

THE SUPERNATURAL ELEMENT IN SICKNESS AND DEATH ACCORDING TO MONGOL TRADITION

PART II

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It is thus the prerogative of various demons and spirits to provoke sickness and death, though death is recognized also as something occurring in the normal course of events as well as through demonic intervention.¹ However, the actions of the subject are sufficient to cause an outbreak of sickness or to arouse the animosity of gods and demons and thus bring sickness upon himself. There are interminable lists in our manuscripts of actions which of themselves may turn out to be harmful. Thus one may have eaten carrion left by a wolf, or gone up on to a height, or accepted a cushion or saddle-pad, or worn a wolf-skin cloak, or eaten the flesh of an animal which died at castration, or met a grey-haired man. The infection may have come from a man on a grey horse.² One may have met with the detached soul of a man intoxicated with spirits,³ or one may have performed such apparently harmless actions as accepting yellow-coloured goods, quarrelling with people whose tent is near the water or going into a wood.⁴ One may have broken specific taboos, such as accepting forbidden articles.⁵ Frequently the actions listed as harmful have the effect, stated or implied, of stirring up supernatural influences.⁶ The god of the hearth or

¹ Cf. H 68 fol. 2v: *adiya gray edür ükübesü jayayan busu jedker bui*: "If death occurs on the day of the sun, this is not (due to) destiny but to demons", and *sumiya gray edür ükübesü jayayan-iyar ükübe*: "If death occurs on the day of the moon, this is due to destiny".

² H 1191C fol. 3v: *činua bariysan ulingqai (4r) idegsen buyu: öndür degere yaruyusan buyu: oilboy sirdag abuyusan buyu: činua daqu emüsügsen buyu: boyusju ükügsen mal-i-yin miqa idegsen buyu: buyurul kümün-dü jolyaysan buyu: buyurul mori-tu kümün-eče ulam ebedbesü*.

³ Mong 219 fol. 9v: *siltayan inu arki uyuyusan soytayu kümün-ü sünesün uçiraysan bui*.

⁴ Mong 219 fol. 9r: *sira öngge-tü yayuma abuyusan-ača usun-u oyira sayuyusan ger-tü kümün-luya heregül kigsen-eče*. Mong 219 fol. 1v: *modun-u dotor yabuyusan sayuyusan buyu*.

⁵ H 1191C fol. 5r: *tegün-i ese yayilabasu ebedčin taqul bolqu*.

⁶ Chester Beatty 1937 fol. 4v: *ebedčin bügesü ulayan ed ba mayu ed abuyusan-ača burqan ese bayasba*: "If it is for illness, the gods are displeased because he accepted red or bad goods".

fire may easily be annoyed or sullied, even by such a simple action as one going in a forbidden direction.⁷ A sickness occurring under the element fire of the eight-element series may, amongst other things, be due to the sully of the hearth,⁸ while elsewhere direct reference is made to the god of the hearth, *yal burqan*.⁹ The fire may be soiled by something being scorched in it.¹⁰ However, the smell of scorching is not always harmful. In Ordo Mongol the expression *kengsigün tabıqu* and similar phrases mean to burn food as an offering to the dead, while in the manuscripts under review food which has been scorched is one of the many items which should be set out in the open as a remedy for sickness.¹¹ Nor is the fire invariably harmed or offended by having foods burned in it, since the sprinkling of butter and cooked cereal upon it is recommended as a cure when fire-*ongyods* have despatched ghosts to cause a sickness.¹² Harm may come from the evil spirits which attach themselves to old temple-buildings and haunted houses, and from those spirits which follow coloured goods.¹³ Going into

⁷ H 1191C fol. 5v: *barayun emüne sayın bui: jęgün qoyına mayı bui: kerbe odbası qoor qomsa ada yajar-un ejen yal yolımda ebedki.*

⁸ Mong 219 fol. 6r: *yal-du ebedbesü . . . yal yolımda bujırlaysan-aça yeke siltayan bolbai.*

⁹ Mong 324 fol. 9v: *yal burqan-i bujarlaysan bui.*

¹⁰ Chester Beatty 1940 fol. 2r: *yal yolımda kengsigü ?kirbesü . . . teden-i . . . ugıyamı: "If the hearth is defiled by scorching, we wash this away". Scorching, *kengsigü*, is frequently mentioned as a cause of sickness or death without specific connection with the defilement of the fire. Thus H 68 fol. 4r: *doluyan ulayan-du ükübesü ulai kengsigü teden-eče bolba.* See further Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 184, 282 and 382, and for this belief among the Lepcha, John Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 208 where eating carrion and slightly burned rice from the bottom of the pot are dangerous actions during pregnancy. The association of carrion (Mo. *ulai*) and scorched food (Mo. *kengsigü*) suggests a common origin of these ideas.*

¹¹ Mong 301 fol. 13v: *arban dörben-e ebedbesü . . . tabun köke çayasan tabun sira çayasan-iyar kengsiyegü-tü* (H 1191E fol. 28r *kengsigü-tü*) *idegen-iyer dorona yučin alqu yarya.*

¹² H 1191E fol. 28r: *teğün-e doluyan keseg ulayan torıya sira torı amusu yal-dur tüssür doluyan qonuy-tu anaqu. Mo. amusu(n)* is registered in Kowalewski with the two meanings: "bouillie claire de miller" and "une partie des offrandes faites aux esprits". Both meanings are to be found in the Pentaglot Dictionary: see the chapters on food (*budaya miqa-yin jüül*) and on sacrifices (*tayıqu tabıylaqu jüül*). The occurrence in other contexts of *amusu* with the meaning of a definite item of sacrifice suggests that the word is to be taken here in its meaning of cooked cereal. Cf. H 1191C fol. 23v: *ulayan köke çayasan tabun öngge-tü torıya qoyar ayaya amusu örne yarya: "Set out to the west red and blue paper, five coloured silk cloth and two bowls of cooked cereal", and also the ritual for Obo-worship, Oboya takıqu jang üle, (Heissig, Blockdrucke Nr. 162, IV/16 and Oriens Extremus, Vol. 5 Nr. 1), fol. 3v: *qolımay tosun boyırsuy: amusun: qurıuı terigüten idegen: "mixed butter and bread: cooked cereal: cheese and such foods".**

¹³ H 66 fol. 2v: *eliye-tü ger-tü oroyısan ba: fidker-tü ed abuyısan-aça bolju: "(Death) is due to his having gone into a tent where there were ghosts or accepted goods possessed by devils". Chester Beatty 1940: *qayučın süme ger kiged fidkür-tei ger ba öngge-tei ed-ün qoyına-aça dayaysan mayı ada tüüdker büğide-yi . . . arılamı: "We remove the harmful influences and obstacles which haunt old temples, houses possessed by demons, and coloured goods". Colour plays a considerable part in the world of**

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ruined city, digging in the ground and cutting down trees, which may be considered as the home of the local deities, occur more than once in indications of the reason for a sickness or death.¹⁴ The implication is that such activities offend the deities inhabiting these localities, who in return

ideas which concerns us, being one of the distinguishing factors most frequently mentioned in designating both harmful objects and the sacrificial objects to be used. Thus H 68, which indicates where the *erlıgs* who have taken away a person's life may have settled down, fairly consistently specifies the colour of the object or beast involved. Thus, fol. 1v: *amin abuyısan erlıg inu: tere ger-te sira noqai bügesü teğün-dür odba: ese bügesü umara jüg qara noqai qara buqa-tu ger-te odba: buyı arasun: qayarqai tali erdem-dür qoriyadaı amui: doluyan qonuyısan-u qoyına tere üküğsen-ü ger-te irejü yeke keğüken-e bayumı: "The erlıgs who took his life away have gone into a yellow dog if there is one in that house. If not, they have gone to a house towards the north where there are a black dog and a black bull. They are enclosed in a deer skin or a cracked mirror or a jewel (H 66 fol. 4r *toli ba erdeni*). After seven days they will return to the deceased's house and settle in the big daughter". See also Part I, note 50. H 1191E and Mong 301 regularly indicate the number and colour of objects to be used as substitute sacrifices and the direction and distance to which they are to be expelled. For example: Mong 301 fol. 12r: *teğün-e yisün çayan çayasu yisün keseg tüğükei miqa nigen ayaya darasun naran singgeküi jüg jayun naiman alqu yarya: "For this, expel nine pieces of white paper, nine pieces of raw meat and one bowl of wine one hundred and eight paces in the direction of the setting sun". In another ritual the offerings are to be tied up in cloth of a specified colour. For example, Mong 301 fol. 7v: *fidkür-ün nere beye kijü buu kijü yurban adqu yulır: yisün keseg yaqai-yin miqa: sira küb-iyer külljü: umara jüg-tür yarya: sayın bolqu: "Make name and image of the demon and make an amulet. Set out to the north three handfuls of flour and nine pieces of pork tied up in yellow silk-cloth and it will improve". A section of H 66 devoted to the investigation of deaths according to the hour in which they occur specifies the colour of covering to be laid over the corpse in order to counteract the continued activities of the demons. For example, fol. 10r: *luu çay-tu ükübesü örne umara-aça fidker irebe: küb ba sira baraya-aça yai bolba: namur-un eçüs sara-du sünesün-i abuba: üker-iyer gişkiğülün (10v) üküger-yi ulayan-iyar quçıydaqı: "If death occurs at the dragon hour the demons have come from the north-west. Harm came from silk-cloth and from yellow goods. They took away the soul during the last month of autumn. Have (the tomb-mouth) trampled by an ox and put a red covering over the corpse". In an interesting note on page 30 of his article *Four Documents Relating to the Sino-Mongol Peace of 1570-1571* (Monumenta Serica Vol. XIX, 1960), Fr. Henry Serruys says: "The Mongols did not have the custom of burning paper". Although his direct reference is to the burning of paper after an oath has been pronounced, he does mention also the Chinese custom of burning paper money for the dead. There are plenty of references in our manuscripts to the use of paper as a ritual object for expulsion in case of sickness, and even to its burning. For instance, Mong 301, fol. 14r: *tabun jüül çayasu altan mönggün ginse dorona jayun qorın alqu yarya: usun-du orki usun tigei bügesü bula: "Set out five sorts of paper and gold and silver (?and) paper money one hundred and twenty steps to the east. Throw this into the water. If there is no water, bury it". Also fol. 19v: *doluyan öngge çayasu . . . yarya: yal-dur tüle: "Set out paper of seven colours and burn it in fire". Paper figurines should also be expelled (H 1191E fol. 23r: *sadaya yarya*). Streamers (*jalama*) made of paper or cloth (Lessing, Dictionary, page 1030) may be set out (H 1191C fols. 3r and 3v). (Streamers known as *yodar*, mentioned in Mong 219 fols. 4r and 4v, are made of cloth, according to Lessing, Dictionary, p. 434). Thus there is ample evidence, in theory at least, of the ritual use of paper among the Mongols.******

¹⁴ H 1191C fol. 3r: *ebderkei bayısing-dur oroyısan buyu: (3v) sıruı köndejü buyu. H 66 fol. 2v: *yajar-un ejen-tü modun-i oytoluyısan-aça bolba, and also: *açı-tu modun oytoluyısan-aça bolju: yajar-un ejen ba luus amin-i abuba.***

provoke calamities. A ritual for the worship of the gods of localities¹⁵ begs the divinities to accept the sacrifices offered in spite of the destructive activities of the worshippers, actions such as building houses, removing rocks, excavating tombs and burying corpses, which might prove offensive.¹⁶ The deities are begged by means of offerings, which substitute for other and more elaborate offerings which it is impossible to provide, to protect the health of the subject of the ceremony, and to break the bond which unites the living and the dead.¹⁷ Then the celebrant announces the intention of making use of the land and its produce in any case.¹⁸ Later a ritual arrow is stuck into the ground, and it is announced to the deities that the geomancers and soothsayers have found the place a suitable one for their purposes and beg the gift of it. They will not wound the local deities in their operations, but they will wound and overcome evil influences.¹⁹ That local deities were from the earliest times regarded by the Mongols as important beings who could, if offended, inflict sickness, appears from paragraph 272 of the Secret History of the Mongols, in which the illness which befell the Khan Ogodai and for which Tului offered himself as a substitute is ascribed to the Khan's having aroused the anger of the lords of the earth in China by pillaging and destroying the population and cities.²⁰ This attitude of

¹⁵ Chester Beatry 1939: *Yajar-un ejed-i jasaqui ba takil ergüküi sang yaryaqui yajar yuyuyui üles-lüge selte orusiba*. "Exorcism of the lords of the earth, offering of sacrifice, making an incense-offering and asking for the (use of) the land".

