

- Peer-Reviewed, Open Access Journal
- Index in NepJOL
- Permanantly Archived in Portico



Department of English  
Padmakanya Multiple Campus  
Bagbazar, Kathmandu  
Tribhuvan University  
URL: [pkmc.tu.edu.np](http://pkmc.tu.edu.np)

*Research Article*

## **Bombo<sup>1</sup>'s Ritual Journey: An Overview of Tamang Worldview and Aesthetics**

**Kumari Lama**

Assistant Professor of English  
Padmakanya Multiple Campus  
Tribhuvan University, Nepal  
Doi: 10.3126/mjecs.v3i1.89917

Corresponding Author: Kumari Lama, E-mail: [klama54@gmail.com](mailto:klama54@gmail.com)

Copyright 2025©The Author(S). The publisher may reuse published articles with prior permission of the concerned author(s).

### **Abstract**

*Indigenous Tamang community adopts unique methods to deal with certain ailments that trouble either an individual, livestock or the whole village. Primarily, they seek help from a traditional healer and ritual practitioner such as Bombo to get rid of their problems. The ritual specialist invokes the trouble creating agents and pacify them through proper ritual performances and sacrificial offerings. During the process, Bombo takes rirap, a ritual journey along with the recitation of special verses. Bombo, in his internal/ psychological journey, reaches several places, addresses the powerful god and goddess through chanting and at the end returns back to his own locality. Against the backdrop of Tamang ritual practices, this paper analyzes Bombo's verses that they recite during Peksu mang (spirit/bhut) and Syibda-neda (sime-bhume) rituals to identify certain features that substantiate Tamang worldview and aesthetics. For this purpose, I have used selected texts from András Höfer's *Tamang Ritual Texts I: Preliminary Studies in the Folk-Religion of an Ethnic Minority in Nepal* (1981) and *Tamang Ritual Texts II: Ethnographic Studies in the oral Tradition and Folk-Religion of an Ethnic Minority in Nepal* (1997) as primary texts. I have incorporated the ideas of Richard Schechner (2003) and David H. Holmberg (2005) about rituals for theoretical backing. Mainly, this paper concentrates on the analysis of Bombo's recitations and observes how those ritual recitations ratify Tamang worldview and aesthetics.*

**Keywords:** *Tamang community, Ritual, Bombo, Tamang worldview, Aesthetics*

### **Introduction**

Indigenous Tamang community of Nepal practices specific treatment method when an individual, their livestock or even the whole locality are troubled by some unknown illnesses and uneasiness. They believe that supernatural agents are responsible for making them sick and

<sup>1</sup> A shaman or ritual specialist of Tamang society, who practices healing methods through ritual performances.

taking the peace of their village. In such cases, mostly the villagers take refuge to Bombo, a ritual specialist/traditional healers, who deals with the troubling agents through ritual performances and sacrificial offerings. When the affected family member complaint about pain and sensation in eyes, stiff neck and occasional blisters on it, it is believed that *Piksu mang* (spirit/bhut) is unhappy. In such case, a Bombo is invited to get rid of the troubling spirit. As Höfer explains, “The Tamang Bombo is essentially a healer competent for humans and cattle. Ideally, he is expected to be skilled in the curing of both ailments with “natural” and ailments with “supernatural” causes” (32). The Tamang community with long experiences and belief on traditional healing mechanism, straightaway consults Bombo when symptoms as such appear. Bombo invokes the spirits and placates them through his ritual recitation and several offerings including a sacrifice. Surprisingly, such spirits stop harmful action and activities against the family member and their cattle when Bombo offers their share along with ritual recitations.

