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 Rasipungsuy (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 Torlyan Sira of the Stldes, 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." 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 Chimediin 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. Jigmid's poem, entitled Arhiny shog shuleg [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.

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. 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 Zby ("Absolutely Right"), by one O. Sharav, who described himself as "aged" (Ondor nastan). It is almost as if the author were looking back to a golden age, long ago in a period unspecificified, 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.\textsuperscript{13}

This passage, and in particular the list of calamities which will befall the drunkard, inevitably remind one of the comparable disasters which Pajai, Jigmii, 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 Jigmii as follows: \textit{Emeeltei morio aldchindag / Yavgan sogtuu - arhiny hor!} ("He loses his saddled horse, drunk on foot. Oh the dangers of drink!")\textsuperscript{14} Our tract foresees the same fate.\textsuperscript{15} Buyannemeh, like Sharav, looks forward to death as the end of the drunkard: \textit{Huvhai negen yasan helheen n’ / Hoit talyn eregt hertene} ("His parched skeleton will lie on the cliffs of the northern steppe").\textsuperscript{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 l\textsuperscript{ungdeng} 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 ..."\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{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." 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. The author of this book is named as the Dooramba Geligjamčo. He compiled his work in 1912 for the benefit of new students of Mongolian, and the blocks were stored in the same monastery. This work emphasizes the evils of drinking and smoking. 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 folios.

P. 185, item 299.1085. Padma Sambaba baysi-yin nomlal orusibai, "Preaching of the Master, Padma Sambhava." Ms. 21 folios. This may be the manuscript cited by Jügder in a work on trends in thought in Mongolia around 1900. Jügder 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.


P. 211, item 507.372. Tamaki-yi idqaqu āge, "Warning against tobacco." Blockprint, 18 folios.

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

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. 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 Jügder just mentioned has an interesting discussion (of course from the Marxist viewpoint) of this campaign, its aims and its methods, together with ample quotation. Jügder isolates four separate lines of approach to the problem of the onset of "evil times" 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 Jügder.

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 eregUU-yin nornal
Label: Badma sambhu-a baysi-yin arkin-u yaruysan uy siltayан kiged ayuysan-uy gem eregUU-yi Õjegülkü-lüge seltes

lr. Badma sambhu-a baysi-yin arkin-u yaruysan uy siltayan kiged ayuysan-u gem eregUU-yi Õjegülkü-lüge selte crusibai:

