Two Mongol Texts Concerning Obo-Worship

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Perhaps by reason of its size and the prominence of its situation upon high ground the *obo* (oboya), or stone-heap or cairn, has attracted much attention on the part of travellers in Mongolia. Different opinions have been expressed as to the significance of this characteristic feature of the Mongol landscape, and as to the origin and nature of *obo*-worship. So for example, T. Gotō, basing his opinions upon the fact that the word oboya is hardly found in literature prior to the Hua-i-i-yü, and that even in that book it is not given any religious significance, suggests that its emergence as a cult-object dates from an age after the spread of lamaism during the Ming dynasty. A more commonly-held opinion is well expressed by W. A. Unkrig, who maintains that *obo*-worship represents a primitive stage of religion, a belief in the spirits of Nature. There is, he says, a whole series of spirits who live in trees, mountains or waters, who rule the mountains or race past in the wind. These spirits are responsible for all those calamities and disasters such as sickness and cattle-pest which the phenomena of nature bring with them, and it is to escape as far as possible from these disasters that people erect *obos*. Lamaism, says Unkrig, made the extirpation of the cult-objects of shamanism, such as ongyon-idols, one of its tasks as a missionary religion, but could not overcome the old custom of *obo*-worship. Much earlier, at the end of the eighteenth century, P. S. Pallás had noted, and described in his account of the Mongols, how not only the Mongols proper, but also the Tibetans and the heathen, or non-Buddhist, shamanist Tungus peoples, the heathen Burjats and others, possessed *obos*. For the Burjats, he says, the *obos* served as dwelling-places for the gods, in which they could maintain themselves in the vicinity of their worshippers and their herds, and protect them. It is not the purpose of the present paper to try to disentangle what is 'Buddhist' and what is 'Shamanist' in the cult of the *obo*, or to decide even whether this would be a realistic aim, but rather to give some account of the significance of *obo*-worship as it is expounded in two lamaist text dating from the second half of the eighteenth century. The texts concerned are a manual on the construction of *obos*, entitled *Oboya bosqua yusun-u jerge*, and a ritual for *obo*-worship, entitled *Oboya takiu jang üile unge-

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2 Notes by W. A. Unkrig to W. Filchner, Kumbum Dschamba Ling, Leipzig, 1933. See p. 531.
Both are contained in the fourth volume of the collected works of Mergen Diyanči Lama of the Urad⁴. These texts were utilised by Dorji Banzarov in his classic work on Mongol shamanism⁵, and Banzarov's work itself has been extensively made use of, both in the matter of obo-worship and with reference to other characteristics of Mongol religion, in the tenth volume of P. Wilhelm Schmidt's great summa, Der Ursprung der Gottesidee⁶. It is hoped in this paper to give a fuller account of the two texts, and also to present them with a rather different emphasis from that of Banzarov. Banzarov's thesis was that the ceremonies enjoined by Mergen Diyanči Lama formed a clear contrast to previous ceremonies accompanied by bloody sacrifices, which he ascribes to the shamans, and also that the lama-author, in his capacity as a Buddhist priest, was reluctantly yielding, against his better judgement, to a popular demand when he drew up his set of ceremonies for obo-worship. Although Mergen Diyanči Lama does in fact criticise the slaughter of beasts as so-called offerings, his attitude towards obo-worship is, as I hope to show, not nearly so censorious as Banzarov interpreted it. The obo-ceremonial and its underlying ideas are paralleled in other texts of the collection, and if indeed obo-worship does belong to a non-Buddhist stage of religion in Mongolia, the lama-author appears to have successfully integrated it into the general system of worship which he propounds for his clergy.