*Syibda-neda* ritual, which is related to worshipping water sources and land is another most popular ritual ceremony among the Tamangs. This traditional practice provides an overview of Tamang worldview, which is connected to nature. It is believed that when the water sources are polluted and the land is improperly treated, the villagers/village suffer the rage of *Sibda-neda* divinity. Yatru highlights that to avoid the anger of village deity, Tamang community always keeps water sources clean and tidy; they worship water and forest god/goddess; and make them happy with regular ritual offerings (161-162). Both, *Piksu-mang* and *syibda-neda* rituals center on traditional Tamang practices which directly connect human world with the natural world. In fact, it unveils constructive indigenous knowledge, which becomes instrumental to maintaining nature-human harmonious relationship and spreading the value of co-existence at the verge of environmental crisis.

The present paper deals with two major research questions- i) What significance does Bombo’s *rirap* (ritual journey) hold for Tamang community? ii) How does Bombo’s ritual journey highlight Tamang worldview and aesthetics?

To address the above research questions, the paper explores the significance of Bombo’s ritual journey, Tamang world view and aesthetics of the Tamangs through their traditional ritual practices. For that the present paper analyzes two popular Tamang rituals- *Piksu mang* and *Syibda-neda*. I have selected certain sections from András Höfer’s *Tamang Ritual Texts I: Preliminary Studies in the Folk-Religion of an Ethnic Minority in Nepal* (1981) and *Tamang Ritual Texts II: Ethnographic Studies in the oral Tradition and Folk-Religion of an Ethnic Minority in Nepal* (1997) for the textual analysis. However, acknowledging the importance of oral tradition among Tamang community, I have also consulted a Tamang senior to fetch some of her experience and ideas related to the above mentioned rituals. Likewise, the present study incorporates the concept of Richard Schechner (2003) and David H. Holmberg (2005), who mainly deal with various aspects of ritual for theoretical framing.

### **Indigenous Ritual Practices: A Conceptual Frame**

Traditional ritual practices play vital role among indigenous communities including the Tamangs, to cope up with dire situations, natural disasters, diseases as well as to show their respect toward ancestors and ancestral land. Since the present paper focuses on Bombo’s ritual journey, which becomes instrumental to trace out Tamang world view and aesthetics, it applies cultural and ritual concepts that speculate the ritual value based on cultural landscape. Schechner and Holmberg are powerful thinkers who provide substantial ideas regarding ritual practices through their keen observation of several ritual performances, which offer appropriate lens to unpacking of Tamang rituals and particularness.

Schechner sheds light on ritual practices, which he claims to be ‘performative’ and a powerful means of indigenous communities to offer reverence to their ancestors. Further, through the concept of ‘replenishment’ (614) among Yaquis hunters (a Native American tribe) and Aboriginal Australian’s anecdote about the ancestors, who ‘transformed into hills, rocks, riverbeds, trails and other landmarks’ (619) suggest their connectedness, close and harmonious relation with the landscape. This idea aligns with indigenous Tamang community as they worship nature and ancestors as well as believe on sharing culture rather than only taking from the natural world. They offer their respect and provide proper share to different spirits, physical entities and divinities of their locality in special ritual ceremonies. Rituals such as *Piksu mang*, *Syibda-neda*, *Chhechu* etc. popular among the Tamangs center on appeasing good and evil, natural and supernatural being that surround human world.

Similarly, Schechner identifies ritual performances in stipulated schedule and location; mass gathering; and the connection of individual experience with the society as distinct features of ritual practices (613). This idea complies with the cultural dynamism and regular ritual practices of indigenous Tamang community. Either it be the rituals of harvesting, hunting, remembering ancestors or warding off evil spirits from the village territory, the Tamang ritual practitioner performs in the specific date and place when a particular family or the whole village becomes a part of it. They religiously involve into such rituals as they revere and acknowledge each living and non-living components of the universe as an essential complementing factor that ‘reinforces the idea of co-existence’ (Lama 60). Moreover, their special regards to certain spots such as trail, hill, cliff etc. supplement to their ‘spatial consciousness’ (Holmberg xvii) while the connection with those places comes alive in ritual chants and recitations. Through the rituals, Tamang community exhibits their closer tie with space, land and territories, mainly, those places where they visit regularly and have direct connection to their daily activities and experiences.

