

THE SUPERNATURAL ELEMENT IN SICKNESS AND DEATH ACCORDING TO MONGOL TRADITION

PART I

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When a few years ago Professor Heissig and the author were examining and cataloguing the Mongol books in the Grønbech collection of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, it fell to my lot to describe a number of manuscripts which for the purpose of preliminary classification had been grouped under the general heading of "Astrology and Divination". Since then I have come across, in other libraries, several more manuscripts which are similar in content to those I had seen in Copenhagen,¹ so that the existence in Europe of a considerable store of Mongol manuscripts concerning astrological and magical practises (the term magic is necessarily used in an imprecise way here) can be affirmed. While it is not hard, for bibliographical ends, to group manuscripts under such a general heading, the manifold human activities which are touched upon in these books make a total description of this diffuse material a task of considerable complexity and difficulty, and it soon became clear to me that the classification "Astrology and Divination" was quite inadequate. Processes of divination, such as scapulimancy, coin-tossing, counting-out, and so on, can be isolated and described, and their

¹ The material used in this article is to be found principally in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, the Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm (see Pentti Aalto: *A Catalogue of the Hedin Collection of Mongolian Literature*, Stockholm, 1953), the University Library, Louvain (see W. Heissig: *The Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Belgian Scheut Mission*, Central Asiatic Journal, vol. III, nr. 3, pp. 161-89), and the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. The forthcoming union catalogue of Mongolian manuscripts in Germany will contain the titles of manuscripts on this subject. I should like to express my grateful thanks to all those whose kindness enabled me to examine these books, either on the spot or in photocopy, and in particular to Magister Leo Buschardt and Magister Erik Haahr in Copenhagen, Dr. G. Montell in Stockholm, the Reverend J. Mullie in Louvain, Dr. R. J. Hayes in Dublin, and Professor W. Heissig. The volume of Mongolian divination manuscripts, reproduced from books in the State Library, Ulan Bator, and announced for publication in 1959, does not seem to have appeared yet. A grant of money made to me by the Central Research Fund of the University of London enabled me to collect much of the necessary material in photographic form. I should like to express my gratitude to the University for its generosity.

applications listed.³ However, these processes are the accidentals; more detailed consideration of the substance of the books involved, that is of the types of thought, belief and activity implied in the informative as distinct from the manipulative parts of these handbooks leads one ever deeper into Mongol folk-lore and folk-religion. On the one hand the diversity of material and the laconic manner in which much of it is presented in what are frequently no more than manuals or *aides-memoire* written for a practitioner who knows the processes of his craft: on the other hand difficulties of vocabulary—the use of words in special senses and uncertainty for instance as to whether a process mentioned in one text is to be equated with one named in slightly different wording in another—complicate the task of anyone who attempts to study this subject from the literary sources alone, as a stranger to the realities of the culture concerned. Moreover, although all the manuscripts involved are in Mongol, it is evident that some of them have Tibetan equivalents. This appeared intrinsically likely to me from the vocabulary employed, and was made more apparent by actual references to Tibetan sources, principally to the *Vaiḍūrya dkar po*. Confirmation was provided by the lucky discovery in the Chester Beatty, Dublin, of a manuscript written entirely in Tibetan, and dealing with divination by means of nine coins, the text of which was familiar to me from a manuscript in Mongol in the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Indeed, in reading these manuscripts, one is frequently in doubt as to how far the world which appears from them is a genuinely Mongol and practically experienced one, and to what extent these texts may be translations or adaptations from other languages and may represent a literary tradition only, to be made use of in his own way by the practitioner concerned. At one time one is reminded irresistibly of accounts of shamanist practises in Siberia, at another the practises noted among the Lepchas of Sikkim are brought to mind. It is these similarities of ritual action—the expulsion of scape-goats, the nourishing of animal skulls (if the placing of foodstuffs inside the mouths of skulls is to be so interpreted), the erection of thread crosses, and so on—which seem to me to be of more significance and to demand greater attention than the ever-present use of what one might term “enumerative systems” apparently adopted from foreign cultures. However, the use of these enumerative systems as frameworks for classification of occurrences, that is such systems as the nine *mengge*, the planets and asterisms, the words of the prayer *Om ma ni pad me hum*, the eight trigrams, the animals of the twelve-year cycle, and so on, do illustrate more immediately how much Mongol folk-religion owes to its neighbours.

³For a preliminary account see C. R. Bawden: *Astrologie und Divination bei den Mongolen—die schriftlichen Quellen*, Z.D.M.G., vol. 108, nr. 2, 1958, pp. 317–37. See also C. R. Bawden: *On the Practice of Scapulimancy among the Mongols*, C.A.J., vol. IV, nr. 1, pp. 1–31.

In this uncertainty, then, it is well to keep in mind the warnings voiced by the Buriat scholar Garma Sanjeev against making generalizations about Buriat shamanism without having had first hand experience of life among the Buriats.⁴ It will be my intention in the following pages not so much to try to generalize and explain, as to attempt to extract and comment upon information concerning the non-medical treatment of sickness, and the treatment of the dead, as far as it can be done on the basis of the manuscripts at my disposal. I hope that others with first-hand experience may show how these texts are to be interpreted within the context of Mongol life.

Judging entirely from literary evidence it appears that folk medicine and formal medicine have long existed side by side in Mongolia, where the introduction of a sophisticated science and culture was, as is indeed generally the rule, not followed by the immediate disappearance of popular native beliefs. Folk-remedies, in so far as they make use of herbs and other such materials, rather than magical practices, seem to go no further than a simple exposition in the most general terms of the symptoms of the complaint, followed by the recommendation of an equally uncomplicated course of action, perhaps rendered difficult of performance solely by the rarity of the ingredients required. The simples proposed may happen to be medically effective, or there may appear to be some element of sympathetic magic involved, or their common characteristic may be, to all intents and purposes, their disgusting nature. Such a brief analysis as this can, however, be nothing more than a superficial classification, which leaves untouched the question of the origins of the concept of illness and of methods of treatment, as investigated for example by Zélénine.⁵ Many examples of the sort of folk remedy I refer to may be found in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.⁶ Thus:

“Should the throat swell and the voice get hoarse, you will get better if you boil down some large beans and drink them.

If you have a continuous bloody flux, boil down red bean flour and drink it, and this will be stanchied.

If you cannot make water, boil down corn stalks and drink (the liquid) and it will get better.

If a woman's monthly courses flow extravagantly, burn a wren's nest and drink down the ashes in three drams of brandy and they will immediately be stanchied.

If anthrax breaks out, burn the bones of a cat and smear this on, and it will get better.

⁴Garma Sandschejew: *Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten*, Anthropos, vols. 22–3, 1927–8.

⁵D. Zélénine: *Le culte des idoles en Sibérie*, Payot, Paris, 1952.

⁶*Dom kemegdekii orusiba*. Fonds mongol 158.

If a man's eye goes dark and he loses his sight, gouge out the eye of a crow and drip it on to the person's eye by pricking it with a needle and his sight will certainly recover.

If you cannot make water, pound up rock crystal and salt and drink this and you will get better.

If your teeth hurt a lot, wash them in ox's urine and they will get better.

For a burn by fire, burn some fish bones, pound them up in fat and apply them, and you will be better.

If the spines of any tree or grass are sticking into you and will not come out, spread a layer of your own hair-dirt over them and they will come out immediately.

If a man overcome by spirits is lying unconscious, scrape the hoofs of a donkey and boil up one dram of this and have him drink it down in cooled water and he will inevitably get better.

If when a woman is being delivered the child cannot emerge, burn some snake's spittle and some human hair and have her drink it down in two parts with brandy, and the child will be bound to descend. If it emerges feet first, prick the child's foot with a needle and rub a little salt on it and it will descend immediately."

Many more examples could be quoted, but these suffice to show the type of simple remedy available in the Mongol countryside for the common accidents and emergencies of every-day life. To what extent they are based on experience is irrelevant here. Even a more sophisticated, printed medical handbook such as *Eldeb čiqula kereg-tü angqan-u debter*,⁶ which is based on foreign medical lore and was published with Tibetan and Chinese inter-linear glosses to the names of diseases and medicines, lists disease and remedy in the same inexact way. However, the treatments recommended are not of the same disgusting or apparently haphazard nature as some of those recommended in the Paris manuscript, and it appears more likely that they represent a body of knowledge practically acquired within the framework of the classical system of medicine.⁷ Thus, to take two examples only:

⁶ Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, nr. 103.

⁷ Ideas of prophylaxis against disease, whether or not the method recommended was reliable, were also certainly current in Mongolia in the eighteenth century. In this same blockprint is given a recipe for preventing the excessive eruption of small-pox in children. Thirty seed of the plant *dan-da*, an ounce of cinnabar and five grains of musk should be pounded up together, and at exactly midday on the fifth of the middle month of summer should be rubbed into the fontanelle, the hollow of the stomach, the part of the back immediately opposite this, the palms of the two hands, the soles of the feet, the two elbows, the knees and the two sides of an uninoculated child until none of the ointment remains. The treatment should be repeated at midday on the seventh of the first month of autumn. Even though the pox may break out after the first application, the attack will be light. Three applications should give immunity against small-pox, and six or seven confer a wider immunity. (Fols. 6v-8r).

"If a woman's blood will not be stanchd, have her drink down a Huai-tree-flower soup. If the afterbirth delays, have her drink a soup of snake-skin.

For indigestion drink hot water."

The classical system of medicine, based on Tibetan and ultimately Indian models, was formalized in the Mongol translation of the great medical treatise in four volumes,⁸ while the learned doctors who practised are known to have composed their own manuals of diagnosis and treatment.⁹ Editions of the medical classic in manuscript and printed forms are known in the Mongol language from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, and a revised and re-edited translation in an initial printing of 7000 copies was published as recently as 1959 by the Chinese-Mongol Medical Study Office of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. From this work one typical pattern for the investigation and treatment of a disease may be formulated. The various technical headings are:

1. *siltayan*, the primary cause, divided into (i) *qola*, ultimate and (ii) *oyira*, immediate
2. *nöküčel*, the secondary cause.
3. *ilyal*, types of the disease.
4. *sinfi*, symptoms.
5. *jasagu arya*, method of treatment, subdivided into:
 - (i) *em*, medicine.
 - (ii) *jasal*, application of the treatment.
 - (iii) *idege*, food.
 - (iv) *yabudal mör*, regime, or subsequent behaviour required of the patient.

There was, however, a third distinct way of coping with personal calamities, not only with sickness, but loss of cattle and possessions, possible attack by brigands, and so on, or at least of finding out whether it was worth while trying to cope with them, namely the use of magical practices. In the application of such practices to the diagnosis and treatment of sickness the practitioners sometimes made use of the technical terminology of the official school of medicine or at least, superficially, of the sample methodology just outlined, giving their handbooks the appearance of a

⁸ For the full title see Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, nr. 106. Apart from complete editions, excerpted versions are also known; the chapter on the taking of the pulse from the fourth volume especially occurs alone.

⁹ For instance, a manuscript of the National Museum, Copenhagen, entitled *Darmo manramba-yin ubadis tamaya-tu jarliy-aža küčün egüskeküi arya orusiba* gives chapters from the writings of a doctor Darmo concerning the treatment of certain conditions.

rough and ready imitation of the classical patterns. It is for this reason alone that reference has been made here to the medical classic.

Speaking generally, disease was considered in the classical medical texts as a naturally occurring phenomenon, conditioned by the relationship of certain fundamental principles. The texts which deal with the diagnosis and treatment of illness by supernatural means, while utilizing some scraps of terminology from classical medicine, and following the same rough pattern of diagnosis, treatment and prognosis, make use of an entirely different body of lore. Disease is considered to be a condition brought about by external agency or influence, either by the actions of the patient himself, or by the intervention of demons of one sort or another, whether or not they have been incited to their malevolent activity by the actions of the patient.¹⁰ Death having been brought about, demons of many sorts, not only the well-known Erlig khan, are accustomed to take away the soul of the defunct.¹¹ Diagnosis in this pseudo-science has no basis in observation or examination of the patient's condition as understood in the strict medical sense, and sicknesses are classified, for the purposes of the organization of the texts, by what, objectively seen, are quite arbitrary standards. Thus disease may be diagnosed and treatment recommended on the basis of the observance of naturally occurring omens, such as the behaviour of the horse ridden by the practitioner who is going to examine the sick man, or by the observance of the behaviour of the man who comes to summon the practitioner—how he goes into the tent, and in what manner he sits down. Oracles may be deliberately consulted—dice or coins thrown, sheep's scapulae burned and examined, counters numbered off. Alternatively, diseases may be classified according to the month, day or hour in which they occur, while accidental factors in the astrological data of the day and person concerned, particularly the year in the twelve-year cycle in which the patient was born, may exert a considerable influence upon the prognostications. Sickness is indeed, as mentioned above, only one of several conditions or human activities which may be investigated by these means, and the observance of natural omens and of deliberate divination is susceptible of all sorts of application. Nor do the astrological factors exhaust their influence with death, for only men born in certain years should bury the corpses of those born in certain other years, while if the burial is carried out by

¹⁰ As this will form the subject-matter of much of the following pages, it will be sufficient to quote here one typical entry (from a manuscript entitled *Erdem-yin altan saba kemekü sudur*, H 66, Stockholm, fol. 2v.): *dörben noyuyan-du üküberü ači-tu modun oytoluyusan-ača bolba; yafar-un ejen ba luus amin-i abuba*: "If death occurs under four, green, it is from having cut down beneficial trees. The lords of the earth and the *luus* have taken the life."

¹¹ Many names of such demons are listed in H 66.

someone born in a specified unfavourable year disaster will follow. The time of death not only shows whether the deceased died a natural death or whether evil influences were at work, but determines where the emissaries of Erlig khan or other demons have gone with the soul, and what must be done in this event. The trigram appropriate to the occasion is of similar importance. On the action taken may even depend what sort of re-birth the dead person will enjoy.¹²

The processes of deliberate divination employed to investigate sickness seem to be simple in application and are outwardly unrelated, even by remote analogy, with the human condition involved. To judge by the frequency with which such manuscripts occur, two of the most popular methods of divination were the throwing of dice and the dropping or tossing of coins. Dice-throwing is associated with the name of the goddess Lhamo,¹³ to whose iconography belong a pair of dice,¹⁴ and also with that of Avalokiteśvara in various forms.¹⁵ Coin divination is associated with the name Kuan-yin,¹⁶ and, as are other methods of divination also, with Geser Khan.¹⁷ The processes of dice-throwing are not described in any of the manuscripts I have seen, but at least two methods are apparent. One six-sided dice may be thrown, and the lot will be indicated by either one of the numbers from one to six or one of the six syllables of the mani-prayer, which may then be looked up in the appropriate handbook. Alternatively, three dice may be used simultaneously, lots of from three to eighteen being explained in the handbook. The paragraphs of this latter manual are not

¹² See in particular H 66 and H 68 *Ükügsed-ün qara toya kemekü*. In the matter of re-birth cf. H 68, fol. 11v.: *quluyana + (+ is here a repetition sign for čay-tu ükübesü) jidker inu umara-ača irebe: čayan mori üker-eče gem bolba: naiman qonuy-un qoyina moyai-du töröyü: tegün-i qariyulqu tula nom kičiyefü ungsi: tere üledbesü: dorona jüg-tü kümün-ii töröl-yi oluy: kegür-yi čayan-iyar qučiydaqui: quluyana luu bečin jil-ten buu bari*: "If death takes place at the hour of the rat, the demons have come from the north. Harm has arisen from a white horse and ox. After eight days he will be reborn to a snake. In order to counteract this, recite the scriptures diligently. If you perform this, then he will find a human re-birth in the east. Cover the corpse with a white cover. People of the rat, dragon and monkey years should not bury (the corpse)."

¹³ Bilingual manuscript entitled *Dpal-ldan lha-mo šo-mo bzugs-so*, Chester Beatty Library, nr. 1937. The introduction to this text is in Tibetan, the explanation of the lots in Mongol.

¹⁴ Cf. A Róna Tas: *Tally-stick and Divination-dice in the Iconography of Lha-mo*, Acta Orientalia Ungarica, vol. VI, Fasc. 1-3, 1956, pp. 163-79.

¹⁵ Mss. Mong. 324, 287 and 131 of the Royal Library, Copenhagen, entitled respectively: *Qongsim bodi sadu-yin küsün-eče yaruyšan erkin čayan tölge tegüsbe* (end title); *Spyan-ras-gzigs-kyi šo mo'i bzes-bya-ba bzugs-so*; and *P'ags-pa t'ugs-rje c'en-po'i šo mig bzugs so*.

¹⁶ Blockprint *Eldeb kereg-tü qaš qayurčay nere-tü bičig* (Heissig, nr. 228) has a section with a Chinese centre-title *Kuan-yin shen k'o* 觀音神課. This section begins: *Arya yeke nigülesküi nidiün-iyer üjegči balar mungqay amitan-i tusalaqu-yin tulada sayin ba mayu yučin qoyar jül-ün tölge jokiyar*.

