

**A MONGOL PROCEDURE FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF
ENERGY: THE *DALALYA* RITUAL AND ITS TEXTS**

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Abstract

The Mongol *dalalya*, 'beckoning of good-fortune', is a folk-religious ritual which also occurs in lamaized contexts.

The different forms which the ritual takes are classified and analysed, reference being made to published accounts and to the author's fieldwork in Mongolia, and (to a limited extent) to comparative material for other Altaic areas and for Tibet. The relationship of the ritual to the sacrifice to the hearth-deity is examined. Mongol terminology specific to the ritual is analysed. Objects which appear as requisites in the ritual are described and illustrated, and their place in Mongol symbolic systems is analysed.

All known texts of invocations to be recited at the ritual are listed and classified. Texts representative of each of the main categories identified are translated and edited.

The study concludes that the ritual is a means of promoting the vital energy of men and herds; it has taken a number of different forms in different environments, under the influence of the contrasting ideologies of hunting and herding, of Mongol folk-religion and of lamaism. The ritual may be associated with earlier sacrifices to the ancestors.

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INTRODUCTION

1. *Terms of reference*

The Mongol word *dalalya*, literally 'beckoning', is the name given to a ritual procedure whose purpose is understood today as the 'beckoning of good-fortune' towards the person performing it: *buyan kesig dalalqu*.

This name derives from the gestures which the officiant makes; holding some ritual object, typically a decorated arrow, he describes circles with it in the air, following the direction of the movement of the sun, *nara jöb* (that is clockwise).

The gesture is accompanied by a cry, '*qurui qurui!*' The meaning of this cry is not known at present. The cry is usually combined with a spoken invocation, of varying length and complexity, which gives details of the different benefits or kinds of good-fortune which are expected.

The defining characteristics of a *dalalya* which have been adopted for the purposes of this thesis are:

- the circular gesture
- the cry '*qurui*'
- the intention of obtaining benefits, *kesig*

The name *dalalya* itself is not always used and cannot be regarded as a defining element.

The procedure is frequently combined with other rituals, sometimes confusingly; not every account which is included in this thesis can be incontestably regarded as an account of a *dalalya*, but a decision as to where to draw the line has to be made, and it seems preferable to err on the side of inclusiveness.

2. *Sources*

The source material which is available comes under three headings:

- the texts of invocations spoken during the ritual
- published accounts of the ritual
- my own fieldwork data

2.1 The texts

These are listed and analysed in the chapter TEXT, with translation and edition of selected texts.

The body of texts includes manuscripts, both published and unpublished, and oral texts which have been written down and published by researchers. Few can be accurately dated; the majority of the texts were probably fixed in writing in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

2.2 The published accounts

These are listed and analysed in the chapter RITE.

Both Mongols and foreigners have written eye-witness accounts, and secondary accounts have been taken down by researchers from Mongol informants. The earliest accounts date from the 18th century; most refer to the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

2.3 Fieldwork¹

My fieldwork was carried out in Khalkha and in two Oirad areas (the provinces Xovd and Uvs) in 1987, 1988 and 1989. The Oirad data includes both accounts of the ritual and oral texts recorded on tape; these are included in the appropriate chapters.

I have also been able to include data from the personal communications of Mongols from other areas of the MPR and Inner Mongolia. I should like to express my gratitude to the many people who helped me.

3. *The scope and method of the study*

The lamaism of Tibet and Mongolia and the shamanism of north Asia have attracted much attention; Mongol folk-religion has been a neglected area by comparison. A

¹ I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the British Academy, the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, the University of London, the School of Oriental and African Studies, and the Department of Social Anthropology of the University of Cambridge. I would like to thank Mr. J. Tsooloo and Mr. D. Tangad, who acted as guides, and without whom the work could not have been done.

number of papers on specific questions have been published, but broader treatments (for example Heissig 1970) have been few. Although a large body of folk-religious texts is known, and many have been published, the majority remain untranslated and unedited.

This study analyses a single folk-religious ritual which takes, however, a variety of differing forms. It attempts, not only to analyse the ritual in terms of its internal logic, but also to place it in the context of the currents of Central Asian religion and culture which meet and mix in those areas which are home to the Mongolian peoples.

The study does not however address general questions of the influence of Tibetan lamaism on the Mongols, nor does it deal with questions of Buddhist doctrine or belief, topics which are too large for the framework of a thesis.

The ritual is examined in a synchronic perspective: that of the differing forms which have emerged under the influence of different environments. The study does not adopt a historical perspective, and is not intended to trace the origins or development of the ritual, a task for which adequate data is not, at present, available.

The significant components of the Mongol environment are here economic - reflected in the contrasting ideologies of forest hunters and of steppe herdsman - and religious - the native and partly shamanistic folk-religion, and the lamaism which overlaid it.

The Tibetan lamaist ritual Tib. *g-yang- 'gug* or 'conjuring up prosperity'¹ is superficially similar to some forms of the Mongol *dalalya*. However, as early as 1962 Bawden noted of the Mongol ritual, as performed in lamaized settings, that 'the name and form of the *dalalya* ceremony appear to be older elements from the shamanist world of ideas adopted by the lamaist church' (1962:93). In a two-way process of influence, elements from the Tibetan lamaist ceremony seem also to have been adopted by the Mongol herdsman. An analysis of the Tibetan ritual lies outside the scope of this thesis, but the extent to which it may have influenced the Mongol *dalalya* is examined.

In analysing the Mongol ritual, reference is also made to material on the Altaic² hunting peoples of south Siberia. The use of this material as supporting evidence in the context of Mongolia might be questioned; however these peoples are linked by their Altaic origin, and the herding culture of the Mongols is underlaid by a culture

1 Described in Lessing 1942:139-146.

2 By 'Altaic peoples' are meant those peoples speaking an Altaic language: Mongol, Turkic and Manchu-Tungus groups.

of hunters.¹ Since there are few sources on the Mongols or their forebears which relate to the earlier periods at which they hunted on the margins of the Siberian forest, more recent materials on other hunting peoples of the same area represent the best sources available to us. These hunting cultures show a marked uniformity, both in time and across huge territories; it thus seems justifiable to consider Mongolian hunters in their light.

The practices of other Altaic peoples are however taken into account only in so far as they help to clarify the Mongol ritual and its supporting beliefs. The study is not a comparative one, and does not examine similar rituals or beliefs in other parts of the world.

The texts which are edited in the thesis have been chosen according to two criteria. Firstly, they are representative of each of the principal categories into which the known texts are divided in this study. Although the number of texts edited is small, to have included more would not have added significantly to the argument of the thesis, and would have risked becoming repetitive. Secondly, the texts chosen have not previously been discussed in a publication; where possible, unpublished texts have been taken.

The texts composed by lamaist clerics to accompany lamaist *dalalya* ceremonies are not analysed; as sources for a study of the native folk-religion of the Mongols these would be problematic.

A separate chapter is devoted to the analysis of the objects which appear as requisites in the ritual and their place in the symbolic systems of Mongol thought.

4. *Technical remarks*

4.1 Transcriptions

Written Mongol:	the system of the index to Mostaert's DO
Written Khalkha (Cyrillic):	the English system used by C. R. Bawden ²
Written Oirad (<i>todo üzüq</i>):	the system used in the text (but not the tables) of Poppe 1966
Spoken Oirad:	the system of Tsooloo 1988

¹ C.f. Vladimirtsov 1948:40-41.

² In which *ий* is transcribed *ii* (not *ij*), and *ц* is transcribed *ts* (not *c*), c.f. Bawden 1985. To avoid confusion I have however used *š* (not *sh*) and *č* (not *ch*) for *ш* and *ч*.

Tibetan: the system of T.V. Wylie as laid out in Hoffman
1975:19
Chinese: Wade-Giles system
Russian in the Bibliography: British Standard (1958) system

Mongol terms are given in written Mongol except where quoting a source which is in another form (indicated as shown in the list of abbreviations below). The orthography of written Mongol follows Tsevel 1966 except where quoting, when the orthography of the source is reproduced.

The names of Mongol groups are given in the form most familiar to the English reader, (as are well-known Mongol terms such as *Khan*), and are listed below in an index which relates them to their written Mongol forms.

Place-names within the MPR are given as they appear on modern maps, in written Khalkha.

4.2 Terminology

The complex meaning of the terms *kesig* and *buyan kesig* is analysed in a separate chapter on terminology. Since an English term had to be found to translate these words in the body of the thesis, I have in general used the neutral 'benefit', in preference to the more usual translation 'good-fortune'. In the translation of texts, these words are rendered according to the context which is provided by that text.

The terms 'lama' and 'lamaism' are used in the generally accepted sense which they have in the existing literature on Mongolia, and not in their strict tibetological sense.

A distinction is made between the terms 'lamaist', that is pertaining to lamaist Buddhism, and 'lamaized', that is pertaining to native Mongol practice, but influenced or distorted by lamaist practice or belief.

4.3 Cross-references

References to another section of the same chapter are given with a number only:

2.1.3. References to a section of a different chapter are prefixed with that chapter's reference code: TEXT.2.1.3.

Abbreviations

In the text

DO	Mostaert 1941 (<i>Dictionnaire Ordos</i>)
fieldwork	data from my own fieldwork
Kow.	Kowalewski 1844
KW	Ramstedt 1935 (<i>Kalmückisches Wörterbuch</i>)
Less.	Lessing 1982
MPR	Mongolian People's Republic
p.c.	personal communication
Radloff	Radloff 1893-1911
Secret History, SH	<i>Mongyol-un niyuča tobčiyan</i> , the 13th century chronicle <i>The Secret History of the Mongols</i>

Languages and dialects

Where no language is indicated, italicized words are in written Mongol. For words in European languages italics are not used.

Bur.	Buryat
Ch.	Chinese
Kh.	written Khalkha of the MPR (Cyrillic)
Ma.	Manchu
MMo.	Middle Mongolian
Mo.	written Mongol (Uighur script)
Oir.	written Oirad (<i>todo üzüq</i>)
OT.	Old Turkic
Sk.	Sanskrit
Tel.	Teleut
Tib.	Tibetan
Tuv.	Tuvinian
Yak.	Yakut

In the Bibliography

AF	<i>Asiatische Forschungen</i>
AOH	<i>Acta Orientalia Hungarica</i>
BSOAS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>

HJAS	<i>Harvard Journal of Asian Studies</i>
IUUAS	<i>Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series</i>
JMVL	<i>Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde zu Leipzig</i>
JSFOu	<i>Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
MSFOu	<i>Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne</i>
ZAS	<i>Zentralasiatische Studien</i>

Index of Mongol and other tribes and groups

<u>Spelling adopted</u>	<u>Written Mongol transcription</u>	<u>Also known as</u>
Barga	Baryu	
Bayad	Bayid	Bait
Buryat	Buriyad	
Chahar	Čaqar	
Darxad	Darqad	
Dörvöd	Dörbed	Durbet
Kalmuck	Qalimay	
Khalkha	Qalqa	Xalx
Kharčin	Qaračin	
Khorčin	Qorčin	
Khori	Qori	
Khuučin Barga	Qayučin Baryu	
Mončoogo ¹ Tuvinians	- (< Tuv. <i>mončaq</i>)	Tuva, Köke čilayutan
Mongol Urianxai	Mongyol Uriyangqai	Altai Urianxai
Myangad	Mingyad	
Ööld	Ögeled	Eleuth, Ölet
Šine Barga	Sine Baryu	
Tsaatan	Ča-tan	Urianxai
Torguud	Toryud	Torgut
Üzemčin	Üjümüčin	
Zaxčin	Jaqačin	Dzakhchin

¹ This term is used in present-day Khalkha to refer to the Tuvinian population of Tsengel *sum*, Bayan Ölgii *aimag*. It amounts to a nickname, and is not recognised by the people concerned, who refer to themselves as Tiva. It is adopted here only in order to distinguish this group from other Tuvinian groups (c.f. also Taube 1981:51, Tuv. 'Gök Mondžak', 'Blue-tassels').

THE RITUAL

This chapter classifies the various forms which the *dalalya* ritual may take. It is based on the evidence of the accounts in the secondary literature, and to a limited extent on fieldwork. The evidence contained in the texts themselves, which is of a different order, is analysed in a separate chapter.

The performance of the ritual may be classified as follows:

- seasonal *dalalya*
 - the autumn *dalalya*
 - the spring *dalalya*
- occasional *dalalya*
 - the hunters' *dalalya*
 - the *dalalya* as rite of passage
 - the *dalalya* as a technique of healing or restoration
- dalalya* performed as part of, or following, another ritual
 - at the sacrifice to the hearth deity
 - at other rituals

1. THE DALALYA RITUAL IN AUTUMN

1.1 The accounts

The majority of accounts which we have of the ritual refer to the autumn *dalalya* ceremony. This is the chief occasion for its performance, and in most Mongol areas it occurs at this time as an independent ritual. The Oirad groups, who sacrifice to the hearth deity in autumn rather than at the end of the year, frequently combine the autumn *dalalya* with this sacrifice; these combined rituals are considered under 5.1.¹

¹ It should be emphasized that this separation of the Oirad autumn ritual with hearth-sacrifice from the other autumn *dalalya* rituals is to some extent artificial, and is dictated by the structure of the thesis.

The following accounts of the autumn ritual are available:

<i>Mongol group</i>		<i>Status of data</i>
a. Üzemčin	Duyarsürüng n.d. 120-22	taken down in 1980s by a native
b. Kharčin	Dambijalsan 1981:128-9	taken down in 1916 by a native
c. Kharčin	Jagchid and Hyer 1979:128	popular account
d. Ordos Mongols	Mostaert 1937:466	field notes of a scholar
e. Chahar	Hangin p.c. ¹	memories of a native
f. Chahar	Hyer and Jagchid 1983:60	memories of a lama
g. Khorčin	Kürelbayatur and Urančimeg 1988:289-293	taken down by a native
(Khalkha)	(Xorloo 1969:53-4)	(brief mention)
h. Oirad	Potanin 1881, II:91	field notes of a scholar
i. Oirad	Wasilewski 1978:92-3	fieldwork of professional ethnographer
j,k. Bayad	fieldwork 1989	

Two texts for the ritual have been published (see TEXT.2).

1.1.1 The Üzemčin ritual

(a) The Üzemčin account is the most detailed we have. It helps to clarify many aspects of the ritual, and it is reproduced here in summarized form.²

¹ I am most grateful to the late Dr. Gombojav Hangin for his kindness in providing this data.

² The brief descriptions of the various rituals which appear in this chapter of the thesis are not simply summaries of the source material. They are intended to bring out correspondances (and contrasts) between the accounts which are easily overlooked in the originals, written as they are in different languages, by authors with different interests and preconceptions, and at different periods.

- Date: middle of the 8th month;
it is unclear whether the lunar reckoning is being used (middle autumn month, or about Sept.) or the modern reckoning (August, or first autumn month).
- Place: outside the tent, near the animals
- Time: as the sun disappears
- Officiant: the head of the tent
- Present: all the people of the tent, lamas, guests from other *ayil* (ambiguous: other tents (of the same camp) or other camps).

The proceedings fall into two clearly distinct parts, although treated as a whole by the writer.

The tent is cleaned and its people put on new clothes, do their hair, and put on their ornaments. Lamas are invited. They set up (inside the tent) a picture of Namsarai¹ with dough-offerings *balin* in front of it, and a grain-measure *sing* full of beautiful arrows decorated with mirrors and silk taffeta ribbons (*pangsa*). Lamps and incense are lit before the tent altar. Separate dishes of mutton, *sigüsü*, cooked millet or rice, *amusu*, little fried cakes, *boobu*, and milk products are set out.² The *dalalya* pail, *sayulaya*, is renewed and adorned. The lamas read the holy texts to the accompaniment of drums and bells, and offer libations, *serjim*.

As the sun is about to disappear beneath the horizon, herbs are burnt in a fire upwind of the herd of animals collected near the tent. All the people present are given a vessel to hold and sit down outside. The head of the tent takes his ritual arrow and *dalalya* pail and rides his horse around the camp (*qota*), beckoning and declaiming the *dalalya* prayer in a loud voice.

The text³ quoted has rather the character of an incantation than a prayer; the man calls out that by his actions he is bringing about the presence of *kesig*, the benefit of the *dalalya*, and of numerous and prolific herds. No deity or other being is addressed.

Afterwards the food is divided up, and given in shares to the lamas, guests and people of the tent. Cubes of meat, milk products and cooked grain are thrown

¹ Mo. Namsarai, from Tib. rNam-[thos-]sras; the god of riches, Sk. Vaiśravaṇa.

² There is also an alternative ceremony, addressed to Namday, at which no meat is used. Namday is not identifiable. Mr. Nima, Peking, discussing the different types of *dalalya* in an unidentified eastern Mongol region, probably the Khorčin, gives *Namday sang* as the principal one, more important than that of Namsarai (p.c.).

³ Translated and edited under TEXT.2.

down on a white cloth, and the children are made to compete for (or fight over) the 'benefit of the *dalalya*' (*keüked-üd-iyer dalaly-a-yin kesig buliyalduyulday*).

The ritual is followed by a feast.

A number of points emerge from this account which are significant for the understanding of the *dalalya* :

- a sheep has clearly been slaughtered for the ritual and the feast, although it is not mentioned explicitly.
- lamas are present, but their actions and prayers are peripheral to the central ritual of beckoning, in which the participants are the herdsmen.
- the real officiant is not a religious specialist, but the head of the tent in question, *ger-ün ejen*.
- the incantation is not a prayer, and is not addressed to any deity.
- the words of the incantation are called out loudly.
- the action takes place at the moment when day changes to night.
- it is performed for the herds of the tent as well as for its people.
- a fire has been lit outside, near the herd. Herbs are thrown into it, and probably produce a purifying smoke.
- after the central action of beckoning, food is given out in shares. This is distinct from the feast, which follows later.
- children are offered special shares; they have to fight (in play) for these.

This account does not explain the nature of the vessels held by those sitting around as the *dalalya* is performed. We know from the other accounts given below that they contain food, and that each time the interjection *qurui qurui* recurs in the officiant's text, the people join in the cry, and make circular gestures with their bowls of food as he does the same with his ritual arrow; this is the so-called 'beckoning'.

The structure of the ritual

Separate lamaist and folk-religious sections of the ritual can be clearly distinguished. The two sections are distinct in time and in space, and different persons officiate in each: lamas, and the owner of the tent.

The requisites of the first part - lamps, *baling*, dishes of food - are characteristic of lamaist cult in Mongolia, and represent offerings directed to the deity. In the

second part, incense is replaced by purifying smoke from herbs,¹ which is directed towards the assembled herds; those requisites which are specific to the *dalalya* - the ritual arrow and the pail - will be analysed in a separate chapter.

Some accounts refer to this autumn ceremony as Kh. *jasaa unšuuḷax*, to have a (religious) service read (Szynkiewicz 1981:103); Kh. *jasaa xurj dallaga avaxuḷax*, to have a *dalalya* performed, assembling (for the) service (Xorloo 1969:54). The *ḷisiya*, Kh. *jasaa*, was the annual offering, made by lamas, to the protector-deity of an individual tent, *ayil-un sitügen* 'object of worship of the tent' or *sakiyusu* 'protector', whose image was kept on the tent altar.² This entirely lamaist ceremony seems to have become merged with the autumn *dalalya*; however the Üzemčîn report shows clearly the distinction between lamaist *ḷisiya*, with its reading of holy texts, *nom*, and the folk-religious *dalalya* which follows it, and in which the invocation is an oral folk text.

According to Szynkiewicz's data (*loc. cit.*), the lamaist *ḷisiya* had become the most important private ritual of the year among the eastern Mongols by the start of this century. However the accounts to be examined here make clear that the same was not true of the Oirad, for whom the most important occasion was undoubtedly the hearth sacrifice, also incorporating a *dalalya* (section 5.1). It is significant that both rituals take place in autumn.

Namsarai is patron of the *dalalya* in his capacity of a generalized lamaist deity of wealth. The *ḷisiya*, however, is typically addressed to the *individual* protector deity of the tent, chosen for it by a lama, and who may be different for different tents. The folk-religious section of the ritual, by contrast, is not addressed to any deity. The fact that it is performed by the head of the tent makes clear, however, that it is individual and specific to that tent.

It seems that the ceremony as a whole represents a lamaist systematization of the performance of an originally individual native ritual.³ At one level, a lamaist deity is introduced who has the tent in his care (*ayil-un sitügen*); he thus becomes the 'natural' recipient of prayers for its well-being. At another level, well-being may be

¹ The burning of sweet-smelling material (*sang talbiqu*) occurs in both lamaist and native rituals. In lamaist cult the pleasant smell is, strictly speaking, considered to be an offering to the deity; in folk-religious procedures the smoke purifies (*ariyudqaqu*) some material object, but it probably also has this hallowing function in the lamaist context. See also 4.1.3 for the *sang* of hunters, where the hallowing or 'charging' effect of the smoke emerges more clearly.

² Tsevel 1969:243a Kh. *jasaa*: ... *öör ööriin burxan saxiusyg taxij xišig buyanaa duuduḷax taxilga* 'an offering to worship ones own individual protector deity and cause ones benefits to be summoned'; also c.f. Badamxatan 1969:6 for the autumn timing of the ceremony.

³ Bawden mentions this process in the context of the choice of an auspicious day for the *dalalya* ceremony according to the category of person or animal that is to benefit from it (1962: 92).

requested from a generalized deity who is the same for all - here, the god of material wealth (who is, in fact, also classed as a protector, *sakiyusu*), but a choice of deity is apparently available.¹

In both cases lamas have become necessary intermediaries between men and deity, and so figure in the ritual, without, however, encroaching on the role played by the head of the tent. We may safely assume that the second, folk-religious part of the ritual has remained essentially unchanged.

1.1.2 The remaining accounts

The other accounts of the autumn ritual will now be examined briefly.

Kharčin

(b)

Date: between the 1st and 15th days of the first autumn month (approx. Aug.)
Place: outside, near the herd
Time: probably at the end of the day
Officiant: the head of the tent
Present: that family and their relatives from other camps, *oyira uruy ayil töröl*, lamas?

The report confirms the previous account in outline. Here only more prosperous tents hold the ceremony. The owner calls

buyan kesig ir-e küriy-e qurai

benefits come! *küriy-e qurai*

as he goes around the herd and the camp, holding the *dalalya* arrow.

The food is set out and eaten, *idelčejü* ; the reciprocal suffix carries a sense of sharing, but not the sense of a division of the food, and no special portions for children are mentioned.

It is forbidden to let anything out of the tent for three days following the ritual (seven days if it was addressed to Bisman, the Mongol name of Namsarai of the first report). A preceding lamaist part of the ceremony is referred to only indirectly;

¹ Nima states, for eastern Inner Mongolia, that when performing a *dalalya*, one expresses wishes falling within the sphere of influence of the *sitügen sakiyusu*, object-of-worship and protector, to whom one has made an offering (*takilya*), and beckons. The implication is that one chooses a (generalized) deity whose powers meet the needs of the moment (and not one with whom one has any special or lasting relationship) (p.c.).

the family 'has had prayers read all day', presumably by lamas. The mention of Bisman is evidence of the same lamaist systematization of the ritual as in Üzemčin.

This report is exceptional for the autumn *dalalya* in that an animal is consecrated, *seterlekü*, in the course of the proceedings. The *seter* ritual is quite distinct from the *dalalya*; however there are reports for the Oirad Mongols and the Tuvinians of the two rituals being combined (see account k).

(c) According to the second Kharčin account, which is from a sinicized environment and should perhaps be treated with reserve, the ritual is in the second autumn month, and is performed by the head of the family or his son.

He stands outside the tent and beckons with an arrow, while smoke rises from a 'sacred fire' (glossed *sang*, i.e. incense-offering). The herd is driven around the tent in a circle by another person. Relatives and friends feast and get drunk.

Ordos

(d) Mostaert does not tell us on what occasion the Ordos *dalalya* was performed, or whether it took place in autumn. However the resemblance to the other reports, the absence of any mention of another associated ritual, such as the hearth-sacrifice, and the wording of the text all point to this being the autumn *dalalya*.

Officiant: head of the tent or house

Present: members of that family, a lama (and others?)

It is the lama who performs the ceremony *dalalya dalalqu*,¹ and who, afterwards, recites the text. At each occurrence of the cry *qurui qurui*² in the text, the head of the tent beckons with the arrow and the little *dalalya bag*³, which contains objects representing prosperity, and the members of the family join in the cry.

Mostaert does not give details of the ceremony which he refers to as the actual *dalalya*; this seems to be the lamaist ritual which *precedes* the action of beckoning and the speaking of the text. Mostaert is clearly operating with a definition of the *dalalya* which differs from that adopted in this thesis, where it is the circular

¹ Literally 'beckoning the beckoning'. For typographical reasons Mostaert's transcription is not reproduced here.

² Throughout these accounts I transcribe the cry as in written Mongol, *qurui*, except where it differs markedly. The writers in fact give varying renditions and transcriptions, which are listed and analysed in the chapter on Terminology.

³ Described and analysed in the chapter on the Requisites.

gestures and the call *qurui* which are regarded as central. The Üzemčin report above gives us an idea of what this lamaist ritual may have been.

The text¹ is an incantation which invokes the benefit, *buyan kesig*, of descendants, fertile herds, and grain. No deity or other being is addressed.

Chahar

(e) (f) The two Chahar accounts make clear that besides a ceremony which combined lamaist and folk-religious parts, separate lamaist rituals and folk rituals of widely different character existed. Account (f) is said to be valid also for Ulaanjab.

Date: (f) first autumn month (approx. Aug.)

(e) an auspicious day, different for each tent, in the 8th month (Aug.)

Ceremonies performed entirely by lamas and using an elaborately decorated arrow were held on behalf of the monastery, out of doors (f), and on behalf of the banner (or administrative entity), in the temple of the leading family (e). In the latter account three *dalalya* were held, on different days; *yeke* (great) *dalalya*, *baya* (little) *dalalya*, and *čayan* (white) *dalalya*. In the last, no meat appeared, only milk products, that is 'white' food; it seems to correspond to the *dalalya* of Namday in Üzemčin.

The ritual for an ordinary family was performed only by the head of that family. Another elderly and respected man might be invited to recite the text, *sudur* (e). This implies that, latterly at least, elaborate or literary texts were in use, which an ordinary herdsman might not know - in contrast to the Kharčin account (b) where only a simple repeated phrase is mentioned.

Poorer herdsman might not own a ritual arrow; in this case the head of the family would circle a plate of meat, or some cheese taken from the tent altar. Other members of the family circled pieces of the offering-food from the altar as they joined in the chorus *qurui qurui*.

Guests were also present; after the ritual the food was divided up between all, and there was feasting and drinking (e).

Khorčin

(g) The *Khorčin* account does not clearly distinguish the details of the autumn *dalalya* from those of the *dalalya* for the hearth sacrifice. Details which seem to belong to the autumn ceremony are as follows:

¹ Translated and edited under TEXT.2.

Date: after the harvest
Place: both in the house or tent, and outside by the herd
Officiants: many lamas, or (more rarely) a shaman, and the head of the tent
Present: that family, their relatives and neighbours

A sheep is killed, the lamas read the Kanjur and Altan gerel,¹ and offerings are made. There is a 'feast of the *dalalya*', *dalalya-yin qurim*, at which the lamas or shaman and the elders sit in the highest places. The herd is brought to stand close to the house.

The head of the tent offers up a bowl of cooked grain, *amusu*, with the raw breastbone of the sheep on it [perhaps not in the autumn ceremony?] and a small bag, *kesig-ün uyuta*, 'kesig bag'. The lama holds a decorated arrow, those present hold a ritual scarf *qaday* or a piece of milk-food, and all beckon.

The head of the tent then takes the arrow, goes outside, and rides his specially decorated horse three times around the herd, beckoning and calling *qurui*.

The lama or shaman consecrates an animal, *seter tataqu*. If lamas are there, the Kanjur and Tanjur are carried in their wrappings around the herd, with cries of *qurui*.

For three days nothing from the house may be sold or given out, and animals may not be slaughtered.

Xorloo's report, probably for Khalkha, does not describe the ceremony, but gives its purpose as 'beckoning possessions to collect and to come', using an arrow, and says that the texts praise the benefit of livestock, *mal-un kesig*.

The accounts for the Western Mongols

(h) Potanin's data appears in his work on N.W. Mongolia; it may refer to the Dörvöd. He calls the ritual *talyg*', reflecting the Oirad pronunciation of *dalalya*.²

Date: autumn
Place: in the tent
Officiant: ?
Present: the people of the tent, a lama (and others ?)

¹ 'Golden light', the Mongolian title of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*.

² Ramstedt, KW: 74a *dallyo*

The meat of the sheep killed for the ritual is brought into the tent not through the door, but by making an opening under the roof-felts, above and to the west of the door. The woman of the tent puts parts of the meat into a pail: the shoulder with foreleg *qa*, the tibia, fat tail and intestines or digestive organs *gedesü*. The lama reads prayers to bless the meat; at the end all present wave pieces of cheese they are holding, and cry '*xura*' or '*xurei*' (Mo. *qurui*). The meat from the pail is left before the images on the altar for 3 days.

It is not clear who is the officiant, defined in this thesis as the person who performs the circular gestures with pail or arrow.

(i) Wasilewski's account uses data from the Torguud of Bulgan *sum*, and to some extent from the Mongol Urianxai of Duut *sum* and the Zaxčín . The account as published seems to be an amalgam of the data. It is not clear which points refer to the *dalalya* performed as an independent ritual, and which may refer to the *dalalya* at the autumn hearth sacrifice (section 5.1).

Date: September or October (middle or last autumn months)
Place: in the tent
Officiant: the head of the tent
Present: the people of the tent, a lama (and others ?)

The lama reads prayers, and the head of the tent circles the arrow with the *dalalya* pail or little bag. He holds the free end of the *čiytaya*¹ rope pressed to the pail; the good-fortune, *kesig*, of the ritual is thought to come down the rope from the roof-ring into the pail, which contains meat as well as objects representing prosperity. Those present hold pieces of cheese, given them by the head of the tent, or else a bowl of food, or a precious possession of their own, and circle it as they join in the cry *qurui*.

During the ritual another rope is hung up, with objects attached to it which symbolize prosperity. The two ropes of this account are described and analysed under REQ.4.7-4.8.

As in Chahar, there is also a Torguud public *dalalya* , held on behalf of the people making up the local administrative group. It took place either in the local monastery, or at an *oboja*. The officiant was a lay official, who waved a decorated

¹ An animal-hair rope fixed at one end to the centre of the roof-ring of the tent, on the inside. It is the only one of the tent-ropes which has no structural function, although it sometimes plays a part in setting up the tent, and can be used as an anchor in a storm. It is normally kept tucked up under the roof-struts (fieldwork 1988).

sandalwood stick. The ordinary people sat around him and joined in, just as in private rituals, and a feast followed.¹

Among the Bayad of *Tes sum*, the *dalalya* seems to have been chiefly associated with the autumn hearth sacrifice (section 5.1). Only two people mentioned an independant ritual.

(j)

Date: 25th day of the first autumn month (approx. Aug.)
Place: in the tent
Officiant: the head of the tent
Present: the people of the tent, many guests

The decorated arrow used by the informant's² father is shown in figs. 2 and 3; others present held bowls of food, and joined in the chorus of *qurui*. Two small *dalalya* bags hung from the arrow.

(k)

Date: 30th day³ of the first winter month (approx. Nov.), but in the old days, it was done on the 30th of the first month of each of the four seasons.
Place: in the tent
Officiant: the head of the tent and a lama
Present: the people of the tent (and others?)

Here,⁴ the head of the tent waved the arrow, while the lama circled the small *dalalya* bag, which is shown in fig. 7, and a plate of food. They stood just inside the door, facing the tent altar. [This placing is most unusual; ritual activity normally takes place near the altar, at the opposite side to the door.] The ritual was to obtain increase in the herds, and absence of misfortunes.

¹ The writer may be referring, not to the autumn *dalalya*, but to the lamaized *dalalya* frequently performed as part of the *obo* sacrifice, and which can take place more than once in a year; see 7.2.

² Elderly woman, Nariin gol, 1st brigade.

³ This is the lunar reckoning, in which the month lasts in general 29 days. However in Mongolia the days are not necessarily numbered consecutively; the 30th is (always) the last day of the month.

⁴ Account of woman aged 68, Kh. Taij *elken* (clan), Jajin gung *xošuu* (banner). Her memories were not entirely clear; the data should perhaps be treated with reserve, but see further comments on her data under 3(e) and 5.1(j).

The remainder of this account differs from all other reports. The stomach, *qoduyudu*, of the sheep killed for the ritual was filled with blood and cooked.¹ The woman did not know the words spoken for the *dalalya*, but a blessing, *irügel*, was said over the stomach, with phrases such as:

Kh. *ijil n' myanga tüm xürtügei*
ezen zuun nas naslax boltugai
 let its fellows [in the flock] reach a thousand, ten thousand
 let its owner live a hundred years

On this occasion the stomach was particularly respected; only members of the family might eat it. The fatty extremity of the stomach *alay nuylur*² was given to the children. These prescriptions are *not* part of everyday practice.³

On the same day of the year⁴ as this *dalalya*, the woman's family performed a ritual involving a wooden model of a horse, which she called *seter-tü mori*, a consecrated horse.⁵ She still had the horse, a simply but realistically carved model

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- ¹ Normal practice after slaughtering. There is some resemblance between this account and rituals for slaughtering cattle (4.2.1), not least in its date, in winter rather than autumn.
- ² Where the stomach is joined to the duodenum by the narrow passage of the pylorus. *Alay*, 'motley', refers to the mottled appearance of flesh and fat. However according to Ramstedt (KW 281a), Dörvöd *nuylur* means 'Blutwurst', and possibly refers to a length of stuffed intestine: see 5.1.1.i.
- ³ The *dalalya* to Činggis Khan at Ejen qoruya (section 6) is preceded by a *irügel* for the *jotai*; this term seems to refer to part of the intestine. The data available does not, at present, enable us to say whether this correspondence is mere coincidence or not; however at Ejen qoruya rituals are also performed in the first month of each of the four seasons.
- ⁴ Information given at a different time from the foregoing, but quoting the same date. It is unclear whether the speaker was confusing two rituals, or whether the horse figured in the *dalalya* ritual.
- ⁵ The practice of consecrating a living animal to a deity or spirit, as in account (b) above, is known to all Mongol groups (*seterlekü*, *seter talbiqu*, *ongyolaqu*), and to Turkic and Tungus groups of Central Asia and Siberia. By 'seter' the Mongols understand the coloured strips of cloth tied to the animal's mane or around its neck; Schröder considers that the word is Tibetan (1952:839). In both Turkic and Tungus languages the animal itself is known by names cognate with Uighur *ïduq*, 'sacred', < *ïd-uq* 'hingeschickt' (Gabain 1973:42-3).
 In the lamaist understanding of the ritual such an animal is an offering, and becomes the property of the supernatural recipient; it may not then be used by its human 'owner'. However the practice long predates lamaism in the Altaic world, and in the native understanding the animal becomes the support of a supernatural force. The animal chosen in the Kharčin account above was a breeding female which had lived long and been prolific; it was considered *kesigtei*, having *kesig*, that is fortunate, and by extension endowed with vital energy. In other accounts the stallion or bull is chosen. Where the consecration accompanies a *dalalya*, it invariably follows the ritual; it thus seems likely that the force embodied in the animal is that same force which is promoted by the *dalalya*. C.f. for Siberia, Zélénine 1952:194 ff; Tuva, Potapov 1969:359 ff; Kalmuck, Pallas 1801:345-6; Oirad, Szyrkiewicz 1981:103-4.

about 5 inches high; it was kept carefully put away with the *dalalya* bag and other religious objects. She was unable to remember further details.

Although consecrated animals are living ones, a poor family who could not do without the use of an animal were apparently permitted to offer a model to be consecrated instead (Gočoo 1961:8). This horse may have been such a substitute; the ritual would have been its annual reconsecration.¹

1.2 The date of the ritual

The reports for the eastern Mongols agree that the ritual is held in the first autumn month, about August. This is the accepted time for feasts and weddings; milk products are plentiful, and the sheep are fat enough to slaughter. After this the frosts begin, and the camps start to move to their autumn pastures. In western Mongolia, where the summer pastures are at high altitude, they may have already come down earlier, and it is in the autumn camp that feasts take place (fieldwork 1988).

In at least some areas the exact day of the ritual was determined by the prognostications of lamas, even if they had little involvement in its performance. The Kharčin ritual (b) was performed between the 1st and the 15th; this may be due to an association between the waxing of the moon and the growth of prosperity expected from the ritual. A waning moon might be expected to have negative effects.

Until (probably) the time of Qubilai, the Mongol new year began in autumn, on the 1st of the first autumn month (Sagaster 1976:321). A connection between the *dalalya* and the beginning of the year is at least possible.

The western Mongol ritual could also be performed at this time (Bayad, (j)), but it more often took place later. The dates given - middle to last autumn month (Torguud, (i)), and first winter month (Bayad, (k)), - correspond approximately to the date of the annual hearth sacrifice in each group concerned (see 5.1.2). The Oirad autumn *dalalya* is less often performed independantly than in conjunction with the hearth sacrifice.

¹ Gočoo's paper is not available to me, and I have been unable to verify this reference. The use of a model would be proper to lamaist consecrations; such substitutes represent Tibetan practice. The Mongol consecrated animal, as the life-carrier of its herd, cannot be a model.

In Tibet, a model animal, kept hidden, can be a 'seat of life' or exterior soul, Tib. *bla-gnas*, in other words a talisman on which its owner's fortunes depend (Stein 1962:193). For an exterior soul in connection with a *dalalya*, see 4.3.2.

1.3 The time of the ritual

In most cases this is not known; it may have been a matter of free choice. However the Üzemčín ritual was performed at sunset, on the threshold of night. Certain categories of shamanist sacrifice must take place at night, for example some Buryat *tayilya* (Sandschejew 1928:557). The hours of darkness, and in particular time-thresholds (midnight) are favoured in many cultures, because of their ambiguity, as times for communication with the supernatural. The timing of this ritual confirms that its lamaist part represents the veneer on a native folk-religious procedure. The Üzemčín hearth-sacrifice likewise took place at night (Duýarsürüng n.d. 117), as did those of the Bayad (fieldwork 1989) and the Dörvöd-Kalmuck (Bergmann 1804, IV:286).

1.4 The slaughter of the sheep

Although the meat of a sheep killed for the ritual figures prominently in the Oirad accounts, it is mentioned only in passing, if at all, in those for the eastern Mongols. This is certainly a result of lamaist disapproval of blood-sacrifice, an interpretation confirmed by the appearance of variants which use no meat at all, in areas where the ritual has been subject to lamaist systematization.

While the sheep provides the meal which follows the ritual, certain parts of it figure in the ritual itself, being placed in the *dalalya* pail, offered to the sacred images, eaten as part of the ritual, or preserved for a certain number of days. These pieces of meat may be regarded as ritual requisites, and are analysed in a separate chapter. The eating of particular pieces of meat and the preservation of meat afterwards are typical for the Oirad hearth-sacrifice *dalalya*, and are analysed under that heading (5.1).

In Potanin's Oirad account (h) the raw meat is passed into the tent through a special opening, indicating that it has some relationship with the supernatural sphere; this point is expanded in the analysis of the Bayad *dalalya* for a camel (3.5), and the Myangad *dalalya* after a birth (4.3.2).

1.5 The people present

The ritual is performed by the head of the tent, for the people and the herds of that tent. Relatives from other tents may be present; we do not know whether they were regarded as beneficiaries of the ritual.¹ According to Szyrkiewicz's Khalkha field data, a man who took part in the ritual of a close relative was not dispensed by this from performing the ritual himself for his own tent on another day (1981:103-4).

The reports from Üzemčin and Chahar (a, e) and the first Bayad report (j) mention guests; it is unclear whether these 'guests' may have been related to the man holding the ritual, or were members of other families of the same camp, in which case they could be regarded as belonging to the same ritual community as the host (Szyrkiewicz 1981:79), or whether the gathering represented a social event, not restricted to any given group. In Chahar, only members of the family concerned joined in the beckoning gestures and the cry *qurui*. It seems that they were beneficiaries, while the guests were there simply for the feast. Mostaert specifically defines the cry as one uttered by those for whom the ceremony is performed (DO:373a). However, no strict definition of the group taking part emerges from the accounts.

In Chahar and western Mongolia the ritual could be performed by a lama or official, on behalf of a monastery (e) or an administrative grouping (i). This extension of the ritual from the private individual sphere into the public domain may be relatively recent. The existence of such public rituals, as well as the standardization which resulted from the introduction of generalized protector-deities by the lamas, may in turn have influenced the form taken by the private *dalalya*, and made possible the presence of guests unrelated to the man performing it. Certainly by the beginning of this century the annual *jisiya* associated with the *dalalya* had become an occasion for ostentation on the part of wealthier herdsmen, with a formal feast *jisiya -yin nayir* (Badamxatan 1969: 6).

The motif of the shares of food distributed will be taken up in the sections which follow. The share of the children in particular is analysed under 5.1.4.

¹ Although the lamaist view would be that anyone, even a stranger, gains merit simply through their presence at the ceremony.

2. THE RITUAL IN SPRING:

SIBAYUN-U DALALYA, DALALYA OF THE BIRDS

2.1 The performance of the ritual

The spring is the most terrible of the seasons in Mongolia, a time of freezing winds and hunger. The received image of spring as a season of blossoming belongs to agricultural Europe, and can only obscure the understanding of these rituals. The young animals are born at this time, when the herds are weak from hunger. One storm can end their fragile lives; spring is the time of the herdsmen's greatest danger, and consequently also a time of ritual activity to ensure its safe passage.

There are no accounts of this ritual, which is known only from a text which has been published in five variants (listed under TEXT.4, with edition of one variant).

The Mongol-language literature refers to the text as '*dalalya* of the birds', a reference to the series of migratory birds which figure in its opening incantation. The editor of a variant from Šilingol (referred to here by the code SIL S.) considers that the name is an invention of researchers; here the ritual is known as *buyan-u üres-ün dalalya*, *dalalya* of the young animals for benefits, while the text is entitled simply *buyan kesig-ün dalalya*, *dalalya* (beckoning) of benefits (Sili-yin yool 1982:105). *Üres*, a plural of *üre*, 'offspring, descendants', refers here to the birth of the animals in spring, which runs as a refrain through the incantation.

The writer implies that in Šilingol this ritual is still remembered.¹ The title of two other variants of the text is *sibayun ireküi-dür dalalya abqui-yin sudur*, *sūtra* for performing the *dalalya* when the birds come [back]. One is Buryat (code BURYAT), the other from central Khalkha (code BULGAN). A third is from Dundgov' *aimag* in south Khalkha (code GOBI). The evidence is thus widely distributed, although no Oirad texts are known.

If the titles are to be taken literally, the ritual was performed in the first summer month, approximately May, at the return of the migrating birds. Čojjilsüren considers that it would have taken place in the first few days of the lunar month, and would thus mark the threshold of summer (1964:203).

In the texts themselves a series of spring and early summer events are mentioned as if they occurred at the time of the ritual. These are events which, in reality, span about three months between February and June, from the birth of the lambs through to the milking of the mares. Events in the herds are paralleled by those in the natural

¹ A connection, or a confusion, with the summer libation rituals of *üres yaryaqu* (7.1.1) cannot be ruled out.

world: the snow melts, the birds arrive and the deer have their fawns. That a certain amount of poetic licence may be operating is indicated by references to shearing the lambs (sheep are sheared from late May, but lambs are not shorn at all) and, in BURYAT, to cutting the manes of the foals (horsehair is taken in April, but never from foals).

This enumeration of events is not intended to indicate one specific time in the year, but rather to convey the concept of renewal, through a whole spectrum of events, as the world moves from winter to summer, *delger čay*, the time of abundance. It reflects a conception of time defined by what is happening in the world, rather than by the dates of the calendar.

The wording implies that the text is spoken by the head of the tent: *aduyu minu ögede mendü östügei*, let my horse-herds multiply flourishingly and in health (SIL S.). This is consistent with the accounts of other forms of *dalalya*. Only BURYAT, a text with obviously lamaist additions, replaces *minu*, my, with *činu*, your, at this point, but the word is used in emphasis, and the text is unlikely to have been spoken by a lama; the picture which the texts present is that of a folk-religious ritual, performed by a herdsman for his own herds. It seems that the speaker made beckoning gestures: *kesig-i dalalnam*, I beckon benefits (SIL S.), and this is also suggested by the recurring cry *qurui*.

While other forms of *dalalya* involve the killing of a sheep, the *dalalya* of the birds seems to be an exception; offerings of meat are not characteristic for spring rituals (c.f. section 3 below).

2.2 The promotion of the natural cycle

The texts fall into two parts; the first is formed by the incantation of the *dalalya*, while the second is a series of wishes for prosperity and for the removal of various threats.

The incantation does not have the character of a prayer, and expresses only the wish that *kesig*, benefits, may arrive. It takes the form rather of a litany which enumerates the signs of the reawakening of the world. The arrival of the birds, of a series of different species, and the birth of the foals, from mothers of a series of different colours, appear as a repeated refrain. No supernatural listener is addressed; this part of the text is spoken for the sake of the power inherent in the words themselves.

In this light it is less surprising that no account of the ritual is known; it may have consisted simply in the uttering of similar words and the circular gesture. Lot-

Falck mentions south Siberian spring rituals in which representations of game animals are displayed in order to bring the real game (1953:74). In the *dalalya* of the birds, words replace plastic representations, but the purpose of the procedure is the same: to promote in the real world that which is evoked in the ritual.

These are not the only *dalalya* texts which present enumerations of happenings or things; enumeration emerges as characteristic for the ritual (c.f. TEXT.3.3). Here the repetition of the events of spring in the text echoes their annually recurring repetition in nature, a 'Wieder-holung' in the literal sense; the litany of the *dalalya* is a ritual means of turning the world, or promoting the cycle of the seasons and with it the cycle of life.

Čoijsilsüren compares the phraseology of the incantation to that of songs sung to mother animals who reject their new-born young (1964:202). The commonest of these is the *toyıyo*, addressed to a ewe. Each verse evokes the arrival of a migratory bird, and ends with the cry *toyıyo*, which is believed to have a persuasive effect. A song from Khuučin Barga reads:

Kh. *Xöxöö šuvuu irlee*
xöx nogoo urgala
süütei delen čin' činelee
xöxüülexgüi yuund golno bui
toig, toig
ürtei töltei xon'
öndögtei šuvuun adil
ürgüi tölgüi xon'
ömxörsön xojuul adil
toig, toig

(*ibid.*)

The cuckoo has come
the green plants have sprouted
your udder full of milk has swollen
why are you rejecting [your lamb] and not suckling [it]
toig, toig
a sheep with progeny, with young
is like a bird with an egg
a sheep with no progeny, no young
is like a rotten stump
toig, toig

The message of the song is clear; the natural world is moving on towards summer, and only this one ewe is not playing her part. The flock is continued from year to year in its young; without lambs, it will die out. The word Kh. *xojuul* (*qojuula*; Kow. 942b *qoĵiyula*), 'stump', derives from *qoĵiqu*, to be late; it is something left behind, while life moves on.¹

Some songs threaten rather than coax the ewe:

Kh. *Seerii čin' nugalna*
semĵii čin' delgene
xavirgy čin' xadna
xaagii čin' salgana

(Tüdev 1976:26)

[I'll] dislocate your spine
spread out your peritoneum-fat
cut off your ribs
separate your forequarters

In the light of the strong ideology of respect for animals, which are rarely ill-treated, these words are not to be taken at face-value. They refer to the routine butchering of a sheep, but those parts mentioned have significance in the preparation for rituals.²

The vital force embodied in an animal may be recycled in further animals; the procedures which are carried out to ensure this when an animal is slaughtered are described below under 4.2.1. In the present case, if the ewe will not reproduce herself in one way (by suckling her lamb), she will be 'reproduced' in another, by being as it were 'sent back' (slaughtered) to free her vital energy for recycling. The chopping-up of her bones is not evoked as a threat, but should rather be associated with multiplication procedures known from the slaughtering rituals.³

The *dalalya* of the birds promotes the natural cycle in the wider world just as these spring songs promote it in individual cases, and both rest on the same beliefs about the nature of life. In one Buryat⁴ song, the rather lilting verses end, after the '*toyıyo*', with the cry *qurui*, which is shouted out with real force.⁵ The appearance

¹ For the significance of being 'left behind' see also TERM.1.5.

² The forequarter in particular is significant in the *dalalya* (5.1).

³ C.f. the Ordos text discussed in 4.2.1.

⁴ Buryat of Xentii *aimag*, MPR, fieldwork taperecording 1988.

⁵ For the occurrence of *qurui* in other texts which are not *dalalya* see TERM.1.6. The use of this cry in the *toyıyo* may also be associated with its use in healing procedures, where it is a

of the cry here, shouted loudly as in the *dalalya* (1.1.1), underlines both the close relationship of the two procedures, and the fact that the efficacy of the rituals lies in the words themselves.

2.3 The significance of the birds

The return of the birds still has emotional significance in Mongolia today; it is good, people are glad, while the sight of birds leaving in autumn is oppressive (fieldwork 1988). The migratory water birds were apparently regarded as sacred by Siberian peoples (Harva 1938:406); the arrival of birds in spring was clearly a significant event in the whole Mongol - south Siberian culture area. Manchu-Tungus groups believe that the souls of unborn children are represented by small birds (c.f. section 7.3.3). The birds who arrive from far countries seem to be similarly associated with the bringing of new life from the 'other' sphere.

Just as in native Mongol beliefs an object may be the support of the spirit of a deceased person (*ongyon*), and the body of a living creature is the support of an energy which it is possible to manipulate, as the analysis of the *dalalya* will show, so the whole natural world may be regarded as the support of an enlivening energy which is reintroduced into it each spring. The Buryat *toyjo* referred to above confirms this interpretation:

Bur.¹ *Xurai!*

delxei nogoo urgax l daa, teege
delgerxen zunaa irex l daa, teege
deegen (?) šuwuu irex l daa, teege
delxei eej eš (?) amilxaw (?) l daa, teege
teege teege, teege teege
xurai!

Xurai!

the plants of the earth will grow, *teege* ²

means of calling the patient to himself (4.3 and 8.1). The ewe's rejection of her lamb can be regarded as a disturbance of the natural order analogous to illness, and to be treated by the same means.

¹ A person familiar with this Buryat dialect was not available, and the recording was transcribed with the help of Mr. B. Damdin, a Khalkha. Several words were unclear; the transcription should be regarded as an approximation.

² = *toyjo*.

the abundant summer will come, *teege*
the *deegen*¹ birds will come, *teege*
mother² earth will revive³, *teege*
teege teege, teege teege
xurai!

The term *amilaqu*, to revive, has also the sense of to consecrate (an image), that is to charge with a numinous energy. The birds may perhaps be regarded as the outward sign of the new life which enters the world each year.

This life-energy is structurally equivalent to *kesig*, the benefit - or energy - obtained through the performance of the *dalalya*. The ritual reproduces on the scale of an individual camp processes which are taking place on a macrocosmic scale in the whole surrounding world.

¹ Unidentified; possibly = Kh. *taigyn*, 'of the forest'.

² Or 'grandmother', 'ancestress' ? c.f. Mo. *esi*, origin, source; wife of a khan.

³ *amilxab* (*amilxaw*) means in Buryat 'I shall revive', which does not fit the context. Another possibility would be the Buryat optative *amilhüb*, 'let me revive' (c.f. Poppe 1955:256, = Mo. *-suyai*). However the use of the first person seems out of place in this text, and the recording is not clear enough for certainty.

3. THE RITUAL IN SPRING:

TEMEGEN-Ü DALALTA, DALALTA OF THE CAMELS

3.1 The accounts

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| a. Övörxangai <i>aimag</i> | p.c. | memories of a native |
| b. Ordos | Mostaert 1962:213 | field notes of a scholar |
| c. Baarin | Dumas 1987:175,177 | memories of a native |
| d. Chahar | Poppe 1972:197-8 | paraphrase of instructions
in a MS |
| e. Bayad | fieldwork 1989 | |
- f. A few further details of the ritual are contained in the texts, or in instructions included in the MSS.

A number of texts are known, all closely related to each other. These are listed under TEXT.5.1, with a translation and edition of one variant.

(a) *Övörxangai aimag*

A middle-aged intellectual who was brought up as a herdsman's son saw the ritual twice in his childhood (probably in the late 1940s). Only a man who owned a really large camel herd would stage this ritual; for someone who owned only 20 or so head it would be presumptuous.

The ritual is in late April or early May, about the beginning of the first summer month. The camel calves of that year are then about 3 months old.

The camels are milked and *ayiray* is made [from the fermented milk; the usual drink for festivals]. Many people are invited. A fire is lit outside, and a special text is recited. The speaker was too young at the time to notice exactly what was done.

The long hair beneath the neck and on the upper legs (*jöydur, ebüdüg*) of the most fertile she-camel and bull camel is cut. No other hair is cut; it is still very cold at this season, and the normal time for taking hair from the camels is later in the summer.

The informant did not say what was done with this hair. When asked if it was burnt, he said yes, a little could be put into the fire as an offering.

(b) *Ordos*

The ritual is called *temegen-ü yal takiqu*, translated by Mostaert as 'adorer le feu [pour la prospérité] des chameaux'. [It could equally well be translated 'camels' fire sacrifice'.]

It is held in spring by the owners of the camels, out of doors, in the presence of the herd.

(c) *Baarin*

Confirms the Ordos data. A fire is lit specially, near the herd, using embers from the hearth of the owner's tent.

(d) *Chahar*

Poppe summarizes instructions in a Leningrad MS (here CHAHAR T). Two variants of the ritual are mentioned.

The first is characterized by lamaist requisites, including a dough model of the fire-god riding on a goat. Food is prepared, and a red goat or a 'white antelope', *čayan Jegere*,¹ is sacrificed. The four principal ribs are burnt, and prayers are read, addressing the Khan of the fire and the Khan of the camels, named Marayibuu.²

The text itself, on the other hand, gives the sacrifice as the breastbone of a goat (*serke*), the four species of herded animals (represented by images), and butter, kumiss and milk alcohol.

In the second, 'less complete', variant, the breastbone of an antelope, the leading-rein of a camel *buruntuy*, wool [of a camel?] and scraps of cloth are burnt in the fire.

¹ *Procapra gutturosa* (Pallas), the steppe antelope.

² Unidentified.

(e) Bayad

At the same time as performing the annual hearth sacrifice in the first winter month, the speaker's¹ parents used to perform the *dalalya* of the camels. The ritual took place inside the tent.

The leading-rein *buruntuy* of a bull camel is passed into the tent through the gap between the western door-jamb and the wall trellis (*barayun qatabči*), with the camel outside still attached. The head of the tent sits in the *qoyimor*, the northern section of the tent near the altar, holding the end of the rein. A lama sits beside him. A prayer is said while the man waves or beckons with the rein.

Butter is ladled into the fire so that it blazes up [normal for the hearth sacrifice], and some long hair *joydur* from beneath a camel's neck [the same camel?] is put into the fire.

A bull camel [the same one?] is also consecrated, *seterlekü*, at the ritual.

(f) *Details in the texts*

The object of the ritual is to obtain the benefits, *buyan kesig*, of the camels.

It is performed at the time when the migratory water birds return, the snow and ice melt, and the camel calves are born. Although there will be regional variation, these timings correspond approximately to May, April and January respectively, or first summer month, last spring month, and last winter month. It seems that the reference to the calves should be understood as 'when the camels *have* calved' (and so are now accompanied by their young).

The available texts are variants of two models, a short folk-religious incantation, very close in character and phraseology to the *dalalya* of the birds, and a longer version in which this incantation is followed by a *dalalya* invocation showing lamaist influence (see TEXT.5.1, where the reference code used here for each text will also be found).

The sacrifice offered according to the shorter texts is camel hair and the breastbone, *ebčigüü*, of a steppe antelope *čayan jegerere*. An Oirad text specifies that it is a female, *sirayčın* (RIII XXI). An unclear reference to the camels' leading-reins may correspond to the mention in CHAHAR T. of a leading-rein as an object to be sacrificed.²

¹ Woman aged 68, Taij clan, Jajin gung banner. Compare her other data, 1.1.2 (k).

² The leading-rein for a camel is usually made partly or wholly of camel hair, and could conceivably be burnt for this reason.

The sacrifice mentioned in all the longer texts is the breastbone of a 'tailed antelope', *segültü jeger* (presumably for *qara segültü*, the goitered gazelle, *Gazella subgutturosa*). In the second, additional, section of these texts a four-line address to the hearth deity mentions offerings of milk-fats and animal fat, *tosu ögekü*, while the officiant holds a decorated *dalalya* arrow.

Instructions with the shorter texts state that the beckoning (of the *dalalya*) should be performed by a shaman or shamaness (RIII IX), or that it should be performed with the leading-rein(s) of the camel(s) (RIII XXI, an Oirad text).

Instructions with a longer text underline its lamaist character; the ritual is preceded by an incense-offering *sang*, and lamps, nine kinds of grain and three well-tasting things are offered (RI XXVI).

The two versions of the ritual which Poppe describes, 'more complete' and 'less complete', undoubtedly correspond to the two models of available texts, the longer (partially lamaized) prayer, and the shorter (native) incantation.

3.2 The nature of the ritual

The connection of the *dalalya* for the camels with the sacrifice to the hearth-deity, *yal takiqu*, is explicit in the Ordos, Chahar and Bayad accounts, and has been accepted in a recent analysis of the hearth sacrifice (Dumas 1987:174 ff). Indeed the title of one of the texts reads *temegen-ü yal-un takily-a orosibai*, 'fire sacrifice of the camels' (RIII IX).

In spite of this evidence there seem to be no grounds for linking the two procedures on the level of the logic of the ritual, and it is likely that the external correspondances in the requisites employed¹ and in the phraseology of the longer, written, versions of the text are the result of confusion in the minds of the people involved, and have formed relatively recently.

With the exception of the Bayad account, which will be considered separately, the ritual cannot be addressed to the hearth-deity, since the fire which figures in it is not the fire of the tent hearth, but one lit specially, out of doors. The hearth-deity resides only in the fire of her own hearth, and no other (Dumas 1987:302-3). In this environment, the fact that the outside fire is lit with embers from the hearth is not significant; in the absence of matches it is the most practical method.²

¹ The use of an arrow and offerings of fats are typical for the hearth-sacrifice and its *dalalya*, but it is significant that they are mentioned here *only* in the longer lamaized variants of the texts. They are not mentioned in the short invocations, nor in the accounts.

² The alternative would be to use flint, steel and tinder, but there is no need when the tent fire is blazing a few yards away. For the same method of lighting a ritual fire see the Buryat account in 4.4 below.

The offerings which have been identified as typical for the hearth deity are milk-fats, animal fat and milk alcohol, accompanied by the breastbone (sternum) of a sheep.¹ Here, however, it is the breastbone of an antelope which is burnt, that is of a wild rather than domestic animal, and it is typically accompanied by hair from the camels. The well-documented antagonism in the ritual context between the hearth, epitome of the domestic human sphere, and the 'wild' (Lot-Falck 1953:179, 187) makes it most unlikely that a game animal would be offered to the hearth deity.

The annual hearth sacrifice is made at the end of the winter, or in autumn (see section 5); the *dalalya* of the camels is a spring ritual. In addition, the instructions in RIII IX that it should be performed by a shaman conflict with the requirement that the hearth sacrifice should be made by the hearth's owner² (Dumas 1987:279-80).

The texts indicate that the core of the ritual is represented by the incantation, which is always present.³ Only the texts with the additional invocation contain the passage which addresses the hearth goddess directly. This four-line address is unconnected, either in sense or in phraseology, with what precedes and follows it. It occurs between a praise-invocation of the camels, which is thematically and phraseologically a continuation of the opening incantation, and a *dalalya* invocation which is a variant of the standard text for the *dalalya* performed after the annual hearth sacrifice (5.2 below).

This structure indicates that the incantation of the native *dalalya* of the camels has been embellished, at least in some of its written forms, with lines 'borrowed' from the texts proper to the hearth sacrifice: an abbreviated prayer to the hearth deity, and *another dalalya* invocation which customarily follows that prayer. The decorated arrow, an originally Tibetan requisite used as a beckoning instrument in the *dalalya* after the hearth sacrifice and in autumn, has similarly been adopted into the more elaborated variants of the *dalalya* of the camels. The structure of the texts is a result of confusion over the role played by the fire in the ritual. The evidence points to this fire being the mediator of a burnt offering made on behalf of the camels, and not the recipient of that offering.

¹ Dumas 1987:282. See also section 5 below. My own data suggests that the breastbone is not necessarily offered among the Oirad.

² It can, however, be compared to the performance of occasional *dalalya* rituals by shamans, 4.4.

³ Mongol researchers have found several other texts for the ritual in the Gobi regions, which are in general about 20 lines in length (Čojjilsüren 1964:208). These probably represent the incantation on its own.

Lamaist concepts of a non-specific fire god, *yal tngri*, blurred or confused the native Mongol concept of the hearth goddess of each individual tent hearth (Dumas 1987:299-301). Poppe's CHAHAR T. shows clearly that the fire lit outside for the camels has become the focus of an essentially Tibetan fire-ritual, with lamaist paraphernalia, the sacrifice of a red gelded goat, *ulayan serke*¹, and a dough model of the lamaist fire god (c.f. *op. cit.* 99 and 293). Since lamaist concepts, unlike those native to Mongolia, allow an unspecific outdoor fire to be the *recipient* of a cult, and the deity of fire to act as the *mediator* of offerings to other deities, the function of the fire lit for the camels has been misunderstood, and the objects burnt in it have come to be seen as an offering to the native Mongol hearth goddess, made on behalf of the camels.²

3.3 The burning of hair

Whether the camel's hair and the breastbone of the antelope are burnt as offerings to some other recipient, or in another end altogether, is not clear from the accounts.

The incantation which forms the essential part of the texts is not worded as a prayer, and does not address any deity. We know that the hair should be from either the bull of the herd or the 'most fertile' camel, and it seems likely that it is burnt, not as an offering, but as a procedure for promoting the increase of the animals. Long and abundant hair appears as the typical attribute of both stallions and bull camels in other *dalalya* texts³, a mark of their reproductive power. Hair of the animal is regarded in Mongolia as a seat of its vitality, an attribute which may be detached from the rest of the physical animal.⁴

The burning of the hair should be seen as a technique for freeing some of this vitality, so that the energy can be recycled in the form of more births to increase the herd. This interpretation is consistent with the stress laid in the texts on the birth of young camels and on the renewed life brought by the return of spring.

Potanin mentions the burning of hair taken from an animal which is about to be sold (1881, II:94). This is one of a number of methods of retaining for ones own

¹ But for the sacrifice of a red goat or a yellow gelded goat (*ulayan imaya, sira serke*) to the native Mongol hearth goddess in an un-lamaized ritual, see 5.1.1 (g), and analysis 5.1.6.

² An outside fire may appear as a mediator in other lamaized Mongol rituals; an account of an *oboya* sacrifice describes offerings made by the eminently thrifty method of throwing a whole sheep's carcass onto a fire, but then retrieving it after a little of the fat has burnt (Larson n.d. 146).

³ c.f. TEXT.2.1. and TEXT.3.2. (note).

⁴ See further REQ.4.1.4.

herd, or recycling, the life-force of the departing animal.¹ The term Potanin uses for the vitality embodied in the hair is *kesig*, that is the same force or 'benefit' referred to in the *dalalya* texts, and which is intended here to accrue to the camels through the performance of the ritual. This confirms that the hair does not represent an offering, and makes clear the circularity which underlies the concept of an increasing herd.

3.4 The antelope

3.4.1

Dalalya rituals performed in spring² are distinguished from others in that no sheep is killed; in the *dalalya* of the birds no animal seems to be slaughtered, and here it is an antelope which is killed (or in CHAHAR T., a goat).

The sheep is the accepted sacrificial animal for most Mongol groups³, and it is likewise the animal normally slaughtered for food. This has not always been so; in the 13th century the Mongols had fewer sheep, and obtained part of their meat from hunting (Vladimirtsov 1948:48). It could be argued that the antelope, as a game animal, represents a deliberate anachronism in the context of a very old ritual.

Game is not otherwise offered in Mongol rituals, other than those performed specifically by and for hunters (c.f. 4.1). However an early account for a Dörvöd group, the Azov Kalmucks, which dates from a time when they still retained their original culture, does describe sacrifices of deer (Florovskij 1941:185). They seem to be offered to the '*burqan*' of the clan, probably an image thought to be the support of an ancestor-spirit (*ongyon*). Such offerings are widely recorded for south Siberian hunting peoples, and would perhaps have been characteristic for the Mongols at the time when herding played a less important part in their economy.

It is extremely unlikely that a sheep would be killed in spring; no animal is normally slaughtered before June at the earliest in Mongolia, since they are thin after the long winter⁴ (B. Damdin p.c.). To offer a poor thin beast to a deity would be counter-productive. The same applies of course to the antelope, and according to RIII XXI it is a female antelope, *sirayčín*, which is required; neither

¹ Further examples under REQ.4.1.4 and REQ.4.3.2.

² Other than the *dalalya* for Činggis; see section 6.

³ Except the Buryat; see also 5.1.5 for the animal offered to the hearth deity.

⁴ But see the Myangad birth ritual, for which a sheep *must* be killed (4.3.2).

herding nor hunting peoples would think of killing a female animal at this season. In Övörxangai the hunting of gazelles does not start before October (p.c.).¹

It must be emphasized that we have only the evidence of the texts to tell us that an antelope is killed, and not a sheep, or that any animal is killed at all. All the known texts are variants of the same model, and their evidence is thus by no means conclusive. In addition, texts may not reflect what is actually done in practice. None of the eye-witness accounts of the ritual mentions any animal's being killed; the significant offering seems to be hair from the camels.

The incantation for the *dalalya* of the birds is very similar to the text for the camels, but it has additional sections which evoke the birth of wild animals, including antelope: *jegere görügesün törüküi-dür*, when the antelope and deer are born (BURYAT). It is perhaps possible that the conventional reference to the antelope in these spring texts may have been transformed, in the variant for the camels, into something quite different: a sacrificial animal, which in fact never existed in reality, but emerged as changes in ideology affected the way in which the oral text was remembered and passed on. While the original incantation was effective in itself, the lamaist concept of protector-deities who mediate between man and the sources of prosperity, and who must be rendered propitious, may have been responsible for the introduction of the notion of an offering.

If, however, we accept the evidence of the texts and assume that an antelope was indeed killed, the burning of its breastbone may be, not an offering, but rather a multiplication procedure analogous to the burning of the camels' hair. The belief that bones of game animals are likewise a seat of their vitality, and can be used to reconstitute them as new animals, is basic to the hunting magic of south Siberia (Zélénine 1952:117). The tip of an ox's breastbone functions in this way in Mongol slaughtering procedures (4.2.1). The *dalalya* of the camels would thus be a technique for increasing both the camel herds and the game animals, performed at the time of the spring renewal of the natural world.

3.4.2.

Poppe's CHAHAR T. states that a goat may be sacrificed as an alternative to the antelope in the 'more complete' - that is, lamaized - version of the ritual. A goat is typically offered to the fire god in the Tibetan fire-sacrifice (see 5.1.6). It is in the longer, lamaized texts that the reference to the hearth-deity occurs, and the goat

¹ Evidence from other peoples indicates that any blood sacrifice is unusual in spring; the Yakut, for example, offer animal hair and milk products at this time (Czaplicka 1914:238-9, 297-8). However the spring sacrifice to the ancestors in the Secret History of the Mongols (§ 70) is a meat sacrifice, as is the *yeke tayilyan* at Ejen qoruya (section 6).

It is just conceivable, though unlikely, that the antelope is purely a substitute, in order to avoid the loss involved in slaughtering the more valuable sheep at the wrong season.

almost certainly appears as the result of a double confusion: firstly the confusion of the ritual for the camels with the sacrifice to the hearth-deity, and secondly the contamination of the Mongol hearth-sacrifice with elements of the Tibetan fire-sacrifice.

It is also possible, though less likely, that a goat is proposed as an alternative if no antelope is available. Until the present century, the range of steppe antelope and gazelles coincided approximately with the steppe and semi-desert camel-rearing areas of Mongolia (Mallon 1985:92), but especially latterly a substitute might have been necessary in some areas. Goats are available everywhere, and share certain characteristics of game animals in Mongol thinking. The meat of both goats and deer is 'cold'¹, and goat meat, unlike that of other domestic animals, can be cooked and eaten out of doors, as can game (fieldwork 1989). The goat is perhaps ambiguous on the symbolic level because it exists both as a game animal and a domestic species.

3.5 The Bayad ritual

The Bayad account (e) of the ritual differs significantly from the others:²

- it is performed with the annual sacrifice to the hearth deity, in the first winter month (not in spring)
- like this sacrifice, it takes place inside the tent

This variant of the ritual is linked to what we know of the others by the burning of hair from the camel.

The presence of the camel herd is secured by having a bull camel close to the tent as its representative. He is 'connected' to the officiant by his leading rope,³ which passes not through, but around the outside of the doorway. The rope thus takes one of the two paths which may conventionally be used to enter or leave the tent by supernatural forces, or objects associated with the 'other' world of the spirits or of the 'wild'.⁴ In Potanin's account of an Oirad autumn *dalalya* the meat of the sheep killed is passed into the tent by the same route, above and to the west

¹ See 5.1.6 (note).

² As the account is an isolated one, it should perhaps be treated with reserve, but see the comments on this woman's data under 5.1.2 (note).

³ This cannot be the usual leading-rein *buruntuy*, although this was the Mongol word used, because it would be too short to reach across the tent from door to altar.

⁴ Dead game, from the forest-world, is passed in through an opening in the walls; a human corpse is passed out in the same way for disposal (Lot-Falck 1953:178; Wasilewski 1978:99).

of the door-frame (1.1.3 h), while the Myangad *dalalya* for a birth is actually performed through this opening (4.3.2).

The second path available is via the smoke-hole of the tent.¹ Variants of Oirad *dalalya* ritual in which the officiant holds a rope leading to the roof-ring framing the smoke-hole and beckons with it are described in sections 4.4 and 5.1, and analysed under REQ.4.8. Here the camel's owner performs the beckoning with the end of the leading-rope; the Oirad text for this ceremony RIII XXI, which also comes from the Bayad, recommends the same method of beckoning. The leading rope is an animal-hair rope, which is normally twisted from camel hair; it is thus the hair of the camels which, indirectly, is being used in the beckoning.

It is in fact a standard practice to perform a *dalalya* at the time of the annual hearth sacrifice (see section 5), but in no other account is this a *dalalya* for the camels. The timing of this Bayad ritual may well be determined, not by the birth of the young in spring, but by another stage of the breeding cycle, the rut. For camels this takes place about the middle winter month, and so just after the time of the Bayad hearth sacrifice. It is the bull camel which figures in the *dalalya* here, rather than the whole herd, as is the case in the other accounts, and it is probably performed in order to obtain increased vitality for him at the appropriate time. Like the spring variants, it is a ritual concerned with fertility, but here the emphasis is on the male rather than the female contribution.

The consecration, *seterlekü*,² of the camel at the same time probably has a similar purpose. The consecration of an animal at a Kharčin autumn *dalalya* ritual was described under 1.1.2 (b); the animal chosen was the most prolific of the herd, just as here in the Övörxangai account (a) the hair is taken from the most fertile animals.

3.6 The significance of camels

The existence of a *dalalya* of the camels is well attested for most Mongol areas where camels are important economically. There are, however, no accounts of a

¹ It is significant that the three groups which these accounts concern, from the northern Oirad and the Myangad, all have cultures which are heavily influenced by the world of forest hunters, although they are now herdsman. Supernatural entry to the tent through the roof-ring belongs properly to the herding ideology in which the spirit-world is above; entry through the walls belongs to the world of hunters, in which man and the supernatural (that is the animal-spirits) are face to face.

² Defined under 1.1.2 (k), note.

specific *dalalya* for any other species of herded animal.¹ Some Mongols said that these do exist; but either they were unable to give details, and the statements can probably be dismissed, or they had in mind the libations of *üres yaryaqu*, 'producing offspring', which can be performed for horses, sheep or cattle (but not camels). This procedure is not a *dalalya*, although one was sometimes performed after it (section 7.1.1).

The camel is, per individual, the most valuable animal of Mongolia, and reproduces the most slowly, but this fact alone is hardly sufficient to explain the existence of the ritual. However camels (and, above all, horses) are the status animals of Mongolia, and the ownership of significant herds is an important social asset. Camels seem to be singled out in certain other ways, but the data available is too patchy for any conclusions to be drawn.² For example, the birth of a camel calf is surrounded by prescriptions not recorded for other animals.³ She-camels, like ewes, may reject their young, but while every herdsman knows the songs for persuading a ewe to take her lamb, a specialist is called in for a camel. The procedure, Kh. *inge xööslöx*, is ritualized,⁴ and in western Mongolia it should be performed by a singer of epics, who has the status of a minor ritual specialist (Sampildendev 1987b:33-4).

