

EX ORIENTE LUMINA
HISTORIAE VARIAE MULTIETHNICAE

**Festskrift tillägnad Juha Janhunen
på hans 61. födelsedag 12.2.2013**

STUDIA ORIENTALIA 113

EX ORIENTE LUMINA
HISTORIAE VARIAE MULTIETHNICAE

**Festskrift tillägnad Juha Janhunen
på hans 61. födelsedag 12.2.2013**

Edited by

**Tiina Hyytiäinen, Lotta Jalava,
Janne Saarikivi & Erika Sandman**



Helsinki 2013

Ex Oriente Lumina: Historiae variae multiethnicae

Edited by Tiina Hyytiäinen, Lotta Jalava, Janne Saarikivi & Erika Sandman

Studia Orientalia, vol. 113, 2013

Copyright © 2013 by the Finnish Oriental Society

Societas Orientalis Fennica

c/o Department of World Cultures

P.O. Box 59 (Unioninkatu 38 B)

FI-00014 University of Helsinki

FINLAND

Editor

Lotta Aunio

Co-Editors

Patricia Berg

Sari Nieminen

Advisory Editorial Board

Axel Fleisch (*African Studies*)

Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila (*Arabic and Islamic Studies*)

Tapani Harviainen (*Semitic Studies*)

Arvi Hurskainen (*African Studies*)

Juha Janhunen (*Altaic and East Asian Studies*)

Hannu Juusola (*Semitic Studies*)

Klaus Karttunen (*South Asian Studies*)

Kaj Öhrnberg (*Librarian of the Society*)

Heikki Palva (*Arabic Linguistics*)

Asko Parpola (*South Asian Studies*)

Simo Parpola (*Assyriology*)

Rein Raud (*Japanese Studies*)

Saana Svärd (*Assyriology*)

Typesetting

Lotta Aunio

Cover photo

Tiina Hyytiäinen & Repe Reilin

ISSN 0039-3282

ISBN 978-951-9380-82-7

WS Bookwell Oy

Jyväskylä 2013

CONTENTS

Preface	vii
TIINA HYYTIÄINEN, LOTTA JALAVA, JANNE SAARIKIVI & ERIKA SANDMAN	
In Search of Hidden Languages	1
JAAKKO ANHAVA	
Shen Congwen 沈從文 (1902–1988): un auteur mésestimé.....	7
MICHEL BÉNIARD	
Perplexing Emperorship: The Status of the emperor of Japan in the United States’ planning bodies in 1943–1944.....	13
OLAVI K. FÄLT	
The Taz Ethnic Group: Its past and future	21
ALBINA GIRFANOVA	
Tibetan Nuns: Gender as a force in a culture under “threat”	27
MITRA HÄRKÖNEN	
Finnish Students of Oriental Philology in St Petersburg.....	39
KLAUS KARTTUNEN	
An A Mdo Tibetan Woman’s Life and Religious Practice.....	47
KELSANG NORBU (SKAL BZANG NOR BU, GESANG NUOBU 格桑诺布) WITH C.K. STUART	
Bargaining for Deities and Chattels: Recent developments in Xiahe as reflected in the local antiques trade	63
JUHA KOMPPA	
Li Hanqiu 李涵秋 (1874–1923): Ein Author zwischen Tradition und Moderne: Der Roman “Die Fluten Von Guangling” (廣陵潮 Guangling Chao) Als Spiegel Seiner Zeit	77
STEFAN KUZAY	
Challenges of Qinghai Province	93
ANJA LAHTINEN	

Namuyi Tibetans: Electrified change	111
LIBU LAKHI (LI JIANFU), C.K. STUART & GERALD ROCHE	
Niidosang: A Huzhu Mongghul (Tu) Deity	127
LIMUSISHIDEN, HA MINGZONG & C.K. STUART	
Understanding the Enigma of Traditional Korean Culture.....	145
ANDREW LOGIE	
Sitting by the Rice-Basket: Hunger phrases in Chan Buddhism.....	155
ANU NIEMI	
Notes on the Maintenance of Diversity in Amdo: Language use in Gnyan thog village annual rituals	165
GERALD ROCHE & LCAG MO TSHE RING	
Language in Taiwanese Social Movements	181
TARU SALMENKARI	
Die Modernen Türksprachen: Skizze zu einem Familienportrait	189
CLAUS SCHÖNIG	
Arabic Script among China's Muslims: A Dongxiang folk story	197
MIKKO SUUTARINEN	
A Short Introduction to Tibetan Kinship Terms in A-mdo	209
WUQI CHENAKTSANG	
Several Observations Concerning the Sibe Practice of the <i>Deoci</i> and <i>Andai</i> Rituals of the Khorchin Mongols	217
VERONIKA ZIKMUNDOVÁ	

