

## A GOD'S JOURNEY

### THE PARHELI OF THE GOD LĀMĀ FROM LEKHPUR (SĪJĀ)<sup>1</sup>

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 basin<sup>2</sup> 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 **#parheli**, 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.<sup>3</sup> Up till now, however, no faithful transcription and translation of such a **#parheli** has ever been published. The present work is meant to help fill this gap by offering an annotated translation of such a **#parheli** of the god Lāmā from Lekhpur in Sijā (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 Acārya of Acāryabādā and Thuñanāth Upādhyā of Luṛku 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, 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 **#Parheli** (/p+r̥heli/) and the glossary of Sijā dialect words are transcribed and noted down according to the inventory of phonemes 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+r̥heli/** and **#parheli/chap/** and **chāp**, **/g+r̥agli/** 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.

2. Campbell 1978, Gaborieau 1969, Sharma 1974.

3. Gaborieau 1976, pp. 220 f.; Campbell 1978, pp. 294 f.

### 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 '**avatār line devata**', i.e. 'incarnating gods', who embody themselves in the person of a **dhāmi**.<sup>4</sup> Both terms are taken from native common speech usage but are - interestingly enough - employed, at least in Sījā, only very seldom. Apart from these, the two domains have also been labeled 'Jumlā Brahmanism' and 'Oracular Religion'.<sup>5</sup>

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 Maṣṭā-brothers<sup>6</sup> 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 Jumlā in a unified and unifying manner. The 'nine sisters'<sup>7</sup>, including such 'Brahmanical' or 'hidden' deities as Tripurasundarī and Kanakasundarī, have just as rightful a place in them as the Maṣṭā 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.

---

4. Campbell 1978, pp. 199, 286.

5. Campbell, 1978, Abstract.

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 Brahmins 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 Karnāli 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' (**#bhīt 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 (**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 Śrāvaṇ (July/August). As a rule, the festivals occur in the house shrine (**#gharthān (/gh+rthan/)**) at night and in the forest shrine (**#banthān (/b+nthan/)**) of the deity the following afternoon. Besides the **#pāli** who worship the deity as **kuldevatā** or as **iṣṭadevatā** 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 **#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 **#maṅgal(m+ṅg+l)** 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 Sijā 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.<sup>8</sup> 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 bido** 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.

---

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 **itihās** offers at length what the **#parheli** describes in short; thus the **itihās** 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.<sup>9</sup> 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 comparison 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 **itihās** 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 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 shepherd and his sheep pass. At Dhuṅge Dhārā and at Chāilā he subdues demons. He meets Thārpā-Maṣṭā. Again he defeats several demons and demonstrates his superiority over the Maṣṭā and Bhavāni. Through meditation and recitation his magical powers increase. When he comes to the court of King Jālandhari in Sijā, 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/Mahābhāi. 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 Burhā. 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, ṅ, ṅ, r, rh, ṛ, ṛh, 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/ (k')  | voiceless, aspirated velar plosive.                |
| /g/ (g)    | voiced, unaspirated, velar plosive.                |
| /gh/ (g')  | voiced, aspirated, velar plosive.                  |
| /c/ (tʃ)   | voiceless, unaspirated, alveo-dental affricate     |
| /ch/ (tʃ') | voiceless, aspirated, alveo-dental affricate.      |
| /j/ (dʒ)   | voiced, unaspirated, alveo-dental affricate        |
| /jh/ (dʒ') | voiced, aspirated, alveo-dental affricate          |
| /t/ (t)    | voiceless, unaspirated, retroflex plosive          |
| /th/ (t')  | voiceless, aspirated, retroflex plosive.           |
| /ḍ/ (ḍ)    | voiced, unaspirated, retroflex plosive.            |
| /ḍh/ (ḍ')  | voiced, aspirated, retroflex plosive.              |
| /t/ (t)    | voiceless, unaspirated, dental plosive             |
| /th/ (t')  | voiceless, aspirated, dental plosive.              |
| /d/ (d)    | voiced, unaspirated, dental plosive.               |
| /dh/ (d')  | voiced, aspirated, dental plosive.                 |
| /p/ (p)    | voiceless, unaspirated, bilabial plosive.          |
| /ph/ (p')  | voiceless, aspirated, bilabial plosive             |
| (f)        | voiceless, unaspirated, labio-dental fricative.    |
|            | In free variation with (p ) between vowels.        |
| /b/ (b)    | voiced, unaspirated, bilabial plosive.             |
| /bh/ (b')  | 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/ | (m <sup>h</sup> ) | voiced, aspirated, bilabial nasal consonant.       |
| /n/  | (n)               | voiced, unaspirated, alveo-dental nasal consonant. |
| /nh/ | (n <sup>h</sup> ) | voiced, aspirated, alveo-dental nasal consonant    |
| /ŋ/  | (ŋ)               | voiced, unaspirated, velar nasal consonant         |
| /ɳ/  | (ɳ)               | voiced, unaspirated, retroflex nasal consonant.    |
| /r/  | (r)               | voiced, unaspirated, dental, flap                  |
| /rh/ | (r <sup>h</sup> ) | voiced, aspirated, dental flap.                    |
| /ɽ/  | (ɽ)               | voiced, unaspirated, retroflex flap                |
| /ɽh/ | (ɽ <sup>h</sup> ) | voiced, aspirated, retroflex flap                  |
| /l/  | (l)               | voiced, unaspirated, alveolar lateral              |
| /lh/ | (l <sup>h</sup> ) | voiced, aspirated, alveolar lateral.               |

**d. Vowels**

|     |     |   |
|-----|-----|---|
| /ɪ/ | (ɪ) | 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.**

|     |  |
|-----|--|
| /̃/ | nasalisation corresponds to that of standard Nepali. |
|-----|--|

**3.3 Allophones**

|     |     |  |
|-----|-----|--|
| /u/ | (u) | at a word ending;<br>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 **dakṣinā** i.e. money.



II

5 /cyūcu ja #jar+y+/  
/sira jo #j+reni/  
/am+uni bab+uni/

5 Cyūcu the Tibetan  
(and) Sirā the Tibetan woman,  
(they are my) father (and mother)

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

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

III

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

I became incarnated  
(and) made Bāra Karān shake

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

IV

10 /bais+i r+ #c+mmay+/  
/bais+i r+#g+mmay+/  
/bais+i ja #bhit+y+/  
/bais+i r+ #gyan+y+/  
/bais+i ja dhyan+y+ l+gayā/  
/mer+i jo bolyā/

10 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

15 /g+ragli kādh+y+ g+yachu/  
/chipchipe pantiy+/  
15

I went to the Garāgli Pass  
to Chipchipe Pāni

## VI

/bar+i jo bhanj+y+u/  
 /n+uj+i b+nini+u bhetyāni/  
 /#b+ndyasi g+ryako dekhyāni/  
 /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 Maṣṭā-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 Maṣṭā-brothers. He doesn't go to any of them for **#chāp bido**. He lives by his own divine power. From Nākcyā Lagna Lāmā led the nine Bhavāni - sisters and the twelve Maṣṭā brothers on behind him and prepared the way for them.'