Regarding ritual, Holmberg sights differently, as he examines the productive capacity of rituals and provides a comprehensive details of *Chhechu*, the ritual that cast out the evils, which he witnessed in Mhanegang, Nuwakot. He focuses on the ritual production of power and its socio-political dynamism. For that he minutely observes, analyzes and figures out that the *Chhechu* becomes instrumental for the solidarity among the villagers, for the production of social power, and also becomes a means of resistance against the dominating political forces. In this regard, he claims, “... rituals, broadly conceived, are actions that produce society as a collectivity and as a set of interrelated social position or identities” (930). Primarily, rituals are collective task rather than a lonely endeavor, where either the family members or the whole village gather for the socio-cultural exhibitions. When the whole community gathers, even a ritual becomes a productive power that easily surpasses the limitation of traditional practices and enters into the wider area of socio-political spectrum. In this sense, rituals are powerful means to intervene and negotiate with such forces, which either resides in the villages as annoying spirits or in distance as wicked and dominating power holders that Holmberg has rightly pointed out. Moreover, he emphasizes the production of social power and the collective move that becomes responsible for both tasks—warding off the evil spirits and taking action against the power structure.

Since the present paper aims at analyzing Bombo’s ritual journey and his recitations to comprehend Tamang world view and aesthetics, the above-mentioned ritual concept of Schechner and Holmberg provide sufficient theoretical backing. Moreover, the relevant ideas and concepts of other thinkers will also be included while analyzing the text/recitation.

## Literature Review

There are some renowned scholars who have done substantial researches on the ritual of indigenous Tamang community of Nepal. Namely, Höfer (1981), Steinmann (2020), Holmberg (2005), Tautscher (2007), Tamang (1997) have studied Tamang rituals of different geographical locations and analyzed through various perspectives.

Höfer (1981) based his study in the western Tamang villages in between Trishuli and Akhu river that concentrates on Tamang folk-religious practices. His comprehensive details about some rituals such as, the *Nakhle Mang* ceremony, *Piksu Mang*, *Cen bra* etc. provide sufficient ideas and procedures about the rituals. Moreover, his documentation of the ritual recitations of Bombo have offered important space for new researchers to explore the cultural domain of Tamang community. Nevertheless, Höfer has focused more on transcribing the ritual practices of Bombo than critically examining them, which has left adequate place for this paper to further deal with.

Steinmann (2020) has done extensive research on *Toila* ritual of the Tamangs from Timal region of Kavre district. It usually takes place in the month of November or January, which becomes a grand ceremony of seven days ritual celebration. Steinmann's elaborated details of *Toila* highlights the higher and revered space for ancestors in Tamang community. However, this ritual is mainly performed by the *Bal* clan as a special remembrance to their lineage deity. Likewise, Tamang (1997) has also focused on the important ritual celebration of Timal popularly known as *Timal Jatra* or *Chaitepurne Mela*. This ritual is performed mainly on the name of recently deceased family members. He deals with process and procedure of this ritual rather than analyzing the possible other aspects of this celebration.

Likewise, Holmberg (2005) has provided novel concept to the Tamang ritual and performances of Nuwakot district. He has analyzed traditional Tamang rituals such as *Chhechu* in the socio-political praxis of Nepal and critically observed the underlying meaning and values of such rituals for the Tamangs. Whereas, another researcher Tautscher's (2007) interest lies on the exploration of Tamang rituals that are related to the mountains and lake of Tamang populated regions. She sheds light on the importance of mountains in Tamang tradition and the values of ancestors through the rituals of Sailung, Kalingchok and Gosainkunda, which are also the major religio-cultural sites of Tamang community.