¹⁷ Ms. Umlauff 71732, Linden Museum, Stuttgart: *Geser qayan-u arban qoyar joyos-un tölge tegüsbe*.

arranged in ascending numerical order, as are those for use with a single die, but are set out so as to proceed roughly from the worst prognostication to the most favourable.¹⁸

Coins are used in groups of five, six, nine, ten and twelve. The five coins should be taken in the soothsayer's two palms, after he has washed himself and lighted incense-sticks, and moved around in a circular motion without being jumbled up. They should be let fall one after the other, and the pattern of successive "black" and "white", that is, the side uppermost having Manchu or Chinese lettering on it, forms one of thirty-two different lots which may then be referred to in the handbook. Although the method is not specifically described, divination with six coins is probably carried out in the same way, sixty-four combinations being produced which are equated with the hexagrams, a full line corresponding to a "white" and a broken line to a "black". Nine-coin divination is performed in a different way. One of the nine coins is marked, and then all nine are held between the palms of the hands while prayers are offered. Then they are moved about with the right hand on the palm of the left hand and allowed to fall off one by one. The moment in the series one to nine when the marked coin falls indicates the paragraph to be consulted in the handbook, where the omens are given individual names, thus:

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|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. <i>suburya</i> (or <i>sūme</i>). | stupa. |
| 2. <i>ayula</i> . | mountain. |
| 3. <i>ongyoča</i> . | boat. |
| 4. <i>arsalan</i> . | lion. |
| 5. <i>činua</i> . | wolf. |
| 6. <i>naran</i> . | sun. |
| 7. <i>keriye</i> . | crow. |
| 8. <i>sara</i> . | moon. |
| 9. <i>bumba</i> . | vase. |

In all the above methods, the actual process of dropping the coins appears essentially the same, though the way of drawing the omen is different. Yet, while divination with five coins seems to have been adopted through contact with China, the same method being illustrated in popular Chinese almanachs, to which the Mongol fortune-tellers' manual *Qas-yin qayurčay*, the present source for this method, owes so much (far more indeed than to the Taoist text *Yü hsia chi* 玉匣記 from which it takes its title), divination

¹⁸ Some technical terminology becomes clear in this text, the Chester Beatty manuscript of note 13. Prognostications are given not only for each individual throw, but for groups of three throws. These three throws are named respectively *yadayadu-yin yajar* or *yadayadu oron dayisun-u belge*; *ger-ün yajar* or *ger-ün oron otuy-un belge*; and *öber-ün yajar* or *öber-ün oron burqan-u belge*. The value of each throw may depend partly on whether it occurs first, second or third in a series, and a group of three throws has a value of its own according to the arrangement of good, bad or middling throws within it.

with nine coins has its Tibetan equivalent. Three Mongol manuscripts concerned with this method are known to me, one in Louvain and two in Copenhagen.¹⁹ Of these, only ms. Mong 325 of Copenhagen describes the actual procedure of divination, the others limiting themselves simply to the prognostications. The texts of the manuscripts, further, do not correspond except in general content. The account of the procedure as given in Mong. 325 is difficult to interpret exactly, owing to peculiarities of the language, and apparently corruptness, but by good luck the text of a Tibetan version of a similar text has been preserved in the Chester Beatty Library.²⁰ Comparison of the texts makes it possible that the Tibetan version is to be considered as representing the older tradition, and consequently that the practice of divination with nine coins may be of Tibetan rather than Mongol origin—immediately, at least. The Tibetan manuscript is fuller and more explicit than the Mongol version, though in the absence of a known connexion between the two actual manuscripts concerned this is of itself hardly decisive. The terminology, however, of the Mongol text shows Tibetan influences, while the Tibetan version contains no Mongol words. Thus under six, "sun" (Mo. *nara*, Tib. *ñi-ma*), the Mongol text recommends the performance of the "counter-magic of Čayan Sikür-tei" (*čayan sikür-tei olan doşur*).²¹ This appears to be a translation of the Tibetan equivalent *gdugs-dkar bzlog-bşgyur*. A rite called *sabday dongdol* (fol. 2v), also unregistered in Mongol dictionaries, can be identified by comparison as the Tibetan *sa-bdag gdon-grol*²² (fol. 3v), and an unregistered rite *ribsel* (fol. 3r), found elsewhere also as *gribsel* and *gribsel-ün kereg*, is identified from the Tibetan text (fol. 4r) as *gribs-sel*.²³ It does not seem possible,

¹⁹ Untitled ms. Louvain 35, listed by Heissig in *C.A.J.*, III, 3, p. 178. Mss. Mong. 325 and 35 of the Royal Library, entitled respectively *Yisün joyosu-u* (sic) *tölöge* (sic) *orusibai*; and *Yisün joyos-u sudur-a orusibai*.

²⁰ Ms. 1952, *Don-tse dgu'i so btab ts'ul bzugs-so*. The ms. is in Tibetan only except for a title *Yisün joyosu-bar bariqu tölge-ü sudur orusibai* at the end (fol. 5v.).

²¹ For the translation "counter-magic" for *bzlog-bşgyur* I rely on R. Stein: *Trente-trois fiches de divination tibétaines*, *H.J.A.S.*, vol. IV, 1939, p. 307: "*bzlog* est un genre de rite. Le terme *bzlog* ou *bzlog-t'abs* . . . désigne la contre-magie." The identity of the term *doşur* (there spelt *dijür*) with the mo. *qariyula* proposed in *C.A.J.*, vol. IV, nr. 1, p. 15, note 40 may now be taken as certain. Thus ms. Mong. 151, fol. 8r. has *čayan sikür-tei-yin qariyula* for which the similar text Mong. 324 (fol. 7v.) reads *čayan sikür-tei-yin doşuur*. Mong. 287 (fol. 10v.) has what appears to be a more general term, *čayan sikür-tei-yin kereg*, to be discussed later.

²² Possibly Tib. *gdon*, "an evil spirit" and '*grol-ba* "to be delivered", Jäschke, p. 267 and p. 102.

²³ Possibly, Tib. *grib*, "filth, defilement" and *sel-ba*, "to remove, especially impurities", Jäschke, p. 77 and p. 577. Pollution of supernatural beings is a cause of disaster, and may be neutralised by removing the pollution, one method being by washing. Thus in Chester Beatty 1937 a throw of 14 indicates that Lhamo has been polluted and thus the oath by which she is bound is broken. One's idols and amulets should be purified by washing. (14 *belge bayubasu tangyariy-tu ökin tngri bujar boluysan-ača tangyariy ebderegsen busi burqan sakiyulsun ariyulan ugiyal üiledü namančılal üiled*.) Mong. 325 has only the transcription *ribsel* and no Mongol version of the Tibetan text

however, to state from the few manuscripts at my disposal what this Tibetan element in Mongol texts really signifies, since the literati of the day would in any case have been practitioners with a Tibetan style of education, likely to have written their manuals in Tibetan or in a Mongol sprinkled with Tibetan terms.²⁴ Further, there are stylistic parallels to be observed with the metaphorical language distinguished by Heissig as characteristic of the old Mongolian language as exemplified by the thirteenth century Secret History.²⁵ The nature of this metaphorical language is that it defines abstract concepts by the use of concrete images; linguistically, such a figure of speech consists of a clause describing the action in relation to some well-known activity or state, and ending in the word *metü*, "like", followed by a verb of action. Heissig suggests that this use of comparison to express the abstract is not a peculiarity of epic style or lofty speech, but the expression of a definite early state of linguistic development, and that it disappears in Mongol as the Mongols entered a new cultural sphere and were influenced by translations from Chinese and Tibetan from the time of Qubilai onwards. The chronicles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he says, use a completely new phraseology, within which the remaining fragments of the old metaphorical style stand out as archaic. However, a similar style, making use of concrete comparisons, characterises some of the rituals composed in the eighteenth century by the lama Mergen Gegen,²⁶ and it is echoed in the Mongol manuscript on nine-coin divination under consideration: *sibayun ber uraya-a bariydaysan metü mal-dur yarulya-tai*, "with loss to cattle like a bird having been caught in a net" (fol. 3v). The Tibetan text parallels this: *bya drar c'ud pa dan 'dra p'yugs-la 'od*. The bilingual text on three-dice divination already described makes rather greater use of such figures of speech, so that its figurative language seems rather characteristic of its style than an obvious archaism. To take one example, if twelve is thrown it indicates that things will be bad especially for people born in the monkey year, "like a yellow monkey falling from a tree, like a leaf of a tree fading when detached, like a fish leaving the water"—all symbols for separation from natural or familiar surroundings.²⁷ Only

of the Chester Beatty ms. However, it is likely that in ms. Chester Beatty 1940 *Qara layan ugiyal*, fol. 6v. *bujar-i arilyaqu* represents *ribsel*. Cf. Kowalewski, p. 1023, *bujar*, Tib. gloss *grib*, and p. 147 *arilyaqu*, Tib. gloss *sel-ba*.

²⁴ Such a style is exemplified in a little book of reminiscences of an old lama, taken down in writing by Ts. Damdinsuren and published in Ulan Bator (1959) under the title *Övgön zambalyn yaria*. Zambal says of himself (p. 5) that he never learned to write Mongol well.

²⁵ W. Heissig: *Zum sprachlichen Ausdruck der altmongolischen Spruchdichtung*, Oriens Extremus, vol. II, nr. 2, 1955, pp. 206-9.

²⁶ C. R. Bawden: *Two Mongol Texts Concerning Obo-worship*, Oriens Extremus, vol. V, nr. 1, 1958, p. 41.

²⁷ Fol. 4r. *sira bečin modun-ača unaysan metü: keltereysen* (sic) *modun-u nabči qubiraysan metü: jayusun usun-ača yaraysan metü*.

familiarity with many more similar texts would permit a conclusion from stylistic evidence as to whether such a text lies in the tradition of native Mongol literature, in spite of having some introductory folios in Tibetan, or whether on the other hand this figurative language is equally characteristic of some Tibetan writing. At present the evidence seems to me to be too vague, indicating only that those who made use of the manuals were conversant with both languages and scripts, and were at home with Tibetan technical terms which had apparently been acclimatized into the Mongol language. Even an interesting mistranslation, the equivalent in Tibetan of the Mongol *ulayan qada-tai yačar* (fol. 2r., "land with red rocks") appearing as *ri-brag yod-pa'i sa* ("land with mountains and rocks"), where the difference is apparently due to a confusion between mo. *ayula* (modern pronunciation *uula*) and *ulayan* (*ulaan*), while suggesting that a mishearing of the Mongol while a translation into Tibetan was being done is more likely than the opposite, is hardly decisive evidence.

Divination by means of ten coins, associated with Geser Khan under his appellation *Boyda looye* also employs a marked coin, but the process of arriving at a lot is a different one. The names of the five colours in their masculine and feminine forms, making ten in all, are written around the edge of a circle thus: *köke* nearest the writer, and then, going towards the right, *kökečün*, *ulayan*, *ulayčün*, and so on. A coin is placed on each colour, starting with *köke*, and the name on which the marked coin falls is operative. The counting out is done twice, and the combination of two colours makes one of a hundred such combinations which can then be looked up in the handbook. Only one example of this method is known to me, a Peking lithograph,²⁸ but counting out is done within other frameworks. The names of the eight trigrams may be arranged in the eight outer squares of a nine-square diagram. In a "big month" one should count with the sun from *li* and in a "small month" backwards, also from *li*.²⁹ How the counting is to finish is not stated in this text, but a similar diagram with eight houses is given in the Louvain manuscript on nine-coin divination, where the method used is ascribed to the practitioner Basudhar of Nepal.³⁰ The eight houses are named not by the usual eight trigrams but by the syllables *gam*, *sam*, *kam*, *lam*, *bam*, *süm*, *mam*, *vam* (written in the diagram each time with anusvara, in the text with full -m in Mongol script). In the centre of the

²⁸ *Boyda looye-yin tölge*, in the private possession of Professor W. Heissig. See also B. Rintchen: *En marge du culte de Guesser Khan en Mongolie*, Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne 60, 1958, pp. 1-50.

²⁹ See ms. Mong. 301 (no title), Copenhagen, fol. 20r. The division of the year into big and small months is mentioned in ms. Mong. 326, fol. 46r.: *nigen jil-dür arban qoyar sara bolai: jiryuyan yeke bars ekilemüi: jiryuyan üčüken bečin ekilemüi*, "there are twelve months in a year: the six big months come under the tiger and the six small ones under the monkey".

³⁰ Louvain 35, fol. 4r.: *balbu-yin oron-u baysi basudhar-yin jöhiyaysan ene tölge*.

diagram appears the instruction: "For a man count sunwise from *gam*, for a woman count backwards from *vam*". Then follows a full account of the method. Seven barley corns, or else seven white stones should be taken, with one black one, and set down one after another as stated in the diagram. Where the black stone falls, look up the lot (here called *ači üre*). An alternative method is to count in the same directions, but up to the number of years of the age of the subject (a favourite numerical limitation in various situations in these texts). The process must be carried out seven times in all, providing thereby information on what disease is involved, how it was caused, what demon was concerned, what dreams will be dreamed, how it may be treated, whether the sickness will be acute or chronic, and whether it will be easy to cure.³¹

Finally, divination by means of twelve coins, also associated with Geser Khan, under that name, is known.³² How the coins are used is not explained, but presumably some method of counting out is employed, each paragraph of the handbook beginning on the pattern: *nigen noqai-dur učirbasu*, "One, if it comes on Dog".

All these series provide a systematic framework of headings within the manuals under which one may search for information about the nature, cause, treatment and prognosis of the sickness which has afflicted, or may afflict the subject, as well as about other matters. Similar headings, for use on specific occasions, are furnished by consideration of the time or the astrological moment under which the sickness has occurred. These headings seem to be independent of the more involved calculations with which a horoscope is drawn up, and which have been described by Waddell in their Tibetan form. Mongol handbooks describing similar calculations, worked out with the aid of black and white stones, are also known, but do not concern our immediate subject.³³

Thus the classification may proceed from the day of the month,³⁴ or from the day as numbered by the twelve-animal cycle.³⁵ The eight trigrams may be the moments concerned, enumerated under the Mongol forms of their Chinese names or under the names *yal*, *sirui*, *temür*, *oytaryui*, *usun*, *ayula*, *modun* and *kei*.³⁶ Whether the appropriate trigram is to be calculated by counting out or is to be taken from an almanach is not stated explicitly

³¹ Fol. 4v. *Ene tölge-yi doluyan jüil-iyer üjügülkü bui yayun ebedkü; yayun-ača siltayan boluyšan: yambar jedker: yambar jegüdüin jegüdülkü; alin-iyar tusalaqu ebečin-i qurdun udayan-i belgedükü; berke külar edegekü-lüge doluyan-iyar üjügülümüi.*

³² See note 17 above.

³³ L. A. Waddell: *The Buddhism of Tibet*. Latest reprint Cambridge, 1958, p. 458 foll. Also ms. Louvain 40 and Mong. 262, Copenhagen.

³⁴ Ms. Mong. 301, Copenhagen, and H 1191 E, Stockholm: *Ebedči-ten-i üjekü üjülge*. (This ms. is actually the continuation of H 1191 C.)

³⁵ Mong. 301 and Mong. 219: *Otači burqan-u qubilyan üjelge*.

³⁶ H 1191 C and Mong. 219. See also Waddell, p. 457, for this alternative nomenclature.

in the manuscripts, but since the names of the planets are also used as headings³⁷ the latter appears the more likely course. The nine *menge* also form a set of lots, though there is again no explicit statement as to how the particular *menge* is arrived at. In the Stockholm manuscript H 5822 the second of three sets of prognostications by means of the *menge* uses the formula *nigen čayan-a bayubasu*, "if it comes down on One, White" which, compared with the similar formula used for nine-coin divination: *nigedüger suburya bayubasu*, might imply a process of chance selection. However, the other two sections employ a different formula: *nigen čayan-a tusiyaysan kümün*, etc. How this is to be interpreted is not certain. Mo. *tusiyaqu*, "to entrust, hand over to" could only be intended here in a very specialized sense. It may be that a copyist's error for *tusuyasan*, from *tus-* "to hit upon, to fall to one's share" must be assumed. This is the word actually employed in other texts—H.68 *li-dür tusuyasan*, etc. and M.298, Copenhagen, *li-dür tusbasu*, etc. Sickness and its progress may also be classified according to the time of day during which it occurs. The only such classification I have seen distinguishes evening, midnight, after midnight, dawn, sunrise, midday and afternoon as the operative periods, described in the following terminology, where the significance of the various descriptions of Rahu does not emerge:³⁸

üdesi ?toyuna raqu-yin čay-tu
söni düli bsang raqu-yin čay-tu
söni düli-yin qoyina ?isgamba raqu-yin čay-tu
ör geyikü-yin naran raqu-yin čay-tu
naran uryuqui-du saran raqu-yin čay-tu
üde-dü ulayan nidü-tü raqu-yin čay-tu
üde-yin čay qara raqu-yin čay-tu.

Finally, although the text concerned is fragmentary, so that a repetition sign is left unexplained, it appears that the part of the body affected may be a decisive factor in illness, but for irrelevant reasons divorced from anatomy or pathology. Thus, if the left nostril is affected, there are five devils towards the east, and the patient has fallen ill through going into a house in that direction where someone has been born or has been ill or has died.³⁹

The mechanical nature of these calculations is evident, as is also the absence of logical connexion with the phenomena to which they are related. They also belong, demonstrably, to a common fund of central Asian culture,

³⁷ Mong. 312, Copenhagen: *Tölgen-ü ayimay*.

