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CONTEMPORARY BURIAD SHAMANISM IN
MONGOLIA

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Foreword

The objective of my thesis is to provide a deep insight into the shamanic practices of the Mongolian Buriads and to give a firsthand and detailed description of what Mongolian Buriad shamans do, how they do it and why. During my research I concentrated not only on their rituals but also on their paraphernalia, of which I thought it was necessary to include a comprehensive study, for what a shaman wears and uses during a particular ritual are essential parts of how s/he performs the ritual, and there is always a reason why s/he chooses certain articles to wear and certain tools to use.

Works on Mongolian Buriad shamanism that have been published thus far deal chiefly with ritual poetry and the consecration ritual of shamans. It is still unclear, however, how the rituals other than the consecration ritual are performed since data concerning these rituals are extremely scarce. These “other rituals” include small-scale rituals conducted three times a month in the shaman’s home, annual sacrifices, healing rituals and imprecations. The data on consecration rituals are abundant but the existing studies are based on one source of firsthand information. My aim was to offset the scarcity of data on lesser known or completely unknown rituals and to contrast the multiple sources of information on the consecration ritual, including those I had access to during my fieldwork in Mongolia in 2003 and in 2004–05. The material I collected consists of video-footages of shamanic rituals, interviews and conversations with shamans as well as my hand-written notes of rituals I was not allowed to record by any other means. A considerable proportion of this material was collected from members of the “Mongolian Shamans’ Golomt Centre”, for which I worked as an amateur cameraman in 2004–05, making documentation of rituals at the request of Sh. Süxbat, the head of the centre. Another remarkably rich source of material was the circle of the famous Buriad shaman, Chojjiliin Ceren. He and his apprentices created a shamanic community independent of the Golomt and often provided parallel material to what I collected from the members of the former centre.

I start my thesis with a brief introduction to spirit-possession, upon which the shamanic practices I discuss are based. In this introduction I touch upon the relationship between spirits—who take possession of shamans—and divine inspiration. In the second chapter I attempt to locate the shamanic tradition of the Mongolian Buriads among other shamanic traditions in the Mongol

Cultural Region, and I describe the types of Mongolian Buriad shamans and their paraphernalia. The third and fourth chapters concern the rituals: the former delineates their structure, while the latter offers two alternatives for the classification of ritual types. From the fifth chapter on I examine rituals—that I was exceptionally fortunate to attend—so as to illustrate how all about what have been written thus far are reflected in practice. The fifth chapter, consisting of five sub-chapters, deals with rituals that I classify as spirit-pleasing rituals, which include small-scale and large-scale, indoor and outdoor sacrifices, whereas the sixth chapter is about problem-solving rituals. Finally, the seventh chapter is a comparative analysis of the consecration rituals described by other authors and of those I myself documented.

The descriptions of most of the rituals I attended are accompanied with video-clips that show the part of the ritual being discussed. Most of the footages are relatively long (some extend to more than two hours), but for the sake of convenient usage, I cut them into parts of less than twenty minutes. These video-clips are referred to in the texts in (vNo. min:sec) format. There were some occasions, though, when I was not allowed to use my camcorder but my sound-recorder. The audio files also appear in (aNo. min:sec) format at certain points.

When the subject of a study is a performance such as a shamanic ritual, it is very important that the reader be able to understand the subject not solely by reading what the author has written about it, but also by seeing and hearing what is happening during the performance. The access to a deeper understanding of the shamanic rituals provided by the attached video and audio files might also enable some readers of this study to come up with their own interpretations of the performances and to notice certain things that might be noteworthy but escaped my attention.

A full translation of all the rituals would make their study unnecessarily lengthy and would not contribute much to their understanding. Therefore, only the most important parts of what is said and sung are translated into English in the main body of the dissertation, but in the appendices I render a full Mongolian transliteration of all what could be heard. The ritual texts written down in the appendices can easily be found in the pertaining video-clip for the time-codes at which the given parts can be heard are given in brackets with a reference to the clip. Since the ritual songs and the other ritual utterances are often difficult to understand and sometimes completely inaudible, I prepared the transcriptions with the twofold hope that future readers might be able to decipher and interpret some of the murky parts, and that this body of texts as a parallel material will help the interpretation of other ritual songs and verses.

When writing my dissertation I set up my own transliteration system, which is based on the characters used in the English alphabet, and most of these characters represent a similar sound that they would normally do in English. Nevertheless, for sounds such as the two rounded central vowels [ö] and [ü] and the unvoiced velar fricative [x] that are alien to English speakers, I use special characters. In the case of [x] I could have used [kh], but I tried to avoid using double characters and symbols as much as I could. It was impossible to fully avoid using them, but I managed to minimize their number. Thus there are four double characters [ch, sh, zh, tz] and one symbol [ɲ] in my system. English speakers are familiar with the [ch] and [sh] combinations but [zh] and [tz] seldom—if ever—occur in their language. The double character [zh] stands for the Buriad consonantal sound similar to what is represented by [s] in the English word “pleasure”, and [tz] is my transliteration of the Xalx Cyrillic [з], the sounding of which is similar to [ds] at the end of the end of the word “beads”, with the slight difference that in Xalx it is one single consonant. This sound is in fact often represented by the [ds] combination in other scholars’ transliterations, but I did not follow them for the following reason: The consonant [d] is often followed by an [s] in Xalx Mongolian, and in this case they should be read as two consonants; for example *bodson* “thought” (Cyrillic: бодсон). On the other hand [t] is almost never followed by a [z] either in English or in Xalx (in fact [z] does not even exist in Xalx; this character is reserved for the Buriad [z] sound, like in “zoo”). Thus it is clear that *bodson* should not be read *botzon*, and that at the end of *atz* “luck” for example, there is a sound that does not occur in English and that it is not a sequence of [t] and [z] in Xalx.

The following list shows the abbreviations I use to designate the different Mongolic languages or dialects and languages other than Mongolian:

- Chin. Chinese terms in pinyin romanization
- Bur. Buriad (only written sources): transcriptions of Cyrillic Buriad terms, alterations and adaptations of other authors’ transcriptions
- Da. Daur (both oral and written sources): alterations and adaptations of other authors’ transcriptions
- Dar. Darxad (only oral sources)
- Mp. Mongolian proper, terms that cannot and need not to be linked to a specific Mongolian dialect and are nearly the same in the major dialects are categorized as Mp.

- MB. Mongolian Buriad (only oral sources). Creating this category was necessary because Mongolian Buriads tend to speak a mixture of Xalx and the Buriad spoken in Buryatia. Therefore, some of the MB. terms are identical with their Xalx equivalents, some are pronounced in a completely Buriad way, and many of them are half-way between the two dialects. Every term that comes from a Mongolian Buriad informant, even when its pronunciation is no different from the pronunciation of the equivalent Xalx or Buriad term, is regarded as part of the MB. vocabulary.
- Russ. Russian
- Sans. Sanskrit
- Tib. Tibetan
- WM. Written Mongolian (only written sources)
- WX. Written Xalx (only written sources): extracted from texts written in the literary language of Mongolia in Cyrillic letters. This abbreviation is to signify that the given term is gained from a Xalx Mongolian book or article and not from oral communication.
- Xal. Xalx (only oral sources)

The transcription employed in the present thesis does not always reflect the exact sounding of the particular Mongol term. The minor inter-dialectical differences are not enhanced. The purpose of this transcription is to make the given terms recognizable without making them unnecessarily difficult to read. Therefore, some of the characters can denote more than one sound due to dialectical differences, but the sounds represented by the same character correspond to each other; for example, I use the same [e] character for both the unrounded mid central vowel (IPA ə) of the Buriad word *emegen* (an elderly woman) and the unrounded near close front vowel (IPA ɪ) in the Xalx variant—*emgen*—of the same word.

Short vowels in non-initial syllables often sound extra-short, especially in Oirad and Xalx dialects. In the orthographies of different Mongolic languages the principles of representing these reduced vowels are also different. The present transcription represents every audible short vowel and those that may not be audible but change the sounding of a preceding consonant. The exact

characteristics of the different reduced vowels are determined by their adjacent consonants and cannot be fully captured by the letters of the employed transcription.

Short Vowels

| | |
|----------|---|
| a | unrounded open back |
| o | rounded open mid back |
| u | rounded close back |
| e | unrounded near close front; mid central in most Buriad dialects |
| ö | rounded open mid central |
| ü | rounded close central |
| i | unrounded close front |

Long vowels are represented by the duplication of the particular vowel.

Diphthongs: **ai, oi, ui, ei, üi, ia, io, iu**

Consonants

| | |
|-----------|--|
| b | semi-voiced bilabial plosive |
| p | aspirated bilabial plosive |
| m | bilabial nasal |
| w | bilabial approximant |
| d | semi-voiced postalveolar plosive |
| t | aspirated postalveolar plosive |
| n | alveolar nasal; velar nasal when not followed by a vowel, or followed by velar consonants, bilabial nasal [m] when followed by bilabial consonants |
| ŋ | velar nasal, used only at the end of the words of “fleeting -g stem” |
| zh | semi-voiced postalveolar fricative |
| z | semi-voiced alveolar fricative in Buriad |

| | |
|-----------|---|
| s | voiceless alveolar fricative |
| j | semi-voiced palato-alveolar affricate |
| ch | aspirated palato-alveolar affricate |
| tz | semi-voiced alveolar plosive |
| c | aspirated alveolar plosive |
| r | alveolar trill |
| l | lateral approximant |
| y | palatal approximant |
| g | semi-voiced velar plosive or fricative |
| k | aspirated velar plosive |
| γ | the written Mongolian equivalent of [g] in words containing back vowels |
| q | the written Mongolian equivalent of [x] and [k] in words containing back vowels |
| x | unvoiced velar fricative |
| h | pharyngeal unvoiced fricative, only in Buriad dialects |

In the transcription of written Mongolian words, the characters listed above are used. Note that for the sake of simplicity, the characters [č=ch], [j=j] and [š=sh] are replaced by [c], [j] and [s] respectively, because the Uygur-Mongol script does not differentiate them either. In written Mongolian there is no distinction between [ch] and [c] and between [j] and [tz] sounds. In my transcription [c] and [j] should be read [ch] and [j]. The letter [s] when followed by an [i] should be read [sh]; I use the character [sh] only when in the Uygur-Mongol script two dots appear next to the letter [s] like in WM. *shabi* (pupil, apprentice) or *shasin* (religion), for example.

When transcribing Russian terms, the appropriate representation of dialectical differences is not needed. The particular terms always correspond to their written forms. Unlike many other systems applied to transliterate Russian language, this system uses the letter [y] instead of [j] to represent the initial sound of the following Cyrillic letters: ё, ю, я. The reason for this is that in the transcription of Mongolic languages, [y] is used for the same sound, while [j] stands for a different one that does not even exist in Russian. The purpose of using this system is to avoid the possibility

of confusing sounds and characters of different languages. Therefore, in the present thesis, one character can represent only one sound or sounds that are very close to each other.

Transcription of Russian Words

| | | | | |
|-----------|-------------------|--|-----------|-------------------|
| a | Cyrillic а | | r | Cyrillic р |
| b | Cyrillic б | | s | Cyrillic с |
| v | Cyrillic в | | t | Cyrillic т |
| g | Cyrillic г | | u | Cyrillic у |
| d | Cyrillic д | | f | Cyrillic ф |
| e | Cyrillic е | | x | Cyrillic х |
| yo | Cyrillic ё | | c | Cyrillic ц |
| zh | Cyrillic ж | | ch | Cyrillic ч |
| z | Cyrillic з | | sh | Cyrillic ш |
| i | Cyrillic и | | ś | Cyrillic щ |
| ī | Cyrillic й | | ‘ | Cyrillic ь |
| k | Cyrillic к | | ’ | Cyrillic ъ |
| l | Cyrillic л | | ı | Cyrillic ы |
| m | Cyrillic м | | ě | Cyrillic э |
| n | Cyrillic н | | yu | Cyrillic ю |
| o | Cyrillic о | | ya | Cyrillic я |
| p | Cyrillic п | | | |

1. Spirit and Inspiration

1.1 The Global and Mongol Notions of Spirit and Inspiration

Spirit and inspiration are concepts with a good deal of common implication. Both religious and artistic activities are unconceivable without either of them. Inspiration is the source of self-expression, which plays an essential role both in religion and art. In institutionalized religious practices, however, the role of inspiration and self-expression seems to be less crucial than in non-institutionalized forms of practising religion. Institutionalization and institutionalized religion in a global mind is often associated with literacy and studying. The skills of a practitioner of a non-institutionalized system of beliefs are held to be inherited or acquired through contact with spiritual entities, while practitioners of an institutionalized religion are more likely to gain their knowledge and competence of performing religious acts through a process of studying. Relevant is the fact that, for a long period of time in history, in most cultures, religious institutions were centres of education at the same time. The contrast between inherited and learned abilities in Mongolia is clearly expressed in the words of a Mongolian shamaness, Batbayar (2004: 20): “*Lamd ongodiin xüch baixgüi xarin nomiin xüch bii.*” (Lamas do not possess the power of spirits, but they do that of the teaching.) However apt this statement may sound, it is not appropriate to every situation. There are lamas who do possess “the power of spirits”, but they simply do not have the necessary environment and conditions to become a practitioner of a non-institutionalized system of beliefs. There are numerous examples of individuals from Mongolia who, despite having shamans among their parents or grandparents (a factor often predestining individuals to grow up to be a shaman), became lamas—practitioners of an institutionalized religion. Such an example is that of lama Uxaa, the son of a Darxad shaman, Buwad, who was the progeny of the legendary Xaj and Jotog shamans. Uxaa’s son and grandson were also lamas, which does not suggest a change in the hereditary shamanic ability of the lineage but a change of the political circumstances in favour of practising Buddhism instead of shamanism (Pürew 2002: 368). Moreover, it is not unprecedented for an individual who is competent and eligible to become a non-institutionalized practitioner not to take on any form of religious practice. There also are cases when in an institutionalized religion—be it Buddhism, Christianity, Islam or else—a special emphasis is placed on the practitioner’s

inspiration, which can even manifest in spirit possession. In Mongolian Buddhism, for example, the rituals of practitioners called Xal. *choijin* and Xal. *gürten*¹ involve spirit possession (Bumochir and Oyuntungalag 2006: 130–45).

There are other activities which can be called both religious and artistic, such as the singing of the Xal. *umtad* lama,² which requires a great deal of empathy and inspiration. Still, in the practices of Mongolian Buddhism (or institutionalized religions in general), knowledge based on a written tradition is undoubtedly predominant over the knowledge and abilities generated by divine inspiration. On the other hand, in non-institutionalized religious practices such as performing shamanic rituals or singing heroic epics, the inspiration of the practitioner is in most cases inevitable.

The contrast of institutionalization and non-institutionalization (most probably not only in the Mongol Cultural Region but in many other parts of the world) is perceived by a host of ideas, which comprise attributes of antithetic meanings: for instance, the knowledge acquired in an institution takes its origin in the human sphere, while that acquired without institutional assistance is more likely to be thought of as something belonging to the nature and wilderness. The contrast between nature and human society and between wilderness and civilization can be paralleled to the contrast of the oral and written traditions and to the opposition of peripheral and central social positions. The knowledge coming from outside the human society is regarded intangible and therefore mysterious or even dangerous, while the erudition acquired at educational institutions can more easily be fathomed. This makes people seek refuge in the former when the latter fails: when in Mongolia a lama is unable to solve a problem, it is often a shaman to whom a client turns next.

The lower a practitioner's social status is, the more remote s/he is from the core of human existence, the essence of community; and therefore, the closer s/he is regarded to be to the wild. Those positioned near the border-line of human existence and near the wilderness will have more frequent encounters with the spirit-world. This border-line can be conceived as either the outskirts of a settlement or the bottom of human society. The two often overlap, implying that people of lower status often inhabit the outskirts of a village or a town.

In Mongolian two different words are used for the concept of inspiration, depending on its kind. One of them is Mp. *uram*, which derives from the same *ur-* stem as *uran* (dextrous, masterly,

¹ For more about *gurtum/gürten* oracles see Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 442–43, Heissig 1980: 41, and Bumochir and Oyuntungalag 2006: 118–19.

² For more about the *umtad* see Pozdneev 1978: 226.

skilled, workmanlike, art). *Uram* is a kind of inspiration, enthusiasm, inducement, stimulus or a kind of eager that can spur creative and productive activity, and it gives one power to fulfil a task. It is a rather secular perception of inspiration, which in modern Mongolian society can manifest in a stipend, a reward (Xal. *uramshuulan shagnax*, reward incentively) or price reduction (Xal. *uramshuulalt*). *Uram* can be possessed by anyone and is an essential factor of success. Being in lack of it is thought to be typical of lazy and unsuccessful people. The other word used for inspiration, Mp. *ongon*, denotes a kind of inspiration that can induce artistic performance, altered state of consciousness and spirit possession. When a Mongol does not feel like singing when required, s/he might make excuses saying: *ongon oroogüi* (The *ongon* has not entered, i.e. “I am not possessed by the spirit”). A young Deed Mongol poet, Bürged, during a private conversation claimed, “*Ongon dandaa dörwön möröör ordog*” (The *ongon* always “enters” in four lines), explaining why his verses are always quatrains.

The inspiration of shamans (Mp. *böö* – shaman, *udgan* – shamaness, *tzaariᠭ/tzairanᠭ* – great shaman or sometimes male shaman) and sometimes certain other religious practitioners (Mp. *gürten*, *choijin*) is also determined as *ongon*. The state of mind or consciousness that they show signs of during their rituals is referred to as *ongon orox* (lit. the spirit enters), just like in the case of poets and singers. It is believed that the spirits speak and act through these intermediaries during their performances. The fact that the inspiration of a poet or singer is referred to by the same expression implies that there is something divine and superhuman manifesting itself in their songs and poems.

In Mongolian shamanism, one of the main characteristics of spirits is that they speak a language of songs and verses, which is considered to be more eloquent and appropriate than the everyday language of human beings. In the Mongol mind, spirits’ mediums such as singers, poets, shamans and other performers are all induced, to a certain extent, by *ongons*. The inspiration that manifests itself in shamanic presentations can be thought of as the particular, possessing spirits’ will and the possession part of shamanic performances as a sequence of the spirits’ utterances. Those who become *ongons* after their death (shamans and other eminent persons) are regarded as having had unusual willpower. Mongols believe that the inspiration needed to perform rituals is given by spirits, but what they actually give to the chosen practitioner is themselves. Consequently, the practitioners are characterized as “having spirits”. Therefore, having inspiration means being a subordinate executor/agent of the spirits’ will—that is, to appear in the human world on a regular basis. In order to achieve this goal, spirits place themselves into the performer’s body for the

duration of the performance. It leads us to conclude that in the case of spirit possession, the spirit's will and the practitioner's inspiration can be thought of as concepts that are very closely interconnected, if not identical.

The term *ongon orox* is understood and interpreted as spirit possession, but it does not mean that singers, poets and other performers are, in fact, possessed by any particular divinity of the Mongol pantheon. In my opinion, the possession of religious practitioners, the phenomenon *ongon orox*, should be considered inspiration in general. Similarly, the origin of the word “inspiration” (from Latin *in* + *spirare*) suggests the involvement of a divine entity. Thus, the expression *ongon orox* is not restricted to the shamans' altered state of consciousness, but in a wider sense it can embrace other sorts of artistic inspiration as well.

Inspiration can be of different strengths, ranging from a simple stimulus that urges on creative activity (such as performing a song or a dance) to the one that leads to the most vigorous ecstatic presentation of a shaman. In Mongolian thinking, the strength of the inspiration is determined by the power of the particular *ongon*: shamans are thought to work with more powerful spirits (and therefore their inspiration is considered to be stronger) than singers and poets, for example. The spirits who possess a shaman are mainly spectres of ancestors, deceased shamans, or other well-known persons. These well-defined spirits are tightly connected with the lyrics of the shamans' songs. They appear on the ritual scene when their names are mentioned and when their songs are sung. On the other hand, the *ongons* that “enter” poets and singers during the time of their performances are not well-defined spirits; they are not known by their names, and usually there are no anecdotes about their lives. Therefore, I believe it is more appropriate to refer to them only as *ongons* and not as spirits. Shamans' spirits are also *ongons*, but they all have personalities well depicted in the shamanic legends, anecdotes and invocations.

In Mongolian shamanism, the performers' abilities of mastering spirits make a distinction of powerful and less powerful categories. The category of less powerful practitioners comprises specialists who are able to invoke spirits but not able to incarnate them. The powerful practitioners, on the other half, are usually those who get possessed by the invoked spirits. The Mongolian Buriads are aware of this duality, and they often speak of powerful and less powerful shamans, rituals, days and spirits. This contrast is expressed by such antitheses as MB. *xatuu* (hard)–MB. *zöölön* (soft), MB. *xar* (black)–MB. *sagaan* (white), MB. *xünde* (heavy, difficult)–MB. *xiingen* (light, easy).³ The factor that determines whether a ritual is powerful or less powerful is the degree

³ Krader (1978: 191) discusses this duality in a resembling way and gives five pairs of antitheses: west–east, right–left, white–black, good–evil, and love and fear.

of the practitioner's inspiration, which is successively determined by the spirits that s/he invokes. Conclusively, inspiration is brought up by the spirits' desperate will of communicating with the human world, and therefore the mediums' presentations are the actual utterances of the spirits. As to the study and analysis of performances, the degree of a performer's inspiration cannot be gauged by unbiased measures, and the existence of spirits and that they can possess certain practitioners are matters of belief. Therefore, to decide whether *ongon orox* in shamanic rituals is trance, ecstasy or other sort of altered state of consciousness, or it is at all such a state, is not important for the study of rituals and performances. What is important is that shamans and their audience believe that spirits enter the shaman's body and thus are just as present at the ritual as themselves. Therefore, for the believers the shaman's possession is not a theatrical performance but an encounter with a spirit. If we are to understand the participants' attitude towards shamanic rituals, it is expedient to view the possessed shaman as the spirit, and not as an actor. However poor a shaman's performance might be, as long as the participants are convinced that the invoked spirit is present, the ritual is as valuable for scholarly investigation as any other.

1.2 Spirits and Vulnerability

It is important to note that the earlier mentioned two distinct kinds of inspiration, the *uram* and *ongon*, are not thought of as two auxiliary concepts that belong to each other in any way. Mongols do not look upon them as antitheses, but in a certain respect, they can be treated as such. *Uram*, as mentioned earlier, is essential for the successful accomplishment of daily tasks that require practical skills and therefore is instrumental for advance and success in secular life. On the other hand, *ongon* is inevitable for artistic expression, which plays a significant role in religious matters. The contemporary aspects of another concept, Mp. *xiimori*⁴ (mettle, charisma, lit.: wind-horse), shares certain similarities with the concept of *uram*. Bad luck, social problems such as alcoholism, unemployment and divorce, in contemporary Mongolia are usually explained by the lack of *xiimori*. When bad things happen to somebody more often than usual, one of the main options to solve the problem is to seek a specialist and request him/her to perform the ritual called "improving one's *xiimori*"⁵ (Xal. *xiimorio sergeex*). On the other hand, successful people,

⁴ For more on *xiimori* see Kler 1957, Qurcabayatur and Üjüm-e 1991: 38–106, Birtalan 2001: 1002.

⁵ A literally translation of the phrase is "to restore or to refresh one's windhorse".

in contemporary Mongolia, are characterized as *xiimoritoi* (possessing mettle), which means that *xiimori* is viewed as a key factor to success. Therefore, those without enough *xiimori* are regarded weaker and more vulnerable than those who abound in it.

In every society, being weaker and less efficient than others not only offers poorer chances in the competition for material essentials and favourable social relations, but it can also earn disgrace, despise and ignorance. Nonetheless, it is not only the weak and clumsy who are often subjected to maltreatment. Belonging to a minority either by ethnicity, religion, gender, or else, can also put a person into a vulnerable condition. Vulnerability manifests itself in various forms of disabilities in different cultures. Among the Mongols, we find a number of disabilities that are likely to predestine individuals to become religious practitioners or performers of partly religious tasks.

Speech impediment is a disability often characteristic to performers who employ language in its most eloquent ways. The famous Kalmyk bard, singer of the Jangar epic, Elään Owlāa (Russ. Ėlyan Ovla), suffered from the inconvenience of stuttering, of which, he could only get rid by singing the Jangar (Kichikov 1969: 8–29). A Deed-Mongol “blesser” (Mp. *yöröölch*), Mr. Nasanbayar, whom I met in 2007 in Qinghai, also shows signs of a slight speech impediment, which of course, cannot be taken as the only reason why he has taken charge of his speciality. The declamation of blessings (Mp. *yörööl*) in public events, singing heroic epics, i.e. using elevated language before an attentive audience, besides serving the purpose of eliminating certain speech disabilities temporarily, gives the opportunity to show off one’s exceptional but usually hidden linguistic abilities.

Blindness or wrong eyesight is also a frequent criterion of epic-singers, story-tellers and shamans. The Mongol story of Tarwaa, the Blind (in English: Luvsanjav, Travers and Altangerel 1988: 11, in Mongolian: Cerensodnom 1989: 163), which explains the origin of folk tales, is a classical example of the handicapped performer.

According to the story, Tarwaa loses consciousness and his soul goes to Erleg Khan⁶ (WX. *Erleg xaan*). When Erleg asks the soul why he has come to him, Tarwaa’s soul answers that he thought his body was dying and not wanting to wait until its complete death, he left it. Erleg says that the body has not died yet and orders the soul to get back into it, but before he leaves, he can choose something from Erleg’s realm. The things to be chosen are happiness (WX. *jargal*), suffering (WX. *tzowlog*), music (WX. *xögjim*), dance (WX. *büjig*), etc. The soul chooses the

⁶ Erleg/Erlig Khan is the supreme judge of the dead, the lord of the underworld in Mongolian mythology. For more on Erlig Khan see Birtalan 2001: 981.

tale—precisely, the ability of, or the talent for telling folk tales—and returns to his body. While the soul was away, ravens gouged out Tarwaa’s eyes. Tarwaa, thus went blind but survived and became a famous story-teller and able to foresee the future.

Birtalan, in relation to the story of Tarwaa, also gives an account of a blind Bayid bard from West-Mongolia and notes that bards and singers are often either blind or lame in one leg (Birtalan and Rákos 2002: 100). A Mongolian Buriad shaman, Danga, one of my informants, is also blind in one eye, and the eyesight of Bayar, one of the outstanding apprentices of the renowned Buriad shaman Chojjiliin Ceren (Bur. Shoizholoi Seren), is said to be so bad that he can only see blurry shapes and faint colours.

It is a universally well-known fact that religious practitioners, shamans and the specially gifted tend to suffer from physical deficiencies and illnesses more often than ordinary people. A mysterious undiagnosable illness called “shamans’ illness” (WX. *böögiin öwchin*) precedes the event of becoming a shaman and can only be cured by accepting the shamanic vocation.⁷ The experiences of a field study that I conducted in Mongolia in 2004–2005 show that the most common symptom of this pre-shamanic illness, among the shamans enquired, is recurrent epileptic seizures (Xal. *tataj unadag öwchin*) and frequent loss of consciousness (Xal. *uxaan aldax*). Birtalan’s interviews (2005m: 78–108) made with Darxad shamans in the 1990s report the same kinds of illnesses and symptoms. Compared to the number of shamans having suffered from the shamans’ illness, a relatively low proportion, but still a considerable number of shamans, claim that they have experienced the extremities of misery, but not illnesses.

Another informant, shaman Dowdon, claimed that his shamanic vocation manifested in encountering different problems and tragedies. The main problem, as he said, was that he could not settle down and start leading a decent life. Before receiving his initiation, he had travelled a lot working and doing business. He had lived in Russia, Pakistan, Poland and Australia, where he learned English. When he returned to Mongolia, he began to drink and became addicted to alcohol, which later resulted in health problems. After coming back home from Australia, in the following couple of years, he lost nine of his close relatives. In 1999, when he was in the most severe distress, he got acquainted with two Italians travelling to Dornod in order to consult Ceren, the well-known Buriad shaman. They hired Dowdon as an interpreter and guide. In Dornod, Ceren explained to him that all his afflictions were caused by his ancestral spirits demanding him to become a shaman.

⁷ For a relatively new study on shamanic illness see Pürew (2002: 171–73).

Oyuun, an Uriankhai shamaness, as she said (a28), had experienced every kind of sufferings. She had lost her parents and all of her siblings and suffered from various ailments such as epilepsy (Xur. *epilepsend orox*), renal disease (Xur. *bööräär öwdöx*) and the swelling of her belly and other parts of her body (Xur. *xodood biyäärää xawdax*).

Ulaanaa, a young Xalx shamaness, apprentice of Altaa, told her story of sufferings, which was remarkably different than those of other shamans. She had been working as an economist when she made a big mistake that produced a fifty-million-*tögrög* deficit for her company. Meantime, her husband began to suffer from a very serious illness, and she was pregnant when sentenced to eleven years of imprisonment. She added that the judgement was not final; otherwise she would have been in jail by the time I interviewed her. As she said, she had gone mad temporarily and acted as a lunatic (Xal. *soliorch xiirxeltei yawsan*) for three days. Finally, her neighbour suggested that she turn to Altaa, the shamaness, who then accepted her as an apprentice.

In Ulaanaa's case, the loss of material resources and relatives directly leads to uncertainty and distress, in which her former lifestyle would be impossible to continue without taking up a new role in society. In Oyuun's case, the loss of relatives might have also resulted in the loss of social network and social stability. On the other hand, the period in Dowdon's life until he became a shaman—though he himself never described it that way—is a typical example of what Mongolians tend to characterize as lacking *xiimori* (Xal. *xiimorigüi*) and being unsuccessful (Xal. *bütelgüütex*).

It is, very often, weakness and failure that makes certain members of a community vulnerable. A desire to escape from this unwanted situation leads outside the community, where the possible attacks of the strong and successful can be avoided. Misanthropic attitude and solitary roaming far from human settlements in the wilderness (Xal. *tenex*) are, in Mongolia, Siberia, and I believe in many other places on earth, commonplace symptoms of the aforesaid afflictions. The aimless wandering (Xal. *demii tenex*) in the nature and its solitude can also be perceived as the deepest point of distress, the temporary realization of unsocial life. The desire to escape and to find refuge outside society might be accompanied by the desire to possess extraordinary abilities by which one could become an eminent and venerated member of the ignorant or despising community. The extraordinary abilities and superhuman knowledge, in societies where uncommon phenomena are explained by religious ideas, are believed to be endowed by spirits.

Lewis (2003: 104) expresses his views concerning offsetting disabilities as follows:

What we find over and over again in a wide range of different cultures and places is the special endowment of mystical power given to the weak. If they do not quite inherit the earth, at least they are provided with means which enable them to offset their otherwise crushing rural disabilities.

Unusual knowledge and stunning abilities seem to be a reasonable—and the only—means for compensation. Knowledge and abilities are demonstrated during spirit possession, which is not merely a set of unusual behaviour and weird acting of the possessed, but also an amusing presentation. Lewis (2003: 90), in relation to the possession cult of Italian tarantism, writes about the dancing peasants of low social status:

With its formerly more richly endowed symbolism in which the dancers acted as swaggering captains, grandiose governors, muscle-flexing boxers, and hectoric public orators, the cult gave such men the opportunity of playing a range of roles far removed from those they held in real life. The most wretched beggar could temporarily assume the airs and graces of high society and command respectful and sympathetic attention for his posturing.

In relation to a similar phenomenon in Mongolian shamanism I have argued (Balogh 2008: 171):

It is believed that the shaman is not present during the possession: s/he merely places his/her body to the disposal of the spirit. Thus, everything apparently done by the shaman is done by the spirit, in fact. It occurs that the shaman under possession speaks to a certain person from the public in terms s/he would never do under ordinary conditions. Sometimes even a young shaman can address an old and reputable member of the community disrespectfully, when possessed by a spirit.

One of my informants, Dowdon, a Xalx shaman in his thirties, demonstrated his authority and dominance in various ways during his performances. When possessed by a spirit, he often assumed postures that express power and dominance and commanded his assistant in a blunt manner. An occasion when an old woman attended his ritual in order to seek advice from the possessing spirit, Dowdon (his spirit) ordered her to bow before him in all submissiveness and scolded at her for her inappropriate carriage and incomplete knowledge of regulations that must be abode by during the ritual.

What is apparent in Dowdon's above performance seems to tally with Lewis's (2003: 104) argument on the tarantist dancers:

With the authority which the voice of the gods alone gives they find a way to manipulate their superiors with impunity—at least within certain limits.

The temporary changing of inferior and superior roles during rituals that involve spirit-possession is a universal phenomenon that can be detected in a number of cultures and cults, including Tarantism, Hinduism (Lewis 2003: 103), the *Shango* cult in Trinidad (Lewis 2003: 94), the Somali *Sar* cult (Lewis 2003: 66–67) and also Mongolian shamanism. Concealments of inferior characteristics and accentuations of the superior ones appear in various forms of contemporary Buriad shamanic practices as well. The desire of getting rid of weakness and to acquire strength is a fundamental condition of getting in touch with the spirits, i.e. with the sources of inspiration.

This inspiration lies behind the tangible and perceptible reality of shamanic traditions, i.e. shamanic requisites and practices. The way a ritual is going to be conducted for example, depends on inspiration. If the shaman is not inspired enough, his/her spirits will be reluctant to appear, to possess him/her. On the other hand, if the shaman is thoroughly inspired, possessions will follow one another almost uninterruptedly.

The different types of shamanic rituals require inspiration for different purposes (e.g. healing an illness, asking for childbirth and resolving financial problems), and these purposes can be achieved with the aid of different spirits. Inspiration is inevitable for the shaman to identify him/herself with the characters of these different spirits; the shaman has to impersonate them, be like them.

The shamanic paraphernalia that I am going to discuss in the next chapter—though they are owned by shamans—are believed to be the properties of spirits. The shaman's drum, for instance, is not merely the shaman's instrument but also the steed of a spirit, on which s/he comes to the ritual. Thus, this instrument not only facilitates the shaman's inspiration but is also a ride that brings the spirit to the ritual scene. When the inspiration is at its peak, the spirit arrives, and possession takes place. It is clear, then, that the inspiration and the spirit are interdependent. Therefore, what we can perceive from a shaman's ritual, the songs, motions, the costume and tools are manifestations of the shaman's inspirations, imprints of the spirit world—the discussion of these imprints make up the body of this thesis.

2. Buriad Shamans in Mongolia

2.1 The Place of Buriad Shamanism in the Mongol Cultural Region

The Mongol Cultural Region is home to at least three different shamanic traditions. These exist at the peripheries of the region, and in terms of their pantheon, shamanic incantations and paraphernalia they exhibit significant discrepancies with each other and striking similarities with adjacent shamanic traditions. The three traditions are the following: 1. Darxad shamanism in north-western Mongolia, which shares many commonalities with the shamanism of the neighbouring Tuvas and Caatans (Duxas);¹ 2. Xorchin shamanism in south-eastern Inner-Mongolia, which is greatly influenced by Manchu and Sibe shamanic traditions;² 3. Buriad shamanism, which shares many of its characteristics with the shamanism of the Bargas, Daurs and Ewenks.³

The Buriads in Mongolia inhabit the northern parts of its two eastern provinces, Xentii and Dornod. The parents, grandparents and great-grandparents of the Mongolian Buriads emigrated from Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century. The reasons for their migration were the increasing Russian influence, the growing number of Russian settlers in their territories, and the situations created by the Russo-Japanese war, World War I and the Russian Revolution of 1917.

¹ The most important studies on Darxad shamanism have been carried out by Sanzheev (1930), Diószegi (1998a, 1998b first published in 1962 and 1963), Badamxatan (1965), Even (1988–89) and Birtalan (1993a, 2004b). The shamanism of the Tuvas and Caatans has been studied by Diószegi (1998a), Shagdarsüren (1974) and Kenin-Lopsan (1977, 1993, 1997).

² On Xorchin shamanism see Heissig 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1992d and Kürelsha and Bai-Cui-Ying 1998. On the proximity between Xorchin, Manchu and Sibe shamanism see Zikmundová (2008: 149–88). Manchu shamanism has been studied by Pozzi (1992), Meng Huiying (1992, 1998), Giovanni Stary (1993, 1998, 2009), Di Cosmo (1999) and Guo Shuyun (2008, 2009).

³ The general features of Buriad shamanism are described by Sandschejew (1927–28), Xangalov (2004), Mixailov (1962a, 1962b, 1962c, 1968, 1980), Manzhigeev (1978), Sharakshinova (1980), Galdanova (1987), Gantogtokh (1996, 1997, 1999), Van Deusen (1999), Kūmin (2001) and myself (Balogh 2007). The shamanism of the Daurs has been studied by Mendüsürüng (1983), Sain Tanaa (1987), Humphrey (1996), Hoppál (2005) and Somfai Kara, Hoppál and Sipos (2009). The shamanism of Tungusic peoples is best described by Shirokogorov (1919) and Vasilevich (1971). The shamanism of the western Buriads, such as the Exirid and Bulagad, for example, is so different from the shamanism of eastern Buriads, Bargas and Daurs that it might be feasible to discuss it as a fourth tradition. Excerpts from Bulagad shamanic incantations published by Diószegi and Sharakshinova (1970) show that although the names of the most prominent deities and mythological figures are the same in western- and eastern-Buriad shamanism, the way they are addressed and the wording of the incantations differ greatly. These incantations and those collected by Gantogtokh, Kara and Tsooloo (1998; also in Coloo 2007) from the eastern-Buriad shaman, Chojijilin Ceren, represent two distinct oral traditions. The types of rituals that western and eastern Buriads perform and the ways the rituals are performed are also different. Sántha (2002: 425–26) argues that in contemporary western-Buriad shamanism, the most important role of the shamans is to conduct sacrificial rituals (Bur. *tailgan*) in honour of the ancestors of their clans, but during the ritual they do not get possessed by the spirits. It has to be noted that what is written on Buriad shamanism in the Russian literature in the works of Sandschejew (1927–28), Xangalov (1958, 1959, 1960), Mixailov (1962a, 1962b, 1963, 1968, 1980), Manzhigeev (1978) and Sharakshinova (1980) is chiefly based on western-Buriad sources.

Mongolia's independence from the rule of the Manchus in 1911 raised the Buriads' hopes for a peaceful life and the possibility to preserve their traditional lifestyle in Mongolia. Many of the renowned shamans of that era came along with the emigrants, and now their apprentices are the well-known shamans of the territory (Oyuuntungalag 2004: 36–40, Shimamura 2002: 88–89). During sixty years, from the 1930s, it was prohibited to practise shamanism in Mongolia, but shamanic initiations and other rituals were performed in secrecy. From the 1990s, Buriad shamanism has become more and more known to people, who began to associate the term “Buriad” with shamanism. Elderly Buriad shamans started to accept clients from the Russian Buriads, and they took many of those afflicted by the shamans' illness as their apprentices (Shimamura 2002: 90). As my fieldwork experiences show, many of the masters initiated not only Buriad but also Xalx, Darxad, Urianxai, Oirad and even European individuals into shamanhood.

2.2 Buriad Shamans in Ulaanbaatar⁴

The emergence of shamanic organisations, societies and centres, and the attempts to furnish shamanism with institutionalized qualities can be observed not only in Mongolia but also in several Siberian Republics. The “Center for Folk Healing” in Yakutia (Balzer 2008: 12), the Dūngūr (drum) in Tuva, the Xese Xengereg (drum) in Buryatia and the Ak Sanaa (white/pure thought), Ak Suus (white/pure idea or potential), Agarū Jaŋ (pure way of life) and Teŋeri (sky/heaven) in the Republic of Altai (Halemba 2003: 175–76) are the most well-known of such organizations.

The largest and most well known of Mongolian shamanic organizations, one that enlists its members mainly from the north-eastern and north-western regions, is Golomt Centre in Ulaanbaatar. The main goal of the organization is to unify Mongolian shamans, hence the organization's full name: Mongol Böögiin Golomt Töw, “The Hearth of Mongolian Shamans”. Golomt members have their own offices in the city, but the costume they wear, the tools they use and the songs they sing can be classified as traditional. In sum, the shamans of Golomt practise traditional shamanism in an urban environment. Studying Mongolian shamanism, though not in an academic level, is also a part of the scope of the centre's activity. As a result of their research, several papers and a few books have been published in Ulaanbaatar.

⁴ For more on urban shamanism in Eurasia see Hoppál 1992: 197–209 and Jakobsen 1999.

Another well-known shamanic organization is the Tengeriin Sülder Böögiin Xolboo “The Heaven’s Dagger Shamans’ Association”, founded on the initiative of G. Gantogtox, a Buriad ethnographer and university teacher, who is the president (Xal. *yerönxiilögch*) of the association. The head (Xal. *tergüün*) of the association was Ch. Ceren, the renowned Buriad shaman, until his death in 2005.⁵ The members of the Tengeriin Sülder are all apprentices of Ceren, numbering more than two hundred individuals, many of whom, according to the apprentices’ accounts, are natives of Russia and China. One of the association’s main purposes is to lay down the foundations of shamanic education and to establish a set of rules and regulations that could be applied to the apprentices of different ethnicities such as the Xalxs, Urianxais, Xamnigans, etc. Thus, Tengeriin Sülder began to take the shape of an educational institution that even issues certificates and degrees. The members of Tengeriin Sülder practise the traditional Buriad way of shamanism, similarly to the Buriad members of the Golomt. The main differences between the two groups of Buriad shamans are that more members of Tengeriin Sülder live in the countryside than those of the Golomt, and that none of the Golomt members are apprentices of Ceren. The Buriad shamans of Golomt usually come from Dashbalbar district, Dornod province, while Ceren’s apprentices are trained in the slightly different traditions of Bayan-Uul, another district of the same province. In my experience, some Buriad shamans question Ceren’s competence in channelling spirits, often referring to the fact that as a child he was a pupil in a lamasery, and therefore—as they say—he cannot be a true shaman. Rumour has it that when Ceren attempted to invoke the spirit of Chingis Khan at the famous khan’s birthplace (Dadal, Xentii province) in 2003, he failed to get possessed. However, Bumochir and Oyuntungalag (2006: 124–28) give account of an occasion from 1996, when Chingis Khan, as Ceren’s son Oyuunbaatar claimed, did possess Ceren and through the shaman he left a message for the President of Mongolia and eight government officials. Between 2003 and 2005, other rumours were spreading concerning his age and his personal life. Many of these rumours were told to me by people attending the 2004 fire-sacrifice conducted by him.

A year after its establishment, in 2004, Tengeriin Sülder issued a booklet (Gantogtox 2004), in which Gantogtox introduces the association and describes its purposes. The booklet was distributed by Gantogtox himself during the afore-mentioned fire sacrifice, in October 2004, near Ulaanbaatar. In his argument, Gantogtox points out that more and more individuals emerge as shamans in Mongolia, which has led to a disorder concerning the initiation (WX.

⁵ Ceren lived and practised mostly in Xarxiraa valley, in Bayan-Uul district (Dornod province) and made his place of residence the most well-known spot of Buriad shamanic revival in Mongolia.

*tzalaalax*⁶) of new shamans. Therefore, one of the purposes of the Association is to lay down the rules of initiating and consecrating shamans. Gantogtox explains the rapidly growing number of shamans the following way: during communist times, shamanism was banned and as soon as it had become legal again, spirits' demands increased. By spirits' demands (WX. *erleg nexel*) he means the shamanic vocation. Gantogtox adds that in present-day Mongolia, there are many young apprentices (he refers to them by the derogatory term *bööncör*, shamanlet), who, despite having only one or two consecrations, call themselves shamans and undertake tasks that they are unable to accomplish. That is why he argues that the Association is instrumental to put things in order. Another pivotal purpose of the Association is the education of young shamans. Gantogtox plans to work out a multi-level educational system (WX. *shataisan surgalt*) for the apprentices, in which they would learn traditional Mongolian writing so as they could read the old scriptures about conducting sacrifices and later specialize in a ritual. Gantogtox (2004: 43) lists twenty-seven kinds of activities—such as foaling down the mares (WX. *güünii ürs gargax*), mating stock (WX. *eceg mal tawix*), worshipping the sign-boards of establishments (WX. *baigullagiin tamga temdeg xündetgex tzaṅ üil*), making felt (WX. *esgii xiix tzaṅ üil*), joining the armed forces (WX. *ceregt morduulax tzaṅ üil*), and reciting the ranks of wrestlers (WX. *böxiin col duudax*)—that would be in the future done under the auspices of shamanic rituals. The further purposes of the Association are to defend shamans' interests and reputation, to teach and popularize Mongolian shamanism, to convene gatherings and discuss the rules of shamanic practice and how shamans can be useful for the society, to cooperate with researchers of shamanism, and to establish a traditional Mongolian hospital. Apart from the above, Gantogtox (2004: 44) sets forth two rather curious purposes, the first of which is that in their native land the apprentices should find the epic singers (WX. *tuulich*), performers of praising songs and performers of benedictions (WX. *magtaalch* and *yeröölch* respectively) and make video recordings of their presentations and send these recordings to their master, Ceren, as a form of greeting. The second is to lay special emphasis on the issue of Mongolian people's population growth (WX. *mongol xünii nöxön ürxixiin asuudal*) and to cooperate with organizations that are specialized in this field. According to Somfai Kara, who visited the Xarxiraa valley in 2007, after the death of Ceren, his son Oyuunbaatar took over the leadership of his father's shamanic community.⁷ In 2007, representatives of a movement called “Onon-Ultz Goliinxon”, which intended to protect certain parts of Xentii and Dornod from

⁶ *Tzalaalax* is the first consecration (therefore it is also appropriate to translate it as initiation) of Buriad shamans. The term is a verb, stemming from the noun *tzalaa* (ribbon, stripe, band) and it refers to the ritual act of tying a ribbon to the newly initiated shaman's hat.

⁷ Somfai Kara, 2009 personal communication.

natural adversities and from the negative effects of gold mining, in a letter turned to Oyuunbaatar and requested him to inform the spirit of shamaness Dariima (once the master of Ceren) about the problems and to ask her to protect the area. In the letter, Oyuunbaatar is addressed as the “president” (WX. *yerönxiilögch*) of the Tengeriin Sülder. A shaman-blogger, the member of Oyuunbaatar’s community, confirms in his blog (bimongolxvn) that it is Oyuunbaatar who administers the affairs of the community. On the other hand, the part played by Gantogtox in the life of the Association since 2005 is uncertain.

2.3 Roles, Ranks and Attributes in Mongolian Buriad Shamanism

2.3.1 The Interpreter (Bur. *xelmershe*, *tulmaasha*)

Although the interpreter⁸ is not a shaman type, s/he has well defined functions during shamanic rituals. The interpreter is the shaman’s assistant, who not only interprets the words of the spirits to everyday language but offers them liquor, tobacco and food as well. The interpreter is the one who knows how to communicate with the spirits and in what order it is necessary to give them the offerings. In fact, the interpreter is the one who actually mediates between the spirits and the audience, while the shaman only places his/her body at the disposal of a spirit.

Interpreters do not have any requisites or costumes of their own, nor are they initiated into shamanhood or declared to a higher level of their abilities by consecration rituals. The interpreter is not necessarily a specialist. Anyone who knows the shamanic traditions and understands the words of the spirits is employable as an interpreter. Moreover, the interpreter can be dispensed with. If nobody is available for this task, the shaman usually asks someone from the audience before the ritual to help, and s/he often explains some of the most important phrases the spirits might say, in advance. Since interpreting is only a task and not their profession (in contrast with shamans), most interpreters are referred to by this term only during the rituals they interpret. In most of the cases, this task is undertaken by one of the particular shaman’s relatives or another shaman not possessed by a spirit, for they usually know well their demands and what they say.

⁸ A Buriad shamaness, Altaa, explained that the interpreter was a *tüshöö*, a “bearer or supporter”, a person in Darxad shamanism (Dar. *tüshee*) who props the shaman from the back when s/he falls unconscious during a ritual.

Nevertheless, an interpreter who does his/her job exceptionally well might be employed on a regular basis, and assisting shamans can become his/her speciality. Such an interpreter is Namsrai, a Buriad from Dornod province, the regular assistant of shamaness Altanceceg. Unlike many other interpreters, Namsrai is referred to as *xelmershe* even when he is not taking part in a ritual. He not only translates the words of the spirits and serves them with food and drink, but he also sings the incantations with the shaman and takes control over the process of the whole ritual. People who know him say that he knows more about Buriad shamanism and sings the incantations better than the shamans themselves. Namsrai has not received any kind of initiation or consecration; he has gradually become an interpreter starting at around the age of thirteen by taking part in rituals for he was very much attracted by them. In a short time, he learned the incantations by heart and was always at disposal during the rituals. To the question whether he had suffered from any illness similar to the shamans' illness, he answered that he had not, but he instantly added that he was nearly blind. In respects of memorizing the lyrics of songs, being attracted by their performers and having bad eyesight, Namsrai is similar to Oirad epic singers, but the difference is that he is not regarded as having *ongons*. He never chants the invocations in solo but always with a shaman. He cannot invoke spirits alone, or even if he could, he would not be able to handle or to impersonate them, but he can help a shaman to do so. According to the Buriads, no one can become a shaman at his/her will, and no one would ever wish such a thing. Yet Namsrai as a teenager was attracted by shamans, and he might have wished to become one. Maybe because he had not suffered from the shamans' illness, or because of the anti-religious movement of that era he could/did not become a shaman. Another explanation might be that his desire to become a shaman could have been the very reason. His only option to practise shamanism in any way remained to be present at the rituals and to be asked to assist the officiating shaman. A shamaness, apprentice of another well-known one, has referred to Namsrai as a *xüdel*⁹, which, according to her explanation, meant "someone who is not chosen by the spirits to learn the secret knowledge but learns it by himself". She also explained that the *xüdel* makes his/her way into the circles of professionals of a particular field and acquires the same knowledge by alternative means. She added that a researcher (Xal. *sudlaach*), for example, who is as familiar with shamanism as the shamans themselves is also a *xüdel*.

⁹ The word *xüdel* is probably related to Xal. *xüdle*g "uneducated, unmannerly" (Kara 1998).

2.3.2 The White Shaman

White shamans (Bur. *sagaan zügei böö*, *sagaan böö*, *sagaanai böö*, *sagaan talai böö*) are not regarded as “real shamans” but as bonesetters (Bur. *bariash*). They are able to set broken and sprinkled bones, and they are good at massotherapy and are familiar with the medical treatments of minor illnesses. During their rituals, they invoke Buddhist divinities (MB. *burxan garwal*), the most important of whom is the White Old Man (MB. *Sagaan Üwgön*). Instead of the drum (Bur. *xese*) of the black shamans, the white ones have a bell (Bur. *xonxo*)—the same type of bell as the one used by Buddhist monks in the lamaseries. In this respect they are similar to yellow shamans in *Xöwsgöl* or in other parts of Mongolia where Buriads do not live. Although traditionally in Buriad shamanism there is no such category as yellow shamans, the Buriads would not say that they do not exist. Nevertheless, the Buddhist deities are invoked and entertained by white shamans. Black and white shamans are consecrated according to their own ways; white shamans receive their consecrations during the *shandruu*¹⁰ ritual, while black shamans are consecrated during another ritual called *shanar*.¹¹ In contrast, yellow shamans do not have their own consecration rituals, nor do they have their own requisites, paraphernalia, incantations and pantheon, and there is no report of any yellow shamans from among the contemporary Buriad shamans to our knowledge. Still, there are shamans who practise Buriad shamanism and refer to themselves as “yellow-white” shamans (Xal. *shar cagaaniig xawsarsan böö*). The reason why they call themselves so might be to make clear that they possess the knowledge necessary to invoke Buddhist deities and that they do not harm people. The term “white shaman” in most Mongolians’ mind is primarily associated with benevolence and helpfulness and not with Buddhism. Only Buriads familiar with shamanic traditions associate it primarily with Buddhist notions. Though “yellow shaman” does not exist as an autonomic category in Buriad shamanism, the term is yet in use by shamans probably in order to make their clients know that they are capable of conducting rituals of Buddhist origin as well. “Yellow shaman” is a general Mongolian term directly referring to Buddhist elements, while “white shaman” is rather the Buriads’ own expression. One would not greatly be mistaken interpreting the Buriad white shaman as the equivalent of the Mongolian yellow shaman.

Among the Mongolian Buriads, the idea that white shamans do good to people and never harm them is also popular (Van Deusen 1999: 155). This idea is in close relationship with

¹⁰ The word *shandruu* means milk-brandy in Buriad. The ritual is often referred to as *shandruu nerexe* “to distill milk-brandy”.

¹¹ The word *shanar* means “quality” in Buriad. It derives from the WM. *cinar*.

another one, notably that white shamans serve the fifty-five western gods (Bur. *baruunai tabin taban tengeri*), who are described as benevolent heavenly beings. The antagonism of benevolent and malevolent gods and the antagonism of black shamans and white shamans is pictured by contrasting the ferocious (Bur. *doshxon*) or hard (Bur. *xatuu*) with the mild or soft (Bur. *zöölön*), and the severe or heavy (Bur. *shanga*) with the light or smooth (Bur. *xüngen*). White shamans and their rituals are characterized as soft and light, which means that their rituals are easy to perform, they do not involve blood sacrifice or killing of animals, and the shamans do not shout loudly, do not jump and dance vigorously, nor do they fall unconscious or foam at the mouth during their rituals. In this respect the practice of white shamans is indeed similar to that of Buddhist practitioners, but it does not necessarily mean that white shamans (or yellow shamans in other parts of the Mongol cultural region) came into existence by the spread of Buddhism. It is more probable that the distinction of powerful and less powerful shamanic practitioners had existed for a much longer time, and when Buddhism became widespread, less powerful shamanic practitioners adopted many of the Buddhist practitioners' characteristics.

It is inevitable to note that many of the Buriad shamans in Mongolia are black-and-white shamans (Bur. *xara sagaaniye xabsarhan böö*), which means that they can wear either the white or the black shamanic costume, or use both white and black accessories at the same time.

CLOAK AND BELL: THE WHITE SHAMAN'S PARAPHERNALIA

The costume of the Mongolian Buriad white shaman resembles the traditional Buriad costume.¹² Ordinary Mongolian people also wear a similar costume when, for example, they are having a photo taken on the occasion of a solemn event. The traditional garment is a means that connects people with the past and makes them similar and thus acceptable to their ancestors. It is believed that during ceremonial acts, people get closer to the spirits of their ancestors, and they can be exposed to their wrath if not dressed properly. When the white shaman dons his/her costumes, s/he prepares for getting into contact with spiritual powers. The most important article of the costume is the hat or cap or anything that covers the top of the head, i.e. the part of the body most of all exposed to forces descending from above and thus being the most vulnerable. Not only religious specialists but also ordinary people in Mongolia cover their heads when offering sacrifices to spirits or gods. The most common head cover used for this purpose is a simple headscarf (Mp.

¹² For more on the traditional Buriad costume see Batnasan 1989: 42–47.

alchuur) or any kind of hat or cap. In the north-western region, shamans conducting daytime rituals usually wear these kinds of head covers. In Uvs province (western Mongolia), a yellow shaman conducting a daytime ritual was photographed wearing a baseball hat (Birtalan 1998: pic. 6, 7, 9).

THE SKULLCAP (BUR. *MAIXABSHA*)

The rituals of Mongolian Buriad white shamans, regarding their degree of dangerousness and seriousness, are similar to the daytime rituals in western and north-western Mongolia, but the head cover of Buriad white shamans is different. It is a skullcap specifically designed for shamans; it can never be worn by anyone else than the shaman, who can put it on only for rituals. The white shaman's skullcap has to be of blue colour symbolizing the Eternal Blue Sky¹³ (Bur. *Xüxe Mүнxe Tengeri*).



Fig.5 The skullcap on shamaness Ulaanaa's head

According to shamaness Bayarcengel, eleven red threads, standing for the eleven legendary ancestors of the Xori Buriads¹⁴ (Bur. *Xori buriadai arban negen esege*), has to be attached to its top. After the fifth consecration, a silver *tzodroo*¹⁵ is also fastened to its top. Bayarcengel related her own opinion about the legendary ancestors and explained how the legendary figures are represented on the skullcap:

¹³ For more on the Eternal Blue Sky see Birtalan 2001: 1013.

¹⁴ According to legend, the ancestor of Xori and Aga Buriads, Xoridoi Mergen, had eleven sons, three of which became the forefathers of the Xori group and eight of the Aga group (Shimamura 2002: 94). For more details on Xoridoi Mergen and the legend see Birtalan 2001: 994. For more on the eleven forefathers of Xori Buriads see Chimitdorzhiev 1992: 34.

¹⁵ Shamaness Bayarcengel used this word.

According to legend, *Buxa Noyon*, the Bull Lord, once met a fairy who descended from heaven (Xal. *xurmastiin dagina*). They got married, and later on they had eleven sons, who became the ancestors of the Buriads. After a while, the fairy mother returned to heaven. Therefore, the tussock of eleven threads represents the father, the threads independently symbolize the eleven sons, and the blue silk ribbon (Xal. *xadag*) tied also to the top of the cap represents the fairy. They altogether are called the Thirteen Lords¹⁶ of the Olixon¹⁷ (Xal. *oixonii arwan gurwan noyod*) for they live on the Olixon island of Lake Baikal.¹⁸

According to a Darxad shamaness, Tzoltzayaa alias Xöörög¹⁹, the ribbon hanging down from the top of the headgear is a means by which spirits communicate with the shaman. She explained that it is like an antenna (Xal. from Russ. *antenn*) receiving the spirits' inducement (2004, personal communication). The blue colour of the ribbon on the Buriad skullcap, in my opinion, corresponds to the blue colour of the Eternal Blue Sky, from where the heavenly fairy came. The coldness of the blue colour represents lifelessness contrary to the warmth of red, which is the symbol of life and prosperity. Thus, two different worlds appear on the top of the cap: the one represented by the colour of blood is the world of living humans (Buriads or Xori Buriads) created by the eleven progenitors, and the other is the world above, inhabited by spiritual beings, a world that is cold, remote, and lifeless.

On the front of the skullcap two eyes are embroidered. Shamans refer to this embroidery as the face of the impersonated spirit (Xal. *orj baigaa ongodiin nüür*), while scholars in relation to similar embroideries on Darxad headgears²⁰ say that it is a fake face, which is intended to deceive

¹⁶ They are also called the Thirteen Lords of the North (Bur. *ariin arban gurban noyod*), who are believed to dwell in a cliff on the Olihon (MB. *Oixon*) island of Lake Baikal (personal communication, Namsrai 2004). Therefore, they are otherwise known as the Thirteen Lords of the Olihon (MB. *oixonii arwan gurwan noyod*). They are also referred to simply as "the Lords" (MB. *noyod*). A description with the names and attributes of each Lord as well as a Buriad informant's relevant account in a romanized transcription has been published by Rintchen (1961: 123–27). The same material has been republished in Buriad Cyrillic by Vanchikova (1996: 231–39) and Coloo (2007: 359–65). Chimitdorzhiev (1992: 54) also enlists the names and attributes of the Lords and notes that they abode in rocks and creeks on and around the island.

¹⁷ Also spelled as Olihon, Olikhon and Ol'khon. For more on Olihon as a sacral centre of Buriads see Zhambalova 2000: 198–210.

¹⁸ Cf. the legend of Xoridoi Mergen (Birtalan 2001: 994, Coloo 2007: 426–27), the Thirteen Lords of the North (Coloo 2007: 359–60), the legend of *Cagaadai aaw* and *Canxilañ eej* (Birtalan 2001: 1029–30; 2005a: 308, Rintchen 1975: 84–85, Süxbat 2003: 59).

¹⁹ Her shaman-nickname Xöörög means snuffbottle, which she confirmed as an appropriate interpretation, but she refused to explain why she got this name.

²⁰ The face depicted on Darxad headgears are usually complete faces with ears, mouth and nose.

harmful spirits and thus protects the real face of the shaman. Under the embroidery, fringes of black colour are attached to the rim of the cap covering the shaman's face.

THE BLUE BROCADE CLOAK (BUR. *XÜXE XAMBA NÜMERGE*)

Buriad white shamans wear a gown (Bur. *degel*) usually of blue colour and a blue cloak (Bur. *nümerge*) above it. The gown is an ordinary traditional Mongolian or Buriad one without any shamanic accessories. On the other hand, the cloak is a piece of clothing worn exclusively by shamans. According to Namsrai, the shamanic incantations mention it as MB. *xüxe xamba nümerge* “blue brocade cloak”. The cloak has twelve tassels (Bur. *zabdar*), each corresponding to one of the twelve animals (which represent the twelve earthly branches of the East-Asian calendar).

It is basically the skullcap and the blue brocade cloak that makes white shamans appear different than civil Buriads wearing traditional garment. The white shaman's footwear is often a pair of traditional Buriad boots (Xal. *buriad gutal* Bur. *boitog*) without any shamanic characteristics. Many who do not possess such boots wear casual shoes or trainers. When it comes to shamanic characteristics, we can conclude that the greatest emphasis is put on the upper part of the body. Only the shaman's head, face, shoulders and back are covered by clothes that make obvious that s/he is a shaman.



Fig. 6–7 The blue brocade cloak

The fact that white shamans are also widely known as “shamans with a bell” (Bur. *xonxotoi böö*) shows that the bell is their primary attribute. The bell can also be paralleled with the black shaman’s drum (Bur. *xese*) by referring to it as the white shaman’s mount. Namsrai, when introducing Altanceceg’s bell to me, chanted fragments from the invocation of the Buddhist ancestral spirit (MB. *burxan garwal*), during the performance of which the shaman uses the bell. The invocation addresses the spirit, the owner of the bell:

(1.1)
 [You (the spirit)] descended
 Rolling²¹ your purely white/big bell
 [You] descended
 [Striking] your seventy-tongued [Jew’s harp].

(1.2)
 [You] repair the broken,
 Mend the torn,
 Join the separated.

(1.3)
 [You are] like the medicine of those with a holed thumb,
 Like the remedy of those with a holed forefinger.²²

In the initial stanza, “purely white” (MB. *daṅ sagaan*)—if it is the right translation—means exclusively or completely white without any stains of black, i.e. free from the characteristics of black shamanism. Süxbat (2003: 212) published another, probably complete, version of the incantation (1.5), in which the bell is characterised as *da cagaan*.²³ Here, *cagaan* corresponds to MB. *sagaan* (white), but the meaning of *da* is uncertain. The Chinese *da* (big, great) might be a suitable candidate, since it also occurs in the Buddhist rank of Da lama (great lama, lama of the highest rank).

The whole second stanza says that the invoked spirit, the owner of the bell, resettles what has gone wrong, and the third underlines that the spirit is well-versed in healing, but the second halves of both lines are rather elusive. In the first line, *erxi* (thumb) alliterates with *em*

²¹ In the original text, the word is *darshuulan*. In Ceren’s similar incantation Kara (Coloo 2007: 300) translates it as “rolling”. None of the available dictionaries contain this word.

²² Similar lines occur in an invocation of Dayan Deerx that Birtalan (2005m: 25) collected from a Darxad shaman, Galbaabadrax:

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Erxiidee emtee</i> | You have remedy in your thumb, |
| <i>Doloowortoo domtoe</i> | You have magic in your first finger. |

²³ Süxbat refers to the text as a yellow Buriad shaman’s invocation for Buddhist ancestral spirits (WX. *burxan garwal*) and renders it in his Xalxacized transliteration. Süxbat’s text (see 1.5 in the appendix) includes alternate versions for 1.1, 1.2, 1.3 and 1.4.

(medicine), and *doliowor* (forefinger) alliterates with *dom* (remedy). These lines suggest that the words “thumb” and “forefinger” were selected not merely to create an alliterative verse. It is rather the two synonyms, “medicine” and “remedy”, which seem to have been selected to alliterate with the preceding “thumb” and “forefinger”. In both lines the fingers mentioned are holed (Bur. *soorxoi*). Gantogtokh, Kara and Tsooloo published another version of these lines (1998: 109 also in Coloo 2007: 301):

(1.4)
Healers whose forefingers are holed
Medicine-men whose thumbs are holed

Kara adds in brackets that having holed fingers means being sensitive. The lines might refer to the superior tactile sense of healers, who can feel separated joints and illnesses inside the body. The hole in the finger might mean that there is nothing between the healer’s senses and the thing to be sensed, but it is to be noted that these are mere conjectures. What is more clear is that the invocation implies that with the bell the shaman calls the Buddhist ancestral spirit to the ritual, who after having arrived (possessed the shaman), uses the bell for healing a client. Thus, the bell is an implement of a healer.

Altanceceg referred to her mirror as a *buumal*, “something that has come down to earth from above”. Birtalan argues (2001: 957) that ritual objects made of meteorites are called *buumal*.²⁴ The expression *buumal saagan xonxo*, “descended white bell”, is also frequently used to refer to the shaman’s bell. In relation to the word *buumal*, Heissig (1992c: 208) writes:

Bronzes in animal style, old Chinese bronze mirrors and other metal implements, as they have been found in dunes and sands of the steppes, are now venerated as personifications of the auxiliary helping spirits (*sünesün*) called Ongghots and Buumal. Most of them had been handed down by former and deceased Shamans to their followers.

The fact that these implements are old connects them with the past and with those who lived in the past, i.e. the ancestors. Heissig (1992c: 208) adds that “In Buriad-Mongolia they have been worshipped as founding fathers of new Shaman lines descending.” Thus, the *buumal* can be conceived as a message from the ancestral spirits, a sign of shamanic vocation. Of course the bells of Mongolian Buriad shamans are not necessarily found by chance in the soil, but it is highly probable that it is bequeathed by shamans of earlier generations.

²⁴ Shamaness Chuluun, Birtalan’s informant from western Mongolia, claimed that her ritual mirror (MOi. *toli*) was made of a meteorite that fell down from the seventh heaven through a thunderstroke (Birtalan 1996b: 90).

Buriad white shamans say that they use a horse-headed wooden staff as a mount²⁵ of the White Old Man. The staffs of some shamans, for example the staff of Dangaa, represent a dragon (Mp. *luu*). Heissig argues that the White Old Man appears in Mongolian folk-religious prayers as a white-clothed, white-haired old man, who leans on a dragon-headed staff (Heissig 1980: 76, Birtalan 2001: 958–60). Shamaness Altanceceg explained that shamans use the staff when invoking the White Old Man; they hold it in their left hand, while having the bell in their right, and they move the staff to and fro to the rhythm of the invocation.

The horse-headed staff has a blue scarf tied around it by the neck, implying that the horse is a living sacrifice for the deities, a horse proffered to them (Mp. *seterlesen mori*), as Altanceceg explained. Among the Mongols, the *seter* is a commonplace way of sacrificing animals without killing them. The animal that is offered to the spirits this way has a blue *xadag* tied to it, and people are not allowed to ride or use it for work any longer (Birtalan 2001: 939). The *seter*, being a bloodless sacrifice, is regarded as a Buddhist way of pleasing the invisible forces, and the representation of a horse sacrificed this way belongs to the “more Buddhist” white shamans.



Fig.8 Shamaness Ceeyee’s horse-headed wooden staff



Fig.9 Shaman Dangaa’s dragon-headed staff

²⁵ Altanceceg explained that white shamans should possess the horse-headed staff because the White Old Man arrives on its back at the ritual. On the other hand, an invocation to the White Old Man (Süxbat 2003: 213) describes him leaning on the staff and not riding it (or the horse that it symbolizes). The relevant two lines (Xalxacised transcription) from the invocation:

Cagaan möngön bayagaa
Tulan baija ergesen

Turned around
Leaning on his white silver staff

THE JEW'S HARP (MP. *AMAN XUUR*)

The Jew's harp, similarly to the staff, is also a kind of mount (Mp. *ongodiin unaa*, *ongodiin xölög*), which is indicated by its sound imitating the sound of a galloping horse and also by the fact that it is kept in a wooden case on which the image of a horse is carved. The Jew's harp is traditionally made by blacksmiths, who worship Damdin Dorlig, the patron deity (Bur. *haxiuhan*) of smithery.²⁶ The size of the Jew's harp's frame should be equal to the circle an eight-year-old boy can form with his thumb and forefinger. Similarly, its reed (tongue) should be the size of the same boy's little finger (Süxbat 2008: 53–54).

The Jew's harps of the Mongolian Buriads are the same as those of the Darxads or other ethnicities in Mongolia.

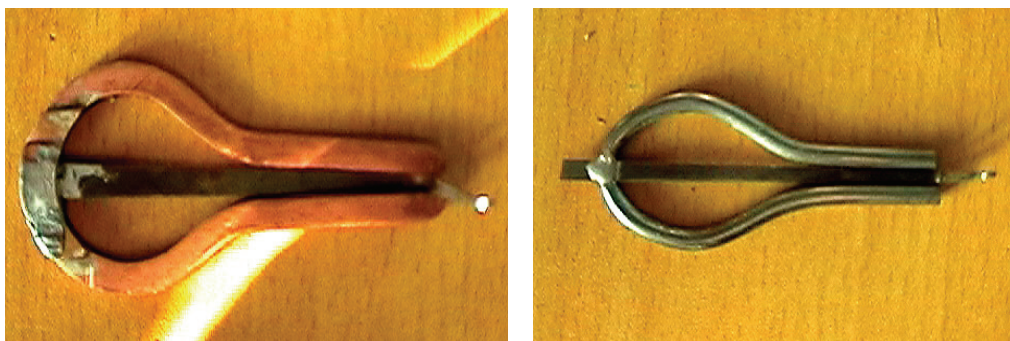


Fig. 10-11 Shamaness Ceeyee's Jew's harps

THE WHIP (BUR. *BARDAG*)²⁷

The whip of Buriad shamans is used to expel evil spirits. Both white and black shamans possess this tool, and there is a rather big difference between the two. What is common in the two is the material they are made of. The shamanic incantations from Dashbalbar district, Dornod province (Namsrai 2004, personal communication), mention these materials as:

(2.1)
The antler of a three-year-old deer,
Tamarisk branches from three mountains.

²⁶ For more about Damdin Dorlig see Gantogto 2004.

²⁷ Diószegi (1998d: 174), who does not distinguish between the whips of white and black shamans, argues that the whips of Transbaikalian Buriads are called *tashuur* (a word used generally for whips in Mongolia), while those of Cisbaikalians are called *minaa*. However, the word *bardag* (in the original transcription *bárdak*) also occurs in one of his descriptions of whips (1998d: 171). For more on the whips of Buriad and Ewenk shamans see Diószegi 1998d: 169–76.

Another example from Bayan-Uul (Gantogtokh, Kara and Tsoloo 1998: 112) has a different wording:

(2.2)

The antler of a three-year-old elk,
Tamarisk branches from three riversides.

The handle of the whip is made of a piece of hollow antler, and the three, approximately 40-cm-long tamarisk branches are wedged in its hole. Small iron hoops with three iron cones (Xal. *xolbogo*) hanging on each are fastened to the branches. Namsrai referred to the cones on Altanceceg's white shamanic whip as armour and weapons (MB. *xuyag zebseg*).

The Buriad shamans' use of tamarisk is not unique: the whip of Xorchin shamans is also made of this wood, but this is not mentioned in the Xorchin incantations to my knowledge. The Xalx shaman, Dowdon, explained that tamarisk is a sort of sedative medicine, and even a small amount rubbed off his whip and boiled in water could put somebody into sleep. He added that demons (Xal. *shulam*, *chötgör*) are afraid of this plant, and therefore this is the best material to make a tool designed for expelling them.

THE MIRROR (MB. *TOLI*)



Fig.12 Shamaness Ceeyee's mirror

The mirror is an essential part of both white and black shamans' paraphernalia. Most Mongolian Buriad shamans have a number of mirrors on their bodies, usually tied to a blue *xadag* worn around their necks. Shamaness Ceeyee, for instance, wore three mirrors of different sizes and materials, and she explained that each belonged to a specific spirit. The material of which the

mirror is made is traditionally bronze (Mp. *xürel*), but some are also made of brass (MB. *guuli*), copper (MB. *zed*) or silver MB. *müngö*).

The mirrors of not only the Buriad but of all Mongolian shamans in general are very similar to the Chinese Han-dynasty bronze mirrors, the back-sides of which are ornamented, while the front sides are smooth.²⁸ The functions of shamanic mirrors are to frighten away evil spirits, to give protection against their hostile missiles, and to reflect everything, even the most secret thoughts of people (Heissig 1980: 19–20).

2.3.3 The Black Shaman

According to a popular opinion of shamans in Mongolia, black shamans are dangerous people for they have the power to harm or even kill others by calling down curses on them. On the other hand, they are believed to have the power to neutralize other shamans' curses and to abolish the demons that cause serious illnesses.

Altanceceg, in relation to her black shamanic practice, said that she would perform various kinds of rituals except for curses (MB. *xaraal zhatxa*) and anything that she might consider harmful. As she explained, Buriad shamans have to take ninety-nine oaths²⁹ (MB. *yürön yühön tangarag*) during their first initiation, which prevents them from causing any kind of harm. First of all, it is prohibited to endanger human life (MB. *xünii amind xürex*) or put obstacles in people's way (MB. *xünd saad xiix*) and quarrel (MB. *xerüül margaan xiix*), but they have to help all living creatures (MB. *xamag amitnii tusiin tuld yawana*).

Having both black and white shamanic qualities is not only possible but a commonplace phenomenon among the Buriads. There are also shamans, mainly among the less trained non-Buriad apprentices, who classify themselves as yellow-white shamans (Xal. *cagaan shariig xawsarsan*) or even black-white-yellow shamans (Xal. *xar cagaan shar gurwuulangii ni xawsarsan*), adding that they are engaged in all fields of shamanism.

ARMOUR AND WEAPONS: THE BLACK SHAMAN'S PARAPHERNALIA (v50; v51)

The shamanic costume in general is regarded as a suit of armour protecting its wearer from the possible attacks of harmful spirits. (We should note that it is not the spirits they invoke who can

²⁸ For an extensive study on Mongolian shamans' mirrors see Humphrey 2007.

²⁹ For more about shaman-oaths see Gantogto 1999.

do harm to the shaman but the evil spirits or various kinds of demons that accompany the invoked ones or those whom the shaman tries to expel from a client's body.)

Buriad shamans, similarly to warriors, also have weapons, which can be found on their costumes and whips. These weapons are believed to have been forged by Damdin Dorlig, the patron deity of blacksmiths, who is also regarded as the blacksmith and armourer of shamans. Based upon the idea that a shaman is an armed warrior, we can assume that in earlier times, those who were in lack of physical or mental strength and thus did not have the potential to take their share of battles and fights found their way out of this situation by becoming warriors of an invisible realm. The members of their community believed that they were the only ones who could defeat the invisible enemies, i.e. the harmful spirits who caused diseases and misfortunes. Thus, the “weak” had an alternative to become a beneficial member of the society by obtaining the ability the “strong” could never have. In times of unceasing fightings and rivalry, there was only one possible way to be recognized by the community; namely, to become a warrior irrespective of what kind.

The power of the shaman is expressed by the number of weapons s/he has on his/her costume. Those who have been practising for many years have more elaborate costume than the beginners. The reason for this is that stronger and more experienced shamans encounter stronger spirits.

THE SKULLCAP

Black shamans have a skullcap of the same style as that of white shamans. It is often referred to as Bur. *moil xara maixabsha* “skullcap, black as bird-cherry”.³⁰ The bird-cherry probably has nothing to do with the skullcap or with shamanism. The phrase *moil xara* is widely used for describing something that is shiny black, for example Xal. *moil xar nüd* “shiny black eyes”. It is basically its black colour that makes the black shaman's skullcap different from that of the white ones.

THE HELMET (BUR. *ÜLEN AMITAI*)

Most black shamans have at least two kinds of headgear: a black skullcap and a helmet. Those who have both black and white qualities might have three headgears: a black and a white skullcap,

³⁰ Asiatic bird-cherry, Latin *padus asiatica*.

and a helmet. The helmet is always put on the top of the black skullcap, which thus serves as a kind of inlay. Though all black shamans above a certain rank possess a helmet, they put it on only when invoking a relatively powerful spirit that usually appear during *xünd* (heavy, serious) rituals. The rank that permits shamans to wear a helmet differs from community to community.

The helmet is an iron crown (Mp. *tömör orgoi*) consisting of a ring and usually two crossing arches. On the top of the helmet there is a pair of antlers also made of iron. The number of the prongs of both antlers indicates the number of the consecrations the shaman has received. Lindgren (1935: 368) reported that among the Transbaikalian Tungus “there is nothing higher than a twelve-prong shaman”. Among the Buriads, the maximum number of prongs is also twelve.

When demonstrating the costume of shamaness Altanceceg, Namsrai explained that a shaman of the highest rank has twelve prongs (MB. *halaa*, also *salaa*) on his/her helmet and also has two smaller antlers on his/her shoulders, each having a maximum of nine prongs. This altogether amounts to thirty prongs, and there are additional twelve invisible³¹ prongs (MB. *xii arwan xoyor salaa*), which can be granted to the shaman by the Lords (MB. *noyidoos ögshidög*).³² It is noteworthy that Namsrai referred to the prongs on Altanceceg’s helmet as “crow claws” (MB. *xereenii sawar*) and not as antlers.



Fig.13 Shamaness Dungaa’s helmet

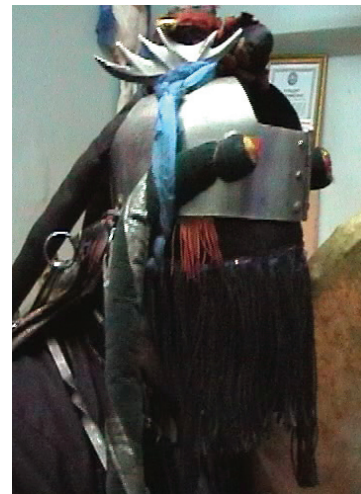


Fig.14 Shaman Dangaa’s helmet

The helmet can only be possessed by black shamans having a certain number of consecrations. This number may vary from place to place and from master to master. There is no documentation of a helmet with less than six prongs, which lets us conclude that most shamans

³¹ Invisible (MB. *xii*) means that they are not represented on the costume; it is simply kept in mind that the shaman possesses these prongs.

³² Namsrai often referred to the Thirteen Lords of the North (Bur. *ariin arban gurban noyod*) as “the Lords” (MB. *noyid*).

receive their helmets after their sixth consecrations. Furthermore, all the helmets I have seen had an even number of prongs, and there is always the same number of them on each antler. It might mean that additional prongs or new antlers are fixed on the helmet at every second consecration. The fact that the maximum number of prongs is twelve and the maximum number of consecrations is thirteen confirms that the number of prongs does not increase by consecrations of odd numbers.

THE FRONT ARMOUR (BUR. *ELGEBSHE*)³³

The front armour has the shape of a vest, but it does not have a back. Its two shoulders are attached to an iron rod or stick put on the shaman's shoulders behind the neck, and the vest covers only the chest and the belly of the shaman. The material of the vest can either be leather or textile, and various metal objects are attached to it. Altanceceg's front armour (Fig. 15) is made of leather and has the following attachments:

1. Nine metal hoops (referred to as "bronze and silver hoops", MB. *xüler müngön garxi*) with three iron cones on each. This amounts to twenty-seven cones on her front armour. Namsrai explained that the cones represent the smaller bones of the shaman's body, and there has to be a total of eighty-eight of them on the whole costume. Namsrai referred to these cones as *nayan naiman naliwa* "eighty-eight ..." but the word *naliwa* remained unexplained.³⁴
2. Two miniature bows with arrows (MB. *nomo homo*) on the vest, and a third one is attached to her gown.
3. A heart-shaped metal plate (Bur. *zürxen toli*, heart-mirror or *zürxebshe*) close to the shaman's heart.³⁵

Shaman Dangaa's front armour is somewhat different than that of Altanceceg. It is made of dark brown textile and has the following metal objects on it:

1. Fourteen metal hoops with three cones on each.

³³ The Buriad term *elgebshe* comes from *elge* "liver" and the suffix *-bshe* (WM. *-bci*, Xal. *-wch*), which is found in words such as Xal. *xiitzüüwch* (leash) from *xiitzüü* (neck) or *chixewch* (earphones) from *chix* (ear), etc.

³⁴ In an invocation (1.5) published by Süxbat (2003: 212–13), the term eighty-eight *naliwaach* occurs together with ninety-nine *ilbechin* (magician) and 108 *tzurxaich* (astrologist). From this we can assume that the *naliwaach* is also a sort of religious practitioner, but the meaning of *naliwa* and how it could be related to the metal cones is unclear.

³⁵ Heart-mirrors are not unique to the Buriad shamans. Humphrey (1996: 204) mentions a similar heart-shaped mirror (Da. *neker toli*) of Daur shamans, the so-called "heart-protecting mirror". Qi Cheshan (1997: 77) reports that the mirror of Sibe shamans covering their heart is called *niyamen tiyeli*, which means "heart-mirror".

2. Two miniature bows and arrows.
3. A heart-protecting mirror of yellowish colour between the two bows. The two arrows from the left and right point at the heart as if they were symbols of an attack against it.
4. Three metal animals, representing the tripartite world: a Garuda bird³⁶ (MB. *garid shuwuu*) representing the upper world, a wild boar³⁷ (MB. *bodon gaxai*) symbolizing the middle world, and a lizard (MB. *gürwel*) standing for the underworld.
5. Two miniature metal antlers on each side of the vest's shoulder, each having six prongs, corresponding to the number of Dangaa's consecrations. The style of these antlers is the same as those attached to Dangaa's helmet (Fig. 13).



Fig.15 Shamaness Altanceceg's front armour



Fig.16 Shaman Dangaa's front armour

THE GOWN

The black shaman's gown is a plain, dark-coloured Mongol gown (Mp. *Mongol deel*). Two wings (Xal. *jigüür*) made of textile are appended to the two arms, and there are two holes below the armpits. Shaman Dowdon explained that the wings help the shaman fly in the realm of darkness (Xal. *xar anxui oron*), and spirits enter and leave the shaman's body by the armpits; that is why the gown must have the holes. Representations of certain human bones such as ribs, shoulder blade, humerus, tibia etc. are attached to the gown. On the back of the gown, just below its neck, a small

³⁶ For more about the Garuda see Birtalan 2001: 987.

³⁷ Gantogtox (2004: 102) notes that the wild boar is believed to be in close contact with the earth and soil and constantly examines it. Hence the idea that it has to symbolize the middle world.

pillow-like object with a stylized representation of a human is found. According to Dowdon, this pillow is the abode of the costume's owning spirit.



Fig.17 Human-representation on a Buriad shaman's gown

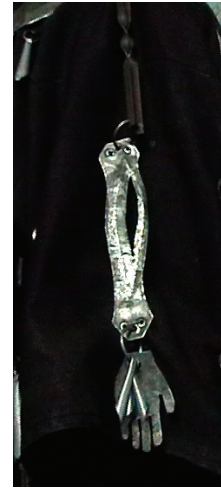


Fig.18 Arm and hand on shaman Dangaa's costume

THE BACK ARMOUR (BUR. *ARXAALI*)

The back armour is in fact an inseparable part of the front armour, but these two are never referred to as a whole. The iron stick on the shaman's shoulders behind the neck is the main part of the back armour. There are nine prongs on each end of the stick, as mentioned earlier. Three holes are drilled into the iron stick at the same distance from one another, and an iron chain is attached to each hole by an iron hoop (Fig. 19).



Fig.19 Hoops and cones on Altanceceg's costume



Fig. 20 Bell and sabres on Altanceceg's *gezgebshe*

Shamaness Altanceceg's back armour consists of an iron stick (usually the very stick is referred to as *arxaali*), eighteen tiny prongs (nine on each side), and three iron chains with miniature weapons fastened to each of them. Each chain consists of three joints (MB. *üye*) separated by iron

hoops, identical with those connecting the chains to the stick. Thus, each chain has four hoops (MB. *xüler-müngön garxi*); the first connects its first joint to the stick, the second is between the first and the second joint, the third is between the second and the third joint, and the fourth hangs at the end of the last joint. The second and the third hoops of each chain hold three cones identical with those on the front armour and on any part of the shaman's paraphernalia. These also belong to the group of the eighty-eight bones (MB. *nayan naiman naliwa*). The last hoops hold three cones and three flat and pointed metal objects looking like blades of a sword. Each joint consists of two twisted iron rods, which are about 30 cm long. Altanceceg's costume has another chain hanging down from her helmet: this chain is almost identical with those attached to the iron stick, except that the last hoop holds three cones and three weapons, a sabre (MB. *selem*, also *helem*), a spear (MB. *zhad*) and an unidentified one resembling a knife, and also a small bell (MB. *xonxo*) probably made of copper or bronze. Namsrai called this chain *gezgebshe*.³⁸ He referred to those attached to the iron stick as the *gezgebshe* of the back armour (MB. *Arxaal'iin gezgebshe*).

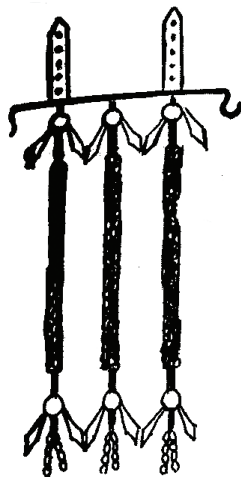


Fig.21 Drawing of a back armour
(from Süxbat 2008)



Fig. 22 Front armour (from Süxbat
2008)

THE "LIVING COAT" (BUR. *YEXE AMITA*)

The term *yexe amita*, "big living", implies that the coat is a living being. According to Namsrai, only shamans with at least twelve consecrations are entitled to wear the coat. Süxbat (2008: 35) reports that the coat is made of pieces of deerskin given to the shaman by the believers as presents. In this respect, the skin is similar to the sacrificial scarves (Mp. *xadag*) that are accumulated on the shaman's paraphernalia in the same way. Presenting the skin of a game to the shaman might be

³⁸ It is called *gezgebshe* since the chain resembles a pony-tail (Bur. *gezge*).

part of an older, pre-Buddhist tradition taken over by the custom of presenting sacrificial scarves. In spite of the fact that the deerskin is not a commonplace gift, in contemporary Mongolian shamanism the deerskin coat is still an important accessory of high-ranking Buriad shamans.

According to Namsrai, the deerskin coat should have a representation of a brown-spotted eagle fastened to its right shoulder and a representation of a Garuda bird fastened to its left shoulder.



Fig.23 Shamaness Gerlee wearing her *yexe amita* (from Süxbat 2008)

THE “HUGE BLACK DRUM” (BUR. *DAIBAN XARA XESE*)

The drum (Bur. *xese*) is the primary mount of the shaman’s black spirits, and it is the most important attribute of the black shaman, who is otherwise referred to as “shaman with a drum” (Bur. *xesetei böö*). Namsrai’s version of a Buriad shamanic incantation depicts the drum as the following:

(3.1)
With twenty-eight rattles,
With a beautiful sound,
A great black drum
That covered the world.

The twenty-eight rattles refer to actually twenty-seven small, holed metal discs (MB. *xolbogo*), about 1.5 cm in diameter. Eighteen of these rattles are strung on two U-shaped wires (nine on each). The two wires are fitted in the inner side of the drum’s rim. The remaining nine rattles are fastened to the outer side of the rim in groups of three. Namsrai noted that the incantation mentions one extra rattle, but he did not assign a reason to it.

The last two lines of the stanza imply that the shaman's drum is so huge that it can encompass the whole world. The Buriad shaman's drum is decorated with three big colourful tassels tied to the rim. The tassels on Altanceceg's drum consisted of stripes of *xadags* of different colours. According to Namsrai, the stripes were given to the drum's owning spirit as presents, and they served as the spirit's clothing. Namsrai referred to these as "many layers of clothes" (MB. *olon dawxar ömsgöl*).

Altanceceg's drum is round and rather flat, similarly to most Buriad drums. Other shamans use a much deeper, polygonal drum for most of their rituals. Soyombo (2005: 93) claims that Mongolian shaman drums have three types according to their shapes: round (Mp. *dugui*), octagonal (Mp. *naiman talt*) and triangular (Mp. *gurwaljin*); however, shamaness Altaa, whom I met in 2005, had an enneagonal drum (Fig.24). Shaman Dangaа keeps two drums at his home, a rounded or oval one (Fig.25) next to his altar and a small, about 50-cm-high, triangular one put on the altar. Dangaа said that the triangular drum was used for calling down curses and instantly added that he had never used it. This corresponds to what Pürew (2002: 248–49) writes about the triangular drum of Mongolian shamans. He claims that the triangle is to represent an arrowhead³⁹ or spearhead, and thus the triangular drum is a weapon with which harm (MB. *xaraal tzüxel tzereg muu üil*) can be done.



Fig.24 Shamaness Altaa's enneagonal drum



Fig.25 Shaman Dangaа's oval drum

³⁹ Cf. the arrow in Chabros 1992: 159–60.

THE “NINE-TONGUED DRUMSTICK” (BUR. *YÜHEN XELETEI TOIBUUR*)

The drumstick is regarded as a crocodile or as any kind of aquatic reptile (MB. *matar zagaha*) with nine tongues (MB. *yühen xele*), that is why it should be crocodile-shaped, and a crocodile head should be carved into its handle. The tongues are virtually tiny iron hoops (about 1 cm in diameter) fitted to the drumstick. Namsrai explained that the spirits of the drum and the drumstick are talking while the shaman beats the drum. A piece of deer or goat skin is glued on the head of the usually spoon-shaped drumstick (MB. *zöölöbsh*) in order to make it softer. The same kinds of stripes are tied to each tongue as those tied to the drum, and they have the same function, as well.



Fig.26 Multi-coloured stripes on Altanceceg's drumstick

THE WHIP (BUR. *BARDAG*)

The black shaman's whip is basically the same tool as the white shaman's whip, but it is complemented with a wide range of accessories such as miniature forging tools and weapons. The black shaman's whip is a collection of appliances that help the shaman out “between hell and high water”. Namsrai's version of the incantation refers to the whip as follows:

(3.2)
[Made of?] tamarisk branches of three mountains,
Horn of a three-year-old elk,
Skin of a burbot fish,
Great lord-whip, made by spinning the skin of a burbot.

