre or ca. 0.5 kg), one to the place where mother and child would sit.

To the north he places two cups with soybeans (*musyā*) and ritual, unbroken rice (*akṣata*). To the south the ritual lamp and a plate with various offerings representing the future ownership of land (a lump of black mud), house (a piece of a fired brick), food (unhusked rice), a knife for the way of the warrior, a garland with auspicious things (teeth of animals etc.) as protection against ghosts (*rākṣasa*), and a pen and a small booklet (Bhagavadgītā). These objects are for a sub-ritual in which the child has to choose his or her future (see below).

The wooden container measuring two *mana* is filled with *vāki jāki* (mixed husked and unhusked rice) and on top of it a coin and the iron key of the main door of the house, the shelter of the extended family, in many cases the fragmented lineage (*phukī*) which welcomes the child as a social being on this oc-

casation. On one side of the container the priest moulds the face of Bhairava in cooked rice, complete with nose, soybeans as eyes, *tikā*, and red lips. The Daśakarmavidhi<sub>1</sub>, says:

Make the eyes on the Bhairavī (or Bhairava?) out of watered beaten rice (moulded on the body of the wooden measuring vessel). Hang the garland related to the Navagraha (*grahamālā*) on the *kalaśa*. (Dkv<sub>1</sub>, fol. 8<sup>r</sup>)

The requisite ritual paraphernalia and items have already been brought and arranged by the family. In a corner of the room are about ten plates and baskets containing items that will be used during the ritual: cooked food, fruit, clothes, different kinds of rice, flower garlands etc., as well as the above-mentioned plate with a silver garland, etc. The boy's father, Ishvarananda Joshi, says that the priest's requirements are unpredictable. The latter had said that for the first ritual a living drake would be needed. He therefore went to the quarter of the untouchables who raise ducks and asked for one. They however had demanded 300 rupees (ca. 3 Euros) to use the drake for just one hour. He went home and saw a drake on the road that belonged to a farmer. The owner allowed him to "use" the drake for an hour and did not ask for any payment.

### The Ritual

The priest comes into the house of the family concerned about an hour before the auspicious moment (*sāit*) ascertained by the astrologer: quarter past ten on the 10<sup>th</sup> of November, 2006. He arrives at his clients (*yajamāna*) with only the manuscript or text, his personal Daśakarmavidhi, which has been edited in the present volume (for Annaprāśana see Dkv<sub>2</sub>, fols. 8<sup>r</sup> to 10<sup>v</sup>).

After half an hour the eldest man of the lineage (*phukī*), Damodar Joshi, takes his seat north of the priest, who then prepares him-

self and the other participants for the ritual by mental commitment (*nyāsa*), hand gestures (*mudrā*), and by the exchange of *tikā*: the priest gives him as the head of the family (*nāyaḥ*) a *tikā* on his forehead, while he in turn places a *tikā* onto the forehead of the priest. The priest then formulates the ritual decision (*saṃkalpa*) in the name of the *nāyaḥ* according to the handbook (Nev. *thyāsaphu*), asking for the name of the boy.

Afterwards he worships the deities and decorates them with flowers, ritual rice (*akṣata*), and a sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*), and recites *mantras* from the manuscript which he places to the left on his lap. This is almost the only time during the ritual when he consults the text. He also hangs a garland of nine pipal leaves representing the Nine Planets (Navagraha) around the central *kalaśa*.

After about fifteen minutes, the mother, Sahan Shila, and her son Ishan, almost naked and wrapped in a towel, take their seat ready for the ritual. The mother wears a red sari and precious ornaments, among them a ring. In a first act, the mother removes the child's ornaments from his toes and returns them to his 86 year-old grandmother, Nhuche Maya, who stores them in one of the small bags (*mhecā*, Nep. *tailī*) in her wrapped cloth-belt. The mother has applied big lines of black soot around the eyes of the child. Naked as the boy is, he is setting out into a new phase of life.

Meanwhile a used small bodice (Nev. *bvato*) has been placed on the wooden measuring vessel. This bodice is traditionally given by the father's sister (*nīni*) on the sixth day after delivery, i.e. on Chaithī. The bodice the boy has used till now will later be discarded on the absorbing-stone (*chvāsah*) of the house – like the clothes of the deceased during the death rituals.

Following the instructions of the priest, the *nāyaḥ*, who now sits between priest and child, gives a *tikā* to the boy and pours water on the

child's hands, mouth and head. He receives the water from the eldest married woman of the clan, the *nakhī*.

About ten minutes later the feeding of the boy with fruits commences. This part of the ritual is called *phalaprāsana*, which is not performed as a separate ritual as described by some Gṛhyasūtra or Dharmaśāstra texts. Three heaps of mashed banana are placed around a bowl – which is used for cleaning the fingers – on small pieces of *jēlālapte* together with a seed of betel (*gvēmū*) and a kernel of the coconut (*mākyāmū*). The priest (later) says that this is to prepare the child's stomach for the solid food, which it would otherwise vomit. He then lights a wick in front of the child.

The boy is fed by the *nāyaḥ* five times from the heap placed on the central axis. Following the instructions of the priest, the *nāyaḥ* feeds the boy, always using different fingers which he cleans afterwards in the water bowl: 1<sup>st</sup> thumb and ring finger, 2<sup>nd</sup> thumb and small finger, 3<sup>rd</sup> thumb and middle finger, 4<sup>th</sup> thumb and index finger, 5<sup>th</sup> all fingers together. This way of feeding in five handfuls is called *pañcagrāsa*, which according to the priest responds to the five vital breaths (*prāṇa*, *apāna*, *udāna*, *byāna* and *samāna*).

Meanwhile somebody has prepared two leaf plates (*kalaḥ*) with cooked rice, *vaḥ* (a kind of pancake), *khē* (egg), potato, *kasu* (pie made of small dried and ground peas), *mū* (green lentils), *māy* (black lentils), *nyā* (fish), *mhay yayegu la* (buffalo meat), and blood cake (Nep. *ragat*). There now follows the Macā jākva ritual. A large ritual plate (*thāybhū*) with not only these food items but also the head of a wild chicken or bird (*gūka*) is placed on an iron tripod (Nep. *trikuṭṭe*) in front of the child, on which in other rituals the *kalaśa* is placed. The tripod is regarded as a symbol of the domestic fire since in earlier times food was cooked on it. The food is supposed to consist of eighty-four varieties

(*cyepetā ghāsā*, Nep. *caurāsī byañjan*), but the main part consists of boiled rice.

It is said that the food is *cipa*, “polluted”, the moment the boy touches it with his mouth. Similarly, the food of a single plate, from which the newly married couple takes food, is also called *cipa*. It is also said that the boy eats the leftovers from the deities. In Nevārī “to feed” literally means to make impure. After feeding the boy, the *nāyaḥ* takes three handfuls (*vīragrāsa*) from the plate. This portion is later sent to the absorbing-stone (*chvāsah*); the rest eats the mother.

The *nāyaḥ* also hands the child (or rather the mother) a plate with new brocade dresses, a cap, a flower garland and the sheet of paper bearing the auspicious time (*sāit*), which is later fixed on the wall of the kitchen after the priest has first drawn a red *svastika* on it.

There now follows a sub-rite called *sparśaphala*, “touching the fruits (of life)”, in Dkv<sub>2</sub> fol. 9<sup>r</sup> or *jīvana-parīkṣā*, “examination of the (future) life” (Pradhan 1986: 91). In this sub-rite (see also Pandey 1969: 46, and Parpola 1986: 78-79), the *nāyaḥ* hands over to the mother the plate with various items of which one is to be chosen by the boy. He grabs this and that, clings to the knife, but the plate is turned around until he grabs the small booklet of the Bhagavadgītā. All items symbolise the future life: the brick means that the child will not lack a house, the soil that he will have or own a lot of land, the knife that he will become strong, the pencil that he will become a poet, the ornaments that he will be rich. The book means that he will be learned (*vidvān*) and follow the pious path of *dharma*. According to the Daśakarmavidhī, the items bear the following fruits:

When he or she takes the rice, then (he or she will have a lot of food in her future life); if he or she takes the book, he or she will become the king of poets; with (taking) the ornaments he or she will be lucky; if the pen (is chosen),

he or she will be respected; if clay is taken, he or she will get land; such as the child takes. (Dkv<sub>1</sub>, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>)

The *nāyaḥ* feeds the child five times with cooked rice (dedicated to the five deities or *pañcāyatana*) in the way described above. Taking the plate, he feeds the child *va* (a kind of bread), egg, fish, meat and ginger as well as pieces of boiled eggs, fish, yoghurt and vegetables, again using all five fingers of his right hand in the prescribed way. Afterwards other members of the family, especially the mother and the brothers, feed the child, although the child eats only tiny little parts of what it is offered. The priest says that previously others were not allowed to feed the child.

By now about one and a half hours have passed. The nephew of the father, replacing the mother's brother who was not allowed to show up, brings a drake representing the goose (*haṃsa*), the vehicle of Sarasvatī. The *nāyaḥ* takes the drake's mouth and touches it to the boy's mouth. It is believed that by this kiss the breath of the *haṃsa* will enter the child so that he or she becomes strong and will not lack wisdom in his or her life:

(Now) the worship of the white goose.<sup>12</sup> Touch with the mouth of the goose the mouth of the child. Imagine this as the taking of the (inner) fire of the goose (and giving it to the child). (Recite) *īrmāntāsaḥ* ... (VS 29.21). (Dkv<sub>1</sub>, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>)

Afterwards the child is again fed five times with rice and other food (dedicated to the five deities). Finally yoghurt is added to the full plate of food, as is always done at the end of a *thāybhū* meal. Particularly noteworthy here is the costly head of the wild chicken and the right eye<sup>13</sup> of a goat that the *nāyaḥ* presents to the boy. The goat had been sacrificed at the temple of Taleju three days earlier by the neighbouring Karmācārya. The *nāyaḥ* also



*The Annaprāśana ritual for Ishan Joshi at Sukuldhoka in Bhaktapur on 10<sup>th</sup> November 2006.*

*Above*  
By kissing the beak of a drake, the breath of *haṃsa* is believed to enter the child, making him strong and wise.

*Below*  
The head of the lineage feeds the child with mashed banana, *phalaprāśana*.

gives the boy a small brass cup filled with milk as a declared substitute for alcohol.

Then new clothes are handed over, and the mother clads her son with the new brocade dress bought by the parents, along with ornaments, i.e. silver anklets around the feet, bracelets around the wrists and the traditional safeguarding necklace (*rakṣamālā*). Afterwards the grandmother worships the child, followed by the brothers of the father, who also feed the boy again.

*Opposite*  
Ishan Joshi on the lap of his mother Sahan Shila, dressed in brocade and complete with his cap, anklets and a protective necklace, *rakṣamālā*.

<sup>12</sup> The *haṃsa* is the vehicle of Sarasvatī.

<sup>13</sup> The right eye is the privileged part of *syu* – the head of a sacrificial animal; see Gutshow and Michaels 2005: 121.



While the ritual of feeding continues, two leaf plates bearing rice, meat and fish are brought from the back: one is dedicated to Sūrya (given to the pot with waste water and the earlier leftover food (banana)), and one to *kalahḍyaḥ* – the usual plate set aside for the ancestors, always offered to the absorbing stone (*chvāsaḥ*) at the end of a collective meal, an action called *kalah vāygu*. The *nakhī* of the household and the second oldest woman take the brass container and the three handfuls of the *thāybhū* mentioned above together with the T-shirt (*bvato*) outside the house. The food is discarded at the *chvāsaḥ* of the ancestral house, a large moulded stone, whereas the uncle of the boy discards the bodice on a crossroad (unmarked by a stone) that is identified as the *chvāsaḥ* of the new house (see map). The father takes photographs, while three of his brothers accompany the women; one leads the group with a pitcher of water, helping to clean the plates at the *chvāsaḥ*.

Afterwards the *nakhī* hands out flowers and popped rice to all of the participants to scatter on the boy. In an almost final act the *nāyaḥ* takes water that has been poured onto the mirror (*ḵvālānhāykā*) by the priest and sprays it in the direction of the boy. Then he shows the mirror to the boy and in a hectic gesture to those round about. Subsequently the Brahmin takes the jasmine twig from the sacred vase and sprinkles water into the crowd, thereby bringing the main ritual to its end (*visarjana*). He again gives a *tikā* to the *nāyaḥ*, and the *nakhī* offers another *tikā* to the child. The priest hands over the garland of the main sacred vase to the *nāyaḥ* and gives *tikās* and flowers to all the participants, in return for which he receives between five and fifty rupees as *dakṣiṇā*.

In an important gesture the *nāyaḥ*, the eldest man in the household, takes the boy from his mother and hands him over to his father, who has had no part to play during the entire ritual. In most cases, it is the mother's brother

(*pāju*) who hands over the child, since he also has to carry the child out of the house. In the ritual described here, this was done shortly after by Manish Joshi, son of Hiranya. This part of the ritual is known as (Skt.) *niṣkramaṇa*, the first outing of the child and showing him or her to the sun. Traditionally, the child does not leave the house before Macā jākva, but this does not hold true for Bhaktapur today. Sometimes it is held to be necessary that the mother takes a *tikā* from the dust of the feet of the child before leaving the house.

A small procession which is joined by the father and his brothers (but not by the *nāyaḥ*) leads to the Gaṇeśa in the adjoining courtyard, where the boy is also made to touch the *śivaliṅga* with his head. The *liṅga* is called Bhūpateśvara, Lord of the Earth, established by the ancestors of the Joshi clan. In reference to this *liṅga*, the place is called Bhusanani.

Meanwhile the *nakhī* brings leftovers, which had been forgotten earlier to the *chvāsaḥ*. She takes the symbolic key of the main door of the house and knocks the *chvāsaḥ* to announce “the end”. According to the *nakhī*, this deity is half deaf and has to be woken up. Apart from the deity, the ancestors are also addressed. By saying “the work is done” (*jyā sida la*) she announces the successful end of the ritual performance. The procession then heads to Dahibināyak, the Gaṇeśa of the Ilākā, the larger area of Tibukchē. The boy is made to touch the stone of the deity with his head.

Until the 1970s the child was not only taken to the neighbourhood deity but also to Taleju, the royal goddess. The paternal uncle carried the child under a ceremonial umbrella and the procession was headed by Jugi-musicians playing shawm, drum and cymbals (see illustration).

After returning to the house, the boy is again offered food, the usual *khē svagā*, which is blessed by the *nāyaḥ* before it is distributed. The first portion the boy only touches because it is dedicated to Bhagawan, “god”. From



Bhaktapur, religious infrastructure of Tibukchē, one of the city's 24 quarters. For life cycle rituals people either turn to Dahibināyak (no. 6 on the map) or Caṇḍeśvarī (no. 8), the two non-iconic shrines of the quarter.

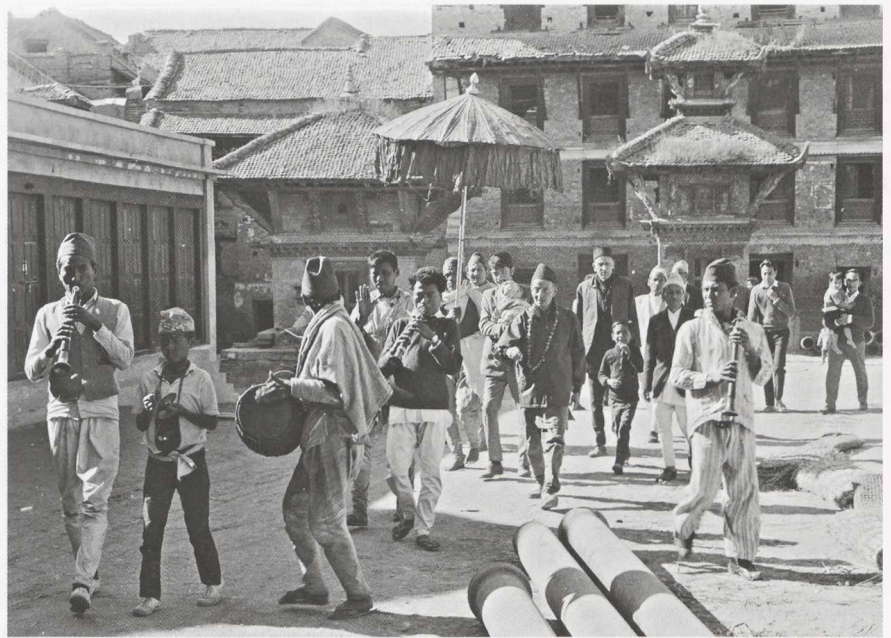
In the case of the Annaprāśana ritual of Ishan Joshi on 10<sup>th</sup> November 2006, the boy was first carried from his parental house (no. 1) to Bhusanani Gaṇeśa (no. 3) and then to Dahibināyak. The non-iconic representation of the deity is located on ground floor level in an open arcade, the iconic representation on first floor level. Part of the first meal offered to the child was discarded on the *chvāsaḥ* stone (no. 4) in front of the ancestral house (no. 2), while the old bodice was discarded on a different *chvāsaḥ* stone (no. 5), located in between the old and the new house.



the second portion he receives egg and wine (*ailā*). Then the *nāyaḥ* receives food from the *nakhī-va*, fish, meat, a boiled egg and wine. Afterwards the guests receive the same food. In the afternoon there is a major feast for all family members and friends. The actual ritual normally takes about two hours.

In older times, the midwife (*ajimā*) visited the newborn child for the first six days to massage it and do *phu* (a kind of shamanistic blowing) in order to protect the child against evil spirits. After the sixth day she only came when called to do *phu* in cases of sickness. After the rice feeding ceremony, instead of her the Vaidya is called, the local physician. In a way the *ajimā* protects the child for the first six months. On the occasion of the rice feeding ceremony it was her duty to take the *bvato*-shirt to the *chvāsaḥ*. With this act she cuts her relationship to the child. From now on Bhairava is the protector (as the priest says).

The midwife used to discard a special offering of *cvaki*, a mixture of broken rice with turmeric (*halu*) and mustard oil (*cikā*) at the threshold stone, the *pikhālākhu*, which is often identified with Kumār. *Cvaki* rice is otherwise only used to make beer. *Cvaki holegu* (“to scatter rice”) is also observed if the child is sick and the Vaidya physician advises to do so. One option is to scatter the *cvaki* offering at the *Cvaki Ajimā*, a specific absorbing stone separate from other *chvāsaḥ* stones. In the case of the house of Ishvarananda Joshi it is an upright stone standing at the south-east corner of the Caṇḍeśvari temple (see no. 11 on the map). A similar offering would have been placed there on the sixth day after birth. Tulsi Maya Rajchal, the midwife of Ishvarananda’s family, even mentions a third option for getting rid of the *cvaki* offering. It could have been given to the untouchables, the *Pvaḥ*, who represent the planet Rahu and as such absorb offerings of food – in many cases in order to protect the child and avert bad luck.



## Conclusion

The Macā jākva or Annaprāśana ritual as performed by the high caste Newars of Bhaktapur consists of various parts, some of which are common to other rituals (see introduction to chapter 2), while others are specific. Thus, the basic structure of the ritual – worship of the *kalaśa* and other deities, ritual welcoming and farewell of deities and guests, worship of clan deities – are also parts of other (life-cycle) rituals. The same holds true for many ritual items, e.g. *kalaśa*, wooden measuring vessel, key, *sukūḍa*, etc.

The specific parts or core events mainly concern the feeding of the child. Here he or she receives a variety of food, especially cooked rice which is the social marker *par excellence* in a caste society (cp. Levy 1990: 64 lf., Löwdin 1985: 118f.). It has been mentioned that sharing boiled rice is to be considered the same as sharing the same bodily substance (Inden/Nicholas 1977). Without doubt, through the Macā jākva ritual the child becomes a member of the social group that shares cooked rice. By this ritual the child not

*Bhaktapur, Annaprāśana ritual on 24<sup>th</sup> November 1971. After having fed the child with its first solid food, the maternal uncle carries it across the square of Khaumā to the Taleju and Bhairava temples for darśana. The maternal uncle is accompanied by the child’s grandfather, Padma Sunder Malla (with flower garland), a helper from the Jyāpu caste carrying a ceremonial umbrella, Ekchatra Rajopadhyaya as the acting Brahmin priest (to the right of the grandfather), and Ganesh Man Karmacharya (behind the umbrella carrier) as assistant priest. Five musicians from the Jugi caste (purity specialists) playing shawm, cymbals and drum are heading the procession.*

only receives solid food for the first time in her or his life, he or she also becomes socially accepted as a member of the family.

This is clear from the fact that normally children before Macā jākva are buried without further death rituals and agnates observe only one day of pollution and mourning rules, whereas after Macā jākva the child is cremated and a mourning period of four days is observed by the closest family members. Sharing cooked rice is also used legally to demarcate the border of a caste or subcaste. This is clearly expressed in the Mulukī Ain of 1854, where social groups are *inter alia* separated by the expression *bhāt calne* (or *nacalne*) *jāt*, i.e. castes with which one can share boiled rice or not (see Höfer 1979/2004 and Michaels 2005b).

Moreover, by taking the child in festive dresses to the shrines outside of the house he or she is shown in public to neighbours and others, and it is by this ritual alone that the child is ritually and socially accepted into the family. The child spatially “shifts from the womb to the delivery room, house, mother’s brother’s house and the neighbourhood [of the] Gaṇeśa shrine” (Pradhan 1986: 94). By visiting Dahibināyak’s shrine the child arrives in his quarter (*tvāḥ*) of the city, i.e. at that location which will later be visited on almost all ritual occasions.

The social acceptance of the child is especially visible when he or she is handed over by the maternal uncle (or his substitute) to the father. Before the feeding of cooked food, the child more or less completely “belongs” to the breast-feeding mother and the midwife, but through the solid food, which all the other members of the household eat, he or she partly shifts from the maternal to the paternal side. Until that point the child is endangered by evil spirits, which the midwife has to ward off. To a certain extent, the child is not yet born, and the new clothes symbolise perhaps the birth as a new family member.

A similar ritual scene is performed during the initiation when the child eats “for the last time” together with his or her mother. To a certain extent, the birth of the child extends until initiation, the Macā jākva ritual being a ritual step in-between to shape a certain kind of individuality. This is best symbolised perhaps by the part where the horoscope is fixed to the wall, and when the child is allowed to select his or her own future by choosing an item that indicates a future profession from the plate.

However, apart from the social aspects of the Macā jākva ritual it is also a deifying ritual for the child who is worshipped, who blesses the *svagā*, is given a sacred seat (*āsana*) with a *svastika* diagram, and divine food such as the plate with eighty-four varieties of food.

No less important than the creation of a god-like child is the removal of impurity and the placation of the Chvāsaḥ Ajimā, the deity that absorbs impurity at death rituals. Pradhan (1986: 91) reports for Kathmandu that the mother adds a few drops of milk from both breasts to an iron measure containing the garment the child has previously worn. This is offered along with food offerings (*sisā pālu*) to Chvāsaḥ Ajimā. According to the priest Lava Kush Sharma, it even used to be taken by the midwife beyond the city walls. He never witnessed this, but he imagined that such an impurity has to be discarded outside the city bounds. This sub-rite is almost identical with what the midwife performs during the purificatory rituals of childbirth. It seems that the Macā jākva ritual is also a kind of death ritual creating a new life for the child by ritually concluding the former life of a pre-social being.

## The Birthday Ritual

Celebrating birthdays is by no means a common event in South Asia. Among the Jyāpu of Bhaktapur, however, it is usual to celebrate the second (*nedapunhi*) and fourth (*pedapunhi*) birthdays. The grandmother of the boy or girl brings a *pūjā* and an outer garment from the maternal home. Should the grandmother have died, this is done by the mother's sister (*tāmā*). And should the maternal home be polluted by death, the paternal grandmother brings the *pūjā*. This was the case on the second birthday of Anis Yakami on the 19<sup>th</sup> of December 2005.

On the second birthday a shirt with two knots above each shoulder, called *pvācā*, is presented. Small children sometimes wear a garment that is open underneath to allow defecation at any time. On the fourth birthday the first formal jacket with four knots, called *phutunā*, is given to the child – two inner knots and two outer knots each made in two strips of cloth. Often, this total of eight strips is seen as a representation of the Aṣṭamāṭṛkā, the Mother Goddesses that guard the city's space.

For these birthday rituals the household will prepare offerings to the boy or girl, which must include sugar cane, peas and radish. *Dhaubaji*, yoghurt mixed with flattened rice, is prepared and offered on a separate dish to all of the guests present. It is distributed from the stone that guards the entrance of the house. The grandmother paints a red mark on the forehead of the boy or girl. In addition, boys receive a stroke of yoghurt on their right temple, girls on their left temple. After the *pūjā* the boy receives the jacket, trousers, two or four cones of steamed rice flour filled with cream (*yaḥmāri*), and a coin as a ritual gift (*dakṣiṇā*). The paternal grandmother also presents a shawl (*gācā*) to the boy. Finally, she offers *svagā*, ritual food that includes a boiled egg, liquor (*ailā*), beaten rice, fish, ginger and black soybeans.



Bhaktapur, birthday celebrations.

Top and middle  
Fourth birthday (*pedapunhi* – lit. “fourth full moon”) of Anis Yakami on 19<sup>th</sup> December 2005 (Maṅgśīr, Śuklapakṣa, caturthī).

The boy (left his father Mohan, right his aunt, father's sister) wears for the first time a jacket with four knots (*phutunā*). He is garlanded with flowers, has a mark of vermilion with cooked rice and curd on his forehead and a stroke of curd on his right temple.

Three plates with special offerings characterise the fourth birthday: below carrots, radish and orange, right sugar cane and peas, left *dhaubaji*, a mixture of flattened rice and curd, with a bit of black sesame. *Dhaubaji* is offered to all the visitors before they enter the house.



Bottom

Celebrating the 39<sup>th</sup> birthday of Bijay Basukala on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2000.

His wife Kalpana presents him with a new shirt, with fruit and flowers, after he has placed offerings dedicated to the ancestors on a *jēlālapte* leaf. Wrapped into the leaf, these offerings will not be discarded but kept under the ceiling.



As in many other life-cycle rituals, it is optional to make a round to the Eight Goddesses that guard the urban space at the periphery (*pīṭhapūjā*).

The subsequent offering of a T-shirt (*bvato*), a shirt with two knots (*pvācā*) and a jacket with four knots (*phutunā*) demonstrates the process of growing up. Obviously at the age of four, the boy or girl has reached the age in which they can control their excretions. The second and fourth birthdays mark stages in the development of the individual as a social being. Offerings of clothes are not gifts given according to personal likings. The following birthdays are less important, but it is worth noting that up to the sixth birthday, cones of steamed rice flour (*yaḥmāri*) are offered.

Later birthdays are often not celebrated at all. It depends on family tradition whether rituals are performed, although it becomes almost compulsory if a person is of a sickly disposition. We can look at the 39<sup>th</sup> birthday of Bijay Basukala on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2000 as a case in point. His wife, Kalpana, had been visiting the astrologer to find a suitable date for the initiation of her son Bibek and the seclusion ritual of her daughter Benita. (Both rituals are documented in the present volume.) On

that occasion she asked for advice concerning her husband's birthday. The astrologer asked her to visit the three important shrines of her neighbourhood, Chumā Gaṇeśa, Mahākālī, the seventh, and Indrayānī, the sixth mother goddess, whose shrine was within easy reach. As it was a Saturday, she was asked to prepare offerings in black in order to appease Sanaīścara, the powerful and often threatening planet Saturn. Full – not half – lentils of black colour were to be offered to Mahākālī, and black cotton thread and lights lit with black wicks. The three shrines received an offering of an egg, and three more eggs were offered to a medium, a young lady who is believed to be possessed by the Bhīmsen of Dolakha. She is known for her healing powers, so Kalpana visited her to gain protection for her husband. The eggs were dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Bhīmsen.

At home, Bijay performed the usual *pūjā* for Gaṇeśa and offered food and vermilion on a *jēlālapte* leaf to feed and honour his ancestors. He received a *tikā* from his wife who in a concluding gesture touched his feet. She took the leaf, folded it into a small packet and stored it above the ceiling joist to ensure well-being (*svagā kāygu*).

## The First Shaving of a Boy's Head: Busā khāyegu (*cūḍākarāṇa*)

The tonsure or first head shaving of the boy (Skt. *cūḍākarāṇa*, Nev. *busā khāyegu* or *busākhā*) is mostly performed at the ages between five and nine. It depends on caste and religion whether this rite is performed as an independent initiation ritual or as a preliminary rite to the fixing of the loincloth (Skt. *mekhalābandhana*, Nev. *kaytāpūjā*), or the Hindu girding with the sacred thread (Skt. *upanayana*, *vratabandha(na)*; Nev. *buhrā tayegu*, Nep. *bartamān*), or the Buddhist monastic initiation (Skt. *pravrajyā*, Nev. *bāre chuyegu*).

Members of all castes below the status of Brahmin, Chatharīya and Pañcthārīya (see list on page 23, groups I-IIa and c) perform the first head shaving on the occasion of the knotting of the loincloth (*kaytāpūjā*). Members of those castes who consider themselves to be of “high” status perform the first head shaving a couple of years in advance of being girded with the sacred thread (Skt. *upanayana* or *vratabandhana*). Few sub-castes such as the Kayasthā and Hada do not perform a sacred fire on the occasion of Cūḍākarāṇa, with the consequence that assistant priests such as Jośi and Karmācārya are not needed.

### The Ritual

The following case was observed on the fourth day of the bright half of the moon in the month of Caitra, on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2006. Nimesh Joshi of Svamalā lane near Taumādhī, the central square of the lower town, was undergoing the ritual at the age of nine.

In the evening of the day of preparation (*dusva*), the Brahmin priest (Mahendra Sharma) first arranges the site of the sacred fire and the seat (*āsana*) for the sacred vase (*kalāśa*) using unfired bricks, before then attending to the ritual of identifying the tuft of hair

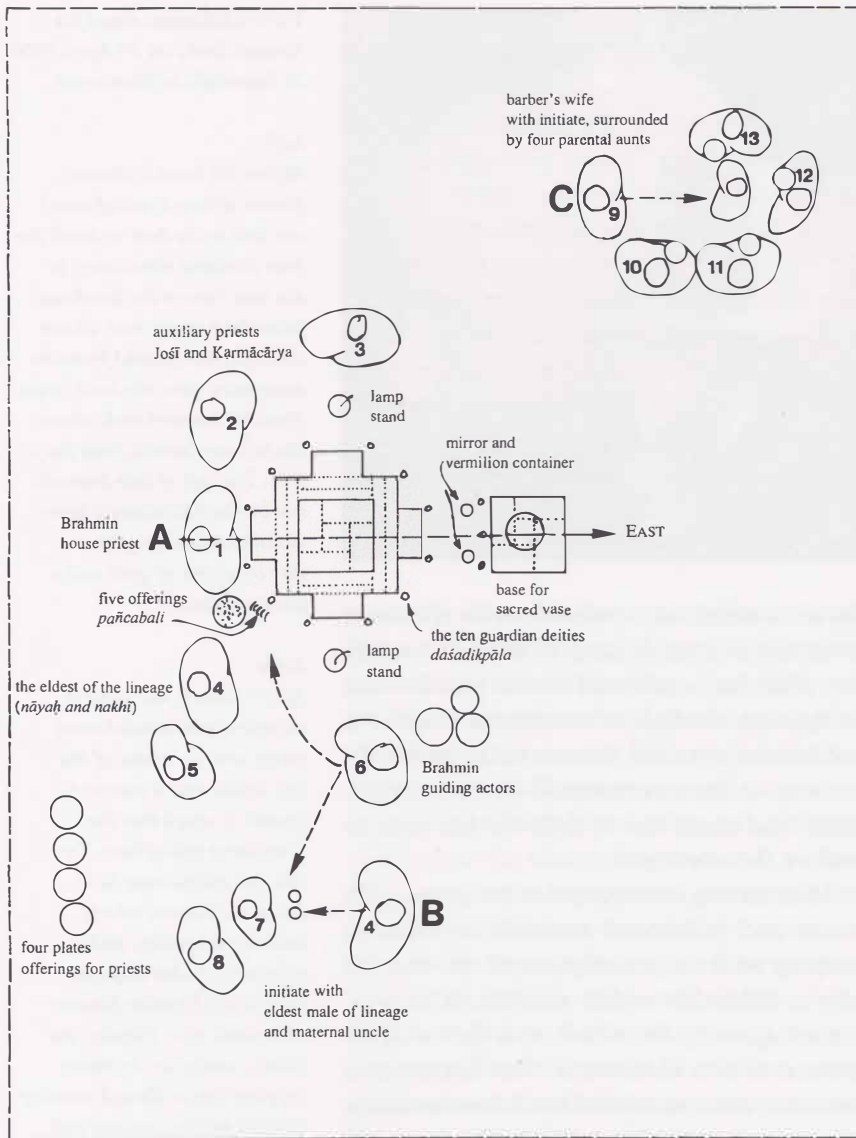
that will be left after the boy's head is shaven on the following day. The Brahmin himself takes no active part in this. Taking his seat north of the initiate, his reading of *stotras* provides the singular sound that accompanies such rituals.

The boy takes his place on a wooden seat and turns east while his grand uncle, the eldest of the household, first offers him *pūjā*.

It is now the maternal uncle's turn to identify the tuft of hair (*śikhā*) with the lower end of a peacock feather. This should have been done with a porcupine bristle (*dumsi cyusapa*) but as none was at hand, a peacock feather was used instead. Tying a golden ring with nine jewels (*navaratna*) to the tuft required the help of many hands. Finally, the eldest of the patrilineage offered *pūjā* to the boy. The father of the boy had no role whatsoever in this preparatory act.

Early in the morning of the following day the Brahmin priest had prepared the ritual place with the help of the *nāyaḥ* and a Jośi as well as a Karmācārya as assistant priests. The seats of the ten regional guardians, the Daśadikpālas, were marked out around the firepit by means of circles in yellow flour, while one more diagram in the south marked the seat of the teacher, Brahma, and a diagram in the north the seat of Viṣṇu. Since no tripod of the right size was available, the sacred vase was placed on top of a heap of unhusked rice. Then a mirror and container with vermilion were arranged between the sacred vase and the firepit, representing the ever-present goddesses Śrī and Lakṣmī.

The sacred fire was lit early – at seven in the morning, so twenty-six minutes were left to reach the auspicious time (*sāit*) for the act of shaving the head. First, the *nāyaḥ* leads the initiate to his seat (see B in the site plan) and performs the welcoming ritual (*lasakusa*): he touches the boy's head, shoulders and knees with the key of the house and produces smoke from an offering of rape and mustard seeds



5.50 m

The Cūḍākaraṇa ritual for Nimesh Joshi on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2006 at Taumādhi in Bhaktapur.

Site plan of the ritual place, identifying three separate sites for ritual actions: **A:** The performance of the sacred fire (homa) by a Brahmin priest (1) facing east, with two assistant priests, a Joṣī (2) and a Karmācārya (3). The eldest male person (nāyaḥ, 4) of the lineage and his wife (nakhī, 5) take their seat on the right. The second Brahmin (6)

reads texts and guides the initiate (7).

**B:** The ritual welcome by the nāyaḥ (4) for the initiate (7) is performed at the southern edge of the courtyard; there, the maternal uncle (8) touches the initiate's head with a razor.

**C:** The nāyaḥ leads the boy to the northern edge of the courtyard, where the barber's wife (9) shaves his head. Four paternal aunts (10, 11, 12, 13) surround the initiate with plates to receive their share of his hair.

(ikāpakā) in an earthen cup, as well as raw cotton and charcoal in a second cup. Both the welcoming ritual and the production of smoke to ward off evil spirits are preparatory steps prescribed by the ritual "grammar".

The following step, tying four curls of hair, turns the head into an image of the cosmos. The use of four pieces of wood from different trees that are tied in the four directions once again mirrors a particular item of the "grammar" that ensures protection and well-being. Leaves from these trees, for example, form a garland that surrounds a new house when a placatory ritual (*chēbau biyegu*) is performed. Identifying the four directions of an object or hanging a garland around it has an identical purpose: it demarcates the object or the realm that is purified.

The acting Brahmin priest is very specific in his guidance and relies on his text, which reads:

Bind wood and leaves (in the hair). (For) it is said: 'In the east (above the forehead, a piece of) the banyan tree (Skt. *vaṭavṛkṣa*, syn. *nyagrodha*, Nev. *bar*, cl. Nev. *barhasi*; *Ficus bengalensis* L.), in the south (above the right ear, a piece of) the country fig tree (Skt. *udumbara*, syn. *sadāphala*, Nev. *dubasi*, cl. Nev. *dumbalasi*; *Ficus racemosa* L.), on the left (i.e. north, above the left ear, a piece of) the bo tree (Skt. *aśvattha*, syn. *pippala*, Nev. *valasi*, cl. Nev. *varangatasi*; *Ficus religiosa*), in the west also (above the right ear, a piece of) the bastard teak or flame of the forest tree (Skt. *palāśa*, Nev. *palasi*, cl. Nev. *palāsasim*, *lāhāsi*; *Butea frondosa* L.). (DkV<sub>1</sub>, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>)

The priest then utters a *mantra* while binding the wood: at the auspicious moment, the initiate's maternal uncle touches the boy's hair with an old-fashioned razor at the very spot where the barber's wife, the *naunī*, starts her work. The boy is led to her, who in the meantime has taken a seat at the edge of the



The *Cūdākaṛaṇa* ritual for Nimesh Joshi on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2006 at Taumādhi in Bhaktapur.

*Left*

Before his head is shaved, pieces of four types of wood are tied to the hair to mark the four cardinal directions: to the east (above the forehead) from the banyan tree, above the right ear (south) from the udumbara tree, the back (west) from the bastard teak, above the left ear (north) from the fig tree. The tuft of hair that will not be cut had already been isolated on the preparatory day by a ring of gold and a peacock feather.

*Right*

After shaving, the head is anointed with sandalwood paste, and the spine of the porcupine and a peacock feather is stuck into the remaining tuft of hair. To this are added nine lilac-coloured flowers which indicate longevity, and a painted cylinder of paper containing jasmine flowers and ritual rice. Finally, the head is encircled by three rings of cotton thread, serving as a protection against evil spirits.

courtyard, at due distance from the sacred fire (see C on the sketch). Four paternal aunts (*nini*) virtually encircle the boy so as to fulfil their duty of receiving a share of the boy's hair on plates.

Finally the *naunī* should pierce the boy's earlobes with a needle (*mulu*), which is then put aside on a plate next to a number of offerings dedicated to her, the Brahmin and his assistants. According to Dkv<sub>1</sub>, a golden needle should be used for the right ear and a silver needle for the left. The actual action, the piercing of the earlobes (Skt. *karnavedha*), proves to be much more profane. A helper is sent out and returns with a motorbike a few minutes later with a young man from a jewellery shop. The maternal uncle marks the spots on the ears with a ballpoint pen while the young boy pierces the ears with a pistol. The paternal aunts produce balls of cotton (*katu*) that are hung across the earlobes and never stop asking whether the piercing was painful. Originally, the cotton thread had to pass through the earlobes. The modern pistol inserts a metal pin into the hole, thus reducing the cotton thread to a mere decoration.

Having finished the two central acts of the day – shaving and piercing – the *naunī* re-

ceives a small tray (*mimicā*) with the usual offerings of a small lump of meat and a clay cup with rice, a coin and a betel-nut. Faithful to the text, the ball of sweetmeat (*laddu*) is not handed over but thrown rather in her direction – to the merriment of the entire courtyard. The *naunī* has to fight for her right to receive the sweetmeat.

After having been bathed in the house with water and pulverised mustard oil-cake, in keeping with the prescription of the text, the boy is led to his earlier position to be welcomed again by the *nāyaḥ* with the usual sequence of acts (*lasakusa*). The Karmācārya assistant, who has arrived late, is now continuing to decorate the boy's head. The spine of a porcupine (*dumsi cyusapa*) and the shortened feather of a peacock are stuck into the tuft of hair. Nine betel-nut flowers (*gvēsṣvā*), braided and sold by the women of the sub-caste of Gāthā, are tied to the tuft and to a peculiar cylinder made of paper. The purple betel-nut flowers dry very slowly and are thus considered to symbolise longevity. The paper cylinder (*cvaphī*) is painted by a Citrakār with a svastika and trident (*triśul*) at the bottom end and filled with jasmine flowers (*daphaḥsvā*) and ritual rice.



The previous action is prescribed in the *Dkv*<sub>1</sub> as follows:

Draw on the head of the boy a *svastika* with sandalwood paste. Apply this (sandalwood paste) on the whole head (reciting) *gandhadvārāṃ* (RVKh 2.6.9)<sup>14</sup>. Place some white sesame on the head (of the boy). Bind the *kumbhakā* thread<sup>15</sup> (around on the head with) *rakṣohanam* (VS 5.23). Bind a silk thread (around the head with) *pavitre 'stho* (VS 1.12). Stick a porcupine bristle, stick a traditional comb (usually made of ivory), stick a piece of *kuśa* grass (in the hair again with) *pavitre 'stho*. (*Dkv*<sub>1</sub>, fol. 2<sup>r</sup>)

A couple of weeks later, the cylinder is offered to the ancestor deity (*dugudyaḥi*) on the occasion of annual worship. The family of the initiate do not reserve a particular day for this event; it can be any Thursday or Sunday in May or June. Moreover, a small strip of orange-coloured silk is tied to the tuft, which is said to ease the stress of the shaven skin. One of the paternal aunts opens a tiny medallion containing black soot (*kajal*) and touches the eyes of the boy symbolically. Almost all of the women present on the occasion touch the *kajal* with the tip of their fingers and apply a black mark to their forehead. Finally, white cotton thread (*kumaḥkāḥ*) is wound around the boy's head. The officiating priest confirms that the thread protects the boy against evil spirits (*rākṣasa*).

The ritual ends with the offering of new clothes, all ready-made and imported from China. To the surprise of the German field worker, the boy first puts on a white T-shirt and on top of it another T-shirt with the strange inscription "NSU-Kettenkrad", alluding to a German military motorbike invented in 1943 and equipped with a chain track to negotiate the morass in Russia. Since the end of the 1990s, clothes are no longer ordered

from the nearby tailor and priests have given up protesting against unsuitable garments. With his black jeans and traditional Nepalese cap, the boy has become part of global youth.

The following thirty minutes are devoted to exchanging gifts. The two Brahmins and the Jośi as well as the Karmācārya receive a piece of cloth and 101 rupees. Everybody throws rice into the fire and takes *prasād* from the ladle and *tikā* from the vermilion container. The entire ritual takes little over two hours.

Later in the day a goat is sacrificed at the nearby shrine of Bhairava and a feast will conclude the day.

### Conclusion

With the shaving of his head, the boy grows up. He becomes male, because only males are regularly shaved. The ritual is a gendered and gendering ritual that marks, to a certain extent, the end of childhood. From now on he is identified as a potential member of his clan for which he has to assume more and more duties. The Cūḍākaraṇa ritual is not an educational *saṃskāra* as Kaytāpūjā and Vratābandhana are – at least theoretically – when the boys assume ritual and moral obligations and observe purity rules. The Cūḍākaraṇa also does not yet stand for full membership of the boy to his clan or sub-caste. However, boys who have undergone the Cūḍākaraṇa have to shave off their hair as part of the purificatory rites when a death or birth occurs in their lineage.

The close relationship of the Cūḍākaraṇa to lineage and clan is also seen by the importance of the tuft of hair that is not shaved off in the Hindu variant of this ritual. In ancient India, the tuft of hair was a clear sign of distinction between Brahmin subcastes or schools. Some wore it on the right, others on the left. In the Sanskrit-Brahminical tradition, the tuft is the sign of the paternal

<sup>14</sup> Śrīsūkta: "I shall invite the goddess who is as patient and forgiving as the earth, who is always prosperous, and who is the supreme mistress of all creatures."

<sup>15</sup> The white or yellow cotton thread measuring one-hundred-and-eight times the height of the boy or – as in the Ihi ritual – the girl. For this, a stick is placed on their head and underneath their feet and the thread is wound round them 108 times.

line. According to a prevalent belief, the individual soul escapes from the body through the crown of the head during cremation to begin its journey to the forefathers. Cutting the tuft (by the maternal uncle) means cutting the patrilinear line and keeping the ancestors in a deplorable in-between state, unable to get to heaven. Cutting the tuft also means cutting the Vedic sacrifice and giving up the domestic fire because the lock of hair, like the Sacred Thread, increasingly came to be identified with the right to sacrifice. Those who want to renounce this life and the obligations to the forefathers have their heads shaven com-

pletely. Accordingly, in the Newar-Buddhist monastic initiation boys have their tuft of hair cut off at their consecration, even though the other parts of the rite are based on the Hindu initiation.

From the time of the tonsure until his new birth from the Veda, i.e. the Kaytāpūjā or Vratibandhana, in ritual terms the initiate is a kind of embryo that requires special protection. He is in a liminal state that is overcome by the initiation through which a boy becomes a man entitled to take part in or exercise the domestic sacrificial rituals, and the marriage and death rites.

## The Boy's Hindu Initiation: Kaytāpūjā or Mekhalābandhana

The Kaytāpūjā (Skt. *mekhalābandhana*), the “worship of the loincloth (*kaytā*)” or “binding (*bandhana*) of the girdle (*mekhalā*)” is the boy's initiation ritual performed by almost all Hindu and Buddhist Newars at an odd-numbered age, mostly between three and eleven. It is one of the major life-cycle rituals and transforms a boy into a man and a full member of his clan and caste. The ritual is celebrated with a lot of preparation, numerous subrites, and considerable financial outlay.

The loincloth ritual is part of a stratified system of Newar initiation: some lower castes do not perform it at all, Jyāpu castes perform it as their major initiation ritual, higher Hindu and Buddhist castes have it as the first part of a twofold initiation – first Kaytāpūjā, then the Hindu investiture ritual (*vratabandha* or *upanayana*), or first Kaytāpūjā, then Buddhist monastic ordination (*bāre chuyegu*) – and some Hindu and Buddhist castes (Ācāju, Vajrācārya) go additionally for a Tantric initiation (*dīkṣā*, *abhiṣeka*).

The celebration of the Kaytāpūjā therefore varies considerably, but the binding of a loincloth is an essential part of all variants. It depends on caste whether the Kaytāpūjā is an independent ritual, celebrated separately, or part of the investiture ritual, i.e. the binding of the sacred thread. Both rituals are sometimes called *Vratabandha*, although the term *kaytāpūjā* is more often used when the initiation does not include the investiture with the sacred thread. However, the usual invitation cards (*nimantraṇā*) for a Kaytāpūjā (without sacred thread) also invite the recipient to a *śubha vratabandha*.

Among Chatharīyas and Pañcharīyas, Cūḍākaraṇa and Kaytāpūjā are often combined or performed with only a few days in between. The Rājopādhyāya Brahmins, Joṣi,

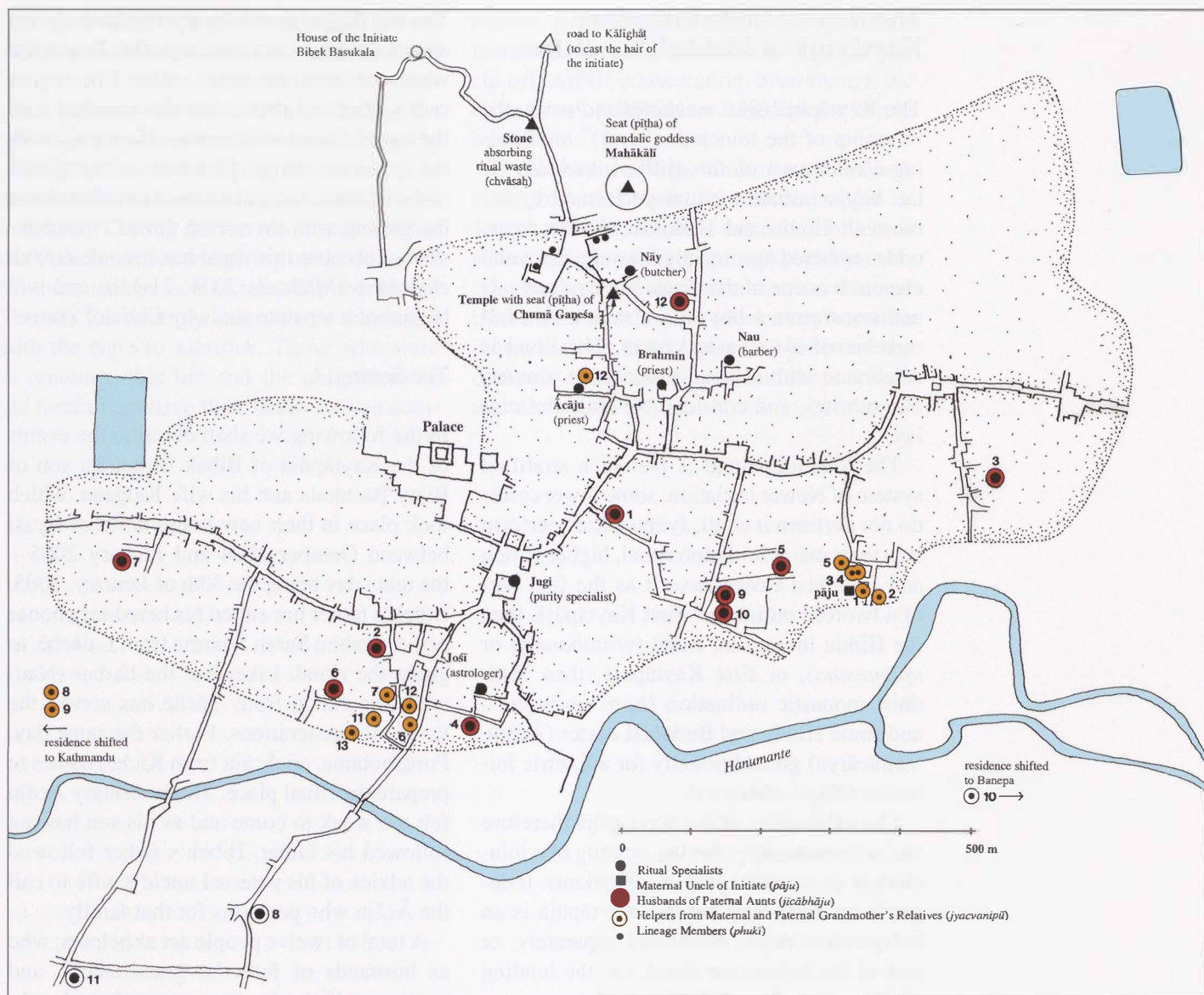
Tini and Ācāju generally separate Cūḍākaraṇa and Kaytāpūjā and perform the Kaytāpūjā when the boys are much older. The higher castes (Tini and above) are also invested with the sacred thread and combine Kaytāpūjā with the *upanayana* ritual. However, as mentioned in the Preface, we will refrain from describing the girding with the sacred thread (*vratabandhana*) because this ritual has been dealt with elsewhere (Michaels 2004: 71-110) and will be part of a separate study by Christof Zotter.

### The Setting

In the following we shall describe the events of the Kaytāpūjā of Bibek Basukala, son of Bijay Basukala and his wife Kalpana, which took place in their new house north of Byasi between October 2004 and January 2005 – the main day being the 30th of January, 2005. Bibek's father has called his hereditary house priest, Prabhu Saran Sharma from Lalāchē, to guide the ritual. Likewise, the barber (Nau) who was called from Yāchē has served the family for generations. Earlier the same day, Purushotama, an Ācāju from Kichē, comes to prepare the ritual place. The hereditary Ācāju felt too weak to come and as his son has not followed his father, Bibek's father followed the advice of his paternal uncle's wife to call the Ācāju who performs for that family.

A total of twelve people act as helpers, who as husbands of father's, grandfather's and great-grandfather's sisters or as their daughter's husbands qualify as *jicābhāju*. They are those who took wives from the lineage of the initiate and thus are obliged to return service on the occasion of life-cycle rituals.

Thirteen more helpers come from the initiate's mother's house, the *thachē*: these are her father, his four brothers from Khālā, plus three maternal uncles (*pāju*) and two sisters from Tālākvā, Kathmandu and Banepa. Moreover, his mother's maternal uncles and aunts from Tālākva were also present.



Initiation (*Kaytāpūjā*) of Bibek Basukala on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2005.  
 Location of ritual specialists: priests (Brahmin, Ācāju and Jośi), barber (Nau), butcher (Nāy), purity specialist (Jugi) and the maternal uncle (pāju) as the key person.  
 Location of lineage members (phukī), husbands of paternal aunts (jicābhāju) and maternal brothers/uncles as well as father's maternal uncles as helpers (jyaḥcvanipū).

Paternal aunts (nini), whose husbands (jicābhāju) act as helpers: Father's sister (1), grandfather's sisters (2, 3, 4), their daughters (5, 6, 7), great-great-grandfather's niece (father's niniāji, 10) and her daughter (9), great-grand-uncle's daughter (8), great-great-grandfather's grand-niece (11) and great-great-grandfather's daughter (12).

Helpers (jyaḥcvanipū):

Maternal: mother's father (1), his four brothers (2, 3, 4, 5), her maternal uncles (6, 7, 8) and maternal sisters (9, 10).

Paternal: father's maternal uncle (11) and his cousins (male: 12, female: 13).

### The Preparatory Phase

A number of activities foreshadow the event four months in advance, involving maternal as well as paternal relatives of the initiate. Already in early October, the liquor making had to be planned: 50 kg of wheat was bought – in the case of Bibek Basukala from his maternal grandfather – as well as raw sugar. In early November the fermentation allowed 40 litres to be produced on a fire that was fed from two o'clock in the morning for a period of over eighteen hours. This was done in the house of his paternal aunt because she was known for her experience in this field. At that time 500 kg of husked rice (*jāki*) was bought to produce flattened rice (*baji*) later on, and the same quantity (of the *tāichin* type) to make beer.

Also, an advance payment was made to the musical group (*bhajan maṇḍal*) of the Mahākālī shrine to reserve the adjacent ground for the planned feast, since a large space of more than 300 square metres was needed to host 650 people.

In mid-November the lists of invitees were prepared: first the father's grandmother was asked to figure out which of her relatives qualifies for such an invitation, then the father's maternal uncle (*pāju*), in whose house the initiate's father spent many years as a young boy in the early 1970s. That was not at all difficult, because the uncle's father had died the year before and lists of relatives had been prepared for the ensuing feasts. In fact the uncle seems to love such lists, which he constantly carries in his shirt pocket. It even mentions people who were considered relatives, although the common ancestor lived four or five generations earlier and could no longer be named. Some people keep an updated list of deceased relatives to be named on the occasion of the annual ancestor worship (*sohraśrāddha*) in the dark half of the moon in September (*pitṛpakṣa*). In mid-

November the wife of the father's maternal uncle, the *maleju*, came to plan the brewing of the beer. The making of red beer (*hyāūtvā*) had to be started soon, while in winter normal beer needs only three weeks before it is ready for consumption.

By the end of November it was decided to invite the Navadurgā troupe, the deities who effectively protect the city and its people against evil influences, for the day following the offering of the loincloth. Moreover, the butcher was booked to make sure that an expert is present to sacrifice the five animals (*pañcabali*) at Mahākālī's shrine (*pīṭh*) on the day of Kaytāpūjā.

In early December the family had to solve an important problem of succession that would enable them to handle the forthcoming rituals. The head of the lineage, the *nāyaḥ*, had died a year earlier and it was now time to discuss the succession. The initiate's father was the eldest male of four families that constitute this lineage, but as the father's granduncle's son belongs to the previous generation, the family priest advised that he should be appointed as the officiating elder of the lineage, who would first have to enact the ancestor ritual (*sohraśrāddha*) before Bibek's initiation could be performed.

More preconditions had to be fulfilled as the family moved to its new house: the house had to be consecrated on the day before the dark moon in early January (*lukhāpūjā* and *chēbau biyegu*), and the day before the following full moon the family priest had to come to perform the *rudrī* ritual and purify the house by sprinkling water from the sacred vase and fanning fumes (the usual offering of *ikhāpakā*, not cotton) to banish and ward off evil spirits. This smoke has to be kept going for eight days. A fivefold *pasukā*-thread was tied to the ceiling and connected to the sacred vase to turn the house into a livable space, ready now to be entered by the family (*gṛhapraveśa*). The thread was later torn into

pieces to be tied around the neck of each family member.

By mid-December a group of flute players (*bāsurībājā*) was booked for the procession to bring the Navadurgā to the ancestral quarter of Bhaktapur, Byāsi, and to lead the procession of all lineage members and helpers to Mahākālī's shrine. A friend had to go to Thimi to order a cotton shawl (*pugācā*) for the initiate, because that is where the only two remaining households of weavers (Tati) are located that still produce this kind of shawl, which is used exclusively for rituals.

The initiate's mother went once again to the astrologer to confirm the auspicious time frame for the offering of the loincloth, but was told to come back three days before the event to ask for the exact time. She also bought cloth for the clothing that will be handed over to the five wife-takers, the *jicā-bhāju*, saris for the seven paternal aunts, and the length of golden silk for the loincloth. Named *pitambar*, this special cloth is also used by Brahmins to wrap their books. The initiate is taken to a tailor by his paternal aunt to take his measurements for the suit that will be needed.

Also in mid-December thoughts had to be turned to setting up the temporary kitchen that would be required. It would be necessary to fell two of the large willow trees (*tisima*) that line the water channel in the father's fields, and all of the paternal aunts (*nini*) were invited to discuss the duties of their husbands as wife-takers. By the end of December almost all of the material preparations had been made. The search for a ram in the nearby villages was commenced early on, but proved to be difficult. Not before mid-January was the ram brought from the village of Jaukhhel and the goat from the neighbouring town Thimi, while for the piglet (*bahan*), which was to be offered to the Navadurgā troupe, an advance payment had to be handed over to the butcher, who would also supply two buffalos. A to-

tal of 45,000 rupees (equivalent to 500 euros) were spent on the five sacrificial animals and in addition for one cock and a buffalo for the feasts preceding the final celebration when 650 guests will be hosted.

In early January the Jyāpu Ācāju, whose duty is to prepare the ritual ground and to introduce the initiate to the deity of his urban quarter, the *ilākā*, and who prepares the offerings to the spirits (*gvajā* and *bau*), came to discuss the requisite items with the parents. This was also the time to have the initiate's clothes readied, to prepare the garlands of popped rice (*taymālā*), which were to be offered to the Navadurgā and to the shrine of Mahākālī, and to bring the flattened rice from the mill. Quite a few evenings were spent writing the invitation cards and once again discussing who had to be invited and how many friends or colleagues from the mother's governmental department should be invited to the feast.

A week before the initiation the father invited key persons from the lineage, the wife-takers and the wife-givers to discuss the various duties in the forthcoming event. The following days saw many people joining the household to prepare paper flags (*kaypakhā* and *kalāpakā*) as offerings for the Navadurgā and Mahākālī, bringing nine flower pots with paper flowers, large leaves from sal trees which had been ordered well in advance, and five bunches (*mutha*) of *ḍubo* grass needed to garland the sacred vase of the ritual made by the initiate's maternal aunt. The large garland of *ḍubo* grass provided for the initiate by his father was brought by his paternal uncle in Kathmandu the day preceding the initiation.

Seven days beforehand, the initiate's mother sewed the seams of the loincloth by hand – a sewing machine would never be used in a ritual context. The following day she bought the cap for her son to complete the boy's outfit.

Four days before the ritual the household was bustling with visitors. The wife-takers

arrived to build the temporary kitchen, and the eldest of them was formally requested to take responsibility for the offerings to the Navadurgā troupe, the *dyaḥ bvaḥkegu*. The maternal aunts came to clean the house and all the plates that would be used in the ritual, and to wash the family's clothes. It was such a challenging task that they engaged a professional woman from the farmer's caste. In the late 1990s the last family of the washermen (Dhobi) sold their house in a prime location and left Bhaktapur. Finally, the eldest woman and the eldest man of the lineage came to inspect the site and to make sure that all of the arrangements had been made. The *ḥcvanipū*, the husbands of father's and grandfather's sisters, who as wife-takers act as helpers, joined the inspection and started constructing a temporary kitchen. The pots with *dhācāsvā* and *musvā* flowers that are needed for the ritual were brought by a Yakami neighbour. The initiate's mother contacted her maternal uncles to confirm the invitation and his father visited his father's and grandfather's sisters to confirm the invitation.

Three days before the ritual, the initiate's mother visited the astrologer again, who gave her a sheet of paper that announced the *sāit*, the auspicious time, for presenting the loin-cloth as 9:28 to 9:34 on 30<sup>th</sup> of January in the morning. The same day, a member of the lineage known for his professionalism in performing sacrifices and slaughtering animals bought two buffalos in Bhelukhel, the animal market south of Bhaktapur, and the cotton shawl was brought from Thimi and handed over to the maternal uncle of the initiate.

#### Expenditure

By mid-January, not only had the sacrificial animals been obtained, but also 65 items were bought for the final feast at a price of 20,000 rupees (250 euros). During the following two weeks, 22 bowls of yoghurt, vegetables,

beans, potatoes, red pepper, eggs, cooking oil, chicken meat and fish were bought. Adding the costs for preparing rice beer and liquor, cold drinks and the catering for 650 guests, 130,000 rupees (or 1,500 euros) were spent. To sum up, a total 2,350 euros was spent on feeding the wife-takers and wife-givers, the Navadurgā troupe, and 650 guests.

Catering was hired to provide services that included cooking at the price of less than half a euro per person. The initiate's family was in charge of providing the raw material for cooking, beer, liquor and soft drinks.

The second group of expenditures pertains to offerings of clothes to various relatives. The initiate's grandmother received a blouse, two saris, a petticoat and a shawl at the expense of 2,370 rupees, the five husbands of his father's paternal aunts and paternal grandfather's aunt (the wife-takers, *ḥcābhāju*) received a set of shirt and trousers (*suruvāl*), the eldest of those received a safari suit and an additional two shirts, amounting to 2,922 rupees. The initiate's mother received a blouse and a blue sari, his sister clothing and shoes for 3,500 rupees, and his paternal aunt, his father's three paternal aunts and his grandfather's paternal aunt as well as his great-granduncle's daughter one sari each at a total cost of 6,200 rupees. The initiate himself received a suit, shoes, a jacket and a cap. Moreover, white cloth for his turban (*betali*) was needed and the golden cloth (*pitamber*) for his loin-cloth, costing altogether 5,395 rupees. The paternal aunt, who has to receive the initiate's hair and toenails, received a sari, a shawl together with the plate needed to receive the body's impurities, toenails and hair. In this way about 250 euros was spent.

The third group of expenditures concerns *pūjā* material and fees (Nev. *desnā*, Skt. *dakṣiṇā*) paid to the ritual specialists. Fruit (*khāīsī*), small cups (*sinhathala*), plates (*kvataḥ*) and a small pot for the ritual use of liquor, a tray (*hāsāḥ*), a broom (*tuphi*), sweets

and nuts as *masala* gifts, incense, vermilion and a coconut amounted to a cost of 4,315 rupees. Cloth of five colours (*pañcavaṅgī*) for the flags dedicated to Mahākālī had to be bought, white cloth for the 10 turbans for the Navadurgā troupe, red cloth for the lineage's eldest woman, the *nakhī*, and on the occasion of ritually closing down the store (*bari tanegu*) 32 pieces of red cloth were distributed among the female relatives and 32 caps to the male relatives – the twelve wife-takers each receiving a cap at the cost of 90 rupees each, while the 20 wife-givers received a cap costing only 50 rupees. In addition, they all received a gift of 101 rupees each. The main gift (*mūḍakṣiṇā*) of 600 rupees was received by the officiating Brahmin, 600 rupees by the Ācāju, who prepared the ritual ground, 250 rupees by the barber and his wife and 100 rupees by the Tvāju (as the *juginī* is usually called) who came to collect the *jugibvaḥ*, a plate of food dedicated to the ancestors. The Navadurgā received a lump sum of just 300 rupees, while Kumārī received 1,500 and Bhairava 1,000 to meet the costs of a new skirt. Moreover, 2,500 rupees had to be spent for the sacrificial animal offered to the Navadurgā. It was a piglet ordered weeks in advance from the butcher, the heart of which is extracted by Bhairava from the living creature. Finally, the butcher was paid 1,500 for his work sacrificing the second buffalo at the shrine of Mahākālī. A total of 17,500 rupees (190 euros) were spent for material, offerings and monetary gifts.

To sum up, over two thousand five hundred euros were spent for the ritual, the main feast (*mūbhvaṃy*) in which the wife-takers and wife-givers joined, and the final feast (of *bhoj* character) for 650 guests.

### The Death Ritual on the First Day

The first day is dedicated to the performance of a death ritual in a bid to propitiate the an-

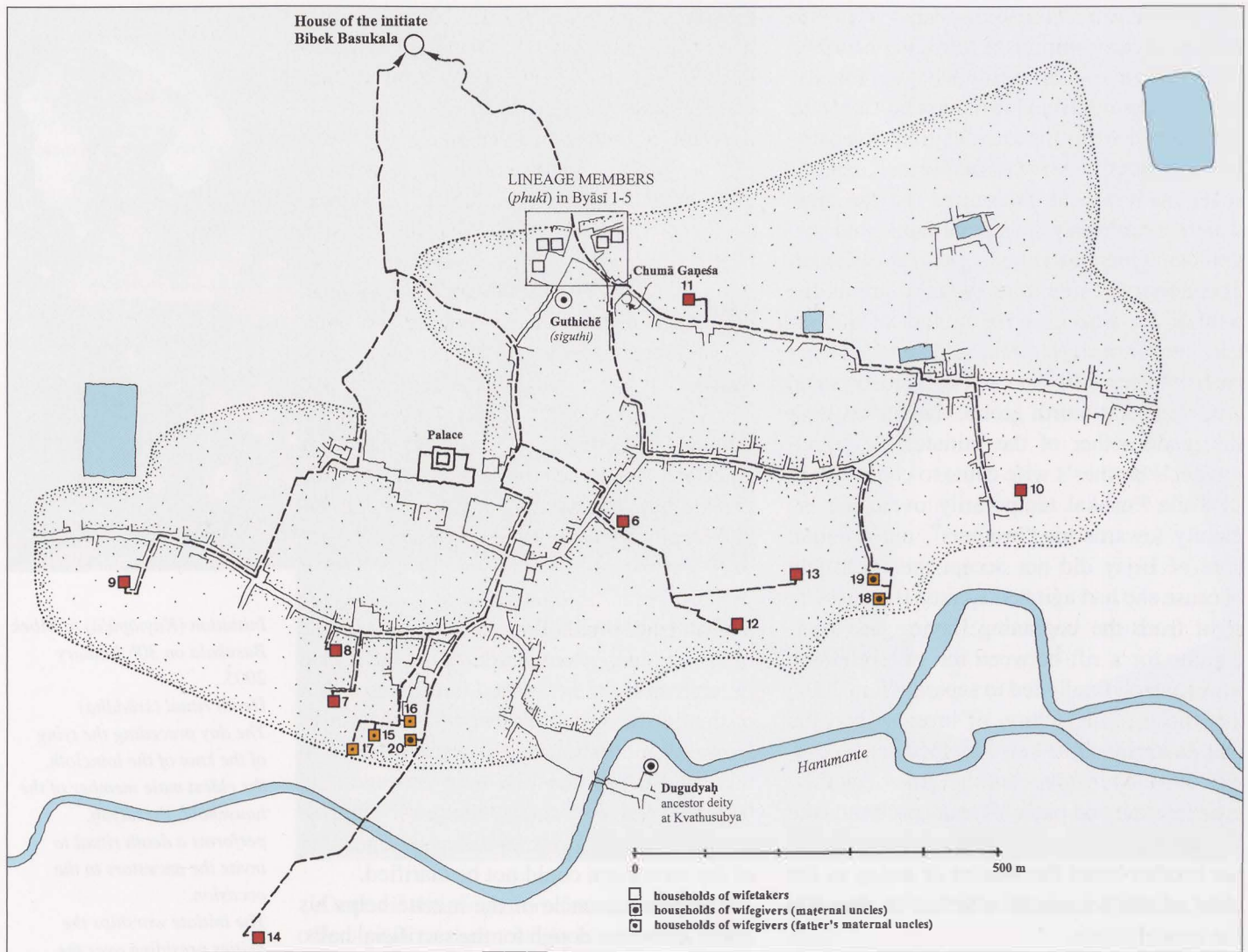
cestors and probably also to prepare them to incorporate the present initiate, Bibek Basukala, into their community. Without a loin-cloth, a *kaytā*, a male person is not a potential ancestor. Should such a person die, the house will be purified after five or six days; no sacrificial balls (*piṇḍa*) will be offered. However, a symbolic cow is offered on the occasion of Gāijātrā in August to cross the frightening river Vaitaraṇī into the underworld on an otherwise unspecified journey to the other world. Once the loincloth is offered, the boy qualifies as a full member of the lineage and as a bridegroom. In case of the death of the boy, the usual rituals will be performed for a period of two years until *nedatithi*, and the death ritual after twenty-four months, including the prescribed offering of *piṇḍas*. The annual death ritual will not be performed, but he will be remembered on the *sohraśrāddha*, the annual death ritual of the lineage.

The father of the initiate, Bijay, is guided by his family priest, in this case Prabhu Sharana Sharma from Lalāchē, the youngest of three brothers practicing as priests.

In the early morning, women arrived at the house to deliver their share of *peki*, the raw material needed for the making of the *piṇḍas*, namely wheat flour, flowers and a coin. In contrast to other, similar occasions when *peki* is brought, not only the three members of the lineage, the *phukī*, contributed *peki*, but also the married women of the past four patrilineal generations. In an exceptional act of respect to the initiate, the extended family of his mother, those who had given a wife to the family, contributed as well. These were her father, his four brothers, her three maternal uncles and two sisters of her mother.

In reality, instead of 29 women, only seventeen appeared with their contribution to the sacrificial balls: the wife (*nakhī*) of the eldest of the lineage, his mother in place of his unmarried brother, his cousin Purushottam, and even Purushottam's brother Pushkal, who had





Initiation (*Kaytāpūjā*) of Bibek Basukala.

The origin of the offerings (*pekhi/pinḍa*) for the death ritual (*śrāddha*) on 29<sup>th</sup> January 2005, the day preceding the offering of the loincloth.

The first offerings are brought by the five households of lineage members (*phukī*). The remaining offerings are from eight households of wife-takers (paternal aunts 7, 8, 9, 10, father's great-grand-aunt 11,

grand-aunts 12, 13 and grand-niece 14) and six households of wife-givers from the paternal grandmother's side (father's maternal uncle 15, his cousins 16, 17) and from mother's side (maternal uncles 18, 19 and grandmother's maternal uncle 20).

The initiate was introduced to the ancestor deity on 12<sup>th</sup> May 2005 as a full member of the lineage. He also became full member of the death association (*siguthī*).

left the lineage a couple of years earlier following a quarrel within the lineage concerning the right sequence of turnholdership. Finally, the wife of Anil, Bijay's younger brother, also contributed. From the second group, the patrilineal married women or *mhāymacā*, Bijay's sister made a contribution, as did the three daughters of Bijay's paternal aunts and two granddaughters of Bijay's great-grandfather. Three people came from the third group, the wife-givers who gave the mother of the initiate: her brother's wife, the daughter of her paternal uncle and her father's mother came. And from the fourth group, those who gave the grandmother of the initiate, the grandmother's brother's wife came to contribute.

While Pushkal temporarily overcame his enmity towards his "brothers", one paternal aunt of Bijay did not accept the invitation, because she had agitated against Bijay's wife right from the beginning, laying the foundations for a rift between the two brothers' wives which finally led to separation in 2003. The story of separation of brothers and the inevitable squabble between their wives usually develops along similar lines: mother, grandmother and paternal aunts prefer to take sides with the younger brother, while the elder brother bears the burden of acting as the chief of the household who has to maintain the annual rituals.

The initiation of the son is one of those events when enmities are overcome. The joint efforts of the paternal uncles – those who have taken women – and the maternal uncles of the mother and father of the initiate – those who have given women – make the initiation possible. The maternal uncle of the initiate is the unquestioned temporary master of the entire household, but all the others, the *jyāḥcvanipū* (Nev. *jyā*, "work", *cvanipū*, "to be present") help to prepare food, serve food and make sure that *pūjā* materials and offerings to the goddess Mahākālī are at the ready.



The death ritual follows exactly the scheme of the annual *sohraśrāddha* after full moon in September, to be carried out by the eldest of the lineage group, the *nāyaḥ* of the *phukī*. However, nobody uses the term *Śrāddha* in this context but says that *korsi pyātagu* is to be performed. *Pyātagu* is the usual Nevārī alternative term for *Śrāddha*, but the meaning of the term *korsi* could not be clarified.

The paternal uncle of the initiate helps his father knead the dough for the sacrificial balls. First the *bikalapiṇḍa*, the *piṇḍa* for the "unhappy" (i.e. unknown deceased and miscarriages), is shaped and put aside for the unknown dead, the five *piṇḍas* are made by his father, who dedicates these to his mother, father and, as his grandmother is still alive, only his grandfather as well as his great-grandfather and great-grandmother. Some 30 small *piṇḍas* are added for identified as well as unidentified deceased. The entire set-up is framed by three unshaped lumps of dough, dedicated to those who suffered an untimely death. The lumps also serve to frame the heap of sacrificial balls, as one is put beyond and two placed flanking it.

*Initiation (Kaytāpūjā) of Bibek Basukala on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2005.*

*Death ritual (śrāddha) The day preceding the tying of the knot of the loincloth, the eldest male member of the household, the nāyaḥ, performs a death ritual to invite the ancestors to the occasion.*

*The initiate worships the deities presiding over the death ritual with rice, flowers and dakṣiṇā.*

*His father has finished making the sacrificial balls, and raises his right knee in reverence to the ancestors.*

Initiation (*Kaytāpūjā*) of Bibek Basukala on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2005.

At the end of the death ritual on the preceding day, the nephews and nieces receive *pūjā* – a red mark on the forehead, flower petals and rice. Bijay Basukala, the father of the initiate, has invited the sons and daughters of his sister (Anis, Anisa, Elisa) and his paternal aunt's grandchildren (Rohan and Lepisa).



Once all the *piṇḍas* are formed, the initiate offers *pūjā* to them, while his mother raises her hands in a gesture of salutation. Similarly, Bijay lifts his right leg in an effort to prepare for *nāmakaraṇamudrā*, the gesture of salutation.

In a concluding rite, Bijay worships the four sons and one daughter of his sister and his paternal aunts (*bīcāpūjā*). The children of those who took women of his family are thus blessed as if to pay tribute to those who in future will be of help (as *jicābhāju* or *mhāymacā*) to the family in case of a death. It is they who will be only marginally polluted and thus fit to contribute to the performance of the necessary rituals on the 7<sup>th</sup>,

10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 45<sup>th</sup>, 360<sup>th</sup>, 361<sup>st</sup> and 720<sup>th</sup> day after death.

The procession to Kālīghāt to cast the sacrificial balls into the river is headed by Pushkal, the former member of the lineage group, bearing the *bikalapiṇḍa* in a brass container. Bijay, the father of the initiate, follows with the *piṇḍapātra* or copper bowl containing the five *piṇḍas*, the three lumps and 30 small *piṇḍas*. Third in line is Tulsi Suval, the husband of one of Bijay's paternal aunts, with the *khusibvaḥ*, a full meal (*bvaḥ*) dedicated to the ancestors but offered to the crows as messengers of death on the banks of the river (*khusi*).

Bijay's younger brother Anil and the *nāyāḥ* Julum also join the procession. Upon their

return from the river, Bijay as the acting *śrāddhayaimha* (*yaimha*, “the body that is doing something”) throws *kigaḥ* rice onto five leaf plates of food, which are collected by the Jugi, the purity specialist who absorbs impurities. The plate dedicated to the river as well as those collected by the Jugi had been cooked by one of Bijay’s paternal aunts, a *nini* who cooks the food dedicated to the ancestors for all of the death rituals. As the *mhāymacā*, the daughter or sister of the deceased who prepares the *nhenumhā* food, she is only marginally polluted by death and returns to the state of purity on the fourth day after using pulverised oil-cake in an act of purification and after having her toenails pared by the *naunī*, the wife of the barber.

Only after the Jugi has removed the *jugibvaḥ* from the house is *samaya* food offered to all of the lineage members and all of the helpers present. In the evening, a feast is offered to the lineage members in which the helpers also join in: it is always said that joining the *kalaḥ vayegu bhvay* is auspicious, it brings luck. However, the male lineage members alone leave part of their food to be put with the leaf plate (*kalaḥ*) that is reserved for the protective stone on the nearest street crossing, the *chvāsah*. The mistress of the lineage will discard this plate with all the leftovers on that stone at midnight.

## The Rituals of the Second Day

### Purification: Shaving the Head and Paring the Toenails

The main ritual begins early on the 30<sup>th</sup> of January 2005 in the new house of Bijay Basukala north of Byasi. Shortly after midnight, the husband of Bibek’s *nini* brings water from the Kasankhusi River for the initiate’s ritual washing, which follows later.

At five o’clock, the *Ācāju* arrives to prepare the diagram (*yantra*) for the *kalaśapūjā*, with three heaps of unhusked rice and one

lampstand each at the sides and, in the middle, the sacred vase (*kalaśa*) representing the deities and the *pūjā* plate with *ḍubo* grass, a banana, the loincloth, ear decorations (*tāsvā*), *kisli* cups, wicks, popped rice and a coin. Behind the *kalaśa* he places the *pūjā* plate with *ḍubo* grass and other ritual items required by the Brahmin priest. The *Ācāju* will not show up again until the early afternoon.

Around seven o’clock, the barber enters the house with his wife and son to shave Bibek’s head. A few minutes later, Ujul Prajapati arrives, the maternal uncle (*pāju*) and most important family member for the ritual. He immediately unpacks a miniature golden knife that he had bought from the goldsmith.

After a short while, the *pāju* touches Bibek’s head with the small knife (*kvacā*). Theoretically it is he who has to cut off the first lock of hair after he has touched the latter in the four directions. According to Dkv<sub>1</sub> (fol. 2<sup>v</sup>), in that moment he has to recite a verse addressing the barber:

O Barber! You are the cutter of the hair. Cut and shave the head of the child with that swift soft razor. Do not decrease (cut or shorten) the child’s life. (Aśvalāyanagr̥hyasūtra 1.17.15)

The *pāju* then hands over the knife to the barber, who shaves the boy’s head (*sā kayegu*) – all except for the tuft of hair (*śikhā*). The *nini*, Anita Makaḥ, holds a plate (*kaybhū*) under the boy’s face in order to collect the shorn hair. On the plate are several gifts for her: a shawl and a sari, a piece of white cloth in which the hair and the toenails are bound and later brought to the nearby river, as well as 105,25 rupees as *dakṣiṇā*.

As soon as the hair is cut, the participants laugh all and make jokes. Some say that Bibek now looks like a member of the Krishna Consciousness Movement, which is also active in Bhaktapur. The barber receives 55 rupees, to

*Initiation (Kaytāpūjā) of Bibek Basukala on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2005.*

*Upper left*

*The maternal uncle touches the initiate's head symbolically with a golden knife before the barber shaves his hair.*



*Upper right*

*In an act of purification, the initiate's father takes ḍubo grass, meat, cow-dung and svāvā rice from the offerings to the barber's wife and places it onto his shaved head.*



*Below*

*The barber's wife pares the toes of the initiate while his paternal aunt, the nini, holds a plate below his feet to collect the waste. A small leaf plate with curd and beaten rice is added in place of the hair that should have been kept from his first haircut at the age of 18 months.*





which the *pāju* adds another 105 rupees, but the barber asks for more. Finally, Bibek's father gives him 100,25 rupees.

A few minutes before nine o'clock, the Brahmin priest commences the ritual. After his purification, he purifies the hands of the *naunī*, the barber's wife, and the sharp chisel (*cahlā*) with which the *naunī* is about to pare the boy's toenails. Meanwhile the senior-most male elder of the lineage, the *nāyah*, binds five *kisli* cups filled with ritual rice, a betel-nut and a coin into white cotton cloth and hangs them on a wooden scaffold in order to ward off the ghosts and evil spirits in all four directions and in the centre. In a traditional house, these cups would actually be fixed to the ceiling joists.

There now follows a rite during which the father lets his son touch an iron key, the symbol of a Newar household. Bijay, the father, also takes a *mimicā* tray and places all the items on Bibek's head: some *dubo* blades, a piece of meat, rice (*svāvā*) and a piece of cow dung which the son gives to the barber.

Afterwards the *naunī* pares the toenails with a sharp chisel (*cahlā*) that the Brahmin



has purified. The clippings fall onto the *kaybhū* plate held by the *nini*. The *naunī* also colours the boy's feet with red pigment. Then the boy takes off his clothes, and the *nini* puts *khau*, pulverised oil-cake, on his head. He is now washed by the *nini* with the water that the *jicābhāju* brought early that morning and with pulverised oil-cake.

#### The Girding of the Loincloth

In the meantime the Brahmin has placed a *kisli* cup on the sacred vase together with a *taḥsi* fruit and a garland of jasmine twigs which connects the *kalaśa* with the ceiling. He asks for *ikāpakhā*, rape and mustard seeds which are burnt in a clay pot with charcoal. The father takes this pot, touches it to the body of his son, and then places it on the *pikhālākhu* stone in front of the house. Bijay now touches his son again with the iron key and the wooden measuring vessel filled with fruits, which are supposed to ensure longevity or even immortality. These include bitter orange (Skt. *dantaśa*, Nev. *khāīsī*, Nep. *kīpa*), Indian *jujube* (Skt. *badara*, Nev. *bayar*), sugar-cane (Nev. *tu*, Nep. *ukhu*) and emblic

*Initiation (Kaytāpūjā) of Dayaram Duval on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 2004.*

#### Left

*The wife of the barber pares the initiate's toenails, while his paternal aunt, the nini Vishnukeshari receives the waste on a plate.*

#### Right

*The paternal aunts of the initiate cast away hair and toenails at the embankment of Pekhīlācā – the place, where on the tenth day after death purification rituals are performed.*

myrobalan (Skt. *āmalakī*, Nev. *āba*, Nep. *amalā*). He then also touches the boy with the *sukūda* lamp and throws popped rice (*tāy*) over him.

After a while, Bijay hands a plate with a yellow loincloth, an earring (*tāsvā*) and *ḍubo* grass to the Brahmin for consecration. The boy now stands naked on a wooden seat (*āsana*) under which the Brahmin has drawn a *svastika* diagram.

In the meantime the Brahmin recites *mantras* and the boy performs *pūjā* to the sacred vase (*kalaśa*).

As Bijay, the father, starts to bind the loincloth brought by the maternal uncle (*pāju*), he realises that the cloth is wet and asks for some charcoal to dry it before he can fix it. After a while he fastens the loincloth and worships the knot at the right hip with vermilion, ritual rice (*akṣata*), flowers (*svā*) and a small sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) which, however, should not be confused with the long sacred thread that hangs over the left shoulder of a twice-born Hindu. He gives him a *tikā* and at 9.28 a.m., the auspicious time (*sāit*), he binds the cloth through the boy's crotch and folds it around the thread above his hindquarters, an act called *kaytā ciyegu*. The elaborate worship of the knot is obligatory:

The *nāyaḥ* should place the boy on the seat (marked) with a *svastika* by pulling (his) hand. Let the nails (of the boy) be pared (by the barber's wife). The father's sister should collect the cut nails. After a ritual bath bring (the boy) by holding (his) hand and place (him) on the seat (marked) with a *svastika*. Purification etc. as mentioned above. Hand over the silk loincloth (with) flowers (reciting) **vasoḥ pavitram asi ...** (VS 1.3). At the (calculated) auspicious time the loincloth should be tied by the *nāyaḥ* (around the hip of the boy). Keep the knot on the right side (reciting) **svasti no mimītam** (i.e. *svastivācana*). Sprinkle water on the knot (reciting) **devasya tvā** (VS 1.10).

(Worship the knot with) sandalwood (reciting) **yad adya kac** (VS 33.35). (Worship the knot with) vermilion (reciting) **tvam javiṣṭha** (VS 13.52). (Worship the knot with) flowers (reciting) **yāḥ phalanīr** (VS 12.89). Worship with *akṣata* (reciting) **jenendrā** (AV 1.9.3). (Dkv<sub>1</sub>, fol. 20<sup>v</sup>)

The boy now receives new clothes: a shirt and trousers, a vest, a jacket, a tie, a cap (*ṭopi*), two earrings (*tāsvā*) made of lilac strawflowers (*gvēsvā*) which earlier had been ordered from the Māli women from the sub-caste of the Gāthā. The *nini* helps the boy to dress. Subsequently, the garland of *ḍubo* grass is hung around his neck. *ḍubo* grass is believed not to wither and thus often represents longevity and even immortality. Finally, Bijay and the priest bind a white turban for Bibek. Dressed now in worldly clothes, the father showers popped rice from the wooden measuring vessel over his son (*siphāratī*).

The maternal uncle then hands over the cotton shawl from Thimi to the boy. The son is worshipped with a *kisli* cup held at his right temple. This cup is then given to the *nini*, who now carries the hair and toenails to the Kālighāt, north of Byāsi. Various items are added to the plate: a piece of white cotton, which is used later to wrap up the hair, a leaf with a small lump of cow dung, and a small leaf plate with a mixture of flattened rice and yoghurt (*dhaubaji*). This offering replaces the hair that had been cut by the maternal uncle at the age of eighteen months. The first hair that is cut after birth should in fact have been kept for this occasion. As the parents of the initiate had forgotten to keep the hair, the pure quality of *dhaubaji* makes up for this deficit symbolically.

Normally, the hair is simply dumped by the river banks with an offering of light, but in other cases it is discarded into the flowing water. In the Kaytāpūjā for Jewal, the son of the *nāyaḥ* of Bibek's *phukī*, two *ninis* care-



Initiation (*Kaytāpūjā*) of Bibek Basukala on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2005.

*Left*  
The initiate offers *pūjā* to the *kalaśa* to the instruction of the Brahmin priest before receiving the loincloth.

*Right*  
The initiate with the first, golden loincloth and a new cap. On his right can be seen the knot that has been worshipped by his father.

fully put the hair onto a small piece of white cloth and made a bundle, closing it with a thread. They then made a small pit in the sand of the river, and placed the white bundle inside as if burying something precious, something that has indeed been part of the boy's body. In this case it looked like a meaningful ritual act: the *ninis* put some *dhaubaji* (yoghurt with flattened rice) onto the spot, then discarded the rest and let the leaf plate flow away. Finally, a *kisli* offering was placed on the spot. Before returning home, the *ninis*

crossed below the bridge to the *ghāṭ*, purified their bodies, stepped up the embankment and worshipped the *liṅgas* on top of the platform of Kālīghāṭ.

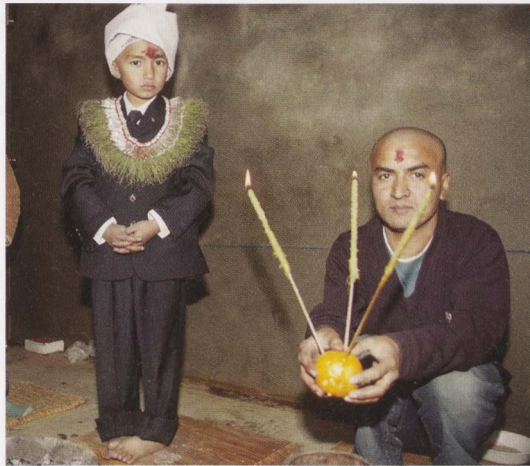
Shortly after, the Brahmin leaves the house because he has to go to another ritual, but after forty minutes he appears again to complete the ritual. He still has to perform the concluding rites, among them the offering of light, *ārātī*, with three thin sticks inserted into a fruit; this will afterwards be brought to the *pikhālākhu*, the guardian stone in front of the house.



Initiation (*Kaytāpūjā*) of Bibek Basukala on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2005.

Left

The father of the initiate holds a threefold torch (top) as an offering of light (*āratī*), which is placed beside the guardian stone of the threshold, the *pikhālākhu* (bottom).



Right

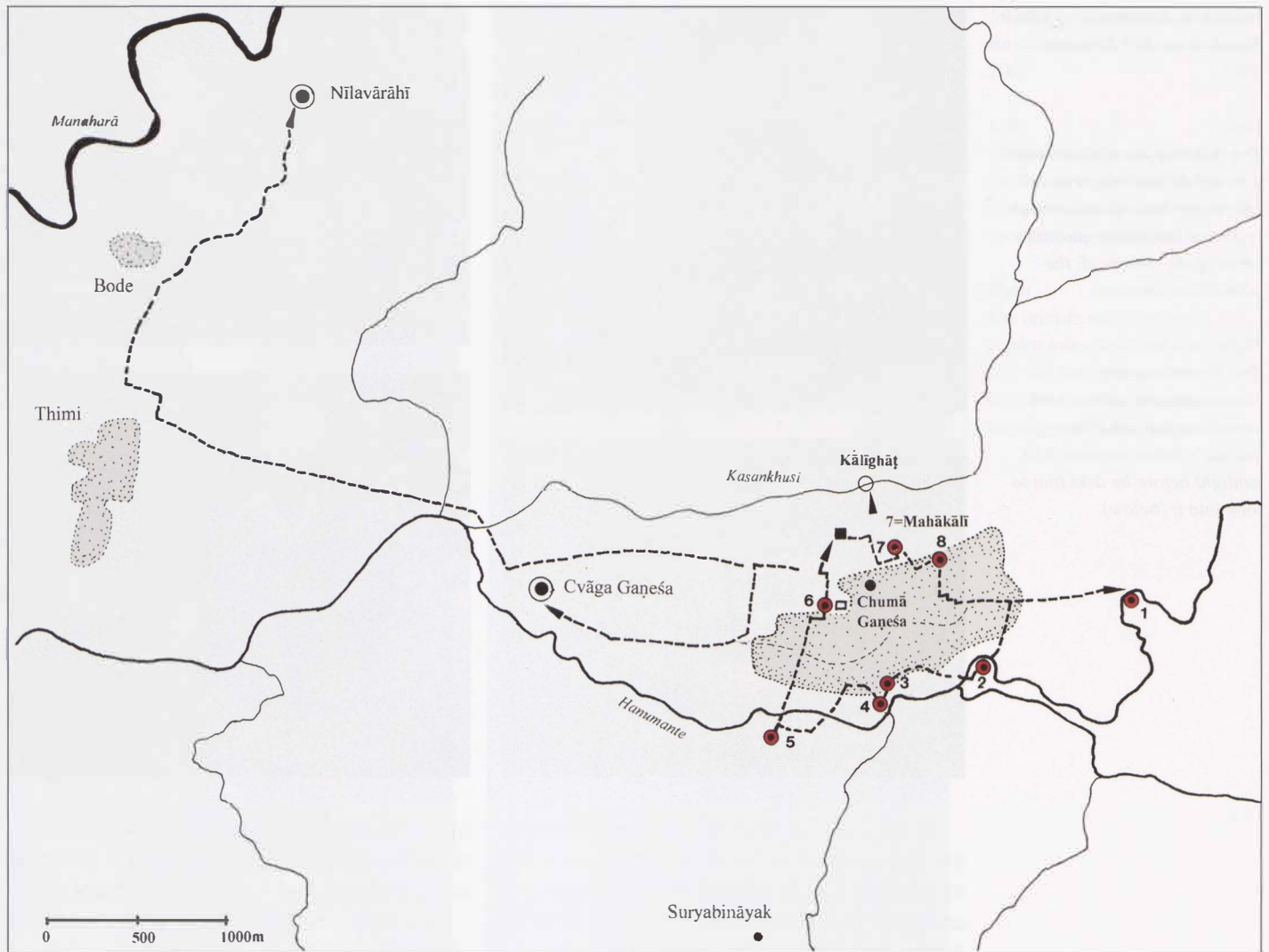
The Brahmin priest consecrates the mirror with vermilion (top) and the initiate's father exposes it to sunlight before he asks him to look into it (below).



At the end, the Brahmin worships the mirror and gives it to the father, who shows it to his son. The Brahmin gives the vermilion container to the senior-most woman elder of the lineage (*nakhī*) who touches it to the sacred vase (*kalaśa*). After that, the *kalaśa* is carried away. The Brahmin sprinkles water using the jasmine twig from the sacred vase on to all the participants, who then throw popped rice on to the boy, before he is taken

up to the roof of the house in order to worship the sun as witness. Finally, the Brahmin receives his *dakṣiṇā*, two hundred rupees.

In a final act, the Brahmin places a bundle of five kinds of wood (*pañcapallava*) on top of the sacred vase. A few minutes later, Bijay takes the bundle and a hammer to nail it into the lintel of the ground floor doorframe to protect the house from evil influences.



Offerings to Nīlvārāhī in Bode and Cvāga Gaṇeśa

While the house prepares for the procession to the seat of the goddess, Mahākālī, to which the household is tied through its specific location, two groups of helpers are heading for two separate shrines with small offerings to ensure the well-being of the initiate and the smooth running of the forthcoming rituals. The first destination is the non-iconic shrine of Nīlvārāhī in Bode, some five kilometres northwest of Bhaktapur. There is no clear-cut answer as to why this particular shrine is vis-

ited. But as the deity is also known under the name of Dhanvārāhī, the family speculates that the goddess must grant affluence (Nep. *dhani*). Visiting the shrine is not an option. By noon more than one hundred *pūjā* offerings have arrived from the entire district of Bhaktapur. Many helpers enjoy a rest in the forest around the shrine with a light meal (*samaya*), which is inevitably offered in the context of a *pūjā*. The second group heads for the shrine of Cvāga Gaṇeśa, whose non-iconic representation is located in an inconspicuous structure in the pine forest west of Bhaktapur, high

*Initiation (Kaytāpūjā) of Bibek Basukala on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2005. In the early morning the Ācāju priest worships the Aṣṭamāṛkā, whose non-iconic shrines encircle the city. The hair and toenails of the initiate are carried to Kālīghāṭ to be cast into the river. Around noon a helper carries pūjā to the shrine of Nīlvārāhī. At the same time, another helper heads for the shrine of Cvāga Gaṇeśa.*

Initiation (*Kaytāpūjā*) of Bibek Basukala on 30<sup>th</sup> January 2005.

The initiate received a second white loin-cloth from his maternal uncle at the seat of *Mahākālī*, the deity that presides over the city quarter of his home. He stands barefoot in sacrificial blood.



above the confluence of the two rivers that demarcate the wider territory of Kvpade. In this case it is said that an offering to Gaṇeśa ensures an abundance of well-fermented rice beer, which will be served the same evening.

#### The *Mahākālīpūjā* and the Girding of the Second Loincloth

At 12.10 the entire group sets out for the second *Kaytāpūjā* at the seat (*pīṭh*) of *Mahākālī*. The *bāsuribājā* music group – twelve musicians with flutes, drums (*dholak*) and cymbals – leads the procession. The subsequent line of twelve people walking barefoot and carrying offerings is led by the head of the lineage (*nāyaḥ*), followed by the *Ācāju* as the ritual specialist. Then come the two sons of the initiate's father's grand-uncle, who carry fruits and flowers, as well as the initiate's

father with the *sukūda* lamp and pure water (*jal*), and his paternal uncle. Behind these representatives of the lineage come the sons of the wife-takers and wife-givers with flower pots and garlands of popped rice and leaves of the white butterfly bush (Nev. *sinhasvā*, Nep. *bhimsen pate*).

A large crowd is waiting for them by the seat of the goddess on top of a hill crowned with large trees populated with crawling crows (for the site plan see Gutschow 1996a: 204): the fivefold sacrifice of a buffalo, a ram, a goat, a duck and a cock is to be celebrated. It takes almost an hour for Bibek's group to enter the inner space of a fenced-off area surrounding a couple of stones, a couple of sculptures of frightening ghosts, and several swords that symbolise the Great *Kālī*. The *Ācāju* and the *nāyaḥ* offer *pūjā* to the deity, Bijay places the decorative offerings in the corners of the quadrangle, and a lineage member installs the fire to collect soot (*mvaḥni*) while the five animals are sacrificed.

Almost unnoticed but of immense importance is the offering of small plates of gold and silver measuring three by four millimetres to the unworked stone representing *Mahākālī*. Later, the *Ācāju* confirms that these pairs of small silver and gold sheets are used exclusively for the *Ihi* ritual and for *Kaytāpūjā*. The incorporation of the two plates in initiation rituals of both sexes hints at a layer of meaning that reaches beyond the "Golden Boy" (*Suvarṇakumāra*) of the *Ihi* ritual. Girls are said to get married, but what happens to the boys on the occasion of reaching symbolically at least manhood when they receive the loincloth? Does the deity (not all of these deities have a female connotation) represent a chthonic power that stands for creativity and fertility? The small folded packet in which the two sheets of gold and silver are sold is marked with a stamp, saying *pratimā*, thus indicating the "image" (of a deity). The image or the images have no particular names.

It is a unique offering that marks the decisive step from undifferentiated childhood to becoming a social being with rights and obligations within the lineage and among the wider family of wife-givers and wife-takers.

As soon as the sacrifice is completed and more groups are about to storm the narrow space, Bibek steps into the quadrangle and the Ācāju consecrates his palms and gives the plate with a white loincloth to his mother's brother, the *pāju*. While the initiate's father helps undress the boy in the midst of the crowd, the *pāju* girdles the loincloth and worships the knot. Then the initiate leaves the shrine proper and completely changes his clothes by putting on the ones brought by his *pāju*.

The whole party now moves down the hill. Some 60 people – the entire families of the lineage members and all the helpers (*vyāhcvanipū*) with their wives and children – are presented *tikā*, a black stroke (*mvaḥni*) made of the soot that had been collected during the blood sacrifice and a *tikā* from the blood of the sacrificial animals. In the end the whole crowd including the Ācāju and the musicians takes a seat in two long lines to engage in a modest feast that includes beer and liquor.

Late that evening, the entire party meets again for the main feast (*mūbhvay*) of the Kaytāpūjā, at which meat from all five sacrificial animals is collectively consumed. The head of the billy goat is divided into nine pieces (Gutschow and Michaels 2005: 121) of which the Ācāju receives the right horn and the initiate the left horn. The remaining seven parts are distributed among the lineage members according to seniority. A slight problem arises when the second most senior not only claims the right ear but also the right leg of every sacrificial animal. The *pāju* intervenes, arguing that each participant in the feast will receive only one piece. Nobody is drunk at this time, so the customary quarrelling fails to emerge; everybody is happy to close the day in peace. Most rituals tend to be accom-

panied by arguments and even quarrels. One could say that the group's unity and identity has occasionally to be contested in order to go through a crisis. The crisis reflects a certain chaos, which could include physical violence, but all this has a welcome cathartic effect that ends up in reconfirming group solidarity.

It is indeed a busy day in Bhaktapur: the 30<sup>th</sup> January (the 18<sup>th</sup> day of the month of Māgha) 2005. More than one hundred Kaytāpūjās were performed, along with numerous marriages and two Ihi rituals with 30 and 128 participants. The music of the Jyāpus fills the air of urban space.

In the evening of the second day, the maternal uncle formally sets up a store (*bhāri svanegu*; from *bhāri*, “cook”, and *svanegu*, “to instal”) with all the provisions needed for the various feasts over the coming days. The helpers have been busy the whole time setting up a temporary kitchen and cutting up the second buffalo. In addition to the provisions that have been secured during the preceding weeks, the maternal uncle brings large quantities of cooked foodstuffs, which are required for providing all the helpers with *syūkābhvay* at the feast on the final day. Moreover, he brings *khē svagā* and *dhau svagā*, varieties of ritual food with egg and yoghurt. The maternal uncle places a plate with food, beer and liquor in a corner of the room. It is dedicated to the gods but without specifying any designation. Early in the morning of the next three days he enters the room to which he alone has access and renews the water in a sacred vase (*kalaśa*), and in the evening he lights the wick on a lamp stand (*tvarivā*).

Besides taking care of the foodstuffs and worshipping the god who presides over the room, the uncle has brought the set of clothes for the initiate which he offered on the occasion of girdling the white loincloth at the shrine of Mahākālī. Pieces of cloth were presented to the boy's parents, his great-grandmother, and to the boy's paternal uncle.

### The Third Day

The Feeding of the Navadurgā Troupe (*dyah bvaḥkegu*)

At the end of the third day, *pūjā* offerings are again sent to the shrines of Nīlavārāhi near Bode and Cvāga Gaṇeśa at Sallaghari (see map). To conclude the offerings to Mahākālī, a cock is sacrificed at the goddess's shrine.

In addition to the lavish sacrifices, the initiate's family wants to add a special event to the Kaytāpūjā. The motives for such a costly event are certainly twofold: it demonstrates the family's social status, and ensures the well-being of the initiate. On that day the Navadurgā gods have to respond to a total of five invitations. In the evening twenty of the initiate's relatives follow a group of musicians with two people waving large incense vessels and the initiated boy carrying incense sticks to meet the gods and lead them to the house in which the boy grew up before moving with his family beyond the limits of the historic urban core. The gods move in a festive procession to their destination, where a piglet is sacrificed and twenty trays with a large variety of food (*dyahbvaḥ*) are offered: the first four to the oleander goddess (*sipha-dyah*), Mahālakṣmī, the skull cup and Śiva, then to Bhairava and one to Chumā Gaṇeśa, the powerful deity of the quarter (*ilākā*) whose shrine is located nearby. The following four trays are offered to the four musical instruments, the mistress (*nakhī*) of the deity's household, and to the ten remaining deities of the troupe.

These offerings to each of the divine objects or deities are followed by the formal introduction of the initiate to the Navadurgā. A helper of the Navadurgā troupe hands an egg and fish to the boy, who presents it to the deity. The boy's father, other members of the lineage and even the paternal aunts follow with offerings of beer, thick beer, red beer and finally milk. The formal offerings at the feast, of which the

gods do not eat anything, are concluded by an offering to Bhairava of *dhaubaji*, a mixture of flattened rice and yoghurt. All of the people present, including the neighbours from the lane, happily receive some *dhaubaji* as divine food, while Bhairava and Mahākālī just act as if they were doing the same.

### The Fourth Day

The Formal Feast (*bhoj*)

Following the initiation, more than 600 guests are invited to attend a large feast (*bhoj*). Two kinds of guests are invited. All of the members of the first group, the *bhvaḥ pāhā*, are invited. These may be as many as 20 or more people when brothers have not already divided up their property and households. Of the second group, the *yākā pāhā*, only a single representative is expected.

The initiate's parents have already booked the ground below the shrine of Mahākālī for the feast, to which the families of the lineage, maternal relatives, friends and colleagues are invited in their hundreds. But later the place seemed too small, so the parking lot that is normally reserved for tourist traffic during the daytime was hired from the municipality. A kitchen is set up by the catering agency together with a large tent with hundreds of chairs in long rows.

The initiated boy will be seated together with the eldest woman of the family, who in this case is his great-grandmother, while his father and mother receive the guests. Hundreds of presents pile up and a lot of people put 50 or 100 rupee notes into the pockets of the boy's suit. A generation ago this would have been one or five rupees, and just a simple length of cloth rather than fancy clothes from China.

Invited Families (*bhvaḥ pāhā*)

The male agnates of the initiate, the *phukī*, are essentially part of the ritual scene; they

are there to fulfill their duties, without a formal invitation.

Father's sisters, grandfather's sisters, great-grandfather's sisters and his brother's daughters, great-great-grandfather's brother's daughters and likewise great-grandmother's brother's (*pāju*) and her parent's male descendants qualify as *bhvaḥ pāhā*. Thirty-two families qualified as such.

Two of the paternal grandfather's four sisters and the paternal grandmother's sister did not take up the invitation because they disagreed with the way the initiate's mother had led the household before his father separated from his brother. The initiate's grandfather and grandmother died early at the ages of 48 and 45, before his father Bijay had married. After he had married a girl of his choice from the sub-caste of potters (Kumaḥ/Prajāpati), access of his paternal aunts to their paternal house, the *thachē*, became more restricted. They left in bitterness and never returned. Only after Bijay split from his younger brother and left the house have they started to return regularly to their parental home for annual events. One more case needs to be mentioned: one of the great-greatuncles daughter's (see Tvati in the diagram) sons married the daughter of the sub-caste of Jugi, the purity-specialists. This misalliance has had disastrous consequences, for now he is never invited to any of the feasts.

#### Invited Individuals (*yākā pāhā*)

Other relatives who qualify as *yākā pāhā* are expected to send only one representative, either female or male, to attend the feast. These 51 guests are invariably from the families of the daughters of grandfather's or great-grandfathers grandnieces and their female as well as male descendants.

## The Fifth Day

### Closing down the Store (*bhāri thanegu*)

The final day of the Kaytāpūjā is dedicated to closing down the store and the concluding distribution of *syū* or parts of the sacrificial animals. The verb *thanegu* suggests a variety of actions in Nevārī: to resolve, to close, to complete while *bhāri* is the cook. In this case, some ten helpers acted as cooks, while the maternal uncle controlled the room in which the foodstuffs and *pūjā* items for the entire period of five days were stored. The act of closing down restores the room to the household, marks the end of the ritual, and expresses gratitude to all of the lineage members, the *jyāḥcvanipū* helpers, and their wives.

Before these 40 people gather together for the final feast, a few distant relatives, who did not have the chance earlier to welcome and acknowledge the initiated boy as a member of the larger group, arrive to meet the family and to hand over presents. It is in fact their duty to appear. The presentation of apples, grapes and sweet cakes may indicate a newly developed demonstration of affluence that the rising middle classes have embraced. Nevertheless, marking the forehead with vermilion (*tikā*) and the temple with yoghurt (*dhau svagā*) is a ritual act that confirms their relationship to the initiated boy, his great-grandmother and his father. The prescribed present is no longer a piece of cloth but readymade clothes in fancy wraps. By this time, there are already piles of such presents in the house.

Early in the afternoon the *juginī* also appears, the wife of the purity specialist who regularly absorbs ritual waste in the context of death rituals (Gutschow and Michaels 2005: 62) and who collects her share of food (*jugibvaḥ*) on six festive occasions of the year. On the first day of the Kaytāpūjā she had already come to collect her share after the death ritual that had been performed by the

#### Opposite

*Chart of the initiate's relatives from his paternal father's line.*

*18 families are identified (prin-ted in bold) who are invited to the feast at the conclusion of the initiation as bhvaḥ pāhā, i.e. all members of the family are expected to accept the invitation.*

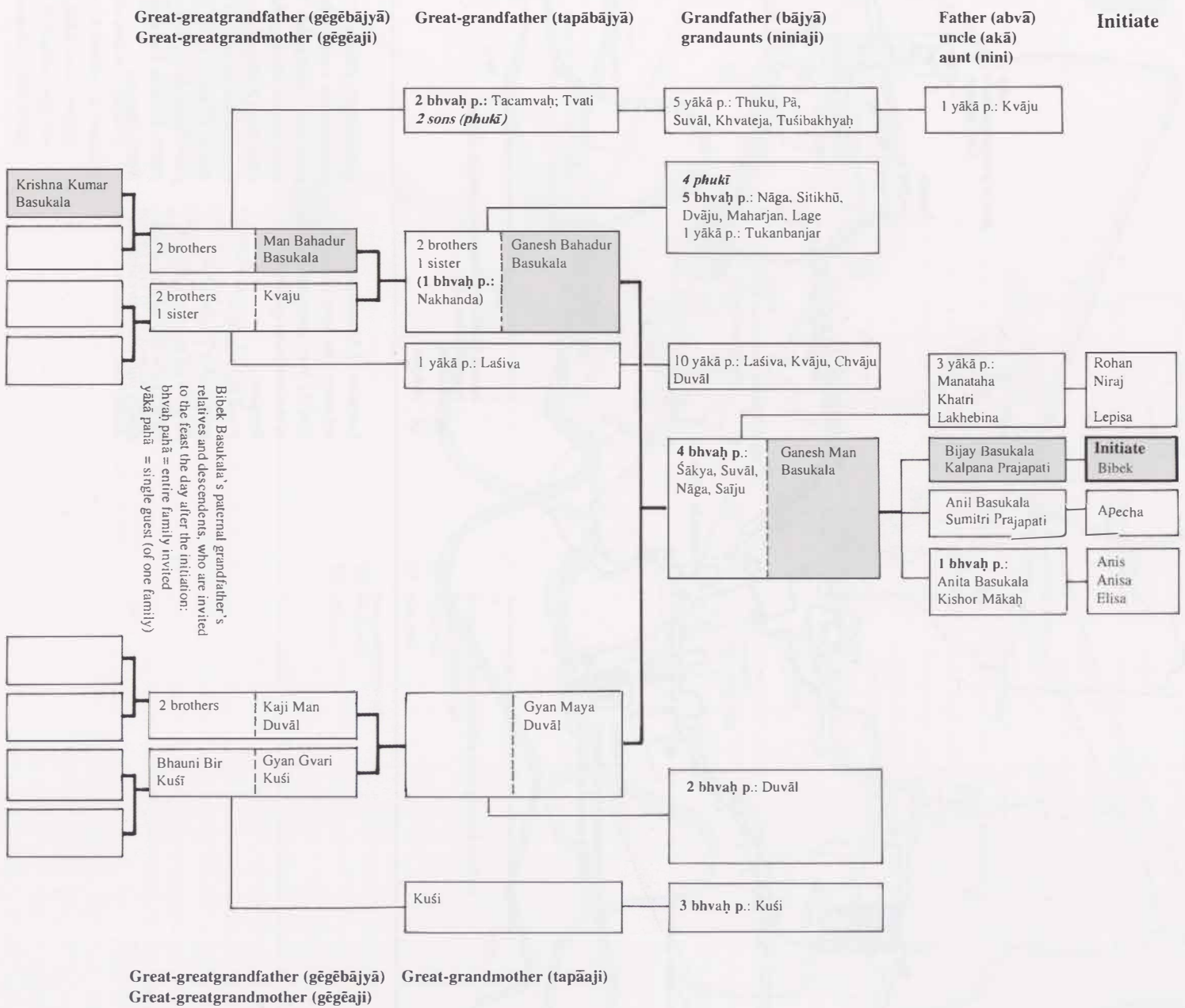
*22 more families are invited as yākā pāhā, i.e. only one member of the family is expected to join the feast.*

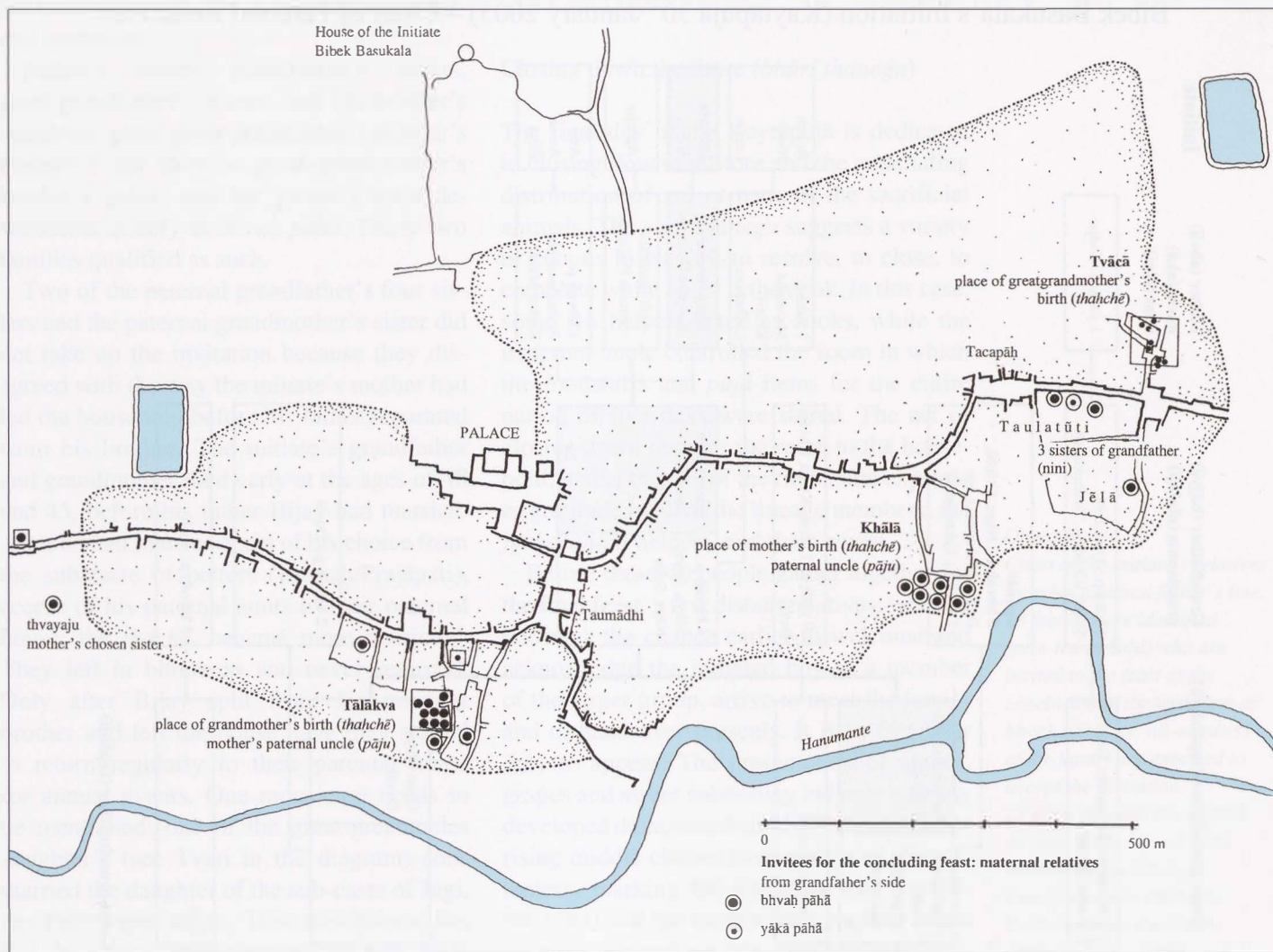
*Bvaḥ pāhā are the sisters of the initiate's father and grandfather, the daughters of great-grandfather's and great-great-grandfather's brothers, as well as great-grandmother's brother's sons and her mother's brother's grandsons.*

*To the lineage (phukī) belong the father's brother and the great-grandfather's brother's sons.*

*Four such charts would have to be presented in order to identify all guests related to the initiate's two grandmothers and two grandfathers.*

Bibek Basukala's Initiation (Kaytāpūjā 30<sup>th</sup> January 2005) – Chart of Paternal Relatives



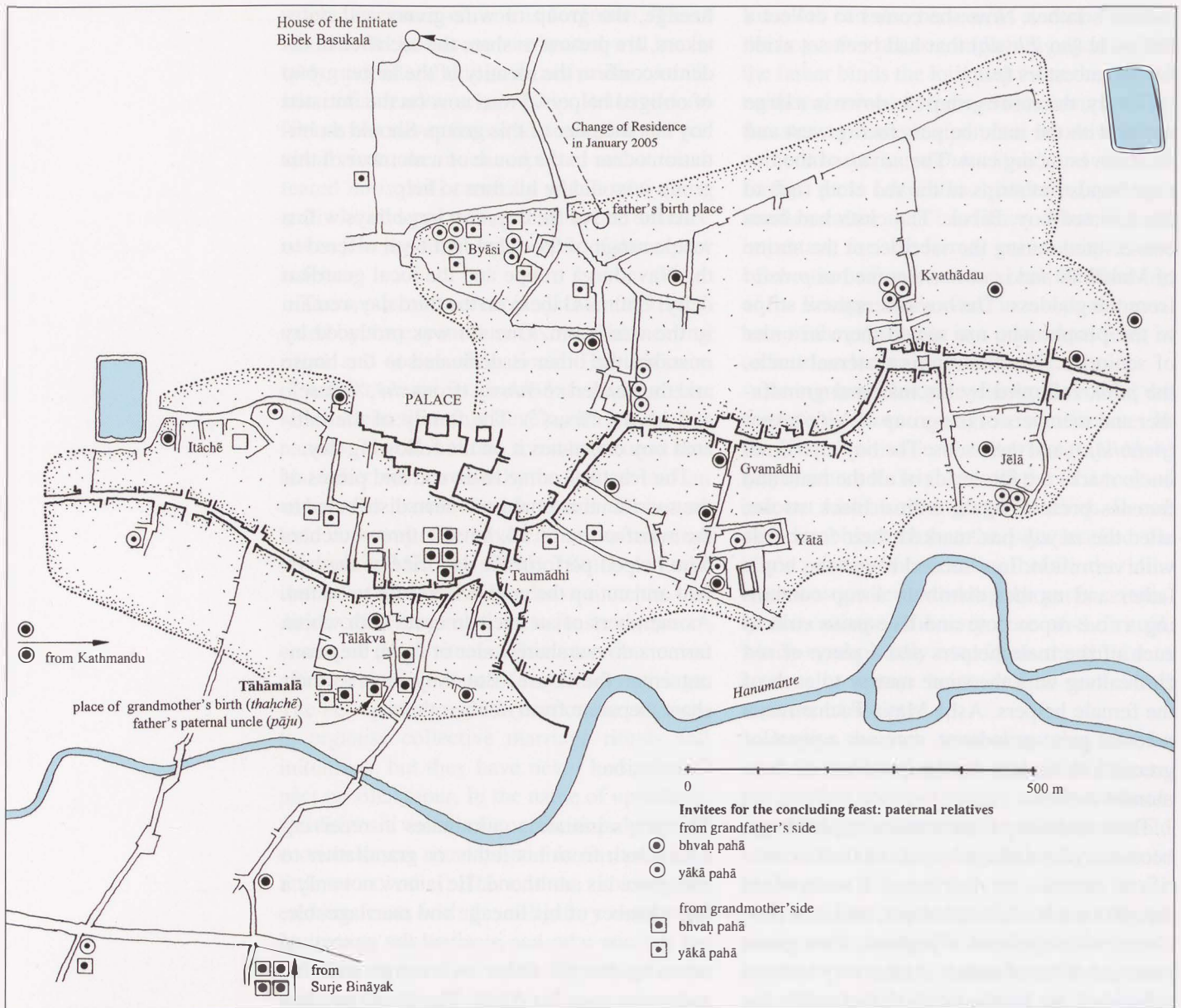


*Location of 33 maternal relatives who were invited to join the feast upon completion of the initiation of Bibek Basukala.*

*From the initiate's grandfather's side: of 14 families all members (bhvah pāhā) were invited and of one family only one representative*

*(yākā pāhā); from his grandmother's side: 9 bhvah pāhā and 1 yākā pāhā. - Three more guests (bhvah pāhā) came from Kathmandu and Banepa, and invitations were sent to 28 guests (yākā pāhā) from Thimi, Bode, Kathmandu, Patan, Gorkha, India and North America.*





Location of 79 paternal relatives who were invited to join the feast upon completion of the initiation of Bibek Basukala.

