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Entering dead bodies and the miraculous power of the Kings: The landmark of Karma Pakshi's reincarnation in Tibet

Part II

DANIEL BEROUNSKÝ, Charles University in Prague

Summary: The contribution continues in its second part discussing the circumstances surrounding the recognition of the 3rd Karmapa Rangjung Dorje as being identical with his predecessor Karma Pakshi. The ritual of “entering residence” (*grong 'jug*), which was narrated to be used by Karma Pakshi during his death, is a particular focus here. It is argued that such a ritual enabling corpses to reanimate firstly expresses the goals of the older Indian understanding of *yoga*. Secondly, its appearance in the story seems to explain the reason for the newborn child's remembrance of his past life. Translations of the accounts of the story from the “Red Annals” (*Deb ther dmar po*) and “Feast of Scholars” (*Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*) chronicles are appended.

7. “Entering residence” (*grong 'jug*) ritual and reincarnation

The story of the dramatic process of reincarnation of Karma Pakshi, as described in the concluding chapter 6 of Part I, has its climax in the meeting of the newborn child with the master Urgyenpa, who recognized him as the new birth of the same person, i.e. Karma Pakshi. He then gave him the “secret name” (*gsang mtshan*) of Karma Pakshi: Rangjung Dorje, as if such an act would stress the identity of Karma Pakshi and Rangjung Dorje. The recognition of him was based on the fact that he remembered circumstances from his previous life and those from the process of reincarnation in the “intermediate state” (*bar do/ bar ma do*). When he described how he entered the womb of his mother in the fourth month of the development of the foetus and gave details of his dwelling there, the crowd exclaimed that besides Buddha Śākyamuni in India and he in Tibet, such a birth unpolluted by a womb had never occurred. These features might be connected with the beginning of the narration.

When the story of the passing away of Karma Pakshi starts, it is said that he travelled to the abodes of gods. He returned then back to his bodily remains

and perhaps surprisingly decided to use ritual enabling corpses to be reanimated, the “entering residence” ritual (*grong 'jug*).

One could hesitate as to whether the inclusion of such a ritual in the story should only serve the purpose of dramatizing events through the usage of a mythological motif. It creates a thrilling drama, indeed, but it seems that this might not clash with the fact that the narration attempts to explain the circumstances of his reappearance at the same time. Seen in a wider context, Karma Pakshi predicted his reappearance as *sprul sku* to the master Urgyenpa and others, so it is in the logic of the whole story that he himself chooses this ritual as a means at hand to become a “miraculously manifested body”, i.e. *sprul sku*. It is thus worthwhile to take the role of the ritual more seriously, to take a pause here and have a better look at the ritual of “entering residence”.

Such a ritual of animating corpses might seem to be weird at first glance. But mention of it is not so rare in the Indian subcontinent and could even be regarded as a fairly standard element in Indian narratives concerning yogis up to modern times.

In his recent book *Sinister yogīs*, David G. White turned his attention to this strange art of animating corpses in India. He mentions a number of better and less known stories from the Indian sources where the reanimating of a corpse or exchange of bodies with the help of such a ritual plays a significant role in the narration. These include the so-called Vikrama Cycle, stories where the plot in a number of particular narrations about King Vikrama varies, but where each variant narrates a story in which the exchange of bodies plays a crucial role.¹ Other stories on reanimating corpses listed by White appear in the so-called Vetāla stories (*Vetālapañcaviṃśati*),² and

- 1) To illustrate, one of the versions from the Vikrama Cycle (Persian Senguehassen Battisi) speaks about King Vikrama, renowned for his ability to enter other bodies and certain yogi who induces him to show such ability and to reanimate the dead body of a parrot. This being done, the yogi takes his chance and settles inside the empty body of King Vikrama and thus becomes king. The king in the parrot body uses a similar trick after number of episodes. He instructs the maiden, whom the yogi in the appearance of the king desires to marry. Following instructions, she ties to her bed a sick fawn. This disturbs the yogi-king in his intended love play with her and in anger he kills the sick fawn. The maiden then resolutely insists that he bring the fawn back to life, otherwise he will be turned down by her forever. He reanimates the fawn and the real king in the body of the parrot takes his opportunity to return to his original body. Cf. White 2009, pp. 7–9.
- 2) Here the story of an old Śaivist yogi who could not help himself when seeing the young body of a 16– year-old Brahmin cremated nearby. He thus gained a body of a youth (23rd Vetāla story from the Kathāsaritsāgara, cf. Somadeva 1981, pp. 331–3).

figure also in stories related to the Indian King Candragupta, Emperor Akbar, Gorakhnāth's master Matsyendranāth, and also a number of them concern the famous philosopher Śaṅkara, among others (cf. White 2009, pp. 1–37).³

From the examples only briefly mentioned here it would seem that such ritual appeared in epic narratives as an illustration of the peculiar magical ability of yogīs. But what David G. White attempts to demonstrate in his book is that although most sources mentioning such ritual are narrations with many dramatic twists, there are still good reasons to consider the ritual to be related to the old understanding of the word *yoga*. It might appear much less odd and weird when some parts of the texts dealing with this rather strange ritual are seriously taken into account. An example would be those speaking about the ability to penetrate another body as the main aim of the yoga itself. In the light of this, the etymology of the word *yoga* as “yoking” comes forth, leaving behind the idea of yoga as preoccupied mostly with the positions of the body, dealing with the subtle body consisting of winds (*prāṇa*), cakras and nāḍīs, etc., as probably later. Yoga as “yoking” works well with the oldest ideas of a man “yoked” to the sun for securing his good destiny in the afterlife, as attested in Ṛgveda, or to the idea of a warrior “yoked” to his chariot. An interpretation consistent with this might be that one is “yoked” in order to overcome the limitations of this life and this body (White 2009, p. 59 ff.). There is an extract cited by White, in which the ability to inhabit another body is taken to be a characteristic of a person, who became yogī. This is a strong argument for considering such a seemingly weird art of animating corpses to be in fact at the heart of what yoga was once about.

One could assume that such an understanding of these rituals was also passed on to Tibet. The ritual is known in Tibetan as *grong 'jug*, and is mentioned on several occasions in the Tibetan literature. For pointing out most of them, one is indebted to Dan Martin who had already turned his attention to the hitherto unknown cases of it on his internet blog “Tibeto-Logic”, and thus with his substantial help one might list the following known instances:

3) There are certainly many more cases of usage of the ritual in India. According to Jana Pomková, who studies Nātha yogīs, such ritual figures among their practices, but it seems that the instructions concerning the ritual are solely the domain of oral transmission (personal communication). It is also mentioned in connection with the foundation myth of Lakuliṣa within the Pāsupata yogīs, who is said to use a similar ritual for animating the corpse of Brahmin, see White 1996, 236, 474 – n. 98.

I.

The interesting reference from Buton's History of Buddhism concerns the Indian pundit Thala Ringwa (Phra la ring ba, Skt. Sūkṣmadīrgha /?/).⁴ This Indian pundit is described as being invited to Tibet, but his guide suddenly died in Nepal. He did not know Tibetan and he is then referred to in the text by the single sentence: "Pundit Thala Ringwa performed the 'entering residence' ritual upon Rongba Choezang and then spontaneous knowledge of many teachings appeared in Rongba."⁵ Here, the famous scholar of Old Sect, known also under the name Rongzom Choezang (Rong zom chos bzang, born in the middle of the 11th Century) is meant (Bu ston 1988, p. 202).

II.

A story of the 11th Century Indian master named Nirūta or Nirūpa is recorded in the chronicle Blue Annals.⁶ It describes how before he travelled to Tibet, he entered the dead body of a Tibetan youth named Korchung (Skor chung). In his body he then passed to Tibet and spent some 20 years there, translating and spreading tantric teachings.

III.

Early instances of Padampa (Pha/Pa dam pa sangs rgyas, b. in 11th century) and Tene (Ten ne, died 1217) performing the ritual are mentioned again by Dan Martin.⁷ In this case the masters are reported as demonstrating the ability to reanimate corpses in the presence of their disciples, perhaps in a kind of display of their attainment, but very few details of it are available in the story.

IV.

A case of the usage of "entering residence" ritual is mentioned in relation to the story of the 11th century Bonpo master Yangton (Yang ston) and his search for a master.⁸ It is contained only in late sources and appears also in

4) It was Dan Martin, who directed attention towards it in "Tibeto-Logic": A Few More Early Incidents of Drongjug, <http://tibeto-logic.blogspot.com/2007/05/two-more-early-incidents-of-drongjug.html> (accessed in October 2011).

5) Tibetan text: *paṇḍi ta phra la ring ba rong pa chos bzang la grong 'jug byas pas rong pas chos mang po rdol shes su byung ba yin no*.

6) See Roerich 1996, p. 853–5. Again, Dan Martin comments on this story in his blog "Transmigration and Occupation", <http://tibeto-logic.blogspot.com/2007/03/transmigration-and-occupation.html> (October 2011).

7) Dan Martin, "Tibeto Logic", "Two More Early Incidents of Drongjug", <http://tibeto-logic.blogspot.com/2007/05/two-more-early-incidents-of-drongjug.html> (October 2011).

8) For pointing out the story I am indebted to geshe Nyima Woser Choekhortshang.

oral tradition. The story says that he searched for the master Rongom Togme Zhigpo (Rong sgom rtog med zhig po) for many years and when he eventually met his master, he was old himself, but the master was still rather young. Since the teaching was allowed to be passed to only one disciple, for the sake of its survival they mutually exchanged bodies with the help of the ritual and he was then taught the teaching of Aural transmission of Zhangzhung (Shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan 2000, pp. 49–50).⁹

V.

One well-known story is that of Marpa's son Dharma Dode (Dar ma mdo sde) as preserved in Marpa's hagiography written by Tsangnyon Heruka (Gtsang smyon he ru ka, 1452–1507). Dharma Dode was dying after an accident when falling from a horse. Using the ritual he reanimated the dead body of a pigeon (no suitable human body was available). He is then instructed by his father Marpa to travel as a pigeon to India, where he reanimates the body of a thirteen-year-old Brahmin boy just before burning his corpse on the funeral pyre.¹⁰

VI.

Another blog of Dan Martin continues with the rather late case of the 3rd Tongkhor master from Amdo region; Gyalwa Gyatsho (Stong 'khor Rgyal ba rgya mtsho, 1588–1639); who is reported as using the ritual “entering residence” to transfer himself into the corpse of some 20-year old boy interestingly called “Chinese kid” (*rgya phrug*), who was then recognized as 4th Tongkhor Dogyud Gyatsho (Mdo rgyud rgya mtsho, died 1683).¹¹

VII.

The Tibetan text translated into English as “The Prince who became a Cuckoo” (in the original: *Bya mgrin sngon zla ba'i rtogs brjod*). This lengthy story

9) Charles Ramble gives a different account of the same story from the oral tradition, saying that the Rongom Togme Zhigpo settled with the help of the ritual into the body of Yangton and left behind his own old body (in this case dead) (cf. Ramble 1983, p. 278).

10) This story has long been known in the West and its knowledge might already create some Western counterparts of it, as referred to in Dan Martin's blog. For a rather accessible version of it see Marpa's biography (Trungpa 1982), but for a commentary and probably the most complete bibliography, including references to its possible Western adaptations, see: “Tibeto-Logic”, “Literary Sources for ‘The Transmigration?’”, <http://tibeto-logic.blogspot.com/2007/02/literary-sources-for-transmigration.html> (accessed in October 2011).

11) For the main part of the episode translated see Dan Martin's, “Tibeto-Logic”, “China Kid's Drongjug”, <http://tibeto-logic.blogspot.com/2007/08/china-kids-drongjug.html> (October 2011). For the original text see 'jigs med bsam grub 2005, pp. 190–191.

authored by a Gelugpa master from the 18th century could be considered as a variant of the story of King Vikrama mentioned above. It proves that such narrations, frequent in India, were known to Tibetans (see Lhag pa tshe ring 1980, Wangyal 1982).

Although not much attention is paid to the details of such stories here, in general it could be said that they seem to continue the pattern established already in India. In most of the narrations the performance of such a ritual is a sign of the religious attainment of the relevant person who appeared in some unusual situation (I., II., IV., V.). Interestingly enough, two of these narrations mention an Indian master who through such a ritual acquired a body of a Tibetan (I., II.). Another narration works the other way round and describes how a Tibetan gained through the ritual the body of an Indian boy (V.). The frequent role of the ritual in connecting India and Tibet is remarkable and could be taken here as marking the transmission of Indian secret knowledge to Tibet.

Another story speaks evidently about display of the attainments (III.), and might mark the appropriation of the ritual in Tibet. Rather strange is the story on reincarnation through the ritual, the case of the Tongkhor master (VI.). It is much later than the case of Karma Pakshi, but still is evidence that the ritual could be a means for the reappearance of a master within the lineage of *sprul skus*. The last-mentioned narrative (VII.) is clearly inspired by an Indian story from the narrations concerning King Vikrama and proves knowledge of this in Tibet.

Turning attention towards the name of the ritual, one wonders why such a ritual became called “entering residence” in Tibet. There is a variety of names for it given in the Indian sources, of which the most frequent are *parakāyapraveśa* (“entering other body”), *paraśarīrapraveśa* (“entering other dead body”) or *parapurapraveśa* (“entering other town” or “entering the town of an enemy”).¹²

A rather late 14th century Tibetan text by Tsongkhapa explains the name of the ritual. It in fact says that in the case of the Tibetan name the Sanskrit word *parapurapraveśa* was translated and abbreviated:¹³

To the faculty of eye and other sense faculties the word “habitation” (*grong*)¹⁴ is applied, while to the support of sense faculties (i.e. body) the word ‘fortified residence’ (*grong khyer*, i.e. town)

12) For the last translation see Monier-Williams 1851, p. 587. For references to the Indian names for the ritual see White 2009, p.12; Smith 2006, pp. 321, 580.

13) Tsong kha pa 1999, p. 274: *mig sogs kyi dbang po la grong dang/ dbang po'i rten la grong khyer gyi sgras bstan pa ni phar phyin nas 'byung la/ gang zag gzhan shi ba'i lus ma nymas pa laang grong khyer gyi sgra 'jug pas rnam shes der 'jug pa la grong 'jug ces gsung so/*.

14) It is apparent that not the place of residence is ment in this context by the expression *grong*, but rather the mode of dwelling.

is applied. Concerning this, in *Prajñāpāramitā*s the dead and undamaged body of another person is mentioned as a 'fortified residence' and thus when consciousness enters it, this is called "entering the [fortified] residence."

In this citation, Tsongkhapa understands the expression *grong* as abbreviated from *grong khyer*, i.e. or "walled/fortified residence/s". It represents the support of dwelling or habitation (i.e. body) and the mode of dwelling (*grong*) is understood as sense faculties of the body.¹⁵

This explanation fits indeed the last of the Indian variants *parapurapraveśa*. But one cannot be sure about the beginnings of the tradition when it was called *grong 'jug*. As will be seen in the next extract, the dead body is linked to an "empty house" there as well and might thus support another understanding of the syllable *grong* in the sense of "dwelling" or "house." The translation here as "entering residence" is just provisional and reflects uncertainty about the original intention of naming it so in Tibetan. Though being rather late and perhaps retrospective, the explanation of Tsongkhapa at the same time makes sense.

To proceed further, one should turn one's attention towards the existing explanations of the ritual itself. It must be noted that most of the dealings with the ritual are not very detailed in Tibetan texts. Here, two brief texts ascribed to Marpa Lotsāwa will be introduced. It is not very surprising that Marpa is believed to be author of the text which reveals at least some details of the ritual. The ritual had a particular connection with Kagyupa masters in Tibet and one of its clear appearances in Tibet is within the so-called "Six yogas of Nāropa" (*Nā ro chos drug*).

To give a better understanding of the practice in question, verses of vajrasong ascribed to 11th century master Marpa Lotsāwa, a disciple of Nāropa himself, and his allusions to this ritual follow in translation (Mar pa lo tsā ba 2000, p. 408):¹⁶

The one's own body came to the limit of time,
Another excellent body is with proper qualities,
In between is the seed of letter [of mantra] with horse of wind,

- 15) Although the expression *grong khyer* is commonly translated as "town", the meaning is clearly "fortified residences" (cf. entry *khyer*, explained as *khyim dang ra ba* in Zhang Yisun 1993, p. 268; for Sanskrit *pur* cf. Monier-Williams 1851, p. 635: "a rampart, wall, stronghold, fortress, castle, city, town...", the body (considered as the stronghold of *puruṣa*)...".
- 16) Tibetan text reads: *rang lus dus kyi tshad phebs la// gzhan lus mtshan ldan dam pa'i lus// bar na yig 'bru rlung gi rta// rten 'brel rlung gi 'khor lo yis// rang lus khang stong bzhin du bor// gzhan lus sprul sku'i ngo bo can// ming yang grong 'jug gi gdams ngag zer// rlung las su rung ngam lo tsā ba//..*

By the coincidence of the wheel of wind,
 One's own body is left as an empty house,
 Another body has the nature of a "miraculously manifested body" (*sprul sku*),
 This is also called the instruction of "entering the residence" (*grong 'jug*),
 Are you capable of wind-activities, translator?

It is indeed interesting that Marpa mentions explicitly "tulku" as a result of the ritual of "entering residence" in his vajra-song. But there is even a predecessor among the Indian tantras (called *Gdan bzhi* in Tibetan translation) mentioning a similar ritual (not calling it explicitly *grong 'jug* in the text) and its result as *vikurvāṇa* (Tib. *rnam par sprul*), i.e. "miraculously transformed [body]".¹⁷

Another text ascribed to Marpa is not a poetic rendering, but rather an open practical instruction on the practice of the ritual. Bearing the simple title "Instructions on 'entering residence'" (*Grong 'jug man ngag*) it is rather short, but explicit and as such deserves to be translated here. The text contains glosses written with smaller letters and these would appear in the notes to the translation (Mar pa lo tsā ba 1984, Mar pa lo tsā ba, 2005):

I bow to the noble masters!

Firstly,¹⁸ all phenomena without distinction change into the reality of illusion and then one should get use to them as such. At such a time one should practise alone in the solitary place. There, the ritual of preliminary practices should be done accordingly. A seamless skull-cup¹⁹ five fingers wide or, alternatively, slab of stone about the size of palm of the hand, should be smeared with black paint and in its centre the white syllable "hūṃ" should be written. It is placed on the top of maṇḍala.²⁰ One's own mind is collected in the [syllable] "hūṃ" at the place of the heart. As only the breath comes out, the consciousness gathered in "hūṃ" accompanies the wind (i.e. breath), proceeds out, and gradually reaches the [syllable] "hūṃ" [written on] the skull-cup or slab of stone and consciousness is thus transmitted there. The wind (i.e. breath) is held as long as possible and the clinging to oneself is being abandoned, everything is attached to the "hūṃ" and kept there again and again. By means of this, later the skull-cup is heated up and even moves.

When such progress comes, the signs of mastering it are that one's own mind is [of such a state that] it is present there, but went away [at the same time] and one's own body does not appear clearly. The rise of [such] perceiving of oneself is double: The perceiving of oneself as oneself and perceiving oneself as the other one.

17) This appears in the tantra called *Śricaturpīṭhamahāyoginītantrārājanāma* which is mentioned sometimes as one of the sources of the ritual (*Rnal 'byor ma'i rgyal po chen po dpal gdan bzhi pa zhes bya ba*, Derge Kangyur 84, fols. 181–231). On the fol. 227 there appear sentences: ... *de kho na nyid mnyam par bsgom// mnyam bzhag dngos po bsgoms nas ni// 'grub gyur 'dir ni the tshom med// de nas phyi rol lus la ni// sgrub pa po yi rnam par sprul// pha rol sems dang rjes mthun par// mkhas pa yi ni shes par bya//...*

18) Glossed: "It is said that the practice of dreams is needed."

19) Glossed: "For the food."

20) Glossed: "Pukarila flowers should be evenly spread on it."

As for the perceiving oneself as the other one: In front of oneself various living beings appear as being oneself.

As for the perceiving oneself as oneself. One's own mind is felt as dwelling separately²¹ from the body. If becoming conscious of it, such an experience arises.

If more than two or three days have not passed from the death of a man with favourable signs whose corpse has not become putrid and does not have any particular wound, one should wash [oneself] particularly with sandal, camphor, musk and fine incense. Having been anointed by five-fold nectar (i.e. excrement, urine, blood, semen and brains) one should dress in fine cloth and particular ornaments should be nicely attached. One enters [the state of] one's own tutelary deity. Dwelling on the maṇḍala sprinkled by nectar with incense, one tightly closes "doors" (i.e. bodily orifices) and minds the clear [syllable] "hūṃ" at the heart of the corpse. The awareness gathered in the "hūṃ" of one's own place of heart is led into the "hūṃ" of the corpse. Awareness sticks to the "hūṃ" of the corpse. The "hūṃ" of the corpse arises in clarity and one's own "hūṃ" is not clear and happens to be waning. Then with applying much effort the corpse becomes warmed up, starts to move and appears to be another one.

This is double: perception of oneself as the other one and perception of the other one as the other one.

To the first:²² It is the awareness that one's own mind has settled into the corpse.

To the second: Following the application of one's own effort of awareness it leaves for the corpse. When [corpse] has already risen up, it is still aware of being projected by someone else.²³

21) Glossed: "As mind-hero (Skt. *sattva*)."

22) Glossed: "It is said that such a meditation practice, when awareness enters the dead body of a youth and is exchanged [in such a way that] life is made to continue is the instruction of Buta (*Samputa*?). It is also said that master Marpa entered with his awareness the corpse of a pigeon and was able to fly some cubits [long]."

23) Tibetan text reads (glosses are marked by bold letters): *bla ma dam pa rnams la phyag 'tshal lo// dang por rmi lam sbyong dgos gsung chos thams cad sgyu ma dang khyad med pa'i don la brlab cing de la goms par byas te// de'i dus su bsgrub pa'i gnas dben par bdag nyid cig bu bya dgos te// de yang sngon 'gro'i cho ga 'di ltar bya'o// thod pa bsgrub med pa bzang la sor lnga pa'am/ yang na g.yam leq lag pa'i thil tsam la/ rtsi nag po byugs te/ dbus su hūm dkar po bris la/ maṇḍal gyi thog du me tog pu ka ri la sogs pa bcal dkram bzhags la/ rang gi sems thams cad snying kha'i hūm la bsdus la/ dbug phyir 'gro tsam na/ shes pa hūm la bsdus pa de yang/ rlung dang 'grogs nas phyir song pas thod pa'am g.yam leq kyi song pas/ der shes pa gta'd de/ yun ring du rlung thub tshad du gzung zhing/ rang la zhen pa spang zhing thams cad pa'i hūm la chags par yang dang yang du bzung pas/ phyis thod pa dro ba'am 'gul zhing 'phar ba byung nas sems yod kyang de na yod par song zhing rang gi lus kyi snang ba de mi gsal bar 'dug na zin rtags yin te/ rang snang skye ba'i/ de la gnyis te/ rang snang gi rang snang dang/ rang snang gi gzhan snang ngo/ de la rang snang gi gzhan snang ni/ rang gi mdun du srog chags sna tshogs rang la snang zang zing pa pa'o// rang snang gi rang snang ni/ rang gi sems de rang gi lus las tha dad par sems dpa' la 'dug par mong /myong/ pa'o// de ltar shes shing myong pa byung na/ de nas mi mtshan dang ldan pa shi nas gzhang /zhag/ gnyis gsum las ma lon pa'o// ro rul sung su ma song pa'i rma'i bye brag med pa blangs de/ khru kyi khyad par tsan dan dang/ ga bur dang glang rtsi dang/ spos bzang pos khru byas te/ bdud rtsi lngas byugs e tsam chil chil ba la/ gos bzang pos ber ram re gnyis g.yogs la/ rgyan cha'i bye brag mdzes ??chu la sogs par rtags la/ rang gi yi dam 'jug par byas la/ de yang maṇḍal bzang po spos dang bdud rtsi me tog bcal dkram pa'i steng du bzhag la/ sgo dam du bcal la/ ro'i snying khar hūm gsal bar bsam ste/ rang gi snying khar hūm la bsdus pa'i shes pa de ro'i hūm la btsud pas/ ro'i hūm*

There are only a few treatises giving openly such detailed information on the ritual as the one translated here and ascribed to Marpa himself. There exists a number of texts on “Six Yogas of Nāropa” including the of the Third Karmapa Rangjung Dorje (Rang byung rdo rje 1996a), but strikingly, the explanations lack details when they deal with “entering residence” ritual and do not go far beyond what was said in the song of Marpa translated above. The next rather detailed explanation, following the one ascribed to Marpa, is the text by Tsongkhapa (1359–1409, Tsong kha pa 1999). The text has already been translated, albeit in rather simplified way, into English (Mullin 2005).

Tsongkhapa received the teaching from Sakyapa masters. He says in the text that the tradition was transferred orally and implies that in the text he reveals such an oral tradition. It might be assumed that for some reason there was reluctance to put instructions on this particular ritual into letters before him.

When describing the ritual, Tsongkhapa states that the ritual should be performed only by an experienced practitioner and that it is connected with other rituals of the “Six Yogas”, namely the so-called yoga of “inner heat” (*gtum mo*). One should initially practice it in a solitary place with a skull-cup and imagining oneself as a tutelary deity within the black maṇḍala. One concentrates on the syllable “hūṃ” in one’s heart and with breathing exclusively from the right nostril, the syllable comes out to the cup. One retains the breath and through exhaling the syllable returns to the body. After sufficient practice one should train with a fresh corpse of a human being or some suitable animal. In this case the syllable carried by the wind enters the corpse by the left nostril. Again, only after a given amount of practice is it possible to carry it out effectively and the result is reanimation of the corpse.

These instructions mentioned above could be taken as proof that such ritual was taken seriously by the masters practising it. It was definitely not the only mythological element in the narrations. It is connected with other rituals, but still its relative simplicity stands out and thus allows questions about its being of ancient origin from the time when ideas about the “subtle body” were under development.

la shes pa chags nas/ ro'i hūṃ gsal bar snang zhing/ rang gi hūṃ de mi gsal bar 'dug pa'i nyams byung nas/ de nas nan tan cher byas te/ ro de drod byung pa dang 'gul bar gyur te/ gzhan snang ngo/ de yang gnyis te/ gzhan snang gi rang snang dang/ gzhan snang gi gzhan snang ngo/ de la de ltar gzhan nu'i ro la shes pa bcug nas lus rje zhing bsgom pa de skye ba rgyud nas bu ta'i man ngag yin gsung bla ma mar pas kyang pho ron gyi ro la shes pa bcug nas khru re tsam du 'phur nus gsung dang po ni rang gi sems ro la zhugs par shes pa'o// gnyis pa ni rang gi shes pa de nan tan du byas te/ ro la btsud pas/ ro de lang langs te gzhan gyis kyang 'phos bar shes pa'o/ grong 'jung man ngag go// //rdzogs so//.

But within such instructions there might be another proof that Karma Pakshi's choice of this ritual makes perfectly sense within his story of reincarnation, even if the notes of Marpa on producing "tulku" through it are left aside. The main difference between the case of recognition of Rangjung Dorje as Karma Pakshi and previous cases of "tulkus" lies in the detailed process based on his remembrance of the past. And according to the instructions on the "entering residence" ritual by Tsongkhapa, one's memory recalls all events of previous life. And this remembrance of the past differentiates it from an ordinary death or from the case of "consciousness transference" rituals (*'pho ba*) (Tsong kha pa 1999, 276–7; for translation see Mullin 2005, p. 218). This remembrance of the past is already mentioned in Indian texts as a specific feature of this ritual (cf. Kathāsaritsāgara 8.2. ; Somadeva 1981, p. 436; White 2009, p. 30).

There are certainly blank places left for better understanding of how this "entering residence" ritual influenced the emergence of lineages of masters based on their recognition as "miraculously manifested bodies". The story of Karma Pakshi does not stop with the "entering residence" ritual, but continues with his "empowerment" in the maṇḍala and settling into the womb of his mother in the fourth month after conception, this being evidently connected with the Samvara tantra. Certainly, a number of various practices provide a background to the whole story; background is not only provided by the "entering residence" ritual. The question remains open as to whether there is some ritual which enabled Karma Pakshi to enter the womb of his mother after conception.²⁴

Nevertheless, it seems that his extraordinary ability to remember the past, an ability which became the standard condition for choosing new reincarnations subsequently, was achieved through the "entering residence" ritual in his case, according to the story.

8. Concluding remarks

The paper tried to demonstrate that there were already some masters who were considered to be *sprul sku* before the end of the 13th century, i.e. prior to the time when, starting with Karma Pakshi, for the first time in the Tibetan

24) Just following Marpa's text on the "entering residence" ritual translated above, the next text is dedicated to the ritual called "transference and entering residence" (*'pho ba dang grong 'jug*). The instructions contained in the text are similar to the *'pho ba* rituals, but no context of its application is mentioned there. There comes to mind an idea that the rest of the narration on Karma Pakshi has this ritual as background, but this remains uncertain.

history the lineage of successive tulkus was established on the basis of a recognition process which provided compelling evidence for the identity of the child with the previous master of the lineage.

Some of the earlier cases of lamas called *sprul sku* have already been mentioned by Leonard van der Kuijp (van der Kuijp 2005), but his notes on them were restricted to the search for the title *sprul sku* being used for them. Most of the cases noticed by him come from the surroundings of Kadampa masters. This article intends to point out that the reasons for using title “tulku” for such early masters are connected with some miracle they performed and that through it they thus demonstrated their supernatural abilities. This might be some step in the development of the lineages based on reincarnated masters, but it seems that such “tulkus” were understood merely as individuals possessing “transformation power”.

Further, the cases of two masters, who were outside the focus of van der Kuijp; are mentioned in this contribution. This time both of the masters Yanggonpa and Gotshangpa are from the surroundings of Kagyupa. It is remarkable that the first of them was considered to be *sprul sku* on the basis of the abilities of the small child. In the second case we know that the master Gotshangpa's new reincarnation was found, but he did not establish any lineage. There is also no record available about the process of his recognition. But both of these cases might point to the slow development of the idea of *sprul sku* eventually leading towards the later establishment of lineages of them.

Critical Tibetan authors consider the case of Karma Pakshi's reincarnation to be the first of its kind, where a rather detailed process of recognition was applied. When making a more detailed study of the literature available, one might learn more about the text “Hagiography from the intermediate state” (*Rnam thar bar do ma*), probably not extant anymore, which in considerable detail described the process of reincarnation of Karma Pakshi.

According to the citations of the text left in several chronicles, Karma Pakshi used a ritual making it possible to reanimate corpses for the purpose of reincarnation. The last part of the article then attempts to demonstrate that such a seemingly weird ritual is, firstly, rather in accord with the older ideas about yoga in India and, secondly, it is probable that its role in reincarnation is mentioned in connection with the ability of the newborn Karma Pakshi (i.e. Rangjung Dorje) to remember details from his past life. As such it became a part of the process of his recognition (and later also the recognition of other masters), in which some undeniable evidence was laid bare.

The topic of the rise of reincarnation lineages in Tibet has been rather neglected by scholars and here several points are highlighted for a better

understanding. Yet it was indeed a rather complex process, which can be seen from different points of view. Here, for example, the historical circumstances of the intrusion of Mongolians into Tibet were not discussed at all, albeit they can be seen as a strong stimulation for the arrival of a new form of ruler in Tibet. Although such a form is new in the case of “tulku”, it also takes its inspiration from the Tibetan golden past of the Royal period.

The innovation created among the Kagyupa masters in the late 13th century met with tremendous success later in Tibet. The next recognition of another “tulku” within the Kagyupa masters took place in the 14th century around 1356, when the second Zhamarpa (Zhwa dmar pa Mkha’ spyod dbang po, 1350–1405) was recognized as a “new existence” (*yang srid*) of his predecessor.²⁵

The 15th century gave rise to the most influential lineages of “miraculously manifested bodies” in other sects. This is the time when the lineages of Panchen Lamas²⁶ and Dalai Lamas²⁷ appeared within the “Virtuous sect” (*Dge*

25) This lineage started with Togden Dagpa Sengge (Zhwa dmar Rtog ldan grags pa seng ge, 1283–1349) and the process of recognition took place with his successor Khajo Wangpo (Mkha’ spyod dbang po, 1350–1405) when he remembered his previous lives and was later recognized by the fourth Karmapa Rolpay Dorje (Rol pa’i rdo rje) probably around 1356 at his age of seven years and given solemnly his red hat. In the “Feast of Scholars” (Dpa’ po gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, pp. 980–2) it is described that at his seventh month of age he pronounced the verses of third Karmapa and then one week later following the master’s three finger-snaps he remembered his previous three lives and spoke in detail about them. This led to a gathering of believers and the arrival of the fourth Karmapa there one week later. Then some miraculous signs appeared. But he was given the red hat only later at the seventh year of age following the ritual initiation of a vase carried out by the Fourth Karmapa Rolpay Dorje. He allegedly remembered also some details from his life as Tashi Dagpa (Bkra shis grags pa, 1200–1282), which gave rise to some confusion, since this master is sometimes considered to be the first Zhamarpa then, but sometimes not.

26) There is a deal of uncertainty concerning the lineage of Panchen Lamas. According to particular tradition, second Panchen Lama Chokyi Langpo (Phyogs kyi glang po, 1439–1504) was recognized as a “new existence” (*yang srid*) of Khedubje (Mkhas grub rje). But there is no detailed account of the recognition. When he stayed in Ganden monastery with some three thousand monks, he defeated all in debate. As such he was considered to be “new existence” of Khedubje. This lack of some official recognition later gave rise to confusion concerning the succession of Panchen Lamas. According to another tradition, the lineage starts only with Lozang Chokyi Gyaltsen (Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1570–1662), in whose case the detailed procedure of recognition was used.

27) Concerning the Dalai Lamas as a lineage of reincarnations, the process of recognition was for the first time solemnly undertaken in great gathering of scholars in Tashilhunpo around the year 1485, recognizing Gendun Gyatsho (Dge ’dun rgya mtsho, 1475–1542) to be “new existence” of Gendundub (Dge ’dun grub) on the basis of his remembering a past life and recognizing several persons in Tashilhunpo, see for example ’jigs med bsam grub 2000, p. 38. See also van der Kuip 2005.

lugs pa). And the first lineages of reincarnated masters of the “Old sect” (*Rnying ma pa*) could also be dated to the late 15th century.²⁸

Recognized “tulkus” are present in all the traditions of Tibetan Buddhism; including Bon today. It was probably the surprising intelligibility of this institution within Tibetan (and Mongolian) society that later gave rise to their thousands of lineages, with a large number of them continuing up to the present time.²⁹

The somewhat unconstrained appearance of such thousands of lineages of “tulkus” was at the same time followed by a rather critical attitude concerning many of them on the part of a number of Tibetan authors.³⁰ It led also to a certain hierarchy (in practice more than in theory) among them being developed. It even brought about the phenomenon of “local tulku” which might with a lot of simplification resemble the role of the village priest in Christianity, i.e. a priest, whose power is restricted only to the small local community. Also, not all “repeated existences” (*yang srid*) are considered necessarily to be “miraculous bodies” (*sprul sku*) at the same time by some Tibetans, as was taken for granted by P. Williams.³¹

Yet, the success of the lineages of the “tulkus” in Tibet also has its downside. The frequent and at the same time the most serious conflicts within Tibetan society were caused by clashes between several candidates claiming to be the genuine “tulku” of some predecessor (usually representing the interests of some influential groups within society). These are well-known cases even from modern times. Lineages of reincarnated masters remain potentially one of the most serious sources of conflicts between Tibetans.

28) One of the oldest cases of recognition within the “Old sect” concerns the Rigdzin Legden Dudjom (Rig ’dzin legs ldan bdud ’joms, born in the late 15th century as younger brother of Panchen Pema Wangyal, Pad ma dbang rgyal 1487–1542) being recognized as the “new existence” of famous treasure revealer Rigdzin Godemcen (Rig ’dzin rgod lden can, cf. Bla brang skal bzang, 1997).

29) According to the statistics of the Tibetan Centre of Performing Arts (Krunq go bod ljongs cha ’phrin lte gnas) there were around 7500 of reincarnations in whole Tibet before the Cultural Revolution and nowadays around 3000 reincarnations are officially recognized (Bkra shis tshe ring 2008, p. 369).

30) See Bla brang skal bzang 1997 for extracts from the critical texts on reincarnations of 5th Dalai Lama and several Amdowa masters.

31) P. Williams follows the ideas of Samdong Rinpoche (Williams 2004), but it should be said that the masters concerned would hardly give up the claim to be genuine “tulkus” themselves. Also, there is no textual evidence for such discrimination in the past. The contemporary Tibetan author of a book on tulkus sees the terms *sprul sku* and *yang srid* as synonyms (Bla brang skal bzang 1997). Of course, *sprul sku* is a more general term and overlaps with *yang srid* only in part of its semantic field.

Lineages of “tulkus” contain an inherent ambiguity. They represent old Tibetan values characterizing the ruler, which are strongly modified by Buddhist ideas. As such they might be seen as a source of identity for contemporary Tibetans. At the same time the institution of “tulkus” as a magnet attracts the problems and negative side of society as a whole and mirrors them.

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Appendix 1

Deb ther dmar po (Red Annals)

(Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje 1993, pp. 94–97)

In the horse-year [Karma Pakshi] erected the temple of Mahākaraṇā and blessed it through Gyalwa Gyatsho [deity] with his retinue. He established a habit concerning the monks [reciting] maṇi and beggars.³² In the horse-year he understood the signs of his “passing beyond misery” and a prophecy appeared to him about his birth near Gang Zhurmo, [the birthplace] of Mila[repa]. He narrated his marvellous biography (*rnam thar*). In the sheep-year, starting from the first month, he became a little sick. From the third month a continuous earthquake lasted for twenty-one days. He pronounced: “As the sun ages in the evening, yet rises the next day, there will appear ‘miraculously manifested body’ of renunciate yogi Rangjung Dorje in accordance with his trained body.” Accompanied by marvellous and miraculous sights he “passed away to bliss” on the third day of the waxing moon, ninth month of the sheep-year. On the ninth day his bodily remains were ‘purified’ (i.e. burnt) and his body fell apart. For two days there appeared many miraculous appearances such as a rain of flowers, rainbow, lights, etc. Innumerable relics of deity bodies and others got stuck to his remains.

Many of the personal disciples of the Lord Karma Pakshi arrived there: Mahāsiddha Urgyenpa, bodhisattva Gyalpe, master Nyanray, precious Nenangpa, master Namtshoba and others.³³ They received the teaching of Samtendenba Changchub Rinchen³⁴ on the “born body” (*sku skye ba*); both the past and the future one.