As Heissig justly remarks, the collected works of Mergen Diyanči Lama, and especially the tracts in the fourth volume, show how lamaism was, at the time concerned, systematically engaged in satisfying the demand put forward by the Mongol nobility for prayers in the tradition of the old animistic religious ideas, by the creation of prayers which took over the popular pantheon into the lamaist pantheon, and popular religious characteristics into lamaist ritual⁷. An example of this tendency is given by one of the texts in the first volume of the collection, a ritual for rain-making entitled Qura oroyulqu jada-yin ubadis⁸. Rain magic, Jada, which is widely-known in Central Asia, certainly dates in Mongolia from pre-Buddhist times, and is testified in the earliest Mongol literature, the

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⁴ Včir dhara mergen diyanči blama-yin gegen-ü 'bum Jarly. (Printed in Peking 1780–1783). See Nos. 17 and 16 respectively of the fourth volume. A full analysis of the contents of the four volumes of this collection, which is to be found in the British Museum, London, is given in W. Heissig, Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache, Wiesbaden 1954, Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen 2, under item no. 162, pp. 151 foll. For the author, Mergen Diyanči Lama, see Heissig, op. cit. pp. 127–130.


⁸ Fols. 256–259; item no. 64. The correct title of this volume is given by Heissig, op. cit. p. 151. The cover-title Life of Padma Sambhava is erroneous.
The same volume contains a short invocation entitled Qatun youl-un sang tūmen oljei qutuy-tu kemegdekū orusiba which shows how the Yellow River, a geographical neighbour, together with the mountain Muna Quan, of the monastery of Mergen Sūme, home of the Mergen Diyanči Lama, had become established as a member of the Mongol lamaist pantheon. Not only locally was this so, but as far afield as the Oljei Badarayṣan Sūme of the Khorchin, to the efforts of whose Dalama, Süsüg-tü Corji Lubsang Sebten, the printed edition of the collected works of Mergen Diyanči Lama is due. This prayer is addressed to the lords of the Yellow River and beseeches them to sweep away all disasters and evils, to cause virtue and glory to multiply, to amass the goods desired by the worshippers, to banish malevolent enemies, and in particular to bring to fruition, safely, speedily and without delay the affair about which the prayer is specifically offered. This short prayer is of some interest as it summarises in a few lines the type of demand made in more detail in other rituals upon the various local deities, and brings in to relief the very practical nature of the worship of these local deities, who are called upon, in exchange for worship and offerings, to effect certain tangible results. As well as the Yellow River, the mountain Muna Qan is adopted into the pantheon. A text in the fourth volume of the works of Mergen Diyanči Lama associates Muna Qan with the Tibetan mountain deities Gnyan chen tanglíha and Rma chen spom ra as a Protector of the Faith bound by an oath (Tangyari-tu nom-un qayan). Two other texts are also devoted, wholly or in part, to the cult of Muna Qan. This association with other deities seems to indicate an intention to validate the worship of the sacred mountain Muna Qan, which is to the Mongols very reminiscent of the Činggis Qan legend, as a protector of the Buddhist faith, by linking it with Tibetan mountain deities already recognised as such. The nature of the demands made upon local deities, as we shall later find it expressed in the obo-ritual, is well summarised too in a ritual for offering sacrificial cakes to local deities in general. Offerings of cakes are made to the gods and dragons, the albin-, leyireng- and bhuti-
demons of the localities of Cambudib in general and the place concerned in particular, with the intention that these local deities should enjoy them and in return not do anything inimical with respect to any actions whatsoever of the worshippers, that they should be agreeable companions to them and protect them, and at all times bring down the blessings of the Buddhist faith upon them. Similar demands are made upon particular deities, such as, for example, the lords of Muna Qan. In the ritual Tangyariy-tu nom-un qayan, Muna Qan and its companions are summoned to carry out the work for which the prayers are offered. Offerings filling the sky and cakes filling the earth are offered, and the mountain, having enjoyed these, is called upon to eradicate evil principles and to bring to fruition what is acceptable. In the ritual Tegüs čoy-tu muna qan terigülen the lords of Muna Qan and its companions, the lords of the magically empowered Yellow River, and the gods and dragons of the White Region are summoned to take their place upon the carpets prepared for their pleasure. There offerings of many kinds are made, and the deities are worshipped as 'great tutelary geniuses' and are summoned to avert evil influences from their adherents, to protect them constantly whether at home or in the steppe, and, forwarding their interests without neglect, to be their tutelary geniuses.

