A GOD'S JOURNEY

THE PARAHEL OF THE GOD LĀMA FROM LEKHPUR (SĪJĀ)¹

by Günter Umbesheid

Heidelberg

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 (dhāmi) and the gods embodied in them. Such studies have made repeated reference to the #paraheī, 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 #paraheī has ever been published. The present work is meant to help fill this gap by offering an annotated translation of such a #paraheī of the god Lāma from Lekhpur in Sījā (Jumla).

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 Jumla 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 Acārya of Acāryabāda and Thūnānāth Upādhyā of Lūrku 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 Guschow, Abstelnach, 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 #Parheī (/p+rhē/) 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+rhē/ and # parheī/chap/ and châp, /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 (pūjārī). 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 'avatāreṇa devatā', 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 Śīlā, only very seldom. Apart from these, the two domains have also been labeled 'Jumla 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, Bhavāni or Lāmā. From the point of view of subject matter, however, the #parheli represent the folk religion of Jumla in a unified and unifying manner. The 'nine sisters', including such 'Brahmanical' or 'hidden' deities as Tripurasundari 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 matvālī 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 (#juni), 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 dekhāunu), the new dhāmi is confirmed in his office (#chāp bido), by the mūldhāmi of the particular deity. This happens either at the main shrine (mūltān) 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 (#pānil 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+mmele/) 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 Sravaṇ (July/August). As a rule, the festivals occur in the house shrine (#gharṭān (/gh+rṭān/)) at night and in the forest shrine (#banṭān (/b+nṭān/)) of the deity the following afternoon. Besides the pānil who worship the deity as kuldevata or as ışṭadevata other guests are also welcome, all of whom must be lodged without charge in the houses of the particular village in question. The pānil 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 #dāgri, 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+l) in honor of the deity. A Brahmin performs a hom yajña and the damāi musicians beat out on their large kettledrums the rhythm of the various attendant deities and their different dhāmis. 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 PARHELLI**

While the **dhāmi** is still in a state of possession and is sitting on the **gādi**, he may, as the god wishes, recite the **parhell** 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 **parhell**.

The **parhell** 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 **pāith** of the month of Kārtīk.

It was recited by Cirmu Būrhā, the **dhāmi** of Lāmā. Cirmu Būrhā is the seventh **dhāmi** in succession since his forefather started to be possessed by the deity. At the age of about ten Cirmu Būrhā 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 **chap bido** after returning. He boasts of having driven away the Brahmin during that ceremony and of having done the **hom** himself.

The **parhell** was sung by Cirmu Būrhā 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 **parhell** 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 **parhell** acquires its sacred quality. The great scepticism some **dhāmi** show towards tape-recordings is understandable against this background alone.

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 (itihās, 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 itiḥās offers at length what the #parheli describes in short; thus the itiḥās 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 #parheli 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 #parheli 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 #parheli 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 itiḥās 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 Maṣṭā - brothers and the 9 Bhavānī - 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 shepherd and his sheep pass. At Dhuṅge Dharā and at Chāllā he subdues demons. He meets Thārpa-Maṣṭā. Again he defeats several demons and demonstrates his superiority over the Maṣṭā and Bhavānī. Through meditation and recitation his magical powers increase. When he comes to the court of King Jālandhari in Sīja, he is degraded again and again by the wicked king. Finally he destroys the kingdom. He travels further south towards Pādmā 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.

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 Cirmu Buřhā. 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, n̄, r, rh, ř, ṭh, l, 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/ (tʃ) voiceless, unaspirated, alveo-dental affricate

/ch/ (tʃʰ) voiceless, aspirated, alveo-dental affricate.

/j/ (dʒ) voiced, unaspirated, alveo-dental affricate

/jh/ (dʒʰ) 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/ (t) voiceless, unaspirated, dental plosive

/th/ (tʰ) voiceless, aspirated, dental plosive.

/d/ (d) voiced, unaspirated, dental plosive.

