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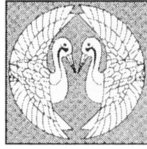
Front cover:

Fragment of the drawing demonstrating acupuncture points which should be applied when healing back pain and a half-body paralysis. *Sabsire sūiha sindara ferguwecuke argan*, manuscript B 92 mss in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, illustration 13, fol. 42, 27.0×46.3 cm.

Back cover:

Drawing of a male figure with acupuncture points which should be applied when healing child's night crying and tooth-ache. The same manuscript, illustration 1, fol. 28, 27.0×46.3 cm.

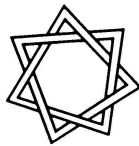
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A MONGOLIAN FOLK SONGS COLLECTION IN THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

Folk songs are extremely popular among the Mongols, representing their best loved musical-poetic genre. They created a vast corpus of songs, with text or without it, which could be sung, whistled, recited, performed by choir and solo in various styles: *homiylöh* (lit., "singing with the throat"), *haylah* (lit., "crying"), *dongildoh* (lit., "ring"). These songs arose on the basis of a much earlier inheritance: calls, exclamations, and sound imitations used to call up animal's young, cheer up hunters or lure animals into traps. Folklore texts took up an important place in Mongolian literature. To cite only one example, one third of the first written text of Mongolian literature, the thirteenth-century *Yuan-Chao-Bi-Shi* ("Sacred Story"), includes numerous folk songs, fables, and legends. *Yuan-Chao-Bi-Shi* contains a fragment which indicates the syncretic nature of the ancient song genre; the song is an integral part of festivities. We read, for example: "They gathered in Horhon Chjubun khan's land, there was marry-making, with feasting and dancing. Having elevated Hutula to the khan's throne, they danced around the branchy tree at Horohonah. They danced so that, as they say, pot-holes formed up to their hips and heaps of dust — up to their knees" [1].

Through centuries songs accompanied all of the Mongols' celebrations, be they related to the calendar rites, religious rituals, or shaman practices. Songs were included in the medieval Mongolian historical chronicles like *Erdeniyn erih* ("Precious Rosary") [2] and *Altan tobch* ("Golden History") [3]. The *arats* wrote them down in collections and kept them as most valuable treasures. At present, we know 18 manuscript folk songs collections held at the Mongolian Institute of Language and Literature [4]. Folklorists, who study Mongolian folk songs, hesitate over saying exactly when the tradition of drawing up song collections began. Our own observations on the manuscript collections of Mongolian songs held at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies lead us to conclude that the tradition arose no earlier than the eighteenth century [5].

Mongolian songs drew special attention only in the mid-nineteenth century when travellers, traders, and other visitors to Mongolia, started collecting them actively. Among those collectors were Buryat, Kalmyk, and Russian intellectuals from Lake Baikal and Volga regions. Their activities were usually directed by the Russian Geographical Society in St. Petersburg and by its Eastern Siberian Branch, created in 1851. The scholarly study of these songs

began much later, at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The names of their first explorers are well-known: they are A. Pozdnev, B. Vladimirtsov, Ts. Zhamtsarano and A. Rudnev. That part of the song texts which was collected by St. Petersburg scholars is today stored in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (47 songbooks, of which 35 are in the Mongolian language and 12 — in Oyrat) and in the Orientalists Archive at the same Institute (in the collections "Mongolia and Tibet", "Buryats and Kalmyks", "Materials of various individuals", and 12 personal collections). They total 37 items containing over 1,000 songs.

The largest number of songs was collected by Ts. Zhamtsarano [6], an outstanding expert in the culture, folklore, and language of the Mongols and Buryats. During three ethnological-linguistic expeditions which he conducted from 1903—1911 in Buryatia and Mongolia at the behest of the Committee for the Exploration of Middle and Central Asia, he succeeded in collecting a huge folkloric material on nearly all Mongolian dialects. As Rudnev pointed out, "he (Zhamtsarano — I. K.) succeeded in drawing up an amazingly large number of texts, surpassing, it appears, all other collectors of texts from other peoples" [7]. The collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains 9 songbooks contributed by Zhamtsarano. In his private collection, which is held in the Orientalists Archive (No. 62), we find texts with songs in 10 of the 149 items. Those items contain several hundred songs.

Zhamtsarano transcribed songs either in written Old Mongolian or in Russian phonetic transcription. The latter takes into account the pronunciation of each informant, distinguishing gutturals, palatals, short and long sounds, stress and reduction [8]. The collector frequently provides commentary to the songs text and reports information he obtained from his informants during transcription. Zhamtsarano took interest not only in the text, but also in the language, the singer's rendering the text, his family affiliation, place of dwelling, social position, age, occupation, and even his attitude toward his relatives. Such an approach was typical of the ethno-linguistic approach of Eastern folklore studies which took shape between the end of the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries. G. J. Ramstedt is the first to have applied this approach [9].

Of special interest in terms of repertoire and manner of recording is the collection of Mongolian songs contributed by Zhamtsarano and entitled *Mongol eldev duunuud*. It is held in the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies under call number F 165. The manuscript consists of 37 folios, 21.0×26.0 cm, and is written in Old Mongolian with elements of Southern Mongolian script, in ink, with a brush. There are blots and corrections in a different hand. The collection contains 54 of the most popular folk songs, which represent extremely valuable material for the study of Mongolian folklore. The songs are thematically mixed: among them are songs with good health wishes, toasts, songs of religious and philosophical contents, as well as lyrical and jesting songs.

According to the classification suggested by B. Vladimirtsov in his *Obraztsy mongol'skoï narodnoi slovesnosti* (S.-Z. Mongolia.) ("Samples of Mongolian Folk Literature (NW Mongolia)") [10], the collection presents *shastir*, *shalig*, and *aymyn* songs. Depending on their phonation, Mongol songs are usually divided into *urtyu duu* (long songs) and *bogino duu* (short songs). The *urtyu duu* is the leading vocal-poetic genre in the Mongols. Researchers usually explain the etymology of *urtyu duu* with reference to sound and thematic material which can be nature, man, the eternal laws of Earth and, more broadly, the Universe [11]. *Urtyu duu* are indeed typified by free melodic variation. But it is possible that the name of the genre refers to the Mongols' own understanding of their ancient origins, their long historical path, the extended process of lore passing from generation to generation, and the songs sounding across the centuries [12].