The camel can be regarded as a symbolic mediator in its role during nomadizations, carrying the tent from one camp through the empty steppe to the next; in other words from its place in the human lived-in world through an 'other' dimension of dissolution, and on to another human space and time (Chabros and Dulam 1990:27-30). Similarly it carries the bodies of the dead from one world towards another when they are taken for disposal. This role might be sufficient to secure for the camel a special status in the ritual sphere.

Evidence that the animal is regarded in this way by the Mongols themselves is, however, not at present available. The symbolic significance of the camel in Mongol eyes seems to rest on two facts: that the camel is 'cold', literally 'with a cold muzzle', *küiten qosiyu-tu*,⁵ and that the rutting bull camel is universally

¹ Although the *texts* for the *dalalya* of the birds evoke the birth of foals and of the young of all the other herded species, we know of no accompanying *actions* equivalent to those of the ritual for the camels.

² The special attention given to camels has been attributed simply to the fact that they are more difficult to rear than other animals (Dumas 1987:310-11); this is certainly one possible explanation.

³ Magic precautions are taken, and after the birth it is forbidden to let salt or fire leave the tent (Wasilewski 1980:286), a prohibition which also applies after certain rituals.

⁴ Children and other people are sent away (B. Damdin p.c.). A special meal is prepared.

⁵ See 5.1.6 (note).

recognized as a symbol of male power. 'Warm' is associated conventionally with what is close, one's own, while 'cold' is distant or alien.¹ The 'warm-muzzled' animals are sheep and horses, the close and familiar companions of man. That camels are felt in an obscure way to be 'other' would be consistent with the fact of their difficulty and the ritual practices which surround them, as well as with their supposed function as mediators between human and alien spheres.

The fury of a camel in the rut is both impressive and dangerous. However 'fury' can be symbolically positive; the epic hero is 'furious',² and so is the shaman in trance. This is a life-giving fury, a numinous and dangerous power, but one that is necessary. This characteristic of the camel is entirely consistent with the feeling of its 'otherness'. It is confirmed by the texts of the *dalalya*; the bull camel is *sir-a sibayun örbelgetü*, 'with an owl's (feather) crest' (RIII IX). This is probably a reference to the shaggy hair on the animal's head, like an owl's 'ears', but the shaman too wears a headdress of owl feathers (Even 1987:179), which represents his connection with the supernatural sphere of the ancestors from whom he derives his powers.³

This strong association with life-bringing force would be a sufficient explanation for the existence of the *dalalya* of the camels; it is precisely to promote the circulation of such life-energy that *dalalya* rituals are performed. The Bayad ritual, before the rut instead of in springtime, tends to confirm this interpretation.

The forest hunters who were forebears of the Mongols had no camels; in this environment it is the reindeer which carries the tents and the sacred images on nomadizations, which is consecrated to the spirits, and which symbolizes male power and is imitated by a horned shaman.⁴ In the spring ritual of the Karagas (Tofa), one of the Altai Turkic groups, fat and tea are thrown into a fire so that the local mountain-spirit will send calves to the reindeer herds and fur-animals to the hunters (Harva 1938:392). There is an obvious parallel here with the ritual for the camels. Without going so far as to suggest that the camel, in the steppe, is the heir of the reindeer of the forest peoples, it is certainly true that they occupy structurally similar positions, in both the economic and the ritual spheres. The other large animals of the Mongols, horses and cattle, are not comparable to camels in this respect.

¹ c.f. Kh. *xaluun zuur*, among one's kin, Kh. *xüiten ineed*, a contemptuous laugh.

² *yaljiyu*; analysis in Nekljudov 1981. For the epic hero as life-giver, c.f. the practice of calling in a bard to sing the epic in a tent which was childless or poor, in order to promote the *buyan kesig*, benefits or life-energy, of the family (Sampildendev 1987b:33).

³ See also REQ.4.1.4.

⁴ c.f. for the Tsaatan of northern Mongolia, Badamxatan 1962:13-14.

3.7 The *dalalya* in spring: conclusions

The texts for both spring rituals reflect the herdsmen's concern for their herds, and especially for the young, at a critical time of weakness. The prayer forming the second part of the *dalalya* of the birds in particular is intended as an insurance for both the human group and its animals.

At the same time these rituals operate on another, symbolic, level, as a 'turning of the world' at a critical time of passage from winter to summer.

The model provided by the cycle of the seasons is one of endless repetition of the same events. While most types of *dalalya* ritual are concerned with animal fertility, the spring rituals differ in that they promote the *repetition* of the events of spring: the melting of the snow, the birth of the young of each species. *Dalalya* in autumn and at the hearth sacrifice emphasize fertility as a means of increase in the herds: *accumulation*, rather than repetition of the same. This distinction will be taken up in section 4 (hunting and slaughtering rituals) and in the chapter on the Texts. It is, of course, the distinction between an ideology of hunters and one of herdsmen; repeated taking (or receiving) from an 'other' source as opposed to the increase of what one already has.

These two spring rituals are evidence of the contribution to the culture of steppe herding groups of thought-patterns which derive from the world of forest hunters. The *dalalya* of the camels reflects a transition; the burning of hair and breastbone, which may once have been a recycling procedure, has come to be regarded as a sacrifice as a result of the changes in ideology brought about by decreasing dependance on hunting, and by the influence of lamaism.

4. OCCASIONAL *DALALYA* RITUALS

4.1 The hunters' *dalalya*

The ritual takes place after the kill, and is to be distinguished from the preparatory rituals of *yanjuyan-u sang*, incensing (purification) of the saddle-thongs, and *Manaqan-u sang*, incensing (incense-offering) of Manaqan,¹ the spirit owner of the game.

4.1.1 The accounts

- | | | | |
|----|--------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. | Buryat | Galdanova 1981:160-1 | Soviet ethnographer |
| b. | ? | Gaadamba and Sampildendev 1988:75 | Mongol folklorists |
| c. | Ordos | Mostaert 1937:466 | fieldnotes of scholar |
| d. | Buryat | Sampildendev 1985:112 | quoting Galdanova's data |
| | | Galdanova 1981:161 | |

Two short texts are recorded, and are translated and edited under TEXT.8.

There are a number of more elaborated hunting texts which include the cry *qurui*, but few of these appear to accompany a *dalalya* ritual.

- a. A Buryat hunter who has just killed a sable puts it in his hat, and 'turns it to every side' crying:

Bur. *xurii xurii bayan xangai*
 xurii xurii rich xangai (forest)

The presence of the cry (Mo. *qurui*) suggests that the sable is being circled, and that the hat represents a variant of the *dalalya* 'vessel'.

The stated purpose of the action is to obtain more sables. It is not clear whether it is performed after every kill, or perhaps after the first kill of the hunt only. The dead animal is then taken home by the hunters, laid on a white felt, and passed into the house through a window - that is through an opening which is not the normal door.

¹ More properly Maniqan (Serruys 1960:553).

b. In the next account the pelt of a freshly-killed and skinned fox or wolf is waved, while reciting a short incantation with the cry *qurui*. The action expresses the wish that the kill of the hunters will continue to increase.¹

c. In Mostaert's account, the hunters hold the skin of a fox or hare in their hand, while reciting a text which expresses a wish for abundant game. At the cry *qurui* they beckon with the skins.

d. The final account is of a preparatory ritual; it thus operates according to a different logic from the *dalalya* performed after the kill.

An old hunter (occasionally a shaman) sings an epic in the hunters' camp during the night before the hunt, in order to please the spirit-owner of the forest. After singing, he impales a piece of fat from a sheep's tail on the ramrod of his gun, while each hunter holds a bowl of fat and milk-fats, and all call the benefit, *kesig*, of game with cries of Bur. *a xurii*.

e. Rinchen has published a text for a hunters' ritual described as *altan dalalyatu sang*, golden incense-offering with a *dalalga*,² which includes instructions that it should take place on the peak of a high mountain, with offerings of wormwood, juniper, flour and milk-fats. This ritual again falls into the category of preparatory offerings; it requests many other benefits besides game, and may not in fact have been performed in conjunction with any actual hunting expedition.

4.1.2 The basic ritual

The exclamation of the first Buryat account (a) makes clear that the cry *qurui* is essential. It is addressed to the 'rich *xangai*'³ forest-mountain, source of the game. The epithet 'rich' is a stereotype, and is to be interpreted in the sense of 'bountiful' or nurturing'.⁴ Mountains are personified in the image of their spirit-owner; the Xangai may be regarded as spirit-master of the game, able to send it to the hunters. Accordingly the game killed is referred to in many hunters' texts as

¹ No provenance is given; although the authors seem to imply that the text is Dörvöd, they are probably referring to the text which precedes it in the book.

² Rintchen 1959 no. XXVII p. 52-3; considered under TEXT.8.3.

³ Xangai, Mo. Qangyai : in texts, refers to mountains in general or, in northern regions, to the forest in general; in other words to that 'other' sphere of the game, which is face to face with the sphere of man. It is also the name of the principal mountain-range of central Khalkha.

⁴ See also the analysis in Uray-Köhlmi 1987:142-4.

Qangyai-yin kesig, the favour or benefit of the Qangyai (Sampildendev 1985:112). By the early years of this century *Bayan Xangai* had come to be regarded in some Buryat groups as a spirit who is lord of the whole earth (Sandschejew 1928:972).

The two texts recorded for the hunters' *dalalya* are not addressed to any being, and probably reflect the belief that the wild animals come of their own volition to the hunters. They, the inhabitants of the *qangyai* forest-world, are 'les êtres d'en face' (Lot-Falck 1953:222), the animal-clan with whom the human clan has contracted an alliance (Zélénine 1952:140). No third term is necessary, no spirit-owner who sends the game, and the ritual is directed implicitly towards the animals themselves.

All these accounts concern fur animals, which are not eaten. We do not know whether the same ritual was performed for larger game. The hare may be prominent simply because it is an animal commonly hunted; however the hare functions in Mongol oral literature as a symbol of female fertility, or the power of life to continue in spite of the fact of death (Kóhalmi 1985:118), and this role may be significant here.

The skin of a wild animal retains something of that animal's 'life' or vital energy while it is still wet; this belief is reflected in prohibitions which the Yakut attach to a fresh skin.¹ A Myangad *dalalya* ritual requires a fresh sheepskin (4.3.2 below). The waving of the skin in these accounts is probably equivalent on the ritual level to waving the whole animal, but the skin represents at the same time the part which the hunters most desire.

The immediacy of the ritual is striking; the hunter holding the wet skin has just killed, and consequently is 'revêtu de numineux', and in the closest possible contact with that 'other' sphere of the animals. He is ideally situated to perform a ritual which is to act upon the game. The fact that it takes place at the kill, and not in advance, makes clear that its purpose is, not simply to obtain game, but to obtain the *replacement* of the animal killed. In this context the circling of the animal, or of the 'life-support' which the wet skin represents, can be regarded as a recycling procedure; the animal's life-energy is 'sent back' for reincorporation in a new animal which may in its turn be killed by the hunters.

¹ A woman may not touch it before it is dried; there is felt to be a strong antipathy between women and game. It may not be sold to a foreigner before it is dried; the offended animals would not return to that hunter (Harva 1938:413-4).

4.1.3 Related hybrid rituals

The Buryat *dalalya* with sheep's fat on a ramrod (d) which was performed before, not after, the hunt, seems to be modelled on the lamaized *dalalya* of the herdsmen's world, in which benefits are beckoned with an arrow.¹ We know from Rinchen's 'golden incense-offering' text (e) that hunters' rituals were performed in which all kinds of benefit besides that of game were requested.

A lamaized text for an incense-offering, *sang*, for the saddle-thongs *yanjuya*² includes the repeated cry *qurui* and the requests for *kesig* which are typical of *dalalya* texts; it gives instructions that the four thongs should have tied to them, respectively, a fox's skin, four ribs, gold silk (brocade), and a tibia *šayatu čimüge* (Rintchen 1959 no. XXIV p.45-7). An unpublished Oirad variant of the same text³ lists the four long ribs, the tibia, the breastbone and the (fat) tail as the four objects to be used; it perhaps represents a form of the ritual less corrupted by foreign elements. A sheep has clearly been killed to provide them, and the procedure takes place before the hunt.⁴ The appearance of a fox's skin may be due to the influence of the *dalalya* rituals performed after a kill, but the symbolic logic of the object is now obscured.⁵

Galdanova describes a Buryat hunting ritual for which a sheep is taken along with the hunters, and sacrificed and burnt on an altar before the hunt. Four pieces of its meat are hung from the four corners of the altar, where they symbolize the saddle-thongs. The men throw themselves on this meat and eat it, snatching it from one another (*op. cit.* 159-60). No *dalalya* seems to be associated with the ritual;

¹ Arrow and ramrod are of course symbolically equivalent as components of the hunter's weapon.

² The function of the saddle-thongs, two long rawhide straps on each side of the saddle, is to hold the dead game. Consequently they stand for game symbolically; but they are also 'sacred saddle-thongs', which are not only purified in rituals before the hunt, but perhaps also 'charged' or 'enlivened', and they have influence on the outcome of the hunt: *ongyun yanjuya minu kesig qutuy-i činu yuyunam*, my sacred saddle-thongs I ask your benefit (*kesig*) and blessings (from the same text, p.47).

³ Budapest Mong. 151, see TEXT.8.3.

⁴ These pieces of meat suggest that what is being performed is not an incensing, but a *miliyalaya*, anointing or smearing before use; c.f. the 'anointing' of a new tent (Sampildendev 1985:156, and 7.6) and of the Tsaatan shaman's new drum (= enlivening) (Badamxatan 1962:43), both with approximately the same parts of the sheep. The thongs are being 'blooded' before they are first used at the start of a new hunting season.

⁵ There is a single mention (without references) of a collective ritual, performed before a battue by all the participants, 'to call the vigour of the game', Kh. *angiin süld duudax taxilga* (Gaadamba and Sampildendev 1988:91). This phrase implies that the ritual is a *dalalya* of some kind, but no details are given.

however struggling over pieces of meat is characteristic of *dalalya* in other contexts (see 5.1.4).

The presence of the sheep in these accounts indicates the modification of hunters' procedures by practices belonging to the world of herdsmen and to lamaism. Instead of the recycling of game meat, we have an offering of sheep's meat, presumably directed to the spirit-master of the game, who is supposed to send wild animals in exchange.

It seems that in a purely hunting environment the ritual precautions surrounding a hunt would have fallen into two clearly distinct parts: before setting out, the hunting *ongyon* of the tent, the support of the ancestor-spirit thought to send both game and children, would be 'fed' by smearing it with fat,¹ and the saddle-thongs and equipment to be used in the hunt would be purified, or 'charged', with smoke. After a kill, the *dalalya* actions described here would be performed with a dead animal to ensure that it was replaced by more of its kind, in a circular process. Before the hunt it is a third party, the ancestor-spirit, which is addressed, while the *dalalya* after the kill seems to act on the animals directly.²

Where the lineage (with its ancestors) no longer functions as an institution, and where hunting is no longer the principal means of subsistence, the smearing of the ancestor-*ongyon* is replaced by the offering of a sheep to a generalized spirit-owner of the game, in Mongolia called Manaḡan. Through the influence of lamaist ritual, the preparatory purification of the saddle-thongs with juniper takes on the character of an offering made to them with the sweet-smelling smoke. The *dalalya* now accompanies these preparatory offerings instead of following the kill, and summons the game animals, as well as the other kinds of good-fortune usual in lamaized variants of the texts. Quantities of game are thus called for in advance, rather than simple replacement or repetition; a reflection of the ideology of accumulation which is proper to herdsmen.

¹ c.f. for the Buryat, Galdanova *op. cit.* 162, for the Yakut, Gurvič 1978:482. The Yakut texts for this procedure are closely related in content and phraseology to the Mongol texts for the offering to Manaḡan, and probably share the same origin.

² Lot-Falck (1953:195), perhaps following the Russian original of Zélénine 1952, operates with an evolutionary schema in which the kill and the ritual actions which follow it are played out between man and animal alone, and are intended to ensure that the animal will be disposed to return again to the hunters. The rituals performed before the hunt, which are addressed to a spirit-master, are seen as a later development.

4.2 *Dalalya* in rites of passage

A *dalalya* may be performed at certain times of passage for human or animal members of a family or a camp. Those recorded are:

- the slaughter of cattle
- the departure of a bride from her father's camp
- the departure of a son to the army
- a death

In all cases the 'passing' represents a loss, or potential loss, to the camp. The *dalalya* is not recorded for occasions of passage where the person concerned remains in the group, for example a child's first hair-cut.

There is a specific *dalalya* for a new mother and baby, performed shortly after the birth, which marks the woman's return to normal life. Although this too is an occasion of passage, the function of the ritual differs; it is a procedure of restoration or healing, and will be dealt with under that heading below.

4.2.1 *Dalalya* for slaughtering

There is one account, which includes a text, and one further passing mention:

Ordos	Qasbiligtü 1984:39	material of a native
Khorčin	Kürelbayatur and Urančimeg 1988:289	(mention only)

The following accounts of the same slaughterer's ceremony are available, but none mentions a *dalalya* as forming part of it:¹

Ordos	Mostaert 1962:213	field notes of a scholar
Ordos	Mostaert 1937:462	field notes of a scholar
Ordos	Potanin 1893, I:131	field notes of a scholar
Üzemčin	Duyarsürüng n.d.:130	material of a native
?	Sampildendev 1985:103-7	Mongol folklorist
?	Sodnom 1968:60	Mongol folklorist

¹ Although the short text quoted by Sodnom does include a cry of *qurui*.

Qasbiligtü's account

The ceremony takes place after the annual slaughtering of cattle which are to provide (frozen or dried) meat for the winter and spring: *üker-ün ügüči yaryaqu*.

Strong and dashing (energetic) young men assemble, neighbouring camps helping each other,¹ and round up the half-wild cattle, which are slaughtered and skinned. The owner of the cattle prepares generous quantities of meat, the 'offering cauldron meat' *takil toyoyan miq-a*, and invites everyone who took part.

The slaughterer offers fat, milk and alcohol to the fire of the tent. The blessing of the offering cauldron, *takil toyoyan irügel*, is recited. At the same time meat is put before the elders from among the relatives and the neighbours,² who make offerings of the first pieces (*degeji*) to eternal heaven and the golden earth, to Činggis, and to the relics³ of their ancestors, three times to each. A feast follows.

Afterwards the *dörben yama yasu*, 'four bone-supports of the clan'⁴ are offered to the fire. These are:

- the first cervical vertebra (the atlas), *aman küjügüü*
- the first pair of ribs (closest the head), Ordos *bogoni qabisu*
- the tip of the breastbone (manubrium sterni), *büdürkei*, which joins this pair of ribs to each other at their lower ends
- the bone of the nasal septum (vomer), *samsa*⁵

[presumably taken from one only of the cattle slaughtered?] The blessing for the atlas, *aman küjügün irügel*, is recited.

¹ *ayil ayimay-iyar-iyen qamjilčiju, kücü süld-tei jalayu qaračuud ...*

² *töröl sadun ayimay-un aqamad.*

³ *ebüge degedüs-ün šaril ongyon*. In Ordos *ongyon* may have the sense of 'tomb' (DO:514b), but 'relics' should perhaps be understood not in the sense of an ancestor's body, but rather as an object associated with an ancestor, and so now a support of his non-material dimension which may have a protective function towards his descendants. The concept is older in Mongolia than the lamaist term *šaril* (< Sk. *śārīra*) used to express it here, and which refers strictly speaking to mortal remains; in native Mongol practice these are feared rather than revered, c.f. for the 'relics' of Činggis Sagaster 1976:202-3.

⁴ *yasu* 'bone; clan'; *yama* not identified. Mostaert lists *jama jasū* as 'clan, famille' (DO:394b); c.f. also *jama (jamu) šūsū = šūsū* (DO: 395b), ceremonial dish of mutton.

⁵ *samsa*: the Mongol word may also be read *semse*, which is not listed in dictionaries, but could conceivably be a form for *semeji*, the fat of the intestines (forming part of the peritoneum), which regularly appears in offerings made to, or via, the fire (but which is not, of course, a bone). Potanin, describing a 'fire sacrifice', gives the phonetic rendering *semeši* (1881, II:91). Mostaert, working from oral information, not a written text, understands *semeji* and not *samsa* (1937:462). It is possible that the informants themselves were confused.

The owner then takes out his '[support for the] life-energy of the cattle', *üker-ün buyan kesig*, which is a bunch of cattle-hair accumulated¹ over the years by pulling some hair from any animal to be slaughtered or sold. He beckons with it, while all present join in, holding their snuff bottle or something similar; the blessing of the *dalalya*, *dalaly-a-yin irügel*, is recited, asking the ox to return as a new animal.²

The other slaughterer's ceremonies

Slaughtering for provisions takes place in the first winter month, about November (Sampildendev 1985:103), when the animals are still fat from the summer, but after the start of the hard frosts which are necessary to preserve the meat. The accounts agree that the central figure or officiant at the ritual is the slaughterer; in the Ordos he is referred to as the *darqan*,³ and the ceremony is known as *darqan qurim*, banquet of the *darqan*. They confirm that the principal object 'offered to the fire' is the atlas of an ox, although the ceremonies differ in detail. No account mentions a *dalalya*.⁴

All these rituals seem to be recycling procedures, in which a part of the body thought to support an energy which survives the physical animal's death is burnt in order to free, or 'send back', that energy so that it may return as new animals. Sampildendev states explicitly that the vertebra contains the ox's *amin sünesü*, 'life-soul' (1985:104). The ceremony is thus very close in intention to hunters' *dalalya* rituals; it reflects the same conception of death as 'un état transitoire ou provisoire' (Lot-Falck 1953:202), and is not an offering to the fire.

¹ *quramdayulju iregsen*, c.f. *quriyamji*, 'collection', which in the Ordos has the sense 'qualité de ce qui est ramassé sur soi-même' (DO:371b).

² Translated and edited under TEXT.7. This text is a *dalalya* invocation, and does not correspond to the 'blessings' described under TEXT.10.

³ *darqan*: in this Ordos context, a layman who is regarded, at least while performing this function, as a minor ritual specialist. The word (OT. *tarqan*) is an ancient title (c.f. Doerfer 1963, II:460-74) which in Mongol has acquired the meaning of 'having privileges' or 'free of taxes', hence 'inviolable, sacred', and also 'accredited', hence 'craftsman' and specifically 'smith'. A number of peoples associate blacksmiths with slaughtering, c.f. the initiation of a Yakut blacksmith, by tearing out the heart of a live bull with his tongs (Wasilewski 1979:200).

⁴ During my fieldwork I found no Khalkha or western Mongols who had heard of these ceremonies. They were perhaps an Inner Mongolian custom, and may, like the *dalalya* of the camels, have been performed only by large herdowners, who butchered impressive quantities of meat. The fear of excess, which has its roots in the ideology of hunting, may have made ritual precautions important in such cases. To kill (take) more than is necessary is believed to have the result that no more will be given (Lot-Falck 1953:9).

Analysis

The round-up which precedes the slaughtering should perhaps be seen in the light of a display of strength. The cattle are 'wild', and are caught and skinned by 'strong and dashing' youths. Although it is not mentioned here, such round-ups are widely regarded as a sort of rodeo, an occasion for young men to compete in demonstrating their strength and prowess, particularly to a female audience (fieldwork 1988). The skinning of the cattle too is heavy work which demands considerable physical strength. The rodeo may perhaps be compared to the 'games' in which children compete for scraps of meat after other *dalalya* rituals (see 5.1.4). The violence inherent in the work can also be associated with the violence of the hunt, even though it is not the youths who actually kill the cattle, but a specialist.

It is stressed that very generous quantities of meat are prepared for the feast; this finds a parallel in the hunters' custom of eating the biggest and best animal of the bag at the next meal, rather than saving it to take home, which would constitute an affront to the generosity of the spirit-master of the game (Taube 1972:133, for Mončooogo Tuvinians). It perhaps also reflects the prescription that game must be shared or given away, not kept for oneself.¹

The *dalalya* takes place at the end of the ceremony, and seems to stand on its own; unlike the *dalalya* after the hearth sacrifice, it does not involve the sharing out or eating of any meat. The circling of the bunch of hair may perhaps be compared to the circling of the dead animal's pelt in the *dalalya* of the hunters, at which again nothing is eaten. Parallels between the text which is recited and hunters' texts will be examined separately (TEXT.7). There is no other account of a *dalalya* gesture performed with hair only, but some hair is frequently tied to the *dalalya* arrow (see REQ.4.1.4).

Both the hair and the four pieces of bone are to be seen as supports of life-force, but the hair is kept and accumulated, while the bones are 'sent back'.

The bones all represent the tip or the head end of the part from which they are taken. The first ribs and the tip of the breastbone are traditionally associated with routine offerings made to the hearth-fire when either a game animal or a herded animal is eaten² (Sampildendev 1985:124). In that context they represent the *degeji*, the first part, which is burnt as the share of the hearth-deity; if the 'offering' was once a recycling procedure this function is no longer remembered.

¹ Lot-Falck 1953:142; reflected in the current Mongol custom that a hunter should let every person in his camp taste the game he has brought back, even if it is the middle of the night (B. Damdin p.c.), c.f. the saying Kh. *olzny yumyg oluulaa*, 'booty (game) is for many (to share)'.

² In the living animal they form a circle, with the backbone at the top; through this ring of bone, which is near the base of the neck, pass the windpipe and the arteries of the head. Their significance is perhaps a function of their position between vital organs and head.

The bone of the nasal septum is not recorded in other Mongol rituals; however the muzzle of fur animals, associated with their breath and thus their 'life-soul', is kept by south Siberian hunters as a talisman, a support of their 'luck' (Zélénine 1952:69; Lot-Falck 1953:100), and in some Mongol areas the hair saved from an animal to be sold or, as here, slaughtered, was wiped on the animal's muzzle and then burnt with the saliva on it (Potanin 1881, II:94).¹

Both the burning and the preservation of significant parts of the animal have the same purpose: to enable the energy they hold to be reembodied. The apparent contradiction between 'sending back' (the bones burnt) and 'keeping' (the hair) can be resolved by considering the differences between hunting and herding conceptions of the sources of life, as follows.

The ideology of hunting regards the wild animals as a 'pool' existing in the forest world 'd'en face'.² When an individual animal is taken from the pool, its portion of vital energy must be sent back, to an 'other' destination. Its return to the pool makes possible its eventual reembodiment as another animal.

This hunters' notion may be retained by herdsman; in this case the living herded animals are seen, by analogy with the living members of the human clan, as the visible dimension of a pool, or 'spirit-herd', existing in the spirit-world.³

In an ideology of herding in which the principle of descent represented in the clan has lost its importance, leading to the individualization of each camp, a multiplying herd of domestic animals, existing in the real world of its owner's pastures, is regarded as a pool in itself. When an individual animal is taken its portion of energy must be saved, kept in that camp, to prevent the depletion of the energy-potential (*buyan kesig*) of the herd.⁴

¹ c.f. the physical immediacy of a Mongol hunting text, in which the game animals are
qabar-tayan ayur-tai
qalayun sine silüdtei (Rintchen 1959:42)
with the breath in their muzzles
with hot fresh saliva

² This point is taken up in the edition of the texts for this ritual and for the *dalalya* of hunters (TEXT.7.2 and 8.2).

³ In the true hunting societies of Siberia, the bones are rarely burnt, but are sent back to the animal-world by placing them carefully in the forest. The practice of burning them rests on the more abstract notion of sending back an essence represented in the bones, and is therefore probably to be associated with fairly well-developed concepts of a spirit-world; c.f. Paulson 1963:484-489.

⁴ Further examples of 'saving' are discussed under REQ.4.3.2 and REQ.4.1.4. The two concepts may merge; in one account of the slaughtering ritual, the atlas is hung on the tent wall-lattice for three days before finally being burnt (Sampildendev 1985:104). This delay is thought to ensure that the *kesig buyan* of the animal will stay behind in that camp (Tangad 1987:52).

The text which Mostaert publishes for the slaughtering ceremony explicitly characterizes the first ribs and breastbone as carriers of a life which may animate another body:

Ordos *boloj gesē bōgono;*
 биу'т'иуј gesē биудуир'хї;

The first pair of ribs which mean let me become;
the tip of the breastbone which means let me take form;¹

The recycling function of the ritual is thus confirmed.²

The slaughterer's ceremony and the offering to the hearth deity

The slaughtering ritual as presented in several of the accounts has formal similarities with the annual sacrifice to the hearth deity, and the participants may to some extent confuse the two. The texts, however, do not address the hearth deity, and are not similar to the texts for the hearth sacrifice.³

The ceremony analysed here begins with what is, certainly, a routine offering to the hearth of fat and alcohol. It is followed by an offering to heaven and the earth; the text for the *dalalya* makes clear that it is they who nurture the cattle, just as in the hunters' texts they nurture the game. Offerings follow to Činggis, as universal Ancestor, and to the ancestors of the group present. The ancestors are the life-givers of their clan and the justification of its existence (Hamayon 1983:166); their function as source of both game and children has been referred to above in the context of hunters' rituals.

¹ 1937:461-2. Mostaert translates: La première côte de chaque côté, qui a dit: 'je deviendrai', l'os au bout supérieur du sternum, qui a dit: 'je serai' (1947:500-1).

² The four bones of this ritual have been regarded as supports of energy; they may alternatively be seen in a less specific light as 'the part for the whole'. Certain Siberian hunters believe that any part of an animal is capable of effecting its rebirth (Lot-Falck 1953:204), and Mostaert's text also seems to regard the chopping up of the carcase *in itself* as a means of multiplication of the cattle.

³ The date of the ceremony coincides with that of the Bayad hearth sacrifice only (5.1.1.i.j). A Bayad *dalalya* was also performed at this time of year (1.1.2.k), at which a blessing, *irügel*, was recited over the stomach of the sheep killed, as it is here over the meat. There does not seem to be an overt link with slaughtering ceremonies, which as such are not recorded for the Bayad; however the wording of this Bayad blessing, Kh. *ijil n' myanga tüm xürtügei*, may its fellows [in the flock] reach a thousand, ten thousand, reflects the same relationship between individual and flock as does the ritual of the slaughtering *dalalya*. *Ijil* has the sense 'belonging to the same herd; identical; one of a complete set'; the sheep which has just been killed is, in its essence, the *same* as those others swelling the flock, and the flock is a closed and complete set.

The central action of the burning of the bones takes place after these offerings, and is followed by the *dalalya*. It is possible that a *dalalya* might be performed at this point by analogy with the annual hearth sacrifice, at which typically the burning of a sheep's breastbone is followed by a *dalalya* (section 5). However the *dalalya* seems to be essential to the logic and the purpose of the present ritual; it is most unlikely to have been added to it through a confusion. On the contrary, the prevalence of these slaughtering customs in the strongly conservative Ordos may indicate that they are in fact very old.

4.2.2 The *dalalya* for the bride

No sheep seems to be killed for the *dalalya* either of the bride or of the son. The ritual actions are limited to the circular gesture and/or the cry *qurui*, and no role is played by meat.

The following accounts are available:

a.	?	Sampildendev 1985:170	Mongol folklorist
b.	Torguud, Bulgan <i>sum</i>	Wasilewski 1978:94-5	fieldwork of ethnographer
c.	Khalkha, Dundgov' <i>aimag</i>	Wasilewski 1978:94-5	fieldwork of ethnographer
d.	Oirad ?	Ayuuš 1982:70	fieldwork of ethnographer
e.	Monguor	Schröder 1952:51,53	field notes of a scholar
f.	Darxad	Even 1987:129-30	fieldwork of ethnographer
g.	Khorčin	Kürelbayatur and Urančimeg 1988:289	field notes of a native
h.	Mončoogo Tuvinians	Taube 1981:46	fieldwork of ethnographer
i.	Buryat	Poppe 1977:106-7	fictional event in epic

No texts are recorded, and it appears from the accounts that no words were in fact recited.

(a) According to the first account, the mother of the bride travels with her and the party of the groom as they return to the camp of the groom's father, where they will live, for the wedding proper. The bride's father does not attend the wedding; he remains at his own camp, calling benefits and good-fortune, Kh. *buyan xišig duudan xurailan*, as the party rides away. The verb Kh. *xurailax* implies both that he is making the circular gestures and calling '*xurai*' (Mo. *qurui*).

(b),(c) The Torguud account confirms this; here the father stands at his door and circles a plate of milk products, *čayan idege*, while in Dundgov' *aimag* he circles a tent pole *bayana*.¹ The herdsmen themselves see this as a procedure to invite new good-fortune, *buyan kesig*, to replace that lost in the person of the daughter.

(d) In Ayuush's account, a lama performs the ritual of *dalalya abqu* ² behind the bride as she leaves. The case seems to be exceptional; lamas do not figure in other accounts of the Mongol wedding.

(e) Although Schröder mentions no *dalalya* for the Monguor, the bride's father here runs out after her as she leaves, holding his ritual arrow and calling her name, in order to keep back the family's good-fortune. The Monguor arrow is to be identified with the Tibetan ritual arrow as well as with the Mongol *dalalya* arrow (see REQ.4.1.4); this custom seems to be a reflection of the Tibetan wedding ritual, where monks perform the 'summoning of good fortune' Tib. *g-yang-'gug* as the bride leaves (Brauen 1980:59). The presence of the lama in Ayuush's account can probably be explained in the same way.

(f) The parents of the Darxad bride both travel with her; as the party sets out they ride three times round the tent, and the mother sprinkles milk in front of the door, while the father cries '*xurai xurai*'. The Darxad are a mongolized group with Turkic and Samoyedic antecedents (Even 1987:21-5); their relatively late adoption of Mongol customs may explain this combination of sprinkling milk, a standard Mongol procedure at a departure of any kind, with the cry proper to the *dalalya*. No object seems to have been circled, and those performing the actions were also leaving, not remaining in the camp.

(g) The Khorčin perform this ritual so that the *kesig buyan* of the bride will be left behind; no details are given.

(h) For the Tuvinians of N.W. Mongolia it is the people gathered in the tent who call '*xuraj xuraj*', which they understand as a formula to promote blessings, and circle vessels of milk held in both hands, as the bride goes out of the door. In the particular case described, the bride was a shamaness.

¹ The role of the tent pole is analysed under REQ.4.3.2.

² No details are given; it may be assumed that he beckons with a decorated arrow.

(i) The Buryat epic *Büxü Xara Xübüün* lists among the gifts making up the bride's dowry an animal of each herded species (representing the ancestress or head of a herd), a white silk cloth which brings the dead to life, and a silver ladle which awakens the dead and retrieves lost objects when it is used with cries of *qurui*. As the bride rides away from her father's tent she herself waves the cloth and the ladle three times, with the cry.

There is also a single account of a *dalalya* performed at the *arrival* of the Torguud bride at the camp of her father-in-law (Wasilewski 1978:94). This seems to fundamentally contradict the logic of the ritual. A possible explanation is again provided by the Tibetan wedding, in which the 'calling of good-fortune' Tib. *g-yang-gug* is performed after the bride's arrival as well as at her departure from her own home (Stein 1956:102).

Analysis

In a discussion of the problem presented by the loss of daughters in marriage to other groups, which is inherent in a society based on the exogamous patrilineage, Kõhalmi remarks that there is no procedure for retaining in the group the power of its own women's fertility. When an animal or an object is given away, a small part of it - a bunch of hairs, a button from a garment - is kept by the owner so that the essential of the object shall not leave the group.¹ But nothing can be kept back of a girl, sacrificed, as the action of the epic makes vividly clear, to the need of her brothers for wives in order to perpetuate their own group (1985:121).

It seems, however, that the *dalalya* for the bride may be just such a procedure. It is performed, typically, by the head of her family, who remains in his camp as she leaves it. The moment of her departure acts out her separation, on the conceptual level, from the lineage of her birth. From now on she will belong to another group; her father's actions can be seen as a technique which allows her to be detached from his lineage without damaging its integrity, and a way of 'managing' a potentially negative event by invoking the positive energy of *buyan kesig*.² In the Tuvinian case particularly, the loss of the girl presented an ambiguous and threatening situation, since she was a shamaness, who would have practised on behalf of her own lineage using powers which she had inherited from it. This suggests that the ritual may be a way of keeping within the lineage that

¹ Discussed above in the context of slaughtering, and under REQ.4.3.2.

² The Monguor in fact tie a lock of the bride's hair to their ritual arrow, just as they do with wool from a sheep being sold (Schröder 1952:50-1). There are also two references to the performance of *dalalya* actions behind departing livestock which has been sold: for the Torguud of Bulgan *sum* (Wasilewski p.c.) and the Khorčin (with account (g) above).

dimension of the girl which is of her native group, and which she must not and cannot take into a foreign lineage.

The exchange of sisters for wives is the main-spring of the society, and its inevitability is stressed in the epic and in other representations. In this context a technique for 'keeping back' the essential of the girl who leaves might seem a contradiction; one might expect ritual to promote the vital exchange, but not to hold it up. This is perhaps why the Torguud informants saw the wedding *dalalya* as an invitation to new *kesig* to replace that lost, just as the power to perpetuate life of incoming daughters-in-law will replace that of the daughter. In this light, the procedure represents a means of promoting the cycle on which the continuation of the group depends, while maintaining the boundaries which separate it from foreign groups.

It is at the same time a rite of passage for the individual girl. This aspect is examined by Wasilewski (*loc. cit.*) in the context of circular movement - in this case the gesture - as a representation of forward progression in time. Following Van Gennep's (1909) classification, we can also say that the *dalalya* marks the first stage of the rite of passage, separation from the former existence of the subject. The bride's journey between the two camps, through the 'other' world of the uninhabited steppe, represents the second stage, that of temporary non-being, and the rituals performed in the camp of the groom's father the third stage, incorporation into a new status and group.

The incident from the epic poem, where it is the bride herself who performs the actions, rather than a person staying behind, clearly lies outside the logic of the ritual. It is a reference to her function as a giver of life, and it will be dealt with under section 8.1, 'calling the soul', on the basis of the life-restoring functions of the ladle she holds.

Only in the account where, exceptionally, the officiant is a lama, was the word *dalalya* used by the informants in speaking of the procedure. To judge from the first account, and from my own fieldwork experience, it is the verb *quruyilaqu*, Kh. *xurailax*, which is used to refer to actions of this kind. There seems to be a tendency to associate the term *dalalya* with an organized ceremony on a larger scale, while *quruyilaqu* refers specifically to the action of the circular gesture combined with the cry.

4.2.3 The *dalalya* for the son

There are two accounts:

Torguud, Bulgan <i>sum</i>	Wasilewski 1978:94	fieldwork of ethnographer
Khalkha, Dundgov' <i>aimag</i>	Wasilewski 1978:94	fieldwork of ethnographer

No texts are recorded.

When a son left for the army, the same ritual was performed as for the departing bride.

Analysis

The son's departure for the dangerous 'other' world¹ of the army presents a potential threat to the continued existence of his family's group. It is his safe return which is hoped for; the procedure concerns the promotion of the life-cycle of both the group and the individual son. At the same time, through its invocation of *buyan kesig*, it answers the fear that the 'good-fortune' or life-potential of the family is being reduced by the departure.

Certain Buryat groups perform a sacrifice, *tayilya*, to the deities of war on this occasion (Humphrey 1983:407), c.f. section 8.2.

There is a single account of a *dalalya* performed at the departure of a young Buddhist Incarnation from the monastery where his childhood had been spent, and to which he would not return (Hyer and Jagchid 1983:39). The report refers to a Tibetan culture-area in the Ch'inghai region. As the boy left, a *dalalya* was performed behind him in order that his departure might not 'drain away the blessings of the monastery'.

4.2.4 The *dalalya* after a death

There is some confusion in the literature between this procedure and 'calling the soul', *sünesü dayudaqu*, which in certain lamaized contexts may be performed over a dead body, rather than for a sick person (see section 8.1).

¹ 'Other' not only because it represents a change of occupation and residence in a distant place, but because it is, now, a largely Russianized institution, while formerly it meant the army of the Manchu.

The following accounts seem to concern a *dalalya* :

a.	Torguud, Bulgan <i>sum</i>	Wasilewski 1978:94	fieldwork of ethnographer
b.	Tuvinians of Tuva	Potapov 1969:392	fieldwork of ethnographer
c.	?	Pozdneyev 1978:613-4	traveller, late 19th C.
d.	Khorčin	Kürelbayatur and Urančimeg 1988:289	field notes of a native
e.	?	Szyrkiewicz 1981:185	fieldwork of ethnographer

No texts are recorded.

(a) *Torguud*

As the body is taken from the tent for disposal, a person who is staying behind makes the circular gesture with calls of *qurui* behind it. This is referred to as *quruyilaqu* ; the term *dalalya* is not used. The actions are repeated on the first, and sometimes also subsequent, anniversaries of the death.

(b) *Tuvinians*

As the body is taken from the tent for disposal, a female relative follows it out, holding a plate of milk foods, and walks around the tent three times calling '*xure xure xure*'.

(c) The *dalalya* is described by Pozdneyev as forming part of the regular lamaist burial service. It takes place after the burial, in the tent of the deceased. Lamas perform a purification ritual in which the spirit of the deceased is enjoined to leave that place, but not to take with it the 'virtue and luck' [presumably *buyan kesig*] of the people. Repeated cries of *qurui* are followed by calls for the 'virtue and luck' of Bisman¹ and other deities.

(d) *Khorčin*

A *dalalya* is performed as the body is taken away, in order that the *kesig buyan*, 'good fortune', will be left behind.

(e) If the deceased was aged 33 or more, a *dalalya* is performed during the week following the burial. Its purpose is to send off the person's soul towards a fortunate rebirth, and to retain among the living his *buyan kesig*. This means the person's experience, achievements and good deeds.

¹ Bisman = Namsarai, the lamaist god of wealth (see 1.1.1).

Analysis

The accounts refer to two distinct forms of ritual, a folk-religious procedure (a and b) which is essentially identical, both formally and in its purpose, to the *dalalya* for the 'loss' of the bride, and a lamaist ceremony (c and e). The nature of (d) is unclear.

Pozdneyev's account (c) makes clear that the ceremony is a lamaized *dalalya* with a text calling on the same deities as appear in texts for other forms of the ritual. The underlying purpose of the ceremony is, however, identical to that of the folk-religious procedures: to effect a separation of the dead from the living, in such a way that the living do not suffer damage.

The last account (e) must be of the same ritual. The interpretation of *buyan kesig* put forward represents the rethinking of the concept by a present-day herdsman in the light of the materialist philosophies of his educators.¹

4.2.5 Summary

The aim of these procedures on occasions of 'passage' is to allow a member of the group, whether human or animal, to be detached from it without damage to the life-potential of that group.

The *dalalya* after slaughtering is perhaps best regarded as a metamorphosis, in a different environment, of the *dalalya* after the hunt; it rests on the notion proper to a hunting society that the animals will return, clothed in new material envelopes, from an external source. The *dalalya* for departing children and for the dead are concerned with the integrity of the group and its inherent life-potential, and thus reflect an ideology of herdsman whose society was once based on the patrilineage.

4.3 The *dalalya* as a technique of healing or restoration

The word 'healing' is to be taken here in a wide sense of the setting right of disorder; illness and general bad luck are thought of as having common supernatural causes, and may be dealt with by the same techniques.

There is, in addition, a specific cause of illness; this is the temporary loss of the soul, a concept common to most Altaic groups, and to other Siberian peoples. A

¹ Although it reflects the Buddhist concept of merit, *buyan*, accumulated through good deeds. It presumably provides the logic behind the age-qualification for performance of the ritual, since a young person would not have accumulated significant achievements.

specific ritual exists to deal with it, 'calling the soul', *sünesü dayudaqu*. Although it is similar to the *dalalya* both in its external paraphernalia and in intent - the summoning of some kind of energy¹ - it is regarded by the Mongols themselves as quite distinct, and it will be analysed separately under 8.1.

The *dalalya* performed for a new mother after she has given birth is, likewise, a ritual of restoration, and will be analysed below.

4.3.1 Rituals for illness and bad luck

We have only one account of a *dalalya* performed explicitly to remedy such a situation: the shamanist 'fire sacrifice' described by Pallas for the Dörvöd Kalmuck.² This is examined separately under 4.4 below, on the basis of its formal characteristics.

There is another, very early, account of a Dörvöd Kalmuck ritual for correcting illness and misfortune (Florovskij 1941:184-5, account dated 1700). Superficially it seems to be, not a *dalalya* or 'beckoning', but rather a procedure to *drive away* the ills.³ However the officiant and others repeatedly call out what appears to be the cry *qurui*⁴ characteristic of both *dalalya* and calling the soul. The officiant seems to be a kind of minor shaman;⁵ he is summoned in cases of illness or crisis 'in order to call back good fortune and to drive away misfortune' (*op. cit.* 185).

¹ Attention was first drawn to these similarities by Bawden (1962:91-94).

² There is a mention (without details) of a '*dalalya*' for a sick child, also among the western Mongols (Torguud, Szykiewicz 1989:381-2), but it is probable that this was in fact 'calling the soul'.

³ For the combination of a *dalalya* with driving away (a spirit) see also 4.2.4, the *dalalya* after death.

⁴ Transcribed *kruch* by the author, a Czech Jesuit writing in Latin. His transcriptions of other words are not always consistent, and initial 'k' and 'ch' seem to alternate. This may well reflect changes in the pronunciation of Oirad at the time, c.f. for 1730 von Strahlenberg, '*Chuduck*' and '*Kuduk*' as alternatives for Mo. *qudduy* (Doerfer 1965:185b); for 1692 Witsen, '*Chura*' for Mo. *qura* but '*Kurgur*' (printer's error for *Kurgun*?) for Mo. *quruyu* (*ibid.* 27b, 28b). See further the chapter on Terminology. It is not surprising that the vowel of the first syllable has disappeared; every Mongol (Oirad or Khalkha) whom I heard say the word accented the second syllable strongly. The consonant pair *kr* is impossible in initial position in Mongol.

⁵ '*Karatón*', of whom he says '*sunt exorcistae*'. The word is not Oirad; Radloff lists *kara ton*, priest, magician, for Crimean Turkic languages (II:133), lit. 'black garment'. C.f. also Dörvöd *xara kün*, a layman (not a lama), western Khalkha *xar xün*, a slaughterer, the man whom a family summons if they themselves do not wish to take life (fieldwork 1987), also the Ordos term Mo. *qara baysi*, a lay healer or soothsayer who officiates in family rituals (Mostaert 1962:212).

It is probable that before the 'driving out' which is described, this person performed a *dalalya* (or possibly a 'calling the soul') of which very little survives in the account. The Jesuit may have noted only those details which seemed meaningful to him; the concept of exorcism was a familiar one. We know, however, that the patient is positioned near the fire (i.e. below the roof-ring), and, if it is a child, the parent 'moves him to this side and to that, calling all the while *kruch kruch kruch*!' The child is perhaps being circled in the same way as objects are circled in the *dalalya*.¹

Although this is speculation, the account does seem to demonstrate a connection between the cry *qurui* and the function of healing. This point is taken up in the chapter on Terminology. In general, however, the function of *dalalya* rituals is presented by informants in exclusively positive terms: the promotion of good fortune. In dividing the known rituals into those that correct misfortune and those that promote good fortune one is probably making a false distinction, and one that is not made by the Mongols themselves. The *dalalya* should be regarded rather as a 'shot in the arm', an injection of vitality which is useful regardless of the state in which ones affairs found themselves beforehand.²

4.3.2 The ritual after a birth: *keüked-ün dalalya*, *dalalya* of the child

The following accounts are available:

a.	Myangad	Sonomtseren 1975:60-1	material of a native
b.	Myangad	p.c. ³	memories of a native
c.	?	Tüdev 1976:27-8	?
d.	Torguud of Tarbagatai	Szynkiewicz 1989:380-81	fieldwork of ethnographer

¹ The combination of driving out (a malady) and summoning (the restored patient) is reported for another Oirad ritual, the Torguud *šireg*: a fretful child is carried around the fire against the sun (anticlockwise) to drive out the 'illness', and then with the sun to 'call the cured child to itself' (Wasilewski 1978:105). Circular movement with the sun is of course the basis of the *dalalya* beckoning. The same term is recorded for the Ordos, DO:622b *širigle*-.

² In a lamaist environment, occasional *dalalya* rituals could be performed without being associated with any particular circumstances. In Inner Mongolia in the early years of this century, herdsmen took advantage of the presence of an especially holy lama in the district to ask him to perform an *ad hoc dalalya* (Hyer and Jagchid 1983:101, 105). This should be regarded as an aspect of lamaist practice rather than as a form of the native ritual.

³ From Rentsendorj, a herdsman of 80, Myangad *sum*. I am most grateful to Mrs. B. Činbat for collecting the data for me.

No specific texts are recorded. The text of which Tüdev quotes a few lines is a blessing, *irügel* or *beleg demberel üge*, for the child, to which the cry *qurui* has been added.

Enquiries in Ulaanbaatar and among the Dörvöd and Bayad of Uvs *aimag* in 1989 revealed no knowledge of the existence of such a ritual.

A *dalalya* for the wellbeing of children and to promote births also exists (section 7.3); it is not linked to the occasion of an individual birth.

The Myangad material

(a) Three days after the birth, the baby is washed [the standard Mongol practice] so that the *dalalya* can be 'gathered', i.e. performed: Kh. *dallaga xuraana gej ugaadag*. A sheep is slaughtered. It is the woman who acted as midwife who washes the baby; she is offered the portion of honour of the sheep, the rump *uyuča* [normally reserved for an honoured man].

The tibia with knucklebone *šayaitu čimüge*, the tip of the fat tail, the Kh. 'šor max',¹ and a sausage made from the large intestine *čayan miqa* are put in a pail, and the midwife circles it around (or before?) the new mother with cries of *qurui*. She makes the mother take three bites from the end of the intestine, and it is passed round for all those present to taste. The fat tail and the intestine are then sliced up and eaten. The midwife gives the baby a name.

The remaining meat is kept for three days, before being eaten by the mother and father of the baby. The father cleans the tibia and puts it in the chest [where precious things are kept]. The marrow can be used as eardrops to cure that child of ear diseases in the future.

(b) Immediately after the birth the child's navel is bandaged, Kh. *xüis tseplex*. A sheep is slaughtered at once, necessarily, even in springtime.² Three days later relatives and neighbours assemble and the baby is washed.

The skin of the sheep, which has not been allowed to dry, is laid, wool upwards and neck outwards, in a gap made between the western door-jamb and the wall-trellis of the tent (*barayun qatabči*). The roof-felts above it are drawn back to make an opening, and the eldest man of the family or the father of the baby stands on the skin, so that his head and shoulders emerge through the roof. He holds up a ceremonial

¹ Myangad dialect expression: unidentified meat typical of the ceremony of Kh. *sine ger bürex* before a wedding (c.f. 7.6). It perhaps refers to the parts of the sheep fixed to the end of a pole with which the new tent is 'anointed' (*šor* = Mo. *šoru*, spit; c.f. Less. dict. 756b *šoru modu* 'wooden pole used in sacrifices'). If so, it seems to be mentioned here in error.

² Animals are not normally killed in spring, for any reason.

platter of food (*idege*) and calls three times *qurui*, in order that the baby may be granted good-fortune and benefits (Kh. '*xišig buyan xairla gej*').

The midwife takes the platter and circles it around (or before ?) the new mother and baby with cries of *qurui*, Kh. *ex xüüxed xoyoryg nar zöv gurban udaa xurailj* ... She gives the baby a name. Everyone present then eats the food from the platter. The guests give toys to the baby.

The informant stated separately that the following meat is prepared for the ritual: the tibia with knucklebone, the tip of the fat tail, the large intestine (Myangad *xošnogo*), the long ribs, the shoulderblade, and the meat from the rear leg above the knucklebone (Kh. *xongo*). It is possible that all this was in fact on the platter which was circled, and was then eaten.

The tibia is cleaned and kept, wrapped in a ritual scarf *qaday*. The marrow can cure the child of ear diseases.

Another informant told of a special bag, Myangad *šingee sav*,¹ which was used in this *dalalya*; its mouth was opened and it was circled.

Tüdev's account

(c) The *dalalya* was performed at the time of bandaging the child's navel.² No details are given.

The Torguud account

(d) The child is washed in broth made from both tibia of the sheep slaughtered for the occasion. The mother is given the meat off the bones; at other times, this meat is supposed to be eaten only by men, preferably of the family to whom the sheep belonged. One tibia is then used by an agnate of the child to perform a *dalalya*, for good-fortune.

The other bone is tied to the cradle, and later put away carefully with a ritual scarf *qaday* tied to it. It can protect the child from diseases of the ears and nose, and the marrow may be used as ointment.

If the child falls ill, the bone is laid on the altar and a *dalalya* is performed. [From the description, this seems to be, not a *dalalya*, but a ritual of 'calling the soul'.]

¹ Meaning unknown to the speaker; see REQ.4.4.1.

² This seems doubtful, since the navel should be bandaged at birth, but no visitors may be received until the washing, which is at least three days later. An account for the Alashan Mongols mentions a *dalalya* for a child at the ceremony of its first hair-cutting, which is usually held when a child is somewhere between three and seven years old (Alashan 1989:135). (Some of the data in this source seems to be anecdotal, and is perhaps not reliable.) The blessing quoted by Tüdev would be typical of such an occasion (but not, however, of a *dalalya*); there is probably confusion in both accounts.

Analysis

Two functions emerge from the accounts: the restoration of the mother to health and to her normal role in society after childbirth, and a separate function relating to the baby. Superficially this seems to be a question of obtaining good-fortune for it in life, and is understood in this way by Tüdev. The second Myangad account combines both functions, while the first account is concerned only with the mother, and the Torguud ritual only with the child.

The restoration of the mother may be regarded as re-calling her to herself (to her normal state of being), and is comparable in this to the procedure of 'calling the soul' (section 8.1). The significance of taking bites from the intestine is analysed in the context of the Oirad hearth sacrifice¹ under 5.1.4; the bites can be seen as portions of vital energy intended to restore the woman who has been in a marginal or threatened state.

The midwife officiates; this is the normal practice at the washing of the baby. Since she was in direct contact with the process of birth, she too is in a marginal state. The midwife occupies the position of a minor ritual specialist while she is performing that function; this is reflected in her being offered the portion of honour. It is possible, though unlikely, that the officiant might have been a shamaness in the past.²

The officiant in the procedures which relate to the child, both for Myangad and Torguud, is one of its agnates, a male member of the patrilineage into which it has been born. This is already an indication that the ritual does more than simply summon good-fortune for it.

¹ Both Myangad accounts should be considered in the wider context of Mongol offerings, especially with regard to the parts of the sheep which figure, even though neither describes the procedure as an offering, or indicates any supernatural recipient.

The skin of the sheep is significant; there is no other account of a skin being used in quite this way in any Mongol ritual. However in the Ordos, sacrifices are presented by the Erküt clan laid out on the fresh hide of the animal sacrificed (Mostaert 1934:8). The Erkiüt skins have head and hooves still attached, as for the *jūkeli* offering; we do not know whether the Myangad sheepskin also did. At Ejen qoruya, likewise in the Ordos, the *dalalya* to Činggis is performed by circling a vessel supported by the fresh hide of the sheep (section 6). In the hunters' *dalalya* the still-wet skins of wild animals are circled; see 4.1.2 for the significance of not letting the skins dry.

The position of hide and officiant in the Myangad account can be explained by comparison with Oirad *dalalya* rituals (1.4 and 3.5); it indicates that through this special opening a connection is being established between the interior of the tent and the supernatural sphere, from which some force is to be received. It seems likely that these rituals address the ancestral spirits, although there is no evidence to confirm this.

² Harva states that a shaman is not normally involved in any birth ritual, but that among the 'Lebedtartaren' (Čalkan) he comes a few days after the birth and shamanizes for the wellbeing of the mother and child (1938:541). The term *udayan*, shamaness, has the meaning of 'midwife' in Ordos Mongol (Mostaert 1956:260). The two functions would have been closer in the past, before shamanizing became the province of institutionalized specialists.

At birth, a baby is neither washed, dressed nor put in the cradle; it is only wiped dry, and remains in its mother's arms for the first few days. There is evidence that it is not regarded as an established individual at this stage; it is still something akin to the afterbirth (which conversely is not regarded as inanimate),¹ and it has no name.² After the ceremony of washing, it is given a name, put in the cradle, and presented with toys (Sampildendev 1985:145). It has become a human individual, although not yet a real member of society; that follows after a few years, at the ceremony of the first hair-cut.

The *dalalya* for the new baby should probably be regarded as a process of individuation. The concept of individual animals as supports of a portion of life-energy taken from a circulating energy-pool has already been discussed in the context of *dalalya* for hunting and slaughtering;³ the relation of the individual human to his clan is of the same order.

A newly-born child exists, perhaps, in some kind of undifferentiated state of potentiality. The unwashed and unnamed baby is not far off from being still a part of its mother's body; but she has come from a foreign clan. The 'washing' - which is not performed for the sake of hygiene, but is a form of anointing,⁴ *miliyaqu* - and the action of the *dalalya* would then 'detach' what is to be the child from its mother, and at the same time confirm it as an individual of its father's clan.⁵

¹ c.f. the prohibition on outsiders entering the tent while mother and baby are still in this marginal state, that is outside normal human society and especially vulnerable to harmful supernatural forces (Hamayon and Bassanoff 1973:23; Aubin 1975:483-4); and the rituals which accompany the burial of the afterbirth, and the significance of the burial place for the child throughout its life (Sampildendev 1985:148-9; fieldwork 1988).

² Mongol parents do not choose a name in advance. The name is chosen by the person who performs the naming; until then, no-one knows what the name will be.

³ In this context too particular bones acted as carriers of the energy.

⁴ The terms *keüked ugiyaqu*, washing the child, and *keüked miliyaqu*, anointing the child, are used interchangeably to refer to this ceremony. The practice of 'anointing', which usually refers to a smearing with grease, should probably be regarded as a 'charging' with energy, associated with beginnings and first times, c.f. 7.1.2 and 7.6 for the anointing of the tethering line and of a new tent.

The washing-anointing of the baby is done typically in mutton broth, in which the effective ingredient is the grease, or, in lamaized contexts, in milk and water, or water with juniper incense or grain in it - but *never* in plain water (Aubin 1975:483 lists references). These decoctions are *sime-tü us*, water with *sime* (Sampildendev 1985:145). *Sime* is the essential of something, its active ingredient (= Tib. *bcud-len*, Sk. *rasāyana*).

⁵ The principle which an individual receives from his mother's side is referred to as *miqa*, the undifferentiated meat or flesh, in opposition to the agnatic principle *yasu*, bone, which is the basis of the structure of the patrilineage (*üye* joint; generation).

The significance of the tibia

The patri-clan itself and the principle it represents, and which is in every individual living member, are both *yasu*, 'bone'. The tibia with knucklebone, *šagaitu čimüge*, functions as a symbol for the patrilineage in a number of contexts, particularly among the Oirad (Szyrkiewicz 1989). The author interprets the bone of the Torguud *dalalya* as a personal symbol, for each individual child, of its connection to its own clan. One might add that the circling of the bone does more than simply make a connection; it actually establishes an individual, in whom the circulating energy-principle of the *yasu* is manifested.

Both Myangad and Torguud preserve the tibia carefully, as one would a magical or sacred object. The Myangad are unclear about why they do this; Szyrkiewicz considers that the connection with ear disease reflects the notion that the ears represent a door to the body for the soul. The Torguud, on the other hand, believe that the bone is the 'support', *tulya*, of the individual child.

If the tibia represents that child's 'part' of the energy-pool of his lineage,¹ it is but a short step to the notion that the bone is actually the support of his portion of energy. This would suggest that the bone is thought to be the seat of a form of 'exterior soul'; indeed the Torguud call each bone by the name of its associated child.

This concept is well-known in Mongolia, and occurs in tales and epics, where both hero and shaman may be endowed with an exterior soul (Harva 1938:275; Bawden 1985:17-19). Likewise the Tibetan *bla-gnas*, 'soul-seat', is some object which is critical to the well-being of an individual or family (Stein 1962:193). The '*dalalya*' which is performed in front of (but *not* with) the tibia-support if the child falls ill is thus more likely to be 'calling the soul' which has strayed from its seat in the bone, so causing illness in the child.

According to Shirokogoroff, the Manchu keep in their houses an individual support of the protector-deity of children for each boy in the family - an arrow (1935:128). Rather than being multiple supports of one deity, it seems likely that these arrows correspond to the Torguud bones.² The concept of a generalized protector-deity who is the source of childrens' souls would thus correspond to the probably much older notion of the energy-pool (or soul-pool) of the clan (c.f. 7.3.3). Parents in another Manchu group, the Nanai, can give their child's detachable soul to the shaman for safekeeping, so that it will not fall ill (Smoljak

¹ c.f. the layers of meaning of *kesig*, 'portion, share' and 'benefit, good-fortune' (TERM.2).

² Direct influence is unlikely, but both cases may reflect similar concepts of an external seat of the soul. These practices deserve a study in themselves, c.f. also the Altai Turkic custom (still current today in Tuva) of keeping each child's umbilical cord, sewn up in a little bag which hangs in the tent (Harva 1938:176). The concept of a ritual arrow as a support of energy is examined further in the chapter on the Requisites.

1978:444-5). When it grows up, the soul is returned; similarly the Torguud bone-support is kept only while the child is young, and perhaps represents a place of safety for the soul while its owner is still vulnerable.

Potanin describes the Alar Buryat ceremony of naming the baby and putting it in the cradle. Here the midwife¹ holds an arrow and the tibia of the sheep slaughtered, but in this case with the meat on it. She asks three times 'Whom shall I wrap up [in the cradle], the baby or the bone?' Afterwards the afterbirth is buried, and the people cry three times 'Give us more good-fortune, give us a boy' (1881, IV:27).

Although there seems to be no *dalalya*, there are some similarities, externally in the presence of arrow and tibia, and logically in the call for the good-fortune, i.e. *kesig*, of further children. The midwife's question may confirm the supposed function of the tibia as the seat of an exterior soul, or *alter ego* of the child, since she treats bone and child as potential alternatives.

4.4 The shamanist 'fire sacrifice' of the Kalmuck and Buryat

These 'fire sacrifices' are performed on request by a specialist. Although formally they are analogous to the annual sacrifice to the hearth deity (analysed below under section 5), they are in fact quite distinct both in purpose and in their inner logic.

4.4.1 The accounts

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|--|---|
| a. | Kalmuck (Dörvöd) | Pallas 1801:342-5 | field notes of a scholar |
| b. | Khori Buryat | Poppe 1935:112-15 | chronicle of V. Yumsunov,
a native, dated 1875 |
| | | Variant in
Pozdneyev 1900:308-11 ² | |

No texts are recorded, other than the short exclamation from the Buryat account which is analysed below.

¹ Called by Potanin the 'adoptive mother'; this is a reference to the special relationship between an individual and the woman who delivered him at birth, and which lasts for life. He should honour her second only to his own mother (fieldwork 1988).

² Pozdneyev's text has appeared in an English translation (Partanen 1941), which however departs widely from the Mongol original. Poppe's text is translated into Russian in Poppe 1940:66-68.

(a) *Kalmuck (Dörvöd)*

Time: on a mouse day,¹ at night
Place: in the tent
Officiants: the head of the tent and a shamaness
Those present: relatives and guests, and assistants of the shamaness

Pallas refers to the ritual as ein Schlachtopfer, blood sacrifice, which he glosses (op. cit. 341) as '*Galtaicho*', i.e. Mo. *yal tayiqu*, literally 'fire worship'. In current Dörvöd usage, this expression refers to the annual sacrifice to the hearth deity of the tent, but it is clearly being used here in a less specific sense, and elsewhere Pallas glosses '*Galtaicho*' simply as Brandopfer, burnt offering (op. cit. 326).² The purpose of the ritual is to cure the illness of the wife, and the bad luck her husband is experiencing.

A sheep is butchered inside the tent and the *jülde*³ is removed. Everything is cooked except the right shoulder and foreleg [Mo. *qa*].⁴ The breastbone, wound around with the skin which had covered it, cut into long strips, is uppermost in the pot.

The *jülde* and the best meat, with small pieces cut from the head and the hooves, are put into a sack beside the shamaness in the *qoyimor*⁵. A feast precedes the sacrifice; some of the relatives present are allowed to save meat-bones [to take away?].

An image of Śākyamuni buddha is set up. The breastbone and some other bones of the sheep are burnt, with sheep's wool and fat. [The external paraphernalia described are characteristic for the sacrifice to the hearth deity, including the building of a 'four-cornered pyre' with firewood.]

The husband takes a bowl of meat in one hand, and in the other the raw foreleg, and the end of a red cord which hangs down from the roof-ring of the tent; a knucklebone of the sheep is attached to its other end. The shamaness takes the

¹ Not only years, but also the months and days are associated with one of the twelve animals representing the twelve-year cycle on which the Mongol calendar is based. According to Bergmann the Kalmuck hearth sacrifice must also be held on a mouse day (5.1.1.b).

² As does Bergmann, who confirms that Kalmuck shamans perform non-specific 'burnt offerings' (1804, III:181); although here he may in fact be tacitly quoting Pallas, whose work he knew.

³ *jülde* : the lower jaw (or whole head) with windpipe, lungs and heart still joined to it. It is regarded as a seat of the animal's life; see REQ.4.6.

⁴ *qa* : precise definition of this and other relevant parts of the sheep under REQ.4.6.

⁵ *qoyimor* : the honourable part of the tent by the altar, opposite the door.

sack, with the heart sticking out of it. To repeated cries of *qurui* she waves the sack above the fire, and then, laughing, makes the husband bite off the tip of the heart. (He is still holding the other objects). The wife and son also take bites.

The shamaness shamanizes and performs divination, holding a bell and a whip.¹ Finally the meat in the sack is shared out and eaten by all. The foreleg is kept for three days, and then eaten.

(b) *Khori Buryat*

Time: ?
Place: outside, near the tent
Officiant: a shaman
Those present: the people of that tent, guests

The ritual has no name, but its purpose is to beckon the benefit or good-fortune (*kisig* for *kesig*) of men, livestock and gains², and to sacrifice to the god of fire (*yal-un tngri-yi takiq*).

A shaman is summoned, with his whip [ritual staff] and mirror. Offerings of different foods and drink are set out on a white [felt] saddle-rug. A sheep is slaughtered, and the meat cooked.

Milk products and parts of the sheep, including the right shoulder with foreleg *qa* and part of the large intestine [or a sausage made from it] *čayan miqa*,³ are put into a pail. It is covered with a white lambskin, and the sheep's breastbone, decorated,⁴ is put on top with the skin which had covered it, and a human figure made of fat.

A fire is lit outside with embers from the tent hearth, and an 'enclosure' of twigs is built around it. All present undo their top button [at the side of the chest] and sit, each holding a dish of the offering food. The shaman shamanizes and makes beckoning gestures, holding the pail; the others join in the beckoning, and finally in loud cries of *qurui*.

The shaman presses the pail to the chest [lit.: the breastbone] of each member of the host family in turn, with an exclamation. He then burns the breastbone and

¹ The 'whip' is probably a form of ritual staff, as it certainly is in the Buryat account; see REQ.2.1 and REQ.4.3.

² *olja*: gain, a windfall; but also game, the booty of hunters, which may be the sense here.

³ Lit. 'white meat'; precise definition and description under REQ.4.6.1.

⁴ The decorations described are typical of the Mongol hearth-sacrifice, c.f. Dumas 1987:289.

other bones (?)¹ that were in the pail, with milk-fats and alcohol, by setting light to the 'enclosure' of branches. A feast follows.

A dish of chopped-up fat is carried three times around the fire and shared out, the people taking pieces one by one. The shaman takes another offering dish, of the meat and skin from over the sheep's breastbone, *kerseng*, cut into long strips, and dangles them before the boys and girls who compete (or try²) enthusiastically to snap them in their teeth and eat them, while he makes it difficult by moving quickly. More feasting follows.

The next day the shaman performs divination. The meat in the pail is eaten little by little, by the people of that tent only, over three days; nothing from the tent can be given to any outsider during that time.

4.4.2 The nature of the ritual

Although these two rituals have the external marks of the sacrifice to the hearth, they are not addressed to the hearth-deity. This is demonstrated in the following facts:

In both accounts:

- The ritual is performed as needed, while the hearth sacrifice is a regular annual ceremony.
- No hearth prayer (*yal sudur*) is spoken; the hearth deity is not addressed.
- The officiant is a shaman(ess). The hearth sacrifice is necessarily performed by the owner of that individual hearth (Dumas 1987:279-80).
- The ceremony includes shamanizing and divination; these have no place in the hearth sacrifice,³ which is a domestic ritual.

In the Kalmuck account:

- Although the sheep's breastbone, typical for the hearth sacrifice, is among the pieces put into the fire, it is accompanied by the skull and lower jaw, the leg

¹ *yasun ebčigüü*; it is not clear whether all the bones are burnt; the pail still has food in it the next day, but this is perhaps only the sausage and milk products.

² *uruldaqu*. Pozdneyev's text has *oroldoqu/urulduqu*.

³ But see the lamaized Torguud hearth sacrifice at which a *gurtum* lama enters a trance, section 5.1.1.

bones with hooves (still joined), and a side of ribs (with the meat on). These parts (other than ribs) are not normally offered to the hearth (*op. cit.* 277). They are, however, typical for other ritual procedures in the Altaic and south Siberian areas.

In the Buryat account:

- The fire is specially lit for the ceremony, out of doors.¹ Although it seems to be built up as for a hearth sacrifice, with a little enclosure of branches, it cannot be the seat of the hearth deity,² who resides in the hearth inside the tent and nowhere else (*op. cit.* 302-3).

In the Buryat case the recipient of the offering is named explicitly as the fire god, *yal-un tngri*. This lamaist concept of the fire deity replaces the native Mongol hearth goddess in the more lamaized variants of the prayer for the hearth sacrifice (*op. cit.* 299). It occurred in a lamaized text for the *dalalya* of the camels examined in 3.2 above, and its appearance in this Buryat ritual is probably the result of a similar confusion over the role played by the fire.

The ceremony has other lamaist elements: offerings of non-native foods (sugar, bread), laid on a white cloth, the white lambskin covering the pail (as in the eastern Mongol hearth sacrifice, 5.2.1), and the human figurine, which probably represents the fire god, as in the same ritual for the camels, above. The shaman invokes the Buddhist symbol of the wishing-jewel, and the ceremony seems to be so heavily syncretistic that its original logic is now obscured.

During the ritual the shaman refers to other deities and local ancestral spirits (examined below); it is probable that the offering is in fact directed primarily to these. Although the burning of a sheep's breastbone characterizes the sacrifice to the hearth deity (*op. cit.* 282), these two rituals make clear that the procedure has a wider application.³

In the Kalmuck case, Pallas is certainly correct in regarding the ritual as a non-specific 'burnt offering'; the fire mediates the sacrifice rather than receiving it, and the deity of the tent hearth is not involved in any way. The recipient of the offering must be sought elsewhere.

¹ c.f. the *dalalya* of the camels, section 3 above.

² Or deities: the Buryat hearth cult differs from that of other Mongol groups in this and certain other respects (*op. cit.* 206-7).

³ c.f. also the evidence of the *dalalya* of the camels and the Ordos *dalalya* for slaughtering already examined. A goat's breastbone is also burnt in Bayad sacrifices to the spirits of rivers (Tatar 1976:14).

No recipient can be identified from the account. The ceremony is presided over by an image of Śākyamuni, one of the principal deities to be addressed in lamaized *dalalya* texts at the hearth sacrifice (c.f. TEXT.3). This may be window-dressing directed at a hostile local clergy, or a syncretism of the kind apparent in the Buryat ritual; other influence from lamaized forms of *dalalya* is evident in the choice of a mouse day, thus associating the ritual with the lamaist god of wealth,¹ and in the exotic offerings of raisins and sugar.

4.4.3 The context of the Kalmuck ritual

The central '*dalalya*' action of this ceremony is incontestably the same procedure as is described by both Pallas and Bergmann at the annual hearth sacrifice (see 5.1), but it is performed in a different context and for different reasons.²

The sheep's breastbone is not burnt alone. It is accompanied by wool and skin, and by the skull and leg-bones with hooves, still joined, parts which have particular significance for hunting peoples in south Siberia; they are typically not burnt, but placed carefully in the forest to ensure the regeneration of the animal (Lot-Falck 1953:208). Similarly, the custom of laying the skull and hooves of a highly-prized horse on a mountain-top after its death, to secure the rebirth of good horses, has continued in Mongolia up to the present day³ (Sampildendev 1985:107). In some Buryat *tayilya* and in the horse-sacrifices of the Altai,⁴ on the other hand, the animal's hide (that is its skin and hair) is hung up complete with the skull, leg-bones and hooves, where it represents an offering to the ancestral and other spirits.

It seems probable that this Kalmuck ritual is to be associated with offerings of the type represented in the Buryat *tayilya*; the sheep's bones are being burnt in order to transmit the essential substance of the animal to those beings to whom the ritual is directed. Pallas stresses that the bones must be completely consumed, and in some accounts of the Buryat *tayilya* the skull and bones are burnt, not hung out, for precisely the same reason.