The first two lines are identical with the passage referring to the white shaman's whip, which indicates that both types of whips are made of the same materials. The third and the fourth lines refer to a strip of the skin of a burbot fish (MB. *gutaar zagaha* also *gutaar zagas*), which serves as

the whip's thong (MB. *sherbüülge*). Altanceceg has a folded and bundled-up piece of a seemingly old burbot skin tied to her whip's handle, but shaman Dangaa's whip is equipped with a neatly braided but rather short thong fixed to its tip. None of these thongs are long enough to make the whip able to lash with. The burbot skin on the black shaman's whip appears to be an indispensable decoration and a bearer of symbolic meanings.

The miniature tools and weapons on the whip seem to have more importance in practice than its thong. According to Süxbat's (2008: 59) description, the black shaman's whip is furnished with eighteen miniature appliances, which are fastened to the whip with three iron hoops (WX. *tömör cagirag*). The first hoop holds the following nine objects: a key (WX. *tülxüür*), a piece of burbot skin⁴⁰ (WX. *gutaar aris*), a lariat (WX. *argamjaa*), a sabre (WX. *selem*), a spear (WX. *jad*), a hobble (WX. *chödör*), a knife (WX. *xutga*), a beetle or dong (WX. *muna*) and a pair of stirrups (WX. *xoyor döröö*). The second hoop holds five tools: an anvil (WX. *dösh*), a hammer (WX. *alx*), a hole puncher (WX. *cooltuur*), a spatula (WX. *xasuur*) and a bow with an arrow (WX. *num sum*). The third hoop has only four tools: a rowboat (WX. *ongoc*), a paddle (WX. *selüür*), a ladder (WX. *shat*) and a hook (WX. *degee*).

Süxbat (2008: 58) gives another list of eighteen miniature devices (WX. *mes*), which are used for problem-solving sorcery (WX. *dom tzasal*). He refers to them as the weapons or tools of Buriad shamans (WX. *buriad böögiin tsemseg*) and claims that they are attached to the shaman's whip. At the same time this list differs from the one mentioned above in several points. It contains names of devices that are not enlisted on page 59. These are the following: the axe (WX. *süx*), the chisel (WX. *cüüc*), the smith's scissor (WX. *darxanii xaich*), the smoothing iron of the seamstress (WX. *oyodliin ilüür*), the seamstress's scissors (WX. *oyodliin xaich*), the iron pale (WX. *tömör gadas*) and the arrowhead (WX. *xarwal*). We can notice from the list that there should be nine keys of a Mongolian-style lock (WX. *mongol coojnii yösön shirxeg tülxüür*), which means that there are in fact twenty-seven devices of eighteen kinds attached to the shaman's whip. The other list on page 59 also contains names of objects that do not appear on page 58. These are the burbot skin, the beetle, the hole puncher, the spatula and the paddle.

Shamaness Altanceceg's whip (v54) is equipped with the following devices: a bow and an arrow (MB. *num sum*, also *nomo homo*), a pair of scissors (MB. *xaish*), an anvil (MB. *düsh*), a hammer (MB. *alxa*), an axe (MB. *süx*), a pickaxe (MB. *lantuu*), another type of axe (MB. *balt*), a key (MB. *tülxüür* also *soozh*) (only one!), a ladder (MB. *shata*), a rowboat (MB. *ongos*)

⁴⁰ Namsrai claimed that the burbot skin (*gutaar zagahanai arha*) tied to Altanceceg's *bardag* was its thong, which actually made it a whip.

with paddles (MB. *selüür*), a lariat (MB. *argamjaa*), a saber (MB. *selem* also *heleme*), a pale (MB. *gadas*), an arrowhead (MB. *sum*), a smoothing iron (MB. *ilüür*), a pair of nippers (MB. *xabshig*) and a lasso (MB. *salama*). Namsrai hinted that the iron objects were forged by Damdin Dorlig by using the expressions “when Damdin Dorlig forged these” (MB. *Damdin Dorlig eniig darxalxadaa*) and “these all are forged by him” (MB. *Bügdiig darxalj baigaa yum l dee ter*). Another time he referred to these objects as Damdin Dorlig’s possessions, while on a third occasion he claimed that the objects are consecrated by Damdin Dorlig (MB. *Ene bügd Damdin Dorligoor arawnailagdaxa l daa*). Namsrai explained that Damdin Dorlig was a patron-deity (MB. *haxiuxa* also *saxius*) responsible for everything connected to smithery, electricity and machines. Namsrai also unfolded the purposes some of the miniature devices served. The key was to open the Gate of Heaven in order that one could get to the Lords, while the ladder was a means by which the shaman could ascend to heaven and to present the sacrifices (MB. *zul taxil*) and gifts (MB. *beleg selt*) to them. Namsrai added that the gift could be a sheep or any livestock. He explained that in effect the ladder was to overcome obstacles such as cliffs and rocks and added that a row boat was also used to cross waters, as the referring passage of the incantations mentioned:

(4.1)
 If cliffs and rocks hinder,
 The ladder puts [the shaman] through.
 If rivers and lakes hinder,
 The row boat takes [the shaman] to the other side.
 Its two beautiful paddles are in his hands.

Namsrai introduced two from the miniature weapons, the bow and arrow and the sabre. He said that they were parts of the armour (MB. *xuyag*), which protected the shaman from extraneous enemies (MB. *xar’iin daisan*) such as invisible demons that live in the mountains and rocks (MB. *xii xad uuliin aliban sabdag*), harmful spirits of the dead (MB. *üxöör xaxaar*) and curses that come from alien territories (MB. *xar’iin gazarhaa yirehen xaraal zhatxa*). He seemed to lay special emphasis on three other objects, the lariat, the lasso, and the pale. The lariat, he said, was to bind up harmful spirits and strap them to the pale, while the lasso was used to capture them and to take them to the Lords (MB. *noyodto tushaax*) or to take them away (MB. *öör gazar xürgex*). Namsrai said that the smoothing iron was heated until it got red, and then the shaman would lick it before reciting magic spells (MB. *tarnidaxa*⁴¹) and foresee things (MB. *yum üzxe*). Altanceceg’s whip (v54) has a rather chunky arrowhead, probably made of bronze, fastened to its top. Namsrai

⁴¹ The MB. *tarnidaxa* “to recite a magic spell” is a verb stemming from the noun *tarni* “magic spell”, which comes from the Sanskrit *dharani*. For more on the *tarni* see Birtalan 2005m: 241.

referred to it as a triangular arrowhead (MB. *gurwaljin xoshuutai sum*) and added that it was to expel bad things (MB. *muu yum saash ni zailuulxa*), which surely makes it an analogy of the triangular drum.

Possessing miniature metal devices is not unique to Buriad shamans. Süxbat (2008: 51) mentions that Darxad shamans have nine miniature weapons (WX. *yösön tziiliin tsemseg*), which are attached to the spun textile strips (Dar. *gar manjig*, also *gariin ongon*), which they hold in their hands and sway during their rituals.⁴²

Süxbat (2008: 52) argues that the whip is used for the following four purposes: firstly, to invoke spirits (WX. *ongodiig duudax*), secondly, to look into the distance (WX. *alsiig sarawchlax*)⁴³, thirdly, to give blessing (WX. *adis ögöx*), and finally, to do away with unfavourable acts (WX. *muu üiliig xööj gargax*).

The whip plays an important role in shamanic rituals. It is an accessory with which the shaman can portray certain characters and act as if s/he would spur his/her horse with it. The miniature objects are never touched or used markedly; they just have to be there at the shaman's disposal. However, shamans often swagger with their damaged weapons, saying that they got chipped during a battle with demons.



Fig.27–28 Miniature tools and weapons on shamaness Bayarcengel's whip (sabre, ladder, cones, pickaxe, key, boat, axe, etc.)

⁴² For more about the nine Darxad weapons and other miniature weapons see Birtalan 1993b: 135–36 and 1996a.

⁴³ The shaman puts the *bardag* in front of his/her forehead (as if shielding his/her eyes). This motion expresses the perplexity of a spirit when s/he arrives at the scene of a ritual: s/he looks around to see where s/he has just dropped and who are present.

The horse-headed staff of black shamans is the equivalent of the white shamans' horse- or dragon-headed staff, the *bayag*. Dragon-headed and human-shaped *horibos* are also mentioned by Soyombo (2005: 71). According to my observations, among the Mongolian Buriads, the *horibo* is made of iron, and the black shaman has a pair of them, while the *bayag* is made of wood (usually of birch), and as mentioned earlier, the shaman uses only one *bayag* with a bell. My Mongolian Buriad informants used the word *horibo* exclusively to refer to the pair of horse-headed iron staffs and never to the one made of wood. Nevertheless, several sources mention *horibos* made of wood. Soyombo (2005: 71) mentions four kinds of staffs as *horibos*: the horse-headed wooden staff (Bur. *modon morin horibi*⁴⁵), a horse-headed iron staff (Bur. *tömör morin horibi*), a wooden human-shaped staff (Bur. *modon xün horibi*) and an iron human-shaped staff (Bur. *tömör xün horibi*). Diószegi (1998d: 149), on the other hand, argues that among the Transbaikal Buriads, the following nine types of the *horibo* are known: the “foot passenger stick” (Bur. *yabagan horibo*), the “leg stick” (Bur. *xül horibo*), the “foal stick” (Bur. *unagan horibo*), the “horse stick” (Bur. *morin horibo*), the “stick with cone bell” (Bur. *xolbogto horibo*), the “iron horse stick” (Bur. *tümer morin horibo*), the “silver horse stick” (Bur. *müngen morin horibo*), the “man stick” (Bur. *xün horibo*) and the “iron man stick” (Bur. *tümer xün horibo*). The *horibos* that my informants possess all represent a horse, and they are made of iron and have cone bells attached to them. Diószegi (1998d: 155) mentions that the “stick with cone bell” is occasionally referred to as the “two-year-old foal stick” (Bur. *daagai horibo*); thus, it is also a representation of a horse. Therefore, the staffs my informants possess belong to this type. Other types might also exist among the Mongolian Buriads, but none of my informants possessed or mentioned them. They all referred to their staffs simply as *morin horibo* “horse staff” and emphasised that it is made of iron and what is made of wood is the white shamans' *bayag*.

In a photograph taken by Diószegi in 1957 (qtd in Sántha 2002: 86), a (Russian Transbaikal) Buriad shaman, Xadi, can be seen with a pair of wooden sticks in the process of preparing *morin horibo*. Diószegi (Sántha 2002: 87) noted in his fieldwork diary that Xadi carved the staff from birch. In Hoppál's (2005: 137, 242–43) photographs, Daur shamans can be seen using a pair of wooden horse-headed staffs, the Daur name of which is not given. Süxbat (2008: 59) writes that the *horibo* (WX. *xoriw*) can represent a horse, a snake (WX. *mogoi*) or a human,

⁴⁴ The words “staff” and “stick” are both widely used in the English-language literature to refer to the Buriad *horibo*.

⁴⁵ Soyombo spells the word as *horibi*. The standard Buriad spelling is *horibo*.

and it can be made either of iron or wood. He also points out that a shaman has two of them and adds that the *horibos* are viewed as two heavenly blue roan horses (WX. *ogtorguin xoyor xöx mori*).

Diószegi describes a *horibo* of a Transbaikalian Buriad shaman that has miniature appurtenances, such as a key (Bur. *tülxiür*), a boat (Bur. *ongoso*), etc. attached to it (1998d: 151). These are used to capture lost souls and take them to where they belong. His study contains a number of photographs, one of which depicts an Ewenki staff (1998d: 136), to which cone bells and a miniature iron boat is attached. Another photograph (1998d: 137) shows another Ewenki staff with a hook attached to it. The Mongolian Buriad shamans whom I interviewed had only the miniature stirrups, the saddle, and the cone bells attached to their staffs but no other tools, like the key or the boat. These they all had on their whips (MB. *bardag*).

According to my observations, during a shamanic ritual, the shaman or one of his/her assistants holds both staffs and shakes them to the rhythm of the incantation. The staffs, i.e. the horses they represent, have to be given to drink regularly by dipping the “horses’ snouts” into vodka. According to Zhamcarano’s⁴⁶ description (qtd in Diószegi 1998d: 149) of a horse-headed staff, the “horses” need to be given water every day.

There is a little confusion concerning what should be called *bayag* and what should be called *horibo*. The *horibo*, as a tool of black shamans, is more of an attribute of Buriad shamans in general since black shamans—with their appearance and social conduct—fit much more into the category of shamans created by common people. This might be the reason why the term applied to the black shaman’s staff is often used to denote that of the white shaman, too. To the uninitiated eye, both are simply staffs or sticks of a shaman (Xal. *böögiiin tayag*), to which the more commonly known term *horibo* is used to refer.

THE ABAGALDAI MASK⁴⁷ (BUR. *ABAGALDAI*)

The mask is an idol, a representation of the spirit called Abagaldai, one of the main spirits of Buriad shamanism. The Abagaldai mask is a property that most black shamans possess. The mask is put on when Abagaldai is invoked by the shaman, and it is made in different styles and of different materials such as brass, copper or wood. What is common in every Buriad Abagaldai

⁴⁶ Diószegi spells his name as Zamtsarano.

⁴⁷ For an in-depth study of the mask and the spirit see Diószegi 1998c. For more on Abagaldai in Daur shamanism see Humphrey 1996: 242–43.

mask is that all have to have a beard and a piece of fat put into its mouth. Abagaldai is described (Süxbat 2008: 71) as having black beard of a length of a span (WX. *töö xar saxaltai*), red face (WX. *töxöryöön ulaan nüürtei*) and pitch-black eyes (WX. *xöö xar nüdtei*).

Abagaldai masks can be found not only among the Buriads but also the Daur and certain group of Ewenks. In Buriad shamanic tradition, Abagaldai is a bearded spirit of Xamnigan (Ewenk) origin, who likes vodka and tobacco. According to legend, he and his wife, Heterxen, were shamans, and when Heterxen went away to perform a ritual, Abagaldai stayed at home with their only son. He was so much addicted to tobacco that when he realized that he ran out of it, he left the child alone and went to get some. While he was away, the wind picked up the boy and threw him into water (Diószegi 1998c: 122).

Shaman Dowdon told me that Abagaldai's spirit comes from Korea to possess the shaman (Xal. *Solongosoos orj irdeg*). Another legend about him explains his affiliation with Korea saying that Heterxen (also Xeterxen in this version) was the daughter of Guulin, a Korean khan (Diószegi 1998c: 124). The same legend has it that Abagaldai was the son of Gutaar Mergen, which is again interesting because *gutaar* (also Bur. *gutaari*) means burbot and the burbot is venerated by the Bulagad and Exired Buriads as their forefather (Xangalov 2004 III: 72).

THE PARAPHERNALIA DURING THE PERFORMANCE

The interviewed shamans emphasized that before their costume and paraphernalia was made, spirits were consulted about how to prepare them. Shaman Dowdon said that before he was initiated, his master shaman, Ceren, invoked Dowdon's ancestral spirit (the one who had chosen him to become a shaman) and the spirit informed Ceren about every detail concerning the costume that was to be made. Shamaness Ulaanaa claimed that when she was possessed (Xal. *ongon orj baixad*), her spirit gave instructions about how her costume should be adorned. According to the shamans' accounts, it is the *ongon* that determines the costume and how the shaman should look during rituals. Consequently, the *ongon*'s desires are manifested, and to a certain extent the shaman's inspiration is reflected on the costume. The style and design of the clothing and implements of different shamans also vary, but within a relatively confined range circumscribed by traditions. The traditionally inherited components, such as any of the forging tools on the whip, the miniature weapons, the red tassel on the skullcap, etc. cannot be omitted, but there is room

for artistic improvisation while preparing them. The shaman's belongings are made by dexterous (Mp. *uran gartai*) people, seamstresses and smiths, who worship Damdin Dorlig; hence they are called *Dorligtoi xiin*, "the ones with Dorlig".

The costume with its attachments and design expresses the shaman's power and rank, but the whole costume with all the accessories and decorations, which actually gives information about the shaman's status, are rarely donned. No shaman would ever conduct a simple or ordinary ritual in his/her full dress. Black shamans even of the highest rank perform rituals wearing a simple gown and a skullcap if they consider the helmet and the armours unnecessary. The possession of these armours and weaponry only means that the shaman has the right to undertake rituals of such difficulty or degree of danger that would require using these requisites. Thus, during the performance, the significance and the character of the ritual and of the impersonated spirit can be judged by the shaman's clothing.

The staffs of both white and black shamans' are without doubt mounts of the shamans' spirits; similarly to the drum, the Jew's harp and the bell. I (Balogh 2008: 168) suggest that there is an order of importance regarding shamanic mounts, and thus I distinguish between primary, secondary, and tertiary mounts. Nevertheless, "importance" is probably not the most appropriate word to describe the reason why these mounts differ. It might not be the case that less important rituals are conducted employing secondary or tertiary mounts, and less important spirits do not "deserve" to mount a drum, but the reason why a spirit is attached to a particular vehicle might reside in the origins and kinds of the given spirits. It is not revealed which spirits can be invoked by the drum and which by the staffs, the bell or the Jew's harp. In a ritual performed by more shamans, drums, staffs and bells are often used at the same time, during invoking a single spirit,⁴⁸ which leads us to assume that all of these mounts are like different musical instruments (some of them really are) in an orchestra; among these instruments, however, none is meant to invoke one concrete spirit, but they are all used for the same purpose. When it comes to a problem-solving black ritual, in theory the impersonated spirit, in practice the performing shaman appears at the ritual as a mounted armed hero, who arrives, destroys the enemy and then departs.

There are other kinds of rituals as well, and the armed warrior is not the only character that can be portrayed in shamans' performances. There are various kinds of characters ranging from playful children to stooping old women. All the paraphernalia including the costume, the staffs, the drum, the whip and other devices are employed to visualize the *ongons* as personalities.

⁴⁸ Personal observation in 2004, Mongolia, during a sacrificial ritual for the fire led by shaman Ceren (v18; v19).

The usage of the paraphernalia is combined with using body-language, more precisely, body-language is supplemented with the usage of tools. Shamans use a highly idiomatic body-language for the visual portrayal of their spirits. The Abagaldai mask is somewhat an exception since it is used to portray a specific *ongon*, Abagaldai. Some shamans also have other objects to portray other specific *ongons*, but these are not as commonplace as the Abagaldai mask. The rest of the paraphernalia are used to portray certain types of *ongons*, but not specific ones.

Visualisation is never enough to portray a spirit—a verbal part is needed as well. The verbal portrayal tells a lot more about the given spirit than a mere delineation of his/her main characteristics with motions and postures.

2.3.4 The Way from the *Ongon* to the *Tzaarin*

The relationship between a shaman and an *ongon* starts with the shamanic vocation manifested in the shamans' disease. This remains a unilateral relationship until the candidate receives the first initiation and gets into contact (Bur. *ugaa barixa*) with his/her first (and also primary) spirit. From his/her consecration, the new shaman begins his/her spiritual journey to become an *ongon* him/herself. Altanceceg unfolded that the character of the old woman she had portrayed during her ritual was the *ongon* of shamaness Namzhil, the master of her master. She added that herself would also become an *ongon* like Namzhil after her death and would possess shamans of the next generation. For that matter, the idea that shamans become *ongons* after their death is not a Buriad peculiarity at all; it is widespread all over the Mongol Cultural Region and even outside it. A prominent *ongon* of the Darxad shamaness, Xöörög, is the spirit of her own mother, Bayar, who was not only a shaman but her daughter's master as well (Xöörög 2004, personal communication). In Buriad shamanism, the process that starts with becoming a shaman and leads to becoming an *ongon* is marked with milestones of consecrations; and finally, it ends with death, the ultimate prerequisite of becoming an *ongon*. Nevertheless, not everyone becomes an *ongon* after death, and not only shamans, i.e. persons who have passed the intermediary milestones, can become *ongons*. Progenitors, historical and legendary figures who are believed to have lived and died, do become *ongons*, despite the fact that they had never received shamanic consecrations. In the case of shamans, however, the series of consecrations and the number of milestones a shaman has passed is an indicator of his/her power not only as a shaman but also as an *ongon* in the future.

Namsrai explained that at least three years have to pass after a shaman's death till s/he becomes an *ongon*, but those who were weaker shamans (Xal. *chadal muutai*) must wait longer, and they will not be as strong *ongons* as others.

The carriers of white and black shamans are not alike. Furthermore, the numbers of consecrations also differ: the maximum number of white consecrations is nine, while black shamans can receive up to thirteen consecrations. On the occasion of the thirteenth consecration, the black shaman earns the title of Bur. *zaariŋ*, great shaman, but before that, from around the sixth, shamans start to take apprentices and become masters (Mp. *bagsh*). After each black consecration (except the last one) the shaman receives a new article of clothing or a new requisite until his/her paraphernalia is complete after the twelfth consecration.⁴⁹ The drum, the helmet and the staffs are typical examples of objects that cannot be possessed by a shaman having a small number of consecrations. Sources concerning after which consecration a shaman can receive which object (Bum-Ochir 2002: 66, Diószegi 1998d: 146, Mixailov 1987: 99–100) are contradictory and probably reflect dissimilar local traditions. The paraphernalia detailed above belong not only to the shaman but also to the *ongon*—similarly to the shaman's body as a vessel. The shamans' statement that they are not present when possessed by an *ongon*, and that they do not remember what happens during their possession suggests that they are merely servants of their *ongons*, and they will become active and influential only when they themselves become *ongons* served by shamans of a later generation. During the possession, it is the *ongon* who is believed to use the armour and weapons of the shaman, and before and after the possession, the shaman only uses these in order to invoke their spirits or to dispatch them.

⁴⁹ There are no similar data available concerning the white consecrations.

3. The Structure of Shamanic Rituals

The structure of shamanic rituals, the sequence of their ritual acts and the acts themselves have much in common all over the Mongol cultural region, but the way they are performed, the language that the shamans use, and also the postures they assume while performing these acts are very different. Bum-Ochir (2002: 21–76 in Mongolian; 199–203 in English) delineates the general structure of Mongol shamanic rituals through a thorough analysis of the genres (WX. *töröl tzüil*) of what he calls “Mongol shamanic poetry” (WX. *mongol böögiin yaruu nairag*). In the second chapter of his book (2002: 21–76), he discusses the genres that occur during shamanic rituals and refers to them as “genres of spirit worship” (WX. *ongodiin tailag daxi töröl tzüils*), while in the third chapter he studies the genres that he labels as “genres of other rituals” (2002: 76–131) (WX. *busad tzan üil dex töröl tzüils*). What Bum-Ochir refers to as “spirit worship” are rituals during which spirits are invited to take part in a feast and are offered food, drink and other sacrifices. I refer to this type of rituals as “spirit-pleasing rituals”. The category of “other-rituals”, as Bum-Ochir explains (2002: 76), includes rituals with purposes other than worshipping spirits, such as healing rituals (WX. *öwchin emgeg tzasax*) and rituals of expelling misfortune (WX. *gai barcadiig tzailuulax*). Bum-Ochir argues that these “other rituals” involve different acts, i.e. different genres than “rituals of spirit worship”. According to him, the “shamans’ beckoning” (WX. *böögiin dallaga*), the “summon” (WX. *xurailga*), and the “insurance” (WX. *daatgal*)¹ (WX. *daatgal*) are among these genres.² The description of Mongolian Buriad shamanic rituals will testify that these acts and genres are very often parts of rituals that Bum-Ochir would classify as “spirit worship”.

Another classification of shamanic genres by Birtalan (2005m: 187) divides them into three categories:

1. “Pure shamanic genres” that have been originally used only in the sphere of shamanic rituals.

These are the *duudlaga* (invocation), *tamlaga* (evocation or spirit’s self introduction) and *daatgal* (entrustment).

¹ The word *daatgal* in Mongolian means insurance, e.g. Xal. *erüül mendiin daatgal*, health insurance, or Xal. *ami nasnii daatgal*, life insurance. In an earlier article on Buriad shamanism (Balogh 2008), I adopted Bum-Ochir’s translation and mentioned *daatgal* as “insurance”, but now, in my opinion, “entrustment” is a better word to translate *daatgal* since its purpose is to entrust people to spirits.

² For an elaborate explanation concerning the terms *dallaga* and *xurai* see Chabros 1992: 157–58, 142–54. The three acts (*dallaga*, *xurailga* and *daatgal*) are discussed under the post-possessional acts.

2. “Genres used primarily in non-shamanic spheres, but also constituting part of a shaman’s repertoire.” The *magtaal* (praise), *xaraal* (curse), *dallaga* (beckoning), and *xurailga* (summon or also beckoning) falls under this category.
3. “Genres of literary origin or genres containing a considerable amount of motifs, elements of literary origin.” Birtalan (2005m: 188) gives a list of twelve such genres³, but in the Mongolian Buriad rituals that are going to be discussed, none of these appear as independent genres, and most of them do not appear at all.

In their analyses, Birtalan and Bum-Ochir focus on the verbal part of the rituals; in other words, they study shamanic texts and their genres. Bum-Ochir discusses each ritual act as a performance of a piece of shamanic poetry and designates the place of these performances in the context of a ritual. Because most of the acts are accompanied by different movements of the body that are peculiar to the particular act, in my descriptions and analyses, I endeavour to lay more emphasis on their non-verbal aspects. I also analyse acts that are often completely non-verbal, such as purification, for example. This means that I do not analyse shamanic texts and genres but ritual acts. I describe shamanic rituals as sequences of such acts, many of which (but not all of them) involve the performance of oral genres. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that Bum-Ochir’s study involves Darxad, Buriad and also Inner-Mongolian materials, and thus it reflects the common features of Mongol shamanic traditions, while Birtalan demonstrates her analysis mainly on Darxad texts. On the other hand, the ritual structure I describe is based exclusively on Mongolian Buriad sources.

THE GROUPING OF RITUAL ACTS

Because possession (Mp. *ongon orox*), i.e. the appearance of a spirit, is the culmination of Mongolian shamanic performances, I divided shamanic ritual acts into the following three groups:

1. Pre-possessional acts, which are connected to the ritual and performed before a spirit takes possession of the shaman,
2. Possessional acts, which are performed during possession and are attributed to the possessing spirit (or are interactions between the spirit and the participants), while the shaman is believed to be excluded from the ritual scene (Bum-Ochir 2002: 200),

³ For the full list and also for the analysis and explanation of all the mentioned genres see Birtalan 2004a and 2005m: 188–244.

3. Post-possessional acts, which accomplish the ritual. These are again performed by the shaman since all the spirits have already left his/her body.

3.1 Pre-Possessional Acts

3.1.1 Preparations

Before a ritual starts, the shaman and his/her assistants, apprentices, and sometimes also the spectators prepare the ritual scene jointly. Sacrifices to be offered to the spirits are arranged usually on a table in the sacred corner (Mp. *xoimor*) of a yurt or a room. This is the north-western part in the yurt,⁴ while in the case of a room the sacred corner is opposite the entrance.

Before the shaman starts the ritual, every participant has to be purified. The most common way of purifying the participants is that the shaman's assistant takes a smouldering piece of bark of Siberian fir (Bur. *zhodoo*) and lets each person inhale its smoke. If Siberian fir is not accessible, juniper (Bur. *arsa*) can also be used. These methods are referred to as *utlaga*, smoking or incense purification. Before large-scale rituals, such as the consecration ritual (Bur. *shanar*), for example, the participants are purified by a potion of thyme (Bur. *ganga*), which in Buriad is called *ugaalga*, ablution. Any form of the above-mentioned purifications is a ritual act that detaches participants from the mundane world and lets them enter the spiritual.

3.1.2 Invocation

After the purification, the shaman takes a seat near the altar and starts chanting his/her invocation (Mp. *duudlaga*). Bum-Ochir (2002: 200) argues that Mongol shamans' invocations consist of two main parts: the "shaman's praise for all the deities" (WX. *böögiiin ongodiin magtaal*) and the "shaman's invocation for a particular spirit" (WX. *böögiiin ongodiin duudlaga*). He writes that "[the first] type of chant is not for the purpose of possession, but to invoke spirit participants", while the purpose of the second type is to choose one from among the invited spirits to take possession of the shaman. He notes (2002: 27) that in Xorchin shamanism, the first type of invocation is called

⁴ The entrance of yurts always looks to the south, and therefore, the north-western part is the warmest; thus, it is reserved for the eldest member of the family and for the most respected guests. For more on the *xoimor* and the division of space inside the Mongol yurt see Humphrey 1974: 6–9.

“invocation of shamanic ancestors” (Xor. *böögiin deedee jalax duudlaga*), while the second is called “spirit invocation” (Xor. *ongodiig urix duudlaga*). Bum-Ochir draws a parallel between the first type of shamanic invocations and the introduction of heroic epics. He points out (2002: 25–26) that epic singers, before starting singing an epic, invite spirits of hills, mountains and springs by singing a shorter song (WX. *magtaal*), similarly to shamans, who first invite a plethora of spirits to attend the presentation, and only then they turn to those they wish to get possessed by. In my view, the first part of shamanic invocations and the introduction of epics help the performer get into an inspired mood and create a spiritual atmosphere necessary to impersonate spirits or to conduct a performance of artistic value. Thus, the invitation of all the spirits can be viewed as a “warm-up” for the ceremony. Bum-Ochir (2002: 26) characterizes the shaman’s act of singing the invitation of spirits by the words *magtan tzalax*, which means “call and praise”. I suggest that we regard this type of invocation as a respectful invitation of all spirits.

The second part of a shamanic invocation, according to Bum-Ochir (2002: 200), “refers to a certain spirit, it indicates that shamans have different invocations for each of their spirits.” He parallels this second part of invocation with the performance of an epic by stating that epic singers, after having finished the introduction, start singing the epic appropriate for solving a given problem (2002: 35). The hero of an epic usually defeats his enemies, solves problems and rescues people from the evil and creates a realm, a perfect place, void of disease and afflictions. The epic singer resolves people’s problems and cures their illnesses by relating the story of a hero, i.e. the story of the solution of similar problems. Based upon the fact that the shaman’s tools and costumes are regarded as weapons and armours, a parallel can be drawn between the epic hero and the shaman’s spirit. Thus, the shaman in the second part of the invocation of problem-solving rituals calls an armed “hero” to come and defeat those (malevolent spirits) who have caused misfortune to his/her clients. In problem-solving rituals, the “hero” is brought to the spot by the shaman, and the “battle” between the “hero-saviour” and the evil—in other words, the solution of a problem—takes place in front of the spectators’ eyes.

In Birtalan’s analysis (2005m: 189–92) of an invocation to the Darxad deity, Dayan Deerx, the enumeration of gods that are invoked to the ritual place and the invocation of the ritual’s main spirit, Dayan Deerx, are easily distinguishable. Although in Birtalan’s text the two occur several times one after the other, they seem to correspond to what Bum-Ochir calls the first and second part of invocation, notably to the respectful invitation of multiple spirits and to the invocation of a particular spirit.

In Mongolian, both the first and the second type of invocations are generally referred to by the word *duudlaga*, which is also often used erroneously to denote any type of genre of shamanic incantations, including those that are not intended to call spirits.

3.2. Possessional Acts

3.2.1 Greeting and Welcoming the Spirit

As soon as the invoked spirit takes possession of the shaman, everything virtually done and uttered by the shaman is attributed to the possessing spirit, and the shaman is believed to be absent. In Bum-Ochir's words (2002: 200), "the shaman is excluded from the ritual scene".

The first act of spirit possession is the procedure of greeting and welcoming the spirit. In shamanic rituals, spirits are treated as the most venerable guests that could ever visit one's family, and therefore they have to be welcomed with high respect and courtesy. The interaction between spirit and spectators, in Buriad rituals, usually begins with a formal or traditional form of greeting: *Mend amoor!* (Health and Peace!). Bum-Ochir (2002: 200–01) calls this type of short conversation "greeting between participants and the spirit" (WX. *mendiin üg*) and notes that "this is reminiscent of the ordinary custom wherein a guest arrives at a house and greets the people there". Bum-Ochir examines exclusively the language of shamanic rituals and treats "greeting" as a genre (WX. *töröl tzüil*) of shamanic utterances. If the purpose of our examination is to construe certain parts of a ritual, we must also involve those informative elements that are not related to language. Looking at the rituals of the Mongolian Buriads (I presume this is true to rituals of other Mongolic ethnicities as well), it can easily be assumed that the greeting between spirit and participants is not merely a verbal expression and a reply to that but more of a procedure that reflects the traditional Mongol form of greeting. Birtalan (2005m: 166–68), based on her Darxad shamanic texts, argues that the spirits are guests, who should be treated properly, and after they greet the public and inquire about the news, they are asked to enjoy the shaman's hospitality.

According to Mongol customs, when a guest arrives at a yurt, he is asked not only the common questions (inquiring about health, general well-being and the increment of the livestock), but is also offered drink, food, and tobacco, which, in my view, is also an essential part of the "greeting and welcoming procedure". The entertaining of the spirit guest is the second, but also an

essential part of the first possessional act, which I call the “greeting and welcoming procedure”. The Mongolian everyday greeting, “*Sain baina uu?*”, lit. “Are you well?”, can be viewed as an abridged form of the aforementioned inquiries. When greeting the elderly members of the community during the Lunar New Year celebration (Xal. *cagaan sar*), this short form of greeting is altered in a way that the ordinary and mundane word *sain* (good, well) is substituted by the more elevated and ceremonious *amar* (tranquillity), resulting in the form “*Amar baina uu?*”. In the greetings of Mongolian Buriad shamanic rituals, the same word (Mp. *amar*) appears in an emphatically stressed *amoor* form. Thus, “*Mend amoor!*” is the ceremonious, more solemn form of the everyday Buriad salutation, “*Mendee!*”, lit. “Health!”

In the rituals that I have recorded in 2004 and 2005, the salutation was followed by the act of offering tea, milk, vodka, food, and sometimes tobacco for the spirit-guest. It is usually the interpreter who serves the spirits and asks them with due decorum to receive these offerings. As spirits have their own language characterized by features of poetry, riddles and roundabout phrases, the language used by the interpreter (a person competent in both languages) when offering them food and drink must use the same language. Therefore, the one who serves the spirits cannot use the ordinary denominations of tea, vodka, meat, etc. but has to apply poetic circumscription. One of the most commonly known example in Buriad shamanic circles is the phrase of offering vodka to the spirits: “Please take the finest of the hard black!” Bum-Ochir (2002: 45–51 in Mongolian, 201 in English) deals with this instance of rituals and labels it as “the spirit’s demand” (WX. *ongodiin nexel üg*). In his examples (2002: 45–51) it is mostly the spirit who demands drink, food or tobacco. In the rituals I attended, however, the spirit only demands these if s/he has an unusual request or if the interpreter does not know what should be given to him/her. Bum-Ochir writes (2002: 201) that “Often people already know what these (things to be offered) are and so prepare them in advance.” In the rituals I recorded such cases prevail. Bum-Ochir also argues (2002: 201) that the type of language used when offering drink, food, etc. to the spirit is an “extension of the greeting” (WX. *mendiin ügnii ürgeljlel* 2002: 45). This confirms the idea that the act of offering food, drink, etc. to the spirit is a part of the greeting and welcoming procedure.

Birtalan (2005m: 166–67), based on her collection of Darxad shamanic texts, argues that the verbal part of greeting between spirits and participants is followed by the non-verbal act of offering food, drink, tobacco, etc. to the spirits. In this respect there is no difference between the Darxad and the Buriad scenario. However, in Darxad shamanism, an enumeration of the offerings is inserted into the “greeting module” (Birtalan 2005m: 168). My Mongolian Buriad sources

reflect a slightly different custom; the offerings are usually enumerated twice during a ritual; first, when the shaman invokes the spirits, and secondly, before the offerings are taken outside and sprinkled or thrown into the direction where the given spirits are believed to live. In both occurrences the purpose of this enumeration is to call the spirits' attention to the offerings. Birtalan (2005m: 68) views that the act of offering drink, food, tobacco, etc. to the spirits is a non-verbal way of communicating with the spirit, which is verbalized by the enumeration of offerings. The similar "verbalization" of the act is also present in Buriad rituals, but instead of enumerating the offerings, the shaman's interpreter introduces the offering s/he is going to give to the spirit and, as described earlier, asks the spirit to accept it in a highly elevated ceremonious language. It does not mean that the enumeration of all the offerings cannot take place at this phase of the ritual, but according to my fieldwork experiences, it is rather rare, and if it happens, it goes along with the introduction of the ritual scene and the participants.

3.2.2 The Spirit's Self Introduction

When spirits appear at the scene of a ritual, they introduce themselves by relating the determining events of their human life. These stories help the attendees recognize the spirits as characters. In most cases, a spirit's self introduction follows the greeting and welcoming procedure, but it can also precede it. Bum-Ochir (2002: 201) calls this type of utterance "the spirit's story-telling" (WX. *ongodiin tamlaga*⁵). The Buriads in Mongolia refer to this by the word *durdlaga*⁶ (remembering, recall), implying that spirits recall events from their human past. Bum-Ochir (2002: 60) points out that O. Pürew calls this genre *dursamj duudlaga*, which means "remembering-invocation".

INTERACTION BETWEEN SPIRIT AND PARTICIPANT

After the spirit has been greeted and recognized by the public, the interaction between the spirit and certain participants begins. If the purpose of the ritual is to solve a client's problem, the spirit

⁵ The term *tamlaga* has been given multiple interpretations and translations including invocation (in this case it is viewed to be synonymous with *durdlaga*), evocation, and suffering story. For an analysis of the term and the genres it can denote see Birtalan 2005m: 203.

⁶ Birtalan (2005m: 188) argues that *durdlaga* is the Buriads' own term for the Xalx. *duudlaga* (invocation). On the other hand, all of my Mongolian Buriad informants made a clear distinction between *duudlaga* and *durdlaga* and used the latter to refer only to the spirit's story telling and never to the invocation of spirits. The term *durdlaga* stems from the verb Mp. *durdax* (Bur. *durdx*) meaning to recall/remember.

begins to work his/her magic according to the kind of the given problem. If the ritual is a spirit-pleasing ritual, where spirits are entertained to a feast, participants can turn to the spirit and seek his/her advice and bring up issues for discussion. The spirit can also approach any of the attendees and start a conversation with him/her. When an attendee and a spirit is having a conversation (Bur. *xööreldöön*), the interpreter is often employed as a mediator, for the language of spirits and that of ordinary people can differ so much that they would not understand each other properly without the aid of the interpreter. Bum-Ochir (2002: 201–02) labels this part of the ritual with the word “testimony” (WX. *öchi*), implying that attendees speak openly about their problems to spirits and ask them to find the causes of these problems and to help solving them. This might be true, but there are also ample cases when the spirits only want to have a conversation with people and want to enjoy the company of later generations.

If somebody has a problem, s/he can consult the spirit and fix an appointment with him/her to solve it within the confines of another ritual. Therefore, this part of the ritual, when spirit and participants meet and interact face to face, is not necessarily a “testimony” because participants can either have a conversation, a consultation with the spirit, or they can get him/her to solve their problems at the spot (if the ritual is of that kind). I suggest applying the term “interaction between spirit and participant” for referring to this part of the ritual because it can encompass a wider range of acts in which both spirits and participating individuals are involved.

Having finished the consultation or conversation with a participant, spirits ask the person to bow before them so as they could bless him/her with their whips or drums. They either poke the participant’s back with the whip three times gently or put the drum on the person’s back and beat it three times. This act is called *daatgal* (entrustment), denoting that the fate and life of a person is entrusted to the ancestral spirits. While performing the entrustment, spirits often bless the participants by saying a good wish (MB. *yürööl*⁷). The participant with the relief that s/he has been freed from misfortunes and afflictions by the spirit’s blessing goes back to his/her place among the other participants. Thus, the interaction between the spirit and the person is over, and another person can turn to the spirit, or even the spirit can choose somebody from among the audience.

⁷ *Yürööl* (blessing, good wish, benediction), the antonym of *xaraal* (curse, imprecation), is in the shamanic rituals of the Mongolian Buriads a very frequently recurring oral genre, which is also performed independently of shamanic rituals. It is to be pointed out that this genre is not mentioned in Birtalan’s (2005m: 187) classification.

3.2.3 The Spirit's Monologue

When all the interactions are finished, the spirits sometimes turn to the public and voice their opinion about the ritual or about the participants, and sometimes they give advice to the whole community of the shamans, the apprentices and the relatives. To this part of the spirit possession, when the spirit talks to the public, I refer as the “spirit's monologue”, though no special term has been applied to it either in Buriad or in Mongolian, to my knowledge. If the spirit is content with the way s/he has been entertained during the ritual, s/he blesses (MB. *yürööxö*) all the participants and might carry out the act of entrustment again for each of them.

3.2.4 The End of Possession

At the very end of the possession, the spirit announces that s/he is going to leave, and the shaman gradually regains his/her senses, while the interpreter or other shamans—if present—purify him/her with smoke.

In most rituals, shamans impersonate more than one spirit, and therefore a number of possessions might take place one after the other. Between two possessions, the shaman usually takes a break, and only then s/he starts calling the next spirit, without singing the first part of the invocation, the invitation of all the spirits—since they have already been invited.

3.3. Post-Possessional Acts

After a spirit has left the shaman's body, the shaman is believed to regain his/her consciousness and to be present at the ritual scene again. In most cases, shamans are languid and half-conscious for a while after the possession and regain their senses bit by bit. During this the shaman's assistant (the interpreter) purifies the shaman and his/her attire with smoke, similarly to the way it was done at the beginning of the ritual. The shaman jumps up and down and shakes his/her drum and caftan as if s/he was trying to shake off some dirt.

After all the spirits have possessed and left the shaman's body, the shaman still has to perform several acts to complete the ritual.

3.3.1 Divination

In most Buriad rituals, the first act performed after the possession is a divination (Mp. *töörög xayax*⁸ v23).⁹ The shaman performs this with a cup of milk or vodka¹⁰ and with his/her drum. The cup of milk or vodka, to which a pinch of thyme is added, is placed on the shaman's drum, and after turning around three times clockwise, the shaman throws the cup away. If the cup falls to the ground with its mouth up, it means that the offerings were accepted by the spirits and the ritual was successful. In this case, the client or the person responsible for the offerings circumambulates the cup three times, bows to it three times and drinks the few drops left in it. This is called “praying to the *töörög*” (Xal. *töörögt mörgöx*), during which the one who bows has to wear a hat (Bum-Ochir 1999: 185). If the cup falls to the ground upside-down, the divination has to be repeated, and additional sacrifices have to be offered. According to Bum-Ochir (1999: 185), this kind of divination can also be performed by throwing a drumstick, a spoon, a ladle or a hat, but the most commonly used objects for this purpose are the drumstick and the cup.¹¹ It is important to note that the divination can also be performed by a spirit, i.e. the possessed shaman, and it can even be performed during rituals that do not involve spirit possession at all, as for example the consecration of a horse (Xal. *mori seterlex*, Bum-Ochir 1999: 188).

3.3.2 Entrustment

After the divination, the act of entrustment (Mp. *daatgal*) may be performed again by the shaman (not by a spirit possessing the shaman). Post-possessional entrustments are somewhat different than those performed during possession. Some shamans perform this act with a real whip (Mp. *tashuur*) and not with the *bardag*, while others do not use a whip at all but sing a song in which they ask

⁸ *Töörög*, as my informants used this word, can mean both the cup which is thrown away and the result of the divination. When the result is positive, shamans can say: *sain töörög buulaa* (good *töörög* has descended). Bum-Ochir (1999: 185) argues that the word *töörög* is synonymous with the words *tzayaa* (fate, fortune), *xuwi* (lot, fate), *tzoxiol* (lot) and *atz* (fortune), and it has the same stem with *tööröx* (to be lost, to wander astray), *toirox* (to turn, to spin) and *dügereg* (round). On the other hand, *xayax* means to throw, to cast.

⁹ For more on divination practices among the Mongols see Bawden 1958a, 1958b, 1989 and Bum-Ochir 1999.

¹⁰ Bum-Ochir (1999: 188) reports that once shaman Ceren performed a divination with milk and asked for the opinion of the spirits of Burxan Xaldun mountain, but the cup always landed upside-down, indicating that the spirits were still unsatisfied. Finally, he gave it a try with vodka, and the cup fell to the ground with its mouth up. Then the shaman realized that these spirits would only be pleased if alcohol is offered to them.

¹¹ Bum-Ochir (1999: 192–93) argues that Tuva and Darxad shamans use usually the drumstick for their divinations, but it happens rarely among the Buriads. In Inner-Mongolia in 2008, I saw that Xorchin shamans in Tongliao also perform the divination with a cup, similarly to the Buriads, but they do not use a drum for this.

their spirits to take care of their clients. When performing a post-possessional entrustment, some shamans have their shamanic costume on, while others do not. In some shamans' performances, this post-possessional entrustment is merged with another type of ritual act, namely the *xurailga*, in relation to which I (Balogh 2008: 174) wrote:

After having offered the sacrifices at the end of a ritual, the audience (under the shaman's leadership) applies for the spirits' blessing. Handling food in both hands, they circle clock-wise with them uttering the word *xurai* repeatedly. The meaning of this is "come" or "gather". The circling movements towards themselves and the repetition of this word express the people's will that in return for the sacrifices they want abundance and fertility.

Bum-Ochir translates the word *xurailga* as "summon"¹² and points out that it can be a part of "beckoning" (WX. *dallaga*), and therefore he refers to it as a sub-type (WX. *bichil töröl tzüil*) (Bum-Ochir 2002: 76). He argues (2002: 100) that the summon is a type of ritual language that is intended to evoke something (prosperity, good luck, fertility, etc.) by singing. He further mentions (2002: 101) that according to the Darxad shamaness, Ch. Batbayar, somebody's soul (WX. *süns*) or mettle (WX. *xiimori*) is evoked by handling a sacrificial scarf (WX. *xadag*), while the evocation of gain, success or profit (WX. *oltz omog*) is performed by holding the booty-straps of a saddle (WX. *gantzaga*). Bum-Ochir points out (2002: 102) that the *xurailga* is performed whenever they ask for good fortune (WX. *buyan xishig*), protection from mishaps (WX. *awral enerel*), good hunt (WX. *aṅ göröös*), material goods (WX. *ed bayalag*), happiness (WX. *tzol jargal*) and the prosperity of the livestock (WX. *aduu mal*) or request spirits and deities (WX. *ongod tenger*) to come. He adds (2002: 104) that the *xurailga* is not exclusively a shamanic genre; it can also be performed during weddings and other celebrations, which tallies with what has been stated earlier, i.e. that some acts can be performed independently of shamanic rituals and practitioners. Chabros (1992: 1) argues that the performance of beckoning (Mp. *daatgal*) is accompanied by the cry "xurai". Since the circular gestures of the hands and the cry are both characteristic of the *dallaga* (Chabros 1992: 1), it can be safely assumed that the *dallaga* and *xurailga* are not two separate ritual acts but two (a verbal and a non-verbal) components of one. The ritual act that encompasses both can either be labelled as *dallaga* or *xurailga*, depending on which one of the two acts is

¹² I adopt Bum-Ochir's term "summon" as a translation of *xurailga*.

dominant or more characteristic of the actual performance. Furthermore, the *dallaga/xurialga*, in my experience, is often performed also as a part of the entrustment.¹³

3.3.4 Despatching the Spirits

The last act performed in a shamanic ritual is the dispatching of the spirits (Xal. *ongodoo morduulax*). Although by this moment of the ritual, all the spirits that had possessed the shaman have left his/her body, those who did not possessed him/her are still thought to be present at the ritual scene. By performing this act the shaman bids farewell to all of the spirits s/he had invited at the beginning of the ritual. The Buriads call this act *degdeelge* (making something ascend) or refer to it as *ongodoo degdeexe* (to make spirits ascend).

Bum-Ochir (2002: 74) writes that when Darxad shamans bid farewell to their spirits, they perform libation (WX. *cacal*) with milk (WX. *süü*) or with liquor (WX. *serjim*), and adds that it is not only a shamanic but a well-known and widely practised Mongolian custom to perform such a libation in the direction of a departing guest as a sign of wishing a good journey. He also claims (2002: 73) that incantations intended to see the spirits off¹⁴ can also be characterized by the features of a *magtaal* (praising song), and in this respect they are similar to the first part of the shamanic invocation. In other words, the spirits are praised when asked to leave the scene of the ritual. Bum-Ochir states (2002: 75) that this genre does not exist in Buriad shamanism; it is only the possessing spirit who announces his/her own departure by singing a short phrase, consisting of only a few lines. He argues (2002: 73) that the “phrases of the seeing off”, as he calls this genre, in Darxad shamanism are sung when the shaman is on the boundary between possession and self-consciousness.

What Bum-Ochir calls the “phrases of the seeing off” (2002: 69–76 in Mongolian, 202 in English), based on what he writes about the Buriad form of this genre, in my opinion, would be more appropriate to refer to as “the announcement of the spirit’s departure”. He himself points out (Bum-Ochir 2002: 202) that “this completes the trance by announcing its ending”, which leads us to assume that these phrases mark only the end of a possession and not the end of the entire ritual. Bum-Ochir argues (2002: 202):

¹³ For example see shamaness Ceeyee’s problem-solving ritual in Chapter 6.

¹⁴ He calls these WX. *ongodoo morduulax bucaax üg xelleg*, phrases intended to make one’s spirits leave and return.

It [the phrases of the seeing off] proclaims two types of conclusions. The first is the end of the trance of one spirit and indicates only the spirit who taking control of the shaman is leaving the scene, and the second is the announcement of the end of the entire ritual and making the spirits return whence they came.

In Buriad shamanism (and I presume it is true to other forms of shamanism as well), it is not this type of language that “proclaims two conclusions”, but there are two distinct types of languages and two separate acts performed in a ritual that convey different information. The first that I call “the announcement of a spirit’s departure”, which is Bum-Ochir’s “phrases of the seeing off”, takes place at the end of a possession and marks only its ending. Bum-Ochir has a truth in that it is indeed a very short sentence or phrase in Buriad rituals. The second, on the other hand, is a type of language, a genre of poetry, and also an act that completes the entire ritual, by which the shaman asks the spirits to return to their homes. In Buriad shamanism the former is usually, as Bum-Ochir argues, a very short utterance, which can also be omitted, but the latter, the *degdeelge*, by which the shaman requests the spirits to leave, is a distinct genre of shamanic incantations.

3.4. Summary of the Ritual Acts

The above-discussed ritual acts can also be grouped according to the receptor of the acts, who can be the shaman, the spirit or a client. This grouping might enhance the comprehension of the structure of shamanic rituals in general. To the first group belong the acts the receptor of which is a spirit or more spirits. Such an act is the invocation and invitation of spirits to the ritual, the greeting and welcoming procedure, the summon (Mp. *xurailga*), the beckoning (Mp. *dallaga*), the divination and the dispatching of the spirits. These acts are requests, except for the divination, which is more of a query.

The receptors of the acts belonging to the second group are the attendees of the ritual. This includes the entrustment, the blessing, the interaction with the spirit and the purification. These acts are performed in many cases one after the other, and they are the most essential parts of a ritual. The receptors of them are the attendees. In the course of these acts from the spirits they can get what they came and waited for: protection, advice, blessings and the elimination of bad things. Most of these acts are performed by a spirit, but some, especially the purification and

the entrustment, can also be performed by the unpossessed shaman—though on behalf of his/her spirits.

The third group comprises only one act, the receptor of which is the shaman: the purification by an assistant. The shaman, due to the fact that s/he is believed to be absent from the ritual, cannot indirectly communicate with the spirit, but sometimes attendees speak to the spirits on behalf of the shaman, and sometimes spirits share their opinions about the shaman with the apprentices, who later tell it to the shaman.

The Structure of Mongolian Buriad Shamanic Rituals

| | | |
|--|---|---|
| 1. Pre-Possessional acts | 1.1 Preparations | Preparation of the sacrifices |
| | | Donning the costume (<i>xuwcas xuyagaa ömsöx</i>) |
| | | Purification by incense (<i>utlaga</i>) |
| | 1.2 Invocation (<i>duudlaga</i>) | Invitation of all spirits |
| | | Invocation of a spirit |
| Beginning of possession (<i>ongon oroxo</i>) | | |
| 2. Possessional acts | 2.1 Greeting and welcoming procedure | Greeting (<i>mendlex</i>) |
| | | The spirit's self-introduction (<i>durdlaga</i>) |
| | | Offering food and drink to the spirit (<i>ongodoo cailax</i>) |
| | 2.2 Interaction between spirit and participant(s) | The participant's self-introduction |
| | | Conversation, consultation or solution |
| | | Entrustment (<i>daatgal</i>) |
| | | Blessing (<i>yürööl</i>) |
| | 2.3 Interaction between spirit and audience | The spirit's monologue |
| | | Entrustment (<i>daatgal</i>) |
| | | Blessing (<i>yürööl</i>) |
| | 2.4 The spirit's departure (<i>ongon garaxa</i>) | Announcement of departure |
| End of possession (<i>ongon garaxa</i>) | | Act of departure (<i>ongon garaxa</i>) |
| 3. Post-Possessional acts | 3.1 Purification by incense (<i>utlaga</i>) | |
| | 3.2 Divination (<i>töörög xayaxa</i>) | |
| | 3.3 Entrustment (<i>daatgal</i>) | |
| | 3.4 Dispatching all spirits (<i>degdeelge, ongodoo degdeexe, ongodoo morduulxa</i>) | |

4. The Types of Shamanic Rituals

If we want to distinguish between the different types of Mongol shamanic rituals, we have to classify them according to their purposes. This classification, however, has never been made precisely either by Mongolian or international scholars. In his book, Pürew (2002: 292–323) delineates the rules and customs of conducting five types of rituals, based chiefly on Darxad sources. These ritual-types are the following: the worshipping of domestic spirits (WX. *geriin ongod taxix*), the worshipping of spirits of the wilderness (WX. *xeeriin ongod taxix*), the sanctification and purification of spirit images (WX. *seter ariulax yos*), calling down curses (WX. *xaraal xij böölöx*) and shamanic healing (WX. *böögiin emchilgee*). If we take a closer look at these rituals, we discover that the purpose of the first two types is to worship (Mp. *taxix*) a spirit or more spirits, while the rest of the rituals are intended to solve a problem or to arrange something. Thus, these five types Pürew enlisted, in my opinion, should belong to two main groups, which can be further divided into sub-groups.

Kürelsha and Bai Cui Ying, authorities on Xorchin shamanism, in their *Xorchin Shamanism Studies* (1998), discuss shamanic rituals in two distinct categories: worshipping rituals (WM. *takilya*) and fixing or amending rituals (WM. *jasalya*). Similarly, in Mongolia, irrespective of ethnic descent, shamans, their clients and also those having a basic knowledge about shamanism usually distinguish between two major kinds of rituals, which correspond to Kürelsha and Bai Cui Yin's notion. The worshipping rituals in Mongolia are usually referred to as *tailga* or *taxilga*¹ (both mean “worshipping by offering sacrifices”), whereas the fixing or amending type of rituals are called Mp. *tzasal*² (fixing, amending).

Kürelsha and Bai Cui Ying describe (1998: 591–94) the consecration of Xorchin shamans (WM. *yisün dabaya*) in a separate chapter, which leads the reader to assume that they cannot put this kind of ritual in either of his two groups. The consecration of Buriad shamans is also a sort of ritual that can neither be classified as an entirely *taxilga* / *takilya* type of ritual nor as a *tzasal* / *jasalya*. As a solution to this problem, I suggest dividing shamanic rituals into the following two major categories: spirit-pleasing rituals (*taxilga* / *takilya*) and entreating rituals, implying that this latter type of rituals are to request the spirits' help in fixing or arranging something. These

¹ Note that *taxilga* is the Mp. equivalent of WM. *takilya*, and both derive from the WM. stem *taki* (to worship, to sacrifice). Kürelsha and Bai Cui Ying use the WM. term for their book is written in classical Mongolian script.

² Note that *tzasal* is the Mp. equivalent of the Xorchin *jasalga*, which appears as *jasalya* in Kürelsha and Bai Cui Ying's classical Mongolian script.

two categories roughly correspond to Bum-Ochir's earlier discussed classification of "spirit-worship" and "other rituals". The sub-category of problem-solving rituals (*tzasal / jasalya*) and consecrations (Bur. *shanar, shandruu*), thus, both fall under the category of entreating rituals.

4.1 Spirit-Pleasing Rituals

Spirit-pleasing rituals have no specific purpose because during these events spirits are not invoked to help settle a problem or to arrange something but rather to participate in a feast and to enjoy the hospitality of the shaman's community. Buriads believe that if spirits are neglected and not invited to such feasts and gatherings on a regular basis, they get offended and might wreak vengeance on people. In this respect spirit-pleasing rituals are safety precautions to prevent danger and tragedies. Moreover, from a shaman's point of view, pleasing the spirits is not only a means to protect his/her community, but also to protect him/herself. If we think of spirits as inspiration identical or at least similar to that of artists, we can assume that inspiration can exert the same kind of influence on a shaman's psyche as it does on an artist's. In Mongolia it is widely believed—and about this all my informants agreed—that a longer recess in shamanic practice can result in the shaman's serious mental and sometimes even physical illness. If a shaman does not have the opportunity to give vent to his/her emotions, i.e. cannot perform, similarly to an artist, s/he easily falls ill or becomes distressed. In this case the afflictions of the shaman are interpreted by Mongols as the spirits' demand (Xal. *nexel*) and torment. Spirit-pleasing rituals provide the necessary conditions and regularity to unleash what spurs and causes tension in the shaman's psyche. Only by relieving these tensions, i.e. by performing rituals on a regular basis, can shamans stay safe from the possible danger of mental disorders, to which they are said to be especially prone. Therefore, shamans say that it is very important not to neglect their spirits, and many of the contemporary shamans explain the problems that Mongolia faces today with the vengeance of spirits, who were neglected for decades in the former era.

In Buriad shamanism, there are two distinct types of spirit-pleasing rituals: small-scale rituals, which are conducted in the shaman's home (indoor rituals), and large-scale rituals, which are usually held at a sacred place in the nature (mostly outdoor rituals). Small-scale rituals do not require the participation of anybody except the shaman's assistant, but they are open to everyone who would like to attend. In most of the cases, the shaman's immediate relatives and sometimes some of his/her apprentices are present during such a ritual. Large-scale rituals, on the other hand,

are purposely conducted for the shaman's whole community, including all of his/her relatives, acquaintances and apprentices. The same distinction of spirit-pleasing rituals also exists among the Darxads, where the Buriads' small-scale or indoor rituals correspond to "the worshipping of domestic spirits" (WX. *geriin ongon taxix*), and the Buriads' outdoor rituals correspond to "the worshipping the spirits of the wilderness" (WX. *xeerin ongon taxix*).³ The Mongolian Buriads do not seem to have specific terms for discriminating between these two types of rituals; they refer to performing small-scale or indoor rituals as MB. *yühengöö xexe* (lit. to do one's ninth) or MB. *naimangaa xexe* (lit. to do one's eighth), implying that black shamans perform these rituals on the ninth, nineteenth and twenty-ninth of each lunar month, and white shamans on the eighth, eighteenth and twenty-eighth (Balogh 2008: 166). Large-scale or outdoor rituals are simply called MB. *taxilga* (sacrificial ritual, worship).

The facts that small-scale spirit-pleasing rituals are held at the shaman's home, and large-scale sacrifices are mostly performed in the nature allows us to speak of them also as indoor and outdoor rituals, but at one point this kind of distinction do not stand. The annually held Lunar New Year ritual (MB. *shenii yühen*), which is performed at the shaman's home on the ninth day of the first month of the Lunar New Year, is classified by the Buriads as a *taxilga*,⁴ and regarding the number of attendees, it is undoubtedly a large-scale ritual. Therefore, if our approach is to classify spirit-pleasing rituals according to the location of the performance, the group of indoor rituals must comprise the Lunar New Year ritual as a large-scale variation of the *yühengee xexe* type rituals. If our classification is based on the number of the participants at rituals, then we should look on the Lunar New Year ritual as the only large-scale sacrificial ritual that is conducted indoors.

4.2 Entreating Rituals

The other type of rituals is called MB. *tzasal*. These rituals are intended to remove a curse, to heal an illness and to help overcome various difficulties; in other words, to solve problems. Therefore, I refer to this type of rituals as problem-solving rituals. As mentioned earlier, there are some

³ Personal experience in Xöwsgöl in 2004. To my knowledge, large-scale rituals among the Darxads are not as commonplace as among the Buriads; that is why applying the term "large-scale" to the Darxads' "worshipping the spirits of the wilderness" might not be appropriate. Hence I only compare it to Buriad outdoor rituals.

⁴ Dangaa claimed the Lunar New Year ritual is the most important and most grandiose worship (MB. *taxilga*) of the year.

rituals that are not spirit-pleasing rituals and neither can they be characterized as problem-solving rituals. However, they do have a specific function besides pleasing the spirits. I call this larger group of rituals (the group that I created, and to my knowledge no emic term is used to refer to it) entreating rituals. Based on the fact that problem-solving rituals do have a specific purpose, which is to solve a given problem, they also belong to the category of entreating rituals. The most widely known rituals that belong to this group but cannot be described as problem-solving rituals with certainty are the consecration rituals and imprecations (Mp. *xaraal*). These are never referred to by the word *zasal* in Mongolia, for the purpose of these kinds of rituals is not to fix (Xal. *zasax*) something that has gone wrong but to achieve another kind of specific goal. In the case of consecration rituals, the goal is to make an apprentice or apprentices reach a higher stage of initiation and acquire additional power and paraphernalia, while the goal of imprecations is obviously to invoke evil on somebody and thus to cause something bad happen, which could only be nullified by a problem-solving ritual (if discovered at all). Based on this rationale, one might not be greatly mistaken if s/he classifies imprecations as problem-causing rituals.

The most often preformed rituals of entreating rituals, without doubt, are the problem-solving rituals. The reason why someone turns to a shaman is in most cases to request his/her agency in solving a specific problem. Consequently, problem-solving rituals are the type of rituals by which a shaman can serve his/her clients or community the best. The act of performing a problem-solving ritual is often referred to as to “settle a matter” (Mp. *xereg xiix*) or to “settle somebody’s matter” (Mp. *xüni xereg xiix*). If a problem to be solved is huge, as for example healing a serious illness or saving somebody’s life, the shaman requested to do the task may refer to the ritual as MB. *xatuu shanga xereg xiix* (to settle a tough problem). Every problem-solving ritual is preceded by a check-up (Xal. *ützleg*), during which the shaman diagnoses the given problem and fathoms its seriousness by finding its origin. The check-up never requires the shaman to get possessed by any of his/her spirits; the diagnosis is usually made by means of divination.

4.3 Summary

To have a firm grasp of Mongolian Buriad shamanism, it is inescapable to weigh the significance of the above-discussed ritual types and of the part they play in shamanic practices. The small-scale spirit-pleasing rituals (Bur. *yühengee xexe* and *naimangaa xexe*) are by far the most commonly

practised ones since irrespective of rank every shaman must perform them. Large-scale spirit-pleasing rituals, such as the Lunar New Year ritual and other sacrifices, are, on the other hand, conducted by higher ranking shamans, whose apprentices take part as auxiliary shamans (sometimes they sing the incantations and beat the drum instead of the master) and learn the craft from their masters. These rituals are considerably less frequent than their small-scale counterparts; a shaman performs thirty-five small-scale sacrifices (the first, the Lunar New Year ritual is a large-scale one), while large-scale sacrifices are usually held once a year. Large-scale spirit-pleasing rituals are open to virtually anybody, while small-scale rituals are characteristically private; thus, except for shamans and their relatives and acquaintances, people—including researchers—might not have a deep insight of them. Although the privacy of these rituals is not necessarily an aim but a result because people are usually welcome to participate if they know that such a ritual is going to be performed, they are not invited in big numbers; the rituals are not advertised. On the other hand, problem-solving rituals—and especially imprecations—are very private and are always conducted in secrecy, which often arouses the interest of people, including researchers as well.

Classification of Buriad Shamanic Rituals 1.

| Spirit-Pleasing Rituals (<i>ongodiin tailga taxilga</i>) | | | | Entreating Rituals | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|---|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|---|---|
| Small-scale rituals (always indoor rituals) | | Large-scale rituals (<i>taxilga</i>) | | Problem-solving rituals (<i>zasal, xūnii xereg xiix</i>) | | Imprecation (<i>xaraal</i>) | | Consecration rituals (<i>shanar, shandruu</i>) | |
| White shamans' rituals (<i>naimangaa xexe</i>) | Black shamans' rituals (<i>yühengee xexe</i>) | Indoor rituals (only the Lunar New Year ritual <i>shenii yūihen</i>) | Outdoor rituals (many further types) | Check-up (<i>iizleg</i>) | <i>Zasal</i> (many further types) | Many types | Black shamans' consecration (<i>shanar</i>) | White shamans' consecration (<i>shandruu</i>) | Black and white shamans' consecration (<i>shanar-shandruu</i>) |

Classification of Buriad Shamanic Rituals 2.

| Spirit-Pleasing Rituals (<i>ongodiin tailga taxilga</i>) | | | Entreating Rituals | | | |
|---|--|---|---|------------------------------|--|---|
| Indoor Rituals | | Outdoor Rituals (<i>taxilga</i>) (always large-scale rituals) | Problem-solving rituals (<i>zasal, xünii xereg xiix</i>) | | Imprecation (<i>xaraal</i>) | Consecration rituals (<i>shanar, shandruu</i>) |
| Small-scale Rituals | | Large-scale Rituals | Many further types | Check-up (<i>üzleg</i>) | Problem solving (<i>zasal</i>) (many further types) | Many types |
| White shamans' rituals (<i>naimangaa xexe</i>) | Black shamans' rituals (<i>yühengee xexe</i>) | The Lunar New Year Ritual (<i>shenii yühen</i>) | | | | |
| | | | | | | White shamans' consecration (<i>shandruu</i>) |
| | | | | | | Black and white shamans' consecration (<i>shanar-shandruu</i>) |

Mongolian (Emic) Classification of Buriad Shamanic Rituals

| Spirit-Pleasing Rituals (<i>ongodiin tailga taxilga</i>) | | Problem-solving rituals (<i>zasal</i> , <i>xünii xereg xiix</i>) | Imprecation (<i>xaraal</i>) | Consecration rituals (<i>shanar</i> , <i>shandruu</i>) |
|---|--|---|----------------------------------|---|
| Small-scale Rituals (<i>galiinxaa ongodiig taxix</i>) | Large-scale Rituals (<i>baigaliin ongodiig taxix</i>) | | | |
| White shamans' small-scale rituals | Many types | Check-up (<i>iizleg</i>) | Many types | Black shamans' consecration (<i>shanar</i>) |
| Black shamans' small-scale rituals | | Problem solving (<i>zasal</i>) (many further types) | | White shamans' consecration (<i>shandruu</i>) |

5. Pleasing the Spirits

In spite of the fact that small-scale spirit-pleasing rituals are the only rituals that every Buriad shaman must perform on a well-defined regular basis (three times a month), almost nothing has thus far been written on the *yühengee xexe* / *naimangaa xexe* type of rituals (i.e. small-scale indoor spirit-pleasing rituals). When it comes to Buriad shamanism, the study of the consecration ritual of black shamans (Bur. *shanar*) takes extraordinary predominance. A number of authors (Tkacz, Zhambalov and Phipps 2002, Shimamura 2002, Kūmin 2001, Birtalan 2004c, Jokić 2008) have centred their publications on the *shanar*. This extreme popularity of this consecration ritual and the fact that it is so thoroughly studied and well documented could easily lead us to the false perception that Buriad shamanism is all about *shanar*, or that *shanar* is the only ritual that makes Buriad shamanism different from the shamanism of other Mongolic groups. In fact, however, the way Buriad shamans perform their rituals other than the *shanar* is also peculiar to them, and it is also different from how, for example Darxad or other shamans perform their similar rituals.

As hinted above, the *yühengee xexe* or *naimangaa xexe* type of rituals has not been studied by any scholar thus far. The reason might be that, although these rituals are not secret or held in privacy, without knowing a shaman personally, it is difficult to go to a shaman's home and take part in one, or even to come to know that this type of ritual exists at all among Buriads. Unlike these small-scale spirit-pleasing rituals, the *shanar* is often a grandiose festivity with a myriad of guests participating, and it is relatively easy to find out where and when a *shanar* will be held. In 2004 and 2005, I had the opportunity to attend a couple of small-scale spirit-pleasing rituals, as a result of which I published an article (Balogh 2007) that delineates one of them. Hereby I endeavour to give a thorough and perspicuous description of four such rituals performed by three different shamans.

5.1 Indoor Rituals

5.1.1 Shaman Dowdon's Spirit-Pleasing Ritual

Shaman Dowdon is a Xalx apprentice of the famous Buriad shaman, Ceren, in his early thirties. In September–October 2004, I attended a couple of his small-scale spirit-pleasing rituals and recorded two of them on video tape (v7; v8; v9; v10). Dowdon did not allow making video or audio documentation when he was possessed by his spirits; hence the possessional activities are recorded only in handwriting.

Dowdon held his rituals in the kitchen of a small suite in a college dormitory, where he lived with his wife (Surnaa) and son in Ulaanbaatar. The rituals started late afternoon with the arrangement of the sacrificial altar, which was the task of Surnaa, who acted as the interpreter during the rituals. The altar was situated in front of the kitchen's entrance, which would roughly correspond to the sacred north-western corner (Mp. *xoimor*) of a yurt. In this case, it was the eastern or south-eastern part of the kitchen, since the entrance looked west. The altar consisted of a small portable picnic table with a number of brass-cups (Xal. *cögc*), silks, scarves and money on it. The brass-cups were identical with those that can be seen on the altars in Buddhist temples, and were filled with various kinds of food and drink. Dowdon said that on the ninths and on the nineteenth, six brass-cups have to be placed on the table and ten on the twenty-ninths. Dowdon explained that such arrangements of the cups are referred to in Buriad shamanic incantations as **“properly counted six offerings”** (MB. *zurxain zurgaan taxil*) and as **“properly counted ten offerings”** (MB. *zurxain arwan taxil*).¹ Since one of the recorded rituals was held on a ninth and the other on a nineteenth, six cups were used for both events. Surnaa placed the six cups on the table in a line and filled three of them on her left with so-called “worm-curd”² (Xal. *xorxoi aaruul*); then she put three layers of cookies (Xal. *gurwan üye pecheeni*³) on their tops and topped each of the uppermost cookies with three sugar-cubes that she had glued together with yellow butter (Xal. *shar tos*). Dowdon explained that the cookies were to symbolize the age of the shaman and

¹ The Buriad expressions were translated by Kara (Coloo 2007: 323), and his translations are adopted here. According to him (Kara 1998 зүрхэй), the noun “*zurxai*”, the primary meaning of which is “astrology”, also means “mathematics” and “counting”, hence his translation “properly counted”.

² Dried curd (Mp. *aaruul*) is a popular Mongolian dairy product made in different shapes. The “worm-curd” has the shape of a worm.

³ Dowdon referred to the cookies by the commonly used Mongolian distortion of the Russian word печенье.

the three layers meant that he was in his thirties.⁴ Dowdon referred to this composition of curds, cookies, yellow butter and sugar as “food” (Xal. *idee*) (v7).



Fig.29 Shaman Dowdon's sacrificial altar

Surnaa filled the remaining three cups from left to right with different sorts of drinks: milk (Xal. *süü*), milky tea (Xal. *süütei cai*) and vodka (Xal. *arxi*). The milk had been poured from the pack into a bowl beforehand—and they hid the pack carefully below the table since it is not an appropriate accessory of the ritual—and now from the bowl Surnaa scooped out some with a ladle and finally filled the cup with it. In the meantime, Dowdon started to prepare another kind of sacrifice, the so-called “**whole-world offering**” (Xal. *oron delxiin örgöl*),⁵ which was going to be offered for all the spirits and deities of the surrounding mountains, waters and *owoo*-cairns. He explained that a bit from the best parts (Xal. *deej*) of everything put into the six small cups should go into a bowl and that would constitute this offering. After having filled all the cups, Surnaa rearranged them in a way that the one with milky tea went to the leftmost, to be the closest to the imaginary sacred corner, where the guests should be seated according to Mongolian customs. A “food” went to the second place, followed by a candle (Xal. *tzul*) and another “food”. The fourth offering was the cup of milk, the fifth the third “food”, and the sixth the cup of vodka. The “whole world offering” was placed at the rightmost corner of the table, markedly out of the line formed by the six cups and the candelabra. Dowdon and his wife had a length of silk (Xal. *torgo*)—a type from which usually

⁴ In 2002, when I was invited to celebrate the Lunar New Year with a Mongolian family in Ulaanbaatar, I was told that a tower built of pastry (Xal. *xewiin boow*) on the festive table indicates the age of the oldest member of the family, i.e. the host responsible for the reception of the guests. If the tower has three layers, the host is between 30 and 50 years old, if it has five layers, he is between 50 and 70, and if it has seven layers he is over 70. Even number of layers is never used, most probably because they are considered as feminine, unlucky numbers. Birtalan (personal communication 2011), on the other hand, argues that the number of the pastry-layers earlier, probably in the late Qing dynasty (from the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century), indicated the social strata to which the host belonged. Laypeople (Mp. *ard*) built three and five layers of pastry, noblemen (Mp. *noyon*) seven layers, and only the emperor (Mp. *etzen xaan*) was allowed to build his pastry-tower nine layers high.

⁵ The literally translation is “offering of place and world”, in which *oron* means “location” or “country”, while *delxiin* is the Genitive of *delxii*, “world”, and *örgöl* is “offering”. As the shamans explained, this kind of offering is dedicated to the spirits of the whole world; that is why I translated it as “whole-world offering”.

traditional clothes are made in Mongolia—which they kept at home. They placed the silk folded in half, lengthwise on the table, so it opened in the direction of the entrance. Dowdon also placed two sacrificial scarves in a similar position on top of the silk and put some money inside one of the scarf’s openings. The scarves and the bottle of vodka had been brought by an elderly woman from western Mongolia, who came to participate in the ritual.

When the sacrificial table was ready, Dowdon shared his knowledge about it (v7). He explained that the cup of milky tea must be placed on the leftmost, closest to the sacred corner, where the spirit-guests are seated because the first thing that is offered to a guest in Mongolia is always tea. The next offering is the first of the three “foods”, which are all dedicated to different spirits; this first one is offered to the Great Heavenly Lords⁶ (Xal. *Tenger Ix Noyod*). The candle is to illuminate the path of those coming from the Realm of Darkness (Xal. *Xaranxui Yörtönc*), which is the path of the spirits. The second “food” is given to the spirits of the shaman’s parents (Xal. *ecceg exiinxee shüteenüüd*⁷). A cup of milk represents the shaman’s wish that the way or path (Xal. *xargui mör, tzam*) of all his relatives, friends and acquaintances may be as pure and white as milk. Finally, the third “food” is dedicated to the great ancestral spirits (Xal. *ugiin ix garwal*) of shaman Ceren, i.e. the spirits of the shaman’s master. The cup of vodka simply must be there, for it is a Mongolian custom to serve liquor (Xal. *arxi*) whenever a feast is held. The last offering, the “whole world offering” is dedicated to all the spirits that inhabit the surrounding mountains and rivers. The scarves, money and vodka are usually brought by the participants, who in return are entrusted to the spirits’ protection (Xal. *awral daatgald bagtadag*).

When all the offerings had been arranged on the table, Surnaa grasped a smouldering piece of fir bark (Siberian fir, Xal. *jodoo*) with a pair of wooden tongs and purified the altar, her husband and his paraphernalia, and all the participants with its smoke. After this, Dowdon started chanting his incantations, which he had learnt from his master, Ceren. Dowdon had his incantations written down in a jotter, which he always put in front of himself, in case he forgot the lyrics. As I did not have the permission to make a copy of the incantations, the lines below⁸ are all extracted

⁶ An alternate version of the Thirteen Lords of the North.

⁷ Literally: “the *shüteen* of the parents”. The word *shüteen* normally means “idol” or “object of veneration” or “something or somebody that is worshipped”. Here, however, it is clear that the spirits of the shaman’s parents are meant, who are indeed worshipped and thus objects of veneration.

⁸ The description of Dowdon’s ritual does not require presenting the lyrics of his entire incantation, which amounts to almost one and a half hours in time and would possibly amount to a tremendous number of pages if written down on paper. For this reason, only its most distinct and clearly audible parts are presented in translation. The original Mongolian version (containing all the recurring patterns and some of the hardly audible parts) is presented in transcription with parallels from Ceren’s version at places where parallels could be found. The audio recordings of Dowdon’s incantations are presented in twelve audio files attached. These files contain the entire incantation of the ritual with its not yet deciphered, indistinct parts.

from the video recordings of his rituals. Blissfully, the same sort of incantations of Ceren have been recorded by J. Coloo and G. Gantogtox some twenty-five years previously and have been published twice (Gantogtokh, Kara and Tsooloo 1998 and Coloo 2007). Although Ceren's and Dowdon's incantations show many points of resemblance, there are quite a few words and even expressions in the latter's version that still could not be deciphered and translated with certainty. This is due to the facts that Dowdon chanted the originally Buriad lyrics with a recognizable Xalx distortion, and that he often pronounced its words with a great degree of sound omission. The part of the incantations that Dowdon sang till his first possession consists of two distinct parts: the first has the Buddhist mantra *om mani badme xum* (Sanskrit. *om mani padme hūm*) in the refrain of each stanza, while in the second part, each refrain ends with the line: *aa xee yoo xee minie göö ayaa baidaa minie göö*. The latter is often referred to by Buriads as the "refrain of black shamans" (Bur. *xara böögei türleg*), while Buddhist mantras are attributed to white shamans, and the *om mani badme xum* formula is the second half of what other Buriad shamans call the "white shamans' refrain" (Bur. *sagaan böögei türleg*): *aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum*.⁹

Having read and examined the incantations, it remains unclear whether or not the aforementioned first and second parts tally with Bum Ochir's *ongodiin magtaal* and *ongodiin duudlaga* (Bum-Ochir 2002: 23, 35). In the first half of the first stanza of the first part, Dowdon calls a spirit's or more spirits' attention:

(a5.1)
 From the south-west,
 From the borderland
 Of the Tzambuu continent¹⁰
 The lord of the high,
 White mountain,
 The son of Shanashiid,¹¹
 Interpreter Burxan Builaan,¹²
 Please listen here well!

⁹ The Buriad members of the Golomt Centre told me that this was the white shamans' refrain and *aa xee yoo xee minie göö ayaa baidoo minie göö* was that of the black shamans. Interestingly, they rarely called these lines refrains; they preferred to refer to them as "the *aryaa wadee*" and "the *ayaa baidoo*". For example, when a master instructed his/her apprentice, they said, "Sing the *aryaa wadee*!" or "Sing the *ayaa baidoo*!" The white refrain's *aryaa wadee* is probably the distortion of Arya Balo, an alternate name of the Buddhist deity Avalokitesvara. On the other hand, the words of the black shamans' refrain are not deciphered yet. Namsrai told me that it comes from the exclamation "*Ayaa Baigal dalai minie göö!*" (According to Namsrai's explanation, it can be translated as "Oh my Lake Baikal, hey!").

¹⁰ The Tzambuu continent (Xal. *Tzambuu tiw* from Sanskrit *Jambu Dvīpa*) is the southernmost continent of the four continents surrounding mount Meru in Buddhist cosmology. In Buddhist mythology the Tzambuu continent is the realm where human beings live (Birtalan 2001: 999–1000). In shamanic incantations it designates the location where the ritual takes place. Pegg (1995: 93) argues the same in relation to epic performances.

¹¹ Shanashiid is an unidentified spirit. Corresponds to Saniishxa in Ceren's version.

¹² Interpreter Burxan Builaan is an unidentified spirit. Corresponds to Interpreter Builaan the Swift in Ceren's version.

These lines correspond to the first lines of shaman Ceren's invocation for the spirit called Builaan, the Swift (1.1). Ceren's version (in Kara's translation) reflects only minor differences:

In the very south-west,
On the borderland of the
Country of the Tzambuu-continent.
Please listen here well, my
Interpreter Builaan the swift,
The son of Saniishxa,
Lord of the high and beautiful,
Snowy white mountain!

The second half of the same stanza reports that the offerings for the ritual are already prepared, and the shaman is expecting the spirits to come:

I am singing
Having poured the
Tough-black [brandy],
Having loaded the camel
That carries the sacrifices
And having put
_____ money _____
My grey-white father!
My Buddha-white ancestor!
Please listen here well!
Um manee badmee xum! [3x]

In the following stanzas, the spirits are addressed, and their epithets are mentioned. The enumeration of the shamanic paraphernalia indicates that these equipments are owned by the spirits. The facts that only white shamans' equipments are mentioned and that the refrain is closed by a Buddhist mantra and that the white shamans' consecration (Bur. *shandruu*) is also mentioned suggest that the spirits being invited belong to the white side (Xal. *cagaan tal*). Therefore, it seems reasonable to refer to this invocation as a white shamanic invocation.

(a5.2)
Lord of the
Snowy white mountain!
[You] whiffed away the [*cucga*¹³] white _____
And descended.
[You] blinked your white silver button¹⁴
And descended.
[You] donned your blue brocade cloak
And descended.
_____ your bronze silver

¹³ *Cucga* might be only a fragment of a Mongolian word which I cannot identify.

¹⁴ Both in Dowdon's and Ceren's versions, the word *tzodroo* is mentioned, which is a small shiny button on the top of Buriad shamans' skullcaps. Kara (Coloo 2007: 298) translates it as helmet, which can only be owned by black shamans. Since this is a white shaman's invocation, it is highly improbable that *tzodroo* here should mean helmet.

_____ and descended.
 My grey-white father!
 My Buddha-white ancestor!
 Please listen here well!
Um manee badmee xum! [3x]

(a5.3)
 Fingering your black sandalwood beads
 You descended.
 [You] shook your pure beautiful bell
 And descended.
 Plunked your seventy-tongued Jew's harp
 And descended.
 My grey-white father!
 My Buddha-white ancestor!
 Please listen here well!
Um manee badmee xum! [3x]

(a5.4)
 North of the Sharai river,
 At the head of springs and wells.¹⁵
 [You who] descended taking seat on the throne
 Of the *shandruu*-white temple!
 My grey-white father!
 My Buddha-white ancestor!
 Please listen here well!
Um manee badmee xum! [3x]

(a5.5)
 North of the Sharai river,
 At the head of springs and wells.
 A million white *tzayaans*,¹⁶
 Buddha-white interpreter,
 [You who] rejoin the shattered,¹⁷
 [You who] connect the separated,
 [You who] put the broken together,
 [You who] connect the broken!
 _____s [=Plural] with a holed [*tandai/dandai*],¹⁸
 _____s [=Plural] with a holed thumb,
 _____s [=Plural] with a holed forefinger,
 Please listen here well!

¹⁵ The MB. Buriad text is the same in both Dowdon's and Ceren's versions: *Shandan bulagai exinde*, which is translated by Kara (Coloo 2007: 299) as "at the head of the Shandan-spring". Both in Xalx and Buriad, *bulag* means "spring" and *shand* or *shandan* can be used as a synonym with the meaning of "water-hole", "well", "fountain" or "springlet". The two words are often used together in hendiadyses, either as *bulga shand* or *shandan bulag* denoting any kind of natural water-source.

¹⁶ *Tzayaan*, Bur. *zayaan*, deity responsible for one's fate. For more about the *zayaans* see Manzhigeev 1978: 52–53 and Birtalan 2001: 1070.

¹⁷ For a parallel text see Coloo 2007: 300–01:

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| emderxeyiini eblüülehen | (you) healers whose forefingers are holed [=sensitive], |
| handarxaixiini zalguulahan | (you) medicine-men whose thumbs are holed [=sensitive], |
| dol'oobor soorxoi domšonornuud | who (using) the instructions of my ten thousand forbears |
| erxei soorxoi emšenernüüd | repaired what was broken and mended what was torn. |

¹⁸ The meaning of *tandai* or *dandai* is unknown to me; however, most probably it denotes one of the fingers.

My grey-white father!
 My Buddha-white ancestor!
Um manee badmee xum! [3x]

(a5.8)
 [I am] informing [you] _____
 In the _____ land of the
 Tzambuu continent.
 My password¹⁹ is
 “Ene Mongol”.
 I am of Xüser²⁰ Mongol origin,
 Of Xalx Mongol descent.
 Mongoljin _____²¹
 I am a the son of Shar, [*says his full name*].
 Three laymen mediators,
 Four laymen representatives!
 Having put the money of modern times,
 _____ of these days,
 I am praying, while informing [you].
 Let’s do the swinging of the ninths!
 Let’s do the swaying of the eighths!²²
 Having arranged the offerings and the candle,
 I am calling you.
 Please descend and surround us!
 Please swing and feast [with us]!
Um manee badmee xum! [3x]

In the following section, Dowdon introduces his wife and son to the spirits and asks them to protect and take care for these people. Similar sections frequently recur in different parts of the entire incantation, even in the post-possessional part of the ritual, and in most cases with the introduction of other spectators as well. It is worthy of note that when a female person is introduced, she is always described as “the one who is sitting leaning upon her left knee”, and male participants are referred to as “the one who is sitting leaning upon his right knee”, which alludes to the Mongolian

¹⁹ Password here is the translation of Xal., MB. *uraa*, which is a phrase that in shamanic rituals ensures a spirit’s or more spirits’ acceptance by proving a person’s identity as a member of a clan. Each clan has or used to have their own *uraas*. The translation of *uraa* as password occurs in Gantogtokh, Kara and Tsooloo 1998: 113, Coloo 2007: 298 and in Xandjaw 2002.

²⁰ What in Dowdon’s pronunciation is *Xüser* (and also *Xeser*) is an adoption of the MB. *Heser*. Namsrai often used the expression *Heser Buriad* to refer to Russian Buriads, and another informant, Bayarmaa, used *Seser Buriad* with the same meaning. *Heser* is an alternate version of *Seser* (in Buriad a “h” sound often corresponds to what is pronounced “s” in Xalx and other Mongolian dialects), which is a distorted form of the abbreviation SSSR (Russian Cyrillic: СССР Союз Советских Социалистических Республик). According to Birtalan (personal communication 2011), in Xalx dialect, it is pronounced as *seeser*. It is to be noted that Dowdon’s *Xüser Mongol* is a mere adoption from other shamans’ incantations (where he replaces the Buriad “h” with “x”) and does not imply Russian origin.

²¹ Since the next line identifies his father, this one might refer to his mother. This supposition can be confirmed by the fact that the suffix -jin at the end of ethnic names denotes a woman. Thus, although I do not understand the rest of the line, it is very likely to be “the son of the Mongolian [the name of the mother]”.

²² Similar lines of Ceren’s incantation (a5.8) are translated by Kara (Coloo 2007: 308) as: “the swing of my nine (fellows) and the sway of my eight (fellows)”. The facts that Buriad shamans conduct their spirit-pleasing rituals on the ninth and eighth days of each lunar month, and they refer to these rituals as “the swinging of the ninth and swaying of the eighth” makes it clear that these lines refer to the ritual itself and are not meant to indicate nine or eight fellows or spirits as Kara’s translation suggests.

custom of sitting in a yurt, when one sits on the heel of one of his/her legs that is folded backwards, raises the knee of the opposite leg and rests his/her arm of the same side on it. Sitting this way is called Mp. *comcoix/comboix*. It is always the knee closer to the entrance that has to be raised and on which one can lean upon. Consequently, on the female side of the yurt it is the left, and on the male side it is the right knee (Birtalan 2008a). The incantation continues as follows:

(a5.8)
 [I am] introducing
 My loved one who has settled down with me.
 [...]
 [She is] from the Büdee clan,²³
 The one who is sitting leaning on her left knee.
 [Her] name is [says her name]
 [...]
 The one who is sitting leaning on his right knee,
 My son whose name is [says his name]
 And who is thirteen.
 [...]
 Please clean their ways,
 And make them [the ways] pure and smooth!
 I am asking for good fate
 In my prayers.
 I am asking for blessings in my feast.
 [...]

In the next stanza, Dowdon refers to himself as the son of the spirits and reports that he has taken his position in the room (an imaginary yurt), has prepared the offerings, and thus he is ready to accept his guests.

(a5.9)
 Your son [says his own name]
 In the honoured place of the yurt²⁴
 Of his lotus-red fire
 Has a sandalwood table
 With beautiful golden candles,
 With _____ six layers of offerings,
 With candles of one hundred legs,
 And the properly counted six offerings.
 I am calling [you] from the *yadam*.²⁵
 I have folded brocade and silk.
 I have offered *xadag* and silk.
 I have put money of this era, as a gift.
 I am asking for good fate in my prayers.
 I am asking for blessings in this *yühen* ritual.²⁶
 My grey-white father!
 My Buddha-white ancestor!

²³ Unidentified clan-name.

²⁴ I.e. the north-western corner of the yurt, where guests and venerated people are seated.

²⁵ Yadam (Tib. yi(d)-dam) is a patron deity in Tibetan Buddhism. The meaning of this word is obscure here.

²⁶ This is the *yühenge xexe* ritual.

Please listen here well!
Please descend and surround us!
Um manee badmee xum! [3x]

In the last section of this first part of the invocation, Dowdon asks the spirits to descend from the heavens and protect him and his community from all sorts of adversities.

(a5.10)
Please come down and turn around upon the roof-ring!
Please glitter with five rays!
Please come down/turn around upon the lintel!
Please connect us with good fate!
If dearth and _____ are about to come,
Please descend hurriedly!
If _____ is about to come,
Please descend and do away with it!
If there is death and _____
Please descend and prevent them!
If there is illness and suffering,
Please descend and rescue [us]!
If there are hindrances,
Please descend and _____
If there is danger and hindrances,
Please descend and take measures!
If there is disaster and calamity,
Please descend and save [us]!
[...]