SEVERAL OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE SIBE PRACTICE OF THE *DEOCI* AND *ANDAI* RITUALS OF THE KHORCHIN MONGOLS

Veronika Zikmundová

It has been long regarded as a fact that the Sibes had a relationship with the Khorchin Mongols before they were incorporated into the Manchu military system. While the ethnic identity and main historical data of the Khorchin Mongols are relatively well-known, and discussions on them tend to be detailed, the same does not apply to the Sibes, whose origin, genetic and linguistic identity continue to be subject to dispute. Therefore, traces of cultural and linguistic exchanges between the two groups, especially significant with regard to the Sibes, may be useful in providing information about the period in which the Sibes and the Khorchins were in close contact.

Shamanistic traditions, which have somehow miraculously survived among the Khorchins and (in a less well-preserved state) among the Sibes, are one of the richest sources of similarities. The Khorchin shamanistic religion,¹ which is, probably with the exception of the Buriats, the best preserved of all the Mongolian shamanistic traditions, was discovered and first studied by Walther Heissig, and his work has been continued by Elisabetta Chiodo. For the last three decades, it has also been intensively studied by native Khorchin scholars. Many articles have been published, and in 1998 there appeared a work of great significance, *Qorčin böge mörgül-ün sudulul*, by Kürelša, Bai Cuiying, Načınšongqor and Buyančugla. This publication contains a large collection of shamanistic ritual texts and other material, including a classification of rituals with descriptions, a classification of

¹ The main segment of the Khorchin population lives in an area traditionally known as Jerim/Jirim, which to the southeast borders the Liaoning province. The administrative center is the city of Tongliao and the main Khorchin area is now known as the Tongliao City Area, while the traditional name of Jerim is not officially used. Since at present there is no way of making an official census of the Khorchin population (in the Chinese administrative system, there is no definition more precise than the nationality “Mongolian”), the number usually given – c.1 million – applies to the whole population of the Tongliao area, including the Chinese and other nationalities. At any rate, the Khorchins are the most numerous of the Mongolian “tribes” of Inner Mongolia. Today they have fully adopted the sedentary Manchurian lifestyle, and they have also incorporated groups of Manchu, Chinese, Sibe, and other non-Mongolian origin.

types of shamans and mediums, and other basic information. In recent years, the Khorchin area (the Jerim League or, according to the current administrative system, the Tongliao municipality) has become frequented by “foreign” scholars.

The most significant shamanistic materials of the Jungarian Sibes have long been available, thanks to Manchurologists; these include the text concerning shamans in *Sibe uksurai an tacin* (Pang 1994–2007: 109–114), the shaman book published under the title *Saman jarin* in Urumqi 1990 (translation and commentary by G. Stary 1992), as well as the texts and records of N.N. Krotkov (Pang 1994–2007).

It has been already noted by scholars that many terms of Sibe shamanism are of Mongolian origin (e.g. the sub-classifications of shamans as *elcin* (Mongolian *elčín* ‘messenger’) and *deoci* (Mongolian *dagučin* ‘singer’). A closer look reveals many more Mongolian expressions, as well as numerous similarities in rituals and other aspects of shamanistic culture. These appear even more striking given the otherwise very different backgrounds of the shamanistic traditions: that of the Khorchins is deeply rooted in the general Mongolian religious culture, while the Sibe tradition forms a part of the Manchurian religious world.