¹ Namsarai, to whom lamaized *dalalya* are addressed, and whose attribute in Mongolia is a mouse (details under 5.1.2).

² The question of the particular nature of the Oirad *dalalya* will be taken up under 7.5 and in the Conclusion. The significance of the sack and the red cord will be analysed in the chapter on the Requisites.

³ The practice has been modified by beliefs proper to a herding ideology: if the horse was a stallion, mares are taken to the spot to ensure their fertility (Kabzińska-Stawarz 1985:253). Thus rather than being personally reembodied, the stallion has become an ancestor.

⁴ For these two clan sacrifices see section 8.

However the ritual addresses no supernatural being whose intervention in the family's misfortunes might be hoped for; it seems to be a more direct technique for obtaining the benefit of the vital energy or 'good-fortune', *kesig*, which is concentrated in the heart and other vital organs (*jülde*) of the sheep through the circular gestures, and whose source is the unnamed recipients of the burnt offering. The identity of these beings seems to be taken for granted by the participants; this probably indicates that, like the Buryat *tayilya*, the ritual is addressed to the local ancestor-spirits.¹

Although we have no other reports of this occasional ritual, there is evidence that it may have existed in other Oirad groups. In Xovd *aimag*, in an unspecified group, married sons were forbidden to 'perform the hearth sacrifice' while their father was still living; but it was apparently permitted if some misfortune struck only the family of a son (Szyrkiewicz 1981:103). A ritual performed in answer to a sudden crisis cannot, however, be the regular annual hearth sacrifice, and this report may refer to the same ceremony as the Kalmuck account, but without the participation of a shaman.²

4.4.4 The exclamation of the Buryat shaman

The text of Poppe 1935 reads (p. 113):

ene tanu tngri noyad uy qarbul-un dabasi ügei buyan. dayudasi ügei kičig tsindumani. bayan önür bolqu-yin yeke dalaly-a.

- these are the inviolable benefits (*buyan*) of your Heavens (*tngri*) and Princes³ (*noyad*) and Origins (*uy qarbul* for Mo. *uy yarbali*), the good-

¹ The action of the *dalalya*, in which the shamaness waves the sack with the vital organs to cries of *qurui*, differs from that of all other *dalalya* accounts in that the meat is held above the fire, rather than simply in front of the person holding it. The action is, however, characteristic of some Buryat *tayilya*, in which pails of meat are circled above (or towards) an outdoor altar-fire.

Inside a tent, 'above the fire' means at the same time below the roof-ring, and the sack was perhaps also receiving energies which entered the tent by that path (c.f. 5.1.7 for other instances of the sack being held beneath the roof-ring).

² A Torguud herdsman maintained that a *dalalya* could be performed (with a lama participating) at any time, 'if you want to become rich' (Wasilewski p.c.). This was certainly true of purely lamaist ceremonies (c.f. 4.3.1, note); but the man could equally have had the present ritual in mind.

³ *noyad*: in the Buryat context these are minor deities or local spirits, often regarded as sons of the *tngri* (Poppe 1972b:110).

fortune (*kičig* for Mo. *kesig*) wishing-jewel¹ which cannot be called,² the great *dalalya* of becoming rich and prolific.

Pozdneyev (1900:310) gives the opening phrases as:

ene tanu tngri noyad-un uy qarbul-un dabasi ügei buyan. dayasi ügei kesig tsindamani.

- these are the inviolable benefits of the Origins of your Heavens and Princes, the good-fortune wishing-jewel which cannot be lifted.

That the correct reading is Pozdneyev's *dayasi ügei*, 'which (is so great that it) cannot be lifted', is confirmed by the exclamations known for *tayilya* of western Buryat groups: Bur. *daaša übej dalanga*, the *dalanga* which cannot be lifted.³ The *dalanga* is the share of meat in the pail of each family present at the sacrifice, which is thought to absorb the energy, *kesig*, obtained in the ritual. The phrase thus conveys the same meaning as the Khori *dayasi ügei kesig*.

The expression *uy yarbali*, origins, is a reference to the ancestors of the clan. Buryat society has retained the patrilinear clan as its basis into the modern period, and although the present ceremony is performed for an individual family, the *tayilya* is a clan ritual which addresses the ancestor spirit-owners of the mountains and other natural features of the clan's territory.

The benefits obtained here - *buyan*, *kesig*, the 'good-fortune of men, herds and gains' - are thus conceptualized as the 'favour'⁴ bestowed by the ancestors on their descendants. As the shaman utters these words, he presses the pail of meat to the chest of each family member, i.e. the 'descendants'; it seems in fact to be the meat itself which, having absorbed the ancestral favour, is here referred to as *kesig* and *dalalya*.⁵

The closing phrase reflects the concern of *dalalya* rituals performed in a herding environment with fertility and increase; *bayan*, rich, is in this context a reference to

¹ Sk. *cintāmaṇi*, the 'magic gem' which satisfies all desires; Getty 1962:186-7.

² Poppe, presumably reading *dayusasi ügei*, translates 'eternal' (1940:68).

³ Tugutov 1978:270 and 273; see 8.2. Tugutov inexplicably translates 'do not take the *dalanga*'. The same notion appears at the Altai horse-sacrifices, with their offerings 'which no horse can carry' (Harva 1938:554).

⁴ c.f. the multiple-layered meaning of *kesig*.

⁵ The use of the term *dalalya* to refer to the meat, rather than to the ritual (the action of 'beckoning') is discussed in the chapter on Terminology.

numerous herds. This is, however, the only account of the ritual in which the source of fertility is explicitly associated with the ancestors.¹

4.4.5 The Buryat ritual and the *tayilya* sacrifice

The Buryat ritual shares certain other characteristics of the *tayilya*, although it is performed for one individual family. A shaman officiates, the offering takes place at an outdoor fire, ancestor-spirits are addressed, and part of the meat which is divided up and distributed is carried three times around the fire, before being eaten. None of these elements would be characteristic for a *dalalya* ritual.²

The Khori are eastern Buryat, who have a steppe herding economy, while the western Buryat groups were primarily forest hunters. The Khori have absorbed numbers of migrants from Khalkha (Hamayon 1983:154); it is perhaps not surprising that their ritual should combine elements of the partially lamaized *dalalya* and hearth sacrifices of Khalkha and eastern Mongolia with elements of the native Buryat *tayilya*.

4.4.6 The role played by the parts of the sheep

The details of the Kalmuck and Buryat ceremonies correspond closely, in spite of the fact that one is held in the tent, and the other out of doors. Similar requisites and actions appear, although they are combined differently, and the events follow a somewhat different sequence; for example the foreleg brandished by the Kalmuck husband is inside the pail in the Buryat account.

The parts of the sheep in the Buryat pail are the right foreleg, part of the large intestine (both significant in the Oirad hearth sacrifice *dalalya*, 5.1), the vertebra which joins the hindmost pair of long ribs (*qar-a čeger* for *qara seger*), the two hindmost pairs of long ribs themselves, the rear ribs³ (*sübege*), the tibia with knucklebone (*šiyayitu*), the humerus (*qartai*⁴), the femur (*čimeged*, presumably

¹ The ancestors are significant in two other rituals which end with a *dalalya*, both of them from the Ordos: the ceremony at the shrine of Činggis (section 6) and the slaughtering ritual (4.2.1).

² Before the *dalalya* of the *yarli* at Ejen qoruya, however, the pail of meat is carried three times around the hearth (Sayinjiryal and Saraldai 1983:133).

³ These are usually three pairs; the number of ribs may vary in the sheep.

⁴ Pozdneyev has *qaritu* c.f. Tsevel 1966:668a Kh. *xar't*. The humerus in fact forms part of the foreleg, *qa*; that they are mentioned separately may indicate that the text has been miscopied.

for *dumda čimüge*), and the tip of the fat tail. As in the Kalmuck ritual, the bones are primarily the leg-bones and ribs, and as far as we can tell, they are burnt here too, while the rest of the pail's contents is eaten.

In both accounts the skin which had covered the breastbone is significant.¹ In the Kalmuck case, it is cut into strips, still with the wool on, which are wound around the breastbone. This is perhaps related to the practice of winding sheep's-wool threads around the breastbone (as is also done here) or around the vital organs, as in an account of the hearth-sacrifice, again among the Dörvöd.²

In the Buryat case the 'hide and meat from between navel and chest',³ *qangčir*, is rolled up and stuck on the tip of the breastbone, while later on the hide and flesh *keresün* (for Mo. *kerseng*) which had covered the breastbone are cut into strips, and dangled in a kind of game before the young people. If Poppe's interpretation is accepted, the same piece of hide would be meant in both cases. It is certainly without wool, which will have been singed off.⁴

This 'game' corresponds to the taking of bites from the animal's heart in the Kalmuck account. Biting games are characteristic for *dalalya* rituals, generally with children participating; a scramble for pieces of food was described for the autumn *dalalya* (1.1.1), and these practices are analysed below in the context of the Oirad hearth sacrifice (5.1.4).

It can be assumed that the strips of skin, like the animal's heart, contain an energy which is to be transferred to the people biting them. In a living sheep the heart is immediately behind the tip of the breastbone; heart, bone and hide are in close contact, and are perhaps associated symbolically.

The meat in the pail which is circled in the *dalalya* actions is likewise an energy-carrier, and is eaten during the following days. The touching on the uncovered chest of each family member with the pail perhaps also represents a transfer of energy, through contact. This would not be characteristic for Mongol folk-

¹ As it still is today in certain areas; see the Bayad photograph, fig. 8.

² Potanin 1881, IV:90, see 5.1.1 (c).

³ Poppe's translation (1940:67), which I adopt on the assumption that Poppe consulted native informants. Pozdneyev has *qangsir-a*. Cheremisov lists Bur. *xanšar*, abdominal muscles (1973:547b), while other dictionaries of Mongol list the word as 'peritoneum'. However Poppe's interpretation seems to be confirmed by the actions described (see REQ.4.6.1 *quyiqalaqu*).

The Myangad also associate the breastbone (here with meat on) with something called Kh. *xančir*; at a formal meal the pelvis Kh. *süüj* is laid on the breastbone with the 'xančir' of the skirt (lower edge) of the pelvis uppermost (Sonomtseren 1975:62). The word cannot refer to the hide over the breastbone in this case, although part of the peritoneum (or omasum) would be possible.

⁴ Singeing this piece of hide, an elongated triangle corresponding to the shape of the breastbone, in order to eat it, is a fairly well-known practice in Khalkha, where it is called the Kh. *övčüünii xuix* (L. Čuluunbaatar p.c.), c.f. REQ.4.6.1.

religion;¹ however the sacrifices of the Erküt clan of the Ordos are accompanied by what could be a related action. The participants uncover their chest and make gestures 'as if washing it', and at intervals during the prayers they lift the right arm, palm upward (Mostaert 1934:8). Likewise, the circular gestures of the *dalalya* are typically made in front of the chest, or by holding up a cupped palm.

4.4.7 The 'enclosure' of twigs

The horse-sacrifices of the Turkic groups of the Altai (8.3), which are similar in many respects to the Buryat *tayilya*, may throw light on the 'enclosure' of twigs at the Khori *dalalya*, the exact nature and purpose of which are obscure.

In the Khori account the twigs surround the outdoor fire, and are burnt, just as in many accounts of the hearth sacrifice a four-sided 'pyre' (as in the present Kalmuck account) or altar, *yender*, or floor, *šala*, made of pieces of wood, is built up around the hearth fire in the tent.² However here the construction is a three-sided enclosure, *qoriya*, with a doorway, which seems to be to the north, that is opening towards the tent (if one assumes the ritual to be taking place in front of, i.e. south of, the tent).³ Just such an enclosure is built for Telengit or Teleut horse-

¹ In the Tibetan lamaist ceremony of 'obtaining long life', Tib. *tshe-grub*, the officiant absorbs the divine essence through contact between his chest and an image of the deity. Subsequently he touches each worshipper on the head with a vase, the Vase of Life (Waddell 1895:446). Late Buryat shamanism includes a number of lamaistic elements, and it is at least possible that there has been confusion between the pail of meat and the Vase of Life.

In rituals of other, western, Buryat groups which invoke the spirit of the bull-ancestor Buxa noyon baabai, the shaman acts as if he represents the spirit, and butts the men present in the groin (Czaplicka 1914:67, quoting Klementz). This perhaps represents a parallel, native, concept of the transfer of vital energy down through the generations of the clan.

The Tsaatan, Tuvinian reindeer-herders of Xövsgöl *aimag*, express a different relationship at the animation of a shaman's drum: not with the ancestors above, but with the animals 'd'en face'. The tibia, long ribs, tip of the breastbone with the first pair of ribs, and the tail of a sheep are circled three times by the shaman; he touches the drum with the meat, upon which it becomes animated by the spirit of a deer (Badamxatan 1962:42-4). The sheep probably replaces a reindeer, and is due to Mongol influence; the meat, consisting of parts also typical for the *dalalya*, is a carrier of energy which is promoted by the circular gesture, and then transferred to the drum. The essential difference here is that the *meat itself* (not a pail holding it) touches the drum; the procedure is thus a *miliyalaya*, anointing or smearing, c.f. 7.6.

² e.g. Kalmuck, Bergmann 1804, IV:286; Oirad, Potanin 1881, II:91 (5.1.1.b and d). It is possible that this square construction represents the symbolic square 'altar' which characterizes one of the four variants of the orthodox lamaist fire sacrifice, the 'sacrifice for the increase of riches' Tib. *rgyas-pa'i sbyin-sreg* (Dumas 1987:101-2). This variant is the closest, in its aim, to the more lamaized *dalalya* rituals.

³ It may be relevant here that in Khalkha, *kesig* is believed to come to men from the north (Wasilewski 1977:103-4); see also 5.1.7. For some Buryat and other south Siberian groups, the 'spirit-door' of the tent, used in preference to the real door by supernatural forces, is typically at the back (in this context, the north) of the tent (Ränk 1949:220-4).

sacrifices, in front of a special ritual tent, and opening towards it. However there is no fire; it seems to be rather a trap for the soul of the horse (Amschler 1933:308-9).

This function does not fit the Buryat case, but the construction itself may be related. Material from Tuva provides a further clue: the Tuvian *oboja*, the cult site of local spirits, is not a pile of stones, as in the steppe, but a little hut of brushwood. It has a door opening to the north, towards a sacrificial stone hearth (Potapov 1969:359).¹ Thus the Buryat living-tent in the present account is standing in the position of Altai ritual tent or Tuvian stone hearth, while the Buryat ritual fire is in the position of the brushwood hut or enclosure, and indeed merges with it; *oboja* becomes pyre, but both represent a point of transition to the supernatural dimension.

4.4.8 Summary

Although separated by 100 years, the two rituals analysed here share characteristics of major meat sacrifices made by other Mongol groups which can probably be associated with burnt offerings to the clan ancestors recorded for the 13th and 14th centuries. They suggest that the Oirad, like the Buryat, maintained a relationship with the supernatural sources of life which the eastern Mongols had long since lost.²

¹ Brushwood *oboja* are also recorded for the Mongols, but face south, like the tent (Schubert 1966:235).

² c.f. also the sacrifice to the earth and the waters described in an Oirad MS (Rintchen 1975 no. XX p.56), in which a horse and a sheep are killed, and the *jūilde* and bones are burnt. The details suggest that it is to be associated both with the Buryat *tayilya* and with the rituals described here. The earth and the waters represent a metamorphosis of the ancestors.

5. THE *DALALYA* AT THE SACRIFICE TO THE HEARTH DEITY

5.1 The western Mongol hearth sacrifice

5.1.1. The accounts

- | | | | |
|-------|----------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| a. | Kalmuck (Dörvöd) | Pallas 1801:327-9 | field notes of a scholar |
| b. | Kalmuck (Dörvöd) | Bergmann 1804, III:179-181
IV:285-290 | field notes of a scholar |
| c. | Dörvöd | Potanin 1881, IV:89-90 | field notes of a scholar |
| d. | Oirad (perhaps Dörvöd) | Potanin 1881, II:91 | field notes of a scholar |
| e. | Torguud | Montell n.d. 140-144
Montell 1945:384-7 | fieldwork by ethnographer |
| f. | Torguud
Mongol Urianxai | Wasilewski 1978:92-3 | fieldwork by ethnographer |
| g, h. | Dörvöd | fieldwork 1989 | |
| i, j. | Bayad | fieldwork 1989 | |

There is comparative data for two Tuvinian groups:

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| k. | Mončooogo Tuvinians | Taube 1972:135-6
1981:55-6 | fieldwork by ethnographer |
| l. | Tuvinians of Tuva | Potapov 1969:365 | fieldwork by ethnographer |
| m. | Tuvinians of Tuva | Potanin 1881, IV:90 | field notes of a scholar |

The texts available are listed under TEXT.3.1 with the following codes: H XI, H XII, PALLAS I, PALLAS II, DÖRVÖD, BAYAD.

Of the published accounts, only Wasilewski's explicitly distinguishes a *dalalya* as part of the proceedings; the other accounts speak only of a hearth-sacrifice, but describe actions at it which are recognisable as a *dalalya* as defined in this thesis.

This assumption is confirmed by the Bayad and Dörvöd who provided my own data, and who were ordinary herdsman; all gave the name *dalalya* to these same actions, although they regarded the actions as a part of hearth-sacrifice, and *not* as an autonomous procedure.

(a) *Kalmuck (Dörvöd) - Pallas (1801)*

Pallas describes two apparent *dalalya*; one, in a case of sickness, has been analysed in 4.4 above, the other formed part of the annual sacrifice to the hearth 'Gal-Taicho' (= Mo. *yal tayiqu*). It is clear from his descriptions that they are of one and the same ritual procedure, which is being used at two different ceremonies.

Date: ?
Place: in the tent
Officiant: the head of the tent
Those present: the people of the tent, a lama, guests

The ritual is performed to keep away misfortune, and to request health and prosperity. A sheep is slaughtered. [The procedure of *quyiqalaqu* is carried out.¹] A feast is held, preceding the offerings.

A lamaist image is set up. Sticks are piled in the hearth, and the sheep's breastbone, wound around with strips of the piece of hide which had covered it, the skull and the leg bones are put on the sticks and burnt. [While they burn, the lama invokes the hearth deity, and then recites a variant of the usual text for the *dalalya* at a hearth ritual (TEXT.3.2).] The cry *qurui* recurs after each line, and all present join in it, waving their right hand; the head of the tent waves the sheep's right shoulder with foreleg [*qa*]. He may also have a bowl containing meat and the heart of the sheep, and in this case he takes a bite from the heart at each cry. The foreleg is kept until the next day, and then eaten.

Pallas adds that the ceremony may also be performed on behalf of the whole *ulus* in the tent of their Khan, with lamas officiating; this is called '*Jandschip*'.² [The longer hearth-prayer for this occasion is not followed by a *dalalya* invocation,

¹ Description under REQ.4.6.

² Although Pallas' word '*Jandschip*' (pron. *Yandšip*) is unidentified, the present-day Dörvöd of Türgen *sum* retain the memory of a '*Yanšiv*' *dalalya* (fieldwork 1989). I was unable to find out what they understood by it. The word could be a form of the man's name Kh. *Jančiv*; however there seems to be no evidence of a deity with this name. More likely is that it is related to *yang*, chanting, < Tib. *dbyangs*, or its derived verb *yangnaqu*, to chant sacred texts (Less. 427a-b). The cognate *yangsiqu* now has a perjorative sense 'to jabber' in written Mongol (*ibid.*), but in modern spoken Oirad is rendered *yakšixxa* (Tsoloo 1988:503). It is possible that at Pallas' time Oirad still retained a verb Oir. *yangšixu* with a religious sense. The '*Jandschip*' would thus be the public ceremony at which lamas chant, as opposed to the ordinary herdsman's ritual at which, as usual in Mongolia, the invocation is spoken, not sung.

but the call *qurui* occurs all through it, and a passage in the middle of the prayer is recognisable as a variant of part of the text usual for a hearth-ritual *dalalya*.^{1]}

(b) *Kalmuck (Dörvöd) - Bergmann (1804)*

Date: last autumn month (approx. Oct.), on a mouse day,² in the evening
Place: in the tent (in this case, that of the Khan)
Officials: the second son of the tent and two lay headmen (*jayisang*)³
Those present: the Khan's family, excluding his married eldest son; a number of
lamas and guests

This appears to be the ceremony held on behalf of the whole *ulus* which Pallas mentions.

A sheep is slaughtered and a feast is prepared. [It is unclear whether the feast takes place before or after the sacrifice.] The Khan sits in his normal place, and plays no role in the ritual. His son sits on the left, holding the end of a cord which is attached to the roof-ring of the tent by means of a bone of the sheep. [The Khan is probably opposite the door, with his son to his left.] Below the son [i.e. to his left] sits one headman with a leather sack of meat on his lap, with the sheep's heart on top, and another holding a leg of mutton.

A prayer is sung [by a person not identified] while sacrificial meat is put into the fire, with frequent choruses of *qurui*. At each chorus the three officiants shake or wave what they are holding.

At the first chorus, the Khan's wife makes her daughter jump up swiftly, and eagerly (*begierig*) take three bites of the sheep's heart in the sack. The son, still waving his cord, does the same, and then the two headmen. Others present finish the heart off. Other pieces of meat from the sack are shared out, in individual bites. What remains is eaten the next day; anyone [including Bergmann] could eat it, but dogs could not.

The Khan's eldest son performs the same ritual separately in his own tent. The ritual may also be performed by a shaman or shamaness.

¹ Two other variants of this prayer are known: see TEXT.3, introduction.

² See 4.4.1 note.

³ *jayisang*: defined elsewhere by Bergmann (II:35) as the head-man of an *ayimay*, or administrative division of up to 300 tents, c.f. Vladimirtsov 1948:179-80.

(c) *Dörvöd (1881)*

Date: ?
Place: in the tent
Officiant: the head of the tent
Those present: ? (lamas are unnecessary)

Although Potanin calls the ritual a 'fire-sacrifice', he describes only the actions of a *dalalya*.

A sheep is slaughtered and the *jülde* is separated. All the meat is cooked, and a meal seems to precede the ritual.

The head of the tent waves the heart, lights and *jülde*¹ while holding a five-pointed stick hung with five-coloured rags, and reciting a short *dalalya* incantation.² All present wave bowls of cheese or milk as they join in the cry *qurui*.

That meat is not eaten for three days, and then only by members of the family (although some people allow outsiders to eat it).

(d) *Oirad (Dörvöd ?) (1881)*

Date: autumn
Place: in the tent
Officiant: the head of the tent
Those present: a lama (and others ?)

In his second volume Potanin describes the fire-sacrifice differently. A lama reads a prayer to the hearth deity while sacrificial meat burns, and all present cry *qurui*. [No *dalalya* action is mentioned.]

¹ *jülde*: see REQ.4.6. There is confusion in the terminology here; the *jülde* includes the heart, but Potanin lists them separately. The account seems to imply that he also includes the breastbone in his term '*jülde*'.

² Another variant of the text quoted here (BAYAD) is edited under TEXT.3.3.

(e) *Torguud of Etsingol*¹ or *Alashan Mongols* - Montell (1930s)

Date: late Sept. or Oct. (middle, or possibly last, autumn month),
immediately before moving to the winter camp

Place: in the tent

Officiant: a lama who is the son of the owner

Those present: that family, guests, lamas

The ceremony took place on the Etsingol, and the guests were local Torguud, although the host family was from Alashan. The local ceremony was apparently identical; it was performed in different camps on different days, from late September onwards.

Lamaist images are set up and offerings are placed before them. Although chiefly of lamaist character (lamps, *balin*), they also include meat from a freshly slaughtered sheep, and wool from the camels.

Lamas spend the whole day reading prayers in Tibetan. In the evening the lama son performs the hearth sacrifice. This is followed by a break.

Each guest is given something from the offerings to hold, and waves it at certain points as the lamas read more prayers. The lama son sticks lumps of fat to the roof-ring and the lintel of the door.² He then takes the shoulder of the sheep with a scarf *qaday* tied to it, a staff, decorated with a row of scarves, a bowl of grain, and a bell.³ He goes outside, and towards the north, and then throws a shower of grain into the tent through the open roof-ring.

¹ The two Torguud groups for whom accounts are available, those of Bulgan *sum*, Xovd *aimag*, and of the Etsingol, both previously lived as Kalmucks on the Volga, but at different dates. The Etsingol Torguud left the Volga about 1700 for Lhasa under Arabjur, before being settled on their present pastures (Courant 1912:44; Fletcher 1970:129). The forebears of the Bulgan Torguud were then still in Dzungaria; they migrated to the Volga, only to return a few years later in 1771 with the rest of the Torguud. Also in Bulgan lives a splinter-group from the Xoboq sayir Torguud, who were part of the early wave of migration, and spent a long period on the Volga (Szykiewicz 1977:121). There is no indication in the Bulgan accounts of which sub-group they refer to. The different character of the Etsingol ritual is perhaps to be explained by the pilgrimage to Tibet and long isolation from other Torguud.

² Not recorded in any other account. Similar actions take place at the anointing (*miliyaqu*) of a new tent (Sampildendev 1985:156 and 7.6), and a connection with the anointing of the tent at the sacrifice to the hearth of Činggis (section 6) is possible.

³ The bowl of grain does not seem to correspond to the pail of grain of the lamaist *dalalya*. Pozdneyev describes a 'summoning of fortune' in a monastery at which the presiding lama holds a plate of grain (1978:489-90, see below under 5.1.2). The bell, primarily a lamaist requisite, does not figure in any other *dalalya* account; but the Kalmuck shamaness shamanized after her 'fire-sacrifice' with a bell and a 'whip'. In a shamanist context, the 'whip' is usually a staff hung with scarves or streamers, as is used here. See further the chapter on the Requisites.

To more prayers, the guests [including Europeans] wave their part of the offerings and cry *qurui*. Alcohol is passed round; all must taste it, including small children. A feast follows.¹

For a day or two after the ceremony, the camp which held it is quiet, and visitors are not received.

The sacrifice may also be accompanied by divination. The lamaist ceremony lasts two days; on the second day a *gurtum*² lama enters a trance and answers questions. The hearth sacrifice then takes place as described.

(f) *Torguud of Bulgan sum, Mongol Urianxai of Duut sum (early 20th C.)*

Wasilewski's account appears under 1.1.2. It is unclear which parts of the account may refer to a *dalalya* performed in the context of a hearth sacrifice (which is not mentioned).

Another isolated reference to the Torguud hearth sacrifice in Bulgan tells us that a *dalalya* pail is used, and that its contents include the sheep's tibia (Szynekiewicz 1989:382).

(g) *Dörvöd of Türgen sum (from fieldwork: data for 1920s or 30s)*

Date: last autumn month, after the harvest (approx. Oct.)
Place: in the tent
Officiant: the head of the tent, Dörvöd *äv kün*, 'father'
Those present: the people of the tent

A red goat or a yellow gelded goat (*ulayan imaya*, *sira serke*) is sacrificed to the fire, and a sheep is killed to eat.

The officiant holds a big hide bag, *tulum*, containing meat, milk products and a long sausage, *čayan miqa*,³ made from part of the sheep's intestine. He recites the prayer to the hearth-deity with the call *qurui*, and performs a *dalalya* by waving the

¹ Elsewhere, Montell states that animals are consecrated (*seterlekü*) after the ritual (1940:84).

² *gurtum*, Tib. *sku rten*: lama oracle who enters a trance in the same way as a shaman (c.f. Schröder 1955:849-50; Heissig 1970:343-346 for the relationship between the two). Heissig notes that rich families often called a *gurtum* to their annual hearth-sacrifice. The Kalmuck 'fire-sacrifice' was likewise accompanied by shamanizing and divination (4.4.1).

³ Precise description under REQ.4.6.1.

sausage, which is sticking out of the bag. He then makes each child present come and bite the end of the sausage. This is for fun [the speaker laughs].¹

(h)

Date: in autumn (the actual day may be chosen by lamas)
Place: in the tent
Officiants: the head of the tent and his wife
Those present: the people of the tent

The man holds a hide bag containing meat, grain, precious things and a sausage *čayan miqa*. His wife holds the raw right foreleg *qa* of the sheep. They wave them, and the others present wave food or whatever they are holding, while the invocation is recited calling for livestock of the five herded species, and grain.

The foreleg is cooked afterwards; only that family may eat it. None of the meat may leave the tent, it must be finished inside. The heart is put before the holy images.²

(i) *Bayad of Tes sum* (1920s or 30s)

Date: 25th day of the first winter month (*ĵula sara*), after sunset (approx. Nov.)
Place: in the tent
Officiant: the head of the tent, who seems also to be the patriarch of a larger group
Those present: the people of that tent and others

A goat is sacrificed to the hearth and burnt whole, but those who are not wealthy use a model goat made of meal kneaded with butter. A sheep is killed to eat.

The goat is burnt to cries of *qurui*. In the *qoyimor*³ is a bag, *tulum*, made of a whole goat or sheep skin, containing milk products, fried cakes and meat, including

¹ The speaker had earlier stated that every *ayil*, without exception, has a *dalalya* arrow. How and when this is used was not clear. Recorded on tape from an elderly herdsman and former lama, O. Čuluun. I am most grateful to J. Tsoolo and L. Čuluunbaatar for their patient help in deciphering recordings.

² From a local intellectual, G. Jamiyan.

³ The honourable part of the tent, by the altar.

the raw right foreleg *qa* of the sheep (the foot still attached)¹ and part of the large intestine *čayan miqa*, empty and rolled up [not made into a sausage].

The owner of the tent, in this case the grandfather or elder of the group (Bayad *manā övgön āw*; *manā övkö*²), holds the bag, with the thin end of the intestine sticking out of it. Another man puts one arm out through the door, holding a bowl of milk. He flings the milk up so that it falls back into the tent through the open roof-ring, and into the mouth of the bag held beneath. This man is a specialist, invited by many people to come and perform the tricky operation at their hearth-sacrifice.

Then all the children are made to bite off pieces of the intestine. The old man shows how much they may take, but they bite off much more [the speaker laughs]; it is a great competition (*temečegen*).

Two or three days later the bag is opened, and the raw foreleg is cooked. The children are given a treat with the food that was in the bag.³

(j)

A second account has the hearth sacrifice on the 30th (instead of the 25th). The *dalalya* performed with it is, however, the *dalalya* for the camels (normally a spring ritual). A camel is also consecrated. The head of the tent officiates, with a lama beside him. (Analysed above under section 3.)

5.1.2 The date of the ritual

The accounts for the Dörvöd -Kalmuck and the Dörvöd of Türgen agree that the hearth-sacrifice takes place annually in the last autumn month.⁴ Wasilewski's data possibly puts it nearer the middle of autumn, for Torguud, Mongol Urianxai, and perhaps Zaxčin. Montell confirms this for a different Torguud group.

¹ Bayad *širtā*; emphasized by the speaker. The feet are normally cut off when a carcass is butchered. The foreleg circled in the *dalalya* to Činggis (section 6) is also complete with foot. See REQ.4.2.2 and REQ.4.6.

² But see Vladimirtsov 1948:63, where the elder of the Bayad clan at this same period was called Bayad *būral āwa*, 'grey-haired father'.

³ Account of E. Daš, a herdsman born in 1921, based on his childhood memories.

⁴ This date is also recorded (although rarely) for the eastern Mongol hearth sacrifice.

The independent *dalalya* ritual of eastern Mongolia (and among the Bayad) is normally earlier, in the first autumn month (1.2).

The Torguud, Zaxčín, Dörvöd and Bayad are all traditionally grain-producers.¹ This was a secondary activity, combined with nomadic herding; it was of particular importance for the Dörvöd. While the first autumn month is the 'rich' time of the herdsman's year, for Mongol groups practising cultivation the rich time of feasts comes after the harvest,² that is after the camps have moved down to their autumn pastures.

The Bayad harvest in the first autumn month, the Zaxčín in the second. The replies of Dörvöd and Bayad herdsmen to questions about the timing of rituals - they would say 'after the harvest', rather than referring to the calendar or to a herding activity - indicate that cultivation has probably had a significant influence on the Oirad ritual calendar. It is at least possible that for the Zaxčín, Torguud and Dörvöd the date of the hearth sacrifice has been influenced by the harvest.

The Bayad hearth sacrifice is performed rather later, at the end of the first winter month. The date given, the 25th³ of *jula sara*, the 'month of the lamps', is that of a major lamaist festival commemorating the death of Tsongkhapa. Thousands of butter-lamps are lit; the monastery appears engulfed in fire (Pozdneyev 1978:479). This may be the rationale behind the performance of a hearth ritual on this night. The monastery service which Pozdneyev describes includes a 'summoning of fortune', which seems to translate Tib. *g-yang-'gug*, the Tibetan equivalent of the *dalalya* (*ibid*:489-90). The two ceremonies thus have more than a superficial resemblance.⁴

This date is also, according to Bergmann, the first day of the Kalmuck New Year (1804, IV:285). The texts for the eastern Mongol hearth sacrifice connect the ritual explicitly with the change from old year to new; it was usually performed a

¹ Further details in König 1965 (Zaxčín) and Ayuuš 1985 (Bayad).

² Confirmed by the Dörvöd and Bayad custom of holding an *oboya* sacrifice with games, *nayadum*, after the harvest.

³ The date from the second account, the 30th, may be a mistake. The speaker later gave this as the date of an independent *dalalya* (1.1.2.k). However divergences do not necessarily mean that the data is unreliable. Oirad clans or territorial groups had their own ritual practices, not necessarily known to members of surrounding groups (Szynkiewicz 1987:12-14). Myangad clans each had a different day of the month on which they made offerings to their protector-spirit (Sandag 1969:89).

⁴ In central Khalkha, a *dalalya* was still being performed on the 25th of *jula sara*, in secret, around 1950 (p.c.). A former lama officiated, in a herdsman's tent. No meat was used. It is not clear whether this arrangement was a result of the destruction of the monasteries, or whether Khalkha herdsmen traditionally performed a *dalalya* on this day. The latter seems unlikely, given the complete absence of other accounts.

few days before the lunar new year, that is in the last winter month.¹ The present-day Bayad are unaware of this fact, and it is not clear whether their choice of date has been influenced by it.

The date of the Dörvöd hearth-sacrifice, the last autumn month, may also be hypothetically connected with the new year. In Turco-Mongol antiquity, the year apparently began with the opening of the hunting season on the appearance of the Pleiades, around Nov. 7th² - that is, towards the end of the last autumn month. In Siberia, the start of hunting is dependent on the freezing of the swamps which prevent movement; in the herding environment, the freeze-up is the time for the annual slaughtering (4.2.1). Mongol writers confirm that this point in time was marked by a major meat sacrifice, possibly associated with the start of the year (Očir 1985:14-15)³.

We know, certainly, that the 12th of the last autumn month was an old Mongol festival, celebrated up to the present at the sanctuary of Ejen qoruya (Sagaster 1976:321), and that in the 14th century a major sacrifice of meat directed to the ancestors took place in the last autumn month (Ratchnevsky 1970:429). At this ceremony meat and/or bones are burnt, with the fat of the intestines, alcohol and red and gold silk. These offerings coincide precisely with those made at the hearth sacrifice in recent centuries (Dumas 1987:282). The ceremony was repeated in the second half of the last winter month, that is at the time usual for the eastern Mongol hearth sacrifice. It thus seems that the hearth sacrifice may be closely related to earlier sacrifices to the ancestors.

The data examined here makes clear that time-thresholds, which are often determined by significant activities in the economy (Éliade 1949:84), are typically associated with accompanying activity in the ritual sphere. However the available material does not allow any firm conclusions to be drawn regarding the relationship of *dalalya* rituals to the calendar.

In Bergmann's Kalmuck account (b) the ritual must take place on a mouse day. This represents a folk-lamaist element; the deity of riches, Namsarai, is conventionally depicted holding the jewel-spitting mongoose (Getty 1962:156), which is understood by the Mongols to be a mouse. The mouse has accordingly

¹ The question of the date of the eastern hearth-sacrifice has already been investigated in detail (Dumas 1987:264-274).

² Bazin 1974:578 ff, quoted in Dumas 1987:135 and 268-9.

³ Očir's opinion is based on the old name for this month in certain groups, *qubi sara*, 'month of the shares', referring to the distribution of portions of meat at a sacrifice; c.f. also Sagaster 1976:133. The question of the old Mongol month names is extremely complex, and lies outside the scope of this thesis.

become symbolic of wealth,¹ and the texts make clear that wealth is one of the benefits expected from the performance of lamaized variants of the *dalalya*.

5.1.3 The structure of the ritual

The actions of the hearth-sacrifice and the actions of the *dalalya* do not emerge in the Oirad accounts as two clearly separated events, as they do in the eastern Mongol ceremony (5.2), but are rather combined.² It seems that in the minds of the people involved no clear distinction exists between the two procedures.

In the Kalmuck accounts (a, b) the actions of offering and *dalalya* are simultaneous. In the Bayad account (i) the sacrifice takes a Tibetan form (see 5.1.6), but is accompanied by the *dalalya* chorus of *qurui*; the *dalalya* actions appear to follow it. The Dörvöd account (g) follows the same pattern, but here a Mongol (as opposed to Tibetan) hearth prayer is recited, not during the sacrifice of the goat, but at the *dalalya*. Account (d) also associates the chorus *qurui* with the offering. The remaining accounts mention *dalalya* actions without making clear how they fitted into the ceremony as a whole.

The Dörvöd account (c) is one of these. Potanin does not give a date for the ritual; it is at least possible that what he saw is not the annual sacrifice to the hearth deity, but rather an occasional ritual of the kind described by Pallas as the 'fire-sacrifice' of a Dörvöd-Kalmuck shamaness (4.4). There are resemblances between the two accounts, for example the fact (unrecorded elsewhere) that a few of those present help themselves to meat-bones before the ritual, and that strings of twisted wool from the sheep are wound around the breast-bone and burnt with it. *Dalalya* - actions are absolutely central to this type of ritual; but they are peripheral to the annual hearth-sacrifice as it is known in eastern Mongol areas, or even absent.

It may be the existence among the Oirad of such a category of 'fire-sacrifice' or *dalalya* -burnt-offering which is responsible for the seemingly confused structure of the Oirad annual hearth sacrifice. The inter-relationships of the Oirad and the eastern hearth sacrifices are reexamined in section 9 below.

In Khalkha and Inner Mongolia, the annual worship of the lamaist protector-deity of the tent, *jisiya ungsiyulqu*, is combined with the folk-religious ritual of the

¹ c.f. the rhyme for memorizing the twelve animals of the calendrical cycle and their attributes:

Kh. *erdeniin züileer bööljööd baidag*
 erüü tsagaan xulgana negen jil
 the white mouse [with open] jaw
 which is vomiting precious things, one year (B. Damdin p.c.)

² Except in the Etsingol Torguud account (e), which is atypical in many ways, particularly in the degree of lamaist influence.

autumn *dalalya* (1.1.1). The Oirad of Xovd *aimag*, however, apparently combine their *jisiya* with the annual sacrifice to the hearth deity (Szyrkiewicz 1981:103). The Torguud account (c) seems to reflect this, with a lamaist ceremony during the day, preceding the evening hearth sacrifice. Both here and in the Kalmuck account (a) an image of a lamaist deity is set up before the offering is made - an element which is entirely superfluous at a sacrifice addressed to the native Mongol hearth goddess.

The lamaist protector-deity, *ayil-un sitügen* (lit. 'object of worship of the family'), is different for each individual tent in eastern Mongolia, but the Oirad take the protector of their father (*ibid*:104); thus the tents of a group of agnates will all be under the protection of the same deity. The structural correspondence between the image of this deity and the *ongyon*, the support of an ancestor-spirit, is obvious. Although the performance of the *jisiya* at the Oirad hearth sacrifice may have been deliberately introduced in order to 'lamaize' a pagan ritual, the ceremony as a whole (with its integral *dalalya*) corresponds at the same time very closely to the pre-lamaist ritual of the burnt offering to the ancestor spirits.¹

The role of the hearth-fire apparently differs (recipient/mediator), but it must be remembered that, unlike the hearth deity of the eastern Mongol tent, who is private and individual, the Oirad hearth deity has in her care all the tents of an agnatic group, who make to her one joint sacrifice (5.1.5 below). The distinction between cult of the hearth deity and cult of the hearth of the ancestor, which is at best a fine one (Dumas 1987:306-9), here becomes almost indefinable. Similarly, the cult of the hearth of the ancestors is hardly distinguishable, in the Oirad context, from the cult of the ancestors at the hearth (4.4, Kalmuck) or at some other fire (4.4, Buryat, or 8.2, Buryat *tayilya*).

A feast, *nayir*, or at least a communal meal at which the part of the sheep not necessary for the ritual is eaten, takes place after both the hearth sacrifice (Dumas 1987:278) and the independent autumn *dalalya*. In Pallas' Kalmuck account (a) and in his account of the 'fire-sacrifice' of the shamaness, however, the feast comes first. This throws into relief the distinction between the feast - eating and drinking in general - and the distribution and eating of those significant parts of the sheep

¹ This is perhaps reflected in terminology, although the data available is rather thin. While the eastern Mongols (and the Bayad) speak of *oboja takiqu*, *yal takiqu* for *oboja* sacrifice, (hearth) fire sacrifice, the Dörvöd Kalmuck of 1800 and the Dörvöd of today say *oboja takiqu*, but *yal tayiqu* (fieldwork). The distinction seems not to be a question of dialect; in that case one would expect a Dörvöd 'oboja tayiqu'.

Both *takiqu* and *tayiqu* are defined in dictionaries as to sacrifice, make an offering. *Takiqu* alone has the additional sense to revere, worship. *Fal takiqu* is thus fire (hearth) worship or offering, but *yal tayiqu* is more ambiguous: 'fire offering'. The meaning may well be 'burnt offering' rather than 'offering to the hearth fire' (see also 4.4.2).

which have figured in the actions of the ritual. The consumption of those parts necessarily *follows* the ritual, and the implication is that it has charged them with some desirable force.

5.1.4 The motif of biting

Four of the accounts describe the taking of bites from a significant part of the sheep which had been used in the circling action of the *dalalya*. A similar motif appears in the autumn *dalalya* in Üzemčín (1.1.1), the *dalalya* for the new mother (4.3.2), the Buryat and Kalmuck shamanist 'fire sacrifice' *dalalya* (4.4) and the *dalalya* for Nayinai (7.3). Details of these accounts are summarized in the table.

This summary makes clear that a certain degree of violence or force seems to be essential, expressed in biting, struggling and competing, and in nearly every case the participants are children. The strong ideology of peace and harmony which prevails in Mongolia, and the usual quietness of children in front of their elders, suggest that the violence is probably necessary to the ritual.

In most cases the competition is regarded as a game, 'for fun'; the Buryat shaman purposely made it hard. Two informants laughed remembering it;¹ but the shamaness also laughed, an indication that laughter may have a symbolic function here, and is not an expression of amusement. Later in the same ritual, when the shamaness had entered a trance, her assistants were laughing.² Laughter, which is often culturally negative in Mongolia, occurs relatively rarely in everyday life.

It is probable that the show of force and the laughter both function here as manifestations of life.³ Children are accordingly the most appropriate actors, in that they represent new life, the 'growing edge' of the group. The competitions of *nayadum*, wrestling and racing held after major rituals, have likewise been analysed in terms of a show of strength (or life-force) which pleases the spirits (Kabzińska 1987:55 ff.), and competitive games, typically played by children, are an essential

¹ Biting off the end of the tough, rubbery intestine dangling from the sack can be compared to Hallowe'en games of bobbing for apples and so on, in that it is difficult, messy, and much funnier for the spectators than for the participants.

² Pallas 1801:344.

³ Violence ('fury') is characteristic of the epic hero, and when he laughs, it is not the laughter of amusement, but a violent emotion, alternate laughing and weeping (Nekljudov 1981:63).

A Yakut ritual points to a connection between laughing and new life; after a birth, the women gather and laugh loudly together in the hope that the protector-goddess of births will send them children. However Szykiewicz interprets this convulsive laughter as a sign of direct contact with the sacred (1984:89).

group	occasion	object	action	actors	circumstances
<i>Western and Northern groups</i>					
Dörvöd-Kalmuck (Pallas)	hearth sacrifice	heart	bitten	head of tent	
Dörvöd-Kalmuck (Bergmann)	hearth sacrifice	heart	bitten	1. children of tent 2. officiants 3. others	child made to act swiftly and eagerly
Dörvöd	hearth sacrifice	intestine (sausage)	bitten	children	informant laughed
Bayad	hearth sacrifice	intestine	bitten	children	informant laughed
Dörvöd-Kalmuck	shamanist sacrifice	heart	bitten	1. head of tent 2. wife and children	shamaness laughs
Buryat	shamanist sacrifice	strips of hide <i>kerseng</i>	bitten and struggled for	children	children compete
Myangad	washing of baby	intestine (sausage)	bitten	1. new mother 2. relatives	
<i>Southern and Eastern groups</i>					
Üzenčin	autumn <i>dalalya</i>	cubes of meat	struggled for and eaten	children	children compete
Khorčin	offering to Nayinai	cakes	struggled for and eaten	children	children compete

part of the celebration of the New Year; here competition has the symbolic function of promoting onward movement at a critical time-threshold (Kabzińska 1983). A 'game' of biting a sheep's heart is played by the groom before a wedding, and is supposed to demonstrate his strength and fitness to marry (REQ.4.8).

In a Buryat hunting ritual (not a *dalalya*) the hunters throw themselves on pieces of meat which they snatch from each other and eat (4.1.3), just as the children do here, while a Yakut shaman is described tearing an animal to pieces in the fury of his trance (Czaplicka 1914:238-9). This violence is perhaps connected with the taking, appropriating for one's group, of the life-force represented in the animal. Just as game is *kesig*, benefit, to the hunters, so in the Üzemčün autumn ritual the food for which the children struggle is *dalalya-yin kesig*, the benefit of the *dalalya*, and the cakes of the Khorčün offering are the *kesig* of Nayinai. *Kesig* signifies at the same time portion or share, and 'favour', the gift of a senior (see TERM.2). The sharing out of meat is fundamental to the *dalalya*, and the individual bites represent the children's share, which they must appropriate.

Children are the most vulnerable members of the group; its future depends on their reaching adulthood safely. The importance to them of this injection of life-energy is brought out clearly in the ritual addressed to Nayinai (7.3).¹ In the cases where the biters are not children, the element of competition is absent; the person concerned may be in a critical situation - a man having bad luck and his sick wife, a woman who has just given birth. The healing function of the *dalalya* energy in these cases was discussed in section 4.3.

5.1.5 Delineation of the group: the prohibitions

The accounts for the Dörvöd (c, h) stress that only members of the family performing the ritual may eat the meat which has been used in the circling gestures - in Potanin's account the *julde*, in my own data the foreleg. In this context 'family' seems to refer to the inhabitants of that tent, and guests seem not to be present.

Among the Oirad, camps made up of the tent of an old man and the separate tents of his married sons still existed within living memory, with their animals pastured as a single herd. In a group of this kind, only one *dalalya* or hearth

¹ The Torguud *dalalya* (e) in the present section does not have the biting motif, but alcohol is passed round, which even the children have to drink. Alcohol is strictly forbidden to children and young people in normal circumstances; it clearly functions here as *sarqud*, the share of the offering-alcohol (c.f. Ligeti 1973:160), probably replacing portions of meat.

sacrifice was performed, by the patriarch¹ (Szynkiewicz 1981:103). The Bayad account (i) seems to reflect this situation. There are, however, no accounts of a *dalalya* performed on behalf of a wider kin-group (lineage, clan).²

In spite of this, the Dörvöd restrictions on the consumption of the ritual meat reflect the situation typical for sacrifices of the clan to the ancestors, in which the benefits of the ancestors can by definition be absorbed only by those who are their descendants.³ Identical restrictions apply at the Buryat shaman's *dalalya*, regarded by the people involved as a form of hearth-sacrifice, although in fact directed to ancestral and other spirits (4.4), but are not recorded for any autumn *dalalya*; this is not surprising, since as far as we know the circling of parts of the sheep is *not* typical for the independent autumn ritual, at least among the eastern Mongols.⁴ This may indicate that the restrictions at the hearth-sacrifice are a function of the identity of the recipient of the sacrifice: the hearth deity of the tent, who (in eastern Mongolia) plays an essential role in the definition of the individual family group and its relationship to the ancestors (Dumas 1987:306-7). Alternatively, and especially since the present data is not from the eastern Mongols, but from the Oirad, it may indicate that the Oirad hearth-sacrifice/*dalalya* is closely related to an earlier burnt offering to the ancestors.

The Dörvöd account (h), besides the restrictions on eating the foreleg, mentions that the hide sack which is circled with it must be kept hidden, and never given to an outsider, otherwise the *buyan kesig* will run out of it. The same informant quotes a local expression for keeping a secret:

Kh. *daldyn dald dallagny tulamny yoroolt xiine*

- keeps it at the bottom of his *dalalya* sack, as hidden as hidden can be.

Although it is again the opposition between this tent and outsiders which is expressed here, it is motivated differently from the eating restrictions; a secret container of the family's fortunes is a Tibetan, rather than Mongol, concept (c.f. REQ.4.4), and the prohibition is not founded on the relationship to the ancestors.

¹ If the sons did not separate on the death of the patriarch, the youngest, who inherited his tent and hearth, continued to perform the rituals on behalf of all (and all were required to be present). The other sons usually each performed the rituals a second time in their own tent in this case. Szynkiewicz's fieldwork was mainly among Torguud, Xošuud and Zaxčün; also Ööld and Myangad.

² As opposed to an administrative grouping. The *dalalya* addressed to Činggis Khan is a special case (section 6).

³ See 8.2, the Buryat *tayilya*. At such sacrifices it is usual for all descendants to attend in order to receive their share. There is a single *dalalya* account, for the ritual at the Ordos hearth sacrifice, in which meat is sent afterwards to all relatives (from other camps) who could not attend (5.2.1). This is exceptional, and possibly reflects the influence of the sacrifice to the hearth of Činggis at Ejen qoruya.

⁴ c.f. REQ.4.6.2.

Several of the hearth-sacrifice accounts, and those for the Kharčın and Khorčın autumn *dalalya* (1.1.2. b, g), mention that nothing from the tent may be given or lent to outsiders for a certain number of days (usually three) after the ritual. This prohibition is not confined to the *dalalya*; it applies after a variety of other significant events. It has been analysed by Wasilewski, who concludes that its function is not so much to delineate a group, as to prevent the possible loss of life-energy - in the present case the benefit *kesig* - which has just been received from the 'other' sphere of the supernatural, by 'sealing up' the tent for a period (1980:286). The unwillingness of the Torguud to go about or to receive foreign guests just after the ritual (e) is certainly motivated in the same way.

At the Buryat shaman's *dalalya*, the significant pieces of meat have to be eaten up within three days (4.4), and the same requirement applies to food in the pail at an eastern Mongol hearth sacrifice *dalalya* (5.2.1 (a) below). It is perhaps motivated by a similar feeling that the benefit of the ritual remains 'active' or volatile for three days.

After the Oirad hearth sacrifice *dalalya*, however, the significant meat must be kept for one or three days, and only then eaten. The motivation for this is not immediately clear. In an Oirad autumn *dalalya* (Potanin, 1.1.2.h) the meat spends three days before the images on the tent altar, and is evidently regarded as an offering to them. It is a routine Mongol practice to place the heart or other part of a slaughtered sheep on the altar for a time as *degeji*, the offering of the first or best portion, before it is eaten.¹ The same procedure was certainly current before lamaist images replaced the *ongyod* ancestral spirit-supports, who were 'fed' with the meat put before them; they absorbed its invisible substance, leaving the material meat for the living to eat later (Lot-Falck 1953:81; Zélénine 1952:27, 34).

As far as can be told, the meat in the hearth-sacrifice accounts was not left on the altar, but simply kept - in the Bayad case, inside the closed sack - and it seems that Potanin's autumn *dalalya* may confuse two methods of communication with the 'other' sphere. It is the circling of the meat, during which it absorbs supernatural benefits, which is essential; to place it before the images afterwards as an offering is superfluous, and probably a result of confusion with lamaist ideas (a lama was present). The practice of keeping the meat at all remains unexplained; perhaps to have it in the tent for a while enhances the influence of the force which it has absorbed on the inhabitants.

¹ Fieldwork 1989. It may only be eaten by a member of that family (B. Damdin p.c.); the Mončooogo Tuvinians make the children eat it (Taube 1972:130).

5.1.6 Sheep or goat

The Dörvöd of Türgen and the Bayad sacrifice a goat to the hearth deity (g, i). Among the Bayad at least it must be burnt whole (extremely unusual in a Mongol context), but if necessary a model goat made of dough can be substituted. Dumas considers that the sacrifice of a goat to the hearth in Mongolia is a borrowing from the Tibetan sacrifice to the fire god,¹ and in particular the use of a substitute made of dough, Tib. *gtor-ma* (1987:293).

The meat of the goat does not figure in the accompanying *dalalya*; for this a sheep is slaughtered in addition. Of the two, it is clearly the sheep which is significant to the participants; if the goat is burnt whole, it can play no further part in the ritual. This seems to support the view that the goat is an extraneous borrowed element.² Most Mongol groups never under any circumstances sacrifice goats, which are classified as 'cold'; the sacrificial animal *par excellence* is the sheep, which is 'warm', and therefore worthy of being offered.³

The Monguor sacrifice a goat beside the grain-fields to protect the crop, but the ritual seems to be Tibetanized (Schröder 1952:823 ff). The Ordos Mongols have a similar custom (Mostaert 1956:291); here however Tibetan influence seems unlikely. The Bayad also sacrifice goats to the spirits of the river-water, *luus*, or to the source of a river (*γol-un eki*), in order to bring rain for the grain-fields in time of drought (fieldwork 1989, Tatar 1976:14).⁴

Although the agricultural connection might point to Tibetan influence here too, Oirad (and particularly Bayad) culture shares many characteristics with that of south Siberia; the Buryat likewise offer goats at their periodic clan sacrifices, *tayilya* (Tugutov 1978:275), and here any Tibetan influence is out of the question.

¹ Presumably as performed in the distant past. But c.f. the Chahar text for a lamaized *dalalya* of the camels, where a goat's breastbone is offered to the 'lord of the fire' (3.1.d).

² The influence of lamaism on the Mongols is stronger in the S.E. than in the conservative west and north (c.f. section 7 below); but paradoxically the influence of *Tibetan culture* is particularly noticeable among some Oirad groups. The reason for this is probably not so much the enthusiastic promotion of lamaism by Oirad leaders, as the effect of a long-standing Oirad presence in Tibet itself and in Tibetan culture-areas (Grousset 1948:602 ff.).

³ Sheep and horses are warm *qalayun* or warm-muzzled *qalayun qosiyu-tu*, while goats and camels are cold-muzzled, *küiten qosiyu-tu*. Cattle (including yaks) are neutral in western Mongolia, but in Khalkha they are now felt to be warm (fieldwork 1988). The distinction is not confined to the ritual sphere; 'warm' meat is fortifying, but should not be given in an illness classified as hot, where cooling is required (and vice-versa) (B. Damdin p.c.). C.f. also Rintchen 1977, for whom cattle are cold, probably because of their chthonic associations, in contrast to the heavenly horse; this symbolic scheme is not now familiar in Mongolia.

⁴ The Xoton, associated with the Dörvöd, also offer goats (fieldwork 1989). Details are lacking.

It is possible that the Buryat goat sacrifice, and perhaps that of the Bayad, in fact reflects a very old native Mongol practice.¹ The sacrifices of the Erküt clan of the Ordos also correspond in many of their details to the Buryat *tayilya*, and here it is always a goat which is offered. As descendants of mediaeval Christians, the Erküt were less strongly influenced by lamaism (Mostaert 1934:8); it may well be that only they and the Buryat have preserved a pre-lamaist custom.

5.1.7 The substance falling through the roof-ring

In the central part of the ritual, the Bayad throw milk into the tent through the roof-ring, so that it falls into the open mouth of the hide sack (i). The Torguud throw grain in through the roof-ring (e). Both substances are symbolic life-carriers; grain does not necessarily appear in this role through Tibetan lamaist influence, since some Torguud grew grain themselves.

The roof-ring is the opening through which a connection may be established between the interior of the tent and the supernatural dimension (c.f. also REQ.4.8); the destination of the milk, the open *dalalya* sack, confirms that it represents *kesig*, that is the energy received through the ritual.

The belief that *kesig* reaches the family by way of the open roof-ring is general in Mongolia. It is believed to come from the north (Wasilewski 1977:103-4); hence, perhaps, the instruction in the Torguud account to throw the grain from the north. The lamaist deity of wealth, Vaiśravaṇa (Mo. Namsarai), is the guardian of the north (Getty 1962:156), and it is to him that lamaized forms of *dalalya* are addressed; naturally his favour would arrive from that direction. However the Torguud also associate the north with the souls of unborn children, who live on the

¹ This view was supported by a Mongol ethnographer (p.c.), who associated goats specifically with shamanist sacrifices.

In the Tuvian hearth ritual (below) a live sheep or goat is consecrated to the fire. The officiant, who may be lama or shaman, divines whether the fire is quiet, Tuv. *džās ot*, in which case it receives a sheep, or fierce, Tuv. *doqsun ot*, when it receives a goat. It may be possible to see here a set of oppositions

quiet	:	fierce
sheep	:	goat
warm ('own')	:	cold ('other')
new religion	:	old 'religion'

The underlying ideology is a post-lamaist one, in which shamanism has been relegated from its central position to the status of 'the black arts'. The old goat-sacrifices thus come to be regarded with disapproval, while the sheep takes on the character of the 'ideal' or orthodox sacrificial animal.

'golden stake', *altan yadasu* - the Pole Star (Szynkiewicz 1981:163),¹ and soul-energy is closely associated with the energy of *kesig* (c.f. TEXT.3.2).

The Yakut goddess of birth helps a woman in labour by pouring down a white liquid life-essence from heaven (Harva 1938:168). The Turkic term which corresponds partly in its range of meanings to the presently accepted sense of Mo. *kesig* is OT *qut* ; in Kirghiz this word is defined as vital force, soul; good-fortune; a gelatinous substance which falls through the roof-ring of the tent, and brings luck to one who can catch it.²

On the basis of the widely distributed evidence it seems that this part of the ritual is acting out a very old Altaic belief.

5.1.8 The Tuvinian data

The corresponding Tuvinian ritual is so close in form to the Oirad *dalalya* that it cannot be left out of consideration; it may in fact be a borrowing from the Oirad.

(k)

Taube's account is for the Mončooگو living in Mongolia,³ and the ritual is described as the consecration of the hearth (not a sacrifice to it). It is not clear when and why it is performed. A shaman officiates.

A sheep is slaughtered. The fire is lit,⁴ and fat and milk products are put into it. Symbolic objects are then hung up on a rope above the fire, in the purifying smoke of juniper (described under REQ.4.7). The cooked innards Tuv. *îzin* of the sheep and its large intestine Tuv. *xyjma* are put in a pail,⁵ covered with the sheep's skin, and carried round the fire to cries to Tuv. *xuraj xuraj*. This action is called Tuv. *dalalya alyr*, which is said to mean 'to offer meat in sacrifice'.

¹ In south Siberia new souls of children (and spirits) enter the tent from the north, but for different reasons, c.f. 4.4.4.

² Róna-Tas 1987:40, quoting Yudakhin 1965.

³ Tsengel *sum*, Bayan Ölgii *aimag*, the extreme N.W. of the country.

⁴ Either the hearth-fire has been put out, or (possibly) this is part of the consecration of a new tent. My Dörvöd informant (g) described lighting tinder with flint and steel (matches are not allowed) and throwing it into the hearth while reciting the hearth prayer, but I understood the fire to have been alight the whole time, and the tinder to be symbolic of the words which accompanied the action, *qayan ečige čakimui*, the Khan-father strikes fire.

⁵ The intestine corresponds to the Mo. *čayan miqa*. It is possible that by innards (Innereien) is meant the *jülde*.

Afterwards a live sheep or goat is consecrated to the fire, Tuv. *ydyk*.¹

The motif of beckoning or circling the meat is absent from the account; instead it is carried in a circle, as in the Buryat shaman's ritual (4.4) and some Buryat *tayilya* (8.2). This suggests that the original sense of 'beckoning' of the Mongol loan-word *dalalya* is not understood.

(l)

Potapov describes the same ritual in Tuva itself, where it is called a fire sacrifice. A lama or a shaman can officiate. This seems to be not an annual offering, but an occasional ritual performed in answer to illness, on the assumption that the misfortune is due to some offence committed against the fire, which must be placated. It thus seems to correspond, not to the Mongol hearth sacrifice, but rather to the occasional shaman's 'fire-sacrifice' (4.4). No beckoning action is mentioned, and the term *dalalya* is not used.

A sheep is slaughtered, and many relatives and guests from other camps assemble. Symbolic objects are hung up on a rope around the walls (see REQ.4.7). The sheep's breastbone and chunks of meat are burnt; the rest of the meat is eaten, down to the last bit. The bones are put in a special bag, the Tuv. *kyejik* (< Mo. *kesig*) bag, which is tied to a ritual arrow hanging on the wall of the tent. A live goat is consecrated to the fire.

(m)

According to Potanin, the 'Urianxai' (Tuvinian) fire offering consists of burning fat while holding pieces of cheese and crying *kurui kurui*.²

Analysis

The presence of a shaman in two of the three accounts suggests that the procedure is not an offering to the hearth deity of the tent in the sense understood in Mongolia; in that case the owner of the tent would be expected to officiate.

It is unclear what is understood by 'consecration' of the fire in the first account.³ While no coherent logic emerges from the three accounts, all the elements of which they are made up are identifiable as elements of the Oirad

¹ Corresponding to the Mongol procedure *seter talbiqu* (1.1.2.k).

² In his earlier volume (II:91) Potanin writes that the Soyot and 'Urianxai' perform the same autumn *dalalya* ritual as the Oirad (described under 1.1.2.h). It is not clear whether his two accounts refer to the same Tuvinian ritual, or to two different ones.

³ However a similar ritual is apparently performed by the Tsaatan of Xövsgöl, who are of Tuvinian origin (Badamxatan 1962:15).

dalalya . Only the preservation of the bones is new (analysis under REQ.4.4). If these rituals are indeed borrowed from the Oirad, they provide further evidence that the Oirad hearth-sacrifice-*dalalya* as it may have been performed in the past differs fundamentally from the eastern Mongol ritual, and is difficult to distinguish from other occasional offerings made at, or through the medium of, a fire.

The consecration of an animal after a *dalalya* is recorded for Mongolia, but appears as peripheral to the ritual; here, however, it seems to be essential.

5.2 The eastern Mongol hearth sacrifice

The sacrifice to the Mongol deity of the hearth and its texts have been the subject of a recent doctoral dissertation (Dumas 1987), dealing primarily with the eastern Mongols. The *dalalya* performed after the sacrifice was regarded as a separate ritual, and was not examined in detail.¹

Here only accounts of the ceremony which describe the *dalalya* will be examined.

5.2.1 The accounts

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|--|
| a. | Üzemčün | Duyarsürüng n.d. 117-9 | data taken down by a native in the 1980s |
| b. | Ordos | Mostaert 1962:211-3 | field notes of a scholar from the 1930s |
| c. | Ordos | Narasun 1989:292-8 | ? |
| d. | Khorčün | Kürelbayatur and Urančimeg 1988:289-293 | field notes of a native |
| e. | To the data in the accounts may be added instructions on how the ritual should be performed, included in the MSS of some of the prayers to the hearth deity (<i>yal sudur</i>). The instructions have already been examined by Heissig (1982). | | |

A considerable number of texts for the hearth-prayer are known (c.f. Dumas 1987:30 ff). Many have *dalalya* invocations appended to them, and these are listed

¹ *op. cit.* 108-114.

under TEXT.3.1. An example of the *dalalya* invocation is translated and edited under TEXT.3.2.

(a) *Üzemčin*

The hearth sacrifice takes place on the 23rd of the last winter month, after dusk. A sheep is slaughtered and the breastbone, four long ribs and tibia with knucklebone are prepared. The head of the tent recites the hearth prayer and puts this meat into the fire. The other members of the family offer fat, spread out their skirts, and bow to the fire.

Then the head of the tent takes his *dalalya* pail, filled with cooked grain *amusu*, and circling it with the sun he recites a short *dalalya* invocation.¹

The grain must be eaten up within the following three days. No animals or milk products may be given away during that time. If for some reason the sacrifice could not be made on the correct day, the family must without fail perform it on *qangsi-yin edür*,² the day of *qangsi*.

(b) *Ordos (Mostaert)*

The sacrifice originally took place in the evening on the last day of the year, but has moved to the 23rd or 24th of the last winter month under Chinese influence. All the family are present, and a lay healer-soothsayer, *qara baysi*, officiates in the name of the head of the family.

After the sacrifice and hearth-prayer, the *dalalya* invocation is recited by the *qara baysi* (or, perhaps, by a lama). All present join in the calls of *qurui*, and the head of the family beckons with an arrow and a little bag containing objects which represent prosperity.

Parts of the sacrificial meat are shared out and eaten, or taken next day to close relatives who had not been present. These are called *yal-un kesig*, 'les parts du feu'.³ A feast follows the ceremony.

¹ Text and translation under TEXT.3.3.

² In Ordos, April 5th (DO:336a *xaŋ si*, the day on which burnt offerings of food are made on the tombs of the ancestors (DO:515a). In Khalkha, the day marking the middle of spring, i.e. the middle of the second spring month, which is the day of *qangsi negekü* 'opening the *qangsi*', apparently an astrological term (p.c.). There is no other report of a hearth sacrifice in spring.

³ For the double meaning, the 'benefits of the fire' and the 'portion of the fire', c.f. the chapter on Terminology (TERM.2).

(c) *Ordos (Narasun)*

The sacrifice is made on the 23rd of the last winter month [but apparently without a *dalalya*]. At sunrise on the first day of the new year, each person of the house takes a bowl of the 'food or tea of the *dalalya*', and kneels on a white felt, out of doors. The elder of the family recites the *dalalya* invocation.¹ The people go inside, light the new fire, and perform another sacrifice to the hearth.²

(d) *Khorčin*

The account is confused, and does not clearly distinguish details of the hearth sacrifice *dalalya* from those of the autumn *dalalya* (1.1.2.g).

On the 23rd of the last winter month the head of the family rides around his herd performing the *dalalya* beckoning, then goes indoors and lights a new fire.³ His wife offers meat, fat, alcohol and incense to the fire.

(e) *Instructions in the MSS*

As is to be expected, this data shows some lamaist characteristics; the Mongol herdsmen have no need of written instructions in order to perform their own rituals as their fathers did before them. These MSS may be partly a product of missionizing activity, which sought to introduce lamaist paraphernalia into the native ritual.

The instructions are largely concerned with the ritual requisites, and do not distinguish those necessary for the hearth sacrifice from those to be used in the *dalalya*; this distinction has to be made by comparison with the accounts of the ritual.

A decorated arrow is the object to be waved in the *dalalya* beckoning (Heissig 1982:237). The parts of the sheep to be placed in the *dalalya* pail are the breastbone (decorated), four long ribs, tibia with knucklebone, tip of the fat tail, and part of the large intestine made up into a sausage (*qoškinay-un miqa*, more

¹ A variant of the text edited under TEXT.2.2.

² This account may reflect the ceremonies at Ejen qoruya, where an offering to the hearth of Činggis is made (without *dalalya*) on the first day of the year (Sayinjiryal and Šaraldai 1983:28-38).

The Myangad perform a burnt offering of meat at an outside fire at dawn on the first day of the year. It is addressed to the thirteen Altai and the thirty-three Kōküi (Sonomtseren 1975:62). There is no *dalalya*, and no association with a hearth-sacrifice. Oirad groups also make this offering; it is performed by the men of the camp only, but we do not know what is offered (meat?) or how (by burning?) (Szynkiewicz 1981:77-8). It is to be noted that the Myangad mountain-spirits, like Činggis, stand in the structural position of ancestors.

³ A distortion of the Chinese custom reflected in account (c), in which a new fire is lit on the first day of the year.

often referred to as *čayan miqa*). They are accompanied by grain and milk products, and the pail is covered with a white lambskin (*op. cit.* 232 n.29).

Further details are not provided, but accounts of the ritual indicate that the breastbone will be burnt, possibly accompanied by the ribs (Dumas 1987:282). The other pieces are more likely to represent the meat for the *dalalya*, which will subsequently be eaten by members of the family. The lamb's skin as cover appeared also in the Buryat shaman's 'fire-sacrifice' (4.4); in the Mončooogo Tuvian fire ritual the sheep's own skin was used (5.1.8.k). In the *dalalya* at Ejen qoruya the bones of the sheep are placed on (not under) its own skin (section 6).

A MS discussed by Poppe (1972:176) apparently states that the hearth sacrifice is performed by women (Poppe 1925:140-1). This contradicts the accounts, and seems doubtful in the light of what is now known of the hearth's significance as the symbol of the patrilineage (Dumas 1987:307). However the passage in question seems to *follow* the *dalalya* invocation; this might correspond to the (admittedly confused) Khorčin account (d), but although there is some evidence that women can play a significant part in the Oirad ritual¹, it seems unlikely to be true of eastern Mongolia.

5.2.2 Analysis

Only the first of the accounts included here (and to some extent the second) reflects the typical form of the eastern Mongol hearth sacrifice. The Ordos account (c) reflects a Chinese folk-religious belief; the hearth-god is supposed to leave the house on the 23rd or 24th of the last month and return with the new year, when the fire is lit anew (Mostaert 1962:212). The Mongol hearth-fire, in contrast, is never allowed to go out and never relit, except on nomadizations. This account also reverses the standard sequence of actions, by placing the *dalalya* before, rather than after, the offering. The final account (d) for the Khorčin seems to be a distortion of the same sinicized practice.

The actions of the *dalalya* itself, as described in accounts (a) and (b), seem to be similar to those of independent *dalalya* rituals performed in autumn. The written instructions for the ceremony (e), however, mention a pail of meat, and special meat is shared out in the Ordos ritual (b). The circling of a vessel of meat is

¹ Dörvöd: the wife prepares the pail of meat (1.1.2.h) or beckons with the foreleg (5.1.1.h). Dörvöd-Kalmuck: a shamaness officiates, and the wife makes some of the offerings (4.4). Oirad women are not excluded from public and social life to the same extent as the women of other Mongol groups, but this is perhaps a result of long years of incessant fighting, which meant that adult men were largely absent, and many women were widowed young. It is not clear to what extent their status in the ritual sphere was also affected.

standard practice at the Oirad hearth-sacrifice *dalalya* ; it is not, however, recorded for any eastern Mongol independent *dalalya* performed in autumn.

This ritual is also distinguished from the independent autumn *dalalya* by the fact that it is private, and concerns only the people of one tent¹ (c.f. Dumas 1987:306-7), while the autumn ceremony is often the occasion for a large gathering. It is the head of the family who officiates in the *dalalya* , even where the invocation is recited by a specialist.

It is clear from the Üzemčin account (a) that, although the *dalalya* invocation normally appears in MSS as the continuation of the prayer to the hearth deity, in practice they are recited separately, and the two parts of the ceremony are quite distinct.

The question of the date of the eastern Mongol hearth sacrifice has been analysed by Dumas (*op. cit.* 264 ff), the usual date being near the end of the last winter month. However the western Mongol sacrifice is typically made in autumn (5.1), and it has also been recorded at this time for eastern groups: Chahar, on the second day of the last autumn month, or alternatively at any time *up to* the 23rd of the last winter month (Montell n.d. 144), and Khalkha, last autumn month (Erxembayar 1989). Heissig refers to the last autumn month as an alternative to the last winter month for the performance of the ritual (1970:343).²

These dates, and the partial coincidence of the parts of the sheep placed in the *dalalya* pail (e) with the parts which play a central role in the Oirad sacrifice, may indicate that the ceremonies of the eastern and the western Mongols differed less in the past than appears from these accounts, which are relatively recent.

¹ The Ordos account is exceptional in this respect.

² Larson's reference to the autumn equinox (Sept. 23rd) as the date of the eastern Mongol ritual may be a translator's error; the expression used is *winterliche Tag- und Nachtgleiche* , 'winter equinox', and it seems that the terms equinox and solstice may have been confused (Larson n.d. 150). The English original is not available to me.

6. THE *DALALYA* AT EĖEN QORUTA

The spring ceremony at EĖen qoruya, the shrine of Činggis Khan in the Ordos, has been described a number of times.¹ The public worship of Činggis as ruler and protector of the whole Mongol people takes place on the 21st day of the last spring month, and includes the distribution of portions of meat, and the performance of a *dalalya*.

Although these events are mentioned in the accounts, there is only one detailed published account of the *dalalya*: Sayinĵiryal and Šaraldai 1983:221-5. We have also an eyewitness account of the ceremony as it took place on April 16th 1990.² As this material is about to be published elsewhere, the ritual is dealt with here only briefly.

