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On the Occasion of His 90th Birthday

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The signet shows a Manchu bannerman performing the kow-tow ceremony
(from a manuscript of the 19th century).

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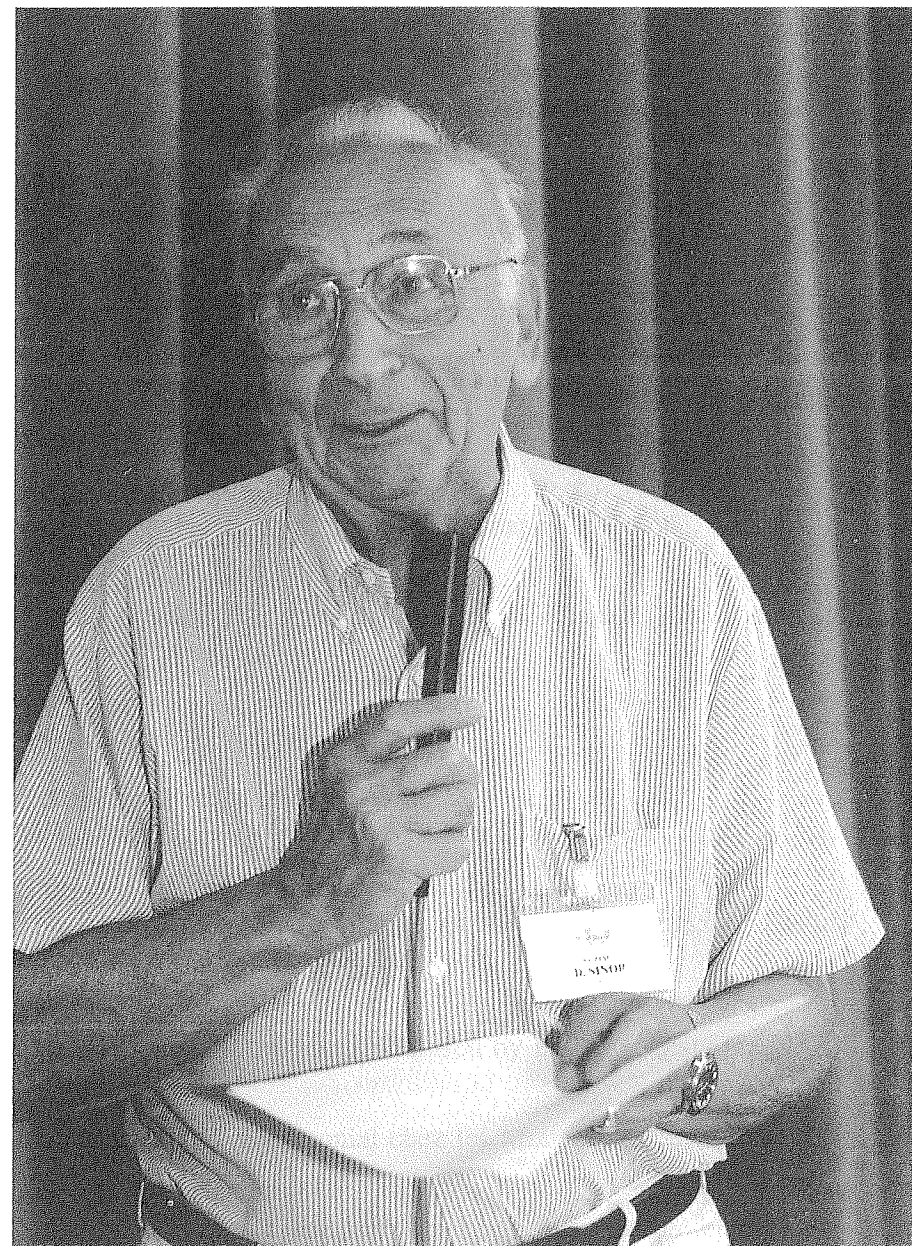
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Denis Sinor

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Dūdlaga

A Genre of Mongolian Shamanic Tradition

Ágnes Birtalan
(Budapest)

E tanulmánnyal kívánok boldog születésnapot az ünnepeltnek.

When attempting to study a difficult topic like shamanic texts and to prepare a genre typology, one should approach the material from various points of view, taking into consideration as many circumstances influencing or moulding the body of texts as possible:

1. To create a complete collection of texts of a particular territory or particular folk group: peculiarities of the language, the presentation of the sounding text or the manuscript, decoding of the text are to be considered.
2. The structure/s of texts are to be explored.
3. The contents of the texts are to be evaluated
4. The peculiarities of performer and the performance; the shaman, and the other participants of the rituals or ceremonies; the process of the communication between the shaman and the supernatural, and that between the shaman and his audience are to be explored.
5. The circumstances of the place-time connotation of the performance, the performer – audience – larger community relation; the attitude and judgement of the performer's community about certain texts are to be clarified.¹

Concerning the old debate on the genre limitations of shamanic texts in academic literature, the following categories are recommended according to the spheres of use during shamanic rituals and beyond.

1. Sphere of shamanic rituals only: pure shamanic genres that are, or were, used originally only for shamanic rituals and the performance of

¹ The present article is a part of a larger study that aims to analyse the phenomenon shamanic text from various point of view and is based on the field work of the author.

which requires an altered state of consciousness (Khal. *ongon orox* lit. “entering of the spirit”).

2. Sphere of shamanic rituals and other folk religious occasions: genres that are used also for other, non-shamanistic ritual occasions, but could constitute part of the shamanic rituals as well. The performance of these genres does not require the altered state of consciousness beyond the shamanic sphere, but if these genres are built into a shamanic ritual, they may call for an altered state of consciousness.

3. Sphere of Buddhist ceremonies, rituals: genres that have mainly been used for lamaised folk religious ritual purposes, or also in the spheres of Buddhist monastic life. They mostly appear among the genres of the lamaised shamans but also in the spheres of family and community ritual occasions. This group of genres is principally influenced by written tradition.

It has to be emphasised that in the following typology all the genre designations that have ever appeared in the accessible literature and during fieldwork in connection with the shamanic rituals, the shamans’ repertoire, will be examined.

