

TRACTATA ALTAICA

DENIS SINOR

sexagenario
optime de rebus altaicis merito
dedicata

redigerunt

Walther Heissig

John R. Krueger

Felix J. Oinas

Edmond Schütz

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ON THE EVILS OF STRONG DRINK: A MONGOL TRACT FROM
THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

A recurrent theme in Mongolian literature from almost the earliest times has been the dilemma inherent in the problem of the use and misuse of alcohol. As a nomadic, animal-breeding people, the Mongols have traditionally processed milk in various ways, including fermentation and subsequent distillation.¹ Walther Heissig suggested several years ago that it was after the Mongols, who were used to their milk-drinks, became acquainted with the juice of the grape, that abuse reached significant proportions, and he cited one or two anecdotes in support of this thesis.² However, this special distinction accorded in literature to grape wine as being peculiarly harmful cannot have persisted. The clearest literary exposition of the dilemma involved in the use of strong drink is to be found in the anecdote of the discussion on the subject which took place between Genghis Khan and his knights. This anecdote, which forms part of the "wisdom-literature" associated with the figure of Genghis Khan, and is thus of some antiquity, is preserved in more than one source.³ The version in the chronicle Bolur Erike by Rasipungsuŷ (1774-75) was translated into German by Heissig a few years ago.⁴ In this version the subject of discussion is not wine, but ariki (fermented milk) as appears not only from the words used by Torŷan Sira of the Sŷldes, who made the first contribution to the discussion,⁵ but also from the preamble to the dispute, which narrates the institution by Genghis Khan of the custom of making a libation of mare's milk at the time of milking.⁶

Now on the one hand, the production of milk and its processing into alcoholic drink has always been one of the basic economic activities of the Mongols, and, together with so many other regular occupations of ordinary life, was accompanied and elevated by ritual expressed in ceremonial verse. Probably the best survey of this type of literature is to be found in chapter 9 of Heissig's recent history of Mongol literature.⁷ As might be expected, ariki is spoken of in respectful terms in such ritual verse. So, for example, a text from Inner Mongolia runs, in part:

Setting in bowl and goblet
The pure, clear ariki-wine
Which is our potion...⁸

At the same time, the evil effects of over-drinking are a favorite subject for satirical comment in folk literature. George Kara has published in transcription and French translation a song by the Inner Mongolian bard Pajai entitled "Praise of brandy and song about drunkenness."⁹ The first part of the song mentions different types of distilled drink--those made from millet, fruit or milk--and warns that though drink is useful to make a celebration go, it has harmful effects when taken in excess. In later stanzas Pajai enumerates the many different sorts of drunkards, and comments on their behavior. This may be a usual poetical form, for we find a similar composition in the works of Chimeidiin Jigmid who, like Pajai, was born in Inner Mongolia, but who lived for twenty years till his death in 1965 in the Mongolian People's Republic.¹⁰ Jigmid's poem, entitled Arhiny shog shüleg [Satirical verses about strong drink], in forty stanzas, also begins with a brief mention of the different types of ariki (that distilled from fruits, and that distilled from kumiss and milk, Russian ariki, Mongol ariki) and of the dangers of its misuse, and then enumerates at great length the various types of drunkards--two to a verse--and the behavior of each of them, a veritable poetical tour de force.¹¹

In the final stanzas he reverts to the familiar dilemma: he has no wish to preach against the use of alcohol, which, taken at the right time, has its merits, but he still has to warn against its misuse.

Yet another poem, entitled simply Arhi, about the dangers of excessive drinking, is to be found in the collected works of S. Buyannemeh.¹² This is rather different in structure from the two poems just mentioned. It is short, and consists of two groups of two quatrains each, followed by a single quatrain and another group of two. It is solemn rather than satirical, but conveys the same lesson.

The dilemma posed by alcohol is not only a subject for poetical treatment, but a recurrent theme in the contemporary press. Untypical, though fascinating as a continuation of the literary attitudes mentioned above, is an article published in the newspaper Unen on 10 May 1974, under the title of Tuilyn Zöv ("Absolutely Right"), by one O. Sharav, who described himself as "aged" (öndör nastan). It is almost as if the author were looking back to a golden age, long ago in a period unspecified, when misuse of alcohol was frowned upon by all right-minded people, and drinking was carried on only in accordance with time-honored ceremony as part of a formalized ritual. Sharav wrote: "We Mongols have from long ago always despised people who use spirits and wine to excess. In the wise instructions of old it used to be taught

that people addicted to alcohol lost reputation, health, sanity, good fortune, mount and companions, and became invalids, and finally even caused harm to society and lost their lives. In ancient times spirits and wine were not used in order to intoxicate people, but they were intended to give order and pattern to festivities. When spirits were poured out and offered to the elders, they would sit in ceremonial fashion and receive it with skirts spread out, wearing a hat, and with cuffs turned back, and they would merely taste a drop, saying that they could not drink, and they would perform customs like reciting a song of good wishes or a eulogy, or singing."¹³

This passage, and in particular the list of calamities which will befall the drunkard, inevitably remind one of the comparable disasters which Pajai, Jigmid, Buyannemeh, and, as we shall see, the author of the tract which forms the basis of this article, all warn of. The loss of one's horse through drinking is, for example, expressed by Jigmid as follows: Emeeltei morio aldchihdag / Yavgan sogtuu - arhiny hor! ("He loses his saddled horse, drunk on foot. Oh the dangers of drink!")¹⁴ Our tract foresees the same fate.¹⁵ Buyannemeh, like Sharav, looks forward to death as the end of the drunkard: Huvhai negen yasan helhee n' / Hoit talyn eregt hevtene ("His parched skeleton will lie on the cliffs of the northern steppe").¹⁶

One should not, perhaps, read too much into selected quotations, but it is impossible not to be conscious here of the exposition of a stern, almost Victorian morality, expressed in what appears to be a series of standard images. What would appear as sharp social satire if we had only one example of it declines with repetition into the clever execution of variations upon a traditional literary theme.

That Sharav is painting an idealized picture of the past must be self-evident, but it is intriguing to wonder exactly what "wise instructions of old" he may have had in mind. He may have been recalling texts of the type of the pastoral letters of lÜngdeng issued from time to time by the Jebtsundamba Khutuktus of Urga, which warn against the evils of drink and tobacco. In one of these we read, for example: "The sins you have committed are clear upon my left and right palms as if they were in the mirror of Erlig Qan. The smoke of the tobacco you smoke covers sun and moon as a cloud obscures them. The spirits you drink have become a river which cannot be crossed ..."¹⁷

Among the books I was able to see during a stay in Ulaanbaatar in 1967 and 1968 was a blockprint entitled "Padma Sambhava's indications of the origin of strong drink and the dangers of drinking it."¹⁸ This

work condemns the use of alcohol, especially for the clergy and persons in responsible positions, mainly from the theological point of view, though without neglecting the sheer physical dangers. The blockprint is anonymous and undated. The brief colophon merely states that the blocks were kept in the "Sartuul-un keyid."¹⁹ However, the State Library possesses another blockprint of similar format and appearance entitled, "Form of profession of the faith with a brief mention of the seeds of virtue and vice," which fortunately has a colophon.²⁰ The author of this book is named as the Dooramba Geligjamčo.²¹ He compiled his work in 1912 for the benefit of new students of Mongolian, and the blocks were stored in the same monastery.²² This work emphasizes the evils of drinking and smoking.²³ It is reasonable to suppose that these two books, thematically and physically similar to each other, were printed at the same time, although there can be no certainty as to when our text was composed, nor may we assume that Geligjamčo was the author.