NOTE: The twelve nephews, i.e. sister's sons, are for Lāmā, the twelve Maṣṭā-brothers. Campbell 1978, p.291, presents a list of a total of 33 Maṣṭā 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 Maṣṭā-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 bido** is the official act of recognition of a new **dhāmi** by the **mūldhāmi** of the particular deity. This ceremony is very often performed in the shrines of unembodied, hidden deities, as e.g. Kārtik Swāmi or Chāyāmath.

## VII

20

/bais+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:

- luwā lauri bhācnu** = bend or break an iron rod,
- sikā pāti nikālnu** = rub kernels of rice into 'ashes' in his hand
- tāi piunu** = drink boiling oil,
- rālā kaṭnu** = bite off the tongue of a bell with his teeth.

VIII

**/g+ragli kādh+y+/  
/netr+i jo dholyako #m+njite/  
/+utar+l+gayā/**

25

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

25

IX

**/chinne ja byar+y+/  
/bar+i ja k+ran pugyachu/  
/bais+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 from the recitation of the twenty-two monks.

X

**/mugu ja gaur+y+/  
/bar+i ja b+rs+ki/  
/#niphurki thariy+/  
/kokh+i jo #bh+urayā/  
/goth+i ja #lauru+  
/#pār+ ja balay+ diyāni/  
/+utar+ g+ryāni/**

30

35

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;  
(In) the upper storey I gave a child.  
I became incarnated.

35

'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+ #cisthim cinyāni/  
/#cisthim c+rhayā/

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

## XII

40

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

In Sarāni Swādā  
I became incarnated.  
I made Bāra Karān shake.

'He made Bāra 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

45

/bagre ja odar+ ayachu/  
/#cisthim cinayā/  
/bar+i r+ bars+y+/  
/+utar+ g+ryāni/

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

45

## XIV

50

/gabu ja g+uray+/  
/#m+njite netr+i jo dholyako/  
/#sunkhuri c+lāyā/  
/g+ur+ jo b+nayā/  
/dauro ja gar+y+/  
/gabu ja g+uray+/  
/#sunkhuri rokiyo/  
/#munjite rokiyo/  
/#sunkhuri c+lāyā/  
/gur+i ja #l+urle/  
/g+ure jo b+nayā/

55

(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.

50

55

'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+ #phijechu/

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

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

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

XVI

60 /dhuṅge ja dharay+/  
/bhut+ka raj+y+/  
/dhuṅga ko #jebalo halyako/  
/#jebalo #dh+skayā/  
/raks+s+ d+bayā/

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

XVII

65 /chāl+i ka bhut+y+/  
/#utp+nn+ g+ryako/  
/l+rai+ g+ryachu/  
#p+itelo #jh+l kayā/  
/bhut+y+ d+bayā/

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

'So he came to Chālā, where he lured every possible **bhut** from the mountains. Then he pressed the Maṣṭā-brothers and Bhavāni-sisters to hurry on. What kind of power he must have to be able to do that?!

## XVIII

70 /cyapne ja gar+y+/  
 /#utp+nn+ g+ryako/  
 /bhut+y+ d+bayã/

70 (At) the Cyāpne River  
 (a bhut) caused mischief.  
 The bhut I subdued.

## XIX

75 /dh+uly+i ja dharay+ pugyachu/  
 /dhãreko #mulyayo/  
 /bhet+i jo g+ryachu/  
 /bh+nj+i jo natay+ h+gayã/  
 /s+t+i+ c+layã/  
 #bhit+i jo bolayã/  
 /#akh+r+i kathyachu/

75 I came to Dhulya 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**.'

## XX

80 /aru ja kharay+/  
 /bhut+ ka rajy+y+ phalyachu/  
 /#bac+i jo khwayachu/

80 (In) Ārukhārā  
 I overthrew the kingdom of a **bhut**:  
 I converted (him).

'Then he came to Ārukhārā. A **bhut** called Charcharyā was there at the time. He converted him.'

## XXI

85 /c+utha ja c+ur+y+/  
 /n+uhare k+c+h+ri/  
 /dhunga ko #jebalo halyako/  
 /hukk+i ma t+makhu khayako/  
 /sob+rn+ka juttay+ layako/  
 /#khutukk+ hāṣyani/  
 /+utar+ g+ryāni/  
 90 /dhunga ko #jebalo #dh+skayã/  
 /rajy+i jo tutayã/  
 /n+uhare k+c+h+ri tutaya/  
 /mer+i jo bolayã/  
 /gurjaja #l+uri jo ghumayã/  
 /patal+ d+bayã/  
 95 /bhut+ ka rajy+y+ tutayã/

85

(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.

90

(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.

95

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

100

/ghorā ja m+ulaka/  
/#khai+lla bhut+y+/  
/rajy+i jo lagyako/  
/ghor+i jo #bhanyachu/  
/bhut+i jo dabychu/  
/#cisthim 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.

100

I built a small temple.

I made a shrine.

I became incarnated.

'Then he came to the overhang of Gorā 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.'

## XXIII

- 105 /cipli ka pakhy+/  
/bar+i r+ bhanj+y+/  
/na+i r+ #b+inala/  
/+utar+ g+ryachu/  
/bheṭe jo g+ryachu/  
/+utar+ #g+rilaṃ/  
110 /bh+nyachu bolyachu/  
/#sunkhuri rup+y+ #lhiyach+n/  
/bagh+i ka rup+y+ #lhiyachu  
lekhe jo #piryayā/  
/gar+i jo #piryayā/  
115 /+utar+ dekhayā/  
/mama r+ bhanj+ ko/  
/sainu jo l+gyā/  
/d+ksina diyachu/  
  
105 (At) Cipli Pākho  
(were) the 'twelve sister's sons'  
I became incarnated  
(and) met them (there)  
110 "Come, let's become incarnate!"  
I said, (so) I spoke.  
They became sheep;  
I became a tiger.  
I frightened (them) up the mountain  
115 I frightened (them) down to the valley.  
I showed my body.  
(As) mother's brother  
I made (them) sister's sons.  
I gave them dakṣiṇā.

' 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 **dakṣiṇā**."



NOTE: For mother's brother/sister's son see the note on episode I.

