

Cutting the black noose of a fiend A healing-method of Mongolian Shamanism

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Mongols just like other peoples of Asia believed that death and disease were caused by harmful spirits and special ceremonies were necessary to counteract the prolongation of the evil influence.

Among others, it was supposed that there existed a bond between the patient and the foe causing harm. The demons were believed to throw lassoes onto men and binding people. A ritual should have been performed to cut this spiritual bondage. The dead and the living were also bind together and the help of an officiating lama was needed to cut the rope and separate the spheres of death and life that do not belong together. Nebesky-Wojkovitz refers to a Tibetan blockprint in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden, a death ceremony: *Che dpag med gnam lčags rdo rje'i čha lag 'čhi bsu'i gtor čhen 'grigs čhags su bkod pa 'čhi bdag g'yul zlog čes bya ba bzugs so*, a part of which describing the setting up of the sacrificial objects bears the title *'čhi bdag zags gčod-pa* "Cutting the noose of the Lord of Death".¹ Some handbooks in Mongolian also suggest that it was commonly believed that there existed a bond between the living and the dead. A manuscript *Amidu ükügsen-ü yar barilčaysan-i qayačayulqu-yin ary-a* "Method of tearing off the clasping hands of the living and the dead"² prescribes that the black rope and the white rope symbolizing the attachment between the dead and the living must be cut off by the ceremony master. Pozdneev also refers to a ritual held on the second or third day after the funeral in order to ward off misfortunes from living persons. The ceremony is called *Tačiyal-un qariyuly-a* "Detaching the clinging".³ It allows the supposition that a symbolical rope-cutting took place during this ritual, as well. Prof. Bawden mentions a similar text: *Amitu ükügsen qoyar-un yar barildurysan-u sijim-i tasul* "Separate the cord of the clasping hands of the dead and the living" - instructing that the bond which unites

¹Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op.cit.* p. 511.

²Text, translation, commentary: A. Sárközi, A Bon Funeral Rite in Lamaist Mongolia. *Synkretismus in den Religionen Zentralasiens*. Hrsg. W. Heissig und H.-J. Klimkeit, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1987, pp. 119-135. Cf. also A. Sárközi Symbolism in Exorcizing the Evil Spirits. *Religious and Lay Symbolism in the Altaic World and Other Papers*. Hrsg. K. Sagaster, H. Eimer, O. Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1989. pp. 314-323.

³A.M. Pozdneev, *Religion and Ritual in Society. Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th Century Mongolia*. Ed. by J.R. Krueger. Translated from the Russian by A. Raun and L. Raun. Bloomington 1978, pp. 615-616.

the living and the dead should be broken.

Texts indicating the bondage between the disease and the patient are few in the libraries.

A handbook preserved in Hungary *Čalm-a tasulqu sudur* (Mong 67.) "Cutting off the Lasso" presents such a ceremony. The ritual served to exorcise the evil spirits by cutting the lasso they had thrown onto the patient. The officiating lama played in reality the lasso throwing and cutting saying that he transforms himself into the deity Heruka and in this form he cuts the fastening between the harmful spirits and the patient⁴

Here we should like to publish another, till now unpublished text of this curing method though different in wording similar in the idea of cutting the connection between the patient and the disease. The manuscript of altogether 3 folios is preserved in the St. Peterbourg collection of the Russian Academy of Sciences: MS. Q 165.⁵

This purely shamanistic ritual is dressed in Buddhist disguise using the usual beginning formula of Buddhist prayers: I bow to Buddha, I bow to the Teaching, I bow to the Assembly. Avalokitesvara is requested to save people. Then, the prayer goes on in a clearly shamanistic manner. The officiant addresses the evil spirits and states that he will cut off the bondage between them and the patient. We get some information who these foes are: they ride several kinds of mounts: a black goat, a yellow goat, a black horse, red sheep and their coach is drawn by a blue goat. We are informed about their figure, behavior and habits: they are raksasa-s, white chested multi-coloured fiends, they are quick in their actions and they drink blood. They are the spirits who wander around the dwelling place and make obstacles for the travellers. During the enumeration of the evil spirits the officiant cuts their ropes. Most probably he imitates this cutting movement.

Colours play an important role in the ritual - not only the evil spirits' mounts are of certain colours but the defilements, as well: black sins, yellow sins, red defilements.

The leader of the ceremony offers food to the harmful spirits and asks them to take away disease together with the offered food. Beyond food a ransom figure is also offered together with the patient's hat, robe, belt, trousers, boots, and incense.