At this time I cannot remember whether I ever tried to ascertain if this blockprint is the one listed in the 1937 Catalogue of the Asian Section of the State Library of Mongolia on p. 183 under the old number 275.307 (Title: Arikin-u gem eregUU-yin nomlal, blockprint, 8 folios) or not, but it makes little difference, as the entry given there adds nothing more to our information. A few other works with similar titles are listed in the same catalogue, though I have no knowledge of their contents. These are:

P. 183, item 276.303. Tamakin-u gem eregUU-yin nomlal, "Teaching of the evils of tobacco." Blockprint, 7 fols.

P. 185, item 299.1085. Padma Sambaba baysi-yin nomlal orusibai, "Preaching of the Master, Padma Sambhava." Ms. 21 fols. This may be the manuscript cited by Jügger in a work on trends in thought in Mongolia around 1900. Jügger quotes a passage which enumerates the ingredients of ariki in the same terms as our tract, fol. 2r., and a second passage which describes the demonic origin of tobacco.²⁴

P. 207, item 505.387. Arikin-u gem-i UjügÜlÜgsen čadig, "Chronicle of the evils of drink." Blockprint, 10 fols.

_____, item 507.372. Tamaki-yi idqaqu Uge, "Warning against tobacco." Blockprint, 18 fols.

P. 211, item 542.1077. Ariki tamakin-u qoriyul, "Prohibition of drink and tobacco." Ms. 11 fols.

The use of strong drink was, of course, forbidden to members of the religious community who were not allowed to keep it on the prem-

ises or even use it as a chaser for medicine.²⁵ But the text to be translated, and apparently those similar to it, seem to form part of a campaign of more general scope organized against sinfulness in Mongolia around the turn of the present century. The book by Jügger just mentioned has an interesting discussion (of course from the Marxist viewpoint) of this campaign, its aims and its methods, together with ample quotation. Jügger isolates four separate lines of approach to the problem of the onset of "evil times"²⁶ in the religious publications of the time. One of these consisted of reminding people of their sinfulness, especially their indulgence in drinking and smoking, and exhorting them to repentance. Evidently our text which follows in transcription and translation, belongs to the corpus of religious propaganda examined by Jügger.

I would like to express the hope that reading it will bring some pleasure and amusement to Professor Denis Sinor, my first teacher of the Mongolian language, whom I would like to thank on this occasion for introducing me to what became my life's study.

Text.

Outer Cover:

Centre: Arikin-u gem eregüü-yin nomlal
 Label: Badma sambhu-a baysi-yin arikin-u
 Yaruγsan uγ siltaγan kiged aγuγsan-u
 gem eregüü-yi üjegülküi-lüge seltes

lr. Badma sambhu-a baysi-yin arkin-u Yaruγsan uγ siltaγan kiged aγuγsan-u gem eregüü-yi üjegülküi-lüge selte orusibai:

lv. Badma sambhu-a baysi-dur Kündga-a rgyal qan köbegün eyin öcirün: ene arki gegči erte urida yaγun-ača yambar uöir siltaγan-iyar Yaruγsan bolba: egün-i nomlan soyorqa: kemen ööibesü baysi nomlarun: ene erte urida dörben mingγan γurban ļayun nayan ļiryuyan galab nöğčigsen čay-tur: tegünčilen iregsen saran genel-tü kemekü burqan yirtinčü-dür ögede bolju: nom-un kürdün-i ergigülküi-yin čay-tur burqan-ača nom-i sonusuyči amitan tngri: asuri: kümün: kinaris: gandarıs: garudis: mahōriγa: luus terigüten naiman ayima γ qaγan büğüde quraļu: burqan-ača

nom sonusuysan tere čay-tur: kilinče-tü simnus-un qayan tesün yadažu ene burqan-dur eyimü olan amitan quražu böged: nadur nigeken 2r. ču amitan ülü irekü inu yağun bui kemežu yekede yasalažu kebtgesen-dür tere simnus-un qayan-u sakiyulsun doysin qara tngri kemegči ber: qayan-dur eyin jėgüden ögbe: qayan či buu yasal: bi čimadur nigen sayin-i ögsügei: kemeged eyin ügülebei: yaljažu čayan arslan-u tarki: doysin mungqay jağan-u kögesü: qoor-tu moyai-yin kelen : yaljažu kedegene-yin bal: yaljažu noqai-yin silüsün: simnus-un yisün büjigči kümün-ü čimüge: ükeger idegči činua-yin nidün-ü čečegei: ükeger-ün beye-yin miqa: eme ragša-yin umai-yin čisun ene yisün jüil qoora-yi qoližu qariyal-un sibsilge-yi uriyad jağuražu bütügebesü arki kemegči yeke qoora-yin mörön Yarqu buyu kemebesü ber tere simnus-un qayan ber noyir-ačayan sereged masi yeke bayasun tedeger-i quriyažu čilayun ayula-yin orgil degere-eče čilayun toyon-i egüdü: tere metü-yi ončilan bütügegsen-iyer

2v. arkin-u arbin yeke mörön urusbai: tere čay-tur burqan-ača nom sonusuychi amitan bügüde tegün-i usun kemen ajužu yekede soytoyuran mungqarabai: tere arkin-u qoora yağar-tur singgegsen-iyer üre-yin arki jasaysan arki kemekü qoyar jüil arki yarbai: kilinče-tü simnus-un qayan bayasun burqan-dur čiyuluysan amitan-i tengčeldegülen üjebesü: dörben qubi-ača yurban qubi boluyad üligsen nigen qubi-yin yekengki inu burqan-u dergede qurayad üčeken inu simnus-tur čiyulabasu simnus-un qayan yekede yasalažu kebtgesen-dür sakiyulsun doysin qara tngri eyin kemen ügülebei: či buu yasala ene galab anu 'bum nasutu böged: burqan-u egestig yeke-tü yirtinču mön-ü tula čima-dur üčiken čiyulaqu mön amui: egün-eče qoyinaysida üčüken nasutu galab-ud olan irekü-yin tula: burqan šasin-ača činu šasin ülemji yeke

3r. delgerekü bui kemen ügülebei: simnus-un qayan tegün-i sonusjad eyin kemen irüger talbibai: egün-eče qoyisi üčüken nasutu galab-ud-tur minu šasin masi yekede delgereged amitan yurban mayu jayayan-u jobalang-i amsaju ilangyui-a včir-tu tamu-dur unaqu boltuyai kemen irüger talbiysan-dur: burqan sayin irüger-i ene metü irügebei činu tere yisün qoora-bar bütügsen arki-nuyud-i bi tabun rasiyan-u mön činar bolyan adislayad amitan-u tabun qoora-yin nisvanis-i tegün-e qoližu jöyoçlayad amitan-i nisvanis-ača anggižirayulažu tengsel ügei tegüs toyoluysan burqan-u qutuy-tur jokiyaqu minu boltuyai: kemen irügebei: yaljažu arslan-u tarki-yin qoora-bar bütügsen-ü tula dooradu törölkiten ber egün-i ayubasu nada-ača yeke kümün ügei kemen yurban erdeni-yi dayarin doromjilayad tamu terigüten mayu jayayan-dur unaqu