³⁸ Mong. 301.

³⁹ Mong. 301, fol. 3r. (fols. 1 and 2 are lacking): *jegün samsan-du + emüne jüg amin-du qarşı: dorona jüg tabun čidkür bui: tere jüg törögsen ebeddüksen ükügsen kümün-i ger-te odču ebedbe*. A similar text in Kalmuck is to be found in ms. Eb. 404, 1, Dresden, confirming incidentally the wide geographical diffusion of these beliefs, from Chahar Mongolia where the Copenhagen manuscripts were acquired, to southern Russia, the western limit of Mongol culture.

not specifically Mongol. The wandering habits of folk-culture find mention in Mr. John Morris's book on the Lepchas, where he remarks on the fact that the husband of a pregnant woman should abstain, *inter alia*, from touching the iron or rope of a horse's bridle. This, he says, is somewhat unexpected in a completely horseless society.⁴⁰ It seems that many of the beliefs of Lepcha society, as mentioned by Morris (and in practice tacitly ignored) are similar to those of the Mongols as they appear in written sources. In particular the geomantic conditions for siting a house which he outlines on page 166 foll. recall the prescriptions of an illustrated manuscript of the Royal Library.⁴¹ The subject is further treated in two other manuscripts,⁴² of which the latter at least is based on Chinese sources, as appears from the text: . . . *sayin mayu-yi kitad-ün bičig-eče abču edüi tedüi bičigsen-iyer*. (fol. 3v). The prescriptions for constructing a house do not in any case fit the erection of a yurt, references to east and west gates, to gates being taller than the attached walls, and so on, implying that fixed dwellings in a non-nomad culture are concerned. It is not always so simple to extract foreign elements from these texts.⁴³

⁴⁰ John Morris: *Living with Lepchas*, Heinemann, London, 1938.

⁴¹ Mong. 16 *Ayula ba mutuy-un sinji-ü bičig*. Many diagrams similar to those of this manuscript are in turn to be found in a Chinese ms. in the same library, provisional number B 44, entitled *Ti li wu chüeh ch'üan pa pen* 地理五訣全圖本. See chapter 2, the section headed *San chi lung* and *san hsiung lung* 三吉龍, 三凶龍 which should be compared with fol. 24r. foll. of the Mongol text.

⁴² Mong. 323 *Ene anu yajar-un sinjin bolai*, and Mong. 314 *Fajar-un sinji-yin sudur*. However, the disciples of the great translator Jaya Pandita are said to have translated, apparently from Tibetan, a text entitled *yajar-un sinji* (sa dpyad). See Damdinsuren's Chrestomathy (Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, vol. XIV, Ulan Bator 1959, p. 333).

⁴³ A legend persists about the introduction of divinatory practices from China into Tibet. According to the Urga manuscript of *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, when the emissaries of King Sron btsan sgam po, after undergoing successfully many tests which could not be performed by the ambassadors of the four other competing kings, finally won the daughter of the Chinese emperor, T'ai-tsung of the T'ang, the emperor gave his daughter a statue of the Buddha Shakyamuni, all the secret books of divination, thirteen sutras like the wishing-jewel Chintamani, and other goods and chattels to the number of tens of thousands. The word translated here as "divination" is *toya*, "calculations". That it has in this context a more general sense than that of "astrological calculations" seems clear from the words spoken by the girl who betrayed the last test to the Tibetan emissary. When asked to tell him how to recognise the princess from amongst five-hundred similarly ornamented ladies she hesitated and gave the warning: *manu kitad-un toyačün mergen-ü tula toya-bar medemüi*: "Our Chinese diviners are very clever: they will find out (i.e., who told you) by means of divination". Indeed, the diviners find in their books an enigmatic explanation of the affair which the king fails to appreciate, and as far as appears from the story, no actual calculations were involved. A very similar story, which involves the hero's hiding in an elaborately contrived pit to confuse an enemy's divinations, is told in the blockprint Geser Khan (Peking reprint I, p. 156). Here, Geser is hidden by his wife Tümen Jiryalang, who warns him against the powers of the twelve-headed giant who possesses a red divining-thread: *tölgen-i ulayan utasan*. (For critical comment on this passage see Hoffmann, *Quellen zur Geschichte der*

As well as calculations, omens, deliberately produced, as the cracks in a scorched shoulder are, or accidentally observed, are of importance. Divination from the behaviour of birds is a familiar type. A manuscript in Copenhagen (Mong. 302, *Grag üre nomlal*) gives the explanation of many omens to be observed from the behaviours of the Tibetan crow—from its cries, from what it does, and from the times when one meets it. The predictions are very general, not concerned exclusively with sickness, nor are the predictions to be obtained from observing the behaviour of a lamp-flame any more precise (Louvain 35). The very general interpretation of dozens of similar omens fills page after page of the handbook *Qas-yin qayurčay*. There does exist, however, in the Louvain collection one manuscript of a handbook concerning the observation of the behaviour of a horse, interesting partly because this particular type of omen has long been

tibetischen Bon-Religion, p. 193, note). The red divining thread, if treated improperly by being passed under the sexual parts of a woman or under the head of a dog would give a false explanation. (P. 157: *eme kümün-i alan doyojur buu yarya: noqai-yin toluyai doyojur buu yarya: tölge minu belge degüdegerkü bui*.) Here, too, books as well as calculations seem to be excluded.

However, the story as given in *Erdeni-yin Tobči* cannot be meant to indicate that divination was a gift from China to Tibet, since the Tibetan messenger Uran tüsimel came to the T'ang court well provided with methods of his own. When indicating the princess from among her companions he made use of an arrow with eagle's feathers and with cloth of five colours tied to it, (Nebesky-Wojkowitz has references to such divination arrows.) When the notch of the arrow touched the princess she wept. The emperor was angry that his diviners had proved inferior, and was about to have all their books burned when Uran Tüsimel pleaded for the "calculations taught by Mañjuśrī" to be saved. Further, Uran Tüsimel, in hatching an elaborate plot to simulate illness and get himself released by the Chinese emperor who wished to retain him as a support for his realm, used not only the language of classical medicine (showing himself acquainted with the elements *kei*, *sira* and *badgan*) but also that of the popular medical texts which concern us. He described his illness as being due to the discontent of the lords of the earth in Tibet (*töbed-ün yajar usun-u ejed ese tayalaysan-u ada bolčuqai*) and described the materials necessary to perform a healing ritual or *dom*. A further legend, recounted in ms. Mong. 314, Copenhagen, *Fajar-un sinji-yin sudur*, and relating to the same historical period, describes how the King of Tibet and his Nepalese consort persuaded the daughter of the Chinese emperor to explain the methods of siting buildings. The text is not completely clear to me and I quote the relevant passage in full: *qayan-u yurban erdemis-ün sitügen süme ger egüdküi čay-tur: töbed-ün oron masi doysin-u tula: egün-ü belges-i narin-a medesügi: kemei sedkijüi būrin: qayan kiged čayan dhara qoyayula: ene yerü kitad-un jiruqai-dur mergen-i uqaju: noyuyan dhara-dur nigen sim (? for sing) altan-i ilegeju: olan bilig-i bariyad: yajar-i üfügübesü: tere noyuyan dhara durbel ügei manjusiri-yin jokiyaysan bars-un jiruqubči-tu kemekü ündüsün-dur üfijüi būrin jarlıy bolbai: (fol. 6r.): "when the king was erecting stupas and shrines of the three jewels, he thought to himself that, as the land of Tibet was very savage he would like to find out the detailed signs. The king and the White Tara, understanding . . . sent a measure of gold to the Green Tara and offered her many presents. When she had the site divined that Green Tara looked in the tantra called 'Tiger calculator composed without delay by Mañjuśrī' and said: . . ." This passage seems to refer, however, only to geomancy.*

Thus it appears that while there is a tradition of some forms of divination and calculation having come to Tibet from China, it is equally evident that other practices were familiar without importation.

familiar to the Mongols, and partly because the predictions relate exclusively to sickness and treatment, which may serve as a convenient introduction to the main subject of this paper—the magical view of disease. An incomplete and corrupt version of this same text was published and translated by Professor Poppe from a manuscript in the India Office, London,⁴⁴ but it may be worth while to translate the whole, since the Louvain text, though not itself free from error, permits many corrections to be made to the India Office manuscript.

TEXT of Louvain 37:

11. *Om suvasti sidam: yurban erdeni-dür mörgümü: ebečin kümün-i üşeren odqui-dur untagsan (sic) morin-i sinjilen üşeküü bičig: morin-u ebsiyebešü bayibasü o. . .* (This in a different hand from the main text).

14. *ebčin kümün-i üşere odqu-dur unuysan morin-i sinjilen üşeküü bičig: morin-u ebsiyešü bayibasü öčög udayan bui: turgibasü ödtör edegekü bui: qaniyabasü türge ebedkü: suniyabasü nigen qonuy ükükü bui: jayučayi-ban gemlebesü mör bui: toqum emegel qajayibasü qor qomsa bui: buu od: ingyalčabasü kündüde ebedkü bui: bayabasü ödter sayin bolqu: sigebešü udayan bui: beye-ben jayulabasü sayin bui: tilegülbesü sayin bui: urira iregsen kümün kürčü ireged yadana-ača üge ügülebesü: tere ebedügsen kümün yurba qonuysan buyu ebedügsen siltayan inu: nigen nigen ebedügsen kümün:*

21. *belbesün eme kümün irefü bülüge: tere qoyar-ača gem bolba: doysid-un kürüg-yi delge: včir bani taki: beye öngge beye-eče qara qubčasun-i ergülšü yarya: ger-te oron jabılcu sayubasu tere ebčin ayul ügei: siltayan inu buyural kümün-eče ulam ebedbe: tere buyural kümün-i morin-dur yulir-iyar kümün kışu orki: beye-yi inu siditen ungsiŋu ugiya sayin bui. oron yabubasu sayubasu tere kümün-ü ebčin inu terigün ebedkü*

25. *beye qalayun: siltayan inu ger boyol inu ebedügsen: nigen bayči čai jimis idegen abču iregsen buyu: tabun ayimay bancaragša ungsi: sayin bui: qaljan ba ese bügesü solajır mal yaryabasu sayin: oron nigen ebüdüg-iyen čoyčayin sayubasu tere kümün-i ger-te-eče ger-te oduysan buyu: ese bügesü bariysan ulingqai idegsen-ü tula tere ada jedker bui: bögeljin qadquyu: ebčin ödter bui: 31. altan gerel ungsi: sang talbi: beye-yin jolij degel yutul yarya: ger-te oroqu-yin urida dongyudsayar orobasu tere kümün-ü ebčin kündü bui siltayan inu: sibayun görgesün alaysan-ača yai bolba: luus-un qada-i (for qad-i) taki: čayan sikürtei mingya ungsi: jer jeb emegel qayayar sayaday numu sumu degel qubčasun čöm bügüde yarya yai aldarqu sayin bui: : manggalam*

TRANSLATION:

11. Book for investigating the horse ridden when one is going to examine a sick man.

⁴⁴ On Some Mongolian Manuscript Fragments in the Library of the India Office, C.A.J., vol. V, no. 2, 1959, pp. 82-5.

If the horse yawns it will be chronic.⁴⁵

If it snorts there will be a swift recovery.

If it coughs it will be an acute illness.

If it stretches death will occur within twenty-four hours.

If it gnaws its bit there will be a way.

If saddle cloth and saddle lie crooked it will be harmful: don't go.⁴⁶

If it neighs the illness will be serious.

If it excretes the recovery will be swift.

If it makes water (recovery) will be slow.

If it bites its body (the patient) will get better.

If it tries to get loose he will get better.

If the man who has come to summon you arrives and speaks from outside, the sick man (?will get better after three days and nights).⁴⁷ The reason for his having fallen ill is that a sick person and a /2r/ widowed woman were coming.⁴⁸

Harm has come from these two. Display images of the Doysid and worship Vajrapani. Wash the body.⁴⁹ Move black clothes round the body

⁴⁵ Reading *ölög* as *uŋiy*. The ms. does not distinguish *č* and *ŋ*.

⁴⁶ I take *qor qomsa* in its sense of "cause qui réduit à presque rien, grand dommage" (Dictionnaire Ordos) and "harm, damage" (Lessing, Dictionary) rather than in the sense "trifle" as given by both dictionaries. For a similar warning to avoid a dangerous situation see H 1191E, fol. 32r.: *yisün qonuy-tu ese anabasu masi berke bui buu iriye*: "if recovery does not take place in nine days and nights it will be extremely difficult. Let us not come!" It is perhaps relevant here that the Secret History, par. 80, and after it other chronicles, recount how Temüjin looked on a loosened saddle as an omen not to proceed.

⁴⁷ The text appears corrupt here. I suggest that words such as *qoyina edegekü* have dropped out between *yurba qonuysan* and *buyu* and have translated accordingly. Cf. such texts as Mong. 301, fol. 8r.: *yurban edür-ün qoyina anaqu*: "after three days and nights recovery will occur" and fol. 13v.: *doluyan qonuy-tu anaqu: tegün-dür ese anabasu*: "will recover in seven days and nights: if recovery does not occur in this way . . ."

⁴⁸ The text is hardly satisfactory here. The India Office ms. reads: *ebedüysen kümün-eče irefü bülüge: teyimü-eče siltayalaba*, which Poppe translates: "It has come from a person who has fallen ill. It has originated from such (a) one". Mo. *irefü bülüge* should, however, indicate a continuing action, not a completed one (cf. Poppe: *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, par. 572) and the sentence presents difficulties in both mss. Without proposing textual emendation I would note here that from other contexts it is evident that widows and grey-haired men are considered to exert a harmful influence. Thus H 1191C, fol. 6r.: *öñöcin belbesün kümün-i yayuma buu ab*: "do not take things belonging to orphans and widows", and *ibid.* fol. 4r.: *buyurul kümün-dü jolayasan buyu: buyural mori-tu kümün-eče ulam ebedbešü*: "if he has met a grey-haired man, or if the illness has been transmitted from a man with a greyish horse . . ." Mo. *ulam ebed* is not registered in dictionaries, but by analogy with *mo. ulamjila* "to transmit, pass on", I take it to mean "to pass on (a disease), to infect".

⁴⁹ Reading *ugiya* for *öngge* as in the India Office ms.

and set them out.⁵⁰ If on coming into the tent he sits down with legs crossed⁵¹ the disease is not dangerous. The cause is that he has been infected from a grey-haired man. Make (an image of) that grey-haired man on horseback and cast it away.⁵² Wash (the patient's) body while reciting

⁵⁰ Mo. *ergüjlü yarya* is probably to be read *ergigüjlü yarya*. Cf. modern Mo. *ergünlük* for *ergigüklük*. The meaning given, "to move around, to rotate" appears likely from other contexts in the mss. examined. Thus: Louvain 35, fol. 4v.: *doluyan çayan çilayun nigen qara çilayun naimayula-i . . . buruyu ergigüjlü talbiydaqu*: "Lay the eight stones, seven white and one black, down, putting them round in an anti-clockwise direction". Mong. 301, fol. 15v.: *qonin-u terigün ger dotor ergigüjlü emine yarya*: "Move a sheep's head round inside the tent and expel it to the south". H 1191E, fol. 30r. *noqai qokimai terigün ergigüjlü emine yučin alqu yarya*: "Move a dried dog's head around and expel it thirty paces to the south". H 1191E, fol. 32v.: *joliya altan mönggün gimse ebčin kümün-i jegin kimusu tabun keseg bolbasun miqa tabun ayaya silü tabun ayaya darasu tabun sira utasun yurban sira degel ere kümün jegin-iyer inu ergigül eme kümün-i barayun-iyar inu ergigüjlü dorona jayun alqu yal-du tüle ger-ün dorona yurban mumu yurban sumu yurban qonuy talbi*: "The substitute-offering is: For a man, move gold and silver paper money, nails from the left hand of the patient, five pieces of cooked meat, five bowls of soup, five bowls of wine, three yellow threads and five yellow robes around to the left, and for a woman to the right, and then burn them one hundred paces to the east. Place three bows and three arrows east of the tent for three nights." (For *ger-ün dorona* the corresponding passage of Mong. 301, fol. 17v. has *ger toyurin*, "circumambulating the tent").

From these and other passages it appears that *mo. yarya* should not be taken in its sense "to slaughter" as Poppe does, p. 84. It is a technical term referring to the expulsion or setting out of sacrifices or substitute offerings. Even where these offerings, which are most often described as consisting of foods, paper money, clothes and so on, do involve animals, it is not necessarily live animals which are intended. Directions are often given for making an animal figure out of flour-paste or paper, while in an extreme case a live animal may be used. Human figures also may be made. Thus: H 1191C, fol. 4r.: *yulir-iyar qoyar qara kümün kiñu qara degel emiskeñi: aliba mal kiñu dorona qola yarya*: "Make two black men out of flour-paste and dress them in black clothes. Make all sorts of cattle and set them out a long way to the east." Fol. 5r. of the same ms. prescribes that from flour-paste five black girls and cattle of all sorts should be made and set out to the north-east; on another occasion wine and flour-paste should be used to make male and female figures. Cf. also Mong. 301, fol. 12v.: *yulir ba çayasu-iyar qoni kiñu örne emine ög: kerbe yeke ebedbesü amitu qoni-iyar taki*: "Make a sheep out of flour-paste and paper, and give it towards the south-west. If the sickness is grave, worship with a live sheep." It also appears from these mss. that colour is of great significance in these ceremonies. Not only black goods, but coloured goods are mentioned; hence *qara* "black" should not be equated with bringing bad luck. Thus Mong. 324, fol. 8v.-9r.: *ger-tür ada-tai qara ed bui*: "In the tent there are black goods possessed by *ada*" but also H 1191C fol. 3r.: *ulayan önge-tü ed-eçe ulam sakiysan burqan ayurlaju ebčin bolba*: "The protective deities have got angry from contact with red coloured goods and illness has arisen", etc.