When Mahāsiddha [Karmapa] was passing away, he introduced Urgyen Rinpoche to the residence of Tshurphu [as its head]. Then [the duties of the head] were performed briefly by Nyanray and then by master Nenangpa. Except for Nyanray, the other two are “male descendants” (*dbon rgyud*) of Karma Pakshi.

Then Lord of Dharma Rangjung Dorje arrived. When mahāsiddha Karmapa himself was on the verge of passing away, he said: “Leave my body to remain untouched for seven days.” He ‘transferred his consciousness’ (*'pho*) through the Brahma aperture, changed into a rainbow-like body and arrived in the country of gods. Gods were presenting him with offerings and when the eighth day was passing, he thought that he should perform “entering residence” ritual in his previous body. When he had just arrived there, the body was “purified” in fire. Seeing the suffering of the disciples in whole Chongnge valley of Tshurphu, he fainted a bit into the state of compassion. When he regained consciousness, searching for a suitable corpse in order to perform “entering residence” ritual, he found the corpse of a child who had reached the third year of age and was free from defect at Tolung Phartshang. He “entered residence” of him and his eyes protruding started to stare. Saying “I don’t like it when the dead one has living eyes” his mother pierced his eye with a needle. It spilled onto his face. He thought: “Without an eye I would not be able [to work] for the benefit of beings.” And again he searched for a body. He found none

32) The note in the text speaks about a donation of money and food to them. Tshal pa kun dga' rdo rje 1993 p. 413, n. 461.

33) Byang sems rgyal ye, Bla ma gnyan ras, Rin po che gnas nang pa, Bla ma gnam mtsho ba.

34) The identity of the person is not clear. There are at least two Kadampa masters with the name Byang chub rin chen. But the possibility that it is the appellation used for Karmapa himself cannot be excluded (it means “Precious Bodhi, One with Meditative Concentration”). In the event that the second possibility proves to have been true, it was probably a kind of testament.

except for a worm carried by a pigeon outside the house to the north. Discouraged, he thought that he would proceed to Tuṣita paradise. At the same moment twenty five *ḍākiṇīs* of the 'protectors of field' appeared and begged him to take the human body. He answered: "It is difficult to [work] for benefit of beings in the human world." Although not comforted he consented. Then they empowered him in the maṇḍala of sixty two deities of Samvara and prayed for his good luck. The prophecy said "Take birth near Gang Zhurmo in Mangyul of Gunghang; at the bottom of upper part of Oma Lungkhen Thang valley in Lungshoe."

He set out on the rainbow path. He arrived at the crystal house; [first] above it and then down into the hard darkness. At that moment the *ḍākiṇīs* said: "There appeared a bloody wave of passion". And they escaped. The voice resounded: "To the nine heavenly centers³⁵ there are nine ladders. Not completing climbing one of them, the liberation path of ripening deeds would be difficult!" He fainted. In a while he came to. His physical body was swirling and there appeared weariness. Such narration contains "Hagiography of intermediate state".

Then, in agreement with the previous prophecy, his body was born on the eighth day of the first month in the male wooden-monkey year. His father had the name Ngagchang Choempel and was a virtuous mantrin of the Old sect. However, when in the life of this humble potter a son was born, many miraculous omens came up. They appeared as an illusion that arose in a dream.

[The son] said many things remembering his rebirth (*sku skye ba*). With mere seeing he was able to read, write and understand all teachings. He became renowned in all directions. When he was two or three years old, they arrived at the offering festival at Langkhor,³⁶ from the "noble body [of Phadampa]"³⁷ appeared light; absorbed [into his body] and thus blessing entered him. He asked the instructions of [Pha]dampa from his father and took them into his heart. When being asked by learned Serkhangpa, he narrated [details from] his previous life and "Hagiography of the intermediate state". In front of the Holy [statue of Avalokiteśvara] in Kyirong, a strong "mind of enlightenment" awoke in him.

Great siddha Urgyenpa knew the future of Great Karmapa who entrusted him with the black hat and transmitted the [teaching] "Introduction to triple [Buddha] bodies" saying "I will come in the future to take it back". Given the interconnectedness (*rten 'brel*) [through such events, the small child] wished to meet great siddha Urgyenpa.

In the evening the thought that he will arrive next day to Putra (*Sbu krar*) appeared in contemplation of great siddha Urgyenpa. He said: "When the great siddha Karmapa will arrive, the place must be prepared." The next morning he said: "Great siddha Karmapa will arrive today. Welcome him with music! Look, who is coming!" His attendants looked around and said: "Nobody is coming besides a potter with his wife leading their son."

"So it is... Call them to meet inside." The cushions for sitting were evenly arranged to the right and left sides of the great siddha [Urgyenpa]. As in general great siddha [Urgyenpa's] abundance of merit and strength of body was immeasurable, he settled into the meditative concentration of Lord of Secret [Vajrapāṇi] and through his subduing gaze immediately overwhelmed them. Father and mother prostrated themselves but the small child did not. Devoid of any fright he untangled the rope from some wrapped package in front of the shrine. Great siddha [Urgyenpa] laughed and said: "The small child is a smart one; this is an omen that he will become very renowned."

35) The text says "gung" which might be interpreted as "centre of heaven", yet see the translation from the "Feast of scholars" which gives *khung*, i.e. "hole" or in the context of *gnam khung* it is "skylight".

36) Tib. *Glang 'khor spyi mchod* is a name of festival held in *Ding ri* of *La stod* (p. 414).

37) According to the notes it was a statue of Pha dam pa (p. 414).

When [the child] sat on the cushion, the question came: "Who are you?"

And he said: "I am 'Karmapa, the widely renowned name'. Although in my mind the qualities of Dharma are fully perfected, the body of four elements is still not. Until that time I ask you to protect me."

"So it is..., many pure visions appeared to me", said [Urgyenpa]. And then with great respect and pleasant feelings he protected him as his own eye-ball. He bestowed the vows of a lay practitioner (*dge bsn̄yen*) on him and [teachings on] "generation of aspiration and application" (*smon 'jug gi thugs bskyed*).

Being granted empowerment and instructions, [the newborn] realized the knowledge of all teachings through meditation; [enormous] as water in the ocean up to its non-agitated surface. Then, composing, he pronounced many religious songs. At the age of seven years he was ordained by scholar Kunden Sherab. He was given the name Rangjung Dorje, it being the secret name in his previous life...

(...) He then sent for that mother who threw soil into his eye at Phartshang and gave her dzomo.³⁸ He asked her: "What have you inserted into my eye?" She said: "It was not the needle, I threw soil"...

Appendix 2

Mkhas pa'i dga' ston (Feast of Scholars)

(Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 2003, pp. 923–928;

Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba 1980, II. vol., fol. 35b–38a)

According to the instructions given by Precious [Karmapa], siddha Urgyenpa arrived in various places such as the glacier of Shampo, Lake Nyeltsho, etc. At that time he saw Precious Karmapa with a black hat riding [mounted on an animal] and arriving in the eastern part of sky. Tears appeared in his eyes. He asked him to stay, but he answered that now he had to go on and soon they will meet each other. Then he saw him departing. It was like an appearance in a bad dream when the Precious Karmapa said that he would not stay.

[Urgyenpa] made a large offering. And so this sole leader in the time of degeneration, the omniscient Rangjung Dorje, settled in the womb of his mother Jomo Yangdren from the father Tonpa Choempel, as was earlier predicted. This happened in the upper part of Mangyul, in Tsiphu of Gungthang Oma Lungkhen Thang. When it happened, the days and nights of his mother were passing with formerly unknown bliss and she lived in an ocean of pure visions. Then the father and mother came close to the great Dingri Langkhor. They stayed in the mother's sisters' household there. In the male year of wooden monkey, first month and the eighth day afternoon, mother bore him without any harm on the roof of the house. Immediately after that he squatted, rubbed his face with his hands, looked at the moon and said: "It is the eighth day of the month". The aunt could not stand it and said that it could not happen and that it is impossible to speak immediately after birth. The parents told her how this happened and then they travelled further to another place. Having known about the foolish nature of sentient beings in the time of degeneration, he did not speak about it afterwards or manifest his abilities wherever they arrived.

38) A female hybrid of yak and cow.

One month before [their meeting] siddha Urgyenpa was staying in Nyemo Tsabalung, when an unexpected great resplendence of blessing came to him. It [was predicted to him that] when the luminous Karmapa arrived as the sun, he would provide him with a black hat. Given the splendour of blessing, the others looked as if they would lose consciousness and siddha [Urgyenpa] himself shed tears as if [amounting to] the stream of a river: “Unchanging body of Rangjung Dorje! You entirely pure lord Vajradhara! Sit upon the cushion, you stainless dharma-body!” Such and other prayers he offered when he saw the swiftly arriving “miraculously manifested body”.

It is well known that [he appeared to others] in order to get them used to patience and love enduring for an ocean of aeons and also in order to [exhibit] their incongruence with two accumulations [of merit and wisdom]. Thus whoever saw that boy opened his eyes wide in wonder and thought: “Is it possible not to be a dream?” And then they worshipped him presenting him with various offerings.

Once he acted as if he exhibited equanimity. When he was three years old, he said: “Make something like a black hat from felt.” Then he put on his head the small black hat, sat down on top of a stone throne and to many children he preached [the teaching of] “Introduction to three [Buddha] bodies”. Those present there say that they cannot forget that scene. And the verses which he pronounced at that time are famous:

“All these various playful appearances,
Are illusions and mirage for eyes as rainbow is,
We ourselves should realize the truth that appearances are empty,
If you do not realize it, then kids, compassion be upon you!”

He first displayed his supernatural knowledge when his mother suffered from tearing some of her silks. He said: “If you need some silks similar to these, I have many of them in the big wooden box in Tshurphu and I can give them to you.” When in his father greedy thought arose concerning the flock of sheep, he said: “I have flock of horses in Dokham and it is even much numerous than this. I can give them to you.”

[Then he said:] “I ask for divination ascertaining what my mind is; that I am Precious Karmapa”. He remembered the things offered to him in the past as well as instructions [and they] shed tears and touched his feet [with their heads]. Since then his father and mother and [later] also great siddha [Urgyenpa] really worshipped him and revered him, but they did not speak about it and it was not known to the others.

Once a feeling of being hungry and thirsty came to his father and he said: “We will go to the village which you can see over there.” When they arrived there, his parents had good times in laughter and pleasures. His father was very happy and being drunk from chang [he said] that Precious Karmapa has arrived. Then the rumour spread to the every market place and [people] presented him offerings large as a mountain. Everybody was asking for Dharma and blessing. And particularly Serkhangpa, master-bodhisattva of all spiritual friends of Lato, arrived there and presiding there he asked [Karmapa] detailed questions. Thus the “Hagiography of the Intermediate State” was spoken and he wrote it down in letters and so he bowed to the feet [of Karmapa].

Then once during the sacrificial offering at Langkhor, visions of many miraculous white relics appeared to him and rays of light were absorbed into him. Then he listened to various traditions of Zhije from his father. He sat down on the crystal throne with an ornate back and while radiating beams of light he flew into the sky like a bird and saw all gods and people bowing to him. To ordinary sight he appeared to be behaving in the usual manner of children, but he was trained in all Buddha-fields and worked for the sake of many hidden disciples.

When he visited the [statue of Avalokiteśvara called] Noble Wati of Kyirong,³⁹ he actually saw Avalokiteśvara and was blessed by him.

When he was five years old, he desired to meet Mahāsiddha Urgyenpa and he gradually approached him. To Urgyenpa a report in the sphere of clear light about the arrival of Karmapa came saying: “Be aware of it”. Mahāsiddha [Urgyenpa] got up very early and said that in the night he dreamt about his meeting with Precious Karmapa. He did circumambulation in the upper part of his residence. [Diviner] Mophug Neten came to meet him. It was said of him that in “divination hollow”⁴⁰ it [appeared] that last night [he dreamt] the Karmapa, who is a child of male and female yogīs. “Looking at it, he will come here today to accompany you”, he said.

“Well, being it so, blow a conch-shell now to gather the great crowd for welcoming him. Prepare a cushion in the high place to be above me. If he is Karmapa, he will sit there lacking any fear,” he said. When the crowd was invited and arrived there, in order to test him Mahāsiddha [Urgyenpa] performed meditation of Lord of Secret [Vajrapāṇi], but did not subdue him. [Karmapa] did not pay respect to Mahāsiddha and untied some wrapped package with his hand. Mahāsiddha [Urgyenpa] said: “He is a smart small boy, he will become very renowned.”

He went straight to the big throne and sat on it. They asked him: “Who are you?” He stretched his arm towards the sky and said: “I am Karmapa, the widely renowned name!”

[Urgyenpa then] asked him: “Say how we met in the past.” And he answered: “I came into your presence, Urgyenpa, the noble lord of Lato, you related stories from eastern and western India, you gave an account of the arrangement of Vajrāsana, you gave explanations of the noble Dharma you knew, etc.”

[Then he again] asked him: “Do you remember what you gave me?” And he answered: “You have my black hat and a scripture.”

Then [Urgyenpa] said: “It is true.” And he offered them back. When he put on the hat, it gave rise to great laughter. He descended from the throne and said: “In the past I was the master, but now I ask you to protect me.”

[Urgyenpa] said: “If you were my master, you can read.” He came [to him] and said: “Read aloud!” A scripture was given to him and some [text of the scripture] arose in him without hindrance, some abbreviated words were not clear, sometimes he read connecting the words in various [incorrect] ways. [Urgyenpa] said laughing: “I have never seen reading with such corrupted taste.”

Then he asked his age: “My master passed away on the third day of the ninth month in the year of sheep. You were born on the eighth day of the first month in the year of monkey. There are no more than five months in between. You cannot be the reborn body of my master.”

He answered: “I settled my consciousness into the body, which had been already developing for four months after its conception.”

39) According to the legend, in the 7th century a sandal tree in Nepal fell apart into four pieces, from which four statues were made. One of them was that of Avalokiteśvara called Wati, which was in Kyirong (cf. Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las 2002, p. 1361 *l'phags pa mched bzhi*).

40) The meaning is uncertain. The name of the person Mophug Neten means “Divination-hollow/cave/, old monk”. A similar person appears in the biography of Gotshangpa (Rnal 'byor pa sangs rgyas dar po 1993, p. 165); he is called there Sras mo phug pa. It is not clear whether it is female (sras mo) or diviner (sras Mo phug pa), but it is again in the context of divination (thus confirming the second possibility) or a vision through which he is believed to be “tulku” of Avalokiteśvara.

[Again he was] asked: “Arriving to the family in front of Gang Zhurmo in the past, did you hear repeated chanting [of scriptures]?”

“As concerns this, earlier at the age of four months, it was the ‘period of source-vajra holder’⁴¹ when I partly settled into the ‘basis of all’⁴² from the ‘five manifestations of awakening.’⁴³ Later, my consciousness of ‘basis of all’ fully settled there and I actually realized the state of *sahaja*. For this the *ḍākinis* of field protectors encouraged me with their songs and thus the ‘resultant-vajra holder’⁴⁴ of triple [bodhi]sattvas⁴⁵ has completely arisen.”

He was asked: “What else do you remember?” And he spoke about the ways [he performed] “entering residence” ritual at Phar Tshang. He said: “See if this is true or false. Do not consider it superficially, come to certainty. In the womb I saw the outside places without obstruction. My mother [thought] that the baby would be a daughter since it did not stay still for a moment. To the father it was said in the dream that it will be a boy.” So saying, his father and mother were called to face the gathering and [when confirming it] all started to believe.

They said: “Except for Śākyamuni in India and you in Tibet, other such [births] unpolluted by the womb never happened!” And they praised him greatly.

“The secret name of my master was Rangjung Dorje, and the same [name] I am giving you,” said [Urgyenpa] and thus he gave him the name Rangjung Dorje. He bestowed vows of a lay practitioner on him.

41) It mostly refers to the “generation stage” of deity yoga and is connected with producing the “blissful body” through visualization, the body which resides in maṇḍala.

42) Tib. *kun gzhi*. In Kagyupa lineages the term has a specific connotation. It is taken as a source of both saṃsāra and nirvāṇa and its nature must be realized by the practitioner. This point was controversial for Gelugpa masters (Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las, 2002). Citing the contemporary general explanation of Kagyupa teachings: “...The ‘basis of all’ is a support for the method of path of liberation, the root of creation of the arrangement of the vessel of the world of three [outer] spheres and for binding all the branches of [inner] winds to their non-agitation” (...*kham s gsum snod bcud kyi bkod pa byed pa'i bzo bo rtsa ba dang yan lag gi rlung g.yo med du 'ching ba ni thabs grol lam kun gyi gzhi rten yin pas.*), 'Phrin las rgyal mtshan et al. 2000, p. 435.

43) Tib. *mngon byang lnga* (abbrev. from *mngon par rdzogs par byang chub lnga*). Five manifestations of awakening during the “generation stage” of tantra. We should simply understand that the use of this tantric concept wants to say that Karmapa was awakened at the time of the entering the womb.

44) Tib. *bras bu rdo rje 'dzin pa*. This term appears in the context of the visualization process corresponding to producing a “miraculous body” (*sprul sku*) during the “generation stage”.

45) Tib. *sems dpa' gsum*. It is not clear whether this means analogy of “triple buddha bodies” or not. It might refer to a triad of bodhisattvas: Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi (cf. van der Kuip 2005).

The Ya-ngal family of Tibetan Royal priests in Dolpo¹

Part I

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Summary: This paper introduces a translation of a genealogy text of one of the most important families of Dolpo in Nepal. The translation will be published as Part II. In this introduction the text attempts to provide some background information for the translation of the text and as such is divided into three main parts dealing with: (1) The Ya-ngal family of Tibetan Royal priests, (2) The Dolpo region where the family have been living for centuries and (3) The text of genealogy; its features, characteristics and also blank points. The article deals with dating the text and author of the genealogy and touches upon the problems of the pagination of the known manuscripts, incompleteness of the text, etc.

1. Introduction

This work will deal with the text “Genealogy of the Ya-ngal family” (Tib. *Ya ngal gdung rabs*), as an important source on history of Dolpo, Mustang and also the history of Dzogchen teaching, the so-called “Aural transmission of Zhang Zhung” (*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*). David Snellgrove lists the Ya-ngal family among the two of important families of Dolpo (Snellgrove 1992, p. 14):

“Ya-ngal is the family-name of the lamas of Samling and of the chief family of Bi-cher nearby. According to the genealogy of the lamas of Samling, this family came to Dolpo in the 12th century from Klu-brag in lower Lo. Another important family-name is Phyug-'khor, to which the Yang-tsher lamas and the leading family of Nyisal belong.”

1) This paper was presented at the Centre de recherche sur les civilisations de l'Asie orientale, Paris on May 12, 2011 within the framework of a seminar on “Rituals” organized by Katia Buffetrille, École pratique des hautes études (EPHE). I express my heartfelt thanks to her for encouraging and supporting me with great help for the presentation. Great thanks should be conveyed to my supervisor Daniel Berounsky who took great effort to instruct me on the writing of this paper, and spent time and showed patience correcting it.

To introduce the reader to the context, I will start with some notes on the general history of Dolpo. There is no history of Dolpo written as a single text; by compiling information scattered among various Tibetan sources of different genres, I first attempted to outline the history in my publication in Tibetan in 2005.² In 2009, independent of my research, similar outline appeared in English by Amy Heller.³

Still, there remain substantial gaps with little or no information about some periods. Through this introductory paper I would like to illustrate what the particular text of the Genealogy of the Ya-ngal family can add to the knowledge of the history of Dolpo and the wider region.

2. Dolpo – centuries-long home of the Ya-ngal family

Traditionally, the toponym “Dolpo” covered only what is called the “Four Direction Corners of Dolpo” (*dol phyogs gru bzhi*); Nangkhong (Nang khong), Bantsang (Ban tshang), Tarap (Rta rab) and Tangshong (Rtang gshong). The latter is often called Tsarbong as it is divided into Tsarkha (Tshwa dga') and Barbung (Bar rong). This was usually confused in past literature.⁴ In the text of *Zhang zhung snyan rgyud* the expression “three corners of Dolpo” (*dol po gru gsum*) appears without differentiation of the regions (see Spa ston bstan rgyal bzang po 2006, p. 51). As is frequently the case, the toponym Dolpo, however, remains in some cases ambiguous.⁵

2) Initially I wrote a small sketch on the history of Dolpo entitled *Dol po mol ba'i sngon 'gro'i gtam* which attempted to provide a foundation for the history of Dolpo and was published in 2005 as a preface to *Ya ngal gdung rabs* (see Yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan 2005, pp. V–XVIII.).

3) In 2011 I read this paper in Paris and only there did I have the opportunity to consult the book published by Amy Heller (*Hidden Treasures of the Himalayas – Tibetan Manuscripts, Paintings and Sculptures of Dolpo*), who kindly presented it to me herself. The book contains a part dealing with the history of Dolpo and Bicher (Byi gcher), probably the most detailed so far in a western language (Heller 2009, pp. 17–29). In many respects both my and her texts are in agreement, Amy Heller's dealing is more detailed in some topics (reign of Dzumla), but still there are events which I perceive in a different light.

4) They listed either Tsarkha or Barbung as the fourth corner; see Snellgrove 1992, p. 15 and Schaeffer 2004, p. 15: “Local tradition divides the region into ‘four corners’ or four principal valleys: Nangkhong, Panzang, Barbung, and Tarap.” See also Bauer 2004, p. 1: “Dolpo encompasses four valleys – Panzang, Nangkhong, Tsharka, Tarap – and a people who share language, religious and cultural practices, history and way of life.”

5) The question still remains unanswered about whether Tsoprungmo (Mtsho spungs mo) and even Tichurong (/G/Ti chu rong) are counted under the Four Direction Corners of Dolpo



Dolpa District of Nepal.

Later in 20th century this territory was annexed with some neighboring Hindu regions designating an administrative district and given the name Dolpa by Nepalese government. So the name Dolpa is not identical with the historical toponym Dolpo. The area of historical Dolpo is formed of 1,059 houses and has a population of 5,020 people settled in six Village Development Committees (VDC) according to the 2001 Nepal Census⁶ based on data of 1991. Dolpa is a broader area divided into Upper Dolpa and Lower Dolpa.⁷

or not. People of the mentioned localities consider themselves to be a part of Dolpo, but people of Dolpo sometimes call them *rong pa* and see them as different from Dolpo.

- 6) According to the Nepal Census Data 2001 the population of following Village Development Committees (VDC) in 1991 was recorded as: Bhijer 87 houses and 400 people, Charkha 101(h) 552(p), Dho 146(h) 703(p), Mukot 124(h) 638(p), Saldang 386(h) 1714(p) and Tinje 215(h) 1013(p). The data are available on Digital Himalaya Project (by Alan Macfarlane and Mark Turin). See <http://www.digitalhimalaya.com/collections/nepalcensus/form.php> (accessed in October 2011).
- 7) According to the Nepal Census Data 2001 the population of Dolpa, not including the historical Dolpo, consists of seventeen more Village Development Committees with 3,909 houses inhabited by 19,993 people as listed in 1991: Jufal 300(h) 1513(p), Kaigaun 135(h) 717(p), Kalika 157(h) 902(p), Khadang 144(h) 820(p), Lawan 279(h) 1270(p), Likhu 262(h) 1465(p), Majhfal 274(h) 1436(p), Narku 194(h) 1025(p), Pahada 237(h) 1413(p), Phoksundo 94(h) 457(p), Raha 110(h) 511(p), Rimi 174(h) 970(p), Sahartara 339(h) 1511(p) and

Tibetan written sources⁸ give the spelling *dol po*, but foreigners use various spelling such as Dolpo, Thorpo (see Kawaguchi 1909, pp. 61, 62 & 73), Dolpa and *gdol po*. The first name is an English transcription or pronunciation of *dol po*. The second name is given by the Japanese monk Ekai Kawaguchi in 1900, the first known foreigner to reach Dolpo.⁹ The third name is given by the Nepalese government and now it has started to be called Dolpali, i.e. people of Dolpo. Local of Dolpo call themselves *dol ba*, but in written Tibetan *dol po pa* is used. The fourth-mentioned written form for Dolpo appears in the Manual of Standard Tibetan by Nicolas Tournadre and Sangda Dorje.¹⁰ Actually the Tibetan word *gdol* is a general term for lower caste including butcher, hunter, fisherman and robber. I have never seen such a spelling myself.

The earliest reference about Dolpo I am aware of is in the so-called “Four Medical Tantras”¹¹ (*Rgyud bzhi*). This medical text is traditionally attributed to Yuthog Nyingma Yonten Gonpo (G.yu thog rnying ma yon tan mgon po), 8th century.¹² While portions of the “Four Medical Tantras” may be later

Sarmie 279(h) 1396(p). See <http://www.digitalhimalaya.com/collections/nepalcensus/form.php> (October 2011).

- 8) Some of the local sources give the spelling *sdol po* and *rdol po* but I consider these as a misspelling since they are far from the local pronunciation for Dolpo.
- 9) He just passed through the village of Tsarkha in Upper Dolpa on his way to Tibet and thought that Dolpo was only the name of Tsarkha village. See Kawaguchi 1909, p. 73: “In due course we arrived at a village called Thorpo, situated on the other side of the mountain we had crossed. Another name of the village is Tsaka.”
- 10) See Tournadre & Dorje 2003, p. 30 “*gdol-po’i skad/tō:pō: kã’*. The Dölpo dialect is found in Dolpa district.”
- 11) See G.yu thog yon tan mgon po 2002, p. 660: “For the welfare of beings the Enlightened Buddhas were manifested and taught a composing medicine in India, moxibustion and cleansing pulse in China, mainly phlebotomy (i.e. bleeding as medical treatment) in Dolpo and reading pulse and analyzing urine in Tibet” (*bder gshegs rnam kyis sprul pas’gro don du/rgya gar yul du sman gyi sbyor ba gsungs/rgya nag yul du me btsa’rtsa sbyongs gsungs/dol po’i yul du gtar ga gtso bor bstan/ bod kyi yul du rtsa chu’i brtag pa bstan/*).
- 12) See Dung dkar 2002, p. 1875: “Yuthog Nyingma Yonten Gonpo personal physician of Trisong Deutsen and author of Palden Gyuzhi” (*khri srong lde’u btsan gyi bla sman pa/ dpal ldan rgyud bzhi’i byed po g.yu thog rnying ma yon tan mgon po*), p. 1876: “Yuthog Nyingma Yonten Gonpo is the earliest author of the basic texts and founder of the art of medicine endowed with specific Tibetan national characteristics. (He) was born as the son of his father Yuthog Khyepo Dorje and mother Gyapa Choedron at Toelung Kyina in Earth-Monkey year of the Eighth century (708)” (*g.yu thog rnying ma yon tan mgon po – bod mi rigs kyi khyad chos ldan pa’i gso rig gi rigs pa’i gzhung lugs thog mar gsar gtod mdzad pa po yin/ spyi lo’i dus rabs brgyad pa (708) sa sprel lor stod lung skyid sna ru yab g.yu thog khyad po rdo rje dang yum rgya pa chos sgron gnyis kyi sras su’khrungs*).

additions, it is said in the text that a physician from Dolpo, Khyolma Rut-si¹³ was invited by the king Trisong Deutsen (Khri srong lde'u btsan). This is corroborated by oral tradition maintained by a family in Dolpo who claim to be his descendents.

In the first biography of the great translator Rinchen Sangpo (Rin chen bzang po, 958–1055) by the 11th century Khyithangpa, it is recorded that Jang-chub Nyingpo (Byang chub snying po) from Dolpo was one of the four main disciples of the Great Translator Rinchen Sangpo.¹⁴

There is also a reference dated to the 13th century saying that Hor's army expelled *skal-mon* people to Tichurong (Gti cu rong/ Ti cu rong)¹⁵ in the area

- 13) See Sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho 1982, p. 169: "Furthermore dharmarāja Trisong Deutsen thought in his heart: ancestors in the past and also myself later, we have introduced well the tradition of the art of healing and it has spread. Now, many learned physician from various directions should be gathered. Kinds [of scriptures] which were not translated earlier should be entirely spread. Thinking so he gave many presents such as gold and ordered messengers to invite [physicians] from each of the countries, Shanti Garbaha from India, Guhya Vajra from Kashmir, three [physicians] from China; Tongsum Gangwa, Hashang Bala and Hangti Pata, Hala Shanti from Tazig, Sengdho Woechen from Turkey, Kyolma Rut-si from Dolpo and Dharma Shila from Nepal. They are known as the Nine Royal Physician Masters arriving from four directions" (*gzhan yang chos kyi rgyal po khri srong lde'u btsan gyi thugs dgongs la/ sngar yab mes rnam dang phyis bdag nyid kyi kyang gso ba rig pa'i bka' srol legs par btod pas dar rgyas byung mod kyi/ da rung phyogs phyogs kyi sman pa mkhas pa du ma bsags/ sngon chad ma bsgyur ba'i rigs mtha' dag dar bar bya'o dgongs te gser la sogs pa'i bya dga' mang du bstsal/ pho nya ba yul so sor bka' yis mngags pa las/ 'phags yul nas shanti garbha/ kha che nas gu hya badzra/ rgya nag stong gsum gang ba dang ha shang ba la/ hang ti pa ta gsum/ stag gziz nas ha la shanti/ gru gu nas seng mdo 'od chen/ dol po nas khyol ma ru tsi/ bal po nas dharma shi la ste mtha' bzhi nas byon pa'i rgyal po'i bla sman dgur grags pa gdan drangs/*); p. 172: "Dolpo physician has [written a text called] weapon of eight forms of fearlessness, clarifier of the hidden, Volume on signs of death and life, signs marking a pulse and treatment method of phlebotomy (bleeding as medical treatment)" (*dol po'i sman pas mi 'jigs pa brgyad kyi mtshon cha/ gab [pa] gsal byed/ 'tsho 'chi rtags kyi le'u/ rtsa'i la nyel/ gtar kha'i dpyad/*). Also see Jo bo lhun grub bkra shis 1982, pp. 106, 107 and 110.
- 14) See Khyi thang pa 1996, p. 33: *slob ma/ ka ba bzhi ni/ khwa tse ba rin chen shes rab/ skyen wer ba shes rab dam pa/ khyi thang pa ye shes dpal/ dol po pa byang chub snying po'o/*.
- 15) See Vitali 1996, note 439 (from *Mar lung pa rnam thar*): "de la sras thon kun dga' rgya mtsho 'khrungs, de'i dus hor nag mo A lan gyi rgyud bha ra dan dur zer bas mgo byas hor dmag bod du blug, skal mon rnam se reb mu khum, gti cu sogs rong du cugs, bod mnga' ris hor gyi 'og tu cud, ye tshe la sogs pa'i rgyal po byas. His (Thon mi rdzu 'phrul mthu stobs) son Thon Kun.dga rgya.mtsho was born. During his time, Bhara dan.dur, who belonged to the lineage of Hor nag.mo A.lan, at the head of the Hor's army, invaded Tibet. He drove [people] to various sKal.mon lands (*skal mon rnam*), such as Se.reb, Mu.khum, gTi.cu in Rong, mNga'.ris of Tibet was overrun by the Hors. He (Bhara dan.dur) was the sovereign Ye tshe (Yar rtse) etc." Vitali dates the *Mar lung pa rnam thar* to the 13th Century. See Vitali 1996, p. 589: "Mar.lung.pa rnam.thar: Thon Kun.dga' rin.chen and Byang.chub.bum, Mar.lung.

of what is now Lower Dolpa around 1037.¹⁶ This proves that the Hor people had some power in the area surrounding Dolpo. Roberto Vitali identified the Hor people as those coming from the Black Turk (Qarakhanid) family of Arslan (Vitali 1996, p. 287).

The name Dolpo became widely known to the Tibetan world thanks to the fame of the great 14th century scholar Dolpopa Sherab Gyaltsen (Dol po pa Shes rab rgyal mtshan, 1292–1361), who was known, as his name suggests, to come from Dolpo. Many foreign references (see Schaeffer 2004, p. 16) start to narrate the history of Dolpo with this scholar in the 14th century, but we have seen already that the history of Dolpo dates from long before.

Then, there is a reference¹⁷ to a Hor incursion into Bantsang, i.e. one of the so-called “Corners of Dolpo”, during the 16th century,¹⁸ in the Biography of Namdrol Sangpo (Rnam grol bzang po) of Bantsang written by his student Sonam Lodoe in 1573. This simply proves the presence of Hor people (Mongols?) in Dolpo at that time, but no other details are known.

To summarize the references about the power over Dolpo: It is mentioned in the *Jo bo dngul sku mched gsum dkar chag* probably written in 16th century (see Wa gindra 1996, p. VIII), that Dolpo and Puhrang were given to Tashi Gon (Bkra shis mgon, 950–975) by his father Kyidhe Nyima Gon (Skyid

pa Byang.chub seng.ge zhes.byab.ba'i rnam.thar mgyur.bum bzugs.so, written in 1241 and anonymously revised in 1292, manuscript.”

- 16) See Vitali 1996, note 320: “Thon Kun.dga' rgya.mtsho (ca 1037; Bhara dan.dur, belonging to the lineage of Hor.nag.mo A.lan, conquered mNga'.ris.stod).”
- 17) See Bsod nams blo gros 1985, fol. 81: “Then, at the time when Hor rushed into Bantsang I rode a horse and escaped from Dralung to the upper part of Pangri Mountain. Three Hor riders suddenly appeared facing me directly. I thought “now I have no chance to overcome them”. I dismounted the horse, drove it away and stayed inside the [shelter of] Nyalo plants. I said: “Padmasambhava, He knows!” I visualized him through guruyoga and remained in the state of Great Seal. Two Hor led my horse from the place near me. It seemed that they did not notice me. Akhu Gelong looked facing me and saw a rainbow directly reaching place around me. When he saw Hor people going and leading the horse he thought that I was probably killed. He came to my place crying. That time I was probably again saved by Padmasambhava” (*yang ban tshang la hor rgyugs pa'i dus/ bdag gi [gis] rta gzhon [bzhon] nas/ gra lung nas spang ri'i ltas la gros [bros] pas/ hor rta pa gsum gyi [gyis] ze nas ston byung ste/ da mi rgyal bar 'dug bsam rta nas babs te rta phar rgyab nas/ phyag rgya chen po'i ngang la bsad pas/ hor gnyis kyis nga'i rtsa ba nas rta khyer song/ nga khong [82f] gis ma mthong ba yin par 'dug/ A khu dge slong gi [gis] ze nas ltas [bltas] pas/ nga'i rtsa ba na 'ja' cig [zhig] thal le zug 'dug/ hor gyi [gyis] rta khrid nas 'gro ba mthong nas/ nga bsad pa yin par 'dug bsam nas/ ngu yin nga'i rtsa bar sleb [slebs] byung/ de dus yang [kyang] U rgyan gyis skyobs pa yin par 'dug go//*).
- 18) David Snellgrove dates the master to the 14th century (Snellgrove 1992, p. 6 note 1), but Franz-Karl Ehrhard clarifies this as an error of one *rab byung* and gives his date of birth as 1504 (Ehrhard 1996).

lde nyi ma mgon),¹⁹ son of Palkhor Tsen (Dpal 'khor btsan) – grandson of Langdarma, the last king of Tibet. This shows that in the 10th century the Dolpo came under the rule of the Puhrang king.

However, *Mar lung pa rnam thar* describes Yatse troops passing through Dolpo to make a first war against Gungthang between 1239 and 1240²⁰ and *Gung thang rgyal rabs* mentioned their second war that possibly occurred in 1252 (see Vitali 1996, note 792; Heller 2009, p. 26). Hence, from 1268 Gampo Dhe (Mgon po lde), the king of Gungthang (Gung thang), seized both Dolpo and Mustang (Vitali *ibid.*; Heller *ibid.*) and later in 14th century Sonam Dhe (Bsod nams lde)²¹ offered it as a fiefdom to Choekyong Bum (Chos skyong 'bum), the brother of one of his commanders, as reward for having seized Puhrang (see Vitali 1996, note 815). In the 15th century members of a noble family known as Ranag (Ra nag) were politically active (see Vitali 1996, note 886) and the oral history of Dolpo claims them as local king during that time. In the early 15th century, in the neighboring region of Mustang, the dynasty started with a “district commander” (*rdzong dpon*) who later became king. A ma dpal, the Mustang ruler who established the sovereignty of his royal house over neighbouring territories, ruled Dolpo too (Vitali 1996 p.502 and note 847). In the 18th century both Mustang and Dolpo came under the influence of Gorkhas. At this moment a rather chaotic situation was created which lasted up to the middle of the 20th century.

3. The Ya-ngal family

As I already mentioned, Ya-ngal is listed among the two important family lineages of Dolpo by Snellgrove. The members of the family played a leading role in both spiritual and temporal fields. They are still active in three different

19) See Wa gindra 1996, p. 14: *bar pa bkra shis lde mgon la g.yu gong spe mo che'i mkhar sprad pas/ nga 'dir mi sdod sprin zhig pu re 'dug pa de la 'gro zer sras de la mnga' zhabs pur brang/ ya rtse glo bo dol po/ 'brog gro shod/ rgya nyi ma bar ka dang bcas byang gi skor [phog]*; and see also Vitali 1996, p. 159: “The middle son bKra.shis lde.mgon, having been assigned g. Yu.gong sPe.mo.che mkhar, said: ‘I will not stay here. That cloud is in Pu.rang. That is where I will go.’ Pu.rang, Brad, Ya.rtse, Glo.bo, Dol.po, ‘Brog Gro.shod, rGya Nyi.ma, Bar.ka [which are the] *byang skor*, were given to this son to rule.”

20) See Vitali 1996, note 792: “g.Yog Mon.dmag Ko Brdol Khri.ru 'dren, (Servile people brought [your] Mon troops to [occupy] K[l]o [bo], brDol[.po] and ?Khri[.thogs.pa]?”

21) See Vitali 1996, p. 479: “It continued to be under Gu.ge at least until 1390, when bSod.nams. lde left Pu.hrang to become king of Gung.thang.” Also see Vitali 1996, p. 484: “bSod.nams. lde granted Glo.bo and Dol.po to Chos.skyong.'bum.”

areas of Dolpo: Bicher (Byi gcher), Tarap and Tsarkha. Tradition says that the origins of the family are bound up with Nyatri Tsenpo (Gnya' khri btsan po), the first king of Tibet. Ya-ngal is mentioned as one of his Royal priests (*rgyal gshen*). However, the narration is of a strongly mythical nature and its earliest version mentioning Ya-ngal seems to appear first in the Bonpo chronicle *Grags pa gling grag* (cf. Rgyung ya bla chen khod spungs, fol. 26a-28a) which might – with some uncertainty – be dated to the 12th century (cf. Martin 1997, pp. 28–29). He is mentioned as one of the three Royal priests along with Tsemi (Mtshe mi) and Chomi (Bco mi). There is, however, a lot of confusion; a text from Dunhuang (P.T. 1038)²² mentions two “bon po” of the king: “Mtshe” and “Gco”. Ya-ngal thus does not appear there. Then another source says that Tsemi is in fact Ya-ngal,²³ etc.

