A LAY MI, SHI JAW NE CAI, VE: A LAHU NYI (RED LAHU) RITE TO PROPITIATE THE RAINBOW SPIRIT

Lahu text with brief ethnographic commentary

by

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The text given below with its ethnographic background belongs to a community of Lahu Nyi ("Red Lahu") people in the hills above the Phrao Valley in Chiang Mai Province, Thailand1. It is part of a great body of religious poetry, some of which the author was privileged to record during his studies among those people. Other ritual texts have been published by the author in this and other journals (please see references appended to the article).

Background

The A la mi, shi jaw ne or Rainbow Spirit (a la mi, shi jaw: "rainbow", ne: "spirit") is one of a number of supernaturals which Lahu associate with natural phenomena. Others include Lightning, Sun and Whirlwind Spirits. The Lahu Nyi villagers believe that these spirits, if offended (however unwittingly), can bring sickness to them. Frequently a spirit is associated with a specific ailment, so that when specific physical symptoms appear, a villager has little doubt as to the identity of the supernatural which is troubling him. Thus the Sun Spirit (cf. Walker 1976c) causes a sharp pain in the head, and the Lightning Spirit (cf. Walker 1977e), a swelling of the hands and feet together with itchiness of the skin. The ailment particularly associated with the Rainbow Spirit is a jaundiced complexion². J.H. Telford (1937: 157), for many years a

A preliminary ethnography of that community can be found in Walker 1970b.
 For an introduction to the Lahu ethnic group as a whole, see Walker 1975a and 1975b. A brief account of life in a Lahu Nyi village is given in Walker 1975c.

²⁾ As one Lahu put it to me: "A la mi, shi jaw ne che, leh aw, sha ka, shi -eh k'ai ve yo," ("the Rainbow Spirit bites and one's flesh becomes yellow").

medical missionary among Lahu in the former Shan state of Kengtung (currently part of the Burmese Federated Shan States), mentions fever, loss of appetite and abdominal swellings as related symptoms. My own Lahu Nyi informants failed to mention these, but that may be simply because--so they claim--nobody ever suffers from an attack of the Rainbow Spirit nowadays. Certainly the accompanying propitiatory rite seems never to have been performed in the village I studied, although one of the elders still remembers the prayer and associated actions which he told me he had learned from an old spirit specialist, long since dead. Just why a particular spirit ceases to be regarded as dangerous, and why the relevant propitiatory or exorcistic rite falls into disuse and is eventually forgotten, I do not know. It is curious that the Lahu Nyi villagers I studied continue to regard the Lightning and Sun Spirits as sources of affliction, and so regularly propitiate them, whereas they never accredit sickness to the Rainbow Spirit.

The following notes on the nature of this supernatural and the rite for his propitiation, including the text of the prayer to be chanted, are based on the memories of one old man. But the fairly close correspondence between what I learned from this man, and what Telford wrote about the Rainbow S irit in 1937, indicate that my informant was not "inventing" the details of a forgotten rite simply to satisfy the curiosity of the resident anthropologist. And that has encouraged me to present his data so that they will not be lost forever.

A villager suffering from the symptoms associated with an attack by the Rainbow Spirit would hasten to consult a spirit specialist familiar with the propitiatory rite. The specialist would normally make a small charge for his services, either in cash or in kind. Frequently the fee would be opium, since most Lahu spirit specialists are addicted to the drug. (Who but an opium addict, Lahu say, would dare make a regular practice of dealing with spirits!)

The Rainbow Spirit is said to dwell in mud. It is necessary, therefore, to propitiate him at some muddy spot. My informant mentioned in particular the soggy earth found near clumps of wild banana

trees. Telford (1937:197) notes that among the Lahu he knew the rite had to be performed "by a lakeside or pond". My informant said that at the chosen muddy spot, the officiating specialist had to erect an offering post known as a sho" lo". The post, about 1.5 metres high, was deeply cleft with two small sticks (each some 20 centimetres long), inserted to keep the split open (see figure 1). In the cleft, above the crossed sticks, was placed a leaf cup called u cu lu, into which were placed offerings for the spirit: a pair of beeswax candles and some raw grains of paddy. Besides the sho' lo', the specialist must make two leh-o-3 from strips of bamboo (see figure 2). Normally the leh-oare used as devices to prevent the entry of spirits into a place, or as signs to warn strangers not to enter the village area. Here, however, they were clearly offerings for the Rainbow Spirit, and are stated to be such in the specialist's prayer (see verse I of text below). To each leh -o the specialist tied three coloured lengths of thread (red, black and yellow), and a piece of red cloth. Then he fastened a strip of white paper to the top of each of four small bamboo sticks, creating little flags known as ca, ca, which he placed in the two leh -o. Finally the specialist tied the decorated leh -o to the offering post. His preparations were thus complete, and he could begin the propitiatory prayer.

