A GOD'S JOURNEY

THE PARHELI OF THE GOD LĀMĀ FROM LEKHPUR (SĪJĀ)¹

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The studies which have appeared in recent years dealing with the folk religion of West Nepal, i.e. that of the Karnali basin² have as a particularly persistent theme the religion of the shamans (dhāmī) and the gods embodied in them. Such studies have made repeated reference to the #parhehi, i.e. stories of these gods which have been handed down orally and are recited in a state of trance, and they have recounted parts of their contents.³ Up till now, however, no faithful transcription and translation of such a #parhehi has ever been published. The present work is meant to help fill this gap by offering an annotated translation of such a #parhehi of the god Lāmā from Lekhpur in Sījā (Jumlā).

1. The present paper is part of a more extensive study of the oral ritualistic traditions in West Nepal. The material for this article was collected during two periods of field work in Jumlā from February to March and October to December 1983. Both were kindly financed by the German Research Council (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) within the framework of its special focus on Nepal (Schwerpunkt "Nepal"). Thanks are due also to Rāmānanda Ācārya of Ācāryabāda and Thuṇanāth Upādhyā of Luṅku for their help in the field and in translating; Claus-Peter Zoller, Heidelberg, for his critical reading of the transcription; Christoph Cueppers, Kathmandu, for the transliteration of Tibetan words; Niels Gusow, Abtsteinach, for the drawing of the site plan and Philip Pierce, Kathmandu for the English translation.

All Nepali terms, which appear in bold characters only, and all proper names and place names are transliterated according to the method employed by Turner. The plural suffix is generally omitted, except for Anglicised forms: thus 'the Brahmins' is written.

To match with linguistic conventions the #Parhehi (/paɾhehi/) and the glossary of Sījā dialect words are transcribed and noted down according to the inventory of phonems under 3.1. All words transcribed this way appear in bold characters and are marked additionally by /.../. Thus one word may occur in two renderings, such as /#p+ɾhehi/ and # parhehi/chap/ and chāp, /g+ragi/ and Garāgli. Words, which differ in their primary form and/or in their meaning from Standard Nepali (Turner) are marked by # and appear in the Glossary.

1. The context.

The folk religion of the Karnāli basin may at first sight be subdivided into two domains, which in one aspect are organized upon entirely opposing principles. On the one hand are the cults whose deity is represented by a figure (mūrti) which is worshipped in a ritual by a priest (pujārī). On the other hand are all those cults whose deities are not or only rudimentarily present in a figure but rather are embodied directly in the person of a shaman (dhāmi). This dhāmi becomes a deity in the course of the ritual and acts and speaks accordingly. In the literature on the subject the deities, of the two domains are designated respectively as 'guptā devatā' i.e., 'hidden gods'; and as 'avatar line devata', i.e. 'incarnating gods', who embody themselves in the person of a dhāmi. Both terms are taken from native common speech usage but are - interestingly enough - employed, at least in Sištā, only very seldom. Apart from these, the two domains have also been labeled 'Jumā Brahmanism' and 'Oracular Religion'.

The #parheli must be understood accordingly. The whole of them are, in the first place, an expression of the deities who have embodied themselves in a dhāmi. They are tied to the institution of the dhāmi who recites them and reports in the first person about the particular god. The #parheli become by this means the mouthpiece of 'Oracular Religion' and are authentic sources for the mythology not only of the twelve Maśṭā-brothers but also of deities who are - as far as their names are concerned - Hindu or Lamaistic, such as Jagannāth, Mahādev, Bhavānī or Lāmā. From the point of view of subject matter, however, the #parheli represent the folk religion of Jumālā in a unified and unifying manner. The 'nine sisters', including such 'Brahmanical' or 'hidden' deities as Tripurasundarī and Kanakasundari, have just as rightful a place in them as the Maśṭā brothers, who act through their possessed dhāmi. This unifying viewpoint is possible only because the two domains have many points in common in ritual practice. To take note of them all individually, however, would run counter to the purpose of this work.

The #parheli are recited in every case by the dhāmi. The duties and functions of the dhāmi and of the other persons taking part in the cult have already been described within their social context by Gaborieau and, more recently, by Campbell. So they will be summarized here only very briefly.

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6. For a list of the Masta see Campbell, 1978 pp. 291-292
7. See Campbell 1978, pp. 298-299
Dhāmi are found in virtually every caste, from Brahmans all the way down to the #dum. Nevertheless, the most significant shrines are in the hands of the matvāli chetri, so that the tradition seems to be particularly well anchored in this group. The dhāmi of the Karṇāli basin do not go through traditionally circumscribed training, nor do they have to undergo any initiation. Likewise, they are not trained by anybody in the recitation of the #parheli. They believe, that it comes down to them together with the god during a state of possession. The dhāmi are recognizable in their outward appearance by a long tuft of hair (#junil), which they keep rolled up under their turban, and which is let out only during possession. The succession after the death of a dhāmi passes by no means always from father to son, even though in many cases the office does remain within the family. Following repeated possession and public proof of his 'divine powers' (#bhit dekhānu), the new dhāmi is confirmed in his office (#chāp bido), by the mūldhāmi of the particular deity. This happens either at the main shrine (mūlthān) of the deity in question or at one of the temples of the so-called 'hidden gods.' The dhāmi then returns to the shrine of his native village. He is now consulted more frequently by the deity's worshippers (#pāli) in cases of illness, strife and other personal as well as communal affairs. During the consultations he speaks to the worshippers either in a state of possession (this ceremony called #dhammelo (/dh+mmelo/)) or in a normal state (#jottā hernu). As a means of reaching a decision, apart from an astute questioning of the clients, use is made of uncooked rice which is put into the client's hands in odd or even amounts. Though the consultations can take place at any time, provided that the dhāmi and his family are not in a state of impurity, they are nevertheless particularly common during the full moon festivals (#paith (/p+ith/)), the most important of them being the full moon in the month of Sravana (July/August). As a rule, the festivals occur in the house shrine (#gharṭhān (/gh+rtanh/)) at night and in the forest shrine (#banṭhān (/b+ntan/)) of the deity the following afternoon. Besides the #pāli who worship the deity as kuldevatā or as ışṭadevatā other guests are also welcome, all of whom must be lodged without charge in the houses of the particular village in question. The #pāli also bear all other costs of the festival arising from oil, flour, rice, flowers and firewood for the shrine.

Of importance along with the dhāmi is the #dāgrī, who carries out the rituals in the shrine.

At times recourse must be had to a #khāwā to interpret the deity's speech during the consultations.

Old women, fit for the purpose by experience and conduct sing #mangal(m+ng+il) in honor of the deity. A Brahmin performs a hom yajña and the damāi, musicians beat out on their large kettledrums the rhythms of the various attendant deities and their different dhāmi. The song of the women and the rhythm of the drums make the dhāmi possessed. He mounts the platform (#gādi) of the shrine and loosens his tuft of hair. Those present lay garlands around his neck. In front of the shrine all participating dhāmi dance to the rhythm of the drums, either by themselves or on the shoulders of their mount (bāhan).
2. THE PARHELI

While the dhāmi is still in a state of possession and is sitting on the gādi, he may, as the god wishes, recite the parheli of the deity with bells in both hands. During this time the small interior of the shrine is filled to bursting with clients who hope for a consultation with the dhāmi afterwards. Due to the smallness of the shrine, the buzzing crowd and the clear ringing of the bells, however, there is no interaction on the verbal level possible between the dhāmi and the pilgrims. This is further hindered to some extent by the use of ritual language in the parheli.