Üile-yi quriyaqu kiged degedü yeke qad noyad-i dayariyad
 3v. çayağa yalan-dur oroqu ba: inay nökür-lüğe kerüldedü qayaçaqu
 terigüten inu nigedüger qoora-aça bolumui: doysin mungqay jayan-u
 kögesün-ü qoora-bar bütügsen-ü tula: arki-yi ülü ayuyçi kümün ber
 arkin-u gem-i ügülebesü ülü tayalan: burqan-dur nang mçöd boluysan
 boyda-nar-tur jöyöy boluysan ene arki-yi ülü ayuqu kemegçi yayun bui
 kemen qariyan mayu üge ügüleged arki oluysayar bayituıai: bi ayuysayar
 bayituıai kemegçi küçütü buruyu üjel-tü sedkil egüskekü inu qoyaduyar
 qoora-aça bolbai: qoora-tu moyai-yin kelen-ü qoora-bar bütügsen-ü
 tula: kümün-dür mayu üge ügüleged: kümün-i ?qoorasqan tesün
 yadayuluyçi anu yutayar qoora-aça bolbai: ıaljaıu kedegene-yin
 bal-un qoora-bar bütügsen-ü tula arikin-u amtan bal-un amtan-aça
 ülemji boluysan-u tula tebçijü ülü boluyçi dötüger qoora-aça bolbai:
 ıaljaıu noqai-yin silüstün-ü qoora-bar bütügsen-ü tula busud olan
 kümün-lüğe kerüldün askildun köbsil-

4r. deged arisun miqa yasun ebderejü enelen sinalaqui jobalang-ud
 tabdayar qoora-aça bolai: simnus-un yisün büjigçi kümün-ü çimügen-ü
 qoora-bar bütügegsen-ü tula soıtoıysan kümün-ü ıar köl-ün qamuy
 çimüğe buçalayad: kebtékü sayuqu-bar ügei bosun qarayılan ?esgerün
 ıaljaıu metü morin unubasu ergi nura ba usun çilayun-i medel ügei
 dobtoluyad üküdken unaju yasun miqa niıur çirai-yi ebdereküi
 jobolang jiryuduyar qoora-aça bolbai: ükeger idegçi çinua-yin nidün-ü
 çeçegei-yin qoora-bar bütügsen-ü tula: yeke soıtoıysan kümün-ü nidün
 inu kökeresün çabçijü ülü bolun yayun-i çu todorqai ülü tanin
 tengçegürin kebtékü inu doluduyar qoora-aça bolbai: ükeger-ün beye-yin
 miqan-u qoora-bar bütügsen-ü tula: arki-yi ürgülji sitün ayuyçi
 kümün-ü öngge çirai beye qubaqai köb köke boluyçi anu nayimaduyar

4v. qoora-aça bolbai: eme ragşa-yin umai çisun-u qoora-bar bütügsen-ü
 tula: arki ayuyçi kümün-ü beye-lüğe qamtu törögsen tngri inu jayılaıu
 ıaruıad tegün-ü oron-dur simnus-un qayan batuda sayuıu: tere kümün
 naiman tümen dörben mingyan nisvanis-i ıal metü badarayulun: usun metü
 dolgusun: salkin metü keyisken: sirui metü kimurayulun: arban qara
 nigül: tabun jabsar ügei kilinçe-yi üiledüged: tangıaray sanvar-i
 ebdeged ıurban mayu jayayan kiged vçir-tu tamu terigüten-dür unaju
 eldeb jobalang-i edelekü bolumui: kemen ıurban çay-un burqad ber
 nomlabai: basa eyin kemen nomların: ene qoyitu qoyar jayayan-i
 sinjileküi-yin yosun-i burqan bodisadu-a-nar ber nomlaysan bolbaçu:
 yerü kümün-nügüd ene yisün qoora-bar bütügsen arki-yi ayuıu soıtoıysan
 çay-tur urida töröl-dür tngri kümün-eçe iregsen bögesü beye kelen
 5r. sedkil ıurban anu ülü ebderekü siduryu dölgen törü yosun-u üge-

-yi ügülejšü nomuqan aburi-bar soytamui: asuri-ača iregsen bögesü soytaqu čay-tur kerüldün temečeldün bayıldıyad kiged keregül-ün üges-i ügüleged atayarqaqui qaralamui terigüten eldeb mayu ačasi-bar soytamui: tamu-ača iregsen bögesü soytaqui čay-tur učir siltayan ügei uyilan qayilan soytomui: birid-eče iregsen bögesü soytaqui čay-tur beye-ben ülü dağan yuyiban dayiban unan dusan soytomui: adaγusun-ača iregsen bögesü: soytaqu čay-tur yaγun-i ču ügülen ülü čidamui: adaγusun metu ?kilinglejilen čalčiran soytamui: biden-ü baγsi šagyamuni burqan eyin nomlarun: olan gem-ün čiqula sitügen boluγsan: arki-yi anu oγuγata tebčigdeküi: kemen nomlaγsan bolai: yaγun kemebesü: minu šabi toyin quvaray-nuγud ene arki-yi

5v. ebüsün-ü següdür-ün tedüyiken-i aγuubasu minu šabi busu: alimad toyin arki-yi aγuγu γaljaγu raγsa metu beye kelen sedkil γurban-i jadaγai orkiyad: kelen-iyer eldeb čaliγai sirigun mayu üges-i ügüleged: sedkil-dür-iyen tačiyangγui urin mungqaγ omoγ qaram nayitangγui terigüten qamuγ nisvanis badarayulun: beye-ben jadaγayira-γu kegere γadana duradqal ügei üküdken unayad böglejšigen aman-iyen noqai-bar doliyalayan: ničügün siltayan dalda niyuča beye-ben busud-tur üjegülün icigüri-tü bolumui: qamtu törögsen tngri jayilayad doγsin nom-un sakiγulsun kilinglejü aman qabur-ača čisun γarqu kiged: ayula tala-nuγud-tur morin-ača unaqu ba: γal usun terigüten ali doγsin mayu čaybusu-yin ükül-iyer üküged: sača naiman qalayun tamu naiman küiten tamu terigüten arban naiman tamu kiged: včir-tu tamu terigüten-dür unaju tes tesi ügei jobolang-ud-i edlemüi. včir-tu tamu-yin nasun-u kemjiye anu