³⁾ The Lahu word leh -o comes from the Northern Thai (and Shan) ta-leo, Central Thai cha-leo, McFarland (1941 s.v. cha-leo) describes the Thai cha-leo as "a device made by folding and crossing thin bamboo strips to the shape of two equilateral triangles, so interlaced as to form a six-pointed figure, having open spaces between the slats . . . This chaleo design is ancient and well known. It serves many purposes . . ." Two purposes that McFarland mentions, "a charm to keep off evil spirits" and "a boundary mark" are identical with those of the Lahu leh -o. Davis (1974:3) translates the N. Thai "taa laew" as "hawk's eye", and cites the Lannathai Chronicle, a folk history of north Thailand in which a myth is presented to explain the origin of this symbol. A legendary king enlisted the help of hawks to keep animals out of his subjects' fields but when the hawks were wiped out through the anger of certain spirits, the king "decreed that all the people should plait strips of bamboo in the form of an eye, tie the eye to the end of a pole, and place the pole in their fields, saying at the same time, 'May the hawk watch over my fields!' The people have followed the custom ever since." (Davis 1974:4)

Telford's (1937:157) description of the offerings for the spirit shows a similar use of coloured cloth, but not of thread. Moreover, his account indicates a closer symbolic fit between the offerings and the Rainbow Spirit than does my informant's description. Telford writes: "... two bamboos are prepared and bent to represent rainbows. White and red cloth are twisted around one arch of bamboo and red and green cloth around the other. Rice mixed with salt ... [is] taken by the Seer [spirit specialist] to the place of the offering ..."

Telford also mentions that the specialist takes his client's turban along with him, "and when the ceremony is over the turban is returned to the patient and he is expected to recover". I heard nothing of such a practice from my Lahu Nyi informant, but it is possible that he had forgotten some details since the rite had fallen into disuse.

The text

The prayer associated with the propitiation of the Rainbow Spirit is given below in three stages. First is a formal transcription using the standard Lahu orthography, developed by American Baptist missionaries working in Burma and China⁴. In that orthography each syllable is written separately, followed by its own tone mark⁵. Secondly, a "working translation" follows, comprising as near as possible a word-by-word translation from Lahu into English. Tone marks (easily found by reference to the formal transcription) are omitted and hyphens are used to join syllables into words. Finally, the prayer is formally translated into English. In this and in the initial transcription the text is broken into stanzas in order to facilitate cross-reference; the Lahu themselves recognize no such breaks.

⁴⁾ For information on this orthography, see Telford and Saya David (1938) and Matisoff (1970). The most complete study extant of the Lahu language is Matisoff (1973).

Identification of marks for the seven tones of Lahu can be found in my earlier Lahu text articles in this journal.

FORMAL TRANSCRIPTION

- 1. O, O! Ya, nyi yo, law le' k'o' k'o, a la' mi, shi jaw ne' chi yo, law le' k'o' k'o, leh o te' ceh leh hkeh nyi hkeh na' chi ve yo, law le' k'o' k'o, neh chi daw' a' paw, ga' a' paw ve yo, law le' k'o' k'o, a la' mi, shi jaw ne' chi ve yo, law le' k'o' k'o.
- Ya, nyi, a, A pa Sha ca^ k'aw, shu leh no g'a mvuh naw k'aw hto k'aw ca, hk'o hta, mvuh ka mi, ka teh ve yo, law le k'o k'o.
- 3. K'aw, shu leh no' mvuh' nyi tcuh u hk'o' hta, k'aw, teh leh ha pa tcuh u hk'o' hta, ha pa hkui ka, k'aw, teh leh mvuh' law k'aw' hto' hk'o' hta, k'aw, shu leh no' mvuh' naw G'ui, sha meu' ti, meu' keh u hta, mvuh' naw k'aw' hto' u hta, k'aw, teh ve yo, law le' k'o' k'o, neh chi hkui ka, ta' g'aw pi', neh chi la, ka, ta' g'aw pi'.
- 4. Ya, nyi tan_ o' k'ai ve yo, law le' k'o' k'o, hkaw leh naw, hkui hk'aw ga, -o, hkaw leh naw, la, hk'aw ga, -o.
- 5. A, naw, ne' chi yo, law le' k'o' k'o, k'aw, shu leh no' lo mvuh' naw k'aw' hto' hk'o' hta, mvuh' nyi k'aw' hto' hk'o' hta, ha pa k'aw' hto' hk'o' hta, no' mo, hpu mo, na' ka_ aw_ k'aw, teh pi', o', o'!, hkaw' yo.