¹⁶ Fol. 2r: *ba bürin-e öglige-yin ejen näküir selte ber mandal-un yajar-i yuyuyui ba ger bayising-un üles kiged: yajar maltaqui ba cilayun höndeküi darusi orusiyulqui ükeger talbiqi-muyud bügüde-dür ebderebesü kiduquryal ügegü-e ene takil (2v) öglige-yi joyoy-layad*. (The meaning of *kiduquryal*, later also as *kiduquryaqui* in the phrase *kiduquryaqui atayraqai* (= "to be envious"), is not known to me.)

¹⁷ Thus in place of chips of gold and silver, black and white barley is offered, in place of the "arrow and sword of the firmament", nails, axes, scythes, choppers, saws, adzes, awls, and needles. See fol. 3v: *löß-tin çay-tur altan mönggün-ü kemkedeg ügei bülüge çayan qara ene arbai-yi oron-u tngri delekei-yin ejed luus (one word unclear)-dür takiysan-iyar . . . siltayan barılduysan öglige-yin ejen-ü ebekü-yin segül tasuluyad: oytoryui-yin sumun ildü ügei bülüge: kitad temür-i darqan-u qorça !qadayasun oytoluyçi süke: kiriyayçi qadayur kiruyçi kiruyul: ebdegçi kirüge: çablıyçi oyulı nıkelegçi (4r) sibüge: wyuyçi jegüü: jasanya-nuyud-iyar amitu ükügsen qoyar-un yar barılduysan-u sıjım-i tasul*. For another direct reference to smiths (*darqan*, *temürçi*) in a text of popular religious content, see the almanach Mong 326 fol. 27v: *ed mal jabqabası: yisün kümün qıyayı . . . elıye dayaysan kümün ba temürçi ba bandı ba bombo teyimü kümün suray ınu kalemlü*: "If cattle are lost, nine men have stolen them. News will be given by a man followed by a ghost, a smith, a lama or a bonpo".

¹⁸ Fol. 4r: *bi ber ünün ügüleşen-ıyer ükükü-yin segül-i (4v) tasulqu kiged ülü tasulqu bügesü qorça süke-ber oytalun üleddümüi*.

¹⁹ Fol. 7r: *sumun-i qadququi-yin yosun ene buyu . . . kitad merged ene yajar-i sayın jokis-tu kemebe: teyimü-yin tula . . . yajar-i yuyumui: sayıysın bayasçu toqum-un tedüi yajar-i öggügtün: degere tngri-ner-tür qadququi busu: dumda naiman ayımay-tur qadququi busu: doora luus-un qad-tur qadququi busu: orod-un tngri delekei-yin ejed-tür qadququi (8r) busu: qara jüg-üd-i amurlıyulqui-yin tula qadqumuı: qamuy dayısın-i nomuyadqayın tula qadqumuı: qan yajar usun-i qutuy orusiyulqu-yin tula qadqumuı*.

²⁰ Translation in Mostaert: *Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire Secrète des Mongols*, Harvard-Yenching Institute, 1953, page 363.

respect for the genii of natural features is reflected over and over again in religious rituals. To take but one example, a confession of sins included in the ritual for the worship of the mountain Muna Qan contains references to cutting down trees, digging up the earth, pulling out stones, destroying turf, troubling of springs and waters and so on.²¹ In the texts which immediately concern us there is an implicit connection between the disturbing of the ground or cutting down of trees and the reactions of the indwelling spirits. This connection is to be observed in the type of ceremony recommended as a remedy. Either a direct admonition is given to refrain from such acts,²² or else rites and recitations appropriate to the genii, especially frequently to the water-spirits (*luu*) are suggested for use in such a case.²³ Moreover, the direct connection is sometimes stated: "If anyone cuts down trees, the spirits of the trees will haunt him".²⁴

The belief that sickness, classified and assigned to its cause, is amenable to treatment, is the common underlying theme of our manuscripts. Yet although there was a corpus of medical lore to hand, it seems, to judge from the number of the texts extant, that recourse must have been had to all sorts of magical activity also, in which the common factor was not the

²¹ Oriens Extremus, Vol. 5 Nr. 1, page 33. Agriculture has however been practised in Mongolia from an early date. Excavations at Karakorum (c.1235) in recent years have brought to light parts of iron ploughs, while for more recent times Fr. Schram gives a description of agriculture as carried on by the Monguors of Kansu. Such facts put into proper perspective the generalizations made by some travellers (as for instance in the Geographical Magazine for July 1955, page 124) that the lamas formerly forbade all agriculture for fear of disturbing the evil spirits. The reasons for the unimportance of agriculture in the steppes of Mongolia are rather economic and social ones connected with the organization of a nomadic cattle-breeding society. But the long history of agriculture in Mongolia is an accepted fact. See, for example, Murzaev, *Die Mongolische Volksrepublik*, Gotha, 1954, page 48, and his specific correction, in note 20 in Prshewalski, *In das Land der wilden Kamele*, Leipzig, 1954, to the author's remark that agriculture was unknown to the Mongols. To the literature of the cult of the local deities among the Mongols may be added a ritual for the offering of incense to the *Ki-mori* flag, Chester Beatry 1938, where the deities of whatever place the worshipper may go to or stay in are begged to keep him from illness, extend his life and so on. (Fol. 4r: *minu alin-dür odqu kiged (4v) sayuqu oron-nuyud-tur orusıysın: tngri luus delekei-yin ejed kiged: jüg-yi tedkügü albin simmus buti-nar nayıçı-nar terıgüten qoçorlı ügei sang-un takı-ıyar bayasçu boltuyai: ürgüfıde ebekün ügei nasun kiged loy utıral delgeren sanaysan hereg nomçılan türgen-e büsıjü: todqar kiged sayad jedker qoçorlı ügei amurlıqu ba ölfıe qutuy-un (5r) dalai-yi qotala badarayulun jokıya*.) For *nayıçı-nar* cf. Tib. *gnas-bzi-pa*, listed in *Tsang-wen ts'u-tien*, page 475, as the name of a demon, *srin-po'i rgyal-po*, 羅刹王.

²² H 5822 fol. 2v: *luus adalaqui-çay bolumui . . . luus kiged eme albin adalamu: yajar buu hönde modun buu oytal*: "It is when the water-spirits haunt . . . Water-spirits and female albin-demons are haunting. Do not dig the ground or cut down trees".

²³ *Ibid.* *yajar höndekü kiged burtay mayui-aça jayıluydaqu hereg: luus-un qad yajar-un ejen-i jasa*: "Refrain from digging the ground and from impure acts and exorcise the kings of the water-spirits and the lords of the earth".

²⁴ H 1191C fol. 16r: *kerbe modun oytalbasu: modun-u hölün adalamui*. Cf. also fol. 16v: *ger-ün modu sumın-i musu buu ab: modun-u ejen adalamu*: "Do not take wood for the house or shafts for arrows. The lord of the trees will haunt you".

correction of the bodily condition as such, but the countering of the evil influences considered to have produced it. The world of ideas underlying such action is by no means a strange or unknown one, and it is my intention merely to try to add to the source material available for its investigation. As W. Heissig has pointed out, a people so thoroughly exposed as were the Mongols to the powers of nature may very understandably make use of all sorts of magical force to protect themselves,²⁵ and the considerable proportion of books concerning magical practices in European collections of Mongol books at least, is indicative of this strong urge for self-preservation by whatever means were available. In a world where every natural feature seems to have been the home of an influential spirit, and where so many chance occurrences could be considered omens of a future tractable if dealt with properly, these means are various and manifold in detail, though the basic principle, that of subduing, expelling or somehow satisfying the harmful influences, is as a rule discernible throughout. Magical ceremonies are performed not only to banish the evil influences surrounding sickness and death, but to protect people from dangers and disasters and to bring on desired events. Generally speaking, the manuscripts detailing these magical practices are fairly systematically organized, in that a classification under some system of enumeration will be carried out fully to approximately the same pattern, though copyists' errors often distort the arrangement. But sickness is not the only phenomenon to be dealt with by these means. It does not stand isolated as a condition different from others and distinguishable from them by origin and remedy, but it is on the contrary frequently handled together with death, the loss of animals, the success or failure of a journey, the occurrence of bad dreams,²⁶ and so on, as one of a number of matters controlled by demons, which may all be susceptible to the same kind of remedial treatment. Further, one manuscript often contains what are evidently several different texts, though they may run on one after the other without distinguishing titles. This is more than the mark of an unsophisticated copyist at work; a consideration of why several texts should

²⁵ *Mongolisches Schrifttum im Linden-Museum*, Tribus, Vol. 8, 1959, page 52.

²⁶ Thus H 5821 fol. 2r, where loss of memory and bad dreams are mentioned together with the necessary recitations and sacrifices to counter them: *eme kümün ene tayisui + (= -yin egüden-dür učirabasu) sanaysan martaqu: jegüden budungyui ödter jasayul: çayan sikür-tei nasu toyolan ungsi: çayan degel mori yarya: "If a woman comes on to this deity (i.e. in counting around a circle), she will lose her memory and have bad dreams. Exorcise immediately. Recite Çayan sikür-tei to the number of the years of her age. Expel white clothes and horse". Also fol. 3r: eme kümün ene + sedkil jobaqu: kiijugün qabudar yarqu: jegüden budungyui köl kündü bügesü yeke yai bui: nasu toyolan jula sitayaju mörgü çayan sikür-tei ungsi: beye joliya ed mal yarya: "Her thoughts will be troubled, swellings will appear on her neck, her dreams will be bad and if she is pregnant there will be danger. Have her light lamps and make obeisance to the number of years of her age, recite Çayan sikür-tei and expel a body-substitute, goods and cattle".*

be associated together seems to lead to the conclusion that it is because they are all concerned with the manipulation of those influences which are thought to control the human condition. This appears to be the underlying reason why sickness is not abstracted as an isolated, medical condition. More than one manuscript illustrates this point. Ms. Louvain 36 is concerned mainly with the disposal of the dead. It may be analysed as follows:²⁷

1-2r. List of the suitable birth-years for those who will be burying dead persons.

2v-3r. Advice on the choice of a site.

3r-5v. List of the equipment required for the successful performance of the burial rites.

5v-6v. Omens to be drawn from whether someone's clothing, possibly someone connected with the ceremony, is buttoned up.²⁸

6v-8v. Omens to be drawn from the behaviour of a snake.

8v-9r. Omens to be drawn from the behaviour of one's horse.²⁹

9r-9v. A short text on the future as shown by a bird's settling on one's body.³⁰

9v. (Different hand) List of times of the rising and setting sun throughout the four seasons of the year.