The text of this *dalalya* has been translated and edited by Serruys.³ It is addressed directly to Činggis, the Khan-father, and shows no similarities to any text known for a *dalalya* on any other occasion.⁴

The published account (the ritual before 1956)

In the evening of the 21st day of the 3rd lunar month an offering is made to the hearth of Činggis, in his tent. It is known as *ĵotai singgegekü*, soaking the *ĵotai* (with offering-alcohol).⁵ According to a personal communication of the author, the term *ĵotai* refers to four folds (in some sources six folds) of the intestines,⁶ *dörben*

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- ¹ Known as the *čayan sürüg*, white herd, a reference to the catching of Činggis' herd of mares and foals for milking. The offerings made are known as the *yeke tayiĵan*, great sacrifice. Analysis and bibliography in Sagaster 1976, especially 204-8 and 346 ff.
- ² I am most grateful to Dr. Elisabetta Chiodo and Prof. Dr. Klaus Sagaster for their kindness in making their materials available.
- ³ 1982, with further comments in 1984:33.
Published variants: Rintchen 1959:91 and 108
Sayinĵiryal *loc. cit.*
A further variant is mentioned by Poppe, 1972:170.
- ⁴ The *dalalya* texts for the annual hearth sacrifice invoke Činggis as Cakravartin, 'turner of the wheel', but not alone; his name occurs among several others, with Śākyamuni Buddha at their head (TEXT.3). The Ruler, as source of worldly wellbeing, or energy (expressed in the image of turning the wheel), is the counterpart of the Buddha, source of heavenly wellbeing, or blessings (Sagaster 1976:318). In spite of their dissimilarity, the hearth *dalalya* texts and the text recited here to Činggis as Ancestor are related on the conceptual level; Cakravartin and Ancestor both embody the same notion of source of energy, promoter of life.
- ⁵ It is possible that this 'soaking' is the procedure observed by Montell at the hearth sacrifice of the Etsingol Torguud; the breastbone and other raw meat of the sheep are placed in the fire, and then immediately doused with alcohol (1945:385 and 5.1.e).
- ⁶ Probably the folded central section of the large intestine: precisely, the centripetal and centrifugal coils of the colon, which have in general six turns, of which the four inner loops are most obvious *in situ* (Getty 1975:904-5).

nuyulyasu-tai gedesü , of the sheep which has been ritually slaughtered earlier in the ceremonies. It is offered to the hearth with cooked grain. Afterwards the tent is anointed (*miliyaqu*).

The tip of the fat tail, the stomach and the duodenum¹ of the sheep are put in the *dalalya* pail. The *kökečin* , a cult official, grasps the right fore-quarter *qa* , which is complete with lower leg and hoof, and beckons with it while he sings the *dalalya* invocation.

The ritual in 1990

The ritual takes place in the evening, before the altar in the back hall of the modern sanctuary building. The skin of the sheep which had been slaughtered in earlier ceremonies is held, around its edges, by six men, the flesh side upwards. On it is a brass vessel with the form of a straight-sided pail; it contains the bones of the sheep, still with meat on them, and cooked grain *amusu* .

The *dalalya* text is recited by a cult official, the *irügelči* (speaker of blessings). The men holding the skin join in the cries of *qurui* , as they circle the skin and vessel (in the horizontal plane): photograph fig. 10. Other participants are kneeling and holding out both hands, palms upward, to make the circular gestures as they also join in the cries (fig. 11). One old man in the photograph holds up the coral² stopper of his snuff bottle. The official who is reciting has the top button of his garment undone, to the side of the chest.³

Afterwards the ritual of anointing the tent is performed. Later, the bones of the sheep are burnt, outside, on three special fires. Nothing should remain.

In the past, this *dalalya* was performed earlier, during the *yarlı* , the private ritual at which Činggis is worshipped by his descendants, on the evening before. The skin was held by only four men, who played an important part in the cult.

According to a Mongol informant, the sheep's skin used to be complete with the head and the four feet; each of the four men grasped one leg (Qurčabayatur p.c.). This conflicts with the published account in which the foreleg of the same sheep

¹ *tuyuraqai* for more usual *qos* , *qoos* (Sayinǰiryal *op. cit.* 137). *Tuyuraqai* is absent from dictionaries, and only modern Khalkha dictionaries list Kh. *xos* , duodenum. The authors note that the stuffing for the intestine, *abid* or *qoškinay* , which is placed in the *dalalya* vessel of ordinary herdsmen at their annual hearth sacrifice, must contain the duodenum, chopped (*ibid.* 221). Tsoloo's dictionary lists spoken Oirad *xotarxā* , duodenum (1988:441), and adds that it is used to stuff the *čayan miqa* , that is the stuffed intestine of the *dalalya* under its more usual name.

² Coral is one of the symbolic nine precious substances *yisün jüil erdeni* ; c.f. REQ.2.2.1 for their role in the *dalalya* .

³ c.f. the garments of the participants in the Buryat shaman's ceremony, 4.4.

figures complete with the foot, and is grasped to be circled in the beckoning gestures.

In a personal communication, Sayinjiryal explains the discrepancies as follows. The *dalalya* to Činggis, and the *dalalya* which used, in the past, to be performed during the private *yarli* ritual on the day before, are two separate and distinct rituals. The *dalalya* to Činggis is to be performed with the foreleg of the sheep, as described in the published account. After the beckoning, the lower leg *sigire* is separated from the rest of the leg and 'offered to the fire' (that is burnt). The meat of the rest of the leg is *dalalyan kesig*, the *kesig* of the *dalalya*; it is given out in portions and eaten.

The performance of the beckoning using, not the leg, but a vessel on the sheep's skin, belongs to the former *dalalya* of the *yarli*, which is now no longer performed as such.¹ The present-day Darxad, who are in charge of the ceremonies, no longer care how they perform the rituals; they muddle the procedures, and do different things from year to year. Before 1956 such laxity would have been unthinkable.

Evidence in texts

Instructions and further texts for the cult of Činggis which mention the *dalalya* have been published in two variants.² They contain a reference to the 'fermented milk (*ayiray*), cooked grain (*amusu*), forequarter with the foot, vital organs (*jüldü* ³), stomach and two kidneys of the *dalalya*'. What is to be done with all these is not made clear; comparison with accounts of Oirad offerings (5.1) suggests that they represent the contents of the *dalalya* vessel, in another, perhaps earlier, version of the ritual.

Commentary

The cult of Činggis is unambiguously an ancestor-cult, whether performed privately by his descendants, or publicly on behalf of the Mongolian people (Sagaster 1976:204).

The offerings of the *yeke tayilya* correspond in many of their details to the *tayilya* of the Buryat (section 8.2); portions of meat are distributed, here known as

¹ c.f. Sayinjiryal *op. cit.* 139. The contents of the vessel *included* the sheep's foreleg with cooked grain, and was given out in portions and eaten by the descendants of Činggis. At this *dalalya* it was forbidden to cry *qurui*; this is absolutely exceptional, and the ritual does not in fact meet the criteria adopted in this thesis for identifying a *dalalya*.

² Rintchen 1959 no. xxxxi (*sic*) p. 87-91, partly translated in Serruys 1984:31 ff. Serruys also translates part of another variant, *op. cit.* 33 ff.

³ For *jülde*; not recognised by Serruys. Definition under REQ.4.6.1.

the *tügel*, 'distribution', and those receiving them formed groups according to clan (*op. cit.* 205-6 and 364-5). However this ceremony differs from both the Buryat *tayilya* and other Mongol *dalalya* rituals in that the meat distributed is *not* the same meat as is circled in the gestures of the *dalalya*. The distribution of portions in this case seems primarily to fulfil the symbolic function of expressing membership of a group. The role of the *dalalya* meat as a carrier of energy bestowed by an ancestor appears now to be forgotten; however the meat clearly functioned in this way in earlier times, when a *dalalya* was performed as part of the private family ritual of the Činggisid, the *yarli*.

The use of the slaughtered animal's hide to support the offering-meat is also recorded for the Erküt clan of the Ordos, who offer goats; the skin, with the head and four feet still attached, is laid out, and the cooked meat of the animal is placed on it. After the offering this same meat is shared out among the participants, and in the evening the bones are burnt (Mostaert 1934:7-8). Old accounts apparently describe sacrificial meat presented on the animal's hide in this way for Tibetan Bon rituals (Tucci 1970:255-6).

That the bones of the sheep must be completely consumed by fire, so that nothing remains, is also stressed for the Kalmuck rituals of the hearth sacrifice (5.1.1.a and b) and the fire-offering of the shamaness (4.4). The Erküt clan perform an offering on the 29th of the last winter month (so corresponding to the timing of the eastern Mongol hearth-sacrifice) at which three special fires are likewise built, but here it is meat, not bones, which is burnt (Mostaert *loc. cit.*).

7. DALALYA PERFORMED IN CONJUNCTION WITH OTHER RITUALS

In parts of eastern Inner Mongolia, a *dalalya* could be performed after any offering (*takilya*). The following list was given by Nima (p.c.):

	<i>dalalya</i> of
<i>Namday sang-un dalalya</i>	- the incense-offering to Namday
<i>Namsarai-yin dalalya</i>	- Namsarai
<i>dörben жүг-үн dalalya</i>	- the four directions
<i>naiman жүг-үн dalalya</i>	- the eight directions
<i>ed kesig-ün dalalya</i>	- material benefits
<i>oboyan takilya-yin dalalya</i>	- the <i>oboya</i> sacrifice
<i>luus-un takilya-yin dalalya</i>	- the sacrifice to the lords of the waters
<i>Nayinai-yin takilya-yin dalalya</i>	- the sacrifice to Nayinai

Of these, the first two correspond to the lamaized form of the autumn *dalalya*, or the *jisya* (1.1). The three which follow are unidentified, but the 'directions' probably refer to the words of the opening section of the typical text for the hearth-sacrifice *dalalya* (TEXT.3.2); variants of this text can also occur at a number of other rituals (c.f. TEXT.6.2, anointing the tethering line, and TEXT.6.3, Oirad offering). The *oboya* sacrifice will be discussed below under 7.2, and Nayinai under 7.3.

The sacrifice to the *luus* was offered for the 'peace and wellbeing of material possessions and the earth and the waters'; details are lacking.¹

For the Khorčin of eastern Inner Mongolia, *dalalya* are recorded at offerings to the following deities:

Looye burqan²

Geser

all kinds of protector deities (*burqan sakiyulsun*)

as well as at the ceremony of *Ĵayayači sergügekü*,³ arousing the *Ĵayayači* (Kürelbayatur and Urančimeg 1988:289-292). Details are lacking.

¹ It may have been a form of the *oboya* sacrifice; for *oboya* sacrifices to the *luus*, here conceptualized as sky dragons, and not water spirits, c.f. Pozdneyev 1978:521-2.

² From Ch. Kuan lao yeh (or Kuan-ti), a Chinese and Manchu warrior deity, who came to be identified both with the Mongol protector deity Sülde tngri, and with Geser Khan, as Geser looye burqan (Heissig 1970:408-410).

³ For the Khorčin shamanistic spirit *Ĵayayači*, protector of the horse-herds, see Heissig 1989:162-8.

The same Khorčin source describes a *dalalya* to 'Sülde burqan'. This seems to refer to Sülde tngri, and is discussed under 7.7 below.

The ceremonies which have been listed belong to the extreme east of the Mongol areas, and show varying degrees of lamaistic or Tibetan influence.

Other sources, which refer to central, northern and western Mongol areas, record the performance of a *dalalya* in the following situations, which seem to be untouched by any foreign influence:

- ceremonies concerning the young of the herds - 7.1
- rituals of shamans - 7.4
- Oirad incense-offering to eternal heaven - 7.5
- Oirad sacrifice to the Altai - 7.5
- setting up the new tent before a wedding - 7.6

The fact that these are native folk-religious rituals does not, however, exclude the possibility that a *dalalya* may have been appended to the native ritual through lamaist influence.

7.1 Ceremonies concerning the young of the herds

A detailed study of the ceremonies and texts for the milking of the mares is about to be published elsewhere; I have kept my comments to a minimum.

7.1.1 Libations of mares' milk

- gegün čačuli* - libations of the mares
- gegün-ü üres [yaryaqu]* - [performing of the ceremony of] the progeny of the mares
- julay*¹ (Ordos)

The mythical precedent for these rituals is Činggis Khan's catching of his mares and foals (*gegüü bariqu*) at the beginning of the milking season, an event perpetuated at Ejen qoruya in the ceremonies of the *čayan sürüg* (section 6). The

¹ *julay*: summer libation ceremony as performed in Ordos, c.f. Bur. *zulag* 'gift', middle Turkic *yuluy* 'ransom, sacrifice' (Poppe 1976:136). It corresponds to the *čačuli* of other areas.

custom is certainly older than this, and represents an offering of the first milk products of the year, made on behalf of the herd.¹

The only texts known for a *dalalya* on this occasion are also from the Ordos,² although Mostaert's description of the Ordos *julay*, a herdmen's folk-religious ritual with a lama performing a *dalalya* at the end (1935:335-6), does not resemble the *čayan süürüg*, which is to be associated not with these *milk* libation ceremonies, but with *meat* sacrifices of the type known to us from the Buryat *tayilya*.

In both of the Ordos texts for the *julay*, the *dalalya* is preceded (as in the Chahar text H VIII) by a short passage for a 'fire-sacrifice', *yal takiqu*, addressing the hearth deity (c.f. Dumas 1987:177-8). It is thus possible that the *julay* for the horses was, in the past, a ritual with the same structure and purpose as the *dalalya* of the camels (3.2): a burnt offering to local spirits at an outside fire, followed by a *dalalya*, in order to promote the fertility of the herd. (The *julay* and the *čayan süürüg* would thus have been far more similar than their present-day forms suggest.) As in the case of the camels, with the passage of time and the influence of lamaism, the procedure would have become confused with the sacrifice to the hearth deity.

A Bayad text³ which accompanies an offering to the local spirits of the mountains and waters at the catching of the mares ends with the following lines:

¹ The terms *čäčuli*, aspersion, and *üres yaryaqu*, 'producing progeny', are used interchangeably for these procedures in the present-day Mongol-language literature. The differences between them seem to be a question of regional custom and of dialect. The basic pattern is as follows: at the first birth of the year among each species herded, a libation is made with the first milk (colostrum) of that mother, and a small ceremony may be held. The date of the offering depends on species: from February (sheep) through to May (horses); it is a spring ritual, and seems to have been universal. It may be combined with a ceremony for setting out the tethering line for the young (see 7.1.2).

In the case of horses only, there is also a libation ceremony at, or soon after, *gegüü bariqu*, the catching of the mares. This is a summer ritual, held in June; it was performed only in those areas where horses were herded in large numbers and *ayiray*, fermented mares' milk or kumiss, was made. The libation is of *ayiray*, and there may be a celebration on a larger scale (fieldwork; Gaadamba and Sampildendev 1988:87-8).

The phrase *üres yaryaqu* is understood today to have as its subject the mares, i.e. to refer to mares giving birth to their young. However the ceremony is performed well after the birth of the foals, and its Oirad name, simply *ürüs*, probably indicates that the verb *yaryaqu* means in this case 'to perform' (the *üres* ceremony), its subject being the people; c.f. Mostaert 1950:303-5 for this sense in the context of sacrifices, as well as in *julay yarqu*, to perform the *julay* libations. My own Dörvöd informant said: Kh. *zuny süül saryn 15-nd ürüs gej garna*, 'they do the *ürüs* on the 15th of the last summer month'.

² TEXT.6.1. The Chahar text which I have listed as 'fire-sacrifice' *dalalya* H VIII (TEXT.3.1) may in fact be intended for this ceremony, as it describes the tethering of the foals.

³ Rintchen 1975 no. XXV p.61-3, Oir. *yaḡar takixu*.

Oir. *tümeni sür sünesün xurui, xurui*
buyan kešiq toqto, toqto, toqtotuyai
 vital force of ten thousand [horses] *xurui, xurui*
 benefits (*buyan kešiq*) become established,
 become established, may they become established

We have no way of knowing whether the actions of a *dalalya* were performed at this point; but the intention is that typically expressed in *dalalya* texts, and the terminology is also typical. The text, addressing local spirits, tends to confirm the suggestion that, in some areas at least, these rituals are closely related to the offerings of the *dalalya* of the camels. The role of the local spirits in Oirad offerings is taken up under 7.5 below.

Although these libation ceremonies are widespread in all areas where *ayiray* (kumiss) is made, there is no other account of a *dalalya* being performed at one, outside the Ordos area. However a painting by Šarav¹ of a feast on this occasion shows a group of high lamas performing a lamaist *dalalya*. They are ignored by the ordinary people, busy with the livestock and the feast. This may indicate that the *dalalya* in this case is a contribution by missionizing lamas, and has no organic connection with the ritual which it accompanies.

An Oirad song to be sung at the feast of the *gegün-ü üres yaryaqu* has been published in two variants.² It describes the performance of a *dalalya* with arrow and vessel, but clearly does not accompany one. It was perhaps sung at a feast of the kind portrayed by Šarav, and should probably be associated with the texts for the blessing of the *dalalya*, *dalalya-yin irügel* (TEXT.10).

The *üres* ceremony can be performed for ewes and cows, as well as mares. Rinchen has published a text for cows followed by garbled instructions to the effect that a *dalalya* is to be performed after the ritual by a shaman.³ It is unlikely that this happened in practice; these herdsmen's rituals were not in the province of institutionalized shamanism, and the instructions must remain unexplained.⁴

¹ Reproduction in Tsültem 1986:pl. 161, 162. Šarav's paintings are considered reliable as ethnographic sources, and depict Khalkha Mongol life at the turn of this century in minute and graphic detail.

² Myangad: Sonomtseren 1975:65. However informants believed that this song was not their own, but a composition by the 19th century lamaist poet Noyan qutuytu Danjinrabjai. Zaxcin: Tsooloo 1987:67 (corrupt version). The singer said that the song could be sung at *any* feast.

³ Rinchen 1959 no. XVI p.33-8.
 Variants: Rinchen 1975 no. X p.21-3 and no. XII p. 32-3; same text, but intended for mares: 1959 no. XXVIII p.54-9.

⁴ Particularly as, according to Rinchen, it is the official text used by a monastery for its own herds. A high lama writes that the *dalalya* is a shaman's ritual (Hyer and Jagchid 1983:60); perhaps this was a widespread stereotype among the clergy. Identical instructions are appended

7.1.2 Anointing the tethering-line, *kögene miliyaqu*

The tethering-line for young lambs and kids¹ or its posts are smeared with milk fats before it is first used each year. 'Anointing' is recorded for other occasions of first use (for example a new tent); here it should probably be associated with the making of offerings by smearing fat, typically on the support of an ancestor-spirit.

The Dörvöd of Türgen *sum* call the ceremony *kögene-yin bayar*, festivity of the tethering-line. It takes place in the middle spring month (about March), and is a small private celebration within the camp. The people rejoice and drink *uyuray*, colostrum or the first milk given after the lambs are born. No *dalalya* is associated with the occasion (fieldwork 1989).

We have only a single text² which makes such an association; it seems to be of Oirad origin. In the text the *dalalya* is clearly separated from the words for the anointing, and is a garbled version of the lamaized texts for the hearth-sacrifice *dalalya*; it seems to be an addition to the folk-ritual made under lamaist influence. It is unlikely that a lama was present; the ceremony is a small one, and the meat and alcohol which characterize major rituals are not served, since spring is a time of great hardship. It is possible indeed that this *dalalya* was never performed in reality, but that a lama copyist decided to 'sanctify' a manifestly irreligious text on paper by appending a lamaized *dalalya* to it.

Neither the ritual nor the text show any similarity to the spring *dalalya* examined in sections 2 and 3.

7.2 The *oboya* sacrifice, *oboya takiqu*

In lamaized environments a *dalalya* was frequently performed after a sacrifice to local and other spirits at the ritual cairn, *oboya*.³ The officiants were lamas, and decorated arrows were used (Bawden 1958:38). The only texts known for these *dalalya* are lamaist literary compositions (TEXT.9).

Among the Bayad, the beckoning of the *dalalya* on these occasions was performed by the elders of the group, holding in their hands milk-products or a

to the preceding text in Rinchen's later volume, a *dalalya* of the camels (1975:20). Were both texts taken down by the same copyist?

¹ Described under REQ.4.7.

² Translated and edited under TEXT.6.2.

³ It is also recorded for the Tuvanian *oboya* sacrifice (Wasilewski 1978:92-3).

bowl of milk-tea, to the accompaniment of a prayer read in Tibetan by lamas¹ (fieldwork 1989).

The offerings for the ceremony as described in Bawden's lamaist sources correspond closely to those of the lamaized part (*ḡisiya*) of the Ūzemčġn autumn *dalalya* (1.1.1), and elements from them also appear in a number of the other accounts; they seem to represent a form of lamaist sacrifice standard for Mongolia. A white carpet or cloth is spread, an image of the relevant protector-deity is set up, and offerings of foods, ornaments and decorated arrows are laid out. In the present ritual the purpose of the arrows as expressed in the text is to 'distill long life and felicity' (*op. cit.* 33, 38).

The *oboŷa* ceremony in this form is regarded as a deliberate attempt to incorporate Mongol folk-religious elements into lamaist ritual, with the intention of making it more attractive to the people (*op. cit.* 40). It is, however, at the same time based on the structure of the lamaist *sādhana* ritual, in which sacrifice is followed by requests, i.e. the *dalalya*.²

The *dalalya* seems to emerge here as a means of appropriating, for men, the supernatural benefits released through the foregoing acts of worship.

7.3 The *dalalya* of Nayinai³

There is one account only. Several texts are known for the sacrifice to this deity (*Nayinai-yin maytayal*, praise-invocation of Nayinai), but they are not specific to the *dalalya*, which follows the sacrifice.

¹ From a herdsman, E. Daš of Tes *sum*, born in 1921.

² c.f. an analysis of the influence of this ritual on the structure of the Mongol hearth-sacrifice with *dalalya*, Dumas 1987:91-6.

³ I have analysed the cult of Nayinai in greater detail elsewhere (Chabros n.d.). I am most grateful to Mr. Nima, Peking, for this description.

7.3.1 The account

Nayinai,¹ or *emegen burqan*, 'old-woman deity', is concerned with the birth and rearing of children. She is responsible for deciding where a child is to be born, and for sending its soul into the mother.

The Khorčin sacrifice to her on *ulayan tergel edür*, 'the day of the exposed full (moon)', on the 16th of the first summer month.² The offerings take place at an *oboja* dedicated to Nayinai, or at a particular tree,³ decorated with streamers. A respected elder officiates (though once it would have been a shaman); everyone brings specially-made cakes, and gathers with their children. Offerings of food and alcohol are made. Elders standing at the *oboja* throw the cakes down from it, and the children scramble for them and fight over them (*buliyaldun güyüldücegedeg yum*); the cakes have been transformed into the favour (benefit) of Nayinai, *kesig bolju qubiračiyсан*.

Whether or not a child manages to grab some cakes from the others determines whether that year will be good or bad for him; it is so important that sometimes parents throw themselves into the fray to help.

The *dalalya* follows the sacrifice; it seems to take place between the offerings of food to Nayinai and the throwing of the food back to the children. An exotically decorated arrow is used in the beckoning.

7.3.2 The ritual

The structure of the ritual which emerges here, in which the offering is accompanied by the praising of the deity, and followed by the implicit request of the *dalalya*, corresponds to the structure of the lamaist *oboja* sacrifice. Nima seems in this account to consider the *dalalya* as a procedure for appropriating the 'return' in the context of an exchange with a deity; accordingly it would be possible to perform a *dalalya* after any offering, to any deity.

¹ < Ch. *nai-nai* 'grandmother', a word which the Chinese use to address a number of folk-deities, for example the goddess Pi-hsia yüan-chün, who likewise sends children. I am most grateful to Dr. B. ter Haar for this information.

² The old Mongol summer festival at the first full moon of summer (Sagaster 1976:351). In Khalkha and western Mongolia this is a favourite night for playing the game *čayan modu*, 'white stick', which has been interpreted as a form of fertility ritual (Kabzińska-Stawarz 1980:123-4). For *ulayan*, red, in the sense 'exposed, bare', c.f. Kh. *ulaan nüüreeree učrax*, to greet in person (face to face); *ulaan nütsген*, stark naked.

³ *modu*; I translate 'tree' and not 'pole' since foliage is mentioned. It is not clear whether the tree is a naturally growing one, or is set up for the purpose.

This ritual is performed explicitly for the wellbeing of existing children. The struggling of the children for pieces of the offering-food was analysed under 5.1.4; the present account is the most violent of those available, and makes clear that the scramble is not a game. The pieces of food represent portions of vital energy which are passed to the children; the notion is reflected in texts for the hearth-sacrifice *dalalya*, which call for the 'vital force and benefits' *sür sünesün buyan kesig* of children.¹ Since Nayinai is also responsible for providing the souls, *sünesü*, of children as yet unborn, it is possible that these too are hoped for from this ritual.²

7.3.3 Manchu-Tungus parallels

According to Nima, legends about Nayinai are widespread among the Evenk (p.c.). A deity with her attributes, called in Manchu Omosi mama or Xuturi mama,³ is recorded for several Manchu-Tungus groups (Shirokogoroff 1935:128). The offering to her is called Ma. *hôturi baimbi*, 'das Glücksgebetsopfer verrichten', or requesting good-fortune. It is performed at a specially set up and decorated willow tree, for the sake of children and descendants. A ritual arrow, Ma. *debse*,⁴ is used, and the children present are given amulets to wear. The officiant seems to be a shaman (Meyer 1982:179 ff, material dated c. 1700).⁵

The rituals for Nayinai and for Omosi mama are clearly closely related, but it is not at present possible to say whether one is derived from the other, or whether both go back to an earlier Altaic practice.⁶ It seems likely that both rituals address

¹ *qormai dügürčü bayiqu keliked-ün sür sünesün buyan kesig minu, a qurui qurui*, RI XIV, see TEXT.3.2.

² For a *dalalya* performed explicitly to obtain the birth of a son, see TEXT.4.1 (note). A Tibetan folk-religious deity Ne-ne, the protector-spirit of Geser and his mother, is called upon by waving the same ritual arrow as is used in the 'beckoning of good-fortune' (Stein 1956:74). Whether Ne-ne is to be associated with Nayinai is doubtful, however.

³ Ma. *xuturi* (*hôturi*), 'good-fortune'; the root is that of Old Turkic *qut*, with connotations of 'life-force', and consequently 'soul', see TERM.2.

⁴ Exactly what is done with it is not clear, but c.f. Pentaglot:661, where Ma. *debse* = Mo. *dalaly-a*; both terms refer to the arrow (see TERM.3).

⁵ I am most grateful to Lisha Li for the information that this ritual is still performed today by shamans in Manchuria, after every important clan ceremony or sacrifice. Like the *dalalya* in this case, it thus seems to represent the appropriating of the 'return' granted (probably) by the ancestors, via the patroness deity of children. No ritual arrow is now used.

⁶ The similarities in the structure of the two rituals are brought out by further data in Meyer 1989:235-6:

Manchu:	1. set up and decorate tree, perform 'willow-sacrifice'
	2. perform Ma. <i>hôturi baimbi</i>
Khorčin:	1. decorate tree, make offerings
	2. perform <i>dalalya</i> for <i>kesig</i>

the same deity, under different names, and are intended to promote the vital force or 'souls' of present and future children.¹

7.4 Shamans' rituals

There are no accounts of these rituals; only the slight evidence of the Buryat and Darxad texts listed under TEXT.6.1 is available. The accounts of two *dalalya* performed by a shaman(ess) and described as a 'fire-sacrifice' have already been analysed under 4.4.

Buryat

The Alar Buryat text, which addresses the blacksmith-deity *Güjir tengri* and other deities, is heavily lamaized, although *Damdinsürüng* entitles his variant 'shaman's invocation'. A section in the middle of the prayer may belong to a form of *dalalya*: requests for *arban buyan kesig-i*, the ten benefits, and for the vital force, *sür sünesün*, of a son and of the herds, are followed by the cry *ai qurui*. We do not know on what occasion the text was used.

Poppe's Khorï Buryat oral invocation is likewise for an unknown occasion, but it seems to belong to a herdsmen's *dalalya* of the kind performed in autumn by the eastern Mongols. Although there is no phraseological similarity to other autumn *dalalya* texts, the same fundamental requests are made, for increase in the herds and for children.

As in the Khorï ritual described in 4.4 and in the Buryat text for the returning birds (2.1), the term *dalalya* does appear here, perhaps under Khalkha influence; however the term used in Buryat for the circular gestures as they are performed in the context of the *tayilya* is not *dalalya*, but a dialect form of *quruyilaqu*. Poppe's

¹ Omsanmama, the corresponding deity of the Nanai, is the guardian of the soul-tree of each clan, in which the souls of its unborn children live in the form of little birds (Smoljak 1978:440). The deity sends the bird-souls to women. Another account of the offering to *Nayinai* (without a *dalalya*) seems to reflect this belief: after the ritual any bride who wants a son should take home a little bag which was hanging with the decorations in the tree (*Kürelbayatur* and *Urančimeg* 1988:119); c.f. the role of the little bag in the *dalalya* ritual (REQ.4.4).

The soul-tree seems to be a representation of the potential dimension of the clan, source of that circulating life-principle which is embodied in each actual member. This complex of beliefs, which associates births with the coming of little birds, may have contributed to the particular significance of the arrival of the migrating birds in spring, c.f. the *dalalya* of the birds, section 2.

text in fact has both terms:

Bur. *xan xišgei tengerhē*
 altan sagān dalalga xurīlnabi ¹
 from the king *tenger* of benefits (*xišeg* = Mo. *kesig*)
 I 'qurui' the golden white *dalalga*

No other deity or being is addressed. The ritual probably reflects both the greater importance of herding in the Khori economy (in comparison with western Buryat groups), and the influence of Khalkha and other eastern Mongol elements introduced by immigration.

Darxad

One variant of this oral text, which was taken down from a shaman, is entitled: Darxad 'xuraelya which is performed (Darxad *xuraelday*) at the end of a shaman's sacrifice'. It calls on lamaized protector-deities to be present, with the cry Darxad *xurae*, but has no other characteristics of a *dalalya*. The Darxad term *xuraelya* (< *xuraelax* = Mo. *quruyilaqu*) is not recorded elsewhere.

It is not clear why the deities should be summoned after, rather than before, the offering; it seems that the invitation to the deity which precedes a lamaist offering, and the summoning of benefits in the *dalalya* which follows it, have been confused and merged.² The call 'xurae' seems to represent little more than a cry of encouragement here.

The syncretism of these rituals has reached a stage so advanced that their original logic is quite obscured.³ The evidence suggests that the *dalalya* ritual as known in Khalkha and Inner Mongolia was never in the province of institutionalized shamanism, and that latterly at least, the shamans are imitating the lamas.

The shamanist offerings described under 4.4 should be associated rather with sacrifices of the type exemplified by the Buryat *tayilya* (8.2). These are indisputably native rituals, although they too have been to some extent distorted by lamaist influence.

¹ Transcription simplified.

² c.f. the structure of the *sādhana* ritual, Dumas 1987:96 (note).

³ The syncretism of the Darxad ritual is examined in Bawden 1987:28-32.

7.5 Oirad offerings

We have seen that Oirad *dalalya* differ fundamentally from those of the eastern Mongols, both in the context of the hearth sacrifice, where offering and *dalalya* tend not to be clearly distinct, and as occasional rituals which follow a similar pattern (5.1 and 4.4).

Oirad texts which include *dalalya* passages are known for an incense-offering, *sang*, to eternal heaven, and an offering, *takil*, to the thirteen Altai and the thirty Kükö.¹ No description of the rituals is available, although they can be reconstructed to some extent by reference to other sources.

7.5.1 Incense-offering to eternal heaven

There is nothing specifically Oirad about this ritual, addressed to the principal deity of the Mongols Mōngke tngri, Oir. Mōngkö tenggeri, who is asked in turn to make joyful the spirits of the earth, the local places and the waters, Oir. *ötögün eke tergüüten xamuq yazar usun bā nayıman lusun xād*.

The term *sang* (< Tib. *bsangs*) and the lamaist formulae which open and close the prayer indicate that it accompanies a lamaized offering to a native deity. The *dalalya* passage follows the prayer to eternal heaven, and invokes different, lamaist, deities; the ritual seems to have the structure already familiar from the eastern Mongol hearth sacrifice, of an offering followed by clearly separate *dalalya* actions.

We have no other example of a *dalalya* accompanying the cult of Mōngke tngri, apart from a Bayad variant of this same text, also addressing Atātu tenggeri. The *dalalya* for anointing the tethering-line (7.1.2), which may also be from the Oirad, presents a similar structure in that a separate lamaized *dalalya* invocation follows a folk-religious ritual which would not normally be associated with a *dalalya*.

7.5.2 The offering to the thirteen Altai and the thirty Kükö

This specifically Oirad ritual is addressed to the spirit-owners of the mountains of western Mongolia. Its structure contrasts with that indicated in the first text; the *dalalya* merges with the prayer, and is addressed to those same spirits, not to other deities.

¹ Described under TEXT.6.3, with translation and edition of the *dalalya* section from the first text.

The *dalalya* performed by hunters are, similarly, addressed to the Qangyai forest-mountain (4.1); however in the present case the mountains are not, primarily, givers of game, but function as general protector-spirits of the men and herds on their territory, in keeping with the prevailing ideology of herding.

The 'thirteen Altai' are a stereotype of Oirad oral literature, and do not refer to thirteen actual peaks.¹ The thirty Kükö, probably a copyist's error for Kökü, should be understood similarly. Oir. *Kökii* is used as a collective term for the mountains in northern Oirad dialects,² in much the same way as 'Altai', and appears in the name of a number of actual mountains, principally the Xan Xöxii (Mo. Qan Köküi) range of Uvs *aimag*.³

The present text was probably recited on an occasion such as the sacrifice to the Xan Xöxii offered in Uvs, on behalf of a whole banner, in the middle autumn month (Tatar 1976:11), or on behalf of an individual camp before the early summer milk libation ceremony *gegün-ü üres yaryaqu* (Humphrey 1981:79).⁴

A widespread mode of address to a mountain in a non-lamaized context such as this is the *ayula-yin maytayal*, praise-invocation of the mountain. Such an invocation to the Xan Xöxii, which was recited in Uvs at feasts, refers to the mountains as Kh. *xišgiig xuraagč*, 'who gather benefits' (Sampildendev 1987:232). The concept of the mountain as ancestor-protector,⁵ in whom is concentrated the vital force (*kesig*) which animates men and herds, emerges clearly here.⁶

It seems that the appearance of a *dalalya* in the course of the present ritual may be a function of the identity of the beings to whom the offering is addressed, the local mountain-spirits. This contrasts with the situation presented in the offering to eternal heaven, where the *dalalya* seems to have been added to the end of the existing ritual through foreign influences.

¹ c.f. Tsoloo 1987 *passim*. The Mončooogo Tuvinians do, however, identify them with particular mountains (Taube 1972:121).

² c.f. the song *Öndör xöxiin ölkön*, On the southern slopes of the high Xöxii (Tsoloo 1987:87). The word may be related to Mo. *kökü*, breast.

³ See also Taube *ibid.* for Tuv. *gögej* as a term for sacred mountains (in general).

⁴ It is hard to say whether the coincidence of the first date with the usual date for an autumn *dalalya* (1.2) is significant; this is a time of year when feasts and celebrations proliferate.

⁵ The consciousness of this relationship survives today; a young west Khalkha intellectual maintains that, just as he thinks continually of the mountains of his home territory, so they are thinking of him (p.c.).

⁶ That the concept has its basis in the ideology of hunting is demonstrated in the Oirad *Altai-yin maytayal*, praise-invocation of the Altai, sung before the hunt in order to obtain the *kesig* represented in the game (Sampildendev 1985:112).

This conclusion does, however, allow a reinterpretation of the first ritual, in that it, too, invokes the local spirits of the earth and waters, albeit indirectly. The performance of *dalalya* actions at the ritual may well be motivated by the reference to the ever-present local spirits, who are of fundamental importance in Oirad folk-religion, rather than by the powerful but distant eternal heaven who receives the offering. The fact that the *text* of the *dalalya* addresses lamaist deities, and not the local mountains,¹ may be the result of phraseological contamination, in which the well-known *words* for the hearth-sacrifice *dalalya* have been added to a native ritual which in fact already encompassed the *actions* of a *dalalya*. It is perhaps not without significance that these words follow almost immediately after the reference to the local spirits.

The action of *quruyilaqu*, that is the circular gesture accompanied by cries of *qurui*, which has been adopted as the defining characteristic of the *dalalya*, emerges in the Oirad context as a component of contacts with the supernatural which is not necessarily confined to formal *dalalya* rituals. The supernatural world is represented in these cases by the spirit-owners of the mountains and waters, the local spirits who, although now generalized, were in earlier times regarded as spirits of the ancestors of the lineage.

Quruyilaqu is thus a mode of communication with the 'other' dimension of the lineage, the source of that circulating vital principle which enlivens its living members.² We do not know what object (if any) was circled in the gesture in these Oirad cases; other Oirad evidence suggests that it would have been meat from the animal offered,³ which would function as a receiver of the vital energy to be obtained.

Among the Oirad and the Buryat,⁴ where the ideology, if not the reality, of a clan-based society persisted longer, this use of *quruyilaqu* seems to have been preserved to some extent. The remaining Mongol groups know it only in the context of hunting, which is particularly resistant to change (4.1); in other areas of ritual the actions seem to have been formalized, perhaps partly through lamaist influence, to emerge as an autonomous ritual, the *dalalya*.

¹ A *dalalya* may also be associated with the cult of mountains in a purely lamaist context, c.f. TEXT.9; however this perhaps owes as much to the Tibetan mountain-cult as to native Mongol concepts.

² A possible corollary of the wider role of the Oirad '*dalalya*' in expressing a relationship with local ancestor spirits are the frequent references to its object, *kesig*, and especially *mal-un kesig*, the benefits of the livestock, in Oirad texts which are not associated with *dalalya*-type rituals. These texts are discussed further under TEXT.6.4.

³ c.f. 5.1 and 4.4, and the Oirad offering to the earth and the waters for which instructions are given in Rintchen 1975 no. XX (b) p.56.

⁴ The Buryat case is discussed under 8.2 below.

7.5.3 *Quruyilaqu* at a feast

A recent film shows the feast held at the end of hay-cutting in Tarialan *sum* of Uvs *aimag*, a Dörvöd area (Badraa n.d.).¹ The feast is formally opened by a kind of *dalalya*, after the elder presiding has made an offering of the first pieces of meat, *degeji*, by throwing them into the air. A fine speaker, *irügelči*, recites a short blessing expressing the wish for abundant hay, and ending with the cry *qurui*. He circles the bowl of fermented mares' milk and the ceremonial scarf *qaday*, which are the usual requisites of a *irügelči* (but not of an officiant in a *dalalya*), and the people sitting round echo the cry and circle their own bowl of drink or whatever they happen to be holding. Dancing and feasting follow.²

Although the film is made with great attention to detail, it would have been impossible, at the time it was made, to portray any religious act. We therefore do not know whether a *dalalya* was genuinely performed in this way, or whether the director is presenting an amalgam of 'folk customs' in which elements of the offerings to local spirits described above, or of the autumn *dalalya* ritual, have been 'borrowed' and secularized, for instance by replacing the officiant with a *irügelči*.³

7.6 Putting up the new tent

For every wedding a new tent is provided by the groom's side, except in cases of real poverty. An existing family may occasionally put up a new tent, to replace one which has become unuseable with age.

¹ Hay-cutting has been promoted recently by the herding collectives. It is possible that the original model for the film was a feast held after the harvest; this is a traditional grain-growing area.

² c.f. also the feasts after Oirad milking ceremonies, 7.1.1.

³ Those taking part in the film are not actors, but local Dörvöd, Xoton and Bayad members of a non-professional folklore group.

7.6.1 The accounts

Only two accounts mention a *dalalya* for the tent:

- | | | | |
|----|---------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| a. | Oirad ? | Ayuuš 1982:70 | fieldwork of Mongol ethnographer |
| b. | Torguud | Wasilewski 1978:94 | fieldwork of ethnographer |

(a)

A lama is invited to perform a *dalalya* at the ceremony Kh. *ger bürelge* , fitting out the tent, before a wedding.

The writer implies that the custom was general, although his paper refers to the Oirad, and the term Kh. *ger bürelge* is said to be specific to the Oirad.¹ However other accounts of the ceremony do not mention the presence of any lama.

(b) *Torguud of Bulgan sum*

The action of *quruyilaqu* (the circular gesture and cry *qurui*) is performed at the ceremony *sine ger bariqu* , setting up the new tent, after the fire has been lit for the first time.

(c) *Evidence in texts*

No texts for this *dalalya* are recorded. However some texts for the blessing of the new tent, *ger-ün irügel* , contain terminology which might associate them with a *dalalya* .

A lamaized blessing ends with a request for *kesig* , and the cry *qurui* (Rintchen 1959 no. VI p. 6-9).² This text is not representative of the genre, however, which seems to be free of lamaist influence.

Two unlamaized Oirad texts for the tent refer to the *kesig* of herds, children, milk products and other goods. One is a blessing, *irügel* (Dörvöd, Tserel 1964:92-3), while the other is for the anointing of the new tent (Bayad, Tsooloo 1987: 515-7). Although a good many of these texts have been published, mainly from eastern Mongolia, none of the others seem to share this terminology; it may be specific to the Oirad.

¹ This is unsupported.

² A similar heavily lamaized text (unpublished) for a new house, with repeated cries of *qurui* , is noted by Heissig and Bawden 1971:129-30.

7.6.2 Analysis

The participation of lamas at a Mongol wedding is not usual; even in Pozdneyev's time, when the influence of lamaism was ubiquitous, only the rich invited them (1978:564).

The form taken by the complex series of procedures which make up a Mongol wedding varies widely from one group to another. In general the establishment of the new tent includes:

- | | |
|--|---|
| setting up the empty tent | - <i>sine ger bariqu</i> |
| anointing the new tent | - <i>ger miliyaqu</i> |
| filling the tent with furnishings | - Kh. <i>ger bürelge</i> , Kh. <i>bürtgel</i> |
| the feast of the new tent | - <i>ger-ün nayir</i> |
| lighting the hearth fire for the first time | |
| the making of an offering to the hearth fire | |

In most areas these events take place a few days before the wedding proper (not necessarily all at the same time), but among the Oirad as much as a year in advance.

The blessing, *irügel* , for the new tent is apparently not recited on these occasions, but at the wedding itself, by a member of the bride's party, since it represents an inventory of the furnishings which the bride's side has provided (Xorloo 1969:41-2; Sampildendev 1985:155-6).

Two distinct offerings are made with parts of a sheep specially killed: the components of the tent are smeared with fat or meat, *ger miliyaqu* , and the first portion *degeji* is offered to the hearth fire (Sampildendev *ibid.*). The *dalalya* actions performed after lighting the Torguud fire (b) may thus be simply the result of 'contamination' from the annual ritual of the hearth sacrifice, with its following *dalalya* .¹ In the light of other Oirad offerings with which *dalalya* actions are associated, however, the procedure could be understood as establishing a connection between the new tent (synonymous with a new family) and the ancestor-spirits of the group (c.f. 7.5). The other report (a), in which a lama figures, remains unexplained, and its perhaps not reliable.

The two Oirad folk-texts likewise reflect the more direct relationship of the Oirad with the sources of life which grant them children and prolific herds.²

¹ After describing the hearth-sacrifice with *dalalya* of the Dörvöd-Kalmuck (5.1.1.b), Bergmann states that the same ceremony, *yal tayiqu* , is performed at a wedding (1804, III:181). His description of the wedding, however, does not mention *dalalya* actions, saying only that part of a sheep is offered to the fire with prayers (*op. cit.* 150). This refers to the fire of the new tent, and is not to be confused with the offering made by a bride to the hearth of her father-in-law in other Mongol areas. The occasion seems to correspond to the Torguud account (b); if a *dalalya* was in fact performed, which Bergmann omits from his brief account, it would suggest that the occasion is a major offering in its own right, and represents neither a routine offering of the *degeji* , nor a confusion with the regular annual hearth-sacrifice.

² For the Dörvöd text see further REQ.4.7.2.

7.7 The cult of Sülde tngri

There is one account of a *dalalya* performed in this context:

Khorčin Kürelbayatur and Urančimeg 1988:291-2.

Texts known for the ritual also suggest that a *dalalya* was performed (TEXT.6.1).

The Khorčin ritual is called *sülde burqan-u dalalya*. Nine white horses are adorned and purified with incense, before being ridden around the herds in the direction of the sun's movement, to the accompaniment of auspicious words. One man is holding a *dalalya* vessel. Rare and strange objects found in the steppe, *tngri-yin sumu*, 'projectiles of heaven', are used to perform the circular gesture with the cry *qurui*, for the sake of material benefits: *ed buyan quruyiladay*.

Meanwhile lamas are praying separately.

The account reflects an essentially Tibetan cult, in which the riders represent Sülde tngri and his eight warrior companions in the form of the Tib. *dGra-lha* (Heissig 1981:84,101). At the same time the action of riding around the assembled animals is reminiscent of the autumn *dalalya* ritual as performed by the Üzemčin and the Kharčin (1.1.a,b).

The expression *tngri-yin sumu* refers normally to such objects as fragments of meteorite or prehistoric bronzes and arrow-heads, which are believed to fall from heaven. In a later passage, however, the writers refer to the decorated *dalalya* arrow as *tngri-yin sumu*, 'arrow of heaven'. There seems to have been confusion here between the alternative meanings of *sumu*, 'projectile' and 'arrow'. The objects can perhaps be associated with the weapons and armour which appeared as requisites in the cult of Sülde tngri (Heissig *op. cit.* 100).

The structure of the texts makes clear that the *dalalya* follows the invitation to the deity to be present, and the offering itself. Like the *dalalya* at the *oboŷa* sacrifice, it probably appears here through the influence of the lamaist *sādhana* ritual.

8. RITUALS ANALOGOUS TO THE DALALYA

8.1. Calling the soul, *sünesü dayudaqu*

The healing procedure of calling the soul is widely known, and is not confined to Mongolia.¹ It rests on the belief that the cause of illness or malaise is the loss of the patient's detachable soul, *sünesü*, which may have wandered off, been driven out when its owner suffered a fright, or been taken by a malevolent spirit. The cure consists in returning the soul to its place; in Mongol areas this is achieved by addressing the soul directly and calling it back, with beckoning gestures and repeated cries of *qurui*.²

An analysis of the procedure and the existing literature lies outside the scope of this thesis; here only its relationship with the *dalalya* will be considered.

8.1.1 Formal characteristics

The formal similarity of the two rituals has been pointed out by Bawden (1962:93-4).³ Both act upon an aspect of vital energy or 'soul'; in the present case it is that of an individual, while the *dalalya* usually concerns a group, including its herds, but may concern an individual in certain circumstances (for example the ritual for a new mother, 4.3.2).

An essential distinction seems to lie in the situation which precedes the ritual. Calling the soul is an answer to an exceptional situation of illness; it is performed in order to restore the status quo by regaining lost energies. The *dalalya* is performed to obtain *kesig*, 'benefits', representing a portion of new energy, or an increased life-potential; it is not normally an answer to a specific crisis (although see the ritual of the Kalmuck shamaness, 4.4).

¹ c.f. Ch. *chao-hun*, Ma. *fayangga hólambi*, Tib. *bla-'gug*. The procedure seems to have been known in all Mongol groups, and ranged from elaborate lamaist ceremonies to folk-religious rituals performed by a mother for her child. It also exists (up to the present) as a spontaneous reaction to fright; one sketches the circular gesture and mutters *qurui* three times (Hamayon 1971:182). Among those groups in which shamanism was institutionalized, calling the soul was partly replaced by séances in which the shaman set out into the spirit-world and retrieved the soul himself (Buryat, Evenk).

² A lamaist ritual with the same name is performed over a dead body, and the two are not always clearly distinguished in the literature (c.f. Poppe 1972:192-3).

³ See further 1970:151-2, and Poppe 1940:98 n. 144, who considers the two to be the same ritual.

An account of a Nanai shaman's healing song, taken down in 1909, provides a key to the relationship between the two rituals. The text (which shows no trace of lamaist influence) contains the repeated phrase 'come to yourself!';¹ the shaman seems to address the patient and his missing soul simultaneously (Diószegi 1972:122-7). This phrase brings out the circularity of the process of recovery, which is analogous to the circularity expressed in the *dalalya* of the hunters calling for game to replace what they have killed, and in the slaughtering *dalalya* where the cattle are called to return, in the form of their rebirths, to their own allotted places (TEXT.7 and 8).

The call for the soul, Nanai *pañan* (c.f. Ma. *fayangga*), is combined in Diószegi's text with a call for the Nanai *kesie* of the man (= Mo. *kesig*), translated here 'happiness', but referring rather to that portion of vital energy which is his own; it is essentially one and the same thing which is being summoned. The evidence of this song suggests that calling the soul and the *dalalya* are based on identical notions of the nature of life, but reflect differing concepts of the supernatural. Calling the soul implies the concept of an individual vital force which exists as a distinct entity, able to fly about outside its support. This suggests that the ritual is a secondary development, and is to be associated with notions of a complex spirit-world around and above the world of men. The *dalalya*, especially in its more basic forms as performed after hunting or slaughtering, implies an undifferentiated vital force, a circulating principle of which the individual being partakes, but which is not in any sense individualized.

The alternative names recorded for the procedure of calling the soul confirm that the people involved associate it closely with the *dalalya* :

	<i>sünesü dalalqu</i>	beckoning the soul	(Bawden 1962:91)
Bur.	<i>hünehe xurilxa</i>	'qurui'-ing the soul	(Sandschejew 1927:580)

8.1.2 Requisites

The requisites employed in lamaized forms of calling the soul coincide with those for the *dalalya* : a vessel of grain, a flawless feathered arrow with ritual scarves tied to it, a 'leg of meat' or the left foreleg and shoulder, *qa*, of a sheep.²

In a Tibetan variant of the ceremony, the meat of the foreleg, called the 'soul-leg', is eaten by the patient (Lessing 1951:274). This suggests that the soul may

¹ The terminology is analysed under TERM.1.4.2 in the context of the cry *qurui*.

² Bawden 1962:100, 1970:152; Lessing 1951:267 for a Tibetan text from the Kokonor area. In the Oirad *dalalya* the foreleg is necessarily the *right* leg.

return to its owner by way of the leg, and mirrors the Oirad *dalalya* rituals in which benefits are absorbed by consuming the meat of the sheep's foreleg (5.1.1.a,h). In a Buryat variant, the soul returns by way of a red cord which leads into the house from a tree outside, and is tied to the ritual arrow. The arrow is in a pail held by the shaman, who circles it while he calls the soul with cries of '*a xuruj*' (Sandschejew 1927:580). The actions correspond to those of Oirad *dalalya* rituals in which benefits enter the tent by means of a cord (4.4.1, 5.1.1.b, 1.1.2.i).

The Torguud of Tarbagatai who are now settled in Bulgan *sum* carry the tibia, *čimüge*, of a sheep around the tent¹ of a sick person when his soul is being called. If a child is ill, his own 'personal' tibia (see 4.3.2) is placed on the altar while a '*dalalya*' is performed, and then carried round the tent by the mother (Szyrkiewicz 1989:381-2); this ritual seems in fact to be a form of calling the soul, and the bone may represent a seat of the (exterior) soul, while in the adult's ritual the soul possibly returns by way of the bone, which acts as a 'receiver'.

A Tümed Mongol of Hulun Buir remembers the ritual performed for him by his mother in the 1940s, after he had been badly frightened. Two cups of water were put out, and the mother recited a long text, holding a bundle of ten chopsticks. She circled the sticks three times to each of the four cardinal directions, with cries of *qurui*, and then asked the child three times if his soul had come back. At the third question he had to answer 'yes' (p.c.). This undoubtedly had a reassuring effect on the child. The chopsticks, like the tibia, probably functioned as a 'receiver'.

8.1.3 Reviving the dead

In Mongolia and south Siberia life and death, as states of being, are not necessarily sharply distinguished; death itself is not irreversible, but represents a transitory state (Lot-Falck 1953:202). Episodes in the Mongol epic in which the dead hero is brought back to life are not to be interpreted as miraculous events; they are rather a reflection of beliefs about the actual nature of life.

In a Buryat epic, the bones of the dead Hero are reconstituted as his (lifeless) body when the Princess steps over them;² life is restored when she performs a *dalalya* with her tamarisk-wood whip,³ with cries of *qurui*, and strikes the Hero

¹ Whether inside or outside it is unclear.

² Representing the power of female sexuality; c.f. the Mongol belief that the individual is composed of two principles, *yasu*, bone, which derives from his father, represents the patrilineage, and is permanent, and *miqa*, flesh, which derives from his mother, and is not permanent, but is provided anew by a bride in each generation.

³ Analogue of the 'whip' or ritual staff of a shaman. For a tamarisk-rod used in place of an arrow in a *dalalya* see REQ.2.1.2.

with it (Heissig 1981b:82). In a second Buryat epic, the Bride has a *dalalya* -ladle with the power of awakening the dead and of retrieving lost objects¹ (see 4.2.2).

In a Mongol version of the Geser epic, the bones of two fallen heroes are collected in a little bag, while their souls *sünesü* are beckoned into two falcons by means of a *dalalya* arrow. Later the souls are transferred to the bones, and the boys revive (*op. cit.* 92).

These examples confirm that life-energy, or the individual 'soul' which represents it, may be manipulated by means of the requisites, the gesture and the cry which are characteristic of the *dalalya*. The term 'calling the soul' was not used; it seems that the two were not always distinguished in people's minds, being both regarded simply as 'beckonings', the literal meaning of *dalalya*.

8.2 The Buryat *tayilya*

The communal sacrifices (*tayilya*, Bur. *tailgan*) of the Buryat clan take different forms in different Buryat groups, and on different occasions. Some, but not all, of these rituals include actions which correspond to those of a *dalalya*.

An analysis of the *tayilya* lies outside the scope of this thesis; here only three accounts which mention *dalalya*-like actions are examined. All refer to groups living west of Lake Baikal.

8.2.1 The accounts

- | | | | |
|----|------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | Alar Buryat | Sandschejew 1928:544-60 ² | fieldwork of native researcher |
| b. | Osa Buryat | Tugutov 1978:267-70 | ? (data from 1960s) |
| c. | (Irkutsk region) | Tugutov 1978:272-3 | ? |

(a)

A mare is sacrificed to the 'nine white smiths'. The meat is cooked on an outside fire and divided into shares (Bur. *xubä*³ = Mo. *qubi*), one for each of the 24 tents (families) present. Each family's meat, Bur. *dalanga*, is in a separate pail.

¹ Losing : finding may be interpreted as analogues of passage to the other world and return to this world, or death and revival, c.f. Wasilewski 1980.

² Only the last part of the very complex proceedings will be summarized here.

³ The transcriptions reproduced here are those of the author.

A sausage is made from the intestine filled with blood, and divided similarly into shares.

Each family sits separately, beside a birch branch, Bur. *türge*, stuck into the ground. Grace (Bur. *xešix*) descends along the branch to them from heaven. Guests (not members of that clan) are also present.

The offering takes place after nightfall; a shaman officiates. The bones, carefully preserved, and the vital organs of the mare are burnt, and the people throw pieces of meat into the altar-fire.

The people then line up before the fire holding their pails of meat, while the shaman invokes the spirits. At the name of each spirit the people cry Bur. *äexurii* and wave their pails in the direction of the fire. This is called Bur. *dalanga xuriilxa*.¹ The people believe that at each cry, blessings (Bur. *xešix*) fall from heaven into the pails. The meat becomes *dalanga* only after the blessings have fallen on it. By eating the meat, the people come into communication with the spirits. The guests may not eat this meat.

(b)

A mare is sacrificed to the local spirits of that clan. The hide with head and hooves is hung on a stake, and the meat is cooked and shared out. Each share is called Bur. *dalanga* or Bur. *xubi*. The '*dalanga* was consecrated (*xuryla*) three times' [*sic*] around the altar-fire, with the words Bur. '*daaša übej dalanga*,² *ui xuri, ui xurii* '.

(c)

A sheep is sacrificed and a small piece of each part is burnt as an offering. The cooked meat is shared out in wooden dishes or pails. The people walk around the altar stone three times, holding these vessels of meat, and wave them over the stone with a short invocation.

8.2.2 Analysis

The *tayilya* is to be associated with the burnt sacrifices to the clan ancestors which are known from sources of the 13th-14th centuries (*Secret History* § 70, Ratchnevsky 1970:429-30).

¹ Author's transcriptions simplified for typographical reasons.

² 'The *dalanga* which (is so heavy that it) cannot be lifted'; mistranslated by the author.

Sanjeev (Sandschejew), himself a Buryat, is quite explicit about what is happening. The action of circling or waving the meat with the cry *qurui* (Bur. *xuriilxa* = Mo. *quruyilaqu*) brings into it energy, *kesig* , from the beings to whom the offering was made. This benefit is transferred to the members of the clan who eat the meat, but outsiders are excluded.

The procedure described here includes similar actions, and uses identical terminology, to the Mongol *dalalya* , and its stated purpose is the same. It seems particularly close to the Oirad hearth sacrifice with *dalalya* ; in both cases meat is first burnt, and then a vessel of special meat including a stuffed intestine is circled before being eaten.¹ The term *dalalya* does not, however, appear in the accounts.²

The basic distinction between the two rituals is that while the *dalalya* is performed by a layman for his own individual tent, or at most his camp, the *tayilya* is performed communally by the men of all tents of a clan or a lineage, often through the agency of a shaman.³ It is addressed to the local spirits of the mountains and waters, who coincide at least partly with the ancestors, and at the same time to a particular spirit chosen for the occasion.

In some accounts, each family sits by its own separate (outdoor) fire, with the birch branch, Bur. *türge* , stuck into the ground near it (Humphrey 1983:405). This way of marking out as distinct from one another the constituent families of the lineage points towards the situation in the other Mongol groups, where the individual family sacrifices independently at its own hearth.

8.3 The Altai horse-sacrifices

The clan-sacrifices of the Turkic peoples of the Altai are related to the *tayilya* of the Buryat. They do not seem to include *dalalya* -type actions, and an episode from only one account of the long and complex ritual will be examined here: Verbitskii 1893:50, for the Teleut, Telengit and Altai-Kizi.

¹ The intestine stuffed with blood and the vital organs, together with the four legs (Schenkel), of the sheep offered in the autumn sacrifice of the Monguor, are similarly divided into portions and distributed (Schröder 1942:872). The stuffed intestine seems to be part of a 'vocabulary' which is basic to Mongol meat offerings. In this case however no circling action is mentioned.

² It is, however, known to the eastern Buryat, c.f. 4.4 and 7.4. It is not clear whether the term for the meat, Bur. *dalanga* , is a form of the same word.

³ According to Vyatkina the presence of a shaman is not essential (1969:24).

As the sacrificed horse dies, the shaman holds up to it a bread-roll called Tel. *kurui*, or a cup, and says three times Tel. *kuruiyap-yat*, and *op kurui*. The bread is later eaten by the people of that tent and their family only; they value it greatly.

Radloff gives the following definition of the verb Tel. *kurula-*, which seems to be based solely on this account: die aus dem sterbenden Opfertiere herauskommende Lebenskraft auffangen, um dadurch den Zuwachs beim Vieh zu vergrössern (II:929). This is the Teleut's own understanding of the procedure, and it corresponds to the precautions taken in Mongolia to keep back, for the future prosperity of the herd, the vital force of an animal which is to be sold or slaughtered (c.f. 4.2.1). The force in this case seems to be contained in the animal's dying breath; according to Harva life is thought to leave the body at the moment of death through the mouth and nostrils (Harva 1938:250).

The name of the bread-roll which absorbs the vital force, Tel. *kurui*, and the fact that it is shared by the members of the family only, probably reflect the Oirad hearth-sacrifice, where it is the meat circled in the *dalalya* which is shared. The force contained in it is, however, of a different order; in the Oirad ritual the meat is charged with energy by a supernatural agent, while in the Teleut case the bread holds only the life-energy of the horse, which is destined for future generations of animals, and not for the human family. That they nevertheless share out the bread and eat it points to some confusion in the minds of the people involved.

The data suggests that the use of the terms *kurui* and *kurula-* here represent an imperfectly understood borrowing from the Oirad, rather than a native element.

9. *DALALYA* RITUAL AND BURNT OFFERING: CONCLUSIONS

The *dalalya* rituals in which meat is circled and shared out are, in the main, those in which a fire plays a significant part: the Oirad hearth-sacrifice-*dalalya* and the Oirad and Buryat shamanist 'fire-sacrifices'.

The Oirad data suggests that, although the hearth-deity is herself the recipient of offerings, the hearth-fire which she inhabits can function equally as a fire mediating burnt offerings to ancestral local spirits¹ (5.1.3).

The Oirad patriarch performs an annual hearth-sacrifice-*dalalya* which his married sons must attend; they do not perform rituals of their own at their own hearths (5.1.5). Although *every* hearth has its hearth-deity, here the hearth of the father must represent something more: the hearth of the ancestors, the fire first lit by the founder of the lineage which it then comes to symbolize.²

The Kalmuck shamaness performs a 'fire-sacrifice' at the hearth of her client which seems to be directed partly to local spirits; it is not the annual sacrifice to the hearth deity (4.4).

This evidence suggests the following hypothesis (which in the absence of any proof must, however, be a tentative one). The annual 'sacrifice to the hearth deity' *yal takiqu* (lit. 'fire offering'), as it is known to us from accounts covering the last 100 years or so, may be in fact a merging of *two* distinct offerings:

- the offering of fats and alcohol to the female deity of that individual hearth
- the offering of meat, by burning it, to the ancestors, or to ancestral local spirits.

As the consciousness of a relationship of dependance vis à vis the ancestors has faded, so the relation with the deity of the individual tent hearth (which is in fact a reflection of it) has gained in importance, particularly in the east where, under lamaist influence, each tent functions as an independent ritual unit. Only in the Oirad ritual can two separate offerings still (perhaps) be distinguished.

¹ Dumas, working with eastern Mongol data, identifies the hearth cult as an aspect of a clan-based ancestor-cult (1987:311), but found *no* evidence of the hearth-fire (as opposed to other fires) functioning as a mediator of burnt offerings (*ibid.* 305), probably because the eastern Mongols no longer retain the notion of a collective ancestral hearth. This notion is, however, reflected in the hearth of Činggis at Ejen qoruya, and in the Kalmuck sacrifice at the hearth of the Khan on behalf of the whole *ulus* (5.1.1.a).

² c.f. Dumas 1987:229-31.

Thus the Oirad prayers to the hearth deity often mention only fats and alcohol as offerings,¹ while the eastern Mongol prayers present the breastbone of the sheep as the principal offering, accompanied by fats and alcohol. The accounts of the Oirad ritual show nevertheless that the breastbone may be burnt, just as it is in the east (and that it will be accompanied by other meat and bones). It is not, however, put into the fire at the same time as the fat and alcohol, which seem to be offered separately (Pallas 1801:343 for the sacrifice of the Kalmuck shamaness).

In Üzemčín, although the head of the tent places the breastbone (and other meat) in the fire, the offerings of fat are made, separately, by all the members of the family (5.2.1.a); a possible indication that, while all may approach the deity of their hearth, only the senior male descendant would have been authorized to approach the ancestors. Minor offerings made to the hearth deity on other occasions (as opposed to the once-yearly *yal takiqu*) are of fat and alcohol only, not a breastbone² (Dumas 1987:288).

The absence of the breastbone from Oirad prayers which address the hearth deity may thus indicate that it was not at first intended for her, but was the part of the ancestors.³

The description in the Yüan shih of the autumn and winter sacrifices to the ancestors performed by the Mongols at the imperial court in the late 13th to 14th centuries, and at which meat, bones, fat, alcohol and silk were burnt, coincides in terms of timing and of the offerings made with accounts of the sacrifice to the hearth deity in recent years,⁴ though with the essential difference that the fire used was not the fire of a hearth. It seems possible that both may be forms of one and the same sacrifice; if so, it would suggest that the role of the *dalalya* (or more precisely of the action of *quruyilaqu*) which accompanies the hearth sacrifice corresponds to the role which this study has identified for Oirad *dalalya* on other occasions (7.5.2): to communicate with the ancestors, the 'other' dimension of the lineage.

¹ TEXT.3: H XI, H XII, DÖRVÖD.

² For example the offering made by the bride to her father-in-law's hearth.

³ Confirmed, perhaps, by the fact that a breastbone is burnt in an *outside* fire at the *dalalya* of the camels and in other offerings to (probably) local spirits who stand in the place of the ancestors.

Dumas notes that the alcohol for the hearth deity is trickled directly into the fire (1987:283). In two Oirad accounts, however, the burning *meat* is doused with whole bowlfuls of alcohol (5.1.1.b,e), and in this case the alcohol may once, like the meat, have been intended for another recipient. C.f. also the offering of 'soaking the *ĵotai* with alcohol' at the hearth of Činggis (6).

⁴ Ratchnevsky 1970:429-30 and 5.1.2.

The *dalalya* (*quruyilaqu*) would thus be an integral and essential part of the offering to the ancestors; but it would not have any necessary connection with the accompanying offerings to the hearth deity, and this might account for its apparent 'separateness' in the context of the eastern Mongol hearth ritual, where *dalalya* seems to follow offering as an afterthought.

Thus the eastern Mongols would once have performed the same sacrifices as do the Oirad: a burnt offering to the ancestors accompanied by the action of *quruyilaqu* to 'charge' the portions of meat, *kesig*.¹ With the changes identified here, which brought the figure of an individual hearth deity to the fore, while obscuring the function of the *dalalya*-meat, the proceedings became structurally much more similar to the lamaist *sādhana* ritual, in which an offering is made to a deity, and favours are then requested in return. Under its influence the action of *quruyilaqu* seems to have become divorced from the offering which it at first accompanied, to be understood as a separate 'beckoning' of supernatural 'favour', *kesig*. Such a structure is reflected clearly in the various eastern Mongol lamaized sacrifices, *takilya*, which are followed by a separate beckoning, *dalalya* (section 7).²

The concrete vehicle of the fresh meat, which is physically consumed, is thus replaced by an abstract notion, that of favour or good-fortune. This more abstract concept of the *dalalya* corresponds closely to that of the Tibetan ritual of summoning good-fortune, Tib. *g-yang-'gug*, and the texts which accompany it reflect Tibetan influences (TEXT.3). The native *quruyilaqu*, on the other hand, seems to have required only the cry, *qurui*.

¹ The *yekes-ün kesig*, the 'part of the seniors' distributed to the descendants at the sacrifice to the ancestors described in the Secret History (Mostaert 1950:298-308); c.f. also the Buryat *tayilya* sacrifices.

² In the case of the eastern hearth sacrifice, the text of the separate *dalalya* is *not* addressed to the hearth deity herself, recipient of the offering, and thus does not simply represent the return half of an exchange. The shadow of the ancestors still, perhaps, intrudes, for the gathering of beings which the text invokes may be identified in one way or another as ancestor-substitutes (TEXT.3).

THE TERMINOLOGY

The entire phenomenon of the *dalalya* can be illuminated by the analysis of two key words: *qurui* and *kesig*.

1. THE CRY *QURUI*

1.1 The forms recorded

The word has two standard written forms:

Mo. *qurui*

Kh. *xurai*

The accounts of the ritual written in languages other than Mongol reproduce the word in a variety of phonetic transcriptions, which are influenced not only by what the writer thought he heard, but also by the language in which he is writing, as shown in the table overleaf.

It cannot be said for certain whether the earliest account, for 1700, refers to the word *qurui*; it seems probable that it does. The author's transcription, '*kruch*', with the initial stop *k*- in place of the spirant *χ*-, and a reduced vowel of the first syllable, has already been discussed (Florovskij 1941, RITE.4.3.1). The final '*ch*' (English '*h*') may indicate a preceding long vowel *ū*; Pallas used this method in transcribing Kalmuck 100 years later, c.f. Birtalan 1987:54.

The remaining Mongol forms of the word show a root *xur*- with a second syllable which varies slightly according to the dialect or language.

These variations in general follow the pattern which would be expected, given the established variations in pronunciation between the dialects of Mongol; it thus seems that the same word is concerned in every case.

Written Mongol final *-ui* developed from **uyi* > *uyi*¹ (Poppe 1955:80-81), with corresponding spoken forms:

Ordos	- <i>uɿ̃</i>	
Kh.	- <i>vɿ̃</i>	
Kalmuck	- <i>ū</i>	(of KW)

c.f. Mo. *qarangyui*, Bur. *xaranxii*, Oir., *xarangyuu* (Rinčyen 1979:194).

¹ In Poppe's transcription *-uji*.

Mongol-speaking groups

approx. date	group	author's transcription	(reconstructed sound) ¹	reference to chapter RITE
1700	Dörvöd (Kalmuck)	kruch kruch kruch	(kruh, kruu)	4.3.1
1800	Dörvöd (Kalmuck)	churü churü	(xurü)	4.4
1800	Dörvöd (Kalmuck)	churru churru churru	(xurui) ²	5.1.1.a
1800	Dörvöd (Kalmuck)	churru churru	(xuru[u])	5.1.1.b
19th C.	Dörvöd	xurei xurei xurei ³	(xurei)	5.1.1.c
	Oirad	xura xura ³	(xura)	5.1.1.d
20th C.	Buryat	xuryi xuryi ³	(xurii)	4.1.1.a
	Buryat	ui xurii, ui xurii	(xurii)	8.2.1.b
	Buryat	a xuruj	(xuruy)	8.1
	Buryat	ā xurui, ā xurui	(xurui)	7.4
			(Poppe 1936:33)	
	Darxad	xurae	(xurae)	7.4
	Ordos	χur ^u ī χur ^u ī	(xuruii)	(TEXT.2.2)
	Kharčin	Mo. küriy-e qurai	(xürei xurai)	1.1.2.b
	Zaxčin	xuraa xuraa ³	(xuraa)	7.1.1
			(Tsoloo 1987:67)	

Other groups

19th C.	Teleut	op kurui, op kurui, op kurui ³	(kurui)	8.3
	Tuvinians	kurui kurui ³	(kurui)	5.1.1.m
	Tuvinians	xure xure xure ³	(xureh)	4.2.4.b
	Yakut	urui urui urui	(urui)	(REQ.4.7.2)
20th C.	Mončooogo Tuvinians	xuraj xuraj	(xuray)	5.1.1.k

¹ According to spoken English; a non-scientific transcription to indicate the approximate range of sounds covered.

² In this transcription from Pallas the double consonant probably indicates a short preceding vowel (by comparison with the diphthong of the second syllable, which is stressed) c.f. Birtalan 1987:54. The same may apply to the following example, from Bergmann.

³ From the author's Cyrillic transcription.

Doerfer considers that the development in Oirad of final diphthong > long vowel occurred only in the second half of the 19th century (1965:24). However here both forms are recorded for Dörvöd-Kalmuck of 1800 ('*churui*', '*churru*') as well as what seems to be an intermediate form ('*churü*'), c.f. Witsen for Mo. *qarangyui* in circa 1700: '*charanguy*' or '*caranhu*' (*op. cit.* 32a).

The later Oirad forms recorded, Dörvöd '*xurei*' = *xurā*, and Zaxč'in '*xuraa*' = *xurā*, show a correspondance which is regular for the northern and southern groups of the Oirad dialects of Xovd *aimag* (Poppe 1955:93). These forms correspond to present spoken Khalkha *xurae* = Kh. *xurai*, rather than to Mo. *qurui*, which would be expected to give *xurū* in Oirad, as above. An Oirad final -*ā*/*-ā* normally reflects Mo. -*ayi*¹ after *u* of the first syllable (*ibid.*).

There is no evidence to indicate whether or not the second syllable represents a suffix carrying an identifiable sense. However in the case of the Buryat forms, the speakers may possibly understand a verb (probably *quraqu*, to gather) with precative suffix in *ī* (*op. cit.* 252-3).

1.2 Translations and folk-interpretations

Informants believe either that the cry is meaningless, or is a foreign word,² or that it means 'come, gather' and is a form of the verb *quraqu*, to gather or assemble.

Serruys has noted that this folk-etymology is false (1982:147 n. 23).³

Pallas translates 'erscheine!' (1801:329), while Bergmann believes it is a Tangut (i.e. Tibetan) word which summons the fire spirit (1804, III:181). Potanin's informants also thought it was a Tangut word, meaning 'come!' (1881, II:91). For the Mončooogo Tuvinians it is a formula which brings about blessings (Taube 1981:46).

Poppe regards the word as untranslatable (1940:98 n. 147), and Sanjeev, himself a Buryat, confirms this (Sandschejew 1927:582).⁴

¹ In Poppe's transcription -*aji*.

² This is not borne out by the wording of the 'fire' *dalalya* texts, which present various incomprehensible expressions as the translation into Tibetan and Sanskrit of the Mongol word *qurui*; see TEXT.3.2, notes to translation. A Tibetan text for the Tibetan ritual of beckoning good-fortune does not have any cry corresponding to *qurui*, c.f. TEXT.3.4.1.

