MUSIC AND IDENTITY AMONG MAHARJAN FARMERS
THE DHIMAY SENEGU OF KATHMANDU

Franck Bernède

In many ways, Newar music appears to apply metaphysical concepts to urban order. The 32 wards (tol) of Kathmandu reflect a cosmological ideal, asserting themselves as so many musical microcosms. Processional music plays an important part in urban organisation and its role is considered to be essentially a ritual one. While concentrating on the ways musical knowledge is acquired among the Maharjan peasants of Kathmandu, this study emphasizes the importance of the role held by the "language" of the drums in the representation of these territorial identities. This study is organised according to three axes of research: the mythical substratum, ritual structure and the orientation of musical education.

To begin with, it should be noted that musical performance among the Newar cannot really be qualified as professional; nevertheless, they occur as a parallel activity harmoniously integrated into daily life. Most castes take part in a number of instrumental and vocal groups. Among these, the Maharjan (Jyapu) have a prominent role. Whether in religious or memorial festivals. Considered by the Nepalese as the first inhabitants of the valley, they are often presented as the spokesmen for Newar culture. Their music comes under the banner of a lineage divinity explicitly associated with music. It is through a presentation of this divinity, that we hope to introduce a study of the dhimay drum, which as a tangible and musical form of the god of music, invests its deep resonance into the royal Nepalese cities.

1 Translation: Susan Keyes. This article is among the first results of an investigation undertaken within the context of a research programme directed by G. Toffin (Pir-villes project of the CNRS). Material was collected during three missions (July-August 1995, February-March and July-August 1996), with the support of UPR 299 of the CNRS, the Société Française d'Ethnomusicologie and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales. We are most grateful to K.P. Rimal, our collaborator, as well as Dev Narayan Maharjan, our dhimay teacher. Our thanks to our musicologist and musician colleagues—R.K. Dowal, I. Grandin and G.M. Wegner.


Nāsāḥdyāḥ

Nāsāḥdyāḥ is the Newar god of music, dance and the arts. He appears as an aspect of Śiva Mahādeva with whom he shares the names Nāṭesvar and Nyūyanāth. These two terms refer to his initial function as the lord of cosmic dance, Nāṭarāja. It is common to derive the Newar name Nāsāḥdyāḥ from nāsah, "charm, delight, inspiration", and dyāh, "god" and to link this conventional etymology to the Nepali expression *nāce devatā, "dancing god".*

Representations of Nāsāḥdyāḥ are diverse and can be divided into three principal categories: cavities (New. Nāsahypāh), anthropomorphic forms and finally musical instruments. The cavities (New. pvāh) can be simple or consist of three or five cavities with different geometric configurations (cf. Wegner, 1992: 126). Most of Nāsāḥdyāḥ's shrines only have three symbolising the god and his principal musician assistants, the bull, Nandi, and the dwarf, Bṛhrīgi, (Fig. 1). The two supplementary cavities are generally associated with Śiva's two sons, Ganeśa and Kūmār.

In his anthropomorphic form, Nāsāḥdyāḥ is principally represented on the stone or metal tympanums (torana) of temples. Generally, like Mahādeva, he is represented draped in a tiger skin, covered with ashes from pyres, adorned with snake necklaces and endowed with a varying number of arms. He holds a number of attributes in his hands, among which, the hour glass drum (dāmaru) and a necklace of skulls are the most significant for our purpose. The dāmaru, the archetype of all membranophones, bears some resemblance to the dhākā drum of Śiva Nāṭarāja. The most ancient text referring to this god* mentions that at the end of his dance, striking his drum 14 times, the lord of the dancers utters all the constituent sounds of articulated language, from which, among others things, music is born*.

As for the garland of freshly cut human heads (Sk. *mudgāmālā), it indicates, as for all Tantric divinities, the acceptance of blood sacrifices. Moreover, the garland symbolises "the science of letters", *mantra vidyā.* Other iconic representations of Nāsāḥdyāḥ are drawn on pieces of cotton (New.: dhākā) intended to veil the cavities where he resides during rituals. The god and his assistants are represented here in a semi-abstract manner (cf. Duwal and Maharjan in this issue*). Finally, as a tutelary divinity of music, Nāsāḥdyāḥ also manifests himself in the form of musical instruments. Among them, the dhimāy drum has a special place. It is considered as a tangible aspect of the god, and is therefore the object of particular veneration.

Nāsāḥdyāḥ is associated with a mountain called Kātilas or Kapilasa, located north-west of Kathmandu in Nuwakot District. The first name of this mountain, which may come from the local pronunciation of Kailas (?), is an explicit reference to the archetypal residence of the god Śiva, while the second refers to the sage Kapila, who according to oral tradition practised austereities long ago on the summit of this hill. There,

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* 2 nāsah = 1. charm, delight, inspiration; 2. god of music, dance and drama*: Newar Music Dictionary (Wegner, 1992: 125). According to Mahes Raj Pant (personal communication), the syllables nā and sāh are contractions respectively of the Sanskrit root NRT: "to dance" and the word īvāra "lord"; the contraction of Sanskrit syllables is common in monosyllabic Newari.

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3 The kānlā of Nandikēvarā on the *Prajāyātā-sūtra* of Pāṇini, also called Śivasūtra (cf. Rao, 1990: 173).
4 The hymns to Nāṭarāja are characterised by their propensity to imitate drum beating and comprise numerous alliterations of consonants and onomatopoeia evoking percussion. Hence, there are numerous devotional hymns attributed to distinguished personages like Patañjali, in which the text suggests dancing and the tunkling of jewellery. One of the most important hymns, the Tāndava-stava, is recited after the pūjā at Cidambaram: it evokes the identification of Śiva with ākāśa as well as his association with grammar and medicine, describing him as the dancer and he who sings the purest hymns of Śrīraṣṭa. Another, the *Nāṭasā Cintāmani*, structured around five phonemes of his mantra, explicitly describes him as musical notes personified, residing in the Śrī Cakra.
5 Although Nāsāḥdyāḥ is rarely depicted, the *than̄ka* in the National Art Gallery of Bhaktapur in a form with "16 arms", *śrīśi mūtra*, dancing with his consort and dated 1659 AD, is a remarkable example.
Mahādeva and Nasādyāh are distinct entities and reside in different shrines. A small temple built on the hill's summit shelters Mahādeva in the form of a caturmukha linga, while Nasādyāh is represented by a natural niche in the wall of the mountain side, about 50 meters below. Still further down, two raised stones are dedicated to Sarasvati and Ganeśa. Curiously, Hanumān, the inseparable companion of the god of music in urban temples appears to be absent here.