The *urtyu duu* are subdivided into *jiriyn urtyu duu*, *aymyn urtyu duu* and *besreg urtyu duu*, *ayzam* songs being the most classical of the *urtyu duu*. Musically, they are characterized by the most complex classical musical model, by the epic-magnificent nature of their sonic structure, and by a refined technique of performance which employs subtle forms of vocal mastery. The texts of *ayzam* songs are distinguished by their outstanding artistic merits and represent perfect examples of Mongolian poetic artistry. Their style is elevated and their pathos is meant for the masters and guests who have gathered for the celebration. *Ayzam* songs belong to the category of obligatory festive songs; their performance was indispensable at the celebration. They are *tör joslolyn duu* ("ceremonial songs").

The compound word *aymyn* (or *ayzam*) is usually explained as follows: *ay* (*aya*) ("melody") and *zam* ("road"), from which the conclusion is made that *ayzam* songs may have derived from road, or travel songs [13]. Taking into account the Mongols' nomadic way of life, such explanations seem to be quite natural. But it remains obscure why road song transformed into a special, festive, obligatory song. Not denying the influence of Mongols' nomad way of life on their lexicon, I would suggest another rendering of the word *aymyn*. In the Mongolian language, the word *ayzam* designates one of the musical rhythm types, which is measured from one strong accent to another. Also, the phrase *aymyn ugivar* indicates sounds which come before the first *ayzam* [14]. It would therefore be more productive to render *ayzam* songs as songs which have a metric base; they have a more clearly defined form of rhythmic organisation, unlike other songs structured along completely other rhythmic lines [15]. In other aspects, *ayzam* songs are identical to various *urtyu duu*. They all possess, at least, the

following features: (i) a broad range of sound; (ii) peacefulness and solemnity of performance; (iii) a large number of melisms (melodic adornments); (iv) far-reaching sound; and (v) play with voice overtones.

All celebrations in the Mongols — *har nayr*, *shashny nayr*, *nojodyu nayr* — were distinguished by appropriate songs performed. At the *har nayr*, songs about the homeland, steeds, livestock and relatives predominated, while at the *shashny nayr* and *nojodyu nayr*, religious songs glorifying Buddhism, various aspects of its teaching, the merits of famed religious figures, Buddhist saints and princes were predominant, as well as songs expressing patriotic sentiments. Before the beginning of the celebration, a specially selected individual, the master of ceremonies, would calculate the amount of food and wine, the number of guests, and announce the status of the celebration in accordance with those quantities. The number of songs to be performed depended on the status of the celebration. This number could be 12, 16, 18, 24, or 32. Even the celebration of a lower status required at least 12 songs, while 32 *ayzam* songs were sung on the most festive occasions [16]. In the latter case, the singer would sit in a *yurt* on the place of honour (*hoimor*) and sing to the accompaniment of a *hur*, *huchir*, and *yataga*. If only 12 songs were sung, the standing singer in full celebratory regalia, would sing without musical instruments accompaniment. All present except women and children joined in for the song's refrain, which usually consisted of lines such as *aya min zee ho*, *aya min zee* ("Oh! Ah, my melody!"), giving the singer an opportunity to rest. The lower status of the celebration at which only 12 songs were sung received its reflection in one of the Mongolian proverbs (*hotogoits*) devoted to a festive song singing. Kh. Sampilgendev recorded, for example, the following saying: "A celebration with twelve songs is not a real celebration!" [18]. The arrangement of guests at celebrations was strictly regulated by tradition. The relationship between the guests and the hosts, their social status, age and gender were taken into consideration. Also, restrictions existed concerning time for conversation, clothes (e.g., prohibition to sit in an open *deli*, Mongol outer clothing), etc.

The repertoire of *ayzam* songs varied from one region to another. Each Mongolian tribe had its own song cycles. But the following *ayzam* songs were common: *Tumnyi eh* ("First of the ten-thousand"), *Huuryu magnay* ("Title Song of the Celebration"), *Tegsh tavan hüsel* ("Five desires of equal worth"), *Öndör sayhan bor* ("High, beautiful grey horse"), *Jargaltay* ("Joyous song"), *Höhö shuvuu* ("Cuckoo"). Cycles of *ayzam* songs in various regions of Mongolia and in various tribes might also include the following songs: *Han uul* ("Khan's Mountain"), *Durtal sayhan* ("Beautiful beloved"), *Tengeriyn agaar* ("In the air of heaven"), *Asaryu öndör* ("High palace"), *Öndör Hangay* ("High Hangay"), *Burhan bagsh* ("Holy teacher"), *Zun tsag* ("Summer"), *Bortogoy öndör davaa* ("High crossing"), *Am tsagaan uul* ("The Am Tsagaan mountain"), *Joroo jahan ulaan* ("Small dun ambler"), *Nayryu bogino ni — nasny urt* ("The celebration is short, life is long"), *Dörvön tsagiyn ergelt* ("Rotation of the four seasons"), and others.

The repertoire depended on the time, place and reason for the celebration. For example, songs to mark the setting up of a *yurt* in a new place or songs performed at the beginning of the "four seasons" celebration to mark the first milking of the mares, shearing of sheep, rolling of felt, tasting koumiss were but occasionally performed at weddings.