⁵¹ Cf. also Mong. 324, fol. 2v.: *erilçi kümün ireged jabilan sayubasu olqu ügei*: "If the searcher (for a lost beast) comes and sits down with legs crossed, it will not be found."

⁵² The text *tere buyural kümün-i morin-dur yulir-iyar kümün kiñu orki* is difficult to translate exactly. I take it to mean that a mounted image is to be made, rather than that the maker should sit on horseback. Mounted substitute figures are mentioned elsewhere. Thus: Mong. 301, fol. 14r.: *örne-eçe ebesün ačiraju kümün kiñu çayan degel köke malaya köke morin unuyulju*: "Fetch grass from the west and make a man, (dress him in) a white robe and a blue hat and mount him on a blue horse". Cf. also Mong. 375 *Kedün jülün üfelge orusiba*, fol. 68r.: *qokimai-yin terigün-i arban qoyar kiñu: arban*

the Siditen and he will get better. If on coming in he squats down⁵³ that man's illness will consist of an aching head /2v/ and fevered body.⁵⁴ The reason is that a house-slave of his has fallen ill and has brought a packet of tea, fruit and food. Recite the five-sutra-Pañcarakṣā and he will get better. If they expose a blazed animal, or failing that one with asymmetrical horns he will get better. If on coming in he sits down with one knee bent,⁵⁵ then that man has been going from tent to tent, or he has eaten carrion which has been taken,⁵⁶ and the demons are because of that. He will vomit with sharp pains. The sickness will be rapid. /3r/ Recite Altan Gerel. Offer incense-offerings. Set out a body-substitute and clothes and boots. If he

qoyar jil-i unuyulun eldeb kib-iyer čimeged: taulai jil-tü-ber yurban yool-un ayuljan yarya: "Make twelve dried heads and mount them on the twelve years and ornament them with cloths of all sorts. Let someone born in a hare year set them out at the meeting of three streams." As might be expected, the twelve animals and figures of them play a part in curative ceremonies, as well as in other ceremonies such as the construction of an *obo* (see *Oriens Extremus*, vol. V, nr. 1, 1953, p. 30). Ms. Mong. 297, Copenhagen, fol. 3r has the following: *amin-u dayisun delgeresgen çay-tur ebedbesü amin-i jolty-i nigen edür dayusqui-bar üiled: nasun-u tarnis-i ungsi: öber-ün jil-ün beye-yi beyen-ü khir-i arčyysan yulir-iyar jolty kiñu unuyulun ere-dür ere modun eme-dür eme modun-iyar kram kiñu qadqu: möčelge edür buyu: möčelge çay-tur qoor ada-yin jüg-tür eyimü nere-tü kümün-i amin-u todqar-i qariyul kemen keleged: abču odqui-dür qoyisi-ban ülü qaran abču oduyad orki*: "If someone falls ill at the hour when the 'life's enemy' is dominant, make a life-substitute so that the operation is completed in one day. Read the spells for long-life. With paste made from scraping the body-dirt, make a substitute in the shape of (the subject's) own year-figure, and mount it. Insert a tally-stick, of a male tree for a man and a female tree for a woman. On the (same) day or hour of the twelve animal cycle, take this away, in the direction of the pathogenic demon, saying: 'Repel the impediments to the life of such and such a man.' Take it and cast it away without looking back." Finally it may be observed that an offering in the shape of a man with a horse's face may be made: Mong. 301, fol. 18r.: *çayasu morin čirai-tu kümün kiñu*: "Make out of paper a man with a horse's face."

⁵³ For *yabubasu* read *yabun* as in the India Office ms.

⁵⁴ Mo. *terigün ebedkü beye qalayun*. This is an instance of the exposition of the symptoms of a disease after the exposition of the cause. The pattern is well displayed, for example, in ms. Mong. 219, *Otafi burqan-u qubilyan üjilge*. Thus, fol. 3 r.: *qonin edür ebedbesü belbesün eme-yin yar-ača idegen idegen . . . yai bolbai: tegün-ü belge inu noyira yeke: toluyai imu ebedkü jügikü göbdürü yarumu . . . biye qalayun*: "If sickness occurs on a sheep day, the harm has come from eating food from the hand of a widowed woman . . . The symptoms are: His head aches, horrid pimples will erupt . . . and the body will be fevered." The phrase *terigün yesün* of the India Office ms. should be read *terigün yasun* and be rendered simply "head and bones". Cf. for this physical interpretation also Louvain 35, fol. 4v.: *eki kiged čigeji yasun ba nidün terigüten ebedkü*: "head, chest, bones and eyes will be unwell." Further Mong. 301, fol. 11r.: *yar köl terigün niryun ebedüged jirüken ködelemü yasun qalayučamu*: "hands, feet, head and spine will be ailing, the heart will thump and the bones be fevered" and H 1191E, fol. 29r.: *ekin yasun ebedümü*: "head and bones will ail".

⁵⁵ For *čoyčayin* read *čomčuyin*, as Poppe, p. 85.

⁵⁶ i.e., by some animal. Cf. the phrase, common in our mss., *čimua bariysan ulingqai*: "carrion from a wolf's takings". Thus H 1191C, fol. 3v.-4r.: *čimua bariysan ulingqai idegen buyu*. H 68, fol. 4r.: *ulai kengsigün tedene-eçe bolba*: "death came from carrion or burned meat". (Luvсандэндэв, p. 451: *ulai*: remains of animals torn to pieces by wolves.)

comes in and is chattering before he has got into the tent, then that man's illness will be serious. The reason is that harm has come from having killed birds and wild beasts. Worship the kings of the *luus*. Recite Čayan Sikür-tei a thousand times. Set out arms, saddle, bridle,⁵⁷ bow-case, bow, arrows and clothes—all these—and the harm will vanish and he will get better.

In none of the texts which I have examined while preparing this paper is there any suggestion that disease might be due to some effective physical cause. The idea of cause and effect connected by a logical, observable relationship is simply absent, though "causes" are regularly adduced for the occurrence of an ailment. Even when impure food has been eaten, the impurity generally has arisen not from physical decay, but from the origin of the meat, or the nature of the person or place from which the patient got it—one should not accept food from a widow, or a woman who has lost her children. Even food brought from the south-east may turn out to be dangerous. The onset of sickness is frequently ascribed, then, to some action of the patient's, and the variety of actions listed in the texts is such that one could hardly avoid all of them—accepting old clothes, crossing a big piece of water, getting infected by contact with a camel-rider, going into a ruined city, accepting red things, accepting a sharp knife, going to a sick man and so on. While the root cause of the sickness is thus defined, these actions seem often only to become effective by attracting the attentions of some malevolent influence, or else these influences may have been at work independently, and the subject has simply encountered them. Thus if one falls sick on a snake day, an *ada*⁵⁸ which has come following a woman is responsible, and the patient has been digging the ground, or moving stones, eating food from a feast (*qurim*) and so on. Such beliefs in the supernatural origin of disease are of course not peculiar to the Mongols, but in one form or another have been universally held. One might be tempted, from linguistic evidence within these texts, to see a "Tibetan" culture as the immediate source for the practices we are concerned with. As was shown above, much of the technical terminology is purely Tibetan. Moreover, the existence of classified dictionaries and bilingual texts which provide

⁵⁷ For *qayayar* read *qajayar*.

⁵⁸ According to Buriat tradition, one of the souls of a dead person, having been captured or eaten up by the spirits, ends its existence, leaves the body and becomes a *boxolde*, Khalkha *boxuldui*, or an *ada*, and establishes itself in a reptile, and is particularly harmful to young children. See Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, p. 584. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, p. 539, suggests that *ada* are similar to the Tibetan *c'ung-sri*, though the usual dictionary equivalent is *gdon*, and Nebesky mentions on p. 310 the 15 great *gdon* and the 18 great *gdon* who harm children. The equation of realia because the terms are equated in dictionaries is hazardous especially in this connexion, but it is worth noting that the Mongols also know of 15 *ada* which harm children. See ms. Louvain 33a, a ritual for expelling the fifteen *ada* of children: *Nilqas-un arban tabun adas-i üldekü kereg inu*. Here *kereg* is a common term for "ritual", and is not to be taken in its sense "what is necessary".

Tibetan equivalents, for example, for the Mongol names of demons involved in the incidence of sickness, equivalents which are indeed the names of demons of similar function in Tibetan tradition, together with the general impression that in matters of religion, especially lamaist religion, Tibet is the primary, influential culture, and Mongolia the secondary, receptive one, may tend to give support to this approach. But a consideration of the huge area of central and north Asia over which such similar practices have been recorded should check such a tendency, so that it appears more tenable a theory to suppose that the "Tibetan" dress of much of this literature is simply the expression in a superior literary culture of a common stratum of folk-practice. It seems, to take but one example, hardly likely that the rite of passing a sick person three times round a dog's skull, as performed by a Kazakh *bakshi*, or the custom observed among the Chuckchee in 1791 of making a sick person go round the corpse of his favourite dog can have been influenced by written texts emanating from Tibet. Zélénine, who records these facts, also mentions a "central Asian" custom of curing disease by carrying a decorated horse's skull and decorated dog's skulls into the steppe, where they are deposited on a highway. Then the people blow on dolls which have been fixed on the skulls to represent evil spirits, and the "horse" carries them away spurred on by the "dogs".⁵⁹ Yet the use of animal skulls, widely reported from Siberia, is known also within the Tibetan-Himalayan cultural sphere. The Lepchas of Sikkim employ the skull of dog or goat in the centre of a magic diagram used to avert illness,⁶⁰ and Tibetan weather-makers are reported to use animal skulls as a foundation for thread-crosses.⁶¹ As noted above, animal skulls moved around inside a tent are part of a remedy for sickness among the Mongols, provided always that we accept these manuscripts as evidence of actual behaviour. According to ms. Mong. 299,⁶² Copenhagen, which is based upon the handbook *Vaidūrya dkarpo*, a book which has made use of much Bon material,⁶³ all sorts of skulls may be employed, in different circumstances, when performing rituals after someone has died. Thus if someone dies under the asterism *kirdeg*, this will have bad consequences for six people. The ritual necessary is to turn a monkey's skull towards the east, or else to put *taray*, a type of kumis, into a goat's mouth and throw the head

⁵⁹ *Op. cit.* pp. 42 and 44.

⁶⁰ R. von Nebesky-Wojkowitz and G. Gorer: *The Use of Thread-Crosses in Lepcha Lamaist Ceremonies*, Eastern Anthropologist, vol. IV, p. 77.

⁶¹ *Where the Gods are Mountains*, London, 1956, p. 243.

⁶² Tibetan title only: *Lo zla žag dus gza' skar t'ams-cad blta-ba'i žes-bya-ba bzugs-so*: "Complete examination of years, months, days, times, planets and stars". See fol. 73r.: *ende qara jiruqai-yin yool neyilegütin čayan bidurya-ača nomlaysan čay-un qara anu*.

⁶³ Cf. H. Hoffmann: *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*, Mainz, 1950, p. 139.

into water. There are similar rites listed for deaths occurring under each planet and each asterism, and elsewhere further ceremonies demanding heads are recommended. It appears to me quite certain that in the form given them in the Copenhagen manuscript these rites have an immediate foreign origin, since some of the items needed for their successful accomplishment must have been hard to come by in a Mongolian or even a Tibetan environment. Peacocks' feathers, crocodiles (if *matar* is so to be interpreted) and water-buffalo heads (*mahi-yin terigün*) point to a more southern, Indian world of imagination.⁶⁴ Zélénine mentions ceremonies for curing sick people reported from Turkestan in which animal skulls are employed, and the remains of slaughtered animals, especially skull and skin, have entered into ritual, apparently, throughout north-east Asia.⁶⁵ It is not the purpose of this paper to go into the question of the ultimate or even immediate origin of the practices described in the Mongol manuscripts examined, but rather just to examine them. However, the striking parallels between activities in the Tibetan-Indian sphere and the Siberian idol-worshipping sphere must at least be mentioned. A provisional hypothesis which occurs to me as at least worth considering as a working explanation is that such practices were at some time common over the whole of central and north Asia, and that at certain times and places they have been formalized and cast into written shape, and that where, as in Mongolia, handbooks of obviously foreign origin occur, describing practices which have, in similar shape, been recorded from actual observation in yet a third area (and thus by analogy may be expected to have been carried out in Mongolia also), these texts have been borrowed from the more sophisticated cultures in order to record and systemize practices and beliefs not too widely divergent. The literary tradition thus associates Mongolia with Tibet, whence so much of its written culture came along with the introduction of lamaism, and one may be tempted to overrate the importance of this literary relationship and suppose a closer connection between the realia, by comparison with other areas, than is actually justified. Thus the frequent references to "lamas and bon-pos" (*bandi bombo*) as officiants at ceremonies seems to me no more significant, being perhaps only a literary survival from a kindred culture where bon-priests were available for carrying out rites, than the fact that a Chuvash rite has been recorded in which, should someone fall ill during a

⁶⁴ Even the Stockholm ms. H 1191C-E, which in its terminology is more truly "Mongol" than some others, shows signs of relating, in part at least, to a non-nomadic culture. One cause of disease is to have provoked the anger of the soothsayers at the time when the crops bloom—an unlikely point of reference in a horse-breeding society (fol. 5r.).

⁶⁵ Cf. the impressive shot in the Mongol historical film *Tsogt Taij*, made under the supervision of the Mongol scholar, Prof. B. Rintchen, of a Mongol encampment, deserted because of disease and death, and protected by the heads and skins of horses set up upon long poles pointing slantingly upwards.

move, a figurine of the sex of the sick person should be made out of dough, put in a bast sock with buckwheat gruel and then thrown away as an offering to the demon involved: likewise, an effigy of the patient would be made in dough and thrown into the water.⁶⁶ Making effigies is time and again recommended in our manuscripts. Thus, if someone has fallen ill on the fifteenth of the month, and other remedies suggested have failed, the third explanation for the sickness may be that it has been caused by an *ada* which died (that is, died as a human being, being subsequently transformed into an *ada*) by falling into water. To counter this disease, grass should be brought from the west and a figurine made,⁶⁷ dressed and set out. Various other items, food and paper money, should also be set out and then thrown into water. If there is no water, then the articles should be burned. Figures to be set out may also be made of gruel or mud.⁶⁸

Chance references elsewhere in Mongol literature to occurrences during sickness and death serve to associate Mongol traditions with those known from Siberia and north central Asia in general. One such trait is the belief that a toad or frog or other creature may be responsible for an illness, the demon of disease having transformed itself into an animal form before entering the body of the patient. Zélénine reports such cases.⁶⁹ An illness may, similarly, leave the body at recovery in the form of a frog. The story of the exorcism of the corpse of Molon qatun, widow of Altan Khan of the Tümed as told in *Erdeni-yin Tobči* appears to illustrate this idea. The queen was of a particularly evil disposition, and when she died the

⁶⁶ Zélénine, p. 234.

⁶⁷ Mong. 301, fol. 14 r. For figurines of grass cf. also ms. Louvain 38 where such a figure—*ebestin jolij*—is mentioned in connection with a ceremony for ransoming from death. (The text should read *cibud-un üiledküi yosun-i*, etc., "ritual for performing a death-ransom. See C.A.J., vol. III, nr. 3, p. 178.) For this ceremony, 'c'i-glud, and the similar 'c'i-bstu, see Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, p. 511, and also ms. Chester Beatty, 1952, fol. 4v., where its performance is recommended.

⁶⁸ Thus: H 1191C, 5r.: *darasun kiked yulir-iyar ere eme kümün kiju*: "Make a man and a woman from wine and flour-paste" and *ibid.*, fol. 4v.: *eliye ada cidkür jobalang talbiqu jöb sijir ügei bolqu . . . tegün-i jasaqu arya inu yulir-iyar ere eme kümün talbi*: "Eliye, ada and cidkür will be inflicting suffering, and will be refractory . . . the rite for this is to make a man and a woman out of flour-paste and set them up." (The occurrence here of the phrase *jöb sijir ügei*, as also in H 5821, fol. 4r.: *ger-te sayubasu jöb sijir ügei yafar-un ejen-i bayasqa* and H 1191C, 6v.: . . . *idegen buu ide: kerbe idebesü mal-du jöb sijir ügei* establishes its existence and invalidates the emendation to *jöbsiyel* suggested in my edition of *Altan Tobči*, par. 89. For the meaning I rely on the entry *шнжээргүй*: упрямый, "obstinate: refractory" of Luvsandendev's dictionary, in the absence of any other reference, but it seems from the contexts just given that the meaning may also extend to "harmful, baneful", etc.