After trying to gain the benevolence of the spirits the officiant threatens them: "If you do not leave I will hit you", then he calls his helping spirits - among them also a Buddhist saint, Vajrapani with his nine branched vajra.

⁴⁴ Text, translation, commentary cf. S. Sárközi, A Text of Popular Religious Belief "Cutting off the Lasso", *Acta Orientalia Hung.* XXXIX (1) (1985), pp. 39-44.

⁵ A.G. Sazykin, *Katalog mongol'skih rukopisej i ksilografav Instituta Vostokovedenija Akademii Nauk SSSR*, Tom I, p. 233. No. 1291.

Certain days are prescribed when the ritual should be carried out. Famous Buddhist sutras are recommended to be read.

Now technical instructions are given how to prepare the ransom figure of red mud. Then, red ropes are bound to the members of the ransom figure and to the arms and feet of the patient. Then the ritual rope cutting takes place.

At this point our text gives another version of the ceremony, when gold and silver are offered. The patient is bound together with the dough ransom figure with a hook that should be cut off. While separating the bondage the ceremony master emphasizes: it is not the striped rope that I cut, but the hindrances, it is not the offering meat that I cut, but the flesh and tongue of the thousand devils. The text makes it clear that later the ransom figure containing the evil doers is taken out to the steppe and destroyed by burning.

At the end of the text it is told that this method is used when a woman has difficulties in childbirth. Again two ransom figures must be prepared: one representing the mother. The identity with the suffering mother is expressed by placing a drawing onto the ransom figure with the name and birth date of hers. The other ransom figure is riding an animal.

T e x t

[1a] Eliy-e qar-a čalm-a-yi oytolan qarijulqu sudur :

[1b] Namô buddha-ya
Namô dharma-ya
Namô sangha-ya

Avalokiti kiged : ürgülji tasurasi ügei .
oroy-yin čimeg blam-a erdini-dür mörgümüi :

bi kiged qamuγ amitan-a tusa boltuγai :

öglige-yin ejin-lüge buu qarsila :
bi ber činu čalm-a-yi oytolamui
qara kkiri-i bariγsan .
qara imayan-a unuγsan buyu či :
bi činu čalm-a-yi oytolamui :
šira kkiri bariγsan :
šir-a imayan-a unuγsan buyu či :
bi činu čalm-a-yi oytolamui :
qara mori unuγsan
qara kkiri bariγsan :

qara raks-a buyu či :
 bi činu čalm-a-yi oyto=lumui :
 ulayan čisun-yi uyuyad
 bey-e-degen türgen yabudal-tu buyu či :
 bi činu čalm-a-yi oytolamui :
 köke imayan-a köliglegesen :
 ködelesi ügei yeke jobalang-yi bey-e-degen egürügsen :
 čayan ebčigütü alay eliy-e buyu či :
 bi činu čalm-a-yi oytolumui :
 otuy bayuri kiged-tü ergiŋü yabuysan
 qamuy eliy-e čidkür buyu či :
 bi činu čalm-a-yi oyto=lumui :
 barayun yar-dayan ildü bariysan
 (jegün yar-tayan jida bariysan)
 jiyulčin-ača jedker buyu či :
 bi činu čalm-a-yi oytolumui :
 ulayan qoni unuysan :
 ulayan kkiri bariysan :
 ükegerün jedker buyu či :
 bi činu čalm-a-yi oytolumui :
 ene öglige-yin ejen-lüge buu qarsila :
 minu ögügsen idesi abuyad ödtür böged nöğči [2a] nöğči
 yar köl-ün kiged bey-e-yin ebečin terigüten ba :
 bey-e-yin jolij-yi či ab :
 abuyad od od :
 ene öglige-yin ejen-ü malay-a degel kiged :
 bey-e-yin jolij-yi či ab :
 abuyad od od :
 öglige-yin ejen-ü büse dotuyajı yutul kiged :
 bey-e-yin jolij-yi či ab :
 abuyad od od :
 ene ögügči aduyusun mal kiged :
 bey-e-yin joliigyi či ab :
 yulir tosun kiged jula küji
 bey-e-yin joliigyi či ab :
 abuyad öber öberün yaŋar-tur od od :
 minu ündüsün blam-a-yin jarlij-ača buu daba :
 ödtör böged yabu yabu :
 ese yabubasu :
 čoytu ökin tngri-yin torm-a-bar čokimui bi :
 qamuy sakiyulsun-ıyan urıju :
 Vačar-bani-yin yisün salıyatu vačar-ıyar čokimui bi :
 či minu yidam burqan vaŋar-tu bayı-yin jarlij-ača buu daba :
 od od :
 sümbani ber üilde :
 möri jiy-a ::