The afore-mentioned researchers have contributed to illuminate specific Tamang rituals and their importance to the community. However, the scholars have not recognized Bombo's ritual journey and recitations as an essential means to perceive Tamang world view and aesthetics. With the idea of perceptible gap, the present paper centers on the analysis of Bombo's ritual recitations.

### ***Piksu mang* Ritual: Acknowledging the Evil Spirit**

Tamang community acknowledges each living/nonliving beings and good/ troubling spirits that exist together with the human world through several rituals. That includes their ancestors, local divinities, clan deities, as well as the troubling/evil spirits such as *mang* (ghost), *bayu* (air like spirit) *sinde* (evil spirit) etc. All of such evil spirits and ghost come alive in Tamang myths and oral narratives, which become a medium to connect the human and superhuman world. On the one hand, it provides ample imaginative space to internalize invisible power, whereas on the other hand, it inspires them to acknowledge the existence of superhuman characters and maintain peaceful relationship with them. For that, the Tamangs regularly performs different cultural rituals- *Piksu mang* ritual is one of them.

It is believed that *Piksu mang* brings different types of illness on human and animals when it is dissatisfied or angry. Mainly, it attacks the eyes, neck and skin of a family member or their domestic animals, which give extreme pain, stiffness on their neck and blisters (Höfer 100). In such cases, the family urgently calls lambu/Bombo to perform *Piksu mang* ritual. If Bombo is



unavailable, even a layman can do this ritual, who has sufficient knowledge about it. Local people believe that *Piksu mang* belongs to the local area nearby western bank of Akhu Khola, (Central part of Dhading district), who was a Bombo during his life. Höfer presents a mythical narrative about this spirit – it is said that he was killed by a leopard when he went for hunting and after his untimely death his spirit went in union with *Cen Dakpo*, a spirit that dwells in mountain and shoots his arrow to the sky (15).

Piksu/pisku means ‘upside down’ in Himalayan Tamang language which also refers to sacrificial cock that is presented in upside down position. However, regarding the sacrifice there are differences between the Tamangs from western and eastern regions of Nepal. In my conversation with 72 years old Nara Maya Tamang from Bhojpur district, she recalls the similar ritual her family performs regularly to placate evil spirits. She names it *Pokte mang* and they offer a hen instead of a cock. She shares that the sacrifice is offered in ‘upside down’ position which Höfer has also mentioned. It shows that there are slight differences between the eastern and western Tamangs, however they have more common features about this ritual. Mainly, they perform this ritual regularly for the good health, prosperity and peaceful life of the family members and their domestic animals.

Bombo’s recitation is the major component of *Piksu mang* rituals which begins with addressing the *mang* (evil spirit) and letting it know about the preparation and offerings. Höfer has transcribed the recitation of Bombo in elaborated manners in 10 sections. For this paper, I have only selected certain sections of it.

Bombo starts his *rirap*, a ritual journey which Holmberg remarks as a revelatory journey that moves out through known geographic space to secret territories (91). He begins from the local village, Bhokteni, goes along the bank of Akhu river, and heads towards the north after crossing the river. It is said that Bombo reaches to all the places where the *mang* is believed to have resided as it is supposed to be the major sources of ailments and physical pain of the people and domestic animals. To get rid of it Bombo is summoned to perform the ritual that placates the troubling spirit. The villagers consult Bombo since he is a traditional healer, who is mainly concerned with life only, rather than with the death and salvation (Höfer, 20). Primarily, Bombo invites the *mang* from different places, such as *kharda chobda* (nearby water resources), *cilin jon* (the mountain on top of Bhokteni village), *patal khormo* (underworld/ forest) etc. and proceeds his ritual. His initial recitations and the procedural requirement includes offering burning incense to the god and goddesses of Bhokteni, cult deities, spirit, natural and supernatural beings.

