

# A CONTRIBUTION TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF EASTMONGOLIAN FOLKPOETRY

by W. HEISSIG

*For Mr. W. A. Unkrig on the occasion  
of his 65th anniversary.*

- I. Three nuptial speeches.
- II. Invocation of a female shaman.
- III. A modern ballad.

While a great part of the popular literature of the Khalkha-, Buriat-, and Ordos-Mongols has been collected in the voluminous anthologies by B.Y. Vladimirtsov, Ts. Zhamtsarano, N. Poppe, P.A. Mostaert, nothing has been made known with the exception of few samples<sup>1)</sup> of the popular literature of the Eastern Mongols, i.e. the Mongol population within the three Eastern provinces of China.<sup>2)</sup> Although in quite recent time the *Royal Danish Geographical Society's Central Asian Expedition* undertook the recording of some samples of popular literature of the Eastern Mongols, unfortunately nothing of its allegedly great gain of folksongs and shamanistic invocations<sup>3)</sup> has been made available until today. During the last decades even the Mongols of these territories had begun to show interest in their own tradition and folklore.<sup>4)</sup> Of this an anthology of 264 Mongolian proverbs<sup>5)</sup> and a collection of double-lined doormottos for New Year,<sup>6)</sup> both collected as well as compiled by the *Ĵalayid-Mongol Bürgüid*, have appeared in print.

In present times nothing more exists of the oral epical tradition about Činggis Khan in Eastern Mongolia. Its oral circulation must have found a final end during the last decades of the XIX. century. While a great part

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1) A. F. Rudnev, *Materiali po govoram vostochnii Mongolii*, St. Petersburg 1911.

2) A great record archive of folksongs, shamanistic invocations, prayers and other samples of Eastmongolian living folkpoetry had been amassed by the former Japanese sponsored Manchuria Radio Corporation at Changchun. Whether this collection was scattered by the war or left intact is unknown.

3) H.H. Christensen, *Neue Erfahrungen und Eindrücke in der Ostmongolei*, OSTASIATISCHE RUNDSCHAU, 1938, pp. 176-194.

4) Texts of folksongs, ditties, orations, riddles were already collected by an anonymous Sürüg-Mongol in the first years of our century in an *Onisqur-un bičig*—Book of riddles (incomplete Ms., 24,5: 26 cm. 27½ pp) according to its preface to save them from oblivion.

5) *Tuyil-un üge* 格言, 39 pp., Changchun 1940.

6) *Sine Ĵil-un qos uyangγa*, 35 pp.+4 pp. preface, Changchun 1942. Cf. MONUMENTA SERICA VIII, 1943, p. 271.

of epical wisdom-fragments has been reproduced carefully in the chronicle *Bolur erike*,<sup>7)</sup> which was compiled 1774/75 by the *Bararin* nobleman *Rasipungsur*, the *Bararun Tümed* noblemen *Inġanasi* and *Wangġinbala* who compiled between 1840–1890 the *Yeke yüwen ulus-un manduřsan törü-yin Köke sudur*<sup>1)</sup> reproduced fragments of the same wisdom-tradition but in a very free manner. The obliteration of this literary type seems to be caused by the increasing infiltration of Chinese settlers, and the language- and culture-contact which resulted therefrom. The Eastern Mongol territory today is occupied partly by 1–10% only, under more favourable conditions by 10–50% of Mongol population.<sup>9)</sup> One of the few positive achievements of the last decades for the Eastmongolian population was the widespread education which decreased illiteracy. Thus a certain revival of the epical and historical traditions took place during the last two decades through the publication of modern editions of Mongolian chronicles and wisdom-collections. Still alive is in Eastmongolian territory the folkpoetry and a great part of old customs, yet it seems to be rather endangered by modern influences and the quick rythm of time.

Some samples of this oral anonymous folkpoetry of the territory of the former *ġu-uda*, *ġosutu* and *ġerim* League which have been collected in 1942/43 are introduced here.

The texts are not given in phonetic transcription; their reproduction follows the handwritten notes in which some words are spelled as the scribe heard them and not according to the rules of the written literary language. They are three adresses of the marriage ceremony, one shamanistic invocation and a modern ballad about *Tořtoqu tayġġi*.<sup>10)</sup> None of them has been published or dealt with in a scientific publication.

All the elements which have influenced the Eastern Mongols have also left their traces with the folkpoetry: the intensive lamaist missionary activity and persecution of shamanism during the XVII. century which lead to the camouflage of shamanism with lamaistic trends;<sup>11)</sup> the early contact with

7) Incomplete print, *Rasipungsur-un ġokiyarřan mongġol ulus-un teuke*, 4 vols., 687+67+56 pp., Kalgan 1941. For the Mongol text of the part lacking in the above mentioned edition as well as for a study of the old traditions given in it, I refer to my monograph *Bolur erike, eine mongolische Chronik der Kienlungzeit, literaturhistorisch untersucht*, MONUMENTA SERICA MONOGRAPH SERIES X, Peiping 1946.

8) For its various editions and manuscripts cf. MONUMENTA SERICA VIII, pp. 244–259.

9) Miyakawa, 滿洲國の縑族複合状態; maps of density of the population, cf. Heissig, *Der mongol. Kulturwandel in den Hsinggan-Provinzen*, Vienna 1944.

10) Seven nursery rhymes from the *Nayiman* und *Mongġolġin* banner, originally planned to be included into this paper have been published already in FOLKLORE STUDIES, Vol. IV, Peiping 1945, pp. 332–335. Eight modern folksongs collected by the author in the *ġuqaġin Ayil* of the *Küriye Qosiġun* remain still unpublished.

11) Cf. Heissig, *Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner*, FOLKLORE STUDIES, Vol. III, 1944, p. 40, p. 70. I have prepared a detailed study of this development in connection with a survey of the Mongol biography *Bořda Neyġġi toyin dalai Mandzuřri-yin domoř*; cf. Note 45.

Chinese culture and the competition with the Chinese settlement and agriculture resulting finally in resistance and the struggle for national independency. Thus some material to social history is also offered by these samples of folk-poetry reproduced here.

### I. THREE NUPTIAL SPEECHES.

The exact origin of the three nuptial speeches is uncertain. Being printed during the war in Mongolian type only and in a very limited edition<sup>12)</sup> they are practically unobtainable. Noted down by unnamed Mongols as samples of "old Mongolian inherited tradition—*Mongγol-un erten-eče uulamjulaγsaγar iregsen*" these nuptial speeches have been published for the Eastern Mongols to prevent their obliteration by modern influences.<sup>13)</sup> Their inclusion into this paper is justified by their rareness albeit they can not be more distinctly classified. No other such speeches of the *Qonjın*<sup>14)</sup>, the masters of the ceremonies at the nuptials—*beri baγulγaγu abqu qurim*, have been made known from East-Mongolia. These ceremonial speeches are usually preserved by oral tradition. Some handwritten collections, however, have been reported in Southern Mongolia.<sup>15)</sup> During the XIX. century some xylographs of this kind have been printed by Buriat monasteries.<sup>16)</sup>

The antiquity of this kind of poetry is specially emphasized in all three of the nuptial speeches which mostly are expressed in alliterative rhymes.

- 12) Vol. VII from 15. I. 1943 of the Eastmongolian bimonthly *Yeke köke tuγ*, pp. 129–132, together with an example of *egüden-ü üges*—doorspeeches which have been not included here.
- 13) Until the present days the nuptial customs are carefully observed even by the sedentary parts of the Eastern Mongols so far as they are not too much absorbed by Chinese culture. The silken ceremonial robes, headgears, stone-studded swords from the Ching time are still worn though, in many cases, they have to be borrowed for that occasion.
- 14) For office and task of the *Qonjın* cf. A. Mostaert, *L' "ouverture du sceau" et les adresses chez les Ordos*, MON. SER., Vol. I, 1935, pp. 316–317. For speeches from Ordos cf. Mostaert, *Textes oraux Ordos*, Peking 1937; a benediction for the bride of a Khan from the same country is reproduced by Mostaert, *Dict. Ordos*, p. 83<sup>1</sup>.
- 15) P.A. Mostaert, MON. SER. I, 1935, p. 316 mentions a *Beri baγulγaγu-dur keregsekü qonjın sudur* which contains nuptial speeches as well as (p. 320) another anthology of speeches for other purposes, *Olan nüül-ün joriγ-un debtelin*. Except of a small part the contents of both manuscripts are unpublished until now.
- 16) Five undated xylographs from the Aginsk monastery are reported under No. 22–26 Hof the Collection A.D. Rudnev (cf. B.Y. Vladimirtsov, *Mongol'skie rukopisi i ksilografi postupivshie v Aziatskii Musei Ross, Akad. Nauk, IZV. R.A.N.*, 1918, pp. 1559–1560): a) *Gergei ten-ü angqa ger baγulγaγu-yin yosun nügüd-i üjegüleksen amu*; b) *Sine beri bolqui-yin düri kiged arki miqan-u qurim-un gem-i üjegülügi kemegdekü bui* (obviously a tract); c) *Ger ten nököd töröl-ün gergei abqu-yi quriyaγsan jüil*; d) *Beri-ber qadam eke ečiγe kiged ger-ün ŋen nügüd-tür ergün kündülel üiledkü-yin yosun orusibai*; e) *Köbegün kiged ökin beri-ber ečiγe eke-dür ergün kündülel üiledkü yosun-i üjegülügi kemigdekü orusibai*.