čalm-a oýtolaquy-dur qaburin 3 sarayin 8 sine :
 ĵun-u 3 sarayin 15 sine :
 ebül-ün 3 sara-yin 19 edür
 namurun 3 sarayin luu noqai edür :
 ebül 3 sarayin moyai yaqai edür oýtöl-i mayui iru-a qariyulqui-dur :
 Bigarun nom :
 Bajar čediq-a
 Yeke nigülesügči ungsi :
 ĵaryaqui sibar-iyar ulayan kümün-ni kiĵü :
 kelkigči kümün-ni möče-tü ulayan utasu uyaĵu :
 ĵes vaĵar-tu kituy-a-bar buruyü oýtöl :
 ĵegüü qara qoni yamayan-a üker mori
 qara degel qara [2b] eriyen utasun-i oýtölĵu
 sibar kümün-ni qoyar ĵar ba :
 qoyar köl-dü-i uyaĵtun :: : ::

basa nigen ĵüil :
 čalm-a oýtölqu bui :
 uriq kereg anu . eyimü bui :

lang mönggün ba :
 ese bögesü nigen čang altan ba :
 čayariĵ altan ĵoq-a :
 tabun öngge-yin-ber tomuysin altan delim utasun :
 nige ĵulir kümün kiĵü :
 tegüni egüden-ü tende talbiyad :
 utasun-u nige üĵügür-eče čayariĵ ki :
 uyaĵu čalm-a-u kümün aman-dayan ol kiĵü bayituyai :
 nige üĵügür-eče toĵ-a-yi uyaĵu ĵulir kümün-ü oroy-du qadquĵu :
 tegün-lüge temür sirem-e kiĵü talbi :
 oýtaluĵči kümün-ü ĵar-tu nemen dügüreng čayan torĵun uy-a :
 ĵes kituy-a-bar ĵurban üy-e tomulan
 ildü-iyer ĵurban tasu tebči :
 čibčirtei eyin eyin ögülegdeküi :

∞ eriyen utasun-i oýtölqu busu
 erke doĵčid-un küčün-iyer :
 ali todqari ebeden oýtolanam bi :
 eriyen utasun-i oýtölqu busu :
 mingyan čidkü-d-ün miqan kelen-i
 mital ügei doĵčid-un küčün-iyer oýtolanam bi :
 kesig miqan-u oýtölqu busu :
 gem kigči todqar kedün mayui sedkil-ten-i
 kelen aman-i qarsıĵu oýtölnam bi :
 tüüki miqan-yi oýtölqu busu :
 tüg tümen dörben ĵüg-ün simnus kiged :

čidkü-d-ün kelen aman-i
 dörben maqaranca-yin tong=yarıy ildü-ber oytalnam bi
 alay utasun-i oytolqu busu :
 arban жүг-үн čidkü-d-ün simnus kiged
 ada todqar-nuyud-un küjüğün-i
 arvis daranis-iyar oytolnam bi :
 qara eriyen utasun-i oytolqu busu
 qamuy čidkü-d-ün kelen aman-i oytolju
 qar-a nidün-i tasulju
 yaži-yu niru-yun-i quyulun oytolnam bi : [3a]
 qamuy burqad-un küčün-iyer
 qayučin jabsar-tu qargisi bügüde-yi
 qariyulan oytolnam bi :
 qamuy ada todqar čidkü-r bügüde-yi
 qalayun čiduqu [= sitaqu ?]
 yal-iyar tülebe kemen sedkigdeküi :
 mal qubčid suba yar-y-a : :
 bilig baramid baĵar vidaraa-a ungsiqu :: : :

ekiner kümün köl kündü bolqui čay-tu yurban qonoy-tu ese töröbesü
 1 mal-tai jolıy : segül-tei jolıy egüdcü tere eke-yin yasun ene
 jıl nasun ede-i jıruju jolıy-un jırüken-e orçıyulju :
 basa nige jolıy-yi ali jıl-dür uçarabasu qara jolıy unuyulju :
 ene jolıy-yi oroi olan 2 tögen-e tögenegsen jolıy-yi
 eke-yin üker moyai jıl-tü kümün-dü ğai bui :
 ede edür em üiledbesü ğai qariqu sayın :: :