/dh/ (dʰ) 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 (p) 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.
/ň/ (ŋ) voiced, unaspirated, velar nasal consonant.
/ŋ/ (ŋ) voiced, unaspirated, retroflex nasal consonant.
/r/ (r) voiced, unaspirated, dental, flap.
/rh/ (ᵣʰ) voiced, aspirated, dental flap.
/r/ (r) voiced, unaspirated, retroflex flap.
/rh/ (ᵣʰ) voiced, aspirated, retroflex flap.
/l/ (l) voiced, unaspirated, alveolar lateral.
/lh/ (lʰ) voiced, aspirated, alveolar lateral.

d. Vowels

/ʌ/ (ʌ) 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.
/i/ (i) 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+/  
/tikh+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 Maštā-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 daksinā i.e. money.
II

\(/c\text{yu}\text{\text{"u}}\text{c}u \text{ja } \#j\text{ar}+y+/- \\
/s\text{ira} \text{ jo } \#j+\text{reni}/ \\
/\text{am}+\text{uni bab}+\text{uni}/

Cy\text{yu}\text{c}u \text{the Tibetan} \\
(and) S\text{ira} \text{the Tibetan woman,} \\
\text{(they are my) father} \text{ (and mother)}

'It was Jhimu, \text{the old Tibetan woman,} \text{ who raised L\text{"a}m\text{"a},} \text{ provided him his} \\
food. Cy\text{yu}\text{c}u \text{the Tibetan was her husband. The two were L\text{"a}m\text{"a}'s parents.}'

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

III

\/+ut\text{ar}+ \#\text{g+ryachu}/ \\
/\text{bar}+\text{i r+ k+ran h+lay\text{"a}}/

I became incarnated \\
(and) made B\text{\text{"a}ra Kar\text{"a}n shake

'L\text{"a}m\text{"a also became human,} \text{ they say. An important man,} \text{ with great divine} \\
power. \text{When L\text{"a}m\text{"a had come into being,} \text{ he went to B\text{\text{"a}ra Kar\text{"a}n.}'}

IV

/\text{bals+i r+ c+mmay}+/- \\
/\text{bals+i r+g+mmay}+/- \\
/\text{bals+i ja } \#h\text{hit+y}+/- \\
/\text{bals+i r+ gyan+y}+/- \\
/\text{bals+i ja dhyan+y}+ \text{gaya}/ \\
/\text{mer+i jo boly\text{"a}/)

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

NOTE: Line 13 in the sense of /\text{mero nam bolay\text{"a}/} \text{The passage, either in its} \\
totality or shortened, \text{occurs a number of times in the \text{par\text{"e}li as a} \\
kind of refrain. \text{In this way the number 22 is always brought into play,} \\
without however, \text{the individual components being definable.}

V

/\text{g+ragli k\text{"a}dh+y+ g+yachu}/ \\
/ch\text{chipche panty}+/

I went to the Gar\text{"a}g\text{"l Pass} \\
to Chipche P\text{"a}nt
VI

/bar+i jo bhanj+y+u/  
/n+uj+i b+nini+u bhetyani/  
/#b+ndyasl g+ryako dekhyani/  
/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 Lāmā headed over Nākcyā Lagna towards Tibet. When he came to Tibet, the twelve Maštā-brothers and the nine Bhavāni - 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 (māto). For this reason he is now the "lord of the earth", because his portion was earth. Lāmā received no portion at all. For this reason Lāmā doesn't accept anything from the sisters and from the Maštā-brothers. He doesn't go to any of them for #chāp bidō. He lives by his own divine power. From Nākcyā Lagna Lāmā led the nine Bhavāni - sisters and the twelve Maštā brothers on behind him and prepared the way for them.'

NOTE: The twelve nephews, i.e. sister's sons, are for Lāmā, the twelve Maštā-brothers. Campbell 1978, p.291, presents a list of a total of 33 Maštā with their associated shrines. He also gives a list of no fewer than 20 Durgā-Bhavāni (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 Maštā-brothers. The worshippers (#pāli) 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.

#chāp bidō is the official act of recognition of a new dhāmi by the mūl dhāmi of the particular deity. This ceremony is very often performed in the shrines of unembodied, hidden deities, as e.g. Kārtik Swāmi or Chāynath.

