A LAHU NYI (RED LAHU) RITE TO PROPITIATE THE RAINBOW SPIRIT

Lahu text with brief ethnographic commentary

by

Anthony R. Walker

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, Thailand. 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 Labu 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 1977c), a swelling of the hands and feet together with itchiness of the skin. The ailment particularly associated with the Rainbow Spirit is a jaundiced complexion. J.H. Telford (1937 : 157), for many years a

1) A preliminary ethography 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 shi-kay shi-eh hai ve' yov" ("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 Spirit 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.
rites to propitiate the rainbow spirit

Telford (1937:197) notes that among the Lahu, 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*-* from strips of bamboo (see figure 2). Normally the *leh*-o*-* are 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 1 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*-len. 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 *cha*-leo 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 "*tau* laew" as "hawk's eye", and cites the Lanathanai 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 China. In that orthography each syllable is written separately, followed by its own tone mark. 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).

5) Identification of marks for the seven tones of Lahu can be found in my earlier Lahu text articles in this journal.
RITE TO PROPITIATE THE RAINBOW SPIRIT

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 kkeh nyi kkeh 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.

2. Ya, nyi, a, A pa Sha-- ca' k'aw_ shu leh no' g'a mvuh' naw k'aw' hto' k'aw' ca_ hko' hta_ mvue' ka_ m_ ka_ teh ve yo, law le' k'o' k'o.

3. K'aw_ shu leh no' mvuh' nyi tcuh u-- hko' hta_ k'aw_ teh leh ha pa tcuh u-- hko' hta_ ha pa bkui ka_ k'aw_ teh leh mvuh' law k'aw' hto' hko' hta_ k'aw_ shu leh no' mvuh' naw G'ui_ sha meu' ti, meu' kch_ u-- hta_ mvue' naw k'aw' hto' u-- hta_ k'aw_ teh ve yo, law le' k'o' k'o, neh chi bkui 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 hko' aw ga_ --o, hkaw' leh naw_ la_ hko' 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' hko' hta_, mvue' nyi k'aw' hto' hko' hta_, ha pa k'aw' hto' hko' hta_, no' mo_ hpu mo_ na% ka_ aw_ k'aw_ teh pi', o--, o--!, hkaw' yo_.

WORKING TRANSLATION

Verse 1

1. O, O!: Oh!

2. ya-nyi: today

3. 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. *nyi*: 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)

**Verse 2**

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
38. *hk'o-hra*: 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)

**Verse 3**

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/floor
60. *k'aw shu teh*: 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/floor
69. *k'aw teh-ve*: once again put
70. *yo law le k'о 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. *pt*: give
76. *neh chi la ka ta g'aw pt*: 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)

Verse 5
86. *а*: 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
RITE TO PROPITIATE THE RAINBOW SPIRIT

96. mvuh-nyi k'aw hto kk'o-h'ta : in the nine layers of the sun (cf. items 93-5; mvuh-nyi : sun)
97. ha-pa k'aw hto kk'o-h'ta : 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 TRANSLATION

1. Oh!, oh!, today [I make offerings to] 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.

2. Today, oh Father Sha''ca'', once again take back [this spirit] and put it up there in the nine heavens, 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. "yov law la' 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 market; 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 woman.

4. Today and hereafter, I beg your forgiveness and reach into your feet, I beg your forgiveness and reach into your hands.

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.

REFERENCES


McFarland, George Bradley 1941 Thai-English Dictionary (Bangkok, Bangkok Times Press)


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.
RITE TO PROPITIATE THE RAINBOW SPIRIT


1970b Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu) Village Society and Economy in North Thailand (Chiang Mai, Tribal Research Centre). 2 vols. (mimeo)

1972a "Blessing feasts and ancestor propitiation among the Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu)", JSS, vol. LX pt. 1, pp. 345-73

1972b "Aw Ha Hku Ve: The Lahu Nyi rite for the recall of a wandering soul", J. Royal Asiatic Soc., 1972 part 1, pp. 16-29


1974c "Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu) tests of innocence : Ethnographic notes and Lahu texts", Acta Orientalia, XXXVI, pp. 209-224

1975a "The Lahu of the Yunnan-Indochina borderlands: An introduction", Folk, XVI-XVII, pp. 329-44


1976a "Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu) New Year texts-III", JSS vol. LXIV pt. 1, pp. 139-50

1976b "Jaw Te Meh Jawe Ve : Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu) rites of spirit exorcism in north Thailand", Anthropes, LXXI part 2, pp. 377-422

1976c "M'nh N'g Cai Ve, a Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu) rite to propitiate the Sun Spirit : Ethnographic notes and Lahu texts", Acta Ethnog. Acad. Sci. Hungaricae, XXV, pp. 166-70

1976d "A Lahu Nyi (Red Lahu) prayer at childbirth: Lahu text and brief ethnographic note", JSS, vol. LXIV pt. 2, pp. 139-50


1977a “Propitiating the House Spirit among the Lahu Nyi (Red Labu) of northern Thailand: Three Lahu texts with an ethnographic introduction”, *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica* (forthcoming)


1977c “Lahu Nyi (Red Labu) rites to propitiate the Hill Spirit: Ethnographic notes and Lahu texts”, *Asiatische Studien* (forthcoming)

1977d “Law, Ne' Cai, Ve, a Lahu Nyi (Red Labu) rite to propitiate the Water Spirit”, *Baessler-Archiv*, XXIV (forthcoming)


1968a “Lahu Nyi (Red Labu) farming rites”, *Anthropos*, LXXIII (forthcoming)

1978b “Lahu Nyi (Red Labu) funerary chants: Two Lahu texts with a brief ethnographic introduction”, *J. Royal Asiatic Soc.* (forthcoming)

1978e “Lahu Nyi (Red Labu) purificatory rite: Two Lahu texts and an ethnographic background”, *Acta Orientalia*, XXXIX (forthcoming)
Figure 1. A leaf cup (a' - cu - lue) containing rice grains and beeswax candles, on top of an offering post (sho' lo').

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