From the initiate's father's side: of 14 families all members (bhvaḥ pāhā) were invited, and of 22 families only one representative (yākā pāhā).

From the initiate's paternal grandmother's side (father's pājukhalah): of 14 families all members (bhvaḥ pāhā) were invited and of 29 families only one representative (yākā pāhā).

initiate's father. Now she comes to collect a full meal (*jugibhvaḥ*) that had been set aside for the ancestors (*pitṛ*).

Finally, the entire group sits down in a large room, with the male helpers facing west and their wives facing east. The *nāyaḥ* of the lineage hands out strips of the red cloth (*tul*) to the initiated boy, Bibek. The cloth had been consecrated during the sacrifice at the shrine of Mahākālī and is now welcomed as *prasād* from the goddess. The boy offers these strips to the people who are seated there in order of seniority. The first is his maternal uncle, the *pāju*, followed by his maternal grandfather and members of the group of wife-takers (*jicābhāju*) and their sons. The boy's paternal uncle marks the foreheads of all the male and females present, again with a black stroke, after the *nāyaḥ* has marked their foreheads with vermilion. In a second round the boy's father and mother distribute a cap containing a five-rupee note and five paisa coin to each of the male helpers and a piece of red cloth along with the same money to each of the female helpers. Asha Maya Tachamva, a paternal great-grandaunt, receives a piece of green cloth because her husband had died six months earlier.

The concluding feast is called *syūkābhvay*, because *syū*, privileged pieces of the five sacrificial animals, are distributed. It starts while the gifts are being handed out, and it is concluded with a portion of yoghurt, a few green peas and slices of radish. At the very end *syū* is handed out by the boy's father while his wife pours out liquor. The boy's maternal uncle receives the head of the drake, the maternal uncle the head of the cock to honour the representatives of the wife-givers. Others receive unidentified pieces as well as the eyes of the buffalo.

Those few helpers who could not attend the feast get a plate set apart, complete with the offering of the cap or piece of cloth. The message is that in theory, all members of the

lineage, the group of wife-givers and wife-takers, are present to share the sacrifice in order to confirm the identity of the larger group of obliged helpers. From now on the initiated boy is a member of this group. Should an initiation occur in the house of a member of this group it would be his turn to help.

At the end of the day, two large trays with a whole range of food that had been offered to the Navadurgā troupe and the local guardian deity, Chumā Gaṇeśa on the third day, remain in the storeroom. One set was produced by mistake; the other is dedicated to the house and thus called *chēbhvay* (from *chē*, "house", and *bhvay*, "feast"). The family of the initiated boy consumes it on the following day.

The feast has come to an end and pieces of the sacrificial animal have been distributed to the satisfaction of all, but the three butchers who helped perform the sacrifice of the buffalo and cut up the corpse have still to be fed. As members of an unclean caste with whom farmers do not share water or food, they cannot enter the house. But they receive their share, separate from all the others.

## Conclusion

The boy's initiation culminates in receiving a loincloth from his father or grandfather to announce his adulthood. He is now not only a full member of his lineage and marriageable, but the one who has received the agency of ensuring that his father will merge with the ancestors upon his death. The final feast has to be seen as a powerful demonstration of this agency. These happy tidings have not only to be brought to the notice of relatives of both categories – those who are invited with their entire family (*bhvaḥ pāhā*) and those who are invited individually (*yākā pāhā*) – but to friends and colleagues alike. Such a feast re-confirms relationships that might turn out to be vital to the new member of the lineage. The list of invitees is considered for days and

weeks to ensure no one is forgotten. Those who should be but are not invited will inevitably understand this as an active discontinuation of an earlier relationship. Relatives and friends are never forced to come, but the paternal aunts, the much respected and at times feared *ninis*, will carefully watch who came and who did not come. It is not an offence not to join the feast, but a sense of disrespect is felt.

The western observer is all too often fascinated by the expenditure involved in meeting ritual and social obligations. The opulence of a feast seems irrational but rituals are irrational practices that develop their own dynamics. The advent of a son who ensures that his father will eventually be turned into an ancestor is reason enough to ruin the household economy. We have earlier documented (Gutschow/Michaels 2005: 198) how local initiatives have moved to discontinue the tradition of inviting relatives to feasts on the occasion of death rituals. This move has never affected the initiation of boys and marriage. The newspapers regularly report on attempts to organise collective marriage rituals and initiations, but they have never had any impact on Bhaktapur. In the name of upholding “traditions”, various associations proposed to economise on rituals, but this has provided little or no relief. There is no avoiding the ensuing feasts with the obligatory number of invitees.

The main ritual act of the Kaytāpūjā is the tying of the loincloth. This does not involve any educational aspects, such as are prevalent in the *upanayana* ritual for members of high castes, where the sacred thread stands for the Veda: in this case the sacred thread is more or less an umbilical cord which binds the initiate to the sacrifice and the Veda. It symbolises the right to sacrifice, to light the domestic fire and to study the Veda. The Jyāpu Kaytāpūjā, however, has a different atmosphere. The girdle around the boy's hips together with the

loincloth can also be seen as a second birth – the boy, after all, is completely naked before the father binds the loincloth – but the initiate neither receives a Vedic *mantra*, nor does he threaten to leave his parental house and become an ascetic (*brahmacārin*) and study in foreign parts (*deśāntara*) under a (spiritual) teacher, rather than his father. What is more important for the farmer community is the celebration of pubescence and membership of the lineage. It is a ritual in which all members of the *phukī* join in a communal feast in order to welcome a new member.

As in many life-cycle rituals, the role of the cognate relatives is of great significance. In the Hindu initiation it is the maternal uncle (*pāju*) who not only cuts off the first lock of hair but who also brings the loincloth. In one case we observed that the *pāju* marked the boy's penis with vermilion before the loincloth was girdled. Marking the penis certainly demonstrates the very core of the ritual, which symbolically transforms the child into a sexually mature being and as such a full member of society.

Despite the rich symbolism that can be seen in the many plants and ritual objects, the girdling does not require any understanding of religious content. The initiates are told what to do and they never ask why it has to be done.

Given the complexity of Newar ritual elements used during the Kaytāpūjā, this ritual cannot be seen as an imitation of the *upanayana* ritual. It is independent of the Vedic initiation, although Vedic *mantras* are used. The initiates become a member of a social group that defines itself by rules of purity and commensality, and they also acquire the right to perform many domestic rituals, including the death rituals.

## The Boy's Buddhist Initiation: Kaytāpūjā

Newar Buddhist initiation is threefold: one is the Kaytāpūjā ritual performed by Buddhist castes such as the Citrakārs (painters), Divākār, Rañjītkār and Nakarmi; it resembles in many aspects the Hindu Kaytāpūjā, although it is performed by a Buddhist priest.<sup>16</sup> The second initiation ritual is Bāre chuyegu, the monastic initiation for Śākyas and Bajrāchāryas, and the third is the esoteric Tantric initiation (*ācālyegu*) for the Tantric masters which, however, is not necessarily a youth ritual (and will therefore not be treated here). The ritual seems already to have been practiced in the 15<sup>th</sup> century in much the same way as today (von Rospatt 2005: 210f.).

### The Kaytāpūjā

The Kaytāpūjā among Buddhist castes is predominantly performed by a Vajrācārya priest who is the family's house priest. The ritual is mostly carried out in the private house of the initiate's father, but sometimes also in a monastery courtyard. Despite the many variations, common to all Buddhist Kaytāpūjā celebrations is that the boy's hair is (again) cut, that he is introduced into the *āgāchē* or the Gaṇeśa temple of the lineage or city quarter, that he receives a bow and arrow, pretends to run away but is held back by the maternal uncle who also presents him with his loin-cloth, and finally the procession through the city quarter.

### The Ritual

The following is the description of a Kaytāpūjā of two Citrakār boys that took place at Yata in the quarter of Tacapaṅ on 28 January 2007 (Māgha śukla *daśamī*) in the house of their grandfather Ram Chitrakar. Ananda Muni Bajracharya of Paśubāhā acts as Bud-

dhist priest. Two boys of the house, Pranaya (aged around ten) and Prasun (aged around eight) receive various loin-cloths. The Nau barber appears to shave their heads and their *pāju* (maternal uncle) goes with them to the adjoining terrace to assist washing them with *sarvakhau* (pulverised oilcake). For Pranaya his *pāju* was Jagat Krishna from Thimi and his father's sister (*nini*) was Sarda from Mashangalli in Kathmandu.

The ritual starts with the *gurumaṅḍalapūjā* and other preparatory rites. After this the boys are ritually welcomed by the *nakhī*, the eldest woman of the lineage (*phukī*). The shaving of the boys' heads is performed by the Nau barber after his hand has been venerated and empowered by the Vajrācārya priest. However, it is the maternal uncle who cuts off the first lock, using a small golden razor blade. The hair falls on a plate (*thāybhū*) bearing a red cloth and a five-rupee banknote, which is held by the boy's father's sister. Importantly, the tuft or topknot (*śikhā*) remains unshorn. This demonstrates that the boys are not being initiated into a monastic order (*saṃgha*), although afterwards they are asked by the priest to worship the Three Jewels – Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha (see also KMB pp. 2f.).

The head shaving is completed by 9:15. The paring of the toenails is simply ignored because a butcher (Kasāi) woman, whose duty this would be, is no longer called in: having a Kasāi woman enter the house would be deemed by Citrakārs to be highly polluting and a great stigma. The hair is discarded by the two *ninis* at Hanumānghāṭ.

After the mothers have washed their boys, the *nakhī* of the lineage performs the *lasakusa* ritual for them with the *siphā* container, the iron key, and a *vajra*, the Buddhist sceptre. The boys wear red cotton shawls but no robes. They are taught to perform the worship of the sacred vase (*kalaśapūjā*).

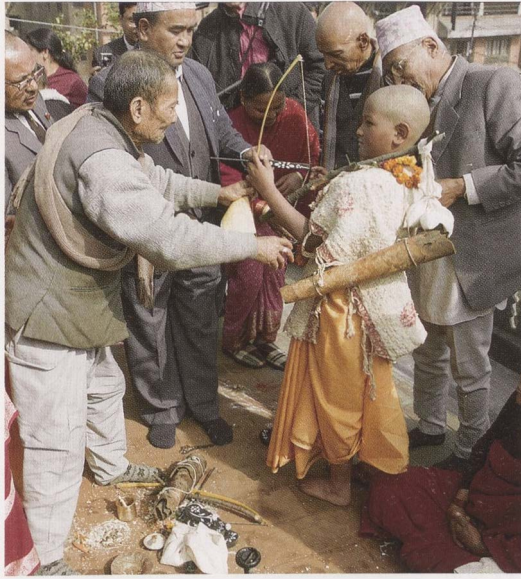
At ten minutes past ten, the *nāyah* hands over the loin-cloth to the boy while the *pāju*

<sup>16</sup> For a description according to a Jātakarmavidhi manuscript see Lienhard 1999: 106-112; cf. also Toffin 1984: 139f.

Buddhist initiation (*Kaytāpūjā*) of Pranaya Chitrakar of the sub-caste of painters on 28<sup>th</sup> January 2007.

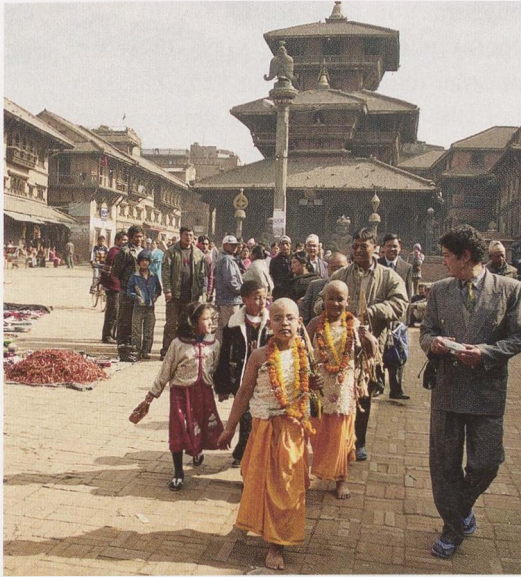
Above

The initiate is instructed by the priest how to hold bow and arrow, while his maternal uncles are helping.



Below

Having worshipped the local Gaṇeśa temple on the formal journey to the forest, the two initiates return home across the Dattātreya square in the company of paternal as well as maternal relatives.



worships the knot. What is peculiar to the Citrakārs is the offering of a white cotton loincloth and, in addition, a belt made of five times double red threads interwoven with pieces of cotton wool. A similar rite can also be seen in the monastic initiation described below. A small bundle is fastened at the knot containing a coin and a betel-nut.

The priest offers *dhau svagā* with his right index finger and a yellow *tikā* with his central finger and red *tikā* with his ring finger.

The boys are then clad in a golden *dhoti* and a shawl of raw cotton. One of them has been borrowed from Krishna Ram Chitrakar at Nāgpūkhū, the other one comes from the *pāju*'s house in Patan. They are also presented with a garland of flowers (*mālā*).

After forty minutes, three handfuls of rice are offered together with oranges and bananas, first to the priest, then to the boys. The marks for the “Seven Steps” (*saptapadī*, Nev. *nhepālā*) are now prepared with powder by the priest. On each of the lotus-like diagrams he places pipal leaves, a coin and a betel-nut. The boys carry a stick containing provisions in two bags, a bow and an arrow, and a deer-skin. A small piece of (Nep.) *jamāne māndro* (*Mahonia nepalensis* DC.) has been attached to the wrapped skin: this is not a flower, but a stick – the same stick that was fixed to the *kumākāḥ* thread of the Ihi girls. The boy walks along these Seven Steps, which are sometimes said to mark the Seven Worlds (*loka*, see Pradhan 1986: 108).

The entire group heads for the Salan Gaṇeśa temple, which houses the non-iconic representation of the deity. The temple is entered by the boys for worship. In front of the temple, the boys shoot arrows whose tips have been coated with an undisclosed substance by the priest. One shot is fired upwards, one to the east, and one straight to the south – i. e. to heaven, to the netherworld, and to the earth. The text says:

After reciting auspicious verses (*svasti*) and offering a jasmine flower (*daphaḥsvā*) to the *pikhālākhu* (threshold stone) let (the boy run away) casting an arrow each to the heaven, the netherworld and the earth. (KMB p. 7)

Then the boys step forwards, starting their formal journey to the forest, but the maternal uncle catches them immediately – to the laughter of the crowd. This episode is part of a dialogue in the *Kaytāpūjā* texts, which

are sometimes read or related by the priest. The son threatens to leave his home and his parents to become an ascetic in the forest. In the Brahminical context this is the period of *brahmacarya* that involves studying the Veda with a teacher at his place. However, the maternal uncle has to catch him and to remind him that the son has first to fulfill his domestic duties. The problem is solved by the “Seven Steps”, which might be seen as a symbolic way into the forest and giving alms to the son. In the Kaytābīya-Mekhalābandhana, the text used during the ritual, the dispute between the boy and the parents and guru is given in the following dialogue:

‘O teacher, you must do me a favour. I wish to perform *vanavāsa* (i.e. live in the forest), so allow me to leave.’

‘O boy, o disciple, you are only five or six years old. You cannot go for *vanavāsa*. You must not talk about it.’

‘O teacher, o mother, o father, you must not worry about anything. Is not there (a) god to protect me?<sup>17</sup> Please do not stop me. It is time for me to go.’

‘O disciple, going for *vanavāsa* is very dangerous. (You do not know) how dangerous it is. O boy, if you go out from the house, there will be no friends. There will be dangers from rivers, streams, mountains (and also) dangerous animals like tigers, bears, elephants, lions, black cobras, and crocodiles. [During the Kaytāpūjā of the Citrakārs in Bhaktapur, the relatives teased the boy by pointing to the dangers of the Maoists living in the forest.] Are you able to face such a danger? If you are, only then it is good to go for *vanavāsa*, o boy.’

‘O teacher, o mother, o father, you do not have to worry. If there is a danger of an ocean (or) a river, I will cross it by creating a bridge with (my) bow (and arrow). I will hit all the animals with (my) bow. The local Gaṇeśa and other gods will protect (me). The forest god

will also compassionately protect a boy like me. You should not worry. Let me go.’

‘O son, o boy, who will run away from the house, the lineage (and) the *dharma* of lineage (*kula*)? A son must do this (sort of duty), o son.’

‘O mother, o father, it is God who let (you) care for the *dharma* of lineage. It is God who gives birth and death. It is God who gives plenty of grains (food). Nevertheless, one has to go for *vanavāsa*. It does not matter whether one should go now or later. One shall not (always) stay (at home). O mother, o father, I am going to leave (now) for *vanavāsa*. Let me go. Do not worry at all. O mother, o father bless me.’

‘O son, wherever you go, nothing bad may happen. You may not fall down. May your enemy not defeat you. May you return soon in order to continue your *kuladharmā*.’

Let (the boy) take seven steps while sprinkling water. Recite *svasti* verses by sweeping a broom (in front of the boy). The mother, father and maternal uncle should give three times alms. (KMb pp. 5-6)

The procession turns towards the house along the southern edge of the pond, towards Milakva where the small temple of Seto Bhairava is circumambulated. Reaching again the house, the boys stand on the *pikhālākhu* threshold stone, facing the house, to receive the golden loincloth from their maternal uncle and another set of new “Western” clothes including a cap (*topi*) that from now on has to be worn on many ritual and official occasions. Fully dressed, they enter the house.

### Conclusion

It seems the Kaytāpūjā of the Citrakār boys does not contain many Buddhist elements. Most of the rites – the ritual welcoming, cutting off the hair apart from the tuft, washing and purifying oneself with oil-cake, the *tikās*,

<sup>17</sup> The fact that Buddha is not mentioned here as a protector makes it likely that this part has been taken from similar Hindu texts, e.g. Deśāntarakathā: see Boullier 1985 and Michaels 1986.

the loincloth, the “Seven Steps”, the alms-giving and the new clothes – parallel the Hindu Kaytāpūjā. Different in part are deities that are addressed, the *gurumaṇḍalapūjā*, and the *mantras* recited. Moreover, the Buddhist Kaytāpūjā or Mekhalābandhana of the Citrakārs does not point to any monastic or esoteric background, does not refer to Buddhist doctrines, and does not include the worship of Buddhist shrines in the vicinity. In the Kaytāpūjā, the boys do not really become monks or take the five *upāsaka* vows. It is not an initiation into Buddhist life, into a *saṃgha* or monastic order. It is the initiation into the clan, into the central social group of the Newars. To a certain extent this also holds true for the Buddhist monastic initiation.

### The Boy's Buddhist Monastic Initiation: Bāre chuyegu (*pravrajyā*)

The ritual of shaving the head, as performed by Rājopādhyāya priests, looks as though it could be a purely Vedic Hindu ritual: the use of Vedic *mantras*, the significance of the tuft (*śikhā*) as part of the Hindu lineage (*gotra*) system, and the celebration of the entrance into the first life-stage (*āśrama*) are all too evident. After all, it is the *śikhā* that is cut by Daśanāmī ascetics when they enter into their monastic order and become full ascetics. The Vedic fire and the *śikhā* best symbolise the life of a twice-born Hindu.

However, the Cūḍākaraṇa or Cūḍakarman ritual is also part of the boy's monastic initiation among Buddhist Newars, especially Vajrācāryas and Śākyas. This transformation, called *bāre chuyegu* (Skt. *pravrajyā*), “becoming a monk (*bāre*)”, provides an excellent example of how ritual sequences can be transformed into a new religious context and thus give space for new interpretations. It is a ritual through which all male member of a *saṃgha* become a monk for three days, after which they disrobe to live the life of a Buddhist householder. However, more than that it is a ritual by which certain boys become full members of their caste. Consequently, this is more a life-cycle ritual than a ritual based on the individual's decision to become a monk.

Moreover, it is noteworthy that a boy only becomes a member of a *saṃgha* by patrilineal descent; in other words, the father has to be a member of the same “monastery”. It must also be taken into account that Newar Buddhists do not have the institution of vocational monks. The Bāre chuyegu initiation does not lead to full ordination (*upasampadā*). Thus, the status of the initiation has far more to do with caste and social implications than with esoteric Buddhist doctrines, as was aptly shown by Alexander von Rospatt (2005). In

the following, we shall try to underline the overall importance of membership to lineage groups or clans that characterises most adolescence rituals. We will refer to a text, the Kaytābīya-Mekhalābandhana[pūjāvidhi], used during Bāre chuyegu rituals in Bhaktapur and a more elaborate performance in Patan. However, we will not include the variants, subrites and Tantric elements that are performed prior to, during and after the main rites, because these aspects are mostly beyond the scope of our book.

### The Ritual

The following short description<sup>18</sup> is based on a Cūḍākaraṇa and Bāre chuyegu ritual that took place on the 21<sup>st</sup> of November 2006 in Patan at Ukubāhā or Rudravarṇa Mahāvihāra, and focuses on those rites that are most important to make comparisons. A total of 21 boys, all from Śākya families from Ukubāhā, were initiated by Vajrācārya priests from Bhīchēbāhā. The ritual started at around 9:45 in the morning although 9 o'clock had been given as the ritually auspicious time (*sāit*). Due to the cold weather it was postponed so that the children would not catch a cold while they are being shaved and undressed during the ritual. Only the three Vajrācārya priests and some elder men (*nāyaḥ*) from the community were present in the morning, because the ritual starts with the usual *gurumaṇḍalāpūjā* and the *dharmadhātupūjā* that frames many Newar Buddhist rituals (see Gellner 1991a, Locke 1980, Shima 1991), among them the Ihi ritual (see below).

The Cūḍākaraṇa ritual begins with the *aśmāropaṇa* rite, in which black lentils are ground. On their way to their tonsure, the boys step on a mortar and pestle and grind black sesame seeds three times in order to destroy all evil. This rite is also celebrated in other Hindu and Buddhist rituals.

Shortly after comes the tonsure. The com-

plete head of hair apart from a topknot (*śikhā*) is shorn off by the barber and his wife. As in the Kaytāpūjā, the hair is collected on a plate (*thāybhū*) on a tripod and afterwards cast off by the father's sister (*nini*) in a nearby river. The plate bears a piece of cloth with money (generally a hundred rupees) as a gift to the *nini*, as well as a girdle with white and red cotton strings, which will later be bound around the boy's hips, plus another small plate of reed (*mimicā*) bearing in turn a betel-nut, unhusked rice, a piece of ginger, oil in a clay saucer, wheat flour, salt, and money for the barber (but no meat, as in the Hindu rituals, where the *mimicā* is also used). The barber's wife also symbolically pares the toenails and colours the boys' feet with red pigment – again a rite that parallels Hindu variants.

Afterwards the boys are taken by their mothers, who are dressed in their festive red saris, together with the *nini* into a special room in the monastery where they are prepared for the monastic initiation. Up until this point they are still laymen (*upāsaka*); in a way they are even Hindus because the barber has not cut of the tuft (*śikhā*, *cūḍā*) on their heads, which is a traditional mark of being a Hindu.

At the entrance of the room the boy is received by the *nakhī*, who pours water and some oil over the boy after he has been completely undressed by his mother. Naked, he is then taken by hand into the room by the eldest woman of the *saṅgha*.

The boys all sit on long mattresses in a row, in order of age, the oldest being six years, the youngest only fourteen months. With them are their mothers. For the time being they only wear a yellow or orange towel to protect them against the cold and out of modesty. Set out in front of them on various trays is the material for the ritual elements to follow: a plate with the robe and paraphernalia of a Buddhist monk, the usual *pūjā* plate with vermilion and turmeric, a ritual lamp and mirror, and flowers and fruits.

<sup>18</sup> For more detailed descriptions see Gellner 1988 and Lienhard 1999: 54-102; for other photographic documentation see also Mühlich 2004.





Buddhist initiation, *Bāre chuyegu*, on 21<sup>st</sup> November 2006 at *Ukubāhā* in *Patan*. The *thakālī*, the head of the Śākya community associated with the monastery cuts the tuft of hair of the neophyte symbolically with a golden razor blade. The actual cutting is done by a helper.

After a while the *nakhī* performs *siphārati* as another means of purification. Some mothers tie a golden ring to their son's topknot and declare it to be Buddha's jewel (*cūḍāmaṇi*).

This is followed by the cutting of the tuft by the *nāyaḥ*, who wears a black brocade jacket. He is very old so he only cuts the tuft symbolically – with a small golden razor blade. The actual cutting is done by a helper. The hair is simply left on the ground and not removed afterwards.

Then the mother binds the girdle around the boy's hip. Afterwards the boy is taken out to the courtyard of the monastery where four *thakālīs* in white robes and no jackets or head covering are waiting in the northeast corner. They are holding small copper vessels (*kalaśa*) each containing a twig of flowering white jasmine. The water is from the main sacred vase (*mūlakalaśa*) of the *gurumaṇḍalapūjā* and represents the water of the four oceans (*catuḥ-samudrajala*). The naked boy now stands under a provisional brass canopy erected for this

purpose, and the four *thakālīs* pour the water on him. This (Tantric) ritual element is also called *catuḥsāgara-abhiṣeka*, “washing with water of the four oceans”.

Back in the dressing room, the *nakhī* hands the boys the monastic ochre robes (Skt. *cīvara*) together with a small brocade bag (Nev. *jholā*). Directly after this, the mothers dress their children in a skirt, shirt and a shawl. The youngest monk even wears a Pampers nappy.

The main Vajrācārya priest who had performed the *gurumaṇḍalapūjā* now marks the head of the boys with a *svastika*. For this, he uses cotton strings dipped in turmeric paste. The boys also receive a thread with white cotton strips bound around their head.

Then the *nāyaḥ* hands over the ritual paraphernalia, especially the ascetic's staff (Skt. *khakkara*) and the begging bowl (Skt. *piṇḍapātra*), which were lying on a tray in front of the boy.

After a little while, the *yajamāna*, in this case the father of the eldest boy, marks the foreheads of all the boys with a black *tikā* made of the ashes from the *homa* fire.

This is followed by *siphā luyegu*, which is conducted by the main priest. He uses the *vajra* bell to pour popped rice, fruit pieces and flowers three times over the boys' heads. After this, a woman from the household blesses the boys with *svagā* on the right temple and a *tikā* on the forehead. She receives a piece of cloth and some money from each in return.

Meanwhile the *homa* fire has been rekindled and a triple deity called the Three Jewels, or Buddha, Saṃgha and Dharma, has been brought from the *āgāchē*. However, the focus of attraction is now a ritual element that is called *saptapadī*, “Seven Steps”. For this, a *svastika* with a curved line and seven marked spots has been drawn on the ground along the western front of the courtyard. The boys stand there with their mothers behind



and an honorific parasol (Skt. *chattrā*) above them. The boys put wooden chapals on their feet, and with the sceptre and the begging bowl in their hands, they execute the “Seven Steps”. It is believed that this commemorates the first seven steps of the Buddha after his birth. Meanwhile the main Vajrācārya priest pours water onto the diagram. At the end, the mother’s brother (*pāju*) welcomes the boy and leads or carries him into the main shrine of the monastery compound, where a statue of Buddha Śākyamuni is kept and where the caretaker, a Śākya, receives the children one by one. For the first time in their life, they are now allowed to worship and to circumambulate the statue.



Buddhist initiation, Bāre chuyegu, on 21<sup>st</sup> November 2006 at Ukubāhā in Patan.

*Left*  
Ritual welcoming (*lasakusa*) of the neophyte by the eldest woman (*nakhī*) of the Śākya community at the threshold of the secondary courtyard of the monastery.

*Right*  
Performance of the seven steps, *saptapadī*, believed to commemorate the first seven steps of the Buddha. The Vajrācārya priest pours water onto the diagrams marking the seven steps. The neophyte in a saffron robe and his head marked with svastika of turmeric paste, carries the sceptre and begging bowl. As the golden mark, *suvarṇatīlaka*, the svastika is regarded as one of the auspicious signs of the Buddha.

After a while, the concluding rites commence. First comes the *pūrṇāhūti* where all the ritual specialists throw grains into the fire to *mantras* spoken by the chief priest. Afterwards the priest gives a *tikā* to the *yajamāna* and receives *dakṣiṇā* in return. Both perform the *visarjana*, i.e. the release of the deities and the cleaning of the sacrificial place. Somebody is sent with a lump of cooked rice (*bali*) dedicated to Bhairava and a painting depicting the deity to the *pikhālākhu* stone in front of the monastery.

Finally, the boys, the main Vajrācārya priest, the ten eldest of the monastery, the caretaker of the temple, the barber and the musicians sit or stand in a row in order to re-

ceive *kisli* as well as rice and money from the women of the participating households. This is considered to be the first alms-giving (Skt. *bhikṣā*) activity by the new monks.

At the end of the day, all of the boys along with the ritual specialists and the umbrellas proceed to a few shrines nearby and join in a feast. Some are carried by their maternal uncles.

Three days later, they disrobe.

### Conclusion

Newar Buddhism has often been declared to be “Buddhism without monks” (Allen 1973) – a phrase that is appropriate if one considers monkhood as an ascetic stage of life, which Newars do not aspire to. Śākya and Vajrācāryas see themselves rather as “monks who have turned householders without really giving up their identity as monks” (von Rospatt 2005: 219). For them initiation means both a rite de passage and a new identity. Consequently, Bāre chuyegu has two parts: firstly all of the initiate's hair is cut off apart from the tuft (*cūḍākaraṇa*), then he is asked if he really wants to go forth (*pravrajyā*). The first part is adopted from the Hindu variant and only slightly transformed into a Buddhist ritual by addressing Buddhist deities and using Buddhist ritual objects. The second part is the act by which the initiate is cut off from Brahminical society. It is similar to Hindu, especially Daśanāmī ascetic practice where the tuft (and the sacred thread) is also cut before renouncing the world.

There are also several other Hindu ritual elements that have been transformed here into a Buddhist context. Thus, the offering of water from the four oceans replaces the ritual bath after the tonsure; the immediate disrobing could be seen as a parallel to the *samāvartana* or *deśāntara* part of Hindu initiation, which also condenses an ideally long period to a short moment. The “tonsure is ritualized as

in Brahminical practice” (von Rospatt 2005: 212), and that also holds true for the incorporation of the “Seven Steps”, and the tying of the girdle – all rituals that do not really make sense in a Vinaya-Buddhist context.

So in Bāre chuyegu the boy does not really become a monk, just as in the Vratibandha rituals of the Hindus the boy does not really become a Vedic student. If at all, through Bāre chuyegu the boy is transformed to the status of a married monk – even if the marriage only happens later. Despite the fact that the boy receives monastic paraphernalia such as a robe, alms bowl, water pot and staff, the Bāre chuyegu does not reveal any Vinaya context; the full ordination (*upasampadā*) is never performed, and the Bāre chuyegu itself transforms the initiate into a full member of the lineage responsible for death rituals, but not into the intermediary status of novice.

It must be concluded that the social implications of the initiation ritual are stronger than the scholastic and esoteric connotations structuring and accompanying the ritual. What is modelled after the initiation of the religious virtuosi is in fact the celebration of the social status of the initiate and his social and kinship group. In other words, what is called “becoming a *bāre* or monk” is in fact becoming a marriagable male adult.

As in all male initiation rituals, this celebration of sexual maturity is extremely important. The boys have to become temporarily chaste, symbolised by the ascetic loincloth, before being transformed into an adult, symbolised by the worldly clothes of the male adults, especially a cap (*ṭopi*), suit, and sometimes tie. However, the actual way in which the ritual is performed marks social differences. The boys do not become a member of a religious community or church, as in the Protestant confirmation or Catholic baptism; they become members of their social group that regards itself different from similar and neighbouring groups.



## The Girl's Hindu Marriage to the Bel Fruit: Ihi

Ihi is a ritual in which girls of certain Newar castes are married to the *bel* fruit or a deity called Suvarṇakumāra, who is mostly regarded as Viṣṇu or Buddha. The ritual is commonly denoted as a mock marriage, but we will argue that in fact it is more a kind of initiation ritual. In the following, we shall present general material on Ihi with regards to the placement of the ritual in time and space as well as to organisers, participants and ritual specialists, before turning to the description and analysis of a particular Ihi event that took place in December 2006. The Ihipūjāvidhi and Suvarṇakumāravivāhavidhi of Part III, texts that were used during the rituals described in the present volume, are the first Ihi manuscripts ever to have been edited and translated.<sup>19</sup>

### The Timing: Framing the Season

Like other life-cycle rituals, the Ihi marriage must be performed either within the first three months of the year from Vaiśākha to Āṣāḍha (14<sup>th</sup> April to 15<sup>th</sup> July) or in winter and spring (14<sup>th</sup> November to 15<sup>th</sup> December and 14<sup>th</sup> January to 13<sup>th</sup> March). In rare cases an auspicious date is also found in the month of Pauṣa (December/January). The season for Ihi usually starts on a day of the first month, the “Indestructible Third” (*akṣaya tṛtīyā*) of the bright half of the moon in April, the very day the mythic beginning of the Golden Age is remembered. It was on this day that the Gaṅgā waters descended from heaven and it was Śiva's hair that had distributed the waters. In a reference to this myth, the chariot of Matsyendranātha, the powerful rainmaker of Nepal, starts his ritual journey on this day in Patan – a lengthy journey on a chariot that should be completed by the onset of the rains. In Bhaktapur, this day assumes additional

significance because it heralds the beginning of the season for worshipping the ancestor deities (*dugudyahpūjā*).

The end of the season is equally strict. By mid March the full moon of the month of Phālguna, Holipunhi, marks the end of the period. Occasionally – as in 2004/2005 (V.S. 2061) the season was even more restricted and ended a month earlier with the Spring's Fifth (Basant- or Śrīpañcamī) of the bright half of the moon in the month of Māgha. In 2004, for example, the Indestructible Third fell on 22<sup>nd</sup> April while Śrīpañcamī fell on 13<sup>th</sup> February, thus limiting the period for the performance of Ihi to a mere 140 days. Apart from the Indestructible Third and the Spring's Fifth, the remaining ten days of that season that qualify for the performance of Ihi rituals fell exclusively in Mārgaśīrṣa/Maṅgśīr (November/December) and Māgha (January/February). While the initiation ritual for boys (*kayāpūjā*) is occasionally scheduled by the astrologers for the month of Caitra (March/April), neither the Ihi marriage, nor marriages or pre-menarche rituals (*bārḥā*) are performed in this month.

In 2003/2004 (V.S. 2060), a total of eleven days were considered auspicious for Ihi and fourteen days for the initiation of boys. In 2004/2005 (V.S. 2061) twelve days were auspicious for Ihi while the situation for the initiation of boys was somewhat dramatic. Apart from the four fixed dates (*akṣaya tṛtīyā*, *dasāīdaśamī*, *bibāhapañcamī*, *śrīpañcamī*), only three other days were designated by the astrologers. Many families underwent a lot of stress trying to find a suitable day in a dialogue with the astrologer. The problem of finding such a day becomes all the more pressing if the boy's or girl's birthday falls in Vaiśākha or Māgha, because initiation rituals have to be avoided in such months. In 2005/2006 (V.S. 2062) the ratio was twelve days for the Ihi rituals to thirteen days for the initiation of boys. Against these few days,

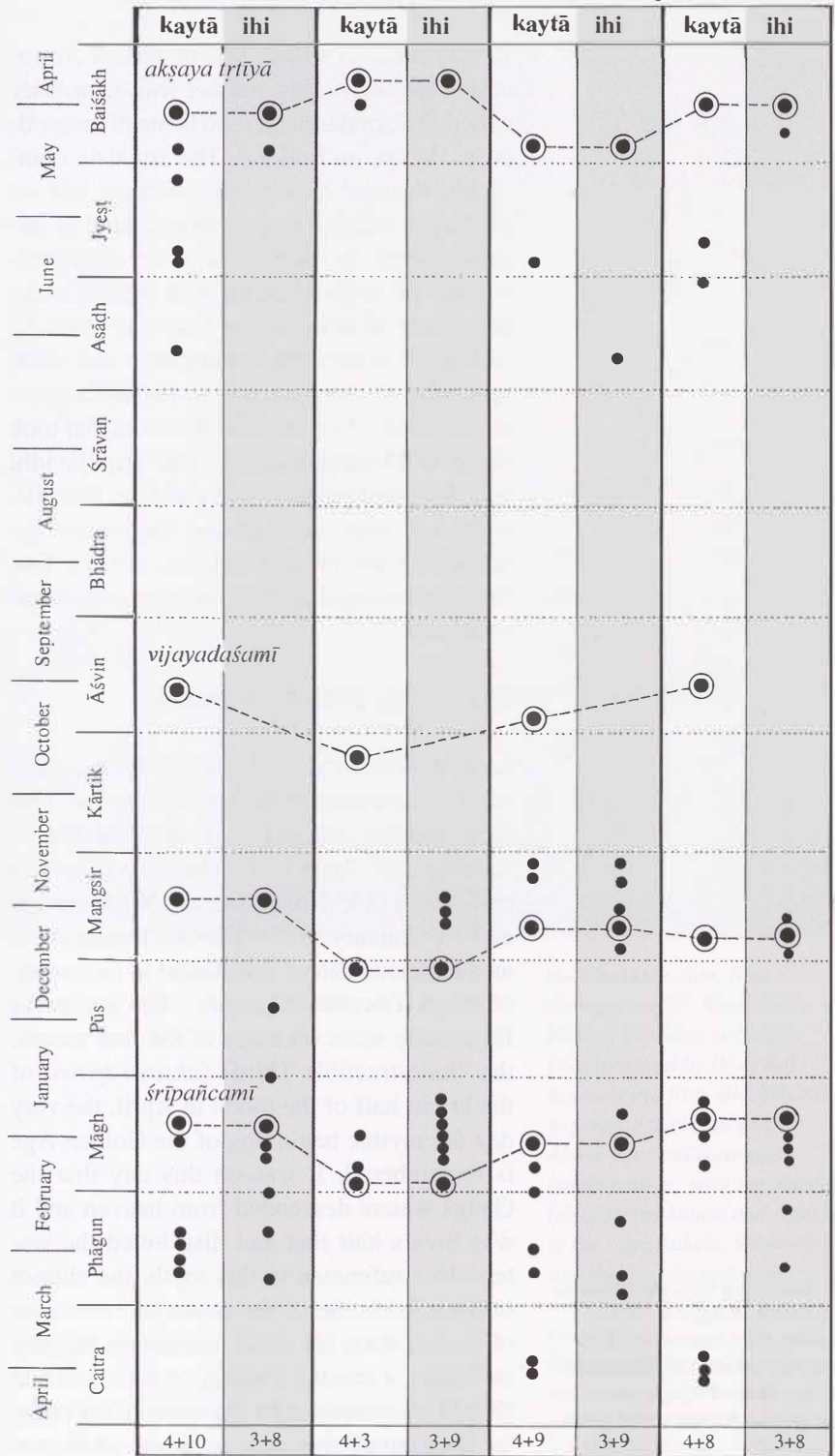
<sup>19</sup> According to an unpublished overview of approx. 58 Ihi manuscripts microfilmed for the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, the earliest such manuscript dates back to N.S. 724 (1605 A.D.).

the days designated by the regular calendar for marriage ceremonies were 45 days in 2004/2005 and 48 in 2005/2006. Moreover, in that season two days (29 Jyestha = 12<sup>th</sup> June and 26 Māgha = 8<sup>th</sup> February) were also designated for marriage as well as for the boys' initiation, while in the following year four such days occurred. Similar overlappings happen with Ihi. In 2005/2006, for example, of the designated twelve days for Ihi seven were also considered auspicious for marriages.

For economical and organisational reasons it is highly desirable to perform as many of those life-cycle rituals that are fixed according to the horoscope – i.e. the rice feeding ceremony (*annaprāsana*), Ihi, the boys' initiation (*kaytāpūjā*) and the marriage (*bibāha*) of sons, daughters and grand- and great-grandchildren within a single family – all on the same day. In rare cases the astrologer finds a way to reconcile the client's needs with the position of the planets. Sometimes, for one or even two of the initiates the prescriptions of the horoscope have to be stretched and liberally interpreted. Such was the case of Tulsi Bahadur Duval, a farmer from Itāchē in Bhaktapur, in December 2004. On 9<sup>th</sup> December his two grandsons received their loincloth (*kaytā*) at the auspicious time of 9.45 in the morning, while the formal “offering of the virgin” (*kanyādāna*) was enacted an hour later. Tulsi Bahadur acted as the organiser and principle worshipper, the *kāji* of the Ihi ritual. His granddaughter and sister of one of the two boys who were initiated had the privilege of presiding over the long row of Ihi girls as mistress (*nakhī*). The *nakhī* and four more girls who collectively were addressed as the “five virgins” (*pañcakanyā*) were positioned east of the sacred fire, while two long rows formed by the remaining 108 girls and their mothers (and later also their fathers) framed the wide lane in front of the organiser's house. On the following day,

**Kaytāpūjā and Ihi: designated auspicious days in the period of 2003-2007 AD**

BS 2060=2003/2004 BS 2061=2004/2005 BS 2062=2005/2006 BS 2063=2006/2007



*Days designated for the performance of Kaytāpūjā and Ihi from April 2003 to April 2007.*

*Two days in the year – Akṣaya tṛtīyā, the Indestructible Third and Śrīpāñcamī, the first day of spring, are freely chosen without consulting an astrologer.*

*Vijayadaśamī, the Victorious Tenth is reserved for Kaytāpūjā.*

*Kaytāpūjā is mostly performed in the month of Māgha, but also in Phālguna and occasionally in Jyeṣṭha.*

*The "season" for Ihi begins with the Indestructible Third in April/May and resumes after a gap of six months either the day after full moon in November (Kārtikpūrṇimā) or a month later. Most Ihi rituals are performed in the months of Māgha and Phālguna.*

Tulsi Bahadur's daughter married. The organiser and his two sons had to work hard to feed 900 guests. The Ihi girls also had to be fed two times and offered the obligatory vest with four knots (*putunā*). The costs exceeded two thousand euros, enough to buy more than twenty water buffalos.

In a similar case, the officiating Rājopādhyāya priest brought eight boys and eight girls together for the performance of initiation rituals on the platform of the Navayoginī temple in Kathmandu (see also p. 156). The initiation of the boys was performed on the preparatory day (*dusva*) of the Ihi ritual on the occasion of the Indestructible Third (*akṣaya tṛtīyā* = 30<sup>th</sup> April 2006), while the "Gift of the Virgin" (*kanyādāna*) was performed the following day.

A more complex case was also observed in November 2005. In the house of Divya Bajracharya at Nāpūkhū in Bhaktapur the old-age ritual (*jākva*) was performed for his ninety-four-years-old grandmother Pancamaya at the same time as his son was married. For one of his granddaughters the Ihi marriage was performed and for another granddaughter the rice feeding ceremony. Likewise, Bagat Bahadur Lava organised an Ihi ritual in Sano Byāsi on 6<sup>th</sup> December 2006 for three granddaughters, an initiation for two grandsons (*kaytāpūjā*) and a marriage (*hūkegu*) for one grandson, the decisive actions for all events being performed within a period of two hours.

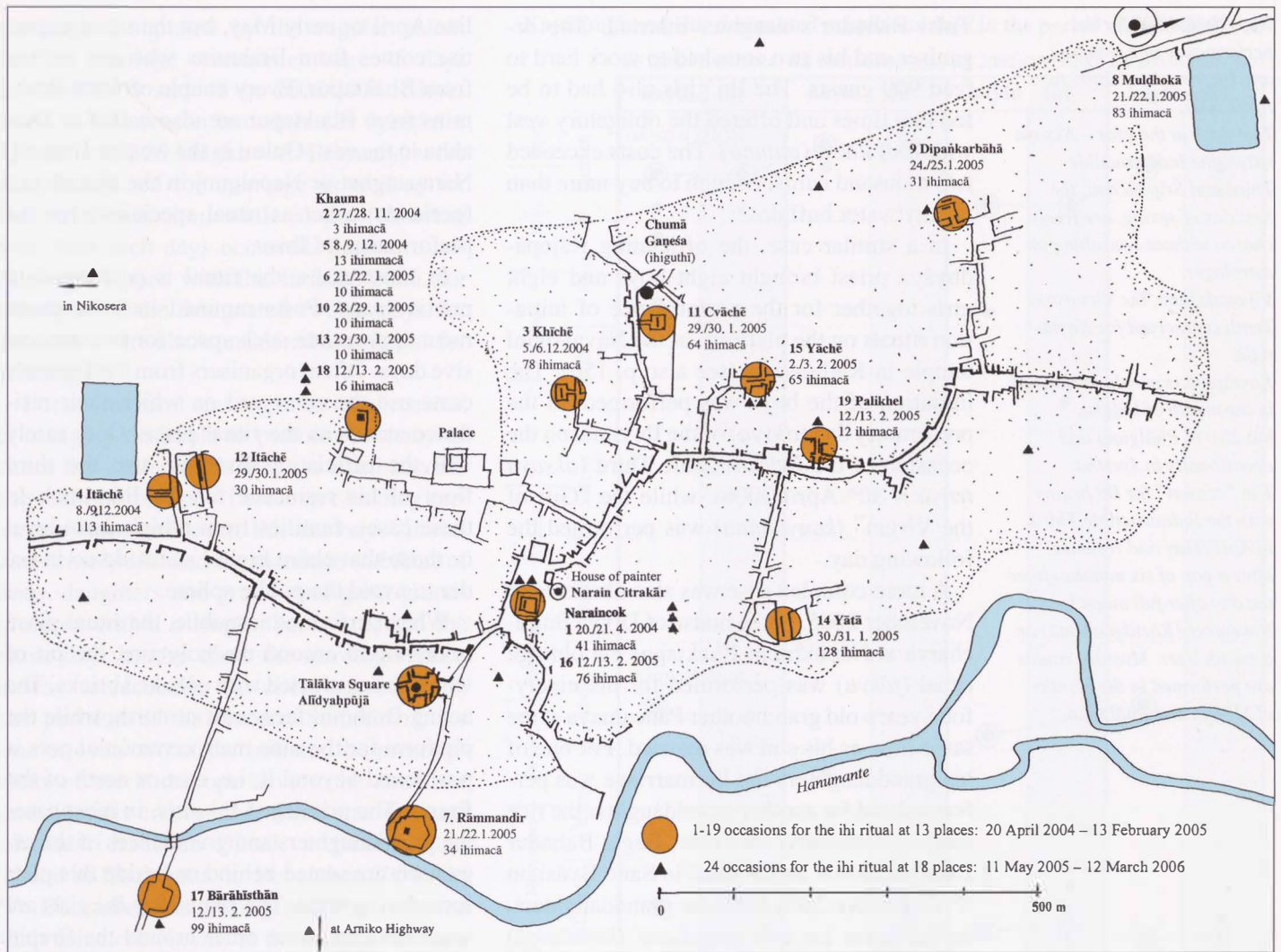
### The Ritual Places

Ihi rituals are chiefly performed in Bhaktapur, Kathmandu and Patan. Families from neighbouring towns and villages, from far-away districts of Nepal or from overseas are free to join in on any such occasion in these main cities, which stand for the urban culture of the Newars. In places like Thimi, Banepa and Panauti Ihi marriages are organised on the occasion of the Indestructible Third in

late April or early May, but the ritual expertise comes from Brahmins who are invited from Bhaktapur. Every couple of years Brahmins from Bhaktapur are also called to Dolakha in the east, Gulmi in the west or Birgunj, Narayanghat or Nepalgunj in the Himalayan footlands to act as ritual specialists for the performance of Ihi.

In most cases, the ritual is performed in public space. Posts rammed into the pavement appropriate such space for two successive days. Often, organisers from the farmer's caste use the courtyard on which their residence stands as the ritual place. Only rarely will the officiating Brahmin use the third floor of his residence for the Ihi ritual. In these cases, families from a high caste level or those that claim higher status do so in order to avoid the public sphere.

When performed in public, the ritual place is organised around the holy fire, the pit of which is constructed with unbaked bricks. The acting Brahmin faces east or north, while the platform for the nine main ceremonial pots is positioned beyond it, i.e. east or north of the firepit. The privileged Ihi girls, in most cases the granddaughters and grandnieces of the organiser, are seated behind or beside this platform facing west. The remaining Ihi girls are seated in clockwise order around the firepit. There is no obligatory scheme for the seating. According to the number of participating girls, they may either be placed in long rows when the site is in a narrow square or courtyard, such as at Yāchē (see the site plan), or arranged in a square around a centre, as for example at Naraincok. At the latter the pit for the fire and the platform for the nine ceremonial earthen pots are actually indicated in the pavement of the courtyard. At the Navayoginī temple in Kathmandu, the platform for the three copper vases has even been raised to form a kind of altar while the shape of the firepit has been cast in brass to allow a cursory fire that produces little waste that has to be cast into the river.



Place, date, organiser and number of initiates (ihimacā)

1 Naraincok, Taumādhi, 21/22 April, Vaidyaguthi, 41 girls; 2 Khaumā, 27/28 November, house of Mahendra Sharma, 3 girls; 3 Kichē, 5/6 December, Tirnalal Karmacharya, 82 girls; 4 Itāchē, 8/9 December, Tulsi Bahadur Duval, 113 ihimacā; 5 Khaumā, 8/9 December, house of Mahendra Sharma, 13 girls; 6 Khaumā, 21/22 January, house of Mahendra Sharma, 10 girls; 7 Rāmghā, 21/22 January, Tulsi Madhikarmi, 33 girls; 8 Mulḍhokā, 21/22 January, Punyaram Lavaju, 83 girls; 9 Paṣubāhā, Kvathāda, 24/25 January, 31 girls; 10 Khaumā, 28/29 January, house of Mahendra Sharma, 10 girls; 11 Cvāchē, 29/30 January, Premlal Thusa, 60 girls; 12 Itāchē,

29/30 January, Mohan Duval, 30 girls; 13 Khaumā, 29/30 January, house of Mahendra Sharma, 10 girls; 14 Yātā, Golmādhi, 30/31 January, Lakshmi Bhakta Tajale, 137 girls; 15 Yāchē, 2/3 February, Samaj Sewa Samiti, 65 girls; 16 Naraincok, Taumādhi, 12/13 February, Śrī Tilamādhava Nārāyaṇa Bhajan Maṅḍal, 76 girls; 17 Bārāhīsthān, 12/13 February, Bārāhī Pīth Bikas Samiti, 99 girls; 18 Khaumā, 12/13 February, house of Mahendra Sharma, 16 girls; 19 Palikhel, Golmādhi, 12/13 February, Tejbahadur Pailikhel, 12 girls.

Location of places for 19 Ihi rituals for 924 initiates (ihimacā) in 2004/05 (performed in 2061 VS, from akṣaya tṛtīyā, 22 April 2004 to Śrīpañcamī, 13 February 2005).

The Viśvakarma guthi of 11 Citrakār families perform the concluding pūjā at the shrine of Chumā Gaṇeśa. The Alīdyahpūjā is invariably performed on the square of Tālākva.



In Patan, a Buddhist school of ritual was recently initiated at Nyākhācuka, the Vajrācārya Pūjāvidhi Adhyayana Samiti, with the aim of maintaining Newar traditions. Posters advertised the Ihi ritual on 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> November 2006 weeks in advance. Girls from 46 Vajrācārya and Śākya families convened, together with one sole girl from a Rajkarnikār family. Similar to the practice of the associations recently founded in Bhaktapur, the principle worshipper was chosen from the school's teachers.

In the season 2004/2005 nineteen Ihi rituals were performed in Bhaktapur for 839 girls at thirteen places, of which only Bārāhīsthān, the square in front of the seat of the goddess Vārāhī is located outside of Kvapade, the extended territory of Bhaktapur. In the following season (V.S. 2062) the twenty-four Ihi rituals were performed at eighteen places, of which one was located at Nikosera, a small potters' settlement three kilometres west of Bhaktapur, and at the new settlement along the highway that has run past Bhaktapur since 1972. Six places were utilised for the ritual in both seasons. These were those six at which the organisation is always in the same hands: at Naraincok and at Palikhel since decades in fulfilment of a vow, at Yāchē and at Bārāhīsthān within the context of a recently registered society, and at Dipaṅkarbāhā as an institutionalised event put on by Bhaktapur's Buddhist community. In 2004/2005, six rituals were performed in Khaumā at the house of a Brahmin priest, Mahendra Sharma; in 2005/2006 only three such rituals were performed in the Brahmin's house. While in public or semi-public squares twelve to over 130 Ihi girls may be seated, only three to sixteen girls convened in Mahendra Sharma's house. In 2006/2007 (V.S. 2063) fourteen Ihi rituals were performed for 685 girls at ten places, albeit none of these in the Brahmin's house.

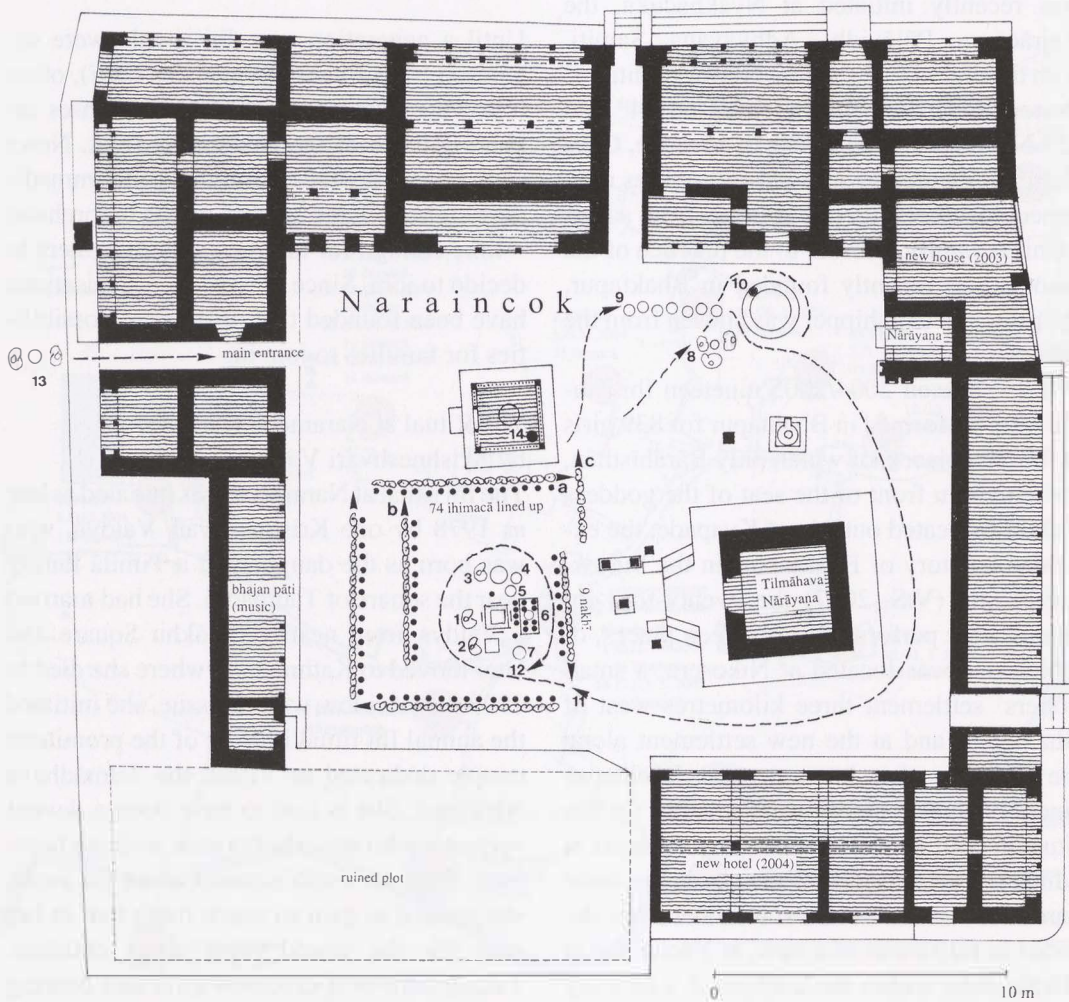
## Ihi Organisations

Until a generation ago, Ihi rituals were organised by individual organisers (*kāji*), often following a vow to bear all the expenses including those of the concluding feast. News of the event spreads throughout the immediate neighbourhood several weeks beforehand – time enough for families with daughters to decide to join. Since the 1970s, organisations have been founded that offer more possibilities for families to join in.

### The Ritual at Naraincok (initiated by Krishneshvari Vaidya)

The Ihi ritual at Naraincok was initiated as late as 1978 by one Krishneshvari Vaidya, who was born as the daughter of a Timilā family near the square of Taumādhī. She had married a Vaidya from nearby Bālākhu Square and later moved to Kathmandu, where she died in 1999. As a widow without issue, she initiated the annual Ihi ritual in front of the prominent temple dedicated to Viṣṇu, the Tilmādhava Nārāyaṇa. She is said to have been a devout *vaiṣṇava* who was always seen walking barefoot. With the establishment of an Ihi *guthī*, she wanted to gain so much merit that in her next life she would beget many children. Taking care of a group of girls and bearing the costs of the ritual turned them symbolically into her own children, if only temporarily. She established a *guthī* association with 25,000 rupees, and appointed fifteen members to take care of the annual performance. Her younger brother was the leading member, followed by the acting priest and his assistant priests, a Rājopādhyāya from Taumādhī, a Jośī from Lākulāchē, a Śivācārya from Vajrankhāl, and a Karmācārya from Taumādhī. The first Ihi ritual was performed in 1978 in Krishneshvari Vaidya's presence on the occasion of the Spring's Fifth (Śrī- or Basantpañcamī) in early February. At that time, her younger brother's daughter acted as the

## T a u m ā d h i S q u a r e



Ihi ritual on 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> February 2005 at Naraincok. The ritual place is prepared on the axis of the Tilmādhav Nārāyaṇa temple:

1 the Brahmin at the sacred fire, facing east, 2 the chief worshipper, performing *nāndikāśrāddha*, 3 the Śivācārya performing the *belpūjā*, 4 the Gaṇeśa pot, 5 the Alīdyah, 6 the *pūrṇakalaśa* (Brahmā) surrounded by the *aṣṭamaṅgala* pots, in front *yakṣa/yakṣiṇī*, Lakṣmī/Śrī and Nāgarāja, 8 the barber's wife paring nails, 9 a pot with *sarvakhau* for purification on the rim of a well, 10 performing the seven steps, 11 returning to the ritual place, 12 circumambulating the fire, 13 welcome ritual for the Alīdyah, 14 final place for the Alīdyah.

*mūnakhī*, the privileged Ihi girl who heads the row of girls.

Newar organisations in Bhaktapur often do not last long. The annual meetings are often dominated by debates about the correctness of the accounts and the rules of seniority and membership, and may well end up in quarrelling. The quarrels tend to intensify with the amount of alcohol consumed. They rarely lead to a consensus, but rather to the decision to adjourn the debate to the following year. In the case of the Ihi *guthī* initiated by Krishneshvari Vaidya, her brother who acted in her place already faced a crisis in the third

year. He wanted to reserve the right to appoint the principle worshipper and his wife who perform the preceding death ritual, roles normally reserved for the eldest male (*nāyaha*) of the lineage and his wife (*nakhī*). The local community, however, demanded that this couple should be selected from among themselves. As the donor family outrightly rejected the proposal, the association split. The original donor family started to call in Mahendra Sharma from Khaumā to officiate as priest and appointed a potter from Tālākva as helper (*mhaynāyaha*) together with a barber. Finally, the association of painters (Citrakār)

was invited to join. In 1995, a new conflict arose when the painters did not receive their regular share. However, since the Ihi *guthī* of the painters monopolises the supply of painted earthenware necessitated by the ritual, the organisers promised to abide by the rules. The ritual was subsequently shifted to the Indestructible Third of the bright half of the moon in early May. In 2004, forty-one Ihi girls participated in the ritual, in 2005 there were only 33 girls and in 2006 the ritual was cancelled.

The original deposit had vanished by 2004. In the following year, fees were collected to meet the expenses for the ritual specialists and the painters. For the first day each girl had to pay fifty rupees and ten rupees for the services of the female barber. On the second day, the girls had to pay 100 rupees. The ten privileged girls, called *nakhī*, paid twice the amount. Moreover, each girl had to offer twenty *mana* (c. ten kg) of rice. The entire income was divided into nine shares. The first eight shares went to the Brahmin priest, his wife, the Jośi (astrologer), the Karmācārya (Tantric priest), the Śivācārya, the painter's association, the helper (*mhaynāyah*) and the barber. The final share went to the association.

#### The Ritual at Naraincok (organised by Bhajan Maṇḍal)

An association established in 1980 centres around the music group of the locality that goes under the name Śrī Tilmādhav Nārāyaṇ Bhajan Maṇḍal. The ritual is performed annually on the Spring's Fifth in early February. In 2004, 76 girls joined the ritual, in 2005 there were 85 girls and in 2007 there were 72. While in 2003 only 100 rupees were charged, the fee rose in 2005 to 150 rupees. In addition, sixteen *mana* (c. eight kg) of rice had to be offered. A substantial income of 8,400 rupees was raised from the fee the nine privileged girls had to pay – ranging from

the privileged *mūnakhī* who paid 2000 to the ninth girl who paid 400 rupees. In 2007, the rates were the same. The income was divided into nine shares of which two went to the organisers.

#### The Ritual at Bārāhīsthān

A third Ihi *guthī* was established in 1997 by Ratna Gopal Sainju from the quarter of Nāsaḥmāna, who mobilised quite a number of people from the western quarters of Bhaktapur – Nhesaḥtvāḥ, literally “the 700 quarters”. Ratna Gopal calls himself a “social servant” (*samāj sevā*), who established the Bārāhī Pīṭh Vikās Samiti, the “Committee for the Development of the Area (around the) Seat of Vārāhī”. The guiding wish was to reduce the burden of expenses incurred by life-cycle rituals. At the same time, the committee takes care of the seat of the goddess, rents utensils needed to perform sacrifices, and provides shelter (*dharmasālā*) for those attending the ensuing feast. A pamphlet dated November 1999 justifies the establishment of the committee and presents the accounts. It says that the collective ritual is performed annually on the occasion of Spring's Fifth (Śrī Pañcamī) in early February in order “to stop the discontinuation of an ancestral tradition, to enact these rituals according to tradition but in harmony with modern times, to avoid unnecessary expenditures for such a ritual act, and to initiate social reforms.” The document states that the initiation was performed in 1998 for 126 girls and for sixteen boys. Donations were received and spent for its performance, and the remaining amount of 22,476 rupees (at that time some 300 euros) deposited in a bank. The minutes of the meeting in the following year state that the ritual was performed for 85 girls and 25 boys in the presence of the priest (*purohita*), the astrologer (Jośi), the ritual expert who consecrates the *bel* fruits (Śivācārya), the painter (Citrakār), the barber (Nāpit) and the helper

of the priest and his wife, *mhaynāyaḥ* and *nakhī*. The document again stresses the need to keep up traditions, to avoid unnecessary feasts in view of increasing prices, and to perform lifecycle rituals in an economical way. A mass meeting was held on the occasion of which a number of officials of His Majesty's Government stressed the need for the continuation of the Ihi and Vratibandha rites. The document lists nineteen persons who donated the sacrificial goat, rice, vegetables, yoghurt, milk and sweets (Nep. *jeri*, *haluvā*, *lāmohan*, *roṭ*, *khajuri*, *peḍā*, *guḍapāk*, *besanako laḍḍu*) and 90 persons who made cash donations. The largest sum came from a brickmaker in Degamana, who gave 5,025 rupees. For the following season in the year 2000, a document states that the ritual was performed for 85 girls and 25 boys. Donations came from 109 persons, the balance at the bank rose to 75,000 rupees.

The ultimate aim of the committee is to accumulate enough money to meet all the expenses for the entire ritual solely from the interest on the deposit. In 2005, every girl or boy had only to pay 110 rupees (little more than one euro), of which ten rupees went to the committee's expenditures. The fee included the payment of the barber's wife who pares the girls' and boys' toenails, but not the five rupees that every girl hands over to the painter who prepares and hands out the block print that she fixes to her forehead. The sacrificial goat for the boy's initiation would cost the family some 5,000 rupees (60 euros), a heavy burden for people who rarely earn that much in a month. The goat for the collective ritual at the seat of Vārāhī is normally donated.

On 12<sup>th</sup> February 2005, 99 girls and 50 boys participated in the ritual. Along with the contribution in cash, every girl had to bring two to three kilograms of sweets, four *pāthi* (corresponding 4.36 l) of rice, and 50 to 60 coins that are needed as donations (*dakṣinā*)

to the priest. Weeks in advance a banner advertised the "simple and economical" performance of the Ihi marriage (*belbibāha*) and the boy's initiation (*vratibandha*), organised by the Bārāhī Pīṭh Bikās Samiti. In the early morning of the first day (*dusva*), an even longer list documented donations in cash and kind. A considerable income was once again secured from the nine privileged girls, whose parents had to pay between 2,500 rupees for the first seat (*mūnakhī*) and 110 for the ninth seat. The Committee covers the entire costs for one or two girls from a poor background. The income from the Ihi girls is divided into nine shares, of which seven shares are divided between the Brahmin priest and his wife, the three assistant priests (Jośi, Karmācārya, Śivācārya), the barber, the Brahmin's helpers (the *mhaynāyaḥ* and his wife, the *mhaynakhī*), and the associations of painters.

The person behind these activities at Bārāhī Pīṭh, Ratna Gopal Sainju, says that the aim of his first initiative in 1997 was to bring a number of couples together for a group marriage. The couples agreed but complaints from the parents caused him to give up. Similarly, he also did not succeed in organising a collective old age ritual (*jākva*). Collective Ihi rituals seem to have been performed for many generations if not for centuries.

It is different with the collective boys' initiation. A barber from Bhaktapur tells stories of collective initiations at Paśupatināth and at the village Bāgeśvarī (east of Bhaktapur), with over 70 boys participating. Returning to Bhaktapur, the boys were – with reference to the sacred fire, which is unusual for the initiation of boys in a Newar context – teased as "*kotihom*, *kotihom*" (thus referring to the sacred fire entertained on that occasion) and eventually the initiation had to be performed again in the parental house under the direction and with the support of the lineage members.

Ratna Gopal presented another story in some way to justify his initiative. Often told,

this story could rise to the status of a legend. The story goes, “once (upon a time) a boy met the mayor of Bhaktapur in search of a job. While enquiring into the boy’s background, the mayor realised that since the boy was an orphan he needed money to have his initiation performed.” Ratna Gopal points to the fact that due to a lack of funds, boys are often initiated not before but after puberty, even at the age of eighteen. Despite all efforts, the organiser did not succeed in persuading families to have their boys take part in a collective initiation. Thus, on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2007, 111 girls participated in the event, but no boys.

#### The Ritual at Palikhel

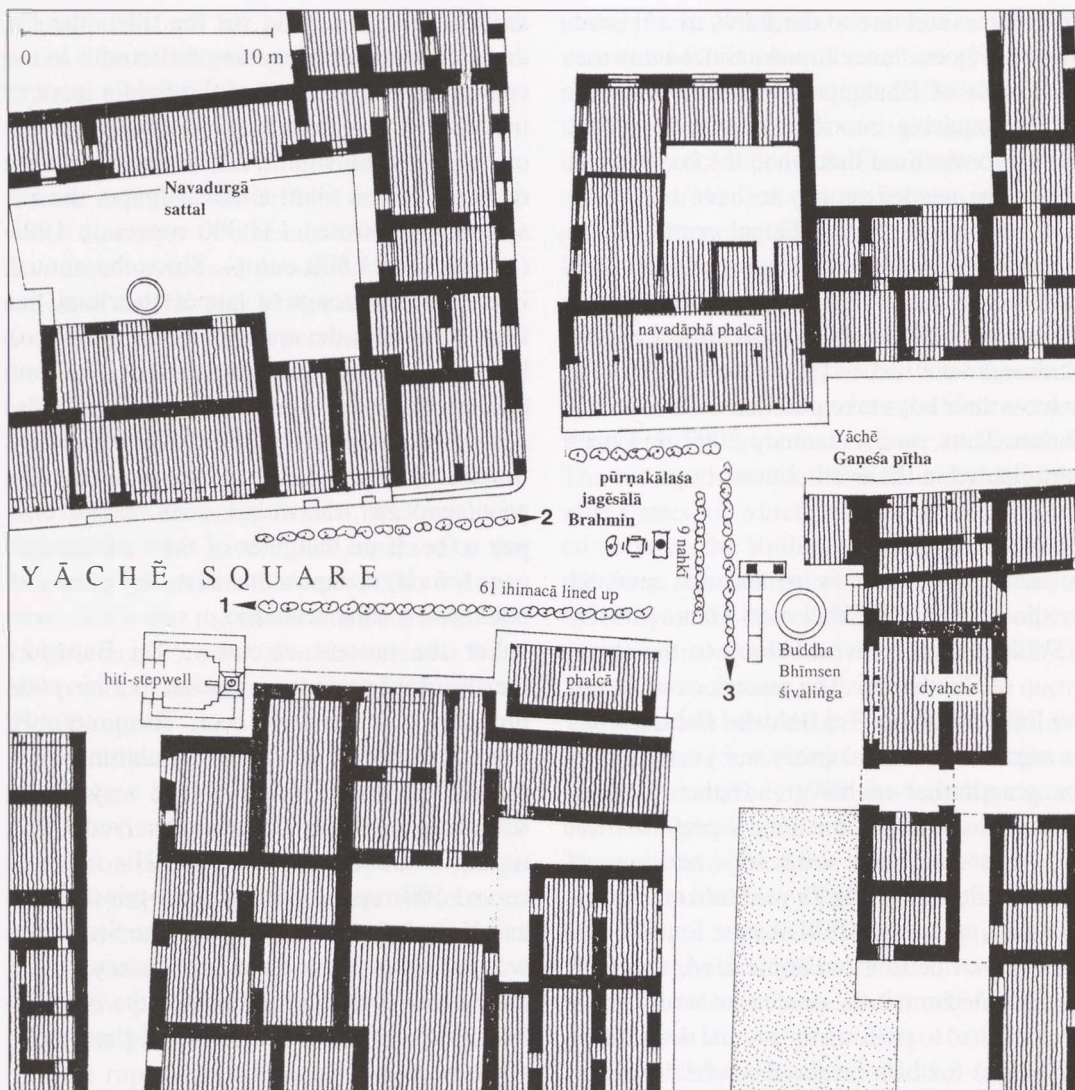
A fourth Ihi *guthī* is performed annually in the area of Palikhel and Gvamādhī by a Palikhel family, who belong to the status group of Chatharīya. The present caretaker of the Ihi association, Tej Bahadur Palikhel, has to organise the ritual every ten years. It was the grandfather of his grandfather, Dhanca Thaku who initiated the annual performance. This must have been some 150 years ago, as Tej Bahadur is already 71 years old and his father died at the age of 98. As the founder had no children he donated some land, and with the income from it the descendants of his two brothers had to perform the annual death ritual (*śrāddha*) for him on the day of *kijāpūjā* in November (the second day of the New Year according to Nepāl Saṃvat), which is dedicated to the worship of brothers. In addition, the descendants had to finance an annual Ihi ritual on the Spring’s Fifth in early February (*Śrīpañcamī*). The founder also built a well on the square behind his house and two shelter structures (*sattal* and *pāñī*) at Kamalbināyak, one of the important non-iconic shrines dedicated to Gaṇeśa. One of Dhanca’s brothers had four descendants, the other eight. Thus the caretakership between the two branches of the family for the ritual rotates on a ratio of one to two. Since the land reform of 1962

secured half of a field for the tiller, the Ihi association faced increasing difficulties in receiving the second half of the field’s income in kind, because there was no adequate proof of the inherited rights. After years of quarrelling with the tiller, a Duvāl-Jyāpu, the association deposited 134,000 rupees in 1993 (at that time 1,500 euros). Since the annual interest is not enough to support the ritual, the feast following the ancestor ritual (*śrāddha*) has been cancelled to save money. The annual caretaker has to meet the missing funds. A special feature of the Ihi ritual organised by the family from Palikhel is the fact the only privileged girl, the *nakhī*, does not have to pay a fee. If no daughter of the Palikhel lineage (*phukī*) occupies that seat, any other girl could ask for the privilege.

For the present caretaker, Tej Bahadur, the Ihi ritual presents a burden that his sons probably will refuse to bear. To quote only one example: in 1988, the Brahmin priest received a reward (*dakṣiṇā*) of a symbolic seventeen paisa; in 2006, he received 1,000 rupees without being satisfied. His wife received 500 rupees, the assistant priests (Jośī and Karmācārya) 500 each. As the Śivācārya was not invited in order to save money, it was the Karmācārya who performed the *belpūjā*, the consecration of the fruits of the wood-apple tree.

However, Tej Bahadur is also proud of the fact that in the past decades the Ihi ritual at Palikhel was a famous event to which girls came from as far as Barabise and Kakani participated. However, in February 2005, only eleven girls participated: besides a Jośī girl (the *mūnakhī*) there was the Karmācārya daughter of the priest, four more girls of Pañthariya status, four Jyāpu girls (Sulu from Lakilagaon near Jaukhel) and a dyer’s daughter (Rañjītkār).

In February 2005 the ritual faced a small crisis that could eventually be solved by re-locating the place for its performance to the



Ihi ritual on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2005 on the square of Yāchē, one of those squares that define the centre of an urban quarter, with the non-ionic shrine (pīṭha) of Gaṇeśa and the adjoining god-house as the principal religious infrastructure. Since 2004 the Samaj Sewa Samiti, a social service committee organises the event, in which 61 girls have taken part. The Brahmin maintains the sacred fire facing east, while the nine principal girls, the nava nakhī behind the pūrnakalaśa face west. The remaining girls are lined up in four groups along the borders of the square.

courtyard of a nearby former Buddhist monastery (*bāhā*). The caretaker's mother had died fifteen days before and, since he had had the *latyā* ritual performed, he was no longer polluted (*dumha*). The relocation of the place was nonetheless necessary to keep a distance to the place where death had occurred. In January 2007, the ritual returned to the monastery courtyard, with 28 girls participating.

#### The Ritual at Yāchē

A fifth Ihi ritual has been performed every year since February 1994 at Yāchē Square.

The organiser, the Samāj Sevā Samiti, brought together 34 founding members from the quarter of Yāchē. Among these were ten members from sub-castes of Pañcthariya (like Jośi, Piya, Mul, Saīju etc.), eight farmers (Jyāpu), eight barbers (Napit), two carpenters (Śilpakār), two dyers (Rañjtkār), and one blacksmith (Nakarmi). The only painter (Citrakār) is Purna, who lives in the nearby Dyaḥsattal, a house in which one wing is reserved for making the masks of the Navadurgā. In contrast to the committees at Bārāhīsthān and at Narañcok, the Samāj Sevā Samiti has no Brahmin

priest as a member, although the performing priest is always called in from the neighbouring Lalāchē Square.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> of February 2005, a total of 61 Ihi girls convened on the square, of which nine obtained the privileged role as *nakhī*: two Śreṣṭha, one Nakarmi (blacksmith), one Śilpakār (carpenter), one Rañjītkār (dyer) and four Jyāpu (farmer). The sequence demonstrates that traditional caste barriers do not exist in such a ritual, at least not among farmers and occupational castes. In Bhaktapur, the designation Śreṣṭha does not indicate a superior status because it is a name that is adopted to veil an intercaste marriage. The sequence of girls from the families of a blacksmith, a carpenter and a dyer is easily concluded by four daughters from farmers' families. Among the Ihi girls there was even the daughter of a Vajrācārya, the community of Buddhist priests. For unknown reasons she obviously missed the annual Ihi ritual performed exclusively for the Buddhist community. Her presence demonstrated that the ritual has neither a Buddhist nor a Hindu core. It is a life-cycle ritual that enables the girls to cross a decisive threshold to enter into the father's lineage – a community to which she belongs until her marriage with a human groom.

On the second day of the Ihi ritual, photographs of the first day documenting the tying of the yellow *kumaḥkāḥ* thread were exhibited on the wall of a neighbouring house, together with a list of donors. An advertisement in a nearby shop invited all of the participants to order a VCD that documents all the stages of the ritual.

#### Individual Organisers and Participants

Most families try to have two or three daughters join the same ritual. It is said that the horoscopes must match but there are obviously very few restrictions. Economical con-

siderations, not the age of the girls inform the planning of the event. The ritual cannot, for example, be performed in the month the girl is born. For families in Dhulikhel or Panauti whose daughters are born in the month of Baiśākh (mid April to mid May) this may cause additional difficulties, because the only available date for the performance of the ritual in these villages is the Indestructible Third, which always falls in Baiśākh. They will have to join an Ihi ritual in Bhaktapur. In Thimi, the annual Ihi ritual in a Hindu context is performed on Spring's Fifth in the month of Māgh (mid January to mid February), in a Buddhist context it is performed only every two to three years.

The astrologer of the family concerned knows well in advance where an Ihi ritual will be performed in the forthcoming season from November until February. There is a certain choice: one might, for instance, prefer to join a place in the near neighbourhood or the intimate companionship offered by a Rājopādhyāya Brahmin priest from Khaumā, who organises the ritual in his house with three (as for example on 28<sup>th</sup> November 2004 and 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2006) to sixteen participants (on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2005). In the season 2004/2005 six such occasions occurred, in 2005/2006 only three and in 2006/2007 none. Often, families of Chatharīya and Pañctharīya status and in particular Śreṣṭhas, whose children's status as offspring of an intercaste marriage remains ambiguous, prefer the privacy of the Brahmin's house. The Brahmin arranges everything, pays the painters and the assistant priests directly and charges his clients a lump sum. He does not invite the Śivācārya to consecrate the *bel* fruits with the simple excuse that the Śivācārya is a thief.

Besides the Brahmin in Khaumā, the Vajrācārya at Dipaṅkarbāhā and the organisations at Naraincok, Bārāhīsthān, Palikhel and Yāchē, there were seven rituals in 2004/2005 that were organised by individuals, fourteen

in 2005/2006 and nine in 2006/2007. In such cases the organiser bears the basic costs, while the participating girls pay the barber's wife, the painter, the Brahmin and his wife and the assistant priests directly in cash and in kind – a mixture of husked and unhusked rice, fruits and sweets. No more than 1,000 rupees (c. ten euros) had to be borne by the family of the girl, to which came only the cost of the marriage sari, the gift of new clothes and the feast offered to those who had fed the girl on the days preceding the ritual.

The organiser calls the barber couple with whom he has a hereditary client relationship. Both are needed for purificatory performances. He also calls his family priest, who not only brings his wife along, but in the case of many participants also his brother, son, or nephew. It is his duty to call in the assistant priests – the Jośi and the Karmācārya or Jyāpu Ācārya – who usually cooperate with him in Ihi rituals.

The granddaughter of the individual organiser will inevitably occupy the place of the most privileged girl, the *mūnakhī*. Four or eight girls, who are more privileged, will be found sitting at the top of the row or even forming a separate row (see the site plans for Yāchē and Naraincok). No class distinctions could be observed in the 2004/2005 season. However, if the organiser is a farmer no family of higher status would join the ritual. The ritual organised in December 2006 in Sano Byāsi by a Jyāpu prompted only a few girls of carpenter status to join in, and on the second day five Gāthā girls joined. Of ten rituals for which a detailed survey of the participants' family background was undertaken, the daughters of those families that are considered to be high status (Chathariya and Pañthariya) mixed easily with the daughters of blacksmiths, barbers, potters, brickmakers and carpenters. The farmers (Jyāpu), who represent the majority of the city's population, dominate the majority of rituals, consti-

tuting up to 84 percent of the participants (as at Yātā on 30<sup>th</sup>/31<sup>st</sup> January 2005).

Of the 74 girls who convened at Naraincok on 22<sup>nd</sup>/23<sup>rd</sup> January 2007, eight girls were of Chathariya status while 29 registered under the name of Śreṣṭha. Exceptional was the participation of the daughter of a Buddhist Śākya family, which would usually belong to the goldsmiths community. As an offspring of an interethnic marriage, the girl retained her father's name but her participation in the Buddhist Ihi ritual was obviously rejected by the officiating priest.

#### The Making of the Marriage Sari (*ihiparasi*)

A few days before or during the period of feeding the Ihi girls (*ihimacā nakegu*), the special sari for the girls, the *ihiparasi*, is woven by a relative. The woman weaving the sari should do so in one go in the early morning, without stopping. She should also fast during the process, i.e. she is not allowed any food before she has finished the task.

Since weaving has largely been given up as a result of imported readymade clothes, nowadays women only produce the *ihiparasi* in response to an order from those few shops which sell the saris. One of these women is the wife of a carpenter, Satya Maya Shilpakar in Bharbacva, who weaves *ihiparasi* for a shop in Nāsaḥmana. During the season of 2006/2007 she made 150 *ihiparasi* for the shop and 40 as personal orders. The shop gives her twenty rupees per piece, for ordered ones she charges 100 rupees, which also covers the expenses for the material. To complete one sari, she works from 5:30 to 8:50 in the morning, i.e. more than three hours. The *ihiparasi* is 305 centimetres long, which is *sāt hāt* (seven ells). The five black lines with red stripes on both sides represent *pañcadyaḥ*, five deities, whose names cannot be named. It is probably the *pañcāyatana* configuration Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa and Durgā, with



**समाज सेवा समिति**  
याँचे-५, खवप  
समुह 'क'  
नं. ५०

**ईहि मुनाज्या: गवसामि**

इहि मचा या ना: .....

ने.सं. ११२५ पोहेतागा, बल्टमी - नवमी  
खि.सं. २०६१ माघ २०-२१

शिवराम पिया  
ईहि मुनाज्याया बाय  
क्र.नां. ६

**गवसाखल: पाखे वियगु सामान**

१) सतापा -१  
२) सापाख्वा -१  
३) वेल -१  
४) मिमीचा -१

**इहिमचा पाखे हेयमागु सामान**

१) सर्वाँळी  
२) कुसुम वन्दन  
३) दुसोका खे हानेगु सामान  
४) चि, पालु, चाकु, मिकली, आखे, गोगुवें  
जेलात्तपे, सुजफो, मलेफो, ताय, सङ्गा,  
५) वाकिजाकि  
६) काचिगु ला आधा पात

नोत: बी जुपिस कन्यादान फेयत तपुली  
पुयो भायत इनाप यड च्वना

गवसाखल

Ihi ritual at Yāchē,  
7<sup>th</sup> February 2005,  
ticket for participation.

samāja sevā samiti  
yāchēṃ-5, khvapa  
samuha 'ka'  
naṃ 50  
ihim munājyāḥ gvasāmi -  
ihim macā yā nām: .....  
ne. saṃ. 1125 pohelāgā, aṣṭamī - navamī  
bi. saṃ. 2061 māgha 20-21

śivarāma piyā  
ihi munājyāyā nāya  
samāja sevā samiti

gvasākhalah pākheṃ viyagu sāmāna

1) salāpā -1  
2) sāpākhvā -1  
3) vela -1  
4) mimicā -1

ihimmacā pākheṃ heymāgu sāmāna

1) sarvokhau  
2) kusuma candana  
3) dusokā khe hānegu sāmāna  
4) ci, pālu, cāku, mikusī, ākhe, gogugvē,  
jēlālapte, sujapho, malepho, tāy, sāngā,  
5) vākijāki  
6) khāciḡu lā ādhā pāu

notā: bau jupisaṃ kanyādāna pheyta  
tapulī puyō jhāyta ināpa yaṇa cvanā  
gvasākhalah

one black line defining the centre (representing Śiva), and with lines on either side at a distance of 77 centimetres and two at the ends at a spacing of 72 centimetres.

### Acquiring Ritual Items

Once a proper group and place has been identified by the girl's family, the organiser, called the *kāji* or *gvasa khalah*, responsible for the enactment of the ritual hands out a list of items required to ensure the ritual runs

Translation:  
Social Service Committee  
Yāchē - 5, Bhaktapur  
Group 'A', No. 50  
Volunteer Group for Managing Ihi  
Name of Ihi girl: ... ..  
(On the 8-<sup>th</sup> day of Pohelāgā, NS 1125 (or)  
20-21<sup>st</sup> day of Māgha, VS 2061  
Sivarāma Piyā,  
Head of the Ihi Organising  
Social Service Committee

(verso)  
Materials which are supplied by the Managing  
Committee:

- 1 salāpā (earthen plate) -1  
2 sāpākhvā (block print) -1  
3 bel fruit -1  
4 mimicā (bamboo plate) -1

Material which should be brought by the Ihi girls:  
1 sarvakhau (pulverized oil cake for purification)  
2 flowers, sandal wood paste;  
3 materials to be knotted to the dusokā thread;  
4 salt, ginger, raw sugar, mikusī stick (jamāne  
māndro), unbroken husked rice, betel-nut (gogugvē),  
a large leaf used to serve cooked rice at a feast  
(jēlālapte), *Cardiospermum halicacabum* (sujapho),  
an unidentified fruit (malepho), popped rice (tāy),  
dried fish (sāngā)  
5 mixed husked and unhusked rice (vākijāki)  
6 200 gm of raw meat (kāciḡu lā)

Note: We request the fathers who are offering their daughters as a gift (kanyādāna) to wear a (Nepali) cap. Managing Committee.

smoothly. In Kathmandu, the acting Brahmin priest is often also the organiser. As such he provides the necessary items, of which he keeps a substantial stock. In Bhaktapur, however, the organisers even issue orders regarding the etiquette: the numbered ticket (see illustration), which gives the name of the girl, asks the accompanying father to wear a cap on the occasion of the "Gift of the Virgin" (*kanyādāna*). A good example of this kind of organisation is presented by the committee (Samāj Sevā Samiti) of the quarter of Yāchē,

where the Ihi marriage was performed on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2005 (the ticket mentions the lunar days as *aṣṭamī* and *navamī* of the month of Pohelā in the year Nepāl Saṃvat 1125, and as days the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> of the month of Māgha in the year Bikram Saṃvat 2061). The ticket lists the four items which the organiser will provide: the earthen bowl (*salāpā*), the block print which is fixed to the girl's forehead (*sapākhvaḥ*) – both being supplied by the painter who for that season is the caretaker of the organisation of painters – the *bel* fruit and the small circular trays (*mimicā*) which are woven by a butcher from bamboo or reed. Six more items and groups of items are listed which the Ihi girl should bring along. These are crushed oilcake for purification, sandalwood paste, the yellow thread, and eleven food items: salt, ginger, raw sugar, sticks from the *mikusī* plant, ritual rice, five betel-nuts, two mysterious fruits (*sujaphva* and *malephva*) which are never used in the domestic context, popped rice and dried fish (*sāgā*), and husked and unhusked rice (*vākijāki*).

The woven tray is needed for the first day, when it is handed over with offerings to the barber's wife after the purifying act of paring the girl's toenails. Half a *pau* (100 g) of raw buffalo meat (*kāciḡu lā*) is the required offering to her.

The earthen bowl is handed over on the second day, the Citrakār or the organiser hands out the block print for an offering in cash, while the Śivācārya – or in his absence the Jośi or the helper – hands out the *bel* fruit after a collective consecration of all *bel* fruits by the Śivācārya.

About a week before the event, the organiser will inform the potter and the painter how many *salāpā* bowls will be needed beside the obligatory Gaṇeśa pot, which has to be painted in advance in order to be available in the early morning of the preparatory day. All other pots will be carried to the house of

the organiser to be painted on the spot by representatives of the eleven member families of the Ihi *guthī*.

### Painting the Ritual Pots

In the evening of *duśva*, the first day of the Ihi ritual, the potter has to bring fifteen pots to the organiser's house where they are to be painted by the Citrakār. Moreover, every family attending with their Ihi girls has to bring an earthen bowl called *salāpā*, which can be bought at any time in a shop specializing in ritual pots, cups and baskets – products of Kumāḥ (potters) and Pvaḥ (sweepers). In many cases, the organiser supplies the earthen bowl.

### The Citrakār of Bhaktapur

Each extended family of Citrakār has to deputise one member to participate in the collective exercise. In the season of 2005/2006, eleven painters turned up to perform what is their duty, because already in the 1960s the city's community of painters, the *de*guthī, (Nev. *de* = the place of origin, also "country", "city" or "territory" as in Kvapade) decided to form an Ihi *guthī*, to which all families are tied. This community of 16 painter-families convenes once a year for a collective ritual at Sūrjabināyak, a non-iconic shrine dedicated to Gaṇeśa as guardian (*vināyaka*) and located south of Bhaktapur. Those who do not fulfill their duty have to pay a fine that is increased every year – money that is added to the income of the *guthī*, which is divided up equally at the end of the ritual season six days after full moon in March (Holipunhi).

In contrast to the rather strict organisation of the painters' community in Bhaktapur, the scene is quite different in Kathmandu and Patan. There it is the organiser who orders the painted pots and bowls from a Citrakār of his choice. Very few Citrakār from Maśangalli in Kathmandu still supply the necessary *salāpā*

bowls or the pots according to requirements. More often, the organiser buys *salāpā* bowls and in many cases a simple painting is pasted onto the bowl as a substitute for the work of the Citrakārs (see illustration). The acting priest keeps a stock of such objects, which the Citrakārs call “fake” and he readily supplies the Ihi girls with simple paintings of a bell to substitute the *sapākhvaḥ*, the blockprints that have to be tied to the girls' foreheads. The Citrakārs of Patan still hold command over their traditional trade, but often the earthen bowl is substituted by a brass plate, on which a version of the *svastika* is painted.

#### The Sketchbooks of the Citrakārs

Every Citrakār family owns a variety of sketchbooks (also called model books or notebooks), which have been handed down through the centuries and are regarded as treasures. Ever since Brian Houghton Hodgson began collecting manuscripts in the 1840s, these sketchbooks came to be regarded as objects of art and with that sold. Scattered across collections and museums all over the world, we find examples of these books (cf. Blom 1988) that guided the painters and sculptors as well as carpenters on iconographical matters. The earliest dated copy is ascribed to one Jivarama and probably made for a Kagyu client in Tibet in 1435<sup>20</sup>. Other model books from the Jucker Collection or the Los Angeles County Museum of Art are dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century and record iconographical drawings in black and white; they identify specific hand gestures (*mudrāprakaraṇa*)<sup>21</sup>, or present the major scenes in the life of Kṛṣṇa in rough outlines. Many such iconographical drawings contain notes concerning the required colours. Syllables indicate the colouring: *ri* blue, *pi* yellow, *ra* red, *tu* white and *va* grey<sup>22</sup>. The first published model book, which presents symbols representing the ten guardians of the directions (*daśadikpāla*, the cardinal and intermediate directions, nadir and

zenith) and the Nine Planets (Navagraha), was edited by Anne Vergati (1982a: 34-38), albeit without fully identifying it and without presenting the ritual context. Vergati received the sketchbook in 1975 from Bishnu Bahadur Chitrakar in Bhaktapur, the father of Surje Chitrakar, whose paintings are published in the following. These recent sketchbooks, also partly reproduced here, are richly coloured to guide the next generation in painting the pots needed for life-cycle rituals like Ihi, Jākva, Bāre chuyegu, and *pūjās* to Nārāyaṇa. Surprisingly, this collection of symbols does not include the iconography of Gaṇeśa and Brahmā that is painted on the large pots. The eight auspicious signs, which in all cases surround the central sacred vase, the *pūrṇakalāśa*, always appear arranged in a fixed sequence in a circle around a vase. The symbols to be painted on the pots representing *yakṣa/yakṣī*, Śrī/Lakṣmī and Nāgarāja are also depicted in a fixed sequence: either on pots or as isolated symbols. In Buddhist Ihi rituals and in old age rituals, the ten guardians of the world mark the corners of the firepit that is shaped like a twenty-cornered *maṇḍala*. In the sketchbooks, their symbolic representations are either framed by a radish (Gaṇeśa) and book (Guru) (Vergati 1982a: 37 and 38) or in addition by a skull-staff (Kṣetrapāla) and skull (Yoginī). A specific Newar tradition can be seen in the depiction of a citrus fruit (*taḥsi*) representing Kubera, who guards the north and is widely worshipped as the lord of wealth. This citrus fruit stands for longevity and fertility and in Ihi rituals is often seen on top of the central vase. The symbols representing the nine planets are presented in a circle and are only painted on pots in the context of old age rituals. In Ihi rituals an offering to Jupiter (Bṛhaspati) might be performed by individual girls, but not collectively. A regular feature of the sketchbooks appears also in the shape of five serpents representing *pisamudra*, the five oceans that – painted on small

<sup>20</sup> Jivarama's notebook is kept in the S. K. Neotia collection, Calcutta. See Huntington/Bangdel 2003: 136 and Lowry 1977.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Pal 1985: 153-181 and Krejger 1999: figs. 48-51. See also the dissertation by Margriet L. B. Blom (1989), who mostly relies on model books in the possession of painters and carpenters in Bhaktapur.

<sup>22</sup> See the iconographical drawings in the possession of Madhu Chitrakar: Gutschow 2006: 29-34.



pots – are invoked on the occasion of age-old rituals.

### The Two Main Pots of the Ihi ritual

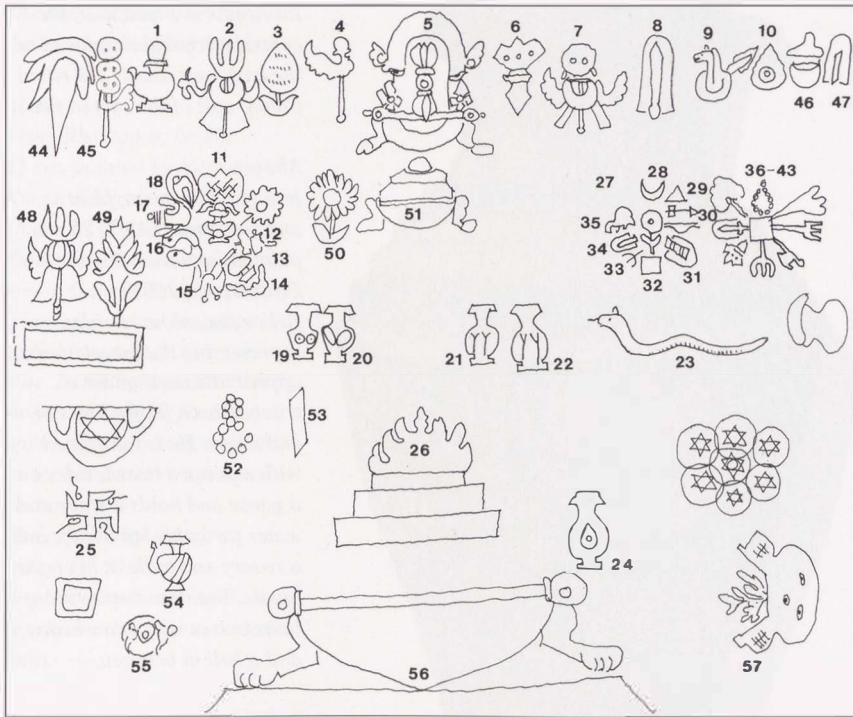
#### The Main Pot Dedicated to Gaṇeśa

The first pot has to be brought to the Citrakār by the principle worshipper, or, if an organisation is in charge, the potter himself. To ensure that the pot is painted, this is done a day or two in advance of the ritual. After having been collected from the painter in return for

the gift of a *kisli* cup with rice, a betel-nut on top and a coin, the pot is taken by the Karmācārya or Jyāpu Ācāju to the Inagaṇeśa at the western periphery of the town (see map) for the *pratiṣṭhāpūjā*, which turns the object into a deity prior to the opening of the eyes on the first day of the Ihi ritual.

The fourhanded Gaṇeśa is seen under a trilobed arch with his mount, the shrew, in blue. He carries an axe (*paraśu*) and sweets (*laḍḍu*) in his left hands. The upper right hand holds a rosary (*aḷṣamālā*) while the lower one is seen

*Detail of a sketchbook in the possession of Surje Chitrakar from Tacapaḥ with an inventory of symbols, 25 of which are also used on gapacā pots on the occasion of Ihi and Bāre chuyegu.*



in the gesture of protection (*abhayamudrā*). Similar Gaṇeśa pots in Patan (see illustration) depict the deity with a radish (Nep. *mūla*) in the lower right hand, while in Bhaktapur the radish appears in the cup that covers the pot. Within the context of Newar rituals, the radish invariably represents Gaṇeśa, even if a real radish replaces the painted form, which is never pure white in colour but the variety with a dark red pointed base.

The Central Pot (*pūrṇakalaśa*): Brahmā or the Blue Vajra (*nīlavajra*)

In Bhaktapur, there is a fundamental distinction between the pots dedicated to the Hindu or the Buddhist versions of the ritual. For Hindu rituals, the central sacred vase, the *kalaśa*, bears the image of Brahmā, the god of creation. Four-headed, he is seen on his vehicle, a “milk-white” gander, the sunbird. In his four hands he carries on his right a string of beads (*akṣamālā*) and a sacrificial ladle or spoon (*śrīvā*), and on his left the triple-pronged stave (*tridaṇḍa*) and the water jar of

Tracing from the sketch book in the possession of Surje Chitrakar from Tacapaḥ, 18.6 by 7.9 cm. All 54 depicted symbols are painted on pots in old-age rituals (*jākva*).

Nos. 11-24, 44 are used for the Ihi ritual in a Hindu context in Bhaktapur; in Kathmandu the Navagraha (nos. 27-35) are added. Pots displaying the *Daśadīkṣpāla* (nos. 1-10) are optional for the initiation of boys in a Buddhist context (*Bāre chuyegu*).

*Daśadīkṣpāla*: 1 Brahmā (*kamaṇḍalu - jar*: Zenith), 2 *Īśāna* (*triśūla-trident*: northeast), 3 Kubera (*taḥsi-citrus fruit*, north), 4 *Vāyu* (*dhvāja-banner*: northwest), 5 Indra (*vajra-sceptre*: east), 6 Agni (*fire*: southeast), 7 Yama (*khaṇḍvāṅga-staff*: southwest), 8 *Nairṛta* (*khaḍga-sword*: south), 9 *Varuṇa* (*nāga-serpent*: west), 10 *Ananta* (*cakra-diskus*: nadir). *Aṣṭamaṅgala* (as attributes of the *Aṣṭaciraṅjivi*): 11 *granthi* (endless knot), 12 *padma* (lotus), 13 *chattra* (umbrella), 14 *kalaśa* (jar), 15 *camara* (fan), 16 *matsya* (fish) 17 *dhvaja* (banner), 18 *śaṅkha* (conch).

Six *gapacā* pots for Ihi: 19 *yakṣa* (circular patterns indicate a male vegetal godling) 20 *yakṣiṇī* (oblong patterns indicate a female vegetal godling), 21 *Sarasvatī*, 22 *Lakṣmī*, 23 *nāga*, 24 *Viṣṇu* (guru); 25 *sālāpāḥ-tray* (svastika, yantra in the shape of a cross). Sacred fire (26 *kuṇḍala* for jage).

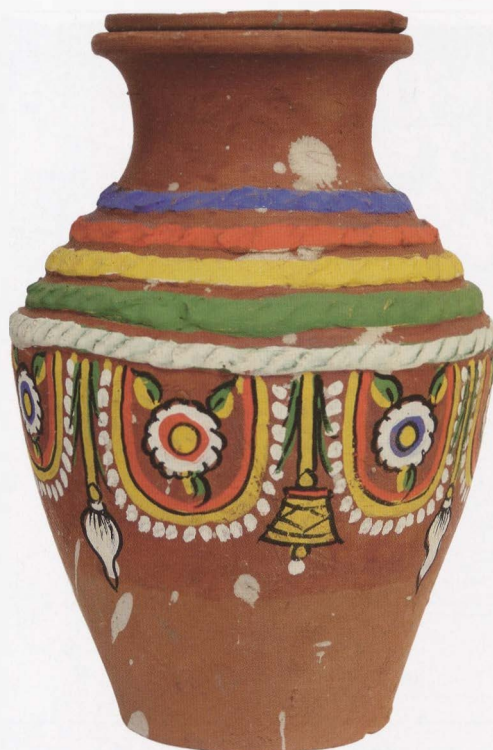
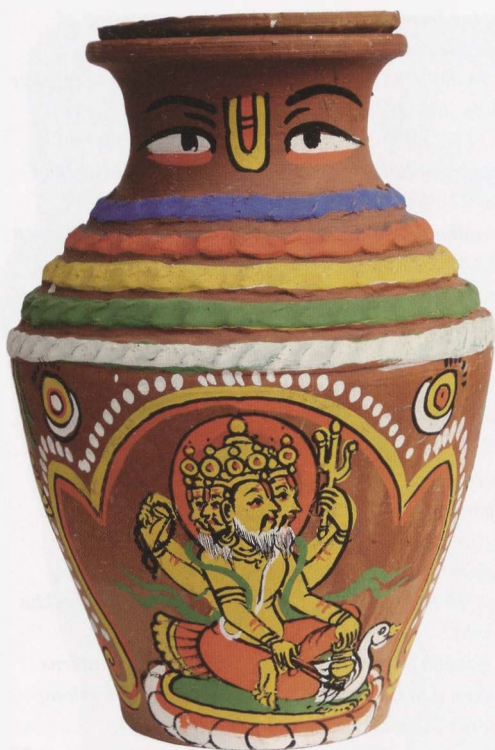
*Navagraha*: 27 *Āditya* (flower-Sun), 28 *Candra* (crescent-Moon), 29 *Maṅgala* (triangle-Mars), 30 *Budha* (bow and arrow-Mercury), 31 *Bṛhaspati* (book-Jupiter), 32 *Śukra* (rectangle-Venus), 33 *Śanaīścara* (trident-Saturn), 34 *Rāhu* (sword-ascending node), 35 *Ketu* (*makara/crocodile-descending node*).

36-43 Eight attributes of the *Aṣṭaciraṅjivi*: 36 *Aśvatthāman* (sword), 37 *Bali* (jewel), 38 *Vyāsa* (*jaḡmala*), 39 *Hanumān* (trident), 40 *Vibhīṣaṇa* (club), 41 *Kṛpācārya* (axe), 42 *Paraśūrāma* (bow), 43 *Mārkaṇḍeya* (umbrella).

The frame: 44 *Gaṇeśa* (radish) and 45 *Kṣetrapāla* (skull-staff), 46 *Yogiṇī* (skull), 47 *Guru* (book).

48 *Śiva*, 49 *Śakti*, 50 *nīrjyā* (blue lotus), 51 *sarjyā* (bed).

Added later in black: 52 *sinitu* (*mālā=rosary*), 53 *pustīnī* (book), 54 *Mṛtyuṅjaya* (*kalaśa - jar*), 55 *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gaḍā*, *padma*, 56 *āsana* (platform); 57 *deśabali* (*bau = offering of cooked rice*).

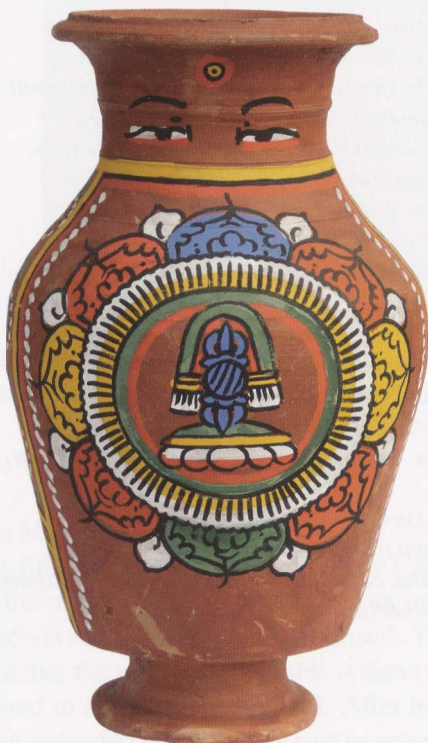


*Ihi rituals in Bhaktapur, the central purnakalasa placed on the east-west axis of the ritual arena, east of the sacred fire.*

*Above*  
*In a Hindu context, front and rear view, height 25 cm, painted by Narain Kumar Chitrakar in 2005.*  
*Below the coloured rings, representing the five elements, appears Brahmā under a trilobed arch flanked by sun and moon. He is four-faced with a pointed beard, rides on a goose and holds a staff and water jar in his left hands, and a rosary and ladle in his right hands. The rear displays four lotus leaves with two whiskers and a bell in between.*

*Below*  
*In a Buddhist context at Paśubāhā. The purnakalasa, front and back view, height 26 cm, painted by Surje Chitrakar in 2005.*  
*The blue sceptre (nīlavajra) in the centre of an eight-petalled lotus on the front, and the circular mark between the eyes indicate the Buddhist context.*

*Bottom*  
*Top view of the Brahmākalaśa covered by a small cup with a painted banner.*

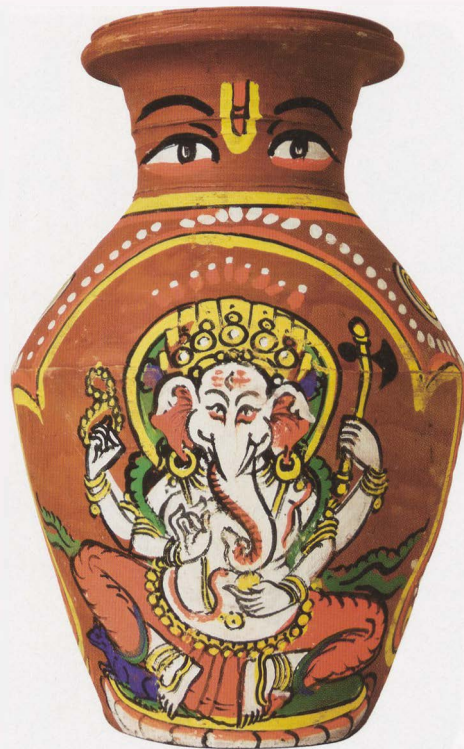


The Gaṇeśa pot, essential for the enactment of Ihi rituals.

Above

From Bhaktapur, height 25 cm, painted by Narain Kumar Chitrakar, 2005. Under a tri-lobed arch, flanked by the sun and the moon, Gaṇeśa is supported by a lotus flower, to his proper right his mount, a shrew in blue. In his left hands he holds sweets and an axe, in his upper right a rosary while the lower hand makes a protective gesture.

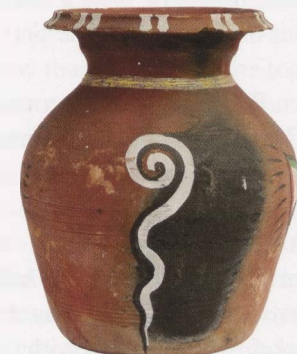
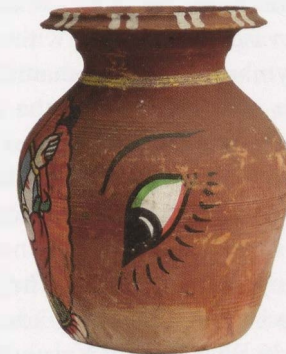
The cup placed on top (diameter 10.8 cm) displays a radish, Gaṇeśa's representation in a non-iconic form.



Below

From Bhaktapur, height 18 cm, from the Ihi ritual performed for the pratiṣṭhāpūjā of the caityas at the Hyatt Hotel on 25<sup>th</sup> August 2000 by a Vajrācārya priest from Bhīchēbāhā.

Gaṇeśa's body is seen in the playful posture (lilāsana) on a lotus throne with a background of red and blue. In his left hands he carries sweets and an axe, in his right hand a rosary and a long white radish. The rear face of the pot shows a curl which serves as a symbol of invitation. On either sides are painted large eyes.



an ascetic (*kamaṇḍalu*). Placed under a tri-lobed arch, Brahmā is flanked by the moon and the sun – the moon having a white central dot, the sun a red one. Four lotus leaves cover the back of the earthen body, with bell or yak-tail whisk motives in between. Five circular mouldings mediate between the body and the neck in white, green, yellow, red and blue, representing the five *mahābhūta* elements: wind (air), fire, water, earth, and ether (the blue *ākāśa*). The sequence of colours, which stand for the elements, varies and no Citrakār is in the position to attach each of the elements to their specific colours. The lid on top is painted with a banner (*dvāja*).

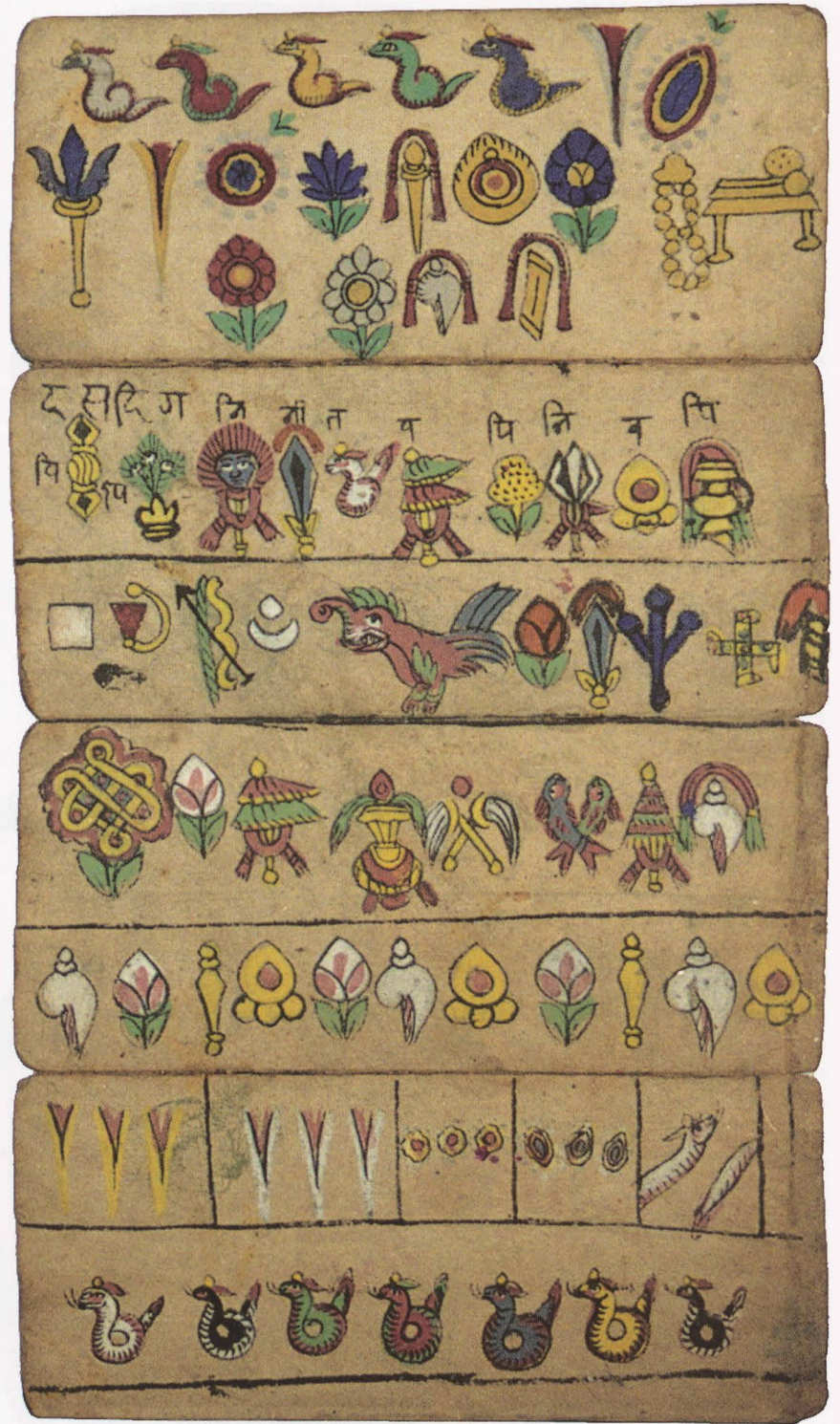
Beyond the iconographic prominence of Brahmā (who also appears in Buddhist and Jain rituals) it is the U-shaped *bindu*, the dot or drop between the eyes that characterises all the pots used in Hindu contexts. Apart from the *bindu* it is the shape of the eyes – fully opened with circular pupils – that testifies to this particular context.