Another manuscript of like composite nature is Louvain 35 which treats firstly of nine-coin divination, applied to sickness, general affairs, tracing of fugitives, recovery of strayed animals, travel and hunting, secondly of divination by counting-out, applied to sickness only, and finally of the observation of omens furnished by the behaviour of a lamp flame. Ms. H 1191C, which has been frequently quoted in these pages, contains, as well as prescriptions in cases of sickness based on the incidence of trigrams and on the day of the month concerned, a series of magical rites to be performed in order to ensure the birth and safe upbringing of a son, to

²⁷ Cf. Part I, note 101.

²⁸ For example: *Jangči čuba tobčilaldubasu beye-dü yai-tai bui: tabun öngge çayasu darasu jalama boro torya emüne jüg qorin dörben-e sadaya yaryaju yal-du tüle: "If mantle and cloak are buttoned up, there will be danger to the person. Set out paper of five colours, wine, streamers and grey silk to the south, and on the twenty-fourth paper figures. Burn them in fire". The remedies proposed in this section for countering future troubles are of the same type as those regularly recommended in H 1191E and Mong 301 and elsewhere for actual illness, characterized by the expulsion of goods, paper and silk-cloth, food and drink, paper figures, and streamers.*

²⁹ Here too a remedy for the troubles presaged is given. Blood coming from the horse's mouth is a bad omen. If the horse one has mounted to go hunting paws the ground with its hoof, this presages trouble for the owner. A remedy is to attach a fathom of red woollen cloth to the horse's hoof and smear it with varnish, and then trot away to a distance of three miles and abandon the cloth: *nigen alda ulayan čingme morin-u köl-eče uyaju mayajin-i tosun-iyar surčin domlatuyai tegün-i yurban bara yajar-a qatariju orki.*

³⁰ For bird-divination see also Laufer, *Bird Divination among the Tibetans*, T'oung Pao XV, and Ligeti, *La Collection Mongole Schilling von Canstadt*, T'oung Pao XXVII, page 172, and Ms. Mong 302 *Grag üre nomlal bui*, Copenhagen.

dispel bad dreams and so forth. These conditions are treated in a variety of ways, but the common element is always the reliance on a magical process. Thus, to bring up a son safely, one should obtain the hair of a long-lived person with many children, who was born in a "protective year", of eight white sheep, a black bull, a white stallion and a white bull-camel, and make a net of them. One should effect a sworn brotherhood between the child and a black dog, and "resting the life on the dog", say that one has subdued the evil demons. Certain useful scriptures are prescribed to be recited, and one should also make statements such as: "His life has become like iron fetters" and think for instance of fish entering the sea.³¹ In order to fructify the womb of a childless woman one should fasten a fathom of red silk-cloth to the beam of the house, and, preparing offerings of lamps, incense sticks, paper streamers, butter, spirits, gruel and fruits, worship and entertain the fire, begging for the vital principle of the child. Further offerings of black sable, white silk, the seven jewels, and seeds of barley and wheat should be made in order to pray for blessings and to summon good fortune. One should think of the flourishing of the seeds of crops.³² If a son is born but does not look like surviving, one should take the *umai-yin degel* (literally, "the robe of the matrix", presumably a part of the placenta) and assemble

³¹ Fol. 21r: *enggiiren köbegün-i tejiyekü arya ubadis-tur inu ene buyu: ibegel fil-tü urtu nasu-tu olan köbegün-tü kümün-i üsü: naiman çayan qoni: qara buqa: çayan ajirya: çayan buyura: eden-i üsün-iyer ögesi (21v) kijü: qara noqai-bar anda bolyaju amin nasun-iyar noqai-du sitijü qoor-tan simnus-i daruba kemeged: öljei qutuy orusiyul: tusa-tu nom inu . . . amin nasun anu temür ginjin-dür adali bolba kemeged: bilig-ün qura metü nasun emnebe: jiyasu dalai-dür oroba kemen sedki. The metaphor of the fish entering the water as a symbol of well-being is not uncommon: cf. Mong 312 fol. 72r: *usun-aça qayaçaytan jiyad usun-luya ulıraytan . . . metü*, and, in the opposite sense, Chester Beatty 1937 fol. 4v: *jiyasun usun-aça yaruysan metü*. However, the point of interest here is the apparent recommendation of auto-suggestion as part of a remedy. The suppliant is to think of favourable situations. It must go without saying that remedies such as are detailed in these manuscripts can have been effective, if at all, only through some psychological process of persuasion or auto-suggestion. A further hint that this was not an unknown factor in the onset as well as the cure of a sickness is given in Mong 312 fol. 75v: *ebedün-u tula üjebesü . . . siltayan inu . . . açi-tu modun-i oytalaysan esebesü elüi ügei yajar-a yabuquı-dür sedkil inu ayuju ese amurlıysan-aça bolba: "If sickness is being investigated, the cause is . . . that he cut down beneficial trees or that, going to a deserted place, his mind became troubled through fear, and it happened because of this"*.*

³² Fol. 21v: *köbegün ügeü kümün umai qutuy-yi bayasqa: ger-ün mirayun-dür nigen altan ulayan torya bayiyul: sira terigü-tü çayan qoni: naiman kögüçen-dü jula naiman kijü naiman ulayan jalama: sira tosu ariki: dörben ayaya amusu: jül büri jimis: tegüs beledüged yal yolumda-ban bayasqaju taki: kögebün-ü sür simnesin yuyuquı-dür qara bulaya çayan torya doluyan erdeni arbai boyudai tariyan-u üre eden-iyer qutuy yuyu dalalya ab: tariyan-u üre metü delgerebe kemen sedki. There is a very evident connection between this passage and the shamanist texts described by Poppe in his article *Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen*, Asia Major, Vol. 2, 1925. See also my article *Calling the Soul: A Mongolian Litany*, BSOAS, Vol. 25 Nr. 1. The performance of a fire-worshipping ritual on the occasion of the adoption of a son into a family is described in Part I, chapter 2, of B. Rintchen's historical novel *Üürin tuyaa*.*

in it seven black stones, seven pieces of raw meat, and seeds of grain, and bury all this to a depth of three cubits at a distance of 120 paces.

This lack of distinction between sickness and other conditions is illustrated by the wide application of spells (*tarni*), charms (*kürdü*) and amulets (*buu*) amongst the Mongols.³³ Spells are recommended in our manuscripts for hastening recovering from an illness, for the protection of the contents of the womb, for the expulsion of a retained afterbirth, or for the treatment of retention of urine, and on the other hand for protecting a traveller from dangers, for stilling a weeping child or for ensuring the successful execution of a piece of magic.³⁴ Moreover, spells are recommended not only in handbooks of magic, but also in works of serious medical intent such as the blockprint *Eldeb çigula kereg-tü anggan-u debter*, which contains not only prescriptions but also charms for all sorts of conditions.³⁵ This ambiguous attitude towards the treatment of sickness can be perceived also outside those texts specifically concerned with the subject. The biography of the Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga recounts how the second incarnation (b.1724) fell ill of a cold soon after birth, and was healed only by the preservation of his mother's placenta which had been buried in the ground, but which, on the advice of the Narabanchen Khutukhtu, was dug up and treated with great reverence. A few years after this miraculous occurrence, in 1729, the young Khutukhtu was immunized against smallpox by medical means. Yet this medical intervention cannot have been fully effective, for subsequently the monks of Urga were suffering severely from pox and the outbreak was quelled by supernatural means. The Khutukhtu set out with several armed men, ordering them to shoot at anything they saw looking like men riding on camels with black frontal marks. He himself discovered the demons and pursued them, and forced them by an oath, which was confirmed by the erection of an *obo*, to refrain from causing sickness wherever the Jebtsundamba might be. After his death, the two following incarnations were taken to the monastery of

³³ Spells and charms may be worn on the person, e.g. Louvain 35, fol. 3r: *buu tarni beye-dür jegü: qarsi jobalang-aça tomıqu*, or H 1191C fol. 22v: *küjügün-dür uyabasu tusa-tu ubadis bolai. They may be hung up (as a spell in Mong 302 for stopping a child weeping at night is to be hung over the cradle). They may also be consumed, or water in which they have been washed may be drunk. Thus British Museum Mon 2 and 47, fol. 31r: *egün-i degere-ele doroyı ebkejü jalgıbasu: "If you roll this up from above downwards and swallow it" and fol. 32v: *jes tabay-dür egün-i jırıyad . . . usun-iyar ugıyaju üçüken uyuulya: ülegsen-i inu toluyai-aça inu dooroyı ulam tüsirbesü qurdun könggejıyü: "Draw this on a copper dish . . . wash with water and let her drink a little of it. Drip the remainder slowly down over her head and she will be quickly delivered". Amulets and charms also enter into the composition of an *obo* (Cf. Oriens Extremus, Vol. 5 Nr. 1, pp. 29 and 30).***

³⁴ See especially Louvain 35, fols. 2v and 3r, and H 1191C fols. 22r-v.

³⁵ Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, 103 (British Museum blockprints Mon 2 and 47). Conditions to be alleviated by use of charms include delirium and raving, retention of urine and difficult child-birth.

Dambadarjiya, where he was buried, whenever the pox broke out in Urga, since Dambadarjiya was rarely affected by the disease.³⁶

The term most generally used to designate the treatment of an illness, by which is meant not medical treatment but the performance of some other type of remedial ceremony, is *jasal*, a deverbal derivative in *-l* from *jasaqu*. The Pentaglot Dictionary has this verb in two forms, first as *jasaqu* in the chapter-heading *emčilen jasagu*, Manchu *oktosilame dasara* (Hauer, "be-handelnd heilen"), and subsequently as an individual entry *jasamui*, Manchu *dasambi*. It was mentioned in Part I that the term *jasal* is used in medical texts in this sense, namely to designate the process of treatment, but in the manuscripts which concern us it has rather the extended sense of a corrective treatment to be applied in various situations in order to improve them, mainly by pacifying or counteracting the influences provoking them. The term is used regularly of the counteraction of sickness. Thus the treatment (*jasal*) for sickness occurring on the day of the dog is as follows: One should make an ox-faced substitute figure and let it grasp streamers in its right hand and medicine-wood in its left, mount it on a dog and add all sorts of food, gold, silver, and jewels. Then one should expel it to the north-east while reciting *Čayan sikür-tei*.³⁷ In this text at least the term *jasal* is interchangeable with others, so that it is doubtful whether it held a strict meaning for the scribe who wrote out the text. In a similar passage the word *dom* occurs,³⁸ and in more than one context the actions both of employing a substitute figure and of reciting scriptures are referred to as *nom*.³⁹

³⁶ Text and translation in Bawden, *The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga*, Asiatische Forschungen, Vol. 9, Wiesbaden, 1961. Fols. 32v-33v of this biography also describe miraculous cures effected by a monk using powers conferred upon him miraculously and from a great distance by the Khutukhtu.

³⁷ Mong 219 fol. 4v: *noqai edür ebedbesü . . . tegün-ü jasal üker toluyai-tai jolij kijü qoyar yar-tai barayun-yar-tur yodar bariysan jegün yar-tur em-tü modu bariysan noqai umuysan jülün idegen-i altan mönggün ba erdeni-yin jülün öm oromu Čayan sikür-tei-yi sayin ungsiju jegün qoyina jüg yaryabasu sayin öljei.*

³⁸ Fol. 6v: *dom inu nigen beye-yin jolij kijü nasun toyolan adqamal aliba idegen kijü: qonin toluyai-tu-yi kijü tabun öngge-tü tabun sumu kijü yarqu-du qubčasan qamtu yaryabasu sayin bolai*: "The rite for this—If you make a body substitute and put as many handfuls of food as the years of age, and a sheep-headed (figure) and five arrows of five colours, and set this out with clothes, recovery will take place". For *dom* see *Dictionnaire Ordos*, page 151: "Cérémonie religieuse pour conjurer le mauvais sort, éloigner les maladies, les malheurs, etc."