XXIV

120 /gani ja dhāray+/  
 /bar+i jo b+rs+y+/  
 /#gyan+i jo g+ryachu/  
 /dhyan+i jo l+gayā/  
 /#siganya bhanj+le/  
 125 /bel+i jo patray+ corech+/  
 /maph+i jo diyachu/  
 /d+ksina #di+la #bolilyo/  
 /+utar+ l+gayā/

120 (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

/anny+i ka #dar+y+/  
/patth+r+i dhungay+ bolayã/

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

## XXVI

130 /culi ja g+uray+/  
/#m+njite rokiyo/  
/#sunkhuri rokiyo/  
/gurja ja #l+uriy+/  
135 /bath+i jo b+nayã/  
/#sunkhuri c+layã/  
/#m+njite c+layã/  
/gurja ja #l+uriy+/  
/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/  
/bar+i ja b+rs+y+/  
/#g+mm+i jo c+layã/  
/#gyan+i jo g+ryãni/  
/dhyan+i jo g+ryãni/  
145 /#utp+nn+ bh+yako/  
/jal+ndh+ri raj+y+/  
/jhuma j+i raniy+/  
/n+uhare k+c+h+ri lageko/  
/#lupk+i jo l+gaunya/  
/#thupk+i jo #khani+lya/  
150 /#jar+i jo #juthedi/  
/m+t+i jo #khai+lnya/  
/#m+t+i jo #lai+lnya/  
/jhuma j+i raniy+/  
/bh+neko manen+/  
150

- 155 /hha ka biskun+/  
 /#tutha ka biskun+ halyako/  
 /#utp+nn+ bh+yako/  
 /rajy+y+ jal+ndh+ri rajay+/  
 /jhulghat+ #jh+g+lo l+gayã/  
 160 /#pattini n+cayã/  
 /n+uhare k+c+h+ri/  
 /#khutukk+ häsyoni/  
 /#lh+h+ga khusyoni/  
 /jal+ndh+ri rajay+/  
 165 /#jar+i ka #juthari/  
 /kin+ ho häsyako bolyoni/  
 /#lh+h+ga khusyoni/  
 /#khutukk+ häsyãni bolyãni/  
 /sw+rg+i r+bad+l+/  
 170 /dh+ri y+ os+y+ thiyen+/  
 /n+uhare k+c+h+ri/  
 /j+l+l jo b+rsayã/  
 /jal+ndh+ri rajay+/  
 /gh+ri jo tipyoni/  
 175 /bel+i jo tipyoni/  
 /#joly+i jo p+thayo/  
 /#taul+i jo cūryoni/  
 /#joly+i jo utaryã/  
 /+utar+ g+ryani/  
 180 /jal+ndh+ri rajay+ manen+/  
 /#jole jo ayani/  
 /#jare ko #juthyari/  
 /#joly+i jo utaryo bolyani/  
 /+utar+ g+ryani/  
 185 /jal+ndh+ri rajay+/  
 /#kumeso lageko manen+/  
 /r+ng+i jo g+ryãni/  
 /kur+ng+i g+r+ bh+nyo/  
 /bij+y+ m+ndir+ h+llayã/  
 190 /#siu bagh+ jhujhayã/  
 /lama tharo h+llayã/  
 /#kumeso lageko rajy+y+/  
 /jal+ndh+ri rajay+/  
 /#jar+i ko #jutheri/  
 195 /m+t+i jo #khat+hnya/  
 /m+t+i jo #lai+lnya/  
 /hel+i jo g+ryoni/

140 (In) the cave of Ghāsodar  
 ((or) twelve years  
 I kept a shrine.  
 (There I recited  
 (and) meditated.

145 Depraved was  
 the kingdom of (king) Jālandhari  
 (and) queen Jhumā.  
 There was a great gathering.

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

(What) queen Jhumā  
 said, (the king) did not obey.  
 155 Countless diamonds,  
 countless turquoise chains were (there).  
 Depraved was  
 the kingdom (of) king Jālandhari.  
 (At) Jhulghāt, I spanned a rope bridge.  
 160 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):  
 165 "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  
 170 nor dew on the ground.  
 (Still), in the great gathering  
 I made it rain.  
 King Jālandhari  
 noted down the hour,  
 175 noted down the time  
 (and) sent two (soldiers).  
 The rope tore  
 (and) I pulled the two (soldiers) out.  
 I became incarnated.  
 180 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."  
 185 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  
 190 (and) the stone lions go at each other.  
 I made Lāmā Thāro shake.  
 Base was the kingdom  
 (and) king Jālandhari.  
 "You Tibetan Pig,  
 195 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 Karnāli 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 **#cinu** 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 **#parhelli**, 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 Sijā.

XXVIII

/#taĩr+ baṭ+ air+ g+yachu/  
/hũr+i ja kholiy+/  
From there I came here  
(to) Hũre Kholā

XXIX

200 /siyala koṭh+y+/  
/dudh+iy+ ciuray+/  
/bok+i jo l+gaini/  
/siyala koṭh+ki #bamniy+/  
/#+nt+i jo chamini/  
205 /b+r+dan diyāni/  
/j+l+i jo b+rsayā/  
/gh+tya ka #tokyale/  
/pani jo coryoni/  
/eka ko ekais+/  
210 /ekai ko ek+y+ #bolliyā/

200

(In) Siyālākoṭhā  
milk and flattened rice,  
she gave (me) to eat  
the Brahmin woman from Siyālākoṭhā.

205

She put (me) to the test.  
I granted (her) a wish;  
I made it rain.  
The Gharti  
stole the water.

210

"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 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 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 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 ghaṭ+y+ b+nayā/

I built Dhobighāt

XXXII.

- 215 /#rāg+ī ja dōkay+/  
 /#ciny+ī jo bokyāni/  
 #toṭya ja #callāy+/  
 /pani jo bokyāni/  
 /#bahuka muthay+ paryāni/  
 220 #g+llara dhuṅga ka/  
 /#bitay+ bokyāni/  
 /raṅg+ī jo g+ryāni/  
 /kur+ṅg+ī g+ryāni/  
 /lama tharo h+lāyā/  
 225 /#siu bagh+ jhujhaya/  
 /n+uhare k+c+h+ri/  
 /#bhukt+ī jo g+ryāni/

- 215 (in) a large dossier  
 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 avail; Lāmā made the palace shake and destroyed the kingdom.'

NOTE: Continuation of episode XXVII.

XXXIII

- 230 /+utar+ #bhit+y+/  
 /s+t+y #gyan+y+ dhyan+y+/  
 /bhar+ī ja pust+k+/  
 /bhar+ī ja wed+y+ l+gayā/

- 230 Incarnation, divine power,  
 purity, recitation, meditation.  
 I had a load of books,  
 a load of Vedas read.