The reliability of these sources thus might be questioned. Yet, there is an early reference to Ya-ngal in Buddhist sources. Ya-ngal is also mentioned amongst other Bonpo priests during the rule of Tibetan King Munitenpo (Mu ni btsan po 797?–799?) of Tibet in a short version of the *Dbā' bzhed* chronicle, probably the earliest Buddhist chronicle in Tibet.²⁴ In fact, the note on Ya-ngal appears in the text appended to the chronicle itself, dealing with funeral rituals and entitled *Zas gtad kyi lo rgyus*.²⁵ The text says that 127 Bonpos were invited to celebrate the funeral of the king. Only four of the Bonpos are named in the text, Ya-ngal being one of them.²⁶ This is sufficient proof that Ya-ngal was a rather well-known name by that time.

In another Bonpo text there is a small note about Ya-ngal Segyal (Ya ngal gsas rgyal) as a Royal priest of the Tibetan King Triralpachen (Khri ral pa can).²⁷

However the obvious historical evidence for the genealogy of individual members of the family comes in the 11th century. At that time the family gained a great reputation among the Bonpos with Sherab Gyaltsen (Shes rab

22) The document is accessible online on the OTDO web site.

23) It appears in the *Ya ngal gdung rabs* discussed below; see Yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan 2005, p. 46.

24) On the discussion of dating *Dbā' bzhed* related to Dunhuang manuscripts see Schaik & Iwao 2008, pp. 477–487.

25) See Wangdu, Diemberger 2000, p. 95. For the discussion of the *Zas gtad*, see Wangdu, Diemberger 2000, pp. 9–11.

26) See Dbā' gsal snang 2010, p. 50: *bon po yang 'phan yul gyi a gshen dang/ byi spu dang/ mtshe cog dang/ ya ngal lags pa brgya nyi shu rtsa bdun bsogs te 'dad bgyid par bcad pa las/ sras mu ni btsan pos zhang blon chen po'i mdun sar spring ba/*.

27) See Spa ston bstan rgyal bzang po 2006, p. 17: *rgyal po khri ral pa can gyi sku srung ni/ ya ngal gsas rgyal dang thod dkar sman skyid gnyis yin/*.

rgyal mtshan) who was renowned as 'Great Ya-ngal Teacher' (Yang ston chen po). He played a very important role in preserving the 'Aural Transmission of Zhangzhung', part of which he wrote down for the first time in the 11th century. Hence the family became known as Yangton (Yang ston). Nowadays members of this family are greatly respected as the main holders of Bon Doctrine in Dolpo. The Ya-ngal family stands behind the establishment of eight Bonpo monasteries in several places.

The Bon religious history of Dolpo and Mustang cannot be complete without describing the lineage of this family. Although the Bon religion had already reached those places, it started to be well-known outside Dolpo and Mustang only when this family settled there. From the text of Ya-ngal Dhungrab we learn that the Great Yangton Sherab Gyaltsen was the first Ya-ngal



Picture 1. 'Great Ya-ngal Teacher' (Yang ston chen po) on a miniature painting from Tsarkha monastery (photo by Geshe Drang srong g.yung drung, published with his kind permission).

who travelled to Upper Mustang in search of the master and settled there. His son Tashi Gyaltsen (Bkra shis rgyal mtshan) came to Lower Mustang and founded Lubra (Klu brag) village (Ramble 1983, p. 276). Tashi Gyaltsen's son Lama Ngakpa (Bla ma sngags pa) was the first Ya-ngal who settled in Dolpo. His journey to Dolpo was connected with the story of foundation of the village called Bicher in the early 13th century (Ramble 1983, p. 284). But in Buddhist sources the foundation of this village is said to be slightly earlier and related to Tsukna Rinchen's (Gtsug sna rin chen) journey to Dolpo (Mathes 2003, p. 88).

However, there is also an argument connected with the life of Milarepa (1042–1123). In his famous biography composed in 1488 he is described as studying sorcery with five other disciples from Dolpo (*dol gyi gces phrug rnam lnga*).²⁸ Dolpo is probably mentioned in a similar sense in the earlier biography of Milarepa by Rangjung Dorje (Rang byung rdo rje, 1284–1339).²⁹ Yet the names of these disciples from Dolpo are not listed in these biographies.

The story is known in oral tradition in Dolpo as well. This speaks only about three of them and knows their names and the places they came from.³⁰ One of them was from the so-called Phugpa (Phug pa) clan of Bicher. There is not any Phugpa in Bicher anymore, but the ruins of their village along with the so-called fortress still remain.³¹ These details about the sorcerers from

28) Rus pa'i rgyan can 2000, p. 28: *ngas gung thang gi lhun grub mgron khang bya bar zhag 'ga' bsdad nas lam grogs btsal bas/ mgna' ris dol nas yin zer ba'i gces phrug lnga dbus gtsang gi phyogs la chos dang mthu slob tu 'gro ba yin zer sleb byung ba la*.

29) See Heller 2009, p. 33, note 6: "I thank Andrew Quintman, who is currently preparing a thesis on the biographies of Milarepa, for telling me that this episode is found in the biographical tradition of books and thangkas starting from the time after the appearance of a biography in 1488, while in the biography written by the Third Karmapa Ranggyung Dorje [rang byung rdo rje] (1284–1339), there is possibly a mention of men from Dolpo accompanying Milarepa.

30) Namely from Kharpa (Mkhar pa) in Tarab, from Phugpa (Phug pa) in Bicher and from Zelpa (Zel pa) in Namtoe (Nam stod). Gonmoche (Dgon mo che) monastery of Crystal Mountain (Shel ri bo 'brug sgra) in Dolpo has preserved a broken meteoric Vajra, the possession of the 13th century siddha Drubthob Senge Yeshe (Grub thob Seng ge ye shes). The text of "Register of Gonmoche monastery" (*Dgon mo che dkar chag*) says that it was broken when Drubthob Senge Yeshe was magically attacked by the descendant of one of the three sorcerers of Dolpo, who are mentioned also in Milarepa's biography. See Pema Dorje 2000, p. 63: *gnam lcags kyi rdo rje de nyid gza' bdud kyis phul bar grags shing rwa chag dgos don yang grub thob chen po'i snyan pa la dol gyi gces spun gsum gyi rgyud 'dzin 'gas ma bzod nas mthu brgyab pa bkag pas byung bar grags/ mthu dang po rdo rje'i rwa re chag/ gsum pa'i tshe dgon pa la'ng nyams chag cung zad byung bar grags so//*.

31) Particularly a ruin of the temple called "Mthu khang" probably built by the Phugpa clan. Moreover, there are several ruins such as Phulak (Phu lag) and Gangral (Sgang ral) around



Picture 2. Bonpo temple of Bicher (photo by Geshe G.yung drung rgya mtsho, 2011).

Dolpo given in the oral tradition might be perhaps taken as an indication of some historical credibility of the story. One of the sorcerers is said to be from Phugpa, which formed part of Bicher village.³² The story speaks about the 11th century, rather a long time before the alleged foundation of Bicher either by Lama Ngakpa or Tsugna Rinchen. According to this story, the Bicher village already existed in the lifetimes of these two individuals.

Lama Ngakpa built the first Ya-ngal temple of Dolpo in Bicher, which is now known as Bonpo Lhakhang (Bon po lha khang). Nevertheless, there was already one Bonpo monastery called Sergon (Ser dgon) at the place named Lheteg (Lhas stegs) above the village of Tra (Bkra), that remained active until the time of Ya-ngal Palden Sangpo (Dpal ldan bzang po)³³ living probably in the 14th or 15th century.³⁴ The village of Tra and that of Bicher formed an admin-

Bicher, the history of which is lost. Among them are also those which are known to the local people as Phugpa.

32) The ruins of Phugpa are just above the present Bicher village.

33) Palden Sangpo was a son of the grandson of Lhabum (Lha 'bum), a brother of Gyaltsen Rinchen who built Samling monastery in the 13th century.

34) It is mentioned in the colophon of some manuscripts of Samling monastery that those were written by Palden Sangpo at a monastery called Sergon. Nyelton Yungdrung Dargye (Snyel

istrative unit at that time. Lama Ngakpa had only one son. His grandson, however, died at 21, not leaving any descendants. This lineage was thus extinguished.

Therefore, later a young Bonpo aged eight was invited from Central Tibet by the Lama Ngakpa's main disciples from Dolpo, Mustang and Drokpa³⁵ (*glo dol 'brog gsum*; see Spa ston bstan rgyal bzang po 2006, p. 49). He was from the Ya-ngal family in Tibet and was called Gyaltsen Rinchen (Rgyal mtshan rin chen). He founded Samling (Bsam gling) monastery in the 13th century.³⁶ At that time Druton Gyalwa Yungdrung (Bru ston rgyal ba g.yung drung), the 10th throne holder of Yeru Wensaka (G.yas ru dben sa kha) monastery in Central Tibet – the biggest and principal monastery of Bon during his time – approached Gyaltsen Rinchen and requested him to be his master. Druton described him as one who “possesses immense worldly merit and great fame”.³⁷ He also praised him as the “Abbot of the main monastery” (*bla ma gdan sa ba*; cf. Spa ston bstan rgyal bzang po 2006, p. 49), thus recognizing the paramountcy of Samling monastery.

It is apparent that this period was that of great glory for the Ya-ngal family. Some texts connect the Ya-ngal lineage with the famous Shen (Gshen) lineage of Shenrab Miwoche (Gshen rab mi bo che). It might originate in this period. However, I found the most detailed rendering of this connection between Ya-ngal and Shen lineages only in a 19th century text, the autobiography of the famous abbot of Menri (Sman ri) monastery Nyima Tenzin (Nyi ma bstan 'dzin, 1813–1862)³⁸ who wrote:

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- ston g.yung drung dar rgyas) has claimed that Sergon of Lheteg was somehow connected with a Bonpo clan called Nyel (Snyel) who were residing earlier than the Ya-ngal family in Dolpo and Mustang. See Nyelton Yungdrung Dargye 2008, p. 19: *dol po byi cher bya ba'i yul phyogs su// snga mo'i dus nas bon rgyud ma chad pa// snyel zhes grags pa'i gdung rgyud 'dzin pa rnam// gnas yul me tog bkra' ba'i steng du chags// ser dgon zhes pa'i dgon rnying chags shul dang// stong gru mkhar rdzong bya ba'i rdzong gog yod//*. He also mentioned that there exists an old text called “Register of Sergon.” See Nyelton Yungdrung Dargye 2008, p. 48: *di yang khungs ldan gyi bka' lung zhang zhung snyan rgyud bla ma'i rnam thar dang/ rdzogs chen yangs rtse klong chen/ rig 'dzin rgyud 'bum/ lhas stegs ser dgon zhes pa'i dkar chag mi lo chig stong la nye ba'i yig rnying rnam dang/ snyel bon rgan bgres dag gi ngag rgyun sogs la gzhi byas/*.
- 35) Here Drokpa means an area on the Tibetan side bordering Dolpo and Mustang such as Droeshoe; see Wa gindra 1996, p. 14: *glo bo dol po/ 'brog gro shod/*.
- 36) See Snellgrove 1992, p. 10: “Also near Bi-cher was the important bon monastery of Samling, which had been founded by rGyal-mtshan rin-chen in the first half of the 13th century.” See Heller 2009, p. 36 for discussion on the confusion about who was the actual founder of Samling.
- 37) See Bru ston rgyal ba g.yung drung 2010, p. 47: *'jig rten gyi sku bsod dang snyan pa'i grags pa yang che bar byung*.
- 38) See Kun bzang blo gros 2003, p. 464: *sman ri'i mkhan rabs nyer gsum pa/ tshe dbang sprul pa kun mkhyen nyi ma bstan 'dzin sde dge kaM tshang gdung la spyi lo (1813) rab byung bcu*



Picture 3. Samling monastery (photo by G.yung drung rnam rgyal, 2005).

“Yangton Sherab Gyaltsen belongs to the family lineage of Ya-ngal Gyimgong [and] Kongtsa Yungdrung Wangden, the prince of Shen [Shenrab Miwoche].”³⁹

There is also another part of his text mentioning the same connection: “Phuntsokling of Tsarkha, the seat of Ya-ngal, the Shen.”⁴⁰

Yet, an earlier mention of this is found in a text dated to the 14th century, i.e. roughly the time of greatest glory of the Ya-ngal lineage. Gaton Tsultrim Gyaltsen (14th century) has written: “we learn that [Shenrab] received Kongza

bzhi pa'i chu bya lor sku 'khrungs/ nyer bzhi me sprel lor mnyam med gser khrir phebs/ chu khyi zla ba (12) tshes (15) la bde chen dbyings su gshegs/.

39) Nyi ma bstan 'dzin 1998a, p. 440: *de rjes kun 'dul la brgyud/ des yang [ya] ngal gyim gong ba gshen sras kong tsha g.yung drung dbang ldan gyi gdung rgyud yang ston shes rab rgyal mtshan gang de la brgyud pas/ grub chen de nyid rnam mkhyen sprul pa'i sku mngon du bstan pa yin pa'i phyir/ phyi rabs bstan 'gro'i don du rdzogs pa chen po snyan rgyud rgyas pa'i skor dang/ 'bring po sor bzhag dang/ chung ba 'thor bu bcas pa'i yig ris su bstan [gtan] la phabs nas 'bri bar mdzad/.*

40) See Nyi ma bstan 'dzin 1998b, p. 189: *sa mo bya yi lor yang [ya] ngal gshen gyi gdan sa tshar kha phun tshogs gling nas rtas ba'i bla ma grub dbang ratna wer zhi'i drung nas rin chen dngul gyi manDal rgyan dang ldan pa gnang bskur 'byor byung/.*

Tricham as his queen and [they bore a son] Kongtsa, the prince of Shen who belongs to the Ya-ngal lineage.”⁴¹

To further complicate the matter, this connection appears already in the *Dhodhue* (*Mdo 'dus*, the shortest biography of Shenrab) which is definitely older, although the exact date of composition is not known. The following is written there:

“[Shenrab] took Kongza Tricham [as his wife], [and] gave birth to Kongtsa, the prince of Shen. The lineage spread from him, [and his descendant] was Ya-ngal Gyimgong.”⁴²

The author of the “Genealogy of the Ya-ngal family of Royal priests” (*Rgyal gshen ya ngal gyi gdung rabs*) apparently did not take this for granted because he says that it requires clarification.⁴³ Thus the historical validity of the connection of Ya-ngal with the Shen family remains an open question; subject to future research.

I will not deal here with the details of the lineage up to the present time, as the genealogy per se will appear as a separate article; its translation will be published as the second part of this paper. The predominance of the Ya-ngal family started in the 13th century and persisted throughout the 20th century.

Suffice to say that Ya-ngal retained importance as indicated by the life of the famous 20th century Bonpo master Shardza Tashi Gyaltsen (Shar rdza bkra shis rgyal mtshan). Before his passing away he is described as expressing his wish to meet with two masters, one of them being Tenzin Gyaltsen from the Ya-ngal lineage.⁴⁴

41) See Sga ston tshul khri rgyal mtshan, p. 3: *rkong za khri lcam khab tu bzhes pa la/ gshen bu rkong tsha ste/ ya ngal gyi gdung ngo/*.

42) See Kundrol Lhasay 2004, p. 43: *rkong bza' khri lcam blang/ gshen bu rkong tsha 'khrungs/ mi rgyud de las grol/ ya ngal gyim gong lags*.

43) See Yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan 2005, p. 30: *gser mi 'di ni ya ngal srid pa'i gshen/ (gyim gong srid par zhib dgos/ mchan)*. “This golden man is Ya-ngal; [a] priest of existence, (note; check/compare with Gyimgong Sipa).”

44) See Dbra ston bska bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 1990, p. 412–13: *'di lor stod phyogs bal po'i yul nas sngon zhang zhung snyan bgyud kyi bla ma yang ston chen po'i gdung rgyud las byon pa'i bla ma dam pa bya bral ba bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan dang/ rje'i dngos slob skal bzang g.yung drung zhes pa gnyis ka stabs gcig tu rje bla ma'i mdun zhal 'dzoms pas/ da nga rang shar rdza pa zad la nye ba yin/ khyed gnyis sgug yod pas nyams dga' che gsungs nas dgyes spro gnan/ zhal 'phros su bla ma gangs ri ba 'di sa thag ring po nas nged la bsam nas byon pa yin pas rang nas dbang bka' smin grol thams cad phul ba yin cing lung rgyun bcas rdzogs pa yin pas 'di dag dang mthun pa'i nyams len mdzod/ mthar rang yul gyi phyogs su nga'i gsung 'bum rnams drongs nas 'byon pa'i dus shig 'ong ba yin zhes gsungs par mdzad/ 'di las 'phro sad pa'i slob ma thun mong min pa yin gsungs nas thugs gtsigs su mdzad par snang ngo/*.

4. Genealogy of the Ya-ngal family

To sum up, the majority of the inhabitants of Dolpo follow the Nyingma traditions of Tibetan Buddhism nowadays. But still a significant part of the population practices the Bon religion. Among them the families of Nyel (Snyel), Treton (Tre ston)⁴⁵ and Ya-ngal are prominent in the area. Here, I will concentrate on the Ya-ngal family.

Although known under the name ‘Ya-ngal’, they have later also been called by the name ‘Yangton’ (Yang ston). Initially the Ya-ngal family came from Central Tibet to settle in Upper Mustang in the 11th century. After that, a member of the following generation settled in Lower Mustang; later one of his sons came to Dolpo where he was greatly venerated by the local Bonpos. An earlier prestigious ancestor was believed to be a royal priest of Nyatri Tsenpo, the first king of Tibet. Another significant role of the family lay in preserving the teaching of the ‘Aural Transmission of Zhangzhung’ (*Zhang zhung snyan rgyud*). In Dolpo the family is well known as the founder of the Samling monastery which continues to be the main monastic seat (*gdan sa*) of the family.

Here I intend to focus on the study of the text entitled “Genealogy of the Ya-ngal family of royal priests” (*Rgyal gshen ya ngal gyi gdung rabs*, referred to as “Ya-ngal Dhungrab” thereafter) written by a member of this family. The text lacks precise dating of the family members, the information given is often unclear, and also certain folios are placed in incorrect order in the text. All these factors contribute to the obstacles facing a better understanding of the text. In this paper, it is intended to solve these problems by comparing the text with other references available from different textual sources, as well as local oral informations.

The full title of this text is; “Genealogy of family lineage of transmitted instructions of the royal priests Ya-ngal which emerged earlier than all [others] as an eye [among the] senses⁴⁶ called Melodious voice of Brahma’s great conch shell” (*Kun gyi nang nas dbang po mig ltar sngon du byung ba rgyal*

45) *Dong mang gur gsum gyi rnam thar* has recorded Treton Chimed of Tarab among the disciples of Yangton Tashi Gyaltsen; Tenzin Namdak 1972, p. 469: *ta rab tre ston 'chi med*.

46) *Tib. dbang bo mig ltar*. This is interpreted in the sense that Ya-ngal is the first lineage of Bon; even before Shenrab Miwo’s lineage. See Yang sgom mi ‘gyur rgyal mtsan 2005, p. 43: *gdung rabs las sngon du byung ba dbang po mig ltar zhes ci ltar zhe na/ ya ngal gdung 'di yang ston pa 'jig rten du ma byon gong du yang yod par bshad/*. (Therefore if one asks why it is said that it had ‘emerged earlier than all [other] genealogies similarly to an eye [among the] senses’, it is explained that this Ya-ngal family lineage existed even before the Teacher [Shenrab’s] arrival into this ‘world of destruction’).

gshen ya ngal bka' brgyud kyi gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so). It was published by Khedup Gyatso in Dolanji, in 1978. It is written in Tibetan cursive (*dbu med*) script and contains 135 pages in *pecha* (*dpe cha*) form.

When reading this text in 2005 a number of mistakes struck me there. These mistakes were often further reproduced in citations in many later texts. In an attempt to restore a reliable reading I tried to compare it with the texts mentioned in the colophon as being the main sources. Many replacements of folios and scribal errors were spotted through such a method and the result was a new publication of the text in 2005. Still, some parts remained problematic for me with no solution at hand at that time.

Later, when coming across a manuscript of *Bskang 'bum*, a collection of various propitiation ritual texts kept in Menri monastery in India, I noticed that its handwriting was similar to the handwriting of the text of Ya-ngal Dhungrab. It must be noted that both of them are written in rather unusual and specific handwriting. It thus became apparent to me that the scribe of both texts was the same person. In the colophon the following note appears: "[It was] handwritten by Yungdrung Gyaltsen."⁴⁷ From this I concluded that Ya-ngal Dhungrab's copy was also written by him.

Later I met Geshe Tenzin Chogden and he confirmed my hypotheses. Besides that he revealed in which way the pagination of the published version was probably confused. Initially, Gelong Achoe (*Dge slong A mchod*) copied the original text from Lubra on common sheets of paper, apparently in a rush. This happened probably in the 1960s. This text was rewritten in traditional *pecha* form by his already-mentioned disciple, Yungdrung Gyaltsen. I presume that some incorrect sequences of the sections of the text have their origin in this double copying.

This story reveals that the original of the manuscript is kept in Lubra monastery. I did not know this in 2005 when the corrected version was published. However, recently Roberto Vitali kindly gave me copies of two different versions of "Ya-ngal Dhungrab". They represent two different manuscript versions of "Ya-ngal Dhungrab." It turned out that the first of them⁴⁸ is a copy

47) In the colophone of *Bskang 'bum* manuscript kept in Menri monastery was mentioned thus: *phran zhu btsun g.yung drung rgyal mtshan ming gis rang lo bcu drug dus bris pa lags/*.

48) Tib. *Kun kyis nang nas dbang po'i 'dang ma mig ltar sngon du 'byung ba gshen yang ngal bka' rgyud kyis gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*. Cf. with Vitali 1996, p. 590: *Kun kyis nang nas dbang po'i 'dangs yig ['dang ma mig] ltar sngon du 'byung ba gshen ya ngal bka' rgyud kyi gdung rig [rabs] un chen gtsang [tshangs] pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so*.

of the Lubra manuscript. This version is identical with the one mentioned already by Charles Ramble (1983, p. 270), who translated its title as “The Voice, so called, of Brahma, the lineage history of the clan of the Yang-ngal Priests which is like sight, the foremost of all the senses.” Both the first and second versions⁴⁹ are different from the copy of Samling manuscript mentioned by David Snellgrove as “Genealogy of the religious line of the noble priests of Ya-ñal”,⁵⁰ which is kept in the British Library, London. Further work on restoration of the text would require comparison of all the versions mentioned above.

5. Dating the text and the author

In the colophon of this Genealogy the author mentioned that he completed this text at Samling monastery in the year of the female water-snake.⁵¹ Besides that someone has added a few paragraphs in this text including the date of the death of the author, Migyur Gyaltsen, in the wood-horse year at the age of thirty-one.⁵² It clarifies that this text was written one year before the author's death.

These years are lacking precise information on the particular year cycle, i.e. Rabjung (*rab byung*). I attempted to match them exactly with the western calendar.

49) Tib. *Kun kyis nang nas dbang po'i dang ma mig ltar sngon du 'byung ba rgyal gshen yang ngal bka' rgyud kyis gdung rabs un chen tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs so.*

50) See Snellgrove 1967, p. 4: “The genealogy of the lamas of Samling, entitled *rGyal-gšen Ya-ñal gyi bkah-brgyud kyī gduñs-rabs* ‘Genealogy of the religious line of the noble priests of Ya-ñal.’”

51) Yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan 2005, p. 79: *yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan bdag tshe dbang gzhung bzhi'i bcad rgyar gsang 'dzab 'dren pa'i thun mtshams su chu mo sbrul lo'i dpyid zla ra ba'i yar tshes la pho brang bsam gtan gling du yi ger btap pa re zhiḡ rdzogs so// mi 'thad gal 'khrul gyur pa ji srid pa/ mkhyen ldan mkhas mchog rnams kyis gzigs bcos 'tshal/ dge'o// bkra shis/ zhal dro/ sarb mangg laM///*. (I, Yangom Migyur Gyaltsen, finished at this point putting into letters this self-rising sun of history unavailable in the past in order to remove the ignorance of mind, darkness of delusion and doubt, during the session break of reciting a secret mantra in seclusion for a performance of “Four Main Rituals of Tsewang [Rigzin]” (*Tshe dbang gzhung bzhi*) without speaking to others, at the residence-palace of Samten Ling, during the waxing moon of the first spring month of the year of the female water-snake.)

52) See Yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan 2005, p. 75: *bar pa mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan de bar chad dbang gis sku tshe mthar ma phyin par dgung lo so gcig nas shing rta zla ba gsum pa'i tshes bcu bdun la dgongs pa bon nyid dbyings su gshegs so//*. (Middle [son] Migyur Gyaltsen, Due to the obstructions he did not reach the limit of his life-span and his thought passed into ‘space of ultimate nature’ at the age of thirty one on the seventeenth day [and] third month of wood-horse [year]).

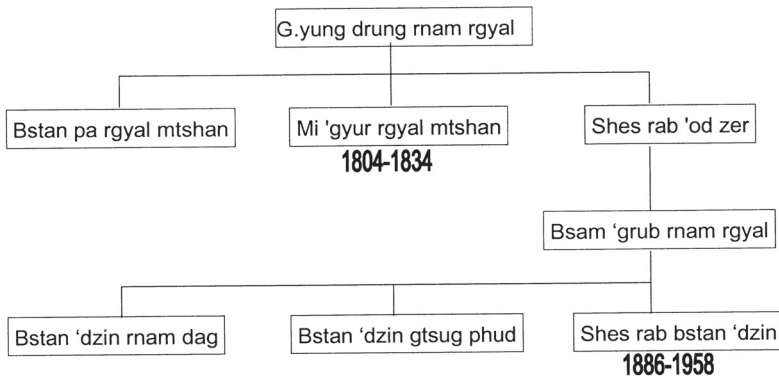


Chart 1: Relatives of the author Migyur Gyaltsen

It is clear from the text itself that the author of the text, Migyur Gyaltsen, had a younger brother called Sherab Woser (Shes rab 'od zer). From the unpublished collection of works by Nyelton Yungdrung Dargye I learnt that his younger brother had a son called Samdup Namgyal (Bsam 'grub rnam rgyal)⁵³ and that his son was Sherab Tenzin (Shes rab bstan 'dzin).⁵⁴ In the text the year of birth for Sherab Tenzin is given and it is mentioned that he lived for 73 years,⁵⁵ again, not giving the Rabjung (see Chart I).

Fortunately, he met with David Snellgrove who gave the precise date of his passing away, the year 1958 (see Snellgrove 1992, p. 14): "Lama Sherab [Tenzin] of Samling, who was so helpful to me during my stay at his monastery in 1956 and who died in 1958." This exactly fits the 72-year gap and his year of birth given by the Tibetan text.

From this we can with certainty deduce that the exact years for the author of the text, Migyur Gyaltsen, were 1804–1834. If it were to be 60 years earlier,

53) Nyelton Yungdrung Dargye 2008, p. 33: *gdung rabs der yang ston g.yung drung rnam rgyal gyi rgyud du lcam sring drug yod pa las sras gsum ni/ che ba bstan pa rgyal mtshan dang/ bar pa mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan/ chung b shes rab 'od zer zhes gsal ba'i shes rab 'od zer de nyid kyi sras ni bla ma bsam 'grub rnam rgyal lo//.*

54) Nyelton Yungdrung Dargye 2008, p. 34: *bla ma bsam 'grub rnam rgyal gyi lcam phyi ma shes rab byams ma la sras che ba bstan 'dzin rnam dag dang/ bar pa bstan 'dzin gtsug phud/ chung ba sku zhabs shes rab bstan 'dzin bcas bstan 'dzin rnam gsum 'khrungs/.*

55) Nyelton Yungdrung Dargye 2008, p. 36: *yang ston sku zhabs shes rab bstan 'dzin mchog/ / mnga' ris phyogs kyi dol po byi gcer du/ / yab ni yang ston bsam 'grub rnam rgyal dang/ / yum ni shes byams ma bya ba la/ / gdung sras gsum 'khrungs kun gyi mtha' chung du/ / me pho khyi yi lo la mngon pa bltams/ /* p. 39: *"dgung grangs bdun cu don gsum bzhes pa'i thog/ / snyun nad dam po zhig gis rkyen byas te/ /'dir snang gzugs sku'i rnam pa dbyings su bsdus/ /.*

i.e. the previous Rabjung, this would be too long for two generations, i.e. the son of the author's younger brother and his son.

Thus, concluding, the author Migyur Gyaltsen died in the wood-horse year 1834 and the text was written in the female water-snake year 1833. This genealogy is thus 178 years old and written six generations ago from the present lama of Samling.

6. Particularities of the text

At the conclusion of this part introducing the place, family and the text of Ya-gnal, I would like to highlight the specific features of the Ya-ngal Dhungrab, which often pose problems for understanding the text and the role of the Ya-ngal family through history.

6.1. PAGINATION

It has already been mentioned that the main task to be done in the future is to establish the correct reading and pagination. Some results of such work on appear already in the publication of the text from the year 2005 (Yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan 2005). But it will be necessary to compare it with the original Lubra version and then compare it with other existing manuscripts copied from an original text at Samling by Snellgrove and others mentioned above.

There are wrong sequences in some parts of the manuscript published in 1978. Whole parts of the text should be correctly placed in a different location within the text. At the present state of my knowledge it seems to me that some mistakes were caused by copying the Lubra manuscript and some were already present in it. These problems will hopefully be solved in the translation of the text, which is intended to be published as "Part II" of this text next year.

6.2. ABBREVIATED STYLE

In many cases the whole story is shortened into a single or a few sentences and the correct meaning remains unclear. It is only through other written sources or oral tradition that one can grasp the meaning of some passages.

For example the founding story of Lubra village is too brief. It speaks about ritual, during which two needles were stuck in the soil and a basket was placed

over them. The text continues saying: “He [Tashi Gyaltsen] came to look at it after seven days and found that the basket became full. It was lifted not touching the ground.”⁵⁶ Only with the help of the story known in the area does one know that it concerned the walnut tree, which is not mentioned at all in the text. The two needles changed into a tree and by growing filled the basket and lifted it by the boughs of the tree.

Another example of the abbreviated style can be illustrated by the fact that the brevity led some authors to wrong understanding. In the text, it is firstly mentioned that Tashi Gyaltsen had two sons mentioned as “older” (*che ba*) and “younger” (*chung ba*) and one daughter named Ya-ngal Drangsongma (Ya ngal drang srong ma). The text then deals with both of the sons in some detail and says that the older son, Lama Ngagpa, had three children. It names two of them and then the text continues, saying “middle master” (*bar pa bla ma*). Some Tibetan authors⁵⁷ took it as a reference to the third child of Lama Ngagpa, but in fact the text goes back to discussing the daughter Ya-ngal Drangsongma. It says that she was ordained and received the name Sempa Sal (Sems dpa' gsal). Understanding it wrongly, some authors write then that Sempa Sal was the daughter of Lama Ngakpa. In fact, she was the daughter of Tashi Gyaltsen.⁵⁸

56) See Yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan 2005, p. 56: *zhag bdun nas bltas pas skon pa gang by-ung nas/ sa la ma reg tsam bskyags nas gda'.*

57) Tenzin Namdak 1972, p. 471: *ya ngal drang srong ma'i rnam thar la/ bla ma sngags pa dang gnyag mo dngos grub gnyis la sras mang du 'khrungs nas ma btub/ sos pa lcam gral [dral] gsum byung ba'i bar mar gyur pa/ chung nas khro bo dbang chen la thugs 'byongs par mdzad cing/ dgung lo bcu bdun ma la mkhan po klu brag pa la rab tu byung/ mtshan sems nyid gsal du btags/.* This text doesn't talk about other children of Tashi Gyaltsen as it says; p. 468: *ska-bs der chag gi blang phrug ma cig [zhig] yum du bzhes pa las sras sngags pa 'khrungs lo gsum na btsun mo gum nas/ btsun mo cig [zhig] nye drung gis len zer ba la/ 'khor ba la zhen pa log nas m bzhes.* There is a line that mentioned Yangton Chenpo as Tashi Gyaltsen's elder brother (p. 468): *cen [gcen] po yang ston chen po la rdzogs chen snyan rgyud kyi ngo sprod zhus.....* Tenzin Namdak 1981, p. 221: *ya ngal drang song ma'i rnam thar la/ bla ma sngags pa dang/ gnyag [gnyan] mo ngos grub gnyis la sras mang du 'khrungs nas ma btub/ sos pa lcam gral [dral] gsum byung ba'i bar mar gyur pa/ chung nas khro bo dbang chen la thugs 'byongs par mdzad cing/ rgung lo bcu bdun ma la mkhan po klu brag pa la rab tu byung/ mtshan sems nyid gsal du btags/.*

58) See Yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan 2005, p. 58: *yang ston bkra shis rgyal mtshan gyi sras che ba bla ma sngags pa/ chung ba ngos slang rgyal mtshan 'bum/ sras mo ya ngal drang srong ma/.* (Yangton Tashi Gyaltsen's elder son was Lama Ngakpa, his younger [son] was Ngoel-ang Gyaltsen Bum [and] his daughter was Yangal Drangsongma.)

6.3. ORTHOGRAPHY

Moreover there are often unusual orthographies or misspellings. For example, for “Gnya' khri btsan po” it reads “Snya khri btsan po.” In another place it writes “*'dzam gling mi bde la bkod nas*” where apparently “*zhi bde*” should be there instead of “*mi bde*”.

6.4. INCOMPLETENESS OF THE LINEAGE

The text concentrates on the lineage of Yangton Gyaltsen Rinchen and omits other lineages. It has totally omitted the family lineage of Tsarkha and their monasteries and no information on them appears in the text. The Gollang (Gol lang/Kog lang) monastery of Tsarkha was active by the time of the composition of the text and was definitely known to the author. It is thus rather strange that he ignored this branch lineage. The reasons for that remain unknown and would be worthy of exploration in the future.

The text says: “At a certain time, in the “family dwelling” (*tshang*) [called] Tagdha there appeared three [sons who] fathered distinct lineages of descendants: Bontsho, Khutsho and Mentsho, the three.”⁵⁹ Then the text discusses six generations of Mentsho's descendants. The family line died out in Dolpo and the text says that at that time, i.e. after six generations, they invited 8-year-old Gyaltsen Rinchen with his father. But the father is introduced as son of Khutsho (who in turn should be a contemporary of Mentsho). This is simply impossible. There were six generations of Mentsho and this chronologically cannot fit two generations of Khutsho (one generation and the 8-year-old son of the next). Either Khutsho and Mentsho was not contemporary, or the author omitted several generations of Khutsho.

Another case of evident omission concerns Ya-ngal Yungphur (Ya-ngal g. yung phur), who is not mentioned in Ya-ngal Dhungrab at all. He appears in the text of *Nyams rgyud rgyal ba'i phyag khrid* and he is said to be one of the disciples of Sherab Gyaltsen.⁶⁰

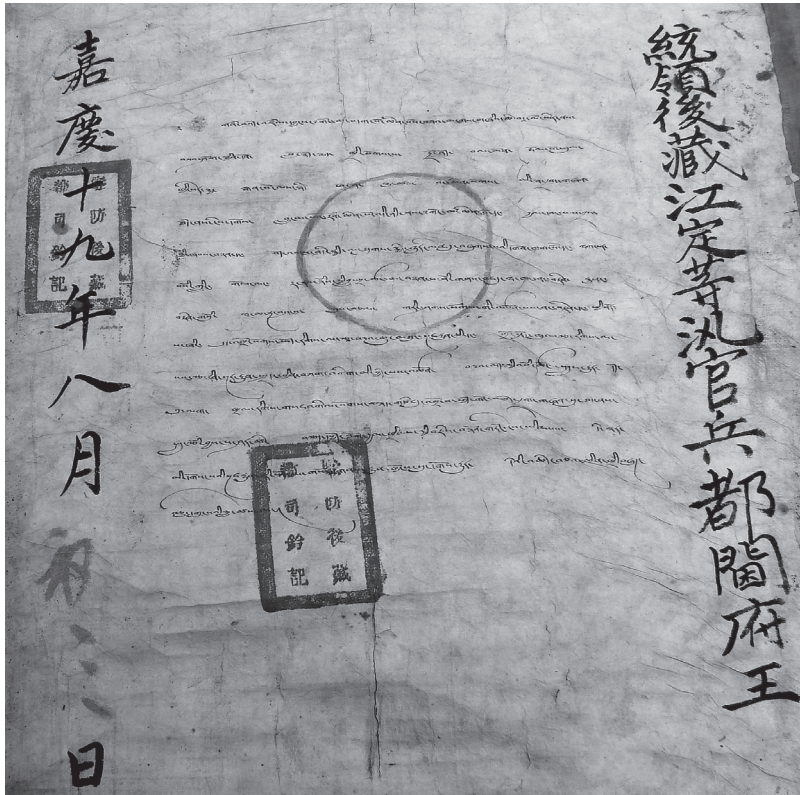
59) See Yang sgom mi 'gyur rgyal mtshan 2005, p. 48: *re zhiq stag zla'i tshang la pha sgo gsum byung ste/ bon tsho dang khu tsho dang/ sman tsho gsum mo//*.

60) See Bru ston rgyal ba g.yung drung 2010, p. 43: *smad du ya ngal g.yung phur*. But there is a different spelling in *Dong mang gur gsum gyi rnam thar*. See Tenzin Namdak 1972, p. 463: *smad du yang [ya] ngal lag g.yung po*.

Another important omission concerns the Bonpo Lhakhang temple of Bicher village which was known to be built by Lama Ngakpa according to oral history.

6.5. REEDITING OF THE TEXT

The concluding parts of the Ya-ngal Dhungrab contain several lines dedicated to the life of the author of the text Migyur Gyaltsen, including information on the author's passing away. This part is not visibly separated from



Picture 4. Decree issued by vice-brigade of Tsang garrison (Samling monastery, photo by Geshe Dge legs sbyin pa, 2010).

Migyur Gyaltsen's text and the colophon follows only after it. Thus it is clear that someone else added it, probably during the reediting of the whole text. Since the anonymous editor did not mark clearly in the text what was added by him, one can have some doubts as to whether this happened also with the rest of the text, i.e. if the editor added something to it without mentioning it.

6.6. THE FOCUS OF THE TEXT

The text of Ya-ngal Dhungrab concentrates primarily on religious achievements of the members of the Ya-ngal family. Its focus is clearly on the religious lineage. It thus does not contain much information on the members of the family who were not significant from the point of view of religion. As such the text also unfortunately does not inform us about the wider historical context. For example, it seems that since the 18th century when Gorkhas started to wield power over Dolpo, many problems appeared for the Ya-ngal family and its monasteries, particularly high taxes. It seems that all Dolpo met hardships concerning taxation claimed from the surrounding lords.