ha:y, may incense be burnt, may (you) be incensed!  
 (I)have offered golden rice with (my) hand,  
 amidst (the constellation of) the auspicious stars, amidst (the constellation of)  
 the auspicious sun [or:] amidst the moon’s beam of light,  
 on behalf the precious cattle, I have offered a sacrifice, prepared  
 a sacrifice...  
 I have incensed from the area of Bhokteni  
 I have incensed from within the area of the kharda-chobda of Wodi<sup>2</sup>,  
 I have incensed from within the area of the yulgi syibda-neda of Cilin jon<sup>3</sup>,  
 I have incensed from within the area of karyul, Jyomo, Mensyar Jyomo<sup>4</sup> of  
 Pa:ttal Khorsom<sup>5</sup>  
 (Höfer 103-105)

After humbly remembering, offering incense and inviting the *mangs* of different places,

2 The name of the place near Bhokteni

3 A peak above Bhokteni

4 Cult deities

5 A forest on Cilin Jon

Bombo forefronts the issues of domestic animal. He explains about the pain, sickness and sufferings of the cattle. Since Tamang community believes that such problems are brought by *Piksu mang*, Bombo, through his ritual chanting tries to persuade *mang* to free their cattle from such difficulties. He offers a sacrifice and informs about the ritualistic preparation. At the same time he requests the *mang* to heal the illness of the suffering animals.

On behalf of the precious cattle, at a time of illness and pain,  
(I) have prepared a sacrifice, have offered a sacrifice,  
the soul of the precious cattle is escaping- hold it back!,  
(its) legs are affected by illness- heal them!,  
...

(it has) tearing pain and swelling, hacking and coughing- heal it!  
Please do not be angry and jealous!, (otherwise) the sin of killing  
May accrue, a sin may accrue (from your anger).  
(107-108)

Bombo keeps pleading *Piksu mang* to heal the pain of their yak and other domestic animals. Cattle play vital role in village from agricultural purpose to fulfill the demand of diet. As the health of domestic animal is as important as the health of humans, Bombo constantly reminds *mang* to remove the burning pain from their bodies.

Please do not be jealous, please do not be angry and jealous!,  
Protect, protect the precious cattle, the precious yak!,  
Swelling and bloating, hacking and coughing, tearing pain and  
Burning pain (may) come about- remove them!  
(110)

After appealing *Piksu mang* with several procedural chanting and offering incense and rice, Bombo sacrifices a cock and offers it in upside down position. And then he gives a final call to accept its share that includes blood of cock, rice, *tormo* (rice dough figures) and some plants. In the end, Bombo induces the disturbing spirit to accept the offering and appeals to return back to its place. In his final recitation, Bombo once again reminds *Piksu mang* to take/accept everything they have offered it and request to return back to its own place.

ha:y, please be dismissed!,  
take the share of meat, the share of blood (from) the cock and please  
be dismissed!,  
take the nine mana of pure rice, the *tormo-torsyol* and please be dismissed!,  
take the pa:sam of the singar tree and please be dismissed!,  
take the ladar-dundal<sup>6</sup> and please be dismissed!

*Piksu mang* ritual and Bombo's recitation highlights the essential aspects of Tamang culture and their cultural aesthetics. The ritual processes, offering and respectful acknowledgement of evil spirits authenticate Tamang's belief system that they not only prioritizes god and goddesses, but also show respect and offer proper space to the trouble creating spirits such as *mang*. They accept the existence of each and every entity that exists in the universe; treat them equally; and search for indigenous way of tackling with the problems. Mainly, they humbly recognize their ancestors' knowledge system, tradition and ritualistic values, which demonstrate Tamang worldview.