The celebration began with a "title song" (*nayryn magnay duu*), which sounded after the master of ceremonies said 'Aya bar' (lit., "Hold the tune"). The title songs were usually *Tumny eh* or *Huurn magnay* carrying out an important function of celebration's opening. Only after the "title song" had been performed, guests could enter the *yurt*. The characteristic feature of such a celebration is that the master of ceremonies regulated the guests' mood through songs, raising their spirits with joyful songs and calming them with elevated or placid music. There was also a time for *sarhāyn duu* ("wine songs", i.e. toast songs which glorified the guests and enjoined them to merriment). The celebration ended with "concluding songs" — *jargaah duu* ("joyful songs"). These could be *Zuun tsagaar* ("In summer"), *Höhö shuvuu* ("Cuckoo"), *Aryn nutag adil* ("Like the northern encampment"), *Hindin golyn balzhay* ("Sparrow of the Hindin River"), *Magnay türgen* ("Fast title song"), *Jargaltay zuyl öngö saytay tsetseg ni* ("Beautiful five-budded flower"), *Delger zuuny tsag* ("Long summer time"), and others. Their function was not solely organisational, that is to remind guests that the celebration was over. Their aim was to leave guests with a good impression of the festivities. Besides, a final wedding song would instruct the young bride, a song at a calender celebration would express good wishes to all guests, etc. The host would customarily address guests with the words: "The dishes are tired. Let us thank the celebration". In reply, the youngest singer would say, 'Eehiy zee. Laahay', and all present would echo these words, after which the celebration was considered complete. In this exclamation, the words *eehiy* and *zee* mean "beginning" and "oh, yes", words which frequently opened songs. The word *laahay*, from the Tibetan *lha*, means "heaven". The exclamation can be therefore understood as wishing upon guests all heavenly prosperity and happiness [19].

Manuscript collection of songs (call number F165) in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is a precious piece of Mongolian folklore which permits us to have idea of its exclusive richness. The table of contents to our collection lists the following songs:

1. *Erten-ü çayan buyan*; 2. *Tümen-ü eke*; 3. *Abural boyda-un quriyangyui*; 4. *Bodisatu-yin gegen*; 5. *Arilaysan oytoryui*; 6. *Qur-a-yin ongduy-u*; 7. *Arban tabun-u sar-a*; 8. *Egüri-yin tungyalay naran*; 9. *Jüitü altan deleki*; 10. *Erkem blama*; 11. *Ülemji yeke buyan*; 12. *Arban juy-un burqad*; 13. *Vacar dar-a lama*; 14. *Erdeni šasin maniy badarču*; 15. *Tusutu altan deleki*; 16. *Buluy-yin eke*; 17. *Aru-yin öndör modon*; 18. *Öndör berike siley*; 19. *Namur çay-dayan küyicigsen*; 20. *Boyda Činggis*; 21. *Tegri metü ejin*; 22. *Erdeni-yin Halburvasun modon*; 23. *Yayiqamsiy-tu lama*; 24. *Ilyuysan erketü dalay lama*; 25. *Delger jun-u cay*; 26. *Tere ayula-yin naran*; 27. *Gesügün sayigan çeceg*; 28. *Abural-un oron*; 29. *Tabun juil-un çeceg*; 30. *Durtamal naran-u geregel*; 31. *Qabur-un sarayin boljuqui*; 32. *Qoqon qoboy*; 33. *Undusun-u degedü lama*; 34. *Enimen arsalang-tu dabačang*; 35. *Durtmal naran-dur*; 36. *Unayan qongyor*; 37. *Jiryal-(tai) deleger*; 38. *Arban yeke deleki*; 39. *Čeber sayiqan gegere*; 40. *Kököge sibayu*; 41. *Ene nasun-dayan čingegürči*; 42. *Tungyalay gegen-ü oytoryui*; 43. *Odo sarayin uçaral*; 44. *Unayan qara*; 45. *Olbor jangdan*; 46. *Juljuyan yaluu*; 47. *Qoqon qoboy*; 48. *Durtamal naran-u*; 49. *Ündüsün-u degedü blama*; 50. *Erkem blam-a*; 51. *Bulyan ondor ayula*; 52. *Söngginen-tei-yin sil*; 53. *Bayan çayan nutuy*; 54. *Altan boyda-yin sile*.

A significant number of the songs in the collection are *ayzam* songs: introductory, closing, and those performed in the middle of a celebration. The song *Erten-ü çayan buyan* opening the collection deserves special attention.

T e x t

Erten-ü çayan buyan-i
Ur-e-eče boluysan
Ene çay-dayan çuquy [n]
Cinar dumda kürgesen
Cindamani erdeni
Cinar-aça ülemji
Cim-luya ayuljiysan
Jayuntai sonin qubi
Satayamal-un gerel-tei
Naran tuyay-a tegün-dü
Sibar-un dumda-aça uryuysan
Lingqu-a-yin çeceg egusnei
Tegün-luy-a adali
Tengēisi ügei taniyan
Udarduqui-yin üülen-dü
Ulam simdan jidkültei
Qara çayan qoyar-yi
Uryuča-bar taniqū
Qatayu jögelen qoyar-i
Yayçayan sedkil-eče egūsnei
Ucir Juil qubin-du
Udq-a cinarun yosun-du
Unin yayča Joriy minu
Udyan-u oron-du
Jiryal jobalang qoyar-i
Üilen-yin ür-e-eče boluday
Jig baci qoyar-i
Singjilen bayifu medemui
Doto mör-yi oluyad
Dörben üilis-i бүтүгед
Ek-e qamuy amitan
Ene metü cinggeküi
Egün-eče qoyisi
Töröl tutum dayaju
Erkem-ün bodi qutuy-i
Olqu mini boltuyai.

T r a n s l a t i o n

The virtue of past time
 Arose from consequence.
 The value of the present time
 Has reached the highest quality.
 How lovely is fate,
 Which has brought me a meeting with you.
 This meeting with you surpasses
 In quality the preciousness of a *chintāmaṇi*.
 In the shining of the sun
 With burning rays,
 Growing amid the mud
 Arose the lotus flower.
 Likewise,
 Unrivalled acquaintance [of mine]
 Attends more and more
 To impending deeds.
 Black and white
 Are known by their results.
 Hard and soft
 Arise only from the soul.
 As for the causes of phenomena,
 They are in the realm of the mind's qualities.
 The single striving
 Is toward the land of Udiyana,
 Both joy and suffering

Arise from the results of deeds.
 The incomprehensible and cunning
 Must, I know, be distinguished.
 Having found the path of the heart,
 I will perform the four deeds.
 The entire diversity of living things
 Does likewise.
 After this, new births shall follow.
 May I acquire
 The perfect holiness which is venerated.