WORKING TRANSLATION

- 1. 0, 0/: Oh!
- 2. ya-nyi: today
- yo law le k'o k'o, a phrase with no meaning, used for sound effect only (Lahu say "na sha ve": "good to hear/listen to"); yo by itself means "yes"
- 4. a-la-mi-shi-jaw: rainbow
- 5. ne: spirit
- 6. chi: this
- 7. yo law le k'o k'o (see item 3 above)

- 8. leh-o: a figure or device woven of bamboo strips (see footnote 3)
- 9. te: one
- 10. ceh: pair
- 11. leh: and
- 12. hkeh: thread
- 13. nvi: red
- 14. hkeh na: black thread
- 15. chi ve: this
- 16. yo law le k'o k'o (see item 3 above)
- 17. neh: woman
- 18. chi: this
- 19. daw: think
- 20. a: not
- 21. paw: penetrate
- 22. ga: think (daw-ve ga-ve is a couplet meaning "to think")
- 23. a paw-ve: not penetrate; items 19-23 constitute a poetic couplet
- 24. yo law le k'o k'o (see item 3 above)
- 25. a-la-mi-shi-jaw ne: rainbow spirit
- 26. chi-ve: this
- 27. yo law le k'o k'o (see item 3 above)

- 28. ya-nyi: today
- 29. a: ah!
- 30. a-pa: father
- 31. Sha-ca, proper name; A-pa Sha-ca here refers to the supreme Lahu supernatural, G'ui, sha, although Sha-ca is also the name of an important Lahu culture hero
- 32. k'aw: once again
- 33. shu: take back
- 34. leh: and
- 35. no-g'a: up there
- 36. mvuh-naw: heavens
- 37. k'aw hto k'aw ca (couplet): nine (k'aw) layers/storeys
- 38. hk'o-hta: on/into

- 39. mvuh ka mi ka (couplet): between the heaven and the earth (heaven: mvuh-naw-ma; earth: mvuh-mi; between: ka)
- 40. teh-ve: put
- 41. yo law le k'o k'o (see item 3 above)

- 42. k'aw shu: once again take back
- 43. leh: and
- 44. no: up there
- 45. mvuh-nyi: sun
- 46. tcuh-u: market
- 47. hk'o-hta: in
- 48. k'aw teh: once again put
- 49. leh: and
- 50. ha-pa: moon
- 51. tcuh: market
- 52. u-hk'o-hta: in
- 53. ha-pa: moon
- 54. hkui: feet
- 55. ka: between
- 56. k'aw teh leh: once again put and
- 57. mvuh-law: heavens
- 58. k'aw hto: nine storeys/layers
- 59. hk'o-hta: on/in
- 60. k'aw shu leh: once again take back and
- 61. no: up there
- 62. mvuh-naw: heaven
- 63. G'ui-sha, proper name: the supreme Lahu supernatural
- 64. meu ti meu keh (couplet): eternal country (meu: country, from Shan/Thai muang)
- 65. u-hta: in
- 66. mvuh-naw: heavens
- 67. k'aw hto: nine layers/storeys
- 68. u-hta: in/on
- 69. k'aw teh-ve: once again put

- 70. yo law le k'o k'o (see item 3 above)
- 71. neh chi: this woman
- 72. hkui ka: between the feet
- 73. ta: do not
- 74. g'aw: cut
- 75. pi: give
- 76. neh chi la ka ta g'aw pi: do not cut this woman between the hands (cf. 71-5; la: hands)

Verse 4

- 77. ya-nyi: today
- 78. tan o k'ai ve: and hereafter
- 79. yo law le k'o k'o (see item 3 above)
- 80. hkaw leh: apologize and
- 81. naw: your
- 82. hkui: feet
- 83. hk'aw: into
- 84. ga-o: reach
- 85. hkaw leh naw la hk'aw ga-o: apologize and reach into your hands (cf. items 80-84)

- 86. a:oh!
- 87. naw: you
- 88. ne: spirit
- 89. chi: this
- 90. yo law le k'o k'o (see item 3 above)
- 91. k'aw shu leh: once again take back and
- 92. no-lo: up there
- 93. mvuh-naw: heavens
- 94. k'aw hto: nine layers/storeys
- 95. hk'o-hta: in