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An interesting example of practical protection afforded by a river is given in Erdeniyin Tobel (I. J. Schmidt, op. cit. p. 189) though it is obscured in Schmidt's German translation. The Mongol text is a song of triumph celebrating a defeat of Dayan Qayan, who was put to flight, and whose horse fell at the passage of a river, causing him to fall and lie with his helmet stuck in the mud. The text extols the river, and runs:

Jüg-iyer endeleg Jügen irebel Jügen tümed: Jüb buruyu qoyar-i sigübel: tengri ejen Jöbsiyyen soyorqal unaybab: Türgen qatan Jüg büri-de sandayulba: altan yeke ger-e: kemen... Schmidt translated this passage: "Instead of staying in their place, they came over here, the three Jegün Tümen. They wanted to decide upon right and wrong, but the Tegri-lord has made his award, has brought him (the Qayan) low, and scattered in all directions his wives and family. Let that be a great golden mirror for them."

The text should in fact be punctuated differently, as a four-lined alliterative stanza, in the following pattern: Jüg-iyer... Jöb... Jöbsiyyen... Jüg...
I would propose the following translation:

"They lost their way, and came here raving, the three Jegün Tümen: Heaven the Lord has decided over right and wrong; The Queen Türgen has deigned to approve
into this general pattern of offerings to, and concrete demands upon, the local deities.

In the liturgy composed by Mergen Diyanči Lama the function of the obo is to serve as a dwelling-place for the local deities wherein they may dwell and be worshipped; and precise directions are given as to the sort of site which is to be chosen for the obo, the plan and dimensions (symbolising the Buddhist cosmos) to which it is to be constructed, and the ornamentation which is to be applied to it. It is apparent that the lama-author was faced with demands for a practical manual for the construction of obos and for a ritual for worship at them, and found himself in some embarrassment at being unable to acquire any old text of reliable authority and intelligibility upon which to base himself. He more than once apologises to scholarly circles for composing a canon with no authoritative foundation, but excuses himself by saying that he must act, as the demands of potential worshippers cannot be refused. Banžarov somewhat misinterpreted these statements. Mergen Diyanči Lama says: "I shall likewise (i. e. as well as describing its construction) speak of the procedure for performing prayer and offerings (at the obo). Now there has been a great deal of chatter in our land about the erection and worship of obos, and so on, and it is rumoured that there was an ancient rite, but so much apart, this ancient rite was never widely diffused in our country, and no original text of it has been seen, nor have books of regulations been composed by learned scholars in our own quarter. Though there was an ancient Mongol text from olden days, it would be difficult for its practical application and reading to be understood, and I myself asked about it, but was unable to hear about it, and since the specialists are without knowledge of it, I wrote this sourceless text. The fact that it escaped my attention will, on becoming known, be a matter of endless shame to myself and of disgust to scholars, but it is impossible to refuse those who have said that they wish to have worship made to obos, etc. etc."

(our cause) and has overthrown them: She has scattered in all directions their great golden house (?)..

In the text of Sayang Sečen there is not a satisfactory antecedent for the phrase türgen qatun though a few lines earlier it is said that the Qayan "went in by the pass of the Onggon and was about to camp by the side of Türgen." (Ongyön-u sühe-ber oroyad: türgen-ü faqa-bar bayun bükül-e). However, the text of Altan Tobči (section 107), recounting this episode with rather different detail, definitely locates it by a ford of the river Türgen (türgen-1 youl-un olom degere). It seems then that the phrase türgen qatun is probably a respectful or propitiatory form of reference to the river which has protected its adherents from danger.

20 Oboya takiqu jang ülle, fol. 1:
Banzarov took the last sentence to mean: "Although it is not only scandalous to compose such books — for their time is already past — but also repulsive to scholars, yet it is not possible to oppose those who wish to erect an obo". In fact the lama-author is not excusing himself for composing a book about a shameful subject, but for undertaking the composition without sufficient scriptural backing. He stresses the same in his manual for the construction of an obo, where he insists at the beginning that he has not read the original manuals, and at the end begs forgiveness should he have been guilty of uttering baseless falsehoods by writing a book from his own imagination and without sufficient traditional authority behind it. The possibility that these protestations in fact cloak the suppression of older texts inimical to a Buddhist interpretation of obo-worship can of course be neither excluded nor proved.