Typology of the genres surveyed:

1. Pure shamanic genres
 - 1.1. *dūdлага* “invocation”²
 - 1.2. *tamlaga* “invocation” called also “evocation” versus the *dūdлага*
 - 1.3. *dātgāl* “devoted invocation, with elements of a prayer”
2. Genres used primarily in non-shamanic spheres, but also constituting part of a shaman’s repertoire.
 - 2.1. *magtāl* “praise”
 - 2.2. *jūxel* and *xarāl* “curse”
 - 2.3. *cacal*, *sacal* “text for libation ritual”
 - 2.4. *dallaga* “text for ritual beckoning [fortune], collecting benefit”
 - 2.5. *xurailga* “text for ritual collecting, beckoning [benefit, good luck]”
 - 2.6. *xelēleg*, *xelēlge*, *xelēx üg* “saying, statement, narration”
 - 2.7. *šiwšleg* “whispering, whispered incantation”
 - 2.8. *myalālga* “text for anointing ritual, blessing”
 - 2.9. *beleg demberelīn üg* “wishes”

2 First the Khalkha (who constitute the majority population of the Mongolian Republic, and whose language is the official and literary language of the Republic, referred also as the Mongolian language) data will be quoted; below also the Written Mongolian (Mong.), Buriad (Bur.), Oirad (Oir.).

3. Genres of literary origin or genres containing a considerable number of motifs, elements of literary origin.

- 3.1. *jalbiral* “prayer”
- 3.2. *öčig* “appeal, prayer”
- 3.3. *ailtgax* [üg] “humble saying”
- 3.4. *san* “text for incense offering ritual”
- 3.5. *serjim* “libation text”
- 3.6. *unšлага* “incantation”, lit. “reading”
- 3.7. *sudur* “sutra, narration”
- 3.8. *tügel* “text for the ritual distribution of benefits”
- 3.9. *taxilga* “text for [various] offerings”
- 3.10. *tūx* “story, history, narration”
- 3.11. Mong. *ugiya*l “text for ritual washing, purification”.
- 3.12. *yos* “custom, habit, tradition”, manuals of rituals.

Below a brief survey of the most wide-spread genre the Khal. *dūdлага* will be given. The following genre is of the invocation type, and as such, has been originally only used in the sphere of shamanic rituals. Recent Mongolian scholars, like S. Badamxatan³ and O. Pürew,⁴ D. Bum-Očir⁵ also offered a fieldwork-based classification of this genre-group.

1.1. *dūdлага* “invocation”, Mong. *dayudlaya* ⇔ *dayuda*- “to call” ⇔ *dayu* “sound”, Bur. *durdalga*. This is the most common and widespread designation among the shamanic genres, literally meaning “calling”. When there is no other specification for a shamanic text, this term is used in general. When a monograph about the Mongols or an anthology of folklore deals also with shamanic texts, the usual designation for their genre is *dūdлага*. In the accessible literature less emphasis is given to the genre categories than to classification in terms of Buddhist influence: e.g. the folklore collection of Hangin Gombojaw specified the shamanic text groups as follows: “Mongolian shamanist literature is generally divided

3 Badamxatan, S., *Xöwsgölīn darxad yastan*. Ulānbātar, Šinjlex Uxānī Akademīn Xewlel 1965. [*The Darkhads of Khöwsgöl*].

4 Pürew is of Darkhad origin, and lived for several decades in his homeland (Khöwsgöl province). He remarked that although he lived in the sphere of the Darkhad culture and met active shamans, he started to collect materials – both objects and oral records – after he met Diószegi V. and worked as an interpreter for him during the fieldwork period of the Hungarian scholar among the Darkhads (personal communication of O. Pürew). Cf. Pürew, O. *Mongol bögīn šašin*. 1999. Ulānbātar [*Mongolian Shamanism*].

5 Bum-Očir, Dulamīn (Bumochir Dulam), *Mongol bögīn jan üil. Mongol Shamanic Ritual*. Ulānbātar, Mönxīn üseg XXX, 2002.

into three categories: *kharyn zügiin duudlaga* ([cf. Khal. *xarīn jügīn dūdлага*] “black direction invocation”), *khar, shar kholimog duudlaga* ([Khal. *xar šar xolimog dūdлага*] “black and yellow mixed invocations”) and *sharyn zügiin duudlaga* ([Khal. *šarīn jügīn dūdлага*] “yellow direction invocation”).⁶ Pürew also considered *dūdлага* as the main genre which incorporates other important purely shamanic genres, such as the *dātgal* and *tamlaga*. He distinguished the following types (cf. also above):

1. *tamlaga dūdлага* “evocation invocation”
2. *ongodīn dursamj dūdлага* “invocation remembering the *Ongon*-s”
3. *tögsgölīn dātgal dūdлага* “devoted invocation at the end of the ritual”.⁷

The above-mentioned scholars – Badamxatan, Pürew, Dulam⁸ – who worked with the Darkhads gave additional, supposedly emic, explanations (collected from their shaman-informants) to the genre designation *dūdлага*, concerning its function:

1. *ongod jalax dūdлага* “invocation calling the protector spirits (the *ongon*-s)”
2. *taxilgīn dūdлага* “invocation for offering”, such as *gald dēj örgöx dūdлага*, “invocation for offering the best part of food to the fire”
3. *sūnsnī dūdлага* “invocation [call] for the soul”.

An invocation usually starts with a multilateral description of the spirit or god called, a narration about his/her (mythical or real) origin, description of his/her appearance, attributes, the way how he/she arrives at the ritual place, and also how the shaman, who has called him/her puts on the ritual costume and paraphernalia. Bum-Očir calls this part of the shamanic texts “praise” (*magtāl*).

According to our observations, the *dūdлага* is, on one hand, a general genre designation indicating shamanic texts, but on the other hand, it is the main genre of a shamanic ritual requiring an altered state of consciousness and incorporating numerous other genre fragments, even non-ritualistic ones (e.g. “proverb” Khal. *cecen üg*, “riddle” Khal. *onisgo*), longer parts of narrative “epics” *bātarlag tül*’, “aetiological myth, legend” *domog* or “folk song” *ardīn dū*).

6 *Mongolian Folklore. A Representative Collection from the Oral Literary Tradition*. Ed. J. Gombojab Hangin et alii. Indiana, Bloomington 1998, p. 151.