The parheli of the deity Lāmā, which is reproduced below, was tape-recorded in October 1983 in the village of Lekhpur on the lower Jaljala Kholā in Sījā in the forest shrine of the deity during the paith of the month of Kārtik.

It was recited by Cirmu Buṛhā, the dhāmi of Lāmā. Cirmu Buṛhā is the seventh dhāmi in succession since his forefather started to be possessed by the deity. At the age of about ten Cirmu Buṛhā started to become possessed shortly now and then. Only after the death of his father, however, when he himself was about 18 or 19, the possession became more violent. He went on a pilgrimage to Chāyānāth (Mugu) and got chāp bīdo after returning. He boasts of having driven away the Brahmin during that ceremony and of having done the hom himself.

The parheli was sung by Cirmu Buṛhā to the loud ringing of bells and the din of voices of attending worshippers. It started in a slow beat and later developed into a slightly accelerated 2/4 beat. It is divided into trisyllabic units of recitation, some of which are repeated several times.

The brief description of the taping conditions makes it clear that, due to the many background noises, a transcription would have been practically impossible on the basis of this recording alone. In addition to that, the dhāmi uses improvisation to a great extent, repeating or sometimes deleting entire units of the text at will. In this way, and due to its partial incomprehensibility, the parheli takes on a highly mantric character, from which the semantic meaning appears to pale before the metaphysical one. It is only due to this, in fact, that the parheli acquires its sacred quality. The great scepticism some dhāmi show towards tape-recordings is understandable against this background alone.

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8. Biographical data were collected in two interviews with the dhāmi on October 20, 1983 and June 22, 1985. The questions were noted beforehand by the author and then asked by one native informant. During the interviews, which were taped completely, the dāgri as well as many other villagers were also present and freely took over, when they felt so.
The recording was therefore subsequently played back to the dhāmi who made comments on it as appropriate. Missing passages were filled in by dictation. Furthermore recourse could be had to the 'story' of the god (Ithās, literally 'history'), i.e. the legend on the origin and the adventures of the god current in Lekhpur and vicinity. On the level of narrative events there is an almost complete agreement between both versions. The Ithās offers at length what the #parhelis describes in short; thus the Ithās conforms to the detailed style of treatment of the lok kathā. This shows that the tradition of Lāmā's coming to Lekhpur is current in two different layers of oral tradition, which in other parts of the country are, with only one exceptional case, separated. These layers are the Ritualistic or sacred tradition and that of common folklore.

The style of the #parhelis on the contrary, is characterized by the largely trisyllabic text passages mentioned above. Two to three such passages, combined here into a single line, are able to produce a clause. The reciting dhāmi adapts the words to the beat of his recitation by the addition of - for the most part open-filler syllables. /jo/, /r+/, /y+/, /ni/, and /y+u/ serve, for example, as such syllables.

The sentences are kept very short. The subject is the deity. In this way a sketch-style evolves, which provides only pertinent information, and which in any case cannot help but remain incomprehensible to the outsider unless filled in. The translation, nevertheless, proceeds from the assumption - and a comparision of #parhelis and legend confirms this - that a coherent meaning does exist in spite of the mantra - like character of the text and in spite of its meaning being obscured by the sketchy style.

The narrative events of the #parhelis were divided by the translator into various episodes, which appear in the text set off in sections from one another. They are followed by verbatim passages of the Ithās of the god, as recorded in Lekhpur. These sections trace the different stations of the deity's journey from the place he came into being up to the shrine in Lekhpur, in which he is chiefly worshipped now (mūlthān). They in no way represent sections of the recitation, which is performed without break from beginning to end. Accordingly, Lāmā came into being at Dāurā. He was fostered by an old Tibetan couple. From there he started his journey (see map) into Tibet where he met with the 12 Māstā-brothers and the 9 Bhavāni-sisters. They accepted him as a guide, and he takes them south again. Wherever he goes, he performs some miracles and helps the miserable and poor people. In Mugu he produces a child in the womb of a barren woman. In the gorge of Gābu he makes a sheperd and his sheep pass. At Dhuṅge Dhrār and at Chāllā he subdues demons. He meets Thārpā-Māstā. Again he defeats several demons and demonstrates his superiority over the Māstā and Bhavāni. Through meditation and recitation his magical powers increase. When he comes to the court of King Jālandhari in Sījā, he is degraded again and again by the wicked king. Finally he destroys the kingdom. He travels further south towards Pādma where he has an encounter with Jagannāth/Mahābhārata. Lāmā's leg is broken. Finally, after revenging himself, he is carried back to Lekhpur on the shoulders of different bhut who were overthrown by him earlier.

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9. For example see Oppitz 1983, pp. 207-208
3. The transcription

The text of the #parheli is transcribed and presented phonematically (broad transcription) according to the tape-recording of the recitation and of the explanations of Cirin Buţha. The transcribed passages are indicated by /.../. The following structure underlines the transcription.

3.1 Inventory of Phonemes

a. Consonants
   /k, kh, g, gh, c, ch, j, jh, t, th, d, dh, t, th, d, dh, p, ph, b, bh, s, h/

b. Glides
   /w, y/

c. Liquids and nasal consonants
   /m, mh, n, nh, ŋ, r, rh, ṛ, ř, ɬ, lh/

d. Vowels
   /a, o, u, i, e/

e. Prosodic features
   /~/ = nasalisation

3.2 The phonetic realisation of the phonemes (with free variants).

a. Consonants
   /k/ (k) voiceless, unaspirated, velar plosive.
   /kh/ (kʰ) voiceless, aspirated velar plosive.
   /g/ (g) voiced, unaspirated, velar plosive.
   /gh/ (gʰ) voiced, aspirated, velar plosive.
   /c/ (ts) voiceless, unaspirated, alveo-dental affricate
   /ch/ (tʃ) voiceless, aspirated, alveo-dental affricate.
   /j/ (dʒ) voiced, unaspirated, alveo-dental affricate
   /jh/ (dz) voiced, aspirated, alveo-dental affricate
   /t/ (t) voiceless, unaspirated, retroflex plosive
   /th/ (tʰ) voiceless, aspirated, retroflex plosive.
   /d/ (d) voiced, unaspirated, retroflex plosive.
   /dh/ (dʰ) voiced, aspirated, retroflex plosive.
   /t/ (t̠) voiceless, unaspirated, dental plosive
   /th/ (tʰ̠) voiceless, aspirated, dental plosive.
   /d/ (d̠) voiced, unaspirated, dental plosive.
   /dh/ (dʰ̠) voiced, aspirated, dental plosive.
   /p/ (p) voiceless, unaspirated, bilabial plosive.
   /ph/ (pʰ) voiceless, aspirated, bilabial plosive
   (f) voiceless, unaspirated, labio-dental fricative.
   In free variation with (p̠) between vowels.
   /b/ (b) voiced, unaspirated, bilabial plosive.
   /bh/ (bʰ) voiced, aspirated, bilabial plosive.
   /s/ (s) voiceless fricative with free variants from dental
   (ʃ) to palato-alveolar.
   /h/ (h) voiceless, glottal, fricative.

b. Glides
   /w/ (w) voiced, bilabial, glide.
   /y/ (j) voiced, palatal, glide.
c. Liquids and nasal consonants

/m/ (m) voiced, unaspirated, bilabial nasal consonant.
/mh/ (mʰ) voiced, aspirated, bilabial nasal consonant.
/n/ (n) voiced, unaspirated, alveo-dental nasal consonant.
/nh/ (nʰ) voiced, aspirated, alveo-dental nasal consonant
/ŋ/ (ŋ) voiced, unaspirated, velar nasal consonant
/ɾ/ (ɾ) voiced, unaspirated, retroflex nasal consonant.
/rh/ (ɾʰ) voiced, aspirated, dental flap.
/r/ (r) voiced, unaspirated, dental flap.
/l/ (l) voiced, unaspirated, alveolar lateral
/lh/ (lʰ) voiced, aspirated, alveolar lateral.

d. Vowels

/+/ (ə) half-low, unrounded, velar, voiced, oral vowel with short realisation.
/a/ (a) low unrounded, central to velar, voiced oral vowel with long realisation.
/o/ (o) mid, rounded, velar, voiced, oral vowel with long realisation.
/u/ (u) high to mid, velar, rounded voiced oral vowel with short realisation.
/ɪ/ (ɪ) high, unrounded, palatal, voiced, oral vowel with short realisation.
/e/ (e) mid, palatal, voiced, unrounded, oral vowel with long realisation.

e. Prosodic features.