6r. γajar-i uqaju gün kiged dörben tala anu nayan nigen alda-yin kemjiye-tü aγuriqai-yi egüdegsen-ü ditora künjid-ün üre-ber degürgeged nigen galab nögčibesü nigen üre-yi γadasi orkiγsaγar künjid-ün aγuriqai qoγosun bolbasu ele: včir-tu tamu-yin nasun baraydaqu bolai: busu basa γurban mayu jayayan-u jobalang-i yaγun ügülekü: minu šabinar toyin quvaray-ud eyin sonusüγtun: ene arki-yi aγuqui-yi durlayčid ta: tere jobalang-i edeleküi-eče busu amur γajar-i qamiya-ača olumui: eyin arki-yi burqan-dur takil bolyan ergüdeg bögetele bide yayakin ülü ayuqu kemen ügülekü bögesü: burqan-u qutuy-i oluγa edüi bögetele burqan-u qutuy-i yayakin edelekü: üligerlebesü arslan-u qarayıγsan γajar-tur ünegen qarayin gejšü uyuča-ban quγuraju ükügsen kiged: garudi-yin niisügsen γajar-tur boljimar niisün gejšü jigür-iyen quγuruγsan üliger-i üjegtün:

6v. burqan-u joγoγ-i edelekü bögesü jarliγ-iyar nomlaγsan vinai-yin caγaja kiged niyuča tarni-yin tangγariγ-uud čayaγalaysan-u yosuγar

yabuqu-yi ǎlǎ durasiqu činu yaγun: ene arki-yi anu nom-un sakiγulsun-dur tabun miqa tabun rasiyan bolγan adislaǎu ergǎgsen-iyer tere-nǎgǎd amitan-u tabun qoora-yin nisvanis-i tegǎn-lǎge qoliǎu rasiyan bolγan ǎoγoγlayad amitan-i orčilang-ača tonilγamui: tabun miqan-u dotora kǎmǎn morin noqai γurban-u miqa bui-yin tula ta-nuγud tedeger-i ǎoγoγlan čidaqu buyu: tabun rasiyan-u dotora yeke ǎnǎr-tǎ kiged ǎnǎr-tǎ usun kemekǎ inu kǎmǎn-ǎ sigesǎn baγasun qoyar mǎn bǎged ta-nuγud tegǎn-i edlen čidaqu buyu: čidaqu bǎgesǎ arki-yi aγuqu mǎn bui-ǎe: ǎgei bǎgesǎ ǎlǎ bolumui: tarni-yin yosun-dur imaγta arki-yi rasiyan bolγan adislaqu-yin yosun-i ali ǎndǎsǎn-ǎ ayimaγ-ača nomlaγsan uγ-i 7r. aqa čima-ača asuγubasu yaγun ǎgǎlemǎi: degedǎ vǎir dhara-yin ese ayiladuγsan ičigǎri ǎgei činu ene yosun anu tulai-yin toluγai-dur ebǎr uruγusn kiged: kegǎser eme-dǎr kǎbegǎn tǎrǎgsen-lǎge adali bolai: buyan kilinče qoyar-i ilγan ǎiledǎgčǎ erlig nom-un qayan-u ǎasaγ čayaǎa-dur ǎasadaγ qayurmaγ ǎgei-yin tula kičiyen tebčikǎ keregtei bui: basa nom-un yosuγar yabuγ čǎ qad noyad tǎsǎmed bǎgǎde masi sayitur sonusuγtun: ene arki kemegčǎ inu γalǎaγu arki: baγatur arki: bardam arki: bayan arki: ǎggǎmer arki: aγudam arki kemen nereyidǎgsen bolai: γalǎaγu arki kemegsen inu: tǎrǎ bariγ čǎ terigǎten arki-yi aγubasu γalǎaγu bolun ene nasun-u ǎǎb buruγu kiged: buyan kilinče ba: ǎnen qudal-i ǎlǎ meder. γalǎaγuran ǎiledǎgsen-iyer ene yirtinčǎ-dǎr maγu nere

7v. aldarsin qoyitu ǎayaγan-dur degere nomlaγsan maγu ǎayaγan-dur tǎrǎmǎi: baγatur arki kemegsen inu γurban erdeni-yi daγarin doromǎilaqu unal-i ǎlǎ medekǎ tula baγatur: ǎndǎr iǎaγur-tan-i daγariǎu ǎasaγ ǎama-dur oroqui-ban ǎlǎ medekǎ baγatur: adali nǎkǎd-tǎr maγu ǎge ǎgǎleǎǎ askildun kǎbsildekǎi-yi ǎlǎ medekǎ baγatur arki bolai: bardam arki kemegsen inu: ǎčǎken bǎgetele yekerken bardamlaqu: ǎgegǎǎ bǎgetele bayarqan bardamlaqu: mungqay bǎgetele čečerken bardamlaqu: erdem ǎgei bǎgetele nomčirqan bardamlaqu bolai: bayan arki kemegsen inu nadur altan mǎnggǎn kiged: ed mal terigǎten bui kemen bayarqayad busud-un γuyuqui-dur ǎggǎn ǎlǎ čidaqu ičigǎri-tǎ bayan bǎged: idegen bui kemen ǎgǎleged olan kǎmǎn quraγad idiǎǎ barabasu ičigǎri-tǎ bayan bolai: ǎggǎmer arki kemegsen inu: unuγsan 8r. mori-ban ǎggǎged yabuγan boluγsan ǎggǎmer: emǎsǎgsen qubčad-iyen ǎggǎged ničǎgǎn boluγsan ǎggǎmer: idikǎ idege-ben ǎggǎged ǎber-iyen ǎlǎsgeku ǎggǎmer bolai: aγudam arki anu qoyina ǎgkǎi-ben urida ǎggǎgčǎ aγudam: qoyina ǎgǎlekǎ ǎge-ben urida ǎgǎlegčǎ aγudam arki bolai: yerǎ arki-yi aγuγsan-iyar beye-yin auγa kǎčǎn-i baγurγulan sayiqan ǎngge dǎrsǎ-yi maγuqai bolγamui: sayin qurča kelen-i moqudaγ bolγamui: sayin

qurča oyun-i mungqarayulumui: ene qoyitu-yin yaγun-i ču ulu sanayulun
soγtoγu-bar ukümüi: basa ene nasun-dayan olan-dur kündü-ben bayuraju
tere ?sayalta mayu irua kemegdemüi: qoyitu jayayan-dur jobalang-i
edelged: kerbe kümün bolun töröbesü mungqay oyutu boluyad yaljayu
soγtoγu

8v. aburi-tu bolumui::

Badma sambhu-a bayši-yin nomlayšan arkin-u γaruγsan uy siltayan kiged:
aγuγsan-u gem erigüü-yi üjegüleküi-lüge selte tegüsbei ::

Manggalam-a ::

Ene keb-i sartuul-un keyid-tür orusiγulaba. : :

Translation

Cover: Teaching of the Dangers of Strong Drink.

1r. The Master Padma Sambhava's Indications of the Origin of Strong
Drink and the Dangers of Drinking it.

1v. The Prince Kündga-a rgyal spoke thus to the Master Padma
Sambhava: "Pray instruct me as to whence and for what reason this
thing called Strong Drink originated in past times."

