

ASIA MAJOR

A BRITISH JOURNAL OF FAR EASTERN STUDIES

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A MONGOLIAN RITUAL FOR CALLING THE SOUL

by C.R. BAWDEN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Continued from previous page

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

morin sara-da moyai mowai hujai: gonin-a sara-yer tengilegi imayen-dar adiyad sogot hū-shi kaimin-yer dorona emide-yin jabay-a yoyu: "For the horse month, make a snake and a tortoise. Balance them with the hair of a sheep and load them on a goat and have a man born in the year of the dog expel them between east and south." *gonin sara-da shidher jabayen-a shir-bar alayen aler hujai: edeb em-ūl-i tenglen agshin yagat hū-shin ber dūne umay-yin jabay-a yoyu:* "For the sheep month, make a red ox out of the earth of a ruined city, load it balanced against all sorts of medicine and have a man born in the year of the pig expel this between west and north." Similarly, for the monkey and hen months a stag and a yellow sheep respectively are to be made and expelled. A second reason is that we find *hagter* used in texts of this type, sometimes as alternative to *youn*, "bones", where it can hardly mean anything but "corpse". Thus Mong 375, Copenhagen, fo. 65^v-67^r, has items such as: *lau edir-shin jaal amu yulir-yer lau tengilegi kaimin hujai: nigen shiji tarjien-a suman hū-daya selte-yi lau-yin jag-shir gadqubay dūdayu: hagter yaryabany tegime-yin kichin-shi yulir-i sobayun soyin:* "Exorcism for the dragon day. Make a man with a dragon's head from flour. If you stick this in a pint of grain together with an arrow and silk, in the direction of the dragon, it will be good. When you take out the corpse, it will be good if you scatter flour from the hub of a mill stone." Similarly, when taking out the corpse on the snake day and the horse day one should cut the cord which binds the bones with a knife, and ride an unbridled horse respectively. Finally, we may observe that trampling is also associated with unbridled objects. H 66, Stockholm, fo. 70^v-10^r, has a section which gives details of where the *origes* or messengers of the underworld who have taken the soul of the deceased person may be lurking. They are to be scourged in certain circumstances by trampling, but it is not stated definitely what is to be trampled, the corpse, or the hiding place or something else. Thus: *nagar-shi shibetsh: . . . gara sub ba: egi-a dōtoru goryōdame: kōbōgen one-di moyai: sira tengilegi gonin-yer gadqubay shin jaaluyai:* "If death occurred under (the asterism) *nagar*, they are lurking in a black vessel, black material or felt. It is bad for a boy and woman. Exorcise by having (it) trampled by a yellow-headed sheep". (For *shiji* cf. Kowalewski, s.v. *shiji*, *shida*. The Tibetan equivalent quoted by Kowalewski, *ibid.*, is explained in Ch'ou-agrag's *Tsang Waa Ts'u Tien*, Peking 1957, p. 578, by the Chinese word *sheng ji*. The same Chinese word is given by Mostert, *Dictionnaire Ordon*, p. 620b, as the basis of a Mongol word *shig*. It seems from this that *shiji* is probably the Chinese loan word *sheng* plus the diminutive suffix *tsu*. The word is found elsewhere in texts of folk religion, thus: Copenhagen, Mong 299, 45^r, *nigen shiji arhai-yin yulir-yer agshin-yin gon-a beye kiged raga-yin beye-yi agshin talhi:* "Set up images of the patron and of Rahū (made) out of a pint of barley-flour." As a matter of interest we may observe that an item *shin* is listed as one of several hundred *tengga* or cattle-brands by Gochoo in his article "Madyn Im, Tungary Tabkai" (On Cattle Earmarks and Brands), *Shingilekh Ukhian Takhnik*, 1958, 4, p. 215, and is explained as a "measure", *shengjish*. The illustration of this brand looks like a rough representation of a shallow dish.)