/ŋ/ nasalisation corresponds to that of standard Nepali.

3.3 Allophones

/u/ (u) at a word ending;
mid, central to velar, unrounded, voiced, oral vowel.
3.4 General rules

a. Aspiration is clearly weaker than in Nepali and Hindi, and is usually weaker in the middle than at the beginning of a word.
b. Vowels adjacent to nasal consonants are partially nasalized.
c. In words of one syllable a final /o/ often occurs with a trailing off into /+.d. The first syllable is lengthened in words of two syllables in which the second syllable is open.
e. Vowels are always realized half-long at the end of a word.

All proper names and termini technici in the English translation, on the other hand, are transliterated according to the method used by Turner.

The sketchy style of the #parheli was retained in the translation to the extent possible. Where additions are unavoidable for clarity, they are indicated in the translation by (......).

The lines of the entire #parheli and translation are numbered sequentially.

4.0 TEXT, TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

I.

/suk+i jo bar+y+/
/tikhe ja #jur+y+/

(on a ) Friday;
(from a) pointed rock;

'Lāmā came forth at the Dāuro River; it was there he was born. He was born on a Friday from a pointed rock that burst apart. At that time there existed only the kingdom of a bhut, and no men at all. All twelve Maṣṭā-brothers had been locked by the bhut inside a cage. Because they were locked in and Lāmā freed them, they call him māmā (mother's brother). When we need a favourable day to do something, we always choose Friday, because that's the day Lāmā was born on.'

NOTE: There exists a particularly warm and affectionate relationship in Jumlā between the mother's brother on the one hand and the sister's sons on the other. /ama p+chi mama/' after the mother the mothers's brother' is a frequent and cherished proverb. This special relationship is expressed, among other ways, by the fact that on special occasions, such as religious festivals or marriages, the uncle gives his nephews daksīnā i.e. money.
II

/cyúcu ja #jar+y+/
/sirá jo #j+reni/
/am+uni bab+uni/

Cyúcu the Tibetan
(and) Sirá the Tibetan woman,
(they are my) father (and mother)

'It was Jhimu, the old Tibetan woman, who raised Lámā, provided him his food. Cyúcu the Tibetan was her husband. The two were Lámā's parents.'

NOTE: The mother is given different names in both versions.

III

/+utar+ g+ryachu/
/bar+i r+ k+ran h+llayā/

I became incarnated
(and) made Bāra Karān shake

'Lámā also became human, they say. An important man, with great divine power. When Lámā had come into being, he went to Bāra Karān.'

IV

/bals+i r+ #c+mmay+/
/bals+i r+ #g+mmay+/
/bals+i ja #bhit+y+/
/bals+i r+ #gyan+y+/
/bals+i ja dhyan+y+ i+gaya/
/mer+i jo bolyā/

Twenty-Two monks
twenty-two hermitages,
twenty-two powers.
Twenty-two recitations,
twenty-two meditations I practised.
I made a name for myself.

NOTE: Line 13 in the sense of /mero nam bolayā/? The passage, either in its entirety or shortened, occurs a number of times in the #parheli as a kind of refrain. In this way the number 22 is always brought into play, without however, the individual components being definable.

V

/g+ragli kādh+y+ g+yachu/
/chqchpe panty+/

I went to the Garāgī Pass
to Chipchipe Pānt
VI

/bar+i jo bhanj+y+u/,
/n+uj+i b+nini+u bhêtyâni/
/#b+ndyasî g+ryako dekhyâni/
/bhag+i jo #lhin+ni/

The twelve nephews
(and) the nine sisters I met.
I saw how they divided up (the land)
in order to get (their share).

'From there Lâmâ headed over Nâkcyâ Lagna towards Tibet. When he came to Tibet, the twelve Maštâ-brothers and the nine Bhavâni - sisters were sitting there dividing up the land among themselves. After they had already divided up everything, Guro came and asked, what he would get. Because he came afterwards they pelted him with earth (mâto). For this reason he is now the "lord of the earth", because his portion was earth. Lâmâ received no portion at all. For this reason Lâmâ doesn't accept anything from the sisters and from the Maštâ-brothers. He doesn't go to any of them for #châp bido. He lives by his own divine power. From Nâkcyâ Lagna Lâmâ led the nine Bhavâni - sisters and the twelve Maštâ brothers on behind him and prepared the way for them.'

NOTE: The twelve nephews, i.e. sister's sons, are for Lâmâ, the twelve Maštâ-brothers. Campbell 1978, p.291, presents a list of a total of 33 Maštâ with their associated shrines. He also gives a list of no fewer than 20 Durgâ-Bhavâni (p.298). Guro is generally held to be an outsider. He is taken either to be a separate deity or as the youngest of the Maštâ-brothers. The worshippers (#pâlî) of Guro are obliged to bring him a certain portion of the harvest of that land, which was given into his charge. In exchange the god protects the land.

#châp bido is the official act of recognition of a new dhâmi by the mûldhâmi of the particular deity. This ceremony is very often performed in the shrines of disembodied, hidden deities, as e.g. Kârtîk Swâmi or Châynath.

VII

/ bais+i jo #gyan+y+/
/dhan+y+ l+gâyâ/
/#s+t+i ja #bhît+y+g+ryani/

20

Twenty-two recitations,
(twenty-two) meditations I practised.
I proved (my) divine power.

NOTE: There are a number of ways for a dhâmi to give proof of his divine power for example:

a. luwâ lauri bhâcnu = bend or break an iron rod,
b. sikâ pâti nikânu = rub kernels of rice into 'ashes' in his hand

T. plunu = drink boiling oil,
d. râlâ kâtnu = bite off the tongue of a bell with his teeth.
VII
/g+ragli kādh+y+/
/netr+i jo dholyako #m+njite/
/+utar+ 1+gayā/

(At) the Garāgī Pass
a man cried;
(there) I become incarnated;

IX
/chinne ja byar+y+/
/bar+i ja k+ran pugyachu/
/bals+i r+c+mmay+y l+gayā/
/#mer+i jo l+gayā/

To Chinne Byāra
(and) to Bāra Karān I came.
Twenty-two monks I employed.
I had them recite (?)

NOTE: Line 29 literally = 'I produced an echo'. The line was explained as
meaning that an echo was produced form the recitation of the twenty-two
monks.

X
/mugu ja gau+y+/
/bar+i ja b+rs+ki/
/#niphurki tharī+y+/
/kokh+i jo #bh+urayā/
/goth+i ja #lauru+
/#pār+j a balay+dīyānī/
/+utar+ g+ryānī/

30

(In) the village of Mugu
for twelve years
a woman (was) childless.
I made her womb fertile.
(In) the shed (I set) a calf;
35
(In) the upper storey I gave a child.
I became incarnated.