³⁹ Fol. 9r appears to differentiate between *nom*, the scriptures to be recited, and *dom*, the magical rites: *nom inu bacar bidaran-u ts'ung k'ing ali olan ungsiyul: sasa delde (for deled) yajar usu taki sayin bolqu: dom inu üker terigü-tü jolij kijü . . .* "Scripture—recite the *ts'ung k'ing*(?) of *Vajravidāraṇa* as much as can be, strike clay images, worship earth and water and it will improve. Rite—make an ox-headed substitute, etc.". But elsewhere *nom* is used for both activities. Thus fol. 7r: *nom inu amin jolij*, and fol. 7v: *nom inu altan genel torom (=gtorma) talbi*; also fol. 9r: *nom inu Čayan sikür-tei ali olan jolij kijü yaryabasu sayin bolai*: "Scripture—*Čayan sikür-tei* as many times as can be, and make and expel a substitute and it will improve". Mong 324 fol. 10r, in a similar but not parallel context, reads *gürüm amu*.

In the very first paragraph of the text the term *tusa*, "help", occurs in similar context. It seems possible, then, that constant re-copying of the texts by scribes who were quite familiar with the subject matter but not over-scrupulous as to terminology may have resulted in differences of meaning becoming obscured. Certainly other miscopyings and corruptions also occur, sometimes so gross as to veil the sense completely, were it not for parallel passages which allow reconstruction.⁴⁰

Further, *jasal* indicates the type of preventative ceremony performed to interrupt the evil influences which have been responsible for a death, though even when death has occurred without the intervention of demons rites should still be performed.⁴¹ Thus in a passage detailing what must be done to locate and counter the spirits who have taken away the life of a person who has died we read: "If death occurs under the planet Jupiter, the *erlig*s are hiding inside a black sack between west and north. Within three months it will be bad for women and wrongdoers. The remedy (*jasal*) for this is to counteract it by having a black ox tread (the tomb mouth)."⁴² The term *jasaydaqui* occurs twice elsewhere in this section of the manuscript, which consists of seven paragraphs each devoted to one of the planets, and each time in an exactly similar context, and it is used similarly in the corresponding section of H 66 and in other contexts there also. Thus the remedial ceremonies for use when death occurs under the asterism *šarva* include a *jasal* to be performed by a lamaist or a bonpo, while for a death under *sadabis* the *jasal* of the water spirits must be performed, and so on.⁴³ A curious feature of these ceremonies is the employment of

⁴⁰ See Mong 219 fol. 1v: *jolij inu kijü barayun yar-tur uyuli bariysan*. This is intelligible only if expanded to read: *jasal inu . . . jolij kijü barayun yar-tur uyuli bariysan*, where the dots indicate the omission of some description of the substitute figure. For the correct pattern cf. the quotation in note 37 above.

⁴¹ H 68 fol. 3r: *bud gray-tur ükübesü jayayan-iyar ükübe: jedher busu: qara tulum-un dotora ulayan ed-tür qoriydaqu amui: modun-iyar ger egüdü eldeb meses-iyer ükegür-ün degere tegün-i oytalaqu*: "If death occurs under the planet Mercury, this is due to destiny and not to demons. They (i.e. the *erlig*s) are enclosed in red goods inside a black sack. Construct a house out of wood and cut it up with knives of all sorts above the patient". The parallel passage of H 66 suggests quite a different process: *modun-iyar yar kijü eldeb mes bariyulju üküger-yi oytalaydaqui*: "Make a hand out of wood, cause it to grasp knives of all sorts and cut up the corpse". For the significance of this alternative causation of death see an interesting quotation in Lessing's article *Calling the Soul*, Semitic and Oriental Studies, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951, page 264.

⁴² H 68 fol. 3r: *brqasbadi gray-tur ükübesü örone umara-yin jabsar-a qara tayar-un dotora niyufu amui: yurban sara-da eme ba gem-tü kümün-e mayu: jasal inu qara üker-iyer gışkigülün (for gışkigülün) jasaydaqui*. H 66 fol. 6v establishes the fact that it is the mouth of the tomb which is to be trampled upon: *kegür-ün egüden-i yaqai-bar gışkigül*. Also fol. 7v: *kegür-ün egüden-ü qarsi-yi jasayul*: "Exorcise the evils of the tomb mouth".

⁴³ H 66 fol. 9v: *bandi bombo kümün-iyer jasal külge*, and *bandi kümün-iyer luus-un qad-yi jasayul*.

animal skulls as part of the necessary equipment.⁴⁴ There are one or two references to this practice in H 68, but many more in the big compendia of astrology and magic Mong 375 and 299 of the Royal Library, Copenhagen.⁴⁵ It is clear from entries in Mong 299 that the *jasal*-ceremonies classified under planet and asterism at least are for use when someone has died, since it is explicitly so stated, and even when no further disaster is to be expected remedial action of the sort is nevertheless recommended. But sickness and death are not apparently the only situations for which *jasal*-ceremonies are appropriate. They seem to have been used, though this can only be deduced, with the aim of averting influences, however provoked, which might otherwise prove to be harmful. Thus the "empty flask" (*qoyusun qomqa*) seems not to be a device for divination as I had

⁴⁴ H 68 fol. 2v: *kereg inu nigen qonin-u toluyai-yi bös-iyer oriyaju üheger-i yurban-ta deleddeküi*: "The *kereg* (a word to be discussed below) for this is to wrap the head of sheep in cloth and strike the corpse three times". *Ibid. morin terigü-tü kereg kige*: "Have a *kereg* with a horse's head made".

⁴⁵ Mong 375 categorizes *jasal* under the planets, the asterisms, the days numbered by the animal cycle, the months similarly numbered, and the months classified as the three first, three second, three third and three fourth months, that is, the first, second and third months of each season respectively. Mong 299 has an even more extensive range, covering the 12 months, the 30 days, the planets and asterisms, the "black dog seeking its food", *Rahu*, fire, the empty flask, and so on. Animal heads are a common requisite in most of these ceremonies. Thus Mong 375, fol. 61r: *Adiya gray-un jasal anu: kifigen-e usun kijü tegün-e naran mandal jürüyad: yaqas-yin terigün selte-yi oytaryadur qanduyul: sumiya gray-un + sumala sirui kijü: qonin-u terigün eldeb kib-iyer čimejü öndür yajar-a yarya*: "Rite for the sun: put water on the neck and draw the sun's disc in it. Turn a pig's head, etc., towards the sky. Rite for the moon: put yellow earth into a little sack. Adorn a sheep's head with all sorts of silk cloth and expose on a high place". Similar rites are prescribed under the headings of the remaining planets. For the asterisms, the rites, also requiring animal heads, became rather more complicated. In particular certain substances are to be placed in the mouths of the heads. Thus *ardir odun-u jasal anu: ünegen-ü terigün-i dorona qanduyul: esebesü ünegen-ü aman-dur čisun ümkügüljü dorona yaryabasu sayin*: "Rite for the asterism Ardir: turn a fox's head to the east, or else put blood into the mouth of the fox and expose to the eastward". I am not sure if this practice is related to that discussed by Zéliné, *op. cit.*, paragraph 22, whereby animal skulls and skeletons, the predecessors of *ongyods* of artificial construction, were considered as the residence of a spirit or of the soul of the dead beast and were the objects of worship consisting in honouring them and nourishing them with food.

⁴⁶ Cf. fol. 56r: *sumiya: kümün ükübesü qoyina gem ügei: jasal inu: sumal-dur uru kijü: qonin-u terigün-i eldeb kib-iyer čimejü öndür yajar yarya*. Compare this with the quotation from Mong 375 in the preceding note. It is quite evident from Mong 375 also that the *jasal*-ceremonies for the days, and by implication others also, are concerned with death and burial. Thus fol. 65v: *luu edür-ün jasal anu: yulir-iyar lu terigü-tü kümün kijü: nigen sinji tariyan-a sumun kib-luya selte-yi luu-yin jüg qadqubas čidayu: kegür yaryabasu tegerme-yin küsün-ü yulir-i sačubasu sayin*: "Rite for the dragon day: Make a man with a dragon's head out of flour. Stick an arrow with silk cloth and so on in a pint of grain in the direction of the dragon, and it will be successful. When you carry out the corpse for burial scatter flour from the hub of the millstone and it will be all right". Here and in similar contexts *yarya*- obviously refers to the carrying out of the corpse and not to the expulsion of ritual objects.

suggested earlier,⁴⁷ but rather a device for categorizing directions which are taboo for certain purposes at certain times. The Copenhagen manuscript devoted to this subject simply states that it is bad to commence an enterprise in the direction occupied by the empty flask in any particular month, and lists these directions.⁴⁸ The Stockholm manuscript H 5831 has a text giving similar information.⁴⁹ Mong 375 gives a fuller account of the meaning of the empty flask. Its essence is that five divinities dwell in it, and it is dangerous to perform actions in the directions listed, though a rite (*jasagu arya*) is described which will counter this danger if incurred.⁵⁰ A *jasal*-ceremony against the black dog mentioned in n. 45 above involves constructing a model of a black dog. This is to be ornamented with all sorts of silk-cloth and a mirror is to be tied to its chest. Then it should be buried in the ground. The officiant sits on a black carpet and, holding an arrow with raven's feathers, recites the spell of the blue *Mahākāla*.⁵¹ A final example,

⁴⁷ ZDMG, Vol. 108 Nr 2, 1958, page 325. This incorrect inference has been quoted by Heissig, *Tribus*, Vol. 8, page 50.

⁴⁸ Mong 285, untitled. Inc. *Qoyusun qomqa (erasure) sara-du tere jüg-tür mör yargu aliba üles-tür mayu*.

⁴⁹ *Qoyusun qomqa orusiyan jüg-tür amitu-yin yambarba kereg üles üiledbesü qoyusun boluyu ilangyui-a beri abqu yasu bariqu kiged yabudal-du yabuquü ede büküin-i čigerlegdeküü bus*: "If one undertakes any human activity in the direction occupied by the empty flask, it will be vain. In particular refrain from taking a daughter-in-law, burying the dead or going on a journey". Mo. *üile* here has the meaning "activity" though frequently it carries the extended sense of "magic activity". Thus Mong. 312, fol. 72v: *üile-dür jaruqu kümün belgedebesü köke öngge-tei sayin aryal-tu narin üge-tei miyta uqaya-tai üzükün küiten ebedči-tü: qudal uran arya-tai yala yangqa-dur durasiyayči eyimü kümün-i jarubasu: gem ügegü-e bütügekü sayin*: "Characterizing the man to be employed in the rite—if you employ a man with a blue complexion, good manner, careful of speech, and thorough in knowledge, slightly affected with gonorrhoea, clever and a liar, inclined to crime—it will be performed without bad effect". Similarly fol. 73v: *üile jaruqu kümün-i belgedebesü öndür beye-tü qara ulayan öngge-tei yeke terigü-tü ayuqu metü düri-tei: kücün inu yeke nigül-dür durasiyayči: masi urin kiling yeke-tü teyinü kümün-i qataqu üile-dür jarubasu bütügeyü: amurlingyui üiles-i üiledkegübesü bügüde-de dorumčilaydayu teyin atala bütügebesu mön sayin*: "Characterizing the man to be employed in the rite—if you employ a tall man with a black and red complexion and a big head and a terrifying appearance, with great strength and inclined to crime, a man of great passion and fierceness—if you employ such a one on fierce rites they will be accomplished. If you employ him on peaceful rites he will generally be insulted but if he does accomplish them they will be all right just the same". For *üile* describing a ritual for curing sickness cf. H 1191E fol. 24v: *ede qoyar üile-dür ese anabasu*: "If these two rituals do not cure it . . .".