XXXIV

- 235 /c+ukhi ja c+ur+y+/  
 /bad+ī ja patth+r+ l+gayā/  
 /#c+upira kheleni/  
 /bad+ī ja p+h+ra/  
 /+utar+ g+ryāni/

(At) Caukhi Caur  
I brought together huge stones.  
I played dice  
(with) large boulders  
I became incarnated.

235

' 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/  
/hiy+i ja laṭhay+/  
/+utar+ g+rayā/  
/bhanj+i jo b+nayā/  
/+utar+ l+gayā/  
/ghūr+i jo kocyāni/  
/j+l+i jo b+rsayā/  
/nakhine dāraya/  
/#pakhure rukh+y+/  
/#b+inaka dīth+y+/  
/nakhine dāraya/

240

245

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

240

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.

245

(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 Hyākākar.

## XXXVI

/maluwa phaṭka ka/  
bhut+y+ utp+nn+ g+ ryako/  
/#+nt+i jo chamyoni/  
/#bhut +i+ jo dabyāni/  
/#g+ mm+ i ho b+nayā/  
/#bac+i jo khwayā/  
/#bhut +i+ jo dabyāni/

250

(At) Māluwā Phātkā  
a bhut was causing mischief.  
He put me to the test.  
The bhut I subdued.  
I built a shrine.  
I converted (him).

250

'While he was on the way to Māluwā Phātkā, 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+uray+ b+nayā/

I made the gorge of Bhaisya passable.

XXXVIII

255

/b+ṛkyale dehar+gai+/

/kai #bh+nn+ rakhen+/

/m+t+i jo khwaen+/

/jat+i jo haleni/

260

/odiki #niphurki rāriy+/

/b+sti jo b+salyā/

255

The people of Barki and Dehārgāũ  
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 Barki and Dehārgāũ 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 Thākuri King. Lāmā converted the people of Barki and Dehārgāũ. 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 Barki 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.

## XXXXIX

/odi ka gar+ ka/  
/bhut+y+ d+bayã/

(At) the Odi River  
I subdued a bhut.

## XL

/tusare khola ka/  
/bhut+y+ d+bayã/  
/#p+itelo jh+lkeyã/  
/bh+ndh+n+ rakhyãni/

265

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

265

## XLI

/thakure rajy+y+ tũtayã/

I destroyed the Thãkuri kingdom.

## XLII

/kh+llã ka bhut+y+ d+bayã/

I subdued the bhut of Khallã.

## XLIII

/thinke ka lagnay+ b+syãni/  
/+utar+ l+gayã/

270

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

270

## XLIV

/padm+ ka bhut+y+/  
/jhyagary+ kholay+/  
/rajy+i jo l+gayo/  
/macha ka rup+y+ #lhiyãni/  
/j+lewa rup+y+ #lhiyoni/  
/janr+i jo bhãcyoni/  
/bhut+i jo bh+gayã/  
/#bac+i jo khwayã/  
/l+rai jo g+ryãni/  
/bar+i ja b+rs+y+/  
/#gyan+i jo g+yãni/  
/dhyan+i jo l+gayã/

275

280

285 /j+g+ jo nath+y+/  
 /bar+i jo k+r+g+ bhācyāni/  
 /jhyagāry+ bhut+y+/  
 /bhary+i jo l+gaya/  
 /maluwa phaṭka ka bhut+y+/  
 /jib+rka piryayo/  
 290 /jib+rka ka bhut+y+/  
 /Lauri sim+y+/  
 /#b+ina ka #m+nd+l+ lyayoni/

The bhut of Pādmā  
 (in) Jayāgār Kholā  
 founded a kingdom.  
 275 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).  
 280 For twelve years  
 I recited (holy texts).  
 (and) meditated.  
 Jagannāth('s)  
 twelve ribs I broke.  
 285 The bhut of Jayāgārya  
 carried me.  
 The bhut of Māluwa Phāṭkā  
 brought (me) to Jibarkā.  
 The bhut of Jibarka  
 290 (brought me to) Lauri Sima,  
 (and) he brought (me) to the sister's shrine.

Then he came to Jhāyagārya Kholā. There he trounced the **bhut** and remained twelve years and eighteen ages. The **bhut** of Jhyāgārya become a fish and swam in the Karṇālī. 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: Jagannath was a Brahmin who become a **pisāc** by suicide. Later he was identified with Mahābāi (Mahārudra). Both are worshipped today in Kālikoṭ Jillā. 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 Tila Nadi.

## XLV

295 /khopdev+ ka bhut+le/  
 /#+nt+ camyo/  
 /l+dauni l+dayã/  
 /d+bauni d+bayã/

The bhut of Khopdeva  
 put (me) to the test.  
 295 I loaded (him) down till he couldn't take any more loading;  
 I crushed (him) until he couldn't take any more crushing.

## XLIV

300 /#b+ina ko rajy+ jo b+nayã/  
 /#b+ina ka s+t+y+/  
 /#b+ina ka #bhit+y+/  
 /nakhine dāray+/  
 /bhujeri #palt+y+/  
 /+utar+ l+gayã/  
 /#pakhure dārar+/  
 /dhupi ka #thyaulay+/  
 /lam+i jo both+y+/  
 305 /#gayan+i jo g+ryãni/  
 /dhyan+i jo g+ryãni/  
 /#b+ina ka dīth+y+/  
 /s+t+i jo c+lyãni/  
 /#bhit+i jo bolyãni/

I set up the sister's kingdom.  
 The sisters are pure,  
 the sisters have divine power.  
 300 (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  
 305 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 Hādsijā) and the "upper sixty" (i.e. those from Lekhpur) were always going on hunts to Ghatta Tārya and Cucya Mārya. The lord of Chatikoṭ 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 Hādsijā sent him off to hunt. He found the deer without ears and nose and took it with him. When he arrived in Hādsijā 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 Chatikoṭ, cut off his nose and ears and took them with him to Hādsijā. 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 Chatikoṭ 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 possessed, overturned their rule and was cleared of the murder.'

**NOTE:** The **bhuj** trees (betula bhojpatra) 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 Sija dialect. |

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

**/+nt+ chamnu/**

**N= nāri chāmnū**

#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.