The obo is generally constructed upon high ground, but Pallas points out that the choice of site falls not so much upon especially important or high ground but upon hills which are peculiar for their positioning or configuration. On this subject Mergen Diyanći Lama says: "Now further, in the erection of an obo, much is said about the erection of a royal obo upon the summit of a high mountain, but in the ordinary run of events, since obos in this land of ours are made as a shrine and receptacle in which will dwell the gods and dragons and eight classes of the lords of land and water, who are a protection, enclosure, aid and tutelary genius for ourselves, and the fact is that one will offer prayers and offer-

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21 Banzarov, Sobranie Sochinenii, p. 68 and W. Schmidt, op. cit. p. 68.


More direct evidence of the acceptibility of the obo as a lamaist cult-object is afforded by a passage in the inventory of the temple at Mergen Süme. Here it is recorded that a certain Tusalayçi tayiji Serab and others, having heard an exhortation to erect obos for the greater glory of the clergy, piously erected an obo and presented it to the clergy at Mergen Süme. (See Mergen sümeyin şang gang-un dgarçay, Heissig, no. 162, volume 1, item 14, folio 89v: tegün-ün uridan-ay juye esrun-u esi üfüqülgügsen inu: qovray-uy eyo jali badaraquy-in tula oboya bosqa kemengen-i tusalyeqi tayiji serab-tan sonustuylad: süsüg-uyer oboya egüdür qovray-tur ergüei).

23 Op. cit. p. 215. The shape of land-configuration plays a part in the divination of the Mongols. In particular the suitability of pasture grounds and of ground for burial places is determined by their shape. For details see two mss. of the Royal Library, Copenhagen: Ayula bu nutuy-un sinji-ün biçig, K. 42, and Ene anu yaqar-un sinji bolal, K. 17. As far as my notes tell me, the siting of obos is not referred to in either of these manuscripts.

24 Oboya bosqaq yosun, fol. 1: ñber-tür ñberen qasıyan omög sülde boluyti tengri lius naiman ayimay yaqar usun-u ejed-ün orusıqug süllegen ba orodal boluyu... For the term sülde in this context cf. the ritual for Muna Qan, Tegüs ëy-tu muna qan-u delgerenggül ëçig takil, fol. 3v-5v, where in a long litany of prayers addressed to Muna Qan the mountain is besought, at the end of each item of the litany, to be a tutelary genius, aid and friend to all, yogacaris, masters and disciples. (Yogacarî boyası sabi bidan-dur: joklarduqi sülde ëçed omög sadun boluyu)l. A second series of prayers on fol. 8r—8v has the refrain: "Supremely glorious great Muna Qan, be our inseparable protective genius." (Tegüs ëy-tu yeke muna qan: salul ügei sülde boluyu).
ings to them, then, as to the question of what terrain may be appropriate, one should erect them, praying for blessings and good portents, upon majestic, elevated ground, rich in mountains, water, trees and grass, and such as to make the whole mass of the people fall to their knees when assembled*. As to whether a single obo should be erected, or a group of obos, perhaps one hundred and eight of them, Mergen Diyanči Lama is uncertain, confessing that he has not been able to read the original practical manuals concerned; the correct shape and form are likewise uncertain. While wise 'specialists', (with which word I translate uqayatan), may be able to carry out the work with the necessary good intentions and skill, there will be others, more negligent and stupid, who will let themselves be seduced by vain imitations, and will erect the obos carelessly, only to get the reputation of having erected an obo and worshipped it when the customary worship of the black shamans and shamanesses is performed. It is possible that these people might perform deeds useless to themselves and others, and so the lama recommends the practice of constructing thirteen obos on the same pattern, since it says in an old text that the obo is full of majesty like Mount Sümber, the King of Mountains; therefore one should construct the thirteen obos like Mount Sümber, the four great continents and the eight small continents.\textsuperscript{25}