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

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

Text

11. Kūmūn-yi sūnesū-i dalalquī sudur bui

14. Nige:

Badama sambaba bayei / -yin čagar vada da qayan / -u
čilegetkeju yegüdekkeü / čay-tur kashin töri / -yin tusa-yi
sedkijü: / qutuy-tu badama sambaba / bayei edeb jüli ubadis /
tarni: sūnesūn dallalquī / yeke üile innu ejimü buyu: /
gonin-u jегün qan-u miqa / kiged: nigen seayula dotor /
budayan gonin-u arisan ba: / jokis-tu ed-i doora innu /
debesü ece tamtureyan ödü / -tü sumun-du nigen bayin čayan /
kibe ba: kiib uyaju: basa / oyru erdenisi uyaju tutuy /
a-du gadq(u)u talbiqui: / °ö a-a gili gili °hau /
°hau pat söva ha-a: / eglini jayun naiman-ta urju /
sumu kiged: beleldügen-i adis / laju sirtügen-i yegüdekke ügei /
tibesin-e orusiyulun talbi / basa yayan-i bisirekü bögesü /
tegunč amin sūnesūn-i sijimler /

21. Qoyar:

tabun önge utasun-i tataju / °ö tsa tsa tsa °hau °ba /
huru samay-a söva ha-a: / egün-ni ungelju: (orusiyul erased) /
adisha qada sirtügen-i čiyaya / bolyan tataju: orusiyul /
daqui: basa idegen umdayan / sayin önge-tü qubčasu /
ed baraya adayusun kiged / basa yayan-dur bisirekü /
bögesü: tegüni ker küseg sen / -i ere eme ba yambar dūriten /
kereg-üd-i tegün čilen bilede / čü °ö a-a hri°ö °hau /
adis tan-a adisid-i: eglüber / adisaju: küsekti kereg-üd-i /
jabar jabar-tur jokiyar / beledekeküi basa sang takli-iyar /
takju qamuy-i nomuqa dayan / qutuy-i yuyun jabaran /

uriqui-dur ibegel jil-tü / kümün-i yar-tu kibe-tü sumun /
kiged keregen idegen qubaci / sun-i barıyulju nereber dayui /
da yulun dallay-a: 'o aga / ru nōgag darma gang /
2v. adaya ödben-e dunda: / 'o a-a 'hau pat söva /

ba-a :: kermen doluyan ba: / yurban-ta ungajju: cee /
büridüg sen bügüde-yi / sedkikiü: küsel-iyer bürüki /
bolai:: kermen sedkijiü uri :: / degedü blama-yin nom-un /
sakiyulaun-u tangyariy-aça / ayuju (d)u(a)yayaaan bögesü /
tegei biatreekü sedkil-iyer / ende irekü buyu či: ende /
ire ire :: tengri gray odun / -aça ayuju du(a)yayaaan bögesü /
tengel ügei blama-yin uba / dis-tur sittiü iregedkü /
buyu či ende ire ire: / arban jüg-ün bodisong /
narun jarliy sudur nuyud / -un uligerin törü-ece /
ayu ju dutayayaaan bögesü: / ačtu blama erdeni-yin /
adis tida-dur sittiü / iregedkü buyu či ende /
ire ire asuri gandarag / teriguten ünür isiten-ece + /

3r. Turban:

ünen irüger-tür sittiü / iregedkü buyu či ende + /
čidkir eliy-ece + : / ariyün burqan-u jarliy- /
-tu sittiü iregedkü / buyu či ende + erlig- /
-üd jaradasun simnus / albin-aça + erdeni-tü nom- /
-un irüger-tür sittiü / iregedkü buyu či ende + /
yirtinkü-yin kedün orad / -un jassay törü-ece + yeke /
niğülesügci-yin irüger / -tür sittiü iregedkü buyu /
či ende + eresün irtü / üjügür-tü mses-ece + /
ibeggeči nom-un irüger / -tür sittiü iregedkü buyu /
či ende + emesün jig / jiber aki yad-aça + /

ünen degedü nom-un mör / -tür sittiü iregedkü buyu /
či ende + qara čayan / yabudal-tan-u 'qarqar /
'qaukir-aça + yayi(q)amaly / -tu nom-un irüger-tür
sittiü iregedkü buyu či / ende + oyaryui kiged /
naran saran-u 'id-ece + / auya küčitiü nom-un /
irüger-tür + luue-un / qad kiged möndür čaklyan- /
-aça + 'luta aburayči nom / -un + ayulan qada ergi nura /
yuu subay eden-ece + / vačir-tu nom-un + ya'ar /
usun kiged yal kei qamuy / tabun maqabud-aça + tabun /
jayayan-u burqan-dur + / jigürten-ü qan garudi /
teriguten-ü oyaryui-bar / yabuyčün-u ayul-aça + /
jilayuduyči nom-un + / olan jüli köl-ten köl /
ügeguten-ece + ködöle / si ügei nom-un + üli /
bolqu üčüken örgüsün / mesen-ece + ünker nom-un /
jarliy-tur + üli üje / kü mayu öngge ünür amtan /
kiged kir burtay-aça jigijiü / ayuju + ündüsün-i: /