Between the first and the second part of his invocation, Dowdon made a recognizable shift by changing the rhythm of his song and accelerating his drumbeats. He replaced the refrain of the first part with an invitation to the ritual, and the Buddhist mantra with the so-called “black refrain”, as the last four lines of the following stanza indicates:

(a6.1)
*Ayaarei*²⁷ from the west,
From the borderland of
The Tzambuu continent
I am calling the Five
Jealous Deities.²⁸
Please descend and surround us!
Please swing and feast [with us]!
Aa xee yoo xee minie göö!
Aa yoo maidaa minie göö!

An also frequently recurring feature of both Dowdon’s and Ceren’s incantations is that the shaman emphasizes his desperation and tenacity about calling his spirits by stating that he will call them

²⁷ To my knowledge, “*Ayaarei*” has no meaning.

²⁸ They are the *Ataa Tawan Tenger*. For more on these deities see Birtalan 2001: 945–47 (Atay-a tenggeri).

until two things merge or act together and sometimes until something does something. These things, in many cases, are weather-phenomena such as wind, cloud, rain, etc.

It is interesting to note that these phenomena are fiercer and fiercer toward the end of the invocation.²⁹

(a6.2)
Ayaarei from the north-west,
From the borderland of
The Tzambuu continent
I am calling the Seven Buddhas³⁰
Until _____
I am calling until
The cotton-white clouds flutter!
I am calling until
Rain and shower begin to pour down!
I am calling until
Twister and wind merge!
[...]

While certain lines of the first part have their parallels in Ceren's invocation for Builaan the Swift (Coloo 2007: 298), the following passage of the second part corresponds with the invocation for Manzhalai (Coloo 2007: 311):

(a7)
Söög!
I am calling until
The Eternal Blue Sky rumbles!
I am calling until
The cotton-white clouds flutter!
I am calling
The entangling white seam of Heaven!³¹
I am calling,
Holding the steep white world as my stairs,
[You, who] in your great madness
Rode the two wild fallow horses
Bareback without a harness.
[You, who] came down at the gate of the
Majestic heaven _____!
[You] the son of emperor Xiur,³²
My hot-yellow Manjilai!³³

²⁹ A full version of a similar invocation can be found (in Xalx and French translation) in Gantogtox (1994: 116–17).

³⁰ For more on the Seven Buddhas see Birtalan 2001: 970–71 (Doloyan ebügen).

³¹ Cf. Ceren's incantation with Kara's translation (Coloo 2007: 311).

³² For more on emperor Xiur see Birtalan 2001: 1026 (Qormusda tenggeri).

³³ As my informants (Dangaa and Dungaa) explained to me, Manjilai is the deity presiding over the black shamans' consecration.

In your great _____³⁴
 [You] rode the two fiery fallow horses
 Bareback without a saddle.
 [You, who] came down at the gate of the
 Majestic heaven _____!
 The son of Lord Xiur,
 My respected yellow Manjilai!
 Please listen here well!
 Please descend and surround us
 Please swing and feast [with us]
Aa xee yoo xee minie göö!
Aa yoo baidaa minie göö!

In the following stanzas of his invocation, Dowdon again introduces himself and the members of his family to the spirits the similar way as in the first part (5.1), and his depiction of the sacrificial altar and offerings also recur (5.1). In the last two stanzas of the invocation (a9.2), Dowdon addresses a multitude of spirits characterizing them as “those who move along with wind and whirlwind” (Xal. *xui salxin nüüdelteṅgüüd*), “those who take shelter or live in 108 caves” (Xal. *tzuun naiman agui [nömörög]teṅgüüd*), “those who have whips made of tamarisk” (Xal. *suxai modon tashuurtanguud*), “those who have seven ravens as their envoys” (Xal. *doloon xon xeree turshuultanguud*), “those who have an entourage of nine she-wolves” (Xal. *yösön gichii chono daxuultanguud*), among many others (5.2; cf. Coloo 2007: 310). At the very end, right before he got possessed, Dowdon asked the spirits again to descend and take part in the ritual:

(a9.2)
 [...]
 I am calling my
 Old-grey father
 [...]
 And my ancestral spirits.
 Please descend and surround us!
 Please swing and feast [with us]!
 [...]

At this point, Dowdon started portraying the first spirit. He stood up and beat his drum vigorously and jumped around for a while and almost tumbled down. Then he sat back on his stool and (already the spirit) instructed Surnaa to order one of the participants—an old woman—to kneel down before

³⁴ The lines following this point do not have their parallels in Ceren’s version; thus, the image of Manjilai riding a horse without a saddle is missing from it. In the tenth and eleventh lines that depict a similar action, Kara translated Ceren’s Buriad line *xazaargüigöör zaidalaad* as “rode without harness and saddle”, where the verb *zaidalaxa* corresponds to “to ride without saddle”. As the second image of the riding spirit does not occur in the version he translated, he did not have to face the problem that this line in the original is worded as MB. *emeel ügüi zaidalaad*, where *emeel* means saddle and *zaidalax* according to Kara’s interpretation stands for “riding a horse without a saddle”, which would allow only one possible translation “rode without a saddle”. Therefore, in both occurrences I translated the verb Xal. *tzaidalax* as “to ride bareback” since the word “saddle” is not alluded to in the verb.

him. Surnaa told the participants that the possessing spirit's name was Egg shaman (Öndögön böö), Dowdon's grandfather. The old woman reported to Egg shaman that she had been suffering from an illness, to which Egg shaman gave an ambiguous reply, "Heavenly beings cannot live on earth, earthly beings cannot live in heaven." The old woman asked another question regarding her forthcoming journey to her homeland in Xowd province to take part in the celebration of her native district's eightieth anniversary. Egg shaman said that she would have a pleasant journey and instructed her to take some vodka, tea and eight *xadags* with herself and offer them as a sacrifice to the mountain the locals worship. The woman did not know the name of the mountain, which infuriated Egg shaman so much that he addressed her in an exceptionally disrespectful way and scolded at her for her ignorance in religious matters. As a reaction, the woman started prostrating herself before him and being close to Dowdon, she unintentionally touched one of the miniature weapons of the shamanic costume, which made Egg shaman even more furious and created a very tense atmosphere in the ritual. Egg shaman was portrayed as a domineering, vehement and strong old man. After the possession ended, Dowdon took off his headdress, lit a cigarette and asked his wife and the old woman about Egg shaman's visit. Surnaa told him what happened and why Egg shaman was angry. Dowdon and the old woman tried to identify the mountain in question jointly and concluded that it must have been the one called Bumbat Xairxan.

The next spirit Dowdon invoked was Dariim, a famous Buriad shamaness.³⁵ The invocation of Dariim was very similar to that of the first spirit, but since all the invocations that are sung to the second, third, etc. spirits are considerably shorter than the first one, this one was also shorter.

According to Dowdon, Dariim died some sixty years before, and she was the first master of Ceren. During the possession, Dowdon impersonated the shamaness, speaking in Buriad dialect and assuming the tone of voice, the typical gestures and postures of a kind-hearted old woman. Dariim drank a cup of milky tea then a cup of vodka and asked Surnaa to dance with her (Bur. *yooxor xatirxa*). She stood up and danced for a short while and said that she was too old and could not dance longer. The old woman from western Mongolia bowed to her and asked a question regarding her illness. Dariim replied that the next spirit would tell what medicine she should take.

The next spirit Dowdon invoked was shamaness Jurnai, his grand- or great-grandmother (this was not clarified). Jurnai's personal character resembled that of Egg shaman and was the opposite of Dariim: as soon as she took possession of Dowdon, she demanded tea and tobacco

³⁵ Dariim was the master of shaman Ceren and was well-known and respected in north-eastern Mongolia. She probably died in the 1960s.

in a brusque and overbearing manner. Surnaa gave her the tea and a cigarette, the filter of which she had broken off. After it, Jurnai instructed Surnaa to give her a heated stone. Surnaa said that she was very sorry but they had not known that Jurnai would be summoned and therefore had not prepared the heated stone she usually demanded. Jurnai got furious and shouted at Surnaa, calling her an unmindful person. Surnaa took a knife and heated its blade on the gas plate and gave it to Jurnai, who then licked the red-hot blade several times and called the old woman to consult. The old woman's question and Jurnai's answer could not be heard. Shortly after the consultation, Jurnai left the scene and Dowdon fell to the ground. His wife jumped next to him hurriedly and started beating his drum, until he seemed to regain his senses. After Dowdon was informed about the details of his possessions, he said that Jurnai was a quick-tempered (Xal. *aashtai*) woman, who used to sit on top of the hot stove and foresee things. After the three possessions, Dowdon explained to the old woman what she had to do in order to secure her forthcoming journey, and then he took a break smoking and chatting with the participants.

The following part of the ritual was the entrustment (Xal. *daatgal*). Dowdon put on his headdress and started beating his drum and chanting the pertinent part of his incantations. First, he prayed for protection against adversities and for well-being and fortune in general:

(a12)
Söög!
 Please close the gate of calamities!
 Please do away with problems and misfortune!
 Please open the door of gains!
 Please give good fortune!
 [...]

After this, he introduced each of the participants one by one to the spirits, and on their behalf, asked for what each of them needed. For example, before starting the ritual, Dowdon asked another foreign observer—with whom I went to the ritual—whether he had a girlfriend. Because he did not have, when entrusting him to the spirits Dowdon sang:

[...]
 The one who has crossed the golden border of Mongolia,
 The one who has passed its silver border,
 The one who has come from [says the name of his country],
 The one whose name is [says his name],
 Please let him have a steady partner!
 Please let him have a girlfriend!
 For this, I am praying to
 My great ancestral spirits,
 [...]
 To my great khan-shamans,

To my great khatun-mothers!
Please descend surrounding us!
Please swing and feast with us!
Söög!
Aa hee yoo hee minee göö!
Ayaa baidaa minee göö!

After the entrustment, Dowdon, in the following part of his incantations, introduced himself to the spirits and asked them to bless the participants with good fortune, if they were satisfied with the ritual:

(a13)
I am calling
In the territory of my Tzambuu continent.
[My] password is “Ene Mongol”,
[I am] of Xeser Mongol descent,
Of Xalx Mongol stock.
[I am] a Mongolian boy.
I am [says his name], the son of Shar.
Please [bless us] with
Good fortune and good fate!
If it [the ritual] has been good,
Please descend on your
Silver white _____!
I am calling and praying to
The great heavenly lords,
To the great ancestral spirits,
To the _____ and protector spirits!
Please surround [us] and _____
On the offerings!
Let’s do the swinging of the ninths!
Let’s do the swaying of the eighths!
I am asking for good fate
In my prayers!
I am asking for blessings
In my feast!
[...]

In the meantime, Surnaa prepared the *töörög*; she poured milk into a cup and scattered it with some thyme (Xal. *ganga*). When Dowdon stood up, she placed the *töörög* on his drum. The participants also stood up and surrounded Dowdon, who turned around clockwise while singing the “black refrain”. Meanwhile, the participants were standing around Dowdon and praying. Each time the drum turned around and passed in front of a participant, s/he made a slight bow. After three turns, Dowdon flung the cup out of the kitchen’s entrance into the corridor. He explained that if the divination indicates that the spirits are not yet satisfied, the act has to be repeated until the cup falls to the ground with its mouth up. When the attempt was successful, Dowdon bowed

to the cup three times with his fingertips on his forehead, picked it up from the ground, dipped his forefinger into the few drops of milk that had remained in it and smeared it on his forehead. He gave the cup to the participants, who also smeared a drop of milk on their foreheads. Dowdon did not take a break between the entrustment and the divination, and since the incantations chanted during and before of both activities were very similar, sometimes it is difficult to determine which part of the invocation belongs to the entrustment and which belongs to the divination. Therefore, it might be reasonable to treat Dowdon's divination activity as a final part of his entrustment, with which he intended to learn whether or not the ritual appealed to the spirits, and whether or not they would take the participants under their protection and cater to their needs.

After the divination, Dowdon again took a longer break and only then he settled down to sending his spirits off by chanting the part of his incantations called Xal. *degdeelge*:

(a16.2)
I am praying having pulled out my
Red tamarisk whip,
Which is made of
The antler of a three-year-old moose
And tamarisk branches from three rivers.
Descenders surrounding us!
Please ascend swinging!
Descenders around!
Please ascend playing!
Please leave this house that has walls!
Please return to your rock-homes!
Please leave this smoky house!
Please return to your mountain-homes!
Please ascend to the sky!
Please return to your homelands!
[...]

After the spirits left the scene, Surnaa took the offerings from the table outside of the dormitory and offered them to the spirits. She scattered the content of each cup toward a specific direction, according to where the abode of the spirits that were to receive the particular offering was believed to be situated.

When the ritual was over, Dowdon explained that dispatching the spirits is not simply sending them off (Xal. *yawuulax*); it is rather making them ascend, as the term *degdeelge* (coming from Xal. *degdeex* “make somebody/something skywards”) also denotes. He said when spirits leave, they fly upwards similarly to small and light objects when lifted up by the heat of fire.

The Structure of Dowdon's Rituals

| RITUAL UNITS | RITUAL ACTS | COMMENTS |
|-----------------------------|--|---|
| Pre-possessional activities | Preperations | Preparation of the altar, donning the shamanic costume, purifying the shaman and the participants |
| | Invocation | White shamanic invocation |
| | | Black shamanic invocation |
| 1st possession | Öndögön böö | Welcoming Öndögön böö with tea and vodka |
| | | The old woman consults Öndögön böö |
| | | Öndögön böö leaves |
| Break | Break | Discussion about Öndögön böö |
| Pre-possessional activity | Black shamanic invocation | Invocation of Dariim |
| 2nd possession | Dariim | Welcoming Dariim with tea, vodka and dance |
| | | Dariim talks to some of the participants |
| | | Dariim leaves |
| Break | Break | Discussion about Dariim |
| Pre-possessional activity | Black shamanic invocation | Invocation of Journai udgan |
| 3rd possession | Journai udgan | Welcoming Journai with tea, vodka and a heated knife |
| | | The old woman consults Journai |
| | | Journai leaves |
| Break | Break | Chatting and smoking |
| Post-possessional activity | Entrustment (<i>daatgal</i>) | Chanting (<i>daatgal</i>) |
| | | Throwing the cup (<i>töörög xayax</i>) |
| Break | Break | Break |
| Post-possessional activity | Dispatching the spirits (<i>degdeelte</i>) | Chanting |
| | | Dowdon's wife takes the offerings out (<i>taxilaa örgöx</i>) |

5.1.2 Shamaness Altanceceg's Spirit-Pleasing Ritual

Altanceceg, a middle-aged Buriad shamaness, and her assistant, Namsrai, both from Dashbalbar district, Dornod province, were key members of the Golomt Centre in 2004–2005, when I was in contact with them. Süxbat, the head of the Centre, held Namsrai's knowledge of Buriad traditions in high esteem and once said that Namsrai knew more about shamanism than many of the shamans themselves. In January 2005, when Altanceceg and Namsrai were about to come to the Centre from the countryside, Süxbat asked me to make an interview (a4) with them and record one of their rituals on videotape (v1; v2).

The ritual was performed in Altanceceg's office, a small room in the Centre's building. The entrance of the room opened onto a narrow corridor, and the windows opposite the door looked to the east. Two tables were placed next to the southern wall: the shamanic tools and other necessary appurtenances were put on the one closer to the window, and the sacrifices were arranged on the other, which was closer to the entrance. Altanceceg's sacrificial table was different than that of shaman Dowdon in that there were eight small brass cups, four of which were filled with "food" (MB. *idee*), two with milk, one with tea, and one with vodka. Altanceceg referred to her sacrifices as "**properly counted six offerings**", though all the eight cups were filled with offerings. Two candles were also put on the table, but only one was lit during the ritual. The "food" consisted of small pieces of cookies and asterisk-shaped colourful candies. Similarly to Dowdon's ritual, a *xadag* and a length of silk³⁶ was also put on the table, but the money—a five-hundred-*tögrög* note—was put on top of the silk and was not hidden in its opening.

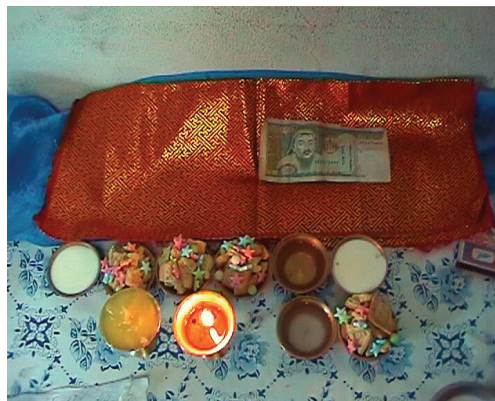


Fig.30 Shamaness Altanceceg's sacrificial altar

³⁶ The orange piece of cloth was referred to as "silk" (MB. *torgo*), but most likely it was not genuine silk.

Altanceceg was wearing her blue brocade cloak (MB. *xīxe xamba nūmerge*) and held her drum in her left hand. She sat down on a chair in front of the altar and started to invoke her spirits, while Namsrai put her black skullcap on her head. The invocation she sang before her first spirit arrived was very short, and its lyrics were completely different from Dowdon's invocation:

(1.1)
Aa hee minie göö!
Ayaaraa baidaa minie göö!
 Those whose bodies are old portraits,
 Those who appear in the form of _____ wolves,
 Those whose bodies are statues,
 Those who appear in the form of linked-together wolves,
 Those whose bodies are lung and heart,
 Those who reside in three mountains!
Aa hee minie göö!
Ayaaraa baidaa minie göö!

As soon as she finished the invocation, she stopped beating her drum, sprang up from her seat, jumped up and down for a short while; then started beating her drum again and commenced a new song; the song of her first spirit. The lyrics of this song are very difficult to understand, but what can be extracted from them makes clear that the spirit came from far away and asked why she had been invoked. Namsrai instantly turned to the spirit and gave the following answer (2.2):

We are doing the “swaying of the eighths and swinging of the ninths” on this beautiful black day!³⁷ A nice boy has come from a foreign country. He has come from Hungary to get acquainted with this shamans' association and with this mediator [Altanceceg]. His ancestors are happy and satisfied. He is a foreigner.

The spirit sang in reply (2.3): “I descended happily! I am happy.” Altanceceg's husband (who played the role of a sort of secondary assistant) and Namsrai poured vodka in a small cup and offered it to the spirit, saying (2.4): “Be delighted! Take your turn³⁸ buddhas³⁹!”

³⁷ Black day (MB. *xara üder*) here means the days on which black shamans conduct rituals.

³⁸ Namsrai said, “*Duxaraa barigtii daa burxashuud!*” The term MB. *duxaraa* corresponds to the Xal. *dugaraa*, which according to Kara's explanation, denotes the cup of drink that goes around from one person to another in a feast. Kara renders the phrase *dugaraa barix* as “to offer a cup of drink to somebody” (Kara 1998: 153). Thus, Namsrai's imperative *Duxaraa barigtii!* implies that he asks the spirit to receive the cup of vodka offered to him/her. In this context, the expression should be understood as “to accept a cup of drink that is offered”.

³⁹ The word “buddhas” (MB. *burxashuud*) was often used by Altanceceg's husband and Namsrai to address a possessing spirit. Its plural form might imply that the possessing spirit is not alone, or not only has this spirit received the vodka or any other offerings but also his/her entourage. The apprentices of another Buriad shaman (Dangaa) also customarily refer to spirits by the word *burxan* “buddha”, using it as a synonym for *ongon*. This might be related to the fact that in Xalx Mongolian, the expression *burxan bolox* (literally “to become a buddha”, i.e. “to die”) is widely used, and *burxan*—in a certain context—can simply denote a deceased person without any Buddhist connotation.

The spirit then expressed her thankfulness for the hospitality; said that she was happy to feast with her apprentices (MB. *jandaguud*) and left the scene (2.5–2.8). Altanceceg made two jumps and continued with the second spirit, the Bull Lord’s song (3.1):

[...]
My father Bull Lord,
My mother Boar Khatun.⁴⁰
What is the matter?
To whom is it related?

Namsrai reported to the Bull Lord (3.2):

We [are] in the beautiful vast land of Outer-Mongolia. Today is a beautiful black day. This is the centre, the hearth of Asian shamans, the association of Mongolian shamans. This association has invited skilful mediators, and there is a foreigner, a man from Hungary, who has come to get acquainted with the ancestral spirits and to pray to the ancestors.

The Bull Lord continued singing his song (v1. 03:00–05:33), while Altanceceg’s husband and Namsrai offered him a cup of vodka. Namsrai turned to him and reported that his mediator (Altanceceg) had been invited by the Golomt Centre and was conducting the ritual to which he (the spirit) had just arrived. He also introduced me again to the spirit, and with Altanceceg’s husband they offered another cup of vodka to him. This was the first time that they referred to the vodka as “**the black savage drink**”. Altanceceg made two jumps (v1. 05:50), shook her head and bent down slowly, while singing the song of the next spirit:

(5.1)
Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yaa
*Oo yaa yaa yaa oo yaa yaa!*⁴¹

An apprentice of Altanceceg brought a small square carpet and laid it on the floor. Namsrai said to the spirit, “**Be seated on your wide cushion!**”, and the spirit sat down on it. Namsrai explained that the spirit was Awagaldai, and they sang the spirit’s self-introduction together:

(5.5)
[I] have a golden-yellow wife

⁴⁰ In Buriad mythology, Boar Khatun is the wife of the Bull Lord. For more on the Bull Lord see Manzhigeev 1978: 32, Birtalan 2001: 954–55, and Xangalov 2004 III: 71–72. The first two lines referring to the Bull Lord and his wife as father and mother are normally sung by the shaman, but in this ritual Altanceceg sang these lines when she was already possessed by the Bull Lord. Thus, according to the rationale that when the shaman is possessed, the spirit speaks through him/her, it should be the Bull Lord here who sings these lines.

⁴¹ Cf. Ceren’s version of the Awagaldai song: *üüyee üüyee üüyee la* (Coloo 2007: 296).

(5.7)
Yookor yookor yeröyüülhen!
 [I am] the son-in-law of the burbot-god,
 The son of Guulin [Brass] Khan
 [...]
Yookor yookor yeröyüülhen!
Yookor yookor yerüüxüümei!
 [I am the] malevolent black Awagaldai.⁴²

When they finished the song, Awagaldai turned to Namsrai and asked why he had been called and where he had just arrived. Namsrai gave an explanation similar to those he had given to the previous spirits, but when he got to the point of introducing me, he reported with more eloquence (5.9):

[...] A nice boy has come from abroad, from a foreign country! He has passed high mountains, crossed wide rivers,⁴³ and stepped over many borders, covered the great distance of the vast steppe! He is of Hungarian descent. He is worshipping the ancestral spirits. [...]

Awagaldai asked for a smoke and Altanceceg's husband gave him a cigarette which he had previously lit and inserted into a small pipe. While Awagaldai was smoking, Namsrai recited a poetic introduction of the feast:

(5.15)
 [This is the] swaying of the eighths,
 The swinging of the ninths and eighths!
 [We have] rich _____ candles that

⁴² Cf. Ceren's version of the Awagaldai song in Kara's translation:

[Abagaldai] has a wife, Atarxan by name
 a daughter Hanžaaxan by name,
 and a son, Altan šaraxan.
 The yerexen black Yerexüümei
 descended on the island of the
 wide sea,
 over the lonely singe elm-tree
 (used as his) throne.
 The yerexen black Yerexüümei,
 the dull black Abagaldai
 is the son of Guulin Khan,
 (he is) the son-in-law of
 Gutaarixan tengeri (Coloo 2007: 347–48).

In Ceren's version, Awagaldai/Abagaldai has a son called Altan Sharaxan, which means "golden-yellow". The word *yookor* is likely to denote the traditional Buriad dance, the *yooxor*, and *yeröyüülhen* might be related to the Buriad verb *yürgexe* (to swing, to dance). The *-hen* suffix at its end is to express past tense, thus the line might be translated as "danced the *yooxor*". The word *yerüüxüümei* I cannot identify. I adopted the expression "dull black" from Kara's translation of the Buriad word *yengüü*. Somfai Kara (oral communication in 2009) reported that his informant, the Buriad shaman Altanjargal, interpreted the word as "evil, viperous, felon".

⁴³ In Namsrai's wording: *ündör dawaa/ ulliyyi dawzh ürgön golii gatalzh*. It might be worth to note that this Buriad expression resembles the Chinese *bashansheshui* (跋山涉水), meaning "to scale mountains and ford streams"—travel afar under difficult conditions.

Illuminated the six continents
 And shed light on the Zambuu continent.
 [We have] the properly counted six offerings,
 The fine liquor of the country,
 The offerings for the mountains and cairns.
 At the gate of the Lords of the Olihon island,
 [We have] black and white liquors,
 [We have] scarf and silk.
 Take your turn!

After the enumeration of the sacrifices, Altanceceg's husband gave a cup of vodka to Awagaldai, and Namsrai recited the following lines:

(5.17)
 [...]

By these fine offerings,
 Leaning against each other's shoulders,
 Offering money and food,
 Grabbing each other's hands,
 Offering pipe⁴⁴ and food _____

Next, Awagaldai and Namsrai sang the same lines, which frequently recurred in Namsrai's repertoire as an epithet of spirit-pleasing rituals. The lines above define spirit-pleasing rituals: they are organized by people who have brought together the offerings jointly and are celebrating in unity. It is unclear why it is Awagaldai who sings these lines. In other rituals, these lines are sang by assistants when the spirit asks about the circumstances of the ritual.

As soon as they finished the song, Awagaldai stood up and left Altanceceg's body, while singing the following refrain:

(5.19)
Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yoo!
Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yoo!
Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yaa!
Oo yaa yaa yee meenyee göö!

Altanceceg made a few jumps and started singing the song of the next spirit in an old female's voice (v1. 9:10). The song was so obscure that it cannot be translated. Namsrai informed the spirit about the occasion of the ritual similarly to his previous reports (6.2). The spirit sang that she was pleased to come down from heaven for this occasion, and then Altanceceg's husband and Namsrai offered her a cup of vodka. The spirit drank it and started jumping up and down as if she

⁴⁴ The original MB. is *gansa xool*, which can mean both "one food" or "pipe and food", but the latter here makes more sense. On the other hand, the Xalx apprentices of other Buriad shamans pronounced it as *ganciin xool* ("one food") (see 2.3 in the appendix for Chapter 5.1.3), which might mean that the first is the correct translation. However, it is also possible that the Xalx apprentices misinterpreted this ambiguous word, overusing the phonetic rule according to which what is "s" in Buriad is often "c" in Xalx (MB. *gansa*>Xal. *ganc* "one", while MB. *gansa*, Xal. *gans/gaans* "pipe"). With everything considered, I think the Buriad *gansa* in this text means "pipe".

was going to leave, but she suddenly stopped, dropped her drum and drumstick and stood stiff. Namsrai picked up the drum hurriedly and explained to Altanceceg's husband that the spirit had drunk too much, and that is why she was acting strangely. Then he turned to the spirit as though he was trying to appease her: he asked her to accept the offerings and explained to her that she had been invoked by her mediator, the Buriad Altanceceg from the Xügdüüd clan for the occasion of a ritual, which was being performed in the Golomt Centre. He further introduced me as a foreigner, who had come from the remote lands of Hungary, having crossed wide rivers and Lake Baikal, and having passed high mountains in order to worship the ancestral spirits. Eventually, he asked the spirit to accept the cup of vodka that was offered to her, but she still did not move. Namsrai continued his entreaties (6.7):

We have invited [you] together with Lord Xüx Xaaxan Baawai. Please appear
with your throne and share your wisdom of magic with us! [...]

The spirit shook her head and whistled, which Altanceceg's husband and Namsrai took as a sign of acceptance and poured the vodka into her mouth (v1. 12:04–12:20). Then they made her grab her drum and beat it. She beat it for a very short while and left the scene, jumping around.

The next spirit was also a female, and she sang her song in a delightful manner. Only fragments of words could be extracted from her song (7.1), at the end of which she asked for what reason she had been summoned. Namsrai answered her question by the introduction of the ritual and asked her to accept the vodka Altanceceg's husband was giving to her. The spirit answered singing, "I do not drink vodka", to which Namsrai instructed Altanceceg's husband to offer a cup of milk to the spirit. The spirit drank it and left.

When the next spirit, Namzhil arrived, Altanceceg put her drum on her back and started stooping around like an old woman. Namsrai said to her, "**Be seated on your nice wide cushion!**", and an apprentice put back on the floor the small carpet (which was removed after each possession), to which the spirit sat down very slowly. Namsrai squatted down and introduced to her the scene of the ritual (the Golomt Centre), the shaman (Altanceceg), and the foreign guest (me) from Hungary. Namzhil whispered something to Namsrai, to which he answered (8.3):

[...] In the vast lands of the beautiful Outer Mongolia, the Golomt Centre is
becoming the association of shamans, it is becoming famous! Please take your
fiery black drink! [...]

Namzhil accepted and drank the vodka, and then Namsrai went on introducing the ritual and the offerings to her (8.3):

[...]
It is the swaying of the eighths
And swinging of the ninths.
We have prepared
The ever-lighting candles.
Please taste these
Pure delicious foods!
We have *xadag* and silk,
And we have decorations
Of gold and silver.

Altanceceg, the daughter of Pürewzhaw, the black and white shaman, is the apprentice of your apprentice.

Namzhil again whispered something in response, to which Namsrai reacted as follows (8.5):

She is famous among her people, she is well known in this world, she has gained her fame by being void of envy and by being pure. Her name is echoed all around in this world. The Tiw Delxii Association of Shamans is also famous in this beautiful golden world. Come down peacefully in the sunshine, buddhas! Surround her human body, take possession of her callow body and control it! A foreigner has come...

Before Namsrai could have finished his sentence, Namzhil suddenly stood up and left, while drumming and singing (v1. 17:00–17:22).



Fig.31 Shamaness Altanceceg possessed by Namzhil

The song of the next, eighth spirit was similar to the sixth spirit's song; only scraps of words could be understood of its lyrics, and it had a childish and delightful melody. In her song, the

spirit introduced herself as an eighteen-year-old girl (9.1) and demanded her coral hairgrips. From Altanceceg's suitcase (in which she kept her paraphernalia) her husband pulled out a skullcap, which had stylized ornamentations of traditional Xalx hair clips⁴⁵ (MB. *daruulaga*) on it, and put it on the spirit's (his wife's) head, replacing the other cap she had been wearing. Namsrai explained (9.2) that the spirit died as a fille at the age of sixteen, and that is why her cap should be decorated with the embroidered representations of this jewellery. The young girl, similarly to the previous spirits, asked why she had been invoked, and Namsrai gave the customary explanation and asked the spirit to accept a cup of milk, saying (9.6), "Have your ocean-like milk buddhas!" The young girl drank it and left (v1. 20:25). An apprentice took the skullcap off Altanceceg's head, while her husband gave her a towel to wipe her face with.

The young girl was the last spirit Altanceceg invoked. After she left, Namsrai instructed Altanceceg's husband to sprinkle some milk through the window as a sacrifice, and started singing a song with Altanceceg. The song was intended to call the attention of all spirits to the sacrifices (10.1), and it addressed the following spirits: the spirits of mountains and *owoo*-cairns, the black hero, the white khan⁴⁶, spirits of the Heser Buriad⁴⁷ land, buddhas of the Mongolian State, the progenitors of the eight Aga-Buriad clans, spirits of Xalx-Mongol shamans, the spirits of the mountains that surround Ulaanbaatar, the Thirteen Lords of the Olihon Island, and spirits of all rocks and buddhas of all waters. After the enumeration of all these spirits, Namsrai and Altanceceg asked them to accept the sacrifices with pleasure and applied for benefaction (MB. *buyan guix*) for the Golomt Centre, for Altanceceg and for her interpreter (Namsrai). The enumeration of all spirit-names and the appeal in the song suggested that the ritual was over, which Namsrai seemed to confirm by announcing (11.1):

It is over. It is over now. The swinging of the eighths and swaying of the ninths
is over now. It was a ritual with a drum, a light ritual, a joyous festive ritual. This
was not intended to solve somebody's problem. It was only the

Swinging of the eights,
Swaying of the ninths,
Leaning against each other's shoulders,
Offering money and food,
Grabbing each other's hands,
Offering the only food.

⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that the *ongon* wears an accessory that is characteristically Xalx and not Buriad.

⁴⁶ The "white khan" (MB. *sagaan xaan*) usually refers to the Russian Tsars; in this case it is Peter I. We know this because Namsrai interchangeably called the person in question "white khan" and "Baatar Sagaan Xan" (lit. Hero White Khan), the latter of which is how the Buriads name Peter I.

⁴⁷ Heser stands for the Russian Cyrillic abbreviation СССР.

It was only a ritual for pleasure, for having fun. It was not intended to do anything for anybody, no it was not! It was all for the shaman herself and for her apprentices. All the ancestral spirits and auxiliary spirits have been invited, and it was all about making them enjoy this joyful ritual. [...]

While Altanceceg was having a break, I initiated having a discussion (11.2) over what had happened and what sorts of spirits had appeared during the ritual. To my question concerning the identity of the stooping spirit, Altanceceg and Namsrai answered that she was Namzhil, a very old lady, the master of Altanceceg's master. They explained that Namzhil was the greatest shaman of Dashbalbar district. She became a shaman at the age of fifteen and lived more than eighty years. When I asked whether after her death Altanceceg would become an *ongon* and possess her apprentices, her answer was a firm yes. Namsrai also added that she would possess anyone who would summon her. Then I asked about the number of spirits that appeared at the ritual, and Altanceceg instantly answered that she did not know but it must have been many and added that they (she meant the shamans) do not know what goes on during possession (do not remember the possessions). Namsrai said that a plenty of spirits had appeared, and he divided them into two groups: first came the spirits who only drink vodka, and then came the spirits of the Bodonguud clan, who drink milk. Then he instantly corrected himself by saying that spirits of the Xügdüüd clan drink milk, and those of the Bodonguud drink vodka. The short verses that depict the characters of each of the eleven Xori Buriad clans (WX. *omgiin uraa*) suggest that Namsrai's first statement was right. The Xügdüüd are depicted as high-spirited and boisterous (WX. *xüxyüün doriun tzantai*), while the Bodonguud are described as people who "have not got drunk on liquor" (WX. *booshig arxind sogtoogüi*). It is interesting to note that two other clans, namely the Xuacai and the Cagaanguud (15.3, 15.4) are also claimed to abstain from alcohol (Süxbat 2008: 17–19).

The young girl who demanded her coral hair clips was another curious spirit, who according to Namsrai, lived somewhere in the Aga Buriad territory and died when the Russian Tsar Peter I (MB. Baatar Sagaan Xaan) was still in the pride of his years (MB. *amid serüün baixada*). Namsrai added that the Buriads were all the people of Peter I. It is recorded in history that when a Buriad delegation was sent to Peter I. in 1703, a shamaness named Abazhaa was also taken to meet the tsar (Zhimbiev and Chimitdorzhiev 2000: 41).⁴⁸ Although it is not recorded whether or not the shaman later died young, as a maiden, the association of the young girl's spirit with the era of Peter I might be a part of the Buriads' cherishing the memory of Abazhaa. Namsrai emphasized

⁴⁸ For more on the delegation see Chimitdorzhiev 2001.

that the young girl became a shaman at around the age of seven or eight, and despite her very young age, she developed exceptional magical power (MB. *id shidy*). She had received the twelve or the forty-two prongs⁴⁹ (the maximum number of prongs a shaman can get) from the Thirteen Lords of the North, which indicated that she was a full-fledged shaman. When I asked about the reason why she had died at such a young age, Namsrai answered that the cause of her death might have been, as he worded, “eating each other and shooting at each other” (MB. *idyildee xarwaldaan*), which pertains to the belief that rivalling shamans destroy⁵⁰ one another. Namsrai said that the same might have caused the death of another female spirit of Altanceceg, who died at the age of twenty-nine. He explained that shamans used all sorts of vicious means, as for example poisoning one another, in order to defeat their rivals. Altanceceg added that except for Namzhil, all of her spirits were ancestral spirits of people who died young.

During Altanceceg’s ritual, none of the attendants had a conversation with any of the spirits, but to my question whether it was allowed to ask questions from the spirits Namsrai answered that anything one is concerned about can be asked and discussed with them. Namsrai gave an example of an imaginary woman who turns to a spirit and relates that her husband’s things (MB. *ajil yawdal*) are not going well and seeks to learn who is to blame for the problem. Namsrai said that in such a case, the spirit’s words should be instantly noted down so as the client could proceed according to the advice. Namsrai stressed that spirits never solve the problem in situ, but a later appointment for performing a problem-solving ritual can be fixed with the spirit.

After the discussion, Altanceceg and Namsrai set to dispatching the spirits; they started singing the parting song (12.1), which described the spirits as creators of people and other living beings. As the enumeration of the sacrifices began, Altanceceg sprang up from her chair (v1. 31:18) all of a sudden, and started singing a well-known folk song “Dariganga Land” (Mp. *Dariganga nutag*), which chants the beauty of the land of the Dariganga Mongols (13.3–13.9). Namsrai excitedly explained (13.2, 13.6) that there is a cairn called Golden Cairn (MB. *Altan Owoo*) in Süxbaatar province, which is inhabited mainly by Xalxs, and the owning spirit (MB. *etzen*) of the cairn possessed Altanceceg by attack (MB. *dairaad orzh irxe*), that is why she started to sing that song. He added that the cairn (by which he meant the mountain Shiliin Bogd, on which the cairn was erected) was one of the “four buddha mountains”—otherwise known as the “four sacrificial

⁴⁹ Namsrai explained that twelve is the maximum number of prongs on a shaman’s helmet, but if the number of the prongs on the shaman’s shoulders (maximum nine on each) and the number of the “invisible” prongs (MB. *xii salaa*, maximum twelve) having been given by the Thirteen Lords of the North are added, the maximum number of the prongs amount to forty-two.

⁵⁰ In Mongolian the verb “to eat” (Mp. *idex*) can also mean “to destroy” or “to defeat in a fight” (Kara 1998: 224).

mountains” (Xal. *taxilgat uul*) and also as “mountains of state worship” (Xal. *töriin taxilgat uul*).⁵¹ Namsrai turned to the spirit and informed him about the situation (13.4):

This is in the vast land of the beautiful Outer-Mongolia! We are in Ulaanbaatar amidst the four buddha-mountains in the Golomt Centre, the Tiw Delxii Association of Asian Shamans. Your well-versed mediator has been invited to perform the swaying of the eighths and swinging of the ninths. A foreigner has come crossing many borders, passing over many mountains, fording many rivers and passing over the great lake. He is a nice Hungarian boy. These nice people are participating and praying.

Here the Dariganga spirit interrupted him and said that he was pleased to descend and to be surrounded by his descendants (13.5). Altanceceg’s husband and Namsrai offered a cup of vodka to him. He drank the vodka, finished his song and left.



Fig.32 Altanceceg and Namsrai singing

Altanceceg took off her skullcap, shook her drum, sat on her chair in front of the sacrificial table and started beating her drum and singing the enumeration of the sacrifices with the melody of the Dariganga song (13.1. v2. 15:29). When Namsrai warned her that she was still singing the melody of the Dariganga spirit, she laughed, probably to conceal her slight embarrassment, stopped singing and shook her drum as if she was shaking something off of it. It is believed that when a spirit

⁵¹ The video footage with Altanceceg and Namsrai was made in January 2004. By that time the government had granted the title of “mountain of state sacrifice” to four mountains: Bogdxan, towering in the southern edge of Ulaanbaatar, Burxan Xaldun in Xentii, Otgon Tenger in Tzawxan, and Shiliin Bogd in Süxbaatar. The first three mountains were declared to be mountains of state worship in 1995, while Shiliin Bogd in 2004, only a few months before the ritual took place. Since then, the number of such mountains has increased to eight, with the addition of Altan Xöxii on the border of Xowd and Uws provinces (in 2005), Suwraga Xairxan in Arxangai, Sutai Xairxan in Gowi-Altai, and Xan Xöxii in Uws (the latter three were all given the title in 2007). I believe that the notion of “mountains of state sacrifice” in Mongolia echoes the worship of the five sacred mountains of China (Chin. *wuyue* 五岳). For more about the sacred mountains of China see Yi’e Wang 2004: 98.

possesses a shaman, the spirit penetrates the shaman's body and paraphernalia. On the grounds of shamanic tradition Altanceceg's blunder might be interpreted as she was still inspired by the song of the Dariganga spirit, i.e. some remnants of the spirit were still lingering in her drum and also in her mind. As she was getting rid of these entities, she started singing the enumeration of offerings with Namsrai (14.2); they mentioned that they had a table made of cypress and sandalwood with candles, liquor, money, and silk on it. At the end of the enumeration, Namsrai reeled off the names of many deities, from which only the names of the Thirteen Lords of the North and Buxa Noyon was understandable.

Altanceceg's husband poured the contents of all the small brass cups into a bowl (v2. 20:21) and gave it to an apprentice, who took it out and offered it to the spirits. Namsrai commented on the action (14.3):

This is how all the sacrifices, including the *xadag*, the silk, the candles, and all the stuff are offered to the Lords. This is what is called the "ascent of the sacrifices" (MB. *taxilaa degdeexe*). These respectful things are going to be offered to the owner-spirit of the shaman's paraphernalia, to the Thirteen Lords of the North, to Buxa Noyon; these are going to be submitted to the Lords of the Olihon. All of these are offered. This [is called the] liquor of the land and of heaven, the liquor of the *owoo*-cairns and of the mountains. These are called "as much food as a bush, as much drink as a spring." These, with the presents, the candles and food all go to the Lords of the Olihon, to the Thirteen [Lords of the North].

Altanceceg started singing the parting song, and Namsrai put the *xadag* and the silk and the money on Altanceceg's drum (v2. 21:22). Then he came closer to my camera and explained what Altanceceg was singing (14.4):

"Please leave the building [that has walls]! Return to your rock-homes! Please leave the smoky house! Return to your mountain-homes! Please head towards your homeland! Please ascend to your sky!" It says, "Return to your homeland! Please fly up to your heaven, go back to your vast land!" They are all gone; this is how they are sent off. "Please buddhas return to your rock-homes! Your blanket of creamy-brown sable fur is _____. Please return to your bush-homes! Your blanket of creamy-brown sable fur is _____. Please fly up and up!"

Altanceceg took her costume off, put her drum on a table in the room, and Namsrai announced that all the spirits had gone, and the ritual was over.

As Namsrai explained, the ritual was a feast to which spirit-guests were invited and impersonated one after the other. None of the spirits stayed much longer than the others, and none of them had conversation with anybody except Namsrai. As Namsrai put it, “they drank what they drank and left” (11.1). Namsrai characterized the ritual saying that it was a “light ritual” (MB. *xüngen böölön*), and it was a “ritual with a drum”. By “light” he meant that its purpose was not to address a serious issue but to celebrate and please the spirits. The expression “ritual with a drum” means black shamanic ritual since only black shamans have a drum; hence they are called “shamans with a drum”. It might seem to be a contradiction that Altanceceg was not wearing her helmet and armours during the ritual, which otherwise are essential items of black shamans, and one would expect the shaman to wear and use these at such a ritual. Instead, she had her blue cloak (a white shaman’s article) and black (i.e. black shaman’s) skullcap on. The resolution of the apparent contradiction is that the ritual was held on a nineteenth, on one of the descending days of black spirits, but the purpose and the “light” character of the ritual (it did not involve fighting mischievous spirits) did not require Altanceceg to wear her full armament.

The spirits that had come to the “feast” were addressed and referred to by various terms including: MB. *burxashuud*, *ongon*, *saxius*, *ezen*, *xün*, and *ug*. MB. *burxashuud* is the plural form of *burxan*, which means buddha, but, as mentioned above, Mongolian Buriad shamans also use this word to denote a dead person. Mp. *ongon* is the most common term to refer to a spirit that possesses a shaman, and as explained earlier, it can mean inspiration as well. Mp. *saxius* is a protector or guardian spirit, as the verb Xal. *saxix* (to guard) denotes. The word Bur. *ezen*, Xal. *etzen* means “lord” or “owner”, and in religious terminology it refers to spirits that preside over something, for example Xal. *uuliin etzen* (owner spirits of a/the mountain). Mp. *xün* means person. When talking about spirits, Namsrai often referred to them as “this person” (MB. *ene xün*), as if spirits were the same sort of human beings as anybody else at the ritual. MB. *ug* means “origin”, especially of a family or ethnic group. Altanceceg once used its plural form “origins” or “ancestors” (MB. *ugnuud*) to refer to her spirits. This multitude of terms indicates that in the minds of Namsrai and Altanceceg, spirits are not grouped into strict categories, and none of these terms can only be applied to one particular type of spirits. The different terms that they use interchangeably are not meant to denote spirits of different characters but different characters and aspects of spirits. For instance, when the protective and guarding quality of a spirit is important,

the spirit might consequently be referred to as a *saxius*, but the same spirit can also be called an *ezen* when it is to stress that s/he has authority over a place or an object.

Altanceceg's ritual was unlike other shamans' rituals in that the interpreter, Namsrai, played an exceptionally active part in it. It could easily be discerned that he was the "master of the ceremony"; he had more control over what was happening than Altanceceg herself. It is not to say that Altanceceg was not competent; she had a good reputation and was highly esteemed among the Golomt members. It is rather due to Namsrai's passionate attitude towards shamanic practice and his aspiration to hold a firm grasp of the events and let them happen smoothly.

The appearance of the Dariganga spirit and the frequent mentions of the Golomt Centre and the Tiw Delxii Association indicate that Altanceceg and Namsrai had a strong sense of affiliation to what was happening in the religious life of Mongolia, even though it was not necessarily related to Buriad shamanism. They proudly introduced the Golomt and the Tiw Delxii to their spirits, and though they did not invite the Dariganga spirit (according to Namsrai he was a Xalx), they let him take part in the festivity and entertained him like the other spirits. The fact that Shiliin Bogd, the abode of the Dariganga spirit, had been proclaimed as a "mountain of state sacrifice" shortly before the ritual might be an explanation of why the spirit was so eager to take part.

The structure of Altanceceg's ritual

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Pre-possessional act | Preparations |
| Possessional acts | 1st spirit |
| | The 1st spirit leaves, and the 2nd immediately arrives |
| | 2nd spirit (Buxa Noyon) |
| | The 2nd spirit leaves, and the 3rd immediately arrives |
| | 3rd spirit (Awagaldai) |
| | The 3rd spirit leaves, and the 4th immediately arrives |
| | 4th spirit |
| | The 4th spirit leaves, and the 5th immediately arrives |
| | 5th spirit (Namzhil) |
| | The 5th spirit leaves, and the 6th immediately arrives |
| | 6th spirit (sixteen-year-old girl) |
| | The 6th spirit leaves |
| Post-possessional acts | Offering the sacrifices to all the spirits in a song |
| | Break: conversation about the spirits |
| | Dispatching the spirits (<i>degdeelge</i>) |
| Possessional act | Interruption by the 7th "Dariganga" spirit |
| Post-possessional acts | Dispatching the spirits (<i>degdeelge</i>) |

The structure of Altanceceg's possessions

| |
|--|
| 1. The spirit's self-introduction |
| 2. Namsrai's introduction of the ritual and its participants |
| 3. Offering vodka/milk/tobacco to the spirit |
| 4. Short conversation between Namsrai and the spirit |
| 5. The spirit leaves jumping |

5.1.3 Buriad Shamans' Lunar New Year Ritual

The Lunar New Year ritual⁵² is the most important and the most grandiose of the Buriads' spirit-pleasing rituals. This ritual is held on the ninth day of each Lunar New Year, and thus it is the first *yühen*-type ritual of the year.⁵³

The Lunar New Year ritual I attended and recorded in February 2005 welcomed the year of the wooden rooster (MB. *modon taxia jil*) and was conducted by an elderly shaman couple; Shaman Dangaa and Shamaness Dungaa. Dangaa was a key member of Süxbat's Golomt Centre and the master of one of Süxbat's daughters. The event took place at the couple's home, in a flat with two rooms and a kitchen. Above the entrance opening onto the street, a signboard stated that the Buriad department of the Golomt Centre (WX. *Mongol Böögiin Golomt Töwiin Buriad Salbar*) was housed there.

By the time I arrived at the shamans' home, the sacrifices had already been prepared and the participants—the apprentices of the couple and their relatives—had gathered together. The altar was set up in the living room opposite its entrance, and it consisted of three tables fully laden with various kinds of sweets, drinks, candles, money and *xadags*. In the middle, the disjointed parts of a sacrificial sheep were arranged on its own outstretched skin. The intestines were put in a small bowl and placed beside it. Shamaness Dungaa referred to the sacrifices during the ritual as “**properly counted twenty-four offerings**”, though there were far more cups on the altar.

⁵² The ritual is the shamanic equivalent of the Lunar New Year celebration observed by ordinary people. For an elaborate study on the celebration in people's homes and Buddhist monasteries see Zhukovskaya 1985: 169–89.

⁵³ Süxbat and Dangaa told me that Darxad shamans celebrate the Lunar New Year with a similar sacrificial ritual on the third day of the first lunar month.



Fig.33 The sacrificial altar for the Lunar New Year ritual

The ritual began with the training of some apprentices. First, a young woman (one of the beginners) wearing her white shamanic costume, sat down on a stool facing the altar (v28. 00:00–05:13). Dungaa asked another of her apprentices, Bayarmaa to assist. Bayarmaa sat behind the beginner, grabbed the streamers that were hanging down from her skullcap and moved her arms up and down, as though she had been riding a horse and holding the reins. She sang the white shamans' refrain: *Aryaa wade om manee badmee xum*. The apprentice, meanwhile, was shaking her bell and also singing the refrain. Dungaa soon came back, stood next to her apprentice and started to sing the invocation for her (1.1), teaching how she should summon her spirits. The invocation was similar to that of shaman Dowdon (2.2) in that they called the spirits' attention to the fact that they would continue the invocation desperately until "two things merge or act together". For example, "I will call you until gold and silver shine together".

When they finished the invocation, the apprentice stopped shaking her bell, and Dungaa gave her some technical instructions on how she should in the future make her spirits possess her. This time she did not get possessed. She stood up and let Bayarmaa sit on the stool (v28. 05:13).

Bayarmaa put on a head-scarf and took her bell and Jew's harp. Another apprentice assisted her holding a small cup of vodka, into which Bayarmaa dipped the tongues of her instruments (v28. 05:45). Bayarmaa drank the cup of vodka and gave her mirror to the assistant, who then dipped it into a cup of milk. Then, Bayarmaa started shaking her bell and singing *Aryaa wade om manee badmee xum*. After a short while, another assistant, a young girl, took Bayarmaa's bell and held it for a while so that the shamaness could play her Jew's harp (v28. 07:18), while the first assistant was also shaking her own bell. Bayarmaa started crying, and the assistants did not know whether or not it was a sign of her spirit's arrival. A third apprentice, seeing what was happening, approached Bayarmaa and said to the spirit (v28. 9:09; 1.2):

Buddhas! Drink your **golden-yellow tea!** This is the celebration of the eighths!
**Amuse yourself and sit undisturbed! Stay long and drink! Come, gently, like
a noble, warmly, like a khan!** We worship you, buddhas! **We are praying for
good fortune and asking for your blessing!** Enjoy yourself, gently, like a noble,
warmly, like a khan!

Dungaa said that the spirit had not possessed Bayarmaa yet, but as she got closer to her, she seemed to realize that her first assumption had been wrong. In an attempt to comfort the spirit, she welcomed her politely and asked her to quit crying (1.3). First, Dungaa offered her a cup of milk saying, **“Take your ocean-like milk!”** She told the spirit that she had just arrived at the greatest sacrifice (MB. *taxilga*) and celebration (MB. *nairlaga*, *yüryöö*) of the whole year, and therefore there was no reason to be sorrowful. The words by which Dungaa was trying to appease and console the spirit were built on expressions that are commonly used in the ritual language of Buriad shamans. One of the most common phrases, **“Come gently, like a noble, warmly, like a khan!”** is generally used to ask the spirit to make a smooth and friendly appearance. Another similar expression that Dungaa used frequently to calm down the crying spirit was **“Come without anger, without wrath but in a placid manner!”** These two locutions were sometimes used in combination with each other and with other expressions of offering milk or vodka. Dungaa, after giving the drinks to the spirit, turned to her with her appeals (1.3.2):

Strengthen the two legs of your infant mediator; let her see the unseen, let her know the unknown! Open the gate of gains, close the gate of loss and do away with all kinds of damage, everything that is bad; jealousy and enviousness! Protect our children and parents! Come without crying, gently, like a noble, warmly, like a khan!

After the appeals, Dungaa introduced the circumstances of the festivity and enumerated the offerings they had prepared:

More than ten, almost twenty apprentices of these two masters [Dungaa and Danga] have gathered here. We have set up in the sacred north-western corner of our residence (MB. *ürgöö*) a **sandalwood table** laden with **candles that have hundred legs**, twenty-four offerings, fourteen candles, **savory yellowish tea**, **tough black brandy**, **showering-white brandy**, a **length of brocade and silk**,

and *xadag* and silk as present. We have slaughtered the sheep that is as white as a swan [**swan-white sheep**]. Please come upon the meat (MB. *shüühe*) of this lamb, enjoying the offerings gently, like a noble, warmly, like a khan! Please buddhas come upon these **beautiful eternal candles**! Take your tough black brandy!

After the spirit accepted the vodka, Dungaa introduced Bayarmaa's mother (Marina) to her (1.3.4), who also participated in the ritual. Dungaa referred to Marina as the "**elderly grey mother**" of the spirit's "**infant mediator**" (Bayarmaa). The spirit continued crying and asked Marina to bend down so as she could bless her by spitting vodka on her head (v28. 12:55). Dungaa offered the spirit another cup of vodka and told her to share it with Marina. The spirit did not stop crying, and Dungaa continued consoling her for a while, then gave her a cup of milk and asked the spirit to leave saying, "**Leave by your ocean-like milk!**" As soon as the spirit drank the milk, Dungaa started singing the parting song with the black shamans' refrain (1.4):

Aa hee yoo hee minie göö!
Aa yaa baidoo minie göö!

The spirit interrupted, "This is not my bell!" An apprentice found her bell and gave it to her. Dungaa continued the song, while the spirit was shaking her bell:

Please ascend shaking your pure white bell!
Please ascend playing your seventy-tongued Jew's harp!

The spirit started to shake her bell and head so violently that her whole body trembled. An apprentice standing next to her was holding a smouldering piece of bark right in front of her nose in order to alleviate the ferocity of the spirit's departure. The spirit fell back from the stool and lay on the floor for a while. She was seemingly unconscious. Dungaa took some vodka into her mouth and spit it into Bayarmaa's face. When Bayarmaa stood up and started regaining her senses, her two masters and another apprentice assisted her. Dungaa spit some more vodka into her face and instructed an apprentice to "smoke" (MB. *utax*) Bayarmaa, i.e. to hold a smoking piece of bark in front of her face or to draw circles with it above her head. Dungaa was propping the still unstable Bayarmaa from the behind and flapped her back by his whip, while exclaiming (v28. 17:28), "*shiröög shiröög shiröög!*" Dungaa instructed Bayarmaa to start jumping, and while she was jumping up and down, Dungaa continued flapping her back. Bayarmaa soon took off her headscarf, wiped her face with it and sat down on a stool. Dungaa turned to Bayarmaa's mother, Marina, and said (1.5):

It is necessary to remove the grievance (MB. *gomdol*) and anger (MB. *uur*) of Bayarmaa's spirit. You, as her parents must very well... must pray! Implore and pray! This grievance and anger makes her [the spirit] excessively sorrowful.

After the performances of the two apprentices—which were attempts to summon and impersonate spirits in the proper way—the master shaman Dangaa sat down on the stool in front of the altar, wearing a blue caftan and a black skullcap (18:15). He started to invoke his spirit by beating his drum and chanting a lengthy invocation (2.1), only a part of which I recorded. What is interesting about Dangaa's invocation is that it addresses and invites spirits of Xalx, Torguud and Bayad shamans as well as the shamanic deities (MB. *tengerüüd*) of the Darxads. The reason for this is presumably the fact that many of the apprentices were of Xalx descent, and there were some Torguud, Bayad and Darxad apprentices as well. When the spirit possessed Dangaa, he suddenly stopped beating his drum (v29. 4:55), raised his drumstick and touched his forehead with it, as if he had been shielding his face and looking into the distance. As mentioned above, this posture is a commonplace in the body language used during Buriad shamanic rituals and is very often assumed when the spirit arrives at the scene of the ritual. By this posture the spirit expresses that s/he has just dropped down from heaven and does not know where s/he is. At this point, the spirit is perplexedly waiting for the assistant or interpreter to introduce the ritual scene and the participants.



Fig.34 Dangaa getting possessed by his spirit

It is interesting to note that the posture “staring into the distance with one hand shielding the face” (Xal. *alsiig sarawchilax*) in Mongolian culture is an identifying feature of heroes and politicians, who often appear in this posture in their campaign photographs.

The spirit lowered his hands, beat his drum again for a little while, then jumped up from the stool and again assumed the previous posture and swung his drum behind himself and held it against his back (v29. 5:34). He soon started introducing himself by a brief song (2.2) and greeted the public, “**Peace and health!**” The participants replied the same way. Dungaa told the spirit that he arrived at the residence of his mediator (Dangaa) for the Lunar New Year celebration. She said that twenty-four offerings were prepared and fourteen apprentices were taking part in the ritual. The spirit often responded to what Dungaa said, but most of his responses were incomprehensible for anybody else than Dungaa. Although many of the spirit’s words were clearly pronounced even when he sang, what he meant was in many cases very unclear. Dungaa, after the brief conversation with the spirit, offered a cup of milky tea and then a cup of vodka to him. The spirit accepted the drinks and greeted the apprentices again, “**My large crowd of apprentices! May all of you be in peace and health!**” The apprentices replied, “**Peace and health!**” The spirit drank the vodka, and Dungaa offered him a cigarette. Because the spirit lived in a time when the cigarette was unknown, Dungaa introduced it to him as “**modern-time tobacco in paper armour**”. She lit it for the spirit and continued introducing the ritual circumstances (2.2):

[...] Take the modern-time tobacco in paper armour! Sit undisturbed and enjoy yourself! Stay long and sleep! Come gently, like a noble, warmly, like a khan! We are in the _____ corner of Mongolia, in Ulaanbaatar, on the northern slopes of Khan Mountain Bogd, in the valley of the Khatun⁵⁴ Tuul River. The fourteen apprentices have come with all of their brothers and sisters. [...] We are worshipping you, we are praying to you! Take your seat with dignity amidst these fine offerings! Appear delightfully buddhas! [...]

The spirit replied that he was very delightful and asked whether all of his “**infant small children**” were all right. Dungaa answered that it was a difficult time with ups and downs, in which some had strength and ability (MB. *tenxee*), and some had not, but death (MB. *üxel xagasal*) had not occurred [in their circles] and all in all, they got by. She turned to the spirit with a request: “Great spirits, please look after us and protect us!” The spirit unfolded his opinion about the current political situation in Mongolia: “Politics had bi-polarized people and let them down.” After this he was ready to accept the apprentices one by one and answer their questions. Some of the apprentices only greeted the spirit and gave him some money as present. Each apprentice

⁵⁴ Khatun (WM. *qatun*, Xal. *xatan*) is the female counterpart of khan (WM. *qan*, *qaan* Xal. *xan*, *xaan*).

introduced him/herself by their clan names and passwords (MB. *owog uraa*), personal names (MB. *ner*), age (MB. *nas*) and zodiac (MB. *jil*), and then they handed over the money with both hands to the spirit, saying, “**Take this money-offering!**” This form of greeting (Xal. *tzolgox*) and the handing over of presents (Xal. *örgöl barix*) is practised during the Mongolian Lunar New Year celebration when people step up to the eldest members of the visited family and give them presents, usually money.⁵⁵ In the shamans’ version of this celebration, the eldest members of the shamans’ community are the spirits since they are spectres of people who died long ago. The greeting is an opportunity to ask questions from the spirit and to request their advice on solving problems or making decisions in life. The majority of the apprentices had been anticipating this opportunity and came up with their queries. Dungaa was sitting on a stool in front of the spirit, playing the role of the interpreter; she not only mediated between the spirit and the apprentices but also gave instructions to the latter on how to speak with the spirit and what to say to him. When the first apprentice (2.3) bowed to the spirit, Dungaa turned to him, “You ask now! What is your and your father’s name? What is your ethnicity and what is your clan-name? Say it yourself!” The apprentice said that he was a Xalx and introduced himself to the spirit. Dungaa then turned to the spirit and said that the things of the apprentice were not going well (MB. *azhil türöl бүтөхгүй*), and he was in a difficult financial situation. The spirit answered that it was because the apprentice had lost connection with his ancestors three or four generations ago, and advised that he take measures in order to resume these connections. Another apprentice (2.6) asked, “How to live a happy life?” The spirit said in response, “You like the “**fiery black drink**” [vodka] too much. Restrain your drinking and eating habits!”

After having received around half of the apprentices, the spirit announced that he would say something to all of them and started his monologue (2.8):

[...] Let me tell you something! I wish success to all of you in becoming shamans.

You all are the apprentices of one person.

[Dungaa translates]: He says, “I am talking to you all, to my apprentices.”

[Spirit]: No matter what breaks apart in the cauldron, it all has to remain within it.

If anything goes out it will be nothing but...

[Dungaa translates]: He says, “All of you are the apprentices of one master. Even if the blood sausage bursts, it stays in the cauldron. No matter what happens, you should stay in the cauldron! If you escape from it, you will be nothing but flour-

⁵⁵ For more on the custom of greeting during the Lunar New Year celebration see Zhukovskaya 1985: 181.

paste [MB. *shonxuu*]. That is why you all must be in peace and concordance and must worship the spirits.” This is what he said.

[Spirit]: Now, some of the apprentices are conceited. You must understand that the master is the master.

[Dungaa translates]: “There are some conceited apprentices. The apprentice is an apprentice, the master is the master. You all must be in peace and concordance! I see all sorts of people here,” he says.

[The apprentices reply]: All right, we got it. Peace and health!

The admonishments of the spirit suggest that certain tensions and disagreements had emerged among the shamans. What the spirit calls attention to in his monologue, i.e. respecting the master, not rivalling with him, and not leaving his circles, are primarily important to Dangaa. His traditionally conceived absence prevents any suspicions that he is giving voice to his own personal thoughts and wishes. The spirit here is an external judge, whose judgements are unquestionable.

After his monologue, the spirit was again ready to accept the rest of the apprentices. Bayarmaa, the apprentice whose spirit had been crying, knelt down next to the spirit and asked (2.9) how her fate and fortune (Xal. *tzayaa töörög*) was going to treat her in the next year. Dangaa answered that her next year was going to be all right, but she was still lacking a consecration (MB. *shanar*) and had to receive it soon. He said the spirit that had possessed her and cried was demanding that Bayarmaa received her forthcoming consecration. The next apprentice (2.10), a girl of Urianxai ethnicity, who had only one consecration (MB. *zalaagaa awax*), asked two questions; first, whether or not she had something left to accomplish in the forthcoming year. The spirit answered that she was also to receive one more consecration and that she still had a long way to go in learning the craft of shamans. Her second question was whether or not she should go to China to study. The way Dungaa interpreted her query to the spirit exposes the Mongols’ traditional enmity towards the Chinese (2.10):

[...] This girl is about to cross the golden border, to pass the silver border and to go to the distant land of China. She is going to study in the empire of the black-tongued Chinese. She asks whether she should go or stay, whether she can or cannot go. [...]

The spirit answered that she should go if she had the money for it, but Dungaa in her translation added something the spirit had not said; that there was no need to go.

Mönxjaw, the daughter of Dangaa and Dungaa, an apprentice of her own parents, also greeted the spirit and consulted him (2.12). She was very apprehensive because she wanted to ask a question about her boyfriend. She whispered her question into her mother's ear and got her to ask it for her. The spirit's answer made her blush and the public laugh.

Another apprentice, who had been studying the craft of white shamanism, was told by the spirit (2.15) that her ancestral spirit might not be white but rather pure black (MB. *tas xar*). This normally means that the apprentice has to receive the black consecrations (and of course to incur its vast expenses⁵⁶).

The last apprentice that consulted the spirit (2.17) said that a younger sister of her was in Spain and needed a visa extension. The apprentice asked whether her sister would succeed. The spirit requested the sister's zodiac and was about to answer, when another apprentice, Oyuunchimeg, who had taken over the task of the interpreter from Dungaa, offered a cup of vodka to the spirit. The spirit did not drink it, but gave it to the apprentice. The interpreter warned the spirit that it was not the right event to solve a problem. She reminded him that it was the Lunar New Year ritual, which is not about solving personal issues and asked him not to solve the problem but only to give a blessing (Xal. *yörööl xelex*). The spirit was not going to perform a problem-solving ritual, and therefore he did not seem to pay much heed to the interpreter's warning. He told the apprentice to take the vodka outside and perform a libation towards the north-east. The interpreter reminded the apprentice to take on her hat.

After having received all the apprentices, the spirit asked them to cut off a piece from the sacrificial sheep's tail (2.18). He put it in his mouth, bit out a small piece from it and gave it to Dungaa, saying that each apprentice should take it and eat from it. After all the apprentices had tasted the fat, the spirit grabbed his drum and left while singing and beating the drum (v31. 5:10–7:02).

After Dangaa's lengthy presentation, his wife, Dungaa sat down on the stool and started to summon her first spirit (3.1). Altogether she incarnated three spirits in approximately forty minutes. The first spirit sang her introductory song (3.2) and told the people (3.3) that she saw the

⁵⁶ Bayarmaa told me that a consecration imposed a heavy financial burden on the apprentice because s/he is to cover all the expenses of the ceremony. She did not speak about how much the apprentice should pay to his/her master, but she hinted the master's time and effort was not free of charge. In 2004–05, rumours were spreading in shamanic circles that some masters' services were particularly expensive, and some consecrations cost as much as one million *tögrög*s (approximately 1000 dollars that time), a yearly income of an average worker.

Green Taras (MB. *nogoon burxad*) being present at the spot. She asked where she had arrived. Dangaa, who had taken the role of the interpreter, answered that she had arrived at the Lunar New Year ritual. The spirit thought that the ritual was taking place at her native land, but Dangaa said that they were at the home of the spirit's "**infant mediator**" (Dungaa), in the western edge of Ayaarai,⁵⁷ in the capital of Outer-Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, in the valley of the Khatun Tuul river and on the northern slopes of Khan Bogd mountain. The spirit responded with a question in an excited tone of voice, "Oh, so you say I am walking on the land of the Xalx Outer-Mongolia, among my Mongol apprentices?" Dangaa answered, "Yes you are", and offered a cup of milky tea to her, saying, "**Take your yellow-red tea!**" The spirit expressed that she was very pleased to participate in the celebration, and Dangaa offered a cup of vodka to her. The spirit's next observation, "What a quarrelling, gossiping, envious and jealous place is this" struck Dangaa, who instantly replied, "You know that quarrelling and dispute are not suitable to a place where there are shamans." The spirit elucidated that the shamans followed the customs (MB. *yoho*) and doctrines (MB. *nomo*), and it was the state, Mongolia, and Mongolian politics (MB. *ulad tür*) that she spoke about. Dangaa said with relief, "Oh you mean the transition of our political system" (MB. *türemnei ergee*). The spirit said that she had never seen such quarrelling and dispute (MB. *xel aman*) before but liked the ritual very much. She greeted the public, "All of my apprentices and all of my children, may all of you be in health and peace!" The participants replied, and the spirit continued her speech, "It has been a long time that I have tasted the **dairy of my sons and daughters**," by which she meant that she had not been invited and entertained by the shamans and their apprentices for a long period of time. Dangaa seemingly took it as a reproach and managed to get over and done with the issue by answering with a silent, "Oh yes." The spirit asked whether her "two grandchildren" (it is not clear who she meant) were present. Dangaa answered, "Oh yes, they are here," and offered another cup of drink (milk or milk brandy) to her, which he introduced as "**the dairy of your sons and daughters**". The spirit greeted the public again and announced that she would give blessing (MB. *adyislaxa*) to her "two grandchildren". Dangaa said that Dungaa, the "**infant daughter**" of the spirit, had many grandchildren, and she was surrounded by a plenty of her apprentices. The spirit responded with a laudatory remark, "Oh how many apprentices, how many spirits and shamans can I see here!" Dangaa first introduced their two-year-old grandson, then the wife of their son (3.5), and finally their daughter, Mönxjaw (3.6). The spirit was looking for the old couple's son (3.4), but he was not around. Dangaa said that he had gone to the Gandan

⁵⁷ Dangaa said "*Ayaaraingaa baruun zaxad*". *Ayaarai* might be a synonym for the *Zambuu* continent, as the starting line of each Buriad shamanic invocations (*Ayaarai Zambuu tüwiin ...*) suggests.

lamasery, to which the spirit said that it was right, for it would do good to the son's charisma (MB. *süld*⁵⁸). She remarked that the son had been confused a bit, explaining why he needed to visit the lamasery. The spirit did not speak to her descendants, she rather examined them. It was always Dangaa who answered her questions and reacted to her remarks. When Mönxjaw (the son's sister) bowed to the spirit, she warned Dangaa that they (Dangaa and Dungaa, the parents of both) should keep Mönxjaw away from her brother.

The spirit did not receive other participants; she said the following blessing before she left: **“When I come again, be as rich as the ocean, when I return, be as abundant as the spring! Every place you step on may be pure, everywhere you walk may be bright!”** She expressed her thankfulness for being invited to the ritual and announced that she would leave.

The next spirit Dungaa invoked (4.1) was the owning spirit of the shamanic armour (MB. *Arxaaal'iin ezen*). She asked Dangaa whether he knew her, and because his answer was no, she miffed at him with a “hmm” and remarked, “You have moved into the city and do not know me!” Dangaa managed to appease her by offering tea, vodka and cigarette to her, and as a result, the spirit soon greeted the public and started to praise her hosts for having so many spirits and deities around. She said all of the shamans had fine ancestral spirits (MB. *ug garwal*) and that she could see spirits of every kind on the spot. She further explained that in former times, shamans used to be alone and despise one another, but now they have learned how to unite. She also marvelled that her mediator (MB. *ulaash*), Dungaa, as she worded, “her small child” (MB. *baga zhaaxan iir*), became so powerful and competent and had so many apprentices. She added that very good shamans would emerge from among the apprentices and gave her blessing: “Be well known in the country and be famous among the masses!”

Finally, the spirit thanked them for having been invited and announced that she would bless her “small apprentices” with her whip before leaving the scene. She stood up, put her right arm akimbo, and the apprentices lined up before her. They bowed and introduced themselves to the spirit, who then prodded their backs with her whip three times and said some words to almost each of them (4.2). The first in the line was Alimaa, the first apprentice of Dangaa and Dungaa. Therefore, as Dangaa later explained, she was often called “the golden apprentice” (MB.

⁵⁸ The MB., Xal. *süld* in the above context can best be translated as “charisma”, but it has to be added that it holds multiple meanings, including: charisma, protector spirit, vitality, standard or banner. In the above example, the meaning of *süld* is very close to that of *xiimori*, earlier translated as “mettle”, “charisma”. As the spirit said, a visit to the lamasery can improve one's *süld*. I can tell from personal experience that the words Xal. *süld* and Xal. *xiimori* in Mongolia are often used in combination, as in *süld-xiimori*. For more on the concept of *süld* see Heissig 1980: 84, Manzhigeev 1978: 94, Qurcabayatur and Üjüm-e 1991: 38–83, Skrynnikova 1992–93: 51–59, Bawden 1994: 10–14, and Birtalan 2001: 1042.

altan shawi). Alimaa introduced herself using an elevated ritual language: “I am of Xalx Mongol bone⁵⁹, my password is *xüser mergen*, I am **leaning against my left knee**. My fame is Alimaa.” The expression “leaning against one’s left knee” implies that a person introducing herself to the spirit is a female, alluding to the traditional posture women assume when sitting in a yurt. The word “fame” (Xal. *aldar*) is often used instead of “name” (Xal. *ner*), and it expresses politeness when asking the name of a venerable person or high-ranking person like in “What is your fame?” (Xal. *Tanii aldar xen be?*). The use of the expression “My fame is ...” (Xal. *Minii aldar ... / bi... aldartai*) in a self-introduction could be considered as vaingloriousness in most social settings. However, Alimaa’s self-introduction was unlikely to express such an attitude; her choice of style can more likely be explained by her effort to sound eloquent, which is in fact a requirement when talking to a spirit. The spirit asked Dangaa who this person was. Dangaa answered, “She is a **skilful good mediator**”. The spirit prodded her three times with her whip and warned her, “Beware of a red person who is neither male nor female, who is neither a lama nor a shaman. [S/he] cannot be defeated!”

The next apprentice, Oyuunchimeg had an outstretched skin of a badger fastened to the back of her caftan. When she bent down, the spirit took notice of it and told the apprentice that she should remove it, for this was the skin of a filthy animal that digs the anus of cows. She also warned her that some of her relatives might be jealous of her improving (shamanic) abilities. The spirit said that Oyuunchimeg’s skills and abilities were developing like the plumage of the Garuda bird.

The spirit cautioned another apprentice to stay clear from a blond-haired and green-eyed shamaness, who had shaman ancestors (MB. *ug garwaltai*). It is curious whether or not the foreign-looking shamaness was a fictitious or a real person, and if she was a real one, in what way she could imperil the apprentice. The apprentices, after having heard the admonishments, warnings and advice and having been prodded by the spirit’s whip, slipped through under her right armpit as a sign of their subservience.

After having blessed all the apprentices, the spirit drank a cup of vodka and left (4.3). Dungaa regained her senses and sat down on the stool. Oyuunchimeg, the apprentice who had been told to remove the skin from her costume, approached her and told her what the spirit had advised (4.4). Dungaa laughed out loud and confirmed that the badger was indeed such an animal and said that if the spirit told her to get rid of the skin, she should do so. Dungaa wiped her face,

⁵⁹ The Xal. *yas* (bone) is also used to refer to one’s paternal lineage.

asked for a cup of milky tea then for a cup of vodka, and said that she would soon invoke another spirit called Gombo, for this spirit had been harassing her for a while (5.1). Because Dungaa was already very tired, she asked her husband to sing the invocation while she was going to beat her drum. It took only a few seconds, and Dungaa started shaking her body and laughing loudly till she fell off the stool. When she was scrambling to her feet, the spirit had already possessed her and started to speak (5.2):

Is this the ninth and eighth? Shaman Dondogbaatar just made me drunk!
Dondogbaatar likes the vodka! He is sitting blind drunk! Is it my yellow daughter
who called me by the sound of her drum? Oh, how many deities is she living with!
She has so many deities and so many apprentices! Dondogbaatar could not do
this! My son from the Baruun-Xuasai clan and my yellow daughter are doing very
well! I am very happy, my children! How great it is! The meat of the **swan-white
sheep** is still untouched. Let me taste its fat white tail, my children! Give me hard
black brandy, yellowish red tea and let me taste the red fatty tail of this lamb! How
beautiful it is! Dondogbaatar is celebrating in loneliness, he is getting drunk alone!
My two small children, you have invited the ancestors of your many apprentices.
Well done! I am going to drink my tea, and then I am going to taste the food. [...]

The spirit sat down on the floor, cut off a piece of fat from the tail, rubbed her two shoulders with it, bit into it and gave it to Dangaa, saying that each apprentice should taste it.

The monologue of the spirit was certainly an appreciation and a praise of the elderly couple's shamanic activities and achievements in contrast to another shaman's (Dondogbaatar) failure to live up to the expectations of the ancestors. The spirit, as she said, had just been at Dondogbaatar's home, and when she heard the calling of Dungaa, she came to possess her. Having connection with many spirits and deities, having many children and apprentices and being a good host, as it was hinted by the spirits, is the prime virtue of shamans. The ancestral spirits of one's apprentices are also invited to the rituals—as it could be learned from Dangaa's invocation in which he invited Bayad, Darxad, Xalx etc. spirits—and these spirits augment the shaman's acquaintanceship in the realm of spirits.

After her monologue, the spirit shielded her forehead with her whip, looked around and asked (5.3):

Here we have somebody whose tongue is incorrect, somebody who has a hawk-like nose, somebody who is lost in his beard and hair and worships the spirits. What sort of creature is he? Let me speak with him! [...]

The spirit turned to me, and Dangaa instructed me to say my name. I introduced myself as Matia, (the Mongolian distortion of my first name) and said that I had come from Hungary. The spirit continued:

What Matia! You devil! [...] What kind of creature is he? His speech is awry, he himself is lost in his own beard and hair. He looks like a jailbird. You are surrounded by your ancestors and by the nine-tongued spirits! What a fine creature you are!

Dangaa added that I was studying religion. The spirit gave me her advice and blessing:

Do not leave this path, keep going on this way! May all the spirits and divinities be with you, when you are among people of different tongues and bones! May all of your obstructions be eliminated, and may all your jobs crowned with success! May your path be smooth and colourful, boy!

The spirit told Dangaa to translate the blessing, but he responded that I understood it, and explained to her that I knew Mongolian and Buriad, and offered her a cup of vodka. The spirit gave me the piece of fat that she had chewed for a while and asked me to bend down so as she could bless me with her whip (MB. *bardagduulxa*). She flapped my back with it a few times and asked whether I had a wife. I said that I had not, to which she reacted, “Don’t lie! Don’t you even have two?! You need only one! Did you lie or not?” Dangaa translated, “Was it a lie or was it the truth?” I said it was true but I added that I had a girlfriend. The spirit said that she meant her, and called me a devil (MB. *shütgör*) again. Dangaa explained that I meant my girlfriend and I was not married, that is why I said I did not have a wife. The spirit continued her admonishments, “Do not lust after many! One is enough to pursue! If you lust after women, your loin-cloth (MB. *xormoi*) will get tainted!” The spirit’s purpose was clearly to make the public laugh at the expense of me, the stranger. But of course to maintain the friendly atmosphere of the celebration, she gave me her blessings and good wishes. After it she requested a cup of vodka and said that she would say her blessings to the audience and leave. Her first blessing was: “May you all open the gate of gains

and live proudly!” The next was more of an admonishment: “Refrain from alcohol, cigarettes and lechery!” She stood up and sang her parting song while jumping around and laughing. The whole departure lasted only about ten seconds, and when it was over, Dunga bent down and had her skullcap taken off by Alimaa.

Alimaa was the next to invoke her spirits. She already had her blue cloak on; she put on her green skullcap, grabbed her drum and sat down on the stool in front of the altar. Dunga was sitting on another stool to her right and sang the invocation (6.1), while Alimaa was beating her drum monotonously. This lasted for five minutes, then Alimaa stood up and started spinning around while beating her drum, but at a much quicker pace. She bumped against the wall and teetered about for a short while, still spinning and drumming. The audience (the other apprentices and relatives) stood up and expressed their respect towards the spirit by bowing before her. The spirit shielded her face with the drumstick, looked around, raised and shook the drumstick, and then put her right hand akimbo. She swung her body from left to right in a nonchalant manner, asked where she was and sat down on the floor. Dunga answered that it was “**the swaying of the eighths and swinging of the ninths**”, and while singing, he asked the spirit to “**sit undisturbed and stay long and drink**” (6.2). The spirit said that she had come from far away, from the Altai region. Dunga seemed rather unskilled in serving the spirit as he was offering tea, vodka and milk to her. Some of his apprentices behind him tried to help him by telling what to do. After the spirit drank her milk, Dunga asked an apprentice, Oyuunchimeg, to come and take over his task. Oyuunchimeg introduced the circumstances and asked for blessings:

[...] This is the feast of the eighths and swinging of the ninths! Enjoy yourself and sit undisturbed! Stay long and sleep! This is the feast of the eighths and swinging of the ninths! You have come to meet these two masters with their many apprentices by their fire-hearth. Your mediator is the Xalx-Mongol Alimaa, who has come with her mother. She has brought the sacrifices here to this beautiful feast; they brought the hundred-year-old candles, the hard black brandy, and the meat of a sacrificial sheep. [The masters] and their fourteen apprentices are welcoming you! Please tell us your blessings! Bless us with good luck! What is the weather like in your homeland? Take your **showering white milk**!

Alimaa's spirits mostly whispered and that is why most of her utterances were intelligible only to Oyuunchimeg. This time the spirit also reacted in a short whisper and let Oyuunchimeg continue:

Oh yes! Take the showering-white milk! Taste the meat of the sacrificial sheep!
Get a bit closer to it! Buddhas, please get a bit more close to it so that you could...
oh that's enough! Here you go! This is the knife with which the sheep was killed!
This is a nice sharp knife! The knife of our masters! Our two nice masters' knife,
with which the sheep was killed. Please taste its meat! Please move a bit towards
me! It has been tasted by many. Many spirits of our masters have come and you
are also welcome. Your mediator has brought it! She has brought it from afar, from
Songino Xairxan. We are worshipping you and praying to you! Please taste the
best parts of food!

The spirit took the knife and cut some small pieces out of the sheep's fat tail and whispered a blessing in return for the cordial reception. She gave the pieces of fat to the interpreter, who ate one of them and distributed the rest among the apprentices. She asked the spirit to say some more blessings for the benefit of the apprentices, who, as she said, had come together to greet the spirit personally, one by one. The spirit turned towards the interpreter signifying that she was to receive her greetings first. Then the apprentices introduced themselves and greeted the spirit, who prodded their backs with her whip and said something in a whisper (6.4–6.7). Alimaa's mother was also among the apprentices (6.6) to receive the blessing of her daughter's spirit, i.e. their family ancestor. She gave a *xadag* and some money to the spirit. The spirit was surprised that she got a piece of paper but no coins. The interpreter had to explain that the piece of paper was money of quite a great value. She again asked the spirit to bless the attendants with success in work and life (Xal. *ajil üils amidral axuigiin yörööl*) and offered her a cup of “**showering white milk**”. The spirit whispered her blessing and started beating her drum and singing while still sitting on the floor. She wobbled and swayed at a gradually slackening tempo, while Oyuunchimeg poured vodka into a small cup and offered it to her. The spirit did not seem to notice it and continued her song. The pace of her drumbeats once was quick, and then it slowed down again gradually until it stopped. The spirit tottered back and fro, as if she was about to fall, and finally she lay back, while one of the apprentices was propping her from behind. She was lying on the floor as if she had been sleeping.



Fig.35 Shamaness Alimaa between two possessions

She did not move for fifteen seconds, when her body made two sudden jerks. This was interpreted as the penetration of the next spirit into Alimaa's body. She lay motionless for twenty seconds again, then she sprung up into a sitting position (v34. 13:56). She started beating her drum again, but at a rather erratic pace recalling the sound of a horse's hoofs when the animal is about to stop and makes some random movements. The spirit soon stopped beating the drum and put her right hand akimbo. Oyuunchimeg greeted the spirit and asked her who she was. The spirit answered:

I had a goat-skin drum, my password is..., and I had suede boots. I am the small dear Būdūūnjaw.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Have your trip been smooth? Please taste the **savourous yellowish tea** and take a seat! You have come to the ritual of our masters. We have many nice apprentices. You are arriving at **hundred-year-old candles and nice eternal offerings. We are worshipping you! We are praying to you!** We are praying for good fortune. Would you please drink your showering-white milk?

[Spirit]: I always wore jewellery and lived playfully.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh well!

[Oyuunchimeg translates]: She says, "I always wore jewellery and lived playfully."

[Spirit]: My home was in the south slopes of the high blue... I got blind in both eyes.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh. May Buddha forgive!

[Spirit]: I was famous among the masses for my blindness.

[Oyuunchimeg translates]: “She was famous for her blindness.”

[Spirit]: I was young and pretty.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Of course you were!

[Spirit]: I arranged the destiny of love.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh there are many people who want to invoke the destiny of love. Please show your mercy and goodness to us!

[Spirit]: I helped people. I supported people.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Of course you did! We are praying to you! We are praying for good fortune. Are you travelling well? Is there a nice spring in your homeland?

[Spirit]: I am coming from the city of Bich.⁶⁰

[Oyuunchimeg]: Please have your tough black brandy! The brandy of our land is strong! Taste it please! Do you want your tobacco?

[Spirit]: (sings something indistinct)

[Oyuunchimeg]: Have your tobacco, please! This is the tobacco of our land. Modern-time tobacco has become like this. Take it and enjoy smoking! Please smoke it!

[Spirit]: At one time, I used to be a meddler.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh that’s natural. People are meddlesome when they are young.

[Spirit]: I was a competent and skilful person of the Dalai Wang’s county.⁶¹

The spirit gave back the cigarette and said something about it in a complaining manner.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh what happened? Have you finished? As time went by it has become like this. Do you want more? Don’t you taste the meat?

[Spirit]: Who told you that women can touch the meat?!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh, I made a mistake when I told you to touch it! Forgive me!

[Spirit]: Who told you that women can touch the meat?!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh forgive me! Please taste the milk, the showering-white milk!

[Spirit]: It is called the savourous milk!

[Oyuunchimeg]: What milk do they call it?

Spirit]: It’s called savourous milk!

⁶⁰ The city cannot be identified.

⁶¹ Unidentified place name.

[Oyuunchimeg]: I called the showering-white milk savorous yellowish milk.⁶²

Please forgive me for that!

[Spirit]: Be as _____ as this milk, my children!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh may it be according to your wishes!

A male apprentice carved some pieces of fat off of the sheep's tail and gave to Oyuunchimeg, who then offered them to the spirit:

[Oyuunchimeg]: Please taste the meat! Would you please have some meat?

[Spirit]: How did you get it?

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh, he [pointing at the male apprentice] cut it off for you. The sheep is not of this household. Your mediator [Alimaa, whom the spirit possesses] has brought it from Baganuur, the place where she lives.

[Spirit]: Who is loitering about my left shoulder? What does he want to say?

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh it is Bayarmaa, oh no, it is him. Come here and say what you want.

The apprentice, Enxtzayaa, who cut off the fat for the spirit, smiled bashfully when he realized that the spirit was speaking of him. He approached the spirit from her right, bowed to her and introduced himself (8.2, v35. 1:27):

Well, I am Xotogoid, I'm a minor little mediator of Xotogoid descent. My name is Myagmarjawiin Enxtzayaa. I am the one who was loitering about your left shoulder. I came to worship you and to greet you.

[Spirit]: Where is my whip?

[Oyuunchimeg]: Where is her whip? Oh here it is! Take your whip!

The spirit flapped Enxtzayaa with the whip and let him ask his questions. Enxtzayaa confessed that he had financial difficulties and asked for the spirit's help. Oyuunchimeg gave him a cup of vodka and the spirit started beating her drum and laughing derisively in a high-pitched voice. When she stopped it, Enxtzayaa gave her the cup of vodka. The spirit gulped it down and made an indistinct remark about the great number of shamans present. Enxtzayaa and Oyuunchimeg replied:

⁶² Confusion: the spirit said that "showering milk" had to be corrected to "savourous milk", but Oyuunchimeg again changes the two expressions in her apology.

[Enxtzayaa and Oyuunchimeg]: There are many mediators here, at the home of our masters, today. There are many spirits.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Here is your **showering white milk**!

[Enxtzayaa]: Now, what would you deign to share with us from your wisdom?

[Spirit]: Be well known in the country and be famous among the masses! Be helpful, virtuous and lucky members of your people, my children!

[Everybody]: May it be as you wish!

[Spirit]: May good luck and wealth spread among you!

[Enxtzayaa]: May it be according to your blessing!

The spirit again started beating her drum and crooning the melody of her song. After a short while, she started wobbling as she did before, but this time she did not fall asleep, she only slanted forth and weakened her drumbeats. Enxtzayaa and Oyuunchimeg were trying to offer her money, but she did not react. She went on beating her drum and singing her song. When she again weakened her drumbeats, Oyuunchimeg greeted her and offered her a cup of “savourous yellowish tea” and initiated having a conversation (9.1,v35. 12:05):

[Spirit]: I struggled to see the golden sun.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh yes. That was the time of suffering people, but now it has got better. Now you can see the golden sun and the improvement in people’s lives. The people have become free.

[Spirit interrupts]: (...)

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh buddha!

[Enxtzayaa]: Oh holiness!

After this conversation, the spirit received the apprentices one by one. The apprentices greeted her handing over some money with *xadag*, and those who had problems reported them to her. The spirit blessed each apprentice both by saying a good wish (Xal. *yörööl*) and prodding them by her whip (Xal. *adislax*). After she received everybody who had lined up in front of her, Oyuunchimeg gave her a cup of vodka and requested her to say a blessing. The spirit whispered her good wish, and Oyuunchimeg gave her a cup of “**showering white milk**”. The spirit swallowed a drop of it and said to Oyuunchimeg that one of the apprentices had not greeted her (v35. 13:55). Oyuunchimeg found the apprentice, a woman in her late thirties, and asked her reprovngly why

she had missed to greet the spirit (9.2). The apprentice did not answer; she was kneeling in silence on the floor on the spirit's right. The spirit said something to her, which was only audible to the apprentice and Oyuunchimeg, except for the last word, "you" (Xal. *chi*). Every time she said something to the apprentice, her last word was always a stressed *chi*. In Mongolian, the personal pronoun *chi* can only be used to address a younger or an inferior person, and consequently, spirits always address people by this pronoun. Personal pronouns in the majority of the cases are placed at the very beginning of a sentence, for example Xal. *Chi xen be?* "Who are you?" On the other hand, using *chi* at the end of a sentence (for example Xal. *Xen be chi?*), and even stressing it, as the spirit did, sounds particularly offensive to a Mongolian ear. Oyuunchimeg stood for the apprentice and offering a cup of milk to the spirit, she said (9.2):

There is no need to say such a thing to this nice person! This little infant mediator meant no harm. Somebody else was talking to you. Forgive her! Now she is here to greet you.

The spirit told the apprentice that she wanted to share the cup of "showering-white milk" with her and gave the cup to her. The apprentice took it, gulped the milk down and wanted to give the empty cup back. The spirit did not take it, but continued scolding the apprentice:

[...]

