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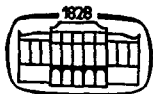
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ACTA ORIENT. HUNG.

A MONGOLIAN HUNTING RITUAL

BY

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The Mongols' chief means of livelihood was cattle-breeding, supplemented by hunting, that was developed mainly among hunting-tribes living around Lake Baikal.¹

There are data given on the fact, that the Mongols of Genghiz provided themselves with meat by hunting,² and when the campaigners were not at war, chase served as military exercise.³ The purpose of hunting was not only to supply people with food, but fur was an important commercial product transported to the West.⁴ The reports of Rubruck, Plano Carpini and Marco Polo frequently mention chase that was practised even by women.⁵

As all the main events of life, marriage, birth, death, the first cutting of a child's hair, hunting was also accompanied by rituals to gain the support of good deities and spirits, or to protect the hunters against the harmful effect of evil ones. Plano Carpini describes a sacrifice made with the heart of a killed animal.⁶ Rašid-ad Din tells us of a ceremony when somebody has killed an animal for the first time, the blood and the fat of the animal were rubbed on his finger. This custom is well known among Juu Uda, Chahar, Torgut tribes to this day.⁷

¹ B. Vladimircov, *Le régime social des Mongols. L'économie des anciens Mongols. La forêt et la steppe*, Paris 1948, pp. 39—56; A. Mostaert, *Matériaux ethnographiques relatifs aux Mongols Ordos: CAJ II*, p. 286; V. A. Riasanovsky, *Fundamental Principles of Mongol Law*, Tientsin 1937, pp. 94—95.

² P. Pelliot, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Paris 1949, pp. 6, 17, 19, 57, 66, 109.

³ M. N. Changalov, *Sobranie Sočinenij*, Ulan-Ude 1959, I. p. 48.

⁴ F. Risch, *Wilhelm von Rubruk, Reise zu den Mongolen 1253—1255*, Leipzig 1934, pp. 53—59.

⁵ F. Risch, *Johann de Plano Carpini, Geschichte der Mongolen und Reisebericht 1245—1247*, Leipzig 1930, pp. 105—106; H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdom and Marvels of the East*, London 1921, pp. 397—398, 406, 407.

⁶ F. Risch, *Plano Carpini*, pp. 76—80.

⁷ J. A. Boyle, *A Mongol Hunting Ritual: Die Jagd bei den altaischen Völkern, Vorträge der VIII. Permanent International Altaistic Conference vom 30.8. bis 4.9. 1965: Asiatische Forschungen, Band 26*, Wiesbaden 1968, pp. 1—3.

Hunting rituals were performed before starting for a chase as well as after getting home with a rich game-bag, but they did not stop during the pursuit itself. At the beginning of the hunting, the shaman, or some other competent man executes a ritual while reciting song.⁸ Sanžeev renders an account of a practice of the Buriats, who believe a chase can not be successful without an offering. Hunters, when going out to shooting, wear their best suits emphasizing that they are guests in the wood and really do not attempt to kill the beasts.⁹ Changalov mention another ritual of this kind: the shaman pours a drink-offering to the god, asks for favourable weather, and after drinking tea, all the people participating in the pursuit throw the empty cups up into the air, and the positions in which they fall back, show who will stand a fair chance.¹⁰

Damdin publishes two rituals: *Angijn san* and *Manachan têngérjijn tachilga*, and describes the practice that was accompanied by these songs. He also speaks of an *obo* of the hunters.¹¹

These ceremonies accompanied by prayers addressed to the Lord of forests and animals, will cause the beasts to arrive at once.¹² In certain cases the motive of these actions is not only the hope of a rich bag, but the fear of the animals' revenge, because it is believed that animals, like man, are endowed with souls which survive the death of their bodies.¹³ Siberian people knell, address the Lord of forests, and emphasize that they know quite well that he is the owner of the woods, they do not want to kill him, and ask him to let them go away freely.¹⁴ In some places hunters prepare an incense-offering, then ride three times round the fire in the direction of the sun.¹⁵ In the evening, the Buriat bard lays down a white felt in the yurt, erects burning twigs of juniper, sticks an arrow into the felt, and puts a cup of milk or wine

⁸ At first the incense offerings used to be performed by shamans, but later anyone, who could read might recite them. C. Bawden, *Mongol Notes II, Some «Shamanist» Hunting Rituals from Mongolia: CAJ XII*, p. 105; B. Sodnom, *Mongolyn Charyn Zügiin Bôgiin Duudlagyn Tuchai: Studia Mongolia IV*, pp. 1–7; Changalov, *op. cit.*, I, p. 24.

⁹ *Alamži mergen, Burjatskij épos, stichotvornyj perevod* Ivana Novikova, *vvodnaja statija i kommentarii* G. D. Sanžeeva, Moskva–Leningrad 1936, pp. IX–X.

¹⁰ Changalov, *op. cit.*, I, p. 66.

¹¹ J. Damdin, *Buural Ančny Têmdêglêl*, Ulan Bator 1963, pp. 111–117.

¹² D. Banzarov, *Černaja Vera*, St. Petersburg 1891, p. 41.

¹³ J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion. Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, II. London 1920, p. 204.

¹⁴ U. Harva, *Die religiösen Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker*, Helsinki 1938, p. 408.