VII

/bals+i jo gyan+y+/  
/dhan+y+ l+gayā/  
/#s+t+i ja bhit+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 dhāmi to give proof of his divine power for example:
   a. luwā lauri bhācnu = bend or break an iron rod,
   b. sikā pāti nikālnu = rub kernels of rice into 'ashes' in his hand
   c. tāi plunu = drink boiling oil,
   d. rāla kānju = bite off the tongue of a bell with his teeth.
VII
/g+ragli kādh+y+/  
/netr+i jo dholyako #m+nlte/  
/+utar+ l+gayā/

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

IX
/chinne ja byar+y+/  
/bar+i ja k+ran pugyachu/  
/bals+i r+#c+mmay+ 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+kl/  
/#niphurkī thari+y+/  
/kokh+i jo bh+urayā/  
/goth+i ja #lauru+  
/#pār+ ja balay+ diyānl/  
/+utar+ g+ryānl/

30  
35

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

30  
35

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
/bais+i r+ ściśhim cinyāni/
/+śćiśhim c+rhayā/

I built twenty-two small temples;  
I dedicated the temples.

XII
/sirani swāday+/
/+utar+ g+ryāni/
/bar+i r+ k+ran h+llayā/

In Sarāni Swāda  
I became incarnated.  
I made Bārā Karān shake.

'He made Bārā Karān 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
/ḥagre ja ḍar+ ayachu/
/+śćiśhim cinayā/
/bar+i r+ bars+y+/
/+utar+ g+rtyāni/

I came to the cave of Bāgre  
(There) I had a small temple built.  
For twelve years  
I became incarnated (there).

XIV
/gabu ja g+uray+/
/#m+jīte ṇetr+i jo ḍholyako/
/#sunkhuri c+layā/
/g+ur+ jo b+naya/
/dauro ja gart+y+/
/gabu ja g+uray+/
/#sunkhuri rokiyo/
/#m+jīte rokiyō/
/#sunkhuri c+layā/
/g+jr+i ja #hurle/
/g+ure jo b+nayā/

(In) the gorge of Gābu  
a man cried.  
I made the sheep pass through.  
I made the gorge passable.

(At) the Dāuro River,  
(in) the gorge of Gābu  
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 yo g+ryachu/
/bhar+i r+ pust+k+ #phi jechu/

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
/dhuńge ja dharay+/
/bhut+ka ra+j+y+/
/dhuńga ko #jebal ho halyako/
/#jebalo #dh+skayā/
/raks+s+ d+baya/

(At) Dhuńge 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 Dhuńge Dhārā. The kingdom of a bhut was flourishing there at the time. He gave the bhut a beating and took him with him.'

XVII
/cha+i ka bhut+y+/
/#up+mm+ g+ryako/
/l+ra+i g+ryachu/
/#p+itelo #jh+ikayā/
/bhut+y+ d+baya/

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

'So he came to Chaśā, where he lured every possible bhut from the mountains. Then he pressed the Maśṭā-brothers and Bhavāni-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 Thārpa Maṭṭā was called the "orphan of
the sea of rocks". Lāmā said to him: "Show your divine power." Then he gave
him chāp bido.'

(In) Ārukhārā
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. (the bhut) 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

/ghora ja m+ulaka/
/#khal+lla bhut+y+/
/ra+j+jo lagyako/
/ghor+i jo #bhan+yachu/
/bhut+i jo dabhachu/
/#cis+him cinyachu/
/#g+mm+i 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 Goṣā 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 dakṣinā."
NOTE: For mother's brother/sister's son see the note on episode I.

XXIV
/gani ja dhāray+/  
/bar+i jo b+ns+y+/  
/#gyan+i jo g+ryachu/  
/dhyan+i jo l+gayā/  
/#siganya bhanj+le/  
/bel+i jo patray+ corech+/

/ma+p+i jo diyachu/  
/d+ksina #di+la #boliya/  
/+utar+ l+gayā/

(At) Gāni Dhār

(for) twelve years
I recited
(and) meditated.
The snot-nosed sister's son
stole (my) almanac.