[Spirit]: Restrain your overbearing pride! _____ You, sit and pray!

[Oyuunchimeg]: All right, she is praying! We are asking for your blessing. Would you deign to say us your blessing and _____

[Spirit]: I know your ancestors. You have fine ancestral spirits. Who are you?! You are showing off in front of me! I pave your way! I make your [life or things] smooth! _____ **Be well known in the country, be famous among the masses!** You, such a petty mediator as you are, you are still showing off?! _____ you!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh, Please don't be so angry at such a nice event! **We recognize you and worship you.** We are praying to you now. Please hold back your anger! This little infant mediator didn't know the conventions. If she has shown misconduct, please bless her with good fortune in return! Have this nice milk! Make her path and future smooth! This fine mediator will correct her faults herself with [the aid of] her masters' spirits. She will straighten her distorted things.



Fig.36 Shamaness Alimaa during possession, with her right arm akimbo

Oyuunchimeg gave a cup of milk to the spirit, who drank it, and when Oyuunchimeg stretched out her hand to take the empty cup, she did not give it back, but threw it behind herself angrily. The cup knocked on the wall and fell onto the ground with its mouth up. The apprentice approached the cup, bowed before it three times and gave it back to Oyuunchimeg. Then Oyuunchimeg gave the apprentice another small cup filled with milk or vodka to take outside and perform a libation. Meanwhile, the spirit started wobbling and crooning her song again. She raised her right arm and groped about for the apprentice with her whip, but she was not there. Oyuunchimeg called her back and told her to sit down on the floor so that the spirit could bless her with the whip. After having got the blessing, the apprentice left, and while shielding her forehead with the whip, the spirit continued her wobbling and called out that there was still another apprentice remaining. Oyuunchimeg found out that it was Mönxjaw, the masters' daughter, and called for her. Mönxjaw approached the spirit, and Oyuunchimeg introduced her to the spirit (9.3, v36. 5:42):

[Oyuunchimeg]: Mönxjaw hasn't greeted you! Now mediator Mönxjaw is here to greet you!

[Spirit to Mönxjaw]: You must greet me!

[Mönxjaw]: Oh yes I'll greet you. One moment please! Please receive my money-present!

[Spirit]: I did not mean to get present from you.

[Mönxjaw]: We haven't greeted each other yet!

Spirit]: What are you giving to me, paper or money?

[Mönxjaw]: Present-day paper-money.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Present-day money is made of paper. Don't undervalue it! It's big money!

[Spirit]: All right, I gathered your paper-money. Now I'll tell you something! Your ancestor and I were friends! We were lurking in black holes and went through hardships together.

[Oyuunchimeg giving a cigarette to the spirit]: Smoke this!

[Mönxjaw]: **We offer our luxurious food.**

[Spirit]: Your ancestors were my friends. Of course we **hold one another's hand and offer our luxurious food.** Oh, yes we do!

Mönxjaw got a bit closer to the spirit, and they started a private conversation in a whisper. Oyuunchimeg worried that it would last long and warned:

[Oyuunchimeg]: There are still many ancestral spirits waiting for the opportunity to come!

[Spirit]: Are you chasing me away?

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oh no! How could I chase you away?!

[Spirit to Mönxjaw]: This small yellow⁶³ girl disregards me. I was friends with your ancestors! I will be friends with you as well! _____ I'll be your good friend!

After the conversation with Mönxjaw, the spirit started beating her drum and singing her song accompanied with her characteristic wobbling movement. After a short while, she stood up, and Dungaa came closer to her and started singing:

Aa hee yoo hee minyee göö!
Aa yaa baidoo minyee göö!
Ascend, ascend, ascend, please!
Ascend and fly up!

Aa hee yoo hee minyee göö!
Aa yaa baidoo minyee göö!
Ei hee yoo hee minyee göö!
Ei yaa baidoo minyee göö!

The spirit started spinning around at a fast speed, while Dungaa and some other apprentices standing around exclaimed, "*Shiröög!*". Dungaa told Oyuunchimeg to get some smoke to purify Alimaa. Oyuunchimeg gave her a small smoking twig of juniper. Dungaa took off Alimaa's skullcap, put her arm around her, took the smoking twig and held it close to Alimaa's face. Alimaa

⁶³ The Mongol word "shar" means not only "yellow" but also "young and immature". The spirit uses this word here to emphasise that the shaman—though an old woman—is a young and immature person in comparison to her.

soon started making small jumps and then moved around tottering in the room. When she stopped, Dungaa told her to lash her legs with the streamers that were sewn onto her cloak on its both sides. Alimaa did so, making some more jumps, and suddenly burst out in laughter. Dungaa and the other apprentices also laughed joyfully. Dungaa later explained to me that Alimaa always laughed whenever a spirit left her body; this was the main characteristics of her presentations. After Alimaa's possessions, the ritual was considered to be over, and most of the apprentices along with their relatives left. I stayed for a while, but the masters did not seem to accomplish the ritual with dispatching the spirits until all the guests were gone.

As Dangaa had explained earlier, the Lunar New Year ritual meant to ensure good luck and prosperity for the whole year by means of entertaining the spirits. The main concern of Dangaa and Dungaa was to be good hosts and to show the spirits that they have a thriving community consisting of lots of apprentices and their multifarious spirits. The spirits expected (voiced in Dangaa's and Dungaa's possessions) the apprentices to be loyal to their masters, refrain from debauchery and lead a decent, peaceful life. Dungaa's possession—when her spirit spoke of the masters in high terms, appreciating their capability of recruiting apprentices and summoning spirits to the feast, and also when she deprecated another shaman—showed the apprentices that they belonged to the right community and to the right masters.

5.2 Outdoor Rituals

The rituals that are discussed hereby as outdoor rituals are all large-scale communal spirit-pleasing rituals. The Lunar New Year ritual is also a large-scale communal spirit-pleasing ritual, but it is conducted indoors at the shaman's home and is the first indoor spirit-pleasing ritual of the year; the first of a series that otherwise consists of small-scale rituals. The only difference between the Lunar New Year ritual and the other small-scale spirit-pleasing rituals is that the Lunar New Year ritual is grandiose by virtue of being the first in the series. On the other hand, its grandioseness—participation of a multitude of shamans and attendants—is basically the only similarity between the Lunar New Year ritual and other large-scale spirit-pleasing rituals. At this point, two different classificatory principles takes priority: classifying by the number of participants (1.) or by the location (2.). If we classify spirit-pleasing rituals by the number of participants, they will be

divided into small-scale and large-scale rituals, and the latter will comprise the Lunar New Year ritual (which incidentally is an indoor ritual) among other large-scale communal spirit-pleasing rituals. On the other hand, if the basis of our classification is the location of rituals, they will be grouped into indoor and outdoor rituals. The group of indoor rituals could be further divided into small-scale and large-scale rituals.

Another ritual, the *shanar* (the Buriad shamans' consecration ritual), which will be later discussed in a separate chapter, plays as much a pivotal role among outdoor rituals as the Lunar New Year ritual among large-scale rituals. The *shanar* is a large-scale outdoor ritual, and it has certain spirit-pleasing characteristics (more than problem-solving rituals or imprecations have), but cannot unambiguously be classified as a spirit-pleasing ritual, for aside from entertaining spirit-guests, it has another important purpose, that is to consecrate apprentices. The *shanar*, unlike problem-solving rituals, is also a social gathering and festivity.

The large-scale spirit-pleasing rituals that are conducted outdoors are referred to by the Mongolian Buriads as *taxilga* "worship" and sometimes *tom xemjeenii taxilga* "large-scale worship". These rituals in Mongolia comprise the fire-sacrifice (Xal., MB. *galiin taxilga*) that will be discussed below, the summer-solstice ritual⁶⁴ (Xal. *narnii taxilga*), the pleasing of certain local spirits, such as the sacrifice in honour of the Mother Tree (Xal. *eej modnii taxilga*), and others which I did not attend and therefore I do not have data on them. These grandiose sacrifices are not specifically Buriad rituals, but observed and attended, often at the same time, by shamans and followers of different Mongolian ethnicities, which was inconceivable in former times. The sacrifices often take place in the broader vicinity of Ulaanbaatar, far from the territory of Buriads, in the area which is regularly referred to as "Central Xalx" (Xal. *töw xalx*). The Buriad shamans' involvement in these "inter-ethnic" sacrifices is due to the Golomt Centre's policy in recruiting its members from various Mongol ethnic groups, for whom the Golomt actively organizes rituals at the important rituals sites.

Large-scale sacrificial rituals, such as worshipping the *owoo*-cairns of a clan or of an administrative unit, or making offerings for local deities in Mongolia, have been conducted primarily by lamas for a couple of centuries. After the collapse of the communist regime, when performing such rituals ceased to be an illicit activity, not only lamas but also newly emerged shamans resumed worshipping the forgotten spirits. According to tradition, the offering of sacrifices is followed by a feast and a *naadam* (Sneath 1990: 310).

⁶⁴ I did not have the chance to attend such a ritual, but Süxbat told me it was very similar to the ritual at the Mother Tree. It might be a newly introduced ritual, but there is no information concerning when such a ritual was first held in Mongolia.

5.2.1 The Fire-Sacrifice

The fire, as an element that gives its warmth to people, and the hearth that is viewed as the centre of a family are associated with the concepts of safety, togetherness, prosperity and liveliness.⁶⁵

The spirit of the fire-hearth is known by various names: Khan of Fires (WM. *Odqan Galaiqan*), Fire-Khan (WM. *Gal-un qayan*), Mother of Fires (WM. *Odqan yalayiqan eke*), Fire-Mother (WM. *Gal-un eke*), Firehearth-Mother (WM. *Gal yolumta eke*), Fire-Buddha (WM. *Gal-un burqan*) and Fire-God (WM. *Gal tngri*). The spirit is imagined variably as female and male, and is responsible not only for the family-hearth but also for the yurt, the family-members and the welfare and reproduction of the family (Birtalan 2001: 1018–19). Therefore, it is not surprising that spirit-pleasing rituals that are performed in favour of a family and its home are often referred to as “worshipping the fire spirits” (Mp. *galiin ongodiig taxix*). According to Birtalan (2001: 1019), Mongols everyday offer a piece of meat or fat to the Fire-Spirit in order to secure the welfare, prosperity and good luck of the family.⁶⁶ The concept of a hearth (Mp. *golomt*) of larger social units, for example of a clan or even as the Hearth of the State (Mp. *Töriin Golomt*) also exists in Mongolia. Pallas (1779: 327) gives account of a fire-sacrifice among the Kalmyks, which was conducted by a lama and held by an administrative district (Kal. *uls*) under the leadership of its prince. Birtalan (Birtalan and Rákos 2002: 77) interprets the inhabitants of the administrative district, i.e. the attendants of the ritual, as the quasi family of the prince, and thus she conceives the ritual as a sacrifice for the hearth of an extended family. She elsewhere (2001: 1018–19) argues that in the time of the Great Mongolian Empire, the Fire-Spirit became the protector of all Mongols and the ritual in honour of the Fire-Spirit meant to guarantee the welfare of the whole people.

In October 2004, I attended and recorded on videotape a fire-sacrifice that was performed by the renowned Buriad shaman, Ceren, and a number of his apprentices. The ceremony was organized by the newly (the end of 2003) established Tengeriin Sülder shaman association, of which Ceren was the head (Xal. *tergüün*). The president (Xal. *yerönxiilögch*) of the association, G. Gantogtox, a recognized authority on Buriad shamanism, traditional culture and linguistics,

⁶⁵ For more on the cult of fire see Banzarov 1997: 42–44, Galdanova 1987: 22–26 and Heissig: 1980: 69–76.

⁶⁶ It has to be noted that it is, of course, not true to all Mongols but rather to those who still lead a traditional nomad life. However, there are still some urban people who make this offering on the gas-cooker (Birtalan, personal communication 2011).

invited the Association of the Mongolian Buriads, the Altargana Association⁶⁷ and the Golomt Centre to the event. The representatives of Altargana distributed among the attendants the newspaper of their association (Altargana Sonin), and Gantogtox distributed a booklet that had been published on the occasion of establishing Tengeriin Sülder. The title of the booklet was *Reasons for Resuscitating Shamanism* (WX. *Böö mörgöliig senxrüülen badruulaxiin uchir*). In this booklet, Gantogtox set one of the association's goals to cooperate with both foreign and Mongolian researchers of shamanism. Süxbat, with whom I went to the ritual, was and is still known not only as the head of Golomt but also as a researcher with a couple of publications on shamanism. A week or so before, when I asked Süxbat what he knew about the Tengeriin Sülder, he said he had heard that due to official disapproval it had ceased to exist. When he received the invitation for the fire-sacrifice, he called me and asked me to join. I went to the Golomt, from where Süxbat took me, a German friend of mine, and two or three shamans including the Buriad Danga, to the scene of the ritual, a place outside Ulaanbaatar, known as Ix Tengeriin Aman "the opening of the Great Sky". The place is regarded by many Mongolians as an ancient shamanic site, for rumour has it, prehistoric rock-drawings depicting shamans were found in the vicinity. My informants believed that the site was an especially favourable place for conducting shamanic rituals because, as its name implies, connection between people and heavenly beings are said to be easy to establish here and this, as they explained, means that shamans get possessed by their spirits smoothly. Interestingly, "the opening of the Great Sky" is actually the name of a nearby valley, in which the residence of Mongolia's president is located.

When we arrived at the spot, Süxbat introduced me to the organizers as the cameraman of the Golomt and requested their permission for recording the ritual. The permission was given, except for the moments when Ceren would be possessed.

The ritual was held in an open space, near the river Tuul, at the foot of Mt. Bogd (Xal. Bogd Uul), where a yurt had already been set up. The gate of the yurt looked directly onto an outside fireplace (south from the yurt), where the offerings were to be made. Outside the yurt two spruce trees (Xal. *gacuur*) were erected; one on the east and one on the west. Six wooden stalks, about a meter high, with square slabs on their tops, were arranged around the fireplace.

⁶⁷ Altargana is an association promoting Buriad culture and language, and it annually holds the festival called Altargana Naadam, and organizes conferences on Buriad linguistics and culture studies. The association's homepage (<www.altargana.org>) is written mainly in Xalx, and occasionally in Buriad.

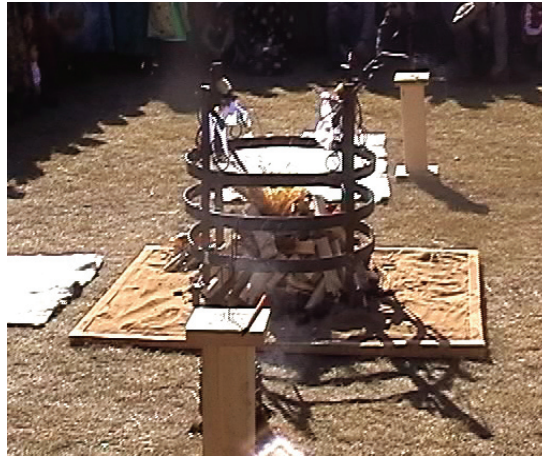


Fig.37 The hearth

One of the stalks was placed right in front of shaman Ceren, who was seated on a chair north-northwest from the fireplace, which corresponds to the position of the sacred corner (Mp. *xoimor*) in a yurt. The ritual site was conceived as a larger open-air yurt outside the smaller, real one behind. This imaginary yurt had its gate in the south; thus, the gate of the real yurt, the fireplace and the imaginary yurt's gate could all have been connected by one straight line. A wooden table laden with food, drink and candles was placed north-east from the fireplace, just behind one of the stalks. Ceren's apprentices were standing on two sides of the fireplace; females on the east side and males on the west, similarly to the way male and female sides are designated in a yurt. The highest-ranking apprentices were standing next to Ceren, and the lowest-ranking ones were standing at the other end of the line, close to the imaginary yurt's entrance and farthest from the sacred corner. Buriad and Xalx apprentices could easily be distinguished: the Buriads wore a traditional Buriad skullcap, while Xalxs wore a cylinder-shaped headdress with vulture feathers (Xal. *tasiin öd*).



Fig.38-39 Ceren's Xalx apprentices participating in the ritual

According to shaman Dowdon (Ceren's apprentice), who also took part in the ritual, Buriad large-scale rituals such as the fire-sacrifice or the *shanar* traditionally employ a number of specialized assistants. The doorkeeper (MB. *manaasha*) stands by the yurt's entrance holding a smoking piece of bark or juniper and purifies those who enter. The "guard of the bonfire" (MB. *tüüdegshen*) lights the ritual fires and patrols the ritual scene, preventing the attendants' disorderly motions. The "offering keeper" (MB. *taxilsha*) ensures that the sacrifices are offered in an appropriate way. In some rituals, there are two "offering keepers": one, the "external offering keeper" (MB. *gadana taxilsha*), is responsible for the sacrifices offered outside, and the other, the "internal offering keeper" (MB. *dotor taxilsha*), is for those offered inside the yurt. The butcher (MB. *aluurshan*) slaughters the sacrificial animals.

During Ceren's fire-sacrifice, a *taxilsha* and an *aluurshan* could be seen acting on the ritual scene. Sometimes, only when it was necessary, a man was standing by the yurt's door with an incense stick in his hand, seemingly functioning as a *manaasha*, but it is not certain whether only one person was appointed to this post or anybody who happened to be around the yurt in time of necessity could take over this task. The most prominent of the assistants was by far the *taxilsha*, who could always be seen running busily from place to place within the space embraced by the crowd of shamans and spectators (i.e. inside the large, imaginary yurt). He even assisted the *aluurshan* when killing the sacrificial sheep. The *manaasha*, due to his narrow scope of activities, was the least conspicuous assistant. Other people who were not appointed assistants but were relatives of shamans also rendered their assistance during the ritual.

The ritual began with the chanting of an invocation by and large identical with the invocation of shaman Dowdon (a5 and a6). Every time the shamans chanted "*Aa hee yoo hee minee göö aa yaa baidaa minee göö*", the shamans including Ceren, the *taxilsha* and some of the spectators bowed to the hearth three times. The *taxilsha*, with the assistance of a young man, lit a small fire, few steps north from the central fireplace. The *taxilsha* brought out a piece of fir-bark (MB. *zhodoo*), which was pinched between two sticks, put it in the fire and purified Ceren and all the other shamans and spectators in a clockwise direction, which means that after Ceren, he went to the female shaman of the highest rank first, and he purified the highest-ranking male shamans last. He held the sticks in his right and was constantly drawing clockwise circles with the stick, while holding his left palm under his right elbow as if he was supporting his right arm (v18). This arm posture is always assumed when the right hand holds an object of high esteem, or when an object, for instance a present, is being handed over to a venerated person.

In the meantime, Ceren was sitting on his chair in a traditional Buriad caftan. He was neither drumming nor singing, and except a bronze mirror, he was not wearing or holding any shamanic appurtenances. The *taxilsha* lit the incense stick inserted into the wooden stalks, went into the yurt, brought out a pair of horse-headed iron staffs, stood in front of Ceren facing north and started shaking them. He instructed his assistant to bring a bowl of vodka, into which he dipped the “horse-heads” many times, as if he was making the horses drink. Each time he did this, he raised the staff to a vertical position and shook them for a little while. Sometimes he turned around clockwise while shaking the staffs (v19). When finished, the *taxilsha* took the bowl of vodka and walked round the fireplace—stopping at the southernmost point where he bowed to it—and took the vodka behind the yurt, where he performed libation with it. Gantogtox, with two other men and a woman, was busy collecting the sacrifices placed on the table and prepared them for burning. They adorned a sheep’s cooked sacrum⁶⁸ (Xal. *uuc*) with colourful ribbons and wrapped it into a piece of white felt and a white *xadag*. The two men tied some other colourful ribbons around it and wrapped the whole thing into a yellow cloth (v20) and adorned it with three incense sticks. During this, the *taxilsha* put a pointed hat on Ceren’s head and again purified him and all the other participants with smoke. After a few minutes, the shamans stopped the invocation and started another one: the invocation of Awagaldai. Ceren soon got possessed, and had his skullcap put on his head. Gantogtox and the others who prepared the offerings knelt down before Ceren’s spirit (most probably Awagaldai) and let him prod their backs with his whip. The spirit spoke to them, but his words were audible only for those who stayed close to him. After his possession, Ceren was escorted to the yurt to have a rest, and the three men and the woman went back to the offerings. Gantogtox took the wrapped-up breast-bone, went to the southern opening of the ritual scene, took off his Buriad-style hat and bowed to the south. Then he turned back clockwise, bowed to the hearth and put the offering on the fire (v21). At this moment, the shamans started beating their drums and singing “*Aa hee yoo hee minee göö aa yaa baidaa minee göö*”. Gantogtox knelt down on a sheet of felt before the hearth and bowed to it three times. The *taxilsha* lit the fir-bark and purified the shamans and the spectators for the third time, while the shamans started their third incantation (it was identical to Dowdon’s 5.2 incantation). Gantogtox, the two other men and the woman made some additional offerings; they poured vodka and yellow-butter (Xal. *shar tos*) on the fire. After the offering of the sacrifices, the shamans stopped singing and drumming, and the spectators and also some of the shamans sat down on the ground. The woman who had made some of the offerings went around clockwise and distributed the remaining

⁶⁸ Heissig (1980: 70) mentions that the same sacrifice is offered to the Fire-Deity.

sacrifices (which consisted mainly of candies and cookies) among the spectators. The four people responsible for offering the sacrifices knelt down before a five-layered tower built of pastry⁶⁹, the shamans resumed their invocations (identical with Dowdon's 2.1), and then all the participants performed the act of beckoning.



Fig.40 The “tower of pastry”

After each stanza, the shamans exclaimed, “*xurai*”, and shook their drums, while the spectators holding the offerings they had been given described clockwise circles with their hands (v24).

The beckoning performed soon after the offering of the sacrifices is a good example of what Sneath (1990: 310) interprets as reciprocity and exchange with nature:

The small amount of the remainder from the sacrifices are displayed to the spirits and the circling of the hands in a clockwise direction is a request to the spirits, that what has been offered to them may return in larger quantities.

During the beckoning, the offering of sacrifices continued in the form of pouring vodka and yellow-butter, and putting colourful pieces of silk on the fire. When the beckoning ended, two men lifted the tower of pastry and took it to the yurt. Ceren soon came out of the yurt, sat down on his chair and received some of his apprentices and blessed them with his whip. The *taxilsha*

⁶⁹ The “tower of pastry” is referred to in Xalx Mongolian as *tawgiin idee* (lit. food of the plate), but this term can be applied to any kind of food-offering that is placed on a plate and not exclusively to this tower-like construction. The components of the “tower”—the oblong pastries—are called Xal. *xewiin boow* (lit. pastry of the mould) since they are made by moulding. The “tower of pastry” is an indispensable item on the festive board of the Lunar New Year celebration.

circumambulated the hearth three times and described circles with the smouldering piece of bark above it. Then he called two young female shamans and they all went up to the hearth to perform a divination (v23). The two shamans stood facing each other; one sang the incantations, while the other held a cup of milk in her hands. When the first shaman started singing the black refrain “*Aa hee yoo hee minee göö*”, the other put the cup of milk on her drum and bowed three times. The *taxilsha* standing nearby also bowed and sang the refrain. The shaman who had taken the cup of milk spun three times and threw the cup southward. Once it fell onto the ground, the *taxilsha* and the two shamans circumambulated the cup, knelt down and bowed to it from the south. The *taxilsha* exclaimed, “*xurai*”, by which he let the people know that the cup had landed with its mouth up. The spectators echoed his *xurai* and he took the cup to Ceren.

The Mongolian Buriads’ communal sacrifices involve the killing of one or more sheep (sometimes horses⁷⁰), and Ceren’s fire-sacrifice was no exception. On the other hand, it is curious that the wrapped-up breast-bone offered to the Fire-Spirit was not from the sheep slaughtered during the ritual since it was killed after the bone had been put on the fire. The killing of the sheep took place after the beckoning, north of the hearth. Two men were holding the sheep, while the *taxilsha* brought the special paraphernalia of the sheep-sacrifice: a small felt carpet with a knife, a wooden spoon and two short, pointed twigs on it. Small red and yellow ribbons were tied to the twigs and to the hilt of the knife. Similar, but white and blue ribbons were tied to the handle of the spoon.



Fig. 41-42 The tools for killing and preparing the sacrificial sheep

The *taxilsha* put these tools onto a wooden tray and gave the carpet to the two men, who then made the sheep stand on it with all its feet. The *taxilsha* put a cup onto the tray and filled it with milk. A boy brought some thyme and put it into the milk, and then the *taxilsha* dipped a white

⁷⁰ Such a ritual can be the thirteenth consecration of a shaman, as it is described in Chapter 7.

ribbon into the milk and tied it to the sheep's hair on its back. He smeared some yellow-butter on its hoofs and head, while the shamans started chanting a lengthy invocation (v25), which lasted for approximately half an hour. They started chanting outside, but after a while they entered the yurt, where Ceren was having a rest. They chanted the same incantation inside, and when they came out again, they continued it for about ten more minutes. The few audible words of the incantations made it clear that the shamans invited great ancestral spirits (MB. *ugai yixe garwal*) requesting them to descend and enjoy the feast. A recurring expression of these incantations, which can also be found in Dowdon's invocations, was: "Please descend and surround us! Please swing and feast with us!"



Fig. 43 The *aluursha* with the sacrificial sheep

The *taxilsha* lit the piece of fir-bark and purified the sheep with its smoke (v25. 2:37). The shamans soon stopped chanting, except for the highest-ranking male shaman called Güree. He informed the spirits that a sheep would be given (MB. *tushaax*) to them, introduced the *aluursha* and the *taxilsha* to the spirits, mentioning their personal names and their clan-names, and requested the spirits to take care of them. In other words, this was the inclusion of an entrustment within the act of slaughtering the sacrificial sheep. Similarly to other shamans, when singing the song of entrustment Güree stopped singing each time he had to mention the names and clans of those being entrusted to the spirits, and asked these particulars from them—only then he continued chanting. After the two men, Güree also entrusted an elderly woman to the spirits; the one who had brought the sheep for the sacrifice. After this, the *aluursha* and the *taxilsha* laid the sheep on its back, and the *taxilsha* smeared milk on its belly, at the point where the *aluursha* was to make the incision with his knife. The sheep was soon killed in the traditional Mongol way, while the

taxilsha had a firm grip on its legs. When the sheep was about to exhale its last breath, Güree pushed the brim of his drum against its neck three times. The sheep was taken away and put on the ground east from the yurt and south from the eastern pine tree, where the *aluursha*, the woman who brought the sheep and some other men disembowelled it and dismembered it. During the process they used only the tools that had been marked with the colourful ribbons mentioned earlier. The gall bladder and some inedible intestines were hooked on a two-pronged twig and stuck in the ground. The woman filled the bowels with blood and used thin, pointed sticks (which were also marked by red and yellow ribbons) to close the bowels at their ends. The rest of the sheep was boiled in a cauldron.



Fig.44 The inedible parts of the sheep on a forked twig

When all parts of the sheep were cooked, a man (neither the *aluursha* and nor the *taxilsha*) arranged them in front of the eastern tree (v26). He put the felt carpet on the ground and then laid the sheep's skin on it. Then he put the wooden tray on the skin and put the hind legs onto the tray and the forelegs with the ribs on top of them. The neck and then the head with the trachea and the lungs (called Xal. *tzüld*⁷¹ together) was put in between the two forelegs. The heart was put behind the tray on the skin. The intestines were put in a bowl and placed next to the other parts on the ground. The two-pronged twig with the inedible parts were stuck in the ground, in front of the whole sacrifice, and the wooden spoon was placed on the skin. When the man got ready with the preparations, he purified the sacrifice with the smoke of fir-bark. The sacrifice was soon transferred to the yurt.

⁷¹ For more about the *tzüld* see Birtalan 2001: 1002.



Fig.45 The arrangement of the sacrificed sheep

After killing and preparing the sacrificial sheep, all the shamans and spectators left the scene of the sacrifice and gathered at a spot south-west from it. There, a column of birch tree (*Bur. serge*) was erected, and *xadags* of green, yellow, red, white and blue colours were tied to it.

With his assistant the *taxilsha* lit a small fire south from the column, ignited his piece of fir-bark and circumambulating the column clockwise, he purified it. In the meantime, the shamans surrounded the column the similar way as they had been surrounding the scene of the sacrifice (females stood east and males stood west from the centre) and started singing the invocations again.



Fig.46 The column erected at the end of the ritual

After having erected the column, the highest ranking shamaness beating her drum and chanting invocations and another shamaness holding a big bowl of yoghurt (*Xal. tarag*) were receiving participants (including shamans) one by one at the spot where the offerings had been made. The

participants lined up and bowed to the shamaness, who then with a quick movement smashed the bowl of yoghurt into their faces. As the shamans explained, the act equalled a good wish (Xal. *yörööl*), as the white colour of the yoghurt symbolized purity, and the yoghurt itself, which covered one's entire face filling their mouths and even nostrils and eyes of some, was to evoke abundance. The whole event concluded with consuming the meat of the sacrificed sheep and drinking vodka.

The fire-sacrifice included all the activities that usually compose a shamanic ritual; yet, its structure was somewhat different than for example the structure of Dowdon's and Dangaa's rituals. This difference is probably due to Ceren's own style of performance, notably that his possessions are less energetic and less expressive than other shamans' possessions. Some people explained this with his old age, others taunted that because he was a novice in a Buddhist monastery in his childhood, he never learnt properly how to let spirits enter his body. At the time of the fire-sacrifice Ceren was, in truth, very old and the next year, in 2005 he passed away. During the sacrifice most of the activities were performed by his apprentices, and Ceren spent most of the time resting in the yurt. When he was possessed, which occurred only once during the ritual, the spirit could not be heard greeting the attendants, telling his life-story or demanding anything. What could be seen was only that Ceren was sitting on his chair wearing his skullcap, and with his whip he prodded the backs of those who knelt down before him. As he was giving his blessings with his whip, his lips could be seen moving languishingly, probably uttering words of good wishes (Xal. *yörööl*).

In summary, the possessional activities except the entrustment (giving blessings with the whip) were not performed, or at least most of the spectators did not perceive that Ceren was at all possessed. All the other activities, the offering of sacrifices, the divination, the appeal for blessing, the killing of the sheep, and the erecting of the column were preceded by an invocation of spirits and by a purification of the participants, as if these activities had been separate small rituals within a larger one.

5.2.2 Sacrificial Ritual in Honour of the Mother Tree

At the beginning of April 2005, the Golomt Centre organized a trip to a shamanic site called Mother Tree, which is located in Shaamar district, Selenge province. The Mother Tree is an old and huge pine tree, which, as people say, despite having been struck by lightning and broken into

two halves survived and started shooting sprouts again. The tree is revered not only by the locals but by shamans from all over Mongolia and also by Russian Buriads living in the vicinity of the Russo-Mongolian border.

In the morning of the trip, Golomt members met at the Centre's building and started their preparations for the journey. Shamaness Altaa, one of the members, said that according to the traditional Mongolian calendar, the trip should be commenced in the hour of the hare, but the shamans were still far from ready with the preparations. Altaa instructed everyone to sit in the cars and leave the yard of the Golomt Centre through its gate. The drivers drove outside the yard, stopped at a short distance from the gate, and the "passengers" got off and went back to the centre's building to continue their preparations. By this trick the shamans managed to deceive the spirits, and the trip was considered to have been commenced, although it took them several more hours to depart.

I also travelled with the Golomt at Süxbat's request to record the ritual. We stayed in a hotel in Darxan for one short night and at around five o'clock in the morning set forth to the sacred site. When we arrived at the scene, a large number of shamans and believers (not affiliated with Golomt) had already gathered around the Mother Tree in order to attend the event and make their offerings. Even a crew of Korean film-makers could be seen around shooting pictures of shamans. Shaman Byambadorj, the well-known urban shaman, was preaching to people near the revered tree. Among many others, the young Darxad shamaness Tzoltzayaa (the daughter of the renowned shamaness, Bayar) could also be seen making her offerings. Tzoltzayaa had formerly been a member of the Golomt, but according to Süxbat, she severed her relationship with the centre and set up her own practice. In spite of the fact that they knew one another, no personal contact was made between Tzoltzayaa and any of the Golomt members during our visit at the ritual site.

At the centre of the sacred site, on a top of a hill, a large trunk, probably the part of the lightning-struck tree, was lying on the ground. This large trunk and a number of smaller trunks and some smaller trees beside it were surrounded by an enclosure that had two gates: one on the south and one on the north. On the top of the gate was the image of the Dharmacakra flanked by two deer (Xal. *bodi göröös*), a symbol that appears on almost every Buddhist temple (Beer 1999: 187). Shamans and believers worshipped the large trunk and the trees within the enclosure by circumambulations and placing their offerings such as *xadags*, food, dairy, bricks of dried tea, matches, etc. on them.



Fig.47 The southern gate of the sacrificial site



Fig.48 The sacrificial site

The shamans of the Golomt, when they arrived at the scene, first went to the southern gate of the enclosure, bowed to it three times before entering, looked around inside and left without making any offerings. Each Golomt-shaman had their own shaman-tree outside the enclosure, and each went to his/her own tree to summon their own spirits. It means that the event was not one large sacrificial ritual but a number of rituals that were performed near each other by different shamans at the same time. The shamans, with the assistance of their apprentices and relatives, performed their rituals individually by their own trees, and most of them were not concerned about what the other shamans were doing.

The shamans placed their offerings on and below their trees: they tied several lengths of brocade (MB. *xamba torgon xabshuulga*) around the trunk of their trees and inserted paper money in between the tree and the brocade. Milk, bread, pastry, bottles of vodka and brass cups filled with milky tea, milk, candy or sugar were placed on the ground below the tree.

Shaman Dangaa and his wife, Dungaa, came with their families and with some of their apprentices. Dangaa wore his blue gown, skullcap and mirror and started beating his drum before his tree (v11). One of his apprentices, Süxbat's daughter, was standing near him, wearing a simple blue gown and a headscarf. Later, Mönxjaw (Dangaa and Dungaa's daughter) as well as another of their apprentices, Bayarmaa, joined. Dangaa played his drum, chanted his invocations and got possessed soon. He made some big jumps, while still beating his drum, assumed a stooping posture, and looked around. His wife, his son, and the husband of shamaness Altanceceg (who in the meantime was busy with preparing sacrifices at another tree) gathered around him and listened to the spirit's song. Dangaa's son put a small felt carpet (MB. *olbog*⁷²) on the ground, and the spirit sat onto it (v11. 2:10). Dungaa gave the spirit a cup of tea and a cigarette, and then had a brief conversation with him. When Dungaa finished and stood up, Altanceceg's husband gave the spirit a small cup of milk. The spirit gulped it down, stood up and started beating his drum again.

⁷² The meaning of *olbog* is usually "cushion"; in the rituals I have attended, however, it referred to a carpet.

Dangaa jumped up and down for a while as the spirit left his body, but did not seem to come to his senses before the next spirit took possession of him (v11. 5:05–5:22).

The second spirit stooped and looked around similarly to the previous one, but after introducing himself to Dungaa, he started swinging his arms and upper body (v11. 8:44). This time Dungaa poured a little milk into a brass cup and dripped the milk on him while he was swinging. Dungaa got closer and had a brief conversation with the spirit, most probably she asked what the spirit wanted to eat or drink. The spirit knelt down on the felt carpet and kept on swinging in that kneeling position until Dungaa offered him a cup of tea. After the spirit drank the tea, Dungaa gave him a cup of vodka and his drum. The spirit took the drum and left the scene beating the drum and jumping on his knees (v11. 11:02). After his two possessions, Dangaa went up to his apprentices, who were already kneeling on their carpets and immersed in playing their Jew's harps. Dangaa stood behind his apprentices, started chanting the invocations, made them drink a little vodka and purified them with it by blowing into a cup and thus making the drops of vodka fall upon them. Ulaanaa, the apprentice of Altaa (another Golomt-shaman), was making video footages of Dangaa's possessions. She showed a keen interest in various ways of practising shamanism and, though she did not say it explicitly, it was obvious that she made the footages in order to study them afterwards.

At a distance of few metres from Dangaa and his apprentices, another Buriad shaman, shamaness Gerlee was preparing her sacrifices at her tree, while Altanceceg and Dungaa were chanting invocations behind her (v.12).⁷³ A crowd of curious spectators and relatives surrounded the shamanesses.

A bit farther from the other shamans, shamaness Altaa was entrusting her apprentices to the spirit of the Mother Tree (v.13). The first apprentice to receive her entrustment was her own daughter. The apprentices knelt down on the ground and let Altaa lash them with her whip, one after the other. The whip Altaa used for the entrustment was not a *bardag* but a rather long leather thong. Altaa when lashing her apprentices sang the song of entrustment with a different wording for each apprentice. When entrusting her apprentices she besought to the Mother Tree.⁷⁴

The Entrustment of Apprentice Ulaanaa

(1.1)

[...]

⁷³ Gerlee, Altaa's elder sister, was a very high-ranking shaman (she had completed twelve consecrations), and apparently, she was in friendly terms with other Buriad shamans of the Golomt Centre. Gerlee, Altaa, Dangaa, Dungaa and Altanceceg all came from the same district, Dashbalbar, and they were all high-ranking masters with a number of apprentices. During the ritual, they all participated in each other's performances.

⁷⁴ The translated texts are only samples from the whole songs.

Please protect my beloved daughter,⁷⁵
Who was born in the year of the serpent!
Remove impurity from her back,
Drain her bosom of all dirt and defend her!

The Entrustment of Apprentice Ganbaatar

(1.2)

[...]

Please embrace and take him to your bosom!
Armour his tender body!

His name is Ganbaatar.
He was born in the year of the horse.
[Altaa asks Ganbaatar] Your rank is “bonesetter”, right?
He has the great tassel of a bonesetter.
May the black khans of lands and waters
Sweep off the impurity from this darling boy!
[...]
Be entrusted to the Mother Tree!

The Entrustment of Apprentice Bayarsaixan

(1.3)

[...]

He was born in the year of the hare.
He is a skilful interpreter.
Xadag and silk rider.⁷⁶
Please shed light on his long way!
Please bestow him magic power!
Please shed light on his long way!
Remove the impurity from his body of one *ald*⁷⁷!
Be entrusted to the Mother Tree!
Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum!

The purpose of the entrustment was to remove impurity and ensure protection for the apprentices. When Altaa was performing the entrustment, spectators surrounded her, and some asked her to entrust them as well. Altaa answered that first she had to entrust her apprentices, and only then she could receive others. For some of the spectators were standing right behind the apprentice being entrusted, Altaa warned them that when impurity, i.e. malevolent spiritual beings, leave the patient's body, they flee in that direction, and those blocking their way might easily be attacked by them. After having the impurity driven out, Altaa stopped lashing and let the apprentice stand up and slip through under her armpit. Some got through under her right armpit and left the scene,

⁷⁵ In this case Altaa was not entrusting her own daughter but Ulaanaa. In Buriad shamanic incantations, masters often refer to their apprentices as sons and daughters.

⁷⁶ The word MB. *zholoosho* means “driver” or “somebody who leads a horse holding its rein (MB. *zholoo*)”. However, this is also a metaphor for shamans since they also have a mount to ride.

⁷⁷ The *ald* is a Mongolian unit of length, roughly corresponding to a fathom, a distance between the fingertips of one's outstretched arms. For more on the Mongolian length units see Birtalan 2008b.

others, for example her daughter, after getting through under her right armpit, walked round her body in a clockwise direction, came back under her left armpit and pushed their noses to Altaa's both cheeks. Some apprentices walked round their master's body three times. Altaa's two male apprentices (Ganbaatar and Bayarsaixan) needed a more thorough entrustment for as their master hinted, they had accumulated much more impurity than the others. It would not be a mistake to think that it was due to the fact that in the morning of the ritual, Altaa gave voice to her displeasure because the two men were struggling to overcome their hangover, a result of their overindulgence in vodka the previous night. Not only their backs but also their bosom and upper part of their legs were lashed, more times and more strongly than the backs of the other apprentices. Altaa also wiped the backs of her unruly apprentices with a *xadag*. Ganbaatar even had to make several jumps so as to shake off the remaining "dirt" from his body, while his master was also jumping and singing the white refrain, *Aryaa wadee om manee badme xum*. In the meantime, apprentice Ulaanaa, who had already received her entrustment and was considered to be void of impurity, took her whip and started liberating others from their impurities. She received the spectators Altaa had no time to receive (v13. 4:45).

Not far from shaman Dangaa, in front of her own tree, shamaness Gerlee was calling her spirit (v.12). She was wearing her complete black attire, with a twelve-pronged helmet, the deerskin coat and all the necessary appurtenances, which indicated that she was a full-fledged shaman. She had her apprentice standing next to her, who also had a helmet with at least six prongs, which means she was not a beginner, either. Gerlee had two people assisting her: her daughter, wearing a pink jacket and jeans, and shamaness Altanceceg, who was dressed in her shamanic costume but was not wearing the skullcap. Gerlee started beating her drum and singing her invocation (2.1). After a very short while, she started jumping and got possessed (2.2). Altanceceg greeted the spirit:

(2.3)
We are Buriads, descendants of swans,
[Buriads who] have birch-poles.
[...]

She asked the spirit to sit down on the felt carpet that was put in front of her (2.4.). The spirit asked where she was (2.5). Altanceceg told her that she had come to the ritual being held in honour of the Mother Tree, in Selenge province. The spirit said that she had come across a "big sea" and had come down from heaven (2.6). Altanceceg told her that Gerlee's husband, children, relatives and

apprentices were all present (2.7). The spirit asked why she was invoked (2.8). Altanceceg did not answer the question but enumerated the offerings that were arranged around and below the tree (2.9) and offered her a cup of “**showering white milk**” (2.11). The spirit took the milk, dipped the shaft of her drumstick into it and sprinkled out some drops before she drank it. After she gulped the milk down, she dropped the cup, which probably meant to be a performance of divination (MB. *töörög xayax*), but nobody recognized it, and Gerlee’s daughter picked up the cup as if it had fallen to the ground accidentally. The spirit continued singing:

(2.13)
 I haven’t tasted the fine residue of cauldrons,
 The fine brewing of barrels for long.
 Let’s immerse in joy and amusement!
 Let’s celebrate happily!

Altanceceg, realizing that the spirit was asking for brandy, gave her a cup of vodka. The spirit received it and greeted everybody:

All my apprentices and all my children!
 Peace and health!

Everybody around replied to the spirit’s greeting by exclaiming, “*Mendee!*” The spirit splashed out some vodka on the ground and gulped down the remaining. Then she demanded a cup of tea and announced that she would depart (MB. *mordoxo*) soon (2.15). Altanceceg left the ritual, and Gerlee’s apprentice, taking over her task, served the spirit with milky tea. The spirit splashed out a little, drank it and continued singing:

(2.16)
 My dear children!
 Gather together and pray!
 Offer the best of your tea to the nature!
 Bow to the shaman-tree and pray!
 My children!
 Dedicate the residue of your cauldrons
 And the brewing of your barrels to it!
 My children!
 Offer the best of your _____ dairy and bread!
 Dedicate your fine blue brocade, saying: *xümbe xümbe!*⁷⁸
 Let’s immerse in joy and amusement!
 Let’s celebrate happily!
 Pray to the great khans of the Buriads,
 To the great shamans and shamanesses,
 And to _____ heaven!
 [...]

⁷⁸ The word *xümbe* cannot be identified.

Gerlee's apprentice knelt down and made an attempt to introduce herself to the spirit, but the spirit ignored her. Gerlee's daughter gave a blue *xadag* to the apprentice and another cup of milky tea to the spirit. The spirit drank the tea and instructed the people:

(2.19)
 My children!
 Shamaness, *duurisxa* _____
 Walk round and round
 And pray saying *xurai*!
 Sprinkle your beverage,
 Your yellowish red *manj*-tea!
 Offer your dairy and _____!
 Dedicate it _____ingly
 Pray well and _____
 To the shaman-tree!
 Make your offerings _____ingly to the shaman-tree,
 To your nice Mother!
 [...]

The apprentice and another young woman made another attempt to speak with the spirit, who not noticing it, stood up and received another cup of milky tea from Gerlee's daughter. She continued her song, in which she asked for eternal happiness (MB. *münxiin zhargal*). After drinking the tea, she finished her song with a blessing:

(2.22)
 May you all live happily,
 Increasing your merits!
 Be always lucky,
 Dance always with joy!
 Live your lives and _____ in harmony!



Fig.49 Shamaness Altanceceg assisting Gerlee

After this, the spirit made three big jumps, bent down and shook her drum three times. From this moment, the spirit was thought to have been departed and Gerlee to be present again. As Gerlee straightened up, her daughter hurriedly went up to her and removed her helmet.

When shamaness Altaa finished the entrustment, she and her apprentices shifted to another place, where their shaman-tree stood. The ground around the tree, where they were going to call their spirits and perform their ritual, was a well-trodden place with no grass. Altaa first gave her drum to one of her apprentices, Ceyee, who had told me earlier that she was a yellow-white shaman and as such was not yet allowed to own a drum. Ceyee received her master's drum and started playing it under Altaa's instructions (v14). When she got absorbed in playing and was near to get possessed, Altaa interrupted her by a lash of her whip and said that she was close to get possessed by a harmful spirit (MB. *tiirendex*⁷⁹). Ceyee later said that she felt highly honoured to play her master's drum.

After Ceyee gave back the drum to her master, all the apprentices, Ganbaatar, Ceyee, Ulaanaa, Bayarsaixan, Ariunaa (Altaa's daughter) and Cagaanaa⁸⁰ gathered around the tree (v15). Ulaanaa and Ganbaatar knelt down and started playing their instruments (bell and Jew's harp), Ceyee and Cagaanaa started running around the tree (v15. 1:05), while Ariunaa assisted her mother. After a few laps, Ceyee and Cagaanaa joined Ulaanaa and Ganbaatar and started playing their Jew's harps (v15. 2:18). Altaa was standing behind them giving her instructions. She was dressed in her shamanic costume, holding her drum in her left and her whip (not the *bardag*) in her right. Her daughter opened up a bottle of vodka, and she poured it on the ground (v15. 2:36), around the kneeling apprentices so as to create a line of defence that would halt malevolent spirits. Altaa started beating her drum and singing a song (3.1.2) similar to what she had sung during the entrustment. Ceyee soon got possessed, stood up, and her spirit started singing her introductory song:

(3.1.2, v15. 3:52)
The birthplace of my mother,

⁷⁹ The verb *tiirendex* means "to get possessed by a *tiireñ*" (from Tib. *the'u rang*), a kind of harmful spirit, demon. According to Birtalan (2001: 1053), the *tiireñ* is a one-eyed or one-legged and one-armed demon, who brings illness to people. It has to be noted that whenever an apprentice of her got or was going to get possessed by harmful entities, Altaa always used the word *tiirendex* in a general sense, and thus it was not necessarily a *tiireñ* she was talking about. When she later was going to expel the same harmful spirits from the possessed apprentice, she said she needed to drive out the *chötgör-shulam* (two other kinds of harmful spirits). Birtalan (2001: 961) translates *chötgör* into German as Böser Geist and Teufel (evil spirit and devil) and *shulam* (2001: 1043) as Alte Dämonen-Frau (old female-demon) and also as Böser Geist. Neither Altaa nor other shamans I have met ever used the words *chötgör* and *shulam* to create verbs (*chötgörtöx* and *shulamdax* would have been the forms) to describe the above possession by harmful spirits.

⁸⁰ Cagaanaa claimed to be a reincarnation of the White Tara goddess (Xal. *Cagaan Dari ex*, Sansk. *Sitatārā*, Tib. *Sgrol-ma Dkar-mo*), and accordingly, her shamanic costume was almost completely white.

My beautiful northern Xangai!⁸¹
The place where my mother was born
Let me have my red *manj*-tea!⁸²

The other apprentices served the spirit when she asked for something, and Altaa conversed with her. She introduced the scene of the ritual to her (3.1.3, 3.1.5), emphasising that many shamans of different ethnic groups such as Oirad, Bayad, Urianxai, Xotogoid, Buriad and Darxad had come to participate in the worshipping of the Mother Tree and added that their (the shamans') intention was to evoke benefit and good fortune for Mongolia (3.1.8). She asked the spirit the following (3.1.8, 3.1.13):

1. To give magical power (MB. *id shid*) and increase the energy (MB. *ershe xüshe*) of her apprentices.
2. To expel demons (MB. *chötgör*) and thus clear off everything that is bad (MB. *muu muuxai yum*).
3. To purify the apprentices and consecrate (MB. *amiluulxa* lit. "to enliven") their costumes.

The spirit said (3.1.11) that she would take care of them and that they should keep on praying and worshipping the spirits. Altaa told the spirit that her mediator (the shaman the spirit possessed) was Ceyee, whose son, Jigüür, was about to finish school. She asked the spirit to take care of Jigüür and to increase Ceyee's energies and protect her. When Ceyee's possession was over (v15. 7:44–v16. 0:05), Altaa told her that she had not known Jigüür's zodiac but anyway, she told the spirit that he was about finishing school and that she hoped this would be enough (for the spirit to identify him). Ceyee bowed before the tree three times, then knelt down and bowed three times again (v16. 0:06–0:25). Ulaanaa also knelt down and started shaking her bell (v16. 0:07). Altaa, standing behind Ulaanaa, started beating her drum and singing the white refrain repeatedly. She then grabbed her skullcap and used its long streamers to slash Ulaanaa's back and to describe clockwise circles above her head (v16. 2:05). Ulaanaa put down her bell (it was dangling on her chest), pulled out her Jew's harp from a felt pouch and started playing it. Next to her, Ganbaatar also started to play his Jew's harp, and soon another female apprentice, Cagaanaa, joined them (v16. 3:35). Altaa started singing a song (3.2.1) similar to those she had sung when she entrusted her apprentices. No matter what kind of act she performed (entrusted people, purified them, or invoked spirits), she sang basically the same song with only minor differences and improvisation in the lyrics. Altaa stood behind Ulaanaa, and in her song, she asked the spirits to help her (3.2.1):

⁸¹ Xangai is a usually scarcely forested, montaneous and fertile pasture. It might also refer to the Xangai Mountains in Central Mongolia.

⁸² Xal. *manj* means a kind of tea served for Buddhist monks during a ritual (Kara 1998: 247).

Find [her] a Husband!
[...]
Come by the sound of her Jew's harp!
Wake up to the sound of her bell!
Protect her body of one *ald*!
Aryaa wade om manee badmee xum! [repeated many times]

After this, she stood behind Ganbaatar and sang:

Protect his body of one *ald*!
Illuminate his far-leading path!
Increase his magical power!
Give him energy!
Aryaa wade om manee badmee xum! [repeated many times]

Altaa continued singing with another passage that calls for the attention of Buddhist deities (MB. *shariin burxan garwal*) and asks them again to give energy (MB. *ershe xüshe*) to Ganbaatar and to protect his reputation (MB. *aldar*). The final two lines of the passage (two more requests) I could not understand.

Ulaanaa also started singing, but her song was blurred by the sound of her bell and Altaa's shouting. When Altaa realized that Ulaanaa was very near to become possessed, she instructed her daughter to lift Ulaanaa up and start running with her around the tree (v16. 6:15–6:40). Meanwhile, Ganbaatar and Cagaanaa were playing their instruments, and Bayarsaixan (wearing a blue brocade cloak) also started running around the tree. After several laps, Ulaanaa got so tired that she could only walk, but soon she started dancing with jerky movements, shaking her bell in her right hand (v16. 9:38). When Altaa noticed this, she approached her and started beating her drum at the pace of her dance. Ulaanaa danced for a short while, and when she became completely possessed, she sat down below the tree (v16. 10:22). Ceyee and Ariunaa squatted down and got closer to the spirit, who was holding the bell with its mouth up. Ceyee poured milk into the bell, the spirit drank it and started singing a song in which he introduced himself as a (male) Tibetan magician (Xal. *ilbechin*). He said that his costume had not been properly prepared and adjustments needed to be made. He demanded to prepare a yellow silk vest with red border. Ariunaa apologized and explained that the costume had been made according to their heavenly master (Xal. *tengerees tzayaat bagsh*), Altaa's instructions. She lamented that they [contemporary shamans] did not know how to prepare the costumes properly and they were trying to find it out by themselves. When the spirit said that he also needed something made of tiger skin, Ariunaa got astounded but continued her apologies and asked the spirit to remind them whenever there was a mistake in the tailoring of the costume and show them the correct way. She also asked

the spirit to take care of their master, her apprentices and all of their relatives. Ceyee offered a cup of milky tea to the spirit, who then started shaking his bell and singing another song, which was incomprehensible even for his two assistants. After he finished the song, the spirit received four clients: a spectator, Ariunaa, Cagaanaa and Ceyee, and conversed with them in whisper. He blessed Ariunaa and Ceyee with a small copper *vajra* (Xal. *ochir*)⁸³ by pushing it against their foreheads and shoulders several times, while murmuring indistinct mantras (v16. 18:18). The spirit also massaged Ceyee's legs (v16. 19:18). When he gave his blessings to Cagaanaa, he used both his *vajra* and his bell (v16. 19:56). He made Cagaanaa bend down, pushed the tip of the *vajra* at several points against her neck below the nape, and shook his bell above her back as if he was spreading or sprinkling something all over his client's body. After blessing Cagaanaa, the spirit started shaking his bell, stood up, danced his jerky dance for a little while, and then the female apprentices took off his skullcap (v16. 21:18–21:49). After the spirit departed, Ulaanaa made several jumps, and Ariunaa swept her back with her palm and blew at her. By this time, Ganbaatar had already started running his circles around the tree. Altaa was actuating him by brandishing her whip and singing the same song (3.2.25) he sang when she entrusted him. When Ganbaatar got tired, he knelt down before the tree at the same place he had been playing his Jew's harp, and to Altaa's imperative he started to sing a song (v17. 0:09). This song was not a shamanic invocation but a folk song popular in Ganbaatar's homeland, Tzawxan *aimag*. Altaa took her drum, ran a few laps around the tree, put on her skullcap, stood behind Ganbaatar, and after giving some instructions to him, she got possessed quickly (v17. 2:30). Altaa's spirit uttered something in a gruff voice and sat down next to Ganbaatar. As she leaned against Ganbaatar's left side, she made him fall to the right (v17. 2:38). Ganbaatar kept on singing undisturbed, even when lying on the ground and also when Ariunaa pulled him up and made him assume his former posture (v17. 2:48). While Ganbaatar was still singing his song, the spirit started singing her own and demanded vodka. Ariunaa fetched a bottle and gave a cup of vodka to her mother's spirit. The spirit drank a part of it and sprinkled the remaining drops on Ganbaatar's lap, and then slashed his lap with her whip several times. Ariunaa gave a cup of vodka to Ganbaatar as well, while the spirit lifted her drum high and shouted "*xurai xurai*" repeatedly (v17. 4:37). Immediately after this, the spirit performed divination by throwing away a cup of milk that had been put on her drum (v17. 4:58). Because the cup landed in an auspicious position (with its mouth up), Ariunaa took off Ganbaatar's hat and commanded him in a rather brusque manner to pray and pick it up (MB. *zalbiraad aw!*). When Ganbaatar was bending before the cup, the spirit—not having a

⁸³ The *vajra* is a ritual object made of metal and used in Buddhist ceremonies.

whip—slashed his back with her lowered sleeves. Ganbaatar took the cup, got his hat put back on his head, stood up and started running around the tree again, while his master was still possessed. Ariunaa was busy serving her mother's spirit and giving instructions to spectators and apprentices alike. The spirit received some of the spectators and carried out the cup-throwing divination, and whenever it indicated a positive outcome, she exclaimed, "*xurai xurai*". Some girls and young women who requested the spirit to ensure their fertility (Xal. *xüüxdiin tzayaa*) were instructed to kneel behind the spirit and sing a song about their mothers (v17. 8:55). The spirit started to beat her drum, and the women sang a widely-known modern song about "the mother", which is about maternal love. Altaa's possession concluded with another divination. When Altaa had her skullcap taken off, all the apprentices except her daughter were running around the tree again. Two of them, Ulaanaa and Bayarsaixan, were holding Ganbaatar's hands and running with him, while Cagaanaa was following them shaking her bell. Altaa put on a headscarf and started beating her drum again, but this time not in order to get possessed but to spur her apprentices. When Ganbaatar seemed tired enough, Ariunaa took off his hat and coat and dressed him in his shamanic attire (v17. 12:36). Ganbaatar continued running, but after a few laps he collapsed with exhaustion (v17. 15:00). Altaa pulled out her whip and slashed his entire body, while he was lying on the ground, still singing. Altaa opened up a bottle of vodka and emptied it on Ganbaatar, slashing him again severely. Eventually, Altaa made him sit up, opened up another bottle of vodka, sprinkled most of it on the ground around him, took some into her mouth, and then blew it out on him. Altaa explained to her apprentices that Ganbaatar had got possessed by demons (MB. *tiirendex*) and she needed to expel them from the scene.

The rituals at the Mother Tree continued all day long. Besides worshipping spirits, the event was also a workshop for shamans and their apprentices, during which they could practise how to call, channel, serve and dispatch their spirits. As Altaa once explicitly said to the spirits, the purpose of the rituals at the Mother Tree was also to bring benefit to Mongolia and to its people by evoking everything that is favourable and expelling everything that is harmful. The rituals at this event, at least the rituals of Golomt members, were not as much about lengthy conversations with spirits, but were more about entertaining the spirits quickly and extracting their blessings from them. Apprentices were considered to have more energy and power, i.e. to be more skilful shamans after the ritual. Altaa once pointed out to her apprentices that the sacrificial ritual at the Mother Tree was similar to a consecration ritual (MB. *shanar*).

6. Problem-Solving Rituals

Problem-solving rituals are the most difficult to investigate since in these rituals people's personal issues are addressed, and outsiders are not welcome to participate. It is especially true to imprecations, when a shaman calls down curses on his/her own or on his/her client's enemies. One of the very few things shamans are willing to say in relation to their problem-solving rituals is that clients can turn to them with any kinds of problems. Nonetheless, there are some prevalent kinds of problems that more frequently come up in a discussion with a shaman than others. These are usually health problems, financial difficulties or intrafamily issues. In the majority of the cases and in all of the problem-solving rituals I have attended, those who requested a shaman to solve their problems were women, and when the problem was inside a family, always the husband was blamed for being ineffective at work (Xal. *ajil ni бүтөхгүй*) or/and drinking too much. Girls and young women often request a shaman's agency in procuring children (Xal. *үр хүүхэд гуix*) or to help finding a husband (Xal. *xan'iin тзayaa дуудax*). The problem—an illness, a ruined family, childlessness, or not finding a suitable spouse—is often held to be the result of a curse (Xal. *xaraal*) sent by a foe, usually with the aid of his/her shaman ally. In Mongolia, many who are facing such issues are inclined to believe that they have been cursed by an adversary. Shamans often confirm these suspicions, and sometimes they not only remove the curse but also send it back to both the person and the other shaman, who are thought to have sent it to the client. Other problems are explained by shamans as results of breaching of certain taboos, for example harming water spirits (Xal. *lus*) or disturbing the spirits of the dead. When breaching such taboos, one becomes contaminated by a so-called “dirt” or “impurity” (Xal. *butzar*), which then manifests itself in forms of problems and sufferings. By this rationale, a problem-solving ritual is a kind of purification ritual, and methods such as lashing with a whip and cleansing with vodka are essential parts of it. Before the performance of the problem-solving ritual, a visit to the shaman and the making of a diagnosis called *ützleg* (lit. looking) is necessary. To visit a shaman is called “showing oneself to the shaman” (Xal. *bööd ütзүүlex*), or if the problem is an illness, one might use the expression “showing one's body to the shaman” (Xal. *biyee bööd ütзүүlex* lit.).

6.1 Shaman Dowdon's *Ützleg*

In October 2004, shaman Dowdon performed an *ützleg* at the request of one of his apprentices. The apprentice was Naraa, a middle aged, low-ranking shamaness. Although Naraa was at least ten years older than Dowdon, she called him *bagsh* (master), and when she addressed him, she always used the honorific form of the second person singular pronoun (Xal. *ta*), which is usually used to address an older person or someone of considerably higher social rank. Shamaness Naraa by profession was a seamstress and worked in an industrial school as a teacher of dressmaking. Her skills qualified her for making shaman costumes, and she was viewed by Dowdon as the bearer of knowledge similar to that of blacksmiths. Dowdon told me that Naraa had been his client suffering from a deadly illness, and he managed to save her life with his shamanic abilities. Naraa soon became Dowdon's apprentice and got her first initiation from shaman Ceren (Dowdon's master). Dowdon used the expression Xal. *amin torgoox* (to keep one's life going) to refer to the life-saving ritual. As he explained it, the *amin torgoox* type of ritual is about "bringing back a dying person and not letting him/her die" (Xal. *üxex geed baixad ni naashluulaad üxүүлchixgüi*) and added that beginner shamans cannot do it and are not even allowed to try doing it.

The *ützleg* was performed in Naraa's teacher's room in the school. When Dowdon and I entered the room, Naraa was sitting at her table chatting with another woman, who was soon sent to bring a bottle of vodka from a nearby shop. Dowdon took two small paper bags: one contained thyme, the other brown salt. He opened the salt, spat on it (Xal. *üleej ögöx*) and gave it along with the thyme to Naraa. Dowdon explained that salt can clear off people's bad intentions, enviousness and jealousy (Xal. *xümüüsiin xar buruu sanaa, ataa jötöö arilgana*), while thyme can purify everything (Xal. *büxniig arilgana*), and by spitting he "enlivened" (Xal. *amiluulax*) the salt, which means that the above-mentioned protective and purifying qualities of the salt would take effect. When the other woman arrived with the bottle of vodka, Dowdon poured some into a silver cup (Xal. *möngön ayag*) and gave it to Naraa. Naraa stood on top of the radiator and opened the uppermost window of her room. Dowdon warned her that her head was uncovered; therefore, Naraa put a towel which was at hand on her head and offered the vodka to the spirits (Xal. *deej örgöx*) through the window. Dowdon explained that she offered the vodka for her master's shaman ancestors (Xal. *bagshiinxaa ug*), for her own shaman ancestors (Xal. *ööriinxöö ug*), for the owner spirits of the four mountains¹ (Xal. *dörwön uuliin etzen sawdag*), for all the

¹ He meant the four mountains surrounding Ulaanbaatar: Bogd Xan, Chingeltei, Songino Xairxan and Bayantzürx. For more on the owner-spirits of these four mountains see Rintchen 1958: 441–48.

spirits of the surrounding mountains and cairns (Xal. *ergen toiron baidag owooo uuliin etzed*), and for the spirits of creeks and rivers (Xal. *gol mörnii lus sawdaguud*), asking all these spirits to help her succeed in what she was going to do (Xal. *ajil xergiig бүтееж өгч туслаачее геј*). He added that the offering was made to ensure success (Xal. *ajil бүтөл*). Dowdon took the silver cup with the small amount of vodka that was left in it, looked into it for a few seconds, and then filled the cup again and sprinkled the vodka on the wall. Later he explained that first the shaman has to look into the vodka, then into the sun, then into the eyes of the client and finally sprinkle the vodka on a white wall, and thus from its shape on the wall the shaman can draw conclusions (Xal. *үтзлег xelex*). Dowdon said that Naraa had asked him to perform an *үтзлег* because a relative of her, a young man, had got into serious trouble; he had had a fight with someone who died soon after, but claimed that it was not him who killed the person. The young man was sentenced to twenty-five years' imprisonment. Naraa and other relatives were trying to get him out of prison, and Naraa asked Dowdon to look into the case using his shamanic abilities. Dowdon, after the *үтзлег*, said that he had seen a thin man beating the person to death with an iron rod, and he had also seen a person with strange ears (he said his ears were not round but straight) and that this person would be a hindrance in the case. Dowdon did not say that this person was the killer and neither did he hint that it was not Naraa's relative. He added that he had 85 percent of self confidence; his predictions proved to be true in 85 percent of the cases.

Naraa handed over some money to Dowdon for his services, and Dowdon gave the following blessing in reply:

(0)
 May your deeds expand!
 May nine of your white pure desires come true!
 May everything you do be crowned with success!
 May your goals be achieved!

6.2 Shaman Dowdon about Curses

On the day of the *үтзлег*, Dowdon was invited to another client's home at twelve o'clock at night to perform a curse-reversing ritual (Xal. *xaraal xariulax*), to where he said he would not allow anybody to go with him. When I asked Naraa about curses, she told me that they (she, Dondog and all the apprentices of Ceren) never curse anybody, but Dowdon later admitted that they would curse those who would attempt to harm any of them in order to protect one another. He said

sometimes shamans (he spoke about shamans in general not about Ceren and his circles) cast curses on each other so as to gauge the power (Xal. *xüchiig sorix*) of their fellow shamans by sending illness to them or by making their livestock perish. This rivalry, he said, was called Xal. *idelcex*, which literally means “eating one another”. Dowdon told me that he had been tempted to cast curses on people two times; once a director of a company made him an offer of 250 dollars of monthly salary and an apartment if Dowdon cursed his rival. Later the wife of a very rich person offered him first eight million, then later ten million *tögrögs*² to kill her husband by a curse. Dowdon rejected both of them. He said that the most dangerous of all curses was the one made with the blood of a black goat (Xal. *xar yamaanii cusan xaraal*). The power of this curse, he explained, would double by each step that the cursed makes. He said, “If the victim takes one hundred steps after the curse was sent, the curse will be one hundred times more powerful as it was originally.” Therefore, he said, it was crucial to remove the curse as soon as possible, but removing or reversing such a curse was extremely dangerous for the shaman as well.

6.3 The “Magic”

6.3.1 Altanceceg’s Problem-Solving Ritual

In November 2004, shamaness Altanceceg conducted a problem-solving ritual in her office located in the building of the Golomt Centre. Altanceceg allowed me to attend the ritual but at the same time asked me not to make recordings of the songs and not to make photo and video documentation. The client was a woman, who had two problems to solve: first, her sister was living abroad, in the Check Republic, and her things were not going well there. Second, as she explained, her husband, whom she had taken to the ritual, was ineffective in his doings (MB. *ajil ni бүтөхгүй*), which ruined her plans and was a hindrance to her daily life.

Besides Altanceceg, the clients and I, Altanceceg’s husband, Namsrai, and one of Altanceceg’s apprentices were also present during the ritual. Altanceceg did not dress in full shamanic attire; she only put on her blue brocade cloak, her mirrors and her skullcap and put a blue *xadag* around her neck. The offerings on the altar were arranged in the same order as in Altanceceg’s spirit-pleasing ritual (discussed in chapter 5.1.2). Altanceceg’s husband scooped

² Approximately 7500–10.000 USD.

a little vodka with a brass spoon and poured it on Altanceceg's mirrors and drum, and then he gave a cup of vodka to her. Altanceceg poured a little from the vodka on each of her shoulders and drank it. In the meantime, the apprentice shaped two human figures³ out of flour and water. The figures (MB. *dürshig* also *dolig*) were seated on two square pieces of black textile (MB. *xar xoshuu daawuu*) and wrapped up to the neck. They were placed in front of the room's entrance. Altanceceg and Namsrai sat down on the floor (Altanceceg on a small carpet) in front of the two effigies and started chanting an invocation. Namsrai leant close towards the effigies and sang and made gestures as if he was talking or explaining something to them. While singing, he often whined crying, "yooy yooy yooy" as though he was demonstrating how the victim (the person who had been cursed) was suffering. Meanwhile, Altanceceg's apprentice was sitting and holding a smoking twig of juniper. When Altanceceg and Namsrai finished their song, Altanceceg performed a divination, which indicated a positive result. When the cup fell on the floor, the apprentice described three clockwise circles above it with the smoking twig. Then Altanceceg's husband took the effigies out of the building and destroyed them. Altanceceg sang another short song and beat her drum for a while; then she took off her skullcap. Namsrai gave her a small red stick, to which Altanceceg whispered something, spat on it, gave it to the client and performed a divination—again with a positive result. The client bowed to the cup and picked it up. Altanceceg's husband put the skullcap on his wife's head; Namsrai also put on his hat and started singing again, but this time without Altanceceg's drumbeats. The client brought out a blue *xadag* and some money and gave them to the apprentice, while Altanceceg was still singing. The apprentice took and placed the money with the *xadag* on the altar, behind the offerings. The husband gave a cigarette to the spirit (Altanceceg in the meantime got possessed) and then a cup of vodka. The spirit gulped down the vodka and performed divination with the cup. Then the client gave vodka to the spirit, saying the name of her sick sister, and the spirit performed a divination again. This was repeated several times, and every time the cup fell to the ground, the apprentice purified it with the smoke of juniper. One cup of vodka was not given to the spirit but taken outside by the client, who, having put a scarf on her head, performed libation with it. When the spirit stood up, Altanceceg's husband gave her a cup of milk, which indicated that the spirit was expected to depart soon, but first she gave a blessing to the client the following way. She lowered her drum and held it in a vertical position in order that the client, kneeling down and bending, could push

³ A similar effigy (WM. *joliy*) is mentioned in relation to a ritual intended to detach a dead person's soul from the world of living people. For the ritual a human figure is made of grain, and all the evil threatening the deceased person's relatives are to be transferred to it. The figure is tied with a black thread and seated on black grain, and crow-feathers are stuck into its head and throat (Sárközi 1996: 315). On the usage of effigies see also Heissig 1992d: 157–67.

her forehead against it. While the client was bending in such a position, the spirit gently prodded her back with her *bardag* three times and left Altanceceg's body. It seemed that the ritual was over, but it was only its first part that ended. Altanceceg took the brass spoon, and using its handle as a gauge, she measured the client's ring fingers on both of her hands, from which she ascertained that the length of the fingers was not equal. Altanceceg explained that it meant that the client's soul had set apart from her (MB. *süns xöndiirsön*), and it had to be called back (MB. *süns duudax*).⁴ Altanceceg said the problem that caused the client's soul to leave was her worsened relationship with her husband. She took a long red thread and tied its one end to the client's right wrist and held the other herself, in her left, together with the drum. Thus, the drum, the shaman (later the spirit) and the client were all connected as by a blood vessel.⁵ The client was also holding a bigger cup of milk in both of her hands. Altanceceg started beating her drum, chanting her invocation and after a short while she got possessed. The spirit sat down on the floor, on a small carpet, but could not go on solving the problem because, from time to time, she got alarmed by something and tried to hide behind Namsrai's back. She whispered to him that she was afraid of the strange creature in the room. Namsrai instantly realized that the strange creature was me, and explained to the spirit that her mediator, Altanceceg, invited this person, who, though being a weird-looking foreigner, was not harbouring harmful intentions. Later the spirit got frightened once more and told Namsrai that this time she was afraid of the female client, as she put it, "the quarrelsome wife" (MB. *xerүүлш awgai*). The spirit called the husband and asked him whether he loved his wife. The husband firmly said, "Yes", and the spirit asked the same from the wife, who hesitated for a while and being abashed finally said, "Well, yes" (Xal. *tza xairtai*). The spirit told her to try to think about her husband with love and if she could do this, the divination would have a positive result. Thus the spirit performed the divination, which indicated that the wife still could feel some sort of love for her husband. The spirit soon left, and Altanceceg, after having been told what had happened, gave her own advice to the client; not to quarrel with her husband because the husband should be the head of the family, and he is not supposed to take oppression and humiliation.

⁴ For more on calling back the soul see Sárközi, Sazykin and Szabó 2004.

⁵ Sárközi (Sárközi, Sazykin and Szabó 2004: 42) in her description of requisites that are used for calling a soul mentions a rope, which, according to some ritual texts, is red. In some cases it is attached to the patient's or the officiant's shoulder and that, as Sárközi supposes, is a sort of way by which the soul can come back. In relation to a similar Buriad shamanic ritual, Sárközi quotes Harva's report (1938: 217–18), according to which "a red silk rope is led from the patient to a birch tree set outside the yurt. The soul of the patient is supposed to come back along this rope, a certain way of spirits." For more on the symbolism of the rope (and thread) see Sárközi 1989 and 1996.

In an interview (a1), made prior to the above ritual, Altanceceg and Namsrai touched upon the type of problem-solving rituals, to which the above-described ritual of Altanceceg belongs. They referred to it as MB. “*ami nasnii andaldaan*” and sometimes also as “*ami nahanai andaldaan*”. “*Ami nas*”, or alternately “*ami naha*” means “ages”, “life” or “life-span”, whereas the exact meaning of “*andaldaan*” is unclear. It might come from the Mp. “*anda*” (sworn brother), thus suggesting that the client and the spirit during the ritual establish such or a similar kind of connection (MB. *andaldaan*).⁶ The red thread, which connects spirit and client, might signify this new relationship. During my fieldwork, I heard Süxbat and other Xalxs translating the Buriad term “*ami nahanai andaldaan*” to Xalx as “*ami nasnii tzasal*” (life-adjustment). Namsrai explained that the ritual removes all bad things (MB. *muu muuxai*) of one’s life, and he used the attribute MB. “*zhiliin möshlögtei*” (“of a life-span” or “of year-cycles”) when speaking about the ritual. He used the same term (MB. *zhiliin möshlög*) for referring to the square black textiles on which the figures were seated and explained that it absorbs all the bad things. It is believed that the evil that has caused the suffering is transplanted into the effigies (Sárközi 1984: 327). Altanceceg and Namsrai said that the incantations of both the *ami nahanai andaldaan* and, another similar ritual, the MB. *arag yahanai xudlaga* (destruction of the skeleton) are very serious (MB. *aixtar ix duudlagtai*) and can only be chanted when the ritual is being performed, otherwise it could evoke bad things. Altanceceg and Namsrai both argued that there were two kinds of effigies; the big (MB. *yixe dürshig*) and the small one (MB. *baga dürshig*). The big effigy is a dummy made of straw and has to be dressed similarly to the client, and the client’s face has to be drawn on a piece of paper and fastened to the effigy’s head.⁷ The small effigy is the one made of flour and dressed in black textile. Both effigies are destroyed and thrown away.

⁶ The fact that Altanceceg and Namsrai referred to shamanic performances conducted simultaneously by more shamans (these performances are called *böölöldöön*, from MB. *böölöldöxö* “shamanize together”) seems to confirm the idea that “*andaldaan*” comes from the verb **andaldaxa* (to become sworn brothers). However, according to Birtalan (personal communication, 2011), the word *andaldaan* in Buriad dialects can also mean “to change”, suggesting that the ritual is about the change of the life of the patient and the creature embodied by the effigy (i.e. this way the creature that has caused the client’s illness will take that illness and the client will recover).

⁷ Heissig (1992b: 14–15) mentions the same kind of effigy from the Xorchin Xüree (WM. *Küriye*) banner.

6.3.2 Shamaness Ceeyee's Problem-Solving Ritual

Shamaness Ceeyee, the half Xalx, half Buriad apprentice of the Buriad shamaness Altaa, in 2004 worked in the main office of the Golomt Centre, in the same room with Süxbat (the Golomt's head) and with Bulgan, a Xotogoid shamaness. When either of the shamanesses performed a ritual, Süxbat often assisted. Bulgan's regalia and practice very much resembled those of Darxad shamans, and the way Ceeyee performed her rituals also had certain similarities with Bulgan's practice, though they were not in a master-apprentice relationship, nor did they belong to the same "school" of shamanism. In May 2005, when Ceeyee allowed me to make a video footage of her problem-solving ritual, she had already been practising in a private office, independently from the Golomt, yet she had not completely severed her relationship with the Centre.

The ritual took place in Ceeyee's office, in the early afternoon. Ceeyee had three clients and was requested to solve two problems since two of the clients—a woman and her daughter—came with the same purpose: to have a healing ritual performed for the woman's elder daughter, who was living in San Francisco and was suffering from an illness. The other client, again a woman, also had health problems.

Ceeyee asked the young girl to assist her during the ritual. First they prepared the sacrificial altar on a table placed in the left corner, opposite the entrance. Although it was the south-western corner of the office, it was conceived as the sacred corner, which—according to tradition—is located in the north-east of a yurt since the entrance is in the south. Ceeyee taught the young girl the important expressions that were likely to occur during the ritual. She explained that when the spirit says for example, "*xatan baraanaa*", s/he asks for vodka, etc. The girl asked whether the spirit would speak with an accent, to which Ceeyee answered yes. Ceeyee put on her blue brocade cloak and blue skullcap, sat down on her chair in front of the table and played her Jew's harp for approximately half a minute. When she finished playing, she announced her diagnosis: the sick girl in San Francisco had been cursed by the so-called "corpse filth" (Xal. *xüxeeriin/üxeeriin butzar*), which means that somebody hiring a shaman had sent the impurity of dead human bodies to harm the victim. Ceeyee said that an effigy (Xal. *dürshig*) of the sender had to be made of flour. She again played the Jew's harp for a few seconds in order to make a diagnosis for the other client, but she did not announce the result.

After the diagnoses, Ceeyee and the girl continued preparing the offerings and arranging the altar. The offerings were the usual six offerings: milk, tea, vodka and sweets arranged in small brass cups (Xal. *cögc*) with a bowl, which contained bits and pieces of each offering (Xal. *oron delxiin örgöl*), and with a candle (Xal. *tzul*). On the table was placed an image of a Green Tara, a large plate laden with five kinds of food (Xal. *tawgiin tawan idee*), a small heart-shaped box, which contained crumbled juniper, and some of Ceeyee's tools. When the altar was ready, Ceeyee sat down again at the table and prepared a "soul-scarf" (Xal. *süinsnii xadag*), which was to be sent to the victim. Ceeyee placed the *xadag* on the table, folded it in half and put a small amount of juniper on it. She bent above the *xadag* and played the Jew's harp for a while so as to activate the "soul-scarf". In the meantime, the young girl was purifying banknotes of ten-thousand *tögrögs* in the smoke of burning juniper and put them on the altar. Ceeyee told the other client that a serious ritual was going to be performed (Xal. *xatuu yum*) and her problem, which was assumed to be less serious, would be solved after it. Bundling up the juniper Ceeyee made a knot on the *xadag* in the middle. She touched her lips and forehead with the knot, blew into it, fastened the knot once more and told the girl that it should be sent to her sister. Whenever Ceeyee prepared something that was going to be used for ritual purposes, she bent over the object and played her Jew's harp above it for a short while. She poured vodka into a silver cup, played the Jew's harp and gave the vodka to the girl to take it outside and offer it to the spirits. Then she put a small piece of red cloth into a matchbox, played the Jew's harp again and threw the matchbox on the floor.⁸ In the meantime, the girl started making the effigy. It had to be made to resemble a man because Ceeyee said the curse was sent by a man. Although Ceeyee identified the man's accomplice as a shamaness, only the man's effigy was made. The effigy was dressed up in a small piece of black cloth and seated on a cellophane bag. When it was ready, Ceeyee sat at her table, in front of the altar, started shaking her bell and singing the invocation:

(1.1)
Aryaa wade om manee badmee xum!
Aryaa from the western direction,
 I informed [you] in tranquillity.
 My white, snowy mountain!
 My white _____!
 Come leaning on
 Your white, silver staff!
 [You] descended twinkling
 Your golden, silver cap-button.

⁸ It is noteworthy that the Xotogoid shamaness, Bulgan, also used a matchbox with red cloth during her problem-solving rituals (personal experience in the Golomt Centre, 2004).

[You] descended wearing
 Your blue, silk skullcap.
 Come mediating!
 [You] descended turning
 Your seven hundred thousand magic spells!
 Six *builaan* interpreters!
 Builaan, the great bonesetter,
 Daughter of Sanashxa!
 My patron, White Old Man!
 Listen here well!
 Come to my palace!
 Come to my [mountain?!]
Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum.

The invocation is typically a white shaman's invocation, which addresses interpreters (MB. *tulmaasha*), a bonesetter (MB. *bariasha*), the patron deity of white shamans, and the White Old Man (Xal. *Cagaan Öwgön*). It describes the spirits as wearing and using items of white shamanic paraphernalia such as the wooden staff (MB. *bayag*) and the skullcap with the button (MB. *yodoroo*) on its top. The same spirits and objects are mentioned in shaman Ceren's and shaman Dowdon's alternate versions of this invocation (a5.1). Sanashxa, probably a spirit of a yet unidentified person, occurs in the form of Sanashiid in Ceren and Dowdon's invocations. Both of their invocations mention the son of Sanashiid, while Ceeyee's mentions Sanashxa's daughter, suggesting that the shaman or shamaness refers to him/herself as the son or the daughter of Sanashxa/Sanashiid.

Ceeyee continued the invocation with requesting the spirits to come and descend upon the offerings:

(1.2)
 [...]
 My great ancestral spirits!
 Please descend without making a mistake!
 Please surround [us] without making a mistake!
 Please, without making a mistake, descend upon
 The best of red *manj*-tea,
 On the choice of the five kinds of delicate food,
 On the choice of the golden goods,
 [And] on the best parts of the fat livestock's _____ meat!
 [We] have the nice liquor _____ of this land.
 [We] have the meat of the Thirteen Lords.
 Please surround [us] without making a mistake!
 I am calling you.
 I am calling you.
 Please _____ surround [us]!
 Please _____ protect [us]!
 I am praying for good luck.
 I am asking for blessing.

[I] have made my *chandruu*⁹ among erected trees
Cotton-white _____.
[I] have great bonesetter ancestors.

This second part of the invocation has the characteristics of the genre what Bum-Ochir calls WX. *tzalbiral* (prayer), since Ceeyee here, apart from introducing herself as an initiated white shaman and enumerating the offerings, is imploring good luck and blessings.

The third and last part of the invocation was far less audible, and it contained personal details of the clients; therefore, this part is not to be rendered here. The personal details, such as names and zodiac, and also the problems to be solved were reported to the spirits, who were then beseeched to solve these problems and to protect the clients and their families from further sufferings. Thus, this part of the invocation, though still belonged to the pre-possessional act of calling the spirits, without doubt, can be conceived as an act of entrustment (Xal. *daatgal*).

When Ceeyee got possessed, she stood up, lifted up her hands above her head shaking her bell and vajra and repeated two words: *xulгаа* and *altanganjir*. As she explained later, “*xulгаа*” was the same as Xal. “*xulgai*” (thief), and “*altanganjir*” means the shiny gilded top of a Buddhist temple. Nevertheless, she could not explain why she had been repeating these words during her possession. The spirit soon sat down on the floor, uttered an evil laughter, demanded vodka and asked for what reason she had been invoked (2.1). During the possession, the spirit repeated the evil laughter and the two above words every time she finished saying something, which divided the whole possession discourse into smaller units. Whenever she said something, she concluded her sentences with the word “*geeshew*” (from Bur. *geesheb*, meaning “I say”), which did not change the meaning of the sentence but added a Buriad flavour to her utterances. The two clients answered the spirit’s question saying that the sister of the young girl, the other daughter of the woman, was living in the United States and was suffering from an illness (2.2). They told the spirit that they had come to have her entrusted (Xal. *daatgax*) to the spirits. The spirit asked whether they had brought something that belonged to the victim; a piece of her clothes, for example, or any other personal belongings. The clients said they had a photo of her. The spirit asked for the photo and a cup of vodka in a terse, commanding manner and reviled the sender of the curse calling him a stupid dunce (MB. *uimar teneg*). She held the vodka in her right, the photo in her left, shook her head, retched and coughed, and then swigged a mouthful of vodka and spat it on the photo. She repeated this three times and asked for another cup of vodka and the effigy. The girl did not understand the spirit’s commands well, and it took a little while till the effigy was submitted.

⁹ Xal. *chandruu* Bur. *shandruu* is the consecration ritual of Buriad white shamans. See Chapter 7.

While waiting for the effigy, the spirit was continuously blowing on the photo and uttered her wicked laughter. When she got the effigy, she purified the photo again with vodka, grabbed the effigy, asked for a new cup of vodka, poured it on the effigy and blew on it. Holding the effigy she sang the following (2.3):

Go to the slope with your shamaness and sun yourselves!
Be thrown away together with your shamaness!
Sun yourselves on the slope!
Go far away!
You stupid dunce, what did you want to do to [says the name of the victim]?!
Go to a remote place and sun yourselves!
[Utters an evil laughter]

After the song, she crumpled the effigy pushing it against the floor, and instructed the young girl to take it out and destroy it the following way:

Take this beyond seven mountains! Hold it under your right armpit, throw it away
and put five stones on it! Did you get it? [...] You should take it to the north-west
and throw it away for the Ninety-nine Khans.¹⁰ Do not look at it! You must pass
over seven mountains before you throw it away. Ha ha ha!

Well before the ritual Ceeyee had warned the young girl that when she would come back after having destroyed the effigy, the spirit would ask her name, and she would have to say whatever name comes into her mind but not her own. While the girl was busy with destroying the effigy outside, the spirit asked for milk,¹¹ which she then spat on the photo. The young girl soon came back from outside, and the spirit instructed her to fetch some crumbled juniper. The spirit took the photo, which was still soaked in milk, put the juniper on it and blew on it. Then she ordered the young girl to get closer and kneel next to her. The spirit said (2.5):

[...] What is your name you knave?¹² What is your name? Come on, sit here!
You are being followed by bad things. Kneel down! Bring me vodka!¹³ You [evil]
creature! You harm people's children. Whose child do you want to harm now? You
are tempering with wombs of women and girls! Ha ha ha ha ha! [...]

¹⁰ The Khans in Buriad mythology are the children of the Ninety-nine Gods (Xangalov 2004 I: 344). For more on the western and eastern khans see Xangalov 2004 I: 344–56 and 371–79 respectively.

¹¹ The spirit said, “*shimtei maliinxaa shingen süüg barina geeshew*”, from which “*barina geeshew*” (lit. “I say I will take it”) could best be translated as “I want”, while the preceding part means “dilute milk of the fat livestock”.

¹² She used the word Xal. *tzolig*, which also means an effigy, a scapegoat, which is destroyed during problem-solving rituals of this kind. However, in this context it was clear that she addressed an evil being, probably the sender of the curse or the evil spirit that had caused the problem.

¹³ The spirit said, “*xatan baraanaa barina geeshew*”. “*Xatan baraanaa*” is frequently used to refer to vodka, liquor and other spirits.

The spirit was both speaking to the girl and to an evil spirit (the curse) that had been sent by the man that Ceeyee had identified. According to what the spirit said and done (purified the girl), it can be assumed that the girl had also been infected and, to some extent, possessed by the evil spirit. As the spirit put it, the girl “was followed by bad things”, which had to be expelled. In order to do that, the spirit slashed the girl with her whip, asked for a cup of vodka, pulled up the girl’s T-shirt and spat the vodka on her stomach. After this purification, the spirit asked for a cup of milk, and holding her bell in an upside-down position, she fitted the bottom of the cup into the mouth of the bell. She described clockwise circles with the bell and the cup repeating the word “*xulгаа*” and threw the cup away. She asked (2.6) whether it had fallen bottom-up or bottom-down. Since it fell bottom-down, the spirit ordered the clients to circumambulate her three times while praying and only then pick up the cup. After the divination—which indicated a successful purification of the victim and her younger sister and also the successful destruction of the sender—the spirit announced that the curse itself, or the essence of it, was still to be expelled. She expressed herself as “We will expel the corpse” (Xal. *üxeeriig gargana*). The *üxeer*, not exactly a real corpse, rather the highly contagious impurity believed to dwell in dead bodies, was represented by the piece of red cloth in the matchbox. The spirit referred to it as “the corpse in the box” (MB. *xairsagtai üxeer*). She purified the photo again by spitting vodka on it and poured the rest of the vodka into the matchbox. Then she spat into the box and told the girl to do the same. The girl did not understand the command first, so the spirit had to repeat it several times. She told her to spit into the box immediately, lest it might get dry. After the girl spat into the box, the spirit slashed the floor with her whip, blew into the box and gave it to the girl to take it outside and throw away toward the north-east and smash it with a rock. After the girl took out the box to destroy it, the spirit sang her next song (2.8):

The flowers of my father’s land are colourful.
 The flowers of my mother’s land are chequered.
 Oh my beautiful golden mountaintop!
 Oh this is the homeland of my mother!
 Oh my beautiful northern Xangai!
 Oh this is the land where my mother was born!
 Oh let me have my red *manj*-tea!
 Oh let me slake the dryness of my mouth!
 Oh bring me my Jew’s harp, my child!

The song was probably the self-introduction of a new spirit,¹⁴ though it was not announced that another spirit would be called, nor the first spirit seemed to leave Ceeyee’s body. The next spirit

¹⁴ Ceeyee’s same spirit sang the same song during the sacrificial ritual at the Mother Tree, immediately after she possessed the shamaness.

had a different personality than the previous one. She did not order the clients but asked them politely when something had to be done and always sang in a milder tone of voice. She did not use the evil laughter, either. One would not be mistaken assuming that the first spirit simply gave way to the next one. The spirit, when she got her Jew's harp, played it for a while and started singing another short song about the victim:

(2.9)
Oh my children!
This child has been poisoned
By a dirty thing.
This child
Is in a distant place.
She is being entangled
In jealousy and envy.

The clients responded agreeably, "Yes! Yes!" The spirit played the Jew's harp again and continued:

(2.10)
Oh, would you give me some white milk!
Oh, solving people's problems is difficult, it is difficult!
Oh, would you put some juniper on it!
What is her name?
What is her zodiac?
[...]

The clients told the victim's name and zodiac, and the spirit gave the milk to the young girl, telling her to offer it in the direction where her sister was, i.e. in the direction of San Francisco. The spirit played the Jew's harp again for a while and sang the next passage:

(2.11)
Oh, would you give me black and white liquor!
Oh, would you give me black and white liquor!
Drip white milk
On the tough spirit and
Oh, give me the black and white liquor!

(2.12)
Oh, my child!
Put the juniper on top of it!
Offer this to the Eight Water Khans below!
Do it for entrusting your beloved child!
Offer this to the Eight Water Khans below!