The dimensions of the obo are given in great detail. After the performance of preliminary rites, the rituals of the earth (yaf-ar-un jang üile), the pacification of the lords of the earth (yaf-ar-un efen ?mayauraki-yin\textsuperscript{26} yosun), the installation of vases of incense (gomqa-tu sang ororyulqu yosun) and so on, a circle of radius eight cubits (toqai) should be drawn out. On this base comes the lowest course of the obo, of a thickness of three and a half cubits. On top of this is drawn another circle, of a radius two cubits less, and on this base comes the next course, two cubits thick. The next two courses are planned similarly, one cubit being subtracted from the radius each time, while the thickness of each course is two cubits. The overall measurements of the obo of four courses are four fathoms (alda) from side to side at the bottom and two fathoms from side to side at the top. The height through the centre is two fathoms. From a good fertile tree a piece of wood of the dimensions of a man should be prepared to act as a central support. It is to be installed as the supreme part of the shrine, after the dhāranis of the lamas, tutelary gods (yidam), Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, and in particular the dhāraṇi of Sagyamuni Buddha have been written upon it. Any 'wheels' relating to particular works (aliba üile-yin tusqayi-tu kürdül) should be installed now. The exterior of the obo is to be wrapped in yellow robes, and armour, helmets, knives, clothes, ornaments and such like objects, all sorts of food and fruit, and vessels of use are to be installed, and in between them cloth, jewels, seeds and medicaments should be placed, and then the body of the obo should be erected.

\textsuperscript{25} Oboya bosqaqu yosun, fols. 1—2v.
\textsuperscript{26} The reading is very uncertain.
solidly out of stone, and so on, according to the measurements previously given.\textsuperscript{27}

The east of the obo is called white tiger or alternatively crystal: the south blue dragon or lapis lazuli; the west magpie or ruby; and the north black frog or gold. These cardinal points are to be built with stones of the appropriate colours, though it will suffice to introduce jewels of the four sorts into the corners and carry out the construction with stones of any colour. Stone is used in the construction as a sign of longevity, stone being the embodiment (lit. essence, mön činar) of strength (batu), but should it be necessary to erect an obo in a place where there are no stones, it will suffice if the obo is packed with chalk, baked earth and so on. On the top of the erection so built trees of various sorts should be planted as a receptacle or dwelling-place (orodal) for the Kalpavrikṣa tree, the tree which acts according to one’s wishes. These trees are: the juniper, father of trees; the reed, the mother; the tamarisk, the son; the rooted birch (tündüsü-tei qusu), the uncle: the willow, the daughter. These trees are a sign of the diffusion of felicity. In the midst of them, on the summit, is to be stuck a great garudi bird, variegated or white, ornamented on the top of the head with a wishing-jewel (cindamani); at its two sides should be the sun and moon, and on the outside twenty-one little birds facing inwards. These are all to be surrounded and adorned with bows and arrows, spears with streamers, swords, battle-axes, harpoons and such like cutting-weapons, wheel and cindamani, mirror and pendants. Being a sign of the flaming of glory all this should be gay and pretty. Further, mani-prayer-flags and images (šaza, cf. Tib. tš’a-tš’a) cut with syllables should be inserted.\textsuperscript{28}

Around the upper course of the obo are to be placed the following objects: in the east a small bird (bilJuqai), dragon and black eagle (tas); in the south a tiger, falcon (qarçayai) and female yak (qayinuy); in the west an eagle, male yak (sar лю) and elephant: in the north a lion, pied bird (alay sibayun) and egg. In the four secondary points are to be placed a stag, monkey, bat and white crane. Around the second course are placed in the east a wheel with the figure coy-tu Jiruqai; in the south a victory token (ilayuysan čimeg) with a lotus: in the west a vase with an umbrella; in the north a fish with a conch-shell. In between the cardinal and secondary points are placed the signs of the eight trigrams. Around the third course are placed in order the twelve years, starting with the monkey and the cock in the east, and in the twelve intervals between them the seven jewels and the five sensuous qualities. Around the bottom course are put amulets and talismans for averting the evils which come from birthmarks and so forth (mengge-yin yai gariylqu teri-gütten buu darulya-yin ayimay), the forms of birds and of carnivorous

\textsuperscript{27} Oboya bosqaqu yosun, fols. 2v—3v.
\textsuperscript{28} Fols. 3v—4v.
beasts and such like living creatures, and sacrificial cakes. The obo is to be surrounded with all these objects.29