125
I forgave (him).
"Give me dakṣiṇā", he said (to me)
I became incarnated.

'Then Lāmā came to Gāni Dhār. While he was sitting there for twelve years and reciting the holy texts, Buṛu Maṣṭā came up and stole his almanac. Buṛu Maṣṭā 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, dakṣiṇā. Lāmā gave dakṣiṇā and forgave him.'

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

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

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

130
(In) the gorge of Cul
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 Cul.

XXVII
/ghasodar ja odar/  
/bar+i ja b+sa+y+/
/#g+mm+i jo c+layä/  
/#gyan+i jo g+ryäni/  
/dhyan+i jo g+ryäni/  
/#utpp+nn+ bh+yako/
/145  
/jal+ndh+rl raj+y+/

150
/jhuma j+1 ranly+/
/n+uhare k+c+h+rl lageko/
/#lupk+i jo l+gaunya/
/#thupk+i jo #khan+i+lya/

150
/#jar+i jo #jufher/
/m+t+i jo #khai+lina/
/#m+t+i jo #lai+lina/
/jhuma j+1 ranly+/
/bh+neko manen+/
(In) the cave of Ghāsodaṛ.

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).
The 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 Ghāsoḍār. In Ghāsoḍār 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 Jālandhari. 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 Jhulghāṭ, 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 Jhulaghāṭ. The king took note of everything and sent off two soldiers. Lāmā was locked up. On the way to Jhulghāṭ the two tried to cross the Karnāl River by rope and were carried off by its waters. In the gathering Lāmā 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 #cīnu in a dosser; the king paid no attention to it.'

NOTE: For the continuation and conclusion of this episode see under XXXII the narrative of king Jālandhari and the fall of his kingdom is, as legend, even apart from the #parheil, very widespread in Jumālā, 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.

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XXVIII
/~taɪʔ bɑːt+ aiɾ g+yaːchu/
/~hʊɾ+ɪ ja khɒlɪɟ+/

From there I came here
(to) Hūre Kholā

XXX
/siːlala koθ+ɜ+/
/dudh+i+ clʊɾɨɾy+/
/bɔk+ɬ+ l+ɡaini/
/siːlala koθ+kl #bəmniɟ+/
/#+nt+i ɬ+ chɑmɨɾi/

200
/bɜɾ+dam dɪɣəɾi/
/jɬ+l+ɬ+ b+ɾsaɣəɾ/
/ɡh+tya ka #tɔkɪɾəl/
/paɾi ɬ+ ɡɔɾɨɾi/
/ɛkɑ ko ɛkaiɾi/

205
/ɛkai ko ek+i+ #bɔlɪɾɨɾ/

210
200  

(milk and flattened rice,  
she gave (me) to eat  
the Brahmin woman from Siyālākoṭhā.  
She put (me) to the test.  
I granted (her) a wish;  
I made it rain.  
The Ghartī  
stole the water.  
"From one (will come) twenty-one;  
from one (will come only) one", I proclaimed.

'A Brahmin woman from Siyālākoṭhā provided for Lāmā. She was the daughter  
of Saryāla. Lāmā sat in the cave of Hūre Kholā and meditated. She came every  
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  
Siyālākoṭhā, 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 tumeric", said  
Lāmā. The Ghartī from Simpāṭe stole this water, and the old woman was left  
empty-handed. Lāmā cursed the Ghartī.

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  
/dhobīja ghat+ya+b+nayā/  
I built Dhobīghāt
XXXII

#/tãgy+1 ja doks+y+/
/#ciny+1 jo bokyãni/
/#tɔtya ja #callay+/
/pani jo bokyãni/
/#bakuk muthay+ paryñi/
/g+llara dhuṅga ka/
/#bìl+y+ bokyãni/
/rañ+1 jo g+ryãni/
/kur+ng+1 g+ryãni/
/lama tharo h+bhayã/
/#sìu bag+h+ jhujhayã/
/n+uhare k+c+h+i/
/#bhukt+1 jo g+ryãni/

215
(In) a large dossor
I carried cinu
(in) a sieve
I carried water.
I clenched my fist (with) mortar (in my hand).