---

6 Prayer flag

### ***Syibda-neda* Ritual: The Narratives of Co-existence**

The Indigenous Tamang community pay huge respect to land, water resources and forest as these are the major resources for their livelihood. Also they have realized the importance of co-existence through their centuries long experience and harmonious relationship with the natural world. *Syibda-neda* (sime/bhume) is a unique ritual when the Bombo worships the king and queen of land (Bhume raja/rani), water god (nag deuta) and the god of the forest (jungali/ sikari) and make special offerings. Höfer emphasizes the importance of this ritual and explains, “The *Syibda-neda* (often simply referred to as *syibda*) is believed to be responsible for the well-being of the inhabitants of the village and the fertility of their cattle and fields” (133). Primarily, the country life depends upon the good harvest and the good number of cattle. If there occurs any issue either in farming or domestic animals their whole years toil falls down like a card house. To avoid dire circumstances, Tamang community finds specific way of warding off the evil and propitiating the divinities.

Traditional and cultural values remain at the core of Tamang belief system. They never undermine the power of the god/goddess and the natural world. In fact the whole villagers regularly worship and honor powerful village deities, mountain, jungle, land and water resources. In this regard Tautscher (2007) highlights that the Tamang farmers always acknowledge the ‘lord of the earth’ (*bhumi raja/bhumi rani*) to be the most powerful deities in the village as they are responsible for the good crops and the life of the village and the villagers (43). Natural world is the most important aspect of indigenous life that they pay their reverence and homage to the physical and environmental surrounding. In case of the breach of some social/natural order, it is believed that the Bombo’s ritual and his offering to *Syibda-neda* bring peace and balance in the locality. For that purpose Bombo travels a ritual journey along with a long ritual recitations.

Höfer has compiled the full recitation of *Syibda-neda* ritual in seven parts. However, I have chosen only some parts of it to highlight the ritual journey of Bombo.

Bombo begins his ritual recitation with usual chanting and offering incense, golden rice as well as informing to the *Syibda-neda* of that area. The main purpose of such offering is to ask for its favor, which is clearly mentioned in the following recitations. The ritual recitation also informs us about the originated places of *Syibda-neda*, which is Kalleri and residing place is Bhokteni village of Trishuli region.

hai, may incense be burnt, may (you) be incensed !,  
 I have offered golden rice with (my) hand.  
 (I) have come to offer a sacrifice, have come to  
 prepare a sacrifice, O *syibda-neda* of the area.  
 (O you who) as to originated in the area of Kalliri, (and)  
 As to residence, hai, are residing in the area of Bhokteni,  
 O *syibda-neda* of the area,  
 hai, protect, shield (us)!

... ..

Bombo’s recitation reveals his communication with *Syibda-neda* as he urges it to protect the cattle, family members and crops from epidemic and diseases. Particularly, he points out yak as ‘the precious yak’ which highlights the significance of such domestic animal in the country side. He also expresses his complete trust on the village divinity and consistently prays for their protection from any possible difficulties and evil eyes.

hai, protect, shield the precious cattle, the precious yak!  
 protect, shield the masters, mistresses (of the households), the  
 children, the youths in (our) area !

protect the crops, remove the illness, remove the epidemic, protect,  
shield (us), O syibda-neda of the area!  
(151)

After offering incense, Bombo starts his *rirap*, a spiritual journey. His journey moves ahead along with his recitation as he addresses *Syibda-neda* from local place, Bhokteni and moves to different places where it resides. He visits many places through his ritual recitation which are mentioned in the following stanza.

(I) have incensed from within the area of  
Kalliri,...  
Bhokteni...area of Cilin Jon, O syibda  
in incensing (from the region) of the upland...loland,  
in incensing from the meadow, .. the steep slope...  
from below, ... in own area of Bhokteni, from within  
(our) own dwelling place on soil and stone,...  
the area of Pattal Khorsom,...  
Hatti Gaura,.. Cautara, Kalliri (on) Tharpu Gan,...  
Naryin Gan, Pilik jo,.. Turi Gan, O syibda of the area,  
Dear master, may (you) be incensed...  
(155-157)

The places that he recalls in his recitation such as 'Hatti Gaura,' 'Chautara' 'Tharpu Gan,' 'Turi Gan' etc., are quite far away from the local Kalliri area. In this sense, the ritual recitation become a powerful medium for Bombo to travel far and wide. Holmberg rightly points out the meaning of Bombo's journey and states, "In these revelatory journeys, bombos move out through known geographic space to secret territories (beyhul) and to dream-like, revelatory consciousness" (91). It also confirms that his journey is rather an inner/spiritual to a physical/outer one that takes him to special consciousness when he could easily communicate/connect with the natural and supernatural world.