When he made this request, the Master instructed him: "Long ago,
4386 aeons past, the Buddha called the Tathāgata Moonlight came into
this world. When he was turning the Wheel of the Law, all the
creatures who listened to the Law from the Buddha--the Gods, Titans,
Men, Kinnaras, Gandharvas, Garudas, Mahoragas, Water-spirits and other
eight classes of king--were all assembled. When they listened to the
Law from the Buddha, the evil king of the Demons could not bear it,
and lay grieving sorely, saying: "How is it that so many creatures
assemble before this Buddha, while not one creature comes to me?"

2r. Then the guardian spirit of that Demon King, known as Fierce
Black God, gave the King the following dream, saying: "King, do not
grieve. I shall give you a fine thing." And he said: "Mix together
the following nine sorts of poison: the brain of a mad white lion; the
foam of a fierce stupid elephant; the tongue of a poisonous snake; the
honey of a mad wasp; the spittle of a mad dog; the marrow of nine
demon dancers; the eye-ball of a wolf, the eater of corpses; the flesh
of a dead body; the menstrual blood of a demoness. If you grind these

up and fabricate them while murmuring a curse-formula, a great river of poison, known as strong drink will come out." When he said this, the Demon King awoke from his sleep and rejoiced greatly, and collected those things, and set up a stone cauldron on the summit of the Stone Mountain, and, by his particular

2v. fabrication of them there flowed out a generous river of strong drink.

At that time, all the creatures who were listening to the Law from the Buddha, drank it, thinking it was water, and they became greatly intoxicated and stupefied. As a result of the poison of that strong drink soaking into the earth, two types of strong drink originated: seed-drink and refined drink.²⁷ The evil Demon King rejoiced, and cast an appraising eye upon the creatures who had assembled before the Buddha. Three quarters of them, and the greater part of the remaining quarter, were assembled before the Buddha, and only a few were assembled before the Demon, and so the Demon King lay grieving sorely, and his guardian spirit Fierce Black God spoke thus to him: "Do not grieve. This aeon is the Aeon of Life of One Hundred Thousand Years. This is the world where the Buddha's voice is great, and therefore few assemble before you. After this will come many aeons of lesser life, and so your religion will flourish more than the religion of the Buddha." When the Demon King heard this he uttered the following wish: "After this, in the Aeons of Little Life, may my religion flourish greatly, and may living creatures taste the sufferings of the Three Evil Destinies, and especially may they fall into the Thunderbolt Hell."

The Buddha made the following good wish: "May I bless these strong drinks of yours, fabricated from the nine poisons, making them into the essence of five elixirs, and, mixing into them the five poisonous passions of living creatures, may I partake of them and so free living creatures from passion, and establish them in the holy state of the matchless perfectly-accomplished Buddha.

"As it was fabricated from the poison of the brain of a mad lion, there arise from the first poison such things as lower humanity drinking of it and insulting the Three Jewels, thinking no man greater than themselves, and so amassing the karma of falling into hell and other evil destinies; insulting the eminent princes and nobles and so
3v. getting into trouble and punishment; or squabbling with and getting separated from their beloved companions, and so on.

As it was fabricated from the foam of a fierce stupid elephant,

there arose from the second poison the formation of powerful, wrong views, whereby when men who are not drinkers of strong drink speak of the evils of strong drink, [others] are not pleased, and they curse and speak words of evil, saying: "What is the meaning of not drinking this strong drink, which is an Inner Offering to the Buddha, and food for the Holy Ones? While there is drink, let us go on. While I drink, let me go on."

As it was fabricated from the poison of the tongue of a poisonous snake, there arose from the third poison the fact of speaking evil words to other people, and making others unable to bear their resentment.

As it was fabricated from the honey of a mad wasp, there arose from the fourth poison the fact that the taste of drink was sweeter than that of honey, and that it could not be given up.

As it was fabricated from the spittle of a mad dog, there arose from the fifth poison quarreling, fighting and squabbling with other people, and the sufferings of skin, flesh and bone being damaged, with pain and grieving.

4r. As it was fabricated from the marrow of nine dancing demons, there arose from the sixth poison the suffering of all the marrow of people's hands and feet boiling; they cannot lie or sit, but leap up, and, like contrary,²⁸ mad things, when they ride a horse, they gallop regardless of banks and ravines, water and stones, faint and fall off, and hurt bones, flesh and face.

As it was fabricated from the poison of the eye-ball of a wolf, the eater of corpses, there arose from the seventh poison the fact that the eye of a great drunkard fails,²⁹ and will not blink, and he lies unable to recognize anything properly.

As it was fabricated from the flesh of a dead body, there arose from the eighth poison the fact that the countenance and body of a person who is regularly addicted to strong drink go dry and blue.

4v. As it was fabricated from the menstrual blood of a demoness, the gods born together with the body of a man³⁰ will desert him, and in their place the Demon King will dwell secure. That man will cause the 84,000 passions to flare up like fire, to billow like water, to blow like the wind, to be agitated like dust. He will commit the ten black sins and the five great offences, will break his vows, and fall into the Three Evil Destinies and into the Thunderbolt Hell, and will experience manifold sufferings." Thus did the Buddhas of the Three Times preach.

He preached further: "The Buddha and the Bodhisattvas have preached the system of investigating the present and future destiny, but in general, when people have got drunk by drinking this strong drink fabricated from the nine poisons, if they have come from [being] gods or men in their previous birth, then they will get drunk with mild

5r. demeanour, speaking in calm and ceremonious words which will not harm their body, tongue and mind. If they come from [being] Titans, then, when they get drunk, they will quarrel, squabble and fight, and speak quarrelsome words, and they will get drunk in a disorderly manner, being envious and jealous. If they come from Hell, then, when they get drunk, they will get drunk weeping and wailing beyond all reason. If they come from [being] hungry ghosts, then, when they get drunk, they will be unable to control themselves, but will stagger and fall down in their drunkenness. If they come from [being] beasts, then, when they get drunk, they will not be able to say anything, but will get drunk angrily and talk nonsense." Our Master Shakyamuni preached thus: "Abandon altogether strong drink, which is the very abode of evil."

As for why, if my disciples and the clergy drink of this strong drink

5v. so much as the shadow of a grass, then they are not my disciples. Any priest drinking strong drink will abandon his body, tongue and mind like a mad demon; he will speak silly, rude, bad words with his tongue, will let all the passions such as lust, anger, stupidity, pride, avarice and envy flourish in his mind; he will let his body go, faint and fall down without consciousness in the open, get his vomiting mouth licked by dogs, let his nakedness and secret parts be seen by others, and be shameless. The gods born with him will desert him, and the fierce guardian spirits of the faith will rage, and blood will come out of his mouth and nose. He will fall from horseback on mountain or plain, or die by fire or water or other cruel, untimely death, and immediately fall into the eight hot hells and the eight cold hells and the rest of the eighteen hells and the Thunderbolt Hell, and will undergo unbearable suffering.