## /.... kaṭhnu/ make known

78

**/utp+nn+/ adv**

**N= ati, acākli**

# too much, excessively

## / .... g+rnu/ carry things too far; deprave; cause mischief.

65, 70, 144, 157, 249

**/kumeso/ 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+rīlam/ v**

N= **gari hā] aū** (let us do,  
let us finish)  
109

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

**/gh+than/ s**

# shrine inside the  
**dhāmi'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= **cālnu**

# sieve

216

**/canu/ s**

# hog millet (panicum  
miliaceum 1.)

215

**/cisthim/ s**

T= spyi adj = common,  
public

rten 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 pejo-  
rative sense and espe-  
cially with reference  
to a Tibetan.); dirty.

150, 165, 182, 194.



**/juthyari/ 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 **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= **joṛā**

# 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, perforated.

216.

**/ṭhyaulo/ s**

# separated branch  
303.

**/ḍāgrī/ s**

# priest, second and  
equally important reli-  
gious specialist in a  
shrine besides the  
**dhāmi**, who becomes not  
possessed.

**/ḍum/ s**

# collective name for  
low caste groups, such  
as Kāmi, Sārki, Damāi,  
Gāine.

**/tai/**

N= tyahī

# there (stressed)  
198

**/taūla/ 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 hānos (please  
give)  
126

**/dh+mmelo/ s**

# ceremony where the  
**dhāmi** falls in trance  
and can be consulted.

**/dh+skaunu/ v**

**N= bhāṣnu**

# make (a trap) snap

shut

62, 89.

**/niphurki/ adj**

# childless

32, 259.

**/p+rheli/ s**

# story of the origin  
and the adventures of a  
god, recited by the  
god's **dhāmi** in a state  
of possession.

**/p+ith/ s**

# full moon festival of  
a deity who incarnates  
in the person of a  
**dhāmi** usually in the  
month of Śrāvaṇ  
(July/August).

**/p+itelo/ s**

# sole of the foot.

## / ... jh+lkaunu/ sub-  
due, take into one's  
service.

67, 265

**/pār+/ 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 **iṣṭadevatā**

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

**/baco khwaunu/**

## convert, persuade.  
81, 253, 278.

**/banu/ v**

N= **bādhnu**

# tie to, tie fast.  
99,

**/bamni/ s**

# Brahmin woman.  
203.

**/baluka/ s**

# mortar, sand.

218

**/bito/ s**

# a load of grass, wood or the like which is bound by a rope to a person's back and carried without using a dosser.

220.

**/bolilnu/ v**

N= **boli halnu** (speak, finish)

126, 210.

**/bh+uraunu/ v**

N= **baurāunu**

# bring to life, make fertile, (causative) make sprout; (intransitive) sprout.

33

**/bh+nn+/ adv**

N= **bāki**

# left, remaining.

256

**/bhit/ s**

N= **sakti**

# divine power, ability; the **dhāmi's** power to perform certain 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+ng+l/ 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+l/ 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  
## / ... l+gaunu/  
29.

**/rāgya/ adj**

# big (dosser).  
214.

**/l+uri/ s**

N= **lauri**  
# iron club; in:  
**/luwa .../**, **/gurja.../**  
55, 93, 133, 137

**/lai+lun/ v**

N= **lāi hālnu** (have used)  
152, 196.

**/lupka/ s**

T= slag-pa/slog-pa  
# fur coat of the Tibetans.  
148.

**/lauru/ s**

# calf.  
34.

**/lh+h+ga/ s**

N= lahāgā  
# a dress for woman  
163, 167

**/linu/ 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 occurring 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.).

**Ānya**

cliff below Ghurchi  
Lagna, Jumlā.  
128.

**Ārukharā**

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

**Odi**

village above the Odi River, Jumlā.  
259

**Odi River (Odi Kholā)**

a river valley which runs south of the village of Odi joining the Sijā Kholā  
261.

**Khallā**

village in the valley of the Tila Nadi below Nāgmā, Jumlā

**Khopdeva**

? site near Ghāsodār.  
292

**Garāgli Pass**

pass between Mugu and Karān, Kugu.  
14, 23

**Gāni Dhār**

rocky precipice above and to the northwest of Hādsijā.  
119.



**Gābu**

gorge between Dāurā and  
Chāilā in the valley of  
the Mugu Karnāli, Kugu.  
46.

**Ghatta Tārya**

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

**Ghāsodār**

cave above Hādsijā  
Jumlā.  
139.

**Ghorā Maulā**

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

**Cipli Pākho**

an area of land between  
the villages of Cauthā  
and Botan, Jumlā.  
104.

**Cucya 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 Ghur-  
chi Lagna  
82.

**Cyāpne River**

flows above and to the east of Lāpu Gāũ into the Mugu Karnāli, Mugu. 69.

**Chatikot**

a section of the community of Srinagra, Mugu.

**Chāilā**

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 Lurku, Jumlā. 288.

**Jhulaghāt**

ghāt on the Mahākāli River between Baitādi and Pitoragarh, Baitādi/India. 159.

**Jhyāgar Kholā**

river valley between Dillikot and the Tila Nadi, Kālikot. 272, 285.

**Thinke Lagna**

pass between Dillikot and the Tila Nadi near the village of Chilkāyā, Kālikot. 269.

**Dhūṅge Dhārā**

spring and village of  
the same name northeast  
of Mangri in the valley  
of the Mugu Karnāli,  
Mugu.  
59.

**Tusāre Kholā**

a river which flows  
into the Sijā Kholā  
southwest of Barki,  
Jumlā.  
263

**Dāuro River (Dāuro Gār)**

a river flowing past  
the village of the same  
name and into the Mugu  
Karnāli, Mugu  
50.

**Dehārgāu**

village in the Sijā  
Kholā, Jumlā  
255

**Dhaulya Dhārā**

?  
72

**Dhobighāt**

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.

**Pādma**

a village southwest of  
Thinke Lagna, Kālikot  
271.

**Barki**

a village in the Sijā  
Kholā, Jumlā.  
255.

**Bāgre**

a cave in the valley of  
the Mugu Karnāli a few  
kilometers below the  
confluence with the  
Lāngu River, Mugu.  
42.

**Bāra Karān**

federation of 13 villages  
in Mugu  
7, 41

**Bhaisya**

narrows in the Sijā  
Kholā north of Narakot,  
Jumla.  
254

**Māluwa Phāṭak**

narrows in the Sija  
Khola opposite Lihid-  
hita, Jumla.  
248, 287.

**Mugu**

the village of Mugu,  
Mugu.  
30.

**Roili**

? the village Riusa  
south of the Mugu Kar-  
nāli, Mugu

**Lāmā Thāro**

a place above Hādsijā  
where stone-remains,  
purportedly of the old  
palace, can be found.  
91, 223.

**Simālya Lekh**

? mountain ridge between  
Dehārgāū and Odi,  
Jumla.

**Simpāte**

a village in the Sijā  
Kholā, Jumla.