Reference is made to the nuptial speeches as following old customs: the origin of this customs is linked with the marriage of Činggis Khan with his first wife *Börtegeljin qatun*. In speech 2 it is called “*erten-ü boyda Činggis-ün Börtegeljin qatun-i barulγan abqu üres-ün üledegsen ǰang ǰirum*—a custom which remained from the time when once the fortunate Činggis Khan took *Börtegeljin* for his wife.”

According to another Eastmongolian tradition which is related in the Eastmongolian feudalist chronicle *Bolur erike*<sup>17)</sup> the initiation of the nuptial ritual is indeed ascribed to Činggis Khan. The following customs are named there as initiated by him:<sup>18)</sup> the dispatching of the *ǰaruči*<sup>19)</sup> matchmaker; the appointment of two masters of the ceremonies who hold the speeches, are in charge of presenting the gifts and preside at the wedding banquet, the unction of the tent—*ger miliyaqu*<sup>20)</sup>, inquiring for name and age of the bride—*nere ǰil asaγuqu*, veneration of sun and moon—*naran saran-dur mörgükü*<sup>21)</sup>, arranging of the woman-headress—*boγtolaqu*, untying of the tent-curtain—*kösige tayilqu*,<sup>22)</sup> veneration of the hearth—*ǰal-dur mörgükü*,<sup>23)</sup> presenting of gifts to the by-laws and honouring them—*qadam nar-tur beleg bariǰu mörgükü*, accepting of felicitations—*irügel abqu* and to hold a wedding banquet—*qurimlaqu*.

- 17) Kalgan edition 1941, Vol. I, pp. 31–32; annot. German translation cf. Heissig, MON. SER. MONOGR. SER. Vol. X, Peiping 1946, pp. 49–51.
- 18) In the older Mongolian literature are no parallels to this. A comparative study about Mongolian nuptial customs does not exist. Some of the customs have been described lucidly by Nora Waln, *Mongolian Summer*. A list of all the nuptial customs observed by the Ordos Mongols is given by P. A. Mostaert in *Index ethnogr. et folklorist., Dict. Ordos*, p. 932 seq. Such detailed records have not been made of other Mongolian groups. For a forth-coming study of Mongolian nuptial ceremonies must not be overlooked the descriptions of the wedding according to the customs observed in Eastern Mongolia during the XIX cent. in the *Yeke yüwen ulus-un manduγsan törü-yin Köke sudur* (cf. MON. SER. VIII, 1944, pp. 244–259).
- 19) A historical corroboration is told by Marco Polo, book II, chapter 8: “Every second year, or oftener, as it may happen to be his pleasure, the Great Khan sends thither his officers, who collect for him, one hundred or more of the handsomest of the young women, according to the estimation of beauty communicated to them in their instructions.”
- 20) The unction is mostly performed with butter (cf. P.A. Mostaert, *Dict. Ordos*, p. 464). According to oral informations from Eastmongolia *ayiraγ* is also often used. During this ceremony the bride stays alone in the tent (cf. Heissig, *Bolur erike*, p. 51<sup>19)</sup>).
- 21) Performed in Eastmongolia in such form that bride and bridegroom bow to the Southwest while a lama-priest rings his handbell and reads the *Beri mörgügülkü nom* (cf. Heissig, *Bolur erike*, p. 51<sup>21)</sup>).
- 22) In the *Köke sudur*, chapter 2, the custom of *kösige tayilqu* is described as nine times tying (*ǰanggidqaqu*) and nine times untying (*tayilqu*) of the ribbons of the tentdoor-curtains whereby at each time are recited benedictions for the two families united by marriage as well as for the newly-weds.
- 23) Another example of a benediction of the hearth by the newly-weds (*ǰal-un irügel*) has been related already by D. Banzarov, *Chornaya vera* (The Black Faith), Kazan 1846. For part of a similar prayer at the same occasion according to *ǰal-un takil-un irügel-ün sudur* cf. N. Poppe, *Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen*, ASIA MAJOR, vol. II, p. 131 sq.

To the category of speeches held by the *Qonjin* at those occasions belong also the following three speeches.

1. *Nere jil asaŋuqu*—to inquire for name and year of birth of the bride—is done by the *Qonjin* of the family of the bridegroom.<sup>24)</sup> The primary tale about the origin of the nuptial customs from the time of Činggis Khan is superposed here by a younger layer of buddhistic legends claiming this ritual from Indian and Tibetan tradition.<sup>25)</sup> Strong analogies exist between the primary tale about Činggis Khan's marriage and the above mentioned East-mongolian tradition in *Bolur erike*. While, however, *Jelme* of the *Uriyanggan*<sup>26)</sup> is named there as *jaŋuči* and later together with the eloquent *Čaradai ebiügen* as *Qonjin*, are here *Boŋurči* and *Muquli* mentioned as inquiring for name and year. *Börtegeljin*, the wife of Činggis Khan, is named in the speech as the daughter of a certain *Bayan* of the *Qunggirad*, and similarly by *Bolur erike* as the daughter of *Örgin bayan* of the *Qunggirad*. This seems to be a specific trend of Eastmongolian popular tradition only because common Mongolian tradition as related by the *Niŋuča tobča'an*, *Altan tobči* and, *Erdeniyin tobči* names constantly *Dai sečin* of the *Qunggirad* as father of *Börtegeljin*. The *Qunggirad* are here more distinctly designated as a branch of a greater ethnic unit—*Dörben Uyičud-un irgen Qunggirad*, which perhaps is identical with the tribe *Ui'ud* of the *Niŋuča tobča'an*, 152.<sup>27)</sup> Činggis Khan is also credited here with applying the system of exogamic marriage, observed in later centuries by the whole Mongolian nobility, to all his four non-Mongolian vassal nations.

With regard to the above stated specific Eastmongolian tradition is of peculiar interest the similarity of the rhymes:

*Köke egülen-degen güngnegči luu*  
*Kökejiltei küriyen-degen böjignen doongrudduŋči toŋus qoyar.*—  
 “The dragon who growls in the blue clouds,  
 The peacock who dances chanting in the green yeard, these two.”

with part of a laudatory description of the content situation during the reign

- 24) Another question for name and year asked in the Ordos country by the *Qonjin* of the bridegroom's family of four female representants of the bride's family has been reported by A. Mostaert, *Textes Ordos oraux*, Peiping 1937, p. 226 (*Folklore Ordos*, Peiping 1947, p. 325–6 French translation).
- 25) Same pattern is followed in a welcome address to the prince of *Üsin* (Ordos) in which the best monarchs of the world and of all time are listed (cf. A. Mostaert, *MON. SER. I*, 1935, pp. 325–326).
- 26) In one of the fragments of Činggis Khan poetry, also preserved in *Bolur erike*, p. 63, is *Jelme* again referred to as “*učiŋaršan Börtegeljin-i jaŋucilarči*—the one who arranged the match with *Börtegeljin*.”
- 27) Cf. E. Haenisch, *Manghol-un niuca tobča'an*, Vol. I, chap. 152; *Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, 2. ed., Leipzig 1948, p. 51.

of Činggis Khan in the Eastmongolian chronicle *Bolur erike* which reads:

“ . . . . . *qola-daki egülen-ü kenggerge-yin daɣun-dur ende aɣci toɣus sibaɣun bayasun böjiglekü . . .*”<sup>28)</sup>

. . . . . the peacock here around danced joyfully to the sound of the distant drum of the clouds . . . . .”

