

## A MONGOLIAN RITUAL FOR CALLING THE SOUL

by C.R. BAWDEN

In an article published some years ago I reproduced in romanization and translated a manuscript which contained a ritual for the calling back of the soul of a dying person.<sup>1</sup> At the time, that text was unique, at least for me, but in the meanwhile one other such text has come my way, and it may be of interest to present this in the same form. The original manuscript is in the State Library of Mongolia, Ulan Bator, and I have only my hand-written notes to go by.<sup>2</sup> For this reason the romanization presented here may be erroneous in detail, especially as the orthography of the original is sometimes erratic. However, it seemed to me better to make this text known in a possibly imperfect form rather than ignore it, as the subject it treats is a rare one in Mongol folk religion, and, moreover, it is not just a duplicate of the text already published. The mental outlook discernible here is, however, so similar to that of the latter, that it is not necessary to modify the remarks I offered at the time about the nature of the soul in Mongol folk belief. I should, however, like to refer again here to my earlier suggestion, which was perhaps lost in the footnote where it appeared, that what we now know of the form a ritual for the recall of the soul takes amongst the Mongols makes it likely that the well-known lament for the dead Genghis Khan, as it appears for example in the chronicle *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, may be rather more than a mere lament, in fact a version, or at the least an echo, of a litany for the recall of the soul of the departed monarch. This lament has been commented upon a number of times in European and Japanese literature since Hans Conon von der Gabelentz's pioneer work on Mongol poetry,<sup>3</sup> but I do not think that this hypothesis has been presented before.

In my previous article I mentioned that death was often attributed, in texts of folk religion, to the removal of the life or the soul (*amin*, *sünesün*, the words being apparently interchangeable) by demons. I did not mean to suggest by this remark that the two words were, in themselves, *essentially* interchangeable,<sup>4</sup> but only that where the texts under consideration said

<sup>1</sup> C. R. Bawden, "Calling the Soul: a Mongolian Litany", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXV, 1, 1962, 81-103.

<sup>2</sup> 294.2 X 983 17246. 6 fos. 30 by 7 cm. 26 lines, calamus.

<sup>3</sup> Most recently by John R. Krueger, *Poetical Passages in the Erdeni-yin Tobči*, *Central Asiatic Studies*, VII, Mouton and Co., 'S-Gravenhage, 1961.

<sup>4</sup> See John R. Krueger, "The *Altan Saha* (The Golden Vessel): A Mongolian Lamaist Burial Manual", *Monumenta Serica*, XXIV, 1965, p. 210. In general I agree with Krueger on the utility of standard translations for technical terms. His own list of correspondences prompted re-examination of some of my own versions, and I now feel some doubt as to the accuracy of my translation "tomb" for *kegür* in those contexts

that something had been taken away by a demon so as to cause sickness or death, that "something" was referred to variously as *amin* or *sünesün*. Examples of this alternation were given, and are not rare. However, the

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where the ritual action of causing the *kegür* or the *kegür-ün egülen* to be trampled by an animal is prescribed. For this cf. my article "The Supernatural Element in Sickness and Death according to Mongol Tradition", Part II, *Asia Major*, IX, Part 2, p. 163 and note 42 and Krueger, *op. cit.*, p. 251, note 30. I took *kegür* in its alternative meaning "tomb" partly because it was difficult to visualize the mouth of a corpse being trampled by a horse or other large animal, partly because the word *egüden*, which I translated "mouth", means literally "door". However, it seems to me now quite likely that it is the corpse which is intended and that animal models are used. We have ample evidence from Mongol texts of folk religion of the ritual use of models of animals. Thus Mong 299, Copenhagen, fo. 21r., in a section headed *arban qoyar ger-ün jasal inu* ("Exorcisms for the 12 houses"), detailing exorcisms to be practised in connexion with the disposal of the dead, has such items as:

*morin sara-da moyai menekei kijü: qonin-u üsün-iyer tengleju imayan-dur açiyad noqai jil-tü kümün-iyer dorona emüne-yin jabsar-a yarya: "For the horse month, make a snake and a tortoise. Balance them with the hair of a sheep and load them on a goat and have a man born in the year of the dog expel them between east and south." qonin sara-da ebderkei balyasun-u sirui-bar ulayan üker kijü: eldeb em-üd-i tenglen açiju yaqai jil-ten ber öröne umara-yin jabsar-a yarya: "For the sheep month, make a red ox out of the earth of a ruined city, load it balanced against all sorts of medicine and have a man born in the year of the pig expel this between west and north." Similarly, for the monkey and hen months a stag and a yellow sheep respectively are to be made and expelled. A second reason is that we find *kegür* used in texts of this type, sometimes as alternative to *yarun*, "bones", where it can hardly mean anything but "corpse". Thus Mong 375, Copenhagen, fos. 65v.-67r. has items such as: *luu edür-ün jasal anu yulir-iyar luu terigütü kümün kijü: nigen sirji tariyan-a sumun kib-luya selte-yi luu-yin jüg-tür qadqubasu çidayu: kegür yaryabasu tegerme-yin küsün-ü yulir-i saçubasu sayin: "Exorcism for the dragon day. Make a man with a dragon's head from flour. If you stick this in a pint of grain together with an arrow and silk, in the direction of the dragon, it will be good. When you take out the corpse, it will be good if you scatter flour from the hub of a mill stone." Similarly, when taking out the corpse on the snake day and the horse day one should cut the cord which binds the bones with a knife, and ride an unsaddled horse respectively. Finally, we may observe that trampling is also associated with unspecified objects. H 66, Stockholm, fos. 7v.-10r., has a section which gives details of where the *erligs* or messengers of the underworld who have taken the soul of the deceased person may be lurking. They are to be exorcised in certain circumstances by trampling, but it is not stated definitely what is to be trampled, the corpse, or the hiding place or something else. Thus: *sugar-tu ükübesü . . . qara sab ba: qara ed: esgi-ü dotora qoroydamui: köbegün eme-dü mayu: sira terigütü qonin-iyar gefkegüün jasatuyai: "If death occurred under (the asterism) sugar, they are lurking in a black vessel, black material or felt. It is bad for a boy and woman. Exorcise by having (it) trampled by a yellow-headed sheep". (For *sinji* cf. Kowalewski, s.v. *sinči, sinča*. The Tibetan equivalent quoted by Kowalewski, *bre*, is explained in Ch'os-sgrags's *Tsang Wen Ts'u Tien*, Peking 1957, p. 578, by the Chinese word *sheng* 升. The same Chinese word is given by Mostaert, *Dictionnaire Ordos*, p. 620b, as the basis of a Mongol word *sing*. It seems from this that *sinji* is probably the Chinese loan word *sheng* plus the diminutive suffix *tsu*. The word is found elsewhere in texts of folk religion, thus: Copenhagen, Mong 299, 45r, *nigen sinji arbai-yin yulir-iyar öglige-yin ejen-ü beye kiged raqu-yin beye-yi egüdcü talbi: "Set up images of the patron and of Rahu (made) out of a pint of barley-flour." As a matter of interest we may observe that an item *shin* is listed as one of several hundred *tamga* or cattle-brands by Gochoo in his article "Malyn Im, Tamgary Tuxhai". (On Cattle Earmarks and Brands), *Shinlekh Ukhaan Tekhmik*, 1958, 4, p. 215, and is explained as a "measure", *khemjür*. The illustration of this brand looks like a rough representation of a shallow dish.)****