¹⁵ S. Badamchatan, *Chövsgöliin Darchad Jastan: Studia Ethnographica III*, 1. p. 111; C. Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

nearby, then recites a prayer while the first light of dawn appears at the horizon.¹⁶

Even scapulimancy was used during hunting.¹⁷

In connection with hunting there are precepts that tell you not merely what to do but also what to leave undone. The killed fox has to be left outside the door during the night, while hunters offer food to the god.¹⁸ The meat of the animal to be sacrificed must not be taken into the yurt through the door but through another narrow opening between the flaps, or with other tribes, through the smoke-hole.¹⁹

Badamchatan says that only the killing of bear and elk was accompanied by rituals, they were not necessary when shooting other animals.²⁰ In sacrificing a beast, the bones, eyes, ears, heart, lungs, sexual parts, and a morsel of flesh from each limb are regularly put aside. Then after the remainder of the flesh has been eaten, the bones and the rest are laid in anatomical order on a high place, e.g. on the top of the yurt, or with other tribes they are buried just like a dead man in the belief that the god, to whom the animal was sacrificed, would reclothe the bones with flesh and restore the animal to enter into the supernatural world of the dead.²¹

Buriats cook the head of the bear, then cover it with the branches of a felled birch-tree.²² The habit, observed especially by Mongolian peoples, of stuffing the skin of a sacrificed animal, or stretching it on a framework, point rather to a belief in a resurrection of the killed beast.²³

Bawden translates one of Rintchen's texts, a magic formula for putting a spell on a wolf, that orders as follow: put salt, cast iron and nine black stones on the head of the beast which had been seized, wrap this in black cloth, tie it up with a striped rope and bury it under the threshold.²⁴

Accounts of hunting sacrifices list what objects are offered to the Lord of beasts: blood, flesh, milk, tea, wine, juniper, incense-offering. Although original texts give further information:

¹⁶ Sanžeev, *op. cit.*, pp. IX–X. The author describes a hunting ritual among the Buriats, who offer milk and fat to the idol, the protector of hunters, and they take it with themselves out to shooting. *Weltauschnung und Shamanismus der Alaren-Burjaten: Anthropolos XXII*, pp. 600–601.

¹⁷ H. H. Vreeland, *Mongol Community and Kinship Structure*, New Haven 1957, p. 222.

¹⁸ U. Harva, *op. cit.*, p. 427.

¹⁹ U. Harva, *op. cit.*, p. 414.

²⁰ Badamchatan, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

²¹ J. G. Frazer, *Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion, Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, II, pp. 257–258.

²² Changalov, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 52–53.

²³ Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 257–258.

²⁴ Bawden, *op. cit.*, pp. 118–119.

Nuyusu-yi čini beledüy-e

.....
Jiyasu-yi čini beledüy-e

.....
Görögestü-yi čini beledüy-e

.....
*Sün-i čini beledüy-e*²⁵

An offering of the fox from Ordos, recently published by H. Serruys says that when people killed the foxes, they made them into an offering, their heads, eyes, noses, tongues, legs, hearts, lungs, livers, stomachs, necks, bones, flesh, blood, hair, joints, spine, ribs, bodies were sacrificed to purify the uncleanness of several things.²⁶

Damdinsüring publishes an *Ang-un sang* that also gives the list of objects to be sacrificed:

*seligün agi, arča, yulir, tosun-iyar öndür ayula-yin orgil-ača ene altan dalaly-a sang-i talbiyul-a aliba üyiles öbesüben бүтүкү буй.*²⁷

G. Kara has translated two Oirat hunting songs from Vladimircov's collection. One of them mentions that before a chase hunters offer a sacrifice with thirteen smokes of incense *arun gurun sangar bayisünä*.²⁸

Among hunters there is a strong belief that while out shooting they must keep to themselves and be silent. To speak of the animals is particularly forbidden; moreover, hunters have to express their sorrow that they will return from the chase without prey, otherwise they are not able to slaughter the beasts. There are hunters who regard the pronouncing of the proper name of the chased animal an omen of evil portent; if these names are mentioned, they return to the village.²⁹

This custom of name-taboo is mainly developed in connection with fearful, wild animals such as bear, wolf, fox, etc. The natives of Siberia are unwilling to call a bear a bear, they speak of him as the «little old man», «the master of the forest», «the sage», «the respected one». Some who are more familiar call him «my cousin».³⁰

²⁵ B. Rintchen, *Les matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme Mongol*, I. Wiesbaden 1959, p. 41.

²⁶ H. Serruys, *Offering of the Fox. A Shamanist Text from Ordos: Zentralasiatischen Studien* 4, Wiesbaden 1970, pp. 318–319.

²⁷ Če. Damdinsüring, *Mongyol uran jokiyal-un degefi jayun bilig orosibai*, Ulan Bator 1959, p. 123.

²⁸ G. Kara, *Chants de chasseur oïrates dans le recueil de Vladimircov: Collectanea Mongolica: Asiatische Forschungen* 17, Wiesbaden 1966, pp. 101–102.

²⁹ Badamchatan, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–113.

³⁰ U. Harva, *op. cit.*, pp. 407–408, 427; Frazer, *The Golden Bough, Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London 1922, p. 398.

Chuvash people call the wolf *tukmak*, *tokmak* «beater, a little slab of wood» believing that then they can kill him easily.³¹

Speaking of the wolf, Oguz people do not say *böri* «wolf», but *kurt* «earth-worm».³²

Among Mongol hunters it is also customary to use a special language, avoiding the words in ordinary use, believing that animals understand human speech. Each territory has its peculiar aversion to one or more of the words, creating a sort of special language of the hunters belonging to the same tribe.³³

Our text also refers to certain animals only by nicknames, and we have good reason to think that it is not only for the sake of literary ornament but here we have limiting taboo expressions for the real name. The substitute words can be used with various attributes. The attribute is the name of a colour:

šara üsütüi «those with yellow hair». The attribute *šara* can be found combined with other nouns referring to several kinds of animals: in the Khor dialect of Buriat there occurs *šara arāta*³⁴ meaning «fox»; in Mongol *šara maqai* stands for «bear».³⁵ Although *šara* can stand together with the name of the ermine, Bur. *šara üen*,³⁶ of the otter, Bur. *šara chaljuun*,³⁷ or of the fox Mong. *šira ünegen*,³⁸ it may refer to a certain kind of wolf as well Bur. *goloi šara čono*. This rich variety of animals described with the help of the attribute *šara* make us uncertain about the exact meaning of the expression *sara üsütüi*.

There is found a phrase of a similar type:

qara görügesün, that is used with its development *kötelfü ülü bolqu qara görügesün* «black beasts, that can not be led». *qara görügesün* is wide-spread

³¹ Gy. Mészáros, *A csuvas ősvallás emlékei* [Monuments of the Chuvash Religion], Budapest 1909, p. 93.

³² J.-P. Roux, *Tängri, Essai sur le ciel-dieu des peuples altaïques: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 150 (1956), p. 173.