But still more of the phraseology of this speech shows the mannerism of the Mongolian poetical expression. For depicting the efforts as the ruler of the mythical Tibetan prince *Sidurɣu tölgen* the following three lines are used:

*Keter töbed-i kesejü.*  
*Kedeg arad-i sönügen.*  
*Ketürkei yeke aldar mandurad . . .—*  
 “ The cruel Tibetans he routed;  
 The bad subjects he ousted;  
 Very great glory he gained . . .”

A fourliner of similar expression is found in an epical wisdom-fragment, representing a laudatory dialogue between Činggis Khan and his nine thanes, which is reported in *Bolur erike*<sup>29)</sup> in its XVIII. cent. version:

*Kebčig serigün ünün üges-i bartaɣan aburad.*  
*Gem tü maɣu arad-i qataɣu ɣasaɣ-iyar kesegejü.*  
*Kelkü yeke irgen-i jögelen aburi-iyar asaran.*  
*Keb keɣiyede aldarsiqu sayin nere-yi kičiyeküle keregtei . . .—*  
 “ It is necessary to accept hard and inconvenient advice,  
 To punish bad people with merciless law,  
 To protect the numerous subjects with kindness,  
 To strive after a good name which is honoured everywhere.”

At the end of speech 1 a similar phrase is used for the characterization of Činggis Khan himself:

*Töbsin yosutan-i tedküjü*  
*Sürkei ɣangtan-i sönegejü*  
*Sütü boɣda kemen aldarsıɣsan . . .—*  
 “ Protecting those who were of peaceful conduct,  
 Exterminating those who were of violent manners  
 He was glorified as fortunate emperor. .”

Yet the same theme of the demands for a good ruler appears in the above mentioned<sup>30)</sup> ceremonial speech to an Ordos-prince phrased as such:

. . . *qaɣarai yabudal tan-i kesegen jöb ten-i örnigülün čidaqu nigen kümün-*

28) Kalgan edition, Vol. I, p. 57; *Činggis boɣda-yin durasqal-un tegübiri*, Peiping 1926, p. 4.

29) Kalgan edition, Vol. I, pp. 65-66.

30) Cf. footnote 25.

*iyer qaṛan bolṛabasu ṽjokiqu kemen*—“. . . it is said, that it is proper to choose as emperor a man who is able to punish those who are of wrong conduct and to encourage those who are the right ones.”

The cause of such a mannerism of phrase for depicting the form of good government might be explained only by a certain influence which has been exercised by the oral tradition of the “words of the old ones” and the words of wisdom on the phraseology of all kinds of ceremonial speech. Primarily the phrases must have been expressed by Činggis Khan and his advisors in their instructions of statecraft: they were later on moulded into local variants.

*Nere ṽil asaṛuqu:*

*degere ündür köke oṛturṛui-dur orusin yabuṛči*

*gegen gereltei naran saran qoyar.*

*delekei ṛaṛar dörben tib-i geyigülün*

*kei-yin kürdün qolbotai.*

*degedü qaṛas qasitan qamuṛ rayisang-ud bolbaču. qarilčün uruṛ barilduqu yosutai.*

*köke egülen-degen güngnegči luu.*

*kökeṽiltei küriyen-degen böṽjignen doongṛudduṛči toṛus qoyar.*

*köke nayur. körisütü ṛaṛar*

*kedüi aṛalaṛ qola bolbasu*

*küsel daṛun-iyān sitün barilduṛsan qolbotai.*

*kümün-ü eṽen qaṛan boṛda činggis*

*gübčün dörben qari-yin ulus-tayan*

*kündü könggen ṽerge-tei bolbaču.*

*küi yasun ilṛaṽu keüken-nuṛud solilčün uruṛ barilduqu yosutai tula.*

*erkim douradu iṽaṛurtai eṽid noyad biden-i*

*eligen-ü inaṛ nayir-i*

*erdeni-yin kelkiye metü beye-degen ṽalṛamṽilaysan učir-tu.*

*erten-ü ṽirum-i daṛoṽu*

*erkilen ṛuyuuqu anu.*

*erte üye-dü erdeni tü ba büirin baṛsi burqan Šaṛṽamuni-yin qubilṛan barayunda.*

*enedkeg-ün orun gabalig neretei balṛasun-daki Suddani*

*qaṛan Maqmai qatun-ača ileregsen aqamad köbegün.*

*Ardasidi qaṛan baṛa böküi-eče bičig sudur*

*terigüten tabun uqaṛan-u orun-a masi mergen boluṛad.*

*tedüi beye-eče nebteren ketüreṽü.*

*tegüs tegüldeṛ erdem tü bolbasurayad*

*tngri-yin köbegün menglei bolun ergügdegsen*

*tere üye-dü. tümen-ü eke tülkigür qadaṛlaqu qutuṛtu boṛda ergümṽileküi-dür*

*mön qubiluṛ neretü balṛasun-daki*

*Gadzibala nere tü keüken üṽiskülengtü ṛou-a köbege-yi*

qatun bolʻan ʻjalaqu ʻçarta. ʻJalaqu ider neretei tüsimel  
terigülen ʻjayisang-un tüsimed-iyen daʻraqulun ʻjiruʻju daʻrudaqu-yin tula tokiyalduqu  
yin üye nere ʻjil-i asaʻruʻsan  
yosu bui bile.

basa tegüneçe inaʻrsi berke töbed-ün orun-dur yumbolasaga ordun-du Tngri-  
yin ʻcingdaʻra qaʻran-du. yeke nigülesügci-yin qubilʻan Sidurʻu tölgen neretei  
qan köbegün bolun ilereged.

keter töbed-i keseʻju.

kedeg arad-i söniigen.

ketürkei yeke aldar manduʻrad.

balbu-yin qaʻran-u keüken ʻçayan dhara eke-yin qubilʻan Ribdzan güngʻju-yi  
qamuʻ-un erkin qatun bolʻan ʻjalaqu ʻçarta töröl-ün tüsimed Mingʻan nasutu  
terigülen tö sürkeg olan sayid-iyen daʻraqulʻju. tere erkin ʻjirum-i sayisiyan nere ʻjil  
qoyar-i asaʻruʻsan yosun bui bile.

basa tegüneçe inaʻrsi qormusta oʻrtaruʻi ʻçayan tngri-yin qubilʻan ʻçen sutu  
boʻda ʻÇinggis qaʻran Isügei baʻqatur-un köbegün bolun ilereged Temüjin neretü  
arban nayiman nasun-daʻran kürçü

asaru erdem ʻçidal-un tuyil-dur ketüreʻju

töbsin yosutan-i tedküʻju

sürkei ʻjangtan-i söniigeʻju.

sütü boʻda kemen aldarsıʻsan.

tere üye-dü dörben uyicud-un irgen qunggirad Bayan-u keüken ʻrou-a üjšeküleng  
Börtengeljin seçin-i qatun bolʻan ʻjalaqu ʻçarta Boʻurçei. Muquli qoyar tüsimel  
terigülen udqa tu sayid tüsimed-iyen daʻraqulun uridus-un ʻjirum-i daʻraqju nere ʻjil  
qoyar-i asaʻruʻsan yosu bui bile.

tere erkim yosu-yi daʻraqju

burutai ebçigüü beledçü.

bulu ebüdeg sögüdçü

bumbulçar tolurʻai böküyiʻju.

bolbari engkereg teʻjigeʻsen abaʻrai-yi tani

bodulʻra tokiyalduʻsan ʻjil-i ali ʻjil bolba.

bayartai somusalʻra nere-yi ken bolbau geʻju man ʻjaruʻsan bile.

“To ask for name and year:

The luminous sun and moon, these two which

Travel their course at the blue firmament

Illuminating the four continents of this world,

Attached are they to the wheel of the winds.

Though radical rivals<sup>31)</sup> when at the height of their travel

They follow the custom to unite their families.

31) *qasitai*—lit: *qarsitai* “opposite”; the translation of the following term *qamuʻ rayisang-ud* which I cannot explain is only deducted from the meaning of *qarsitai*.