two words are not always synonymous, and only the term *sünesün* appears to be used when the recall of the soul is the subject.

The manuscript used is written in black with a calamus on six sheets of thick, somewhat greasy paper. There is some overlining, in an ochre-coloured ink or paint, according to the usual custom of marking section headings or other passages to be emphasized. The orthography is at times erratic, words being spelled and split up in unconventional ways. In nearly all cases the accepted spellings can be recovered, but one or two problems remain. As examples of the vagaries of this text we may cite such forms as *adisla qada* for *adislayad* or what appears to be *nomuqa dayan* for *nomuyadqan*. These divisions of words are all the more striking in that they occur within a line and not at the overrun to a new line. Medial *ç* and *ʃ* are not distinguished. Medial *t* is generally distinguished from medial *d*, being formed as a horizontal oval, with more of the loop to the right of the vertical line of the word than the left, while medial *d* preserves the customary form.

#### Text

11. Kümün-yi sünesü-i dälalqui sudur bui

14. Nige:

Badama sambaba baysi / -yin çagar vada da qayan / -u  
 çilegerkeju yegüdkeküi / çay-tur şaşin törü / -yin tusa-yi  
 sedkijü: / qutuy-tu badma sambaba / baysi eldeb jüil ubadis /  
 tarni: sünesün dallaqui / yeke üile inu eyimü buyu: /  
 qonin-u jëgün qan-u miqa / kiged: nigen sayulya dotor /  
 budayan qonin-u arisun ba: / jokis-tu ed-i doora inu /  
 debseju ese tamturaysan ödü / -tü sumun-du nigen bayiri çayan /  
 kibe ba: kiib uyaju: basa / oyyu erdenisi uyaju tutury /  
 a-du qadq(u)ju talbiqui: / °o a-a gili gili °huu /  
 °huu pat söva ha-a: / egüni jayun naiman-ta uriju /  
 sumu kiged: beledügsen-i adis / laju sitügen-i yegüdkel ügei /  
 tübesin-e orusiyulun talbi / basa yayun-i bisirekü bögesü /  
 tegünçe amin sünesün-i sijimler /

21. Qoyar:

tabun öngge utasun-i tataju / °o tsa tsa °huu °ba /  
 huru samay-a söva ha-a: / egün-ni ungsiju: (orusiyul erased) /  
 adisla qada sitügen-i çiytaya / bolyan tataju: orusiyul /  
 daqui: basa idegen umdayan / sayin öngge-tü qubaçasu /  
 ed baraya adayusun kiged / basa yayun-dur bisirekü /  
 bögesü: tegüni ker küseg sen / -i ere eme ba yambar düriten /  
 kereg-üd-i tegün çilen bilede / çü °o a-a hri°o °huu /  
 adis tan-a adistid-i: egüber / adislaju: küseküi kereg-üd-i /  
 jabsar jabsar-tur jokiyar / belededeküi basa sang takil-iyar /  
 takiju qamuy-i nomuqa dayan / qutuy-i yuyun jalbaran /