³³ G. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

³⁴ N. Poppe (*Some Mongolian Names of Wild Beasts: CAJ IX*, p. 164) writes that it is the name of a certain kind of fox, i.e. «red fox» lit. «yellow fox». At the same place he points out that the original meaning of *arāta* was «predatory beast» and it is probably a taboo word, i.e. a substitute for the older word or words for fox, which were not to be used. Though we have data, when the word *ariyatu*, *ariyatan* is listed as an equivalent of *görügesün* (*WTCWC*, p. 9254) and it always means grass-eater animals. (Cévél-Luvsanbaldan, *Mongol chelnij tovč tajlbar toli*, Ulan Bator 1966, p. 154). This fact also makes us sure, that words used to refer to an animal, show a great variety according to dialects or they are different even in one dialect too.

³⁵ Kow., p. 1519; *WTCWC*, p. 4245.

³⁶ K. M. Čeremisov, *Burjat-Mongolsko-Russkii Slovarj*, Moskva 1951, p. 691.

³⁷ Čeremisov, p. 691.

³⁸ Luvsandэндэв, p. 645; cf. Damdinsüring, *Mongyol uran jokiyal-un degefi jayun bilig orosibai*, Ulan Bator 1959, p. 122.

³⁹ Čeremisov, p. 691: «stepnoj ryžij volk»

for «bear». Mo. *qara görügesün*;⁴⁰ Kh. *char göröös*;⁴¹ Bur. *chara gürööhén*;⁴² Kalm. *çar görēs*;⁴³ Dag. *çar gürēs*;⁴⁴ Shera Yögür *çara guresun*;⁴⁵ cf. Bur. *sagaan chara gürööhén* «white bear»;⁴⁶ *qara ötege*.⁴⁷

Another attributive compound referring to the desired beast of the chase: *kögefü ülü bolqu köke görügesün* «blue beasts that cannot be chased». The phrase seems to belong strictly together, as it is used in other hunting rituals too.⁴⁸ *köke görügesün* seems to mean «fox» or «wolf». In the Khor dialect of Buriat there can be found *küke arāta* «steppe fox»;⁴⁹ Bur. *küke šono*⁵⁰ «grey wolf». Damdinsürüng's *Ang-un sang* gives *kögegefü ülü bolqu köke činu-a*,⁵¹ while there is *kögefü ülü bolqu köke noqai* in Rintchen's text.⁵² The word *noqai* generally stands for «wolf». Ord. *göxö noxō* «grey dog» denotes «wolf». Khor., Alar. Bur. *tengerin noxō*, Ord. *noxō šiwi*, *noxō gaḡā*, Khor. *χērīn noxō*, *χūdōgin noxoi*, Alar Bur. *burḡani noxoi*.⁵³

A further taboo-name of the types discussed before:

boru görügesün «grey beast». means «roe» in the living dialects. Mo. *boro görügesün* «roe»;⁵⁴ Kh. *bor göröös*;⁵⁵ Bur. *boro gürööhén*;⁵⁶ Kalm. *boro görēs*;⁵⁷ though the word *boro* alone refers to «dog» in Ordos.⁵⁸

A text of Rintchen's collection gives an expression, in which the everyday name of the animal is pronounced together with its taboo-name: *aman çayan arḡali* «white-muzzled wild sheep».⁵⁹

It should be remarked that in the cases mentioned above the attribute

⁴⁰ Kow., p. 826.

⁴¹ Luvsandëndëv, p. 512.

⁴² Čeremisov, p. 549.

⁴³ G. J. Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki 1935, p. 168.

⁴⁴ Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁴⁵ Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁴⁶ Čeremisov, p. 182.

⁴⁷ Damdinsürüng, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁴⁸ *Kögefü ülü bolqu köke noqai*, Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁴⁹ Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁵⁰ Čeremisov, p. 620.

⁵¹ *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁵² *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁵³ Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 166–167; Changalov also mentions that Buriats call the wolf

tengerin noxō (III, p. 25.)

⁵⁴ Rintchen's text gives *boru görügesün buyru soḡu*, see *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁵⁵ Luvsandëndëv, p. 123.

⁵⁶ Čeremisov, pp. 115, 182.

⁵⁷ Ramstedt, p. 138.

⁵⁸ A. Mostaert, *Dict. ord.*, p. 80.

⁵⁹ Rintchen *op. cit.*, p. 47; cf. *ama sagān uxā galda* «white-muzzled swift bay» (Changalov, *op. cit.*, I, p. 14), and *amn çayān arḡali* «l'argali à bouche blanche»: Kara, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–107.

was the name of a colour, but we also have examples where the substitute is an expression referring to a part of the animal's body.

dalan-tan «ones with big napes/shoulder blades» i.e. «the fat ones». There is a greeting of the New Year (*çayan sara*) that clearly refers to fat animals with this expression: *daaga dalantai bjaruu bulčintai ond orloo*.⁶⁰ In Rintchen's texts it occurs two times: *qatayir ügei dalantai* «some of your unemaciated, plump-withered ones», and the other: *dalang yeketü maral* «the big-withered maral», that makes it possible for us to suppose, that animals here in question are deer.⁶¹

The substitute is a word characterizing the horns of the animal:

eber ügei muqur «hornless smoothheaded ones», where the same expression is repeated twice in different words. Other hunting rituals also give the same phrase.⁶² Some more taboo-names can also be found in other texts referring to the horn: *dereger ebertü* «one with projecting horns»;⁶³ *derdeger eber* «projecting horn»;⁶⁴ *sereger ebertü oyon-a* «the spreading-horned antelope»;⁶⁵ *atuyar ebertü* «ones with twisted horns»;⁶⁶ *aydar ebertü uyalḡa* «the stunted-horned mountain-ram»;⁶⁷ *dalgai ebertei* «large-horned one».⁶⁸

Where the tail is characterized:

etüg ügei segültü «ones with no dung on their tails» The substitute occurs in a *Manaqan tngri-yin takily-a* as well: *ötüg ügei segültei*, that Bawden translates «some of the homeless tailed ones». The expression can be found in the form: *öge ügei segültei*, where the word *öge* is at present unresolved, but it evidently seems to be the same taboo-name in question.⁶⁹

Poppe writes: according to Potanin the Buriats in general call the wolf simply *sultü* i.e. *sülte* «the one with the tail».⁷⁰

Another limiting name used in hunting rituals in order to avoid the real name which has become taboo:

urtu segültü ariyatan «long tailed beast» where the word *ariyatan* is also

⁶⁰ Cêvêl—Luvsanbaldan, p. 183.