- 96. mvuh-nyi k'aw hto hk'o-hta: in the nine layers of the sun (cf. items 93-5; mvuh-nyi: sun)
- 97. ha-pa k'aw hto hk'o-hta: in the nine layers of the moon (cf. items 93-6)
- 98. no: up there
- 99. mo: clouds
- 100. hpu: white
- 101. mo na: black clouds
- 102. ka-aw: between
- 103. k'aw teh pi : once again put
- 104. o, o!: oh, oh!
- 105. hkaw: apologize
- 106. yo: yes

FORMAL TRANSLATION⁶

- Oh!, oh!, today [I make offerings to]⁷ this Rainbow Spirit, [I give] one pair of leh -o -, [I give] red thread and black thread; this woman cannot think clearly, [she has fallen victim to] this Rainbow Spirit.
- Today, oh Father Sha ca⁸, once again take back [this spirit] and put it up there in the nine heavens¹⁰, between the heavens and the earth.
- 6) The language of Lahu Nyi prayers is very different from that of everyday speech. It makes use of a number of poetic devices such as rhyming couplets, elaborate metaphors, and certain set phrases (e.g. "yo, law le k'o k'o") which have no translatable meaning but are repeated simply because they are "good to hear". Poetry such as this is difficult to render into English without losing much of the original flavour, but I have tried to keep as close to the Lahu words as possible.
- 7) Bracketed words do not appear, but are implied, in the original Lahu.
- 8) Here "Father Sha ca" refers (so my informant maintained) to the supreme supernatural of the Lahu people, G'ui, sha. More commonly it is the name of a Lahu culture hero who achieved access to G'ui, sha's heaven without dying.
- 9) In most Lahu Nyi spirit-propitiation rites (cf. Walker 1976d, 1976f), the prayers are directed to the spirit concerned, asking it to remove the affliction it has brought. Here the prayer is directed instead to "Father Sha ca" (see footnote 8) and, as can be seen from verse 5, he is asked to take back the Rainbow Spirit itself.
- 10) According to Lahu cosmological ideas (derived from their Buddhist neighbours) there are many heavens, but the particular numeral "nine" in this prayer is used for poetic effect alone: "na sha ve" ("good to listen to") as Lahu say.

- 3. Once again take back [this Rainbow Spirit] and put it up there in the sun market, put it up there in the moon market¹¹; once again put it between the feet of the moon; take it back to the nine heavens, put it in the nine heavens, take it back and put it in G'ui, sha's eternal country, again put it in the nine heavens; do not cut the feet of this woman, do not cut the hands of this woman¹².
- 4. Today and hereafter, I beg your forgiveness and reach into your feet, I beg your forgiveness and reach into your hands¹³.
- 5. Take back this your spirit and put it in the nine heavens, put it in the nine suns, put it in the nine moons, put it between the white clouds and the black clouds up there; oh, I beg your forgiveness.

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- 11) The use of "sun market" and "moon market" is again, according to my informant, only for poetic effect. The words are not supposed to suggest a Lahu cosmological belief.
- 12) "Feet of this woman, hands of this woman" constitutes a poetic couplet which does not indicate the location of the Rainbow Spirit's attack.
- 13) The couplet "I reach into your feet, I reach into your hands" conveys the idea of humbly bowing down before a superior to present offerings to him in the hope of receiving some boon in return.

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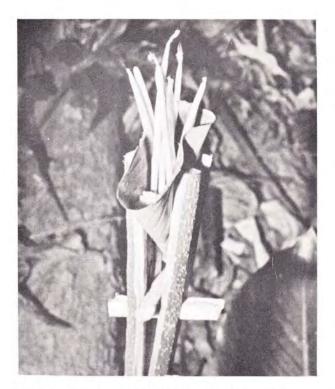


Figure 1. A leaf cup ($u^-cu_lu^*$) containing rice grains and beeswax candles, on top of an offering post (sho^*lo^*).

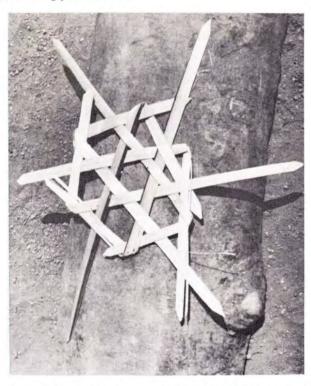


Figure 2. A leh -- o-, woven of bamboo, approximately 30 centimetres long.