- uriqui-dur ibegel jil-tü / kümün-i yar-tu kibe-tü sumun /  
kiged keregten idegen qubači / sun-i bariyulju nereber dayui /  
da yulun dallaya: °ō aga / ru nōgag darma qang /
- 2v. adaya ödben-e dunda: / °ō a-a °hū pat sōva /  
ha-a :: kemen doluyan ba: / yurban-ta ungsifu: ese /  
bürüdüg sen bügüde-yi / sedkiküi: küsel-iyer bütükü /  
bolai: kemen sedkijü uri :: / degedü blama-yin nom-un /  
sakiyulsun-u tangyariy-ača / ayuju (d)ut(a)yaysan bögesü /  
tegsi bisireküi sedkil-iyer / ende irekü buyu či: ende /  
ire ire :: tengri gray odun / -ača ayuju du(ta)yaysan bögesü /  
tengsel ügei blama-yin uba / dis-tur sitüjü iregdekü /  
buyu či ende ire ire: / arban jüg-ün bodisong /  
narun jarliy sudur nuyud / -un üligerün törü-eče /  
ayu ju dutayaysan bögesü: / ačitu blama erdeni-yin /  
adis tida-dur sitüjü / iregdekü buyu či ende /  
ire ire asuri gandarag / terigüten ünür isiten-eče + /
- 3r. Turban:  
ünen irüger-tür sitüjü / iregdekü buyu či ende + /  
čidkür eliye-eče + : / ariyun burqan-u jarliy- /  
-tu sitüjü iregdekü / buyu či ende + erlig- /  
-üd jarudasun simnus / albin-ača + erdeni-tü nom- /  
-un irüger-tür sitü jü / iregdekü buyu či ende + /  
yirtinčü-yin kedün orad / -un jasay törü-eče + yeke /  
nigülesügči-yin irüger / -tür sitüjü iregdekü buyu /  
či ende + eresün irtü / üjügür-tü meses-eče + /  
ibegegči nom-un irüger / -tür sitüjü iregdekü buyu /  
či ende + emesün jig / jiber aki yad-ača + /  
ünen degedü nom-un mör / -tür sitüjü iregdekü buyu /  
či ende + qara čayan / yabudal-tan-u ?qarqar /  
?qaukir-ača + yayi(q)amsiy / -tu nom-un irüger-tür
- 3v. sitüjü iregdekü buyu či / ende + oytaryui kiged /  
naran saran-u ?id-eče + / auya küčütü nom-un /  
irüger-tür + luus-un / qad kiged möndür čakilyan- /  
-ača + ?luta aburayči nom / -un + ayulan qada ergi nura /  
yuu subay eden-eče + / vačir-tu nom-un + yajar /  
usun kiged yal kei qamuy / tabun maqabud-ača + tabun /  
jayayan-u burqan-dur + / jigürten-ü qan garudi /  
terigüten-ü oytaryui-bar / yabuyčin-u ayul-ača + /  
jilayuduyči nom-un + / olan jüil köl-ten köl /  
ügegüten-eče + ködöle / si ügei nom-un + ülü /  
bolqu üčüken örgüsün / mesen-eče + üneker nom-un /  
jarliy-tur + ülü üje / kü mayu öngge ünür amtan /  
kiged kir burtay-ača jigsijü / ayuju + ündüsün-i :

- 4r. Dörben:  
ariyayči nom-un + : / mayui ebečin güjügün qabu /  
dar qaldaburi ögüsün sigüsün / -eče + (erasure) möngkü busu-yi /  
uqayuluyči nom-un + : / öngge ülü jokilduqu-ača /  
beyen-e qarsilayčin-ača galab / jil sara qonuy čay-un toya /  
yabudal-un ülü jokildu / qun-ača oron ger tergen ed /  
tavar kiged qamuy ülü jokil / duqun-ača qarsilayčin-ača + /  
qaril ügei nom-un + ükeger-ün / yasun bariqui tülükü-eče + /  
ibegegči nom-un + öglige-yin ejen eyimü neretü abai /  
minu či činaysi buyu oda : / inaysi irekü buyu či: ende /  
ire ire + ačitu ečige / eke činu ende buyu: amaray /  
aqa degüü uruy sadun činu / ende buyu amtatu sayin idegen /  
darasun činu ende buyu: / ariyun sayin kib toryo čimekü- /  
-ün kiged anggilaqui sayiqan /
- 4v. siyabad-un ünür kiged ende / buyu auya küčütü-yin sülde /  
ayui yeke amidu ayil-un / ulus ergin ba: adayusun /  
yamaya morin temegen kiged ali / bügüdeger tergen ba amitan-i /  
küsel-i qangyayči bürin-iyer / ende buyu: abai minu inaysi /  
ire + erlig-üd-ün yajar / kürčü ülü bolqu: erlig- /  
-ün jam-iyar yabuju ülü / bolqu erlig-üd-ün oron- /  
-dur sayuju ülü bolqu: / erlig-üd-ün idegen-i idejü /  
ülü bolqu: erlig-üd-ün / usun-i uyuju ülü bol /  
igü: erlig-üd-ün o-i / emüsčü ülü bolqu: tegün- /  
-dür yakin odumui či: / inaysi iregdüküi buyu či /  
ende + erlig-üd-ün ečige / inu aburyus metü: erlig- /  
-üd-ün eke inu mangyus metü / erlig-üd-ün köbegün inu /  
birida metü: erlig-üd-ün / ökin inu jigsı kekü metü: /
- 5r. Tabun:  
tegündür buyu oda a-a abai / minu inaysi ire + tarni /  
bariyči ijayur-un eje(n) / -dür sitüjü iregdekü buyu  
či ende ire ire : taniqu / kümün-lüge nöküčen qanı /  
ju irekü buyu či ende + / tangyariy beyen-dür nöküči /  
ji iregdekü buyu či ende + / yeke nigülesügči blama /  
mör-tür sitüjü iregdekü / buyu či ende + on sara- /  
-dur edür čay-un jabsar / -ača osaldal ügei ödter /  
iregdekü buyu či ende + / noyuyan oyyu erdeni üji /  
jü iregdekü buyu či ende + / yeke nigülesügči blama-yin /  
möri sitüjü iregdekü buyu / či ende + ibegel jil-tü kümün- /  
-lüge qanilaju iregdekü buyu / či ende + idegen umdayan /  
keregten ed barayan adayu sun / bügüde eldeb jüil keregten /  
tusatan-i küsejü iregdekü / buyu či ende ire + čaylasi /
- 5v. ügei erdeni-yin irüger-tür / sitüjü iregdekü buyu či /  
ende + čayan kib-tü sumun / -i-iyar dallaqui čay-tur /