To avoid excess taxation, the Ya-ngal family appealed to other authorities. One decree preserved in Samling was issued in 1814 by the Chinese Brigade vice-commander of Tsang (Gtsang) garrison, by order of the Chinese Emperor Jiaqing, in support of Yangton, recognizing his credits towards both Chinese Emperor and the Dalai Lamas, and expressly warning against levy of additional taxes and other kinds of pressure on the Ya-ngal monasteries. Similar decrees issued by the Kings of Mustang and others also are preserved in Samling. The events which lead to the issue of these secular documents are totally omitted by the Ya-ngal Dhungrab.

Despite this lack of secular historical context of the Gorkha period, the Ya-ngal genealogy provides ample data and precious information on this most prominent Bonpo family of Dolpo from earliest times until the 19th century. The translation which will follow as part II constitutes a rare opportunity to better understand the Bonpo religious history of Dolpo and the western Himalayas.

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The use of epistemic verbal endings in different syntactic structures in spoken Tibetan

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Summary: The aim of the present paper is to illustrate the use of epistemic verbal endings in different syntactic structures in spoken Tibetan. Firstly, I will discuss their compatibility with various verbal constructions and verbal classes, and then their use in dependent clauses and questions. Special attention will be paid to their use in conditional sentences.

1. Introduction¹

In spoken Tibetan, there are a dozen different types of epistemic verbal endings that are frequently used. Some of them are paradigm-like (i.e. each type consists of several endings differing in the tense-aspect, see Vokurková 2009, 2010, 2011): *yod.pa.ʼdra*,² *yod.pa.yod*, *yong.nga.yod*, *a.yod*, *yod.kyi.red*, *yod.gro*, *yod.sa.red*, *yod-mdog.kha.po-red/ʼdug* and *yod.bzo.ʼdug*. Other epistemic verbal endings are *pa.ʼdug*, *pa.yod*, *yong* and *mi.yong.ngas*.

Diachronically, the epistemic verbal endings consist of nominalizers/connectors (empty, *gi*, *pa*, *rgyu*) and auxiliaries (*yod*, *red*, *ʼdug*), and they also contain other morphemes (*a*, *ʼgro*, *ʼdra*, *sa*, *bzo*, etc.). Most epistemic endings were formed by the process of ‘double suffixation’, i.e. they originally consisted of two parts (see Vokurková 2009).

The tense-aspect paradigm is the following:³

- 1) This paper is based on the research work I carried out with my Tibetan informants in Tibet (Lhasa) and the Tibetan diaspora (Dharamsala) between the years 2002 and 2005, and the results of which are summarized in my PhD. dissertation *Epistemic modalities in spoken Standard Tibetan* (Vokurková 2008). Concerning this topic and spoken Tibetan, refer also to Hu (1989), Wang (1994), Tournadre, Konchok Jiatso (2001), Tournadre, Sangda Dorje (2003), *Zangyu lasahua yufa* (2003). Concerning epistemic modality and evidentiality, refer to Chafe, Nichols (1986), Garrett (2001), Guentcheva, Landaburu (2001), Nuyts (2001), Aikhenvald (2004), Boye (2006).
- 2) I chose the present perfect form to represent each type of endings. Cf. p. 58.
- 3) For more details, refer to Vokurková 2009, 2011.

- | | | |
|---|---|------------------------|
| 1 | Perfective past | <i>pa.yin.pa'dra</i> |
| 2 | Present perfect and the immediate present | <i>yod.pa'dra</i> |
| 3 | Imperfective past, long-term present and future | <i>gi.yod.pa'dra</i> |
| 4 | (Deontic) future | <i>rgyu.yin.pa'dra</i> |

2. Compatibility of epistemic verbal endings with verbal constructions and verbal classes

Epistemic verbal endings appear in the same syntactic structures as evidential verbal endings (see Vokurková 2009, 2011) and they can, in general, combine with verbs of all verbal classes: monovalent (Ex. 1), ergative (Ex. 2), possessive (Ex. 3), affective (Ex. 4), and they are also used in causative constructions (Ex. 5). Look at the following examples of each verbal class:

- (1) *sgrol.ma* *na* – *pa.yod*
 Dolma be ill – PFV+EPI 3 +EGO
 Dolma must have been ill. (The speaker was with Dolma last night and he knows she drank a lot of alcohol last night.)
- (2) *khyed.rang* – *gis* *hpha.ran.si* – *nas* *dri.chab* *'di* *gzigs*
 you+H – ERG France – ABL perfume+H this buy (PAS)+H
-yong.nga.yod
 – PERF+EPI 2+EGO
 You probably bought the perfume in France. (The speaker remembers that France is famous for its perfumes.)
- (3) *khong* – *la* *spu.gu* *skyes* – *pa'dra*
 she+H – OBL child give birth (PAS) – PFV+EPI 2+SENS
 It seems she's had a baby. (She was about to have a baby so she was at home all the time. Today, she is not at home.)
- (4) *khong* *gdon.dre* – *la* *zhed* – *kyi.yod.kyi.ma.red*
 s/he+H ghost – OBL be afraid – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT+NEG
 Most probably, she won't be afraid of ghosts. (They say there are ghosts in the place where she is going. The speaker knows that she is not superstitious.)
- (5) *khong* – *gis* *pad.ma* *las.ka* *byed* – *ru* *bcug*
 s/he+H – ERG Pema work do (PRS) – CAUS let
– gi.yod. 'gro
 – IMPF+EPI 1+FACT
 She may let Pema work. (The speaker bases his statement on the fact that Pema has come of age.)

It appears that it is generally more difficult to use epistemic endings with affective verbs than with other verbal classes. A number of combinations of an affective verb and an epistemic ending were rejected by the informants (e.g. the epistemic endings *gi.yong.nga.yod*, *pa.yin.pa.yod*). From the point of view of the epistemic paradigm, the perfective past endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*) are often subject to more restrictions than other endings. In the following example, only the combination of *dga'* 'love' with the epistemic ending *yod*.*pa.yod* is grammatical (b), not with *pa.yin.pa.yod* (a):

- (6) a) * *khong mi 'di - r dga' - pa.yin.pa.yod*
 s/he+H person this - OBL love - PFV+EPI 2+EGO
 Intended: I think she must have loved that person.
- b) *khong mi 'di - r dga' - yod.pa.yod*
 s/he+H person this - OBL love - PERF+EPI 2+EGO
 I think she must have loved that person. (The speaker can remember her behaviour towards that person.)

Furthermore, there are restrictions on the use of certain epistemic endings when the participant perspective is taken into consideration. In sentences with the first person in the subject position, the secondary verb *myong* 'to experience' is, in general, inserted between the lexical verb and a perfective past ending (e.g. *yod.gro*, Ex. 7b). It is rare to directly combine the lexical verb and the perfective past ending. This is illustrated by the following example:

- (7) a) ? *nga - s bzas - yod.gro*
 I - ERG eat (PAS) - PERF+EPI 1+FACT
 I think I ate it. (The speaker does not remember it well.)
- b) *nga za myong - yod.gro*
 I eat (PRS) to experience - PERF+EPI 1+FACT
 I think I have eaten it. (The speaker does not remember it well.)

Some combinations of a verb and an epistemic ending are ungrammatical for prosodic, semantic or pragmatic reasons, as shown in the following sentences: in Ex. 8, the use of the lexical verb *yong* 'come' with the epistemic ending *yong* is excluded. In Ex. 9, the use of the verb *'gro* 'go' (Ex. 9b) in the *mdog.kha.po*-construction containing the auxiliary *yod* is ungrammatical unlike the verb *slebs* 'arrive' (Ex. 9a):

- (8) * *khong* *yong* – *yong*
 s/he+H come – FUT+EPI 2

Intended: He will probably come.

- (9) a) *khong* *sang.nyin* *lha.sa* – *r* *slebs* – *mdog.kha.po* – *yod*
 s/he+H tomorrow Lhasa – OBL arrive – EPI 1 – AUX (EGO)

She will probably get to Lhasa tomorrow.

- b) * *khong* *sang.nyin* *lha.sa* – *r* *'gro* – *mdog.kha.po* – *yod*
 s/he+H tomorrow Lhasa – OBL go (PRS) – EPI 1 – AUX (EGO)

Intended: She will probably go to Lhasa tomorrow.

The auxiliary *yod* is egophoric, in this sentence most probably implying the presence of the speaker in the place in question, i.e. Lhasa. Thus, only the verb *slebs* 'arrive' is grammatical because the verb *'gro* 'go' shows the direction of the verbal action from the speaker.

3. The use of epistemic verbal endings in different syntactic structures

3.1. THE USE OF EPISTEMIC ENDINGS IN DEPENDENT CLAUSES

Epistemic endings appear at the end of a complex sentence but, according to the research work, they are generally not used in dependent clauses (Ex. 10, 11b). The epistemic ending *pa.'dug* is, however, an exception since it can be used in conditional sentences in the if-clause before *na* 'if' (Ex. 11a). Compare the following examples:

- (10) a) * *khong* *phyin* – *pa.yod* – *tsang* ...
 s/he+H go (PAS) – PFV+EPI 3+EGO – because

Intended: Since he must have gone ...

- b) * *char.pa* *btang* – *pa.'dug* – *tsang* ...
 rain VBZ – FUT+EPI 3+SENS – because

Intended: Since it looks like rain ...

- (11) a) *char.pa btang - pa'dug - na ...*
 rain VBZ - FUT+EPI 3+SENS - if
 If it looks like rain ...
- b) * *char.pa btang - gi.yod.pa'dra - na ...*
 rain VBZ - IMPF+EPI 2+SENS - if
 Intended: If it looks like rain ...

On the other hand, epistemic endings, just like all kind of endings, can appear at the end of a clause that is a complement of the verb *bsam* 'think'. In this case, the epistemic ending directly precedes the verb *bsam* (Ex. 12a). Furthermore, epistemic endings may be used in sentences conveying direct and indirect speech, which are marked by the particle *ze*. As in the case of another verbal ending, when an epistemic ending is used, it is followed by the particle *ze* (Ex. 12b). These constructions correspond to relative clauses in European languages (e.g. that-clause in English).

- (12) a) *kha.par sprad mi dgos nga - s khong gnyis thug*
 phone give NEG must I - ERG s/he+H two meet
- a.yod bsams - byung
 - PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG think - PFV+EGO
 [You] do not have to pass the phone. I thought that the two of them had not met.
 (The speaker is talking to her friend who called the speaker's sister to see if she had met their niece who had just arrived in Lhasa.)
- b) *khong sgo phye dgos - med'groò ze lab - pa.yin*
 s/he+H door open need - PERF + EPI 1 + FACT RepS say - PFV+EGO
 I said that he might need to open the door. (The speaker infers from the fact that the person was waiting in front of the door.)

3.2. THE USE OF EPISTEMIC ENDINGS IN QUESTIONS

The possibility of forming questions that contain an epistemic ending is a source of controversy. Although the informants accepted sentences with some epistemic endings being followed by an interrogative particle, they refused to accept this in the case of most of the other epistemic endings. Concerning the type *a.yod*, the morpheme *a* originally had an interrogative meaning.⁴ Thus it is impossible to add an interrogative particle to endings of this

4) Cf. The use of *a* (*e*) in questions in the Amdo dialects or the polite request *a.yod - na* in central dialects.

type. The use of the following epistemic endings with interrogative particles was also rejected: the types *yod.gro*, *yod.pa.yod* (Ex. 13a), *yod.kyi.red*, and the endings *pa.yod* and *yong*. As a result, when the speaker wishes to form a question, he has, in principle, to use an evidential ending instead of the epistemic ending. This is illustrated by the following example in which only the question in Ex. 13b to the sentence *khong phyin – yod.pa.yod* 'Most probably he has left' is grammatical:

- (13) a) * *khong phyin – yod.pa.yod – pas*
 s/he+H go (PAS) – PERF+EPI 2+EGO – Q
 Intended: Is it probable that he has left?
- b) *phyin – song – ngas / phyin – 'dug – gas*
 go (PAS) – PFV+SENS – Q / go (PAS) – PERF+SENS – Q
 Has [he] left?

On the other hand, informants accepted the combinations of an interrogative particle with the type *yod.bzo'dug*, with the *mdog.kha.po*-constructions and with the ending *pa'dug*. The examples below show some of the epistemic endings and copulas used in the interrogative mood:

- (14) *ja 'di tsha.po yod – mdog.kha.po – 'dug – gas*
 tea this hot exist – EPI 1 – AUX (SENS) – Q
 Is this tea hot? (lit., Does it look like this tea is hot? Neither the speaker nor the addressee have tried it.)

According to a hypothesis that is however not accepted by all informants, the above sentence with an interrogative particle, just like the following one, could imply a negative supposition (The speaker does not think that the tea is hot):

- (15) *khong bod.pa yin.bzo'dug – gas*
 s/he+H Tibetan be (EPI 1+SENS) – Q
 Does she seem to be Tibetan? (Guessing from her appearance, the speaker does not think that the person looks like a Tibetan.)
- (16) *char.pa btang – pa'dug – gas*
 rain VBZ – FUT+EPI 3 – Q
 Is it going to rain?/Does it look like it is going to rain? (The speaker is asking somebody standing at the window about the possibility of it raining in the near future.)

Although the above example was accepted, informants suggested that this type of question was quite rare in the spoken language (used only in a particular

context) and that instead of the epistemic ending *pa.dug* followed by the interrogative particle *gas*, the evidential ending *gi.red* and the interrogative particle *pas* would be used (cf. Ex. 17):

- (17) *char.pa btang - gi.red - pas*
 rain VBZ - FUT+FACT - Q
 Will it rain?

Similarly, the following sentence was accepted with some hesitation:

- (18) ? *khong bod.pa yin.pa.dra 'dug - gas / red - pas*
 s/he+H Tibetan be (EPI 2+SENS) exist (SENS) - Q / be (FACT) - Q
 She seems to be Tibetan. Is [she]?

The above example should be interpreted as two separate clauses. The first one is an epistemic statement containing the copula *yin.pa.dra*, while the second is a question consisting of the copula *'dug* 'exist' or *red* 'be' and the corresponding interrogative particle. Thus, the example can be translated in English by 'She seems to be Tibetan. Is that how it is?/Is she?' or even 'Am I right?'. This also holds true for the type *yod.gro/med.gro.b*. Questions are formed by the copula *red* and the interrogative particle *pas*. The speaker expresses his standpoint concerning the veracity of his utterance and asks another person either to confirm it or not.

3.3. THE USE OF EPISTEMIC ENDINGS IN CONDITIONALS

Various epistemic endings can be used in conditional sentences to express past (counterfactual) and present (factual or counterfactual) conditions. These combinations resemble the conditionals with the evidential endings. However, the epistemic endings partially preserve their epistemic meaning in these sentences. This is illustrated by the example (19). As can be seen from the English translation, there is a slight difference in the degree of certainty (<100% versus 100%) between the sentence that contains the epistemic ending *pa.yod* and that with the evidential ending *yod.red*:

- (19) a) *rang - gis ci.ni teg.tsa (tog.tsam) mang.tsam brgyab*
 you - ERG sugar a little bit more put
- yod - na ja 'di zhim.po chags - pa.yod
 - PERF - if tea this good become - PFV+EPI 3+EGO
 If you had put a little bit more sugar into the tea, it would (almost) certainly have tasted good.

- b) *rang* – *gis* *ci.ni* *teg.tsa* (*tog.tsam*) *mang.tsam* *brgyab*
 you – ERG sugar a little bit more put
 – *yod* – *na* *ja* *di* *zhim.po* *chags* – *yod.red*
 – PERF – if tea this good become – PERF+FACT
 If you had put a little bit more sugar into the tea, it would have tasted good.

Sometimes, the sentence with an epistemic ending corresponds in English to the present counterfactual condition (Ex. 20a) and that with an evidential ending to the present factual condition (Ex. 20b):

- (20) a) *nga* – *r* *dngul* *yod* – *na* *yul.skor* – *la* *gro*
 I – OBL money exist – if travel – OBL go (PRS)
 – *gi.yod.kyi.red*
 – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT
 If I had money, I would (most probably) travel.
- b) *nga* – *r* *dngul* *yod* – *na* *yul.skor* – *la* *gro* – *gi.yin*
 I – OBL money exist – if travel – OBL go (PRS) – FUT+EGO
 If I have money, I will travel.

My fieldwork has shown that the present perfect epistemic endings (e.g. *yod.kyi.red*) are used in past conditionals (past counterfactual) and the imperfective (present-future or future) epistemic endings (e.g. *gi.yod.kyi.red*) in present conditionals. It is impossible to use the perfective past endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*) in past conditionals (Ex. 21). Furthermore, the use of the types *yod.pa.dra* and *yod.pa.yod* is questionable or impossible (Ex. 22) and that of *yod.sa.red* is rather rare. The following endings and types were accepted in conditional sentences: *pa.yod*, *a.yod*, *yod.kyi.red*, *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*, *yod.gro*, *yong*, *mi.yong.ngas*.

The following example illustrates the impossibility of using the perfective past endings in conditional sentences (Ex. 21a and b). In (a) the present perfect ending *a.yod* is grammatical but the perfective past ending *pa.a.yin* is not:

- (21) a) *kha.sa* *khong* *sman* *bzas* – *yod* – *na*
 yesterday s/he+H medicine eat (PAS) – PERF – if
na – *a.yod* / * – *pa.a.yin*
 be ill – PERF+EPI 3+EGO+NEG / – PFV+EPI 3+EGO+NEG
 If he had taken the medicine yesterday, he most probably would not have fallen ill.

- b) * *khyed.rang* – *phebs* – *med* – *na khong shi* – *pa.yin.gyi.red*
 you+H – come+H– PERF (NEG)– if s/he+H die – PFV+EPI 2+FACT
 / *pa.yin.pa.yod* / *pa.yin.pa'dra*
 / PFV+EPI 2+EGO / PFV+EPI 2+SENS
 Intended: If you had not come, he would have probably died.

Below is an example of the use of the type *yod.pa.yod* in conditional sentences. There is a disagreement among Tibetan informants concerning the acceptability of this type of epistemic endings in conditionals, some accepting it, others rejecting it:

- (22) ! *khong* – *la* *dus.tshod* *yod* – *na thugs.spro* – *r*
 s/he+H – OBL time exist – if party+H – OBL
phyin – *yod.pa.yod*
 go (PAS) – PERF+EPI 2+EGO
 If he'd had time, he would most probably have gone to the party.

3.3.1. THE PAST COUNTERFACTUAL CONDITIONAL

The use of epistemic endings in past conditionals is illustrated by Ex. 23 with the epistemic ending *pa.yod* and the epistemic construction *yod-mdog.kha.po-red*. The Example 24 illustrates the impossibility of the use of the type *yod.pa'dra*:

- (23) a) *lag.rtags* *'di* – *r* *khong* *dga'.po* *yod* – *na*
 present this – OBL s/he+H like exist – if
nga – *s phul* – *pa.yod*
 I – ERG give – PFV+EPI 3+EGO
 If she had liked the present, I would certainly have given it to her.
- b) *sman* *ma* – *bzas* – *na nga shi* – *yod* – *mdog.kha.po* – *red*
 medicine NEG –eat (PAS) – if I die – PERF – EPI 1 – AUX (FACT)
 If I had not taken the medicine, I would probably have died.
- (24) * *sman* *ma* – *bzas* – *na nga shi* – *pa'dra*
 medicine NEG – eat (PAS) – if I die – PERF+EPI 1+SENS
 Intended: If I had not taken the medicine, I would probably have died.

3.3.2. THE PRESENT FACTUAL AND COUNTERFACTUAL CONDITIONAL

The present conditionals can be either factual or counterfactual. Factual conditionals are illustrated by examples 25–27 and counterfactual conditionals by Ex. 28. Compare also Ex. 23a containing the past epistemic ending *pa.yod* implying the past conditional with Ex. 25 that contains the future epistemic ending *pa.dug* (*pa.dug* > *pa*) conveying the meaning of the present factual conditional:

- (25) *lag.rtags* 'di – r *khong dga'.po yod na*
 present this – OBL s/he+H like exist if
nga – s *phul* – *pa*
 I – ERG give+h – FUT+EPI 3+SENS
 If she likes the present, I will certainly give it to her.
- (26) *kha.lag* 'di *bzas* – na *khong na* – *a.yong*
 meal this eat (PAS) – if s/he+H be ill – PERF FUT+EPI 3+EGO+NEG
 I don't think she will be ill if she eats this meal.
- (27) *khong* – la *rogs.pa ma* – byas – na *shi* – *gi.yod.sa.red*
 s/he+H – OBL help NEG – do(PAS) – if die – IMPF+EPI 2+SENS
 If [we] don't help him, he will most likely die.
- (28) *nga phyi.rgyal* – la *yod* – na *ko.phi btungs* – *gi.yod.kyi.red*
 I abroad – OBL exist – if coffee drink – IMPF+EPI 2+FACT
 If I were abroad, I would probably drink coffee

4. Conclusion

This paper was aimed at studying the possibilities of using various epistemic verbal endings with different verbal classes and in different syntactic structures. Concerning the verbal classes, it appears that it is generally more difficult to use epistemic endings with affective verbs than with other verbal classes. In complex sentences, epistemic verbal endings may appear at the end of a complex sentence but, according to the results of the field-work, illustrated by examples in this paper, they are not generally used in dependent clauses. Taking into consideration the above examples, one may conclude that epistemic endings are, in general, not used in the interrogative sentences either. Concerning complex sentences, epistemic endings are frequently used in conditional sentences. The present perfect epistemic endings (e.g. *yod.kyi*.

red) are used in past conditionals (past counterfactual) and the imperfective (present-future or future) epistemic endings (e.g. *gi.yod.kyi.red*) are used in present conditionals. It is impossible to use the perfective past endings (e.g. *pa.yin.gyi.red*) in past conditionals.

Abbreviations

AUX	auxiliary
CAUS	causative
DEO	deontic
EGO	egophoric evidential
EPI	epistemic
ERG	ergative
FACT	factual evidential
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
H	honorific
IMPF	imperfective
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
OBL	oblique
PAS	past
PFV	perfective
PERF	perfect
PRS	present
Q	interrogative particle
RepS	reported speech particle
RES	resultative
SENS	sensory evidential
VBZ	verbalizer

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Nomc' Bayandeleg (1891–1967): The oral history of a mysterious hermit from Mo'nhhairhan

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Summary: During collective fieldwork¹ we have collected material from oral history on the topics of migrations and folk religion in the southern part of Hovd aimag,² Mongolia. I present here parts of an interview with 60-year-old herder Mrs. Noosgoi concerning a local hermit and man of letters Bayandeleg from Mo'nhhairhan sum. This article being a preliminary biography of an unofficial local representative of Mongolian folk religion in 20th century, is to be followed by an article on other similar personalities in Western Mongolia and by the full wording of the interviews concerning Bayandeleg.³

0. Introduction

The subject of the present text is the memory of Bayandeleg, a man of the Altai Urianhai ethnic group living in the high mountains of Mo'nhhairhan

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- 2) In the text and references I use the transcription of the Cyrillic alphabet into the Latin script introduced in *Mongolica Pragensia* '02, p. 13. In the transcription of the interview I have adopted a modified system based on Luvsanbaldan's transcription for the Clear script (*toḍ u'seg*) (Luvsanbaldan 1975). Long vowels are signed by duplicated short vowel instead of diacritic mark. In uncertain cases I tended to follow the dictionary by Coloo (1988). Since the pronunciation of Noosgoi is usually very influenced by standard Halha pronunciation, she mixes phonetic features of Urianhai Oirat subdialect with standard Halha. This can be the reason for some of the inconsistencies in the transcription.
- 3) The full wording of the interview in transcription is published on the Internet.

sum in southwestern Mongolia. Bayandeleg, who died in 1967, is the most frequently mentioned hero of the local oral history, which presents him as a hermit, healer, a wise man with the knowledge of Buddhist scriptures and a story-teller, but in the same time a man of unusual physical strength, a man who could see the future and talk to deities. The “oral biography” of Bayandeleg shows how an exceptional and multi-sided personality acquires features typical of legendary heroes, even in the stories told by his younger contemporaries. It is also important material from local history during the cataclysmic period of the early 20th century and, in particular, an interesting source of knowledge about the religious life of the nomadic communities in the remote areas of Mongolia.

In the 19th century the diffusion of monasteries covered the whole Mongolia and Buddhist literary culture entered every Mongolian region. Central Halha (especially the central and desert areas of Tüsiyetü qan ayimay and Sayin noyan ayimay which contain the oldest monastic tradition) lost their exclusive role in the written literary culture of Northern Mongolia. The repressions of the 1930s wiped out both types of representatives of the traditional literary culture – monasteries and aristocracy with educated officials. The new literary culture developed in Ulaanbaatar and a few other urban centres, but in the countryside it did not achieve a formative reception equivalent to the old cultural forms. Oral history research shows that the monks who had survived the repressions continued in their internal seclusion to perform religious studies and rituals to a large extent and even maintained contacts, occasionally forming a self-determined underground community. In the 1990s the re-acknowledgement of the pre-revolutionary cultural tradition and the renewal of the religious activities became apparent particularly in Ulaanbaatar, but the renewal in the countryside usually failed with the natural passing of the majority of laicised monks, who have been the only bearers of the religious tradition relying basically upon oral transmission.

This article is based on oral history told by the oldest living generation represented by 8 informants (see list of informants).⁴ During our field research in summer 2011 in Hovd⁵ and Govi-Altai aimag, we focused on oral history related to the fates of persons, who were considered important in relation to

4) References to individual informants in the text are designated by the name in brackets, e.g. (Soninto'r).

5) In the first part of the field research carried out in Mo'nhhairhan, Mo'st (Davst bag) and U'yenc' (Nariin goliin bag) sums Ondřej Srba, Gegeenhas and Rachel Mikos participated. Ondřej Srba (accompanied by Klára Kočková) had visited Mo'nhhairhan sum (sum centre and Bort bag) already in July 2010.

Buddhist or popular folk religion, especially laicised monks, *har lams*, *bariac's*, locally accredited reincarnations (*hutagt, gegeen*), those who read and copied religious books, and taught classical scripts in yurt schools (*geriin surguuli*) after the repression period (between the 1930s and 1980s).⁶

In the areas where historical awareness was long constituted mostly by orally transmitted knowledge, the memories of such personalities form important building blocks of oral history. They form cores surrounded by stories, legends and mythology and the study of them may open the door for a deeper understanding of local histories. Comparison of these oral histories with the available official data may reveal some important features of the perception of history by the nomadic peoples. Mo'nhhairhan has never been an important monastic centre and the laicised monks who survived the persecution were only a few. Some of the monks did not return from Xinjiang in 1932. There were also several laymen who read religious texts according to people's need and after 1990 also on public occasions such as when worshipping the *ovoo* (*ovoonii tahlga*). However, Bayandeleg, whose biography is the subject of this article, is definitely an exceptional person in terms of his life and the number of recollections we succeeded in collecting and he cannot be compared to anyone I know in the oral history of this area. Nevertheless, all these persons prove that the unofficial religious life in the Mongolian countryside was more intensive before the 1960s and 1970s than in the present day's liberal time.

In this article I attempt to view Bayandeleg in terms of the contrast between what can be deduced about his real life and what his picture has become in the minds of his countrymen. The historical and mythological levels of his life are interrelated in the mind of local people and so the distinction remains only tentative.⁷

6) In the selected areas I have not dealt with tangible data on shamans. I have also left out the oral history of well-known epos narrators.

7) As those who were close to Bayandeleg and are still alive now were just children at that time, Bayandeleg's life is known only in outline, and the reality about his religious activities, the level of his knowledge of sacred scripts and rituals can only be deduced indirectly. For example, the information that Bayandeleg was receiving some old age pension, even though he refused to enter the administrative centre of the sum after he had experienced persecution, is the conclusion of Noosgoi based on her simple recollection of how she, together with other children, had been stealing the sweets which Bayandeleg had ordered to be bought by the occasional person who would bring the pension.

1. Historical geography and religious history of the locality

Today, Mo'nhairhan sum and Duut sum form the main centres of the ethnic subgroup Altai Urianhai. Until 1931, the area of modern Mo'nhairhan sum formed a half of Baruun ambanii hos'uu, the central of seven banners of Altai Urianhai, organized in 1762 (Su'hbaatar 2000, p. 15). In 1927, Baruun ambanii hos'uu was transformed into Cast uuliin hos'uu, and the hereditary aristocrat C'ultem da lam was made its chief official (*hos'uunii darga*). From 1929, but mostly in 1930–31, the majority of the banner's population (since 1929 renamed as Mo'nhairhan sum) fled by way of the Altai range to northern Xinjiang (basin of the rivers O'rongo and C'ingel). Due to the inconvenience of the new location, in 1931–1932 most of the refugees returned in an impoverished state. The administrative evolution of the present-day sums of Mo'nhairhan, Mo'st and Duut between 1932 and 1968 has been extremely complicated with frequent migrations of administration centres. The area between Bort-Bayansai-Bo'orog nuur (now in Mo'nhairhan sum) and Gurvan Senher (now in Bulgan sum) was still extremely remote from all the centres. The geographical conditions of Baruun ambanii hos'uu allowed nomads to move between the valley of the rivers Cenheriin gol and Bulgan gol. These migration tracks were made difficult after the formation of Bayan-O'lgii aimag in 1940.

Baruun ambanii hos'uu had two monasteries – the *Ih hu'ree* and the subordinate *Baga hu'ree*.⁸ *Baga hu'ree* is said to have been situated in Hu'z'irt Yolt and later in the valley of Dund Cenheriin gol, Alagiin am.⁹ The religious experience of residents of Bayansai was connected especially with *Baga hu'ree*.¹⁰ The monasteries were destroyed in 1938.¹¹ Until recent years the tradition of reading and copying books in the Clear script existed in Mo'nhairhan sum.

8) The first mention of the monastery (1832) locates it in Alagiin deed am (Mo'nhairhan sum). *Ih hu'ree* shared the location of the banner's administration, first developed at Altai C'ingel (present-day Čingel in the Ili Kazakh autonomous region in Xinjiang) and after a Kazakh migration to the south part of the *hos'uu* moved to the valley of the River Bulgan (present-day Bayan-O'lgii – Bulgan sum).

9) Bo'hoo 2007, p. 65. Cedendamba (2009, chapter *Bayan-O'lgii*) mentioned several places where the monastery (*Dasčoinhorlin hiid*) was migrating regularly.

10) *Bag hu'ree* counted only about ten monks, who lodged some young novices (*bandi*) in their yurts. It was a group of ten yurts accompanying the single temple (*dacan*) (Soninto'r).

11) These monasteries are not mentioned in the outline of Altai Urianhai monasteries by Terbis' 2008, pp. 325–328. The family of grandfather Čoisurengiin Riimed, his son Baldanzav and grandson Cernee became famous as upholders of the religious monastic traditions of Urianhai monasteries.

In the relevant literature, the Turkic origin of mongolized parts of Urianhais is usually discussed (Even 1988–1989, p. 306). In the interviews in Mo'nhhairhan I have not noticed any reference to the Turkic (Tuvan) character of Altai Urianhai of the former Baruun ambanii hos'uu. The name of Bayandeleg, his father and brothers are Mongolian. The active reception of Oirat literary culture by Altai Urianhai may be dated at least to the first part of the 19th century. Mongolian scholars emphasize that Mongolian was the only language of this subgroup of Urianhais from the time of their attachment to the Manju Empire (Gantulga 2000, p. 170). Urianhais in Mo'nhhairhan distinguish themselves from Tuvan-speaking descendants of the Western Altain Urianhain hos'uuns (Handz'av). Nevertheless, the lifestyle and the major part of cultural tradition seem to be very similar to the rest of the Urianhai or Tuvan groups in Mongolia.

After 1907, the seven *hos'uu* of Altain Urianhai were separated from the unite Hovd frontier (*Hovdiin hyazgaar*) and formed a part of the Altai region controlled by the general residing in Šar süm-e (Xinjiang) (Su'hbaatar 2000, p. 17). However, the representatives of Altain Urianhai felt themselves to be independent and in June and July 1912 proclaimed their loyalty to the Mongolian Bogd haan (Gantulga 2000, p. 124). In these conditions, Altai Urianhai also participated in the liberation of Khovd, organized mainly under the notable leadership of Dambiiž'alcan.

Dambiiž'alcan (Z'a lama), regardless of the almost complete silence about him until the 1990s, is a person who has received very different assessments. Bayandeleg also shows an ambiguous perception, since on the one hand he revered him as a supernatural person, while on the other hand he witnessed his cruel treatment of people. As my informants are very perceptive concerning new facts about Mongolian history, it is difficult to distinguish whether their considerations about Z'a lama are really an authentic interpretation of the reception of Bayandeleg. In Hovd, Z'a lama is not only considered to be a fighter for national autonomy in the battle of the town Hovd in August 1912, but also a person connected with the first migrations of ethnic groups from Hovd to the south. Zahc'in noyan Gombooc'ir was in alliance with Dambiiž'alcan after 1917. The defeat of Dambiiž'alcan in 1924 in Bayanbulag in Gansu compelled Gombooc'ir to take refuge in Xinjiang and some of his dependants followed him (Batubayar 2010, p. 187–188). Disregarding these political circumstances, the motivation of people to migrate was mainly religious. Both Zahc'in and Urianhai shared the idea that their original homeland was located to the south of Altai, where there had been a society of "the true unity of religion and secular rule" (*s'as'in to'r*). In the new political system in

Mongolia they saw a “blunt / queueless rule” (*muhar to’r*), coming to destroy their Buddhist society. I cannot decide whether Bayandeleg’s experience with Dambiiz’alcan dispersed this fear, or whether it was his connection to the local landscape that led him to become a “hermit”.

2. “Ovoo ah” as a historical person

During our field research in Mo’nhhairhan sum, our informants repeatedly mentioned a mysterious person, usually called by an honorific term occurring in three phonetic variants *ovoo ah* (“good or best uncle”),¹² *ovor/o’vor ah*¹³ and *o’voo ah* (“granduncle”). His niece Noosgoi mostly used the proper name Bayandeleg or Bayandelger. Handz’av also confirmed the name Bayandeleg. Interview No. 5 mentioned Bayantu’men.

ACCOUNT 1: THE NAME EXPLANATION¹⁴

Q: *Why have you called Bayandelger “ovoo”?*

Noosgoi: *He was called “ovoo”, “o’vor”, “ovoo ah”. People have respected him by not pronouncing his name. [One reason was, that they] revered him in this manner. The second [reason was] that people had known there had been his “ovoo”, it’s why [he was called] “ovoo ah”, “ovoo balin”, because of this the name given by the reverence [of people] was “ovoo ah”. In our region we do not pronounce anyone’s name. We revere him.*

Comparing the varying data given by informants, Bayandeleg was born most likely between 1890 and 1892 and died in 1967 in the age of 76 or 77.¹⁵ His exact birthplace is unknown; Noosgoi mentioned three possible places, namely

12) Noosgoi explained the sense of *ovoo ah* with reference to his worshipped *ovoo*, *ovoo balin*, but the meaning is still metaphorical and related to *ovgor* “something raised upwards; someone, who can be seen – good, better than the others” according to Coloo (1988, p. 698). The meaning “plump, *ovoo*-shaped”, which would be supported by the uncertain meaning of *ovor*, is rather a marginal possibility.

13) According to one informant “it is not possible to say” the meaning of the nickname *ovor*. *O’vor* is the Oirat variant of Halha *o’or*, *öber-e* in the classical script, the name means “with special/outstanding characteristics” (*o’vor baidaltai*, *o’vormoc*). Coloo (1988, p. 724) mentions the pronunciation *öür* for Urianhai dialect.

14) All these accounts are extracts from the interview with P. Noosgoi.

15) Noosgoi relates that her uncle Bayandeleg died in 1967 in the age of 77, when she was 14. Handz’av counted an exact age of 76. Soninto’r remembered that he was an “old man” (*tiim nig’ kögšin*) of about 70 years, who died about 1958. Bo’hoo (2007, p. 146) mentions that shortly after 1959 he was 69 years old.

Bayansai, To'rlöh and Ulaan gobi. His father was called Z'amsran (Handz'av); his mother's name is unknown. Bayandeleg was born as the fourth of five children. His oldest brother was Ereendavaa, his second brother C'uluun (lived in present-day's Mo'st sum), his older sister (the third child) married a *zoc' lam* living in Uvs aimag, and his youngest brother was named Horc'in (Noosgoi).

In his youth Bayandeleg fell in love with a pretty woman, a daughter of rich parents. The parents disliked Bayandeleg and refused to give permission for the marriage. The disappointed daughter committed suicide. Bayandeleg never married and tended to reside near to the place where his beloved woman had died (Beevei).

ACCOUNT 2: AN ILL-FATED LOVE

Q.: *Did he live alone for his whole life?*

Noosgoi: *Originally he was in a profound relationship with [a young woman] of one family. But the family didn't want to give her away to him, because they wanted to give her away to a noyon or a rich man, so they didn't allow her to marry Bayandeleg. However that woman went up to the place called Beevei¹⁶ and hanged herself and died. ... Finally, when he was dying he should have died just next to the place where the girl had passed away. He stayed alone, stayed alone for his whole life. As they didn't agree to give her away to him, the young woman was thinking: "In few days we will marry you to somebody. You won't marry that Bayandelger. Now it will be a son of a noyon, now I will be given away to an important person." Thus the woman said she would round up the cows and left. She has been going and passed the source of Elsen Boörög. We have an Urianhai local folksong, [we have been admonished:] "don't sing it", it's especially forbidden for us. She sang this song, put down a rope from the rock, attached it sitting on the horse, tied it up around her neck; let the horse go [and died]. At the end, there is a handle-shaped rock, such a big rock, some lamas came there and threw out the body, didn't they? When he was dying, he was near the place where the woman had passed out, looking at the place, and it probably caused his death.*

Noosgoi: *Our father and mother [have forbidden us to sing the song saying:] "Never sing the song 'Elsen boörgiin ehen', our uncle doesn't like it."*

The chronology of Bayandeleg's early adulthood is uncertain. Bayandeleg made a point of not talking about his past, but some information went beyond this barrier. Probably in 1912 he was enrolled into the army led by Dambiiz'alcan (Z'a lama)¹⁷ together with other four people from his *hos'uu*.

16) Name of a small river entering Bortiin nuur in Mo'nhhairhan sum.

17) Dambiiz'alcan, according to the prevalent view a Kalmyk, who appeared in Mongolia in the 1890s disseminating eschatological ideas about the fall of Manchu rule and proclaiming himself the reincarnation of Amarsana. He reappeared in Western Mongolia before 1912, quickly attracted the support of the aristocracy and played an important role in the struggle for autonomy. After detention in Russia, he returned again in 1917 to Mongolia, cooperated with Baron Ungern and after his defeat fled to Gansu province, followed by several Western Mongolian aristocrats.