nom sonusuyan tere çay-tur: kilinče-tü simnus-un qayán testün yadaju 
enê burqan-dur eyimê olan amitan qurarjü bogêd: nadur nigeke
2r. çû amitan ülü irekû inu yayûn bui kemejü yekeye yasalajû 
kebtegsen-dûr tere simnus-un qayân-u sakîyulsun döysin qara tngri 
kemegçi ber: qayân-dur eyin jegûden ûgbe: qayân çi buu yasal: bi 
çemadur nigen sayin-i ûsgüêî: kemeqeg ëyín ûuguète: yaljâyû çayan 
arslan-u tarki: döysin mungqay jâyän-u kügestû: qoör-tu moyai-yin kelen 
: yaljâyû kedejene-yin bal: yaljâyû noqai-yin silûsun: simnus-un yisun 
bûjîği kûmûn-u çimüge: ûkeger ideği ûçuña-yin ridûn-û ûçegei: 
ûkeger-ûn beye-yin miqa: eme ragça-yin umai-yin çûsun ene yisun jûl 
qoora-yi qoliju qariylaysan utan-i tengeldejûlen ûgeberû: 
dôrben qubi-aça yurban qubi boluyad ûlgisn nigen qubi-yin yekengki 
inu burqan-u dergede qurarây ûçeken inu simnus-tur çiyulabasun simnn- 
un qayân yekeye yasalajû kebtegsen-dûr sakîyulsun döysin qara tngri 
eyin kemen ûguètei: çi buu yasala ene galab anu 'bum nasutu bogêd: 
burqan-u egesîg yeke-tü yirtinëm möm-û tula çîma-dur ûçiken çiyulaqu 
mûn amui: egûn-ece qoyinasida ûçûken nasutu galab-ud olan irekû-yin 
tula: burqan şasin-aça çînu şasin ülemjî yeke 
3r. delgerekû bui kemen ûgeberû: simnus-un qayân tegûn-î sonusyad 
eyin kemen irûger talbibai: egûn-ece qoyisi ûçûken nasutu galab-ud- 
-tur minû şasin mais yekeye delgeregêd amitan yurban mayû jayâyän-u 
jobalan-î amısa ilangrü-a vîrû-tu tamû-dur unaqu boltuyay kemen 
irûger talbîysen-dûr: burqan şayin irûger-i ene metû irûgeberî çînu 
tere yisûn qoora-bar bütûgsen arki-nuyud-i bi tabun rasiyan-u mön 
çiña boluyan adilayad amitan-u tabun qoora-yin nıvansî-î tegûn-e 
qoliju joyoylayad amitan-i nisvanis-aça anggijirayulaq tengel ûgei 
tegûs toloyulan burqan-u qutuy-tur jokîyaqu minû boltuyay: kemen 
irûgeberî: yaljâyû arsalan-u tarki-yin qoora-bar bütûgsen-û tula dooradu 
töhrûkîten ber egûn-i ayubasun nada-aça yeke kûmûn ûgei kemen yurban 
erdenî-yi dayarin doromjilayad tamu terûghten mayû jayâyän-dur unaqu
Uile-yi quriyaqu kiged degedū yeke qad noyad-i dayariyad
6в. буrgan-yи joyoы-yиdelektү болыүү jарлығyяy naromlayaسئ вина-yиn цaяyя қигed нiyuықа ҭарми-yиn тaнqыyар-yүд цaяyяlaяysan-yү yosуyар
yabuq-yi Üü durasiqii čińu yavun: ene arki-yi anu nom-un sakiyulsun-
dur tabun miqä tabun rasiyan bolýan adislaqu ergüsgen-iyer tere-nügüd
amitan-u tabun quoora-yin nisvanis-i tegün-lüge qolijä rasiyan bolýan
jöyöyläday amitan-i orçilang-ača tonilyamui: tabun miqän-u dotora
kümün morin noqai yurban-u miqä bii-yin tula ta-nuýud teđeger-i
jöyöylan čidaqu buyu: tabun rasiyan-u dotora yeke ÿnün-tü kiged ÿnün-
tü usun kemeänd inu kümün-ü sigesün bayasun qoyar mön böged ta-nuýud
tegün-i eden čidaqu buyu: čidaqu bögesü arki-yi ayuqu mön bii-je:
Ügei bögesü Üü bolumui: tarni-yin yosun-dur imayta arki-yi rasiyan
bolýan adislaqu-yin yosun-i ali ÿndüsän-tü ayimay-ača nomlayṣan uy-i
7r. aqa čima-ača asuýubasu yavun ügülemüi: degedü včir dhara-yin ese
ayiladaysan ičigüri ügei činu ene yosun anu taulai-yin toloýai-dur
ebür urųyysan kiged: keğüşer eme-dür köbégün törögsen-lüge adali bolai:
buyan kılıncë qoyar-i ilyan Üileduqüeri ERSIST nom-un qayyan-u jasaq
çaqaja-dur jasadə yaqurmaryi ügei-yin tula kılıçiyen tebicik kergêtei
bui: basa nom-un yosuýar yabuqçi qad hoyad töüsimeb bögüde masi sayitür
sonusuvtun: ene arki kemegçi inu yajálqv arki: bayatur arki: bardam
arki: bayan arki: ayguurma arki: kemen nereyölügsen bolai:
yajálqv arki kemegsen inu: törp bariqçi terigüten arki-yi ayuubasu
yajálqv bolun ene nasun-u jëb buruýu kiged: buyan kılıncë ba: Üen
qudal-i Üü meder yajálqvuran törögsen-iyer ene yirtınıč-dür mayu
nere
7v. aldarsin qoyitu jayaqyan-dur degere nomlayṣan mayu jayaqyan-dur
törömsüi: bayatur arki kemegsen inu yurban erdeni-yi dayarín
doromjilaqu unal-i Üü medekü tula bayatur: ÿndür ijaür-yur-tan-i
dayariju jasaq jam-a-dür oroqui-ban Üü medekü bayatur: adali nöküd-tür
mayu ọğen ÿğe ÿgileliq askładun köbsilekki-yi Üü medekü bayatur arki
bolai: bardam arki kemegsen inu: ÿnünkten bögetele yekerken bardamlaqu:
ügeqtü bögetele bayarqan bardamlaqu: mungqay bögetele ÿeçerken
bardamlaqu: erdem ügei bögetele nomćirqan bardamlaqu bolai: bayan arki
kemegsen inu nadur altan mënggün kiged: ed mal terigüten bui kemen
bayarqayad busud-un yuyuqui-dür ÿğgün Üü čidaqu ičigüri-tü bayan
böged: idegen bui kemen ÿğtleqetd olan kümün quraqyad idiči ki barabasu
ičigüri-tü bayan bolai: ÿğgümer arki kemegsen inu: unuý,üsan
8r. mori-ban ÿğgüded yabuqyan boluysan ÿğgümer: emüsülşen qubqad-iyán
ýññegii ničigün boluysan ÿğgümer: idikli idege-ben ÿğgüded öber-iyen
ölüşgekü ÿğgümer bolai: ayudam arki anu quyina ÿğkübi-ben urida ÿğgüği
ayudam: quyina ÿğleleqti üge-ben urida ÿğleleqti ayudam arki bolai: yerü
arki-yi ayuysan-iyar beye-yin ayuýa kılıçün-i bayurýulan sayiğan ÿñge
Türüm-yi mayuyqai bolýamui: sayin qurça kelen-i moquda bolýamui: sayin
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, 4,386 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 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. 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 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.