- tegüni či üfe jü iregdekü / buyu či ende ire + : /  
 °ö a-a °huu: °bag / tsa tsa °huu: °huu /  
 pat pat pat sövaha-a / kemen ungsiju erdeni idegen /  
 degel kiged: dalla(q)ui či keregten / ed-i ejen-dür inu emuskejü /  
 idegül: idegülküi-dür amin / -i batuluqui maqabud-i /  
 delgeregülfü kisig nemegütü / ged kei morin-i degejigü lügeden /  
 sünesün-i orusi yulun soyur / qa kemen ügülejü sünesün-i /  
 iregsen ese iregsen-i tedüi / toyatan-i duraduy san-i  
 yosuyar бүтүг sen metü: / sedkigül: °ö söbaba /  
 čig čirege söva ha-a: / ene tarni-yi ungsiqu-dur /  
 yegüdkel ügei sayuysan-i / sedkigüldeküi: sünesün /  
 6r. Jiryuyan:  
 iregsen ese iregsen-i de(n)g / -iyer de(n)gelejü üfe: üçüken  
 nigen čen-eče doroyisi pung / -ača degegsi irebe sü sayin : /  
 dülede yeke irebesü mayu / jedker dayaysan bui tegün - /  
 -dür qariyulqui nom-ud-i / ungsiyulju ügegü yada yu- /  
 -dur öglige ögečü nilqas / -tu qurim ögdeküi: ese /  
 irebesü dalluysan qubčasun / -i derlegüljü qonu yada manayar /  
 erte denglejü onča irekü bui / tegündür ese irebesü gray /  
 odun edür čay-un sayin-i / songyuju uridu dallaqui- /  
 -dur ali toytaysan keregten / -i tegüskejü güičegege ire /  
 kü sayin uran dayu-tu kümün- / (whole line erased: ču erased)  
 -iyer dayudayul ülü / jokilduqu yabudal-un kümün /  
 noqai mayui yayuma čegerle / jü: ?sitün jalbarin uribasü /  
 irekü boluyu :: / a-a yegüdkel ügei beyeyin /  
 6v. olji qutuy orusituyai: / jiran üyes-tü jarliy-un: /  
 olji qutuy orusituyai: / kijayar-ača qayačay san kkir /  
 ügei sidegelün öljei qutuy / orusituyai biye kelen sidegelün /  
 öljei qutuy orusituyai :: /

### Translation

- rr. Sutra for summoning a person's soul.<sup>5</sup>  
 rv. The master Padma Sambhava,<sup>6</sup> thinking of the good of the faith and state at the time when the Wheel-turning King had become indisposed and was passing away, the various instructions and spells and the great ceremony of the blessed master Padma Sambhava for summoning the soul are as follows:

<sup>5</sup> A conventionally correct form of this title, *Kümün-ü sünesü-yi dalalaquii sudur*, appears on the cardboard cover of the MS.

<sup>6</sup> The association of Padma Sambhava with this rite was noted also for the Louvain ritual. For Padma Sambhava as a patron of another folk ritual, and for the Wheel-turning King, cf. my article "Some 'Shamanist' Hunting Rituals from Mongolia", *Central Asiatic Journal*, XII, 2, 1968, p. 134. Here Padma Sambhava is connected with the worship of the saddle-thongs, *yanjuya*.

The flesh of the left shoulder<sup>7</sup> of a sheep, and grain in a tub. Under these spread the skin of a sheep and appropriate materials. To a

<sup>7</sup> Mo. *qan* for *qa*. Lessing, in his article "Calling the Soul: a Lamaist Ritual", *Semitic and Oriental Studies: a Volume Presented to William Popper*, University of California Press, 1951, pp. 263-84, says, p. 267, that the Tibetans and other peoples assume a mysterious relation between the soul and the sheep or lamb. However, as far as the Mongols are concerned, we may say that in their folk rituals a piece of mutton is listed as a requisite in ceremonies beyond those immediately connected with the soul, for example in fire-worship (for which see my article "The Louvain Fire Ritual", *Central Asiatic Journal*, VIII, 4, pp. 285 and 294) and in hunting rituals. For the latter I refer to an unpublished MS. in private possession in Ulan Bator of which I have a photocopy. The MS. is untitled and incomplete. The surviving first folio, numbered 12, has a text for the worship of the saddle thongs, entitled *yanjuya takiqu-yin yosun* which begins with an enumeration of the ritual items needed. The saddle is to be placed on a piece of clean white felt and the prayers offered with four lamps, four joss sticks, a "four-sided incense offering", the ribs of a sheep, a thigh, and the tip of the tail: *Ariyun čayan esegei degere emegel-yi talbižu dörben jula: dörben küji; dörben talatu ub-sang: qoni-u tala-tu qabirya: šiyai-tu čömüge: uuraya segül: eden-iyer uriqu bolai*. An illustration in M. Dash: *Mongol Orny Bilcheerin Mai Mallagaany Arga Turshlaga*, Ulan Bator, 1966, p. 394, shows and names 66 parts of the external anatomy of the horse. From this it is clear that *šiyai-tu čömüge* (*shaant čömög*) is the thigh, not the shin, as I translated it in *Central Asiatic Journal*, VIII, 4, 294. I am not sure of the proper meaning of *tala-tu qabirya*, and paraphrase as "ribs".

The list of requisites in our main text is naturally similar to that in the Louvain ritual. Further, a white felt and a flawless arrow are some of the requisites prescribed for use in burial rituals. Cf. my article "Einiges zu den Ethnographika der Chalcha und Buriaten im Museum für Völkerkunde Leipzig", *Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig*, XXV, 1968, 79-91, especially p. 84, referring to MS. 36, Louvain. Cf. also the section *Yerü yajar üjekü kümün-dür*, "For the geomancer" in a MS. *Tabus üküdel yajar kemebesü*, "On the five cemeteries" in a bundle of MSS. in private possession in Ulan Bator, of which I have a photocopy. Here the white felt is said to be for the officiant to sit on: *yerü yajar üjekü kümün-dür sine torya esegei debesčü sayulyaqu bui*. An arrow with a feather is also among the requisites.