Noosgoi thinks it was a disappointment following the death of the young woman, an event which caused Bayandeleg to become a soldier. Handz'av means that the recruitment was not an individual's own decision. In his old age this life background was criticized by the youngest generation taught in schools and training that Dambiiz'alcan had been an "enemy of people". Noosgoi related that Bayandeleg used to say that for him Dambiiz'alcan had been a "god" (*burxan*). Handz'av, on the other hand, remembered Bayandeleg speaking about Z'a lama as an enemy and an evil person, often beating his subjects. After the release of soldiers, of the five soldiers from Baruun ambanii hos'uu, only Bayandeleg and one of his companions returned. According to Noosgoi, this experience broadened his horizons and made him appreciate his home environment. Therefore he resisted the mass migration wave in the early 1930s and apparently persuaded his brothers to do so.

ACCOUNT 3: IN THE ARMY OF Z'A LAMA

Q.: Who was that Bayandeleg living in mountains?

Noosgoi: That man living in the mountains, originally he was in the army of Z'a lama. We had here one man called Z'a lama; he was actually a refugee who came from outside, a bandit. He said also to our local lord: "Give me five soldiers, send them from your region." So one of them was our uncle. He was young, it is said that he had gone. Who were the other three [soldiers] I don't know, it is usually said that they were five men sent. One of them was Batyndon or something like that, his children then moved to Darhan. Such people went [to the army].

When they went, it is apparent that those who were in the army of Z'a lama, they have seen a little bit [more] at that time. So far as the campaigns of that Z'a lama are concerned ... I have heard that the army of Z'a lama was an elite army. He has never talked about this. He reached 76. He has never talked about the history of how he had gone to the army of Z'a lama. We were small children, so we didn't try to let him talk about it. At that time Z'a lama was considered as an enemy or adversary of revolutionary rule, it was absolutely inadmissible [to speak about him], he was designated as an enemy and member of the opposition. We have expressed the view: "You have participated in such an enemy army." He was always saying: "For you possibly he became an enemy, but regarding myself, god defend me! God defend me!" He has never said something wrong about him. Being in the army he realized the value of his own birthplace. As he went to Z'a lama's army, obviously [that was the reason why] he didn't go [to Altai C'engel]. So he stayed with his brothers in the mountains, they were five together, only one older sister is said to have gone to Inner Mongolia ... or Uvs actually, his older brother stayed here, his brother didn't move [to Altai C'engel], he was in Mo'st.

ACCOUNT 4: THE MEMORY OF Z'A LAMA'S ARMY

Noosgoi: Being in the army of Z'a lama, a big adult bull... it is usually said that Z'a lama was very strict, wasn't he, he was very strict. That Z'a lama let two wicker baskets of tea be loaded up on the back of a bull, on the back of a bull, we say in our place "car" instead of "sar". When the spine of the bull broke and he died, he didn't give [the meat of the dead animal] to his soldiers, let the soldiers go away. Only after a victory in a battle were they eating their fill. They really have been

sent hungry to the big battles. He told us once. If the bull died, we didn't eat his meat, Z'a lama ordered them to bury him in the ground, while Z'a lama himself was walking all over, cut a bit [of the meat] for himself and ate it. Thus they went [into the battle] and returned. ... He said that going to the battle, at the time of starting the battle, he let the soldiers starve for several days, let them enter the war like that, only having reached the victory did they eat their fill. He said that five men have been sent out from our birthplace. One of them died because of an illness. Two of them presumably died in the war, two of them became lost without any accounts of what happened to them. Surely two of them returned, one of them was our uncle, the other was that man, whose children are now alive.

In his youth Bayandeleg spent some time with his brother-in-law, a famous *zoc' lam* from Uvs aimag ("Haltar zoc"),¹⁸ who became his main spiritual leader and taught him some basics of traditional medicine. Handz'av confirms that he served the *zoc' lam*, looking after his cattle and preparing his fuel. The oldest informants assured us that Bayandeleg did not become a lama (Noosgoi, Soninto'r). Bayandeleg visited Torguud Wangiin hu'ree (Bulgan sum, Hovd aimag) (Cedendamba 2009, p. 700).

We are missing more detailed knowledge about Bayandeleg's life in the depopulated region in the first half of 1930s. Noosgoi narrates a story how Bayandeleg, hidden in rocks, observes returning migrants whose arrival he was able to foresee thanks to his exceptionally sharp hearing and fine sense of smell. During three years of a solitary life he had made his living by hunting marmots, which sharpened his senses so that he described human voices and smoke at 30 km distance as "great noise and great smell" (*ik ünér yaraad, ix šuuyan yaraad*) (Noosgoi).

ACCOUNT 5: THE MIGRATION PERIOD

Noosgoi: At that time, one single man of our relatives ... Bayandeleg, a single member of our relatives, he stayed for three years alone at the place called the beginning of Bayansai. He was telling this to us, when he became an old man. During the three years he was making his living only by killing marmots, it is disagreeable to live alone, isn't it? He lived like that for three years. One autumn there appeared a great noise and smell, an incisive smell, a great rush. As he was living only by hunting marmots, he was definitely trained and was able to hear the slightest sound. So, how far is it between the sources of Bayansai and the Bortiin bel'eer (grassland around the lake Bort)? Forty kilometres? That man heard a man's breath forty kilometres away. After three days, he was curious, as there had been Kazakhs there, such a man was he, Bayandelger. So he climbed the peak of the high mountain, climbed to the top of [the mountain above] the dwelling place, and as there appeared smoke, he recognized the smoke. Afterward he heard also the sound of dogs and even a human sound appeared, thus he hid in a rock in sight of the families' place, he was sitting in the rock and observing people. It was interesting. I have heard it whilst our uncle was telling this.

18) Handz'av mentioned that he was a Halha *badarc'in* and later settled in Mo'nhhairhan.

In the 1940s and 1950s Bayandeleg suffered persecution by the local authorities. Once at the beginning of collectivisation a local representative invited him to a lunch and in a remote windy place, in snow, forced him to take off all his clothes and interrogated him about his religious activities. According to Noosgoi the event occurred presumably in 1949/1950, according to historical data I would set it before 1959 or 1960.

ACCOUNT 6: THE RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

Q.: *You said that your uncle had been persecuted, how did it happen?*

Noosgoi: *At our place persecution applied especially to people classified as lamas. He has been persecuted as if he was a lama. It is said that it happened like this:*

In winter in the place called Yendert the leader urged him to come and eat a meal. He said the name of the leader, but I have forgotten. It was in 1950 or 1949, at the time when the collectivisation movement started and people united their cattle and worked collectively. He came round, took him to his house/ger, called him, prepared a tasty meal and let him eat it. After that he said: "we will both go to work". The leader let him follow with good manners. He let him follow and in the very freezing place in Yendert he forced him to take off all his clothes, let him sit naked on the ice, threw over him only one deel and interrogated him: "Who have you read the scriptures to? What have you taken at reward for it?" Finally he began to shiver, he was shivering, consequently he fainted, stopped shivering, got stiff. Again began to run around naked, he was running and shivering, consequently it became better. Thus [the leader] ordered him to get dressed and took him to his house. He said, that his [leader's] wife realized nothing. Our revolution didn't allow beating people, so he interrogated him in this way. Well he used to have also a beard, we shaved off his beard and razored his head and [advised him] to enter nigdel, participate in its gatherings, [help people] to enter the nigdel. We/they have seized his national clothes, let him put on a terleg deel. They have even again invited "ovoo ah", thus at the end old men, all of them were saying that everyone entered the negdel.

Noosgoi linked Bayandeleg's persecution to his supposed employment in collective husbandry. The first *negdel* "Oc" was founded in December 1955 (the first leader was A. Z'amc). The collectivisation was indeed completed in 1959 (Bo'hoo 2007, pp. 62–63). In 1959 Mo'nhhairhan sum had just been given a new centre in the place called Yendert and it signified actually the start of a gradual modernization of the so far peripheral and "backward" Mo'nhhairhan. The single note about Bayandeleg by Bo'hoo (2007) shifts the affair forward shortly after 1959 and also puts it into a totally different light. The following quotation is taken from memories of T. Das' (born 1921) concerning the beginnings of the newly organized Mo'nhhairhan sum leadership activities after 1959, when he was appointed to the function of the collective's leader (*negdeliin darga*):

Nasan turs'daa hadnii agu, ovoohoid suuz', busdaas hool huvcas cugluulan amidarz' baisan 69 nastai urianhai yastan o'vgon Ovor gegc' negen o'vgoniig ter u'yed s'ineer u'sen ho'gz'iz' baisan

sumiin to'vd avc' ireed haluun usand oruulz', bu'h huvcsiig negdles soliz' o'msgood zoc'id buudald bairluulan hoolloz' o'dort alban gazar tanilcuulz', oroid kino u'zuulz' 3–4 honog u'ilehed ter o'vgon uhaarc' "Nam zasag gedeg c'ini yostoi biyet hu'n, manai Mo'nhhairhanii castai mo'nhiin tom uul yum s'ig zu'il" baisniig odoo sain medlee gez' magtaz' bilee. (Bo'hoo 2007, p. 146)

"There was 69-year-old Urianhai man called Ovor, residing for his whole life in rock caves and shacks and living on food and clothes gathered from others. We have taken this old man to the newly founded and developing sum centre, gave him a hot bath, changed all his clothes at the collective's expense, put him up at the hotel and gave him food. During the day we acquainted him with the sum office, in the evening showed him a film. We served him in this way for 3–4 days and finally he awoke and praised [the Party] saying 'I have just realized fully that the government of the Party is really human and that it is something resembling our eternal Mo'nhhairhan, a big mountain covered in snow.'"

The uncertain chronology makes it impossible to decide who was the leader responsible for the incident mentioned by Noosgoi.¹⁹ People were persuading him to accept voluntarily collectivisation and to participate in training and meetings. He was forced to replace traditional Urianhai white *devel* by the standardized *deel*. For a short period he apparently accepted some prescribed duties, but regarding his old age he could not be tied up so firmly to the normative social life of the time.²⁰

Noosgoi means that Bayandeleg could read Tibetan and the clear script, even though he did not learn it in the normal way of "learning". Such a form of knowledge (reading Tibetan or the clear script) acquired "by the way" should have been also present in the case of her two brothers and a wife of one of them. Soronzon shared this view and also mentioned the Bayandeleg's two nephews with natural abilities. Handz'av remembers that Bayandeleg could read Tibetan and not the Mongolian script, but he was able to translate orally the Tibetan texts. She admitted that he could read the clear script (*tod üzeg*).

In the 1950s, Bayandeleg gave up hunting and lived from meat and dairy products offered voluntarily by others. Frequently he just came to someone's *ger*, lay on a bed and slept for three days without eating anything. For the last (probably three) years of his life he lived mainly together with Noosgoi's family (Horc'iin Pooluu). Once suddenly in the night he lost his sight. Noosgoi remembers that even sightless he still kept returning to his *ger*²¹ in the mountains. Even after he could not walk any more, he was still treating patients.

19) Bayandeleg is not mentioned in the list of 46 founding members of the *Oc' negdel* in 1956 (Bo'hoo 2007, p. 64).

20) Soninto'r mentioned that he had been riding a horse for the *negdel*.

21) Bayandeleg resided in *xatxuur* (*hatguur*) – Mongolian variant of Siberian *čum* – according to other informants.

One morning, the 15-year-old Noosgoi found him lifeless, one of his books placed below his head as a pillow, another covering his head.²²

Once Bayandeleg had died, the family cleaned his *ger* containing a quantity of various medical herbs and other things for treating illness.²³ Noosgoi's father hid the majority of Bayandeleg's books in the mountains, and some of them were passed around. Bayandeleg himself may have stored some books in high mountains thinking that the books would not bring any benefit to his descendants.

ACCOUNT 7: RELIGIOUS BOOKS AND BAYANDELEG'S DECEASE

Noosgoi: Let's imagine there is someone doing badly, his hunt is unsuccessful, therefore he is concerned about how to resolve the problem. In such a case [Bayandeleg told him]: "You have killed such an animal in such a place, this caused your problem." Up to now people don't know how he did foretell, how he did realize [what is the matter], he should have been only [healing by] breathing. He was undoubtedly reading tantras. I didn't hear that he would recite scriptures. But he had a lot of books. When he died, just next to us [our ger], he died, I entered in the morning, I was a little child, in the morning I entered [his ger] running, he laid one book, such a book,²⁴ under his head and one book put over his head and died. He died, alone, without any descendants, in this way he died. Even dying he held in esteem his books. Afterward our father, or even his brother, our father took the books and buried them [placed them somewhere in the mountains].

3. "Ovoo ah" as a mythological person

The solitary way of life in mountain seclusion and his secret abilities established Bayandeleg in the position of a religious hermit with the past of a hero in the eyes of his contemporaries.

Local people usually describe "ovoo ah" as an old man, living alone in a small, black *ger* (*jooxon xar gertää*) in the highest mountainous places. Originally he had some cattle, but in his old age the cattle died out and thus he stayed only with 4–5 horses, eventually seized by *negdel*. Soronzon remembers two sorrel horses (*xüren mori*). His horses did not wear horse-trappings and collars, when entering a *ger* he never leashed them. When Bayandeleg was ready to return, the horse came by himself (Noosgoi). He served people

22) Humphrey mentions that the favourite religious text of the deceased person, "bosom book" (*o'voriin sudar*), is usually placed under the head (Humphrey 1999, p. 66).

23) ... *maš ix yum xuraaday xün bääs'n gej bodoj bääyaa, baavyään sam'r, sav'r, baavyään köl, baavyään donid, yanz büriin ems emiin öv's uryamal, em ba'r'day xün bääs'n, öv's'n em ba'r'day kün bääs'n bäälee* (Noosgoi).

24) Noosgoi pointed to the books in a small *pothi* format.

in secular affairs, not in religious needs (Soninto'r: *šar biš, xar tusalcaā aemi-tand üzüüldeg*). According to Soronzon, Bayandeleg used to stay 10–20 days in his own ger and then he set out to visit another family.

Younger people were not sure about Bayandeleg's origin. Soronzon used to consider him to be originally a lama. The sister of Soronzon's wife has underlined especially his abilities to heal illnesses.²⁵ Handz'av described him as a "prophet and a conscious person" (*zönči mergen kün*) worshipping a furious protective deity (*doyšin sakiusaan täxiday*). Some Western Mongolian intellectuals and Buddhist monks had some interest in Islamic thinking and scriptures. According to the sister of Soronzon's wife living in her young age in Bayansai, once in the morning she saw a Kazakh Islamic cleric, *molda* (mullah), going to Bayandeleg's ger.²⁶

Several stories concerning Bayandeleg's hermit's life already represent a part of local legends.²⁷ Bayandeleg should have met the Lord of Altai (*Altain ezen*) and become friends with him. In the same context of "supernatural" characteristics, Noosgoi mentioned that Bayandeleg had the skin resembling scales of a fish (*zayasnii xäärč šiy*) unlike all his relatives. Bayandeleg worshipped his own *ovoo* in the Altai Mountains next to a lake. Once a seven-year-old boy entered his ger, throw the statue of the Buddha and books into the water and climbed up the *ovoo*. Buddha circled several times around the lake and disappeared. His parents then admonished the boy, but Bayandeleg proclaimed that the boy would grow up to have more profound spiritual strength than himself. Bayandeleg has often been telling stories about Altain ezen (Noosgoi). He was also keen on telling moralistic parables, which usually linked to his life experience: the time is dangerous, be careful about whom are you talking to. Noosgoi mentioned a story *Eljigen čiktää xaan* (The king with donkey's ears) told in the same context.

Bayandeleg became famous for his strength – in 1937 he lifted a big stone that two wrestling winners could not lift, and after him nobody could ever perform the same thing. (Noosgoi).²⁸ Another story describes him eating

25) She has compared his activities to a medical high school qualification.

26) Puncag lam living in Mo'nhhairhan was locally well known for his knowledge of languages and book collection including *kazak nom* (I assume that it means the books in Arabic or Chagatay languages) (Noosgoi). As a contemporary parallel, Mr. Bo'hsuuri, a 47-year-old herder in U'yenc' sum is also seriously interested (with an investigatory approach) in Kazakh Islam (Field research in U'yenc' sum, interview on 27th July 2011).

27) See the transcription of Noosgoi's interview.

28) His name is not mentioned in the list of strongest wrestlers of Mo'nhhairhan (Bo'hoo 2007, p. 106).

a whole sheep and rice mixed with fat at an eating competition. (Noosgoi). These original events took place late enough to be remembered till now, but still early enough to transform into typical folklore stories. Similarly to Bayandeleg, famous wrestlers in Urianhai legends do not participate in many contests, but show their ability unexpectedly.²⁹ Occasionally, the performance of extreme strength is related to a sacred/religious power (*nomiin huč*).³⁰

Regarding the whole of Bayandeleg's biography, the solitary stay in Mo'nhhairhan during the period of migrations into Xinjiang accords him a special position in relation to *nutag* and its deities. However, in the interviews I did not find any obvious statement to confirm this.

ACCOUNT 8: BAYANDELEG'S PERCEPTION OF HIS BIRTHPLACE

Q.: What were the stories told by Bayandeleg about?

Noosgoi: He has been always telling some stories, but we didn't remember them.

Our mother-in-law has been also telling lots of stories, but we didn't remember them either.

If I tell [story], I will say it wrongly and confusingly, when I was younger I used to tell them.

About our landscape, nature in general, he was talking a lot in relation to nature. In our birth-place each place has some meaning. As if the things taught by the People's party were lies. There are places which protect people. In general places and stones have properties. In this manner he was connecting things with nature and the natural environment. As I was only 14 at that time, I didn't pay attention to his words, I didn't keep them in my mind, didn't bear them in mind, and just let them pass out of mind.

Q.: Did he talk about lake Boōrog?

Noosgoi: Lake Boōrog and S'uurhai are seals of the Black Hurmast, a point of an arrow, there is an outstanding mountain, it's called a point of Hurmast, an arrow point, it's a place of Hurmast.

ACCOUNT 9: A LEGEND ABOUT MO'NHHAIRHAN UUL

Q.: Did your uncle speak about Mo'nhhairhan Mountain?

Noosgoi: Anyway he told only some legends.

He said, that in one family there was a young servant woman, let's say there was a servant girl, in the place called S'uurhai. They lived in the place called S'uurhai. So staying in the place called S'uurhai, from the southern side there was coming a big man with beautiful clothes riding a big horse, a fine ash-grey horse, he was going to meet the young woman. He met her and they spent a good bit of time talking. Sitting, spending a lot of time, anyway he was surely a handsome hero. Afterwards the young man ordered the woman not to talk about the fact that she had met him. "It's absolutely impossible to talk about it," he said leaving. He was leaving through S'uurhai. Really a nice man with a big horse. The man having gone, she stayed regarding and thinking, who could be the man

29) Stories about Urianhai wrestlers in Katuu 2011, pp. 616–625.

30) In Mo'nhhairhan there is a big kettle in the mountains, which is said to be transported by "sacred strength" (*nomiin hučeer gargasın togoo*) (Noosgoi).

she had met. At that moment, she discovered the footprints of the horse large at least as five men. The woman rejoiced that she had met such a good man and talked to him. [She thought:] “Now, if I go home and tell it to my family, they won’t believe me up.” She fenced the footprints of the horse, enclosed them with stones, protected them, went to her family and told them about it. “Today I met such a handsome man, he will meet me again after seven, three days.” They didn’t believe her words, as she was only a servant girl, and thought she had been speaking lies. Thus she showed them the fenced, protected footprints of the horse; there were footprints of a horse. She threw a fit, lost her sight, shrivelled and became ill. It has been The Lord of Altai, the Lord of Altai, it was a mercy for her, but because she told it to the others, now she could only complain...

ACCOUNT 10: BAYANDELEG’S OVOO

Q.: Did your uncle worship an ovoo?

Noosgoi: Our uncle died in 1967. So there is a place with the ovoo, in which he worshipped personally. That place is in the mountains and there used to be a gold Buddha and few sacred scriptures there. He was putting on his door only a rope, so that everyone could feel free to enter and go out, perhaps someone looking for his cattle could enter, prepare tea and drink it, it’s common in our region. Two naughty boys came, took the books, scattered them into a lake, also they threw the Buddha into the lake. They were six, seven, or rather seven and nine? Two brothers. So the Buddha rotated around the lake and after a while disappeared in the water. Now the man who destroyed the Buddha is in his sixties. He [Bayandeleg] had also an ovoo, which he worshipped. [The children] came to the ovoo, first he saw them, they have been running naked about the ovoo, they had taken off all their clothes. Then father of the boys came and spanked the children [and said to Bayandeleg]: “Why didn’t you scold them?” After a while [Bayandeleg] came back and said to the father: “I don’t even remonstrate about my books. There should be a seven-year-old child with seven red birthmarks who will take over my books. The child will have better books than me, I can’t read them, I have never read them, and how could I do a gu’rem now? Although the child will have suffering once in his midlife, the illness won’t harm him.” Really in his midlife, my goodness! A cow butted him, he underwent a serious surgery, but got away, is he still alive today? That person was saying: “I have a real history in my life.” Thus the ovoo has been there during the remaining 17 years [of Bayandeleg’s life], this story may have happened around 1950. In our homeland one can’t climb up an ovoo, if someone saw this he would be really angry. That ovoo is still there in the same form.

4. Conclusion

Contemporaries do not mention Bayandeleg as a famous person from their local history. He is nearly unknown to the local book of memorabilia (Bo’hoo 2007), as in the case of almost all representatives of the religious life.³¹ The implicit appreciations of Bayandeleg are ambiguous. Bayandeleg was a welcomed assistant for the various needs of people and above all a member of a “single local family”. In the Mongolian countryside, the influence of past

31) Excluding a list of monks persecuted in 1938 (Bo’hoo 2007, p. 119).

generations is not only on the level of reminiscences. Religious representatives of the past, disregarding their official or unofficial status, are viewed as the source of the present day's material prosperity in the locality (e.g.: ... *bid nar čini ternii xüčeer l odaa amid yavj baeyaa baena gedeg oilyolt nad törjil baesan, manae lam ax nariin küčind odoo bid bas* ... – "I have found out that by the power [of our ancestors lamas] we have been living up to now and that we are still in the power of our uncles lamas").³²

There is not a clear distinction between Buddhism and popular religion in the Mongolian countryside. The oral history of Bayandeleg reminds us that religious life in pre-modern Mongolia included not only monks living in monasteries, but also a large variety of transitional persons remaining somewhere in between an orthodox monastic and secular life. Unlike the pre-revolutionary situation, these persons were strictly connected to their home place and their reputation did not transgress frontiers of the *bag* or *sum*.³³ A very limited knowledge about Bayandeleg can be opposed to older (and also partly unofficial) *gegeen* of U'yenc' or Mergen corz' of the same monastery, whose legends are well diffused in the whole of U'yenc', Bulgan and even Mo'nhhairhan, and following the movements of migrants diffused also in Qara-usu in Xinjiang. The historical facts about Bayandeleg are extremely brief and veiled in mist. Mythologised stories prevail, but are perceived by the locals as true history. At present, Bayandeleg is mentioned as a natural part of local history only by his relatives (Noosgoi). Other informants started to talk about him only when asked. His religious and moral teaching was passed only to his brother's children at a very basic level. They understand his spiritual legacy as a natural inheritance of some prophetic abilities (e.g. those of Noosgoi's brothers). There is no connection with the institutional restoration of the Buddhist religion, monastery and services.

Bayandeleg was not an orthopractic Buddhist hermit,³⁴ but rather a legendary hero. His importance lies in his ability to communicate with local deities representing the *nutag* (his acquaintance with Altain ezen). Who else could resist the migration justified by influential prophecies and legends (about

32) Interview with Mr. Altangerel, elder brother of Soronzon's wife, Mo'st sum, Davst bag, 17th July 2011. Noosgoi mentioned that Bayandeleg is sometimes still entering her dreams. She attaches importance to occasional advice given by deceased relatives revealed in dreams.

33) Bayandeleg is known by almost every old person in Mo'nhhairhan, only by Urianhais in Davst bag of Mo'st sum, but he is absolutely unknown to Zahc'ins in Mo'st or northern parts of U'yenc', not far from Bayansai and lake So'ngo'l.

34) A hermit (of forgotten name) sitting and meditating in a rock was observed in Mo'nhhairhan in the 1910s.

another "true" *nutag*) than someone who "made friends with the Lord of Altai" (except for the rare individuals connected with the central policy such as C'u'Item da lam). Bayandeleg led an internal religious life, perhaps with meditations, reading books for himself, but kept these activities most secret. In relation to others, he served them by healing and educating the folk younger generation by telling didactic stories leading also to respect for local deities/*nutag*.

Bayandeleg was not the last traditional man of letters in Mo'nhhairhan. Naadgai, being a daughter of a local dignitary Sanz' *zahiragc'*, received home education together with her brothers, and up to her old age she was reading and copying religious books in the clear script (*tod u'seg*). She has also been a great treasury of folk narratives and some of them have already been included in several anthologies of Urianhai oral literature.³⁵ Another representative of this "countryside literati" culture mastering the clear script was Mr. Arvag, younger brother of Handz'av, who unfortunately died in 2011.³⁶ Even today lama Riimediin Baldanz'av and his son Cernee in the centre of Mo'nhhairhan are preserving this tradition (Bo'hoo 2007, p. 66).

Finally, the case of Bayandeleg shows that oral history is the only method to recognize the history of unofficial countryside representatives of religious and literary culture in the 20th century. Articles dealing with other similar personalities in Western Mongolia will follow this article.

35) The pronunciation of *tod u'seg* according to Naadgai's communication in Coloo – Mo'nhceceg 2008, pp. 424–427. Stories collected from Sanz'iin Naadgai in Katuu 2011. For a brief recollection of Naadgai see also Luvsandordž, Vacek 1990, pp. 137–138, based on an interview made by J. Luvsangdorji and J. Vacek with Naadgai in 1978.

36) Personal communication of inhabitants of Mo'nhhairhan sum.

Transcriptions of selected parts of interview with Mrs. Noosgoi

ACCOUNT 1: THE NAME EXPLANATION³⁷

Q.: Bayandelger ax yaayaad ovoo gej avyāālday bāāsiim?

Noosxae: ovoo, övör gedeg, ovoo ax. ter ard tümen ter ner ni kelexgüi gej köndlösön bāāna. tegeed köndlösön nige, xoyardaxi ene kün ovoo ni bāāsan gej meddegiim bāāna šuu, tegeed ovoo ax, ovoo balin, tiim učraas kündlej ögsön ner ni ovoo ax, manāā nutay bol künii ner kelexgüi, köndlönö.

ACCOUNT 2: AN ILL-FATED LOVE

Q.: engeed barya nasaaraa engej yancaaraa aemidraj bāāsan uu?

Noosxae: uulaasaa neg āāliin neg odoooor bol ix künd sedkiltāā sāān bāāsan bāālaldaa, tegüüntāā suulyaxgüi, ter noyon kün, bayan künd ögnö, ter Bayandelgertāā suulyaxgüi, gexeer caad oxin, odoo ter Bāāvāā gedeg yazar yaraad, booyood üxčixsen bāālaa, tegeed yar ni odoo tūndeen yarj oytlaad yancaaraa yavsān kün, süüldee nas baraxdaan ter oxin ni nas barsan yazriin xajuuxan nas barlaaldaa, bāājeeyaad, tend nasaaraan bāājeeyaad, ter xün. tegxeer odoo jingxen anxniixaa xāārtāā amidraj udaagüi bolxoor ter nasaaraa yanc yavsān šig bāālaa, sāāxan xüüxen bāāsan bišüü geed xümüüs yardayim bāālaa. tüüntāā ni suulyaxgüi bolxaar, tegeed ter kүүiken maani odoo maryaaš nögödödör čamaey morduulna. yovaad Elsen Böörgön exinees mortluuyaad manāā Urianxāā nutuyiin duu bāāna daa, teriij odoo bitgii duulcyaa, manāād yalanyuyaa ix xoriylono, ter duu duulaad morindeerees ni xadan senjees buu(l)yaad, morindeerees ni uyaj bāāyaad, xuzuuyaar ni uyaj bāāyaad moreen yavuulčij, süüldeer ter xadni senj iim bitüü xad bāāday, tenüügeen lamnar očij cogc xayav biš gej yarj bāāday bāālaa, ter nas baraxdaa ter kün oirolcoo ter xüüxen nas barsan yazriig xarl daa, ... xarsnaas nas barlaldaa.

Noosxae: ter duug manāā aav bidnii eej bid nart tegj bāāsan Elsen böörgiin exen duuy xezeeč bitgii duulcyaa, manāā axand taaraxgüi šuu.

ACCOUNT 3: IN THE ARMY OF Z'A LAMA

Q.: uuland aemidraj bāāsan ter Bayandelger yamar xün bāāsan ve?

Noosxae: za ter uuland aemidraday kün bolxaar, uul ni Jaa lamiin cerget manāād bas nige Jaa lam geed bas nige yadnaas irsen cayaac bas nige deeremčün bāāsaldāā, tüünii cereget bas manāā nutyiin noyand xeled tavan cereg ög, nutyaasaa yaray gesen geleel, tegeed ter neg ni ter manāā avay ax manuusiin kögšin övög ax ter kün zaluu bāāsan ter yavsān geleel. ene odoo ter yurvan ni yamar kün bāāsan bi medexgüi, tavan künii yavuulav gezeedeg geleel tegiin nige ni Batyondon mon-don geed iim teriigee tüünii xüüxdüüd Darxan kümüüs bolloo, tiim xümüüs yavsān gej bāālaa.

tegeed tend yovaxdaa ter Jaa cereget yavsān xümüüs čini tuxāā üyed ni odoo bas bičxen yum üzsen šig bāālal daa. ter Jaa lam čini yamar ene mongyol dotor yavlaačixlaa gesen Jaa lamiin bür toryon cereg ni bāāsan gej sonsloo, ööröö ter tuxāā yarixgüi ter kün, ter kün čini dalan zuryaatāā odoon ter Bayandelej Bayandelger geed kün dalan zuryaatāā, odoo jaran doloon ond nas bar-siimuu odaa. tegeed ter Jaa lamiin cereget yavsān tuxii yeröösöo yardaygüi. bidniūs jaaxan küük-düüd yariulj ix üzsengüi. ügüe, Jaa lamiin ter üyed čini odoo manāā xuvisyal manāā tör bolbol dāāsan yostāā boldoxgüi, dāāsan esergüücel gej yarday. ta tiim dāāsni cereget yavj bāāsan, bid

37) All these accounts are extracted from the interview with P. Noosgoi.

duu kiidiim, dandaa ta nartae dāāsan bolvuu nadtaan burxan daa, nadtaa burxan daa gegeed ter küniig muu keldgüi, ter ceregt yavj bāāxdaa nutayt üntāā gedgiig medsen bāāsiim bāālgüi, Jaaa lamiin ceregt yavj bāāsan učraas tegeed yavaagiüi bāāj taarna. tegeed uuland ter Bayandelger ax duu tavulan bāāsnaas neg egč ni övör mongyold yaa ... Uvs yavčixsan bāāsiim gej bāālaa neg ax ni end bāāsan ter ax ni nüügeegüi Möstöd bāāsan. ...

ACCOUNT 4: THE MEMORY OF Z'A LAMA'S ARMY

Noosxae: Jaa lamaan ceregt bāāxdaan nas xürsen amban cariüy, Jaa lam ix xatuu bāāsan gej xelj bāāyaa bišüüdee xatuu bāāsan bišüü? texdee ter Jaa lama ene xoyor seveg cae ter caraan nuruun-deer acaad caraar nuruun, manāā nutayt deer uyed šaryiüy car³⁸ gej xelne l dee, ter caraan nuruun tasraad, üxeed odoj gene, tüüniig cergüdeen ögdöggiüi, cergüüdeen bāālyaday bāāsan gesen, daen bāāldaand yalaljaa, catyaday, yostoe ix dāānd güilen bāālyaj bāāyaad oruulday bāāsan bāāx, tegj neg xelj bāāsan, tegeed ter Jaa lam, ter car üxlee gexed, bid maxiin iddeggüi, yazar maltuulaad buluulday, ter xoorond Jaa lam caar naar caar xoorond ers tödi³⁹ taslaad öörtöö avj ideed ... nigend yavj očiüj xarj irdeg bāāsiim, tegj ölsdög bāālav, tegj kelj bāāxad bi sonsoj bāālav. dāānd yovax deereen, dāānd yovax cayt, cergüüdeen xeden xonoy güilen bāālyaj bāāyaad, dāānd oruulday, yalalt bāāyuulxaar bidniüy catyaday bāāsan gesen, kelsen, manāā nutyaas tavan xümüiy yavuulday xelj bāādyiim bilee. nige ni övčnii ulmaar nas barsan, xoyor ni dāānd nas barsan boluu, xoyoriin suray medeegüi, lav xoyor ni irsen, nige ni manāā avay ax, nige ni xüüxdüüd ni bāānaa.

ACCOUNT 5: THE MIGRATION PERIOD

Noosxae: ... texdee manae udmiin yanc kün ... ter manae udmiin yanc bii Bayandeleg gej, Bayandelger gej kögšin, odo ter Bayansāāgiin exendü gedegd yurvan jil yancaaraan üldsens bāāna gej kelj bāāsan, süüld ter kün övyön bolj kögščööd bidend xelj bāāday, yurvan jil bolčixood yancaaraan bāāyaad tarvay alaad ter kün bāāday xün yancaar bolxaar evgüi biš, ter yurvan jil bolčixaal bāājeesan neg namartu ix šuuyaan yaraad ix ünēr yaraad ix yumnii ünēr yaraad ix šuuyan yaraad, tegeed ter ezgiüi yazarť yerööstöö tarvaynii ... yumaa ter angnii sonsdoy yum bāāsaldaa, tegsen čini za Bortiin belčeer Bayansāāgiin exnees xeden kilometr bāāxuuf döčün kilometruuf döčöd xil-meetr yazar ter küniü uur aemixal ter xün sonsson bāāyaa xoyor yurvan xonxaar ter kün bas xašir sonin xasakuud tee xün bāāsan bāānldaa ter Bayandelger, tegeed ter öndör uuliin oroid ter büür(l)iin tüünii oroi deer yarsan čini udaan yarsan čini udaanii ünēr medsen, tegeed yay noxae duu sonsood kümnii duu č ireed, ter aeliin baraan deer xad tašaad suuyaađ, xadand nüügdeed suuyaađ kün xalaexaar sonin bāāsan šig ter bidnii övög aav bol avya ax boltol ter övgön tegj xelj bāāxad sonsoj bāālav.

ACCOUNT 6: THE RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

Q.: ovoo axiüy bas xelmegdüülj bāāsan gej ta xelsen, yaaj xelmegdüülj bāāsan ve?

Noosxae: ter odo ter manāā end čini yer ni lama töröltāā küniig ix kelmegdüülj bāāsan bāāštee

38) Coloo 1988, p. 835: tsar – šar u'her.

39) Or örstöö "for himself", uncertain.

ter lam bääsan geј xelmegdüülј bääsan bääna, ter kiumünd odaa, tii, tegeed tegeј yarј bäädiim bilee, ter odoo Yender gedegt övliin üyest, xool idnee xöögööd ter darya ni ner ni kelј bääsan martij, tegxed čini taevin döčün yesön onii yumuudaa, odoo nigdel č xöddölgöön amitan xümüüs malaa niigemjüülex nigedgeј xamtraj ajillaj bääsan iim l daa, tegeed oraad gerteen avčiraad duutaj ireed, sääxan amttää xool xiigeed idüülčxeed, za xoyuulaan ajiltää yovna, sääxan zangtää dayuulaad yartiim geј, dayuulј odaad, ter Yendertiin ter ix zavartää yazar, büx xuvcaa ni tääluulaad, mösön deer nücen suulyačxaad, deer ni yancxan deel xayčixday bääsan geј, či xeniid nom unšlaač? či xend yaaj merge medleeč? tüünii örgöld yuu avlaač? tegeed asuuyaad bääday, asuuyaad bääday geј, süüld ni exleed čičirј bääyaad, čičreed dayaj ni medeen yaraad, čičirxeen bääyaad, köšigdeed irdeg geј. texter bucaad nücen güilgeed, ter xürtel güilgeed tegeј xün čičireed dayaj bään tee, ter zügeer boldoy yum, texeer xuvcas ömsxööd gert ni avčireed avyää ni yuu č medexgüi bääsan, geј xelj bääsan ter bääcaalt tegeј yavaydaday, manää xuvisyald xüniig zodox erx bääxgüi, tegeј bääcaaj bääsan, zaa č odaa ter čini bas, tavi (?) üstää, manää tavi toiraad tolyäägiin ni mulzlaad, za či nigdelt xural oč, xuraldeer suu, ard tumnii nigdelt oruul. ter ömsöј bääsan ündestnii deel, xuvsiin xuraaj аваad, terleg devel tiim devel ömsxööd, ovoo ax urialaad, gedeg č bilüü, amitan bügd nigdeld irsen bišüü geј kogščuul bas yarј bääsiim süüld.

ACCOUNT 7: RELIGIOUS BOOKS AND BAYANDELEG'S DECEASE

Noosxae: odoo neg xün boldoygüi, sonin ang aldčixna geј bodiildoo. tegeed tünees yaaya daa geј sejgleј bääsan, tegxeer nöгөө ter čini, či tiimtiim yanztää yazraas tiim yum alsan bääј, ter čini čamd boloxgüi bääna, tiim. tüünees biši, odoo xürtel ter kümüüs ter küniig yaaj mergelj yaaj erј medelgüi ter xüüxed müüxdüüdiig uliyaaxaal tödiі bääsan. uliyaaxaal tödiі bääsan bolxoos. tar-ni unšaal üzeed bääsan ter bääsan bäälgüi. ter nom unšij bääsan geј sonsoogüi. nom ix bääsan. nas baraxdaan manää xajuuxdaa tolyoe nas barsan bääsan bi öglöö kürј bääsan bäälaa jaaxan xüüxed öglöö güiј kürexdee күn nige nom odoo nige iim nom tolyoe dooraan taviad nige nom tolyoe deereen taviad nas barsan bääsan bäälaa, ta ter xün nas barna, yancaar, ur küükedgüi, nas barsan bääsan bääldaa. nas barna geel nom күndledeg nomaa. tegeed manää odoo manää aav ax č boltiimldaa, manää aav ter nomii bääsan č taviad oršuulј bääsan geleen.

ACCOUNT 8: BAYANDELEG'S PERCEPTION OF HIS BIRTHPLACE

Q.: ter ööröö üliгер yarј bääya bol, yuunii tuxää odoo yarday bääsan ve?