⁶¹ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 43; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

⁶² Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁶³ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 47; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁶⁴ W. Heissig, *Mongolische volksreligiöse und folkloristische Texte*, Wiesbaden

1966, p. 65.

⁶⁵ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 47; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁶⁶ W. Heissig, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

⁶⁷ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁶⁸ Badamchatan, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁶⁹ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 43; Bawden, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 126. For *ötög* see: Cêvêl—Luvsanbaldan, *Mongol chëlnij toḡ tajlbar toḡ: malyn baas, argalyn chëmdëg*, p. 448. e ~ ö: *ebesün ~ öbesün* «hay», *ebüdüg ~ öbüdüg* «knee» *edür ~ ödür* «day», Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*, Helsinki 1955, pp. 47–48.

⁷⁰ Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 168. The author here gives a rich list of *süülte* with several attributives.

a substitute perhaps for «wolf»,⁷¹ but in any case it seems probable that the animal referred to here is carnivour. Selenga Bur. *urta sülte*, Western Bur. *uta hülte*, Barguzin Bur. *gonzogoi hülte*, Ord. *mudu sültü* «the stick tailed», also simply *sülte* may mean «wolf». ⁷² But we should mention here, that there are other data indicating that *sültei amitan* is a kind of deer with a long tail.⁷³

Other texts furnish similar types of substitutes emphasizing the ear of the beast:

serteger čikitü činu-a «erect-eared wolf»;⁷⁴ *serten čikitü ariyatu* «carnivores with erect ears»;⁷⁵ *delden čikitü* «protruding ears»;⁷⁶ while Badamchatan's text gives: *dalban čichtei* «large eared».⁷⁷ The word *čikitei* seems to be a substitute for *qulan*.⁷⁸

Expressions giving further characterizing features of the animal:

qabar-tayan ünür-tei «those who have scent in their nose»⁷⁹ or a similar one: *qabar-tayan ayur-tai* «those with breath in their noses».⁸⁰ cf. Ord. *sārīn xamartu* «the one who has a shagreen muzzle».⁸¹

qalayun sine silüdtei «those with warm new saliva».⁸²

qalayun sigesü-tei «those with warm urine».⁸³

Our text gives: *sildeg taryun miq-a-tan* «the chosen ones with fat meat»; cf. *šildeg targan šar*.⁸⁴

qašar ügei qulang «bridle-less wild ass».⁸⁵ We have *šorig ügei qašar ügei* «the bridleless ones that are cowardly» The phrase mentioned before makes it probable that the meaning of this taboo-name is *qulang*, though cf. *qašar ügei ötege* «bridleless bears».⁸⁶

⁷¹ *arāta* «wolf» (hunters' term). Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁷² Poppe, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁷³ *süültéj amitan*: *zéléréj adıl bolood süül urt négén züjl góróos, Cévél—Luvsanbal-dan*, p. 498.

⁷⁴ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁷⁵ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁷⁶ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁷⁷ Badamchatan, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁷⁸ The word occurs in Geser (xyl.V.36a): *mör deger-e činu olan čikitei-le bayıfu*, and later: *mör deger-e-ni olan qulan čikitei bayınam afu*. These parallel sentences make probable that the animal here in question is *qulan*. We find a further evidence in an Aga-Khori Buriat text: *urda nege sagta nege yixe gub'i talada nege xula šigetei, nege šono, nege širē ene gurba axa dū bolōd baiba ...* (N. Poppe, *Burjat-mongol'skij foljklornyj i dialektologičeskij sbornik*, Moskva-Leningrad 1963, p. 36).

⁷⁹ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁸⁰ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁸¹ Mostaert, *Dict. ord.*, p. 330.

⁸² Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

⁸³ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁸⁴ Cévél—Luvsanbaldan, p. 846.

⁸⁵ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁸⁶ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

egür ügei noyturuyu «the nest-less steppe-goose».

Our text: *šayufai ügei šojig qasin* «the lazy ones that wander alone».

oyotur qangsiyar-tu «snub muzzled ones».⁸⁷

Some expressions seem to refer not simply to the animal, but indicate the great size of it:

ergün yeke görügesün «which are too big to be lifted».

toyon-du ülü baytaqu toluyai-tu «whose heads will not fit the pot».⁸⁸

ergefü ülü dayaqu beyetü «whose bodies cannot be turned round»

kötöljü ülü bolqu qar-a görügesün «black beasts that cannot be led».⁸⁹

kögefü ülü bolqu köke görügesün «blue beasts that cannot be chased».⁹⁰

Parallel texts offer a great variety of this type: *egüden-dü ülü baytaqu eber-tü*⁹¹ «whose horns will not pass the door»; *qašayarlafu ülü bolqu qara ötege* «the black bear, that cannot be bridled»; *qariju ülü bolqu qandayai görügesün*⁹² «the elk, that can not be turned back»; *saysirču ülü bolqu sir-a gölügen*⁹³ «the pup that cannot be settled»; *toquju ülü bolqu jušayan* «numerous ones that cannot be saddled».⁹⁴

This great variety of taboo-names offered by only as few as 10 texts, can be used as an argument for the fact that they were very much employed in Mongolia. We cannot be sure of their exact meaning, because some animals have quite different names in individual languages or even dialects, but sometimes we have indications that a certain beast is meant.

The manuscript of the hunting ritual to which the present paper is devoted is in the private possession of G. Kara, who most generously put it at my disposal. The MS is small: measuring 17×6 cm, and consists of 6 leaves with 9 lines on every page except the last one where we find 8 lines. It is written in black on yellowish paper made up of sheets pasted together. The writing is completely legible and by the same hand throughout with calamus, and with corrections added here and there. The pagination runs in Mongolian figures in the left-hand margin of the verso side.

The texts published by Rintchen originated from the Northern part of Central Mongolia; on the basis of similarity we may suppose our manuscript to come from the same territory.