'So he came to Mugu, where there lived a woman as barren as a stone. He
remained a year in Mugu. The barren woman became pregnant and brought
forth a son. In the shed below a calf was born.'

NOTE: The houses in Jumlā are as a rule built in a terraced style and with two to
three storeys. In the bottom storey there is always a shed or stable and above
are the living quarters.
XI
/bals+1 r+ #cisthim cinyan/
/#cisthim c+rhaya/
I built twenty-two small temples; I dedicated the temples.

XII
/sirani swad+/
/+utar+ g+yan/
/bar+1 r+ k+ran h+laya/
In Sarani Swada I became incarnated. I made Bara Karan shake.

'He made Bara Karan shake and went to Sirani Swada. The Masta-brothers and Bhavani-sisters were still following him. In Sirani Swada there was at this time nothing but bhut.'

XIII
/_bagre ja odar+ ayachu/
/#cisthim cinya/
/bar+1 r+ bars+y+/
/+utar+ g+yan/
I came to the cave of Bagre (There) I had a small temple built. For twelve years I became incarnated (there).

XIV
/gabu ja g+uray+/
/#m+njite netr+1 jo dholyako/
/#sunkhuri c+laya/
/g+ur+ jo b+naya/
/dauro ja gar+y+/
/gabu ja g+uray+/
/#sunkhuri rokiyo/
/#munjite rokiyo/
/#sunkhuri c+laya/
/g+ur+ jo b+naya/
(In) the gorge of Gabu a man cried. I made the sheep pass through. I made the gorge passable.

(At) the Dauro River, (in) the gorge of Gabu the sheep came to a halt, the man came to a halt. I made the sheep pass through. (With) an iron club I made the gorge passable.
The gorge of Gābu was completely closed. neither man nor sheep could pass over it. Lāmā opened the gorge of Gābu by his magic knowledge and with his club. Afterwards a bhut appeared and thought: "Oh, this Lāmā with his cap has now come, we'll pound him in a mortar and have him stewed in a pot. With the brew we'll eat his nails and his meat boiled into small pieces." But Lāmā subdued the bhut.'

XV
/#gyan+i jo g+ryachu/
/bhar+i r+ pust+k+ #phljechu/

I recited (holy texts).
I studied a load of scriptures.

'Then he came to Rolli and sat down with a pile of books and recited.'

NOTE: Line 58 literally: I opened up ...

XVI
/dhuŋge ja dharay+/  
/bhut+ka raʃy+yy/+  
/dhuŋga ko #jebalo halyako/  
/#jebalo #dh+skayā/  
/raks+s+ d+bayā/

(At) Dhuŋge Dhārā
(in) the kingdom of a bhut
a stone trap was set up.
I made the stone trap snap to.
The rākṣas I subdued.

'From there he went to Dhuŋge Dhārā. The kingdom of a bhut was flourishing there at the time. He gave the bhut a beating and took him with him.'

XVII
/chail+i ka bhut+y+/  
/#ut+i m+ g+ryako/  
/l+rai+ g+ryachu/  
/#p+itelo #jh+ikayā/  
/bhut+y+ d+bayā/

The bhut of Chailā
caused mischief.
I fought (with him).
I put him in service.
The bhut I subdued.

'So he came to Chailā, where he lured every possible bhut from the mountains. Then he pressed the Maśṭā-brothers and Bhavānī-sisters to hurry on. What kind of power he must have to be able to do that?"
At the Cyāpne River
(a bhut) caused mischief.
The bhut I subdued.

I came to Dhaulya Dhārā;
the "orphan of the sea of rocks"
I met (there).
I made (him) my sister's son.
Purity I made (him) radiate,
made him speak with divine power
(This) I let be known.

'Then he came to Dhulya Dhārā, where Thārpā Maṣṭā was called the "orphan of the sea of rocks". Lāmā said to him: "Show your divine power." Then he gave him chāp bido.'

I overthrew the kingdom of a bhut:
I converted (him).

'Then he came to Ārukhārā. A bhut called Charchāryā was there at the time. He converted him.'
(On) the meadow at Cauthā there was a great gathering.
(there) set up a stone trap.

He smoked a water pipe
(and) wore golden shoes.
He laughed up his sleeve.
(There) I became incarnated
(and) made the stone trap snap to.

I destroyed the kingdom;
I destroyed the great gathering.
I made a name for myself.
I swung the iron club.
I subdued the underworld.
I subdued the bhut's kingdom.

Then Lāmā came to Cauthā. The bhut of Cauthā had at the time a flourishing kingdom if ever there was one. He set up a stone trap and laughed up his sleeve: "Lāmā with his cap has now come, we'll pound him in the mortar, have him stewed in the pot and then dine on him". But Lāmā made the trap snap to with his left foot, swung his club and demolished the whole works, bhut's kingdom and all. The bhut sat around everywhere as though paralyzed, and they turned to stone.'

NOTE: The episode is closely related to No. XXVII, the destruction of king Jālandhari's kingdom.
Lines 83 and 91 literally: 'a gathering with nine rows of seats,
This is supposed to have been the largest type of gathering. In it, above all, justice was administered.
For line 92 see the note on episode IV.

XXII

/ghorā ja m+ulaka/
/#kha+illa bhut+y+/
/raj+y+jo lagyako/
/ghor+y+jo bhanyachu/
/bhut+y+jo dabyachu/
/#cī+him cnyachu/
/#g+mm+y+jo b+nayā/
/+utar+ g+ryachu/

(At) Ghorā Maulā there was a voracious bhut who had a kingdom.
I tied (my) horse,
I subdued the bhut.
I built a small temple.
I made a shrine.
I became incarnated.

Then he came to the overhang of Goṛā Maulā and made with his hand a hole in the rock. He tied his horse to it and blew up the kingdom of a bhut. After he had untied his horse, the bhut reappeared. He mixed up some mortar and used it to shut him in the hole.'
The twelve Maṣṭā-brothers and the nine Bhavāni-sisters had become incarnated at Cipli Pākho. When somebody today says that the sisters lost their caste, then that refers to this occasion. - When they wanted to leave, a bhut locked them all in a cage. It was through this bhut, they say, that they lost their caste, but that's not true. Once Lama had come there, he smashed open the cage with his club and freed the twelve Maṣṭā-brothers and nine Bhavāni-sisters, who were trembling in fear. Lāmā asked them what had happened to their divine power that they were trembling so. Upon Lāmā's orders the twelve Maṣṭā-brothers and nine Bhavāni-sisters became sheep and went into the mountains to graze. Lāmā became a tiger. He lay in wait for them in the mountains and frightened them into the valley. Then he lay in wait for them in the valley and frightened them up into the mountains. But then he established a kin relationship with them. "You are our mother's brother and we are your sister's sons", the Maṣṭā said to Lāmā. "You have to give presents and we to receive daksinā."
NOTE: For mother's brother/sister's son see the note on episode I.

"Give me dākṣiṇā", he said (to me) I became incarnated.

'Then Lāmā came to Gāni Dhar. While he was sitting there for twelve years and reciting the holy texts, Buṛu Maśṭā came up and stole his almanac. Buṛu Maśṭā is a thief. When Lāmā finished reciting and wanted to look in his almanac, it was gone. Then he found out that Buṛu had taken it. Buṛu was ashamed, placed his hands together and asked Lāmā, his mother's brother, to give him, Lāmā's sister's son, dākṣiṇā. Lāmā gave dākṣiṇā and forgave him.'

NOTE: Buṛu Maśṭā has the epithet 'snot-nosed'. In keeping with this, mucus streams from the nose of the dhāmi of Buṛu Maśṭā during possession. This is taken as divine power.
XXV
/anny+i ka #dar+y+/
/patth+r+i dhungay+ bolay+/

(At) the cliff of Annya
I made the stone to speak.