The dragon who growls in the blue clouds,  
 The peacock who dances chanting in the green yard, these two;  
 The blue pond, the meadowland,  
 How far they even are apart—  
 Their songs of desire are closely united.  
 Emperor Činggis, the ruler of mankind,  
 Because of observing the custom of marriage  
 Exchanged the daughters, singled out the clans  
 As being one of higher, another of inferior class,  
 In all of his four vasall nations.  
 As our, [my] masters and lords of high and low ancestry,  
 Pleasures of intimate union have followed each other like stringed jewels  
 It is to chose and to sollicit according to ancient practice!  
 Once upon in the time, in the West, the incarnation of the precious and perfect  
 Buddha Sakyamuni  
 Had become manifest to King Suddani as his first son  
 Ardasidi Khan, born by his wife Maqmai at the city of  
 Gabalig in the country of India; since childhood he was an adept with books  
 And the five other methods of learning.  
 Every standard he surpassed in perceiving them,  
 Absolute perfection he developed,  
 As son of heaven he was highly praised.  
 At that time when he . . . . .  
 proposed to the maiden Gadzibala who had charmingly  
 beautiful hair<sup>32)</sup> and who lived at the city of Qubilur,  
 he sent out his dignitaries with the minister Ĵalaru  
 Ider in the lead to sollicit her, and the custom has been performed to inquire  
 for the name which was predestined<sup>33)</sup> by the time of birth as well as for  
 the year.

Further, from that time on, the incarnation of the "Most Charitable One"<sup>34)</sup>  
 had become manifest as princely son Sidurru tölgen to King Tngri-yin Čingdaya  
 at the residence Yumbolasa in barren Tibet.

The cruel Tibetans he punished,  
 The bad subjects he ousted,

32) Cf. Mostaert, Dict. Ordos, p. 433 a.

33) According to chapter 12 of the *Be-du-γya dkar-po* (White Lapislazuli), a Tibetan work about astronomy and astrology by the *sde-srid Sañ-rgyas rgya-mc'o* (cf. A. Csoma, *A Grammar of the Tibetan Language*, Calcutta 1834; Yu Dawchuyuan, *Love songs of the sixth Dalailama*, Peking 1930, pp. 252-254) the name is determined by the week of birth (cf. R. Bleichsteiner, *Die gelbe Kirche*, Vienna 1937, p. 237). At which time this Tibetan practice was adopted by the Mongols is not to be seen from its mentioning in the above named work which was but compiled during the XVII. century.

34) Epith. ornans for Qomsin Bodhisattva.

Very great glory he gained.

When he proposed to the daughter of the king of Nepal, the incarnation of the White Tara, princess Ribdzan<sup>35a)</sup>, he delegated his many distinguished dignitaries lead by the family-genealogist<sup>35)</sup> Mingγan nasutu and cultivating this venerable practice, the custom of inquiring for both, for the name and the year has been performed.

Later on the fortunate emperor Činggis, the incarnation of Hormuzta, the white Tngri of the firmament, had become manifest as son to Isügei bayatur; he was named Temüjīn.

Reaching the age of eighteen

He excelled the supreme talents and might.

Protecting those who were of peaceful conduct,

Exterminating those who were of violent manners

He was praised as the fortunate emperor.

At the time when he proposed to the charmingly beautiful Börtegeljīn sečin, the daughter of Bayan of the Qunggirad, these subjects of the four Uyičud, he dispatched his prudent dignitaries lead by the two ministers Boγurčī and Muquuli and, following the ancients' practice, the custom was observed to inquire for both, for the name and the year.

In compliance with this venerable practice

We have been sent

Baring the unworthy chest,

Genuflecting,<sup>36)</sup>

Bowing the round head

To ask you, my lady, who was brought up with tenderness:

The cyclic year, which year it be ?

The name of happy sound, which name it be ?

2. *Muqusi ügei kögjīm tü qurim-un üge*—"Speech for the unsurpassable banquet with music" is a speech held by the *Qonjīn* at the beginning of the

35a) According to A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, Cambridge 1934, p. 23 Bri-ksun, the Nepalese wife of the Tibetan king Sron-bcan sgam-po is said to be an incarnation of the Green Tāra and not of the White Tāra.

35) Cf. *Töröl-ün daruγa*, a title given by the Ordos-Mongols (*Üsin*) to the chief of a group of noblemen which preserves and keeps in order the genealogical registers (cf. A. Mostaert, *Dict. Ordos*, p. 675).

36) *Bulu*—lit. "cylinder for triturating millet, for levelling the ground e.t.c.", cf. *MDO*, p. 96 b, is here used for the purpose of alliteration only and is not to be translated. Cf. similar *Qan qarangγui-yin taruči orsiba* (G.D. SANZHEEV, *Mongol 'skaya povest' o khana kharangui*, Trudy Inst. Vost. XXII, Leningrad 1937, p. 128), fol. 28 a "boro ebüdeg-iyen sögüdü" translated op. cit., p. 64 too simply as "bending their knees".

wedding banquet in relation to the *alasi*—gift of meat which had to be sent by the family of the future husband to the family of the bride for use at the banquet. The use of *qara segültei raqai-yin miqa*—the meat of the black-tailed hog, in addition to the meat of all the other animals raised usually by cattlebreeding nomads, as mentioned in this speech, is significant for the semi-agricultural economic status of the Eastmongolian population.

*Muqusi ügei kögjim tü qurim-un üge:*

*Ja! ene kemegçi*

*man-u jokiyal busu.*

*Mandzusiri-yin jokiyal.*

*ene üye-yin jokiyal busu*

*erten-ün boyda Činggis-un Börtegeljin*

*qatun-i baqulıan abqu üyes-ün üledegsen jang jırum bolai.*

*qota baqa bolbaču dörben asar tai.*

*qurim baqa bolbaču törü yeke yosutai.*

*törü-yin ejen tölögeleju.*

*törü yosu-ban güüçidkeju*

*qurim-yin qurimlaju.*

*qauli yosu-ban güüçidkeju*

*açulan činegen idegen bolbaču*

*onča alasi-ban jokiyaju.*

*naçar-un arad bolbaču*

*qobing jüngsen-degen jokiyaju.*

*qamuç-yi geyigülügeçi naran saran jегün-eče manduçad.*

*qayiri kesig-yi batudqaççi keüken nasun ider boluçad.*

*qas altan-yi qolboqu bolba geju.*

*beyile beyise bolbaču*

*beye saçuçu uruçu.*

*bengbu sungtu bolbaču*

*mörü saçuçu uruçu.*

*baraçun jегün qosıçu bolbaču*

*bayar nigetei uruçu.*

*qar yeke uruçu*

*qolača iregsen-dü.*

*bayarlal kündülel möçid bolbaču.*

*batudda siregen-iyen ergüju.*

*bayasqaqu idegen megüs bolbaču*

*bayarlaqu sedkil-iyen güüçidkeju*

*ürgün yeke sirege-ben örtegen.*

*uruçu noyan-tan-daçan onča-yin belge-ben terigüleju.*

*ündür segül tei üker-ün uça.*

*ürgün segül tei qoni-yin uça.*

*qara segül tei ƣaqai-yin uča.*  
*qabtaƣai eber tei imaƣa-yin uča-ban belge bolƣan ergüged.*  
*qomsin bodisatua burƣan-u rasiyan-i bariju bayina.*  
*bürin sayıƣan toƣtaƣabasu*  
*barıldıƣsan uruƣ bide ner.*  
*baraƣun dalai-yin usun-dur adali tungƣalaƣ.*  
*badma lingua čečeg metü badaraƣad.*  
*badaraƣsan törü-yin dumda*  
*barıldıƣsan uruƣ bide*  
*batuddan jırƣaqu belge-yi degegsi belge bolƣan ergün medegülümüi.*

Speech for the unsurpassable banquet with music :

“ Yea, this creation

Is not our composition,

It is a composition of Manjusiri.

It is not a composition of this time,

It is a custom remaining from earlier time of

When the fortunate Činggis took Börtegeljin for his wife.

Although a town is small it has four bastions.

Although the banquet is small it is presided rightly.

Replacing the master

His mastership is ascertained.

Celebrating the banquet

Its customs are observed:

Although there is as much food as a mountain,

The bridegroom's gift of meat is prepared exclusively.

Although they belong to the maternal clan

In their cauldrons<sup>37)</sup> it is prepared.

The sun which illuminates everything rose yellow from the East;

The maiden who is provided with grace and with fortune has come into her bloom.

It is said that jade and gold are to be united!