These shrines are mostly frequented by Maharjan peasants who perform rituals including blood sacrifices every spring. It is said that everyone must go to Mount Kabila at least once in their lifetime. Women cannot participate in the worship of Nasādyāh, nor even approach the shrine of the god. However, their presence is required for the worship of Sarasvati. At this site, it is customary for the women to offer a small hemp sack to her thereby recalling the direct links that they maintain with the Goddess in their daily worship.

Two contrasting accounts illustrate the relationship of Nasādyāh with this mountain. The first recounts in essence that the god, who originally resided in Bhaktapur, fled to Kabila riding a white cock, as he found the town too dirty. For the farmers of Kathmandu, the journey is reversed: it is said that Nasādyāh, coming from Kabila one night, stopped at the northern entrance of the capital (Thamel tol) before settling early in the morning in each ward. Another version, from Rājopādhyāya priests in Patan, leads one to understand that Nasādyāh could have been the name of a realised being (siddha), deified following his numerous feats.

Principally associated with skill, talent, perfection, eloquence and right action, Nasādyāh is above all venerated for the powers (siddhi) which he confers on his devotees and without which no creation is possible. If his favours are principally sought by artists (musicians, singers and dancers), they are equally solicited by all Newar for other reasons. Thus, it is common to present the new-born to the god in order, it is said, to avoid malformations, especially mental. Various legends associated with the god should allow us to better define the nature of the ties uniting him with music and dance.

Legend 1

"The demon Bāsmāsur, eager for power, accomplished difficult acts of austerities. One day he was gratified by a visit from Mahādev, who to recompense him for his asceticism, asked him what he would like. Bāsmāsur asked for the power to reduce to ashes all that he touched. The great god agreed to his request, and Bāsmāsur wishing to verify his new powers, rushed headlong at Mahādev, who was frightened and fled. The demon followed him without respite and Mahādev had no other choice but to take refuge in the semi-obscenity of a rocky cavity. Raking great misfortune, the gods united and put together a plan to stop the rampaging demon. Making him think that Śiva's powers were not so great, he convinced him to test them on himself. Credulous and naive, Bāsmāsur agreed and in an instant destroyed himself." 6

Legend 2

"One day, Nasa Dyā gave Bhim Dyā [Bhimsen] a singing lesson, but the latter did not have much in the way of talent. When Bhim Dyā was later practising on his own, a washerman came by who happened to be searching for his lost donkey. Hearing the sound, the washerman thought it was his lost animal's braying and coming upon Bhim Dyā asked where the donkey was. Bhim Dyā thus realized that his singing sounded like a donkey's cry. Just as a bad craftsman quarrels with his tools, Bhim Dyā grew angry with Nasa Dyā, thinking that he had been badly taught. And so he went off to hit Nasa Dyā with his club. Seeing him coming, Nasa Dyā was frightened and ran away but Bhim Dyā chased after him. Fearing for his life, Nasa Dyā hid himself in a dark place among garbage and filth. This is the reason that his shrines are located in or near such places." 7 (Lewis, 1984: 111).
Legend 3

"A long time ago, Nāshadhyā in his human form, was walking towards Mount Kabilas. On the way he saw a young woman who was cutting grass. Deeply moved by her beauty, he courted her and made love to her. Later, a child was born. The baby was beautiful and a source of pride for the young mother; she took all the credit for the birth of her son. However, Nāshadhyā was proud of his virility and claimed the same rights. The situation created a quarrel between husband and wife and degenerated to such a point that the god and his consort decided to separate the fruit of their union into two parts. Nāshadhyā took all the bones and created a skeleton named Kāvā, and the young woman took the flesh and made a being called Khyā. Nāshadhyā, saddened by the hideous creatures, sat down on a felled tree trunk and began to beat it furiously. Suddenly, the two creatures came to life and began to dance to the rhythm of their father. According to oral tradition, this legend is the origin of Nepalese music and dance." (after R. Praddhan (1111 NS, p. 1).8

Legend 4

"In the beginning was the great goddess Mahāmāyā. Alone in her glory and wishing to be multiple, she wanted to join forces with someone; hence she created Brahma. Frightened by the ill-omened character of this incestuous relationship, the latter refused. The furious Mahāmāyā instantly destroyed him. She then created Viṣṇu who in turn refused and so met the same fate. Beside herself with rage, the Goddess engendered Maheśvara who agreed to her request on the one condition that the goddess change her form. Both took turns at all aspects of the creation. At the end of this divine game, Mahāmāyā and Śiva both assumed human forms and finally united. Following this divine union, Mahāmāyā disappeared. Insatiable and filled with despair, Maheśvara went to the ends of the universe to look for her. He then assumed the form of Rudra and abandoned himself to a terrible dance, tāṇḍava pyākkaḥ. Since then this wild, destructive dance associated with carnal desire, is called Nāshadhyā pyākkaḥ.9

Legend 5

"One day Pārvati in her angry form (krodha mūrti), was performing her wild dance when Mahādev appeared and began to dance with her, taking on, one after the other, all the different angry rasa. The last dance, which finally pacified and satisfied the goddess was called Nāshadhyā pyākkaḥ. It is also called lāṣya nṛtya. Surprised and completely won over by this dance, Pārvati adopted it and made it her own. According to the local tradition, it is the origin of the rasa adhūtus ("the wonderful mood").

Legend 6

"Arrogant pśi lived in a forest. One day Mahādev (Mahādeva’s Newar name) decided to shatter their pride which was destroying them and he paid them a visit. Seeing the god, the pśi became extremely angry. To test his power, they prepared an offering on the sacrificial hearth. A wild boar sprang forth from the fire. With a demoniacal grin, he rushed towards Mahādev to devour him. In an instant, the latter dismembered him with his finger and covered his shoulders with the animal’s skin. The pśi were unrelenting and started on a new sacrifice from which a venomous serpent sprang forth. Upon seeing Mahācīyā, the reptile was instantaneous pacified and delicately coiled around his neck, offering him body as an ornament. Confused, but determinate, the pśi used the force of their mantras to engender a demon dwarf. The dwarf rushed at Mahācīyā to devour him. The great god knocked him out and began to dance wildly over the inanimate body. According to the Newar, this dance attributed to Nāshadhyā is called tāṇḍava pyākkaḥ.10

Certain characteristics which emerge from these legends allow the predominant features of the god’s personality to be established. Obviously this divine figure presents a great number of similarities with the dancing Śiva of classical Indian tradition. Legends 4 and 5 illustrate the bipolarity of the tāṇḍava and lāṣya dances, traditionally associated with the lord of

8 Translation from Newari by S. Manandhar.
9 pyākkaḥ, "dance" in Newari.
10 Legends 4 and 5 were recounted to me by a Vajñākāya dance master in Patan.
11 Legend recounted by a Rājopādhyāya of Patan.
the scornful, nor the unstraightforward, nor the one who has no self-control; thus I shall grow powerful." [Nir. 2.24].