This solemn song would open religious celebrations. It is a sort of a hymn to the tie between the three seasons, to the unity of all things on earth. Its performance aims at arousing philosophical thoughts on the significance of the celebration's cause. The song presents a whole set of artistic devices typical of Mongolian folk songs. These devices, found almost in all forms of Mongolian poetic folklore, are: an associative chain of artistic images, initial alliteration, psychological parallelisms, rich use of metaphors, epithets, and similes. The logic of the song's construction is also of interest. It develops from the past to the present and future. The central event in the life of the song's hero, meeting with the beloved of his, is a pleasant result of fate's intervening. The preciousness of this meeting is exceptional. It surpasses the preciousness of the *chintāmaṇi*. The beloved herself, who increasingly attends to impending deeds, is compared with the lotus flower. These deeds which can be black or white, arise solely from the soul. The soul's aim is to strive toward the land of Udiyana. In order to find the way there, four good deeds must be performed. The ultimate goal of the song's hero is to attain sanctity everyone seeks to attain to. The logical chain in the song creates a fascinating feeling of the path on which this ultimate goal can solely be attained.

Images in the song also appear as a result of association, and sometimes assonances directly linked to the logic of the song's development. The images appear in the following succession: "virtue", "effect", "value", "quality", "preciousness of the *chintāmaṇi*", "lotus flower", "acquaintance", "black and white", "hard and soft", "cause", "striving", "happiness", "sadness", "the incomprehensible", "cunning", "path of the heart", "living things", "each new birth", "sanctity".

Philosophical images and concepts are the first to appear in the song. They are then associatively linked to lyrical images of everyday life and are redeveloped into philosophical images and concepts. The shift from one category of images to another takes place in the following fashion: the first image-concept to arise is that of "virtue", an image which occupies a central place in the value system of a believer. Next we find the mystical stone *chintāmaṇi*, which is believed to fulfil all wishes. Being everyone's dream, *chintāmaṇi* is in effect a great rarity. Finding is a rarity comparable to encountering one's beloved. We see how the Buddhist religious notion of the *chintāmaṇi*, implying rarity and preciousness, is linked with the image of the beloved, for encounter with her is also rare. Moreover, while rare, this encounter is pleasant and beautiful. But also beautiful is the "land of Udiyana". The two images, "pleasant and beautiful", evokes the image of the "land of Udiyana". Thus, romantic images are transformed into Buddhist images and vice versa, which is typical of Mongolian song poetry.

The second song in the collection, *Tumny eh*, is also noteworthy. Together with *Avral deer* ("Best salvation")

and *Huuryn magnay* ("Celebratory title song"), this song usually opens the celebration of *borjigin halhs*. This song, originally on horse-races, later came to be performed at the most varied festivities. In the *Erdeniyn erih* ("Precious Rosary"), we read: "The *khans*, *wans*, and *beyles* returned to their encampments in 1696. They held a celebration according to the old rite. Bonhor Donir displayed the only horse. It had competed with many steeds and been victorious. Then Darhan chin wan composed words in honour of the horse, *Tumny eh*, and set them to music. The song was sung at the beginning of the *nadom* (the Mongolian national celebration in the middle of summer — I. K.). After that, it has been performed once every three years at the meeting of seven *hoshuns*; it is always performed at the races" [20]. *Tumny eh* begins as a *surgal* ("teaching", the name of a Mongolian poetic genre), gradually shifting into a hortatory song. The text of this song is given in the manuscript in full.

Text

Ariyun sayiqan-tan
Asurqu-bar getülgegi
Amuyulang-tu Tusid-un oron-daki
[Abura] i tegel Maidar
Erdeni-tü kümün-ü biy-e-yi oluyad
Endeged bur [u] yu üilen-eče Jayilafu
Ene ba ečüs qoyitu qoyar üilen ni
Sayitur бүтүгекү-yi situltei
Šasin nom-un tula
Amin Jirüke-ben
Sayiqan törö-yin tul[a]da
Aqui cinige-ber
Sayitur simdan jidkübesü
Olan tümen-ü eke bolumui
Arban qara-yin ündüsün-i
Arilyan tusalayči Ariy-a ri Mangd-a
Olan Joysal ayta-yin-du
Uyayan-u dumdu-ača
Ulam Joysaqu-dayan
Ilegüü yangyutai
Üsergeküi čay-tu
Üjlitei ene mori bui
Tatayad odqu-yin čay-tu
Dakin temügülüged
Talbiyad imregče <odqu-yin čay-tu>
Yayčayar terigülegči
Tasurqai sayiqan tere mori
<Olan> tümen ni ek-e bolomui
Kelincetü amitana
Kindalan ečülgegi
Kelinceten-ü ejen
Ggru-a
Erteniken buyan-iyar
Büren uçarayad
Esen mendü-yin bayar-iyar
Quran čiyulafu
Egün-eče qoyinayši
Ulam ürnükü-yin sayin beleg
Erkem blam-a-yuunan
Adistid-un küčün-ber
Ejen degedüs-ün törö-yin tüsig-tu
Eldeb <sayiqan> tayabar üilenü
Cenggün jiray-a
Kündü yeke <kilincetü> amitana
Küčün-iyer daruyči
Küčün yeke-tü Vačar-Vani
Üjeküi-degen blam-a-yin gegen-i üjged
Sonosaqi-dayan <ongčitai> nom-un dayun ni
<Kerbe> sedkil-dür <ayuluysan> (yayun

sayıqan qonoysıysan bui
Yosutu küsel nada bui
Arban buyan-i-iyar
Çay-yi nogçiyeged
Qantar jıryal-iyar
Basa bide cu ayuljaqu
<Tutam ulam> [tob tatamani ilegüü]
Ornikü-yin sayin beleg boltuyai.