³ Serruys does not give reasons for his opinion; however the existence of a verb *quruyilaqu* which is a secondary development (1.3 below) is probably sufficient evidence.

⁴ Radloff's entry for Teleut *kurui* (II:928) seems to be based solely on Verbitskii (1893:50), who describes a bread-roll with this name being used to absorb the life-force of the sacrificed horse, c.f. RITE.8.3. The Teleut have evidently borrowed the word from Mongol without understanding either its meaning or its use.

1.3 The verb forms

The verb Mo. *quruyilaqu* , 'to go *qurui* ' , is derived from the cry *qurui* , not *vice versa* (Serruys 1982:147 n.23). Accordingly it has the written Khalkha form *xurailax* and the corresponding forms Bur. *xurīla-* , Ordos *χurīla-* and Zaxcin *xurāla-* . The Mončooogo verb is also formed regularly for Tuvinian on the same pattern, *xurajlār* .

The verb is composed of the stem *quruyi-* with the denominal verbal suffix *-ra-* , in the form *-la-* which is taken when the stem contains *r* .

This suffix denotes the acquisition of a quality (Poppe 1954:65); in the present case it may be clearer to say that it denotes the acting-out (intr.) or the lending of (tr.) a quality, c.f. *qurdulaqu* to hurry (intr.); expedite (tr.) < *qurdun* , swift.

The uttering of the cry *qurui* is invariably accompanied by a circular gesture. There are no reports of the cry being used without the accompanying gesture. The derived verb accordingly has the meanings:

- to go ' *qurui* ' (intr.), i.e. to say the word and make the gesture
- to ' *qurui* ' (something) (tr.)

buyan kesig q. , to promote *buyan kesig* by going ' *qurui* ' .

The intransitive verb occurs frequently in the spoken language as a synonym for *dalalya abqu* , *dalalya dayudaqu* , to perform a *dalalya* , where the ritual does not involve a lama, and is on a small scale, c.f. RITE.4.2.2.

The transitive verb is characteristic for Buryat: Bur. *dalanga xurīlxa* , where *dalanga* is the meat in the pail (in the context of the *tayilya* , not of the *dalalya* , see RITE.8.2); and in Poppe's Khorī *dalalya* invocation (1936:33, c.f. RITE.7.4):

Bur. *altan sagān dalalga xurīlnabi*

.....

taban xušūn malai xišeg xurīlnabi ¹

I ' *qurui* ' the golden white *dalalya*

.....

I ' *qurui* ' the *kesig* of the five species of livestock

The verb occurs similarly in Darxad: *xuraelday xuraelya* , a ' *qurui* ' -invocation to be recited with ' *qurui* ' (Rintchen 1975:99, RITE.7.4).

The transitive verb is used differently in Myangad: Kh. *ex xüüxed xoyoryg nar zöv gurvan udaa xurailj* ... [the midwife] ' *qurui* ' -ing the mother and child three times with the sun ... (RITE.4.3.2). In this case it is again the pail of meat which is being circled, but it is the people, not the meat, who are object of the verb.

¹ Transcription simplified.

From the basic sense of the verb, which refers to actions performed in a ritual context, are derived a number of other senses listed in dictionaries which have no associations with ritual. These senses are secondary, and refer mainly to the visual quality of the circular gesture; they can thus tell us little about the original significance of the cry *qurui*, c.f. the entry in DO (373a), to whirl an object in the air (such as a sling), which is echoed in Lessing (991a); and KW (198b), to tumble with clothes flapping.

The verb has a further sense which is not listed in any dictionary: to summon up, magically, by saying the word and making the gesture. This sense is directly derived from the ritual use of the word / gesture to (in the understanding of the participants) summon up benefits. It is recorded only in epics.¹

1.4 The root *qur-*

An initial syllable *qur-* is frequent in Mongol. Many of its occurrences are not relevant here; the following examines some which may, perhaps, throw light on the cry *qurui*.

1.4.1

The Mongol verb *quryaqu*, Kh. *xurgax*, is encountered in poetry and sayings;² ordinary people frequently do not know its meaning. It is absent from dictionaries, with the exception of Tsevel 1966:³ Kh. *yumny butsj xorgotsox, eregtsex, xulgax; ergej x.; utaa x.; javar x.*, to return to what one is attached to, to keep coming back, to move around restlessly; to revolve, return; for smoke to eddy or hang around; for frost to linger or cold air to hang around.

The word is typically used of animals which are unwilling to leave their home pastures, and keep turning back when one attempts to move them (p.c.); c.f. *qoryodaqu* to take shelter; be attached to a place; habitually reside in a place; and Bur. *xurgaxa* to hide, hide from (Cheremisov 1973:602a).

¹ The things which may be summoned up are lost objects (Buryat, RITE.8.1) or the hero's speaking horse, who may appear as the *alter ego* of the hero, that is (perhaps) an aspect of his own life-energy; it is caught not with the noose (of the lasso) but by '*qurui*'-ing it, *quyibi-bar bariday ügei quruyilaju bariday* (Inner Mongolia, Veit 1977:12, 1.65). C.f. Bur. *hünehe xurilxa*, 'calling the soul' of a sick person (Sandschejew 1927:580). Almost the same words occur in a tale based on another epic, from N. Khalkha (Poppe 1955b:254), and they perhaps represent a 'stock' motif.

² c.f. Kh. *olon golyn javaraas, orny xurgasan salxi*, [worse] than the hoarfrost of many rivers' [valleys], the [cold] draught lurking [under] the beds (Damdin p.c.). The disposition of the interior of the tent leads to the formation of 'cold spots' under the beds in winter.

³ And Hangin 1986, which is based on Tsevel.

Mo. *quryaqu* may be compared with Manchu:

xorgi- (intr.) revolve, rotate;¹ move, mix (in a certain milieu); to be continually around

xurgi- (tr.) turn (Tsintsius 1975:471b)

Hauer (1952) gives these verbs as follows:

horgimbi sich drehen, wirbeln (456)

hûrgimbi drehen, umdrehen, hindrehen
hûrgime dambi im Winde flattern² (473)

There is an underlying sense here of circular movement repeated or returning on itself.

Nanai has:

xorago- 1. survive, recover; revive, come back to life³
2. become sober (after drinking), come (back) to a normal state (Onenko 1980:471)

Here the sense of physical movement is lacking, but the sense of something returning on itself is clear. It expresses the return to a person of his (normal) life-energy. The sense of Mo. *quryaqu* is not irrelevant in this context: to be attached to, or habitually reside in, a place. This is precisely the relationship of the vital energy of a living being to its visible body.

The concept is illustrated in a healing song of a Nanai shaman (Diószegi 1972). It is sung in order to recall the lost soul of a sick man, and has already been examined under RITE.8.1, 'calling the soul'. The patient and his soul are

¹ c.f. Dagur *xorgiel xei*, whirlwind. I am indebted to Prof. G. Kara for this example.

² c.f. also Evenk *kurbu-mii* to turn (round); sway (in the wind), stir, move (Vasilevich 1958:222). Ramstedt lists two imitative verbs with a sense of flapping (in the wind), tumbling, billowing (KW:198a-b):
χur"γ{z"χv od. *χur"u{z"χv* in grosser eile sich stürzen, übereilig sein, mit flatterndem anzug hinundher ziehen; sich in die höhe kräuseln (wie zb. rauch u. haare)
χur{z"χv mit flatternden kleidern laufen, schnell laufen *sülkŋ χur{z"dz-ənē*
der wind weht hinundher
c.f. Less. 991a *quruljaqu* to flutter in the wind; to swirl, blow in gusts. The durative suffixes *-lja-* and *-yalja-* represent rhythmical oscillation, 'to go *xur xur*' (Beffa and Hamayon 1971:39; Poppe 1954:64).

An expression from an epic, *quruyilčaysan salkin siy dabkižu* (Veit 1977:46, l.809), galloping like a whirlwind, seems on the other hand to be a secondary development from *quruyilaqu* in its sense (already secondary) of to whirl.

³ c.f. Ulcha *xora-~xura-* revive, come back to life; come to oneself, recover; Evenk *ur-* revive, come back to life (Tsintsius 1977:282b).

The same root appears in Onenko's Nanai *xora-*, to give birth; to survive, and perhaps in Nanai *xoraliko*, the name of a class of spirits; among them, the good ones bring luck in hunting, while bad ones bring women's period pains, and various diseases (Onenko 1980:471). There is perhaps a link here between cyclical fertility of women, the return (cycling) of abundant game, and return from marginal states (childbirth, illness) to normal life.

addressed repeatedly with the summons Nanai *xoragu* , translated by Diószegi 'come to yourself!'.¹

This use of the word makes clear that it does indeed carry a sense of movement, of the return to their allotted place of the man's soul and of his Nanai *kesie* (=Mo. *kesig*), his own portion of life-energy:

Nanai¹ *kesie geleuri*
 sagdi nai kesiduni
 xaolia xoragu
 nai ulen, kesiku (*op. cit.* 123)

[one must] call *kesie*
old man's *kesie*
anyhow come to yourself (*xoragu*)!
man well, having *kesie*

The summons *xoragu* here corresponds precisely to the Mongol cry *qurui* as it is used both in calling the soul and in the *dalalya*.²

There does not seem to be an obvious Turkic equivalent for Mo. *quryaqu*. *Kur*, with basic senses of belt; circle (Radloff II:916) has derivatives in many of the languages, but a sense of movement is lacking. Radloff lists 'Kirghiz', i.e. Kazakh, *kozya-* bewegen, in Bewegung setzen; erregen, ... aufwühlen (II:632); Ramstedt refers to Common Turkic *qoz-ya-* bewegen, and Chuvash *χur-* umrühren, kneten, which he considers to exhibit the same root as Mo. *quruyilaqu* (KW:198b). Certainly the idea of repeated circular movement is expressed in these verbs.³

1.4.2

A root *qur-* may have connotations of (passing) time, c.f. *qur*, that which has remained since the previous year or for several years.⁴ Ramstedt refers to Yakut

¹ Transcribed from the Cyrillic; Diószegi also gives a phonetic transcription.

² c.f. also the role of *qurui* when a *dalalya* accompanies the procedure of anointing, *miliyaqu*, an inanimate object (the tethering-line, RITE.7.1.2 and the new tent, RITE.7.6); it represents a *recharging* of the object before use.

³ c.f. also Dörvöd *xuraltin* (transcription simplified) listed by Vandui for Kh. *ergüüleg* (1965:166), a word with several meanings, derived from Kh. *ergex* to turn, revolve.

⁴ e.g. *qur del* a long thick mane, which has not been cut each year. Lessing, following DO, gives 'in the same state for a year or more' (987a); this misses the point that each passing year *adds* something. C.f. also KW 199a: *χurʹχv* alt sein, vom vorigen noch

kur, with the same meaning, and Common Turkic *qur* Zeit, Alter (KW 197b). This word reflects a cyclical conception of time, in which repeated 'layers' are superimposed in a cumulative effect, c.f. Dörvöd (and all Oirad dialects) *xurag*, generation (Tsoloo 1988: 462).¹

1.4.3

In the Altai Turkic languages the cry is *kurui*, and the early Kalmuck evidence suggests that the cry in 1700 was pronounced '*kruh*', with initial stop which only later became a spirant.

In Yakut, however, the cry is *urui*, although as far as we know, the Yakut do not perform any ritual which corresponds directly to the *dalalya*. Pekarskii gives *urui*, *urūi*, *rūi* 1. a call for prosperity, a spell against evil and to promote happiness; a call, threat, appeal to allies when fighting;² an exclamation with which the shaman concludes a séance, all present replying the same 2. good-fortune³ (1907:3070). There is a corresponding verb which, like the verb in Mongol, is derivative: *uruidā-* 1. to cry *urui* 2. to appeal to the deities, pray for good-fortune.

The isolation of the Yakut, far to the north of other Altaic groups, makes it unlikely that the cry might be a recent borrowing from Mongol; it must have been in the language at least since the period at which the Yakut lived in the Altai-Sayan region. Pekarskii's definitions, however, reflect the understanding of the word by the Yakut of the late 19th century, an understanding which may have altered with time.

The absence of the initial consonant remains unexplained, unless it has been deliberately dropped for ritual reasons, to distinguish the cry from Yakut *kuru*, the onomatopoeic term for the sound of a horse neighing (ibid. 1251).

dasein; als vorrat vorhanden sein; and Yakut *kurui-* to keep in reserve, stock (Pekarskii 1907:1251). The sense of 'to reserve, save, put away' in turn approaches that of Mo. *qoryodaqu* to shelter, be attached to a place.

- ¹ KW lists only the meaning which the word has in Kalmuck, Volksversammlung (198a) < Mo. *quraqu* to assemble.
- ² This part of the definition may correspond, not to Mo. *qurui*, but to Mo. *uriya* appeal, call, summons; the cry by which members of a clan recognize each other.
- ³ This is the only recorded case of a variant of the cry occurring as a noun, other than the Teleut bread which is called *kurui* (1.2, note).

1.5 The gesture: circular movement

The gesture, like all intentional circular movements in Mongolia, is necessarily performed in the direction of the movement of the sun (i.e. clockwise), *nara jöb*. The circles may be described in either the horizontal or the vertical plane, and in general one circle is executed for each time the word *qurui* is uttered.

If a long object is circled, such as the arrow, the right arm only is used, as it is when the hands are empty. If a vessel or some small object is circled, the right hand or both hands may be used. The movement is chiefly of the forearm, and the elbow remains close to the body;¹ the hand is in front of the chest or above the lap.

The use in Mongolia of circular movement with the sun to represent the abstract concept of time has been analysed by Wasilewski (1978). The movement expresses progression in time, and, by extension, life itself.

In a nomadic herding environment, onward movement represents life in a very real sense. To remain behind when the group moves on in the yearly cycle of nomadization is equivalent to life ceasing.² Hö'elün-üjin, arriving late, is deliberately left out (MMo. *qojid gürčü qojida'uldaju*) when her dead husband's group sacrifices to the ancestors of the clan;³ she misses the share of meat, the portion of the ancestors which, as a widow, she should receive on behalf of her child-sons, who are excluded in this way from their father's lineage. In terms of the social organization of the period they become non-persons; when the group moves on they are left behind to fend for themselves in desperate poverty.

The gesture of the *dalalya* expresses the circularity of the relationship with the ancestors, which is the precondition for life itself. The clan will continue to exist in time for as long as life-energy cycles between ancestors and descendants, both promoted and reflected by the circular gestures of the senior descendant at times of ritual contact between the two dimensions of his lineage.

Similarly, in a world-view in which the sources of vitality are in *this* world, and are represented in the animals which come of themselves to the hunters, the gesture promotes the circulation of that energy-principle which will be continually reembodyed in future animals.

¹ To keep the elbow in is important generally in codified movements, c.f. Mróz and Olędzki 1980:235; to hold up or elevate an object expresses respect both to the object and to any being to whom it is being offered, but if the elbow of the supporting arm is out to the side rather than below the object, the impression of being elevated is perhaps diminished.

² Analysis in Chabros and Dulam 1990:31.

³ SH § 70; Mostaert 1950:298-308. the root *qo-* expresses behindness in both space and time: *qoyina* behind, *qojiqu* to be late.

On the larger scale, the circularity of the gesture reinforces the 'world-turning' function of the repetitive litanies and enumerations of the *dalalya* texts. We shall see (TEXT.3) that these are influenced by Tibetan models; it seems possible that the native Mongol ritual originally required only the gesture and the cry *qurui*.¹ This implies that the cry in itself is effective in promoting the circulation of energy.

1.6 The occurrence of the cry and gesture

The cry is essential to the *dalalya* and to calling the soul, but it is also recorded for other occasions.

1.6.1 Critical moments

a.

Before starting a game of knucklebones, *šayai nislaku* : Kh. *zee, xurai xurai* (Xentii *aimag*, fieldwork 1988).

b.

At the end of a short magical text (*dom*) recited over a lamb which has just been castrated, by the operator, to help its recovery (Gaadamba and Sampildendev 1988:69).

c.

In a Buryat song sung to persuade a ewe to suckle her rejected lamb (RITE.2).

d.

At the end of a short magical text (*dom*) to be recited on the first real day of summer² (Sodnom 1968:56-7).

¹ Unlike the main part of the invocations, the cry is a chorus, in which all those concerned join; it is important that it should be loud. The cry may replace any verb in the shorter incantations, c.f. the hunters' cries (RITE.4.1.1.a and TEXT.8.1) and the Ordos autumn text (TEXT.2.2).

² Defined by the writer as either the day on which the first thunderclap of the year is heard, or the 8th day of the first summer month.

e.

After celebrations and prayers on first arriving in the winter camp. The prayers are said by the Khan and lay people, although lamas are present (Dörvöd Kalmuck, Bergmann 1804, IV:313).

The first case (a) seems to represent a summoning of energies before the contest;¹ for the cry Kh. *zee* < Tib. *kye* see TEXT.3.2. It is significant that these games are typically played at time thresholds, for instance the New Year. For the role of competition in promoting the onward cycle of time see RITE.5.1.4.

Cases (b) and (c) are essentially corrective healing procedures (c.f. RITE.4.3). As in the related 'calling of the soul' (RITE.8.1), recovery can be regarded as a 'coming to oneself', a restoration of the natural order. In addition, these two occasions represent 'rites of passage' for the animals concerned, which mark a step forward in their individual life cycles.

The man castrating the lambs has beside him a pail containing a little grain, with a feathered arrow laid across it (Sodnom 1968:56). However it seems that the arrow is not used in any beckoning; the spell which is recited for each lamb wishes it to be faster than an arrow, lighter than a feather, and suggests that the arrow is present only in order to influence the lambs with its qualities.

Cases (d) and (e) represent thresholds in time: the beginning of summer and winter respectively, winter being defined as the period spent in winter quarters. Like the spring *dalalya* of the birds, Sodnom's text, with the cry, is promoting the natural cycle of the seasons, and establishes the crossing of the threshold into summer. It begins:

Kh. *zunaa naašaan*
 zudaa tsaašaan ...
 summer this way
 frost-famine that way ...

The roots of the words Kh. *naaš* and *tsaaš*, Mo. *nasi*, *časi*, are those of the personal pronouns 'I' and 'you' respectively; the sense is 'summer come to me, winter go away to others'.

The two verbs derived from these words, *nasilaqu* to approach, *časilaqu* to go away, beyond, have another secondary meaning; in the context of an illness they mean to recover, and to get worse. Thus the sense conveyed in the text of cyclical

¹ The game has not so far been analysed in depth, but the manipulation of fields of energy seems to be an essential element, affecting the concentration of the players; c.f. the wordless singing during the game, intended respectively to help ones own players, and disorientate those opposing them (fieldwork 1988).

movement *towards the self*, which is at the same time an *onward* movement in time, coincides formally with the rituals of healing in which the patient 'comes to himself'.

Bergmann's report (e) concerns the crossing of a threshold not only in time, but also in space: a move to the winter camp, and therefore into the territory of its spirit-owner. As in other Oirad rituals (RITE.7.5), the cry may be addressed to a local ancestor-spirit, by the descendants who depend on him; it is perhaps all that remains of an earlier sacrifice on this occasion.¹

1.6.2 Maintaining the cycle

The cry is recorded in a number of hunters' invocations which are without any other characteristic of a *dalalya* (TEXT.8.3); and among the Dörvöd and Bayad, a chorus of *qurui qurui* may follow the performance of a dance.²

The promotion of the circulation of game to the hunters with cry and gesture is likely to have origins which predate formalized *dalalya* rituals; it is perhaps not surprising that the cry is still found in hunting texts of recent date, but not, in general, in folk-religious texts for other occasions which involve no *dalalya* ritual.

Oirad dancing is based on repetitive circular arm movements. They are abrupt and violent, rather than flowing, a forceful expression of energy. Although dancing can take place at any time, it is associated particularly with the time-threshold of the New Year. The dance, like the circular gesture itself, is a way of moving life on; it is thus entirely logical that it should be accompanied by the cry *qurui*.³ The chorus of the spectators follows the dance performed on their behalf, just as it follows the invocation recited on their behalf by the officiant at a *dalalya* ritual.

¹ Some Buryat groups perform a *tayilya* sacrifice on first moving into the winter camp (Sandschejew 1928:972).

² Fieldwork 1988, recorded at a folk festival. While there is no way of knowing whether this is a genuine element, the performers were ordinary herders, and their performances seemed entirely genuine.

³ According to Potanin the Yakut and Dolgan cry '*xuurai*' during their dances (1881, II:91 n. 19). It is not clear whether this corresponds to Mo. *qurui*; there is no other record of the cry in which the vowel of the initial syllable is long, and what Potanin heard may have been simply a whoop.

1.6.3 The number of repetitions

According to the present-day Mongols, and to some of the literature, the cry is to be repeated three times, but this is not borne out either by the texts or by accounts of actual *dalalya* rituals. Three, two and a single cry are all recorded, the commonest probably being two. The feeling that the correct form would be three cries is perhaps connected with the prevalence of the numbers three and nine (3 x 3) in the culture generally.

2. KESIG

The Mongol term has been discussed at length by Mostaert (1952:374-9) and Ligeti (1973:150-1): its primary meaning is 'portion', < Tu. *käsig* 'piece' < Tu. *käs-* 'to cut' (not to be confused with Mo. *keseg* 'piece', 'part (of)' < Tu. *käsäk* idem).¹

From the specific sense 'portion (of sacrificial meat received by each descendant at the sacrifice to the ancestors)'² are derived the secondary meanings of the term: 'favour' i.e. that which is received from a senior; 'benefit', 'good-fortune'. These senses reflect the relationship between man and the ancestral sources of life; *kesig* represents the individual's share (portion) of the vital energy of his lineage. The shift of meaning in the word has been from a concrete sense, in which a portion of a larger quantity of meat represents the relationship between a man and his clan, as part to whole, to an abstract sense in which the word refers to the energy which animates the clan and of which each individual member partakes.

In middle Mongolian the word seems to occur only in its primary sense of 'portion'; in the modern Mongolian languages, with the exception of Monguor, this sense (although listed in some dictionaries) is almost forgotten, and the accepted meaning is 'favour', 'good-fortune'.

Monguor uses a Tibetan loan-word *yang* for 'good-fortune', < Tib. *g-yang* (Schröder 1952:52-3), while Monguor *keseg*³ (= Mo. *kesig*) retains the meaning

¹ Mo. *kesig* (according to Ligeti *kesik*) 'turn', 'turn of duty' is a different word, < Tu. *kezik* 'guard', 'turn on guard duty' etc. (Ligeti *ibid.*); compare *aduyu mal-un mani kesig* 'milk products', 'koumiss', i.e. the favour bestowed on us by our horse herds, *man-u qonin-u kesig* 'our turn with the sheep', i.e. the day on which we herd the sheep (according to the rota of families forming one camp).

² c.f. SH § 70, MMo. *yekes-ün kesig*, 'part des grands' which is to be distributed to those present (Mostaert *op. cit.* 375).

³ Transcription simplified.

of 'part qu'on reçoit d'un animal sacrifié' (de Smedt and Mostaert 1933:199).¹ The example of Monguor confirms that the concept of good-fortune, the favour of deities or ancestors, is a secondary development (here expressed by a foreign loan-word), while the native Altaic term has kept its original concrete meaning of a portion of meat.

The evidence of the terminology tends to suggest that variants of the *dalalya* in which *kesig*, good-fortune or benefits, is beckoned, but meat does not play a significant role and is not shared out, are a secondary development, perhaps under Tibetan lamaist influence. It is unlikely that these forms of the ritual existed at a period earlier than the emergence of the modern Mongolian languages from middle Mongolian.

Variants of the *dalalya* in which meat is central, and is given out in portions which are thought to embody *kesig* - for example at the hearth sacrifice of the Oirad (RITE.5.1) and the shamanist fire sacrifices (RITE.4.4) - would then represent something close to the burnt-offering which was its earlier form.

Buyan kesig

In its sense of 'good-fortune' or 'benefit', *kesig* occurs frequently in the compound *buyan kesig*, with the same meaning. The word *buyan* seems to intensify the sense rather than modifying it, and occasionally occurs on its own in the same sense.²

The primary meaning of *buyan*, 'virtue', 'religious merit' in the Buddhist sense (< Sk. *puṇya*), is not appropriate in these cases. It may nevertheless underlie the frequent replacement of simple *kesig* by *buyan kesig*. The good-fortune or 'portion' of hunters, the meat of the individual game-animal allotted to them by its species, is *kesig*, never *buyan kesig*. *Buyan* originally connotes the *accumulation* of merit (*buyan quriyaqu*), a concept which belongs to the worlds of herding (the accumulation of animals) and of lamaism; the sense of a 'portion' is entirely absent from the expression *buyan kesig*, which is therefore likely to be of relatively late date.

¹ The other modern Mongolian languages use *qubi* for the portion received at a sacrifice (c.f. Sandschejew 1928:557, Bur. *xubā*). Ordos however has *gešik* (transcr. simplified) for both senses: portion; partie de la viande de sacrifice ... qui est distribuée; ... bonheur (DO:262b). In the specific context of the portions of meat distributed at Ejen qoruya (RITE.6) the term *tügel* is used.

² c.f. RITE.2.1, *buyan-u üres-ün dalalya*; Montell n.d. 84-5, where the *buyan* of the flock of sheep, embodied in a tuft of wool, is understood as Kraft, Glück, Lebenskraft.

Kesig as life-energy

Kesig in the sense of 'good-fortune' represents increased life-potential; it refers primarily to the herds and the numerous children which are the *raison d'être* of the herdsmen, and not to the treasures which are characteristic of the equivalent Tibetan ritual. By extension, the word acquires a sense of 'animating principle' which is close to the notion of 'soul'; hence the occurrence of the expressions *mal-un kesig* and *mal-un buyan kesig* for a bunch of hairs from an animal which is thought to hold its life-principle (RITE.4.2.1). Similarly, an animal chosen for consecration, *seter talbiqu*, because it is particularly long-lived and has borne many young, is *kesigtei* (Dambijalsan 1981:128).

In some of the more elaborated texts, *buyan kesig* and *sür sünesü*, vital force (< *sünesü*, soul) of the animals and people concerned are summoned in conjunction (TEXT.3.2); the two concepts are hardly distinguishable in this context.

The terminology of the Manchu ritual which corresponds to the *dalalya* affords a comparison; here it is not Ma. *kesi* which is beckoned, but Ma. *hôturi*.¹ The meanings of *kesi* in the Manchu-Tungus languages are in the range favour/good-fortune and, in Evenk, a gift of meat brought from the hunt (Tsintsius 1975:455a); it is clearly the same term as Mo. *kesig*.² Ma. *hôturi*, although it equally has a sense of 'good-fortune', is to be associated with old Turkic *qut* Glück, Freude > Oïrot *qut* Seele³ (Poppe 1960:18); c.f. Roux who interprets the old Turkic *qut* as 'un viatique de longue vie', i.e. vital force or soul (1963:28).

3. THE TERM *DALALYA*

The noun *dalalya* is derived from the verb *dalal-*, to beckon, wave, with the deverbial noun suffix *-lya* which designates process (Poppe 1954:47), i.e. 'the process of beckoning', or a beckoning (ritual).

Lamaized forms of the ritual are always referred to by this term, particularly in the expression *dalalya abqu*, to perform the beckoning.

¹ Ma. *hôturi baimbi*, a ritual performed on behalf of children and (unborn) descendants, c.f. RITE.7.3.3. Hauer lists Ma. *hûturi baimbi*, Glück herabflehen (1952:475).

² The Pentaglot dictionary gives Ma. *kesi yali* = Mo. *kesig miq-a* (I:367), apparently with the meaning 'portion of meat (left over from the sacrifice, which will be distributed)' (Ligeti 1973:159). Since we cannot be certain that the expression is not a construction by the translators, we cannot tell whether Ma. *kesi* also has a primary meaning of 'portion'.

³ c.f. Radloff II:990-1 *kut*, also Harva, for whom 'Altai Tatar' *kut* is 'gutes Aussehen, Glück, Lebenskraft und Fruchtbarkeit' (1938:261).

While the term is also used in purely folk-religious contexts, it is often replaced here by a form of the verb *quruyila-*, to '*qurui*', particularly for the simplest variants of the ritual; c.f. the occasional rituals for departing children, RITE.4.2.2.

The sense of beckoning conveyed by the verb *dalal-* does not coincide completely with the sense of onward circular movement which seems to be conveyed by *quruyila-*. It fits better the Tibetan conception of the ritual as a procedure to make benefits and riches come to one; it is thus possible that the term *dalalya* corresponds to the Tibetan *g-yang-'gug*, which has the sense of summoning prosperity. It would in that case be relatively recent, and could not pre-date the coming of lamaism to Mongolia.

Kowalewski lists *dalaly-a* as an arrow wound with white hemp, used at sacrifices (1634); the word seems to have been taken from the Pentaglot (661) or another multi-lingual dictionary, and not from a Mongol source, and the definition corresponds to a Manchu (or Tibetan), and not Mongol, form of the arrow; hemp is not a Mongol material.¹

For Ramstedt, Oirad *dallya*² means 'Opferfleisch'; but the example of use which he gives does not confirm this definition, and seems to have been misunderstood through lack of familiarity with the ritual actions (KW:74a).

In Buryat, *dalanga* does, indisputably, refer to the meat which is in the pails at the *tayilya* (Sandschejew 1928:557-8). While we do not know whether Bur. *dalanga* is the same word as *dalalya*, or derived from it, the expression Bur. *dalangayin homo* for the ritual arrow (*ibid.* 1927:580) suggests that it is. However the word is also applied to the contents of the pail at a Buryat ritual of calling the soul: milk foods, a silver rouble and the arrow itself (*op. cit.* 582).

These examples suggest that the term for the process of beckoning has been transferred to the object waved in the beckoning: arrow or meat. A similar shift from abstract to concrete is evident in the two meanings of the expression *mal-un buyan kesig*: the benefits, or potential life-force, of the animals, and the bunch of hairs which is thought to embody that potential (RITE.4.2.1).

¹ c.f. Hauer: *Ma. debse*, bei Opfern verwendeter hanfumwundener Pfeil (1952:186).

² Transcription simplified.

THE REQUISITES

1. INTRODUCTION

There are three principal requisites for the performance of the ritual; at least one of these is always present:

- an arrow, or stick of some kind
- a vessel
- certain pieces of meat

Further items may appear in conjunction with these:

- precious things, or objects which represent them
- grain (raw)
- cooked millet or rice with raisins
- a rope with objects attached to it which are symbolic of increase
- a rope linking the officiant to the exterior of the tent

The relationships of the requisites to one another vary; for example, in the native Mongol ritual the meat is usually in the vessel, while in the lamaized ritual the vessel contains the arrow, with grain. Cooked grain appears in Inner Mongolia as an alternative to meat.

2. MORPHOLOGY AND TERMINOLOGY

The morphology and terminology of the three principal requisites are analysed below. The manner of use and the symbolism of all the requisites will be discussed in sections 3 and 4.

2.1 The arrow and its equivalents

2.1.1 The arrow

dalalya-yin sumu - *dalalya* arrow

The arrow is frequently regarded in the literature as essential to the ritual, but this seems to be true only of the lamaized variants. In its classic form the arrow

corresponds in fact to the Tibetan Bon 'divination arrow', Tib. *mda'-dar*,¹ which is a basic requisite of Tibetan folk-religion, and was taken up into lamaist ritual.

The Tibetan arrow has a shaft which branches into five spikes at the butt end, each feathered with vultures' feathers, and it is hung with silken streamers (often five streamers of five different colours) and a mirror. The shaft may be white or of another colour, depending on the use for which the arrow is intended. It is kept point down in a tub of grain. The arrow and the vessel of grain represent the male and female elements respectively (Nebesky-Woykowitz 1975:365; Tucci 1970:261).

The arrow as it was used in the Tibetan lamaist equivalent of the *dalalya*, the ritual for 'conjuring up prosperity', Tib. *g-yang-'gug*, is described and illustrated by Lessing (1942:142-2 and pl. XXVII-XXIX). A large feather is prominent at the butt end of each arrow, but it appears to be a whole feather, tied on, and not the arrow's feathering.

The use of a ritual arrow in a similar ceremony is recorded for the Manchu; the term for it is Ma. *debse*² or *desiku* (Bawden 1962:91-2), c.f. RITE.7.3.3.

The arrow used in the most highly elaborated forms of the Mongol *dalalya* ritual reflects the morphology of the Tibetan arrow. It is Kh. *tavan on't oyuun tsagaan sum*, the five-nocked turquoise³ [gem] white arrow (Xorloo 1969:54). The shaft is white, and it is hung with silken gauze streamers *kkib* or with *qaday*, ritual scarves, which are either white or of five different colours (Heissig 1982:232-3). Sometimes a mirror *toli* is hung from it; this may be a Chinese mirror of polished metal (*ibid.* 239, photograph), a plain bronze disc, or a shiny steel disc the size of a large coin (Hangin p.c. Chahar, and figs. 2 and 5, Oirad). The arrow is no larger than a hunting arrow.

I am grateful to the late Dr. Gombojav Hangin for sketches of the arrow as he remembered it at the ceremony of the Banner prince, performed by lamas, and at those of well-to-do people (without lamas) in Chahar during the late 1940s (fig. 1). One of these arrows, held by the principal figure in a group of high lamas, is shown in M. Šarav's painting Kh. *Airagny Nair* (*Ürs Gargax*), 'The Koumiss Feast'.⁴

¹ *mda'* arrow, *dar* silk; a flag (a reference to the silken scarves tied to the arrow).

² c.f. Ma. *debsimbi* fächeln; schweben (Hauer 1952:186).

³ The reference to a turquoise is obscure. In Tibetan folk-belief a 'soul-turquoise' Tib. *bla-gyu* may figure as a talisman-object on which its owner's fortunes depend (Stein 1962:193); it is not impossible that a parallel might be drawn between this object and the arrow which beckons fortune.

⁴ Reproduction in Tsültem 1986:pl. 161, 162. For Šarav, active at the turn of this century, see RITE.7.1.1.

Dalalya arrows are still preserved by some herdsmen in the MPR, although the ceremony has certainly not been openly performed since the 1930s. Figs. 2 and 3 show a Bayad¹ arrow which reflects the descriptions in the literature, but does not have the supplementary spikes. A twist of horse-hair is tied to it, and two small bags (described under 2.2.1). The arrow was kept wrapped in a cloth in a specially-made wooden box, with a sliding lid which had once had painted decoration. The box itself was kept with the religious texts, in the *burqan-u qayırčay* ; this is a larger box in which religious images are transported during nomadizations, and on which they stand at other times.

A similar arrow, of Dörvöd or possibly Bayad provenance, is in the reserve collection of the Ulaangom town museum (figs. 4 and 5). It is 2 ft. in length, and has the feathering almost half-way down the shaft, below the decorations. This arrow also has two bags hanging from it. Its box has a lid which pivots at the upper end and is secured by a thong at the lower end; the box was kept hanging vertically from the top of the tent wall-trellis, immediately to the east of the principal chest on which the altar stood. The term given for the box by museum staff was Kh. *šogol*.² Although not recorded in dictionaries, this term is current in Mongolia in the sense of drawer or pigeon-hole, particularly to hold a book (fieldwork 1989).

There is a single report that the *dalalya* arrow must be made from a length of bamboo with nine segments (Nima p.c., see further 2.2.3). The exotic foreign nature of this variant is confirmed by its decorations: elephants' tusks, Chinese copper coins,³ and silk and satin canopies *labri čimeg*.

Most herdsmen would have been unable to obtain such an elaborate requisite, and simply adapted an arrow of the kind which would once have been used for hunting.⁴ *Qaday* or strips of white cloth were tied to it, but the other ornaments were not essential (photograph in Taube 1983:pl. 40, where animal-hair is also attached). In Chahar the poorer families did not use any arrow at all in their ceremony (Hangin p.c.).

¹ Tes sum 1st brigade, on the Nariin river, Uvs *aimag*.

² From Tib. *shog-la*, bookshelf (< *shog*, paper), a term not recorded in dictionaries; I am most grateful to Mr. Hugh Richardson and Dr. Wladimir Zwalf for their kind help in the explanation of the word.

The Tuvinian ritual arrow is also kept in a special case, Tuv. *ydyk xomdu* (Potapov's transcription, 1969:365).

³ Heissig also states that coins hang from the arrow (1970:350).

⁴ Among most Mongol groups guns came into use for hunting from the 18th century, and the bow and quiver became ornamental (Bawden 1968:107). However poorer herdsmen continued to hunt with bow and arrow, and they were retained as weapons in the Manchu army until this century (Uray-Kóhalmi 1974:152).

The feathering of the arrow seems to be significant; in texts it is frequently *tas ödütü sumu*, the arrow with vulture's feathers (Heissig 1982:233). Mostaert, discussing hunting in the Ordos in the 1930s, remarks that the 'aigle noir' (*tas*)¹ is hunted for its pinions (1956:287). The feathering may also be from an eagle, *bürgüd* (Poppe 1925:144).

The arrow is a possession of the male head of the tent, and so passes with the tent itself to the youngest son in inheritance. Data on how and when the other sons obtained their arrow is lacking. An isolated report that the arrows (plural) were received only several years after a son married and set up his own tent (Aubin 1975:546) is not confirmed elsewhere. Since several arrows are mentioned it seems a noble family is concerned, and the case may not be representative.

Although the arrow with its decorations reflects a Tibetan original, it coincides at the same time with a set of native representations. Arrows, cloth streamers (*jalama*), mirrors and feathers are all significant in the context of Mongol and south Siberian shamanist paraphernalia. This is developed under 4.1.4.

2.1.2 Equivalentents for the arrow: sticks

Another stick-shaped object may be circled in the ritual in place of the arrow. The evidence is limited, and accounts are available only for the following groups:

Torguud of Bulgan sum

At the public *dalalya* performed for the whole *sumun*, the lay official who presided held a sandalwood stick. It was hung with scarves, ribbons, bells and little bags containing tea and coins (RITE.1.1.2.i).

Torguud of Etsingol

The lama son who officiated at his father's hearth-sacrifice held (but did not circle) a staff hung with scarves (RITE.5.1.1.e).

Mongol Urianxai of Duut sum

A branched stick is still in use today in place of an arrow, and is illustrated in fig. 6. It is white, naturally so, since the bark has been removed, and has five prongs at the upper end. The prongs are not artificial; a naturally forking branch has been chosen and cut. It was said that the prongs were essential, and that five was the ideal number, but other numbers of prongs would be possible.

¹ Probably *qara tas*, *Aegypius monachus*.

The stick, about 3 ft. 6 ins. long, stood forks uppermost against the tent wall immediately to the east of the chest on which the tent altar stood. Its position thus corresponded to that described for the Dörvöd arrow above.

The stick had no special name, and was referred to as:

- Kh. *tsax*¹

forked stick; applied to any conveniently shaped branch used in the tent for hanging things on. Such a stick would, however, stand at the opposite side of the tent, near the door.

- Kh. *balgana mod*

tamarisk branch (or stick); *balgana* is listed under the *Tamaricaceae* as *myricaria* by the Mongolian Terminological Commission (Ulsyn no. 129-133). Kowalewski lists *balyu* = *tamarix germanica* Pall. (1078a). The usual Mongol term for tamarisk is *suqai*.

Just as the little *dalalya* bag (2.2.1 below) may be hung from the arrow, or from the stick in the Torguud ritual above, so here a little silk bag was hung by its drawstring from one of the branches of the stick.

To the west of the tent altar, tucked under a roof-pole, was a flight-feather of an eagle (*bürgüd*). This too was said to be used in conjunction with the stick in the ritual. (Fieldwork, 1988.)

It seems probable from the shape of the stick, with its five prongs, that it is a metamorphosis of the Tibetan five-pronged arrow. The arrows for the Peking ceremony each had a whole feather attached, just as the eagle's feather might here have been attached to the stick.

This by no means excludes the possibility that the stick is a native requisite, and has older roots than the ritual arrow in Mongol culture. It would, for example, have been easy to make a model arrow from a branch; but this was not done, and it may be assumed that the forked stick was thought to be effective in its own right.

Dörvöd

Potanin's account confirms that the branched stick plays the same role in the ritual as the arrow (RITE.5.1.1.c). The requisite circled here was actually called *sumun*, that is 'arrow', although it is described as a 'five-pointed stick' (*paločka s"pyat'yu nakonyečinkami*). To the points were attached rags of five different colours.

¹ Although listed in dictionaries of Khalkha Mongol, the term is typical of Oirad dialects, c.f. Tsooloo 1988:43, *arxadān tsax*. The corresponding Khalkha term is Kh. *ats mod*, 'forked stick'.

Buryat

The ramrod of a gun replaced the arrow in the *dalalya* of a group of hunters. A piece of the fat tail of a sheep was impaled on it (RITE.4.1.1.d). This variation is perhaps a result of the replacement of arrows by guns as hunting weapons.

2.1.3 The sheep's leg

A sheep's foreleg with the shoulder, *qa*, or its tibia, *šayaitu čimüge*,¹ may be circled in place of an arrow in western Mongol forms of the ritual. One or other of these is in fact present amongst the significant pieces of meat in many of the accounts; but it is only in those for the following groups that the officiant performs the circular gesture while grasping the leg.

Dörvöd of Türgen sum

There is a single account in which the head of the tent holds a hide bag, while the wife holds the right leg and shoulder, *qa*, of the sheep killed; it has the meat on, and is raw. It is later cooked, and eaten by that family alone (RITE.5.1.1.h).

Dörvöd-Kalmuck

Pallas' two accounts correspond closely to this report. The raw right shoulder is held by the head of the tent, while the shamaness waves the hide bag. The shoulder is later cooked and eaten (RITE.4.4). At the ritual accompanying the hearth-sacrifice, the head of the tent waves the shoulder (RITE.5.1.1.a). Pallas' term is 'das ganze rechte Schulterblatt', and refers certainly to the whole shoulder with foreleg.

Bergmann's account is problematical in that his term, 'eine Schafskeule', is ambiguous. It is waved by one officiant while another waves the hide bag (RITE.5.1.1.b), and clearly corresponds to the shoulder of the other accounts; however Bergmann elsewhere glosses Schafskeule as the tibia, *šayaitu čimüge* (1804, III:147).

Ööld of Chuguchak

Ramstedt implicitly confirms these reports in his Ööld dialect example under the head-word *dallγv*; it is with the *qa* that the beckoning is performed (KW:74a).

¹ Or *šayantu čimüge*. Precise definitions of these parts under 4.6.1.

Torguud of Etsingol

The lama son who officiates at the hearth sacrifice holds the shoulder of the sheep, hung with a scarf (RITE.5.1.1.e). In one of his two accounts Montell refers to it as 'a shoulder of mutton', but in the other as a shoulder-blade.

Ordos Mongols

The only account of the foreleg being circled in the ritual which is not for an Oirad group comes from the ceremony at Ejen qoruya¹ (RITE.6). Here the *qa* of the ritually slaughtered sheep is waved by a cult official. It has the lower leg and hoof still attached (*sigire-tü*).

Torguud of Bulgan sum

The tibia, carefully cleaned of all meat, is circled in the *dalalya* after the birth of a child (RITE.4.3.2), by one of the child's agnates. (There is no other report of this bone's being used in the beckoning.)

2.2. The vessel

The vessel is either:

- | | |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| - a small bag | textile or chamois-leather |
| - a large bag | animal hide |
| - a pail | wood |

2.2.1 The small bag

Kh. <i>dallagny sav</i>	<i>dallaga</i> vessel	the generally used term in the MPR
Kh. <i>xišgiin sav</i>	good-fortune vessel	Dornod <i>aimag</i> , p.c.
Kh. <i>dallagny uut</i>	<i>dallaga</i> bag	Dašdorj 1988:71
Mo. <i>dalaly-a-yin</i> <i>sang-un tayarčuy</i>	pouch for the treasure of the <i>dalalya</i>	Ordos, Mostaert 1962:212
Mo. <i>darčuy</i>	pouch	Ordos, Rintchen 1959:83

¹ In a personal communication, Mr. Sayinjiryal mentions two written reports of a public *dalalya* in which the officiant, the local prince (*vang*), circled a sheep's foreleg complete with lower leg and hoof. One report is for the Alashan Mongols, who are Oirad, the other for the Üzemčün, who are eastern Mongols (dated 1917).

All these terms refer to the same object: a little bag 3 to 8 inches high, with a drawstring, or tied below the mouth to close it. Those seen were made of silk, but the traditional material is said to be soft leather. No specific name exists for the bag; the terms Kh. *sav*, *uut*, Mo. *tayarčuy* are all in general use, for such objects as tobacco-pouches.

Figs. 2 to 7 show Bayad and Dörvöd *dalalya* bags. The Bayad bag in fig. 7 was said to be several generations old, and this seems to be borne out by the appearance of the silk. The drawstring is also of silk, and the bag is tightly stuffed with grain. Two similar bags hang from the Bayad arrow in figs. 2 and 3, but are not full. While these three bags are cylindrical, the others seen were pouch-shaped. Figs. 4 and 5 show two bags attached to a (probably) Dörvöd arrow. One is a Chinese embroidered silk reticule, Dörvöd *keteč*, Mo. *ketebči*, with semi-precious stones on its drawstrings. Such wares were sold by Chinese merchants in Mongolia, and were worn at their belt by Mongol women. They have no ritual function, and usually held a snuff-bottle. The other bag is a pouch of blue silk, on which traditional Mongol ornamental designs have been stitched using a sewing-machine. A long silk tassel hangs from its base.

The contents of the bags are various actually or symbolically 'precious' objects. Those recorded are as follows:

- fragments of silver, scraps of silk, beads, grain Ordos, Mostaert 1962:212
- coins, tiny fragments of the *yisün erdeni*, 'nine precious things'.¹ Dornod *aimag*, p.c.
- coins, tea Torguud, Wasilewski 1978:92
- grain, gold, silver p.c.
- grain, raisins Bayad, described above
- In the two bags used together: Dörvöd (?), described above
- grain, a dried berry
- a large bean, a silver ingot *yüvembüü*, the size of a thumbnail

The bag may also be used as a place of safekeeping for certain objects:

- precious things, such as ones wedding-ring² p.c.
 (referring to bags still preserved today)

¹ Silver, gold and seven different semi-precious stones. The concept is proper to lamaism, and is not native to Mongolia. Not all nine need be present; one or two are sufficient to represent the others.

² Wedding-rings have been introduced only recently, from the USSR.

- the piece of cloth which had been tied to a tent-pole (*bayana*) sticking out through the smoke-hole of the tent to announce a birth within Tangad 1987:50
- a magical dough horse, given by the Living Buddha that the recipient and his descendants might enjoy prosperity Bawden 1962:92

The contents of the bag as given by Mostaert are virtually identical to those of the bottle which is buried beneath a lamaist *obo*ya at its consecration, and both are referred to as *sang*, treasure (DO: 606b). The Peking lamaist ritual of 'conjuring up prosperity' used a container, *tariyan-u sang*, 'grain treasury' or granary, which held grain, fruits, drugs and precious stones and metals (Lessing 1942:143). It thus seems that the contents of the little bag are heavily influenced by lamaist practice.

The bag is said to have been received at marriage, at the same time as a tent and its furnishings, except in the case of the youngest son, who inherits the father's bag with his tent. It was made by an older person, usually the mother of one of the young couple. The owner of the bag could not place the contents in it himself; this was done by a lama or by an elderly and respected person. The contents then remained inside the bag, but were 'recharged' each year after the annual *dalalya*, by adding a pinch of new grain from the pail used in the ceremony¹ (p.c., Dornod *aimag*).

The bag is kept in the principal chest on which the tent altar rests (Mongol Urianxai), in the wooden box *burqan-u qayirčay* which stands on or below the altar, and contains ritual objects (Bayad, fieldwork 1989; Dornod *aimag*, p.c.), or is placed on the altar itself (Ordos, DO:114b). Alternatively, it may be permanently attached to the arrow (figs. 2, 4). The bag is still regarded as a holy object today; I was allowed to hold the bag shown in fig. 7, but not to lay it down anywhere other than on the altar.

2.2.2 The bag made of hide

Dörvöd	<i>dallagnā tulum</i>	hide-sack for the <i>dalalya</i>
Bayad	<i>dallyin tulum</i>	hide-sack for the <i>dalalya</i>
Bayad	<i>takilyan tulum</i>	offering hide-sack

¹ This account assumes the presence of *both* the little bag and the pail (c.f. 3.1).

The vessel used in all the reports of the Dörvöd Kalmuck *dalalya* was a larger leather bag ('lederner Sack') (RITE.5.1.1.a,b and RITE.4.4). It contained pieces of meat, and thus differs radically from the small bags just described.

The Bayad and Dörvöd of Uvs *aimag* were still performing their *dalalya* with such a bag within living memory, a container made by removing the hide from an animal in one piece, *tulum*.¹ A goat's or sometimes a sheep's hide was used, and the bag would thus be 2 ft. or more high.² One Bayad herdsman specified that the hide was sewn up at the neck, leaving a very wide opening at the rump end (fieldwork 1989).

The contents of the *tulum* were significant pieces of meat, and sometimes also milk products and fried cakes. One Dörvöd said that besides the meat it held grain, and that precious things were kept in it; it should be hidden from outsiders, and never given to anyone else, and it must be undamaged, or one's luck would run out. The *tulum* of this report compares more closely to the little bag, as a symbolic store of treasures.

It seems that the original form taken by the *dalalya* vessel may have been a hide bag, containing meat. The small textile bag containing precious substances which are not native to the Mongol area would then have been adopted under lamaist influence. It is significant that Mongols say the little bag should ideally be made of soft dressed lamb-skin or kid; textiles are an essentially foreign element.

2.2.3 The pail

Kh. <i>dallagny sav</i>	<i>dalalya</i> vessel	Wasilewski 1978:93
Mo. <i>sayulya</i>	pail	generally used term
Mo. <i>dalalya-yin sayulya</i>	<i>dalalya</i> pail	generally used term
Mo. <i>dalalya-yin sang-un sayulya</i>	pail for the treasure of the <i>dalalya</i>	Ordos, DO:591b
Kh. <i>bortogo xuvín</i>	tub, pail	Myangad, Sonomtseren 1975:60
Mo. <i>könög</i>	bucket, pail	Xori Buryat, Poppe 1935:112

¹ In the manner of a wine-skin; the head and feet are normally cut off first, and the carcass is skinned starting from the rear end. Either the neck or the rear end of the hide is sewn up to form the bottom of the bag, which is used as a flour-sack etc. (c.f. Gočoo 1963: 21, 25 (illustrations); Serruys 1981:111).

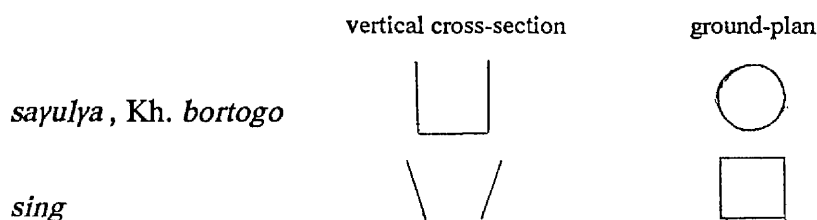
² A Dörvöd (Türgen *sum*) called the bag '*ix tom šar tulum*', which I understood as 'a very big yellow *tulum*'. However *šar* is also the current Dörvöd term for an ox, and '*šar tulum*' can equally well mean 'an ox-hide *tulum*'.

These terms all refer to a metal-hooped wooden pail with vertical sides and a bucket-type handle, such as is generally used for milking. There is no specific name for the ritual pail; the same terms are used to refer to the corresponding domestic utensil.¹ In contemporary Khalkha usage, *xuvin* and *xönög* are alternative regional names for the milk-pail.

The pail should be flawless, i.e. undamaged (Heissig 1966:118). If this requirement is not mentioned more frequently in the accounts, it is not because it is unimportant, but rather because it is taken for granted. No broken or cracked vessel may be used, either in the context of hospitality, or in relations with the supernatural world.²

The pail contains meat or grain; meat is characteristic of the native Mongol ritual, and grain of the Tibetan lamaist practices which overlaid it.

When grain is used, the *dalalya* arrow may also be kept in the pail, stuck point down into the grain. In this case the pail itself is sometimes replaced in Inner Mongolia by a wooden grain-measure *sing* (from Ch. *shēng*), or both may appear together (Chahar, Hangin p.c.; Üzemčin, RITE.1.1.1).



Wasilewski (1978:93) lists the contents of the Torguud vessel as: the arrow, chosen pieces of meat, raisins, scraps of silver and coral, grain. Here meat and grain appear together rather than as alternatives, combined with the precious objects more characteristic of the little bag. These would be wrapped in silk to separate them from the meat (fieldwork 1988).

In Inner Mongolia the pail may contain *amusu*, cooked millet or rice, sometimes mixed with raisins (Üzemčin, RITE.1.1.1). Although this is a form of grain, and its presence is attributable to lamaist influence, it is structurally an equivalent of the meat of the native ritual, rather than the grain of the Tibetan version, since it represents the sacrificial food which is later eaten. Non-meat foods

¹ One of the names given to the little bag is Kh. *xišgiin sav*, 'kesig vessel'. A term Kh. *xišgiin xuvin*, 'kesig pail' also exists; this is the pail from which libations of mares' milk are made at *čačuli* rituals (Humphrey 1981:80). This pail is however almost certainly *not* the *dalalya* pail.

² It is an insult to offer a cracked bowl. A damaged object cannot be endowed with *sünesii*, 'soul', and is thus so to speak 'dead' (Hamayon 1971:166).

would have been introduced into the ritual in the context of lamaist disapproval of blood-sacrifice.

One account of the vessel, from a Mongol living in Peking (Nima p.c.), is here treated separately, as it may reflect a sinicized or lamaist variant of the ritual. This vessel is the sloping-sided grain-measure, although it is referred to not as *sing*, but as *sayulya*; it is 2 *toqoi* high, that is twice the length of a forearm, and thus considerably larger than the vessel in other accounts. Its contents are:

- the seeds of 9 (varieties of) grain, or sometimes 5 (varieties)
- silver and gold
- scraps of silk and satin
- respected or rare things, or materials which symbolize the benefit and blessings *kesig qutuy* (requested in the ritual)
- the *dalalya* bowl, *dalalya-yin ayaya*

The writer explains that if one finds a rare and precious object, *qobur čuqay yayuma*, one adds it to the contents of the vessel; or if one makes a gift, the first (best) part of it is retained, *degeji-yi ni abču*, and added to the vessel. The contents are close to those listed by Lessing for the 'granary' of the Peking lamaist ritual (2.2.1 above), but in the Mongol context they approximate to the usual contents of the little bag, rather than the pail.

The '*dalalya* bowl' mentioned is not recorded elsewhere.¹ At the time of the ritual the bowl is filled with 9 varieties of grain, crumbled tea (from a tea-brick), cheese, butter, sugar, fruits etc., and is put in the larger vessel. The implication is that the contents of the large vessel are permanent, but that the bowl is filled specially for each performance of the ritual.

This account is partially corroborated by data for the Khorčin.² Here the vessel, *šeng*, is made of sandalwood. It contains nine kinds of grain, nine little flags *dalbaya* in nine colours, incense, the arrow and precious things. The latter include *tngri-yin sumu* (lit. 'projectiles of heaven') and other rare and strange iron objects (Kürelbayatur and Urančimeg 1988:292-3). *Tngri-yin sumu* are metal objects, believed to derive from the heavens, which may be picked up in the steppe: ancient arrow-heads and bronzes, or pieces of meteorite.

¹ It is however listed by Mostaert (DO:114b) as 'bol employé pour faire la cérémonie du *Dalalya*'.

² It may in fact be partly based on the Khorčin material.

2.3 The meat

Parts of a sheep slaughtered for the occasion figure in most, but not all, variants of the *dalalya*. Meat of other species may, exceptionally, be burnt at the ritual or consumed,¹ but is not used in the *dalalya* actions.

No special terminology is used, other than the everyday anatomical terms. The Buryat are an exception in that they use a term *dalanga* or *dalalya* to refer to the meat, 'that which is waved', rather than to the ritual itself; see TERM.3.²

No meat appears in the minor occasional rituals which the Mongols themselves refer to not as *dalalya*, but as *quruyilaqu*: at the departure of a child or a dead body (RITE.4.2).

Meat, bones and entrails of the sheep figure in the actions of the *dalalya* in either or both of two ways: the leg may be the beckoning instrument, or parts of the sheep may be placed in the *dalalya* vessel, which is then circled. In both cases the meat is later eaten, usually by members of that family only.

The specific parts concerned are analysed in section 4.6. Several of the Oirad accounts specify that the meat must be raw at the time of the circling, although it may afterwards be cooked.

Where a feast accompanies the ritual, the remainder of the sheep's carcass provides the food; this meat is not to be regarded as a requisite of the ritual, and there are no restrictions as to who may eat it.

¹ Antelope at the *dalalya* of the camels, goat at the Oirad hearth sacrifice, beef at the slaughtering ceremony.

² The Buryat use specific terminology for parts of the animals (not necessarily sheep) offered and eaten in the context of the *tayilya* (RITE.8.2).

3. MANNER OF USE

The accounts examined in the chapter on the Ritual have already provided a picture of the use made of the requisites in the various forms of the *dalalya*. That material is summed up here.

3.1 Requisites used by the officiant

One of the identifying characteristics of a *dalalya* is the circling of some significant object held in the hands. The action may be performed by the officiant only, or by all the participants.

The object which is circled by the officiant is either the ritual arrow (or analogous object: forked stick, sheep's leg), or a pail or hide sack of food, or both.¹

When an arrow is used, it is held in the right hand, vertical but slightly inclined, with the point downwards. It is rotated with a movement of the wrist rather than of the arm (Hangin p.c.; Tsültem 1986:pl. 162).

Only when a pail is *not* used is the arrow accompanied by the little bag of precious objects. Pail and little bag are alternatives,² and they do not occur together in any published account. A report from Dornod *aimag* combines the two, however; here, after the ceremony, a few grains from the pail are put into the little bag (2.2.1). It seems that in eastern Mongolia at least, the pail of grain was part of the paraphernalia of lamas taking part in the ritual, while the little bag belonged to the tent on whose behalf it was performed.³

The structure of the Üzemčün autumn ritual tends to confirm this conclusion (RITE.1.1.1). After the lamas have performed their rituals, which involve a grain-measure *sing* full of decorated arrows, the head of the tent carries out the central ritual of beckoning with his *own* pail and an arrow. His pail is here equivalent to the little bag of the Dornod report.

¹ The *dalalya* at slaughtering is exceptional in that the only requisite is a bunch of cattle-hair, collected and kept carefully from year to year, wrapped in a ritual scarf *qaday* (RITE.4.2.1).

² c.f. also Mostaert DO:114b, under $\mathfrak{D}\alpha\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{g}\tilde{\alpha}\ \mathfrak{š}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{r}$, and 591b, under $\mathfrak{D}\alpha\mathfrak{L}\mathfrak{a}\mathfrak{g}\tilde{\alpha}\ \mathfrak{s}\tilde{\mathfrak{u}}\mathfrak{l}\mathfrak{g}\mathfrak{a}$; Hakanchulu n.d. 119 n.5.

³ It is also possible that the people of several tents may have held a joint ritual, several bags being 'recharged' from one pail of grain. Formally, this could be seen as equivalent to the distribution of portions of meat at rituals which had not been subject to lamaist influence.

The significant parts of the meat, circled in the pail or the hide bag, are the principal requisite at the *dalalya* for the hearth-sacrifice and at the shamanist 'fire-sacrifices' (as well as at the Buryat *tayilya*); but meat does not appear at the autumn *dalalya* as a requisite (although it is consumed).¹ The autumn ritual differs fundamentally in this respect, and it seems that the circling of meat by the officiant is to be associated with the presence of a fire.

3.2 Requisites of those present

Nearly all the accounts state that others present at the ritual join in the cry *qurui*, and accompany it with a circular gesture.

In no case do the participants hold ritual objects such as the *dalalya* arrow. In many of the accounts, they circle an ordinary bowl of meat or other food, or alternatively small pieces of cheese held in cupped hands, or in their own pouch for flints and tinder (c.f. RITE.1.1.2.i, Torguud). The 'vessel' may thus be the person's own; but the food in it is necessarily his portion of the offering food prepared for the ceremony, and distributed to those present. The occurrence of cheese can perhaps be put down to the lamaist discouragement of blood-sacrifice.

Alternatively, participants may circle a precious or respected object of their own - snuff-bottle, rosary, ear-ring - in the left hand, covered with the right (*ibid.*), or simply held in the right hand (fig. 11).

The contents of whatever 'vessel' is used thus fall into the same two alternative categories as do the contents of the officiant's vessel: meat (or other food), as in the pail or sack, and precious objects, as in the *closed* vessel of the little bag. The alternatives reflect differing relationships between the participants and the supernatural addressees of the ritual. In the first case the benefit received, represented in meat, is shared out amongst the members of a group which is entitled to it, while in the second, each individual present holds his own personal symbol of material wealth, presumably in the hope that it will be increased. Were one to construct ideal models of these rituals, the offering would be addressed to an ancestor in the first case, and to a generalized lamaist deity in the second; but the reality is not so clear-cut.

A recent film shows what could be described as a vestigial *dalalya* ceremony, at a feast inUvs *aimag* (RITE.7.5.3). As those present echo the cry of *qurui* they hold up their open cupped hands (but *not* with one hand covering the other) in

¹ Only two Oirad accounts suggest that meat might have been circled: RITE.1.1.2 (h) and (i). However an independent autumn *dalalya* is unusual in Oirad groups; both accounts are ambiguous, and may in fact refer to a hearth sacrifice in autumn.

front of their chests, and circle them, holding whatever was to hand - bowl of drink, pipe - or simply empty.¹

That the cupped hands can be empty implies two things: the gesture must be significant in itself (discussed under TERM.1.5), and something is expected to be received (c.f. 4.4 below). Cupped hands are in themselves a 'vessel', *saba*, conceptualized as something to be filled.² The early accounts for the Dörvöd Kalmuck also imply that the people present perform the gesture with empty hands, as does fig. 11 for the Ordos, but the hands seem *not* to be cupped (RITE.5.1.1.a,b). There is a possible suggestion here that in more archaic forms of the ritual, it is the circular movement of the gesture which is significant. The notion of receiving something is perhaps distinct, and to be associated with a different conception of the supernatural.

3.3 Rituals with no officiant

In two hunters' *dalalya* there seems to be no distinction between officiant and others present (RITE.4.1.1.a,c). The hunter or hunters circle the dead body of a small animal (i.e. meat) immediately after killing it, in one case inside the hunter's hat (i.e. vessel). In the Ordos it is the pelt (i.e. the valuable part) which is waved. No further requisites appear.

¹ Although this film should perhaps not be taken as reliable evidence, the local people acting in it were old enough to be able to remember genuine performances of a *dalalya*; it seems probable that the hand positions at least are genuine.

² For example, to hold out ones cupped hand, palm upwards, out of doors at a season when rain is not desired is dangerous, since it can bring the rain down (Hamayon 1971:164).

4. SYMBOLIC ASPECTS OF THE REQUISITES

The classification of the requisites which has been presented is based on their morphology; for example an arrow and a stick have been regarded as variants of one model. Here they are examined in the context of native symbolic representations. Reference is also made to the representations of other Altaic groups.

4.1 The arrow

A number of writers have dealt with the symbolism of the arrow in Mongolia and related culture areas (Roux 1977, Éliade 1968, Serruys 1958). One should distinguish, however, between its symbolism as a weapon of war (particularly in the historical period when it was in current use), as a hunting weapon, and as a ritual requisite. It is probably not justifiable to regard it as 'the same' object in all cases, and the symbolic connotations of the arrow are many-layered.

4.1.1 Associations of the *dalalya* arrow

An examination of the symbolism of the five-pronged ritual arrow and its decorations in the Tibetan context lies outside the scope of this thesis. The Mongol herdsmen would not have had such knowledge, nor, probably, would many Mongol lamas. They interpreted the morphology of the arrow in terms of their own cultural representations; thus the five prongs are thought variously to represent the five species of livestock *tabun qosiyu mal* kept by the Mongols (Xorloo 1969:54), or the four cardinal points, plus heaven above (Hangin p.c.). Lessing, discussing the arrows present at the lamaist ceremony 'conjuring up prosperity' in Peking, confirms the second interpretation (1942:142). Both these interpretations belong to the three-dimensional world of steppe herding groups, rather than the hunters' forest world 'd'en face', and are reflected in the *dalalya* texts themselves, where they are linked by the sense; the 'good-fortune' of each species is envisaged in turn as coming to the supplicant from one of the cardinal directions, as well as from heaven in a general sense.¹

Certain south Siberian hunting groups regard the arrow of the hunter as independent of the man who releases it, and able to 'home' on its prey (Lot-Falck

¹ See TEXT.3.2, the 'fire' *dalalya* texts.

1953:158-9), flying, as Roux remarks, like a trained falcon (1977:9). Although nothing in the literature suggests a connection between the *dalalya* arrow and these ideas, it might be significant that the feathering of the arrow is necessarily from a bird of prey (eagle, vulture). The spirit-helpers of the shaman are represented typically as predatory animals or birds. An auxiliary spirit in the form of a hawk may be the shaman's means of catching the souls, in the shape of little birds, of unborn members of his clan (Uray-Kóhalmi 1970:253-4). Since the *dalalya* is a procedure for obtaining life-force - 'souls' - it is not impossible that the shaman's use of an arrow in the ritual could be seen as contributing to this end.

The literature in fact includes only two accounts of a Mongol *dalalya* in which the officiant was a shaman(ess), and in neither was an arrow used (RITE.4.4). We know, however, that the Buryat ritual for calling the soul performed by a shaman required the presence of an arrow (Sandschejew 1927:580); it is not possible to conclude from its absence from the accounts alone that the *dalalya* arrow was not characteristic of shamanism.

The bow and arrow occur as requisites of the professional shaman in the Mongolian-south Siberian area, but primarily as a symbolic weapon, intended to frighten evil spirits (Éliade 1951:147). The arrow does not figure alone in this context, and there seems to be no connection with the *dalalya*, where the arrow is necessarily alone, and not associated with a bow. It is used to 'beckon' the benefits for the sake of which the ritual is performed, and its function is thus diametrically opposed to that of the weapon-arrow, which is used to repel.

The geographical distribution of the arrow as requisite in the *dalalya* tends to suggest that it does not derive from shamanist representations. It appears in every available account for Inner Mongolia (with the exception of the spring *dalalya* of the camels - an arrow is not characteristic for spring *dalalya*, c.f. RITE.2 and 3). It seems also to be general in Khalkha, but is not recorded for the Kalmuck. Among the other Oirad groups, an arrow appears in public *dalalya* ceremonies performed by lamas (for example after an *oboya* sacrifice), but in only two accounts is it the principal requisite in a private ritual. Both are for the Bayad; one is distinguished by its early autumn date, suggesting that it reflects the eastern Mongol ritual, while in the other a lama officiates with the head of the family (RITE.1.1.2.j,k). The arrow does not seem to be essential to the native Oirad ritual in its unlamaized form.¹

In Inner Mongolia, the elaborate Tibetan form of the arrow is regarded as the ideal; it is seen as a mark of poverty or low status if a herdsman has a simple

¹ Although it was stated that every Dörvöd tent owns (but does not use?) a ritual arrow (fieldwork 1989). Potanin writes that the forked stick circled in a Dörvöd *dalalya* was in fact called *sumu*, arrow (RITE.5.1.1.c).

arrow, or none at all (Chahar, Hangin p.c.). In this light it seems unlikely that the arrow belongs to the native folk religion of the area.

The arrow plays a different role in the Buryat context. In some Buryat texts for the hearth-sacrifice, a ritual arrow is *offered* to the fire¹ (Poppe 1972:179, 181). Potanin's description of this ritual has the arrow in a pail of cream; it remains there, while the family eat the cream, and is not used in any beckoning (1881, IV:91). In another account, the arrow is consecrated to the hearth-spirit, and is afterwards kept with the *ongyod* (spirit-supports) on the lattice-wall of the tent (Harva 1938:235). No *dalalya* is mentioned.

It seems that the Buryat associate the ritual arrow with the annual hearth-sacrifice, but not with a *dalalya*. A Buryat writer defines the arrow simply as 'a special arrow for the request of heavenly and earthly benefits at a sacred ceremony' (Sandschejew 1927:580).

The circling of an arrow thus seems to be characteristic of the ritual in those Mongol areas where the influence of the lamaist church was strong, but not in the north and west, where shamanistic *practices* persisted in spite of the currency of lamaist *beliefs*. This would seem to indicate that the *dalalya* arrow is a requisite which spread with lamaism, and has roots neither in institutionalized shamanism nor in native Mongol representations.²

If the arrow was not characteristic of the native Mongol *dalalya*, but was borrowed into it, the examination of its symbolism may not add to our knowledge of the ritual. However, the very fact that it was adopted, and into a ritual performed essentially by lay-men and not lamas, may be significant in itself.

¹ The arrow as offering seems to be a lamaist concept; such offerings were made at lamaist *oboja* sacrifices (Bawden 1958:38). There the arrow was said to 'distill long life and felicity', and it is possible that the practice of offering it is a means of 'charging' it for later ritual use. A *dalalya* was in fact performed later in the *oboja* ceremony (RITE.7.2).

² In Tuva lamaism and shamanism coexisted, as they did in Buryatia. The Mončooogo Tuvinian *dalalya* uses no arrow, but Potapov describes a ritual in Tuva itself at which both the arrow and the bag are present (RITE.5.1.8.k,l). This wooden ritual arrow, Tuv. *ydyk ok*, is an Tuv. *eren*, the support of a spirit thought to protect the tent (1969:365). The Tuvinian *eren* is the equivalent of the Buryat *ongyon*, and although a completely different origin cannot be ruled out for this object, it seems likely that the lamaist *dalalya* arrow of the Mongols has been adopted (as were many other aspects of Mongol culture) and re-classified according to the native Tuvinian scheme of the world. As something with the numinous power of bestowing prosperity on the owner, it falls into the category of objects enlivened by a spirit. The Dörvöd arrows mentioned above (note) which seem not to be used in a *dalalya*, and the Buryat arrow which hangs with the *ongyod*, may similarly be thought to support a spirit.

4.1.2 The wedding arrows

Texts for an arrow presented to the groom during the wedding ritual connect it explicitly with the *dalalya* he will perform in the future in his capacity as head of a family.

The custom that the groom should set out to fetch his bride carrying bow and quiver persisted well into this century; it was said to indicate that he was capable of hunting, fighting and becoming the head of a family (Even 1987:134-5). In some eastern Mongol areas the father of the bride presented an arrow to the groom before he left again with the bride. The texts for this occasion, *sumun-u irügel*, ode for the arrow, were spoken by the father, and describe both the arrow and the qualities of its new owner as expressed in his use of it: a hero in war, blessed with good-fortune in the *dalalya*, and with rich game in the hunt:

Kh. *Dain deer baival*
dainyg darj
darxan baatar tsolyg olj
dallagan deer baival
dalai met buyan čuulganyg xuraaj
bogd xangain urdaas agsan mordvol
bor görösiig namnaj ...

East Khalkha, Sampildendev 1987: 295¹

When he is at war
defeating the enemy
gaining the title of a recognized hero,
when he is at the *dalalya*
gathering an accumulation of merit [vast] as the sea,
when he rides armed from before the holy Xangai
shooting the roe deer ...

The custom is apparently not recorded for the western Mongols (c.f. Ayuuš 1982). It seems to represent a confirmation by the bride's side of the status of the groom as head of a household, authorized through the symbolic gift of the arrow to act in its defence, to represent it in the ritual sphere, and to provide for it in the economic sphere.

This interpretation confirms the dissociation of the custom from western Mongolia, where the use of an arrow in the *dalalya* is unusual, and where the *ritual* independence of a son came, not at marriage, but generally years later and only after

¹ c.f. also Heissig 1966:174 (Chahar).

the death of the father (Szyrkiewicz 1981:103). Among the Oirad a father and married sons frequently functioned as one ritual unit, even though all but the youngest son would be living in a separate tent.¹

It confirms at the same time the association of the *dalalya* arrow with areas of lamaist influence, expressed, among other things, in a policy of weakening the potential patrilineage by encouraging the early independence of each son from the father. Thus in Khalkha and Inner Mongolia each tent functions as a separate ritual unit (*ibid.* 103-4). It is entirely in keeping with this scheme that a *dalalya* arrow should be received at marriage, at the same time as a tent, a herd, and an image of a lamaist protector-deity for the tent altar, *ayil-un sitügen*.² The arrow thus emerges, not only as a lamaistic element, but perhaps as an element deliberately introduced into Mongolia by missionizing lamaism, though for political rather than sectarian reasons, just as the non-specific *ayil-un sitügen* was introduced to replace the older support of the lineage's ancestral protector-spirit.