For figures made of mud cf. Mong. 301, fol. 15v. and H 1191E, fol. 30v.: *tegün-e sibar-iyar kümün kiju subud-iyar midü kiju . . . yarya*: "Against this make a man of mud and put in eyes of pearl . . . and set it out". Paper figurines (*sadaya*) may also be used.

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

*erlig*⁷⁰ did not evacuate her body but continued to enliven it so that it rose up erect.⁷¹ A ceremony was held to counter this evil manifestation. The Dalai Lama constructed a pit with accessories to make a fire mandala of Yamāntaka. Into this pit he put the queen's dress, assembled the *erlig*s and put them into the sacrificial fire. Then a lizard—*moyai gürbel*—came out of the dress, listened to the lama's exhortations, bowed its head three times and died. The lama induced a fire by means of meditation, which consumed garment and lizard to the accompaniment of a terrible stink. These events were recorded by Sayang Sečen not later than 1662 and relate to a period some eighty years before. The legends surrounding the death of Genghis Khan show traces of a similar superstition. The Secret History of the Mongols mentions the death of the great leader in a very brief manner, simply recording the event, but later chronicles and legends have developed several distinct but intertwining stories, whose common theme is that the queen of the Tangud, whom Genghis took over after the death of her husband, was in some way responsible for his death. Whether, as the Mongol historian Rasipunsuy claims, enemies of the Mongols were responsible for the growth of these defamatory tales, the interesting fact is that from early on the queen of the Tangud bears the name Gurbeljin. This is not registered in dictionaries, but evidently consists of *gürbel* "lizard" with the addition of the suffix *-jin* denoting female beings. *Altan Tobči* simply relates that after Genghis took the queen she killed herself, and later he caught a fever and died. *Erdeni-yin Tobči* and *Sira Tuγuǰı* attribute the death to a physical attack by the queen. The nineteenth century historical romance *Köke Sudur* contains a version which, while historically unacceptable, is of importance in connection with our theme. It tells how one day, when Genghis had reached the Liupan mountains, just as he was about to fall asleep, a cold wind blew and a huge snake entered the door of his palace past the stupified guards. Genghis seized his sword and attacked the beast, hitting one of its eyes, whence there came out a terrible smell. The snake fell to the ground and escaped, but the attendants only noticed that the queen Gurbeljin was leaving the tent, running away like the wind. They pursued her, and as she was about to leap into the water, Sübegedei shot her

⁷⁰ *Erlig* is the king of the underworld, but the term is also used to designate his minions: here it may be equivalent to Tib. *glin-rje*, a class of death-bringing demons for which see *Oracles and Demons*, p. 82. For *erlig* as the agents who take away the life cf. mss. H 66 and H 68, Stockholm. Thus, H 66, fol. 3v.: *li-dü ükübesü: . . . amin abuyšan erlig anu: tere ger-tü nigen sira noqai bügesü tegün-e odba*: "If death occurs under li . . . the *erlig* who has taken the life has gone into a yellow dog in that house, if there is one."

⁷¹ I.e., as a living corpse. Mo. *ġitar bolun* of *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, Schmidt, p. 250, is to be read as *vitar bolun*, "becoming a *vetāla*". Cf. Lessing, Dictionary, p. 107. The word *vitar* is rare. There is another occurrence in *Yamandaga sudur* (Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, nr. 61), fol. 5r. in the expression *bhuti vitar*.

twice in the back. Queen Gurbeljin really moved like a snake, it is said, and she turned into the corpse of a snake as big as a barrel. The attendants returned to Genghis, who had taken no harm but complained of the smell. He had them burn the snake up, but subsequently fell mortally ill.⁷²

Zélénine's thesis is that the belief in animals as the causative agent of disease and death developed in Siberia into the cult of the ongon or zoomorphic idol, which had the double function of causing and curing disease. Shamanism and the ongon-cult he distinguishes as separate phenomena, though existing side by side. Our manuscripts do not evoke a folk-belief in animals as pathogenic and therapeutic forces at all, while making use of a very varied terminology in naming the agencies responsible for disease, the requisite ceremonies to cope with them, and the practitioners to whom the rites should be entrusted. While ongons are frequently mentioned as provokers of sickness the texts are not consistent in their use of the term. The word occurs most frequently in the Stockholm manuscript H.1191E and the Copenhagen manuscript Mong. 301 which deal almost exclusively with disease and its non-medical treatment and which offer parallel texts for the prognostications classified under the thirty days of the month. We thus have thirty paragraphs which can be compared, though they show many minor corruptions, omissions and apparent misunderstandings.⁷³ The term *ongyod* occurs frequently in Mong. 301 in association with *iduyun*, *uduyan*.⁷⁴ The term *iduyun* can, I think, only be translated as "female shaman" and is apparently considered in this text as a separate entity rather than as descriptive of *ongyod*, since we have the enumeration *eliye iduyun ongyod yurbayula qabsaju*. (Mong. 301 fol. 8r): "*eliye*, *iduyun* and *ongyod*, these three, working in co-operation" and later (fol. 8v.) *uduyan ongyod qabsan ebedgeyü*: "*uduyan* and *ongyod* together will be the cause of the sickness".⁷⁵ At first sight it

⁷² *Köke Sudur*, ch. 59. Köke qota, 1957, 3 vols.

⁷³ In both mss. some paragraphs are badly truncated. The texts offer alternatives which may be genuine, but are more likely to be errors of copying. For example: H 1191E, fol. 26r. reads: *ada ene bui: kegere yabuǰı terigün ğegeǰı ebedgeyü*: "the cause is, going about in the country, head and chest are ailing . . ." For this Mong. 301, fol. 11v. has *basa ada ene bui: degere yabuǰı eliye dayarǰı ebedgeyü*: "the further cause is that an *eliye* which is going about above will be meeting (him) and causing the sickness". See also Mong. 301, fol. 14v.: *doronaki ökin eliye bui: dorona qumaki degere sayumui*: "it is a ghost-girl in the east and it is sitting on the dust in the east". H 1191E, fol. 29v. reads: *doroysi ökin eliye bui: tere qokimai modun degere sayumui*. Here the ghost is sitting on a dried-up tree.

⁷⁴ Thus Mong. 301, fol. 8r.: *öröne odǰu ebedge . . . iduyun ongyod bariǰı amu: ese bügesü eliye ebedgeyü*: "has fallen ill through going to the west . . . *iduyun* and *ongyod* are taking him, or else it will be an *eliye* causing the sickness.

⁷⁵ Yet it is typical of these mss. that this reasoning cannot be logically carried through. Thus Mong. 301, fol. 11r. has *dorona emüne oduyad ongyod ebedgebe*: "(the patient) has gone south-eastwards and an *ongyod* has caused the disease." Here, apparently, *oduyad* and *uduyan* are confused, and H 1191E, fol. 26r. has the regular corresponding text: *dorona emüne nutuy-un (ebügen eliye bui)*. (That *ongyod* and *ebügen eliye*—grandfather ghost—are apparently here equated will also be relevant). Further,

seemed likely that *ongyod* was to be taken here in the meaning "shaman" given it in the Mongol-English Practical Dictionary, especially as the more usual term *böge* which one might expect to find is of extremely rare occurrence. But this supposition seems untenable. In the first place, the association of *iduyun* and *ongyod*, while regular though not invariable in Mong. 301, is replaced in H.1191E by different phrases. Most common is *nutuy-un ongyod*: "*ongyod* of the pasture", while a phrase *örüne altan ongyod*: "golden western *ongyod*" also occurs. Hence *iduyun ongyod* cannot be accepted indisputably as a set phrase which would define the meaning of *ongyod*. Secondly, in one paragraph of Mong. 301 (fol. 15v.) occurs the phrase *etügen-ü ongyod*. The passage is rather differently phrased in the corresponding paragraph of H.1191E (fol. 30r.), thus:

Mong. 301: *basa ada ene bui: ongyod čaliğ bui: etügen-ü ongyod bui:*

H.1191E: *basa ada ene bui: ongyod čaliğ bui: üčüken ongyod*

Mong. 301: *kümüün-e kelelčeki dura ügei: ebečin kümün-e emüne sayumu.*

H.1191E: *čaliğ yal-dur dura ügei: ebečin kümün-ü emüne sayumu.*

It cannot be concluded from comparison of the two texts that *etügen-ü ongyod* is another reading for *iduyun ongyod*, since the term used in H.1191E is not the usually corresponding *nutuy-un ongyod*. However, the occurrence cannot be ignored, and *etügen-ü* must be translated here as "of the earth",⁷⁶ leaving the impression already gained from the phrase *nutuy-un ongyod* that *ongyod* in these two manuscripts indicates some spirit dwelling in a certain locality. Moreover, the *ongyod* cannot apparently be seen, since the position of an *ongyod* causing a disease is occasionally pointed out, as in H.1191E fol. 27v.: *dorona emüneki tergegür-ün ongyod bui . . . modun degere sayumu*: "there is an *ongyod* of the highway in the south-east. It is sitting on a tree." This also happens with other disease provokers, *ada* and *eliye*, who are also

where Mong. 301, fol. 8v. has *uduyan ongyod qabsan ebedgeyi*: "uduyan and *ongyod* in co-operation are causing the sickness" H.1191E, fol. 23v. has *nutuy-un ongyod qabsan ebedgeyi*, untranslatable unless *nutuy-un ongyod* is to be taken in a plural sense, several beings of the same type co-operating to cause the disease. Yet the separate identity of *uduyan* and *ongyod* thus apparently established on the authority of Mong. 301 is rendered questionable by a passage from the same ms., fol. 19v.: *tergegür-ün ejen iduyun ongyod qoyar*, where *tergegür-ün ejen* (lords of the highway) would appear to be one entity, and *iduyun ongyod* the other. Cf. further Mong. 301, fol. 19r.: *ger-ün ejen ongyod qoyar* and H.1191E, 35 r.: *ger-ün ejen nutuy-un ongyod qoyar*, which indicates that *nutuy-un ongyod* is a single expression.

The terminology is further involved in that words of the type *oduyad* are used in association with other items than *ongyod*. Thus Mong. 301, fol. 9v. *tabun sinede ebedbesü oduyad sira terigü-tü ökin eliye bui* can only be elucidated by comparison with H.1191E, fol. 24r.: *tabun sinede ebedbesü ötügen-ü ökin eliye doroyi sayumu* if we equate *ötügen-ü* with *etügen-ü*.

⁷⁶ Cf. Secret History, Haenisch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 47, and frequent occurrences in Rintchen, *Les matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol*, I, Wiesbaden, 1959, where *etügen* occurs in opposition to *ngri*.

apparently invisible, since their location is described, while on the other hand they enjoy highly distinctive appearances.⁷⁷

Evidently, then, *ongyod* is to be taken here as indicating a spirit of some sort, an invisible entity, rather than the idol which may house such a spirit among both the Siberians and the Mongols. The Secret History does not contain the word. The Peking pentaglot dictionary lists *ongyod* under the category *qubilyan-u jüil, shen 神*, with the meaning in Manchu *weceku*, defined in Hauer's dictionary as the divinity which is sacrificed to in the house. The following term in the pentaglot dictionary is *čaliğ*, Manchu *soko*, Hauer "earth-divinity, earth-spirit". Hauer, on the basis of the Manchu dictionary *Han-i araha manju gisun-i buleku bithe*, the monolingual predecessor of the tetraglot which he also uses, gives also a compound *weceku soko*, spirits of heaven and earth, from which one might deduce the correspondence *ongyod*=*weceku*, "spirits of heaven" and *čaliğ*=*soko*, "spirits of earth". This may be no more, admittedly, than the artificial transfer of the phenomena of one culture, the Manchu, to another, the Mongol, by way of dictionary correspondences, since the "Mirror" dictionaries are in many respects based on Manchu life and customs, to the words for which equivalents in other languages were successively added. In the Ordos dialect *ongyod* has the meaning "ancestors", while two modern dictionaries of the written language define the word respectively as "guardian genii of a locality, spirits of ancestors, idol" and "(shamanist) spirit inhabiting a material object, genie, guardian spirit, tutelary deity: spirit of a deceased person, ghost: pure, holy, etc. . . family tomb: shamanist ancestral idol . . ."⁷⁸ It is this final wide range of meanings which must be taken into account in interpreting our texts. An *ongyod* can be a spirit inhabiting fire or water, or a locality.⁷⁹ Or it may inhabit a mountain, or a tree, whence it appears that the *ongyod* is considered as the lord or owner of the place concerned.⁸⁰ It may operate in alliance with the spirit of the house, or it may be the great *ongyod* of heaven and ally itself with the lords of the earth.⁸¹ It may dwell on the highway.⁸² It may have a name.⁸³ Specifically

⁷⁷ Thus an *ada* may be sitting above the patient, or an *eliye* may be on a tree, a chair (*isari*, alternative reading *ezegei*, "a felt") and so on. *Eliye* have very flamboyant appearances: they can be red-faced, or have a blue body and yellow face and so on.

⁷⁸ *Mongol English Practical Dictionary*: Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*.

⁷⁹ H.1191E, fol. 28r.: *yal usu qoyar-un ongyod*. Mong. 301, fol. 13v. reads here: *yal usun-u (omission, ejen) yajar-un ongyod*.

⁸⁰ H.1191E, fol. 29r.: *emüne ayula-yin ongyod bui*. Cf. Mong. 301, fol. 14v.: *emüneki ayula-yin yal ongyod bui*: "the fire *ongyod* of a mountain in the south". H.1191E fol. 31r.: *emüne-dü modun ongyod ger-ün ejen qoyar bui*.

⁸¹ H.1191E, fol. 31v.: *ngri-yin yeke ongyod yajar-un ejen qoyar ebedgeyi*.

⁸² H.1191E, fol. 33r.: *tergegür-ün belčid-ün bayatur-un čirai-tu ongyod ulayan čirai-tu čidkür qoyar ebedgeyi*.

⁸³ Mong. 301, fol. 16v. and H.1191E, fol. 31v.: *luu neretü ongyod*.

it may be the spirit of an elm tree.⁸⁴ An *ongyod* may despatch an *eliye* to cause the sickness, while a parallel passage may suggest simply that the *eliye* is a subordinate spirit,⁸⁵ though this suggestion of an *eliye* being under the control of an *ongyod* is by no means unique.⁸⁶ There is a fire *ongyod*, and a fierce *ongyod*, and a female *ongyod*.⁸⁷ A *čayan bars ongyod* may be the same as the pentaglot dictionary's *čayan bars tngri*.⁸⁸

Thus *ongyod* appears to indicate a spirit inhabiting some object or locality and capable of provoking an illness. We find too that it is receptive of prayers addressed to it. A text entitled *Ökin tngri-yin tölge kemegdekü orusiba*, contained in the 3rd volume of the collected works of Mergen Gegen, which is composed somewhat after the fashion of the Tibetan divination slips edited by Stein, prescribes worship of the *ongyon tngri* as one of the measures to be taken against the harmful activities of demons which are haunting in the west and causing suffering: *beye-yin jobalang čidkür jégün jüg-tür adalan jolij barun jüg-tür* (one word unclear) *ongyon tngri-yi jalbari*.⁸⁹ The *ongyod* may assist one. If in nine-coin divination number one, stupa, turns up, then an illness is not getting better, but the patient's *ongyod* will help him. If number seven, the crow, turns up, then the outlook is serious, and gods and *ongyod* should be prayed to.⁹⁰ The terminology of these manuscripts is sometimes unstable, but *ongyod* do not seem often to be confused with other spirits, though on at least one occasion *eliye* and *ongyod* are confounded, possibly through corruption of the texts.⁹¹ From the discussion of *eliye* below this appears to be an unlikely equivalence.

The *čaliy* which is associated as mentioned above with *ongyod* is a less distinctive spirit: there are few references to it and not all of these are clear or intelligible. *Čaliy* may indeed be a local spirit. In one passage we find it

⁸⁴ Mong. 301, fol. 18v.: *qayilasun ongyod ebedgem*.

⁸⁵ H 1191E, fol. 28r.: *yal-tu ongyod üčüken eliye-gi jarufu ebedgeyü*. Mong. 301, fol. 13v.: *yal ongyod-i üčüken eliye jorčifu ebedgeyü*.

⁸⁶ H 1191E, fol. 26r.: *tabun ongyod ayurlašu amu: ayurlašu üküksen eme eliye jarufu amu*: "five *ongyod* are angry: they are employing the ghost of a woman who died in anger".

⁸⁷ For *yal ongyod* see note 82. Mong. 301, fol. 9r.: *öröne emüne doysin ongyod bui*. Mong. 301, fol. 12v.: *emüne eme ongyod*. A truncated passage in H 1191E, fol. 31r, omitted in Mong. 301, fol. 16r. suggests also an ox-*ongyod*: *usun ejen üker ongyod eliye bui*.

⁸⁸ Mong. 301, fol. 12r.

⁸⁹ Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, nr. 162. British Museum blockprint, Mon. 12, fol. 172r.-172v.

⁹⁰ Ms. Louvain 35, fol. 2r.: *ülü anaqu ongyod čnu ibegekü*, and 3r.: *berke bui: tngri ba ongyod-i jalbari*.