The present paper focuses on the ritual practice of healing a mental affliction known as “ghost disease” in both Manchu and Mongolian, said to occur among young women. Similarities in rituals and terminology seem to suggest a Mongolian origin for at least some parts of the practice. At present, it seems that this ritual is no longer performed. Information that is currently available about the Sibe *deoci* ritual consists mainly of the text in *Sibe uksurai an tacin* and the record of Krotkov (Pang 1994: 112–113), several texts of songs used by *deoci* (Heling, Tungkeri & Kicešan 1989), and a text in *Saman jarin* concerning the healing of the *ibagan nimeku* (*Saman jarin*: 34–38). On the other hand, the literature concerning the Khorchin *andai* ritual consists of more than ten publications with detailed descriptions of the ritual itself, implements, legends, and such. A comparative study may yield clues about some of the incomprehensible features in the Sibe material.

THE SIBE DEOCI AND THE IBAGAN NIMEKU

Among the Jungarian Sibes, the healing ritual was performed by a specialist known as *deoci*. As described in the published materials (T.A. Pang), the *deoci* (most often male) mainly healed mental diseases called *aicire nimeku* (from Chinese *ai qi* ‘melancholy’) or *ibagan nimeku* (‘ghost disease’). According to Krotkov, the main disease cured by *deoci* is *ibagan nimeku*, a kind of “hysteria” typical of women. The disease is explained as possession by a ghost or evil spirit,

the *ibagan*. To summarize the healing methods of the *deoci*, a stick with small bells (*honggûn bula*) was used as his main implement (according to Krotkov, he used a whip) to exorcise the demon from the sick woman.

After the usual prayers and chanting, the shaman orders that a wheel from a carriage be placed in the middle of the courtyard of the house where the sick woman lives at a fixed time of night. The relatives of the patient and spectators, who in this case are numerous, stand around the wheel at a certain distance. The sick person is made to go around the wheel. She is followed by a man called *daoči*, who is holding a whip. Using phrases learned from the shaman and his own invented words which do not exist in the Manchu vocabulary, the *daoči* improvises poetry incomprehensible to people [...] The spectators like the words of the *daoči* very much. They eagerly listen to them and when the *daoči* pauses to take a breath, they pick up where he left off and loudly shout out his last words. After making several circles around the wheel, the *daoči* beats the air with a whip, and the frightened woman starts running. (Krotkov 1912: 121–124, quoted in Pang 1994–2007: 113)

According to N.N. Krotkov, the *deoci* is usually an assistant or apprentice of a shaman; for his work he is not given anything and is merely offered a drink of wine.

THE KHORCHIN ANDAI RITUAL

Searching for the connections in Khorchin shamanism, the word *deoci* refers to the healing practice called *andai*, which was used to cure a special kind of mental disease of young women, known as *andai ebedčîn* ('*andai* sickness') or *ada ebedčîn* ('ghost sickness').

The *andai* was common in the historical Khorchin area and, as a phenomenon combining shamanic methods with folk art, it has been widely studied. Today is available to us extensive literature on *andai*, which shows its regional variations (e.g. Mongoljin *andai*, Khuree *andai*) and various aspects (e.g. *andai* dance, poetry, and religious and psychological elements). The published materials display great diversity and often yield contradictory information, thus showing the complexity of the phenomenon. The first materials of *andai* were collected before the Cultural Revolution, and in the last years several complex and detailed studies have been published. Načinšongqor's study of the *andai* culture (*Andai-yin soyal sudulul*) provides a systematic description of the *andai* sickness, the healing ritual and its divisions, the legends associated with it, a sample of *andai* song texts, and memories of eyewitnesses and former patients. The following is an excerpt from Načinšongqor's description of the ritual practice.

The word *andai* was used for the sickness itself, as well as for the spirit which causes it and the healing ritual. The *andai* sickness is said to have been a mental disease, in former times common among adolescent girls and young married women. The two main types of *andai* disease were distinguished according to their cause: the *eliye andai* was caused by possession by an evil spirit called *eliye*,² while the *urug andai* (or ‘marriage *andai*’) was caused by the frustration of premature marriage or marriage against the young woman’s wishes, mistreatment by husband or his family, and so on. The sick woman stopped speaking, suddenly bursting into laughter or crying, and refused food or ate too much; in the advanced stages, she did not communicate with others and slept most of the time.

The performance of an *andai* ritual required the presence of a shaman, two *dagučis*, three young male dancers called *qongqo tašigurtu jilagu* (‘young men with the belled whip’, whose task was to care for the sick woman and to dance with her), and usually two more lay helpers. The *daguči* was not a shaman, but instead a good singer and dancer skilled in improvisation.³ The main implements used were the *qongqo tašigur* (‘the bell-whip’) and the *örgüge čagan ger* (‘the white palace yurt’, a construction about 60 cm high made of willow branches in the form of a house, covered with images of the *eliye* spirits cut out of white paper).

