

A MEDICAL-CULTURAL SYSTEM AMONG THE TIBETAN AND NEWAR BUDDHISTS: CEREMONIAL MEDICINE¹

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The first and simplest example of ceremonial curing that I have witnessed was in 1969 when I watched a Newar hierophant fan with a peacock feather his sacred utterances onto some pills which were in turn administered to a woman with a skin disease. I observed innumerable times almost the same basic process in the Tibetan community for a variety of complaints. As Tibetan and Newar ceremonial functions have roots in the Vajrayāna Buddhist tradition, it is not surprising that many parallels are found.

¹ Throughout South-Asia there are three medical systems: Western, Ayurvedic and ceremonial, which in many instances blend into each other. What I am calling ceremonial medicine is the most archaic and most mysterious to researchers and public health workers. Its neglect is due to three general misconceptions: 1) that Ayurvedic medicine is the dominant form of curing; 2) that curing rituals are somehow always associated with the concept of primitive magic and 3) that Vajrayāna Buddhism is a topic restricted either to a study of classical Sanskrit and Tibetan texts or to students who have received secret teachings which they are not allowed to reveal under any circumstances. First of all, Ayurvedic medicine has accommodated a certain aspect of what I am calling 'ceremonial medicine' under the heading *bhūṭavidyā*. 'Ceremonial medicine' in turn has incorporated the actual substances and sometimes techniques of Ayurvedic medicine. This same reciprocal accommodation process is true also for Western and Ayurvedic medicine. Indeed in some respects the process is continued into 'ceremonial medicine'. The second misconception is simply the fact that not enough ritual studies have been carried out in communities influenced by the tantric tradition with the view in mind to understand the cultural configurations of health and disease. The third points to the ritualistic nature, not the philosophical, of tantric texts which are the basis of the actual practices especially among the Newars and Tibetans of Kathmandu valley. This article is a revised version of a paper I read at the AAA meeting in Toronto, Canada on Dec. 1, 1972. It is the partial result of my fieldwork in Kathmandu, Nepal, carried out from 1968 through 1971. My many thanks go to Manavajra Vajrācārya and Padma Gyal Mtshan and Sa Bcu Rim po che of Kathmandu for guiding me through some of the arcane pathways of Vajrayāna ritualistic proceedings. I am also indebted to Professor Alexander, the head of the Department of Epidemiology at the University of Washington, for pointing out to me the importance of the medical aspect of cultural systems. And my deepest regards go to Dr. Christopher George at the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions. For his friendly and useful advice, I thank also Professor Alex Wayman of Columbia University who inspired me to write this paper.

My intention in this article is to briefly delineate the basic units which make up a medical-cultural-system as symbolized by language and myth in ritual. My proposal is that these units are fundamental to the Vajrayāna ritual complex, which is used for curing more than for any other reason. The model presupposes that curing should not be confused with enlightening; for they are one and the same process. Likewise disease should not be considered as an isolated event of suffering in the worldly affairs of man, for disease and the universe of man's affairs are not different. These qualifications are necessary in order to shift from our own semantic structure into that of the Vajrayāna universe of discourse itself. It is clear, however, that if we made the total shift we would be writing poetry rather than a scientific paper. Hence, I shift back and choose curing as a point of departure rather than salvation. The reason for this is that I can verify the curing process through ethnography which is more often than not philologically substantiated.

(i) The first unit of the medico-cultural system is the divinity as he is believed to exist and function in the community. He is always said to be equal with the sky, i.e. space. This sky-space is perceived in three circular realms: the realm where the highest aspect of the divinity dwells with his consort, who is called the sacred knowledge one; the realm of the sky where the son of the sacred knowledge one dwells; and the realm of the mythical Mount Sumeru where the worldly aspect of the former two resides. The divinity is referred to as composed of the Vajra body, speech, and mind, which designates the most perfected state of being possible.² During ceremonial functions the mythologies and histories of these divinities as well as the hierophants are visually represented in religious paintings as a sacred tree (tshogs.shiñ³) that reaches into the three upper realms. The tree represents the divinity in all his manifestations

² Vajra denotes the ultimate value placed on substance, form and imagery.