This wedding custom may imply that the *dalalya* arrow as used by a lay-man was not the elaborate Tibetan form of ritual arrow used by lamas or noblemen in the ceremony. The Tibetan arrow, loaded with scarves, mirrors and so on, could not be fired; the arrow of the wedding gift is an ordinary one. There is no indication in the texts or in the literature as to whether the wedding arrow is *physically* the same arrow as the groom will use to perform future *dalalya*. When he receives it, he is already wearing a full quiver, which according to one text he has inherited from his parents:³

ečige eke-eče ulamjilaysan

erdeni numu sayaday

Heissig 1966:177

handed down from father and mother

precious bow and quiver

The inheritance of objects for male use is in the male line, and this mention of *both* parents as the source is perhaps significant. The new arrow presented to him by the father of the bride is likewise the gift of both parents-in-law:

¹ This was not so among the heavily lamaized Kalmuck; Bergmann reports that father and eldest son performed separate 'fire' *dalalya* (RITE.5.1.1.b).

² The relationship between the annual worship of this deity and the *dalalya* ritual was examined under RITE.1.1.1.

³ In actual fact it was usually borrowed from an acquaintance for the occasion; during the last hundred years at least it was not something that a common herdsman would own (Dornod, B. Damdin, p.c.).

Kh. *xadam aav eejiin cin'*
xairlan xürteej ögsön
erdeniin oyuun tsagaan sum

East Khalkha, Sampildendev 1987:295

the precious turquoise-gem white arrow
graciously presented
by your father- and mother-in-law

If we envisage a hypothetical ideal situation where, in each generation, the arrow presented by the affines (and, since the mother-in-law is also named as giver, by the affines of the affines) is added to the quiver which will subsequently be inherited by the son of that marriage, the contribution of the son's mother in this inheritance is clarified. The symbolism of the wedding arrows seems to privilege alliance at the expense of patrilinear descent, and thus contradicts the prevailing kinship ideology of Mongolia (c.f. Humphrey 1978). This may be due simply to the fact that the wedding is the one occasion on which it is impossible to ignore alliance. It could, perhaps, be another example of deliberate weakening of ties within the agnatic group through the manipulation of ritual. It may, however, be relevant to the analysis of the *dalalya*, for which affinal relationships may once have been more significant; this is discussed under TEXT.8.2.

4.1.3 Other data

The *dalalya* arrow is reported to have had special significance, into the present century, for isolated Mongol groups left in south China (presumably since the fall of the Yuan dynasty). They apparently identified themselves as Mongol through two things: their written genealogy, and their *dalalya* arrow (Hangin p.c.). This implies that, if the arrow was originally a lamaist element, it was possibly an early borrowing, dating from the first 'conversion' of the Mongols at the time of the Empire, and not from the general lamaization of the 16th-17th centuries. It also implies that (notwithstanding the arguments of the preceding section) the arrow may function as a symbol of descent.

4.1.4 The 'decorations' of the arrow

The custom of hanging the little *dalalya* bag from the arrow is dealt with under 4.4. The other principal 'decorations' - silken scarves or streamers, a mirror - are

characteristic of the Tibetan ritual arrow, and were borrowed with it, but they coincide at the same time with native ritual practice.

The scarves

Cloth streamers *jalama*, which are often simply torn strips of material, appear very widely in ritual contexts throughout the Mongol - south Siberian area. They are hung as offerings in trees and on *oboja* which are thought to be the residence of local spirits (Harva 1938:395). They also appear in shamanistic ritual, fluttering from a rope between two birch stakes, or from the tops of birch trees set up for ritual purposes (Potanin 1881, IV: plate XVIII fig. 80; Harva 1938:565). The streamers have two distinct functions; they may be offerings, or they may themselves be the support of a spirit (Diószegi 1978:131 and, for Mongolia, Delaby 1973:203). Streamers also hang from the shaman's staff (c.f. 4.3.1) and other requisites.

Visually, these streamers coincide with the ritual scarves which are proper to lamaism.¹ Even today objects used in a ritual context in Mongolia, like the ladle for sprinkling libations, customarily have a white scarf *qaday* or a scrap of cloth tied to them. The streamers on the arrow are by no means foreign in the Mongol context, although where they are of five different colours, rather than white only, the influence of lamaist colour symbolism is evident.²

The mirror

Polished metal mirrors, usually of Chinese make, appear on the costume of the professional shaman in Mongol and Manchu-Tungus areas (Lindgren 1935:372), where they are either protective (armour), or represent the shaman's ability to 'see', or perform divination. The mirror hanging from the arrow seems unlikely to be connected with these functions, unless it be simply that, because of its associations with the shaman, the mirror was thought to be ritually powerful, and so suitable to decorate the arrow.³

The mirror may be replaced by a shiny disc or (in Buryatia) by brass buttons (Harva 1938:235; Sandschejew 1927:580). In Buryat *ongyod*, supports of a spirit, such objects may represent souls (Humphrey 1970:395); this significance is

¹ Discussion in Delaby *op. cit.* 206-9.

² The five colours may also be associated with the five directions represented in the arrow's five prongs; c.f. Snellgrove 1957:66. A lamaist concept is likewise the basis of a practice reported for Inner Mongolia; after a particularly holy Incarnation had visited herdsmen, they would wipe out the bowl from which he had drunk with a *qaday*, and tie it to their *dalalya* arrow (Hyer and Jagchid 1983:103).

³ In some areas a mirror hung with streamers is the support of the shaman's auxiliary spirit (Delaby 1973:225-6).

dependant on the context provided by the *ongyon*, and is not transferable to another context such as that of the arrow, but an association may nevertheless be in operation.

Coins

Coins may be hung from the arrow, usually Chinese copper coins, easy to use because of the hole through the centre. These probably signify on two levels: as equivalents for the 'mirror', or as symbols of the riches hoped for. In this second sense they reflect lamaist influence; in the native ritual the 'riches' called for are children and herds, not material wealth. The appearance of 'elephants' tusks' on the arrow, proper to the Indian culture area, is a similar lamaist accretion.

Feathers

The feathering of the arrow is regarded as important,¹ and in some variants of the ritual a whole feather appears.² The headdress of the Mongol or Altaian shaman is of owl or eagle feathers,³ or else represents antlers.⁴ Although in the context of the professional shaman's costume feathers represent the power of flight - that is to the upper world - with which he is endowed, 'amateur' shamans were not thought to have this ability, which is a function of the ideology of institutionalized shamanism, and the headdress may be regarded rather as a form of antennae. Similar vertical spikes are portrayed on the heads of figures supposed to have supernatural powers which appear in Buryat *ongyod* (Humphrey 1970:395). The upward and outward branching form of feather or antler⁵ acts as a 'receiver' for a force which originates in the supernatural dimension;⁶ the feathering on the arrow,

¹ The reason for this is not clear. Typically the feathers are from a vulture, *tas*; there is a single (unexplained) reference to the *tas* as the bird which carries the soul (Bawden 1985:13 n.25).

² c.f. 2.1.2. This seems to be a Tibetan practice, c.f. Jäschke 1972:122 Tib. *sgro* 'a large feather used for an ornament of arrows', although Kõhalmi doubts this definition (1956:124).

³ Mončooogo Tuvinians, Taube 1981:63; Darxad, Even 1987:160.

⁴ Buryat, Lindgren 1935:367.

⁵ This interpretation does not exclude the image of antlered shaman as the bull-reindeer who contracts a marriage alliance with a female deer-spirit, in order to obtain game (= life energy) for his group; but it belongs rather to a different world-view, in which the supernatural sources of life are already at one remove from the lived-in world, c.f. Lot Falck 1953:222.

⁶ The Darxad shaman has one feather in his headdress for each generation of shaman-ancestors which preceded him (Even 1987:162). His ancestors are the source of his powers; the feathers not only stand for the ancestors, they may also connect the shaman with them, and authorize him to communicate with the supernatural.

or in the Tibetan variant, the branching spikes, may have a similar function (c.f. 4.3 below).

Hair

A twist of animal-hair (normally horse-hair) is fixed to some arrows (Bayad,¹ figs. 2, 3; Taube 1983:pl. 40).

The ritual arrow of the Monguor offers an explanation; it has the decorations of the Tibetan arrow which is its prototype (scarves, mirror), but with the addition of human and animal hair. Of these 'decorations' the most essential is thought to be sheep's wool.² The arrow is not used in a *dalalya*; it represents rather a static 'guarantee' of prosperity. Its function is to 'keep back' a part of that which goes out from the family's sphere, and the part may then become the means of its regeneration (Schröder 1952:50, 52-4).

The practice of saving some hair from an animal slaughtered or sold is widespread in Mongolia. Its usual destination is the *čiytaya* rope in the tent, where it is left to hang (Torguud, Montell 1940:83); alternatively it may be burnt (Khalkha, Potanin 1881, II:94). The hair on the Mongol arrow is certainly from the same source or, possibly, from a favourite or prized horse which died naturally. Indeed in the Ordos *dalalya* at slaughtering, the requisite circled is not an arrow, but simply a bunch of hair saved from the cattle (RITE.4.2.1). This hair is called *üker-ün buyan kesig*, the *buyan kesig* of the cattle, that is a support of their life-energy.³

While the Monguor arrow represents a 'store', the Mongol arrow (and the *čiytaya* rope) seem to function here as antennae which facilitate the recycling of the force in the hairs; in the case of the arrow this is reinforced by the circular gestures (c.f. TERM.1.5).⁴

¹ c.f. the twists of hair which are hung, with cloth streamers, from Tuvinian spirit-supports, Tuv. *eren* = Mo. *ongyon* (Vajnštejn 1978:459); like the streamers, these may be paths for the spirit, or may support it (Delaby 1973:227).

² The Tibetan divination-arrow as described in song by a bard is decorated with threads of white wool from the shoulder of the ancestor of all sheep (German: Ur-Schaf), who causes the grain to grow and milk to flow. This sheep is seen as the basis of human society, the original animal that makes existence possible (Tucci 1970:259, 261). As well as providing for man's material existence with its meat and wool, the sheep seems here to function as a mythical support for the vital energy of the entire natural world. According to Herrmanns, it is called in Amdo Tib. *g-yang dkar lug*, 'good-fortune white (good) sheep' (1949:86). This creature is invoked in a Tibetan text for the ceremony of beckoning good-fortune, see TEXT.3.4.1 (note).

³ Montell recounts a Torguud legend which provides the explanation of how a bunch of wool came to fulfill this function (n.d. 84-5).

⁴ Twists of wool play other roles in some *dalalya* rituals: strings of sheep's wool are wound around the breastbone and burnt with it by the Dörvöd (Pallas 1801:343, RITE.4.4; Potanin 1881, IV:90, RITE 5.1.1.c), and camel hair may be burnt (RITE.3.3) or offered to a lamaist image (Torguud, RITE.5.1.1.e).

4.2 The sheep's leg

The connotations of the various parts into which the slaughtered animal is divided are analysed under 4.6. Here only the role of the sheep's leg as the object waved in the *dalalya* is examined.

4.2.1 The tibia *šayaitu čimügc*

The sheep's tibia, a bone of the hind leg, without meat, was circled in the Torguud *dalalya* for the birth of a child; the bone seems to function as a symbol of the connection between the child and the lineage into which it is born, and is thus specific to the birth ritual. In addition it is perhaps the seat of an external soul of the child (RITE.4.3.2).

4.2.2 The foreleg and shoulder *qa*

The sheep's foreleg, with the shoulder, is used in the Oirad ritual with the meat still on, and it is raw at the time of the circling gesture. It is cooked later, in other words separately from the rest of the animal, and eaten after one or three days (Dörvöd Kalmuck, RITE.4.4 and 5.1.1.a), or by members of the family performing the ritual and no-one else (Dörvöd of Türgen, RITE.5.1.1.h). It seems that here it is the meat (rather than the bones of the leg) which is the significant element; it is comparable to the meat contained in the vessel, which may be surrounded by similar prescriptions (Dörvöd, RITE.5.1.1.c; Buryat, RITE.4.4).¹

Two of the accounts stress that the foreleg still has the foot and hoof on it (*sigire-tü*): for the Bayad, where the foreleg is not waved, but is inside the hide bag (RITE.5.1.1.i), and for Ejen qoruya in the Ordos (RITE.6). In the latter case this could, conceivably, be a matter of convenience; the lower leg is easier to grasp for the circling gesture. However the hooves of an animal, together with the bones, head, hide and internal organs, are the parts of the carcase which are thought to be significant in their relation to the life-energy of the individual animal and of its species, among south Siberian and Altaic groups. Specific procedures are applied to these parts, not only when an animal is sacrificed, but also when a game-animal is killed or a domestic animal is routinely slaughtered (c.f. 4.6).

¹ The Buryat vessel actually contains the foreleg, with other parts, although it is not used as the beckoning instrument.

The significance of the lower leg-bone and hoof *sigire* seems to be confirmed by an addition made by Sayinjiryal, in a letter, to his published account of the Ordos ritual: after the circling gesture, the lower leg-bone is separated from the *qa* at the joint, and is burnt. The meat of the *qa* (already cooked) is eaten. In the older variant of the *dalalya* at Ejen qoruya, during the private *yarli* ritual, the foreleg is not circled, but is inside the vessel of meat, and does *not* have the lower leg attached. The writer stresses that the lower leg-bone has no place in the vessel.

Like the arrow, the sheep's foreleg may be regarded as a 'receiver' for the energy summoned in the ritual, which is absorbed by the meat,¹ and subsequently transferred to those who eat it. It seems that in order to receive the energy, the meat (at least among the Oirad) should be raw. The *bones* in the foreleg, on the other hand, may be functioning as carriers of the life-energy which had been the part of that particular sheep, and which is to be recycled.

The waving of the raw limb of a newly-killed sheep would be consistent with a developmental schema, the original ritual being performed by hunters after a kill, and later variants becoming 'domesticated', and introducing vessels and cooking. There is no data to support such a hypothesis, although hunting beliefs are certainly basic to the logic of the *dalalya* (c.f. RITE.4.1 and 4.2.1).

The isolated reports from the Ordos and Üzemčin - the only ones which are not for Oirad groups - may indicate that the circling of the sheep's foreleg was once more widespread in *dalalya* rituals than it now appears. The ceremonies at Ejen qoruya are known to preserve archaic elements.

The question of why it is the foreleg and shoulder, and not some other part of the sheep, which is chosen for the beckoning gesture cannot be satisfactorily answered. The quarter of a sheep, and specifically the foreleg with shoulder, also figures in the lamaist ritual for 'calling the soul', which is heavily influenced by Tibetan folk-religion (RITE.8.1). Here it is called, in Tibetan, the 'soul leg', and is given to the patient, whose soul has been summoned, to eat (Lessing 1951:267, 274); it is perhaps acting as a 'receiver' for the soul.²

The Etsingol Torguud report figuring the bone of the shoulder-blade (German: 'Schulterblatt') probably reflects a difficulty of translation from the Swedish;³ the

¹ Just as the little bag attached to the arrow absorbs energy for later 'use'.

² The wool threads on the Tibetan divination-arrow, 'Speicher und Behälter für die Seele der Welt', came from the *shoulder* of the Ur-Schaf (Tucci 1970:259), but if there is a connection here, it is obscure.

³ Although in an 18th century lamaist blockprint from Peking, the right shoulder-blade of a sheep is used *with* a decorated arrow to perform a beckoning in the course of an offering to Sülde tngri (Heissig 1981:90 n.4). Although text and ritual are both lamaized, the cult of Sülde tngri has native Mongol antecedents. See RITE.7.7 for a *dalalya* in this context.

other, English account by the same author gives 'shoulder of mutton' (RITE.5.1.1.e).

4.3 The stick

4.3.1 Staff or forked stick

If the *dalalya* arrow is to be regarded as a foreign or lamaist accretion to the native ritual, it is likely that it took the place of some indigenous equivalent. It is circled by the head of the family or the camp, in his capacity as officiant in rites which concern his group, as he performs the ritual beckoning; this is so even when lamas are also present at the ceremony in an officiating capacity. Only in public ceremonies - those not performed for any one family group - are there accounts of the beckoning with the arrow being performed by a lama.¹ It is perhaps unlikely that a requisite which did not correspond closely to native representations would have been adopted into the folk-religious part of the ritual which appears to predate lamaist influence.

The arrow is held point downwards during the *dalalya*; the arrow presented before the wedding is held in the same way (Sampildendev 1987:294), and it is possible that this reflects the customary way of handling weapons when no aggression is intended. However, in this position the arrow becomes analogous to a forked stick or branch, on the purely morphological level; the feathering, or in the case of the Tibetan arrow, the five spikes, points up and outwards, like the forks of the branch.

In the institutionalized shamanism of the Buryat, the shaman is a religious specialist with supernatural powers, and his separateness from laymen is reinforced by elaborate consecration rituals, and by possession of the drum which enables him to shamanize (c.f. Éliade 1951:116 ff). In other areas, where shamanizing has not been subject to this degree of systematization, the distinction between shaman and layman is not clear-cut, as Taube shows for the Mončooogo Tuvinians (1981:62). There may be a continuum, running from the head of any tent (or agnatic group camping together), who is authorized to act for it in a ritual capacity simply by virtue of his relation to the ancestor protector-spirits, through individuals who shamanize on behalf of their immediate kin-group or lineage, to shamans recognized as specialists by a wider group.

¹ For Chahar, RITE.1.1.2.e,f.

Among the Buryat, the Darxad and Urianxai of Xövsgöl, and the Tuvinians of Tuva, a beginner - that is, not fully consecrated - shaman used a forked staff instead of a drum for his shamanizing. The Darxad version, *tayay* or 'staff', had three prongs (Badamxatan 1965:213), as did the Buryat staff, called a 'whip'. The 'whip', *tasiyur*, is a requisite distinct from the *sorbi* or horse-stave, which again is the mark of a professional shaman¹ (Sandschejew 1928:979; Poppe 1935:101; Harva 1938:538-9). Yumsunov's account of a Khori Buryat ritual (see 4.7) starts with the arrival of the shaman, carrying his 'whip' and mirror (Poppe 1935:110). It seems probable that the 'whip' accompanies minor ritual - in this case one to promote the increase of both the family and its herds - in which the officiant does not enter a trance, nor make the 'journey' to the other world which characterizes institutionalized shamanism.

A Mončooogo Tuvinian 'amateur' shamaness brandished a stout wooden shaft 'like a [Mongol] whip', which had a bundle of five-coloured cloths fixed to the end, Tuv. *šavyd* (Taube 1981:51). It is clear from the description that this corresponds to the Buryat *tasiyur* 'whip', which is also hung with strips of coloured fabric (Poppe 1935:101; Dalai 1959:32).

Poppe's text specifies further that the 'whip' must be of tamarisk, *suqai*, wood. *Suqai* is the ideal wood for (ordinary) whips in Mongolia² (B. Damdin: p.c.). The five-pronged stick circled in the Mongol Urianxai *dalalya* was also made of a species of tamarisk, Kh. *balgana*, a fact which its owner emphasized.³ Although here five prongs were the ideal, a stick with three prongs - like the shaman's staff among the neighbouring Tuvinians - would also have been possible.⁴

¹ It is also distinct from the drum-stick, which, because the drum is conceptualized as the riding-animal of the shaman, is also known in some areas as a 'whip' (Harva 1938:536).

² Bamboo whips (from China) are light to carry, but tamarisk does not break. The Mongol whip, which is a weapon rather than a riding aid, is a stout stick.

³ At the Bayad hearth sacrifice (RITE.5.1.1.i) a man ties ritual scarves, *kkib qaday*, between two tamarisk rods or branches, as he pours melted fat into the fire where the goat is burning. At the Khori Buryat 'fire sacrifice' (RITE.4.4) the shaman holds two rods to which he has tied strips of cloth, as he pours melted fat into the fire where the sheep's breastbone is burning. Although both accounts seem to refer to the same arrangement, its exact form is unclear; it may be two sticks joined by strips of cloth (c.f. the discussion of 'tethering lines' under 4.7.3), or alternatively sticks decorated with streamers. Although it seems similar to the staffs discussed here, it is *not* used in the circling gestures of the *dalalya* (performed in these cases with vessels of meat). It may perhaps be a pair of decorated branches of the kind set up at some Oirad and other Altaic sacrifices, c.f. Rintchen 1975:56 (no. XX).

⁴ It is possible that the owner of this staff was some kind of ritual specialist. His tent and its contents were unusual in many ways, and were oriented to the SE, the old direction for the Altai, although tents in the MPR now face S.

It seems probable that the data examined here is the result of a complicated process of cross-influences, where the Mongol-Turkic forked tamarisk rod with cloth streamers and the Tibetan five-spiked arrow with silk scarves have come to coincide, in the context of minor ritual performed for the individual camp, in the same structural position.

This does not imply that either object is derived from the other; rather that two distinct cultural streams mingled in the Mongol-south Siberian area. (This process is examined in Diószegi 1961:203-5). It must be borne in mind that the Tibetan arrow has its roots, not in Buddhism, but in folk religion.¹

One further metamorphosis of the *dalalya* instrument is the sandalwood stick, with the same kind of decorations as the conventional arrow, which was waved by an official in the Torguud *dalalya* for the whole *sumun*.² Here the lay officiant stood in the same structural relationship to the group for whom the ritual was being performed (in this case a local administrative grouping) as does the usual officiant, the head of a family. Although lamaist influence is manifest in the material used - sandalwood is an exotic southern wood - the use of a stick rather than an arrow perhaps confirms the continuing influence of native Mongol representations in the Altai region.³

4.3.2 The tent pole *bayana*

The classic example for the Mongol culture area of a significantly forked pole is the *bayana*, or tent support. Cut from a naturally forked birch sapling, and the height of the tent roof, one (or sometimes two) *bayana* were used as props for the roof-ring. While still common in western Mongolia and Tuva, the props have been replaced in central Khalkha and in parts of Inner Mongolia by a pair of T-shaped carpentered pillars. The heavy modern Khalkha roof-ring needs pillars both to raise it and to support it, but the lighter version current in the west may be used without a support, or may be supported only if it begins to drop on one side.

¹ The shaman staff is not confined to Siberia; Stein has analysed its metamorphoses in Tibet (1959:358-9, 374-7).

² RITE.1.1.2(i); c.f. also the staff hung with scarves held (but not waved in a beckoning) in the lamaized Etsin gol Torguud hearth ritual (RITE.5.1.1.e).

³ Although the Tibetan god of wealth, rNam-thos-sras (Mo. Namsarai), is conventionally depicted in one of his forms brandishing a *precious stick*, and holding a sack made from a *whole skin* of a mongoose (Nebesky-Woykowitz 1975:331), c.f. the sack *tulum* made from a whole skin which is held in the *dalalya* of the northern Oirad. There is no data available which might indicate whether or not these correspondences are purely coincidental.

The tent pole was thus not necessarily always in place, and could be used for other purposes. Those recorded are ritual rather than practical (Tangad 1987). The *bayana* is an object of strongly-felt significance; it demands respect, and has a 'head', that is the forked end, which has always to be upwards.

There is no record of the *bayana* being used in an annual *dalalya* ceremony, but in Dundgov' *aimag* of Khalkha it is circled in the *dalalya* at the departure of a child (RITE.4.2). It is possible that it appears here simply as a substitute, available to any layman, for the type of forked staff analysed under 4.3.1. It is made (ideally, but in the Gobi areas perhaps not in fact) of birch wood, the ritually significant wood of south Siberian shamanism.¹

However it is not only at the departure of a child that the tent pole plays a role; if an ox is sold, the owner touches² it on the head or back with the fork of the pole before it leaves, in order to 'take its good-fortune and benefits', Kh. *xišig buyanygn' avdag* (central Khalkha, Tangad 1987:54). The forked pole thus emerges as an instrument for taking (retaining) the life-force of the departing animal; the physical animal only is sold, while its significant dimension remains.³ The pole acts as a receiving antenna, and offers a path for this force to follow. The concept of supernatural 'paths' is taken up under 4.7 and 4.8. Both here and in the *dalalya* for the bride the forked antenna-pole is the means of ensuring that the life-potential of the group is not decreased by the departure.

The respect shown to the tent pole has been attributed to analogies with the sacred birch-trees of shamanist ritual in south Siberia (often set up in the centre of a tent) and, on a wider scale, with the 'cosmic tree', the world-axis which joins heaven and earth (Harva 1938:46; Tangad 1987:50). This aspect of the pole, in which it represents a link with the other dimension, tends to confirm its role here of antenna.⁴

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- ¹ In many Mongol areas the tent pole plays significant roles during the wedding ceremony; these are not, however, associated with the *dalalya* performed for the departure of the bride, and they seem to shed little light on it.
 - ² Kh. *xürgex*, to touch; but the literal meaning of the verb is to 'reach something out to', and it is the motion of making contact, rather than its result (the touch), which is foremost in the sense. This is significant for the interpretation of the gesture as 'taking' something from the animal.
 - ³ c.f. the Buryat belief that the soul leaves the body through the top of the head (Sandschejew 1927:583); while according to Harva the back is frequently thought to be the seat of the soul (1938:257). The Mongols do not buy and sell animals amongst themselves; the buyer can only have been a foreigner, and a procedure to prevent its vital principle from being carried off is thus most necessary.
 - ⁴ c.f. also the Buryat *tayilya*, at which a birch branch Bur. *türge* is stuck into the ground beside each participating family. Bur. *xešix* (Mo. *kesig*) falls from heaven and is conducted via the branch into a vessel of milk products standing at its foot (Sandschejew 1928:546; RITE.8.2). When it is in place, as a support of the tent, the tent pole forms a link between

4.4 The hide sack and the little bag

4.4.1 Contrasting functions

Bag-shaped objects can be seen in one of two different ways in the Mongol culture area:

- as 'vessel', *saba*, in the sense of that which is open to receive its contents
- as 'container' in the sense of that which is closed to keep its contents separate from their surroundings.

The first notion is basic to Mongol popular culture (see 3.2), although it may be a product of lamaist thought. The very existence of the vessel implies the existence of a content; this hypothetical content is, necessarily, auspicious and desirable, and the term used for it is *kesig*, even where no *dalalya* ritual is involved.¹

According to present-day herdsmen, *kesig*, understood as good-fortune or favour from above, is in permanent circulation in the world. One may gain it simply by catching it in a suitable vessel, without performing any ritual. One such 'vessel' is the free end of the *čiyta* rope of the tent, which is kept looped in the shape of an open bag, tucked above the roof-poles.² *Kesig* enters the 'vessel' by way of the roof-ring and the rest of the rope, which acts as conductor (Wasilewski 1977:103). Similarly, in Oirad *dalalya* rituals the same rope may be pressed to the real *dalalya* vessel, for the same reasons (see 4.8).

The second notion, that of a closed container, is exemplified in the use in southern Siberia, and formerly in Mongolia, of a leather or felt pouch to house an *ongyon*, the support of a spirit (Darxad, Even 1987:181; Tsaatan, Badamxatan 1962:28). The bag performs the function of separating what it contains from the rest of the tent interior; it demarcates the 'sacredness' of the contents - which are threatening, rather than desirable - by 'setting them apart' from the surrounding human world.³

the roof-ring and the domestic sphere below. For the roof-ring as entrance to the tent for supernatural forces, see 4.8.

- ¹ While a pair of boots is an auspicious gift, one would not offer a hat, which is the 'wrong' way up; the luck would fall out. Mr. B. Damdin remembers one *dalalya* bag made to look like a child's boot (p.c.). A container offered as a gift may not be empty; it is obligatory to place pieces of cheese or sugar in it (Dörvöd, fieldwork 1989; Torguud, Montell n.d. 137).
- ² This is one of a number of possible arrangements of the rope, which was described under RITE.1.1.2(i).
- ³ Anything associated with the supernatural dimension is potentially dangerous; enclosed within the boundary represented by bag or wrapping it become 'manageable' (c.f. Zélénine 1952:102, 107).

The corollary of this notion is that any kind of bag is potentially 'inhabited'. This is reflected in terminology; the felt bag for the rope (see 4.7) used in a Buryat ritual is *ordu* (Poppe 1935:111), the honorific of *ger*, 'tent', and also 'housing', 'sheath'. The little *dalalya* bag, however, is usually called only *saba*, 'vessel', and it is unlikely that it is thought of as being 'inhabited'; rather the contents should be regarded simply as being endowed with numinous force.

The pail of the *dalalya* is an obviously open vessel, and the hide bag *tulum* of the Oirad accounts was held wide open in use; their function is not to enclose, but to receive. They are not empty, however, but already contain meat,¹ which is to absorb the energy, *kesig*, promoted by the ritual.² In variants of the ritual where the other participants circle bowls of food, the bowls are analogues of the pail, and enable each person to receive his own portion of energy.

The little bag of precious substances, by contrast, is *permanently* filled with symbols of wealth; it is not awaiting its contents. It is kept tightly closed, although usually opened during the ritual itself, presumably in order to receive a further supernatural charge. The contents must have been placed in the bag by a senior person, not by its owner, reflecting the conception of *kesig* as favour, a gift from above. The bag thus represents a 'treasury' or store, a static guarantee of wealth.³

This aspect of the 'closed container' model is not characteristic for a nomadic herding and hunting people, and confirms that the treasures of the little bag are a lamaist or Tibetan accretion to the native ritual. The treasures held in cupped hands and circled by the other participants at the *dalalya* are to be interpreted similarly. The materialist interpretation of riches which the contents of the bag represent is likewise in contrast with the native Mongol conception of riches: ever-increasing herds and families, a living wealth.

Further confirmation is provided by data from the Monguor. Although they apparently perform no *dalalya*, the Monguor do keep a ritual arrow in each house, often with a vase of grain. It is clear from the presence of the vase, and from the

¹ Pails which hold grain are considered below.

² The vessel used in a Myangad *dalalya* is called Kh. *šingee sav* (p.c.). We do not know what meaning the Myangad attach to the term; it seems that the vessel is a kind of bag, since its mouth is opened before it is waved in the circular gesture. A verb *singgekü/singgegekü* means to be absorbed/to appropriate; to impregnate or soak (with), and it occurs in the context of the meat, soaked with alcohol, which is offered to the hearth of Činggis: *jotai singgegekü*, RITE.6. Here, however, the term may refer to the absorption of *kesig*.

But c.f. also Evenk (and most Tungus languages) *šinkeen* luck, good-fortune (especially at hunting); *šinkeele-* to shamanize (before the hunt, to bring good luck) (Tsintsius 1977:91a). The sense is close to that of *kesig* as understood by hunters; another name for the *dalalya* bag is *kesig-ün saba*, 'kesig vessel'.

³ c.f. Tib. *g-yang-sgam*, 'box of good fortune', a box in which the family treasures are kept in Tibetan houses. It is opened once a year at new year, while the ritual of 'calling good-fortune', *g-yang-gug*, is performed with a decorated arrow (Stein 1956:387).

Tibetan terminology which is used for them, that these requisites represent a borrowing from Tibetan culture. A part of everything which leaves the house is either tied to the arrow, or put in the vase; these things are seen as the seed or germ ('Keim' in German) of all the possessions and the good-fortune of the household¹ (Schröder 1952:50-54).

They are effective by their presence in the house alone; no *dalalya* is performed to promote a flow of energy (good-fortune) from elsewhere, rather the energy is stored up on the spot in embryonic form.² This distinction reflects the contrast between the Mongol nomadic herding and hunting economy, with its dynamic energy-flow embodied in the animals, and the Tibetan sedentary agricultural economy, in which the energy-flow from seed to harvest to granary is an internal one.

The little bag of treasures is thus a device for storing *potential* energy, and is foreign to Mongolia. The open hide bag and the pail represent a different method of managing energy, one which is consistent with the ideology of the native Mongol *dalalya*.

4.4.2 Hybrid variants of the bag

The hide sack of one Dörvöd account contains grain and precious objects, as well as meat (RITE.5.1.1.h). This is perhaps a result of 'contamination' of the native model by the foreign concept of the 'treasury' which is conveyed by the little bag. By the early years of this century at least, some Bayad, living close to the Dörvöd, were performing an autumn *dalalya* with an arrow and a little bag, just as in Khalkha. Although the data is not sufficient to draw firm conclusions, the little bag (with arrow) seems to be associated in these Oirad areas with an independent autumn *dalalya*, and the hide sack with the hearth sacrifice.

This Dörvöd sack was also unusual in another way: amongst the meat in it was a small piece cut from each principal internal organ of the sheep (heart, kidneys etc.). To take a small piece from each organ of an animal killed is a well-established regeneration procedure (Lot-Falck 1953:204), an alternative to the preservation of the bones.³ There is no other comparable report for a Mongol

¹ c.f. the Tibetan divination-arrow which is 'Speicher und Behälter für die Seele der Welt' (Tucci 1970:259).

² Exceptionally, the Monguor do not use a form of the word *kesig* for this energy; their term for it is *yang* < Tib. *g-yang*. Monguor *keseg* (transcription simplified) retains its earlier meaning of a portion of meat received after a sacrifice: see TERM.2.

³ Elsewhere in the Altaic world, the Manchu hang from the top of a sacrificial stake a vessel

dalalya ; however the Dörvöd Kalmuck put small pieces from the head and hooves into their sack, as well as the entire *jülde* , which comprises the vital organs (RITE.4.4.1). The contents of these two sacks are thus roughly equivalent on the symbolic level; but in the Kalmuck case the *jülde* is intended to be eaten, not preserved, and there is perhaps some confusion in the recent Dörvöd report.

In the neighbouring territory of Tuva, not the meat, but the bones of the sheep are put in a bag, and the guests add coins and small gifts. The bag, which cannot in the circumstances be very small, is tied to the ritual arrow, and they are hung together from the top of the wall-lattice of the tent. The name of the bag is Tuv. *kyejik kaby*,¹ directly equivalent to Mo. *kesig-ün saba* , 'good-fortune vessel' (RITE.5.1.8(1)).

Although elements of the concept of a 'treasury' are evident in the coins and gifts, the function of the bag in this case is probably to preserve the bones of the animal, which are believed to permit its future regeneration, by hanging them up in a (relatively) high place. The bag contains no meat which could later be eaten by the participants; although superficially similar to the Oirad hide sack, it fulfills another function, which is based on concepts of life and regeneration characteristic of Siberian hunting peoples.²

4.5 The pail of grain

The wooden milk-pail has been regarded as the equivalent of an earlier hide bag. This would be consistent with the distinction between the material culture of steppe herdsmen with knowledge of the technique of making hooped wooden vessels, and that of forest hunters.³

A wooden pail has probably come to be regarded in Mongolia as typical for the *dalalya* through lamaist influence. The Tibetan wooden tub, holding grain in which the arrow stands, must have reached Mongolia as a requisite of lamaized *dalalya* ceremonies. Its use has been adopted, although the contents have been exchanged

which contains a little piece from each part of the animal sacrificed (Meyer 1982:180, source dated 1708), and the Tungus do the same after killing a wild reindeer (Harva 1938:439). These procedures are not associated with a *dalalya* , but they demonstrate the use of a special vessel to hold parts of the animal thought to embody its recycleable energy. The stake with vessel is perhaps comparable to the *dalalya* arrow (or stick) with bag tied to it.

¹ Transcribed from Potapov's cyrillic; c.f. Radloff II:400 *kap* Sack, Beutel.

² But c.f. Zélénine, for whom the remains of a sacrificial animal kept in a leather bag become a support for the animal's spirit, = Mo. *ongyon* (1952:116-7).

³ The forest Tsaatan of northern Mongolia used only hide bags as containers until recently, with some birch-bark tubs (Badamxatan 1962:29-30).

in many cases for the meat which is essential to the Mongol ritual. Those cases where the pail contains cooked millet are probably a result of lamaist opposition to blood-sacrifice;¹ this food is taking the place of the meat, it is not a variant of the raw and unprocessed grain in the Tibetan tub.

4.6 The parts of the sheep²

4.6.1 Definitions

Terms for significant parts of the sheep which have no equivalent in English are explained below.

- a. *čayan miqa*, Kh. *tsagaan max* (lit. 'white meat')

The large intestine, particularly its last part. The same term is used to refer to a sausage made from approximately the last 3 ft. of the intestine, that is the rectum with part of the colon. It is stuffed with other parts of the entrails, chopped. This is an everyday preparation, and is not confined to ritual. An alternative term is *qoškinay*.

- b. *jülde*, Kh. *zöld*

A term used in hunting, and when a domestic animal is slaughtered for a ritual (but *not* in the context of everyday slaughtering). It refers to what are regarded as the vital organs, which are removed from the carcass joined together:

head (or lower jaw only)

windpipe

lungs

heart

The *jülde* as a whole is thought to be a seat of the animal's life-force or 'soul', and is the part of the man who killed it. In some hunting contexts (but not in accounts of the *dalalya*) the four *sigire* (q.v.) are included in the term, according to Sampildendev³ (1985:122-3).

¹ Although the appearance of cooked grain *with* meat in offerings appears to pre-date organized lamaist influences, c.f. the *dalalya* to Činggis, where the vessel contains cooked grain and the bones (with meat) of the sheep (RITE.6).

² All anatomical data according to Getty 1975.

³ Sampildendev may have in mind a carcass prepared as shown in fig. 8, which was referred to as '*zöld*' by the Bayad.

c. *qa* , Kh. *xaa*

In general, the forequarter, comprising the front leg, shoulder and one side of ribs, but excluding the foot and hoof. In the *dalalya* accounts the term refers to the leg and shoulder-blade only, with their associated flesh.

d. *quyiqalaqu* , Kh. *xuixlax*

The process of removing the hairs from the hide covering certain specific parts of the animal (see fig. 8). For a sheep these are:

the head

the tip of the fat tail *yodong* or *uyuray segül*

the four lower legs *sigire* (q.v.)

the breastbone *ebčigüü* (an elongated triangle of hide, *kerseng*)

When the animal is skinned, the hide on these parts is left in place. The hair is cut off, the stubble is singed away with a red-hot iron, and the skin, referred to as *quyiqua* , is scraped clean with a knife-blade. It can then be eaten; the hide associated with the breastbone is folded up and served placed on top of the breastbone itself, while the hide of the other parts remains in place, to be eaten with the flesh or fat beneath it.

The procedure is not confined to ritual slaughtering, and is often carried out for a feast (but not every time an animal is slaughtered for food). The photograph in fig. 8 was taken before the Bayad ceremony *kösige tayilaqu* , opening the curtain, which follows a wedding. The carcass was on display, and was pointed out as *kesig-tü yayuma* , a thing with *kesig* , by which the speaker meant something auspicious (fieldwork 1989).

e. *sigire*, Kh. *šiir*

The lower half of any of the four legs (i.e. the metacarpal or the metatarsal) together with the bones of the foot and the hoof. When this part appears in a ritual context it is usually complete with flesh and hide (see *quyiqalaqu*).

4.6.2 The parts for the *dalalya*

The accounts show that parts of the sheep are significant in two forms of the ritual in particular: the *dalalya* at the hearth sacrifice, and the occasional ritual of the shamanist 'fire-sacrifice', which the participants themselves confuse with the hearth-sacrifice.

In the spring and autumn *dalalya* and the minor occasional rituals, parts of the sheep are either not central to the action, or are entirely absent.

The parts of the sheep placed in the *dalalya* vessel, circled in the 'beckoning' gesture of *quruyilaqu*, and eaten by the members of the family, are to be distinguished from the parts burnt in the fire as offering meat. The former are summarized in the table which follows.

The table shows that while the foreleg is associated chiefly with the Oirad, the tibia, the tail and the intestine can occur in all areas, and in lamaist, shamanist and folk-religious rituals.¹

Although the parts which appear here seem to have no obvious unifying characteristic, two of them may represent, symbolically, ones 'own' meat. Among the Oirad, the meat of the tibia with knucklebone is the part of the family, and is not eaten by a guest or an outsider, nor even by women who have married into the group² (Szynkiewicz 1989:382). In other contexts, the *jülde*, and especially the heart, is the part of the hunter who kills an animal, or of the man who slaughters one (B. Damdin p.c.). The tibia and the *jülde* are thus both appropriate to the role of 'portion', *kesig*, received by the family at their own ritual.

The stuffed length of intestine suggests the possibility that the 'vessel' and the meat were once inseparable.³ The use of a complete skin as the vessel (*tulum*) in the Oirad *dalalya* perhaps reflects a similar concrete biological model. A living animal is an 'envelope' which holds not only the visible meat and bones, but also

¹ These parts would also be served at a formal meal not associated with ritual; they are therefore not necessarily carriers of a special significance when they appear in the *dalalya*.

² The association of the tibia with the patrilineage was discussed under RITE.4.3.2, the *dalalya* for a birth. It may rest on a linguistic analogy; Mongol has the same word, *üye*, for both 'generation' and 'joint (of a limb)', that is a single element of an articulated structure. There is perhaps also a connection with the structure of the *šayaitu čimüge*, tibia with knucklebone, itself; a small but symbolically important bone, the astragalus or knucklebone, is articulated with a long leg-bone, the tibia.

³ The use of internal organs as containers is an everyday practice; both stomach and pericardium are used to hold meat given away after slaughtering an animal (Damdin p.c.). In the living sheep, these parts are seats of life; the stomach nourishes, the pericardium encloses the heart. C.f. also the Myangad *dalalya* vessel Kh. *singee sav*, an expression which may have connotations of 'absorption vessel'. This is perhaps the logic behind the feeling that the little bag 'ought' to be made of soft leather, though it is in fact usually of silk.

The parts of the sheep placed in the vessel, or circled with the vessel

	tibia with knuckle- bone	other leg bones	four long ribs	tail, tip of tail	part of intestine	foreleg with shoulder	jilde (incl. heart)	heart
lamaized eastern hearth ritual (texts)	X			X	X			
Oirad autumn ritual	X			X	(? gedesü)	X		
Oirad hearth rituals								
(a), (b) Kalmuck						X		X
(c) Dörvöd					(?lights)		X	
(g) Dörvöd					X			
(h) Dörvöd					X	X		
(i) Bayad					X	X		
Szynkiewicz 1989:382	X with other unspecified parts							
Kalmuck shamaness' ritual						X	X	
Buryat shaman's ritual	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Myangad ritual for baby (a)	X			X	X			
(b)	X		X	X	X	(shoulder blade)		
<i>dalalya</i> to Činggis (a)				X	stomach X	X		
(b)	unspecified bones					X		

the life of which they are the support - that energy-principle with which the *dalalya* is concerned.¹

There is a single report that an alternative name for the large intestine is *kesig-ün miqa*, 'kesig meat' (p.c., Khalkha). Taken in the modern acception of the word, 'good-fortune', this is roughly equivalent to the usual name of *čayan miqa*, 'white meat'. The intestine is not, of course, white; the word is used here in its symbolic sense of 'auspicious'. However the Pentaglot dictionary lists *kesig miq-a* in the sense of meat remaining after a sacrifice which is the *portion* of those performing it (see TERM.2), and it is just possible that this isolated report reflects the older and now-forgotten ritual practice.

4.6.3 The parts which are burnt

These are not, strictly speaking, requisites of the *dalalya*; although in some cases the parts burnt have already been circled in the *dalalya* vessel, perhaps through confusion over the purpose of the circling action (c.f. the Buryat shaman's offering, RITE.4.4).

The burning of the sheep's skull and leg-bones at the Kalmuck rituals has been discussed under RITE.4.4; these bones probably carry the animal's recycleable life-energy.² The part more typically burnt at the hearth sacrifice (and at certain other offerings) is the breastbone or sternum, *ebčigüü*.

This is not, in fact, a bone, but a series of bony segments held together by cartilage, to which the lower ends of the ribs are joined, so forming the animal's chest. It shields the heart, which is immediately behind its tip (i.e. front end), and may perhaps be regarded as a seat of life-force for this reason.

Just as in hunting environments bones are 'given back' to the forest in order that the animal may be regenerated, so there is evidence that in Mongol herding groups the sternum is a part which belongs to the 'other', and which is typically given away.³ It may thus stand in symbolic contrast to the parts circled in the

¹ Indeed in the *dalalya* of hunters not a vessel, but the whole body of the animal is circled.

² The burning of meat and, most especially, fat, is more likely to be a direct offering; it is the *smell* of burning which is absorbed by the spirits (Lot-Falck 1953:136). Meat for human consumption, in contrast, is boiled, and so does not come into contact with the fire itself.

³ At a formal meal the meat and skin of the sternum is the share of a guest, particularly a senior woman; in an alternative scheme, it is the share of the *jige*, the wife-taking or junior lineage, if their *nagaču* are present, the lineage who give wives to them (Sampildendev 1985:125). At the Oïrad ceremony of *kösige tayilaqu*, opening the curtain, after a wedding, the *nagaču* bring a sternum to the *jige* as a gift (Ayyuš 1982:68). (This same gift is shown in fig. 8, but here a whole sheep was brought).

Like daughters, the sternum is not kept for one's own group; as something which is not a

dalalya at the same ritual, and afterwards eaten by the participants. Where the burnt offering is directed to local ancestral spirits, however, this 'other' is to be understood as the other dimension of one's own group, the ancestors who send their vitality in return.

4.7 Variants of the ritual 'tethering-rope'

4.7.1 The data

These ropes are not basic to the *dalalya* ceremony, but appear in it locally. There are accounts for the following groups:

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------|
| a. | Torguud | Wasilewski 1978:93 | RITE.1.1.2(i) |
| b. | Torguud | D. Tangad p.c. | - |
| c. | Mongol Urianxai | Wasilewski <i>ibid.</i> | RITE.1.1.2(i) |
| d. | Mončooogo Tuvinians | Taube 1981:56 | RITE.5.1.8 |
| e. | Tuvinians of Tuva | Potapov 1969:365 | RITE.5.1.8 |
- f. There is an account for the Khori Buryat of what is clearly the same object (Poppe 1935:110-111), although the ritual in which it figures seems not to include a *dalalya*.

(a), (b) Torguud of Bulgan *sum*

- Name of rope:
- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | ' <i>džidem</i> ' ¹ (= Mo. <i>sidemüsün</i> , cord, string?)
c.f. Ramstedt KW:355b <i>šidžm</i> , 'dünner Strick, Schnur' |
| b. | Kh. <i>xögnö</i> , Torguud <i>kögnöö</i>
Mo. <i>kögene</i> , tethering-line for lambs ² |

true bone, it perhaps does not partake of the symbolism of the *yasu*, 'bone' as patrilineage. In the context of this wedding ritual it is in fact referred to as *ebčigüü miqa*, sternum meat; it is possible that the sternum is associated with the female principle of *miqa*, meat. This might justify the latterly widespread belief that this part is to be offered to the *female* deity of the hearth. This interpretation would, however, be in direct contradiction with the conclusion suggested in this thesis: that the sternum is burnt in these rituals as an offering to the ancestors.

¹ Although not recorded in any dictionary, the term '*džidem*' occurs in Rinchen's ethnographical atlas as the name of the rope stretched across the tent, from wall to wall, to steady the upper end of the turning shaft of a hand mill, *yar tegerme* (Rinčyen 1979:149). These mills are typically used by the Oirad (fieldwork 1989).

² *kögene*: a soft camel's-wool cord about 6 ft. long, fixed along the foot of the inside wall of

Position during ritual:	under the roof-poles around the smoke-hole of the tent, with the two ends hanging down above the <i>qoyimor</i> , the place of the images at the north of the tent
Position at other times:	kept in <i>dalalya</i> vessel
Objects attached to the rope:	a. miniature wooden models of domestic utensils b. models of domestic utensils and of herding equipment: leather flask, container for fermenting mares' milk, mortar and pestle, halter, hobble, tethering picket, camel's pack saddle and nose pegs

The officiant is the head of the family; a lama is also necessary. The rope may be used (at other times) to cure sick animals.¹

One of these ropes is in the local museum of Bulgan *sum*, and is illustrated in fig. 9. It seems to be a genuine tethering-line with genuine toggles, *čiyta*; the model objects have been tied to it.

(c) Mongol Urianxai of Duut *sum*²

Name of rope:	has no particular name
Position during ritual:	the rope is attached at each end to a stake on either side of the door, and runs right round the inside walls of the tent, above the furniture
Position at other times:	? (appears to be a length of ordinary rope)
Objects attached to the rope:	domestic and herding equipment (real objects in normal use, not models): pestle, leather flask, whip, hobble, horse's rein and tethering-rope, camel's nose-peg, lambs' tethering-line (= <i>kögene</i>)

The officiant is the head of the family, and a lama is possibly also present.

the tent at the west side of the door. Young kids and lambs are tied to it by a string around their neck, fastened with a loop and toggle. It may also be set up outside the tent.

jele: a strong rawhide tethering-rope stretched between two small stakes in the ground. Foals, calves or young camels are attached to it by their halters (fieldwork 1988 and B. Damdin p.c.).

Both terms are specific, although *jele* may now also refer to a line on which things hang in a row, e.g. a washing-line.

¹ Dr. Wasilewski also mentions a different form of this object, a bunch of tangled strings, each with a tiny model animal at the end (p.c.); however the Mongol specialist on the Torguud insists that they do not know such objects.

² This published account is disputed by the Mongol who acted as interpreter for the expedition in question.

The fact that the rope is fixed to special stakes, instead of being simply tied to the tent framework, underlines its similarity to a tethering-rope. In contrast to the Torguud variant, it is temporary, and is dismantled after use.

(d) Mončooogo Tuvinians of Tsengel *sum*

Name of rope:	Tuv. <i>džele</i> , tethering rope (Mo. <i>jele</i>)
Position during ritual:	around the smoke-hole of the tent (inside)
Position at other times:	?
Objects attached to the rope:	various necessities: clothing, cradle, saddle, foodstuffs etc.

The objects on the rope are supposed to represent everything needed in life; they are hung up in order to be purified by the smoke of juniper incense thrown on the fire below. The officiant is a shaman.

The probable original function of the rope - to call for the benefits represented on it - seems to have been forgotten here. The objects are possibly models; it is hard to imagine a saddle or cradle hung up in this way. In that case this variant would be close to the Torguud string.

(e) Tuvinians of Tuva

Name of rope:	Tuv. <i>salbak</i> c.f. Radloff IV:373, Sojot 'Schmuck' Altai, Teleut etc. 'das Schwanken', 'Schaukeln'
Position during ritual:	right round the inside walls of the tent, along the heads of the lattice-wall
Position at other times:	?
Objects attached to the rope:	miniature models of domestic utensils: mortar and pestle, leather flask, milk pail, with many vari-coloured ribbons

The rope is particoloured (i.e. plied from singles of different colours), and made of sheep's wool and goat hair. The officiant can be a shaman or a lama.

The use of goat hair for cords is not usual in Mongolia,¹ and sheep's wool is not used in ordinary rope except as an admixture to horsehair (but could be used for the short lambs' tethering-line). It is thus probable that this rope is specially made

¹ It is recorded in thin cords made by the Dörvöd of Davst *sum*, on the Tuvinian border (fieldwork 1989).

for the purpose; it is certainly not a normal tethering-rope, for which it would be too weak. This conclusion is supported by its name, which connotes a pendant decoration, and by the belief that the more beautifully decorated is the *salbak*, the more good fortune one will have. No other indication is given of the function of the rope in the ritual.

This variant corresponds closely to the Mongol Urianxai arrangement, but it is artificial and specially made, while the Urianxai use real everyday objects.

(f) Khori Buryat

Name of rope:	no special name (<i>degesün</i> , a rope)
Position during ritual:	?
Position at other times:	kept in a specially-made large felt bag (<i>sümke ordu</i> ¹)
Objects attached to the rope:	the toggles <i>šayta</i> (for <i>čiyta</i>) used to attach kids and lambs to their tethering-line <i>jele</i> (for more usual <i>kögene</i>)

The cord is white and is specially made, but it seems that the toggles fixed to it are genuine ones.² The officiant is a shaman. This ceremony is not a *dalalya*, but it is performed with the same aims: many children, and increase in the herds.³

A long cloth strip with human figures drawn on it is used with the cord. Shirokogoroff describes a similar strip, '*javdar*', for the Tungus (Evenk); it is stretched right around the inside walls of the tent during shamanist sacrifices (1935:301), and may possibly be a borrowing from Buryat practice; however in Khori Buryat the word '*zabdar*', serpent, refers to the snakes on the shaman's costume, and which form part of his 'armour', i.e. a *protective* feature (Poppe 1936:33 no. 19).

¹ *sümke* < Russian *sumka*, a bag; *ordu* is the honorific of *ger*, 'housing'.

² Poppe's translation of this sentence is curious (1940:66); the term *jele* refers to the rope itself, and it seems that Poppe's '*zele*' is a slip of the pen for *čiyta*.

³ Potanin mentions such a rope, with models tied to one end, for an Alar Buryat shaman (1881, I:55-6). At offerings to his ancestors he stretches it between two birch-trees; but to protect a baby it is carried around the tent and then left there.

4.7.2 Analysis

With the exception of the Buryat account (which is not of a *dalalya*) the reports are concentrated in the Altai-Sayan area, and concern groups which are Turkic or have Turkic antecedents.¹ The Buryat and Tungus data shows, however, that the practice of stretching a significant band of some kind around the interior of the tent is more widespread in the context of shamanistic rituals.

In two of the accounts, the rope is associated with the roof-ring; that is with the entry-point to the tent for forces which originate in the 'other' dimension.

A report for the Yakut - a Turkic group again, and who once lived in the Sayan area, - describes a horse-hair cord with models of milk-pails and muzzles for calves tied to it, as well as tufts of horsehair. When the first kumiss of the year is ready, the cord is fixed around the tree in which the local spirit-master resides, libations are made, and an elder makes requests similar to those typical for the *dalalya* (Szynkiewicz 1984:103, quoting Sieroszewski 1961, no reference). Harva describes the same ritual, Yak. 'ysyah', without mentioning tree or rope; here at the end of the elder's prayer all present join in a loud cry of *urui urui urui*² (1938:572-3). Although no beckoning is mentioned, the ritual has similarities to the *dalalya*.³

Using data from Siberia, Lot-Falck presents a developmental schema of man's communications with the 'other' world, in which the earliest stage is simply to show a desired object. A later stage is to barter an offering for the favour required, with a blunt demand (1953:88-91). Applying this model to the *dalalya*, it would be possible to see the objects on the rope as an early 'layer' of the ritual, accompanied by a meat sacrifice, and the demand implied in the cry *qurui*. However no data is available which might support this hypothesis.

The real objects used on these ropes represent the good with which they are associated; the flask stands for milk-spirits, the nose-peg for camels, the cradle for children and so on. Models of objects are effective in the same way. It is

¹ The Tuvinians are Turkic, and the probably closely related Mongol Urianxai are a mongolized Turkic group (Róna-Tas 1961:80). The Torguud are descended from the Turkic Kereit of the 13th century (Okada 1987:208). In three accounts a mortar and pestle for crushing grain appear; grain has greater significance in the culture of these western Mongol and Turkic areas than in the rest of Mongolia (fieldwork 1988).

² Pekarskii explicitly associates this cry with Mo. *qurui* (1907:3070); c.f. TERM.1.

³ In a myth which recounts the first performance of this ritual (Szynkiewicz 1984:134-5), vessels of kumiss are placed at the foot of a special stake and birch-sapling (c.f. 4.3.2 note, for the Buryat *tayilya*), and a drop of heavenly life-elixir falls into the kumiss (c.f. the substance which falls through the roof-ring, RITE.5.1.7). Life-bringing migratory birds also appear on the scene, and this ritual clearly shares common elements with the complex of the *dalalya*. A photograph of the vessels and stakes at the ritual in the 1890s appears in Jochelson 1906:pl. XVII.

significant that the symbolic objects are almost all 'containers' or 'holders'; the cradle implies the wish for the child to fill it, just as the tethering line or the toggles imply lambs to fasten, and the nose-peg a camel to lead. These are objects which are meaningless without their 'content'. By their existence alone they constitute an implicit demand, and this characteristic may be compared with the importance of a vessel for the standard *dalalya* ritual.

The benefit, *kesig*, desired from the *dalalya* is typically that of children and herds. The Mončooogo ritual represents these benefits with a cradle and a saddle. *Dalalya* rituals are also recorded at the inauguration of a new tent (RITE.7.6); a Dörvöd blessing for the tent includes in its survey of the tent's interior the lines:

Kh. *Ūr xüüxdii xišgiig dallan xiisen ölgii xučlaga ...*

Er moriny xišgiig dallan xiisen emeel

(Tserel 1964:93)

The cradle and covers made beckoning¹ the favour (*kesig*) of a child

The saddle made beckoning the favour of a spirited horse

What was expressed in the Mončooogo ritual by an arrangement of objects is here made explicit in words, although the efficacy still lies in the objects themselves. They are present in the tent in their everyday places, but the words of the text express their presence as an implicit demand. This text is from Uvs *aimag*, and so belongs to the same Altai-Sayan region as the ritual rope.

If tethering ropes are the 'holders' of the most desired good of the steppe herdsmen, in the world of forest hunters this role is played by the saddle-thongs *yanjuya*, which hold the game killed. The significance of the saddle-thongs in the hunters' *dalalya* was examined under RITE.4.1.3.

4.7.3 Possible parallels for the rope

A cord strung between two stakes or trees, with cloth streamers and magical objects (including model animals) hanging on it, is widely reported for southern Siberian groups² (Harva 1938:564-5). Like the *dalalya* rope, it is at some height (unlike a real tethering-rope, which is at ground level), but it differs in being outside the tent,

¹ The literal meaning of the word *dalalya* is of course 'beckoning'.

² The Evenk term for such a rope is *sidym* (Wassiljewitsch 1963:378); in the absence of evidence the similarity to the Torguud term '*džidem*' must remain unexplained, but many aspects of Evenk ritual are borrowings from the Buryat, and this word may also be a cognate of Mo. *sidemüsün*.

and it forms a line rather than a circle. The decorations of the Tuvinian rope (e) are perhaps related to these arrangements.¹

At a Teleut sacrifice, clothing - which figures on the Mončooogo rope (d) - is hung out on such a cord (*ibid.* 554). Harva concludes that the model animals and the clothing are offerings. If that is so, these arrangements differ radically from the *dalalya* rope, where the objects represent a wish. The *dalalya* rope is deployed *inside* the tent, that is in the sphere of the family for whom the benefits are desired.

In the context of south Siberian beliefs ropes may represent 'spirit paths' (Shirokogoroff 1935:310; Zélénine 1952:107), in other words they conduct a form of energy. The Mongol tent-pole and the *čiytaya* rope of the tent were presented as similar conductors under 4.3.2 and 4.4. The custom of tying hair from slaughtered animals to the *čiytaya*, embodying the vital energy from which they may be regenerated, was mentioned under 4.1.4.

The Turkic tent has no *čiytaya* (c.f. 4.8). The use of the *dalalya* rope has been associated with Turkic groups; it is at least possible that it represents a ritual technique based on general Altaic beliefs regarding the nature and source of vital energy which have found a somewhat different expression in the Mongol context, under the influence of the differing morphology of the tent.

The terms *jele* and *kögene* may be used to refer to a further type of ritual cord - a short line inside the tent which, with the objects hanging on it, is the support of one or several spirits (*ongyon*) (Darxad, Even 1987:173). These cords are probably distinct from the *dalalya* rope, which seems not to be 'inhabited'.

4.7.4 The real tethering-rope

The tethering-rope *jele* plays a significant part in the ritual of libations at the catching of the mares and foals in early summer (*gegüü bariqu*, c.f. RITE.7.1.1) and the corresponding ceremony when they are set free as the milking season finishes (*gegüü talbiqu*).

The texts make clear that the mythical prototype for the rituals is Činggis Khan's catching and releasing of his own mares, events perpetuated in the festivals at Ejen qoruya. The autumn festival is described in the *Čayan teüke* as the day on which the halters² (for tethering the foals to the rope) are put away (Sagaster

¹ Altai groups keep these ropes in a special felt bag (Delaby 1973:230), c.f. the Buryat rope (f).

² *noyta silbi*, halter and loop (on a shank, through which the toggle attached to the tethering-rope is passed) to fasten the foal. Kh. *šilbe*, shank, is in current use, c.f. Tsooloo 1988:866 (entry for *tšödör*); Serruys is mistaken in interpreting it in this context as 'hobble' (1978:124), and foals are not hobbled.

1976:358). Likewise, in present-day Uvs *aimag*, the tethering-rope is packed away at the releasing of the foals in a special container which is shown respect (Humphrey 1981:79). The *real* rope is thus treated in Uvs (the Altai-Sayan area again) in the same way as the *ritual* rope of the *dalalya* is treated by the Torguud and the Buryat.

The tethering line for lambs *kögene*, or its stakes, are smeared with an offering of milk-fats before it is first used each year. A text for this occasion (TEXT.6.2), which includes a *dalalya*, describes the cord as specially made by a 'grandmother', or ancestress; it seems to have a significance not far removed from that of the tethering-rope of the ancestor Činggis, or of the explicitly ritual rope for the *dalalya*.¹

Indeed any tethering-rope, when in place, is shown respect, expressed in the prohibition on stepping across it (fieldwork 1989). It seems that the Mongols do not make a clear distinction between 'real' and 'ritual' forms of the rope; both are surrounded by a single complex of beliefs.

4.8 The rope held by the officiant

Another rope appears in Oirad *dalalya* rituals which is to be distinguished from those described above.

Dörvöd-Kalmuck	Bergmann 1804,III:180; IV:287	RITE.5.1.1.(b)
Dörvöd-Kalmuck	Pallas 1801:342-5	RITE.4.4
Torguud of Bulgan	Wasilewski 1978:93	RITE.1.1.2(i)

Bergmann's account is for the sacrifice to the hearth. There are three officiants, one of whom holds and waves the end of a blue silken cord, which is attached to the roof-ring of the tent by means of a 'hooked bone' (Hakenknochen) from the sheep slaughtered.

Pallas' account of the 'fire sacrifice' of a shamaness corresponds closely to Bergmann's report, although the two rituals are quite distinct. Here Hakenknochen is glossed Astragalus, that is knuckle-bone (*šayai*).² The bone is used to weight

¹ A Teleut ancestor-spirit-support for a girl must be made by the oldest woman of the group (Harva 1938:173); the little *dalalya* bag is made by a senior woman (2.2.1).

² What may be meant is the tibia complete with astragalus and tarsals; the latter form a hook. The knuckle-bone itself has no hook. The correct Mongol term would then be *šayaitu*, an abbreviation of *šayaitu čimüge*.

the end of a red silk cord, so that it can be thrown up into the roof-ring, falling over one of the cross-bars and hanging there. The lower end of the cord is held by the head of the tent, with (in the same hand) the foreleg of the sheep.

An analysis of Bergmann's account identifies the cord with the *čiytaya* rope of the tent¹ (Dumas 1987:201). In Khalkha and much of Inner Mongolia the *čiytaya* is important symbolically (see 4.4.1), although its practical functions are limited. It is fixed permanently to the roof-ring, and may not be detached, even during nomadizations (Chabros and Dulam 1990:24). The Turkic, as opposed to Mongol, felt tent has no *čiytaya*, however (Róna-Tas 1961:88). It is also absent from Kalmuck (Pallas 1776:pl. I, II) and some Oirad tents (fieldwork 1989), which share characteristics of the Turkic type (Róna-Tas *ibid.* 87; Tsoloo 1987:11). The rope described here is temporary, and mounted specially for the occasion; it is not a *čiytaya*, which for symbolic and practical reasons must, in any case, be made of animal-hair, not silk.

Wasilewski's present-day account for the Torguud² of Bulgan *sum* describes the same action as the early Kalmuck accounts, but here the rope used is, explicitly, the *čiytaya*. The officiant holds the free end of the rope pressed to the *dalalya* vessel as he circles it. The purpose of the action is also explicit: the rope is the path by which the benefit, *kesig*, of the ritual enters the tent and finds its way into the vessel. It is thus to be associated with the 'spirit-path' ropes mentioned above (4.7.3).³

The Torguud of Bulgan, like many Oirad Mongols of the present-day MPR, have largely adopted the standardized Khalkha tent, with a *čiytaya*. The rope is probably used here as a convenient substitute for the specially-mounted cord of the early accounts;⁴ both function as conductors of energy. The roof-ring is regarded in the Altaic world as a point of contact with the supernatural domain, the 'spirit-

¹ Described under RITE.1.1.2(i).

² May also apply to Mongol Urianxai and Zaxčín. These Torguud were, of course, also 'Kalmucks' before 1771; see RITE.5.1.1(e) note.

³ The Manchu ritual of requesting good-fortune, *Ma. hôturi baimbi* (RITE.7.3.3), also employs a rope of the spirit-path type. It is hung with streamers, and tied to the ritual willow tree (Meyer 1989:231-2).

⁴ In the traditional wedding of the Borjigin clan, the groom faces a test of skill in which he has to bite the heart of a sheep, dangling on a red cord from the roof-ring, and break apart a tibia and knucklebone of the sheep, which are hooked onto the roof-poles with the *čiytaya* rope (Badamxatan 1972:30). Both the requisites and the action of biting at the heart reproduce the description of the early Kalmuck *dalalya*; they seem to represent elements of a basic Mongol ritual 'vocabulary'. What is now seen as a game probably derives from an earlier ritual concerned with the manipulation of energy.

door' of the tent (Ränk 1949:220-4; Roux 1963:26); it is thus through the roofing that *kesig* is expected to enter (c.f. RITE.5.1.7).

The leading-rope of a camel appears in a similar role in a *dalalya* for camels, performed by the Bayad at the time of their hearth-sacrifice (RITE.3.5).

THE TEXTS

1. INTRODUCTION

The classification of the texts which has been adopted is based on the classification of the rituals established above, but does not correspond to it precisely, since we have texts for rituals of an unknown nature, and rituals for which no texts are known.

Texts are translated and edited below for each of the following categories:

The autumn *dalalya*

The *dalalya* for the sacrifice to the hearth deity

The spring *dalalya* of the birds

The spring *dalalya* of the camels

Dalalya at other rituals - the anointing of the tethering-line

- an Oirad incense-offering to eternal heaven

The slaughtering *dalalya*

The hunters' *dalalya*

Texts are discussed, without examples, for the following categories:

Lamaist literary compositions

The blessing for the *dalalya* ceremony, *dalalya-yin irügel*

2. THE TEXTS FOR THE AUTUMN DALALYA

Only two texts for this ritual are known:¹

Duyarsürüng n.d. 121-122

Üzemčin

Mostaert 1937:465

Ordos

Mostaert's text is included on the basis of its content and phraseology; he does not in fact tell us at which ritual it was recited.²

Both texts are translated and edited below.

¹ It is my own feeling that the Buryat text published by Poppe (1936:33), listed in 6.1 under 'shaman's rituals', is more likely to be for the autumn *dalalya* performed by an ordinary herdsman. However, not only is there no data to confirm this, but no account at all of a Buryat *dalalya* ceremony is available, other than the shaman's sacrifice (RITE.4.4) and hunting rituals (RITE.4.1).

² A longer variant of Mostaert's text appears in Narasun 1989:295-7, but is intended to be recited on the first day of the new year; see RITE.5.2.1. No other account is known of a *dalalya* on this occasion.

2.1 Üzemčin

yalba delekei-yin kiřayar-ača
yangy-a mören-ü iruyar-ača
*yayıqam-a yeke kesig-üd-i*¹
yařar-un eng-iyer iregülümü.
qurui qurui qurui qurui!

unayan del-tei ařıry-a ba
usun řıruy-a aduyu-nuyud-i
kürdün eber-tei quča ba
küder bey-e-tei qonid-i
sürüg-ün manglai buq-a ba
sü simetei üker-üd-i
bosoy-a bökü-tei buur-a ba
botoyu, ingge, ata-nuyud-i
üjügür eber-tei uqun-a ba
ürijil sayıtai imayad-i
tabun qosıyu mal-i mini
tal-a düğüreng örüsiyemü.
qurui qurui qurui qurui
qurui qurui qurui qurui ... (gekü metü)

From the edge of the age-old world
from the banks of the *yangya*² river
[it]³ causes to come to the [whole] extent of [this] place
the wondrous great benefits (*kesig-üd-i*).
qurui qurui qurui qurui!

¹ The use of the word *kesig* with the definite plural suffix *-üd* is most unusual in the context of *dalalya* invocations. The definite plural occurs again with each class of animal (*aduyu-nuyud*), and is possibly a dialect usage.

² The Ganges.

³ The subject of the verb is unidentified. The context, and comparison with other texts, would seem to indicate a verb in the first person: 'I cause to come (by performing this ritual) ...'. The main verb which closes the text, however, makes a third-person subject necessary (n.6, following page). As no deity is named, it may simply be the performance of the ritual which is meant.

The stallion with his colt's mane¹ and
 the horses with their flowing pace
 the ram with his curling² horns and
 the sheep with sturdy bodies
 the bull, head³ of the herd and
 the cattle with the goodness of milk⁴
 the bull-camel with upright humps⁵ and
 the camel-calves, she-camels and gelded camels
 the buck with his pointed horns and
 the prolific goats
 my five species of livestock
 filling the steppe [it] bestows.⁶
 qurui qurui qurui qurui
 qurui qurui qurui qurui ... (and so on).⁷

Commentary

The orthography of the text does not differ from that used by the author in his own narrative,⁸ giving the impression that he recorded it directly from speech, and not from a MS of any great age.

The incantation is not addressed to any deity, and is not phrased as a prayer. It enumerates the males and females of the five herded species of the Mongols, attributing characteristics of fertility or good health to each. The animals are seen as embodying *kesig*, the benefits which the speaker believes his words and actions (of beckoning) will cause to arrive. However in contrast to Mostaert's text (and

¹ i.e. his uncut mane, which has not been touched since he was a colt; see section 3.2 (note).

² *kürdü* : wheel; ring.

³ Lit. the 'forehead' of the herd, its leader and its pride.

⁴ *sü simetei* : *sime* is the essential of something, in this case the nourishment embodied in the milk.

⁵ A sign of good physical condition.

⁶ The subject of the verb is again unidentified, but it cannot be the speaker, who desires benefits, and cannot bestow them himself. The usual sense of *örüsiyekü* is of a (lamaist) deity showing mercy to men, but c.f. *qayira kesig-i ö.*, to bestow a favour. The word is most un-typical for *dalalya* invocations; it is possible that it did not originally occur in this folk text, and appears through contamination from lamaist prayers, or through a distortion of the Üzemčün dialect of the original as it was taken down in standard written Mongol.

⁷ The editor seems to indicate that this text represents only a sample of the kind of thing said, and that the words are not fixed.

⁸ Comitative suffix *-tai* for *-tu*; *mini* for *minu*.

those for the 'fire'-*dalalya*, section 3), it is not the 'benefits' of the various animals which are called for here, but the animals themselves. The immediacy of this invocation can be compared to that of a hunters' *dalalya* edited below (8.1).

The text is without lamaist influence; only the first two lines, with their reference to the Ganges and to *yalba delekei*, Mo. *yalab* 'eon, age' < Sk. *kalpa*, use terminology which would have been introduced to Mongolia through lamaist texts. They perhaps reflect the lamaist opening formulae which are frequently added to folk-religious texts in order to make them more acceptable to the orthodox. What is essential here, however, is that the benefits in question come from an extremely remote source; it is perhaps to be regarded, because of its foreignness, as an analogy for an 'other' world, or alternatively as a mythical ideal time and place, the Beginning.

This text corresponds in intent to the section 'Fertility' of the more elaborated 'fire'-*dalalya* texts edited below under 3.2, while its two opening lines point to the two opening sections of those texts, 'Directions' and 'Deities'.

2.2 Ordos

šil sā't'u k'wīgīl bujā gēšik ;
χḡrḡḡ ! χḡrḡḡ !
šīwek sā't'u bérīl bujā gēšik ;
χḡrḡḡ ! χḡrḡḡ !
dél. sā't'u aḡžargā bujā gēšik ;
χḡrḡḡ ! χḡrḡḡ !
dū sā't'u gūū bujā gēšik ;
χḡrḡḡ ! χḡrḡḡ !
dūlga sā't'u buχā bujā gēšik ;
χḡrḡḡ ! χḡrḡḡ !
deliη sā't'u unēē bujā gēšik ;
χḡrḡḡ ! χḡrḡḡ !
t'awūn džūl t'arāā bujā gēšik ;
χḡrḡḡ ! χḡrḡḡ !
t'awū gūšū malīl bujā gēšik ;
χḡrḡḡ ! χḡrḡḡ !

The benefits (Mo. *buyan kesig*) of sons with fine appearance *xuruii! xuruii!*
the benefits of daughters-in-law with fine ornaments for their braids *xuruii! xuruii!*
the benefits of stallions with fine manes *xuruii! xuruii!*
the benefits of mares with fine voices *xuruii! xuruii!*
the benefits of bulls with fine humps¹ *xuruii! xuruii!*
the benefits of cows with fine udders *xuruii! xuruii!*
the benefits of the five kinds of grain *xuruii! xuruii!*
the benefits of the five species of livestock *xuruii! xuruii!*²

Commentary

Like the Üzemčin text, this incantation is not couched as a prayer; indeed it is even more direct, since there is no main verb, only a list of benefits, and the cry *xuruii* (Mo. *qurui*). It is clear that reciting these lines is believed to be efficacious in itself.