⁵⁰ One may turn a statue of Mañjuśri in the direction named and recite the *Naiman gegen*, or else put various offerings—drugs, seeds and jewels—into a vase, stick a peacock's feather into it, and set it out in that direction. Either method will remove the danger (*gem inu ariluyu*). A more involved form of this rite given in Mong 299, fol. 65v, involves filling the vase with seeds and jewels, and then calling on the sun and moon and five planets to protect one, while putting a written spell on top of the ritual vase and taking another one in the direction concerned or setting it down in that direction.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* fol. 64r: *qara noqai-yin idesileküi-yin jasal inu: qara noqai-yin beye-yi egüdü: terigün-i eldeb kib-iyer čimen: kögemei-dür toli uyaju: yajar-tur bulayan: qara*

from another manuscript, of the range of meaning of the word *jasal* is ritual to be performed when a man and a woman "have made their dwelling one":⁵² "Tie together with threads of five colours the head of a dog and the heart of a dead beast. With the man and woman sitting on a black and white carpet get the latter out by pulling three times. Read *Pañcarakṣa Naiman Gegen* and *Prajñā-pāramitā*. Whiten the water from seven wells with mare's milk and human and goats' milk, and wash the body in this. Boil up a whole sheep's head. Revolve the water in which the bones eaten by the man have been washed towards the right and throw it out, and revolve the water in which the bones eaten by the woman have been washed the other way, and cast it out to the east. Set out old clothes belonging to the man and woman, and motley cattle. Set out the black carpet and give it away. The owner should take the white one."⁵³

Hence it appears that *jasal* and words of its type (e.g. *ḡasaqu arya*) designate a process of countering some evil influence which has caused a disaster such as the onset of illness, or which may be injurious if ritual steps are not taken. It might perhaps be best translated as "exorcism" in most contexts, though it has also sometimes the more positive sense of ritual

debisker-ün degere sayıju: qong keriyē ödū-tü sumun-i bariyad: köke maha gala-yin jiriken tarni uribası üdayu. When the dog is eating one should refrain from certain acts. The illustrated almanac, Mong 326, fol. 42r, reads: *basa yajar-un noqai idesileke äay-tur: yajar buu könde: ger buu bari: yasun buu yarya: qola buu od tegün-i belge yurban nidü-tü dörbelji bui:* "When the earth-dog is feeding do not dig the earth, build, house, bury a corpse or go on a journey. It is marked (in the almanac) by a black square with three 'eyes' (i.e. white circles. In this almanac each day of the year has a rectangular space to itself in which are various symbols such as this three-eyed square whose significance is explained in the text). In the following *jasal*, that against Rabu fumigation with dog excrement is mentioned (*noqai-yin bayasun-iyar utayan talbi*) for which cf. also the biography of Jaya Pandita who laid down this method of suppressing shamans. (Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, Vol. 5, Nr. 2, page 17.) Eberhard *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, part 2, Peking, 1942, (Monumenta Serica Monograph III), p. 496, mentions, in the section on straw-puppets in the chapter devoted to "Tungus" culture, the case recorded by Han-fei-tzu of a man suspected of mental disorder being washed in dog-excrement in order to drive away the demons which were possessing him. Eberhard discusses the exorcistic function of the dog and of dog figures at length.

⁵² Mong. 297, fol. 4v: *ere eme qoyar-un sayudal nigen boluysan-u jasal anu.* The meaning is not absolutely clear, but from the meaning "to marry" of *sayuqu*, it is possible that a post-marriage rite is intended here.

⁵³ *Ibid.* *noqai-yin toluyai ükiğsen mal-un jirike qoyar-i tabun öngge utaru-bay oyusulajı uya: ere eme qoyar qara äayan debisker-tür sayıju yurban tataju yarya bancaragga naiman gegen bilig barimid ungsi: doluyan quduy-un usun-dur gegün-i tü kümün imayan-i süñ äayilyaju beye ugiya: nigen qonin-u toluyai bitegü äınaju ere-yin idegsen yası ugiyaysan usun-i barayun jüg ergigüljü orki: eme-yin idegsen yası ugiyaysan usun-i buruyı ergigüljü jegün jüg yarya: ere eme-yin qayučın degel eriyen mal yarya: qara debisker-i yaryaju kümün-e ög: äayan-i efen inu abqu yosun bui.* The final ceremony in this composite manuscript, while not specifically entitled *jasal*, is of similar type: "For cattle pestilence make incense offerings at the four cardinal points of the city. Tie lamps to pillars inside the city. Revolve one cup of white stones sunwise and one cup of black stones anti-sunwise and this will be very helpful".

ensuring some occurrence rather than, or as well as, countering a harmful influence. An illustration of this positive meaning of *jasal* is provided by a short text in Mong 297 which records what appears to be a ritual for securing the safe enlivening of a womb.⁵⁴

The idea of satisfying the spirits who cause disease and other disasters by offering them a substitute, familiar in many Asiatic cultures,⁵⁵ is attested in the oldest Mongol literature. The Secret History recounts that Ogodai Khan fell ill, and the shamans and diviners found that the gods of earth and water of China were angry with him. Their anger, it was said, could be appeased by the gift of substitutes in the shape of common people, gold, silver, cattle and food, but the illness nevertheless increased in intensity. It was only when a member of the imperial house was proposed as a substitute that the illness began to abate, and in the event Tului, the brother of Ogodai, offered himself as a victim for the local deities and drank a deadly drink prepared by the shamans. Ogodai subsequently recovered.⁵⁶ Stein, discussing substitute offerings made on behalf of a whole people, says that this is not a substitute offered to the demons in their stead, but is on the contrary the support of all the bad things, the demons included, of the past year, destined to be cast out.⁵⁷ While it is not easy to deduce from the handbooks which I have seen what exactly is the underlying belief in the Mongol substitute ceremonies performed in sickness and death, generally it seems that the substitute figure is expelled from the house with offerings of food, cloth, money and so on in such quantities as to make it appear that satisfaction of the demands of the demons for nourishment or for articles of use is aimed at, with the intention of persuading them to give up their hold on the patient or refrain from causing any more deaths. Indeed, very often no actual substitute figure is mentioned and the offerings are the only ritual objects named.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 1: *kebeli urbayuluyçi-dur äayan alay qoyar-ača äayan jasal kemebesü.* The phrase *kebeli urbayulqu* is not registered in dictionaries, but is possibly to be translated as has been done. The "white" ritual, consisting of the recital of texts, brings the desired result that a son will be born, (. . . *äayan sikür-tei nurud-i qorin nigen-te ungsıbarı köbegün töröküi inu degüdegerel ügei boluyı*). The "motley" ritual, involving the recital of spells and the wearing of charms, also ensures enlivening, (*alay-iyar urbayulqu inu . . . ene tarni-yi jayun naiman-ta ungsıju tegüber mayad urbayı*).

⁵⁵ See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, chapter XXVI, for substitute ceremonies among the Tibetans, and his article *The Use of Thread Crosses in Lepcha Lamaist Ceremonies* (Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 4, page 81) for effigies offered by the Lepchas as substitutes in exorcism for an invalid. Zélenine, *op. cit.*, page 199, mentions a Buriat rite *dohio* (= Mo. *joliya, jolity*), described by Khangelov in 1890, and describes other forms of substitution among the Tungus. The Greek legend of Alkestis who offered herself in her husband's place when it came to his time to die is a western variant of this widespread idea.

⁵⁶ See Note 20 above.

⁵⁷ R. A. Stein, *Trente-trois fiches de divination tibétaines*, HJAS, Vol. 4, 1939, page 357.

As is natural, the handbooks do not explain the meaning of ceremonies which were taken for granted, and whose application must have been familiar, but fortunately the terminology of the books is occasionally inexact enough or variable enough to permit a glimpse of how the superstitions were viewed at least at the time the copies now at hand were made, whatever may have been their earlier development. The parallel texts Mong 301 and H 1191E frequently refer to the offerings which are to be set out as *joliy*, *joliya*, "substitute", or leave them untitled. Thus where for an illness occurring on the seventh of the month the latter has: *joliy sira čayasan qorin alqu kürge*: "Substitute: convey yellow paper twenty paces" the former has: *tegün-e tabun sira čayasan qorin alqu yarya*: "For this, expel five pieces of yellow paper twenty paces". Not infrequently, however, the word *öglige*, "a gift, alms, a dish of food offered to the spirits"⁵⁸ occurs, and in one context at least *öglige* in one text is paralleled by *joliy* in the other. The object to be obtained is the expulsion of the spirits causing the illness,⁵⁹ and the process is seen, in these texts at least, as a gift to the spirits, or as a sacrifice offered to them. Thus, apart from the neutral term *yarya*, "set out, expel" used to indicate what is to be done with the sacrificial objects, we meet frequently with the verbs *ög*, "give" and *taki*, "sacrifice, worship". For example, Mong 301 fol. 12r commands: "The white tiger *ongyod* is causing delirium. For this set out four types of goods and a piece of meat". The parallel text of H 1191E has: "The white tiger *ongyod* is causing delirium. For this give four bowls of water and some meat."⁶⁰ For the use of the verb *taki* one may see Mong 301 fol. 12v which runs: "Make a sheep out of dough and paper and give it towards the south. If the illness is serious, sacrifice with a live sheep."⁶¹ The term *joliy* is used indifferently in these two texts for the offerings of food, paper money, paper streamers, and figurines,⁶² and so on, and for the more or less elaborately constructed

⁵⁸ *Dictionnaire Ordos*, page 528b.

⁵⁹ Thus Mong 301 fol. 8v: *tere eliye-yi ölderün yurban ayaya čisun kiged yurban ayaya darasun altan mönggün gimse jayun alqu emüne yarya*: *qariju irekü-dür numu sumun jirufu kijü talbi*: *teyin kibesü jiryuyan qonuy anaqu qolača iregsen kümün-i ger-ta buu oroyul*: *yurban edür idegen buu ög*: "In expelling this ghost set out three bowls of blood and three bowls of wine, gold, silver and paper money one hundred paces to the south. On returning draw bow and arrows and set them up. If you act like this, recovery will occur in six days. Do not let travellers from afar into the tent. Give no food for three days." See also the extracts in Part I, note 102.

⁶⁰ *Čayan bars ongyod jayulan ebedgem tegün-e dörben jül ed nigen keseg miqa yarya* and *čayan beri* (for *bars*) *ongyod jegülen ebedkü dörben ayaya usu miqa ög*.

⁶¹ *Fulir ba čayasan-iyar qoni kijü örböne emüne ög*: *herbe yeke ebedbesü amitu qonin-iyar taki*. The corresponding passage in H 1191E is quite corrupt.