⁸⁷ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 43; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

⁸⁸ For the same expression see: Damdinsürüng, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁸⁹ For a similar expression see: *kötöljü ülü bolqu šara ünege* Damdinsürüng, *op. cit.*, p. 122. «yellow fox that cannot be led».

⁹⁰ cf. *kögegefü ülü bolqu köke činu-a*, Damdinsürüng, *op. cit.*, p. 122. «the blue wolf that cannot be chased».

⁹¹ Damdinsürüng, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁹² Damdinsürüng, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁹³ Damdinsürüng, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁹⁴ Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Bawden, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

Transcription

[1a] *Manaḡaqan-u sang orusiba :*[1b] *óm ā hūm : óm ā hūm : óm ā hūm :**Basuyin basuyin**Ariyun tengri-yin oron-ača**Qan Qormustu tengri**Deger-e yiren yisün tengri-ner ba**Altan delekei doloyan Etügen Eke**Deger-e orod-un tengri delekei-yin eḡed bḡgede kiged :**Asuri tengri yaḡar-ača isitei törüḡsen [2a]**Görügesün-ü eḡen yeke Manaḡaqan tengri terigüten**Ariyun ene takil-un oron-dur iren soyurḡ-a :**Ilete beled-ün sedkil-iyer qubilyaḡsan**Ene takil-un čiyulyan-i**Erketü yeke tengri-ner-de bḡḡde-dür ergümüi :**Eneren joḡuḡlayad bida bḡgede nökör selte-yin**Eril küsel bḡgede-yi [2b] sayitur qangyan soyurḡ-a :**Ariyun sayıqan ünürtün-i [= ünürtüi] nayirayuluḡsan ene sang-un takil-ıyan**Aya [= auya] küčütü Qormustu yirin yisün tengri-yi arılamui [= ariyulamui] :**Alıba yeke baḡ-a görügesün-ü eḡed-i ariyulamui :**Küsegse-i bḡtegeḡci tengir-ner-i ariyulamui : [3a]**Qan tengri-ece isitei törüḡsen**Qayıraqan Manaḡaqan-dur ariyun takil takımuı :**Erketü tengri-ece isitei törüḡsen**Erke yeketü Manaḡaqan-da ariyun takil takımuı :**Alıba görügesün-i erke-ber minu bolıaḡu**Alı sanagsan üilesi minu bḡtegen soyurḡ-a :**Ölḡei-tü Manaḡaqan [3b] tengri čimadur ḡalbarin öčimüi :**Öčigsen öčün [= öčig-]-yi minu bayaḡ-un bayıḡu nisün egeḡü [?] :**Eḡel Qasın kesig-ıyen ene edür öḡḡn soyurḡ-a :**Qayıluyısan möngḡn beyetü Manaḡaqan minu |**Qas erdeni metü beyetü**Qan Manaḡaqan minu**Qamuy görügesün-ü [4a] eḡen Manaḡaqan**Qormoy-yin čisun arılqu-yin urıda**Qori yuči-yi öḡḡḡci**Qan Manaḡaqan minu :**Öčigsen öčig-yi minu jöb geküle**Toyon-du ulü baḡtaqu toluyai-(tu)**Ergeḡü ulü daḡaḡu beyetü**Ergün yeke görügesün-eceben öḡḡn soyurḡ-a :**Öḡümür Manaḡaqan minu : [4b]**Dalan-tan-ecegen öḡḡn soyurḡ-a :**3-ta qurui-la.**Qaḡar ügei qulan-ecegen öḡḡn soyurḡ-a :**3-ta qurui-la**Eber ügei muḡur-ıyan öḡḡn soyurḡ-a**3-ta qurui-la.**Etüg ügei segültü-ecegen öḡḡn soyurḡ-a :**3-ta +**Kögeḡü ulü bolqu köke [5a] görügesün-ıyen öḡḡn soyurḡ-a :**3-ta qurui-la**Kötelḡü ulü bolqu qar-a görügesün-ıyen öḡḡn soyurḡ-a :**3-ta qurui-la**Joriḡ ügei qaḡaḡar-ačaban öḡḡn soyurḡ-a :**Gurban-ta qurui-la**Jaḡuḡai ügei joḡıḡ qaḡın-ačaban öḡḡn soyurḡ-a : : [5b]**3-ta qurui-la :**Öḡümür Manaḡaqan tengri minu**Öčigsen öčig-yi minu jöb geküle**Boru görügesün-i qudurḡ-a segül-ıyer oroyul :**Siledeg taryun miḡ-a-tan-i jöb yanḡuyulayul :**Šara üsütüi-yi buruyı böḡtürge**Nıyquı-dur nomuḡan bolḡ-a : [6a]**Geteküi-dü geneken bolḡ-a :**Qarbuḡui-dur mergen bolḡ-a :**Qayıraqan Manaḡaqan čamai takiḡsan-u küčün-ıyer**Qan Qormustu yiren yisün tengri ibegeḡü**Qamuy orod-un tengri deleke-yin eḡed tedküḡü**Qamuy küsegse küsel-i minu bḡte<'>gen soyurḡ-a : :**Qan Manaḡaqan [6b] minu**ḡaḡıḡu olḡa-yi inaḡsi (öḡtügei) :**Doıuyı oroyul : : irekü olḡa-yi yar-dur**ḡayıḡamsıḡ-tu Manaḡaqan minu örüsıyen soyurḡ-a : : : :**Manḡḡalam :**óm mā ni bad mé hūm : : :*

Translation

Incense-offering⁹⁵ of Managaqan⁹⁶

Om a hum : om a hum : om a hum :

Basuyin, basuyin⁹⁷

King Qormusta⁹⁸ tengri, the upper

Ninty-nine Tengri⁹⁹ and

The Golden World, the seven Mother Earths,¹⁰⁰

The Gods of the upper fields and all the Lords of the world,

Asuri, born¹⁰¹ from heavenly fields,

Great Managaqan Tengri, Lord of the beasts of the chase,

⁹⁵ *Sang* (tib. *bsaṅs*). In popular language it means incense offering. A. Mostaert, *Matériaux* . . . , pp. 289–290, where the author gives a list of several kinds of *sangs*. C. Bawden also reports on a visit to Mongolia, where he could see a number of manuscripts of service for incense offering (*sang*) to the local deities of the Khalkha territory: *op. cit.*, p. 58.