A very interesting list of requisites with an explanation of what they represent is to be found in a fire sutra entitled *yal-un takilyan-u sudur orusibai*, also in private possession in Ulan Bator. On the origin of the ceremony this MS. says: *erte čay-tur nigen yuyalančü ebügen: nigen bayan kümün-dür nigen bürkeger kürgejü nigen qoni abuyad: tere qonin-u ebčigün-iyer yal-un tngri-yi takin: arban jüg-eče qutuy yuyun jalbaraysan-iyar: tere ebügen-dür kisig yeke boluyad: masi jiryalang-tu boluysan buyu kemen jarliy bolbai: tegünče ulamjilan yal takiqu yosun boluysan tere buyu: edüge manayar yal-un burqan-i takiqu-dür kisig sitügen-i belgedügsen tas ödütü sumun-dür nigen bayir-a čayan kiib wyaju: altan delekei-yin sim toytaqu-i belgedügsen nigen sayin бүтүн sayulyan-u dотора ingri-yin kisig-i belgedügsen siyai-tu čimüge: arban jüg-ün kisig-yi belgedügsen dörben öndür qabirya: luus-un kisig-yi belgedügsen qoskidayu-mu: burqan-u adistid-ün kisig-yi belgedügsen segül-ün üjegür: yadayadu dotuyadu kisig-i belgedügsen ebčigün-i yadar: dalai-luya sang-un kisig-i belgedügsen tariya kiged: öljei qutuy-i belgedügsen šara tosu: altan delekei-yin kisig-yi belgedügsen sün eden-i küjü: čayan qurayan-u arisu-iyar bürkün talbiyad: tulayan-u dörben jüg-tür dörben jula: dörben küji: dörben jalma: emüne jüg-tür sang-un indar beled: ebčigün-ü dотора tariyan-u jüül: erdeni-yin jüül: em-yin jüül: jimis-ün jüül: küji-yin jüül: čayan idege tosu: yulir: ariki kilayana: ebesü eden-i küjü: ögekün kiged: kiib toryan-bar bürkün beledü talbiyad:*

"(The Greatly Victorious Bodhisattva said) 'In ancient times a poor old beggar took a distilling-vessel to a rich man and, taking a sheep, worshipped the god of the fire with the chest of that sheep. Because he begged blessings from the ten directions great blessings were accorded to that old man and he became very happy.' The ceremony of

flawless-feathered arrow tie a square of silk and . . .<sup>8</sup>, and tie on turquoise gems, and stick it into (the) rice.<sup>9</sup>

Recite *ôm a-a gili gili huum huum pat sôva ha-a*<sup>9a</sup> one hundred and eight times, consecrate the arrow and what was got ready, and set up the object of worship permanently and firmly. Further, whatever he was devoted to, stretch a five-coloured thread from this, to secure<sup>10</sup> the life and soul.

2r. Reciting *ôm tsa tsa tsa huum bam huru samaya sôva, ha-a*, consecrate<sup>11</sup> this. Set up the object of worship, stretching it in the manner of a thong. Further, prepare food and drink, pretty-coloured clothes and materials, and beasts, and – whatever he may be devoted to – “structures”<sup>12</sup> of what he desired, in the shape of man, woman, or anything else. Consecrate these with the consecration *ôm a-a hri huum*. Prepare the “desire-structures”, putting them into the various gaps.<sup>13</sup> Further,

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worshipping the fire derived from this. When one worships the fire nowadays one must tie a square of white silk to an arrow with an eagle's feather representing the shrine of grace, and put in a fine, unmarred tub representing the firm presence of the vital principle of the golden earth, a thigh representing the grace of heaven, the four pairs of long ribs representing the grace of the ten directions, the flesh of the rectum representing the grace of the dragons, the tip of the tail representing the grace of the blessing of the Buddha, the outer layer of the chest representing the outer and inner grace, grain representing the grace of the incense-offering with the sea (translation doubtful), butter representing blessing, and milk representing the grace of the golden earth. Leave these covered with the skin of a white lamb. On the four sides of the trivet prepare four lamps, four joss-sticks, four streamers and, in front, the platform for the incense offering. Put the grain, jewels, medicines, fruit, joss-sticks, milk-products, butter, flour, spirits and feather grass inside the chest. Leave these ready, covered with suet and silk-sloth.”

<sup>8</sup> The phrase *kibe ba: kiib* looks tautologous. Later, 2r. and 5v., we find the spellings *kibe-tü* and *kib-tü*. The Louvain ritual has *nigen sumun-dur kiib qaday uyaju*: “tying a silk scarf to an arrow”. For *bayiri*, here translated “square”, cf. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p. 40, “Bogen, Quadrat (von Papier)”.

<sup>9</sup> Mo. *tuturya*, apparently the “grain”, *budayan*, mentioned just previously.

<sup>9a</sup> Evidently equivalent to Sanskrit *svāhā*, as pointed out to me in correspondence by Professor W. Simon. The problem of the structure and orthography of the mantra in Mongol texts, and of deformations apparent in non-canonical texts in particular, might be explored with profit.

<sup>10</sup> Mo. *šijimler*. I take this to be a contracted form *šijimleker* from *šijimlekü-ber*. Such contractions of the present infinitive plus instrumental suffix are not unknown: for example *wang noyan . . . aičhlaaraa ochson baina*: “The noble went to pay a visit” (*Wang Noyon Har Teregness Buuv*, Huhhehot 1956, p. 1). There may of course be a better explanation of this form, but the symbolism seems to be that the thong will attach the soul to favourite articles and restrain it from departing.