The mother went outside to offer the "black and white liquor", while the spirit was playing the Jew's harp again for a while. When finished, she asked for a personal belonging of the victim. She asked whether the clients had brought a cloth of her that she could smell (2.13). The girl answered

that they had the photo and gave it to the spirit, who then smelt it. The girl asked whether her sister would recover. The spirit asked for another cup of vodka and answered that she would be able to do what she had been able to do and she would know again what she had known. The mother replied, “We are praying to your patron spirit (Xal. *saxius*)”, which implies that she addressed Ceeyee and not the spirit that possessed her. Since the mother, her daughter and also the other client were residents of Ulaanbaatar and had not been in frequent contact with shamanism (it was probably the first time they requested the help of one), they, unlike those born and bred in a shamanic ambience, looked on the possessed shaman as still a shaman and not as a spirit. The spirit gave a cup of milk to the girl to take outside and offer it to the north-east in order to entrust her sister. Then she played her Jew’s harp and asked for another cup of milk. The spirit did not drink the milk, but holding the cup she described three small clockwise circles and threw it away. When the cup knocked the floor, the spirit asked where (to which direction) and how (in what position) it landed. The girl said it fell to the north, bottom-up. In response the spirit sang:

(2.14)
[...]
Oh, would you give me tough liquor!
Oh, your offerings are incomplete!
Oh, make your offerings dedicating your heart and soul to it!
Oh, the child born in the year of the horse!
Offer this to the five jealous gods!
Oh, to the north-west!
Offer it asking the five jealous gods to lengthen her life!

The spirit, after finishing the song, played her Jew’s harp, pulled out the photo of the victim and asked for another cup of milk. She purified the photo again by spitting milk on it several times, repeated the divination with the cup and asked the same question. This time the cup fell to the south in a bottom-down position, indicating that the offerings were, by this time, complete. The spirit told the clients to circumambulate her three times before picking up the cup. The two clients did so and the spirit, being ready to leave, started playing her Jew’s harp. After a short while, she stood up and started dancing, still playing the Jew’s harp. Suddenly, she stopped playing and dancing and started jumping up and down, which indicated that the spirit had left and Ceeyee was again present. Ceeyee took off her skullcap, made some more jumps and exhaled deeply. Thus, the possession was over, but the ritual continued.

Ceeyee sat down at her table, put on her skullcap again and announced that she would call another spirit. She started shaking her bell and singing the next invocation (3.1), which consisted solely of repeating the refrain, *Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum*. After only twenty seconds

or so, she started shaking her head as a sign of her spirit's arrival. The spirit stood up assuming a stooping posture and sang:

(4.1)
What has happened that you called me?
Why did you call me?
[...]

The mother told her about their problem and said that they had come to entrust her older daughter to the spirits. The spirit sat down on the floor and sang, repeating the word “*xurai*” many times. After a while she asked for a cup of milk and started singing another song, which was intended to call back the departing soul of the victim. The spirit's song called the soul's attention to those things in life that she was most likely to be attached to:

(4.2)
[...]
Your beautiful golden smile is waiting for you!
Your tasty mineral water is waiting for you to drink!
Your beautiful clothes are waiting for you to wear!
Xurai xurai xurai!
Your good steed is waiting for you to ride!
The beautiful smile, like a precious stone, is waiting for you!
Xurai xurai xurai!
Come here! Come here! *Xurai xurai xurai!*
Xurai xurai xurai!
[...]

In the middle of the song, the girl gave the “soul-scarf” to the spirit, who then held it in her right hand, sometimes touching her forehead and lips with it, seemingly singing the song into the *xadag*. When the spirit finished the song, she gave the *xadag* to the mother saying that she should wear it for three days, and asked for a cup of milk. She did not drink from the milk but blew into the cup and asked the girl (she said a blood relative of the victim was needed) to hold the cup of milk, while she would call good fortune (Xal. *buyan xishig duudax*). Then she asked for the “five kinds of food” that had been arranged on a plate, on the table. The girl took the plate and squatted down next to the shaman, holding the cup of milk in her left and the plate in her right hand. The spirit started to sing:

(4.3)
[...]
Realm of the eastern heaven!
I am asking for funds!
Realm of the western heaven!¹⁵
I am asking for wealth!
I am asking for

¹⁵ For more on the eastern and the western heavens in Buriad mythology see Xangalov 2004 II: 92–93.

Partaking the royal boon!
Xurai xurai xurai!
[...]

This song is a very good example of what Bum-Ochir calls *xurailga* (2002: 99–104). The three main characteristics of this genre are: 1. The repetition of the word “*xurai*” (meaning “come” or “gather”), from which the denomination of the genre *xurailga* comes, 2. The clockwise circling movements of the hands (usually holding food), which is referred to as Mp. *dallax*, and from which the term *dallaga*, the name of a similar genre derives, 3. The purpose of singing the song: to evoke good fortune, prosperity, fertility, wealth, boon, etc.

The spirit sang the song twice, while the two clients were performing the *dallaga* (holding the food and circling with it). The spirit asked whether anybody had a question or had anything to say. The mother told about her daughter in San Francisco. The spirit told her to sit next to her and palpated her upper body. Then the client and the spirit leant against each other’s backs, and the spirit shook her bell and sang the word “*xurai*” repeatedly for a very short while, less than half a minute. After this, the spirit told the client to circumambulate her, crawling under her right armpit three times. With this action the salvation of the two clients concluded, but the spirit still did not leave. She said the third client could come in and talk about her problem. The woman sat down next to the spirit and talked to her about her problem in whisper. The spirit palpated her with her *bardag* and spat vodka on her stomach. Then she asked for a cup of vodka, blew into it and gave it to the client to drink. Then the client was given a cup of milk and some food to hold, while the spirit sang the evocation of good fortune. After she had finished the song, the spirit told the client to offer the milk and the food to Blue Manaxan,¹⁶ the god of wealth (Xal. *xöx Manaxan bayalgiin tenger*), to the north-west, bowing to him three times (4.5). Then the spirit, still shaking her bell, stood up slowly and left.

Ceeyee sat at her table and put on her skullcap again. She started shaking her bell and sang a song, in which she addressed again all the spirits that had been involved in solving the problems. She gave specific items of sacrifices to the clients telling them to take them outside and offer to specific spirits. Whenever a client went out to perform the offering, Ceeyee sang songs, in which she called the attention of the particular spirits to the sacrifices being offered. After the first song, she gave a cup filled with sweets to the young girl and told her to go out and offer the sweets to the spirits of all directions, turning around in a clockwise direction. She also gave a cup of milk to

¹⁶ Although here is said to be the god of wealth, Manaxan (WM. *Manaqan*) is known as god of hunting in Mongolian mythology. Manaxan is most commonly imagined as a white- or a silver-bodied deity and, to my knowledge, he is nowhere else portrayed as blue. For more on Manaxan see Heissig 1980: 52, 56–57 and Birtalan 2001: 1008.

the mother instructing her to think deeply of her daughter while offering the milk to the Thirteen Lords of the North, who reside in the north-east. For the woman did not have a hat nor a scarf or anything with which she could have covered her head, Ceeyee told her to put her palm on the top of her head whilst making the offering. While the mother was outside, Ceeyee sang a short song (5.3), in which she asked the Thirteen Lords of the North to accept the offerings. In the same way, offerings including milky tea, milk, vodka, and sweets were offered to various spirits and deities such as the Hot Yellow Buddha Ancestor (Xal. *Xaluun Shar Burxan Garwal*), the spirits of Songino Xairxan mountain (5.4), White Xürmen¹⁷ (Xal. *Cagaan Xürmen Tenger*), the god responsible for man–woman relations (Xal. *Xan’iin tenger*), and the Fire-red Patron (Xal. *Galiin Ulaan Saxius*). The third client had to offer a cup of milk to the Healer God (Xal. *Emch Tenger*) to the east and was told to give up smoking. Every time Ceeyee prepared milk for offering, she leant above the cup of milk that was put on the table and played her Jew’s harp for a while in order to consecrate (Xal. *amiluulax*) it. The mother and her daughter were also given a cup of milk to offer to the Healer God, and they were instructed to ask the god to “close the gate of illnesses” (Xal. *öwchin tzowlongiin üüdiig xaax*), through which the illness of the victim was assumed to have come. Ceeyee then told the young girl that she could hand over money, the remuneration for the ritual, to her and explained how to do it. The girl bowed three times while lifting the money with both hands to her forehead and contemplating the cause the ritual was performed for. Ceeyee took the money with both hands, also lifted it to her forehead and turning towards the window she contemplated. She asked again the name and the zodiac of the victim and contemplated again for a while. After taking the money, she gave the following advice (5.6) to the mother and her daughter:

For three days it should be like this: tell her [the victim] not to go out when it is already dark! Tell her not to quarrel with anybody, but to be attentive and cautious for three days! In the following three days my spirits will be around!

Lastly, Ceeyee dispatched her spirits by singing the same song that Altanceceg and shaman Dowdon sang for the same purpose. The wording of Ceeyee’s song (5.7) was somewhat different, but the meaning was identical. When the spirits had been sent off, Ceeyee took off her blue brocade cloak and skullcap, put on a headscarf and played her Jew’s harp, first above a cup of vodka, and then

¹⁷ Xürmen might be a distortion of Xal. Xurmast (also known as WM. *Qormusda tngri*, Bur. *Tyurmas*, *Tyuur*, and MB. *Chuur*), the head of the fifty-five western spirits in Mongolian mythology (Birtalan 2001: 1026).

above a cup of milk. She poured them into two bottles and said that the vodka along with the “five kinds of food” had to be sent to the victim, who then should taste the food and wash her body with the vodka. The milk, on the other hand, had to be offered to the “seven old stars” of the Big Dipper¹⁸ (Xal. *öwgön doloön od*), once each day for the forthcoming three days.

The structure of Ceeyee’s problem-solving ritual

| RITUAL UNITS | RITUAL ACTS | COMMENTS |
|------------------------------|--|---|
| Pre-possessional activities | Preparations | Altar, effigy, costume |
| | Invocation (<i>duudlaga</i>) | Prayer (<i>tzalbiral</i>) |
| | | Entrustment (<i>daatgal</i>) |
| 1st possession | Arrival | The spirit asks why she has been invoked |
| | Problem-solving | Purification of the victim (through the photo), destruction and cursing of the effigy |
| | Divination (<i>töörög</i>) | Positive result |
| | Problem-solving | Purification of the victim’s sister |
| | (Departure) | Not obvious when the spirit left |
| 2nd possession | Arrival | Not obvious when the spirit arrived |
| | Problem-solving | Purification of the victim (through the photo) |
| | Divination (<i>töörög</i>) | Negative result |
| | Problem-solving | Another attempt to purify the victim |
| | Divination (<i>töörög</i>) | Positive result |
| | Departure | |
| Pre-possessional activities | Invocation (<i>duudlaga</i>) | Ceeyee sings: <i>Aryaa wadee om manii badme xum</i> |
| 3rd possession | Arrival | The spirit asks why she has been invoked |
| | Summon (<i>xurailga</i>) | Calling back the soul of the victim |
| | Summon (<i>xurailga</i>) | Calling wealth and prosperity |
| | Departure | |
| Post-possessional activities | Offering the sacrifices (<i>taxilaa degdeex</i>) | |
| | Preparation | Bottle with the “soul-scarf” |
| | Dispatching the spirits (<i>degdeelge</i>) | |

¹⁸ The Big Dipper is also known as Xal. *doloön öwgön* (seven old man), *doloön burxad* (seven buddhas), *doloön darxan* (seven smiths) and *doloön mergen* (seven good archers). For more on the Big Dipper in Mongol mythology see Birtalan 2001: 970.

7. Mongolian Buriad Consecration Rituals

7.1 Initiations, Consecrations and Trial Rituals in the Mongol Cultural Region

Besides problem-solving and spirit-pleasing rituals, Buriad shamans perform a large-scale ritual that can neither be described as a problem-solving nor as an entirely spirit-pleasing ritual. This ritual is often referred to as the initiation or consecration ritual of Buriad shamans. The Buriads distinguish between consecrations of black and white shamans. The black shaman's consecration is called *shanar*, while the white shaman's is called *shandruu*. The ritual during which both black and white shamans are consecrated is often referred to as *shanar-shandruu*. The term “initiation”, which is most often used in the literature, denotes only one aspect of the *shanar* or *shandruu* since neither ritual is a single initiation through which candidates can become shamans, but a sequence of rituals by which they can ascend to higher and higher levels of the shamanic hierarchy. Shamans having completed more *shanar* or *shandruu* are believed to have more power and more experience. A shaman's power and experience, i.e. his/her rank in the shamanic society, is indicated by his/her paraphernalia and the accessories attached to his/her costume. Though the *shanar/shandruu* is unknown among the Darxads, a similar system of hierarchy might exist or have existed in Darxad shamanism. Birtalan shared with me the personal communication of a Darxad from 1992, Xöwsgöl, according to which the highest ranking shamans were known as the ones with nine ravens (WX. *xonx xeree*). It is not reported whether or not anything that indicated this rank was attached to the shamans' costume, or if the acquisition of ravens was done within the confines of a ritual. Among the Darxads, one becomes a shaman when a master accepts him/her as an apprentice. At this point, they might perform a ritual called “teaching the drum” (WX. *xengereg surgax*). After this ritual, the apprentice is able and allowed to practise as a shaman, and thus this ritual can be conceived as an initiation (Pürew 2002: 285–86). On the other hand, the Buriads' *shanar* is not merely an initiation, nor is it only a sequence of large-scale consecrations, but also a trial, in which some candidates might fail. These sorts of trial rituals can be observed only in the eastern fringes of the Mongol Cultural Region, among the Buriads, Daurs, Orochens, Xorchins and Sibes, and are completely unknown to Darxads. In other words, the *shanar* is one of

the commonalities that are peculiar to the shamanic traditions of the north-eastern region. Somfai Kara, Hoppál and Sipos (2009: 156–60) laid emphasis on the similarities between the *shanar* and the Daur consecration ritual, the *ominaan*. Some remarkable parallels can also be found in the trial ritual of Xorchin and Sibe shamans.

The *shanar* is the most well-documented Buriad shamanic ritual, and many of those who have written about Buriad shamanism have treated the *shanar* as the most characteristic feature, as an emblematic ritual of Buriad shamanism. A number of articles introduce Buriad shamanism through a description of *shanar*, but few of them touch upon other rituals. The Buriad *shanar* has been described by many authors from various different perspectives. The *shandruu*, the white shamans' consecration, on the other hand, is only, if at all, mentioned in these descriptions. The first description of the *shanar* known to us is the relation of the ritual by an elderly Buriad from East-Mongolia, from the 1950s, which was published by Rintchen in 1961 (128–37). The Mongolian Buriad scholar, G. Gantogtox (also the head of the *Tengeriin Sülder* shamanic association), wrote a chapter on Buriad shamanism in the third volume of *Mongolian Ethnography* in 1996 (Gantogtox 1996: 78–85), in which he also gives a brief description of the *shanar*. His description is an abridged format of what Rintchen had published. In the late 1980s and in 1990, G. Gantogtox and J. Coloo visited shaman Ceren (who was then in his late forties) in East-Mongolia, and from him they collected invaluable materials on Buriad shamanism, and especially on the *shanar*. In 1990, they managed to borrow a video camera from the Mongolian Institute of Ethnography and made a documentary, probably the first ever, on a *shanar*. The ritual was conducted by Ceren, and his incantations were transcribed and translated by Kara (Coloo 2007: 298–348). In 1996, Beatrice Kümin conducted fieldwork in East-Mongolia, Dornod province, Bayan-Uul district, where she met shaman Danzan and published an article (Kümin 2001: 3–18) on the *shanar* she attended there. Also in the late 1990s, Shimamura Ippei conducted his fieldwork research among the Aga Buriads in Dornod and published an article on the Aga Buriads' roots-seeking movement (Shimamura 2002: 88–110), in which, he argues, the *shanar* plays a crucial role. Birtalan (2004c: 539–44) also gives a general outline of Buriad shamanism and of the *shanar*, without mentioning other types of rituals. The backbone of her description is an abridged translation of Gantogtox's description, which again is a brief interpretation of Rintchen's collection. During the 1990s, the *shanar* became so popular of a topic among anthropologists and researchers of shamanism that books, even for a wider readership, were published on it. In 2000, Amelie Schenk's *Herr Des Schwarzen Himmels. Zeren Baawai - Schamane Der Mongolei* came out in German. In her book,

Schenk introduces shaman Ceren and the way he conducted the *shanar*. Another book, *Shanar* by Virlana Tkacz, Sayan Zhambalov and Wanda Phipps (2002) is based on their fieldwork among the Russian Buriads. Sh. Süxbat, the head of the Golomt Centre, also touches upon the *shanar* in his book *Buriad Shaman: Envoy of the Eternal Heaven* (only in Mongolian, Süxbat 2008: 63–69, 116–58). This book cannot be referred to as a scholarly work in the western sense, yet it can be used as a precious source of information since all the data and material he presents come directly from the shamans with whom he has long been in daily contact, due to his job. He has observed more *shanars* (and also other rituals) and has met and interviewed more Buriad shamans than any of the western scholars. There are some essays and articles on the *shanar* in Mongolian, but most of them are of minor academic value.

The material that is going to be compared to the above-enumerated literature comes from two of my fieldworks: from 2003 and from 2004–2005. In the summer of 2003, I visited shaman Ceren in Xarxiraa valley, near the centre of Bayan-Uul district, and stayed there for six days observing the consecration of his apprentices. Because I was not allowed to make video recordings or to take photographs of the rituals, what I can use as reference is only my handwritten notes. In 2004, I made interviews with several Buriad shamans, including Dowdon (Ceren's apprentice), Altanceceg and others, and among other issues concerning shamanism, I interviewed them about the *shanar* and *shandruu* as well. In the summer of 2005, I was allowed to attend and make video footages of a *shanar-shandruu* conducted by an elderly shaman couple: shaman Dangaa and shamaness Dungaa.

Concerning the Daur equivalent of the *shanar*, the *ominaan*, Caroline Humphrey touches upon the subject in her widely known book, *Shamans and Elders* (1996: 237–50), and notes that the Buriads' *shanar* shares some common features with the *ominaan*. In 2007, Siqingua, a Daur shamaness, came to Budapest, Hungary, on the occasion of the assembly of the 8th ISSR¹ conference and visited the Department for Inner-Asian Studies at ELTE University. During her visit, she gave an interview to the department's teachers and students. In the interview, which was recorded on videotape, she speaks, among many other subjects, about the *ominaan* as well. A few months later, in September 2007, Mihály Hoppál and Dávid Somfai Kara and János Sipos, three Hungarian researchers, visited Siqingua in her native land and made a documentary (Hoppál and Somfai Kara 2008) on the *ominaan* that she conducted. In 2009, they published an article on that ritual (Somfai Kara, Hoppál and Sipos 2009: 141–69), in which they draw a comparison between the *shanar* and the *ominaan*, mentioning some of the most obvious commonalities.

¹ The International Society for Shamanistic Research. The title of its journal is *Shaman*.

Concerning the trial ritual of the Xorchins and Sibes, Zikmundová (2008: 149–88) rendered a detailed description of both and made a comparative analysis between them. In the following description of the Buriad *shanar* and *shandruu*, analogies concerning the consecration and trial rituals of the above-mentioned peoples are going to be drawn.

7.2 *Shanar*, a Sequence of Consecrations

The way the *shanar* is conducted differs from place to place and from shaman to shaman, as the shamans I interviewed say. The *shanar* is a sequence of usually thirteen rituals, trials or examinations, and after each, if successfully completed, the candidate ascends one level in the shamanic hierarchy. The thirteen rituals are generally viewed as twelve plus one consecrations. For example, shaman Dangaa was told by his master not to complete the extra thirteenth ritual. According to Namsrai (a2), the twelfth *shanar* is named after the two-year-old colt (MB. *daagan shanar*), and in general is considered to be the last one. The thirteenth *shanar* is called MB. *otxon shanar*, in which *otxon* means “the youngest and the last of all”. By completing the *otxon shanar*, the candidate earns the title MB. *zaariṅ* (great shaman). The thirteenth *shanar*, as Namsrai put it, is the repetition of the twelfth (MB. *daagan shanaraa dawtax*). According to Altanceceg, by the first initiation, which is called MB. *tzalaagaa awax* (reception of the streamer, the sign of becoming a shaman), the candidate becomes a shaman and takes the ninety-nine shamanic oaths (MB. *böögei yüren yühen tangarag*).² Shaman Dowdon said that in the circles of his master (Ceren), the first consecration was called Xal. *altan tzergee xamgaalax* (acquiring or defending one’s golden stage), in which “golden stage” denotes the initial stage of shamanhood. Kümin (2001: 9) mentions a ritual that is intended to appease infuriated ancestral spirits before the actual initiation would take place, and renders its denomination as MB. *altan sereg*, in her translation “golden horse stake”. This term might either be an alternate version of the term *altan tzergee* or simply a misspelling of the same, similar-sounding, term. She also gives account of a candidate who had to have a preparatory ritual called “small consecration” (MB. *baga shanar*) before the first, real one. Namsrai said that the first *shanar* was also known as the “mother *shanar*” (*exe shanar*) and the first *shandruu* as the “father *shandruu*” (MB. *eseg shandruu*).

² For more on shamanic oaths see Gantogtox 1999.

It is unequivocally viewed by all of my informants that having completed more *shanar* confers more magical power and a higher status among shamans. Stronger shamans are believed to meet stronger spirits, and therefore they need a stronger protection against the malevolent ones. Thus, with each initiation, their paraphernalia, i.e. their weaponry and armour, become more and more sophisticated in order to secure their safety.³ Except the first and the last two consecrations, no specific denomination is known to refer to the intermediary stages, and there is no uniformly accepted rule concerning after which *shanar* what particular item of the paraphernalia a candidate can acquire. According to shaman Ceren (Bum-Ochir 2002: 66), the shaman who has completed the first *shanar* (he refers to it as WX. *tzalaalax*, the “rendition of the streamer”) is called a “shaman with a streamer” (WX. *tzalaat böö*), the one who have completed the second is called the “shaman with a skullcap” (WX. *maixawshit böö*), after completing the third, the candidate is called the “shaman with a back armour” (WX. *arxaalit böö*), after the fourth, the “shaman with helmet/attire” (WX. *orgoi*⁴ *böö*), and after the fifth, the “shaman with the suede coat” (WX. *amitai böö*). As for the suede coat (WX. *yixe amita* or simply *amita*), Namsrai said that it could be acquired only after having completed the twelfth *shanar*, and—as he explained—this was the reason why Altanceceg, the shamaness he worked with, did not have this coat.⁵ Concerning the helmet (MB. *orgoi* or *üülen amitai*), shaman Dangaa said that it is given to the candidate after the sixth *shanar*, and he also agreed with Namsrai upon that the number of the prongs on the helmet indicate the number of *shanars* the shaman has completed. All my informants agreed that only after the twelfth *shanar* can a shaman acquire the full costume with all the instruments and appurtenances.

Petri (1926: 8) argues that the number of *shanars* among the Buriads of the Irkutsk region is only five, and gives an account of what objects the candidate receives after each:

1st: horse-headed staffs made of wood and a short sword. By this first consecration, the candidate earns the title *böö* (shaman).

2nd: a bell, drum with drumstick, a long sword, shamanic attire (Bur. *orgoi*), a skullcap (Bur. *myxabshi*⁶) and four wooden staffs.

³ Kümin holds the same 2001: 6.

⁴ Note that *orgoi* in Buriad can mean shamanic costume in general as well. For more on the *orgoi* see Chapter 2.

⁵ In fact, Altanceceg had twelve prongs on her helmet, a number of prongs that could only be possessed by shamans with twelve *shanars*, in spite of the fact that she claimed having only eight *shanars*.

⁶ This is the transliteration of Petri’s *мяхабши*, which he translates into Russian as *корона* (crown). The item is without doubt the skullcap, called *maixabsha/maixawsh* by the Mongolian Buriads.

3rd: three bells, horse-headed staffs made of iron, complete attire and a throne (Bur. *shire*, Russ. *prestol'*).

4th: six bells and human-shaped staffs made of wood.

5th: nine bells and human-shaped staffs made of iron. At this last stage, the shaman, who has been called *böö*, receives the title *zaariṅ* (great shaman).

Mixaïlov (1987: 99–100) gives the following list of denominations of shamanic titles:

1st: “shaman with a *shanar*” (Bur. *shanartai böö*)

2nd: “shaman with Siberian fir” (Bur. *zhodootoi böö*), which means that the shaman has the right to perform purification with the bark of Siberian fir (Bur. *zhodoo*).

3rd: “shaman with altar or throne” (Bur. *shereete böö*). The shaman holding this title can teach other shamans and can be called master (Bur. *bagsha*).

4th: “wet shaman” (Bur. *noitlohon böö*), who can perform purification rituals with potions

5th: “shaman with a staff” (Bur. *horibito böö*)

6th: “shaman with a helmet” (Bur. *orgoito böö*)

7th: “shaman with a drum” (Bur. *xesete böö*)

8th: “full-fledged shaman” (Bur. *düüreṅ böö*), who possesses all items of the shamanic paraphernalia

9th: “great shaman” (Bur. *zaariṅ böö*)

10th: “heavenly shaman” (Bur. *tengeri böö*)

Shaman Dowdon said, and other Buriad shamans of the Golomt Centre confirmed, that in the old times, the *shanar* had only nine stages, and the Congool Buriads still retained this structure. Mixaïlov’s list of shamanic titles might reflect this earlier tradition. Xangalov (1958: 367 note, qtd in Diószegi 1998d: 146) also mentions nine stages of “initiation” and adds that among the Buriads of Balagansk there are only six stages.

It goes without saying that nine is a very important number in Mongolian religious culture, and that the number thirteen (twelve plus one) is likely to reflect Buddhist influence.⁸ It deserves a mention that the nine stages of the *shanar* seem to echo the “nine mountain passes” (Xor. *yisen*

⁷ “Shire” is the transliteration of Petri’s шире. The standard Xori Buriad form is шэрээ (*sheree*). In a shamanic context, *sheree* means both “throne” and “altar”. Petri’s Russian translation makes it clear that this item is a throne.

⁸ For more on the numbers nine and thirteen see Dulam 1999: 154–73 and 173–88 respectively.

dawaa), which are to be passed by the Xorchin candidate during the trial ritual called “passing the nine passes” (Xor. *yisen dawaa dawax*).

7.3 *Shanar*, the Ritual

7.3.1 Rintchen’s Text

The relation of the *shanar* collected by Rintchen from an East-Mongolian Buriad is a very important source of information, and it has not been translated into English or into any European language, to my best knowledge. This means that this material is only available in Rintchen’s own system of transcription of the dialect spoken by his informant, in Buriad Cyrillic (Vanchikova 1996: 240–55) and in a Xalx translation by Coloo (2007: 365–70). This might account for the fact that very few authors refer to it. The description goes as follows:⁹

The Shamanic Ritual Called *Shanar*

One of the earliest shamanic rituals of the Aga and Xori Buriads is the *shanar*. Many birch trees are cut down for the *shanar*. There are two big trees: the father-tree (MB. *esege modon*) and the mother-tree (MB. *exe modon*), and there are seven times nine younger trees. There is also one tree called the post-tree, which is also a young one. The bottom of this tree is sharpened, and it is erected south from the father-tree. The other young trees are erected in seven rows; nine trees in each. The trees are so far from one another that one could easily walk among them. The mother-tree is placed on the north. A small tent (MB. *ursa*) is put up farther north from the mother-tree, and even farther north from the tent, the yurt of the Generous Lord (MB. *üglegein ezen*) is built. Additional trees are also aligned between the small tent and the yurt; nine towards the place of the *shanar* and nine towards the yurt. These nine times nine trees are called MB. *derbilge*. Except the post tree, all the trees are decorated with furs of five kinds of animals: hare (MB. *shandaga*),

⁹ The English translation is my own (indicating the original Buriad terms where necessary), from Rintchen’s original transcription. I also used Coloo’s Xalx translation in order to disambiguate the meaning. However, I might have not succeeded at some places.

squirrel (MB. *xerem*), ermine (MB. *üyeŋ*), weasel (MB. *holongo*) and roebuck (MB. *gur*). The hare is decorated with blue ribbons tied to its ears and back, the squirrel is decorated in the same way with yellow and red ribbons, the ermine with white and blue ribbons, and the roebuck is decorated with red and black ribbons tied to its ears. These furs are tied to the top of the trees. The father-tree, in addition, is decorated with golden silk and textile stripes of different colours. Close to its top, a nest is made and perched between two of its branches. Four pegs (MB. *zagalmāi*), made of birch, are bashed in its trunk near the bottom, each pointing at one of the four cardinal directions. The pegs are painted red in ochre. Above and below the pegs, a rein (MB. *zhooloo*), made of a leather strap, is tied to the trunk in a way that it can be held by seven to eight people. This rein is called *sumnaar*. On the mother-tree, three nests are put below each other. The mother-tree is a big tree with ragged branches. It also has the same red pegs and the rein. The small tent by the mother-tree is covered with white felt, and its door looks to the south. In front of the tent's door, four forked sticks are shoved into the ground, and thus a platform (MB. *yinder*) is created to sit on. The post-tree is decorated with yellow and red [ribbons], and no furs are tied to it. Incense offerings (MB. *haŋ*) of juniper (MB. *ars*) and thyme (MB. *ganga*) are placed and burned below each tree.

Concerning the custom of the *shanar*, three boys and three girls, called the nine children,¹⁰ (MB. *yühüngüüshin*) take part in it. The number of shamans does not matter. The ritual lasts for three days. The *shanar* is about worshipping the ancestral spirits and praying to them. It is a ritual that all shamans must have. Ordinary people, both men and women, might also have it done [by a shaman] when they are sick or worn out in order to pray to and worship their ancestors. First, on the day when the *shanar* starts, a sheep is killed and prepared for sacrifice. The sacrificial sheep has to be killed by the right side of the door, and a man has to disembowel it. He removes the part called MB. *hur shoro*, which consists of the joints, glands and the gall bladder. Then this *hur shoro* is taken outside and put on the top of a heap of sheep dung. It has to be covered by something for the night lest dogs and birds could get the smell of it. The meat is cooked, put on a

¹⁰ According to Namsrai's accounts, six boys and three girls, or three boys and six girls make up the group of nine children.

tray and placed before the shaman's coat (MB. *amitai*) and other paraphernalia in the western part of the yurt. The skin of the sheep is also spread out in front of the paraphernalia in a way that the head looks towards the north, to the direction of the altar (MB. *burxan*).¹¹ The legs are outstretched to the sides, and the hair is turned outwards. The meat is then placed on the skin and turned towards the coat in the way the sacrificial meat should be presented (MB. *töölei tawix*)¹² according to the customs. Then the shaman sits down close to the altar. The three boys and then the three girls of the nine children sit down next to the shaman. They all wear their finery. A white *xadag* is tied to the streamers of their hats and to that of the shaman's hat. Three white textile strips are tied to each of the nine children's hat as well. There are two old people, a man and a woman, called father and mother. They also have a white *xadag* tied to the streamers of their hats. The shaman puts on his mirror and takes his drum. The boy sitting closest to the shaman puts on the coat and the helmet. The next boy takes the shaman's staff (MB. *horibo*), and the third holds the whip, which is called MB. *bardag*. The girls put on the shaman's other appurtenances (MB. *haxiusha*) (a stone, a bird and a bronze mirror). When they are putting on and also when taking off these shamanic implements, they help each other and shamanize (MB. *böölöldönö*). The shaman, holding the drum, says, "Let me put on my coat!" Then s/he starts shamanizing, singing the song of the coat's spirit, "*Eeyöö baidoo minee göö! Eeyöö baidoo minee göö!*" The nine children stand up, start jumping and put the coat and the other clothes on the shaman. If the shaman has the Abagaldai mask, he puts it on too. They all walk round the fire and purify themselves by turning around above the incense offering. The yurt is filled with people, including the father and mother. An incense offering is put in front of the fire. Six wicks (MB. *zula*) are put on the chest in the western part of the yurt. The shaman sits in front of it, facing the sacrifices, and sings his incantations.

After singing this, the shaman turns towards the fire and picks up the plate with the cooked mutton (MB. *sharuuha*), which has been put there. He puts his drum aside, turns to the wicks and prays. He kneels down on his right knee,

¹¹ The word *burxan* is used here in a wider sense, in which it not only means a representation of a Buddhist deity, but also the sacrificial altar where such representations are enshrined.

¹² *Töölei* or *tolgoi* is the head of the cooked sacrificial animal. For more on the handling of the meat of the sacrificial sheep see Ar'yaasüren and Nyambuu 1992: 608–21.

spreads out his lower flap, touches his forehead with the tips of his fingers on his right hand and prays with his hat on. When the shaman finishes, all the people in the yurt, including the nine children and the father and mother, pray to the Generous Lord (MB. *ügligeen ezen*) at the place where they are seated. The right ribs, the right side of the chest from armpit to flank (MB. *hübee*), the haunch of the rear legs (MB. *shagaita*) and the tail (MB. *uurag hiiül*) are taken from the tray and skewered on a yellow-handled long knife and put beside the rest of the meat. The offerings consist of liquor (MB. *arxi*), milk (MB. *hün*), tea (MB. *sai*), wick (MB. *zula*), white food (MB. *sagaan idee*), bread (MB. *xileeme* from Russ. *хлеб*), sugar (MB. *saaxar*), crop seeds (MB. *ür taria*) and fruits (MB. *zhimes*). The meat is chopped up on the east side of the yurt and distributed on plates. The head (MB. *töölei*) is given to the father, and the breast-bone (MB. *uusa*) is given to the mother. The shoulder blade and the other parts are given to the nine children. Then liquor is poured out and served, first to the man who offered the sheep. Then everyone eats from the meat. After everyone has eaten, the tray and the plates are collected, and the shaman starts shamanizing. They go outside, where incense offering is made, and shamanize. The *shanar* should start before dusk. The shaman and the nine children bow to the wick and then to the father and mother. Then the shaman starts beating his drum and shamanizes, “*Ee yöö baidoo minee gü! Aa yaa la baidoo minee gü!*” The nine children, singing the same song, bow once to the father and once to the mother. Then the shaman sings:

Bowing to the mother and father,
 Praying to the fireplace
 From the hot town
 In order to make the white *shanar*
 I am going towards the gate of the royal ancestors.
 In order that we might live in peace and health
 We are praying for your blessing!

The shaman purifies himself in the smoke of the incense offering, and then the nine children follow suit. They walk round the fire nine times, and then a man opens the door for them, and they go out. They nod their heads towards the *shanar*. First, the shaman nods, and then the children. They beat the drums and make noise by

shaking the costumes. The sound of the drums should not stop until the ritual is finished.

We do not know much about Rintchen's informant, but it is probable that he recounted his memories of the *shanars* he had witnessed. As rules and customs differ from place to place and from shaman to shaman, other descriptions and accounts are instrumental to piece out and replenish what we can learn from this narrative.

7.3.2 Timing

Rintchen's informant does not speak about the timing of the *shanar*, in relation to which Birtalan writes: "The šanar is carried out in the first summer month and continues for three days" (2004c: 543). On the other hand, my informants—shaman Ceren, Dowdon (Ceren's apprentice), Dangaa and shamaness Dungaa, and Namsrai and Altanceceg—all agreed that a *shanar* could only be performed during whole summer, and that summer, i.e. the "*shanar* season", starts with the first squawk of the cuckoo (MB. *xöxöö dongodox cagaas exlene*). They all confirmed that the *shanar* usually lasts for three days, but shaman Dangaa and shamaness Dungaa argued that there can be exceptions. Süxbat (2008: 118) writes that the *shanar* is performed when the Gate of Heaven¹³ opens (MB. *tengeriin üüid neegdxе*), and when the cuckoo squawks. Namsrai explained that heaven has two gates: a small and a big one. First, the Small Gate opens, some time at around the end of May, and then the Big Gate opens in the middle of June. Some time in the middle of September, the Big Gate closes, and the Small Gate remains open till the end of October. He said that outdoor sacrificial rituals can only be performed when heaven's gates are open,¹⁴ and a *shanar* can only be conducted when the Big Gate is open, i.e. from the middle of June till the middle of September. Basically the same can be said about the timing of the Daur *ominaan* ritual, which takes place in the "beautiful, blooming season of full summer" (Mendüsürüng 1983: 271 qtd in Humphrey 1996: 237). The *ominaan* Somfai Kara, Hoppál and Sipos attended and described (2009: 141–69) started on 16 September and lasted for two days.

¹³ For more on the Gate of Heaven see Manzhigeev 1978: 74.

¹⁴ Namsrai did not speak about what kind of rituals can be performed when only the Small Gate is open.

7.3.3 The Ritual Scene

The *shanar* is preceded by the meticulous preparation of the ritual scene. In most of the cases, the birch trees, which are mentioned in Rintchen's text, are the pivotal items of the ritual and are brought to and installed on the site. The other items, such as the tent for the descending spirits, or some of the objects that are attached to the trees are not used, or used in different forms and ways by different groups of shamans. Concerning the birch trees, Birtalan argues (2004c: 543):

Eighty-one (nine times nine) or twenty-seven or sixty-three birch trees (*xuhu*) constitute the frame of the ritual place which is called *exe derbelge*. There are two more trees of larger size with roots in the ground called father tree (*esege modon*) and mother tree (*exe modon*).

My informants (Namsrai, Altanceceg, Dowdon, and Dangaa) explained that there are as many times nine trees (including only the younger trees) erected on the ritual site as many *shanars* the candidate is going to have. According to this rationale, the number of trees Birtalan mentions corresponds to the ninth, third and seventh *shanars* respectively, and it is important to note that not only these amounts of trees can be used. Namsrai emphasized that the number of trees should not exceed eighty-one, except one occasion, the thirteenth *shanar*, for which one hundred and eight trees should be erected. The restriction of the number of trees to eighty-one might reflect the older system of the *shanar*, according to which shamans could have a maximum of nine consecrations.

The group of young birches, or sometimes twigs of birches (WX. *xus modnii möchir*, Süxbat 2008: 118), are referred to as *derbelge* in standard Buriad and are called *derweleg* in the dialect of Mongolian Buriads.¹⁵ The phrase *exe derbelge* ("mother" or "initial" *derbelge*), which occurs in Birtalan's description (2004c: 543), might refer to the group of trees erected at the site of the first *shanar*, since the first *shanar*, according to Namsrai, is called *exe shanar* ("mother" or "initial" *shanar*).

Besides the *derbelge*-trees, there are usually three more kinds of birch-trees, the "father" and "mother" trees, which are rather big trees, and the "post-tree" (MB. *serge modon*), which is about the same size as the *derbelge*-trees. It is interesting to note that Chimitdorzhiev does not

¹⁵ For the ritual texts concerning the *derweleg* trees see Gantogtox 1997.

mention the post-tree. Birtalan argues (2004c: 543) that the post-tree is erected “for the purpose of tying the horses of the invited spirits to it”. Namsrai said the same about the post-tree and added that in some cases, when a large number of spirits are expected to come, there might be more post-trees erected at the site. Birtalan (2004c: 543) and Namsrai both mention another big tree called the “nest-tree” (MB. *üür modon*), on the branches of which man-made nests are perched; these nests would otherwise be installed on the mother-tree. Namsrai noted that the nest-tree was the most important present to the spirits and played a central role in the ritual, for the eggs, the symbols of the candidates’ rebirth, hatched in these nests.¹⁶ To underline the centrality of the nest-tree, he said that it was the “head or brain” (MB. *shanariin tarxi tolgoi*) of the *shanar*.

Chimitdorzhiev (1992: 54–55) notes that the *derbelge* (he mentions a group of twenty-seven birch trees) and the father- and mother-trees are together referred to as the “mother’s white *shanar*” (Bur. *exiin sagaan shanar*). On the west side of the “mother’s white *shanar*”, nine more trees are erected and decorated with pelts of different forest-animals. This group is referred to as the “*shanar* of the buddha-origin” (Bur. *burxan garbalai shanar*). On the east, twenty-seven trees arranged in three groups, each consisting of nine, are erected and decorated. These are called the “*shanar* of Xamnigan origin” (Bur. *xamnigan garbalai shanar*).¹⁷ The additional trees that Rintchen’s informant mentions might correspond to the arrangement of the trees described by Chimitdorzhiev.

According to Namsrai, the big trees are not cut off; they are transported to the ritual scene alive with their roots and are replanted there. After the ritual, they are taken back to their original locations. Before the trees are pulled out, their barks are marked on the south side (MB. *naran tal*) and when replanted, the mark is turned to the south so as the tree could survive the re-plantation. All the trees are adorned with various objects, most of which carry a symbolic meaning. Namsrai gave a detailed account of these decorations, which include three sorts of pieces of textile tied to the branches of the big trees by red thread: 1. one piece with the picture of the “nine children” (MB. *yühenshen*) holding each other’s hands; 2. five pieces, each cut in the shape of an animal; 3. two pieces; one with the picture of the Sun and one with that of the Moon.

The five animals are the same furs which are mentioned in Rintchen’s text. Namsrai, when speaking about the decorations, quoted the relevant passage from the Buriad shamanic incantations:

¹⁶ Chimitdorzhiev (1992: 54) mentions that nine eggs are put into the nest, which is located on the branches of the mother-tree.

¹⁷ Chimitdorzhiev does not explain the denomination of the groups.

The five animals:
(a1)
A pure-white hare,
A pinkish-red roebuck,
A pale-yellow weasel,
A swift-white ermine,
A pitch-black squirrel,

The celestial bodies:
(a2)
Golden yellow Sun,
Elderly greyish Moon.

Namsrai added that in some places it had become difficult to acquire the furs of these animals; therefore, in contemporary rituals, these were represented by cutting their shapes off textile of corresponding colour. He added that a blue *xadag* is tied to the top of each tree, including the small ones as well, and the big trees are connected to each other by a golden and a silver thread referred to in the incantations as:

(a3)
Golden cyclic transmission,
Silver cyclic track.

Süxbat (2008: 124–25) gives a similar description of the decorations with some additional information. He does not mention the names of his informants, but he certainly consulted Namsrai and Altanceceg among other shamans with whom he had been in frequent contact in his centre. Therefore, it is possible that his description (and it might be true to the rest of the content of his book) is a result of a collection from different sources and thus may not reflect the traditions of only one locality or group of shamans. He notes that the colour of both the Sun and the Moon is red, but the Sun is drawn on a yellow textile, while the Moon is drawn on a white one. The Sun is tied to one of the branches on the tree's south side, which in Mongolian is also referred to as "the Sun-side" (WX. *naran tal*), and consequently, the Moon is located on the north, i.e. the "Moon-side" (WX. *saran tal*). Chimitdorzhiev (1992: 54), on the other hand, argues that the representation of the Moon—a white piece of cloth—is tied to the mother-tree, and a red one—the representation of the Sun—is to the father-tree. Concerning the picture of the "nine children", he writes that they are of both sexes,¹⁸ and that a yellow-red (WX. *shar ulaan*) gopher (WX. *tzuram*) is sewn to each of the children's hands. Nine miniature vats or barrels (WX. *torx*) made of birch bark and filled with yellow butter are fastened to the right hands of the children, as if each was holding one. In

¹⁸ Süxbat does not write about the proportion of the sexes.

addition, each child is holding in his/her left hand a red rake (WX. *tarmuur*), which has nine forks, and again a gopher is squeezed between the forks of each rake. Birtalan (2004c: 543) mentions “small axes (WX. *tarmuur*) shaped of birch bark”, and argues that they are hung on the trees. Birtalan’s translation of the term *tarmuur* as “axe” might be erroneous since no dictionary gives such interpretation, and it becomes clear from Süxbat’s description that the *tarmuur* is an object with forks. Nonetheless, Süxbat (2008: 119) mentions birch-bark objects hung from the branches. These are 77 little brackets or containers (WX. *bortogo*) filled with “white grease” (WX. *cagaan tos*) and strung on a thread. This string of containers is called WX. *dagtai*.

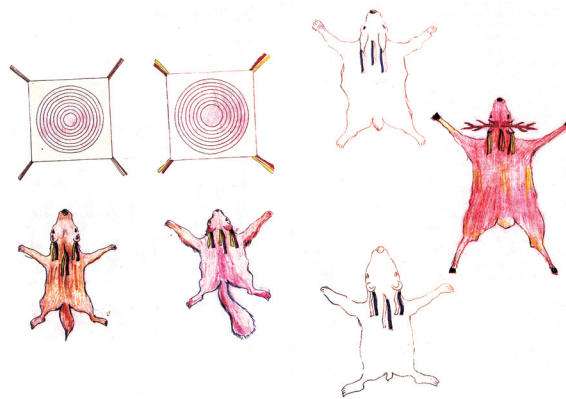


Fig.50 The decorations of the father-tree (from Süxbat 2008)

Süxbat (2008: 125) reports that three wicks (WX. *tzul*) are placed on the ground, near the trunk of each big tree: one to the east, one to the north, and one to the west. None of the other sources or informants mentions such an arrangement of wicks for the *shanar*.

The small tent (MB. *xürzh*) erected for the descending spirits appears only in two of the accessible primary sources: in Rintchen’s text and in the documentary that Coloo and Gantogtox (1990) made with shaman Ceren. The tent in this documentary is an approximately one-metre-high colourful tent propped up by a thin branch of a birch from the inside.

The *shanar*’s sacrificial altar (similar to those of other spirit-pleasing rituals) is arranged in the yurt that is put up at the ritual site. In the documentary of Gantogtox and Coloo (1990), the sacrificial altar contained a row of “black” and a row of “white” offerings. The row of white offerings was arranged behind the row of the black ones, and the wick (MB. *zula*) of the white row was remarkably smaller than that of the black row. The components of the two rows were also different. The black offerings comprised four cups filled with sweets called “food” (MB. *idyeeen*), a cup of milky tea (MB. *sai*), a cup of milk (MB. *hün*) and a cup of vodka (MB. *arxin*). In the middle of the black row a wick was burning. The white row consisted of a smaller wick and

nine red anklebones (MB. *yühen ulaan shagai*) with a piece of butter on each. On a wooden chest, not far from the altar, four wooden animal figures were lined up. The animals were headed by a red camel. Coloo's informant, in the video, referred to it as "the camel of buddha-origin" (MB. *burxan garwalai temeen*), and added that it was also known as the "white camel of sacrifices" (MB. *tailaga sagaan temeen*) (in spite of the fact that the figure was red). A red thread, which encircled the ritual scene, was tied to this camel because, as Coloo later explained to me, the camel was believed to transfer the sacrifices to the spirits through the red thread, which acted as a "transmission rope" (Xal. *damjilga*). The next animal was a horse, referred to as MB. *xiimori*. The role of the third animal, a white sheep, was not explained. The last animal was the mount of Damdin Dorlig, a goat (MB. *Dorligoi yamaan*).¹⁹

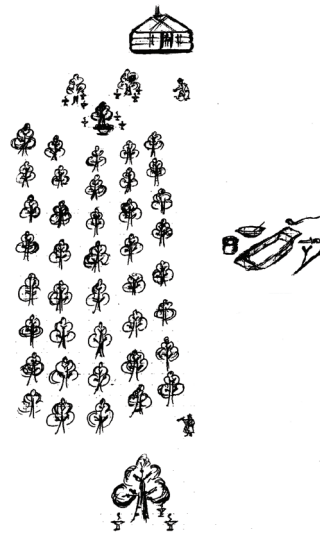


Fig.51 The scene of the *shanar* (from Süxbat 2008)

The scenes of the Daur *ominaan* ritual and the Buriad *shanar* share some noteworthy common features. Firstly, birch trees also play a central role in the *ominaan*. Humphrey (1996: 339–40) describes the scene of the ritual, and notes that three birches (Da. *tooroo*) are erected on the site. Two of them are set up next to each other and are connected by three horizontal plum branches, forming a ladder-like construction. The third tree is erected farther and is connected with the other trees by a red rope (Da. *shuanna*), which, Humphrey argues, is viewed as the road of the spirits. Kūmin (2001: 11) also mentions a similar red thread (the same that was used for Ceren's *shanar*), and claims that it functioned as the way of the spirits. Somfai Kara, Hoppál and Sipos (2009: 150–51) also mention that the ritual site of the *ominaan* they attended was encircled by a red

¹⁹ Namsrai mentioned that Damdin Dorlig's bellows (MB. *xöörög*) is made of the skin of a blue goat (MB. *xüx yamaan*).

rope. Within this circle, a Mongolian-style yurt was erected and two sacrificial trees (Da. *tooroo*) were set up inside and two outside. The two inner trees were bound together by three crossbars, representing the steps of the spirits' ladder. The outer and the inner trees and the smoke-ring of the yurt were all connected by a thread (Da. *sunaarjil*) so that the spirits could descend through the ring. They also mention that amongst the representations of Tenger (they translates it as God of Heaven), the picture of the Sun and Moon were hung on the trees. Siqingua, on the other hand, when speaking about the *ominaan* in the above-mentioned interview (v37. 9:08), said that the *tooroo*-trees are connected by nine crossbars, and refers to this whole construction as "ladder" (Da. *shata*). She adds that the Abagaldai mask (in her pronunciation *Awgaldii*), which is also an essential implement of Mongolian Buriad shamans, is hung on the right *tooroo*-tree.

7.3.4 The Participants

Apart from the shaman master and the candidate(s) to be consecrated, Rintchen's text mentions the "nine children", the "father", and the "mother" as active participants of the *shanar*. The candidate's relatives attend the event as spectators and guests, who also get their share of the sacrificial foods and drinks. In the text, there is a contradiction concerning the number of the so-called "nine children", for the informant claims that this group consists of three boys and three girls. What Namsrai said about the nine children seems to resolve this contradiction. According to him, normally nine children—six boys and three girls—make up the group, and the boys are usually older than the girls. Nonetheless, in some places, especially in remote locations, it is difficult to recruit children of the needed number and appropriate age; therefore, various ways of solving this problem evolved. For instance, when there is a lack of children, either adults are employed in place of some of the children, or only three children are selected, and two pieces of human-shaped felt, each representing one kid, are attached to every kid's clothes on the back. By doing this, one kid carries two others on his/her back and thus amounts to three children. Shaman Dowdon explained that the nine children are the candidate's entourage and follow him/her everywhere s/he would go during the ritual. They must be inseparable for these three days; none of them is allowed to leave the others for even a short time, and even to toilet they go together. Somfai Kara, Hoppál and Sipos (2009: 157) note that nine children—five "sun boys"

and four “moon girls”—called “children of heaven” participated in Siqingua’s *ominaan* ritual. Süxbat (2008: 118) also mentions five boys and four girls participating in the *shantar*. On the other hand, Humphrey (1996: 244–46) and the invocation she published mention nine young girls and nine young boys dancing at the *ominaan*. Somfai Kara, Hoppál and Sipos write (2009: 154) that “nine boys and girls performed a traditional dance around the outer altar”.

According to shaman Dowdon, a number of assistants are employed for the *shantar*, similarly to other large-scale spirit-pleasing rituals. These include two persons responsible for the sacrifices (Xal. *taxilch*, MB. *taxilsha*), one responsible for the ritual scene (Xal. *tüüdegchin*, MB. *tüüdegshen*), one who slaughters the sacrificial animal (Xal. *aluurchin*, MB. *aluurshan*), and one who keeps guard at the door of the yurt (Xal. *manaach*, MB. *manaasha*). No available accounts on the *ominaan* ritual mention similar assistants.

7.3.5 Ritual Acts

THE ABLUTION

The sequence of the *shantar*’s acts (preparation, purification, invocation, possession, and the spirits’ departure) is generally the same as the sequence of any other Buriad shamanic ritual. Virtually, anybody present can take part in the preparation of the ritual scene, only the arrangement of the altar and the killing of the sacrificial animal require special expertise (Gantogtox and Coloo 1990). The purification of the participants before the *shantar* is unlike the usual purification with the smoke of juniper or with a smouldering piece of bark. This purification is called MB. *ugaalga* (washing, ablution), and a potion of thyme (MB. *ganga*) is used for this purpose. In Ceren’s *shantar* (Gantogtox and Coloo 1990), the potion was poured on heated stones, and the shaman’s costume was hung over the stones so as the steam of the potion could permeate and thus purify it. The nine children rinsed their mouths with the potion and were also purified with the smoke of a piece of Siberian fir (MB. *zhodoo*). Shaman Ceren dipped his mirror and his bell into the potion as well as the furs of the five kinds of animals, which were going to be hung on the trees. When he was purifying these accessories, he was chanting relevant parts of the incantations. Süxbat (2008: 155) states that nine heated stones are used for the ablution. If the candidate is going to acquire black spirits, the stones should be of black colour. Consequently, if the spirits are white, the

stones are also white. If both black and white spirits are going to be invoked, six black stones and three white stones are used. Süxbat also points out (2008: 134) that when filling the cauldron for preparing the potion, water has to be scooped out and poured back into the cauldron nine times, and when the potion is ready, it has to be stirred nine times as well before pouring a little (called the essence of the potion, WX. *ugaaliin deej*) into a cup. Then some salt, food, vodka, pieces of meat, gold, silver, brocade, silk, and wild-onion (WX. *mangir*) are put into the cup, which is then taken to the nearest creek or river by a man, who is not related to the candidate. The man turns around three times counter-clockwise (WX. *nar buru*), makes one hundred and eight steps to the south-west and pours out the essence without looking to that direction. When the man comes back, he has to be purified with smoke and has to be given a gulp of milk and a cup of milky tea. Xangalov (qtd in Diószegi 1998d: 146) mentions the following three kinds of ablutions performed within the confines of the *shantar*: “ablution with water” (Bur. *uhan ugaalga*), “dry ablution” (Bur. *xuurai ugaalga*) and “ablution with blood” (Bur. *shuhan ugaalga*), which is accompanied by the sacrifice of animals. He does not elaborate on how and exactly when (during which consecration) these were performed. In relation to the ablution, Birtalan (2004c: 542) writes the following:

[The *shantar*] is not only a “system (or chain) of initiations” but also a kind of purification ritual in a wider sense. Thus the purpose of the ritual is double: The shaman receives a higher rank of initiation and the members of the shaman’s community can order purification rituals (usually on the third day of the *shantar*) in order to banish bad luck, illness and the like.

In fact, the purification (in most cases carried out several times during one ritual) is an inevitable part of not only the *shantar* but of all types of rituals; thus, all of them may be conceived as “purifications in a wider sense”. In my opinion, the fact that a different method of purifying people and objects is applied during the *shantar*, does not make this type of ritual more of a purification than the others. If we were to find out in which types of rituals purification plays the most important role, healing and curse-removing rituals would be the best candidates. According to my informants,²⁰ the ablution called MB. *ugaalga* takes place at the beginning of the ritual, prior to the invocation of the spirits and not on the third day. None of my informants ever mentioned that people can order purification, but explained that they must be purified before entering the scene

²⁰ Altanceceg, Ceren, Dangaa, Dowdon, Dungaa, and Namsrai.

of the ritual. In some rituals, only the shamans may receive the ablution (MB. *ugaalga*); other participants are purified by smoke (MB. *utlaga*). Kūmin (2001: 9) has the same observations:

On the first day all the participants had to take part in a ritual washing and a purification ceremony using incense. With this ablution an invisible ring is drawn around the camp and it becomes a sacred space. During the time of the *shanar* nobody may enter the camp without performing the ritual washing.

Rintchen's text does not mention the ablution, nor does it describe the parts of the ritual that follow the invocation. It concludes as: "The sound of the drums shouldn't stop until the ritual is finished." Unfortunately, (the only accessible) first part of Gantogtox and Coloo's documentary (1990) does not go beyond the invocations either.

It is noteworthy that the same ablution is mentioned in the Daur shamaness, Siqingua's song, which she sang during a healing ritual performed at her office (Sqingaowa²¹ 2005: 284–85). The song is in the Barga dialect of Mongolian, in which she is fluent (her husband is Barga). From the song we learn that the Daur ablution, similarly to the Buriad, is performed with a potion of thyme (Bar. *ganga*) and with nine stones taken from nine springs.

TAKING THE SHAMANIC VOWS

Süxbat (2008: 155–57) writes that candidates at their first *shanar* have to take shamanic vows (MB. *shaxan*), but does not mention at which point of the ritual and in what way they do so. In his/her vows, the candidate guarantees that s/he will act as an intermediary between spirits and people and as a helpful guide for those who suffer. The candidate promises that s/he will not abuse his/her power and will not hanker after rewards. Altanceceg explained (Balogh 2007: 89–91) that Buriad shamans have to take ninety-nine oaths²² (MB. *yürön yühön tangarag*) at their first initiation and added that two kinds of oaths exist: "hard" (MB. *xatuu*) and "light" (MB. *zöölöᠭ*) ones. When taking the "hard oaths", the shaman says:

²¹ Sqingaowa=Siqingua.

²² The two words *shaxan* (vow) and *tangarag* (oath) were used interchangeably by my Buriad informants. As far as I experienced, *tangarag* seemed to prevail in their speech, while in the written language *shaxan* occurs more often. The combination of the two, *shaxan tanarag*, also occurs in both types of language.

(4)
 If I invoke you in a wrong way, may the chaff of the bush
 Eat my grayish-spotted head-gear!
 If I call you improperly, may the rocky stone
 Squash my poor body!
 I won't call you improperly.
 I am the royal ancestors' silk guide.
 I am the great ancestors' silk guide.

The “light” (MB. *zöölöŋ*) version of the oath is far more permissive:

(5)
 If I invoke you in a wrong way,
 Correct me, ancestors!
 If I invoke you improperly,
 Correct me, royal ancestors!

CHANNELLING THE SPIRIT

Kümin (2001: 10–11) writes that a candidate, after singing his invocation for a while, got possessed and [the spirit] started running between the birches. She argues that a candidate's *shanar* can only be declared by his master as completed if s/he has managed to channel his/her ancestral spirits without making them angry, and if all the spirits were content with the quality of the sacrifices and with the arrangement of the ritual scene. The *shanar* of the candidate Kümin writes about was completed on the fourth day, after a number of failed attempts. Kümin points out (2001: 12–13) that the candidate's symbolic ascent to heaven was absent from the *shanar* she attended, and according to her informant, Danzan (Kümin 2001: 7), the candidate climbs the father-tree and “flies up to the sky as a bird” only at the thirteenth *shanar*. Kümin adds (2001: 11) that Danzan thought it would be a good sign if a candidate climbed the tree when possessed, but none of his six apprentices did so. On the other hand, my above-mentioned shaman informants agreed that when candidates get possessed, their spirits make them dash to the “father” or to the “mother” tree and make them climb it. When they reach the top, they lose consciousness and fall down. They rarely get injured, for people waiting below the tree catch them with an outstretched quilt. According to shaman Dowdon, female candidates climb the mother-tree, and males climb the father-tree. Zikmundová (2008: 164–71) gives a description of the trial ritual of Sibe shamans, which is called “climbing the birch tree”, also known as “passing the eighteen watch posts”. She notes that in the ritual text (incantation), the ritual is referred to as “the climbing of the ladder of

swords”. When the Sibe candidate climbs the tree, s/he throws him/herself down and gets caught with a fishing net.

It is not described in any of the sources from which point of the ritual the candidate is considered to have acquired his/her new *shanar*, nor is it mentioned when and under what circumstances they receive the additional tools and appurtenances that come along with the new rank. Since candidates do not reach the completion of their *shanar* until they have succeeded in channelling their spirits, one would be safe to assume that the abilities of calling and channelling the spirits are the requirements for the acquisition of the new rank. Though none of the sources emphasize it, multiple candidates can be consecrated one after the other during one *shanar*. The “trial” of the candidates is followed by a set of ritual acts that lead to the conclusion of the *shanar*. These are no different than the post-possessional acts of other shamanic rituals. All available sources concentrate on the consecration of the candidate, or on the arrangement of the ritual scene and its symbolic meaning, and the description of the ritual acts that follow the candidate’s consecration fall outside their scope. My informants, when speaking about the *shanar*, did not feel the need to mention these acts either, probably because they are the same in most rituals and thus are not characteristic to any of them. However, Kūmin (2001: 11) mentions that after the master (Danzan) declared that his apprentice had completed the *shanar*, a joyful festivity started, and at the end of the ritual, the birch trees were burnt as a sacrifice for the spirits. Namsrai, on the other hand, said that the trees should be replanted at the exact place from where they had been taken. Due to the fact that the above-mentioned concluding acts are not described in the accessible sources, they are going to be discussed in the description of a *shanar-shandruu*, which was conducted and recorded on videotape in the summer of 2005.

7.3.6 The *Shandruu*

There is no written source or any other kind of documentation that deals exclusively with the *shandruu*. The *shandruu* is always mentioned in relation to the *shanar* as its variant designed for white shamans. Süxbat (2008: 95) argues that by performing the *shandruu*, the candidate is connected to his/her hereditary knowledge of a bonesetter (WX. *bariach*) and of a healer (WX. *domch*). Namsrai said that the main difference between conducting the *shanar* and the *shandruu* is that instead of climbing a tree, milk-brandy is distilled for the invited spirits during the *shandruu*,

and that the *shandruu* has only nine stages. The name *shandruu* in Buriad means milk-brandy, and the act of conducting the ritual is called “distilling milk-brandy” (MB. *shandruu nerexe*). The shaman who has completed a certain number of *shandruus* is referred to as “shaman who has distilled milk-brandy for (a certain number of) times” (MB. [number] *shandruu nerehen böö*). According to Namsrai, the arrangement of the ritual scene, the number of birch trees and their decorations are the same for both the *shanar* and *shandruu*. Süxbat (2008: 96) argues that the power of the newly consecrated white shaman is gauged by tasting the milk-brandy. The stronger the brandy is, the more hereditary power or abilities (WX. *udmiin chadal*) the candidate receives.

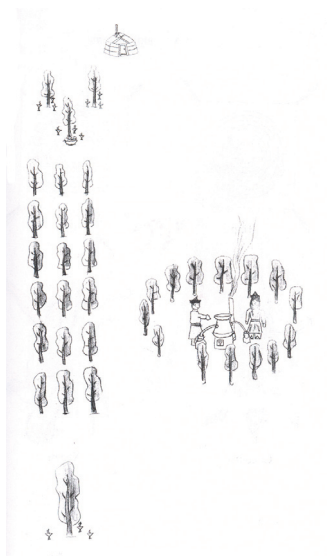


Fig.52 The scene of the *shandruu* (from Süxbat 2008)

7.4 Two Contemporary Consecration Rituals from Mongolia

The two Buriad consecration rituals that I attended in Mongolia were conducted in remarkably distinct ways. The first ritual was led by shaman Ceren, in August 2003, in the Xarxiraa valley (Bayan-Uul district, Dornod province). The other was led by an elderly shaman couple, shaman Dangaa and shamaness Dungaa, in June 2005, at a place not far from Ulaanbaatar but already in the territory of Xentii province. While Ceren came from Bayan-Uul, shaman Dangaa and his wife moved to Ulaanbaatar from Dashbalbar district (Dornod province). The three shamans are

representatives of two different streams of Buriad shamanic traditions within Mongolia, which is amply reflected in the consecration rituals they led.

7.4.1 Shaman Ceren's *Shanar* in 2003

The *shanar* led by Ceren took place at around twenty kilometres from the centre of Bayan-Uul district, in the Xarxiraa valley, where the residence of the old shaman, a big wooden house with several small wooden constructions, was located. One of these constructions, a small temple-like building called “the house of prayers” (MB. *mörgöliin ger*), was situated at about two hundred metres east from the big house where Ceren and his family lived. The ritual scene was arranged at a wide open space north from the house of prayers. To the north-east from the ritual scene, a number of tents and one or two yurts were set up. These were the temporary dwellings of the candidates' relatives and of those who came to visit the shaman for other reasons. The ritual scene was remarkably different from those described in the literature on *shanar*. The group of young trees (MB. *derwelge*) comprised not only birches but also pines and poplar. Ceren's apprentices explained that the pines were the sacrifices brought by Xalx apprentices, while the poplar trees were brought by the Xamnigans, and only the Buriads erected birches. North from the group of the young trees, where traditionally the “father” and “mother-trees” are located, was towering an approximately four-metre-tall wooden construction: a square board about 4 to 6 square metres—edged by a 80–100cm-high fence—stood on four four-metre-long legs. In the middle of the board a table was installed. The fence had two entries: one on the west and one on the east side, and two ladders led to these entries from the ground. Each ladder had twelve steps, which were referred to as “sabres” (MB. *selem*). On the ground, right in front of the ladders, areas of 2x2 metres were covered by broken pieces of glass. The construction was called MB. *inder* (platform, stage), just like the much smaller but similar construction that appears in Rintchen's text. In Ceren's earlier *shanar*, which was recorded thirteen years before, in 1990, the *inder* (in the footage it is pronounced *yinder*) was a rather small table-like construction set up below the father-tree, and the meat of the sacrificed sheep was placed on it. The table on top of the platform in 2003 also functioned as a sacrificial altar, but the whole construction served other purposes as well, about which I am going to write later. North from the platform were benches, and a roof propped up by tree trunks provided shelter from the heat of the sun. Behind the bench, shamanic costumes and

paraphernalia were hung from the roof. East and west from the shelter, shorter trunks were put on the ground in order that people could sit down on them.

During my brief stay (six days) in the Xarxiraa valley, the consecration of Ceren's apprentices was going on permanently, and different ritual acts were performed, sometimes simultaneously, at different points of the ritual scene. It occurred that while some apprentices were calling their spirits in the "house of prayers", others carried out divination or purification near the platform. Even when the trial of an apprentice was in full swing, other candidates were carrying out their own duties somewhere else. I did not manage to gain information concerning when the period of consecrations had started and when it ended after my departure. Supposedly, shamanic rituals and consecrations took place all summer long, thus this six-day period can only provide a brief insight into what was going on in the Xarxiraa valley that summer.

The first ritual act that every visitor was subject to upon arrival was the ablution. When a car arrived at the spot, an apprentice came to greet the visitors, bringing a potion of thyme in a kettle. Everyone who intended to enter the place of the ritual had to wash their hands and face in the potion. On the first day of my stay, late at night, the trial of four young apprentices, three girls and one boy, took place. The apprentices, followed by the "nine children", had to run several laps around the group of trees, beating their drums and singing until they got possessed. Then, driven by the spirit, they walked over the broken glasses barefoot, climbed the ladder on the eastern side, and started a wild, jerky dance around the table on top of the platform. The cooked mutton of the sacrificed sheep had earlier been placed on the table. When dancing, the spirit (the apprentice's body) often bumped to the fence of the platform and almost fell over it. People below, holding an outstretched quilt, followed the unpredictable moves of the spirit excitedly, trying to be at the right place when the possessed apprentice falls down. All the three girls danced until they fell over the fence, and then they got caught by the people below and were rolled into the quilt. After falling down, they all looked unconscious and were motionless for a while. The people took the apprentices with the quilt and dashed into the group of trees led by a person, who showed them where to run and where to turn. The apprentices were carried along a zigzag path among the trees and taken back below the platform and put down on the ground. When brought out from the group of trees, the apprentices seemed to regain their senses, and when they were laid down on the ground, they were able to stand up and walk up to Ceren, who greeted them with a "nose-kiss". The fourth apprentice, a twentyish boy, after having run his lapses around the trees could not bring himself to step on the broken glasses, about which the shamans said that he was not possessed

enough to withstand the pain. Ceren ordered him to run more lapses and try it again. After several futile attempts, Ceren lost his interest in the apprentice's performance and went home to sleep. Shortly after this, the exhausted apprentice gave up and sat down on a bench.

The following days were dedicated to receiving clients in the "house of prayers". On the third day of my stay, two ritual washings (MB. *ugaalga*) were organized by Ceren's apprentices. In the afternoon, a fire was lit outside the "house of prayers", and a mixture of thyme and milky tea were boiled in a cauldron. When it was ready, some heated stones were taken from the fire and put into a smaller cauldron, and both cauldrons were put on the ground. Almost all people camping in the Xarxiraa valley came and lined up to take part in the washing. Two apprentices were receiving the people; one scooped a little from the potion with a ladle and poured it on the hands of the clients, while the other dipped a branch of juniper into the potion and lashed the people's backs three times with it. As the liquid was flowing down from the people's hands on the heated stones, its steam flew up and permeated those standing nearby. Some apprentices, who were soon to be consecrated, stripped to the waist, and some even took off their trousers and let the above-mentioned apprentice lash their whole bodies with the branch. The apprentices warned everybody not to look back when they return to their tents after the washing, otherwise the ablution would be ineffective. A couple of hours later, at around ten at night, another ablution was carried out in the same way. The apprentices washing the people said that the earlier ablution was the "white washing" (MB. *sagaanii ugaalga*), and the latter was the "black washing" (MB. *xariin ugaalga*). They explained that the "white washing" gives protection from suffering and illness (MB. *öwshin zowlon*), while the "black" prevents quarrelling and gossip (MB. *xerüül, xel am*).

7.4.2 Dangaa and Dungaa's *Shanar-Shandruu*

In June 2005, I attended a consecration ritual of both black and white apprentices led by an elderly couple, shaman Dangaa and shamaness Dungaa. The couple had around twenty apprentices, more than ten of which were consecrated during the ritual. Most of the apprentices who had participated in the Lunar New Year ritual half a year before took part in the consecration as well. The venue of the ritual, a secluded place with lots of birch trees in Xentii province, was chosen by the masters. On the first day of the event, the shamans, their apprentices and relatives, amounting to about fifty

people, arrived at the scene by cars and a hired bus. Most people pitched up their own tents, but there were five yurts as well, brought by the bus. One of the yurts was set up at the ritual site, the border of which was designated by stones put on the ground in a line, and two entries—one on the south and one on the east—were made by opening the line. Dangaa warned all participants that it was prohibited to step across the line of stones, and entering the ritual site was only allowed through the designated entries, after having been purified by the smoke of juniper or Siberian fir (MB. *zhodoo*). The birch trees for the ritual were all living trees (MB. *urgaa mod*), grown naturally at the ritual site. Dangaa explained that it was prohibited by law to cut off birch trees; that is why he had decided to find a place where the trees necessary for the consecration grew naturally. He said he did not know the exact number of the trees, and it was not important anyway. On the northern edge of the group of trees were two other trees, which were somewhat bigger than most of the others. Only one of the trees was decorated in a different way than the others, and it was not clear whether it was the father- or the mother-tree, for nobody referred to them by these terms during the ritual. To my query, Dangaa answered that the decorated one should be the father-tree, but he seemed to be uncertain about it, and he did not seem to feel the need of making such an explicit distinction. As for the apprentices, there was only “the tree” (Xal. *mod*), the decorated one, which had to be climbed in possession. North-east from this big tree, the yurt, in which certain parts of the ritual were performed, was set up. Next to this yurt, there was another, but it did not serve ritual purposes; probably the masters slept and kept their tools there. In the middle of the group of trees, a space of about 4–6 square metres was designated for the distillation of milk-brandy (MB. *shandruu*) by a red thread that surrounded some of the trees.



Fig.53 The installation of the still

The remaining of the thread, a clew, was placed on a branch of the father-tree. The smaller trees were decorated with ribbons of four colours: white ribbons were tied to blue ribbons, and yellow ribbons were tied to red ones, and all these were tied to the trees. Dangaa explained that the blue and white ribbons were dedicated for the “white spirits”, while the yellow and red ribbons for the “black spirits”. The decorations of the father-tree were, by and large, similar to what Süxbat describes (2008: 124–25). Instead of the pelts of five kinds of animals, synthetic canvas, in the shapes of only three kinds of animals and colours—white hare, black squirrel and red roebuck—were tied to the branches of the father-tree, and unlike at the above-discussed *shanars* there were more than one of each. Dangaa had only one real pelt, that of a white hare, which was tied to one of the highest branches. The representations of the Sun, the Moon, the “nine children”, the nest with eggs, and the string of little brackets filled with grease (MB. *dagtai*) were all installed on the tree. Men hammered red pegs into the trunk of the father-tree so that the shamans could step on them when climbing it.



Fig.54 Red pegs in the trunk of the tree

After the decoration of all trees, the parts of the still (MB. *bürxöör*) for distilling milk-brandy was placed in the middle of the place designated by the red thread (v38). A middle-aged woman, a relative of one of the apprentices, was responsible for the distillation. First, she poured fermented milk into a cauldron, and then shaman Dangaa knelt down next to the cauldron with his drum, started beating it and singing an incantation (6), by which, as he explained, he “animated” the brandy (MB. *shandruu amilulax*). In fact, what he sang was no different from an invocation; thus the word “animation” (MB. *amiluulax*), and what it referred to in this case was not a specific ritual

activity or an independent genre of incantations, but rather a synonym for invocation. Using the term “to animate” suggests that as soon as the invoked spirits appear, the brandy is considered to be a living entity. By the incantation, Dangaa requested ancestral spirits of Buddhist origin to come and take part in the ritual:

Om ma xum!
My white ancestors!
Listen here well!
[...]
Hot-yellow buddha ancestors!
Descend joyfully!
[...]
My great powerful ancestors!
Listen here me well!
[...]
Descend upon the offerings!
[...]
I am worshipping you!
I am praying to you!

At the end of the incantation, Dangaa opened up a bottle of vodka and poured it into the cauldron. The other parts of the still were put together and installed on top of the cauldron. The upper part of the still was filled with 1–2 kg raw mutton, some more fermented milk, and two additional bottles of vodka. Dangaa told the people that the brandy was going to be an effective medicine for various diseases. Later, another similar still, with no mutton and vodka inside, was set up next to the first one. Dangaa explained that the brandy in the one with mutton and vodka was going to be distilled for the black spirits, and the other for the white spirits.

Six boys and three girls, a young man and a woman had previously been appointed for the role of the “nine children”, the “father” and the “mother”. The “nine children”, holding each other’s hands, started to circumambulate the ritual site in a clockwise direction. Dangaa instructed them to start singing the white refrain, “*Aryaa wadee um mani badme xum*”, explaining that the spirits would only come if they sing it loud and clear.

While the “nine children” were about to begin their procession round the ritual site, a potion of thyme was boiled on open fire, east from the ritual site, well beyond its border. Dangaa, having put on his blue caftan and skullcap, stood beside the cauldron that had been put on the ground, next to the fireplace, and started beating his drum and singing his invocation (v39. 0:05; v48). He was again, as he put it, “animating” the potion (MB. *ugaal amiluulax*). After a while, he knelt down and got possessed.



Fig.55 Dungaa's spirit scoops from the potion

The apprentices gathered around and watched the performance, while Dungaa approached the spirit to act as an interpreter. The spirit leaned above the cauldron and examined the potion, while drumming and uttering deep roars. Dungaa told the apprentices that the spirit was surprised how little potion there was. When the spirit started shaking his right hand, Dungaa gave him a ladle and instructed an apprentice to fetch a cup for making an offering with the essence (MB. *deezh*) of the potion. When the apprentice arrived with the cup, the spirit, with his shaking hands, scooped a little out from the potion and poured it into the cup. Dungaa gave the cup back to the apprentice, who took the essence away. Dungaa took the ladle and told the apprentices to surround the fireplace, where heated stones were put into a larger cauldron. Dungaa poured some of the potion on the stones so that the apprentices could be purified by the steam. The spirit soon stood up, took over the ladle and continued the ablution. The apprentices took off their skullcaps and mirrors and held them in the steam for a while. The spirit sat down and asked for vodka. Dungaa gave him the vodka and instructed an apprentice to give him a cup of **red-yellowish tea**. The spirit drank the tea and continued singing. Dungaa squatted down beside him and explained to him that they (the masters and the apprentices) had gathered at a nice place to perform a *shanar-shandruu* with thirteen apprentices, for which they had done all the necessary preparations. She enumerated what trees and decorations they had prepared for the ritual

(7)
 [...]
 Beautiful living trees:
 A nest-tree,
 Nine *derweleg*-trees,
 A father-tree with the furs of beautiful forest-animals:
 A pale-yellow weasel,
 A swift-white ermine,
 A pure-white hare,
 A pinkish-red roebuck,
 A pitch-black squirrel,
 And a length of canvas with the picture of the nine children.

The spirit stood up, started jumping and left. Dangaa took off his skullcap and they all entered the yurt. While they were drumming and singing inside, nobody else was allowed to enter. After a while, they all came out with the possessed Dungaa wearing her full garment (v39. 5:40). By that time, the “nine children”, who were supposed to walk and sing incessantly, had stopped it and sat down somewhere outside the ritual site. The spirit (possessing Dungaa) looked around and asked where the “nine children” were and why they were not singing. Dungaa’s daughter told them to stand up and resume their procession and singing. The spirit, followed by Dangaa and the apprentices, first walked up to the still in which the brandy for the black spirits was being distilled and examined it by leaning close to it, as if she was smelling the brandy and listening to the sounds of the distillation process. Then she walked up to the other still, did the same and continued her procession with her entourage towards the father-tree. When she got there, she stopped for a few seconds and looked upwards, as if she was examining the decorations on the tree. After this, she went in front of the yurt, and the “doorkeeper” opened the door for her, but the spirit did not enter. She stopped and started a dialogue with Dangaa, which was unfortunately blurred by the singing of the “nine children”. Dangaa left, probably in order to bring something that the spirit requested. The spirit was waiting and beating her drum in front of the entrance. The apprentices gathered in front of her, also beating their drums and singing the same song the children were singing. The spirit put her drum on her back, looked around and suddenly started running around the yurt, counter-clockwise. The apprentices followed her. The spirit soon slowed down and staggered up to the father-tree, cast away her drum and drumstick and started climbing upwards. Her feet did not reach higher than 1.5 metres when she stopped climbing, looked around and started cuckooing. The masters’ son had called some men beforehand to hold the quilt under the tree and catch the spirit when she falls down. The spirit did not spend much time on the tree; she fell down and was caught by the men, as it was planned. After they caught her, the men ran with her around the two yurts, in a clockwise direction, and put her on the ground in front of the door. The spirit stood up and entered the yurt, while beating her drum (v39. 16:05). When Dungaa next came out, the spirit had already left her.

Soon after Dungaa’s performance, some of the apprentices were told to circumambulate the ritual site. The “nine children” followed them, and they all were singing the white refrain, when the possessed Dangaa unexpectedly dashed out from the yurt, in his full garment (v39. 19:10). The spirit started running around the two yurts furiously. The apprentices followed him, but the “nine children” continued their procession undisturbed. When the spirit came back from behind

the second yurt, he threw away his drum, rushed towards the father-tree and started climbing it vehemently. He climbed about 4 metres high, cuckooed, shouted, clung to the tree with his right hand, looked around, shook the tree, and fell down, right into the quilt. The men carried him around and helped him stand up. The masters' daughter-in-law approached the spirit with a smoking juniper twig, which is usually used to help the spirit leave the shaman's body, but the spirit did not want to leave. Instead, he sat down on the ground and demanded vodka (v40. 3:57; v49). Dungaa gave him vodka several times, and when drinking the last cup, the spirit greeted the apprentices, "*Mend amoor!*" After this, Dungaa gave him a cup of milky tea. The spirit asked for more vodka, while wobbling and singing like a drunken man. This time, even Dungaa had difficulties comprehending some of his words. Interestingly, the masters' daughter, Mönxjaw, was also holding a smoking juniper twig close to the spirit, while her mother was serving him. Probably Dungaa and the apprentices did not want the spirit to stay too long and tried to please him with whatever he demanded and get him depart as soon as possible, without being rude and offensive to him. The spirit told Dungaa that he wanted the apprentices to introduce themselves to him. Dungaa instructed them to kneel down in front of the spirit and tell him their clan names and personal names one by one, but first, the spirit asked for another cup of vodka. Each apprentice bowed to him and introduced him/herself according to the same pattern: "I am [personal name] from the [clan name] clan" (Xal. [clan name] *owgiin* [personal name] *baina aa*). The spirit did not touch the apprentices with his whip as spirits usually do when people bow before them; he only listened. The apprentices introduced themselves very briefly, stood up and left. When all the apprentices were done, the spirit also stood up, looked around examining the trees and the ritual scene, as if he was still not completely content. Dungaa enumerated the decorations of the father-tree again and told the spirit that they (Dangaa and Dungaa) decorated it jointly with their apprentices. The spirit shook his body, imitating the motions of a rider mounting and riding his horse, started beating his drum, and all of a sudden, he fell on his stomach. The apprentices pulled him up and Mönxjaw purified him with juniper smoke. Dungaa spat a mouthful of vodka into his face. Dangaa regained his senses very slowly and barged about for a while. Dungaa took his drum and started beating it above him, while he was stooping. Then she hit Dangaa's back with the drumstick several times and shook the drumstick, as if she was sweeping something off his back (v40. 13:11). Dangaa stretched himself, made a few jumps, and entered the yurt. After a short rest, Dangaa came out of the yurt with his drum and set to consecrating (MB. *amihuulax* lit. to enliven) the two sheep that were to be sacrificed. Again, the act of consecrating was not

supposed to make inanimate objects animate, for the sheep were still alive, but to invoke the spirits and call their attention to the sheep, by which they became eligible for the sacrifice. Dangaa consecrated the sheep one by one. While his son was holding the sheep, he took a seat on the ground in front of them and sang an invocation, and asked for a cup of milk, in which some thyme had been put. Then he sprinkled the milk on the sheep, which were then carried away outside the ritual scene and killed. In the meantime, Dungaa and the apprentices were beating their drums inside the yurt. After a while, when Dangaa was still singing and asking the spirits to accept the sacrifice, Dungaa and the apprentices came out, all having put on their garments, and except Mönxjaw, their skullcaps. Dungaa was possessed, and her spirit was singing a Buriad folk song. Mönxjaw approached her and gave her a cup of vodka. The spirit turned and walked toward the yurt, followed by the apprentices. On the path back to the yurt pieces of smoking sheep dung were put. Before they entered, the apprentices walked each piece round clockwise, by which they purified themselves, before another phase of the ritual—their trial—began. While the apprentices entered and occupied their seats inside the yurt, a girl and the doorkeeper put some more pieces of dung in front of the entrance. By this time, the yurt had been open for everybody. As people walking to the yurt stepped over the heaps of smoking dung, they automatically got purified by them and became eligible for entering the sacred space. Inside the yurt, Dungaa was sitting in front of an altar, beating her drum and waiting for the people who lined up and stepped up to her one by one. Each person introduced him/herself by telling their clan names, personal names, and zodiacs. Dungaa sang a song in which she asked her spirits to take care of the people. Each time somebody introduced him/herself to her, she incorporated the above particulars into her song so that the spirits could identify the given client. After having entrusted everybody to the spirits, the people left the yurt, and Dangaa announced that he would show them the representation of a spirit called Xoimoriin Aaw²³ (lit. the father of the yurt's sacred corner) (v41. 0:18; v47). He went into the other yurt, brought out a felt-case and sat down on the ground. A carpet folded in four was placed in front of him, a male apprentice was squatting next to him, and the other apprentices and people sat down in front of them. Dangaa and the male apprentice removed the cover of the felt case and pulled out a wooden box wrapped in leather. Dangaa stripped the leather from the box, removed the wooden cover, asked for milk and vodka and started singing a song for the spirit. Though the song was far from comprehensible, it was audible that he addressed the spirit as “great Damdin Dorlig” (MB. *Damdin yixe Dorlig*). The apprentice next to him poured a little vodka into a cup and gave it to Dangaa. He described clockwise circles with the cup, over the box, asked the

²³ The spirit has its Daur equivalent called Xwaimar Barkan (Humphrey 1996: 279).

apprentice's name and continued his song. Dangaa introduced the apprentice to the spirit and told him that he had opened the box for the sake of the apprentice. The apprentice paid respect to the spirit by making bows. Dangaa dipped his ring finger into the vodka, touched something inside the box and dribbled a little vodka into it. Then a girl gave Dangaa a small cup of milk. Dangaa described similar circles above the box and dribbled two times from the milk into it. After having offered vodka and milk to the spirit, he removed the piece of cloth and the blue *xadag* that covered the representation of the spirit, and showing the inside of the box to everyone said in an educating manner:

(9)

You are the possessors of this great shamanic heritage! Have a look! You used to be a people that possessed this great shamanic heritage! This is the great Damdin Dorlig deity. [You are/were] people with great black shamans!

After a short break, the trial of the apprentices took place. The first apprentice to climb the tree was the masters' daughter, Mönxjaw. Most apprentices invoked their spirits in the yurt, and when they got possessed, came out and were led by Dungaa and the other apprentices around the ritual site until they reached the tree. The nine children did not follow the possessed apprentice but continued singing and walking (although they were supposed to be running) around the ritual site.

Whenever an apprentice climbed the tree, s/he cuckooed, fell down into the quilt and was carried around the two yurts and put down in front of the ritual yurt. Their spirits did not start a conversation or a monologue but left after having drunk a cup of vodka, milk or tea. When the spirit left, Dungaa and the others helped the apprentice to regain his/her senses by incense purification or spitting vodka into his/her face. Meanwhile, the apprentice made jumps and shook his/her costume.

Once, when one of the male apprentices got possessed, it took the spirit rather long to climb the tree. Dangaa gave him a gulp of milk (v42. 8:20) and put the cup on his head. The cup fell down on the ground with its mouth looking upwards, indicating that the spirit was content. Dangaa repeated the divination with a cup of vodka with the same result. Yet the apprentice proved not to be possessed enough to climb the tree. That day, two other young female apprentices failed to climb the tree, despite the fact that they were possessed. Dungaa and Dangaa offered the usual drinks (milky tea, vodka and milk) to these spirits and did not force them to climb the tree. The next day, all the three who had failed made another attempt and managed to climb the tree.

At night (v43. 9:01), around eleven o'clock, everybody was invited to the ritual site, where a big fire was lit. The nine children were sitting around the fire singing their song. The shamans and the apprentices were also singing and beating their drums. Dungaa and the apprentices went to the tree, continued singing there, but none of them climbed the tree at night.

The next day forenoon, when the male apprentice who failed the day before was again attempting to get possessed properly, his fellow apprentices encouraged him by their shouting and drumbeats. Yet he was still having difficulties. Dungaa broke up a few hot pieces of sheep-dung that were smoking on the ground with her drumstick, and instructed the apprentice to pick up some and put them into his mouth. The dung was to accelerate his possession. The "trick" did not seem to have an immediate effect; therefore, Dungaa instructed another apprentice to get some vodka for the male apprentice. He gulped down the vodka quickly and started jumping vigorously. He advanced towards the tree, threw away his drum and drumstick and commenced his ascent, but soon a branch broke down under his foot and he fell on the ground. Because it all happened so suddenly, the men with the quilt could not catch him. The people were frightened, but the apprentice did not suffer serious injuries. The men wrapped him into the quilt anyway and carried him around. The apprentice's second attempt was declared unsuccessful, and Dungaa told him that he had to try it once more. She told the other apprentices to lit a fire and produce embers, (MB. *cog*) because she might need to make the apprentice lick them. The apprentice was thoroughly purified with smoke and started his procession around the trees (v44. 0:30–2:25), but in the meantime, a female apprentice (v44. 2:49) got possessed unexpectedly and collapsed, seemingly unconscious. Dungaa and her fellow apprentices helped her stand up and tried to expel the possessing spirit with smoke, but failed. The spirit ran around the trees, then, after having drunk a cup of vodka, started a wild dance, threw away her drum and dashed towards the tree. She was already climbing up when the male apprentice also got possessed and (his spirit) jumped to the tree and started climbing over the female apprentice. It was the only occasion when two spirits climbed the tree at the same time (v44. 7:22). The male climbed exceptionally fast and high, only Danga's spirit had climbed as high as this one.

Another female apprentice who did not climb the tree the day before invoked her spirit again and got possessed properly. The spirit walked around the trees, followed by Dungaa, the apprentices and many of the spectators. When she reached the tree, she sat down below it and started beating her drum and shaking her head violently (v44. 12:42). Dungaa gave her milky tea and vodka. The spirit stopped drumming and started groping for something. When the father

of the possessed girl tried to hold her from the behind, the spirit shook herself edgily. Dungaa asked the spirit what she was looking for. The spirit said she wanted her Jew's harp. When she got it, she started playing it and put her drum aside. Dungaa took the drum, whereupon the spirit started groping about again, in an effort to find the drum. Dungaa gave it back to her and the spirit took it under her armpit, indicating that she did not want to part with it. Dungaa jocularly remarked that the spirit begrudged her drum (MB. *xesee xaramlaad baina*), and the apprentices laughed. The spirit continued playing the Jew's harp, sitting on the ground and turning her upper body swiftly to the left and to the right. Sometimes she smiled and laughed during her curious performance, which the spectators were watching, standing around her. Dungaa told everybody to pay homage to the spirit by making bows and holding both palms upwards. Then she explained jokingly that the spirit was a person of stingy descent (MB. *xaramch garwalai xün*). The "nine children" stopped and started watching the performance, whereupon Dungaa remarked that they were standing idly as if they were watching a movie and ordered them to continue their procession. The spirit stopped playing her Jew's harp and started rubbing her face. She smelled her belongings, the wooden case of the Jew's harp, the streamers attached to it, and also her drum. Then she embraced the drum, looked around and started beating it and shaking her head violently again. When Dungaa approached her to give her a cup of milk, she fell back and lay motionless for a while. After getting purified by smoke and vodka, the apprentice was told to jump and lash herself with her streamers (v45. 1:30).

After all the apprentices had undergone their trials, some concluding ritual acts were still to be performed, including Danga's two additional spirit possessions. Danga, wearing his blue caftan and his black skullcap, invoked the spirit of Bugaalin Buural Ezhii (Bugaalin, the Grey-Haired Mother) in the yurt. The spirit came out and sat down on a carpet in front of the door (v45. 4:17) and started a lengthy conversation with Dungaa (10). The people surrounded them and listened to the conversation. The spirit was singing, but what she was singing could only be guessed from Dungaa's more comprehensible replies. Dungaa's first reaction to the spirit's utterances was an apology, from which it became obvious that the spirit was resentful for some reasons. It was Dungaa's duty to placate Bugaalin and defend, not only herself, but also her husband and their apprentices from the possible consequences of the spirit's discontent. The reason why the spirit complained was only known to Dungaa, and those listening to the conversation could gain only limited information from Dungaa's apology (10):

Please appear [gently like a noble] warmly [like a khan]! We didn't know that _____ with money of this era. This is the fault of your water-eyed and blood-hearted, small infant children, who can't see what is looming and can't realize the deviation. Please take the incomplete and inferior as complete and perfect! If we made mistakes, please correct them! We will cook and boil _____ completely and perfectly. Please take the incomplete and inferior _____ as complete and perfect! We are praying for good luck! We are [imploring] for your blessing!