⁶² Mo. *sadaya*, as in H 1191C fol. 4v: *sadaya ög*. The meaning "paper figurines" is that given in the Pentaglot Dictionary, page 2677: *sadaya oytolumui*, Manchu *urfa faitambi*, Hauer: "Papiermenschen ausschneiden". Cf. also s.v. *urge*: "Von den Schamanen als Mittel gegen Alldruck verwendete Papiermenschen". In the Ordos dialect the word is registered only as the second half of a compound with *joliy*, meaning a

human and animal figures which are prepared for expulsion. A *joliy* ceremony has been fully described by Heissig,⁶³ who indicates that a grass figure, life size, wearing the clothes of the patient, and with a paper face having the features of the patient drawn on it, is used as a receptacle into which the officiating shaman drives the sickness. This *joliy* is then carried out into the steppe to a place where a three-cornered hole has been dug. There it is burned up. A live hen is then set down at the spot as a sacrifice to the spirits in place of the man of whom, it is hoped, they have been cheated. Thus the *joliy*-figure itself is the container for the evil influences, a substitute for the patient's body, while the offering is a substitute in the sense of an alternative victim for the demons to enjoy. Such differences are not easily apparent from the laconic style in which the handbooks I have looked at are composed, thus: "To banish this: five robes of red cloth, five pieces of raw meat, five bowls of wine; make a man of grass and give it; burn in fire at 49 paces to the north; recovery will take place in five days."⁶⁴

The question of the identity of the variously named practitioners of the magic ceremonies with which we are concerned was touched upon in Part I. In the *joliy*-ceremony described by Heissig the practitioner was a shaman. By good fortune the University Library at Louvain has preserved intact the small hand-library of a lama from Chahar in Inner Mongolia who was also apparently a practitioner of these arts.⁶⁵ The library consists of eighteen books, of which only one is classified in Heissig's description as a canonical work. Most of the others are either handbooks for use in divining sickness and performing the rites suitable at sickness and death, or those texts whose recitation is necessary to the performance of the rites. Thus Ms. 35 is a manual of investigation of sickness by various means. Ms. 37 concerning the observations of one's horse was dealt with in Part I of this article. Ms. 38 is a fragment of a ritual for performing a

substitute figure made of flour paste, boiled millet, etc. (*Dictionnaire Ordos*, page 550a). The references in our texts to paper, *čayasan*, as an article to be expelled, are probably to be explained by a further reference in the Pentaglot, *ibid.*, *čayasan yaryamui*, Manchu *hoolan dahabumbi*, Hauer: "Papier folgen lassen, d.h. der Schamane, der für einen Kranken gebetet hat, schickt das Papier mit den abgelesenen Formeln".

⁶³ W. Heissig: *Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Kuriye-Banner*, Folklore Studies, Vol. 3, Nr. 1, Peking, 1944, esp. page 53 foll.

⁶⁴ H 1191E fol. 34v: *tegün-e eldürün tabun ulayan bös degel tabun keseg tügei niqa tabun ayaya darasun eberü-ber kümün kijü ög unara döčün yisün alqu-yin üjügür-e yal-dur tüle tabun qonuy-tu anaqu*. That the offerings in kind which are set out may perhaps be considered as a meal for the demons appears from general reference to such offerings as food, *idegen* (H 1191E fol. 23r: *tabun sira čayasan ünür-tü idegen dorona emüne jüg tergegür-tür yarya*: "expel five pieces of yellow paper and fragrant food at a crossroads in the south-east") and as a meal, *idümeq* (H 1191E fol. 24v: *tabun öngge-tü torya idümeq kijü yarya*).

⁶⁵ See the description by Heissig in CAJ, Vol. 3, Nr. 3.

"life-ransom".⁶⁶ Ms. 39 is a manual for conducting the departed soul safely on its way beyond. Ms. 40 is a manual for the construction of a horoscope, using black and white stones. Ms. 41 matches birth-years with planets of different efficacy. Thus of the manuscripts which Heissig put under the heading "Divination" only one, Ms. 36, a manual for the performance of burial ceremonies, briefly analysed above, did not belong to the lama. Of other books which belonged to him, Ms. 24a contains an invocation to local deities and a litany for calling the soul,⁶⁷ and Ms. 33 is a fire sutra.⁶⁸ Apart from these manuals he also possessed a White *Mahākāla* sutra (Ms. 11), invocations to the White and the Green *Tārā* (Mss. 16 and 17), a eulogy of *Āyan Sikūr-tei* (Ms. 18) and a compilation

⁶⁶ Mo. *Āblud-un üledkūi yosun-i*, etc. To the references given in Part I, note 67, should be added the important article of F. D. Lessing: *Calling the Soul*. The fragment in the Louvain collection is not entirely intelligible at present, but is short enough to be conveniently analysed and transcribed here. The ritual commences by washing the patron in water from a ritual vase and blessing the water. Then from various materials—earth from a ruined stupa, ashes of a corpse, "black earth", a figure of a fierce *erlig* should be prepared, mixing it with the water, and its face veiled. It should be placed in front of the mandala and turned to face the south. In front of it should be placed a bowl of milk, and flesh of a fish should be put in a dish. Then other offerings must be prepared: seeds, flowers, meat, butter, salt, treacle, gold, silver, turquoise, coral, pearls, silk cloth, clothes, (?*toyos*~*toyon*), a certain purgative root, tea, substitute figures of a man and a woman and models of all sorts of animal. These are to be placed in front of the *erlig*. Further requisites are scales, a thread cross, a tally stick, (?*foroyal-qara*), and a substitute of grass. Here the text breaks off. The Mongol text runs: *Āblud-un üledkūi yosun-i: angqa: öglige-yin ejin-i üile-yin qomqan-u usun-iyar ugiyamus ugiyaysan-u usun-i saban kiged: om hri hri-bar adistidla: ebderegsen suburyan-u siru ükedel-ün ünests: qara siru: edeger-i uqaju: adistidlaysan usu-bar uyaju qara dürüt-ül erlig-yi ?solaju: qara niyur-tu masi sürki: barayun yar-tur bilüü: jegün yar-tur ėalma bariysan: qara debisher-ün degere joysoya: qara bösün-iyer nigür-i büрге: mandal-un emüne jüg-tür niyur-i emüne qanduyulfu talbi: tegün-ü emüne ayayan-u dotora sün kiji talbi: jayasun-u miqa ?küčesi nigen saban-dur kiji talbi: tegün-ü emüne tabun takil: eldel jül qara tariyan-u üre: qara čičig: miqa tosu: dabusu: burum (= Tib. bu-ram): alšan mönggün oyu: sür (? for siru, bsiru, Tib. byi-ru, byu-ru) subud: eldeb kiib: qubčisu: toyol (?toyon): jobalay (for jobalay) öbesü (for ebesü): eldeb čai: ere eme jöly: eldeb amitan dürisü-yi kiji: erlig-ün emüne beled: de(n)gte činglagür: düü (? = Tib. mdos): čing tabun brangja (Tib. brān-rgyas, offerings of eatables, for which see *Oracles and Demons*, page 391): *foroyal-i qara: ebesün jöly*.*

⁶⁷ Analysed in my article *Calling the Soul, A Mongolian Litany*, BSOAS, Vol. 2, part 1.

⁶⁸ It has been known since at least the time of Dorji Banzarov (d.1855) that the fire-cult was not merely the province of shamans, since the lama Mergen Gegen, who was responsible for considerable compromise between lamaism and folk cults, composed a fire-prayer. This has found its way recently into Rintchen's collection of shamanic texts, *Asiatische Forschungen*, Vol. 3. See also Ch. Dalai: *Mongolyn böögün mörgööl tövч түүх*, *Studia Ethnographica*, Vol. 1, nr. 5, Ulan Bator 1959, page 36, for a statement concerning the taking over of this old shamanic cult by lamaists in more recent years. In his novel *Üürün tuyaa*, Vol. 1, ch. 2, Rintchen describes a fire-worshipping ceremony where the officiant is designated only as the "oldest senior of the settlement".

of the *dhāraṇīs* from *Pañcarakṣā* (Ms. 22). Thus the lama was equipped to help people in ways familiar to them during the inevitable crises of life, and the nature of his library is a further instance of the interpenetration of lamaism and shamanism.

Our manuscripts, and in particular Mong 301 and H 1191E, enter into considerable detail in listing the objects which go to make up offerings to the spirits, and in giving instructions as to how and where they are to be placed. The correct number and colour of the articles to be expelled, the distance and direction in which they are to be set out, and the manner in which the officiant is to behave during the performance, are given considerable prominence. A characteristic of these two manuscripts, at least in the section devoted to illnesses occurring on each of the thirty days of the month which they have in common, is the absence of reference to Buddhist scriptures and their recitation as part of the rituals. That these rituals have been subjected to outside, presumably lamaist, influence to a much less extent than some others, was already apparent from a consideration of the type of spirit supposed to have been responsible for the sickness. Most frequently mentioned, as shown earlier, were *eliye*-ghosts and local deities, *ongyod*, *ada* and the like, but I find no reference for instance to the water-spirits, *luus*, and the ceremonies needed to ban them, which become so familiar elsewhere. At most there is mention of an *ongyod* called *luu*,⁷⁰ but the appropriate ritual consists of the expulsion and burning of offerings while reciting unspecified spells, not of rites directly connected with the *luus*, as are specified for instance in the Stockholm Ms. H 5822.⁷¹ It seems reasonable then to look upon this as a more primitive type of ritual and to consider it in some detail rather than devote too much space to those rituals which show more strongly the influence of lamaism or lamaist terminology and which in any case are most frequently merely named, without any explanatory detail.⁷²

⁶⁹ This collection is probably the frequently cited text for recitation, rather than the whole *Pañcarakṣā*. For the recitation of these various texts see references in BSOAS, Vol. 25, part 1, note 40. (In Heissig's description of Ms. 22, page 173, *oti* is a lapsus *calami* for *nom-i*.)

⁷⁰ H 1191E fol. 31v and Mong 301 fol. 16v.

⁷¹ E.g., erecting stupas for the *luus*, and not destroying their houses, fol. 2v: *luus suburya-yi bosqa, luu-yin ger-i buu ebde*.

⁷² There is no clear-cut distinction between these two types of text, but merely a tendency for one group to show greater use of lamaist terminology than the other. Other sections of H 1191E are by no means free from recommendations to recite certain lamaist texts, for instance. H 5821, moreover, while detailing substitute offerings on the pattern of H 1191E and Mong 301, accompanies them with scriptural recitations. Thus, fol. 3v: *yal gtorma talbi yeke kölgen-ü nom-ud ungsiyul: burqan jalaju jasal kiilge quyay degel mori dörben qosiyu mal-i arban qoyar kürgejü yarya: abisig ab: sayin bolqu: eme bügesü . . . erlig-ün elči getegsen metü ödter jasayul: yulir-iyar yisün kümün kiji yal gtorma talbijü jegün jüg yarya: qara degel qara üker ulayan qoni yaryabasu*

The desired aim of these ceremonies is the expulsion of the pathogenic demon, and the objects set out are looked upon as gifts made to those very demons. This is quite evident from an entry in Mong 301: "If it does not get better within two days, then Erlig Qan is employing a man who died by falling into the water to cause the sickness. Offer a white sheep, white silk and nine cups of water to Erlig Qan in a westerly direction, and set out for the ghost which died in the water a piece of raw meat, a piece of cooked meat, a cup of wine and the stockings of the sick man at twenty paces to the south".⁷³ Food, clothes, paper, paper figurines and paper money form the majority of articles to be sacrificed, but other items are also recommended. Thus threads to the number of the patient's age, birds' feathers, drawings of bows and arrows, figures of horses made from yellow paper, may all be set out. Whereas in other texts figures of animals of all sorts should be made of flour or mud and set out, in these two manuscripts it is principally the sheep which is mentioned. Thus a yellow-headed sheep may be offered, a sheep may be made of dough, brought into the house and then expelled,⁷⁴ the skin and bones of a black sheep may be buried with other objects,⁷⁵ a live sheep may be offered in serious cases, a sheep's skull may be moved round inside the tent and then expelled,⁷⁶ or a sheep may be made to go round the patient. It may be that these activities are connected with the beliefs quoted by Lessing in connection with the Tibetans, that there is a mysterious relation between the soul and the sheep.⁷⁷ Possibly of importance also is the insistence of the manuscripts on old dried-up trees or wood as places on which demons may sit, and which should be ornamented with offerings

sayin bui: "Set down fire-tormas and have Mahāyāna sutras read, instal Buddha-figures and have an exorcism performed. Expel armour, clothes, horse and 12 animals of the four types. Undergo a consecration and it will get better. In the case of a woman . . . have an exorcism done as if the messengers of Erlig were on the watch. Make nine men out of flour and set down fire-tormas and expel them to the east. If you expel a black dress, a black ox and a red sheep it will get better".