14 It should be noted that Bhūmasena is the name of one of the five Pándava brothers in the Mahābhārata and of Deva Gāndharva (Renou, 1987: 533). It is also the name of the Newar god of commerce.

15 NASĀ I. 658, kauṭīlye and NASĀ adhārāṇe IV.85 in the Dāhū-pūśa (appendix list of grammatical characteristics of Pāṇini including approximately 2000 roots which are used to form all Sanskrit words).

16 [...] A spirit who accompanies the goddess Kāli, often represented in painting as a skeleton. Skt. kankāla" (Manandhar, 1986: 26).

28
Turning towards India, one sees that this theme has been dealt with in detail in the Caraka Samhitā, the fundamental treatise on Ayurvedic medicine. In his work, Caraka indeed enumerates with precision the parts of the embryo which come respectively from the mother and the father: skin, blood, flesh, fat, umbilicus, heart, lungs, liver, kidneys, etc. are from the mother; while hair, moustache, nails, teeth, bones, channels, ligaments, vessels and sperm are from the father (Śarīrasthānam III: 6-7). This division between female and male organs according to female mrdu (soft) and male sthīra "hard" characteristics is not the exclusive prerogative of the Indian world, but it exists throughout Asia. It should also be recalled that for Tibetans, sha "flesh" designates the maternal family, and rus "bones", the paternal side after cremation. This also be recalled that for Tibetans, the opposition of bones and flesh is intensified by other oppositions: hard and soft, cold and hot and white and red. With the latter, the colour white is associated with sperm and red with sūrita or blood, the fertilizing element associated with the mother.

Within the musical aspect being examined here, the creation of Kavā and Khyā associated with the separation of gender is in keeping with the founding constituents of music found as expressed in the traditional stanza of unknown origin, sruti mātā layāḥ pītāḥ, translated as "the pitch is the mother and time is the father" (cf. Rao, n.d: 2). The soft parts are therefore associated with Śrīch (represented by the syllables, bol), and the firm or hard parts, by rhythm. As we will see, this game of oppositions which is found in symbolism associated with musical instruments, is decisive for the understanding of different phases of musical apprenticeships.

**Laya, Tāla Smṛti**

In his explicit relationship with music, Nāśadhyāḥ is associated with laya, a polysemous term which for the Indo-Nepalese as well as for the Newar, means a tune or melody (Manandhar, 1986: 224). Among the Newar, the technical meaning of laya is also the generic name of three musical tempi (slow, moderate and fast) used to accompany some rituals, in accordance with the meaning of the term in classical Indian musical tradition. As a major concept, embracing cosmology, yoga and the arts, the term laya as a wide meaning as conventional translations demonstrate with the words: "dissolution", "absorption", "merging" or even, "rest".

P.L. Sharma (1992: 387), in his detailed study on this theme, presents four of the most synthetic definitions:

"The important meanings of laya are 1) dissolution or destruction (saṁhāra) at the cosmic level, implying the dissolution of one element into another in the reverse order, with reference to the order of creation; 2) deep sleep or slumber (susūpti) in living organisms where the merging of the faculties of sensation and perception into consciousness is implied; 3) in haṭha yoga, the state comparable to saṁādhī (deep meditation) spoken of by Patañjali, 4) in music, the visānti or rest immediately following each kriyā or action, spoken of in the treatment of tāla, taking a cyclic view of this action, rest not only succeeds, but also precedes each action."

With the omnipresence of Naśadhyāḥ within Newar society as a whole, this association with laya must be considered in a broader perspective than its musical meaning. The existence of abundant literature relating to worship of this divinity in the milieu of the priesthood and the metaphysical speculation associated with it are evidence of a broader meaning.\(^\text{18}\)

Within the framework of musical apprenticeships, Naśadhyāḥ, Hanumān, the monkey-god, and Sarasvati, Goddess of Knowledge and of Speech, form an indissociable triad. In this context, each of these divinities is endowed with a "special quality" which benefits students. It is said that Naśadhyāḥ grants laya, Hanumān presides over the tāla\(^\text{19}\) "rhythm"; and Sarasvati confers the power of smṛti "memory" permitting musicians to acquire competence.

Naśadhyāḥ, the principal divinity of music, is present in all instruments, nevertheless, tradition particularly associates him with membranophones and aerophones. Hanumān, as rhythm master, is represented by different categories of idiophones (metal discs and cymbals). Lastly, Sarasvati is traditionally associated with stringed

\(^{17}\) Edited and translated by M. Angot, in press.

\(^{18}\) Berndède, forthcoming.

\(^{19}\) Literally, "hand-clapping", derived from the root Tāḍ. "to clap" or "to beat".
instruments, in particular the viṇa. However, among the Newar she is also associated with the pivāmeśā fiddle, an instrument which no longer exists today.

The Ritual Context

Among the caste of Maharjan peasants, Nāsahdyāḥ is the object of an annual cult, called Nāsahdyāḥ gūthi pūjā, tvāh pūjā, Nāsahdyāḥ pūjā or dhimay gūthi pūjā. This ceremony, during which the dhimay drum is consecrated, is divided into two major parts: the first consists of various offerings; the second is an animal sacrifice called si kāgu "taking the head". The description which follows, based on the observation of several ceremonies in Kathmandu, enumerates the different stages. A diagram of good omen (svastika) is first of all drawn on the ground with white and yellow powders. The divinities Ganeśa, Nandi, Nāsahdyāḥ, Bhṛṣṇi and Kumār are set in place one after the other from left to right. The sukunda lamp is lit before Ganeśa; the svastika is drawn in front of Nāsahdyāḥ and the ingredients of the pūjā (flowers, incense, etc.) are set before Kumār. After these preliminaries, the cotton veil (dhakī) is stretched out across the cavities (pvāh). The ceremony begins with the abhiśeṣa, "sprinkling" of the shrine. In the rituals we observed, the officiant was the clan elder, kājī and music master (dhimay guru); he installs three sacrificial cakes representing respectively the god and his two musician assistants, Nandi and Bhṛṣṇi. Yellow and red tikā are then placed on the drums, as well as on the ritual utensils. This procedure is followed by diverse offerings, consisting of cotton thread (jājāka) representing the gift of precious clothing, flowers and sāmarī. After having thrown the rice in eight directions, the incense and lights are presented to the god and his assistants, then the tikā mark of Nāsahdyāḥ (New. mvañahiśina) 22 is placed on the forehead of each participant. Recitations of the mantras follow; after which, the master of the ceremony empowers to give instructions or to make remarks to his students. An offering called baupā, dedicated to the bhūt-pret and pūṣaṇa concludes the first part of the ceremony. The baupā offering is composed of beaten rice, ginger, black soy seeds, black seeds, pieces of raw meat and salt. Intended to pacify the spirits of the dead, it is an indispensable preliminary to the sacrifice which follows.