7 Cf. Pürew, *Mongol*, passim.

8 Dulam, S., *Darqad böge-yin ulanžilal. The Tradition of Darkhat Shamans*. Ulānbātar, MUIS-īn Xewlel. 1992.

The necessary components of a text designated as *dūdлага* are the following:

1. Addressing and invoking the spirit(s).

1.1. By addressing we mean that the shaman appeals to the spirit using his/her name, or any other designation reflecting the shaman – spirit connection:

Narīn cagān Naljgā Oh [you] slim, white Naljig,⁹

Simply calling the protector spirit as “mother”:

Ėj, Ėj, Ėj, Ėj, Ėj! Mother, mother, mother, mother, mother!¹⁰

A simple listing of the spirits without further characteristics is more frequent in the *dātgal* texts:

<i>Atā burxan tenger,</i>	Ataa Buddha, god,
<i>Damdin,</i>	Damdin,
<i>Bux noyon...</i>	Bukh <i>noyon</i> ¹¹ ...

<i>Xād butan sakxūstangūd,</i>	You, who have khans [as] hillock protectors,
<i>Oron xangā,</i>	[You] Khangai territory,
<i>Ogtorgōn Dolōn burxad!</i>	[You] the Seven Buddhas of the Heaven! ¹²

1.2. By invoking, we mean that invoking verbs are used (in voluntative): *dūdyā* (pronounced either *dūdī* or *dūdyā*) “let me call; I will call”; *uriyā* (pronounced *urī*, *uriyā*) “let me invite, let me call; I will invite, I will call”; or compound verbal expressions are used, to the first member(s) of which the adverbial suffix (adverbium modale) *-n* is added: *urin jalan dūdyā* “let me call inviting you to arrive; I will call you inviting you to arrive”. In wider contexts where the invoking verbs are emphasised with incantative expressions “*Guigur* etc.”:

9 Most of the fragments are quoted from texts collected by the author during field-work. The complete texts will be published in a monograph devoted to a multilateral analysis of Darkhad shamanic text-corpus. Here we identify the particular texts with the name of the shaman or Buddhist monk from whom the text is recorded.

10 Fragment of Darkhad shamaness Bayar’s *dūdлага* 1. (August 1993).

11 Fragment of Darkhad shamaness Xūxenjī’s *dūdлага* entitled *Burxan tengerin dūdлага* (*Dayan Dērx, Atā tenger, Bux noyon*) “Invocation to Buddhas and Gods (Dayan Deerkh, Ataa tenger, Bull Lord)” (August 1998).

12 Fragment of Darkhad shamaness Xūxenjī’s invocation with genre designation *dātgal*, entitled *Dayan Dērxin dātgal*.

Ületē tengerin dōyūr,
 Üjūrtē modni dēgūr
 Xaraṅxū söni gūdültē
 Xan Tömörleṅ batar
 Tanīyān uriyā!
 Guīyur, guīyur,
 Guīyur, guīyur!

Under the cloudy sky,
 Above the forest with a top,
 You have a running path at dark night
 My majestic Tömörleng hero
 Let me call you!
 Guigur, guigur,
 Guigur, guigur!¹³

In the *dūdлага* to Dayan Dērx influenced strongly by the Buddhist faith, the invoking person (a lama or a yellow shaman) gives a detailed description of the condition in which he asks the spirit to arrive. The invoker tries to offer several kinds of pleasure, claiming that the farther the spirits comes inside, the better amusement awaits him: he comes from the skirt of the tent to the door [and then inside the tent where the invoker sits] and gets the pleasure of the smell of milk brandy and the sound of the shaman's song. He is invited for a calm, pleasant amusement. The verb *moril-* "to arrive", used in the fragment is an honorary expression, cf. *Tawtai morilno ū?* "Welcome!" for respected persons.

Xayāgār garam cengenesen,
 Xālgār orom sogtōson,
 Arj xorjīn ünērēr,
 Ayalgūt šawīn dūgār,
 Āxilj ūxilj tebdelgüe
 Aetae tabtae moriln-ū?

You amused yourself upon leaving through the skirt of tent,
 You got drunk upon entering through the door
 On the smell of *ards* and *xords* milk brandy,
 On the voice of your disciple that has good lungs,
 Without hurry, puffing and panting,
 Please arrive gently!¹⁴

These *par excellence* invoking sections are usually short fragments of one or two lines and usually follow after a longer description of the praise type (*magtāl*, cf. above the genre typology 2.2.). In invocations addressed to more spirits, or in the ones recited in the later phase of the ritual, the usual description could be shortened, and only the most important elements of the spirits' depiction appear. The next example is from Bayar shamaness' invocation to a protector spirit, called Naljig, where

13 Xan Tömörlengin dudalya [sic!] collected by Rinčen, cf. Rintchen, *Matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol III. Textes chamanistes mongols*. In: "Asiatische Forschungen" 40 (1975), Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, pp. 82-84. French translation: Even, M.-D., *Chants de chamanes mongols*. (Études mongols et sibériennes, 19-20). 1988-1989, pp. 241-243.

14 Fragment of a *dūdлага* to Dayan Dērx 3., recited by the Buddhist monk Galbābadrax (August 1998).

only the most important characteristics of the spirit are mentioned: *narīn cagān* "slim, white":

Narīn cagān Naljgā
 Xenī xereg,
 Yamar yanjār yawna či ulāč min' ?

Oh [you] slim, white Naljig,
 For whose matter,
 In what manner do you go, my attendant?¹⁵

2. The descriptive, enumerative sections are fragments of an independent folk genre, the *magtāl* "praise" inserted into the *dūdлага*, with the aim to demonstrate the features, characteristics of the spirit and also – as the name of this genre suggests – to praise, to laud, to eulogise the spirit invoked. Eulogising of the spirit constitutes part of the enumeration of offerings, having the same importance as the objects of the offering. Here only some representative examples are quoted (the attributive expression has numerous attributes in different grammatical forms, e.g. noun + *-tai*, verb stem + *-gč*).