Quite interestingly, along with the ritual processes, Bombo keeps asking for the favor of *Syibda-neda* especially for the protection of people, place, crops and their animals. In return, he offers a white goat and a cock as a sacrifice to appease it. At the same time, he also assures to provide the similar ritual and sacrifices 'in the pleasant summer,' which shows that such rituals are regular part of country life. With enthralling words and equally attractive offerings, it is believed that Bombo becomes successful to get favor, build a strong bond and enrich trust and belief with the local divinities. The following recitations clearly indicate his unremitting attempts to gain favor.

hai, (I) have offered a delightful sacrifice, have come to offer a  
propitious sacrifice.  
In (our) own area, protect, shield (us), keep (let not vanish)  
The crops' blessing, keep the riches' blessing, keep the mouth's  
Food, keep the riches in (our) hand, ward off tempest and  
Hailstorm (?), ward off the insects (?), ward off the  
Firebrand (?),  
(I) have offered the sacrifice of a white goat, have prepared the  
Sacrifice in the pleasant summer,  
have offered the sacrifice of a cock.  
Let (us) be happy, let (us) be well, Keep the blessing in the crops, keep  
The blessing in the riches!,  
(168)



Finally, as in the *Piksu mang* ritual, Bombo requests *Syibda-neda* to take the offered share and head towards its own world. He equally assure them of providing the sacrifice in the winter too. His final recitations take the following flow,

hai, please be dismissed O syibda-neda of the area!  
 Protect, shield (us)!...  
 hai, (I )will offer a sacrifice in the pleasant winter,...  
 Return to winds of the East to the East, return to the winds of the West...  
 I will offer a delightful sacrifice in the pleasant winter,  
 O syibda-neda of the area  
 please do not be jealous, please do not be angry and jealous, reside  
 majestically in (our) own area, O syibda-neda of the area!  
 (I) have offered golden rice with (my) hand,  
 hai, please be dismissed!  
 (170-172)

Bombo's recitation covers full circular journey, which begins from invoking *Syibda-neda* of local area; after that addressing to the divinity of distant region through ritual recitations; offering sacrificial share; and finally humbly requesting them to leave for their respective places. Bombo's long prayers, worshipping, and sacrificial offering to win over *Syibda-neda*'s favor explicate its importance among the Tamang community. As a divinity of the local area, its blessing is essential for the prosperity of the people, place and their farming. Moreover, such rituals remain at the core not only for the good health of human being, but also for the domestic animals, soil, water and the whole village surroundings.

The close examination and analysis of Bombo's ritual recitations during *Piksu mang* and *Syibda-neda* rituals noticeably indicate the following things:

- i) Indigenous Tamang community adopts traditional ritual practices to manage ominous and unpredictable situations they encounter when Bombo and his ritual recitations become powerful medium to communicate, maintain good relationship and winning favor of the local divinities and troubling spirits.
- ii) Bombo's ritual journey and recitations unveil the Tamang perception and idea of interconnect-edness, co-existence, equality and inclusion, as they remember, worship and offer sacrifice regularly to the good as well as the evil spirits, which substantiate their worldview and aesthetics.