From this apology, it is clear that the spirit found the way the ritual had been prepared inadequate. Dungaa acknowledged that it was their (Dungaa, Dangaa and their apprentices') fault. The phrase "**your small infant children**" means "your, the spirit's descendants", i.e. "we". The epithets that Dungaa used in her rhetoric for themselves do not go without explanation. The first one, "**water-eyed and blood-hearted**", denotes "flesh and blood" people, ordinary people as opposed to spirits, who do not have physical bodies. The second, "**who can't see what is looming and can't realize the deviation**", explains that they, the ordinary "flesh and blood" people, are of limited perceptive abilities and thus sometimes cannot behold things that are inconspicuous, and therefore cannot realize their own mistakes. The two, partly comprehensible, sentences of Dungaa suggest that the meat of the sacrificial sheep had not been cooked well, and that Bugaalin did not like the idea of receiving "**modern money**" as an offering. After her apology, Dungaa offered a cup of milk to Bugaalin saying, "**Please taste the red fore-milk!**", and continued placating the spirit politely:

Please appear gently, like a noble,
Warmly, like a khan!
Stay and enjoy yourself peacefully!
Stay long and drink!
[When] the cuckoo is cuckooing,
[...]
Amidst the swaying of the birch trees,
We are preparing ...
Holding up the birch-tray,
We have prepared the sacrifices
And the sheep, which are as white as a swan.
[...]

During Dungaa's speech, the spirit was singing incessantly, and in her song, she commented on her words. The spirit's comment was understandable only to Dungaa, who replied to it the following way:

[...] We will kill [more] sheep after we have purified our beautiful white yurt. Smoke this modern-time tobacco! Calm down and stay, buddhas! We will have it purified perfectly, and then we will cook the two sheep again and bring the mutton here. [...]

The spirit sang in a more friendly tone of voice, and it seemed that she excused the shamans. Dungaa gently led the conversation toward its conclusion by owning up the fault once more and promised that they would not do the same mistake again. She finished her apology with a rhetoric question: “Where are water-eyed and blood-hearted who would confront the great spirits and deities? Forgive us, buddhas!”

After Dulmaa placated Bugaalin, a female apprentice, who had already been sitting next to the spirit waiting for the right moment, introduced herself to Bugaalin and asked for her advice. The matter of the consultation was confidential to a certain extent, and only Dungaa, the apprentice and the spirit seemed to be aware of its details. What could be seen and heard from this consultation was that the apprentice gave the spirit a piece of colourful cloth, a representation of one of her ancestral spirits, and Bugaalin “animated” it with a drop of milk and by blowing at it. In the meantime, Dungaa told Bugaalin that “more than hundred hot lives of twenty hot fire-hearths” (MB. *Xorin xaluun golomt deer zuun tödii xaluun ami*), meaning more than hundred people from twenty households, had assembled in order to entrust themselves and to pray to the spirits. The apprentice, following Dulmaa’s instructions, gave milk and vodka to Bugaalin. Dungaa educated the apprentice on certain techniques; such as how to put the cup into the spirit’s hand in the right way, etc. Bugaalin gave some advice to the apprentice and told her (Dungaa translated to her everything) to start bearing children in three years.

Dangaa, soon after Bugaalin’s possession, invoked another spirit and ran out of the yurt. He ran around the trees once (v45. 17:17), and when he stopped in front of the tree, he was already possessed. Noticing it, an apprentice put his skullcap on his head. The spirit sang, looked around, sat down on the ground and soon left without saying anything. All the children, apprentices and most of the people came close and watched. Dangaa remained sitting on the ground, while Dungaa explained the people that they were going to make offerings (v45. 18:38). The children and the spectators stood facing the group of young birch trees holding their offerings—milk, cookies and candies—in both hands and circulating them clockwise. Dungaa started beating her drum and singing. The apprentices followed suit.

The children sang the white refrain, while Dangaa was beating his drum sitting. Later, two male apprentices arrived to accompany the song by shaking horse-headed staffs. When Dungaa finished the song, they all shouted “*xurai*” three times and threw the offerings amongst the trees. After this, they turned to the big tree which the shamans had climbed and performed the same offering two more times.

After the offering, all the decorations were removed (v46. 3:55–8:33) from the trees and collected. When the men pulled out the pegs from the big tree’s trunk, they filled the holes with “yellow butter” (Xal. *shar tos*), assuming that it would help the recovery of the wounds (v46. 6:49). Some apprentices, already dressed in everyday clothes, were still walking about among the trees and making some offerings, while the remaining cookies and candies were distributed among the participants. Dangaa sat down below the tree, wearing only his blue caftan from his shamanic apparel, and sang his last song (14, v46. 8:33):

[...]
 [You] rode bareback without a harness.
 Son of emperor Chuur,
 Tough-wild Manzhuulai!
 [You] rode the fiery fallow horse
 Bareback without a saddle.
 [You] rode the wild fallow horse
 Bareback without a harness.
 Son of emperor Chuur,
 My tough, wild Manzhuulai!
 Enjoy yourself on the land of your daughters,
 _____ on the land of your sons!
 You have descended to lead this
 White, square *shanar*.
 [...]

When he finished his song, he stood up and entrusted the “nine children”, who had lined up in front of him. Each child bent down and let the shaman prod his/her back with the drumstick, and then slipped under his right armpit. Mönxjaw similarly entrusted people (v46. 12:40) with a whip, but without any ritual incantations and without wearing any parts of her shamanic costume. Thus, the ritual concluded on the second day. Dangaa and Dungaa said that they had expected it to last for three days, but they managed to consecrate all their apprentices and it did not make sense to make the ritual last three days merely because the *shanar* is traditionally known as a three-day ritual. They said if they can accomplish the task earlier, then it finishes earlier, but if there are complications, it might even last for four or five days.

Conclusion

The aim of this dissertation was to fill the gaps in our knowledge of the Buriads' shamanism in Mongolia. Since the majority of the existing studies foreground the *shamar* as if this initiation was the only ritual peculiar to the Mongolian Buriads, I found it of primary importance to explore the other, more frequently performed ones as well, and not only provide fieldwork data on them but categorize as well as analyse them. Secondly, I propose a theory that looks upon spirit-possession from a new, unconventional perspective.

In my view, in possession-type shamanism such as that of the Buriads, the purpose of rituals is to make spirits and people meet and enable them to communicate face to face. Access to spirits is given by the spirits themselves in the form of divine inspiration. Therefore, inspiration plays a crucial role in spirit-possession, the essential parts of the shamanic rituals of the Mongolian Buriads. Without being inspired enough, a shaman is unable to invoke his/her spirits, and the ritual cannot be completed. When inspiration reaches its climax, the shaman is believed to be possessed by a spirit, who takes over the shaman's place in the ritual. In order to understand the relationship between inspiration and spirits I find it essential to answer the following question: Why are shamans believed to be absent during possession? An explanation of this thought might be that the ideal shaman can be as much inspired that s/he completely abandons him/herself to the impersonation of a spirit. Thus the possessed shaman is taken by his/her own inspiration, which is traditionally interpreted as being taken by his/her spirit. Based on this rationale, when shamans perform their regular spirit-pleasing rituals, they unleash their inspiration, and by doing that they prevent themselves from falling mentally ill due to restrained emotions and suffocated inspiration. According to shamanists, if spirits are suppressed, they will get angry and torture the shaman. Therefore, in my opinion, when we speak about a shaman being tortured by his/her neglected spirits we might as well speak about a shaman tortured by his/her unutilized inspiration.

Furthermore, we can look upon shamans' spirits as inspirations that human imagination personalized, and thus different sorts of inspirations have become different characters in the shamanist pantheon. Some inspirations directly come from recently deceased persons (for example when possessed by his/her mother's spirit, the shaman may act like his/her mother used to act); in these cases, the connection between the inspiration and the character does not need

any further explanation. People who lived a long time ago—and became spirits after death—are also impersonated by shamans, but since they could not know these people personally, in their characterization, the shaman has to draw upon the old shamanic traditions that depict the given spirit's personality. Such a spirit is Awagaldai, for example, who—according to legend—was a man having a great liking for vodka and tobacco, so whenever he is on stage, the shaman acts the role of a chain-smoking drunkard.

The spirit-characters are reflected not only in the shaman's portrayals of spirits but also by the costume the shaman wears. Although high-ranking shamans have more requisites and more pieces of clothing than lower-ranking ones, what a shaman wears during a ritual does not necessarily bespeak his/her place in shamanic hierarchy. Even the highest ranking shaman who possesses a helmet with iron antlers and a suede coat is unlikely to put on these articles every time s/he performs a ritual. If the spirit s/he intends to invoke and impersonate is not a particularly "strong" spirit, s/he might wear a simple costume and dress like a lower-ranking shaman. Rank determines what kind of rituals a shaman can perform and what spirits s/he can invoke, but once a spirit possesses a shaman, the shaman's rank, age or social status does not matter because—as noted above— s/he is believed to be absent. The one who wears the shamanic costume is no longer the shaman but the spirit.

The shamanic rituals of the Mongolian Buriads consist of smaller ritual acts. These acts can precede a possession, take place during possession or follow it. Therefore I refer to these three groups of acts as pre-possessional, possessional and post-possessional acts respectively. Pre-possessional acts are intended to call the spirits' attention to the ritual and ask them to participate and some of them to possess the shaman. The communication between a possessing spirit and the participants of the ritual consists of a number of possessional activities. These usually include: greeting and welcoming the spirit, conversation with the spirit (usually with the help of an interpreter), the spirit's monologue, the spirits blessing and the spirit's departure. After a possession is over, another one—preceded by an invocation—might take place. After the last spirit has left the shaman's body, the shaman performs the post-possessional acts, which lead to the end of the ritual. By means of divination the shaman inquires the spirits whether the ritual appealed to them and whether they are content with the offerings. If the spirits are satisfied, the shaman asks them to protect him/herself and the community against misfortune and illnesses and to bestow good luck and prosperity. If the divination indicates that the spirits are not fully content for some reasons, the shaman corrects the mistake, usually by offering or promising to offer more

sacrifices or sacrifices of better quality and repeats the divination until it shows that the spirits are satisfied. Before the end of the ritual the shaman entrusts each participant's fate to the spirits, prodding them with his/her whip or drumstick and chanting a song. In this song s/he asks his/her spirits to take care for the person being entrusted. All the spirits who have been invited to the ritual, including those who have possessed and then left the shaman are considered to be present at the ritual scene until the shaman dispatches them by singing a specific song. In this song the shaman asks the spirits to return whence they came; to rocks and bushes in the wilderness.

The above-described elements are the ones that constitute the rituals themselves, most of which are either spirit-pleasing or problem-solving rituals in Mongolian Buriad shamanism. Nonetheless, there are rituals that do not fit easily into either of these categories and are performed less frequently; such are the imprecations and the consecration rituals. Therefore, for all the rituals that are not spirit-pleasing rituals (i.e. for problem-solving rituals, imprecations and consecrations), I created the category “entreating rituals”, implying that during these rituals the shaman turns to the spirits with a request. Imprecations and problem-solving rituals are various—depending on the particular problem that has to be solved or on the kind of the curse a client wishes to call down on his/her adversary. These, I think, are not subtypes but variants. On the other half, the consecration ritual has originally two subtypes: black shamans' and white shamans' consecrations, and recently, due to the growing number of candidates, sometimes black and white shamans are consecrated at the same time, and thus the third subtype—consecration for black and white shamans—emerged. The rituals that belong to the other large category, i.e. spirit-pleasing rituals, are joyous festivities, banquets intended to entertain the spirits on a regular basis, lest they feel neglected and vent their resentment on the shaman and the community. There are small-scale and large-scale spirit-pleasing rituals; the former are performed three times a month, always indoors, at the shaman's home, while large-scale spirit-pleasing rituals are conducted almost always outside, once a year. There is one exception, the Lunar New Year ritual, which is the first of those indoor rituals in the year that are performed three times a month; it tends to be large-scale though.

We can summarize the rituals a Mongolian Buriad shaman habitually performs as the following:

- Small-scale, indoor spirit-pleasing rituals are held three times a month in order to maintain the good relationship with spirits and to prevent them from wreaking vengeance on the shaman.

- The Lunar New Year ritual is conducted on the ninth day of the first lunar month. This is an annually held, large-scale version of the above type with the same purpose.
- Rituals performed at clients' requests: problem-solving rituals and imprecations. These rituals are the main sources of a shaman's income. The frequency of these kinds of performances varies, and entirely depends on how often the shaman is requested by clients.
- From April to October, a Mongolian Buriad shaman can take part in a number of annually held large-scale, communal sacrifices, which are attended by shamans from all over the country; consequently, they are not typically Buriad rituals. These are newly emerged rituals and are usually organized by shamanic associations at different sites in Mongolia. At these sites, the way Buriad shamans perform their rituals resembles how they perform a Lunar New Year or a consecration ritual.
- Once a year or in more years a Mongolian Buriad shaman goes through a consecration ritual and ascends in shamanic hierarchy. If a shaman is a master and conducts the ritual for his/her apprentices, s/he normally gets paid for it, and thus this ritual becomes another source of income to him/her.

If we examine the above types of rituals, we can find the relation between them. The spirit-pleasing ones are meant to prevent afflictions as well as guarantee the spirit's helpfulness in entreating rituals. If the spirits are well remembered and treated well, they will not only refrain from evil doing but they will be more willing to give what the shaman asks for on behalf of his/her clients. On the other hand, a shaman not only earns his/her living but secures his/her position in the community by performing problem-solving rituals (and also "problem-causing" imprecations). Finally, by going through more and more consecrations a shaman is allowed to perform more and more challenging rituals and solve more and more serious problems. In summary, the main purpose a shaman's practice serves is to solve clients' problems, and all the other (i.e. not problem-solving) rituals—though inevitable—are ancillary rituals in the sense that they are all intended to enable the shaman solving problems efficiently.

Appendices

Appendix 1. List of Shamanic Terms

The list below contains words and expressions that occur in the main body of the thesis and are connected to Mongolian shamanism. In the text, in many cases I found it important to give the exact words in which an informant expressed him/herself, even if these words are not at all connected to shamanism, but I think it would be unnecessary to translate them into Written Mongolian and transcribe them in Cyrillic; thus, they are not included in the list.

In the first column, the terms can be found in the form they occur in the text, in the second, the corresponding written Mongolian, in the third, the Cyrillic Xalx, and in the fourth, the Cyrillic Buriad form is given. When in the first column there is a written Mongolian form, it is not repeated in the second. The second column does not contain the Written Mongolian forms of those few words and expressions (for example: *xüdel*, *tulmaasha*, *tzodroo*) that do not occur in any of the known Written Mongolian dictionaries. Some words and expressions such as *daagai horibo* or *xatan baraanaa* are specific Buriad shamanic expressions and thus are not part of the Xalx vocabulary. These could be translated or transliterated into Xalx, but since their Xalx counterparts do not exist, it is deemed meaningless to render them in the third column. On the other hand, a number of Buriad shamanic expressions such as *yühenshen*, *yühengee xexe*, or *ami nahanai andaldaan* occur in their Xalxacised forms in Mongolian books and articles that deal with Buriad shamanism. Therefore, these forms can be found in the third column. The fourth column contains the Buriad form of only those terms that are connected to Buriad shamanism.

| ORIGINAL FORM | WRITTEN MONGOLIAN | CYRILLIC XALX | CYRILLIC BURIAD |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Abagaldai | Abayaldai | Авгалдай | Абагалдай |
| adis ögöx | adis ögkü | адис өгөх | |
| adislax | adislacu | адислах | адислаха |
| adyislaxa | adislacu | адислах | адислаха |
| agni | ayni | агни | |
| alchuur | alciyur | алчуур | алшуур |
| aldar | aldar | алдар | алдар |
| aliban | albin | албин | алибан |
| alsiig sarawchilax | alus-yi sarabcilaqu | алсыг саравчлах | |
| alsiig sarawchlax | alus-yi sarabcilaqu | алсыг саравчлах | |
| altan shawi | altan shabi | алтан шавь | алтан шаби |
| altan tzereg | altan jereg | алтан зэрэг | алтан зэрэг |
| altan tzergee xamgaalax | altan jereg-iyen qamγayalqu | алтан зэргээ хамгаалах | алтан зэргээ хамгаалаха |
| Altan Xöxii | Altan Kōküi | Алтан Хөхий | |
| altanganjir | altan γanjir | алтанганжир | |

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| aluursha | alayurcin | алуурчин | алууршан |
| aluurshan | alayurcin | алуурчин | алууршан |
| alx | alqa | алх | алха |
| alxa | alqa | алх | алха |
| aman xuur | aman quγur | аман хуур | |
| ami nahanai andaldaаn | amin nasun-u andaldaγan | амь насны андалдаан | ами наһанай андалдаан |
| ami nasnii andaldaаn | amin nasun-u andaldaγan | амь насны андалдаан | ами наһанай андалдаан |
| ami nasnii tzasal | amin nasun-u jasal | амь насны засал | |
| amiluulax | amilayulqu | амилуулах | амилуулаха |
| amiluulxa | amilayulqu | амилуулах | амилуулаха |
| amin torgoox | amin torγoγoqu | амин торгоох | |
| amita | amitu | амит | амита |
| amitai böö | ami-tai böge | амитай бөө | амитай бөө |
| arag yahanai xudlaga | aray yasun-u qudlaya | араг ясны худлага | араг яһанай худлага |
| argamjaa | arγamjiya | аргамжаа | аргамжаа |
| ariin arban gurban noyod | aru-yin arban γurban noyod | арын арван гурван ноёд | арын арбан гурбан ноёд |
| ariin arwan gurban noyod | aruyin arban γurban noyod | арын арван гурван ноёд | арын арбан гурбан ноёд |
| ars | arca | арц | арса |
| arsa | arca | арц | арса |
| arshaan | راسيان | аршаан | |
| arxaal'iin ezen | arqayali-yin ejin | архаалийн эзэн | архаалийн эзэн |
| arxaali | arqayali | архааль | архаали |
| arxaalit böö | arqayalitu böge | архаалит бөө | архаалита бөө |
| arxi | arkin | архи | архи |
| baga dürshig | baya dürsig | бага дүршиг | бага дүршиг |
| baga shanar | baya cinar | бага чанар | бага шанар |
| bagsh | bayši | багш | багша |
| bagsha | bayši | багш | багша |
| balt | balta | балт | балта |
| bardag | barday | бардаг | бардаг |
| bardagduulxa | bardaydayulqu | бардагдуулах | бардагдуулаха |
| bariach | bariyaci | бариац | баряаша |
| bariash | bariyaci | бариац | баряаша |
| bariasha | bariyaci | бариац | баряаша |
| baruunai tabin taban teneri | barayun-u tabin tabun tngri | барууны тавин таван тэнгэр | баруунай табин табан тэнгэри |
| baruunii tawin tawan tener | barayun-u tabin tabun tngri | барууны тавин таван тэнгэр | баруунай табин табан тэнгэри |
| bayag | bayaγ | баяг | баяг |
| Bayantzürx | Bayanjirüken | Баянзүрх | |
| bodon gaxai | bodon γaqai | бодон гахай | бодон гахай |

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|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Bogdhan | Boγdoqan | Богдхан | |
| böö | böge | бөө | бөө |
| böö mörgöl | böge mörgöl | бөө мөргөл | бөө мүргэл |
| bööd ützüülex | böge-dü üjegülkü | бөөд үзүүлэх | |
| böögei yüren yühen tangarag | böge-yin yirün yisün tangariγ | бөөгийн ерөн есөн тангараг | бөөгэй юрэн юһэн тангараг |
| böögiin emchilgee | böge-yin emcilegen | бөөгийн эмчилгээ | |
| böögiin öwchin | böge-yin ebedcin | бөөгийн өвчин | бөөгэй үбшэн |
| böögiin tayag | böge-yin tayay | бөөгийн таяг | |
| böölöldöön | bögeleldegen | бөөлөлдөөн | бөөлэлдөөн |
| böölöldöxö | bögeleldekü | бөөлөлдөх | бөөлэлдэхэ |
| bortogo | bortoyo | бортого | бортого |
| büjig | büjig | бүжиг | |
| buriad gutal | buriyad gutal | буриад гутал | |
| burhan | burqan | бурхан | бурхан |
| burhan garbalai shanar | burqan garbali-yin cinar | | бурхан гарбалай шанар |
| burhan garwal | burqan garbali | бурхан гарвал | бурхан гарбал |
| burhan garwalai temeen | burqan γarbal-un temegen | бурхан гарвалын тэмээ | бурхан гарбалай тэмээн |
| Burhan Xaldun | Burqan Qaldun | Бурхан Халдун | |
| burxashuud | burqaciud | бурхачууд | бурхашууд |
| bürxöör | bürker | бүрхээр | бүрхөөр |
| buumal | baγumal | буумал | буумал |
| buumal sagaan xonxo | baγumal caγan qongqu | буумал цагаан хонх | буумал сагаан хонхо |
| buux | baγuqu | буух | бууха |
| Buxa Noyon | Buqa Noyon | Бух Ноён | Буха Ноён |
| buyan guix | buyan γuyiqu | буян гуйх | буян гуйх |
| buyan xishig | buyan kesig | буян хишиг | |
| buyan xishig duudax | buyan kesig dayudaqu | буян хишиг дуудах | |
| cacal | cacal | цацал | касал |
| Cagaadai Aaw | Caγadai Aba | Цагаатай Аав | |
| Cagaan Öwgön | Caγan Ebügen | Цагаан Өвгөн | Сагаан Үбгэн |
| cagaan sar | caγan sara | цагаан сар | сагаан һара |
| cagaan tos | caγan tosun | цагаан тос | сагаан тоһо |
| Cagaan Xürmen Tenger | Caγan Kürmen Tngri | Цагаан Хүрмэн Тэнгэр | |
| cagaanii böö | caγan-u böge | цагааны бөө | сагаанай бөө |
| Canxilan Eej | Cangkilang Eji | Цанхилан Ээж | |
| chandruu | cindarayū | чандруу | шандаруу |
| Chingeltei | Cinggel-tei | Чингэлтэй | |
| choijin from Tib. Chos-skyong | coyijung | чойжин | шойжон |
| chödör | cidür | чөдөр | шүдэр |

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|---|-------------------|----------------|------------------|
| chötgör | cïdkür | чөтгөр | шүтгэр |
| cinar | | чанар | шанар |
| cögc | cögöce | цөгц | |
| cooltuur | coyoltur | цоолтуур | соолтуур |
| cüüc | cüüce | цүүц | |
| daagai horibo | dayan-u sorbi | | даагай хорибо |
| daatgal | dayatqal | даатгал | даатхал |
| daatgax | dayadqaqu | даатгах | даатхаха |
| dagtai | day-tai | дагтай | дагтай |
| daiban xara xese | dayibun qara kece | дайван хар хэц | дайбан хара хэсэ |
| dalan xeltei | dalan kele-tei | далан хэлтэй | далан хэлэтэй |
| dallaga | dalalya | даллага | |
| dallax | dalalqu | даллах | |
| Damdin Dorlig (Tib. rta-mrgin dor-legs) | Damdin Dorliy | Дамдин Дорлиг | Дамдин Дорлиг |
| damjilga | damjilya | дамжилга | дамжилга |
| darj saġaan | dang cayan | дан цагаан | дан сагаан |
| Dari ex | Dara eke | Дарь эх | |
| darxanii xaich | darqan-u qayici | дарханы хайч | |
| dashuulan | dasiyulun | дашуулан | дашуулан |
| deej | degeji | дээж | дээжэ |
| deej örgöx | degeji ergükü | дээж өргөх | дээжэ үргэхэ |
| deel | degel, debel | дээл | дэгэл |
| deezh | degeji ergükü | дээж | дээжэ |
| degdeelge | degdegelge | дэгдээлгэ | дэгдээлгэ |
| degee | degegen | дэгээ | дэгээн |
| degel | degel | дээл | дэгэл |
| derbelge | derbilge | дэрвэлгэ | дэрбэлгэ |
| derbilge | derbilge | дэрвэлгэ | дэрбэлгэ |
| derweleg | derbilge | дэрвэлгэ | дэрбэлгэ |
| dolig | doliy | долиг | долиг |
| doliowor | doliyaburi | долоовор | долёобор |
| doloon burxad | doloyan burqad | долоон бурхад | |
| doloon darxan | doloyan darqan | долоон дархан | |
| doloon mergen | doloyan mergen | долоон мэргэн | |
| dom | dom | дом | дом |
| dom tzasal | dom jasal | дом засал | |
| domch | domci | домч | домшо |
| Dorligtoi xün | Dorligtoi kümün | Дорлигтой хүн | Дорлигтой хүн |
| Dorlogoi yamaan | Dorliy-un imayan | Дорлигийн ямаа | Дорлигой ямаан |
| döröö | dörögen | дөрөө | дүрөө |
| dösh | dösi | дөш | дүшэ |

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| doshxon | doysin | догшин | дошхон |
| dotor taxilsha | dotor takilci | дотор тахилч | дотор тахилша |
| dugaraa barix | duyura bariqu | дугараа барих | духараа бариха |
| durdлага | durdalа | дурдлага | дурдлага |
| dürshig | dürsig | дүршиг | дүршэг |
| düşh | dösi | дөш | дүшэ |
| duudлага | dayudalа | дуудлага | дуудлага |
| düüren böö | dügüreng böge | дүүрэн бөө | дүүрэн бөө |
| duxaraa | duyura | дугараа | духараа |
| eej modnii taxilga | eji modun-u takilya | ээж модны тахилга | |
| elgebshe | elgebcı | элгэвч | элгэбшэ |
| em | em | эм | эм |
| Emch tenger | Emci tngri | Эмч тэнгэр | |
| erleg nexel | erleg nekel | эрлэг нэхэл | |
| Erleg хаан | Erlig qayan | Эрлэг хаан | |
| erxii | erkei | эрхий | эрхэй |
| eseg shandruu | ecige cidaragu | эцэг чандруу | эсэгэ шандаруу |
| esege modon | ecige modun | эцэг мод | эсэгэ модо |
| etzen | ejin | эзэн | эзэн |
| exe derbelge | eke derbilge | эх дэрвэлгэ | эхэ дэрбэлгэ |
| exe modon | eke modun | эх мод | эхэ модо |
| exe shanar | eke cinar | эх чанар | эхэ шанар |
| exiin sagaan shanar | eke-yin cagan cinar | | эхийн сагаан шанар |
| ezen | ejin | эзэн | эзэн |
| gacuur | γacura | гацуур | хасуури |
| gadana taxilsha | γadana takilci | гадна тахилч | гадана тахилша |
| gadas | γadasun | гадас | гадахан |
| Galai Xaan | Galai Qayan | Галын Хаан | |
| galiin ongodiig taxix | γal-un ongyod-i takiqu | Галын онгодыг тахих | |
| galiin taxilga | γal-un takilya | галын тахилга | галай тахилга |
| Galiin Tenger | Gal-un Tngri | Галын Тэнгэр | |
| Galiin Ulaan saxius | Gal-un Ulayan sakiyulsun | Галын Улаан сахиус | |
| ganga | γangyan | ганга | ганга |
| gantzaga | γanjuγa | ганзага | |
| gar manjig | γar manjiγ | гар манжиг | |
| garid shuwuu | γarudi sibayun | гарьд шувуу | гарди шубуу |
| gariin ongon | γar-un ongyon | гарын онгон | |
| geriin ongod taxix | ger-ün ongyod takiqu | гэрийн онгод тахих | |
| gezgebshe | gejigebci | гээгэвч | гээгэбшэ |
| golomt | γolomta | голомт | гуламта |
| gur | γura | гур | гура |

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| gürteŋ (Tib. Skur-ten) | gürtüng | гүртэн | гүртэн |
| gürwel | gürbel | гүрвэл | гүрбэл |
| gutaar aris | γutari arasun | гутаар арьс | гутаар архан |
| gutaar zagaha | γutari jiyasun | гутаар загас | гутаар загахан |
| gutaar zagahanai arha | γutari jiyasun-u arasun | гутаар загасны арьс | гутаар загаханай арха |
| gutaar zagas | γutari jiyasun | гутаар загас | гутаар загахан |
| gutaari | γutari | гутаар | гутаар |
| Gal tngri | | Гал тэнгэр | |
| Gal γolumta eke | | Гал голомт эх | |
| Gal-un burqan | | Галын бурхан | |
| Gal-un eke | | Галын эх | |
| Gal-un qaγan | | Галын хаан | |
| halaa | salaya | салаа | халаа |
| haŋ | sang | сан | хан |
| haxiuhan | sakiγulsun | сахиус | хахиуһан |
| helem | seleme | сэлэм | хэлэмэ |
| heleme | seleme | сэлэм | хэлэмэ |
| holongo | solongyo | солонго | холонго |
| horibo | sorbi | сорив | хорибо |
| hübee | sübegen | сүвээ | хүбөө |
| hün | sün | сүү | хүүн |
| hur shoro | sur siro? | сур шор | хур шоро |
| id shid | ide sidü | ид шид | эди шэди |
| id shidy | ide sidü | ид шид | эди шэди |
| idee | idegen | идээ | эдеэн |
| idelcex | idelcekü | идэлцэх | еделсэхэ |
| idyeen | idegen | идээ | эдеэн |
| idyildee xarwaldaan | ideldegen qarbaldayan | идэлдээ харвалдаа | эделдээн харбалдаан |
| ilüür | ilegür | илүүр | илюүр |
| inder | inder | индэр | ендэр |
| jad | jida | жад | жад |
| jandaguud | | | жандагууд |
| jargal | jiryal | жаргал | |
| jasalya | | засал | заһал |
| jigüür | jigür | жигүүр | жэгүүр |
| jodoo | jodoo | жодоо | жодоо |
| joliγ | | золиг | золиг |
| lantuu | lantuu | лантуу | лантуу |
| luu | luu | луу | луу |
| magtaal | maytaγal | магтаал | |
| magtaalch | maytaγaalci | магтаалч | |

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|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| maixabsha | mayiqabci | майхавч | майхабша |
| maixawshit böö | mayiqabcitu böge | майхавчит бөө | майхабшата бөө |
| manaasha | manayaci | манаач | манааша |
| manj (Tib. mang-ja) | manja | манж | |
| matar zagaha | matar jiyasun | матар загас | матар загahan |
| mendiin üg | mendü-yin üge | мэндийн үг | |
| mendlex | mendülekü | мэндлэх | |
| merег төлөг | merge төлге | мэрэг төлөг | |
| mergen | mergen | мэргэн | |
| mes | mese | мэс | |
| minaa | | | минаа |
| modon morin horibi | modon morin sorbi | | модон морин хорибо |
| moil xara maixabsha | moyil qara mayiqabci | мойл хар майхавч | мойл хара майхабша |
| mordoxo | mordaqu | мордох | мордохо |
| mori seterlex | morin seterlekü | морь сэтэрлэх | морин хэтэрлэхэ |
| morin horibo | morin sorbi | | морин хорибо |
| morin xoribi | morin sorbi | морин сориби | морин хорибо |
| morin xuur | morin quγur | морин хуур | |
| muna | muna | муна | муна |
| müngen morin horibo | mönggen morin sorbi | | мүнгэн морин хорибо |
| naadam | naγadam | наадам | наадам |
| naimangaa xexe | nayiman-ıyan kekü | найманаа хийх | наймангаа хэхэ |
| nairlaga | nayirlaya | найрлага | найрлага |
| narnii taxilga | naran-u takilya | нарны тахилга | |
| nayan naiman naliıwa | nayan nayiman ? | наян найман | hалаа |
| nexel | nekel | нэхэл | |
| nexel üg | nekel üge | нэхэл үг | |
| nogoon burxad | noγoγan burqad | ногоон бурхад | ногоон бурхад |
| noitlohon böö | noyitoluγsan böge | нойтлосон бөө | нойтлоhon бөө |
| nomo | nomun | ном | номо |
| nomo homo | numun sumun | нум сум | номо homo |
| noyid | noyod | ноёд | ноёд |
| num sum | numun sumun | нум сум | номо homон |
| nümerge | nömörge | нөмрөг | нүмэргэ |
| öchil | öcil | өчил | |
| ochir | vcir | очир | ошор |
| ödör böölöx | edür bögelekü | өдөр бөөлөх | |
| Odqan Ƣalaiqan | | | |
| Odqan ƣalaiqan eke | | | |
| ogtorguin xoyor xöx mori | oγtaryui-yin qoyar köke morin | огторгуйн хоёр хөх морь | |

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| oixonii arwan gurwan noyod | oyiqun-u arban yurban noyod | ойхоны арван гурван ноёд | ойхоной арбан гурбан ноёд |
| olbog | olboy | олбог | олбог |
| oltz omog | olja omoy | олз омог | |
| om mani badme xum | | ум мани бадме хун | ум мани бадме хун |
| omgiin uraa | omoy-un uriya | омгийн уриа | омогой уряа |
| ongoc | ongyocan | онгоц | онгосон |
| ongodiig duudax | ongyod-yi dayudaqu | онгодыг дуудуах | |
| ongodiin unaa | ongyod-un unaya | онгодын унаа | |
| ongodiin xölög | ongyod-un kölüg | онгодын хөлөг | |
| ongodoo cailax | ongyod-iyān cailaqu | онгодоо цайлах | |
| ongodoo degdeexe | ongyod-iyān degdegekü | онгодоо дэгдээх | онгодоо дэгдээхэ |
| ongodoo morduulax | ongyod-iyān mordayulqu | онгодоо мордуулах | онгодоо мордуулха |
| ongon | ongyon | онгон | онгон |
| ongon garax | ongyon yaraqu | онгон гарах | онгон гараха |
| ongon orox | ongyon oroqu | онгон орох | онгон орохо |
| ongos | ongyocan | онгоц | онгосон |
| ongoso | ongyocan | онгоц | онгосон |
| orgoi | oryoi | оргой | оргой |
| orgoit böö | oryoitu böge | оргойт бөө | оргойто бөө |
| orgoito böö | oryoitu böge | оргойт бөө | оргойто бөө |
| örgöl barix | ergül bariqu | өргөл барих | үргэл бариха |
| oron delxiin örgöl | oron delekei-yin ergül | орон дэлхийн өргөл | орон дэлэхэйн үргэл |
| oron delxiin örgöl | oran delekei-yin ergül | орон дэлхийн өргөл | орон дэлэхэйн үргэл |
| orow | | оров | |
| orshix | orsiqu | орших | |
| Otgon Tenger | Otyon Tngri | Отгон Тэнгэр | |
| otxon | odqan | отгон | одхон |
| öwchin trowthlongiin üüdiig хаах | ebedcin jobalang-un egüden-yi qayaqu | өвчин зовлонгийн үүдийг хаах | |
| öwgön doloон od | ebügen doloyn odun | өвгөн долоон од | |
| owog uraa | oboy uriya | овог уриа | |
| owoo | oboyan | овоо | обоо |
| oyodliin ilüür | oyodal-un ilegür | оёдлын илүүр | |
| oyodliin xaich | oyodal-un qayici | оёдлын хайч | |
| qan | | хан | хан |
| qatun | | хатан | хатан |
| qayan | | хаан | хаан |
| sabdag | sabday | савдаг | сабдаг |
| sagaan | cayan | цагаан | сагаан |
| sagaan böögei түрлэг | cayan böge-yin түрлэг | цагаан бөөгийн түрлэг | сагаан бөөгэй түрлэг |
| sagaan idee | cayan idegen | цагаан идээ | сагаан эдээн |

| Sagaan Üwgön | Caγan Ebügen | Цагаан Өвгөн | Сагаан Үбгэн |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| sagaan zügei böö | caγan jüg-ün böge | цагаан зүгийн бөө | сагаан зүгэй бөө |
| sagaanii ugaalga | caγan-u uγaγaγa | цагааны угаалга | сагаанай угаалга |
| sai | cai | цай | сай |
| salaa | salaya | салаа | һалаа |
| salama | calama | цалам | салама |
| saγ | sang | сан | һан |
| saxius | sakiγulsun | сахиус | һахиуһан |
| selem | seleme | сэлэм | һэлэмэ |
| selüür | seligür | сэлүүр | һэлүүр |
| serge | cerig | цэрэг | сэргэ |
| serge modon | cerig modun | цэрэг мод | сэргэ модо |
| serjim | serjim | сэржим | сэржэм |
| seter (Tib. c'e thar) | seter | сэтэр | |
| seter ariulax yos | seter ariγulqu yosun | сэтэр ариулах ёс | һэтэр арюулаха ёһон |
| seterlesen mori | seterlegsен morin | сэтэрлэсэн морь | |
| shagaita | siγaitu | шагайт | шагайта |
| shanar | cinar | чанар | шанар |
| shanartai böö | cinar-tai böge | чанартай бөө | шанартай бөө |
| shandaga | cindaya | чандага | шандаган |
| shandruu | cindaraγu | чандруу | шандаруу |
| shandruu nerexe | cindaraγu nerekü | чандруу нэрэх | шандаруу нэрэхэ |
| shandruu nerexe | cindaraγu nerekü | чандруу нэрэх | шандаруу нэрэхэ |
| shanga | cingya | чанга | шанга |
| shar tos | sira tosun | шар тос | |
| shariin böö | sira-yin böge | шарын бөө | шарай бөө |
| shariin böö | sira-yin böge | шарын бөө | шарай бөө |
| shariin shashin | sira-yin shasin | шарын шашин | шарай шажан |
| sharuuha | siruyus? | шаруус | шарууһа |
| shat | sita | шат | шата |
| shata | sita | шат | шата |
| shaxaγ | siqang? | шахан | шахан |
| shenii yühen | sine-yin yisün | шиний есөн | шэнэй юһэн |
| sherbүүлge | sirbigülge | ширвүүлгэ | шэрбүүлгэ |
| Shiliin Bogd | Sil-ün Boydo | Шилийн Богд | |
| shireetei böö | sirege-tei böge | ширээтэй бөө | шэрээтэй бөө |
| shönö böölöx | söni bögelekü | шөнө бөөлөх | |
| shuhan ugaalga | cisun uγaγaγa | цусан угаалга | шуһан угаалга |
| shulam | silum | шулам | шулам |
| shulam chötgör | silmu cidkür | шулам чөтгөр | шулам шүтгэр |
| shütgör | cidkür | чөтгөр | шүтгэр |

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|------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| shüühe | sigüsün | шүүс | шүүхэн |
| Songino Xairxan | Songgino Qayirqan | Сонгино Хайрхан | |
| soorxoi | coyorqai | цоорхой | цоорхой |
| soozh | coyojin | цоож | соожо |
| süld | sülde | сүлд | хүлдэ |
| sum | sumun | сум | хомон |
| sumnaar | | сумнаар | сумнаар |
| süns | sünesün | сүнс | хүнэхэн |
| süns duudax | sünesün dayudaqu | сүнс дуудах | хүнэхэн дуудаха |
| sünsnii xadag | sünesün-ü qaday | сүнсний хадаг | |
| Sutai Xairxan | Sutai Qayirqan | Сутай хайрхан | |
| süü | sün | сүү | хүү |
| süütei cai | sü-tei cai | сүүтэй цай | хүүтэй сай |
| süx | süke | сүх | хүхэ |
| tailaga sagaan temeen | tayilya cayan temegen | тайлга цагаан тэмээ | тайлага сагаан тэмээн |
| tailga | tayilyan | тайлган | тайлаган |
| tailgan | tayilyan | тайлган | тайлаган |
| takilya | | тахилга | тахилга |
| tamlaga | tamalaya | тамлага | |
| tarmuur | | тармуур | тармуур |
| tarni | tarni | тарни | тарни |
| tashuur | tasiyur | ташуур | ташуур |
| tasiin öd | tasu-yin ödü | тасын өд | |
| tataj unadag öwchin | tataju unuday ebedcin | татаж унадаг өвчин | |
| tawgiin idee | cerig | тавгийн идээ | |
| tawgiin tawan idee | tabay-un tabun idegen | тавгийн таван идээ | |
| taxilaa degdeexe | takil-yan degdegegekü | тахилаа дэгдээх | тахилаа дэгдээхэ |
| taxilaa örgöx | takil-yan ergükü | тахилаа өргөх | тахилаа үргэхэ |
| taxilga | takilya | тахилга | тахилга |
| taxilgat uul | takilyatu ayula | тахилгат уул | |
| taxilsha | takilci | тахилч | тахилша |
| taxix | takiqu | тахих | тахиха |
| tayilgan | tayilyan | тайлган | тайлаган |
| tenex | tenekü | тэнэх | тэнэхэ |
| tenger | tngri | тэнгэр | тэнгэри |
| tenger ix noyod | tngri yeke noyod | тэнгэр их ноёд | |
| tengeri böö | tngri böge | тэнгэр бөө | тэнгэри бөө |
| Tengeriin Sülder | Tngri-yin Sülder | Тэнгэрийн Сүлдэр | |
| tengeriin üüd neegdexе | tngri-yin egüden negegedekü | тэнгэрийн үүд нээгдэх | тэнгэрийн үүдэ нээгдэхэ |
| tengeriin üüd xaagdaxa | tngri-yin egüden qayaydaqy | тэнгэрийн үүд хаагдах | тэнгэрийн үүдэ хаагдаха |

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| tengerüüd | tngrüüd | тэнгэрүүд | |
| tiirendex | teyirengdekü | тийрэндэх | тийрэндэхэ |
| tiireŋ (Tib. The'u-rang) | teyireng | тийрэн/тээрэн | тийрэн |
| tögrög | tögerig | төгрөг | |
| toibuur | toyibur | тойвуур | тойбуур |
| toli | tolin | толь | толин |
| tömör cagirag | temür cayariŋ | төмөр цагираг | түмэр сагариг |
| tömör gadas | temür yadasun | төмөр гадас | түмэр гадаһан |
| tömör morin horibi | temür morin sorbi | | түмэр морин хорибо |
| tömör orgoi | temür oryoi | төмөр оргой | түмэр оргой |
| töo xar saxaltai | töge qara saqal-tai | төө хар сахалтай | төө хара хахалтай |
| töolei tawix | tögelei talbiqu | төөлэй тавих | төөлэй табиха |
| töörög xayax | tögerge qayaqu | төөрөг хаях | төөрэг хаяха |
| töörög xayax | tögerge qayaqu | төөрөг хаях | төөрэг хаяха |
| töörög xayaxa | tögerge qayaqu | төөрөг хаях | төөрэг хаяха |
| töörögt mörgöx | tögerge-dü mörgökü | төөрөгт мөргөх | төөрөгтэ мүргэхэ |
| torgo | toryon | торго | торгон |
| töriin golomt | törö-yin yolomta | төрийн голомт | |
| töriin taxilga | törö-yin takilya | төрийн тахилга | |
| töriin taxilgat uul | törö-yin takilyatu ayula | төрийн тахилгат уул | |
| torx | torqo | торх | торхо |
| töxöryöön ulaan nüürtei | tökeriyen ulayan niyur-tai | төхөрөөн улаан нүүртэй | түхэрөөн улаан нюүртэй |
| tulmaash | | тулмаач | тулмааша |
| tulmaasha | | тулмаач | тулмааша |
| tülxiür | tülgekür | түлхүүр | түлхюүр |
| tülxüür | tülgekür | түлхүүр | түлхюүр |
| tümer xun horibo | temür kümün sorbi | | түмэр хүн хорибо |
| tüshee | tüsiye | түшээ | түшөө |
| tüshöo | tüsiye | түшээ | түшөө |
| tüüdegshen | tügüdegcin | түүдэгчин | түүдэгшэн |
| tuulich | tuulici | туульч | |
| tzalaa | jalaya | залаа | залаа |
| tzalaagaa awax | jalaya-iyān abuqu | залаагаа авах | залаагаа абаха |
| tzalaalax | jalayalaqu | залаалах | залаалаха |
| tzalaalax | jalayalaqu | залаалах | залаалаха |
| tzalaalax | jalayalaqu | залаалах | залаалаха |
| tzalaat böo | jalayatu böge | залаат бөө | залаата бөө |
| tzalbiral | jalbaril | залбирал | |
| Tzambu tiw (Uygur cambudvib) | Jambu tib | Замбуу тив | Замбуу түб |
| tzasal | jasal | засал | заһал |

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| tzasax | jasaqu | засах | захаха |
| tzayaa töörög | jayayan tögerge | заяа төөрөг | |
| tzayaan | jayayan | заяан | заяан |
| tzodroo | | зодроо | зодороо |
| tzolgox | jolyaqu | золгох | золгохо |
| tzō᠓ sowi᠓ | jōng sobing | зөн совин | |
| tzowlo᠓ | jobalang | зовлон | |
| tzul | jula | зул | зула |
| tzüld | jildü, jülde | зүлд | зүлдэ |
| tzüünii döchin dörwön tenger | Jegün-ü döcin dörben tngri | зүүний дөчин дөрвөн тэнгэр | зүүнэй дүшэн дүрбэн тэнгэри |
| tzuram | juram-a | зурам | зурам |
| udgan | idu᠑an | удган | одигон |
| ug | u᠑ | уг | уг |
| ug garwal | u᠑ ᠑arbal | уг гарвал | уг гарбал |
| ugaa barixa | u᠑-iyan bariqu | угаа барих | угаа бариха |
| ugaalga | u᠑a᠑a᠑a | угаалга | угаалга |
| ugaaliin deej | U᠑a᠑al-un degeji | угаалын дээж | угаалай дээжэ |
| ugai yixe garwal | U᠑-un yeke ᠑arbal | угийн их гарвал | угай ехэ гарбал |
| üglegein ezen | ögelge-yin ejin | өглөгийн эзэн | |
| ügligeen ezen | ögelge-yin ejin | өглөгийн эзэн | |
| ugnuud | u᠑nu᠑ud | угнууд | угнууд |
| uhan ugaalga | usun u᠑a᠑a᠑a | усан угаалга | уһан угаалга |
| ulaash | ulayacin | улаач | улааша |
| üleej ögöx | üliyejü ögkü | үлээж өгөх | үлээжэ үгэхэ |
| umtzad | umjad | умзад | умзад |
| unaa | unaya | унаа | |
| unaatai böölöx | unaya-tai bögelekü | унаатай бөөлөх | |
| unagan horibo | unayan sorbi | | унаган хорибо |
| unshlaga | umsilya | уншлага | |
| ür xüüxed guix | ür keüked ᠑uyuqu | үр хүүхэд гуйх | |
| uram | Urm-a | урам | урам |
| ürgöö | örgöge | өргөө | юреө |
| ursa | urca | урц | урса |
| utax | utagu | утах | утаха |
| utlaga | utlaya | утлага | утлага |
| utlaga | utlaya | утлага | утлага |
| utlaga | utlaya | утлага | утлага |
| ützleg | üjelge | үзлэг | үзлэг |
| ützleg xelex | üjelge kelekü | үзлэг хэлэх | |
| uuc | u᠑uca | ууц | ууса |

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|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| üülen amitai | egülen ami-tai | үүлэн амитай | үүлэн амитай |
| üülen amitai | egülen ami-tai | үүлэн амитай | үүлэн амитай |
| uuliin etzen | ayula-yin ejin | уулын эзэн | |
| üür modon | egür modun | үүр мод | үүр модо |
| uurag hüül | uyuray segül | уураг сүүл | уураг һүүл |
| uusa | uyuca | ууц | ууса |
| uxaan aldax | uqayan aldaqu | ухаан алдах | |
| üxeer | ükeger | үхээр | үхөөр |
| üxeeriig gargana | ükeger-i yargana | үхээрийг гаргана | |
| üxel xagasal | ükül qayacal | үхэл хагацал | үхэл хагасал |
| üxöör хахаар | ükeger/üküger qaqayar | үхээр хахаар | үхөөр хахаар |
| üyen | üyeng | үен | үен |
| üzleg | üjelge | үзлэг | үзлэг |
| xaan | qayan | хаан | хаан |
| xabshig | qabsiy | хавчиг | хабшиг |
| xadag | qaday | хадаг | хадаг |
| xaish | qayici | хайч | хайша |
| xaluun shar burxan garwal | qalayun sira burqan yarbal | халуун шар бурхан гарвал | |
| xamba tongon xabshuulga | qamba torqon qabsiyurqa | хамба торгон хавчуурга | хамба торгон хабшуулга |
| xamnigan garbalai shanar | qamniyan garbali-yin cinar | | хамниган гарбалай шанар |
| xan | qan | хан | хан |
| xan'iin tzayaa duudax | qani-yin jayayan dayudaqu | ханийн заяа дуудах | |
| xar | qara | хар | хара |
| xar cagaan xoyoriig xawsarsan böö | qara cayan qoyar-yi qabsarayсан böge | хар цагаан хоёрыг хавсарсан бөө | хара цагаан хоёрыг хавсарсан бөө |
| xar tzüg | qara jüg | хар зүг | хара зүг |
| xar xoshuu daawuu | qara qosiyun dabu | хар хошуу даавуу | хара хошуу даабуу |
| xar yamaanii cusan xaraal | qara imayan-u cisun qariyal | хар ямааны цусан хараал | |
| xara böögei türleg | qara böge-yin türleg | хар бөөгийн түрлэг | хара бөөгэй түрлэг |
| xara sagaaniiye xabsarhan böö | qara cayan-yi qabsaragsan böge | хар цагааныг хавсарсан бөө | хара цагааныг хавсарсан бөө |
| xara talai böö | qara tala-yin böge | хар талын бөө | хара талай бөө |
| xara üder | qara edür | хар өдөр | хара үдэр |
| xara zügei böö | qara jüg-ün böge | хар зүгийн бөө | хара зүгэй бөө |
| xaraal | qariyal | хараал | хараал |
| xaraal xariulax | qariyal qariyulqu | хараал хариулах | хараал харюулаха |
| xaraal xij böölöx | qariyal kejü bögelekü | хараал хийж бөөлөх | |
| xaraal zhatxa | qariyal jitya | хараал жатга | хараал жатха |
| xarain böö | qara-yin böge | харын бөө | харын бөө |

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| xaranxui oron | qarangqui oron | харанхуй орон | |
| xaranxui yörtönc | qarangqui yirtimcü | харанхуй ертөнц | |
| xariin böö | qara-yin böge | харын бөө | харын бөө |
| xariin ugaalga | qara-yin uγaγaγa | харын угаалга | харын угаалга |
| xarwal | qarbal | харвал | харбал |
| xasuur | qasur | хасуур | хahyуур |
| xatan | qatun | хатан | хатан |
| xatan baraanaa | | | |
| xatuu | qatayu | хатуу | хатуу |
| xatuu shanga xereg xiix | qatayu cingya kereg kekü | хатуу чанга хэрэг хийх | хатуу шанга хэрэг хэхэ |
| xeeriin ongod taxix | keger-ün onγod takiqu | хээрийн онгод тахих | |
| xel aman | kelen aman | хэл ам | хэлэ ама |
| xel xuur | kele quγur | хэл хуур | |
| xelmershe | kelemerci | хэлмэрч | хэлмэршэ |
| xengereg surgax | kenggereγ suryaqu | хэнгэрэг сургах | |
| xengeregtei böölöx | kenggereγ-tei bögelekü | хэнгэрэгтэй бөөлөх | хэнгэрэгтэй бөөлэхэ |
| xereenii sawar | keriyen-ü sabar | хэрээний савар | хэрээнэй habар |
| xereg xiix | kereg kekü | хэрэг хийх | хэрэг хэхэ |
| xerem | keremün | хэрэм | хэрэмэн |
| xese | kece | хэц | хэсэ |
| xesete böö | kecetü böge | хэцэт бөө | хэсэтэ бөө |
| xesetei böö | kece-tei böge | хэцтэй бөө | хэсэтэй бөө |
| xii arwan xoyor salaa | kei arban qoyar salaya | хий арван хоёр салаа | хий арбан хоёр hалаа |
| xii salaa | kei salaya | хий салаа | хий hалаа |
| xiimori | kei mori, kimori | хийморь | |
| xiimorio sergeex | kei mori/kimori ban sergekü | хийморио сэргээх | |
| xöggjim | köggjim | хөгжим | |
| xoimor | qoyimor, qoyimar | хоймор | хоймор |
| xolbogo | qolboγa | холбог | холбого |
| xolbogto horibo | qolboyatu sorbi | | холбогто хорибо |
| xonxo | qongqo | хонх | хонхо |
| xonxotoi böö | qongqo-tai böge | хонхтой бөө | хонхотой бөө |
| xöö xar nüdtei | kö qara nidü-tei | хөө хар нүдтэй | хөө хара нюдэтэй |
| xöö xuyag | kö quyaγ | хөө хуяг | |
| xööreldöön | kögerüldügen | хөөрөлдөөн | хөөрөлдөөн |
| xori buriadai arban nege esege | qori buriad-un arban nige ecige | хорь буриадын арван нэг эцэг | хори буряадай арбан нэгэ эсэгэ |
| xoriw | sorbi | хорив | хорибо |
| xöx Manaxan bayalgiin tenger | köke Manaγan bayalay-un tngri | хөх Манахан баялгийн тэнгэр | |
| Xöx Mönx Tenger | Köke Möngkü Tngri | Хөх Мөнх Тэнгэр | Хүхэ Мүнхэ Тэнгэри |

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| xüdel | küdel? | хүдэл | |
| xül horibo | köl sorbi | | хүл хорибо |
| xüler müngön garxi | kürül mönggen gariki | хүрэл мөнгөн гархи | хүлэр мүнгэн гархи |
| xulгаа | qulayayı | хулгай | |
| xün horibi | kümün sorbi | | хүн хорибо |
| xünd | kündü | хүнд | хүндэ |
| xünde | kündü | хүнд | хүндэ |
| xüngen | könggön | хөнгөн | хүнгэн |
| xünii xereg xiix | kümün-ü kereg kekü | хүний хэрэг хийх | хүнэй хэрэг хэхэ |
| xurai | qurui | хурай | хурай |
| xurailga | quruiyla | хурайлга | |
| Xurmastiin dagina | Qurmasta-yin dagina | Хурмастын дагина | |
| xürzhe | kürji | хүрж | хүржэ |
| xutag | qutuy | хутаг | хутаг |
| xuurai ugaalga | qayurai uyayalya | хуурай угаалга | хуурай угаалга |
| xüüxdiin tzayaa | keüked-ün jayayan | хүүхдийн заяа | |
| xuwcas xuyagaa ömsöx | qubcasun quyaγ-ıyan emüskü | хувцас хуягаа өмсөх | |
| Xüxe Münxe Tengeri | Köke Möngkü Tngri | Хөх Мөнх Тэнгэр | Хүхэ Мүнхэ Тэнгэри |
| xüxe xamba nümerge | köke qamba nömörge | хөх хамба нөмрөг | хүхэ хамба нүмэргэ |
| xüxe xamba nümörgö | köke qamba nömörge | хөх хамба нөмрөг | хүхэ хамба нүмэргэ |
| xüxeerıin butzar | kükeger-ün bujar | хүхээрийн бузар | |
| xuyag zebseg | quyaγ jebseg | хуяг зэвсэг | хуяг зэбсэг |
| xuyag zewseg | quyaγ jebseg | хуяг зэвсэг | хуяг зэбсэг |
| xuyagıaj böölöx | quyaγıaju bögelekü | хуяглаж бөөлөх | хуяглажа бөөлэхэ |
| yabagan horibo | yabayan sorbi | | ябаган хорибо |
| yadam (Tib. yid-dam) | ıdam | ядам | |
| yas | yasun | яс | яһан |
| yawgan böölöx | yabuγan bögelekü | явган бөөлөх | |
| yengüü | yengü? | енгүү | енгүү |
| yexe amita | yeke amita | их амит | ехэ амита |
| yinder | ınder | индэр | ендэр |
| yısen dawaa | yısün dabaya | есөн даваа | |
| yısen dawaa dawax | yısün dabaya dabaqu | есөн даваа давах | |
| yısün dabaya | | есөн даваа | |
| yıxe amita | yeke amitu | их амит | ехэ амита |
| yıxe dürshig | yeke dürsig | их дүршиг | ехэ дүршиг |
| yodoroo | | зодроо | зодороо |
| yoho | yosun | ёс | ёһон |
| yookor | yooqor | ёохор | ёохор |
| yooxor | yooqor | ёохор | ёохор |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| yörön yösön tenger | yiren yisün tngri | ерөн есөн тэнгэр | юрэн юһэн тэнгэри |
| yörööl | irügel | ерөөл | юрөөл |
| yörööl xellex | irügel kelekü | ерөөл хэлэх | юрөөл хэлэхэ |
| yösön tzoos | yisün joyos | есөн зоос | |
| yösön tzüliin tzemseg | yisün jüyile-yin jemseg | есөн зүйлийн зэмсэг | |
| yühen xeletei toibuur | yisün kele-tei toyibur | есөн хэлтэй тойвуур | юһэн хэлэтэй тойбуур |
| yühengöö xexe | yisün-iyen kekü | еснөө хийх | юһэнгөө хэхэ |
| yühenshen | yisüncin | есөнчин | юһэншэн |
| yühüngüüshin | yisüncin | есөнчин | юһэншэн |
| yürgexe | yürgekü | ергөх | юүрехэ |
| yürön yühön tangarag | yiren yisün tangγariγ | ерөн есөн тангараг | юрэн юһэн тангараг |
| yürööl | irügel | ерөөл | юрөөл |
| yürööhö | irügekü | ерөөх | юрөөхэ |
| yüryöö | yörgöge | ергөө | юреө |
| zaariṅ | jaγarin | заарин | заарин |
| zaariṅ | jaγaring | заарин | заарин |
| zaariṅ böö | jaγaring böge | заарин бөө | заарин бөө |
| zabdar | jabdar | завдар | забдар |
| zagalmai | jaγalmai | загалмай | загалмай |
| zalaagaa awax | Jalaγa-iyān abūqu | залаагаа авах | залаагаа абаха |
| zayaan | jaγayan | заяан | заяан |
| zebseg | jebseg | зэвсэг | зэбсэг |
| zhad | jida | жад | жад |
| zhandaguud | | | жандагууд |
| zhiliin möshlög | jil-ün möcilge | жилийн мөчлөг | жэлэй мүшлэг |
| zhodoo | jodoo | жодоо | жодоо |
| zhodootoi böö | jodootoi böge | жодоотой бөө | жодоотой бөө |
| zholoo | jiloya | жолоо | жолоо |
| zöölen | jögelen | зөөлөн | зөөлэн |
| zöölöbsh | jögelebcī | зөөлөвч | зөөлэбшэ |
| zöölön | jögelen | зөөлөн | зөөлэн |
| zul taxil | jula takil | зул тахил | зула тахил |
| zula | jula | зул | зула |
| zurxai xorin dūrwön taxil | jiruqayi qorin dörben takil | зурхай хорин дөрвөн тахил | зурхай хорин дүрбэн тахил |
| zurxain arwan taxil | jiruqai arban takil | зурхай арван тахил | зурхай арбан тахил |
| zurxain zurgaаn taxil | jiruqai jiryuyan takil | зурхай зургаан тахил | зурхай зургаан тахил |
| zürxēbshe | jirūkebcī | зүрхэвч | зүрхэбшэ |
| zürxen toli | jirūken toli | зүрхэн толь | зүрхэн толи |

Appendix 2. List of Mongolian Buriad Ritual Expressions

The list contains Mongolian Buriad expressions that frequently reoccur in shamanic rituals as parts of the communication between spirits and people. Most of these expressions are used by interpreters (in many cases they are also shamans) since mostly they are the ones who are in direct contact with the spirits and represent the participants during the ritual.

In the first column, the English translations of the expressions are listed. In the main body of the thesis, the English translations are given in bold, without the original Mongolian Buriad form so as to avoid the inconvenience of long brackets in the text. Instead, the Mongolian Buriad forms in Latin transliteration and also the Cyrillic Buriad ones can be found in the second and third columns respectively. It has to be noted that interpreters often improvise when talking to spirits, and therefore the expressions collected in the list are subject to various kinds of alteration including the combination of more expressions, addition and omission of certain parts and changing certain words for others, usually with similar sounding or meaning. The pronunciations of the expressions also vary due to the fact that the interpreters are not exclusively Buriads and even the Buriads' pronunciation is remarkably influenced by Xalx. Therefore, the Latin transliteration reflects the Mongolian Buriad pronunciation that can be heard on the relevant video footage.

| ENGLISH TRANSLATION | ORIGINAL FORM | BURIAD CYRILLIC |
|---|--|---|
| Amuse yourself and sit undisturbed! Stay long and drink! | Nam huuzh nairlagtii udaan huuzh undalagtii! | Нам хуужа найрлагты удаан хуужа ундалагты! |
| beautiful eternal candle | münxe haixan zul | мүнхэ хайхан зула |
| Be seated on your wide cushion! | Ürgön haixan olbog deeree huugtii daa! | Үргэн хайхан олбог дээрээ хуугты даа! |
| Be well known in the country and be famous among the masses! | Türde neretei түмэнде алдартай yawaaragtii! | Түрдэ нэрэтэй түмэндэ алдартай ябаарогты! |
| best parts of food | ideenii deezh | едээнэй дээжэ |
| Can't see what is looming and can't realize the deviation. | Baraixiig xaraxgüi, barxaixiig medexgüi. | Барайхые харахагүй бархайхые мэдэхгүй. |
| candles that have one hundred legs | zuun xültei zul | зуун хүлтэй зула |
| Come gently, like a noble, warmly, like a khan! | Noyon shig nomxon хаан shig xaluun zalragtii daa! | Ноён шэнги номхон хаан шэнги халуун залрагты! |
| Come without anger, without wrath but in a placid manner! | Usaargui дүлгөөхөн, uurgui nomxon zalragtii! | Усааргүй дүлгөөхэн уургүй номхон залрагты! |
| dairy of my sons and daughters | xüwüüd basgadai haam | хүбүүд басагадай хаам |
| elderly grey father | üwgön buural aaw | үбгэн буурал ааба |
| elderly grey mother | emgen buural eezh | эмгэн буурал эжий |
| Every place you step on may be pure, everywhere you walk may be bright! | Alxahan gazart ariuxan gishgehen gazart gerelteixen yawag daa! | Алхahan газарт ариухан гэшгээн газарт гэрэлтэйхэн ябаг даа! |
| fiery black drink | xatuu xar dugaraa | хатуу хар духараа |
| Golden-yellow tea | altan shargal sai | алтан шаргал сай |
| hold one another's hand and offer our luxurious food | gar garaa barilcaj gangan xooloo gargana | гар гараа барилсажа ганган хоолоо гаргана |
| hundred-year-old candles and nice eternal offerings | zuun nahatai zul münxe haixan taxilga | зуун нахатай зула мүнхэ хайхан тахилга |

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| I'm praying to you asking for good luck, I'm talking to you asking for blessing. | Zayaa guizh zalbirmaw yürööl guizh ügelbew. | Заяа гуйжа залбирнаб юрөөл гуйж үгэлбэб. |
| infant daughter | baga balshir basagan | бага балшар басаган |
| infant mediator | baga balshir ulaash | бага балшар улааша |
| infant small children | baga balshir xüüxdүүд | бага балшар хүүхдүүд |
| leaning against (his/her) right/left knee | baruun/tzүүн öwdögöndөө түшин suusan; baruun/zүүн üwdögöndөө түшин huugaa | баруун/зүүн үбдэгэндөө түшэн хууһан; баруун/зүүн үбдэгэндөө түшэн хуугаа |
| Leave by your ocean like milk! | Dalai hүүyөөрөө mordogtii! | Далай хүүеөрөө мордогты! |
| length of brocade and silk | xamba torgon xawshuulga | хатба торгон хабшуулга |
| May all of you be in peace and health! | Bultaarxan aa mend amoor! | Бултаархан аа мэнд амоор! |
| Please taste the red fore-milk! | Uurag ulaan hүүyee xürtegtii! | Уураг улаан хүүеэ хүртэгтий! |
| modern money | mүнөө üyiin müngö | мүнөө үеийн мүнгө |
| modern-time tobacco in paper armour | mүнөө üyiin saarhan хуягтай tamxi | мүнөө үеийн саархан хуягтай тамхи |
| My large crowd of apprentices! | Ürgön түмен zhandaguud miny! | Үргэн түмэн жандагууд минь! |
| Peace and health! | Mend amoor! | мэнд амоор! |
| Please take the finest of the hard black! | Xatuu xariin deezhee barigtii! | Хатуу харын дээжээ баригтий! |
| properly counted six offerings | zurxai zurgan taxil | зурхай зургаан тахил |
| properly counted ten offerings | zurxai arban taxil | зурхай арбан тахил |
| properly counted twenty-four offerings | Zurxai xorin дүрwөн taxil | зурхай хорин дүрбэн тахил |
| red-yellowish tea | Ulaan shargal sai | улаан шаргал сай |
| sandalwood table | agar zandan shiree | агар зандан шэрээн |
| savourous yellowish tea | aagtai shargal sai | аагтай шаргал сай |
| showering white brandy | aadar cagaan serzhim | аадар сагаан сэржэм |
| showering white milk | aadar sagan hүү | аадар сагаан хүү |
| Sit undisturbed and stay long and drink! | Udaan huuzh undalagtii! | Удаан хууж ундалагты! |
| skilful good mediator | uran haixan ulaash | уран хайхан улааша |
| small infant children | baga balshir xüüxdүүд | бага балшар хүүхдүүд |
| swan-white sheep | xun sagan xoni | хун сагаан хони |
| Take this money offering! | Müngön belgee barigtii! | Мүнгэн бэлгээ баригты! |
| Take your ocean-like milk! | Dalai hүүyee barigtii daa! | Далай хүүеэ баригты! |
| Take your yellow-red tea! | shar ulaixan saigaa barigtii! | Шара улайхан сайгаа баригты! |
| the black savage drink | doshxon xar dugaraa | дошхон хар духараа |
| the swaying of the eighths and swinging of the ninths | naimanai nagalga yühenei yürgelge | найманай хагалга юһэнэй юргэлгэ |
| tough black brandy | xatan xar arxi | хатан хара архи |
| water-eyed and blood-hearted | uhan nyüdtei shuhan zürxtei | уһан нүдэтэй шуһан зүрхэтэй |
| We recognize you and worship you! | Mүн gezh mürgözh baina taniig gezh tahizh baina! | Мүн гэж мүргэжэ байна танийе гэжэ тахижа байна! |
| When I come again be as rich as the ocean, when I return be as abundant as the spring! | Daxiad yirxedemnyi dalai shindy bayan busaad erexedemnye bulag shidy yix baigaaragtii! | Дахиад ерэхэдэмни далай шэнги баяан бусаад ерэхэдэмни булаг шэнги ехэ байгаарагты! |
| whole-world offering | oron delxein ürgöl | орон дэлэхэйн үргэл |

Appendix 3. Ritual Texts

Technical Notes to Appendix 3

This appendix contains the Latin transcription of ritual songs and other utterances that can be heard in the attached video and audio files. The parts of the texts that I translated in the corresponding chapters are given in bold. Every ritual has parts of songs and speech that I was unable to decipher even with the aid of native speakers and experts of this kind of ritual poetry. These inaudible parts (lines of songs, whole sentences, etc.) are indicated with: _____ [*unintelligible*].

When I could not identify a single word or I use: _____.

When I could not identify a word but heard some of its sounds, I use a two-unit-long underlining after, before or in the middle of the fragment I could hear; for example: __gee (the beginning of the word is missing), taxil__ (the end of the word is missing), Xa__daj (the middle of the word is missing).

When one or more words or sounds are not clearly pronounced or for other reasons I am not sure that I heard it correctly, the word(s) or sound(s) are put in parentheses (there are instances where what I heard is a word the meaning of which I know and others, where the word is seemingly meaningless); for example: (cutgaalaa).

In some places I found it useful to insert a brief note on certain non-verbal acts as well. These notes are put in square brackets and written in italics; for example: [*The spirit plays the Jew's harp.*] When somebody's name is mentioned in a song or during a ritual, in order to conceal the given person's name a similar text in square brackets is used: [*says her name*].

When a refrain or other phrase is repeated many times in a song, the same format is used with the below text: [*many times*].

Time codes in (min:sec) format refer to the place where a certain passage of the text can be found in the relevant video or audio file. The (min:sec--goes on) format indicates that the song or other utterance is still being sung or uttered, while another has already been started. (In these cases the next song or utterance makes the former inaudible or very difficult to understand.)

Texts in the appendices are partitioned to bigger sections, marked by a number followed by the reference to the relevant video file and title of the section. The mark is typed in bold. (Note that in some shorter texts this mark is omitted): **No.** (vNo.) **TITLE**.

These sections are also divided into smaller passages, marked by a bold **No.No.** format, sometimes with a short comment in bold small capitals. For example: **2.3 CONSULTING THE SPIRIT**. The first number is identical with that of the bigger section, of which the passage is a part. In the appendix for chapter 5.1.1, the sections are marked by a reference to their relevant audio files for the sake of convenience. (This method would not be expedient to apply to the other appendices that have video attachments because most of the video footages cover several verbal and non-verbal acts which do not constitute one, homogeneous ritual unit. On the other hand, one audio file contains only one incantation, song or chant.)

Appendix for Chapter 2

1.1 Da(η) sagaan xonxoo
Darshuulan buuhan.
Dalan xeltei xuuraa
Darshuulan buuhan.

1.2 Ebderxeiye ebrüüldeg.
Zadarxaiya zalguuldag.
Xugarxaiya xunidag.

1.3 Erxii soorxoi em shengi
Doliowor soorxoi dom shengi

1.4 Erxei soorxoi emshenernüüd
Doliobor soorxoi domshonornuud

1.5 Burxan garwal
Ayaarai baruun urdaas
Amlaj medüülsen.
Da cagaan xonxiig
Darshuulj buusan.
Dalan xeltei xuuriig
Xarshuulj buusan.
Tailag cagaan temeeg
Tawagljaj buusan.
Tawtai möngön builiig
Gialbuulj buusan.
Ewderxiig ewlüülsen.
Xugarxaig xunisan.
Tzadarxaig tzalguulsan.
Tamidarxaig taniulsan.
Butarxaig ewlüülsen.
Tangalai coorxoi tarnichin güülsen.
Erxii coorxoi emchin güülsen.
Doloowor coorxoi domchin güülsen.
Dalan tawan darxachuul, 88 naliwaach
99 ilbechin, 108 tzurxaich
Xaluun shar burxan garwal
Xüügen shar burxan garwal
Naana saixan duulagtii!
Duudlagand ni morilogtii!

2.1 Gunan bugiin ewer
Gurwan uuliin suxai

2.2 Gunan xandagain eber
Gurban goloi huxai

3.1 Xorin naiman xolbogotoi
Xondyoo haixan duutai
Daida delxii бүрхөөн
Daiwan xara xese

3.2 Gurwan uuliin suxai
Gunan bugiin ewer
Gutaar zagahanai arha
Gutaar zagahanai arhiie gürmöhölzh бүрхен ezen yixe bardag

4.1 Xangil baisa garwal/dairaldwal/boowol
Damzhaad garxa shata
Mürön dalai xaawal
Tawiad garxa ongoso
Xoyor saixan selüür ni xoyor gartaa baigaa

Appendix for Chapter 5.1.1

A5 INVOCATION

a5.1 Ayaar baruun urda tzügeesee

Tzambuu tiwiin oronein
Xiatzagaariin gatzaraas
Öndör saixan (cutgaalaa)
Cagaan uuliin etzen ee
Shanashiideen xüwüün ee
Burxan builaan tulmaash
Naana saixan duulgii daa!
Xajir xara (güriiten)
_____ uraadnaw

Tailaga cagaan temeeyee
Toxogloj uraadnaw.
(Tawtai) möngön (güliiten)
Tawin baij uraadnaw.
Bural cagaan aaw mini
Burxan cagaan garwal mini
Naaana saixan duulii daa!
Um maanee badmee xum [3x]

a5.2 Castai cagaan uuliin etzen

Cucga cagaan __gee
Xiisgej buusan daa
Cagaan möngön tzodroogee
Gialbuulaj l buusan daa.
Xöxö xamban nömörgiig
Nömörch l buusan daa.
Xürel möngön __taadaa

_____ (togordaa) l buusan daa.
Bural cagaan aaw mini
Burxan cagaan garwal mini
Naana haixan duulii daa!
Um maanee badmee xum [3x]

a5.3 Xara tzandan erxiigee

Xa __daj l buusan daa.
Da(η) saixan xonxiigee
Darshuulaj l buusan daa.
Dalan xeltei xuuriigee.
Xejimdej l buusan daa!
Bural cagaan aaw mini
Burxan cagaan garwal mini
Naana saixan duulii daa!
Um maanee badmee xum [3x]

a5.4 Sharai goliin xoimorto

Shandan bulgiin exende
Shandruu cagaan sümiigee
Shireeldej l buusan daa.
Bural cagaan aaw mini
Burxan cagaan garwal mini
Naana saixan duulii daa!
Um maanee badmee xum [3x]

a5.5 Sharai goliin xoimorto

Shanadan bulgiin exende
Saya cagaan tzayaan aa
Burxan cagaan tulmaash
Ewderxiige ewlüüldeg
Butarxaigaa tzalguuldag
Xugarxaigaa xumildag
Xugarsiige tzalguuldag
Tandai coorxoi __errenchin
Erxii coorxoi __chaa nar

Doloowor coorxoi __ choo nar
Naana saixan duulii daa!
Buural cagaan aaw mini
Burxan cagaan garwal mini
Um manee badmee xum [3x]

a5.6 Doloon dunshuur (xonxiigaa)
Biasalgaajee buusan daa
Dunshuur maanee xü __diigee
Gialbuulaj l buusan daa.
Tawan xatuu tarniigee
Biasalgaj l buusan daa.

Gialbuulaj l buusan daa.
Buural cagaan aaw mini
Burxan cagaan garwal mini
Naana saixan duuliit aa!
Um manee badmee xum [3x]

a5.7 Sain sanasan gatzartaa
Achaa __uilaa (xarildag)
Baruun xancui (süsregtee)
Tawagtai möngön düshidöö
____ sanasan gatzartaa

____ tzüün xancui (süsregtee)

Buural cagaan aaw mini
Burxan cagaan garwal mini
Naana saixan duuliit aa!
Um manee badmee xum [3x]

a5.8 Medüülej l baigaad ____
Ene tzambuu tiwiingeen ____
Oroniingoo __t
Üne/ene Mongol uraatai
Xüser mongol garwaltai
Xalx gej yasatai
Mongoljin ____
Shariin xüwüün [*says his full name*]
Gurwan xarxüü ulaash l
Dörwön xarxüü (tölöölö*)gsh
Xoich üyiin ____
Mönöö üyiin möngüigöö
Medüülej l tzalbirnam.
Yösöniingöö yörgölgöm.
Naimaniingaa nagalgam.
Taxil tzulaa tawiad l
Taniig geed l uriaadnaw.
Ergen baigaa buugiita!
Heelin baigaa nairliitaa!
Um manee badmee xum [3x]

Medegdeej l baigaa ____
Xanilan suusan xania mini

Büdee gej omogtoi

Tzüün öwdög tüshin suusan ____
____ neriit

Baruun öwdög tüshin suusan xüwüüniim
Tzolobayar neretei arwan gurwan nahatai

[*says clan name*] gej omogtoi

Tzüüm öwdög tüshin suusan xaniig mini
____ neretei

[*says his wife's clan name*] gej omogtoi

Baruun öwdög түшин суусан хүүвүүн
Xosbayar neretei
xaluun golomtiin
Dörwön xaluun (golomt*)
Xargui möriini ariutgaad
Ariun saixan bolgogtii!
Tzayaa guigaad tzalbirnam.
Yörööl guigaad (yörgölgöm).
Buural cagaan aaw mini
Burxan cagaan garwal mini
Naana saixan duuliit aa
Um manee badmee xum [3x]

a5.9 Ene [says his own name] хүүвүүн chini
Badam ulaan galiinxaa
Baruun xoito xoimort
Agar tzandan shirectei
Altan saixan tzulatai
Ar __ai tzurgaan üyiin taxil__
Tzuun xöltei tzulaat
Tzurxai tzurgaan üye taxiln (ee)
Yadam deerees uraadnaw
Xamba torgon xawchuulaad
Xadag torgoo bariulaw.
Mönööd üyiin möngügee
Beleg bolgon tawiulaw.
Tzayaa guigaad tzalbirnam.
Yöhöniingee yörgüülñem.
Buural cagaan aaw mini
Burxan cagaan garwal mini
Naana saixan duuliit aa!
Ergen baigaa buugiit!
Um manee badmee xum [3x]

a5.10 Toonon deegüür ni iregte/ ergegtii!
(Tawan) tuyaa tatiitee!
Totgon deegüür iregte/ergegtii!
Tzolo tzayaa tzalgiitee!
Tzodo _____baigaa bol
Ertlen baigaa bugiitaa!
(Ünin üüree) baigaa bol
Ügüi bolgon buugiit!
Üxel (tülüün) baigaa bol
Xawcuulaj buugiit!
Öwchin tzowlon baigaa bol
Getelgej buugiit!
(Ada) totgor baigaa bol
_____baj buugiit!
Ayuul tütger baigaa bol
Tzaxiulaj l buugiit!
Gai barcad biagaa bol
Awran baj l buugiit!
(Ada) totgor baigaa bol
_____baj buugiit!
Buural cagaan aaw mini
Burxan cagaan garwal mini
Naana saixan duuliit ee!
Ergen baigaa buugiit ee!
Om maanee badmee xum [3x]

A6 INVOCATION

a6.1 Söög
Ayaarei baruun tzügeesee
Tzambuu tiwiin oroneingoo
Xitzagaaariin gatzaraasaa
Ataa tawan tengeriigee
Urin tzalan uraadnaw daa.
Ergen baigaa buugaaragtii!
Heelin baigaa nairlagtii!

Söög

Aa xee yoo xee minee göö
Aa yaa maidaa minee göö

a6.2 Söög

Ayaarei (gadaa) barun xoito tzügeesee

Tzambuu tiwiin oroneingoo

Xitzagaaariin gatzaraasaa
(Doloon burxan*) tengeriigee

ter uraadnaw daa.

Xöwön cagaan üüliingee

Xüملتزelter uraadnaw daa.

Xura boroo xoyoriig ni

Orotol ni uraadnaw daa.

Xui salxin xoyoriig ni

Tzodortol ni uraadnaw daa.

_____ mogoi xoyoriig ni
_____ ter uraadnaw daa

Nachin _____ xoyoriig ni

Degdetel ni uraadnaw daa.

Agar tzandan modiig ni

Naigatal ni uraadnaw daa.

Altan _____ cecegiig ni

Delgertel ni uraadnaw daa.

Shijir möngön shiweetiig ni

Shijirtelni uraadnaw daa.

A7 INVOCATION

a7 Söög

Ayaar xoito tzügeesee

Tzambuu tiwiin oronein

Xiatzagaariin gatzarta

Xöxö mönxö tengeriigee

Xögtzötör ni uraadnaw.

Xöwön cagaan üüliigee

Xögtzötöl ni uraadnaaw.

Xorio cagaan oyodlooroo

(Urin) haixan uraadnaw.

Ogshom cagaan delxiigee

Geshxüür bariad uraadnaaw.

Galjuuxainxaa yexede

Xangal xoyor sharagiig

Xatzaar ügüi tzaidalaad

Xagaan tengeriin üüdende

Eshgiideje buuhan daa.

Xan Xiuriin xüwüün dee.

Xaluun shara Manjalameeni

_____ teng _____ yexede

Emneg xoyor sharagiig

Emeel ügüi tzaidalaad

Ee _____ tengeriin üüdende

Xeshgiideje buuhan daa.

Etzen Xiuriin xüwüün dee

Erxe shara Manjalai mini

Naana haixan duuliitee!

Ergen baigaa(d*) buuhan daa

Heelin baigaa(d*) nairlii dee!

Aa xee yoo xee minie göö

Aa yoo baidaa minie göö

A9 INVOCATION

a9.1 Söög

Medüülej l baigaa chine

Ene tzambuu tiwiin _____ oroneingoo

_____ mongol uraatai daa.

Xüser mongol garwaltai daa.

Xalxa gej l yasatai daa.

Mongoljin _____ tei dee.

Shara geje neretei(giin)
 Baruun öwdög tūshin suusan xūwūm
 Buyanbadrax neretei dee.
 Yösöninggöo yörgölgöo daa.
 Naimaniingee nagalgii dee.
 Tenger yixe noyoduudaa.
 Uga yixe garwalnuudaa.
 Xan yixe tzaaringuuda
 Xatan bugal ejim(ee)
 Urin tzalan uraadnaw.
 Ergen baigaa buugaaragtii!
 Heelin baigaa nagalgii
 Söög
 Badam ulaan galiinxanaa
 Baruun xoito xoimor deeree!
 Agar tzandan shireen deeree!
 Altan saixan tzulatai daa.
 Tzurxain tzurgan üyiin taxiltai daa.
 Tzuun xülte tzulaatai daa.
 Tzurxai tzurgan üyiin taxiln(ee)
 Yadam deerees uraadnaw gej l tzalbirnaw daa.
 Xamba torgoo xawchuulsan shüü!
 Xadag torgoo bariulsan shüü!
 Mönöo üyiin möngön belgee
 Beleg bolgon tawiulsan shüü!
 Tzayaa guigaad tzalbirnaw daa.
 Yöhöniingee yörgölgöo dee.
 Medüülej l tzalbirnaw daa
 Söög
 Aa xee yoo xee minie göö
 Ayaa baidaa minie göö

a9.2 Xee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee
 _____ (sorligtonguud)

Xui salxin nüüdelteingüüd

_____ mogoi tashurtanguud

_____ (öwdögtöngüüd*)

Tzuun naiman agui (nömörög*)tengüüd

Suxai modon tashuurtanguud

Ergen baigaa buugaaragtii!

Heelin baigaa nagalj xairal!

Xee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee

Doloön xon xeree turshuultanguud
 Yösön ___on gichii chono daxuultanguud
 Ergen baigaa buuj xairal!
 Heelin baigaa nairlaj xairl aa
 Xee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee

Agaar tengerees buuj l xairal!
 Altan delxii (tzaxij) xairal!

_____ xairal

Xöwchin delxii tzu___ xairal!

Xee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee

Öwgön buural aawiig minie
Ugiin yixe garwal(iingaa)

Xoimor tushaa _____

Urin tzalan uraadnaw daa.

Ergen baigaa buuj xairal!

Heelin baigaa nairlaj xairal!

Xee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee

Öwgön buural aawiig minie

Urin tzalan uraadnaw daa.

Ergen baigaa buuj xairal!

Heeliin baigaa nairlaj xairal!

Xee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee ee

Yösöninggöo yörgölgiingee
 Naimaniingaa nagalgiinaa
 Urin tzalan uraadnaw daa.

Ergen baigaa buuj xairal!
Heeliin baigaa nairlaj xairal!

a12 ENTRUSTMENT

Söög

Gartziin üüdiig xaaj l xairal!
Gai barcadiig (tzailuul*)j l xairal!
Oltziin üüdiig ongoilgoj xairal!
Öltzii (xutag*)iig ögch l xairal!

Chanar deeree xaraaxiinaa.
Xoyor xoshuu maliin
Xoton deeree xaraaxiinaa.
Tümen xoshuu maliin
Süütei tzayaa ögch l xairal!
_____ bütēmjtēi saixan baigaa _____
_____ tsoximjtoi saixan baigaa _____

Sain saixan baixiin tölöö gej
Tzayaa _____

_____ elbeg delbeg _____

Tanil bolgon _____

Xün tzon _____

Tzayaa guigaad tzalbīrnab daa.

Yörööl guigaad _____

Söög

Ene mongol oroniingoo

Altan xiliig dawxuulaad l

Möngön xiliig __üüleed

[Says the name of his country] gej nutag ornoos irsen xüwüüniigee

[Person's name] gej xüwüüniigee

Xanilan suux xanitai bolgogtii doo!

Naitz oxintoi bolgogtii doo!

(Üünii) tölöö gej

Ugiin yixe garwalnuudaa

Xan yixe tzaaringuudaa

Xatan bugal ejinüüdee

Urin tzalan uraadnaw daa.

Ergen baigaa buugaaragtii!

Heelin baigaa nagalgii!

Söög

Aa xee yoo xee minie göö

Ayaa baidaa minie Söög

a13 DIVINATION

Ene tzambuu tiwiin minie

Oroneingoo uraadnaw daa.

(Ene) mongol uraatai daa.

Xeser mongol garwaltai daa.

Xalxa gej l yahatai daa.

Mongoljin _____ xüwüün

Shariin [says his name] neriit.

_____ xergiig büteeregtii!

Öltzii xutag _____

Sain tzayaa (ergeedex dee)

Saixan bolson baigaa bol

Möngön cagaan _____

_____ buugaaragtii!

Söög

Tenger yixe noyoduudaa

Ugai yixe garwalnuudaa
 Naitz _____ saxiusnuudaa
 Urin tzalan uraadnaw
 Taxil tzuliin (ideen/üüden) deeree
 Ergen baigaad __l
 Yösöningöö yörgölgii dee.
 Naimaniingaa nagalgii!
 _____ buugaaragtii!
 Tzayaa guigaad tzalbirmam daa
 Yörööl guigaad yörgölögtii!
 Söög

Aa xee yoo xee minee göö
 Aa yaa maidaa minee söög

A16 DISPATCHING THE SPIRITS

a16.1 Ergen baigaa buugaachinguud
 Heelin baigaa degdeeregtii!
 Toiron baigaa buugaachinguud
 Toglon baigaa degdeeregtii!
 Xanatai gerees ni garaaragtii!
 Xada l gertee bucaaragtii!
 Utaat gerees ni garaaragtii!
 Uul gertee degdeeregtii!
 Ogtorguidaa degdeeregtii!
 Oron nutgaa bucaaragtii!
 Ergen baigaa buugaachinguud
 Heelin baigaa degdeeregtii!
 Toiron baigaa buugaachinguud
 Toglon baigaa degdeeregtii!
 Söög

a16.2 Gurwan goliin suxai
 Gunan xandagain ewereer xiijeisen
 Suxai ulaan bardagaa
 Sungan baij l tzalbirmam daa.
 Ergen baigaa buugaachinguud
 Heelin baigaa degdeeregtii!
 Toiron baigaa buugaachinguud
 Toglon baigaa degdeeregtii!
 Xanatai gerees ni garaaragtii!
 Xada l gertee bucaaragtii!
 Utaat gerees ni garaaragtii!
 Uul gertee degdeeregtii!
 Ogtorguidaa degdeeregtii
 Oron nutgaa bucaaragtii
 Ergen baigaa buugaachinguud
 Heelin baigaa(d*) degdeeregtii!
 Toiron baigaa buugaachinguud
 Toglon baigaa degdeeregtii!
 Xanatai gerees ni garaaragtii!
 Xada l gertee bucaaragtii!
 Utaat gerees ni garaaragtii!
 Uul gertee degdeeregtii !
 Söög [13x]
 Ergen baigaa buugaachinguud
 Heelin baigaa(d*) degdeeregtii!
 Toiron baigaa buugaachinguud
 Toglon baigaa(d*) degdeeregtii!
 Xanatai gerees ni garaaragtii!
 Xada l gertee bucaaragtii!
 Utaat gerees ni garaaragtii!
 Uul gertee degdeeregtii!
 Gurwan goliin suxai
 Gunan xandagain ewereer xiijeisen
 Suxai ulaan bardagaa
 Sungan baij l tzalbirmam daa.
 Ergen baigaa buugaachinguud
 Heelin baigaa(d*) degdeeregtii!
 Toiron baigaa buugaachinguud

Toglon baigaa degdeeregtii!
 Xanatai gerees ni garaaragtii!
 Xada l gertee bucaaragtii!
 Utaat gerees ni garaaragtii!
 Uul gertee degdeeregtii!
 Söög [8x]

Appendix for Chapter 5.1.2

1 (v1) INVOCATION

1.1 (v1. 0:00–0:46)

[Altanceceg singing the invocation]:

Aa aa hee minie göö
Ayaaraa baidaa minie göö
Ertnee xöörög biyetengüüd
(Düshnee) booxoi dürtengüüd
Barimal xöörög biyetengüüd
Ugsraa booxoi dürtengüüd
Uushaga (zürxe*) biyetengüüd
(Gurwan) uuliin gertengüüd
Aa aa hee minie göö
Ayaaraa baidaa minie göö

2 (v1) THE FIRST POSSESSION

2.1 (v1. 0:52–1:47)

[The first spirit sings]: _____ [*unintelligible*]

2.2 (v1. 1:48–2:05)

[Namsrai says to the first spirit]: **Xar haixan üdertöö naima naimanai nagalgiye yühe yühenei yürgölgiye xiizh bainabdi daa. Xar'iin gazarhaa yirhen, ungar gezh gazarhaa yirhen ene böögeimnye xolbootoi tanilsazh ene haixan ulaashtai tanilsazh ug garwaluudna bayarlazzh xöghzh baina xongor haixan xüwüün baina daa. Xar'iin gazarai xün bilee.**

2.3 (v1. 2:05–2:15)

[spirit sings]:

Bayarlaazha baizhal buuhan daa.
Bayarlazzhal ür _____ döö

2.4 (v1. 2:15–2:19)

[Namsrai and Altanceceg's husband say to the ongon]: **Xöörögtii daa! Duxaraa barigtii daa burxashuud!**

2.5 (v1. 2:19–2:29)

[spirit sings]: Talarxazha uuzhaaxal bayarlaxamdaa. Bayartai (sünezhen soorxomdoo).