⁹⁶ *Managaqan*, the god of the beasts of chase, and wood, who is believed to be a man of enormous size. D. Banzarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22. U. Harva, *op. cit.*, p. 390. In Ordos his name is *Bajā māni*. Mostaert, *Matériaux* . . . , p. 287. In Buriat: *Anda-Bar*, who is believed to support the hunters, but if they do not offer to him the first prey, he takes revenge on them, Sanžeev, *op. cit.*, pp. 600–601. In Manchu the protector of the hunters is *Banda Mata*, de Harlez, *La religion nationale des Tartares orientaux. Mandchous et Mongols*, Bruxelles 1887, p. 19, cf. W. Heissig, *op. cit.*, pp. 360–361. A thorough study on Managaqan: C. Bawden, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–117. There is a legend of the Chuvash that after defeating the lion the man was elected to be the ruler of the beasts: Mészáros, *op. cit.*, pp. 92–93.

⁹⁷ *basuyin basuyin*, Magic formula, similar ones often occur in the beginning and at the end of prayers. See: Rintchen, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 109, 110, 111, etc.

⁹⁸ *Qormusta* is the great protector spirit of the earth, the ruler of the thirty-three heavens. The kings are his sons, and his emanations, cf. de Harlez, *op. cit.*, p. 174, W. Heissig, *op. cit.*, pp. 353–356; A. Mostaert, *A propos d'une prière au feu: American Studies in Altaic Linguistics*, ed. by N. Poppe, Bloomington 1962, p. 200.

⁹⁹ The word *tengri* can be translated «god» or «heaven». (Kow., 1763). Here I keep the Mongol word.

yiren yisün tengri is a well-known expression in shamanist texts. cf. J.-P. Roux, *Tängri, Essai sur le ciel-dieu des peuples altaïques: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 149 (1956), pp. 49–82, 197–230, 150 (1957) pp. 173–212; Changalov, *op. cit.*, II, 117, Mostaert, *Matériaux* . . . , p. 290; W. Heissig, *op. cit.*, pp. 350–364.

¹⁰⁰ *doloyan Etügen Eke* is a *lapsus calami* instead of *dalan doloyan Etügen Eke* that occurs regularly. cf. E. Lot-Falek, *A propos d'Ätügän, déesse mongole de la terre: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 144, pp. 157–196; Mostaert, *Matériaux* . . . , p. 244; Banzarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17; W. Heissig, *Die Religionen der Mongolei*, Stuttgart 1970, p. 390.

¹⁰¹ *isitei*, *isi* «tige d'une plante depuis la racine jusqu'aux branches» (Kow. I, 285a), cf. Kh. *iš* «načalo» *iš* «ündés» «osnova» (Luvsandэндэв, 224); Kalm. *iš* «stengel (der pflanzen), stamm, anfang, ursprung», *ištē tsetseg* «blume am ihrem stengel» (Ramstedt, 210.) Ord. *išti* (ésiti) «ayant un manche, ayant une origine» (Mostaert, *Dict. ord.*, p. 389).

Deign to come to the place of this pure sacrifice

From the pure heavenly field.

I offer the gatherings of this pure sacrifice,

Being transformed in thoughts, I prepare them well

To you all, the powerful Gods.

Compassionately accepting it, deign to fulfil well

The wishes and desires of us and our companions.

With this incense-sacrifice, which are composed of pure fragrant things,

We sacrifice to Qormusta, who has great power, and to the ninty-nine tengri.

We sacrifice to all the Lords of the big and small beasts of the chase.

We sacrifice to the Gods that fulfil wishes.

I offer a pure sacrifice

To the beloved Managaqan, born from kingly heaven.

I offer a pure sacrifice to Managaqan, to the very powerful one,

Born from powerful heaven.

Deign to make mine, by your power all the beasts of the chase,

To fulfil whatever I wish.

Auspicious Managaqan Tengri I pray to you,

Deign to give today what we asked and

Your general support, be present joyfully and [?]¹⁰²

My Managaqan, with body of molten silver

My Managaqan, Lord of geese

With body of jade

My king, Managaqan

Managaqan, Lord of all beasts

Who gives twenty or thirtyfold

Before blood can be cleaned from a coat-hem,

My king, Managaqan

If you consider¹⁰³ my proffered request proper,

Deign to give some of those beasts whose heads will not fit the pot,

Whose bodies cannot be turned round,

And which are too big to be lifted.

My generous Managaqan

Deign to give some of your ones with big shoulder-blades.

¹⁰² *nisün egefju*, the translation is uncertain: *nis-* «to fly» (Lessing, 585) *ege-* «to return, to back, to die» or another meaning «to warm, to dry in the sun or by fire» (Lessing, 296). It does not fit the text.

¹⁰³ *geküle* is a form of everyday language: Mo. *kemekü-lüge* (*temporalis, conditionalis*) Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*, Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 98, 182.

Say three times: qurui!¹⁰⁴
 Deign to give some of your bridle-less wild asses.
 Say three times: qurui!
 Deign to give some of those hornless smooth-headed ones.
 Say three times: qurui!
 Deign to give some of those with no dung on their tails.
 Say three times: qurui!
 Deign to give our blue beasts, that cannot be chased.
 Say three times: qurui!
 Deign to give your black beasts, that cannot be led.
 Say three times: qurui!
 Deign to give us some of your bridleless¹⁰⁵ ones that are cowardly,
 Say three times: qurui!
 Deign to give us some of your lazy ones that wander alone with no bit.¹⁰⁶
 Say three times: qurui!
 My God, generous Managaqan,
 If you consider my proffered request proper,
 Deliver the grey beasts to tails with cruppers,¹⁰⁷
 Make the chosen ones with fat meat, well-tied to **our saddle-thongs**,
 Make those with yellow hair lie over the saddle,
 Make them peaceful as they hide,
 Heedless, as they lurk,
 Make us skillful, when shooting.
 By the power of the sacrifice we offer to beloved Managaqan,
 King Qormusta, and the ninty-nine heavens, deign to protect us.
 Gods of all the lands, and Lords of the world, deign to support us!