³ Tshogs means mass, group or assemblage. Specifically it is used in the system I am proposing in three ways: (1) as the assemblage of divinities, Bodhisattvas and other cultural heroes that are found on the sacred tree i.e. literally the assemblage tree (tshogs. shiñ), (2) referring to the monks and hierophants who gather to invite the assemblage on the tree to merge in their own assemblage for the sake of the mass (tshogs) of merit (bsod. nams) and the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi) for the sake of themselves, the community and all sentient beings: hence the place for performing ritual is called the assemblage house (tshogs. khan) and (3) the necessary articles used in religious services (htshog. chas. ni. yo. byed. dam. ñe. mkho) which include food which is eaten at the end of ceremonial performances as transubstantiations for the purpose of curing. Hence there is a hierarchical tshogs which is a symbolical reality of the triad: a) divinity assemblage; b) assemblage of monks and priests and c) the assemblage of offerings. This forms another conceptual framework of the vertical system.

as well as the source of the religious medicine (chos.sman) which is called ambrosia (bdud.rtsi) or splendourous ripples (byin.ci.brlabs).

(ii) The second unit is the hierophant (slob.dpon.rdo.rje.) who assumes the role of leadership in the community.⁴ More often than not he is not only the charismatic priest who calls the divinity into the ceremonial circle⁵ but is a master of the ancillary sciences as well. The Newar hierophant differs from most of his Tibetan counterparts in that his lineage is continued through caste marriage and the begetting of sons. And although the Tibetan community does not seem to be caste-like, the hierophants are geographically, educationally and morally elevated above the people. The main point is that in both communities the selection of the hierophant, whether it be by birth or metaphysical processes, is carefully controlled through tradition, for without this control Vajrayāna Buddhism as it still exists today in Nepal and some parts of India could not exist. Remove this unit and the system collapses.

By virtue of the fact that the hierophant calls the divinity, he has a learned or conditioned rapport with the divine structure. For example, in order to invite someone to dinner we must first of all have had some previously experienced friendship or whatever. In a sense we project the person we desire (or do not desire) in order to share food with him for some desired goal even though it may be just good fellowship. This extends itself to objects: we pick up a seashell because we think it symbolical of the whole sea, or just because it pleases our sense of aesthetics and so on. The projected and conditioned feelings of good fellowship, symbology, aesthetics, or whatever may have little to do with the actual phenomenon in itself unless we are poets, artists or philosophers. The hierophant in his projection of the divinity is all three, and he has the additional purpose of obtaining the divine power for the sake of

⁴ Slob. dpon. rdo. rje. in Sanskrit means Vajrācārya. We should understand the ācārya as one who has completed his training in Sanskrit. We should understand Vajra as an ultimate Buddhist value which is inherent in all things. The tantric Buddhist ācārya is hence one who has completed his study of Buddhist doctrine and so on, via the medium of Sanskrit. The Tibetan ācārya (slob. dpon) has done the equivalent in Tibetan. In Kathmandu it is more or less understood that every Vajrācārya has completed a study of at least the Guhyasamājatantra. Crucial to being a vajrācārya in Nepalese society is initiation (diksa) which formalizes the transition from being an ordinary person to one who is established within the ultimate value of vajra. It is only after diksa that he can study the Vajrayāna texts and perform tantric rituals.

⁵ I am using the phrase 'ceremonial circle' as the place of ritual. Hence it not only includes the mandala and other ritual items but members of the lay community who pass in and out of it to receive the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi).

healing. From the point of view of curing, the divinity is a symbolical reality⁶ of the ideal substance, which is the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi). The divinity, an outer and inner projection, is an image that he understands as only a projection to be recycled and reduced in order to maintain a proper circulation of the curing ambrosia, which I call the “ambrosia cycle.”

The “ambrosia cycle” includes an inner projected arrangement called the Vajrabody (rdo.rje.lus), which is basically a model of three vertical channels within the body (*Lessing and Wayman*, 1968, pp. 327) where the curing ambrosia drops.⁷ Only the hierophant has a fully developed Vajrabody and hence the skills to call, create, and transfer the splendorous ripples (byin.ci.brlabs) of ambrosia (bdud.rtsi). The system, so far hierarchically structured, includes the projected divinity, whom we can call here Vajradhāra (he who holds a Vajra), the Vajrācārya (master concerning the Vajra), and the projected Vajrabody (rdo.rje.lus), which acts as a vessel for the divinity. It would certainly be appropriate not to make the divinity a separate unit. It would also be appropriate to view the Vajrabody as a separate unit. However most lay Tibetans and Newars see the divinity as outside of themselves. The hierophants see the divinity as outside and inside as well. Since the divinity is called, established, recycled and transferred as if it were an outer projection, I am making it a separate unit.