Albeit Beyile and Beyise—

An equalbodied family;

Albeit stout one<sup>38)</sup> and slender one<sup>39)</sup>,

A family of equal height;

Albeit from the right and the left division—

One single happy family.

A . . . . . great family!

37) Chin: *Chung tzu* 鍾子.

38) *Bengbu* < Chin. 胖腹 *p'ang-fu* “paunch, big bellied”; cf. Mong. *böng* “round, cylindrical”.

39) *Sungtu*, perhaps from Chin. 寸 *ts'un* “inch (1/10 of one Chinese foot).”

To them who have come from far away  
 Though homage and pleasure are not enough  
 Our solid chair is offered.  
 Though the food to rejoice is inferior,  
 Achieving our aim to delight,  
 Providing for our large table,  
 Beginning with the gift of *u'te'a*<sup>40)</sup> to the family-chiefs,  
 Ham of the longtailed cow,  
 Ham of the largetailed sheep,  
 Ham of the blackcued hog,  
 Ham of the flathorned goat are offered as gift!  
 Rasiyan of Qomsin Boddhisatva is given!  
 If this all is precisely observed,  
 We families, united by marriage,  
 Healthy like the waters of the Western sea  
 Prosper like the lotusflower.  
 Amidst the prospering state  
 We families, united by marriage,  
 Offer upwards as gift the gift to enjoy perfectly!"

3. *Amur-i erikü-yin belig* is a felicitation which is offered by the *Qonjin* to the *uruḡ noyad*, the heads of the two families united by marriage in connection with the above mentioned custom of "honouring the relatives by law". More use of lamaistic phraseology has been made here than in the other three speeches.

*Amuri erikü-yin belig:*

*erte edüge-yin erkin jirum-i daḡaḡu elige uruḡ barilduḡad*  
*ekenegte tümen ölḡei-yin ućiral büriddügsen erkin qoyar jiyaratan-i qolboqu-yin*  
*ućir naral sayitai uruḡ noyad ḡalanan ireged.*  
*erdemten tüsimeḡ taniḡan edüge man-u noyad-yin emüne amuri erigülügsen-dü.*  
*engke törü-yin arad egün-i bariḡu belig üḡegülegći burḡan-u sasin üles üre ḡobalang-*  
*i ariltala mandun.*  
*öćüsten gem-ten-i arilḡaḡći boḡda-yin törü ülü ködelekü sömbör metü beki nutudaḡad.*  
*ölḡeyitü bayar ćenggöl-ün jirḡal-i gangga mören-u urusqal metü tasural ügei.*  
*örüsiyel mergen üd-e ünün yosutu jirum inu beye kelen sedkil metü quḡdal ügei.*  
*ürgülḡide edlekü-yin arbin anu Sigrwadai-yin qarḡan metü. emkeḡ ügei jirḡaqui*  
*anu Sugidati-yin orun adali.*  
*tümen on-du töb tegsi.*  
*minḡan üye manduqu*  
*manglai bayar-i ergün medegülüne.*

40) Lit. *uruća*. failpiece, rear part of an animal.

“ According to the respectable practice of old and present times the families were united.

The sun-like families united by marriage accepted the invitation on account of the union of the two honourable persons predestined by fate

Who are certain to achieve myriads of happy pleasurable meetings.

Whilst you, prudent dignitaries, have been asked about your wellbeing in front of our chieftain

The subjects of a peaceful government wish that the benevolent faith of Buddha spreads while destroying the harm of [bad] actions.

[May] the government which annihilates the hated knaves stay firmly established like the sturdy Mount Sumeru!

[To you], lucky joy and pleasure uninterrupted like the flow of the Ganges river!

To the gracious sages right behaviour like their speech and mind without falsehood,

Eternal richness to earn like King Sukhāvati,

Enjoyment without grief like in the land Sukidati<sup>41)</sup>

For tenthousand years to last

And a thousand generations to raise:

[Those] eminent pleasures we are offering by this speech! ”

## II. INVOCATION OF A FEMALE SHAMAN.

With the invocation of the female shaman *Tungčinggarbu* is submitted a further specimen of shamanistic tradition still existing in the *Kūriye* banner, a former enclave of lamaist jurisdiction.<sup>42)</sup> Ritual songs and invocations of the shaman *Ĵangča* from *Ĵuuqačĭn Ayil* of the same banner have been published in transcription with an annotated translation in 1944.<sup>43)</sup>

*Tungčinggarbu* is an old woman from *Ĵiltu Ayil* of the *Kūriye* banner and one of the oldest of the thirty male and female shamans still active in that banner. She is not called *Iduqaŋ eme* which commonly is used for designating the female shamans but calls herself *ekener böge*—women's shaman. *Čömi*, another female shaman and young disciple of her is living at *Ĵiltu Ayil* too. In *Kūriye Ayil* another female shaman is reported.

41) On the contrary it must read: King Sugidati and land Sukhāvati (the Western paradise of the heavenly Buddha Amithābha).

42) About 190 miles Northeast of Fushin. For name and history of the *Kūriye* banner cf. Owen Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*, pp. 253–259. At *Ĵuuqačĭn Ayil* are located the following monasteries: *Eki-ben manduγuluγčĭ süme*, *Buyan-i badaraγuluγčĭ süme* and *Ökin tngri-yin süme*. In the vicinity of this *Ayil* are the *ČoyiĴing-un süme* and *Gabala süme*.

43) Cf. *My Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Kūriye Banner*, FOLKLORE STUDIES III, 1944, pp. 39–71, 11 pp. lithgr. Mongol. text and 4 plates.

Same which has been said about the ceremonial apron, drum and drum-stick, girdle of mirrors, altar and Ongrot-statuettes of the *Ĵangča böge*<sup>44)</sup> is also pertaining to the female shaman *Tungčinggarbu*. Additionally to these requisits, the female shaman is wearing under the ceremonial apron a darkblue skirt with unregular orange spots which means to resemble a tigerskin.<sup>44a)</sup> The female shamans of that territory are not bound to virginity and a life of chastity.

Like the ritual songs of the *Ĵangča böge* the invocation of *Tungčinggarbu* shows also signs of a strong superposition of lamaistic trends.<sup>45)</sup> This is to be explained with the century-old persecution of the shamanist faith by the Yellow Church. It was Eastern Mongolia and in particular the countries of the *Qorčın* and *Ongniŋud*, where an extensive persecution of Shamanism with an autoda-fé of shamanistic symbols has been started by the lamaist missionary and exorcist *Neyiči toyin* (1557–1653). Of these actions we possess a detailed description in his Mongol biography.<sup>45a)</sup>

The invocation of *Tungčinggarbu* is thus composed of five different groups: 1. Invocation of Buddhas and lamaist monasteries of particular popularity (1. 1–38); 2. Invocation of the idols and reflections about their origin (1. 39–55); 3. Invocation of the *Tngri* (1. 57–102); 4. Appeal to Sambal Buddha (1. 103–109); 5. Description of the land of the shamans, of the tree-idols and appeal to the nine lords (1. 110–139).

Of this only the groups 2, 3 and of 5 the description of the land of the shamans represent primary shamanist notions, while groups 1 and 4 are later lamaistic interpolations. In group 5 a kind of a buddhistic worldtree, identified as such by the presence of King Garudī, has been turned into idols. Between the invocation of *Tungčinggarbu* and that of the *Ĵangča böge* exists close thematical and phraseological relationship: a similar pantheon of *Tngri* is generally appealed to. *Tungčinggarbu* refers to the same legend of origin

44) Ibid., pp. 43–50.

44a) Incidentally one is led to think of the apron of tigerskin which lamaist iconography constantly attributes to all manifestations of the tantric guardian-god (Yidam) Samvara (Tib. *De-mchog*) (cf. F. D. Lessing, *Yung-Ho-Kung, An Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking with Notes on Lamaist Mythology and Cult.*, Vol. I, Stockholm 1942, pp. 118, 120). Prof. Lessing anticipates this attribute, as well as many others, to be traced back “to some very concrete deity of merely local importance” (op. cit., p. 121) which was the “exponent of an antagonistic or heretical school” (op. cit., p. 122). Perhaps Shamanism in the form as handed down to *Tungčinggarbu* did preserve here a trend older than Lamaism and its iconographical conception of Samvara.

45) *Boŋda Neyiči toyin dalai Mandzuŋri-yin domoŋ-i todorqai-a geyigülüg. i Čindamani-yin erike kemegdekü orusiba*, Peking-xylograph, 1739, 43,5: 10 cm., 92 fols., bookseller-mark 利 li.