Budan, manan ūlen xölögtē,
 Bul čulūn ūlan sūdaltae,
 Bum jiwā nōxör selttēgē
 Badamsambū bagšās jarligtae,
 Bogd Junxāwāgās lüindentē,
 Bančin bogd, Dalae lamās jālttae,
 Bogd ejnēs Genēnčīnbō sanwārtae,
 Burū üjeltnīg but nirgegč,
 Bujar tüetgerīg arilgagč,
 Xān bogd Dayan Dērx
 Urin jalan dūdyā!

You have fog and cloud as your mount,
 You have a bid standing stone as a mountain seat,
 You received together with your million and ten million companions
 The holy order from master Padmasambhava
 Commandment from the holy Tsong-kha-pa,
 The teaching from the holy Panchen und the Dalai Lama,
 The vow of the great layman from the Holy Lord,
 You demolish completely the heretics,
 You clean away the impure obstacles
 Let me call, invite you to come
 My majestic, holy Dayan Deerkh!¹⁶

3. Narratives. Similar to heroic epic (*tūl'*) and aetiological myth (*domog*), the *dūdлага* could contain fragments narrating the story of the spirit, usually from times when he/she was a human being. The following narrative fragment contains the motif of the elopement of Chingis khan's wife with Dayan Deerkh, the way of their escape (in variants of the story

15 Shamaness Bayar's *dūdлага* 1.

16 Monk Galbābadrax's *dūdлага* to Dayan Dērx 1.

she is the smallest daughter, the motif of the petrification of the spirit, the attack of Chingis' warriors on the stone statue, the motif of his pacification and his entry into the service of Chingis and the Mongolian state. These motives appear in numerous *domog*-s about Dayan Dērx.¹⁷

<i>Ejen Čingisīn ordongōr</i>	You have visited the palace of lord Chingis, and
<i>Ergej būj mordoxdō,</i>	When you were about to leave,
<i>Ew jüegē ololcōd,</i>	You came to an arrangement with [the queen];
<i>Er jorig gargād,</i>	Became determined to [withdraw],
<i>Ogtorguen od tügexed,</i>	When the stars arose in the sky, and
<i>Olon uls naeran dundā baexad,</i>	The crowd amused themselves,
<i>Oncolj toxirson xatnā dūren</i>	You took your chosen queen on your horse in front of you, and
<i>Onon mörnōs güelgene.</i>	You made [your horse] run off [with her] from the Onon river.
<i>Xerlen golig gataļ,</i>	You came across the river Kherlen,
<i>Xenī nurūgār damjīn,</i>	You passed the mountain chain of Khentei,
<i>Mendgüe güelgene.</i>	You made [your horse] run without greeting [others].
<i>Jugtaxdā</i>	While you tried to escape,
<i>Minjīn Xangae n' damjīn,</i>	You passed the Minjin Khanghai,
<i>Būral morinī xurdār</i>	You [raced] at the full speed of a grey horse
<i>Būrlīn golīn adagt,</i>	To the mouth of the river of Buural,
<i>Tūraet morinī xurdār</i>	You [raced] at the full speed of a shod horse, and
<i>Tujīn narsnī xöld güecegdej,</i>	At the foot of Tujin Nars was almost caught.
<i>Uxān sanān balartax šaxam</i>	You were close to become dazed, [but]
<i>Uran uxān setgej,</i>	You thought with your skillful mind, and
<i>Ūl biyē xuwilgaļ,</i>	Transforming your own body
<i>Udgan mod bolon xuwilaw [...].</i>	You turned into a shaman tree.
<i>Tenger gajrīn xōrond</i>	Between the sky and the earth
<i>Tensen sum šig xurdlan,</i>	You [galloped] rapidly as a stray shot,
<i>Tüšig cagān nūrās undlan,</i>	You watered [your horse] from the lake
	Tüshig Tsagaan,
<i>Towloļ sātax</i>	You passed the mountain Majestic Towkhon
<i>Towxon xan ūl daeran,</i>	Which is good for resting, settling,
<i>Xarī būrigēr güelgen,</i>	You made [your horse] run at twilight,

17 About the shamanic spirit and god Dayan Dērx cf. Birtalan, Ágnes, "Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion". In *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*. I. Abteilung. *Die alten Kulturvölker*. 34. Lieferung. Ed. Egidius Schmalzriedt – Hans Wilhelm Hausig. Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta 2001, pp. 879-1097, on pp. 967-969.

<i>Xantan nurūgār damjīn,</i>	You passed the chain of Khantan,
<i>Öndör ūlīn agued xatnā nūn,</i>	You hid your queen in a cave,
<i>Örgō golīn [...] adagt</i>	At the mouth of the river Örgöö,
<i>Öngön biyē xuwilgaļ</i>	You transformed your visible body.
<i>Xürel čulūn cējtē,</i>	While you turned yourself into a stone statue,
<i>Xüder čulūn bögstē,</i>	With bronze stone breast,
<i>Xöšō čulū bolon xuwilaxda,</i>	With ore stone bottom,
<i>Ejen Čingisīn bātrūd,</i>	The warriors of ruler Chingis said:
<i>"Ergū teneg golīson tārxiḡ!" – gēd,</i>	"This stupid fat, mad wretch!"
<i>Egclen urdās n' selmērē,</i>	They started to beat with all their might,
<i>Er čadlā meden cawčixad</i>	From the front [of the statue] with their swords,
<i>Ild selemnī ire emterxed,</i>	The blades of their swords and sabres chipped,
<i>"Id šid üjūlew." – gēd.</i>	"He showed magic power" – they said.
<i>"Yürin xereg biš</i>	"It is not a simple matter,
<i>Yorin mū üjegdel." – gēd bucaw.</i>	It is a bad omen," – they said and left.
<i>Ene cag üyēs xoiš</i>	From this time on
<i>Ejen Čingisīn törd</i>	When the state of lord Chingis
<i>Eldew xyamral bolj,</i>	Became confused,
<i>Ed malīn garjī garsand</i>	When the cattle and goods suffered losses,
<i>Ejen Čingisīn üyēs</i>	Since the times of lord Chingis
<i>Elenc xulancīn üye</i>	Through the times of forebears and
<i>Eceg exīg damjšan</i>	The Times of parents,
<i>Ejen šütēn Dayan Dērxē</i>	Let me call, invite, you
<i>Urin dūdyā!</i>	My lord, sacred support Dayan Deerkh!