220
A spherical stone
I carried with a head strap.
Something good I did;
something bad I did.
I made Lāmā Thāro shake

225
(and) the stone lions go at each other.
The great gathering I destroyed.

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

NOTE: Continuation of episode XXVII.

XXXIII

/+utar+ #bhít+y+/
/s+t+y #gyan+y+ dhyán+y+/
/bhār+1 ja pust+k+/
/bhār+1 ja wed+y+ l+gaya/  

230
Incarnation, 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 pāth+t+r+ l+gaya/  
/#c+upira khelesi/  
/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 incarnate.

'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 brik+s+y+/
/#b+lna ko bas+y+/
/+utar+ g+rayâ/
/hly+i ja lâthay+/
/+utar+ g+rayâ/
/bhanj+i jo b+nayâ/
/+utar+ l+gayâ/
/ghûr+i jo kocyâni/
/j+l+i jo b+rsayâ/
/nakhine dâraya/
/#pakhure rukh+y+/
/#b+lnaka dîth+y+/

The fruit tree (is) the sister's dwelling place.
I made (them) become incarnate (there).
Hîya Lâthâ

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: Hîya Lâthâ was a Brahmin who following an accident became a pslâc. He is worshipped now under the name of Hyâkar.

XXXVI
/maluwa phâtkâ ka/
/bhut+y+ uts+nn+ g+ ryako/
/+nt+i jo chamyonl/
/#bhut +l+ jo dabyâni/
/#g+ mm+ i ho b+nayâ/
/#bac+i jo khwayâ/

(AT) Mâluwâ Phâtkâ
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 Mâluwâ Phâtkâ , a bhut woke up on the other side and called: "The Tibetan has come" Lâmâ took mortar in one hand and stones in the other and walled him in.'
XXXVII
/bh+isy+i ja g+uray+ b+nayā/
I made the gorge of Bhaisyā passable.

XXXVIII
/b+skyal dar+gal+/
/kai bh+nn+ rakhen+/
/m+t+i jo khwaen+/
/jat+i jo halen/ 
/odiki niphurki fārly+/
/b+sti jo b+salyā/

255
The people of Bariki and Dehārgāū
spared nothing.
They gave (her) alcohol to drink,
they took away (her) caste,
(of) the childless widow from Odi.
260
I settled her down in a place to stay.

The people of Bariki 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 Thākurī King. Lāmā converted the people of Bariki 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.

'Viṣṇu gave alcohol to the Thākuris from Odi and Bariki to drink and thereby took away their caste. Viṣṇu is the elder brother of Lāmā. When Lāmā came he said to Viṣṇu: "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 Viṣṇu who, in contrast to the latter, never takes alcohol. Accordingly the dhāmi is possessed of both gods alternatively. In contrast to Lāmā's mercy, Viṣṇu is held to be of very rough nature, fighting with and shouting at people as well as levying fines.
XXXIX

/odi ka gaṛ+ ka/
/bhut+y+ d+bayā/

(At) the Odi River
I subdued a bhut.

XL

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

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

XLI

/ṭhakure raj+y+ ṭuṭayā/

I destroyed the Ṭhākuri kingdom.

XLII

/kh+llā ka bhut+y+ d+bayā/

I subdued the bhut of Khallā.

XLIII

/thinke ka lagnay+ b+syānī/
/uṭtar+ k+gayā/

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

XLIV

/padm+ ka bhut+y+/
/jhyagary+ kholay+/
/rajb+i jo l+gayo/
/macha ka rup+y+ #lhiyānī/
/j+lewa rup+y+ #lhiyoni/
/jaṁr+i jo bhācyonī/
/bhut+i jo bh+gayā/
/#bac+i jo khwayā/
/l+raī jo g+ryānī/
/bar+i ja bh+ny+y+/
/#gyan+i jo g+yānī/
/dhyan+i jo l+gayā/
The bhut of Pādma
(in) Jayāgār Khola
founded a kingdom.