45a) For further material to this problem cf. B.Y. Vladimirtsov, *Etnologo-lingvističeskie issledovanija v Urge, Urginskom i Kentejskom rajonakh. Severnaya Mongolia II*, 1927, pp. 20–35: N. Poppe, *Opisanie mongol' skikh “shamanskikh” rukopisei Inst. Vostokovedeniya. Zapiski I.V.* I, 1932, pp. 151–200.

of her idols from *Tang wang* as it is related by *Ĵangča böge*, whose story is a parallel to the legend about the origin of the idols of the Manchu bannermen as it has been reported by Owen Lattimore.<sup>46)</sup> Thus the common origin of these two invocations and the existence of a territorial school of shamanist tradition is obvious.

The invocation is reproduced here as it was written down by a Mongol during an exorcism of *Tungčinggarbu* on Nov. 23, 1942.<sup>47)</sup>

- debačan-u orun*  
*demčur sandi burqan*  
*delekei-dekin-ü burqad-tur*  
*degegsi bariqulun ayiladqaya.*  
*namančilan namančilan ayiladqaĵu*  
*lama burqan-daĵan daĵadĵamui.*  
*ursiĵ ĵobalang üile üre-yi*  
*udai-yin tabun orun-u*  
*uran mansir burqan-dur ĵalbarimui.*
- (10) *taqul ĵobalang-yi arilĵaqu kemen*  
*tabun dai-dur daĵadĵaĵu bayimui.*  
*arči sandan-ıyan araĵulĵu*  
*arban ĵüg-tür mörgüĵü bayina.*  
*ad ĵobalang-yi daĵadĵaĵu.*  
*ariyabalu-yin süme keyid-tür ergüĵü bayina.*  
*salaĵa ču ügei sid-ün ürül-yi*  
*sačuqu mingĵan burqad-tur ergüĵü.*  
*salusi ügei ĵobalang-yi*  
*sarniĵulĵu usudqaqu bolbau.*
- (20) *sünesü ad-yi arilĵaya geĵü.*  
*söni ediür ügei daĵadĵaĵu bayina.*  
*dörben ĵüg-tür ĵalbariĵu bayina.*  
*nayiman orun-a namančilaĵu bayina.*  
*naĵaldaĵur tüidker-i arilĵaĵu öggü.*  
*mörgül yeke mügden sira süme*  
*mörgül-i talbiĵsarar maqagala*  
*maĵu čaĵ-un ĵobalang-yi*  
*mongĵolĵin gegen süme-diür daĵadĵaĵu bayina.*  
*nasun buyan baĵuraba geĵü.*
- (30) *sira-yin sasin-daĵan daĵadĵaĵu bayina.*

46) *Wulakai Tales from Manchuria*, JOURN. OF AMERICAN FOLKLORE, July-Sept. 1933; *Mongol Journeys*, New York 1941, pp. 118-119.

47) Additional use has been made of my own notes taken during the same performance of *Tungčinggarbu*.



- ami nasun-i sirγuγuγad*  
*ad tüidker-i arilγa geǰü.*  
*altan siregetü-dür daγadγaǰu bayina.*  
*eme kümün-ü iliye ad-i arilγa geǰü.*  
*ele süme-dür daγadγaǰu bayina.*  
*čabči ügei čaγaǰing metü*  
*čaγ-iyar arilγaǰu ögkü.*  
*manu öberün orun keyid*  
*mangqa dalai köldökü üyes*  
 (40) *man-u eǰin ǰamlaquya*  
*usun-a . . . . . ergümǰilebe*  
*. . . . . <sup>48)</sup> wang eǰin ǰamlaqya.*  
*tarqaǰu ǰaruγsan miǰi*  
*eǰin-ü aman aγur-iyar onγrod bolba.*  
*köteliüsi ügei ordun-dur*  
*kürlün dörben qaγalγa*  
*gürül ǰauli-bar sitgeǰü*  
*silǰisi ügei ordun*  
*siremle dörben qaγalγa*  
 (50) *altan delekei-yi aburadaγ*  
*altan toǰing tu bumbul*  
*eǰin-iyen ergüküye*  
*qaγan bumbul ergümǰilengdebe.*  
*tang wang eǰin-eče*  
*tarqaǰu ǰaruγsan bumbul*  
*taquul damsir-yi arilγaǰi onγrod.*  
*baraγun emüne bayidaltai*  
*baraγun yisün tngri.*  
*nutuγ orun tngri. čaγan luu tngri.*  
 (60) *nutuγ-un üre činu ǰalbariǰu bayina.*  
*baraγun qoyitu bayidaltai*  
*baraγun yisün tngri*  
*barčud tüidker-i arilγa.*  
*as qoyitu bayidaltai*  
*ada tabun tngri.*  
*ǰegün qoyitu bayidaltai*  
*qara egülen kölügelegsen*  
*qatararγa<sup>49)</sup> tabun tngri.*

48) Perhaps *Tang wang eǰin* in conformity with the legend told by the *ǰangča böge* about the origin of his Ongγot's from the second T'ang-emperor (cf. FOLKLORE STUDIES III, p. 49).

49) Cf. Buriat. *xatargahan* "riding" (Garma Sandsheev, *Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten*, ANTHROPOS, Vol. XXIII, 1928, p. 595).

- (70) *ǰegün emüne bayidaltai*  
*qobču yisün tngri*  
*qour üles-i arılǰa.*  
*as emüne bayidaltai*  
*ǰangǰa ǰalbin aǰula-dur*  
*qour your ǰayılǰulqu*  
*bumba baǰatur tngri.*  
*sira egülen kölügelegsen*  
*siremел ökin tngri*  
*keseg tü egülen-i kölügelegsen*  
*kelkiye tü toli teǰiyegsen*
- (80) *kiling-un dürisü bariǰsan*  
*ǰal-yuǰan kölügelegsen*  
*gilbaǰa-yuǰan tataǰsan*  
*cakilǰan tabun tngri.*  
*töb dumda bayidaltai*  
*qan qormusta tngri*  
*qaralǰa egüden-ben negegeǰü*  
*qarsıǰ üile-ben daǰadǰaǰu bui.*  
*yirü yisün tngri*  
*ilbis-ün ǰurban nüke*
- (90) *ǰuçin ǰurban tngri.*  
*naran nai<sup>50)</sup> tuya-dur*  
*nabçi çiçig metü*  
*naǰaldaǰur üles-i ǰayılǰulun.*  
*saran-u tuya-dur*  
*saraǰul narin mör metü ber*  
*samaǰun üles-i*  
*salaǰaǰu ǰayılǰulun öggüktün.*  
*boǰda eǰin-ü ǰokiyarǰan*  
*bosoǰa egüden-ben çilügelen*
- (100) *qarǰan eǰin-ü ǰokiyarǰan*  
*qaralǰa egüde-ben çilügelen*  
*qara ǰüg-ün bide-ner ǰalbarıǰu bayina.*  
*egüden erüge-ben çilügelen*  
*ebügen sambal burqan*  
*eldeb qarsil-i arılǰaǰu öggü.*  
*siltaǰan üles-i salǰaǰu*  
*sambal sira burqan*  
*sömbör aǰulan-u orgil-dur*  
*burqan nom-un ordun-a*

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50) Lit. inu.

- (110) *böge bügüde bide-ner jalbariǰu bayina.*  
*alax aǰulan-u orgil-dur*  
*nigen ǰang bara süme*  
*sil-ün dörben čongqu tai.*  
*tere süme-yi eǰilegsen*  
*terdes-ün ǰırǰurǰan barsi*  
*tegün-ü emünggür urusuǰsan rasiyan čaǰan bulaǰ.*  
*tere bulaǰ-yi eǰilegsen nayiman tümen luus-ud.*  
*böge man-u orun bayina,*  
*böge-yin dörben degter*
- (120) *kümün-ü kürkü ügei orun*  
*kegür-ün yamun nutuǰ*  
*köl kökü-yin aru*  
*künǰi yamun-u baraǰun suǰu*  
*ködege sakiǰusu-yin orun mön-e.*  
*töb ündür aǰula*  
*tegün-ü emünggür uruǰsan*  
*salaxa-yin beye nayiman tümen*  
*nabči-yin beye döčün tümen*  
*üändüsü-yin beye döčün tümen*
- (130) *sidar ǰaǰcaǰan modun-u*  
*nabči büri onǰod*  
*as dumdaki salaxa-yi qourtu moǰai oriyaǰu.*  
*tegün-ü degegür ǰirgegsen qan garudi sibaǰu.*  
*yisün dabaǰa-yin eǰid*  
*yisün čaǰan moritu*  
*ǰang talbiǰsan tasiǰur*  
*ǰalǰıǰu baras-un külüg*  
*ǰadanača irekü dayisun ba*  
*ǰasalang-yi ǰarǰalǰai.*

“ To the land of bliss<sup>51)</sup>  
 To bDe-mchog [Samvara] Sandi Buddha,  
 To all the Buddha's being in this world  
 I will invoke heavenwards.  
 I clasp my hands, I clasp my hands and invoke,  
 I offer to the Lama Buddha  
 Sorrows and sufferings.  
 I pray to masterful Manjusiri Buddha  
 Of the five peaks of Wu-tai-shan!  
 Purge the afflictions of plague!