For Ihi rituals in Buddhist contexts, the body of the vase is decorated with the blue *vajra*, the symbol of the adamantine truth. Placed under a shawl and on the pericarp of an eight-petalled lotus, the *vajra* symbol stands for Akṣobhya, the Tathāgata of the eastern direction. The *bindu* is circular (often pointing slightly upwards) and not placed between the eyes but higher up. The eyes are partly hidden behind undulating lids (see the illustration). In Bhaktapur, a Vasundharā figure with six hands can be seen at the centre of a lotus flower on the back of the pot.

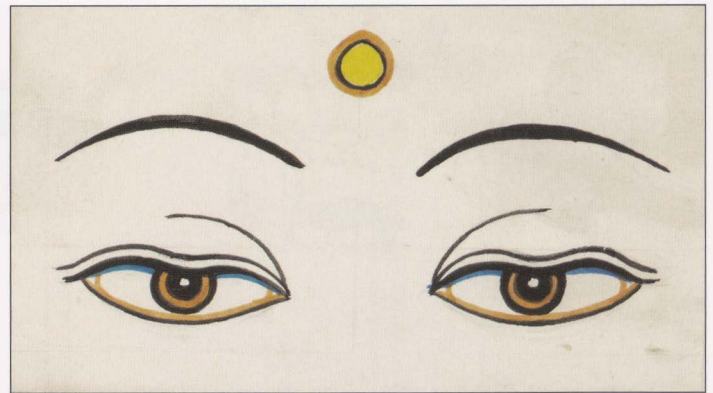
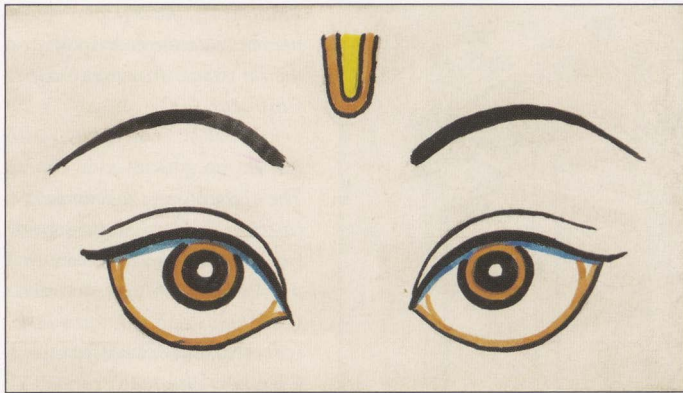
The Fourteen Pots (*gapacā*) Surrounding the Central Vase Dedicated to Brahmā and the Sacred Fire

The Eight Auspicious Signs

The platform on which the Śivācārya has marked a *svastika* in its centre as the *āsana* of the *pūrṇakalāśa* is covered with unhusked







Variation of the representation of eyes and bindu on gapacā pots on the occasion of Ihi and Bāre chuyegu.

Left for Hindu rituals with U-shaped bindu and large eyes with fully developed pupils, right for Buddhist rituals with a circular, slightly pointed bindu and eyes half submerged behind the lid.

rice, on which he places smaller pots with depictions of the eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgala*). In Surje Chitrakar's handbook, the eight symbols are shown arranged around a vase at the centre (see illustration), with the endless knot at the top and the seven remaining symbols placed in clockwise order. In a second handbook, the eight symbols are seen arranged in a row, following the same sequence: beginning with the endless knot, this is followed by the lotus flower, umbrella, vase, a pair of yak-tail whisks, a pair of fish, a banner and a conch.

#### Spirits (*yakṣa/yakṣiṇī*)

Five more pots are placed in front of the platform. Four of these depict the respective deities – not in iconographic form but as symbols: stylised leaves in circular and elongated form (probably signifying gender associations) represent *yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī*, a pair of spirits that are thought to frequent fields and forests, and since they are considered either benevolent or malevolent it is considered essential to propitiate them. Both are associated with fertility, but since *yakṣiṇīs* symbolise the life-sap of trees it is believed that they would make barren women fertile (Stutley 1986: 345). Most pots depict the leaf motives three-fold, while the handbooks either depict the pots with just a pair of leaves, or triple leaves without pots, or single leaves in more detail, showing a twig with four green leaves – a

motive that Surje Chitrakar varied as leaves floating freely around the dominant representations of the tree spirits. Another early 20<sup>th</sup> century handbook, in the possession of Indra Bahadur Chitrakar in Kathmandu, shows a more naturalistic approach: a pair of red flowers as *yakṣa* and the three blue flowers representing *yakṣiṇī*.

In Patan, the particular role of *yakṣa* and *yakṣiṇī* as guardian spirits of the ritual place is manifested inasmuch as the pair is represented by a cross fashioned on the surface of the pots. The vertical bulge represents the nose, while the horizontal one establishes a connection between the large eyes. Terrifying canine teeth demonstrate their apotropaic nature. The male version bears a moustache, the female a hint of rouge on her cheeks.

Mirror (*jvālānhāykā* = Lakṣmī) and

Vermilion (*sinhamhū* = Sarasvatī)

Even more abstract than the representation of the guardian spirits is the depiction of Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī by three or four shafts in white and yellow that open up to the top, forming a triangle in red. Surje Chitrakar's handbook emphasises the conical opening, while the shaft is reduced to a stump. In the ritual place itself, Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī are duplicated as the two pots – Sarasvatī on the right of the *pūrṇakalaśa* and Lakṣmī on the left – and are also represented by a mirror (*jvālānhāykā*) and a vermilion container (*sinhamhū*).

Opposite  
Details of a folded sketch book in the possession of Surje Chitrakar.

Above the five serpents symbolizing the five oceans, on the second page above the ten guardians (*daśadikpāla*) respectively of the ten directions, below the signs symbolizing the nine planets (*navagraha*), on the third page above the eight auspicious signs (*aṣṭamaṅgala*), on the fourth page above the symbols signifying Lakṣmī, Śrī, *yakṣa*, *yakṣiṇī* and *nāga*.



*Motifs on gapacā-pots presented in the context of the Iṭhi ritual, drawings Surje Chitrakar, 2005*

*Above*  
*The eight auspicious markers (aṣṭamaṅgala): 1 endless knot (granthi), 2 lotus (padma), 3 umbrella (chattra), 4 sacred vase (kalaṣa), 5 yak-tail whisk (cāmara), 6 fish (matsya), 7 banner (dhvaja), 8 conch shell (śaṅkha).*

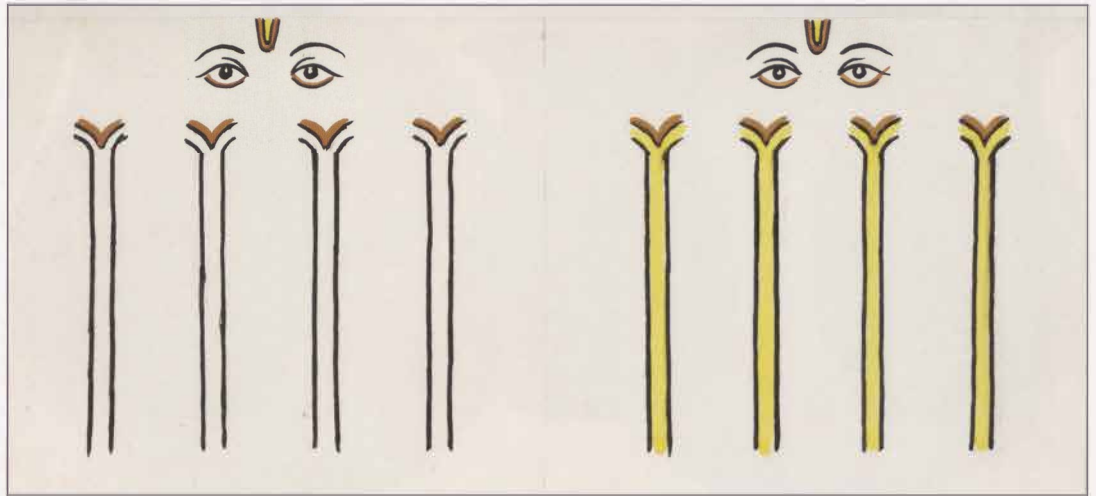
*Below*  
*Yakṣa (male), yakṣiṇī (female), symbolic representations among green leaves and nāga (serpent) as the guardian of jewels, with pairs of earrings.*



Motifs on gapacā-pots presented in the context of the Ihi ritual:

Non-iconographical markers on two pots flanking the mirror and vermilion container, left Sarasvatī (or Śrī), right Lakṣmī, drawing Surje Chitrakar, October 2005.

A pair of gapacā pots (height 11 cm) representing yakṣa and yakṣiṇī, painted by Surje Chitrakar, October 2005.



#### Viṣṇu and Nāgarāja

Finally on the far left of the vase a pot is placed with the representation of the king of the serpents, the Nāgarāja. The serpents are believed to be the guardians of the mineral wealth of the earth, so the creature's winding body is accompanied by representations of jewellery, namely earrings.

The fourteenth pot to be painted on that same evening is not placed in the constellation of the platform, but on the western axis of the pit of the sacred fire. Usually addressed as *praniti*, which in Sanskrit (*praṇītā*) is nothing more than "a pot used for rituals", it is understood as representing Viṣṇu, who is believed to preside over the scene as the teacher, the guru.



*Ihi ritual in Patan  
Pots (height 8.6 and 7.6 cm)  
representing the guardian  
spirits in the form of faces,  
with a moulded cross,  
indicating the nose and a  
bar between the eyes. The*

*male yakṣa (left) is seen  
with a moustache, the female  
yakṣiṇī with rouge on her  
cheeks.  
Painted in August 2000 for  
the ritual consecration of nine  
stūpas at the Hyatt Hotel.*



*From a sketchbook in the  
possession of Amir Citrakar in  
Kathmandu. Leaf motifs with  
blue and red centres identified  
as "yakṣa (and) yakṣiṇī kalasa".*

Bowls (*salāpā*) used in Ihi rituals in Kathmandu.

Left

Bowl (diameter 22.5 cm), painted by Amir Chitrakar, November 2005.

The dominating symbol is a *svastika* in the shape of a cross with the legs bent at right angles in clockwise direction. At the centre a lotus flower, on the arms *bel* fruits, at the end of the arms *jasmin*, at the angles of the cross *pomegranate* seeds, at the end of the arms symbols designating the moon (white crescent) and sun (red crescent). Curls in the diagonals indicate a gesture of inviting the gods into the bowl.



The *Salāpā* Bowl

The shape of these bowls varies. They all reach a height of 8 to 8.5 centimeters. Those from Bhaktapur (diameter 22.5 cm) and Thimi (25.5 cm) have a bulbous form with a pronounced rim, while those from Patan (32.5 cm) and Kathmandu (33.5 cm) have a wide opening and are designed more as a means of presenting their contents.

The basic and prominent motive of the painting on the bottom of every bowl is a *svastika*. Also common to all are the curls between the four arms of the underlying cross. They represent a gesture of invitation. The entire pantheon, not only with the moon (Candra) and the sun (Sūrya) but also Indra and especially Bṛhaspati, the celestial priest and *purohita* of the gods, is invoked. The 28 divisions of the lunar zodiac, the *nakṣatras*, are invited to grant blessings and well-being – as are the seven seers, the *saptaṛṣi*. As the 86-year-old Indra Bahadur Chitrakar from Kathmandu explained in 2005, the idea is that the gods and the asterisms are invoked to protect the Ihi girls throughout their lives. Even if their husbands die they will remain under the protection of the gods. This supports the idea that Newar girls, married to



Viṣṇu in the form of a *bel* fruit, enjoy a particular protection that retains its power even in widowhood.

Beyond the *svastika* and the curls, the four bowls display a wide variety. Sun and moon are seen on the bowl from Kathmandu as white and red crescents at the bottom of the arms of the cross, while the example from Patan (where the bowl is called *ihipā*) shows four identical crescents in red. No such motif can be seen on the bowls from Bhaktapur or Thimi. Placed at the centre is either a lotus flower that looks rather like marigold, or a book as a symbol of Brahmā. The motifs found in the arms and feet of the *svastika* differ considerably, demonstrating a creative freedom to play with the grammar of form and meaning. The example from Bhaktapur remains rather non-specific, with nine large dots (referring possibly to the Navadurgā) in red, green and blue, and four small dots in blue and green. Likewise, the bowl from Thimi presents a variety of flowers and green leaves. The example from Kathmandu presents four *bel* fruits (on the arms and four white jasmine flowers (*daphaḥsvā*) at the ends of the arms, and in one case eight green pomegranate seeds (Nep. *dhale*, Nep. *anār*), which are characteristic offerings to Gaṇeśa. The

Right

Bowl with a sheet of painted paper, roughly indicating a *svastika*, curls and the crescents of moon and sun. Such products are sold to avoid the service of a Citrakār. This bowl was made and painted in 2003.

Below

Painting (20 x 20 cm) on paper of a *svastika* in a square frame, used in Patan on metal dishes to substitute an earthen bowl, April 2006.





two bowls from Patan (see illustrations) present either flowers or the twin book and rosary motifs, which are both attributes of Brahmā. Just as the circle of the rosary stands for the cycle of time, the written words of the book represent the origin of all manifestations: both symbols convey the creativity of the supreme deity. Such sophisticated connotations do not have to be known, neither by the Citrakār, nor by the officiating Brahmin priest. Symbols are used in a large variety of contexts to ensure general auspiciousness. By provid-

ing the ritual place and the objects needed for the ritual with a host of symbols, the action is linked to a larger framework with potentially unlimited layers. To return to the example of *salāpā* bowls: the white strokes on the rim represent the origin of all manifestations: both symbols convey the creativity of the supreme deity. Such sophisticated connotations do not have to be known, neither by the Citrakār, nor by the officiating Brahmin priest. Symbols are used in a large variety of contexts to ensure general auspiciousness. By provid-

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*Bowls (salāpā) used in Ihi rituals in Patan, Bhaktapur and Thimi.*

*Above*  
Bowls (diameter 32.5 cm) from Patan, painted by Ishworbhakta Chitrakar of Sundhara in November 2005 (left) and used for the consecration of stūpas in August 2000 (right). The arms of the svastika bear either the symbol of a book or a rosary, with a lotus flower or book at the centre. At the end of the arms appears either the moon (white crescent) or the sun (red crescent). The curls in the diagonals do not extend across the rim. They represent the gesture of invitation to the deities to enter the circle of the earthen bowl.

*Below left*  
Bowl (diameter 22.5 cm) from Bhaktapur, painted by Madhu Chitrakar in October 2005. Thirteen blue, red and green dots fill the space of the arms and legs of the svastika without conveying a particular significance. In contrast to the trays from Kathmandu and Patan, however, the white strokes on the rim symbolise the presence of the *nakṣatras*, representing the divisions of the lunar zodiac.

*Below right*  
Bowl (diameter 26 cm) from Thimi, painted by Purna Krishna Chitrakar in December 2005. The arms of the svastika are exceptionally wide. Similar to the scheme from Bhaktapur, nine non-descriptive flowers and eight leaves populate the arms of the svastika. Simple curls in white and red extend across the rim.

Block prints attached to the forehead of Ihi girls (*sapākhvaḥ*), printed and coloured in 2004.

From, top to Bottom

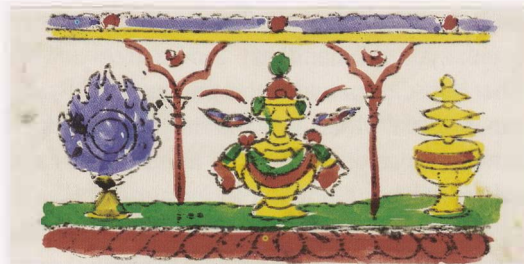
1. From Bhaktapur (17 x 12.5 cm): below a course of lotus leaves the sacred vase of plenty (*kalaśa*) in the centre, seen on the left a citrus fruit (*taḥsi*), on the right a water lily (*utpala*), both symbols of longevity and wisdom.



2. From Patan (16.5 x 9.5 cm): trefoil arches architecturally frame the sacred vase at the centre, the vermilion container (*sinhamhū*) to the left, the mirror (*javānhāykā*) to the right – symbols of the goddesses Lakṣmī and Śrī.



3. From Patan (16.0 x 7.5 cm): separated by columns supporting fragmented arches the sacred vase in the centre, left the mirror (*javānhāykā*), right the vermilion container (*sinhamhū*).



4. From Thimi (15.0 x 10.0 cm): above a course of lotus leaves in the centre the sacred vase, left a citrus fruit and right a fully opened lotus flower.



Right

From Kathmandu, a *sapākhvaḥ* (13 x 17 cm) painted by Indra Bahadur Chitrakar, November 2005. The vase of plenty (*kalaśa*) figures prominently on a lotus base under a ceremonial shawl, framed by the moon and sun in the upper corners.



simple *svastika* is placed on top of the dish, painted on paper in a square, triple-coloured frame (19 x 19 cm). The longish feet of the *svastika* support identical Candra/Sūrya motifs, and curls done in blue convey the inviting gesture.

The Block Print (*sapākhvaḥ*)

On the second day of the Ihi ritual the girls receive a coloured block print (10 to 13 x 9.5 to 17 cm), either from the hands of the Citrakār or from the organisation in charge, which has bought the prints from the painter in advance. The block print is laced under a headband to cover the forehead, and completes the ritual outfit. Earlier the girls had put the *kumaḥkāḥ* thread around their neck, and had their forehead and parting smeared with vermilion, and were clad with the *ihiparasi*, the sari offered on this occasion. A wide variety of symbols appear on the block prints, with an overt emphasis on fecundity and general well-wishing.

The block print from Bhaktapur is divided into two registers: A row of seven lotus leaves

at the top and below it the “vase of plenty”, prosperity and wealth (*kalaśa*) flanked by a citrus fruit (*taḥṣi*) and the water lily (*utpala*). The citrus fruit stands for longevity and the water lily for wisdom. The citrus fruit plays an important part in many Newar rituals: as an offering on the occasion of *mhāpūjā*, the worship of the body in November, and as an offering by the Navadurgā troupe to the people of Bhaktapur after the rebirth of the deities on the Victorious Tenth of the Dasāī festival in October.

The block print from Thimi has the same basic structure, but places the *kalaśa* at the top. While the prints from Bhaktapur and Thimi are standardised, those from Patan and Kathmandu will vary the themes or are altogether different. Those from Patan place the sacred vase at the centre, flanked by the mirror (*javālānhāykā*) and vermilion container (*sinhamhū*), two objects representing Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī. Together with the *sukūda* lamp, these two objects are present in almost every proper ritual. The three objects are seen under more or less articulated trilobed arches bearing symbols of the moon and the sun, while the *kalaśa* is flanked by a pair of eyes which, in Bhaktapur, can be identified as conveying a Buddhist background.

Organisers from Kathmandu often order pots and block prints from Bhaktapur. Designs painted in Kathmandu display a *kalaśa* under a ceremonial shawl and flanked by moon and sun, or simply a bell (*ghaṇṭā*).

#### Purification: Paring the Toenails

Until very recently, members of marginally pure and impure sub-castes were not supposed to participate in Ihi rituals. The dividing line can be identified by the activities of the barbers. A male barber will shave the heads of people from marginally pure sub-castes, but for the paring of toenails a butcher’s wife has to be called in. The families concerned never

admit this, and it can only be observed in their houses. Eight sub-castes such as Mānandhar (oilpressers), Citrakār (painters), Rañjītkār (dyers) and Nakarmi (blacksmiths) are treated by the barbers as marginally pure, but have participated in the full scope of the Ihi ritual for many generations, including participation in the concluding feast on the first day (*dusvajā*). Such commensality is unthinkable on any other occasion.

The Gāthā, families who perform as deities of the Navadurgā troupe, have only recently begun participating in Ihi. The organisers place the daughters of Gāthā at the bottom end of the row of participating girls and allow them only to appear on the second day for the enactment of the offering of the virgin (*kanyādāna*). They arrive at the ritual place with their toenails already pared, because the barber’s wife would refuse to touch their feet.

Girls with Buddhist backgrounds – from the Rañjītkār, Nakarmi, Śuddhakār and sometimes even Mānandhar – mix freely with other sub-castes under the guidance of Brahmin priests. Most Mānandhar and Citrakār, however, prefer to join the annual Ihi ritual at Paśubāhā, a Buddhist monastery in Bhaktapur’s eastern quarter of Kvathandau. Until recently, the toenails of Vajrācārya and Śākya were pared on such occasions by a female barber, while the toenails of those girls from the seven marginally pure Buddhist sub-castes were pared by a female butcher outside the monastic courtyard. A remarkable change could be observed in February 2007 when all of the participating girls arrived with their toenails already pared at home. A major distinction in terms of purity was thus quietly overlooked. Apart from two Buddhācāryas, a total of seven Vajrācāryas, two Śākyas, two Citrakārs, eighteen Mānandhars, two Bālāmīs and even one Śreṣṭha participated on that occasion. Surprisingly, almost half of the participating girls came from other settle-



ments such as Thimi, Banepa, Namobuddha and Naya Baneshwar.

Until recently, paring the toenails for the first time in the girls' life on the occasion of Ihi marked the passage from an "innocent" childhood to a ritually accepted personality. Paring the toenails, being clad in a special sari (*ihiparasi*), and being offered to the deity Suvarṇakumāra as a bride, qualifies the girl as a member of the parental lineage (*phukī*) which she will leave only when she is married to a human groom.

### The Setting

The Ihi ritual is a complex initiation ritual that takes several days, of which two are reserved for collective celebrations. It is celebrated in various forms, but with core elements common to all social and religious groups, regardless of whether Buddhist or Hindu.

These elements include preparatory rituals among them, the ritual decision (*saṃkalpa*) or the worship of the ancestors (*śrāddha*); supplementary rites such as the ritual welcoming (*siphārati*, *lasakusa*), the measurement of the girls or the worship of the deities in the flasks (*kalaśa*); core elements, e.g. the "gift of the virgin" (*kanyādāna*), the "seven steps" (*saptapadī*) or the circumambulation around the fire; and concluding rites such as the feast (*bhoja*).

In the following we will describe the Ihi ritual or girl's marriage with the *bel* fruit that took place in the quarter (*tvāḥ*) of Byāsi on the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> December of 2006, the first and second day after full moon, in the month of Mārḡaśiṛṣa/Maṅṡsir, called Yaḥmāripunhi. We shall further include material from other Ihi celebrations.

The organiser, principle worshipper (*yajamāna*) and chief sponsor of the Ihi ritual described here in detail is Bagat Bahadur Lava. He is 65 years old, his wife Tulsi Maya 64. He tries to veil his name by claiming Suvāl

### The Main Events of Ihi

Preparations  
Feeding Girls (*ihimacā nakegu*)  
Other preparatory rituals

1<sup>st</sup> Day (*dusva*)  
Ritual decision (*saṃkalpa*)  
Ancestor worship (*nāndīśrāddha*)  
Worship of Alīdyah  
Siphārati etc.  
Measurement rite (*kumaḥkāḥ*)  
with yellow or white threads  
Joint feast for the girls (*ihi jā*)  
Painting of pots

2<sup>nd</sup> Day  
Gurumaṅḡalapūjā (Buddhist)  
or fire sacrifice (*homa*)  
Kalaśapūjā  
Welcoming (*lasakusa*)  
Oil on head  
Purification: Paring the toenails  
Opening of the eyes by the Citrakār  
Fire sacrifice (*homa*)  
Presentation of the Ihi sari (*ihiparasi*)  
Vermilion on hair parting  
Block print on head  
Distribution of bread and milk  
"Gift of the Virgin" (*kanyādāna*)  
Grinding lentils (*māy ghiri-ghiri yāye*)  
"Seven Steps" (*saptapadī*)  
Circumambulating the fire  
Taking alms (*bāhrā chuye*)  
Fictive kinship or ritual friendship (*tvāy*)

3<sup>rd</sup> Day  
Kumārī- and Gaṅeśapūjā  
Well-wishing food (*khē svagā*)

*These subrites hab been tagged on the DVD so that one can access them directly.*

status, while his wife is of Dyaḥḷa descent but claims Duvāl status. Suvāl as well as Duvāl are among those farmers who claim the highest status and to be on a par with Basukala and Ācāju. The designation *dyaḥḷa* (lit. “caretaker of a deity”) identifies Tulsi Maya as a daughter of those Jyāpu who take care of one of the most powerful Gaṇeśas of Bhaktapur, Chumā Gaṇeśa of Cvāchē. On the occasion of the initiation, their sons are introduced to the iconographic representation of the deity on the first floor level of the god-house (*dyaḥchē*) in a secret Tantric ritual performed by an Ācāju, the “Master of Rituals” from the farmer’s caste.

Bagat Bahadur has eight sons, of whom only the eighth shares his food with him, while the first seven have set up their own kitchen in a double-house complex that extends along an entire block and almost fifteen metres from the road. The central bays of the cavernous house are completely dark and are only accessible with the lights permanently on – meaning they turn into a trap whenever the electricity fails during one of the notorious cuts.

Bagat Bahadur’s sixth son is Ganesh Kumar. His son Pradip and Nisan – the son of the eighth son, Ganesh Man – had to have their initiation performed. The son of Biswo Ram – the first son – Krishna Prasad was to be married, but the main motive for organising a collective event was the performance of the Ihi ritual for the three daughters of Ganesh Prasad, the seventh son.

Two thoughts or wishes guided the grandfather in performing the collective ritual on the 5<sup>th</sup> December. For the past twenty years he had already been inviting three times to partake in an Ihi ritual in front of his house in Byāsī, and he wanted to continue this tradition. Moreover, he had long ago vowed not to send his daughters or granddaughters to take part in a ritual that he himself had not sponsored. The present fourth ritual had been

planned since summer 2006 with the hope of his seventh son begetting a son.

The prevailing notion is that sponsoring an Ihi ritual or feeding and worshipping virgins (*kumārīpūjā*) is auspicious, it is “good work” (*gingujyā yagu*). Dedicating a ritual to virgins probably addresses the potential mother, because the day before the formal “Gift of the Virgin” (*kanyādāna*), the girls enjoy the last day of their identity as Kumārī. Ganesh Prasad was very afraid of sponsoring the ritual because he would have to take out a loan to meet the expenses. But his father generously assured his support and spent more than 250,000 rupees, which would have been even more if he had had to buy the necessary grains. He bought two buffalos, two goats which were sacrificed at Balakhu Gaṇeśa, the shrine of the quarter, and beyond that 15 *dhārnī* (c. 36 kg) of buffalo meat. Three hundred litres of liquor had to be brewed.

#### The Preparatory Phase

##### Feeding the Girls (*ihimacā nakegu*)

A few days or a week before the Ihi ritual, the girls are offered *svagā* – a mark on the forehead made of popped rice mixed with yoghurt and dark red pigment. This mark, offered by the eldest married woman of the lineage (*nakhī*), signals the approaching event and opens up the short period in which the girls are formally introduced to and accepted by close relatives. Until *dusva*, the day of preparation for the Ihi ritual, the girls will take no food in their parents’ house except a glass of milk in the early morning. Each day they will be met at home by a female relative and guided to their house.

The first visit leads to the house of the *nakhī* of the girl’s father’s lineage, often followed on the same day by visits to the houses of lineage members, i.e. her father’s brothers and grandfather’s nephews and their sons. Beyond the members of the lineage, the *phukī*,

The offering of ritual food (*svagā*) to the Ihi girl (in this case Benita Basukala) by the eldest married woman of the lineage, the *nakhī*. Marks of vermilion and yoghurt on the forehead and the left temple initiate a period of a few days or a week during which the girl leaves her house to be fed by members of the lineage and maternal relatives.  
 Photo 15 January 2001.



these visits lead to the paternal aunts (*nini*) of three generations (which includes father's and grandfather's paternal aunts) and their daughters and granddaughters, the maternal uncles (*pāju*) and maternal aunts (*taḥmā*) of their grandmother as well as their maternal uncles (*pāju*) of three generations.

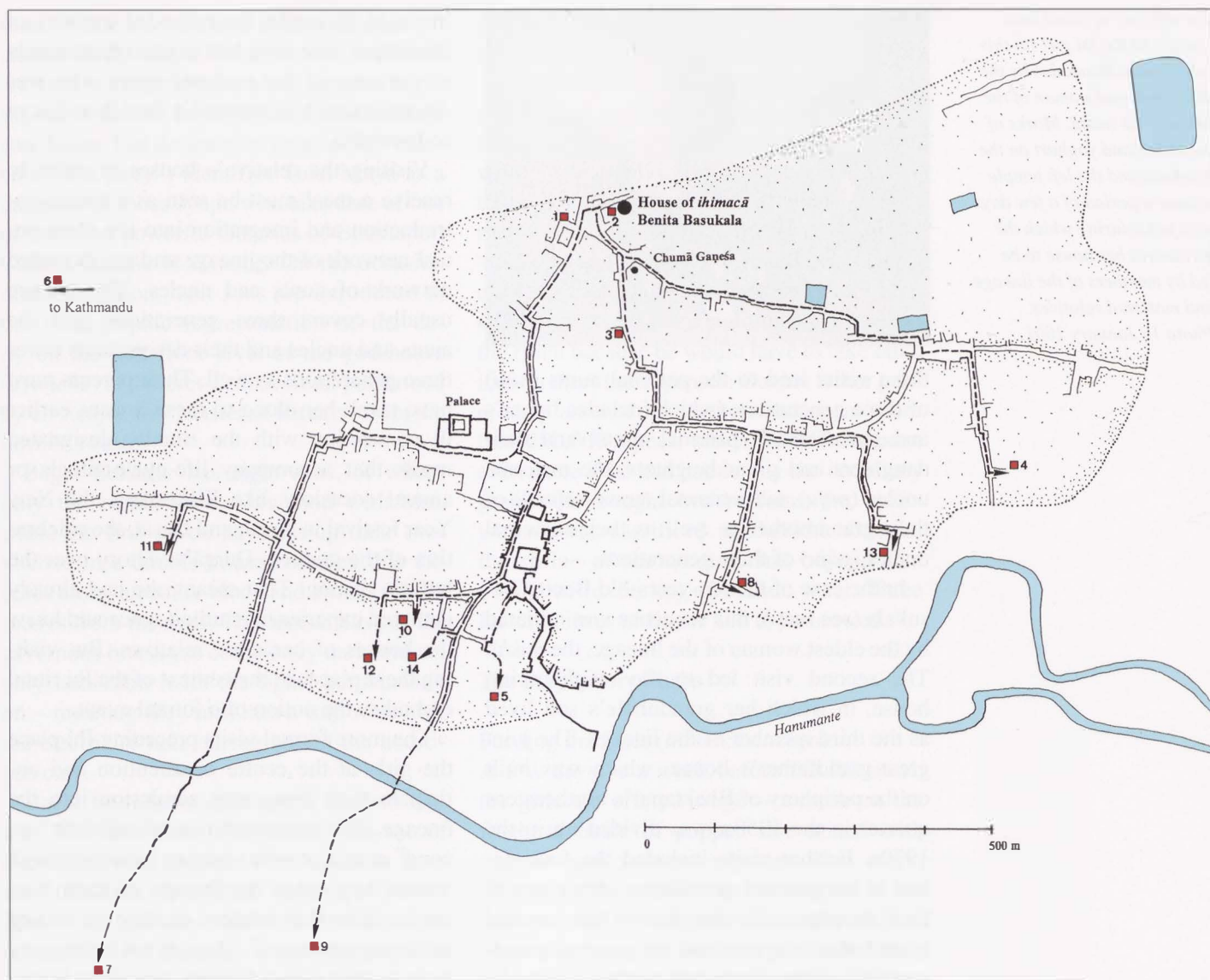
In the case of the ten-years-old Benita Basukala (see map), this sequence was initiated by the eldest woman of the lineage, the *nakhī*. The second visit led to the neighbouring house, in which her granduncle's son lived as the third member of the lineage. The joint great-grandfather's house, which was built on the periphery of Bhaktapur's northeastern quarter in the 1950s, was divided up in the 1970s. Further visits included the four sisters of her paternal grandfather (*nini*), two of their daughters, the daughter of her paternal grandfather's brother and the paternal grandmother's sister. From her mother's side she visited the house of her grandfather, which he shares with his son (the initiate's *pāju*), and her mother's maternal uncle (*pāju*). She did not visit her father's sister (her *nini*), because the sister had not accepted her role at that time, avoiding as she did her elder brother who had begun the process of separation from his younger brother. Nor did she visit her father's maternal uncle, because his granddaughter was participating in the same Ihi ritual. In two cases she visited two houses and in three cases she had to go beyond the

limits of Kvapade, the extended territory of Bhaktapur. She even had to go to Kathmandu to visit one of her paternal aunts, who was divorced and had married a Buddhist Śākya of Itumbāhā.

Visiting the relative's houses in order to receive a meal must be seen as a formal introduction and integration into the close social network of the lineage and the extended network of aunts and uncles. The lineage usually covers three generations and the aunts and uncles and their descendants cover three generations as well. Their parents must have taken her along to these houses earlier in connection with the ritually designated meals that accompany life-cycle rituals or annual occasions like Bisketjātrā, the New Year festival in April, and Dasāī, the celebration of the goddess Durgā's victory over the buffalo demon. That means she had already gathered experience in urban space and knew the houses of her close relatives. But visiting these places in the context of the Ihi ritual embodies the notion of a formal event.

The more formal visits preceding Ihi place the girls at the centre of attention and anticipate their temporary admission into the lineage. This membership lasts until their "second" marriage with a human spouse through whom they enter the lineage of their husbands. From that moment on they are treated as "living ancestors". They do not belong any more to their place of origin, their natal home. But in an expression of sororal solidarity they do return in their new role as aunt (*nini*) or "elder mother" (*taḥmā*).

One more aspect of the manifold journeys of the potential Ihi girls must be underlined. They move in urban space in order to get acquainted with the realm of their later life. Until very recently, daughters of farmers (*Jyāpu*) never married into other settlements of the Kathmandu Valley, but they crossed – as the map documenting Benita Basukala's journeys demonstrates – the narrow limits of



*Bhaktapur: visits by Benita Basukala to relatives (ihimacā nakegu, lit. feeding the Ihi child) prior to her Ihi marriage on 29 January 2001.*

*On the second day of the month of Māgha (15 January) she visits the eldest woman of the lineage (nakhī, 1).*

*During the following week she visits the only other lineage*

*household (2), the parental great-grandmother's nephew (3), four parental aunts (nini, 4-6, 10), female relatives of the parental great-grandfather (8, 9), two daughters of the parental aunts (11, 12), her maternal grandfather (13) and her mother's maternal uncle (pāju, 14).*

their quarter. In a way the city can be called the “greater house” which the girls inhabit as ritually mature beings after the Ihi marriage. The outer limits of Kvapade, the extended territory of Bhaktapur as defined by two rivers, are only transcended when accompanying the parents to work in the fields. The ritual space is protected by the seat of the Eight Mother Goddesses, the Aṣṭamātrkā, and the inner space is literally occupied by the girl's paternal and maternal relatives.

The Preparatory Ritual (*pīṭhapūjā*)  
on the Day before Ihi

In the early morning the Ācāju, the Master of Rituals of Jyāpu status, goes to the house of the organiser and principle worshipper Bagat Bahadur in Byāsī to prepare all the *gvajā*, the moulded cones of cooked rice needed for the following day.

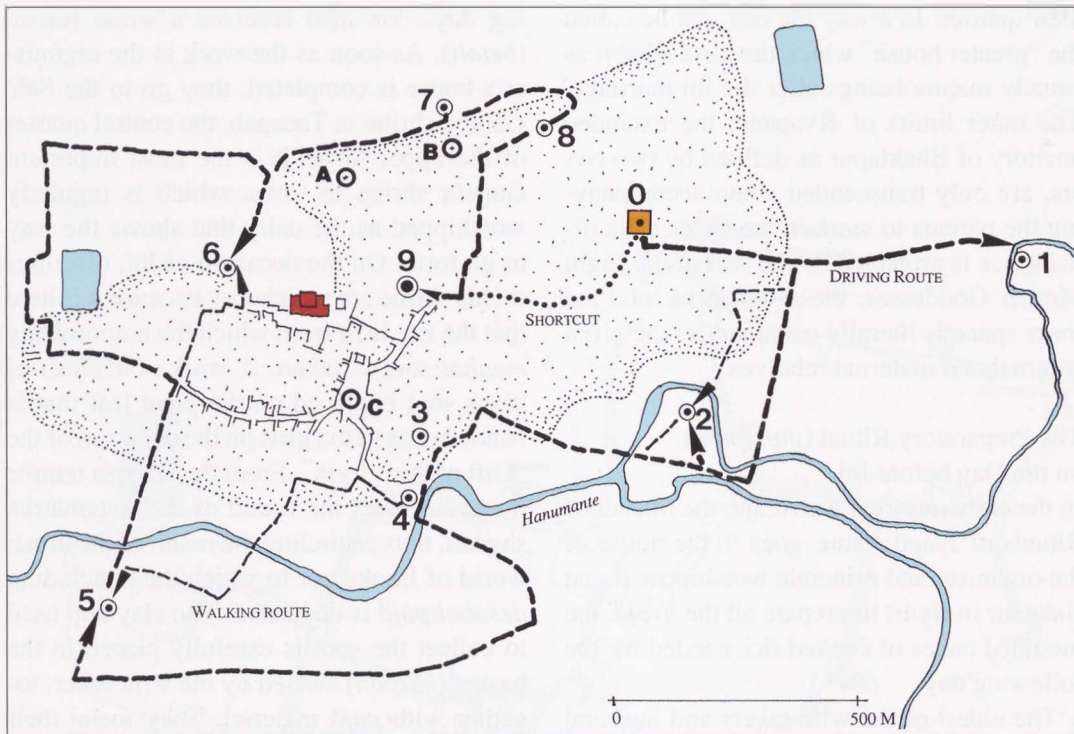
The eldest of the wife-takers and husband of the organiser's sister, the *mhāynāyaḥ* meets the Ācāju priest at Kichē in the early morning. Bagat Bahadur, the principle worshipper, recalls that he is a farmer named Kavā from Gvaḥmādhī, but he cannot remember his first name. People are rarely remembered or called by their name, but rather by the designation of their role. As a wife-taker he is only marginally polluted if death comes to Bagat Bahadur's family. That allows him to play an important role in many life-cycle rituals, especially in death rituals, when he has the potential to take over the role of the Bhā (funerary priest) in the purification ritual of the tenth day, and of the Śivācārya (purity specialist) on the occasion of the purification of the house. Bagat Bahadur calls the very few members of these two classes of purity specialists greedy. Thus for the first time he had not invited the Tini to hand out the bel fruit to the Ihi girls. Instead, the *mhaynāyaḥ* has taken over.

The *mhaynāyaḥ* receives a set of new clothes, which he will wear on the follow-

ing days. He also receives a white turban (*betali*). As soon as the work at the organiser's house is completed, they go to the Salā Gaṇeśa shrine in Tacapaḥ, the central quarter of the upper town. It is the most important Gaṇeśa shrine in town, which is regularly worshipped as the deity that shows the way to go forth. On the occasion of Ihi, offerings to this shrine are mandatory because it is here that the fire is lit from which the empowering *mvaḥni* soot is taken. A stroke (*mvaḥni*) of black soot is placed on the pipal leaf that is handed over to the girls on the occasion of the “Gift of the Virgin”. From the Gaṇeśa temple the group does the round of the Aṣṭamātrkā shrines, thus encircling the realm of the urban world of Bhaktapur to which the concluding *deśabalipūjā* is dedicated. The clay cup used to collect the soot is carefully placed in the basket (*karpan*) carried by the wife-taker, together with *pūjā* material. They make their way to the easternmost of the shrines (*pīṭh*) of the Eight Mother goddesses, Brahmāyaṇī, and from there they continue their round, visiting the remaining seven shrines while the fire constantly produces soot.

On 21<sup>st</sup> January 2007 the performance of the prescribed *pīṭhapūjā* could literally be seen to be driven by a new dynamism. The organising party of an Ihi ritual performed on the same day in Cvāchē had a Toyota pickup parked on the square in front of the temple. The acting assistant priest, a Karmācārya from Kichē, carefully carried the *mvaḥni* cups from the seat of the deity to the car. While he and the *mhaymacā* took the front seats, the *mhaynāyaḥ* accommodated himself and the *pūjā* material on the loading area at the back of the car. Following an unconventional route by car and crossing the Hanumante river four times, the group was able to cover the seats of the Aṣṭamātrkā as well as of Tripurasundarī in less than an hour (see map).

In yet another expression of contemporary dynamics, the route of the *pīṭhapūjā* could be



*Bhaktapur, alternative routes to perform the pīṭhapūjā:*

- 1 *Brahmāyaṇī,*
- 2 *Maheśvarī,*
- 3 *Kaumārī,*
- 4 *Vaiṣṇavī,*
- 5 *Vārāhī,*
- 6 *Indrāyaṇī,*
- 7 *Mahākālī,*
- 8 *Mahālakṣmī,*
- 9 *Tripurasundarī.*

The nine places were visited by foot on 4<sup>th</sup> December 2006 by a Jyāpu Ācāju, in the context of an Ihi ritual in Byāsī (see A on the map). The goddesses were visited by a Karmācārya in a car on 21<sup>st</sup> January 2007 prior to an Ihi ritual in Cvāchē (see B), and on 22<sup>nd</sup> January a Karmācārya chose a shortcut, leading directly from the pīṭha of the Salā Gaṇeśa (O on the map), to the shrine of Tripurasundarī (no. 9) in the centre of town, in the context of an Ihi ritual at Naraincok (see C).

covered in less than ten minutes. The Karmācārya, who was acting as an assistant to the Ihi ritual at Naraincok (see the film attached to this publication), was busy with rituals somewhere else and could not perform the *pūjā* in time. During *dusva*, the first day of the Ihi ritual, he could slip away for an hour while a Jośī assistant and the Śivācārya were completing the preparations for the ritual place. He performed his duty at the *pīṭh* of Salā Gaṇeśa and reduced the entire circumambulation of the historic core area of Bhaktapur by turning to the central ninth shrine dedicated to Tripurasundarī.

Visiting the shrines of the Aṣṭamātrkā is indeed a preparatory ritual observance that is mandatory for many festivals. By keeping the fire alive and adding mustard oil in case the flame dwindles, the soot represents the essence of the urban habitat. The goddesses not only guard this space – they collectively represent the energy or *genius loci* that enables the urban society to function. By using

the soot collected while circumambulating this space to mark the girls' foreheads, they are invited to become members of society. Gracing the pipal leaves that are dedicated to Viṣṇu, the "offering of the virgin" participates in the power of Durgā in her eight manifestations.

From the eighth goddess, Mahālakṣmī, the path leads to Tripurasundarī, the central ninth goddess in Tulāchē and to the Gaṇeśa shrine in nearby Bālākhu, the shrine of the non-iconic deity which presides over the area (*ilākā*), and to which the house of the organiser belongs. Returning to the house of the organiser, the group is received by Bagat Bahadur at the main entrance and is served *khē svagā*, a light meal with flattened rice, a boiled egg and liquor.

On the day preceding the first day of the Ihi ritual (*dusva*), the chief worshipper and sponsor, collects an earthen pot from a potter in Tālākva and hands it over to the painter, the Cītrakār who in the season concerned is

entitled to paint a four-handed representation of Gaṇeśa onto the front. In a symbolic gesture, prior to handing over the pot, a *kisli* offering (a small cup with rice, a betel-nut and a coin) is presented. In addition, the painter prepares a small plate serving as the lid for the pot with a white radish, the unmistakable symbolic representation of the deity. In case of the ritual documented on the following pages, the chief worshipper brought the pot to a Citrakār of his choice near Nāgpūkhū. He should, in fact, have carried it to Surje Chittrakar, who for that season was the caretaker of the Ihi *guthī*, into which twelve active member families of painters are organised. The following day the chief worshipper collects the Gaṇeśa pot at the painter's house and carries it back to the potter's quarter, where an assistant priest had already prepared the ritual place for a complex ritual that lasts for an hour.

#### The First Day (*dusva*)

The day preceding the "Gift of the Virgin" (*kanyādāna*), in some way the climax of the Ihi ritual, is dedicated to preparatory ceremonies that ensure the ritual place is free of pollution. The word component *du* indicates an imminent danger of pollution. The death rituals prescribe an elaborate purificatory ritual on the tenth day called *du byēkegu*, literally "to cause to become untied of pollution". Death had in fact caused pollution and the ritual is designed to return to an at least partial state of purity. In annual death rituals, the day preceding the actual ritual is called *dusva* (Classical Nev. *dusala*, "the first day of a rite"). This day involves having one's head shaved and toenails pared. A ritual bath is compulsory, as is a fast after the morning meal. Fasting characterises the day to such an extent that it is usually called in short the *ek cak*, literally the day on which only "one portion" of food is taken.

In the context of initiation rituals, the preparatory actions include the paring of the toenails for both the boys and the girls. Boys have all of their head shaved except for a small tuft symbolizing their lineage. In both cases, death rituals are performed, which allow the ancestors to be present in the ritual and to anticipate potential pollution by unforeseen deaths, which would force the ritual specialists to cancel the entire ritual.

In the early morning a goat is sacrificed at the area shrine, Bālākhu Gaṇeśa. The soot (*mvahni*) gathered during the sacrifice is used by the Citrakār on the second day to open the eyes (*mikhā kākegu*) of the painted pots, i.e. to empower the vessels for the ensuing ritual. A portion of raw meat is later taken to Tālākva to be offered to the potter who had moulded the Alīdyaḥ. The nine pieces of the head of the sacrificial animal (*syū*) are distributed among the nine privileged Ihi girls (*nava nakhī*) during the feast that concludes the first day's ritual.

#### The Arrival of the Girls

On the cold and foggy morning of the 8<sup>th</sup> of December, the Ihi girls get up early, most of them shortly after five o'clock, to be dressed and made up with rouge and lipstick. In many cases young professional beauticians are asked to help prepare the girls. Red blouses with gold threads are kept by the families concerned to be used ever again on such occasions. As for the jewellery worn on the girl's head and the bangles and anklets – only a few families possess a full set. If more than one girl of the extended family joins the Ihi ritual, the jewellery has to be borrowed from relatives or friends or – against a small fee – from the shop of a goldsmith, a Bare. If the decision to join the ritual is made late, it is almost impossible to acquire a full set. In that case it has to be ordered a month in advance and made by the goldsmith. The fine *repousseé* work of thin brass is no longer

gilded. A set of necklet, hairnet and frontlet, for example, could be ordered in 2006 for 2,500 rupees (25 euros). Absolutely essential is the frontlet (*śribhaṅgi*) because it is needed to hold the block-print that is handed over by the painter a few minutes prior to the “offering of the virgin”. Second in importance is a net of five chains (*ngapusikha*). Often, the symbolic tip of a pigtail (*sātupākhā*) is added in the shape of a fish with a bunch of cones in silver, shaped as a bell to create a soft sound when the girl shakes her head. Instead of the tip of a pigtail, a golden flower (*lūsvā*) or circular hair-slides with depictions of the moon (Candra) and the sun (Sūrya) can be inserted into the hair. Also a broad necklet on a red velvet base is worn as a demonstration of opulence. Bangles (*mhu*), often with small bells (*chuyśā ghāṅghala*) and anklets (*kali*) – both worked in silver – complete the outfit.

The mood is gay and joyous, as the girls are looking forward to being the centre of attention for the next two days. In a final act the forehead is smeared with vermilion, the edges of which being carefully marked with small red dots. Between six and seven in the morning, the mood is frantic as the mothers compete to arrive early enough at the ritual area in order to secure a good place – which means close to the sacred fire where the privileged girls sit and where the Brahmin priest acts.

Later in the morning, before seven o’clock, 129 girls appear with their mothers for a kind of ritual notice or invitation ritual for the gods – at an auspicious time given (*sāit*) by the Jośi and calculated according to the horoscope of the daughter of the principle worshipper (*yajamāna*) and chief sponsor. The girls aged approximately between four and nine are mainly from the farmers’ sub-castes. They were also later joined by a few carpenters’ daughters and Banamāla (Gāthā) girls, but only on the following day.

### The Ritual Place

The ritual place, i.e. the place for the ritual fire and the seats for the girls, is a small lane in the quarter (*tvāḥ*) of Byāsī, which is now almost totally occupied by the ritual. The girls take their places on cushions and mattresses in three long rows separated into two groups by the sacrificial place that will be prepared for various sub-rituals and sacrifices on the second day.

In front of them are the things they have been asked to bring with them: a *pūjā* plate (*kvataḥ*) with material for incense (*dhūp*), i.e. twisted cotton wicks and oil, light (*dīp*), fruits and sweets (*naivedya*), and for the *tikā* a small container for red (*abīr*, Skt. *sindūra*) and orange powder (*bhuisinha*) as well as four small clay saucers with yoghurt. Also on the plate are a *kisli* clay saucer with rice, a betel-nut and a silver coin, small pieces of fruit, popped rice, and flowers, mostly *lalpate* (Euphorbia). The children also bring a vase (*kalaśa*) filled with water and with a flower inside, the traditional *sukūda* lamp, as well as a larger clay bowl (*salāpā*) in which two bamboo sticks, a *bel* fruit, and a long wound-up length of white or yellow thread have been placed.

While the girls are sitting on the mattresses, some of them sleeping on the laps of their mothers, an elderly woman cleans a spot on the ground for the sacred place. On it the Jośi draws a diagram (Nev. *mandah*) in white and red powder for the Nāndīmukhaśrāddha worship which purifies the house, pacifies the ancestors and prevents possible impurity during the Ihi ritual, such as when a relative dies during the ritual (see below). The *śrāddha* is performed by Bhakta Bahadur Lavaju, the head of the principle worshipper’s lineage, on the directions of the Brahmin priest, but the place is prepared by the Jośi. The square diagram is divided into 16 smaller squares with four triangles on each side dedicated to



the 16 Mothers Goddesses (Ṣoḍaṣamāṭṛkā). The Jośi sits on a small mattress in the south facing north. He places nine clay saucers on the northern triangles and puts two betel-nuts and a wick in each. When asked who these clay saucers are for, one priest said for Indra etc., i.e. the protector deities of the directions (*dikpālā*), the other for the Nine Durgās. He also places some unhusked rice and a wick on each of the 16 fields. North of the square diagram he draws three further diagrams for Gaṇa (Gaṇeśa), Gogrāsa (cow) and Kumārī, as well as a further *svastikayantra*, and places on it *dhaupati* for the Aṣṭacīrañjivīs, the Eight Immortals, represented by a leaf plate with rice and two pairs of small clay saucers filled with yoghurt. In front of the central *svastikayantra* he draws five symbols for five deities (*pañcāyatana*, i.e. Sadāśiva, Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gṛhalakṣmī and the *iṣṭadevatā*, the ancestral deity of the worshipper) and places fragments of green banana leaves on them. Below the diagram for the Sixteen Mothers, a seat (*āsana*) is marked to represent the seven gates (*saptadvārā*) of the heavens.

Assisted by the Ācāju, the Jośi then moulds cooked rice into conical forms (*gvajā*) and places them on the three central diagrams; he does the same with two smaller *gvajās* each placed on the *pañcāyatana* positions. Finally he decorates each of the places with a marigold and sticks *lalpate* in the larger rice cones (*gvajā*). He then places a large vase with white jasmine in it between the square diagram and the other diagrams, to the west a *sukūda* lamp and the *pūjā* plate to the north. The whole site is encircled by a long garland of betel-nut-shaped lilac flowers (*gvēsvā*, Nep. *makhmalī*), which the Jośi lays on the ground.

After a while the husband of the worshipper's sister appears as the most senior man (*mhaynāyaḥ*) of the group of wife-takers of the principle worshipper and organiser-cum-

sponsor of the Ihi ritual. He comes out of the house situated behind the place that has been prepared. On his shoulders he carries the traditional bamboo pole with two trays (*khaḥm-hū*) containing the material for the worship of the Alīdyah (see below). In the left tray is the wooden measuring vessel, a plate with three large and 27 small *gvajās*, a *kisli* saucer, a large number of *masala* packs (with a clove, a dried raisin, a cardamom, one small piece of candis sugar, coconut, cinnamon and betel-nut, as well as one popped white corn) and betel pouches. In the second tray are new clothes and further *pūjā* material, such as coloured *naivedya* breads (*marhi*), fruits, powder, incense and rice flour.

The *mhaynāyaḥ* places the baskets temporarily on the sacrificial place while the girls ritually hand over their *pūjā* plate to the priest and make a ritual decision for the ensuing worship. They light the *sukūda* lamp, pour water into the vase, and touch the *pūjā* plate with their right hand – in which they also hold some rice, barley and sesame seeds, as well as water and flowers. For these subrituals, called *puṣpabhājana* and *saṃkalpa*, the seats of the nine first girls (*nava nakhī*) are re-arranged. They are now asked to sit west of the sacrificial place rather than in a row with the other girls. Originally it was planned that only five girls (*pañcakanyā*, cf. Vergati 1982a: 276, Pradhan 1986: 114) would sit in this manner, but after a long dispute four more were allowed to sit in this privileged form. All of these nine girls, now declared as “presiding” women (*nakhī*) are from the farmers' community, five from the Suvāl *thar* – among them the *mhaynakhī* Raslila Suval, the daughter of the principle worshipper – one from the Kvaju lineage (*thar*), one from the Sukhupāyo *thar*, and two from the Ghaymvasu *thar*.

### The Mysterious Alīdyah or Clay Deity

After the ritual decision, a small procession-  
al group is sent to the Jetha (Jeṭṭha) Gaṇeśa  
Temple in the potters' quarter (Tālākva) to  
perform the worship of the Alīdyah, the Clay  
Deity of ambiguous identity. The group is  
led by the two Brahmin priests, the princi-  
ple worshipper, the *mhaynāyah* carrying the  
*sukūda* lamp, and the *mhaymacā*, the sister  
of the worshipper carrying the *pūjā* plate, as  
well as other elderly participants. They are  
accompanied by a group of musicians from  
the Jyāpu caste: eight men playing the bam-  
boo flute, two drummers, and one man with  
cymbals.

### The Duty of the Potter

About two weeks before any Ihi ritual the  
*mhaynāyah*, the chief of a group of tillers  
dependent on the officiating Brahmin or the  
eldest of the principle worshipper's group  
of wife-takers, will carry a *kisli*, a small cup  
with rice, a betel-nut and a coin to a potter  
in Tālākva, which indicates the act of order-  
ing the 16 pots and one small bowl necessary  
for the enactment of the ritual. The potters  
mostly keep a stock of these pots in three or  
four different sizes. Should some be missing,  
this allows enough time to produce, sun dry  
and fire them.

Only the potters of the lower town in Tā-  
lākva are entitled to produce blackware. This  
reserves for them the privilege and duty of  
producing containers and jugs as well *ga-  
pacā* pots and *salāpā* bowls as redware for  
ritual use. The potters of Tālākva are not or-  
ganised into a formal *guthī*, but they share  
dietary restrictions regarding duck meat and  
eggs, which they are not allowed to consume.  
A widely known legend says that once upon  
a time the potters of the lower town were  
trying furiously to produce their wares, but  
whenever they opened their kilns all they  
found were broken pots. One day a duck was

found to have survived in one of these bro-  
ken pots, and was making a repeated noise  
that sounded like *phi, phi*, which in Nevārī  
means "sand". Sand had to be added to the  
black clay to produce durable pottery! Since  
then the duck is considered to be Biśvokarma  
(Skt. Viśvakarman), the tutelary deity of all  
crafts in Bhaktapur.

Earlier in the morning the potter had shaped  
a lump of black clay (*hākucā*) into a cylinder,  
allegedly Śiva's *liṅga*, with a disc of clay  
attached to one side probably depicting his  
hairknot. Although the ritual specialists in-  
volved agreed that the black cylinder repre-  
sents Śiva, a wide range of names were of-  
fered, including Agni and Bhairava. The Jośi  
acting on the square in November 2005 was  
absolutely sure that it was Anantaliṅgeśvara,  
to whom a temple is dedicated southwest of  
Bhaktapur and of which a replica is to be  
found within the city at Khaumā Square. A  
certain affinity to Śiva is demonstrated by the  
fact that after the completion of the Ihi ritual,  
the lump of clay will be discarded at a nearby  
temple dedicated to Śiva – which is conse-  
quently home to a *liṅga*. The Brahmin, how-  
ever, named the lump of clay "Agnidyah",  
which refers to the god of fire, while the pot-  
ter changed this designation to "Egindyah",  
admitting that he had no idea what kind of de-  
ity this might be. Most clients referred to the  
*liṅga* as Alīdyah, the name under which the  
lump of clay is also widely known in neigh-  
bouring Patan, where in a Buddhist context it  
represents a *caitya*, the symbolic representa-  
tion of the Buddha and his teachings.

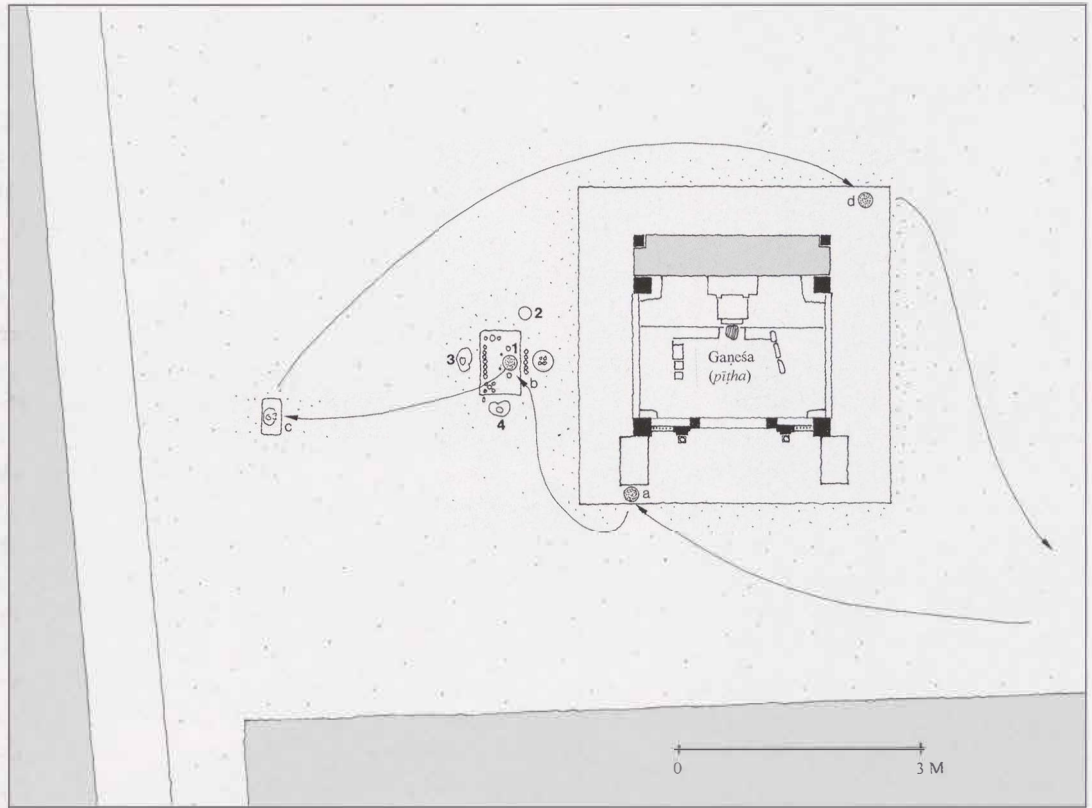
### The First Ritual Dedicated to the Lump of Clay

The site of the ritual is clearly marked by a  
flat stone west of the Jetha Gaṇeśa temple  
measuring 49 by 82 centimetres (see site  
plan). The central position is taken by the  
Alīdyah, while the acting ritual specialists,  
the Jośi and the Brahmin, take their posi-

*Alīdyahpūjā at Tālākva on 27<sup>th</sup> November 2004, ordered by Mahendra Sharma.*

A lump of black clay shaped as a cylinder is brought by a potter and placed on the southwestern corner of the Gaṇeśa temple (a). The assistant priest, Govinda Joshi puts it on the ritual place which is marked by a large flagstone (b) and hands it over at the end of the ritual to the potter's grandson, who stands on a wooden platform (āsana) that is situated on a second flagstone (c). The twelve-year old young boy carries it to the northeastern corner of the temple's platform (d), where it is taken by his grandfather for further refinement.

The cylinder of clay (1) forms the centre of the arena, while the Gaṇeśa pot (2) guards the space at a little distance. The officiating Brahmin (3) faces east, while his client, Pushpa Narayan Shrestha (4) faces north.



tion and turn to the east. After the *liṅga* is placed on a large leaf of *jēlālapte*, the Jośi fixes three eyes, rhomboid silver sheets with black pupils at the centre, on the front and five coloured flags (*pañcapatra*) are stuck onto the top. The affixing of the eyes seems to transform the lump of clay into the deity. However, no clue is given as to the role Śiva plays in this particular ritual. Is he introduced as the ultimate witness, or perhaps even as the bridegroom?

To the left of the *liṅga* the Gaṇeśa *kalaśa* is placed with its radish-plate on top. Behind the *liṅga* five cones of cooked rice (*gvajā*) are placed together with small *kisli* cups containing rice, a betel-nut and a coin, representing the *pañcāyana* deities, i.e. Sūrya, Nārāyaṇa, Gaṇeśa, Durgā and Sadāśiva. Set behind the *pañcāyana* ensemble are a plate of unhusked rice (*vā*) and four cups of yoghurt, representing the seven seers. The *liṅga* is flanked by

two more *gvajā*, said to act as *dvārapālas*, the guardians of the site. The *liṅga* is also flanked by a mirror and a vermilion container, representing in this context the goddesses Śrī (or Sarasvatī) and Lakṣmī. Also on the left is the triple offering (*tribali*), which is dedicated to Kumārī, *gogrās* (represented by a *kisli* cup), and Gaṇeśa. Placed to the right is an arrangement that is identified either as *pañcabali* (five offerings), Aṣṭabhairava, or Kṣetrapāla. Unambiguous is the presence of Gaṇeśa in the form of light: the *sukūda* lamp is placed to the extreme right, together with incense. A certain ambiguity is widely found in many rituals because precise identification is not obligatory: *kisli* cups or *gvajā* cones are used in a variety of contexts with vague connotations. The seers, the *pañcāyana* deities, Bhairava and Kṣetrapāla are somehow summoned to protect the place, in the centre of which the Alīdyah demonstrates his pre-



sence. Śrī and Lakṣmī, two aspects of the Devī grace the scene. What seems important is the fact that all of the deities are present in a non-iconic form. They cannot be recognised and gain their “individuality” through the words of the officiating Brahmin alone.

The lowest line of the ritual place is made up of seven small leaf plates with the inevitable auspicious offerings: fish, *akṣata*-rice, yoghurt, fruits, meat, *māri* sweets and popped rice. Rape and broad leaf mustard seeds (*ikā-pakhā*), the compulsory offerings to the ghosts, are offered as an initial act of a ritual.

While the acting auxiliary priests – a Jośī, a Śivācārya, a Karmācārya, or all of them – are preparing the ground, the wife of the potter who had shaped the Alīdyaḥ places incense

into the nearby Gaṇeśa temple to propitiate the evil spirits who might haunt the site. She also has to supply a straw mat and cushions for the actors. Finally, a Brahmin priest takes over and reads out from the *Suvarṇakumāravivāhavidhi* the declaration of ritual intention in the presence of his client, the *jajmān* (Skt. *yajamāna*), who acts as the organiser and principle worshipper, the *kāji*, of the entire ritual. His daughter has obtained the privileged role of the *nakhī*, who sits on first place in a row of up to 140 *ihimacā*. At the end of the ritual the client receives a red mark on his forehead from the Brahmin while he hands over *dakṣiṇā*.

In a second stage the Śivācārya or the Jośī acts again as an assistant. He hands over a new

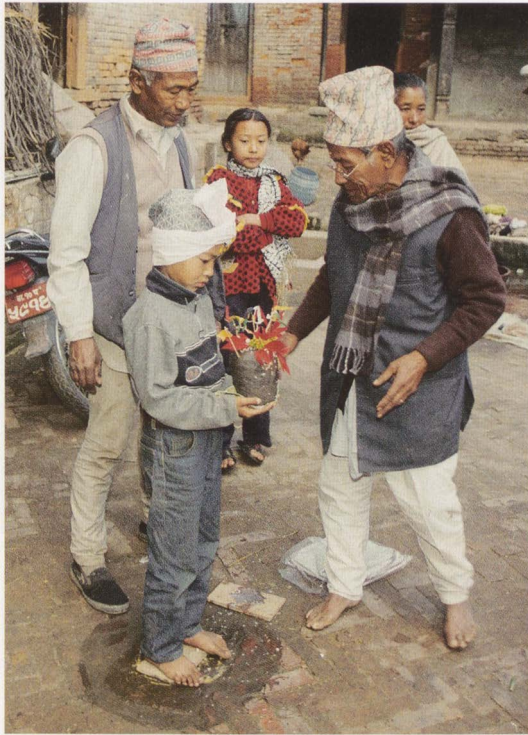
*Alīdyaḥpūjā* on 27<sup>th</sup> November 2004.

A *liṅga* shaped from black clay (*hākucā*) is decorated with five flags and red flowers (*lalpate*), flanked by the mirror (*jvalanhāykā*, representing the goddess Śrī) and a vermilion container (*sinhamhu*, representing Lakṣmī) and two cones of cooked rice (*gvajā*).

*Alīdyahpūjā on 27<sup>th</sup> November 2004.*

*The acting assistant priest, the astrologer Govinda Joshi hands over the Alīdyah to Udayacandra Prajapati (the grandson of the potter who shaped the liṅga), who wears a turban and stands on a designated stone on Tālākva square.*

*Photos 27<sup>th</sup> November 2004*



cap to the son or grandson of the potter who had shaped the Alīdyah. The boy duly stands on a wooden plank on top of a small flagstone in the pavement that has been purified with cow dung and designated by a *svastika* diagram done in rice flour. The plank serves as the “platform”, *āsana*. Once the boy is standing on this platform, the Jośi binds a white turban around the new cap, and the wife of the *mhaynāyah* performs the usual welcoming ritual (*lasakusa*) to the instructions of the Brahmin, who is still present. This includes a mark being placed on the person’s forehead in vermilion and yoghurt, and flowers and rice being showered over their body. In this case the ritual includes the act called *siphā luyegu* (lit. “to pour from a wooden container”), in which flowers and ritual rice are poured thrice over his body from a container. This is also done on many other occasions, such as during the boys’ initiation.

Carrying the Alīdyah, the principle worshipper is now instructed by the Śivācārya to lead the boy to the northeastern corner of

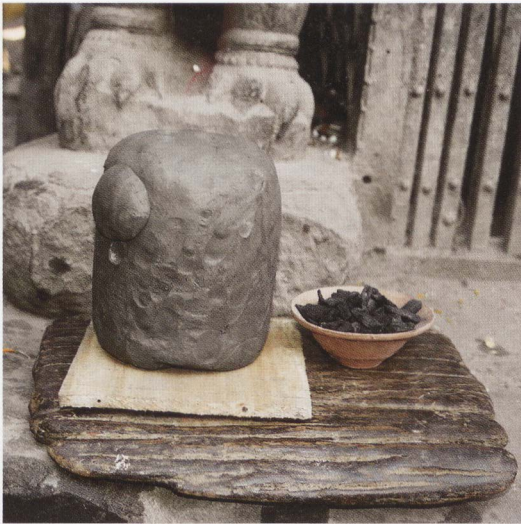
the Gaṇeśa temple while pouring water from a *kalaśa*. The moment the boy places the Alīdyah there in its rough form, the children of the square rush up and rip off the decorations. Within a second the consecrated deity is transformed into a lifeless, meaningless lump of clay that waits to be reshaped into a more sophisticated form.

### Shaping the Alīdyah

The potter then takes the Alīdyah to his workshop, where he gives it a proper shape and adds eight serpent bodies along the shaft in an effort to frame it. He also fashions four small cups from the lump of clay, which are later placed on the outer border of the firepit.

Later that afternoon, the Karmācārya and the *mhaynāyah* leave the house of the principle worshipper with the sacred vase that bears a representation of Gaṇeśa, and turn to a non-iconic Gaṇeśa shrine at Inaygaḥ, located in a pit (*gaḥ*) a few steps beyond the western edge of the historic settlement. There the pot is empowered by a Tantric ritual and taken to the square of the potters, where the potter is already waiting with the refined clay object, the Alīdyah. The ritual, similar to the one in the morning, is now repeated. The deity with its multiple identities is once again given eyes, flags, and also yellow thread of the kind that had earlier been handed out to the girls participating in the Ihi ritual. The potter’s wife receives a ritual meal of *samaya* (soybeans, ginger, meat, flattened rice, fish and egg) and *bikūbaji*, an offering of about four kilos of rice.

With the vase of Gaṇeśa in one basket and the Alīdyah in another, the *mhaynāyah* heads for the ritual place in the company of the Karmācārya. At the entrance to the site the Karmācārya prepares a *yantra* on which he places the Alīdyah and offers rape seeds and broad-leaf mustard (*ikāpakhā*) seeds, which are burnt on charcoal to produce a smoke that purifies the access to the ritual place. The



wife of the officiating Brahmin priest appears to perform a welcoming ritual (*lasakusa*) before leading the two with their ritual objects to the scene. The potter follows suit, carrying the remaining sixteen pots in two baskets.

The principle worshipper and sponsor, Bagat Bahadur, refers to the ritual on the Tālā-kva square of the potters simply as *cā phyāgu* (lit. “to mould clay”). He compares the gift of unmoulded clay to the potter with the “Gift of the Virgin”. The lump of clay is worshipped in the usual sequence of flower, incense, a bunch of keys and offerings from the *siphā*

vessel by his sister, who represents the paternal aunts, the *ninis*. The *ninis* are called “living ancestors” (Gutschow/Michaels 2005: 115) because they no longer belong to the paternal lineage but continue to visit their maternal home (*thachē*). All Ihi girls will eventually leave their maternal home to become a “living ancestor”. Worshipping the lump of clay as a preparatory ritual prior to the “Gift of the Virgin” might hint at an identity that nevertheless remains veiled. The potter to whom the principle worshipper hands over the lump of clay with the help of the *Tini* or Śivācārya

*Ihi* ritual in Bhaktapur, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2007.

The making of the *Alīdyah* on the preparatory day (*dusva*). For the first ritual in the early morning, a roughly shaped cylinder of black clay (1) with the indication of a hair knot is brought with charcoal and a wooden seat (*āsana*) and placed on the plinth of the *Gaṇeśa* temple.

For the second ritual, the lump of clay is taken by the potter to his wheel (2) to provide a more sophisticated yet non-ionic shape with a pointed top. Placed in a bowl together with four small cups, the moulded lump is surrounded by eight snake bodies. The wife of the potter places the *Alīdyah* on to the ritual place and binds yellow *kumaḥkāḥ* thread around it (3). The *Karmācārya* assistant priest sticks auspicious flags into the body of the deity and adds three eyes onto the surface to provide orientation. The *mhaynāyaḥ* helper carries the *Alīdyah* and the *Gaṇeśa* pot to the entrance of the ritual place to be formally welcomed by the wife of the acting Brahmin (4). The potter follows with the remaining 15 pots which have to be delivered to the site to be painted there the same evening.

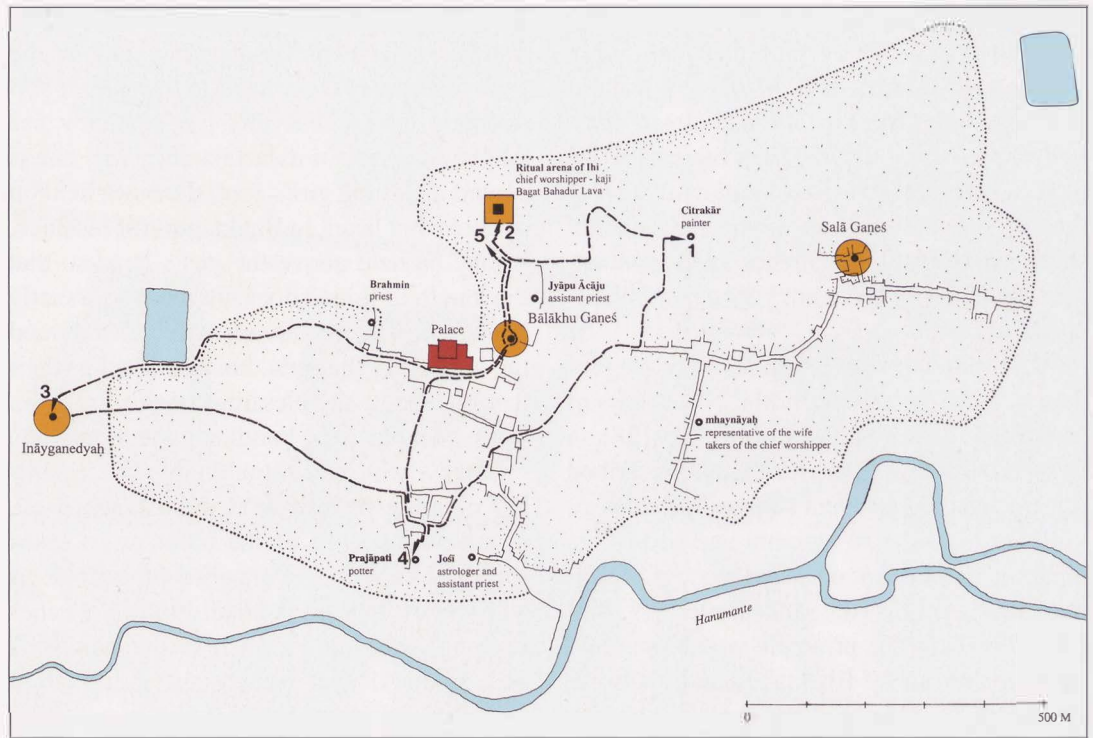
Bhaktapur, Ihi ritual on 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> December 2006 in Byāsi, organised by the chief worshipper, Bagat Bahadur Lava.

The day preceding the preparatory rituals (*dusva*), the chief worshipper turns to a potter (*Kumaḥ*) at Tālākva square to collect a pot which he hands over to a painter (*Citrakār*, no. 1 on the map) to be painted with Gaṇeśa. Early in the morning of the *dusva* day he collects the pot and takes it home (route no. 2). The representative of the wife-takers of the chief worshipper's family, the *mhaynāyaḥ*, carries the pot in the company of the acting assistant priest (*Ācāju*) to the shrine of Ināygaṇedyah (route no. 3), located beyond the western edge of the city. There the pot is filled with water and thus empowered by the Tantric priest.

From Ināygaṇedyah the group turns to the potter (route no. 4) to collect the Alīdyah deity, which has been elaborately moulded from the lump of clay that had been worshipped earlier that morning.

Upon the return to the chief worshipper's house (route no. 5), both of the divine objects, the pot representing Gaṇeśa and the clay object representing Alīdyah (*Śiva*, *Agni* or *Bhairava*) are welcomed at the threshold by the wife of the acting Brahmin, Kalpana Sharma, with a *lasakusapūjā*.

In the meantime, the Brahmin priest and his Jośi assistant have prepared the ritual place.



(the purity specialist who later worships the *bel* fruits) or, in his absence, by the Jośi, is identified by the principle worshipper as Dakṣaprajāpati, the demiurge or sun genius and son of Brahmā, whose daughter Pārvatī or Satī was married to Śiva. On one occasion, the principle worshipper declares that Dakṣaprajāpati failed to offer Śiva a share of a sacrifice that he offered to all the other gods. Assuming the form of Virabhadra, Śiva killed him but restored him to life, albeit with a goat's head. It is difficult to say whether this weird myth has any connection to the ritual. Others do not share the explanation given by the principle worshipper, but the openness of this ritual allows many different meanings. Thus, Bagat Bahadur immediately identifies the lump of clay as Agnidyaḥ and never refers to Alīdyah, Śiva, or Bhairava. According to him, the transformed and skilfully moulded lump of clay that is brought to his house represents the fire that is needed to kindle the sacred fire the following day.

In the evening of the *dusva* day, the *mhaynāyaḥ* brings the artistically moulded Alīdyah deity and the Gaṇeśa pot to the house of the sponsor, who worships him while standing on the threshold stone, the *pikhālākhu*. After this, the Brahmin priest's wife appears to take his hand and lead him into the house of the sponsor, who has to feed him *dusvajā*, cooked food that will be shared by all the Ihi girls that same day. Normally, a Suvāl farmer would not share cooked rice with a Kumaḥ potter, in particular with one to whom he is not related by marriage. Sharing *dusvajā* demonstrates a rare transgression of the otherwise strictly observed borders of commensality.

#### The Worship of the Ancestors: Nāndīśrāddha

After the worship of the Alīdyah, the participants of the procession return to the place where the Ihi ritual is performed – passing

a rest house in which the buffalo is still being prepared for the evening meal (*dusvajā*). All the girls and mothers have been waiting there patiently. By this time it is already past midday, meaning that the girls have been sitting on their places for six hours without any meal. During these long hours they do not show any sign of impatience or discontent, even though they have not yet been at the focus of attention.

What follows is the continuation of the preparatory rituals, especially the Nāndī(ka)- or Nāndīmukhaśrāddha (see above p. 128), a ritual that is not specific for Ihi but prescribed for any auspicious event such as marriage or initiation in order to worship and pacify the *nāndīmukhapitarah* or ancestors (cf. Śrāddhavidhi, pp. 87-105, and Kane 1973/IV: 526-528). Now the principle worshipper and head of the family Bhakta Bahadur Lavaju, the Brahmin priest and the Jośi jointly perform the worship of the deities.

After a few minutes one Brahmin priest asks the girls to stand up while his elder brother continues guiding the Nāndīmukhaśrāddha, also called Vṛddhi- or Ābhyudayikaśrāddha. It is said that an even number of Brahmins should be invited to perform the *śrāddha*. During this the priest asks the *nāyāh* to place *bayar*, dried fruits from the *jujube* tree (*Zizyphus jujuba*), and blades of *ḍubo* grass on the seats arranged on the diagram. These represent *piṇḍas* to the ancestors (*pitṛ*). The girls are also asked to worship the ancestors and all deities by throwing rice and flowers at the sacred place.

#### The Measurement of the Girls (*kumaḥkāh*)

Afterwards the girls are measured 108 times or more from feet to head with the yellow or white thread they have brought and placed in the *salāpā* bowl. This sub-ritual is called *kumaḥkāh*, “the thread of the Kumārī”, or *satbhṛndikā*, lit. “pure thread”. The *nakhī*, to-

gether with the women from the Brahmin’s family and the assistant priest enfold the girls nine times from head to toe with a six-stranded thread. For this purpose they use two sticks made of dwarf bamboo (*ti*): one is placed under the girl’s foot, the other held on or above her head. In Bhaktapur, for instance, it may be held above the girl’s head so that the length of thread does not measure exactly her height. The threads are then coiled around the sticks and the girls, holding them in their hands, receive the blessings of the Brahmin. They then place the bundle on the *pūjā* plate.

After a while the ritual ends with a number of more or less short sub-rituals: *āratī*, in which the wife of the main priest takes a special ball of rice (instead of *sukūḍā*, as elsewhere) with three small burning torches sticking in it and shows it to the nine girls and mothers, who receive the sacred light with their hands and then direct it over their heads. The Ācāju shows the light to the other girls. Then the Brahmin does his rounds, collecting the sacrificial fee (*dakṣiṇā*) in a large plastic bucket. This is quickly followed by a ritual decision to present food (*annasamkalpa*), which is formulated by the priest in the name of the children, blessings (*āśīrvāda*) in the form of verses (*śāntika-puṣṭikamantra*) spoken once again by the priest, the release of the sun as witness (*sūryasākṣī*), and, finally, the priest and his helpers ritually cleaning the sacrificial place.

In the late afternoon the girls are fed with a meal (*dusvajā*) cooked under the guidance of the Brahmin’s wife and served on a special plate, the *thāybhū*, for the nine privileged girls and on *jēlālapte* leaves for the other girls. It is regarded as the virgin’s last meal. The food includes boiled rice, meat, vegetables and lentils, as well as many other items including *pañcāmṛta* (milk, yoghurt, ghee, sugar and honey) and *khē svagā* (meat, fish, bean cake, egg, alcohol), considered to make up the standard 84 varieties (*cyepetā ghāsā*,



*Ihi ritual at Naraincok on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2007. Measurement of the nakhī, the privileged girl of the group from feet to head with the kumahkāḥ thread on the preparatory day (dusva). The Brahmin's wife provides the thread which is coiled around bamboo sticks.*



Nep. *caurāsī byañjan*). In addition, the nine privileged girls (*nava nakhī*) are served with *syū*, i.e. the nine parts of the head of the sacrificial animal (see Gutschow/Michaels 2005: 121). The girls must eat the dishes alone and take at least five handfuls (*pañcagrāsa*) in the traditional way, i.e. with thumb and ring finger, then thumb and small finger, thumb and middle finger, thumb and index finger, and finally with all fingers together. In this ritualistic way they demonstrate that they have become independent and no longer need anybody to feed them. It is also remarkable that the girls are almost totally by themselves, i.e. without any adults; the priest alone tells them what to do. Only mothers with small children will help their daughters. The leftovers are brought to the nearest absorbing stone (*chvāsah*). From now on the girls are not allowed to eat any food, especially salt, until they are served light food and tea the next morning.

#### Preparing the *kumaḥkāḥ* Thread at Home

On returning home with the *kumaḥkāḥ* thread, the girls' mothers work hard under the guidance of the other women of the house to prepare the twelve objects that have to be knotted into the thread. These are: 1 piece of ginger, 2 flattened rice, 3 betel-nut, 4 raw sugar, 5 a copper coin, 6 four grains of unhusked rice, 7 salt and ginger, 8 four pieces of popped rice, 9 fish, 10 a short twig of *miciki* (Nep. *svasthanisvā*, Nep. *jamāne māndro*, also *daruhaldi*), 11 *sujaphva* (Skt.  *jyotiṣmatī*?) and 12 *malephva*. The first nine items are regularly kept in a Newar household. A twig of *miciki*, the flowers of which are needed for the observance of *svasthānī* in January/February, is not for sale in the market and has to be obtained from a farmer or the women of the Gāthā, who supply the city with flowers for rituals throughout the year. *Sujaphva* and *malephva* are on sale at the shops that supply the materials needed for annual and life-cycle

rituals. *Sujaphva* is a small dried flower, while *malephva* is a walnut-size fruit that could not be identified. Nobody in Bhaktapur has ever seen the bush or tree bearing these fruits.

The question arises as to why these twelve items are knotted into the thread. The inclusion of rice, ginger and salt hint at provisions for a journey similar to the *deśāntara* journey undertaken by initiated boys. These boys even receive a *miciki* stick that is tied to the bundle they carry on their shoulders. If the girls are being equipped for a journey, is it the anticipated journey to the realm of the future human husband or is it the journey to the world of the divine husband, Viṣṇu?

#### Painting the Pots and Bowls by the Citrakār

In the evening of the first day every painter family has to send a representative to the principle worshipper's house to paint the fifteen pots needed for the ritual on the coming day. The Gaṇeśa *kalaśa* has already been painted and taken earlier to the ritual place in the company of the Alīdyaḥ. A potter brings the remaining pots to the site in the morning.

Experienced painters such as Surje Chitrakar or Narain Krishna Chitrakar will attend to the *pūrṇakalaśa* that will bear Brahmā. The others take care of the representations of the *aṣṭamaṅgala*, *yakṣa/yakṣiṇī*, Śrī/Lakṣmī, *nāgarāja* and *praṇītā*. Young, inexperienced boys are left the task of painting the *salāpā* bowls, of which six to 140 are needed.

#### The Second Day

On the early morning of the next day the ritual place is freshly prepared for the forthcoming consecration of the sacred vases (*kalaśārcana*) and the domestic fire sacrifice (*homa*, *havana*, *yajña*), as well as another worship of the ancestors (*nāndikaśrāddha*). For this purpose the sacrificial area has been shifted a few metres in order to use the limited space to best effect. It is the place around which

a number of sub-rituals will take place, including the climax, the “Gift of the Virgin” (*kanyādāna*).

#### The Fire Sacrifice (*homa*, *yajña*)

The consecration of the vases, in which the gods are invoked, is a ritual that precedes the fire sacrifice – which itself precedes the main ritual event (*viśeṣakarma*). The *homa*, which has little to do with its Vedic antecedents (van den Hoek 1992, Gray 1979), is not significantly different from other *laukika*-, *samanya*- or *sāntihoma* rituals, as performed by Rājopādhyāyas during various life-cycle rituals and other occasions such as the consecration of a house. For an event to be auspicious, it is essential to invite a host of deities – the main (*mūla*- or *pradhāna*-) and accompanying (*aṅga*- or *parivāra*-), the personal (*iṣṭa*- and *kula*-) as well as the local (*sthāna*- and *deśa*-) deities (*devatā*) – and to pacify the ancestors and possibly malevolent deities.

All in all over one hundred gods are to be invited and fed – among them the respective central deity (*mūladevatā*), Gaṇeśa, Brahmā, Agni, Mṛtyuñjaya and Amṛteśvarī, the five Gomātrkas, Śrī, Lakṣmī, Kumārī, the *pañcāyatana* or *parivāradematā* group (Sūrya, Śiva, Gṛhalakṣmī, Varuṇa, Nāgarāja), the Aṣṭamātrkā, the Yoginīs, the four Vedas, the Ṛṣis, the Navagrahas, the *kṣetrapālas*, *dikpālas* and *lokapālas*, *kālapatis* (deified “time rulers” such as the months, *tithis* or *nakṣatras*), *iṣṭadevatās* and *kuladevatās*, and local deities (*sthāna*-, *deśadevatā*).

The *homa* ritual lasts for about three hours. The Jośi has already prepared the fireplace with unbaked bricks on the evening of the first day. He first purified the ground with a mixture of cow dung, red clay and water. Afterwards he arranged the bricks for the firepit in two layers in a quadrangular form with two additional bricks each in the four directions. To the north he had also built a rectangular

one-layered platform of unbaked bricks for the nine sacred vases that have been described above. To the east he made similar platforms for the Nāndikaśrāddha. These bricks have been brushed with mud and cow dung.

Early in the morning of the second day, four bamboo sticks, sugar canes and banana poles are erected at the corners of the sacrificial place. They are connected with four thinner bamboo branches on which several flower garlands, pipal leaves and coloured paper flags have been hung. This construction is supposed to form a kind of sacrificial canopy above the fireplace (*yajñamaṇḍapa*). Fixed to the corners are banana leaves, and sacred vases (*kalaśa*) are placed on the grounds in the four directions.

The Jośi then places a layer of unhusked rice as seats for the sacred vases and the eight vases representing the *aṣṭamaṅgala* on the rectangular platform in the north. In addition he places the mirror (*javālānhāykā*) to the east and the vermilion container (*sinhaḥmū*) to the west, together with an earthen vessel for yoghurt (*dhaupati*). The sacred vases (*kalaśa*), especially the main vase (*pūrṇakalaśa*), are filled with water and milk and covered with a clay cup with a piece of white cotton, a betel nut, rice (*akṣata*) and a coin.

The Jośi also strews with white and red powder to create several diagrams on the altar (*vedi*) and on the ground, thus marking the seats for the deities. *Yantras* indicate the seats for the offerings dedicated to various deities. Thus a *tribali* is prescribed for Gaṇeśa, *gogrāsa* for Gomātrkā or Aṣṭamātrkā, or a *pañcabali* for Sūrya, Śiva, Gṛhalakṣmī, *iṣṭadevatā*, Varuṇa or Nāgarāja.

He continues by making an octagonal lotus (*aṣṭapadma*) diagram round the firepit and *svastikas* or various other circular and rectangular diagrams for the sacred vases in the north and for the ritual items such as *sukūda* or *argyhapātra*. For the seat of Viṣṇu, one of the earthen vases is placed to the east; a

red disc in a green frame indicates his presence as *praṇītā*. For Brahmā, a bundle of two pieces of wood used to sprinkle holy water (*prokṣaṇī*) is placed in the west.

The seats for the priests and the *nāyaḥ* are in the south, facing north. The Jośi places a straw mat for himself on the ground and arranges the necessary ritual items on and around the altar, placing among them pipal leaves with *akṣata* for Agni at the centre of the firepit, pipal leaves with sacred threads and *kuśa* grass for the four Vedas on the four bricks at the sides, as well as on the sacrificial ladles, various plates with grains and flowers, and a vase with purified water (*jalakalaśa*). He also hangs a copper vessel (*ghṛtadhāra*) over the fire altar, from which liquid ghee will later be dripped into the flames.

Mukunda Sharma, the younger brother of the main Brahmin priest Mahendra Sharma, who performs the *homa*, uses a modern “spiral pad” as his handbook in which he has copied on 36 pages the main ritual events (Nevārī, red ink) and the *mantras* (Sanskrit, black ink). For the Nāndīkaśrāddha he uses a similar handbook. The priest performs and combines the following ritual elements or steps:<sup>23</sup>

- Preparations: purification (*ācamana*, Nev. *nasalā*), worship of Gaṇeśa, worship of Viṣṇu with water (*arghajala*), ritual decision (*saṃkalpa*), worship of the *maṇḍala* in the firepit with water and flowers, spiritual and ritual preparation of the priest (*nyāsa*, *tikā*, water from the *arghyapātra*) and the sacrificer (*yajamāna*), worship of two pieces of firewood and two *kuśa* blades.
- Worship of deities: worship of *sukūda* and Gaṇeśa; worship of Gaṇeśa, Yoginīs, Durgā, and *dikpālas* at a diagram on the southwest corner of the sacrificial space.
- Preparation and worship of the firepit (*yajñakūṇḍa*): The priest begins with incense etc. (*atra gandhādi*), he looks (*nirikṣaṇa*) at the altar reciting the *gāyatrī*

*mantra*, he touches the altar, sprinkles water on it, smooths the ground (*mūlepana*) and worships the altar with unhusked rice, flowers (marigold) and *kuśa* grass. He then encircles the altar with three strings of cotton thread (*trisūtra*), and performs a Lakṣmī- and Vāgīśvarapūjā by creating two small heaps of *akṣata* and placing pieces of sugar cane on them.

- Piling up firewood: The priest takes one piece of *aśvattha* wood, sprinkles *argha* water on it, recites once again the *gāyatrī-mantra* (*gāyatrīsodhana*), and finally places four times four and three times three, a total of 25 logs of wood in the form of four squares and three triangles on the ground.
- Kindling the fire (*agniprajvalana*): The priest touches his eyes with water, takes a small piece of wood, places a small cotton wick on it and lights it with a lighter, again reciting the *gāyatrī-mantra* and other verses. He then lights the fire.
- Worshipping sacred vases (*kalaśārcana*) and all other deities on the sacrificial place with water, rice (*akṣata*), incense (*dhūpa*), popped rice and/or sweets (*naivedya*).
- Feeding the fire with oblations and inviting the deities (*devapratiṣṭhā*): ritual cleaning of the three sacrificial ladles (*śruvā*, Nev. *dhagaḥ* and *catuvā*), cooking ghee, pouring ghee with the *dhagaḥ* into the fire, throwing ghee-saturated blades of *kuśa* grass into the fire, performing the ten life-cycle rituals (*daśasaṃskāra*) for the fire by reciting appropriate *mantras*, offering eighteen kinds of wood with ghee, offering ghee with the *catuvā* ladle and *caru* – a mixture of several grains – for all present deities, mixing seven kinds of grains (*saptadhānya*) and offering it to the fire three times reciting the *gāyatrī-mantra* and three times in the name of Agni, Gaṇeśa, Durgā, the *kṣetrapālas*, Brahmā, Viṣṇu (Praṇīta), the ten *dikpālas*, the four Vedas, the Navagrahas, the Aṣṭacirañjivis, the seers (*ṛṣi*), the family

<sup>23</sup> For a more detailed description of such rituals see Kropf 2005: 384-406. Handbooks similar to the private copy of Mahendra Sharma include Rājopādhyāya N.S. 1102, and the Agnisthāpana manuals of the Pūrbīya tradition, e.g. the popular edition of Buddhisa-gara Parājuli, n.d.

gods (*parivāradēvatā*, viz. Sūryanārāyaṇa, Sadāśiva, Gṛhalakṣmī, *iṣṭadēvatā*, Varuṇa, Nāgarāja), Gaṇeśa, the five Gomātrkās, the Aṣṭamātrkā, Śrī, Lakṣmī, and all other gods. In the course of offering the grains the priest throws them into the fire as well as onto the seats of the deities.

During the *homa*, the principle worshipper (*nāyaḥ*) again performs the Nāndikaśrāddha by throwing dried fruits of the *jujube* tree and blades of *ḍubo* grass to the ancestors (*pitṛ*) on the diagram.

The *homa* frames the main ritual event. It will be concluded after the Ihi ceremony with elements that will be described below. It is a ritual by which the totality of deities is invited for the protection and welfare of the main ritual event (*viśeṣakarma*). It resembles the social structure of the initiation rituals when the totality of relatives, neighbours and friends is invited to join and witness the transformation of a member of the clan. Both *homa* and Ihi are integrating rituals.

#### The Welcoming (*lasakusa*)

The girls appear with their mothers at around seven in the morning, once again dressed in festive bridal clothes and wearing all the jewellery from the previous day. On this day six more girls show up. They are from the Gāthā caste and are not allowed to participate on the first day and its concluding meal, the *dusvajā* (see above). The main ritual event is the marriage (*ihi*, Nep./Skt. *kanyādāna*), when the girls will be presented by their fathers to a deity called *suvarṇakumāra*, the “Golden Boy”, who is regarded either as Viṣṇu or Śiva.

The *nakhī* and/or the wife of the priest receive the girls with a traditional welcoming ritual (*lasakusa*) at the entrance to the sacrificial place. Using a piece of *ḍubo* grass, the welcomer(s) sprinkle(s) water onto the girls. Afterwards the first girl is taken by the hand

and led round the fireplace. The wife of the Brahmin then offers another welcome to the girls using ritual rice, the *sukūda* lamp and the iron key.

#### Bodily Purification

The girls first have to undergo bodily purification. The Jyāpu Ācāju (or the Brahmin priest) consecrates the hands of the girls' paternal aunts (*nini*), who carry a small braided bamboo tray (*mimicā*) bearing the offerings for the barber's wife: a piece of buffalo meat, some grains of a variety of rice that is only used in ritual contexts (*svāvā*, literally “flower-rice”, see Gutschow/Michaels 2005: 65), a small lump of cow dung, a small cup containing mustard oil, and a cup (*kisli*) with rice, a betel-nut, a coin and a stylised jasmine flower (*daphaḥsvā*, Skt. *kuṇḍāpuṣpa*) made of silver (*jonā*) and fixed to a toothpick, and a small sacred thread. Only the nine privileged girls receive the *mimicā* tray from the hands of the Brahmin's wife. Before taking the first nine girls to the barber and his wife, she raises the Alīdyah high above the girl's heads and allows everybody to view (*darśana*) the mysterious deity, which somehow acts as witness.

Then all of the other girls follow with their paternal aunts; it takes almost an hour to pare the toenails (*lusi dhenegu*) and colour the feet (*ala tayegu*) of all the participating girls. The barber's wife does this work while her husband asks for a fee of forty rupees and the already mentioned *mimicā* offering. The woman pares the toenails above a (bronze) plate bearing a piece of red cloth and some money. This plate is held and afterwards taken away by the girl's respective paternal aunt (*nini*), who adds some uncooked and cooked rice to the nails and takes them to the Kālīghāṭ, the place specified for the house of the sponsor as the place for discarding ritual waste. In exchange she receives the length of cloth.

While the girls are still having their toenails pared, the Jośi prepares the ritual for empowering the vermilion powder (*sinhapūjā*). The wife of the Brahmin priest goes round and collects some powder from each of the girls, which she adds to the powder that the Jośi has put into the small bowl depicting a radish – the symbol of Gaṇeśa. He spreads out the red cloth that is later used to cover the girls' faces while colouring their foreheads. Uttering a few mantras, he performs the *pūjā* while the principle worshipper is engaged in his *śrāddha* and the Brahmin starts the sacred fire.

The Jośi continues making further preparations, such as placing *kisli* cups on the fourteen pots. The pot dedicated to Śrī had been filled with white husked rice (*jāki*), the one dedicated to Lakṣmī with brown unhusked rice (*vā*). The colour of the rice mirrors the colour of the non-iconic symbols painted on the pots. The Jośi also empowers the hands and the brush of the painter, the Citrakār, who now opens the eyes on the neck of the pots with tiny strokes. For this act of turning the earthen pots into ritual objects imbued with life (*prāṇapraṭiṣṭhā*) he uses the soot (*mvaḥ-ṇi*) that was collected during the sacrifice of the goat on the first day.

### Preparing for the Marriage

Having returned to the ritual place, each girl is presented with the painted *salāpā* bowl, and a special sari (*ihiparasi*) with red and yellow stripes, which is only worn during Ihi, during the subsequent worship of the lineage deity (*dugudyaḥpūjā*), and occasionally up until Bārḥā tayegu. The presentation of the bowl follows the parting of the hair (*sinču phāyegu*), which is performed by the wife of the chief Brahmin priest. She takes some vermilion (*sinhamhū*) between her right thumb and her middle and index fingers and smears it from the centre to the left temple, and then to the right across the girl's forehead, return-



ing to the middle and finally without any interruption into the girl's parting. This gesture marks the girl's married status because only married women have vermilion in this form in their hair. During this process the girl's eyes are covered with a piece of red cloth in order to protect them from the powder.

Afterwards the girls receive a coloured paper block print (*sapakvaḥ*) bearing auspicious symbols: in the centre a sacred vase (*kalaśa*), on the left a citrus fruit (*taḥsi*), and on the right the blue lotus or water lily (*ut-pala*). A fee of seven rupees has to be paid to the Citrakār. The mothers fix the picture carefully with a red thread (*pasukā*, Skt. *pañcasūtra*) to the girls' foreheads. It is believed that the future husband will be harmed if the picture falls down during Ihi. They also receive a garland in the form of coiled yellow or white thread in which the twelve offerings were bound (see above p. 138).

*Ihi ritual at Byāsi on 6<sup>th</sup> December 2006.*

*The Brahmin's wife raises the Alīdyah to allow the girls and their mothers to view the mysterious clay deity.*

Ihi ritual at the house of Tirna Lal Karmacharya on dusva, 5<sup>th</sup> December 2004.

Above  
The Brahmin priest presents *pūjā*, vermillion, flowers, coins and couch grass to the hands of Narain Chitrakar, who holds a brush and a pipal leaf in his hands.



Below  
Narain Chitrakar opens the eyes painted on all 16 pots behind the sacred fire. He touches the eyes painted on the neck of the pots with the tip of the brush with soot that has been collected the preceding night by the Karmācārya at the shrine of Indrāyaṇī, the goddess presiding over the northwestern direction.



Ihi ritual at Mahendra Sharma's house in Khaumā on 28<sup>th</sup> November 2004.  
The Brahmin's mother smears vermillion with her right thumb from the centre to the left temple, and then to the right across the girl's forehead, returning to the middle and finally into the parting of her hairs. This gesture marks the girl's married status.



Then all of the girls receive some bread (*phalimarhi*) and some milk. A helper goes round and distributes the bread to each of the girls while another helper hands out a plastic cup into which he pours water with milk. The girls enjoy the food for they have not eaten anything since the previous evening.

Meanwhile the priest has started the fire sacrifice, during which he also worships one *bel* fruit. At the same time, the Ācāju performs a *deśabalipūjā*, with *gvajās*, which he cannot identify as individual deities. However, the large *bali* (of cooked rice, often with facial features in vermillion representing Bhairava) is placed in a copper container, the *kvalaḥ*, which otherwise is used exclusively in death rituals to arrange the *piṇḍas*. The main offering during this worship is represented by a duck's egg (*haykhē*). Shiva Ram, the officiating Jyāpu Ācāju, insists that in this case this *bali* was offered to the Bālākhu Gaṇeśa. In other cases it is discarded on the nearby *chvāsaḥ* stones, thus establishing a link to the *piśācas* – unpacified souls, which are fed at these places.

Shiva Ram is of the opinion that the Jośi must have performed the *belpūjā*, but we did not see him doing so. In other cases the Śivācārya performs the *belpūjā*. Shiva Ram also was not aware that the Brahmin offers *mvaḥni* to the *pipal* leaves (as Bagat Bahadur had mentioned the other day). The *mvaḥni* soot produced during the circuit to the nine protective deities and the *mvaḥni* of the *deśabalipūjā* is mixed and offered as a black stroke to the girl's foreheads in a gesture that concludes the Ihi ritual.

It takes about an hour and a half before the Ihi ritual slowly reaches its climax: the Gift of the Virgin (*kanyādāna*). The girls have now been sufficiently purified and are ready to be married. However, this central ritual event is delayed by two other rituals that have been inserted on the occasion described here, a Kaytā-pūjā of two grandsons and a marriage of one of



the sponsor's grandsons. Both rituals are performed by the ritual specialists in a quick and rather simple manner, and the newly married couple scarcely manages to circumambulate the fire three times because the priests immediately continue with the Ihi ritual. It is not unusual to combine life-cycle rituals because this helps to save resources and effort, but in this case the Ihi ritual dominated everything else.

In the concluding parts of the fire sacrifice, the wife of the chief priest offers *siphārati* to all of the girls. First she worships the girls by means of the wooden measuring vessel, an iron key and the *sukūda* lamp, and then she showers flowers, rice, and pieces of fruit over the girls while touching their head and

shoulders. After that the Ācāju once again raises the conical rice ball (*gvajā*) with the three burning torches up on high, and all of participants wave the light symbolically over their eyes and over their head.

Finally the worshipper together with his wife, which is to say the grandparents of the main girl, hand both priests, the Jośi and the Ācāju and the *jicābhāju* two lengths of cloth and some money as *dakṣiṇā*.

#### The Gift of the Virgin (*kanyādāna*)

It is already afternoon when the girls' fathers appear. Up till now the scene has been entirely dominated by female participants. Apart

*Ihi ritual at the house of Tirna Lal Karmacharya on kanyādāna, 6<sup>th</sup> December 2004.*

*Narain Chitrakar hands out the coloured block print (sapākhvaḥ) to the Ihi girls.*





*Ithi ritual at Naraincok on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2007. The Brahmin priest entertains the sacred fire (homa) while he faces east. The chief worshipper and his wife are seen to his right, stretching their hands to receive offerings, prasāda.*

from the ritual specialists and the helpers, as well as the observing field-workers, only women and girls have been present. The fathers – or in those cases where they have died, are absent to attend office, or are working in foreign countries, uncles or grand-fathers – stand behind the girls and wait for the auspicious moment (*sāit*) when the priest is ready to announce the moment of *kanyādāna*.

Earlier, during the fire sacrifice, the Śivācārya (or Jośi) has already briefly worshipped a basket with some 200 *byā* fruits (Nep. *bel*, Skt. *bilva* or *śrīphala*, “the fruit of wealth and fortune”) with *mantras* and *pañcāmṛta*. He also places a tiny piece of gold in the basket. The wood-apple tree (*Aegle*

*marmelos*) is widespread throughout South and East Asia. It is popularly known as Bilva, Bilwa, Bel, or Beli fruit, Bengal quince, stone apple, and wood-apple. The juice is strained and sweetened to make a drink similar to lemonade, and is also used to make a refreshing drink by mixing the pulp with tamarind. The young leaves and small shoots are eaten as salad greens. The cricket-ball-sized fruit is eaten fresh or dried and used as a remedy for various diseases. In Hinduism, the tree and its dried fruits are mostly assigned to Śiva because it is believed that he lived under such a tree.

Now the *mhaynāyaḥ* takes the brass container with the *byā* fruits on his shoulder and



the Jośi goes around twice to all the girls. During the first round the girls and fathers all worship the *bel* fruits, during the second the Jośi takes one fruit from the basket without looking into it and hands it over to the girls, who keep it in their hands. Contrary to what is often the case in the Buddhist context in Patan, Kathmandu, or Bhaktapur, their hands are not tied together. It is said that the size of the fruit resembles the size of the future husband. In this instance the Jośi replaced the Śivācārya, whose duty is to worship and distribute the fruits.

Subsequently the fathers worship the *bel* fruit, which in this context is declared and believed by most participants to be Suvarṇakumāra or Viṣṇu. The Ihipūjāvidhi says that the “Golden Boy” helps to destroy the sins (of childhood or the father’s sins?):

This form of the Golden Boy (Suvarṇakumāra) destroys the greatest sin. A glimpse of (this boy) destroys the sins (performed) in this and earlier births. (Iṣv Nr. 21)

*Bhaktapur, Ihi ritual, belpūjā on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2007 at Naraincok.*

*Bikhulal Shivacharya acts as assistant priest, who offers pūjā to the bel fruits, covers them with white cloth and empowers them in a Tantric ritual.*

*Ihi ritual at the house of  
Tirna Lal Karmacharya on  
kanyādāna, 6<sup>th</sup> December  
2004.*

*Above*

*The Tini hands out a sprig of  
couch grass to every Ihi girl  
and instructs them how to  
place it across the bel fruit,  
which is already covered by  
offerings of black sesame and  
barley (hāmvaḥ-thecva).*

*Below*

*The father's hands support his  
daughter's hands, which in  
turn hold the bel fruit across  
which a sprig of couch grass  
is firmly pressed. This gesture  
demonstrates the final "gift  
of the virgin" to the deity,  
Suvamākumāra.*



The fathers standing behind the girls take some sprigs of *kuśa* grass in their hands, together with a mixture of barley and black sesame seeds (*thecva-hāmva*), the *bel* fruit, and some small square platelets of gold and silver wrapped in a piece of paper on which the word *pratimā*, “image”, has been stamped by the shopkeeper. Apparently the plates are regarded as deities. The fathers also receive a ring from the priest made of *kuśa* grass, which they put on the ring finger of the right hand. Then the Brahmin’s wife pours water and the principle worshipper’s wife pours milk from a vase over the hands of father and daughter, thus worshipping Viṣṇu represented by the gold (Pradhan 1986: 111), while the priest formulates the ritual decision (*saṃkalpa*) for the *kanyādāna*. The father also utters his name and the name of his ancestral lineage (*gotra*), as well as the name of his daughter. This is the auspicious moment when daughter and “husband” get married. For this purpose the Śivācārya lays a blade of *kuśa* grass over the *bel* fruit signifying a long life, since *kuśa* grass often stands for immortality.

During the whole *kanyādāna* part of the Ihi ritual, both priests sing the so-called *kanyādāna-veda* hymn(s):

*om agnaye tvā mahyaṃ varuṇo dadātu so  
'mṛtatvam aśīya-/*

*āyur dātra edhi mayo mahyaṃ pratigrahītre  
// 1 //*

*rudrāya tvā mahyaṃ varuṇo dadātu so  
'mṛtatvam aśīya /*

*prāṇo dātra edhi mayo mahyaṃ prati-  
grahītre // 2 //*

*brhaspataye tvā mahyaṃ varuṇo dadātu so  
'mṛtatvam aśīya /*

*tvag dātra edhi mayo mahyaṃ pratigrahītre  
// 3 //*

*yamāya tvā mahyaṃ varuṇo dadātu so  
'mṛtatvam aśīya /*

*hayo dātra edhi mayo mahyaṃ pratigrahītre  
// 4 // (VS 7.47)*

To Agni, yea, to me let Varuṇa give you. May I gain life that shall endure for ever. Be you strong vital power to him who gives you, and comfort unto me the gift’s receiver: To Rudra, yea, to me let Varuṇa ... for ever. Be you the breath of life to him who gives you, and vigour unto me the gift’s receiver. To me Bṛhaspati let Varuṇa ... for ever. Be you covering skin to him who gives you, and comfort unto me the gift’s receiver. To Yama, yea, to me let Varuṇa ... for ever. Be you a steed to him who gives the guerdon, and vital power to me the gift’s receiver. (Transl. Griffith/Arya)

Afterwards the participants throw popped rice and red powder onto the participants and deities in a common sub-ritual called *pratiṣṭhā*.

Subsequently the father or mother fixes the gold platelet (*pratimā*) on the girl’s forehead and the silver platelet on the *bel* fruit. Often the gold platelet, which costs around forty rupees, falls straightaway to the ground. Sometimes Viṣṇu is engraved or believed to be engraved on the gold piece.

This is followed by the blessing of the girls by the senior-most woman with *siphārati*, then the ritual payment (*dakṣiṇā*) of the priest. After the “Gift of the Virgin” the exchange of alms, *bārā chuye*, lit. “to give alms (Skt. *bhikṣā*)”, takes place. Using both hands, the mothers offer their daughters three times *vākijāki*, a mixture of husked and unhusked rice, and add a coin, a bank note (five or ten rupees) and a piece of cloth. In recent times the length of cloth has been replaced by a Chinese-made garment, which is much cheaper than having a blouse specially tailored. Then the mothers do their rounds presenting three *kisli* cups of rice grains to all of the other 129 girls. The final offerings of three handfuls are dedicated to the deities present on the occasion, represented by the sacred vase, the *kalaśa*.

*Ihi ritual at Naraincok on 23<sup>rd</sup> January 2007.*

*The offering of the virgin, kanyādāna. Lipisa Lakhebindyo holds the bel fruit with both hands which in turn are held by her father's hands in a gesture of offering. On her forehead can be seen the golden platelet, representing one form of the deity. Her mother is seen on her right.*



*Following pages  
Seven of the privileged nine  
girls facing the sacred fire.  
Wearing a new cap, their  
fathers hold the bel fruit prior  
to handing it out to the girls.*



Those wives in the neighbourhood who have remained childless also present the same kind of alms. Feeding the Ihi girls is understood as an act of devotion, which in turn will result in being blessed with pregnancy. The feeding of the virgins (*kumārī*) may also be performed in other ritual contexts. In neighbouring Banepa, for instance, a *kanyāpūjā* is annually performed in the month of Śrāvaṇa. Hundreds of virgins will line up in the main street to receive offerings such as rice, sweets or small gifts.

At this point the girls are taken to the fire where they stand one after the other on the north side of the fireplace facing east. They perform the so-called “Seven Steps” (*sapta-padī*), accompanied by the *mantra* “One for sap, two for juice, three for the prospering of wealth, four for comfort, five for cattle, six for the seasons. Friend! be withseen steps (united o me). So be thou devoted” (PG 1.8.1-2), but not with wooden sandals as in the case of the Buddhist boys’ initiation. This is followed by grinding black lentils (*māy niyayegu*), a rite that the girls perform with both feet using a stone pestle and mortar in order to wipe out all their sins. Having completed the “Seven Steps”, the girls touch the Alīdyah, which is brought there by the daughter of the Brahmin priest. Immediately afterwards they walk three times around the fire. The “Seven Steps” and the circumambulation are both part of any traditional Hindu marriage ritual.

### Concluding the Ritual

The ritual is concluded by the usual ritual closure (cf. Kropf 2005: 398-400) of the fire ritual (*homa*). The following steps are performed: worship of the Brahmin by the sacrificer or *yajamāna* (*brāhmaṇapūjā*), giving coins to all the deities in the sacrificial area and then to the priests and the Jośi, blessings (*āśīrvāda*, *svastivācana*) and giving a flower

to the sacrificer, recitation of the peace-giving *śāntipāṭha* (VS 36.17) by pouring ghee into the fire with the *śruvā* ladle, giving a *tikā* with oil from the sacrificial ladle to the sacrificer and all participants, sacrifice of various substances such as *sarvausadhi* by putting them into the fire in order to help Agni digest the sacrifice, *pūrṇāhuti*, the Brahmin giving a *tikā* from the ashes (*agniloḥa-rakṣā*) of the fire to the sacrificer and himself, throwing the pipal leaves representing the *dikpālas* and the Vedas into the fire, presenting his hands to the fire and then touching them to his head, placing the *arghyapātra* upside down, throwing the pieces of *prokṣaṇī*-wood, the rest of the rice (*vrīhi*) corns and the remaining ghee into the fire (*śeṣāhuti*), then the look into the mirror with the *pūrṇacandramantra* and the ritual release (*visarjana*) of the deities.