**Siyālakoṭhā**

? village on the upper  
reaches of the Sijā  
Kholā, Jumla.  
203.

**Sirāni Swādā**

stretch of meadow above  
Dalphu in the valley of  
the Lāngu River, Mugu.  
39.

**Hādsijā**

a village in the Sijā  
Kholā, Jumla.

**Hūre Kholā**

a cave in the Sijā  
Kholā above the village  
of Simpāte and opposite  
Hādsijā, Jumla.  
199.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**CAMPBELL, James Gabriel**

- 1978 *Consultations with Himalayan Gods: A study of Oracular Religion and Alternative Values in Hindu Jumla.*  
Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.

**GABORIEAU, Marc**

- 1969 'Note Preliminaire Sur Le Dieu Maṣṭā.' in: *Objects et Mondes*, Tome IX, Fasc. 1, p. 19-50.  
Paris

- 1976 'Preliminary Report on the God Maṣṭā:  
in : Hitchcock, J.T./R.L. Jones (eds.) - *Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalays*, p. 217 - 243.  
Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd.

**GOLDSTEIN, M.C. (ed.)**

- 1978 *Tibetan - English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*  
Bibliotheka Himalayica II, 7.  
Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar.

**JÄSCHKE, H.A.**

- 1975 *A Tibetan - English Dictionary (repr.)*  
Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas

**OPPITZ, Michael**

- 1983 'The Wild Boar and the Plough - Origin stories of the northern Magar,  
' in: *Kailash* X, 3-4 (1983), p. 187 - 226.

**SHARMA, P.R.**

- 1974 'The Divinities of the Karnāli Basin in Western Nepal;  
in: Führer-Haimendorf, Chr. v. (ed.) - *The Anthropology of Nepal.*  
Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd.

**TURNER, R.L.**

- 1980 *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language* (repr.) New Delhi: Allied Publishers.

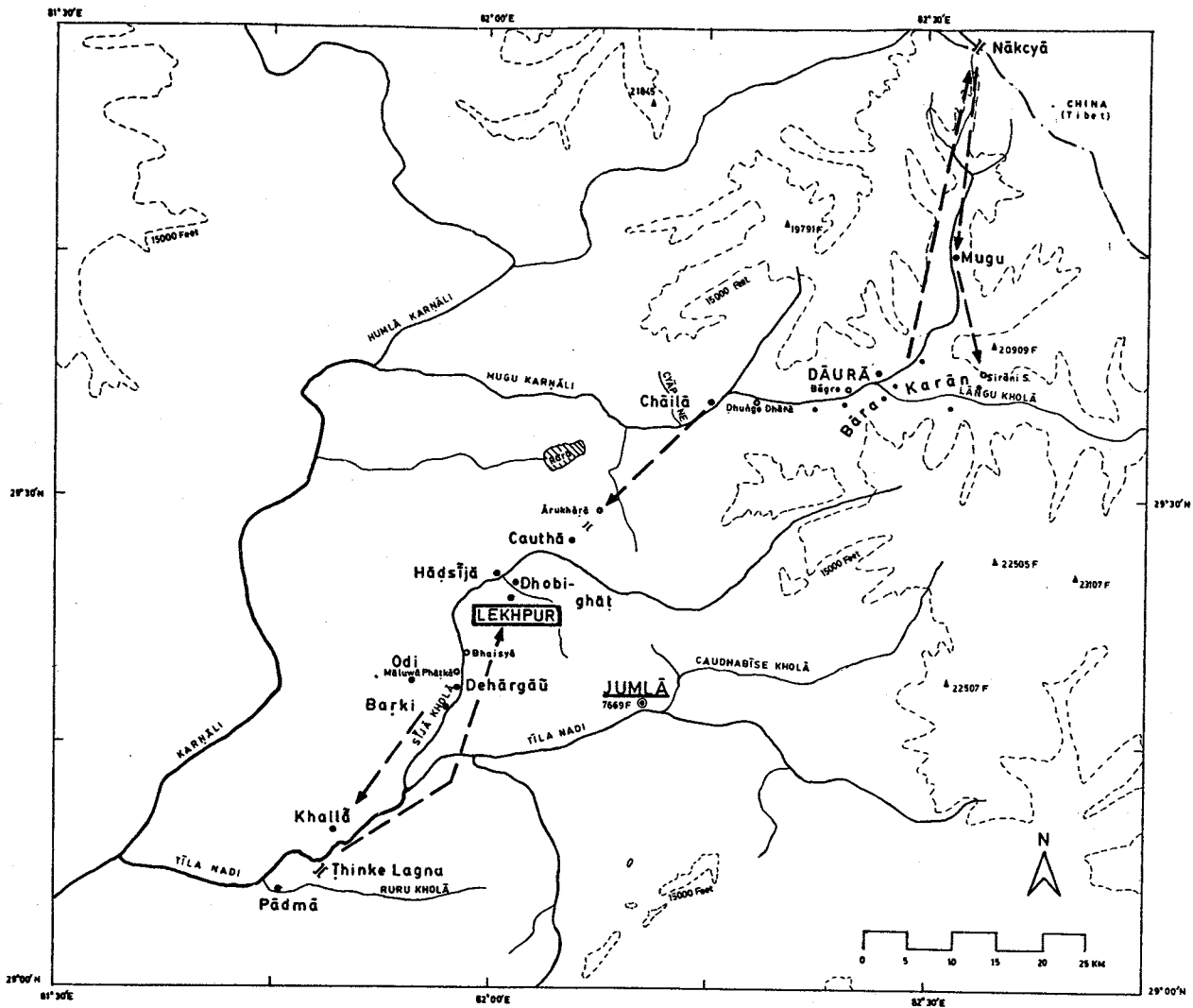


PLATE I.  
 The journey of Lāmā as related in his parheli -starting from Dāura via Tibet down to Sijā, then Pādmā and back to Lehpur.