51) Tib. *bde-ba-can*, Skr. Sukhāvati, the paradise of Buddha Amithābha.

- (10) I offer to the Five Peaks!  
 Juniper<sup>52)</sup> sprigs burning I purify  
 Prostrating towards ten directions.  
 The tortures by the demons  
 I offer to the Ariyabalu Monastery!  
 Juice of stemless berries<sup>53)</sup> also dispersing  
 I produce [a libation] to the thousand Buddhas.  
 The undispersable torments  
 Are they not to be scattered and brought to an end?  
 Purge the soul-demons!
- (20) Thus I offer during day as well as night.  
 I pray towards all four directions.  
 I clasp my hands towards the eight regions:  
 Purge of the danger of pestilence be granted!  
 Veneration to the great Yellow Temple at Mukden!<sup>54)</sup>  
 Whilst I show veneration,  
 [Oh] Mahākāla, [force away] famine!  
 I offer to the Gegen sūme of the Mongγoljin.  
 That a happy age be bestowed  
 I offer to the Yellow Faith!
- (30) I offer to the Monastery of the Golden Throne!<sup>55)</sup>  
 Protect the life and  
 Purge the devils!  
 Purge the female [shaped?] fiends!<sup>56)</sup>

52) Dial. *ärt.ŕ'i* < Mong. *arĉa*, *Juniperus chinensis* L. (cf. Mostaert, *Dict. Ordos*, p. 30 a) or *Juniperus dahurica*. The Buriat shamans burn juniper as well as pine twigs for purification (cf. Sandsheev, *ANTHROPOS*, Vol. XXIII, p. 941).

53) *Sid-ün ürül*, lit. "kernelfruit, berries with stones"; *ürül* < lit. *rilü*, here with all probability the *ulanġa—ulana*, a kind of wildgrowing stemless cherries. For the variety of kernelfruits and berries growing in Jehol and the adjacent other Mongolian territories cf. O. Franke, *Beschr. des Jehol Gebietes*, Leipzig 1902, pp. 74–76.

54) Built 1636–38 by the Manchu emperor T'ai-tsung as shelter for a Mahākāla statue which in Mongol legends (*Borġigid oboġ-un teüke*, Vol. III, fols. 18–19; Hu th, *GdB-Jigs-med nam-mk'a*, Vol. II, p. 52) is credited with showing to the fugitive widows and sons of Ligdan Khan the way to the Manchu (cf. *MON. SER.* X, 1945, p. 218; Heissig, *Bolur erike*, p. 97). The official Manchu-version of the history of this Mahākālastatue is told in the imperial inscription of foundation on a stonetablet in the Yellow Temple at Mukden. For the Chinese, Manchu and Mongol versions of this inscription, partly without its colophones, as well as for its Japanese translation cf. Oshibuchi Hajime, *Man-shu ishibumi kikō* (Study on Manchu Stone-inscriptions), Tōkyō 1943, pp. 133–145.

55) According to Mongol informations a monastery in the *Mongγoljin* territory about 70 l eastwards of the above mentioned *Gegen sūme*.

56) *Eme kümün-ü iliye* < *eliye* literally "birdlike fiend, will-o'-the-wisp"; the Buriat report about Shamanism *Böge ner-ün mörgül-ün učira* (cf. Pozdneev, *Chrestomatiya*, St. Petersburg 1900, pp. 293–311; N. Popppe, *Trudy Inst. Vost.* X, 1935, p. 94) mentions a positive form, a female guardian-ghost *Ekener kümün-i sakiġulsun bolqu tere Ehütü noyan-u qatun qan Jolmutu noyan*.

I offer to each of the monasteries!

.....

.....

The lamasery of our own place . . . .

At the time when dunes and lakes are frozen

(40) I shall follow the path of our master,

In the water . . . . .

The path of *Tang wang ejin* I shall follow . . . .

The Ape,<sup>57)</sup> originating from this,

Became an idol (*Ongrot*) by the master's breath of life.

At the impassable palace

[With] four doors of copper

Studded with bronze and brass,

A palace wherefrom no return

With four cast doors.<sup>58)</sup>

(50) Golden world's saviour, the

Gold-tufted ghost-

Master I shall venerate,

The ghost-king is venerated,

The ghost risen out of *Tang wang ejin*,

An idol who purges pestilence and contagion.

Nine *Tngri* of the West

Manifested in the Southwest,

*Tngri* of the home-country, white dragon *Tngri*,

Your countryman is praying!

(60) Nine *Tngri* of the West

Manifested in the Northwest

Purge the evil of demoniacal obsession!

Five demon *Tngri*

Manifested striking the North,

Five *qataraya tngri*

Manifested in the Northwest

Mounted on black clouds,

Nine *Qobcu tngri*

Manifested in the Southeast

(70) Purge the Evil!

Bumba *baratur tngri* who is

57) Dial *mi'te'i* < lit. *mečin*, *bečin*.

58) Similar by *jangča böge* (FOLKLORE STUDIES III, p. 69). Buriat shamanistic conceptions know also four doors leading from the earth downwards into the spirit world: 3 gates behind each other at the right side—*barayun yurban dabqur egüden*; 1 door at the left side—*jegün jüg-ün γaγča egüde*, all guarded by special guardians. (Cf. the above mentioned *Böge ner-ün mörgül-ün učira*), Poppe, op. cit., p. 93).

- To force away evil portent,  
 Manifested directly in the South at  
 Mount Ganga ṛalbin;  
 Brassy Maiden *Tngri*  
 Mounted on yellow clouds;  
 Five gods of the lightning  
 Mounted on shreds of clouds,  
 Nourished by the . . . . . mirror,  
 (80) Displaying a furious appearance,  
 Mounted on its fire,  
 Reflecting its shine;  
 Khan Hormuzta *Tngri*,  
 Manifested in the centre;  
 Opening gate and door  
 I offer all impediments!  
 Ninety nine *Tngri*;  
 Three marten (?) holes;<sup>59)</sup>  
 Thirty three *Tngri*:  
 (90) Like leaf and flower [are distinguishable]  
 In the sunrays  
 Hold away pestilence!  
 Like a clear small track [is distinguishable]  
 In the moonrays  
 Grant to hold away  
 Troubles!  
 Lingering at the threshold  
 Created by the emperor,  
 Lingering at the door  
 (100) Created by the emperor  
 We of the Black Creed pray,<sup>60)</sup>  
 Lingering at the smoke-hole.  
 Ebügen Jambhala<sup>61)</sup> Buddha  
 Grant us to purge the various mischief!  
 Distinguishing the actions  
 To Yellow Jambhala Buddha  
 At the peak of Mount Sumeru,  
 At the residence of the Buddhist faith

59) Mongols explained it in that way. Similar also in the invocation of *ǰangǰa böge*. Its meaning, however, is not clear to me. It looks as if *ilbis* comes from *ilbi*—"magical ability, power (cf. Vladimirtsov, *Severnaya Mongoliya* II, p. 25), witchcraft".

60) *ǰangca böge*: *qara жүг-үн үре* (cf. FOLKL. STUD. III, p. 57).

61) Sira Dzambala—Skr. Pita—Jambhala, cf. W.E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, II, Cambridge 1937, p. 309.