This is followed by the *dāna* or *dakṣiṇā* element: As a kind of *dakṣiṇā*, the Ācāju receives a towel (*rumāl*) and a *dhoti*. The cash is divided into two halves. The Brahmin, together with his brother, his wife and his daughter-in-law, receives one half. The second half is divided into thirds: the Brahmin gets one third, the Jośi and the Ācāju share the second third, and the third one is divided equally among the Brahmin, the Jośi and the Ācāju. In this way the Ācāju received 4,500 rupees (50 euros). Of the *vākiṅki* offerings (mixed husked and unhusked rice) seven equal shares are set apart. The Brahmin receives two shares, while the Jośi, the Ācāju, the Nau (barber), Citrakār (painter) and Kumah (potter) receive one share each. One share amounted to 30 *pāthi* or c. 135 kg of grains.

After the *dakṣiṇā*, the priest takes the main vase and pours water from the roof of the main donor’s house on to the worshipper and his wife, as well as on to the girls and other participants, in a rite called *brahmāvisarjana*.

At the end of the long day, all of the participants receive a meal, sponsored by the donor, in which flattened rice (which can easily be

shared by everybody across caste divisions) is served with meat.

Returning home as late as half past seven in the evening, the Ihi girls are welcomed at the threshold stone of their home. Together the female members of their respective lineages, of which they will become members on the occasion of the forthcoming worship of the ancestral deity (the *dugudyaḥ*), offer them four *mana* (c. 2 kg) of rice and a piece of cloth. At the same time all of the females of the maternal home (*thachē*) of the girl's mother – the grandmother, grandaunts, mother's sisters and mother's brother's wives – offer one *pāthi* (c. 4.5 kg) of rice, a piece of cloth and a symbolic coin or banknote.

Having returned home, the girl is disrobed by her mother so that she may put on the colourful and ornate dress she is presented with on this occasion. The *bel* fruit, the *kumaḥkāḥ* garland and the blockprint are kept by her grandmother in the storeroom, the *dhukuti*, where not only provisions are stored but also objects that are to be kept safe, away from daily life. The *bel* fruit is now considered to embody a special quality, equal to a deity, a *dyah*. Menstruating women should not touch these objects and in case of a death in the house, the *bel* fruit, the garland and the blockprint should be moved to a neighbouring house to avoid pollution. The other sacred objects may be kept in the house but should not be touched during the first ten days of impurity. The earthen *salāpā* bowl is stored in a niche in the room that can be easily reached, because more relatives will be coming to offer three handfuls of unhusked rice, a piece of cloth and a five rupee banknote.

After the Ihi girl has entered the house, a feast is offered to the lineage members and all those from the mother's maternal home who had invited the girl for *ihimacā nakegu* during the days preceding the Ihi ritual. Thus the rounds of feeding and being fed are brought full circle for a distinct social group, to which

the girl now firmly belongs. As a Kumārī she was more or less a generic female being, albeit with a positive, auspicious notion. With the Ihi ritual she remains a virgin, but she loses the specific quality of a Kumārī upon entering the circle of the lineage and establishing firm links to the female world of her mother's maternal home – a bond that will shift to her own natal home after her marriage to a human groom.

### The Third Day

Early in the morning, the mothers of the girls for whom the ritual of the “offering of the virgin” was performed the day before go to the Gaṇeśa shrine of their quarter to offer *pūjā*. Gaṇeśa is inevitably addressed in every ritual event: either at the very beginning or, in the case of ancestor worship (*śrāddha*), at the auspicious moment indicated by the Brahmin priest.

### Kumārīpūjā

Having returned from the shrine, the mother will dress and make up the girl in the same way as was done on the preceding days. Dressed in the special sari, the *ihiparasi*, which demonstrates the girl's new status, she is paraded from her house through the lanes and streets of the city to the seat (*pīṭha*) of Kaumārī, the third of the Eight Mother Goddesses (Aṣṭamātṛkā) who guard the urban space along its historic perimeter. The goddess is represented at her seat in a non-iconic fashion by a stone, which was found there at the time. By now, a few more stones have been added which collectively represent the Eight Goddesses. Along with the remaining seven goddesses and the central Tripurasundarī, Kaumārī had been worshipped on the day preceding the Ihi ritual by the Ācāju as part of the *pīṭhapūjā*. On the third day, however, she is the sole focus, because she is also identi-



fied as the seat of Kumārī, the virgin goddess. The offerings to the deity include ritual rice, popped rice, flowers, an egg and even a citrus fruit (*taḥsi*), which represents longevity and fertility. One of the three objects on the block-print fastened to the forehead prior to the act of the “offering of a virgin” was also that singular and remarkably sour citrus fruit that is consumed exclusively on the day of *mhāpūjā*, the worship of the body on the first day of the Newar New Year (Nepāl Saṃvat). In a decisive gesture of worship, the mother touches her forehead to the stone representing Kaumārī and asks her daughter to do the same.

The caretaker of the deity’s seat is a Pvaḥ, from the community of sweepers who live in a settlement beside the shrine. He receives offerings of rice and soybeans. As they return home, the mother throws a few grains of rice to the shrines and temples they pass. Passing the temple of Bhairava at Taumādhi Square, the mother turns to the tiny iconic representation of this powerful deity and asks the girl to touch it with her head in a gesture of reverence. The route home never follows a straight line, but rather the prescribed ritual route, which takes in temples and shrines that are regularly worshipped by the families of the particular quarter. Adults and children are taught early on to follow the “correct” route. Not that there is any notion of the direct route being “forbidden” – quite simply, returning from rituals is such a frequent occurrence that movement within urban space takes on a special quality, different from that when pursuing profane matters.

#### Returning Home: Worshipping the Ancestors

Having returned from visiting the seat of Kaumārī, the *ihimacā* is offered the ritual welcoming meal (*khē svagā*) which includes a boiled egg, a small dried fish, small pieces of buffalo meat, soybeans, raw ginger, flat-



tened rice and, decisive in a ritual context, brandy. The egg and brandy are received with arms crossed; three initial sips of brandy and a few small bites of egg are compulsory. In this case, deep fried sweets were added because they are easily available on such festive days during Yaḥmāripunhi, the full moon in early December, which is celebrated by all families by consuming rice from the recent harvest. It is a day similar to thanksgiving, on which many death associations also have the annual conventions.

Still fully dressed, the girl receives the egg and brandy from the eldest woman of the lineage, in this case the grandmother – the wife of the principle worshipper. The girl does this for the first time in her life, demonstrating her passage into a new world in which she acts as a member of the patrilineage. Equally important is that she first offers food to the ancestors (*dyaḥ cayegu*) before she starts eating. Tiny heaps of flattened rice and bits of egg and meat are placed on a leaf in front of her.

Before Ihi the girl was a child without social duties. Through her marriage to the *bel* fruit she has turned into a member of society and as such of the lineage. She shares her food with her great-grandparents who are still known by name.

*The third day of the Ihi ritual on 24<sup>th</sup> January 2007.*

*For the first time in her life, Lipisa Lakhebindyo receives food from the eldest women of the lineage which includes brandy – see the small earthen cup beside her dish. She also offers food to the ancestors for the first time before she starts eating. Tiny heaps of food are placed on a leaf in front of the plate.*

### Variations Demonstrating the Dynamics of the Ihi Ritual and a Shift in Meaning

While Bhaktapur's ritual tends to be performed in a rather conservative manner, the practice in Kathmandu has been greatly simplified. The case presented here was observed on the Indestructible Third (*akṣaya tṛtīyā*), which may be used for Ihi rituals, Kaytāpūjā and marriages without the necessity of consulting an astrologer.

On 30<sup>th</sup> April and 1<sup>st</sup> May 2006 eight girls and eight boys convened in front of the Tara-keśvara temple, built c. 1800 by Raṇa Bahādur Śāha on Kathmandu's Darbār Square as a long, two-storeyed structure on a stepped plinth. The priest, Vasanta Rajopadhyaya, is not only the caretaker of the temple, he also lives there and performs the ritual there several times a year.

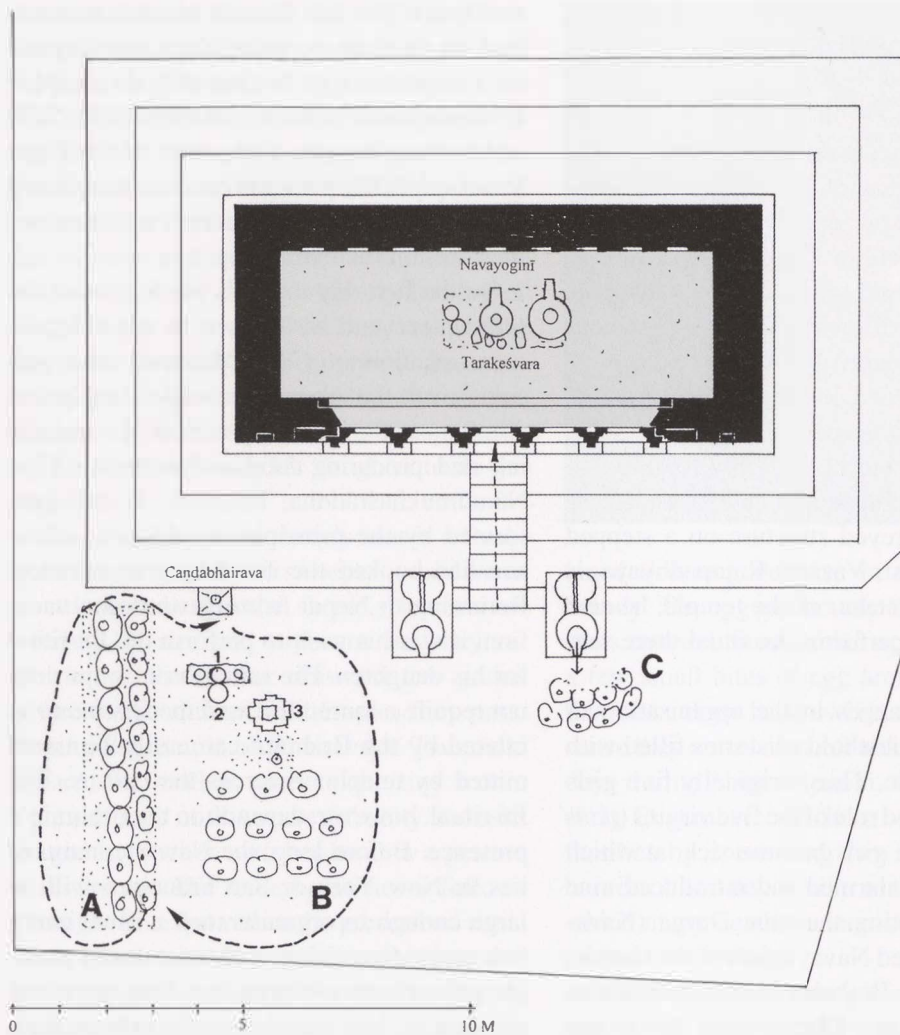
To justify changes in the organisation of the ritual, the priest told us stories filled with a sense of magic. Thus, originally five girls had the privileged role of the five virgins (*pañcākanyā*). Some girls became sick, at which the priest grew alarmed and introduced nine Kumārīs, reflecting the nine Durgā (Navadurgā, also named Navayoginī) of the temple. The wife of the Brahmin later admitted that the local Cleaning Club (young boys who keep the place clean) persuaded them to alter the pattern. The Alīdyah is no longer prepared and the ambiguity of the deity has finally been resolved: it is the Tarakeśvara that is worshipped in the temple by the girls as Alīdyah. The sacred vase dedicated to Gaṇeśa is also no longer required, because Gaṇeśa's presence in the temple fulfils the need. Some fifteen years ago the arrangement of earthen pots was replaced by three unpainted copper *kalaśas*: the central one represents Brahmā, to the god's left a *kalaśa* dedicated to the Eight Gods (Aṣṭavasū, alternatively identified as Maheśvara), to his right by the Nine Planets (Navagraha, alternatively identified

as Viṣṇu). The fact that the planets are pacified on such an occasion does not surprise us. The presence of "a class of gods regarded as atmospheric powers" (Stutley 1986: 327) is, however, unique. The power of the Eight Vasus explicitly prevents enemies interfering in sacred rites and ceremonies and bestows treasures on their worshippers.

On the first day the girls are led round the ritual place and bow down to a non-iconic representation of Caṇḍabhairava, who presides over the place. The officiating priest dominates the entire process of organising and procuring food and materials. The Nāndīmukhaśrāddha, however, is still performed by the principle worshipper, whose son had booked the ritual long in advance. Returning to Nepal from Boston on a vacation, it was his wish to perform the Ihi ritual for his daughter. The initiation of boys does not require a sacred fire, and the few *mantras* uttered by the Brahmin can easily be transmitted by telephone across the oceans. The Ihi ritual, however, depends on the Brahmin's presence. Before long, the Newar communities in New York or San Francisco will be large enough to organise such a ritual every few years. Surprisingly, there was not a single principle worshipper, but four more had decided to join together and perform their own Nāndīmukhaśrāddha.

On the second day, the girls are again led round the ritual place before having their toenails symbolically pared. The woman barber had been called in by the priest and paid in advance. She was offered neither a bamboo tray with the prescribed offerings nor *dakṣiṇā*.

For the final "Gift of the Virgin" (*kanyādāna*), the girls wear the yellow thread (*kumaḥkāḥ*) without the prescribed offerings woven into it. A piece of paper decorated with a painted bell (*sapākhvaḥ*), which is fixed to the hair, and just a short length of cloth of the prescribed pattern (*ihiparasi*) add to the economical trappings of the ritual – every item



### Kathmandu

The second day of the Ihi ritual at the Navayogiṇī temple in Kathmandu,

1<sup>st</sup> May 2006 (the day after Akṣaya tṛtīyā).

The central Tarakeśvara liṅga replaces the usual Alīdyah liṅga. The eight participating Ihi girls are first lined up

(A) along a north-south axis and then circumambulate – guided by the officiating Brahmin's wife – the ritual place, offering worship to Caṇḍabhairava. The copper pots (1) are placed on a flag stone in front of the shrine: in the centre Bhairava, to the west Viṣṇu and to the east Mahādeva. The copper vessel (kvalaḥ) with a representation of Survarṇakumāra is placed in front of these (2).

Later (B) they face north, lined up behind the organizer's parents (nayāḥ and nakhī) and the Brahmin who maintains the sacred fire. (3) In a final act (C) the Ihi girls assemble below the guardian lion across which the Brahmin's helper pours water.



*Kathmandu, Ihi ritual, kanyādāna on 1<sup>st</sup> May 2006 at the Tarakeśvara temple.*

*Left*

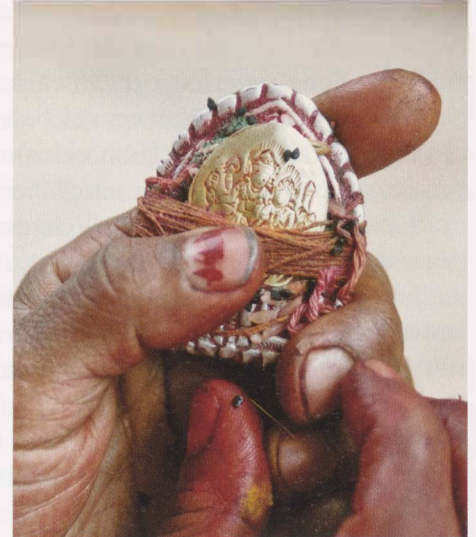
*The Ihi girl holds the bel fruit in her left hand while her father holds the thumb of her right hand.*

*Middle*

*The priest's wife holds the copper vessel with an image of Viṣṇu. The father induces the thumb of the girl to touch a golden plaque of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.*

*Right*

*A small golden plaque depicting Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa is tied to a larger one in silver. By touching this emblem, the marriage to Suvarṇakumāra is carried out.*



is reduced to a symbolical minimum. The sacred fire is maintained only symbolically in a ready-made pit cast in brass.

The “Gift of the Virgin” displays an impressive variation. The girls hold the *bel* fruit in their left hand while their fathers hold the thumb of the right hand in their right fist, together with *kuśa* grass and the usual mixture of barley and black sesame. The priest goes around carrying a copper vessel with a figure of Viṣṇu buried beneath flower petals and a small, seven-centimetre-long silver medalion, to which a four-centimetres-long plaque in gold is tied, depicting Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa. The fathers guide the thumbs of the girls in their efforts to find and touch the plaque.

In the end, the girls are guided round the ritual place to the location where they grind black lentils, but without having performed the “Seven Steps”. Finally the Brahmin’s helper showers water from the eastern lion guarding the plinth of the temple (*brahmāvisarjana*).

The disappearance of the *Alīdyah*, and the reduction in both the endowment made to the ritual site and in the girls’ paraphernalia is part of a well-known phenomenon of economisation. Symbolic representations do no more than recall the original costumes.

The priest constantly explains his actions in Nepālī, he tells jokes, laughs and uses even English terms to entertain the crowd of mothers and fathers as well as the foreign field worker. The ritual proper seems to fade away even though the prescribed steps are followed faithfully. One of the paternal aunts, for example, did not appear in time to receive her niece’s toenails, which are not in fact pared in reality but merely touched with a knife. The crowd got nervous and even angry when she could not be reached on her mobile telephone. A relative had to go and search for her as her mere presence was vital. She was no longer necessary in functional terms, but she had to be there in her role as paternal aunt who has to share certain duties in the future of the girl’s social life.

The appearance of a duality, the *bel* fruit of the left hand symbolising the presence of Śiva as a witness and the gold platelet bearing Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa – together forming a couple to be touched with the thumb of the right hand – seems to be revealing. In Bhaktapur, the *bel* fruit and the gold platelet are joined to produce an ambiguous entity. In Kathmandu the ambiguity is resolved.

## Conclusion

Why do Newars perform Ihi? It has often been noted that only Newars celebrate this ceremony, which in all likelihood is one of the longest and most important of their life-cycle rituals. So Ihi is clearly a characteristic part of Newar identity. Newars regard the non-performance of Ihi as inauspicious, and a Newar girl who has not undergone the ritual would have problems finding a suitable husband. G.S. Nepali (1965: 107) reports that Newars from Kathmandu refused to intermarry with some Newars in Birgunj who had given up Ihi.

It is also true – on the whole – that only Newars perform Ihi. However, there are two exceptions. Firstly, not all Newar castes perform it (cf. P. Śreṣṭha V.S. 2062: 85, Gellner 1991: 120f.). This holds true in Bhaktapur for the Nāy (butchers), Jugī (musicians), Dvā (musicians), Kulu (leather workers), and Pvaḥ (sweepers) (Levy 1990: 665), and perhaps also for the Balāmī, Gopālī (cowherds), and Dui castes living on the periphery of the other Newar cities. Levy (1990: 665) also says that Rājopādhyāyas of Bhaktapur did not use to perform Ihi. According to Mahendra Sharma, the reason for this was that they practised child marriage and regarded the boy as Suvarṇakumāra. Secondly, in rare cases castes other than Newars join modern Ihi parties. Thus, in an Ihi performed on *akṣaya tṛtīyā* 2006 in Kathmandu (Maru tvāḥ), a Pūrbīya Brahmin girl (Baral) was also among the total of eight girls. Asked for the reason, the parents said that she has an extremely inauspicious birth horoscope, which predicts the death of her future husband. In order to avoid this, the parents decided to have Ihi be performed for her since a god-husband cannot die.

This motive – first noticed by Hamilton (1819: 42-13) – is also the one chiefly mentioned when Newar participants are asked why they perform Ihi (see also Gellner 1991:

110f.). It is repeated time and again that the girls are married to a god (including Buddha) and therefore cannot become a widow. Consequently, the “real” marriage with a human groom is regarded (at the time of Ihi) as a secondary marriage. This means that the term “mock marriage”, probably introduced with reference to Ihi by Allen (1982) who took it from Gough (1955), and which many scholars have now used, is not at all appropriate because a girl cannot survive in traditional Newar society without Ihi, but can do so without getting married to a human husband. Seen from the ritual point of view, Ihi (Pāli *bihi*, Skt. *vivāha*) is a real marriage. In Nevārī, it is the same term that is used for the marriage with a human husband, and the essential parts of it – *kanyādāna*, *saptapaḍī* and the three-fold circumambulation of the fire – are the same. Consequently, these sub-rites, which are inevitable in a Hindu marriage, are lacking in a Newar marriage preceded by Ihi.

The fact that the girls are married to a deity does not necessarily mean, however, that the role of Newar women is less demanding than that of women in other Hindu communities. There are probably as few re-marriages among the high-caste Newars as among other groups (Gellner 1991: 110 and 1992: 204). Rajendra Pradhan has deftly refuted the often-expressed view<sup>24</sup> that Ihi has meant that Newars have lax sexual standards, divorce easily and readily allow widows to remarry by arguing that “this view cannot be derived simply from the prevalence of *ihi*, unless other ethnographic evidence is presented” (Pradhan 1986: 113). This also holds true for the view that the mortal marriage is delayed by Ihi – “often long after it” (Levy 1990: 666). It is not the ritual that generates different gender roles. Newars, especially the educated, regard Ihi as an expression of a different attitude towards girls and women. And it is indeed significant that Newar girls are honoured by such an important (initiation)

<sup>24</sup> See Dumont 1964, Vergati 1982, Allen 1982, Bennett 1978, Levy 1990: 665, Kunreuther 1994.

ritual that equals if not surpasses the boys' initiation (*Kaytāpūjā*) with regard both to the amount of ritual material and paraphernalia involved, as well as to the number of ritual specialists and participants. So it is not too misleading to say that Ihi expresses a certain respect for the female members of Newar social groups, although it should be added that this mainly concerns the status of virgin girls. In fact, Newars preserve a special cult of the virgin goddess, the *Kumārī* (see Allen 1976). It was again R. Pradhan (1986: 111) who pointed to the important difference between *kanyā* and *kumārī*. Both terms mean "(pre-pubescent) girl, maiden, and virgin," but only *kumārī* connotes a "married" virgin. Thus, only through Ihi do virgins become virgins who are marriageable for human and divine beings. Only through this ritual can they become a member of the extended family or – to be precise – of the father's lineage group. And after Ihi girls are no longer eligible as an incarnation of a goddess (*kumārī*) because, ritually and socially (see below), they have now become adults.

It is also stated that the girls' sexuality comes under control through the Ihi marriage and that "*kumārīs* and not *kanyās* are considered dangerous unless their sexuality is controlled" (Pradhan 1986: 112). This view is accompanied by the underlying notion of the male fear of female sexuality in Hindu societies. We do not reject this concept in principle, but it is difficult to see this manifesting in the Ihi ritual. To be sure, in the *Dharmaśāstra* it is often stated that a girl has to be married before her menarche, otherwise it would tantamount to the murder of an embryo. Levy (1990: 665) even says that the *Rājopādhyāyas* started to celebrate Ihi only after girl-marriage was banned in Nepal in 1951. However, it is rather problematic to reduce a complex ritual – one that is basically rooted in parts of one ethnic community and probably older than the *Dharmaśāstra* rules – to the gender

identity of the girl, who through Ihi becomes a potential marriage partner.

The heavily disputed question about which deity the girls are married to is a great source of confusion (see, for example, Levy 1990: 764 fn. 23). In a Hindu context, the majority favours Viṣṇu or Kubera, while in a Buddhist context mostly Buddha or Jambhala, a Buddhist equivalent of Kubera (Gellner 1991: 112), is mentioned. The texts, however, refer to *Suvarṇakumāra*, the "Golden Boy", without specifying his identity. As already mentioned, for most Newars Viṣṇu is the marriage partner whom most believe to be present in the *bel* fruit, whereas others see him in the gold platelet, or in both. It can also be heard or read (e.g. Levy 1990: 668) that the *bel* represents Śiva or his son *Kumāra*, and that the golden "image" (*pratimā*) represents Viṣṇu, or that Śiva is the witness of the marriage with Viṣṇu. Allen (1982: 190) reports that during Ihi ritual he observed in the *Khusibahī* in Kathmandu, a golden statue named "*Suvarṇa Varṇa Kumāra*" was set up and worshipped by both the Buddhists priests and the girls. But, Allen continues:

*Kumāra* is, of course, the eternal bachelor son of Śiva who is often represented as thoroughly disliking women – a seemingly curious husband for the daughters of Buddhist priests. (Allen 1982: 190)

Interestingly, there is almost no written source that preserves the myth of this marriage. What is narrated resembles Puranic myths, but these have not (yet?) been found in the vast corpus of mythological sources contained in the (Sthala-)Purāṇas or eulogies (*Māhātmya*). The most coherent version we know is found and quoted in a booklet that was given to us by Surje Bahadur Chitrakar during an Ihi celebration (Shing V.S. 2057:39). It runs as follows:

Once upon a time lord Śiva and Pārvatī were walking at the Āryaghāt (at the Paśupatinātha temple: Michaels 1994 and 2008). At that time they saw a woman lamenting a dead body. When Pārvatī saw this crying woman and asked Śiva about it, he told her that she is crying because her husband died. Then Pārvatī requested Śiva to prevent in future widowhood. According to her wish, Śiva revealed her a way how women would never become a widow. Śiva let her know about a marriage ritual with Viṣṇu in his outward form (*pratīk svarūp*) of Suvarṇakumāra. In this way (people) started to marry their daughters with an icon of Viṣṇu after they have had prepared a golden icon of Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇuko suvarṇako pratimā*). (However), the boys then started to fear to marry those girls married to lord Viṣṇu. They began to cover their faces in front of such married girls because of the fear that the lord (Viṣṇu) might get angry. As a result the population decreased. After a long time, Śiva and Pārvatī passed again by. They found the population had become much less than before. Therefore Pārvatī requested Viṣṇu (to prevent such consequences). Viṣṇu told her: 'I am (always) hiding in the mind of men; therefore marrying a man should be regarded as marrying me.' It is said that when Śiva heard this answer (to Pārvatī's request), he arranged a form of a marriage ritual (*vivāha saṁskāra*) with pure water filled in a vase (*kalaśa*) and *mantras*. From that time this ritual has been practised in its traditional form (*paramparāgata rūpamā*) as described in the Hindu Dharmasāstra.<sup>25</sup>

The myth repeats the above-mentioned topos of avoiding the dread consequences of widowhood (cf. Vergati 1982: 283) in a society that does not allow re-marriage, and relates it to Pārvatī and the Himālaya (or Nepal) as her natal home. However, it remains a fact that the god to whom the girls are married has no clear identity. In the Buddhist context, it

is generally said that the marriage partner is Buddha, and "Suvarṇakumāra" an expression of Buddha, but it is difficult to find this epithet actually related to Buddha. Unless more material is found, most likely in manuscripts, the only thing that holds true in this question is that the divine bridegroom has no clear and generally accepted identity.

The notion of uncertain identity also applies to a deity that plays a major role during Ihi, especially on the first day: the Alīdyah, which has been widely neglected or overseen in the literature on Ihi. Our description of the ritual leaves many open questions regarding the nature of the lump of clay and Śiva's presence, the role of the potter's son and the welcoming ritual dedicated to him. The ritual specialists involved have no ready answers. Our questions seem rather irrelevant to them: whether it is Śiva or Agni or another deity makes no difference. Important is the involvement of a priest and his helper, an assistant priest and the craftsmen, a painter and a potter. In a concerted effort they literally create the Alīdyah ritual in all its details. Equally important is the definition of the choreography on the urban square. For barely one hour, a few square metres of public space turn into ritual space. Markers in the pavement ensure that the choreography within the confined space within a wider continuum is remembered by the actors. The Gaṇeśa of the temple in the potters' quarter presides over the place, standing there as an immovable peg in the urban landscape. Invisibly tied to Gaṇeśa are two stones that are purified on fifteen to twenty occasions during the annual Ihi-season, which covers a few days in early May and the period between November and March. It appears that the ritual place is inscribed onto urban space. Texts preserve the sequence of individual actions, ritual specialists inherit their roles, and urban space provides a fixed location for the ritual to be enacted.

The *alīdyahpūjā* is a unique feature of the Ihi ritual in Bhaktapur. In Kathmandu the

<sup>25</sup> Shing refers to *Rehanā vānu: nepālī saṁskṛti-vidhi pakṣa* Kathmandu: H.M.G., Publication Department (Sukanā Vibhāg), V.S. 2038: 119-120; a similar myth is given by Levy 1990: 666.

Alīdyah as an independent object has disappeared altogether, while in the Buddhist contexts of Bhaktapur and Patan the Alīdyah is identified as the Pañcabuddha in the shape of a small *caitya* either of clay, or in the form of an object cast in metal, while an even more mysterious Phalīdyah is identified as the Pañcatārā in the shape of a ring of paper.

The Hindu Newars in Bhaktapur identify the Clay Deity as Śiva, Bhairava, Gaṇeśa or Agni, but call it mostly by the Nevārī name. The priest Mahendra Sharma, who says that *alīdyah* is a short form of *amūrtiṅgamahādyah*, i.e. Śiva in a non-iconic form, gives the most plausible philological explanation. Physically and iconographically it is not much more than a lump or shaft of clay that resembles to some extent a *liṅga*, especially when shaped in the afternoon of the first Ihi day. At the back there is kind of round tuft which Mahendra Sharma explains as being Śiva's twisted locks of hair (*jaṭā*). The Suvarṇakumāravivāhavidhi (fol. 14r) also identifies Alīdyah with Śiva by reciting *śivo nāmāsi* (VS 3.63) when waving the Clay Deity.

There are several possible explanations for the identity of the clay shaft. The clay could, for instance, be related to the traditional *mṛdāharaṇa* part of Hindu marriages, when some clay is brought to the ritual place:

A few days before the wedding, the ceremony of *Mrdāharaṇa* (bringing some earth or clay) ceremony is performed. The origin of this ceremony is popular and it does not find mention in the ancient scriptures of the Hindus. The Jyotiribandha quoted by Gadādhara says, 'In the beginning of [a] very auspicious ceremony sprouts should be used for Maṅgala decoration. On the ninth, seventh, fifth or third day before the marriage, in an auspicious moment with music and dancing, one should go in the northern or eastern direction of his house to fetch the earth for growing

sprouts in pot of clay or a basket of bamboo'. (Pandey 1969: 209)

Interestingly, the passage quoted by Rajbali Pandey is from Gadādhara, a commentator of the *Pāraskaraḡṛhyasūtra* which is widely known in Nepal. The rule of getting clay for a marriage is only found in some *Gṛhyasūtras* when the girls are asked to select from a plate of different forms of soil and clay (e.g. *AśvalāyanaGS*) in order to examine the future (similar to the *Annaprāśana* ritual). The clay as such might represent the kitchen utensils, which are regarded as a necessary part of the marriage, and the Alīdyah might in fact represent the fire that is the centre of any kitchen. However, the apparent equation of the Alīdyah and the clay in the *mṛdāharaṇa* ritual is questioned by the simple fact that the Alīdyah is also sometimes used in other rituals that require a *dusva* or *pūrvāṅga* ritual, i.e. other life-cycle rituals, especially the *cūdākarāṇa* and *vratibandhana* initiation rituals as well as the old age rituals (*jākvā*).

Another interpretation could be that the clay is used to make the fire altar in which the sacrificial fire is lit and around which the marriage vow is made. However, the unfired clay or mud bricks for the *vedi* are not taken from the potters. So it seems likely that Alīdyah is in fact a local form of Śiva who has to be present during the ritual as a witness.

### Multiple Identities

The multiple or vague identities of Hindu deities is not a problem for the participants, but only for the Western observer. Obviously, the ways of identifying a deity in South Asia do not work very well when it comes to Hindu deities (the following is partly taken from Michaels/Sharma 1996: 332-4). To identify a deity, more often than not scholars either reduce the god or goddess to certain aspects – in which they either display a preference for textual sources (sometimes just one group



of texts) or are overly influenced by field observations, especially festivals – or they mistake historical evolution for systematic argument. Western scholars of Hinduism have been more concerned with questions of origin than identity. However, neither the reductive model nor the historical model is ultimately satisfying. Both neglect more or less overtly the fact that many Hindu deities, especially the goddesses, still have (and probably always have had) various identities at the same time.

Another problem is that “identity” is a term usually understood in the framework of Western psychological categories. Somebody’s identity is strong if he or she has set boundaries and limitations in his or her behaviour, if she or he can separate herself or himself from others, if he or she shows a differentiated, individual, unique character. In this sense, many Hindu deities have many and sometimes even contradicting identities, but not an identity in Western terms. Judging them in Freudian terms, many of these deities could never be strong because they do not know who they are, and are full of contradictions.

Why is it then that so many deities have an oceanic, almost unlimited identity? In our view, Hindu deities are often “allowed” to have precisely that. This notion reflects, in sharp distinction to Western concepts of identity, the Hindu belief in the power of primary, pre-verbal, pre-conscious experiences of reality. What makes Hindu gods, especially goddesses, powerful lies beyond words, theories, analyses, separations, and boundaries – beyond identity.

As with all rituals, the Ihi is full of further, in principal unlimited interpretations and associations. Thus, there is a host of speculation about the colours red and yellow that can be found in many ritual items and much of the paraphernalia: the sari, the vermilion and other powder, the threads, etc. Some have seen red

as the colour of menstrual blood and as a sign of sexuality or fertility, and the colour yellow as symbolising asceticism. We regard these kinds of symbolism as problematic. We feel that not enough evidence can be forwarded to reduce such manifold associations with colours. The red and yellow colours could just as well be an expression of festivity, joy (as in Holi), purity or auspiciousness, and yellow must not necessarily be connected with asceticism – although this is an aspect that should not be overlooked because at the end of the second day the girls do indeed receive alms (*bhikṣā*).

For us, Ihi like all Newar life-cycle rituals cannot be seen as an event focussed on an individual. We regard such events rather as links in a chain that runs through the individual’s life and connects him or her with other rituals and with the social group. Ihi, for instance, must be seen as a ritual that is connected with the menarche rituals (Bārḥā tayegu) and the marriage with a human groom, as well as a ritual that transforms the individual to a member of certain social groups. The first aspect will be elaborated on in the next chapter, the latter is indicated by a number of clear, yet hitherto frequently ignored factors. Firstly, it is remarkable that the Ihi ritual takes place in public and not within the house or a courtyard of a monastery, as in the Buddhist monastic initiation. Ihi is a social event, which is never performed for individuals, an event that takes place on the street or in public places and is often organised by social organisations. It is an event, which blurs the caste order because many castes sit together, often without any hierarchal order – such that the girls even consume boiled rice together, which they would never do in any other context. Ihi brings together members of different castes, lineage groups and extended families. Although by definition a life-cycle ritual, it is performed as a trans-familial ritual.

*Digudyaḥpūjā at Bisinkhel  
across the Hanumante river on  
22<sup>nd</sup> April 1999.*

*Two girls pose with the yellow  
kumakhāḥ thread and block  
print on their forehead at the  
lineage deity (dugudyaḥ).*

*They are offering him the  
salāpā bowl with the bel fruit  
to which they have been tied  
by marriage. Until they marry  
a human bridegroom they are  
members of the lineage.*

*On the left is a boy who had  
joined the lineage on this  
occasion. He is shaved for the  
second time in his life and with  
that becomes a full member.*



### From Childhood to Adult

Another important implication of this is the fact that through Ihi, the girls become not only marriageable candidates but also members of their father's lineage group or extended family, the *phukī*, i.e. the main and most active social group in Bhaktapur society. This is especially evident in the rituals following the core Ihi days, because the girls lose their status of being a virgin (*kanyā*) and qualify themselves for membership in the *phukī*. The membership initiation takes place during the following joint worship of the lineage deity (*dugudyaḥpūjā*) when they have to offer a duck and hand over the *bel* fruit to the lineage deity. The caretaker of the shrine returns the fruit to a shop in the city, which sells it in the following season to other customers. Thus, only after the Ihi ritual do girls become a member of the lineage with all its rights and obligations, and seen from this perspective Ihi is more an initiation than a marriage rite. Moreover, girls are only members of the father's lineage for a few years, the period between Ihi and marriage – when they become a member of their husband's lineage. Boys, on the other hand, become a member of the *phukī* not only through Kaytāpūjā but even beforehand, i.e. as soon as they are able to walk independently. They then go to the lineage deity and offer husked ritual rice (*kigaḥ*) and popped rice (*tāy*) and perform *darśana* (Nev. *bhāgye yayegu*, lit. “to bow down”). This ritual encounter with the *digudyaḥ* is called *dūp tayegu*, and after that the boys are members of the *phukī*. In contradistinction to the “real” marriage to a human husband, the girls do not change their lineage through Ihi. On the contrary, the Ihi marriage “reaffirms the girl's ties with her father and confers on her full membership of his caste” (Allen 1982: 192).

The assumption that girls after Ihi are – ritually and socially – adults is strengthened by the fact that in case of death prior to Kaytā-

pūjā and Ihi, four to six days of mourning are required for both boys and girls, but after Ihi the full period of mourning is needed. Interestingly, the pre-menarche ritual (*Bārhā*) has no influence on this mourning period. Thus, Ihi is a life-cycle ritual that celebrates not a biological but a social change; and it is not so much a ritual that makes a girl marriageable but eligible to the most vital social group, the extended family and lineage group. This is overwhelmingly demonstrated by the offering of *vākijāki*, a mixture of husked and unhusked rice by the lineage members (*phukī*) and the maternal relatives upon entering the house at the end of the ritual. Thus the Ihi ritual fits well into Fuller's distinction between first and second marriages: in the first marriage girls become an adult, in the second the offsprings are legitimised (Fuller 1976: 105).

To sum up, Ihi is to be regarded much more as an initiation than as a marriage ritual. No wonder Ihi is said to be the girls' *vratabandhana* or *upanayana* (cf. Allen 1982: 192). With the Ihi ritual, the girls take a first step towards womanhood. But more than that, it confers lineage and caste membership, enabling and strengthening social ties and identities based on ancestor and clan deity worship, commensality and ritual solidarity, especially in the occurrence of death.

Poster advertising the Ihi ritual at Nyākhācuka, Patan, on 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> November 2006:

“Om salutation to Ratnatraya. Coming N.S. 1127 (2006), on the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> day of the bright half of the lunar month of *Thimlā* (on 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> day of the solar month of *Mamsir* 2063 V.S.) a combined Ihi ritual (is going to be held). All parents are welcomed to bring their girls who have to perform Ihi.

Contact place:

Vajrācārya Pūjāvidhi

Adhyayana Samiti

Nyākhācuka, Patan.

Phone no.: 5554268 (from 5-8 pm)

Rajbhāi Vajrācārya,  
Nyākhācuka

Phone: 5534650

Organizing Group:

Vajrācārya Pūjāvidhi

Adhyayana Samiti

Nyākhācuka, Patan.

Phone no.: 5554268”

॥ *am* namo ratna trayāya ॥  
thvahe vaigu ne. sam. 1127  
thimlāthvaḥ cauthi va vivāha-  
pañcamī / (2 063 mamsira  
8 va 9 gate) kunhu juigu /  
sāmuhika ihi / jyājhvaḥsa ihi  
yāyemānipiṇṭhaḥ mhayāy  
macāta ihi / yāy hayeta sakala  
mahānubhāvapinta/ lasakusa  
yānācvanā |

/ svāpū tayegu thāy:

/ Vajrācārya Pūjāvidhi

Adhyayana Samiti

/ Nyākhācuka, Yala

/ phona lyā: 5554268,

(bahāisiyā 5 bajesinēm

8 baje taka) / Rājabhāi

Vajrācārya, Nyākhācuka

/ phona: 5534650

gvasāḥ khalah:

Vajrācārya Pūjāvidhi

Adhyayana Samiti

Nyākhācuka, Yala |

55-54268

## The Girl's Buddhist Marriage to the Bel Fruit: Ihi

Not only Hindus but also Buddhists marry their girls to the *bel* fruit. We will only present here selected details from rituals staged in November 2006 at Nyākhācuka in Patan and in February 2007 at Paśubāhā in Bhakatapur in order to highlight the differences in terms of organisation and ritual performance.

### The Ihi Ritual at Nyākhācuka in Patan, 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> November 2006

The ritual was organised by the Vajrācārya Pūjā Vidhi Adhyayana Samiti, a Buddhist association that was established in 2003 to teach ritual to the sons of Vajrācārya. It was felt that there was a lack of young blood to uphold the traditions and to perform the life-cycle rituals. The head of the school, Buddha Ratna Bajracharya, said that people were very frustrated because it was difficult to find priests willing to perform the rituals: most of them have joined the modern working world, which places regular demands of attendance on them.

Weeks in advance a poster announced the performance of the Ihi ritual and invited participants to enroll in advance. The day before the ritual, 48 girls had enrolled at a fee of 1,000 rupees (10 euros). The receipt informed the parents as to what the participants needed for the ritual: *pūjā* material, a vermilion container, the *sukūda* lamp, the *thayabhū* plate with tripod, and ten betel-nuts. All other items, namely the *hipā* bowl, the *bel* fruit, a *jēlāapte* leaf, a handful of unhusked rice, the *sapākhvaḥ* block print and a rope of straw to bind the girl's hands were supplied by the organisation.

On the eve of the first day, five young men aged between 17 to 22 are busy painting the *hipā* bowls under the instruction of the teacher. The pair of pots designated

॥ ओं नमो रत्न त्रयाय ॥  
ध्वहे वड्गु ने. सं. १ १ २७ थिंलाध्व: चौथी व विवाहपञ्चमी  
(२०६३ मंसिर ८ व ९ गते) कुन्हु जुइगु

**सामुहिक इहि**

ज्याइव:स इहि यायेमानिपिं थ: म्हायाय् मचात इहि  
याय् हयेत सकल महानुभावपिन्त  
लसकुस यानाच्चना ।

स्वाय, मीठी, चम्पू,  
बदोचम पुत्रोत्पि अद्ययन समिति  
यावड्गु, स ।

मन्सा, खला  
बजाचार्य पुत्रोत्पि अद्ययन समिति  
म्याचाकुम, मी ।  
५५-५५२६८

फोन नं: ५५५४२६८ (समिति ९ बजेते ८ बजेत)  
सकल अक्षर, कककु  
फोन : ५५३४६५०

for *yakṣa/yakṣī* is likewise painted and the *Alīdyah* fashioned out of clay. Painters and potters are no longer needed. The entire ritual agency is monopolised by the school of ritual, which also engages one member as principle worshipper with the duty of performing the *Nāndimukhaśraddha*.

There is a conspicuous hierarchy in the way the girls are placed. Each seat has a number and a helper keeps the list with the corresponding names. The daughters of Vajrācārya priests are seated first, followed by the Śākya girls, and finally a Rājarnikār girl and five girls from the sub-caste of farmers (*Maharjan*).

The arrangement of the central *pūrnakalaśa*, pots and ritual objects (see sketch) differs considerably from the arrangement observed in Hindu contexts. The central square platform bears the sacred vase with water (*kalaśa*), and the *vijayakalaśa*, representing the Pañcabuddha and the Pañcatārā. These vases are flanked by miniature baskets filled with husked and unhusked rice, symbolizing the sun and the moon. These are followed by pairs of vermilion container and mirror in one of two forms, either in bronze or as earthen pots, and which are accompanied by a pair of *yakṣa/yakṣiṇī*. The southern end is marked by the *Alīdyah* in the shape of a lump of clay and a wooden container which stands for *Vasundharā*, a female deity who ensures well-being. The northern end is marked by the female

counterpart of Alīdyah. As Phalīdyah, the deity is shaped as a painted cylinder of paper, representing the Pañcatārā. Three earthen pots follow, representing the king of serpents (*nāgarāja*), Akṣobhya (seen as a blue *vajra*), and his Śakti, represented by a blue water lily (*upasvā*, Skt. *utpala*).

### The Ihi Ritual at Paṣubāhā in Bhaktapur, 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2007

The Paṣuvarṇa Mahāvihāra in the north-eastern quarter of Bhaktapur houses one of the five Dipaṅkara Buddhas of the town, which constitutes a frequent destination for Tibetan pilgrims. This deity is, however, only marginally involved in the course of the Ihi ritual.

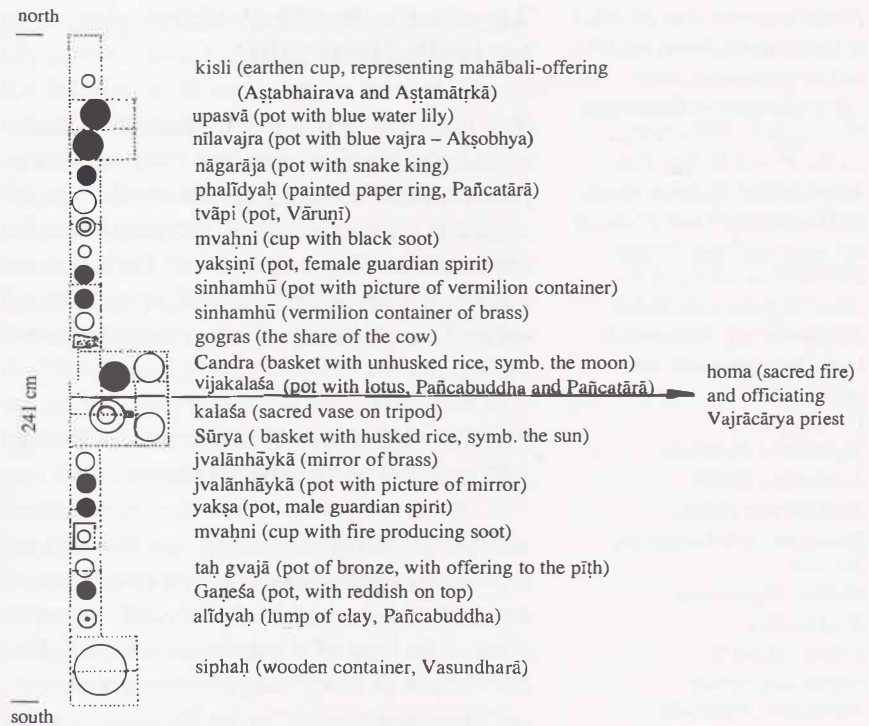
We will not portray the customary framing rites such as *gurumaṅḍalapūjā*, the worship of the sacred vases (*kalaśapūjā*) and the fire sacrifice (*homa*).<sup>26</sup> Instead, we shall concentrate on Buddhist variants in the Ihi ritual. The text used by the priest is the Pāṅgrahaṇavidhi (Pgv), “The Rules for the Joining of Hands” (i.e. marriage), a *thyāsaphu* manuscript with fourteen folios.

A total of 34 girls were initiated by the priest Jnanaratna Bajracharya and his son Mahesharatna Bajracharya. Each girl paid 60 rupees for the *bel* fruit, the pots (*ihipā*, *sapākhvāh*), the thread (*kumaḥkāh*) and other *pūjā* materials, as well as 100 rupees as the ritual fee (*dakṣiṇā*) to the Vajrācārya priest. The privileged girl leading the row of participants (*mūnakhī*) had, however, to pay 200 rupees as *dakṣiṇā* and 1,000 rupees for the *pūjā* materials.

The sacrificer (*yajamāna*) and father of the leading girl is Ramesha Buddhacharya from Sūryavināyaka in Bhaktapur. The family originates from Panauti and belongs to the Buddhācārya caste.

#### The First Day (*dusva*)

The rituals of the first day start with the invocation of Vajrasattva and his worship in the sacred vase (*kalaśapūjā*), the worship of the



clan deities and the ritual decision (*saṃkalpa*) being made by the priest together with a *gurumaṅḍalapūjā*.

At around nine o’clock in the morning, the *gurumā* (the wife of the priest) welcomes the 34 girls with their mothers and in some cases their sisters or other, mostly female, relatives to the monastery (*vihāra*). She performs the purification rite, *nirañjana*, a kind of apotropaic rite in which charcoal is lit with mustard seeds, a flower and rice in a clay cup and brought to the absorbing stone (*pikhālākhu*) at the entrance of the courtyard.

The girls all arrive after having had their nails cut at home, which means that there is no barber present in the *vihāra* for the Ihi ritual.

The girls are from Buddhācārya (2), Vajrācārya (7), Śākya (2), Śreṣṭha (1), Citrakār (2), Balāmī (2), and Mānandhar (17) families. Their present residence is mostly in Bhaktapur, but some families have come from Thimi, Chabahal, Kathmandu, Sankhu or Banepa.

*Patan, Ihi ritual on 24<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> November 2006 at Nyākḥācuka, organised by the Vajrācārya Pūjā Vidhi Adhyayana Samiti for 47 girls. On a platform of fifteen and a half unfired bricks 23 objects have been placed including nine earthen pots. The central pair of sacred vases (kalaśa and vijakalaśa) are flanked by two guardian spirits, yakṣa and yakṣiṇī, also identified as Siṃhīnī and Byaṅgīnī, the guardians of Tantric Buddhist shrines. The pair of mirror and vermilion container – identified as Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī – are present as ritual objects in bronze and as images painted on earthen pots.*

<sup>26</sup> For this see Locke 1980: 104-114, Gellner 1991a and 1992: 157-159, Kropf 2005: 406-431.

*Buddhist Ihi ritual at the house of Divya Bajracharya in Itāchē on 18<sup>th</sup> November 2005.*

*Above  
The parents, Rachana and Dharma Bajracharya hold the hands of their daughter Lasta while the chief worshipper pours water over the bel fruit from the sacred vase.*

*Below  
Measurement of a girl with the yellow kumaḥkāḥ thread. In a specific Buddhist variation, the arms of then girl are stretched out, her father coils the thread.*





The ritual begins with the invocation of Vajrasattva. After the *kalaśapūjā* follows the measuring of the girl's body length by means of a yellow thread (*kumaḥkāḥ* or Skt. *śatabrīdikā*). After measuring her body 108-fold, the thread is wound up and kept for the next day. In contrast to Hindu versions, the girls are measured with their arms extended and the thread touching their fingers.

While the *kalaśapūjā* in the monastery continues, the eldest woman of the lineage or the wife of the acting priest (*gurumā* or *nakhī*) of the *vihāra* worships the Ihi girls at their seats with the Gaṇeśa *kalaśa*, Alīdyaḥ in the shape of a *caitya* cast in bronze and milky water from the conch.

She then applies vermilion three times vertically to the parting in each girl's hair – a rite called *sinha chā* (offering of the *sindūra*). During this rite the girls sit on their mothers' laps, holding a red cloth on which the traditional mirror, ten rupees and a coin are placed. After receiving the vermilion they hand over the money to the *nakhī*.

The brother of the main priest then performs *siphārati*, showering fruit and flowers

from the wooden measuring vessel (*phā*) over the girls' heads by way of welcome.

Meanwhile the priest offers rice (*akṣata*) to the deities and gives blessings (*āśīrvāda*) to all of the participants.

In contradistinction to the Hindu Ihi at Byasi, this Buddhist Ihi ritual finishes early in the afternoon. No food is given to the participants or family members.

#### The Second Day: The Gift of the Virgin

In the morning, at around half past seven, the *gurumā* worships at a small Gaṇeśa shrine in the monastery with a Gaṇeśa *kalaśa*. Three women, Padmakeshari, Lakshmeshvari and Nita Vajracharya, help the *gurumā* as they did the day before.

Gradually the girls arrive with their mothers and relatives carrying a basket with the required items and the sacred vase (*kalaśa*) and the *sukūṇḍā* lamp from their home. Adorned and dressed in red and gold clothes, they take their seats, which have been prepared with a *svastika* as on the day before. The first girl, sitting to the left of the Vajrācārya priest (*gururuju*), is called the *mūnakhī*. She is followed

*Bhaktapur, Buddhist Ihi ritual at Paśubāhā, kanyādāna on 22<sup>nd</sup> February 2007*

*Right*

*The girl holds the bel fruit in a jēlāapte leaf while her wrists are tied with a braided straw rope.*

*Left*

*Rear view of the platform for the arrangement of the sacred vases and pots. The centre is occupied by the pūrṇakalaśa, the sacred vase with a depiction of a four-armed Vasundharā. A shaft is emerging from the vase with five ceremonial umbrellas in the colours of the Pañcabuddha; to the left the pair of yakṣa/yakṣiṇī, followed by the pot of the serpent king (nāgarāja) whose paper cylinder covers the vermilion container. To the right a regular kalaśa, the pair of pots representing Śrī/Lakṣmī, a caitya in bronze representing the Alīdyaḥ, the mirror and the Gaṇeśa pot.*

by her mother and her younger sister, while sitting to the right of the priest is her father who serves as the *yajamāna*. Another seven girls sit inside the temple, the others in a rectangular arrangement on mattresses and cushions outside in the courtyard.

The ritual starts by worshipping the sun and the clan deities, mental commitment (*nyāsa*) of the priest, the ritual decision, and one more *gurumaṇḍalapūjā*. It is significant in the arrangement of the sacrificial place that the Alīdyaḥ – the Clay Deity in the Hindu version – is a small brass *caitya* with a small bamboo stick with five leaves (*pañcapallava*) attached to it. The Pāṇigrahaṇavidhi lists the ritual items to be placed and the deities to be invoked:

On the next day, first display whatever is necessary for the sacrificial fire (such as) the flask (called) *bīja*, the main flask, Śrī (and) Lakṣmī, Yakṣa, Yakṣiṇī, Alīdyaḥ, the flask (representing) Gaṇeśa, the flask (representing) the serpent (deity), the Great Offering (*mahābali*),<sup>27</sup> ritual mirror, vermilion pot – place whatever is necessary (in the sacrificial area). (Pgv, fol. 3)

Set in front of the girls are a *kalaśa* with jasmine twigs and leaves, *sukūda* lamps, the *pūjā* plate with two *kisli* cups, two cups with diluted yoghurt, incense, rice, fruit, leaves, flowers, red and yellow powder, a package of decorative material, and rice cones (*gvajā*) for the Three Jewels, i.e. Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha.

The next step is for the ritual decision (*saṃkalpa*) for *gurumaṇḍalapūjā* to be made by the sacrificer, and for the girls to touch the *pūjā* plate and lighting the *sukūda* lamp. The girls then worship the *gurumaṇḍala* and the priest.

The Pāṇigrahaṇavidhi (fol. 4-8) inserts here a dialogue between the girls and the priest in which the girls ask the priest to perform the initiation (*upanayam*, sic!, read *upanayanam*)

for them by marrying them to a handsome (*dhanya*) boy. This Ihi story (*kathā*) is read out to the girls by the priest.

After this comes the grinding of black lentils (*māy niyayegu*): in the south-western corner of the courtyard is a mortar with pestle, framed by three long, slender bamboo poles tied together at the top and attached to this a *kisli* cup wrapped in a white cotton cloth. Three women and one girl stand at the corners holding the main Gaṇeśa *kalaśa*, a winnowing tray painted with a *svastika* diagram, a brush (Nep. *kuco*), the wooden measuring vessel with an iron key, and the *sukūda* lamp – as well as the Alīdyaḥ. They touch the Ihi girls with the brush, tray and wooden measuring vessel before the girls grind black lentils under the tripod of bamboo sticks by moving the pestle in the mortar with their left feet. Meanwhile the son of the priest recites *sarvāpā mārdaya mārdayo huṃ*, “May all evil be destroyed”. Finally, the girls are touched with the *kalaśa* and the Alīdyaḥ Caitya.

Immediately after this ritual to remove impurity, the Ihi girls are purified in a rite called *khau kāyegu*, “to take *khau* (ground sesame with oil-cake and water)”. The *gurumā* or one of her helpers pours water with sesame, oil and *sarvakhau* over the hands of the girls and sprinkles a few drops into her hair.

Meanwhile a woman helper prepares the painted bowls for the *bel* fruit by placing a *jēlālapte* leaf, the block-print, and a rope of straw in them. At the same time, preparations begin for the *homa* in the rectangular firepits. Assisted by his wife, the priest decorates the place and assembles the necessary material and ritual objects. The purpose of the *homa* is to invite the fire god (Agni).

The priest's son then touches the girls' foreheads while holding a *vajra* and the iron key in his right hand. This is followed by another *siphā luyegu*: pouring fruit, peas, carrot pieces, popped rice, and flowers from the wooden measuring vessel over the girls' heads.

<sup>27</sup> Offerings to Nine Mother Goddesses and Bhairava as a protector of the area (*kṣetrapāla*).



Afterwards an assistant Vajrācārya priest distributes the painted pots with the *bel* fruit to the girls while another helper collects the pieces of wood that the girls have brought for the fire sacrifice. Then the *gurumā* worships the girls with *kuśa* grass and milky water from a copper container. Meanwhile the preparations for the *homa* continue. The principle worshipper (*yajamāna*) now acts on the command of the priest and lights the fire.

Two elderly Tibetan pilgrims appear with a lama to worship the Dīpaṅkara Buddha, almost without noticing the Ihi ritual.

There now follows the Gift of the Virgin (*kanyādāna*): the *gurumā* places a *jēlālapte* leaf – Pāṇigrahaṇavidhi (Pgv) fol. 12: “with (its) stalk (facing) inside (i.e. to the body of the girl)” – the *bel* fruit – Pgv fol. 12: “with (its) stalk upwards (on the leaf)” – and a bank note in the girl’s hands. Pgv indicates that the leaf is to be regarded as the female (*śakti*) principle and the *bel* fruit as the male principle.

The *gurumā* then ties the girl’s hands together with the rope while the mother fixes the block-print into her hair, without using any special yellow thread. No gold or silver platelets are attached to the *bel* fruit at this point. Then father and mother (!) hand the girl over to the fruit. The Pāṇigrahaṇavidhi says: “Here then follows the worship of the *bel* fruit (in its) real (form)”, but does not reveal the esoteric meaning of the fruit.

The parents then hold the hands of the girl as follows: first the left hand of the mother, then the left hand of the father, then the child’s two hands, then the right hand of the mother and on top the right hand of the father. Sometimes it is the mother who encloses the hands of the child and the father. An assistant priest pours milky water three times from a *kalaśa* from head level over the hands into a brass vessel in which afterwards the parents throw some money. At the same time the priest recites the *kanyādāna* verses (see Pgv fol. 13):

Afterwards all the girls circumambulate the burning *homa* fire three times – adorned now with the yellow thread (*kumaḥkāḥ*) from the first day. They are again worshipped (touched) with the wooden measuring vessel and the *sukūda* lamp (inside the temple) as well as with Alīdyaḥ, the Gaṇeśa *kalaśa*, the winnowing tray and the brush (in the courtyard). The Pāṇigrahaṇavidhi (fol. 14) includes a kind of joke here, because the priest should ask the girls what they have stolen, because with their hands tied together they look like prisoners. Subsequently the assistant Vajrācārya unties the rope, touching it with the sacrificial ladle (*śruvā*) from the fire sacrifice.

Now the girls receive milk and biscuits. The main priest ties a multi-coloured thread around a *bel* fruit, worships it, marks it with a *tikā* and fixes a small piece of gold to it. He does the same with a small citrus fruit (*khāīsī*). Afterwards the mother of the main girls throws both pieces of fruit into the fire. A folded piece of paper containing a collection of herbs (*yajñōṣadhi*) is also consigned to the fire in order to help it digest the many oblations.

This is followed by *dakṣiṇā*, collected on the sacrificial ladles by the assistant Vajrācārya, and pure food (*nislā*) being given to the *mūnakhī*; after this comes the “full oblation” (*pūrṇāhuti*), when all of the remains are thrown into the fire.

Subsequently *bārā tayegu* or *chuye*, “alms giving”, is performed: women and a few men bestow various things (coins, sweets, fruits, packaged fruit juice etc.) to the Dīpaṅkara, the main *kalaśa* with a depiction of the blue *vajra* at the front and Vasundharā on the back, to the fire, to the priest as well as to his wife and son, the assistant Vajrācārya, and finally to all girls. In addition, rice is given to the girls using the wooden measuring vessel.

The concluding rites entail *tikā* and again *dakṣiṇā*: The son of the priest and the assis-

tant priest give all the girls a *tikā* from the sacrificial ladles and receive *dakṣiṇā* in return. The mothers give *tikā* to the girls and place yoghurt on their right temples. The *yajamāna* gives a *tikā* to the priest and his assistants. The main priest gives a *tikā* to the mothers and fathers of the Ihi girls and receives *dakṣiṇā* (money) in return. He gives all of the girls a *tikā* together with a five-coloured thread (*paśukā*, *pañcasūtra*) which they bind around their necks. He also receives *dakṣiṇā* in return.

Then the priest worships a wooden image of Jagannātha brought by a neighbour wrapped in cellophane and worships it with a *tikā*, thus giving soul (*prāṇapraṭiṣṭhā*) to the not yet vitalised image. Such a ritual should be done with *homa*, so the neighbour took the opportunity of using the *homa* of the Ihi ritual to have his image sanctified, something that may often be seen at Ihi rituals.

It does not matter whether the sacred fire ritual is performed by a Buddhist or Hindu priest. The fire empowers any ritual object, be it a deity or the copper bowl, which is reserved for ritual use in death and purification rituals.

Even the remains of the firepit, the green bricks forming the *maṇḍala* shaped frame, embody a special quality. They are not discarded in the river but presented to a relative or friend who had asked for the bricks long in advance so as to use them in the foundations of a newly built house.

Finally, the area is ritually dissolved (*visarjana*). At around three in the afternoon the ritual is finished.

## Conclusion

Ihi rituals are performed with many variations depending on the locality and the organisers. Sometimes sub-rituals are performed on the second day rather than the first and *vice versa*. Thus, the paring of the toenails and the smearing of vermilion on the parting were performed on the first day at the Buddhist Ihi in Patan, Nyākhācuka. And at the Ihi ceremonies in Patan and Kathmandu, the Citrakārs were seen performing the opening of the eyes on the Ihi pots.

The main variation, however, is the difference between Buddhist and Hindu Ihi rituals. The Ihi ritual as performed by the Buddhists in Bhaktapur parallels in many aspects the Hindu versions that have been described above. On the surface it could be seen as a Buddhicised ritual, but that is assuming that it was originally a Hindu ritual. This, however, is more than doubtful. It rather looks as though a tribal substratum ritual has been transformed into both a Hindu and Buddhist life-cycle ritual, absorbing elements from other rituals such as the *gurumaṇḍalapūjā*, the fire ritual (*homa*), ancestor worship (*nāndīmukhaśrāddha*), the worship of the sacred vase (*kalaśapūjā*), the “Seven Steps” (*saptapadī*), the circumambulation of the fire, and the almsgiving rite (*bārā chuyegu*).

This view is supported by the fact that several elements are not to be found in the Sanskrit tradition, especially in the texts on domestic and life-cycle rituals, the *grhyasūtras* and *dharmaśāstras*. The feeding of the girls (*ihimacā nakegu*), the ritual welcoming (*lasakusa*), the *siphāрати* element, the worship of the Alīdyah, the measurement rite (*kumaḥkāḥ*) with yellow or white threads, the purification by applying oil on the head, the grinding of black lentils, or the Kumārīpūjā make for a typical Newar ritual without any direct links to the Great (Sanskrit) Tradition.

The Buddhist variant of the Ihi ritual is characterised by a number of special features that are related to the Buddhist context. Buddhist deities are worshipped and accordingly other *mantras* are used, especially during the specific *gurumaṇḍalapūjā* and *kalaśapūjā*. No *śrāddha*, and no meat or animal sacrifices

are incorporated into Buddhist Ihi rituals. Moreover, some details are different. Thus, it is significant that the girls do not wear the special Ihi sari (*ihiparasi*), that the “Seven Steps” (*saptapaḍī*) are not performed, and that collective meals for the girls are not served on both days.



The *bārḥā pāsāḥ*, the “friend in seclusion”, kept to make up an even number of persons during seclusion, is 17 centimetres long, and carved from wood.

## The Girl's Seclusion: *Bārḥā tayegu*

After the Ihi marriage and before the onset of menstruation, a Newar girl generally has to undergo ritual seclusion for twelve days. She is kept in a room that is not necessarily dark but cut off from all males and from the sunlight. The ritual is called (Nev.) *Bārḥā chuyegu* or *Bārḥā tayegu*, “to place in seclusion or a cave”. On the 12<sup>th</sup> day, the girl has to worship the sun. It is a pre-menstrual ritual similar to the *Pūrbīya* seclusion ritual (Nep. *guphā basne*), which secludes girls from society in order to open up a new perspective. Viewing the sun again after the meaningful period of twelve days (which reflects the twelve months of the year), the girls are in a way reborn so as to be mothers before long.

### The Preparations

The ritual is normally performed between the ages of eight and twelve. Should menstruation occur unexpectedly prior to the performance of the ritual, the girl will immediately be secluded for the prescribed twelve days without first consulting the astrologer to find an auspicious time.

As with many other lifecycle rituals, the preferred time is winter and spring, from November to March (*Māgha* to *Phālguna*). In exceptional cases it can also be performed in summer. One family always takes the lead in asking the astrologer for an auspicious time (*sāit*). In order to approve the suitability of the room, the astrologer also scrutinises clay or dust collected from the four corners of the room that will serve for the seclusion. The horoscopes of the other girls will also be put before the astrologer in order to realise a rare planetary opposition.

Usually, up to six girls from relatives join in. Should only three or five girls enter the seclusion, a fourth or sixth “companion” has to join, a *bārḥā pāsāḥ* (Nev. *bārḥā*, “cave”,

*pāsāḥ*, “friend”), which often is a twenty-centimetres-long wooden female figure or a puppet made of cotton, covered with brightly coloured cloth. The number of girls in seclusion must be even. Such puppets are called *katāmari*. While these puppets are ritually treated as girls, a second category of *bārḥā pāsāḥ*, mothers or friends of the girls in seclusion act as mediators between the secluded room and the outer world of light and sun. The twelve days of seclusion are regarded as an impure time, which makes ritual purification (*bārḥā byēkegu*) mandatory on the morning of the twelfth day.

The girls' toenails have already been pared by a barber's wife, a *naunī*, on the occasion of the Ihi marriage, although the Ihi ritual is not regarded as an impure event. Impurity occurs also after giving birth: *macābu byēkegu* is performed on the fourth or sixth day after birth. The *naunī* arrives to pare the toenails and the woman in childbed is offered the same food the girls in seclusion are offered on the sixth day. The juice and bread made of the *isicā* root is served exclusively on the occasions of *bārḥā byēkegu* and *macābu byēkegu*. The root is served to potential mothers and mothers in childbed.

The period of impurity restricts the social life of all lineage members if the daughter of a single lineage member is in seclusion. No *pūjā* can be performed; no invitations are accepted even to feasts. The lineage members are under the powerful spell of *aśuddha*, impurity. During menstruation, the period of impurity extends over four days. No *pūjās* are performed, no temples are visited, and houses where the regular death ritual is being performed may only be entered after the final offering has left the house to be discarded on the stone that absorbs ritual waste.

During the second half of the twelve days of seclusion, relatives and friends of the main girl come with various items of food. The characteristic offering includes six types of

grains and pulses (*nasā*) such as flattened rice, popcorn, wheat, soybeans, peas, and large beans. Milk and raw sugar with butter (*gyaḥ-caku*) have to be added. Chickpeas and groundnuts as well as sweets are optional. The relatives of the other girls bring these offerings to their parental homes. Their mothers or grandmothers will carry a share of these grains to the seclusion room, the *bārhā kvathā*, to be offered to the room's ghost, the *bārhā khyāḥ*.

On the final day the family of the main girl will call in the Brahmin priest and the barber's wife with whom they have an inherited client relationship. Among the sub-castes of farmers and potters it is not compulsory to call in a Brahmin. More often, the eldest woman of the lineage, the *nakhī*, will perform ceremonies and she will receive the due offerings of food and coins (*dakṣiṇā*).

It is said that if a girl dies in seclusion, she will become a malevolent ghost (*bārhā khyāḥ*) and her dead body will have to be buried in the ground below the seclusion room. The body cannot be carried down the staircase so the floors have to be broken open to transport the body straight down to the ground floor.

### The Ritual

The following description is based on three sources. In January 2003 Bijay Basukala documented the concluding day of the period of seclusion of his daughter Benita, whose brother's initiation in January 2005 is described in a previous chapter. In December 2005 and January 2006 Tessa Pariyar had access on three occasions to groups of confined girls from sub-castes of farmers. Since men cannot enter the room with the secluded girls, our account of this period depends on her observations. On 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2007 we were able to document the twelfth day of the *Bārhā tayegu* ritual on the roof terrace of a house in the quarter of *Kvāchē* belonging to

Mahendra Sulu, whose wife Mangal is the daughter of Bijay Basukala's maternal uncle, his *pāju*. A third girl, Rasina, joined their daughters Manisa and Shrisa. As her father had died a few years ago, it was her uncle Ram Gopal Sulu who acted in his capacity as the head of the lineage (*nāyaḥ*) throughout the entire ritual as chief sacrificer (*yajamāna*). Our account here draws on a number of different occasions; we are not presenting a single case – as has been done for example for Annaprāśana.

### The First Day

On the first day of the seclusion the girls enter the "cave" (*bārhā*) at the auspicious time that was asked for from the astrologer, the Jośi. The girls first have to clean their bodies, but this is often reduced to quickly washing their hair. It is said that they are locked up in the room (*bārhā kunegu*), which should not allow any sunlight to enter. Candles may be lit and electricity used, but sunlight has to be avoided at all costs. Male persons are not allowed to enter the room except small boys who have not received their loincloth as the symbol of procreative energy.

The situation is of an ambivalent character: the girls should not see men, but likewise men have to avoid seeing the girls when they leave the room to be guided and guarded on their way to the toilet by a companion. In older times nature was relieved using brass pots within the room, thus reducing the danger of contact. There is a notion of danger emanating from the girls in seclusion, which men have to avoid.

The eldest woman of the lineage performs the usual *pūjā* at the auspicious moment of the first day in the presence of a Gaṇeśa lamp, the *sukūdā*, and places a red mark on the girl's forehead. Ritual food, *samaybaji*, is offered which includes flattened rice, egg, dried fish, raw ginger, black soybeans and alcohol.

### The Second and Third Days

The second and third days pass without any special occurrences. Visitors may occasionally enter the room to entertain the girls, playing cards or carom or even watching television. Although it is said that the *bārhā* ghost appears only from the sixth day on, the girls may decide to summon the ghost earlier and force him to come out (Nev. *bārhā khyāḥ pikayegu*). One of the visiting elder girls switches off the light and the girls will listen in the dark for any unusual noises to ascertain the presence of the ghost. The scene ends in them teasing and tickling each other. Once the light is on again, one of the girls will admit to having seen the white shadow of the ghost and any disorder in the room will be attributed to it. The ghost is neither male nor female but neuter. It is regarded either as a protective agent or as a threatening one that represents the procreative powers of men, whom the girls explicitly avoid by being confined. Michael Allen goes as far as to interpret the ghost's presence as a deflowering agent, symbolising incipient sexuality (Allen 1982: 193; Kunreuther 1994: 343).

On the first three days, the girls are fed solely with cooked rice and milk (*duruḥjā*), thus reflecting the period of six months after birth during which they are fed solely on milk and a paste of rice. Only after the ritual feeding of cooked rice will salted vegetables also be offered.

### The Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Day

On the morning of the fourth day, the girls take the first salt of the period, which is first exposed to the sun. Ginger and soybeans are offered with flattened rice and raw sugar with butter. The sun god Sūrya receives the same offerings – as does the ghost, which is only manifestly present from the sixth day on. This dietary restriction up until the fourth day might also reflect the period of impurity during the menarche.

The fifth day also passes without any special occurrences. But the sixth day halfway through the overall period is of great importance. The eldest woman of the lineage enters the room early in the morning, purifies the girls and the corners of the room with fresh water and performs *pūjā*. The essential offering of this day, *bvaḥcābaji*, a small (*cā*) dish of food (*bvaḥ*) with flattened rice (*baji*), is presented on a *jēlāapte* leaf, which is always used in the ritual context instead of a copper or brass plate. Twelve lots are prepared, reflecting the twelve suns (*āditya*). These represent “the whole range of phenomenal manifestations, each individual aspect of it being generally assigned to a particular *āditya*” (Stutley 1986: 3). The number twelve stands for the months of the solar year. As aspects of light they are collectively regarded as one, the sun.

The single-most important food item on the sixth day is *isicā*, a root similar to ginger but with far larger tubers, growing some 40 centimetres below the ground surface. It is not available in regular vegetable shops, but must be obtained directly from farmers who grow the roots on the edges of dry fields. Only women consume *isicā* on two occasions. It is offered to women after childbirth at the end of the period of impurity, and in the context of the girls' seclusion after six days and at the end of the impure period. The juice of the root is occasionally consumed as medicine when the body feels “hot”. The cause for this might be a cough or even the consumption of chicken meat, which is believed to create heat. The root is smashed, mixed with salt, cumin and turmeric, and fried in mustard oil in the shape of small pancakes, the product being called *isicāva*. In addition, a small pancake of peas (*kasuva*) is offered as well as a paste of peas mixed with salt, red pepper and cumin (*kāghasāḥ*), fermented spinach (*sīke*), soybeans, ginger, buffalo meat, flattened rice (*baji*) and fried rice (*sabhū*).

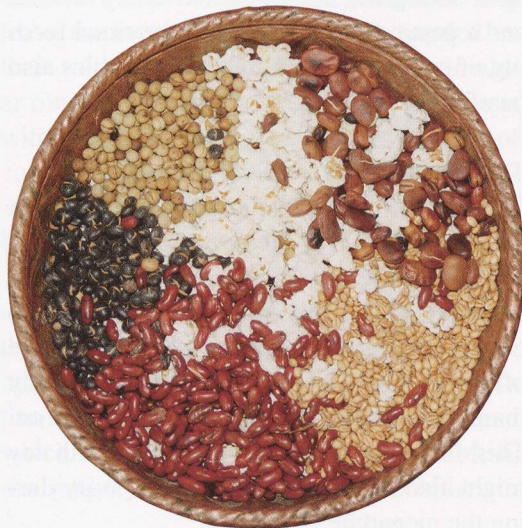
The tray with all twelve dishes is brought to the roof terrace to be exposed to the sun in a gesture of obeisance. One dish is offered explicitly to the sun by placing it on the parapet of the roof terrace or directly on the roof. The second dish is offered to the ghost (*khyāḥbvaḥ*) in the room of seclusion, whose presence by now is localisable in a wall niche or in a basket (*kalāli*) that is normally used to carry *pūjā* materials. The remaining ten dishes are distributed among the girls in seclusion and their friends.

If the Brahmin house priest is involved, he has to be offered twelve betel nuts, twelve cloves, some *khvaḥ* paste and yellow paste (*mhasusinhaḥ*). Some of the *khvaḥ* paste is brought back from the Brahmin as a consecrated gift, *prasāda*. Having distributed the twelve *bvaḥcābaji* dishes, the girls in seclusion apply a special make-up to their faces with a paste (*khvaḥ*) that is produced on the spot from fried and ground grains. The ingredients for the paste are mustard seeds (*pakā*), toasted wheat (*chusya*), barley (*thecva*) and corn (*laja*). Flattened rice (*baji*) is optional. The ingredients are all fried and ground into a fine meal a week beforehand. On the morning of the sixth day they are put into a special container called *khvaḥkvalah*, and water is added. The girls smear the paste over their faces and wait until it dries and crumbles off. Looking at one another they unanimously declare that they look fairer than before. This paste is only applied once in their lives in a ritual context. Otherwise it may be used again in winter to soften dry skin. A small portion of the paste is also offered to the ghost.

The Seventh to Eleventh Days (*nasā nakegu*)  
From the seventh to the eleventh day of their seclusion, the girls' relatives come and visit the *bārḥā* room. Most of them receive a formal invitation. Any female member of the invited household may represent the entire family and may be joined by children. In

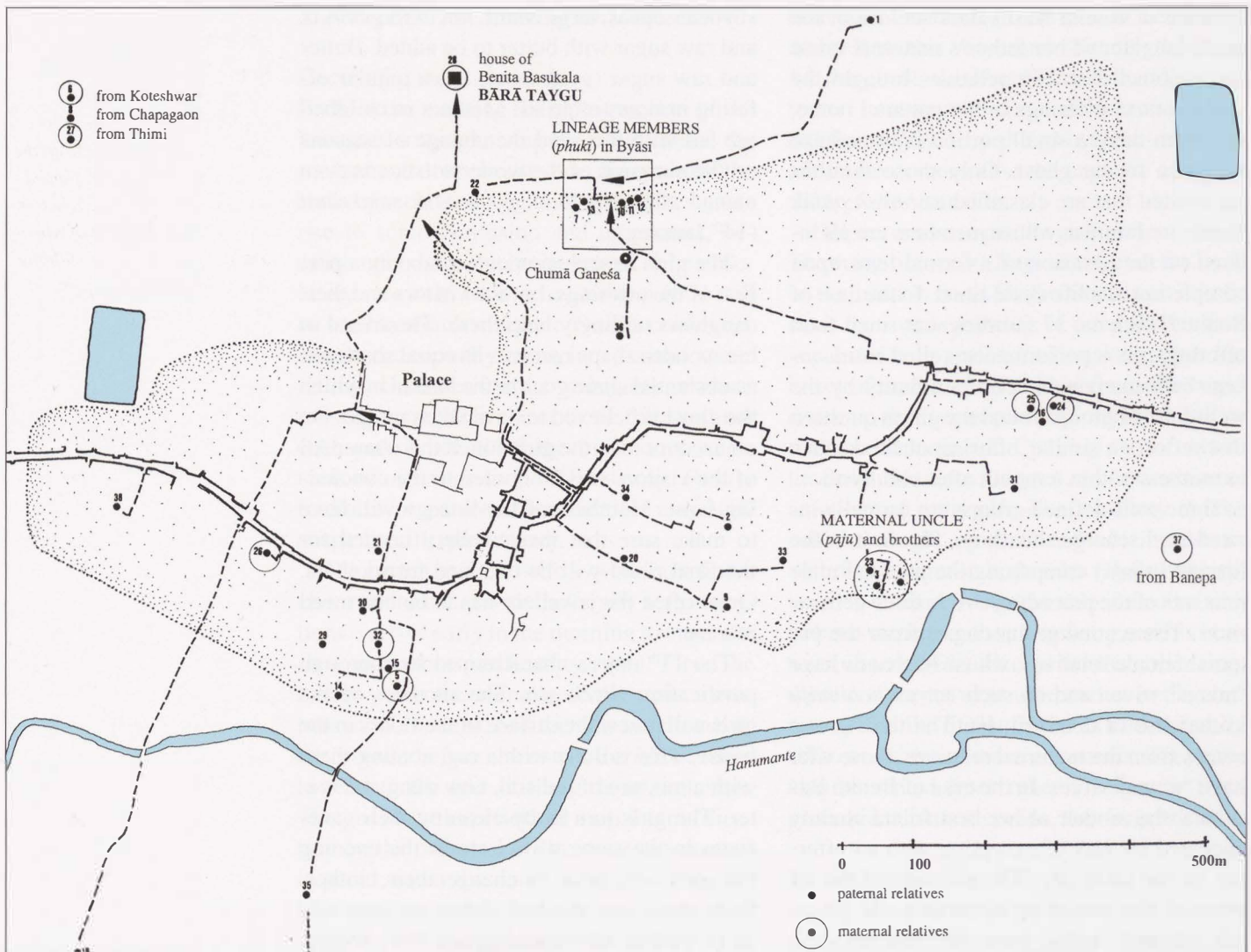


The twelve days seclusion (*Bārḥā tayegu*) of Benita Basukala, January 2003. On the 6<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> days a special dish, *bvaḥcābaji*, is offered on a leaf plate from the banana tree. On top is placed the essential item, *isicā*, below flattened rice, a piece of wheat bread, spinach, pease pudding, fermented spinach, a piece of dry fish and ginger.



Six different grains and pulses, *nasā*, are offered by relatives on the 6<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> days: above centre (white) flattened rice, clockwise large beans, wheat, red beans, soy beans and chick peas.

Photographs Bijay Basukala, 14<sup>th</sup> January 2003



The twelve days seclusion (Bārḥā tayegu) of Benita Basukala, January 2003. Feeding the girls (nasā nakegu) in seclusion on the 6<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> days (9-14 Jan.) by relatives: on the first day the mother of Benita's friend

(no. 1 on the map) arrives, then five lineage members (7, 10-13), 20 parental relatives (nini, 20, niniāji, 31, 29 etc.) and 11 maternal relatives (grandfather, 3 and granduncles, 4, 23, mother's sisters, 24-25 etc.).



the case of Benita Basukala's seclusion, the granddaughter of her father's maternal uncle (*pāju*) joined her. Her relatives brought the specific *nasā* offerings to her parental home, and from there a small portion is brought to be given to the ghost. Only those families are invited that are classified as *bhvaḥ pāhā*. These are families whose members are all invited on the occasion of a formal feast upon completion of a life cycle ritual. In the case of Benita Basukala, 37 families sent ritual food offerings, in a performance called *nasā nakegu* (see map) – an act of solidarity by the well-defined group around the girl in question that reflects a similar offering of food made to mothers within a month after childbirth.

Three well-defined groups are formally invited to discharge this duty. The first is the lineage (*phukī*) comprising the paternal male relatives of the preceding two to three generations. The second group comes from the paternal female relatives, whose husbands have "taken" wives and as such act as *jicābhāju* in the case of death rituals. The third group comes from the maternal relatives, those who have "given" wives. In the case of Benita Basukala, the mother of her best friend already appeared by way of exception with an offering on the sixth day. The majority of the 25 women who turned up came from the paternal side and twelve from the maternal side. Her father's family covers five lineage members, father's sisters (her *nini*), grandfather's sisters (*niniāji*) and their daughters. Others came from her father's maternal side, the *pājukalaḥ*. From the third group, mother's sisters, her grandmother and her grandmother's sisters and brothers (her *pāju*) came to present the prescribed offerings. On the 7<sup>th</sup> day of the seclusion five women came to visit the girls (nos. 2-6 on the map), on the 8<sup>th</sup> day only three (nos. 7-9), on the 9<sup>th</sup> day 24 (nos. 10-33), on the 10<sup>th</sup> four (nos. 34-36), and on the 11<sup>th</sup> four (nos. 37-40). The nine essential food items are flattened rice, popcorn, wheat,

soybeans, peas, large beans, not to forget milk and raw sugar with butter to be added. Butter and raw sugar (*gyaḥ-caku*) are a regular offering in times of crisis. Mothers in childbed are fed with this, and the change of seasons on the occasion of the winter solstice is even named after this food: *gyaḥ-caku samkrānti* (14<sup>th</sup> January).

The girls in seclusion consume only a portion of the offerings, but the visitors and their daughters willingly help them. The friend in her wooden shape receives an equal share and a substantial share goes to the basket in which the ghost is believed to have taken refuge. On no account may the girls touch this share. All of the visitors will be invited to the concluding feast. Members of the lineage will have to make sure that the jewellery needed for the final ritual will be obtained from others. Quite often the jewellery has to be borrowed at a fee.

The 11<sup>th</sup> day is characterised by thorough purification (*byēkegu*). The mothers of the girls will renew the surface of the floors in the house. This is done with a rag, coating them with a mixture of red soil, cow dung and water. The girls join in by cleaning their cave-room in the same way. Late in the evening the girls will have to change their clothes. Both these and the bed sheets are immediately washed and stored away. They remain impure and can only be exposed to the sun and dried after completion of the concluding ritual, which signals their arrival in society as sexual beings. At the end of the day the girls are led to the bathroom on ground floor level amidst great precautions to prevent even a chance encounter with a male. The cleaning of the body is once again confined to washing their hair and their head down to the neck with soap.

## The Twelfth Day: Leaving the Cave

### Decorating the Girls

Early in the morning the eldest woman of the lineage starts organising the ritual site on the roof terrace of the house, one storey above the room of seclusion. Organising the place gives rise to some confusion and arguments, because nobody in the house seems to be absolutely sure as to what is needed and what will be used in which sequence. Such a confusion, which occasionally turns into serious quarrelling, characterises the ambiguity of ritual prescriptions. Rules have to be followed but each person identifies the mandatory steps, tools or offerings in a different way. Family tradition or personal predilection may well shape specific procedures.

The barber and his wife – who have had a client relationship with the family for generations – arrive early in the morning to enact the most important purificatory ritual. First, the barber pares the toenails of the male members of the lineage, and then his wife tends to the women before she enters the *bārhā* room to tend to the feet of the girls in seclusion. The girls have experienced a similar purification on the occasion of Ihi: not every toenail is pared; often the *naunī* simply touches the toes. And arguments arise when it comes to applying the dark lotion to the front part of the feet and outlining the feet with a red line as to how to make the colouring desirable or attractive. Some mothers are particular about producing a skilful line, which they consider an essential part of beautifying the girl. In the end, the *naunī* receives part of the grains used to make the beautifying paste (*khvaḥ*) and a small bottle of mustard oil as remuneration, along with a few banknotes as a ritual gift (*dakṣiṇā*). Inevitably she will complain and demand more (in 2006 it was up to 300 rupees, approx. three euros). On this occasion in particular the clients are scared of the *naunī*'s complaints. Her purificatory act is absolutely

essential; the family feels it is at her mercy and resents this very much. Finally, the share for the ghost, the *khyāḥbvaḥ*, is handed over to her. In a way the *naunī* absorbs the potential threat posed by the ghost. Her impurity allows her to neutralise the negative connotations of the seclusion.

Helpers arrive to put the girls' hair in shape. The tying of a knot (Nep. *saṭāṅgi*) at the back of the head is done for the first time: it indicates the marriageability of the girl. Her face is painted with professional make-up, but she is not offered a set of red bangles, mirror and comb on this occasion – in contrast to the ritual for Brahmin and Chetri girls, for whom the auspicious (*saubhāgya*) *sāmān* constitutes an essential ritual gift. The jewellery (*bārhā tisā*) is brought, of which a double headdress with five chains on both sides (*nyāpu sikhaḥ*) is much desired. Also desirable is a collar ring of brass depicting the snake king and his consort (*nāga/nāginī*). Except for the collar ring, these ornaments were used earlier in the context of the Ihi ritual. Every extended family still owns some of these ornaments. They may also be rented from other lineages or from professional dance groups, the *devīpyakhā*.

### The Worship of the Sun

In the meantime, the roof terrace is purified and the Brahmin priest arranges the ritual place. The customary sacred vase in the centre, the *kalaśa*, placed on unhusked rice, represents the presence of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. A twig of white jasmine (*daphvaḥsvā*) has been inserted inside it. It is flanked on the left (as seen from the Brahmin) by a mirror and on the right by a vermilion container, representing the goddesses Śrī (or Sarasvatī) and Lakṣmī. Behind them are eight *kisli* cups, and five heaps of beaten and watered rice (*phyaybaji*) which are dedicated to the *pañcāyana* gods, as well as five similar heaps to the east for Bhairava and to the west for Kaumārī. Set in front of the *ka-*



*Bārḥā tayegu ritual at the house of Mangal Sulu at Kvāchē on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2007. Three girls are led to the roof terrace under a red shawl to view the sun for the first time after twelve days of seclusion.*

The twelve days seclusion (*Bārhā tayegu*) of Benita Basukala, January 2003. The Brahmin priest prepares the ritual place on the 12<sup>th</sup> day. The sacred vase of jasmine is placed on the central axis amid a pile of unhusked rice on a tripod. To his right the vermilion container (representing *Lakṣmī*), to his left the mirror (representing *Śrī* or *Sarasvatī*), on his far left offerings dedicated to him and the sacred lamp, *sukūda*, representing *Gaṇeśa*, and on his far left the wooden container, *siphā*. In the foreground two unbaked bricks which serve as platforms for the offerings dedicated to the sun, *Sūrya*. In between is the *Śrīyantra* diagram, indicating the location of a copper bowl. Photo Bijay Basukala, 14<sup>th</sup> January 2003



*laśa* is a copper or brass container in which a representation of *Sūryanāryaṇa* is placed, or simply a mirror. Sun-dried bricks are either placed directly below the *kalaśa* so as to be touched and worshipped by the girls collectively, or each girl has a brick of her own. In some cases two bricks are placed in front of each girl and covered by a large *jēlāapte* leaf, which is the preferred base for ritual offerings. If there are an uneven number of girls, one brick is dedicated to the wooden doll, the *katāmari*. The Brahmin marks each brick with twelve dots and places flower petals on every dot. The priest then takes the stalk of a rose flower and paints with it an *om* sign on the mirror, after which he commences the ritual with the ritual decision (*saṃkalpa*) and the worship of the vase (*kalaśapūjā*).

After a while the girls appear on the roof terrace covered in a red shawl and led by the *nakhī*, the eldest woman of the lineage. The moment the shawl is removed under which the girls have been led up to the roof terrace, the girls fold their hands with the palms directed outwards in such a way that a small hole remains through which the dazzling sun may be viewed for the first time after twelve days (*bārhā pikāygu*). The brightness on the light, which the girls have not seen for twelve days, means that they take merely a brief glimpse of the sun.

They are then led to their seats facing east on the west of the terrace. Squatting on a wooden base whose position had earlier been defined by a *svastika* fashioned with rice flour, the girls first offer *pūjā* to the sacred vase and the lamp, under the directions of the



The twelve days seclusion  
(*Bārhā tayegu*) of Benita  
Basukala.

Six essential steps make up the  
ritual on the 12<sup>th</sup> day:

1 (above left) the participants  
throw rice and flowers towards  
the sun;

2 the mirror in the container,  
which represents the sun,  
Sūrya, is lustrated with water  
and milk poured from a conch  
shell;

3 while the face of the initiate  
is covered with a red cloth  
the parting of her hair is  
given vermilion powder three  
times from the left hand of her  
mother;

4 the two participants are  
showered with flowers and  
popped rice by Benita's  
mother;

5 the twelve dishes of special  
food including *isicā* are offered  
to the sun, the two participants  
and other girls present;

6 Benita receives an offering  
of husked and unhusked rice  
from her relatives.

Photos Bijay Basukala,  
14<sup>th</sup> January 2003

priest, who carefully avoids looking at the girls. Ritual rice and flowers are also offered to the sky. The girls finally present the usual offering of a small cup (*kisli*) with rice, a betel-nut and a coin to the vase and add marks of respect (*tikā*).

The girls also receive a package from the *nakhī* containing a little comb, a small box with a mirror and bangles – beauty products to equip them for adult womanhood.

In a decisive act the girls now receive vermilion (*bhvā sinha*) as a symbolic transformation of the girls into sexual beings. While the mothers cover their daughters' faces with red cloth, the eldest woman of the lineage spreads red powder across the parting of the hair (*bhvāsinha tekegu*), which has been carefully separated with a porcupine quill (*dumsika*). Both sides of the parting and the forehead are also coloured with three times vermilion. The quill is fastened to the girl's hair, as is a peacock feather (*mhaykhāpapu*).

After an hour the priest puts some vermilion on the right thumb of the *nakhī*, who gives it to the girls, followed by marking the left temple with yoghurt (*dhau svagā*). She also presents them with new clothes, including modern Chinese jeans. The girls touch them with their right temple.

The marking of the hair is followed by gestures of acceptance and welcome. Popped rice, flowers, sugar cane, peas (*sutibaye*) and fruits are poured (in an action called *siphā luyegu*) from a wooden container onto the mirror as the symbol of the sun deity Sūrya, and then onto the heads of the girls. This showering of fruits and flowers – which is sometimes performed later, after the worship of the twelve Ādityas – is followed by the offering of a mixture of husked and unhusked rice (*vākijāki*). This action of offering had already been performed at the end of the Ihi ritual and is similar to the offering of alms on the occasion of the initiation of boys. The first handful of rice goes to the officiating

Brahmin priest, and only then are three handfuls offered to the girls. The first offering comes from the girls' natal home, and then other relatives join.

The rice offerings are followed by gifts of readymade garments such as jeans, together with a five rupee banknote and leaves of butterfly bush (*sinhasvā*), often with disgruntled remarks by the priest because the clothes offered on ritual occasions should be "pure", preferably hand-sewn and not imported. The first offering of clothes comes from the mothers, the second – often a shawl with a betel nut – from the eldest woman of the lineage. Later in the day presents are also handed over by all those who had brought food over the preceding days.

After the customary lengthy worship of the spouted vase, the girls mark the bricks twelve times with vermilion and add twelve sacred threads (*yajñopavīta*), twelve wicks, and twelve coins as *dakṣiṇā*. This is done collectively as and when the bricks are arranged under the vase, or individually on a single brick or the leaf on top of the brick. The *nakhī* also places a *kisli* cup with milk, butter and honey (*gyaḥ-kasti*), *ḍubo* grass, betel nut and a coin on each pair of bricks.

Having identified the bricks with the twelve forms of Āditya or the cycle of time, a second sequence of worship is directed to the container with the mirror. The girls are given a conch (*śaṅkha*) with *kuśa* grass, milk and honey (*gyaḥ-kasti*) and a flower from the sacred vase, and while the eldest woman of the lineage pours milk and water into the conch, the girls direct the stream on to the mirror in the container in a performance called *arghya biyegu*. Having now done this for the first time in their life, they have managed another transformation from a pre-pubescent girl to a fully acknowledged ritual being, similar to their brothers through the acceptance of a loincloth.

Following the worship of Sūrya, the eldest man or woman of the lineage (or her



husband, the *nāyah*) will take the mirror, expose it with outstretched arms to the sun and then ask the girls to look one by one into the mirror. By looking indirectly at the sun the girls are finally purified, the period of impurity (*aśuddha*) is transcended. Similarly, their brothers looked into the mirror after receiving the loincloth, as do the members of the lineage who, after looking into the mirrors, have achieved the first step of purification on the 10<sup>th</sup> day of the death ritual (*du byēkegu*) after having shaved their heads.

Finally, some five hours after the girls started their purification and dressing up, the eldest woman of the lineage appears with twelve portions of *bvaḥcābaji* on a tray. These are the same food items as on the sixth day. The girls offer ritual rice and vermilion to the tray before it is touched to their foreheads in a gesture of offering. The first portion is now offered to the sun, the remaining ones are taken as *prasād* by the girls and those who attended the ritual.

*The twelve days seclusion (Bārḥā tayegu) of Benita Basukala.*

*The initiate with a peacock feather and a porcupine spine in the bun of her hair. The parting of her hair has had vermilion applied to it, while a white and a red thread frame her head.*

*Photo Bijay Basukala, 14<sup>th</sup> January 2003*

Turning the bricks upside down or placing the two bricks one on top of the other demonstrates the completion of the ritual. The girls then receive a mixture of milk and water from the sacred vase, which they sprinkle about the house using sprigs of *ḍubo* grass in an act of purification. Continuously sprinkling, they are led to the Gaṇeśa shrine of their neighbourhood by the eldest woman of the lineage. The non-iconic representation of the deity is worshipped according to the instructions of the eldest woman of the lineage. Still sprinkling along the return route, the girls are offered *khē svagā*, the first food of the day, which is of a ritual character. After that each girl will receive a full plate of food (*bhvay*), although very little of it is consumed.

The remainder will be discarded at the absorbing stone at a nearby crossing, which takes the ritual waste of a well-defined number of households. Being termed in this case a *kalah vāygu* action, there is a notion on this occasion of feeding the ancestors. In the meantime the mother of the main girls together with a female helper has been to the nearest river embankment to cast the ritual waste – such as the green bricks and leaves – into the river. Every household of Bhaktapur follows a prescribed route to one of the seven embankments along either the Hanumante River in the south or the Kasankhusi River in the north. These are the places where the purificatory rites on the 10<sup>th</sup> day after death (*du byēkegu*) are observed and where the offerings to the ancestors (*pinḍas*) and the hair of initiated boys are discarded.

The day ends with a feast (*bhvay*) to which only those families of *bhvah pāhā* status appear who had contributed *nasā* food on the 7<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> day of the seclusion. A small portion of each food item is set aside and dedicated to the ghost, who seems to be still around. The transformation of the girls into ritual and sexual beings is completed, but they will spend the 12<sup>th</sup> night again in their “cave”

and consume the food that was meant for the ghost.

## Conclusion

The pre-menarche ritual extends over twelve days – a period that reflects the general cycle of time. Representing time, the sun is present in its twelve manifestations.

The fundamental transition “from a presexual to a sexual being” (Bennett 1978: 33) is accompanied by a demonstration of solidarity, in which the lineage, the wife-takers and the wife-givers participate. The potential mothers, the girls in seclusion, undergo a sequence of events within a symbolic period of growth: they enter the “cave” as if into a womb, where they are fed like infants for a quarter of the period. After half of the period they consume food that is otherwise prescribed for mothers in childbed, and for the five days to follow they enjoy the solidarity of relatives in much the same way a mother does after childbirth. For twelve days the girls are potential mothers, then to appear before the sun or be “born” as mothers – fully dressed and with their forehead and parting coloured fully in red (*bhvā sinha*). It is the same colour that is used for Ihi, the marriage (*biha*), as well as for the marks on the forehead at blood sacrifices, while on regular *svagā* occasions the deep red of *abhīr* is used.

Inside the cave the girls have to control the dangerous forces of the ghost, which threaten to make them pregnant. But as presexual beings they entertain an ambiguous relationship to the ghost, which is also a playmate that receives an equal share of all the offerings. The final absorption of these offerings by the barber's wife suggests once again the polluting if not dangerous character of the ambiguous ghost. Allen (1982: 194) suggests that the ghost or Sūryanārāyaṇa are even believed to deflower the girls during their seclusion, but Rajendra Pradhan (1986: 133), who is of the



opinion that the *bārhā khyāḥ* is female, rejects this argument.

Leaving the cave and being led upwards under a blanket to finally view the sun as the manifestation of time through a hole that is formed with the help of the two hands comes across as a gesture of opening up. Symbolically, the girls have transformed into sexual beings, ready to be impregnated.

The seclusion of girls among the Newar reflects an almost identical ritual among Brahmins and Chetris in Nepal. But contrasting elements reveal a remarkable shift in meaning. No doubt, menarche in all societies is “associated with the beginning of a girl’s fertility”, as Lynn Bennet (1978: 37) says. But among the Brahmins it is the husband’s group that “is threatened by the sexuality and fertility of its incoming brides”. Even if the daughter is already married, she will receive clothes and red pigment from her consanguine males on the occasion of her menarche. She is married before the onset of puberty to allow her emerging sexuality to be controlled. The following period of twelve days seclusion (Nep. *guphā basne*) in her husband’s house is less rigorous than a premarriage seclusion in her father’s house. Unattached sexuality is seen as “an anomaly which endangers herself and her male consanguinal relatives” (Bennett 1978: 37). The seclusion is “a ritual attempt to protect the purity by establishing a symbolic barrier between the girl’s sexuality and her consanguine male kinsmen” (ibid., 39). The notion among Newars of separation between the male lineage members and the girls in seclusion reflects this barrier, although their sexuality is only a potential one. They are never immediately married. Neither the father nor the head of the lineage has any part in this ritual. Instead, the wife of the head of the lineage, the *nakhī*, attains a priestly role, which she only delegates to a Brahmin if the family feels the need to demonstrate status. By putting vermilion into the parting of the

girl’s hair, she probably shows her solidarity with the girl’s potential sexuality.

Since *Bārhā tayegu* is clearly a pre-menarche ritual it can be undergone in groups at an auspicious moment. The menarche itself causes impurity but not the necessity of another purifying ritual. While for Brahmins vermilion in the parting of the hair “carries a strong connotation of the groom’s impending sexual possession of the bride” (Bennet 1978: 39), the identical act by a woman among the Newars can be understood as an acknowledgement that the girl has reached a marriageable age, or, as Robert Levy says, has become a “notionally sexually mature girl, with religious and social forms and controls” (Levy 1990: 672).

The liminal period of seclusion transforms the girls symbolically into sexual beings. Such a symbolic enactment of a rite allows the girls a playful *passage* during their liminal isolation and frees them from the dreadful experience *Pūrbīya* Brahmin girls are exposed to when the sudden appearance of menstrual blood enforces action. Having transformed only symbolically into a sexual being, the girl’s danger fades away, she is readily reintegrated into the lineage until her “true” marriage separates her from her natal group in order to become part of her husband’s patrilineage.

The marriage of pre-pubescent girls to the *bel* fruit and their subsequent pre-menarche rituals are designed to strengthen ties to their natal home, their *thachē*. Their prominent role in the death rituals of their consanguine kin, their demonstration of what Levy called sororal solidarity, their return on the occasion of a great many feasts, can be seen as evidence of ties unknown to *Parbatīya* Chetri or Brahmin. As in-laws, their husbands bear well-defined responsibilities. As wife-takers they return ritual obligations. The marriage to a deity and their menarche ritual before their transition to a sexual being – both performed with mother

or grandmother as guardians – are achieved under the protection and shield of the natal home and the entire lineage. Eventually they will marry and subsequently belong to a new lineage. For the paternal lineage they are lost, but they are still present to such an extent that they are called “living ancestors”.

These relationships distinguish Newar women from Parbatīya women. In both groups, there is a deep concern with purity and protec-

tion from the dangers arising from sexuality and menstruation. But on the whole “Newar women have, in reality, relatively high status, a large degree of involvement in economic life, and regular and secure ties to their natal homes” (Gellner 1991: 115). Newar women and men remain in their own way influenced by Brahminical values, and yet are independent in many social and ritual aspects.

### The Dynamics of Newar Cultural Rituals



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Part III

CONCLUSION

The Dynamics of Newar Childhood Rituals



## Introduction

In the conclusions to the previous chapters we have focussed on what we believe to be specific aspects of various life-cycle rituals within the community of the Newars in Bhaktapur. In this final chapter we will examine what these rituals have in common. We propose that all rituals are in way non-recurring initiation rituals that are embedded in a highly complex, urban and literate socio-cultural environment. With the exception of the rituals for infants (Annaprāsana or birthday rituals), all these rituals integrate the children and adolescents into a social group and involve certain aspects of learning, socialisation and the definition of cultural identity. They mark admission to a kin group and socio-religious community. For that reason, we consider all these events as initiation rituals.

In these rituals, boys and girls are ritually, psychologically and socially transformed. Ritually, because they obtain the right to perform and participate in certain ritual activities; psychologically, because the son's and daughter's maturity, adulthood or manhood and womanhood (their ability to marry) is celebrated; socially, because the coherence and status of a family unit is confirmed. Only in a limited sense are these initiation rituals plainly life-cycle rituals of adolescence in that they ceremonially recognise the change to a new stage of life (but also ritually conclude the coming of age). Newar initiation rituals have little to do with adulthood or with coming into one's majority, and even less with finding one's identity or coping with a crisis of adolescence. After all, there is no term for adulthood in Nepālī and Nevārī: *lyahma* (for males) and *lyase* (for females) denotes young people aged between fifteen and thirty independent of their marital status – simply boys and girls who are neither children nor adults.

In generating personhood and adulthood, Newar initiation rituals possess many fea-

tures that they share with other life-cycle rituals in general and initiation rituals in particular. Therefore, there is no need to repeat or summarise the vast literature on initiation rituals here.<sup>28</sup> We also do not claim to have developed a new theory of initiation rituals since most of our findings accord with the observations made by Mircea Eliade, Arnold van Gennep or Victor Turner – to mention only the most prominent scholars of initiation rituals. Such rituals are steeped in connotations of rebirth, renunciation, separation and integration. They may follow van Gennep's basic, though simplifying, scheme of separation, liminality and incorporation (see Michaels 2006).

Instead we aim at highlighting certain aspects of childhood and adolescence, social participation, moral community, purity/impurity and auspiciousness/inauspiciousness, space and time, ritual transfer and transformation, text and intertextuality, as well as constructions of immortality. We deliberately do not wish to reduce the rituals to one or two aspects or functions, because we consider that to be misleading. Life-cycle rituals are rich and dense events full of ritual elements and socio-religious relations that have a kind of irreducible and singular richness. One can only arrive at broad generalisations by neglecting the specificity of the event.

## Childhood and Adolescence

Most of the described life-cycle rituals confer rights on those for whom the rituals are performed or who are at centre-stage of the rituals. The rituals transfer membership rights of the lineage group (*phukī*), sub-caste or socio-religious institutions, such as the monastery, to the individual. They bestow the right to learn or teach the sacred Hindu (Veda) or Buddhist texts, to worship the ancestors or (lineage) deities, and to marry or to perform the death rituals. They thus imply a concept

<sup>28</sup> Snoek 1987 presents a fairly reliable overview of this literature. For the Hindu initiation see Michaels 2004: 71-98 on which parts of the following are based.

of adulthood that encompasses notions of self-control, responsibility or moral accountability. The children leave childhood and its lack of restrictions behind them. Growing up in traditional South-Asia means leading a life together with many children of all ages, in an extended-family community, with relatively little school instruction and individual freedom. With initiation, the children become members of a social body defined and bound by a complex set of moral and ritual rules.

The Western concepts of life stages such as childhood, youth, and adulthood only inadequately mark the subtle processes of maturing and aging in traditional societies. Childhood is not only a biological phase, but rather a cultural construct. Only in the aftermath of the Renaissance did Europeans begin to perceive the child not only as a small adult but as a creature with its own thoughts and feelings. Youth, puberty, or adolescence became the focus of public attention only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In ancient India, these phases of life were not conceptually delineated. Thus, in the traditional legal literature of India, childhood rarely appears. In Sanskrit texts, the first years of life are sometimes divided into separate phases: Childhood (*kaumāra*) ends at the age of five, boyhood (*pauganḍa*) at ten, adolescence (*kiśora*) at fifteen; then begins youth (*yauvana*) (Bhāgavatapurāṇa 10.12.32 and 41). Or: “A child is called an infant (*śiśu*) till his teeth are cut; till the tonsure ceremony he is called a child (*bāla*); a boy (*kumāra*) till the *kuśa* girdle is given (i.e. during the boy’s initiation or *upanayana*)” (Garuḍapurāṇa, Abegg 1921: 17).

Most legal scholars consider children to be ritually impure. Only a few childhood rites are treated, very briefly, in Sanskrit and Nevārī texts on life-cycle rituals. They concern the naming of the child, its first outing, and the ingestion of its first solid food. This is because Indian children in their early years

are predominantly in the care of mothers and sisters, and not in the world of the men who wrote the Sanskrit texts. Only from initiation rituals onwards do the legal texts become more eloquent. But this silence about childhood in the Sanskrit texts should not make us ignore this phase of life when analysing the processes of socialisation (see Michaels 2004: 99-110).

Adulthood among the Newars (and in Hindu South Asia) is ritually marked by the Brahminical ideal of the four *āśramas* or life stages, i.e. studentship (*brahmacarya*), householder (*grhastha*) with the establishment of the family, and then a retreat to asceticism, first as a forest dweller (*vānaprastha*), then as a wandering ascetic (*saṃnyāsa*). The *āśramas* were originally theological concepts of equally valid life-styles, which an adult male could feel compelled to follow all his life (cf. Olivelle 1993: Chapter 3). Life-long scholarship or a direct transition from the phase of studentship to that of the wandering ascetic was possible, although this was more the exception. But increasingly these paths became a theological ideal of successive life stages with specific tasks and life goals (*puruṣārtha*), which succeeded mainly in integrating asceticism into the stages of life. Although only very few people practice the life forms of first (and third or fourth) stage, the phase of studentship is symbolically enacted during the male initiation by the *deśāntara* episode, “the rite of (going) to a foreign (country)”. In this sub-rite, practised by both Hindus and Buddhists, the son leaves the house, equipped with the ascetic’s paraphernalia of wandering: staff, hide, begging bowl, bow and arrow. He explains that he wants to go to the forest to become an ascetic-monk or to Benares to study the Veda for twelve years. But his mother points out the dangers and troubles of life abroad. She asks him not to violate his obligations to others. Instead, she praises home and family life, promises

him a bride. But the son prefers to woo Sarasvatī, the goddess of the arts and sciences, as a bride. Only when the game threatens to become serious and the son sets out on the road, does his maternal uncle hold him back.

It is by such symbols that certain rights and obligations are bestowed. Receiving ritual competence is also a key element in initiation rituals among the Newars of Bhaktapur. For the boys, and to a lesser extent the girls, it is an initiation into the *sacra* or the right to worship the ancestors and the lineage deities (*digudyah*), to join the annual feast of the lineage (*phukī*), to perform the death rites, and, above all, to marry. Among the farmers (Jyāpu) the aspect of learning the Veda is almost absent; for they do not receive the sacred thread and are therefore not taught the Gāyatrī hymn or the Veda. However, they also have to learn specific things. They have to learn and are taught in the rituals how to worship the gods and Brahmins with gifts and gestures, to respect elderly people, to ritually eat cooked rice (*pañcagrāsa*), to exchange gifts, and to bind a loincloth.

This learning does not imply a specific age or consciousness. “Adulthood” is often achieved by a symbolic and mimetic education independent of the maturity of the children, who are quite often at an age when they are incapable of understanding what they are doing and what is done with them. In the legal Dharmaśāstra texts, the age of initiation, calculated from the time of conception, not of birth, depends on social class: a Brahmin is to be initiated at the age of eight, a Kṣatriya (aristocracy, warrior class) at eleven, and a Vaiśya (merchant, farmer class) at twelve; the Śūdras (slaves, manual labourers, serfs) are not considered to be Twice-Born. In modern Nepal, hardly anyone follows the age instructions of the legal texts. To save the high cost of such a celebration, many parents initiate several sons together or along with the sons of relatives from the same lineage. Thus,

a small child who has just cut his teeth may stand in line in the same ritual ceremony with a boy who has already grown a beard. Occasionally, the initiation is put off even until shortly before the wedding, the reason being that one has to be initiated in order to be married.

More important than the understanding of the initiates are the signs communicated to the society, above all to the members of the extended family and other kin groups, fellow caste members and the neighbourhood. In the case of initiation, what is communicated is that a child has changed its role, has left childhood and become a partially or fully responsible member of the social group. The aspect of a new life or second birth is therefore at the centre of the boy’s and girl’s initiation rituals. It is made noticeable by a number of ritual elements and notions. For the boy the most obvious signal is his first ritual haircut (*busā khāygu*, Skt. *cūḍākaraṇa*) with all its accompanying symbolism; with his bald head, the boy looks visibly different.

Another clearly discernible sign of the transformation of the boy into an “adult” is the tuft of hair (*śikhā*) that is left unshorn, unless somebody enters a Śaivite monastic order. Traditionally it symbolises the sign of the paternal line. According to Hindu belief, the individual soul escapes from the body through the crown of the head during the cremation of the male corpse. It then begins its journey to the forefathers. Cutting the *śikhā* means severing the patrilineal “umbilical cord”. It keeps the ancestors in their deplorable in-between state, in which they are unable to get to heaven. Much like the sacred thread, the lock of hair came increasingly to be identified with the right of a person to conduct/execute a sacrifice. With that the (ascetic) critique of the Vedic sacrificial ritual as the only path to salvation was given a striking means of expression: those who renounced the faith needed only to have their heads fully shaved

and to cut up the sacred thread (see Michaels 1994a), the sign of the Twice-born. Since Buddhism also criticised the central mediating role of the Brahmins for individual salvation, Buddhist monks came to shave their head completely. Even in the separate world of Nepalese Newar Buddhism, a form of Buddhism almost devoid of monasticism and with a social caste structure, boys have their tuft of hair cut off at their consecration, even though the other parts of the rite are based on the Hindu initiation.

A new birth or the birth into ritual immortality (see below) requires not even the death of the former life. Indeed, such notions can be observed during the rituals: the boy renounces the world by temporarily becoming an ascetic, i.e. a person that is dead to society because he refuses to produce offspring. In ritual terms, a man that is not allowed to sacrifice is not yet born (*Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* 1.3.2.1), and in social terms a man that is not initiated is not a member of the socio-ritual *communitas*. Mircea Eliade's general observation that initiations often represent a *regressus ad uterum*, followed by a ritual "rebirth", also applies to the Hindu initiation rites.

This is also the case in the context of the substitution of the biological parents by ritual parents. The boys even have to leave their parents in the ritual choreography. This may occur not only in the *deśāntara* sub-rite, but also when the boy has a final meal with his mother during the *vratibandhana* initiation or, as we were able to see, the *Annaprāśana* ritual. Throughout the meal he sits on her lap. Once again he returns to the well-protected place of his childhood. After the initiation, other norms will apply to him. Then he may no longer eat with his mother (only in very traditional high-caste families is this regulation maintained).

The natural parents only play a subordinate or caring role in the rituals. Much more important in terms of ritual activity are the

Brahmin and the *nāyah* and *nakhī*, the senior-most elder couple of the *phukī*, as the ritual parents, or the maternal uncle (*pāju*) and the father's sister (*nini*) as the nearest consanguine brothers and sisters.

It almost goes without saying that the initiation rituals treated in this volume also have to do with sexual maturity. After all, they turn both boys and girls into potential marriage partners. The rituals imply sexual connotations on various levels. In the *Kaytāpujā* and *Bāre chuyegu*, the boys are completely undressed and then receive a loin cloth, a garment that covers the private parts; in the *Ihi* marriage the girls are dressed like brides, and in the *Bārhā tayegu* they are secluded from the world in order to ritually protect them and their family from the supposed impurity of the menarche. However, we challenge the common view that the girls' sexuality becomes controlled through the *Ihi* marriage and that girls are considered dangerous until and unless their sexuality is tamed. We argue that this aspect should not be overestimated since it is fostered by the underlying Western notion of the male fear of the female sexuality in Hindu societies. We do not reject this concept *per se*. But we hold that it is difficult to see clear evidence of it surfacing in the context of the girl's initiation rituals. To be sure, the initiation rituals highlight the sexuality of the adolescents. But not so much out of fear of sexuality as due rather to the fact that with marriage the autonomy and coherence of the extended family is endangered because either a partner from another kin-group is admitted, or a member of the own kin group leaves it. The initiation rituals mark the biological change of adolescents. But this has to be understood as a social affair instead of the individual's personal body transformation.



### Purity and Impurity, Auspiciousness and Inauspiciousness

Like most religious rituals, initiation rituals have a lot to do with purification, blessings, and appeasement. Through them, the biological and social changes are challenged. In an ideal world nothing changes because it cannot be improved. In rituals, men are identified with this world in order to protect themselves and participate in and benefit from this eternal perfect world that never changes. It is the Brahmin who, in a Hindu context, knows how to make such identifications with the ideal world. He purifies and blesses the house and calls on the gods for assistance and pacifies the ancestors, he prepares the sacred place, performs the fire sacrifice (*homa*), the centre of the rituals' activities, and the pacifying rituals for the forefathers and -mothers (e.g. *nāndīkamukhaśrāddha*).

In order to bless the ritual specialists and participants with auspiciousness, they have to be purified. This happens time and again by employing the symbols of immortality: gold (coins), *ḍubo* or couch grass (*kuśa*), or the *kalaśa*, the pot into which the gods have been invoked. Initiates and participants are welcomed with Newar symbols of blessings, especially with *svagā*, a yoghurt mark made on the temple, wet rice with red powder on the forehead, or ritual food.