During the first part of the ritual, the sick woman was seated on a chair with her hair combed over her face. The shaman began with prayer, then performed an offering and summoned his deities. After that, he lifted the whip and suddenly shouted “Come down!” in a manner described as “frightening”.

He then sang a prayer accompanied by cymbals, during which the woman usually started to nod rhythmically. This was regarded as a sign of improvement. Sometimes she did not react for a long time and various methods were used to provoke the required reaction.

2 The word *eliye* (*elee* in Khalkha Mongolian) has two meanings: ‘spirit’ and ‘buzzard’. In the works of Khorchin researchers, the two meanings are often combined to attest to belief in totems among the Khorchin Mongols. The *eliye* spirit can be both male and female, although the *eliye* which causes the *andai* sickness is said to be female and is sometimes described as a virgin with a bird head. However, there is a strong possibility that the two words have a different etymology and the connection between them has developed more recently on the basis of their homophony.

3 In *Qorčin böge mörgül-ün sudulul*, there is mention of a female sub-classification of shaman, the *čagan eliye*, said to be only female. Their guardian spirit was a type of female *eliye* spirit, summoned for *andai* rituals, where they performed a special kind of dance, dressed all in white, with their hair loose. The *čagan eliye* are said to have been extremely rare even in former times, existing only in the Khüree tribe, and nowadays their lineage is probably broken. However, in the literature dedicated to the *andai*, we do not find any references to them, and the *andai-yin daguči* are described as male helpers of the shaman, whose art lay in distracting the mind of the sick woman and forcing her to dance by means of elaborate improvisations of song.

In the part of the ritual called “taking an oath”, the spirit who possessed the woman was asked how many days the *andai* ritual should take. These instructions, uttered through the mouth of the woman, were then usually observed.

After a while the woman got up and the next part of the ritual began, during which the *dagučis* sang and danced, inviting the spectators to a public dance. The sick woman followed the “young men with the belled whip”, who danced with her while at the same time trying to avoid being touched by the woman, which would have been considered a bad omen for them. During the dance the *dagučis* always addressed their songs to the sick woman. The texts of the songs are extremely variable, but most often they prompt the sick woman, depending on the cause of the disease, either to fight the evil spirit to exorcise it or to enter ordinary family life. The dance usually lasted for as many nights as had been decided by the spirit. When the dance was regarded as complete, the woman was prompted to “get rid of the *andai*” by throwing herself on her back and casting back her hair, which until that moment had been falling into her face.

In the concluding part, the *örgüge čagan ger* was hung on a pole stuck into the ground. The patient was instructed and assisted to run on to the *örgüge čagan ger* and fall upon it, covering it with her stomach.

NOTES ON THE ANALOGIES

The ghost sickness

This special type of mental sickness, whose name is equivalent in both languages, is said by Krotkov to be typical for women. In the Khorchin literature on the *andai*, it is described as affecting girls and young married women, usually before they give birth to children (Načinšongqor 2001: 32). A popular explanation of the Khorchins states that when the Khorchin Mongols became settled and accepted the life-style of the Manchu and Chinese peasants, they also accepted their moral rules and values, including a strict attitude towards young women. This proved too frustrating for the young Mongolian women, who were used to freedom, a status more or less equal to men, and the right to choose their own husband or partner.⁴

This theory, however, disregards the fact that a similar type of disease also to occurs among Mongolian young women in the nomadic areas.⁵ Concerning the “ghost” which causes the sickness, the name *ibagan* in Manchu does not apply

4 Sampilnorbu, pers. comm. July 2004, Tongliao.

5 In the course of field research in Arhangai aimag, Mongolia in 2005, we encountered a young woman with a mental sickness whose symptoms were similar to those described as the symptoms of the *andai ebedčin*.

to the souls of dead people, a frequent cause of illnesses among the Sibes, but rather to a type of malicious spirit. The same can be said about the *eliye* of the Mongols. Although among the great quantity of *andai* songs there are also texts that explicitly describe the souls of the dead, it seems that the “core” of *andai* is curing the disease caused by *eliye*.