The second part, the animal sacrifice, begins with the consecration of the sacrificial knife (New. nāy cupī, "the butcher's knife") and the victim, which may be a cock, a young goat or as in the ritual we observed, a buffalo. If the animal is a cock or a young goat, the officiant sprinkles it with water. It is said that if it shakes itself, this signifies that it accepts the sacrifice (mūligā). If not, the animal is unfit (Pradhan, 1986:234). This sprinkling is not judged necessary for the buffalo. The throat of the animal is then cut open from top to bottom and a small piece of flesh is extracted from it. It is stuck to the temple's tympanum; a second piece of flesh is then presented to the sukunda lamp's flame, and placed in a saucer. Finally, the head is cut off, removed from the body and placed on the altar of Nāsahdyāḥ. The cotton wick of the sukunda lamp is lit and placed there. It is interpreted as the sign of the re-absorption of the buffalo's constituents into the five elements (Skt. mahābhūta). A blood tikā is then placed on the drum skins. The head is now placed in a pot and presented to the participants who each in turn apply the tikā mark to their foreheads. Egg whites are offered to all the divinities as well as to Khyā and Kavā, the children of Nāsahdyāḥ. The students return to the house of the elder (kājī che) where he blesses them. Immediately following this, the animal is dismembered. Its head is divided into eight parts and offered to the elders as music masters according to a strict hierarchy:

20 According to oral tradition, the appearance of the pivāmeśā fiddle in Nepal coincides with the appearance of Mahāṣaṇi, the divinity associated with the creation of the Kathmandu Valley. From ancient descriptions, the playing technique seems to resemble both the Chinese fiddle (fixed bow) and the Indian sarangi (fingers resting on the strings). It was chiefly used to accompany a repertoire of love songs, entitled kāli, "black" which were performed during marriages. This fiddle is described as one of the best means of seduction (R.K. Dwaul, personal communication).

21 The sāmarī is a mixture of rice, beaten rice, black soy seeds, puffed rice, ginger, roast meat, black seed cake, boiled seeds and alcohol.

22 mvañahiśa from the Sanskrit word, mvañahiśa, "illusion", and one of the names of Ḫīḷa. The black tikā mark is placed on the forehead of all participants during the ritual. It is made with the scot from burning fabric mixed with mustard oil. It strongly suggests the powers of attraction attributed to Nāsahdyāḥ and is surrounded with immense prestige.
muzzle  Kaji (clan elder)  
right eye  first song master  
left eye  first instrumentalist  
right ear  second singer  
left ear  second instrumentalist  
tongue  third singer  
right cheek  fourth singer  
left cheek  third instrumentalist  

Thus, as shown above, all left parts are reserved for the instrumentalists (*khi or dhimay guru*) and the right parts, for the singers. The horns (called "the remains of the animal", Nep. *sega*) are an indivisible part, offered to Nāsahdyāh and hung on the top of his temple. We note that the ritual follows the order of ceremony of buffalo sacrifices as practiced by religious associations (*guthi*) and is conceived as part of the category of rituals in honour of the group of tutelary divinities (New. *dighudhyāh*) to which Nāsahdyāh belongs.23

The sacralization of musical instruments is not an isolated phenomenon and is found throughout the Indian world. Bharata Muni (second century CE), in his famous treatise, *Natyāsastra*, described in detail the diverse types of drums and their divinities. Even today in India, some drums are the subject of codified ritualization. As an example, the *bheri* of southern India, within the context of the cult of Nāṭarāja, is the object of particularly elaborate procedures. The obvious link between the dancing god of Cidambaram (Tamil Nadu) and Nāsahdyāh, leads us to quote the translation of a text from the *Bheritādanavidhā* part of the *Cidambarakṣetra Sarvasva* (1982, vol. 1 : 90). In some respects, this text is a meridional counterpart of the sequencing of Nāsahdyāh’s *pūjā* 24.

23 Cf. the description of the buffalo sacrifice in Pyangac, described by G. Toffin (1976).

24 We warmly thank Pandit Śivarāja Dikshitar from the Institut Français d'Indologie in Pondicherry, who told me of the existence of this passage and kindly agreed to translate it.

"[...] drawing two *śāhandīla manoḍāla* with rice, one in the East and the other in the North of the *dhvajadanda* "flag post". Drawing a lotus figure with eight petals in one of the said *śāhandīla* and placing the *bherī* in it. Placing the *āstrājī* Śiva’s holy trident* in the other. Both of these things are honoured with *dhupa* "incense", *dīpā* "holy oil lamp", *naividya* (cooked food, with fruit, etc.). Then the *bherī* is honoured by offering flowers, etc. [then] Worshipping *śūdra* at the centre [of the *bherī*], *saptā ṛṣi*, "the seven sages" at the root [bottom of the *bherī*], *nava graha* "nine planets" at the holes (?). Vasuki "abyssal serpent" at the black [centre of the *bherī*]. Śaṁskhā (the god Subramanya ?) on the beating stick (or sides of the stick, on the top ?) [then] adorning the *bherī* with a piece of silken cloth, flowers, etc. [then] elevating the wind on the *ākāsha* (sky) with *nakāra* meditating on Mahādeva as having (in) *bindu* form and *vyonākāra* (permeating the whole *ākāsa*), [then] either the priest (of the festival) or his assistant beats *bherī* (drum by reciting the following mantras):

1. *Brahmaḥjñānam + asattēva vibhā* - first beating.
2. *Idam viṣṇurvīkramē + paum sure* - second beating.