Here the benefit of descendants is added to that of the herds; this is characteristic of the corresponding 'Fertility' section of the 'fire'-*dalalya* texts. It is specifically descendants within the lineage, or within ones own camp, which are desired; the reference is not to daughters, who leave to marry into other groups, but to daughters-in-law, the incoming brides who enable the sons of the lineage to perpetuate it.

Although the text is spoken by a lama, it seems safe to assume, on the basis of its content, that this is a secondary development, and that the proper officiant is the head of the family. It is he, and not the lama, who performs the beckoning gestures (RITE.1.1.2.d).

Indirect lamaist influence is evident here in the reference to the five kinds of grain. Although it is not usually mentioned in the texts, grain of either five kinds or nine kinds³ is an essential requisite of the ritual in its more lamaized forms (see REQ.2.2.3). For most Mongol groups grain represents a commodity, which is bought from outsiders; while it functions among the requisites as a symbol of increase, it is out of place in texts which are concerned specifically with promoting the energy-potential of the members, human and animal, of a clearly-defined group.

The term *kesig*, benefits, is used ambiguously in both texts examined here; this is characteristic of the *dalalya* invocations. The word can be interpreted as 'the

¹ The hump at the base of the bull's neck.

² Mostaert has published the text in French translation (1947:503).

³ The varieties are not specified. The numbers five and nine occur as the result of lamaist systematization of the ritual, and have little to do with agricultural realities. However five kinds of grain, defined, like the five directions and five colours, by reference to the five elements, are already recorded in Chinese texts of the 3rd century B.C. (Chen 1989:63).

good-fortune of having' (descendants, herds), as in Mostaert's French translation, or as 'the wellbeing of' (the children and herds). A third sense is possible: 'the vital energy which is in' the children and the herds of the group. This sense includes the other two, and is the one adopted in this thesis.

3. THE *DALALYA* FOR THE SACRIFICE TO THE HEARTH-FIRE

The majority of known texts for the *dalalya* performed at the annual 'fire-sacrifice', *yal-un takilya*, appear together with a prayer to the hearth-deity, as a single MS. These MSS are known as *yal sudur*, fire sūtra.

The *dalalya* forms the second part of the MS; it may be separated from the hearth prayer by a sub-heading, as in the text edited below, or by a Tibetan or Sanskrit interjection, as in H VII.¹ In other MSS (e.g. H XI) the start of the *dalalya* can be identified only by the change in phraseology (c.f. Dumas 1987:108-9). 'Fire'-*dalalya* texts also appear as separate MSS, without an accompanying prayer to the hearth deity (e.g. RI XIV).

An Oirad text for the hearth sacrifice combines passages from both the prayer to the hearth deity and the *dalalya* invocation,² blurring the distinction between them. This apparent 'muddling' is a function of the somewhat different part played by the *dalalya* in the actual performance of Oirad hearth-sacrifice rituals, c.f. RITE.5.1.3 and RITE.9.

3.1 The body of texts

The available texts may be divided into four groups:

1. Texts which are sufficiently close to each other both in structure and in phraseology to be regarded as versions of the same hypothetical model.³
2. Texts composed of extracts from this model. Certain of the sections which make up its structure may be absent, or may appear in a very abbreviated form.
3. Texts which differ significantly in structure and content from this model, although still having some characteristics in common with it.
4. Lamaist literary compositions.

¹ The codes used to refer to the texts are listed below.

² Three variants are extant: H XI, PALLAS I, DÖRVÖD.

³ I do not mean to imply the existence of an Urtext; I use 'model' to refer to a structured set of commonplaces which may never have belonged to any *single* text in reality.

Many of those texts which I include in groups 1 and 2 have already been analysed in the form of a concordance table (Heissig 1966: table opp. 14).

The texts of group 1

Reference Code

- | | | |
|----|---|-------------------------|
| 1. | Heissig 1966 no. V p. 69, <i>dalalya</i> p. 72-4
origin : Chahar
The original MS is translated and edited below, as one of the fullest examples of this group of texts. | H V |
| 2. | Heissig 1966 no. VII p.77, <i>d.</i> p. 80-2
Chahar | H VII |
| 3. | Heissig 1966 no. IX p. 87, <i>d.</i> p. 89-91
Chahar | H IX |
| 4. | Rintchen 1959 no. XII p. 18, <i>d.</i> p. 22-24.
Khalkha | RI XII |
| 5. | Rintchen 1959 no. XIV p. 30 (<i>dalalya</i> only)
origin unknown | RI XIV |
| 6. | Rintchen 1975 no. XIV p. 36, <i>d.</i> p. 42-44
Khalkha
variant:
Rintchen 1975 no. XI p.23, <i>d.</i> p.28-31
Khalkha
This text contains long extra passages not found in any other <i>dalalya</i> . | RIII XIV

RIII XI |
| 7. | Damdinsürüng 1959 p.112
probably Khalkha | DAM F. |
| 8. | Unpublished text ¹
(Institute of Language and Literature, Ulan Bator) | XZX F. |

The texts of group 2

- | | | |
|----|--|--------|
| 1. | Heissig 1966 no. IV p. 66, <i>d.</i> p. 68-9
Chahar | H IV |
| 2. | Heissig 1966 no. VI p.74, <i>d.</i> p. 76-7
Chahar | H VI |
| 3. | Heissig 1966 no. VIII p. 82, <i>d.</i> p. 86-7
Chahar | H VIII |
| 4. | Heissig 1966 no. XI p. 93, <i>d.</i> p. 97
Oirad | H XI |

¹ *ral-un takilyan-u sudur orosibai*
10 folios, brush, on Chinese ruled paper.

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|
| 5. | Heissig 1966 no. XII p. 98, <i>d.</i> p. 99-100
Oirad | H XII |
| 6. | Pallas 1801:332-3
Kalmuck (Dörvöd)
published in German translation only | PALLAS II |
| 7. | Pallas 1801:331 lines 16-31
Kalmuck (Dörvöd)
published in German translation only | PALLAS I |
| 8. | Mostaert 1962, <i>d.</i> p. 196-7
Ordos
translated into French and edited | ORDOS M. |
| 9. | Duyarsürüng n.d. p.119
Üzemčün
The text is translated and edited below (3.3) | ÜZEM F. |
| 10. | Unpublished Oirad text, transcribed in Tibetan script ¹
(in private possession)
Dörvöd
(close to H XI) | DÖRVÖD |
| 11. | Unpublished text (taperecording in my possession)
Bayad
The text is translated and edited below (3.3). | BAYAD |

The texts of group 3

- | | | |
|----|--|------------|
| 1. | Qasbiligtü 1984 p.42-45
Ordos | ORDOS Q. |
| 2. | Heissig 1966 no. XV p.107-8 ² | H XV |
| 3. | Rintchen 1975 no. XIII p. 34, <i>d.</i> p.35-6.
(some affinities with the <i>dalalya</i> to Sülde tngri, see section 6) | R III XIII |

The texts of group 4

These are listed separately under section 9 with other lamaist compositions.

¹ 8 folios, untitled.

² Incomplete text, perhaps intended, not for the annual hearth sacrifice, but for the offering made at the bowing of the bride to her father-in-law's hearth, during the wedding; description in Pozdneyev 1978:568-574.

Unpublished texts which could not be classified

1. Mongolian State Library, cat. no. 294.2 F19 76696
2. Poppe (1972) describes nine fire-prayers in Leningrad which include a *dalalya* ; some may be lamaist compositions.

Two texts deserve particular mention:

C118 (p.182) - Oirad text combining *dalalya* and hearth prayer.

F211 (p.177-8) - contains 'spring' *dalalya* phraseology; may possibly be a text for the *dalalya* of the camels.

3.2 Example of a 'fire'-*dalalya* text

The first part of the MS, the prayer to the hearth-deity, is not included.

I divide the text into the following sections, on the basis of content:

- A 'Directions' from which benefits are expected
- B 'Deities' invoked, including the mountains and waters
- C 'Lacks' to be made good
- D 'Fertility' of the human group and of the herds
- E 'Lost animals' to be restored
- F 'Servants' - requests for retainers

The same set of sections can be distinguished in all the texts of groups 1 and 2, although the order of the sections may vary, and sections may be truncated or omitted.

The section headings present a good picture of the basic concerns of the ritual; each section is separately commented on below, after the translation of the text.

Royal Library Copenhagen, Mong. 401

A transcription (H V) has previously been published by Heissig.

(3v) *dalaly-a anu*¹

- A. *ibsan küi küi-e.*
*belge bilig-ün buyan yutuy-yi*²
barayun eteged-eče yuyunam. qurui qurui :³
ibsan küi küi-e
jegün eteged-eče
ürjigülkü morin-u yutuy-yi yuyunam qurui qurui :
ibsan küi küi-e
umar-a eteged-eče
qar-a torman temege(n)-ü yutuy-yi yuyunam qurui qurui :
10 *ibsan küi küi-e*
emüne eteged-eče
dalai-yin dayivang qayan-u ed ayurasun-u yutuy-yi yuyunam
qurui qurui :
ibsan küi küi-e
töbed-ün örgen üker-ün yutuy-yi yuyunam qurui qurui :
ibsan küi küi-e
temür ayula-yin quyay-un yutuy-yi (4r) yuyunam qurui qurui :
ibsan küi küi-e
erdeni-yin sang-un bodisad nar-un alay-a-daki
erdeni-tü quluyan-u aman-ača bayuqu
20 *erdeni-yin sang-un yutuy-yi yuyunam qurui qurui* :
ibsan küi küi-e
*modu širui*⁴ *yal temür kiged*
*qarsılaqui*⁵ *-yin ayul-yi buu uçarayultuyai .*
ibsan küi küi-e
ubsang ungsiysan-iyar yutuy orošituyai .
B. *ibsan küi küi-e*
nom-un qayan šigemüni burqan-u nom buyan kesig činu qurui qurui :
tngri-yin qayan qormusta tngri-yin yiren yisün tngri-yin buyan kesig
činu qurui qurui :

¹ Written in red according to Heissig. This transcription is made from b. and w. microfilm.

² For *qutuy-i* ; the word is written *yütuy-yi* consistently throughout. Medial vowel *o/u* is consistently written *ö/ü* in other back vowel words.

³ Written *qürui* ; see note 2.

⁴ *si* is frequently, but not always, written *ši* .

⁵ For *qarsılaqui* .

- kümün-ü qayan jakarbaridi*¹-yin qayan-u buyan kesig činu
 qurui qurui :
- 30 *vačir-a dhar-a blam-a terigüten arban jüg-ün burqan bodisadu nar-un*
 buyan kesig činu qurui qurui :
erdeni-yin qayan bismän tngri-yin bu[yan] kesig činu qurui qurui :
- (4v) *möngke tngri-yin ečige-yin buyan kesig činu qurui qurui :*
dalan doluyan dabqur etüge-yin eke-yin yačar-un buyan kesig činu
 qurui qurui :
naran saran odun metü gereltei köbegün-ü buyan kesig činu
 qurui qurui :
*doluyan ebügen odun terigüten tüg tümen kolti*² odun-u
 buyan kesig činu qurui qurui :
*gangga*³ *dalai metü širgesi ügei buyan kesig činu qurui qurui :*
qayan sümber ayula metü baraydasi ügei buyan kesig činu
 qurui qurui :
*yas*⁴ *qada metü ebderesi ügei buyan kesig činu qurui qurui :*
- C. *tasarqai*⁵-yi minu jalyaču öggügči
 40 *tamturqai-yi minu nöküjü öggügči buyan kesig činu qurui qurui :*
ügeiregsen-yi minu bayajiyulču
ükügsen-yi minu tölöljü öggügči buyan kesig činu qurui qurui :
dumdayur-yi minu güičegejü
*dulum-a*⁶-yi minu dügürgejü (5r) öggügči buyan kesig činu
 qurui qurui :
- D. *ködege-yin činegen küi*
könjile-yin činegen umai
*ködege-dü bayıqu dörben qosıyu mal aduyusun-u sür sünisü*⁷
 buyan kesig činu qurui qurui :
 joydur yeketü bayuur-a .

¹ For Sk. *cakravartin* ; *j* and *k* are given in *galig* characters, but two points are added to the *k* (as in *γ*), perhaps influenced by Manchu medial *k* .

² *k* in *galig* form and with two points, c.f. Kowalewski 2606a *költi* < Sk. *kôti* , ten million. Heissig reads *költei* .

³ For *yangya* ; *g* as above.

⁴ For *qas* .

⁵ For *tasurqai* .

⁶ c.f. H VII 1.149 *dulim-i* .

⁷ For *sünesü* .

- dayun yeketü buq-a .
 50 del yeketü ajiry-a .
 deleng yeketü gegüü üniy-e-ü¹ sür sünisü buyan kesig činu
 qurui qurui :
- E. daldaraysan day-a .
 bilderegsen birayu .
 tögeregsen tölüge .
 elderegsen esige ede deden-ü sür sünisü buyan kesig činu
 qurui qurui :
- F. buryulasi² ügei buyan kesig činu toytoqu boltuyai qurui qurui :
 öljei qutuy
 gerün bosiy-a-daki boyol noqai
 egüden-deki arad boyol ed deden-ü sür sünisü buyan kesig činu
 qurui qurui x x x x
- 60 öljei qutuy orosituyai ::
 manggalam bayavatu :
- A. The dalalya .
 Ibsan küi küi-e,³
 I request the blessings (buyan qutuy) of wisdom from the western
 region, qurui qurui .
 Ibsan küi küi-e
 from the eastern region

¹ For üniyen-ü .

² c.f. H VIII 1.150 buryulasi .

³ küi-e/güi-e is close in sound to the Tib. kye , an interjection which occurs at the beginning of invocations, but which in Mongol is normally rendered je . It may be regarded as a summoning of energies; it is used today in Mongolia at the start of a game of shooting knucklebones, šayai qarbuqu (fieldwork 1988). Here, however, the cry is not the first word. It is fairly frequent in this group of texts, c.f. RI XII p.22:

enedkeg-ün keleber sang küy-e küy-y küy-e
 töbed-ün keleber yanduling yanduling yanduling
 mongyol-un keleber aa qurui qurui qurui-a
 in the Sanskrit language sang küy-e küy-y küy-e
 in the Tibetan language yanduling yanduling yanduling
 in the Mongol language aa qurui qurui qurui-a

where it is regarded as equivalent to qurui . However the phrase is not recognisable as Sanskrit, and the word ibsang/sang could not be identified, except as a possible form of Mo. sang , ubsang < Tib. bsangs , incense-offering, which however does not fit the context. The phrase should be regarded as a tarni (< Sk. dhāraṇī), usually unintelligible spells in Sanskrit or pseudo-Sanskrit which are frequently inserted in the text of a prayer.

- I request the blessings (*qutuy*) of horses multiplying *qurui qurui* .
Ibsan küi küi-e
 from the northern region
 I request the blessings of camels of the black Torman¹ *qurui qurui* .
 10 *Ibsan küi küi-e*
 from the southern region
 I request the blessings of the material possessions of the *dayivang*²
 khan of the sea *qurui qurui* .
Ibsan küi küi-e
 I request the blessings of the vast [herds of] cattle of Tibet
qurui qurui .
Ibsan küi küi-e
 I request the blessings of the armour of the iron mountain
qurui qurui .
Ibsan küi küi-e
 I request the blessings of the treasure of jewels
 falling from the mouth of the mouse with the jewels³
 who is in the palms of the bodhisattvas of the treasure of jewels
qurui qurui .
 21 *Ibsan küi küi-e*
 with wood earth fire and iron⁴
 let not the dangers of disharmony be brought about,
ibsan küi küi-e
 may blessings obtain through our reading of the incense-offering
 [prayer],

¹ *qar-a torman* c.f. RI XII p.23 *qara toymay* . Lessing lists *torman* for Turfan (827a): 'the black camels of Turfan'? However colour adjectives are not normally separated from their noun in Mongol, and 'camels of black Turfan' seems less satisfactory.
Toymoy are the Kipchak; later the word was used also of the Kirghiz and the Kazakh. This gives a more satisfactory reading: 'camels of the black Kipchak', an image derived from the concept of the four subject peoples surrounding the centre of the Empire, each associated with one of the cardinal directions and with a colour in a 'political *maṇḍala*', c.f. Sagaster 1976:308-314.

² *dayivang* : Ch. *ta* great, Ch. *wang* Prince. Serruys, discussing variants of the text which read *dayibung* , derives the term from Ch. *Ta(i)-Ming* , 'the great Ming (empire)', and takes *dalai* , sea, in its sense of 'very great', also found in the title 'Dalai lama' (1960:552).

³ The jewel-spitting mongoose, attribute of the lamaist deity of wealth Bisman/Namsarai, on whose hand it sits (Getty 1962:156).

⁴ The five elements, water being omitted. H VII l.121 has
qarsilaqui-yin ayul-dur buu učirayultuyai .
 RI XII p.24 also has *ayul-dur* .
 It is essential for wellbeing and health that the five elements should be mutually in balance within the human body (p.c.).

- B. The¹ benefits (*buyan kesig*) of the religion of Sigemüni² buddha the
king of religion *qurui qurui*.
The benefits of the ninety-nine tngri of Qormusta³ tngri the king of
the tngri *qurui qurui*.
The benefits of the Jakarbaridi⁴ king the king of men *qurui qurui*.
30 The benefits of Vačir-a dhar-a⁵ lama and the other buddhas and
bodhisattva of the ten directions⁶ *qurui qurui*.
The benefits of Bisman⁷ tngri the king of jewels *qurui qurui*.
The benefits of Eternal Heaven (*Möngke tngri*),⁸ the father,
qurui qurui.
The benefits of the earth of the seventy-seven-layered Earth
(*Etügen*),⁹ the mother, *qurui qurui*.
The benefits of the son bright as the sun, moon and stars
qurui qurui.
The benefits of the constellation of the seven old men¹⁰ and the other
teeming ten-million stars *qurui qurui*.
Benefits inexhaustible as [the waters of] the Ganges (*Gangga*) ocean¹¹
qurui qurui.

¹ *činu* is here emphatic; it is not addressed to Sigemüni, and I therefore translate 'the' rather than 'your'. The use of *činu/minu* in the texts is examined below (3.4.3).

² Sk. Śākyamuni.

³ Qormusta = Indra. Qormusta stands at the head of the 99 deities (*tngri*) of Mongol folk-religion (Heissig 1970:352-3).

⁴ Sk. Cakravartin, the 'turner of the wheel' or Universal Monarch; here probably refers to Činggis Khan as secular ruler in conjunction with the Buddha Śākyamuni as heavenly ruler (Sagaster 1976:318,320).

⁵ Sk. *Vajra-dhara*, the 'thunderbolt-holder', the supreme Buddha of tantric traditions (Snellgrove 1987:131).

⁶ The four cardinal directions, four intermediary directions, and the nadir and zenith.

⁷ Bisman = Namsarai, the god of riches.

⁸ Möngke tngri : the supreme deity of the Mongols (Heissig 1970:350 ff).

⁹ Etügen eke, 'mother Etügen', the goddess of the earth (Heissig 1970:411 ff).

¹⁰ *Doluyan ebügen*, 'seven old men', = the Great Bear *Ursa major*.

¹¹ The Ganges river; *dalai*, ocean, is used here to express vastness.

straying young sheep,¹
 kids which have got out²
 the vital force and benefits of the ones and the others *qurui qurui*.

- F. May benefits which cannot be countered³ be established *qurui qurui*
 Felicity and blessings⁴
 Serfs and dogs by the threshold of the tent
 the people and serfs by the door
 the vital force and benefits of the ones and the others *qurui qurui*.
 x x x x⁵
- 60 May felicity and blessings obtain.
Mangalam bayavatu.⁶

Commentary

Section A - 'Directions'

This section occurs in about half the available texts,⁷ though not necessarily at the beginning. It does not occur in the western Mongol versions published; this may be an effect of chance, since BAYAD consists of the 'Directions' section alone.

bult'ura- se luxer, se déboîter (to be dislocated (a bone), to become disconnected) (DO:96a);
bultari- to avoid, evade (Less. 136a) ~ *multura-* to escape, break loose (*ibid.* 551a). For the alternation of initial *b* and *m* c.f. *bičîn* ~ *mičîn*, monkey.

- 1 The terms used here for colts and young cattle and sheep refer to animals in their second year, that is no longer at their mother's side.
- 2 *aldaraqu* to come loose ... ; to disappear (Less. 30b). For alternation of front and back vowels c.f. *andayuraqu*, *endegürekü* to be mistaken (*ibid.* 43a, 316a).
- 3 *buruyulaqu* to flee, *čirai buruyulaqu* to turn ones face away (Less. 139a); c.f. also Kh. *buruulax yos* 'the practice of doing [something] the wrong way round', an intentional reversal to mislead malevolent spirits (fieldwork 1989).
- 4 Part of a line seems to have been missed here by the copyist, c.f. H VIII l.151: *öljei qutuya činu qurui qurui*.
- 5 Probably represents *qurui qurui* repeated four times.
- 6 *mangalam* : Sk. *maṅgalam* = Mo. *öljei qutuy* (Less. 1175b), 'felicity and blessings'.
bayavatu : Sk. *bhavatu* = Mo. *boltoyai*, 'may there be'.
- 7 That is, the texts of groups 1, 2 and 3. The texts of group 4, lamaist literary compositions, are excluded from consideration here (see section 9).

The text presents a coordinated classification of cardinal directions and foreign peoples, and of the herd-animals, with other goods, which the speaker summons from each location. The classification adopted is based on the 'political *maṇḍala*' formed by the distribution of the peoples of the Mongol Empire (Sagaster 1976:311-12); c.f. ORDOS Q., where the centre, the point of reference for the cardinal directions, is represented as

tabun öngge dörben qari-yi tobčilan quriyaysan darqan nutuy

the sacred homeland subsuming the five colours and the four alien [subject peoples]

- in other words, the Mongol heartland.

In the earlier Tibetan equivalent of this geopolitical schema, the Cakravartin at the centre (the Ruler, corresponding to the Mongol Khan) is surrounded by the Kings of the Four Directions, and each kingdom is characterized by a particular attribute (Stein 1959:251). These attributes influence the nature of the 'good-fortune' beckoned from each direction in texts for Tib. *g-yang-'gug* (*ibid.* 260-1), the Tibetan ceremony which corresponds to the lamaist variants of the Mongol *dalalya*. It is clear that this section of the *dalalya* text is modelled on a Tibetan prototype, which is not, however, simply copied; the Mongol text at the same time corresponds to a Mongol reality.¹

The lamaist character of this section is apparent in the request for the 'blessings', *qutuy*, of the goods desired, rather than their 'benefit' or 'good-fortune' *buyan kesig* which is requested throughout the rest of the text. This distinction is repeated in a number of the available texts.² It is reinforced here by the repetition of the formula *ibsan küi küi-e*, which does not occur in the other sections of the text. The request for material goods and treasures is also characteristic of the lamaized *dalalya*; the 'goods' desired in the native ritual - children and herds - are necessarily alive.

The western region which is the source of wisdom is perhaps a reference to Lhasa, home of the Doctrine, known in Mongol as the Western Monastery, *Barayun juu*.³ The eastern region is identified in RI XII (p.23) as the country of

¹ The opening of the text with this classification 'placing' the significant elements of life (animals and goods) on which the ritual is intended to act may also reflect Tibetan concepts. In order to use or to influence a thing or being one must first know, and preferably recite, its origin (Stein 1971:535). The recitation of these usually abbreviated and formulaic origin-stories at the start of a ritual is the guarantee of its efficacy. Since everything which the ritual concerns must be included, the recitation becomes a catalogue, or litany; this in turn comes to form the liturgical material of the ritual (*ibid.* 482-3).

² The introduction of this lamaist concept is deliberate (Heissig 1982:237). However the term used to express it makes clear that it is no more than a veneer on the native Altaic concept; in old Turkish and in contemporary Turkic languages the root *qut* has meanings equivalent to Mongol *kesig*: vital force, good-fortune. It is finally the same benefit which is in question.

³ Lit. 'Western Lord', referring to the Buddha within it (< Tib. *jo-bo*).

the Jürčid. Until the conquest of the Tangut by Činggis Khan, the Mongols had very few camels (Vladimirtsov 1948:43), and here they seem to be associated primarily with Turkic peoples. The southern *dayivang* khan is probably a reference to the Emperor of China,¹ and is historically accurate in that China was the source of the material wealth which the nomadic herding economy lacked. Tibet is seen as the source of yaks; Mongol *üker* includes both yaks and cattle when it is used, as here, in the context of the five species herded by the Mongols (horses, camels, cattle/yaks, sheep, goats). Sheep are missing from the present text; in other variants they come from the west, c.f. H VII 1.104.

The reference to the 'iron mountain' is probably a literal translation of Tib. *lcags-ri*, with a sense of 'boundary (rampart)', that is a protective feature. R III XIII contains requests for armour and for several kinds of weapon (p.36), but not in the context of the 'Directions' section, which is absent from the text.

The remaining lines of this section are explicitly lamaist in character.

This part of the text presents a world-view in which man, the supplicant, is at the centre, while the animals and goods on which his life depends come to him from the 'other', foreign or divine, world of the periphery.

Section B - 'Deities'

This section, or elements from it, occurs in almost every available text. It represents a list of the deities by whose favour man lives; lamaist and native deities are equally represented. The Great Bear - *doluyan ebügen* or 'seven old men' - is regarded as a source of fertility and increase in Mongol folk religion (Heissig 1970:389), as is the Earth mother. These native deities correspond to the original concerns of the ritual. The addition of the god of riches and other lamaist figures reflects a foreign conception of material and spiritual wealth.²

Činggis is included in the list of life-givers not as a deity, but, probably, in his role as secular counterpart to the Buddha in the dual organisation of State and Church established after him by Qubilai (Sagaster 1976:319-20). For the significance of the concept of the 'turner of the wheel' as source of energy and promoter of life c.f. TERM.1.5, the *dalalya* gesture and circular movement.

The texts in which a truncated form of this section appears do not show any identifiable pattern as to which deities are omitted. It is significant, however, that

¹ c.f. ORDOS Q. (p.43): *emün-e jüg-ün nal nanggiyad balyasun-u ... ed tavar*, wares of the towns of the ruby [coloured] Chinese of the south.

² c.f. also a lamaist text for a 'summoning of fortune', which probably translates Tib. *g-yang-gug*, performed in a monastery in Mongolia at the festival of the lamps, and which addresses only lamaist deities (Pozdneyev 1978:489-90).

the invocation of the mountains and the waters is almost invariably present.¹ The lamaized formula which invokes Mount Sumeru and the Ganges is probably a transformation of an appeal to the spirit-masters of the mountains and waters of the clan-territory of the speaker. These would have been clan-specific ancestor-spirits, the source of game and of children; their replacement by non-specific foreign models is a result of missionizing activity and of the gradual changes in the Mongol way of thinking which the presence of lamaism brought about.

In some of the texts the waters are represented not by the Ganges, but by *sūn dalai*, the Milk Sea.² According to Waddell this is one of the cosmic oceans surrounding Mount Sumeru (1895:78). However it should perhaps be associated here with the 'Milk Lake' which is a mythical source of life for a number of Altaic peoples (Harva 1938:170-1). This image of the Milk Sea seems to hesitate between the generalized and remote deities of the lamaist pantheon and the local spirits of native belief.

Section C - 'Lacks'

This section occurs in most, but not all, of the available texts. The belief that the benefit or energies received in the *dalalya* can compensate man for his own mortality is basic to the understanding of the ritual. It confirms that the inclusion of material wealth among the goods requested is a lamaist accretion to the native prayer;³ treasures cannot outweigh death, but the life-energy of the *dalalya* embodied in children and the increasing herds abolishes death, which becomes but one necessary stage in the eternal cycle of life. On a more obvious level, too, the prosperity bestowed by the ritual is life-giving, in that children of prosperous families are less at risk.

The benefits requested in this section represent the setting right of misfortune or lack, rather than outright gain; this may be compared with the use of *dalalya* rituals in healing (RITE.4.3-4.4).

Section D - 'Fertility'

This section addresses the central concern of the ritual. It appears in every available version,⁴ although sometimes in truncated form, but it is not characteristic of the lamaist literary compositions of group 4. Only in H VI is it missing; this is a

¹ The only exceptions are H VII and the rather fragmented H VI.

² c.f. H XI (Oirad) and the short ÜZEM F. ORDOS M. has both.

³ That material treasures in the context of the *dalalya* are a lamaist element has been additionally confirmed by the examination of the ritual requisites (REQ.2.2.1 and REQ.4.4).

⁴ It does not occur in the oral text BAYAD, but this text as recorded is possibly incomplete.

confused text, in which the hearth-prayer seems to be followed by a fragment of a prayer for the tethering-rope at the catching of the mares, and the lamaized *dalalya* consists of the 'Deities' section only.¹

It is the 'Fertility' section which links the hearth-sacrifice *dalalya* texts with those known for *dalalya* performed on other folk-religious occasions (sections 2, 4, 5). It may reflect a widely-used oral folk-religious invocation, which became the basis of more elaborated texts eventually to be fixed in writing and dedicated to different specific ritual occasions.

The brief request for a wide-spreading clan, that is for the fertility of the human group, is followed by a longer evocation of the fertility of the herds, which takes the form of a classification of the animals herded by the Mongols. That the livestock of a group (family or camp) are regarded as an integral part of that group is basic to the understanding of the *dalalya*. The males and females of each different species are characterized by symbols of fertility which are conventional for the *dalalya* texts; for the significance of the long hair of the bull-camel in particular see RITE.3.

In two versions only, R I XIV and R III XIV, is the request for descendants elaborated to the same extent as that for increase in the herds. The first of these texts is otherwise very close to the version examined here, and it is at least possible that as the invocations underwent lamaist influence and became fixed in writing, often by a copyist in a monastery, the section emphasizing the strength of the kin-group was deliberately cut out. It was a policy of missionizing lamaism to isolate each tent as an individual ritual unit, at the expense of the wider kin-group (see REQ.4.1.2).

The request for descendants in R I XIV (p.31-2) reads as follows:

sili sayitu köbegün-ü sür sünesün buyan kesig minu, qurui qurui ::
sibergel sayitu beri-yin buyan kesig minu, qurui qurui ::
könüg-ün činege küi,
könjile-yin činege umai-yin sür sünesün buyan kesig minu, qurui qurui ::
ködege dügürčü bayiçu dörben qosıyü mal-un buyan kesig minu,
qurui qurui ::
orun dügürčü bayiçu keüked-ün sür sünesün buyan kesig minu,
qurui qurui ::
ordun čayan ger-ün kesig minu,

¹ This text is possibly intended, not for the hearth sacrifice, but for a milk libation ceremony. Other texts for these libations are known which include a 'hearth prayer' with *dalalya* (RITE.7.1.1).

qormai dügürčü bayıqu keüked-ün sür sünesün buyan kesig minu,
a qurui qurui ::
qota dügürčü bayıqu olan çayan qonin-u buyan kesig minu,
a qurui qurui ::
dergede sayuqu köbegün-ü buyan kesig minu, a qurui qurui ::
*daldalağu bayıqu beri-yin buyan kesig minu, a qurui qurui ::*¹

My² vital energy (*sür sünesün*) and benefits³ (*buyan kesig-i*) of
 sons with fine appearance, *qurui qurui*.
 My benefits (*buyan kesig*) of daughters-in-law with fine ornaments
 on their braids, *qurui qurui*.
 My vital energy and benefits of a navel the size of a pail,
 a womb the size of a bedcover, *qurui qurui*.
 My benefits of the four species of livestock filling the open steppe,
qurui qurui.
 My vital energy and benefits of children filling the dwelling,⁴ *qurui qurui*.
 My benefit (*kesig*) of a palatial⁵ white tent, *qurui qurui*.
 My vital energy and benefits of children filling my skirts, *a qurui qurui*.
 My benefits of many white sheep filling the fold, *a qurui qurui*.
 My benefits of sons to sit by me,⁶ *a qurui qurui*.
 My benefits of daughters-in-law remaining concealed *a qurui qurui*.

A text of group 3 (those which differ significantly from the 'model') also presents extended requests for the kin group, but using unrelated phraseology (R III XIII p.35-6). Here the benefits, *buyan kesig*, of the kin-group are called for, as well as that of the ancestors *ebüged yeke degedüs*. This is the only explicit reference to the ancestors in any available *dalağa* text, but the concept of ancestors as energy-source is basic to the ritual.⁷ The request for the herds is truncated in this

¹ Rinchen's transcription is reproduced.

² *minu* is here emphatic rather than possessive (c.f. the parallel use of *činu* in the text under analysis) and could be translated 'vital energy and benefits for me of ...'.

³ *kesig-i*, accusative, implying an absent verb 'I request ...'.

⁴ R III XIV has *oru dügürčü bayıqu keüked*, children filling the bed.

⁵ *ordun* for *ordu*.

⁶ Or: to settle beside me (in one camp).

⁷ So much so that it is taken for granted; explicit reference to it is superfluous.

text to a single line, and the remainder of the invocation shows marked lamaist characteristics; the presence of the prayer for the kin-group is perhaps surprising in that context.

This 'Fertility' section and the two which follow, 'Lost Animals' and 'Servants', are distinguished by a change in the formulation of the good requested, from *buyan kesig*, benefits, to *sür sünesü buyan kesig*, vital force and benefits. The distinction seems to be a standard one for these texts; it occurs in most of the available versions. In contrast to those of the earlier sections, the 'benefits' of this part of the text are exclusively those of *living* beings, the descendants, herds and retainers which belong to the group of the speaker. The significance in the *dalalya* of the concept *sünesü*, 'soul' or vital energy, has already been discussed in the chapter on the Terminology. The compound *sür sünesü* is close in meaning; *sür*, commanding appearance; grandeur, majesty (Less. 744b), can perhaps best be understood as an outward sign of exceptional vital energy,¹ and the compound resumes both the quality and its sign.

The call for *sür sünesü* in this central section of the *dalalya* confirms the close relationship of the ritual to 'calling the soul', *sünesü dayudaqu* (RITE.8.1).

Section E - 'Lost Animals'

This section forms a continuation of the preceding invocation of the fertility of the livestock; the two sections invariably occur together in the texts. Like that passage, it presents a classification of the various species, but here the good requested can be regarded as an injection of vital energy to restore young animals threatened with being lost. The young represent the increase and the continuation of the 'animal division' of the group; their loss drains the life-force of the herd. Like the 'Lacks' section above, this passage is essentially a healing procedure. Formally, however, it reflects the same schema of centre / periphery as the opening section 'Directions'. Benefits (or energy) proceed from the alien periphery to the centre represented in the 'own' group or herd; correspondingly, to stray from that centre leads to loss, death or extinction.

Section F - 'Servants'

This short passage can be regarded as an extension of the requests for the wellbeing of the livestock, to which it is linked on the formal level by the recurrence

¹ c.f. Bawden 1985:10-14. The unpublished text XZX F has *sür sülde*, 'vigour', in place of *sür sünesü*. While both *sülde* and *sünesü* are used to translate Tib. *bla* (soul, vital energy) into Mongol, they are not equivalent. The vigour, *sülde*, of an exceptional individual may, after his death, become a protective spirit of others; the term is discussed in detail by Bawden, *op. cit.* and 1962:93-4, and Even 1987b:552-4.

of the line 'the vital force and benefits of the ones and the others'. It occurs in most of the available texts.

The subjects and household servants of the master of the tent, although not linked to him by kinship, nevertheless form part of his group in the context of rituals,¹ as do his herds, (c.f. Mostaert 1962:211). Their marginal position in the group is reflected in their place at the doorway, the least honourable part of the tent.

The two closing lines of the text represent a lamaist interpolation.

3.3 The shorter texts

Two of the texts from group 2 are so abbreviated that, were the more 'complete' texts not available for comparison, they might appear to be short folk texts, 'genuine' oral compositions. ÜZEM F. has three lines only, corresponding to the 'Deities' section. The concerns of the 'Fertility' section are equally present:

sümbür ayula metü ebderesi ügei buyan kesig-i iregülkü boltuyai
qurui qurui qurui
sün dalai metü sirgisi ügei mal-un kesig-i iregülkü boltuyai
qurui qurui qurui
söni-yin odon siy ür-e-yin qutuy-i iregülkü boltuyai
qurui qurui qurui.

may the benefits (*buyan kesig-i*) indestructible as mount Sümbür
be caused to come *qurui qurui qurui*
may the benefit (*kesig-i*)² of livestock inexhaustible as the milk sea
be caused to come *qurui qurui qurui*
may the blessing of descendants like the stars of the night
be caused to come *qurui qurui qurui.*

This condensed prayer confirms the essential concern of the ritual, the promotion of vitality.

¹ For the participation of servants in the hearth-sacrifice in particular - from which outsiders are excluded - see Dumas 1987:306-7.

² My translation 'benefit' is determined by the context provided by the prayer as a whole. The phrase *mal-un kesig* also carries the specific sense of 'the vital principle of an animal', c.f. TERM.2. The meaning here is many-layered.

The Oirad text BAYAD¹ consists only of the 'Directions' section. It is included here on the basis of its content; we do not know whether it was recited at the time of the hearth-sacrifice, but the distinction between the hearth-sacrifice *dalalya* and the autumn *dalalya* ritual cannot necessarily be applied to the Oirad texts (see RITE 5.1.2).

Bayad:²

Kh:

Künkērīn³ ornōs
kūnī kišgī dūdī
džagarīn ornōs ...⁴
tövdiin ornōs
nomin kišgī dūdī
džanagīn ornōs⁵
ediin kišgī dūdī
...⁶

Xünxeeriin ornoos
xūnii xišgiig duud"ya
jagariin ornoos ...
tövdiin ornoos
nomyn xišgiig duud"ya
janagiin ornoos
ediin xišgiig duud"ya
balbyn ornoos
altny xišgiig duud"ya
xasagiin ornoos
aduuny xišgiig duud"ya

From the land of Kūngkeer
let me call the benefit of people
from the land of Jagar ...
from the land of Tibet
let me call the benefit of religion
from the land of Janag
let me call the benefit of goods

-
- ¹ Recorded from Čültem, a 74 year-old herdsman, Tes sum, 4th brigade.
 - ² For typographical simplicity reduced vowels are transcribed in the same way as short vowels.
 - ³ Mo. Kūngker : a possibly mythical son of Čagatai Khan, referred to in the chronicle *Bolur toli* (1834-7) as the King of Anatolian Turkey. His country is described in fabulous terms, as a place where ordinary objects are made of gold and jewels. He is also mentioned in the 19th century chronicle *Erdeni-yin erike* (Bawden 1984:458-9).
 - ⁴ Mo. *ǰayar* : India, from Tib. *rgya-gar* (Ramstedt KW:107b). The speaker faltered here and skipped a line.
 - ⁵ Mo. *ǰanay* : China, from Tib. *rgya-nag* (*ibid.* 108a). Ramstedt confirms that these two tibetanisms are a Bayad usage.
 - ⁶ The first six lines were recorded on tape by a Mongol colleague in my absence. He later transcribed the recording in modern Khalkha, including the four lines which follow.

from the land of Nepal¹
 let me call the benefit of gold
 from the land of the Kazakhs
 let me call the benefit of horse-herds.

A shorter variant of this text was recorded by Potanin at a Dörvöd hearth-sacrifice² (1881, IV:90). Although he does not specify where the text was collected, Potanin spent much time in the valley of the Xarxiraa, south of Ulaangom, and so close to the pastures of the Bayad. The Bayad had nomadized with the Dörvöd over a long period, even before moving to their present territory (Gongor 1964:43), and it is thus not surprising that both groups should know similar texts.

Before reciting the words, the speaker explained where the land of 'Küngkeer' is: it is 'not just Russia' (*Oros*), but other places to the west too, including the countries of the Taj *Oros*, the Manchu *Oros*, the French *Oros* and the English *Oros*. Although the Manchu are a little misplaced, the general notion of a western region corresponds to the location given in the literature, Anatolia. The occurrence of Tibetan names of countries in the text allows 'Taj' to be identified as Tib. *Ta-zig*, the western kingdom of wealth in the context of the 'Kings of the Four Directions' (Stein 1959:251).³ In the early years of this century, '*Oros*' was used throughout Outer Mongolia as a generic term for foreigners. The mental map with which the old man grew up has been modified by new names heard on the radio or from schoolchildren, and associated with 'the West'.

It is not entirely clear what is to be understood by 'the benefit of people'. The speaker probably understood it as 'the good-fortune of (our) people', but Tibetan texts for the ceremony Tib. *g-yang* - '*gug*', summoning good-fortune, occasionally cite China as the 'land of people', that is of a large population, although it is also called 'land of tea and silk' (Stein 1959:260-1), the 'material goods' of the Mongol *dalalya* texts.

¹ Nepal as a source of metalwork is a stereotype known from *ger-ün irügel*, the blessings for the tent (c.f. Sonomtseren 1975:57), although not characteristic for *dalalya* texts.

² Described under RITE.5.1.1(c).

³ Although Stein identifies this kingdom with Iran, the name is used to refer to the areas immediately west of the Pamirs, and to the Arabs, at the period when they were active in that region. The word, preserved in the name of the present-day Tajiks of Soviet Central Asia, is not originally Tibetan (Snellgrove 1987:390).

See also the Tibetan text for the beckoning of good-fortune discussed below under 3.4.1: *rgya gar dam pa'i chos gyañ khug / rgya nag btsan brjid khrims gyañ khug / stag gzig nor gyi phyug gyañ khug*, the good-fortune of the holy religion from India is summoned, the good-fortune of the strict and splendid law from China is summoned, the good-fortune of the riches of sTag-gzig is summoned. (Schuh's transcription is reproduced.)

The reference to the Kazakhs is significant in that it is not a stereotype of Mongol oral literature, and is not found in any other known *dalalya* text. The places mentioned in these texts are remote, or even mythical; three of them are here called by foreign names which are not in current use. The Kazakhs, in contrast, are part of the more immediate surroundings, and some are now settled not far from the Bayad.¹ It is factually true that they have fine horses, taller and stronger than the Mongol breed (fieldwork 1988).

It is probably justifiable to regard this couplet as an addition by a local speaker to the standard 'fire'-*dalalya* text. The Bayad text represents what could be called a secondary oral composition. An elaborated and literary text has been simplified and abbreviated in the passing on, to give the short, terse couplets of the present text, and at the same time a local reference has been added.² The invocation presents an example of the difficulty of distinguishing the written and the oral in the context of Mongol folk-religious texts.

3.4 The 'fire'-*dalalya* texts - summary

3.4.1

Tibetan influences on the form and the nature of the texts have already been noted. Since few Tibetan texts for the Tib. *g-yang*-*'gug* ritual are available, it is hard to say whether the Mongol texts may have been based partly on translations from the Tibetan.

Schuh has published a late 19th century text for the *g-yang* - *'gug* performed after the arrival of the bride at her husband's house.³ As a whole, the Tibetan invocation does not resemble the Mongol *dalalya* texts. It does, however, include a number of individual lines and phrases which also occur in the Mongol texts, and which can be regarded as borrowings from a Tibetan original.⁴

¹ To the west, in the predominantly Kazakh province of Bayan-ölgii, and also in the Xovd region. The Kazakhs moved into this area only 100 years ago, but there would have been earlier contacts on the Chinese side of the Altai before the Bayad themselves came to their present pastures.

² Another interpretation is possible. Stein traces the 'Kings of the Four Directions' back to very early Chinese and Arabic sources, in which the north is held by the King of the Turks, lord of horses (1959:254-5). From a viewpoint in 19th or 20th century Mongolia, however, the Kazakhs would typify Turkic horsemen. Tibetan texts seem not to contain this reference.

³ 1973, German translation 322-324, Tibetan text 332-3.

⁴ E.g.: *Kye* ! Heute ... sei ... aus den vier Haupthimmelsrichtungen und den acht Zwischenhimmelsrichtungen das Glücksgeschick (*gyaü*) herbeigeht ...werde das Glücksgeschick in bezug auf die heilige, aus Indien stammende Religion herbeigeht, werde

3.4.2

Three sections of the text analysed above were identified as 'classifications' - of the herdsmen's world (the 'Directions' section), and of the mainstay of his existence, the herds (the 'Fertility' and 'Lost animals' sections). Indeed the text as a whole reads as a series of enumerations, the 'Deities' section listing the powers invoked, and the 'Lacks' section the misfortunes to be neutralized.

The enumeration of things or of the qualities of things is characteristic of other categories of Mongol ritual text; for example the blessing for the tent, *ger-ün irügel*, and the praise-invocation of a mountain *ayula-yin maytayal*.¹ The central image conveyed in the 'fire'-*dalalya* texts, that of the supplicant receiving comprehensively enumerated animals from all quarters of the world, is, however, particularly close to the images of the *tabun qosiyu mal-un maytayal*, praise-invocation of the five species of livestock.² Both genres reflect the same conception of man's situation and of the ritual efficacy of the spoken word.

Although an analysis of the genre *maytayal* lies outside the scope of this thesis, it is significant that the praise-invocations of the mountains were sung before the hunt, to request *kesig*, the benefit of game granted by the spirit-master of the place; and also by the bard before reciting an epic, to gain inspiration - *ongyod sergegekü* (Sampildendev 1987b:31). It is hard to find out, now, why and when praise-invocations of the five species of livestock were sung; they have acquired the status of popular folk-poetry, and are no longer associated with a particular function. It seems that they were sung on the first day of the new year, and at the inauguration of a new tent, both times of a new beginning (fieldwork 1989). The *maytayal* may thus perhaps be regarded - like the *dalalya* invocations - as a summoning of energies.

das Glücksgeschick in bezug auf den Reichtum von sTag-gzig [nor] herbeigeht ... Nachdem die Stute gekommen ist, komme die Prosperität (*gyaṅ*) der Pferde herbei. Nachdem Rinder gekommen sind, komme die Prosperität des Viehs herbei. Nachdem das weisse Glücksschaf gekommen ist, komme die Prosperität der Schafe herbei ... das Glücksgeschick, dass alles Benötigte niemals unvollständig sein werde ...

The text also invokes the good-fortune of people, gold and silver, grain, garments, and 'milk like an ocean'. The Tib. *gyaṅ* (*g-yang*) corresponds of course to Mo. *kesig* in this context.

¹ c.f. Damdinsüring 1959:107 and Sampildendev 1987:241 ff.

² c.f. Sampildendev 1987:180 ff. These texts are not clearly distinguished in Mongol publications from the blessings for the five species of livestock, *tabun qosiyu mal-un irügel*, c.f. Xorloo 1969:22, which were sung at feasts and at the time of the birth of young animals, to encourage increase (*ibid.* 48). Xorloo also suggests that these texts were sung after the autumn *dalalya* ritual (*ibid.* 54). For blessings sung after the *dalalya* see section 10.

In the context of Tibetan epic poetry, Stein refers to a process of construction by recitation, the mental creation of the epic hero through the enumeration of his attributes (1962:155-6). The correct and repeated recitation of origin legends and songs about the order of the world is similarly necessary in maintaining that order in time (*ibid.* 162-5). It is a dynamic order; mental or verbal re-creation repeats the creation of the world, and thus becomes a source of energy. This 'creative' recitation is perhaps analogous to the enumerations in the Mongol *dalalya* texts and *maytaya*.¹ In this light, the listing in the texts of the male and female of each species of herded animal, with their attributes ('stallions with plentiful manes, mares and cows with large udders ...') appears as a technique for promoting and maintaining the fertility of the herd, while the text as a whole forms a litany whose repetition may be effective in 'turning the world'.

The enumerations of the texts may be interpreted in another way. The situating of the elements of the herdsmen's cultural world according to the cardinal directions represents a shift into ideal time and space. The animals thus come to men from the ideal dimension of eternal renewal, outside lived-in time, the location of the sources of life to which the *dalalya* is addressed.

3.4.3

The 'fire'-*dalalya* texts are not addressed to the deities named in the invocation, who should be regarded as the guarantors, rather than the source, of the benefits desired.² The use of *činu*, 'your', in emphasis rather than as an address was noted in the translation of the text (... *buyan kesig činu qurui*, the benefits ... *qurui*). This reading is confirmed by R I XIV, which consistently reads *minu*, 'my', in the place of *činu*.

Mostaert, in his edition of a text which has *činu*, reads the word as an address to each of the figures mentioned in the 'Deities' section, and in the remainder of the text as an address to the hearth deity (1962:199, 210). It has been established elsewhere that the *dalalya* following the hearth sacrifice is to be regarded as a separate ritual action with a separate invocation, in the case of Khalkha and Inner Mongolia (Heissig 1966:14; Dumas 1987:112). However even the Oirad ritual, in

¹ I do not mean to suggest that these texts copy Tibetan models; rather that both may be based on similar ideas about the power of words. However R III XIII, which extends its 'classification' to the whole natural world, and R III XIV, p.43-4 (variant: R III XI), where it is a magical or mythical world which is classified, do not seem to have referents in Mongol folk religion, and may possibly show Tibetan influences.

² Although the more heavily lamaized texts may understand *buyan kesig* as the favour of each figure named, c.f. R I XII p.22. The literary composition ORDOS Q. regards the lamaist fire-god *yal-un qan tngri* as the source of the benefits.

which the actions of the hearth sacrifice and the *dalalya* may be combined, does not address the words of the *dalalya* (if they are present at all) to the hearth deity.

The energy requested in the *dalalya* comes to man from the 'other' dimension of the world in which he lives, the earth and the mountains and waters. This concept, basic to Mongol folk-religion, is overlaid but not replaced by the more remote figures of the lamaist pantheon; the texts invoke their names, but efficacy lies elsewhere. The non-essential role of the deities listed is confirmed by comparison of the 'fire'-*dalalya* texts with those for *dalalya* performed on other occasions, and which mention no deity (c.f. sections 4, 5, 7, 8).

The 'fire'-*dalalya* texts are thus syncretistic compositions which seem to be a product of a fairly advanced stage of the penetration of Mongol folk-religious ritual by the concepts and the phraseology of lamaism.

4. TEXTS FOR THE SPRING *DALALIA* OF THE BIRDS

4.1 The texts

reference code

- | | | |
|----|--|--------|
| 1. | Čojjilsüren 1964, appendix 33-35
Bulgan <i>aimag</i> | BULGAN |
| 2. | <i>ibid.</i> 36-39
Buryat | BURYAT |
| 3. | <i>ibid.</i> 39-41
Dundgov' <i>aimag</i> | GOBI |
| 4. | Damdinsürüng 1959:120-121
origin unknown | DAM S. |
| 5. | Sili-yin yool 1982:97-105
Šilingol
translated and edited below | SIL S. |

All five MSS are of the same text, with some variation.¹ They have already been characterized briefly in the chapter on the Ritual, since they represent our only source of information on it.

4.2 The Šilingol variant

Buyan kesig-ün dalaly-a

o² suvastai :

sayin amuyulang boltuyai :

anggir yalayun ireküi-dür

¹ A further Buryat text contains a passage which is a variation of the opening incantation of the present texts. Since it also contains passages from the 'fire' *dalalya* texts (section 3) and the Buryat shamans' texts (6.1) it is awkward to classify. The text is a request for a son; no other benefit is mentioned. *Köbegün ür-e-yin dalalqu (sic) abqu-yin sudur orsibai*, this is the *sūtra* for the beckoning of a child, a son; archive of the Buryat Scientific Centre, Ulan Ude, *fond* M-II-725. I am grateful to Caroline Humphrey for sending me a copy of this MS.

² For *ōm*. This printed text lacks diacritics for the Mongol transcription of Sanskrit.

altan dalaly-a abunam bui :¹

- 5 *čeng toyoruu ireküi-dür*
 časutu ayulan gesküi-dür
 čayayči gegüü unayalaqui-dur
 čalkilaqu kesig-i dalalnam iregetüi :²
 qurui qurui . ire qurui !
- 10 *qun sibayun ireküi-dür*
 qur-a času gesküi-dür
 qulayči gegüü unayalaqui-dur
 qubitu kesig-i dalalnam iretügei :
 qurui qurui . ire qurui !
- 15 *qari-yin sibayun ireküi-dür*
 qangyai-yin časun qayılaqui-dur
 qarayči gegüü unayalaqui-dur
 qamuy kesig-i dalalnam iretügei
 qurui qurui . ire qurui !
- 20 *anggir yalayun ireküi-dür*
 atar yajar gesküi-dür
 alayči gegüü unayalaqui-dur
 auy-a kesig-i dalalnam iretügei :
 qurui qurui . ire qurui !
- 25 *qongyur yalayun ireküi-dür*
 qongqor-un času qayılaqui-dur
 quvayayči gegüü unayalaqui-dur
 qutuytu kesig-i dalalnam iretügei :
 qurui qurui . ire qurui !
- 30 *nuyusu sibayun ireküi-dür*
 nayur-un usun gesküi-dür
 noytolqu unay-a törüküi-dür
 nolyu kesig-i dalalnam iretügei :

¹ Error for *bi* .

² Error for *iretügei* .

qurui qurui . ire qurui !

- 35 *qarçayai sibayun ireküi-dür*
qatun mören qayılaqui dur
qamuy kesig-i dalalnam iretügei !
boljomor sibayun ireküi-dür
bulay-un usun gesküi-dür
40 *boroyçi gegüü unayalaqui-dur*
buyantu kesig-i dalalnam iretügei :
qurui qurui . ire qurui !

- köküğe sibayun ireküi-dür*
köndei-yin çasun qayılaqui-dur
45 *köke imay-a isigeleküi-dür*
köbçin kesig-i dalalnam iretügei :
qurui qurui . ire qurui !

- ǰergelen manang tataqui-dur*
ǰeger-e görügesün törüküi-dür
50 *ǰeletü unay-a-yi uyaqui-dur*
ǰergeçigsen kesig dalalnam iretügei :
qurui qurui . ire qurui !

- delger çay ireküi-dür*
deldeng çikitei törüküi-dür
55 *delengtü üniy-e sayaqui-dur*
degǰirekü kesig-i dalalnam iretügei :
qurui qurui . ire qurui !

- qabur çay ireküi-dür*
qayılasun modun nabçılaqui-dur
60 *qarayçi ingge botoyolaqui-dur*
qabutai kesig-i dalalnam iretügei :
qurui qurui . ire qurui !

- qubqai çay önggereküi-dür*
qusun modun möçirleküi-dür
65 *quray-a isige törüküi-dür*
qutuytu kesig-i dalalnam iretügei :

qurui qurui . ire qurui !

bulay-un usun orgilaqui-dur
buryasu modun namayalaqui-dur
70 *bulbarai tuyul jelelküi-dür*
buyantu kesig-i dalalnam iretügei :
qurui qurui . ire qurui !

qulayayiçi mayu kümün-ü
qusun ury-a quyuratuyai :
75 *qun çayan aduyu minu*
qubtai engke mendü ürejtügei :
ösiyetü mayu kümün-ü
öndür ury-a quyuratuyai :
önggetü ¹ çayan aduyu minu
80 *ögede mendü östügei :*
buruyu sanayatu dayisun-u
buryasun ury-a quyuratuyai :
bultu olan aduyu minu
bolbasun mendü arbijituyai
85 *qar-a sanayatu qargis-un*
qayilasun ury-a quyuratuyai :
qamuy olan sürüg minu
qamtu mendü degjiretügei : ²
qurui qurui . ire qurui !

1 *önggetü* : the other texts have *öndögön çayan* , 'white as an egg'.

2 It is possible that these two rather flat lines are an insertion of an 'editor'. In their place the other texts have:

BULGAN *qarangyui söni*
qan erketü tngri minu qayıralan
qara aduyun engke mendü qonotuyai

BURYAT *qarangyui söni*
qan eçiğ-e-tü
qaltar qara aduyusun engke mendü qonotuyai

GOBI *qara söni*
qan erketü qayiralatuyai
qara aduyun-i mendü qonotuyai
(correction by editor: *qara aduyun anu...*)

DAM S. *qamuy olan sürüg minu*
qarangyui söni mendü qonotuyai

- 90 *uliqu köke činu-a*
uryatu elči jayilatuyai
učiraysan qour čidkür
usadču arilqu boltuyai :
ačan tuyurayitan öskü boltuyai :
- 95 *anda sadun bitegei qayačatuyai*
bitegüü tuyurayitan olan boltuyai :
bey-e sadun urtu nasultuyai :
qurui qurui . ire qurui !

- qar-a üsü-ben čayital-a*
- 100 *qayiratu bey-e-ben öteltel-e*
qas erdeni metü .
čayan sidü-ben unatal-a
čariyu bey-e-ben kögsiretel-e
čakiyur čilayun metü .
- 105 *sümbür ayula metü sürlig*
sün dalai metü ayuu boltuyai :
naran saran metü gereltei boltuyai :
nabči čėčeg metü delger boltuyai :
edür büri örgejin degegsileged .
- 110 *öljei qutuy orosiqu boltuyai :*
sara büri sayıjiran ögedelegeđ .
sayın buyan delgerekü boltuyai :
qurui qurui . ire qurui!

Dalalya of benefits (*buyan kesig*)

*öñ suvastai*¹
 may happiness prevail.
 when the mandarin-ducks² come [back]
 I perform³ the golden *dalalya* .

¹ Sk. *svasti* , beatitude; in lamaist writings corresponds to Mo. *sayin amuyulang* (Less. 1182a).

² *yalayun* , goose, replaces the more usual *sibayun* , bird, or *nuyusu* , duck, as the second word of the compound.

³ Lit. 'I take'.

5 when the white cranes¹ come
 when the snowy mountains thaw
 when the white mare foals
 I beckon the overflowing benefit (*kesig-i*), may it come.²
 qurui qurui, come *qurui*!³

10 when the swans come
 when the snows thaw
 when the bay mare foals
 I beckon the fortunate benefit, may it come.
 qurui qurui, come *qurui*!

15 when the birds of foreign [lands] come
 when the snow of the *qangyai*⁴ melts
 when the black mare foals
 I beckon the whole benefit, may it come.
 qurui qurui, come *qurui*!

20 when the mandarin ducks come
 when the untouched steppe thaws

¹ The other MSS have *čeng sibayun*, 'tundra swan' (Vietze 1988:364b), tentatively confirmed in KW (427a), where *tsen* is associated with Samoyedic *t'eng*, swan; other dictionaries do not list the word, but c.f. Vandui 1965:166, where '*tseng*' is listed as the Dörvöd dialect term for *qun*, swan. Čojilsüren discusses the identity of these birds at length (1964:206).

² This optative of the 3rd person is unusual in non-lamaized *dalalya* invocations, which typically lack any form of direct request. It occurs in four of the five variants, but not in GOBI, a simpler text without lamaist interpolations. Greater variation occurs between texts in this closing line of the stanzas, with its main verb, than in the descriptive lines:

BULGAN *čaylasi ügei yeke dalaly-a iretügei*
 and DAM S. may the infinitely great *dalalya* come

BURYAT *čaylasi ügei yeke buyan kesig iretügei*
 may infinitely great benefits come

GOBI *čaylasi ügei yeke dalaly-a abunam bi*
 I perform (I take) the infinitely great *dalalya*

In the first of these cases the word *dalalya*, the process of beckoning, seems to have acquired the transferred sense of 'that which is beckoned', and to be synonymous with *kesig*, benefits.

³ This form of the cry, with the imperative 'come!' inserted, does not occur in the other four variants. It is, however, found in other lamaized *dalalya* texts, usually from Inner Mongolia, and particularly in texts for 'calling the soul'. It implies that the benefits, *kesig*, have volition, and are capable of obeying the summons.

⁴ A geographical term, meaning a terrain of wooded and grassy hills. It is also the name of the principal mountain range of central Khalkha.

when the piebald mare foals
I beckon the powerful benefit, may it come.
qurui qurui , come *qurui* !

25 when the yellowish geese come
when the snow of the hollows melts
when the light-bay mare foals
I beckon the blessed benefit, may it come.
qurui qurui , come *qurui* !

30 when the ducks come
when the waters of the lakes thaw
when the foals to be haltered are born
I beckon the exceedingly [great] benefit, may it come.
qurui qurui , come *qurui* !

35 when the falcons come
when the Yellow River [ice] melts
I beckon the whole benefit, may it come.
when the larks come
when the water of the springs thaws
40 when the grey mare foals
I beckon the beneficent (*buyantu*) benefit, may it come.
qurui qurui , come *qurui* !

when the cuckoo comes
when the snow of the valleys melts
45 when the blue goat gives birth to her kid
I beckon the complete benefit, may it come.
qurui qurui , come *qurui* !

when the mirage and haze form
when the antelope and deer are born
50 when the foals with their tethering-rope are tied up
I beckon a succession of¹ benefits, may they come.
qurui qurui , come *qurui* !

¹ *jergečigsen* : the intended meaning is not entirely clear; these attributes are chosen to fit the alliterative scheme, rather than for a precise sense.

when the abundant time comes
when the long-eared wild asses¹ are born
55 when one milks the uddered cows
I beckon the prosperous² benefit, may it come.
qurui qurui, come *qurui*!

when the spring time comes
when the elm trees break into leaf
60 when the black breeding-camel calves
I beckon the pleasant benefit, may it come.
qurui qurui, come *qurui*!

when the time of bare trees passes
when the birch trees spread their branches
65 when the lambs and kids are born
I beckon the blessed benefit, may it come.
qurui qurui, come *qurui*!

when the water of the springs bubbles forth
when the willow trees put on foliage
70 when one tethers the tender calves
I beckon the beneficent benefit, may it come.
qurui qurui, come *qurui*!

may the birchwood catching-poles³
of thieves and evil men break.
75 may my swan-white horse-herds
breed in fortune, peace and good health.

may the tall catching-poles
of hostile evil men break.
may my coloured and white horse-herds
80 increase, thriving and in good health.

¹ Or 'the ones with long ears', c.f. the other variants: *deldeng čikitü görügesün*, the long-eared roe-deer; *čikitü*, lit. 'with long ears', is also used as a substitute-word for *qulan*, kulan or wild ass.

² *degjirekü*: c.f. *degjikü* to prosper.

³ The lasso-pole used to catch horses.

may the willow catching-poles
of wrong-intentioned enemies break.
may all my many horse-herds
multiply in perfection and good health.

may the elmwood catching-poles
of black-intentioned tyrants break.

87 may all my many herds
prosper¹ together in good health.
qurui qurui , come *qurui* !

90 may the howling blue wolf
and the courier² with his catching-pole avoid [us]
may harm and demons which [we] encounter
disappear and be eliminated.

may the cloven-hoofed ones increase
95 may allies and friends not become separated
may the broad-hoofed ones become many
may our own relatives live long.
qurui qurui , come *qurui* !

until my black hair whitens
100 until my dear body grows old

¹ c.f. line 56. The variants of this couplet given by the other texts are as follows:

BULGAN	in the dark night my king powerful <i>tngri</i> showing mercy may my black horse-herds spend the night in peace and good health
--------	---

BURYAT	in the dark night may the skewbald and black animals whose father is a king spend the night in peace and good health
--------	--

GOBI	in the black night may the king powerful-one show mercy may the black horse-herds spend the night in good health
------	--

DAM S.	may all my many herds spend the dark night in good health
--------	--

² According to Čojjilsüren, a user of the staging-post system who was entitled to catch and take any horse as a fresh mount (1964:204).

like a jewel of jade,¹
 until my white teeth fall out
 until my proud² body ages
 like a stone of flint,
 105 majestic as mount Sümbür
 vast as the milk sea³ may it⁴ be.
 may it be bright as the sun and moon.
 may it unfold like the leaves and flowers.
 each day when they are expanding and augmenting
 110 may felicity and blessings obtain.
 each month when they are improving and flourishing
 may auspicious benefits⁵ (*buyan*) spread [abroad].
qurui qurui, come *qurui*!

4.2.1 The incantation

The texts fall clearly into two sections, although presented in the MSS as an undivided whole. The first is the litany of the *dalalya* incantation, while the second takes the form of a series of demands.

The litany is a carefully composed, although not necessarily literary, piece of work, falling into regular stanzas, and following strictly the pattern of alliteration and parallelism which is customary for Mongol folk poetry.⁶

The 'world-turning' function of this evocation of the repeated events of spring has already been analysed (RITE.2.2). The references to the fertility of males and females of the herded species, which are characteristic of other *dalalya* texts, are absent here; they are replaced by the enumeration of individual births among the

¹ Epitome of indestructibility, hardness and lasting quality. The same image occurs in the 'fire'-*dalalya* texts (3.2 section B).

² *čariyu*: Kh. *tsariu* proud, arrogant; probably carries a sense of the vanity of mortal things here.

³ The milk sea and mount Sumeru are typically invoked in the texts for the 'fire'-*dalalya* (c.f. 3.2, commentary to section B).

⁴ The main verb might refer back to the long life and good fortune of the relatives mentioned in 1.97, although the cry *qurui* seems to have formed a break after this passage. Alternatively an unexpressed subject such as 'our fortunes' may be understood.

⁵ In this context of a lamaist formula, perhaps better translated 'merit'.

⁶ c.f. Krueger 1961; Kara 1970:212 ff.

animals. The colours which identify each mare who is giving birth indicate an actual and visible quality of a particular horse, as opposed to a potential quality of fertility, common to mares in general.¹ This lends the incantation an immediacy which is absent from, for example, the 'fire'-*dalalya* texts:

SIL S.: *qulayči gegüü unayalaqui-dur*
qubitu kesig-i dalalnam iretügei
 when the bay mare foals
 I beckon the fortunate benefit, let it come

'Fire'-*dalalya* H V:

deleng yeketü gegüü üniyen-ü sür sünesü buyan kesig činu
qurui qurui
 the vital force and benefits of mares and cows with large udders
qurui qurui

These spring texts distinguish the births as events in themselves, and which are repeated many times, rather than approaching them in a perspective of general increase in the herds. By including a mare of every colour (or at least a representative selection) the text achieves a 'definite plural', not just mares, but these particular mares of the speaker; a procedure which is perhaps essential to the efficacy of the words.

The language of the invocation thus confirms what was already indicated by its context and in its repetitive form; it is concerned with an ever-repeating cycle of life, and not with the cumulative effect of increase in a breeding herd. Although spoken by a herdsman, the text owes much to the ideology of hunting, not least in its concern with the elements of the surrounding natural world. What is beckoned here is simply *kesig*, benefit; not the benefits of something (material goods, a lamaist deity, the camels) which appear in other herdsmen's *dalalya* (3.2, 5.2, 2.2). This again may be associated with hunting conceptions in which *kesig* is identified directly with the vital energy represented in the flesh of the game.

The evocation of the melting of the snow and ice places the events of the litany firmly among the mountains and waters of the Mongol land. They are a continually felt presence in the *dalalya* texts,² even when, as here, they are not invoked directly. The text enumerates, not only the mares of each colour, but also the various species of birds, trees and wild animals, and the remaining four species of

¹ For a similar use of colour see 8.2, hunters' texts. Horses are not given names in Mongolia; even riding horses and racehorses are referred to by their colour.

² c.f. the Oirad texts below (6.3) and the slaughtering text (7.2).

herded animals, who inhabit this landscape; it presents a catalogue of the living elements of the herdsmen's environment.

4.2.2 The demands

The start of the second section is indicated by a change in language and rhythm (1.73); it is composed of requests for the removal of threats and for the wellbeing of the horse-herds, the speaker and his kin. The four opening stanzas show the same careful composition as the litany, and the various species of tree which were evoked breaking into leaf find an echo here in the different woods of the catching-poles. From 1.90, however, this poetic quality is less evident, and the text becomes a rather conventional folk-religious prayer.

The optative of the third person is used throughout, but no supernatural being is addressed. BULGAN and GOBI address *qan erketü tngri*,¹ king powerful *tngri*, but almost in passing, and half-way through the prayer. The copyist's error in BURYAT, *qan ečige-tü (aduγusun)*, '(beasts) whose father is a king', for *qan erke-tü*, reinforces the impression that the deity is not felt to be essential to the ritual.² This is what one might expect, since the procedure seems to rest on folk-religious conceptions of the nature of life which posit a very direct relationship between men and the natural world.

BURYAT³ continues this same passage by invoking the ancestor-protector Činggis, in a section absent from all the other variants. The health and increase of the animals is wished for 'through the force and protective genius of the Holy Lord of royal origin', *qan iγayur-tu ežen boyda-yin küčün sülde-ber*.

In contrast to the litany, the prayer section of the texts lays stress on the multiplication of the herds, in a recurring refrain. It is possible that the two sections may represent two separate texts with different origins; this is perhaps confirmed by the appearance of the litany at the start of the text for the *dalalya* of the camels (section 5).

In the present text, the cry *qurui* occurs three times in the course of the 'demands' section, but as an insertion which is not connected in terms either of

¹ *erketü* = Tib. *dbang-po*, Indra or Qormusta; in Mongol texts the epithet *erketü* may be applied to Möngke tngri, c.f. the title of the Oirad text edited below (6.3).

² These same three texts express a wish for the absence of shamans and shamanesses 'with their wrong beliefs', *buruγu üjel-tü*, evidently inserted in the cause of missionizing lamaism. The fact that SIL S. and DAM S. lack both this passage *and* the reference to *erketü* suggests that they may have been 'edited' for publication.

³ BURYAT contains several passages absent from the other texts, but they are otherwise of entirely lamaist character.

form or of content with what precedes it, while in the litany it represents an organic part of the utterance, and the source of its efficacy. BURYAT, the most heavily lamaized of the texts, also shows this characteristic, but in the other variants *qurui* does not occur outside the *dalalya* litany. It seems that here the cry has become only a meaningless interjection which is used by the speaker to round off each section of his text.

The demands themselves which the prayer makes, for the long life of the human component of the group, and for protection from evil spirits and wolves, are frequent in folk-religious prayers.¹ The closing passage (from l.105) is composed of commonplaces familiar from other folk texts,² combined with a most unusual reference to the person of the speaker himself ('until my black hair whitens ...'). The personal and the individual seems to be completely absent from the folk-religious texts that are known to us,³ as is any reference to ageing, decay and the essentially Buddhist notion of the vanity of mortal things.⁴

¹ c.f. for example Heissig 1966 no. II p.60-1, the Oirad prayer of which the closing *dalalya* section is edited below (6.3).

² c.f. the closing lines of the slaughtering *dalalya*, but also Rintchen 1975 no. XXVI p.63, Oirad incense offering to Atātu tenggeri.

³ This is not the case in texts used by shamans to approach a spirit on behalf of a client, which may include the client's name and a description of his problem, c.f. for the Darxad Rintchen 1975 no. CXXVI p.144. The conversational mode of the shaman's address to his spirits is foreign to folk-religious texts.

⁴ This note is, however, echoed in the well-known long-long *ebügen sibayun*, the old man and the birds, which takes the form of a didactic dialogue between an aged lama and the migrating birds returning in the spring. In some variants they are *qun čeng*, the same unusual term which the present texts use for swans; c.f. (for northern Mongolia) Poppe 1955b:18-21. That the song may have been an influence here is not impossible.

5. TEXTS FOR THE SPRING *DALALIA* OF THE CAMELS

5.1 The texts

The texts which are available fall into two groups: short folk-religious incantations, and longer versions of the same text with additional partly lamaized passages. Within each of the two groups, the MSS are similar enough to be regarded as variants of a single original.

Shorter texts: the incantation

reference
code

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------|
| 1. | Rintchen 1975 no. IX p.20-21
Xövsgöl, Arxangai or Övörxangai
<i>Temegen-ü yal-un takily-a orosibai</i> | R III IX |
| 2. | Rintchen 1975 no. XXI p.57-58
Oirad, probably Bayad
<i>Temegēni kešigiyn sudur orošibo</i>
followed by a short prayer for the health and safety
of the camels | R III XXI |
| 3. | Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of
Sciences, Mong. 215, unpublished (description Bese
1978:52)
Origin unknown
<i>Temegen-ü yal-un takily-a orosibai</i>
followed by a short prayer for the health of the camels | BUDA T. |
| 4. | Ulaanbaatar, Institute of Language and Literature
MS no. 70, unpublished
Oirad
(This text is translated and edited below) | XZX T. |

Longer texts

- | | | |
|----|---|----------|
| 1. | Rintchen 1959 no. XXVI p.49-52
Dundgov' <i>aimag</i> | R I XXVI |
|----|---|----------|

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------|
| 2. | Damdinsürüng 1959:124-6
origin unknown ¹ | DAM T. |
| 3. | Erten-ü 1963:32-40
probably taken from Damdinsürüng's volume;
differences insignificant | IM T. |
| 4. | Sili-yin yool 1982:106-115
Šilingol
identical with the text above | SIL T. |
| 5. | Pope 1972:197-8
(describes an unpublished MS in Leningrad)
Chahar | CHAHAR T. |

5.2 The incantation

Unpublished Oirad MS XZX T.

2 folios, 22 x 8.5 cms, 16 lines; each is made up of two small sheets of paper, perhaps from a notebook, pasted together end-to-end; black ink.

Oir.