- All we Shamans pray!
- (110) At the summit of the rugged mountain  
 A small chapel of one square<sup>62)</sup>  
 With four windows from glass.  
 Six *Terdes-ün baysi*  
 Are the masters of that chapel.  
 A white well of Rasiyan gushing up in front of it;  
 Eighty-thousand dragons are the masters of this well.  
 Our land of the Shamans,  
 Of the four groups of Shamans is  
 A place unreachable to man,
- (120) The realm of death, our country.  
 North of Kōl kökü  
 The low plain West of Künjī yamen  
 Is the place of the desert's guardian ghosts.  
 A very high peak  
 And grown in front of it,  
 Eighty-thousand branch-shaped,  
 Forty-thousand leaf-shaped,  
 Forty-thousand root-shaped,  
 The Ongγot of each leaf of
- (130) The single tree.  
 Around its central branch a poisonous serpent is rolled,  
 On its top bird-king Garudi is chanting.  
 [Oh,] Lords of the nine passages,  
 Mounted on nine white horses,  
 With steel riding-crops,  
 Accompanied by ferocious tigers:  
 Begone all who entered from outside,  
 Adversaries and grief!"

### III. A MODERN BALLAD.

The following ballad about *Toγtoqu tayiǰi* has been listened to and recorded in writing in winter 1943 at the *Buyan-i barilduruluγči süme* in *ǰuuqačın Ayil, Kūriye* banner. There it has been sung by Mongols of the surrounding country, the 36 years old *Saγuna* and the 57 years old *Tiyudan*. The ballad praises *Toγtoqu tayiǰi* who, allegedly a Mongol from the Sürüg banner,<sup>63)</sup>

62) Chin. 丈 *chang*, ten square feet.

63) Cf. the short biography of *Toγtoqu* as related by Ivan Yakovl. Korostovets, *Von Chingis Khan zur Sowjetrepublik*, Berlin 1926, pp. 156-157, where *Toγtoqu* is named a *γorlos* Mongol. The general history of the Outer-Mongolian independence and its preceding phase has been related from a Mongol point of view, with many documentary references, in *Mongγol-un tobči teike* Vol. 4, by Dintob, Ulanbator 1934, pp. 1-83.

started his career as leader of bandits during the Russo-Japanese war (1905). Later he became famous for his fights against Chinese and Manchu troops. His gang recruited itself mostly from *Qaračın* Mongols who at that time already were loosing their country to the Chinese newcomers from Shantung Province. Because of fighting against these Chinese settlers, *Toɣtoqu*, for the Eastern Mongols became a heroic symbol of resistance against Chinese population pressure. After the declaration of Outermongolian independence (1911) *Toɣtoqu* went there with his troops which became the lifeguard of the Urga-Khutuktu while he himself was given the honorary rank of duke.

The use of so many Chinese terms as in this ballad is typical for the present linguistic situation of the Eastmongolian population intermingled with Chinese settlers.

How strongly even modern popular poetry is bound to the use of traditional motives and phrases is shown by the comparison of the opening lines of the ballad with a line from the old elegy recited by the thane *Kilügetei bayatur* for the dead Činggis Khan which reads:

. . . *törögsen qan ɣajar usun činu tende bölüge*—

“ . . the land and the water where you've been born are all there . . . ”<sup>64)</sup>

Of this the beginning of the ballad seems to be only a paraphrase.

*törögsen ɣajir činu*  
*qaručin sürüg sirui qota*  
*tübdeǰü tulan kigsen ɣajar-i kelebele*  
*olan aɣula-yin dumdaki solun aɣula.*<sup>65)</sup>  
*urɣuɣsan usu činu Toɣtoqu!*  
*urdaɣur činu urusqu üi-neng goul-un usu*  
*učiraǰu tulan kigsen ɣajir-i kelebele*  
*olan aɣula-yin dumdaki solun aɣula.*  
*tungser ǰoɣos<sup>66)</sup> ɣaruɣsan-ača nasi*  
*too bing čirig<sup>67)</sup> arbin bolai.*  
*too bing elbegdegsen-eče nasi*  
*Toɣtoɣ tayiǰi terigün bolun dayilaba.*  
*yangčiyen<sup>68)</sup> ǰoɣos ɣaruɣsan-ača nasi*  
*yangdui čirig<sup>69)</sup> elbeg bolǰi.*  
*yangdui čirig elbegdegsen-eče naši*  
*Toɣtoɣ tayiǰi terigün bolun dayilaba.*

64) *Altan tobči* I. (Činggis qayan-u čadig, Peking 1925, p. 47.)

65) NW of Taonan, SE of Hailar.

66) Chin. 銅錢 *t'ung-ch'ien*; Mong. variation reads: *ǰis ǰoɣos*.

67) Chin. 逃兵 *t'ao-p'ing*; Mong. variation reads: *ǰisür čirig*.

68) Chin. 洋錢 *yang-ch'ien*; Mong. variation: *mönggün ǰoɣos*, silverdollar (Mex.)

69) Mong. variation reads *mölǰikü čirig*.



üyen čang puu<sup>70)</sup> ɣaruɣsan-ača nasi  
 ügeigüü bayan . . . . .<sup>71)</sup>  
 ügeigüü bayan-iyar egüregsən bayina  
 üker bolud anɣisu-ačarın saluǰi.  
 yang yen<sup>72)</sup> dambaɣa ɣaruɣsan-ača nasi  
 yangju tai ǰalaɣus elbegdegsen bile.  
 yangju tai ǰalaɣus elbeg boluɣsan-ača nasi  
 yamın fu-yin yaltan<sup>73)</sup> elbeg bolǰi.  
 sira-yin šajın-ača šangnaɣsan  
 sira torɣomsuɣ qubčasu  
 saɣajıɣai qota<sup>74)</sup> -yin sira čirig  
 siqajı qarbuɣad onorɣaqu ügei,  
 boɣda eǰin-ü šangnaɣsan  
 boro torɣon qubčasu  
 böke-yin qota<sup>75)</sup> -yin butaraɣsan čirig  
 bökeǰü qarbuɣsan onorɣaqu ügei.  
 baraɣun-ača üǰibele  
 basaču sayıqan solun aɣula.  
 basaču ɣačırɣaqu irebele  
 ami-yi minu tusalaɣsan solun aɣula.

The place where you've been born is  
 Siroi qota in the old Sürüg-banner.  
 Should one, [however], name the place where the skirmish was fought  
 It's the Solun mountain amidst of many hills.

Toytoqu, the water which you drunk is  
 The water of the Üi-neng river gushing up in front of you.  
 Should one, [however], name the place where battle was given<sup>76)</sup>  
 It's the Solun mountain amidst of many hills....

After coppermoney had been distributed

70) Explained by Mongols as rifle with five shots.

71) Illegible.

72) Chin: 洋烟 yang-yen—lit. foreign smoke.

73) Dial. *jaltan* < lit. *yalatan*.

74) Magpie town, Mongol. name for T'aonanfu.

75) Tsitsikhar. Among the Mongols of the Eastern Provinces exist two versions about the origin of this placename: a) In old times, after a big and victorious battle in the Nonni valley, Činggis Khan celebrated his victory with a wrestlers' competition (*böke barilduqu*). The place where this took place was afterwards called Böke. b) During the reign of emperor Kanghsi ordered the *Qara mören ǰangjun* his troops to wrestle twice a year, in the second and eight month, for testing their physical strength. The place of this exercise was afterwards named Böke.

76) Cf. Mostaert, *Dict. Ordos*, p. 678: *t'ulāā k'i*—"livrer bataille".

Many became deserters.  
 The number of deserters becoming large  
 Toṛtoqu tayiǰi took the lead and fought.

After silvermoney had been distributed  
 Many became marauders.  
 The number of marauders becoming large  
 Toṛtoqu tayiǰi took the lead and fought.

After the fiveshooters were distributed  
 Havenots and rich. . . . .  
 Havenots and rich carried them,  
 The cows were taken away from the ploughs.

After cigarettes were distributed  
 The number of the modern youth increased.  
 The modern youth becoming numerous  
 Many [of them were tried] before the courts as criminals.

The yellow soldiers at T'aonanfu  
 Bestowed by the Yellow Church  
 With tunics of yellow silk  
 They took aim, they shot but missed.

The troops garrisoned at Tsitsikhar  
 Bestowed by the emperor  
 With tunics of grey silk,  
 They took aim, they shot but missed.

Should you look from the West,  
 There is still the wonderful Solun mountain.  
 Should mishap befall me again,  
 There is Mount Solun which [once before] saved my life.