⁹¹ Mong. 301, fol. 12v.-13r.: *emüne-eče iregsen kümün dayariju iregsen eliye bui: kōke beye-tü sira niyur-tu bülteger nidü-tü bui*. Here the *eliye* is described as having a blue body, yellow face and pop-eyes. H 1191E, fol. 27v. adds *ongyod* before *bui*, giving the impression that *eliye* and *ongyod* are identical.

associated with *ongyod*, thus: *ongyod čaliy bui*: "it is *ongyod* and *čaliy*".⁹² Of the few further references one is very hard to interpret and not decisive as to meaning.⁹³ From another it appears that *čaliy* may even be identifiable with an *ongyod*. Thus Mong. 301 (fol. 17v.): *basa ada ene bui: nigen čalig tayisui nere-tü ongyod bui: tabun tergegür-ün eliye ebedgeyü*: "there is this further cause: it is a *čaliy*, an *ongyod* called *tayisui*, and five ghosts of the highway are causing the illness". *Tayisui* is defined by Mostaert as Jupiter,⁹⁴ but is perhaps to be taken here in the sense of the Tibetan entry in the pentaglot dictionary: *t'e-s'e*, which is according to Nebesky-Wojkowitz, a *sa-bdag* or local deity.⁹⁵

Very active in causing disease are the two categories *eliye* and *ada*, which are not always easy to distinguish from each other. In defining the term *eliye* most dictionaries limit themselves to its ornithological application, the name of a bird like a kite. Thus Luvsandendev, Cheremisov's Buriat-Russian Dictionary, Ramstedt's Kalmuck Dictionary, Mostaert and Lessing go no further than this. The Mongol-English Practical Dictionary adds the secondary meaning "hideous demon" while Kowalewski too gives the meaning "evil, hostile spirit in the form of a bird, goblin, devil", (Tib. 'gon-po). Tibetan 'gon-po is the equivalent in the pentaglot of Mo. *kölčün*, Manchu *ekcin* (Hauer: an ugly demon). The definition is not very exact, but does indicate that one aspect of *eliye* is that of a terrifying demon, and several times in our texts we find mention of an *eliye* as the agent of disease or death without any indications that would serve to define its nature more exactly. Thus when death occurs under the *mengge* five, yellow, it is a "slave

⁹² Mong. 301, fol. 15v.: *ongyod čalig bui: etügen-ü ongyod bui: kümün-e kelelčeki dura ügei: ebečin ebečin kümün-e emüne sayumu*. H 1191E, fol. 30r.: *ongyod čaliy bui: üčüken ongyod čaliy yal-dur dur(a) ügei ebečin kümün-ü emüne sayumu*. These differences between what are essentially parallel texts illustrate the difficulties of interpretation caused by slight variations in the tradition of a text. I take the first extract to mean: "it is *ongyod* (and) *čaliy*: it is an *ongyod* of the earth. (The patient) does not want to talk to people. It is sitting in front of the sick man." (I assume the repetition of *ebečin* to be erroneous, since otherwise this would be the only context in which a disease, *ebečin*, is personified to the extent of having its position in relation to the patient defined.) The second extract I translate: "it is *ongyod* (and) *čaliy*. A little *ongyod* does not like fire and is sitting in front of the sick man".

⁹³ Thus Mong. 301, fol. 14v.: *yutayar ada ene bui: yeke čalig nidün degegür-i jégün-te oduyad: ongyod jolijafu ebedgeyü*: "a third cause is that a big *čaliy* has gone to the left over the eyes and met an *ongyod* and is causing the disease.

⁹⁴ *Dictionnaire Ordos*, p. 653b.

⁹⁵ Pentaglot dictionary, Peking reprint, p. 4647, and *Oracles and Demons*, pp. 292 and 294. It must also be noted that other *tayisui*, apparently not local divinities, also exist. The names of a dozen of them are written around a sectioned circle used for divination and appearing in ms. H 5821, Stockholm. The names given are Mongol transcriptions of the Chinese versions of the names of the astrological series known as *arban qoyar ejelegči*. The Mongol names of these are given in mss. Mong. 128 and 156, Copenhagen, and H 5833, Stockholm. See also the pentaglot dictionary, p. 4643 fol. where these names are listed under the heading *edür-ün ejen*, 億日神, the term *tayisui* not being used.

eliye" which is responsible for having taken away the life.⁹⁶ In the classification of deaths under the eight trigrams, one of the responsible agents is a tree (or wood *modun*) *eliye*. These *eliye* have as colleagues in other circumstances of each series such spirits as *qara luus*, *yajar-un efen ba luus*, *amin-u efen*, *luus-un albin*, *luus ba albin*, *ebečin-ü efen*, and so on. A *kölcin* (*nüken-ü kölcin*: ?cave-demon) may also be responsible.⁹⁷ These *eliye*, and others mentioned without description, such as the *eliye* of five highways, a red-faced *eliye* sitting on a tree, an *ökin tngri eliye*⁹⁸ and many more are perhaps to be associated with the numerous 'gon-po described by Nebesky-Wojkowitz,⁹⁹ and are Mongol equivalents of originally "foreign" spirits. The meaning of *eliye* which comes out very clearly from our manuscripts, but which is not registered in any dictionary, except obliquely in the pentaglot, is that of a dead person who has been transformed into a ghost. The pentaglot gives for *eliye* a Tibetan phrase *bya 'dre* which is not listed by Nebesky-Wojkowitz but which Jäschke translates, referring back to Schmidt, as "a winged diabolical creature, harpy". The Manchu line has *yemji*, translated by Hauer, without reference, as "in einen Dämon verwandelter toter Mensch". It is this maleficent ghost, occurring here in the pentaglot apparently in a primitive Manchu or north Asiatic milieu, which is named in Mongol: *eliye*, and which is often mentioned in our texts.¹⁰⁰ Thus: a patient will get better on a hen-day; if he does not get better it means that Erlig Khan has employed a man who died by falling into the water to cause him to fall ill, and, further on in the same paragraph, it is recommended that offerings should be made to Erlig Khan and also to the dead *eliye* he has made us of.¹⁰¹ If an illness occurs on the 14th of the month, this is due to a female *eliye* in the house. If there is no improvement,

⁹⁶ H 66, fol. 2v.: *jarudasun eliye amin-i abuba*.

⁹⁷ All references are to ms. H 66.

⁹⁸ References to Mong. 301 and H 1191E.

⁹⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 283-5.

¹⁰⁰ Zélenine, p. 171, says that the Tuvas believe that a dead person can be made use of by the demon Pouk to cause the deaths of other members of the family. To prevent this, the spirit which has entered a sick person may be killed, even at the cost of killing the patient, or the soul of the departed may be transferred, immediately after death, to a domestic animal, or to an image of the dead man, where presumably it remained enclosed, more especially if it were nourished and looked after. (Pouk may represent here the Mongol *buy* described by Kowalewski as a vampire, and its action in employing a dead person may be compared to that of the *ongyod* employing an *eliye*, mentioned above.)

¹⁰¹ H 1191E, fol. 25v.: *takiya edür anaqu ese anabasu erlig qayan-u usun-du ükügsen kümün jarufu ebedgebe*: and Mong. 301, fol. 11r.: *tere qoyar edür-e ese anabasu erlig qayan usun-du unaju ükügsen kümün-i jarufu ebedgeyü . . . erlig qayan-dur tayan qoni . . . öroné jüg taki: usun-du ükügsen eliye-dü inu nigen keseg tügükei miqa . . . ebečin kümün-i oynimusu dorona qorin alqu yarya*. Reference here and in another context a little later to exposing stockings of the sick man suggests the possibility that the false burial of Genghis Khan's belongings, including one of his stockings, as told by *Sira Turufi* and *Altan Tobči*, may have a deeper significance than the wish simply to deceive the people as to where the real burial place was by giving out a false report. In particular,

then a blue-bodied *eliye* with a yellow face is at fault, and if further treatment is of no avail it is a woman who has died of cancer of the gullet who must be contended with. She is not referred to specifically at this point as an *eliye*, but the advised action is prefaced with the words: *narin eliye elderün*: "expelling a cancerous ghost".¹⁰² Illness occurring on the 19th may be due to an *eliye* called *Süke* who died by falling into a well.¹⁰³ Knowing the name of the particular demon is useful since it may be a necessary part of the remedial ceremony to pronounce it. Finally, illness on the 21st may be caused by the combined action of a man who died by coming to the end of his natural life, and a woman who died in the steppes.¹⁰⁴

To sum up: the *eliye*-ghost may act on its own or may be the emissary of some other supernatural force. Though apparently invisible it has physical properties; its position can be divined, and it may have a name, perhaps that of the dead person whose ghost it is. It is a powerful agent of disease, a man needing only to come into contact with an *eliye* to fall ill. An *eliye*-ghost can even cause death, which may occur if one goes into a house where there is an *eliye*-ghost.¹⁰⁵

why should the inclusion of one of a pair of stockings lend verisimilitude to the burial? Though the evidence is slight it may perhaps be that the false burial of the Khan was really an exposure of a substitute-offering or *joliy* intended to placate evil influences and prevent continuance of disaster. There is a belief expressed in our mss. that if certain things are omitted after death, or if things are not done in the proper manner, then troubles will continue uninterrupted. Thus ms. Louvain 36 lists under the years of their birth the men who may properly bury the corpses of the dead. Corpses of people born in the tiger, hare or dragon years should be buried by someone born in the snake year. If someone born in the ox year should bury them, someone else will die later, and so on. When disposal of the dead takes place, worship must be offered to the divinities of earth and water—*yajar-un efed* and *luus-un qad*. A white felt must be spread out for the geomancer. If this is not done, then the following generation will have no peace. Other requisites are named—arrows with feathers, shaft, notch and iron, five-coloured cloth, axe, awl, saw, marline-spike, spade and so on. The milk of a white camel, white mare, white cow, white sheep and white goat, all with young, is also needed. If any of these requisites is absent disasters of one sort or another will ensue. Thus lack of an axe means that the "way of death" will not be interrupted, and so on. (References to Louvain 36.) For a ritual of the worship of the lords of the earth, in which these and other requisites are mentioned, see ms. Chester Beatty 1939: *fajar-un efed-i fasaqu ba takil ergüküü sang yaryaqui yajar yuyuquü üles-lüge selte orusiba*.

¹⁰² H 1191E, fol. 27v.-28r.: *ger-ün emegen eliye bui . . . tegün-e ese anabasu ene bui: köke beye-tü sira niyur-tu eliye bui . . . basa ada ene bui: narin ebečin-iyer ükügsen eme kümün bui . . . narin eliye elderün . . .* Mong. 301, fol. 13r.-13v. has a similar text, but reads *tere eliye* for *narin eliye* (cancerous ghost). For *elderün* (Mong. 301 *önderün* for *ölderün* as in fol. 8v.) see Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, par. 380. However, the sense here can hardly be that of Poppe's preparative gerund, and must be "in expelling". For *ger-ün emegen eliye* cf. Mong. 301, fol. 8r.: *ger-ün ükügsen eme eliye*: "the ghost of a woman who has died in the house."

¹⁰³ Mong. 301, fol. 15v.: *qudduy-tu unaju ükügsen süke nere-tü eliye*. H 1191E, fol. 30v.: *qudduy dotoraki unaju ükügsen kümün*.

¹⁰⁴ Mong. 301, fol. 16v.: *jayayan kürčü ükügsen eme ere* (H 1191E, fol. 31: *ere kümün*) *nutuy-tu ükügsen eme kümün qoyar ebedgem*.

¹⁰⁵ H 66, fol. 2v.: *tabun sira-du ükübesü: eliye-tü ger-tü oroysan*.

The category of *ada*-demons corresponds in the pentaglot dictionary to Tibetan *gdon* and to Manchu *ari*. Hauer has little to say about this word, defining it merely as a bad spirit or demon. Other dictionaries give similar equivalents, only Kowalewski giving the more extended definition of a demon which turns people raging mad. As was mentioned above, Buriat folklore considers that one of the three souls becomes an *ada* after a person's death and settles in various reptiles, snakes in particular being mentioned. This seems to link up with what Zélénine says about living creatures, especially snakes, and subsequently zoomorphic ongons, being disease-causing agents. In our manuscripts *ada* appears primarily as the general appellation of the pathogenic agency. The formula exemplified in H.1191E fol. 23r.: *basa ada ene bui: eliye ebedgeyü*: "there is this further agency: a ghost is causing the sickness" is very common. But *ada* also occurs as an individual provoker of disease, and is not always distinguishable from the spirits already mentioned. Thus sickness occurring on the 16th of the month is characterized by delirium, and is caused by the *eliye* of a dead person according to H.1191E and to the *ada* of a dead person according to the parallel passage of Mong. 301.¹⁰⁶ If a sickness occurring on the fifth does not get better the outlook is poor, and the continued illness is due to the *ada* of a "dead corpse"—*ükügsen ükeger ada ebedgeyü*. An illness on the fourth also, if it does not yield to the magical treatment proposed, is to be ascribed to the *ada* of a dead person in the house: *ger-ün ükügsen ada ene bui*. Further, *ada* is applied alongside the term *ejen* to the spirits inhabiting a locality.¹⁰⁷

The varying use of terminology and the occasional lapses of copyists prevent a completely clear definition of the categories of spirit so far considered. Occasionally, too, as has been seen, mention of spirits is omitted altogether, and the onset of the sickness is ascribed directly to the agency of a dead person, presumably turned into a spirit. For a further example of this one may quote H.1191E fol. 33v.: *ede goyar üjel-dü ese anabasu ene bui: ger-ün ükügsen yurban kümün ebedgem*: "If these two ceremonies do not cure him, then the fact is that three people who have died in the house are causing the illness". Or a man killed in the wars may be the agent. The *eliye*-ghosts are mentioned as coming to the vicinity of the patient in the wake of goods or some living person. Thus an *eliye* may have come following a man with a piebald horse from the east.¹⁰⁸ In the following sentence a term such as *eliye* may have to be supplied after *dayafu* since the text as it stands leaves the agent of the illness undefined: *niyur-tu-ni sorbi-tai ebügen kümün-i jüg-ece noqai dayafu iregsen-ü tula ebedbe* (Louvain 35 fol. 2r.): "He

¹⁰⁶ *ükügsen eliye bui* and *ükügsen ada bui* respectively.

¹⁰⁷ Thus: Mong. 301, fol. 8r.: *tabun tergegür-ün ejen* and H.1191E, fol. 23r.: *tabun tergegür-ün ada*. Cf. H.1191C, fol. 3v.: *modun-u ejen yafar-un ada goyar adalaba*: "the lord of a tree and *ada* of the earth have haunted (him)".

¹⁰⁸ Ms. Chester Beatty, 1937, fol. 3v.: *jegün jüg-ece alay mori-tu kümün-i eliye dayan irebe*.

has become sick because (?a ghost) came following a dog from the direction of an old man with scars on his face". For stylistic reasons it is unlikely to be the patient himself who has been following the dog, though there are innumerable passages listing actions of the patient which are quoted as the cause of his sickness.

Different texts have different terminology for the names of the pathogenic agents. Some at least of the terms which occur seem to be synonymous. Thus *kölčün* in the context: *üčüken ükügsen keüken kölcün bolum*: "it will be the *kölčün* of a girl who died young", (H.5822 fol. 5v.) immediately suggests itself as identical with *eliye*, an identity confirmed by Kowalewski's dictionary, which, working from two sources, gives the Tibetan 'gon-po as the equivalent for both Mongol words. *Čidkür* too may be synonymous in one context at least with *eliye*: Louvain 35 fol. 6r.: *ükügsen olan čidkür-üd-i jегүдүлөмү*: "will dream of the *čidkür* of many who have died". But elsewhere this identity cannot obtain, for example in H.1191C fol. 5v.: *yafar buu könde: kerbe köndebesü eliye ada čidkür jobalang talbiqu*, and Louvain 35 fol. 6v.: *ergigsen eliye čidkür adalamui*. To list all the different names to be found in the various manuscripts would not be practicable, though such a list, even without accompanying descriptions, would have its uses. But there are so many passages which are not clear to me that such a list would prove either incomplete or else misleading. As long as the literary history of our manuscripts remains uncertain, it is hard to be certain how the various terms are to be interpreted. It is well-known, for instance, that the name of Erlig Khan is used widely throughout north central Asia to designate either the ruler of the underworld or his emissaries, as well by peoples untouched by lamaism as by the Mongols who have adopted much terminology from Tibetan Buddhism. There are Tibetan dictionary equivalents for all the Mongol names of demons and spirits, but whether the same concepts stand as reality behind the terms equated in the dictionaries is another matter. It would be tempting to try to classify the concepts involved, on the basis of terminology, into "Siberian" and "Tibetan" strata. To the former of these would belong, probably, such items as *ongyod*, or *yal burqan*, the fire god whose defilement is a reason for sickness to occur, a cause which can be eliminated by worshipping and purifying the fire.¹⁰⁹ But such a classification seems to me to be quite unreal and to rest upon an arbitrary interpretation of the texts. However, it is evident from an inspection of the manuscripts that terminology classified for instance by Hoffmann as of Bon origin occurs extremely frequently. Even this conclusion must be treated carefully. To

¹⁰⁹ See Mong. 324, fol. 9v.: *yal burqan-i bujarlaysan bui: yal-i takin ariyula*.

take again the example of *erlig*. This name is well known in both lamaist and non-lamaist sources, as well for instance as in the Bon-context quoted by Hoffmann (p. 382), so that it would be inadmissible to use it to identify any milieu. But many terms besides this occur, which may be attached to Bon tradition. The *luus* (*klu*) play a great part as agents of illness, and ceremonies of many sorts are advised to counteract their influence; rites in general (*luus-un jang üile*), (*luus-un jasal*), dough-offerings (*luus-un torma*) and thread-crosses (*luus-un dungli*), and readings of scriptures (*usun-u efen sudur-i ungsiyul*) are variously recommended. One should erect stupas for them (*luus-un subur-ya-yi bosqa*) and refrain from destroying their houses (*luus-un ger-i buu ebde*). Water is the home of the *luus* (Hoffmann p. 158) and they work in co-operation with the lords of the earth (H.66 fol. 2v.: *yajar-un efen ba luus amin-i abuba*) and their eight classes known as *naiman luus-un qad* (Louvain 35 fol. 5r.) would appear to be the same as are indicated in the name *usun-i naiman ejed* (H.5822 fol. 6r.). That their function as excitors of disease is an ancient belief is demonstrated by Hoffmann, following Laufer, who tells how a black *klu* was sent by the learned Vairocana to cause the queen C'e-spon-ba to fall sick of leprosy (*klu-nad*)—a thoroughly Indian idea, Hoffmann concludes from the original Sanskrit name, *nāgaroga*, of the disease, in discussing the early confusion of the terms *nāga* and *klu*.¹¹⁰ The tradition continues in our Mongol texts in one of which (H.66) black *luus* are mentioned as agents responsible for the occurrence of death.