Translation

Oh, saviour Maydari,
 By your pure, beautiful virtue
 Deliverer through your concern,
 [Dwelling] in the peaceful land of Tushit!
 Having acquired the precious body of a person.
 And free from unjust deeds,
 In the regenerations of today and the past
 I believe in the good fulfillment.
 For religion and teaching
 [Does one have] life and heart.
 To receive a good birth
 [Strive] to the extent of your ability.
 If you strives well,
 you will become the first of the many tens of thousands.
 O, Aryaru Manda, who aids in purification
 Of the ten bad foundations!
 Among the many best
 Splendid steeds
 You are even more splendid
 And wondrously beautiful!
 This horse [was] joyful
 As he grew up.
 And during his instruction he [was] diligent.
 As soon as they began to reach [it],
 This beautiful horse, pulling away from the others,
 Assumed the lead [before all others],
 [Became] the first among many tens of thousands.
 Thanks to former virtue
 [We] have met.
 Owing to joy at health
 [We] have [here] gathered.
 And further, after that
 By the force of the blessing
 Of our honourable *lamas*
 This good gift [will] flower even more!
 In the land of Tushita, of the masters of high birth,
 By [our] various good deeds and our things
 We will be happy, rejoicing!
 Oh, all-powerful Ochir-Vani,
 Who has stymied with his strength
 The sinful [heavy] living things!
 Having seen the sanctity of the *lamas* who instruct,
 With what joy would I listen
 To the sounds of the [righteous] teaching.
 This is truly my desire.
 In the ten virtues
 Spending time,
 We shall meet again owing to general luck!
 May this lovely gift flower
 More and more!

The version of this song in our manuscript is more extensive than that contained in the "Anthology of Mongolian Folklore" [21] (11 extra verses) or cited by Pozdneev [22] (14 extra verses). The text displays a large number of corrections and offers numerous difficulties in its deciphering. Before the lines which are known as opening the song — *Erdeni-tü kümün-ü biy-e-yi oluyad/Endeged buru uilen-eçe jaylaju* ("Having acquired the precious body of a per-

son / Free from unjust deeds", etc.) — the following lines are inserted — *Ariyun sayıqan buyan-tan/Asurqu-bar getülgegçi/Amuyulang-tu Tusid-un oron daki/[Abural] itegel Maidar* ("Possessing pure beautiful virtue, / Liberating with care, / Oh, dwelling in the peaceful land of Tushita, / Oh, Maydari, the deliverer!").

The fourth line, beginning with the words *sayitur simḏaḡn jidgekü* lacks a continuation. The final three verses found in our collection are lacking in other editions known to us. They contain the largest number of corrections and marks.

The feature of the song is the abundant use of Buddhist terminology which was intended to stress the significance of the event, as well as to inspire solemn feelings in guests and a mood of respect and deference toward the hosts of the celebration. Still, the question remains whether these songs were composed in the Buddhist vein from the very beginning or they obtained this Buddhist character later.

Songs performed during the central part of the celebration contain fewer Buddhist ruminations on the fleeting nature of being and the eternal nature of creation. They focus more on the lives of ordinary people and are lexically simpler. Such is the ninth song in our collection, *Jüitü altan deleki* ("Just, golden heaven").

Text

Jogtu tala-yin köbegen-dü ni
Je wayidu
Joytu taryun bororan
Jirüken-i amaray abyai-dayan
Je wayidu
Jidkülen bartayad Jolyoy-a
Kegeren činu tarqun bi
Je wayidu
Keyiskülen bartayad
Arbi kelei jang-tu abayai-dayan
Yajar čini qola di
Aru silin-i bararai
Nasu čini bay-a bi
Je wayidu
Olona jangyar yaburai
Olan dayuyan quriyamani
Je wayidu
Aliy-a sarayaiyan bariy-a
Aq-a degüü tangtaiyan
Je wayidu
Ayujim dayabar jiryay-a

Translation

With a fine friend
 Oh, ze *vaydu*!
 There is a fine horse.
 With a beautiful, beloved wife,
 Oh, ze, *vaydu*,
 Having overcome all obstacles, I strive to meet.
 Your bay horse is well-fed,
 Runs with the wind,
 Overcoming obstacles.
 With a wife who has a meek character,
 I have forgotten when I saw [her] and loved.
 Your place is far away,
 Only its distant heights are visible.
 In years, you are young.
 Ze, *vaydu*,
 There are many traps for you,
 Many herds have gathered.
 Ze, *vaydu*!

I will take any light bay [horse],
 With your brothers and sisters,
Ze, vaydu!
 I will live long and happily.

In comparison with the collection's first song, where we observe the interplay of images from various cultural spheres, this song contains a different row of associative images. The images here are of a single type. Through their repetition and gradual pressure, the song's emotional effect is rather strong. This row of images is: "friend", "fine light bay horse", "beautiful beloved wife", "bay horse", "wife who has a meek character", "far away place", "young in years", "many herds", "brothers and sisters". All this images are extremely simple and common. But what is noteworthy is the art with which they are used in the song.

We find two methods of linking images in Mongolian songs: the multifaceted, associative interplay of images on various stylistic levels and in various areas of activity, and the accumulation of images of a single type. The common element in these links is the presence of some general quality in the images. Both types of link represent psychological parallels; A. N. Veselovsky stressed this device to be widely employed in the songs of many peoples [23]. The psychological parallelism is the basis not only of the verbal metaphors but also of the sounds and compositional structure of the song, along with other artistic devices such as repetition and singularity. These poetic features can be clearly seen in the seventeenth song in our collection, *Ara-yin öndör nodon-du* ("On a tall northern tree"), also performed in the middle of a celebration.

Text

Ara-yin öndör modon-du
Arayu-yin dayutu yuryultai
Tegün-u sayiqan dayun-du
Amaray cümäyian sanana
Oi modon-du tügeregsen
Jür-yin Joliy-a körökei
Örcilang-un badang tügeregsen
Modon-u muri körökei
Uryuqu naran-i gerel-yi
Olan egülen daldalai
Uryaqan uqayan čini
Ayur-yin mungqay bürkünel
Narin sayiqan čečeng-i
Namur-yin kirayü kirtekenei
Nayirtai sayiqan sedkel-yi
Nayidangyui sedkel ebeküfej
Arbin sara tala činu
Ayta-yin sayiqan-iyar tayulay-a
Amaray bayana čimadayan
Berteji kürčü Jolyoy-a
Nasu čini bay-a bi
Olan Jang-qan todarai
Yafar čini qola biy
Aru sil-yi bararai
Dalai lam-a-yin adisayar
Dayisun totyar usadtuyad
Dayan mongyol bügüdeger-e
Dayaran qamtu jiryay-a

Translation

On a tall northern tree [is]
 The nightingale with a joyous voice.
 To the accompaniment of his lovely song

I think of you, [my] beloved.
 Lost in the forest,
 The poor young of a wild goat!
 Lost in the fog of the bustling world,
 The poor descendent of man!
 Thick clouds cover
 The rays of the rising sun.
 The foolish anger [of people] stifles
 Your lovely, natural intelligence.
 Autumn frost ruins
 The tender, beautiful flower.
 The jealous heart destroys
 The beautiful, joyous feeling.
 The wide, yellow steppe
 Is easily overcome by the stallion.
 With you, my small dear,
 I strive to meet.
 Though you are young in years,
 You are wilful.
 Far is your land,
 Only the silhouettes of the northern summits are visible.
 By the grace of the Dalai-Lama
 Having destroyed enemies and obstacles,
 All Mongols
 Will be happy together.