The above demonstrated *dūdlaga*-structure is typical of the text-type collected outside the ritual. The informant was a monk,¹⁸ recited it without falling into trance. The *dūdlaga*-texts recorded during a ritual contain several additional parts. Such a *dūdlaga* has already been examined by us and named as a "talk, a dialogue" between the shaman and the spirits.¹⁹ A *dūdlaga* recorded *in situ* contains further modules that appear in the texts recorded outside the ritual and vary according to the situation: the purpose of the ritual, the requests of the clients. However, the variability of these improvised modules is also determined by tradition.²⁰ Further in-

18 Lama Galbābadrax also collected this text from another monk.

19 Birtalan Ágnes – Sipos János (in collaboration with J. Colō), "«Talking to the Ongons»: The Invocation Text and Music of a Darkhad Shaman." In *Shaman* 12, nos. 1-2 (Spring/Autumn 2004), pp. 25-62.

20 In details cf. Birtalan-Sipos-Colō, "Talking to the Ongons", pp. 25-62.

serted parts are animal sounds, the mutual salutation (welcome), inquiry about the shaman and his/her community. These dialogues are highly dramatic, the shaman and the spirit sometimes even quarrel with each other. In this part of the *dūdлага* the shaman's assistants also take an active part, they try to support the shaman, helping her to bring the spirits close.²¹

Mother Ödsüür scolds shamaness Bayar:

Ödör yāx geǰ bōlōw čī?	Why did you shamanise during the daytime?
Xünēs čin' yū üxēw?	Who of your people died?
Malās čin' yū üxēw?	Which of your cattle perished?
Ē, jailūl! Īm aǰil bitī xī!	Oh dear! Do not do such a thing!

Trying to pacify Mother Ödsüür, shamaness Bayar says:

Öndör šar Öjūr bair min'!	My high, yellow place Ödsüür!
Örgön Xarmā, Cengelt min'!	My broad Kharmai and Tsengelt!
Nartīn ornā xūmūš	People living in the Sunny land,
Būgd amar sain baina.	They all feel well.

The *ongon* Ödsüür asks again:

Činī öširxōǰ yawdag	Companions under your protection,
Nöxöd xed we?	How many of them?
Sain sanaǰ yawdag	Companions living in the right way
Nöxöd xed we?	How many of them?
Öširxōǰ yawdag xünd čin'	To people under your protection,
Öšön tašan xürgeǰ čadna bi.	I am able to cause bad luck.
Sain sanasan xünd čin'	To people living the right way
Sain bünxīg xürgeǰ čadna bi.	I am able to give all the best.
Narīn cagān Dēǰgē čin'	You thin white Deeǰgee,
Ē jailūl, būren mend ū?	Oh dear, are all of them healthy?

Bayar's assistants say:

Mendē, mendē.	They all feel well.
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Bayar says:

Ē jailūl!	Oh dear!
Tungaǰ üǰērēgtī dā!	Clarify and see!

21 Bayar's *dūdлага* 2. "Invocation [to several *ongon*-s] 2." (August 1993).

Ē jailūl, tedū nöxöd min' ē! Mend ū? Oh dear, they, all my companions! Are they healthy?

The assistants of shamaness Bayar answer:

Mendē, mendē.	Healthy, healthy!
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Bum-Očir set a high value on this part of the ritual, holding it equal to other genres (*töröl jüil*) such as the par excellence invocation and the praise.²² He calls it *mendin üg* "greeting words" and after his shaman informants he defined it as "genres (sic!) [performed] during the shamanic ritual" (*ongodīn tailga dax' töröl jüils*). He precisely remarked that this part of the ritual-text is closely connected with the altered state of consciousness: "The protector spirit residing in the shaman's [body] asks about the well-being of the assembled people and the assembled people also respond greeting the protector spirit."²³ As other scholars also emphasised,²⁴ this part of the ritual among the Darkhads contains in several cases real or distorted Tuwa words and phrases. Although this part belongs to the improvised modules, it is also delimited by the tradition, as the texts collected in different times show.

An *ongon* called Tuwa Balǰgaa of the Taiga:

Taigīn Targūl nutag min' dē-xō!	My dwelling, Targal, in the Taiga, hoy!
Tawiad cagān cā mor' min' mend ū?	Are my almost fifty some white reins and horses healthy?
Taigīn Targūl nutag min' dē-xō!	My dwelling, Targal, in the Taiga, hoy!
Tawiād cagān mor' min' [...]	My almost fifty white horses [...]
Yū bolow? Yāǰād ödör bōlōw?	What happened? Why did you shamanise by day?

Shamaness Bayar talks to Balǰgaa in Tuwa (Cātan) language.²⁵

After the presently undeciphered Tuwa or pseudo-Tuwa fragment, the shamaness continues in Darkhad. Rinčen's collection also contains

22 Bum-Očir, *Mongol böǰin jan üil*, pp. 40-45.

23 *Ongod ulāčdā oršōd xursan olū mendig medej, xursan olon č xariud ongodin amar mendig n' aitag baidag*. Bum-Očir, *Mongol böǰin jan üil*, p. 40.

24 Tatár, Magdalena, "Tragic and Stranger Ongons among the Altaic Peoples." In *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Konferenser* 12. (Altaic Studies) 1985, pp. 165-171.

25 We could not identify the supposedly Tuwa word.

texts seemingly recorded *in situ* (or at least texts that contain dialogues) with Tuwa fragments. The most characteristic feature of the following text-fragment is that the assistance and possibly also the experienced audience demand that the spirit talk in Mongolian.

Upon arriving the *ongon* says:

<i>ǰōk bilbēs!</i>	We do not know!
<i>ǰōk bilbēs!</i>	We do not know!
<i>ǰōk, ǰōk, ǰōk,!</i>	No, no, no!
<i>Godnam ǰōk bilbēs,</i>	[...] we do not know!
<i>Yakši, yakši!</i>	Well, well!

The attendance:

<i>Moŋɣolčilaiǰi xaelāl! Ene ɣuiɣur</i>	Tell it to us in Mongolian! We do not
<i>xeliǰ bide medexgüi waen!</i>	know this Uigur language!