XXVI
130
/culi ja g+uray+/
/#m+njite rokiyo/
/#sunkhuri rokiyo/
/gurja ja #l+urly+/
/bath+i jo b+nay+/
/#sunkhuri c+lay+/
/#m+njite c+lay+/
/gurja ja #l+urly+/
/culi ja g+uray+/

130
(In) the gorge of Culi
a man came to a halt,
sheep came to a halt.
(With my) iron club
I cleared a path.
135
I made the sheep pass through;
I made the man pass through,
(with my) iron club
(in) the gorge of Culi.

XXVII
140
/ghasodar ja odar/
/bax+i ja b+ns+y+/
/#g+mm+i jo c+lay+/
/#gyan+i jo g+ry+ni/
/#dhyan+i jo g+ry+ni/
/#utp+nn+ bh+yako/
145
/jal+ndh+rl raj+y+/
/jhuma j+i ranly+/
/n+uhare k+c+h+rl lageko/
/#ilupk+i jo l+gaunya/
/#thupk+i jo #khan+ilya/
150
/#jar+i jo #juther/
/m+t+i jo #khal+inya/
/#m+t+i jo #lai+inya/
/jhuma j+i ranly+/
/bh+neko manen+/
(In) the cave of Ghāsodār
(for) twelve years
I kept a shrine.
(There I recited
(and) meditated.
Depraved was

the kingdom of (king) Jālandhāri
(and) queen Jhumā.

There was a great gathering.
"You wear a fur-coat
and eat broth,
You Tibetan pig,
You drink alcohol
(and) have used alcohol", (said the king to Lāmā).

(What) queen Jhumā
said, (the king) did not obey.

Countless diamonds,
countless turquoise chains were (there).
Depraved was
the kingdom (of) king Jālandhari.
(At) Jhulghāt, I spanned a rope bridge.

A woman dancer I made dance (there).
(In) the great gathering
they laughed up their sleeves,
(because the dancer's) dress came undone.

King Jālandhari (said):
"You Tibetan Pig,
why did you laugh?"
"(Because the dancer's) dress came undone
I laughed up my sleeve", I said.

There were neither clouds in the sky
nor dew on the ground.
(Still), in the great gathering
I made it rain.

King Jālandhari
noted down the hour,
noted down the time
(and) sent two (soldiers).

Thé rope tore
(and) I pulled the two (soldiers) out.
I became incarnated.

King Jālandhari didn't believe it.
The two (soldiers) came back.
"You Tibetan Pig", (said the king)
The two (soldiers) said: "He pulled (us) out.
He became incarnated."

King Jālandhari
was base (and) didn't believe (it).
I did something good.
"Do something bad", said (the king).
(So) I made Bijaya Mandir shake
(and) the stone lions go at each other.
I made Lāmā Thāro shake.
Base was the kingdom
(and) king Jālandhari.
"(You) Tibetan Pig,
who drink alcohol,
who has used alcohol"
(the king) reviled (me).
Then he came to Ghāsodār. In Ghāsodār he recited the holy texts for twelve years and eighteen ages. He spanned a cotton string out from his cave and took on the form of a spider. He climbed along the string. Our king at that time was Jālandharti. Lāmā was poor and came dressed only in rags. The king reproached him because he was poor and was a Tibetan. The queen, though, cautioned the king not to speak in this way. "We're the masters here, since we levy the taxes and receive the duties", said the king, who was deluded. But the queen had understood the signs. A great gathering was called together. Lāmā all of a sudden let out a laugh. The king was angry at this and reproached Lāmā. "Look, at Jhulghāt, a dancing woman's dress came undone while dancing. Everyone had to laugh, and I of course, too. I didn't laugh, oh king, at you", said Lāmā. "You're sitting here and talking about things happening in Jhulaghāt. The king took note of everything and sent off two soldiers. Lāmā was locked up. On the way to Jhulghāt the two tried to cross the Karnālī River by rope and were carried off by its waters. In the gathering Lama wrung water from his sleeve. Even now that happens sometimes (when the dhāmi is possessed). "There are no clouds in the sky, no dew on the ground, how does it happen that water is coming out of your sleeve there?" asked the king. Thereupon Lāmā explained to him that he had pulled out the soldiers from the water and was now drying out his things. When the two soldiers returned they said to the king: "You are our enemy. Lāmā saved our lives. Everything he said is exactly true." The king, though, remained deluded. Lāmā brought cool water into the gathering in a sieve. The king paid no attention to it. He carried in cinu in a dossier; the king paid no attention to it.'

NOTE: For the continuation and conclusion of this episode see under XXXII the narrative of king Jālandharti and the fall of his kingdom is, as legend, even apart from the parhel, very widespread in Jumlā, so that the king is there held to be a historical personality. Up to now, however, his name has never been identified, either in an inscription or in a document.

Line 189: Bījaya Mandir is supposed to have been the palace of the former kings of Sījā.

XXVIII
/tair+ bāt+ air+ g+yachu/
/hūr+i ja kholly+/

From there I came here
(to) Hūre Kholā

XXIX
/sīyal koṭh+y+/
/dudh+iy+ cluray+/
/bok+1 jo l+gaini/
/sīyal koṭh+kl #bamniy+/
/#nt+y jo chamini/

200
/b+rvdan diyān/
/j+l+i jo b+rsayā/
/gh+tya ka #tkyale/
/pañ+jo coryoni/
/eka ko ekals+/

205
210
/ekal ko ek+y+ #boltyā/
(in) Siyālākothā
milk and flattened rice,
she gave (me) to eat
the Brahmin woman from Siyālākothā.
She put (me) to the test.
I granted (her) a wish;
I made it rain.
The Gharti
stole the water.
"From one (will come) twenty-one;
from one (will come only) one", I proclaimed.

'A Brahmin woman from Siyālākothā provided for Lāmā. She was the daughter of Sanyāla. Lāmā sat in the cave of Hūre Kholā and meditated. She came every evening and brought him milk and flattened rice to eat. One day, though, the Brahmin woman wished to put him to the test and held back the food. "Woman, I'm hungry", said Lāmā. "What can I do", she asked, "today I forgot to bring milk and flattened rice along with me."
"My eye", Lāmā cursed and went away. The old woman went running after him with the food and gave it to him. He then granted her a wish. "Only cinu and millet grow well in the fields of Siyālākothā, and that makes my stool all red. So I wish for water so that I may plant rice." Thereupon Lāmā struck out about him with his club and a waterfall appeared. "On the day you sow seeds you should offer me rice and turmeric", said Lāmā. The Gharti from Simpāṭe stole this water, and the old woman was left empty-handed. Lāmā cursed the Gharti.

NOTE: Lines 209-210: To be understood as a blessing of the Brahmin woman (from one 21) and as a curse of the thief (from one one)

XXX
/dudh+ kuwa nikalyā/
/pani kuwa nikalyā/
I made a well of milk,
I made a well of water.

NOTE: In connection with episode XXVII.

XXXI
/dhobi ja ghāṭa+y+b+nayā/
I built Dhobighāṭ.
(In) a large dossor
I carried cinu
(in) a sieve
I carried water.
I clenched my fist (with) mortar (in my hand).
A spherical stone
I carried with a head strap.
Something good I did;
something bad I did.
I made Lamā Thāra shake
(and) the stone lions go at each other.
The great gathering I destroyed.

"The king commanded him to make a well of milk and Lamā made it. He commanded him to make a well of water and Lamā made it. But the king also wanted him to do something bad. When all this warnings were to no avail; Lamā made the palace shake and destroyed the kingdom."