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1r | <i>[nigen]</i> |
| 1v | <i>blama juubačaari nomloqson</i> ²
<i>temèni buyan kišikiyin</i> ³ <i>sudur ene bui :</i>
<i>čayan čen šoboun ireküyidü .</i>
<i>čan[g]-yutu oul[i]yin časun gesküyidü .</i>
5 <i>čayān šar[a]qči inggen botoyolχui-du</i>
<i>buyan-tu yeke dalalyan abanamam</i> ⁴ <i>bi</i>
<i>χurui χurui χurui :</i> |

¹ Enquiries about a text listed in the 1937 catalogue of the Mongolian State Library elicited only the response that this catalogue is 'irrelevant'. The text may well have been Damdinsürüng's source.

² R III IX: *blam-a yogacari-yin nomlaysan* .

³ For *kešigi* .

⁴ For *abunam* ; possibly from spoken Oirad *awnā* to which the written Oirad suffix *-nam* has been added in error?

- xōn¹ šoboun ireküyidü :
 xuran časun gesküyidü
 10 xōqči inggen botoγolxuyidu :
 xutuqtu yeke dalalyan abanamam bi
 xurui xurui xurui :
 anggir šoboun ireküyidü
 atariyin noyōn urxuyidu²
 15 atar....³ xariqči⁴ inggen botoγolxuyidu :
 aldal ügei ašidayin yeke dalalyan
 2r [xoyor]
 abanamam bi
 xurui xurui xurui :
 nuγusun šoboun ireküyidü
 nouri[yi]n mösön⁵ gesküyidü
 20 narmai yeke buyan kišiq⁶ abanamam bi
 xurui xurui xurui
 badarangyui niyuurtu⁷
 batu yeke tābaqtu temeni⁸ buyan
 xurui xurui xurui :
 25 kišiq xurui xurui abanamam bi
 xurui xurui xurui :

¹ R III XXI: *xung* .

² R III XXI: *uruxuyidur* .

³ A blank space is left here in the text:

R III XXI: *atuyar* , 'crouched'? Lessing gives 'contorted, twisted, bent, shrunk' (58b), but Mongols who were consulted did not recognise the word.

BUDA T.: *atuqur* .

R III IX: *atuyu* .

⁴ R III XXI: *xaraqčin* .

⁵ *mösön* : *ö* is followed by a superfluous tooth, as for the written Mongol form.

⁶ For *kešiq* .

⁷ R III IX: *niruyu-tu* . Here *niyuur* 'face' replaces *nuruyun* 'back', which is the sense indicated both by the context and by other variants.

⁸ For *tabaqtu temeni* .

- burutuq yeketü temeni osuni*
*oi belgetü çayan zereni ebčüü-yër takinamam bi*¹
χurui χurui χurui χurui ::
30 *ödör bögötü* ² *örgön çiretü*
šaran šobouni örbölgütü ³ *temeni buyan χurui + +*
kišiq χurui + abanambi
χurui χurui χurui :
*temeni buyan kišikiyin sudur tögüsküübi ::*⁴

This is the sūtra for the benefits (*buyan kišiq*) of camels, taught by the lama-yogācārin.⁵

- When the white tundra-swan⁶ comes [back]
when the snow of the frosty mountains melts
5 when the pale fawn breeding-camel calves
I perform⁷ the beneficent (*buyan-tu*) great beckoning (*dalalyan*)
xurui xurui xurui.

- When the swan comes
when the snows⁸ melt
10 when the light-bay breeding-camel calves
I perform the blessed great beckoning
xurui xurui xurui.

¹ R III XXI: *burtuq yeketü temegeni ungyusu oxortu*
axui belgetü çayān jegereni öb čöün-yër takinam
R III IX and BUDA T.: *buruntuy yeke-tü temegen ungyasun önide*
aqui yeke belgetü jegeren-ü eb čigün-iyer takinam

The word *oi* in the present text may be what remains of original *ayui*, 'vastly'; *osuni* appears to stand for *üsün*, 'hair', from comparison with the other readings *ungyasun*, 'wool'. *Burutuq* is clearly for *buruntuq*.

² For *öndör bökötü*; R III XXI: *öndör beyetü*.

³ R III IX: *sir-a sibayun örbelgetü*.

⁴ For *tögüskebe*, contracted with postpositioned *bi*.

⁵ *juubačaari*: Sk. *yogācārin*.

⁶ Vietze only (364 b), without scientific name; see 4.2 above, notes to translation.

⁷ Lit. 'I take'.

⁸ The compound *χuran časun* is used in place of usual *časun* for the sake of the alliterative scheme.

When the mandarin-duck comes
when the plants of the untouched steppe spring up
15 when the ... ¹ black breeding-camel calves
I perform the everlasting perfect great beckoning
xurui xurui xurui .

When the ducks come
when the ice of the lakes melts
20 I take all-embracing great benefits
xurui xurui xurui .

I take the benefits (*buyan xurui xurui xurui kišiq xurui xurui*)²
of camels with faces³ rising up
with great strong feet
26 *xurui xurui xurui*.

I sacrifice with the [vastly⁴] auspicious breastbone of an antelope
[of] the hair⁵ of the camels with their many leading-ropes
29 *xurui xurui xurui xurui*.

I take the benefits of camels
with tall humps, with broad countenances,
with owls' crests⁶
xurui xurui xurui.
I have completed the sūtra of the benefits of the camels.

¹ The reading *atuyar* would give 'crouched'.

² Possibly a lapse of attention on the part of the copyist; but since it is repeated below, it is more likely to be an indication that the circular gestures are to be performed at these words.

³ The reading of the other variants, 'with backs rising up', is certainly the correct one.

⁴ Reading *ayui* .

⁵ The genitive case suffix seems to be an error here.

⁶ The shaggy hair on the top of the camel's head is likened to the 'ears' of an owl.

Commentary

All four variants of the text contain two corrupt lines at the same point (l.27-8), and clearly share a common written source. The remainder of the text is not corrupt in any of the four, in spite of some erratic orthography. The lamaist interpolation of the opening line is also common to all four variants.¹ The fact that two of the MSS are in Oirad indicates that the source was widely known, and Mongol researchers have apparently found a number of MSS for a similar text in the Gobi areas.

The incantation of the first 21 lines is essentially a shorter variant of the first six stanzas of the litany which opens the *dalalya* of the birds (section 4), and should be interpreted similarly.²

It is followed by a brief eulogy of the camels. The enumeration of physical attributes representing the animals' fertility is characteristic of the texts for the autumn *dalalya*. Here, the description of the camels' fine bodies takes on the character rather of praising or boasting. Phraseologically it is related to the *maytayal* or praise songs for the five species of herded animals;³ the emphasis is on strength and size rather than fertility as such. Like the evocation of the events of spring, these lines may have the function of bringing into being what they evoke. The boasting emphasis on physical strength can also be seen, like the descriptions of the stallions or bull camels in other *dalalya* texts, as an expression of energy, a show of strength.

The text addresses no deity, and only the single verb 'I sacrifice' points to any supernatural presence. No wishes are expressed; the speaker simply describes his own actions, which he clearly expects to bring about 'benefits'.

Two of the other variants are followed by a short prayer requesting that diseases of the camels be eliminated⁴ (R III XXI, BUDA T.). In BUDA T. the prayer is

¹ It is possible that at some earlier point the text was taken down by a lama copyist unfamiliar with folk-religious practice, who was unable to make sense of the reference to wool and leading-reins.

² Poppe describes a text made up of a prayer to the hearth deity and *dalalya* which ends with a passage taken from this spring litany (1972:177-8). This combination of the litany with an apparently unrelated prayer must remain unexplained, although Poppe's text might in fact be for a spring ritual such as the *dalalya* of the camels in which a fire plays a misunderstood role, rather than for the annual sacrifice to the hearth.

³ e.g. Sampildendev 1987:182.

⁴ Mongols explained (in another context) that the returning birds are a sign of a dangerous period of change, from one season to the next, which brings sickness. The belief may be due partly to the apparent fact that the start of summer is the flowering time of certain poisonous plants, causing the herds to fall ill (Tangad 1984:367-8).

Kalmuck emigrés in the USA celebrate their festival 'ürüs-ová' on the first two days of summer. The Oirad ürüs (Mo. üres) is well documented (e.g. Bergmann 1804, I:87, c.f. RITE.7.1). The emigrés believe that ová (Mo. oboya) placates the master of the Earth, who brings disease at this season (Rubel 1966:87). This is clearly a memory of an oboya sacrifice, and shows the same preoccupations with the birth of the young and the fear of disease.

entirely lamaized; it addresses *ariy-a Cambhala* ,¹ and is laced with formulae in mutilated Sanskrit. In the other, Oirad, text the prayer is of folk-religious character, and seems to be addressed to Mōngkü (tenggeri) and Atayātu tenggeri.² It includes requests for the safety of the camels while grazing and for protection from wolves, which are reminiscent of those made in the prayer section of the *dalalya* of the birds. R III IX is followed only by a brief instruction to bow to heaven and to the earth and waters.

In the first case the addition may be explained by its lamaist character; the original folk incantation, which addresses no supernatural being, has been associated with a prayer to the god of wealth, patron of other lamaized forms of *dalalya* , but in his capacity of a generalized protector-deity. The text as a whole is thus made to conform to lamaist concepts of the relation between man and the supernatural. The second case may reflect an Oirad tendency, discussed in section 6.3, to use a *dalalya* as an element of ritual rather than as a ritual in itself.

5.3 The longer texts

The longer texts show little variation. R I XXVI is the example treated here; DAM T. is essentially the same text (with some lines omitted from the closing *dalalya*).

The opening 20 lines reproduce those of the incantation. The description of the camels' attributes which follows is expanded from the two lines of the incantation to 30 lines, but ends likewise with the offering of a gazelle's breastbone (here without camels' hair).

The prayer which follows, and which is absent from the short texts, is accompanied by a noticeable change in rhythm and phraseology; it describes the *dalalya* arrow, and addresses *ariy-a Cambhala* , requesting him to grant benefits (c.f. the short text BUDA T. above).

The text then returns to the tone and rhythm of the folk-religious incantation, for a further 28 lines of praise for the camels.

The animals are here not only fine and strong, they are 'many', the word occurring again and again, and reflecting the characteristic herdsman's preoccupation with increase which is entirely absent from the shorter incantation. The imposing physical appearance of the bull-camels is stressed:

¹ *ariy-a* : Sk. *ārya* , noble, blessed (= Mo. *qutuqtu*).
Cambhala or Jambala: the god of wealth, Vaiśravaṇa, (= Namsarai or Bisman), in his *yi-dam* form, that is in the form of a protector-deity (Getty 1962:159).

² Another Oirad *dalalya* associated with this deity (or deities) is described under 6.3 below.

sürüg-i olan bolıyıcı ... sürekei yeke buyur-a
fearsome great bulls ... who make the herds many

qara joydur-tu buyuran-u buyan kesig
the benefits of bull-camels with [long] black hair [on their necks]

The motif of the plentiful hair of bull-camels and stallions occurs in both autumn and hearth *dalalya* (2.1, 3.2), and it is hair of the camels which emerges as the essential requisite in the present ritual.

While in the shorter texts the camels were seen only in their physical aspect, here they also take on a mythical dimension. They are

boyda Činggis-tu ačily-a boluysan
become the baggage-animals of holy Činggis

There is perhaps a suggestion of an 'ideal' camel-herd, a mythical model which it is hoped will be reflected in the real herd for whom the ritual is being performed. This notion can be compared to the concept of the spirit-herds of the ancestors, which appear in the *dalalya* at slaughtering (7.2) as the source of the living animals.

A short address to the hearth follows this passage; it seems to be an extract from the prayer for the annual hearth-sacrifice, and mentions offerings of milk fats and animal fat.

The closing 32 lines of the text represent a variant of Section A, 'Directions', of the *dalalya* text recited after the annual hearth-sacrifice (3.2). Passing reference is also made in it to elements proper to section B, 'Deities': the constellation of the Great Bear (*doluyan ebügen*, seven old men), and the jewel-spitting mouse. This part of the text is distinguished from what went before by differing phraseology, and by longer lines with a blurring of the alliterative scheme.

The relationship between the original incantation recited for the camels in spring and these additions to the text, which derive from the annual hearth sacrifice, has already been analysed (RITE.3.2).

The evidence of the texts suggests that the incantation, and the offering of the breastbone which it mentions, are unconnected with the worship of the hearth deity. It seems likely that the unnamed beings for whom they are intended may be ancestral local spirits, the earth and waters invoked at the end of R III IX.¹

¹ The possibility that the breastbone might be burnt simply as a 'recycling' procedure, rather than as an offering, was examined in RITE.3.4.1; it presents no contradiction, since the recycling agents may be the ancestor-spirits, c.f. Zélénine 1952:65-6, where hunters offer to a spirit the material, such as bones, which he needs to bring about the rebirth of the animal.

6. DALALYA TEXTS RECITED AT OTHER RITUALS

6.1 The texts

Texts are known for the following occasions:

Anointing the tethering-line, <i>kögene miliyaqu</i>	RITE.7.1.2
Sampildendev 1987:65-6	Oirad?
translated and edited in 6.2 below	
Milking ceremony, <i>ǰulay</i> ¹	RITE.7.1.1
Heissig 1968:303-4	Ordos
Poppe 1972:189-191 (described)	Ordos
Incense-offering to Eternal Heaven	RITE.7.5.1
Heissig 1966 no. II, 58-62, <i>dalalya</i> p.62	Oirad
the <i>dalalya</i> is translated and edited in 6.3 below	
variant: Rintchen 1975 no. XXVII, 64-6	Oirad
Offering to the thirteen Altai and the thirty Kükö	RITE.7.5.2
Heissig 1966 no. XXX, 156	Oirad
Shamans' rituals	RITE.7.4
Damdinsürüng 1959:126-7	Alar Buryat
variant (described): Poppe 1972:155-7	
Poppe 1936:33 ²	Khori Buryat
Rintchen 1975 no. LXIII, 99 ³	Darxad
variant: <i>ibid.</i> no. LIX, 96	

¹ The texts for the *čayan sürüg* ritual at Ejen qoruya are specific to the worship of Činggis, and are listed under RITE.6.

A text said to be for the hearth sacrifice with *dalalya*, and listed in section 3 under that heading, includes a long passage for the catching of the mares, and its structure corresponds to that of the Ordos texts listed here; it is uncertain at which ritual it was used (code H VIII); see RITE.7.1.1 (note).

² I include this text here on the basis of Poppe's later work implying that it was used in a shamanist ceremony (1972b:113). On the basis of the material presented in this thesis, I would have identified it as a folk-religious text spoken by the head of a family, not as a shaman's incantation.

³ Translated and edited in Even 1987b:265-70. For the variant, see *ibid.* 255-7 and Bawden 1987:28-32.

Heissig 1981 (translation and edition)

Khalkha

variant: Rintchen 1959 no. XXXVIII, 83-4

Ordos

(see also section 9 below for a further lamaist text).

6.2 The anointing of the tethering-line

The text is published in a modern Khalkha rendition (in Cyrillic) made from the MS. We thus do not know whether the original was in Oirad or in written Mongol.

Kh. *Xögnö myalaax sudar*

Altai xaand suuj

ayaa tsagaan xoniny

xurgyg xögnön bilee.¹

aliv бүгд tsuglan bilee.

5 *emeg exiin tomson xögnöd*

ex šar түрүүт

tsagaan xoniny xurga xögnön bilee.

tsai idee uurag süü tosoor čin'

ariulan myalaan suunam bi.²

10 *Xöxii xaand suuj*

xöx түрүүт xurga xögnön

xövčün aliv бүгд tsuglan bilee.

xögšin exiin tomson xögnöd

xöx түрүүт xurgyg xögnösön bilee.

15 *tsai idee uurag süü tosoor čin'*

ariulan myalaan suunam bilee.³

¹ Kh. *bilee*, Mo. *bülüge* : strictly speaking a past tense, but with the first person often an emphatic present-future; c.f. Kh. *bagš yavlaa*, 'the teacher has just left'; Kh. *bi yavlaa*, 'I'm off now'.

² Kh. *myalaan suunam bi* : a typically Oirad construction, c.f. Heissig 1966:57, Oir. *želei činu tatan soonam bi*, I am here stretching your tethering-rope.

³ Error for *bi*.

- dallax n' ¹*
tenger naryn xaany xormust
tengeriin buyan xišgiig guinam.
xurai xurai xurai.
- 20 *tetgen bayajuulagč ordyn*
tengeriin buyan xišgiig guinam.
xurai xurai xurai.
ertnii mongolyn buyan xišgiig guinam.
xurai xurai xurai.
xutagt uulyn ter süld buyan xišgiig guinam.
xurai xurai xurai.
edün tenger etseg exiin buyan xišgiig guinam.
xurai xurai xurai.
- 25 *ganga mömii dalai met širgešgüi buyan xišgiig guinam.*
xurai xurai xurai.
naran saran odny gereit geriin xüügiin buyan xišgiig guinam.
xurai xurai xurai.
xas xad met evderšgüi buyan xišgiig guinam.
xurai xurai xurai.
ene xutag guisnaar adislaj
yesön züil tariany šid ögön soyorx
30 *buyan xišig guinam.*
xurai xurai xurai.
doloon övgön züil erdeniin ² buyan xišgiig ögön soyorx.
deel xuyagiin šid ögön soyorx.
buyan xišgiig guinam.
deed amtat ideenii šidsiig ögön soyorx.
35 *buyan xišgiig guinam.*
xurai xurai xurai.

¹ This marks the start of the *dalalya*, which is without Oirad characteristics, but could well have been transcribed into written Oirad from a written Mongol original.

² It seems that two lines may have been run together here, one invoking the constellation of the *doluyan ebügen*, and another requesting treasures.

Sūtra for anointing the tethering-line

I am fastening to the tethering-line the lambs
of the befittingly white sheep
which live on the Altai xaan.

I am gathering each and every one.

- 5 To the tethering-line twisted by the grandmother
I am fastening lambs of the mother, the white sheep
with a yellow head.

I am here purifying and anointing
with your tea, ceremonial platter, colostrum, milk and milk fats.

- 10 Fastening to the tethering-line lambs with blue heads
which live on the Xöxii xaan¹

I am gathering all, each and every one.

To the tethering-line twisted by the aged mother

I am fastening the lambs with blue heads.

- 15 I am here purifying and anointing
with your tea, ceremonial platter, colostrum, milk and milk fats.

The beckoning

I request the benefits (*buyan xišgiig*) of Xormust *tenger* the king of the
tenger.²

Xurai xurai xurai.

- 20 I request the benefits of the *tenger*
of the house³ which assists [one] and causes [one] to become rich in [some
benefit].

Xurai xurai xurai.

I request the benefits of ancient Mongolia.

Xurai xurai xurai.

¹ Xöxii xaan: Mo. Qan köküi, the principal mountain range of Uvs *aimag*, worshipped especially by the Dörvöd and Bayad.

² Qormusta, c.f. section B, 'Deities', of the *dalalya* for the hearth sacrifice, 3.2, 1. 28.

³ 'House' in the astrological sense of a division of the heavens.

I request the vigour (*süld*)¹ and benefits of that blessed mountain.²

Xurai xurai xurai.

I request the benefits of Edün³ *tenger* the father and the mother.⁴

Xurai xurai xurai.

25 I request the benefits, inexhaustible as the sea, of the Ganga⁵ river.

Xurai xurai xurai.

I request the benefits of a son of the tent with the brightness of the sun,
moon and stars.⁶

Xurai xurai xurai.

I request the benefits indestructible as a rock of jade.⁷

Xurai xurai xurai.

Dedicating these blessings according to our request
deign to give the supernatural power (*šid*) of the nine kinds of grain⁸

30 I request benefits.

Xurai xurai xurai.

Deign to give the benefits of ... kinds of treasures⁹ and the seven old men.¹⁰

Deign to give the supernatural power of garments and armour.

I request the benefits.

¹ Mo. *sülde* : vigour, an aspect of vital energy, but also 'protective genius', especially in a lamaized context; it is possible that the holy mountain is seen in that image here. In the native context, the protective force attached to men is that of the ancestors, and the ancestor-spirits are the spirits of the mountains, c.f. the appeals of the Oirad texts to Altai and Kōküi, RITE.7.5.2.

² A reference to mount Sumeru, c.f. 3.2, l. 37.

³ The editor writing the Cyrillic version seems to have seen a proper name in 'edün', probably = *ed-ün*, taken down by an Oirad copyist who has joined the written Mongol suffix to the stem, and meaning 'of material goods'; c.f. 'fire' *dalalya* H VII, l. 133: *ed-ün qayan bisman tngri*, the king of material goods Bisman tngri.

⁴ Two or three lines seem to have been condensed here into one, c.f. 3.2, l. 32-3 invoking father heaven and mother earth.

⁵ The Ganges, c.f. 3.2, l. 36.

⁶ 3.2, l. 34.

⁷ 3.2, l. 38.

⁸ c.f. the Ordos text for the autumn *dalalya* (2.2).

⁹ There are nine symbolic precious substances or treasures, *yisün jüil erdeni*. Here again two lines seem to have been condensed into one, with confusion of the numerals nine and seven.

¹⁰ The constellation of the Great Bear, c.f. 3.2, l. 35.

Deign to give the supernatural powers of superior good-tasting food.¹
35 I request the benefits.

Xurai xurai xurai.

Commentary

The opening section with its references to Altai and Kōküi seems to represent an Oirad oral text for a herdsmen's folk-religious procedure, and it shows no trace of lamaist influence. It does not address any being or make any request, but describes the actions of the speaker to an unknown listener. It should probably be regarded as a means of drawing the attention of local spirits to the ritual being performed, and supporting its efficacy, which lies not in the spoken word, but in the offering of fats and other food (RITE.7.1.2).

The tethering-line may genuinely have been made by an old woman of the speaker's family; these tethers are twisted from soft wool,² typically by older women (fieldwork 1988). It is likely, however, that the 'grandmother' appears in the text in the role of a structural ancestress, lending a mythical dimension to the ritual. Its actions repeat the timeless model established by the ancestors, and the tethering-line which is in use now simultaneously represents the tethering-line made by an ancestress in that mythical past.

The *dalalya* section is sharply distinguished from what precedes it, both in content and phraseology. It is based on a variant of section B, 'Deities', of the 'fire' *dalalya* texts (3.2).

Other texts reproduced in the present volume,³ and for which a written Mongol original is available to us elsewhere, have been censored. Lines and individual words have been cut out or altered to remove references to lamaist deities and to Činggis Khan, and any overtly lamaist prayer-formulae.

Comparison of this *dalalya* with the 'fire' *dalalya* texts shows that lines 'missing' from it include invocations of Śākyamuni buddha and other lamaist deities, and of Činggis; it is possible that the original MS was even closer to the 'fire' model than it now appears. The reference to the benefits of ancient Mongolia in particular does not ring true, and may well be replacing the name of Činggis.

¹ Although armour may be requested in the 'fire' *dalalya* (3.2, l. 16), clothing and food are not typical of the texts, and reflect a lamaist emphasis on material benefit as opposed to a benefit in terms of life-energy. Requests of this kind seem to be characteristic of Tibetan texts for the 'summoning of good-fortune', c.f. 3.4.1. Kh. *šid* = Mo. *sidi* < Sk. *siddhi*, magic or supernatural power, is likewise a term associated with lamaist prayers, and is not typical for Mongol folk religion.

² Description under REQ.4.7.

³ Sampildendev 1987.

The *dalalya* invocation has certainly been attached to this folk text through lamaist influence. It passes into the register of direct request, 'deign to give', although the being who is addressed is not identified, and it thus represents a heavily lamaized form of the invocation; the native Mongol *dalalya* texts are typically without any direct address.

6.3 The Oirad incense-offering to Eternal Heaven

The folk-religious character of this prayer for the protection and favour of native deities is only thinly disguised by the opening and closing lamaist formulae. Texts of this kind are known for all Mongol areas, but are not normally associated with the *dalalya*.

The prayer of 104 lines is entitled Oir. *erketü dēdū [m]öngkö tenggeriyin sang orušuboi*, 'this is the incense-offering to powerful¹ high eternal heaven'.² It addresses both Möngkö tenggeri and Atātu tenggeri.³

The prayer leads into a *dalalya* of only nine lines, which closes the text. The start of the *dalalya* is not marked in any way; it is identified here only on the basis of its terminology.

¹ *erketü*: Tib. *dbang-po*, 'possessed of power', = Sk. Indra (Qormusta); here used in its literal sense as an epithet.

² Rinchen's variant, from the Bayad, is entitled Oir. *xan afatu tenggeriyin sang orošibo*, 'this is the incense-offering to the king Atātu tenggeri'.

³ Mo. Ataya tngri: often identified with Möngke tngri, but particularly in shamanist contexts may appear with other associations. This identity problem has been analysed by Bawden (1987:28-32).

The *dalalya* section of the text¹

Oir.

- (5r) *dalan duudaqsan kešigi dursxaǰi ögün soyırχō :*
χān² χormustan tenggeri ečigē narin³ buyan kešiqčini
ā χurui χurui
erdini χan bisman tenggeri ečigeyin (5v) buyan kešiqčini
ā χurui χurui
arban zūq-eče asyamǰi⁴ ügei buyan kišiq čini ā χurui χurui
5 *dörbön čuq⁵ nayimin kiǰiyar-yēr χamiqaya odbazu⁶*
ömönö-eče ile oqton⁷ ögüqǰi
χoyino(y)eče taχān⁸ öqči buyan kišini⁹ ā χurui χurui
χoyor küldtü¹⁰ kümüni sür sünesüni ögüqǰi buyan kešiqčini
ā χurui χurui
buyan kešiq toqto toqto
10 *ölzöi χutuq orošixu boltuxai :*
sarva mam ǰha lam :

¹ Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz (Orientabteilung), Berlin, MS. or. fol. 594-M (formerly Tübingen).

Previously published in transcription in Heissig 1966 no. II.

Variants : MS. or. fol. 594-6/7 1-12 (referred to as B)

Rintchen 1975:66 (referred to as R)

² According to the punctuation in the MS, the *dalalya* would seem to start here. However R has the stop one line earlier, which corresponds better to the content.

This transcription reproduces exactly the orthography of the original, which is erratic.

³ R: *eviyin*.

⁴ R: *asayamǰi*. From *asqaqu*, to spill, throw away? (KW:16a).

⁵ For *zūq*.

⁶ B: *odbasu*.

⁷ R: *uqtun*.

⁸ R: *daxan*.

⁹ For *kešiqčini*.

¹⁰ R: *költü*.

Oir. *kešigi*; this line is still clearly addressed to the recipient of the offering, Möngkö tenggeri.

The lines which follow invoke other deities, Xormusta and Bisman, but as is usual in *dalalya* invocations, they do not take the form of a direct address, and the suffix Oir. *-čini*, 'your', is probably emphatic. It is thus not clear whether the speaker intends to address Möngkö tenggeri here, or whether the words are simply a formulaic utterance; the question would perhaps not have been of importance to him.

The closing three lines of the text are formulaic and lamaist in character; the line which precedes them, the request for vital force, is the only part of the text to address the central concern of the native *dalalya*, the promotion of life-energy.

6.4 Texts for the kesig of the herds

These are not *dalalya* texts, but are related to them phraseologically. Most seem to be a form of blessing, *irügel*. We do not know on what occasion they were recited. Typical of the phraseology is:

(from Kh. *malyn buyan xišig xuraax yerööl*, blessing collecting the benefits of the livestock)

Kh. *buman tsagaan xoniny buyan xišig*
xuran tsuglaj baix boltugai
xurai xurai xurai ...

(Övörxangai, fieldwork 1988)

may the benefits of a hundred thousand white sheep
collect assembling
xurai xurai xurai ...

(from Kh. *dallagyn yerööl*, blessing of the *dalalya*)¹

Kh. *tüg tümen aduuny*
xišgiig xuraan duud"ya ...

(Arxangai, Xorloo 1969:54)

let me summon, collecting, the benefit
of innumerable² horses ...

¹ To be distinguished from the lamaist blessings discussed in section 10.

² *tümen*: ten thousand, with intensifying particle *tüg*.

The available texts of this kind all seem to have been taken down recently; none are known in older collections or in manuscripts. It is possible that they represent a form of secularized replacement for *dalalya* invocations, which may have emerged after the suppression of religious practices in the 'thirties, in order that the herds might not be deprived of ritual support. This would be consistent with the vagueness of informants about when and why the texts were recited.

It is also possible that they are not only a recent development, but were recited, like the lamaist blessings of the *dalalya* (section 10), at the feast which followed the *dalalya* ceremony in those areas where it had become a social, rather than private, event.

In addition to this category of texts, a number of other folk-religious texts invoke or request *kesig*, usually that of the livestock. They are intended for a variety of occasions, and do not form a category.¹ The expression *mal-un (buyan) kesig*, benefit of the livestock, has become formulaic; as the necessary precondition for the existence of the herdsmen it is widely invoked, and the occurrence of the phrase does not necessarily indicate an association with the *dalalya* ritual.

The texts noted are predominantly Oirad; this may be an effect of chance, but it is also possible that the consciousness of a relationship of dependance vis à vis the supernatural world is more clearly expressed in Oirad texts than in those of groups for whom the remote lamaist pantheon had taken the place of native local spirits. *Kesig*, whether understood as benefit, favour, or a portion of energy, is essentially what passes between these givers of life, and man.

¹ Except for texts of hunters; this category is discussed under 8.3.

7. THE SLAUGHTERING *DALALYA*

One text is known, which is translated and edited below:

Qasbiligtü 1984:37-8 Ordos

A number of other texts for the same occasion have been published, but these are not associated with a *dalalya*; they are usually referred to as *aman küjügün irügel*, blessing for the atlas (the first cervical vertebra). The blessing seems to be recited by a person other than the slaughterer.

Sampildendev considers that the blessing is typical for the eastern Mongols, but that among the Oirad, the slaughterer himself recites a *sibsilge*, a short conjuration or protective formula¹ (1985:106). Sodnom regards the blessing as a later, literary form of such a conjuration, which was originally said silently to himself by the slaughterer, and called for calves to replace the slaughtered animals with the cry *qurui* (1968:60); it is thus perhaps to be associated with *dalalya* invocations.

Qasbiligtü regards the blessings and the *dalalya* text edited here as alternatives, which may also be recited together; they differ regionally and even from family to family, and may be very abbreviated (1984:39).

7.1 The text

ügüčin üker-ün dalaly-a

om sayin amuyulang boltuyai.

köke möngke tngri

körüsütü altan delekei

köke mongyol-un nutuy minu

5 *öbör-tegen orusiychi*

ölögei-degen belčigči

duyulay-a sayitu buqan buyan kesig

deleng sayitu üniyen buyan kesig-i öggün soyurq-a.

qurui qurui qurui.

10 *qayan činggis-ün kesig*

qamuy mal-un manglai

¹ The text which is quoted excuses the slaughterer; the animal died accidentally. Such excuses are widely recorded for Siberia as a precaution of hunters against vengeance by members of the dead animal's 'clan' (Lot-Falck 1953:155, 196).

- qaraysan eĵen-degen*
qarin irekü boltuyai.
qurui qurui qurui.
 15 *molor erdeni-yin činar-tu*
mingyan mal-un türügüü
mallaysan eĵen-degen
morılan irekü boltuyai.
qurui qurui qurui.
 20 *törü ulus-un kesig*
tümen mal-un töröl
törügsen nutuy-tayan
töbleren irekü boltuyai.
qurui qurui qurui.
 25 *boyda činggis-ün sürüg*
bum mal-un buyan kesig
boro toqoi nutuy-tayan
bučan irekü boltuyai.
bučan irekü boltuyai.
 30 *qurui qurui qurui*
qurui qurui qurui.
- köke sibay gölügeleküi-dür*
quva buryasu nayılĵiqui-dur
qolbuya ĵel-e tataqui-dur
 35 *qotala yeke buyan kesig iretügei.*
törü gürün dayayar
töbsiren engkeĵijü
nabči metü delgerenggüi
naran metü gegen
 40 *saran metü sarayul*
sayiqan ĵiryal-tai bolyan soyorq-a.
qurui qurui qurui.

Dalalya of the cattle for food-reserves

om may happiness prevail.
 Blue eternal heaven
 blooming golden earth

my blue Mongol homeland
5 lying on your southern slopes
pasturing in your sheltered places¹
deign to grant the benefits (*buyan kesig*) of bulls with fine humps,
the benefits of cows with fine udders.²
qurui qurui qurui .

10 The benefit (*kesig*) of Činggis the emperor
foremost among all the animals
may they³ come returning
to their owner who cared for them.⁴
qurui qurui qurui .

15 With the qualities of topaz
first of a thousand animals
may they come proceeding
to their owner who reared them.
qurui qurui qurui .

20 The benefit (*kesig*) of the nation
rebirths of ten thousand animals
may they come taking their allotted place⁵
in the homeland of their birth.
24 *qurui qurui qurui* .

The benefits⁶ (*buyan kesig*) of a hundred thousand animals,

1 May also be translated:
lying on your bosom
pasturing in your cradle.

2 The same two lines occur in Mostaert's text for the Ordos autumn *dalalya*, 2.1.

3 i.e. the cattle which have just been slaughtered.

4 The group represented by a camp includes its herds as well as its people; they are felt to be linked by an emotional bond. Care given to the herds is perhaps seen as compensation for subsequent slaughter; the Dörvöd Kalmuck regarded the animal's meat as tribute paid to its owner in return for his care (Bergmann 1804, II:275).

5 *töblerekü*, to become centralized, does not fit the context; I have taken the sense from Ordos *töblö-*, 'prendre chacun sa place respective (convives à un banquet)', DO:672b.

6 Translated 'benefits' for the sake of consistency; there is in fact a shift of meaning here: '[supports of the] life-energy (*buyan kesig*) of 100,000 animals'. These cattle are seen as embodiment of the vitality of the herds.

the herds of holy Činggis,
 may they come back
 may they come back
 to their homeland Boro-toqoi.¹
 30 *qurui qurui qurui* .
 qurui qurui qurui .

When the green wormwood sprouts
 when the reddish-yellow willows put out shoots
 when the tethering-line² is stretched
 35 may all the great benefits (*buyan kesig*) come.

To the whole empire³ together
 becoming peaceful and stable,
 abundant as the leaves
 bright as the sun
 40 luminous as the moon
 grant fair rejoicings.
 qurui qurui qurui .

7.2 Analysis

It is not clear who recites the text; it accompanies the *dalalya* in which the head of the tent, owner of the cattle, beckons with a bunch of cattle-hair, and it is probably spoken by him.

The opening section.

The text is addressed, in the opening lines, to heaven, *Möngke tngri*, and the earth, *altan delekei*. These first nine lines, ending with the main verb 'deign to grant' and the cry *qurui*, form a self-contained prayer. The central part of the text which follows does not, however, seem to address any being.

The opening prayer reproduces the opening of a text for an incense-offering of the game, *ang-un sang*:

¹ The Ordos region: the angle ('elbow') of the Yellow River (DO:149b).

² To receive the young animals born in spring.

³ *törü gürün* < Ma. *gurun*. Probably a reference to the Manchu Empire, providing a clue to the date of the text.

öndür degedü köke tngri
örge yeke altan delekei
öggiyemür bayan altai qangyai minu
öbör-tegen orusiçi
ölögei-degen belçigçi
 ...
qamuy ang görügesen-ü kesig-i öggün soyurqa
qurui qurui qurui

(Damdinsürüng 1959:123)

high lofty blue heaven
 broad great golden earth
 my generous rich Altai and Qangyai
 lying on your southern slopes
 pasturing in your sheltered places
 ...
 deign to grant the benefit of all the game
qurui qurui qurui

This hunters' text also accompanies a form of *dalalya*, and will be examined in section 8. In the present text, the Altai and Qangyai, home of the game, have become the blue Mongol land, and the game animals are replaced by bulls and cows with the characteristics emphasizing their fertility which are typical for *dalalya* texts.

The central section

The lines of the opening section are grouped formally by alliteration and parallelism 3 : 2 : 2. The central section, however, is made up of four groups of four alliterated lines, plus *qurui*, the groups roughly paralleling each other in content. The change in form is accompanied by a change in intention; a wish is expressed, but without any direct address, and the implication is that the accompanying actions will be effective in causing the wish to be fulfilled.

The physicality of the opening section gives way to a more abstract conception of the cattle, as outstanding representatives of their kind. The concept of individuation is expressed here through excellence; these are *qamuy mal-un manglai*, the foremost among all the animals.¹ They are the embodiment of a

¹ In the *dalalya* of hunters, which rests on the same assumptions about the nature of existence, but lacks the consciousness of hierarchy proper to the herdsmen's world, individuation within a species is expressed through colour (8.2.). Texts for the blessing of the atlas, *aman küjügün irügel*, also use colour of the coat to characterize individual rebirth:

principle; the herd, evolving through time but always present, emerges as a permanent placing for a circulating essence. Thus all births in the herd are rebirths; the individual cattle slaughtered today were 'rebirths of ten thousand', and will return again in the future to 'their allotted place' in that same herd.

The text does not summon other animals in replacement of those killed; it promotes the recycling of the vital principle of the herd, its *buyan kesig*, conceptualized as the return of the same animals to their own homeland and their own master.

The herd which can be seen, clothed in its various colours, grazing on the pasture, thus has another, non-material, dimension, which could be called the 'spirit-herd'. The herd of animals is conceptualized in the image of the human lineage, whose living members are likewise the placing for a circulating essence, while those who have died - the ancestors - and those not yet born represent its other dimension, which closes the circle.

Činggis, seen as the Ancestor of all Mongols, but particularly revered in the Ordos, appears in the present text as mythical source of life-energy - *qayan Činggis-ün kesig* - while his herds function as image and explanation for the difficult abstract notion of the 'spirit-herd'; the cattle of the real, living, herd are supports of

the life-energy of a hundred thousand animals,
the herds of holy Činggis,
boyda Činggis-ün sürüg
bum mal-un buyan kesig.

The mythical interpretation provided by the text stands alongside a symbolic explanation expressed in the accompanying actions. While the text is recited, the owner of the cattle is circling his bunch of cattle-hair, which is called *mal-un buyan kesig*, the life-energy of the animals. Here the abstract notion of a circulating principle is conveyed by circular gestures and by a concrete symbol, the hair.¹

The repeated calls to return to their home, the place where they belong, which are addressed to the cattle - or more precisely to the energy which they embodied in their lifetime - can be compared to the texts for 'calling the soul', *sünesü dayudaqu*.

Kh. *ir, ir, xurai xurai xurai*
tsox'son gazar
tsooxor tugal
alsan gazar
alag tugal
tödölgüi töröx boltugai

come, come, *xurai xurai xurai*
on the spot where it was struck
a dappled calf
on the spot where it was killed
a piebald calf
be born at once

(Sodnom 1968:60)

¹ Symbol in the mind of the analyst, but not in the minds of the people involved, for whom the hair certainly contains real energy, and does not merely represent it.

These texts however urge the soul to return to the same body, which it has forsaken temporarily, not to a new one (RITE.8).

The closing section

After the hiatus formed by the double call at 1.28-31, the form and character of the text change once more. Slaughtering takes place at the first strong frosts of the winter, and the spring terminology of 1.32-35 seems out of place here.

Phraseologically it is related to the spring *dalalya* of the birds.¹ This section should be interpreted as looking forward, to the spring which will follow the winter, and to the actual fulfillment, in the birth of the calves, of the potentiality inherent in the cattle that were slaughtered. These onward-looking lines perhaps have the same world-turning function that characterizes the *dalalya* of the birds.

At the same time they demonstrate a shift from a hunting to a herding ideology. The opening lines of the text envisaged fertile pairs of herded animals nurtured by the pastures. The hunters' text from Damdinsürüng shows that the image which served as model was of game animals (not in pairs) nurtured by the rich mountains, location of the 'pool' from which they derive. Fertility in the hunting context is a function, not of pairs of animals, but of the nurturing rich mountains; the same concept underlies the central section of the present text, in which new animals are a result of the 'return' from the 'spirit-herd', or reincarnation, of those killed. The opening and closing sections of the text, by contrast, present new animals as a result of the mating of males and females and the subsequent births, a concept which belongs to the herding environment.

The final lines (from 1.36) form another prayer, ending with the main verb 'grant'. Lines 38-41 represent a commonplace which appears in a number of other contexts, amongst them the hunters' text quoted above, and the *dalalya* of the birds.

¹ Section 4.2, c.f. l. 68-70 and 107 ff.

8. THE HUNTERS' *DALALGA*

Two texts are known for the ritual performed after the kill:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| a. Gaadamba and Sampildendev 1988:75 | origin unknown |
| b. Mostaert 1937:466 | Ordos |

Both are translated and edited below.

There are three further texts, either described as a *dala/ya* or having characteristics of one, which seem to be intended to accompany offerings made before a hunt; these are discussed under 8.3.

8.1 The texts spoken after the kill

- a. Kh. *čononyxoo tsagaan*
ünegniixee ulaan
manuulynxaa ereenees
xurai xurai xurai

From the white [ones] amongst the wolves
from the red [ones] amongst the foxes
from the mottled [ones] amongst the wildcats
*xurai xurai xurai*¹

- b. Ordos

garwyl gandžygu't'ā,
orowol orodžo't'ā,
garsā bugwde gandžygu nege,
orosō bugwde orodžo nege,
t'ūlāē boroni, wnegē šarani
t'eγnē dūrt'er, t'eγnē dūrt'er,
wjīl k'un t'ēγ'χē dasyrt'ar,
wre mori gandžygu dūrt'er.
χyrt' ! χyrt' !

¹ Since there is no verb, any sense of action is carried by the cry *xurai*.

alasā qadžar arwa xori,
barisā qadžar xori qutś'i.
sūl sūlēē džūqāt,
sūdžī sūdžēē daqāt.
džere'tī, t'qlā'tā,
džer'tī naqa'tś'inart'ā,
buiri ene mani ajan awady ire't'ugā!
xurū! xurū!

When we go out, with saddle-thongs¹ [full of game]
 when we come in,² with profit
 all who have gone out, one saddle-thong [load]³
 all who have come in, one profit
 the grey ones amongst the hares, the yellow ones amongst the foxes
 till the load is full, till the load is full
 till people of the same age⁴ exhaust their strength
 till a young stallion's saddle-thongs are full
xurui! xurui!

At the place where [one] was killed, ten, twenty⁵
 at the place where [one] was taken, twenty, thirty
 biting each other's tails
 the hindquarters of one close on the hindquarters of the other

-
- ¹ The saddle-thongs, Mo. *yanjuya*, stand for the game they are intended to hold, and the word may be used in the transferred sense of 'the booty of the hunt', c.f. Bur. *xanggai ganzaga zajaba*, the *xangai* has decreed booty, in other words the *qangyai* forest-mountain has granted good luck in the coming hunt (Galdanova 1981:160).
- ² The image of going out and coming in encapsulates the world-view in which Mongol hunting practices have their roots. The forest-mountain (or here in the Ordos, the mountain-dunes) represents that 'other' world which is opposite the world of men, and which holds the sources of life. The game are 'les êtres d'en face' (Lot-Falck 1953:222); the passage of the hunting party out of the sphere of man into this other dimension is reflected in the ritual precautions which surround the undertaking. C.f. the spatial concept which underlies the Mongol terminology of loss and gain: for a loss to occur, *yaruja yaraqū*, lit. for a loss to go out; for a gain to occur, *olja oroqu*, lit. for a windfall or booty to come in; the expression may refer to game or to a new child, both received from the extra-human world.
- ³ Let all return with equal loads of meat on their saddles. Meat is shared equally among hunters, regardless of which man made the kill.
- ⁴ Possibly a reference to the method of carrying large game, slung between two riders' saddles with their thongs joined. A strict hierarchy of age operates in a hunting party (Perlee 1963:33); if the men have to pair up, it is probable that each goes with the closest to him in age.
- ⁵ Where we have killed one animal, let many more spring up.

with the antelopes, with the hares
 with [their] sisters' sons and [their] mothers' brothers!¹
 may all come to this hunt of ours
*xuruii ! xuruii !*²

8.2 Analysis

These texts have the character of incantations rather than prayers, and no being is directly addressed. In the discussion of the ritual, an even shorter text was quoted, which consisted only of the call *qurui*, addressed to the *qangyai* forest-mountain (RITE.4.1.1). The call can be regarded as essential to the present texts too; it replaces any verb in the first text, and it is clearly thought to bring about some effect. In the second, more elaborated, text the call is no less essential, although here a main verb has been introduced in the closing line, an optative of the third person which places the speaker at one remove from the sources of energy on which the ritual is intended to act.

These short texts do not use the term *kesig* to refer to the game, although the related texts described below do so, and the phrase *qangyai-yin kesig*, the benefit of the *qangyai*, is a common formula for game taken by a hunter.³ This may be a function of the texts' immediacy; they are concerned directly with the physical animals themselves.

Both texts reflect the concept of the wild animals as a 'pool' from which individuals are taken by the hunter. The pool may be regarded variously as the animal-clan (comprising one species) with which the human clan has contracted an alliance (Zélénine 1952:11, 140), or in a more abstract sense as a pool of energy, a principle which circulates through the individuals of that species. In both texts the concept of individuation is expressed through colour ('from the red amongst the foxes'), an attribute of the actual animals whose visible bodies will fall to the part of the hunter. The invisible dimension of those animals, in which they partake of the energy of the pool, is not destined for the hunter, but is to return to the pool to be recycled in the further animals which will be born where they fell.

¹ Mo. *jige*, the clan to which ones own clan gives wives; more recently, the offspring of ones sisters and daughters.
 Mo. *nayaču*, the clan from which ones own clan takes wives; more recently, ones relatives on ones mother's side.

² Mostaert has published the text in French translation (1947:503-4).

³ e.g. Sampildendev 1985:120.

The animals are envisaged in Mostaert's text as being in the company of others with whom they are connected by marriage alliances. Since the precise relationships between the animals are of little relevance to the hunters, this line should be understood as a reference to the hunters themselves. The belief that the animal-clan mirrors the human clan is recorded for many Siberian peoples (*ibid.* 140, Lot-Falck 1953:151-2). In the system of generalized exchange¹ represented in the terms *jige* and *nayaču*, wives are taken from only one clan, and ones mother's brothers and ones wife's brothers thus all belong to the clan of the *nayaču* (Szynkiewicz 1978:20-1). Affines, particularly brothers-in-law, were preferred hunting partners in Siberia (c.f. Lot-Falck 1953:59). Traces of this relationship have survived in Mongolia in the institution of *anda*, loosely referred to as 'sworn-brothers', who typically hunt together. Since the two men in an *anda* relationship must necessarily be of different clans this translation is misleading; they are in fact sworn brothers-in-law.² Mostaert's text suggests that the custom of hunting with ones affines was still remembered in the Ordos.

The emphasis on the fertility of the herds characteristic of certain types of *dalalya* text is absent from these incantations. This is to be expected, since they are the words of hunters, not herdsman.³ New life in the form of animals is seen as coming from the other sphere which faces man, instead of being a function of what he already possesses. The emphasis on repetition (other animals come to replace those killed) rather than multiplication (in a breeding herd) is brought out clearly in a Darxad hunting prayer:

Kh. *oron xangai delxii min'*
 olz xišgee dixin xairla
 bi xürtsen deeree
 xürtej yavax boltugai

Sampildendev 1985:120

¹ This system, of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, was already breaking down at the beginning of the 13th century.

² The allied clan (or in a dual organization, the opposite moiety) is source both of wives and of game; one may not marry ones sisters or consume ones own kill, c.f. the surviving rule that game is to be shared (Lot-Falck 1953:142, 193). Both children and game are thus obtained through the agency of the 'other', giver of vitality, hence the position of the wife's brothers as essential hunting partners.

In the Mongol wedding, the bride's group gives to the groom not only their daughter, but also an arrow, which stands for game and for the benefit *kesig* of the *dalalya* (REQ.4.1.2). This arrow is perhaps all that remains of the concept of the bride's brothers as helper-mediators in the hunt.

In a herding, rather than hunting, society based on patrilineal descent the animals are *within* the group; accordingly the source of vitality is also conceptualized as an internal one, no longer the affines, but the ancestors: see the *dalalya* for slaughtering, RITE.4.2.1.

³ c.f. the texts for the *dalalya* of the birds, 4.2.1.

my *xangai* earth
grant your booty and favour again,
on top of my having received
may I go [on] receiving

The text is not for a *dalalya*, but it is addressed to the forest-mountain (Mo. *qangyai*) and asks for its favour or benefit (Mo. *kesig*), the game; it thus parallels the incantations of the hunters' *dalalya*, although it is couched in the form of a prayer. The hunter is not concerned with multiplication; he promotes the recycling of the animal he has killed only so that he may kill it again.

Mostaert's text, perhaps because it is from an area where hunting plays a more marginal role than in northern Mongolia, does emphasize large quantities of game rather than simple repetition. Phraseologically it is related to texts for the offering to Manaqaṅ:

arba qori-yi öggügči Manaqaṅ ...
qori yučī-yi öggügči qutuy-tu Manaqaṅ

Rintchen 1959 No. XXI p.42

Manaqaṅ the giver of ten, twenty ...

Manaqaṅ the blessed giver of twenty, thirty

Mostaert's text presents this motif in a formulation better known for herdsmen's slaughtering texts (section 7): 'At the place where [one] was killed, ten, twenty...'. These texts are already far removed from a hunting ideology in which excess, the taking of more game than one needs, is dangerous, because the offended animals would no longer be willing to come to the hunter (Lot-Falck 1953:9).

8.3 Prayers before the hunt

- a. *Ang sibayun, dörben mör-ün yučin yurban sang*, Thirty-three incense-offerings of the game, the birds and the four tracks, Rintchen 1959 no. XXVII p.52-3.

The accompanying ritual is referred to in introductory instructions as *altan dalalyatu sang*, golden incense-offering with a *dalalya*, and the text requests the benefit,

kesig, of game.¹ A variant appears as *Ang-un sang*, incense-offering of the game, in Damdinsürüng 1959:123.²

The text is a prayer to an unnamed being. Besides game in large quantities, it requests all kinds of material goods, countless herds, children and other desirable things, with the repeated cry *qurui*; it is thus not primarily a hunters' prayer. Damdinsürüng's variant addresses heaven and earth and the Altai and Qangyai.

- b. *Ongyoyin yanzayan sang büü. dalalya büi*, Incense offering of the sacred saddle-thongs. *Dalalya*. An unpublished Oirad text.³

This text is a variant of one published by Rinchen, but which is not described as a *dalalya*.⁴ The saddle-thongs are addressed directly, requesting their favour or benefit *kesig* - that is, abundant game - with the repeated cry *qurui*. Both variants are superficially lamaized.

Although the ritual for the incensing or purification of the saddle-thongs is quite distinct from a *dalalya*, both the title of the Oirad variant and the content of the text make clear that the people involved did not separate the two. The texts include instructions for tying pieces of meat to the thongs during the ritual (RITE.4.1.3), which is clearly more than a simple incense-offering.

- c. A further lamaized text for the saddle-thongs⁵ is followed by what seems to be a distinct *dalalya* section, rather than having the cry *qurui* repeated throughout. A series of deities and other beings are invoked who are not typical either for *dalalya* texts or for hunting rituals.

- d. Five further hunters' invocations have been published which have the recurring cry *qurui*; whether they should be regarded as *dalalya* texts is open to doubt. They address the spirit-master of the game, Manaqa.⁶ However several

¹ MS obtained in Uliastai. I found a written Oirad copy of the title page and instructions in a Bayad tent in Tes sum, Uvs aimag.

² Both are translated and edited in Bawden 1968:131-4.

³ Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Mong. 151, listed Bese 1978:52. A very corrupt text. I am most grateful to the Library for providing a microfilm.

⁴ Rinchen 1959 no. XXIV p.45, *yanjuyan-u sang*, tr. and ed. Bawden 1968:134-7.

⁵ Rinchen 1959 no. XXV p.47, tr. and ed. Bawden 1968:137-9.

⁶ Damdinsürüng 1959:122, tr. and ed. Bawden 1968:128-9; Sárközi 1972; Rinchen 1975 no. XXIII p.59-60 (Oirad); Rinchen 1959 no. LXVIII p.113-5, partially tr. Bawden 1968:128; Poppe 1936:33.

other very similar Manaqan texts are known which are without any characteristics which might associate them with a *dalalya*.¹

The texts described here may be regarded as prayers for hunters with a herding ideology. They reflect a change in the needs of man, from meat sufficient to feed him, to vast herds of his own, and finally to all kinds of material and spiritual wealth, as listed in the first text (a). There is an accompanying shift in what is understood by *qangyai*; from the forest, source of game, it comes to represent a generalized mountain-protector-spirit from whom well-being of all kinds may derive.²

While the two texts edited above showed that the connection between the *dalalya* and hunting is an essential one, in these more elaborated texts the cry *qurui* often seems to represent little more than a call to summon the animals. It is no longer essential to the genre.

¹ e.g. Rintchen 1959:40 ff.

² Comparable to the Altai, and to be distinguished from the ancestor spirit-owners of individual mountains, whose influence extends only to those camped on their territory (Bawden 1968:117). The Altai and Qangyai represent generalized conceptions of the local spirits; they nonetheless occupy the same structural position as the ancestor spirit-owners, being the sources of life and prosperity (c.f. the *dalalya* addressed to the Altai in section 6 above).

9. LAMAIST LITERARY COMPOSITIONS WHICH INCORPORATE A *DALALYA*

These compositions can tell us little about the nature of the native Mongol *dalalya*, and will not be examined in detail.

The texts

Four compositions by Mergen gegen of the Urad:¹

1. Prayer for the hearth sacrifice (no. 21 in Heissig 1954)
Published variants: Damdinsürüng 1959:117-9
Rintchen 1959:10-12
Heissig 1966:101-6 (with a short *dalalya* section not in the original)
2. *Dalalya* (no. 15)
3. Text for the worship of the mountain Muna qan (no. 19)
4. Text for an *oboja* sacrifice (no. 16)

Two prayers for the hearth sacrifice by Čaqar gebsi Lubsangcülüm:

5. Rintchen 1975:10-16 and Heissig 1966:118-127
6. Heissig 1966:127-8 (two lines only sketch a *dalalya*)
7. Praise of Sülde tngri; 18th century blockprint
Heissig 1954:150, no. 161
8. Unpublished blockprint for a *dalalya*
Listed Krueger 1966:164
9. Unpublished MS of magical texts, including a *dalalya*
Listed Heissig and Bawden 1971:134 (Mong. 313)
10. *Dalalya*, Alashan Mongols
Süngrüb and Sečenbilig 1989:358-361

Remarks

These compositions have no unifying characteristic; they do not represent a category of *dalalya* text. The *dalalya* sections of the texts differ both from one another and from the native Mongol *dalalya* invocations, with which they have little in common other than the interjection *qurui*.

¹ From vol. 4 of the collected works, listed Heissig 1954:151-4 no. 162.

Mergen gegen's purpose in composing his prayers is well documented;¹ he wished to provide lamaist texts in Mongol, rather than Tibetan, which might be the more acceptable to the Mongols because they incorporated elements of native folk-religious practice. Lubsangcülüm's compositions further advanced the creation of a Mongol lamaist 'liturgy'.²

The final text, no. 10, is less overtly lamaist, being simply a list of benefits hoped for. It is included here because the terse repetitive lines, without alliteration, and the foreign character of the benefits seem to indicate that it is a Mongol translation of a Tibetan text for the 'summoning of good-fortune'.³

¹ Bawden 1958, esp. 23-4; Dumas 1987:74-8, with further references.

² Dumas 1987:78-86, with further references, and 91-96.

³ A brief reference to the *dalalya* as performed in Alashan makes clear that it is a lamaized social event attended by many guests, who bring gifts, especially ritual scarves *qaday* (Alashan 1989:139).

10. THE BLESSING FOR THE *DALALYA* CEREMONY: *DALALYA-YIN IRÜGEL*

The blessings are not texts for the ritual itself. We do not know exactly when they were recited; it seems to have been during the feast which followed the autumn *dalalya* in its more elaborate forms (Xorloo 1969:54). Xorloo gives the alternative title of *jisiya-yin irügel* (c.f. RITE.1.1.1).

The following texts are known:

Halén 1974:251 spoken Khalkha *džasā dallagnī jöröl*

ibid. 251-3 spoken Khalkha *dalalgani jöröl*

Both texts were taken down in 1909 by Ramstedt.

Rintchen 1965:78-81 Kh. *dallagyn yeröl*

Two texts, taken down in the 1920s from lamas in a monastery.

Bese 1961:287 Kh. *dallaga*

An entirely lamaist poem from western Khalkha.

These blessings are not folk texts, and all are heavily lamaized, in both ideology and phraseology. They describe the performance of the ceremony, which probably corresponds to the eastern Mongol variants of the autumn *dalalya* discussed under RITE.1.1.2.d,e,f. An account for the Khorčin states that the blessing was sung in unison by all present, after the officiant had recited the *dalalya* invocation (Kürelbayatur and Urančimeg 1988:293).

The first step in the proper performance of the ritual as it is described here is to invite a worthy lama; this points to the real purpose of the texts, which are propaganda designed to educate the herdsmen in the lamaist way of doing things, and to emphasize the indispensability of a lama to act on behalf of the family in their contacts with the supernatural.

CONCLUSION

This study has analysed *dalalya* rituals in three perspectives: through the details of the performance, through the material objects which play a part, and through the words which are recited.

From all three points of view there is considerable variation in the forms which the ritual may take; it may be preferable to speak of Mongol *dalalya* as a *category* of ritual.

1. THE CONCEPTUAL BASIS OF *DALALYA* RITUALS

1.1 The cycle of life

The cry and gesture (*quruyilaqu*) which characterize the *dalalya* have been interpreted as a means of making contact with the supernatural or 'other' dimension in order that vitality may be transferred from it to the world of men, in an ever-recurring cycle. The *dalalya* emerges as a ritual for the promotion and direction of vital energy, a 'turning of the world'. This function is confirmed by the manifestations of energy which sometimes accompany it (biting, competing), and, in the texts, by the emphasis on the vitality of the livestock.

The human lineage (like the herd of animals) functions in time as a placing for a circulating quantum of energy which is manifested in its living members, and which has its source in the 'other' dimension of the lineage, the ancestors. All things possess the potential for perpetuation through repetition, a 'Wieder-Holung' (c.f. Tucci 1970:258). This potential is the basis of ritual, which represents at the same time a reactualization, and a moving-on; although the *dalalya* lacks a myth-prototype¹ as understood by Éliade, perhaps because it reflects something as basic as man's relationship to his natural and supernatural surroundings - 'la nature comme inséparable de ce qui l'anime'² - Éliade's repeated 'archetypal act' is surely represented in the circular gesture itself (1949:127-8).

¹ Such as that which justifies the ritual of mares'-milk libations, said to have been instituted by Činggis (RITE.7.1).

² Hamayon 1983:163.

1.2 The *dalalya* and the ancestors

Although ancestral spirits are not addressed explicitly in the invocations for the *dalalya*, they are ever-present; the existence of their descendants is in itself the living proof. In this sense the identity of the addressees of rituals which are performed by the descendants is implicit. The local mountains are, equally, ever-present; their spirit-owners are a metamorphosis of the ancestors, another way of conceptualizing one same principle.

In spite of the disappearance of the patrilineage as a functional unit of society, the *concept* of descent has remained. It survives in the relationship of the family group to its *nutuy*, the mountains and waters of its nomadizing territory, and perhaps also in the consciousness of the circularity of death and birth which finds a reflection in the *dalalya*.

Nomadizing and hunting territories are no longer associated with a clan; as the pastures of many unrelated family groups overlap, so the notion of the mountain-ancestor gives way to that of more generalized local spirits, with whom all those camping on their territories have a relationship of dependance. Thus the vertical connections survive, although blurred by new horizontal connections which could not have existed in a society based on the patrilineage; neighbours and guests are expected to attend the *dalalya* ceremonies, and only the restrictions on who may eat the shares of meat enlivened in the ritual remain as evidence that it essentially concerns a descent group.

2. MATERIAL OBJECTS AS REFLECTIONS OF IDEAS ABOUT THE WORLD

The principal requisite in the ritual is undoubtedly the meat: energy in visible form.¹ The functions of the other objects which play a part, and which can be classified broadly as 'conductors' (sticks, ropes) and 'holders' (vessels), are secondary, and relate essentially to the energy invested in the meat.

Every component of the animal partakes, in different ways, of its life-force; and since death is but a transitory state, no part of an animal newly killed is in fact 'dead', inert. This provides the basis of the energy-management procedures which take place at *dalalya* rituals. In forms of the ritual for which no sheep is slaughtered, the benefit *kesig* is associated with game or with the birth of young,

¹ c.f. also Éliade, for whom the ritual significance of food derives from the fact that food stands for life (1949:98), while the sacrifice of an animal represents the circulation of a sacred energy (*ibid.* 163).

which embody directly the energy promoted by the *dalalya*. These forms seem to reflect a situation of man face to face with nature and the forces which animate it, rather than dependent upon ancestors, for whom offerings would be appropriate.

The 'conductors' or 'antennae' represented in the sticks or ropes establish a connection between the officiant in the ritual and the sources of vital energy, the ancestral spirits. The stick functions at the same time as an image of his relation to the ancestors 'above' him in time and space, and as a symbol of his authority to act on behalf of his *own* descendants in the ritual.

The *dalalya* arrow, although it is structurally equivalent to the sticks which were in use in the native ritual, has probably been adopted from the Tibetan 'summoning of good-fortune' Tib. *g-yang-'gug*. Such a development would be consistent with the separation of the action of *quruyilaqu*, which requires no arrow, from the meat-offering of which it formed part, to become an autonomous beckoning (*dalalya*) showing lamaist influences. In this autonomous form the *dalalya* is almost invariably performed with an arrow.

Similarly, the native form of the vessel, a hide sack filled with meat, which is circled in the *quruyilaqu* of the meat-offering, has no place in the autonomous *dalalya*, where it is replaced by the little bag containing the precious material objects which are typically summoned at the Tibetan ritual.

3. THE SPOKEN WORD

The gesture and the cry *qurui* which constitute the action of *quruyilaqu* can function as a self-contained energy-management procedure or as a communication with the supernatural domain which does not necessarily need any further spoken text; the cry seems to be efficacious in itself.

In practice, however, an invocation is recited at most forms of *dalalya* ritual, ranging from the briefest of oral folk-invocations to long and elaborate texts which (latterly at least) have been transmitted in writing. The overwhelming majority of the known invocations are variations on, or contain 'quotations' from, one model: the 'fire' *dalalya* texts (TEXT.3).

The shorter oral invocations which are recorded for hunters and for the autumn *dalalya* (TEXT.8 and 2) represent one layer of the speech-dimension of the ritual. That very few examples are known is probably due to their brevity, and to the fact that they are essentially unwritten.

The texts related to the 'fire' *dalalya* model represent another layer, one in which Tibetan and lamaist influences are evident. If more of them are known, it is

because they are more frequently written, and as part of quite substantial works (the fire sūtras, *yal sudur*) they attracted the attention of collectors. The elaboration in these texts reflects the elaboration of the notion of *kesig*; no longer simply the quantum of life-energy deriving from the game-animals or the ancestral spirits, but *buyan kesig*, boundless good-fortune and prosperity called up by the ritual.

A two-way process of transmission is evident in the texts. A gifted speaker can elaborate on the basis of simple oral folk-invocations, filling them out into something longer, and poetically complex; equally, texts have been revised on the phraseological level to incorporate the deities and the concepts of lamaism. If such an elaborated text then becomes widely known, being thought 'better' and so more effective, it becomes, in turn, an influence on the oral invocations of simple herdsmen. The text BAYAD provides an illustration (TEXT.3.3); although it is a short, unwritten folk-text, it is actually a 'quotation' from the 'fire' *dalalya* model. To assume that the simple oral invocations for the *dalalya* are necessarily earlier than the fuller written texts is not justified.

4. REALIZATIONS OF AN IDEA IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS

The Mongol areas have been a cultural crossroads, in both space and time. While the basic existential question of the nature of life is a universal one, the way in which it is interpreted varies according to environment and ideology. This thesis has examined *dalalya* rituals set in varying contexts.

Where men and the sources of life are face to face, the hunters and the forest, the life-energy *kesig* which is promoted by the ritual comes embodied in the game itself. Where men and the mountain-ancestors represent two dimensions of a single group, *kesig* becomes the portion of energy of the descendants as of right. Where man, as supplicant, looks up to the pantheon in the heavens, *buyan kesig* represents supernatural favour, good-fortune bestowed on him and his tent in return for his offerings.

The analysis has shown that a basic problem, that of ensuring the onward flow of life, is approached in a variety of ways which in turn can illuminate for us the specific culture and world-view of the people concerned. All, however, seem to rest on the same ultimate reality: the fact of individuation, the consciousness of an opposition between self and other, between human world and supernatural world, the two poles which make possible the movement of the current of life.

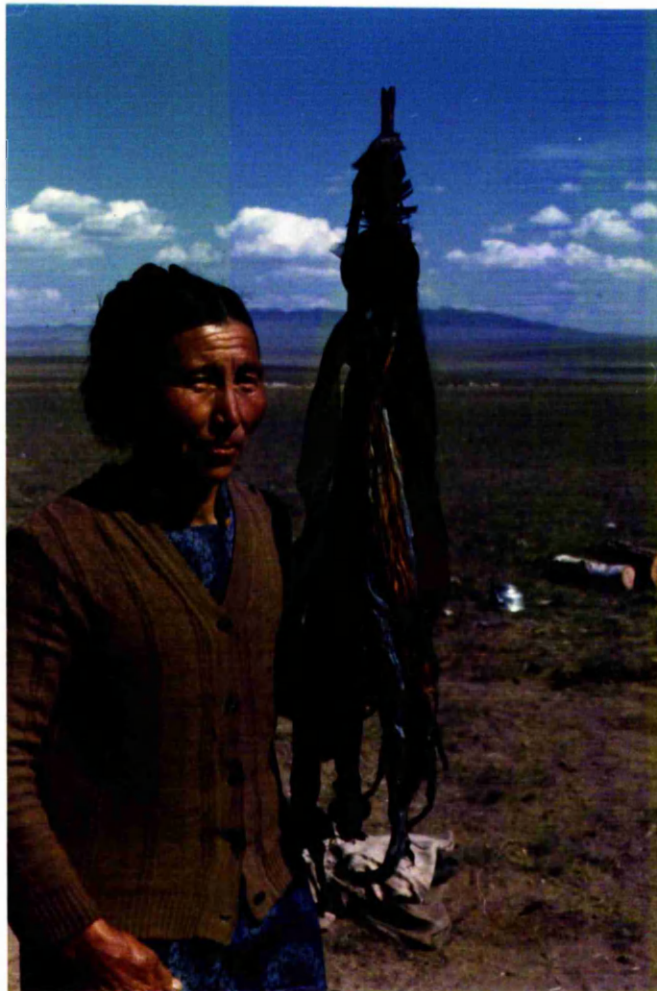
ILLUSTRATIONS

The photographs and sketches are my own except as follows:

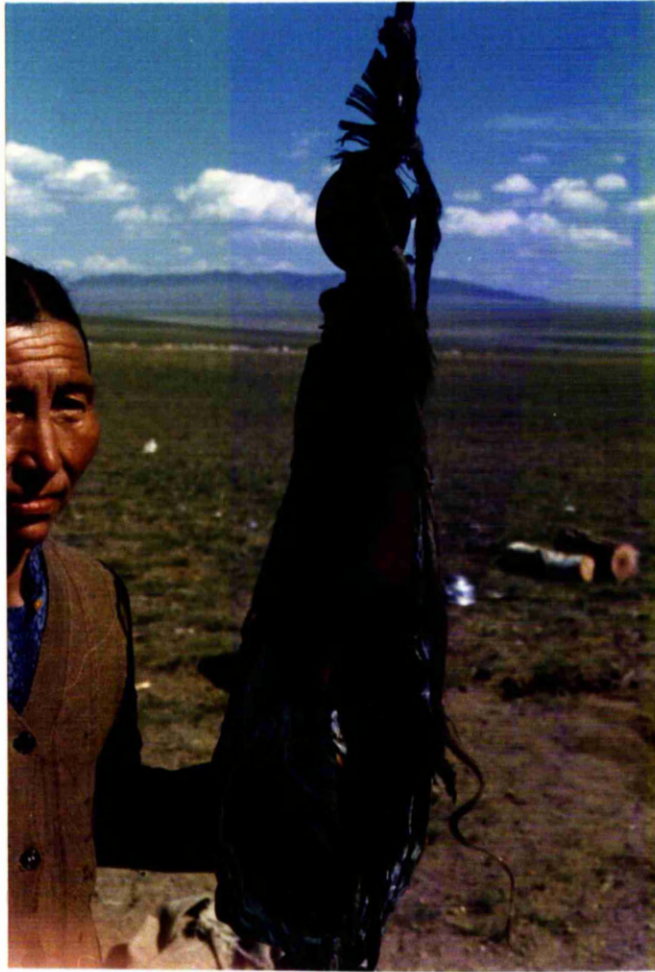
- Fig. 1 After a sketch by the late Prof. Gombojav Hangin.
- Fig. 9 After a photograph kindly lent by D. Tangad.
- Fig. 10, 11 Copyright Dr. Čimeddorji, Hohhot. I am most grateful to Dr.
Elisabetta Chiodo, Prof. Klaus Sagaster and Dr. Čimeddorji for their
kindness in allowing these illustrations to be reproduced.



1. An arrow as used by a lama in the ceremony of a Banner prince, or in the homes of wealthy herdsmen; Chahar, 1940s.



2. The arrow used by this Bayad woman's father, Tes *sum* , Uvs *aimag* , early 20th century.



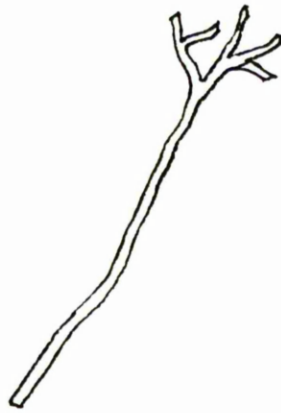
3. Rear view of the arrow in fig. 2, showing twist of horsehair, and bag of grain.



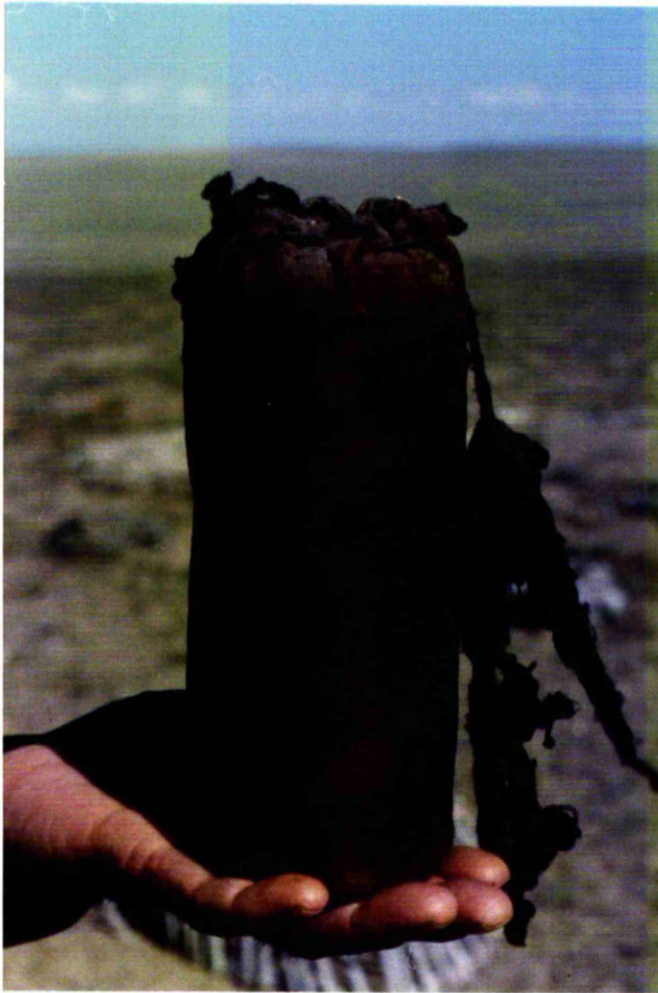
4. Arrow with its case; Ulaangom town museum, Uvs *aimag* .



5. Detail of the decorations, showing the shiny disc and two small bags.



6. The forked stick used in the Mongol Urianxai ritual; Duut *sum* , Xovd *aimag* .



7. Silk bag filled with grain; Bayad, Tes *sum* , Uvs *aimag* .



8. Bayad *zöld* (in other Oirad dialects: *ölgöts maxxa* 'hung meat') at the ceremony of *kösige tayilaqu* 'opening the curtain'. The hide remains on the breastbone, head, tip of the tail and lower legs. Tes *sum*, Uvs *aimag*.



9. Ritual tethering-line for lambs, with genuine toggles and camels' nose-pegs, and wooden or leather models of a picket (above) and (l. to r.) a skin for fermenting mares' milk, a spirit flask, a mortar, and another skin container. Torguud, Bulgan *sum*, Xovd *aimag*.



10. Circling the vessel (just visible on the sheepskin) in the *dalalya* to Činggis, Ejen qoruya. The man on the right reads the invocation.



11. Others present joining in the circular gestures and the cry *qurui*.

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