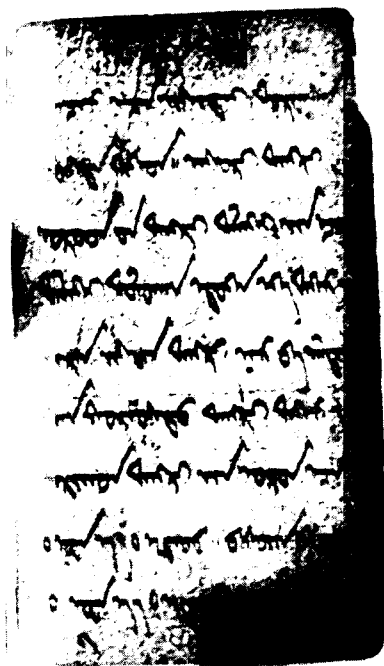
¹⁰⁴ These words are said by everybody, participating in the ceremony. Sanžeev, *op. cit.*, p. 582, Mostaert, *A propos . . .*, p. 209; Chagalov mentions another word (*seg*) of Buriats with the similar function. *op. cit.*, I, p. 524.

¹⁰⁵ *foriy ügei qajayar-ačaban öggün soyurq-a* is a *lapsus calami*, the word *ügei* is missing. cf. *qajayar ügei qulang-γasan öggün soyurq-a* Rintchen, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

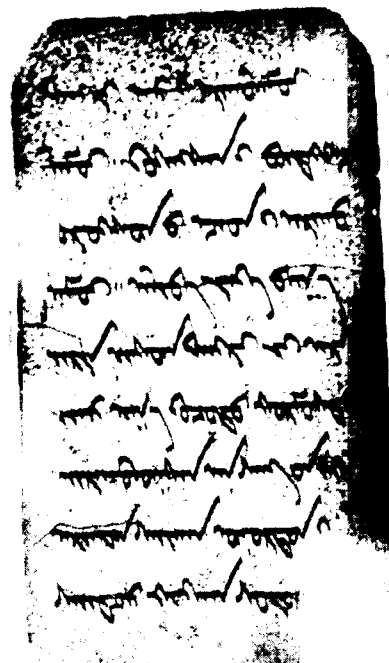
¹⁰⁶ *fofig: gažurud, zörüüd, olnoos salangid; zožig zantai zožig jamaa*, (Cêvêl—Luvsanbaldan, 273).

¹⁰⁷ *qudury-a segül-iyer* is an *instrumentalis itineris atque loci*, that indicates the place over which something is scattered; cf. *jam-iyar yabu* «to go by road», *egüde-ber oro* «to enter by door» *ayularqay yajar-iyar nutuyalamui* «they lived scattered in a mountainous country» (Poppe, *Grammar*, pp. 153—154), cf. also *chudraga: šilžsen javsan zorčsony chojguur, bogsóór; chünij javsan chudragaar suuž chocorson góroós; minij odsony chudragaar ter chün irž bilél*. Cêvêl—Luvsanbaldan, p. 724.

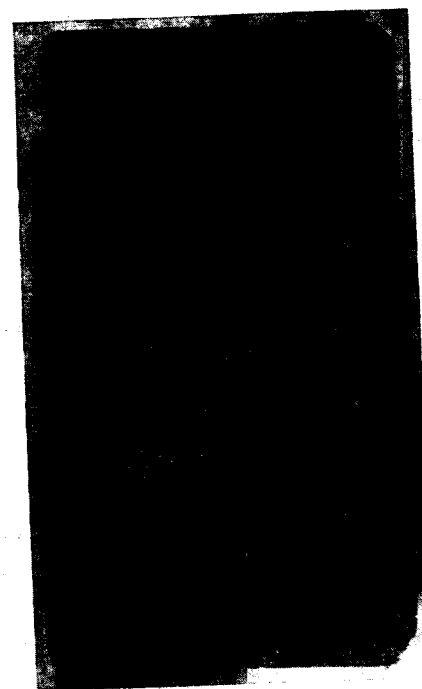
And deign to fulfil my every desired wish!
 My king, Managaqan
 Send to us the nearby prey,
 Deliver up future prey into our hands,
 Manggalam
 Om ma ni pad me hum.