He took on the form of a fish;
I took on the form of a cormorant.
He broke my thigh bone.
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 Jayāgārya
carried me.
The bhut of Māluwa Phātkā
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 Jhāyaγār Khola. There he trounced the bhut and remained
twelve years and eighteen ages. The bhut of Jhyāgyārya 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 Jayāgārya 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: Jagannāth was a Brahmin who become a pīśāc by suicide. Later he was
identified with Mahābāl (Mahārudra). Both are worshipped today in
Kalikoṭ Jīlā. Jayāgārya is their bāhan.
Lauri Sima is a bāhan of Lāmā from Simpāte. The great cormorant
(phalacrocorax carbo) is a common bird at the rocky riversides of the
Tīla Nādi.
The bhut of Khopdeva
put (me) to the test.
I loaded (him) down till he couldn't take any more loading;
I crushed (him) until he couldn't take any more crushing.

I set up the sister's kingdom.
The sisters are pure,
the sisters have divine power.
(On) the nose of a mountain,
in a forest of bhuj trees
I had them become incarnated.
(On) a ridge as thin as an arm
I broke a branch from the dhupi tree.
(Under) a tall tree
I recited (holy texts)
(and) meditated.
(From there) the sisters could be seen.
I radiated purity,
I spoke with divine power.

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 Chatikot 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 Chatikot, 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 becamepossessed, 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 Si̇ja dialect.
## indicates phrasal expressions and their meanings in the Si̇ja 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= akṣar, akṣer, acchar, accher.
# speaking; time (as in: the first time); letter; syllable; measuring mark.
## /.... kāthnu/ make known
78

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

/kuneso/ s
# baseness
186, 192

/khai+lnu/ v
N=Khāi 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
## / ... hāsnu/ laugh up
one's sleeve.
87, 162, 168

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

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

/gadi/ s
N= gaddi

# platform on which the
dhami sits when possessed

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

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

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

/c+upīra/ s
N = tripāsā
# 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= càlnu
# sieve
216

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

/cisṭhim/ s
T= spyīl adj = common,
public
rton 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+rēni/ 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 pejo-
orative sense and espe-
cially with reference
to a Tibetan.); dirty.
150, 165, 182, 194.
/jiṭhyari/ see /jutheri/

/jūr/ 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= jāṭā
# long tuft of hair of a dhāmi

/jottā/ s
# pair
# / ... hernu/ consultation during which the dhāmi 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.

/ṭokya/ s
# orphan; man (RL)
207.

/ṭotya/ adj
# full of holes, perforated.
216.
/thaulo/ s
# separated branch
303.

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

/dūm/ s
# collective name for low caste groups, such as Kāmi, Sārkti, Damāi, Gāine.

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

/tāūla/ 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

/dar/ s
# cliff, overhang.  
128

/di+la/ v  
N= di hālnos (please give)  
126

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

/niphurki/ adj
# childless
32, 259.

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

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

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

/par+/ 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 kuldevatā or
as īṣṭadevata

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

/piyau/ 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 "incar-
nating deity" at the
border of or outside a
village.

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

/banu/ v
N= badhnu
# tie to, tie fast.
99,

/bamni/ s
# Brahmin woman.
203.
/

/baluka/ s
# mortar, sand.
218

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

/boillnu/ v
N= bolı́ 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, abil-
ity; the dhāmī's
power to perform cer-
tain miracles, e.g.
drinking boiling oil
etc.
## /... dekhaunu/ to
demonstrate one's own
divine powers.
10, 22, 77, 227, 298,
309.

/bhukto g+rnu/ 
# destroy.
226.
/m+n\&g+l/ s
# song which is sung
exclusively by (elder)
Women on special occa-
sions, such as marriage,
harvest, birth
and festivals (paith).
During the paith it ser-
ves as kind of trig-
ger for the possession
of the dh\&ami.