## Conclusion

This paper has examined Bombo's ritual journey during *Piksu man* and *Syibda-neda* rituals of indigenous Tamang community. Likewise, the present study has also analyzed and examined Bombo's ritual recitations, which become instrumental to shed light upon Tamang worldview and aesthetics. For that purpose, I have taken selected sections of Tamang ritual texts by Andras Höfer for the analysis. Bombo, a ritual practitioner from Tamang community performs both *Piksu mang* and *Syibda-neda* rituals in spectacular manners, which demonstrate their unique traditional way of dealing with natural and supernatural forces. Mainly, Tamang community consult Bombo for specific rituals when the family members, domestic animals and the whole area suffer from unusual illness and doominess. In such cases, Bombo performs rituals such as *Piksu mang* and *Syibda-neda* to bring ease and peace in the society.

In *Piksu mang* ritual Bombo begins his journey from Bhokteni (the local residing place of *mang*), reaches the nearby peak, jungle, water sources, crosses Akhu river and heads towards the North. In *Syibda-neda* ritual he takes even long journey and addresses the divinities from different

geographical locations of Nepal and abroad. However, in both rituals, at the end, he returns back to the local area and propitiates the god/goddesses and evil spirits through his prayers and sacrificial offerings. Basically, Bombo, through his ritual chanting involves into inner/spiritual journey when he invokes the divinities and evil spirits from the local areas to the far and distant places.

Thus, Bombo's *rirap*, a ritual journey, the whole procedure, and the recitations elucidate Tamang worldview which is based on equality, inclusion and harmonious relationship with natural and supernatural world. Indigenous Tamang community believes on interconnectedness among every entity in the natural, human and supernatural world. Mainly in *Syibda-neda* ritual Bombo addresses nature- water, land, animals and the village divinities, whereas in *Piksu mang* ritual he invokes the disturbing/evil spirits and placates both of them through sacrificial offerings. To conclude, the ritual procedure, Bombo's journey and his recitations substantiate Tamang worldview and aesthetics, which is based on the concept of co-existence, inclusion, equality and respect for every entity that exists in the universe.

### Works Cited

- Höfer, András. *Recitation of the Tamang Shaman*. VGH Wissenschafts Verlag Bonn, 1994.
- - -. *Ritual Text-I : Preliminary Studies in the Folk Religion of an Ethnic Minority in Nepal*. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1981.
- - -. *Ritual Text-II : Ethnographic Studies in the Oral Tradition and Folk-Religion of an Ethnic Minorities in Nepal*. Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1997.
- Holmberg, David, H. *Order in paradox: Myth, ritual, and exchange among Nepal's Tamang*. Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Limited, 2005.
- - -. "Derison, Exorcism, and the Ritual Production of Power." *American Ethnologist*, 27(4), 2000, pp. 927-949.
- - -. "Transcendence, Power and Regeneration in Tamang Shamanic Practice." *Critique of Anthropology*, vol. 26 (1), 2006, pp. 87-101.
- Lama, Kumari. "The Performative Aspects of Tamang Ritual in Chaitra Purne Jatra." *Tribhuvan University Journal*, vol. 37(2), 2022, pp.131-141.
- - -. "Indigenous Environmental Consciousness and Life Interconnections: The Aesthetics of Tamang Songs by *Tamba*." *Prithvi Academic Journal*, vol. 7, May 2024, pp. 57-66.
- Schechner, Richard. *Performance Theory*. Routledge, 2005.
- - -. *Performance Studies: An Introduction (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)*. Routledge, 2013.
- - -. "Ritual and performance." In I. Tim (Ed.). *Companion encyclopedia of anthropology* (pp. 613-647). Routledge, 2003.
- Steinmann, Brigitte. "In Search of Tamang Ancestors: The Ritual of the *mdos* King (Toila)." *Exorcising Ancestors Conquering Heaven Himalayan Ritual in Context*, edited by Steinmann, Mukta S. Tamang and Thuden G. Lama, Vajra Books, 2020.
- Tamang, Parshuram. *Tamang Jati*. Sailung Books, 2018.
- Tautscher, Gabriele. *Himalayan Mountain Cults*. Vajra Books, 2007.