<sup>11</sup> Mo. *adisla qada* for *adislayad*.

<sup>12</sup> Mo. *kereg*. For *kereg* as a ritual object see my article “The Supernatural Element”, Part II, pp. 177–8.

<sup>13</sup> Mo. *jabsar jabsar-tur jokiyān belededeküi*. I take this to mean that these items are to be installed in the spaces left between other ritual objects. The same words occur in the manual for constructing an *obo*, *Oboya bosqaqu yosun-u jerge orusiba*, for which see my article: “Two Mongol Texts Concerning Obo-Worship”, *Oriens*

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offering an incense-offering, recite prayers, appeasing<sup>14</sup> all and begging for blessing, and cause a man born in a protective<sup>15</sup> year to grasp in his hand the arrow with the silk and the items of food and clothes and summon (the patient), calling him by name.

2v. Recite *ôm agaru nōgag darma qang adaya ödben-e dunda ôm a-a huum pat sôva ha-a* seven and three times. Pray, thinking that all that has not been fulfilled will be fulfilled according to your desire:

“If you have fled, fearing the oath of the protectors of the faith of the supreme lama, will you come hither<sup>16</sup> in a mood of tranquil devotion? Come here, come here.

If you have fled fearing heaven, planets and stars, will you come, relying on the instruction of the matchless lama? Come here, come here.

If you have fled fearing the power of the examples of the discourses of the bodhisattvas of the ten directions, will you come, relying on the precious blessings of the beneficent lama? Come here, come here.

If you have fled fearing the *asuras* and the *gandharvas* and other odour-eaters,<sup>17</sup> will you come, relying on true prayer? Come here, come here.

3r. If you have fled fearing demons and ghosts, will you come, relying on the commands of the pure Buddha? Come here, come here. If you have fled fearing the messengers of Erlig, devils and sprites, will you come, relying on the prayers of the precious faith? Come here, come here.

If you have fled fearing the sway and power of some countries of the world, will you come, relying on the prayers of the greatly merciful one? Come here, come here.

If you have fled fearing the bladed and pointed knives of men, will you come, relying on the prayers of the protective faith? Come here, come here.

If you have fled fearing the ugly<sup>18</sup> perversity<sup>19</sup> of women, will you

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*Extremus*, 5, 1958, 1, pp. 23–41. Here, fo. 3v., we read: *duulya jibseg mese qubčisun čimeg terigüten kereg-ten ed taxar ba: eldeb idegen jimis-ün jüil edelküi saba-yin jüil-i oroyul: busu-bar kib-ün jüil: erdem-yin jüil: üre-yin jüil: em-e-yin jüil: nügüd jabsar jabsar-tur oroyuluγad*: “Install helmets, arms, weapons, clothes, and suchlike requisites, materials, various foods and fruits and vessels, and in addition install in the various gaps silk, jewels, seeds and medicines, etc.”

<sup>14</sup> Mo. *nomuqa dayan* for *nomuyadqan*.

<sup>15</sup> The Louvain text has *jil čay jokiqu nigen kümün*: “a man (born in) a suitable year and hour”.

<sup>16</sup> The text reads here *ende irekü buyu či*. In the following parallel passages *ireg-dekü* appears instead of *irekü*, and should probably be taken as the passive infinitive of *irekü* (for which see Mostaert, p. 387a) rather than as a form of the benedictive of *irekü*.

<sup>17</sup> Mo. *ünür isiten* for *ünür idesiten*.

<sup>18</sup> Taking *jig jiber* as if connected with *jigsigüri/jigsibüri*, “disgust”. Tsevel's dictionary (1966) also lists a word *jigjiger* meaning “stunted”.

<sup>19</sup> Mo. *akiyad* is explained as “stubborn, strong-minded, adverse” in Lessing's dictionary, as “sonderbar, wunderlich, merkwürdig” by Ramstedt and as (1) “small bodied though not young”, (2) “precocious”, by Tsevel. Luvsandendev's Mongol Russian dictionary adds a meaning “defective child”.

- come, relying on the path of the true, supreme faith? Come here, come here.
- If you have fled fearing the . . .<sup>20</sup> of those of black and white manner,<sup>21</sup> will you come, relying on the prayers of the marvellous faith. Come here, come here.
- 3v. If you have fled fearing the intensity of the sky, the sun and the moon, will you come, relying on the prayers of the mighty faith? Come here, come here.
- If you have fled fearing the kings of the dragons, hail and lightning, will you come, relying on the prayers of the faith which surely saves? Come here, come here.
- If you have fled fearing mountains, rocks, precipices and ditches, will you come, relying on the prayers of the indestructible faith? Come here, come here.
- If you have fled fearing earth and water, and fire and wind, and all the five elements,<sup>22</sup> will you come, relying on the five Buddhas of fate?<sup>23</sup> Come here, come here.
- If you have fled in fear of Garudi, king of the winged ones, and the other sky-travellers, will you come, relying on the prayers of the guiding faith? Come here, come here.
- If you have fled, fearing the many sorts of footed and footless ones, will you come, relying on the prayers of the immovable faith? Come here, come here.

<sup>20</sup> The words transcribed as *qarqar qaukir* form a crux. Kowalewski lists a phrase *yaryar kiki*, meaning "to scold" which may be relevant. For the second element a word which may be normalized as *qukir* and is listed by Mostaert, p. 365b, as equivalent to *qukirday* and meaning "stupid and touchy" may also be relevant.

<sup>21</sup> The phrase *qara çayan yabudal-tan* requires explanation.