The *ongon* Tömörleŋ says:

<i>Ard tümem mini, xara šaraǰü,</i>	Are all the people, the laymen and monks
<i>xaptaǰae dayār amur mende waenü?</i>	in peace, well at this flat world?

Attendance or shaman:

<i>Mende saem baenā! Tanī ɣajarār soniŋ</i>	[They are] well, in health! What is the
<i>yü waen?</i>	news in your land?

Tömörleŋ:

<i>Yüčigü! Taewaŋ saexaŋ saexaŋ waen.</i>	Nothing! Everything is well! [...] We do
<i>God namdar bār, bār, bār! ǰōk</i>	not know [...]. What is here to drink
<i>bilbēs aydaŋ giskiz üx^a tatax^a</i>	and to smoke?
<i>sonin yūdārā yūlae bilē?</i>	
<i>Tatax šipšix^e medexegü bol, napčün ulān</i>	If you do not know [what to] smoke
<i>dünŋšēŋ nereǰi ög! Ganca xoyir</i>	and [how] to fill the pipe, fill the
<i>šipšiy!</i>	pipe with leaves of red tobacco. Let
	me fill it once or twice!

One should fill the pipe with tobacco.

After smoking it, the *ongon* says:

<i>Yakši tawāk yök!</i>	Well, [...] not!
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The shaman and the attendants ask:

<i>Bidni tür^e xüüttičini ar^a talda süji, aex</i>	[For] our children, sitting behind, is there
--	--

ičix ayül waen?

any danger [for them] to be afraid of?

The *ongon*:

<i>Yüčigü, ulix^a čonin aylgü,</i>	There is nothing, there is no danger of a
<i>Uxurux^a xulǰaen ayülgü,</i>	howling wolf,
<i>Xar^a xelle amagü,</i>	There is no danger of retreating thieves,
<i>Bügüd^e saem baena!</i>	There are no quarrels,
	Everything is well!

Khan Tömörleŋ returns:

<i>Xataŋ^k xar^a nančidā awād yir!</i>	Bring your strong, black nectar! ²⁶
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The textual part of “greeting, welcoming” should not be taken for an independent genre, because compared to other genre designations it can not be recited, performed independently, but only as a module inserted into other textual parts (modules) of the invocation (*dūdлага*). The “greeting, welcoming” is a module of the texts that can be interpolated into the *dūdлага*-type text at certain points of the ritual, after invoking, descriptive and enumerative modules.

According to Bum-Očir's study the animal sound is also a separate genre, but, as shown above in the case of the “greeting”, the animal sound is also only a module, inserted upon the spirit's arrival, to describe his/her appearance. Bum-Očir, however, precisely systematized the animal sounds according to the speaker: 1. “the mediator of the spirit, 2. the mount of the spirit, 3. an [animal] transformation of the spirit”.²⁷ He also listed the animals that appear most frequently in one of the above mentioned roles: the cuckoo (Khal., Darkh. *xōxō*), the magpie (Khal. *šāǰgai*, Darkh. *šāǰgai*, *šāǰgā*, *šāǰgā*), the crow (Khal. *xerē*, Darkh. *xerē*, *kerē*), the dog (Khal. *noxoi*, Darkh. *noxoi*, *noxō*), the wolf (Khal., Darkh. *čono*), the lynx (Khal., Darkh. *šilūs*), the bear (Khal. *bāwgai*, Darkh. *bāwgai*, *bāwgā*), the camel (Khal., Darkh. *temē*).²⁸ From the above mentioned animals the sound of the cuckoo, the bear and the lynx appeared during the ritual, the other animals mentioned by Bum-Očir only appeared in the texts and in various roles. Below the context of animal sounds will be presented using the example of a text recorded *in situ* during the ritual

26 *Xan Tömörleŋin dūdлага*. Cf. above.

27 ... *negd, ongodin xelmērč jüč, xoyort, ongodin unā, gurawt ongodin al' negen xuwilgā-xuwisxā* Bum-Očir, *Mongol bögin jan üil*, p. 51.

28 Bum-Očir, *Mongol bögin jan üil*, pp. 52-55.

for blessing at night by shamaness Baljir. Baljir's daughter explains the particular parts of the rituals (the interviewer was the author).²⁹

<i>Ačit sain baš min'</i>	My benevolent, good master!	invocations
<i>Altan šar jamān jāŋ ögsön</i>	Mighty great fathers and mothers	(without in-
<i>Augā ix āw ēj!</i>	Who have shown me your golden yellow way!	voking verbs)
<i>Öndör törin süld!</i>	The <i>süld</i> -charisma of the high state!	
<i>Öndör törsön süldēs</i>	From the highly born <i>süld</i> -charisma	description
<i>Asar ta nart itj,</i>	I came to you, huge ones,	(suff. adv.
<i>Ex bolson jurgān jüil</i>	I begged [from you] the benefit of means	imp. -j, nom
<i>Argān tusāg erj...</i>	For the six kinds of beings who became mothers.	perf. -san)
<i>Buyanī tusig awč irsen</i>	My [protectors] who have the faith of Buddhas and Great gods and	invocation
<i>Burxan, ix tenger jayātnūd min'!</i>	Who brought the benefits of merits!	without in-
<i>Xar sanā, xatū bügdig jailülj</i>	To avert the black intention and all the hardness	voking verbs
<i>Xān tengrīn yos bilē.</i>	Was the habit of the Khan gods.	
[...]	[...]	
<i>Xarsan jayā tenger min'!</i>	My Guardian god of my faith god!	

- *Xengerge coxiōd baina, xengerge coxiōd baina. Xūg, xūg, xūglej baina.*
She beats her drum, she beats her drum. She hoots tu-who, tu-who.

- What kind of bird is this?

- *Šar šuwū bolj baigā yum. Xi yam, xi yam genē.* She becomes an eagle owl. She says *khi-yam, khi-yam*.

- What does it mean?

- *Ene ongodō dūdaŋ baina. Daxiad xūg, xūg, xūg geŋ baina.* She calls her *ongod*-s. She hoots again tu-who, tu-who, tu-who.