In many contexts the children themselves are treated as deities. They sit on gods' seats, are fed special foods and are worshipped as gods or goddesses. They receive and give the *tikā* or gifts like a temple deity. By accepting certain gifts they also bless the donors. However, paradoxically girls lose the ability of becoming a *kumārī*, a "real" virgin goddess, through their Ihi marriage. They then become a *kanyā*, a maid that has to be given away. By this the girl becomes liable to impurity whereas as a child she was beyond such cat-

egories. Purity, thus, becomes important for the distinction of status.

The creation of purity entails the removal (or shifting) of impurity. This is performed, for example, by discarding polluted substances, e.g. nails, umbilical cord or the shaved off hair, on the absorbing stones (*chvāsaḥ*) or in the river, by washing the children's body and anointing them with turmeric, by pouring water over them from the sacred pot (*kalaśa*), e.g. during the *kanyādāna* subrite in the Ihi marriage, by wafting fire and smoke over the ritual participants, or by holy words, especially *mantras*, that accompany the ritual acts.

Most Newars regard substances that have to do with the body, but even more so with alterations and transformations in life, as polluting: liquid excretions such as sweat, saliva, semen, blood, especially menstrual blood, as well as excrements, hair, fingernails and toenails. However, these excretions and other substances are not polluting as such, but rather because they are an expression of a visible, biologically physical process, and hence of a change. Life-cycle rituals are intended to bring these changes to a standstill and to create a life that never changes.

Moreover, it is not the individual body that is polluted through its biological changes (birth, food, menstruation, death etc.), but the social body of the lineage (*phukī*). Therefore, pollution is not a question of personal feelings, like disgust, but due rather to biological change or the violation of the norms of an extended family and the position of the individual in it.

Likewise, pollution is not a material substance that is independent of the status of its originator or bearer. Dust and sweat on feet are not impure in principle, but gain their meaning through their relation to the person in question. If a younger person touches the feet of an older person, if a woman touches the feet of a Brahmin, her husband or of her child (see, for example, the section on An-

naprāśana), this is a sign of subordination and respect. And even when a person has ritually purified himself after pollution, he or she might still not be pure for all other members of his or her sub-caste.

Biological intervals imply extreme changes of the body and thus are extremely polluting. This concerns especially birth (including the second birth that initiations are meant to be) and death. According to the legal Sanskrit texts, the woman in childbirth is on the same level as corpse-bearers or dogs. Or, for example, a death in a family: for four to six days, many relatives, especially the women of the lineage, are polluted. But life-cycle turning points like childbirth, initiation or marriage are also changes that require special rites of purification. At these points the social body changes to a certain extent. A child becomes a Twice-Born; a virginal daughter becomes a marriageable girl or a wife. These are rites of passage in which the extended family changes because the family roles have to be redefined.

In short, it is contact and change that are polluting, and life-cycle rituals help to overcome such critical moments by creating timelessness and changelessness, in other words immortality.

#### The Individual and the Social

Initiation rituals have mostly been studied as events that concern the individual's transformation from one life-stage to another. Jan Snoek (1987: 152), for instance, summarises: "The object of an initiation thus is an individual person." Without neglecting this aspect, we regard such rituals primarily as a family show of membership, honour and prestige, and as an event that orchestrates ritual actions and spatial relations that involve and bind together the members of an extended family or lineage group and inhabitants of the neighbourhood, city quarter, or to a certain extent

even the whole city. It is only by initiation that a boy or girl can become a full member of the lineage. The initiation therefore is a matter of the nuclear family's standing within the extended family and the greater kin group. It is not a personal ritual where a social group celebrates an individual for his or her own sake.

Newar initiations can therefore only be understood in social relational terms. It is the son or daughter, father or mother, maternal uncle or father's sister who are required, but not the individual. Psychological analyses of childhood and initiation rituals underscore the relative ego strength of the individual and often tend to underestimate the strengths of the extended family's cohesion. Max Weber's methodical individualism, as well as Louis Dumont's transcendental holism – to some extent the obverse – illustrate that the actual dynamic social force in South Asia, the extended family, is neglected. Neither individual persons nor caste alliances are South Asia's social driving force, but rather the extended family. However, Western economic theories recognise individuals and business units, but not families as driving social forces.<sup>29</sup> Individuals are paid salaries; individuals work, buy, and sell. Just as housework is seldom included in economic calculations because it is not subject to market rules, so the family as an economic and social agent in India is not perceived, or is perceived only negatively. Such thinking maintains that strong family cohesion leads to unprofitable parcelling of the family property, low mobility, nepotism, and a lack of initiative. But the Indian extended family is basically a company with capital, production of goods, distribution of labour, hierarchical corporate organisation, bookkeeping, reserves, and social security, but also with a market value, as becomes clear in initiations and marriage negotiations. The cohesion of this "company," its corporate identity, is attained, among other

<sup>29</sup> For a critique of that, see Sen 1993:452ff.

things, through childhood and it is marked by such rituals.

Initiation rituals are an event by which the extended family demonstrates its social status by inviting many guests. The preparations for the important day must be meticulous and extravagant in order to impress the guests. Everything is prepared with great accuracy and in enormous detail. Other ritual specialists (barbers, Jośi, Tini) are involved and the materials for the ritual have to be acquired: these include ritual items as well as food, animals that are sacrificed, party tents, chairs, tables, carpets, crockery, lamps, and so on. Since the 1970s, families send out printed, often gold engraved invitations to relatives, dignitaries or prestigious personages, neighbours, and also friends.

Although most initiation rituals concentrate on the individual, Ihi and Bāre chuyegu are, to a certain extent, collectively organised status group rituals in which many families and castes come together in public. Other initiation rituals are performed in the privacy of the houses or courtyards of the nuclear or extended family, generally without much public attention. But even in these cases the voluminous joint meal (*bhoj*) concluding the ritual is obligatory.

In all these rituals, members of the extended family are integrated on various levels. The Ihi girls have to visit the relatives before their marriage to the *bel* fruit, while the consanguine relatives, especially the maternal uncle and the father's sisters, take an active part in the rituals. In this temporary *communitas*, kinship boundaries and brotherhood (which also include the ancestors) are reaffirmed.

The act of binding, which in a way symbolically expresses the bounds of a social group, is seen on a number of occasions. Threads and girdles are used to make connections between the children or sacrificers and deities, to encircle auspiciousness in the case of the *kumaḥkāḥ* thread in Ihi, or to mark with a

sacred thread (*mekhalā, yajñopavīta*) the second birth of boys.

Given these aspects, initiation rituals can even be regarded as events of de-individualisation. Pierre Bourdieu (1990) has aptly remarked that rites of passage separate those persons who have undergone them from persons who have still yet to. They are lasting demarcations of this difference because there is no return. The way in which this is done might appear or even be arbitrary, but it is more important that it is socially legitimised and accepted, independent of what an individual may actually believe or feel. Such rituals are related to a symbolic and authoritative cosmos by which the group (extended family, caste etc.) defines itself. Only if this value system is commonly shared are the rituals effective. Bourdieu calls this a reasonable fallacy and a plausible act of social magic, through which any family member can become a member of the lineage group even if he or she might be a lunatic, a criminal or a transsexual. The status ascribed in the ritual effects social norms and rules that are difficult to overcome unless the whole system is questioned. In initiation rituals this system is established and celebrated.

#### Aspects of Space and Time

In their complexity as social events, Newar initiation rituals include various spatial aspects. They happen in a place that is topographically larger than the sacrificial place. They include temples, public buildings, homes of relatives, and processions through the city to holy places, ritually absorbing stones (*chvāsaḥ*) and rivers. Thus, during the Ihi marriage the girls have to move from the house to the spaces where the rituals are publicly announced and performed; often with a loudspeaker so that everybody in the vicinity gets to know about the event. Moreover, at the end of the Annaprāśana, the infant is taken to

the Gaṇeśa shrine of the city quarter, and this is believed to be the first social outing for the baby. Or during Buddhist Kaytāpūjā the boys in their ascetic's dress do a round to worship the nearby *stūpas*, *caityas* and shrines of the deities. Often such processions are accompanied by a little band with flutes, drums and cymbals.

In and through these ritual dynamics, private events transmute into public events in which many people and ultimately the whole city are involved. At certain times, Bhaktapur pulsates with all the life-cycle rituals being performed at numerous places.

Furthermore, a constant task for the initiates is performing all the movements from the natal to the conjugal space by sending or receiving gifts or obligatory ritual items. A striking example is the large number of trips the potential Ihi girls make to their relatives (see map, page 124). By this the young girls move within the city space and become familiar with the realm of their future life. As we have pointed out, in a way the city can be imagined as a "greater house" which the girls inhabit as ritually mature beings after the Ihi marriage. The outer limits of Kvapade, the extended territory of Bhaktapur as defined by two rivers, are only transcended when accompanying the parents to work in the fields. The ritual space is protected by the seat of the Eight Mother Goddesses, the Aṣṭamātrkā, while the inner space is literally occupied by the girl's paternal and maternal relatives.

Interestingly, despite its importance for social coherence, there is no central place such as a large temple or a central town square for Newar initiation rituals. The rituals are family-bound events and mainly incorporate nearby shrines or temples to local deities close to the family's house. This is of course due to the fact that Hinduism does not have a central institution such as the church. In Hinduism, the house is the temple, and an initiation is an initiation into the community of the house

(as a symbol of the lineage) but not into the community of a religion or church.

Initiation rituals are rituals of separation (from childhood) and integration (into the extended family). In between lies a liminal phase that is replete with spatial connotations. Thus, the mothers and newborns are impure and socially avoided for four to six days after birth, girls undergoing Bārḥā tayegu are secluded in a separate room for twelve days, and the Buddhist boys of Kaytāpūjā are for a moment on their way to Benares or into the forest. They all return bathed and with new dresses in order to be transposed into their new life stage.

A last spatial aspect that appears unique to us is the spatial construction of the ritual events. Most rituals are performed in a highly congested space with very little room for the ritual specialists and individual participants to move. Often they have little more than a small cushion on which they can sit. Despite the long duration of a ritual, nobody ever seems to complain about these conditions. It seems that this density corresponds with the close bonds that are enacted through the rituals.

Newar initiation rituals also show specific features with respect to ritual time. In the introduction, we have already remarked on the importance of the calculation of the exact moment (*sāit*, Skt. *muhūrta*) for the core element of rituals. This time is based on the personal horoscope of the initiate, as is true of most initiation rituals. This fact, however, does not emphasise the importance of the individual because a horoscope places a person within cosmological coordinates that are related not only to the planets, but also to the parents and ancestors. It makes a person become part of an astrologically fixed structure that has little room for personal preferences and choices. Newar Hindu initiation rituals take place in a time that relates the individual to the lineage and the cosmos. The exception is the time for the Ihi marriage, which is calculated ac-

ording to an auspicious date in the calendar. In this case, the ritual is at once a public and collective event so that the individual aspects do not concern the ritual time in the same manner.

Another striking quality of Newar and many other South Asian rituals is their duration. Ihi and Kaytāpūjā take three or more full days, Bārhā tayegu takes twelve days during which many family members, especially the women, are absorbed and kept busy by a great number of activities. From a Western point of view, the duration sometimes seems like a waste of time, and even more and more Newars complain about the long phases where they just have to wait for the next ritual step. However, given the fact that these initiation rituals are essential for establishing and demonstrating the status and honour of the extended family, ritual time becomes a highly productive time in which different forms of efficacy surface. One could even argue that the longer the ritual takes the more prestigious and socially productive it is.

In life-cycle rituals we also often observe the contrast between ritual and natural time. Thus, in the Ihi marriage girls are “married off” before reaching a marriageable age; boys leave their home to study before actually being able to read and write. In a way, Newar life-cycle rituals are embodiments of ritual time that show much greater variety than natural time. The time span of the age for Ihi, Kaytāpūjā, and Bāre chuyegu is considerable: infants might stand in a row with grown-up boys or girls. This does not hold true for Annaprāśana, birthday rituals or Bārhā tayegu, where the biological phase is more important.

The ritual time of initiation rituals also includes phases of liminality, i.e. periods for seclusion, separation, or reversal of roles. We have already mentioned the spatial seclusion after birth and during Bārhā tayegu, or the *deśāntara* episode when the boy is positioned

outside the boundaries of his social group as an “ascetic” or “monk” – as neither child nor man but a hybrid. Such periods seem to be inserted in order to make the rebirths more impressive and effective.

The final aspect we want to point out in this part of the conclusion is the procedural character of Newar initiation rituals. Many of them are linked and combined and have to be seen as gradual steps in a process of social and religious integration into the lineage group of the religious community. Thus, the Ihi marriage is the first of three marriages, for it is followed by the marriage to the sun during Bārhā tayegu and the “real” marriage to a man. Kaytāpūjā, too, is combined with Busā khāyagu (*cūḍākaraṇa*), the shaving of the head. In this way, certain life-cycle rituals have to be performed in order to allow another one to take place. It is impossible to marry without Kaytāpūjā or Ihi. Likewise, a Newar man who has not undergone Kaytāpūjā cannot light his father’s funeral pyre. It seems as if the life of a Newar is embedded in a parallel ritual life which is constructed according to principles that have a lot to do with salvation and immortality, while at the same time being closely intertwined with everyday social relations.

### The Construction of Immortality

Initiations can be seen as rebirths into a world of immortality. In the male initiations the boys are identified with the immortal Veda or Buddha, in the Ihi marriage the girls are married to Buddha or Suvarṇakumāra or Viṣṇu, an immortal god. All Hindu and even the Buddhist rituals are performed together with the fire sacrifice (*homa*), which in brahminical tradition is the Veda that stands for immortality and salvation. Seen from the perspective of the sanskritic-brahminical scriptures, initiation is not therefore a transformation. Instead, it is the construction of a world that

man, or rather the absolute principle, *brahman*, has created itself; a world of the sacrifice or Veda.

The Hindu initiation is therefore full of identifications with this immortal world expressed for instance in the fire, the *mantras*, the evergreen couch (*kuśa*) grass, the gold, or the virgin cult. To give just two examples: in the Ihi ritual and the Kaytāpūjā, the priest hands the father a ring, called the “ring of the *kuśa* grass” in Nepal (Nep. *kuśāuṃti*). *Kuśa* grass is an attribute of Brahmā, the creator god and the personification of the eternal *brahman* principle with which the Brahmin priest sees himself identified by virtue of his knowledge of the Veda. In the boy’s initiation, especially the Vratibandha, this ring is bound into the son’s hair on the evening of the day before and keeps apart the tuft (*śikhā*) of hair that will not be cut off later because it represents the paternal line and thus the link to the ancestors. In the Ihi marriage, the father wears the ring during the *kanyādāna* sub-rite when he hands over his daughter to the Suvarṇakumāra deity. In both cases, the initiates are thus ritually identified with immortality. As Marc Bloch (1992: 4) aptly remarks, in initiations individuals are made “part of something permanent, therefore life-transcending”.

The other example has to do with parenthood. The new birth also signifies a ritual substitution of the parents: ritual parentage almost excludes biological parents. By maintaining a distance to natural parentage, it is intended that ritual parentage will acquire a greater legitimacy in the religious training of the children. Natural biological parentage is linked with deadly forces. According to Hindu belief, birth is an impure process, which poses an obstacle to the realisation of immortality. Birth actually implies death.

Only human beings need birth whereas gods never die and therefore are not born. As a result the natural parents have either to be identified with immortal substances, such as the “ring of *kuśa* grass”, or they have to be substituted by ritual parents such as the Brahmin priest who in ritual terms is to be regarded as immortal on account of his identification with the brahman. It is therefore the Brahmin priest who teaches and instructs the boy during the initiation, even though the boys are not initiated into learning the Veda.

Such identifications are the bases of all sacrificial ritual practice and theology (cf. Michaels 2004: 332-239). They are an essential characteristic of Hinduism. However, the aspect of immortality is certainly not present for all participants. In terms of doctrine, the initiation is a release from individualism aimed at incorporating the individual into immortality, making him equivalent with it. But an initiation has to do with individuals and actors, not with virtual ritual beings. The danger in rituals conceived as normative and textual is that reality is seen as an imperfect realisation of an ideal. It is assumed that rituals have to proceed by plan according to rules. Such rituals exist only in the minds of those who codify the ritual rules: priestly theologians and scholars. Standardised rituals are also an expression of habits that are thought and felt, done and experienced, that are acquired, learned, and shaped in a specific culture; and introduced deliberately in this manner, they can be moulded tactically, combatively, jokingly, or playfully. With the cultural awareness acquired in childhood, most of the participants know what is permitted and what is not, what is good or bad, beautiful or repulsive.

The manuscript is a handwritten text in Devanagari script, written on aged, yellowed paper. It is a single column of text, with some lines being shorter than others, suggesting it might be a list or a collection of short passages. The ink is dark, and the handwriting is clear but shows signs of being a personal or working draft. The text is arranged in approximately 25 lines, with some lines starting with a small symbol or character that might be a section marker. The overall appearance is that of an old, well-used document.

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*Opposite  
Beginning of the Suvarṇa-  
kumāravāhavidhi manuscript  
edited in this volume. The  
manuscript is owned by Lava  
Kush Sharma of Bhaktapur  
and guides him during the  
performance of the Iṭi ritual.*

Part IV

THE TEXTS





## Introduction

The edition of the following texts – written in old Nevārī interspersed with Sanskrit *mantras* – is based on the manuscripts used during the respective rituals.<sup>30</sup> The Sanskrit part is often corrupt. Considering the fact that they were written for the personal use of the priests and certainly not meant for publication or translation, we have not “corrected” them. We also did not aim at a literal translation, which would mirror all “mistakes”, inconsistencies and lacunae therein. We rather tried to present a readable and practicable translation as this is what the texts have been written for. Thus, we often translated the gerund by finite verb forms in the imperative or optative mood in order to underline the prescriptive character of certain statements.

All manuscripts edited here are still used by the priests during the performance of the respective rituals – a phenomenon we pointed out in the detailed descriptions of those rituals in Part II. This, in fact, was one of the most important factors in the selection of these manuscripts for edition. We wanted to analyse when, why and how manuscripts are used within a ritual context. We have not looked for an especially rare, old or interesting text, but for the “notebooks” which priests take into consideration when they prepare or perform the life-cycle rituals.

The ritual handbooks are not only read and studied, but are used. They are usually placed on the ritual material and paraphernalia or, during the ritual on the lap of the priest. Full of red or yellow powder, oil or ghee, their pages are often besmeared and script sometimes faded away. Occasionally, these are even burnt at the edges from the sacrificial fire.

In order to avoid the material loss of the texts, the priests frequently copy and re-write them afresh, nowadays mostly in school or copy books that are available in the market.

It also became fashionable to make photocopies, and in Patan some Vajrācārya priests nowadays get these copies even laminated so that the texts become washable. The tradition of learning the texts by heart from the teacher or father is not prevalent any more in Bhaktapur, but the tradition of copying texts is still active. Manuscripts are therefore still produced as well as adopted and altered to the ritual requirements and changes.

The priests use the handbooks differently. In some cases, such as the *homa* in the Ihi ritual, it is almost impossible to perform it without looking at them for reciting the proper *mantras*. In other cases such as the rice-feeding ceremony, where only very few and common *mantras* are to be recited, a priest could do without looking into the books. However, he rarely would come without a handbook, even though carrying it serves only to demonstrate his major ritual device. In a complex ritual it is also sometimes necessary to look at several handbooks simultaneously for it might happen that in a priest’s collection of handbooks a certain ritual element or sequence is better preserved in some other book than the one he is using currently or predominantly. Likewise, it might happen that in a certain ritual a priest looks more often in the handbook than in another. This, however, does not indicate how well versed a priest is to perform a particular ritual, but seems more to be an expression of his mood, or perhaps even nervousness, if, for instance, many ritual participants are involved and the ritual place is not within the privacy of a familiar worshipper.

## Editorial Principles

Spelling peculiarities and variants – e.g. *s* for *ś* and *ṣ*, *m̐* for nasals, *yy* for *y* etc. – have not been emended. However, if *kh* stands for the retroflex sibilant it has been changed into *ṣ*. The nasalisation has been transcribed as follows *m̐* = *anusvāra*, *m̐* = nasalation in *o* *m̐*,

<sup>30</sup> For an analysis of the texts see Chapter III.

*m̃* and *m̄* = Vedic *gum*, a nasal sound used in *mantras* before sibilants or *h*.

*yathākarmatvam*: time (*sāit*) for the main ritual act fixed by the Joṣī.

*yathāvāṇa* (v.l. *yathābāṇ*): abbreviation for a formula (*kavaca*) for protecting the ritual: *siddhir astu kriyārambhe vṛdhilr astu dhanāgame puṣṭir astu śarilreṣu śāntir astu gr̥he*<sup>31</sup> *tava sarvaviḡhnasaprasama\naṃ sarvasāntikaram̄ param̄, āyu putram̄ ca kāmam̄ ca | lakṣmī samtānavardhanam̄, yathā bāṇa(pra)hārāṇām̄ kavacam bhavati vāraṇam.* “May the beginning of the rite be well! May there be an increase in gaining wealth! May there be vigor in the bodies! May there be peace in your house! (May) all the obstacles be calmed down, (may) there be all embracing highest peace, (may you attain) long life, (many) son(s), (fulfilment of) desires, increase in wealth and progeny. Like a shield protects from the blows of arrows (similarly this ritual will be a protective shield against the blows of all sorrows).” The formula is mostly spoken while handing over the *pūjā* plate of offering water (*sūryārghya*). See Dkv<sub>1</sub> fol. 12<sup>v</sup> or Rāj p. 20 and Kropf 2005: 247f.

*śāntika-puṣṭikasūkta* or *-mantra* (Skt.): mostly recitation of RV 2.42.1ff. or 7.35.1-15, VS 36.8-12 or AV 19.9-11 together with verses from VS; cp. Kropf 2005: 217-233.

*siddhir astu...*: see *yathāvāṇa*.

*Mantras*: In the editions the *mantras* have been verified but not “corrected” in order to present them as they are written in the manuscripts. In the translations, however, the *mantras* have been spelled as in the standard editions of the Vedic *saṃhitās*, mainly the Vājasaneyisaṃhitā. For the sake of avoiding redundancy they have mostly been abbreviated (marked by three dots). A full list of the used *mantras* and their translations is given in Appendices.

**Bold text**: Mostly Sanskrit *mantras*, in the Buddhist texts mostly invocations or quotations from canonical sriptures.

In the translations, singular forms of certain nouns (e.g. *puṣpam*) have often been translated in plural for they mostly denote a group of such items.

Sigla and abbreviations (for further abbreviations see References, Part I):

,	/ or // ( <i>daṇḍa</i> )
.	// // (two double <i>daṇḍa</i> )
...	Abbreviation of fully quoted <i>mantras</i> which are listed in App. 1; <i>mantras</i> without such dots are abbreviated in the manuscript itself.
°	Abbreviation of <i>mantras</i> etc. as used in the manuscripts
	End of line
'	Sign in the manuscripts indicating a <i>sandhi</i> (partly also <i>avagraha</i> ) (Underlining:) Nevārī
—	Meaning or verification unclear
ṡ, ṡ, ṡ	Unreadable <i>akṣara</i>
x	Emendations; titles of texts or chapters in square brackets are not in the original manuscripts but have been given by us.
[ ]	Refers to parallels in other texts.
< >	if part of the Sanskrit or Nevārī text = <i>namaḥ</i> (with dative)
2	if part of the Sanskrit or Nevārī text = repetition (three times)
3	
BaudhGS	Baudhāyanagṛhyasūtra
BuSto	Gururatnatrayastotram, in: Baudhastotrasaṃgraha
DCN	<i>A Dictionary of Classical Newari</i> (Malla 2000)
Dkv	Daśakarmavidhi
fol.	folio (plural: fols.)
Ipv	Ihipūjāvidhi
KS	Kāṇvasaṃhitā
KMb	Kaytābīya-Mekhalābandhana[-vidhi]
l.	line
ms.	manuscript (plural mss.)
Nev.	Nevārī

<sup>31</sup> Rāj p. 20: *grahādiṣu*.

Nep.	Nepālī
PG	Pāraskaraḡrhyasūtra
Pgv	Pāṅgrahaṅavidhi
ṚV	Ṛgvedasamhitā
ṚVKh	Ṛgveda-Khilāni
Skv	Suvarṅakumāravivāhavidhi
s.v.	<i>sub voce</i> (referring to a lemma in dictionaries or indeces)
VbP	Vratibandhapaddhati
VS	Vājasaneyisamhitā
VSKh	Vājasaneyi-Khilāni

## 1a. Daśakarmavidhi<sub>1</sub> (Dkv<sub>1</sub>)

Anonymous author, Nevārī, personal handbook of the priest Mahendra Raj Sharma, Bhaktapur, dated [*vikrama*] *saṃvat* 2005, on Tuesday, the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of Caitra, i.e. 1948 A.D. (see the colophon at the end of fol. 11<sup>r</sup>). The *mekhalābandhana* section (fols. 12<sup>ff.</sup>) following the colophon seems to be added later; this is also supported by the more elaborate form of quoting the *mantras* in this part of the manuscript. The scribe is mentioned in the colophon: astrologer Śyāma Kṛṣṇa Jośi from Ḍokachē at Khaumātvāḡ in Bhaktapur. Nepālī paper, 23 fols., c. 20 x 12 cm, 17-18 lines per folio, Devanāgarī script, black ink, occasional underlining of the *mantras* with yellow (*haridrā*) and red (*kuṅkuma*) colour, some additional remarks on the margins.

Front page:

*śrībhārgavikāntasv aṡha,*  
*daśakarmavidhi,*  
*om,*  
*śrī xxxdhyāya*

### [cūḍākarāṅa]

1<sup>v</sup>

*śrī gaṅeśāya nama. aṡha cūḍākarṅavidhi,*  
*l yajamāna ācamana 3, puṣpabhājana,*  
*adyāḡḡdi, amuka gotrotpannasya jaja-*  
*mānasya almukasya cūḍākarṅa kalaśārcana*  
*karṅabhedakamāṅgasambhūta kalaśārcana*  
*pūjā kartum kamaṅḡalu l puṣpabhājanaṅ*  
*samarpayāmī nama, **siddhir astu...** [Rāj p.*  
*20], **yathāvāna...** [Rāj p. 20], brāhmaṅana*  
*vidhithyam kalaśārcana yāya. thanā kāśab-*  
*hūsa ṡoḡasa candra pūjā, om indrave nama,*  
*om candrāya nama, om nīśānāthāya 2, om*  
*śītāṅsave 2, om sasalāṅchalmāya 2, om vi-*  
*dhave 2, om tārādhipataye 2, om l śāśine 2,*  
*om ajvāya 2, om vhadhāya 2 om ṡkṡāya 2,*  
*om pūrṅmāya 2, om dvijarājāya 2, l veda,*

Ihi. The priest Narendra Sharma reading in the Ihipūjāvidhi during the homa ritual.



om̐ iman devā asapanam̐ [VS 10.18], thanā yathākarma, nāyakana macā lā sālālāhaya, svastihkāsanas taye, ikāpalkāna gāle, raksolhanam̐ [VS 5.23], jāki lamkhana pīye taya, adhy avoca 2 [VS 16.5] | matā taya, tejo 'si [VS 22.1], arghapātrayā lamkhana hālye, devasya tvā [VS 1.10], kalasa pūjā yācake, saṃpūlṛnakalaśāya idam āsanaṃ na[mah], puṣpaṃ 2, candana | siṃdhūra yajñopavitaka puṣpaṃ 2, dhūpaṃ, dīpa

1<sup>r</sup>

, atra gandhādi, matā phāh tālacā pūjā, aḡni mūrddhā [VS 3.12], trātārav idra [VS 20.50], matā phā tādacāna tvālyā, suchā, mivicota<sup>32</sup> tvāya, asuraghna [RVKh 2.4.1b], suchālyā, kapālasa lāhātasa tutisa hāye, om̐ | kāṇḍātkāṇḍā [VS 13.20], yajamānanam̐ cusāpāna sālkhinā bothaya, dīrghāyus tvā [KS 3.9.6], siṃghāya, vaḷṭavṛkṣa bhavet pūrve dakṣiṇe udumbaras tathā, alsvastha

ca bhaved vāmeḥ paścime plakṣam eva cal, si(m)ghyāya maṃtra, oṣadha trāyasva svadhite | maibham̐ hiṃsī [VS 4.1]. thvate dhuñāva pājuvā, lāhātasa svastika coyā pūjā yāya, dakṣiṇā, lumulu vahamulu khocāh ohakhocā lalva lhāya, babunan kāka lamkhaḥ khvāum lamkhasa tayā, valuya, om̐ uṣṇena vāyur udakena hṛdiyake | sānayaṣa [PG 2.1.6]. iti maṃtrena mikhiścāpa, pūlṛvasa babuna lamkha hāye, pājuna suvelāsalsā dhene, om̐ savitā prasuta divyā 'āpau | dantutena nu dīrghāyustvāya valāya varttaseḥ [PG 2.1.9], dakṣiṇe, om̐ oṣadhetrāyasva svadhimate, | mainam̐ hirguṃsī, [VS 4.1] uttare, om̐ śivo nāmāṃsi [VS 3.63], paścima, om̐ ya bhūr iścārā-divaṃjyo | kapūścāt adhisūyam, te ca te ca pāmi brahma

2<sup>y</sup>

nā jīvāta ce jīvanāya suślokyāya svastaye [PG 2.1.16] |, kapālachagolana khānā

<sup>32</sup> Read *mimicā*.

*bhāva yāya, om̐ yalṭkṣureṇa majjayatra supeśasā caṣma kipayalti keśāsñ chimdhiḥ śiro māskāyu mukhani|ṣi* [PG 2.1.19], *om̐ mūrdhanan divo aratim pṛthivyād vai|śvānaram ṛta' ā jātam agnim, kavim̐ sam̐|rājam atithiñ janānām āsann ā pātrañ janayati devā* [VS 7.24], *nepota pvā khane, javasa lumululna khavasa vahayā muluna khane, om̐ bhradrai karṇelbhiḥ śṛṇuyāma devā bhadram paśyemākṣabhir yaljatṛā, sthirair aṅgais tuṣṭu vāmsas tanūbhir vyālsemahi devahitaṃ yad āyu* [VS 25.21], *candanādi sa|gona biya, siphāna luye, yā phalanī* [VS 12.89] 3, | *matā kene, tejo 'si* [VS 22.1], *tāya hole, mano | jūti* [VS 2.13], *nauya lhāhāta pūjā yāye, lukholcā ohakhocā dakṣiṇā tayā biya. suchālī | vicā viye, dhvate dhunānāva, nāyakana, | macā lā sālāyāva yane, svastikāsanasa | taye, sā khātake, ninīna sā phaya, laduna | kayake, balīna snāna yācake, vastra tolave | thvate dhunānāva nāyakana<sup>33</sup> lāsā lāva ha|ye svastikāsanasa taye, ikā palkāna gā-*

2<sup>r</sup>  
*le. rakṣohanam̐* [VS 5.23] *valaga, jāki lamkha pīyālva jāpicāsa taye, adhyavoca* [VS 16.5], *matā kelne, tejo si* [VS 22.1], *arghapātrayā lamkhana hāye |, devasy tvā* [VS 1.10], *kalaśa pūjā yācake, sampūlṛṇa kalaśāya idam āsanam̐ nama, puṣpaṃ namaḥ | evaṃ canadana sindūra yajñopavitaka dhūlpa dīpānam̐, atra gandhādi, matā phā tādalcā pūjā, agni mūrddhā* [VS 3.12], *trā-tārav indra* [VS 20.50], *matā phā tādacā sagona tvāya, asurghnaḥ* [RVKh 2.4.1b], (<sup>34</sup>*kumārayā kapālasaḥ candanam̐ svastika | coya kapāla chagolana pāye, gandha-dvārām̐* [Śrīsūkta, RVKh. 2.6.9] |, *bhūi mola hāye, kuṃhmalakāna hine |, rakṣohanam̐* [VS 5.23], *pākāna hine, pavitrestho* [VS 1.12], | *cosāpāna chuke, dāḥ kākī cāna chuke. | kuśa buna chuke, pavitrestho* [VS 1.12], *kuśabuyā, brahmanaspate* [VS 34.58], *ājana uyake, yuñjati brabhra mal*

*ruśaś carantam̐ paritasthuśaḥ rocamnte rocanāḥ|di* [VS 23.5], *cākalaphanī ghāye, tava vāyu bṛhaspalti tvastūr jāpātad adbhuva, apāmsyā vṛṇīmahe* [VS 27.34], *candramandala bhūna luye, sagvana bilye, devasta tāne, macāyāta candana ticake*

[Foll. 3<sup>v</sup> - 5<sup>r</sup>, 1. 6, deal with marriage: from gāndharvavivāha until caturthūkarma or keśa-bandhana; foll. 5<sup>r</sup>, 1. 7–6<sup>r</sup> concern the ritual insemination (garbhādhāna)]

[*ṣaṣṭhijāgaraṇa, Nev. chaithī*]

7<sup>v</sup>  
*atha ṣaṣṭhī jāga vidhi. kumāra snāna yācalke, viṣṇusthāpanā yānāthāsa visarjana yālye, bali choya lakhusa, nārāyanatvaṃ snāna yācalke, marjā-tāthyam̐ vasalapye, kumāra aṃgulī bilye, dvārāsa khadga jonakaṃsam̐ taya, thāyasa pulṣpa bhājana yātacake, mar-jātāthyam̐ pūjā yāya |, dhūpa, dīpa, japa, stotra, brāhmaṇa pūjā, | śāntika-puṣṭika, om̐ svasti no mimītā* [RV 5.51.11], | *om̐ kanikrada* [RV 2.42.1], *om̐ āsuḥ śiśāno* [VS 17.33], *om̐ yaj jālgrato* [VS 34.1], *om̐ sahaḥsra śiṛṣā* [VS 31.1], *om̐ agnes tanū* [VS 1.15], *om̐ | vayan̐ soma* [VS 3.56], *jātasthāne ṣaṣṭi mandira pūjā | marjātāthyam̐, lohamacā taya, ṣaṣṭhi matā.biya, 6, atra gandhādi, japa, stotra, om̐ | śivā sabhūti nāmā ca prīti samta-ti eva caḥ | anusuyā ksemā caiva ṣaḍ ete saṣṭhidevatā<sup>35</sup>, | atra gandhādi, śāntika-svāna biye, annasaṃkalpaḥ, dakṣiṇā, vācanam̐, deva āsīrvāda | visarjanam̐, bali choya, abhisekha, candanādi, āsīrvāda, jātaḥ lhāye, iti ṣaṣṭhijāgārcana vidhi samāpta, śubham,*

[*nāmakarāṇa*]

7<sup>r</sup>  
*(a)tha nāmakarṇavidhi, vidhivat kalaśā calnam̐, amukagoṭrā amukasya nāmakarānāma bhūlta kalaśārcanam̐ kattum̐ kamam̐ṇ-ḍalu puṣpabhājanam̐ | samarppayāmi*

<sup>33</sup> The following is an almost identical repetition of foll. 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> The bracket – written as such in the ms. – closes at the end of fol. 2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> This sentence is repeated on the margin with slight alterations: *śivā sambhūti nāmā ca prīti sanatir eva ca. anusuyā kṣamā caiva ṣaḍ ete saṣṭhidevatā*. Unidentified verse, read: *śivāsambhūti nāmā ca prīti santati eva ca, anusuyā kṣemaṃ caiva ṣaḍ ete saṣṭhidevatā*.

nama, siddhirastu, yathābānaḥ | luyāpiuta pūjā, veda, **askannam adya delvebhyāḥ ājyaṃ satriyām amam aṃghriṇā viṣṇo** | **mā tvāca kramiṣaṃ vasumatim agne te chāyām ulpa stheṣṭaṃ viṣṇo sthānam asi ta** ‘indrovīryam a | **kravṇod ūddhed dhira ‘āsthāt** [VS 2.8], **om sam akhya delvyā dhiyā san dakṣiṇayor ucakṣaṇa, mā ma** | **āyuh pra moṣir mo ahan tava cīram videva ta** | **deviḥ sandraśī** [VS 4.23], āvāhanādi, yathākarmalsa machalā sālāva haya, om asuraghnim indra|sakham samṛtsubrḥadyaso nāmavivāsahema, | aṃho mucamāṃ girisaṃjayn tasvastyā-treyamaḥ | nasā ca tārkṣaṃ prayatapāni, saraṇaṃ prapadye |, svasti samvādeṣubhayaṃ nnostu [RVKh 2.4.1b], ikāpalkā|na gāle misalīsa taye, rakṣohanaṃ [VS 5.23], lamkha | kego pīyāva taye, om adhy avoca [VS 16.5], matā talya, om tejo si [VS 22.1], pikhālakhu choya, arghapāltrayā lamkhana hāye, om devasya tvā [VS 1.10], svām chuya, | matā phā tāḍacā pūjā, om agni mūrddhā [VS 3.12], om trā|tāram indra [VS 20.50], matā phā tāḍacāna tvāyaḥ, om a-

8<sup>v</sup>

suraghna [RVKh 2.4.1b], sagonana tvāya, kalaśapūjā, salmpūrṇa kalaśāya idam āsanam nama, puṣpaṃ 2, caṃ|ndrana siṃdhura puṣpa dhūpa dīpa naivedyādi, stoltra, ratnoṣadhi, atra gandhādi, sagona biya |, candana yad adya ka [VS 33.35], sindūra, tvam javiṣṭa dāḥ [VS 13.52], sagona, dādhi krāvṇo [VS 23.32], michālaṇa goca svālṇa tayāva kāsabatāsa jāki cikam āmguicā | āṃjasalā tayāva macāyāta biye, om vasoh | pavitra [VS 1.3], gvālana tvāya, asuraghna [RVKh 2.4.1b], bālakhalyāta nāma kane, macāyāta ghrtaprāsana yāke |, megu gvālana bali biya, prāsana yācake, | gvāpā 2 macā buvathāsa āṃgalasa pumke, | om svastī no mimitā [RV 5.51.11], bālakha nosike, kalamkha choya, siphā āratih, yāḥ phalanī [VS 12.89], āralti, om tejo si [VS 22.1],

sakalasena tāya hole, ma|nojudi [VS 2.13], pratisthā, brāhmaṇa amnnasaṃkalpa | kalaśadakṣiṇā, kalaśa-visarjana, uchalya, kalaśāabhisekha, candana, āsīrvālda, pū(ṛṇa) candra, sākṣi thāya, vākya, purvavat, | sarva-maṃgala māṃgalye<sup>36</sup> iti nāmakarṇavidhi sal(mā)pta śubham.

[annaprāsana]

8<sup>r</sup>

śrīgaṇeśāya nama. atha annaprāsanaṃ|dhi, yajamāna ācamana, puṣpabhājana adyatyādi, amuka gotrotpannasya yajamā|nasya amukasya annaprāsana kalaśārcana | pūjā nimityarthaṃ kamaṃḍalu puspa-bhājanam salmarpayāmi namaḥ, siddhir astu... [Rāj p. 20], yathābāna... [Rāj p. 20], | vidhithyam kalaśārcana yāye, bhelukhvāla|pūjā, askaṃnam adye devebhya ’bhājyaṃ | satriyāḥ mam aghninnā viṣṇo mā tvāva kramiṣaṃ caḥ, sumatim agne te chāyām upa stheṣa viṣṇo | sthān namaḥ sīta indro vīryam akṛnom ūrddhād dhvalra āsthāt [VS 2.8], sam akhya devyā dhiyā saṃn dakṣiṇāyor ucakṣasā, māna āyu pra moṣir mo | ahantava vīram videya va decindṛśī [VS 4.23], āvāhanādi, kanika taila, vijayābija jīṛṇalvastra aśvatthamālā kuḍave sthāpyaḥ ciptāḥ|nnena bhairavi mūrti kalamākha netram kṛtvā |. grahamālā kalaśe sthāpya. grahamālāyalthāḥ siddhārthaṃ vakapuṣpaṃ ca priyaṃ nāgakeśaram |, durvākṣatasamāyuktaṃ madhya kuṃḍalī pūrakam |, suvarṇa rūpya tāmrāni trideveti prakirtita, ādityādikrameṇaiva sthāne sthāne pra-

9<sup>v</sup>

dāpayet, ādityo rakta pākhāṇaṃ vacaḥ sol mastathaiva ca, kūta maṅgārakoḥjneyam śrīparṇa | budham eva ca, paṃcajāti guruṃ vidyātdajaṃ gaṃdham | ca bhargavaṃ, loham ’sanaīscaram phani rāhus tathaiva ca, māsi kretu samāyuktaṃ miteltā grahamālīkā,<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> sarvamaṅgalamāṅgalye śive sarvārthasādhike, śaraṇye tryambake gauri nārāyaṇi namo ’stu te (Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 91.9, cp. maṅgalaprārthanā in VbP, p. 33).

<sup>37</sup> The verse is partly found in a Grahamālīkā manuscript of Giridra Śarmā Rājopādhyāya, quoted by Kropf (2005: 210). Read: ādityo raktapāśāṇam vacaṃ somaṃ tathaiva ca, kūṣṭhamaṅgārakam jñeyam śrīpūrṇabudham eva ca; putram jīviṃ guruṃ vidyād ajaḡamdhamaṃ ca bhārgavaṃ loham śanaīscaram phanī rāhus tathaiva ca, māsi(mikaṃ ca tathā) ketum samāyuktam iteṭā grahamālīkā.

[diagram of *grahamālā*]

*kalaśācanam, yathākammam, mātṛā saha bālaka jyaṣṭhena jala dhārayāḥ svasṭikāsane sthālpya, nṛpaṃchanādi, dīpaloharakṣā, arghapāltradakena abhyu-kṣaṇam, kalaśa-pūjā, bhairavī | vastreṇa saha sagonaḥ, mṛṭikā bhānde phalāḥ | di samsthāpya śira-si bāho jānvo kṣipet, | 3, phala śakalpa, sampūrṇa kalaśāya brāhmanaḥebhyo phala samkalpa, sarvebhyo phala bhā-*

9<sup>r</sup>

*ṇam dadyāt. phalaprāsanam, tāmbūle phallamūleṇa paṃcābalī, raṃbhāyāṃ nārī-kela | pūgīvica kararpūram sthāpya. paṃca-grāsa, | om̐ yāḥ phalini [VS 12.89], om̐ svasti no mimih̥tā [RV 5.51.11], | phalaśeṣa anyetra sthāpya, kalamke uchīṣṭham prasārayet. āsirvāda, om̐ yāḥ phalini [VS 12.89], bhūmi mṛṭikā gr̥ha mṛṭikā dhāṃṇya śāstra pustaka, alamkāra valstra vālakena sa gr̥hyāṭha, om̐ hiraṇyavalrṇā haraṇiṃ suvarṇa rajatayetāṃ candrāhiḥ | raṃma yīṃ lalakṣmī jātavedo mamāvāhā tāṃ | āvaha jātavedo lakṣmī manayagāminiḥ [RVKh 2.6.1-2], | puna sagaṇa vastram dadyāt. śirasih̥ | dhānya sthātavyam, bālakāye anna-prāsane | sparśa, phala, dhānye gr̥he tathā cāne kavīndro pustakam gr̥het, sālā-kāreṇa saubhāgyam | lekhanīyam ca māṃnyakāṃ, mṛṭikā kṣatram āhīpnoti tathā bālakāḥ gr̥hyate, munayo vadat ti śrīmān annaprāsanakarmiṇi. annalsthālyā tr̥su kṣipeth, om̐ asuraghna [RVKh 2.4.1b].*

10<sup>v</sup>

*svetahaṃsa pūjā, haṃsamukhena bālakhesya | mukhe kṣipet, haṃsāgni gr̥haṇāṃ bhāva, om̐ īrmyonāsaḥ, stelikamadhye māsaḥ saṃ bhuraśāmo divyāso 'atpā, haṃsā 'iva śreṇīśo yatante ṣaḍākṣiṣur ddivyam ayāmbhyam [VS 29.21], paṃcābalī. sūryabhāga, paṃcamgrāsa, om̐ svasti no mimih̥tā [RV 5.51.11], vīrāgrāsa 3 dhā. | annasthāli anyatra sthātavyam, ka-*

*lamke ucchiṣṭha bhāga, om̐ annapate [VS 11.83], annasamkalpa | dakṣiṇā, vācanam, nyāsa, kalaśa vilrsajanam, abhiṣeka, candanādi, āsilvārda, pūrṇacandra sūrya sāchi, kaumārīlvisarjanam, sūryadarśanam, iti phalla annaprāsanavidhi samāpta śubham.*

200

23 5 12

3

10<sup>r</sup> 38

*iti samvat 2005 sāla caitra 23 gate roja 3 śubham*

200

23 5 12

3

2005, 12, 23, 3 mā

11<sup>v</sup>

*lekhaka bhaktarpū khaumāṭola ḍokakṣe vaṣṇe | daivajña Śyāma Kṛṣṇa Jośi*

11<sup>r</sup> (empty page)

[mekhalābandhana]

12<sup>v</sup> 39

*om̐ nama śrīgaṇeśāya nama, atha kalarśāḥ | rcanam, yajamānena trir ācamya 3, puṣpaṃ bhāljan, adyatyādi, amuka gotrotpannasya yajamānasya amukasya mikhalābandhana kalaśārcana pūjā kattuṃ kamamṇḍalu puṣpa bhājanam | samarpayāmi, siddhir astu kriyārambhe vṛdhīr astu dhanāgame puṣṭir astu śarīreṣu śāntir astu gr̥he<sup>40</sup> tave, sarvavighnaprasamaḥ | nam sarvaśāntikaram param, āyu putram ca kāmam ca | lakṣmī saṃtānavardhanam, yathā bāna(prahārāṇam) kavacam bhavati vāraṇam [Rāj p. 20]. trir ācamya 3, adyatyādi, amukagotrotpannasya yaja-mānasya amukasya mekhalābandhana | kalaśārcana*

<sup>38</sup> It follows as a page filler the *kapotasūkta* which is not related to the rituals described here.

<sup>39</sup> The following text is written on the back of the *thyāsaphu*.

<sup>40</sup> Rāj p. 20: *grahādīṣu*.

*pūjānimīterthaṃ karttuṃ, śrī sūryāya arghaṃ na(maḥ), om ākṛṣṇe* [VS 33.43 = RV 1.35.2], *puṣpaṃ nama, | gurunamaskāra, trir ācaṃmya, arggha-pātrapūjā, ātmapūjā, tato devasnāna, om svaḥ|sti na indro vṛddhaśravāḥ svasti naḥ pūṣā viśvavedā | svasti nas tānyarkṣo ariṣṭamemiḥ sva|sti no bṛhaspatir da-dhātu* [VS 25.19], *pañcāmṛta snānaṃ | om payaḥ pṛthivyāpayāḥ* [VS 18.36], *dadhi krāpno* [VS 23.32,], *madhu vālā* [VS 13.27], *ghṛtaṃ ghṛtaṃ* [VS 6.19], *nama sambhavāya ca* [VS 16.24], *om de-*

12<sup>r</sup>

*vasya tvā savitu* [VS 1.10], *candana, yad adya ka* [VS 33.35], *sindūlra ra, tva javiṣṭha dā* [VS 13.52], *akṣata, om akṣannamī* [VS 2.8] | *yajñopavitaṃ, puṣpaṃ, om yāḥ phalanī* [VS 12.89], *tato | dvārārcanaṃ, om tatvāyā-mi brahmaṇā bandamā|na tadā sāste ya-jamāno varuṇo haṃvirbhiḥ, | ahevamāno varuno haṃvo-dhyurusguṃ samānaḥ | āyupramoṣī* [VS 18.49], *om devasya tvā savituḥ pra-sa|veśvino bāhubhyāṃ puṣṇo hastābhyāṃ* [VS 1.10], *gaṇānā |tvā ganapatguṃi havāmahe, nidhināṃtvā nidhī|patiguṃi havāmahe vaśomama'āham ajāni, | garbhadham ātvamajāsi garbhadhvam* [VS 23.19], *om bṛhaspate ati yad aryayo arhādyumad vibhāti kratuma | janeṣu, yaddidayachavasa ṛtaprajāta tasyaḥ sudravinaṃ dhehi citraṃm* [VS 26.3], *om catvāri śrīm|ṅgā trayo asya pādā dve śīrṣe sapta hastā so | 'asya, tridhā vad-dho vṛṣabho roravīti maho | devo martyāṃ āviveśa* [VS 17.91], *om dvāro devī raṃnyasya | viśve vratā dadante 'agne urūvyacaso dhāḥ|mnā patyamānā* [VS 27.16], *om hiraṇyagarbhaḥ sam avartta|tāgre bhūtasya jātaḥ patir eka āsīt sa dā|dhāra pṛthiviṃ dyām utemān kasmai devāya haviṣā vi-dhema* [VS 13.4], *om sapta ṛṣayaḥ prati-hitāḥ sa[ri]-*

13<sup>v</sup>

*re sapta rakṣaṃti sadam apramādam, sap-tāyaḥ svapalto lokam iṃyus tatra jāgrto 'āsvaptajau satrama|dau ca devau* [VS 34.55], *om brahma yajñānaṃ* [VS 13.3], *om viṣnor arāyṭa |si* [VS 5.21], *om namaḥ sambhavāyaca* [VS 16.24], *āvāhanādi. | dvārārcana vidhe tatsarvaṃ vidhi pūrṇam astu. | ādhāra śakti kamalāsanāya nama, anantāsa|nāya nama, kandāstāya nama, na-lāstāya nama, |padmāsnāya nama, patrās-tāya nama, keśārāstāya nama, karṇikāstāya nama, veda, om ājil|ghrakalaśaṃ mahyā tvā viśaṃtvindava, punar urjjā | nivartta-svasānaḥ sahasraṃ dhukṣorudhārā-paya-svalti punarmā visatādrayī* [VS 8.42], *ādityādinava|grahebhyaḥ idam āsanaṃ nama, puṣpaṃ 2, om ādi|tyā-yanama, somāya nama, aṃgārāya nama, buldhāya nama, bṛhaspataye nama, śukrāya nama, |śaniś-carāya nama, rāhuve nama, ketave nama, |janmane nama. om ākṛṣṇe* [VS 33.43], *iman devāḥ | sapatnaguṃ suvadhvaṃ ma-hate jyeṣṭhyāya mahate jā|nrājyāyendra-seṃdrayāya, imam apuṣpaṃ putram aspai viśa'eṣa vo mi rājā somo smākaṃ brā|hmaṇānāguṃ rājā* [VS 10.18], *om agni mūrddhā* [VS 3.12], *om udbuldhyaśvāgne prati jāgrhi tvam iṣṭāpūtte saguṃ*

13<sup>r</sup>

*srjethām ayaṃca. asmin saṃdhasthe adhy ultarasmī viśve devā yajamānaś ca sīdata* [VS 15.54], *| om bṛhaspate adi yadaryo'arhād yumad viḥ|bhāti katuma janeṣu, yachīdaya chavasa' |ṛtaprajā-tataḥ dasmāsu dravinaṃ dhehi citra|m* [VS 26.3], *om annāt pariśruto rsam brahyaṇā vy |pivat kṣatraṃ paya, somaṃ prajā-patiḥ ṛtena | satyam indriyaṃ vipānaguṃ śukram andha-sa|'indrasyendriyam idaṃ payo mṛtaṃ madhu* [VS 19.75], *om śan no | devir abhiṣṭaya' āpo bhavantu pītaye śayyolr abhiś cavantu na* [VS 36.12], *om kayā naś citra 'ā bhulvad ūti sadāvṛdha*



*sakhā, kayā saciṣṭayā vṛttā* [VS 27.39], *om ketuṃ kṛṣṇvamn aketave momyyāl 'ape-sase, sam uṣadbhir ajāyathā* [VS 29.37], *om tā 'asya sūdadohasaḥ somaḥguṃ śrīṇanti pṛśṇalya, janman devānām visas triṣv ā rocane diva* [VS 12.55], *navagrahārcana vi-dhe tatsarvavidhi paripūḥ|rṇam astu, indrādi daśa-lokapālebhyo idam ālsanaṃ nama, puṣpaṃ 2, indrāya nama, agnaye nalma, yamāya nama, nairṭyāya nama, varūnā|ya na, vāyave nama, kuberāya nama, iśānā|ya nama, anaṃntāya nama, brahmaṇe nama.*

14<sup>v</sup>

*om trātāram indram avitārav indraguṃ have have sū|havaguṃ śuram idram, rüyā-mi śakraṃ purahūta|m indraguṃ svasti no mayavātv indra* [VS 20.50], *om agniṃ mūrddhā* [VS 3.12], *om yamena dattaṃ trita eham āyunag |indra 'ena prathamoadyetiṣṭhat gandharvo 'lsya rasanām agrbhṇosurād aśvasavo nilr atastha* [VS 29.13], *om yat te devi nirṛtir ābandha pāl|ngikasv avivṛtpam uttante, viṣyām āyuso na | maḥdhyād athaim pitum adhi prasūta namo bhūtyai ye|dañ cakāra* [VS 12.65], *om imaṃ me varuṇa* [VS 21.1], *om tava vāyu | bṛhaspate tvaṣṭu jāmānad adbhuta, avāḥguṃ|sy ā vṛṇīmahe* [VS 27.34], *om kuvid aṅga javamantī ya |traścīñ athā dāty anupūrva viyūya, ihehai|śāñ kṛṇuhi bhojanāni ṣe barhi nama 'ukti | yatti* [VS 10.32], *om abhi tvā sūra ṇomumo dugdhā'iva dhenava, iśān asya jagata svardaśamī | sātam indra tasthuṣa* [VS 27.35], *trīṇi padā ni cakrame | vidmogopā 'ṣṇa-dābhya, ato dharmāṇi dhā|rayet* [VS 34.43], *om brahmaṇaspate tvam asya jantā sū|ktasya bodhi tana.yañc ca jinva, viśvaṃ tada bha|draṃ yad avanni devā bṛhad vadema vidathe supirā* [VS 34.58].

14<sup>r</sup>

*indrādidaśalokapālārcanavidhe tatsarva | vidhi paripūrṇam astu, asvasthāmādi a|ṣṭa-*

*ciraṃñjīvibhyo idam āsanaṃ nama, puṣpaṃ 2 |, asvasthāmāne nama, balaye nama, vyāsā|ya nama, hanumate nama, vibhīṣanāye nama |, kṛpācāryyāya nama, mārkeṇḍeyāya nama, | om asvaste vo nidaṣam parṇo vorvvasati|ṣ kṛtā, go-bhāja it kilāsatha ya yatvāna | va-tha pūrūṣam* [VS 12.79], *om mahi dyauḥ pṛthivī vana 'lsma yajña mimikṣātān, pipṛtā no bharīma|ti* [VS 13.32], *om yasya kurmmo grhe havis tam agre vardhuyā | tvam, tasmai devā 'adhi bravan annyaś ca brahmaṇalspati* [VS 17.52], *om tivrān yoṣān kṛṇvate vṛṣa pāl|nayo śvā rathebhīḥ, saha bhājayatta, avakrāḥ|matta prapader amiḥtrān kṣṇātti śatruṃ anayavyayaṃ|tta* [VS 29.44], *om rakṣasā bhāgosi nirastaguṃ rakṣa 'ida|m ahaguṃ rakṣo dhan tamo nayāmi ghr̥tena dyāvāpṛthi|vi pror-ṇāvāthām voyo ve stokānām agnir ājya|sya ketu svāhā svāhā kṛtte urddhanabhasam mārū|taṃ gacchatam* [VS 6.16], *om ayaṃ sahasram ṛṣibhiḥ saha|kṛtaḥ samudra iva pravrathe, satya soḥ a-*

15<sup>v</sup>

*sya mahimā gr̥ṇe śavo yajñeṣu viprarājye* [VS 33.83], *om praljāpatatyen anvade-tām nyanno viśvārūpāṇi palrijā vab-hūva yatkāmās te juhumas tan no 'astu | vayaguṃ syāma yatayo rayinām* [VS 10.20], *om saptaṛṣalyaḥ pratihitāḥ sarīre sapta rakṣaṃtī sadam apramānaṃ | sap-tāyaḥ svapata lokam iyus tatra jāgrato asvalpnajau satrasadau ca devau* [VS 34.55]. *atragamdhādi, asvalsthāmādi astaciraṃñjīvārcanavidhetat sarvavilvidhi paripūrṇam astu, māsādipakṣebhyo idam ālsanaṃ nama, puṣpa nama, om arddha-māsāḥ parūgūñ|ṣi te māsā 'adyattu saṃpa-da, ahorātrāṇi malruto viliṣṭam sūdayattur ta* [VS 23.41], *om agne-pakṣa|ti cāyo nipak-ṣatir indrasya tṛtīyā somasya | caturthy adityai pañcam indrārāṇyai ṣaṣṭhī maru-toguṃ | saptamī bṛhaspater aṣṭamīppam-sepa navamī dhātu | daśamindrasyaikādaśī*

varuṇasya dvādaśī yamasya | trayodaśī [VS 25.4], om̐ indrāgnyo pakṣasarsvatyai nilrya-kṣati mitrasya tr̥tīyāpāncaturthī nir̥tyai | pañcamy agniṣomayo ṣaṣṭhi sapā-ṇām gūm̐ sapta|mī vidmor askṛmi pūṣṇo navamī tvaṣur daśa|mindrasyaikādaśī yamyai trayodaśī varuṇasya dvādaśī dyāvā-pr̥thivyo dakṣiṇaspārśva-

15<sup>r</sup>

m̐ viśveṣāṃn devānāṃm̐ uttaram [VS 25.5], om̐ nakṣetrebhya | svāhā nakṣatriyebhya svāhā horātrebhyaḥ svā|hār-dvamāsebhy svāhā, māsebhya-svāhā, ṛtubhya svāhārttavebhya svāhā, samvatsarāya svāhā, dyāvāpr̥thivibhyāṃ gūm̐ svāhā, candrāya svāhā, sūryyāya svāhā, rāmmebhya svāhā, vasubhya | svāhā, rudrebhya svāhā, dityabhya svāhā, marudbhya | svāhā, viśvebhya svāhā, devebhya svāhā, mūlebhya |svāhā, śāśābhya svāhā, vanaspatebhya svāhā, | puṣpebhya svāhā, phalebhya svāhā, auśadhībhya |svāhā [VS 22.28], om̐ suvarṇa pārijanya'ānivahiso da|rvīdā ttedhāyave bṛhaspataye vvācas pataye paiṅga|rājo laja ātparītpakṣaḥ plavo maṅgurm̐ matsyas ta | nadīpataye dyāvā-pr̥thivīyaḥ kūryaḥ [VS 24.34], om̐ krāṇā | siśun pahimāṃ ḡr̥hīd̐ ivam̐, viśvā pari plū|morasadvivam̐ [RV 9. 102.1], om̐ yoge yoge savastaram vājedvā|je havāmahe sakhāya indram̐ utteye [VS 11.14], om̐ ṛtavals te yajñam̐ vi tatvattu māsā rakṣattu te havi [VS 26.14], samvaltasaro si parivat-saro śīdāvatsaro sivatsa|ro si, uṣamas te kalpatām̐ ahorātrās te kalpalttām̐ ad-dhamāsās te kalpatrām̐ māsās te kalpattā-

16<sup>v</sup>

tamvas te kalpattā, gūm̐ samvatsaras tekalpattām̐ | pretyā 'etyai satyai saśvāñca pu ca sārāya supa|r̥ṇacid̐ asi tayā devatayāṅgirasva dhruvaḥ sīda [VS 27.45], om̐ asvas tūparo gomṛgas te prājāpatyaḥ kṛṣṇa|grīva'agneyo rarāṭe purastāṭh

sārasvati me|ṣy adhastād̐ bhṛtyor̐ ādhināv̐ adhorāmo bāho, saulmāpo-maḥ śyāmo nābhya sauryya-yāmau śvetaś ca | kṛṣṇaś ca pāśvayos tvāṣdau lomasakyosaka|tho sakathyo vāyavya, śvetapucha indrāyas-vaḥ | paś-pāya vead vaiṣṇvon vāmana [VS 24.1], om̐ ayaṃ puro ha|rikeśaḥ sūryya-rasmis tasya rathagṛhas ca rathau|jātaś ca senānigrāmaṇyo, iñjikasyalpa ca | kratu-sthalā cāpsarasau dakṣaṇava [VS 15.15a], om̐ paśavo heltiḥ poruṣoyo vadhaḥ prahe-tis tebhyo namo 'astu | te no vantu te no mṛdayatu teyenhaṣyo yaś ca no | dvesti tam eṣāṃjamme dadhma [VS 15.15b], om̐ brāhmaṇāsaḥ pīltaḥ saumyāsaḥ śive no dyāvāpr̥thivī 'anelha-sā, pūṣā naḥ pātu duritārd̐ kṛtā-dūtāvrd̐dho ra|thā mākir̥ṇe, adya saguṃsa 'īsata [VS 29.47], om̐ alśvinā tejasā cakṣu prāṇena sarasvatīyam |, ṣā-cendro bale-neyavāṃya dadhar̐ indriyam [VS 20.80].

16<sup>r</sup>

om̐ ā mindrair̐ indri haribhi yāhi mayūro-mabhi |, mā tvā ke cin̐ niṃ trayāsino tī ddham̐nve tāguṃ ili [VS 20.53], om̐ yatra vāṇaḥ sampataṃti kumārā visilkhā śva ta-tra 'indro bṛhaspatir̐ aditiḥ sarmma | yac-chatu visvāhā sarmma yacchatu [VS 17.48], om̐ u dutyaṃ | tāta vedasaṃ [VS 7.41], om̐ pañca nadyaḥ sarasvatim̐ ayi | yanti suśro-tasa, sarasvati tu paṃñcadhā so | deśe bhav-at sarit [VS 34.11], om̐ upahvre girir̥ṇāṃ | saṃgame ca nadinām̐, dhiyo vipro 'ajāya|ta [VS 26.15] om̐ viṣṇo karmmāṇi pasyata yato vratāni | pasyase, indrasya yujya sakhā [VS 6.4], om̐ namaḥ svabhyaḥ svapatibhyaś ca vo namo namo bhavāya ca rudrāya ca nama sarvāya ca paśupataye namo nama, | nilagrīvāya ca śītikaṃcarāya ca namo [VS 16.28], | om̐ ājighrakalaśaṃ mahyā-tvāvisaṃtviṃdavya | punar̐ urjā-ni-varttasvasāna, sahaśradhukṣo | rudhā-rāyayasvatīpunarmāvisatādrayī [VS 8.42], | om̐ catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādā dhe

*śirṣe |sapta hastāso asya, tridhā badho vṛṣabho rora|bhiti maho devo matyām ā virvaśa* [VS 17.91], *atra gaṃ|dhādi, māsādi pakṣārcanavidhe tat sarvaṃ vi-*

17<sup>v</sup>

*dhiṃ parīpurṇām astu. sagona pūjā, dadhi umā|pataya idam āsanam nama, puṣpaṃ 2, om dadhikrāl|vṇo ‘akāriṣaṅ jiṣṇor asvasya vājina, su|bhi no mukhā karat pra ṇa āy-amūṃṣi tāriṣa|t* [VS 23.32], *om vasoḥ pavitram asi sahasradhāraṃm, | devas tvā savitā punātu vaso pavitreṇa sal|tadhāreṇa supvā kām adhuḥṣa* [VS 1.3], *om dīrghāyuls tvāya valāyavarcase suprajāst vāyasuravil|ryāya, sahasāthojīva saradaḥ-satam* [KS 3.9.6], *om |tvaṃ javiṣṭhadā* [VS 13.52], *om yā phalanī* [VS 12.89], *om parṇāya | ca parṇasadāya ca nama, udgumānāya cāvil|ghnate ca nama ‘ādhidade ca nama, iṣukṛdbhyo | dhanukṛhyaś ca vo namo nama vaḥ kirikebhyo | devānām hrdayebhyo namo vikṣinatkebhyo | namo vikṣmitke-bhyonama ānirhatebhya* [VS 16.46], *| tato pañcabalipūjā, om gaṇānām tvā* [VS 23.19], *om | jātavedase sunavāma soma maṇatīyato | nijahāni veda, sanaḥ-parṣatidugāṇivi | śvanāveda-sindhvuṃ duritāty agni* [RV 1.99.1], *om imā |rudrāya tapase kapardinai kṣayadvārāya pra bha|rāmahe matī, yathā sam asa dvi-padi catu-*

17<sup>r</sup>

*ṣpade viśvaṃ puṣṭam grāme asminn anāturam* [VS 16.48] *| om ghṛtam ghṛtapāvāna pibata vasāpāvāna, | pibatātārikṣa havir asi vāhā, disaḥ praldisa ‘ādīśo vidisaḥ udiso digbhyaḥ | svāhā* [VS 6.19], *namo vabhrūsāya vyādhine nānām patalya namo namo bhavasya hetyai jagatām pataye |namo, namo rudrāyātātā yine kṣetrāṇā | pataye namo namaḥ sūtāyāhaṃ-tyaivaanānām paltaye namonama* [VS 16.18], *om asaṃkhyātā* [VS 16.54], *om*

*al|ambe ambike ambālike na mā nayati kaṃñ ca|naḥ samusty aścaka subhadrikām kāpālivāśi|naṃ* [VS 23.18], *om sam akhye devyā dhiyā san dakṣiṇayoro|cakṣasā, mā ma āyuh pra moṣir mmo ahaṃ ttava dvilraṃm videya tava devi sandṛśi* [VS 4.23], *āvāhanādi, | gaṇa gogrāsa kaumārī pūjā, om gaṇānāṃtvā* [VS 23.19], *om gaṇebhyo, gaṇapatibhaś ca vo namo namo |vrātebhyo vṛātapatibhyaś ca vo namo namo gr̥tselbhyo gr̥tsapati bhyaś cavo namo namo virūpelbhyo viśvarūpabhyaś ca vo namo namo* [VS 16.25], *om āḥ | gauḥ pṛṣṇrir aktamīd asadan mātaram pura, pitaram |ca prayantya* [VS 3.6], *om jātavedase sunavāma soma-*

18<sup>v</sup>

*m arātī yato nidahāti veda, sanaḥ parṣadati | durgāṇi viśvānādeva siṃdhunduritāty-agvi* [cp. RV 1.99.1], *| āvāhanādi, dukepūjā, om dīrghāyustvāya |varāyavaccasesu prajārucāya suvīryāya saha|sāḥ athojivasaradaḥsatam* [KS 3.9.6], *śrī sūryādipūjā, om śrī sūryāya nama, nārāyaṇāya, śaldāśiya 2, gr̥halmī 2, iṣṭadevatābhyo 2, | nārāyaṇāya 2, nāgarājāya 2, om ākṣṇe* [VS 33.43], *om viṣṇo rarāta* [VS 5.21], *om namaḥ sambhavāya ca* [VS 16.24], *om śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāv ahorātre |, pāpārśve nakṣatrāṇi rupam aśvinau vyāptam | iṣṭann iṣṇāmum ma’iṣṇa sarvalokaṃm maḥ iṣṇa* [VS 31.22], *om bṛhaspatya ‘ati ‘adaryyo alrhā dyumad ibhāti kratumaj janeṣu, yad dīda | ya chavasa ṛtaprajāta tad asmāsu dūvinaṃ dhehi citram* [VS 26.3], *āvāhanādi, darpaṇa siṃdūral|bhāṇāpūjā, om śriyai 2, om lakṣmyai 2, | om samitam sakalpethām sapriyo rāji |ṣṇu sumanasyamānau* [VS 12.57], *om sam vām rāṃsi sam | vratā sam ū cimtāny ākaram, agnepurikṣā-*

18<sup>r</sup>

*dhipā bhavas tvan na ‘iṣam ūrja yajamānā|ya dhehi* [VS 12.58], *om śrīś ca*

te [VS 31.22], om catuḥ svasti payaḥ pa-  
caśadvi-modvādasa devatā, aṣṭo śāmlti  
prakurvītaḥ mahāpātaka-nāsanam<sup>41</sup>, om  
svalsti na indrau payaḥprthivyāṃ paya'  
ośadhīsu payo divy aṃtarikṣe payo dhā,  
payasvatīḥ | pradīśaḥ samtu mahyaṃ [VS  
18.36], om viṣṇo rarāṭa [VS 5.21], om |  
agnir devatā vāto devatā sūryo devatā  
caṅdramā devatā vvasavo devatā rudrā  
devatādityā devatā maruto devatā viśve-  
devā devatā | bṛhaspati devatā indro de-  
vatā varuṇo devatā [VS 14.20], om dyauḥ  
śāntir aṃtarikṣaṃ śāṃntiḥ | prthivī śāṃn-  
tir āpa śāṃntir ośadhayaḥ śāṃnti vana-  
stayāḥ śāṃntiḥ viśve devā śāntiḥ | brahma  
śānti sarva śāntiḥ śāntir eva śānti sā | mā  
śāntir edhi [VS 36.17], āvāhanādi, vedār-  
caṅnavidhi tatsarva vidhiparipūrṇam astu. |  
dhūpa, om dhūr asi dhūryva dhūrvaṃtṭam  
dhūrva ta yo | smān dhūrvati taṃn dhūrvva  
śasva yaṃ dhūrv vāma [VS 1.8]. | dīpaṃ,  
om tejo 'si śukram asy aṃrtam asi | dhā-  
ma nāmasi, priyaṃ devānām anādhṛṣṭān  
devāyajanam asi [VS 22.1], om agnir jyoti

19<sup>v</sup>

rtir agniḥ svāhāḥ sūryyo jyoti sūryyas vāha  
| agni varcco jyotir varcaḥ svāhāḥ sūryo  
varcco | jyotiv varccaḥ svāhāḥ jyotiḥ sūr-  
yaḥ sūryo jyoti svāhāḥ [VS 3.9], naivadya,  
om annapate nasyaḥ | no dehy anamīmasya  
sūśmaṇa, pra-pra dātāraṃ | tarikṣa ūrja  
no dhehi ddipade śaṃḥ catuspaḥ | dhe [VS  
11.83]. phala, om yāḥ phalāni [VS 12.89],  
pratiṣṭhā | lājākṣepanaṃ, om mano jūti  
juṣatām ājyasya bṛhaspatir yajam imaṃ  
tanotv arikṣa | yajñahguṃ sam imaṃ  
dadhātu, viśve devāsa iha mādayatām om  
pra tiṣṭhām upratiṣṭhāv araldā bhavaṃtu  
[VS 2.13], maṅḍala, japa, stotra, ratnolyadhī  
sakalatīrthajalena pūrṇāsva chatrapaṭra  
va śobhita puṣpamālā, yajñeṣu yāja-viṣaye  
munibhiḥ praśastaṃ nvāṃ-kumbhamūrtti  
śiva | śakti yutam namāmī, istadeva nama-

stubhyam kulladeva namo nama, sthāna  
deva namastubhyam | pūjāgrhm namos tu  
te,<sup>42</sup> atra gaṃḍha puṣpa dhū | pa dīpa naivadya-  
ādyarcana vidhi tatsarve vildhiparipūrṇam  
astu, brāhmaṇapūjā, yaja-

19<sup>r</sup>

mānena trir ācammya, sūryyārgha, adyatyā-  
di | vākya purvavath brāhmaṇa pūjā kattum  
śrī | sūryāya arghyaṃ nama, puṣpaṃ nama,  
mohāṃ | dhakāram agnānām janānām  
jñānarasmibhi, krtam ud-vara-ṇam yena  
tannomi śivabhāskaram,<sup>43</sup> sapūrṇakala-  
śāya svasthānakṣatrapālā | ya idam āsanam  
nama, puṣpaṃ nama, evaṃ pādārgha |  
hastārgha candanākṣata puṣ-paṃ nama,  
yajurvedā | ya bhāradvāja gotrāya brahma-  
daivatāya triṣṭulpaḥ-dase pādārgham 2,  
evaṃ hastārgham candanākṣata puṣpaṃ  
nama, naḍi-keśvarācāryāya halrstarḥam  
candanā-kṣata yajñopavitaka puṣpaṃ | nama,  
dhūpa, dīpa, atra gaṃḍhādi, atha lśāṃtika,

hari om, svasti no mimitā | m aśvīnā  
bhagaḥ svasti tevy aditi nirvvaṇa, svas-  
ti puṣā asuro dadhātu naḥ svasti | dyāvā-  
prthivī sucetanā, |

svastayeḥ | vāyum upa bravāmaheḥ so-  
maṃ svasti bhuvanā | sva yas pati, bṛhaspati  
sarva gaṇaṃ svalstaye svastaya ādityāso  
bhavaṃtu na, 2, |

viśve devā no adyā svastaye vaiśvānaro

23<sup>v</sup> <sup>44</sup>

vasur agniḥ svastaye devā avavaṃt r̥bhava,  
| svastaye svasti no rudra pātva aṃhasa, 3,

sva | sti mitrāvaruṇā svasti pathyena  
revatī, | svasti na indraś cāgnīś ca svasti no  
adite | kvadhi, 4,

svasti panthām anu carema sūryāya caṃ-  
dramasār iva, punar dadhatāghratā jānatā  
saṃ gamemahi, 4, [1-4: RV 5.51.11-15]

svastyayanam tākṣyaṃ | m ariṣṭanemi  
mahadbhutaṃ vāyasadevatānām | asu-  
raghnam iṃndra sakhaṃ samatsu bṛhad  
yaśo | nāmas ivāruhema, 6, [RVKh 2.4.1]

<sup>41</sup> Unidentified verse, read:

om catuḥ svasti payaḥ  
pañcaśadvimod dvādaśade-  
vatā, aṣṭo śāntiprakurvītaḥ  
mahāpātakanāsanam.

<sup>42</sup> Unidentified text, read:

sakalatīrthajalena pūrṇam  
śata-patra-suśobhitaṃ (puṣ-  
pamālā). yajñeṣu yajña viśa-  
yam munibhiḥ praśastaṃ taṃ  
kumbha mūrti śiva śakti yutam  
namāmī. istadeva namastu-  
bhyaṃ kulladeva namo namaḥ.  
sthānadeva namastubhyaṃ  
pūjāgrhaṃ namostute.

<sup>43</sup> Unidentified text, read:

mohāṃ | dhakāram ajñānām  
janānām jñānaraśmibhiḥ,  
krtam udvahaṇam (?) yena  
tan naumi śivabhāskaram.

<sup>44</sup> Foll. 20<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>r</sup> have been  
re-arranged according to its  
content.

aho mucam āṅgira|saṃ gayam ca svasty  
ātrayam manasā ca tārkaṣam prayalta  
pāṇīś arañam prapadye, svasti saṃvādeśv  
albhayanno astu, 7, [RVKh 2.4.2]

om̐ kanikradam̐ januṣam̐ pra |vruvāṇa-  
śyattivācamarītevanāvaṃ, su-maṅga |  
laśva śakune bhavā-simātvākācidavibhā  
|veśvāvidat, 1,

mātvāśynaurdvadhīnprāsu |parṇomā-  
tvā-vidadiṣumānvīro astā, pi |trāmanu-  
pradiśam̐ganikradatsumam̐galo bhadra  
|vādivadeha, 2,

avakraṃda dakṣiṇāṃto gr̥hā |ṇāṃ  
sumaṅgalo bhadravādi śakum̐nte, mānas-  
te | naśśatamādyā saṃśo vṛhad-vademavi-  
dathe su-

23<sup>r</sup>  
vīrā, 3, [RV 2.42.1-3]

pradakṣiṇīd abhigr̥kṃṇam̐ti |kāra-vova-  
yovaam̐tta ṛtuthāḥ śakum̐taya | ubhevāva-  
dati sāmāgāyatram̐ catraīṣṭubha |cānurā-  
jati, 4,

uṅgāteva sakune sāmā |gāyaḥsi brahma-  
putrarśvasavaneṣu śaṃsasi | vṛṣeva vājī-  
śīśumatīrapītyā sarva |tona, 5,

sakune bhadrām̐ āvada viśvātona |ḥśa-  
kune praṇyamāvada, āvadam̐stva śakune  
| bhadrām̐ āvadatū-mimāsina, 6,

sumati |cīcīchinaḥ yadutpatan-vadasi-  
karkkariya|thā bṛhadvathe-mavidathema-  
vīrā, 7, [RV 2.43.1-3]

bhadrām̐ vada dakṣinato bhadrām̐ ut-  
tarato vada, bhadrām̐ | purastān no vada  
bhadra paścāt kaḥ|pijala, 8,

bhadrām̐ vada putrair bhadrām̐ vada  
gr̥heva, bhadrām̐ asmākam̐ vada bhadron  
no abhalyam̐ vada, 10[sic!],

bhadrām̐ adhastān no vada bhadrām̐  
upariṣṭhān no vada bhadrām̐ bhadrām̐ na  
āvada bhadrām̐ na sarvato vada, 10,

asapattva purastān naḥ śivam̐ dakṣi-  
ṇatas kṛdhi, abhayam̐ sataltam̐ paścād  
bhadrām̐ uttarato gr̥he, 11,

yauva|nāni mahayasi jigyaśām̐ iva duṅ-  
dubhiḥ

22<sup>v</sup>  
śakum̐taka pradakṣiṇa śata patrābhi no  
vada, 12 |,

āpadas tvam̐ śakune bhadrām̐ ā vada  
[8-12 = RVKh 2.2.1-5] tūimī mālsīnaḥ su-  
matīś cikidvina, yad ut patvadasi | karkari  
yathāḥ bṛhad vademavithesuvīrā |, 13,  
[RV 2.43.3]

iti śāntisūktam̐, atha puṣṭikasūktam̐,  
om̐ āśuḥ śīśāno vṛṣabho na bhīmo |  
ghanāghanaḥ kṣobhanaś caryaṇīnām̐, sa-  
kraṃ|dano mīmīṣa ‘ekaviraḥ śataṃ senā  
‘ajayat śākam̐ īndra [VS 17.33], 1,

yaj jāgrato dūram̐ uldaiti daivam̐ tad u  
suptasya tathavaiti, dūragalma jyotiśam̐  
jyotir ekaṃ tan me mana śivalam̐-kal-  
pamastu [VS 34.1], 2,

sahasraśīrśā puruṣaḥ | sahasrākṣa saha-  
srapatrā sa bhūmīm̐ sarvata | sprstvāt pra-  
tiṣṭha daśāṅgulaṃ [VS 31.1], 3,

vibhrā dvṛhalt pibatu somyam̐ aḍv āyu  
dadha yajñapatāv avihul|tam̐ vātajutto yo  
‘abhirakṣati nmanā prajāḥ | prapoṣa pu-  
rudhā virājati [VS 33.30], 4,

namas te |rudra mam̐nyava ‘uto ta iś-  
yave nama, bāhu|bhyām̐ uta tte nama [VS  
16.1], 5,

vvayam̐ soma vrata | tava manas tanūṣi  
bibhrata, prajāvaṃtaḥ sa-

22<sup>r</sup>  
ce mahi [VS 3.56], 6,

eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ saha svastām̐ | bi-  
kayā ttaṃ juṣasva svāhai sa te rudra bhā-  
ga ‘lākhus te paśru [VS 3.57], 7,

ava rudramad imahy ava delvam̐ tryam̐-  
vakam̐, yathā no vvasyayas kara yvathā |  
naḥ śreyas karad yathā no vyavasādyayāt  
[VS 3.58], 8,

(b)heṣajam̐ sukham̐ meṣāya meṣyai [VS  
3.59b], 9,  
tryavalka yajāmahe sugandhi puṣṭi-

*varddhanam, urvārukam iva baṃdhanān*  
*mṛtyo mukṣīya mṛtāt* [VS 3.60ab], 10,  
*tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhim*  
*yalnivedanam, urvārukam iva baṃdhanād*  
*ito | mukṣīya māmuta* [VS 3.60cd], 11,  
*eṣa te rudrāvasat telna paro mujato*  
*tīhi, avatatadhanvā pīnākāvasaḥ kṛttivāsā*  
*ahiṃsan naḥ śi|vo tīhi* [VS 3.61], 12,  
*(try)āyuṣam jamadagneḥ kasya|pasya*  
*(try)āyuṣam* [VS 3.62], 13,  
*śivo nāmāsi svam|dhinis te pitā namas te*  
*‘astu mā mā hiṃ|siḥ, ni varttayāmy āyuṣe*  
*nnāśadyāya ppraljananāya rāyas poṣāya*  
*suprajāstvāmya sulvīryāya* [VS 3.63], 14,  
*catusvasti, 15,*  
*svasti |na indro* [VS 25.19], 16,  
*payah pṛthivyām* [VS 18.36], 17,  
*viṣṇo-*

21<sup>v</sup>  
*rarāta* [VS 5.21], 18,  
*agnir devatā* [VS 14.20], 19,  
*dyauḥ śāntire* [VS 36.17], 20,  
*tato yathākarma kārayat, śaḍkarmam*  
*ucyate tatra vivāham garbhasambhava,*  
*nāmānnaprāsanam ksaudram mekhalā-*  
*vaṃdhanam kramāt.*<sup>45</sup> *jaladhārāyā saha-*  
*karmakartā svastikāśane sthāye, kayatā*  
*biyahyayāta nālyakana lāsālāyā svastikāsa-*  
*nasa taya |, om asuraghnam indra sakham*  
*samutsu bṛhālṅeso nāma vivāha hema, aho*  
*mucam oḡgirisam jayamnti svasty ātriyam*  
*manasā ca | tārksyam prayata pāṇisaraṇam*  
*pra-padye svasti | samvādeṣu bhayamṇ ostu*  
*[RVKh 2.4.1], ikā palkāna gālle, rakṣoha-*  
*nam valagahana vaiṣṇmavim idam aham*  
*taṃ valagam uktirāmiṣme niṣṭhyo ṣam*  
*almātyo nicakhānedam ahanam valagam*  
*uktirāmiḥ yam me samāno yamasamāno*  
*nicakhānedam aham taṃ valagam uktri-*  
*rāmiḥyam me savandhu yam asavaṃdhur*  
*nnica-khānedam ahan taṃ valagam uktirā-*  
*mi yam me sajāto nicakhānotkṛtyām | kirā-*  
*mi* [VS 5.23], *vali, om adyavocad adhivaktā |*  
*prathamo daivyo bhiṣakū, ahiṃś ca sarvāḥ*

21<sup>r</sup>  
*jaṃbhayaṃt sarvās ca yātuḥdhānyo dh-*  
*varāciḥ parā sulva* [VS 16.5], *dīpa, om*  
*tejo 'si sukram asy amṛtam asi | dhāma*  
*nāmāsi priyam devānām anādhr̥ṣṭhan*  
*devalyajanam asi* [VS 22.1]. *argha-pātro-*  
*dakenābhyukṣanam |, om devasya tvā* [VS

1.10], *śilapene, om tava vāyuv ṛhalhaspate*  
*tvaṣur jāmatar adbhuta, apāmsy ā*  
*vṛṇimāh* [VS 27.34], *kayatā-vivāhmana*  
*kalaśapūjā yālcake, sampūrṇa kalaśāya*  
*svasthānakṣetrapālla vahidvārām gaṇebhyo*  
*idam āsanam nama. | puṣpaṃ nama, evam*  
*pādārgha hastārgha canda-nālksata puṣpaṃ*  
*nama, dhūpa, dīpa, stotra, ratnoḥsadhī saka-*  
*la tīrtha jalena purṇāsvachatrapaltrava*  
*suśobhitapuṣpa-mālā, yajñeṣuyāgya | viṣaya*  
*munibhiḥ praśastam tvām kumbhamūrt-*  
*tiśi | va śakti yutam namāmī, kegya tānake,*  
*śāntilka-puṣṭika puṣpaṃ deyam, om dyauḥ*  
*śāntire* [VS 36.17], *maltā phāh, tādācāpvā*  
*pūjā, om agni mūrdhā* [VS 3.12] |, *om trā-*  
*tāram indram avitāram idraṃ have halve*  
*suham śūram indra, hvayāmi śakram*  
*praru-hvūtam iḍdraṃ svasti no madya-*  
*avā dhātṅ iḍdū* [VS 20.50], *maltā phāna*  
*tvāye, om asuraghnam iḥ* [RVKh 2.4.1b],  
*tādacāna*

20<sup>v</sup>  
*tvāya, sagonanam tvāya, sagona vālāva*  
*deva | stam tāne, macāyātam candana ticake,*  
*om yaḥd adya ka* [VS 33.35], *(s) iḍdūra,*  
*tvaṃ javiṣṭha dā* [VS 13.52], *sagona, da | dhī*  
*krāvṇo* [VS 23.32], *mimicāna tvāya, gutacī*  
*kamko | sathuñāva hāye, om kāṇātkāṇāta*  
*[VS 13.20], nālyakanam lāsālāva svasti-*  
*kāsanasa taya, | lusi dhenake, lusi ninina*  
*phaya, snāna yāltakāva lāsālāva hayā*  
*svastikāsanasa talye, nrpamchanādi purva-*  
*vat, patakayatā svā | na lavahlāye, om vasoḥ*  
*pavitram asi satadhāraṃ vasoḥ pavitram*  
*asi sahasradhāraṃ, deva tvā savitā punā-*  
*tur vasoḥ pavitreṇa satadhāreṇa | supvā*  
*kām adhuḥṣa* [VS 1.3], *nūyakamna velā*

<sup>45</sup> Unidentified verse, read:  
*śaḍkarmam ucyate tatra*  
*vivāham garbhasambhavam,*  
*nāmānnaprāsanam ksaudram*  
*mekhalābandhanam kramāt.*

*telañāva* | *kayatā cīke*, *putugāthi javasa lāke*, *svalsti na mimitā* [RV 5.51.11], *gāthīsa lamkhana hāye*, *om̐* | *devasya tvā* [VS 1.10], *candana*, *yad adya ka* [VS 33.35], *simndūra*, | *tvam̐ javiṣṭha ā* [VS 13.52], *puṣpa*, *yāḥ phalanī* [VS 12.89], *kīga tālnake*, *jenendrā* [AV 1.9.3], *puna macāyata sagona biya* |, *candana*, *yad adya ka* [33.35], *sindūra*, *tva javiṣṭha ya* [VS 13.52] |, *sagona*, *dadhi krā* [23.32], *vasasuyā kayatā svālna tayā biya*, *om̐ vaso pavitre* [VS 1.3], *siphā ālrarti*, *om̐ yā phalanī* [VS 12.89], *ārati kene*, *tejo*

20<sup>r</sup>

*si* [VS 1.3], *sakalana tāya hole*, *manojūti* [VS 2.13], *thoteḥ* | *dhunañāva*, *anna-saṃkalpa*, *kaleśadakṣiṇā*, | *sagona paṃcavali dakṣiṇā chāyah*, *brā-hmanayāltā biye*, *joṣi acāry-ayātām biya*, *cumadhi* | *catāmadhi chāye sakalata biya*, *ācamana* |, *nyāsa likāya*, *kalaśa visarjana*, *kalalsayā lamkhana hnas-kanasa luya*, *abhiṣeka* | *biye*, *om̐ devasya tvā* [VS 1.10], *candana simndūra sagolna tīcake*, *āsirvāda boñāva svāna biye* |. *hnas-kana huyā choya*, *pūrṇacandra*, *devasta* | *kene thavatam̐ svaya*, *sāchi thāya*, *adyādi*, | *amuka gotrapannasya amukasya mekhalāvaṃlnadhana kalasārcana sampūñārthaṃ kṛta karmalsāchiṇa śrīsūyyārya arghaṃ nama*, *puṣpaṃ nalma*, *vali visarjana yāya sarva maṃgala māṃgalye* [see fn. 36], *iti mekhalāvanadhana kalasārcalna pūjāvidhī samāpta*.

## 1b. The Manual of the Ten Rites,

Now Śrī Bhārgavī Kānta's Manual of the Ten Rites. *Om̐*. Śrī [Rājopā]dhyaya.

### The Shaving of the Head (*cūḍākarāṇa*)

1<sup>v</sup>

Salutation to Śrī Gaṇeśa. Now the ritual of (the first) shaving of the head. The *yajamāna* should sip three times water (from the palm of

the hand). (Place a) plate (with *pūjā* materials such as) flowers (etc. on the ground).<sup>46</sup> Ritual decision (*vākya*) starting with “Today etc.”:<sup>47</sup> The Brahmin should perform the worship of the sacred vase (*kalaśa*) with the protecting formula(s) *siddhirastu...* (until) *yathā-vāna...* (see Rāj p. 20 and Dkv<sub>1</sub> fol. 20<sup>v</sup>). (Perform) here the worship of the sixteen (digits of the) moon's (disc) on the bronze plate with salutations to Indra, Candra, Niśānātha, Śītāṃśu, Śāśalāñchana, Vidhu, Tārādhipati, Śāśin, Abja, Uḍupa, Ṛkṣa, Pūrṇimā and Dvijarāja.<sup>48</sup> (Recitation of the) *veda* (i.e. *mantra*) *imaṃ devā asupatnaṃ* (VS 10.18). (Act) here in the auspicious moment (*yathākarma*). The *nāyaka*<sup>49</sup> should bring the boy holding his hand and make him seat on a *svastika*.<sup>50</sup> Fan (the smoke of) burnt rape and mustard seeds (reciting) *rakṣohanam̐* (VS 5.23). Wash ritually (the body of the boy) with water and rice (reciting) *adhy avoca* (VS 16.5). Salutation.<sup>51</sup> Offer a lamp (with a burning wick and the *mantra*) *tejo 'si* (VS 22.1). Sprinkle water from the *arghyapātra*<sup>52</sup> (reciting) *devasya tvā* (VS 1.10). Let (the boy) worship the sacred vase (saying) “This seat (is) for all the filled sacred vases (or the deities invoked in the vases)”. Salutation. Salutation (with) flowers. (Give a *tikā* to the *yajamāna* and/or boy with) sandalwood (paste) and vermilion. Salutation (with) flowers and a sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*). Incense. Light (with a burning wick).

1<sup>r</sup>

Now fragrant materials etc. Worship of the lamp, the wooden measuring vessel<sup>53</sup> and the key (reciting) *agnir mūrdhā divaḥ* (VS 3.12) (and) *trātāram indram* (VS 20.50). One should wave<sup>54</sup> with lamp, wooden measuring vessel and key. Offering of oil.<sup>55</sup> Wave a bamboo plate (reciting) *ausraghnam* (RVKh 2.4.1b). Offer oil on the head, hands and legs (of the boy with) *kāṇḍāt-kāṇḍāt* (VS 13.20). The worshipper should comb the hair (of the boy) with a porcupine bristle and divide it

<sup>46</sup> The plate should be given by the *yajamāna* to the priest: see below under *annaprāśana*.

<sup>47</sup> See Michaels 2005 for the full formula of *saṃkalpas*.

<sup>48</sup> Names of the moon or lunar mansions; the list is incomplete.

<sup>49</sup> The chief or senior most of the extended family (Nev. *phukī*), in modern Nev. *nāyah*.

<sup>50</sup> The traditional Newar welcome ritual.

<sup>51</sup> The number 2, abbreviation for *namaḥ*, is somehow irritating here since the object of the greeting is missing.

<sup>52</sup> A ritual vessel filled with water which is used for the reception and purification of participants in the ritual; see Glossary, s.v.

<sup>53</sup> *pha*, a (wooden) measuring vessel for 8 *mana* (c. 2 kg) of rice.

<sup>54</sup> The ritual items are usually waved in front of the boy; this should be done by the eldest woman of the family; see Glossary, s.v. *mātā-phā-tācā-pūjā*.

<sup>55</sup> Normally any woman dips a bundle of *dūrvā* grass into sesame or mustard oil and then touches with it the head, hands and feet of the boy.

into two parts (reciting) *dirghāyutvāya* (KS 3.9.6). Bind wood and leaves (in the hair). (For it is said:) “In the east (above the forehead, a piece of) the banyan tree (Skt. *vaṭavṛkṣa*, syn. *nyagrodha*, Nev. *bar*, cl. Nev. *barhasi*; *Ficus bengalensis*), in the south (above the right ear, a piece of) the country fig tree (Skt. *udumbara*, syn. *sadāphala*, Nev. *dubasi*, cl. Nev. *dumbalasi*; *Ficus racemosa*), on the left (i.e. north, above the left ear, a piece of) the *bo* tree (Skt. *aśvattha*, syn. *pippala*, Nev. *valasi*, cl. Nev. *varangatasi*; *Ficus religiosa*), in the west also (above the right ear, a piece of) the bastard teak or flame of the forest tree (Skt. *palāśa*, Nev. *palasi*, cl. Nev. *palāsasim*, *lāhāsi*; *Butea fondosa*).”<sup>56</sup> (The following is) the *mantra* for binding the wood (and leaves into the hair): *oṣadhe trāyasva...* (VS 4.1). After this draw a *svastika* on the hands of the maternal uncle and worship (the hands). (Give) *dakṣiṇā* (to the priest or gods<sup>57</sup>). Hand over a golden needle, a silver needle, a golden razor and a silver razor (to the maternal uncle). The father<sup>58</sup> should pour hot (and/or) cold water (reciting) *uṣṇena vāya...* (PG 2.1.6). By this *mantra* *mikhiścāpa*.<sup>59</sup> The father should pour water in the east (of the hair), then should the maternal uncle shave the hair at (the given) auspicious moment (reciting) *ya bhūriścarā divaṃ ...* (PG 2.1.16). (The same) in the south (reciting) *oṣadhe trāyasva svadhite mainaṃ himsiḥ* (VS 4.1). (The same) in the north (reciting) *śivo nāmāṃsi* (VS 3.63). (The same) in the west (reciting) *ya bhūriścarā divaṃ ...* (PG 2.1.16).

2<sup>v</sup>

Imagine that the whole head is shaved<sup>60</sup> (reciting) *yatkṣureṇa māsikāyū mukhaniṣi* [PG 2.1.19<sup>61</sup>]. *mūrdhānaṃ divo aratiṃ ...* (VS 7.24). Pierce the ears: on the right side with a golden needle, on the left side with a silver needle (reciting) *bhadraṃ karṇebhiḥ śṛṇuyāma ...* (VS 25.21). Give sandal-wood paste etc. and *svagā*. Shower pieces of fruits

(etc.) from the measuring vessel (on the head of the boy with) *yāḥ phalini* (VS 12.89). (Make this) three (times).<sup>62</sup> Show (and offer) the lamp (to the boy with) *tejo 'si* (VS 22.1). (Everybody should) throw popped rice (on the head of the boy while the priest recites) *mano jūtir* (VS 2.13). Worship the hand(s) of the barber. Give the golden and silver razor with *dakṣiṇā* (to the barber). Give (him also) a small plate.<sup>63</sup> After finishing this much, the chief person (*nāyaḥ*) should take away the boy holding his hand. Place (him) on the seat (decorated) with a *svastika*. Shave the head. The father's sister (*nini*) should collect the (shaved) hair. Throw sweet meat (on the plate for the barber). Let the boy be besmeared and bath with mustard oil cake. Let (the boy) undress. After finishing this, the *nāyaḥ* should bring the boy holding his hand. Let (the boy again) sit on the seat (decorated) with a *svastika*. Fan (the smoke of) burnt rape and mustard seeds (reciting)

2<sup>f</sup>

*rakṣohanam* (VS 5.23). Clean (the eyes) with (uncooked) rice (and) water (and) place (the rice) in the woven (bamboo) basket (reciting) *adhy avocad* (VS 16.5). Show (and offer) the lamp (to the boy with) *tejo 'si* (VS 22.1). Sprinkle water from the *arghyapātra* (reciting) *devasya tvā* (VS 1.10). Let (the boy) worship the sacred vase (saying) “This seat is for all the filled sacred vases”. Salutation. Salutation (with) flowers. Also (give a *tikā* of) sandal-wood (paste and) vermilion (to the boy). (Give him the) Sacred Thread (*yajñopavīta*). Burn incense. (Wave) light (with a burning wick). Now fragrant materials etc. Worship the lamp, the wooden measuring vessel and the key (reciting) *agnir mūrdhā* (VS 3.12) (and) *trātāram indram* (VS 20.50). Wave the lamp, the (wooden) measuring vessel and the (iron) key (over the head of the boy reciting) *ausraghnam* (RVKh 2.4.1b). Draw on the head of the boy

<sup>56</sup> Cf. also Dkv<sub>2</sub> fol. 5r.

<sup>57</sup> See Glossary, s.v. *dakṣiṇā*.

<sup>58</sup> In other texts and in modern practice it is mostly the *nāyaḥ*.

<sup>59</sup> Meaning unclear. Is it *japa*?

<sup>60</sup> The maternal uncle should only imagine this; the actual shaving is done by the barber.

<sup>61</sup> “O Barber! You are the cutter of the hair. Cut and shave the head of the child with that swift soft razor. Do not decrease (cut or shorten) the child's life.”

<sup>62</sup> This is the traditional *siphārati* ritual (see Glossary s.v.)

<sup>63</sup> DCN s.v. *suchālimi*, “a kind of basket”, nowadays called *mimicā*.



a *svastika* with sandal-wood paste. Apply this (sandal-wood paste) on the whole head (reciting) *gandhadvārāṃ* (RVKh 2.6.9). Place some white sesame on the head (of the boy). Bind the *kumahaḥ* thread<sup>64</sup> (around on the head with) *rakṣohanam* (VS 5.23). Bind a silk thread (around the head with) *pavitre 'stho* (VS 1.12). Stick a porcupine bristle, stick a traditional comb,<sup>65</sup> stick a piece of *kuśa* grass (in the hair again with) *pavitre 'stho*. For *kuśa* grass (the *mantra*) *brahmanaspate* (VS 34.58). Apply black soot on the eyes (of the boy reciting) *yuñjanti bradhnam ...* (VS 23.5). Bind a round paper decoration (Nev. *phani*)<sup>66</sup> (on the tuft reciting) *tava vāyav ...* (VS 27.34). Wave the (Nev. *thāybhū*) plate on which is a *candramandala* is drawn. Give *svagā*. Offer (rice) to the gods. Paste (a *tikā* of) sandal-wood paste on (the forehead of) the child.

[Fols. 3<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>r</sup>, l. 6, deal with marriage, from *gandharvavivāha* until *caturthikarma* or *keśabandhana*, fols. 5<sup>r</sup>, l. 7–6<sup>r</sup> treat the ritual insemination (*garbhādhāna*)]

### The Night Vigil for the Goddess Śaṣṭhī (*śaṣṭhījāgarāṇa*, Nev. *chaithī*)

7<sup>v</sup>  
Now the rules for the night vigil for the goddess Śaṣṭhī<sup>67</sup> (in the sixth night after delivery).<sup>68</sup> Let the child take a bath. Wherever Viṣṇu is established (i.e. the place where the ritual is commenced), exactly there the ritual dissolution (*visarjana*) should be performed. Send a share of the offerings (*bali*) to the absorbing stone (*pikhālakhu*). Make a ritual bath of (the statue of) Nārāyaṇa. Welcome (the child with a white cloth) at the auspicious time.<sup>69</sup> Give a finger to the boy (to welcome him). Place (a person) on the door holding a sword. Here hand over the flower basket. Worship (Viṣṇu) according to the custom (i.e. with) incense, light, recitations

(and) prayers. Worship the Brahmin. (Recite the) *śāntikapuṣṭika* (*mantras* with) *svasti no mimītā* (RV 5.51.11, see VbP, p. 25); *kani-krada* (RV 2.42.1); *āśuḥ śiśāno* (VS 17.33); *yaj jāgrato* (VS 34.1); *sahaśraśiṛṣā* (VS 31.1); *agnes tanūr* (VS 1.15) (and) *vayam soma* (VS 3.56). Worship at the birth place (of the child) in the temple of Śaṣṭhī at the auspicious time. Place a grinding stone. Offer a lamp with six (wicks) to the Śaṣṭhī goddess. Offer fragrant materials etc. Recitation and (the following) prayer: “Śivā, Sambhūti, Prīti, Saṃtati, Anusūyā and Kṣemā – these six are (the names of) the Śaṣṭhī goddess.”<sup>70</sup> Offer fragrant materials etc. Give flower during the (recitation of the) *śāntikamantra*. (Make) the ritual decision for food. *Dakṣiṇā* (should be given to the gods and priest). (Auspicious) recitations. Blessings from the gods (in the form of *prasāda*). Release (the deities). Send a share of the offerings (*bali*) (to the *pikhālakhu*, see above). Ritual washing. Fragrant materials etc. Blessings. Speak (a few pleasing words) to the new-born child. Here end the rules for the night vigil for the goddess Śaṣṭhī. Hail.

### The Name-giving Ritual (*nāmakaraṇa*)

7<sup>r</sup>  
Now the ritual of name-giving. The worship of the sacred vases should be performed according to the rules. (The ritual decision:) “(I wish) to make the worship of praising the prosperous (*bhūta*) sacred vase (for the rite) of the name giving for (a boy or girl from) such and such lineage (*gotra*). (Therefore) I hand over the water pot (and) the plate with flowers (etc.). Salutation. May it be successful!” (Hand over the *pūjā* plate with the protecting formula(s) *siddhir astu...until yathāvāṇa...* (see Rāj p. 20 and Dk<sub>v</sub> fol. 20<sup>v</sup>). Worship of the (child’s) golden bangles (*piucā*)<sup>71</sup>. (Recitation of the) *veda: askannam adya ...* (VS 2.8) and *sam akhye devyā ...* (VS 4.23).

<sup>64</sup> Also used in Ihi ritual; see Glossary s.v.

<sup>65</sup> Usually made of ivory.

<sup>66</sup> See figure on p. 56.

<sup>67</sup> A popular goddess and mother of Kārttikeya or Kumāra, see Slusser 1982: 120.

<sup>68</sup> Normally a Brahmin is not called for this ritual.

<sup>69</sup> *marjātā* = Skt. *maryādā*, see DCN s.v.

<sup>70</sup> On the margin this sentence is repeated with slight corrections: *śivā saṃbhūti nāmā ca prīti sanatir eva ca. anusūyā kṣamā caiva śaḍete śaṣṭhidevatā. Read śivāsambhūti nāmā ca prīti santati eva ca, anusūyā kṣemamś caiva śaḍete śaṣṭhidevatā.*

<sup>71</sup> These bangles are often presented by the father’s sister in the weeks after delivery, see Nepali 1965: 95.

Invocation etc. Bring the child holding his (or her) hand at the auspicious time (reciting) **asuragṇam ...** (RVKh 2.4.1b). (Fan the smoke) of rape and mustard seeds (burnt) in an earthen cup filled with fire (reciting) **rakṣohanam** (VS 5.23). Clean the eyes (of the child) with water (and uncooked) rice (reciting) **adhy avocad** (VS 16.5). Offer light (to the child reciting) **tejo 'si** (VS 22.1). Sent (the clay cup with fire) to the absorbing stone (*pikhālākhu*). Sprinkle water from the *arḥyapātra* (reciting) **devasyatvā** (VS 1.10). Place flowers (on the head of the child). Worship (him or her) with lamp, wooden measuring vessel (and iron) key (reciting) **agnir mūrdhā divaḥ** (VS 3.12) (and) **trātāram indram** (VS 20.50). Wave the lamp, wooden measuring vessel (and iron) key (over the head of the child reciting) **a-**

8<sup>v</sup>

**suraghna** (RVKh 2.4.1b). Wave *svagā*. Worship the sacred vases (saying) “This seat for the fully filled sacred vases”. Salutation. Salutation (with) flowers, sandal-wood paste, vermilion, flowers, incense, lamp, food (*naivedya*) etc. Recitation of the **ratnoṣadhi** (-verse): “I salute the sacred vase which is full with water from all the religious places, which is decorated with many leaves (and flowery garlands), which is the object of sacrifice in a sacrificial ritual, which is eulogised by the sages (and) which has the presence of Śiva and Śakti.” Fragrant materials etc. Give *svagā*. (Give a *tikā* of) sandal-wood paste (to the child reciting) **yad adya kac** (VS 33.35). (Give also a *tikā* of) vermilion (reciting) **tvam yaviṣṭha dā[śuṣo]** (VS 13.52). Give *svagā* (reciting) **dadhi krāvṇo** (VS 23.32). Give a dress (called *michālaṇa*) placing on it the *gocā* flower<sup>72</sup> and a small saucer with oil, rice, a ring, a case with black soot (Skt. *añjana*) to the child (reciting) **vasoḥ pavitram asi** (VS 1.3). Wave with a betel pouch (reciting) **ausragṇam** (RVKh 2.4.1b). Tell

(secretly) the name to the child.<sup>73</sup> Feed ghee to the child. Give *bali* with another betel leaf (to the gods?). Paste two betel leaves on the wall where the child was born (reciting) **svasti no mimītām** (RV 5.51.11). Wash the mouth of the child. Send left-overs out (to the *chvāsaḥ*). Wave the wooden measuring vessel with a light on it (reciting) **yā phalinir** (VS 12.89). Wave lamps (reciting) **tejo 'si** (VS 22.1). Everybody should throw popped rice (on the child while the priest recites) **mano jūtir** (VS 2.13). (This rite is called) *pratiṣṭhā*. (Make a) ritual decision for the food of the Brahmin (*annasaṅkalpa*). Offerings (of money) to the sacred vase. Send off the (deities in the) sacred vases. (Throw) the left-overs (on the *chvāsaḥ*). Sprinkle water from the sacred vase (on the participants). (Give a *tikā* of) sandal-wood paste (to the participants). Blessings. Clean the mirror and (let the participants) see their face (in the mirror) and release (the sun) as the witness. Recitation as before: **sarvamamaṅgalamaṅgalye**<sup>74</sup>. Here ends the ritual of name-giving. Hail.

### The Rice-feeding Ritual [anna-prāśana]

8<sup>r</sup>

Salutation to Śrī Gaṇeśa. Now the rules for the rice-feeding ceremony. The worshipper (*yajamāna*) should sip water (from the hand). (Hand over) the flower basket. (Ritual decision:) “Today etc. (I wish) to make the worship of praising the sacred vase (for the rite) of the rice feeding ceremony for such and such (boy or girl) of a worshipper from such and such lineage (*gotra*). (Therefore) I hand over the water pot (and) plate with flowers (etc.). Salutation. May it be successful!” (Hand over the *pūjā* plate with the protecting formula(s) *siddhir astu...until yathāvāṇa...* (see Rāj p. 20 and Dkv, fol. 20<sup>v</sup>). Perform the worship of (the deities in) the sacred vase according to the rules. Worship the face of Bhairava (reciting) **askannam adya ...** (VS 2.8) and

<sup>72</sup> Bhaktapur-Nev. *gvēsvā*, a lilac betel nut shaped flower representing longevity.

<sup>73</sup> It is said that the name given at this moment is not disclosed to others.

<sup>74</sup> From the Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa 91.9; see above fn. 36.

**sam akhye devyā ...** (VS 4.23). Invocation etc. (Purify the child with) grain (and) oil. Place marihuana grass, the old clothes (of the child), the garland of leaves from the pipal tree (*aśvattha*, *Ficus religiosa*) and the wooden measuring vessel (on the ground). Make the eyes on the Bhairavī (or Bhairava?) out of watered beaten rice (moulded on the body of the wooden measuring vessel). Hang the garland related to the Navagraha (*grahamālā*) on the *kalaśa* reciting: “Place the garland (*grahamālā*) in a serpentine form (around the pot) with *baka* and lovely *nāgakeśara* flowers accompanied with (*dūrvā*) grass and rice on it. Place according to the procedure for the sun etc. (i.e. the Navagrahas): on each place.

9<sup>v</sup>

For the sun (take) a red stone, for the moon the *vaca* (*Acorus colamus?*) herb, for Mars a part of the *kuṣṭa* plant is recommended, for Mercury a lotus flower, for Guru the seeds of the *putranjīva* plant, for Jupiter a Basil twig, for Śani (a piece of) iron, for Rāhu a *phaṇī* twig and for Ketu a little bean” – such says the Grahamālikā.

[Here follows a sketchy diagram for placing the *grahamālā*:]

Worship of the sacred vases. Perform according to the *karma(kāṇḍa)*. The child together with the mother should be taken to be placed on the seat (marked) with a *svastika*; let the eldest male member of the lineage (*nāyaḥ*) then pour (water on the ground). Purification etc. Wave with light and the iron (key). Ritual washing (*abhiṣeka*) with sprinkling water from *arghyapātra*. Worship of the sacred vases. Give *svagā* with a pair of dress (*bhairavīvastra*, sic!). Fruits etc. from the clay pot should be poured three times on head, hands and shoulders (of the child).<sup>75</sup> (Make) a ritual decision for the offering of fruits (i.e. *phala-prāśana*). (Make) a ritual decision for the (feeding of) fruits, Brahmins (and) all (sacred

vases). To all (participants) the pot of fruits (etc.)

9<sup>r</sup>

should be given. (Now) the feeding of fruits (to the child). Offer *pañcabali* with roots and fruits on a betel leaf. Mix a seed of coconut and betel nut in a banana. Feed five handfuls (*pañcagrāsa*, reciting) **yāḥ phalinīr** (VS 12.89) and **svasti no mimītām** (ṚV 5.51.11). Place the rest of the fruits somewhere else. Send out the left-overs to the *kalā-Ajīmā* (i.e. to the absorbing stone, the *chvāsah*). Blessings (again reciting) **yāḥphalinīr**. Now clay of land, clay for (building) a house, rice, weapons, book, ornaments or clothes should be taken by the child (while the priest recites) **hiraṇyavarṇām hariṇīm ...** (ṚVKh 2.6.1-2) Give again *svagā* and a dress. Put rice on the head (of the child). The following will be the result of the touching of the child during the rice-feeding ritual: “When he or she takes the rice, then (he or she will have a lot of food in her future life); if he or she takes the book, he or she will become the king of poets; with (taking) the ornaments he or she will be lucky; if the pen (is chosen), he or she will be respected; if clay is taken, he or she will get land; such it is what the child takes.” That is what the sages say in the respected rice-feeding ritual. Rice should be thrown three times (reciting) **asuragṇam** (ṚVKh 2.4.1b).

10<sup>v</sup>

(Now) the worship of the white goose.<sup>76</sup> Touch with the mouth of the goose the mouth of the child. Imagine this as taking the (inner) fire of the goose (and giving it to the child). (Recite) **īrmāntāsaḥ ...** (VS 29.21). Offer *pañcabali*. Sent a share (without salt) to the Sun (god). Take five handfuls of food (from the *thāybhū* plate reciting) **svasti no mimītām** (ṚV 5.51.11). Take three times big handfuls of food (from the *thāybhū* plate). Place the food plate elsewhere. (Send) a share of the

<sup>75</sup> This is the traditional *siphārati* ritual (see Glossary s.v.)

<sup>76</sup> The *haṃsa* is the vehicle of Sarasvatī.

left-overs to *kalā*-Ajimā (i.e. to the absorbing stone, the *chvāsah*). (Recite) **annapate** (VS 11.83). Ritual decision for the food. *Dakṣiṇā* (for the deities and priests). Recitation (of blessings). (Dissolve the) mental commitment (*nyāsa*). Release (the deities in) the sacred vases. Ritual washing. (Give *tikā* with) sandalwood paste etc. (and) blessings (to all participants). (Let them look into the mirror with the) *pūrṇacandra*(-mantra: see Glossary s.v.). (Release) the sun as the witness. Release (i.e. send a share to) Kumārī. Have a look to the sun. Here end the rules for the feedings of fruits and food. Hail.

200  
23 5 12  
3

Thus in the year (V.S.) 2005, on Tuesday, the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of Caitra. Hail.

200  
23 5 12  
3

In (the year) 2005, (month) 12, (day 23), (week day) 3 (= Tuesday)

11<sup>v</sup>

Scribe: Astrologer Śyāma Kṛṣṇa Jośi, residing in Ḍokachē at Khaumātvāḥ in Bhaktapur

11<sup>r</sup> (empty page)

**The Loin-cloth Ritual (*mekhalā-bandhana*, Nev. *kaytāpūjā*)**

12<sup>v</sup>

*Om*, salutations to Śrī Gaṇeśa. Now the worship of the (deities in the) sacred vases. The worshipper (*yajamāna*) should sip three times water (from the hand). (Hand over) the flower basket. (Ritual decision for the worship of the sacred vase:) “Today etc. (I wish) to make the worship of praising the sacred vase (for the rite) of the tying of the girdle for such and

such (boy) of a worshipper from such and such lineage (*gotra*). (Therefore) I hand over the water pot (and) basket with flowers (etc.). May the beginning of the rite be well! May there be an increase in gaining wealth! May there be vigour in the bodies! May there be peace in your house! (May) all the obstacles be calmed down, (may) there be all embracing highest peace, (may you attain) long life, (many) son(s), (fulfilment of) desires, increase in wealth and progeny. Like a shield protects from the blows of arrows (similarly this ritual will be a protective shield against the blows of all sorrows). Through this protecting formula (*kavaca*), which averts all arrows (of misery), the (following ritual) will be warding off (all obstacles).” Sip three times water (from the hand). (Ritual decision:) “Today etc. (I am) to make the worship of praising the sacred vase (for the rite) of the tying of the girdle for such and such (boy) of a worshipper from such and such lineage (*gotra*).” Ritual water (*argha*) to Śrī Sūrya (as the witness). Salutation (reciting) **ā kṛṣṇe...** (VS 33.43). Salutation with flowers. Salutation to the guru. Three times sipping water (*ācamana*). Worship of the *arghapātra*. Worship of the self. Then (ritual) bath for the gods (reciting) **om svastī na indro...** (VS 25.19). Bathing (the deities) with five kind of cow products. Bath with *pañcāmṛta* (and the mantras) **payah pṛthivyām paya** (VS 18.36); **dadhikrāvṇo** (VS 23.32); **madhu vātā** (VS 13.27); **ghṛtaṃ ghṛtaṃ** (VS 5.38 or 6.19); **namaḥ sabhābhyaḥ sabhā-patibhyaś** (VS 16.24) and **de-**

12<sup>r</sup>

**vasya tvā savituḥ** (VS 1.10). (*Tikā* to the deities with) sandalwood (paste reciting) **yad adya kac** (VS 33.35). Vermilion (i.e. *tikā* to the gods reciting) **tvam javiṣṭha dāsuso** (13.52). Unbroken rice (reciting) **askannam adya** (VS 2.8). Holy thread (and) flowers (reciting) **yāḥ phalanī** (VS 12.89). Then worship of the doors<sup>77</sup> (of the house reciting) **tat**

<sup>77</sup> A garland is hung at the entrance door of the house of the worshipper.