Briefly, how does the system as explained thus far actually work? To use a crude but effective example, it works somewhat in the manner of recycling waste material: i.e. nothing can be really thrown away but either properly re-used or simply wasted, in some way or another harmful for mankind. The machinery by which this is done is ritual (cho.ga) which is a symbolic reality of the entire medical-cultural-system. The method within ritual that begins the “ambrosia cycle” is grasping the sound (tiñ.ñe hdzin). It is called in Sanskrit samādhi which is usually translated ‘profound concentration.’⁸ In Newar rituals it is more often than not called ‘samādhipūjā’. As the ultimate grasping of sound is difficult, the neophyte does not usually embark on this method until he is ready for advanced teaching which is usually referred to as dzogs.

⁶ ‘Symbolical reality’ designates the fact that symbols have value which in turn make men act. The ceremonial circle is structured on the basis of curing. Even rituals of life crises can be viewed in this way. For example, the Newar death ritual is to a great extent conducted because of the fear that diseases can issue from a dead body not properly purified. The point is that the ceremonial circle including the imagery projected by the hierophant has the value of curing old age, sickness and death.

⁷ Lalanā, rasanā and avadhūti are located in the left, right and middle parts of the body. (See also, Bharati, 1970, pp.175,292).

⁸ Lessing and Wayman in their *Fundamentals of Buddhist Tantra* leave the word ‘samādhi’ untranslated. There does not seem to be a proper English equivalent simply

rim (the way of completion). As this process is the essence of yoga, it can also be regarded as yogic curing.

When the hierophant is ready to grasp the sound (tiñ.ñe.hdzin) which begins the ambrosia cycle, he projects the divinity in union with his consort. This outer projection is fed back into the Vajrabody. What seems to be an erotic configuration is actually symbolical of the recycling of the essential nature of lust; for its seemingly erotic nature does not touch the corresponding sense organ of the hierophant. If it did, the process we are discussing would be a kind of erotic day-dream which in the Vajrayāna system of thought would be a harmful fantasy. Instead of the production of ambrosia there would be gross semen.

This inner projection of the divinity is tantamount to planting the sacred tree within the Vajrabody (rdo. rje. lus). As the hierophant mentally casts the seed syllables within his Vajrabody, there issues the following configuration: 'om' plants in the head the white reflex of the coupling divinities who represent confusion (gti.mug); plants in the throat a pair of red divinities symbolizing lust (hdod. chags); 'hūm' plants in the heart the bluish divinities standing for hatred (zhe. sdañ); 'hram' plants the yellow divinities representing ego (ña. rgyal) in the navel; and in the region of the genitals 'ham' plants the green divinities symbolizing jealousy (phrag. dog). The seed syllables then draw out the five poisons, after which they are burned i.e. refined by a red drop (thig. le. dmar. po) which the hierophant projects as originating four fingers beneath the navel. During this process, the hierophant holds his breath. By means of the heat issuing from the red drop, each of the five poisons is then recycled, together with the five divinities, into white drops (thig. le. dkar.po). Then the curing ambrosia i.e. the ambrosic sacred semen (bdud. rtsi. byañ. sems.) falls from the head. Therefore the inner body goes through a heating process and the ambrosia maintains its falling from the region of the head, after which there is no sound. The outer and inner projections are now dispensed with. The sound of the seed syllables in their work of creating the curing ambrosia has been grasped and dissipated.

Since the ultimate etiology of old age, sickness and death is the five poisons, which are epidemic in the world of sentient beings, their recycling should be viewed as basic because in our own cultural system there is not a similar use of the imagination. The Tibetan translators obviously had a similar problem. Tiñ.ñe. hdzin. is not a literal translation of samādhi; however it corresponds to the psycho-physical events under consideration. I take tiñ. to mean sound in the sense of tiñ. shags which literally means small metal cymbals which are used in puja. For what it might be worth, an eminent Tibetan teacher once told me that when the little silver cups (called tiñ) which are kept on the altar make the sound "tiñ" it is a sign of the divinity. Is the gradual dissipation of the sound and the creation of the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi) at the origin of the Japanese koan "the sound of one hand clapping"?

to the curing process.