Ayang solong damjlagam, You seem to cross the thunder and the
rainbow,

Altan möngön jirgem, You seem to peal like gold and silver,

Baljir's daughter, who assisted in numerous rituals during the last years, identified the kinds of animals and explained that her mother, the shamaness turns into a particular animal, in the above fragment an eagle owl (Khal., Darkh. *šar šuwū*). In the next fragment from the same ritual the eagle-owl appears again, together with a bear and a cuckoo.

29 August 1996.

- *Tengerē ur'j baina. Šar šuwū bolj baina. Örin ongod Ojūrānyam yum.*
She calls her gods. She becomes an eagle-owl. Her own *ongod* is Odsuuraanyam.

- *Xā geŋ bāwgai bolj dūriaŋ baina. Inēj baina. Xōxō bolj xōxōčilj baina.*
Saying *kha*, she becomes a bear and imitates it. She laughs. She becomes a cuckoo and cuckoos.

Xajir xar bawgai The griffon (?) black bear fragment of the descriptive part
Unā min'. Is my mount.

- *Örin ongod orōd baina.* Her own *ongod* enters.

- What kind of *ongod*?

- *Ojūrānyam.* Odsuuraanyam.³⁰

The animal sound modules have been repeated several times during Baljir's ritual, later mostly in the context of the greeting and the spirit's inquiry.

4. The *dūdlaga* also contains the enumeration of requests and the offerings offered for the invited spirit. The module of requests is typical for the *dātgal* (cf. genre typology 1.3.) and *jalbiral* (cf. genre typology 3.1.). This part of the *dūdlaga* has been called by Bayar's family *jalbiral dūdlaga* "prayer-invocation". It is again the phenomenon mentioned above, in that the traditional genre designations are replaced by the name *dūdlaga* or they run parallel with it, using other designations as an attribute cf. Pürew's *tamlaga-dūdlaga*.

Bayar prays (*jalbiral dūdlaga*) to the *ongon*:

<i>Xān-dā būral ēj min'!</i>	My majestic grey-haired mother!
<i>Ajai būral tenger min'!</i>	My respected, grey-haired god!
<i>Ürgüi nomxon jalarč,</i>	You arrive without anger calmly,
<i>Närin cagān Delbē min'!</i>	My thin and white Delbee!
<i>Ogcomgüi dōlgön jalārai!</i>	Arrive without fury, quietly!
<i>Ucārgüi nomxon jalārai!</i>	Arrive without anger, gently!
<i>Altan tuyāgā turgagtan!</i>	Make your golden rays beam! ³¹

Another similar fragment called *jalbiral* from the same *dūdlaga*, Shamaness Bayar answers with a prayer (*jalbiral*):

<i>Xōxō ūlen nōmrōgtōn,</i>	You, whose cover is a blue cloud,
<i>Xaw xar ūlen xuwcastangūd,</i>	You, whose garment is a pitch-black cloud,

30 Ojūrā (Ojūrai yum) is the main protector of shamaness Baljir.

31 Bayar's *dūdlaga* 2.

<i>Xar lusan xamġatangūd,</i>	You, whose assistants are the black dragon-spirits,
<i>Xaltar ūlen nōmrōgtōngūd</i>	You, whose cover is motley black cloud
<i>Awran öršōġ xairla!</i>	You kindly protect [us]!
<i>Altan tuyāgā tusgaġ</i>	You make the golden rays beam,
<i>Aċit būral xōrxōs min'!</i>	My generous, grey-haired dearest ones!
<i>Ā, öršōgtī, šüteġ yawyā,</i>	Oh, protect [us], I will live relying [upon you],
<i>xündelġ yawyā!</i>	I will respect [you]!

The corpus of offerings for the spirits and gods consists of different types:

1. Objects, food, drink, ritual silk scarf (*xadag*).

The shamans often offer parts of sacrificed animals (also those of the possible human sacrifice) or parts of their own body:

<i>Xalūn cusā (P: cusīg) xagalġē.</i>	I have let my warm blood divide and
<i>Xān tenger būgdīg undlūġē.</i>	Gave to drink to all the majestic gods!
<i>Bülēn cusīg būlġē.</i>	I boiled lukewarm blood and
<i>Būgd, būgd tengerīg undlūġē.</i>	Gave to drink to two million gods of the
<i>Jüldenī xoyir sayan tenger undalġē.</i>	<i>dsüld</i> -gods (P: <i>Sülde</i>)! ³²

Sanžeev published an invocation that was recorded *in situ*, in which the spirit receiving the offered food, drink and scarf explains how he likes the offerings. The following fragment is the spirit's part of the dialogue between the shaman and the invoked spirit.³³

The spirit starts to dance:

<i>Naigūr-naigūr naigūrdayā!</i>	Tanzen wir den <i>Najgur-Najgur</i> !
<i>Naemār gürehen hanġirga-mni!</i>	Ihr, meine in acht Zöpfen geflochtenen Haare!
<i>Günxūr-günxūr günxūrdeyē!</i>	Tanzen wir den <i>Günchūr-Günchūr</i> !
<i>Gurbār gürehen hanġirga-mni!</i>	Ihr, meine in drei Zöpfen gewundenen Haare!
<i>Ulān xōlē-mni sānxadabal -</i>	Meine herrliche Kehle ist ausgetrocknet -
<i>Undan-seiden xeregtēl!</i>	Einen Teetrunke habe ich wahrlich nötig!

32 *Xar tengerin dūdlaga*. "Invocation to Black god". Cf. Poppe, N., *Mongolische Volksdichtung. Sprüche, Lieder, Märchen und Heldensagen. Khalkha-mongolische Texte mit deutscher Übersetzung, einer Einleitung und Anmerkungen*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag 1955, pp. 274-275. Sodnom quoted the same sample text with some corrections, cf. Sodnom, B., "Mongolīn xarīn jūgīn bōgīn dūdlagīn tuxai". In *Studia Mongolica* IV, (1962), pp. 59-110. [On the Invocations of Mongolian Black Shamans] on pp. 89-90. P means Poppe's variant.

33 *Xorin xoyor xixel*. "Two Khorī Maids" – an invocation in dialogue. Cf. Sandschejew, G. D., "Weltanschauung und Schamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten I". In *Anthropos* XXVII (1927), pp. 576-613, on pp. 604-605.

The spirit receives some milk-tea and a drag from a pipe with tobacco.