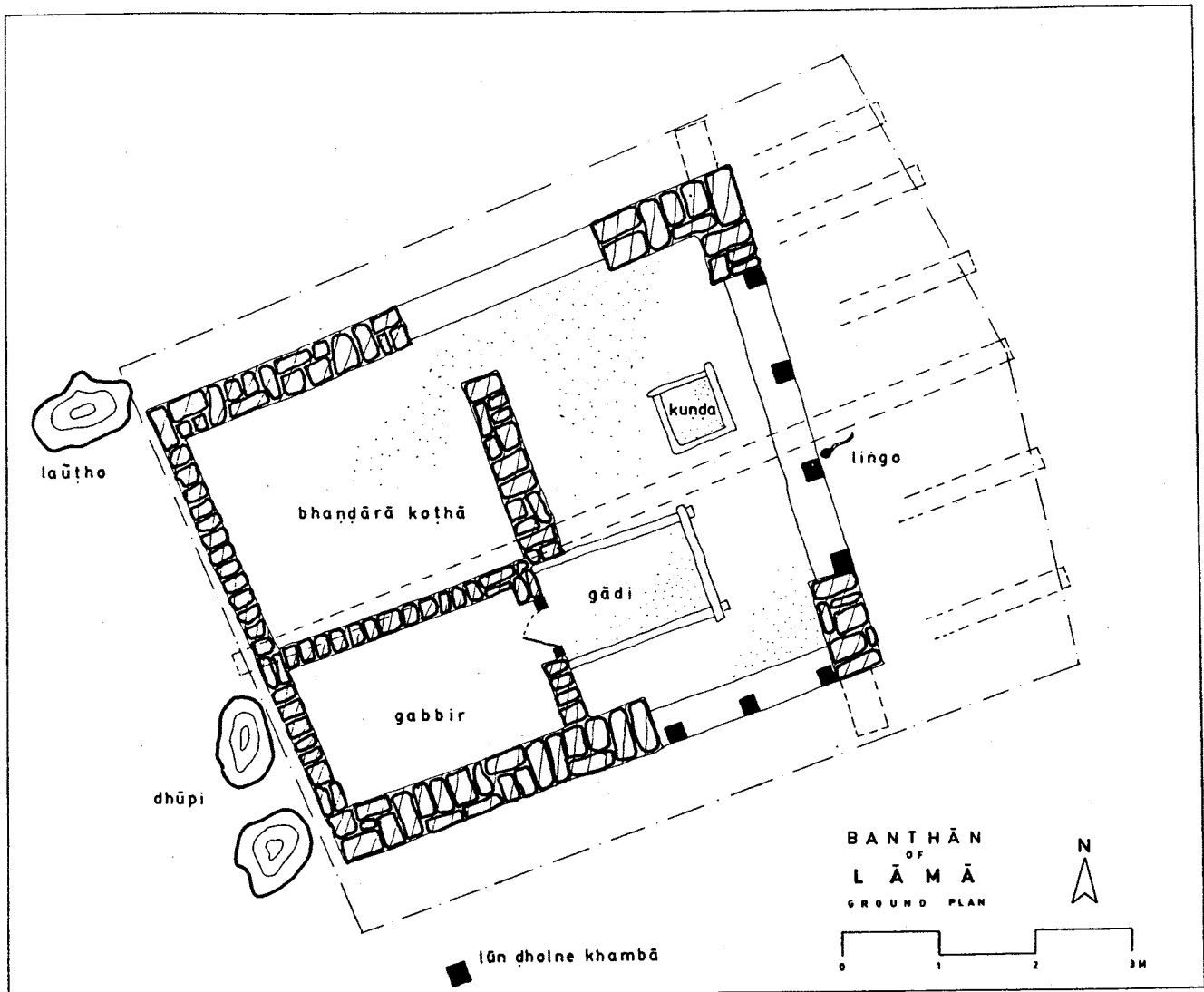


PLATE II.  
Banthān of Lāmā close to the village of Lekhpur.