At the four cardinal points of the great obo are four sentry obos in the manner of the great continents, and at the sides of each of the four there is a pair of companion obos, like the companion continents, making twelve in all. These are all to have different dhāraṇīs written on their central pieces of wood. To the east, on the central one, is written the Billi g baramid (Prajñāpāramitā) dhāraṇī, to the right the Mañjuśrī dhāraṇī, to the left the Bisman tegri dhāraṇī. To the south, on the central one, the Čayan sikūr-tei dhāraṇī, to the right Mari, to the left the Brana savri (Pārṇa śavari) dhāraṇī. To the west, on the central one, the Ayusi dhāraṇī, to the right the Bacara dhāraṇī, and to the left the Dara eke dhāraṇī. To the north, on the central one, the Bidarana dhāraṇī, to the right the Arsalan dayu-tu dhāraṇī, and to the left the Vajrapāṇidhāraṇī. The twelve obos are to be enveloped in yellow robes and the necessary objects are to be installed. Each is to have the proper stones at the different cardinal points. The four obos at the cardinal points are to be built in a globular form out of stones laid above a circular plan of radius three cubits. Their width at the lower level is to be six cubits from side to side and the height is to be four cubits. The eight companion obos are to be a little smaller. This is an account of the planning of the size of the obos, and of their number, form and shape, but as circumstances may vary one is not to be circumscribed, saying: "The plan of an obo is so broad and so high, and the manner of building it is exactly thus". Trees and garudis are to be placed upon them, and weapons and images and so on. Ki-mori flags of the four colours white, black, green and red should be flown at the four secondary points of the obos.

Mergen Diyanči Lama concludes his account by referring to his other text for the ceremonies of obo-worship, and by saying that advantages will accrue from devotion to the place as long as one has erected the obo with virtuous intentions and built it with the skill of knowledge, not spoiling it through falsity and greed. As mentioned above, he excuses himself for possibly being guilty of uttering falsehoods through composing a text without sufficient authority, basing himself upon his own imagination.30

Obo-ceremonies have been witnessed and described by more than one traveller, notably by O. Lattimore31 and A. L. Pollard-Urquhart32, both of whom saw the ceremonies in West Sünit in the nineteen-thirties, while Göto, in his article already cited, refers to Japanese accounts. The long and complicated series of ceremonies given by Mergen Diyanči Lama in his second text on obo-worship itself has three basic elements. These are, in his own analysis: firstly to assemble the ‘congregation’

28 Fols. 4v—5r.
29 Fols. 5r—6v.
and pray to the three jewels; secondly, to construct a shrine for the guardians of the White Region; and lastly, to perform ablutions to the Three Jewels and to make a feast for the 'congregation'. This congregation does not signify any gathering of people to witness the ceremony, but the assembled deities, tutelary gods, protectors of the faith and so on, to whom the offerings and worship are presented. This point must be stressed as Banzarov, perhaps misled by the fact that after the obo-ceremonies feasting and games do take place (thought these secular activities are not touched upon in Mergen Diyanči Lama's ritual texts), rather distorts the Mongol text at one point so as to make the lama-author appear to criticise those who offer bloody sacrifices, which serve really only for fasting and glutting the people, under the name of offerings (takil). In fact the text should be punctuated so as to separate entirely the phrase concerning the preparation of the feast for the congregation, which is expressly enjoined, from the following criticism of the savage, impure and sinful offerings of those who, falling into error, slaughter beasts under the name of offerings.

Banzarov says that the consecration of the obo and the ceremonies performed on that occasion are carried out with all the accompaniments of Buddhist worship. So many prayers are specified, and so many offerings are to be made, he says, that it would be difficult to describe them all. This difficulty is indeed apparent, but happily insight is possibly best to be gained into the significance of the obo-ceremonies and their place in the worship of the Mongols by an examination of certain of the prayers and explanations offered by Mergen Diyanči Lama, rather than by the complete enumeration of the ceremonies themselves. In addition I have not felt myself competent to consider the general significance of customary ritual acts, in the way, for instance, that Professor F. D. Lessing has done in his article Miscellaneous Lamaist Notes, and I have limited myself to an account of those elements of the ritual which characterise obo-worship, apparently linking it with the cult of the local deities in general. The main theme of the service is the invitation of the gods and dragons who are the lords of the neighbourhood to take up their dwelling in the obo, which has been erected as a shrine for them, and, thus localised for their worshippers, to bestow benefits upon them and avert evils from them, in exchange for worship and offerings. The ceremonies and prayers by which these benefits and acts of protection are secured inevitably bear similarities both of substance and wording to those offered