As for the duration of life in the Thunderbolt Hell, if one
6r. were to dig the ground and form a pit of which the depth and the four sides were each of eighty one fathoms, and fill it with sesame seed, and if, when one aeon passed, one threw one grain outside, then, when the sesame pit became empty, life in the Thunderbolt Hell would

be accomplished. Why should I speak further of the sufferings of the Three Evil Destinies? Listen, my disciples and clergy! You who like to drink this strong drink, where will you find refuge where you will not undergo these sufferings? If you say: "Why should we not drink this strong drink, seeing that it is offered as a sacrifice to the Buddha?"--how are you to enjoy the holy state of Buddhahood before you have achieved the holy state of Buddhahood? To compare--see for example how the fox, going to leap where the lion leaped, broke his back, or how the lark, going to fly where the garuda-bird flew, broke his wing. If you are

6v. going to enjoy the food of the Buddha, why should you be unwilling to follow the prescriptions of the laws of the Vinaya, taught by authority, and of the oaths of the secret spells? When this strong drink is blessed as the five meats and the five elixirs and offered to the guardians of the faith, they mix with it the five poisonous passions of living creatures, make it into elixir, and partake of it, and so deliver living creatures from the cycle of existence. As the flesh of men, horses and dogs is among the five meats, are you able to partake of them? As what is called the very smelly and the smelly water among the five elixirs are the urine and excrement of men, are you able to partake of them? If you can, then you may drink strong drink. If not, you may not. If an elder brother asks you on what group of tantras is based the teaching of the system by which, through the method of spells, strong drink is always blessed and made into elixir,

7r. what will you say? This shameless method of yours, which was not taught by the supreme Vajradhara, is like horns growing of the head of a hare, or a child being born to a sterile woman.³¹ Since there is no falsity or deception in the rule and law of Erlig, the King of the Law, who distinguishes virtue and vice, you must be careful to give it up.

Further, listen most carefully, you princes, nobles and officials who follow the Law. Strong drink is called mad drink, heroic drink, boastful drink, rich drink, generous drink, big-hearted drink. As to mad drink: If those who carry on government drink strong drink, they go mad and, not distinguishing in this life right and wrong, virtue and vice, truth and falsehood, they act madly, and so they become
7v. known in this world by a bad name, and in the future destiny they will be reborn into Evil Destinies preached about above. As to heroic drink: it is heroic for insulting the Three Jewels and not

caring about the sin; heroic for insulting those of high rank and not caring about infringing the law; heroic for not caring about speaking evil words to one's equals, and quarreling and squabbling with them. As to boastful drink: One boasts of one's greatness though one is small; one boasts of one's wealth though one is poor; one boasts of one's wisdom though one is stupid; one boasts of one's learning though one is ignorant. As to rich drink: one is shamefully rich if one shows off one's riches, saying: "I have gold, silver, goods and cattle," and is unwilling to give when others beg. One is shamefully rich if one says: "I have food," when all the people have got together & used up all the food. As to generous drink: one is generous in giving up one's own riding horse and going on foot; generous in giving away the clothes one has on, and going naked; generous in giving away the food one would eat and going hungry oneself. As to big-hearted drink: big-hearted in that one gives earlier what one would give later; big-hearted in that one says earlier what one would say later.

In fact, by drinking strong drink one will reduce the strength of the body, spoil one's fine appearance, blunt one's fine sharp tongue, dull one's fine sharp understanding. One will die drunken, unmindful altogether of the present and the future. Moreover, in this life one's reputation with others will be lowered, and that reduction³² will be called a bad omen. In the future destiny one will endure suffering and if one is reborn as a man, will be of stupid understanding, mad, and of drunken habits.

8v. Indications of the origin of strong drink and the dangers of drinking it, taught by the Master Padma Sambhava. End.

Manggalam.

These blocks have been placed in the Sartuul-un Keyid.

NOTES

1. For the techniques and vocabulary of traditional milk-processing, see Tsevel: Mongolyn tsagaan idee (Studia Ethnographica I, 6) Ulaanbaatar 1959; M. Dash: Mongol orny bilcheeriin mal mallag-

aany arga turshlaga, Ulaanbaatar 1966, pp. 251-61; V. Bünchin: Malyn tonog, heregsel tūūnii hiih, ashiglah arga, Ulaabaatar 1966, pp. 36-40; and Tsevel: "Mongolchuudyn hool, hūnsee beltgen bolovsruulah arga bariilyn tuhai temdeglei" (in Studia Ethnographica IV, 1-5), Ulaanbaatar 1969, pp. 39-78. P. Horloo: Mongol ardyn yörööl, Ulaanbaatar 1969, pp. 44-5, discussing the "Song of good wishes for the distillation" (Togoo nerehiin yörööl), recalls that ariki was referred to poetically as "the elixir of Genghis Khan" (Chinges haany rashaan), the implication being, perhaps, that Genghis Khan was looked upon in this as in other cases as a divine initiator.

2. Walther Heissig: Bolor Erike (Monumenta Serica Monograph X), Peiping, 1946, p. 62.

3. Enumerated in Heissig, Bolor Erike, p. 39.

4. For the original text see A. Mostaert and F.W. Cleaves: Bolor Erike, Mongolian Chronicle by Rasipungsu (Scripta Mongolica III), Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959, Part I, pp. 114-122 (= 39b-43b) and Part IV, pp. 72-79 (= pp. 68-75). Translation in W. Heissig: Helden-, Höllenfahrts- und Schelmengeschichten der Mongolen, Manesse Verlag, 1962, pp. 63-67, "Das Streitgespräch zwischen den neun Recken und einem Waisenknaben über den Wein."

5. Cf. Bolor Erike, I, 115: Sūldestūn Torγan Sira ayiladqarun degedū qaγan eγen minu ayiladdun soyorqa: delger yeke čiyulyan-dur ariki ese ayubasu čulyui bolumui, "Torγan Sira of the Sūldes said: My supreme lord, pray listen: If at a mighty feast one does not drink ariki, it will be dull."

6. Part of the text of this anecdote is to be found also in rituals connected with the offering of libations of milk. Cf. Bolor Erike, I, p. 114: Eldeb čičig-iyer čimegsen kerūlūn mōren-ū serigūn jōlgen degere inu Jilme-ber jile tataγulun Cuu mergen-iyer unaya bariγulju doluγa qonuγsan-u qoyina..., "On the fresh meadows of the Kerūlen river he had Jelme stretch out the tethering line and Cuu mergen catch the foals, and after seven days and nights..." An expanded version of this passage is to be found in B. Rintchen, Les matériaux pour l'étude du chamanisme mongol, I, (Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 3), Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1959, text xxviii, p. 57, last line to p. 58, line 19. Cf. also a manuscript Gegūū-ū sacul, State Library, Ulaanbaatar, for a run of words, somewhat corrupt, similar to that given by Rintchen.

7. W. Heissig: Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1972, vol. 2, ch. 9, "Traditionelle Zeremonialdich-

tung." See also the same author's article: "Zwölf Zeremonialtexte zur Stutenaussonderung aus Qanggin (Ordus) (Faksimilia)" in Zentralasiatische Studien, Bonn, II, 1968, pp. 265-305. To the texts mentioned above there may be added the following:-

1) Gegüü-ü sačul (note 6 above). Ms. 7 fols. F 294.2, 974, 17491, State Library, Ulaanbaatar. Inc. Qamuγ-un degedü qan möngke tngri qan yaǰar usu bügüde-yin örgen üsüg tarγun takil arban sačuli.