<sup>22</sup> Apart from the series of five elements, *tabun maqabud*, listed in Mongol usually as *modun, yal, sirui, temür, usun* (as for instance in Mong 13, Copenhagen, fos. 13v.-15v.), we find a series of four elements attached to the various planets and asterisms. The combinations of planet- and asterism-elements are of astrological significance. Thus in Mong 375, Copenhagen, fos. 18r.-18v., we find a list of such correspondences. The 28 asterisms are divided into four groups of seven, and each group is allotted to one of the four elements *yal, usun, sirui, kei*. The seven planets, plus *raqu*, are similarly allotted in pairs. Similar information is given in an untitled MS. in 39 folios in the Institute of Language and Literature, Ulan Bator, inc. *Nama siri gala çagra*. On fo. 35v. we read: *gray odun nigen qamtu uçaraysan-u maqabud inu*: "Coincidence of elements for planets and stars." The various types of combination bear separate names. Thus planet-*sirui* and star-*sirui* are known as *sidi-yin uçaral*, "magic-conjunction". If two *usun* coincide, it is known as *rasiyan-u uçaral*, "elixir-conjunction", and so on, and each different conjunction presages certain happenings for the day under consideration. It seems probable that this series of four and the series of five are both intended in our text.

<sup>23</sup> *Tabun jayayan-u burqan*, perhaps identical with the divinities known variously as *Jayayan-u tabun tngri, Qayan jayayaçi tngri, Gobi lha, Gobi-i lha-a tabun tngri*. For *yobi*=Tib. 'go-ba'i=*jayayayçi*, see Sumadirdadna's dictionary, p. 405. For the 'go-ba'i *lha lnga* in Tibetan tradition see R. de Nebesky-Wojwokitcz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, p. 264. (Copies of rituals for these divinities made from MSS. in Ulan Bator, are in my possession.)

- If you have fled, fearing unpleasant small thorns and knives, will you come, relying on the commands of the true faith? Come here, come here. If you have fled, disgusted by and fearing bad colours, which are not to be seen, bad smells and tastes, and dirt, will you come, relying on the prayers of the faith which eradicates the roots.<sup>24</sup>
- 4r. If you have fled, fearing evil sicknesses, ulcers,<sup>25</sup> tumours, infection and pus,<sup>26</sup> will you come, relying on the prayers of the faith which explains impermanence? Come here, come here.
- If you have fled, fearing the incompatibility of colours, that which is noxious to the body, incompatibilities of the calculations and courses of era, year, month, day and hour, incompatibilities of dwelling, cart, goods and all else,<sup>27</sup> and that which is noxious, will you come relying on the prayers of the unswerving faith? Come here, come here.
- If you have fled, fearing the disposal and burial of the corpses of the dead, will you come, relying on the prayers of the protective faith? Come here, come here.
- You, my dear one, the lord of gifts named so and so, do not go away, come hither. Come here, come here. . .
- Your benevolent father and mother are here.
- Your dear brothers and relatives are here.
- Your tasty, good food and wine are here.
- Your clean good silks and ornaments and your nice-smelling religious<sup>28</sup> odours are here.
- 4v. Your great powerful tutelary genius,<sup>29</sup> the people of your great, living

<sup>24</sup> Mo. *indüsün-i arilyayçi*, translation uncertain.

<sup>25</sup> Mo. *güjügün*. The translation of this term is taken from N. Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha*, Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 23, Wiesbaden, 1967, p. 108, where further references are provided.

<sup>26</sup> Taking *ögesün sigüsün* (for the second of which see Kowalewski, p. 1513) as a binom.

<sup>27</sup> This item appears to deal with the factors involved in astrological calculations, casting of horoscopes and so on, though its full purport is not clear. The term "*jokilduqu*" in the sense of "to be compatible with" is found here and there in literature of this sort. Thus, Mong 299, Copenhagen, fo. 27v.: *aliba beri-yi abqu-dur; nasun ese jokilduysan kiged jil-un qarsi ba sava-yin qarsi ba qonuy-un qarsi ba; küilil mengge-yin qarsi kiged; jüg jobkis ese jokilduysan gray odun-u mayui qarsi nuyud-i amurtiyuluyçi sudur ene*: "The sutras for neutralizing incompatibilities of age, oppositions of year, oppositions of month, oppositions of day, oppositions of hexagram and spot, incompatibilities of direction, harmful oppositions of planet and star, when you are receiving a daughter-in-law, are . . ." See also texts of prognostication devoted to the choice of a bride, for example a MS. *Gu beri-yin jiruqai*, State Library, Ulan Bator, 294.5 B 976 17094. Here we read for example on fo. 9r.: *amin-u maqabud jokildubasu urtu nasuluyad . . .* "If the 'life' elements are compatible, life will be long."

<sup>28</sup> For *siysabad cf.* Mostaert, p. 602 "voeux et devoirs des lamas", Lessing, p. 1184, "monk's discipline" etc.

<sup>29</sup> Mo. *sülde*. The *sülde* is discussed by W. Heissig: "Mongolisches Schrifttum im Linden-Museum", *Tribus*, 8, 1959, 39-56. See also the same author's article "Ein MS.-Fragment zum Kult der *Dayisud-un Tngri*", *Central Asiatic Journal*, IX, 3, 1964, 190-202 for a discussion of the affiliations of the group of divinities known as *sülde tngri*.