Noosxae: ter yer ni üliгер yarday bääsan, bid üliгер toytaadaygüi. manää xadam eej bas masi üliгер yarna, yeröösöö bid nar ter üliгер toydaadaygüi. bi xelvel buruu zöriüü kelј bolј болson bäälaa, baydaan xeldeg bäälaa. bidnariin yazar uul usnii tuxää. yer ni uul us, yazar ustää ix yumiiј ix xamtaj zöörüülј keline. odoo manää nutayt bol yazar yeröösöö učirtää. namiin ard zaaj bääday xudal kebtü. küniig xarј oddog xamyaalј bääday yazar bääna. yazar čuluund yeröösöö nige kev sinј bääna. iimerküü iimerküü yer ni bääyal yazar orčintää ix yum xörsij xolboј. bi arvan dörövtää bääsan učraas ter küniі xelsen yumiiј bi yeröösöö sanaand avdaygüi. sanaand ordogüi, xaysan bilee.

Q.: Böörög nuuriin tuxää yum yarјј bääsnuu?

Noosxae: Böörög nuur Suurxää xar Xurmastiin tamya, zev sumna, šovyor uul bääna, Xurmastiin zev, sumnii zev genee de, Xurmastiin yazar.

ACCOUNT 9: A LEGEND ABOUT MO'NHHAIRHAN UUL

Q.: ovoo ax ene Mönxxäärxan uuliin tuxää yum yarj bääsnuu?

Noosxae: domog l yarday bääsiim l daa. ter nige aeld zaraydaj bääsan nige xüüxen bääj genee, odoo zarc xüüxen oxin bääj gene. Šuurxää geed yazart bäädyim. ter Šuurxää gedeg yazar bajee-san čini. tere baruun talaas ni ee niige ix tom moritää nige sääxan köx moritää ix yoy xuvcastää ix tom xümüin ter küükentää uulzax gene, uulzaad yum yariaad neleen suuj bääyaad, suuj bääyaad, nileed udaj yostoe yoy l doo baatar ireejil l dee. tegsen čiči odoo namääg uulzlaa gej künd bitgii kele geed ter zaluu yavaxdeereen xaxij gene. tessen čini čiči yostoe kelj boloxgüi yaraad yavaxdeereen. iiseen yaraad tere Šuurxää Gelenger ter yardayim. aaa tom moritää yostoe yoy xün. iigeed ter xün yavsanii daraa bi yamar xüntää uulzlaa ged bodood xaraad zoysoj bääsan. morinii möri bay šig tavan kün tiim tom möri yarj irne. tegsen čini yostoe bi iim yoy küntää uulzsan čini tiim kün nadtää yarlištee. geed önöö xüüxen bayarlaad, odoo bi geriinxedeen očij kelvel nadiiy tooxgüi daa. morinii möriig xašaalaad, čuluuyaar bitüüleet, xamyalaad, geriixendee irj kelj bääna, nadad önöödör yostoe yoy xün uulzlaa, tegeed odoo nadtää doloo xonood yurvan xonood uulzna gesen, xudlaa yariad, zarc xün učraas, yaryaagüi bäänldaa, tegsen čini, mornii möri xašaalčixlaa, xamyaalčixlaa, mornii möri bääsan, ter küüken tatsiim, xaruulgüi bolson, numraad tatsan, tegeed övčtoi bolson. Altään ezen bääjee, Altää ezen bääyaad, zayaa ni end bääj, tegeed dakij ene künd kelsen učraas, odaa yomdoj oč ...

ACCOUNT 10: BAYANDELEG'S OVOO

Q.: ovoo ax bas ovooy taxij bääsnuu?

Noosxae: ter ovoo manää ovoo ax, jaran doloo ond nas barsan, za, ööriin ni taxiday ovoo ni yazar bääna, tegeed bääyaad ter yazar ni uul ni bääj bääxdu nige altan burxtää bääsiim bääna baaxan sudur nomtää bääsan bäänldaa, geriin zövxön uyaa xayčixna, tenüügen bolvol, xen č oraad yarsan biiren erxtää, nige mal xaej yavsan kün bolvoč očaad cae čanaj uuyyaad бүр erxtää manää nutayt yerööšö, tegsen čini xoyor dürsgüi küüxed očood ter nomiij uurj asxan nuur xiilev gej bääyaa aa ter burxanii ter nuur luu iigeed šitčixlee gej bääyaa zuryaa dolaatää küüxed dolaatää yöstää xoyor bääluu? ax duu xoyor, tegsen ter burxan nuur iigeedee ergej ergej ergej bääyaad udaj bääyaad alay bolson gej yardyim odaa jar yarsan jaran kedtää kögšin kün ter burx murxnii šiitgesen, tegeed ter xün bas öörö taxiday ovaatää bääsan bääna. ter ovaan ni deer irčixeel exleed xarč bääsan čini nücgeer ergeed güigeed bääna gej xamay xuvcasaa taelčixaad, бүх xuvcasaa taelčixaad, tegeed ter xüüxdüüdiin aav ireed maliadsan bääna čiči xaraal xiiij bäänuuč čiči xüüxded xaraal xiiij bäänuuč tegsen čini bicxen bääj bääyad ireed oo bi nomoo xarčgüi minii nomiig yesön ulaan mengtää dolaan nastää küüxed minii nomiig zalax namtää bääj nadaas ... nomtää bääj bi tüüniigeen üzečgüi, bi tüüniigeen üzeegüi odaan gürem xiigeed gej üü? yer ni dund nasandaa nige udaa zovoj, övčn gemtexgüi xüüxdiin avd kelsen gej bilee yöstää yer ni dund nasandaa ni maani nige üxer mörgüleet bas ix xayalyaand orson č orsol dee odoo bas bääna bäädiimu? bi tegsen bišüü? baya nasandaa tüüxtää bišüü gej ter kün yarj bäädiim bäälaa, tegeed ter ovoo texxer bääyaad ter kün tünees nögö arvan dolaan jil bolson daa tavin ond ter ovoon deereeni yum ... bol manää nutayt ter ovoo balindeer ni xürexgüi bääsiim yostää tiim yum üzsen bol uurna tegsen ovoo odoo xürtel ter yanzaaraan bääna gene ...

List of informants

Interview No. 1 (13th July 2011)

- a. Noosgoi, female, aged 60, daughter of Bayandelegs younger brother's son (Horc'inii Booluu).
- b. Magsar, male, aged 71, husband of Noosgoi.
- c. S'u'renz'av, male, aged 63, inhabitant of Mo'nhhairhan su'm.

Interview No. 2–3 (24th July 2010, 14th July 2011)

- a. Handz'av, female, aged 85, inhabitant of Mo'nhhairhan su'm, Bortiin bag.
- b. Daughter of Handz'av.

Interview No. 4 (13th July 2011)

- a. Soninto'r, male, aged 83, inhabitant of Mo'nhhairhan su'm.⁴⁰

Interview No. 5 (17th July 2011)

- a. Soronzon, male, inhabitant of Mo'st sum, Davst bag, former *bagiin darga*.
- b. Sister of Soronzon's wife, Hovd aimag.

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40) His short biography in Bo'hoo 2007, p. 147.

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The depiction of battles in the Mongolian heroic epic “Old Dragon Wise Khan” I.

(translation of selected extracts and their linguistic analysis
with an emphasis on poetic devices of the text)¹

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Summary: The main purpose of this paper is to define the basic poetic devices and language specifics of the Mongolian heroic epic *Хөгийн Луу Мэргэн хаан* [Old Dragon Wise Khan]. The chosen extracts from the text, depicting scenes of battles and fighting, serve as primary and illustrative material of the study in question. The language, describing these sequences in a highly expressive and dynamic way, is teeming with phrases of a formulaic character, ornamental epithets, colourful comparisons etc. It can also be stated that this particular language reflects and preserves traditional values, the world view and aesthetic norms of archaic Mongolian nomads, which are continuously disappearing these days.

0. Introduction

The heroic epic forms an important part of the oral folk culture of Mongolian language speaking ethnic groups. Today, oral tradition in most places of its origin has either completely disappeared or is disappearing gradually. Yet, in a sense, it seems to be a significant part of Mongolian folk culture as it says much about the nomadic mentality, aesthetics, and vision of the world. I believe that a fundamental prerequisite for understanding the principle of the heroic epic is a thorough study of the nature of the epic language. In order to understand the verbal genre, you need to know how and why it is communicated in particular ways. If you correctly understand the epic language, you can get a good perspective on the inner world of Mongolian nomads, which is preserved and hidden in their heroic songs.

The Mongolian heroic epic has attracted the attention of scholars for a long time. There is a wide range of studies dealing with it from different angles

1) This paper was written as a part of the project “The problem of time in the humanities and social sciences” funded by a specific university research grant for the year 2010 under the number 261107 at the Faculty of Arts of Charles University in Prague.

(classification and comparison of motifs and themes, hypotheses about the origin and evolution, etc.). But still, it is rather an exception in these works to find texts exclusively dealing with the instruments used by epic language. The language of Mongolian epic and its specific means of expression and poetics is a topic which has, despite its exceptional linguistic and folkloristic attraction, been very little studied. Due to the considerable difficulties of the texts, only a few translations into Western languages are available (the only exception being the largest and most famous epic cycles of *Geser* and *Jangar*).

The Mongolian heroic epic unit *Нэгэн зуун тавин таван насыг насалсан Хөгшин Луу Мэргэн хаан* [One Hundred and Fifty-five Years Old Dragon Wise Khan] is interesting for several reasons. Despite the fact that this Mongolian folk epic is quite a large piece – with over ten thousand verses – it is relatively unknown work. The story was noted by academician B. Rinchen from a partisan fighter whose name was Dendev, probably in 1928. The epic was first published in 1964 in Wiesbaden (in Mongolian with a Latin transcription). In the short essay titled *Монгол ардын баатарлаг туульс* [Mongolian folk heroic epics], which was originally published in his book *Folklore Mongol* in 1964, Rinchen says the epic used to be performed in Selenga, Bulgan and To'v aimags. According to Rinchen this is the longest and most interesting epic he has ever come across. He considered it evidence that even Khalkha people had preserved their original and extensive epic work. There are also other short Khalkha epic songs known, which can be considered variants of the work being analysed here, but they are much shorter than the version recorded by Rinchen. According to T. Bayasgalan, who helped to publish the epic in 2003 in Ulaanbaatar, Rinchen's version is strongly influenced by narrator Dendev's own inventions. As far as I know, this epic has not been so far translated from Mongolian.

As I mentioned, the language skills in epic material are extremely varied and remarkable, and of course difficult. Despite its attraction Mongolian epic poetry is rarely dealt with from a linguistic point of view. Exceptions include the work by B. Ch. Todaeva (1976) (linguistic analysis of the *Jangar* epic cycle), Inner Mongolian folklorist Cogz'in² (2010) (application of Parry-Lord's theory of oral formulas), publication with commentary of several versions of

2) The name of this scholar is transcribed as "Chao Gejin" in his English language article mentioned in the sources, whereas in the Mongolian translation of his book (from the Chinese original), published in Ulaanbaatar in 2010, his name is transcribed as "Цогжин" in Cyrillic. In quotations I use these two transcriptions of his name according to the sources and when referring to him generally I use the Latin transliteration "Cogz'in".

the epic *Шилэн галзуу баатар* [Mad hero S’ilen] written by Dulaan (2006) or a new edition of the epic Jangar (2006) with explanatory notes.

In my diploma thesis (Kočková 2009) I tried to map some specifics of the language of the heroic epic “Old Dragon Wise Khan” and its most significant artistic methods and in so doing I tried to look into the distinctive poetics of this heroic epic. In this study, I would like to demonstrate some of the conclusions of my previous studies on specific examples of the depiction of battles and encounters. For translation and linguistic analysis I decided to work with passages describing the hero’s confrontation with the enemy, because their content – a monumental and dynamic description of heroic acts – requires a form corresponding to the intent with which they act on the listener. In these passages (we call them “episodes of action”) the language appears to be more thickened and intensified and contains more artistic methods and poetic expressions, providing greater expressiveness and drama.

1. Genre definition

Before we start with the analysis, let us look first at the nature of the Mongolian epic in general and its more specific genre classification, because it is the genre and its function that determines the language of the work.

The heroic epic is present among all kinds of nations across continents. It is undeniable that it exhibits a number of identical features, although they have a vast number of forms and variations applied to specific nations.³ The single designation “epic” or “heroic epic” holds for a general awareness of these

3) Žirmunskij says about this: “While comparing heroic epics (...) – Homeric poems, German epic, French and Spanish medieval epic songs, Russian “byliny”, Serbian “junak” songs, Turko-Tatar and Mongolian heroic epics, Finnish *Kalevala* and Estonian *The son of Kalevala* and others – we find remarkably identical features which were repeatedly mentioned by various scholars.

At first there were efforts to explain this similarity in a narrower context, among Indo-European nations, in terms of the common origin of heroic epics in “pre-Aryan” myths and epic narrations which all these nations had in common. But an analogy between the Mongolian epic (e.g. Jangar epic cycle) and the Russian one is not of less significance than an analogy between Russian byliny and German epos. Furthermore, a hypothesis about mutual influences was stated. (...) However, the universal character of similar elements in the case of nations which had no contacts puts into question even this hypothesis. In his *Poetics of plot*, A.N. Veselovskij attempted to explain the identical motifs occurring in myths by the ethnological method (...) as demonstrative patterns formed under the same social circumstances: ‘...the unity of life conditions and psychological act,’ says Veselovskij, ‘produced unity or similarity of symbolic expression.’” Žirmunskij (1984, pp. 154–155).

works. Until we begin to study them in detail, we can maintain the impression that such genre-defining is sufficient. For some nations, the situation is facilitated by the fact that a specific term has become regularly used in their context, such as the South Slavonic 'Junak' songs, Russian 'byliny', etc. In such cases, the peculiar national heroic-epic form has its own special designation and it is thus apparent that the form has also its distinctive features. Unfortunately, in the case of the Mongolian folk epics, the situation is more complicated. The term 'Mongolian epic' refers mainly to huge epic cycles of Jangar and Geser. Apparently, under this influence the word "epic" started to be used as the equivalent of the Mongolian term *myunb*, which refers to both small and large heroic epic songs with heroic fairy-tale content, originally sung in characteristic manner and usually accompanied by musical instruments.

In terms of the typological classification of the Mongolian epic, it is useful to pay attention to the concept of "heroic fairytale", which is found in Žirmunskij's and Meletinskij's definition of "archaic epic". According to Žirmunskij's categorization "heroic fairytale" is more archaic and older than epic, being actually its direct predecessor. As he says, speaking of Russia's oldest bylina about the prince-magician (Volh) *Volh Vseslavěvič*,⁴ "between the myth and the epic stands (...) a heroic fairy tale as an intermediate form" (Žirmunskij 1984, p. 62), for which the "background" of mythological fantasies and fairy-tale hyperbolization is characteristic. We must note that the Žirmunskij's genuine heroic epic is necessarily associated with the degree of historicity, which for him is the basic and generally applicable criterion and sign of the genre.⁵ Compared to the epic, the heroic fairy tale features an "individual nature of 'bogatyř' heroic deeds and absence of a specific historical location, and broader social, historical – national and state perspective beyond the framework of patriarchal family and tribe" (Žirmunskij 1984, p. 58). Like its other characteristic features Žirmunskij mentions the fairy-tale character of bogatyř and the fairy-tale nature of his epic biography (magical origin, magical invulnerability, the acquisition of bogatyř's swords and horses, and sometimes girls, fighting the dragon, etc.). Thus defined a heroic fairy tale is, according to his conception, the work of patriarchal tribal society and only through the development of feudalism does the heroic epic get a new national and historical content (Žirmunskij 1984, p. 58).

In principle, J.M. Meletinskij identifies with Žirmunskij's assumption of the historicity of the heroic epic. In his *Poetics of myth* (1989), he defines the

4) The word *volh* 'magician' has a variant *volhv*.

5) Žirmunskij (1984, p. 379). J. Táborská comments on it in the postscript to Žirmunskij's book.

difference between the “classic” and “archaic” heroic epic. According to Meletinskij, epic developed from myth same way as fairy-tale. While the classical epic gradually demythologizes, archaic epic “generalizes the historical past through the language and concepts of prehistoric epic folklore” (Meletinskij, 1989, p. 276). It arises mainly from myths and fairy tales about ancestors – cultural heroes. By way of contrast, the classical epic is based on historical legends, their language tells stories not about mystical, but rather historical – more precisely quasi-historical – events (Meletinskij 1989, pp. 276; 283).⁶ As Meletinskij writes, the basic difference between classical and archaic epic lies precisely in the “language” that is not, in the case of classical epic, characterized by cosmic terminology but by ethnic terminology: it applies geographical names, historical names of tribes and nations, kings and leaders, wars and migrations. Time in the epic is a mythical time; it is, however, an *initial period* not in terms of creation of the world, but in terms of early national history. “As against fairy tales the heroic epic is not seen as fiction, and in this sense the myth and the epic are counterweights to the fairy tale at almost the same level” (Meletinskij 1989, p. 283).

In connection with the Mongolian epic some scholars also use the term “fairy-tale epic”, such as G.I. Mihailov (1971), who in his essays *Problems of the folklore of Mongolian nations* deals, among other things, with genre definitions and interrelationships of the Mongolian fairy tale (*сказка*), bylina (*былина*), fairy-tale epic (*сказочный эпос*) and bylina epic (*былинный эпос*).

What is then the situation in genre of Mongolian folk epic? We hardly see any historical or local facts – the names of places and people are of folk tradition, enemies are fairy-tale and mythical characters. The language contains a number of fantastic fairy-tale hyperbolization and fixed folklore phrases, some of which may well be found in fairy tales. That is also the nature of work I examined. We can say that it is an archaic form of heroic epic, while the genre tends to myth and fairy tale rather than to an historical legend (as for the Mongolian environment, it is closer to subsequent historical narratives, songs and legends of the 13th-16th centuries). Žirmunskij considers the Mongolian epic to be more recent than the heroic fairy tale but older than the epic.

It is important to stress that despite all its “fabulousness” the Mongolian heroic epic has an entirely different nature and function than true fairy tales (see above, Meletinskij’s quote). Epics were originally recited only under strict conditions. They were attached to a number of taboos, the singer used to have a privileged place, and only well-trained professionals could become

6) Cf. the chapter *Myth, Fairytale, Epic*, pp. 270–283.

performers. The performance itself was basically a ritual. During the event the epic forces were made present and a new enactment of the fight between good and evil took place. From this perspective, they resemble myths with their “immediate action”. Based on the original magical nature and function of the Mongolian epic, which was emphasized for example by British scholar C. Pegg (2001), we can make the assumption that the heroic epic in the form in which it occurs in Mongolia, like the myth in its own language, says something substantial about facts and is therefore a sort of “truth”, an incomprehensible truth to a modern man. It remains a shell, woven from an unbelievable and yet (or therefore) fascinating picture of fantastic hyperbole, colourful metaphors and fairy-tale scenes in which horses and enemies are counted in tens of millions. Altogether it results in a characteristic epic pathos that can make a present-day reader laugh. But in terms of the original function of the epic, the maximum possible effect is necessary and fully understandable. At a time when there was no radio or television and the human imagination had not been marked by action films, listening to an epic, often lasting for several nights, was an extraordinary experience. Moreover, there was a magical effect – the contact between the audience and a non-human world. The singer was visited by ghost-*ongod*, as in the case of shaman performing the rite. Listening to a story did not only entertain the audience but also nature and spirits, and it had a corresponding desired effect – to ensure prosperity, fertility, resistance to disease. Uriankhai people believed that the household in which the epic was sung would be protected for three years from various disasters and misfortunes.

2. Epic style

In addition to its specific character, the Mongolian folk epic in its style mirrors the same basic stylistically typical features as epics of other nations. Let's briefly describe how V.M. Žirmunskij characterizes them in his essays *On Heroic Epos* (1984) and V.J. Gusev in *Aesthetics of Folklore* (1978).

In *Aesthetics of Folklore*, Gusev (1978, pp. 238–243) mentions the so-called “method of epic idealization” as a basic artistic method of epos (he also calls it a “heroic-fantastic” method and besides the heroic epos he finds it also, for example, in magical fairy tales). According to his theory, this method originated in overcoming mythological thinking (“mythological method”) and under feudalism it was replaced by a realistic method (it is characterized by historical and social specificity, certainty, location and applies also to other genres, such as historical song, historical fairy tale, etc.; Gusev 1978, p. 241).

As Gusev (1978, p. 136) continues, although the epic is ethnically specific, it illustrates typological features such as "typification of the hero's character, fantastic hyperbolization, some peculiarities of composition and style (gradual and continuous sequence of continuously developing plot, detailed amplification of chapters and scenes that slow the narrative, description prevails over fabulation). Then there is an abundance of traditional motifs, formulas, and common places, a number of constant epithets and alliterations. An epic song does not know strophication. Instead it uses rhythmic, musically intoning (often alliterative) speech or alternating metric prose and song rhymes (which often have a various number of syllables) into monotonal, repetitive melody."

According to Žirmunskij (1984, p. 155) the common features of the epic genre are the ideological content, epic themes idealizing heroic deeds of national heroes, the traditional epic style traits (formula, repetition, ornamental epithet), moments of genre development (cyclization of topics, extending short-length heroic songs in the epic poem) and the conditions under which the songs are performed. A key feature in Žirmunskij's theory is the fact that (1984, p. 227): "the typical dominates over the individual, whereas a very strong and sometimes very ancient tradition determines the nature of typification. It is the tradition that mirrors the development of popular consciousness and collective artistic experience. (...) Typicality in the epic is a norm formed in the popular consciousness, not in the sense of daily routine, or of regular patterns, but in the sense of the very typical ideal".⁷

In other words, in describing the world in the heroic epic – a classification of what is good and bad, beautiful and ugly, worthy of admiration and respect, and what arouses resentment and disdain – the same applies as in Gusev's perception of aesthetics of folklore. In his words (Gusev 1978, p. 265), it is the aesthetics "of collective work, it expresses a collectively developed vision of beauty, ugliness, the noble and ordinary, the tragic and comic, concepts that have become traditional. Folklore manifests directly and actively the aesthetic ideal of social collectives."

If we want to deal with the epic manner of expression, we cannot leave without noting the most significant theory about the method of oral folk epic composition, which fundamentally influenced subsequent thinking about the

7) Further he states: "What Veselovskij says about the so-called ornamental epithet which emphasizes both typically important and ideal attributes of an object, is possible to apply to all the components of epic composition. A hero is always the bearer of the popular ideal of heroic monumentality, martial virtue, male handsomeness. His heroic deeds are of a typical character: they correspond with a norm of heroicity stated by popular consciousness, and therefore they are fixated artistically in traditional motifs and plot schemes."

language as well as the specifics of oral performance. This is the theory of oral composition, which is often called, after its authors, Parry-Lord's theory or oral formulaic theory. During the first half of the 20th century this theory was developed by Milman Parry and was based on a study of the epics of Homer and empirical research in the Balkans. After his death, his work was completed and extended by his pupil and colleague Albert Lord.

According to this theory an essential feature of a traditional system of expression is the presence of a so-called formula – an element of the certain unique metric value, and therefore effectiveness. For the singer the formula is a means by which he can express everything he needs in the particular metric length. Parry said that the formula is defined as “an expression regularly used, under the same metrical conditions, to express an essential idea” (Foley 1988, p. 24). Another of Parry's key terms is „thrift”, defined as “the degree in which (a formula type or system) is free of phrases which, having the same metrical value and expressing the same idea, could replace one another” (Foley 1988, p. 25). In most cases in traditional phraseology, there is only one suitable metric (and thus perfectly efficient) way to express something. It also has the advantage that the singer does not need to choose from several alternatives. The basic starting-point for Parry is the “criterion of formula effectiveness”. The singer composes his verses under pressure immediately in front of the audience and his control of formulated speech allows him to recite easily in oral traditional style. The fact that the phrases are repeating is for Parry the criterion of formulaic structure: “The repeated use does not only show that the singer observes solid verbal patterns but that he also refuses to express the image in any other way” (Foley 1988, p. 28). The formulaic system forms categories of related phrases that the singer knows in the way that we know a language, and thus he can fluently speak it (Foley 1988, p. 118). Later, his successor Albert Lord speaks even of “a poetic grammar of oral epic, which is and must be based on formula” (Foley, pp. 41–42).

3. Classification of the means of expression

3.1. SOME LEXICAL MEANS OF EXPRESSION

First, I will summarize the basic categories of the specific vocabulary occurring in the epos, as I outlined in my graduate thesis.

There are many honorifics in the epos, so-called courtesy expressions (*хүндэтгэлийн үг*). These words express a particular form of politeness or

courtesy towards the addressed person (if they are used in direct speech) or they point to the respectability of the person we are talking about.

Another large and extremely impressive group in the Mongolian language includes “picture-painting words” – *дурслэх үг*. By their form (sound) they can either portray a certain image (iconopoeic words) – it may be an image of motion (*хөдөлгөөний дурслэх үг*), or carry an image of several categories at once, like a combination of a shape (form) with a particular movement or character. Furthermore, they include words depicting a certain sound – in Indo-European languages well-known onomatopoeic words or onomatopoeia (*чимээний дурслэх үг*). Expressions of this nature have of course their own artistic function, and often a specific modality – certain expressions may make a pleasant or unpleasant impression. They may make the listener feel disgusted or pleased. For these reasons, it is an important means of intensifying the expressiveness of the text.

Within the specific vocabulary of the epic, we can also incorporate foreign words (*харь үг*). In this category, however, we do not include all the words of foreign origin which are common in Mongolian. They are rather unusual, difficult to understand and not frequent in ordinary colloquial speech. In the text they are mostly of Tibetan and Turkic, less frequently of Chinese, Jurchen and Sanskrit origin.

For obvious reasons, there are many culturally specific terms in the text, expressions describing such peculiarities of reality as exist only in the particular culture. In the language of a different cultural environment the corresponding equivalents are lacking, because in a different environment there are no cultural concepts of them.

One interesting phenomenon is the type of expressions that can be called lexicalized metaphor. These are metaphorical words deeply rooted in use, and derive secondarily from their source expression. For a better understanding of them let's give an example: the verb *апаалда* is derived from the word *апаа* ('stool') and it literally means 'to stool', figuratively then 'to be/stand/line up in two lines alongside/next to (what, whom)'. It means to be or to stand next to someone or something in two lines like a set of teeth.

More rarely, dialect expressions or archaisms can be found in the text.

3.2. IDIOMS

Idioms (*өвөрмөц хэллэг, өвөрмөц хэли*) are another remarkable means of expression. We can say that they are inherently fixed and deeply rooted artistic

expressions and metaphorical paraphrases of simple realities. Their original meaning disappeared long ago, and instead they refer to a transferred meaning, which can be understood only on the basis of their regular use. Some idioms are characteristic just for the language of folk literature; they occur not only in the heroic epic but also in fairy tales, legends or even rural folk speech. Some of them can be marked as settled folk sayings (*аман зохиолын тогтсон хэллэг*).

3.3. BASIC MEANS OF POETIC EXPRESSION

In this paper, I follow up on my diploma work, in which I have already dealt with the problem of the classification of major means of artistic expression in the epic work studied. In defining the basic means of poetic expression and methods of the text being studied, I worked with *The Dictionary of Literary Theory*, 1984. Now I would like to briefly define the basic categories through which the poetic language of the epic is defined.

Due to the fact that I have only a written record of the epic available, I have to leave aside the whole complex of important artistic methods linked to oral versions and the performance of narrators. The versified system, rhythmic and metric works were not in the focus of this essay, however, rhythm plays a key role in the poetics of the epic work and it would be beneficial to deal with it in the future.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the most common and most expressive epic poetic devices, rather than a detailed and exhaustive analysis of the poetic language of the work in terms of Western literary poetics. For this reason, in this analysis I only work with basic poetic figures, not investigating in detail the nature of poetic style. My goal is an elementary view of the language of the epic and the main traits of its expressive practices.

In terms of composition, the essential and probably the most important feature of epic language is its formulaic character, formulated in accordance with Parry-Lord's theory of oral composition (see above). Various events are expressed in epic language through regular formulae, which are repeated according to narrative needs. They can help to determine the time, location and description of certain characters, acts, or the like. To an extent they consist of one, two or more verses. Very often they apply syntactic parallelism, may contain a metaphorical parable or some figures of sound, the most common of which is alliteration (I will analyse these terms in more detail below). Some steady formulae that we find in the epic of Old Dragon Wise

Khan are widespread in Mongolian epic, while others are commonly used in other genres of Mongolian folklore, mostly in fairy tales (see the above mentioned fixed folk sayings).

As far as I know only Cogz'in applies Parry-Lord's theory to epic songs of ethnic groups using the Mongolian language. Based on collected material he analyses the use of fixed formulae (especially epithets), their nature and density of occurrence: “In hearing and reading Mongolian epic singing, we found that certain expressive units have a high density of recurrence. The epic motifs are organized in certain sequences, the plots have similar resolution, and a large quantity of fixed phrases with a certain meaning and rhyming are used in wide range of narrative situations. In fact, those fixed units, like the scheme of developing a story, like the common phrases, for instance, ornaments and epithets, were widely shared by singers of different times and different regions” (Chao Gejin 2004).

One type of formula, which is characteristic of the heroic epic in general, are epithet formulae. Ornamental epithets are a combination of significant attributes and names of characters. The epithet sometimes coincides with the name, which often performs the function of title, and possibly, in the case of supernatural beings, the name of the creature.⁸ Epithets are not bound only to characters of heroes and enemy creatures, but also to everything that must be specified, valued or described, such as other important entities and things – horses, weapons, gear and additional equipment etc. Žirmunskij (1984, p. 227) says that the heroic epic epithet “emphasizes the typically significant as well as ideal character of the subject” in such a form as reflects collective popular consciousness. In terms of the construction of the text they belong to the key elements – in the text quoted above, Cogz'in says that the density level of their recurrence is the highest of all types of formulae.

Epithets are not permanent in nature, but may be extended or modified in accordance with the needs of composition and rhythm. In his article, Cogz'in distinguishes a *core epithet* (a one-rhyme epithet that occurs in the character's name), *ornamental affiliation* (a two-rhyme epithet made by affiliation with another developing verse) and *semi-dependent multi-line ornament* (a group of epithet verses further developing the core epithet with ornament affiliates used by a singer to highlight the abilities and power of the hero, which may

8) E.g.: *Догшин ноён* ('relentless/wild lord'), *Хөгшин Луу Мэргэн хаан* ('Old Dragon Wise Khan'), *Арван таван толгойтой Атгаалжин хар мангас* ('Fifteen-headed Atgaaljin black mangus'), *Ерэн таван толгойтой Ендэрвээн хар мангас* ('Ninety five headed Yenderveen black mangus'), *Оройн ганц нүдтэй Шулмын хаан* ('Khan of s'ulams with a single eye on the top of his head') and the like.

also be associated with the core epithet of other characters). This extended form of epithet occurs in exceptional cases, sometimes only once in the whole song. The extent to which, during the performance, the singer can develop basic formulae by adding more and more ornamental verses depends, according to Cogz'in, primarily on the response and reaction of the audience. This indicates the ambivalent nature of formulae – on one hand they are fixed and settled, on the other hand, the singer's ability to adapt them to particular circumstances, to extend or shorten, modify or adjust the formulae according to the needs of rhythm and melody, depends on his skills and inspiration (Chao Gejin 2004).

Now, let's look at the most common poetic practices concerning sound. As in other Mongolian poetry, either traditional or modern, alliteration (мон. *толгой холбох*) is significantly applied in the epic. Very often the anaphora or epiphora occur in the texts, which naturally results from the agglutinative nature of language (verses often end with the same suffix). A figure of sound combining anaphora with epiphora is called symploce. These figures are very frequently used in the epic, especially in fixed formulae, which often have an extra form of syntactic parallelism – the above figures strengthen and emphasize it. Euphony is also an important artistic device in the text under study. We can say that the principle of vowel harmony as a basic pattern in Mongolian makes the use of euphony in Mongolian poetry easier and supports it. Nevertheless, I will not concentrate on the classification of particular euphonic figures, because in terms of the objectives of this work I do not consider it necessary.

Hyperbole is one of the most important means of artistic expression and typical of the heroic epic. Through the use of hyperbole the epic story achieves the maximum possible effect. The resulting pathos of the work seems to be the essence of the genre. Metaphor is another feature that can be found in the epic. A metaphorical expression in the context of Mongolian is an integral part of the language, as well as the thinking, of rural nomadic herdsmen. It is always entirely culturally specified how and what metaphors are used, reflecting the mentality and overall world view of speakers who create and use them. As a matter of fact various events are actually metaphors. I will mention them separately, but they are nothing more than another way of expressing metaphors. They include in particular numerous comparisons, and also parallelism (which again is nothing more than another metaphor in a specific form) or the above-mentioned lexical metaphors. Idioms are also of metaphorical origin. To a lesser extent, we can also find so-called metonymy in the text.

Besides ornamental epithets and fantastic hyperbole, comparison is another essential artistic device in Mongolian heroic epic; hence the presence of negative comparison, so-called antithesis. In addition to colourful comparisons in the usual form, parallelism or alignment (Мо. зэрэгцүүлэх) is a typical feature of Mongolian folklore (as well as of contemporary poetry), but it should be distinguished from the above syntactic parallelism (although this comparison-parallelism often takes this form, syntactic parallelism refers only to the stylistic approach, while the content may not always involve a symbolic comparison). This type of parallelism is basically comparison, which consists of simply placing the two motifs side by side, and very often refers to the comparison between motifs from the human world and life and the motifs from nature, natural phenomena, animals, etc.

4. Translation and analysis of selected sequences

In the following samples of translated text I will analyse the specific examples of all categories of artistic expression mentioned above.

EXTRACT NO. 1

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Борлог морь хэлэв, хаанд:
– “Сайн эр байтлаа
Санаагүй яасан билээ?
Сайхан хүн байтлаа
5. Бодоогүй яасан билээ?
Хадаргаа Хар Боомон тэнгэр
Ирлээ, цаана чинь!
Ямар дүр биеэр ирж явна гэвэл
Гахай хар бодон дүрээр ирлээ шүү!
10. Нэг талын нь соёонд
Далан их сайн эрийн арьс шөрмөс
Зэр зэмсэгтэйгээ өлгөсөн явнаа.
Нэг талын соёонд
Далан сайн морины арьс шөрмөс
15. Эмээл хазаартайгаа өлгөсөн явнаа. Энэ юунд ингэж яваа юм бэ гэж
асуувал
Бурханы гэгээн
Шажин дэлгэх төрийг байгуулах [гэж]
Ингэж хүсэхэд</p> | <p>1. Grey horse said to the khan:
“Though you are a good man (<i>i.e. hero</i>),
How come you did not think of it?
Though you are a nice (good) man,
5. How come you did not think it over?
Hadargaa Har Boomon <i>tenger</i>
Is coming, behind you!
In which form did he come?
As a Black Boar he came!
10. From one tusk hung
Skin and tendons of seventy great men
With their weapons.
From one tusk hung
Skin and tendons of seventy great horses
15. With their saddles and gear.
If you ask, why he is walking just like
that, (<i>then hear</i>)
When the holiest Burhan
Wished
To establish the rule of spreading the
teachings,</p> |
|--|---|

20. Энэ тэнгэр
Энэ дүрээрээ очиж
Үс хадрах гээд болж өгөөгүй ээ!
- Тэгэхлээр нь далан сайн эрийг
явуулаад
Барьж аваад ир гэсэн билээ.
25. Очихгүй гэж энэ дүрээр хувилаад
- Нэг соёондоо**
Далан их сайн эрийг хадарч
хураагаад
Нэг соёондоо
Далан сайн морийг
30. **Эмээл хазаартай нь хурааж аваад**
Дийлдээгүй айхтар тэнгэр ээ!
Өдүй алдад би урдаас нь алхах нь
Хэрэггүйгээр [барахгүй]
Дүр бараагий нь харж тэсэхийг
байлаа!" [гэхэд]
35. Хаан – „Тэгвэл чиг аргагүй ээ!” [гээд]
Жигүүртэн борлог морийг
Нутгийн зүг толгойгий нь эргүүлэн
Тушиж орхиод
Алтан мөнгөн хоёр бутуйлыг (55)
Эмээлийнхээн бүүргэнд углаж
орхиод
Өөрийн бие **далан таван товчтой**
Дампуу хамбан дээлийг,
Булган сайхан хоёр хормойг
Яран хавчуулчихаад
45. **Булган хоёр нударгыг**
Дотогш нь шамалчихаад
Нуруугаа үүрээд
Өөрийн бие урдаас нь
Ганцаараа зоривоо.
50. Нэлээд дөхөөд хоёр биендээ
Тулдгийн цаг ирвээ.
Амны нь **муу сайн арьс шөрмөс**[ийг]
Тоолчихмоор яваваа.
- Хаан ая бодвоо.
20. This *tenger*
Came in this form,
He wanted to tear his hair and prevent
him from that (*i.e. from spreading the*
religion).
So he (*Hurmast*) sent seventy great men
- And said: “Seize him and bring him”.
25. (*Tenger*) he said, he will not go and rein-
carnated into this form.
On one tusk he impaled
Seventy great men,
- On one tusk he impaled
Seventy great horses
With their saddles and gear,
He the invincible, terrible *tenger*!
Not only
Can I not ride to meet him now,
Even the sight of his form I cannot
stand!”
35. Khan said – “Then nothing can be done!”
He tied
The winged grey horse
With his head turned towards his home,
Gold and silver rope
Hung on his saddlebow,
- Wonderful hamban deel*
With seventy-five buttons,
Two beautiful sable shirt-tails (*of this deel*)
He spread and tightened,
45. Two sable sleeves
He rolled inside
And folded his hands behind his back
He alone
Went to meet him.
50. They were closing in on to each other
And the time of their encounter has come.
He walked so he could count⁹
Good and bad skin and tendons of his
muzzle.¹⁰
The Khan considered the situation.

9) He went in such a way as to be able to consider the rival's forces, which meant probably slowly, watchfully, cautiously.

10) I.e., he was considering the boar's forces..