(iii) Another unit of substance (rdzas) is the total composite of the world which has as its basis the procreative and vegetative cycles i. e. in Buddhist terms the transmutatory world of saṃsāra.

As this is the field of the five poisons, it is the foremost concern of the hierophant's work. As we saw above, the five poisons in essence are recycled into the curing ambrosia; this is meant to be a symbolic reality of the purification of the whole world. In fact, during the recycling process, the hierophant may imagine the whole world entering his body via the breath and into the nostrils of the coupling divinities within his own body. Then, after the divinities make sounds of enjoyment, the world is emanated as a ball of sacred semen (byan. chub. sems) which in turn produces the seed syllable hūṃ that is gradually dissipated. What ensues is (1) that the hierophants' own semen is transubstantiated into a sacred entity; (2) because there is a sympathetic relationship between the curing ambrosia and this subtle-sacred aspect of semen, the recycling produces the curing ambrosia; (3) because the hierophant does not reject the possibility that this sympathetic relationship sacred semen /ambrosia/world will take effect and purify all of existence, he never begins the recycling process until he contemplates that it is for the sake of all sentient beings – a kind of contemplative ecology – and (4) he knows that the curing ambrosia that is generated in his very being will take effect on his immediate surroundings i.e. he recycles a chosen substance into the nature of Vajrabody, speech and mind which is formally called a pill (ril. bu).⁹

The pill is usually made from a combination of ayurvedic substances¹⁰ placed in a vessel, sometimes a human skull, which is called the sky-space of female

⁹ The Sanskrit word for pill is guṭika which in the Mahākālatantra is given the following symbolic meaning: "The blessed Lord said: A pill is the formation of the body, speech and mind into one (entity). Gu is said to be based on the body. That which is called ṭi is the self nature of speech. Ka is thought (in the sense of own nature of mind). Having made these three into one (we have) a pill".

bcom. Idan. hdaś, kyis, bkah. stsal pa/ ril. bu. ni. lus. dañ/ 'nag dañ/ yid gcig tu byas pa'o/ gu. zhes. bya. ba. ni. lus. la. brten. pa'o/ ṭi. zhes. bya. ba. ni. nag. gi. rañ. bzhiñ. no/ ka. zhes. bya. ba. ni. sems. so/ gsum. gcig. tu. byas. pa. ni. ril. bu'o/ (Chapter 9, Mahākālatantra, translated MSS. in personal library.)

¹⁰ The eight basic substances which are used in ceremonial medicine are (1) tsan dan (Sanskrit candana; English, sandal wood), (2) li shi (Sanskrit lavaṃga; English, cloves), (3) gur gum (Sanskrit kuṃkuma; English, saffron) (4) dza ti (Sanskrit jātikusuma; English, jasmin), (5) ga bur (Sanskrit karpūra; English, camphor), (6) shin tsha (Sanskrit guḍatvak; English cinnamon), (7) rgya shug (Sanskrit badara;

(yum. gyi. mkhah dbyiñs), and then pulverized with a pestle called the vajra of the male pestle (gtun. bu. yab. kyi. rdo. rje). As the substances are ground, the hierophant English jujube) and (8) gandhabhadra (Sanskrit; Latin, *paedira foetida*). These are generally called the outer roots. Further, following the analogy of the tree, the eight inner substances which represent the growth of the human are: (1) the root, which is the flesh and bone of bodily form (gzugs. phuñ. dbyibs. kyi. sha. rus. sdoñ. po), (2) the four limbs, likened unto branches (yal. ga. yan. lags. bzhi); (3) the hair and nails, which are like leaves (lo. ma. sen. mo. skra. dañ. spu); (4) the five senses, like flower buds (me. tog. dbañ. po. lña); (5) the five inner organs, like fruits (hbras. bu. don. sñiñ. lña) i.e. lungs, heart, liver, kidneys and spleen; (6) the marrow, like the pith of a tree (sñiñ. po. rkañ. mar); (7) the circulating brain fluids, like resin (thañ. chu. sla. ba. klad. rgyugs); and (8) the skin, which is like bark (shun. pa. pag. pa). And lastly the eight arcane substances which according to the procreative processes, are: (1) the sacred semen (byañ. chub. sems) located in the head; (2) the central path by which it travels (gzhuñ. lam. rgyugs. sa) presumably the *avadhūti*. (3) the arcane fruit (near) the door of the navel (lte. ba'i. sgo. ba'i. hbras. bu) i.e. testicles and (4) the great root of the vajra with its opening (gshegs. shul. rdo. rje'i, rtsa.bo. che). These are for the male. For the female there are: (5) the liver, which is the vessel of blood (called the) lotus (padma. rakta'i. snod. mchin. pa); (6) the womb, which is the vessel that collects (the blood and semen) (gsogs. pa'i. snod. bu. snod); (7) the door of the lotus i.e. vulva, which is the place to obtain (len. pa'i. gnas. padma'i. sgo). and (8) the stamen and petals of the lotus, which is the path of movement (rgyu. lam. padma'i. ze'u. hbru).