4r. Dörben:

arlıy-či nom-un + : / mayui ebečin güjügün qabu /
dar qaldaburi öglüsün sigüselün / -ece + (erasure) möngkü buu-yi /
uğayuluyči nom-un + : / öngge üli jokiduqu-aça /
beyen-e qaralıy-čün-aça galab / jil sara qonuy čay-un toya /
yabudal-un üli jokidu / qun-aça oron ger tergen ed /
tavar kiged qamuy üli joki / duqun-aça qaralıy-čün-aça + /
qarlı ügei nom-un + ükeger-ün / yasun barıquı tülküü-ece + /
ibeggeči nom-un + öglige-yin efen eyimü neretü abai /
minu či čınayai buyu oda : / inayai irekü buyu či: ende /
ire ire + ačtu ečige / eke činu ende buyu: amary /
aga degüü uruy sadun činu / ende buyu amratu sayin idegen /
darasun činu ende buyu: / arıyün sayin kib toyo čimektü- /
-ün kiged anggilaquı sayıqan /

4v.

siyashad-un ünür kiged ende / buyu aurya küčüti-yin süde /
ayui yeke amidu ayıl-un / ulus ergin ba: adayusan /
yamaya morin temegen kiged ali / bügüdeger tergen ba amtan-i /
küsel-i gangyayči bürin-iyer / ende buyu: abai minu inayai /
ire + erlig-üd-ün ya'ar / kürčü üli bolqu: erlig- /
-ün jam-ıyar yabuju üli / bolqu erlig-üd-ün oron- /
-dur sayju üli bolqu: / erlig-üd-ün idegen-i ideji /
üli bolqu: erlig-üd-ün / usun-i uyujju üli bol /
igü: erlig-üd-ün o-i / emüskü üli bolqu: tegün- /
-dür yakin odunmıi či: / inayai iregdükü buyu či /
ende + erlig-üd-ün ečige / inu aburay metü: erlig- /
-üd-ün eke inu mangyus metü / erlig-üd-ün köbögün inu /
birida metü: erlig-üd-ün / ökin inu jigai kekü metü: /

5r.

Tabun:

tegündür buyu oda a-a abai / minu inayai ire + tarmi /
barıy-či jıyur-un eje(n) / -dür sittiü iregedkü buyu
či ende ire ire : tanıqu / kümün-üge nöktüken qanı /
ju irekü buyu či ende + / tangyariy beyen-dür nöktü /
ji iregedkü buyu či ende + / yeke niğülesügci blama /
mör-tür sittiü iregedkü / buyu či ende + on sara- /
-dur edür čay-un jabsar / -aça osaldal ügei öder /
iregedkü buyu ci ende + / noyayan oyuu erdeni üji /
ju iregedkü buyu či ende + / yeke niğülesügci blama-yin /
möri sittiü iregedkü buyu / či ende + ibegel jil-tü kümün- /
-lüge qanıla ju iregedkü buyu / či ende + idegen umdayan /
keregen ed barayan adayu sun / bügüde eldeb jüli keregen /
tusatan-i küseju iregedkü / buyu či ende ire + čaylaai /
ügei erdeni-yin irüger-tür / sittiü iregedkü buyu či /
ende + čayan kib-tü sumun / -i-ıyar dallagui čay-tur /

5v.

come, relying on the path of the true, supreme faith? Come here, come here.

If you have fled fearing the...³⁰ of those of black and white manner,³¹ will you come, relying on the prayers of the marvellous faith. Come here, come here.

3V. If you have fled fearing the intensity of the sky, the sun and the moon, will you come, relying on the prayers of the mighty faith? Come here, come here.

If you have fled fearing the kings of the dragons, hail and lightning, will you come, relying on the prayers of the faith which surely saves? Come here, come here.

If you have fled fearing mountains, rocks, precipices and ditches, will you come, relying on the prayers of the indestructible faith? Come here, come here.

If you have fled fearing earth and water, and fire and wind, and all the five elements,³² will you come, relying on the five Buddhas of fate?³³ Come here, come here.

If you have fled in fear of Garuda, king of the winged ones, and the other sky-travellers, will you come, relying on the prayers of the guiding faith? Come here, come here.

If you have fled, fearing the many sorts of footed and footless ones, will you come, relying on the prayers of the immovable faith? Come here, come here.