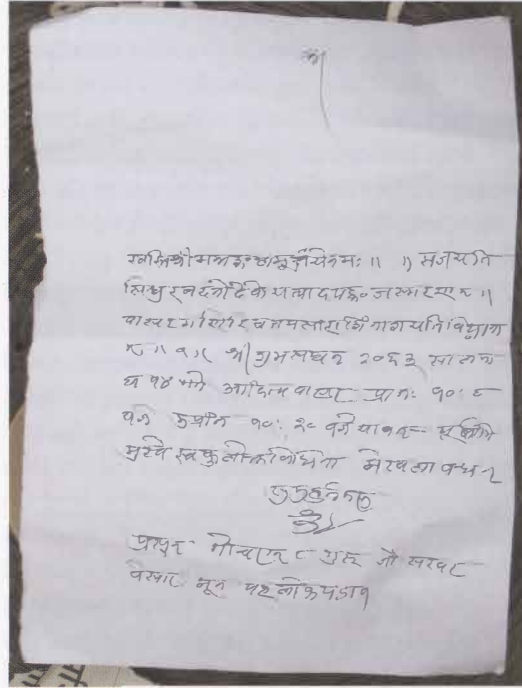
*tvā yāmi brahmaṇā...* (VS 18.49); *devasya tvā savituh...* (VS 1.10); *gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatiṁ...* (VS 23.19); *bṛhaspate...* (VS 26.3); *catvāri śṛṅgā trayo ...* (VS 17.91); *dvāro devīr anv asya ...* (VS 27.16). *hiraṇyagarbhaḥ sam avarttatāgre...* (VS 13.4). *sapta ṛṣayaḥ pratihitāḥ ...* (VS 34.55).

13<sup>v</sup>

*brahma yajñānaṃ* (VS 13.3), *viṣṇor rarāṭam asi* (VS 5.21) and *namaḥ śambhavāyaca* (VS 16.24). Invocation etc. (Thus) the worship of the doors according to the rule; this all should fulfill the rules. (Salutation to the) power of the (wooden measuring) vessel on the seat of the lotus (*kamala*). Salutation to the seat of Ananta (i.e. Viṣṇu). Salutation to the seat of Śiva (Skanda). Salutation to the seat of the stalk (*nāla*). Salutation to the seat of the lotus (*padma*). Salutation to the seat of the leaf (*patra*). Salutation to the seat of the filament (*keśara*). Salutation to the seat of the pericarp (*karṇika*).<sup>78</sup> Recitation (of) *ājighra kalaśaṃ* (VS 8.42). Salutation to the seat of the Navagrahas beginning with the sun. Salutation to the flowers. Salutation to the Sun. Salutation to the Moon. Salutation to Mars. Salutation to Mercury. Salutation to Jupiter. Salutation to Venus. Salutation to Saturn. Salutation to Rāhu. Salutation to Ketu. Salutation to the birth planet. *ā kṛṣṇena* (VS 33.43). *imaṃ devā asupatnaṁ...* (VS 10.18); *agnir mūrdhā divaḥ* (VS 3.12); *ud budhyasvāgne...* (VS 15.54);

13<sup>r</sup>

*bṛhaspate adi yad aryo...* (VS 26.3); *annāt pariśruto...* (VS 19.75); *śaṃ no devīr...* (VS 36.12); *kayā naś citra ...* (VS 27.39); *ketuṃ kṛṣṇvann* (VS 29.37); *tā asya sūdadohasaḥ ...* (VS 12.55). Thus the worship of the Navagrahas according to the rules. This all may completely fulfill the rules. Salutation to this seat of the Ten Protectors of the World beginning with Indra. Salutation with flowers. Salu-



Hindu initiation of boys. Paper announcing the auspicious moment (*sāit*) for the Mekhalābandhana rite at Vikram Saṃvat 2063, Māgh 14.

tation to Indra. Salutation to Agni. Salutation to Yama. Salutation to Nairṛtya. Salutation to Varuṇa. Salutation to Vāyu. Salutation to Kubera. Salutation to Īśāna (Śiva). Salutation to Ananta (Viṣṇu). Salutation to Brahmā.

14<sup>v</sup>

*trātāram indram...* (VS 20.50); *agniṃ mūrddhā* (VS 3.12); *yamena dattaṃ trita...* (VS 29.13); *yaṃ te devī...* (VS 12.65); *imaṃ me varuṇa* (VS 21.1); *tava vāyav ṛtaspate...* (VS 27.34); *kuvid aṅga yavamanto ...* (VS 10.32); *abhi tvā sūra ...* (VS 27.35); *triṇi padā vi cakrame ...* (VS 34.43); *brahmaṇas-pate tvam...* (VS 34.58).

14<sup>r</sup>

(Thus) the rules for the worship of the Ten Protectors of the Worlds beginning with Indra. This all may completely fulfill the rules. Salutation to this seat of the Eight Immortals beginning with Aśvatthāman. Salutation with flowers. Salutation to Aśvatthāman. Salutation to Bali. Salutation to Vyāsa. Salutation to

<sup>78</sup> Cp. the “Handbook of the Latyā Ritual”, ed. Gutschow/Michaels 2005: 154ff, fol. 14<sup>r</sup>.

Hanumat. Salutation to Vibhīṣana. Salutation to Kṛpācārya. Salutation to Mārkaṇḍeya.<sup>79</sup> *aśvatthe vo niṣadanam...* (VS 12.79); *mahī dyauḥ pṛthivī...* (VS 13.32); *yasya kurmo grhe ...* (VS 17.52); *tivrān ghoṣān kṛṇvate ...* (VS 29.44); *rakṣasām bhāgo 'si ...* (VS 6.16); *ayaṁ sahasram ṛṣibhiḥ ...* (VS 33.83);

15<sup>v</sup>  
*prajāpate na tvad...* (VS 10.20). *sapta ṛṣayaḥ pratihitāḥ...* (VS 34.55). Fragrant materials etc. (Thus) the rules for the worship of the Eight Immortal beings beginning with Aśvatthāman. This all may completely fulfill the rules. Salutation to this seat for the fortnights of the months (of the year) etc. Salutation (with) flowers. *ardhamāsāḥ parūṁṣi ...* (VS 23.41); *agneḥ pakṣatir vāyor...* (VS 25.4); *indrāgnyoḥ pakṣatir ...* (VS 25.5);

15<sup>r</sup>  
*nakṣatrebhyaḥ svāhā...* (VS 22.28); *suparṇaḥ pārjanya ...* (VS 24.34); *krāṇā śísur...* (RV 9.102.1); *yoge yoge tavastaram...* (VS 11.14); *ṛtavas te yajñam...* (VS 26.14); *saṃvatsaro 'si parivatsaro ...* (VS 27.45);

16<sup>v</sup>  
*aśva stūparo gomṛgas ...* (VS 24.1); *ayaṃ puro harikeśaḥ...* (VS 15.15ab); (...) *paśavo hetih pauraṣeyo ...* (VS 15.15b); *brāhmaṇāsah pitarah...* (VS 29.47); *aśvinā tejasā cakṣuḥ ...* (VS 20.80);

16<sup>r</sup>  
*ā mandrair indra...* (VS 20.53); *yatra vāṇāḥ sampatanti...* (VS 17.48); *ud u tyaṃ jātavedasam...* (VS 7.41); *pañca nadyaḥ sarasvatim...* (VS 34.11); *upahvare girīṇām ...* (VS 26.15); *viṣṇoḥ karmāṇ ...* (VS 6.4); *namaḥ svabhyaḥ śvapatibhyaś...* (VS 16.28). *ājighra kalaśam* (VS 8.42); *sahasraṃ dhukṣvorudhārā...* (VS 8.42); *catvāri*

*śṛṅgā trayo...* (VS 17.91). Fragrant materials etc. (Thus) the rules for the worship of the fortnights of the months (of the year) etc. This all may completely fulfill the rules.

17<sup>v</sup>  
Worship with *svagā*. (Give *tikā* with) curd (to the child). Salutation to this seat of Śiva (Umāpati). Salutation (with) flowers. *dadhi krāvṇo akāriṣam...* (VS 23.32); *vasoḥ pavitram asi...* (VS 1.3); *dīrghāyutvāya ...* (KS 3.9.6); *tvaṃ yaviṣṭha dā[śuṣo]* (VS 13.52); *yāḥ phalinīr* (VS 12.89); *namaḥ parṇāya...* (VS 16.46). Then worship with *pañcabali*; *gaṇānāṃ tvā* (VS 23.19); *jātavedase sunavāma...* (RV 1.99.1); *imā rudrāya tavase ...* (VS 16.48);

17<sup>r</sup>  
*ghṛtaṃ ghṛtapāvānaḥ...* (VS 6.19); *namo babhluśāya...* (VS 16.18). *asaṃkhyātā* (VS 16.54); (...) *ambe ambike 'mbālike...* (VS 23.18); *sam akhye devyā...* (VS 4.23). Invocation etc. Worship of Gaṇeśa, cow and Kumārī<sup>80</sup> (reciting) *gaṇānāṃ tvā* (VS 23.19); *namo gaṇebhyo...* (VS 16.25); *āyaṃ gauḥ...* (VS 3.6); *jātavedase sunavāma ...* (cp. RV 1.99.1).

18<sup>v</sup>  
Invocation etc. Worship with *duke*.<sup>81</sup> Recitation of) *dīrghāyutvāya ...* (KS 3.9.6). Worship of Śrī Sūrya etc. Salutation to Śrī Sūrya, Narāyaṇa, salutation to Sadāśiva, salutation to Gṛhalakṣmī, salutation to the *iṣṭadevatā*, salutation to Nārāyaṇa, salutation to Nāgarāja. *ā kṛṣṇena* (VS 33.43). *viṣṇo rarāṭam asi* (VS 5.21); *namaḥ sabhābhyaḥ* (VS 16.24); *śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ...* (VS 31.22). *bṛhaspate ati yad...* (VS 26.3). Invocation etc. Worship of the mirror (and) vermilion pot. Salutation to Śrī (mirror), salutation to Lakṣmī (vermilion pot). *samitaṃ saṃ kalpethām...* (VS 12.57); *saṃ vāṃ manāṁsi ...* (VS 12.58).

<sup>79</sup> Paraśurāma is missing in this list of the *Eight Immortals*.

<sup>80</sup> These deities are represented in handfuls of *naivedya* food.

<sup>81</sup> Meaning unclear; DCN: “*duke*, n., a kind of rice?”.

18<sup>r</sup>  
*śrīś ca te* (VS 31.22). *catuḥ svasti payaḥ pacasadvī-modvādasa devatā. asto śāmtti prakurvītaḥ mahāpātakanāśanaḥ.*<sup>82</sup> *svasti na indro* (VS 25.19); *payāḥ pṛthivyāḥ payā...* (VS 18.36); *viṣṇo rarātam asi* (VS 5.21); *agnir devatā...* (VS 14.20); *dyauḥ śāntir antarikṣaṁ...* (VS 36.17). Invocation etc. Thus the rules for the worship with the (*mantras* of the) *veda*. This all may completely fulfill the rules. Incense. *dhūr asi dhūrva...* (VS 1.8). Light. *tejo 'si śukram...* (VS 22.1). *agnir jyotir...* (VS 3.9).

19<sup>v</sup>  
*naivedya. annapate 'nnasya ...* (VS 9.83). Fruits. *yāḥ phalanir* (VS 12.89). Popped rice (should be thrown). *mano jūtir juṣatām...* (VS 2.13). Maṇḍala. (Recitation of the) *ratnośadhī*- (verse): “I salute the sacred vase which is full with water from all the religious places, which is decorated with many leaves (and flowery garlands), which is the object of sacrifice in a sacrificial ritual, which is eulogised by the sages (and) which has the presence of Śiva and Śakti.” (Thus) the rules for the worship with fragrant materials, flowers, incense, light, *naivedya* etc. This all may completely fulfill the rules. Worship of the Brahmin. The worshipper

19<sup>r</sup>  
 should sip water three times by the hand. *Arghya*-water to Sūrya. The worship of the Brahmin is to be done with ritual decision as given before. Salutation with *arghya* to Sūrya. Salutation (with) flowers. (Recitation of) “I salute the auspicious creator of light (the sun) who destroyed the darkness of ignorance of the ignorant people through the rays of knowledge.” Salutation to this seat for the filled sacred vase(s) and the Protectors of the Local Area (*kṣetrapāla*). Salutation (with) flowers. In the same way salutation (with) washing of hands, washing of feet, sandal-wood paste, *akṣata*

and flowers. Salutation with *pādārgha* to the Triṣṭubh metre, the Brahmā deity, the lineage (*gotra*), the (seer) Bhāradvāja (and) the Yajurveda. In the same way salutation (with) flowers, incense (and) *akṣata* with *hastārgha*. Salutation (with) flowers, sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*), incense (and) *akṣata* with *hastārgha* to the Nandikeśvara (= Jośī). Incense and light. Now fragrant materials etc. Now the *śāntika*(-sūkta and *svastivācana*):

*svasti no mimitām... 1* (RV 5.51.11), *svastaye vāyum... 2* (RV 5.51.12), *viśve devā no adyā ... 3* (RV 5.51.13)

23<sup>v</sup><sup>83</sup>  
*svasti mitrāvaruṇā... 4* (RV 5.51.14), *svasti panthām... 5* (RV 5.51.15), *svastyayan-tārkyam... 6* (RVKh 2.4.1), *aṃho mucam āṅgirasam... 7* (RVKh 2.4.2);<sup>84</sup>

*kanikradaj januṣam ... 1, mā tvā śyena ud vadhīn mā suparṇo... 2, ava kranda dakṣiṇato ... 3* (1-3 = RV 2.42.1-3),

23<sup>r</sup>  
*pradakṣiṇid abhi grṇanti... 4, udgāteva śakune... 5, śakune bhadram... 6, suma-tiṃ cikiddhi ... 7.* (4-6 = RV 2.43.1-3), *bhadraṃ vada dakṣinato... 8, bhadraṃ vada putrair... 9, bhadram adhasṭhān ... 10, asapatnān purastān... 11, yauvanāni mahayasi... 12,* (8-12 = RVKh 2.2.1-5)

22<sup>v</sup>  
*tūṣṇīm āsīnaḥ sumatiṃ cikiddhi ... 13* (RV 2.43. 3).

Thus the *śānti*(ka)sūkta.

Now the *puṣṭikasūkta*: *āsuḥ śīsāno vṛṣabho ... 1* (VS 17.33), *yaj jāgrato dūram... 2* (VS 34.1), *sahasraśīrṣā puruṣaḥ ... 3* (VS 31.1), *vibhrāḍ brhat... 4.* (VS 33.30), *namas te rudra... 5* (VS 16.1), *vayaṁ soma... 6* (VS 3.56),

<sup>82</sup> Unidentified verse, read: *om catuḥ svasti payaḥ pañcaśadvimod dvādaśadevatā, aṣṭo śāntiprakurvītaḥ mahāpātakanāśanaḥ.*

<sup>83</sup> Foll. 20<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup>, which are falsely numbered in the manuscript, have been re-arranged according to its content.

<sup>84</sup> 1-7 = *svastivācana*, cp. VbP p. 27.

22<sup>r</sup>  
**eṣa te rudra... 7** (VS 3.57), **ava rudra-**  
**mad... 8** (VS 3.58), **bheṣajam asi ... 9** (VS  
 3.59a), **tryambakaṃ yajāmahe... 10** (VS  
 3.60ab), **tryambakaṃ yajāmahe ... 11** (VS  
 3.60cd), **etat te rudrāvasaṃ ... 12** (VS 3.61),  
**tryāyusaṃ... 13** (VS 3.62), **śivo nāmāsi... 14**  
 (VS 3.63), **catusvasti 15**<sup>85</sup>, **svasti na indro**  
**16** (VS 25.19), **payah pṛthivyāṃ 17** (VS  
 18.36), **viṣṇo rarāṭam asi 18** (VS 5.21),

21<sup>v</sup>  
**agnir devatā 19** (VS 14.20), **dyauḥ śāntire.**  
 (VS 36.17) **20.** Then perform the astrologi-  
 cally calculated main ritual (*yathākarma*).<sup>86</sup>  
 “Marriage, insemination, name-giving, first  
 feeding of solid food, tonsure (?), and girdling  
 of the loin-cloth” – such is called the sequence  
 of the (first) six rites of passage (*saṃskāra*).  
 The helper for pouring water shall stay near  
 the seat (marked with) *svastika*. The *nāyah*  
 should bring the boy who receives the loin-  
 cloth to the seat (marked with a) *svastika* by  
 holding his hand. **asuragṇam...** (RVKh  
 2.4.1b). Wave with rape and mustard seeds  
 (reciting) **rakṣohaṇaṃ va-lagahanam...** (VS  
 5.23). (Offer) *bali* (reciting) **adhy avocad ...**  
 (VS 16.5).

21<sup>r</sup>  
 Light (reciting) **tejo 'si...** (VS 22.1). Sprinkle  
 the water from *arghapātra* (reciting) **devasya**  
**tvā** (VS 1.10). Throwing pieces of fruits<sup>87</sup> (re-  
 citing) **tava vāyav ṛtaspatē...** (VS 27.34). Let  
 them make a worship of the sacred vases for  
 the boy who receives the loin cloth. Salutation  
 to this seat for all the sacred vases, protec-  
 tor deities of the local area (and) the Gaṇeśas  
 outside the door. Salutation (with) flowers.  
 In the same way salutation (with) washing of  
 hands, washing of feet, sandal-wood paste,  
*akṣata* and flowers. Incense, light (and) the  
 (recitation of the) *stotra*: “I salute the sa-  
 cred vase which is full with water from all  
 the religious places, which is decorated with

many leaves (and flowery garlands), which is  
 the object of sacrifice in a sacrificial ritual,  
 which is eulogised by the sages (and) which  
 has the presence of Śiva and Śakti.” Worship  
 with rice (*akṣata*). Give flowers (from the  
 recitation of the) *śāntikapuṣṭika* (-*sūkta* recit-  
 ing) **dyauḥ śāntir** (VS 36.17). Worship with  
 lamp, (wooden) measuring vessel and (iron)  
 keys (reciting) **agnir mūrdhā** (VS 3.12).  
**trātāram indram...** (VS 20.50). Wave with  
 lamp and measuring vessel (reciting) **asura-**  
**gṇam** (RVKh 2.4.1b). Wave with keys.

20<sup>v</sup>  
 Wave with *svagā*. Mix (all) *svagā* (materials  
 and) offer it to the deity. Give a sandal-wood  
 (*tikā*) to the boy (reciting) **yad adya kac ca**  
 (VS 33.35). (Make a) vermilion (*tikā* on the  
 forehead of the boy reciting) **tvam yaviṣṭha**  
**dāśuṣo** (VS 13.52). (Give) *svagā* (to the boy  
 reciting) **dadhi krāvṇo** (VS 23.32). Wave  
 with the bamboo plate. Offer oil with *dūrvā*  
 grass (reciting) **kāṇḍātkāṇḍāt** (VS 13.20).  
 The *nāyah* should place the boy on the seat  
 (marked) with a *svastika* by pulling (his)  
 hand. Let the nails (of the boy) be pared (by  
 the barber’s wife). The father’s sister should  
 collect the cut nails. After a ritual bath bring  
 (the boy) by holding (his) hand and place  
 (him) on the seat (marked) with a *svastika*.  
 Purification etc. as mentioned above. Hand  
 over the silk loin-cloth (with) flowers (re-  
 citing) **vasoḥ pavitram asi...** (VS 1.3). At the  
 (calculated) auspicious time the loin cloth  
 should be tied by the *nāyah* (around the hip  
 of the boy). Keep the knot on the right side  
 (reciting) **svasti no mimīta** (i.e. *svastivā-*  
*cana*). Sprinkle water on the knot (reciting)  
**devasya tvā** (VS 1.10). (Worship the knot  
 with) sandal-wood (reciting) **yad adya kac**  
 (VS 33.35). (Worship the knot with) ver-  
 milion (reciting) **tvam javiṣṭha dāśuṣo** (VS  
 13.52). (Worship the knot with) flowers (re-  
 citing) **yāḥ phalanīr** (VS 12.89). Worship  
 with *akṣata* (reciting) **jenendrā** (AV 1.9.3).

<sup>85</sup> Unidentified verse, see fn.  
 41.

<sup>86</sup> Now it is time to give the  
 loin-cloth.

<sup>87</sup> Meaning unclear, possibly  
 derived from *si* “fruits” and  
*pene* “to spread”.



Give again *svagā* to the boy. (Give again) sandal-wood (*tikā* to the boy reciting) **yad adya kac** (VS 33.35). (Give again) a vermilion (*tikā* to the boy reciting) **tvam javiṣṭha dāśuṣo** (VS 13.52). (Give again) *svagā* (to the boy reciting) **dadhi krāvṇo** (VS 23.32). Give sewn loin cloth with flowers (reciting) **vasoḥ pavitrām** (VS 1.3). Wave with wooden measuring vessel and the lamp (reciting) **yāḥ phalanīr** (VS 12.89). Show the lamp (to the boy reciting) **tejo**

20<sup>r</sup>

**'si** (VS 22.1). All participants throw popped rice (on the boy while the priest recites) **mano jūtīr** (VS 2.13). After finishing this (follows) the ritual decision for the food (*anasamkalpa*). Offerings (*dakṣiṇā*, i.e. money) to the (deities in the) sacred vases. *Svagā*, *pañcabali* and *dakṣiṇā* (to deities). Give (*dakṣiṇā*) to the Brahmin. Give (*dakṣiṇā*) to the Jośī (and) Karmācārya. Offer breads called *cumarhi* and *catamarhi* (to the deities and) give it to everybody (as *prasāda*). Sip water from the hand (*ācamana*). Dissolve the mental commitment (*nyāsa*). Release the (dei-

ties) in the sacred vases. Pour water from the sacred vase to the mirror. Give ritual purification (*abhiṣeka* reciting) **devasya tvā** (VS 1.10). Give *tikā* of sandal-wood, vermilion (and) *svagā* (to all participants). Give flowers after reciting blessing *stotras*. Clean the mirror (reciting) *pūrṇacandra(-mantra)*.<sup>88</sup> Show (the mirror) to the deities (and let the participants) see themselves. Release the witnesses. (Ritual ending) “Today etc. (the ritual) of praising the sacred vase (for the rite) of tying of the girdle for such and such (boy) from such and such lineage (*gotra*) is entirely finished.” Salutation with ritual water (*argha*) to Śrī Sūrya, the witness of the ritual. Salutation (with) flowers. Take the *bali* offerings out (to the seat of Kumāri). (Recitation of the *sarvamaṅgala-verse*:) “At all the propitious occasions salutations to you, O Goddess, who is auspicious, who facilitates the fulfillment of all the aspirations, who is the refuge of everyone, the mother, the fair-complexioned (wife of Śiva and) wife of Nārāyaṇa.”<sup>89</sup> Here end the (prescriptions for the ritual of) tying of the girdle of the loin-cloth.

<sup>88</sup> See fn. 119.

<sup>89</sup> *sarvamaṅgalamāṅgalye śive sarvārthasādhike, śaraṇye tryambake gauri nārāyaṇi namo 'stu te* (Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa 91.9)

## 2a. Daśakarmavidhi<sub>2</sub> (Dkv<sub>2</sub>)

No title page, anonymous author. Handbook of Hari Sharan Sharma (Rajopadhyaya), Lalāchē, Bhaktapur. No date. Nepālī paper, 84 fols., incomplete. Size: ca. 28 x 9 cm, 17-19 lines per folio, Devanāgarī script, black ink, occasional underlining of the *mantras* with yellow (*kuṅkuma*) and red (*haridrā*) colour, some additional remarks on the margins.

### [nāmakaraṇa]

1<sup>v</sup>  
 śrī gaṇeśāya namaḥ. atha nāma|karma. vidhithemkalaśaboye. | trirācamya, 3. puṣpabhājanam, | adyatyādi vākya, amukagotra almukanāma nāmakarma kalasārccana pūjā kartuṃ puṣpabhājanam samarppayāmi | namaḥ. kalaśasa pūjā yācaka, sampūrṇa kalaśāya vahidvārāṃ gaṇebhya | idam āsanam namaḥ, puṣpaṃ 2. pūjā | lhāye<sup>90</sup> kamaṇḍalupuṣpabhājanam samarppayāmi, vidhithem kalaśārccana. | sūryyārgha vākya uthem. yathākalrmmatvaṃ. māmanam macā jonakam | yajamānanam lā sālāva haye, svastikāsana samtaye. nimamchanādil. ikā pakām gāle. **om rakṣohanam** | **valagahanam valagahanam vaiṣṇavim idam**

2<sup>r</sup>  
**ahan taṃ valagam ut kirāmi yam me niṣṭyo** | **yam amātyo nicakhānedam ahan taṃ valagam ut kīrāmi yam me samāno yamasamāno nicakhānedam ahan taṃ valagam ut kirāmi yam me savandhu yamasavandhu nicakhānedam ahan taṃ valagam ut kirāmi** | **yam me sajāto yam asajāto nicakhānot kṛtryāṃ kirāmi** [VS 5.23]. kigo lamkha kayāva macāyātam piyāva balisa taye, **om adhyavoca** [VS 16.5], | matā biye, **om tejosi** [VS 22.1]. mi sali pikhā|lamkhu choye. thana tham-kādinam matā pha svagonanam tvāye, **om asuraghneti** [RVKh 2.4.1]. | svagona biye michulaṇa tayā. candanam, | **yad a[d]ya ka**

[VS 33.35], sindhūra, **om tvam ya viṣṭhadā** [VS 13.52] | svagona, **om dadhikrāvṇo** [VS 23.32].<sup>91</sup> | lam, vasoḥ | **pavitram asi** [VS 1.3], svām, **om yāḥ phalani** [VS 12.89]. | gvālasa ghela ilāva nāma choye. | gvāla kalasayā devane taye. jāta-

2<sup>v</sup>

lyāke nāma cāye śrikhandana josiyā aldhikāra. macāyā nhaspotasa nāma kalne thamkādinam. ghrtaprāsana thakādi|nam, mamtra, **om prāṇāya svāhā**, **om pānāya** | **svāhā**, **om vyānāya svāhā**, **om udānāya** | **svāhā**, **om samānāya svāhā** [VS 22.23 and 23.18]. bau biye māl. ucīṣṭha choye, gvāla ghelana buyā|gu macāyā phusaṃ punake. macāyātam | āsīrvāda. siphārti pratiṣṭhā. | brāhmaṇada-kṣiṇā vācanam. kalasālbhi-ṣeka, āsīrvāda. sākṣi thālye, pūrṇacandra. iti nāmakarmma,

### [annaprāsana]

annaprāsana phalaprāsana vidhi. | vidhi-them kasa-ādī<sup>92</sup> boye. yajamā|na puṣpa-bhājanam, adyādi, vākya | amuka-gotrāmukanāmasya phalāna

3<sup>r</sup>

| prāsana kalaśārccana pūjā-nimitya | rtham kartuṃ puṣpabhājana samarppayāmi. | śuddhaśāntam. vrahmaṇena vidhilvat kalaśārccanam kārayet. dī|divali, kulesa coki ci vekana pullāṃgu michunamcā tayāva baji phoyā|gulinam bherūkhvāla dayeke pūjāgraha mālā kalaśasaṃ taye, bhvucāsa tisā ta|ye, sipatī jiyēke. yathākalrmata pūjā dhunake. māmana macā | vuyekā thakālina la svayāva sva-stikāsana taye. nirmachanādi. | bherulam tayāna sipatinam<sup>93</sup> tvāye. | kalasa brāhmaṇa-ādi biye. sva|gona biye. macāyāta phalaprāsana. | gvāla phala mūla-āgama chālye vidhithem. kerāsanaṃ kyā mūkhe | mūtayāva pamcagrāsa prāsana yācaka. |

<sup>90</sup> Read here and in the following *lalhāye*.

<sup>91</sup> *krā* is added above the line.

<sup>92</sup> Read *kalaśa-ādi*.

<sup>93</sup> Read *siphā*.

3<sup>v</sup>

*om̐ yāḥ phalini* [VS 12.89], *svasti vāca-nam̐ paṭhatl, sipatī kāna kothāsa taye, ucisthal sipati tayā kalamkha choye. āśīrvāda, om̐ yāḥ phalini* [VS 12.89]. *thanā* | *macāyāta tisa tike, om̐ hira-ṅyalvarṇā*. [RVKh 2.6.1] *vā nigo macāyā kapāla sam chuyeke. thāyebhusa jātayā tvāye. veda, om̐ asuraghneti* [RVKh 2.4.1]. | *pāluhāsapujā yānāva macāyā mhutulsa hamsayā agni kāye. veda, om̐ imāsāma sili kamadhyamāsaḥ saṁ sūlraṇāso divyāso atyāḥ, haṁsa 'iva* | *śreṇiyatanteśadākṣiṣur ddivyam ayāma* | *svāha* [VS 29.21]. *pañcavali sūryya bo chāyel, paṁcagrāsa nake, brā[hma]ṇam̐ svastivācana* | *paṭhet. vīragrāsa nake, 3.1 thāyebhu dune yam̐ke chekhesa taye. cilpa kāye. grahamālāna kokhāye-*

4<sup>r</sup>

*ke, veda, om̐ ākrṣṇeti* [VS 33.43]. | *āśīrvāda, om̐ annapate* [VS 34.58]. *annalsam̐kalpa. dak-ṣiṇā, kalasavilsarjana. abhiṣekādi, aśīrvāda, sāchi thāye. yajamānasya phallānnaprāsana-kalasār-ccaṇa pūjākartuṁ* | *śrī sūryyāya argham̐ namāḥ puṣpaṁ namāḥ.*

#### [cūḍākarāṇa-karṇabheda]

*atha cūḍākarāṇa-karṇabheda. vidhithem̐ kala-sarccana yāye. sūryyārgha, vālkya, amukago-trasyāmukanāmasya cūḍākarāṇa karṇābheda kalaśārccana kartuṁ* | *śrī sūryyāya argham̐ namāḥ, puṣpaṁ 2. yathākarmata kalaśa pūjā dhunake.* | *tham̐kādina kumāra lāsālāva svastil kāsana taye. nirmachanādi.* | *rakṣohanam̐* [VS 5.23], *adhyanno* [VS 16.5], *tejosi* [VS 22.1]. *¶*

4<sup>v</sup> 94

*arghapātrayā lamkhana hāye, om̐ devasyatvā* [VS 1.10], | *kumāranam̐ kalaśaske ketani. śān-tikapustika svāna viye, mataphatālcā pūjā, ag-nirmmūrdhā divaḥ* [VS 3.12]. *om̐ trātāram indram̐ avitāram indram̐, hava have suha-*

*valm, suram̐ indram̐, hvayāmi śakraṁ puru-hūtam̐ indram̐ svastino maghavā dhā-tvin-drah* [VS 20.50], *mataphatālcā svagonanam̐ tvāye, om̐ asuraghna* (RVKh 2.4.1). *suchāye, om̐ kāṇḍāt kāṇḍālt prarohanti puruṣaḥ purusas pari, evā no durvve pra tanu sahasreṇa satena ca* [VS 13.20]. | *kouna utthem. vāgūtam̐ chuke, om̐ dīrghāyus tvāyavalā-yeti* [KS 3.9.6], *candanāldi svagoṇāśīrvvāda, siphāratī* | *sipham̐ luye, om̐ yāḥ phalini* [VS 12.89]. *ārti, om̐ tejo si* [VS 22.1], *pratiṣṭhā, om̐* | *mano jūti(r)* [VS 2.13]. *candra mandala-nam̐ tvāyel, om̐ vayanam̐* [VS 3.56?], *pāju nini nauyāta*

5<sup>r</sup>

*lāhāti pujā yāye, pājuyāta kholcā hlāye. niniyā-ta candramanda\la bhu hlāye mimicāsmetam̐. sījolyā bādāsa dhali bho-yūmodijātayā\va mīsa dechuṇāvātaye. khocāmīmicā hlāye mamtram̐, om̐ savitā prasūtādevyā api udakaṁ tu te tanu* [PG 2.1.9], *vavūnakvāka\lamkhataye mamtra thvate. tham̐kādina\khvaṇa, nalamkha taye, om̐ svasti na indro* [VS 25.19]. | *cusā valāna kheye, om̐ dīrghāyastvāya* [KS 3.9.6] | *sa ciye, pramāṇa, vaṭa vṛkṣa galvet pūrvam̐ dakṣiṇed umvaram̐ tathā, asvalttham̐ ca bhaved vāme paścime plakṣam̐ eva ca, | suvarṇamudrikāmādhye darbha pṛṣṭhasamanvītam̐, madhye pañca sikhāsthāne cūḍākarṇa* | *vidhi-smṛtaḥ, pūrvakrama, om̐ oṣladhe trāyasva svadhite mainam̐ him̐sīḥ* [VS 4.1]. | *dakṣiṇa uttara paścima evam̐.*

5<sup>v</sup>

*sighānākathanamsa dhene, pāju namkholla kāye mamtra, sīvonāmāsi ardham̐ palṭhet* [VS 3.63a?]. *sāsa-kholanam̐ thiye mamtra.* | *ni vartayāmyā yuṣe* [VS 3.63b]. *samdhene mamtra.* | *om̐ yanāva(?) vet savitā muraṇa soma-sya* | *rājñāviruṇasya vidvān, tena vrāhmaṇo va(?) pated amasyāyuṣmajadalijathālsata* [PG 2.1.11]. *saphayeke nininam̐.* | *lvabūna kvāka lamkha taye, om̐ savitā praṣ-āltādevyā 'āpa*

<sup>94</sup> At the margin: *om̐ dīrghāyustvāya valāya varcase. suprajāstvāyasahasra 'tho jivah śaradaḥ satam.* This mantra probably belongs to the *āśīrvāda* of *annaprāsana*, q.v.

'*udakaṃ, tu te tanu* [PG 2.1.9]. *sa*ldhene maṃ-  
tra, *om̐ tr̥yāyuṣaṃ yamadagneṭi* [VS 3.62],  
*om̐ yena bhūr iścarādivaṃjyoktapaścādhi-*  
*sūrye*, | *tena-tevapāmi vrahmaṇā jīvanāya-*  
*su* [PG 2.1.12] *ślokyāyastaye, sasakalemkhāye*  
| *bhāvanāyāye. nauyātakhocāvīye, lumu-*  
*lunajavahraspotapvāsvāne, om̐ bhadraṃ*  
*karṇebhiḥ śṛṇuyāma devān taṃ* [VS 25.21]

6<sup>r</sup>  
*bhadraṃ paśyemākṣabhir jayatrās thire*  
*raṃgai | stutuvāgum̐ sastanubhir vyasemahi*  
*evahiltaṃ jaḍyāyu, vahyā mulunaṃ depā-*  
*sa prā khalne. om̐ tivrān ghoṣān krnvate*  
*bṛṣapānaḥyo svvā-rathebhiḥ saha vājayanta*  
*asu* [VS 29.44] | *thvate dhunañāva māmana*  
*macā buyāra thakālīna lā sālaava yane svas-*  
*tikāsane taḥ. naunam̐ śisābāhikana sāmkhāke*  
| *nauyāta ladum̐ keyeke. khusisām̐ cuyekella*  
*choye dhaubaji tayā. kumārāyāta... moda-*  
*lhuyeke. khau sarvo. sadhi tayā. | thakālīna lā*  
*śālāyane svastikāsāle taye. nimam̐-chañādi.*  
*arghalpratrāyā lamkhana hāye. om̐ devasyat-*  
*vā | sirapyane. ākāśamālā taya. om̐ talva vāyu*  
*bṛhaspates tvas-tujāmaataradbhūta* [VS  
27.34] | *apagum̐ bṛñimahe. kumālra yāta ka-*  
*lasa ke tānake śudha śā-*

6<sup>v</sup>  
*ntam̐. matā phā tācā svagoṇanam̐ tvālye, om̐*  
*asuraghneti* (RVKh 2.4.1), *modasa śrīkhaṇḍa*  
*elle, svasti coye, josina* [at the margin: *śi-*  
*yagu hāmo hole*] *bhoyū malla taye, modasa*  
*kumbhakā hine, om̐ ralkṣohanam̐* [VS 5.23],  
*pākām̐ hine, om̐ pavitre ṣṭho* [VS 1.12]. |  
*cusavalā dantakakīcā dumvarasī am̐jalsalā*  
*kusabūm̐ cakraphaṇī<sup>95</sup> mhaikhāpā solkapvāye,*  
*om̐ namaḥ sambhavāya ca* [VS 16.33]. |  
*candanādi svagoṇa vastra viye, camdana,*  
*om̐ | yad adya ka* [VS 33.35]. *sindhūra, om̐*  
*tvam̐ yaviṣṭhadā* [VS 13.52]. *svaḷgoṇa, om̐*  
*dadhikrāvṇo* [VS 23.32], *vastra, om̐ vasoḥ*  
| *avitreti* [VS 1.3], *cakraphax<sup>96</sup>ye, om̐ | trā-*  
*tāram indram̐ avitāram̐ indram̐ have have*  
| *suhavaṃ sūram̐ indram̐ hvayāmi śakraṃ*

*puruhūtam̐ indram̐ svastino maghavā*  
*dhātv̐ indrah* [VS 20.50], | *sepham̐ ārati*.<sup>97</sup> *om̐*  
*yāphalani* [VS 12.89].3, *om̐ tejosi* [VS 22.1],  
*pratiṣṭhā, om̐ mano jūti* [VS 2.13], | *vṛāh-*  
*mañādi annasamkalpa. dakṣiṇā.*

7<sup>r</sup>  
*vācana kalaśasam̐ taye, svasti bhalvanto*  
*me brūtām̐ svasti sam̐aye chāye.* | *vedāc-*  
*caṇa.*<sup>98</sup> *om̐ ājighrakalaśam̐ mah-yāltveti* [VS  
8.42], *om̐ ghṛtaṃ ghṛtapāvāneti* [VS 6.19]. |  
*nyāsalikāye, kalaśa visarjana. om̐ | udvayan-*  
*tamasah̐ iti* [VS 27.10 = 20.21]. *valithāsa 2*  
| *choye. nhaskana tayā abhiṣeka, candanādi*  
*svagonāśīrvāda. om̐ delvasyatvā* [VS 1.10],  
*om̐ yad a[d]ya ka* [VS 33.35], *om̐ tvay-*  
*aviṣṭha* [VS 13.52], | *om̐ dadhi krāvṇo* [VS  
23.32], *āśīrvāda, om̐ | mūrdhānam̐ divo* [VS  
7.24], *om̐ bhadraṃ karṇebhi* [VS 25.21],  
*om̐ sulkham̐ sarvesām̐ nhaskana huye,*  
*pūrṇacāndreti, śākṣi thāye, kaumālri visar-*  
*jana. iti cūḍākaraṇakarṇābhēdasamāptam̐*  
*śubham̐..*

[mekhalābandhana]

*atha-mekhalāvandhana, vidhithem̐ | kalasa ti-*  
*yeke, vrāhmaṇena <vi>dhivat*

7<sup>v</sup>  
*kalaśārcanam̐ kūrṇyāt, yathā karmatvam̐.* |  
*tham̐kāli nāyakanam̐ kumāra lāsā lāhaye |*  
*svastikāsana taye, om̐ (a)suraghneti* [VS  
RVKh 2.4.1]<sup>99</sup>. | *nimam̐chanādi, om̐ rakso-*  
*haṇam̐ valagahāneti* [VS 5.23], *adhyavo*  
*cadadhi iti* [VS 16.5], *om̐ tejosi* [VS 22.1] |,  
*salim̐ milā pikhālam̐khu choye. | rghapātrāyā*  
*lamkhana hāye, om̐ devasyatvā* [VS 1.10] |.  
*sipene, om̐ tava vāyu vṛhaspate* [VS 27.34]. |  
*kumārana kalaśayāke ke tānake. | mata pha*  
*tādacā pūjā, om̐ agnir mūrdheti* [VS 3.12] |,  
*om̐ trātāram̐ indram̐ avitāram̐ indram̐*  
*have ha* | *ve suhavaṃ sūram̐ indram̐ hvayā-*  
*mi śakraṃ puruhūtam̐ indram̐ svastino*

<sup>95</sup> Crossed out in the manuscript.

<sup>96</sup> *cakraphaṇī?*

<sup>97</sup> Read *siphācati*.

<sup>98</sup> Read *vedārcana*.

<sup>99</sup> *a-* is added to *suraghneti* by a second scribe.

*maghavā dhātṽ indraḥ* [20.50], | *matā pha tācā svagonana tvāye, om̐ alsuraghnām indrasakam̐* [RVKh 2.4.1]. *svagona biye.* | *om̐ yadadyaka* [VS 33.35], *om̐ tvam̐yaviṣṭhadā* [VS 13.52], *om̐ dadhi* | *krāv̐ṇo* [VS 23.32], *om̐ yā phalini* [VS 12.89]. *siphālrati yānā valī lusi dhene.ni*

8<sup>r</sup>

*nina lusi phaye. khau sarvoṣadhi* | *tayā kumāra snāna yācake, lālsā lāva nāpāyā thāyasa duta yene.* | *nimamchanādi. matā pha tādacā, svagonanam̐ tvāye. kumārayā lāhāltisa svasti coye. pātayā kas'tā<sup>100</sup> tayā svagona viye. velā julānāva thakālinam̐ kaetā cike, vedal, om̐ yenendrāya br̥ha(spa)ti vāsaḥ paryyadadhādam̐rtam̐ tenetvā paridhanyāyuṣe dīrghālyas tvāya valāya varccase* [AV 1.9.3], *gram̐thi jalvasam̐ lātake gram̐thi pūjā, snāna candana* | *svagona puṣpaṃ nama, patiṣṭhā.*<sup>101</sup> *Manojūti* [VS 2.13]. *thvate dhuna.nāva suyāgu kaletā vasa tayā svagona biye, uthē, vasa hlāye veda, om̐ vasoḥ pavitram̐ asi* [VS 1.3] |, *dīrghāyus tvāya* [KS 3.9.6]. *vasa tiyeke.* | *siphārati, pratiṣṭhā. annasaṃ-*

8<sup>v</sup>

*kalpa. devadaksiṇā, vr̥hmanāldi sarveṣam̐ dakṣiṇā. vācanaṃ.* | *svasti bhavam̐to me brūtām̐ svasti.* *trilr ācamya, nyāsa linam̐, kalasavisarjanam̐, udva-yam̐tamasvaḥ iti* [VS 20.21]. *jvalālnhaskanasa kalasayā lamkhana hāye jvalānaskanasa. ghaḍiyā lamkha tayā* | *abhiṣeka, om̐ devasya tvā* [VS 1.10], *cam̐dana.* | *om̐ yadadyaka* [VS 33.35], *sim̐dhūra, om̐ tvam̐ yaviṣṭha dā[śuṣo]* [VS 13.52] |, *svagona, om̐ dadhikrāv̐ṇo* [VS 23.32], *āśīrvālda, om̐ dīrghāyuṣ ṭa 'oṣadhi* [VS 12.100]. *salkalastam̐ biye. sākṣi thāye.* | *iti mekhalāvandhana samāpta.*

[Here follows Gandharvavivāha]

## 2b. The Manual of the Ten Rites<sub>2</sub>

### The Name-giving Ritual (*nāmakaṛaṇa*)

1<sup>v</sup>

Salutation to Śrī Gaṇeśa. Now the ritual of name-giving. Display the sacred vases (*kalāśa*) according to the rules. Sip three times water (from the palm of the hand = *ācamana*). Plate (with *pūjā* materials such as) flowers (etc.).<sup>102</sup> Ritual decision (*vākya*) starting with “Today etc. (I wish) to make the worship of praising the sacred vase (for the rite) of the name giving for (a boy or girl from) such and such lineage (*gotra*) having such and such name. (Therefore ) I hand over the plate with flowers (etc.)” Salutation. Let (the worshipper) worship the sacred vase. Salutation with offering a seat to all sacred vases and the outside Gaṇeśa (i.e. the Gaṇeśa of the locality). Salutation (with) flowers. Hand over the *pūjā* (materials saying:) “I hand over the water pot (and) the plate with flowers (etc.)” Worship of the sacred vases according to the rules. The recitation of pouring water from the *arghyapātra* to the sun is the same (as above). (Act) here in the auspicious moment (*yathākarma*). The worshipper should take the child carried by her mother (inside) holding his or her hand. Make him or her sit on a seat with a *svastika*. Purifying etc. Wave (the smoke of) burnt rape and mustard seeds (reciting) *rakṣohaṇam̐ ...* (VS 5.23).

2<sup>r</sup>

After taking rice and water and washing the (eyes of the) child place it into the *bali* pot (reciting) *adhy avocad* (VS 16.5). Offer a lamp (with a burning wick and the *mantra*) *tejo 'si* (VS 22.1). Sent the clay cup with fire to the absorbing stone (*pikhālākhu*). Here the *nāyaḥ* should wave with a lamp, the (wooden) measuring vessel and (a plate of) *svagā* (reciting) *asuraghnām* (RVKh 2.4.1 b). Offer *svagā* with the dress called *michulā*.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>100</sup> Read Nev. *kaytā*; according to DCN *kastā* is “a kind of garment”, here it is the loin cloth.

<sup>101</sup> Read *pratiṣṭhā*.

<sup>102</sup> The plate should be given by the *yajamāna* to the priest.

<sup>103</sup> Read *macālā*, an infant dress with one or two knots given to the child.

Incense (reciting) *yad adya kac* (VS 33.35). Give vermilion (reciting) *tvam yaviṣṭha dā[śuṣo]* (VS 13.52). (Again) *svagā* (reciting) *dadhi krāvṇo* (VS 23.32). (Give a new) dress (to the child reciting) *vasoḥ pavitram asi* (VS 1.3). Flowers (reciting) *yāḥ phalinīr* (VS 12.89). After smearing ghee on a betel leaf write the name (of the child on it). Place the betel leaf on the sacred vase.

2<sup>v</sup>

The Joṣī has the right to write the name of the child with sandal-wood paste on the horoscope. The *nāyaḥ* should spell the name in the ear of the child. The *nāyaḥ* should feed (the child) with ghee (and the *mantra*) *prāṇāya svāhāpānāya...* (VS 22.23). It is necessary to make a *bali* offering. Send the left-overs (to the absorbing *chvāsaḥ* stone). Place the betel leaf besmeared with ghee on the child. Blessings also to the child. (Perform) *ārati* with *siphā*. (Throw) popped rice. *Dakṣiṇā* to the Brahmins with recitation. Ritual washing (with water from) the sacred vase. Blessings (to all). Release the witnesses (such as Sūrya, Navagraha etc. reciting) *pūrṇacandra...* Here (ends) the (chapter on the) name-giving ritual.

### The Rice-feeding Ritual (*annaprāsana*)

(Now) the rules for rice-feeding (and) feeding of fruits. Prepare (lit. display) the sacred vases (*kalaśa*) etc. according to the rules. The worshipper should hand over the plate (with *pūjā* materials such as) flowers (etc.).<sup>104</sup> Ritual decision (*vākya*) starting with “Today etc.”: “(I wish) to make the worship of praising the sacred vase (for the rite) of feeding (the child) with fruits

3<sup>r</sup>

and cooked rice for (a boy or girl from) such and such lineage (*gotra*) having such and such name. (Therefore) I hand over the plate with

flowers (etc.). (Be) pure (and) peaceful (by heart).” The Brahmin should worship the sacred vase according to the rules. (Offer) a *bali* (to the Protectors of the Ten) Directions.<sup>105</sup> After putting grains of broken rice, salt, oil and the old dress (of the boy) called *miculā*<sup>106</sup> on the two *manas* measuring vessel. Make the face of Bhairava with soaked beaten rice. Worship (and) place the *grahamālā*<sup>107</sup> on the sacred vase. Place ornaments on a plate. Decorate with *sipati*-wood. Finish the worship in the auspicious moment (*sāit*). The *nāyaḥ* should welcome the boy carried by his mother and make him sit on a (place prepared with a) *svastika*. Purifying etc. After offering a dress for Bhairava, wave *sipati*. Sacred vases should be given to the Brahmins etc. Give *svagā*. (Now follows the) feeding of fruits to the child (i.e. *phalaprāsana*). Offer betel leaves, fruits and roots to the *āgā(-dyaḥ)* according to the rules. Feed five handfuls (of cooked food) after putting a coconut and an egg on a banana (leaf) (reciting) *yāḥ phalinīr* (VS 12.89). Recite *svastivācana(-verses)*. Place also the thread of *sipati* in a room. Send (to throw) left-overs with *sipati*. Blessings (again reciting)

3<sup>v</sup>

*yāḥ phalinīr* (VS 12.89). Let the child take the ornaments<sup>108</sup> (reciting) *hiraṇ-yavarṇam* (ṚVKh 2.6.1). Put some unhusked rice on the head of the child. Wave the *thāybhū* plate to the child. Veda (i.e. recitation of) *ausraghnam* (ṚVKh 2.4.1b). After worshipping the root of the ginger plant take Agni in the mouth which belongs to the soul (reciting) *īrmāntāsaḥ...* (VS 29.21). Offer *pañcabali* (and) a share for Sūrya. Feed five handfuls of food (to the child). The Brahmin should (again) recite *svastivācana(-verses)*. Feed *vīra-grāsa* (= *gogrās*?) three times. Take the *thāybhū* plate inside (and) store (it) in the house. Collect (all the) left-overs (from the ground). Let the garland be hung (over the child).

<sup>104</sup> The plate should be given by the *yajamāna* to the priest.

<sup>105</sup> *diḍivali*, read: *digvali*.

<sup>106</sup> Unclear term.

<sup>107</sup> A small garland related to the Navagrahas which can be purchased in the market.

<sup>108</sup> A plate with various ornaments and other things is shown to the child to see which it will grasp. This is interpreted with regard to the future of the child.

4<sup>r</sup>

Veda (i.e. recitation of) *ā kṛṣṇena...* (VS 33.43). Blessings (reciting) *annapate* (VS 34.58). Ritual decision for the gift of food (to the priest). (Give) *dakṣiṇā* (to the flasks and priests). Remove the sacred vases. Ritual washing etc. Blessings (reciting) *dirghāyutvāya* (KS 3.9.6). *suprajās tvāyasahasra ‘tho jīvaḥ śaradaḥ śatam*. Release (the sun etc.) as the witness(es) (saying) “I made the worship of praising the sacred vase (for the rite) of feeding (the child) with fruits and cooked rice on behalf of the worshipper.” Salutation to Sūrya with water from the *argha* pot. Salutation with flowers.

### Shaving of the Head and Piercing of the Ear (*cūdākarāṇa-karṇābheda*)

Now (the rite) of (the first) shaving the head (and) piercing of the ears. Prepare the sacred vases according to the rules. The Brahmin should worship the sacred vases according to the rules. Give water (*argha*) to the sun.<sup>109</sup> Ritual decision (*vākya*): “(I wish) to make the worship of the sacred vase (for the rite) of the shaving the head (and) piercing of the ears for (a boy from) such and such lineage (*gotra*) having such and such name.” Salutation with water (*argha*) to Śrī Sūrya. Salutation (with) flowers. The worship of the sacred vase should be finished according to the auspicious moment (*sāit*). The senior most man (*thakāli*) should bring the boy holding his hand and make him sit on a *svastika*. Purifying (of the involved persons) etc. (reciting) *rakṣohaṇam* (VS 5.23), *adhya no* (RV 5.82.4), *tejo ‘si* (VS 22.1).

4<sup>v</sup>

Sprinkle water from the *arghyapātra* (reciting) *devasya tvā* (VS 1.10). The boy should worship the sacred vase by throwing rice. After (reciting) the *śāntipuṣṭika* verse, give the (*dvāphvaḥ*) *svā*.<sup>110</sup> Worship the lamp, the

(wooden) measuring vessel and the keys (reciting) *agnir mūrdhā divaḥ* (VS 3.12) (and) *trātāram indram...* (VS 20.50). He should wave with (a plate of) *svagā* with lamp, wooden measuring vessel and keys (reciting) *ausraghnam* (RVKh 2.4.1b). Offering of oil<sup>111</sup> (reciting) *kāṇḍāt-kāṇḍāt...* (VS 13.20) (or) *dirghāyutvāya...* (KS 3.9.6). Do the same below (i.e. on the feet). Put grains of unhusked rice (on the head of the boy reciting) *dirghāyutvāya* (KS 3.9.6). Incense etc., *svagā*, blessing. (PerfOrM) *ārati* (with waving a lamp on the) *siphā*. Scatter (the material from the) *siphā* (on the head of the boy reciting) *yāḥ phalinīr...* (VS 12.89). (Again) *ārati* (reciting) *tejo ‘si...* (VS 22.1). (Throw) popped rice (*pratiṣṭhā*) (reciting) *mano jūtīr* (VS 2.13). Wave the (*thāybhū*) plate on which a *candramaṇḍala* is drawn (reciting) *vayaṃ* (VS 3.56). Worship the hands of the maternal uncle, sister of the father (*nini*) and barber.

5<sup>r</sup>

The razor should be handed over to the maternal uncle. Hand over the plate with the *candramaṇḍala* together with a small bamboo plate to the *nini*. Put the copper pot together with curd and grinded grey sesame (paste)<sup>112</sup> on the fire. The *mantra(s)* for handing over the razor and the bamboo plate: *dirghāyutvāya*<sup>113</sup> (KS 3.9.6) (and) *savitṛā prasūta daivya...* (PG 2.1.9). The (preceding) *mantra* is for pouring warm water by the father (on the head of the boy before shaving the hair). The senior most eldest man (*thakāli*) should pour cold water (reciting) *svasti na indro* (VS 25.19). Divide the hair with a porcupine bristle (reciting again) *dirghāyutvāya* (KS 3.9.6). Tie the hair. Evidence: “In the east (above the forehead, a piece of) the Banyan tree, and in the south (above the right ear, a piece of) the country fig tree (*udumbara*), in the south (above the right ear, a piece of) the bo tree (*aśvattha*), and in the west also (a piece of) the fig tree. In the middle a golden

<sup>109</sup> The water is poured with the *argh(y)apātra* (see below), i.e. a kind of small copper cup, with a conch or with both hands.

<sup>110</sup> The flower of a kind of white jasmine with one stalk of *dūrvā* grass pierced in it.

<sup>111</sup> Normally any woman dips a bundle of *dūrvā* grass into sesame or mustard oil and then touches with it the head, hands and feet of the boy; see Glossary, s.v. *sarvakhau*.

<sup>112</sup> This paste is later smeared on the shaven head of the boy in order to heal the wounds.

<sup>113</sup> The *mantra* is written on the margin.

coin together with *darbha* grass at the back; in the middle, on the place of the five top knots (*pañcaśikhā*) the rule for the *cūḍākarna* is remembered” (cp. Dkv<sub>1</sub> fol. 1<sup>v</sup>). Start from the east (reciting) *oṣadhe trāyasva...* (VS 4.1). In the same manner in the south, north (and) west.

5<sup>v</sup>

Immediately after tying the pieces of wood (and the top knot) the shaving of the hair should be started. The *mantra* while taking the razor by the maternal uncle (is the following): *śivo nāmāsi* (VS 3.63a). He should recite it half. The *mantra* while touching the hair with the razor (is the following): *ni vartayāmy uṣe* (VS 3.63b). The *mantra* while shaving (is the following): *yenāvapatsavitā kṣureṇa* (PG 2.1.12). The hair should be collected by the sister of the father. The father should pour warm water (on the head of the boy reciting) *savitṛā prasūta daivyā* (PG 2.1.9). The *mantra* for shaving (is) *tryāyuṣaṃ yamadagneḥti* (VS 3.62) (and) *ya bhūriścārā divaṃ* (PG 2.1.16). Recite the *śloka* loudly. Make an imagination of all the hair being shaved.<sup>114</sup> (Afterwards) he should hand over the razor to the barber. Pierce the right ear with a golden needle (reciting) *bhadraṃ karṇebhiḥ...* (VS 25.21).

6<sup>r</sup>

Pierce on the right side (i.e. the right ear) with a silver spike a hole (reciting) *oṃ tivrān...* (VS 29.44) Afterwards the senior most male member of the lineage (*nāyaḥ*) should welcome the boy carried by the mother and make him sit on a (place prepared by) a *svastika*. The barber should shave the head except for the tuft. Give the barber (a piece of) sweet meat. Send the hair into the river adding the mixture of curd and beaten rice. The boy should take a ritual bath with *khau* (water with sesame paste) and *sarvoṣadhi* (a collection of herbs). The *nāyaḥ* should welcome the

boy and make him sit on a (place prepared by) a *svastika*. Purifying (by) sprinkling water from the arghyapātra (reciting) *oṃ devasya tvā* (VS 1.10). Throw pieces of fruits (over the parti-cipants). Hang the *ākāśamālā* on (?) reciting *oṃ tava vāyu...* (VS 27.34). The boy should throw rice on the sacred vases (reciting) *śuddha-śāntaṃ* (-verses).

6<sup>v</sup>

He should wave with (a plate of) *svagā* with a lamp, the (wooden) measuring vessel and (iron) keys (reciting) *asuraghnam* (RVKh 2.4.1b). Rub sandal-wood (paste) on the head. Draw a *svastika* (on the head). The Jośī should throw brown sesame seeds (on the head).<sup>115</sup> Bind the *kumaḥkaḥ* thread (around on the head reciting) *rakṣohaṇaṃ* (VS 5.23). Bind a silk thread (around the head reciting) *pavitre 'stho* (VS 1.12). Stick a porcupine bristle, a traditional comb,<sup>116</sup> a piece of *udumbara* wood, a bit of black soot,<sup>117</sup> *kuśa* grass (and) a peacock feather (into the hair reciting) *namaḥ sambhavāya ca* (VS 16.33). Hand over sandelwood paste, *svagā* and the dress (to the boy). (The *mantra* for) sandelwood paste (is) *yad adya kac* (VS 33.35). For the vermilion (the *mantra* is) *tvam yaviṣṭha dā[śuṣo]* (VS 13.52). For *svagā*: *dadhi krāvṇo* (VS 23.32). For the dress: *vasoḥ pavitram asi* (VS 1.3). Place *cakraphaṇi* (on the head reciting) *trātāram indram...* (VS 20.50). (Perform) *ārati* (with waving a lamp on the) *siphā* (reciting) *yāḥ phalinir* (VS 12.89). Repeat it three times (reciting) *tejo 'si* (VS 22.1). Throw popped rice (on the boy reciting) *mano jūtir* (VS 2.13). The Brāhmaṇa etc. (should be given) food with a ritual decision (and) *dakṣiṇā* (and) reciting (the following *stotra*?).

7<sup>r</sup>

Keep (snacks) on the sacred vase (reciting) *svasti bhavanto me brūtām svasti*. Offering of snacks (to the sacred vase). Worship of

<sup>114</sup> The maternal uncle should just imagine the shaving which is, however, performed by the barber.

<sup>115</sup> At the margin corrected into “grey sesame”.

<sup>116</sup> Usually made of ivory.

<sup>117</sup> Little box usually of silver to contain *maskhara* (black soot).



the Veda (reciting) *ājighra-kalaśam mahyā tveti* (VS 8.42) *ghṛtaṃ ghṛtapāvānaḥ* (VS 6.19). Dissolve the mental commitment (*nyāsa*). Release the sacred vases (i.e. the deities in the sacred vases reciting) *ud vyaṃ tamasaś* (VS 27.10 = 20.21). Sent *bali* offerings to different<sup>118</sup> places. Give purification (*abhiṣeka*) together with a ritual mirror. (Give a *tikā* of sandal-wood paste etc., *svagā* and blessings (to the boy reciting) *devasya tvā* (VS 1.10), *yad adya kac* (VS 33.35), *tvam yaviṣṭha dā[śuṣo]* (VS 13.52) and *dadhi krāvṇo* (VS 23.32). Blessings (reciting) *mūrdhānaṃ divo* (VS 7.24), *bhadraṃ karṇebhiḥ* (VS 25.21). “Hail to all”. Clean the mirror (reciting) *pūrṇa-candra(-sūkta)*.<sup>119</sup> Release the witnesses (such as Sūrya, Navagraha etc.). Release Kaumāri.<sup>120</sup> Here ends (the chapter on) the shaving the head (and) piercing of the ears.

### The Loin-cloth Ritual (*mekhalā-bandhana*)

Now the binding of the girdle (*mekhalā*). Prepare the sacred vases (*kalaśa*) according to the rules.

7<sup>v</sup>

The Brahmin should worship the sacred vases at the auspicious time. The *thakāli* (or) *nāyaḥ* should bring the boy holding his hand and make him sit on a seat with *svastika* and (recite) the *mantra asuragṇam* (RVKh 2.4.1). Purifying etc. (reciting) *raksohaṇaṃ valagahaṇaṃ* (VS 5.23), *adhy avocad adhi* (VS 16.5) and *tejo 'si* (VS 22.1). Sent the clay cup with fire to the absorbing stone (*pikhālākhu*). Sprinkle water from the *arghyapātra* reciting *devasya tvā...* (VS 1.10). Throw pieces of fruits<sup>121</sup> (reciting) *tava vāy-av ṛtaspatē* (VS 27.34). The boy should worship the sacred vase by throwing rice. Worship the lamp, the (wooden) measuring vessel and the (iron) keys (reciting) *agnir mūrdhā divaḥ* (VS 3.12) (and) *trātāram indram...*

(VS 20.50). He should wave with (a plate of) *svagā* with a lamp, the measuring vessel and the keys (reciting) *asuragṇam indra sakam* (RVKh 2.4.1b). Give *svagā* (reciting) *yad adya kac...* (VS 33.35), *tvam yaviṣṭha dā[śuṣo]...* (VS 13.52), *dadhi krāvṇo...* (VS 23.32) (and) *yāḥ phalinīr...* (VS 12.89). Let the nails be pared after having performed *siphārati*.

8<sup>r</sup>

The father's sister should collect the nails. Let the boy take a bath after anointing the body with *khau* and *sarvośadhi*. Take the boy again inside holding his hand and make him sit on the previous place. (Again) purifying etc. (Again) waving with (a plate of) *svagā* and the lamp, the (wooden) measuring vessel and the (iron) keys. Draw a *svastika* on the hands of the boy. Give *svagā* together with a silk-made loin cloth (*kaytā*).<sup>122</sup> The *thakāli* should fasten the loin-cloth at the proper (i.e. auspicious) time. Recitation of the Veda:<sup>123</sup> *yenendrāya* (AV 1.9.3). Put the knot on the right side (of the hip of the boy). Worship the knot. Ritual bath, (give *tikā* of) sandal-wood (and) *svagā*. Salutation (with) flowers. (Throw) popped rice (on the boy reciting) *mano jūtīr ...* (VS 2.13). After finishing this, give *svagā* together with a stitched loin cloth (*kaytā*). In the same (way)<sup>124</sup> hand over the dress with the recitation of the Veda (reciting) *vasoḥ pavitram asi...* (VS 1.3, and) *dīrgh-āyutvāya...* (KS 3.9.6). Put on the dress. (Perform) *ārati* with *siphā*. (Throw) popped rice. Ritual decision for the gift of food (to the priest).

8<sup>v</sup>

(Give) *dakṣiṇā* to the deities (i.e. the *kalaśas* etc.). Give *dakṣiṇā* to the Brahmins etc. and all other (ritual specialists?).<sup>125</sup> Blessings (*vācana*) (reciting) *svasti bhavaṃ*. Sip three times water (from the palm of the hand). Dissolve the mental commitment (*nyāsa*).

<sup>118</sup> The number 2 in the manuscript seems to express here repetition.

<sup>119</sup> Usually the mirror is cleaned by drawing a moon (*candra*) or *om* on it.

<sup>120</sup> By sending a *pūjā* plate to the Kumāri.

<sup>121</sup> Meaning unclear, possibly derived from *si* „fruits“ and *pene* „to spread“.

<sup>122</sup> *Kastā* is the old word for *kaytā* or *kaetā*.

<sup>123</sup> Although the boy is not entitled to receive the Veda, the main actions are liturgically accompanied with Vedic verses.

<sup>124</sup> He should give *svagā* reciting *om yad adya ka* (VS 33.35) etc. as before.

<sup>125</sup> Jośi, Ācāju etc.

Remove the sacred vases (reciting) **ud va-yaṃ tamasas...** (VS 27.10 = 20.21). Sprinkle water from the sacred vase to the pot of vermilion and the ritual mirror. Ritual washing (*abhiṣeka*) with water from the clock water pot (*ghaḍiyā*)<sup>126</sup> (reciting) **devasya tvā ...** (VS 1.10). (Give a *tikā* of) sandal-wood (to all participants reciting) **yad adya kac ...** (VS 33.35). (Give a *tikā* of) *sindūra* (to all participants reciting) **tvam yaviṣṭha dā[śuṣo]...** (VS 13.52). (Give) *svagā* (to all participants reciting) **dadhi krāvṇo...** (VS 23.32). (Give) blessings (reciting) **dirgh-āyus ta oṣadhe...** (VS 12.100). Give (this blessing) to everybody. Release (the sun etc.) as the witness(es). Here ends (the chapter on) the binding of the girdle.

<sup>126</sup> According to the tradition one Jośi should tell the accurate ritual time (Nep./Nev. *sāit*) using a clock water pot and the water from that pot should be used for the *abhiṣeka*.

### 3a. Kaytābiya-Mekhalā-bandhana[vidhi] (Buddhist)

Modern copybook of Shukla Jyoti Bajracarya, Paśuvarṇa-Mahāvihāra, Bhaktapur, with various *pūjāvidhis*, e.g. *mekhalābandhana* (pp. 2-9), *digud-yaḥpūjā* (10-13), *lasā kusaḥ* (14-17), *maṅgalacaranāstrotra* (19-21), *bādhā beṃkeguvidhi* (22-24) etc. White paper with 24 ruled lines per page. Black ink, Devanāgarī script, complete.

p. 1

*sarva-auṣadhi mho luyake*

p. 2

**om̐ namaḥ śrī bajra satvāya.** *mekhalā bandhana|bidhi nhāpā pūjā saṃkalpa subhā vasudhā tayalgurumaṅḍala. paṃca-garbye sodhana. sinhamu pūjā. | kalaśa pūjā. deva pūjā. pahilā sã makhānī | bale kayatā vimha sīta thakālī nakinaṃ balī pīyā va sostiṣa phetuke. pūjā saṃkalpa-lpaṃcagarbye biya, gurumaṅḍala dānake. vanaṃ lipā | khocāpūjā, kājīyā hastapūjā, analipā pājum lukhocā vakhocāṃ saṃkhāke biya. | analipā. sarba auṣadhi molhuyake. nāpāyāgu cvayātayāgu thāsentaṃ phetuke pacagarbye biya | pūjāsaṃksalpa. gurumaṅḍala dānake. sukunḍāpūjā | buddha, dharma, saṃgha samha chakalaṃ pūjā. svā boya, bud-dhayā, om̐ bairocānāye svāhā. om̐ akṣobhyāya | svāhā. om̐ ratna saṃbhavāya svāhā. om̐ amṛtāṃ bhavāya svāhā. om̐ amogha siddhiya svāhā. |. locanīya svāhā. om̐ māmakiya svāhā. |. pāṇḍurāya svāhā. om̐ āryatārāya bajra puṣpaṃ|praticcha svāhā. dharmayāgu svāpho. | om̐ prajñā-pāramitāya svāhā. om̐ gaṇḍabyuhāya | svāhā. om̐ daśa-bhumīsvārāya svāhā.*

p. 3

**om̐ samādhirājāya svāhā. om̐ laṃkāvatālīrāya svāhā. om̐ lalitabistarāya svāhā.**

l. **om saddharma puṇḍarikāya svāhā. om tathāgata guhekāya svāhā. om suvarṇa prabhāsāya svāhā.** *saṃghayāta svāpho.* | **om āryebalokitesvarāya svāhā.** | **om maitriyāya svāhā. om gaganagaṃjāya svāhā.** | **om samanta bhadrāya svāhā. om bajrapānaya** | **svāhā. om mañju ghoṣāya svāhā.** | **saṛvāṇi varṇa viṣkabhyā svāhā, om kṣitigalrhāya svāhā. om khargabāya svāhā,** *pañcapacāra puṇḍā* | *pacāmṛta chāya jala* | *sīnhaṃ, svā, naivadya, dhū, dhupā, kyane.* | *matā biya duru chāye* | *buddhaya kīgātāne* | **trṣṇā jimha masaddhi kalpa śirasam pradvaṣa cacalṭa phalaṃ kāma krodha viṣam bitarka darśanaṃ rāga pracamḍā kṣaṇam mohāsyam sva sarirako tarasamya-|citora gaṃdāraṇam prajñā mantra padena yasmīṭa|vāna buddhāya tasmai nama** (BuSto 32.1).<sup>127</sup> *dharmayāta svāpho*<sup>128</sup> | **yo jātyā dika duḥkha tapta mahatāṃ cakṣupada-**

p. 4  
**prāṇinām yasmai dhātu kapaṃ jalā daharaha saṃtvālsamākarṣati atrānaṃ ca jagata samudhara saṃkreṣa** | **duḥkhārṇvā saṃbuddhacyutāya mahate dharmmāya** | **tasmai nama.**<sup>129</sup> *saṃghayāta svāpho*<sup>130</sup> | **catvāra prati pannagā bhava sukhe catvāra vidveśana** | **catvāraśca phale sthitā amaratā sāmtā mahāyogīna itestau vara puṃgatā bhagavatā yasmīgaṇe** | **byāpitā prajñāśīla samādhi tapta va pusesam|ghāya tasmai nama.**<sup>131</sup> *kīga tāne dhumkā.* | *nīlājana, matāphā, tācā tvāya, lucī, hīcī mhīcā lalhāya, pākayatā* | *cīke, bāke.* | **om vajra sādhi vandhane svāhā.** | *naṃ phike, gādayeke, calāyā chēgu dusā ghāke* | *saṃga biya tilakamālā lalhāya, thulī dhumkā* | *svastī cvaya svastīkhe dyane kvepālakāṃ taya macāyāṭa nhyāke biye kīga kāya, māṃ bau yātanaṃ* | *biya macāyāta naṃ bīya bintī yākā taye.* | *kvepālakāṃ taya bākhā kane lavā, gve, daṣṇinā taya*

p. 5  
| *bākhāṃ kane* | *he bālakha thaṃyā dine jyusāṃ maina titi* | *nakṣatra* | *yoga bāra rāsīyā dine mekhalā* | *bandhana dhayāgu karma khamkā biya dhuna he guru.* | *chalapola syanaṃ jita kṛpātaya māla jī* | *vanavāsa vanegu ikṣā byalā biyā bijyāhu.* | *he śīṣya bālakha julasāṃ nyādā khudā yā* | *umera tinī data cha vanavāsa vane phai makhu.* | *chaṃ thukhu khā* | *lhāyamate. he guru, he mātā, pitā,* | *chalapolapim chuhe dhandhā kayā bijyāya mate* | *jita rakṣā yānā bijyāimha isvara madulā* [?] | *jī* | *vane tela jita gaṇe mate he śīṣya. vanavāsa* | *vane dhayāgu tacotaṃhe gyānāpugu khaḥ gathe* | *gyānāpugu dhāsā he bālakha che naṃ pihālvanevaṃ chanta pāsā sunaṃ daimakhu cha jaka julīgu jula vanavāsa vane dhāyagu he nadī khulsi bhaya parvatayā bhaya dhū bhālu kisī* | *sera kālasarpa goṃja calā gayadā bikṣa balnayā rājā rākṣasa thathim thathim jāpī jīvālvantu bhaya dayā cona thathimgu bhaya chanaṃ mada-lyakegu sāmārtha da lā* [?] | *phasā vanavāsa vanegu utama* | *khaḥva he bālakha he guru, he mātā, pitā, chala|polapim chhe dhandhā kayā bijyāya mate samundra* | *nadīyā bhaya khusiyā bhaya dvasā dhanuṣayā*

p. 6  
*tāpu tayā vane jīvālvantu dako dhanuṣabāna* | *kayakā choya sthānayā gaṇedyo va devatī rakṣā* | *yānā bii vanyā vana devatānaṃ jī bālakhalyāta karuṇā tayā rakṣā yānā bijyāi he mātā* | *he pitā chalapolapim chu dhandhā kāya mate* | *jita byalā biyā disaṃ he putra he bālakha thva* | *grhe grṣī thva kula kulāyana kuladharmā sunaṃ* | *cale yāi putra dhyāṃha kāybināṃ mepisaṃ yāyilgu dharmā makhu kāya-macāṃ he yāy māgu kha he putra* | *he mātā he pitā kuladharmā yākimha isvara he* | *kha janma maraṇa yāimanaṃ isvara he kha* | *anan paripurṇa yānābīmhanam isvara he kha vanavāsa dhyāgu lipānaṃ vane mā nhāpānaṃ vane mā* | *cone dugu makhu he mātā he pitā jī vanavāsa* | *vane tela jita byalā*

<sup>127</sup> Read: *trṣṇājihvamasadvikalpaśirasam pradveśa-caṅcatphalaṃ, kāmakrodhavitarkadarśanam atho rāgapracāṅkṣaṇam; mohāsyam svaśarīra-koṣācācintātīgam dāruṇam, prajñāmantrabalena yaḥ śamītavān buddhāya tasmai namaḥ.* (BuSto 32.1)

<sup>128</sup> Overwritten with *kīga.*

<sup>129</sup> Read: *yo jātyā ādikaduḥkhataptamahāsāṃ cakṣuḥ satāṃ prāṇinām, yastrāidhātuka pañjarādaharahaḥ sātvan samākarṣati; atrānaṃ ca jagatsamuddharati yaḥ saṃkleśaduḥkhārṇavāt, saṃbuddhāṃśca punaścyutācca mahate dharmāya tasmai namaḥ* (BuSto 32.3).

<sup>130</sup> Overwritten with *kīga tāne.*

<sup>131</sup> Read: *catvāraḥ pratyutpannagā bhavasukhe susvāda-vidveśina-, ścatvāraśca phale sthitāḥ śamaratāḥ śāntā mahāyogīnaḥ; ityaṣṭau varapuṃgalā bhagavatā yasmin gaṇe vyākṛtāḥ, prajñāśīlasamādhītaptava puṣā saṃghāya tasmai namaḥ* (BuSto 32.5).

*biyā disaṃ chīkapīṃ | chu he dhandā kāya  
mate he mātā he pītā hita | āsīravāda biyā  
disaṃ he putra kāyamacā | cha vanāthāy taka  
chu he majuya mā luphiṃ mahālya mā satu-  
ra pīsaṃ konhyāya maphaya mā yākanam |  
lith-yamkā thagu kula kulāyana kuladharna  
sthīra | yāya phayakā lithyane mā. nhesalā  
pale jāyake | jala hā yākā. tuphiṃ luyā svatī  
vākye | bvane. mā bau pājuṃ jākī 3 svaka  
bhīkṣā | biya*

p. 7  
*svastī bavane dhumkā | pīkhālākhui dvāpho-  
svā | tayā svarge chaka . pātāle chaka, mar-  
tye loke | chaka bānaṃ kayakā bisyu vāke,  
pājuṃ | ganā haya. gaṇedyā thā[ya] | choya.  
pekhālākhusa svastī coya | javam khavam  
tvārivā taya kalasanaṃ taya. | svastī bākye  
bvane. sukuṇḍā puja svāpho yāya | kalasa  
svāpho yāye | pājuṃ saṃga bīya naṃ lal-  
hāya | phā | bārā chuya vīsarjana yāya |  
chem lihāvaye thakālī nakīnaṃ chapatā tīke  
| cāka puja purva paścima, uttara, dakṣiṇa  
puja yāye | nāyonakīnaṃ dhala dānake | kīga  
tāne, āsīrvāda | deva dachīnā maṇḍala bisar-  
jana, saṃgaṃpatu visarjana. sagaṃ tvāke  
gurupujā yāke, hā dakṣiṇā | nīsalā kāya, ka-  
lasa kokāy nāyo nakī mā bau | yāta sīnha tīke  
sīnhamu jvalānhayakaṃ kokāy | sīnha chāya  
nhayakaṃ kene sīnha tīya. kīga bīntī | yānā  
bajrasatva bvane. kīga bīntī | yānā bajra-  
satva bvane. chemāpana yāye | (bisarjana)  
dakva thāte take choye.*

### 3b. The (Rules for) Binding the Loin-cloth and the Girdle

p. 1

Make a ritual bath with *sarvausadhi*

p. 2

Om salutation to the venerable Vajrasattva. (Now) the rules of the binding of the loin-cloth. In the beginning the ritual decision for the worship (*pūjā*). (Perform) *guru-maṇḍala(-pūjā)* with ***subhā vasudhā***.<sup>132</sup> Purification with Five Cow Products. Worship of the vermilion pot. Worship of the sacred vases. Worship of the gods. At first, before shaving the hair, the eldest woman should make the ritual welcoming purification (*balipīyā*, Skt. *nirañjana*) of the boy who gets the loin-cloth and place him on the (seat prepared with a) *svastika*. (Make) the ritual decision for the worship, give Five Cow Products (to the participants), perform (again) the *gurumaṇḍala(-pūjā)*. After this, worship of the razor (blade), worship of the hand of the barber (*kāji*)<sup>133</sup>, after this the maternal uncle should give the golden (and) silver razor to (the barber) in order to shave the hair. After this, (let the boy) take a ritual bath with *sarvausadhi*. (Let them) sit on the previous place mentioned above. Give (again) Five Cow Products (to the boy). Ritual decision for the worship. (Perform again) a *gurumaṇḍala(-pūjā)*. Worship of the *sukuṇḍā*. Worship together all Three (Jewels, i.e.) Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. Decorate with flowers. (Recitation) for the Buddha:<sup>134</sup> Om Vairocana, hail! Om Akṣobhya, hail! Om Ratnasambhava, hail! Om Amitābha, hail! Om Amoghasiddha, hail! (Om) Locanī, hail! Om Māmakī, hail! Om Pāṇḍarā, hail! Om Āryatārā (and) accept the Vajra flower, hail! (Offer) flower to Dharma (invocating the Nine Sūtras): Om Prajñāpāramitā, hail! Om Gaṇḍayūha, hail! Om Daśabhūmika, hail!

<sup>132</sup> According to the priest Shukla Jyoti Bajracarya, a kind of invocation.

<sup>133</sup> Lit. “minister”, also nickname of the barber.

<sup>134</sup> Invocation of the Five Tathāgatas and four *prajñās* of the Tathāgatas: cp. Lienhard 1999: 84.

p. 3

Om Samādhirāja, hail! Om Lankāvatāra, hail! Om Lalitavistara, hail! Om Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka, hail! Om Tathā-gatagarbha, hail! Om Suvarṇaprabhā, hail! (Offer) flowers to the Saṅgha (invocating six Bodhisattvas): Om Avalokiteśvara, hail! Om Maitreya, hail! Om Gaganagaṃja, hail! Om Samantabhadra, hail! Om Vajrapāṇi, hail! Om Mañjuḥṣa, hail! Worship (with) five ritual offerings (*upacāra*). Offer *pañcāmṛta* (ghee, curd, honey, sugar and milk), water, vermilion, flower, *naivedya*; show incense stick (*dhū*) (and) double twisted incense (*dhupāy*). Give light (i.e. burning wick), offer milk, throw rice to the Buddha (reciting<sup>135</sup>) *trṣṇājihvam...* (BuSto 1 = Buddharatna-stotra). Throw rice to Dharma (reciting) *yo jātyādikaduḥkha taptamahasāṃ ...* (BuSto 3 = Dharmaratnastotra).

p. 4

Throw rice to the Saṅgha (reciting) *catvāraḥ pratyutpannagā bhavasukhe...* (BuSto 5 = Saṅgharatnastotra). After throwing rice, perform the *nirañjana*, waving with a lamp, (wooden) measuring vessel and (iron) key(s), hand over a tiny golden ritual flower (*lucī*), *hicī* (?), and a purse. Bind the silk loin-cloth (around the hip of the boy) reciting *om vajra sadhi vandhane svāhā*<sup>136</sup> (“Om, in the joining of the Vajra, hail!”). Let (the boy) dress,<sup>137</sup> let him be wrapped with a shawl; if there is a deer-skin, hang it (also) over (him). Give *svagā*. Hand over a garland (*tilakamālā*). After finishing this, draw a *svastika*, give to the boy to wear a pair of wooden sandals placing it on a *svastika* diagram. Take rice (on the hand) and give it to the parents. Let them make the *namaskāra* gesture. (In the manuscript follows an instruction referring to a *svastika* pattern with a line for the seven steps.) Keep the wooden sandals (here). Tell (the following) story,<sup>138</sup> place (on the diagram) a clove, a betel nut and *dakṣiṇā* (i.e. coins).

p. 5

“O boy, today, on the month x,y, on the lunar day x,y, in the constellation x,y, in combination x,y, on the day x,y, in zodiac sign x,y, I have performed the ritual of binding the girdle (*mekhalābandhana*).”

“O teacher, you must do me a favor. I wish to perform *vanavāsa* (i.e. live in the forest), thus allow me to leave.”

“O boy, disciple, you are only five or six years old. You cannot go for *vanavāsa*. You shall not talk about it.”

“O teacher, o mother, o father, you must not worry about anything. Is not there a god<sup>139</sup> to protect me? Please do not stop me. It is time for me to go.”

“O disciple, going for *vanavāsa* is very dangerous. (You do not know) how dangerous it is. O boy, if you go out from the house, there will be no friends. There will be danger of rivers, streams, mountains (and also) the dangerous animals like tiger, bear, elephant, lion, black cobra, crocodile.<sup>140</sup> Are you able to face such a danger? If you can, then only it is good to go for *vanavāsa*, o boy.”

“O teacher, o mother, o father, you do not have to worry. If there is a danger of an ocean (or) a river, I will cross it by creating

p. 6

a bridge with (my) bow (and arrow). I will hit all the animals with (my) bow. The local Gaṇeśa and other gods will protect (me). The forest god will also compassionately protect a boy like me. You should not worry. Let me go.”

“O son, o boy, who will run away from the house, lineage (and) the *dharma* of lineage (*kula*)? A son must do this (sort of duty), o son.”

“O mother, o father, it is god who lets (you) care for the *dharma* of lineage. It is god who gives birth and death. It is god who gives plenty of grains (food). Nonetheless, one has to go for *vanavāsa*. It does not matter wheth-

<sup>135</sup> The following three *stotras* are from the Gururatnatrayastotram in BuSto, no. 32.

<sup>136</sup> Read: *om vajrasaṃdhibandhanāya svāhā*, cp. Lienhard 1999: 72.

<sup>137</sup> Since this ritual is performed for the farmer castes, the boy is not dressed with the monk's robe, but normal clothes.

<sup>138</sup> The story is similar to the Deśāntarakathā during the Hindu Initiation (*vratabandha*): see Michaels 1986.

<sup>139</sup> Interestingly, it is not the Buddha mentioned here.

<sup>140</sup> During the Mekhalābandhana ritual of the Citrakārs in Bhaktapur on 28<sup>th</sup> January, 2007, the relatives were teasing the boy by pointing to the dangers of the Maoists living in the forest.

er one should go now or later. One shall not (always) stay (at home). O mother, o father, I am going to leave (now) for *vanavāsa*. Let me go. Do not worry at all. O mother, o father bless me.”

“O son, wherever you go, nothing bad may happen. You may not fall down. May your enemy not defeat you. May you return soon in order to continue your *kuladharmā*.”

Let (the boy) take seven steps with sprinkling water. Recite *svastī* verses by sweeping a broom (in front of the boy). The mother, father and maternal uncle should give three times alms.

p. 7

After the recitation of *svastī* and offering a jasmine flower (*dvāphvaḥsvā*) to the *pikhālākhu* (stone of the main gate) let (the boy run away) throwing an arrow each to the heaven, the underground world and the earth. The maternal uncle should bring (the boy) back. Send (the boy) to the (nearby) Gaṇeśa (shrine). Draw a *svastika* diagram on the *pikhālākhu*, place a Newar lamp (*tvariva*) on both sides (i.e.) on the right and the left, place also a *kalaśa* (there). Recite *svastikavākya* (blessing verses). Worship (with) *sukūdā*, offer a flower.

Offer a flower to the *kalaśa*. The maternal uncle should give *svagā*, hand over (a pair of) dress. (Pour the pieces of fruits from) the ritual measuring vessel (on the head of the boy). Give alms. Conclude (the ritual).

Come back to the house. The senior most lady should offer a *tikā* (on the forehead of the boy). Worship all (deities) around. Worship (all the four directions) east, west, north (and) south. Let the senior most man and lady worship the *gurumaṇḍala* (*dhalā dane*). Worship with rice. Give blessings. Offer *dakṣiṇā* to the god. Conclude the *maṇḍala* (worship). Conclude (the worship of the) small ritual cup filled with curd (*svagā patu*).<sup>141</sup> Wave *svagā*. Worship the *guru*. Take the main *dakṣiṇā* (and) a plate of preserved food (*nīsalā*). Take the *kalaśa* down. Offer a *tikā* to the senior most man and woman, (and) to the father. Show the ritual mirror (and) the vermilion pot around. Offer vermilion. Let the ritual mirror be seen. Give a *tikā* (on the forehead). Make the *namaskāra* (gesture) holding rice in the hand. Recite the Vajrasattva (*mantra*). Worship by pacifying (the gods: *kṣamāpana*). (Conclude the ritual.) Send all (the items and gods used) to their (original) place.

<sup>141</sup> The cup represents in this case the Eight Immortals (*aṣṭacirāñjivī*).

## 4a. [Ihipūjāvidhi] (Ipv)

No title page. Modern copybook of Narendra Sharma, Bhaktapur, younger brother of Mahendra Sharma (see above). No date. White paper with 26 ruled lines per page. Blue ink, Devanāgarī script, Nevārī language. The Ipv covers three pages of the notebook. The manuscript lists and numbers the essential ritual sequences (*krama*) together with some *mantras*.

p. 1

1. *sakasiyām puṣpabhājana yāye yavodaka śrāddha*
2. *yathākarma thenevaṃ, jasakuśa yāye, rakṣohanam* [VS 5.23] –*adhyavoca* [VS 16.5]–*tejosī* [VS 22.1]
3. *matāphām puṣā - trātāraṃ indra* [VS 20.50], *matāphām tvāye–agnimurddhā* [VS 3.12] | *tācāpvāem svagaṃpujāṃ tyāe asuraghna* [RVKh 2.4.1b] *mimicām tvāe* |
4. *gūtaṃ ko cikaṃ thuiṇā dyoyāta–1, macāyāta–3, hāye* | *om kāndātkāndāt prarohanti (parukhaḥ) parukhaspari evāno durbe* | *pratana sahareṇa satenaca* [VS 13.20]. *guta vā nigacā chene chuke.*
5. *mimicā lalhāye*
6. *nau yā niniyā lāhā puṣā kapā bhū lava lhāye* | *chalaṃcā puṣā nauyāta lavalhāye–laśakuśa yānā svastikāsane phetuke lusi dhenake–lusiphayā sarvakhau mikhāpiye*
7. *kalaśe jala thane–om imaṃ me varuṇa śruddhī havam adhyā ca mṛdaya ltvām asvasyurā cake* [VS 21.1]. *om ājighra kalaśaṃ mahyātvā* | *vipsatvindavaḥ punar urjā nivartasvasānaḥ. sahasra x* | *kṣorudhārā payaśvati punarmā vinśatādrayih* [VS 8.42].
8. *tinīnaṃ brahmāyāta suchāyāye–citra-kāriṃ brahmāyāta* | *piṭhapujāyā mohanīm drṣṭi kāmke–om taccakṣur devāhitam* [VS 36.24]
9. *mācā lāsālāyā svastikāsana taye, dya-uh śānti* [VS 36.17 = *śāntikamantra*]

10. *rakṣohanam* [VS 5.23] – *adhyavoca* [VS 16.5]–*tejosī* [VS 22.1]
11. *salāpā ihī parāsī satavṛndikā (dusvakā) sāpākhvā, lavalhāye macāyā lhātesaṃ taye. bhūixxpujā*<sup>142</sup>
12. *hyāumkāpa bhuisinha nakim nam kāye–brahmā yavodaka* | *brāhmaṇa nandikeśvarācāryayāta sinha bhāga taye* | *macāyāta sinhachā yāye – om sindūram sarva tvamjavistadā* | [VS 13.52] | *dakṣiṇā kāye (nakimna)*

at the bottom of the page: *yavodaka sidhāyeke yajñārambha, thana yāsāṃ jyū*

p. 2

13. *svagābiye - salāpā, ihī parāsī satavṛndikā* | *sā*<sup>143</sup>*khvā lavalhāye - sāpākhvā kapāle taye,*
14. *siphā āratī manojūti* [VS 2.13], | *dakṣiṇā chāye biye sidhā*<sup>144</sup>
15. *phalimbaḥī (tāya madhī) tvāye bramhāyāta 7 bhāga taye, macāyāta namke*
16. *yajña ārambha*
17. *vyā puṣā*
18. *bramhā vyā (suvarṇa kumāra) pipalā bhāga*
19. *lathala duru thala puṣā, ye tīrthāni* | [VS 16.61], *om payaḥ pṛ* | [VS 18.36]
20. *baupinta aṃgū nhāke*
21. *suvarṇakumāra puṣā yāke, prārthanā bvaṃke* | *kumāra svarṇa roposau mahāpātaka nāsana* | *janma janmāntaram pāpam darśanena vinaśyati*<sup>145</sup>.
22. *kanyāyāta vyā biye*
23. *baupinta tilakuśa biye*
24. *la dhārā duru dhārā hāyeke*
25. *vedaḥ - agnayetvā* | [VS 1.13] 3 11 *pṛṣṭha*
26. *saṃkalpa mahāvākya, imāṃ mama putriṃ .. .. nāmnīm prajā-patidaivatām suvarṇakumārāya saṃ-pradade* |
27. *svasti kodāt kamodāt* | [VS 7.48]
28. *kanyādānāyā dakṣiṇā kāye svām biye*
29. *kanyā va macāyā baupinta pipala biye*
30. *sakasike sāmuhika dakṣiṇā kāye si. ni-salā*
31. *bārham chuye*

<sup>142</sup> Corrected at the top of the page into *bhūsinha pūjā*.

<sup>143</sup> *nandī* added above the line.

<sup>144</sup> *pā* added above the line.

<sup>145</sup> Unidentified verse, read: *kumāras suvarṇarūpo 'sau mahāpātakanāśakaḥ, janma-janmāntaram (kṛtam) pāpam darśanena vinaśyati.*

p. 3

32. *yajamāna nam brahmā yajñayāta pu-  
jāyāke dakṣiṇā | chāyeke dakṣiṇā biyekā  
sidhā nisalā*
33. *yavodaka sidhayke*
34. *vācanam valiharaṇam ghṛtaprāśanam*
35. *pūrṇā homa - pūrṇā*
36. *dyo japiye maṇḍala stotra*
37. *yajña āśīrvāda ātma āśīrvāda*
38. *kanyāmacāyāta brahmādi yajña pari-  
kramā*
39. *brahmā visarjana praṇita abhiśeṣa yaja-  
māna*<sup>146</sup>
40. *vedī visarjana lhāpāne*
41. *trayāyuṣam* [VS 3.62a] *yajñayāta gvā  
chāye – dhau baji chāye*
42. *pūrṇacandra nibham*
43. *sinhamū lavalhāye śrīscate* [VS 31.22]
44. *abhiśeṣa candana saguṇa āśīrvāda*
45. *sākṣi thāye brahmā lava lhāy, dhurijala  
abhiśeṣa | macā laśakuśa māya ghirira  
yāyā | lā pāke*

#### 4b. The Ihi-Worship Handbook

1. Hand over the flower basket (*puṣpabhājana*) by all. (Perform) *nāndika* (*yavodaka*) *śrāddha*.
2. (During the course) when the act of astrological auspicious time (*yathākarma*) comes, welcome (the girls, reciting) *rakṣohanam* (VS 5.23), *adhy avocad* (VS 16.5), and *tejo 'si* (VS 22.1).
3. Worship a lamp (and the) ritual measuring vessel (reciting) *trātāram indram* (VS 20.50). Wave the lamp (and) the (wooden) measuring vessel (reciting) *agnir mūrdhā* (VS 3.12). Wave (iron) keys, the Alīdyo (and) the materials of *svagā-pūjā* (reciting) *asuragham* (RVKh 2.4.1b). Wave the bamboo basket (*mimicā*).
4. Sprinkle oil by dipping a grass called *guta* (*dūrvā*, *Cynodon dactylon*) once to the god and three times to the girls (reciting) *kāṇḍāt kāṇḍāt...* (VS 13.20). Place some

*guta* grass (and) rice on the head (of the girls).

5. Hand over the bamboo plate (*mimicā*) to the barber.
6. Worship the hands of the barber and the father's sister. Hand over a cloth (and) a plate (to them). Worship the chisel (and) hand (it) over to the barber. Welcome (the girls) and let them sit on the *svastika* diagram. Let (the barber's wife) par the nails (of the girls). Collect the nails (and) clean the eyes with oil-cake and other seven ingredients (*sarvakhau*).
7. Fill the established sacred vase (*kalaśa*) with the water (reciting) *imaṃ me...* (VS 21.1) and *ājighra kalaśam...* (VS 8.42).
8. The Śivācārya should invoke Brahmā. The Citrakāra (painter) should draw the eyes of the Brahmā (*kalaśa*) with the black soot (brought) from the worship of the *pīṭha* (reciting) *tac cakṣur deva-hitam* (VS 36.24).
9. Place the girls on the *svastika* diagram after pulling their hands (reciting the *śāntikamantra*) *dyauḥ śāntir* (VS 36.17).
10. (Recite) *rakṣohanam* (VS 5.23), *adhy avocad* (VS 16.5), and *tejo 'si* (VS 22.1).
11. Hand over the earthen vessel (*salāpā*), sari (*iḥi parāsi*), the garland made of yellow thread (*satavr̥ndikā* or *dusvakā* and), a coloured block print (*sāpākhvā*) (and) place them in the hands of the girls. Worship of the light yellow *tikā* (pot, *bhūi sinhapujā*).
12. The senior most lady should take a (piece of) red cloth (and) the light yellow *tikā* (pot). (A) Brahmin (should continue performing) Nāndikaśrāddha (*yavodaka*). Brahmin should separate the *tikā* share of the Nandikeśvarācārya (i.e. the Jośī or astrologer). Offer the light yellow (paste) to the girls (on the head, reciting) vermilion to all (reciting) *tvam yaviṣṭhadāsu-*

<sup>146</sup> *yāta jāka* added above the line.



*so* (VS 13.52). The senior most Bramhin lady (*nakhī*) should collect the ritual fee (*dakṣiṇā*). Finish the Nāndikaśrāddha (*yavodaka*) (and) start at that place the performance of the fire sacrifice (*yajña*).

p. 2

13. Give *saguna tikā* (*svagā*). Hand over the earthen vessel (*salāpā*), the sari (*ihī parāsī*), the garland made of yellow thread (*satavrṇdikā* and) painted decorative paper (*sāpākhvā*). Place the coloured block print (*sāpākhvā*) on a (piece of) cloth.
14. Wave a lamp with the ritual measuring vessel (*siphārati*, reciting) ***mano jūtīr*** (VS 2.13). Let (the girls) offer *dakṣiṇā*. (Offer also) a plate of uncooked food items (*sidhā*) to the Jośī (*nāndī*).
15. Wave (a plate with) popped rice (and) breads without salt (*phalīm̐bajī*) (in front of the girls and) separate seven portions (*bhāga*) for Brahmā. Let the girls eat (popped rice and breads without salt).
16. Start the fire sacrifice.
17. Worship the *bel* fruit (*vyāpujā*).
18. (Offer) the share of a leaf of a pipal (tree) to Brahmā (and to the) *bel* fruit (i.e. Suvarṇakumāra).
19. Worship of the sacred vase (filled with) water and milk (reciting) ***ye tīrthāni*** (VS 16.61) and ***payah pṛthivyām*** (VS 18.36).
20. Let the fathers (of the girls) wear rings (made of *kuśa* grass).
21. Let (them) worship Suvarṇakumāra (and) pray “This form of the Golden Boy (Suvarṇakumāra) destroys the greatest sin. A glimpse of (this boy) destroys the sins (performed) in this and earlier births”.
22. Hand over the *bel* fruit to the girls.
23. Hand over black sesame seeds (and) *kuśa* grass to the fathers (of the girls).
24. Pour water and milk (over the hands of) father and girl).

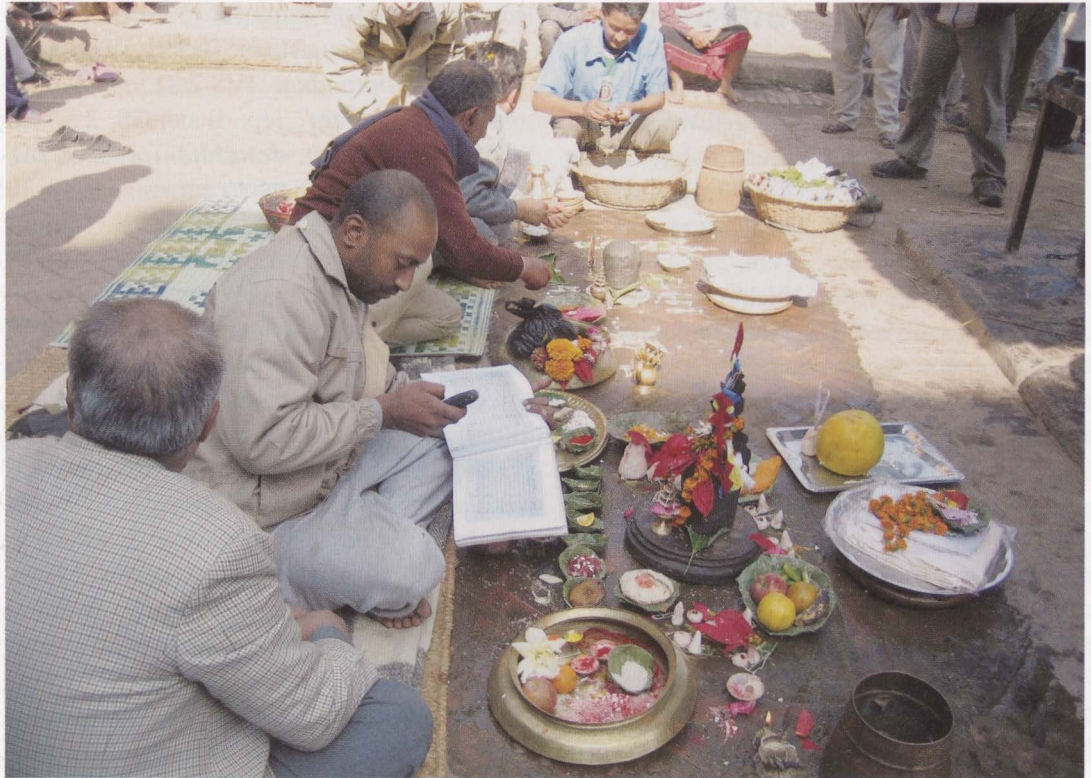
25. (Recite) the veda ***agnaye tvā*** (VS 1.13) three (times?) from (i.e. as quoted on) page 11.
26. (Make) the ritual decision (*saṃkalpa mahāvākya*): “I hand over this daughter of mine named x,y who worships Prajāpati to the Golden Boy (Suvarṇakumāra).”
27. (Recite) svasti ***ko dāt kasmā adāt*** (VS 7.48).
28. Collect the fee (*dakṣiṇā*) for the *kanyādāna* (ritual). Give flowers.
29. Give leaves of *pipāla* tree to the girls and (their) fathers.
30. Receive collective (*sāmuḥika*) *dakṣiṇā* from all, (also) a plate of uncooked food items (*sidhā*) and pure food (*nisalā*).
31. (Let) alms be given (*bāhrā chuye*) (to the girls).

p. 3.

32. Let the *yajamāna* worship Brahmā (and perform) a fire sacrifice (*yajña*). (Let him) offer *dakṣiṇā*. After the offering of *dakṣiṇā* (let him offer) a plate of uncooked items (*sidhā*) (and) and pure food (*nisalā*).
33. Finish the Nāndikaśrāddha (*yavo-daka*).
34. Recitation (*vācanam*) and feeding (of the fire) with ghee (*ghṛtaprāśanam*).
35. Completion of the fire sacrifice (pūrṇā homa).
36. Remember the names of god continuously (*japa*), (draw) a *maṇḍala* (and recite) a *stotra*.
37. Blessing of the fire sacrifice (*yajña-āśirvāda*) (and) the self (*ātma-āśirvāda*).
38. (Let) the girls circumambulate Brahmā, the fire sacrifice (*yajña*) etc.
39. Release Brahmā (*brahmāvisarjana*). Sprinkle water from the *praṇīta* (sacred vase) to the *yajamāna* only.
40. Clear the sacrificial arena (*vedīvisarjana*). Make the hand dry from the fire (*lhāpāne*).

*Alīdyahpūjā.*

A Karmācārya priest dialing his mobile while performing the worship of the Clay Deity on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2007, Tālākva square.



41. (Recite) **tray āyusaṃ** (VS 3.62a). Offer a betel pouch to the fire sacrifice (*yajñā*). (Also) offer curd (and) a beaten rice (mixture to the fire).
42. (Recite) **pūrṇacandra nibhaṃ**.
43. Hand over the vermilion pot (*sinhamū*) (reciting) **śrīś ca te** (VS 31.22).
44. Sprinkle holy water (*abhiṣekha*), give sandal wood paste (*candana*) and *svagā* (for the *tikā*) (and) blessings (*āśirvāda* to all participants).
45. Release (the sun) as witness. Hand over (the sacred vase of) Brahmā (to the *yajamāna*). Sprinkle water from the roof (*dhurījala abhiṣekha*). Welcome (*laśakuśa*) the girls (for) the sub-rite of grinding the black lentils (*māyā ghirīra yāyā*). (Let young boys) stop (the girls) on their way.

## 5a. Suvarṇakumāravivāhavidhi (Skv)

No title page, part of a larger manuscript, anonymous author. Handbook of Lava Kush Sharma (Rājopādhyāya), Lalāchē, Bhaktapur. No date. Book format, Nepālī paper, pp. 35, complete. Size: ca. 24 x 24 cm, 21-24 lines per folio, Devanāgarī script, black ink, occasional underlining with red (*kumkuma*) colour, some additional remarks on the margins.

[<sup>118</sup>]

*śrīganeśāyanamaḥ. cyānhusufnu | vapinhunhya pithapūjā<sup>148</sup> choye, brahmā dumkāya, prohita | ādi coṅva chesa pūjāja yake. chesa thamkā-di nakina va kamnyā va tasyem pūjāja yake, adyādi, amuka gotra yajamānasya yathākāryya nimitaka nānīka puḷā karttuḥ | kamaṇḍalu puspabhājanam samarpayāmi, om śiva śiva śānta° [cp. PG 1.8.5], siddhir astu° [Rāj p. 20], | yathāvāna° [Rāj p. 20]. pūjā [la]lhāya, cā pūjā vāne, ācamya, guruyā cātyākana | mṛchana yāye, rakṣoṇam valagahanam vaiṣṇvim-idamahantaḥ valagamutkirāmi yamyē niṣṭyo yamātyo nicakhānedamaḥ tam valagamutkirāmi yamme samāno yama-samānonicakhāne | damahantaḥ valagamutkirāmi yamme sabaṃdhurnicakhāne damahantaḥ valagamutkirāmi yam | me saḷātonicakhānekṛtyāḥ kirāmi [VS 5.23]. vali, om adhyavocyada° [VS 16.5], dīpa, om teljosi° [VS 22.1], snāna, om svasti [na] indro [VS 25.19], dugdha-snānam, om payaḥ pṛthivyā° [VS 18.36], dadhisnānam |, om dadhi krāpno° [VS 23.32], madhusnāna, om madhu-vātā'ṛtāyate madhuṣaranti sindhavaḥ | mādhirnaḥ saṃtvopadhīḥ mahdunaktamutoṣaso madhumat pāṛthiviḥ rajaḥ madhuyaurastu naḥ pitā | madhu-mānno vvaṇaspatir madhumāḥ astu sūryyaḥ mādvīrgāvo bhavantu naḥ [VS 13.27], ghṛtasnāna. om gr̥tam gr̥ta° [VS 6.19], sarkkarāsnāna, om namaḥ sam-bhavāya ca° [VS 16.24], puna jalasāna, om svasti [na] indro° [VS 25.19],*

*candana, om yad adya ka° [VS 33.35], sindura, om tvam yaviṣṭadā° [VS 13.52], akṣata, | om akṣanmīmadam° [VS 2.8]. yajñopavīta, om yajñopavītam° [cp. BaudhGS 2.5.7-8], dṛṣṭi, om tac cakṣur devahitam° [VS 36.24], aduvāla, om vasoḥ pavitram asi° [VS 1.3], puṣpa, om yāḥ phalan° [VS 12.89]. ,*

2<sup>v</sup>

*thakādisyam puspabhājana, ācamya, adyetyādi, amuka gotropannasya | amaka kāryya nimitaka nānimukha pūjā karttuḥ puspabhājanam samarpayāmi, śiva śiva-karam śānta° [PG 1.8.5?], siddhir astu° [Rāj p. 20], yathāvāna° [Rāj p. 20] | svāna tone, brāhmaṇa sūryyārgha, adyetyādi, yajamānasya yathodesa yathā kāryya nānikapūjā nimitartham° puṣpa 2 om ā kṣṣṇe° [VS 33.43]. gurul namaskāra, nyāsa arghapātrapūjā, ātmapājā. , tato dvārārcaraṇam | <<sup>149</sup> om tat tvā yāmi° [VS 18.49], om devasya tvā° [VS 1.10], om gaṇānāḥ tvā° [VS 23.19], om bṛhaspate° [VS 26.3] | om catvāri śṛṅgā° [VS 17.91], om dvāro devīr° [VS 27.16], om hiraṇya-garbhaḥ° [VS 13.4] om saptarṣayaḥ° [VS 34.55], om brahma yajñānam° [VS 13.3], om viṣṇorarāṭam asi° [VS 5.21], om namaḥ saṃbhalvāyaca° [VS 16.41], > āvāhanādi, om sadyojātāya namaḥ, om sadyojātopamamīti yajñammagnir-dunisa, bhavapurāgā asya hotuḥ pariśrutaḥ svāhā vvaḥke kṛtam | havir indredevaḥ [VS 29.36], om vāmadevāya namaḥ, om vāmamadhya savitur vva-mamuśo | dive dive vva-mamasmabhaym sāvīḥ vāmasyahi ṣayasya devabhūre rayā dhivā | vva-mabhājaḥ syāma [VS 8.6], om aghorāya nama, om yāte rudrasivā° [VS 16.2], om tatpuruṣāya namaḥ, om yatpuruṣadhyah° [VS 31.10], om isānāya namaḥ, om tam isānam jagatas tasthuṣasya nidhiyañjinvamavasye namḥ mahevayaḥ pūṣāno yathāvvedasāma sadvṛdherakṣitā vāyuradajaḥ svastaye [VS 25.18], āvāhanādi. <om ādityāya namaḥ, somāya, | aṃgārāya*

<sup>147</sup> On the top *yamasanabute*.

<sup>148</sup> *ja* is added above the line.

<sup>149</sup> <> brackets mark parallels to the *mekhalābandhana* section of Dkv.; see translation.

2, budhāya 2, bṛhaspataye 2, śukrāya 2, saniś-carāya 2, rā[ha]-

2<sup>r</sup>

ve 2, ketave 2, janmane 2, om̐ ā kṛṣṇe° [VS 33.43], om̐ imaṃ devā° [VS 9.40 = 10.18], om̐ agnir mūrddhā dīva° [VS 3.12], om̐ ud budhyasyāgre prati-jāgrhītvabhiṣṭāpūrte saṃ sṛjethā ma-yañca, asmin | sadhaste ‘adhyutarasmi viśvadevā yajamānasya sīdata [VS 15.54], om̐ bṛhaspate° [VS 26.3], om̐ | om̐ annāt pariśruto rasaṃ brahmaṇā vya-pibat kṣatram payaḥ somam prajā[pa]tiḥ ṛtenasatyam indriyam | vipānaṃ śukramandhasa indrasendriyam idam payomṛtam madhu [VS 19.75], om̐ śaṃ no devī° [VS 36.12], om̐ | kayā naś citra° [VS 27.39], > om̐ tā asya sūdadoṇhasaḥ somam śrīnaṃti pṛṣṇyaḥ, janmaṃ devānāṃ | visas triṣv ā rocane divaḥ [VS 12.55] āvāhanādi, <om̐ indrāya nama, om̐ agneye 2, om̐ yamālya 2, om̐ nairityāya 2, varuṇāya 2, om̐ vāyave 2, om̐ ku<sup>150</sup>verāya 2, om̐ anantā 2, om̐ | brahmaṇe 2. om̐ trātāram indram avitāram indram have have suhaveṃ suhaṃ suram | indram, hvayāmi śakraṃ puruhvūtam indram svasti no madhyavā dhātv imdraḥ [VS 20.50], om̐ agni mūrddhā diva [VS 3.12], | om̐ yame datta trita yenam āyunāgendra ‘enam-prathamo adhyatiṣṭhata, gandharvo asya rasānā | m agrbhaṇotsūrād asvasvasavo nir atastham [VS 29.13], om̐ yat te devī nirṛtir ābandha pāsaṅgi | vāsvavinṛtpam, tatre niṣyām āyuso na madhyād athaitam pitum adhi prasūtaḥ namo bhūtyai yedañ cakāra, tatre niṣyām āyuso na madhyād athaim pitum adhi prasūtaḥ namo bhūtyai yedaṃ cakāra [VS 12.65], om̐ imaṃ me varuṇo śrudhī° [VS 21.1], om̐ tava vvāyu bṛhaspate° [VS 27.34], om̐ | kuvid aṅga yavamanti ya vaści yathā dātya anupūrvva viyūyaḥ, ihehaiṣāṅ kṛnuhi bhoja | nāni ye barhi nama’ukti yajatti [VS 10.32], om̐ abhi tvā sūra nonumo dugdhā ‘iva dhena-va, | iśān asya jagataḥ svaradaśmīśānam

indra tasthuṣa [VS 27.35], om̐ trīṇi padā vi cakrame [vī]ṣṇor gopā ‘adābhyah, ato dharmāṇi dhārayet [VS 34.43], om̐ brahmaṇaspate° [VS 34.58], > | āvāhanādi, om̐ asvathāme namaḥ, om̐ valaye 2, om̐ vyāsāya 2, om̐ hanumate [2, ]

3<sup>v</sup>

vibhiṣaṇāya 2, kṛpācāryyāya namaḥ, parśūrāmāya 2, mārkaṇḍeyāya 2, <om̐ alśvasthen-the vo niśadanam parṇe vovvasatiṣṭrta, gobhāja ‘it kilāsatha yatṣṭāna valtha purūṣam [VS 12.79], om̐ mahi dyauḥ pṛthivi vana ‘śma yajña mmimikṣatām, pipṛtān no bhalrīmabhbh [VS 13.32], om̐ yasya kurmo grhe ha<sup>151</sup>vis tam agne vvardhayā tvam, tasmai devā ,adhi pravanna yalkṣa brahmaṇaspatiḥ [VS 17.52], om̐ tivrān dyoṣān kṛṇvate vṛṣa pāl[pā]<sup>152</sup> yosvārathebhīḥ sahabhāljayatta, avakrāḥmatta prrapadair amitrā sinatti śatumṃ nnyavyayajamta [VS 29.44], om̐ | rakṣasām bhāgosi nirastam rakṣa ‘idam ahaguṃ rakṣo bhitiṣṭhom idam aham rakṣo | vavāndha ‘idam aham rakṣo dhamattamo nayāmi, ghrte dyāvāpṛthvi proṇāvāyam | voyo ve stokānām agnir ājyasya vvetu svāhā svāhā kṛte ‘urddhanabhasam mmārūta | m gaccha-tam [VS 6.16], om̐ ayam saharraṃ ṛṣibhiḥ sahaskrtaḥ samudra ‘ivaya prathe, saṭyaḥ so asya mahimā grṇe śavo yajñeṣu vviprarājye [VS 33.83], om̐ prajāpat anve° [VS 10.20], om̐ | saptaṣaḥ [VS 34.55]. > āvāhanādi, om̐ māsebhyo nama, pakṣebhyo 2, tithibhyo 2, | nakṣatrebhyo 2, pṛthivyai 2, karṇebho 2, yogebhyo 2, ṛtubhyo 2, samvatṣarebhyo 2, rāsibhyo 2, rathāya 2, vāsarebhyo 2, uccaiśrvāya 2, aruṇāya [2, ] | kumārāya 2, pañcanadibhyo 2, ratnagarbhāya 2, <om̐ arddhamāsāḥ parumṣīte māsā’ād-yattu śampataḥ, ahorātrāni marute, viliṣtam sudayattute [VS 23.41], om̐ | agneṃ pakṣati vvāyo inpakṣatir indrasya ṛtīyā somasya caturthe adityai pañcamī indrā[rā]nyai ṣaṣṭhi maurtām saptamī bṛhaspater aṣṭamyarpamro navamī dhātu daśamīndrasyaikāda-

<sup>150</sup> ku is added above the line.

<sup>151</sup> ha is added above the line.

<sup>152</sup> pā is added above the line.