Translation

[1a] Sutra of averting the black noose of a fiend⁶ by cutting it

[1b] Namô buddhay-a
 Namô dharmay-a
 Namô sanghay-a

I bow to Avalokiteśvara⁷ and to the Precious lama,

⁶ The figure and activity of *eliy-e* is described in great detail by Ch. Bawden, *The Supernatural Element in Sickness I*. (1961), pp. 243-245: It is a category of evil spirits causing disease. Some dictionaries define the term *eliye* only as a "kite", however some dictionaries give the secondary meaning: "hideous demon, hostile spirit in the form of la bird, goblin, devil".

⁷ Avalokita or Avalokiteśvara "The keen seeing lord, the great pitier and lord of

the Supreme ornament [who is] always without interruption.⁸

Let there be assistance to me and to all the living beings!

Do not be an obstacle to the almsgiver!⁹

I cut off your noose!
 You ride a black goat
 and take the black sins.
 I cut off your noose!
 You ride a yellow goat
 and take the yellow sins.
 I cut off your noose!
 You ride a black horse
 and take the black sins.
 You are the black *rāksasa*.¹⁰
 I cut off your noose!
 You drink red blood¹¹ and
 You are quick in your actions.¹²

mercy" cf. L.A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, Cambridge 1971, pp.356-358.

⁸ Most probably it can be identified with the Bodhisattva Ratnakuta (Tib. *Ggug na rin čhen*) the Mongolian name of whom Kowalewski gives as *Oroi-dayan erdenitü*. (p. 446/a)

⁹ The Mongolian expression *öglige-yin ejen-lüge buu qarsila* is not correct. It would be better: *ejen-dür buu qarsila*. The mistake indicates that the text is a translation of Tibetan where the verb '*gal-ba* "to counteract" stands with the suffix of Instrumentalis *dan*, that was translated by the Mongolian -*lüge*.

¹⁰ *Rāksa-s* (Tib. *Srin-po*) are large group of malignant spirits, they cause several kinds of disease, they wander around the house and in cemeteries. Waddell, *op.cit.*, p. 369, Kowalewski, p. 2660. Nebesky-Wojkowitz enumerates and describes in detail the *rāksa-s* and the ceremonies required to counteract them. He mentions a certain *srin-po nag-po* - it can be supposed that it is the same spirit as the one here. It is the leader of the -s dressed in a cloak consisting of lightening and it holds corns of hail in his left hand.

¹¹ Heruka is a blood-drinking deity in pre-Buddhist Tibetan pantheon: He got an important part in an exorcizing ceremony known in Tibet as well as in Mongolia. It is also a ceremony of lasso-thoring and cutting. Cf. G. Tucci - W. Heissig, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*, Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz 1970, pp.226-227.. A. Sárközi, *A Text of Popular Religious Belief. "Cutting off the Lasso"*. *Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXIX (1985), pp. 39-44.

¹² Moving quickly is characteristic of certain evil spirits. E.g. Mongolian *ada*, whose role and sphere of activity is the best defined is said to move quickly in fear of skilful and sudden people who might hit him. His mouth and only tooth are also bloody

I cut off your noose!
 You travel [on a coach drawn] by a blue goat and
 take on yourself the unmovable great sufferings.¹³
 You are the white chested multi-coloured fiend.
 I cut off your noose!
 You are all the fiends and evils
 who wander around.
 I cut off your noose!
 Taking a sword in your right hand
 and a spear in your left hand¹⁴
 you are a hindrance to the travellers.
 I cut off your noose!
 You ride a red sheep
 and take the red defilement.
 you are the hindrance of the dead!
 I cut off your noose!
 Do not be an obstacle to the almsgiver!
 Take the food that I had given you
 and disappear, disappear at once. [2a]
 Take the disease of the arms and feet,
 of the body and together with the ransom figure
 take it away!
 Taking it go away, go away!
 Take the hat and robe of this almsgiver
 and his ransom figure.
 Taking them go away, go away!
 Take the belt, the trousers, the boots

indicating that it is a blood-drinking spirit just as Heruka. I.A. Manzigeev, *Burjatskie šamanističeskie i došamanističeskie terminy*. Moskva 1978, p.3.