All of the images in this song are imbued with a single emotional charge. The song is intended to convey impressions of events which are not revealed in the song, but familiar to both listeners and performer. The hero of the song is a youth who pines for his beloved. He does not act. The image of the youth remains unchanged throughout the song. He is "lost in the bustle of the world", a "poor human descendent". The image of the beloved also does not change, but gains detail. If the first stanza presents one side, the hero's attitude toward his beloved — "with you, my small dear" — the third stanza mentions her intelligence — "your lovely, natural intelligence". Then it is said of her character that she is "wilful". Though the image receives multi-faceted treatment, it remains constant and well-defined from the beginning of the song.

The remaining images in the song are as follows "tall northern tree", "nightingale with a joyous voice", "lovely song", "forest", "young of a wild goat", "fog of the bustling world", "descendent of man", "rays of the rising sun", "many clouds", "lovely natural intelligence", "foolish anger", "tender beautiful flower", "autumn frost", "beautiful joyous feeling", "jealous heart", "wide yellow steppe", "stallion", "young in years", "wilfulness", "Dalai-Lama", "enemy", "all Mongols".

The dominant emotional element in the song is the pain of separation; the images, composition, and phonetic structure of the song are subordinated to it. The very opening of the song — "on a tall northern tree" conveys this sadly lyric mood. True, this is a common opening in the Mongolian songs devoted to separation. The image of a poor young of a wild goat, lost in the forest only stresses the loneliness of the person who, in the absence of his beloved, feels as unhappy as a motherless child. The pain of separation is shown in the song multi-facetedly. The set of images is rich, numerous details betray a nomad perception of the world, nomads' intimate link with nature. The pain of separation manifests itself in anxious recollections of the beloved, who seems to the hero a tender, beautiful flower. The hero's thoughts about the beloved's youth and wilfulness are full of tender feeling. He is not free from fear to be rejected by the

girl. Her portrait in the song absolutely realistic: the girl, gifted with "lovely intelligence", cannot stand the pressure of people's evil will. The metaphors used in this connection (autumn frost that ruins the tender beautiful flower; the jealous heart, which destroys the joyous feeling) are appropriate devices to provide a realistic portrait of the heroine. Rather unexpectedly, the image of a steppe and a stallion, the inseparable friend of the Mongol throughout his life, appear in the song. The association with the beloved here is however quite natural. Despite all obstacles, the hero strives to meet his beloved and his fast stallion is able to "overcome" the vastness of the "wide, yellow steppe" to carry the hero to the girl. The difficulties of the enterprise are stressed by the charmingly lyric lines about the remoteness of the land where the beloved lives. The landscape pictured, with the distant silhouettes of mountains in the North, produces both a keen feeling of loneliness and the belief in the success of the hero's enterprise. The song ends in a vigorous statement of all Mongols' victory over their enemies.

The phonetic structure of the text is also subordinated to the dominant emotional element. Throughout the song, we find a great deal of assonance. For example, the sound *yu* rings in the verse *arayu-yin dayutu yuryultai, tegün-u sayıqan dayun-du*. The same is with the sound *ya (qa)* in *urıyaqan sayıqan iqayan čini; jo (ju) in juir-yin jolıy-a körökei*; and *ki* in *namur-yin kirayı kirtékenei*.

The clearly expressed alliteration of the opening continues throughout. Moreover, the alliteration extends not only to a single consonant or vowel, but encompasses several syllables at once, furthering an atmosphere of even greater melancholy and loneliness (for example, *aru-yin — arayu-yin — amaray — ayur-yin; oi — orčılang — olan — ugaqan; narin — nayırtai — nayıdangyui — nasu; dalai — dayısun — dayan — dayaran*).

The cheerful close, quite common in Mongolian folk songs, brings a somewhat triumphant note to the sad song. It communicates a joyous thought to the celebration's participants who must be joyous, brings the guests calm, equilibrium, harmony, and satisfaction with the festive event.

I should like to give here the text of another song in the collection, *Öndör berke-yi sili-du* ("On a high, inaccessible height"). It is also the song which is performed in the middle of the celebration. It is a love song with a touching description of nature and usual cheerful close enriched with a Buddhist sense.

Text

Öndör berke-yi sili-du
Egülen budang tatanaı
Ürgül jidegen seregüken
Yayun juyitei nutuy bi
Narin sayıqan solongy-a ni
Naran-a tuyan-du tatanaı
Nasu baya ider-tü
Bartayad kürčü Jolyoy-a
Qangdaysan qan nabči
Kangy-a mürün-u jiy-a-dur
Qayırtı baya aldar mini
Melmeljeju sayıdaylan
Čidur yayuntan Jokiysan
Sergüleng ken saryayan
Salkin-i ügei tangnamanai
Ene dayan kürüged irebüü
Bürküg egüle-yin següder-e-tü

Qarıl ügei yabarai
Dedün sarayın ayan-du
Tügel ügei yabarai
Čangdu-yin yeke berke-dü
Časun qur-a oronai
Čal buural eji-degen
Čay-dayan kürüged Jolyoy-a
Abural boyda-yin adis-ıyar
Amar mendü sayumani
Erten-u sayın irügel-ıyer
Engke amur jıryay-a

Translation

On a high, inaccessible peak
 There are clouds and fog lingers,
 It is always fresh and cool [there].
 Why is it thus at [this] encampment?
 A thin, lovely rainbow
 Reaches out to the rays of the sun.
 With my young girl
 I dream to meet, having overcome everything.
 Dried leaves
 Float on the waters of the Ganges.
 My beloved, small, nice,
 Lives with tears in her eyes.
 Beneath the shadow of thick clouds,
 Leave, not to return.
 For several months,
 You must leave.
 There will be difficult times with frost,
 The snows and rains will come,
 With a completely grey mother
 I will meet in due time.
 By the blessing of Buddha the saviour
 We will live in peace and good health!
 In previous good wishes
 We will rejoice peacefully and calmly!