3<sup>r</sup>  
*śī vvaruṇasya dvādaśī yamasya trayodaśī* [VS 25.4], *om̐ indrāgnyoḥ pakṣatiḥ svarasvatye pakṣalti mmitrasya tīyāyāñ-caturthi nirṭyai pañcamyaṃ agniṣomayo ṣaṣṭhisarpāñāñm̐ im̐ salptamī puṣṇe navamī tvaṣur daśamīndrasyaikādaśī varuṇasya dvādaśī yamyai trayodaśī dyāvāpṛthīvyo dakṣiṇas-pāsvam viśveṣāṃ devānām uttaram* [VS 25.5], *om̐ nakṣatreḷbhyaḥ svāhā nakṣatriyebhyaḥ svāhā horātrebhyaḥ svāhārdhamāsebhyaḥ svāhā māselbhyaḥ svāhā ṛtubhyaḥ svāhāttarvebhyaḥ svāhā samvatsarāya svāhā dyāvāpṛthīvibhyaṃ svāhā candrāya svāhā sūryyāya svāhā rasmi-bhyaḥ svāhā vasybhyaḥ | svāhā rudrebhyaḥ svāhādityebhyaḥ svāhā* (the following lines are added on the top of the page: *marudbhya svāhā, viśvebhyo-devebhyaḥ svāhā, mūlebhyaḥ svāhā, śākhābhyaḥ svāhā*) *vaṇaspatibhyaḥ svāhā puṣpebhyaḥ svāhā phalebhyaḥ svāhausdhībhyaḥ svāhā* [VS 22.28], *om̐ suparṇe pārjjanya'ātirvāhalso darvvidā tevvāyave bṛhaspataye vvacasya pataye paiṅgarājo laja 'āntarikṣaḥ plalvo maṅgum matsyas te madīpataye dyāvāpṛthīyah kūrmmah* [VS 24.34], *om̐ krāṇāsīsun mahilmāṃ ḡḥidīd ivam̐, viśvāpariplu torasadvivaḥ* [RV 9.102.1], *om̐ yoge 2 stavastaram̐ vālje 2 havāmaye, sakhāya indram̐ uttaye* [VS 11.14], *om̐ ṛtavas te yajñam̐ vi taṃnvattu māsā | rakṣam̐te havi, samvatsar ste yajñam̐ dadhāntu sa<sup>153</sup> prajām̐ ca patiyātunaḥ* [VS 26.14], *om̐ samvatsaro | si parivatsaro śidāvatsaro sīvatsaro<sup>154</sup> si, iṣayas te kalpatām̐ ahorātre kalpattām̐ addhamāsās te kalpatrām̐ māsās te kalpattām̐rtavas te kalpatām̐ sam-valtsaras te kalpattām̐, pretyām̐ 'etyai sañcāñca pravasaraya suparṇacid asī tayā | devatayāñgirasva bhruvaḥ sīda* [VS 27.45], *om̐ asvas thaparo gomṛgas te prājāpatyāḥ*

4<sup>v</sup>  
*kṛṣṇagrīva 'agneyo rarāte purastātsā sārvasvatī meṣy adhustād bhṛtnor āthināv adholrāmau bāvho, somāyauṣṇaḥ śyāmo nābhyāṃ sauryayāmau svetaś ca kṛṣṇam̐ ca pāsvalyos tvāṣṭhau lomaśasakyau sakaitiyo vvaēvyah, sveta-pucha 'in-drāyasva pathyāya | vhad vaiṣṇavo vāmanaḥ* [VS 24.1], *om̐ ayam̐ puro harikeśaḥ sūryaras-mistasya rathagr̥tsa rathauś ca senānigrāmaṇau, puñjikas-thalā ca kratusthalā cāpsarasau dakṣṇavaḥ* [VS 15.15a], | *om̐ paśavo hetīḥ pauraṣeyo vadhaḥ prahetis tebhyo namo 'astu te no vantu no mṛdayam̐ | tu teyenhoṣyo yaś ca no dvesti tam̐ eṣām̐ñjame dadhmaḥ* [VS 15.15b], *om̐ brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitarah̐ | somyāsaḥ śive no dyāvāpṛthīvi 'anehasā, pūṣā naḥ pātu duritā dṛtādṛdho rakṣā mākirṇo 'adya sam̐sa 'īsat* [VS 29.47], *om̐ aśvinā tejasā cakṣu prāṇena | sarasvatīvirya, vvacendro balenen idrāya dadhur indriyam, om̐ ā mindrair indra harībhi yāhi mayūra-romabhiḥ, mā tvā ke cin̐ tiṃ trayāsino ti dham̐ne tām̐ ihi* [VS 20.80], | *om̐ yatra vānā* [VS 17.48], *om̐ u rutyam̐ jāta vedasam̐* [VS 7.41], *om̐ pañca nadyaḥ sarasvatim̐ api yaḥnti saśrotasaḥ, sarasvatī tu paṃñcadhā so deśe bhavat sarit* [VS 34.11], *om̐ upahvare ḡlirirṇāṃ samgame ca nadīnām̐ dhiyā vipro ajāyata* [VS 26.15], *om̐ viṣṇo karm-māni | pasya yato vratani pasyaśe, indrasya yujyah̐ sakhā* [VS 6.4], [om̐] *namaḥ svabhyah̐* [VS 16.28] *om̐ ā<sup>155</sup> jigrakalaśam̐* [VS 8.42], *om̐ catvāri śṛṅgā* [VS 17.91], > *āvāhanādi, gaṇa gogrāsa kaumāri pūjā | om̐ gaṇa gogrāsa kaumārimurttaye idam̐ āsane namaḥ, om̐ [ga]nānā[ṃ]tvā* [VS 23.19], *om̐ ālyam̐ gau* [VS 3.6], *om̐ jātavedaso sunavāma somam̐ arātī yato nidahātī vedah̐ sana | pavatī durgāṇi viśrāno veda sindhuduritātyagni* [RV 1.99.1], *āvāhanādi, saguna pūjā*

<sup>153</sup> *sa* is added above the line.

<sup>154</sup> *ro* is added above the line.

<sup>155</sup> *ā* is added above the line.

4<sup>r</sup>

*dadhi umāpataye namaḥ, <om̐ dadhi krāpno° [VS 23.32], om̐ vasoḥ pavitrām asi° [VS 1.3], om̐ | dīrghāyus tvāya° [KS 3.9.6], om̐ tvam yaviṣṭhadā° [VS 13.52], om̐ yāḥ phalanī° [VS 12.89], om̐ parṇāya ca° [VS 16.46], > | āvāhanādi, tato pañcavali pūjā, svasthāna kṣatrapālebhyo idam āsanam na|ma, puṣpa nama, <om̐ gaṇānā[m]tvā° [VS 23.19], om̐ jātavedase sunavāma somam arāti yate | nibrahāti vedaḥ, sanaḥ pavati durgāni viśvānām veda sindhuduritātyagni [RV 1.99.1], om̐ il mā rudrāya tapase° [VS 16.48], > om̐ gr̥taṃ ghṛtapāvāna° [VS 6.19], namo vabhrūsāya° [VS 16.18], āvāhanādi, pañcavāyu dvandu pūjā, nā lā ke madhi se thvate thane, om̐ pañcavālyu-dvadvandumūrttaye idam āsanam namaḥ, puṣpa namaḥ, om̐ mahi dyauḥ pṛthivī vana śma | yajña mmimikṣātām, pipṛtān no bhalrīmabhbhi [VS 13.32], om̐ apsvavantarmṛtam atsu bhevāx | susrvāprasastiṣṭhasvā bhavata vājina, devī rāpoyovakṣārmih pramūrtika kumācā | jakāstenāyaṃ vājāṃ set [VS 9.6], om̐ tejo si° [VS 22.1], om̐ tava vvāyu° [VS 27.34], om̐ yāte rudraśivā° [VS 16.2=16.49], | om̐ asmāka indra° [VS 17.43], om̐ pṛthivyai namaḥ om̐ agne 2 om̐ tejase 2, om̐ vāyav°, | 2. tato pāñcāyana pūjā. śrīsūryyāya namaḥ, | nārāyanāya 2, śadāsīlvāya 2, gr̥halakṣmī 2, iṣṭha-devatāyai 2, om̐ ā kṛṣṇe° [VS 33.43], om̐ viṣṇorarā | tam asi° [VS 5.21], om̐ namaḥ saṃbhavāyaca° [VS 16.41], om̐ śrī[ś]ca te° [VS 31.22], om̐ bṛhaspate° [VS 26.3]. | atragamdhādi, nhaskana sindūra mūna pūjā, śrī namaḥ, lakṣmī, om̐ samitam̐ | sakapethāṃ saṃpriyo rājiṣṇu sumanasya-mānau [VS 12.57], om̐ sam vām rāṃsi sam vratā sam u cintāny ākaraṃ agnepurikṣ-vādhipā bhavas tvan na iṣam ūrya yajamānāya dhehi [VS 12.58],*

5<sup>v</sup>

*śrīś ca te° [VS 31.22], atragamdhādi, catusvasti payapañedi, dhūpa dīpa, naivedya, | phala, [om̐] manojuti [VS 2.13], pratiṣṭhā, japa stotra, śiva śivakaraṃ sānta°. atra|gamdhādi. brāhmaṇa pūjā, sāntika pustika, svasti no mamīte-[RV 5.51.11]-tyādi | , <om̐<sup>156</sup> kanikraṃdañ junuṣaṃ pavruvānaśyarttivācamarināt, sumaṅgalośca sakune | bhavāsīmātvākācidavibha iśvavit, om̐ māvvaśevaudvavīnmāsu parṇomā|tvāvīdahiṣunmānvīro ‘astā, pi- trāmanu- pradiśaṃ kunikradatasumaṅgale bhadravā|divadeha, avakraṃ dakṣiṇāto gr̥hā nā sumaṅgalo bhadravādi śakunne, māl nas- te naśsatamātha samanso vṛhatvude su vīrā, pradakṣiṇīd abhigṛnhnti | kāravo- vayovadanta ṛtudhā śakuntayaḥ, ubheyā- cau vadati sāmāgāyatraṃ gā|ya-traśca- treṣṭabhañ cānurājati, udgāteva sakune sāmā gāyaḥsi brahma-putrarśva|savaneṣu saṃśasi, vṛṣeva vājīsisumatīrapītyā śravva tonah, sakune bhal dram āpahamuttarato bada, bhadrā yadāstātro vada bhandr uparastān no vada vadbhadrāṃ bhadrāṃ | na āvada bhadranaḥ sarvato vada, om̐ asapatna puraṣṭhān adya śiva dakṣiṇatas kṛdhī, | abhaya śatata mārudam uttarato gr̥ho, yauvanāni mahayasi gimyuyām ival duṃdubhiḥ, śakrattaka pradakṣiṇa śata patrābhi nau vada, āpadas taṃ śakune bhalrīryyathā bṛhad varemavithesuvirāḥ [RV 2.42.1-3], om̐ āsuḥ śīśāno° [VS 17.33], om̐ yāl j jāto dūram udaiti° [VS 34.1], om̐ saśraśīriṣā° [VS 31.1], om̐ vibhrā dvṛhati vatu somyaṃ [VS 33.30] | om̐ namas te ru manvava° [VS 16.1], vauam̐ soma vre° [VS 3.56], eṣa te rudra bhāga° [VS 3.57]. a-*

5<sup>r</sup>

*va rudramad imahy ava devaṃ tryaṃ- vakam, yathā no vasyasas kara thathā naḥ, śreyas karadyalthāno vyava-sāyāt [VS 3.58], om̐ bheṣajami° [VS 3.59b], tryaṃ- bakam° [VS 3.60cd], eta te° [VS 3.61a], ava*

<sup>156</sup> The next *mantras* are from the *svastivācana*: see Dkv, 23<sup>v</sup>-23<sup>r</sup>.

*tatva* | *dhanvā*<sup>o</sup> [VS 3.61b], [*try*]āyusaṃ<sup>o</sup> [VS 3.62a], *śivo nāmāsi*<sup>o</sup> [VS 3.63], *nivart-tayāmyā*<sup>o</sup> [VS 3.63b], *catusvalsti paya*<sup>o</sup> [VS 12.70b], *svasti na indro*<sup>o</sup> [VS 25.19], *payah pṛthivyāṃ*<sup>o</sup> [VS 18.36], *viṣṇo rarātam alsī* [VS 5.21], *agnir devatā*<sup>o</sup> [VS 14.20], *dyauḥ śānti* [VS 36.17] >, *jose tayā svāna muḥāva devayā kolsam thālā chaguli tyāva, svāna chaphola yajamāna yāta biye*, | *yinini matā phā tādacā sagonana tvācake, deva yātam candr*<sup>157</sup> *ana sagona | biye, śāntika svāna biye, anasamkalpa, brāhmaṇa dakṣiṇā* | *vācanam, parivāra pūjā choye, nyāsa likāye, visarjana, om̐* | *u dvayam*<sup>o</sup> [VS 20.21, 27.10, 35.14 or 38.24]. *thana prajāpati svastikāsana thane, thamkādisē prajāpratiyā lātasa lamkhana hāye, cetana svatika coye, kusunacina tilcake kumālatā cetasvāna jajamkā dam 2 dakṣiṇā biye, pūjanam*, | *prajāpatimurtattataye idam āsana namaḥ, evam pādārgḥa hastārgḥa cadana yajñopavīta puṣpa dakṣiṇā, atra-gandhādi, thamkādisē cātyāka lavalhāye, pūljā choye vose takva, abhiseṣa cetasvāna gvālava che yātam biye, candalnādi sagona āsivāda, doke biye, sephārati, pratitvam dhunake*

6<sup>v</sup>  
*lamkha dhārā hayakāva prajāpati choye, om̐ asuragḥnam idra sakham*<sup>o</sup> [RVKh 2.4.1b], *sāchi thāye, thvate cāpūjā vidhi, samāptam. śubham*. |

[Fols. 7-13<sup>v</sup> deal with Nāndīkaśrāddha]

14<sup>r</sup><sup>158</sup>  
*śrīganeśāya namaḥ. sindura chāyeke vidhi, nhapam ināya kāya, alinī kāye, yavodaka yāye, śivācāryanam brahmā aṣṭa kala[śa] pūjā yācake. yavoldaka yāye, yathākarmma, kanyā lā sālāva haye, om̐ asuragḥnam*<sup>o</sup> [RVKh 2.4.1b], *nṛmanchalnam. rakṣoḥnam*<sup>o</sup> [VS 5.23], *vali om̐ adyavoca dadhivaktā pathamo daivyo bhīṣaka, alhīṃca sarv-*

*vājam-bhayam sarvvāśca yāttudhānyo dharāciḥ parā śuva* [VS 16.5], *matā, om̐ tejosi*<sup>o</sup> [VS 22.1], | *brahmā aṣṭakalasa*<sup>159</sup> *pūjā, om̐ brahmaṇo haṃsāsanaḥ dhurādi aṣṭakalasebhyo idam ālsanam namaḥ, puṣpa namaḥ, evam pādārgḥa candan-ākṣata puṣpa dūpa dīpa stotra. | atra gandhādi, arghapātrayā lamkhana hāye, sychāye lahā tuṛi kapāle 3 pola | hāhe, om̐ kāṇḍāt kāṇḍāt purohanti puruṣaḥ puruṣas pari, evā no dūrvvapetalntu hase-nenena ca* [VS 13.20], *thvate dhūnakāva nāpikayā lahāti svastika coye, chalcā biye, gva | dhevā biye, kamnyā lā sālāva svastikāsanaṣa taye, lusi dhenake, kamnyā khvāla sike la soyāvo yajñasa taye, nṛmchanādi pu[r]va[va]t | . matā pā tācānam tvāye om̐ asuragḥnam idra*<sup>o</sup> [RVKh 2.4.1b], *śindura pātranam tvāye* |, *om̐ asuragḥneti*<sup>o</sup> [dto.], *śubha lagne sundura cāyeke mamtra, śrīś ca te*<sup>o</sup> [VS 31.22], *candalnādi saguna biye lu chetana ticake, āsivāda, om̐ yatra vānā*<sup>o</sup> [VS 17.48], | *palīnīnam tvāye, phanī chā mamtra, om̐ trātāram indram avitāram indram have halve suvaḥam suram indram, hvayāmi śakra puruhvūtam indram svasti no madhyavā dhā*<sup>160</sup> *tv imdraḥ* [VS 20.50] | [*ihī patāsi śimke*]<sup>161</sup>, *śatavrnda-kānam kokhāyake, om̐ ā kṛṣṇe*<sup>o</sup> [VS 33.43], *praśāda pitinī biye, om̐ prajāpateti*<sup>o</sup> [VS 10.20], *alinīnam tvāye, yajñayā yathākarma kanyādānah, om̐ śivo nāmāsi*<sup>o</sup> [VS 3.63], *hāsānam gāyekam tvāye,*

15<sup>v</sup>  
*om̐ tava vvāyu*<sup>o</sup> [VS 27.34], *sāpākhvāla salā biye*,<sup>162</sup> *bādham chuyē jākī om̐ dīr-ghāyus tāya valāyavarcasē | suprajās-tvāyasuvīryāya* [KS 3.9.6], *sephārati pratīsthā, om̐ manojūti*<sup>o</sup> [VS 2. 13], | *jajñayatā pūjāj japa lake, lā sālāva yane, māsa ghele yācake, | om̐ sukhārathir aśvāni vayan manuṣyanenīyatebhi suvvirvājina'iva | hr̥tpratiṣṭham yadad-idam yaviṣṭham tamnme manah śiva śimkakalpam astu* (VS 34.6), | *talesa pūrvva sokam svastikasa taye, phalinī*

<sup>157</sup> Another *r* is added above the line.

<sup>158</sup> On the top of the page *śindura chāyake vidhi* is written in bold letters, and in small letters *1. hāpā hāsā tuphī yā karma 2. yāye dhumkā*. On the left margin: *1. alinī pūjā yāye vauyenam 2. nirnāchana paryantam saguna sahita*, and *1. yavodaka yāye uathākarme 2. sinha chāyake*.

<sup>159</sup> *sa* is added above the line.

<sup>160</sup> *dhā* is added above the line.

<sup>161</sup> [*ihī patāsi śimke*] is added on the bottom.

<sup>162</sup> *sāpākhvāla salā biye* is added on the top.

*vosyam vaji nake, iti sindurādirohanam. atha suvarṇa kumārī vivāha vidhī, | kusumdi yajña yāse haye kalaśācana dhuneva brahmhācarna yāye, brahmhane | hamsāsana ya dhurādi aṣṭha kalasebhyo idam āsanam namah, puṣpaṃ namah, | evaṃ pādārga ācamana caṃdana siṃdūra yajñopavitaka puṣpaṃ namah. | tato aṣṭakalasa pūjā, om dharāya namah, om yuñjate manaḥ utayulate dhiyo viprasya brhato vipaścitaḥ, vihotrā-dadhe vayunā vide|ka'inmahidevasya savituḥ parīpratisvāhā [VS 5.14], om dhurāya nama, om idam viṣṇu° [VS 5.15], 2, om somāya namah, om irāvati dhenumatī hi bhūtaṃ suyavasini | manavedaśasyā, vvyask-abhrārodasī viṣ-ṇave tedādhathe pṛthivī madhito malyukhaiḥ svāhā [VS 5.16], 3, om devaśrutai dileṣvagheravataṃ pracipretamadhvaraṅgalpayanti | 'uduyajñam nayatanmmājihvaram, khadgoṣṭāmāvadandevī duryyo 'āyurmmā | invvādiṣṭam prajāmmānirvvādiṣṭam aśrananathavaṣman pṛthivyāḥ [VS 5.17], 4, om*

15<sup>r</sup>  
*anirāya namah, om viṣṇonukam vīryyāṇi pravocayah pāṛthivāṇi vimalreṭajāṃsi yo 'askambhā yo taram sadhastham vicakramāṅs tedhorugā | yo viṣṇave tvā [VS 5.18], 5, om narāya namah, om pradivo vā viṣṇa 'uta vā pṛthivyā maho vā viṣṇa'urorantariḥṣāt, uvāhi hastā-vvasanā pṛṇisvā prayaccha | dakṣiṇā domama vyādviṣṇave tvā [VS 5.19], 6, om pṛtyūṣāya namah, om vrata viṣṇu | stāva me vvīryyoṇa mṛgonabhimaḥ kucaro giriṣṭhāḥ, yasyo ruṣuttriṣu vikralmaṇeṣ-vadhikṣipayanti bhuvanāni visvā [VS 5.20], 7, om prabhāsāya namah, om viṣṇor a|dātā[ma]si° [VS 5.21], 8, iti aṣṭakalasa pūjā, atha brahmācarnam, om brahmaṇe namah, om prajāpataye namah, om vedādhipataya namah, dhyānam, om pītavarṇam | caturbāhūm brahmāṇam caturānanam, hamsāsanam ca vibhrānam akṣamālā kamaṇḍalum |*

brahmaṇe dhyānapuṣpaṃ namah.<sup>163</sup> veda, om brahmyajñanam° [VS 13.3], om prajāpatena tvaldetānyoti° [VS 10.20, 23.65?], om ābrahman brāhmaṇo° [VS 22.22], om vedesiyo na tvaṃ devadevadevelbhyo vedo bhavas tena mahāvedo bhūyāt svāhā [VS 2.21a], om dhāmachadagnir indro brahma|devo brhaspatiḥ sacetaso viśvedevāyajñam prābhavantunaḥ śubhe [VS 18.76]. | āvahanādi, japastotra, hamsāsanagaṭam deva saumyarūpa pitāmaha, | brahmaṇ-ndavyāpinam nityam daṇḍapāṇim namā-myaham, iti brahmārcaṇam, | nāgapva pūjā, om namo astu sarpebhyo° [VS 13.6], om yakṣāya namah, om yakṣaṇi namah,

16<sup>v</sup> 164

om agne 'achāvadehanaḥ pratīnaḥ sumanābhavaḥ praṇojacha sahastra jivam hidhā|nadā 'asi svāhā [VS 9.28], om praṇoyacha tvarmamāprapuṣā praviṣyati pragvādevā dadātu | naḥ svāhā [VS 9.29], om śrī namah, lakṣmī namah, om dhyāmālekhī amntariḥṣam pāhimsiḥ pṛthivyāsambhava, ayam hitvāsvati sveti jānaḥ parṇināya mahate saubha | bhagāya, atas tvaṃ deva vvanaspate śata valyāv-virohasahastra valśā vivayam ruhemah [VS 5.43] | śrī śca te° [VS 31.22]. supopa nāga pūjā, om varūṇasy-ottabhanam asi varūṇasya skambha sajanistho varūṇasya ṛta sadamnyasi vvarūṇasya ṛta sadanamā-sida [VS 4.36]. | mā|lako kalasārcana. yjña yāya yathākarma, brahmā aṣṭakalā ādi vose | takvam tvāye, thava thava vedana. om mano juti° [VS 2.13], samkhyāhūti tvaṃ dhunake, | śivācāryana śrīpāhala pūjā yā-cake, brāhmaṇa śrīpāhala yāta āhūti biye |, dhā 54, śrīpālāya svāhā, om śivo<sup>165</sup> nāmāsi° [VS 3.63], pratiṣṭhā mano juti° [VS 2.13], |, kamnyādāna viye vyāla mā|lako vyāla taye, kanyāyā babūna vyāla pūjā yā-cake |, suvarṇa kumārāya idam āsanam namah, puṣpaṃ

<sup>163</sup> Unidentified verse, read: *caturbāhūm brahma caturānanam, hamsāsanam ca bibhrānam akṣamālā-kamaṇḍalum | brahmaṇe dhyānapuṣpaiḥ nama.*

<sup>164</sup> On the top of the page *kan-yādānaḥ* is written.

<sup>165</sup> *vo* is added above the line.



namaḥ, evaṃ pādārgha ācamana candana | jajñō-pavitaka puṣpaṃ dūpa dīpa atra gandhādi. kūśa 2 pu kāyāva babuna kaṃṇyā | thiye, mama putrī suvarṇa kumārāya dānam dātavya dhāyake, dadasva, babuna | luya la jelā laptesa tayāva kūśa hāmala tayāva vākya vāye, adya svetavārālhakalpetyādi, amuka gotropannasya yajamānasya, mama putrī suvarṇa kumārāya | sālamkāra sahitā kāya vāṃsno jyeṣṭhā śeṣa pāpa prasamanārthe svargavāsa malmanāyā imā kaṃṇyā tuvyam ahaṃ sampradadye, kumāra svargarupa tvaṃ mama pātaka nāśa-

16<sup>r</sup>

naṃ vivāda phaladaṃ caiva pratigrhī tvam ātmajāṃ, mayā tāmi-sahasrad-dhābhiḥ kaṃṇyā śubhaguṇān-vitā, tasmai pradatta vedoktaṃ tubhyaṃ bhava-phalapradaṃ, pāṇi samarppalyitvā,<sup>166</sup> dugdhadārā lamkhadhārā hāyake, veda, om agnetvāmahaṃ varūṇo dadātu | somtatvamasī yāyurdātra edhivayo mahaiyam pratigrahitē rūdrāyatvām-ahyaṃ varūṇo dadātu somṛtatvam asī yaprāṇodātra edhi mayomahaṃ pratigrahitē | brhaspatayetvāmahaṃ varūṇo dadāsomṛtatvamasīya prānau dātraye dhipayomalhyaṃpratigrahi-teyamāyatvāmahaṃ varūṇo dadātu-somṛtatvamsīyahayodātre | dhivayotih-yam pratigrahitē [VS 7.47], om kodāt kasmādāt° [VS 7.48], om kāmam kāmādhu | ge dhukṣva mitrāya° [VS 12.72], tolate, suvarṇadakṣiṇā biye, kāmnyādāna-pratiṣṭhā | rthaṃ hiraṇyam agnidevataṃ yathāśradhā dakṣiṇās tubhyaṃ mahaṃ sampradadye. | vācanaṃ, abhiseṣa, om devasya tvā° [VS 1.10], āsirvāda, dirghāyus tvāya° [KS 3.9.6]. śivārcār-yyana kośakhalana cike, kaṃṇyādānāhuti, dhā 108 kaṃṇyā iva vahaṃtu me tavā | ‘api añjañjānāṃ abhicākasīma, yatra solmaḥ śrūyate yatra yajñō gr̥tasya dhārā abhitatpavante [VS 17.97]. tato lājāhūti | jelā laptesa tāye ghela samidha tasya kaṃṇyāna doyke mantra, om ariya/manam devakanyāgnimayaḥ kṛtaḥ

śanno ariyamādevaḥ pratomūscantu mā-paya svāhā, lamkhadhārāna hāyake, mandpañyake, om svati no ‘agre divā pṛthivyāṃ viśvānidhajā yathāya tatra, padasyāṃ api yotaṃ prasastaṃ tasyanu chuldravinam dehi citraṃ svāhā (PG 1.6.2). māsa dhede 2 yācake, om sukhārathi°,<sup>167</sup>

17<sup>v</sup>

iśāne [vane]<sup>168</sup> om bhyamagne prapavaḥ sūryovahaṃtunnosahaḥ punaḥpatibhyo jayādagneprajalnayā svahaṃ [RV 10.85.38], alinī tvāya, om śivo nāmāsī° [VS 3.63], om pajāpatena tvalde-tāṃṇyo° [VS 10.20]. agnikundasa jo-hāsā tāye tasya gāle, om tava vāyu br̥haspate° [VS 27.34]. puna lājā homa, om nmayanāyupataṃ lājān āvaraḥtikā ā | yuṣmārastu me prativedhana yo mama svāhā [PG 1.6.2]. hathvathem tvāya julo, puna lājā homa, om imā lājānāṃ vapāmyagnau samṛddhikaraṇam tava, mama tuvya ca | saṃvedanaṃ tadegnir-anuṃnyatāmiyam svāhā [PG 1.6.2]. hathvathe tvāye julo. | pecākalanā johāsāsa tevā tayāva duyake, om bhagāya svāhā, om prājālpataye svāhā, yajña-syotare saptapada jāyake, nhasagu mandala dayake, | gvā° gvayecā° gvāla lavāna tāye, om emiṣe viṣṇustvānayaḥ, 1 | om dvejume viṣṇustvācayantu, 2, om triṇirāyasyoṣe viṣṇustvānayaṃtu, 3, | om catvārimāso bhagāya viṣṇustvāna yaṃntu, 4, om pañcavasubhyo viṣṇustvānayaṃntu, 5, om ṛtubhyo viṣṇustvāna- yaṃntu, 6, om sakhe sapta[pa]da bhava sām̐ma malmanu vratābhava viṣṇustvānayaṃntu, 7, [PG 1.8.1-2]<sup>169</sup> | thvate saptapada, iśānasa sūrya darśana yācake, om tat cakṣur dveva-hitam purastvācchukram usarata, paśvema śaradaḥ śataṃ | jīvena saradaḥ śataṃ ṣṇuyāma saradaḥ satam ca vabruvāma śaradaḥ śataṃ madilnāma syama śaradaṃ śata bhūya saradaḥ satāt [VS 36.24]. lā pāne, utarasa utara solcakaṃ dhruva dasana yāke, om dhrurvam asi dhrurvam tvā paśyāmi dhrurvai mapiyoṣyam ma-

<sup>166</sup> Read: *kumāra svargarupas tvaṃ mama pātaka nāśaka, vivāha-phaladaścaiva pratigrhitā mamātmajāṃ. mayā tāṃ sahasrāddhābhiḥ kaṃṇyāṃ śubhaguṇānvitā. tasmāt pradattāṃ vedoktaṃ tubhyaṃ bhavaphalapradaṃ. pāṇi samarppayitvā.*

<sup>167</sup> On the bottom of the page following two lines are added: *1. kāmam kāmadragedhūca mitrāyaśca dndrāyaśca, 2. bhūyāmūṇḍo prajābhya oṣadhibhya. | |.*

<sup>168</sup> *vane* is added above the line.

<sup>169</sup> The numbers mark the seven steps.

17<sup>r</sup>  
*mayi tvā vṛhaspati mayā* [cp. VS 1.8], *patyā prapejāvati satañjiva śaradaḥ śataṃ* [cp. RV 10.85.39]. *yajñosyo| tare kamnyā taye, deśāpātana, kālāpātana. śāntika puṣṭika, yavadhāl nyādi, brā-hmaṇadakṣiṇ*<sup>170</sup>, *yajñayā mālako dhunake, chatra chāye, brāhmana | bhoja yācake, iti suvarṇa kumāri vivāha vi-dhi samāpta. śubham*

## 5b. The Rules of the Marriage with Suvarṇakumāra

1<sup>r</sup>  
 Salutation to Śrī Gaṇeśa. Send *pūjā* (material) to the *pīṭha* (deities, i.e. the goddesses) either on eighth or fourth day. Bring Brahmā (i.e. the main *kalaśa* etc.) in (the house). The (domestic) priest etc. should (start the) worship staying in the house. Let the eldest woman (of the lineage) and the girl stay and worship in the house. (Ritual decision:) “Today etc. (I wish) to make the *nāndimukhapūjā* for such and such (girl) of a *yajamāna* from such and such lineage (*gotra*). (Therefore) I hand over the water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) and the plate with flowers (etc.). *śiva śiva śānta...* (cp. PG 1.8.5). May it be successful.” Hand over the *pūjā* plate with the protecting formula(s) *siddhir astu...* (until) *yathāvāṇa...* (see Rāj p. 20 and Dkv<sub>1</sub> fol. 20<sup>v</sup>). Go for the worship of the clay (i.e. Alīdyah). Clean the mouth with water (*ācamana*). Make the purification for the clay of the guru (Śiva? reciting) *rakṣohanam...* (VS 5.23). Sacrifice (*bali*, reciting) *adhy avocad* (VS 16.5), light (reciting) *tejo 'si* (VS 1.31 or 22.1), ritual bath (reciting) *svasti na indro* (VS 25.19), ritual bath with milk (*dugdhasnāna*, reciting) *pay-aḥ pṛthivyām* (VS 18.36), ritual bath with curd (*dadhisnāna*, reciting) *dadhi krāvṇo* (VS 23.32), ritual bath with honey (*madhusnāna*, reciting) *madhu vātā ṛtāyate...* (VS 13.27), ritual bath with ghee (*ghṛtasnāna*, reciting) *ghṛtaṃ ghṛta* (VS 6.19), ritual bath

with brown sugar (*śarkarāsnāna*, reciting) *namaḥ sabhā-bhyaḥ* (VS 16.24), again ritual bath with water (*jalasnāna*, reciting) *svasti na indro* (VS 25.19), (*tikā*) of sandalwood paste (reciting) *yad adya kac* (VS 33.35), vermilion (reciting) *tvam yaviṣṭha dā[śuṣo]* (VS 13.52), ritual rice (reciting) *askanam adya* (VS 2.8), sacred thread (reciting) *yajñopavitam* (cp. BaudhGS 2.5.7-8), (make the clay) seeing (*drṣṭi*,<sup>171</sup> reciting) *tac cakṣur devahitam* (VS 36.24), hang a cloth (*aduvā-la*<sup>172</sup>) around it (reciting) *vasoḥ pavitram asi (VS 1.3), (decorate with) flowers (reciting) yāḥ phalinīr* (VS 12.89).

2<sup>v</sup>

The *thakāli* should perform *puṣpa-bhājana*, cleaning of the mouth with water (*ācamana*). (Ritual decision:) “Today etc. (I wish) to make the *nāndimukhapūjā* for such and such a ritual by such and such a *yajamāna* from such and such lineage (*gotra*). (Therefore) I hand over the water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) and the plate with flowers (etc.). *śiva śiva-karam śānta...* (cp. PG 1.8.5). May it be successful.” (Hand over the *pūjā* plate with the protecting formula(s) *siddhir astu...* until *yathāvāṇa...* (see Rāj p. 20 and Dkv<sub>1</sub> fol. 20<sup>v</sup>). Decorate with flowers. The Brahmin should give water to Sūrya (with the ritual decision:) “Today etc. the *nāndimukhapūjā* for such a ritual at such a place by (such) a *yajamāna...*” Salutation with flowers (reciting) *ā kṛṣṇena* (VS 33.43). Greetings to the guru, mental commitment (*nyāsa*), worship of the *arghyapātra*, worship of the self (*ātmapūjā*), then worship of the doors (of the house of the worshipper). (Recitation of<sup>173</sup>) *tat tvā yāmi brahmaṇā...* (VS 18.49); *devasya tvā savituh...* (VS 1.10); *gaṇānām tvā gaṇapatiṃ...* (VS 23.19); *bṛhaspate...* (VS 26.3); *catvāri śṛṅgā trayo...* (VS 17.91); *dvāro devīr anv asya...* (VS 27.16); *hiraṇyagarbhaḥ sam avartatāgre...* (VS 13.4). *sapta ṛṣayaḥ pratihitāḥ...* (VS 34.55); *brahma yajñanam*

<sup>170</sup> *vastu biya* is added at the end of the text marked as a kind of foot note.

<sup>171</sup> Mostly, the priest sticks replica of eyes made out of silver to the clay; sometimes the Citrakāra paints the eyes.

<sup>172</sup> Stripes of cotton in five colours.

<sup>173</sup> The sequence of the following 11 *mantras* is identical with Dkv<sub>1</sub> fol. 12–13<sup>v</sup>.

(VS 13.3); *viṣṇor rarāṭam asi* (VS 5.21) and *namaḥ śambhavāya ca* (VS 16.41). Invocation etc.<sup>174</sup> *Om*, salutation to Sadyojātāya (reciting) sadyo jāto (VS 29.36), *om* salutation to Vāmadeva (reciting) *vāmam adhya savitur* (VS 8.6), *om* salutation to Aghora (reciting) *yā te rudra śivā* (VS 16.2), *om* salutation to Tatpuruṣa (reciting) *yat puruṣaṃ vy adad-huḥ* (VS 31.10), *om* salutation to Īśāna (reciting) *tam īśānaṃ jagatas* (VS 25.18). Invocation etc. Salutation to the Sun. Salutation to the Moon. Salutation to Mars. Salutation to Mercury. Salutation to Jupiter. Salutation to Venus. Salutation to Saturn. Salutation to Rāhu.

2<sup>r</sup>

Salutation to Ketu. Salutation to the birth planet. *ā*<sup>175</sup> *kṛṣṇena* (VS 33.43). *imaṃ devā asupatnaṃ...* (VS 9.40 or 10.18); *agnir mūrdhā divaḥ* (VS 3.12); *ud budhyasvāgne...* (VS 15.54); *bṛhaspate adi yad aryo...* (VS 26.3); *annāt pariśruto...* (VS 19.75); *śaṃ no devīr...* (VS 36.12); *kayā naś citra...* (VS 27.39); *tā asya sūdadohasaḥ...* (VS 12.55); *tā asya* (VS 12.55). Invocation etc.<sup>176</sup> Salutation to Indra. Salutation to Agni. Salutation to Yama. Salutation to Nairṛtya. Salutation to Varuṇa. Salutation to Vāyu. Salutation to Kubera. Salutation to Ananta (Viṣṇu). Salutation to Brahmā (reciting<sup>177</sup>) *trātāram indram...* (VS 3.12); *yamena dattaṃ tri-ta...* (VS 29.13); *yaṃ te devī...* (VS 12.65); *imaṃ me* (VS 21.1); *tava vāyav ṛtaspace...* (VS 27.34); *kuvid aṅga yavamanto...* (VS 10.32); *abhi tvā sūra...* (VS 27.35); *triṇi padā vi cakrame...* (VS 34.43); *brama-ṇaspate tvam...* (VS 34.58). Invocation etc. Salutation to Aśvatthāman. Salutation to Bali. Salutation to Vyāsa. (Salutation) to Hanumat.

3<sup>v</sup>

Salutation to Vibhīṣana. Salutation to Kṛpācārya. Salutation to Paraśurāma. Salu-

tation to Mārkaṇḍeya.<sup>178</sup> *aśvatthe vo niṣadanaṃ...* (VS 12.79); *mahī dyauḥ pṛthivī...* (VS 13.32); *yasaya kurmo gṛhe...* (VS 17.52); *tivrān ghoṣān kṛṇvate...* (VS 29.44); *raḥsasāṃ bhāgo si...* (VS 6.16); *ayaṃ sahasram ṛṣibhiḥ...* (VS 33.83); *prajāpate na tvad...* (VS 10.20). *sapta ṛṣayaḥ pratihitāḥ...* (VS 34.55). Invocation etc. *Om*, salutation to the months. Salutation to the halves of a month (*pakṣa*). Salutation to the lunar days (*tithi*). Salutation to the lunar mansions (*nakṣatra*). Salutation to the earth (*pṛthivī*). Salutation to the eleven divisions of a day (*karaṇa*), Salutation to the conjunctions (*yoga*). Salutation to the seasons (*ṛtu*). Salutation to the year (*saṃvatsara*). Salutation to the solar mansions or zodiacal signs (*rāśi*). Salutation to the chariot of the sun. Salutation to the solar days. Salutation to the horse of the sun's chariot. Salutation to the suns. Salutation to Skanda (Kumāra). Salutation to the Five Rivers (Śatadru, Vipāsā, Irāvati, Candrabhāgā, and Vitastā). Salutation to Kubera (reciting<sup>179</sup>) *arddha-māsāḥ...* (VS 23.41); *agneḥ pakṣatir vvāyo ...* (VS 25.4);

3<sup>r</sup>

*indrāgnyoḥ pakṣatir...* (VS 25.5); *nakṣatrebhyaḥ svāhā...* (VS 22.28); (the following lines are added on the top of the page: *marudbhyaḥ svāhā...* (VS 22.28)); *suparṇaḥ pārjanya...* (VS 24.34); *krāṇāśiśur...* (RV 9.102.1); *yoge yoge tavas taram...* (VS 11.14); *ṛtavas te yajñam...* (VS 26.14); *saṃvatsaro si parivatsaro...* (VS 27.45); *aśvas tūparo gomṛgas...* (VS 24.1);

4<sup>v</sup>

*ayaṃ puro harikeśaḥ...* (VS 15.15ab); (...)  
*paśavo hetih pauraṣeyo...* (VS 15.15b);  
*brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitarah...* (VS 29.47); *aśvinā tejasā cakṣuḥ...* (VS 20.80); *ā mandraira indra...* (VS 20.53); *yatra vāṇāḥ sampatanti* (VS 17.48); *ud u tyaṃ jātavedasaṃ* (VS 7.41); *pañca nadyaḥ sarasvatim...* (VS

<sup>174</sup> It follows the worship of the five faces of Śiva.

<sup>175</sup> The sequence of the following 10 *mantras* is identical with Dk<sub>v</sub>, fol. 14<sup>v</sup>–15<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>176</sup> It follows the worship of the Protectors of the World (*dikpāla*).

<sup>177</sup> The sequence of the following 9 *mantras* is similar to Dk<sub>v</sub>, fol. 14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>178</sup> The sequence of the following 10 *mantras* is identical with Dk<sub>v</sub>, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>179</sup> The sequence of the following 24 *mantras* is almost identical with Dk<sub>v</sub>, fol. 15<sup>v</sup>–16<sup>r</sup>.

34.11); **upahvare girīṇām...** (VS 26.15); **viṣṇoḥ karmāṇi...** (VS 6.4); **namaḥ śvabhyaḥ śvapatibhyaś** (VS 16.28). **ājighra kalaśaṃ...** (VS 8.42); **catvāri śṛṅgā trayo** (VS 17.91). Invocation etc. Worship of Gaṇeśa, cow and Kumārī<sup>180</sup> (saying) “*Om*, this seat is for Gaṇeśa, the cow and (reciting) **gaṇānām tvā** (VS 23.19); **om āḥ gauḥ** (VS 3.6); **om jāta-vedase sunavāma...** (RV 1.99.1). Invocation etc. (Give *tikā* with) curd (to the girl).

4<sup>r</sup>

Salutation to this seat of Śiva (Umāpati, reciting<sup>181</sup>) **dadhi krāvṇo akāriṣaṃ** (VS 23.32); **vasoḥ pavitram asi** (VS 1.3); **dirghāyutvāya** (KS 3.9.6); **tvam yaviṣṭha** (VS 13.52); **yāḥ phalinīr** (VS 12.89); **namaḥ parṇāya** (VS 16.46). Invocation etc. Then worship with *pañcabali* (saying) “This seat is for the Protector of the (local) Area (*kṣetrapāla*). Salutation. Salutation (with) flowers (reciting) **gaṇānām tvā** (VS 23.19);<sup>182</sup> **jātavedase sunavāma...** (RV 1.99.1); **imā rudrāya tavase** (VS 16.48); **ghṛtaṃ ghṛtapāvānaḥ...** (VS 6.19); **namo babhluśāya...** (VS 16.18). Invocation etc. Five kind of winds, *dvandu pūjā*:<sup>183</sup> place fish, meat, lentils, (sweet) bread, a piece from the lung (of a sacrificial animal but) not more (in a clay saucer), this seat for the image of the Five Breaths and Twelve Suns (read: *dvādaśendu*). Salutation. Salutation (with) flowers (reciting) **mahi dyauḥ pṛthivī...** (VS 13.32); **apsv antar amṛtam** (VS 9.6); **tejo si** (VS 22.1); **tava vvāyu** (VS 27.34); **yāte rudra śivā** (VS 16.2=16.49); **asmākam indraḥ** (VS 17.43). *Om*, salutation to the earth. *Om*, salutation to the fire. *Om*, salutation to the light (*tejas*). *Om*, salutation to the wind (*vāyu*). The worship of the Five Deities: Salutation to the Sūrya, salutation to Nārāyaṇa, salutation to Sadāśiva, salutation to Gṛhalakṣmī, salutation the personal deity (reciting) **ā kṛṣṇena** (VS 33.43); **viṣṇo rarāṭam asi** (VS 5.21); **namaḥ śambha-vāya ca** (VS 16.41); **śrīś ca te** (VS 31.22); **bṛhaspate** (VS

26.3). Now fragrant materials. Worship with ritual mirror (and) vermilion pot etc. Greetings to Śrī (and) Lakṣmī (reciting) **samitaṃ saṃ...** (VS 12.57); **saṃ vāṃ...** (VS 12.58);

5<sup>v</sup>

śrīś ca te (VS 31.22). Now fragrant material **catusvasti payapañedi**, incense, light, *naivedya* and fruits (reciting) **mano jūtir** (VS 2.13). (Throw) popped rice (on all participants). (Silent) recitation (*japa*), recitation (*stotra*) of **śiva śivakaraṃ śānta...** (cp. PG 1.8.5). Now fragrant materials, worship of the Brahmin (and recitation of) *śāntikapustika(-mantra)*: **svasti no mimite** (RV 5.51.11) etc. (reciting<sup>184</sup> the *śāntikasūkta*:) **kanikradaj januṣaṃ...** RV 2.42.1 (as well as the *puṣṭikasūkta*:) **āsuḥ śīsāno** (VS 17.33); **yaj jāgrāto** (VS 34.1); **sahasraśrīṣā** (VS 31.1); **vibhrāḍ bṛhat** (VS 33.30); **namas te rudra** (VS 16.1); **vayaṃ soma** (VS 3.56); **eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ** (VS 3.57);

5<sup>r</sup>

**ava rudramad** (VS 3.58); **om bheṣajam asi** (VS 3.59b); **tryambakaṃ** (VS 3.60cd); **etat te** (VS 3.61); **avatadvadhanvā** (VS 3.61b); **(try)āyuṣaṃ** (VS 3.62a); **śivo nāmāsi** (VS 3.63a); **nī vartayāmy** (3.63b); **ūrjasvatī payasā** (VS 12.70); **svasti na indro** (VS 25.19); **payah pṛthivyām** (VS 18.36), **viṣṇo rarāṭam asi** (VS 5.21); **agnir devatā** (VS 14.20), **dyauḥ śāntir** (VS 36.17 = *śāntikamantra*). After collecting the flowers (used during the ritual and scattered) below the deity in a vessel,<sup>185</sup> give a flower to the worshipper. Let (the eldest woman of the lineage or wife of the priest) wave the *Alīdyaḥ*, a lamp, the wooden measuring vessel, the (iron) keys (and) *svagā*. Offer a *tikā* of sandal-wood paste (and) *svagā* to the deity. Give a flower from (i.e. used during) the *śāntikapuṣṭika* recitation. Ritual decision for food (*annasaṃkalpa*). *Dakṣiṇā* to the Brahmin. Recitation of blessings (by the Brahmin). Send a (plate

<sup>180</sup> The deities are represented in handfuls of *naivedya* food.

<sup>181</sup> The sequence of the following 6 *mantras* is identical with Dkv<sub>1</sub> fol. 13<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>182</sup> The sequence of the following 5 *mantras* is identical with Dkv<sub>1</sub> fol. 17<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>183</sup> Meaning of *dvandu pūjā* unclear. *dondu* = *dvandu*?, see DCN, s.v.: “an implement used for ritual worship”.

<sup>184</sup> The sequence of the following 6 *mantras* is almost identical with Dkv<sub>1</sub> fol. 23<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup>.

with) *pūjā* (materials) from the family (of the worshipper to various deities in the vicinity). Release the mental commitment (*nyāsa*). Dissolvement of the ritual place (i.e. sending off the deities reciting) **u dvayaṃ** (VS 20.21). Here, let the Prajāpati (boy) stand on a seat (prepared) with a *svastika*.<sup>186</sup> The elder most man of the lineage (*thakālī*) should sprinkle water on the hands of the Prajāpati (boy). Write (i.e. draw) a *svastika* with sandal-wood (paste: Nev. *ceta* = Skt. *candana*). Let (the Prajāpati boy) wear a *kuśa* mark (i.e. ring). Give (a *tikā* of) sandal-wood (paste), a flower, a sacred thread and two coins as *dakṣiṇā* (to the Prajāpati boy). (Continuation of the) worship: This seat is for the icon of Prajāpati. Salutation. In this way, (offering of) water for the ritual washing of the feet and the hands (*pādārghya*, *hastārghya*), sandal-wood paste (*candana*), a sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*), flowers, *dakṣiṇā*. Here fragrant materials etc. The *thakālī* should hand over the shaft of clay. Bring all implements for the Five Breaths (*pañcavāyu*), light, (ritual) rice, fruits, sweets etc. Send all the *pūjā* (plates to the deities around). Sprinkle water (*abhiṣeka*). Give (a *tikā* of) sandal-wood (paste), flowers, betel (pouch), clove to the house (of the worshipper). (Give a *tikā* of) sandal-wood paste, *svagā* (and) blessings (to the musicians and others). Give *doke*.<sup>187</sup> Wave lights (in front of the Alīdyah and the Prajāpati boy) with the wooden measuring vessel (*siphārati*). After finishing (the sub-ritual of) spreading of popped rice (*pratiṣṭhā*),

6<sup>v</sup>

send the Prajāpati (boy) back (to his home) pouring water (on the way reciting) **asuraghnam** (RVKh 2.4.1b). Release the (sun as the) witness. Here end the rules for the worship of the clay. Hail.

[Fols. 7-13<sup>v</sup> deal with Nāndikaśrāddha]

14<sup>r</sup>

[At the margins:] (Now) the rules for offering vermilion. After finishing the ritual of the winnowing basket (and) the broom in the beginning, perform the worship of Alīdyah; after coming back (from this worship to the Ihi place perform the ritual) up to the *nirañjana* (purification) ritual together with *svagā*. Perform the Nāndikaśrāddha (and) offer vermilion during the auspicious time. Salutation to Śrī Gaṇeśa. Rules for offering of vermilion (*sindūra*). In the beginning bring Gaṇeśa. Bring Alīdyah. Perform Nāndikaśrāddha.<sup>188</sup> Let the Śivācārya priest worship the eight sacred vases (*aṣṭakalaśapūjā*) including Brahmā(-*kalaśa*). (Continue) Nāndikaśrāddha (*yavodaka*). Now at the auspicious time bring the girls holding their hands (reciting) **asuraghnam** (RVKh 2.4). Purification (*nirmācana*, reciting) **rakṣohanam** (VS 5.23). Sacrifice (*bali*, reciting) **adhy avo-cad adhivaktā...** (VS 16.5) (Offer) light (reciting) **tejo 'si** (VS 22.1). (Continue) the worship of the sacred vases including the vase of Brahmā. *Om*, this seat (is) for the eight sacred vases (including) Brahmā riding a goose as (his) vehicle. Salutation. Salutation (with) flowers. Also, offering water to wash the feet (*pādārghya*), sandal-wood paste (and) ritual rice, flower, incense, light and recitation (*stotra*). Now fragrant materials etc. Sprinkle water from the *arghapātra*. Sprinkle oil on the hands, legs (and) head three times (reciting) **kāṇḍāt kāṇḍāt...** (VS 13.20). After finishing this much, draw a *svastika* diagram on the hand of the barber. Hand over the razor. Give one coin (to the barber). Let the girl sit on the (seat with the) *svastika* diagram holding her hand. Let the nails be pared (by the barber). Let the girl wash her face (and make them) seated at the side of the fire sacrifice after welcoming them. Purification as given above. Wave a lamp, the wooden measuring vessel, (and) keys (reciting) **asuraghnam** (RVKh 2.4.1b). Wave a vermilion pot (recit-

<sup>185</sup> Some flowers spread around the deities (i.e. the sacred vases) are collected and presented to the *yajamāna*.

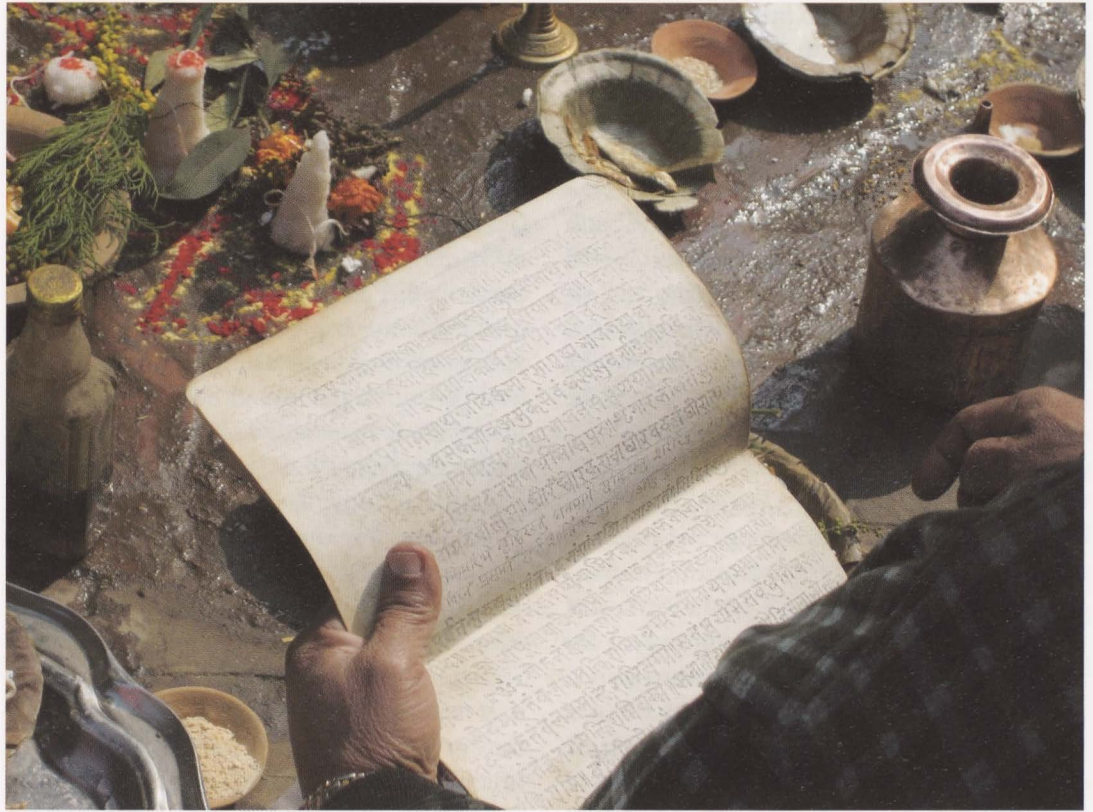
<sup>186</sup> A boy from the potter caste holding the clay deity (Alīdyah) stands on a wooden seat placed on a *svastika* diagram. Potters are called *prajāpati* among the Newars.

<sup>187</sup> Meaning unclear = *duke*?, see fn. 81.

<sup>188</sup> *yavodaka*, lit. "barley and water".

Alīdyahpājā.

The Brahmin priest Mahendra Sharma reading in the photo copy of a Suvarṇakumāraavidhi similar to the manuscript edited in this volume (cp. fol. 2<sup>r</sup>), 28<sup>th</sup> January 2007



ing) *asuragṇam* (dto.). The *mantra* for the offering of vermilion during the astrological auspicious time (is) *śrīś ca te* (VS 31.22). Give *svagā*, *tikā* of sandal-wood paste etc. (and) place a golden *tikā* (on the forehead of the girls). Blessings (reciting) *yatra vānāḥ* (VS 17.48). Wave the *phalinī*, *mantra* for offering the (*cakra*-)*phaṇi*:<sup>189</sup> *trātāram indram...* (VS 20.50). Let (the girl) wear the Ihi sari.<sup>190</sup> Hang the yellow thread (*śatabrindikā*, around the neck reciting) *ā kṛṣṇena* (VS 33.43). Distribute *prasāda* (to all participants reciting) *prajāpate na* (VS 10.20). Wave the Alīdyah. (Now) *kanyādāna* during the fire sacrifice (reciting) *śivo nāmāsi* (VS 3.63). Wave the winnowing basket (*jvahāsā*, reciting)

15<sup>v</sup>

*tava vāyav* (VS 27.34). Hand over the painted paper to be fixed on the forehead (*sāpākh-vāla* and) the earthen bowl (*salāpā*).<sup>191</sup> Give

alms of rice (reciting) *dirghāyutvāya...* (KS 3.9.6). (Wave) the measuring vessel with a lamp, throw popped rice (reciting) *om̐ mano jūtir* (VS 2.13). Worship (and) meditate on the fire sacrifice. Take (the girls) away holding (their) hands. Let (them) grind black lentils (reciting) *om̐ sukhārathir aśvāni vayan manuṣyanenīyatebhi suvvirvājina 'iva. hr̥tpratiṣṭhaṃ ydadidaṃ yaviṣṭhaṃ taṃme manaḥ śiva siṃkakalpam astu* (VS 34.6). Let (the girls) sit on a seat (with) a drawn *svastika* on an raised place facing east. Feed beaten rice after displaying saltless food (*phalinī*). Here end (the rules) for offering vermilion (*sindurādirohaṇa*).

Now the rules for the marriage of the Golden Boy (*suvarṇakumāra*). After performing a fire sacrifice (*kusum-dīyajña*), bring (the girls). Worship Brahmā after worshipping the sacred vases. This seat (is) for the eight sacred vases

<sup>189</sup> *phalinī* could be either the round paper representing Phalīdyah (see Glossary, s.v. *cakraphaṇi*) or food without salt (cp. Ipv no. 15). The first, however, is only used in the *cūḍakarma* ritual.

<sup>190</sup> A special red and yellow sari worn only during Ihi and marriage

<sup>191</sup> The plate painted with a *svastika*.

(including) Brahmā who has a goose as (his) vehicle. Salutation with offering a flower. Also, salutation with offering water to wash the feet (*pādārg̃ha*), washing of the mouth, sandal-wood paste, vermilion, sacred thread, flowers. Now the worship of the eight sacred water vases: (1.) *Om*, salutation to the Earth (? , *dharā*, reciting) *yuñjate mana...* (VS 5.14); 2. *Om*, salutation to the polar star (? , *dhura*, read *dhruva*, reciting) *idam viṣṇur...* (VS 5.15); 3. *Om*, salutation to the Moon (reciting) *urāvati dhenumatī...* (VS 5.17); 4. *devaśrutau...* (VS 5.17); 5. *Om*,

15<sup>r</sup>

salutation to Anira (reciting) *viṣṇor nu kaṃ...* (VS 5.18); 6. *Om*, salutation to Nara (reciting) *divo vā viṣṇa...* (VS 5.19); 7. *Om*, salutation to Pratyūṣa (the dawn, one of the eight Vasus, reciting) *pra tad vrata viṣṇu...* (VS 5.20); 8. *Om*, salutation to Prabhāsa (one of the eight Vasus, reciting) *viṣṇo rarāṭam asi* (VS 5.21). This much is the worship of the eight water sacred vases. Now the worship of Brahmā. *Om*, salutation to Brahmā. *Om*, salutation to Prājāpati. *Om*, salutation to Vedādhipati. Meditation (silently reciting and offering a flower) *om pītavarṇaṃ caturbāhuṃ brahma caturānana, haṃsāsanaṃ ca bibhrāṇam akṣamālā-kamaṇḍalum | brahmaṇe dhyānapuṣpaiḥ namaḥ*.<sup>192</sup> (Recitation of the) Veda: *brahma yajñānaṃ* (VS 13.3); *prajāpate na tvad etāny anyo* (VS 10.20); *ā brahman brāhmaṇo...* (VS 22.22); *vedo si yena...* (VS 2.21); *dhāmacchad agnir...* (VS 18.76). Invocation etc. Meditation (and recitation of the) *stotra* “I salute the benevolent grandfather (Brahmā), the eternal god who is immanent in the world, who carries a sceptre in his hand and is seated on the swan.” This much for the worship of Brahmā. Worship of the sacred vase of Nāga (reciting) *namo ’stu sarpebhyo* (VS 13.6). *Om*, salutation to Yakṣa. *om*, salutation to the Yakṣiṇīs.

16<sup>v</sup>

(Now) The “gift of the virgin” (*kanyā-dāna*): *agne ’achāvadeha naḥ...* (VS 9.28). *Om*, salutation to Śrī. Salutation to Lakṣmī (reciting) *dyāṃ mā lekhīr...* (VS 5.43); *śrīś ca te* (VS 31.22). Worship of sacred vase of Nāga (reciting) *varuṇasyottam-bhanam asi...* (VS 4.36). Worship the sacred water vases as prescribed. Perform the fire sacrifice on the astrologically auspicious time. Wave (a lamp and a wooden measuring vessel with iron keys to) all eight sacred vases etc. including Brahmā’s (sacred vase) which have been displayed (there) with (*mantras* of the) Veda, (such as:) *mano jūtīr* (VS 2.13). Continue (the ritual) up to the *saṃkhyāhūti* (part).<sup>193</sup> Let the Śivācārya worship the *bel* fruit. A Brāhmaṇa should sacrifice (the grains) for the *bel* fruit, 54 times (reciting) *śrīphalāya svāhā* (and) *śivo nāmāsi* (VS 3.63). Throwing of popped rice (reciting) *mano jūtīr* (VS 2.13). Place the *bel* fruits as required (for) giving the gift of a virgin (*kanyādāna*). Let the father of the girl worship the *bel* fruit. This is the seat for the Golden Boy (Suvarṇakumāra), salutation. Salutation with flowers. Also, salutation with offering water for washing feet, cleaning the mouth, sandal-wood paste, sacred thread, flowers, incense, lights (and) fragrant materials etc. The father should touch the girl after taking two blades of *kuśa* grass (in his hand). Let (him) say: “I give my daughter as a gift to the Golden Boy.” The father should let water flow (and) pour on a *jelālāpte* leaf through his hands in which he holds *kuśa* grass and black sesame seeds. Recite the (*kanyādāna*-) *saṃkalpa*: “I, *yajamāna* from such and such *gotra*, give my daughter (decorated) with ornaments to you, Suvarṇakumāra, in order to get rid of the remaining sin caused by the body, speech and mind and to reach heavenly abode.” *kumāra svargarupa tvaṃ mama pātaka nāśa-*

<sup>192</sup> Unidentified verse, read: *caturbāhuṃ brahmā caturānanaṃ haṃsāsanaṃ ca vibhrāṇam akṣamālā-kamaṇḍalum, brahmaṇe dhyānapuṣpaiḥ namaḥ*.

16<sup>r</sup>

**nam vivāda phaladaṃ caiva pratigr̥hī tvam ātmajāṃ. mayā tāmisaahasraddhābhiḥ kaṃnyā śubhaguṇānvitā. tasmai pradatta vedoktaṃ tubhyaṃ bhavaphalapradaṃ..**<sup>194</sup> Pour milk (and) water (reciting) Veda (mantra): **agnaye tvā mahyaṃ** (VS 7.47); **ko dāt kasmā adāt** (VS 7.48); **kāmaṃ kāmudughe...** (VS 12.72). Release (the deities). (Let him) give a golden coin as **dakṣiṇā** (saying) “I offer respectfully gold as **dakṣiṇā** to the god of fire in order to fulfil the **kanyādāna** (ritual).” Recitation (of the Veda). Sprinkling of water (reciting) **devasya tvā** (VS 1.10). Blessings (reciting) **dirghāyus tvāya** (KS 3.9.6). Let the Śivārcārya tie (the hands of the girls) with a rope (**kośakhala**). Offering of the grains for the **kanyādāna** (ritual), 108 times (reciting) **kanyā iva vaha-tum...** (VS 17.97). Now throwing of popped rice. The girls (should) burn popped rice, ghee (and) pieces of wood after placing them on a leaf (**jelālāpte**) with the **mantra** “To the god Aryaman the girl have made sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Aryaman loosen us from here, and not from the husband. Svāhā!” (PG 1.6.2). Pour water. (Let them) circumambulate the (fire) platform (reciting) “These grains I throw into the fire: may this bring prosperity to thee, and may it unite me with thee! May Agni grant us that. N.N.! Svāhā!” (PG 1.6.2).

Let (the girls) grind the black lentils (reciting) **om̐ sukhārathi** (VS 34.6).<sup>195</sup>

17<sup>v</sup>

(While reciting) **om̐ bhyamagne bhyamagne prapavaḥ sūryyovahaṃtun-nosahah pu-nahpatibhyo jayādagnepra-jalnayā svaha** (the girls should) go to the north east. Wave Alīdyaḥ (reciting) **śivo nāmāsi** (VS 3.63) (and) **pajāpate na tvad etāny anyo** (VS 10.20). Winnow popped rice from the winnowing basket into the fire place (**agnikuṇḍa**, reciting) **tava vāyav ṛtaspace** (VS 27.34).

Again, offer popped rice on the fire sacrifice (reciting) ‘This the woman, strewing grains, prays thus, may my husband live long! May my relations be prosperous!’ Svāhā!” (PG 1.6.2). He should wave (the winnowing basket) like before. Offer again popped rice on the fire sacrifice (reciting) “These grains I throw into the fire: may this bring prosperity to thee, and may it unite me with thee! May Agni grant us that. N.N.! Svāhā!” (PG 1.6.2). He should wave (the winnowing basket) like before. Offer popped rice from (all) four sides (into the fire sacrifice) keeping it on the winnowing basket (reciting) **om̐ bhagāya svāhā. om̐ prājā-pataye svāhā**. Let (the girls) perform the Seven Steps (**saptapadī**) in the north of fire sacrifice. Make seven **maṇḍala** diagrams. Place betel nuts, betel leaf (and) a clove (on top of the diagrams). (Recite the following **mantras** for **saptapadī**) “One for sap, two for juice, three for prospering of wealth, four for comfort, five or cattle, six for the seasons. Friend! be with seven steps (united to me) So be thou devoted to me” (The words), ‘May Viṣṇu led thee’ are added to every part of the formula” (PG 1.8.1-2) This much for the Seven Steps. Let (the girls) look at the sun in the north east (**sūryadarśana**, reciting) **tac cakṣur devahitaṃ...** (VS 36.24). Let the way be blocked (by the boys). Let (the girls) look in the north at the pole star (staying) in the northern side (reciting) “Firm art thou; I see thee the firm one. Firm be thou with me, O thriving one!

17<sup>r</sup>

To me Bṛhaspati has given thee; obtaining offspring through me, thy husband, live with me a hundred autumns” (PG 1.8.19). Let the girls stand in the north of the fire sacrifice. Offering in the fire sacrifice for the gods of the locality (**deśāpātana**). Offering in the fire sacrifice for the gods of time (**kālāpātana**). (Recitation of the) **śāntika** (and) **puṣṭika(-sūkta)**. (Offerings) of barley, unhusked rice

<sup>193</sup> Offering of items (grains etc.) according to a certain number.

<sup>194</sup> Read: **kumāraṃ svarga-rūpas tvaṃ mama pātaka-nāśaka, vivāha-phaladaścaiva pratigr̥hītā mamātmajāṃ. mayā tām saha-śraddhābhiḥ kanyāṃ śubhaguṇānvitāṃ. tubhyaṃ pradattaṃ vedoktaṃ tubhyaṃ bhavaphalapradaṃ. pāni samarpayitvā.**

<sup>195</sup> On the bottom of the page the following two lines are added:  
1. **kāmaṃ kāmadragedhuñca mitrāyaśca dndrāyaśca**  
2. **bhyāumūṣṇo prajābhya ośadhībhya. 11**



etc. (in the fire sacrifice). (Let) a fee (*da-kṣiṇā*) (and) materials be given to the Brāhmaṇa (priest). Finish whatever is necessary for the fire sacrifice (*yajña*). Let an umbrella be offered (to the priest). Let the Brāhmaṇa be fed a feast. Here end the rules of the marriage to the Golden Boy. Hail.

## 6a. Pāṇigrahaṇavidhi (Pgv) (Buddhist)

No title page, anonymous author. Handbook of Jnanaratna Bajracharya from Paśuvarṇa Mahāvihāra in Bhaktapur. Thāsaphu, Nepālī paper, 14 fols., complete. Size: ca. 20 x 8 cm, 6 lines per folio, Devanāgarī script, black ink, occasional underlining red (*kumkuma*) colour, some additional remarks on the margins. Nevārī with Sanskrit *mantras*.

1

*om̐ nama śrī vajrasatvāya. pā(ṇ)igrahaṇa vi-dhi) | nakasaṃ dusala yaya. pūjā saṃkalpa yāya. (gurumaṇḍa)la | yāya. deguli yāya. dhunakāva.. | ihmocā lā svayāva haya. tha-na gurumaṇḍala dāṃke. maṃṇḍala visarjana. nilāṃjana. matā phā tēcāṃ tvāya.. | sata-viṃrukā vāke. xduksi tu sakṣiva. 108. sagona*

2

*tvāya. vā cu sagana biya. siṃdhrura chāya. sipā luya. | nakinaṃ svāna boyake. kiga tāne. kṣmāpaṃ. āsivāda | biya. maṃṇḍala visarjana. deva dakṣiṇā. sagaṃ kvakāya. | gurupūjā. hā dakṣiṇā. kalasa kvakāya. | samaya cakra | thā-na vali || iti dusala kriyā vidhi (samāpta) | om̐ nama śrī vajrasatvāya . i (ti)... ...*

3

*satikhunūṃ. nhāpāṃ. jajñasālāsa. mālaka boya. vijaya | kale. mū kale. śrī lakṣmi. jakṣa jakṣani. alini. inālya kve. nāga po. mahāvali. nhāyakaṃ. sinhamūṃ. mākva thā|panā.. inā ku. ayalini kāyake choya. hala jalva pikhā-lākhusa taya. nakiṃ naṃ lā svase hayā-va thāyasa. | haya. nasasaṃ. śuryārgha. gurumaṃṇḍala dāne. dya-*

4

*guli yāya. kalasa nyāsa. mālakva pūjā. agni (pūjā) | thāpanā. vidhānathyaṃ yāya. prathamāhuti. jñānāhuti | kalas-āhuti<sup>196</sup> deva-*

<sup>196</sup> Above the line 2 is added which means it should be read after no. '1' (see below).

Pāṇigrahaṇavidhi, fols. 1-4.  
The manuscript is owned by  
Jnanaratna Vajracarya of  
Bhaktapur and guides him  
during the performance of  
the Buddhist Ihi ritual.



tāhuti<sup>197</sup>. thanā. ihimocālla lā svasya hayāva  
svastisvane. namṣanam hāya. gurumamḍala  
| dāmke. guru-prārthanā yāke. kiga jonāva  
hā jalapaṃ taya. | bākhā kāne.. he bālakini  
uvāca he guru chalapo

5  
lasena jipani prānigrahana lācakaṃ prasam-  
na juse biljyāya māla dhakaṃ. bālaṣapa-  
nisenam lhātaṃ.. guru | uvācaḥ he kumāri  
bālakinicā haṃ. mamājñāni jaṃndrāmamḍpiḥ  
kurusāme | taṃḥ dhamde dhamdeḥ bālaṣa  
chamisena dhāyā ṣava khaḥ dharma ṇayā |  
dharmma. bālakini uvācaḥ bho guruḥ chala-  
polase

<sup>197</sup> Above the line no '1' is  
added which means it should  
be read first and later no. '2'  
written above.

<sup>198</sup> Above given words havalā  
dhakaṃ are crossed out.

6  
namḥ kṛpāyāhunya dhakaṃḥ jepani chala-  
polasenaḥ ihi yāñāḥ prasamna jusanah bho  
guru chalapolasyanaḥ nepani juyivalḥ gath-  
iṃgu dhālasāḥ jijā mahāgajñāniḥ bālatini..  
| guru uvāca bālakinīḥ chamisena dhāya-  
jiva ṣaḥ prānīgrahana lācaka thākuṣya. bho  
guru chalapolasenaḥ āljñā dayāva prasamna  
jusya bijyāya māla.. he bālakini chami-

7  
sena ṇeṇah jyanemkāne jula.. thāna ādi deva-  
tāḥ thāna | devatāḥ ista devatāḥ indrādi de-  
vatāḥ navadurgā devatāḥ varuḥna nagarājā  
devatāḥ dharmmadhātu devatāḥ lachimi de-  
vatāḥ | jakṣa kakṣani devatāḥ kalasaityādiḥ  
jajñā saṃpūrna yāya māllaḥ thathyam bāla-  
kini chimisyanaṃ havalā dhakaṃ guru nam  
āḥljñā bila.. bālakini uvāca bho guru chami-  
syanam ha

8  
valā dhakaṃ<sup>198</sup> ājñā dayāgulīḥ jipanisenam  
hayā byū dhakaṃḥ | dhayāva.. guru uvā-  
caḥ he bālakaḥ bālakini chamiltā jinam  
prānigrahana yāya jula dhakaṃḥ ājñā bilāḥ  
biūnam | bālakini panisakalyanaḥ harkha-  
māna-namḥ rasatāyāvaḥ halṛṣamāna yātā..  
bālakini uvāca' bho guru chalaḥpola-syanaḥ  
anugraha yāhuneḥ kṣamyā yā nhavaḥ jepa-  
nitāḥ

9  
pranigrahaḥ kriyāḥ yāya māla dhakaṃ dhāyā-  
va.. thana maṃḍala visarjana. thana jaj-  
ñasālāsa pichoya. pūrvv svayāva svalchāya.  
susi pācukaṃ. svachāṃ livimcāṃ gāyake. **oṃ**  
**āhuḃ | sarvvamālā nayanaya svāhā.. māsa**  
**keyake. oṃ sarvvapāpa | mardaya 2 huḃ**  
**svāhā.. āṃva hāmanam mohuyakya. thanaḥ**  
**jajñā | sālā dutā haya. svasti thava thava thā-**  
**sa svanā. lamṣa**

10

*naṃ hāye. om sarvvatathāgata kāya visvadhana svāhā.* | *no sike. om hriṃ amṛtaṃ jivaṃtya svāhā.* | *paṃcagavya bilye. om huṃ āṃ jiṃ ṣaṃ huṃṣ sarvva buḍḍha kāya visvadhanya svāhā.* | *thanaḥ guru maṃḍala kāmke. visarjana. nilāṃjana matā phālḥ tācāṃḥ tvāya. trikāyā adhiṣṭhāna.*<sup>199</sup> *thana salaṣalva mhatim mhatim lava lhāya. simdhura chāya.*

11

*thana panini chāya*<sup>200</sup>. *indaṃtaṃ sarvva budhānāṃ tridhātukaṃ namalskr̥taṃ guṣa manakaṃ pujanarthāyaḥ makṣatamaṃ ca makulotabhata* | *thana sata-vimṇdukā kva-ṣāyake. om āṣodasavaraha dvāltrimṣatānu vyaṃjana śūtraḥ gaṃḍhimālāḥ taranatiḥ niskaṃdharā | huṃ phata svāhā.* | *ayali-ninaṃ bhusa taya. om sarvva budha cuḍāmani laḥje. mliṣavane sthita 2 huṃ phaṭa svāhā.* | *hāsā tu-*

12

*phinaṃ tvāya. om mahāsamayaḥ manusmaraya svāhā.* | *salā | vasaḥ vyala paṃcagavenaṃ hāve. thanaḥ tatva śrīphala pūjā. nilāljamḥ matā phaṃ tācāṃ tvāya. saganam tvāya.. thana kvasa ṣepo | bhāvanā. śuṃnyatām karunātmakaṃ bhodhicittasvarupa bhāvaya* | *thana lāhātasah jelālapatyayā cunaṃ dusvakā taya. vyālayā | cunaṃ pīsvakā taya. kvasaṣipanaṃ ciyake.. thana kanyādā-*

13

*naṃ. trā x. iyaṃ gāthā. gatimudrā jñāna lokotrattariḥ grhe | tvā prānināṃ prāniḥ prāni budha prakiritāḥ tena satyana saṃkṣālnaṃ prajñopāyoni maṃḍaleḥ tyana satva namanārthaṃ kāmārthaṃ parilpurayata. thira bho.* | *cartudiga coṇāva matā phā tācāṃḥ | tvāya. ayalininaṃ tvāya. hāsā tuphinaṃ gāle. siphāṃlnaṃ luya. thana jajña maṃḍala ṇuyake.. thava thava thāsa ta*

14

*ya. jojakāhuti yāya. śulāpātaṃ vyāla thiyake.* | *chu khuyā dhāyake. ciṇā tayā vyāla pheṃke. vastra tayāvaḥ sagaṃ | bike.. mahātau biya. pūrnā jolaṃ duya. pūnā yāyaḥ | thana jayamāṃ dhalaṃ dāke. kiga tānya. āsīrvāda taya. maṃḍala visarjana. saganhaṃ kāya. diva dakṣinā. gurupūjāḥḥā dakṣinā. thanā bādḥā chuya. kalasa kvakāya thāmāsa.*

## 6b. The Rules for Taking the Hands (Marriage)

1

*Om* salutation to Śrī Vajrasattva. (Now the rules for) marriage (*pāṇigrahaṇa*). Perform the initial part of the ritual (*dusala*) first. Make a ritual decision. Make *deguli* worship.<sup>201</sup> After worshipping the sacred vase, welcome the *ihi* girls. Then (lit. here), (follows) the *gurumaṃḍala* worship. Finish the *maṃḍala* (worship). Purification. Wave with a lamp, the wooden measuring vessel (and iron) keys. Let (the girls) bind a yellow thread one hundred and eight times. (In figures:) 108. Wave with *sagā*.

2

Give *sagā* (*tikā*) with rice (to the girls). Offer vermilion (to them). Pour the fruits from the wooden measuring vessel (on the heads of the girls). Let the head women (*nakhī*) offer flowers (to them). Offer rice (to the deities). Worship for an excuse (for any eventual mistake that might happen in ritual). Give blessings (to everybody). Finish the *maṃḍala* (worship). (Offer) *dakṣinā* to the deities. Take out *sagā* (from the ritual arena). Worship the *guru* (the Vajrācārya priest). (Offer) a small *dakṣinā* (to the deities). Take out the sacred vases (from the ritual arena). (Worship) *samayacakra*.<sup>202</sup> (Make) offerings (*bali*) to the local (deities). Here ends the initial part of the ritual (*kriyā*).

<sup>199</sup> *vāke uggratārātaracakra* is added on the bottom.

<sup>200</sup> *nibhādyo ani yāke* is added above the line.

<sup>201</sup> A short version of the *dugudyah* worship, viz. worship of the clan deity.

<sup>202</sup> A special Tantrik worship of the Convention-Deity with hand gestures (*mudrā*).

Buddhist initiation (*Bāre chuyegu*).

Cooked rice for preparing the ritual representation of deities in a conical shape (*Nev. gvajā*), on the occasion of the ritual performed on 21<sup>st</sup> November 2006 at Ukubāhā in Patan



3

On the next day, first display whatever is necessary for the fire sanctuary (such as) the sacred vase (called) *bija*, the main sacred vase, Śrī (and) Lakṣmī, Yakṣa, Yakṣiṇī, Alīdyaḥ, the sacred vase (representing) Gaṇeśa, the sacred vase (representing) the serpent (deity), the Great Offering (*mahābali*),<sup>203</sup> ritual mirror, vermilion pot; place whatever is necessary (in the sacrificial arena). Send (persons) to bring the sacred vases of Gaṇeśa (and) Alīdyaḥ (from the potters' square). When brought place (them) on the right side of the *pikhālakhu* stone. The head women should welcome and place (them) on (their) respective position. First, pour water for the sun. Worship the *gurumaṇḍala*.

4

Perform (again) the *deguli* worship. Mental commitment (for performing the worship of

the main) sacred vase. (Perform) the necessary worship. Begin with the fire-sacrifice. Perform it according to the rule(s). (Make) first the offering (to the fire), (then) the offering for knowledge, the offering for the deities, the offering for (the deities of) sacred vase. Here (then), welcome the *ihi* girls (and) make (them) sit on (the seat prepared with a) *svastika*. Sprinkle water (on them). Let (the girls) worship the *gurumaṇḍala*. Let (them) praise the *guru*. (Let them) make the *namaskāra* gesture holding rice (in their hands).

(Now one should) tell the (Ihi-) story: The girl said: "O guru, you

5

should perform our marriage ceremony (*pāṇi-grahana*) and (you will) be pleased." (The) boys (also) said (so).

The guru said: "O little virgin girl, possibly knowledgeable (but) with violent temper, the

<sup>203</sup> Offerings to Nine Mother Goddesses and Bhairava as a protector of the area (*kṣetrapālā*).

great lord (*mahānātha*) will be kind (to you). (Oh lord) make the initiation (*upanayam*) of the girl with<sup>204</sup> this very handsome (*dhanya*) boy. What you said is true. Perform *dharma* too.”

The girl said: “O guru,

6 we ask you for a favour. (Please) make our marriage rite (*ihipā*) and (you will) be pleased. O guru, tell us what happens with us. I am still a very ignorant child.”

The guru said: “O girl, what you have said is true. (But) to make a marriage<sup>205</sup> is difficult.”

“O guru, you should instruct (us and you will) be pleased”

“O girls, (since) you

7 asked me, therefore I will tell you (how the worship of the) gods including local deities (read *sthānadevatāḥ*), local gods, favorable god, gods including Indra, Navadurgā, Varuṇa, the king of the snakes (Nāgarāja), Dharmadhātu, goddess Lakṣmī, Yakṣa (and) Yakṣiṇī deities, Kalaśa etc. (and) a fire sacrifice should be performed.” The guru asked by command: “Have you brought these (necessary ritual items)?”

The girl said: “O guru,

8 as you commanded and asked to bring (such items), we have asked (others) to bring (them).”

The guru said: “O boys (and) girls, I will perform your marriage ritual.”<sup>206</sup> Thus the guru commanded.

The girls were pleased and showed their happiness.

The girl said: “O guru, please bless and excuse (us) for having asked to perform our marriage ritual.”

9

Here, finish the *maṇḍala* worship. Here, let (the girls) go out from the fire sanctuary. Offer oil (on the head and body) making (the girls) face the east. (Let) the nails (be pared). Fan with the bamboo plate used for offering oil (reciting) ***oṃ āhuṃ sarvvamālā nayanaya svāhā***.<sup>207</sup> Let (the girls) grind black lentils (reciting) ***oṃ sarvvapāpa mardaya***<sup>208</sup> ***2 huṃ svāhā*** (“Oṃ, salutation to the grinder of all evil, hail!”). Let (the girls) bath applying green myrobolan (and) sesame. Here (then), bring (the girls again) to the fire sanctuary. Let (them) sit on their seats (prepared by a) *svastika*

10

(and) sprinkle water (to them reciting) ***oṃ sarvvatathāgata kāya visvadhana svāhā*** (“Oṃ, the sprinkling to the body of all Tathāgatas, hail!”). Let (them) wash (their) mouth (reciting) ***oṃ hrīṃ amṛtaṃ jīvaṃ tyasvāhā***. Give five *pañcagavya* (to the girls reciting) ***oṃ huṃ āṃ jīm saṃ huṃ sarvva buḥḍha kāya visvadhanya svāhā***. Here (then), let (them again) worship the *gurumaṇḍala*. Finish (the *gurumaṇḍala-pūjā*). Purification (of the girls). Wave with a lamp, the wooden measuring vessel (and iron) keys. Regulation (? *adhiṣ-ṭhāna*) of three bodies (*trikāyā*). Recite (*vākya*): ***uggratārātaracakra***. Here (then) hand over a dress placing it in the *salāpā* (bowl) to every (girl). Offer vermilion (to the girls).

11

Here (then), offer *phalini* (= *phaliṃ-dyaḥ?*), reciting) ***indam taṃ sarvva budhānām tridhātukaṃ nama skṛtaṃ guṣa manakaṃ pujanarthāyah maksatamaṃ ca maku-lotabhata***. Here, let (the girls) hang the yellow thread (*satavr̥ndikā*) (around the neck reciting) ***oṃ āśodasavarah dvā trimsatānu vyamjana śutrah gamdhimālah taranatih niskamdhara huṃ phata svāhā***. Place the

<sup>204</sup> Read *samitam?*

<sup>205</sup> Read: *pāṇigrahaṇa*.

<sup>206</sup> Read *pāṇigrahaṇa*.

<sup>207</sup> The following *mantras* have not been identified. Because of its corrupt form it is only occasionally possible to translate them.

<sup>208</sup> Read: *sarvavāpamaḥ*

*anāya(?)*.

Alimdyah on a plate (reciting) om sarvva budha cudamani lahje. mlisa-vane sthita 2 hum phata svaha. Wave with the winowing basket and broom (reciting)

12

om mahasamayah manusmaraya svaha. Sprinkle *pañcagavya* on the *bel* fruit kept on the *salāpā* (plate). Here (then follows the) worship of the *bel* fruit (in its) real (form).<sup>209</sup> Purification. Wave with a lamp, the wooden measuring vessel (and iron) keys. Wave with *svagā*. Here (then) imagine a kind of rope<sup>210</sup> (*kvasakhepo*) (reciting) sumnyatām karunātmakamḥ bhodhicittasvarupa bhāvaya. Here, place a leaf (*jēlāapte*) on the hand with (its) stalk (facing) inside (i.e. to the body of the girl). In addition, place the *bel* fruit with (its) stalk upside (on the leaf).<sup>211</sup> Let (the hands of girls) be tied with a rope. Here (then), (perform) the gift of the virgin (*kanyādāna*).

13

Now (recite) the (*kanyādāna*) verse gatimudrā jñāna lokotrattarih grhetvā prānīnām prāniḥ prāni budha prakiritāḥ tena satyana samksānam prajñopāyoni maṇḍaleh

tyana satva namanārthamḥ kāmārtham paripurayata. thira bho. Wave with a lamp, the ritual wooden vessel (and iron) keys standing in the four directions. Wave with the Alimdyah. Fan with the winowing basket (and a) broom (to the girls). Pour fruits from the wooden measuring vessel. Here (then), let (the girls) circumambulate the fire sanctuary. Bring (them back) to their respective place.

14

The *yajamāna* should offer the sacrifice of grains to the fire (*yojakāhuti*). Let (him) touch the *bel* fruit with the sacrificial laddle (*śrūvā*). Let him ask (the girls) what (they) have stolen.<sup>212</sup> Untie the *bel* fruit (from the hands). Give *svagā* with a dress (to the girls). Give *mahātau* (?). Burn (all) the remaining ritual items. Conclude (the fire sacrifice). Here (then), the *yajamāna* should perform a(nother) *maṇḍala* worship. Offer rice (to the deities). Give blessings (to all participants). Remove the *maṇḍala*. Take *svagā* (from the *nakhī*). (Offer) *dakṣiṇā* to the deities. (Then) worship of *guru*. (Offer) small *dakṣiṇā* (to the *guru*). Here (then), give alms (to the girls). Remove the sacred vases from its place.

<sup>209</sup> *tattvaśrīphalapūjā*, probably the *bel* fruit in its esoteric form (Buddha, Mañjukumāra = Mañjuśrī, or the Guru?).

<sup>210</sup> The rope is necessary to tie the hands of the girl with the *bel* fruit.

<sup>211</sup> The *jēlāapte* leaf is regarded as the *śakti* (or female principle) and the *bel* fruit as a form of Śiva (or the male principle).

<sup>212</sup> This is a kind of ritual joke: since the hands of the girls are tied like a prisoner, the priest is supposed to tease them a bit.



## APPENDICES

Appendix A: [Faint text describing the first appendix, likely a list of items or a table of contents.]

Appendix B: [Faint text describing the second appendix, possibly a detailed list or a set of instructions.]

Appendix C: [Faint text describing the third appendix, which might include a diagram or a flowchart.]

Appendix D: [Faint text describing the fourth appendix, likely a set of data or a statistical table.]

Appendix E: [Faint text describing the fifth appendix, possibly a list of references or a bibliography.]

Appendix F: [Faint text describing the sixth appendix, which could be a set of appendices or a detailed report.]

Appendix G: [Faint text describing the seventh appendix, likely a list of items or a table of contents.]

Appendix H: [Faint text describing the eighth appendix, possibly a detailed list or a set of instructions.]

Appendix I: [Faint text describing the ninth appendix, which might include a diagram or a flowchart.]

Appendix J: [Faint text describing the tenth appendix, likely a set of data or a statistical table.]

Appendix K: [Faint text describing the eleventh appendix, possibly a list of references or a bibliography.]

Appendix L: [Faint text describing the twelfth appendix, which could be a set of appendices or a detailed report.]

Appendix M: [Faint text describing the thirteenth appendix, likely a list of items or a table of contents.]

Appendix N: [Faint text describing the fourteenth appendix, possibly a detailed list or a set of instructions.]

Appendix O: [Faint text describing the fifteenth appendix, which might include a diagram or a flowchart.]

Appendix P: [Faint text describing the sixteenth appendix, likely a set of data or a statistical table.]

Appendix Q: [Faint text describing the seventeenth appendix, possibly a list of references or a bibliography.]

Appendix R: [Faint text describing the eighteenth appendix, which could be a set of appendices or a detailed report.]

Appendix S: [Faint text describing the nineteenth appendix, likely a list of items or a table of contents.]

Appendix T: [Faint text describing the twentieth appendix, possibly a detailed list or a set of instructions.]

Appendix U: [Faint text describing the twenty-first appendix, which might include a diagram or a flowchart.]

Appendix V: [Faint text describing the twenty-second appendix, likely a set of data or a statistical table.]

Appendix W: [Faint text describing the twenty-third appendix, possibly a list of references or a bibliography.]

Appendix X: [Faint text describing the twenty-fourth appendix, which could be a set of appendices or a detailed report.]

Appendix Y: [Faint text describing the twenty-fifth appendix, likely a list of items or a table of contents.]

Appendix Z: [Faint text describing the twenty-sixth appendix, possibly a detailed list or a set of instructions.]

Appendix A: [Faint text, likely a list of items or a table of contents.]

Appendix B: [Faint text, possibly a detailed list or a set of instructions.]

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## Mantras (used in the handbooks)

## Vājasaneyisaṃhitā-Mādhyandina (VS)

Text: Titus online edition (modified), translation: Griffith/Arya

1.3

*vasoḥ pavitram asi śatadhāraṃ vasoḥ pavitram asi sahasradhāraṃ, devas tvā savitā punātu vasoḥ pavitreṇa śatadhāreṇa supvā, kāmadhukśaḥ.*

“You are the strainer, hundred-streamed, of *Vasu*. You are the strainer, thousand-streamed, of *Vasu*. May *Savitā* the God with *Vasu*’s strainer, thousand-streamed, rightly cleansing, purify you.”

1.8

*dhūr asi dhūrva dhūrvantaṃ dhūrva taṃ yo ’smān dhūrvati taṃ dhūrva yaṃ vayaṃ dhūrāmaḥ, devānām asi vahnitamaṃ samnitamaṃ<sup>213</sup> papritamaṃ juṣtatamaṃ devahūtamam.*

“You are the yoke. Injure you him who injures. Harm him who harms us. Harm the man we injure. You are the Gods’ best carrier, bound most firmly, filled fullest, welcome, Gods’ best invoker.”

1.10

*devasya tvā savituh prasave ’śvinor bāhubhyāṃ pūṣṇo hastābhyām, agnaye juṣtaṃ grhṇāmi, agnīśomābhyāṃ juṣtaṃ grhṇāmi.*

“By impulse of God *Savitā* I take you with arms of *Aśvins*, with the hands of *Pūṣan*, You dear to *Agni*, dear to *Agni-Soma*.”

1.12

*pavitre stho vaiṣṇavyau, savitur vaḥ prasava ut punāmy acchidreṇa pavitreṇa sūryasya raśmibhiḥ, devīr āpo agreguvo ’agrepuvo gra imam adya yajñam nayatāgre yajñapatim sudhātuṃ yajñapatim devayuvam.*

“You two are strainers that belong to *Viṣṇu*.

By *Savitā*’s impulse, with this flawless strainer I purify you with the rays of *Sūrya*. Bright Waters, flowing forward, foremost drinkers, leadforward (sic!) now this sacrifice, lead forward the Sacrifice’s Lord, the God-devoted Lord of Sacrifice, the liberal giver.”

1.13

*yuṣmā indro vṛṇīta vṛtratūrye yūyam indram avṛṇīdhvaṃ vṛtratūrye, prokṣitā stha, agnaye tvā juṣtaṃ prokṣāmi, agnīśomābhyāṃ tvā juṣtaṃ prokṣāmi, daivyāya karmaṇe śundhadhvaṃ devayajyāyai yad vo śuddhāḥ parajaghnur idam vas tac chundhāmi.*

“*Indra* elected you in fight with *Vṛtra*: in fight with *Vṛtra* you elected *Indra*. By oversprinkling are you consecrated. I sprinkle you agreeable to *Agni*. I sprinkle you welcome to *Agni-Soma*. Pure for the work divine be you, and holy, pure for the sacrifice to the Gods. Whatever of yours the impure have by their touch polluted, hereby I cleanse for you from all defilement.”

1.15

*agnes tanūr asi vāco visarjanaṃ devavītaye tvā grhṇāmi, bṛhadgrāvā si vānaspatyaḥ, sa idam devehbyo haviḥ śamīṣva suśami śamīṣva, haviṣkṛd ehi haviṣkṛd ehi haviṣkṛd ehi.*

“Body of *Agni* are you, the releaser of speech. I seize you for the Gods’ enjoyment. A mighty stone are you, formed out of timber. Make ready for the Deities this oblation: with careful preparation make it ready. *Haviṣkṛt*, come! *Haviṣkṛt*, come! *Haviṣkṛt*, come!”

1.31

*savitus tvā prasava ut punāmy acchidreṇa pavitreṇa sūryasya raśmibhiḥ, savitur vaḥ prasava ut punāmy acchidreṇa pavitreṇa<sup>214</sup> sūryasya raśmibhiḥ, tejo si ’śukram asy amṛtam asi, dhāma nāmāsi priyaṃ devānām anādhrṣtaṃ devayajanam asi.*

“By *Savitā*’s impulsion do I cleanse you, with flawless strainer, with the rays of *Sūrya*. By

<sup>213</sup> Griffith: *sasnitamaṃ*.

<sup>214</sup> Griffith: *pavitreṇa vasoḥ*.

*Savitā's* impulsion do I cleanse you, with flawless strainer, with the rays of *Sūrya*. Light are you; you are splendid; you are *Amṛt*. You, truly, are the Gods' beloved station, inviolable means of holy worship."

2.8

*askannam adya devebhya ājyaṁ saṁ bhriyāsm, aṅghrinā viṣṇo mā tvāva kramiṣaṁ, vasumatim agne te chāyām upa stheṣaṁ viṣṇo sthānam asi, ita indro vīryam akr̥ṇod ūrdhvo 'dhvara āsthāt.*

"May I today offer Gods unsplit butter. Let me not with my foot offend you, *Viṣṇu*. *Agni*, may I approach your shade abounding in store of riches. You are *Viṣṇu's* mansion. Hence *Indra* wrought his deed of manly vigour. The sacrifice stood firmly elevated."

2.13

*mano jūtir juṣatām ājyasya bṛhaspatir yajñam imaṁ tano tu ariṣṭaṁ yajñam sam imaṁ dadhātu viśve devāsa iha mādayantām om pra tiṣṭha.*

"The butter's rapid flow delight his spirit! *Bṛhaspati* extends this act of worship. May he restore the sacrifice uninjured. Here let all Gods rejoice. OM! Step thou forward."

2.21

*vedo si yena tvaṁ deva veda devebhyo vedo bhavas tena mahyaṁ vedo bhūyāḥ, devā gātuvīdo gātum vītvā gātum ita, manasas pata imaṁ deva yajñam svāhā vāte dhāḥ.*

"Veda are you, whereby, O godlike Veda, you have become for Deities their Veda: thereby may you become for me a Veda. O Deities, you knowers of the Pathway, walk on the path-way having known the Pathway. God, Lord of Spirit, hail! bestow upon the Wind this sacrifice."

3.6

*āyaṁ gauḥ pṛṣṇir akramīd asadan mātaram purah, pitaram ca prayant svah.*

"This spotted Bull hath come and sat before the Mother and before the Father, mounting up to heaven."

3.9

*agnir jyotir jyotir agniḥ svāhā, sūryo jyotir jyotiḥ sūryaḥ svāhā, agni varco jyotir varcaḥ svāhā, sūryo varco jyotir varcaḥ svāhā, jyotiḥ ūryaḥ sūryo jyotiḥ svāhā.*

"*Agni* is light, and light is *Agni*. Hail! *Sūrya* is light, and light is *Sūrya*. Hail! *Agni* is splendour, light is splendour. Hail! *Sūrya* is splendour, light is splendour. Hail! Light is *Sūrya*, *Sūrya* is light. Hail!"

3.12

*agnir mūrdhā divaḥ kakut patiḥ pṛthivyā ayam, apāṁ retāṁsi jinvatī. (= RV 8. 44.16)*

"*Agni* is head and height of heaven, the Master of the earth is he: He quicken the waters' seed."

3.56

*vayaṁ soma vrata tava manas tanūṣu bibhrataḥ, prajāvantaḥ sacemahi.*

"O *Soma*, with the spirit still within us, blessed with progeny, May we be busied in your law."

3.57

*eṣa te rudra bhāgaḥ saha svasrāmbikayā taṁ juṣasva svāha, eṣa te rudra bhāga ākhuste paśuḥ.*

"O *Rudra*, this is your allotted portion. With *Ambikā* your sister kindly take it. This, *Rudra*, is your share, the rat your victim."

3.58

*ava rudramad īmahy ava devaṁ tryambakam, yathā no vasyasas karad yad<sup>215</sup> yathā naḥ śreyasas karad yad<sup>216</sup> yathā no vyavasāyayāt.*

"We have contented *Rudra*, yea, put off *Tryambaka* the God, That he may make us wealthier, may make us yet more prosperous, may make us vigorous to act."

<sup>215</sup> Griffith: *yad* missing.

<sup>216</sup> Griffith: *yad* missing.

3.59

*bheṣajam asi bheṣajam gave 'śvāya puruṣāya bheṣajam, sukham meṣāya meṣyai.*

“You are a healing medicine, a balm for cow and horse and man, a happiness to ram and ewe.”

3.60

*tryambakam yajāmahe sugandhiṃ puṣṭi-  
vardhanam, urvārukam iva bandhanān mṛt-  
yor mukṣīya māmṛtāt, tryambakam yajāmahe  
sugandhiṃ<sup>217</sup> pativedanam, urvārukam iva  
bandhanād ito mukṣīya māmutaḥ.*

“Tryambaka we worship, sweet augments of prosperity. As from its stem a cucumber, may I be freed from bonds of death, not reft of immortality. We worship him, Tryambaka, the husband-finder, sweet to smell. As from its stem a cucumber, hence and not thence may I be loosed.”

3.61

*etat te rudrāvasam tena paro mūjavat 'tīhi,  
avatatadhanvā pinākāvasaḥ kattivāsā<sup>218</sup> a-  
hiṃsan naḥ śivo 'tīhi.*

“This, Rudra, is your food: with this depart beyond the Mūjavān. With bow unstrung, with muffled staff, clothed in a garment made of skin, gracious, not harming us, depart.”

3.62

*tryāyuṣaṃ jamadagneḥ kaśyapasya tryāyu-  
ṣam, yad deveṣu tryāyuṣaṃ tan no astu  
tryāyuṣam.*

“May Jamadagni’s triple life, the triple life of Kaśyapa, the triple life of Deities – may that same triple life be ours.”

3.63

*śivo nāmāsi svadhitis te pitā namas te astu  
mā mā hiṃsīḥ, ni vartayāmy<sup>219</sup> uṣe nnādyāya  
prajananāya rāyas poṣāya suprajāstvēya su-  
vīryāya.*

“Gracious, your name; the thunder is your father. Obeisance be to you: forbear to harm

me. I shave you for long life, for food to feed you, for progeny, for riches in abundance, for noble children, for heroic vigour.”

4.1

*edam aganma devayajanaṃ pṛthivyā yatra  
devāso ajuṣanta viśve, ṛk sāmābhyā saṃ-  
taranto yajurbhī rāyas poṣeṇa sam iṣā made-  
ma, imā āpaḥ sam u me santu devīḥ, oṣadhe  
trāyasva, svadhite mainaṃ hiṃsīḥ.*

“We have reached his earth’s place of sacrificing, the place wherein all the Deities delighted. Crossing by Ṛk, by Sāman, and by the Yajus, may we rejoice in food and growth of riches. Gracious to me be these Celestial Waters! Protect me, Plant. O Knife, forbear to harm him.”

4.23

*sam akhye devyā dhiyā saṃ dakṣiṇayorucak-  
ṣasā, mā ma āyuh pra moṣīr mo ahaṃ tava,  
vīraṃ videya tava devi sandṛśi.*

“I with my thought have commenced with divine far-sighted Dakṣiṇā. Steal not my life. I will not yours. May I, O Goddess, in your sight find for myself a hero son.”

4.36

*varuṇasyottambhanam asi, varuṇasya skam-  
bhasarjanī sthaḥ, varuṇasya ṛtasaany asi  
varuṇasya ṛtsadanam asi, varuṇasya ṛtasa-  
danam ā sīda.*

“You are a prop for Varuṇa to rest on. You are the pins that strengthen Varuṇa’s pillar. You are the lawful seat where Varuṇa sits. Sit on the lawful seat where Varuṇa sits.”

5.14

*yuñjate mana uta yuñjate dhiyo viprā vip-  
rasya bṛhato vipaścitaḥ, vi hotrā dadhe va-  
yunāvid eka in mahī devasya savituh pariṣṭu-  
tiḥ svāhā.*

“The priests of him the lofty Priest well-skilled in hymns harness their spirits, yea harness their holy thoughts. He only knowing

<sup>217</sup> Griffith: *sugandhi*.

<sup>218</sup> Griffith: *kṛttivāsā*.

<sup>219</sup> Griffith: *vartayāmyāyuse*.

works assigns their priestly tasks. Yea, lofty is the praise of *Savitā* the God. All-hail!”

5.15

*idaṃ viṣṇur vicakrame tredhā ni dadhe padam, samūḍham asya pāṃsare svāhā.*

“Forth through This All strode *Viṣṇu*: thrice his foot he planted, and the whole was gathered in his footstep’s dust. All-hail!”

5.16

*urāvati dhenumatī hi bhūtaṃ sūyvasinī manave daśasyā, vy askabhñā rodasī viṣṇav ete dādhartha pṛtivīm abito mayūkhaiḥ svāhā.*

“Rich in sweet food be you, and rich in milch-kine, with fertile pastures, fair to do men service. Both these worlds, *Viṣṇu*, have you stayed asunder, and firmly fixed the earth with pegs around it.”

5.17

*devaśrutau deveṣv ā ghoṣatam, prācī pre-tam adhvaram kalpayanti ūrdhvam yajñam nayatam mā jihvaratam, svam goṣṭham ā vadatam devī durye āyur mā nir vādiṣṭam prajāṃ mā nir vādiṣṭam, atra ramethaṃ varṣman pṛthivyāḥ.*

“Heard by the God, you twain, to Gods proclaiming it. O eastward, O you twain, proclaiming worship. Swerve you not: bear the sacrifice straight upward. To your own cow-pen speak, you godlike dwellings. Speak not away my life, speak not away my children. On the earth’s summit here may you be joyful.”

5.18

*viṣṇor nu kaṃ vīryāni pra vocam yaḥ pārthivāni vimame rajāṃsi, yo askabhāyad uttaraṃsadhas-tham vicakramāṅs tredhorugāyaḥ, viṣṇave tvā.*

“Now will I tell the mighty deeds of *Viṣṇu*, of him who measured out the earthy regions. Who propped the highest place of congregation, thrice setting down his foot and widely striding. For *Viṣṇu* you.”

5.19

*divo vā viṣṇa uta vā pṛthivyā maho vā viṣṇa uror antarikṣāt, ubhā hi hastā vasunā pṛṇasvā prayaccha dakṣiṇād ota savyāt, viṣṇave tvā.*

“Either from heaven or from the earth, O *Viṣṇu*, or, *Viṣṇu*, from the vast wide air’s region, fill both your hands full with abundant riches, and from the right and from the left bestow them. For *Viṣṇu* you.”

5.20

*pra tad viṣṇu stavate vīryeṇa mṛgo na bhī-maḥ kucaro giriṣṭhāḥ, yasyoruṣu triṣu vikramaṇeṣv adhikṣiyanti bhuvanāni viśvā.*

“For this his mighty deed is *Viṣṇu* lauded, like some wild beast, dread, prowling, mountain-roaming, He within whose three wide-extended paces all living creatures have their habitation.”

5.21

*viṣṇo rarāṭam asi, viṣṇoḥ śnaptre stha, viṣṇoḥ syūr asi, viṣṇor dhruvo’si, vaiṣṇavam asi viṣṇave tvā.*

“You are the frontlet for the brow of *Viṣṇu*. You are the corners of the mouth of *Viṣṇu*. You are the needle of the work of *Viṣṇu*. You are the firmly-fastened knot of *Viṣṇu*. To *Viṣṇu* you belong. You for *Viṣṇu*.”

5.23

*rakṣoḥaṇam valagahanam vaiṣṇavīm, idam aham taṃ valagam ut kirāmi yaṃ me niṣṭyo yam amātyo nicakhāna, idam aham taṃ valagam ut kirāmi yaṃ me samāno yam asamāno nicakhāna, idam aham taṃ valagam ut kirāmi yaṃ me sabandhur yam asabandhur nicakhāna, idam aham taṃ valagam ut kirāmi yaṃ me sajāto yam asajāto nicakhāna, ut kṛtyāṃ kirāmi.*

“Fiend-killing, charm-destroying voice of *Viṣṇu*. Here I cast out that charm of magic power which stranger or housemate for me hath buried. Here I cast out that charm of

magic power buried for me by equal or non-equal. Here I cast out the charm that hath been buried for me by non-relation or relation. I cast the charm of magic out.”

5.38

*uru viṣṇo vi kramasvoru kṣṛyāya nas kṛdhi, ghr̥taṃ ghr̥tayone piba pra-pra yajñapatim tira svāhā.*

“O Viṣṇu, stride you widely forth, give ample room for our abode. Drink butter, homed in butter! Still speed on the sacrifice’s lord. All-hail!”

5.43

*dyāṃ mā lekhīr antarikṣaṃ mā himsīḥ pṛthivyā saṃ bhava, ayaṃ hi tvā svadhitis tetijānaḥ praṇināya mahate saubhagāya, atas tvam deva vanaspate śatavalśo vi roha sahasra-valśā vi vayaṃ ruhema.*

“Graze not in the sky. Harm not mid-air. Be in accordance with the earth. For this well sharpened axe hath led you forth to great felicity. Hence, with hundred branches, God, Lord of the Forest, grow you up. May we grow spreading with hundred branches.”

6.4

*viṣṇoḥ karmāni paśyata yato vratāni paspaśe, indrasya yujyaḥ sakhā.*

“Look you on Viṣṇu’s works, whereby the Friend of Indra, close-allied, has led his holy ways be seen.”

6.16

*rakṣasāṃ bhāgo’si, nirastaṃ rakṣaḥ, idam ahaṃ rakṣo’bhi tiṣṭhām idam ahaṃ rakṣo’va bādha idam ahaṃ rakṣo’dhamam tamo nayāmi, ghr̥tena dyāvāpṛthivī proruṇvāthāṃ, vāyo ve stokānām, agnir ājyasya vetu svāhā, svāhākṛte ūrdhvanabhasaṃ mārutaṃ gacchataṃ.*

“You are the demons share. Expelled are demons. Here I tread down; here I repel the demons; here lead the demons into lowest dark-

ness. Invest, you two, the heaven and earth with fatness. O Vāyu, eagerly enjoy the droppings. Let Agni eagerly enjoy the butter. All-hail! Enjoy the butter. All-hail! Go, both of you, by Svāhā consecrated, to ūrdhvanabhas, offspring of the Maruts.”

6.19

*ghr̥taṃ ghr̥tapāvānaḥ pibata vasāṃ vasāpāvānaḥ pibatāntarikṣasya havir asi svāhā, diśaḥ pradiśa ādiśo vidiśa uddiśo digbhyaḥ svāhā.*

“You drinkers-up of fatness, drink the fatness; drink up the gravy, drinkers of the gravy! You are the oblation of the air’s mid-region. All-hail!”

7.24

*mūrdhānaṃ divo’aratiṃ pṛthivyā vaiśvānaram ṛta ā jātam agnim, kaviṃ samrājam atithiṃ janānām āsann ā pātraṃ janayanta devāḥ. (RV 6.7.1)*

“Him, messenger of earth and head of heaven, Agni Vaiśvānara, born in holy Order, the Sage, the King, the Guest of men, a vessel fit for their mouths, the Gods have generated.”

7.41

*ud u tyam jātavedasaṃ devaṃ vahanti keta-vaḥ, dṛṣe viśvāya sūryaṃ svāhā.*

“His bright rays bear him up loft, the God who knows all that lives, Sūrya, that all may look on him. All-hail!”

7.47

*agnaye tvā mahyaṃ varuṇo dadātu so mṛtatvam aśīyāyur dātra edhi mayo mahyaṃ pratigrahītre, rudrāya tvā mahyaṃ varuṇo dadātu so mṛtatvam aśīya prāṇo dātra edhi vayo mahyaṃ pratigrahītre, bṛhaspataye tvā mahyaṃ varuṇo dadātu so mṛtatvam aśīya tvag dātra edhi mayo mahyaṃ pratigrahītre, yamāya tvā mahyaṃ varuṇo dadātu so mṛtatvam aśīya hayo dātra edhi vayo mahyaṃ pratigrahītre.*

“To Agni, yea, to me let *Varuṇa* give you. May I gain life that shall endure for ever. Be you strong vital power to him who gives you, and comfort unto me the gift’s receiver. To *Rudra*, yea, to me let *Varuṇa* ... for ever. Be you the breath of life to him who gives you, and vigour unto me the gift’s receiver. To me *Bṛhaspati* let *Varuṇa* ... for ever. Be you covering skin to him who gives you, and comfort unto me the gift’s receiver. To *Yama*, yea, to me let *Varuṇa* ... for ever. Be you a steed to him who gives the guerdon, and vital power to me the gift’s receiver.”

7.48

*ko dāt kasmā adāt kāmo dāt kāmāyādāt, kāmo dātā kāmāḥ pratigrahītā kāmaitat te.*

“Who has bestowed it? Upon whom bestowed it? Desire bestowed it, for Desire he gave it, Desire is giver and Desire receiver, This, O Desire, to you is dedicated.”

8.6

*vāmam adya savitar vāmam u śvo dive-dive vāmam asmabhyam sāvīḥ, vāmasya hi kṣayasya deva bhūrer ayā dhiyā vāmabhājah syāma.*

“Fair wealth, O *Savitā*, today, tomorrow fair wealth produce for us each day that passes. May we, through this our song, be happy gainers, God! of a fair and spacious habitation.”

8.42

*ājighra kalaśam mahyā tvā viśantv indavaḥ, punarūrjānivarttasvasānaḥ sahasram dhukṣvorudhārā payasvatī punarmā viśatād rayiḥ.*

“Smell you the vat. Let *Soma* drops pass into you, O Mighty One. Return again with store of sap. Pour for us wealth in thousands you with full broad streams and floods of milk. Let riches come again to me.”

9.6

*apsv antar amṛtam apsu bheṣajam apām uta praśastiṣv aśvā bhavata vājinaḥ, devīr āpo*

*yo va ūrmiḥ pratūrtiḥ kakunmān vājasās tenāyam vājam set.*

“*Amṛta* is in the Waters, in the Waters healing medicine. Yea, Horses! at our praises of the Waters grow you fleet and strong. Whatever wave, O celestial Waters, wealth-giving, towering high, and swifly rushing, is yours, therewith may this man win him riches.”

9.28

*agne acchāvadeha naḥ prati naḥ sumanā bhava, pra no yaccha sahasrajittvaṁ hi dhanadā rsi svāhā.*

“*Agni*, speak kindly to us here, be graciously inclined to us Winner of thousands, grant us boons, for you are he who gives wealth.”

9.29

*pra no yacchatv aryamā pra pūṣā pra bṛhaspatiḥ, pra vāg devī dadātu naḥ svāhā.*

“Let *Aryaman* vouchsafe us wealth, and *Pūṣan*, and *Bṛhaspati*. May *Vāk* the goddess give to us. All-hail.”

10.18 (= 9.40)

*imaṁ devā asapatnaṁ suvadhvaṁ mahate kṣatrāya mahate jyaiṣṭhyāya mahate jānārājyāyendrasyndriyāya, imam amuṣya putram amuṣyai putram asyai viśa eṣa vo’mī rājā somo’smākaṁ brāhmaṇānām rājā. (= VS 9. 40)*

“Gods, quicken him that none may be his rival, for mighty domination, mighty lordship, Him, son of Such-a-man and Such-a-woman, of Such-a-tribe. This is your King, you Tribesmen. *Soma* is Lord and King of us the *Brāhmaṇas*.”

10.20 (= 23.65)

*prajāpate na tvad etāny anyo viśvā rūpāṇi pari tā babhūva, yatkāmās te juhumas tan no astu, ayam amuṣya pitāsāv asya pitā, vāyam syāma patayo rayiṇām svāhā, rudra yat te krivi paraṁ nāma tasmin hutam asya-meṣṭam asi svāhā.*

“*Prajāpati*, you only comprehend all these created forms, and none beside you. Give us our heart’s desire when we invoke you. So-and-So’s father is this man. Sire of this man. Sire of this man is So-and So. May we All-hail! be lords of rich possessions. What active highest name you has, O *Rudra*, therein you are an offering, are an offering at home. All-hail!”

10.32

*kuvid aṅga yavamanto yavaṃ cid yathā dānty anupūrvaṃ viyūya, ihehaiṣāṃ kṛṇuhi bhojanāni ye barhiṣo nama ukṭiṃ yajanti, upayāmagr̥hīto ’sy aśvibhyāṃ tvā sarasvatyai tvendrāya tvā sutrāmṇe.*

“What then? As men whose fields are full of barley reap the ripe corn, removing it in order, so bring the food of these men, bring it hither, who pay the Sacred Grass their spoken homage. Taken upon a base are you. You for the *Aśvins*. You for *Sarasvatī*, and you for *Indra*, for the Excellent Protector.”

11.14

*yoge yoge tavastaraṃ vāje-vāje havāmahe, sakhāya indram ūtaye. (= RV 1. 30.7)*

“In every need, in every race we call, as friends, to succour us, *Indra*, the mightiest of all.”

11.83

*annapate ’nnasya no dehyanamīvasya śuṣmiṇaḥ, pra-pra dātāraṃ tāriṣa ūrjaṃ no dhehi dvipade catuṣpade.*

“A share of food, O Lord of Food, vouchsafe us, invigorating food that brings no sickness. Onward, still onward lead the giver. Grant us maintenance both for the quadruped and biped.”

12.55

*tā asya sūdadohasaḥ somaṃ śrīṇanti pr̥śna-yaḥ, janman devānāṃ viśas triṣv ā rocane divaḥ.*

“The dappled kine who stream with milk prepare his draught of *Soma* juice. Clans in the birthplace of the Gods, in the three luminous realms of heaven.”

12.57

*samitāṃ saṃ kalpethāṃ saṃpriyau rociṣṇū sumanasyamānau, iṣam ūrjam abhi saṃvasānau.*

“Combine you two and harmonise together, dear to each other, brilliant, friendly-minded, Abiding in one place for food and vigour.”

12.58

*saṃ vāṃ manāṃsi saṃ vratā sam u cittāny ākaram, agne purīṣyādhipā bhava tvam na iṣam ūrjam yajamānāya dhehi.*

“Together have I brought your minds, your ordinances, and your thoughts. Be you our Sovereign Lord, *Agni Purīṣya*; give food and vigour to the Sacrificer.”

12.65

*yaṃ te devī nirṛtir ābabandha pāsaṃ grīvāsv avicṛtyam, taṃ te vi śyāmy āyuso na madhyād athaitaṃ pitum addhi prasūtaḥ, namo bhūtyai yedaṃ cakāra.*

“The binding noose which *Nirṛti* the Goddess has fastened on your neck that none may loose it, I loose for you as from the midst of *āyus*. Sped forward now, you eat the food we offer. To Fortune, her who has done this, be homage.”

12.70

*ghṛtena sītā madhunā sam akyatāṃ vḥśvair devair anumatā marudbhiḥ, ūrjasvatī payasā pinvamānāsmānt sīte payasābhyā vavṛtsva.*

“Approved by the *Viśvedevas* and by the *Maruts*, balm be the furrow with sweet-flavoured fatness. Succulent, teeming with your milky treasure, turn hitherward to us with milk, O Furrow.”