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, 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, 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.

As it was fabricated from the menstrual blood of a demoness, the gods born together with the body of a man 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 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 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 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 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, 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. 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 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 and 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 reduction 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 Sartuu-ul-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-
any arga turshlaga, Ulaanbaatar 1966, pp. 251-61; V. Bunchin: Malyn toneg, heregsel tünii hiik, ashiglah arga, Ulaabaatar 1966, pp. 36-40; and Tsevel: "Mongolchuudyn hool, hunsee beltgen bolovruulah arga barilyn tuhai temdeglel" (in Studia Ethnographica IV, 1-5), Ulaanbaatar 1969, pp. 39-78. P. Horloo: Mongol ardyyn yörö, Ulaanbaatar 1969, pp. 44-5, discussing the "Song of good wishes for the distillation" (Togoo nerehiin yörö), 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.


5. Cf. Bolur Erike, I, 115: Süldešün Tor-yan Sira ayiladgarun degedi qayan ejen minu ayiladdun soyorga: delger yeke qiyul-dur ariki ese ayubasu qul-yi bolumui, "Toryan Sira of the Süldeš 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. Bolur Erike, I, p. 114: Eldob čiig-i yer čimegsen kerülün mören-1 serigung jölgan degere inu Jilme-ber jile tatayulun Cuu mergen-i yer unaya bariylju dolu, a qonu, san-y govina..., "On the fresh meadows of the Kerülun river he had Jilme 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 Gegtıb-3 sacul, State Library, Ulaanbaatar, for a run of words, somewhat corrupt, similar to that given by Rintchen.

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:


4) Untitled ms. 5 fols. Inc. Erketū tńgri-yin jayańabar ēgdųęgsen etēgen ekeyin teðgje̊mji-ber ērgtųęgsen erken qarańači gegün-i čini sūń-i ene edür sačunam.


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


7) Boydo činggis qayañ-ū toytoyan ēgyuysan Uker-ūn sūń Ures-ūn sudur orusibai. Ms. 4 fols. Inc. Õ em蒂ũn degedū erketū qan mongke tńgri: el etēgen eke qamuy-un degedū qan mongke tńgri qan yąjar usun: tİmen odud: edür-ūn čini öłęei ṗsarayın-i ṗerıin ṗbayuį sačunam. (Private possession, Ulaanbaatar.)

As well as these, one should mention texts of the type of the "Song of good wishes for the arikī," Arikin-ū irțgel, 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 Maytayal, 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" (GUU barih 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 nerehijn 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 Maytayal, p. 99. Edüge manu söng boluysan / ariyün tumgayalay ariki saroud-i / ayaya gundayan-dayan jasaju ... 


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.


13. Manai mongolchund ert deer tsagaas ehlen arhi dars hetertel heregledeg húnig jigshij irsen tüühtei. Ertnii mergen surgaald arhindy orson hún ner aldar, erülü mend, uhaan sanaa, az hiimor', unalga hüürsög, nörör han'güi eremdeg zeremdeg bolj etsijn etsest niigem ayuul uchuulualah, am' nasaa aldahad hürdeg gej surgasan badag. Deed üed arhi darsyg hümülsiig sootooch gej hereglej baisangüi, harin nair naadmyn erembe daraallyg deg deglemei bolgohyn tuld zorilj baijee. Arhi bundgalj nastand barihad, yoslon suuj hormoi devsen malgai ömsüi nudarga ergüüljen hüülej avaad duslyn tööli ansaj, uuj chadhgüi gedgee ailtgan yöörööl magtaal heleh buyuu aya dugaraa barih zergeer yosyg güütsetgej baijee.