The poetic images in this song are also intended to create an atmosphere of melancholy commiseration on the part of the listener, although the close returns one to the solemnity of the celebration. The basic, "nature" images here are "clouds, fog", "dried leaves", "rain, snow", "thick clouds". They differ from the poetic images of the elevated, solemn "title songs". Instead of the "thick clouds which cover the rays of the sun" in title songs we have "transparent white clouds", instead of a "distant encampment", a "green, sunny encampment", instead of a "tall tree", a "motley tree", etc. And while the same objects are employed to create poetic images, they are embedded in a different verbal context in keeping with the emotional temper. Hence, poetic images arise which support an opposite emotional dominant.

The songs cited above are not present in the published collections known to me, though some songs such as 7th, 24th, 25th, 29th, and others are found in other editions as well. A comparative study could lead to interesting observations concerning their presence and the extent of popularity in various regions of the country. For example, song 7, *Arvan tavny sar*, is published in B. Vladimirtsov's book [24] and in the "Anthology of Mongolian folklore" [25]. Song 24, *Ilagugsan erketü dalai blama* ("The victorious, respected Dalai-Lama") has become known from the private collection of Dashdorj and was included in the "Anthology" in the same form [26]. It differs from our text only in stanzas 2, 5, and 7, of which 2 and 5 are missing in the "Anthology" and 7 is completely different.

Song 29, *Tabun jüil-ün čeečeg* ("Five-budded flower"), relates to a *nayryn magnay* songs. Like *Tumny eh*, it is of literary origin, but became extremely popular and was sung as a folk song, which is evident from its inclusion in several collections in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (for example, manuscripts D 117 and E 225). Together with the song *Tegsh tavan hüsel* ("Five desires of equal value"), it is devoted to the Buddhist attitude toward the five senses, the starting point for many fundamental Buddhist tenets.

As for songs 25, 31, 35, 36, 37, 44 in our collection, they belong to the genre of *jargaah duu*. Among them, *Köke sibayu* ("Cuckoo"), is known across the whole of Mongolia. Each encampment retains its own version of the song. It is usually sung during moves from one *ayl* (a group of *yurts* where several relatives live together) to another and is obligatory at weddings. It reflects Mongolian views on human beauty, duty, and attitudes toward changes in life. It is sung from the perspective of the bride's parents, who leave their daughter with stranger just as the cuckoo leaves its eggs in the nest of another bird. The song contains instructions for the daughter on life in her husband's family. It also expresses their pain of separation from her and resignation before the implacable laws of nature and the ancestors' traditions. The song glorifies the members of the family clan and relatives of the husband. An expression of confidence in the prosperity and happiness of the newlyweds' future life is also present. Here the text of the song "Cuckoo" is presented.

Text

*Kökege sibayu ireged
Kogjim-du dayun-i yaryayad
Ködölküi amitan sergemani
Köbküljin bayiji yadan
Basa toyoys ireged
Bardayci luu-yin dayun-i sonosoyad
Bayasun sayitur cingemi-ni
Bayifu yadan bujini
Oron dayuti toyoys ireged
Udbalan-un čeečeg-ni üjeged
Ulbaran qoldan yadamani
Ulam ergečün bayunai
Eder quraysan bide bügüde
Engdecü olan ni üjeged
Egesig dayun-u sayiqan-du
Ende quran čuylanai
Siker-yin amtu luy-a adali
Taniyan Jang ayali-yin sayiqan-du
Singjilen medeyci merged-ün dumda
Silügeglen qolboju dagulbai.*

Translation

The cuckoo has flown here,
And sung in a musical voice.
All living things have awoken,
Roused themselves.
The peacock has come,
The voice of the strutting *luus* is heard.
Sturdy, wealthy, good,
He danced.
The peacock came with a low voice.

Having seen the *utpala* flower, he could not
tear himself away from it.
He did not abandon us, but drew closer.
We, the young, have gathered here,
We have seen many [people] here.
We have gathered here to melodic, lovely singing.
Among wise and knowledgeable men,
The beauty of whose character
Is like the taste of sugar,
Composing verses, I sing.

There is a curious note which follows song 43, *Aryn nutag adil* ("Like the northern encampment"): "Do not scatter these forty-seven songs, and if you scatter them, I will beat you". This note seems to testify to a zealous attachment of the compiler of the collection, or possibly its reader, to the folk tradition, part of which Mongolian folk songs were.

All *ayzam* songs are most precious part of the Mongols' rich poetic legacy. They share the common features of Mongolian poetic folklore as a whole. Their poetics is distinguished by elaborate use of consonance, exclusive attachment to a harmonic sound, and the maintenance of a balance between all of the elements of the celebration.

The songs in the collection were recorded in such a way that some observations can be made about various Mongolian dialects. For example, one frequently finds that vowels after the first syllable differ from the literary standard: *jarlag* in place of *jarlig*, *küitün* in place of *küiten*, *jarudasan* — *jarudasun*, *jegüden* — *jegüdün*, *uragci* — *urugci*, *cindamuni* — *cindamani*, *qarutu* — *qaratu*, *tangyaray* — *tangyariy*, *ečege* — *ečige*, *amisqal* — *amisqal*, etc. The variations exhibit the alternations: *u* — *a*, *a* — *i*, *a* — *u*, *e* — *u*. This phenomenon did not escape the notice of Vladimirtsov who considered it to be a result of a difficulty native speakers commonly encountered in writing down reduced vowels [27]. At times, the same word is recorded with varying palatalizations: *dabsiqu* — *debsikü*, *ünin* — *unin*, *yatulqu* — *getülkü*, *čayan* — *čegen*, *morilaqu* — *mörilekü*, *bičiqan* — *bičiken*, *uniyar* — *ünier*. Vladimirtsov described this phenomenon too and explained it with reference to the regular alternation of gutturals and palatals, an indication of the importance of synharmony in the Mongolian language [28]. Some words in songs' records are abbreviated, others are lengthened: *qarču* — *qaraču*, *gün* — *gün-e*, *bar* — *baras*, *šab* — *šab-a*, *qarbasu* — *qarubasu*, etc. This is most likely a reflection of actual pronunciation of various words in a given dialect. But it may also be a special device for maintaining the rhythm of the line, bringing the text closer to song pronunciation.