¹³ The expression here refers to the fact that all the figures described above are ransome figures (mong. *joliy*) taking all the evil influence on themselves. *Joliy* ceremonies are written about in detail. Cf. A.M. Pozdneev, *Religion and Ritual in Society, Lamaist Buddhism in Late 19th Century Mongolia*. Ed. by J.R. Krueger, Bloomington 1978, pp. 559-561, Ch. R. Bawden, *The Supernatural Element in Sickness and Death According to Mongol Tradition* I. 215-275, II. 153-178, W. Heissig, *Shamanen und Geisterbeschwörer in Kuriye-Banner. Folklore Studies* 3 (1944), Peking, pp. 39-72, W. Heissig, *Die Religionen der Mongolei*, pp. 311-312, W. Heissig, *Austreiben eines bösen Krankheitsgeistes*, Bruno Lewin zu Ehren. *Festschrift aus Anlaß seines 65. Geburtstages. Koreanistische und andere asienwissenschaftliche Beiträge*, pp. 93-100, etc.

¹⁴ The use of weapons in exorcising ceremonies and as the belongings of *joliy* figures is well known in Mongolia and Tibet. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op.cit.*, 129, 441, 443, 463, 515. W. Heissig and Ch.R. Bawden, *Catalogue of Mongol Books, Manuscripts and Xylographs*. The Royal Library Copenhagen, 1971. Mong 301., Ch. R. Bawden, *The Supernatural Element*, II. p. 175, etc.

of the almsgiver and
 together with the ransom figure of his body
 take them and go away, go away!
 Take the given¹⁵ cattle and
 the ransom figure of his body,
 take the pastry, the butter,
 the lamp and the incense
 together with the ransom figure.
 Taking them go [every of you] to your own places,
 go away!
 Do not transgress the command of my teacher lama.
 Go, go away at once!
 If you do not go,
 I will hit you with the *gtorma* of the mighty goddess.¹⁶
 I call all my guardian spirits and
 I hit you with the nine-branched vajra of Vajrapani.¹⁷
 Do not transgress the command of my tutelary Buddha,
 the Vajra master,
 go away, go away!
 Expel the Sumbani [?]¹⁸
 and show the way.
 When cutting the noose, it should be cut
 on the 8th of the new moon of the 3rd spring month
 on the 15th of the new moon of the 3rd summer month
 on the 19th day of the new moon of the 3rd winter month
 on the dragon, dog day of the 3rd autumn month
 on the snake, pig day of the 3rd winter month.
 When averting the bad omen
 read the books: the *Vajravidāranā*, the *Vajracchedikā*
 and the *Great Avalokitesvara*.¹⁹

¹⁵ The form *ögügči* is not correct here, *ögügšen* would be better.

¹⁶ *Ökin tengri* is taken over from the Buddhist pantheon, she is identical with *Sridevi*. Cf. Tucci - Heissig, *Die Religionen*, pp. 355-356.

¹⁷ *Vajrapāni*, Tib. *Phyag-na-rdo-rje* "The wider of the thunderbolt" a metamorphosis of Jupiter (Indra), a spiritual son of the second celestial Buddha, Akshobhya. Waddell, *op.cit.*, p. 356, a representation of him p. 13.

¹⁸ I could not identify it.

¹⁹ The books recommended here are the holy scriptures of Buddhism and are incorporated into the Canon: *Vajravidāranā* (*Teyin ebdegči očir*) Cf. L.Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé*. Budapest, 1942, Nr 412, Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten*. Wiesbaden 1961, No 203. *Vajracchedikā* is one of the most popular books of Buddhims, several versions are known. Cf. Heissig, *op.cit.* Nos 233-258.,

Prepare a human figure of red mud to be thrown out.
 Tie a red rope on the members of the man who unites the things²⁰
 and cut it to reverse direction
 with a knife [decorated] with a vajra.
 Hang [on it the following things]:²¹
 a black sheep, a goat, a cow, a horse, a black garment
 cut the black [2b] striped rope and
 tie it to the two arms and feet of the human figure.

And another version:

Cutting off the noose

The invoking is as follows:
 Place a *lang*²² of silver
 to the door,
 if there is not any, then a *chen*²³ of gold,
 a ring and a golden hook,
 and a *delim*²⁴ long golden rope twisted of five colours.
 Make a hoop of the one end of the rope,
 tie it and put it into the mouth of the man of the noose
 and stand it there.
 Tie a hook to the one end of (the rope)
 and stick it into the head of the dough figure.
 Together with all these place there (a piece of) cast iron.
 Tie, in addition, a complete (piece of) white silk
 to the arm of the man who will cut (the rope).
 Twist the rope three times with the copper knife and
 Cut it three times with the sword.