2) Gegün-ü sün-ü sačul-un sudur orusiba. Ms. 6 fols. Inc. Ö sōsti: blama γurban erdeni-dür mörgün tabimui: edür-ün sayin-du: gegün-ü üres-yi sačuqui yosun anu ǰelen-ü qoyar üjüür kiged: dumda dumda inu sang-un yinder ba: arban γurban bum sang-un takil-un idegen-i beledüged. This version is remarkable for its Buddhistic flavor, Genghis Kjan having been transformed into a Wheel-turning King: fol. 3v. γayiqamsiytu küčün-ü kürdün-i orčiγuluγči činggis qayan terigülen: mongγol-un oron-daki delekei-yin eǰed.

3) Geü-ü sačul-un sudur orusibai. Ms. Concertina book, 17 sides. Inc. Blama kiged burqan nom bursang quvaray-ud-un adistid öggün soyorqa: nom-un degedü erketü qan möngke tngri ele etügen-ü eke: qamuγ-un degedü qan möngke tngri qan yaǰar usun dügürig saran: aliman naran: altan odud edürün čini sayin-i eriǰü ...

4) Untitled ms. 5 fols. Inc. Erketü tngri-yin ǰayaγabar egüdügsen etügen ekeyin tedgemǰi-ber ergüčegsen erken qaraγači gegün-i činu sün-i ene edür sačunam.

5) Gegün-ni sačuli ene. Ms. 8 fols. Inc. Erketü tngri-yin ǰayaγa-bar egüdügsen etügen eke-yin tedgümǰi-ber ürgüčigsen: erke qaraγči gegün-i činu sün-i ene edür sačunam.

(Items 2 to 5 are in private possession in Ulaanbaatar.)

6) Činggis qayan-u üker-ün üresi sudur. Ms. 6 fols. 294.2, 463, 17498, State Library, Ulaanbaatar. Defective. Inc. Üker-ün üres-i γarγaqui-dur: üniyen-ü angqan-u tuγuluγsan üniyen-ü sün-i amuyaral ügei abču qadaγalan. Cf. Rintchen, Matériaux I, item xvi.

7) Boγdo činggis qayan-u toγtoγan γuyuyγsan üker-ün sün üres-ün sudur orusibai. Ms. 4 fols. Inc. ? Emügün degedü erketü möngke tengri: el etügen eke qamuγ-un degedü qan möngke tngri qan yaǰar usun: tümen odud: edür-ün činu ölǰei ?sarayin-i ?erin ?bayiǰu sačunam.

(Private possession, Ulaanbaatar.)

As well as these, one should mention texts of the type of the "Song of good wishes for the ariki," Arikin-u irügel, for which see W. Heissig: Mongolische volksreligiöse und folkloristische Texte,

Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1966, p. 45 and p. 53, and items LX and 76, and also Irügel Maγtaγal, Huhhot, 1959, pp. 99-103 (referred to in W. Heissig: "Innermongolische Arbeiten zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte und Folkloreforschung", ZDMG, 115, 1, 1965, p. 167.) Horloo, op.cit. p. 43 quotes from a "Song of good wishes for taking the mares" (GUÜ barihyn yörööl), and refers to another similar text on p. 77. This yörööl may also be called "Song of good wishes for the kumiss" (Airgiin yörööl), (p.44). Horloo mentions also a "Song of good wishes for the distillation" (Togoo nerehiin yörööl) (cf. n. 1 above) and the "Song of good wishes for offering the goblet" (Hundaga barih yörööl) recited at the offering of the first cup of new ariki.

8. Irügel Maγtaγal, p. 99. Edüge manu söng boluγsan / ariγun tungγalay ariki sarqud-i / ayaγa qundayan-dayan ĵasaju ...

9. G. Kara: Chants d'un barde mongol, Budapest, 1970.

10. Appreciation by Ts. Damdinsüren in Ch. Jigmid: Yörööliin Deej, Ulaanbaatar 1961, and a shorter reference in Horloo, op.cit., p. 76. Obituary in Urlag Utga Zohiol, no. 46, 1965.

11. Included in Magtaal shog shülgees, Ulaanbaatar, 1952, pp. 25-31, and Yörööliin Deej, pp. 123-27. There are only insignificant differences between the two editions.

12. S. Buyannemeh: Tüüver Zohiol, Ulaanbaatar, 1968, with an appreciation by Ts. Mönh and G. Duinharjav. A brief notice of Buyannemeh appeared also in Soyol Utga Zohiol, 10 August 1962.

13. Manai mongolchuud ert deer tsagaas ehlen arhi dars hetertel heregledег хүниг jigshij irsen түүтэй. Ertnii mergen surgaald arhind orson хүн нер алдар, ерүүл мөнд, ухаан санаа, аз hiimor', unalga hösög, нөхөр han'güi eremdeg zeremdeg болj etsiin etsест niigemд агуул учруулах, ам' насaa алдахад хүрдег геј сургасан байдag.

Deer üed arhi darsyг хүмүүsiг согтоoh геј heregleј baisangüi, harin nair naadmyn erembe daraallyг deg deglemtei болгоhын тuld zoriulj baijee. Arhi hundgalj nastand barihad, yoslon suuj hormoi devsen malgai ömsöј nudarga ergүүлэн хүleeј аваад duslyn tödii amsaj, уuj chadahgüi gedgee ailtган yörööl magtaal heleh buyuu aya dugaraa barih zergeer yosyг гүитсетгеј baijee.

14. Yörööliin Deej, p. 125.

15. Fol. 8r.

16. Tüüver Zohiol, p. 41.

17. Vačirdara boyda gegegen-ten-ü nayimaduγar дүрүи-yin lүngдүн surayuli orusiba. Ms. 14 fols., Institute of Language and Literature, Ulaanbaatar. See fol. 3. Ta nar-un minu kigsen kilinče üiledegsen

nigül činu minu jėgün barayun alayan-u degere erilig qayan-u tolai metu ilken bayina: ta nar-un minu tataysan tamaki-u utaya činu oytaryui-yin naran saran-yi egülen qalqalday metu bürküjü bayina: ayuysan arki činu dalai mörön bolju yarču bolqu ügei bayina.

18. Badma sambhu-a baysi-yin arikin-u yaruysan uy siltayan kiged ayuysan-u gem eregüü-yi üjegülküi-lüge seltes. State Library, Ulaanbaatar. 8 folios. 294.2 B153, 17033. Also a brief title: Arikin-u gem eregüü-yin nomlal. 32 lines.

19. Enquiries on my part did not establish the whereabouts of this lamasery.

20. Itegel yabuylqu-yin yosun ba buyan nigül-ün üre tobči-yin tedüi ügülegsen selte orusiba. 7 fols. 294.2 H-923, 17001.

21. Geligjamčo or Gelegjamčo is known to have been a member of the Mongolian Literary Committee which was founded in 1921. See C.R. Bawden: "Calling the soul: a Mongolian litany" in BSOAS 25, 1, 1962, p. 87. Item 17509 of the State Library is a fire-sutra, originally composed by Mergen Gegen and copied by Gelegjamčo (Mongol name Buyandalai) for the Committee. See an appended note by Rintchen to the ms.: Gelegjamčo Buyandalai Dooramba küriyeleng-dü bičiju öggügsen bolai: uy jokiyaysan kümün anu Mergen Gegen bolai: Rinčen.