⁷³ Mong 301 fol. 11r: *tere qoyar edür-e ese anabasu erlig qayan usun-dur unaju ükügsen kümün-i jaraju ebedgeyü . . . erlig qayan-dur çayan qoni çayan torya yisü ayaya usun öröne jüg taki: usun-dur ükügsen eliye-dü inu nigen keseg tügükei miqa nigen keseg boluysan miqa nigen ayaya darasun ebedün kümün-i oyimusu dorona qorin alqu yarya.*

⁷⁴ H 1191E fol. 27r: *çayan yulir-iyar qonin kijü ög: kerbe ebedbesü çayan qonin ger-te oroyulju taki: tere qonin-luya ulayan khib yisün ayaya darasu emüne jayun jiran alqu yarya.*

⁷⁵ Mong 301 fol. 12r: *yulir-iyar qonin kijü çayan çayasu ög: kerbe yeke ebedbesü egün-i-iyer taki qara qoni çayasu-luya ulayan khib yisün ayaya darasun emüne jayun yeran alqu üjügür-e yasun bulan anaqu.* This is the parallel to the quotation in the previous note.

⁷⁶ Mong 301 fol. 15v: *qonin-u terigün ger dotor ergigüljü emüne yarya.* But H 1191E fol. 30 r has for this: *noqai qokimai terigün ergigüljü emüne yuün alqu yarya,* employing a dog's skull.

⁷⁷ *Calling the Soul*, page 267. For the symbolical role of the sheep as a sacrificial animal, etc., see D. Schröder: *Aus der Volksdichtung der Monguor*, Asiatische Forschungen, Vol. 6, Wiesbaden, 1959, page 26 foll.

of cloth.⁷⁸ This recalls the use of rotten wood for the making of *ongyods* as recorded by Zéline, though the coincidence may be only accidental.⁷⁹

In the previous pages there have been several quotations from various paragraphs of these manuscripts. As an example of the full scope of these paragraphs there follows the translation of one complete paragraph from H 1191E: "If illness occurs on the first of the month (the patient) has gone westward and got ill. Hands and feet will be aching. He will be cold inside. A golden *ongyod* in the west is holding him; otherwise a ghost is causing the illness. If he eats he will vomit. He is warm above and cold below. Expel five-coloured silk seventy paces to the east and so banish the *ongyod*. He will recover in three days (but if not) there is a further pathogenic demon. A ghost will be causing the sickness. Expel five pieces of yellow paper and some fragrant food on a highway in the south-east, and it will be all right. If he does not recover there is another demon troubling him. The demon of five highways is (?following) him and causing the sickness. Together with a ghost which died in the tent and the *ongyod* of the pasture-ground he is causing the sickness. For this expose five-coloured paper, gold, silver and paper money to the number of the years of the age, (five words corrupt), one bowl of gruel, three bowls of fragrant meat and one bowl of water. Take and expel the nails from a man's left hand or a woman's right hand, and leave a sword stuck in above the patient.⁸⁰ Recovery will occur on the seventh of the month, but if it does not then it will be serious".⁸¹

⁷⁸ H 1191E fol. 29r: *doroysi ökin eliye bui: tere qokimai modun degere sayumu.* Mong 301 fol. 14r: *eldeb torya qomaki* (Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, page 184b) *modun-dur çimejü . . . yarya,* and H 1191E fol. 31r: *alta-tu toryan qokimai modun-du çimejü . . . yarya.* Wood not specifically rotten may also be decorated with cloth and expelled (H 1191E fol. 29r).

⁷⁹ *Op. cit.*, page 128.

⁸⁰ Items intimately associated with the patient are often required. Finger-nails, clothing, or water in which the patient has washed are all mentioned. (See also Lessing, *Calling the Soul*, page 267.) Figurines of humans and also animals have to be made and set out, even a man with a horse's face. It was shown in Part I that *yarya* is not to be construed as "slaughter" but as "expel", though "slaughter", adopted by Poppe in translating the India Office text, would be acceptable in different contexts. As evidence we have not only the fact that the verb *yarya* is used mostly with inanimate objects, but also the fact that it is interchangeable with other verbs: *kürge*, *yabuyul*, "cause to go", *talbi*, "set down", *saçu*, "scatter", *ög*, "give". There is considerable overlapping in the use of these terms, thus Mong 301 fol. 10r: *sadaya saçu*, "scatter paper figurines" and the parallel passage in H 1191E fol. 24v: *sadaya ög*.

⁸¹ *Nigen sinede ebedbesü öröne odçu ebedbe: yar höl sirkiraqu dorona küsten öröne altan ongyod barifu amu ese bügesü eliye ebedgeyü: idegen idebesü bögeljiyü degere qalayun doora küsten bui: tabun öngge-tü torya dorona jüg dalan alqu tere altan ongyod aralaju* (Mong 301 *altan ongyod-i arilyayçi-yi*) *yarya: yurban edür anaqu: tere basa ada ene bui: eliye ebedgeyü: tabun sira çayasun ünür-tü idegen dorona emüne jüg tergegür-tür yarya: sayin bolqu: ese anabasu beye jobaqu ada ene bui: tabun tergegür-ün ada daraju (?daraju, or dayariju as Mong 301) ebeddüyü: ger-ün ükügsen eliye natuy-un ongyod yurban qabsan ebeddüyü: tegün-e tabun öngge-tü çayasun altan mönggün gimse nasun toyolan örögsen*

Continued on following page

The demon must not only be lured out of the house but it must be ensured that it cannot return. In the ceremony described by Heissig the puppet was brought to a hole which had been dug in the steppe and burned there. Then the shaman drove the spirits into the hole which was closed with a stone and protected by a ritual dagger stuck into the ground. Various objects were left in the hole as symbols of the impossibility of the demon's returning—a boiled egg, a horse skull, a dog skull and boiled millet. The shaman insulted the demons saying that shaman and demons will meet again only when chickens come out of the egg, flesh grows on the skulls and new shoots come from the millet. Burning is prescribed in our manuscripts too, once at least of a substitute figure of a man, but frequently also of the offerings themselves. Offerings may also be thrown into water or buried. A defensive attitude towards the demons is also frequently necessary to prevent their return or to render their return ineffective. One should keep strangers out of the tent for specified periods, doubtless in case a demon should attach itself to them or their belongings and so regain access. The officiant may shout loudly while laying an offering of five pieces of blue silk on a bush.⁸³ He may go out to perform the ceremony grasping a

ebēin kümün-i nasun toyolan (cf. Mong 301: *gimse-iyer ebēin kümün-i nasun toyolan örtesin*: "scraps (of material, etc.) from the patient to the number of his years") *nigen ayaya sümüsü: yurban ayaya ünür-tü miqa: nigen ayaya usun yarya: ere kümün barayun* (for *jegün*. Cf. Mong 301 *jegün*) *yar-un* (supply *kimusun*) *abču yarya: eme kümün-i barun yar-un kimusun ebēin kümün-ü degere ildü qadquju talbi: doluyan sinede sayin bolqu ese sayin bolbasu berke bui*.

⁸³ Thus in Mong 297 fol. 3v, should sickness occur in certain circumstances one should procure flour from a man of equal age and divide it into three parts. From one of these make figures of the twelve years and also torma. From the second construct a *yayisu* (for *yayisu* see the Pentaglot, page 2676 s.v. *yayisu darumui*, Manchu *fabargan gidambi*, Hauer: "kranke Kinder heilen durch Aufdrücken eines in ein Taschentuch gewickelten korngefüllten Bechers"). For a note equating *yayisu* and Tib. *blud*, "substitute", see Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, page 279). The third part should be mixed up with water with which the body has been washed and made into a *jolyi*-figure of the size of a "short span". (*muqur sögem*). Clothes should be put on this figure and it should be laid on the bed. Previously tormas should have been given to gods and demons and the eight classes of spirits. The twelve years are to be set out in suitable directions. Then the *jolyi*-figure is to be moved round the sick man three times and then expelled in the direction of the evil demons of sickness. Then the man who is sick because of a demon (*ada-yin ebēiten-i*) must move into another bed, and he will recover. The inference here seems to be that the demons will be deceived first by the substitute laid on the sick bed and then by the removal of the patient from the familiar bed should they succeed in re-entering the house. Dressing the *jolyi* in clothes is doubtless intended to increase its likeness to the patient and is recommended more than once. An entry in H 5821 fol. 1v specifying "favourite clothes" would appear to stress further this identification of the subject and the substitute figure. The text runs: *ebesün-iyer kümün hijil tegün-dür qayira-tu qubčusun ed-iyen emuskeged köke boro mori unuyulju: jegün emüne dalan alqu-yin tedüi yajar-a kürgejil ildü sumun-iyar qarbuju: çabčiju orki*: "Make a man out of grass and dress it in your favourite clothes, mount it on a blue-grey horse and send it to a distance of 70 paces to the south-east. Shoot and cut it to pieces with arrows and sword".

⁸⁴ Mong 301 fol. 13r: *tabun köke torya emüne buta degere yeke dayudaju talbi*.

sword, and on his return leave the sword sticking in the tent door.⁸⁴ He may hold a knife in his hand while reciting spells and burning the offerings.⁸⁵ The man who sets out the offerings, though carrying a sword for protection and uttering spells, may, however, apparently become infected himself, and must be refused admittance to the tent on his return, or the bowl which he took may alone be excluded.⁸⁶ A bow and arrow may be drawn and displayed in the house.⁸⁷

This use of weapons as ritual objects recalls their use also as part of the equipment of the obo or ritual cairn, and is one feature of the sickness-rituals in these two manuscripts which appears to me to emphasize their somewhat closer connection with shamanism than that revealed by other texts.⁸⁸ Other features speak for this suggestion, though none can be at all of a decisive nature in view of the impossibility of defining the limits of shamanism, lamaism and Bon. On the negative side we may note the absence of references to cult objects such as tormas and tsatsas,⁸⁹ and, as already observed, to sutras of Buddhist or other origin. I find in the section of H 1191E and Mong 301 under consideration no religious texts at all mentioned by name, nor any Buddhist deity. On the other hand, practices are mentioned which can be seen, for instance from the Pentaglot Dictionary, to have been, even if not exclusively, the property of northern

⁸⁴ Mong 301 fol. 14r: *usun-du orki usun ügei bügesü büle* (for *bula*): *ildü bariju yarya: büle: qariju irejü ildü-yi egüden-dür qadquju talbi*. The sword may also be stuck in above the sick man as noted above. In this connection there is an interesting parallel in Von LeCoq, *Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkistan*, Leipzig, 1928, page 127, concerning a request made to him in Kucha for the loan of his rifle to hang above the bed of a woman who had recently given birth in order to keep evil spirits at a distance.

⁸⁵ Mong 301 fol. 17r: *kituyan bariju tarni ungsiju . . . yal-dur tüle*.

⁸⁶ H 1191E fol. 31v: *ildü bariju nom tarni ungsiju dorona emüne yarya: qariju irejü ayayan yaryaysan kümün-i ger-te buu oroyul*. For exclusion of a living substitute from the house of the person for whom he has substituted, see *Oracles and Demons*, page 513. For the exclusion of the ritual bowl see H 1191E fol. 29v: *abču oduysan ayaya-yi ger-te buu oroyul*.