³⁰ The words transcribed as *gargar garkar* form a crux. Kowalewski lists a phrase *gar-gar haki*, meaning "to scold" which may be relevant. For the second element a word which may be normalised as *garkar* and is listed by Mostaert, p. 365b, as equivalent to *garkar* and meaning "stupid and touchy" may also be relevant.

³¹ The phrase *gargar karyan yabukad-tan* requires explanation.

³² Apart from the series of five elements, *lahun magabud*, listed in *Moogol* usually as *modun, yul, shui, tenet, usun* (as for instance in *Moong 13*, Copenhagen, fol. 33v.-15v.), we find a series of four elements attached to the various planets and asterisms. The combinations of planet- and asterism-elements are of astrological significance. Thus in *Moong 375*, Copenhagen, fol. 18r.-18v., we find a list of such correspondences. The 28 asterisms are divided into four groups of seven, and each group is allotted to one of the four elements *yul, usun, shui, ket*. The seven planets, plus *ragun*, are similarly allotted in pairs. Similar information is given in an untitled MS. in 39 folios in the Institute of Language and Literature, Ulan Bator, inc. *Nama siri gada kagra*. On fo. 35v. we read: *gray odun nigen garmis ukarayan-u magabud itu*: "Coincidence of elements for planets and stars." The various types of combination bear separate names. Thus planet-star and star-star are known as *sidi-yin ukaral*, "magic-conjunction". If two *usun* coincide, it is known as *rasiyon-u ukaral*, "elixir-conjunction", and so on, and each different conjunction presages certain happenings for the day under consideration. It seems probable that this series of four and the series of five are both intended in our text.

³³ *Tubun jayayan-u burgen*, perhaps identical with the divinities known variously as *jayayan-u tabun tngri*, *Qayon jayayak tngri*, *Tobi lha*, *Tobi-i lha-u tabun tngri*. For *yobi* = Tib. *go-ba-i-jayayak*, see Sumadindana's dictionary, p. 405. For the *go-ba-i lha tngri* in Tibetan tradition see R. de Nebesky-Wojtowicz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, p. 264. (Copies of rituals for these divinities made from MSS. in Ulan Bator, are in my possession.)

If you have fled, fearing unpleasant small thorns and knives, will you come, relying on the commands of the true faith? Come here, come here. If you have fled, disgusted by and fearing bad colours, which are not to be seen, bad smells and tastes, and dirt, will you come, relying on the prayers of the faith which eradicates the roots.³⁴

4I. If you have fled, fearing evil sicknesses, ulcers,³⁵ tumours, infection and pus,³⁶ will you come, relying on the prayers of the faith which explains impermanence? Come here, come here.

If you have fled, fearing the incompatibility of colours, that which is noxious to the body, incompatibilities of the calculations and courses of era, year, month, day and hour, incompatibilities of dwelling, cart, goods and all else,³⁷ and that which is noxious, will you come relying on the prayers of the unswerving faith? Come here, come here.

If you have fled, fearing the disposal and burial of the corpses of the dead, will you come, relying on the prayers of the protective faith? Come here, come here.

You, my dear one, the lord of gifts named so and so, do not go away, come hither. Come here, come here.

Your benevolent father and mother are here.

Your dear brothers and relatives are here.

Your tasty, good food and wine are here.

Your clean good silks and ornaments and your nice-smelling religious³⁸ odours are here.

4V. Your great powerful tutelary genius,³⁹ the people of your great, living

³⁴ Mo. *garkar-i arilyayak*, translation uncertain.

³⁵ Mo. *garkar*. The translation of this term is taken from N. Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha*, Asiatische Forschungen Bd. 23, Wiesbaden, 1967, p. 108, where further references are provided.

³⁶ Taking *garkar-garkar* for the second of which see Kowalewski, p. 1513 as a binom.

³⁷ This item appears to deal with the factors involved in astrological calculations, casting of horoscopes and so on, though its full purport is not clear. The term "jokilday" in the sense of "to be compatible with" is found here and there in literature of this sort. Thus, *Moong 299*, Copenhagen, fol. 27v.: *alida beri-yi abay-dur; nasun ese jokildayyan biged jil-tan garsi ba sar-yin garsi ba gom-yin garsi ba; kull mungge-yin garsi biged: jig jokis ese jokildayyan gray odun-u moyai garsi mayul-i amurhyayak sudar ene*: "The sutras for neutralising incompatibilities of age, oppositions of year, oppositions of month, oppositions of day, oppositions of hexagram and spot, incompatibilities of direction, harmful oppositions of planet and star, when you are receiving a daughter-in-law, are..." See also texts of prognostication devoted to the choice of a bride, for example a MS. *Ga beri-yin jirugai*, State Library, Ulan Bator, 204.5 B 976 17094. Here we read for example on fo. 9r.: *amin-u magabud jokildayyan urtu nasuk-yod*... "If the 'life' elements are compatible, life will be long."