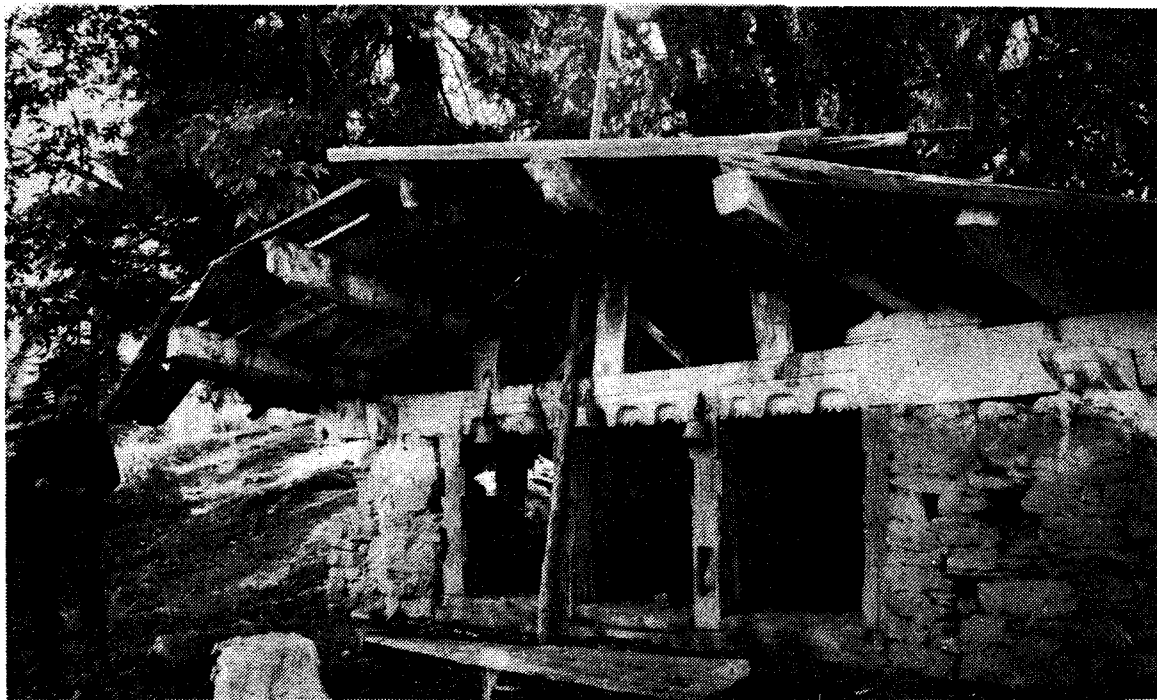
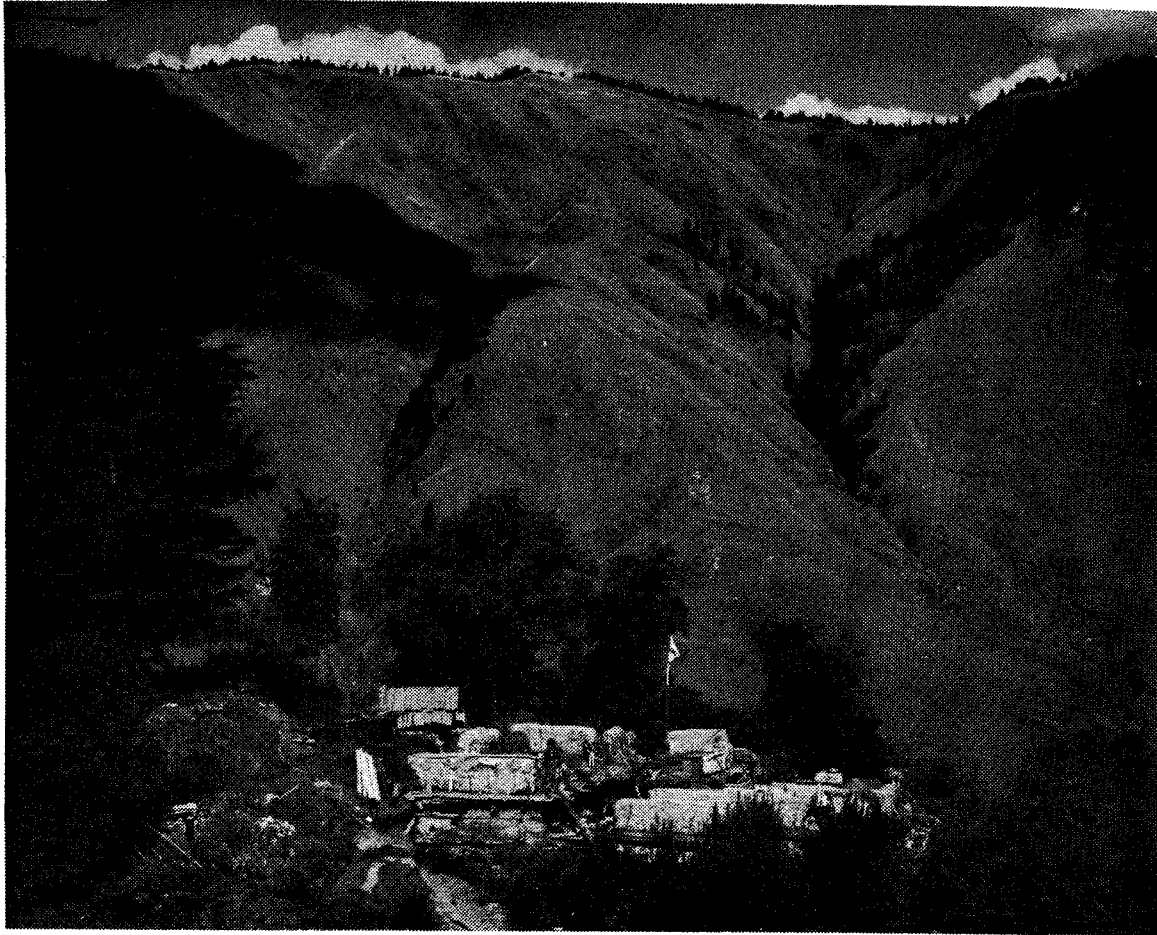
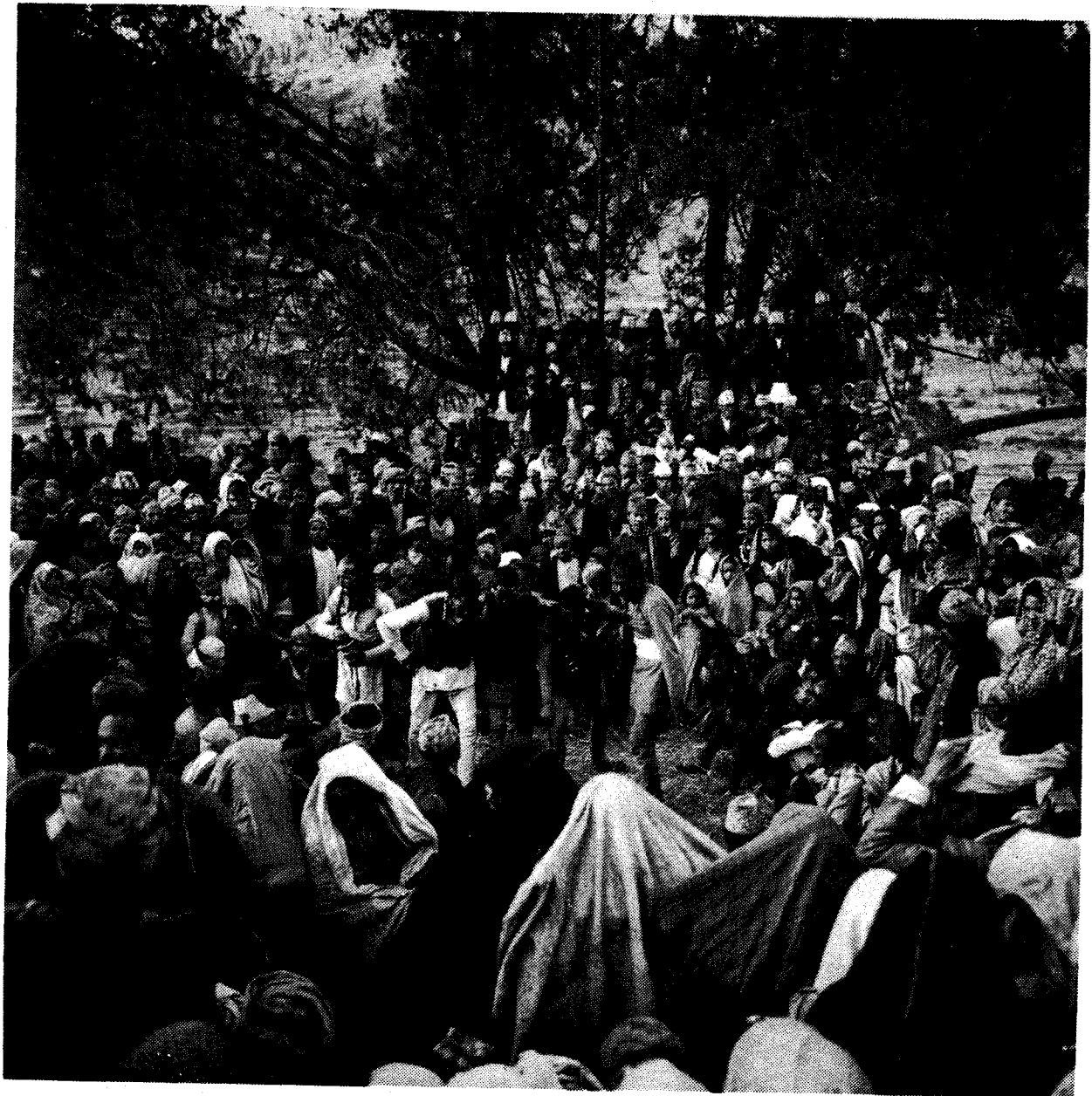


PLATE III. Lekhpur, October 1983

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.