Both in the cases of the Sibes and the Khorchins, there are indications that the patients of “ghost sickness” were not willing to be cured (Krotkov explains that the ritual was performed in order to “scare the ghost and shame the woman”, while Načinšongqor’s informants confirm that they were extremely unwilling to yield to the healing process; Načinšongqor 2001: 75–84). In the songs of both Sibe *deoci* and the Khorchin *daguči*, we find instances of persuading the patient to fight with the ghost and get rid of it.

The carriage wheel

The carriage wheel, mentioned by Krotkov in the Sibe ritual, appears during the *andai* rituals as well. When the dancing took place in the open air, usually an axle of a carriage with a wheel was erected. The informants explain this in connection with the *andai* legends. In two of these, a carriage plays an important role.

In olden times in the Gorlos banner, a thing called an *andai* appeared. People regarded it as an impure thing and a bad omen; they put it on a cart and carried it towards the sea to throw it in. As they were travelling, they came to the Darkhan banner and a little of *andai* poured out of the carriage. From that time *andai* began occurring in some parts of the Darkhan banner. They were carrying the carriage further and as they reached Khuree, the sideboard of the carriage broke and most of the *andai* spilled out. From that time, *andai* became widely spread throughout the Khuree banner. Then the carriage went further and in the Mongoljin banner they encountered robbers who destroyed the carriage completely, therefore some of the *andai* also spread throughout the Mongoljin banner. (Načinšongqor 2001: 12)

Another legend speaks about an old couple, whose only daughter became sick at the age of sixteen and could not be cured by doctors.

As her sickness was getting worse and she could hardly move, the desperate father put her on a carriage and carried her through the country in search of a good doctor. Once the wheel of the carriage broke and, while the father was repairing it, a group of young people came along and started singing and dancing. The father joined them involuntarily and suddenly the girl’s hands and feet started moving and she got down from the carriage to join the dancers. (Načinšongqor 2001: 14)

While there are numerous legends explaining the use of the carriage wheel during the Khorchin *andai* rituals, the Sibe material does not offer any explanations for this ritual practice, which may possibly suggest its Mongolian origin.⁶

Asking the ghost

The practice of combing the patient's hair to cover her face and forcing the ghost who possesses her to speak by raising the bell-whip in a threatening manner is not described in the Sibe sources on *deoci*. However, a Sibe shamaness mentioned to me that, according to the eyewitnesses of the healing rituals of the "ghost sickness", the hair of the sick woman was loosened to cover her face.⁷ It also closely resembles a practice which is said used to have been common among the Sibes of curing possession by a dead person's soul: the sick person's face was covered by a piece of black cloth, he or she was seated on a broom, a comb was put into his or her armpit, and a shaman or a lay person, holding a whip and beating the air, forced the soul to speak.⁸

Likewise "taking the oath" from the ghost during the *andai* ritual (i.e. asking the woman, how many days the procedure should take) seems not to have been mentioned in the *Sibe uksurai an tacin* or by Krotkov. However, in one part of *Saman jarin*, which speaks about curing the *ibagan nimeku*, the text states:

<i>ibagan hebe de fonjimbi</i>	One asks the ghost woman
<i>aici udu dobori de wajimbi</i>	In how many nights one should finish
<i>aici urhu de genembi</i>	Whether she would go to the <i>urhu</i>
<i>aici kuri de genembi sembi</i>	Or whether she would go to the <i>kuri</i>
<i>nadan dobori seci saman</i>	If she says seven nights, the shaman
<i>uyun dobori de wajimbi</i>	Finishes in nine nights
<i>uyun dobori seci saman</i>	If she says nine nights, the shaman
<i>nadan dobori de wajimbi</i>	Finishes in seven nights
<i>urhu de genembi seci</i>	When she says that she would go to <i>urhu</i>
<i>saman kuri de benembi</i>	The shaman takes (the ghost) to <i>kuri</i>
<i>kuri de genembi seci</i>	If she says that she would go to <i>kuri</i>
<i>saman urhu de benembi</i>	The shaman takes (the ghost) to <i>urhu</i>
(Saman jarin: 34)	

6 According to Soyolma (pers. comm. June 2011, Hailar), the carriage wheel or axle is sometimes used in Mongolian shamanistic rituals in the same way as the shaman tree, to symbolize the axis of the world and connection with Heaven.