There are other beings mentioned by our texts whose Tibetan equivalents are recorded by Hoffmann as being Bon-spirits, thus: *albin* (*bisan*), *simnus* (*bdud*), *todqar* (*bgegs*).¹¹¹ The class of *qan ijayur-tu*, perhaps identical also with *qan jedker* and *qan ada*¹¹² may be the Mongol name of the Tibetan *rgyal-po*. The "great garuda of the cosmos" should in certain circumstances be worshipped with incense, and dharanis of the "black garuda" may be recited.¹¹³ Even more direct evidence may be had of Bon religious practices and beliefs underlying some part of the texts we are concerned with, and of familiarity with the figure or at least the concept of the Bonpo. The Bonpo is referred to, most often in conjunction with the Lama, as an officiant who should be retained to perform the necessary ceremonies. For example, H.66 fols. 9r. and 9v. show the typical statements: *bandi bombo-bar kereg*

¹¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹¹¹ In the context *yurban todqar-i kereg*: "three-todqar rites" (Louvain 35, fol. 3r.).

¹¹² References in H 66 and Louvain 35. H 5822 mentions among others a ceremony *qan ijayurtan-u dungli* (3r.) and a *qayan dungli* (6v.).

¹¹³ Chester Beatty, 1937, fol. 5v.: *yeke yirtinü-yin yeke garudi qang sing bum talbi*. Mong. 324, fol. 6r.: *qara garudi-yin tarni*.

kilge and *bandi bombo kümün-iyer kereg kilge*.¹¹⁴ Further, in H.5822 fol. 3v.: *bombo kümün-iyer qan ijayurtan-u olan sudur-i ungsiyul: luus-un torma talbiyul*: "have many scriptures of the *qan ijayurtan* read by a Bonpo and have dough offerings of the *luus* set up". The Bonpo has in addition to his healing function concurrently the ability himself to provoke an illness, whether alone or in company with a lama. Thus, H.5822 fol. 3r. has *bandi bombo qoyar-un qarsis kiged qan ijayurtu adalamui*: "the evil influence of a lama and a bonpo, and the *qan ijayurtu* are haunting (the patient)". The bonpo may be a vehicle for an evil spirit. Thus Louvain 35 fol. 5v.: *eme kümün ba mayu bombo terigüten-i qoyina-ača dayaysan damsari-yin ada*: "the evil agency of a *dam-sri* which has followed behind a woman and a bad bonpo, etc."¹¹⁵ The lamaist too may be involved in a similar process: Mong. 219 fol. 1r.: *üker edür ebedbesü . . . sanggisba kümün-ü yar-ača qara barayan ed abuyusan-ača gem bolju*: "the harm has come from (his) having accepted black effects from the hand of a lamaist."¹¹⁶ The lama and the bonpo may actually have cursed the victim,¹¹⁷ and to have bartered old books of the bonpo is a cause of trouble.¹¹⁸ The figure of a bonpo may be used as part of a substitute offering which is to be cast out.¹¹⁹

Are these references to the Bon religion simply translations or literary survivals, representing the use of an existing terminology to designate local phenomena? Certainly the texts have frequently a non-Mongol flavour, as already mentioned, but it is also evident that efforts have been made to

¹¹⁴ There has been discussion recently of the meaning of the term *bandi*, for which see R. Stein: *Recherches sur l'Épopée et le Barde au Tibet*, Paris, 1959, p. 93. The present translation of *bandi* as a lamaist religious would appear to be confirmed by the occurrence also of the phrase *sanggisba bombo*. Thus Mong. 375 *Kedin jüil-ün üfelge orustai*, fol. 53v.: *sanggisba bombo kümün-ü kesig dalal*. (In Ordos the meaning of *sanggisba*, from Tib. *sans-rgyas-pa*, has undergone a shift to "Taoist religious"). Cf. also the parallel texts Mong. 151, fol. 7v. and Mong. 287, fol. 9v.: *bandi bombo-du öglige öggübesü sayin* and *blama bomba-nar-tur öglige ög*. These two texts are concerned with dice-divination. A third similar text, Mong. 324, has at its corresponding point (4v.) the different reading: *blama quvaray-i ergün kündülen ügegiü-dür öglige ög*.

¹¹⁵ Cf. also H 68, fol. 4r.: *bandi bombo-yin kkir burtay-ača bolba*: "(Death) has come from the pollutions of lamaist and bonpo". H 66 in a similar text reads corruptly (fol. 3v.) *burtay ger*.

¹¹⁶ Also Mong. 151, fol. 7v.: *basu quvaray kümün-eče sara toryan yutal ba qayarqai qoy-tai kituya bui*: "it is (because of) yellow silk boots and a broken dirty knife (accepted) from a man of the clergy. Mong. 287, fol. 9r.: *lama kümün-eče abuyusan ir qayarqai qutuya bui*. Mong. 324, fol. 4v.: *kümün-eče abuyusan sara qubcid sira türei-tei yutal bui*: *blama kümün-eče abuyusan bolbuu*: "it is yellow clothes and yellow-legged boots taken from someone. Were they taken from a lama?"

¹¹⁷ Mong. 325, fol. 3r.: *bandi bomba-yin qariyal* and the Tibetan version in ms. Chester Beatty, 1952, fol. 4r.: *ban-bon-gyi mt'u-gtad*.

¹¹⁸ Louvain 35, fol. 6v.: *bombo-nar-un qayucün nom-ud-i araljayasan-ača yai boluysan*. This text is one ascribed to the Nepalese *baysi* Basudhar.

¹¹⁹ H 1191C, fol. 7v.: *nigen morin-du bomba kümün kijü unuyul: nigen beñin tabun kümün-iyer küriyelegül: nigen çayan toryan yurban tala-tu 'torma egüd*: "Make a Bonpo and mount him on a horse. Surround a monkey with five men. Erect a white silk-cloth and a three-faced dough offering."

adapt them to Mongol concepts. Thus in H.1191C fol. 7v. there is the entry: *nigen üker degere bandi kümün kiñü unuyul: nigen mongyol üker-tü ačiyān nigen qayinuy üker nigen noqai naiman sira kümün-iyer kürtyeleğül*: "Make a lama and set him on an ox; surround a Mongol ox-cart and a cross-breed yak and a dog with eight yellow men". The question is difficult to decide on the evidence we have, and would, I submit, require a better appreciation of what the real significance of the word *bombo* is, or was, to the Mongol. The word is registered in Kowalewski, once in the form *bumba*, without reference, and once in the form *bombo*, with reference to the life of Padma Sambhava (*Badma Sambaba bayši-yin delgerenggüi jokiyaşan töröl-ün čadig*) with the meaning "adherent de la secte Bon ou de la doctrine Tao-ssé". By linguistic standards as well as by content our texts are so far removed from Chinese culture that it is doubtful whether this identification of Bon with Taoism is of much value here. Hoffmann has already in any case discussed this confusion and the reasons for it.¹²⁰ My colleague Dr. F. Bischoff has kindly allowed me to mention the fact that in northern Mongolia, at Deligün Boldoy, he found a shrine constructed of tree-branches and containing small offerings, which the local people informed him was looked after by Bon-po. Between two visits which he made to the shrine it had been tended and tidied, showing that the guardians were alert, but the bon-po did not disclose themselves. Terminology alone is not sufficient to establish the existence of a religious sub-stratum or sect, especially when the terminology is evidently linked with that of a neighbouring culture, but the question persists as to who are meant by the bon-po of our texts. Is this a name for any practitioner of magic, independent of his adherence to any

¹²⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 136-7. M. Eliade, *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase*, Payot, Paris, 1951, also refers to this confusion on p. 382, note 1 and p. 398 note 2. Though the identification of Taoism with Shaman-Bonpo is not absolutely admissible, in certain contexts the term Bonpo seems to be used to designate Taoism. See, for instance, W. Heissig, *A Mongolian Source to the Lamaist Suppression of Shamanism in the 17th Century*, Anthropos, vol. 48, pp. 493 and 518-9. Heissig remarks that Bonpo in the sense of Taoism is distinguished in the nomenclature of lamaist literature from shamanism. More study of this question would be helpful. For instance, it appears from a quotation given by Heissig, *op. cit.* p. 25 that burning of *ongyod* was one method of combating the Bonpo (from Huth's translation of *Hor c'os byun*: Da liess dieser Han. . . verkünden, dass man. . . durchaus nicht die Bon-po (-Doktrinen) befolgen dürfe. Er sammelte alle (ongghot) und verbrannte sie. . .). The burning of *ongyod* is usually associated with the suppression of shamanism, for instance in the life of Jaya Pandita, quoted in Damdinsuren's *Chrestomathy*, p. 325, where the Pandita exhorted his followers to burn all *ongyod* and exorcise the shamans (*böge iduyan*). An interesting extension of this subject is the discussion by Fr. L. Schram in part II of his monograph *The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Border*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, vol. 47, part 1, 1957, of the penetration of Monguor shamanism by Taoism. In particular he mentions that Monguor shamans claim to be disciples of the Taoist "god of the five roads". This may very well be the similarly named *tabun tergegür-un ejen* mentioned in H. 1191C fol. 8r as a pathogenic agent. Similarly, the White tiger *ongyod*, *čayan bars ongyod*, mentioned above, note 88, may be the ancient White Tiger also mentioned by Schram.

sect, so that bon-po merely means someone who does the things talked about in these books? Besides, the terminology is more extensive. *Bandi* and *sanggisba*, as already shown, are involved as provokers and healers of sickness, and other terms are used as well for the practitioners of these arts. They may be called *bayši*, *kiyči bayši*, *jasayči*, *jasayči bayši*, *jasagu kümün*, *kigči blama*, *tarmiči*,¹²¹ and indirectly even *gelung*.¹²² A one-eyed lama is specified.¹²³ A further term is *üfelči*. This would mean literally "seer" and is a derivate of the verb *üfe*- "to see" which has given such words as *üfelge*, *üfekü bičig*, in the titles of some of our texts. It is paralleled in Mong. 301, in the same context, by the word *emči*, while elsewhere, in a similar context, *otači* is the term used.¹²⁴ The sense of the passage is that in case the cures recommended do not work, one should consult the practitioners named. It seems prima facie unlikely that *emči* should be taken here to mean a lamaist doctor, a specialist in the classical Tibetan medicine. Firstly, would a practitioner of these arts turn his patient over to a practitioner of another school? Secondly, and more decisively, the parallel term *üfelči* remains unexplained. The clue is perhaps to be sought in the technical meaning of the term *üfel*, a derivate in *-l* from *üfe*-. This is used occasionally to designate some sort of rite or ceremony to expel or cure a disease. Thus, in H.1191E fol. 33v.: *ede qoyar üfel-dü ese anabasu ene bui*: "if it is not cured by these two rites then the fact is . . ." This is paralleled exactly in fol. 24r. of the same manuscript by the words: *ede qoyar üile-dür ese anabasu*, so that *üfel* and *üile* appear interchangeable. Mo. *üile* appears to mean a method for performing a magical ceremony. Thus, in H.5822 fol. 1v. we have *grag odun cōga üiled*: "perform a rite of planets and stars" where *cōga* is the equivalent of *jang üile* (Kowalewski, p. 2239), and in Louvain 38, fol. 1: *üile-yin*

¹²¹ H 66, fol. 7r.: *tarmiči kümün-dür qariyulya külge*: "have a counter-magic performed by a *tarmiči* (magician, reciter of spells)." Offending such a magician is most dangerous and may bring on sickness, as in H 1191C, fol. 5r.: *tariyan čičigleküi čay-tur tarmičin kümün-luya ayurlaysan buyu*: "it is (through) having got angry with a magician at the time the crops flower" or even death, as in H 66, fol. 7r.: *tere üküged ese bayasba: qabur tariyan čikeleküi-dü qara tarmi-yin bayši-luya ayurlaysan-ača jedker bolfu*: "he has died, but is not content. The harm arose from getting angry with a master of black spells when the crops were sprouting in spring". (The use of the comparison of growing crops to fix a point of time perhaps marks an origin of these texts outside the Mongol nomadic cattle-raising sphere.) Cf. also H 1191C, fol. 3r.: *olan tarmičin-iyar jasatuyai*: "let a lot of magicians perform a rite". Fol. 14v. has the further term *tarni binlayayči*.

¹²² H 66, 5v. in the context: *minu yayuma-yi gelung-ud-tu ög*. There are several references to making gifts to the practitioner of the ceremonial. For example, see H 66, fol. 6r.: *minu idekü yayuma-yi bayši-du ög*.

¹²³ Mong. 297, fol. 4r.: *soqur bandi*. To be one-eyed is apparently a characteristic of significance. Thus, Mong. 151, fol. 7r.: *eremdeg kümün-ü ger-te bujar idegen idegen bui*: "it is (through) having eaten impure food in the house of a one-eyed person". Mong. 287, fol. 8r.: *örögesün nidün soqur bui kümün*: "a man who is blind in one of his eyes".

¹²⁴ H 1191E, fol. 28v.: *yurban qomuy-tu ese anabasu üfelči kümün-e üjügül*. Mong. 301, fol. 14r.: *emči-dü üjügül*. Cf. H 1191E, fol. 26v.: *kerbe ese anabasu otači-du üjügül*.

gomqa: "the ritual pitcher". The terminology of these rites and sacrifices will be treated later, but we may mention here that *cōga üiled* appears itself to be equivalent to *fasa*, a word which in one or other of its derivatives is used very frequently in these texts to designate ceremonies for treating illness.¹²⁵ Mo. *üfel*, to return to the argument, as well as designating a ceremony as such,¹²⁶ appears as if it can be used also as the name of some physical constituent of the ceremony—a substitute-figure or the like. Thus in a passage whose sense is not entirely clear it is said that harm has arisen from the coming of some relatives, so tormas should be made and the *üfel*, apparently the ceremonial objects involved, cast in the direction of the people who came.¹²⁷ Thus *üfelči* would appear to designate more than a seer, rather a practitioner.

Far more rare than the terms listed are any which refer directly to shamans as doctors or exorcists. As already noted, the two manuscripts Mong. 301 and H.1191E do refer, but rather enigmatically, to *iduyan ongyod* as agents of disease, but the passages are far from being indisputable. Apart from this I have found only one reliable reference to shamans in the terminology familiar to Mongolists. In H.1191C fol. 6v. male and female shamans are mentioned as performing ceremonies which are the cause of the trouble complained of, and means of combating them are detailed.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ Cf. H 5822, fol. 2r.: *luus-un qad yajar-un ejed-i coga üiled*: and *ibid.* fol. 3r. *luus-un qad yajar-un ejen-i jasa*.

¹²⁶ Cf. H 1191C, fol. 6v.: *ere eme-yin üfel bui ödter qariyul: tegün-i ere eme kümün kiju aliba mal kiju ög*: "this is due to (?a rite) by a man and a woman; (against) it make a man and a woman and all sorts of cattle and donate them". On the same folio appears the binom *üfel jasal*: the full context of this is quoted below in note 128.