After beating the *bherī* by the Śiva priest or assistant, the ritual is over, the regular *bherī* player is called to the place and is sprinkled with sanctified water. He is also adorned with garlands of flowers. He too beats the *bherī* with *Nandi* tāla. Other instrumentalists, at that time, play on the important instruments like *maddha*, *munjha*, *patkā* (kettledrum), *vīṇā*, *flute*, *dandhubi* (large kettledrum) and *jalālari* (cymbals). By that meditation, all the deities and all the worlds become pleased and bestow boons upon the devotee.*

With regard to the polarity of the *miśra* type (Vedic and Tantric) of the cult of Nāṭarāja in southern India, we note that is is the Brahmins who are responsible for the sacralization of the *bherī* drum and this procedure does not include blood sacrifice. One of the officiants of the temple of Cidambaram whom we met described the different steps in the *pūjā* of the Newar god: "The cult of Śiva Naṭarāja is that of Beauty, nothing hideous in it." This remark takes into account the respective typologies of the two poles of tradition. It should also be recalled that in...
the case of the ritual to Nāsahyāh, the ritualization of the dhīmaya drum, which is not codified in writing, is performed by Jyāpu peasants, who consider the god of music as a secret divinity (āgādyāh) especially bound to them.

The Instruments

Two kinds of dhīmaya drums are found in Kathmandu: a large one, most often called mū dhīmaya or mā dhīmaya and a smaller one called yelepvaḥ dhīmaya or dhāichtig dhīmaya. The Newar describe the first as an indigenous creation whose origin goes back to "the time of the gods" (Toffin, 1994: 438). According to I. Grandin (1989: 68), its existence goes back to the Liechavī period (fifth-seventh centuries). Let us briefly recall the characteristics of these two instruments, organologically linked to the great family of dhol drums scattered throughout northern India (Kölver and Wegner, 1992).

They are cylindrical drums, with two skins, in wood or in hammered brass. Their non-standard sizes, vary respectively from 35 to 42 cm in height and 23 to 27 cm in diameter for the yelepvaḥ dhīmaya, and from 45 to 50 cm in height and 38 to 50 cm in diameter for the mā dhīmaya. Their manufacture is collective uniting several craftsmen — Chunar carpenters for the wooden bodies (New. gāhi) and Tamrākār/Kansakār smiths for those in brass. The preparation — tanning, stretching the goat or buffalo skins and the final assemblage are the responsibility of the Kulu caste of tanners.

Each of the drum skins is charged with different symbolism in the three ancient royal cities. Hence, in Kathmandu the skin on the right is associated with Nāsahyāh, while that on the left represents mākāh (from mā, "mother", and kāh, "place") 25. In Patan this play of oppositions is respectively represented by the two types of dances of Śiva Natarāja, tāndava and ṭāya 27, and finally, in Bhaktapur the skin on the right is, as in Kathmandu, associated with the Newar god of music, while that on the left is identified with Haimādyāh, the divinity linked to Mahākāla who seems unknown outside the walls of "the city of the devotees" 28.

25 For a detailed description of the different steps in the manufacture of the dhīmaya drum, see G.M. Wegner (1986).
26 The term mākāh generally seems to represent a contraction of mahākāla. However, according to informants in the southern part of Kathmandu, the translation of mākāh is "mother's place".
27 This evokes the popular etymology of the word ṭāya associating the syllables tā with pāda and ṭā with ṭāya.
festivities and festivals as shown by its inclusion in ritual events (marriages, democracy day, the king's birthday, etc.). As opposed to the mū dhimay, which is exclusively reserved for the Maharjan, this instrument is played by the two communities.

To be complete, the dhimay bājā requires the presence of idiophones, which have the function of regulating the tempo (tāla). According to the locality, the ward or the circumstances of the performance, two kinds can be distinguished: large bhūsyaḥ cymbals with protuberances and small metal discs called kepui or ghau.

Traditionally made by members of the Vajrācārya and Śākyā high castes from a combination of different metals whose proportions are kept secret, the two elements form pairs of bhūsyaḥ cymbals (30 cm in diameter) which like the Tibetan sbug-chal are not the same as each other. The left one is heavier and is placed flat in the hand; it is held by a small thong in a V-form across the fingers and associated with the female. The right one, male, is held by a piece of bamboo thought of as a linga and twisted into the strap. Their evident association with the yelepāḥ

dhimay of Kathmandu is here theoretically outlawed with the mū dhimay, at least in the lower part of the town (Kone).

Organologically similar, the ghau and kepui can be distinguished by their respective pitches. The higher pitched ghau is used in the lower part of Kathmandu; it is also played in Bhaktapur and Patan. The kepui (from Newari ḋe, "disc" and pui, "strap for holding the instrument") is played in the upper areas of the town (Thahajā). Today, the kepui have nearly disappeared and are mostly replaced by the ghau. An honorific practice because of their normative function of regulating the tāla, playing metal discs often falls to clan elders (kañi).

The Apprenticeship

The apprenticeship of mū dhimay (New. dhimay senegu) is a major event in the lives of the Maharjan peasants. All young people in the community must learn the instrument. Although generally taken up between the ages of 10 to 15 years, it is not uncommon that adults, who did not learn to play in their youth, join the training. Always preceded by a preliminary initiation called va.hāh cvanega, it is organised every 12 years in each ward and last about three months. Under the seal of secrecy, its transmission is above all oral. This session takes place in almost special houses called ākhāhche. The name, formed from ākhāh "letter" and chē "house", designating the site of musical training, is most interesting.31 Probably from Sanskrit, the first meaning of aksara is "imperishable"; the Newari term ākhāh corresponds with the meaning "phoneme", defined as the "plus petit élément, insécable a-tome (a-kṣāra)

29 Cf. the detailed description of M. Hellier in her work on Tibetan musical instruments, Modeh-Rel, CNRS Editions, 1994: 162.
de la langue” (Padoux, 1980: 75). It should be remembered that within a musical context and since the Vīṣṇu-dharmottara (second century BC?), akṣara is also the technical term for syllables corresponding to diverse drum beating35. Within the context of Newar civilization, where every part refers to a totality and where analogous principles prevail in all sectors of society, it is not surprising to see a place for acquiring knowledge, based above all on the Speech, designated as “house of letters”.

This apprenticeship is formally divided in two major, distinct periods, marked by four ceremonies respectively called: Nāsāḥ salegu, chema/chuma pūjā36, bā pūjā and pīrānegu pūjā (Toffin, ibid.: 441). Each of them is accompanied by blood sacrifices and followed by a communal banquet (New. beay).