55. Нэг дайрлага өнгөрөөвөл
Ая байхсан болов уу?
Гахай дүрээр ирсэн чиг болов чиг
Энэ амьтан өндөр юман дээр гарвал
- Гахайн толгой **олийж** хадардаггүй
гэж дуулсаан.
60. Хажуу тийшээ **халбахийн**
- Бусган зугтаавал
Хүзүү бие нь эргэж хадардаггүй гэж
дуулсаан.
Бусгая энэнээс [гэсэн]
Энэ мэхийг бодвоо.
65. [Тэгээд] яг зогсож орхивоо, хаан.
Гахай хар бодон сэрвээний
ширхэгээр
Хурмастын үсийг орооцолдуулсан
чигээрээ
Дайран орж ирэхийг үзвээ.
Лха Замвуулин тэр аяараа
70. **Хотолзон байхыг үзвээ.**
[Хөгшин Луу Мэргэн хаан]
Амнаас нь булгаж зугтаагаад
Хавирган биенд нь хүрвээ.
Сэрвээний ширхэгийг шүүрэн аваад
75. Газрын хатууг дайруулж
Гурав сайхан дайруулж
Гурав сайхан **гуядаваа.**
Харгана модны өргөстэй дайруулж
- Гурав** сайхан **гуядаваа.** (56)
80. Гахай хар бодонг муужруулан
Унагаж авааа.
Төхмийн чинээ
Хар хэнхдэг түүн дээр нь
Мордон сандалваа.
85. **Галуун хүзүү гансандаа**
Галзуу улаан тамхийг нэрж
- Ган болсон хэтээ**
Ганц нэг харшуулаад
Тамхиа татан сууж байваа.
90. **Гурван өдөр, гурван шөнө сууваа.**
Гурав [дахь] хоногийн өглөөний
наранд
Бие нь жаал тавьж
Уужим сайхан болвоо.
[Хөгшин Луу Мэргэн хаан]
55. Would it be *useful*,
If I miss one attack?
When he came in the form of a pig,
I've heard that this animal, after climb-
ing up on a tall thing,
That pig's head cannot turn around and
gore (*with his tusks*).
60. I've heard that when (*a man*) jumps
suddenly aside,
And abruptly dodges,
(*Boar's*) neck cannot turn around and
gore.
I will dodge aside to avoid him.
He thought this trick over.
65. Then the khan stopped.
He saw Black Boar
- With Hurmast's hair entangled on the
back
Go directly on to the attack.
He saw the whole Heaven and Earth
Sway.
[The Old Luu Mergen Khan]
Dodged (*the boar's*) muzzle and
Reached his ribs.
He grasped a part of his ridge and
Hit him against the hard ground,
Three times he slammed him well
Three times he cracked him well.
He struck him against a thorn of *kara-*
gan tree,
Three times he cracked him well.
80. He stunned Black Boar and
Knocked him down.
Astride he sat on
(*Boar's*) black chest
As great as a gorge.
85. His goose neck pipe
Stuffed with frantic red (*i.e. pipe*)
tobacco,
Only once he struck fire
With his fire lighter that became steel,
He sat and smoked.
90. Three days and three nights he sat.
On the third day in the morning sun
- His body relaxed (*e.g. rested up*) a bit and
Had become pretty calm.
[Old Luu Mergen Khan thought:]

95. Сайн ламын зарлиг дагаж ирж
Амьтанд их тустай тэнгэрийг
Алан хорлох гэдэг нь энэ билүү? [гэж
бодов.]
Тэгэж бодоод толгой биенд нь
Өөрийн бие ирэн үзвээ.
100. Ам хамар хоёроос нь гарсан цус
Баратгай мөрөн голын чинээ
долгилж
Урсан байхыг үзэв гэнээ.

[Хөгшин Луу Мэргэн хаан
Гахай хар бодонгийн]
105. Амны нь муу сайн
Арьс шөрмөсийг арилгаад
Амнаас нь гарсан цусыг
Дотоод хормойгоороо арчин таалаад

Хамраас нь гарсан цусыг
110. Булган сайхан нударгаараа арчаад

Толгой биеий нь тэвэрч ирээд
Салхи сөргүүлээд
Гурав гайгүй дутгаад
Өөрийн бие завилан суугаад
115. Толгой биеийг нь
Өвөр биен дээрээ
Тэврэн аваад
Сууж байваа.
Тэгтэл гахай хар бодон (57)
120. Амьсгаа авхыг үзвээ.
95. Does it mean that
When following the good lama's order
I killed the *tenger*, very beneficial for all
the creatures?
He thought and walked to the head
And looked at it.
100. He saw
Blood spilled from its mouth and nose

Flowing and heaving up quite like
a mighty river.
[Old Luu Mergen Khan]
Cleaned the bad and good (*i.e. all*) skin
and tendons
105. Of the muzzle
[of Black Boar],
Blood spilled from the muzzle
He gently wiped with inside of his
shirt-tail¹¹
Blood spilled from the snout
110. He wiped with nice sable trim of his
sleeve and
Hugged his head,
Set it against the wind,
Properly shook it three times,
Sat down with his legs crossed,
115. He gripped
Its head
In his arms
And sat.
Then he saw Black Boar
120. Taking a breath.

In this first passage, describing the encounter between Luu Mergen Khan and menacing *tenger* reincarnated in the form of the wild-boar, a whole series of formulae and steady ornamental epithets occur. Right at the beginning of the story we find a hyperbolic formula repeating twice, describing the frightening appearance of *tenger*:

Нэг талын нь соёонд/ Далан их сайн эрийн арьс шөрмөс/ Зэр зэмсэгтэйгээ өлгөсөн явнаа./
Нэг талын соёонд/ Далан сайн морины арьс шөрмөс/ Эмээл хазаартайгаа өлгөсөн явнаа.
(‘From one tusk hung/ Skin and tendons of seventy great men/ With all their arms/ From one tusk hung/ Skin and tendons of seventy great horses/With their saddles and gear.’ 10–15, 26–30).

11) I.e., with inside lining of the shirt-tail.

The formula applies syntactic parallelism, reinforced by a combination of anaphora and epiphora (i.e. the so-called symplexe). Syntactic parallelism with alliteration appears also in the opening rhetorical question, in which khan’s horse rebukes his master-the hero for the lack of forethought:

Сайн эр байтлаа/ Санаагүй яасан билээ?/ Сайхан хүн байтлаа/ Бодоогүй яасан билээ?
(‘Though you are a good man (i.e. hero),/ How come you did not think of it?/ Though you are a nice (good) man,/ How come you did not think it over?’ 2–5).

This formula is repeated in various parts in the text in connection with episodes of battle and we will see it also later. Furthermore, there appears a regular epithet to describe Khan’s horse *жигүүртэн борлог морь* (‘grey winged horse’) (36) and an epithet formula used for hero’s clothes

Далан таван товчтой/ Дамнуу хамбан дээл (‘Wonderful khamban deel/ With seventy five buttons’; 41–42)

including foreign expressions *дамнуу* and *хамбан*. *Дамнуу* is the Chinese word denoting a species of silk,¹² *хамба* is also the name of a type of high-quality silk. Overall, the epithet refers to the exceptional hero’s dress, its quality and luxuries. The regular attribute *Булган сайхан* (‘nice sable’) is also used for different parts of the *deel*: *хормой* (‘shirt-tails, the lower part of the *deel*’) and *нударга* (‘extended rim, turned-in sleeves used to protect hands’; 43, 45). These expressions fall into the category of culturally specific terms.

In the description of battle scenes there is a great emphasis on hyperbolization with the help of metaphorical parable in verses 82, 85, 101–102. The first: *төхмийн чинээ* (‘great like a gorge’) is often used as part of an epithet of the hero’s chest or the chest/belly of the enemy and we will see it also in the various other examples. Metaphorical nature (in the absence of coupling and explicit expressions of equivalent character) is in an ornamental epithet of khan’s pipe: *галуун хүзүү ганс* (‘his goose neck pipe’; 85). The last-mentioned description comparing blood flowing from nose and mouth of a defeated boar with ‘quite a mighty stream’ (*барагтай мөрөн гол*) also has a strong hyperbolic function.

12) The Mongolian foreign word dictionary mentions the Chinese expression *dàng pu* (literally ‘single/fine textile’) as a designation of a place where interest-bearing loans are provided for pawned items. In the figurative sense of the word it means ‘1. to lose a job; 2. a time-worn, old thing’. In contemporary Mongolian the expression occurs in the further transformed meaning: ‘bankrupt, insolvent’. There are also derivatives of this word like the verb *дамнуурах* (‘to go bankrupt’) and the noun *дамнуурал* (‘bankruptcy’) (Сүхбаатар 1997).

It is worth noting the use of the metonymic clause *арьс иөрмөс* (lit., 'skin and tendon') (52) in connection with the muzzle of angry *tenger* turned into the boar. Khan looks at it and "counts". This expression is a part replacing a whole and Khan, in fact, is considering the overall strength of the constitution of the enemy, and his chances against the enemy's main offensive weapon – a muzzle.

In parts of the text describing the moments just before the encounter the idiom *нуруугаа үүрэх* (47) is used. It literally means 'to load one's back on one's back', in its steady figurative meaning it refers to 'folding hands behind the back'. Such a position, used by men, characterizes courage, determination, decisiveness. The example contains another indication that a battle is brewing and that Khan is ready to fight. This determination involves the fact that Khan rolls his sleeves inside – the way Mongolians roll their sleeves before the battle or fight; it implies a feeling of anger, fear or readiness to fight. It differs from rolling the sleeves outside, the way we usually roll the sleeves, which in turn implies getting ready for work (J. Luvsandorj; personal communication).¹³

In the description of the central battle scene the lexical means of expression are applied through the picture-painting words *олийх* (59), *халбахийх* (60) and *хотолзох* (70). Let's look at these expressions in more detail. The first iconopoetic word *олийх* indicates 'a parallel turning of the neck and eye aside, squinting to the sides (while turning the neck), turning the neck to look around to the sides' (J. Luvsandorj). The word *халбахийх* has its origin in the phrase *халба(с) хийх* and it means 'to make a quick, sharp, or sudden move to the side, wince, jump aside' (J. Luvsandorj). The word *хотолзох* means 'bending, squeezing a hollow thing' (Цэвэл 1966). As described by J. Luvsandorj the motion may be best described through the example of repeated squeezing of an empty plastic bottle.¹⁴ The phrase is part of the formula describing the movement of the world, Heaven and Earth, which reflects the atmosphere of panic and fear of a threatening conflict between Mergen Khan and Hadargaa Har Boomon *tenger*:

Лха Замвуулин тэр аяараа/ Хотолзон байхыг үзвээ ('He saw the whole Heaven and Earth/Sway'; 69–70).

We will see the variation of this formula later in extract No. 2.

13) Later in the text I present information I obtained from Prof. Luvsandorj through personal communication and those are his personal opinions. In such quotations his mere name is used. The same applies to V. Zikmundová.

14) In my translation I used the word *to sway* as an equivalent. Despite the fact that this word's meaning is not exactly the same, I find it suitable in this particular situation.

Furthermore, there is the lexical metaphor *гуядах* (‘whip, swish, swing’). In its original meaning, this expression means ‘to spank the horse with *tas’uur*, to whip the buttocks’ (lit., ‘to ramp, to thigh’). In the text it appears in a metaphorical sense, it represents the movement of the Khan slamming the *tenger* in the form of a boar down onto the ground (J. Luvsandorj).

After a dynamic description of the fight (65–84), the following verses describe by way of contrast a calming down moment (85–93). Part of this passage is a steady formula expressing lighting a pipe and smoking, which is emphasized by alliteration:

*Галуун хүзүү гансандаа/ Галзуу улаан тамхийг нэрж/ Ган болсон хэтээ/ Ганц нэг харишуулаад/
Тамхиа татан сууж байгаа.* (‘His goose neck pipe/ He stuffed with frantic red (i.e. pipe) tobacco,/ Only once he struck fire/ With his fire lighter that became steel/ He sat and smoke.’ 85–89).

In several parts of the text the same anaphora occurs – repetition of the word *гурав/гурван* (‘three’) at the beginning of verses (76–77, 79, 90–91, 113). Number three has a symbolic meaning in Mongolian literature and in this work “threefold repetitions” of certain events appear very often.

From a content perspective, the final part of the sequence is also interesting. Khan, although he defeated Hadargaa Har Boomon *tenger* and deprived him of consciousness, shows him respect and sympathy when he, due to a fear for his own life, tenderly cares for him after winning the duel (105–118) (again, syntactic parallelism is applied).

Now, let us briefly look at the meaning and origin of the names appearing in the text. *Хадаргаа Хар Боомон тэнгэр* (6) is the name of a wrathful *tenger* (догшин тэнгэр), one of 99 *tengers* – Mongolian shamanic pantheon of sky deities.¹⁵ Some examples of the presence of these gods in shamanic songs can be found in Heissig’s works: *Qadary-a buum tngri* is invoked as “lord of the curse” and *qariyalun ejen* – in shamanic prayer for Kayan degereki. *Qatarayatabun tngri* is the incantatory song of eastern Mongolian shaman Tungchinggarb and in the exorcism of Bulgan shaman Dagwa Zajran, in addition to other deities, *öwör gazar Hatargajnan har tenger* is invoked (Heissig 1993, p. 43). In the epic this shamanic deity represents a terrible enemy of Buddhism, but after it is defeated by Khan, it recognizes the sovereignty of yellow hats teachings.

15) 44 of them are the negative, harmful “eastern *tengers*” (зүүн зүгийн тэнгэр) and 55 are the beneficial “western *tengers*” (баруун зүгийн тэнгэр). Монголчуудын түүүх, соёлын атлас 2004, p. 314. There are 33 *tengers* according to another version.

The name *Хадаргаа* probably derives from the verb *хадрах* ('tear, scrape, pull out the teeth/claws'). The word also has the metaphorical meaning 'to destroy, ruin, ravage'. The expression *Боомон* may be related etymologically to the word *боом*, which in modern Mongolian refers to an infectious disease of livestock or *septic malignant ulcer, abscess* (BAMRS). In this case, the name is more likely to be etymologically related directly to the root *боо-* ('to bind up, bandage') and to the expressions *боомь* ('loop, rope') and *боомилох* ('to strangle, hang'), from which a younger name for the disease may derive (J. Luvsandorj). According to these interpretations the name would designate the person who either sends malignant diseases or who kills by strangulation. In any case, it evokes and reflects the horror and fear of the entities described. The epithet *хар* ('black') may not be missing anywhere as it appears in the names of almost all the negative characters and highlights the essence of evil.

In reference to this problem, V. Zikmundová¹⁶ adds that forms like *Buman/Buumal* also exist and that Heissig talks about a group of *buumal* deities as the gods of "inter-space" between heaven and earth, which he relates etymologically to expression *буй-* (*to descend*). This seems to be a folk etymology corresponding, for example, to the Khorchin legend, in which gods were created at the moment when the daughter of Hurmast gave birth to children conceived with a human being and Hurmast had them thrown onto a high mountain, where they appeared in the form of yaks (Zikmundová 2008, pp. 179–180). Zikmundová argues that the name is rather of western origin and is given to many *tengers*. For example, among Khorchin people it is a pair of "*Qan bayumal qaduryan tngri*" and "*Qatun bayumal čakilyan tngri*". *Хадарган* is said to mean just strong, powerful.

Let's point out that it is no coincidence that *tenger* appears just as a wild boar and that Old Luu Mergen Khan defeats him with his bare hands. Wild boar is the archaic symbol and embodiment of mortal danger, the enemy of man. It has always been this way and the boar is virtually universally reflected in the oral folk poetic art of many nations (see the old Czech legend of Bivoj). The wild boar was not only feared but also worshipped as a deity, e.g. in Western Manchuria (V. Zikmundová). It was also one of the Turkic military titles (J. Luvsandorj).

Хурмаст тэнгэр (67) is the name of the lord and master of all *tengers*. It originated from the name of the main deity of old Iranian Zoroastrianism, Ahura Mazda (Vacek, Dulam 1983, p. 134). The deity was brought to Mongolia by Sogds and Uighurs. In the Middle Ages he basically merged with

16) Personal communication.

the central deity *Хөх мөнх тэнгэр* (‘Eternal Blue Heaven’); in the context of Buddhism he is usually identified with Śakra (in fact Vedic Indra; Meletinskij 1990).¹⁷ Given the importance of his cultural significance he is very often featured in oral folk poetic art. In popular tradition he is the one who sends rain or storm, he is the lord of all living things. It should also be noted that the above phrase does not always indicate the highest divine being. With regard to the context it may in some situations indicate the same meaning as the terms *тэнгэр*, *хөх тэнгэр*, thus just the heaven itself.

It is also worth mentioning the phrase of Tibetan origin – *Лха Замвуулин* (69), representing Heaven and Earth, therefore the whole world, the universe. *Лха* is the Tibetan word *lha*, ‘sky’. *Замвуулин* (Tib. *dzam bu gling*) is a combination of the Sanskrit word *jambu-/jambū-* ‘the rose apple tree’, and the Tibetan word *gling* corresponding to Sanskrit *dvīpa-* ‘island, peninsula; a division of the terrestrial world’ in the compound *jambū-dvīpa-*. The Sanskrit word *dvīpa-* was also borrowed into Mongolian as *тив* ‘world, continent’; the whole compound was borrowed into Mongolian as *замбуутив*. In his Mongolian dictionary of foreign words, Sukhbaatar (1997, p. 110) interprets the meaning of *замбуутив* as *замбуу модны тив* (‘world of *zambuui* trees’). As regards the Sanskrit *jambū*, the dictionary lists the explanation apparently occurring in old writings: It is a shrub with evergreen leaves, white flowers, rounded oblong fruit and black seeds. When the leaves fall onto the water, they make the *dzam dzam* sound. When the leaves remain in the water they get a golden colour and are called “river gold”. One of the internet Sanskrit-English dictionaries states that it is *the rose apple tree (Eugenia Jambolana or another species)*.¹⁸

17) Some other mentioned variants of this deity’s name are: “Хормуста, Хормуста-тенгри, Хормуста-хан, Хурмаст, Хан Хюрмас (Тюрмас, Хирмус, Хирмас, Хёрмос)-тенгри (Buriat), Курбусту (Tuvan), Уч Курбустан, Кубустан-аакай (Altay), Хормусда (Manchu).” (Meletinskij 1990, p. 672).

18) Cologne Digital Sanskrit Lexicon, <http://www.sanskrit-lexicon.uni-koeln.de/scans/MWScan/tamil/index.html>.

EXTRACT NO. 2

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Хожгор хүү
Баруун хойшоо харан сууваа.
Уул гэхнээн уул биш
Ус гэхнээн ус биш</p> <p>5. Утаа гэхнээн утаа биш
Нэг их юмны тоос гарваа.
Ахиулан¹⁹ ажиглан сууваа.
Арван таван толгойтой
Атгаалжин хар мангас</p> <p>10. Хул халзан дуусыг
Хударгалалгүй унасан
Хулсан тэнзэн ташуурыг
Дэхин дохин хийлгэсэн
Дан хүний махыг</p> <p>15. Даалин хүүдий дүүргэж тэгнэсэн
Хүрэн эрээн могойгоор</p> <p>Хүзүү сээрээ ороолгоод
Тагнуулдаа явж байхыг үзвээ.
Эмгэн өвгөн хоёр</p> <p>20. Гадаа гараад
Мангасын урд биенд хоёулаа
Хормой дэвсэн мөргөвөө.
– “Үнээ тугалаан өнөөдөр
нийлүүлчихлээ.”²⁰ (98)
Айраг таргийг өнөө шөнөдөө</p> <p>25. Үнээгээ саагаад
Маргаашийн эдүгээ алдад
Нэг амиар
Дөчин хөхүүр айраг
Дөчин гүзээ шар цагаан тос</p> <p>30. Хийж барья” [гэж гуйхад]
Мангас өгүүлвээ.
– “Тагнуул явж
Ядарч зүдэрдэг билээ.
Үүнийг нэг өдөр таславал</p> | <p>1. Bald boy
Sat down and looked to the northwest.
The dust of something big appeared –
It looked like a mountain, it wasn't a mountain.</p> <p>5. It looked like water, it wasn't water.
It looked like smoke, it wasn't smoke.
He sat and watched it proceed.
He saw scouting
Fifteen-headed</p> <p>10. Atgaalz'in black <i>mangas</i>,
On an auburn mule with a blaze
Riding without a crupper,
Bamboo tas'uur
Swinging back and forth,</p> <p>15. Pouches and bags filled with
Human meat only, evenly loaded (<i>on the sides of the saddle</i>),
He had his neck and chest wrapped
With a brown motley snake.
Old woman and old man</p> <p>20. Went outside,
And in front of the <i>mangas</i> they both
Spread their shirt-tails and bowed.
“Cows and calves have mixed today.</p> <p>Tonight</p> <p>25. We will milk our cows,
Make <i>airag</i>, <i>tarag</i> and
About this time tomorrow we will bring
Forty <i>hohurs</i> of <i>airag</i>,
Forty maws of yellow and white fat</p> <p>30. At once.” [while they begged]
<i>Mangas</i> said,
“When I go scouting,
I get really exhausted.
If this (<i>food supply</i>) stops one day,</p> |
|--|---|

19) A causative form is used here as an expression of completely passive observation of some process or action. This kind of causative use is very common in Mongolian. (V. Zikmundová; personal communication).

20) Mongolian shepherds herd baby cattle separately from female cattle to prevent calves from sucking out all milk. Every morning they allow baby cattle to come to their mothers just after they milked all cows. If the calves joined the cows at the pasture, they would have sucked all their milk out.

35. Нэг настай хүүгий чинь
Алан идэж уун
Цадна гэдэг тушаалыг
Эрт дуулгасан билээ, би!” гээд
- Нэг настай хүүгий нь
40. Шүүрэн аваад
Хул халзан луусандаа дүүрээд
- Баруун хойшоо одон явхыг
Хожгор хүү харваа.
Шуудаар түргэн
45. **Хамуутай хар даагаан** баьж аваад
Суунги маажгий гутал
Сур сармай дээл хоёрыгоо
Бушуу түргэн өмсөж орхиод
Хамуутай хар даагандaa мордоод
50. Мангасын хойноос
Хөөн төөн ирвээ.
Гүйцэж ирээд өөрийн нь биенд
- Арай эс халдваа.
Хамуутай хар даагаа
55. **Далы нь цохин дайвуулаад**
Гуяы нь цохин гуйвуулаад
Урдуур хойгуур нь хүцэн толиод
- Хэрэн яваваа.
Хожгор хүү өгүүлвээ.
60. –“Мангас гуай!
Та энэ хөөрхөн хүүг
Өхөөрдөөд дүүрч яваа билүү?”
[гэсэн]
Энэ үгийг мангасаас асууваа. (99)
Мангас өгүүлвээ.
65. –“Болзоотын бор толгой дээр аваачиж
- Алан идэж уун
Цадах гэж явнаа, хөө!” [гэсэнд]
[Хожгор хүү]
–“Хүүхэд түүж иддэг
70. Аль газрын гүрэн нь вэ?
Наад талд нь
Хүү юмаа гэж
35. I will kill, eat, and drink up
Your one-year old son
And thus I will feed myself up.
I let you hear such regulation long ago!”
he said and
Grabbed
40. Their one-year old son,
Placed him in front of himself on the
auburn mule with a blaze and
Moved to the northwest.
Bald boy saw this.
Right away, he quickly
45. Grabbed his black mangy yearling
His old slipshod shoes and
Deel of cattle skin.
He quickly dressed himself,
Mounted on his black mangy yearling,
and
50. Chased
Mangas.
He caught up with him, but yet not
close enough
To reach him.
He beat the black mangy yearling’s
55. Shoulders till it staggered,
He beat its thighs till it swayed.
He weaved around (*mangas*) front and
back
And rode around him.
Bald boy said:
60. “Mister *mangas*!
Are you carrying this cute boy
Because you like him so?”

He asked *mangas* these words.
Mangas said:
65. “I will take him up to the Grey Hill of
meetings,
Kill him, eat him and drink him up,
To feed myself, yo!”
[Bald boy]
“What land is your kingdom in,
Where they pick and eat children?
At least,
Such a boy”²¹

21) Юмаа - emphasizing particle.

- Төрийг зузаалдаг билээ.
Эрдмийг сайн үзвэл
75. Шажин төр хоёрыг
Алиныг чиг барьдааг!" [гэсэн]
Энэ үгийг өгүүлвээ.
Мангас өгүүлвээ.
– "Газрын хааны
80. Задарсан хожгор хүү
Явдаг билээ, чи?
Ална гэдгийг чамайг
Цуг үзүүлнээ!" [гээд]
Шүдээ хавиран
85. Шүлсээ залгиваа.
[Тэгээд] хожгор хүүг
Цулбуурдаж аваад
Болзоотын бор толгой дээр
Гурвуулан очвоо.
90. Мангас буун харайн
Хул халзан луусаа тушиваа.
Хожгор буун харайн
Хамуутай хар даагаа тушиваа.
Хожгор хүүгийн уур нь хүрээд
95. Тэсч ядан багтран хөөрөөд
- Гурав их хашгирваа.
Гурав хашгирсан дуу нь
Гурван мянган ертөнцийг
Дүүрэн байхыг үзвээ.
100. Ардаг хар морь
Хүлгийн хэв ёсоор
Тохрон байхыг үзвээ.
Эрийн сайн Хийсвайдарихүү (100)
Хуучин ёсоор, хожгоргүй
105. Сайхан эр тодорсон
Байхыг үзвээ.
Гурав хашгирсан дуунд нь
Мангас ясаар баагаад
Цусаар шээгээд
110. Дэн дунхан тэнцэн ядаж
Байхыг үзвээ.
Өвгөн аавын эдэлж явсан
Түмэн хүний толгойг
Түг таг тааруулсан
- Is usually a support²² for the reign.
If he studies well,
75. He rules them both
The church and the state!"
These words he said.
The *mangas* said:
"Which land
80. Do you come from,
You brassy, bald boy?
As I will kill you I will show you,
What killing means!"
Grinding his teeth
85. He swallowed his saliva.
[And then] he took Bald boy's (=horse's)
Reins and
All three arrived to
The Grey Hill of meetings.
90. *Mangas* jumped down and
Tied²³ his auburn mule with a blaze.
Bald boy jumped down and
Tied his black mangy yearling.
Bald boy got angry,
95. He could not resist, grasping for
a breath and
Three times he cried out loud.
They saw three thousand worlds
To be filled with the sound
Of the three screams.
100. They saw Frisky black horse
Stand in his usual form
Of an excellent horse.
They saw
Hiisvaidarihu'u, the best of all men
105. Appeared as a non-bald
Handsome man, as he was before.
They saw
At the sound of his three screams
Mangas shitted bones,
110. Pissed blood,
Hardly could stand on his feet.
He (*hiisvaidarihu'u*) nicely wiped
Crude red sword
Made precisely (*adapted*)

22) Lit., 'fattening the rule'.

23) *Туших* – the traditional meaning of the word is to bind a horse's legs..

115. **Түүхий улаан юлдийг**
Гутлынхаа буруу талын түрийд
Гурав сайхан нийлвээ.²⁴
- Дээшээ Хурмаст тэнгэрийн заадас
- Ангасхийн байхыг үзвээ.
120. Доошоо Лха Замбуулингийн заадас
Ангасхийн хөдөлж байхыг үзвээ.
Түүхий улаан юлдээр
Мангасын арван дөрвөн толгойг
Тас цавчин хаяваа.
125. Голын ганц толгой дээр
Нэг настай сэгсгэр хүү
Бие өөд нь авираад
Хүзүүн дээр унажирхаад [хэлэв.]
–“Муу мангас чи!
130. Зулайгий минь гишгэж гарсан
Алтан сайхан амий минь авах²⁵
- Ах минь ирээд байхад
- Чи намайг алан идэж
Уун цадаж чадна уу, чи?” [гэж]
135. Ход ход хөхрөөд
Давиран тонгочиж байхыг үзвээ.
Ах нь дүүгээ буулгаж аваад
- [Мангасын] голын ганц толгойг
Тас цохин аваад
140. Бичиг зүүгээд
Гадаад далайн
Дотор биенд байдаг
- Хаан аав, хатан ээж (101)
Албат иргэнээ нэхэх гэж
145. Бичиг зүүгээд
Хул халзан луусыг
–“Шуудаар түргэн харьж
Хойт талын дайныг
Түргэнээр сайхан газар
115. For heads of ten thousand men
Used by his old father
With the inner side of his top boots
three times.
They saw the seam of the Hurmast
heaven
Opening upwards,
120. The seam of Lha Zambuulin
Opening downwards.
He cut off *mangas*’ fourteen heads
With Crude red sword
And threw them away.
125. The one-year old shaggy boy
Climbed up over the body and
Sat on the neck,
Mounted the remaining main head.
“You, bad *mangas*!
130. When my older brother came,
The one born stepping on the crown of
my head
The one who will save my golden beau-
tiful life,
Can you still kill me, eat me and
Drink me up to feed yourself?”
135. They saw him (*one-year-old boy*) giggle,
Prod (*mangas*) and bounce.
Older brother took his younger brother
down,
He cut off
The last remaining head,
140. Fastened up a letter,²⁶
That requires
Khan-father, hatan-mother and his
subjects
(*In the region*) inside
Outer seas,
145. He fastened up the letter and
He told the auburn mule with a blaze:
“Go back quickly right away
To the battle on the north side,
Quickly to a nice place

24) I.e., the hero sharpens a bit of his sword with the inner side of his high shoes, he’s preparing for the fight.

25) Probably an error of recording or printing: verb *авпax* (‘to save’) should be written here. (J. Luvsandorj).

26) It means that he fastened the letter on the auburn mule with a blaze – the formulation is not clear in the original. The translation should reflect this fact.

150. Ирж бай!" [гээд]

Хул халзан луусанд хэлээд
Ташуурдаад хойш нь хөөвөө. (102)

150. Go!"

The auburn mule with a blaze
He struck with whip and drove him
forward.

This example does not explicitly describe the turmoil of the battle, but it is a conflict with the enemy and the subsequent defeat of *mangas*, through which the hero saves the brother he had just found. It also includes a description of *mangas* and other interesting events, which I will analyse below.

Right from the beginning, a negative comparison occurs in the text, a so-called antithesis. It appears in the epic in a specific situation – in recognition of an approaching object (actually troops or people). Let's note that this situation is typical of Mongolian conditions. Antithesis again uses the usual sound figures – alliteration, epiphora and syntactic parallelism. For comparison, let's look at another example of the same method that occurs in other parts of the text:

Өнөөдрийн үүрийн шар тэмдгээр
Адуугаа цуглуулж явсан
Энэ баруун хойноосоо
Манай гүрнийг зорьсон бололтой
Шороо гэхнээн
Шорооны тоос биш
Шоргоолж гэхнээн
Шоргоолж биш
Харийн гүрэн манай хааныхыг
Цохлон ирэв бололтой. (66)

At the yellow sign of today's dawn
When I rode looking for my horses
Something from the northwest
Was apparently heading to our realm.
It looked like dust,
It wasn't dust,
It looked like ants,
It wasn't ants,
Foreign army was coming
Directly towards the residence of our Khan.

The image of approaching troops coming over the horizon and an old man Aghsahal slowly recognizing it in the distance is graphically described here. First, he sees only a cloud of dust, then he spots black dots of warriors who look like ants. This comparison is somewhat atypical because it is based on a real, changing image of the described phenomena (approaching riders in the distance first look like dust, then like ants, so it actually is not a metaphor). Moreover, syntactic parallelism is strengthened with the vowel harmony of *шороо*; *тоос* ('land, soil; dust') and *шоргоолж* ('ants').

The expression

Нэг их юмны тоос гарваа ("The dust of something appeared"; 6)

is also noteworthy here, since it is the "dust of something" that works in the epic repeatedly as a metonymic depiction of the observed object in the

distance, which again very clearly reflects the realities of Mongolia. In this text, the image appears mostly as *хөл дайны тоос*, ‘dust of feet of war’, as a sign of army or war bustle. Let’s look at a specific example:

Гурвуулаан гурван дуран аваад	All three took three binoculars,
Гурван мориндоо мордоод	Mounted three horses
Гэндэн цагаан уулын оройд одвоо.	Went up on the top of white Genden mountain.
Гурван морийг уяжирхаад	Tied the three horses,
Гурван дуран сунгаад	Took out three binoculars
Хөл дайны тоосыг дурандваа. (68)	Watched the feet of war’s dust (<i>i.e. dust raised by feet of enemies</i>)

This example describes the Khan, old man Agsahal and Dogs’in nojon observing enemy troops approaching. Metonymy even appears in this clause twice. The phrase *Хөл дайн* (‘feet war’) means metaphorically ‘war rush, war bustle’. The word ‘foot’ appears here mainly as lexicalized synecdoche meaning ‘crowd, plenty of people, rush, bustle’.²⁷ At the same time the three heroes are observing through binoculars the ‘dust’ raised by the war bustle, which is metalepsis – replacement of cause and effect, as epic heroes do not notice dust in reality, but the enemy army which is causing it.

In this extract a spy emerges from an approaching cloud of dust – fifteen-headed Atgaalz’in, black *mangas* on auburn mule with a blaze. His description (verses 8–18) has again a steady, formulaic nature and occurs with slight variations in other parts of the epic. Generally speaking, in passages describing *mangases*, the means of expression focuses on inducing an unpleasant, frightening appearance. This is done with a help of settled folk names of *mangases* including their relevant alliterative epithets indicating the number of heads. Rich alliteration is evident throughout the whole descriptive passage. Sometimes it turns into anaphora, while in some verses euphony is strongly applied.

Regarding the name and epithet of *mangas*, compared with others (some of which we will see later) he has the smallest number of heads and thus belongs to the less threatening and smaller *mangases*. The name and epithet determining the number of heads is linked by necessary alliteration; the first name *Атгаалжин* (8) does not exactly mean anything, but combined with the expressions *амга*, *амгах* (‘fist, to clutch’), based on similar wording, it depicts an image of the shape of clenched hands and a “bristle” of overall

27) Luvsandendev (BAMRS) states the following phrases: *зудамжны хөл* (‘street bustle’); *дайны хөл* (‘the turmoil of a battle’); *хөл багатай* (‘not very busy; not much frequented, desolate...’); *хөл ихтэй* (‘busy, frequented, lively’); *хөл тасрахаар* (‘when bustle ceases’); *хөл үймээн* (хорш. ‘rush, bustle; muddle; turmoil’).

appearance. The resulting impression of the name is not as fearsome as that of *mangases* with more heads (J. Luvsandorj). The name also contains the archaic feminine gender suffix *-жин*, which can lead to the assumption that the name originally belonged to a female *mangas*. This, however, fell into obscurity and now has a slightly decreasing, defiling modality; the name refers to small stature (J. Luvsandorj).

The overall impression is further enhanced by the picturesque word *дэхин/тэхэн*²⁸ *дохин* (13) – *horsōo uḡ* (pair word) expressing the movement of an object observed while horse riding, its bouncing, rocking back and forth. The resulting image creates an uncomfortable and unpleasant effect. According to J. Luvsandorj, only this first word of the phrase conveys the meaning. It is a variation of iconopoeia *махуйх* ('to be crooked, bend, twist') which is the basis for many other iconopoeic derivatives.²⁹ The second word of the clause does not contain any meaning. It merely, through the sound, supports the depicted image and impression (so, in this case, it is not the homonymic expression *дохух* – 'to make signs, to wave'). The variability of the initial consonant *d-/t-* is reflected in the pronunciation in different dialects – while western Mongolian and northern Khalkha dialects pronounce voiceless *t-*, in southern Khalkha the initial vowel is replaced by the consonant *d-*. The reason for mixing these two modes in a single text may vary. The narrator (whose origin is practically unknown to us) could have moved during his life to a region with a different type of pronunciation and after several years both types could intermingle in recitations, or it may be due to errors made in recordings or in various different transcripts (J. Luvsandorj).

In terms of working with euphony, the following verses where parallel words dramatically reflect their vocalic pattern are remarkable:

Хүрэн эрэн могойгоор/ Хүзүү сээрээ ороолгоод ('He had his neck and chest wrapped/ With a brown motley snake'. 16–17).

In this sample, there are a number of culturally specific terms, which I will briefly explain. In the description of *mangas* we encounter the word *хударгала* ('to set up the crupper'; 11) derived from the noun *хударга* ('crupper'). It is a belt used to strengthen the horse's saddle at the back to prevent it from moving forward during a steep descent. There is also a similar belt *хөмөлдөрөг*

28) Despite way in which the word varies in different places of the epic it is the same word that is transcribed or pronounced in a different way.

29) E.g.: *тахурах*, *тахис хийх*, *тахилзах* and the like.

preventing the saddle in the front from moving backwards during a steep ascent. *Mangas* is riding a horse without using these belts which suggests that the horse is of a good class; only a very good horse can manage without the help of these belts to adjust and balance the ride so it does not move in any way during a steep descent or ascent. In the verse

Хормой дэвсэн мөргөвөө (‘They spread their shirt-tails they bowed’; 22)

the expression *хормой* (‘shirt-tail’) means the lower part of the *deel*. The described method of bowing is used in prayers for deities and Burhans and the whole expression implies utter devotion, total submission or sacred respect of dependants for their enslaver, *mangas* the spy. Among other culturally specific expressions are *айраг тараг* (lit., ‘kumis – yogurt’), a common name for dairy products – *цагаан хоол* (24), *хөхүүр* (‘leather sack; pouch for kumis’; 28), *гүзээ* (‘cow’s maw’) used as a container for fat products (29), *шар цагаан тос* (lit., ‘yellow and white fat’) meaning melted and unmelted butter.

One of the most important features of the epic hero is his miraculous transformation, in which he and his horse take the form of the shabby bald boy and the poor mangy yearling, who hardly keeps his feet, to remain unrecognised in hostile lands, not to attract attention and to trick the enemy in the battle with their poor appearance. The description of this transformation of the hero and his horse appears in the text, when necessary, in an almost unchanged form. This motif, as well as some specific form of miserable transformation, is typical in the Mongolian heroic epic: the following epithets *хожгор хүү* (‘bald boy’; 1 and onwards), *хамуутай хар даага* (‘mangy black foal’; 45 and onwards), *суунги майжгий гутал* (‘old slipshod shoes’; 46) and *сур сармай дээл* (‘deel made of cow’s skin’; 47) reflect in the traditional manner of oral poetic art an effective temporary misery of the hero and his horse. A description of the ride, vividly depicting the impotence, weakness and instability of the hero’s image in his “mask”, also has a fixed formulated form. Picturesque words are again fully used. In this case they are more or less synonymous words: *дайвуулах* (the causative of expression *дайвах* (‘to swing, rock, sway, jig, stagger’; 55), *гуйвуулах* (causative of expression *гуйвах* (‘to sway, swing, swing from side to side, wobble, totter’; 56), which are elsewhere in the text combined in creating the *hors’oo u’g* (pair word) *найзуулан*³⁰ *гунхуулан*³¹

30) A causative form of the verb *найгах* (‘sway, swing, rock; lean aside, hang aside, wave’). It forms a pair word *найган ганхах* / *найган гуйвах* (‘sway, swing, wave, rock, stagger, reel’). (BAMRS).