12.72

*kāmaṃ kāmāduḡhe dhuḡṣva mitrāya varuṇāya ca, indrāyāsṡvibhyāṃ pūṣṇe prajābhya oṣadhībhyah.*

“Milk out their wish, O Wishing-Cow, to *Mitra* and to *Varuṇa*, to *Indra*, to the *Aśvins*, to *Pūṣan*, to people and to plants.”

12.79

*aśvathe vo niśadanaṃ parṇe vo vasatiṣ kṛtā, gobhāja it kilāsatha yat sanavatha pūruṣam.*

“The Holy Fig tree is your home, your mansion is the *Parṇa* tree: Winners of cattle shall you be if you regain for me this man.”

12.89

*yāḡ phalinīr yā aphaḡā apuṣpā yās ca puṣpiṇīḡ, bṛhaspatiprasūtās tā no muñcantv aṃhasaḡ.*

“Let fruitful plants, and fruitless, those that blossom, and the blossomless, urged onward by *Bṛhaspati*, release us from our pain and grief.”

12.100

*dirghāyus ta oṣadhe khanitā yasmai ca tvā khanāmy aham, atho tvaṃ dirghāyur bhūtva śatavalśā vi rohatāt.*

“Long-lived be he who digs you, plant, and he for whom I dig you up. So may you also, grown long-lived, rise upward with a hundred shoots.”

13.3

*brahma jajñānaṃ prathamam purastād vi śimataḡ suruco vena āvaḡ, sa budhnyā upamā asya viṣṡhāḡ sataś ca yonim asataś ca vi vaḡ.*

“Eastwards at first was *Brahma* generated. *Vena* overspread the bright Ones from the summit. Disclosed his deepest nearest revelations, womb of existent and non-existent.”

13.4

*hiranyagarbhaḡ sam avartatāgre<sup>220</sup> bhūtasya jātaḡ patir eka āsīt, sa dādḡhāra pṛthivīm dyam utemāṃ kasmai devāya haviṣā vidhema.*

“In the beginning rose *Hiranyagarbha*, born Only Lord of all created being. He fixed and held up this earth and heaven. Worship we *Ka* the God with our oblation.”

13.6

*namo stu sarpebhyo ye ke ca pṛthivīm anu, ye antakṣe ye divi tebhyaḡ sarpebhyo namaḡ.*

“Homage be paid to Serpents unto all of them that are on earth, to those that dwell in air, to those that dwell in sky be homage paid.”

13.20

*kāṇḡāt kāṇḡāt prarohantī paruṣaḡ-paruṣa pari, evā no dūrve pra tanu sahasreṇa śatena ca.*

“Upspringing from your every joint, upspringing from each knot of yours, thus with a thousand, *Dūrvā!* with a hundred do you stretch us out.”

13.27

*madhu vātā ṛtāyate madhu kṣaranti sindhavaḡ, mādhvīr naḡ santv oṣadhīḡ.*

“The winds waft sweets, the rivers pour sweets for the man who keeps the Law: So may the plants be sweet for us.”

13.32

*mahī dyauḡ pṛthivī ca na imam yajñam mimikṣatām, pipṛtām no bharimabhiḡ.*

“May the Heaven and Earth, the mighty pair, besprinkle this our sacrifice, and feed us full with nourishments.”

13.52

*tvaṃ yaviṣṡtha dāsūṣo nṛmḡ pāhi ṣṛṇudhī girah, rakṣā tokam uta tmanā.*

“Do you, Most Youthful God, protect the men who offer, hear their songs, protect his offspring and himself.”

14.20

*agnir devatā, vāto devatā, sūryo devatā, candramā devatā, vasavo devatā, rudrā devatā,*

<sup>220</sup> Griffith: *avarttatāgre.*



*ādityā devatā, maruto devatā, viśve devā devatā, bṛhaspatir devatā, indro devatā, varuṇo devatā.*

“The Deity Agni. The Deity Vāta. The Deity Sūrya. The Deity Moon. The Deity Vasus. The Deity Rudras. The Deity Ādityas. The Deity Maruts. The Deity Viśvedevas. The Deity Bṛhaspati. The Deity Indra. The Deity Varuṇa.”

15.15

*ayaṃ puro harikeśaḥ sūryaraśmīs tasya rathagrtsaś ca rathaujās ca senānīgrāmaṇyā<sup>221</sup>, puñjikasthalā cakratusthalā cāpsarasau daṅkṣṇavaḥ paśavo hetih pauruṣeyo vadhaḥ prahetis tebhyo namo astu te no ’vantu te no mṛdayantu te yaṃ dviṣmo yaś ca no dveṣṭi tam eṣāṃ jambhe dadhmaḥ.*

“This one in front, golden-tressed, with sunbeams; the leader of his host and his chieftain are the Rathagrtsa and the Rathaujās, and Puñjikasthalā and Kratusthalā his Apsaras-es. Biting animals are his weapon, homicide his missile weapon; to them be homage: may they protect us, may they have mercy upon us. In their jaws we place the man whom we hate and who hates us.”

15.54

*ud budhyasvāgne prati jāgrhi tvam iṣṭāpūrte saṃ sjethām ayaṃ ca, asmint sadhasthe adhy uttarasmin visve devā yajamānās ca sīdata.*

“Wake up, O Agni, you, and keep him watchful. Wish and fruition, meet and he, together. In this and in the loftier habitation be seated, All-Gods! and the Sacrificer.”

16.1

*namas te rudra manyava uto ta iṣave namaḥ, bāhubhyām uta te namaḥ.*

“Homage be paid unto your wrath, O Rudra, homage to your shaft: to your two arms be homage paid.”

16.2 (= 16.49)

*yā te rudra śivā tanūr aghorāpāpakāśinī, tayā nas tanvā śaṃtamayā giriśantābhi cākaśhi.*

“With that auspicious form of yours, mild, Rudra! pleasant to behold, even with that most blessed form, look, Mountain-hunter! here on us.”

16.5

*adhy avocad<sup>222</sup> adhivaktā prathamo daivyo bhiṣak, ahīmś ca sarvān jambhayant sarvās ca yātudhānyo ’dharācīḥ parā suva.*

“The Advocate, the first divine Physician, has defended us. Crushing all serpents, drive away all Yātudhānis down below.”

16.18

*namo babhluśāya vyādherine ’nnānām pataye namo namo bhavasya hetyai jagatām, pataye namo namo rudrāyātātāyine kṣetrānām pataye namo namaḥ sūtāyāhantyaivaivanānām pataye namaḥ.*

“Homage to the brown-hued piercer, to the Lord of food be homage. Homage to Bhava’s weapon, homage to the Lord of moving things! Homage to Rudra whose bow is bent to slay, to the Lord of fields homage, homage to the charioteer who injures none, to the lord of forests be homage.”

16.24

*namaḥ sabhābhyaḥ sabhāpatibhyaś ca vo namo namo ’śvebhyo ’śvapatibhyaś ca vo namo, nama āvyādhinībhyo vividhyantībhyaś ca vo namo nama ugañābhyas tṛṃhatībhyaś ca vo namaḥ.*

“Homage to assemblies and to you lords of assemblies, homage to horses and to you, masters of horses, homage to you hosts that wound and pierce, to you destructive armies with excellent bands be homage.”

16.25

*namo gaṇebhyo gaṇapatibhyaś ca vo namo namo vrātebhyo vrātapatibhyaś ca vo namo*

<sup>221</sup> Griffith: *senānīgrāmaṇyau.*

<sup>222</sup> Griffith: *avocado.*

*namgr̥tsebhyo*<sup>223</sup> *gr̥tsapatibhyaś ca vo namo namo virūpebhyo viśvarūpebhyaś ca vo namaḥ.*

“Homage to the troops and to you lords of the troops be homage. Homage to the companies and to you lords of companies, homage. Homage to sharpeners and to you lords of sharpeners, homage. Homage to you the deformed and to you who wear all forms, homage!”

16.28

*namaḥ śvabhyaḥ śvapatibhyaś ca vo namo namo bhavāya ca rudrāya ca namaḥ śarvāya ca paśupatiaye ca namo nīlagrīvāya ca śitikanṭhāya*<sup>224</sup> *ca.*

“Homage to dogs, and to you masters of dogs, homage. Homage to *Bhava*, and to *Rudra* homage, homage to *Sarva* and to *Paśupati*, and to *Nilagrīva* and *śitikanṭha*, homage.”

16.33

*namaḥ sobhyāya ca pratisaryāya ca namo yāmyāya ca kṣemyāya ca namaḥ ślokyāya cāvasānyāya ca nama urvaryāya ca khalyāya ca.*

“Homage to *Sobhya* and to the dweller in the magic amulet, homage! Homage to him who is allied to *Yama*, to him who prospers be homage! Homage to the famous and to the endmost, to him of the sown corn-land and to him of the threshing-floor be homage.”

16.41

*namaḥ śambhavāya ca mayobhavāya ca namaḥ śamkarāya ca mayaskarāya ca namaḥ śivāya ca śivatarāya ca.*

“Homage to the source of happiness and to the source of delight, homage to the causer of happiness and to the causer of delight, homage to the auspicious, homage to the most auspicious.”

16.46

*namaḥ parṇāya ca parṇasādāya ca nama udguramāṇāya cābhignate ca, nama ākhi-*

*date ca prakhidate ca, nama iṣukṛdbhyo dhanuṣkṛdbhyas ca vo, namo namo vaḥ kirikebhyo devānām hṛdayebhyo, namo vicinvatkebhyo, namo vikṣiṇatkebhyo, nama ānirhatebhyah.*

“Homage to him who is in leaves and to him who is in the falling of the leaves. Homage to him with the threatening voice and to him who slays, homage to him who slays, and homage to him who troubles and to him who afflicts. Homage to you arrow-makers, and to you bow-makers, homage to you sprinklers, to the hearts of the Gods. Homage to the discerners, homage to the destroyers; homage to the indestructible.”

16.48

*imā rudrāya tavase kapardine kṣayadvīrāya pra bharāmahe matīḥ, yathā śam asad dvi-pade catuspade viśvaṃ puṣṭaṃ grame asminn anāturam. (= RV 1.114.1)*

“To the strong *Rudra* bring we these our songs of praise, to him the Lord of Heroes, with the braided hair, that it be well with all our cattle and our men, that in this village all be healthy and well-fed.”

16.54

*asaṃkhyātā sahasrāṇi ye rudrā adhi bhūmyām, teṣāṃ sahasrayojan' va dhanvāni tanmasi.*

“Innumerable thousands are the *Rudras* on the face of earth: Of all these *Rudras* we unbend the bows a thousand leagues away.”

16.61

*ye tīrthāni pracaranti sṛkāhastā niṣaṅgiṇaḥ, teṣāṃ sahasrayojane va dhanvāni tanmasi.*

“Those who with arrows in their hand, and armed with swords, frequent the fords. Of these, etc.”

17.33

*āśuḥ śiśāno vṛṣabho na bhīmo ghanāghanaḥ kṣobhanaś carṣaṇinām, saṃkrandano 'nimiṣa*

<sup>223</sup> Griffith: *namo gr̥tsebhyo.*

<sup>224</sup> Griffith: *Śitikanṭhāya.*

*ekavīraḥ śataṃ senā ajayat sākam indraḥ.* (= RV 10.103.1)

“Swift, rapidly striking, like a bull who sharpens his horns, terrific, stirring up the people, with eyes that close not, bellowing, Sole Hero, *Indra* subdued at once a hundred armies.”

17.43

*asmākam indraḥ samṛteṣu dhvajeṣv asmākam yā iṣavas tā jayantu, asmākam vīrā uttare bhavantv asmāṃ u devā avatā haveṣu.*

“May *Indra* aid us when our flags are gathered: victorious be the arrows of our army. May our brave men of war prevail in battle. You Gods protect us in the shout of onset.”

17.48

*yatra*<sup>225</sup> *vāṇāḥ sampatanti kumārā viśikhā iva, tatra indro*<sup>226</sup> *bṛhaspatiḥ*<sup>227</sup> *aditiḥ śarma yacchatu viśvāḥ śarma yacchatu.* (= RV 6.75.17)

“There where the flights of arrows fall like boys whose locks are yet unshorn, may *Indra*, may *Bṛhaspati*, may *Aditi* protect us well, protect us well through all our days.”

17.52

*yasya*<sup>228</sup> *kurmo grhe havis tam agne vardhayā tvam, tasmai devā adhi bravann*<sup>229</sup> *ayaṃ ca brahmaṇaspatiḥ.*

“The man within whose house we pay oblation, *Indra*, prosper him. May the Gods bless and comfort him, they and this *Brāhmaṇaspati*.”

17.91

*catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādā dve śīrṣe sapta hastāso asya, tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti maho devo martyāṃ ā viveśa.*

“For are his horns, three are the feet that bear him: his heads are two, his hands are seven in number. Bound with a triple bound the Bull roars loudly: the mighty God hath entered into mortals.”

17.97

*kanyā iva vahatum etavā u añjy añjānā abhi cākaśīmi, yatra somaḥ sūyate yatra yajño ghṛtasya dhārā abhi tat pavante.*

“As maidens deck themselves with gay adornment to join the bridal feast, I now behold them. Where *Soma* flows and sacrifice is ready, thither the streams of holy oil are running.”

18.36

*payah pṛthivyāṃ paya oṣadhīṣu payo divy antarikṣe payo dhāḥ, payasvatīḥ pradiśah santu mahyam.*

“Store milk in earth and milk in plants, milk in the sky and milk in air. Teeming with milk for me be all the regions.”

18.49

*tat tvā yāmi brahmaṇā vandamānas tad ā śāste yajamāno havirbhiḥ, aheḍamāno varuṇeha bodhyuruśamśa mā na āyuh pra moṣīḥ.*

“I ask this of you with my prayer, adoring: your worshipper asks this with his oblations. *Varuṇa*, stay you here and be not angry: steal not our life from us, O you Wise-Ruler.”

18.76

*dhāmacchad agnir indro brahmā devo bṛhaspatiḥ, sacetaso viśve devāyajñam prāvantu naḥ śubhe.*

“Home-hider *Agni*, *Indra*, and *Brahmā*, and bright *Bṛhaspati*. May the All Gods, one-minded, guard our sacrifice in happy place.”

19.75

*annāt pariśruto rasam brahmaṇā vy apibat kṣatram payah somam prajāpatiḥ, ṛtena satyam indriyam vipānaṃ śukram andhasa indrasyendriyam idaṃ payo mṛtam madhu.*

“*Prajāpati* by *Brahma* drank the essence from the foaming food, the princely power, milk, *Soma* juice. By Law, etc.”

<sup>225</sup> Griffith: *bāṇāḥ* = RV 6.75.17.

<sup>226</sup> Griffith: *tanna indro*, RV 6.75.17: *tatrā no*.

<sup>227</sup> RV 6.75.17: *brahmaṇaspatiḥ*.

<sup>228</sup> Griffith: *yasya*.

<sup>229</sup> Griffith: *bruvann*.

20.21 (= RV 1.50.10)

*ud vayam tamasas pari svaḥ<sup>230</sup> paśyanta uttaram, devaṃ devatrā sūryam aganma jyotiruttamam.*

“Looking upon the loftier light above the darkness we have come, to *Sūrya*, God among the Gods, the light that is most excellent.”

20.50

*trātāram indram avitāram indraṃ have- have suhavaṃ sūram indram, vayāmi śakraṃ puruhūtam indraṃ svasti no maghavā dhātv indrah.*

“*Indra* the Rescuer, *Indra* the Helper, Hero who listens at each invocation. *śakra* I call, *Indra* invoked of many. May *Indra*, Bounteous Lord, prosper and bless us.”

20.53

*ā mandrair indra haribhir yāhi mayūramabhiḥ, mā tvā ke cin ni yaman viṃ nā pāśino ti’ dhanveva tāṃ ihi. (RV 3.45.1)*

“Come hither, *Indra*, with Bay Steeds, joyous, with tails like peacock plumes. Let no men check your course as fowlers stay the bird: pass over them as over desert lands.”

20.80

*aśvinā tejasā cakṣuḥ prāṇena sarasvatī vīryam, vācendro balenendrāya dadhur indriyam.*

“The *Aśvins* gave, with lustre, sight, *Sarasvatī* manly strength with breath. *Indra* with voice and might gave *Indra* vigorous power.”

21.1

*imaṃ me varuṇa śrudhī havam adhyā ca mṛḍaya, tvām avasyur ā cake.*

“*Varuṇa*, hear this call of mine: be gracious unto us this day. Longing for help I yearn for you.”

22.1

*tejo ’si śukram amṛtam āyuṣpā āyur me pāhi, devasya tvā savituḥ prasave ’śvinor bāhubhyāṃ puṣṇo hastābhyām, ā dade.*

“Splendour are you, bright, deathless, life-protector. Protector of my life be you. By impulse of God *Savitā* I take you with arms of *Aśvins*, with the hands of *Pūṣan*.”

22.22

*ā brahman brāhmaṇo brahmavarcasī jāyatām ā rāṣṭre rājanyaḥ sūra iṣavyo tivyaḍdhī mahāratho jāyatāṃ dogdhṛi dhenur voḍdhānaḍvān āśuḥ saptiḥ puramḍdhir yoṣā jīṣṇū ratheṣṭhāḥ sabheyo yuvāsya yajamānasya vīro jāyatāṃ nikāme-nikāme naḥ parjanya varṣatu phalavatyo na oṣadhayaḥ pacyantāṃ yogakṣemo naḥ kalpatām.*

“*Brahman*, let there be born in the kingdom the *Brāhmaṇa* illustrious for religious knowledge; let there be born the *Rājanya*, heroic, skilled archer, piercing with shafts, mighty warrior; the cow giving abundant milk; the ox good at carrying; the swift courser; the industrious woman. May *Parjanya* send rain according to our desire; may our fruit-bearing plants ripen; may acquisition and preservation of property be secured to us.”

22.23

*prāṇāya svāhāpānāya svāhā vyānāya svāhā cakṣuṣe svāhā śrotrāya svāhā vāce svāhā manase svāhā.*

“Hail to vital breath! Hail to out-breathing! Hail to diffusive breath! Hail to eye! Hail to ear! Hail to Speech! Hail to Mind!”

22.28

*nakṣatrebhyaḥ svāhā nakṣatriyebhyaḥ svāhā horātrebhyaḥ svāhārdhamāsebhyaḥ svāhā māsebhyaḥ svāhā ṛtubhyaḥ svāhārtavebhyaḥ svāhā samvatsarāya svāhā dhyāvāpṛthivībhyāṃ svāhā candrāya svāhā sūryāya svāhā raśmibhyaḥ svāhā vasubhyaḥ svāhā rudrebhyaḥ svāhādityebhyaḥ svāhā marudbhayaḥ svāhā viśvebhyo devebhyaḥ svāhā mūlebhyaḥ svāhā śākhābhyaḥ svāhā vanaspatibhyaḥ svāhā puṣpebhyaḥ svāhā phalebhyaḥ svāhauṣadhībhyāḥ svāhā.*

<sup>230</sup> RV 1.50.10: *jyotiṣ* instead of *svaḥ*.

“Hail to the lunar asterisms! Hail to those connected with the lunar asterisms! Hail to Day and Night! Hail to half-months! Hail to the months! Hail to the Seasons! Hail to the Season-groups! Hail to the year! Hail to Heaven and Earth! Hail to the Moon! Hail to the Sun! Hail to his rays! Hail to the *Vasus*! Hail to the *Rudras*! Hail to the *Ādityas*! Hail to the *Maruts*! Hail to the All-Gods! Hail to roots! Hail to branches! Hail to forest trees! Hail to flowers! Hail to fruits! Hail to herbs!”

23.5

*yuñjanti bradhnam aruṣaṃ carantaṃ pari tasthuṣaḥ, rocante rocanā divi .*

“They who stand round him as he moves harness the bright, the ruddy Steed: The lights are shining in the sky.”

23.18

*prāṇāy svāhā, apānāya svāhā, vyānāya svāhā ambe ambike 'mbālike na mā nayati kaścana, sasasty aśvakaḥ subhadrikāṃ kāmpīlavāsinim.*

“To vital breath, Hail! To out-breathing, Hail! To diffusive breath, Hail! *Ambā! Ambikā! Ambālikā!* No one is taking me away. The sorry horse will lie beside another, as Subhadrā the dweller in *Kāmpīla*.”

23.19

*gaṇānāṃ tvā gaṇapatiṃ havāmahe priyāṇāṃ tvā priyapatiṃhavāmahe nidhīnāṃ tvā nidhipatiṃ havāmahe vaso mama, āham ajāni garbhadham ā tvam ajāsi garbhadham.*

“You we invoke, troop-lord of troops. You we invoke, the loved ones’ lord. You, lord of treasures, we invoke. My precious wealth!”

23.32

*dadhikrāvno akāriṣaṃ jiṣṇor aśvasya vājīnaḥ, surabhi no mukhā karat pra 'ṇa āyūṃ śi tāriṣat. (= RV 4.39.6)*

“Now have I glorified with praise strong *Dadhikrāvan*, conquering steed. Sweet may

he make our mouths: may he prolong the days we have to live.”

23.41

*ardhamāsāḥ parūṃ śi te māsā 'ā chyantu<sup>231</sup> śamyantaḥ, ahorātrāṇi maruto viliṣṭaṃ sūdayantu te.*

“Let the Half-months and let the Months, while sacrificing, flay your limbs: Let Day and Night and the *Maruts* mend each fault in sacrificing you.”

24.1

*aśva stūparo gomṛgas te prājāpatyāḥ kṛṣṇagrīva āgneyo rarāṭe purastāt sārasvatī meṣyadhastād dhanvor āśvināv adhorāmau bāhvoḥ saumapauṣṇaḥ<sup>232</sup> śyāmo nābhyaṃsaurayāmau śvetaś ca kṛṣṇaś ca pārśvayos tvāṣṭrau lomaśasakthau sakthyor vāyavyaḥ śvetah puccha indrāya svapasyāya vehadvaiṣṇavo vāmanaḥ.*

“Horse, hornless goat, *Gomṛga*, these belong to *Prajāpati*. A black-necked goat, devoted to *Agni*, (is to be bound) in front to the forehead (of the horse); *Sarasvatī*’s ewe below his jaws; two goats belonging to the *Āśvins*, with marks on the lower parts of the body, to his fore-legs; a dark-coloured goat, *Soma*’s and *Pūṣan*’s, to his navel; a white and a black, sacred to *Soma* and *Yama*, to his sides; *Tvaṣṭā*’s two, with bushy tails, to his hind feet; *Vāyu*’s white goat to his tail; for *Indra* the Good Worker a cow who slips her calf; a dwarf belonging to *Viṣṇu*.”

24.34

*suparṇaḥ pārjanya ātir vāhaso darvidā te vāyave bṛhaspataye vācas pataye, paiṅgarājo 'laja āntarikṣaḥ plavo madgur matsyas te nadīpataye dyāvāprthivīyaḥ kūrmaḥ.*

“The eagle is *Parjanya*’s; the *āti*, the *Vāhasa*, the wood-pecker, these are for *Vāyu*; for *Bṛhaspati* Lord of Speech is the *Paiṅgarāja*; the *Alaja* belongs to Firmament; pelican, cormorant, fish, these belong to the Lord of

<sup>231</sup> Griffith: *chhyantu*.

<sup>232</sup> Griffith: *saumāpauṣṇaḥ*.

Rivers; the tortoise belongs to Heaven and Earth.”

25.4

*agneḥ pakṣatir vāyor nipakṣatir indrasya tṛtīyā somasya caturthy adityai pañcamīndrānyai Ṣaṣṭhī marutāṃ saptamī bṛhaspater aṣṭamy aryamṇo navamī dhātur daśamīndrasyaikādaśī varuṇasya dvādaśī yamasya trayodaśī.*

“The first rib is *Agni*’s; the second *Vāyus*; the third *Indra*’s; the fourth *Soma*’s; the fifth *Aditi*’s; the sixth *Indrāṇi*’s; the seventh the *Maruts*’; the eighth *Bṛhaspati*’s; the ninth *Aryaman*’s; the tenth *Dhātā*’s; the eleventh *Indra*’s; the twelfth *Varuṇa*’s; the thirteenth *Yama*’s.”

25.5

*indrāgnyoḥ pakṣatiḥ sarasvatyai nipakṣatir mitrasya tṛtīyāpām caturthī nirṛtyai pañcamy agnīṣomayoḥ Ṣaṣṭhī sarpāṇām saptamī viṣṇor aṣṭamī pūṣṇo navamī tvaṣṭur daśamīndrasyaikādaśī varuṇasya dvādaśī yamyai trayodaśī dyāvāpṛthivyor dakṣiṇaṃ pārsvaṃ viśveṣāṃ devānām uttarām.*

“(On the left side) the first rib belongs to *Indra-Agni*; the second to *Sarasvatī*; the third to *Mitra*; the fourth to the Waters; the fifth to *Nirṛti*; the sixth to *Agni-Soma*; the seventh to the Serpents; the eighth to *Viṣṇu*; the ninth to *Pūṣan*; the tenth to *Tvaṣṭā*; the eleventh to *Indra*; the twelfth to *Varuṇa*; the thirteenth to *Yama*. The right flank belongs to Heavens and Earth, the left to the All-Gods.”

25.18

*tam īśānaṃ jagatas tasthuṣas patim dhiyamjinvam avase hūmahe vayam, pūṣā no yathā vedasām asad vṛdhe rakṣitā pāyur adabdhaḥ svastaye.*

“Him we invoke for aid who reigns supreme, the Lord of all that stands or moves, inspirer of the soul. That *Pūṣan* may promote the increase of our wealth, our keeper and our guard infallible for our good.”

25.19

*svasti na indro vṛddhaśravāḥ svasti naḥ pūṣā viśvavedāḥ, svasti nas tārkṣyo arīṣṭanemiḥ svasti no bṛhaspatir dadhātu.*

“Illustrious far and wide, may *Indra* prosper us: may *Pūṣan* prosper us, the Master of all wealth. May *Tārkṣya* with uninjured fellies prosper us: *Bṛhaspati* vouchsafe to us prosperity.”

25.21

*bhadraṃ karṇebhiḥ śṛṇuyāma devā bhadraṃ paśyemākṣabhir yajatrāḥ, sthirair aṅgais tuṣṭvāṃsas tanūbhir vy aśemahi devahitam yad āyuh.*

“Gods, may we with our ears listen to what is good, and with our eyes see what is good, you Holy Ones. With limbs and bodies firm, may we extolling you attain the term of life appointed by the Gods.”

26.3

*bṛhaspate ati yad aryo arhād dyumad vibhāti kratumaj janeṣu, yad dīdayac chavasa ṛtaprajāta tad asmāsu draviṇaṃ dhehi citram, upayāmagṛhīto’si bṛhaspataye tvā, eṣa te yonir bṛhaspataye tvā.*

“Give us, *Bṛhaspati*, that wondrous treasure, that which exceeds the merit of the foeman, which shines among the folk effectual, splendid, that, Son of Law, which is with might refulgent. Taken upon a base are you. You for *Bṛhaspati*. This is your home. You for *Bṛhaspati*.”

26.14

*ṛtavas te yajñam vi tanvantu māsā rakṣantu te haviḥ, saṃvatsaras te yajñam dadhātu naḥ prajāṃ ca pari pātu naḥ.*

“The Seasons spread your sacrifice! The Months protect your offerings! May the year guard our sacrifice for you and keep our children safe.”

26.15

*upahvare girinām saṅgame ca nadīnām, dhiyā vipro ajāyata.* (see RV 8.6.28)

“There where the mountains downward slope, there by the meeting of the streams the sage was manifest with song.”

27.16

*dvāro devīr anv asya viśve vratā dadante agneḥ, uruvyacaso dhāmnā patyamānāḥ.*

“Widely expansive, ruling by foundation, the Doors divine and, after, all – preserve this Agni’s holy works.”

27.34

*tava vāyav ṛtaspatē tvaṣṭur jāmātar adbhuta, avāṁśy ā vṛṇīmahe.*

“Wonderful Vāyu, Lord of Truth, you who are Tvaṣṭar’s Son-in-law. Your saving succour we elect.”

27.35

*abhi tvā sūra nonumo’ dugdhā iva dhenavaḥ, īśānam asya jagataḥ swardṛśam īśānam indra tasthuṣaḥ.* (= RV 7.32.22)

“Like kine un milked we call aloud, Hero, to you and sing your praise, Looker on heavenly light, Lord of this moving world, Lord, Indra! of what move not.”

27.39

*kayā naś citra ā bhuvad ūtī sadāvṛdhaḥ sakhā, kayā śaciṣṭhaya vṛtā.* (= RV 4.31.1)

“What succour will he bring to us, wonderful, ever-prospering Friend? With what most mighty company?”

27.45

*saṁvatsaro’si parivatsaro’sidāvatsaro’sidvatsaro’si vatsaro’si, uśasas te kalpantām ahorātrās te kalpantām ardhamāsās te kalpantām māsās te kalpantām ṛtavaste kalpantām saṁvatsaras te kalpatām, pretyā etyai saṁ cāñca pra ca sāraya, suparnacid asi tayā devatayāṅgirasvad dhruvaḥ sīda.*

“You are Saṁvatsara; you are Parivatsara; you are Idāvatsara; you are Vatsara. Prosper your Dawns! Prosper the Day-and-Nights! Prosper your Half-months, Months, Seasons and Years! Combine them for their going and their coming, and send them forward on their ordered courses. In eagle’s shape you are piled up and layered. With that divinity, Ar-giras-like, lie steady.”

29.13

*yamena dattaṁ trita enam āyunag indra eṇaṁ prathamam adhyatiṣṭhat, gandharvo asya raśānām agrbhṇāt sūrād aśvaṁ vasavo nir ataṣṭa.*

“This Steed, bestowed by Yama, Trita harnessed, and Indra was the first to mount and ride him. His bridle the Gandharva grasped. O Vasus, from out the Sun you fashioned forth the Courser.”

29.21

*īrmāntāsaḥ silikamadhyamāsaḥ saṁśūraṇāso divyāso atyāḥ, haṁsā iva śreṇīso yatante yad ākṣiṣur divyam ajmam aśvāḥ.*

“Symmetrical in flank, with rounded haunches, mettled like heroes, the celestial Coursers. Put forth their strength like swans in lengthened order when they, the Steeds, have reached the heavenly causeway.”

29.36

*sadyo jāto vy amimīta yajñam agni devānām abhavat purogāḥ, asya hotuḥ pradiśy ṛtasya vāci svāhākṛtaṁ havir adantu devāḥ.*

“Agni as soon as he was born made ready the sacrifice and was the God’s preceder. May the Gods eat our offering consecrated according to the true Priest’s voice and guidance.”

29.37

*ketuṁ kṛṇvann aketave peśo maryā apeśase, sam uśadbhīr ajāyathāḥ.* (= RV 1.6.3)

“You, making light where no light was, and form, O men! where form was not, was born together with the Dawns.”

29.44

*tīvrān ghoṣān kṛṇvate vṛṣapāṇayo śvā rathe-  
bhiḥ saha vājayantaḥ, avakrāmantaḥ prapa-  
dair amitrān kṣiṇanti śatrūṃr anapavyayan-  
taḥ.*

“Horses whose hoofs rain dust are neighing loudly, yoked to the Chariots, showing forth their vigour. With their forefeet descending on the foemen, they, never flinching, trample and destroy them.”

29.47

*brāhmaṇāsaḥ pitarāḥ somyāsaḥ śive no  
dyāvāpṛthivī aneasā, pūṣā naḥ pātu duritād  
ṛtvārdho rakṣā mākir no aghaśaṃsa īsata.*

“The *Brāhmaṇas*, and the Father meet for *Soma* draughts, and, graciously inclined, unequalled Heaven and Earth. Guard us from evil, *Pūṣan*! Guard us strengtheners of Law! Let not the evil-wishers master us.”

31.1

*sahasraśīrṣā puruṣaḥ sahasrākṣaḥ sahas-  
rapāt, sa bhūmiṃ sarvataḥ sprtvāty atiṣṭhad  
daśāṅgulam.*

“*Puruṣa* has a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. Pervading earth on every side he fills a space ten fingers broad.”

31.10

*yat puruṣaṃ vy adadhuh katidhā vy akalpa-  
yan, mukhaṃ kim asya kau bāhū kā ūrū pādā  
ucyete.*

“When they initiated *Puruṣa* how many portions did they make? What was his mouth? what were his arms? what are the names of thighs and feet?”

31.22

*śrīś ca te lakṣmīś ca patnyāv ahorātre pārśve  
nakṣatrāṇi rūpam aśvinā vyāttām<sup>233</sup>, iṣṇān  
iṣāṇāmuṃ ma iṣāṇa sarvalokaṃ ma iṣāṇa.*

“Beauty and Fortune are your wives: each side of you are Day and Night. The constellations are your form: the *Aśvins* are yours

open jaws. Wishing, wish yonder world for me, wish that the Universe be mine.”

33.30

*vibhrād brhat pibatu somyaṃ madhv āryur  
dadhad yajñapatāv avihrutam, vātajūto yo  
abhirakṣati tmanā prajāḥ puṣa purudhā vi  
rājati. (= RV 10.170.1)*

“May the Bright God drink glorious *Soma*-mingled mead, giving the sacrifice’s lord uninjured life; He who, wind-urged, in person guards our offspring well, has nourished them with food and shone over many land.”

33.35

*yad adya kac ca vṛtrahann udagā abhi sūrya,  
sarvaṃ tad indra te vaśe.*

“Whatever, *Vṛtra*-slayer! You *Sūrya* have risen on to day. That, *Indra*, all is in your power.”

33.43 (= 34.31)

*ā kṛṣṇena rajasā vartamāno niveśayann amṛ-  
taṃ martyaṃ ca, hiraṇyayena savitā rathenā  
devo yāti bhuvanāni paśyan. (RV 1.35.2)*

“Throughout the dusky firmament advancing, laying to rest the immortal and the mortal, Borne on his golden chariot he comes, *Savitā*, God, beholding living creatures.”

33.83

*ayaṃ sahasram ṛṣibhiḥ sahaskṛtaḥ samudra  
iva paprathe, satyaḥ so asya mahimā grṇe  
śavo yajñeṣu viprarājye.*

“He, with his might advanced by *Ṛṣis* thousandfold, has like an ocean spread himself. His majesty is praised as true at solemn rites, his power where holy singers rule.”

34.1

*yaj jāgrato dūram udaiti daivaṃ tad u supta-  
sya tathaivaiti, dūraṅgamaṃ jyotiṣāṃ jyotir  
ekaṃ tan me manaḥ śivasamkalpam astu.*

“That which, divine, mounts far when man is waking, that which returns to him when he

<sup>233</sup> Griffith: *vyāttam*.



is sleeping. The lights' one light that goes to a distance, may that, my mind, be moved by the right intention."

34.6

*suṣārathir aśvān iva yan manuṣyān nenīyate bhīsubhir vājina iva, hr̥tpratiṣṭhaṃ yad ajiram̐ javiṣṭhaṃ tan me manaḥ śivasam̐kalpam astu.*

"Controlling men, as with the reins that guide them, a skilful charioteer drives fleet-foot horses, which dwells within the heart, agile, most rapid, may that, my mind, be moved by right intention."

34.11

*pañca nadyaḥ sarasvatīm api yanti sasrotasah, sarasvatī tu pañcadhā so deśe 'bhavat sarit.*

"Five rivers flowing on their way speed onward to *Sarasvatī*, but then became *Sarasvatī* a fivefold river in the land."

34.43

*trīṇi padā vi cakrame viṣṇur gopā adābhyah, ato dharmāṇi dhārayan.*

"*Viṣṇu* the undecivable Protector strode three steps, thenceforth. Establishing his high decrees."

34.55

*sapta ṛṣayah pratihitāḥ śarīre sapta rakṣanti sadam apramādam, saptāpaḥ svapato lokam īyus tatra jāgrto asvapnajaṃ satradsadau<sup>234</sup> ca devau.*

"Seven Ṛṣis are established in the body: seven guard it evermore with care unceasing. Seven waters seek the world of him who lies asleep: two sleepless Gods are feast-fellows of him who wakes."

34.58

*brahmaṇaspate tvam asya yantā sūktasya bodhi tanayaṃ ca jinva, viśvaṃ tad bhadraṃ yad avanti devā bṛhad vadema vidathe su-*

*vīrāḥ, ya imā viśvā, viśvakarmā, yo naḥ pitā, annapate 'nnasya no dehi.*

"O *Brahmaṇaspati*, be you the controller of this our hymn, and prosper you our children. All that of the Gods regard with love is blessed. Loud may we speak, with brave sons, in assembly. He who sate down. Mighty in mind. Father who made us. A share of good, O Lord of Food."

36.12

*śaṃ no devīr abhiṣṭaya āpo bhavantu pītaye, śaṃ yor abhi sravantu naḥ.*

"May the celestial Waters, our helpers, be sweet for us to drink, and flow with health and strength to us."

36.17

*dyauḥ śāntir antarikṣam̐ śāntiḥ pṛthivī śāntir āpaḥ śāntir ośadhayah śāntiḥ, vanaspatayah śāntir viśve devāḥ śāntir brahma śāntiḥ sarvam̐ śāntiḥ śāntir eva śāntiḥ sā mā śāntir edhi.*

"Sky alleviation, Air alleviation, Earth alleviation, Plants alleviation, Trees alleviation, All-Gods alleviation, *Brahma* alleviation, Universe alleviation, just Alleviation alleviation may that alleviation come to me!"

36.24

*tac cakṣur devahitam̐ purastāc chukram uc carat, paśyema śaradaḥ śataṃ jīvema śaradaḥ śataṃ śṛṇuyāma śaradaḥ śataṃ pra bravāma śaradaḥ śataṃ adīnāḥ syāma śaradaḥ śataṃ bhūyaś ca śaradaḥ śatāt.*

"Through hundred autumns may we see that bright Eye, God-Appointed rise, a hundred autumns may we live. Through hundred autumns may we hear; through hundred autumns clearly speak: through hundred autumns live content; a hundred autumns, yea, beyond a hundred autumns may we see."

**Ṛgveda (RV)**

Text: Titus online edition, translation: Wilson/Arya

1.99.1

*jātavedase sunavāma somam arātīyato ni dahāti vedaḥ, sa naḥ parṣad ati durgāṇi viśvā nāveva sindhum duritāty agniḥ.*

“We offer oblations of *Soma* to *Jātavedas*, may he consume the wealth of those who feel enmity against us; may he transport us over all difficulties: may *Agni* convey us, as in a boat over a river, across all wickedness.”

2.42.1

*kanikradaj januṣaṃ prabruvāṇa iyarti vācam ariteva nāvam, sumaṅgalaś ca śakune bhavāsi mā tvā kā cid abhibhā viśvyā vidat.*

“Crying repeatedly, and foretelling what will come to pass, (the *Kapiñjala*) gives (due) direction to its voice, as a helmsman (guides) a boat: be ominous, bird, of good fortune, and may no calamity whatever befall you from any quarter.”

2.42.2

*mā tvā śyena ud vadhīn mā suparṇo mā tvā vidad iṣumān vīro astā, pitryām anu pradiśaṃ kanikradat sumaṅgalo bhadravādī vadeha.*

“May no kite, no eagle, kill you: may no archer armed with arrows, reach you: crying repeatedly, in the region of *Pitā*, be ominous of good fortune: proclaimer of good luck, speak to us on this occasion.”

2.42.3

*ava kranda dakṣiṇato gṛhāṇāṃ sumaṅgalo bhadravādī śakunte, mā na stena īsata mā-ghaśaṃso bṛhad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ.*

“Bird, who are ominous of good fortune, the proclaimer of good luck, cry from the south of our dwellings: may no thief, no evildoer prevail against us; that blessed with excellent

descendants we may worthily praise you at this sacrifice.”

2.43.1

*pradakṣiṇid abhi gṛṇanti kāravo vayo vadanta ṛtuthā śakuntayaḥ, ubhe vācau vadati sāmāgā iva gāyatram ca traiṣṭubhaṃ cānu rājati.*

“Let the birds in quest of their food, according to the season, proclaim their circumambulations like the celebrators (of sacred rites): he utters but notes, as the chanter of the *Sāma* recites the *Gayatrī* and *Trīṣṭubh*, and delights (the hearers).”

2.43.2

*udgāteva śakune sāmā gāyasi brahmaputra iva savaneṣu śaṃsasi, vṛṣeva vājī śīsumatīr apītyā sarvato naḥ śakune bhadram ā vada viśvato naḥ śakune puṇyam ā vada.*

*viśvato naḥ śakune puṇyam ā vada.*

“You sing, Bird, like the *Udgatā* chanting *Sāma*: you murmur like the *Brahmāputra* at sacrifices: like a horse (neighing) when approaching a mare do you proclaim (aloud) to us good fortune from every quarter; proclaim aloud prosperity to us from every direction.”

2.43.3

*āvadaṃs tvam śakune bhadram ā vada tūṣṇīm āsīnaḥ sumatiṃ cikiddhi naḥ, yad utpatan vadasi karkarir yathā bṛhad vadema vidathe suvīrāḥ.*

“When uttering your cry, O Bird, proclaim good fortune: when sitting silently cherish kind thoughts towards us: when you cry as you are flying, let the sound be like that of a lute; so that, blessed with excellent descendants, we may worthily praise you at this sacrifice.”

4.10.8

*śivā naḥ sakhyā santu bhrātrāgne deveṣu yuṣme, sā no nābhiḥ sadane sasminn ūdhan.*

“May our friendly and fraternal attentions to

you deities prove fortunate; for such (attentions shown) in every sacrifice (form) our security in the sphere (of the gods).”

## 5.51.11

*svasti no mimitām aśvinā bhagaḥ svasti devy aditir anarvaṇaḥ, svasti pūṣā asuro dadhātu naḥ svasti dyāvāprthivī sucetunā.*

“May the *Aśvins* contribute to our prosperity: may *Bhaga* and the divine *Aditi* (contribute) to (our) prosperity: may the irresistible *Viṣṇu*, the scatterer (of foes), bestow upon us prosperity: may the conscious Heaven and Earth (bestow upon us) prosperity.”

## 5.51.12

*svastaye vāyumuḥ bravāmahai somaṃ svasti bhuvanasya yas patih, bṛhaspatiṃ sarvagaṇaṃ svastaye svastaya ādityāso bhavantu naḥ.*

“We glorify *Vāyu* for prosperity, *Soma* for prosperity, he who is the protector of the world: (we praise) *Bṛhaspati* (attended by) all the companies (of the deities), for prosperity, and for our prosperity may the *Ādityas* be ours.”

## 5.51.13

*viśve devā no adyā svastaye vaiśvānaro va sur agniḥ svastaye, devā avantv ṛbhavaḥ svastaye svasti no rudraḥ pātv aṃhasaḥ.*

“May all the gods be with us today for our prosperity may *Agni*, the benefactor of all men, and giver of dwellings, (be with us) for (our) prosperity: may the divine *Ṛbhus* protect us for (our) prosperity: may *Rudra* preserve us from iniquity for (our) prosperity.”

## 5.51.14

*svasti mitrāvaruṇā svasti pathye revati, svasti na indraś cāgniś ca svasti no adite kṛdhi.*

“*Mitra* and *Varuṇa*, grant us prosperity: Path (of the firmament), and Goddess of riches, (grant us) prosperity: may *Indra* and *Agni* (grant us) prosperity: *Aditi*, bestow prosperity upon us.”

## 5.51.15

*svasti panthām anu carema sūryācandrama-sāv iva, punar dadatāghnatā jānatā saṃ gamemahi.*

“May we ever follow prosperously our path, like the sun and the moon: may we be associated with a requiting, grateful, and recognisant (kinsman).”

## 5.82.4

*adyā no deva savitaḥ prajāvat sāvih sauhbagam, parā duṣvapnyam suva.*

“Grant us today, divine *Savitā* affluence with progeny, and drive away evil dreams.”

## 9.85.5

*kanikradat kalaśe gobhir ayyase vy avyayam samayā vāram arṣasi, marmṛjyamāno atyo na sānasir indrasya soma jaṭhare sam akṣaraḥ.*

“Crying aloud you are blended in the pitcher with yoghurts and milk, you pass through the woollen (sic!) fleece in the midst; being cleansed like a horse, distributing (gifts), you flow, *Soma*, into *Indra*’s belly.”

## 9.97.32

*kanikradat anu panthām ṛtasya śukro vi bhāsy amṛtasya dhāma, sa indrāya pavase matsaravān hinvāno vācam matibhiḥ kavīnām.*

“(The *Soma*) cries repeatedly upon the path of the sacrifice; you shine (being) the abode of immortality; possessing exhilaration you flow for *Indra*, sending forth your voice with praises of the sages.”

## 9.102.1

*krāṇā śīsur mahīnām hinvann ṛtasya dīdhitim, viśvā pari priyā bhuvad adha dvitā.*

“Performing (sacred rites) the child of the great (waters) sending forth the lustre of the sacrifice (*Soma*) produces all acceptable (oblations) and (abides) in the two worlds.”

10.85.38

*tubhyam agre pary avahan sūryāṃ vahatunā saha, punaḥ patibhyo jāyāṃ dā agne prajayā saha.*

“(The Gandharvas) gave Sūrya to you, Agni, with her bridal ornaments; do you, Agni, give (us) husbands our wife back again with male offspring.”

10.85.39

*punaḥ patnīm agnir adād āyusā saha varcasā, dīrghāyur asyā yaḥ patir jīvāti śaradaḥ śatam.*  
“Agni gave the wife back again with life and splendour; may he who is her husband enjoying long life a hundred years.”

### Ṛgveda-Khilāni (RVKh)

Text: Scheftelowitz, translation: Bhise

2.2.1

*bhadraṃ vvada dakṣiṇato bhadraṃ uttarato vada, bhadraṃ purastān no vada bhadraṃ paścāt kapiñjala.*

“Speak auspiciously from the south, speak auspiciously from the north, O Kapiñjala, speak auspiciously in front of us and auspiciously at the back.”

2.2.2

*bhadraṃ vvada putrair bhadraṃ vvada grheṣu ca, bhadraṃ asmākaṃ vvada bhadraṃ no abhayaṃ vvada.*

“Speak auspiciously together with your sons and speak auspiciously in the nests. Speak auspiciousness and fearlessness for us.”

2.2.3

*bhadraṃ adhastān no vada bhadraṃ upariṣṭān no vada, bhadraṃ bhadraṃ na ā vada bhadraṃ nas sarvato vada.*

“Speak auspiciously below us, speak auspiciously above us. Again and again speak auspiciously for us. Speak auspiciously for us on all sides.”

2.2.4

*asapatnaṃ purastān naś śivan dakṣiṇatas kṛdhi, abhayaṃ satataṃ paścād bhadraṃ uttarato grhe.*

“(Grant) us freedom from rivalry in the east, grant us welfare in the south, continuous fearlessness in the west (and) auspiciousness in the north of the house.”

2.2.5

*yauvanāni mahayasi jigyuṣām iva dundubhiḥ, śakuntaka pradakṣiṇaṃ śatapattrābhi no vada.*

“You glorify youthful deeds as the drum does of the conquerors. O bird having a hundred wings, speak gently for us.”

2.4.1

*svastyayanam<sup>235</sup> tārṁkṣyam ariṣṭanemiṃ mahadbhūtaṃ vāyasam<sup>236</sup> devatānām, asuraghnam indrasakhaṃ samatsu brhad yaśo nāvam ivā ruhema.*

“Like a boat let me mount upon Tārṁkṣya of unharmed felly, who is the path leading to well-being, the great being who is the bird of gods, killer of demons, friend of Indra in the battles, having great fame to his credit.”

2.4.2

*aṅghomucam āṅgirasam gayaṃ ca svasty ātreyam manasā ca tārṁkṣyam, prayatapāṇiś śaraṇam pra padye svasti sambādheṣv abhayan no astu.*

“With outstretched hands I surrender mentally to Tārṁkṣya who delivers one from danger, is the treasure of the Aṅgirasas and well-being of the Atris. May there be well-being and fearlessness during oppressions for us.”

2.6.1

*hiraṇyavarṇāṃ hariṇīm suvarṇarajatasrajām, candrām hiraṇmayīm lakṣmīm jātavedo mamā vaha.*

“O Jātavedas, bring unto me Prosperity which has the colour of gold, is possessed of hari

<sup>235</sup> Usha: *svastyayanam*.

<sup>236</sup> Usha: *vāyasam*.

(soma juice), is wearing a garland of gold and silver, is lovely and full of gold.”

2.6.2

*tām ma ā vaha jātavedo lakṣmīm anapagāminīm, yasyām hiraṇyaṃ vindeyaṃ gām aśvaṃ puruṣān aham.*

“O Jātavedas, bring unto me that prosperity which never slips away, in which I may obtain gold, cow, horse and men i.e. followers.”

2.6.9

*gandhadvārām durādharṣām nityapuṣṭām kariṣiṇīm, īśvarīm sarvabhūtānān tām ihopa hvaye śriyam.*

“I invoke that Prosperity which is ushered in through fragrance, is difficult to overpower, is always possessed of cattle-food, is possessed of dust and is the ruler of all the creatures.”

### Kāṇvasaṃhitā (KS)

Text: Sātavalekhara

3.9.6 (3.76)

*dīrghāyutvāya balāya varcase. suprajāstvēya cāsā atho jīva śaradaḥ śatam.*

“For the sake of old age, of strength, of splendour. And for the sake of good offspring and the near ones (*ca āsā?*) now live a hundred autumns.”

### Paraskāragrhyasūtra (PG)

Text: Narain, translation: Oldenberg

1.6.2

*tām juhōti saṃhatena tiṣṭhati aryamaṇaṃ devaṃ kanyā 'agnimayakṣata, sa no aryamā devaḥ preto muñcantu mā pateḥ svāhā, iyaṃ nāryupabrūte lājānāvapantikā, āyuṣmānas-tu me patiredhantām jñātayo mama svāhā, imām lājānāvapāmyagnau samṛddhikaraṇaṃ tavaṃ mama tubhya, ca saṃvananaṃ tadagniranumanyatāmiyaṃ svāheti.*

“This she sacrifices, with firmly joined hands, standing, (while the bridegroom recites the verses,) ‘To the god Aryaman, the girls have made sacrifice, to Agni; may he, god Aryaman, loosen us from here, and not from the husband. Svāhā!’

‘This woman, strewing grains, prays thus, may my husband live long! May my relations be prosperous!’ Svāhā!

‘These grains I throw into the fire: may this bring prosperity to thee, and may it unite me with thee! May Agni grant us that. N. N.! Svāhā!’”

1.8.1

*athaināmuḍicī ṁ sapta padāni prakrāmayati – ekamiṣe, dve ūrje, trīṇi rāyaspoṣāya, catvāri māyobhavāya, pañca paśubhyaḥ, ṣaḍ ṛtubhyaḥ, sakhe saptapadā bhava sā māmanuvratā bhava.*

“Then he makes her step forward in a northern direction seven steps (with the words), ‘One for sap, two for juice, three for the prospering of wealth, four for comfort, five for cattle, six for the seasons. Friend! Be with seven steps (united to me). So be thou devoted to me.’”

1.8.2

*viṣṇus tvā nayatviti sarvatrānuṣajati.*

(The words), ‘May Viṣṇu lead thee’ are added to every part (of the formula).

1.8.5

*tata enām mūrdhanyabhiṣiñcati āpaḥ śivāḥ śivatamāḥ śāntāḥ śāntatamāstāste kṛṇvantu bheṣajamiti.*

“From that (pot) he sprinkles her (with water) on her head (with the formula), ‘The blessed, the most blessed waters, the peaceful ones, the most peaceful ones, may they give medicine to thee’ - ”

2.1.6

*anvārabdha ājyāhutīrhitvā prāśanānte śītāsvapsuṣṣṇā āsiñcati uṣṇena vāya udakenehyadite keśān vapeti.*

“The father taking hold (of his wife) sacrifices *ājya* oblations, and after he has partaken of the (sacrificial) food, he pours warm water into cold water with (the words), ‘With warm water come hither, Vāyu! Aditi, cut the hair.’”

2.1.9

*tata ādāya dakṣiṇaṃ godānamundati - savitrā prasūtā daivya āpa undantu te tanuṃ dīrghāyutvāya varcasa iti.*

“Taking some (water) he moistens the hair near the right ear with (the formula), ‘On the impulse of Sāvitrī may the divine waters moisten thy body in order that long life and splendour may be thine.’”

2.1.11

*śivo nāmeti lohakṣuramādāya nivarttayāmīti pravapati, yēvapat savitā kṣureṇa somasya rājño varuṇasya vidvān, tena brahmāṇo vapatedamasyāyusyañjaradaṣṭiryathāsad iti.*

“Taking up a copper razor with (the formula), ‘Friendly by name’ (Vāj. Samh. III, 63 a), he cuts (the hair) with (the formula), ‘I cut off’ (ibid. 63 b), (and with the formula,) ‘The razor with which Sāvitrī, the knowing one, has shaven (the beard) of king Soma and Varuṇa, with that, ye Brāhmaṇas, shave his (head), in order that he may be blessed with long life and may reach old age.’”

2.1.16

*athottarato yena bhūriścarā divaṃ jyokca paścāddhi sūrya, tena te vapāmi brahmaṇā jīvātave jivānāya suślokyāya svastaye iti.*

“Then on the left side with (the verse), ‘With that prayer by which you mayst thou, a mighty one, go to heaven, and long mayst thou see the sun : with that prayer I shave thee for the sake of life, of existence, of glory, of welfare.’”

2.1.19

*yatkṣureṇa majjayathā supeśasā vap-tvā vāvapati keśāñchindhi śiro mā ‘syāyuh pramoṣiḥ* (cp. AśvGS 1.17.15).

“(He recites the verse,) ‘When the shaver shaves his hair with the razor, the wounding, the well-shaped, purify his head, but do not take away his life.’”

2.2.7

*athainaṃ vāsah paridhāpayati-yenendrāya brhaspatirvāsah paryadadhādamṛtaṃ tena tvā paridadhābhyāyuṣe dhīrghāyutvāya balāya varcasa iti.*

“He then makes him put on a garment with (the verse), ‘In the way in which Brhaspati put the garment of immortality on Indra, thus I put (this garment) on thee, for the sake of long life, of old age, of strength, of splendour.’”

## Atharvaveda

Text: Titus online edition

1.9.3

*yenendrāya samabharah payāmsy uttamena brahmaṇā jātavedah, tena tvam agna iha vardhayemaṃ sajātānāṃ śraīṣṭhya ā dhehyenam.*

“With what highest worship, O Jātavedas, you did bring together draughts for Indra, therewith, O Agni, do you increase this man here. Set him in supremacy over his fellows.”

Newar Rituals of Passage<sup>237</sup>

	Rite	Nevārī (Sanskrit)	Time <sup>238</sup>
Prenatal rites	Procreation, insemination	( <i>garbhādhāna</i> )	
	Producing a male child	( <i>pumsavana</i> )	
	Parting the hair of the pregnant woman	( <i>simāntonnyana</i> )	
	Offering yoghurt and flattened rice along with <i>yaḥmhāri</i> , sweets etc. to the pregnant woman	<i>dhaubaji nākegu</i>	Any time before delivery
Rites of birth	Delivery including the ritual help of the midwife	<i>macā buigu</i>	
	Writing a mantra on the tongue	( <i>jihvāsodhana</i> )	After delivery, before the child is breast-fed
	Touching the tongue with gold	( <i>vācpūjā</i> )	
	Cutting the umbilical cord	<i>pī dhenegu</i>	
	Birth purification	<i>macābu byekegu</i> ( <i>jātakarma</i> )	4 <sup>th</sup> , 6 <sup>th</sup> or 10 <sup>th</sup> day after birth
	Ear piercing	<i>nhyāyapā khanegu</i>	4-5 years, sometimes with <i>cūḍākarāṇa</i>
Various affinal gift exchange <sup>239</sup>			
Childhood rites	Name giving	<i>nā chuyegu</i> ( <i>nāma-karāṇa</i> )	4 <sup>th</sup> , 6 <sup>th</sup> 10 <sup>th</sup> or 12 <sup>th</sup> day
	Father's sister ( <i>nini</i> ) worships Siṭhī-dyaḥ or Ṣaṣṭhī goddess	<i>chaithī</i>	6 <sup>th</sup> day
	Sending food from mother's maternal home to the husband's house	<i>baji nakaḥ vanegu</i> , <i>macābu svaḥvane-gu</i>	after 1 month
	First outing, sometimes to the maternal house	<i>pājuyā thāy vanegu</i> , <i>macābū la-hika vanegu</i> , <i>sūrya jope</i> ( <i>niṣkramaṇa</i> )	after 1 month
	First feeding of (cooked) rice	<i>macā jākva</i> , <i>jā nakegu</i> , <i>cipā tiyegu</i> ; <i>Nep. pāsni</i> ( <i>anna-prāśana</i> )	6 <sup>th</sup> or 8 <sup>th</sup> month (boy), 5 <sup>th</sup> or 7 <sup>th</sup> month (girl)
	The second and fourth birthday	<i>nidabunhi and pedabunhi</i>	
	Tonsure (first head shaving)	<i>busā khāyegu</i> , <i>busākhā</i> ( <i>cūḍākarāṇa</i> )	5-7 years, often with <i>kaytāpūjā</i>
	Piercing of the ear	<i>nhyāyapā khanegu</i> ( <i>karṇavedha</i> )	Often together with <i>cūḍākarāṇa</i> , sometimes earlier (Jyāpu)

<sup>237</sup> Cp. Pradhan 1986: 59, Levy 1990: 658 ff., Gellner 1992: 199 (Table 7.2), Michaels 2004: 74 (Table 5), Ishii 1999, P. Śreṣṭha N.S. 1126: 79-85.

<sup>238</sup> y = years, m = months, d = days. Times may vary from caste to caste.

<sup>239</sup> See Ishii 1995.

Puberty and adolescence	Beginning of learning	( <i>vidyārambha</i> )	
	Initiation with loincloth	<i>kaytāpūjā</i> ( <i>mekhalā-bandhana</i> )	5, 7, 9, 11 years
	Initiation with holy thread	( <i>Nep.</i> ) <i>bartamān</i> ( <i>vratibandhana</i> , <i>upanayana</i> )	dto.
	Buddhist monastic Intiation	<i>bāre chuyegu</i>	dto.
	Removing of the monk's robe	<i>cīvara kvakāyegu</i>	dto.
	Consecration of Vajrācāryas	<i>ācā luyegū</i> ( <i>vajrā-bhiṣeka</i> )	Few years after <i>bāre chuyegu</i>
	Beginning of study	( <i>vedārambha</i> )	
	First shave	( <i>keśānta</i> )	
	End of study	( <i>samāvartana</i> )	
	Ritual friendship among girls and boys; exchange of <i>kisli</i> and offering it to the gods ( <i>kalaśa</i> )	<i>tvāy cinegu</i> ( <i>mitra-bandhana</i> )	at the time of <i>vratā-bandha</i> or <i>ihi</i>
Marriage of girls with the <i>bel</i> fruit	<i>ihi</i>	2-11 years, before menarche	
Marriage Rites	Ritual seclusion of a girl before the onset of menstruation	<i>bārhā chuyegu</i> , <i>bārhā tayegu</i>	
	Presentation of betel nuts, ornaments, fruits, sweets etc. to the girl by the bridegroom's family	<i>gvay biyegu</i> ( <i>vāg-dāna</i> )	before marriage
	Maternal uncle and priest invite the girl for cooked rice in their houses (approval of the engagement or marriage)	<i>paynā jā nakegu</i> and <i>paynā jā nayegu</i>	shortly before marriage
	Marriage	( <i>paynā</i> ) <i>biyā chvayegu</i> , <i>hvākegu</i> , <i>ihipā</i> ( <i>vivāha</i> , <i>pāṇi-grahaṇa</i> )	
	Dressing of the hair	<i>sā pyāke</i> ( <i>keśavan-dhana</i> , <i>caturthīkarma</i> )	4 <sup>th</sup> day
	Seeing the bride's face	<i>khvaḥ svaḥvanegu</i>	4 <sup>th</sup> day after marriage
	Father-in-law invites the bridegroom	<i>jilājā dukāyegu</i>	after 5 <sup>th</sup> day
	Tantric initiation	<i>dekhā kāyegu dikṣā</i> ( <i>Nev. dekhā</i> )	Optional, after marriage
	Worship of the aged	<i>jyaḥ jākva</i> , <i>burā-buri jākva</i>	
	Old age rituals		( <i>bhīmaratharohaṇa</i> )
		( <i>bhadraratharohaṇa</i> )	83+4+4 y/m/d
		( <i>devaratharohaṇa</i> )	88+8+8 y/m/d
		( <i>divyaratharohaṇa</i> )	99+9+9 y/m/d
		( <i>mahādivyaratharohaṇa</i> )	108+8+8 y/m/d



Death rites <sup>240</sup>	Burning the corpse	<i>sī uyegu, murdā utayagu (antyeṣṭi)</i>	
	The “ten” works	<i>(daśakriyā)</i>	
	Ritual wailing	<i>lakca</i>	4 <sup>th</sup> day after death
	Feeding of the deceased	<i>nhenumhā</i>	7 <sup>th</sup> day after death
	Removal of death pollution	<i>du byēkegu</i>	10 <sup>th</sup> day after death
	The trap for the deceased	<i>svanecā taye byēkegu</i>	dto.

<sup>240</sup> See Gutschow & Michaels  
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## Glossary

If not otherwise marked, all terms are in Nevārī.

*āba* (Skt. *āmala*kī, Nep. *amala*) – emblic myrobalan, *Phyllanthus emblica* L.

*abhiṣeka* (Skt.) – ritual bath, ablution

*abīr* – deep red powder, used with yoghurt and cooked rice never with water to mark the forehead (*svagā*), or scattered as powder on auspicious occasions such as Holi.

*ācāju* – Tantric priest

*ācāluyegu* – second Tantric initiation of a Vajrācārya which empowers him to perform life cycle rituals

*ācamana* (Skt.) – purification by sprinkling water (cp. *nasalā*)

*āgāchē* – house (*chē*) or temple for an → *āgādyaḥ*

*āgādyaḥ* – esoteric deity of a clan, often of all members of a caste

*āgusā* – tuft of air (Skt. → *śikhā*)

*ahimsā* (Skt.) – not to injure or harm, the principal of non-violence

*ailā* – wine, liquor (mostly made of wheat)

*ajimā* – grandmother, midwife, evil spirit

*akṣamālā* (Skt.) – rosary

*akṣata* (Nep., Skt.) → *kigaḥ*

*akṣaya tṛtīyā* – Indestructible Third, the third day of the bright moon in April/May (Baiśākh)

*ala tayegu* – to colour the feet: colouring of toes with red colour, performed by the barber's wife

*alīdyah* – a lump of clay worshipped as śiva or Agni during Ihi

*alīdyahpūjā* – worship of → *alīdyah*

*āmvaḥ-hāmvaḥ* – a mixture of dried Emblica myrobalan (*Phyllanthus emblica* L. *Euphorbiaceae*) and black sesamum

*añjana* (Skt.) – ointment, black soot

*annaprāsana* (Skt.) → *macā jākva*

*annasaṃkalpa* (Skt.) – lit. “the decision for food”: a ritual decision for a plate of grains, especially rice, given to the priest(s) at the end of a ritual

*āratī* (Skt.) – offering of light (cp. *siphāratī*)

*argha*, *arghya* (Nep., Skt.) – water (lit. “worth, respect”): pouring of sacred water (occasionally with milk or → *pañcāmṛta*) by both hands on a deity or person

*arghyapātra* (Skt.) – a pot for *argha*

*āsana* (Skt.) – lit. “seat”, offering of a seat for deities as well as for ritual participants (priest, *yajamāna*, *nāyaḥ* and others); the seat is mostly prepared with a drawn diagram (*maṇḍala*), preferably a → *svastika* or lotus (*kamala*), or built up as a special seat or throne

*āśīrvāda* (Skt.) – lit. “blessings”: recitation of auspicious *mantras* or words at the end of a ritual, sometimes presented with flowers and → *tikā*. At times,

the *āśīrvāda* goes together with → *abhiṣeka* and → *pratiṣṭhā*; cp. *svastivācana*

*aśmāropana* (Skt.) – the grinding of black lentils, part of the Cūḍākarāṇa ritual

*asṭamaṅgala* (Skt.) – eight auspicious signs

*asṭamī* (Skt.) – the 8<sup>th</sup> day of a lunar fortnight

*aśuddha* (Skt.) – lit. “impure”, polluted, referring to persons (like *dumhā*) or objects (clothes, houses)

*aśvattha* (Skt., syn. *pippala*, Nev. *valasi*, Classical Nev. *varangatasi*) – fig-tree, *Ficus religiosa* L.

*aūśī* – new moon (Skt. *amāvāsya*)

*bāhā* – Buddhist monastery

*bajī* – beaten rice

*bali* (Skt.) – offering (cp. *pañcabali*)

*bali* (Skt.), worship with *bali*: offerings of cooked rice or watered beaten rice (*bajī*) and/or cooked food (meat, fish, alcohol) to Aṣṭamātrkā and other mother goddesses, Kṣetrapālas, spirits, ancestors, and supplementary gods. *Mahābali*, the main *bali*, generally is dedicated to or identified with Bhairava, often discarded on an absorbing stone (→ *chvāsaḥ*) to pacify the ghosts (*piśāca*). The term is also used for the main offering to a Tantrically worshipped deity, if it includes animal sacrifices; it then practically means “animal sacrifice”.

*barā cukayegu* – to touch the head with an offering of rice

*bāre* – Buddhist monk

*bāre chuyegu* – Buddhist initiation ritual

*bārhā khyāḥ* – ghost (*khyāḥ*) believed to threaten the girls in seclusion (→ *bārhā tayegu*)

*bārhā pāsāḥ* – lit. “friend of the cave”, i.e. puppet or doll also called *katāmari* for the girls in confinement (→ *bārhā tayegu*)

*bārhā tayegu* – pre-menarche ritual of 12 days seclusion

*bartamān* (Nep.) → *vratibandhana*

*basant pañcamī* – Spring' Fifth, the 5th day after new moon in January/February (cp. *śrī pañcamī*)

*bau* – offering of watered husked rice with turmeric, rice husk with red pepper, flattened rice or cooked rice to spirits or deities

*bayar* (Skt. *badara*) – Indian jujube, *Zizyphus mauritiana* or *jujuba* LAM.

*bel* → *byā*

*belpūjā* – worship of the → *bel* fruit

*besanako laḍḍu* (Nep.) – a kind of sweetmeat made of the flour of soybeans

*bhagavān* (Nep., Skt. *bhagavat*) – god, deity

*bhāgye yayegu* – lit. “to bow down”, to perform *darśana*

*bhajan maṇḍal* (Nep.) – musical group

*bhālincā* – plate (→ *mimicā*)

*bhāri thanegu* – lit. “to dissolve a store” for feasts on the occasion of Kaytāpūjā

*bhāyaya* (Skt. *br̥ṅgarāja*) – *Eclipta prostrata* (L.) L., yellow flowers and leaves offered in death rituals  
*bhēcāpūjā* – worship of the nephews  
*bhīguyā yagu* – lit. “good, auspicious work”  
*bhikṣā* (Skt.) – alms, alms-giving  
*bhoj* (Nep.) – feast  
*bhuisinha* – vermilion, orange or red powder  
*bhuisinha chāygu* or *tekegu* – lit. “to put vermilion” into the forehead and parting the hair on the occasion of Bāhrā, Ihi and marriage  
*bhūt-pret* (Nep.) – ghosts  
*bhvato* – small bodice  
*bhvay* (Skt. *bhojana*) – offering of a joint meal  
*bihā*, *bibaha*, *bihāha* (Nep., Skt. *vivāha*) – marriage  
*bikūbaji* – an offering of about four kilo of rice  
*bindu* (Skt.) – dot or drop applied between the eyes  
*Bisaketjātrā* – New Year festival, 12<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> April  
*brahmacārin* (Skt.) – first life stage of the Twice-borns, student, ascetic  
*brahmā jal* (Nep.) – showering water on the Ihi girls  
*brikhalagna* (Nep.) – horoscope with the sign of Taurus  
*br̥ṅgarāja* → *bhāyaya*  
*busādān* – anniversary rituals (lit. “birthday”) of temples stūpas  
*busā khāygu* or *busākhā* (Skt. *cūḍākaraṇa*) – the boy’s first shaving of the hair  
*bvaḥ* – one portion of food on the occasion of a feast  
*byā* – wood-apple or Bengal quince, *Aegle marmelos* (L.) CORREA EX ROXB. (Nep. *bel*, Skt. *bilva* or *śrīphala*)

*cahlā/chalācā* – razor chisel  
*caḥre* – the 14<sup>th</sup> day of the dark or bright half of the lunar month  
*caitya* (Skt.) → *cibhāḥ*  
*cakrapūjā* (Skt.) – 7<sup>th</sup> day death ritual  
*cāku* – raw sugar  
*candana* (Skt.) – sandelwood and paste made of sandelwood (*Santalum album* L.)  
*cā phyāygu* – lit. “to mould clay”  
*caru* (Skt.) – a mixture of rice, barley, sesamum and pulse with ghee for the *homa* sacrifice  
*catāmari* – flat bread of rice flour  
*catuvā* – a kind of ladle  
*catuṣsāgara-abhiṣeka* (Skt.) – washing with water of four oceans  
*catuṣsamudrajala* (Skt.) – water of the four oceans  
*caurāsī byañjan* → *cyepetā ghāsā*  
*chaitihī* (Skt. *Ṣaṣṭhi*) – ritual on the 6<sup>th</sup> day after birth  
*chattra* (Skt.) – honorific parasol  
*chē* – house  
*chēbau biyegu* – pacificatory ritual for the house  
*chēbhvaḥ* – offering to the house  
*chucū māri* – a kind of bread of wheat  
*chuyṣā ghāganghalā* – small bells  
*chvāsah* – protective stone with a defined catch-

ment area of households, absorbing ritual waste and impure material, e.g. impure food, left-overs, the umbilical cord, the dresses and beds of a dead person later collected by ritual specialists, e.g. the Jugīs. The stone is sometimes also called *kalādyah* (though some insist that it is a different place), a non-iconical female deity, whose name is derived from *kalaṅka*, “unclean, impure things, left-overs.” However, it is often unclear which deity resides in the *chvāsah*. It is often regarded as a female mother or grandmother deity (*aji*, *ajimā*), often also called Chvāsah Ajimā, but it is also believed that the ancestors (*pitri*) and ghosts (*piśāca*) reside there (cp. Toffin 1984: 486, Gellner 1988: 107).

*chvāsah vāygu* – to throw, abandon to the → *chvāsah chvēlābhu* – lit. “plate of roasted buffalo meat”: the last meal before a festival or ritual. According to Ādi Vajracārya (1980: 32) it is “the first part of a life-cycle rite” (*karmakāṇḍāyā pūrvāṅga*) and “the first purifying feast for the rite” (*karmayā prathamāśuddhibhojan*).

*cikā* – mustard oil or rape oil

*cipā* – polluted food (leftover or touched by others)

*cipā thikegu* – lit. “to make impure”

*civara* (Skt.) – a Buddhist vestment representing the monastic robe

*cuka* (Nep. *cok*) – courtyard, more often square in plan  
*cūḍā* (Skt.) – tuft of hair

*cūḍākaraṇa* (Skt.) → *busā khāyagu*

*cūḍāmaṇi* (Skt.) – a jewel worn on the top of the head

*cvaki* – a mixture of broken rice

*cvaki ajimā* – stone in public space absorbing the afterbirth

*cvaki holegu* – lit. “to scatter broken rice” to pacify evil spirits at locations which the *phubaidya* suggests, also on the way from childbirth in hospital to home

*cyepetā ghāsā* (Nep. *caurāsī byañjan*) – food of eighty-four varieties

*dakṣiṇā* (Skt.) – ritual “payment” of the priest and other ritual specialists mostly with coins and bank notes. In Newar rituals *dakṣiṇā* is also offered to gods and texts as well as helpers. → *desnā*

*daphaḥsvā* (Skt. *kundāpuṣpa*) – jasmine flower (*Jasminum multiflorum* ROTH) → *dvāphvaḥsvā*  
*daśakriyā* (Nep., Skt.) – lit. “the ten works”, death rituals of the first ten days

*Dasār* – festival in autumn for a period of 15 days to celebrate the mythic victory of Durgā over the demon Mahiṣa

*daśasaṃskāra* (Skt.) – ten life-cycle rituals

*deguthī* – association (→ *guthī*) of members of a caste from the entire town (*de*)

*dekhā* (Skt., Nep. *dikṣā*) – consecration for a religious ceremony, Tantric initiation

*deśabalipūjā* (Skt.) – sacrifice to the city’s territory  
*deśadevatā* (Skt.) – local deity (cp. *sthānadevatā*)  
*deśāntara* (Skt.) – lit. “foreign region”, part of the Hindu boy’s initiation  
*desnā* (Skt. *dakṣiṇā*) – lit. “gift”, presented by a client (*ājāmān*) to the priestly officiant  
*dhācāsvā* (Skt. *damanakaḥ*) – fragrant flower, Indian wormwood (*Artemisia vulgaris* L.)  
*dhahcā* – sacrificial ladle or spoon  
*dhāle* (Nep. *anār*, *dārim*) – pomegranate, *Punica granatum* L.  
*dharmadhātupūjā* (Skt.) – Buddhist framing ritual  
*dhārni* (Nep.) – measure (2.393 kg)  
*dhau* – curd  
*dhaubaji* – mixture of curd and flattened rice  
*dhaubaji nākegu* – to feed curd and flattened rice on the occasion of Gāijātrā after → *godāna*, on any birthday while staying on the → *pikhālāku* stone in front of the house  
*dhaupatu* – curd in two small cups integrated into a platform: a pair of small cups or saucers with diluted curd used for a representation, especially in a Buddhist context, of the Four Brahmāvihāras or Eight Immortal Beings (*aṣṭacirañjivi*), and for a → *dhau svagā*, i.e. a kind of → *tikā* on the right (men) or left (women) temple.  
*dhau svagā* – ritual food with curd  
*dhoti* (Nep.) – dress for males  
*dhūp* (Nep., Skt. *dhūpa*) – incense  
*dhurījāla-abhiṣekha* (Nep., Skt.) – lit. “sprinkling water from the roof”: at the end of → Ihi a Brahmin’s helper pours water from the roof of a house or temple.  
*ḍigudyaḥ* → *dugudyaḥ*  
*ḍikṣā* → *dekhā*  
*dīp* (Nep., Skt. *dīpa*) – light  
*ḍubo* (Nep., Skt. *dūrvā*, Nev. *situ*) – a species of grass (*Cynodon dactylon* (L.) PERS.) common to marshland, survives the dry season, considered as one of the substitutes for the soma plant  
*du byēkegu* – purificatory ritual on the 10<sup>th</sup> day after death  
*dugudyaḥ*, var. *digudyaḥ* – ancestral deity  
*dugudyaḥpūjā* – worship of the ancestral deity  
*dumha* – male and female members of the lineage (→ *phukī*) polluted by death for the first ten days  
*dumsi kā* (Nep.) – porcupine bristle  
*duru* – cow milk  
*dūpā tayegu* – admission of boys at the age of four or five to (*du*, lit. “inside”) the lineage (*phukī*)  
*dūrvā* → *ḍubo*  
*dusva* – first preparatory day of rituals that last several days  
*dusvajā* – meal with cooked rice concluding the first day  
*dvāpahaḥsvā* (Skt. *kuṇḍāpuṣpa*), “white jasmine” (*Jasminum multiflorum* ROT): a kind of white jas-

mine, with one stalk of *dūrvā* grass pierced in. With *dvāpahaḥsvā* the priest sprinkles → *argha* water at the end of a ritual to all participants. A branch of this flower is often stuck into the → *kalaśa*. It can also be substituted by a small wooden stick with a silver flower. There seems to be a tantrik background when the flower is regarded as the female and the → *dūrvā* grass as the male principle.

*dyah* – god, deity  
*dyahbvaḥ* – variety of food offered to a deity  
*dyah bvaḥkegu* – feeding of a deity  
*dyahcē* – god-house  
*dyah din* – god’s days, i.e. days which are auspicious for Kaytāpūjā and for Ihi such as the Indestructable Third (*akṣayaṭṛtīyā*), the Victorious Tenth (*vijaya daśamī*), the Marriage Fifth (*bibāha pañcamī*) and the Spring’s Fifth (*śrī- or basant pañcamī*)  
*dyahpālaḥ* – caretaker (*pālaḥ*) at a non-iconic representation or seat (*pīṭha*) of a deity

*gācā* – shawl  
*gaḥ* – pit  
*gāijātrā* (Nep.) → *sāpāru*  
*gaju* (Skt., Nep. *gajura*) – central tip, pinnacle of a temple  
*gaṅgājal* (Nep.) – pure water, originated from the Gaṅgā  
*gapacā* (Skt. *kalaśa*) – vase, pot  
*garbhādhāna* (Skt.) – insemination ritual  
*ghaṇṭā* (Skt., Nep.) – bell  
*ghṛtadhāra* (Nep., Skt.) – copper vessel  
*gobar* (Nep.) – cow dung  
*godāna* (Skt.) – ritual offering of a cow  
*gogrās* (Nep., Skt. *gogrāsa*) – lit. “cow’s mouthful”: beaten rice, ginger, pieces of salt placed on a leaf (→ *jēlālāpte*). *Gogrās* is sometimes believed to represent the cow.  
*gotra* (Skt.) – Hindu lineage  
*gubhāju*, var. *guruju* – Buddhist Vajrācārya priest  
*guḍapāk* (Nep.) – a kind of sweetmeat  
*gūka* – head of a wild chicken or bird  
*Gūlā* – Buddhist month in August/September  
*Gunipunhi* (Nep. *Janaipūrṇimā*), full moon in August  
*guruju* – priest, teacher (→ *gubhāju*)  
*gurumā* (Nep.) – the wife of a Guru or priest  
*gurumaṇḍalapūjā* (Skt.) – lit. “Worship of the maṇḍala of the Guru (Vajrasattva)”; framing ritual in Buddhist contexts  
*guthī* – religious association  
*guthiyār* (Nep.) – member of a → *guthī*  
*gvajā* – “round cooked rice”: conical piece of cooked rice or watered beaten rice with some red colour (→ *bhui sinha*), used in Hindu and Buddhist Tantric rituals representing unnamed deities or spirits  
*gvasa khalah* – organiser of a ritual  
*gvē* – betel nut, the sud of the Betel palm (*Areca catechu* L.)

*gvēmū* – seed of betel nut  
*gvēsābhvay* – feast on the occasion of marriage  
*gvēsivā* (Nep. *makhmalī*) – *Gomphrena globosa* L., a small lilac or red nut-shaped flower, lit “betel nut flower”  
*gyaḥ* (Nep. *ghī*) – clarified butter  
*gyaḥ-cāku* – a dish of butter and raw sugar  
*gyaḥ-kasti* – clarified butter and honey

*hākucā* – a lump of black clay  
*halu* – turmeric (*Curcuma longa* L.)  
*haluvā* (Nep.) – a kind of sweetmeat  
*hamsa* (Skt.) – goose  
*hāmvaḥ-techva* – a mixture of black sesame and barley handed out to the fathers who hold their daughter’s hands on the occasion of Ihi  
*hāsāḥ* – tablet  
*havana* (Skt.) – sacrifice, oblation  
*haykhē* – duck’s egg  
*hi* – blood cake  
*holipunhi* – full moon in March  
*homa* (Skt.) – lit. “burnt oblation, fire ritual”, also *havana* or *yajña*: burning of fire wood in a pit ritually prepared with with ghee and a drawn *svastika*. The Brahmin and the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) pour ghee and throw grains and other ingredients (fruits, lentils etc.), are thrown into the flames, all accompanied by Vedic or Buddhist *mantras*. In the concluding *pūrṇāhūti* all ritual specialists join in the last offering to the fire (cp. *jage*).  
*hyāūtā* – red beer

*ihi* (Skt. *vivāha*) – initiation ritual for girls, so-called mock marriage with the *bel* fruit  
*ihimacā* – Ihi girl  
*ihimacā nakegu* – feeding of the Ihi girls by relatives the days preceding the ritual  
*ihipā* – marriage (in Patan also: earthen bowl used in the Ihi ritual)  
*ihiparasi* – special sari for the Ihi girls  
*ikāpakā* – “rape and broad-leaf mustard seeds” put on charcoal prior to many rituals to drive away evil spirits; a packet of this is an invariable part of the *pūjā* material  
*ilākā* – segment or urban space centering around an essential shrine which receives blood offerings  
*iṣṭadevatā* (Skt.) – the deity chosen by the worshipper as a personal deity

*jage* (Skt. *homa*) – sacred fire  
*yajamān* (Skt. *yajamāna*) – sacrificer, client of a priest,  
*jāki* – husked rice  
*jākva* – old-age celebration  
*jal* (Nep.) – pure water  
*jalakalaśa* (Skt.) – vase with (purified) water  
*jaldān* (Nep.) – lit. “gift of water”, ritual offering of water

*jātaḥ* – horoscope  
*jātakarma(n)* (Skt.) – birth purification ritual  
*jēlālapte* – a plant of the curcuma variety  
*jeri* – wrinkly sweet bread  
*jholā* (Nev., Nep.) – small bag  
*jicābhāju* – the brother-in-law or husband of a sister, wife-taker  
*jivana-parikṣā* (Skt.) – lit. “examination of the (future) life”, a sub-rite during → *annaprāśana*  
*jugibvaḥ* – offering to the ancestors, handed over to the Jugi four times a year and after death rituals  
*juginī* – female Jugi who collects offerings  
*jvālānhāykā* – mirror  
*jyāḥ* (*jākva*) – worship of the old people  
*jyāḥcvanipū* – helpers, husbands of father’s and grandfather’s sisters as wife-takers and wife-givers like maternal uncles

*kācigu lā* – any raw meat  
*kaḥsu* – pie made from small dried and grinded peas  
*kājal* (Nep.) – black soot  
*kāji* – organiser  
*kalaḥ* – leaf plate with food  
*kalaḥ ajimā* – stone in public space absorbing offerings to the spirits → *chvāsaḥ*  
*kalaḥ vāygu* – to discard the remainder of a feast at a → *chvāsaḥ* stone  
*kalāpakā* – paper flag  
*kalas* (Skt. *kalaśa*) – ritual vase or flask containing water and/or milk  
*kalaśārcana* (Skt.) – consecration of the sacred vase  
*kalaśapūjā* (Skt.) – lit. “worship of the sacred vase”: the deity is mentally and ritually invoked and summoned into the sacred vase and then worshipped. Often several *kalaśas* are used; the main vase (*mūlakalaśa* or Nev. *pūrṇahalara*) is mostly placed in the middle or centre of the sacrificial space. Of special importance for the fulfilment and auspiciousness of the ritual is the *Gaṇeśa* or *Ināya Kalaśa*.

*kali* – anklets  
*kamaṇḍalu* (Skt.) – a water pot used by ascetics  
*kanyādāna* (Skt.) – lit. “gift of the virgin”, climax of the marriage ritual  
*karṇavedha* (Skt.) – piercing of the ear during → *cūḍākaraṇa*  
*karuvā* (Nep.) – water pitcher  
*katāmari* → *bārhā pāsāḥ*  
*katu* – balls of cotton  
*kāybhū* – plate  
*kaypakhā* – paper flag  
*kaytā* – loincloth  
*kaytā ciyegu* – binding of the loincloth through the crotch and folding it around the thread above the hindquarters  
*kaytāpūjā* – Hindu initiation of boys  
*kegu* – peas  
*khaḥmhū* – basket

*khāsi* (Nep. *kīpa*, Skt. *dantaśa*) – bitter orange, *Citrus aurantium* L., used only in rituals  
*khajuri* (Nep., Hindi, Persian *khajūr*) – a sweetmeat shaped like a date  
*khakkara* (Skt.) – ascetic's staff  
*kharpān* (Nep.) – basket  
*khau* – “mustard oil (cake)”; cp. → *sarvakhau*: a pulverized oil-cake mixed with water to purify on the first or tenth day after death, after shaving the boys's head and after paring the girls toenails.  
*khau kāyegu* – to take → *khau*: a purificatory rite during the Ihi ritual  
*khāyihala* – lit. “pot of curd and oil”: a pot with diluted curd with oil, salt and tumeric regarded as the substitution of alcohol during Tantric rituals.  
*khē* – egg  
*khē svagā* – offering of eggs, meat, fish, bean, cake, and alcohol  
*khvāh svaye* – seeing the bride's face  
*khvalā* (var. *kvālah*) – copper bowl, exclusively used in rituals  
*khvapināyāh* – title of the most respected painter in town  
*kigāh* – unbroken rice, used in rituals (Nep. *akṣata*, Skt. *akṣatā*)  
*kijāpūjā* – worship of brothers by their sisters and aunts (the *māmhā pitṛ*)  
*kisli* (var. *kisālī*) – from *ki*, “rice” and *salī*, small clay saucer; offering of a small clay saucer with rice, a betel nut and a small coin, often placed on the → *kalaśa* or hanging from the ceiling or offered to a deity making mother earth (represented by the clay pot), Dhānya-Lakṣmī (grains), a minister (nut) and the king or the population (coin) witnesses of the rituals. *Kisli* is an essential part of → *mimicā*.  
*ṣetrapāla* (Skt.) – tutelary deity, guardian of a courtyard or square  
*kuchi* – measurement, equal to two *mana*  
*kuco* (Nep.) – brush  
*kula* (Skt.) – descendants of a family, lineage  
*kula devatā* (Skt.) – lineage deity (cp. *dugudyāh*)  
*kulchē* – house of origin of a patrilinear group  
*kule* – wooden measuring vessel or container measuring two *mana* (1 *mana* = 0,545 litre or ca. 0,5 kg)  
*kumāḥkāh* (var. *kumbhākā*) – lit. “the thread of the Kumāri”, or (Skt.) *śatābrndikā*, lit. “pure thread”: a yellow or white cotton thread used for connecting deities and other puposes. During → Ihi rituals the body length of the girls is measured by the thread 108 times and then worn as a kind of garland with 12 offerings knotted to it, and during → Kaytāpūjā the height of the boy is sometimes measured two by hundred-and-eight times. For this purpose, a stick is placed on the head and below the feet around which the thread is 108 times bound. A *kumāḥkāh* with five strings of different colours distributed by the priest after the rituals is often bound by the participants around their neck or wrist.

*kumārī* (Skt.) – (pre-pubescent) girl, maiden, (married) virgin  
*kumārīpūjā* (Skt.) – feeding and worshipping virgins  
*kus* (Skt. *kuśa*) – couch grass (*Desmostachya bipinnata* (L.) STAPF), the most sacred of Indian grasses  
*kvā cikā sāykegu* – lit. “to apply the rice powder and oil-cake”: purification by smearing oil and rice powder on the head followed by a ritual bath or sprinkling water on the occasion of → Bārhā on the sixth day  
*kvālah* – plate  
  
*lā* – lane  
*lāchi* – small square  
*laddu* (Nep.) – sweets  
*lākhe bhāju* – Dvivedī Brahmin  
*lālmohan* (Nep.) – sweets  
*lasakusa* or *lasah kusah* – ritual welcoming at the threshold of a house or a courtyard, often performed by the elderly women before or during a ritual. The received person gets the hands washed with added broken flattened (*cvakā bajī*).  
*latyā* (Skt. *sapiṇḍikaraṇa*) union with the ancestors on the 13<sup>th</sup> or 45<sup>th</sup> day of death rituals (lit. one and a half months)  
*liṅga* (Skt.) → *śivaliṅga*  
*lukhāpūjā* – ritual performance at a door before entering the house  
*lūsvā* – golden flower  
*lusi dhenegu* – lit. “to pare the nails”: the ritual or symbolic paring of the nails of the feet by a barber's wife as part of the body purification prior to any life-cycle ritual. It goes often along with colouring the feet with red colour (*alah*).  
*lusi thikegu* – symbolic paring of the nails of the feet which are just touched with the instrument.  
  
*macābu byēkegu* – purification ritual after birth (on the 4<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> day, cutting the umbilical cord)  
*macā buigu* – to give birth  
*macā jākva* (Skt. *annaprāśana*) – first feeding of cooked rice  
*mahanta* (Nep.) – head of a *maḥ*, in Bhaktapur a group of Non-Newars who are considered *saṁnyāsi*, who are not cremated but buried in a seated, cross-legged posture, as though engaged in meditation  
*mālā* (Skt.) – flower garland  
*maleju* – wife of father's maternal uncle  
*malephva* – a mysterious fruit that is never used in a domestic ritual  
*māmā* – maternal aunt  
*māma* (Nep.) – maternal uncle  
*mākyāmū* – seed of the coconut  
*māmhā pitṛ* – daughters, aunts and grandaunts who are invited to feast, lit living ancestors  
*mana* – volumetric measure: 1 *mana* = 0.545 litre or ca. 0.5 kg

- mandah* (Skt. *maṇḍala*) – diagram based on a circle  
*maṇḍala* (Skt.) → *mandah*  
*mantra* – sacred (Vedic) formula or verse  
*māri* – bread, sweets  
*masala* – spices  
*matā* – light, lamp (Skt. *dīpa*): lighting and waving a lamp is common part of almost all rituals. It can be performed with the → *sukūdā*, a simple clay saucer with oil and a wick (*pālā*) or just the lit wick.  
*matā-phā-tācā-pūjā* – lit. “worship with lamp, measuring vessel and iron key(s)”: purifying worship with lamp (*matā*, often *sukūdā*), a measuring vessel (*phā*) and iron key(s) (*tacā*), often held together with two hands  
*maṭha* (Skt.) – religious institution (of → *mahantas*)  
*māy* – black lentils (*Vigna mungo* (L.) HEPPER)  
*māy ghiri-ghiri yāgyu* – the crushing of black lentils  
*māy niyaygū* – the grinding of black lentils  
*mekhalā* (Skt.) – girdle  
*mekhalābandhana* → *kaytāpūjā*  
*me yāgu lā* – buffalo meat  
*mhā* – body  
*mhāpūjā* – worshipping the body on the first day of the bright moon in October/November, the first day of the Year according to Nepāl Saṃvat  
*mhaykhāpapu* – peacock feather  
*mhāymacā* – daughter or sister of the deceased, who prepares the *nhenumhā* food  
*mhaynāyaḥ* (f. *mhaynakhī*) – helper of the priest  
*mhecā* (Nep. *tailī*) – small bag containing offerings  
*micikisvā* (Nep. *jamāne māndro*) – *Mahonia nepalensis* DC. ex Dippel, a thorny flower available in January  
*mikhā kakegu* – to open the eyes (of artifacts by a painter or carpenter)  
*mimicā* – small tray, a small flat plate made out of reed with → *kisli* as well as oil in a clay saucer, flour, *svāvā* (“flower rice”) and a coin and sometimes meat given to the barber  
*mṛdāharaṇa* (Skt.) – bringing some earth or clay: a ceremony of the Hindu marriage  
*mu* – bangles  
*mū* – green lentils  
*mūbhvay* – main feast  
*mūdakṣinā* – main gift  
*mudrā* (Skt.) – ritual hand gestures  
*mūladevatā* (Skt.) – main deities  
*mūlakalaśa* (Skt.) – main sacred vase  
*mūlepana* – smoothening the ground  
*mūnakhī* – the privileged Ihi girl who is leading the row of girls  
*musvā* (Skt. *mūlapuspa*) – flower (*Origanum majorana* L.) used for ancestor worship (*dugudyaḥpūjā*)  
*musyā* – soybeans  
*muthā* – bunch of vegetables like radish, spinach or green garlic  
*mutumāri* – cones of steamed rice flour, offerings on the occasion, offerings on the occasion of birthday, → *mhāpūjā* and → *kigapūjā*  
*mvaḥni* – black stroke on the forehead signifying the sharing of a sacrifice, especially on the occasion of *vijayadaśamī*, soot  
*nā chuyegu* (Skt. *nāmakaraṇa*) – name giving  
*nāgarājā* – the king of serpents  
*nāike* (Nep.) – leader  
*naivedya* (Nep., Skt.) – offering food, mostly fruits and sweets, to a deity  
*nakhī* – mistress or senior most woman of a household or lineage  
*nakṣatra* (Skt.) – lunar mansion  
*nāma* or *nāmaskāra* (Skt.) – greetings, ritual salutation (mostly with flowers and invocations) of deities placed on a special seat (→ *āsana*) prepared by a diagram (*maṇḍala*, *yantra*).  
*nāmakaraṇa* (Skt.) → *nā chuyegu*  
*nāndī(ka)śrāddha* – ancestor worship, also called *vṛddhi-* or *ābhuydayikaśrāddha* or *nandīmukhaśrāddha*  
*nāndīmukhapitaraḥ* (Skt.) – ancestors  
*nasā nakegu* – lit. “to feed with grains” girls in seclusion with a variety of six grains from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> day of seclusion  
*nasalā* – purification by sprinkling water (Skt. *ācamana*)  
*nau jāt* (Nep.) – nine marginally pure sub-castes  
*naunī* – wife of a barber (Nau)  
*nava nakhī* – privileged nine Ihi girls  
*navaratna* – nine jewels  
*nāyaḥ* – head of a group, a congregation, a clan  
*nedapunhi* – second birthday  
*nedatiṭhi* – death ritual after twenty-four month  
*nhāykā kenegu* – lit. “to show the mirror”: a ritual mirror shown by the priest or the → *nāyaḥ* to the participants at the end of the ritual. It is said that the mirror is for the auspicious seeing of one’s soul (*ātmadarśana*) or a representative of the sun as the witness of the ritual.  
*nhenumhā* – death ritual on the 7<sup>th</sup> day (*nhenu*)  
*nhēpālā* (Skt. *saptapadī*) – seven steps  
*nijā* – cooked rice  
*nīlavajra* (Skt.) – blue diamond  
*nimantraṇā* (Nep.) – invitation card  
*ninā* – pure water  
*nini* – paternal aunt  
*niniāji* – paternal grand-aunt  
*nirājan* or *nirāñjan(a) yāy(e)gu* – from (Skt.) *nirājana*, “making bright” or (Skt.) *nirāñjana*, “spotless” (cp. Gellner 1992: 361 fn.17): waving with a small clay saucer with burning coals in which a lit wick of raw cotton, mustard seeds, a flower and rice are offered in order to destroy the evil, to remove sins and obstacles. It is touched and then brought to the threshold stone (*pikhālākhu*). See also DCN

s.v. *nirmmachanādi*: “a ritual act of putting yellow mustard seed and reddish brown mustard seed in a small clay pot and make hands warm and then touch one’s eyes”.

*nisi yāygu* – purifying

*nislā* (var. *nisalā*, *nislāh*) *biyegu* – lit. “to give a plate with pure (food)”: prestation or offering of wheat flower, beaten rice, sweets, a coin, ginger, or other things given at the end of a ritual to the priest.

*nityapūjā* (Skt.) – regular worship

*nyā* – fish

*nyāsa* (Skt.) – mental commitment to a ritual

*pacū* – fine rice flour

*padma* (Skt.) – lotus flower (*Nelumbo mucifera* GAERTN.)

*pāju* – uncle, mother’s brother

*pājukhalah* – matrilinear relatives

*pakā* (Nep. *rāyo*) – broad leaf mustard with reddish brown seeds (*Brassica juncea* (L.) CZERN.)

*pañcabali* (Nep., Skt.) – five offerings

*pañcadānacaḥre* – the 14<sup>th</sup> of the dark moon in September

*pañcadyah* – five deities (mostly the → *pañcāyāna* configuration)

*pañcagavya* (Nep., Skt.) – the five products of a cow: cowdung, urine, milk, curds and butter

*pañcagrāsa* (Skt.) – feeding of five handfuls and eating with five fingers in a special way

*pañcāmṛta* (Skt.) – lit. “five nectars”: mixture of milk, curd, ghee, sugar, and honey

*pañcapallava* (Skt.) – a bundle of five kinds of flowers, sprouts or leaves (e.g. Skt. *pīpala*, *vaṭa*, *udumbara*, *palāśa* and *āmra*) for garlands which are fixed with prints or drawings of auspicious symbols.

*pañcapatra* (Skt. *pañcapattra*) – five coloured flags

*pañcaraṅgi* (Nep.) – cloth of five colours

*pañcāyana* (Skt.) – group of five deities present in many rituals: mostly Sūrya, Sadāśiva, Nārāyaṇa, Lakṣmī and the lineage deity (*iṣṭadevatā*) of the extended family (*phukī*); (cp. *pañcāyatana*)

*pañcāyatana* (or *parivāra*-) *devatā* (Skt.) – group of five deities: Sūrya, Śiva, Gṛhalakṣmī, Varuṇa, and Nāgarāja (cp. *pañcāyana*)

*pāñgrahaṇa* (Skt.) – marriage

*pāp* (Skt. *pāpa*) – evil, harmful, sin

*paraśu* (Skt.) – axe

*parivāradevatā* (Skt.) – accompanying deities

*pāsāh* – friend, helper

*pasukā* – cotton thread made of three strings (Skt. *pañcasūtra*)

*pāthi* – volumetric measure (4.36 litre)

*pāṭi* – sheltering building

*pau* – measure (100 g)

*peḍā* (Nep.) – a kind of sweetmeat made of sugar and milk

*pedapunhi* – fourth birthday

*phā* – wooden measuring vessel, → *matā-phā -tācā-pūjā*

*phalaprāśana* (Skt.) – first feeding with fruits

*phalāyah*, *phalini* – paper cylinder used during Ihi, also representing Tārā

*phalīmari* – a kind of bread

*phu* – a kind of shamanistic blowing

*phukī* – lineage group, close agnates up to the third generation, shares the same *dugudyah*, all members are → *dumhā*, polluted for a period of ten days

*pī dheneḡu* – cutting the umbilical cord

*pikhālākhu* – stone guarding the threshold of houses and temples, absorbs ritual waste on various occasions

*piṇḍa* (Skt.) – balls of cooked rice, wheat or barley, offered to the ancestors (*pitṛs*)

*pisamudra* – the five oceans

*pitambar* – strip of golden silk, golden cloth

*pitaraḥ* (Skt.) → *pitṛ*

*pītha* (Skt.) – seat of a deity in non-iconic form

*pitṛ* (Skt.) – forefathers, ancestor of a family or clan, manes (pl. *pitaraḥ*)

*pitṛpakṣa* (Skt., Nep.) – the dark half of the moon in September

*pī vāy yēkeḡu* – to discard the afterbirth and the umbilical cord (on a → *cvaki ajimā* stone)

*pradhānadevatā* (Skt.) – main deities, → *mūladevatā*

*prāṇa* (Skt.) – breath, vital force

*prāṇiti* (Nep., Skt. *prāṇitā*) – a small copper vessel that represents Viṣṇu in rituals, also a name of an earthen pot used in the → Ihi ritual

*prasād* (Nep., Skt. *prasāda*) – divine grace, clearness, purity: blessed food, flowers, → *tikā*, threads etc. given by the priest to participants of the ritual; sometimes the *prasād* can also be taken without a priest handing it over.

*pratimā* – image (of a deity)

*pratiṣṭhā* (Skt.) – lit. “establishment”: throwing of popped rice over the sacred place to the deities and the main ritual participants at the end of a ritual

*pravrajyā* (Skt.) → *bāre chuyegu*

*preta* (Skt.) – ethereal form assumed by a dead man during the period between death and union with his or her ancestors (→ *pitṛ*)

*prokṣaṇi* (Skt.) – water used for sprinkling or consecrating, holy water

*pugācā* – shawl of cotton, offering on the occasion of → Kaytāpūjā

*pūjāri* (Nep.) – temple priest

*pumṣavana* (Skt.) – transforming the fruit of love to a male foetus

*pūrṇacandra(-mantra)* (Skt.) – lit. “(verse of the) full moon”: recitation of hymns at the end of rituals after which the ritual mirror (→ *nhāykā*) is cleaned and shown to the participants in order to show them their soul. Usually the mirror is cleaned by drawing a moon (*candra*) or *oṃ* on it.

- pūrṇāhuti* (Skt.) – the full or final offering of a sacrifice, → *homa*
- pūrṇakalaśa* (Skt.) – central sacred vase
- purohita* (Nep.) – house priest
- puṣpa* (Skt.) – lit. “flower”: presenting of flowers to a deity, salutation (*nāma*) with flowers
- puṣpabhājana* (Skt.) – worship with flowers
- puṣpabhājanamantra* (Skt.) – lit. “the mantra for (handing over) the flower vessel (or *pūjā* plate)”: mostly the *sidhir astu* or *yathāvāṃmantra*: see the introduction to Part IV.
- puṣṭikasūkta* → *śānti-puṣṭikasūkta*
- putunā* – a formal jacket with four knots presented to the child on the fourth birthday
- pūcā* – a shirt with two knots above the two shoulders that is presented to a child on the second birthday (→ Nep. *bvato*)
- ragati* (Nep.) → *hi*
- rākṣasa* (Skt.) – evil spirit
- rakṣamālā* (Skt.) – protecting necklace
- rudrī(pūjā)* (Skt.) – recitation of the Rudrī hymn
- sā* (Nep. *gāī*) – cow
- sā khayegu* – lit. “to shave the hair”: shaving of the head in an act of purification; in many rituals the hair is cut and then brought to a nearby river (*sā vayjikegu*).
- sagā* → *svagā*
- sāit, sāit* (Nep./Nep.) – the astronomically calculated auspicious moment for the celebration of the core element of a ritual
- salāpā* – earthen bowl for the → Ihi girls to keep the betel fruit and receive offerings of rice
- samāvartana* (Skt.) – end of study
- samaya* – small cold meal of beaten rice (→ *baji*), popped rice, dried fish, roasted meat, eggs, back soybeans or raw ginger, representing the five elements (*pancatattva*) fed to deities and participants.
- samaybaji* – flattened rice, soybeans, ginger, egg and fish
- saṃgha* (Skt.) – congregation, monastic order
- saṃkalpa* (Skt.) – ritual declaration of ritual intention, also called *vākya*: ritual decision. In Newar rituals the *saṃkalpa* is often spoken by the priest in the name of a delegated *yajamāna*, e.g. the → *nāyah* or a representative from a → *guthī* as the client. Cp. *annasaṃkalpa*, see also Michaels 2005.
- saṃskāra* (Skt.) – life-cycle ritual
- sāgā* – dried fish
- sāṅkha* (Skt.) – lit. “conch”: the conch is used for invocation by blowing into it, pouring → *argha* water, milk or oil onto a deity. It is mostly placed on a tripod used by girls on the occasion of → Bārḥa for the first time.
- śānti* (Skt.) – pacification, peace
- śāntihoma* (Skt.) – a sacrifice for → *śānti*
- śāntika-puṣṭikasūkta* or *-mantra* (Skt.) – lit. “peace and strength”: the *śāntisūkta* or *-pāṭha* is a pacifying recitation of RV 2.42.1ff. or 7.35.1-15, RVKh II.2ff., VS 36.8-12 or AV 19.9-11, verses that are mostly recited at the end of rituals. It is often recited together with the *puṣṭikasūkta*, twenty verses from VS; see Dkv<sub>1</sub> fols. 22<sup>v</sup>-21<sup>v</sup> (sic!) and Sv fol. 5<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>v</sup>. For the concept of *śānti* in a Newar context see Kropf 2005: 217-233.
- śāntipāṭha* (Skt.) – recitation of a peace-giving hymn (often VS 36.17)
- śapākhvaḥ* – blockprint to be fixed on the forehead
- śāpāru* (Nep. *Gāijātrā*) – festival of the cow (*sa*) on the first day (*pāru*) of the dark half of the moon in August/September
- śapīṇḍīkaraṇa* (Skt.) → *latyā*
- saptadānya* (Skt.) – mixture of seven kinds of grains
- saptadvāra* (Skt.) – seven gates
- saptapadī* (Skt.) – lit. “seven steps”: in → Bāre chuyegu, the first seven steps the Buddha had taken after his birth; in the marriage ritual and Ihi the first seven steps of the bride after marriage. This sub-rite is also performed during other rites of passage. → *nhepālā*
- saptaṛṣi* (Skt.) – the seven seers
- sarvakhau* – pulverised oil-cake, ritual bath with a pulverised oil-cake, sesamum paste and water
- sarvaśadhi* (Nep., Skt.) – lit. “all medicine”: a collection of herbs available in local shops used for the “healing” of a → *homa* sacrifice and other purposes: it is believed that the fire needs medicine after having digested so many things; cp. Kropf 2005: 552f.
- śatabhṛṇḍikā* (Skt.) – pure thread, also called → *kumaḥkāḥ*
- sattal* (Nep.) – sheltering house
- sātupākhā* – pigtail
- śeṣāhuti* (Skt.) – offering of the remaining seeds and ghee into the fire
- siguthī* – funeral association
- śikhā* (Skt.) – tuft of hair
- śimantonnayana* (Skt.) – parting the mother’s hair
- śincu phāyegu* – to part the hair
- sindūra* (Nep.) – vermilion (Nep. *sinha*)
- sinha* – any colour or substance (e.g. ashes) used for → *tikā*
- sinhamhū* – lit. “main (pot of) vermilion”: cylindrical container with top for pigments (see Levy 1990: 641) for the *bhūisinha* or → *tikā*.
- sinhapūjā* – worshipping of vermilion powder used for the → Ihi ritual
- sinhasvā* (Nep. *bhimsen pate*) – butterfly bush, *Buddleja asiatica* LOUR.
- sinhathala* – small cup containing vermilion → *sinhamhū*
- siphā* – wooden measuring vessel
- siphā luyegu* – lit. “to pour (ritual fruits) from the



- wooden measuring vessel (*siphā*)” (from Skt. *śrī* and *phala*, cp. Skt. *pūṣpavr̥ṣṭi*, “rain of flowers”): pouring of small pieces of ritual fruits and flowers over the head of participants, often taken from the *sipha* (mod. Nev. *siphā*), “a wooden measuring vessel,” with a mixture of any fruit pieces with popped rice (*lāvā*), flowers, coins etc. In Buddhist rituals it is generally poured from the bell.
- siphadyah* – oleander goddess
- siphārati* – “light (Skt. *ārati*) with wooden measuring vessel (→ *siphā*)”: waving lights with a sukūda lamp (in front of an image or person) and a wooden measuring vessel; cp. *siphā luyegu*
- sī uyegu* – burning the corpse
- śivaliṅga* (Skt.) – non-iconic, phallic representation of Śiva
- Śivācārya – purity specialist
- so(h)raśrāddha*, *soḍaśrāddha* (Nep.) – period of sixteen (*soḍa*) days in September to perform the death ritual for the ancestors by the head (→ *nāyah*) of the clan
- sparśaphala* (Skt.) – touching the fruits (of life), a sub-rite during *annaprāśana*
- śrāddha* (Skt.) – ancestor ritual
- śrāddhayaimha* – the person who performs the → *śrāddha*
- śrībaṅgi* (Nep.) – frontlet ornaments on forehead
- śrī pañcamī* – Spring Fifth, the 5<sup>th</sup> day after new moon in January/February (cp. *basant pañcamī*)
- śrīvā* (Skt.) – sacrificial ladle or spoon
- sthānadevatā* (Skt.) – local deities (cp. *deśadevatā*)
- stotra* (Skt.) – religious verse or hymn
- suddha* (Skt. *śuddha*) – not polluted, pure
- sujaphva* – a mysterious fruit that is never used in a domestic ritual, one of the twelve offerings twisted into the → *kumāḥkāḥ* thread of → Ihi
- sukūda* (Skt. *sukūḍā*) – lit. “a vessel of oil (Nev. *su*)”: an oil-lamp with a cup for oil and an image that represents Agni Aiśvarana or Sūrya, or Gaṇeśa, Śiva and Śakti, usually made out of bronze.
- supari* (Nep.) → *gvē*
- suruvāl* (Nep.) – a set of shirt and pant
- sūryasākṣī* (Skt.) – the sun as witness
- svā* – flower
- svagā*, *sagā*, *svagana*, (Nep.) *sagūn*, (Skt.) *sagūṇa* – “well-wishing food” (lit. “with good qualities, with virtue”): presenting of certain items such new dresses and rice, dried fish, red powder, flowers, boiled eggs, coins, liquor (*aila*), ginger, soybeans etc. for giving the auspicious → *tikā*; in the Parbatīya tradition *sagūn* is sometimes just a *tikā* with yoghurt; cp. Gellner 1988: 108.
- svagā kāygu* – to take ritual food on auspicious occasions
- svastika* (Skt.) – a kind of mark on persons or things denoting good luck
- svastikayantra* (Skt.) – a swastika diagram
- svastivācana* (Skt.) – “recitation of auspicious verses”: viz. RV 5.51 + ṚVKh II.4ff; cp. VbP p. 27, and Monier-Williams, s.v., *svastivācana*, “a religious rite preparatory to a sacrifice or any solemn observance (performed by scattering boiled rice on the ground and invoking blessings by the repetition of certain Mantras).”
- svāvā* (Nep. *juṅgadhā*) – lit. “flower rice”, variety of rice used as offerings for the ancestors, *Oryza sativa* L.
- syū* – head of a sacrificial animal, divided into nine pieces
- syūkābhvay* – feast in conclusion of the → Kaytāpūjā or, at the end of the first day of → Ihi, for the nine privileged girls
- tācā* (Nev.) – lit. “key”: traditional iron key to touch head and shoulders and used to be waved over the head of participants (→ *matā-phā-tācā-pūjā*) or to knock on the *chvāsaḥ*
- taḥmā* – mother’s elder sister
- taḥsi* (Nep. *bimiro*) – auspicious citrus fruit, offered on the occasion of → *mhāpūjā* and by the Navadurgā, *Citrus medical* L.
- tāichin* – variety of rice for the production of beer
- tapābajyā* – greatgrandfather
- tāsvā* – ear decoration of → *gvēsvā*
- tāy* – popped rice
- tāymālā* – garland of popped rice
- thachē* – designation of the maternal home of women (Nep. *maiti ghar*)
- thakālī* (Nep.) – the eldest of the clan (Nev. → *nāyah*)
- thar* – sub-cast
- thāybhū* – lit. “plate for *thāybvah*”: a plate (sometimes on a tripod), together with eighty-four varieties of food or food without salt
- thyāsaphu* – manuscript in leporello form
- ti* – dwarf bamboo
- tikā* (Skt. *tilaka*, Nep. *tīkā*) – lit. “mark”: a mark on the forehead, usually made with a paste of vermilion, oil and rice or sandalwood to honour someone
- Tini → Śivācārya
- tisima* – willow tree
- tithi* (Skt.) – lunar day
- ṭopi* (Nep.) – hat, cap
- tribali* (Skt.) – triple offering
- tridaṇḍa* (Skt.) – triple-pronged stave
- trikhuṭṭe* (Nep.) – tripod
- triśul* (Skt. *triśūla*) – trident, emblem of Śiva
- trisūtra* (Skt.) – cotton thread made of three strings
- trivenī* (Skt.) – the place where three rivers meet
- tu* (Nep. *ukhu*) – sugar-cane, *Sacharum officinarum*
- tul* – red cloth
- tuphi* – broom
- tvāḥ* (Nep. *ṭol*) – well defined quarter of a town
- tvalā* (Skt. *torāṇa*) – tympanum
- tvarivā* – lamp stand

*tvāy cinegu* – “to establish a relation”: to establish a ritual friendship, fictive kinship or ritual friendship (cp. Nep. *mit banāune*)

*upanayana* (Skt.) Hindu initiation ritual, girdling with the sacred thread, → *vratibandha*

*upāsaka* (Skt.) – worshipper, follower, servant

*upasampadā* (Skt.) – full ordination of Buddhist monks

*utpala* (Skt.) – water lily

*vā* – unhusked rice

*vācpūjā* touching the tongue of a newborn with a golden needle in order to enable the child to speak and to make him or her intelligent on *chaithī*, the ritual on the 6<sup>th</sup> day after birth

*vaḥ* – a kind of pancake

*Vaitaraṇī* – frightening river in the underworld

*vākijāki* – mixture of uncooked unhusked (*vā*) and uncooked husked (*jāki*) rice, also called *matāki*. The rice mixture is used as the base for → *sukūda* and the sacred vase (→ *kalaśa*).

*vākijāki* – a mixture of husked and unhusked rice

*vasanta* (Skt.) – spring

*veda* (Skt.) – lit. “knowledge”: in Newar ritual texts, *veda* mostly means the recitation of Vedic *mantras* beginning on the whole with *oṃ*.

*vedī* (Skt.) – sacrificial altar (Nep. *bedi*)

*vihāra* (Skt., Nep. *bihār*) – Buddhist monastery

*vijayā daśamī* (Skt./Nep.) the 10<sup>th</sup> day after the new moon in October

*vināyaka* (Skt.) – Gaṇeśa, guardian deity

*vīragrāsa* (Skt.) – three handfuls of food

*viśarjana* (Skt.) – lit. “removal”: dismissal, ritual release of the deities and cleaning of the ritual place

*viśeṣakarma* (Skt.) – main ritual event

*viśve devāḥ* (Skt.) – half divine forefathers, demigods

*vīthiti* (Nep.) – untraditional

*vivāha* (Skt.) – marriage

*vratādeśa* (Skt.) instruction in post-initiatory observances

*vratibandha(na)* (Skt., Nep. *bartamān*) Hindu initiation, girdling with the sacred thread, → *upanayana*

*vṛddhiśrāddha* (Skt.) – worship of the ancestors

*yaḥmāri* – cone shaped sweets offered on the occasion of birthdays and on full moon in November/December

*yaḥmāripunhi* – full moon in the month of Mārgaśiṣā (November/December)

*yaḥsi* – world tree

*yajamāna* (Skt.) – sacrificer

*yajña* (Skt.) – sacrifice (cp. *homa*)

*yajñakuṇḍa* (Skt.) – fire pit

*yajñamaṇḍapa* (Skt.) – sacrificial place

*yajñopavīta* (Skt.) – “holy thread”: sacred thread given to deities and in the *vratibandhana* ritual to the boy.

In Nev. the thread for deities is called *jajākā* and *janā* for the boy’s initiation

*yakṣa*, (f.) *yakṣī/yakṣ(i)ṇī* (Nep., Skt.) – a kind of ghost or spirit

*yantra* (Skt.) – (sacrificial) diagram

*yoniśodhana* (Skt.) – ritual purification of the womb