Let the man with the hatchet say like this:

Ligeti, *op.cit.* 771. *Arya-avalokiteśvara-nāma-dhāraṇi*, Ligeti, *op.cit.* Nos 376, 551, etc.

²⁰ I translate *kelkigči kümün* "the man who unites things" - it is perhaps the leader of the ceremony, or the person on whose account the ritual is meant. The expression is not quite clear.

²¹ This sentence is not quite clear.

²² A Chinese unit of weight, 37.3 gram, a tael or ounce of silver. Lessing, p. 515.

²³ Ch. ch'ien, Chinese weight equivalent to about four grams. Lessing p. 171.

²⁴ The space necessary to stretch a bow, distance between the two ends of a stretched bow, a linear measure (from the tips of the fingers of an outstretched arm to the shoulder of the other arm), half an *alda* (fathom). Lessing, p. 250.

I do not cut the striped rope [but]
 with the power of mighty wrathful deities
 I cut off all the hindrances destroying them.
 I do not cut the striped rope [but]
 with the power of fearless wrathful deities
 I cut off the flesh and tongue of thousand devils.²⁵
 I do not cut the offering meat [but]
 I cut off obstructing the hinderance causing harm,
 and all those with malevolent thoughts
 and the wrangle
 I do not cut off the raw meat [but]
 with the razor sword of the four *mahārajā-s*²⁶
 I cut off the ten thousand demons
 of the four directions²⁷
 and the wrangle of the devils.
 I do not cut the multicoloured rope [but]
 with my sacred spells²⁸ of knowledge
 I cut off the necks of the evils, and the *ada-s*,²⁹
 the foes and hinderance of the ten directions.
 I do not cut off the black striped rope [but]

²⁵ *čidkür-s* are believed to be the souls of dead people that have become demons and bring evil to the living. Tucci - Heissig, *Die Religionen*, p. 314-315.

²⁶ In the lowest compartment of the heavens are the four "great guardian kings of the quarters", the *mahārajā-s*: the white guardian of the east, the red guardian of the west, the green guardian of the south, the yellow guardian of the north. Waddell, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

²⁷ *šimnus* Tib. *bdud* is a group of a great number of evil spirits causing harm to people. In Buddhist texts they are mostly subdivided into four groups according to the cardinal directions. Cf. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *op.cit.*, p. 276.

²⁸ *arvis tarni* Tib. *rig-pa snags* Skr. *vidyā mantra* sacred spell of magic knowledge. Lessing pp. 1161, 1185.

²⁹ *Ada* usually is a one-eyed evil demon who makes people mad and raging, and is especially dangerous to young children. It is disease provoker sitting above the patient. Buriat folklore considers that one of the three souls of man becomes an *ada* after death. It settles in various reptiles, snakes in particular. It can be a bearded wolf. Mostly, it is invisible, however shamans and children under the age of three can see it sometimes. Before people taste food, he spits into it and in this way causes them lung trouble and other diseases. Cf. Manzigeev, *op.cit.* p.3, D. Banzarov, *Cernaja vera ili šamanstvo u mongolov' i drugija stat'* D. Banzarova. Sanktpeterburg 1891, p. 30. J.A. Partanen, A description of Buriat Shamanism. *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 51 (1941), p. 9, Bawden, *op.cit.* (1961), p. 234.

I cut off the gossiping of all the evils
 I tear off the black eyes
 I break the wild backbone [3a]
 with the power of all the Buddhas
 I cut off returning all the cruelty of old times.
 I have burned all the *ada*-s, hindrances, evils
 with hot burning fire.
 Think it over!
 Take out the animals, the dresses and the coats ³⁰the.[?]
 Read the Prajnaparamita³¹, the Vajraviddhara.

When a woman's foot is heavy and can not give birth for three days
 make a ransom figure with an animal
 make a ransom figure with a tail
 make a drawing: this and this is the clan of the mother
 she was born in this and this year.,
 Place it on the heart of the ransom figure
 Make an other ransom figure of the convenient year
 Ride it on a black ransom animal
 If you prepare medicine this day, it will return the danger.

³⁰ The reading and translation of *qubčad suba* is uncertain.

³¹ W. Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten*. Wiesbaden 1961, Nos 173 182.