NOTE: Continuation of episode XXVII.

XXXIII
/+utar+ #bhit+y+/ 
/s+t+y #gyan+y+ dhyan+y+/ 
/bhar+1 ja pust+k+/ 
/bhar+1 ja wed+y+ h-gayā/

Incarvation, divine power,
purity, recitation, meditation.
I had a load of books,
a load of Vedas read.

XXXIV
/c+ukhi ja c+ur+y+/
/bad+1 ja pātth+r+ l+gaya/
/#c+upira keheleni/
/bad+1 ja p+h+ra/
/+utar+ g+ryani/
(At) Caukhi Caur
I brought together huge stones.
I played dice
(with) large boulders
I became incarnated.

'On the way to Lekhpur he came to Caukhi Caur. There he left behind his footprint and wrote on a rock.'

XXXV

/\ph+ln+i\ ja briks+y/+ \\
/#b+ina ko bas+y/+ \\
/+utar+ g+rayā/+ \\
/hly+l ja lāṭhay/+ \\
/+utar+ g+rayā/+ \\
/bhanj+i jo b+nayā/+ \\
/+utar+ l+gayā/+ \\
/ghūr+i jo kocyānī/+ \\
/j+l+i jo b+rsayā/+ \\
/nakhine dāraya/+ \\
/#pakhure rukh+y/+ \\
/#b+ina ka dīth+y/+ \\

The fruit tree
(is) the sister’s dwelling place.
I made (them) become incarnate (there).
   Hiya Lāṭhā

I made him become incarnate.
I made him my sister’s son.
I became incarnated.
I struck (my) knee (into a rock).
I made it rain.

(On) the nose-like ridge (of a mountain),
(in) a tree as thin as an arm
the sisters could be seen.

NOTE: Hiya Lāṭhā was a Brahmin who following an accident became a pisāc.
He is worshipped now under the name of Hyākar.

XXXVI

/\maluwa phāṭka ka/ \\
bhut+y+ utp+nn+ g+ ryako/ \\
/+mt+i jo chamyōnī/ \\
/#bhut +l+ jo dabyānī/ \\
/#g+ mm+ j hi b+nayā/+ \\
/#bac+i jo khwayā/+ \\

(At) Māluwā Phāṭkā
a bhut was causing mischief.

He put me to the test.
The bhut I subdued.
I built a shrine.
I converted (him).

'While he was on the way to Māluwā Phāṭkā, a bhut woke up on the other side
and called: "The Tibetan has come" Lāmā took mortar in one hand and stones
in the other and walled him in.'
XXXVII
/bh+isy+i ja g+uʃay+ b+nayƛ/
I made the gorge of Bhaisya passable.

XXXVIII
/b+kyale dehar+gal+/
/kai #bh+nn+ rakhen+/
/m+t+i jo khwaen+/
/jat+i jo haleni/
/odiki #nipurki rʌɾiɾy+/
/b+st+i jo b+saʃaŋa/

255
The people of Barki and Dehārgāū
spared nothing.
They gave (her) alcohol to drink,
young), they took away (her) caste,
(of) the childless widow from Odi.
I settled her down in a place to stay.

260
The people of Barki and Dehārgāū caused great trouble for a childless widow from Odi. But a favourable occasion arose for the widow. When Lāmā came past, she grabbed his leg and cried. Then she went up on Simālaya Lekh. There there was the kingdom of a Thākurí King. Lāmā converted the people of Barki and Dehārgāū. They had brought a horse and set it grazing on the fields which were ready for harvesting. Lāmā threw kernels of rice into the air and made a vulture swoop down from the sky and take the horse up with it. The people were astounded at that.

Viʃnu gave alcohol to the Thākuris from Odi and Barki to drink and thereby took away their caste. Viʃnu is the elder brother of Lāmā. When Lāmā came he said to Viʃnu: "You are the elder brother and I am the younger one. You receive your gift at the full moon, and I on the fourteenth day" (i.e. one day before).

NOTE: Lāmā is also held to be an incarnation of Viʃnu who, in contrast to the latter, never takes alcohol. Accordingly, the dhāmi is possessed of both gods alternatively. In contrast to Lāmā's mercy, Viʃnu is held to be of very rough nature, fighting with and shouting at people as well as levying fines.
XXXIX

/odi ka gar+ ka/
/bhut+y+ d+bayā/

(At) the Odi River
I subdued a bhut.

XL

/tusare khola ka/
/bhut+y+ d+bayā/
/#p+lēlo jh+lkayā/
/bh+ndh+n+ rakhyāni/

(In) the Tusāre Valley
I subdued a bhut
(and) took him into my service.
I bound and locked (him) up.

XLI

/ṭhakure rajy+y+ ṭuṭayā/

I destroyed the Ṭhākuri kingdom.

XLII

/kh+lā ka bhut+y+ d+bayā/

I subdued the bhut of Khallā.

XLIII

/ṭhinke ka lagnay+ b+syāni/
/#uttar+ l+gayā/

I put up (at) Thinke Lagna.
I became incarnated.

XLIV

/padm+ ka bhut+y+/
/jhyagary+ kholay+/
/raj+jo l+gayo/
/macha ka rup+y+ #lhiyāni/
/#j+lewā rup+y+ #lhiyonā/
/janr+jo bhācyonā/
/bhut+jo bh+gayā/
/#bac+jo khwayā/
/l+rai jo g+ryāni/
/#bar+jo bhr+y+/
/#gyan+jo g+yāni/
/dhyan+jo l+gayā/
The bhut of Pādmā (in) Jayāgār Kholā founded a kingdom.

He took on the form of a fish;
I took on the form of a cormorant.
He broke my thighbone.
I frightened the bhut off.
I converted him.
I fought (with him).

For twelve years
I recited (holy texts).
(and) meditated.
Jagannāth('s)
twelve ribs I broke.

The bhut of Jayāgārāya carried me.
The bhut of Māluwa Phāṭkā brought (me) to Jibarka.
The bhut of Jibarka (brought me to) Lauri Sima,
(and) he brought (me) to the sister's shrine.

Then he came to Jhāyāgārāya Kholā. There he trounced the bhut and remained twelve years and eighteen ages. The bhut of Jhāyāgārāya become a fish and swam in the Karnāli. Lāmā became a cormorant. The cormorant dove after the fish wherever it swam. Jagannāth came along and spread out jewels. Lāmā sat upon the jewels. "Oh, look, two soldiers are coming", said Jagannāth to Lāmā. When Lāmā looked up, Mahābāi struck out at him and broke his leg. Lāmā remained at this place twelve years and meditated. Then he caught Jagannāth, thrashed him and broke twelve of his ribs. Mahābāi sent the bhut of Jayāgārāya to carry Lāmā, since he was the one who broke his leg. The bhut of Jibarka carried him to Lauri Sima. Lauri Sima carried him to Kanakasundari. From there he came here to Lekhpur.

NOTE: Jagannath was a Brahmin who become a pisāc by suicide. Later he was identified with Mahābāi (Mahārudra). Both are worshipped today in Kalikot Jilā. Jayāgārāya is their bāhan. Lauri Sima is a bāhan of Lāmā from Simpāte. The great cormorant (phalearcrococx carbo) is a common bird at the rocky riversides of the Tila Nadi.
Why did Lāmā come to Lekhpur? The "lower sixty" (i.e. the people from Hādṣijā) and the "upper sixty" (i.e. those from Lekhpur) were always going on hunts to Ghatta Tārya and Cucya Mārya. The lord of Chatikōṭ went there, too. When a deer was brought down, he cut off its nose and ears and left the rest behind. Our grandfather was just then at Dhyām for the purpose of herding the cattle. The people of Hādṣijā sent him off to hunt. He found the deer without ears and nose and took it with him. When he arrived in Hādṣijā the people reproached him because he had brought a deer without ears and nose, and they made him go to fetch them. Our grandfather thereupon went to the lord of Chatikōṭ, cut off his nose and ears and took them with him to Hādṣijā. But the people again reproached him, because he had committed a deadly sin and cut off the ears and
nose of a man and not of a deer. The lord of Chatikot died and our grandfather was guilty of murder. At that time the Kulālā were ruling here. When they came to arrest our grandfather, he became possesed, overturned their rule and was cleared of the murder.