⁸⁷ H 1191E fol. 23v: *qariju ger dotora numun sumun jirufu talbi*. Also H 1191E fol. 30r.

⁸⁸ Cf. Oriens Extremus, Vol 5, Nr. 1, page 35.

⁸⁹ The making of both tormas and tsatsas (Tib. *ts'a ts'a*, small clay images) is a regular accompaniment to exorcisms as prescribed in other texts. Thus Mong 219, fol. 7v: *nom inu altan gerel torom talbi*; fol. 8r: *nom inu . . . usun-u baling talbi*; Mong 324, fol. 5r: *saca deled: lugtor talbi* ("Strike tsatsas and set up tormas for the water-spirits"); H 5822, fol. 1v: *čayan caca deled: todqar-i qariyul*; Mong 151, fol. 7v: *luus-un qayan taki saca jayu naiman deled*, Mong 325, fol. 3v. fixes the meaning of Mo. *čaysum* (also read *cagrum* in the Obo-ritual, Heissig, *Blockdrucke*, item 162, IV, 16, fol. 3r.) For the Mo. text *dörben jüg-tü čaysum ergü*, Chester Beatty 1952, fol. 4v has *p'yogs-bär c'a-gsum*, thus establishing the meaning "three-part". Cf. also Mong. 312 fol. 76v: *albin-u dungli . . . yurban qubi deden-i kilge*: "Make an albin-demon threadcross . . . and three-part (tormas)" and also Farquhar, CAJ, Vol. 1 Nr. 3, page 193 sub-item 27, for a title *yurban qubi-tu baling*, where the Chinese margin title 茶 *ch'a* indicates an original Tibetan *c'a*.

Asiatic shamanism—expulsion of paper figures, calling the soul, and so on.⁹⁰

It is not my intention to examine the many other methods of countering evil influences mentioned in our various manuscripts, since generally speaking they are referred to only extremely briefly without any descriptive matter, and full accounts of similar magic ceremonies as carried out amongst Tibetans and Lepchas, for instance, are available.⁹¹ It may be of interest, however, to examine briefly the terminology used by our manuscripts in referring to these magic objects such as threadcrosses in particular, which play a great part in protective magic. The appearance and use of the threadcross in Tibet have been exhaustively described by Nebesky-Wojkowitz, and together with Mr. Geoffrey Gorer the same author was able to examine the subject on the spot amongst the Lepchas.⁹² Our texts refer frequently to threadcrosses but without much explanatory matter. As far as I am aware the only word meaning "threadcross" to be found in standard dictionaries of Mongol is *dungli*. Kowalewski's definition "certains figures qu'on offre aux esprits" has been taken over into Lessing's dictionary, but without the original reference and gloss as Tibetan *mdos* which would permit the definition to be checked. Kowalewski's single reference is to fol. 97 of the biography of Milarasba: *Getülgegi milarasba-yin namtar*. Examination of this passage in Hoffmann (*op. cit.*, page 383) shows the correspondence to be in fact to Tib. *blud-mdos* which Hoffmann (page 283) translates as two entities: "die Substitutsfiguren und Fadenkreuze". Elsewhere (page 384) there occurs the phrase *spyi-mdos* which appears in the Mongol translation as *yerüngkei dungli*, and in the German

⁹⁰ Cf. also a passage in Mong 297 fol. 4r, whose exact import is not clear, but which appears to indicate methods for safely passing over climacteric years in one's life (9, 18, 27 and so on). The section begins: *tedeger qamuy yisün nidün (nüke, interlinearly) jasaqui arya*, and ends: *jil-ün 9 nüke kemeberü 9, 18 (etc. to 81) buyu*. One item re-states the use in rituals of an arrow for a man and a spindle for a woman noted by Lessing, *Calling the Soul*, page 267, and in *Oracles and Demons*, page 359. Text: *ere kümün sumame kümün-i ig-i nasun toyolan eriyelejü obyotan qadquyad*: ("People of the same name sticking in arrows for a man and spindles for a woman, variegated, to the number of the years of age"). More interesting, as being perhaps associated with the shamanistic use of ladders as a means of communication with the world of the gods as well as an initiatory rite (see Eliade, *op. cit.*, page 423 *et al.*) is the following: "Make a ladder of nine rungs with cord and climb up it and say, 'I have got over the nine eyes'. Make a figure of one's year-(animal)": *degesün-iyer 9 iye-tü sadun kijü tegün-e degegrü abarin 9 nidün-i getülba keme ügülejü öber-ün jil-ün beyen-i egüdcü*.

⁹¹ Recitations of scriptures and use of ritual objects such as threadcrosses, *zor lingga*, etc.

⁹² *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, and *The Use of Thread Crosses in Lepcha Lamaist Ceremonies*. Waddell, *Lamaism*, page 484, also mentions the use of threadcrosses in connection with the ceremony of "closing the doors of the earth" while Nebesky-Wojkowitz and Gorer, page 67, show how it is used in the ceremony of "closing the door of the sky-demons". For Mongol titles of such ceremonies cf. H 582r fol. 1v: *yajar-un erüke daru*, and Chester Beatty 1937, fol. 3v: *oytaryui-yin egüden qaryam namančilabasu sayin*.

(page 283) as "das Spyi-mdos (Fadenkreuz) . . .". There is thus good *a priori* evidence for equating *dungli* with *mdos*, and in fact the Mongol word *dungli* occurs frequently in our manuscripts where the meaning is apparently "threadcross". A passage in a manuscript on scapulimancy establishes the correspondence,⁹³ which is confirmed by the identity of the names of several threadcrosses in the manuscripts with those in a list given by Nebesky-Wojkowitz. Thus:

<i>albin-u dungli</i>	<i>btsan mdos</i>
<i>qayan dungli</i>	<i>rgyal mdos</i>
<i>luus-un dungli</i>	<i>klu mdos</i>
<i>nayur-un otači eke-yin dungli</i>	<i>mts'o-sman dgu mdos (?)</i>
<i>mamo-yin dungli</i>	<i>ma-mo mdos</i>
<i>buyu-yin eber-i čimekü-yin dungli</i>	<i>ša-ba' i ru mdos</i>
<i>behar qan-u dungli</i>	<i>pe har gdañ mdos (?)</i>
<i>simnus-i qariyulqui dungli</i>	<i>bdud mdos</i>

Threadcrosses are occasionally referred to by a transliteration of Tib. *mdos*.⁹⁴ It is, however, the use of the Mongol word *kereg* in these contexts which needs special consideration. Standard dictionaries register it only with the familiar range of meanings: "Affair, thing, business, duty, necessity, trouble, difficulty." An extension of the meaning can be seen in the Milarasba biography already quoted where it is equated with Tib. *c'o-ga* and translated "Ritus" (pages 279, 377 and 378). Elsewhere it is the translation offered for Tib. *sel*, Hoffmann, "Reinigungszereemonie". This use of *kereg* to indicate a ritual was briefly mentioned in Part I, note 58, and in note 136 it was shown that *kereg* denotes not only a ritual⁹⁵ but also some physical object used in the course of a ritual, since a *kereg* can be constructed and ritually expelled. In the quotation from Mong 324 just noted, *kereg* is used to resume the two terms *jaldui jālčong*,⁹⁶ but the word is also used unambiguously to indicate a ritual object in a number of contexts, and the similarity of nomenclature suggests that it may be used

⁹³ CAJ, Vol. 4, Nr. 1, note 73.

⁹⁴ E.g. CAJ, *ibid.*, page 26: *dara eke-yin düi*. Also Mong 324 fol. 3v: *jaldui jālčong kereg-üd-i külge*: "Have a royal threadcross and a royal fortress made". For *jaldui cf. Oracles and Demons*, page 371, *rgyal mdos*. I take *jālčong* to be a compound of Tib. *rgyal* and *rdzoñ*, "fortress", for which latter see *Oracles and Demons*, page 377. Cf. also Mong 324 fol. 7v: *dogjuur dogjong kereg-üd-i külge*. *Dogjuur (dogjur)* was explained in Part I, note 21, as the Tib. equivalent of Mo. *qariyulya*. I take *dogjong* to be a compound of Tib. (*b*)*zlog* and *rdzoñ*. See *Oracles and Demons*, page 373, for the term *zlog-mdos*, the threadcross which averts evil. The equivalents in the parallel passages of Mong 151 and Mong 287 to *dogjuur dogjong* are *qariyulya* and *kereg* respectively. Mong 324 fol. 3r gives *zor* as an alternative to *dogjuur (suur buyu dogjuur)*.

⁹⁵ This meaning which does not appear in the main entry in Kowalewski, comes out in the compound *kereg jaryi* for which one equivalent is Tib. *sku-rim*.

⁹⁶ Whether *kereg* resumes the preceding term *gribsel* in Mong 287 fol. 8r: *qara ribsels-ün kereg ki*, or refers to some object is not clear. For this phrase Mong 151 fol. 6v reads more briefly *qara ribsels külge*. For *ribsel* see Part I, note 23.

synonymously with *dungli*. Thus Mong 312 lists *qayan-u kereg*, *albin kereg luus-un delgerenggüi kereg*, which may be matched with *qayan dungli* (H 5822), *albin-u dungli* and *delgerenggüi luus-un dungli* (Mong 312). *dörben jüg-ün kereg* (Mong 151) is matched by a *dörben jüg-ün dungli* (Mong. 312). However, there is a good reason for seeing in *kereg* not regular synonym for *dungli* but a more general term. The terminology of these rituals cannot be reduced to a strict classification. There is for instance a correspondence between *kereg* and *qariyulya* (Tib. *bxlog-sgyur*). One instance of this was noted in Part I, note 21. Further one may note (H 66) a phrase *gray-un qariyulya* which is possibly to be equated with *gray-un kereg* (Mong 312), while H 5822 has a further alternative *gray odun-u coga*. Further, a ritual object named *yurban qara terigü-tü kereg* (Mong 151, "The *kereg* with three black heads"), though not described at all, would appear from its name to be similar to the *nag po mgo gsum* described and depicted by Morris and described also by Nebesky-Wojkowitz,⁹⁷ a complicated figure expelled from a house in order to assist the cure of a sick person, and not a threadcross at all, properly speaking. Finally, Chester Beatty 1952 twice reads *mdos* where the parallel Mongol text of Mong 325 has not *kereg* but *jasal*, a term discussed above.⁹⁸ Hence *kereg* appears to be a term of wide usage, applied not only to a ritual but also to various sorts of object employed in it, objects which may also bear other names.⁹⁹

Correction

Professor R. Stein has been kind enough to point out that *sanggisba* associated in Part I, n. 114 with Tibetan *sans-rgyas-pa*, is instead the Mongol equivalent of Tibetan *snags-pa*. Thus *sanggisba bombo* should be translated as "sorcerer and (or) bonpo". I am glad to acknowledge this correction. (Cf. also Kowalewski, page 1676, *tarniči*, "magician", for which the Tibetan entry is *snags-pa*.)

⁹⁷ *Living with Lepchas*, page 130 foll., and *Oracles and Demons*, page 514 foll.

⁹⁸ Fol. 5r *t'e'u ran gi mdos* and *btsan mdos* corresponding to Mong 325 fol. 3v *teireng-yin jasal* and 4r: *albin-u jasal*.

⁹⁹ So Mong 301 fol. 3v has a *kereg* made of "flour"; *noqai-yin qokimai toluyai-iyar yulir kijü yulir-tur ebečin kümün-i kereg-i kijü . . . yarya*: "Make flour from a dog's skull, and with the flour make a *kereg* of (?for) the sick man and expel it".