15. Fol. 8r.


17. Vatsirdara boüda gegegen-ten-i nayimaduyar dürüi-yin lünüg ün surayulj orusiba. Ms. 14 fols., Institute of Language and Literature, Ulaanbaatar. See fol. 3. Ta nar-un minu kigans kilinche niledegan


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

20. Itegel yabuyulgu-yin yosun ba buyan nigül-ün ğre tobči-yin teddi üğülegsen selte orusiba. 7 fols. 294.2 M-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 Buvandalai) for the Committee. See an appended note by Rintchen to the ms.: Gelegjamčo Buvandalai Dooramba kührêleng-du bici-yi oğûrgen bolai: u, jokiva-yan kümün anu Mergen Gegen bolai: Rinchin.


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.: ūnhr teddi inu oron bayising-dür oro,yan-iyar beye jary, sedkil-un sitügen-u ami orusiyulysan anu naran-iyar kiruyu-yi qayilaysan metų 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. Jügder: XIX-XX zuuny zaag da' Mongolyn niigem-ul tör, filosoñin setgelgeenii högii, [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 tüükerek tüül-ön sanaya kemen dūrimlekŠ bišig*, fol. 20r: araki-bar em daruyulgu, as one of a list of forbidden actions.

26. Tsäviin tsag.


28. Reading esgerön as esergūn. Perhaps this word should be read differently, for example as isgeren, “whistling.”

29. Taking the word read as kokerestšn as connected with kokeretš. Cf. Tsevel’s dictionary, s.v. höhroh, ṅūd höhroh = nudnii haraa etsch, “to fail, of the sight.”

30. For this group of deities see for example a text entitled Qamtu törōgšen tabun tngri-yi takîçu 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 törōgšen-īyera beye-šēgšer metu qayačal ŏgei nokučekš ibešekš terigšten jokilduqši-yin siltšyan butuqšen jokiyajši bolou minu boltušai kemen yurbanta ōgelšen:

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

(1) Tobih-š-a-yin sang ene bolai. Ms. 7 sides. Inc. Törōgšen teduši-še beye-luša segšer metu čaqayačal ŏgei nokučulešen-eše sakigš abuqshaqš terigšten tämen jokilduqš-yi butuqšen jokiyajši jayayajši tabun tngri

(2) Tobši-lha-a tabun tngri-yin sang oršibai. Ms. 6 fols. Inc. Tabun tngri-yin bsang takil-ši Oiledškš kšsešgšid ber ŋma-a huu: Havingš du törōgšen teduši imayta-ša beyeluša segšer metu qayačal ŏgei ŏdegššu ibešekš terigšten jokilduqši-yin nokučš-eše sakigš abuqshaqš tämen jokilduqš-yi butuqšen jokiyajši jayayajši tabun tngri

(3) Jayašyan-u tabun tngri-yin sang-un sudur oršibai. Ms. 3 fols. Inc. Namo gurši egšn-dur jayayajši tabun tngri sang takil okgš-yi kšsešgšid ber ś a-a huu: kemen yurbšan-ta adššan: törōgšen teduši-eše beye-luša segšer duri qayačal ŏgei nokučulešen-eše sakigš abuqshaqš tämen jokilduqš-yi butuqšen jokiyajši jayayajši 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 jayayaci tabun tngri and hence no doubt the jayayan-u tabun tngri are, in literary terms at least, identical with the gobilha. 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 Bo,da-yin, jokiyaysan sang-un sudur orusibai, fol. 2r. Qamuy amitan amuyulang ba amuyulang-un siltayan-luya tegûlder boltuyai: qamuy amitan jobalang ba jobalang-un siltayan-aça anggijiraq boltuyai: qamuy amitan jobalang ñgei amuyulang-aça buu anggijiratuyai: qamuy amitan oyira qola tačiyaqu orilaq ouvar-aça anggijiraysan tegsi sedkil-iyer aq boluyai.

(I note here the existence of yet another ms. entitled Qayan jayayaci 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 AtuYa tabun tngri-un 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 Rabjai's, published by W. Heissig in his article "Ein unedirtes Gedicht des 5. Noyan Khutuktu Danjinrabjai" in Mongolian Studies, pp. 195-211: eme lowas jirmusun oluysan adali: 'Gleich einem weiblichen Maultier, das tragend geworde.'

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