Musical Language

Teaching invariably begins on a Thursday or Sunday after the festival of Cauṭhāṇīgavyaḥ and terminates a few days before nālasanigū, the first day of Dasāl (cf. Toffin, ibid.: 439)37. Preference is generally given to Thursday, an auspicious day devoted to Nāśahdyāh and Bṛhaspati, the master of teaching in the Hindu tradition. It is preceded by a propitiatory rite called Nāsāḥ salegu, “conveying”, or dyāḥ salegu pūjā. This ceremony, an indispensable preliminary to teaching, is intended to transfer the god’s energy from the temple of the ward to the ākhaḥcheh. The music master and his students meet to make the kisle, a substitute for the god in the form of a terra cotta saucer containing uncooked rice on which a coin with a betel nut on top is placed (cf. Wegner, 1984: 12 and Toffin, ibid.: 441). Each student keeps one in the ākhaḥcheh and dedicates a twice-daily worship throughout the apprenticeship. This ceremony is also intended to receive the black mark of Nāśahdyāḥ (mvahani sinha).

For approximately six weeks, the first part is devoted to the theoretical acquisition of the repertoire, which in Kathmandu, includes about 15 pieces. Like most percussion instruments on the Indian subcontinent, playing Newar drums is based on a corpus of syllables (bol) and on stereotyped rhythmic structures (tāl) (cf. Kölver and Wegner, 1992). In Kathmandu, this language is based on five phonemes: two gutturals, kho and ghū (left hand), two dentals tā and nā (right hand) and a compound syllable, dhyā (nā + ghū), corresponding to simultaneously playing with two hands. The first guttural kho and the first dental tā relate to the edge of the skin and ghū and nā to the middle. The left is struck with a bare hand, the right is struck with a bamboo stick (New. tāṅkutsa) whose extremity is rolled up in a spiral38. If the timbres corresponding to the dentals tā and nā are well contrasted in playing the mū dhimay, striking the edge of the drum causes a naturally duller sound than in the centre of the skin. However, the same dentals tend to merge in playing the yelepvāḥ dhamay, whose resonant surface is less39. As for the gutturals, kho made by the hand’s pressure on the edge of the frame produces a dull sound, while ghū consists of a bounce of the palm of the hand, favouring resonance. Finally, the dhyā syllable, associating nā and ghū, is made by simultaneously striking the centre of the two membranes. These syllables, respectively mute and resonant, are supposed to be analogous with the type of sound produced by the drum.

These five phonemes are arranged in a limited number of combinations, each constituting a unit of measure (Skt. mātrā). Hence, from the matrical phonemes, 50 or so are combined, comprising two, three or four syllables (cf. Ex. 1 in appendix). Each musical sequence is repeated at the place, in reverse, inverted or by alternating sequences. These mmenotechnical procedures consist in first isolating each element of the musical phrase and then in reconstructing the totality from its parts. This technique aims as much at establishing a metric regularity as at developing the independence of the student’s two hands. As an example, a list of stereotyped formulas used during the apprenticeship of the yelepvāḥ dhamay is given (cf. Ex. 2 in appendix).

36 Obligatory in Kathmandu, the chama pūjā is rarely practiced in other localities (it does not exist in Kirtipur and is optional in Putan).
37 This schedule can, however, vary according to localities. Thus, in Kirtipur, according to student abilities, it can by prolonged by nine months, during which the festival of Cauṭ Dasāl concludes a short time before.
38 According to L. Aubert (1983: 50) the name for this stick is derived from the Newari dāh, signifying serpent.
39 Generally, the yelepvāḥ dhamay, whose reduced diameter of the skins restricts the possibilities of varying the timbres using different ways of striking the drum, has a great virtuosity in playing techniques which have contributed to its popularity.
Far from being the exclusive prerogative of the musical world, these techniques resemble other apprenticeships which may have inspired them. For example, one is reminded of the study of the Vedic corpus in which different types of recitation appear. Moreover, corporal participation, attitudes linked to striking the drums, which are also found in the dance repertoire, dhimay pyākkhā, favour this memorization.

The memorization of the corpus is regularly controlled on two levels: through daily recitation before the music master, and each week, generally on Sunday evening during the collective pūjā, in the Nāsahyā temple. The first part of the apprenticeship ends with a ritual called chema pūjā. According to G. Toffin (ibid.: 441), it is a ceremony of pacification intended to appropriate an equivalent relationship between the devotees and the divinity. From the musical point of view, this rite is above all intended to solicit Nāsahyā's forgiveness for students' mispronunciation.

Musical Gesture

The third ceremony, bā pūjā (bā, "half" in Newari) marks the division between the two steps in the apprenticeship. A chicken is sacrificed for the occasion and the music master offers the right wing to the best student. This pūjā precedes the phase of instrumental practice which is in fact the application of the syllabic corpus to the instrument. In northern wards of the town, this stage also includes the practice of acrobatics (māhā tāhnegu). The students form human pyramids and learn to handle a long bamboo pole called dhunyā or dhunyā munyā. According to S. and H. Wiehler (1980: 92), "These poles were originally a military sign and are relics of the time of the Malla Kings, when the Jyāpu whose caste alone play the dhimay were taken into military service together with the Nay or Kasaṁ."

This rite is usually performed by ten pennants associated with the ancient Malla dynasties, are perceived as a symbol of kingship, not however without some humour. One Maharanj questioned on the significance of these poles, said, "[...] the king must not fall, this would be the source of great unhappiness but [...] there at least, we make him dance as we like."

The handling of the bamboo pole is elsewhere associated with the god Hanumān, the master of the tāla, represented at the top by the tail of a white yak. With the dhimay drum, it forms an inseparable couple, the apprenticeship of the pole (dhunyā scentegu) is accomplished on the basis of rhythms emitted by the instrument. This spatialization of musical language, whose importance in pedagogy should be underscored, is generally based on binary rhythms. In some wards, however, it is made up of combined rhythms (binary/ternary). The example cited below, called dhunyā boli, illustrates a conventional schema of word/gesture articulation. Each element of the choreography of the binary rhythm (cho tāh) coincides with two mārā: /ghū ghū /nara / (going up) / ghū / nārā / (descending) / kho / tāh: (turning around the waist from left to right) and ghū / nārā / (turning around the waist from right to left).

// kho / tāh / ghū / nārā / ghū / nārā / ghū / nārā / ghū / nārā //

The apprenticeship of the mū dhimay ends after a first public performance. This festivity is accompanied by a ritual called pidanegu / piranegu pūjā during which the students must lead the god's energy (in the form of the kisī) sauce from the apprenticeship house to the neighbourhood temple. For them it is an occasion to receive once again the black tikā of Nāsahyā. In some localities, for example, Panga, pirane pūjā is followed by a fifth ceremony called litanegu / litayankiku pūjā "giving back". This pūjā plays a similar role to that of chema in Kathmandu. These solemn ceremonies are invariably followed by a banquet. One can easily imagine the nature of the ties created through this apprenticeship. They once again reflect the basic parameters of Newar identity, as can be observed in all activities of this group— the principle of seniority and ritual cohesion on the basis of ward.