2.6 (02:28–2:33)

[Namsrai says]: Xöörögtii daa burxashuud! Xamta nari _____.

2.7 (v1. 2:34–2:46)

[spirit sings]: Xamtan xollohon jandaguudaa bayarlla bayarllaa! Talarxazhal buuhan daa

2.8 (v1. 2:46–3:00)

[Namsrai says]: Naima naimnai nagalgaa yühe yühenei yürge _____ xar'iin gazarai xün yirzh _____. Ene haixan xün deeree nemezhe _____ shanar _____gtii shandruu _____ xöörögtii daa. _____ xöörögtii. Oixonii oix _____ Ei hoo.

3 (v1) THE SECOND POSSESSION

3.1 (v1. 3:01–3:18)

[the second spirit, Buxa Noyon Baawai sings]:

(Ariin) borxon _____ shireeldezh buuhan
 _____orsoo (tümbene) udam sudar zalgahanda

Buxa noyon awamnyee
Bodon xatan izhiimyee
Yüüne yüntei yürgegtii!
Xenei xenteigee xolbootoi?

3.2 (v1. 3:18–3:39)

[Namsrai says]: **Ar haixan mongoloi uuzham haixan nyutagta daa. Xar haixan üdörtöö genee. Aaziin**

böö, mongol böögiin golomt delxiin böögiin xolboo yum daa. __t xolboond urigdazh yireed uran haixan ulaashid baina daa. Za tyigeed gadaadiin nyutaghaa yirhen ungar nyutaghaa yirhen xün ug garwaltitnei tanyilsazh altan shag__ zultai xügdüügüi zalbırzh baigaa бүх ugtatnei zalbırzh yırzhe baina daa.

3.3 (v1. 3:39–3:49)

[Buxa Noyon sings]:

Türgen baizhal buuhan daa

Tanx__ irehem daa.

3.4 (v1. 3:49–4:11)

[Namsrai says]:

Zaa xöörögtii daa! Uran haixan ulaash__ Duxaraa barigtii daa burxashuud!

Xatuu xariin deezhee barigtii daa!

Oixon__ (aguiye) shireeldezhe buuhan.

Golomt tüwiin udam hudar__ buuhan.

__ Bodon xatan izhii__

Xöörögtii daa xöörögtii!

Ei hoo hoo ei hoo!

4 (v1) THE THIRD POSSESSION

4.1 (v1. 4:13–4:58)

[The third spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]

4.2 (v1. 4:59–5:13)

[Namsrai says]: Tiw delxiin xolboond uran haixan ulaashatnye urigdazh yireed baina daa. Gadaadiin gazar__ ungarhaa yirehen xongor haixan xüwüün ug garwaltitnei tanyisazh mürgön xügzh(үүлzh) zalbırzha yireed baina daa. Zalbırzha yireed baina xongor haixan xüwüün.

4.3 (v1. 5:13–5:33)

[Buxa Noyon sings]: _____ [unintelligible]

4.4 (v1. 5:34–5:52)

[Altanceceg's husband and Namsrai and say]: Duxaraa barigtii daa! Duxaraa barigtii daa burxashuud! Doshxon xar duxaraa barigtii daa burxashuud! Ei hoo.

5 (v1) THE FOURTH POSSESSION

5.1 (v1. 5:53–6:01)

[The third spirit, Awagaldai, sings]:

Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yaa

Oo yaa yaa yaa oo yaa yaa

5.2 (v1. 6:00–6:02)

[Namsrai says]: Ürgön haixan olbog deeree huugtii daa!

5.3 (v1. 6:02–goes on)

[Awagaldai sings]: _____ [unintelligible]

5.4 (v1. 6:04–6:05)

[Namsrai says]: Ürgön haixan olbog deeree huugtii daa!

5.5 (v1. 6:02–6:10)

[Awagaldai sings]:

Altan sharaxan hamagatai

_____ [unintelligible]

5.6 (v1. 6:16–6:22)

[Namsrai says to the camera]: Odoo Awgaldai gedeg xün shiny ene dee xöö! Awgaldai.

5.7 (v1. 6:24–6:45)

[Awagaldai and Namsrai sing]:

Yeeree yooxor yöröyүүлhen

Gutaari tengeriin xürgen dee.

Guulin xaanii xüwüün

Yookor yookor yöröyүүлhen

Yookor yookor yerüüxüümei.

Yengüü xariin Awagaldai.

5.8 (v1. 6:45–6:49)

[Awagaldai says]:

_____ [unintelligible]

5.9 (v1. 6:49–7:11)

[Namsrai says to Awagaldai]: Ügüee _____ daa burxashuud! Ar haixan mongoloi uuzham haixan nyutagta daa. Mongol böögiin Golomto Tüw, Tiw Delxiin böögei xolboond yirzh uran haixan ulaastany urigdaad zalbırzh baina daa. Yuu, **xar'iin gazarhaa yirhen xüni gazarhaa yirhen ündör dawaa dawzh ürgön golii gatalzh olon kilii alxazh ürgön talii tuulzha yirehen ungar yahati xongor haixan xüwüün ug garwal ugtatnye zalbırzh baina daa!** Otgonzhargal _____

5.10 (v1. 7:11–7:18)

[Awagaldai sings]:
Gaaha tamgiye tatazha
_____ [unintelligible]

5.11 (v1. 7:20–7:21)

[Namsrai says]: Tamixi tatagtii daa!

5.12 (v1. 7:21–07:30)

[Namsrai sings]:
Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yaa
Oo yaa yaa yee meenyee göö

5.13 (v1. 7:32–7:36)

[Awagaldai says]:
Yamar yamar xaluuxan (shoolgoolzh)
_____ [unintelligible]

5.14 (07:36–07:56)

[Namsrai says to Awagaldai]: Ügüi ügüi ügüi. Za
[Namsrai and Awagaldai sing together]:
Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yaa
Oo yaa yaa yee meenyee göö
Yookor yookor yeeküümei.
Yengüü xaraxan Awagaldai.
Aha ha ha

5.15 (v1. 7:57–8:13)

[Namsrai says to Awagaldai]:
Naima naimnii nagalga
Yühö naimanai yürgölgö daa!
Zurgaan Tüwiig gereltüülhen
Zambuu Tüwiig haaruultuulhan
Bayan (xangal) zuliin deeree
Zurxai zurgaan taxil deeree
Ornoi haixan serzhem
Owoo uuliin ürgödtei
Oixonoi Noyodiin üüd(end)
Xar sagaan serzhemtei daa.
Xadag torgo
Duxaraa barigtii daa!

5.16 (v1. 8:13–8:22)

[Awagaldai and Namsrai sing together]:
_____ [unintelligible]

5.17 (v1. 8:22–8:33)

[Namsrai sings]:
Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yaa
Oo yaa yaa yee
[Namsrai says]:
Ene haixan xündleer
Mürxön müröö tushalsazh
Müngön xooliig gargalsazh
Garxan garaa barilsazh
Gans xooliig gargalsazh

5.18 (v1. 8:33–8:47)

[Awagaldai and Namsrai sing together]:
Mürxön müröör mürölsözhö
Müngön xooliye gargalsazha
Garxan garaa barilsazha
Gansa xoliye gargalsazha

5.19 (v1. 8:51–9:14)

[Awagaldai and Namsrai sing together]:
Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yoo

Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yoo
Oo yaa oo yaa oo yaa yaa
Oo yaa yaa yee meenyee göö
Hey hoo hoo hoo

6 (v1) THE FIFTH POSSESSION

6.1 (v1. 9:16–10:11)

[The fourth spirit sings]:

_____ [unintelligible]

6.2 (v1. 10:12–10:33)

[Namsrai says to the fourth spirit]:

Ar haixan üdörtöö Ar haixan mongoloi uuzham haixan nyutagt Ulaanbaatar xotdo Mongol Böögiin Golomt Tüw, Aaziin Böögiin Golomt Tüw xadaa. Tiw Delxiin Böögiin Xolboond uran haixan ulaashtana urigdazh agdazh yireed baina xadaa. Gadaadiin _____ Ungar nyutaghaa yirehen xün uran haixan ar haixan mongol böö ene haixan ulaashtana ugtan zalbirzh oixonoi noyodto zalbirzh ene haixan _____ yireed baina daa!

6.3 (v1. 10:34–10:51)

[The fourth spirit sings]:

_____ [unintelligible]

6.4 (v1. 10:51–10:53)

[Namsrai says to the fourth spirit]: Duxaraa barigtii daa! Duxaraa barigtii daa burxashuud!

6.5 (v1. 11:01–11:52)

[Namsrai says]:

Ei hoo hoo hoo

Xüi, xüi za.

[Namsrai sings]: Ei hoo oo baidooo

[Namsrai says]:

Arxi uuzha _____ yaaxaw dee

Baigali dalain _____

[Namsrai says]: Ei hoo Baigali dalain zürxe dunda. (Baigulaanba) yixe shiweete Batmönxiin xashaanda ezen xan dagazha xatan mürgözhö. Ene haixan xünd _____ mürgögtii daa. Aaziin Böögiin Golomt Tüwee! Tiw Delxii Böögiin Xolboond urigdazha ene haixan ulaash xügdüüdiin omogtoi bürged _____ uraatai (Büren) Pürewjawiin Altanseseg. Za ene ungar nyutaghaa yirhen olon goliyi gatalzh olon uul xadii damzhizh ürgön yix dalaiye (müxilzh) Baigali yix dalaiye (selgelüülzh) oixonii noyodto zalbirxaar ene haixan ugtatnye zalbirxaar yirhen Ungar nyutagai xün haixan xüwüün baina daa. Nairaldazh xööröldözh ene haixan xündleeree duxaraa barigtii daa!

6.6 (v1. 11:52–11:53)

[Altanceceg's husband says to the fourth spirit]: Xatuu xar duxaraa barigtii daa!

6.7 (v1. 11:59–12:17)

[Namsrai says to the fourth spirit]: **Xüx Xaaxan noyon baawaitai xamt urizh shireeteigee zalragtii shidiy erdemee xairlagtii daa burxashuud!**

[Altanceceg's husband]: Xatuu xar duxaraa barigtii daa! Duxaraa barigtii daa!

[Namsrai]: Za duxaraa barigtii daa burxashuud!

6.8 (v1. 12:33–12:38)

[Namsrai says]:

Za ene haixan naim naimnii nagalgaa

Yühe naimnii yürgölgö

Shireeteigee zalragtii!

Shidiy erdemee xairlagtii!

6.9 (12:40–12:52)

[Namsrai sings]:

Ei hoo hoo baidoo minyee göö

Ei hoo ho hoo!

7 (v1) THE SIXTH POSSESSION

7.1 (v1. 12:55–13:24)

[The fifth spirit sings]:

Yuutai saixan _____

Yüsön _____ bayan xangai

_____ yawax _____

Yüünei yüüntei yürgöltee!

Xen xentei _____ toi?

7.2 (v1. 13:26–13:42)

[Namsrai says to the fifth spirit]: Za Aaziin Böögin, Mongol Böögin Golomt Tüw ene haixan ürgönd urizha bai___ daa! Tiw Delxiin Böögin Xolboond uran haixan ulaashtany urigdazh agdazh yireed baina. Za ene ug garwald noyoduudta zalbirhan xongor haixan xüwüin xar'iin gazarhaa yirehen xadaa. Ungar nyutagai xün _____ münx haixan zuliig _____ zalbirzh baina daa.

7.3 (v1. 13:40–13:58)

[The fifth spirit sings]:
(Haixan manazha yawaxag daa)
_____ [unintelligible]

7.4 (v1. 13:58–14:00)

[Altanceceg's husband says]: Duxaraa barigtii daa!

7.5 (v1. 14:00–14:11)

[The fifth spirit sings]: Arxia uudgüi _____.

7.6 (v1. 14:11–14:13)

[Altanceceg's husband says]: _____ süü barigtii daa burxashuud.

7.7 (v1. 14:22–14:30)

[Namsrai says to the fifth spirit]:
Mundashgüi _____

Xar sagaanyiyi xabsarhan
Xüwd_____
Za ene deer haixan irigtii daa!
Ei hoo ho ho

8 (v1, v2) THE SEVENTH POSSESSION

8.1 (v1. 14:43–15:28)

[Namsrai says to Namzhil, the seventh spirit]:
Ayaaree yee ayaa daa!
Ürgön haixan olbog deeree huugtii daa!
Aayoo baidaa
Baidaa yaawei minyee göö
Za ene Mongol Böögin Golomt Tüw xadaa!
Ene Tüw xolboond Tiw Delxii Böögin Xolboo yum daa!
Ene Xolboond ene uran haixan ulaash urigdaad baina. Buyan Pürewjawiin Altanceceg.
Za ene xar'iin gazrahaa yirhen ugtatnye zalbirzh baigaa xün baina.
Ungar nyutaghaa yirhen. Xongor haixan xüwüin xadaa!

8.2 (v1. 15:30–15:33)

[Namzhil whispers]: _____ [unintelligible]

8.3 (v1. 15:34–16:18)

[Namsrai says]: Tee! **Ene haixan mongoloi, Ar haixan mongoloi uuzham haixan nyutagt böögei xolboo tiw delxiide aldar suuriatai Tiw Delxiin Böögei Xolboo bolood baina daa burxashuud! Doshxon xar duxaraa barigtii daa!**

[Namsrai sings]: Naa yee naa yee naa yee
[Namsrai says to the camera]: Ene Buriad duunii aya yum shüü dee ene chiny.
[Namsrai sings]: Eyee beidöö minyee göö.

[Namsrai says to Namzhil]:

Naima naimanii naglagaa

Yühö naimnai yürgelgee

Münx haixan zuliye

Müshgön baizh _____

(v2. 0:00–0:19)

Ariun haixan idyeetnye

Amtlan baizh xürtegtii daa!

Xadag torgon xawshuulaga

Altan müngön shimegtei daa.

Haari uyaa tamguulzh

Buyan Pürwezhawiin Altanseseg

Xar sagaaniiye xabsarhan

Shawiintnei Shawi bolxo basagan xadaa!

8.4 (v2. 0:19–0:21)

[Namzhil whispers]: _____ [unintelligible]

8.5 (v2. 0:21–0:45)

[Namsrai says to Namzhil]:

Tümende aldartai

Tiw delxiide suriatuu _____ daa.

Ene haixan aldariiyine

Ataa zhütöögüü ariun haixnaar iryүүлzh

Altan haixan delxiide suuriatuul sagna boloo daa!

Narnai haixan gereld

Namuu haixan iryegtii!

**Xorwoo haixan yürtöms tö xosgüi haixnaar _____
burxashuud!**

Xümüün/xüwön biyiine xüröölögtii!

Unagan biyiine udirdagtii daa burxashuud!

Xar'iin gazarai xün yireed _____

8.6 (v2. 0:43–1:23)

[Namzhil whispers]: _____ [*unintelligible*]

[Namsrai says to Namzhil]: Aa olon tümende hain yawag daa.

[Namsrai and Namzhil sing together]:

Aa yeeraa yee ayeeraa

Aa yaa baidoo meenyee göö

Beidaa beidöö beidaa daa

Aayaaree meenyee göö

[Namsrai]: Ei hoo hoo!

9 (v2) THE EIGHTH POSSESSION

9.1 (v2. 1:26–goes on)

[The young girl, the seventh spirit, sings]:

Ariixan _____

Nahan turshada _____

Üyenxen xürshede

Arwanxan naimtaiya basagan bee.

Shüürenxen goyolo

Yüüneixen yüunteigee yürgöölööttii!

Xenexen xenteiye nagalagatii!

9.2 (v2. 2:42–2:53)

[Namsrai says to the camera:] Ene xadamdaa garaagüi basagan xün. Ug barisan xün arwan zurgan nastai xün. Tiiim bolxooroo shürtei, buriadiin oxidiin goyo shimeglel бүгдii ene bagtaasan baigaa yüm ene uxaandaa. Daruulaga züüchxe.

9.3 (v2. 2:55–3:12)

[The young girl sings]:

Arwanxan xoyor

_____ [*unintelligible*]

[Namsrai says to the young girl]: Za ene haixan shimeglelt _____ basagan__ haixan yuu shimeglelt _____.

[The young girl sings]:

Yüüneixen yüunteigee yürgöölööttii!

Xenexen xenteiye nagalagatii!

9.4 (v2. 3:12–3:25)

[Namsrai says to the young girl]: Za Mongol Böögiin, Aziin, Tiw Delxiin Böggiin Xolboond uran haixan ulaashtany urigdazha yireed baina. Ungrahaa yirehen _____ alxazh yirehen xongor, xar'iin gazarai xün yirzh ene haixan ugtatnye zalbirzh baina daa.

9.5 (v2. 3:25–3:56)

[The young girl sings]: _____ [*unintelligible*]

9.6 (v2. 3:56–4:13)

[Altanceceg's husband and Namsrai say to the young girl]: Za dalai hüügee barigtii daa burxashuud!

[Namsrai says]: Naim namanii nagalga yühö naimnaii yürgölgö xadaa! Nairlaga gesen üg. Nairlazzh baigaa gesen üg. Xöörögtii daa dalai hüü barigtii daa!

9.7 (v2. 4:14–4:16)

[Namsrai says to the camera]: Arwan zurgan nastai xüüxed uuxan xüüxed _____ baina.

9.8 (v2. 4:22–4:31)

[Namsrai says to the young girl]:

Zunii haixan gereld _____ irigtii daa!

Ei hoo eihoo eihoo eihoo eihoo!

9.9 (v2. 4:35–4:38)

[Namsrai says to the participants]: Ene sonxooroo hūü örgög__ Ene ayagüi olon ongon oroo ter.

10 OFFERING THE SACRIFICES

10.1 (v2. 4:53–7:36)

[Namsrai and Altanceceg sing]:

Ornoi haixan tenger deeree

Owoo uuliin ezededöö

Nyutagiin _____ noyod _____

Naana haixan duulagtii!

Xara baatar sagaan xaanii

_____ sagaan tengerte

Xeser buriad nyutagai

Ene mongol oronii

Ezen yixe türiin _____

_____ burxashuud

Aga naiman _____

Xalxa mongol zaaringuud

Ei hoo hoo baidaa

Baigali dalai minyee göö

_____ haixan shingeltei

Bayan bogdo uulamnye

Ündör haixan oixonei

Ariin arwan gurwan noyod

Xada büriin xaadudd

Uha büriin burxashuud

Xangai haixan nyutagta

Xalxa mongol zaaringuud

Ara haixan mongoloi

Uuzham haixan nyutagai

_____ haixan _____

Dalai sagaan serzhemii

Bayarlazha xürtögtii!

Aaa hei yoo baidaa minyee göö

Xara _____ xorwooxiimnye

Hanaatai _____ eetei _____ baina daa

Xüxe _____ xorwooxiimnye

Xüröödözh _____ bain daa

Araxan mongoloi _____ iimnye

Altanxan delxiide huuriatulzha

Mongol böögiin golomtiiye

_____ haixan _____

_____ gtii daa.

Altanxan delxiide za __ yumaa.

Burxandaa mürögx buyaniiye

_____ bütəmzhtöigöör _____ gtii daa.

Buyanai _____ guizh baigaa yum daa.

Xaanai yixe xishigiiye _____ xaanai yixe zaragyaalii

Xazaargüigöör mürdöör üü daa.

_____ haixan _____

Anxanai shütöo _____ üü daa.

_____ buriadaa

Ügai yix garwalii zholoodom daa.

Xüügdüüdöi omogtoi daa.

Börgöd _____ uraatai daa.
 Buyanai Pürewzhaw aaw _____ daa.
 Altanseseg neretei daa.
 _____ tulmaasha daa.
 Xatuuxan _____ zholoosho daa.
 Xagaan yixe tengernye
 Xadagxan torgon zholosho daa.
 Enxen yixe tengernye
 Ersheetei türöögüi tulmaahsa daa.
 Xarxan sagaan xoyorii xaw _____
 Xagaan tengerii _____ xazarsh _____ mnye.
 Ezen tengeriin elshe noyod _____
 Ei hoo ei hoo ho ei hoo!

11 DISCUSSION OVER THE RITUAL AND SPIRITS

11.1 (v2. 7:39–8:56)

[Namsrai says to the camera]: **Za engeed boloo daa. Engeed boloo geesheb daa. Boloo daa yühönei yürgölgö namanai nagalaga xestei böölön xüngön böölön bayariin böölön. Ene bol xereg xiizhagaa yum bish. Xünyii xereg bish, bish. Za gexdee ene**

**Naimandaa nagazh
 Yüsöndöö yürgözh mür
 Müröö tushalsazh
 Müngön xooliig gargalsazh
 Gar garaa barilsazh
 Ganc xoliig gargalcazh.**

ene züwxön nagalgiin böölön nargianii böölön ene bol. Ugai, tyiim xünii xereg xiilee geegüi shüü ene. Gexgüi dee ene shiny. Züwxön ööröö ööriinxöö tuld, ene shawi nariinxaa ug garwal saxiusiye bügüi ene deer xamtaagaad bayarluuljagaa böölön bollo doo.

[M.B. asks]: Ene taxil yamar taxil we?

[Namsrai says to the camera]: Za Manzhilain sain deezh gedeg shiny züün taldaa baidgiim. Daraagar doshgin xar dugaraa gedeg shiny daraagiin ter arxini. Tyiigeed daraagiin guraw _____

[Altanceceg says]: Zuxain zurgaana taxiltai baidgiim ornoi haixan serzhimtei oixnoi noyodiin shumbalagtai xadag torgon meregtei ünöö üyiin xorgoin meregtei ene hai _____ ünöö üyiin müngön meregtei ene haixan xündeeree irzh morilogtii gezh.

[Namsrai says]: naimnii nagalga yüsüi yürgölögö mür müröö tushalsazh müngön xoliig gargazha za yag iim xündööröl tengeriin sariin yüsön arwan yüsön xorin yüsön _____ xiim daa buriad xün bol.

11.2 (v2. 9:04–10:51)

[Altanceceg and Namsrai answer the question: Who is the stooping old lady?]:

[Altanceceg says]: Nastai, nastai xün baina naya xürj odoo xamgiin tom odoo ene Dashbalbar shiny baina Dashbalbar sumaas, sumiin odoo xamgiin tom böö baisii.

[Namsrai]: Arwan tawtaidaa böö bolson tyiim böö.

[Altanceceg]: Öngörsön baixgüi yüü, ter böö.

[Namsrai]: Naya xürzh üngörsön.

[Altanceceg]: Tee.

[M.B.]: Odoo xeden ongon orson be?

[Altanceceg]: Oo, odoo ayagüi olon ongon oroo, medxgüi. Bi odoo medxgüshdee.

[Namsrai]: Odoo yuu. End ayagüi olon ongon oroo. Exileed dan arxi uudag ongoniny orood ternii daraagaar dan süü uudag Bodonguudiin ongod.

[Altanceceg]: Manai odoo medxgüshdee.

[M.B.]: Aa hüü uudag ongon orhon, arxi uuhan ongod _____

[Namsrai]: Arxi uudag shiny yaaxaw ter ööriin Xüügdüüdiin, Bodonguudiin ongod uuzhagaa yum. Izhiiginy dagasan ongon. Xügdüüd dan süü uuzhaanaa.

[Altanceceg]: Aa yamar yamar yuu uusan be gej asuujagaamuu?

[M.B.]: Yamar yamar yum uusan be, yamar yamar yum nexesen be yamar yamar yum nexdeg we? Jilsheelbel neg arwan, neg arwan zurgaana nahatai xünyii ongon orohon xamgiin hüülde. Tere arwan zurgaana nahai xünyii ongon ter yamar ongon baihanbee?

[Altanceceg]: Arwan naimtai Xüügdüüdiin ongon.

[Namsrai]: Arwan zurgaatai

[Altanceceg]: Arwan naimtai.

[Namsrai]: Aa tyiim uu?

[M.B.]: Ter xün tiim uugaaraa naha barhan.

[Namsrai]: Naha barhan naha barhan.

[Altanceceg]: Minyii odoo ööriin baigaa ugnuud xamgiin dood talana arwan zurgaatai xamgiin deed talana xorin yüstei ugnuud waigaa. Dandaa tzaluu ugnuud.

Dandaa tzaluuugaar nas barsan.

[Namsrai]: Ene dundany yaax we naizhiin naizh yum daa naizh bagshiin bagsh yum daa _____

[Altanceceg]: Ter ingeed ordog shiny binaa naiznaa, minyii baigshiin bagsh. Ündör nastai.

[M.B.]: Ene xünüüd yaagaad iim zalugaaraa naha bardag we?

[Namsrai]: Ene baina shdee. negdügöört xiisen xeregte diildsen baina. Yaxaw, üy barin idyildee xarwaldaan gezh aixtar yum. Aldar ner _____ бүхэ дүрднэ. Idyildeen xarwaldaan gezh.

[M.B.]: Ene uu xünüüdiin ongod orood yuu yuu xeldeg we?

[Namsrai]: Ene üü yuush xelzh bolono xamaagüi. Yüüsh xelzh bolno.

[M.B.]: Odoo yüü yüü xelehen be zhisheelbel?

[Namsrai]: Mүнөөш одоо onciin yum xelegüi naimnii nagalaga xereg xiizhagaa yum bish bolxoorno. Xünd tyiim iim yüm xelexgüi.

[M.B.]: Nariin shiriin yum xelegüi? Nügöö uudag undaagaa süü uudag bol süü ugaad _____

[M.B.]: Arixii hүү uugaad yawdag?

[Namsrai]: Tyiimee tyiim tyiimee tyiim. Ene arxi uudgüi saxius süüliin üyed xed xed orson. Türtün uudag saxius orson. Teriin dotor naizhiin naizh bagshiin bagshna tulgaidaa orood garzh _____ Namzhil awgai gezh Dashbalbariin yum döo manai Balbar sumand _____ arwan tawtaidaa böo болсон naya garzh nas barsan xün. Arwan tawtaidaa udgan болсон xün baixgüi yuu. Iim _____ теi yum daa.

[M.B.]: Ene arwan zurgaataidaa naha barhan xün yamar xün baihan be?

[Namsrai]: Ene böo bolood baizhaatal baitraa aragagüi id shidiy ayagüi _____ uxaan güisöödög baina. Güisöögööd oixonii arwan gurwan noyodoos arwan xoyor salaa ter dүshin xoyor salaash baisan ter бүх salaagini arwan xoyor yu arwa arwantaidini үгөдөг baina. Бүх salaagini noyodoos үгчидөг. Za ter baizhaatar ter idyildee xarwaldaand l baj magadgüi dee ene arwan xүrsen nas bish yum shүү dee. Arwan zurgaatai nas _____

[M.B.]: Ter xün böo xün baihan gehen үг?

[Namsrai]: Baihan gehen үгө. _____ үyedee böo bolohon baixa ter shiny. Dolootoi naimtaidaa бүр naiman____. böo болшood baihan gezh yarildadag yum. Бүр deer үyede bolhaa sh iim baizh _____

[M.B.]: Tere xün xaana amidardag baihan be? Dashbalbar humand amidardag baihan?

[Namsrai]: Buriadiin aga naiman xesegt xaanch baisan baj bolono. ene xoit Xeseer buriad Tunguus bolxoos öör ene ar mongold yireegüi ulsuud ter.

[M.B.]: Ter xezee naha barhan be?

[Namsrai]: Ter Baatar Sagaan Xaanii amid serүүn baix үyed gesen үг. Xiliin ard, buriad xün bol бүгдөөрөө Baatar Sagaan Xaanii (exe talbart) shүү dee. Za tyigeed mongold orzh yireegüi baisan үye. Odoo bol garzh yir____ shar shazhin daragdaxad daraa yixe үyed xүshtei бүгд xawtagai xar shuluun door daragdsan baina. Odoo garch irsen baina.

[M.B.]: Öshöö neg xorin yühötöidöö naha barahan tiim xün baihan.

[Namsrai]: Tyiimee ter shiny idyildee xarwaldaand l үngөрhön baizh magadgüi dee. Yүрдөө ter nahanai naha yүрөөliin nas bish döo ter. Öör l yum. Biyeerini alj chadxgüi baigaad xor uulgaј alsan barisan yanz бүriin xorlogson ulsuud irj uugaaraa baixab shibdaa. Xorlogdoogüi bol baixgüi.

[M.B.]: Ene orhon ongodudaas yum xum asuuj boldog uu?

[Namsrai]: Bolnoo, bolno.

[M.B.]: Yüü yüü asuudag we yүrni?

[Namsrai]: Ööriinxöö sansan yүmiig l asuuna, yүüsh asuuzh bolono xamaagüi. Ende xeden xün baigaad ter odoo xün maany tegeed tegeed ingheed azhil yawdalany buruutaad ööriin yawdal buruush gedgiim uu yanz бүriin yum asuuj bolono. Asuuj awaad ter dorono xelsen үgiiny bishizh awax yostoi. Bishizh awaxgüi bol _____ za iigeed iim yum daa.

[M.B.]: Zaawar үгдөг.

[Namsrai]: Zaawar үгдөг. Tyiim tyiim zasal xiilege gesen zaawar үгөнө shүү ene xün shiny, orson ongon. Ternees öör dorono xiigeed ööröö xigeed үгchixgüi ter. Za tyigeed teriin bichij awan togtoono. Ter xün daraadani xiilgex asuudlaa ööröö shiidne dee. Yum asuuzh bolono ene xün asuusan yüm бүгдиigni ongon saxiusani xariuulana.

[M.B.]: Tegeed ene xүgshin xүnyii ongon orhon.

[Namsrai]: Aa tyee bagshiin bagsh. Ene xün _____ Amgalan

[Altanceceg]: Ter Amgalan bagshiin bagshani.

[Namsrai]: Shanariini udirdsan.

[Altanceceg]: Ter xүnyii shiny bagshani derees ni bas minyii Amgalan bagsh yum. Odoo bagshiin bagsha.

[Namsrai]: Daagan chanaraa dawtaj үрөө mori үrelj alaj böo болсон xün yum shүү ene shiny.

[M.B.]: Ta jisheelbel nas barsniixaa daraa bas shawiinxaа biyend orx uu?

[Altanceceg]: Ornoo orono.

[Namsrai]: Duudsan xün бүгдend orono xamaagüi.

[M.B.]: Ongodoo yazha degdeehen be?

[Altanceceg]: Odoo ingeed degdne.

12 (v2) FAILED ATTEMPT TO DISPATCH THE SPIRITS

12.1 (v2. 14:52–15:19)

[Altanceceg and Namsrai sing]:

Öo höo baidaa minyee göö.

Olon zonii бүteehen.

(Guulin sooxor argai belen)

Amitai zonii бүteehen.

(Agar delxiiye amitai belen)

Agar zandan shireen deer

Zuuxan xültö zulatai daa.

Zurxai zurgaan taxiltai daa.

Ornoi haixan serzhimtei dee.

13 THE UNEXPECTED POSSESSION BY THE DARIGANGA SPIRIT

13.1 (v2.15:29—goes on)

[The eighth, Dariganga spirit sings]:

Ülgeriin goo daigana shiigee

Ötsön saixan dariganga nutag

_____ xuuriin egshig dunda

_____ [unintelligible]

13.2 (v2. 15:39–15:50)

[Namsrai says to the camera while the Dariganga spirit is still singing]: _____ nutag suuriatai baixad Süxbaatar aimagt Altan Owoo gej yix owoo waigaa altan owoonii ezen odoo dairaad orzhirzh bairdaa. Tyee xalx mongol xün shüü ene wol. Odoo burxan dürwön uuliin neg.

13.3 (v2.15:44–16:49)

[The Dariganga spirit sings]:

Ganga nuur duuta nuuriin

Gadna taldaa shadmany erdene.

Shiliin bogdiin bayan _____

Serüüxen _____ bainaa

_____ törsöj yawsan

_____ dariganga nutag

Ezen bidnii ölgii nutag

Im l saixan dariganga nutag

(Ezen) bidnii ölgii nutag

Im l saixan dariganga nutag

(Ezen) bidnii ölgii nutag

_____ törsöj yawsan

_____ darxan nutag

Im l haixan dariganga nutag

Ezen bidnii ölgii nutag

Yüünei yün-teige xolbootoi

Xenei xenteigee xamaatai?

Xaana yawzha duudahan

13.4 (v2.16:49–17:21)

[Namsrai says to the Dariganga spirit]: **Ar haixan Mongoloi, Ar saixan Mongoloi uuzham saixan nyutag xadaa. Burxan dürwön uuliingaa dundxan baigaa ene mongol ornii _____ Ulaanbaatar xotod Aaziin Böö, Mongol Böögiin Golomt Tiw Delxiin Böögiin Xolboond uran haixan ulaash ene uran haixan ulaash urigdazh yireed odoo agdazh yireed ene naima nagalgiig yühenei yürgölgiig xiigeed xar'iin gazarhaa yireheen gazar yix delxiidee olon xiliye damzhizh olon uul dawzh olon goliye gatalzh ürgön yix dalai dawzh yirhen xadaa. Ungar nyutagai xongor haixan xüwüün xadaa. Ene haixan xünüüd orolsozh ene nyutagai _____ mürgözh yawana xadaa.**

13.5 (v2.17:20—goes on)

[The Dariganga spirit sings]:

_____ haixan talarxandaa

Bayarlazha buuhan xadaa!

Ür haixan xüwütyee

Xüröölönxön baizha buuhan _____.

13.6 (v2.17:29–17:38)

[Namsrai says to the camera]: Burxan dürwön uuliin negeni Altan owoonii ezen orzhireed bairdaa ene. Süxwaatar aimag. Xalx nutag yum shüü, xalx. Buriad bish, xalx.

13.7 (v2.17:32–17:46)

[The Dariganga spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]

13.8 (v2.17:44–17:51)

[Namsrai says to the Dariganga spirit]: _____ mundashgüi _____. Duxaraa barigtii daa burxashuud! Naim naimnai nagalgaa yühe naimnii yürgölgee. Burxan dürwön uuliingaa yix _____.

13.9 (v2.17:52–18:19)

[The Dariganga spirit sings]:

Üdör hün-yüüsh manazh yawaa

Üdör hün-yüüi xaizh yawaa

Urgaa haixan (geretezhe)

(Bodonxon uulaa olootei yosnoo)

Baga balshar ürxesh xüüxdii

Xanyia _____

Haixan haixan olob _____

Ünötei _____ sasruulzh yawaa xadaa!

[New videotape—the ritual went on while I was changing the tape. That is why a part of it is not recorded.]

13.10 (v2.18:20–18:46)

[The Dariganga spirit sings]:

Garxangaaraa barilsazha
Ganca xooliig gargalgii daa!
_____ xongor _____
_____ duxaraa _____
Ulgeriin daigana shigee
Üzesgelen saixan dariganga nutag
_____ xuuriin egshig dundaa

13.11 (v2. 18:51–19:12)

[Namsrai says to the camera]:

Za ene dee naimnii nagalaga gedeg shini ene dee xöö. Dariganga nyutagai ix uuliin ezen orzhirzh. Altan Owoo gezh delxiid _____ suuriatai yüröni xün duulsan xün.

[M.B.]: Altan Owoonii naadam.

[Namsrai]: Altan Owoonii nadaam gezh ix taxilaga boldog bilee. Ternii ezen orzhirzheindaa. Süxwaatar aimgai iim showxondor oroitoi uul baidiim. Ter uuliin ezen orzhirzh baidaa. Ar Mongold burxan dүrwön uul____.

14 DISPATCHING THE SPIRITS

14.1 (v2.19:11–19:17)

[Altanceceg sings]:

Zun haixan zulatai daa.

Zurxai zurgan taxiltai daa.

[Namsrai says]: Dariganga, dariganga!

14.2 (v2.19:17–20:12)

[Altanceceg and Namsrai sing together]:

Ei hoo baidoo baidaa minyee göö

Olon zonii butöohen.

(Goorin soorxoi argai belen)

Amitai zonii butöohen.

_____ amitai belen.

Agarxan zandan shireetei daa.

Zuuxan xülte zulatai daa.

Zuraxai zurgan taxiltai daa.

Oronoi haixan serzhimtei

Xadag torgon xawshuulagatai

Alta haixan belegtei daa.

Münöö üyiin müngön beleg

Tawinxan baizh l _____

Ariin arwan gurwan noyodtoo

Aduunai (baaxan) _____

Ayagshini shanagashini _____

_____ zoriulhan daa.

Xara sagaan serzhimtei daa.

Bürenxen haixan ürgöl yum.

Amitai ezen _____

Oixoneigoo naana.

Ariin arwan gurwan noyon, Buxa Noyon, _____

14.3 (v2.20:37–21:20)

[M.B. asks Namsrai]: Ene yamar ürgöl we?

[Namsrai]: **Odoo yag ene xabshuulagtaigaa, zultaigaa бүх үүмtei zultaigaa odoo noyodto xürgezh ögzhagaa tushaazhagaa baidal.** Odoo ene shiny taxilaa degeene gedeg shiny ene dee xöö. Amitangaa ezend ene orgoingoo ezeneer, ezend ene бүхе xünd yambiig ariin arwan gurwan noyid Buxa noyon _____ gazar gezh oixonii noyodto tushaazh ürgezhagaayum. Odoo ürgexed ene бүгд orshino. Degdeene gedegshini taxilaa degdeene gedegshini ene. Ornii tengeriin serzhim ene oron delxii owoo uulii serzhem butiin chineen ideetei bulaga met undaatai gej. Sain (aristuu) бүгд baigaa. **Za eniig oron delxiid ürgezhagaayum.** Ene belegteigee xamt бүгдиin zultaigaa idyeeteigee бүгд oixonii noyod _____ tushina shüü. Ariin arwan gurwan noyodod _____

14.4 (v2.21:21–22:11)

[Altanceceg sings]:

(Xanatai*) gerhee garagtii daa

Xatanxan gertee xarigtii
Utaatai gerheeye garagtii
Unagan nutagtaaya busagtii

[Namsrai says to the camera]: **Za ene xanatai geress garag daa garagtii! Xad gertee busagtii! Utaatai gertee gersee garagtii! Uul gertee busagtii! Shandandaa morilogtii daa! Nutagdaa züglögtii! Ogtorgoidoo degdegtii! Oron nutgaa busagtii gezhegaamshiny. Tengerxende xöörögtii, telmen gazaraa degdegtii daa! Ei hoo za odoo ingeed bügd yawaa. Ingezh yawuulana odoo degdeezhagaa baidal daa. Xad haixan gertee xarii l daa burxashuud, xaliun bulgan xünjildö dugjilgan bolowo! But haixan gertee busii l daa burxashuud bulgan xaliun xönjildö dugjilgan bolowo! Degden degden degdegtii degden deeshee xöörögtii daa deehsee xöörögtii!**

Appendix for Chapter 5.1.3

1 (v28) BAYARMAA' S POSSESSION

1.1 (v28. 0:05)

[Dungaa]: Bayarmaa xajuud ni suugaad ongodiin duu duulalcaad yaagaadax!

[Bayarmaa sings]: Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum [5x]

[Dungaa sings]:

Zambuu Tiwiin oronoingoo
Xiazagaarai gazarahaa
Xan yixe garwalnuudtnai
____ dan zalragtii daa!
____ don morilogtii daa!
Xan yixe garwalnuudye
Xasagdazha buugaaragtii
Ugiin yixe shütöönüüd nye
Xüxe münxe tengriiyi
Xügölzötör uraadnaw daa.
Xüwön sagaan üüliitnei
Xüg____ tör uraadnaw daa.
Xui haltyin xoyoriitnai
Xuitar ni uraadnaw daa.
Agar zandan modiitnai
____ ötör uraadnaw daa.
Altan müngön xoyoriitnai
Gialalzatar uraadnaw daa.
____ sagaan (goliohiitnai)
Nara hara xoyoriitnai
(zhadatar) ni uraadnaw daa.
Xöxö möngön üüliitnei
____ tar uraadnaw daa.
Xash sagaan ____ iitnai
____ tor uraadnaw daa.
____ sagaan ____ iitnai
____ tar uraadnaw daa.
Xan yixe garwalnudtnai
Zalagdazh l buugaaragtii!
Baxarxazh l buugaaragtii!

(v28. 2:43)

[Dungaa sings]:

Ayaaraingaa baruun xoinohoo
Amaldazh l uraadnaw daa!
Ürgön haixan Mongoliye

Ügai yixe garwalamnye
U____ zalaragtii!
____ morilogtii dee!
Bagaxan balshir ulaashatnai
Xagaan yixe garwaliitnai
Xadagxan torgo ulaashatnai
Buryaad gezhe yahatai daa.
Xun shuwuun garwaltai

Xuha modon sergiyi

Baruun Xuasai omogtoi daa.
Xandagai mergen uraatai daa.
Dolgoroi dügöö _____
Tüshöö _____

Xariin (garwaltai*) zholooshotnai
_____ nagalagtii!
_____ yürgölögtii dee!

(v28. 6:41)

[Bayarmaa sings]: Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum

[Bayarmaa cries]

(v28. 9:09)

[Interpreter says to Bayarmaa's spirit]: _____ nairalagtii _____ xürtegtii!

1.2

[Interpreter says to Bayarmaa's spirit]: **Altan shargal caigaa uu daa burxachuud! _____ shüüs naimanii chini nairлага aa burxachuud! Nam suuj nairlagtii, udaan suuj undlagtii! Noyon shig nomxonoor xaan shig xaluunaar tzalragtii burxachuud! Taniig gej taxij baina burxachuud! Tzayaa guij tzalbiryaa yürööl guij ügelyee! Tza noyon shig nomxonoor xaan shig xaluuxnaar nam suuj nairlag daa.**

1.3.1 (v28. 9:51)

[Dungaa says]: Ongon oroogui baigaa! Tza dalai süügee barigtii! Ene ix nairлага, ene ix taxilaga shütleg deer _____ бүтэн jiliin yüryöön deer buuj tzalarch baina daa. Ui gashuu bolood _____ noyon shig nomxon xaan shig xaluuxan tzalragtii! Dalain sain hütüye barigtii! Shingen _____ dalain sain hütüye barigtii! Uur usaargüi _____ güi noyon shig nomxonoor xaan shig xaluuxnaar tzalragtii! Orhon _____ ulaash ni baina ongon shüteenees _____ ene olon shawinar arwan xeden shawinar. Uur usaargüi, usaargüi dülgööhön _____ tzalragtii! Ene ulaashiinga biyed ni saxalj xoyor jiliin _____ dee. Xatan xar arxi _____!

1.3.2 (v28. 11:07)

[Dungaa says]: **Baga balshir ulaashiingaa xoyor xülii shangaruultzh xaraagüi yum xaruulzh meedeegüi yum medeüülzh mergen cuxaraa bailgazha usaargüi dülgööhön uurgüi nomxon zalarzhaagtii! Za olzoi ix üüdiye ongoilgon baizh garaxiin garziye xaan baizh aliwanii xorlol ataa zhütöo muu muuxai zailuulan baizh ürgöö shanartni tulam tuyaa tatuulan baizh ür xüxed aaw eej xamgaalan baij _____ uilj duulangüi noyon shig nomxonoor xaan shig xaluuxan zalragtii!**

1.3.3 (v28. 11:31)

[Dungaa says]: Ene xoyor bagshiin arwan xeden shawinartai niileed xorin, ürgöö shanariingaa baruun xoid xoimort agar zandan shireetei, zuun xültei zuliin zurxai xorin dүrwön taxiltai arwan dүrwön zultai _____ aagtai shargal caitai, xatan xar arxitai aadar cagaan serzhimtei, xamba torgon xawshuulagatai, xadag torgon belegtei, xuuj cagaan xonyiye doxiulan baizh, xurgan xonyiin shühende xünd yambiitnai xüxidүүлje, za noyon shig nomxon xaan shig xaluuxan zalragtii! Bayartai xöörtei _____gtii! Ene münxe haixan zul deeree zalragtii burxashuud! Xatan xar arxia barigtii daa!

1.3.4 (v28. 12:10)

[Dungaa says]: Zaa бага balshir ulaashiitnai üwgön buural ezhii Bodonguud omogtoi shoo mergen uraatai _____. Kuzmina Marina nertei emgen buural ezhii Marintai ulaashtai xamtan, za Marintai (xen) taxin (ergegtii) ongon shüteend zalbiran baizh (ergegtii) münöo üyin müngöön tushaayaa _____.

[spirit says to Marina (Bayarmaa's Mother)]: Tolgoigoo ögögtii!

[Dungaa]: Za tyigeed xatan xar arxia Mariinxantaigaa xuwaaazh xürtögtii! Za uur usaaraa _____ uulzh duulaxgüi ene haixan xünd. Za ene түмөн хүнэй zul taxil Dangaa түмөн хүнэй ongon shüteende zalarj baina daa. za uilzh duulaxgüi gomdongüi usaargüi dülgööhön (iregtii). Za ene үдөй (xoitindo) одоо үр олон хүүхдүүдтнэй таниг taxizh мүн gezh мүргөzh _____ taxilii одоо bayarлазha таниг taxizh мүн gezh мүргөzh yawhan baina daa. Xergeen deeree xaragtii xazaar _____gtii! Za uilzh duulaxgüi usaargüi dülgööhön orogtii! Za doshxon xaraa barigtii daa!

[spirit cries]

[Dungaa]: Buural _____ tanyildagtii!

[spirit]: _____

[Dungaa]: Yum baina guu? Gene dee!

[spirit]: _____

[Dungaa]: Yuu gejiinee?

[Dungaa to Marina]: Yamar omogtoi we tanaix?

[apprentice says]: Xaraaxan.

1.3.5 (v28. 14:55)

[Dungaa]: Daxin daxin (buuruuljuul) bolgondooroo taniulj baigaaragtii uur usaargüi ireeeregtii bayartai xöörtei oroorgtii burxashuud! Za ene haixan xünd deeree zalaragtii uur usaargüi usaargüi dülgööhön orogtii burxashuud! Za dalain sain hütüye barigtii! Za dalain sain hütüye barigtii! Za uur usaargüi usaargüi dülgööhön ... Za ürgöö shanar tulam tuyaa tatulagtii! Üye olon xamgaalj xaraaragtii! Za dalain sain hütügeeree mordogtii! Ene haixan zul deeree zalragtii!

1.4 (v28. 14:52)

[Dungaa sings]:

Aa hee yoo hee minie göö

Aa yaa baidoo minie göö

[spirit]: Minyii xonxo bish baina.

[Dungaa]: Minyii xonxo bish baina gene. Oo, ene baina ene.

[Dungaa sings]:

Daᠭ saᠭaᠭᠠᠨ xonxiye

Darshuulazh l degdee dee!

Dalan xeltei xuuriye

duulzha degdee dee!

[Dungaa says to everyone]: Utaarai utaarai! Utaad ög!

[Dangaa]: Shiröög shiröög _____.

[Dungaa to Bayarmaa]: Ühreerei!

1.5 (v28. 17:46)

[Dungaa says to Bayarmaa's relatives]: **Ene Bayarmaagai ongodiin uur, ene gomdoliig gargax xeregtei. Ene aaw eeᠭ odoo taa nar mash sain _____ ene yüröösöö zalburch бүгд мүргөй бай! Guizh mürgözh бай! Shuwt ene usaar, yutai gomdolti orzh тулзх gaslaad baina.**

2 (v28, v29, v30, v31) DANGAA'S POSSESSION

2.1 (v28. 18:57)

[Dangaa sings]:

Aa hee yoo hee minie göö

Aayaa baidaa minie göö

Agaar tengeriin (xürüm) daa.

Ongonxon tenger shütöönüüd miny

Uul xadaar güigeeshengüüd

Ugai xan _____ daagagtii daa!

Buryaad gezhe yahatai daa!

(v29. 0:00)

Üwgön buural shütöönüüd mnye

Baigal dalain dundaaxanaa

_____ shiregtei daa!

Batiin Münxöögöön xashaamnye daa.

Ezenxen yixe shütöömnyi daa.

Endüü ügüi buugaaragtii dee.

Anduuxan ügüi ergegtii daa.

Xalxa mongoloin zaaringuudiiye

Xasardan baizh l buugaaragtii daa.

Torguud Bayad zaaringuud nye

Xasardan baizh l buugaaragtii l daa.

Darxadiin yixe tengerüüd nye

Buugaaraxan xüröölögtii dee.

Xüwüün bagain xüwüün (yum*) daa.

Bayiin Balbar ulaasham daa.

Buryaad gezhe yahatai daa.

Xun shuwuun garwaltai daa.

Xuhan modon seregyii

Baruun Xuasai omogtii dee.

Xandagai _____ uraataib daa.

Udganii xüwüün _____

(v29. 2:00)

_____ [unintelligible]

_____ nahatai daa.

_____ [unintelligible]

_____ sheniin yühöniingee

_____ [unintelligible]

2.2 (v29. 5:46)

[spirit sings]: Aradiingaa düshin dürwön tengereeree naadam barin ergeehen bi. _____ tawin tawan tengereeree naadam barin ergeehen bi xoyorxon shanariye xosluulzh l buuhan _____ bi. Bүx l _____ zhandaguudii _____.

_____ tawin tawan tengeriye ergeldehen

[Dungaa]: Zaa tyiim bid dee!

[spirit]: Bүx l haxal (iyingüüdiye) shozholozh l buuhan mnye.

_____ iin xüwüün _____ tataad _____ olon түмен zhandaguudaam бүхэн _____ түмен olon Buryaad _____

zhandaguud _____ bultaaraa mend l amoor! (Togoo togoo).

[everybody says]: Mend amoor!

[Dungaa]: Baga balshir ulaashain ürgöö sagaan gert ni ene haixan münx haixan zul deer xorin dürwön arwan dürwön ulaash бага балшир шавитнай олон түмен улаашуудта шавинартаигаа арван дүрвөн улааштагаа хүнд яамби _____ залрагтй даа! Хуя sagaan xoni _____ xurgan xonyinii шүүхен deer. Хүнд яамбиитнай барихам dee! Модон taxia zhiliin shenei yühön ene haixan _____

[spirit]: Baga balshir bagaxan xüwüümnyi daa! Xüni ganca xüwüümnyi daa! _____ [unintelligible]. Xubsahan xunariin _____ yühön bolj (galgilnab) daa. Yixe haixan orgoiyim bodon _____ yürööliixen (gazariiyi) yühön gezhe (badaawab) daa!

[Dungaa]: Za dai delxiiye бүрхөөхөн дайван xar xese dee! Burxashuud, za __ za __.

[spirit]: _____ shanariiyim endüü l ügüi бүтөөлөw bi.

[Dungaa]: Shar ulaaan sain deezhee barigtii burxashuud! _____ Saigaa bari daa! Za xüregshiny baina xüü (yürde) xüüxed basgadaa haamadaa duxaraa barigtii daa!

(v29. 10:25)

[spirit]: Örgön түмен зhandaguud miny bultaarxanaa mend l amoor!

[everybody says:] Mend amoor!

[Dungaa]: **Za münöö üyiin saarhan xuyagtai tamxi barigtii! Za barigtii daa! Nam huuzh nairlaarai dulaan huzh untaaragtii!** _____ залрагтй! Noyon shig nomxon xaan shig xaluun залрагтй! Ene Mongol orniingoo (erxet budlag) bulxandaa Ulaanbaatar xotiingoo Xan Bogdiin ar xoimort xatan Tuuliingaa xöwöö deer ni ene mongol orniingoo (erxet budlag) Ulaanbaatar xotiingoo ür olon nartai uuliin zhandaguudii ulaashiingaa ür olon xüüxdüüd shini arwan xeden shawinar yum daa. Ax düütei bultaar ni. Malgai shini managtii daa manuuxai m _____ taxigtii daa! Xarahen deeree xaraaragtii manahan deeree manaaragtii! Tanii gezh taxizh mün gezh mürgönöbdi daa! Ene haixan хүнд yamb deer ni nambatai hugtii! Xüxyüxeneer залрагтй burxashuud!

[spirit sings]: Xüxyüü xüxyüü xüxyüü (xiwee) xüxyöö zh l xüxyööwew.

[Dungaa]: Tza!

[spirit]: Xongor zhaaxan zhandaguudmnye bag l balchir xüüxdüüdnye bultaarxanaa mend l gu? Xar l shöniin gazartnai xadan _____ geree _____ (wew daa) ene zhiliin gazariiyin _____ (dowshuulwaw)

[Dungaa]: Za tyiim bid dee! Tyiim bid dee!

[spirit sings]: (Üryee oritoi xotonguud) _____ ötgön gu? (aran xaixatnai) anduu ügüi (oryoo shizh l) ergeewew döö.

[Dungaa]: Za (sa __ nii) shangax xesüü bolohon sag daa. Tigeed deeshee yawzh deeshee yawazh dooshoo yawzh dooshoo yawzh _____ tenxeegüi (shim) tenxeegüi yanz büriin bainabdyi daa. Üxel xagasal boloogüi _____ baizh l bainabdyi daa. Ongon ix shüteengüüdnye xarzh xamgaalaaragtii!

[spirit]: Tyiin gehen yaaxa l xaw daa. Tyigeezh l yawxa l xamdaa! deere gazart l түшөөрөгüi dergedxeni uligaal ügüi. Tüwshin baix _____ gazartaxan izhil yawax l yohotoi xon.

[Dungaa]: Za tyiim daa, za tyiim.

[spirit]: Dedexetnei xuriash _____ xoroо xoroо xoroо xondon zhargaldazh l ergeewew dee.

[Dungaa]: Tyiim dee!

[spirit]: Törö geeshe xoyordozh l түмен olon gomdoldozho. Gomdoo shütezh yawxadatnai shingüi yaahangaa (xüwüüd nye). (Xülöö galaan galtagüi taa.) Xüren baizh l galgaaragtiish!

2.3 (v29. 13:35) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Dungaa says to an apprentice (Batmönx)]: Ene ni asuudax. Xenii xen bilee? Yamar ündestei bilee? Yanguur yuu genee? Yangir owgiin _____

[Dungaa to spirit]: Za xalxa mongol yahatai _____ yanguur owogoi _____

[Dungaa to Batmönx]: Dungaa to Batmönx: Za shi ööröö xeled baigaarai!

[Batmönx]: Bi xalxa mongol ündestei yanguur owogiin Yangiin Batmönx baina.

[Dungaa to spirit]: Za ene xüwüündetnei yüünei yüntegtei xaanai xa _____ azhil түрöl бүтөxгüi gar ganciin xool ni bolzh xani izhil xamt yawzh (gombiin gozon) tolgoi bolzhee. Azhil түрöl бүтөxгüi yadazh туулzh yawna geeshew. Yüünei yüntegtii xaanai xal _____ yum geeshew. Gaigüi l baina geeshew oo! Gal _____ id ix baina geeshew xelzh yarizh ögööt! Xaraagüi yum xaruulzh medeegüi yum medüülzh ögööt! _____

(v29. 14:18)

[spirit]: Xorin xede xüwüünmnyi daa! (Yazagalzh) l yawan xüwüün baina daa!

[Dungaa]: Tyiim daa!

[spirit]: Naiman (xagaan) üyeetei nee. Saixan (xagaan) (talatadna). Ugiin yixe garwal yum daa. Ugiin yixe shütöön mani. Deed l yixe tengeriyyi salamdazh l buuhan. Örööl haixan gazariiyi (ümjöö) ügüi buuhan. Bүdүүn xara xüniyi (bүtүүnүүл) l buuhan. Odo xara bugiyyi daa onshuulazh l buuhan. Ongon yixe shütööniiye azhii gezhii yawxadatnai yamar shüteen yawxa l _____ xüwüümnye. Gurwan dürwön üyeeree lee bultaarxanaan xayazhi daa. Ongon yixe shütööniiyeen gegen baizh l ergeewew dee! (Ixii xenii gerbeezhi dee) dalan burxanii (dalaxije) xeltgii _____ zaxatiyi _____. Ha ha ha ha ha.

[Dungaa interprets]: Za ongon yix shütöönüdee guraw dürwön üyeesee taanar бүгdeeree orxicon baina. Ongon yix shüteen baina, tegeed buruu yawj gej xelj baina daa. Ongod tengeree oloogüi yawj baina gej xelj baina daa.

[Dungaa to spirit]: Za enexen xüwüündnye ööröö ug garwalaa zalgax gee xüwüün oilgox _____ daa.

[spirit]: Tyiixew daa!

[Dungaa]: Ööröö odoo böö bolox yum baina daa. Ongod tenger zalax yostoi baina _____ gej xelj baina daa. Owog neree xeledex!

[Batmönx]: Xalx ündestei Yanguur owgiin Yangiin Batmönx.

[Dungaa]: Tereхen baha nege xün baidiim baina azhil түрöl бүтөxгüi tiimerxüü yawdag. Tere ni yamar baina geeshew ene xoyor xoyuulaa, xoyuulanxaa _____.

[spirit]: Ti _____ eexeneen түрhön zol orxin baizh l galgilagtiish!

[Dungaa to Batmönx]: Chi ööröö ongon shüteen bolox yum baina terii түr tzuur orxichee gej baina.

[Dungaa to spirit]: Za oilgoobdyi daa!

2.4 (v29. 16:46) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[participant (Uyanga)]: Ölziibadrax nayan zurgaan onii bar jiltei Ölziibadraxiin Uyanga.

[Dungaa]: Xaana baina.

[Uyanga]: Ter _____.

[Dungaa]: Asuu l daa öröö asuu!

[Uyanga]: Aawiinxaa owog medxgüi shdee!

[Dungaa]: Omog yum uu?

[Uyanga]: Aawiinxaa omog medexgüi.

[Dungaa to spirit]: Za omog uraayaa medexgüi xün Ölziibadraxiin Badrax gej xüwüün _____.

[Uyanga]: Uyanga.

[Dungaa]: Uyanga gezh xünii ene haixan ulaashiitnai shawi ni asuuzh baina daa.

[Uyanga]: Arwan yüstei.

[Dungaa]: Arwan yühön nahatai yum baina.

[spirit]: Xatuuxan xaraxan arxixiimnye _____!

[Dungaa]: Za doshgon xaraa barigtii daa, doshgon xaraa barigtii burxashuud!

[spirit]: Xeniixen _____?

[Uyanga]: Nayan tzurgaan onii bar jiltei arwan yüsön nastai oxin бага jaaxan oxin bagadaa baishin deerees unasan odoo biye xaa jaaxan muutai! Unaxleeree modon deerees namaig awaachee gej eejiigee duudadag tiim neg oxin baina. Tüüniig ta xelj medej xairlagtii!

[spirit]: Za daa enexen xüwüümnye asarzh daa asarzh yawaxagüi bol boloxgüi daa.

[Dungaa]: Ter ter xüüxdee asarzh _____ tegexgüi bol boloxgüi baina gezh.

[Uyanga]: Tza tegyöö bi eej aawd ni xelyöö, duulgii!

2.5 (v29. 18:34) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Dungaa to an apprentice (Dawaasüren)]: Asuu, asuu _____ xeleed asuu!

[Dawaasüren]: Dawaasüren.

[Dungaa]: Ene xazhuudatnai xan yix garwalai zhooloosho бага balshir ulaashatnai shawi yum daa ter түрүүн han bogoni zhooti basgan.

[Dawaasüren]: Enxbaatariin Dawaasüren туулай jiltei.

[Dungaa]: Xedyii nahatai yum?

[Dawaasüren]: Odoo arwan naimtai.

[Dungaa]: Za.

[Dawaasüren]: Ene jil arawdugaar анги төгсөх yum.

[spirit]: Aawiin yixe Buyan baina daa! Aawiin yixe Buyan baina daa! Aawiin yixe Buyan baina daa! Aragagüi (namaatnai). Yühön gezhe xalazh naima gezh l (xelwee__wew) Бага balshir xüwüün үрнее (begsh) gezh l xündlet gezh l xörwöogtö xüwüümnye.

[Dungaa]: Aa ter dee bagsh. Awagani baina nagasani baina. Üngtei shadaltai tenxeetei zon baigaad namhaa _____ bagshiin xazhuud asuuzh baigaa yum bid dee!

[Dawaasüren]: Tiim ee! Bagshiigaa _____

[spirit]: Anduu l ügüi galgilxa daa. Endüü l ügüi galgilxa daa. Xawriin haixan hariin gu? Zuniin yixe hariin gu? Shenii arwan tawnii üyede xongor haixan basgan ürem bolgoozh egel yawaarai daa!

[Dawaasüren]: Za.

(v30: 0:00–0:53)

[spirit]: Tendhee xoish sh yaaxaw daa xüwüümnye

[Dawaasüren]: Gialailaa. Xawriin sariin shiniin arwan tawand gesen uu, bolgoj yaw, xaraxui shönö bolgoj _____ бүү yawuul _____

[spirit]: Zunii exen sariin shönii arwan tawan xoid bolgozh l yawag daa!

[Dungaa]: Tzunii exen sard shenii arwan tawan gej. Xawriin exen sar bas orono gej baina. Xawriin exen sar odoo garchaad baina shdee!

2.6 (v30. 0:53) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Enxtzayaa]: Xajuudxan suudag bid nar odoo, yaawal odoo saixan amidrax we?

[Dungaa]: Ügüi xar odoo ongodoo zalgaj bai, ööröö ongodoo zal, ter agshin bish yum baina. Odoo bailaa sh gesen _____ daraa ni bolox yum baina. xleed chi ööröö ongodoo zalgaachee! _____ yumaa xii! Texgüi bol bolooxgüi gej baina.

[spirit]: Xüwüüm bagiin xüwüümnyi daa бага balshir xüwüümnyi daa ongon yixe shütöönxendöön naidazh egel yawazh xatuu xara arixiye _____ yixe durlazhi daa uuxa idezh yawaxiye _____ tatiish dee xüwüümnye!

[Dungaa]: Shamaiye gezh baina daa! Ongon yix shüteendee tendee bardazh arixii ix bitxii uzsh terendee bitxii bardazh bitxii uuzh yawaa gej xelj baina. Za tegii gej xelex yum bol chi yaaxaw _____ sadan бүх xünii shiny xamgaalz yawnaa gesen üg.

[Enxtzayaa]: Tza bayarllaa. Tandaa örgöl örgöyöö ene.

[Dungaa]: Za бага balshir shawitnai Myagmarsüren

[Enxtzayaa]: Myagmarjawiin xüü Enxzayaa nertei _____ xan ix garwaliin xadag torgon ulaach aa!

[spirit]: Ariun haixnaar (galiguulxaw) daa. Ongon yixe shütöönii shiny tawizh egel _____

[Enxtzayaa]: Tza tegyöö!

[Dungaa]: Ongon yix shüteengüüd xaagdsan boogdsan garwaluud tawizh ögöölnee gezh.

[Enxtzayaa]: Bayarllaa tegej xairlaarai!

2.7 (v30. 2:43) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Oyuunchimeg]: Amar mendee!

[Dungaa]: Darxadai yahatai Zhongogoi Oyuuchimeg gezh xongor bagaxan ulaashiitnai ürgömöl basganiing

zulaa bil üü?

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tzayaa.

[Dungaa]: Zayaa gezh nertei dee. Arwan naiman nahatai ider dundaa yum baina daa. Tegeed basgangaa xünei türehen düü ter basganii hanaa zol _____ xadaa

[spirit]: Yaahan gezh _____

[Dungaa]: Za tyigeed arwadugaar angi tögsöx yum baina zam xargui yamar baina geeshew? Barsadtai baina geeshew shuluun baina geeshew gezh hurana hee.

[spirit]: Baixagüi xoyor _____ daa

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tza, tza bayarllaa. Amar mendee!

2.8 (v30. 3:49) THE SPIRIT'S MONOLOGUE

[somebody]: Ulaachiin jaaxan xüüxdüüd baina daa! Baga balchir shawi ni Öwchin zowlon _____

[spirit]: **Za odoo __güi bi ganc yum xelewew daa. Bultaaraa ulaash bolox oo hain yawagtii! Za ta nar bultaaraa neg xünyii shawi geeshew.**

[Dungaa]: **Bügdetnei xele bi shawinartaa gej baina.**

[everybody]: **Tza.**

[spirit]: **Yamarshahaan yum xaxaran togoonoo soo baixaw shiw daa. Terenhee xalixadtnai xüüxdüüdemnye yuush bish _____ shinzh boloxo.**

[Dungaa]: **Odoo neg bagshiin shawi бүгдеее sus xagarsan sh togoon dotroo gedeg surgaal xelj baina daa. Бүгд yuu sh болсон togoon dotroo bagt! Ternees xalix yum болуул yuush bish shonxuu boldiimaa. Tiim ushraas бүгдеее ewtei nartai yaw ongon tengeree шүт gesen үг l dee. Za tegezh xelzh baina daa.**

[everybody]: **Tza.**

[spirit]: **Odoo xaran geed bodon geed __mnye zarim negen zhandaguudnye ughtaash tomoxon zantai baixawshwii daa! Bagsh geed l bagsh baixawshwii daa. Teriig l oilgozh yawa!**

[Dungaa]: **Bagsh gezh bagsh _____ Ene shawinar dator zarim neg tom zantai ulsud bainaa. Bagsh geed l bagsh, shawi geed l shawi baidag. Бүгдеее ewtei nartai yawcgaa! Ene minyii xarj baixad ene dator yanz бүриин улсууд bainaa gezh xelj baina.**

[everybody]: **Tza. Tza oilogoson. Amar mendee!**

2.9 (v30. 5:22) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Dungaa]: Tza, ter xel!

[apprentice (Bayarmaa)]: Xalx Mongol yastai Baya__ Bayarmaa minyii ene jiliin zayaa töörög yamar baina?

[spirit]: Za ene jiliintnai zayaa töörög, hain yawaxash. Tzüüniitnei xoit түгеее ongon ix шүтөөн argagüi minyii xüwüün neg tzaxalchxaad xaashaa ch xödlüül daa. Tza teriitnei shamai shanar shansaandiitnei garzh irxe. Tza minyii xüwüün shanar shansaa gexshe yüme shadaagüi xadna uilahan usaarlahan yum baizh baixashwiw daa.

[Bayarmaa]: Tza.

[Dungaa]: Shanar shiny dutagdaad ongon shiny shanar nexeed gomdlood baina. Ene shanaraa nexeed ene uilahan usaarlahan yum. Uilj l baix daa gezh xelene. _____ [unintelligible]

2.10 (v30. 6:47) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Dungaa]: Tza yamar yastai bilee?

[apprentice (Urianxai Mönxjaw)]: Urianxai yastai.

[Dungaa]: Damdinsürenii züün öwdög түшин Mönxzhaw nertei nertei бага balshir ulaashiitnai xongor bagxan бага balchirxai shawi ni daa. _____ zalaa zalguulaad baina daa. Tigeeed enexen basgatnai _____ arai gaigüi bolj bainaa. öshöö dutuu dund yum baina geeshew xelexer _____ honhoo daa.

[spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]

[Dungaa]: Za münöödör sh dutuu baigaa baina shdee. Shanar shansaa xexede бага багаар shadazh xol oiriin yum oirtuulzh yawii daa gezh xelzh baina. Asuu, asuu, asuu!

[Urianxai Mönxjaw]: _____

[Dungaa]: **Za ene basgantnai altan xil alxazh müngön xil müshgözh Xiatadai gazart xol nyutagta, Xiatad gürende, xar xeltei Xiatad gürende erdem nomtoi bolxom gezh yawnaa. Terende yawaxam geeshew bolixom uu yaaxaw gezh huraxa daa. Yirexe zh l yawa zh l shadaxa ügüi geeshew hurax daa.**

[spirit]: Yawaad neg үзеее daa. Müngöt__

[Dungaa]: Za müngösh ilüü garaad baigaa yum bol yawaad үзesh dee. Bi shamd yuu xelex we gezh xelzh baina. Yer ni xereggüi gesen үг yum baina.

2.11 (v30. 8:39) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[apprentice (Alimaa)]: Xalx yastai _____ mergen uraatai.

[Dungaa]: Za örgöl barii daa burxashuud!

[Alimaa]: Tzüün öwdög түшин suugaa _____

[Dungaa]: Müngön beleg barina bi, barigtii gezh xeldiim.

[Alimaa]: Mөngön beleg bari__

[Dungaa]: Barigtii gezh xelene. za

[Alimaa]: Barigtii!

[Dungaa]: _____ za xalx mongol yahatii xüser mergen uraatai.

[Alimaa]: Xüser mergen uraatai züün öwdög түшин suusan Alimaa gej aldartai.

2.12 (v30. 9:10) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Dungaa to her daughter (Mönxjaw)]: Shi boli!

[Mönxjaw]: Yu boli gej?
 [Dungaa]: Bas asuux yum uu?
 [Mönxjaw]: Asuuna asuuna bas ajil бүтэxгүй багаа yum chini.
 [Dungaa]: Tza bolnoo doo xöi xöi. _____ za asuu asuu asuu!
 [Mönxjaw]: Tza.
 [Dungaa]: Müngön beleg barigtii daa geed asuu!
 [Mönxjaw]: _____ Sharaid owogtoi
 [Dungaa]: Müngön beleg barigtii geed!
 [Mönxjaw]: Yuu gedeg bilee?
 [Dungaa]: Müngön beleg barigtii gee!
 [Mönxjaw]: Müngön belgee barigtii!
 [Dungaa]: Sharaid omogtoi xandagai mergen uraatai Zhigzhidsürnei züün öwdög түшин hugaa basgan Mönxzhaw nertei taxia zhiltei xan yix garwalai xadag torgon zholoosh bolxo hanaatai yadazh yawnaa. Tanhaa zalbirna xadaa. _____ azhil түрöl ni бүтэxгүй yum dutuu yaaxaw geeshew dutuu yum _____ xelzh ügögtii burxaa!
 [spirit]: _____.
 [Mönxjaw]: Öör yum.
 [Dungaa]: Asuugaash dee tegeed!
 [Mönxjaw]: Asuu l daa!
 [Dungaa]: Yuu asuuxaw?
 [Mönxjaw]: Xani ijil asuuya.
 [Dungaa]: Ha ha ha naiz chini baгаа yum bol. za ene basagantnai neg xany izhil neg üyexedeg xüüxed baidiim dee. Ter yamar yum gezh hurnaa _____.
 [spirit]: _____.
 [Mönxjaw]: Yuu gene üü?
 [Dungaa]: Ha ha ha za daraa ni xelchixeed _____ za.
 [somebody]: Xashaa (ch*) tewshij yawnaa.

2.13 (v30. 11:29) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[apprentice (Bumsüren)]: Mōngön (belgee*) barigtii!
 [Dungaa]: Za ulaashiitnai shawini. Baruun Xuasai omogtoi xandagai mergen uraatai Dolgoroi züün üwdög түшин huugaa basgan. Bumsüren nertei. Xani ijin _____ döchin yösni jil boljagaad tzasal xiilgesen yumaa tanaar. Xoyor xüüxedtei, oxin xüü xoyortoi. Ene irex jiliin _____ mani __tzaaj ögögtii!
 [Bumsüren]: _____ noyon nuruu yamar baina we?
 [spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]
 [Dungaa]: Xatan xaraa _____ teriigee tewshix _____.
 [spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]
 [Dungaa]: Düşin yöhön zhil shiny anxaaraarai _____ shanga sh _____.
 [spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]
 [Dungaa]: Düşin yühön zhil shiny emegtei xünd gaigüi, eregtei xünd gaigüi baidag. Ene jiliig anxaaraarai daa gej xelj baina.
 [Bumsüren]: Tza tanidaa mörgöj tzalbirch yawnaa! Minii xuwid odoo yamar baina we, ene jil? Ulaach bolox gej yadarch tzüderch yawna daa!
 [spirit sings]: _____ olon zhandaguudiiy oroi deeree huulgahan tom udgan bolno.
 [Dungaa]: Odoo yawaandaa, odoo yer ni ireedüi shiny gesen üg. Yariatai, xööröötei, ineedtei, bayartai olon xüniig oroi deeree suulagsan owilogogüi tom bolnoo shi gezh! Tza tza bollo.

2.14 (v30. 13: 31) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Dungaa]: Tza Baruun Xuasai omogtoi xandagai mergen uraatai ene ulaashiitnai xongor bagaxan xüwüün ni. Za tyigeed _____ Naranbaatar gedeg nertei xüwüün tanid xadag möngö xatan xariin deezhiigee barizh zalbirzh mürgözh baina daa. Za zam xarguiyi zaazh ügögtii! _____ xolduulagtii, gai barsagiinyini zailuulagtii! _____ ongon yix shütönd mürgözh, xadag möngön belgee bariw daa!
 [spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]
 [Dungaa]: Za tyim biddee!
 [spirit sings]: _____
 Bagaxan balchir xüwüüniimnye _____.
 Ulaanxan shuhaniinyi buzgaxan _____.
 Xongorxon xüwüündednei _____.

2.15 (v30. 14:53) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[apprentice (Oyuunchimeg)]: _____
 [Dungaa]: Tza xenii Oyuunchimeg?
 [Oyuunchimeg]: _____.
 [Dungaa]: Tza _____ Oyuunshimeg xan garwaltai zholoosho _____ enexen basgiie xelzh ögögtii dee.
 [spirit]: _____
 [Dungaa]: Aragagüi baina gü?
 [spirit]: _____
 [Dungaa]: Bumcend ee!
 [spirit]: _____
 [Dungaa]: Sagaangüi tas xar garwaltai sh baizh magadgüi gezh. Bumaa naash ir! Eniig bolxoor cagaan baixgüi xariin garwaltai baix yum shig gej xelj baina daa.
 [Dungaa to spirit]: Za oilgoo, za oilgoo.

2.16 (v30. 15:28) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Dungaa]: Tza yamarshuu omogtoi?

[apprentice (from the Cagaanguud clan)]: Cagaanguud owogtoi, [*says his name*] nertei.

[Dungaa]: Tza.

[Cagaanguud apprentice]: Minii odoo ajil töröl _____.

[Dungaa]: Tza möngön belgee barigtii daa! Yüünei Damdyin Dorlig zalgamzhilhan daa.

[spirit sings]:

Bagxan balshir xüwüümnye _____

züünii xoito zügehee

Damdyinxan yixe Dorlig

xüler möngön tolitni

xüröölүүлэн байзх _____

xuyag _____.

[Dungaa interprets]: Damdyin Dorlig gezh tolind _____.

[spirit]: (Xünyiin) xolxon xayagdahan xataxan _____iin ezedüüd araga ügüi bainawshwii daa xüwüün бага xüwüün yum daa xoyor zhiliin dasahan gu? Gurwan zhiliin dasahan gu? Xongorxon ulaaxan xüwüümnye _____ zhandaguudiinxaа, üwgönхөн buural izhiingee, üwgönхөн buural aawiingaa xayagdahan geegdehen ongon shütöön _____ gargazh l _____.

[Dungaa interprets]: Aawiin shiny taliin eezhiin shiny taliin xoyor taliin yum gezh baina daa. tegeed ter ongon shüteenüüdee gargazh irex _____ geж xelj baina. Aawiin taliin ter Damdin Dorlig ter yuund baigaa yum shig eezhiin shini tal _____.

[*They whisper.*]

2.17 (v31. 1:52) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[an apprentice]: Minii neg düü Ispand baigaa, tuulai jiltei. Tigeeд wiiz xöөcöldнө geed neg bichig zaxiad baigaa. odoo bi гараад yawuulna. _____.

[spirit]: _____ xatan xaraa!

[participant]: Tuulai jiltei Mönxceceg geed odoo дөрвөн жил болж баigaa, Ispand gadagshaa yawaad nadaar bichig yawuulaad l odoo дөрвөдхөө yawuulna. Ajil ni бүтхнi үү үгүй yүү?

[another apprentice, Oyuunchimeg, acts as an interpreter]: Tza xatuu xaraa barigtii!

[spirit]: Minyii ара xurganii _____араарagtii! Yamar zhiltei?

[participant]: Tulai jiltei.

[spirit]: Enii barizhi _____!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tzasal xiilgej boloxgüi dee! Tzasal xiilgexgüi gesen. Bagsh ta öнөөдөр _____shinii yüsni yörgөө ta хүнii үilen deer tzogsoogüi shüü! Tza tzasal yuugaa bitgii xiigeerei! Yörөөl awch öгөөрöi!

[spirit]: Za minyii xüü naadxaа örgөө daa!

[apprentice]: Xaashdaа örgөх yum?

[spirit]: Züün xoid.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tzüün xoishoo. Malgai tawchixaarai!

2.18 (v31. 3:40) THE SPIRIT LEAVES

[spirit sings]:

_____ [*unintelligible*]

Üüren _____ zhandaguud

Bultaaraа _____

Bütenxen baizh _____

_____xonyooniitnai shüühen

Xürten baizh l _____

[spirit speaks]: _____ogtlood ögshii daa xüüxdüüd!

[an apprentice]: Xatuu xar uu?

[spirit]: Neg ulaash ni ogtlooroi daa!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Xatuu xaraа barix uu?

[another apprentice]: Neg ni ogtlood ög döө!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Yuu?

[apprentice]: Max.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Oo!

[Dungaa]: Za barigtii burxashuud!

[spirit]: Za бүх xüüxdüüd bultaaraа xürtegtii!

[Dungaa]: Eniig бүх хүн бүгdeeree xazachix

[spirit sings]: _____ [*unintelligible*]

3 (v31, v32) DUNGAA'S FIRST POSSESSION

3.1 (v31. 8:55)

[Dungaa sings]:

Aa hee yoo hee minie göө

Aa yaa baidoo minie göө

Ei hee yoo hee minie göө

Ei yee baidoo minie göө

Ayaaraingaa barun xoinohoo

Amaldazha uraadnab dee

Xüxe manxan tengeriin

Xü _____ düülehen
 Ogtorgüi tengerhee (herbegtii)
 Arwan xoyor (haadagtaa)
 Arawnai _____
 Serenei xüwüün (xülööhön)
 _____ yixe garwalii
 Xögshön buural aawamnye
 _____ zalaragtii
 Üren bagxan ashiingaa
 _____ morilogtii dee
 _____ baizh l buugaaragtii!
 Noyon shinge nomoxonoor
 Nomoxonoor buugaaragtii!

Baga balshir ulaashiingaa
 Ongon yixe shüteenüüd (shiny)
 Udyirdazh l buugaaragtii!
 _____ toigoor iregtii!
 Aa hee yoo hee minie göö
 Aa hee yoo hee minie göö
 Aa yaa baidoo minie göö
 Ei hee yoo hee minie göö

3.2 (v31. 11:17)
 [spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]

3.3 (v31. 11:35)
 [spirit sings another song]:
 Xüxe manxan tengerhee
 Düülenxen _____ üülx l gürmiin ezengeehce

Arwan xoyor (haadagalzha)

3.4 (v31. 12:22)
 [spirit speaks]: Nagoon burxad ch xaragdada (dowo) togsuulj _____ burxandaa. Nomgon tolgoi shini ügüixen dee. Xaaxan xaaxan baina geeshew? Alixan zügt örgöö geeshew? Nyutagai mnye gazarta gishgeeshew? Ür bagxan ashiingaa urilagan yireehen bi, xüügee! Shüüweetei sh güizh yawahan bi dee! Serenei sh xüwüün güilgend _____.
 [Dangaa]: Za ölzii buural ongon _____ shenii yühönei nairlagan baina daa!
 [spirit]: Tyiim dee бага tenegxen basganiingaa xesiin duugaar uulizhi düülizhi yireehen bi. Nogoorz h l nogoorz h l xaragdada nomgon tolgoigoo (harawshlaad xaraadag xüüxdüüd) bid dee?
 [Dangaa]: Ügüi bid dee burxashuud! Bagxan balshir ulaahsatnai Ayaaraingaa baruun zügt, manai Mongol ornii niislet Ulaanbaatar xotiingoo xatan Tuuliingaa ar xömöönd xan Bogdiin ar xömöönd bainabdyi daa!
 [spirit]: Ar Xalxiin Mongol nyutag soo Mongol olon zhandaguudai dund yawana geeshiltei xüüxdüüd miny?
 [Dangaa]: Tyiim bid dee burxashuud!
 [spirit]: Baga balshirxan basagan mnye, uri bagaxan xüüxen mnye nyalxa bagagüi xanda _____.
 [Dangaa]: Tyiingüü yaagaaw? Shandagain shar ulaan cain deejee barigtii burxashuul!
 [spirit]: Yühön xeltnei yüryүүлz arwan xeltnei arzanguulhan amitan boloo geeshiltei?
 [Dangaa]: Tyiim bid dee!
 [spirit]: Bayarlab daa, bayarllaa! Ene haixan xünd deeree xüxixab daa xüüxdüüd mnye.
 [Dangaa]: Za xatan xaraa barigtii burxashuud!
 [spirit]: Xaa yaasha ix xerүүлtei amatai, ataatai zhütöötei gazar geeshe enemnye.
 [Dangaa]: Udgan bööneeree baihan gazart xerүүл awargaan gezhe taardaggüi gezh ta medne.
 [spirit]: Udagan böö yohotoi nomtoi yawaxa bid dee! Ulad tür, tür geeshetnei yaagaad türei dund baidag boloo geeshew?
 [Dangaa]: Aa, türemnei ergee geeshem bid dee. _____ xüregshin _____.
 [spirit]: Nomgon tolgoigoo toirood deletei mundaatai xüyen boroo xodoo _____ gishxeed güilgezhe yüryүүлzhe soyuulzh yawxadamnye iim xel aman xaragdaashgüi. Zhigd goyo baigaa daa! Münöö sag shiny bish baixa daa! Ürgen tümen zhandaguud mnye bultaaraa, ür olon xüüxdüüdmnye xoo mend amoor!
 [everybody]: Mend amoor!
 [spirit]: Xüregsh xünyiiyengee xüüye xüüxed basgadiingaa haaamiye shimen xürtengüi udaa geesheltei!
 [Dangaa]: Tyiim bid dee!
 [spirit]: Za ür bagxan ashiimnye ür olon xüüxdüüd ni baina gü?
 [Dangaa]: Baina! Barigtii burxashuud! _____ xüüxdüüd basgada haam!
 [spirit]: Za mend amoor!
 [everybody]: Mend amoor!
 [spirit]: Xoyor bagxan zeenere adyislaxa yum bizaw daa!
 [Dangaa]: Baga balchir basgadatnai uxaangüi olon boloo bid dee! Asha _____ zöö nar uxaagüi ix boloo! Olon tümen zhandaguudaa xüröölüülhen tomoo tunxan boloo.
 [spirit]: Aa shütgör minyii mön basaganai (tormo) shüteen udgan gej shütgör baix ni dee! Olon amitnai dund

yawana yum bid daa! Xarxadamnye Örgön tümen zhandaguuddaa xüeelүүлshihen daa! Yaagaash olon ongon tenger шүтээнүүд багаа геешев! Yaashaash olon udgan бөөнүүд бaidiim geeshew.

[Dangaa]: Tyiim bid dee! Baga balshir ulaashiitnai tanai zee zernүүд.

[spirit]: Yir dee xüi miny yir dee! Yuun uilna duulnaa yum bid dee? Üshöö үрнүүд ni baina gü?
(v31. 18:10)

[Dangaa]: Za бага balshir ulaashiitnai deeree xoyordaxi xüwүүн.

[spirit]: Za xüwүүмteigee zolgodow daa!

[Dungaa' son]: Mendee!

[spirit]: Mendee!

[spirit]: Xüüxdemnye (tii) neg xüxer ulaan joosh xüwүүн ni xaana yawagshaaw?

[Dangaa]: Ter örgөө sagaan gertee baina. Önөөдөр xüxer ulaan jooshotnai Gandan xiidede baina daa!

[spirit]: Za boloo daa. Tere xen ter Gandan xiidede baiga xaadma sүлд ni bayarlaw daa! Öрөө jaaxan xoliworloj xotol _____ tere!

[Dangaa]: Tyiim önөөдөр Gandan xiidede baina daa!

[spirit]: Za boloo daa, boloo. Za tyiigeed üshöö yuunuud baina gü?

3.5 (v31. 19:00) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Dangaa]: Za tyee. Baga balchir xüwүүniitnai ulaashiitnai bereet.

[spirit]: Xüüxnemnye _____.

[Dangaa]: An xa.

[spirit]: Odoo hain yawaxash daa! Xol gazar yawaadyireltei shdee!

[Dungaa's daughter in law]: Tiim ee!

[spirit]: Yaagaa ix ataa zhütөө daxuulzh yiree geeshewsh xüwүүмnye! Za tyigeed amitan ax düü narshnye hain mend gü?

[daughter-in-law]: Mend ee.

[spirit]: Za ataa zhütөө atlaa daxuulzh iree shdee teree neg үргөөлgeerei xüwүүмnye.

[daughter-in-law]: Za

[spirit]: Za tyigeed hain yawaxa daa xüwүүмnye.

[daughter-in-law]: Za

[spirit]: Za

3.6 CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Dangaa]: Baga balchir ulaashiitnai bagxan ganc xüüxeniny.

[spirit]: Ü _____ tyigeed tere öwgön esgiingee geeshew шүтгөр geeshew yumb ulaash yumb шүтгөр yumb

(v32. 0:00)

[Dangaa]: Ulaashxan boloo!

[spirit]: Aa ulaash bolxo _____.

[Dangaa]: Öwgön buural aawiingaa ongon haixan шүтэеиig baira daa!

[spirit]: Mendee mend! Ter xүлxүү bazarshnyi odoo zhoo(l)ch (yamaxumd=yamarxuu yumand?) Yawaxiim dee yugiin bariaw daa!

[Dangaa]: Aa ter Xuyagiin Mönxiin garwaliini baria.

[spirit]: Aa ter xүлxүү Badriin yuun yum be tere?

[Dangaa]: Aawxaniny.

[spirit]: Aa tyiigexe argagüi argagüi. Ideeneeshiny tyigeed baha neg yumniny yaanab dee tyigeed xүлxүү Badartnai geeshew үү шүтгөр geeshew үү. Negen xadan gertee xalizh xadiin shuluu derleed hanaliin baina bisheew үү?

[Dangaa]: Baingüi yaaw geeshwee. Baga balchir basganiny xadan gertee xalia daa!

[spirit]: Za tere nei hanalii _____ xolduulx aa daa! Teretnei Xүлxүү Bazartnai (daiwan) xadan gertni (xaliwa yum) baina. Hanyish boloogüi zuurdaar oshiw geeshew shee.

[Dangaa]: Tyiim ee!

[spirit]: Xүnei гараан (garzh) xүлөө _____ yaagaash geesheltei xorlozh _____.

[Dangaa]: Tyiim l yum boloo yum dee! _____ öbdyi daa!

[spirit]: Tereetnei үр olon xüüxdүүdee ter zhoochxon xüünhee бүр xolduulagtii!

[Dangaa]: Da.

[spirit]: Hanaliin baina bishee gü?

[Dangaa]: Za, za.

[spirit]: Za boloo daa! Za tyigeed daxiad yirxedemnyi dalai shindy bayan busaad yirxedemnyi bulag shindy yix baigaaragtii!

[Dangaa]: Yörөөl togt togt togt!

[spirit]: Alxahan gazart ariuhan gishgehen gazart gerelteihen yawag daa!

[Dangaa]: Yörөөl togt togt togt!

[spirit]: Za bayarlawab daa! Ene haixan zul deeretnei münt _____ buuhan daa! Busxashgüib daa! Za zulaa degdeexetnei!

3.7 (v32. 1:47) THE SPIRIT LEAVES

[Dangaa sings]: Aa hee yoo hee minie shirөөг shirөөг shirөөг!

4 (v32) DUNGAA'S SECOND POSSESSION

4.1 (v32. 2:17) DUNGAA'S NEXT SPIRIT ARRIVES

[spirit]: Üр bagxan ulaashiingaa arxaaliin ezen geeshew bi.