31) A causative form of the verb *гунхах*. It forms a pair word with the verb *найгах*. The meaning of the word is ‘to move in a graceful or elegant manner’. BAMRS. It can be used as an artistic expression of a horse’s movement which is neither quick, nor slow, it’s relaxed, the

The presence of steady ornamental epithets of the hero's sword is typical of the passage recounting the battle or encounter. In this specific example, the basic epithet tercet

Түмэн хүний толгойз/ Түг таг тааруулсан/ Түүхий улаан юлд ('Crude red sword/ Made precisely; adapted/ For heads of ten thousand men'; 113–115)

is extended with the verse

Өвгөн аавын эдэлж явсан ('Used by old father'; 112),

which functions in this or in the extended form³² as the epithet formula independently completing and expanding the epithets of various weapons or equipment of the hero (saddle, bridle, rope, etc.). This phenomenon will be repeated in other passages.

In all battle scenes, as well as in other parts of the epic where the plot requires more expressiveness, a fantastic fairy-tale hyperbole is used as a basic artistic element. It is one of the fundamental artistic elements in the Mongolian epic. Let's look at its concrete form in the example above. Although the hyperbole in the text is present in all possible details (for example in this passage it is the quantity of products supposed to be delivered daily by the old people to *mangas*, and eaten and drunk in one go by the hero in the guise of a bald boy – twenty pouches of kumis and twenty maws of fat), when the battle is about to begin, a dramatic gradation of hyperbole appears and is more frequent and expressive. The first sign of an early battle is the moment when the bald boy loses his patience, gets angry and shouts out three times so that his scream fills three thousand worlds (96–99). In this hyperbolic expression, anaphora is used as an artistic means, repeating the word *зүрв/зүрван* (three) at the beginning of three consecutive verses. (The same anaphora occurs also in other parts of the text, for example in the previous sample). This scream, as well as the transformation of the bald boy into a real heroic image, scares *mangas*, who until this moment was so fearless. It is poetically expressed with the formula with syntactic parallelism and epiphora (107–109). This

flowing wind is pleasant... it makes an overall pleasing impression (V. Zikmundová). In this text the meaning is different – according to the context, the colt's wobbly movement is described expressively, saying that the colt can barely stand. Thus the expression actually describes very weak, poor little horse's movement (J. Luvsandorj).

32) E.g.: *Өвгөн аавын насны идэд/ Эдэлж явсан; Хөгшин Луу Мэргэн хааны/ Насны идэд эдэлж явсан; Аавын чинь насны идэд эдэлж явсан.*

expression of *mangas*’ extreme fear is also of a hyperbolic nature. The battle is then accompanied by a similar scene that occurred in the first sample:³³

Дээшээ Хурмаст тэнгэрийн заадас/ Ангасхийн байхыг үзвээ./ Доошоо Лха Замбуулингийн заадас/ Ангасхийн хөдөлж байхыг үзвээ. (“They saw the seam of the Hurmast Heaven/ Opening upwards,/ The seam of Lha Zambuulin/ Opening downwards.’ 118–121).

I have already analysed a brief etymology of designations for Heaven and Earth above. In this excerpt the picturesque word *ангасхийх* (‘repeatedly, slightly open and closed’), increases a monumental impression of activation (set in motion, rouse) of the whole world due to a frightening battle. It modifies the expression *хотолзох* (‘bending, squeezing a hollow thing’), as in the version of this expression in the previous excerpt.

The metaphoric clause *төрийг зузаалдаг* (lit., ‘fattening the rule, thus strengthening, tightening’) and the idiom *зулайгий минь гишгээж гарсан* (lit., ‘stepping on top of my head while being born’), which describes the sibling’s bond, are also noteworthy. Also the fixed epithet *алтан сайхан амь* (‘gold beautiful life’) appears here. The characters use this epithet when talking fondly about their dear life that is or just has been threatened.

In the phrase *давиран тонгочих* (‘kicking/urging with his legs he bounced’; 136) the iconopoeic word *тонгочих* is applied describing a specific movement (*хөдөлгөөний дурслэх үг*). Usually it describes the movement of rearing horses alternately hopping on their back and front legs (‘to kick and to prance’). The expression derives from the verb *тонгох*, which means to bend, bend forward. By adding a suffix, the multiplicity of the movement is emphasized. In addition to the movement of rearing horses, this term can also be used in regard to a small child in the cot who “frolics and plays” (J. Luvsandorj). Here the phrase depicts the behaviour of a cheerful child climbing up the neck of the last remaining head of a freshly slaughtered *mangas* and imitating horseback riding by kicking *mangas* with his legs, as if he was spanking him, while bouncing on his neck (J. Luvsandorj).

33) *Лха Замвуулин тэр аяараа/ Хотолзон байхыг үзвээ.* (‘He saw the whole Heaven and the Earth/ Sway.’)

5. Conclusion

The Mongolian heroic epic is, without a doubt, one of the most interesting parts of Mongolian folklore and therefore it is the object of enormous attention from academics all over the world. Nevertheless very little attention has been paid to the specific aspects and to the unique character of Mongolian epic language, which is extremely interesting as well as important for the understanding of nomadic mentality and the world-view preserved in Mongolian epics.

In this paper I present the results of my study of some linguistic and poetic aspects of the Mongolian heroic epic called *Нэгэн зуун тавин таван насыг насалсан Хөгишин Луу Мэргэн хаан* (One hundred and fifty-five year Old Dragon Wise Khan), illustrating them with translated extracts of the original text. The first part contains an extensive introduction discussing the character of heroic epic and its universal features. It also tries to clarify the specific position of Mongolian epic songs within the framework of the epic genre, and finally points out the main idea of Parry-Lord's oral formulaic theory, which can not be missed out in any work dealing with the character of epic language and its specific features. Further, it summarizes and describes some basic means and methods of artistic expression.

The main part of the work consists of a translation of chosen extracts of the studied epic depicting the moments of battle and conflict, and a brief analysis of means of expression and poetic devices contained in those extracts. The reason why battle sequences were chosen as illustrative material is that the dynamic character of these scenes requires higher concentration of artistic devices in order to underline its expressiveness and dramatic effect. This paper presents the first two translated extracts, while the other three will be contained in the second part of the study.

Considering the fact that the language aspects of Mongolian heroic epic songs have been so little explored until these days as well as knowing that – with the exception of the broad epic cycles of Jangar and Geser – there are almost no translations of smaller texts into the western languages, I find my work to be not only a considerable contribution to Mongolian studies but also a contribution to introducing the given genre to the general public. It should be noted that the translation is extremely difficult and problematic. Despite that I believe that further translation and study of the poetics of Mongolian epic, based on more extensive materials, are highly desirable. Even now we can use the heroic epic to take a look into the archaic soul of Mongolian nomadic herders, since it certainly reflected and preserved it from the time when this genre was still alive.

Abbreviations

BAMRS	Great Academic Mongolian-Russian Dictionary
Mo.	Mongolian
хорш.	хоршоо (pair word)

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Review Section

***Traditional Mongolian Culture I: Material Culture* (CD-ROM), published by Ágnes Birtalan, with the assistance of Rákoss Attila, Tartsák András and Zámolyi Ferenc; IVA-ICRA Verlag and ELTE Department of Inner Asian Studies, Budapest 2008; Unpaginated; Price not specified; ISBN Austria: 978-3-900265-13-7; ISBN Hungary: 978-963-284-039-0 – Reviewed by Rachel Mikos**

The CD-ROM entitled *Traditional Mongolian Culture I: Material Culture*, presents research material from the project ‘The Traditional Culture of Mongolian Nomads’, ongoing at The Department of Inner Asian Studies at ELTE University in Budapest (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem) since 1991. This project, currently under the direction of Ágnes Birtalan, was initiated in the late 1980s by Alice Sárközi, a Senior Fellow of the Research Group of Altaic Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The current digital publication should be placed alongside the distinguished series of volumes – four to date – bearing the title *Őseink nyomán Belső-Ázsiában* (*In the Traces of Our Ancestors in Inner Asia*), published by the same research group, the latest volume of which is entitled *Védelmező istenségek és démonok Mongóliában és Tibetben* (*Protector Deities and Demons in Mongolia and Tibet*, L’Harmattan Kiadó, Budapest, 2010.)

With this publication of this CD-ROM, the results of two decades of research have at least partially been made available in a highly innovative and welcome fashion. The entire CD functions in an interactive manner, is richly supplemented with beautiful and vivid colour photographs, and includes material in four languages, thus making valuable Hungarian-language materials available in at least two major European languages (English and German), the language of the research terrain, Mongolian, as well as the native Hungarian of the researchers. The wide range of material has been compiled by students and professors alike, and the listing of more than thirty different authors in the CD’s *Imprint* gives the reader a sense of the not inconsiderable number of scholars (given Hungary’s relatively small size as a nation) upon whose expertise the editor was able to draw. As Professor Birtalan points out in the Introduction, the verbal material presented in each of the respective four language section does not represent an exactly linguistically equivalent set of four texts: ‘The first versions of the entries are in Hungarian, adjusted to certain traditions of Hungarian pastoralism.’ Similarly, the editor notes that ‘...the arrangement of German entries is somewhat different from the Hungarian and English sections.’ Acknowledging the vast scope of the topic itself,

Professor Birtalan writes: '...just like any publication, this CD is incomplete... The Reader is therefore kindly asked to look upon this selection as a first version that can be continuously enlarged upon thanks to the technical possibilities' (from the *Introduction*). Indeed, the use of the CD-ROM format may strike the reader as offering a wide range of fascinating possibilities precisely thanks to its open-ended nature, not to mention the possibility of including audio, visual and filmed material. This first digital publication makes ample use of the second option, as mentioned above, by including a wide selection of very handsome photographs that serve to illustrate the relevant accompanying text(s). Not only is this most welcome when discussing a culture as intensely visual as that of the Mongolian nomads; the fact that the CD-ROM format allows for much more visual material than can usually be included in a print publication is a great advantage.

The overall design of the CD-ROM is superb, and exceptionally easy to navigate. Upon opening the CD, the viewer is presented with series of photographs of Mongolian nomadic life placed in a grid pattern. The title then appears in three subsequent languages. With one simple click, the photographs begin to fade poetically away into the dark background, leading the viewer into the material itself, where he or she is presented with the Hungarian-language version of the *Introduction*. The *Contents* are conveniently listed to the left; another tab behind it contains a simple search engine. A tab in the upper right-hand corner allows the user to switch between one of the four languages at any time. The screen is essentially divided into three columns: a narrower one to the left, listing the contents (and the search engine tab), a main central column containing the textual materials, and a column to the right for visual data. The viewer can chose between three screen font sizes, even the largest of which struck this reviewer as perhaps rather too small for prolonged on-screen reading. Having said that, however, the design of the CD is extremely attractive and the interface exceptionally easy to use. The inclusion of the visual material right alongside the written documentation is highly appealing: for example, the entry, under the heading *Dwelling*, entitled *Nomadism, migration, moving, changing campsites*, and of approximately 1200 words in the English version, is accompanied by 19 photographs in thumbnail-size to the right, which can then be viewed at the scale of roughly a 10 by 15 cm photograph, or as a full screen image. Hyperlinks within the texts themselves allow the reader to navigate between topics (for example, in the *Needlework* entry under the *Traditional Costume* section, there are hyperlinks to *Footwear* and *Felt rug*). This entry in particular is illustrated by exceptionally beautiful drawings of various stitching techniques. Here, as well, some of

the linguistic variations alluded to by the Editor in her *Introduction* can be observed: toggling back and forth in this entry between the four languages, I can see that the Mongolian version does not yet include the hyperlinks, whereas the Hungarian includes four extra hyperlinks (the German has six). As Professor Birtalan pointed out, however, this is an open-ended work in progress, which in no way detracts from its scholarly value. The open acknowledgement of linguistic ‘difference’, as the reader experiences the four languages in nearly simultaneous fashion, is intriguing: the multi-lingual reader can literally ‘nomadize’ between the different language versions.

The CD-ROM opens with an introduction to the activities of the Hungarian Mongolian-dialect and folklore expedition, which as mentioned above, began in 1991. A map is provided of the Expedition’s various trajectories over the years. The following section, entitled ‘The Mongolian Ethnic Groups and the Mongolic Languages’, provides an excellent brief introduction to the overall contemporary Mongolic linguistic situation and the four major dialects (Khalka, Oirat, Western Oirat and Buriat). Two entries follow, presenting the Mongolian Kazak and Tuvan (Toha) communities. The rest of the CD is divided up into categories: *Animal Husbandry*, *Hunting*, *Fishing*, *Cultivation and Gathering*, *Dwelling*, *Nourishment*, *Traditional Costume*, and *Handicraft*. A most helpful *Index of Headwords* follows the *Bibliography*. Each section then can be expanded, revealing further sub-sections; for example, under *Traditional Costume* we find *Costumes of Mongolian People*, *Parts of the Costume and Accessories*, the aforementioned *Needlework*, and *Motifs and Ornaments*. Each of these respective subsections can then be expanded to include further sub-categories. Looking at the section entitled *Traditional Costume* (Hungarian *Viselet*), at least, most of the Hungarian and English entries seemed to correspond with each other. The main difference between the Hungarian and English versions would seem to be the inclusion of four papers, the links to which are provided in PDF format, under the section *Önálló tanulmányok* (*Separate Studies*), on the topics of the branding of livestock, leather-working, and the cultivation of the Western Mongolian Khotons: these entries appear in the English language version under their respective categories, except for the paper entitled *Hagyományos mongol étkezés négy történelmi forrás alapján* (*Traditional Mongolian Food on the Basis of Four Historical Sources*), to which, unfortunately, this reviewer could not gain access by clicking on the PDF link.

All of the categories are covered comprehensively. The entry on *Felt-making* also includes an example, both in Mongolian and translated into English, of a *yorool* (blessing, well-wishing) to be uttered as the felt is being consecrated, acknowledging the intrinsic connection of all of these traditions to

that of the incredibly rich legacy of Mongolian oral expression. It would be wonderful to see future editions of this CD include, for example, audio recordings of such verbal art.

In short, the CD-ROM *Traditional Mongolian Culture* represents not only the fruits of two decades of field research of the Inner Asian Department at ELTE, itself drawing upon the legacy of such scholars as György Kara and Lajos Ligeti, but does so in a most exciting and innovative fashion. Further digital volumes in this series will be awaited with much anticipation.

Elisabetha Chiodo: *Songs of Khorchin Shamans to Jayagachi, the Protector of Livestock and Property*. Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Künste, Paderborn 2009, 132 pp.; Price not specified; ISBN 978-3-506-76860-5 – Reviewed by Veronika Zikmundová

Elisabetha Chiodo's book presents a comprehensive study of an important part of Khorchin Mongol shamanism.

For decades scholars have been searching for ways to get a grip on shamanism. Many scholarly disciplines such as ethnography, sociology, religious science, psychology and musicology have been employed to analyse it. Still, however, the core of this complex and elusive phenomenon seems to remain beyond the reach of the methods of these disciplines. This is obviously due to the fact that the visible aspects of shamanic traditions which accompany the shaman's function in society have roots in the space between the shaman and the world of deities and spirits, inaccessible to lay people. Therefore all attempts to grasp the essence of shamanism from 'outside' depend on the interpretation of the external symbols given by the shamans. It would seem that texts of shaman songs and prayers would be the optimal source for research. Unfortunately, at least in the case of Mongol shaman traditions, most of the shaman prayers provide us only with lists of the deities' names, epithets and exclamations of invocation.

The important exception to this rule is the Khorchin Mongol shaman tradition, which, in the context of the rich epic culture of the Khorchins, preserves long and colourful shaman songs with many beautiful epic passages, and numerous legends explaining the origins of deities and rituals.

Outside China, apart from Walther Heissig who not only discovered the Khorchin shaman tradition for the Western world, but was the first to draw the attention of Chinese and Mongolian scholars to it, it is Elisabetha Chiodo who has done the most systematic research into Khorchin shamanism, including field research in the Eastern Mongolian areas.

The book consists of four chapters. The first, an introduction to the cult of Jayagachi in general and the forms it takes in Khorchin culture, is followed by a short chapter containing legends which explain the origin of this deity.

The third chapter forms the core of the book (55 of the 89 pages of the textual part), and includes nearly 50 shaman prayers recorded from 12 shamans. As the author states (pp. 25–26), she used a hitherto unpublished collection

of song texts of four shamans as the main material for her research. All texts are presented in the Latin transcription of Classical Mongolian. The work is not a linguistic one and using Classical Mongolian is justified by the closeness of Khorchin to Classical Mongolian. Nevertheless, in future it would be interesting for linguists to get access to a phonetic transcription of texts in the little studied Khorchin dialect. The corpus of shaman songs is arranged into several circles which correspond to different occasions connected to the cult of Jayagachi. This is what makes the study an especially effective aid for researchers, clearly showing the proportion of stable structures and personal invention in the Khorchin shaman texts.

Shaman songs are extremely difficult to translate and the translation of all the texts, supplemented by a great quantity of notes, will be helpful to scholars in many fields. At some points one might consider different translations, as e.g. p.44 *amaraju sayuqu-iyān qayiqarul-uḡei* – ‘you do not pay attention to sitting and taking rest’ instead of ‘you take a rest without paying attention’.

The fourth chapter is an extensive commentary on the role of Jayagachi in Khorchin traditional culture and life, his position in the Khorchin ‘pantheon’ of the main worshipped deities, his relationship to the central personage of the ‘modern’ Eastern Mongolian shaman tradition¹ – the shaman Qoboqtu, and various consequences of the cult of Jayagachi in other Central Asian ethnic groups. The main part of the book is followed by a glossary of terms and fixed expressions used by the particular shamans.

Elisabetha Chiodo’s book most probably for the first time in the study of Mongolian shamanism, brings together a large corpus of systematically arranged and thoroughly commented material with a translation into English. It is an important step in the study of Mongolian shamanism, making one part of the rich shamanic culture of the Khorchins accessible to Western scholars.

1) All Mongolian shaman traditions underwent significant changes under the influence of the spread of Buddhism in the 17th century. In the Eastern Mongolian area this period is marked by the activities of the Oirad Buddhist missionary Neiji toyin, and the opposition of the shamans, for which the main symbol became the Ongniut aristocrat and shaman Qoboqtu. The Khorchin shaman legends ascribe many features of the modern form of the shaman tradition to the struggle between Qoboqtu and Neiji toyin (cf. pp. 88–93).

В.И. Рассадин, *Очерки по истории сложения тюрко-монгольской языковой общности.* (V.I. Rassadin, *Studies in the History of Turkic-Mongolian Linguistic Community Formation.*)

Часть I. *Тюркское влияние на лексику монгольских языков* (Part I. *The Turkic Influence on the Lexicon of Mongolian Languages*).

Изд-во Калмыцкого университета, Элиста 2007, 165 pp.; Price not specified; ISBN 978-5-91458-014-5

Часть II. *Монгольское влияние на лексику тюркских языков* (Part II. *The Mongolian Influence on the Lexicon of Turkic Languages*).

Изд-во Калмыцкого университета, Элиста 2008, 243 pp.; Price not specified; ISBN 978-5-91458-045-9 – Reviewed by Veronika Kapišovská

The book under consideration represents a careful analysis of the results of contacts between Turkic and Mongolic languages on the level of the lexicon. These results, along with the influences and circumstances that have generated them, are shown in this work from the point of view of diachrony with a special emphasis on territorial peculiarities and differences. The topic of the book touches one of the main unsolved question of Altaic theory – the question of the presumable genetic relationship between the Altaic languages, primarily Mongolian, Turkic and Manchu-Tungus. The author, V.I. Rassadin, clearly expresses his opposition to this idea (Vol. I, p. 5) and proposes to see the similarities between those languages rather as the result of strong, long-lasting, multileveled, but at the same time very differentiated mutual influences between them. However, he insists that if there was any primeval common language, its forms can be only revealed after all obviously mutually borrowed items, lexical and morphological, have been uncovered. And only this can serve as a basis for further multi-disciplinary research that can bring us closer to the final resolution of the Altaic problem (Vol. II, p. 3).

The material of the work is arranged into two volumes in which the Turkic influence on the lexicon of Mongolian languages and the Mongolic influence on the lexicon of the Turkic languages are described separately. We can say that both volumes share the extensive introduction in **Chapter I** of the **first volume** that offers a survey of the basic principles of the Altaic theory and refers to its followers and doubters. This survey does not appear in the second volume, but is only mentioned in a special reference. In the following part of this chapter the author enumerates the criteria and describes the difficulties that may arise in the process of detecting Turkic and Mongolian loanwords in the group of the languages under discussion (a shortened version of this part is presented in the second volume and is focused purely on Mongolian

loanwords in Turkic languages). This is followed by a discussion of the role of contacts in forming the Turkic-Mongolian community and the time-stratification of the Turkic influence on Mongolian languages and Turkic influence on the development of the Mongolian languages as a whole (pp. 30–40).

The author emphasises that we cannot view the Turkic loanwords in Mongolian languages as an indistinct mass, since they have entered the recipient language at different periods (and for this reason they reflect the different development stages of Turkic languages – p. 41) and at the same time the borrowing processes were territorially highly differentiated.

Chapter II (Vol. I) is subdivided into seven parts. The first part focuses on the earliest layers of Turkic loanwords common to all Mongolian languages and special attention is paid to the common-Mongolian nomadic lexicon. Each section presents numerous examples structured in a comparative-etymological manner. Thus apart from the words generally known as being of Turkic origin, such as *алт(ан)* “gold(en)” (p. 41), *билүг* “gift, talent” (p. 43), *төмөр* “iron” (p. 52), *тэмээ* “camel” (p. 53), etc., the author ascribes Turkic origin to a whole complex of words related to metalworking, domestic animals (except for the majority of terms related to horses) and items related to animal husbandry including meals made of meat (pp. 57–58) and milk (pp. 55–57). The possible Turkic origin is discussed in a separate section.

The following parts discuss the Turkic loanwords from the point of view of their territorially based diversity in the three main Mongolian languages – Buryat, Kalmyk and Khalkha-Mongolian. According to the author, there is also a group of loanwords that are present always in two of these three Mongolian languages, for example in Buryat and Khalkha-Mongolian (*Mo. сарьдаг* ~ Bur. *һарьдаг* “the mountain with a glacier”), but not Kalmyk. Here it must be noted that in some cases the author revises the accustomed etymologies – for example the Mongolian word *мазм* “balcony, terrace” is usually presented as being of Manchu origin in Mongolian sources,¹ but the author goes back as far as to its Persian origin via a Turkic medium (pp. 71–72). Special attention is paid to the Turkic loanwords in the Secret History of Mongols, including personal names.

The **second volume** is structured rather differently in that it discusses Mongolian loanwords that have entered the recipient Turkic languages through a direct contact. The analysis is focused on Mongolian loanwords in the Altay language and all the combinations of its dialects. Some of the words presented

1) О. Сүхбаатар, 1997, Монгол хэлний харь үгийн толь (Dictionary of Loanwords in Mongolian). Улаанбаатар.

here clearly show evidence of semantic shift, for example *cyðyp* means “verse” in the Altay language, “prediction, prescience” in its Kumandyr and Chelkan dialects, while originally in Mongolian it means “sūtra, scripture”. The Mongolian loanwords in the Khakass language and its dialects, in Turkic languages of South Siberia, in the language of the Soyots on the territory of Buryatia and in the Kazakh language, and the Buryat loanwords in the Yakut language are further discussed in separate chapters.

Each chapter is provided with detailed information about the previous studies of the topic, about territorial or historical data related to the given contact and about the phonetic parallels between Mongolian and the language or dialect in question. Thus for example the author discusses several interesting examples of Mongolian loanwords in Kazakh, which in fact are re-borrowings of Turkic origin and entered into Kazakh in their mongolized form: Kaz. *aḍaḳ* “end, back-end, finish” < Kh.–Mo. *aḍaz*, Kal. *aḍz*, Bur. *aḍaz* “end” < Tur. *adaq* “foot, leg” (Vol. II, p. 208).

As a whole, this book is a valuable contribution not only to the discussion about the Altaic theory, but also as a useful source for linguists studying the question of contact, diachronic, comparative linguistics and etymology specialized in the field under discussion. There is only one thing I would like to recommend the author or the publishing house to do, if the question of re-publishing the book arises – a book containing so many examples needs an index in each volume to make it more convenient to work with.

Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna, *A Romanized Grammar of the East- and West-Mongolian Languages. With popular chrestomathies of both dialects.* Edited and introduced by Ágnes Birtalan. Budapest Oriental Reprints. Series B 3. Editor Kinga Dévényi. Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Csoma de Kőrös Society, Budapest 2009. XXXIV+222+[2] pp.; Paperback, price not specified; ISBN 978-963-7451-19-5, ISSN 0230-8991 – Reviewed by Ondřej Srba

The present volume is a facsimile of a manuscript of a comparative grammar of the Eastern and Western Mongolian languages with a supplementary chrestomathy compiled by Gábor Bálint of Szentkatolna. Together with two volumes of text collections recorded among the Kalmyks and the Khalkha Mongols, the original manuscript forms a large text corpus still unpublished in its entirety. All the manuscripts are preserved in The Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

The value of Bálint's Mongolian Grammar has been compared to the other important descriptive grammars of the 19th century (Bobrovnikov, Kovalevskij, Popov, Schmidt, etc.). Unlike the older grammars dealing mainly with the written language, Bálint offered the first large text corpus of spoken Mongolian of both basic dialects.

Gábor Bálint (1844–1913) was the great representative of Hungarian Orientalist considerably influenced by his great example Alexander Csoma de Kőrös and supported by his contemporaries Ármin Vámbéry and János Fogarasi. In his studies, Bálint was motivated by the search for the origin and heroic past of the Sikuls (Szekélys) and the Magyars. In addition, his grammar quotes the Hungarian parallels to Mongolian words, some of which have been later confirmed and some rejected. Bálint's approach to the Hungaro-Mongolian etymologies received an objective evaluation as early as in 1877 by B. Jülg.

This edition has been published by Ágnes Birtalan, who wrote the highly informative introduction (pp. IX–XXV) and compiled the bibliography (pp. XXVI–XXIX).

The manuscript starts with the Preface (pp. 2–13 of the edition) including the author's own description of his field work and his remarks on the corpus of spoken Mongolian material contained in the two following volumes.

The "Grammar" describes the phonology of Mongolian (pp. 15–48) dealing with the writing systems (the Classical Mongolian and the Clear scripts) and contemporary pronunciation. The author focuses on the morphological categories of expressing quantity and declension suffixes (including reflexive and demonstrative declensions), as well as the semantic category of gender.

Bálint recorded the literary pronunciation of written suffixes (*bic'giin duud-laga*), a feature of special interest for today's research, since this manner of pronouncing the classical Mongolian text has almost disappeared.

The chapter "Particular case signs or suffixes" represents an attempt at a new approach to the description of nouns. All these suffixes occur in words expressing location or direction, including some of the basic conjugation suffixes with this meaning (e.g. *-gh-or*, *-g-ör* in *dëgör/deegu'ur*). The description of adjectives (pp. 66–69) focuses on a few suffixes of lexical modification ("diminutive particles" *-khan/-k'en*, *-shik*, *-btor/btör*, *-btsur/btsür*), alliteration (e.g. *khab khara*) and a specific modification producing adjectives from substantives by adding the sociative suffix (*-tai/tei*, *-tu/tü*) to the words *säin* or *mô* attached after a noun (e.g. *nokhai säitäin*). Some of the morphemes, which are usually designated as single words, were considered by Bálint to be suffixes (e.g. possessive pronouns as suffixes *abä-min'/aav mini*, cf. Hungarian *apám*).

The description of verbal conjugation, i.e. the classification of the verbal nouns and participles (pp. 89–90), gerunds/converbs (pp. 91–92), simple personal forms (pp. 95–97), auxiliary verbs (*bü/-bö-*) (pp. 98–99) and compound tenses (with *bäi-*, *bî*, *a-* and *bol-*) (pp. 100–103) is especially interesting, because it shows the actual usage of verbal suffixes in the colloquial language of the 1870s. One unusual element is the classification of the "conditional mood" (suffixes *-basu/-besü*, *-bala/-bele*, *-asa/-ese* in the written forms) and "concessive mood" (suffixes *-batshi/-betshi*) as simple personal (finite) tenses. Postpositions are classified in the following categories – postpositions accepting case suffixes, invariable postpositions, gerunds (converbs) as postpositions (e.g. *k'ür-telë*).

Words not taking any suffixes are divided into adverbs (classified according to their meaning into adverbs of place, quantity and manner), conjunctions and interjections (pp. 110–114).

An important part of the "Grammar" is the list of word-forming suffixes, with numerous examples. A rather short (pp. 128–140) sketch of syntax is especially significant for the study of the colloquial language in the 1870s, since syntax went considerable changes in the 19th and 20th centuries. The presented material is drawn from a variety of sources, including quotations from texts of the oral literary language. Nevertheless, literary genres, such as the epic, represented a substantial part of the general language experience of that time, showing a profound influence on the colloquial language.

The second part of the manuscript forms a concise (in comparison with Bálint's two unpublished chrestomathies) "Chrestomathy", including texts in both dialects (pp. 141–221). While the samples of the folk poetry present us

with texts not recorded anywhere else, the recordings of everyday dialogues are equally of great linguistic interest.

These examples of colloquial speech can serve as comparative material for resolving the question of how far the judicial testimonies of uneducated people found in Mongolian archives (mainly in the National Archives of Mongolia) are relevant to the study of colloquial Mongolian of the 19th century.

In the entire book, the positively innovative influence of the Hungarian linguistic background becomes evident in the author's approach to the systematic description of the Mongolian language. Bálint also frequently includes comparative material from Hungarian, Turkic and even Dravidian languages.

Bálint was undoubtedly acquainted with traditional Mongolian grammatical treatises and he used the traditional Mongolian terminology, e.g.:

Bálint's transcription	Classical Mongolian	English term
<i>dôdolkhoîn ukhân</i>	<i>dayudalaqui-yin uqayan</i>	<i>phonology</i>
<i>busodîn tusto ügölel</i>	<i>busud-un tus-tu ögülel</i>	<i>transitive verbs</i>
<i>öbörîn tusto ügölel</i>	<i>öber-ün tus-tu ögülel</i>	<i>intransitive verbs</i>

Comparative grammars of the Eastern Mongolian/Khalkha language rendered in Mongolian script and the Oirat language rendered in Clear Script were hardly unknown in the 19th century (cf. the grammar by Bobrovnikov). However, Bálint's work is the first European grammar dealing mainly with colloquial Mongolian. As a highly professional work of its period and also a rich primary source, it may be recommended to everyone interested in the historical and systematic grammars of the Mongolian languages.

Mejor, Marek; Helman-Ważny, Agnieszka; Chashab, Thubten Kunga,
A Preliminary Report on the Wanli Kanjur Kept in the Jagiellonian Library, Kraków. Studia Buddhica 1. Research Centre of Buddhist Studies, Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw, Warsaw 2010, 213 pp.; Price not specified; ISBN 978-83-903229-3-3 – Reviewed by Daniel Berounský

Recent decades have been rather fruitful in the field of Kanjur Studies, which can now be considered a well-established discipline *per se*. It has far-reaching consequences for the broader disciplines of Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, since it reveals the stories of the particular manuscripts contained in the Kanjurs as we know them now. Not a long time ago the basic idea about this voluminous Tibetan Buddhist collection of authoritative texts (Kanjur, Tib. *bka' gyur*, i.e. “Translations of the Words [of the Buddhas]”) was that the editorial work on a number of works translated into Tibetan was undertaken mainly through the effort of Buton Rinchendrub, and that after 1310 it resulted in an organized collection of such texts known as the Narthang Kanjur. All other editions of the Kanjurs were considered to be somehow offsprings of this initial one.

Given the enormous number of texts included in the collections, the research on the Kanjurs is a rather painstaking discipline. However, a number of catalogues of the less known or hitherto unknown Kanjurs have been produced since the end of the 20th century and discussed by several scholars, e.g. Helmut Eimer, Jonathan Silk, Jampa Samten, Paul Harrison and others. It was only with such catalogues that it was then possible to understand that the picture of the development of the Kanjurs in Tibet is much more complicated than the scheme outlined above. Some of the known Kanjurs could be considered to be rather independent editorial works. In general, specific Western and Eastern branches of the Kanjurs became recognized, while some of the editions of the Kanjurs remain somewhere in between these two branches or seem to be completely independent. Besides that, the work of Peter Skilling demonstrated that there are references on the Kanjurs and Tenjurs scattered in Tibetan literature, which should predate the Narthang Kanjur.¹ Lastly,

1) Skilling, Peter, 1997, From *bKa' bstan bcos* to *bKa' gyur* and *bsTan gyur*. In: Helmut Eimer, ed., *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon. Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies. Graz 1995*. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, pp. 87–111.

recent research carried out by Helmut Tauscher has resulted in the publication of a catalogue of a fairly organized collection of sūtras found in Gondhla, Western Himalayas.² In this publication he postulated the possible existence of proto-Kanjurs, i.e. collections of texts organized to a higher degree than the older known catalogues of the translated texts, but less than the Kanjurs.³

Thus it was proved that for the studies of the Kanjurs an eminent role is played by the catalogues of the various Kanjur versions and without such a basic research tool no evaluation of the Kanjurs as whole is possible. In this lies the contribution of the book under review to this field of research stirred up in the last decades. It contains the first results of scholarly research into the new discovery at the Jagiellonian Library of Kraków, Poland. The hearts of scholars involved in this field would probably start to beat with higher frequency at the mere sight of the title, which makes it clear that it concerns the Wanli Kanjur, printed in 1605–6 in Beijing from woodblocks.

The Wanli Kanjur is a reprint from the woodblocks of the oldest printed Tibetan Kanjur from 1410, which was ordered by Chinese emperor Yongle and thus called Yongle Kanjur. Two copies of the Yongle Kanjur are known to be available now, but both of them are kept in Chinese Tibet and are hardly accessible to scholars. In addition to that, the Wanli Kanjur contained supplementary volumes of texts not to be found in the Yongle Kanjur.

The Kanjur discovered in Kraków is not complete, for the fragment contains 27 volumes of texts out of the original 105 volumes. In the collection kept in Kraków, 22 volumes of the above mentioned supplementary texts out of the original 42 volumes have been identified by the authors so far.

It is thus by far the most extensive fragment of the Wanli Kanjur known to scholars, precious also because the catalogue of the whole Wanli Kanjur was also found in Kraków and Marek Mejer intends to publish it separately in future.

The fragments of the Wanli Kanjur are only a part of a larger collection of texts kept in Kraków. The background story of the whole collection of texts including the Wanli Kanjur could surely be the topic of a thrilling detective story. It was obtained in Beijing by Eugen Pander, German scholar and art collector, and in 1889 it became the property of the Berlin Museum of Ethnography and

2) Tauscher, Helmut, 2008, *Catalogue of the Gonghla proto-Kanjur*. Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, Wien.

3) See also Tauscher, Helmut; Laine, Bruno, 2008, "Western Tibetan Kanjur Tradition." In: *The Cultural History of Western Tibet. Recent Research from the China Tibetology Research Center and the University of Vinna*. Edited by Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Liang Junyan, Helmut Tauscher, Zhou Juan. China Tibetology Research Center, Beijing; Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Wien, pp. 139–163 (Chinese), 339–362 (English).

it has been known as the Pander Collection since then. Later it was moved to the State Library in Berlin and remained there until the Second World War. But during the war it was not felt to be safe there and therefore it was moved to Fürstenstein (now Książ), then to Grüssau (now Krzeszów). After the war it was found by Polish historians and librarians and they moved the whole collection to Kraków. Until recently access to it was strictly prohibited due to the political situation. It was rediscovered there by one of the authors of the publication, Agnieszka Helman-Ważny.

The present publication is the first preliminary report on the collection of the texts discovered there. After the introduction by the editor, it has three rather independent sections dealing with some aspects of the collection. It is underlined by the authors that they have decided to publish the results of their research at a certain stage of progress, while the completion of the project still requires enormous effort and, of course, a long time. This seems to be a rather wise decision, which should be welcomed by scholars. Interested scholars will now have partial, but still important and well organized information on the collection.

The first section by Agnieszka Helman-Ważny entitled "Conservation Survey of the Pander Collection" (pp. 13–83) represents a careful description of the physical state of the whole Pander Collection of 865 volumes divided into six parts, marked by the letters A, B, C, E, F plus the last one, the so called "Pantheon". The text is followed by a chart in which the basic features of the 60 volumes of the last part, the "Pander Pantheon" (one containing fragments of Wanli Kanjur) are described, including the type of paper and paper material. Then follow photographs documenting the details of some scriptures and fibres of the paper used for them.

The second section by Marek Mejor is entitled "Pander Pantheon" (pp. 85–179). Following a brief introduction concerning the existing copies of the Yongle Kanjur, it gives a chart in which the discovered fragments of the supplements of the Wanli Kanjur from the "Pander Pantheon" are listed with inventory numbers and compared with the existing list prepared by J. Silk (i.e. from the lost fragment kept in Japan).⁴ Another chart gives a list of fragments of the Wanli Kanjur itself with inventory numbers and these are compared with the inventory list from Berlin prepared by H. Eimer.⁵ Next comes

4) Silk, Jonathan A., 1996, "Notes on the History of Yongle Kanjur." In: Hahn, M., ed., *Suhr-
lekāḥ: Festgabe für Helmut Eimer*, Indica et Tibetica. Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Roland Steiner,
Swistall-Odendorf, pp. 153–200.

5) Eimer, Helmut, 2000, Spurensicherung: Das verschollene Berliner Fragment des Wanli-
Kanjur. In: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 30, pp. 27–51.

a comprehensive list of all texts of the Wanli Kanjur including the supplements discovered in Kraków, giving the number of the volume inside the Kanjur and the number of the volume as it appears in the “Pander Pantheon.” The main part consists of a list of the texts from all 60 volumes of the “Pander Pantheon”, giving the titles or introductory sentences plus the last sentences (or colophons if they appear after the texts). Besides that a number of other details of the works are meticulously mentioned and occasionally commented upon. This section is followed by a transliteration of some specimens from the fragments of the Wanli Kanjur or of its supplements, which are carefully selected and which represent a text potentially interesting for scholars for various reasons. Then follow photographs of some interesting pages of the text, including the facsimile of the so called “Laud” and “Postface”, i.e. the texts containing information on this particular edition of the Kanjur.

The third section by Thubten Kunga Chashab (pp. 181–213) is the only one which does not deal with the Wanli Kanjur. Instead, it touches upon the first part of the Pander Collection marked by letter A. After a brief introduction to the whole part A, it provides more than 50 titles and their catalogue details out of some 370 texts existing in part A of the Pander Collection. These examples were carefully selected as representing works of special interest. The text is accompanied by photographs of some of the title pages.

The book uses the words “Preliminary report” in its title. However, it is a result of assiduous research offering to scholars the most interesting parts of the Pander Collections researched to date in a coherent and concise way. And this is not a small achievement. Still, interested scholars will wait for further results promised for the future with the hope that the published information will make an important contribution to the elucidation of the nature of the Kanjurs printed in Beijing. The first important step has already been taken.