NOTE: The bhuj trees (betula bhojpattra) are native to west Nepal particularly in the subalpine zone above 3000 metres. They are often associated with the 'nine sisters', whose kingdom likewise lies in this region, on the overgrown ridges and in the high-lying meadows.
GLOSSARY

The words are listed in the order of the Devanagari alphabet. Use is made of the following abbreviations:

N  Nepali according to Turner.
T  Tibetan according to Goldstein and Jaeschke.
RL Ritual language
adj adjective
adv adverb
v verb
s substantive
#  indicates the meaning in the Sijā dialect.
## indicates phrasal expressions and their meanings in the Sijā dialect.

The numbers at the end of each entry refer to the line of the #parheli

/+nt+ chamnu/
N= nāri chāmnu
#test; put to the test.
204, 250, 293

/akh+r/ s
N= aksar, aksèr, acchar, accher.
# speaking; time (as in: the first time); letter; syllable; measuring mark.
## /.... kaṭhnu/ make known
78

/utp+nn+/ adv
N= ati, acākli
# too much, excessively
## /.... g+zn/ carry things too far; deprave; cause mischief.
65, 70, 144, 157, 249

/kunenso/ s
# baseness
186, 192

/khai+lnu/ v
N= Khāl hālnu
# eat up
97, 151, 195

/khawa/ s
# interpreter, i.e. a priest who is translating the ritual language of the dhāmi for the pilgrims
/khutukk+/ adv
## / ... hāṣnu/ laugh up
one's sleeve.
87, 162, 168

/g+rlam/ v
N= gari hāl aũ (let us do,
let us finish)
109

/g+llaɾa/ s, adj
# ball; spherical
219

/gadi/ s
N= gaddi

# platform on which the
dhāmi sits when possessed

/gumma/s
T= dgon-pa
# shrine, hermitage,
cell
9, 102, 141, 252.

/gyan/s
# knowledge, cognizance
possession; recitation.
.... j+gaunũ/ become
possessed.
## / ... g+rnu/ recite.
11, 20, 57, 121, 142, 228,
281, 305

/gh+tshan/ s
# shrine inside the
dhāmi's house

/c+ũpri̍a/ s
N = tri̍pasā
# game of dice with three
dice and 2-4 players.
233

/c+mma/ s
T= btsun-pa
# ordinary Buddhist
monk.
8, 28
/callā/ s
N= cālunu
# sieve
216

/canu/ s
# hog millet (panicum millaceum 1.)
215

/cisṭhim/ s
T= spyi adj = common, public
rtan s - object, temple, shrine.
# small temple, stūpa on the border of a village, where people can pass through; burial mound of a Tibetan.
38, 39, 43, 101

/chap bido / s
# ceremony through which a dhāmi is fully## / recognized as an oracle of a particular deity.

/j+reni/ s
N= bhoṭeni
#Tibetan women
4.

/jar/ s
N= bhoṭe, bhoṭiyā
# Tibetan man
3, 150, 165, 182, 194

/juṭhari/ see/juṭheri/

/juṭheri/ s; adj
# place at the edge of a terrace of a house where plates etc. are washed, pig (in a pejorative sense and especially with reference to a Tibetan.); dirty.
150, 165, 182, 194.
/juṭhyari/ see /jutheri/

/jur/ s
    # large rock which can
    still be lifted with
    two hands.
    2.

/jebalo/ s
    # trap (stone trap held
    up by a stick)
    61, 62, 84, 89

/juni/ s
    N= jaṭā
    # long tuft of hair of
    a dhami

/jotṭā/ s
    # pair
    # / ... hernu/ consulta-
    tion during which the
    dhami is not possessed
    and oracles on the
    basis of even or odd
    numbers of grains of
    uncooked rice which he
    puts in the hands of
    the client.

/jole/see/jolya/

jolya/ s
    N= jorā
    # two, one pair (especially
    a pair of policemen/soldiers)
    176, 178, 181, 183.

/jh+g+lo/ s
    # old type of rope
    bridge over which one
    can walk in an upright
    position.
    159.

/tokya/ s
    # orphan; man (RL)
    207.

/totya/ adj
    # full of holes, perfor-
    rated.
    216.
/thvulo/ s
# separated branch
303.

/dāgri/ s
# priest, second and equally important religious specialist in a shrine besides the dhāmi, who becomes not possessed.

/dum/ s
# collective name for low caste groups, such as Kāmi, Sārkī, Damāl, Gāine.

/tal̃/ N= tyahi
# there (stressed)
198

/taula/s
# bridge consisting of one rope along which a person pulls himself across.
177.

/tutho/ s
# turquoise necklace of the Tibetans.
156.

/thupka/ s
T=thug-pa
# meat broth.
149

/dar̃/ s
# cliff, overhang.
128

/di=la/ v
N= di ħālnos (please give)
126

/dh+mmeleo/ s
# ceremony where the dhāmi falls in trance and can be consulted.
/dh+kaunu/  v
N= bhāsnu
# make (a trap) snap
shut
62, 89.

/niphūrki/  adj
# childless
32, 259.

/p+rhel/  s
# story of the origin
and the adventures of a
god, recited by the
god’s dhāmi in a state
of possession.

/p+lθ/  s
# full moon festival of
a deity who incarnates
in the person of a
dhāmi usually in the
month of Śrāvaṇa
(July/August).

/p+ḷelo/  s
# sole of the foot.
## / ... jh+lkaunu/ sub-
due, take into one’s
service.
67, 265

/p+r+/- s
# upper storey of a
house (customarily used
as the living and sleep-
ing quarters and as a
place to dry grains.)
35

/pakhure/  adj
# as thin as an arm
246, 302

/pattini/  s
# woman dancer, singer,
prostitute
160.
/pali/ s
# person who worships
an "incarnating deity"
either as kuldevată or
as istadevata

/palt+/ oblique case of
/pat+l
# primeval forest, jungle.
300

/piryaunu/ v
N= puryāunu
# frighten away, chase.
113, 114

/phijnu/ v
N= phijnu
# spread out, scatter;
open up (manuscripts).
56.

/b+ina/ s
N= bahini, baini
# sister (per form)
106, 237, 247, 291
296, 297, 298, 307

/b+ndyasi/ adv
## / ... g+rnu/ divide
up, distribute.
18.

/b+nthan/ s
# shrine of an "incarn-
ating deity" at the
border of or outside a
village.

/baco khwaunu/
## convert, persuade.
81, 253, 278.

/bannu/ v
N= bādnhu
# tie to, tie fast.
99,

/bamni/ s
# Brahmin woman.
203.
/baluka/ s
# mortar, sand.
218

/bitō/ s
# a load of grass, wood
or the like which is
bound by a rope to a
person's back and car-
rried without using a
dossier.
220.

/bollnu/ v
N= boli hainu (speak,
finish)
126, 210.