³⁸ For *siyabud of* Mostaert, p. 602 "voeux et devours des lamas", Lessing, p. 1184, "monk's discipline" etc.

³⁹ Mo. *stilde*. The *stilde* is discussed by W. Heising: "Mongolisches Schritturn im Linden-Museum", *Tribs*, 8, 1959, 39-56. See also the same author's article "Ein MS.-Fragment zum Kult der *Doyisad-un Tngri*", *Central Asiatic Journal*, IX, 3, 1964, 190-202 for a discussion of the affiliations of the group of divinities known as *stilde tngri*.

encampment,²⁸ your beasts, goats, horses, camels and all your carts, and whatever satisfies people's desires, are here in their entirety. My dear one, come hither. Come here, come here.

You must not go to the realm of the Erligs.

You must not travel the road of Erlig.

You must not dwell in the land of the Erligs.

You must not eat the food of the Erligs.

You must not drink the water of the Erligs.

You must not put on the powder²⁹ of the Erligs.

What will you go there for? Will you come hither? Come here, come here.

The father of the Erligs is like a demon.

The mother of the Erligs is like an ogre.

The son of the Erligs is like a hungry ghost.

The daughter of the Erligs seems revolting.

Do not go to them, my dear one. Come hither. Come here, come here.

Will you come, relying on the holder of spells and "master of the line"?³¹

Come here, come here.

Will you come, in friendly association with people you know? Come here, come here.

Will you come, associating with the "oath-body"?³² Come here, come here.

Will you come, relying on the great merciful lama's path? Come here, come here.

Will you come, unfailingly, in year and month, from between day and hour.³³ Come here, come here.

Will you come, seeing the green turquoise-gem? Come here, come here.

Will you come, relying on the path of the great merciful lama? Come here, come here.

Will you come, relying on the path of the great merciful lama? Come here, come here.

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Will you come, relying on the path of the great merciful lama? Come here, come here.

Will you come, relying on the path of the great merciful lama? Come here, come here.

Will you come, associating with the man born in a protective year? Come here, come here.

Will you come, desiring the requisites of food, drink, and materials, beasts and all sorts of requisite and useful thing? Come here, come here.

5V. Will you come, relying on the prayers of the limitless jewel? Come here, come here.

When I beckon with the arrow with the white silk, will you see it and come? Come here, come here.

Recting *öm a-a humm, bag tsā tsā humm, humm pat pat sōvaba-a*, let the jewels, food and clothes, and the beckoning-requisites be worn or eaten by their owner. While having him eat, say: "Letting the element which strengthens his life flourish, and letting grace accrue deign to enhance his good fortune³⁴ and restore his soul", and imagine that whether or not the soul has come has happened according to the way so many people have been begging.³⁵

When reciting the spell *öm sōvaba-a ḡg ḡrege sōva ha-a*, imagine that it has settled down unwaveringly.

6r. See whether or not the soul has come by weighing with scales.³⁶ If it comes below one tenth of an ounce but above one hundredth of an ounce this is good. If it comes much more, then evil spirits will have followed it. Have rites of repulsion against these recited, give alms to the poor and needy, and give a feast to infants.³⁷ If it does not come, have (the patient) spend the night³⁸ pillowed on the clothes used in the beckoning, and do the weighing early next morning, and it will surely come. But if it does not come at that, select favourable planet, star, day and hour, and make up³⁹ completely any requisites which were lacking⁴⁰ when the previous summoning took place, and it will come.

34 Mo. *hai morin-i dagdylag lageden* (for *dagdylag*). For a similar phrasing cf. *Ki mori mōr-ten song orvisho* (Chester Beatty Library), fo. 17, *hai mori-i dagdylag*, and further, a MS. entitled *Ki morin-a song tsābiya adhiṣṭid-un qur-a-i boryulyrṣi hemeshi* (Ulan Bator, State Library, 294.2 × 439, 17587), fo. 27, *hai morin-i dagdylag tsābiya*. We may note the use of three different verbs, of differing meaning, but each commencing with *de-*.