22. Fol. 6v.36: arban čayan buyan kiged /7r/ ariki tamaki-yi tebčigsen buyan-u üre-yi inu nigül-ün üre-yi urbaylju medegdeküi: kemegsen egün-i mongyol üstüg surulčayči sine oyutan-u tulada Dooramba Geligjamčo ber sudur šastir-nuyud-ača tögüču arban tabdayar sayitur yaruysan-u usun quluyuna jil-dür bičigsen ... ene keb-i Sartuul-un keyid-tür orusiyulba.

23. Thirty-six evils resulting from drinking are listed. Tobacco is said to be absolutely useless and also very harmful. The author complains that the smoke rises up to heaven and damages the dwellings of the gods, so that rain does not fall, and that it penetrates the earth and damages the dwellings of the water-spirits, so that clouds do not form. If so much as the smell enters a house, harm results to the body, speech and mind: fol. 6r.: önür tedüi inu oron bayising-dür oroysan-iyar beye jarliy sedkil-ün sitügen-ü ami orusiyuluysan anu naran-iyar kiruyu-yi qayilaysan metu boluyu, "If just the smell penetrates a dwelling, the imparting of life to the receptacles of body, speech and mind will be like frost melting in the sun."

24. Ch. Jügger: XIX-XX zuuny zaag dah' Mongolyn niigem-uls tör, filosofiin setgelgeenii höggil, [The development of socio-political and philosophical thought in Mongolia at the turn of the 19th century],

Ulaanbaatar, 1972.

25. See the collected works of Mergen Gegen, analyzed in W. Heissig: Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache (Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 2) Wiesbaden, 1954, item 162, no. 9, Dotuyadu eye-ber tökügerekü jüil-ün sanaya kemen dürimlekü bičig, fol. 20r: araki-bar em daruyulqu, as one of a list of forbidden actions.

26. Tsöviin tsag.

27. jasaysan arki. Cf. Itegel yabulqu, fol. 5r., jasamal arki.

28. Reading esgerün as esergüü. Perhaps this word should be read differently, for example as isgeren, "whistling."

29. Taking the word read as kökerestün as connected with kökerekü. Cf. Tsevel's dictionary, s.v. höhroh, nüd höhröh = nudnii haraa etseh, "to fail, of the sight."

30. For this group of deities see for example a text entitled Qamtu törögßen tabun tngri-yi takiq sang-un sudur orusibai, Ms. 5 fols. State Library, Ulaanbaatar, 294.2 X215, 77938. In textual terms, similarities are to be traced between this ritual and others of different title, though it is a moot point whether the presence of runs of almost identical words hint at any relationship between the deities concerned. After initial salutations to the Lama, the Buddha, and the Clergy, this work begins:

Qamtu törögßen-iyer imayta beye-lüge següder metu qayačal ügei nöküčekü ibegekü terigüten jokilduqui-yin siltayan бүтүген жокियाжу болqu minu boltuyai kemen yurbanta ügülen:

Compare this with the opening passages of rituals for the jayayči tngri or gobi-lha:-

(1) lobilh-a-yin sang ene bolai. Ms. 7 sides. Inc. Törögßen tedüi-eče biye-luya següder metu tür qayačal ügei nökürlegßen-eče sakiq aburaqu terigüten tümen jokilduqu-yi бүтүген жокियाчи jayayan-u tabun tngri

(2) lobi-i lha-a tabun tngri-yin sang orsibai. Ms. 6 fols. Inc. Tabun tngri-yin bsang takil-i üiledküi küsegčid ber σ ma-a huu: hmuu-du törögßen tedüi imayta-ača beye-luya següder metu qayačal ügei udegüju ibekükü terigüten jokilduqui-yin nökčel-i бүтүген жокिया:

(3) Jayayan-u tabun tngri-yin sang-un takil-un sudur orusibai. Ms. 3 fols. Inc. Namo gürü egün-dür jayayan-u tabun tngri sang takil ögkü-yi küsegčid ber õ a-a huu: kemen yurban-ta adislan: törögßen tedüi-eče beye-luya següder düri qayačal ügei nökürülegßen-eče sakiq aburaqu: tümen jokildaqu-yi бүтүгүн жокियाчи: jayayan-u tabun tngri

(All these books are in private possession in Ulaanbaatar.)

These texts all convey the idea that the gods addressed should protect the body from the moment of birth onwards. It is evident, and in any case confirmed by Sumatiratna's dictionary, p. 405, that the ḡayaḡači tabun tngri and hence no doubt the ḡayaḡan-u tabun tngri are, in literary terms at least, identical with the gobi-lha. For the latter see G. Tucci in Tucci and Heissig: Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei, Stuttgart, 1970, p. 213, who writes: "Man wendet sich an sie, um Schutz zu erlangen, und doch sind sie dem Menschen direkt eingeboren."

At this point the first text diverges from the other three and continues for a while in the same words as part of the text for the worship of local deities which was discussed in my article "Notes on the worship of local deities in Mongolia" in L. Ligeti: Mongolian Studies, Budapest 1970, pp. 57-66. I quote from Qamtu törögsen, fol. 2r. The identical text occurs for example in Boḡda-yin. ḡokiyaḡsan sang-un sudur orusibai, fol. 2r. Qamuḡ amitan amuḡulang ba amuḡulang-un siltayan-luḡa tegülder boltuḡai: qamuḡ amitan ḡobalang ba ḡobalang-un siltayan-ača angḡiḡiraqu boltuḡai: qamuḡ amitan ḡobalang ḡgei amuḡulang-ača buu angḡiḡiratuyai: qamuḡ amitan oyira qola tačiḡyaqu orilaqu qoyar-ača angḡiḡiraysan tegsi sedkil-iyer aqu boltuḡai.

(I note here the existence of yet another ms. entitled Qayan ḡayaḡači tngri-yin takil sudur čačuli-yin ungsilya, 4 fols., also in private possession in Ulaanbaatar. This has a different text from any of the above and is markedly similar to the prayer to the eternal heaven published by W. Heissig in his article "Ein innermongolisches Gebet zum ewigen Himmel", ZAS 8, 1974, pp. 525-561. A third version of this text is to be found in a prayer Atuḡa tabun tngri-ün sidar-un sudur-a, belonging to the Institute of Language and Literature, Ulaanbaatar. Comparison of these texts will contribute to solving the problem touched on by Heissig, p. 541, of the identity of what may be one god, the eternal heaven, or several different gods.)

31. This simile recalls a line from a poem of Rabḡai's, published by W. Heissig in his article "Ein unedirtes Gedicht des 5. Noyan Khut-uktu Danḡinrabḡai" in Mongolian Studies, pp. 195-211: eme lowas ḡirmu-sun oluysan adali: "Gleich einem weiblichen Maultier, das tragend geworden."

32. Both reading (sayaḡta) and translation, based on Lessing's dictionary, p. 657, are uncertain.