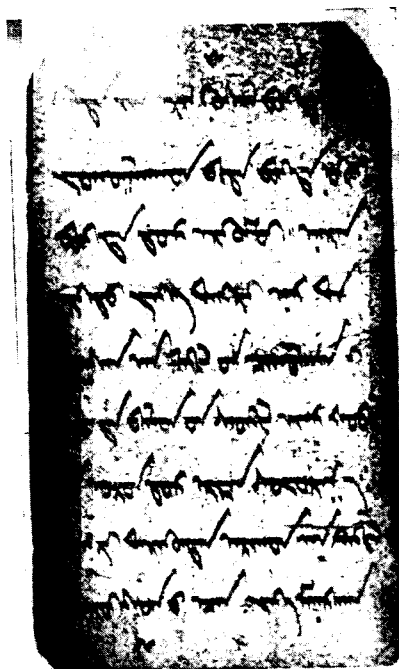
1b



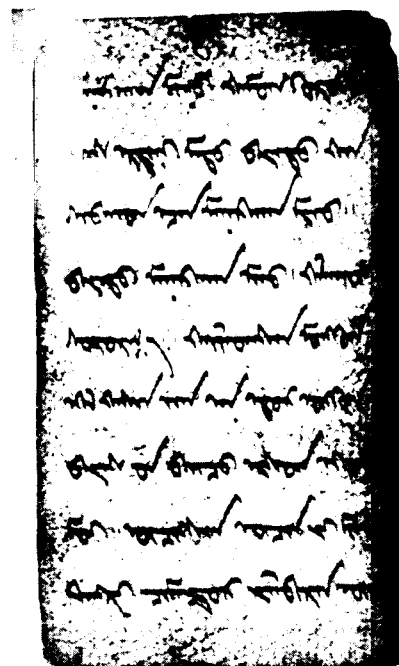
2b



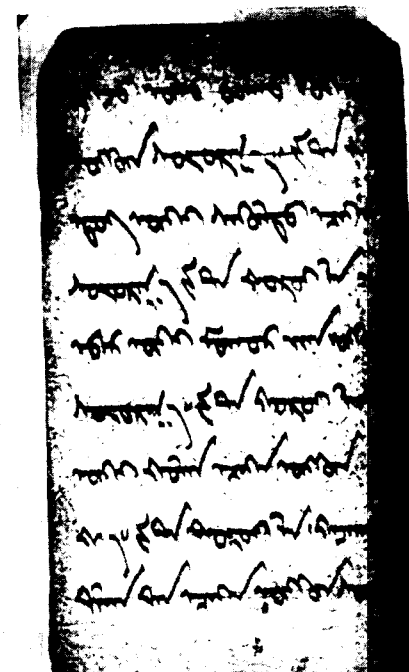
1a



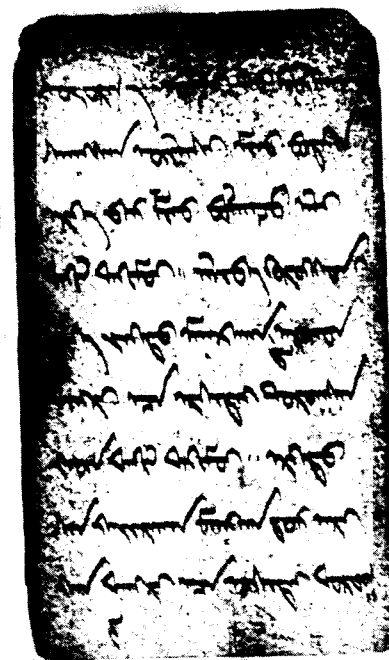
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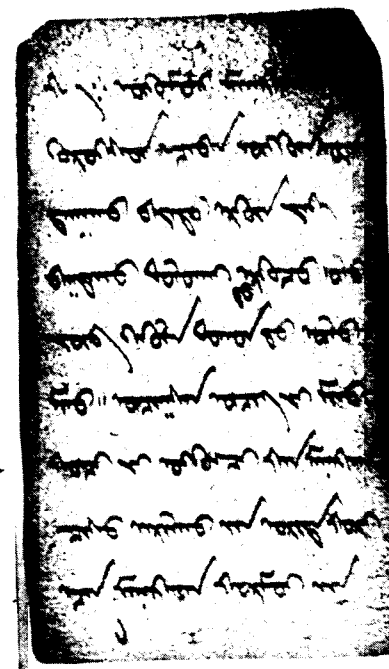
3b



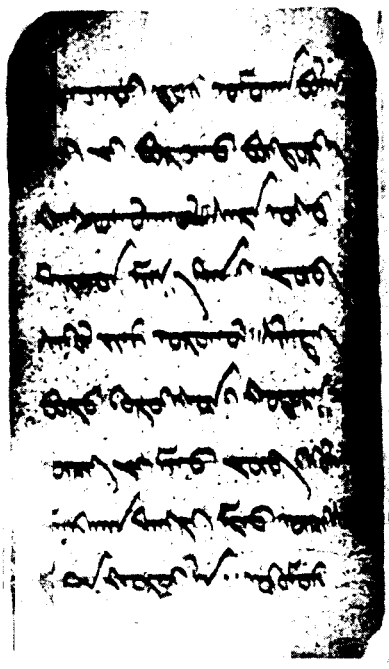
4b



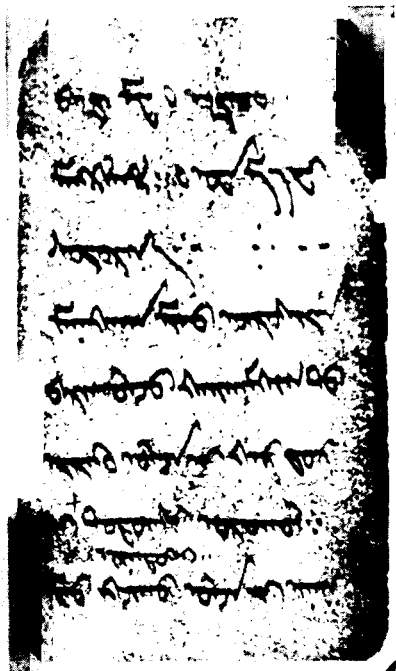
3a



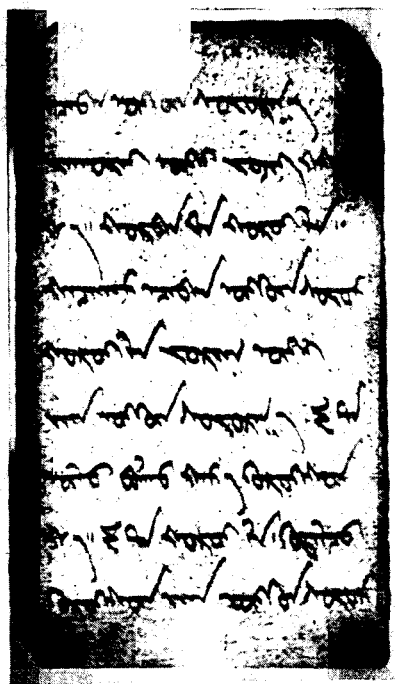
4a



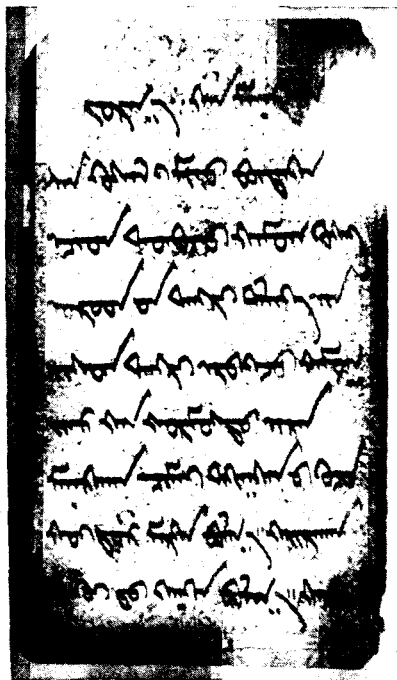
5b



6b



5a



6a