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

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

37 Offering a feast to children is prescribed also in Mong 297, Copenhagen, fo. 4, a part of a ritual whose purpose is obscure: 9 *keddel-tur qurim ḡg*: "give a feast to 9 children".

38 Mo. *gorn yada* for *gorn yad*.

39 Reading *gūṭṭelḡe* for *gūṭṭelḡe*.

40 Reading *datoyson* for *toyṣyan*.

28 Mo. *ulus ergin* for *ulus ergin*.

29 Mo. o. Cf. Mostert, p. 5054, "fard blanc", and Ramstedt, p. 292, "Schminke (gewöhnl. rote)".

31 The Louvain ritual has, fo. 13r, *tarṣi-yi bariyā mēnu daryā-i ḡnglayṣan*: "Listen to my voice, the one who understands (or, holds) spells." Kowalewski, p. 1675, lists *tarṣi bariyā* with Sanskrit and Tibetan equivalents, and two Russian glosses: *noyashchii na sēbe maitcheshki formuly* (carrying mystic formulae on the person) and *smotok tsk* (expert in these). The French versions: *celui qui porte le sacbet*, and *connaissance des charmes*, are less explicit. Unfortunately Kowalewski does not identify his source. I cannot trace any reference to a phrase *ḡnglayṣan* *ḡgn* in dictionaries.

32 Mo. *tangyari beyen*, for which I lack an explanation.

33 The meaning of this enigmatic passage escapes me. The only passage in the Louvain ritual which is in the least similar runs, fo. 13v: *ḡi shenṣa buṣ ḡgei qoyan-un jobṣar-tur odḡun*: "Have you gone to between where the soul is and is not?"

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

6v. Ah, may the blessing⁴² of the unwavering body be established.

May the blessing of the ? sixty-jointed commands be established.

May the blessing of immensely unsullied thoughts⁴³ be established.

May the blessing of body, tongue and thoughts be established.

THE CASE OF WITCHCRAFT IN 91 B.C. ITS HISTORICAL SETTING AND EFFECT ON HAN DYNASTIC HISTORY*

by MICHAEL LOEWE

- I Dynastic incidents 92-88
- II Wu ti's principal consorts and their sons
- III Summary of dynastic events 91-86
- IV Imperial expansion under Wu ti and the state of government
- V The triumvirate and the rise of Huo Kuang
- VI Dynastic incidents 82-74
- VII Witchcraft and cursing the emperor

GLOUCESTER: I pray you all, tell me what they deserve

That do conspire my death with devilish plots

Of damned witchcraft, and that have prevail'd

Upon my body with their hellish charms?

HASTINGS:

The tender love I bear Your Grace, my lord,

Makes me most forward in this princely presence

To doom th' offenders, whose'er they be:

I say, my lord, they have deserved death.

Then be your eyes the witnesses of their evil.

Look how I am bewitch'd: behold mine arm

Is like a blasted sapling, wither'd up:

And this is Edward's wife, that monstrous witch

Consorted with that harlot strumpet Shore,

That by their witchcraft thus have marred me.

Richard III, Act III, scene iv

Stirring events took place in Ch'ang-an, city of Eternal Tranquillity, during the years 92-90 B.C. Some of the highest in the land, including chief dignitaries of state and members of the imperial family, were executed or forced to suicide. Fears of witchcraft, possibly of an hysterical nature, resulted in the deaths of many who were suspected of such practices; and large numbers were killed in the open fighting that broke out in the city. In

* The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

HFHD H. H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty*, volumes 1-3, Baltimore and London, 1938-55 (Unless stated otherwise, references are to volume 2).

HHS *Hou Han-shu* and *Hsin Han-shu*; references are to Wang Hsien-ch'ien's edition, Ch'ang-sha 1915.

HS *Han-shu*; references are to Wang Hsien-ch'ien's edition, Ch'ang-sha, 1900.

SC *Shih-chi*; references are to *Shih-chi kaisshu koshu*, edited by Takigawa Kanetada, Tokyo 1932-34.

Swann N. L. Swann, *Food and Money in Ancient China*, Princeton 1950.

YTL *Yen-t'ieh lun*; references are to Wang Li-ch'i 王利器, *Yen-t'ieh lun chiao-chu* 校註, Shanghai 1958.

⁴¹ Or, "If you invite it, praying trustingly." The reading *siten* is not certain.

⁴² *M offi* for *offei*.

⁴³ *Mo. sidagelan* for *sedai-tin*.