These twenty-four categories make up the fundamental substances that go into ceremonial medicine. The first eight are made into pills (ril.bu) and sometimes just offered. The second are offered symbolically by an offering cake (gtor. ma) which is actually made into the shape of eyes, ears, nose, tongue and skin, which are the five cognitive senses (dbañ. po. lña) that are likened unto budding flowers on the tree. The arcane substances show us the basis by which the hierophant recycles the procreative matters of existence into what I am calling the "ambrosia cycle." The above categories, though an aspect of my ethnographic research in Nepal, are mentioned in slightly different ways in three small manuscripts which I am in the process of translating: they are (1) 'the crystal garland teachings showing whatever methods may be for the preparation of various necessary substances' (ñe. bar. mkho. ba'i. rdzas. sna. tshogs. kyi. sbyar. thabs. lag. len. ci. rigs. bstan. pa. shel. gyi. hphreñ, ba. bzhugs. so) and (2) 'Perfect Medicine (sman. sgrub)' and (3) 'The clear explanation of necessary substances concerned with the sublime arcane practise of pledged ambrosia' (dam. rdzas. bdud. rtsi'i. sgrub. thabs. gsañ. chen. mchog. gyi ñe. bar. mkho. ba'i. zin. bris. dgos. don. rab. gsal. ces. bya ba. bzhugs. so).

projects that the sacred ambrosia produced by the coupling divinities recycles the substances into a like ambrosia. The sacred utterance used in this procedure is 'om āh hūm pañcāmṛta hūm hrīh tha!'

'Om āh hūm' recycles the substances into a purified field of Vajrabody, speech and mind. 'Pañcāmṛta' refers to the five colors sometimes conceived in the form of light rays that recycle the five poisons. The second 'hūm' is called the pledged one (dam. tshig. pa); and 'hrīh' designates the sacred knowledge one (ye. shes.pa). When the syllable 'tha' is cast, the pledged and sacred-knowledge-one are joined into one as represented by the formation of the pill (ril.bu) and called religious medicine (chos.sman).

In order for the system to work the substance must go through a process similar to the above model. It should be clear that the substances do not have to be ayurvedic ones. They can be any substances or symbolic realities that correspond to the categories in footnote 10. Substances do not have to be eaten. They can be seen, heard (in case of sound), smelled, tasted, touched or just perceived by the mind.

The essential factor in the transference from the hierophant to the substance is the pledge (dam. tshig). When a substance receives the splendorous ripples of ambrosia (bdud. rtsi. byin. brlabs) it is called a pledged substance (dam. tshig. rdzas) by virtue of the fact that the hierophant is a pledged being (dam tshig. pa) i.e. he is pledged to the Buddhist dharma which is ideally represented by the divinities. In an effort to understand the full meaning of pledge one inevitably should understand it in the context of the ideal image of the Vajrayāna community.

(iv) The fourth unit is community: the ideal image of the community lies in the histories and mythologies of the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and hierophants of the past who are visually represented by the assembly tree (tshog. shiñ). For the non-Buddhist this is just a visual representation and an antiquity. For the Vajrayānist it represents the limits of his spiritual as well as material possibilities to which he is pledged as a member of a community. As the assembly of divinities is his projection, he mentally imitates them over and over again much in the same way a child imitates his own movements—as if they were separated motions. As he grows older he realizes that his motions and gestures are really his own. On a more sophisticated level the hierophant understands his mental projections of the divinity as one and the same with himself—but not as a matter of pure mechanicality. Rather he makes a conscious effort in each major ceremony to project the divinity as himself. Since he has received the vows (sdom. pa) that maintain his charisma as a priest, the image of the divinity, like himself, is a pledged being (dam. tshig. pa). When he invites the main tutelary divinity (yi. dam) from space, i.e. the sacred-knowledge-one (ye. shes. pa) (*Lessing and Wayman*, 1968,p.