It is worth noting that the collection presents not only the texts of songs but also the so-called "extended verse", to employ the term in Russian folklore studies [29]. This "extended verse" represents a link between poetic and musical elements in the song and serves, together with musical notation, as a valuable source for revealing the mechanisms which bind together in rhythm the words and melody of Mongolian songs. The rich contents of the collection and the manner in which the songs are recorded present a good opportunity for scholars to investigate not only the themes, poetic style, lexicon, and language of festive songs, but also their phonic, intonational and sonic characteristics.

Notes

1. S. A. Kozin, *Sokrovennoe skazanie* (Sacred Tale) (Leningrad—Moscow, 1941), p. 9.
2. Danzan Luvsan, *Altan Tovch* ("Zolotoe skazanie") (*Altan Tovch* (Golden Tale)), trans. from the Mongolian into Russian, commentary and notes by N. P. Shastina (Moscow, 1973).
3. *Erdeniyn erih* (Ulan Bator, 1960).
4. U. Zagdsuren, *Mongol duuny sudlalyn tovch toym* (Ulan Bator, 1975), p. 41.
5. I. V. Kulganek, "Pesenniki iz mongol'skogo rukopisnogo fonda LO IV AN SSSR" ("Song books from the Mongolian manuscript collection at the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies"), *Buddizm i literaturno-khudozhestvennoe tvorchestvo narodov Tsentral'noi Azii* (Novosibirsk, 1985), p. 63.
6. For more detail on Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano, see A. M. Reshetov, "Nauka i politika v sud'be Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano" ("Scholarship and politics in the fate of Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano"), *Orient*, fasc. 2—3 (St. Petersburg, 1998); *idem*, "Bibliografiia osnovnykh trudov Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano" ("Bibliography of the main works of Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano"), *ibid.*, p. 90; also see a collection of works by Zhamtsarano in *Tsyben Zhamtsarano: zhizn' i deiatel'nost'. Doklady i tezisy nauchnoi konferentsii* (Ulan-Ude, 1991).
7. Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano, A. D. Rudnev, *Obraztsy narodnoi slovesnosti mongol'skikh plemen. Teksty* (Examples of the Folk Literature of Mongolian Tribes. Texts). Vol. 1: *Proizvedeniia narodnoi slovesnosti buriat* (Works of Buryat Folk Literature), collected by Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano, fasc. 3 (Petrograd, 1918), pp. III—IV.
8. The rules for the phonetic transcription of the Mongolian language are presented in more detail in B. Ia. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naia grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo iazyka i khalkhaskogo narechiia. Vvedenie i fonetika* (Comparative Grammar of the Mongolian Written Language and the Khalkh Dialect. Introduction and Phonetics) (Moscow, 1989), 2nd edn., pp. 53—68. The author lists 37 vowels, 34 consonants, and 8 diphthongs.
9. For more information on him, see *Nordmongolische Volksdichtung gesammelt von G. J. Ramstedt, Bearbeitet, übersetzt und herausgegeben von Herry Halen. Zum Andenken an seinen 100 Geburtstag. Vorwort* (Helsinki, 1973), pp. III—XVI.
10. B. Ia. Vladimirtsov, *Obraztsy mongol'skoi narodnoi slovesnosti (S.-Z. Mongolii)* (Examples of Mongolian Folk Literature) (North-West Mongolia) (Leningrad, 1926).
11. Zagdsuren, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Sh. Gaadamba, Kh. Sampildendev, *Mongol ardyn aman zokhiol*, eds. D. Dashdorzh, Zh. Dagdadorzh (Ulan Bator, 1988), p. 221.
12. M. Karatygina, D. Oiuuntsetseg, "O smyslovoi mnogoznachnosti bazovykh mongol'skikh muzykal'nykh terminov" ("On the polysemy of basic Mongolian musical terms"), *Problemy terminologii v muzykal'noi kul'ture Azii, Afriki i Ameriki* (Moscow, 1990), p. 130.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
14. Ia. Tsenel, *Mongol helniy tovch taylbar tol*, ed. Kh. Luvsanbaldan (Ulan Bator, 1966), p. 26.
15. B. Smirmov, *Mongol'skaia narodnaia muzyka* (Mongolian Folk Music) (Moscow, 1975), pp. 27—73.
16. Kh. Sampildendev, *Mongol hurimyn yaruu nayrgiyn torol zuil*, ed. D. Tserensodnom (Ulan Bator, 1981), p. 99.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Erdeniyn erih* (Ulan Bator, 1960), pp. 108—9.
21. Sh. Gaadamba, D. Tserensodnom, *Mongol ardyn aman zohiolyn deezh bichig*, ed. Ts. Damdinsuren (Ulan Bator, 1978), p. 41.
22. A. M. Pozdnee, *Obraztsy narodnoi literatury mongol'skikh plemen* (Examples of the Folk Literature of Mongolian Tribes), fasc. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1880).
23. A. N. Veselovskii, "Psikhologicheskii parallelizm i ego formy v otrazheniiakh poeticheskogo stilii" ("Psychological parallelism and its forms as reflected in poetic style"), in A. N. Veselovskii, *Istoricheskaia poetika* (Moscow, 1989), pp. 101—55.
24. See Vladimirtsov, *Obraztsy*.
25. Gaadamba, Tserensodnom, *Mondol ardyn*, p. 48.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
27. Vladimirtsov, *Sravnitel'naia grammatika*, p. 127.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
29. A. A. Banin, "K izucheniiu russkogo narodnogo pesennogo stikha: metodologicheskie zametki" ("On the study of Russian song verse: methodological observations"), *Fol'klor, poetika, traditsiia* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 94—139.