- encampment,<sup>29a</sup> your beasts, goats, horses, camels and all your carts, and whatever satisfies people's desires, are here in their entirety. My dear one, come hither. Come here, come here.
- You must not go to the realm of the Erligs.
- You must not travel the road of Erlig.
- You must not dwell in the land of the Erligs.
- You must not eat the food of the Erligs.
- You must not drink the water of the Erligs.
- You must not put on the powder<sup>30</sup> of the Erligs.
- What will you go there for? Will you come hither? Come here, come here.
- The father of the Erligs is like a demon.
- The mother of the Erligs is like an ogre.
- The son of the Erligs is like a hungry ghost.
- The daughter of the Erligs seems revolting.
- 5r. Do not go to them, my dear one. Come hither. Come here, come here. Will you come, relying on the holder of spells and "master of the line"<sup>31</sup>?
- Come here, come here.
- Will you come, in friendly association with people you know? Come here, come here.
- Will you come, associating with the "oath-body"<sup>32</sup>? Come here, come here.
- Will you come, relying on the great merciful lama's path? Come here, come here.
- Will you come, unflinching, in year and month, from between day and hour.<sup>33</sup> Come here, come here.
- Will you come, seeing the green turquoise-gem? Come here, come here.
- Will you come, relying on the path of the great merciful lama? Come here, come here.

<sup>29a</sup> Mo. *ulus ergin* for *ulus irgen*.

<sup>30</sup> Mo. *o*. Cf. Mostaert, p. 505a, "fard blanc", and Ramstedt, p. 292, "Schminke (gewöhnl. rote)".

<sup>31</sup> The Louvain ritual has, fo. 13r., *tarni-yi bariyči minu dayun-i činglaytun*: "Listen to my voice, the one who understands (or, holds) spells." Kowalewski, p. 1675, lists *tarni bariyči* with Sanskrit and Tibetan equivalents, and two Russian glosses: *noyashchii na sebe misticheskii formuly* (carrying mystic formulae on the person) and *znatok ikh* (expert in these). The French versions: *celui qui porte le sachet*, and *connaisseur des charmes*, are less explicit. Unfortunately Kowalewski does not identify his source. I cannot trace any reference to a phrase *ijayur-un ejen* in dictionaries.

<sup>32</sup> Mo. *tangyariy beyen*, for which I lack an explanation.

<sup>33</sup> The meaning of this enigmatic passage escapes me. The only passage in the Louvain ritual which is in the least similar runs, fo. 13v.: *či sünesün bui ügei qoyar-un jabsar-tur odbuu*: "Have you gone to between where the soul is and is not?"

- Will you come, associating with the man born in a protective year? Come here, come here.
- Will you come, desiring the requisites of food, drink, and materials, beasts and all sorts of requisite and useful thing? Come here, come here.
- 5v. Will you come, relying on the prayers of the limitless jewel? Come here, come here.
- When I beckon with the arrow with the white silk, will you see it and come? Come here, come here."
- Reciting *öm a-a huum, bag tsa tsa huum, huum pat pat pat sövaha-a*, let the jewels, food and clothes, and the beckoning-requisites be worn or eaten by their owner. While having him eat, say: "Letting the element which strengthens his life flourish, and letting grace accrue deign to enhance his good fortune<sup>34</sup> and restore his soul", and imagine that whether or not the soul has come has happened according to the way so many people have been begging.<sup>35</sup>
- When reciting the spell *öm sövababa čig čirege söva ha-a*, imagine that it has settled down unwaveringly.
- 6r. See whether or not the soul has come by weighing with scales.<sup>36</sup> If it comes below one tenth of an ounce but above one hundredth of an ounce this is good. If it comes much more, then evil spirits will have followed it. Have rites of repulsion against these recited, give alms to the poor and needy, and give a feast to infants.<sup>37</sup> If it does not come, have (the patient) spend the night<sup>38</sup> pillowed on the clothes used in the beckoning, and do the weighing early next morning, and it will surely come. But if it does not come at that, select favourable planet, star, day and hour, and make up<sup>39</sup> completely any requisites which were lacking<sup>40</sup> when the previous summoning took place, and it will come.

<sup>34</sup> Mo. *kei morin-i degejigü lügeden* (for *degejigüged*). For a similar phrasing cf. *Kü mori mör-ün sang orusida* (Chester Beatty Library), fo. 1r., *kii mori-i degdegül*, and further, a MS. entitled *Ki morin-u sang takilya adhistid-un qura-i bayulyayci kemekü* (Ulan Bator, State Library, 294.2 × 439, 17587), fo. 2r., *kii morin-i delgeregülküi-yin tula*. We may note the use of three different verbs, of differing meaning, but each commencing with *de-*.

<sup>35</sup> In Lessing's ritual, too, the officiant is required to imagine that the desired result has been obtained. For a further instance of what may be auto-suggestion cf. my article "The Supernatural Element", Part II, p. 160.

<sup>36</sup> The readings should probably be corrected to *deng, denglejü*. The usual words for "steelyard" and "to weigh with a steelyard" are *dengse* and *dengselekü*. It is possible that we have here either a variant form of this Chinese loan word, lacking the diminutive suffix *tsu*, or some confusion with the Mongol words *teng*, "in equilibrium, equally" and *tenglekü*, "to balance an animal's load evenly".

<sup>37</sup> Offering a feast to children is prescribed also in Mong 297, Copenhagen, fo. 4, a part of a ritual whose purpose is obscure: 9 *keiked-tür qurim ög*: "give a feast to 9 children".

<sup>38</sup> Mo. *qomu yada* for *qomuyad*.

<sup>39</sup> Reading *güücedke* for *güücegede*.

<sup>40</sup> Reading *dutaysam* for *toytaisam*.

Have it summoned by a man with a fine skilled voice. Avoid persons of incompatible behaviour, dogs and bad things. If you pray trustingly, it will come.<sup>41</sup>

- 6v. Ah, may the blessing<sup>42</sup> of the unwavering body be established.  
 May the blessing of the ? sixty-jointed commands be established.  
 May the blessing of immensely unsullied thoughts<sup>43</sup> be established.  
 May the blessing of body, tongue and thoughts be established.

<sup>41</sup> Or, "If you invite it, praying trustingly." The reading *sitūn* is not certain.

<sup>42</sup> *M olji* for *oljei*.

<sup>43</sup> *Mo. sidegelūn* for *sedkil-in*.