<i>Ulān sā – undā-mni,</i>	Du roter Tee – du mein Trunk,
<i>Ulān tamsa – hebšilge-mni!</i>	Du roter Tabak – du mein "Sauger"!

The spirit drinks and smokes and follows:

<i>Tamsaša abga-mni,</i>	Mein Onkel – der Raucher,
<i>Arsaša axadā-mni!</i>	Meine Tante – die Trinkerin!
<i>Müngün tobšo übertim,</i>	Der Silberknopf auf meiner Brust,
<i>Münxe nere-hurag-mni!</i>	Der ewige Name – mein Ruhm!
<i>Altan tobšo ardlm</i>	Der goldene Knopf auf meinem Rücken,
<i>Altan nere hurag mi!</i>	Der Ehrenname (der 'goldene') – mein Ruhm!
<i>Zobxorxodo xōlē-mni!</i>	Meine schluchzende Kehle,
<i>Zobxodo beyē-mni!</i>	Mein leidender Leib!
<i>Xeherxede xōlē-mni!</i>	Meine schluchzende Kehle,
<i>Halganxdā beyē-mni!</i>	Mein zuckender Leib!

The spirit drinks the prepared milk brandy in one swallow:

<i>Tologe mini übednelda -</i>	Mein Köpfchen tut mir weh –
<i>Torgon palād xeregtēlda!</i>	Ein Seidentuch habe ich nötig!
<i>Aiyūn yōyō! Aiyūn yōyō!</i>	O wehe, O wehe!

The wife hands a (red) silk kerchief to the shaman, who covers his head with it:

<i>Māla-mini übedneldā -</i>	Mein Schädel tut mir weh –
<i>Mangad palād xeregtēlda!</i>	Ein russisches Tuch benötige ich!
<i>Aiyūn yōyō! Aiyūn yōyō!</i>	O wehe, O wehe!

This kind of accepting the offerings by the spirit, performed in dialogue form by the shaman, is called *nexel üg* "peremptory words" in Bum-Očir's material, and is considered by him as a separate genre.³⁴ He gives several further examples (some of them from his own fieldwork material) of the short dialogue in which the spirit asks and receives the offerings: tea, tobacco, alcoholic beverage, and also sugar. In some cases the spirit would require an object that used to be decisive in his/her life.

2. Sound, smell, taste, movements of particular rituals.

A good example to illustrate movements during the ritual is the written version of the Dayan Deerkh *dūdlaga* performed by shamaness Amarġargal.

34 Bum-Očir, *Mongol bōgīn jan üil*, pp. 45-51.

<i>Bayin sūx xūlgī čin'</i>	I call you sitting and holding
<i>Barin sūj dūdī!</i>	You rich mount for sitting!
<i>Dalimb xar tašūrī čin'</i>	I call you sitting supporting myself
<i>Tulun sūj dūdī!</i>	On a black drill whip!
<i>Altın saixn orgoig</i>	I call you sitting and wearing
<i>Amssn [=ömsn] sūj dūdī!</i>	The golden, nice headgear!
<i>Möngön sāxn oroigīn'</i>	I call you sitting and wearing
<i>Amssn [=ömsn] sūj dūdī!</i>	The silver nice headgear!
<i>Öxn xoyir öwdgō</i>	I call you sitting and kneeling
<i>Sögdön sūj dūdī!</i>	On my two fat knees!
<i>Öngön cagān tolgōgō</i>	I call you sitting and bowing
<i>Böxöljūlen sūj dūdī!</i>	My head white in colour!
<i>Amnixa cagān šūdīg</i>	I call you sitting and flashing
<i>Yaraljūlan sūj dūdī!</i>	My white teeth in my mouth!
<i>Alag xoyir nüdē</i>	I call you sitting and rolling
<i>Ergeljūlen sūj dūdī!</i>	My hazel eyes!
<i>Dugarax xōlō</i>	I call you sitting and opening my mouth
<i>Amā amgaljūlan sūj dūdī!</i>	With my resounding voice! ³⁵

The list of different objects offered for the invoked transcendental beings are enumerated in more detail in the texts influenced by Buddhism.

On the basis of the old and the newest material, we can conclude that *dūdлага* incorporates fragments of traditional folklore genres, such as the *magtāl* “praise”, the *xarāl*, *jūxel* “curse”, fragments of *beleg demberelīn* *üg* “good wish”, and includes non-generic fragments, such as animal sounds, calling exclamations, bargaining dialogues with the spirits; at the present stage of the research it seems that this term is going to replace the variety of other designations in shamanic spheres.

At this point mention must also be made of the obvious influence of the Buddhist genre Skr. *sādhana*, Tib. *sgrub-thabs* lit. “means of achievement”³⁶ on the *dūdлага*, and especially on those of yellow shamans. The exhaustive description of the invited spirits or gods, the presentation of the union of spirits with the shaman probably developed in some yellow shamanic texts upon the influence of *sādhana*-s. The monks recited and

35 Fragment of the Oirad shamaness Amarjargal's *dūdлага* to Dayan Dērx.

36 On the genre *sādhana* in Tibetan Buddhism cf. Cozort, Daniel, “Sādhana (sGrub thabs): Means of Achievement for Deity Yoga”. In *Tibetan Literature. Studies in Genre*. Ed. José Ignacio Cabezón – Roger R. Jackson. Ithaka, New York, Snow Lion 1996, pp. 331-343.

composed folk religious and even shamanic texts, as in the case of our Dayan Dērx invocation recited by lama Galbābadrax.³⁷

37 Cybikov also quoted a certain text recorded by P. P. Batorov from an Alar-Buriad lama, who used in his rituals a shamanic invocation (kamlanie), but Gužir tengeri is turned into Mahākāla. “... odna molitva zapisannaja P. P. Batorovym u alarskogo lamy, gde šamanskoe kamlanie peredelano na lamskij lad, a buddijskoe božestvo Mahakala ob'edineno s šamanskim Gužir-tengri.” Cybikov, G. C., “Šamanizm u burjat-mongolov”. In *Izbrannye trudy. O central'nom Tibete, Mongolii i Burjatii*. 2. Novosibirsk, Izdatel'stvo Nauka, Sibirskoe Otdelenie 1981, pp. 169-177, on p. 174.