40 Traditionally 11 forms of the recitation of the Veda exist; they are intended to fix in the memory of the Brahman student the phonic sequence independently from the meaning of the words.
41 In some localities this rite, under the jurisdiction of the master, is optional.
42 According to G. Toffin (ibid.: 443), "māhā tāhnegu (short form: māhāb) seems to be derived from Skt. maḥā and New. tāhngu "to join things together."
43 The origin of the word dhunyā is unknown to us. It may be derived from the Sanskrit root DHUK: "shake, stagger, have trembler" (cf. Renou, 1880: 343).
Analytical parameters

We have seen that the repertoire of dhimay drums has a relatively restricted corpus of pieces in which the circumstances of performance are most often linked to processions. Improvisation plays practically no part and the creation of new works is a rare phenomenon. These compositions generally follow a similar pattern in all sectors of the capital. They include three or four distinct parts called nyāh, gau, kolā and tvālhāgu. This technical vocabulary can be defined as follows:

1. nyāh "to move forward in space" (Manandhar, 1986: 139). This first term which may be related to the Sanskrit root Nī- "to drive, to direct", expresses the idea of a prelude or if one prefers, an "overture". It is generally repeated eight or ten times.

2. The word gau "to change, to meet, to follow" may be derived from the Sanskrit root GAM- "to go", designates what may be called "development". It is subdivided into two sub-sections of unequal length. The first gau, is very short (three mātrā) and acts as the "transition" between the overture (nyāh) and the second gau, which constitutes the real "development". The latter is repeated twice.

3. kolā "to conclude". This fragment is a kind of coda introducing the final part. Contrary to the three other sections, it seems that this short composition, optional and rarely played, is the exclusive prerogative of the mū ḏhimay.

4. tvālhāgu "to finish, to cover, to close". The final part is fixed and invariable. It is played at the end of all compositions and acts as a kind of sound emblem of the ward (Nep. tvāh).

With regard to rhythmic organisation, one first of all notes that binary structures are common in two forms (mū and yelepvāh ḏhīmay), while combined rhythms (associating binary and ternary) are principally reserved for the ritual drum. Nevertheless, even in the case of binary structures, the repertoire of mū ḏhīmay proves to be more extensive than that of the yelepvāh ḏhīmay. Two contrasting tāla, respectively called cho and lānta, can be distinguished. The first comprises four mātrā, approximately corresponding to a beat of 112, while the second, played twice as slowly, comprises eight (= approximately 55) [cf. CD tracks 7 and 8]. Apart from this elementary binary structure, the ritual drum's repertoire uses two other tāla called partāl and jāti. Partāl is made up of seven mātrā (3 + 4) and jāti of 14 mātrā [(3 + 4) x 2]. With the exception of the latter which seems more to be the prerogative of the northern wards, the first three tāla are played in all wards of the capital. They are not specifically reserved for the ḏhīmay bājā and are used in other ensembles (especially dāpāh and dāh khalāh).

The rhythmic structure governing this repertoire seems relatively homogeneous throughout the urban area. In return, the sequencing of five matrāal phonemes used in Kathmandu vary considerably from ward to ward. It should be remembered that each syllable corresponds to a different strike and that each strike produces a timbre of its own. The syllabic variations are thus concomitant with variations of timbre which within the same rhythmic frame are discrete markers of the identity of each group.

Repertoire

Although playing the yelepvāh ḏhīmay is not restricted and can be employed in all circumstances, this is not the case for the mū ḏhīmay which is required in nine specific circumstances in Kathmandu:

- worship of the god of music, Nāsahdyāh Pūjā
- passing of power from the clan elder, thakāli lūi
- initiation of aged people, burajankā
- procession signalling the conclusion of the apprenticeship of the mū ḏhīmay, Swayambunāth wone
- setting up the stupa and removal of the statues (murtī), bhagwan bijāyakīgu

Hence, Dev Narayan Maharjan (in Ombha trāh) never mentioned the existence of jāti during our brief apprenticeship of the ḏhīmay drum, and when questioned on this subject, he responded: "Yes, jāti certainly exists, but not among us."
classified in two distinct categories, as shown by the table below: the first, under the title eight, with no particular denomination.

The repertoire of these different ceremonies is made up of a corpus classified in two distinct categories, as shown by the table below: the first, under the title dhyāhīhaygu, (dhyāh "god" and haygu, "to speak, to express") includes five pieces, whereas in the second category there are eight, with no particular denomination.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>tāl</th>
<th>Performance circumstances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mūdhyāh dhyāhīhaygu</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>in the ākhāhchē and in the temple of Nāshahyāh, before as well as after any displacement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lānta dhyāhīhaygu</td>
<td>lānta</td>
<td>in the ākhāhchē during the pūjā to Nāshahyāh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tvāchā dhyāhīhaygu</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>in front of temples as well as while moving to a chosen destination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taṅtakho dhyāhīhaygu</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>arriving and leaving chosen destinations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tabhunāntata dhyāhīhaygu</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>walking to the temple towards which a procession is making its way, as well as on arrival</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46 This piece includes the use of natural trumpets. On account of the limits of this article, Newar aerophones will be presented in a later publication.
47 On this occasion, the dhyānay is associated with the nāykhī drum, recalling the Majhriyan peasants' and the Nāy butchers' service in the same during the Malla dynasty. 48 cf example 5 in appendix.

Essentially representing musical offerings addressed to the gods, the five dhyāhīhaygu must be differentiated. The first which is the masterpiece of the repertoire, is a salutation soliciting Nāsahyāh's protection, and is the only composition in the repertoire using the three tāl of reference (cho, lānta, partāl). There are 32 in Kathmandu, this number refers to the 32 wards of the city, as well as the canonical number of ritual drums.

Some occasions require the combined use of the first three dhyāhīhaygu. Hearing in mind the sacralization of the instrument, one is reminded that in some wards (especially in the lower part of the town), the mū dhyānay is only played by the music master and in principle only leaves the apprenticeship homes (ākhāhchē) to be taken to Nāsahyāh's temple. The denomination of mū dhyānay (from the Sanskrit mūla "root"), generally understood as a generic term referring to the category of ritual drums, here designates a particular drum in each of the "32" wards. Its displacement from the house of apprenticeship to the temple of Nāsahyāh is the object of great precaution. On this occasion, the first three dhyāhīhaygu must be successively interpreted: the first is played facing the altar of the god of music, the second on leaving the room and the third in crossing the house's threshold.