/m+n\&d+l/ s
# shrine, sanctuary (as
the dwelling place of
gods).
291

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

/munjite/ see /m+njite/

/mulyayo/ s
N= muly\&h\&
# orphan, a person born
in the mula-naksatra.
73

/mer/s
# echo
## /... l+gaunu/
29.

/r\&gya/ adj
# big (dossier).
214.

/l+ur\&/ s
N= laur\&
# iron club; in:
/luwa .../. /gurja.../
55, 93, 133, 137

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

/lau ru/ s  
# calf.  
34.

/ll+h~ga/ s  
N= lahāgā  
# a dress for woman  
163, 167.

/lhinu/ v  
N= linu  
# take.  

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

/slu 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.).

Ānnya
cliff below Ghurchi
Lagna, Jumlá.
128.

Ārukhārā
a resting place centered around a large tree between Ghurchi Lagna and Pīnā, Mugu.
79.

Odi
village above the Odi River, Jumlá.
259

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

Khallā
village in the valley of the Tila Nadi below Nāgmā, Jumlá

Khopdeva
? site near Ghāsoḍār.
292

Garāgli Pass
pass between Mugu and Karān, Kugu.
14, 23

Gānl Dhār
rocky precipice above and to the northwest of Hāḍsijā.
119.
Gābu
gorge between Dāurā and Chālā in the valley of the Mugu Karnāl, Kugu. 46.

Ghatta Tāryā
forest area and valley (Ghattar Kholā) south of Lake Rārā and the Cucya Mārya range., Mugu/Jumālā.

Ghāsodār
cave above Hādsijā Jumālā. 139.

Ghorā Maulā
a site with a cave below Cauthā, Jumālā. 96.

Cipli Pākho
an area of land between the villages of Cauthā and Botān, Jumālā. 104.

Cucya Mārya
mountain ridge at the south of Lake Rārā, Mugu/Jumālā

Cull
gorge behind and to the northeast of Hādsijā Jumālā. 130.

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

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

Chatikot
a section of the community 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.

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

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

Jhulaghāṭ
ghat on the Mahākāli River between Bāttādi and Pitōrāgarh, Bāttādi/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 Chilkāyā, Kālikoṭ. 269.
Dhuvenge Dhārā
spring and village of
the same name northeast
of Mangri in the valley
of the Mugu Karṇāli,
Mugu.
59.

Tusāre Kholā
a river which flows
into the Śīja Kholā
southwest of Barki,
Jumla.
263

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

Dehārgāu
village in the Śīja
Kholā, Jumla
255

Dhaulya Dhārā
?
72

Dhobighāṭ
a village on the lower
reaches of the Jaljala
Kholā, Jumla
213

Dhyām
?

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

Pādmā
a village southwest of
Thinke Lagna, Kālīkot
271.

Barki
a village in the Śīja
Kholā, Jumla.
255.
Bagre
a cave in the valley of
the Mugu Karnali a few
kilometers below the
confluence with the
Langu River, Mugu.
42.

Bara Karan
federation of 13 villages
in Mugu
7, 41

Bhaisya
narrow in the Sija
Kholi north of Narakot.
Jumla.
254

Maluwa Phatak
narrow in the Sija
Kholi opposite Lihidhi,
Jumla.
248, 287.

Mugu
the village of Mugu,
Mugu.
30.

Roli
? the village Rilasa
south of the Mugu Karnali, Mugu

Lamai Tharo
a place above Hadseja
where stone-remains,
purportedly of the old
castle, can be found.
91, 223.
Simālya Lekh
? mountain ridge between
Dehārgāū and Odi,
Jumlā.

Simpāte
a village in the Sījā
Kholā, Jumlā.

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

Sirānī Swādā
stretch of meadow above
Dalpu in the valley of
the Lāngū River, Muğū.
39.

Hādsījā
a village in the Sījā
Kholā, Jumlā.

Hūre Kholā
a cave in the Sījā
Kholā above the village
of Simpāte and opposite
Hādsījā, Jumlā.
199.
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PLATE I.
The journey of Lāmā as related in his parhēli -starting from Dāura via Tibet down to Sījā, then Pādmā 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.