7 Yin Xingmei, pers. comm. August 2010, Chabchal.

8 Guo Yuzhen, pers. comm. January 2000, Urumchi.

Apparently, like in the Khorchin *andai* practice, this “questioning” took place at the beginning of the ritual, and the number of nights was decided by the ghost itself.

Linguistic evidence

Some of the Sibe shamanic terms are clearly of Mongolian origin and can be found in the Khorchin shamanic tradition. Aside from the word *deoci* (Mongolian *daguči*), there is a Sibe shaman song called *Altan kuri*, a name of apparently Mongolian origin (Heling, Tungkeri Kicešan 1989: 170). The Mongolian form *altun kuriye* is a name of one part of the Khorchin and, in particular, Mongoljin *andai*, where a practice called *altun kuriye* (‘the golden circle’) is performed during the dance. In *altun kuriye*, the dancers formed a circle by holding each others’ hands, and the young man with the bell-whip led the sick woman to sneak under the joined hands of the others. The Mongolian word *kuri* is also found in the Sibe shamanic tradition as an appellation for a ritual implement, as discussed below.

The ritual implements

The *honggūn bula* in Sibe *uksurai an tacin* (or a whip, in Krotkov), is said to be used by the shaman to scare the ghost. In the Sibe *andai*, the *qongqo tasigur* has another interesting function – it is said that the sick woman always follows it, wherever it moves, so that she is easily managed by the “young men with the bell-whip”.

The Sibe text about curing the *ibagan nimeku* speaks about the *urhu* and *kuri* in a similar way. While the word *urhu* is derived from the Manchu context as ‘paper figures’, the word *kuri* seems to pose a problem.

<i>kuri oci duyin duka</i>	The <i>kuri</i> has four gates
<i>uheri gūsin ninggun kiru</i>	Upon them are thirty-eight banners
<i>duyin duka de jakūn kiru</i>	Eight of them on the four gates
(<i>Saman jarin</i> : 36)	

In the same text we find the expression *kuri hūwaran* (‘*kuri*-court’). All this suggests that the *kuri* might resemble the Khorchin *örgüge čagan ger* in some way, with the word *kuri* itself being a loan from Mongolian *kuriye* (‘circle, monastery, court’). The Sibe text further says: *ibagan duka de ibagan i juwan juwe anggala be weilembi* (‘on the *ibagan* gate (one of the four gates of the *kuri*) one makes twelve *ibagans*’), which in the context of this speculation may indicate a connection with the Khorchin *eliye* figures. Both the *kuri* and the *örgüge čagan ger* therefore

appear to be house-shaped constructions, into which the ghost is introduced after leaving the body of the sick person.

CONCLUSION

Comparative study of the Khorchin and Sibe shamanistic traditions promises to yield many proofs of mutual influence. In the case of the Khorchin *andai* healing rituals and the Sibe healing of the *ibagan nimeku*, several parts of the ritual share significant similarities. It seems that not only the general type of the ritual and parts of the ritual order in the two traditions correspond with one another, but some details – such as the person of the *daguči/deoci* and some of the ritual implements (e.g. the carriage wheel, the bell-whip, or the implement designed for introduction of the ghost), as well as several terms – show traces of direct and intense contact between the ancestors of the two modern ethnic groups.

REFERENCES

- HELING, TUNGKERI & KICEŠAN 1989. *Sibe uksurai an tacin* [Customs of the Sibe people]. Urumci: Sinjiyang niyalma irgen cubanše.
- Saman jarin* [Shaman prayers] 1990. Urumci, Sinjiyang niyalma irgen cubanše.
- NAČINSONGQOR 2001. *Andai yin soyal sudulul* [Study of the Andai culture] Qayilar: Öbür monggol un soyol un keblel ün qoriya.
- PANG, Tatiana Aleksandrovna 1994–2007. A “Classification” of the Sibe Shamans. *Shaman* 2(1–2). Szeged.
- KÜRELSA, BAI CUIYING, NAČINSONGQOR & BUYANČUGLA 1998. Qorčin böge mörgül-ün sudulul [Study of the Khorchin shamanism]. Begejing: Ündesüten u keblel ün qoriya.