¹²⁷ Mong. 301, fol. 4r.: *uruy kümün iregsen-ele yai bolba: tegün-dü yistü terigü-tü ünestein nigen oytarma qurud kiju: tere degere tarmi-yin usun-iyar ugiyafu: iregsen kümün-i jüg üfel orki*. The term *üfel* exists also in a Kalmuck text, ms. Dresden Eb 404 l 2. An incomplete fragment at the end of the text reads: *mó ese bögsü mó üfel-dü zol*. Whether the word is to be taken in the same sense is uncertain from this fragmentary passage. A similar text at the beginning of Mong. 301, with the end-title *Mergen qara noqai tegüsbe*, is also, by unfortunate coincidence, fragmentary, lacking folios 1 and 2 altogether. Here we read: *jegün samsan-du + (the cross is a repetition sign, here presumably for ebedbesü) emüne jüg amin-du qarsi . . . tere jüg törögsen ebeddügßen ükiügen kümün-i ger-te odçu ebedbe: ese bügsü ökin nayadqu yajar-a odçu burtay mayu üfel dayarifu ebedbe*. It is possible that *üfel* means here merely "sight", but I think it more probable that the passage means that the patient went into a house in an unlucky direction where someone had been born, had fallen ill or had died: if that was not so he had gone to a place . . . and had come into contact with an unclean magic ceremony from which he fell ill. (I do not understand *ökin nayadqu yajar*.) Probably the Kalmuck fragment also should be read: "(will be) bad: or if this is not so (it is that he has come into contact with) an evil ceremony".

¹²⁸ *Tere on-du ed mal-du öber-un beye metü kümün mayu sedkiki: böge iduyan iručin mayu ös-tü kümün üfel jasal kiku: tegün-i tulada ebesün-iyer kümün kiju: aliba mal kiju: dorona yarya: jasyrči-du qara öngge-tü mal ög sayin bui*: "In that year people will have evil thoughts towards (your) goods and chattels, as to yourself. Male and female shamans, soothsayers and evilly-disposed people will perform magic ceremonies. For that reason make a man of grass and all sorts of cattle and set them out to the west. Give the practitioner black-coloured cattle and it will be well".

So shamans appear only as inimical entities, to be defeated by rites carried out by other practitioners. Whether these other practitioners are themselves shamans, passing under the various names given above, or whether we have to do here with another level of popular religion and belief altogether, is a matter which could only be settled on the basis of further knowledge and of experience outside these particular texts.

At any rate, these texts can hardly be dismissed as mere translations from any one other religious culture, for example the Tibetan. The regular occurrence of the term *baysi*, for instance, sets us at once in the wider world of central and north Asian popular religion. Our texts are not systematically composed or related, as far as can be seen, so that it is not altogether safe to assume that all the names of practitioners necessarily indicate one and the same function, and often a rite is referred to with no specific designation of the performer. But if we do make such an assumption, it seems that the practitioners of our texts have much in common with the ecstatic exorcists of Asia, especially, for example, of the Kazakhs who are discussed by Zélénine. It has already been shown how rites involving the use of animal skulls are common to our texts and to practices recorded from elsewhere in Asia. Further, the ecstatic *baysi* of the Kazakhs is able to interrogate the spirits about the fate of a sick man.¹²⁹ A similar, if not identical practice is adumbrated in Ms. H.66, where some practitioner, not identified directly, is evidently able to get into contact with the spirits of the dead, interrogate them and repeat the answers for the benefit of the relatives. No explanations are given in this section of the manuscript, which is unique among those I have been working with, but the text abruptly goes over to the first person of speech, representing the words of the deceased. Again, it is unfortunately not said whether or not the practitioner is in an ecstatic condition, this presumably being a handbook for his own use: thus he would know the condition he should assume, and would need reminding only of the details of the messages supposed to have been extracted from the world beyond. Thus, (though the translation is not entirely certain): "The dead man has died because he cut down beneficial trees, or because he took objects from a feast, and red effects. Having died, he has immediately become unquiet. I died from eating dirty singed food in a widow's house when the grass was turning yellow, or from a quarrel, and my guardian deity has so ordered it. Since I have been dead I have found no salvation. They say: "Fetch your father and mother and wife". You are not acting according to my words. (Recite) *Čayan sikür-tei* a thousand times, perform counter-magic and recite the *Doysid*. Give alms. Have fire-mandalas recited. Have (the door

¹²⁹ Zélénine, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

of the tomb) trampled by a horse.¹³⁰ There are eight such paragraphs, in which the dead person describes how he died, and what must be done to quieten his spirit and prevent it from being used to cause further deaths.¹³¹

These texts in their present form naturally enough reflect, in their language, the lamaist environment in which they have arisen. Names of deities, and more especially names of well-known scriptures are cited here and there in the remedial passages of the ceremonies advised. But the impression inevitably grows that this borrowing of terminology from the official religious vocabulary is a convenience only, due perhaps to a desire to clothe the non-Buddhist rites in a respectable dress, or perhaps as no more than the adoption ready-made of a familiar language and familiar points of reference. The lama Mergen Gegen of the Urad seems to have done much the same in adapting essentially non-Buddhist ceremonies, the construction of obos, for instance, so as to conform with the standards of the missionary lamaist religion in eighteenth century Mongolia. But there is one notable divergence from the more familiar lamaist terminology. More especially in the three books devoted to dice divination and associated with the name of Avalokiteśvara, but also elsewhere, there is to be noted a curious use of the adjective *qara*, "black", qualifying the names of rituals and qualifying also the names of divinities usually qualified, or containing as part of the name, the adjective *čayan*, "white", or else not defined as to colour at all.

¹³⁰ H 66, fol. 5r.: *basa li-dür ükügsen kümün ači-tu modun oytoľuysan: qurim-un siltayan ba: ulayan baraya ed abuysan bolba: üküged ödter ese bayasba: ebesin sirlaqui čay-tu belbesün eme-yin ger-te bujar burtay kengsigü idegsen ba: her(e)gür-eče ulam sakıys burqan jarlaqu ükübei: bi ükügsen tonlaqu busu: eči eke eme-yen abču ire kemekü: ta minü üge-ber ülü bolunam: čayan sikür-tei mingya: qariyulya: üiled doysid ungsi: öglige ög: yal mandal ungsiyad: morin-iyar gışkıgöl. The bracketed phrase "the door of the tomb" has been supplied by reference to a later similar context: fol. 6v.: *kegür-ün egüden-i yaqai-bar gışkıgöl. Cf. also fol. 7v.: kegür-ün egüden-ü qarsi-yi jasayul: "have a treatment performed for the evil influences of the tomb-door" and fol. 8r.: quua üker-iyer gışkıgölün jasaydaqı. It is possible that qurim here and elsewhere means a feast offered to the spirits, a sacrifice. Cf. fol. 6v. where taking items from a sacrifice is specifically adduced as a cause of death: takil-un ed abuysan-ača bolba, and also Oboya takıqu jang üle, fol. 2r. where offerings to the assembly of spirits are termed qurim: čayulan-u qurim kiki. (See Oriens Extremus, vol. V, nr. 1, p. 32.)**

¹³¹ For example: fol. 7r.: *ači-tu modun oytoľuysan: barayun qabırıya-u mıqu idegsen-ece bolba: tere ber bi üküged ese bayasba . . . qan ijayur-tu: simnu qoyar amin-i abuba: minü ükügsen-iyer ülü bolunam. Čimadur jobalang bui: modun čimeg: čayan jırıken-ü jasal: imayan-iyar gışkıgöl. Here the spirit has been unquiet since death which resulted from cutting down trees and from eating meat from the right-hand flank. Since death the situation has been impossible, and the spirit warns that suffering will come to the survivors. A goat should trample the tomb-mouth. Also 5v.: *eme kümün-iyer qoni kötelgejü: eldeb ürtesün-iyer čimejü: yası degere talbi: "have a sheep led by a woman; ornament it with all sorts of rags and set it over the corpse". (Mo. ürtesün means "rags, off-cuts, shavings, splinters", etc.).* Nebesky-Wojkowitz reports (*Ancient Funeral Ceremonies of the Lepchas*, Eastern Anthropologist, V, pp. 33-34), that among the Lepchas, too, a dead person may speak through the mouth of the officiating *Mün*, and report the cause of death, express last wishes, and so on. The soul changes at death, as it does in the case of the Mongol *eliye*, into a spirit, called *Mük nyam*.*

This seems not to be quite the same usage as that noted by Poppe, who translates *qara* as "which brings bad luck",¹³² since although black goods are mentioned as baneful very frequently, and even in association with the "black" ceremonies, goods of all sorts of colour besides may be harmful and may have to be exposed as sacrifice.

Thus Mong. 324 fol. 6r. has the entry *qara garudi-yin tarni*: "dharani of the black garuda", H 66 fol. 7r. mentions a master of the black spells (*qara tarni-yin baysi*). Mong. 151 fol. 6v. and Mong. 287 fol. 8r. show perhaps the most extensive application of this notion of blackness. If the dice falls at *ma*, and sickness is being divined, then the sickness is due to a demon following the subject. "It is the soul of a dead woman. Destroy tormas, recite *ökin tngri* and *qara sikür-tei*. Perform a *qara ribsel*. It is (through) taking a black dish or black effects from the direction of the wind." And: "It is the impurity of a black demon in attendance—a dead woman: set up Lhamo's tormas, recite *Lhamo naybo* seven times; recite the *qara siditen* seven times; *qara sikür-tei* three times; perform the *qara gribsel rite*.¹³³ Mong. 324 has a rather different text but does carry (fol. 3r.) the words *činggegči qara ökin tngri* and *qara sikür-tei*.¹³⁴ The recital of *qara sikür-tei* is also recommended in Mong. 151 fol. 12r. in case it is necessary to recover strayed beasts.

One hypothesis might be that this indicates that in these contexts *qara* has a certain religious significance, perhaps of abnormality, an opposition to the official spiritual complex, thus perhaps not too fancifully, an anti-lamaist significance. But even if on the right lines this explanation of an unexpected *qara* in otherwise familiar names can hardly be complete or satisfactory as it stands. A *qara manjusiri* occurs in quite a different context, that is in a list of divinities and their dharanis, printed on blocks with accompanying miniatures at the monastery of Boro Toluyai.¹³⁵ This deity is associated with thirty others, figures as diverse as Shakyamuni Buddha and Tsoñ kha pa on the one hand, and Pied Garuda (*alay garudi*) on the other.

Further, amongst the rites and remedies described in our texts, the majority of which involve the expelling of offerings or substitute figures of some sort, ritual washing is twice mentioned, though without elaboration.

¹³² *Op. cit.*, p. 83 and p. 84, note 12.

¹³³ *Ma-dur ebedbesü ebečin anu dayaburi jedker bui: ükügsen eme-ün sünesün bui: tormas deled ökin tngri qara sikür-tei ungsiyul: qara ribsel kilge: salkin-u jüg-ece qara saba buyu qara ed abuysan . . . bui, and dayaburi qara jedker ükügsen eme-yin buy bui: lhamo-yin tormo talbi: lhamo naybo dolo-a ungsi: qara siditen dolo-a ungsi: qara sikür-tei yurban-ta: qara gribsel-ün kereg ki.*

¹³⁴ *Mo. činggegči* from *činggekü*, "to amuse oneself". This form of *ökin tngri* is not among those listed in ms. Chester Beatty, 1937. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 40 and 56 mentions a *lhamo nag-mo* "black Lhamo". For *ribsel* see note 23 above.

¹³⁵ *Cindamani erike orusiba: Nor-bu 'p'ren-ba*. Undated biglot in 116 folios. Chester Beatty, 1936.

Mong. 312 (a fragment of a large manuscript) fol. 72r. has: *morin-u albin-dungh: qayan-u kereg: albin kereg: eden-i kilge: aqa degüü yisün gongbo-yu ugiyaqui kereg-yi kilge: esebesü simnus-i qariyulqui bilig baramid-i ungsiyul-ede üiledbesü amin inu noyitan yafar-a-ača modun uryuqui metü gem-ün ariluyad beye-yin ebedcin ber arilumui*. Thus, amongst the remedies recommended to remove one's illness, and cause one's life to be like a tree growing up from a moist place, one should make a *kereg*¹³⁶ for washing the nine *gongbo* brothers. On the following page, fol. 72v., we read: *ungsilya inu luus-un qad-un nom ba: qutuy-tu yeke egüles-ün sudur-i ungsiyuldaqui: ökin ingri-yin qayayuli ungsiyul: yagsas-un torma luus-un delgerenggü-e kereg-arban tümen-te kilge: ingri-ner-i ugiyaqui ba: sirui mangyus-un yisün küriyen-i kereg kilge: eyin üiledbesü ebedcin-ece toniluyad: egülen-ece qayačaysan naran metü boluyu*. Thus, amongst the recital of various scriptures and the setting out of dough offerings, the making of a *kereg* for washing the gods is advised in order to free the subject from sickness, letting him become like the sun detached from the clouds.

What I take to be one such actual ritual, a detailed ceremony for the washing away of disease and impurities and the exorcism of haunting demons, is to be found in the Chester Beatty Library, nr. 1940, under the title *Qara čayan ugiyal: Dkar-nag k'rus bžugs-so: "Black and White Ablutions"*. The text distinguishes two processes, a "black" and a "white" ablution, and elaborates them one after the other. The pattern of construction of these two ceremonies is similar, and evidently no doctrinal opposition between them exists. The purpose of the rituals is to wash away horrible impurities and malevolent evil spirits which have been responsible for harming the family of the patron who is having the rites performed: *töröl-iyen alaysan jigirgemsig bujar kiged nayidangyui ba tüidker ada kiged qamuy bolai bujar-yi ugiyaqui gün narin cōga bolai*. (fol. iv.). The black washings are carried out with three types of material, *buryasu* (willow), a certain grass (*ebesün-ü qor-a*), and *dalan törü* (i.e. *dalan terigün*, a bitter root, *acroptilon picris*) placed on three black stones which have been burned. Each section of the litany to be recited ends with a refrain of the type: *teden-i qara yal qara usu qara čilün* (also *čula!*) *3-iyar ugiyamui: modu-u qoor öbsü-ü (=ebesün-ü) qoor ündüsü-ü qoor 3-iyar arčimui 3 jül qoor-bar arilamui*: "These we wash with black fire, black water and black stones, and wipe with wood-poison, grass-poison and root-poison, and purify (or exorcise) with three poisons". Amongst the specific objects to be attained by the performance of this ceremony is the removal of those evil influences which

¹³⁶ The term *kereg* will be discussed later. Here I translate *kilge* by "one should make" rather than by "one should perform" since other contexts show that though *kereg* may mean a ceremony, it may also indicate some material object used in a ceremony. Thus though Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 377, lines 31 and 39 shows an equivalence between Tib. *c'o-ga* and Mo. *kereg*, Mong. 5822, fol. 7r.: *jiryuyan čayan-i kereg ki yarya* indicates that a *kereg* can be constructed and ritually expelled.

haunt old temples, tents possessed by demons, and coloured goods. The language is very reminiscent of that of other manuscripts concerned with the magical treatment of sickness with which we are more directly concerned,¹³⁷ and it should be noticed that coloured goods in general are here specifically mentioned, not goods of any particular colour.

When the "black" washing has been carried out, the materials employed are to be set down at a cross-roads, presumably to carry the evil influences away with them. As will appear later, setting out of offerings at stated places or in certain directions at certain distances from the house is commonly recommended, and includes exposure of offerings on the highway.¹³⁸

Next the manuscript gives a litany for use in "white" washing for which three white stones and different plants, *artemisia* (*agi*), juniper (*arča*) and *surugir* (?) are used. The introduction to this section of the text refers to "ritual water for clearing away all horrible impurities" (*jigirgemsig-tü bolai bujar-i arilyaqu nom-un usun*), terms recalling those of the earlier ceremony, but the rite seems rather to protect the subject from decline of health and from the displeasure of the tutelary deities of himself and his wife, and of other divinities of house and cattle, than from the assaults of evil demons. The epithet "black" is thus seen to be associated with the rites we are considering, though its significance does not appear with full clarity.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Fol. 3r.: *busu basa qayučin süme ger kiged čidkür-tei ger ba öngge-tei ed-ün qoyina-ača dayaysan mayui ada tüidker bügüde-yi qara yal . . . arilamui*. "Infection" coming from contact with death and burials is also exorcised (fol. 3v.): *busu basa ükedel-ün yasü ügürügsen kiged bariysan ba: ükedel-ün ger-tü kebtegsen ba: ükügsen-ü qubčid-i emüsügsen ba ükügsen-ü idegen idegsen kiged tedeger mayu ada tüidker qaldaysan-i qara yal . . . arilamui*: "We exorcise infection caused by lifting up or disposing of a corpse, lying in a tent where there is a corpse, wearing the clothes or eating the food of a dead person". Cf. H 1191C, fol. 3v.: *qayučin bayising-dur oroysan buyu: ulayan ed abuyusan buyu*, and H 66, fol. 9v.: *kegür bariqu-ača gem bolba* and fol. 1v.: *mayu irua-tu üküger dayariysan-ača bolba*.

¹³⁸ Cf. H 1191E, fol. 23r.: *tabun sira čayasan öbür-tü idegen . . . tergegür-tür yarya*.
¹³⁹ *Qara* is used in the Chester Beatty ms., in part at least, in a figurative sense—for example *qara yal*, "black fire". An incomplete text of a death-ransom ceremony, *Čiblad-un üiledküi yosun-i*, Louvain 38, also uses the epithet, partly in a material, partly in a figurative sense. Thus earth from a ruined stupa, ashes from a corpse and black earth should be dug up and mixed with blessed water to make an Erlig of black appearance; he is to be very fierce with a black face. He is to be stood on a black carpet and his face covered with a black cloth. Then in front of him should be put all sorts of offerings, including seeds of "black cereal" (*qara tariyan*: according to Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, p. 647a, a cereal plant of inferior quality) and black flowers (*qara čitig*).