163)¹¹ the two are joined in his Vajrabody and hence the same recycling process as mentioned before takes place. The main point is that the hierophant as a pledged being in the traditional community performs the main function of investing worldly substances with the pledge. Substance is pledged i.e. infused with ambrosia and given to the layman who shares it with the rest of the community.

When the devotee approaches the hierophant for curing, he utters prayers, prostrates himself, makes an offering and then receives the cure in the form of pills, food, or cloth; he is given a sacred utterance to recite, and receives a physical touch from the hierophant's fingers or feet. On special occasions the hierophant may touch the devotee's forehead with the image of the divinity. For a moment the distance between the divinity, the hierophant and the devotee is reduced to one point. This oneness is the peak moment of the transference and conceptually and symbolically points to the almost everyday goal of every person in the Vajrayāna community.

The hierarchical structure of the divine imagery reflects the religious and many of the so-called secular behavioral patterns of the community. The Triad: divinity, hierophant and layman, reflects the symbolical concepts of pledge (dam. tshig), vow (sdom. pa) and faith (dad. pa): dam. tshig is based on sdom. pa which in turn is determined by dad. pa, constituting the vertical system.

¹¹ My own ethnography corresponds to Lessing and Wayman's translation of a section of the snags. rim. chen. mo. that briefly points out that the pledged circle is the ceremonial circle and also conceived of as the hierophant's own being. The knowledge one's circle is in space. A question could arise, however, concerning the significant difference between the pledged being (dam. tshig. pa) that is projected from the pledged hierophant and the sacred knowledge being (ye. she. pa). If we look at the problem from the vantage point of the actual dynamics of the ritual, we first of all have the mere projection. And here I mean by projection mainly two symbolic configurations: 1) the ritual setting and 2) the imagery of the divinity. The other projections are the human bodies that enter the ritual area as well as the body of the hierophant. The latter formally transubstantiates the ritual setting by means of the divinities' imagery into a pledged (dam. tshig) field by symbolically offering the five senses of the body; i.e. he offers flowers, incense, light, food and sound, to the divinity. Hence the ceremonial circle is pledged (dam. tshig). It is only now that the hierophant can make the second transubstantiation into the sacred knowledge one (ye. shes. pa). It is from this process that probably arose the dispute among the philosophers over why the hierophant needs to project anything at all. I have asked hierophants this very question and they usually answer that one who is accomplished in the way of completion (rdzogs. rim) does not have to project but does so anyway for the sake of the people. Indeed the people (community) are dependant on the hierophant for the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi)

In summary a medical-cultural system of those communities in Kathmandu valley currently practising Vajrayāna Buddhism is as follows: (1) the hierarchical structure of divinities and cultural heroes as represented by a vertical system; (2) the hierophant who projects the divine hierarchy which is fed back as an inner projection within his Vajrabody (rdo. rje. lus) through which flows the curing ambrosia (bdud. rtsi). (Because the hierophant and the layman respond to the divine hierarchy as if it were a separate unit, I include it as such for the sake of analysis); (3) substance, which through the recycling of the hierophant becomes pledged and hence the cure par excellence; and , (4) the traditional community that shares the pledged substance and has faith that even if it does not produce the miraculous cure that is hoped, it will at least give the strength to accumulate more religious merit for a peaceful death and better afterlife.

As the above model of ceremonial medicine is an archaic one, similar patterns may well occur in other South Asian communities which are not yet industrialized. Also, as all the units are delineated in Buddhist tantric texts, I propose that these texts can be analyzed in a similiar fashion, i.e. as a medical-cultural system.

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[Words in brackets are Tibetan unless otherwise indicated. For more Newar parallels see in the near future my article *A Descriptive Analysis of the Content of Nepalese Buddhist Pujas as a Medical-Cultural System with References to Tibetan Parallels*, to be published in connection with the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.]

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