[Dangaa]: Za
[spirit]: Tanyixa medegtüü?
[Dangaa]: Tanyii aldar (xen) _____ burxashuud?
[spirit]: Hm! Xot irzh (orogshin) yaaxaaraa medexgüi zon?
[Dangaa]: Iim yum saxi (goz) yawaxa Dangaa _____ saxilagüi _____ boloxgüi dee ene olon jandaguudnai
[spirit]: Xatan (sumyaa güülehen) bi.
[Dangaa]: Öö za za za
[spirit]: Shimeg züülttei sh yawahan bi. _____ daa xonxotoi (dutuu) sh daa baihan bi.
[Dangaa to an apprentice]: Arxi awaad ir!
[spirit]: Dutuu _____ xatan (sawyaa güülgehen) bi. _____ xürtezh manzhuur sigaret tatazha baragtiin _____ bashxalzazh yawahan garwal geesheltei.
[Dangaa]: Za nam huuzh nairlagtii daa udaan huuzh untagii daa burxashud!
[spirit]: Ee yaasha olon burxaduud yaasha olon ongon shüteengüüd noyod ch baina gesh dee!
[Dangaa]: Tyiigeed bid dee! ene olon zhandaguudni xoyor haixan ulaashiitnai arwan xeden shawinuudiin ongon ix shütöönüüdini xuu baina daa!
[spirit]: Za bi sh bardam zantai yawahan (samyaa) garwal geeshewi. Ene olon shüteentei burxaduudtai ongon tengertei ulaashnuudiishnye bultiini adyisalz garxam geeshew daa!
[Dangaa]: Za ene shandagain _____ shar ulaan sain deezhee barigtii burxashuud!
[spirit]: Manzhuur sigaretee tataxa (chee)!
[Dangaa]: Za ene saixan xaluun ulaashuudiin xatan xar arxi xürtögtii burxashuud!
[spirit]: Za _____ mend amoor!
[everybody]: Mend amoor!
[spirit]: Ugtai garwaltai udgan böönüüd bultaaraa baina geesheltei. Ix ongon shüteengüüdnei olon ix yumnuud xaragdna dee! Yaasha goyo haixan haixan garwaltai zon geeshew dee!
[Dangaa]: Za manzhuur sigaret, xatan xaraa barigtii daa burxashuud!
[spirit]: Yühön ondoo xeltei eldew _____ ongon shüteengüüd baina dee _____.
[Dangaa]: Baingüi yaaw geeshew burxashuud!
[spirit]: Xuushin sagta böögeishemnye tyigeed le gansaaraa yawdag baihiim dee. Münöödee geed bultaaraa niileed baizha shadadag zon doo!
[Dangaa]: Shadaa bid dee!
[spirit]: Yaagaa goyo sag boloo geeshew!
[Dangaa]: Xarin tyee.
[spirit]: Ene böö nar geesheshnye ongon yix shüteengüüdiin xazhuudxan zoxolxo shü _____ dxe, biye biyede xayaxa iim l deer sag baihiim l daa. Münöö yaasha goyo sag boloo geeshew.
[Dangaa]: Uxaangüi goyo sag boloo daa!
[spirit]: Ee _____ neg gerte _____ geed l uxaangüi ene gereeretnei düüren ongoduud baizh baina geeshew dee!
[Dangaa]: Tyiim bid dee!
[spirit]: Ee hogtohon hogtohon zhigdexen yumnuud baizh l yaasha goyo sag boloo geeshew! Za bayarlawab daa! Ene olon ulaashnuudatnai xatan xariiye xürtexem daa! Mend amoor!
[everybody]: Mend amoor!
[Dangaa]: Aa manjuur sigaretee barigtii burxashuud!
[spirit]: Olon shawinarta bultaaraa neg gans l shawi (owoo) xül deere garan yawzh yawna daa! _____ xöörxöö döo xöörxöö döo! Xüshe shadal muutaixan baina tyigeed (bulnaa) daa! yaagaash xüshte shadaltai ongod tengertei amitad geeshew! Buyan zayaa irxede burxan türöltei amitad baina daa!
[Dangaa]: Yörööl togt togt togt!
[spirit]: Züw hanaatai hanaa bodolni züw yawaa geshe xa. Xüshte shadaltai Türde nertei tümende aldartai yawxa [ürnüüd] baina daa!
[Dangaa]: Za yörööl togt togt!
[spirit]: Minyii muu ulaasha, бага zhaaxan üremnye yaagaash shadaltai tenxeetei shawinuudtai bolshixoo geeshew! Münöö xadaa sh (bulahan baigaab) dee! Yawaandaa sh bulai bulai udgan böönüüd garxa xadaa!
[Dangaa]: Za yörööl togt togt togt!
[spirit]: Münxe haixan zul deerdee zalarhan daa! Bayarlawab daa xüüxdüüdmye!
[Dangaa]: Za nam huu _____.
[spirit]: Münöö üdörhöö xoishix _____ Hain haixan yawxiitnai yürööxöm daa xüüxdüüdmye!
[Dangaa]: Yörööl togt! Nam huuzh nairlagtii daa udaan huuzh undlagtii daa burxashuud!
[spirit]: (Xüüxön) bagxan shawinuudaa bultiini adyisalz garxamnye. Bardag _____ baina geeshew üü?

4.2 (v32. 9:15) THE SPIRIT GIVES BLESSINGS TO EACH PARTICIPANT

[apprentice (Alimaa)]: _____
[spirit]: Yamar shütgör geeshew?
[Alimaa]: Xalx mongol yastai xüser mergen uraatai _____ züün öwdög tushin suugaa Alimaa gedeg aldartai.
[spirit]: Za yaadag xün shi tegeed xüügee?
[Dangaa]: Uran haixan ulaash daa!
[spirit]: Bardagiim ügögtii daa! Baga balshir shawixanii adyislaxam daa! (Tültüür) ulaan ere sh bish eme sh bish lama sh bish böö sh bish amitanhaa bolgoomzhilzh yawaarai xüwüümnye! Diildexgüi shdee diildexgüi _____
[next apprentice (Oyuunchimeg)]: _____
[spirit]: Za ugtai garwaltai xan garidiyiin üde derwülshihen garwal (yirxedni) xarzh baina l dyee! Ax düü arwan sadniishnye ug garwaltai zon zhütöörxüülzh ataaxuulzh bolgoogooroi xüwüümnye! Za yaahan hain yawxash daa xüwüüm! Ene ardashi shütgör baishew?
[Oyuunchimeg]: Awax uu tegeed?

[spirit]: Aw daa shi!
 [Oyuunchimeg]: Za awlaa awlaa.
 [spirit]: Üxerei бүгсэ uxazh yawdag amitnai arha ____
 [next apprentice]: ____ xoyor saiyan bagshiin ____
 [spirit]: Za hanaa ____tei züw xargiid yawaarai daa. (Bi tom xünde) hanaatai ____ xüüxemnye. Oilgono oo bii shdee xüwüümnye. Emgen buural ezhiingee (shangaxan bolgozh yawa) ternyee shüte dee xüwüümnye! Emgen buural ezhiishiny zhaaxan gomdoltoi bishee gü? Ternyee argalaarai xüwüümnye!
 [next apprentice (Bayarmaa)]: Amar mendee! Xalx mongol garwaltai yastai ____ Bayarmaa baina aa.
 [next apprentice (Mönxchimeg)]: Urianxai owogtoi Damdinsüren owogtoi Mönxchimeg baina aa.
 [spirit]: Tüw tüüxei uw ulaan narain amitan ____.
 [next apprentice]: ____.
 [spirit]: Za shangarxa shdee shangarxa ____.
 [next apprentice]: ____.
 [spirit]: Shaw shar tarxитай now nogoon нүдtei ug garwaltai udganhaa bolgoozh yaw daa xüwüümnye!
 [next apprentice]: ____.
 [spirit]: Xar axiin (gazai)haa xol yaw daa xüwüümnye!
 [next apprentice (Dungaa's daughter, Mönxjaw)]: ____.
 [spirit]: ____.
 [next apprentice]: ____.
 [next apprentice]: Cagaanguud owogtoi [*says his name*].
 [spirit]: ____.
 [next apprentice]: ____.
 [spirit]: Yaagaash ix ataa zhütöötöi ____ xar xeltei ____.
 [next apprentice]: [*Says the name of her clan*] owogtoi [*says her name*] baina aa.
 [spirit]: Xatan xaraamnye xürtem dee!
 [next apprentice]: ____.
 [spirit]: ____.

4.3 (v.32. 16:05) THE SPIRIT LEAVES

[spirit]: Busaxam daa! ____.
 [everybody]: Shiröög!
 [Dungaa]: Utaarai!

4.4 (v32. 17:48) CONVERSATION

[Oyuunchimeg]: Namaig nuruund (baigaa*) chötgötriig awaarai gesen shdee!
 [another apprentice]: Üxriin xoshnog uxadag ____.
 [Dungaa]: Neeree dorogo shdee!
 [Oyuunchimeg]: Neeree dorogo shdee!
 [Dungaa]: Neeree tiim shdee!
 [Oyuunchimeg]: Yuu yaadag aa?
 [Dungaa]: Neeree dorogo shiny üxriin xoshnogo uxaad baidag shdee!
 [Oyuunchimeg]: Odoo awaad xayachij bolox uu?
 [Dungaa]: Aw aa, aw tegwel! Cai awcar daa nadad!

5 (v32,v33) DUNGAA'S THIRD POSSESSION

5.1 (v32. 18:46) DUNGAA INVOKES HER SPIRIT

[Dungaa]: Neg arxi awaadxee! Gombo ax yöröösöö бүр bailgaxui baj baina. Gombo ax mün. Ard бүр haxal maxal ____ baina. Bi duudxaa boliloo duugii ni dulaad (ög*)!
 [Dungaa]: Tza.
 [Dungaa and an apprentice sing]: ____ [*unintelligible*]

5.2 (v32. 19:27) DUNGAA'S NEXT SPIRIT

[spirit]: Yühö naimnii daa?! Dondogbaatar ulaash namii hogtoogoo.
 [Dungaa]: Aa za.
 [spirit]: Dondogbaatar sh arxind durtai daa! Shal hogtood l huuzh baina daa! Sharxan basganiingaa xesiin duugaar oruulnaa ____ mnye ____.
 [spirit sings]: ____ [*unintelligible*]
 (v33. 0:00)
 [spirit]: ____ yum geeshew? Ene muu sharxan basaganmnye yaasha olon tengerüüdei dund huuzh baina geeshew!
 [Dungaa]: Tiim bid dee ____!
 [spirit]: Ene muu basagamnye iim olon shawinartai iim olon tengerüüdeer xüröölshixeed yawdag boloo geeshew üü?
 [Dungaa]: Tyiim bid dee!
 [spirit]: Dondogbaatarnyi shadaagui bainawshwi dee!
 [Dungaa]: Za, za.
 [spirit]: Baruun xuasain xüwüün shar basgan xoyormnye bulai la, bulai la, bulai la! Bayarlawab daa xüüxdüüdmnye!
 [Dungaa]: Za.
 [spirit]: Yaasha goyo yum geeshew!

[Dangaa]: **Za bayarlaw daa (Sharxai)!**

[spirit]: **Za xun sagaanyii doxiulzh xurgan xonyinoi shüühende xündöögüi yum bainab daa! Uuraga saagan hüülheeni amtarxazha xürtexem daa xüüxdüüdmnye!**

[Dangaa]: **Teg teg teg!**

[spirit]: **Xatan xar arxia nexegshem bi. Shar ulaan sayiitnai xürtezhe xurgan xonyiitai shüühenhöö uuraga ulaan hüülii ni amtarxam xüüxdüüdmnye! Yaasha goyo yum geeshwee!**

[Dangaa]: **Barigtii!**

[spirit]: **Dondogbaatar _____ (baraxansnye) Gansaaraa yühölzhe gansaaraa hogtozh baina l daa! Xoyor bagxan xüüxdüüdmnye olon yix yühön xeltei zhandaguudai ug garwalnuudai zalzhixaad yaasha goyo baina geeshew burxaan!**

[Dangaa]: **Shandagain _____ shar ulaan sain deezhee barigtii burxashuud!**

[spirit]: **Tyixew dee _____! Za saigaa xürteshxeed ideendee xürxe yum daa! Ür olon xüüxdüüdmnye bultaaraa xürtegtii! Yaahsa goyo yum geeshew xüüxdüüdmnye!**

5.3 (v33. 2:34) THE SPIRIT SPEAKS WITH M.B.

[spirit]: **Endetnei xel buruutai gexem daa! Shonxor xamartai xahal ühendee daragdahan böögei shütöonyii shütedeg yamar amitan baina? Tereeteitnei yarixamnye!**

[Dangaa]: **Za, ta neree xel!**

[MB]: **Matia, Matia gezhe neretei, ungarhaa yirehen.**

[spirit]: **Yuu shütgör Matia gezh nertei _____?**

[Dangaa]: **Ungarhaa yirehen.**

[spirit]: **Awiinshiny ner awiin ner yamar amitan baidiim be? Ter Buriadaingaa yohoor Mongoliingoo yohoor mendel xüügee!**

[Dangaa]: **Aawiin ner.**

[MB]: **Attila.**

[Dangaa]: **Aa?**

[MB]: **Attila gezh neretei.**

[Dangaa]: **Adiigaa, Adiigaagiin Matia.**

[spirit]: **Xel amaniny xeltgii, ühe xahaldaa barigdahan yamar amitan geeshew? Shorongoi orogdol gezh xüü gezh hanaxadamnye ug garwal ongon shütöönei xüröölүүлхэз yawdag yühön xeltei xüröölүүлdeg yaagaa bulai amitansh xüügee! Za.**

[Dangaa]: **Shashnii ix surguulid surdag baix aa.**

[spirit]: **Za eneexen zamaa orximgüi ene (enx) baria yawaarai!**

[Dangaa]: **Ene zamaa orximgüi (enx) baria yawaarai gene.**

[spirit]: **Tyigee shi olon xeltnei yahatnai dund olon yix ongon shütöönöör xüreeülüлх gai barsad bolgonhoo zailzh azhil түрөлшны бүтэзхэ үнгөтөй өөдтөй yawaxash xüügee! Eneende xelzh үгөгтөй шүтгөр!**

[Dangaa]: **Ööröö oilgoj baigaa, mongol xeltei.**

[Dangaa]: **Aa za za za za.**

[Dangaa]: **Buriad mongol xeltei, enetnei. Za xatan xaraa barigtii burxashuud!**

[spirit]: **Za enii xürteshi xüügee!**

[Dangaa]: **Xatan xaraa barigtii burxashuud!**

[spirit]: **Tongoish xüügee shamaiye neg bardagduulsh daa! (Xarihaawan xaragshin hünöö yiren xüregshin.) Shamd baina gu?**

[Dangaa]: **Awgai bii yüü?**

[MB]: **Awgai baixgüi.**

[Dangaa]: **Awgai baixgüi genee.**

[spirit]: **Büü xudlaa xelseshi! Shamd xoyor sh hamgan baina yum bish gü? Xoyor hamgan xünd xereggüi gansa xeregtei baidiim. Neeree gü xudlaa gü xel l shi!**

[Dangaa]: **Neeree yüü xudlaa yuu gej baina.**

[MB]: **Awgai baixgüi, naiz oxin baigaa.**

[Dangaa]: **Naiz oxin baigaa gene.**

[spirit]: **Odoo naiz oxiniishnye xelnee _____ xelnee shdee!**

[Dangaa]: **Hamgan bolxo(güi) bid dee burxashuud.**

[spirit]: **Za, za, za, za. Olon yumnai dund büü yaw daa, gansa yumnai xoino yawa!**

[MB]: **Za.**

[spirit]: **Oilgoogsh shi**

[MB]: **Za oilogson.**

[spirit]: **Olon hamgadai dund yawahaa xormoin buzartai bolood dund _____ taarash(güi).**

5.4 (v33. 5:09) THE SPIRIT LEAVES

[Dangaa]: **Ei xatan xaraa!**

[spirit]: **_____ xatan xar _____ barixam daa xüügee! Za bayarlawab daa _____ End baigaa zoniitnai bultaariitnai yüröözх garxam. (Orxoi) ix olzotoi ongoilgozh omogtoi bardam yawaaragtii xüüxdeel!**

[everybody]: **Yörööl togt togt togt!**

[spirit]: **(Bagiitnai she) olon hamaga eryүүлх arxi tamxi uuzha agsam hogtuu tawizha nertei aldartai yawan (xün idyel) nam shindyeeer büü yawaaragtii xüüxdeel!**

[everybody]: **Za.**

[spirit]: **Minyii amid heryüün baixad (haataldadag) xüwüütei (hadam) _____ basgatai bayan yawahan yum daa!**

[spirit sings]: **_____ [unintelligible]**

[everybody]: **Shiröög shiröög shiröög.**

6 (v33) POSSESSION OF APPRENTICE ALIMAA

6.1 (v33. 8:29) INVOCATION

[Dangaa sings]:

Aa hee yoo hee minyee göö
Aa yaa baidaa minyee göö
Ayaar baruunii urdaahaah

Ei hee yoo hee minyee göö
Ai yoo baidaa minyee göö
Ayaar baruunii xoitohon
_____ baizh medүүлheb daa!
_____ oronoi mnye.

Ezenxen yixe шүтөөнүүд _____.
Xalxa Mongoliin zaaringuud.
_____ [unintelligible]

6.2 (v33. 12:32) THE SPIRIT ARRIVES

[spirit]: Xaana _____?

[Dangaa]: Yühöniitnei yürgölögö naimniitnai nagalgaa burxashuud! Nam huuzh nairlagtii daa udaan huuzh undlagtii daa! Ene saixan xün deeree _____.

[Dangaa sings]:

Ix l (mongol) oronii
Ezen yixe шүтөөн
Burxan yixe шүтөөнүүд
Bultaarxanaa iregtii!
(Amahaja) nairlagtii!
Udaan huuja _____.

[spirit]: Ayan zam xolo yawaa. Altain nutgaas irew bi.

[Dangaa]: Za burxashuud shandagain shar ulaan caigaa baricgaa!

[spirit]: _____

[Dangaa]: _____ ta yuu?

[spirit]: _____

[Dangaa]: Za xatan xaraa baricgaa burxashuud!

[spirit]: _____

(v33. 17:05)

[apprentice Oyuunchimeg (*acting as an interpreter*)]: Naimniitnai nargia daa yösniitnei yürgöö döo! Shinii yösönd modon taxia jiliin shinii yösönd ta xoyor bagshiinxaa gal golomton deer olon ix jandaguudtai ni uultzaj baina daa! Tanai ulaach Xalx Mongol yaxtai xüser mergen uraatai _____ Alimaa eejteigee irsen. Ulaan yugaa nexej taniig urin tzalj awchiraad ene saixan xünd deeree xatan xar arxitai xoniniixoo shüüsen deer tzuun nastai tzuliin _____ arwan dörwön shawitai taniig urij tzalaad baina! Ta yörööl yuugaa ailtgaj _____! Saixan yöröölög _____ tzon olniixoo ayaa buyan xishig ögööröi! Tanai nutgaas cag agaar yamar baina uu? Aadar cagaan sügee ta barina uu!

[spirit]: _____

[Oyuunchimeg]: Öo tza. Aadar cagaan sügee _____ Ta shüüsnées, xoninii shüüs. Ta jaaxan dōxōsxii, dōxōsxii! Burxashuud daxiad jaaxan dōxōsxiiгeед тaa öröö _____ aad bolloo bolloo bolloo! Mai! Xoninii shüüs gargasan. Xurc saixan irtei xutag daa! Bagshiin xutagni daa! Xoyor saixan bagshiitni xoni gargasan xutag. Xoninii shüüsэнд xüreerei. Ta jaaxan naashil, naashil! Olon xün xürtsen dee bagshiitni olon ongoduud orj irj taniig bas urij tzalaad ene saixan _____ deer. Taniü ulaach awchirsan yum shüü dee! Xol gatzraas (Songino xairxan) bas idee undaanii xool deer orj irsen yum shüü! Bitgii bas yuu yaa _____ Mön geј taxij baina taniig geј mörgöј baina. Ta ideeniixee dejnees xürteech _____!

[spirit]: _____ [unintelligible]

(v34. 0:00)

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tza Bayarllaa! Yöröölöör bolloo! Yörööl orshi _____.

[spirit]: _____.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tza bayarllaa saixan sain. Yörööl tawisand tani bayarllaa! _____ ix ongon shüteen ta bas түмөндөө buyan xishgee xairlatn! Öo tand bayarllaa ta xelex ügee xeltn. Bidnart yörööl yumaa aildatn buyan xishgee үйлдеетn!

6.3 (v34. 1:05) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tza asuu asuu!

Ta jaaxan ideenees xoldosxiigeed uxasxiigeed suuchwal, öo xarin tii öo _____ tantai tzolgii gesen olon jandaganuud irsen. taniü _____ ingeед xüreelchixsen baij baina. Aa yaa erxed darxad uraatai Xalx Mongol yastai _____ iin oxin _____ baina aa! Taniü ulaach yum baina aa. Ug barisan xün dee! Ta nadad _____ Amar sain yawj baina uu?

[spirit]: Amar mendee!

6.4 (v34. 2:27) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[an apprentice]: Buriad yastai baruun xuacai owogtoi Dolgoriin _____ baina! Bagshiixaan bas shawi ni aa! Ulaach bolox geј yawnaa!

[spirit]: _____.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Yörööl togt togt togt!
[apprentice]: Tza bayarllaa!

6.5 (v34. 2:59) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[apprentice Mönxchimeg]: Urianxai owogtoi Damdinsürengiin Mönxchimeg baina.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Tanii amriig erj baina _____.
[Mönxchimeg]: Tanii amriig erj baina.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Amar sain yawj baina uu geed mörgöchix!
[Mönxchimeg]: Ta amar sain yawj baina uu?
[spirit]: _____.
[Mönxchimeg]: Yörööl bat orshtugai!

6.6 (v34. 3:26) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tza tanai ulaachiin eej.
[the shaman's mother]: _____.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Tanai ulaachiin eej xadag möngö bairij baina aa! Ta belgee aw _____ ta _____ j awna uu! Xadag möngön beleg ögch baina aa! Ta xoyor gardaj awna uu! Tza, iim tanii [san xömrögiig] barij baiyaa!
[spirit]: _____.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Oo xarin tiim, tzoos möngögüi. Iim möngtei bolson cag üye dee!

6.7 (v34. 6:48) THE SPIRIT'S BLESSING

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tza ta bidend ene jiliinxee (önxör) xii ajil ülsiin amidral axuigiin yörööl xairlana uu ta! Aadar cagaan süügee barigtii! Barina uu ta! Tza ta süü xürtej bidend yörööl aildaj ögtön!
[spirit]: _____.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Tza, tza, tza bayarllaa! Tanii yöröölör _____.
[Bayarmaa]: _____.
[spirit]: _____.

7 (v34) ALIMAA'S SECOND POSSESSION

7.1 (v34. 8:45) THE SPIRIT ARRIVES AND LEAVES

[Oyuunchimeg]: Yörööl ailtgatan, yörööl ailgatan! Buyan xishgee xelj ögtön! _____ bulgan düree sain taniultan!
Buyan xishgee üldej binaa tand!
[Oyuunchimeg to an apprentice]: Shiltei arxinaas negiig awaad ir! Jijig shiltei arxinaas.
[Oyuunchimeg to the spirit]: Ta xatuu xaraa barix uu? Xatu xaraa barina uu?
[spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]
[Oyuunchimeg asks from an apprentice]: Odoo garch baina uu?
[somebody]: Garch baina.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Daxiad orood irj baigaa yum uu?

8 (v34, v35) ALIMAA'S THIRD POSSESSION

8.1 (v34. 14:09) THE SPIRIT ARRIVES

[Oyuunchimeg]: Saixan yawj irew uu ta?
[spirit]: Amar mendee!
[everybody]: Amar mendee!
[Oyuunchimeg]: Ta xen be?
[spirit]: Yamaandag _____ deg yamaanii arisan xectei _____ tei _____ duudlagtai. Göröösön arisan gutaltai xongor jaaxan Būdūnjaw.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Amar sain yawj baina uu ta? Aagtai saixan cainaas amsaj suutan ta! Bagshiinxaa yösni yörgöön deer irsen. Olon saixan shawinartai. Tzuun nastai tzulan deer mönx saixan taxil deer xürelcej ireed binaa ta. Taniig gej mörgöj baina. Taniig gej taxij baina. Tzayaa buyan guij tzalburch bain aa! Aadar saixan caigaa ta uu _____ na uu!
[spirit]: Tzüült chimegtei bailaa bi. Tzüggüixen xongor yawlaa bi.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Öö tza.
[Oyuunchimeg to everybody]: Tzüült chimegtei yawlaa. Tzüggüixen xongor yawlaa bi gej.
[spirit]: Öndör xöx (c _____ iin urd) örgöö cagaan gertei. Xoyor nüd mini soxorsiim aa!
[Oyuunchimeg]: Öö tza. Burxan örshöög!
[spirit]: Ard olondoo bi soxordoj yawj bi aldartai baiw shdee!
[Oyuunchimeg]: Oo!
[Oyuunchimeg to everybody]: Soxordoj yawxaaraa aldartai baisan.
[spirit]: Tzaluu ch yawlaa, saixan ch yawlaa.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Tegelgüi yaax we!
[spirit]: _____ tegshilj yawlaa. Xaniin tzayaagii chini tegshilj yawlaa.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Öö tza, tza. Xaniin tzayaa duuduulax xün olon baigaa daa. Buyan xishgee xairlaach!
[spirit]: Tzon olondoo tusalj yawlaa. Tzon olniig tetgej yawlaa.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Tza tegelgüi yaaxaw taniig gej mörgöj baina aa! Tzayaa guij zalburch baina. Ta sain yawj baina uu? Tanai nutag saixan xawar bolj baina uu?
[spirit]: Xot (bich)nees irlee bi. _____.
[Oyuunchimeg]: Xatuu xar arxia barigtan ta! Manai nutgiin arixi changa daa! Amsaj üzten! Tamxia barix uu ta?

[spirit]: **Saixan xawar** _____.
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Saixan** _____ **saixan xawar bolj baina aa! Sain suuj baina. Cagaan süü, aadar cagaan süü. Tamxia barix uu ta?**
 [spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Tza ta sain tamxia baritan! Tza ene nutgiin tamixi daa! Süüliin üyiin tamixi iim bolson doo! Ta saixan barij tatagtii! Tatna uu ta! Tamixinaas ni tamxilj baina.**
 [spirit]: **Negen möchind sawaagüitej l _____ yawj shdee!**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Oo tegelgüi dee. Tzaluu nasand saawaa _____.**
 [spirit]: **Dalai wangiin xoshuund (daamaixan) shig yawlaa.**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Oo yaaaj baina? Bolow uu?**
 [spirit]: **Bolson _____.**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Oo _____ cagiin üyed iim bolson yum daa. _____ Ta daxij tatax uu? Idee shüüsnees amsaxgüi yüü ta?**
 [spirit]: **Emegtei xün shüüsened xürene gej xen xelee(wsh)?**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Oo bi taniig xürteech gej xeleed aldaj ta uuchlaarai!**
 [spirit]: **Emegtei xün shüüsened xürene gej xen xelee(wsh)?**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Oo uuchlaarai! Ta süü aadar saixan süünees ams daa!**
 (v35. 0:00)
 [spirit]: **Aagtai süü gej baiwshiw.**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Yamar süü gej baiwshiw?**
 [spirit]: **Aagtai süü gej baiwshiw.**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Aadar cagaan süü gexiig aagtai shargal süü gej. Uuchlaarai!**
 [spirit]: **Süü shigee _____ yaw xüüxdüüdee!**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Tza yörööl _____ shüüsnees amsax uu?**
 [spirit]: **Tzüün xoid mörön deer mini _____.**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Shüüsnees ams daa! Shüüs xürtene üü ta?**
 [spirit]: _____.
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Oo xen baina ene ogtlood öglöö! Ene ailiin yum bish ee! Tanai ulaach awchirsan yum shüü dee! Baganuuriin orshin suudag nutgaasaa awchirsan shüüs dee!**
 [spirit]: **Tzüün xoid mörön deer ni züggüixen gu _____ Yüü xelex gejagaam dee? Garch irene _____.**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Aa ene Bayarmaa gedeg ulaach tzüün xoid _____ aa tiim tza aliw xeleech dee! Aa ene yum xelex geed baina uu? _____ ulaach ene baina.**

8.2 (v35. 1:33) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[an apprentice (Enxtzayaa)]: **Tza bi xotogoidiin, xotogoid garaltai бага jaaxan ulaach xün baina! Myagmarjawiin Enxzayaa gej xün baina.**
 [spirit]: _____.
 [Enxtzayaa]: **Tegeed yaaxaw taniig morilood irchixleed bas taniig xündleed bas amriig erj mendchleed tzüün mörön xoinoos (lxümböltzööd) baigaa ter yum daa!**
 [spirit]: **Bardag mini xaashaa?**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Bardag ni xaachixaw? Aa ene baina daa!**
 [spirit]: _____.
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Tza bardagaa baritan!**
 [they converse]
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Ta xatuu xaraa xürtee!**
 [spirit]: **Xachin olon yantziin tzan _____ dag ulaash _____.**
 [Enxtzayaa]: **Aa end önöödör end bagshiinxaa olon ulaachnar baina daa! Olon ongod saxiusuud baina.**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Aadar cagaan süügee _____!**
 [Enxtzayaa]: **Tza tegeed odoo mergen oyuun uxaandaa yuu gej aildana dee bidend?**
 [spirit]: **Törd nertei түмөнд алдартai tzon olondoo tusalsan tzayaa buyan tegshilsen sain _____ bolcgoogooroi xüüxdüüd mini!**
 [everybody]: **Tza yörööl togt togt togt!**
 [spirit]: **Tzayaa xishig delgertügei _____.**
 [Enxtzayaa]: **Tza yöröö(löör boltugai!*)**

9 (v35, v36) ALIMAA'S FOURTH POSSESSION

9.1 (v35. 8:22) THE SPIRIT ARRIVES

[spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]
 (v35. 10:47)
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Amar sain yawj baina uu ta!**
 [spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]
 [spirit says]: _____ [unintelligible]
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Amar baina uu ta? Amar sain yawj irew üü? Tza ta aagtai shargal caigaan barina uu?**
 [spirit]: **Altan nariig ütex gej temüülj bailaa bi.**
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Oo, tza, tza. Tzowson xün(d*) cag bailaa ter üyed odoo saixan (toxirsiim). Odoo ta altan nar altan amidral axui saijirch ard түмөн ех chölöötei bolj _____.**
 [spirit]: _____ [unintelligible]
 [Oyuunchimeg]: **Ei burxan!**
 [Enxtzayaa]: **Ei xairxan!**

9.2 (v35. 13:57) THE SPIRIT TELLS OFF AN APPRENTICE

[Oyuunchimeg]: Xöi aliw! Xen tzolgoogüi ulaach xen baina?

[Oyuunchimeg asks the spirit]: Xüüxen yum uu? Udgan yum uu?

[Oyuunchimeg to the apprentice]: Udgan ulaach chi yaagaad tzolgoxgüi? _____. Ene irsen binaa! Tantai yariad

[spirit]: _____ chi!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Ene saixan xünd deer iim yum yariad yaax we? _____ бага balchir ulaach buruu zöröö sanaagüi baigaa. Xarin end öör xün yarij baigaad taniig irsiig medexgüi ta uuchlaarai! Ene tand tzolgii geed odoo ircen baina.

[spirit]: Aadar cagaan süüg _____ chamtai xuwaaj uuya!

(v36. 0:00)

[spirit]: Bardam tzangaa darj bai chi! _____ ch garch irexni xöi! _____ suugaad chi. Minyii ömönö tzalbir chi!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tza tzalbiryaa.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Buyan gui yörööl aildaj _____.

[spirit]: Garwaliig chini bi tanix yum baina. Ayagüi sain garwaltai yum chi. Xenii xen bolow chi? Minii ömönö chi bardamnaad baina! Bi tegshilj _____ tzamiig chiny bi tegshilj _____ Törd nertei түмөнд алдатай _____ chi. _____ jaaxan ulaach baij bardam tzañ gargana chi! _____ chi!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Öö ene saixan odoo yuun deer ta bitgii uurltan! Odoo taniig tani baina mün gej mörgöj baina. Odoo tand zalbich baina. Ta odoo uur omgoo dantan! Ene бага balchir ulaach uchir üg medexgüi ewgüi tzañ gargasana bol ergej ta _____ buyan xishgee _____ tan! Ene saixan süüg barigtan! Tzayaa tzamiig tzañ ögtön! Ene saixan ulaach ööröö öörüinxöö yumiig bagshiinxaa ong _____ gem yugaa tzañ ged _____ xatzgai yumaa tegshlex baix oo! Ta bitgii uurltan saixan _____.

[spirit]: _____ xaaj baina chi!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Öö ix garwal ta öörshöötön!

[spirit]: _____ baina chi! _____.

[Oyuunchimeg]: Öö saixan deehsee xaraad _____.

[spirit]: _____?

[Oyuunchimeg]: Xöi Urnaa chi enchee sugaach dee!

9.3 (v36. 5:13) CONSULTING THE SPIRIT

[spirit]: Daxiad neg ulaach baina shdee!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Daxiad neg ulaach baina geedaxiimaa! Xen binaa? Mönxjaw tzolgoogüi baina shdee! Tza tantai tzolgox gaad Mönxjaw gedeg ulaach irlee.

[They whisper.]

[spirit]: Chi nadtai tzolgox yostoi!

[Mönxjaw]: Tiim ee, tzolgono! Tza odooxon. Möngön belgee barigtii!

[spirit]: Bi chamaas beleg awii geegüi!

[Mönxjaw]: Ügüi, xoyuulaa tzolgoogüi baina shdee!

[spirit]: Caas ögchix uu chi, tzoos uu?

[Mönxjaw]: Mönöö üyiin caas möngön beleg ee!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Odoo üyiin möngö caas bolow dee! Ta bitgii golloton ix möngö döö!

[spirit]: Möngön tzoosiig chine cugluulj awlaa! _____ caasaar chine _____ dee! Odoo neg yum irdeg geech dee! Chinii garwal bid xoyor chine naitz yawlaa! Xar nüxend xorogdoj yawlaa xatuu berxiig (üdej/idej) yawlaa shdee!

[Oyuunchimeg]: Tza eniig tataarai!

[Mönxjaw]: Gar (gaw) ganciin gangan xooloo gargaj irdeg ee!

[spirit]: Tegelgüi yaaxaw shdee! Garwaluudtani naitz yum chine gar garaasaa barilcaj gangan xooloo gargana. Tegelgüi yaaxaw shdee. Tiim dee!

[They whisper.]

[Oyuunchimeg]: Olon olon garwaluud orii gej baix shiw dee!

[spirit]: Odoo chi namaig xööj baina bish üü?

[Oyuunchimeg]: Ügüi, güi, güi. Öö yüü gej taniig xöoxöw dee!

[spirit]: Jaaxan shar basgan aa, namaig tooxgüi! Bi chinii garwaltai naitz yawaa. Chinii naitz yawana shdee! _____ saixan naitz bolno oo bi chine.

9.4 (v36. 10:07) THE SPIRIT LEAVES

[spirit sings]: _____ [unintelligible]

(v36. 12:51)

[Dungaa]: Odoo ongodiig degdeechix! Odoo ongodiig degdeechix!

[Dungaa sings]:

Aa hee yoo hee minyee göö

Aa yaa baidoo minyee göö

Degden degden degdegtii daa!

Degden deeshee xöörög döö!

Aa hee yoo hee minyee göö

Aa yaa baidoo minyee göö

Ei hee yoo hee minyee göö

Ei yaa baidoo minyee göö

[everybody]: Shiröög shiröög shiröög!

[Dungaa]: Utaarai utarai utarai! Sain coxi! Xül mülöö sain coxi!

Appendix for Chapter 5.2.2

1 (v13) SHAMANESS ALTAA'S ENTRUSTMENTS

1.1 ALTAA ENTRUSTS APPRENTICE ULAANAA

_____ argaazh yawhan
Ene tümöndöö _____
Sain tzayaa _____

Mogoi mete jiltei gu.
Xongor basgiim xamgaalagtii!
Ar biyiin buzgiye
Öwör biyiin buzariiginy
Argan baizha ömgöölögtii!

1.2 ALTAA ENTRUSTS APPRENTICE GANBAATAR

Agar cagaan lusiin buultiig
Gurwan lusiin buultuul _____
Xangai haixan shütöonei
Izhii haixan modomnyi
Elgenxendeen tewren baizhal
Enxrii biyiin xuyaglaj ögögtii!

Ganbaatar aldartai daa.
Morin mete zhiltei dee.
Altaa asks Ganbaa: Bariashiin coltoi biddee?
Bariashiin yixe zalaatai daa.
Xongor xüwüünii buzgiyi
Xaraxan lusiin xaaduudni
Xamazha awazha zailuulagtii!

Awgai modondo daatgana uu daa!

1.3 ALTAA ENTRUSTS APPRENTICE BAYARSAIXAN

Alda biyiini xamgaalagtii
Dayan deerxiin shütöonte
Oshorwaanii Xürelbaatar
Otgon tengeriin shütöonte
Gomboosürengiin Bayarsaixan
Tuulai mete zhiltei dee.
Darxan sagaan tulmaash l daa.
Xadag torgon zholoosho
Alsiin tzamiini gereltüüleeregtii!
Idi shidiini ögögtii dee
Alda biyiniini buzgiyi gargazh
(Xoliin*) zamiin gereltüülegtii!
Awgai modondo daatgana uu daa!
Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum.

2 (v12) SONGS OF SHAMANESS GERELTUYAA

2.1 Baidaam baidaam minee göö
Dayaan dayaan minee göö

2.2 GERELTUYAA GETS POSSESSED

Udgan modon damjilgatai
Ogtorgui _____
Olon _____ huudaltai
Dörwön _____ түshelegtei
Agaar tengerei _____ legtei
Altan delxeigeer (toirolotgi)
Arwan xoyor _____
Zharan _____
Buural haixan udagan
Duurihaxa _____
_____ xongor üxingöör

Yüünei yünteg yürööhöyöö

2.3 (v.12. 2:50–3:04)

[Altanceceg speaks to the spirit]:

Za xun shuwuun garwaltai

Xuha modon seregtei

Buriad arwan naiman _____

Arwan jiliin oi _____

Xorin jiliin _____

Olbog deeree huugaad yariyaa daa!

2.4

[spirit sings]: Xaana yawazha _____

2.5

[Altanceceg says]: Eej mod, Selenge aimgiin _____.

2.6

[spirit sings]:

_____ dalai yireewew göö

Xöxxön tengerheetnei buuwab göö.

2.7

[Altanceceg says]: Baruun öwdög tüshin suusan xongor xanitnai, xüüxed, ax düütei, olon tümen zhandaguudtai xoyor zuun arwan _____ dörwön zuun arwan xüniig _____ ür olon bainabdi daa!

2.8

[spirit sings]:

Yüünei yüntegtei

Yamar tzorigoor yireewew daa?

2.9

[Altanceceg says]: Ene haixan xünd xamba torgon xawshuulgatai, müngön belegtei, owoo uuliin serzhemtei _____.

2.10

[spirit sings]:

_____ [unintelligible]

2.11

[Altanceceg says]: Aadar haixan hüünee barigtii!

2.12

[spirit sings]:

_____ [unintelligible]

[The spirit drinks the milk and drops the cup down.]

2.13

[spirit sings]:

Toogoonoi haixan togtomol

Torxonii haixan neremelee

Togton barizha xürtegshgüi _____

Xünde _____ xüxyözhö sengezhe

Xöörözh I nairazh I _____

Ürgön tümen zhandaguudnyi

Ünör olon üryüüd nyi

Bögödör _____ mend amoor!

2.14

[everybody exclaims]: Mendee!

[The spirit drinks.]

2.15

[Altanceceg speaks to the spirit]: _____ [unintelligible]

[spirit sings]:

Ulaanxan shargal manzhiyi

Undaalan baizh I barixamnai gü

Mülenxen haixan _____

_____ barixamnai gü

Nyomoor haixan modoorxom doo.

2.16 Üre haixan xüüxdüüdmyi
 _____ haixan mörgöölööröi
 Ülenxen haixan _____ chuulaarai!
 _____ haixan xalbagatai
 Ulaanxan shargal sainiingaa deezh
 Xangaixan delxiidee örgögtii daa!
 Udganxan modondoo zalbiragtii daa!
 _____ xan baizh l mörgögtii döo!
 Togoono haixan togtmoliingoo
 Torxonoi haixan nermeleingee deezhee
 Xüüxdüüdmyi zoriulagtii!
 _____ sagaan idyeeneingee
 (Muusag) haixan talxanaingaa deezhee
 Xüüxdüüdmyi ürgögtii daa!
 Xöxxön haixan xambiingaa
 (Xümbee xümbee) geed zoriulagtii!
 Ene l haixan zon _____
 _____ baizh l buuhan daa!

Xüxyözh l sengezh xööröldii daa!
 Xöörtei haixanaar nairaldii daa!
 Buriadiingaa xagaan _____ yixe mörgöldöö dee!
 _____ xen zaarin udganuudai
 (Ümbalxan) tengertee mürgöldögtii!
 Münxe yixe tengerüüdtegee
 Xargui (negdüülzh) yawahan
 Zholoo (negdüülzh) yawahan
 Xongor haixan üryüüdtei
 Udganxan duurisa _____
 _____ baizh l xööröldii döo!

2.17
[An apprentice kneels down and introduces herself to the spirit.]
 _____ *[unintelligible]*

2.18
 [spirit sings]:
 _____ xüüxdüüdee
 Ongonxon garwaluud (tengüüzhe)

Üri xüüxdüüdtei xööröldii daa!
 Ürinxen xongor ürimnyi
 _____ haixan _____
 _____ baizh l _____
 (Xümbe) _____
 Xööröldön baizh l sengeeye l döo!

[A girl in pink gives tea to the spirit.]
[The spirit drinks the tea.]

2.19
 [spirit sings]:
 Üri xüüxdüüdmyi _____
 Udganxan duurisxa _____
 Xurai haixan xurailgaar
 _____ xüröölүүлэн залбирagtii!
 Ulaan shargal manjiinxan
 Undaaxan caigaa degdelegtii!
 _____ cagaa örgöörögtii!
 _____ baizh l zoriulagtii!
 Udagan haixan modondoo
 _____ haixan mörgögtii dee!
 Udganxan haixan modondoo
 _____ haixan (iyiidee/izhiidee)
 _____ baizh l bariaragtii!
 Xüxe tengeriin üüdenhee

 _____ bolood _____
 Garwal tenger (negdehen)

Xüxe tenger (negdehen)
Böögei udam _____

Xüüxen basgad targalnaa göö

_____ buural duurisxa
(ushariin olzho) xööröldii daa!

2.20
[The apprentice introduces herself again.]
_____ [unintelligible]

2.21
[spirit sings]:
_____ [unintelligible]
_____ tengeriin garwalnuudaa
Tengerxen haixan ulaashiiyim
(Xormoidozho) __zhe

_____ xünden deer xüxyööd _____
_____ xünden deer _____

_____ xööröxöd _____
_____ mordoxom xadaa
Aman xelii tataa _____
_____ baizh l _____

Örgön haixan tengerüüdtee
Münxiin zhargal xairalagtii!
Udganxan haixan iyiidee
Münxiin zhargaliyi _____ döö!

[The spirit drinks milk.]

2.22
[spirit sings]:
Bulta haixan zhargazha
Buyanaa nemedxezhe yawagtii daa!
Üryööl haixanaar yawaaragtii!
Üryööl haixanaar xataaragtii!
Tüwshin (zhangaazh) yawaaragtii!

3 SHAMANESS ALTAA'S TRAINING

3.1 (v15) CEEYEE'S POSSESSION

3.1.1
[Shamaness Altaa sings]:
Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum
Büüwei büüwei büüwei büüwei
Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum
Büüwei büüwei büüwei büüwei

Xarxan lusiin xaaduudiin
Xamag __iig (multluulagtii)!
Daidiin butzarnuudiig tzailuulagtii!
Dayaar mongol oronoingoo
Olon tümen zhandaguudaa

Eezhee yixe xairxanmnyi

Olon tümen shütöönüüdmnyi

3.1.2
[apprentice Ceeyee sings]:
_____ mini dee xöö
Xöö cejii mini törsön nutag daa.

Ariin saixan xangai mini dee xöö!
Xöö eejii mini unasan gatzar daa.

3.1.3

[Altaa says]: Tza aaw eejiinx ni önsön gatzart ireed baina daa!

3.1.4

[Ceeyee sings]: Manjxan ulaaxan caigaa bariyii daa xöö!

3.1.5

[Altaa says]: Tzaa aaw eejiinx ni unasan gatzar yum daa! Saixan Selenge aimgiin xangai mod. Tiim ee! Shaamariin nutag tanii torgon saixan zhooloosho _____.

3.1.6

[Ceeyee sings]: Manjxan ulaaxan caigaa bariyii daa xöö!

3.1.7

[Altaa says]: Aagtai shargal caigaa _____ cangax _____ amitan xünii tusiin tuld xuwi tzayaagiin _____ (xairlagtaa)! Olon tümen zhandaguud ni uul usnii sawdag _____nd orson baix oo! Sanaan muudsan baixaa, gai totgoriig tzailuulj ögch xairlagtii!

3.1.8

[Altaa says]: Ene saixan xuuriin duugaar egshigdej ene baigali ejjiigee xairlaj xamgaalj yawagtii _____ Ene saixan ulaashid ersh xüshe nemezh ögsh xairlagtii! _____ ushraas shötgöriig gargazh id shidii ni nemezh ögsh xairlajh ögsh xairlagtii! Ix delxii _____ izhii (udgan) _____ ene saixan modniixoo tzayaa buyaniig tüwshigtöj xairlagtii! Ersh xüshiig nemezh ögsh xairl _____ Xonin zhiltei ulaash _____ xairlaarai! Muu muuxaigaas ni salgazh ögsh xairlaarai! Gai barsadiig arilgazh ögsh Olziin üüdiig neej garziin üüdiig xaaj _____ Aziin Böögiin Mongol Böögiin Golomt udgan ix zaaringuud oluulaa irsiimaa! Oird, bayad, urianxai, xotogoid, buriad, darxad ene olon ündestengüüdiin (chölöö) _____ önöödör saixan ödör bid (toglon) baij irlee! (Xansh nee _____iin) saixan ödör mongol orniixoo _____ tusiin tuld tzayaa tzayaagiin buyanii xishgii tölöö yawj baigaa. Ene saixan _____ zalbir _____ tanai saixan ulaach ni bolj baigaa. Ene udganiig xairalzhamgaalzhamgaalz ersh xüshiig nemezh ögsh xairlagtii!

3.1.9

[Ceeyee sings]:

(Xögön) saixan ürsüüdiigee xar _____ daa xöö

Tenger yixe shüteendee zalburch mörgöj yawaarai ürsüüd mini!

3.1.11

[Altaa says]: Tzaa bayarallaa tanii ügiig _____.

3.1.12

[Ceeyee sings]:

Aawiin nutag xo _____g (caitziitai)

Eejiin nutag ereen cecegtei

Altan saixan (irged) mini dee xöö!

Xöö ejii mini törsön nutag daa.

3.1.13

[Altaa says]: Tza _____ yum xeden shawinuudaa xongor saixan ulaashaa, ene saixan tanai nömörö ene _____ ariulj ögch ene saixan xuyag xuwcasan amiluulj ögch xairla daa! Ulaashiinxaa za ter. Za te r olnii dund _____ xünii dund [xürteel] erch xüsh ni olj awii bid nar _____ amar amgalan geed. Xongor saixan ulaashiin chine neg xüü ni odoo arawdugaar angi tögsöx gej baigaa ter xüüxdiig xarj xamgaalj yawaarai! Xen bilee dee Jigüür. [Ceeyee jumps] Shoog shoog shoog! Jigüüriin yuug ni mededeggüi, jiliin mededeggüi. Yamarch baisan arawdugaar angi tögsöx gej baigaa gej xelew dee.

3.2 (v16) ULAANAA'S POSSESSION

3.2.1

[Altaa sings]:

Aryaa wadee om manii badmee xum [many times]

_____ xüüxen _____gtii daa!

_____ nōxōr ologtii!

Xuurain duugaar iregtii daa!

Xonxiin duugaar seregtii!

Alda biyiin xamgaalagtii!

Aryaa wadee om manii badmee xum [many times]

Alda biyiin xamgaalagtii!

Altan tzamiig ni gereltüülegtii!

Ide shidiin ni nemegtii daa!

Ershe xüshii ni ögögtii!

Aryaa wadee om manii badmee xum [*many times*]

(Xaluun*) shariin burxan garwal
(Xöxön) shariin burxan garwal
Naana haixan duulagtii!
Aldariiye ni xuyaglagtii!
Ershe xüshii ni ögögtii!
(Altan) biyii ni (daxlagtii) daa!
(Dalda) biyii ni toliluulagtii!

Aryaa wadee om manii badmee xum [*many times*]

3.2.2

[Ulaanaa sings]:
Agaar tengereer duudan baisan
_____ [*unintelligible*]

3.2.3

[Altaa sings]: Aryaa wadee om manii badmee xum [*many times*]

3.2.4

[Ulaanaa's spirit sings]:
Maaniin xüuxen tzanda. töwd nutgaas ir __ döö!
(Tangadiin) yixe Damjin _____ yixe ilbechin
(Tangadiin) yixe garwalxan

3.2.5

[Ceeyee says]: Tza xongor saixan ulaachniixaa id shidii ni _____.

3.2.5

[Ulaanaa's spirit sings]:
_____ [*unintelligible*]
Altan saixan tzamiig ni (gelen gelen) suunaa xöö!

3.2.6

[Altaa's daughter (Ariunaa) asks]: _____?

3.2.7

[Ulaanaa's spirit sings]:
(Ongon) yösön talaar ni
Öwör biyee xüeelüülen
Shara torgon xantaatztai daa
Ulaan haixan enger ni
uran baij l bütnöö döö!
(Daxiad) xatzgai _____
buruuduulan bainaa xöö!

3.2.8

[Ariunaa and Ceeyee say]: Tza uuchlaarai tenger tzayaat bagsh tegej odoo _____ bagsh yum aa. Tegeed yamar xuwcastai yamar _____ xecuu yum aa. Ööriinxöö yumaar oroldson yumaa. Uuchlaarai! Yamar yumaar yaaj ordog _____ terüügeeree xelj _____!

3.2.9

[Ulaanaa's spirit sings]: _____

3.2.10

[Ceeyee asks]: Yamar uut genee, tengeree?

3.2.11

[Ariunaa asks]: Taniig yaaj xündlex yum be? Odoo ene ür xüuxdiin urag sadanguudad ni xelj ailtgagtii daa!
_____.

3.2.12

[Ulaanaa (or her spirit) says]: Bariin aris _____.

3.2.13

[Ariunaa says]: Bariin aris. Tza oilgoloo. Tza xelex yum baiwal xeleerei! Xagas dutuu yum baiwal bid nar medexgüi uchraas xaana xen yaagaarai

3.2.14

[Ceeyee says]: _____ ulaachniixaa erch xüchiig ta büreldüülj baigaarai! _____ sain xamgaalj baigaarai daa tengernüüd! Bachig nyalx ür _____ xaaj (manaj) _____.

3.2.15

[Altaa says]: Bachig jaaxan ürs chini medexgüi xargai bainaa.

3.2.16

[Ariunaa says]: Tenger tzayaat bagshiig dawxar dawxar xamgaalj yawaarai! Ene olon ulaach nar tuwtaa tengeriin budaa _____ түвшин _____ бүгдиig ni xarj xamgaalj yawaarai tenger mini! Taniigaa taxij mөн gej mörgөj irsen yum aa! Ene saixan öдөр.

[Ariunaa and Ceyee say]: Manj ulaan caigaa barigtii! Cainii deejiig. Taniig mөн gej mörgөj bainaa! _____.

3.2.17

[Ulaanaa's spirit sings]: _____

3.2.18

[Ariunaa says]: _____ Ax дүү nariig бүгд ax дүү nar dawxar dawxaraar үр хүүхедtei бүгдиig ni xarj xamgaalj deerees dergedees ni түshij awaarai tengerүүд mini ee! Taniig gej taxij mөн gej mörgөнөө bid nar.

3.2.19

[Ariunaa and the spirit converse]: _____ [unintelligible]

3.2.20

[Ceeyee says]: Aagtai shargal caigaa barij xairlagtii daa!

3.2.21

[Ulaanaa's spirit says]: Xongor haixan oxin cagaanii tenger bariulagtii!

3.2.22

[Ariunaa and spirit converse]: _____ [unintelligible]

3.2.23

[Ariunaa]: End neg xүн baina. Tanii ner xen bilee? Yamar jiltei bilee?

3.2.24

[Ariunaa and spirit converse]: _____ [unintelligible]

3.2.25

[Altaa sings in the background]:

Aryaa wadee om manii badmee xum.

Alda biyii ni xairlagtii daa!

Öwör biyii ni ömgöölögtii!

Ershe xüshii ni nemegtii daa!

Aliwaa butzariig tzailuulagtii!

Хөх лусiin xaaduud ni

Cagaan lusiin shanalgiyi ni

Arilгаа _____

Büüwei büüwei büüwei büüwei

Öwör biyii ni ömgöölögtii!

Ar biyii ni xairlagtii!

Gai totgorii ni gargagtii daa

Alsiin tzamii ni gereltүүlegtii!

_____ xolduulagtii!

Büüwei büüwei büüwei büüwei

Unagan biyii ni xüryöölögtii!

Daagan biyii ni _____

Alda biyii ni xamgaalagtii!

Ershe xüshiin nemegtii daa!

Enexen biyii ni xüröölögtii!

Büüwei büüwei büüwei büüwei

Xuur _____

Oshorwaanii burxan mini

Eryen (xalin) xüryöölхөн (үү)

Appendix for Chapter 6

0 DOWDON'S BLESSING

Ajil üils chini delgej yawag!
Yuu sanasan yösön cagaan xüsel chini biyelj yawag!
Xiisen xereg chini xeregij yawag!
Tzorison tzorilgo chini biyelj yawag!

SHAMANESS CEEYEE'S INCANTATIONS

1 INVOCATION

1.1 (v3. 13:42)

Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum
Aryaa baruun tzügeesee
Amgalan baij medүүлсен
Castiin cagaan uuliinxaa
Cagaan _____
Cagaan möngön bayagaa
Tulan baij iregten
Altan möngön yodoriigee
Gyalbuulaj buusan
Xöx torgon maixawshiigee
Nömrүүлэнхэн буusan
Doloon donshuur tarniigee
Byasalgaj iregten
Doloon donshuur maaniig
Ergүүлэнхэн буusan
Tzurgaan builaan tulmaashaw daa
Builaan yixe bariasha
(Sanashxanii) xüüxen
Cagaan öwgön saxius mini
Naana saixan duulagtii daa
Ordond mini tzalragtii!
(Uuland) mini morilogtii dee!
Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum

1.2 (v.3. 17:30)

Tzöölnii _____
Xatuugiin gatzar (xaagdaagüi)
Ugiin yixe garwalnuud mini
Anduugüixen buugtii dee!
Endüügüixen xüreelegtii dee!
Manjxan ulaan cainii deejendee
Tawan tansag ideenii deejendee
Altan baraanii deejen deeree
Shimtei maliin _____ deejendee
Ornii saixan serjimtei _____
Arwan gurwan noyodiin (sümtei/shimtei)
Anduu ügüi buugtii dee!
Endüü ügüi xüreelegtii dee!
Ta nariig gej duudanam daa
Ta nariig gej duudanam daa
_____ xüreelegtii dee!
_____ xamgaalagtii dee!
Tzayaa guiј tzalbirtam daa
Yörööl guiј mörgönöm daa
Bosoo modon chandaruutai
Xöwön cagaan _____
Bariachiin yixe garwaltai daa

2 (v4) POSSESSION

2.1 (v4. 3:46)

[spirit]:
Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa
Altanganjir altanganjir altanganjir
Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha

Xatan baraanaa barigtii!
 Yuuxan bolood duudaa geeshew?
 Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha
[spirit drinks]
 Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa
 Altanganjir altanganjir altanganjir
 Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha
 Yuuxan bolood duudaa geeshew?
 Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha
 Yuuxan bolood duudaa geeshew?

2.2 (v4. 5:08)

[client]: Minii oxin _____ oxniigoo daatgax gej baina.
 [spirit]: Xaana baina geeshew dee?
 [client]: Amerik gedeg ulsad baigaamaa.
 [young girl]: Minii egch baigaa yumaa bi düü ni baina.
 [spirit]: Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha
 [young girl]: Tuyaa gedgiimaa. Egchiigee ützüülex gesiimaa.
 [spirit]: _____ baina geeshew? Yum baina geeshew? Xuwsas xunar baina geeshew? Yum baina geeshew?
 [young girl]: Tzurag ni baigaamaa.
 [client]: Tzurag ni baina.
 [spirit]: Awna geeshew! Xaana baina geeshew? Ha ha ha ha. Uchraa medexgüi uimaraa. Ha ha ha ha ha.
 [young girl]: Biye ni öwdööd baigaamaa. Saya genet biye ni muudsiimaa.
 [spirit]: Xatan baraanaa barina geeshew!
[The spirit purifies the photo.]
 [spirit]: Xatan baraanaa barina geeshew! Dürshig tzolig baina geeshew? Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha. Dürshig tzolig geeshew baina geeshew?
[The young girl brings effigy.]
 [spirit]: Xatan baraanaa bari _____.
 [young girl]: Xatan baraanaa baina.
 [spirit]: Xatan baraanaa. Xurdaan türgeen ögööch!

2.3 (v4. 7:41)

[spirit sings]: **Udgantaigaa enger gatzar narlax uu daa! Udgantaigaa xayuu aa! Enger gatzar narlax uu daa! Xol gatzar ochix uu daa! Uimar teneg ene** *[says the name of the sick]* **—eer yuugaa xiixew geeshew dee? Xolxon gatzar udgantaigaa narlax uu daa! Ha ha!**
Doloon uuliin caaguur enexengee gargana geeshew baruun hugan doguur shiden baizh tawan shuluunii door daran baitzh baix geeshew dee. Oilgono geeshew?
 [young girl]: Tza
 [spirit says]: **Yörön yösön xaad baruun xoin tzügt awaashin xayana geeshew dee. Enexendee büü xarna geeshew. Doloon uuliig dawnuulan baizh shidene geeshew. Tawan shuluugaar darna geeshew. Tza yuu? Oilgono geeshew? Baruun hugan dooguura xiine geeshew. Oilgoo? Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.**

2.4 (v4. 8:41)

[spirit sings]:
 Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa *[many times]*
 Altanganjir altanganjir altanganjir *[many times]*
 Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa *[many times]*

2.5

[spirit says]: Shimtei maliinxaa shingen süüg barina geeshew. Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha. Shimtei maliinxaa shingen süüg barina geeshew.
 [client]: Tza shimtei maliin shingen süü.
 [spirit]: Ars barina geeshew. (Yum) aawiiingaa eejiingee duudna geeshew dee. Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha. Ars _____ tawiluulan _____ Aliw endeexendee suuna geeshew! **Yamar nertei tzolig _____ geshew. Xen geeshew nertei? Aliw ende suuna geeshew! Muu yum dagan irew geeshew dee! Sögdön suuna geeshew! Xatan baraanaa barina geeshew! Amitnii ür tasalj yawdag amitan geeshew shi! Yamar amitniixaa ür tasalj yawdag geeshew shi! Awgai xüüxnii _____ sawand nosoldoo yawdag geeshew shi! Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha. Sagaan maliinxaa shimtei süüg barina geeshew! Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha ha.**

Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa *[many times]*

2.6 (v4. 11:19) DIVINATION

[spirit]: Yaazh xarna geeshew? Deeshee xarna geeshew dooshoo xarna geeshew?
 [client and young girl]: Deeshee xarsan!
 [spirit]: Odoo mörgöod tzalbiraad aw! Namii guraw toirood tzalbiran awagtii dee!

Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa *[many times]*
 Altanganjir altanganjir altanganjir *[many times]*
 Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa *[many times]*
 Altanganjir altanganjir altanganjir *[many times]*
 Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa *[many times]*

2.7 (v4. 11:54)

[spirit]: Tza yaax nee! Xairsagtai üxeeriig gargana geeshew! Xaana baina geeshew! Xatan baraanaa barina geeshew! Endende nulimlana geesheshew! Xurдан, xurдан бүү xuurai, бүү xuurai! Nulim geeshew! Xurдан түрген nulimlana geeshew! Nulimaa! Xurдан түрген nulimaa geeshew! Eniig tzüün xoid tzüg ruu awaashaad xayana geeshew! Xadaan dooguura shidene geeshew! Oilgono geeshew?

Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa [*many times*]
Altanganjir altanganjir altanganjir [*many times*]
Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa [*many times*]
Altanganjir altanganjir altanganjir [*many times*]
Xulgaa xulgaa xulgaa [*many times*]

2.8 (v4. 13:40)

[spirit sings]:

Aawiin nutag alag ceecegtei.

Eejiiin nutag ereen cecegtei.

Altan saixan orgil mini dee xöö!

Xöö eejii mini törsön gatzar daa.

Ariin saixan xangai mini dee xöö!

Xöö eejii mini unasan gatzar daa.

Manjxan ulaanxan caigaa barii daa xöö!

Amanii shüteeniixöö xagsaagiig garax uu daa xöö!

Xuurxaniig mini awchraarai ürхen mini dee xöö!

[*The spirit plays the Jew's harp.*]

2.9 (v4. 16:19)

[spirit sings]:

Butzartai yumandaa xöö!

Xorlogdoj yawaa

Ür ni shüüdee

Ürsüüd mini dee xöö!

Xolxon gatzartaa baigaa

Ür ni dee xöö!

Ataa jötööndöö orolcoxondon

Yawna uu daa xöö!

[clients]: Timee tiim. Tiim tiim.

[*The spirit plays the Jew's harp.*]

2.10 (v4. 17:15)

[spirit sings]:

Cagaanxan süüg barix uu daa xöö!

Xüinii üilen nee xatuu daa xatuu daa xöö!

Arcxaniig tawiluulax uu daa xöö!

Yamarxan nertei xen be?

Yamarxan jiltei ür we xöö?

[young girl]: Üxer jiltei [*says her name*] gedgiimaa.

[spirit]: Amnii xishigteixen dee nee xöö! Baigaa tzügt ni guraw dallan baij örgүүлх үү dee xöö!

[*The spirit plays the Jew's harp.*]

2.11 (v4. 19:11)

[spirit]:

Xar cagaan serjimiig barix uu daa xöö!

Xar cagaan serjimiig barix uu daa xöö!

Xatan nanchid deer ni xöö!

Cagaan süüg dusaan baij

Serjimiig barix uu daa xöö!

[young girl]: Xar cagaan serjim irlee!

2.12 (v4. 19:48)

[spirit]:

Arcxaniig xüigeerei dee ür mini dee xöö!

(v5. 0:00)

[spirit]:

Doroo naimanxan lusiin xaaduudaa örgүүлх үү dee xöö!

Xongor saixan üree daatgan baij xiix үү dee xöö!

Doroo naiman lusiin xaadadaa örgүүлх үү dee xöö!

[*The spirit plays the Jew's harp.*]

2.13 (v5. 0:40)

[spirit]: Ützej xaraxad yumaxan baina uu daa xöö? Ünerlxee(r*) ünerlex xuwçaxan ni bain uu daa xöö?

[young girl]: Tzurag ni bainaa!

[*The spirit smells the photo.*]

[young girl]: Odoo biye ni gaigüi bolox uu?
 [spirit]:
 Xatanxan nanjadiig barix uu daa xöö!
 Chadaxa yumaa chadadag bilee.
 Medexe yumaa mededeg bilee dee nee xöö!
 Chadax xüchiig mini dee bitgii bucaagaarai ürsüüd mini dee xöö!
 Tusiin tusal(j*) yawj l baigaa shüü dee eej ni dee eej ni dee xöö!
 [client]: Tanii saxiusand tzalburch yawnaa..
 [spirit]:
 Tzüün xoino tzügt xöö!
 Arcxaniig ni xiin baij örgүүлх үү dee xöö!
 Xongor saixan üree daatgan baij örgөх үү dee xöö!
 Tzüün xoid tzügt örgүүлх үү dee ür mini dee xöö!
 [The spirit plays the Jew's harp.]

2.14 (v5. 3:13)

[spirit]: Caagaan süig barix uu daa xöö! Alixan tzügt xaraw uu daa xöö?
 [client]: Xoid tzügt.
 [spirit]: Deeshee nee xarsan uu daa? Dooshoo nee xarsan uu daa xöö?
 [young girl]: Dooshoo xarsan. Dooshoo xarj unalaa.
 [spirit]:
Xatanxan najadiig barix uu daa xöö!
Örgöltani dutuu baina daa xöö!
Setgelee tzoriulan baij örgүүлх үү dee xöö!
Morinxon jiltei ürxen xöö!
Ataa tawan tengertee örgүүлх үү dee xöö!
Baruunxan xoid tzügt xöö!
Ataa tawan tengertee nasnaa buyanii nemej ögöorei gej l xelen baij örgөх үү dee xöö!
 [The spirit plays the Jew's harp.]

2.15 (v5. 5:07)

[spirit]: Shimtei maliinxaa shingen süig barix uu daa xöö!
 Xongor ürsüüd mini shimtei maliinxaa shingen süig barix uu daa ürsüüd mini dee xöö!
 [spirit spits on the photo]
 [spirit]: Alixan tzügt buuw dee xöö!
 [young girl]: Urd tzügt buulaa!
 [spirit]: Yamar _____?
 [young girl]: Deeshee.
 [spirit]: Gurwan nee toiron baij gurwan nee tzalbiran baij Mörgön baij awax uu daa xöö!
 [spirit plays the Jew's harp and departs]

3 INVOCATION OF THE THIRD SPIRIT

3.1 (v5. 8:28)

Aryaa wadee om manee badmee xum. [many times]

4 (v5. 9:00) SECOND POSSESSION

4.1 (v5. 9:07)

[spirit]: **Yuuxan boloo duudaa gee? Yamarxan boloo duudaa gee?**
 [client]: Minii oxin [says her name] Amerik ulsad baigaamaa. Saxiust _____ daatgaj baina.
 [spirit]: Xurai xurai xiurai [many times]
 Tza cagaan süügee barii daa!
 [young girl]: Cagaan süü.

4.2 (v5. 9:54)

[spirit]: Mendiin _____ xurai xurai xurai [many times]
(Altan/xatan) saixan misheel chamaig l xüleen baina daa!
Undaaxan saixan arshaan chamaig l xüleen baina daa!
Ömsöx saixan xuwcas chini chamaig l xüleen baina daa!
Xurai xurai xurai [many times]
Unax saixan xüleg chini chamaig l xüleen baina daa!
Erdenet saixan misheel chamaig l xüleen baina daa!
Xurai xurai xurai [many times]
Ireesh naashaa, ireesh naasha, xurai, xurari, xurai daa!
Xurai, xurai, xurai [many times]
 Tza eniig gurwan xonog tzüügeerei dee xüü mini!
 Xurai xurai xurai [many times]
 Tza buyan xishgiig ni duudan bai__ Shimt maliinxaa shingen süig barigtii!
 Xurai xurai xurai [many times]
 Eneexen ni cusan törliin xün baina geeshew? Eneexenii barin suuna geeshew dee! Tawan ideexen baina geeshew dee?

[young girl]: Tawgiin idee baina! Tawan tansag idee baina!

4.3 (v5. 12:35)

[spirit]:

Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

Tzüünii tenger oron doo!

Tzooriin xutagii guyii daa!

Baruuni tenger oron doo ch,

Bailgiin xutagii guyi daa!

Xaanii saixan xishgiigee

Xüregtii geeshee guyii daa!

Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

Baruun xoid tzüg ruu _____!

Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

Baruuni tenger oron doo.

Bailgiin xutagii guyii daa!

Tzüünii tenger oron doo ch

Tzooriin xutagii guyii daa!

Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

4.4 (v5. 14:09)

[spirit]: Xööröldönö geeshew baina uu? Xööröldxiim baiwal xööröldöxöm geeshew.

[client]: Tza minii oxin [*says her name*]

[spirit]: Endeexend ni suu geeshew dee!

[client]: Tza minii oxin [*says her name*] Amerikt baigaamaa. Tegeed tanii [uwidas] saxiusand oxniigoo bi daatgaj baina.

[spirit]: Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

Eneexend ni suuna geeshew! Tza nuruugaa niilüüleed namtai niilüüleed suuna geeshew dee!

[spirit sings]: Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

[spirit says]: Hugaan dooguun nar tzöw guraw toirono geeshew dee!

Sagaan maliinxaa shingen süüg barix uu daa!

4.5 (v5. 16:12)

[spirit to the second client]: Asuu geeshew!

[second client asks]: _____?

[spirit sings]: Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

[spirit says]: Xatan baraanaa barina geeshew! Yamar yuman daguulaad yawana geeshew dee?

[*The spirit purifies the client.*]

[spirit says]: Xatan baraanaa barina geeshew!

[spirit sings]: Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

[spirit says]: Xatan baraanaa barina geeshew!

[spirit sings]: Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

[spirit says]: Eneexenee (ööröö uu) geeshew!

[spirit sings]: Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

[spirit says]: Amitnii üriig tasalj yawdag amitan geeshew dee! Shimtei maliinxaa shingen süüg barii dee!

Endeexend barina geeshew!

[spirit sings]: Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

Baruuni tenger oron doo

Bailgiin xutagii guyii daa!

Tzüünii tenger oron doo ch

Tzooriin xutagiig guyii daa!

Xaanii saixan xishgiigee

Xürtii geeshew guyii daa!

Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

[spirit says]: Xöx Manaxan bayalgiin tengert baruun xoid tzüg ruu tzalbiran _____. Gurawdaa örgön baij örgögtii döö!

[spirit sings]: Xurai xurai xurai [*many times*]

(v6. 0:22)

[*The spirit departs.*]

5 CEEYEE OFFERS THE SACRIFICES TO THE SPIRITS

5.1 (v6. 1:17)

[Ceeyee says]: Tza degdelee.

[Ceeyee sings]:

Ene mongol oroniingoo

Etzen yixe töriin (dor*)

_____ xaanii _____

_____ suugaachinguud
 _____ mongol tzooringuud
 Nutag (boxoi) noyod _____nguud
 Ene mongol oronii
 Etzen yixe töriin (dor*)
 Xeser buriad nutgiinxaa
 (guchin*) gurwan _____
 Myangan yixe (burxanguud*)
 Door naiman lusiin xaaduud
 Bayarlatzh l baigaarai
 Talarxatzh l _____tii dee!

5.2 (v6. 2:29)

[Ceeyee says]: Tza yumaa awaadar daa! Eniig awaachaa garaarai! Oron delxii owoo uuliin etzdüüdde geed nar tzöw dalluulaad örgönö shüü tza yuu! Tza xen egchee naashaa xüreed ir daa! Ta eniig ariin arwan gurwan noyoddoo ögöod oxniigoo sain daatgana egchiigee sain daatgana shüü tza yuu! Bux yumaa saixan bodood tza! Arwan gurwan noyodod, neg garaa tolgoi deeree tawiarrai ta malgaigüi uchraas. Örgöod orood ir! Tzüün xoid tzüg ruu shüü tzaa! Ariin arwan gurwan noyoddoo.

5.3 (v6. 3:27)

[Ceeyee sings]:
 Ariin arwan gurwan noyoduud

Bayarlaj l baigaagtii dee!

[Ceeyee says]: Caadaxi chini orj irj baina uu? Tza eniig oxintoigoo cug gargaad örgönö tza yuu! Exleed eniig örgöod, daraa ni eniig örgöod, daraa ni eniig örgöod. Ene des daraalalaar baruun urd tzüg ruu burxan garwaldaa geed tza yuu! Xaluun shar burxan garwalda!

[Ceeyee sings]:

Xaluuxan shar burxan garwal

Bayarlatzh l baigaarai daa!

Talarxatzh l _____tii dee!

[Ceeyee says]: Chi arxi süügee awaad ir dee! Tza eniig ariin arwan gurwan noyoddoo örgöchix tza! Exleed süü örgöod, daraa ni eniig örgöchix tza! Tzüün xoid tzüg ruu.

[Ceeyee sings]:

Ariin arwan gurwan noyoduud

Anduu ügüi _____tii dee!

Endüü ügüi _____tii dee!

Bayarlatzh l baigaagtii dee!

Talarxatzh l _____tii dee!

[Ceeyee says]: Tza ene arxia awaad bux yumaa sain daatgana shüü tza! Tzün xoid tzüg rüü shdee!

[Ceeyee says]: Ochood ööriinxöö sawdag saxiusand mörgöchöod oxinii _____ tza yuu biye miye ni archaad tza!

[client]: Xaashaa örgöx we?

[Ceeyee says]: Songino xairxan ruu örgönö önöödör tza yuu!

[Ceeyee plays the Jew's harp above a cup of milk.]

5.4 (v6. 6:42)

[Ceeyee says]: Tza eniig xoishoo Cagaan Xürmiin tengert örgöchix! Xan'iin tengert örgöchix tza yuu! Cagaan xürmen geed xan'iin tengert örgöchix! Baruun xoid tzüg ruu. Tza yuu yaachix, eniig uragshaagaa baruun urd tzüg ruu Galiin Ulaan Saxiusand örgöchinö shüü! Tza xen egch naashaa xüreed ir dee! Tza ta eniig tzüün tzüg ruu emch tengert örgönö shüü tza!

[Ceeyee plays the Jew's harp above a cup of milk.]

5.5 (v6. 7:36)

[Ceeyee says]: Tza eniig tzüün tzüg rüü emch tengert, xüüxdee daatgaad örgönö shüü tza yuu! Öwchin tzowlongiinxoo üüdiig xaj xairlaa geed. tza möngöö barigtii dee! Sain yumaa bodoj daatgana. Sain bodoj baigaad sain bodoj baigaad, sain bod sain bod!

[Ceeyee asks personal particulars.]

5.6 (v6. 9:31)

[Ceeyee says]: Tza gurwan xonog yuu yaana shüü. Oroi bolj bitgii garaa gej xeleeeri tza yu! Oroi bolj büü garaarai! Amitan xüntei büü margaldaarai! Gurwan xonog anxaral bolgoomjtoi baigaarai gej xel tza yuu! Ene gurwan xonogt minii ongoguud ergenee tza yuu!

5.7 (v6. 9:51)

[Ceeyee sings]:

Xanatai gerees garaarai daa!

_____ gerees garagtii dee!

Uulan gertee bucagtii dee!

Tengerxendee degdegtii dee!

Odoo __gtii dee!
 Ogtorguidaа degdegtii dee!
 Shöög!
 [client]: Bayarlalaa!
 [Ceeyee]: Tza.
 [Ceeyee plays the Jew's harp above a cup of vodka.]

5.8 (v6. 13:09)
 [Ceeyee says]: Enüügeer, eniig yawuulaad biyii ni archuulaaraаi tza! Amsuulaad tegeed biyi miyii ni archuulaaraаi! Jijig wakusnii sawand xiigee yawuulchix. Ene süüg ni doloon burxandaa örgöchööröi tza yu! Gurwan oroi örgöchix jijig yumaar tza! Saixan daatgaad.
 [Ceeyee plays the Jew's harp above a bottle.]

5.9 (v6. 13:56)
 [Ceeyee says]: Tza öwgön doloon oddoo saixan tzalbiraad örgönö shüü tza yuu! Gadaa gargaj örgööröi! Conxon deerees büü örgööröi tza! Ta ter möngөө nadad barigtii! Sain yumaa bodoj sain tzalbir! Emegtei xün gedgee sain medreechee geed baixii. Tamxinaasaa garaachee!

Appendix for Chapter 7

a1 Yag saгаan shandaga
 Yagaawtar ulaan gur
 Xub shar solongo
 Xurдан сагаan үyen
 Xöö xarxan xerem.

a2 Altan sharaga nartai
 Almai buural hartai

a3 Altan dugui damzhilga
 Möngön dugui mūshgölögö

4 Buruu xazagai duudwal
 Buural ereen orgoig butiin xeweg idyeg!
 Xazagai buruu duudwal
 Xairan saixan biyiimin'
 Xadiin shuluu deldeg!
 Xazagai buruu duudaxgüi
 Xan yix garwaliin xadag torgon zholoosh,
 Ug yix garwaliin utaxan torgon zholoosh.

5 Buruu dutuu xazagai duudaxamn'i
 Ug garwal zalruulaaraаi!
 Xazagai buruu duudwal
 Xaan garwal zalruulaaraаi!

6 (v38. 3:50)
 Um ma xum saгаan garwalmnyi daa
 Naana haixan duulaaragtii!
 _____mnyi daa
 Naana haixan duulaaragtii!
 Xaluun shariin burxan garwal
 Xöxyözh l buugaaragtii!
 _____mnyi daa
 Naana haixan duulaaragtii!
 (Xöxö/Xöxyöö) shariin garwalmnyi daa
 Xöxyözh l buugaaragtii!
 Xūshetei yixe garwalnuud (miny*)
 Naana haixan duulaaragtii!
 (v38. 4:28)
 _____shariin ix burxan garwal
 Xöxyözh l buugaaraаi
 Xūshetei _____burxan garwalmnyi
 Xöxyözh l buugaaraаi!
 (Mo__on) saгаan danxiye
 Bariashiin yixe _____

_____iin izhiimnyi
 _____shariin burxan
 Nayan nayan naliwiimnyi
 Yühen _____shiwew
 Xöxyöözh l buugaaragtii!
 (Togoo neren) _____
Taxil deeree buugaaragtii
 Xaluun shariin burxan garwal
 Xalzh l buugaaragtii!
Taniig l taxixamnye
Mön gezhe mörgö(mnye*)

7 (v39. 0:06)

[Dungaa]:
 Arwan gurwan ulaash
 Xongor _____baizh yirehen
 Urgaa haixan modon deer _____
 Shanar shandruu _____
 Üür haixan modon deer
 (Düülen) baizh _____
 [Dangaa sings]: _____
 [Dungaa]:
 Xangai modon _____
 _____modon _____
Urgaa haixan modon deer
Ene tü _____haixan gazar deer ni
Yühön haixan derwelegtei
Eseg modtoigoor, üür haixan modtoigoor
Xuw shara holongtoi
Xurдан sagaan üyentei
Yag sagaan shandagtai
Yagalztar ulaan gurtai
Xöö xarxan xeremtei
Büx yümüiye büren бүтеегд _____baizh
Yühön haixan xüüxedtei daawuu uyizh

[Dangaa sings]: _____
 [Dungaa]: Tza, tza.

8 (v40. 3:55)

[Dungaa]: Yüü awsar genee? Yüü gesen? Yüü gezh xeleed baina ta?
 [Dangaa]: _____.
 [Dungaa]: Tza. (Xüregeshenii*) xüxyüü daa
 Xüüxed basgadai haam ...
 Duxaraa barigtii!
 [Dangaa sings]: _____
 [Dangaa]: Örgön түмен zhandaguudmnye bultaarxanaa mend amoor!
 [apprentices]: Mend amoor!
 [Dangaa]: Öshöö _____.
 [Dungaa]: Tza barigtii!
 [Dangaa]: Xatuu xaraa xürtexem daa! _____. Tza, tza xüwüümnye ulaashnariishnye xarxam. Zhil yawdaliye _____.
 [Dungaa]: Ulaashnar end yireed, ulaashnariig xarzh _____ nernüüdee xeleed saash ni tegeed ya!
 [Dangaa]: Xatan xariiye _____.
 [Dungaa]: Tza doshxon xaraa barigtii!
 [The apprentices introduce themselves.]
 [Dungaa]:
 Xuw shara holongtoi
 Xurдан sagaan üyentei
 Yag sagaan shandagtai
 Yagalztar ulaan gurtai
 Xöö xarxan xeremtei
 Xöwshiin haixan amitantai
 Nar hara xoyortoi

Yühön haxan xüüxdüüd _____

Münx haixan zul deeree zalragtii!

[spirit says]: _____.

[Dungaa]: Tyiim ee! Ene üür haixan modon deeremnye huuzh xeden haixan shawi narmnye _____ modon deeran _____ baizh _____ ögtii!
 [spirit says]: _____.
 [Dungaa]: Za tyiim dee!
 [Dungaa and apprentices]: Shöög shöög shöög!
 [Dungaa]: Utaarai utaarai!

9 (v41. 3:12, v47. 2:53)

[Dangaa]: **Ta nar böögiiin iim tom udamtai ulsuud tza yuu! Tza xar! Ta nar iim tom böögiiin udamtai ulsuud baisan. Ene Damdin Dorligiin tom burxan shüteen. Mash tom xariin böötei ulsuud.**

10 (v45. 4:16)

[Dungaa]:

(Noyon shig nomxon

Xaan shig*) xaluuxan zalragtii!

Münöö üyiin müngöör ni

_____ medeegüi.

Uhan nyüdtei

Shuhan zürxtei

Baraixiig xaraxgüi

Barxaixiig medexgüi

Baga balshir xüüxdüüd(edee*)

Andaa endee bolgon xaa

Dutuu dundiin _____

Büren düürneer awzh xairlagtii!

Aldaa buruu yum bailaa bol

Eneexen aldaangaa zahan baizh zalruulagtii!

Büren düürneer shanazh

Busalgazh undaamnye zalaawsh _____

Dutuu dunduur _____ büren düürneer awzh

Zayaa guizh zalbirnawdyi dee

Yürööl guizh (yürnöwdyi*)

(Uurtalaa) uuliin azhil xiilee

_____ deer ni azhil tawigtii daa!

Uurag ulaan hüüye xürtegtii burxashuud!

Uurag ulaan hüüye xürtegtii!

Zayaa guizh zalbirnawdyi

Yürööl guizh (yürnöwdyi*)

Za uurag ulaan saiyi xürtegtii!

Noyon shig nomxon

Xaan shig xaluuxan zalragtii daa!

Uurlan uuraa

Uuliin _____

_____ xeeriin _____ tawigtii daa!

Nam huuzh nairlagtii daa!

Udaan huuzh undalagtii daa!

Xüxöö shuwuu dongodood (baixad*)

Xüwshiin modon naigaad _____

Xurgan xonyinii shüühe

Xuha modnii namirgaand

Xonyinii shüühen deer

Xuhan tewshiig öödülen baizh

Xun sagaan xonyio

Xünd yambiiyi güisetgüülzh bainaa.

Tza

Bultnii ezhii _____

Bugaalin buural ezhiigee

Büren bütneer _____

Ürgöö sagan geryee _____

[spirit sings]: _____

[Dungaa]:

Xan yix garwalai xadag torgon zholoosh

Ugai yix garwalai (utaxan*) torgon zholoosh

_____ yix garwalai _____ torgon zholoosh bi.

Aa tyiim biddee tyiim. _____ (xonyio*) garganaa daraagaar enxende haxiuhan, örgöö sagaan geryee aryutgazh utazh awawdyi. Za münöö üyiin tamag tatagtii daa. Taiwshirxazh huugtii burxashuud!

Za büren бүтэн utazh awaad xoyor shüüheyee daxin shanazh büren бүтэн bolgood asraad tawiyaa daa!

Aawiin xüüxdüüd _____. Esgiin xüüxdüüd iregeer ireg ax düü nar bultaar ür olon xüüxdüüd, xorin yix golomtiin zuun tödii xaluun amit ____ daatgan zalbirnaw daa!

[spirit sings]:
Aawiinxanaa yaaxan daa!
Azhil boloxodo xüüxdüdmnye
Ene l olon ug garwaliiyi
_____ zhandaguudmnye
[Dungaa]:
Za münöö üyiin müngööröö

Aldaa bolow daa.

Enehee xoish iim aldaa gargaxgüi biddee!
Za ene üdörhөө xoish sag möshgöd ugai yix garwal shüteengüüded shütezh taxizh yawxiin tülөө ene haixan yüröltei ödör tanii gezh taxizh, mön gezh mörgözh bainaa. Za tyiim biddee! Ongon yix shüteendee terseldezhan nyüdei shuhan zürxtei gezh xaana bainaw dee! Örshöögтii burxashuud!
[an apprentice]: Barun xuasai omogtoi [says her name] bainaa.
[spirit sings]: _____
[Dungaa]: Za shimt maliin shingen hüüyee barigtii daa. Dalai sain hüüyee _____.
[spirit sings]: Bayarlazha xürtөөхөbdye.
[Dungaa]: Ishte ars asaagaad awaadyir! Za Bugaalin buural ezhii miny dalain hain hüüyee barigtii _____.
Ter xonyi bainaa. Uurag süülnees ni ogtlood awaarai! Ützüürees ni ogtlood awaarai!
[spirit says]: _____.
[Dungaa]: Za doshgon xariin deezh daa!
[apprentices]: Mend amoor!
[somebody]: Mörgööd aw!
[Dungaa]: Tza tegeed ter saxiusan deeree tawiad, ene uurag hүүл, amii ni tohllood urd tald ni odoo engeed xuraaxdaa xonyiin shüüsiin süülnees ni tasalj awaad xөгshniixөө _____.
[an apprentice]: Odoo ingeed tosloj awchix yum uu tee?
[Dungaa]: Odoo boloogüi aawiinxaa saxiusan deer _____.
[spirit sings]: _____
[Dungaa]: Irxe jilei tzunii dund sariin shenii arwan tawand _____.
[apprentice]: Tza.
[spirit sings]: _____
[Dungaa]: Za xoiton zhil xurgan xonyinii shüuhe _____.
[spirit sings]: _____
[Dungaa]: Za büren бүten bayarlawaw daa _____ xamgaalii genee. Barun xuasai xüwүүн _____ udamtai barun xuasai xüüxdüüdee (bagsaazh) _____ geeregtii! Xorin xaluun golomt deer zuun xaluun ami daatgan baizh zalbirnab dee. Ür olon xüüxdüüdi ni barun xuasai xüüxdüüdi shiny (bagsaazh) _____gtii!
[spirit sings]: _____
[Dungaa to the apprentice]: Gurwan jilin daaraa üüriin ami oruulj xün gej yawaarai gene!
[Dungaa to the spirit]: Za münx haixan zul deeree zalragtii daa burxashuud!

11 (45v. 17:50)

[Dungaa]:
Dalan xeltei shawiimnye
Anduu l ügüi xüreelzhe
Ene l haixan xündiitnai

(Ene) balchir xüwүүн
Erxe shara Manzhuulai

(Tewxeger*) shara Manzhuulai
Urgaa haixan modoniimnye
(Xuhan) yixe shanariiyi
Udirdazh l buuhan daa.

12 (v45. 19:13)

[Dungaa to her daughter-in-law]: Barun xoish ni süü örgönө tza yuu. Minii dogshin tzüg болгон руу süü örgönө tza yuu!
[Dungaa sings]:
Ugai yixe garwalnuud mnye
Xonyinii yixe _____
Bultaarxanaa дугарыаа daa
Urgaa modon _____
Borxon yixe omogtoi doo

Aawiin xüüxdööd _____

13 (v46. 2:00)

[Dungaa says]:
Ee xurai xonyi xurai

Ix xöröngiin tzöörin elbeg gej barag _____
Tzayaa guiij tzałbirna dee.
Yürööl guiij yörnö _____
Xurai Xonyi xurai ee xurai
[Dungaa sings]:
Xotondoo _____
Xoyor _____

Xoyorxon _____
Xotondoo _____
Tawan xoshuu maliiyi _____
Ünööxön üdörhöö xoisho
Xoyorxon zhiliin _____
(Aixiin) shineen ayuulgüi
____xiin shineen ____güi
Ünöö zhiliin zowlongüi
Ünöö _____ tashaalangüi
Yawuuliin zayaayee guinaw daa!
(Taliwarlazha) mörgönöw dee.
Xonyi xurai ee xurai xonyi xurai ee xurai xonyi xurai ee xurai!

14 (v46. 8:33)
[Dangaa sings]:

Xazaar l ügüi l zaidalaw.
Xan chuuriin (xüwüüwew).
Xatuu doshgon Manzhulai
Emneg shargal moriyyi
Emeel ügüi zaidalaw.
Xanal doshgon sharagiyyi
Xazaar l ügüi l zaidala(han*)
Xan chuuriin (xüwüüwew).
Xatuuxan doshgon Manzhulaimnye
Basagatai gazaraan (bayisalagtiish)
Xüwüüteixen gazaraan _____
Ene l tewxer sagan shanariingaa
Uidardazh l buuhan bilee l dee.
Erxe(m*) sagaan shanariyyi
_____ baizh _____.

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AEH Acta Ethnografica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

AOH Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

CAJ Central Asiatic Journal

Oral Sources

The names of some shamans are changed in order to protect their privacy and avoid possible harassment. These names are marked with a *. I gave the full name of those informants, whose name has appeared in publications, and who are widely known by their full names in Mongolia. In these cases it would be unnecessary to conceal their identity. I did not change the names of the rest of the informants, but I did not give their full names either, rather I used their names in the forms they were called by their immediate community.

Alimaa: Xalx, the first apprentice of Dangaa and Dungaa. She is in her twenties.

Altaa*: A middle-aged Buriad shamaness from Dashbalbar district. An important member of the Golomt Centre.

Altanceceg: Pürewjawiin Altanceceg, a middle-aged Buriad shamaness from Dashbalbar district. An important member of the Golomt Centre.

Ariunaa*: Altaa's daughter and apprentice.

Bayarcengel: A Xamnigan shamaness from Xentii province in her thirties. A friend of Ceeyee.

Bayarmaa: Buriad, Dangaa and Dungaa's apprentice. She is in her thirties.

Bayarsaixan: Altaa's apprentice. He is in his thirties.

Birtalan, Ágnes: mongolist, Head of the Department for Mongolian Studies at ELTE

Bulgan: Shagdariin Bulgan, a middle-aged Xotogoid shamaness. Member of the Golomt Centre. Practised in one room with Ceeyee for a couple of months.

Bürged: A young Deed Mongol poet.

Byambadorj: Dondogiin Byambadorj, an urban shaman in Ulaanbaatar from Xowd province, allegedly from the Olxonuud clan. He is in his early fifties. He is the author of several books on himself.

Cagaanaa*: A Xalx apprentice of Altaa. Approximately 35 years old. Believed to be a reincarnation of the White Tara.

Ceeyee*: A half-blood Xalx-Buriad (Buriad from her mother's side) shamaness in her thirties. Altaa's apprentice. Member of the Golomt Centre.

Ceren: Choijiliin Ceren (his Buriad name is Shoizholoi Seren), also known as Ceren böö, Ceren baawai, and Ceren tzaarin. A famous Buriad shaman from Dornod province, Bayan-Uul district. Died in 2005. G. Gantogtox, G. Kara and J. Coloo studied his shamanic practice and repertoire.

Cewegdorj: A Caatan shaman in Ulaan-Uul district, Xöwsgöl Province. 85 years old in 2005.

Dangaa*: A Buriad shaman in his fifties from Dornod province, Dashbalbar district. An important member of the Golomt Centre.

Dowdon*: A Xalx shaman in his early thirties. The apprentice of the Buriad Ceren.

Dungaa*: Dangaa's wife. She is in her fifties.

Ganbaatar: Xalx, Altaa's apprentice from Tzawxan province. He is in his late thirties.

Gerlee*: A middle-aged Buriad shamaness from Dashbalbar district. An important member of the Golomt Centre.

Mönxjaw: Dangaa and Dungaa's daughter and apprentice. She is in her early twenties.

Namsrai: Altanceceg's interpreter. He is in his fifties.

Oyuun: An Urianxai shamaness in her fifties, living in Mörön, Xöwsgöl province.

Somfai Kara, Dávid: ethnologist, researcher of the Institute of Ethnology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Surnaa*: Dowdon's wife.

Süxbat: Shagdariin S., head of Golomt Centre. One of his daughters is an apprentice of Dangaa.

Tzoltzayaa/Xöörög: A young Darxad shamaness, daughter of the famous shamaness Bayar, who died in a car accident in 2003. Once member of the Golomt Centre.

Tzorigtbaatar: Xalx, an urban shaman in Ulaanbaatar in his mid-late forties.

Ulaanaa*: A young Xalx apprentice of Altaa.