/bh+uraunu/ v
N= baurāunu
# bring to life, make
fertile, (causative)
make sprout; (intransi-
tive) sprout.
33

/bh+nn+/ adv
N= bāki
# left, remaining.
256

/bhit/ s
N= sakti
# divine power, abi-
ity; the dhāmi's
power to perform cer-
tain miracles, e.g.
boiling drinking oil
e.tc.
## /... dekhaunu/ to
demonstrate one's own
divine powers.
10, 22, 77, 227, 298,
309.

/bhukto g+ru/  
# destroy.
226.
/m+ṅ+I/ s
# song which is sung exclusively by (elder) Women on special occasions, such as marriage, harvest, birth and festivals (paith). During the paith it serves as kind of trigger for the possession of the dhāmi.

/m+nd+I/ s
# shrine, sanctuary (as the dwelling place of gods).
291

/m+njite/ s
N= mānis
# man, person.
24, 47, 53, 131, 136

/munjite/ see /m+njite/

/mulyayo/ s
N= mulyāhā
# orphan, a person born in the mūla-nakṣatra.
73

/mer/s
# echo
## / ... I+gau
29.

/rāgya/ adj
# big (dossier).
214.

/l+uri/ s
N= lauri
# iron club; in:
/luwa .../. /gurja.../
55, 93, 133, 137

/lai+lun/ v
N= lai hālnu (have used)
152, 196.
/lupka/ s
T = slag-pa/slog-pa
# fur coat of the Tibetans.
148.

/lauru/ s
# calf.
34.

/lh+ha~ga/ s
N = iahagā
# a dress for woman
163, 167

/lhinu/ v
N = linu
# take.
19, 111, 112, 274, 275

/s+t/ in /s+t bhit/ see
/bhit/

/siu bagh/ s
# the two stone lions above Hadsija at the
ruins of the former 'palace'.
190, 224.

/siganya/ adj
# snot-nosed (epithet of Buru Masta).
123.

/sunkhuri/ s
# sheep (RL)
from:/sun/ - gold:
/khur/ - cloven hoof.
48, 52, 54, 111, 132,
PLACE NAMES

The names are mentioned in the forms occuring in the English text and are listed in the ordering of the Devanagari alphabet. The numbers at the end of each entry refer to the lines of the #parheli (see also map.).

Annya
cliff below Ghurchi
Lagna, Jumla.
128.

Arukhara
a resting place centered around a large tree
between Ghurchi Lagna
and Pina, Mugu.
79.

Odi
village above the Odi
River, Jumla.
259

Odi River (Odi Kholi)
a river valley which
runs south of the village of Odi joining the
Sija Kholi
261.

Khallia
village in the valley
of the Tila Nadi below
Nagm, Jumla

Khopdeva
? site near Ghasodar.
292

Garagli Pass
pass between Mugu and
Karun, Kugu.
14, 23

Gani Dhahu
rocky precipice above
and to the northwest of
Hadsijia.
119.
Gābu
gorge between Dāurā and Chālā in the valley of the Mugu Karnāl, Kugu. 46.

Ghatta Tārya
forest area and valley (Ghattar Kholā) south of Lake Rārā and the Cucye Mārya range, Mugu/ Jumlā.

Ghāsodār
cave above Hādsijā Jumlā. 139.

Ghoṛā Maulā
a site with a cave below Cauthā, Jumlā. 96.

Cilpi Pākho
an area of land between the villages of Cauthā and Botān, Jumlā. 104.

Cucye Mārya
mountain ridge at the south of Lake Rārā, Mugu/Jumlā.

Culi
gorge behind and to the northeast of Hādsijā Jumlā. 130.

Caukhi Caur
two houses with the fields belonging to them south of Dhobig- hāt, on the right side of the Jaljala Kholā, Jumlā 231.

Cauthā
village below and to the southwest of Ghurchi Lagna 82.
Cyāpne River
flows above and to the
east of Lāpu Gāũ into.
the Mugu Karnāli, Mugu.
69.

Chatikoṭ
a section of the commu-
nity of Srinagra, Mugu.

Chāllā
village in the valley
of the Mugu Karnāli,
east of Gumgarhi, Mugu.
64

Chinne Byāra
monastery complex near
the villae of Mugu,
Mugu
26.

Chlpchipe Pāni
a muddy spot near
Garāgli pass, Mugu
15.

Jibarka
? a village on the Sījā
Kholā southwest of
Lurku, Jumlā
288.

Jhulaghāt
ghat on the Mahākāli
River between Baitādi
and Pitorāgarh, Baitā-
di/India.
159.

Jhyāgar Kholā
river valley between
Dillikoṭ and the Tila
Nadi, Kālikoṭ.
272, 285.

Thinke Lagna
pass between Dillikoṭ
and the Tila Nadi near
the village of Chil-
kāyā, Kālikoṭ.
269.
Dhuṅge Dhārā
spring and village of
the same name northeast
of Mangri in the valley
of the Mugu Karṇālī,
Mugu.
59.

Tusāre Kholā
a river which flows
into the Sījā Kholā
southwest of Bārkī,
Jumlā.
263

Dāuro River (Dāuro Gār)
a river flowing past
the village of the same
name and into the Mugu
Karṇālī, Mugu
50.

Dehārghau
village in the Sījā
Kholā, Jumlā
255

Dhaulya Dhārā
?
72

Dhobighat
a village on the lower
reaches of the Jaljala
Kholā, Jumlā
213

Dhyām
?

Nākcyā Pass
a pass which leads from
Mugu to Tibet. ?
Nāmja Pass, Mugu.

Pādmā
a village southwest of
Ṭhinke Lagna, Kālīkot
271.

Bārkī
a village in the Sījā
Kholā, Jumlā.
255.
Bāgre
a cave in the valley of the Mugu Karpāli a few kilometers below the confluence with the Lāṅgu River, Mugu. 42.

Bāra Karān
federation of 13 villages in Mugu 7, 41

Bhaisya
narrors in the Sijā Kholā north of Narakot, Jumla. 254

Māluwa Phātak
narrors in the Sija Khola opposite Lihidhita, Jumla. 248, 287.

Mugu
the village of Mugu, Mugu. 30.

Rolil
? the village Riusa south of the Mugu Karṇālī, Mugu

Lāmā Thāro
a place above Hādsījā where stone-remains, purportedly of the old palace, can be found. 91, 223.
Simālya Lekh
? mountain ridge between
Dehārgāū and Odi,
Jumlā.

Simpāte
a village in the Sījā
Kholā, Jumlā.

Siyālkothā
? village on the upper
reaches of the Sījā
Kholā, Jumlā.
203.

Sirāni Swādā
stretch of meadow above
Dalchu in the valley of
the Lāngu River, Mugu.
39.

Hādsijā
a village in the Sījā
Kholā, Jumlā.

Hūre Kholā
a cave in the Sījā
Kholā above the village
of Simpāte and opposite
Hādsijā, Jumlā.
199.
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PLATE I.
The journey of Lāmā as related in his parheli - starting from Dāura via Tibet down to Sījā, then Pādma and back to Lekhpur.
PLATE II.
Banthān of Lāmā close to the village of Lekhpur.
PLATE III. Lekhpur, October 1983
The #banthān of Lāmā is left empty after the celebration of the full moon festival.
Top: View from the #banthān east to the village of Lekhpur. The white banner marks the #gharthān of Lāmā.
PLATE IV.
The #banthān during one of the full moon festivals. The small house is completely covered by pilgrims who watch the dance of the dhāmi in the centre. Photo taken November 24, 1983 in Somalgāū (Sījā) during the festival of Mahādev.
PLATE V.
Lekhpur October 20, 1983 - Scenes from the festival of Lāmā. The dhāmi of gods and bāhan are dancing together.