In contrast to the first five pieces, which in addressing divinities, can be understood as "bridges" between the worlds of men and that of the gods, the second series of compositions is intended to illustrate the different stages in procession itineraries. Each of these pieces is hence associated with the necessity of displacement: ascending, descending, circumambulating, overcoming obstacles, etc. Furthermore, this musical production becomes a means of sacralizing the ritual space which is the...

49 For further information on the number 32, see G. Toffrilli's article (ibid: 435).
50 It should be noted that specific dhyāhīhaygu do not exist for the other two divinities, Narayani and Hamrāṇ, presiding over the apprenticeship.
entire town. As the table shows, with the exception of the second lampvāḥ, based on the combined rhythm partālā, all displacements are carried out on a binary structure (cho tālā); the combined rhythms are generally only played during pauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>tāla</th>
<th>Performance circumstances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lampvāḥ 51</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>between the ākāhāchē and the first river</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhumiyaśpāḥ</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>crossing a river 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swantipupāḥ</td>
<td>partāl</td>
<td>at the shrine of Swantipvāḥ 53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tampvāḥ</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>during climbing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devalipvāḥ</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>circumambulating the stupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūjāpāḥ</td>
<td>(?)</td>
<td>during rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lampvāḥ</td>
<td>partāl</td>
<td>going back down to the ākāhāchē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahpāḥ</td>
<td>cho</td>
<td>accompanying acrobatics (māh tālēnegu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lastly, the repertoire of the mū dhimay comprises a final piece which is not taught during the apprenticeship and which the students must discover themselves. Called sā yāgū (sā "cow" and yāgū "to make"), it is played during the festival of Śā Pāru (Nep. Gāḍ jārā). Its existence illustrates an elementary principle which one could qualify as pedagogic: to become a musician one must be capable of integrating in an autonomous manner, through simple imitation, an unknown or new composition. Here, the bol must be appropriately reconstituted from direct observation, which significantly contrasts with the general scheme of musical instruction.

51 Cf. Ex. 3 in appendix.
52 This composition, as its name indicates, is also associated with the bamboo pole dhūnyā. Moreover, it is played in the following circumstances: the displacement of the murti, Shiba goyag, Buraṇjivā, thakāli lāi, Bhagwan bījyākiva, Nāsaḍyāḥ pūjā, as well as during the festivals of Seto Māhṣyendranāth and Indra jāra. 53 The famous cave at the base of the shrine of Swyambhurāh.

Conclusion

This general presentation of the apprenticeship of the dhimay drum in Kathmandu does not aim so much at elaborating the details of musicological analysis as at emphasizing the underlying interrelations among myths, rites and music in this society. As we have seen, Indian sources have proved extremely valuable references for understanding certain aspects of the complex personality of the Newar god of Music. They seem to be able to elucidate in depth an aspect of instruction to which we hope to return, this is the important role of Sarasvati, one of the cardinal divinities presiding over learning. The direct association between Sarasvati and smṛti in this context is particularly interesting. This Goddess of the Arts and Knowledge is equally personified by Speech and the association between Knowledge and memory is omnipresent in Hindu tradition. This Knowledge is never conceived as extrinsic to the individual, but as something that has been forgotten. Within the Newar context, memorization of the bol syllables really constitutes the root of the acquisition of musical knowledge. The direct association between this goddess and smṛti within the framework of an apprenticeship resolutely centred on Speech is thus not surprising, even if in its practical application, it is destined to become silent and to be used to support the sound of the drum. Once these syllables are integrated, it could be said that instrumental application is immediate. As P. Sagan (1988) understood so remarkably well with regard to Limbu children, "Savoir dire, c’est savoir faire."

The second part of the apprenticeship of the dhimay finally appears as an exteriorization of Speech in the form of rhythm and musical "colours". It has been shown that from a relatively homogeneous rhythmic effect, identity expresses itself in each ward through the sequencing of specific syllables associated with strikes. Hence, the tāla rhythm appears as a fixed point, immovable, from which the various syllables/strikes radiate. Finally, transcending these two aspects of which he is the genitor, Nāsaḍyāḥ is the master of silence, laya, silence before and after all musical creation.

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Ex. 2 Formulas for the apprenticeship of the yelepvaḥ dhimay

1. tā / kho / dhyā / kho /
2. dhyā / kho / tā / tā /
3. tātā / kho / dhyā / dhyā /
4. kho / tāko / dhyā / dhyā /
5. dhyā / kho / tā / kho /
6. tātākhotā / dhyā / kho /
7. dhyā / kho / tātākhotā /
8. tāguntā / kho / tātā /
9. tātākhotā / tāko / dhyā /
10. dhyā / kho / tāko / dhyā /
11. kho / tāko / tā / tā /
12. tātākhotā / tā / tā /
13. tāghuntā / tā / tā /
14. ghumātāghū / tā / tā /
15. tāguntā / ghumā / dhyā /

Ex. 3. Lampvāḥ for the mū dhimay (tāl cho)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tā</th>
<th>tātā</th>
<th>kho</th>
<th>tātā</th>
<th>tā</th>
<th>kho</th>
<th>tā</th>
<th>tātā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ghū</td>
<td>nārā</td>
<td>khotā</td>
<td>tākho</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>ghū</td>
<td>ghū</td>
<td>nā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khotā</td>
<td>tākho</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tātā</td>
<td>kho</td>
<td>tātā</td>
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</table>

Ex. 4. Cholti

Cholti (cho ul) is constructed with a cycle of eight connected sequences. Each of them is subdivided in two unequal sections: nhyāḥ and gau. The piece concludes with a stereotyped tvāhāgyu formula. The eight different nhyāḥ and gau are interchangeable. Each nhyāḥ is repeated eight to ten times. The gau part is in turn subdivided in two unequal sections. The first, made of three mātrās, acts as a transition between the introductory formula (phyāḥ) and the development. This transition formula introduces the second gau which is repeated two times. The general structure can thus be summarized as: A [x 8-10] / B / C [x2] / D // The bol notation of the first sequence and tvāhāgyu follows (cf. CD tracks 6 & 7):

A Nhyāḥ

| tā khotā | dhyādhyā | tātākhotā | dhyādhyā | [ x 8-10] |
|-------|---------|-------------|---------|

B Gau

| tā | dhyā | nādiyā | kho |

C Gau

<table>
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<tr>
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D Tvāhāgyu

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</table>
### Mū dhimay

**ex. 5. Mūdhīyāḥ dhyāḥlaygu (tāl lāntā)**

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**ex. 6. Gau (tāl cho)**

<table>
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**ex. 7. Kolā**

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**ex. 8. Tvalālaygu**

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