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33 Oboya takiq juang üile, fol. 2r.
35 Oboya takiq juang üile, fols. 3v-4r. The text at the point concerned runs: ... nidün-tü uğedel ali olan ba: čiyulyan-u/qurim-nuyd-ber beledgedekül (sic) uğelerin eller-iyen endekül-yin tula foriyad takil kemen nereyidčü: üçüken ču gour ğügi: quça unayan buqa uğana (?) alayad ... jebügün burtay kilinče-tü leyimin takil-iyar yarun kikü ... 
36 loc. cit.
in other rituals concerning local deities, for example those to Muna Quan. Confession of sins, which plays a prominent part in these latter\textsuperscript{38}, does not however appear to take place in the \textit{obo} ceremonies.

The \textit{obo}-service begins with the preparation of the shrines (\textit{silüğen}) and the different offerings and sacrificial cakes. First the site is to be cleaned and swept and a white carpet spread upon it to keep down the earth and dust. Then the altar (\textit{sirege}) is covered, and upon the cover are reverently placed the image of the lord Buddha and other shrines, together with canopy and ornaments. In front of the altar are set out the offerings of food and drink, consisting of fruits and five round white cakes made by mixing the 'three white' and 'three sweet' objects of good odour with the purest fine white flour, all with ornaments. In front of this are set out the two waters and other necessities, and finally the five incenses. Further offerings include the eight glorious emblems, the seven royal jewels and the five sensuous qualities. In front of the officiant (bütügleci) are to be set out, on an altar, the thunderbolt and bell, the inner offerings, seeds for scattering, and behind these, the self-sprung offerings and sacrificial cakes of different sorts, including those intended for the lords of the earth. Further preparations are to be made by means of an altar for the ablutions, vases, mirrors, garments, mandalas, drums and cymbals, conches, oboes, incense, cakes for the \textit{lodqar}-demons, black resin (\textit{qara gügü}), white saffron (\textit{çayan qaći}) and further sacrificial cakes. Offerings to be set out in front of the \textit{obo} include armour, helmets, bows and arrows, spears and swords, and such like weapons, beasts for ransoming\textsuperscript{39}, arrows with white silk-tissues and mirrors, banners, and so on. Further, such objects as a sun and moon, foods consisting of fruits and butter, buttered breads, millet soup and cheese; drinks such as milk, curdled milk (\textit{taray}), tea and spirits: the gold libation; the two waters; the five necessities; and other requisites

\textsuperscript{38} Tegüs \textit{çoy-tu muna qan-u delgerenggüi öçig takti}, fols. 6r-6v. The confession to Muna Quan and request for purification includes not only such sins as the killing and destruction of snakes, frogs, wild beasts, fish, herbivorous and carnivorous animals, but also the cutting down of 'wild' (\textit{doysin}) trees, digging up of the wild ground, pulling out of stones, destroying of turf, troubling of springs and waters and spreading of filth and impurities. (\textit{Doysin modun oytaluysan doysin yafar erüysen}: \textit{çilayun-i qobqoluysan jögelbüri ebdegsen}: bulay usun quadquaysan buturay losqaysan: gem-i namancilanmu bi külicekü jokis-tu: moyai kiged menekqe ba görügesin iýasun: ariya-tan terigüten amltan-i alaysan: deledügsen terigüten kedüi bükü gem-üd-i: tegüs çoy-tu muna qan- dur namancilan öçimü).

\textsuperscript{39} \textit{cir tir} talbhiqu mal. The meaning of the phrase \textit{cir tir} (\textit{tilar} = Tib. \textit{t'ar-ba}, to become free) is not clear to me; but from a later passage in the ritual where cattle are mentioned as being devoted to the \textit{obo} (fol. 12r. \textit{ene mal-i tan-dur jorin seterlegsen inu ber}. Cf. \textit{Mostaert}, \textit{Dictionnaire Ordos}, p. 577b, \textit{seterle}: "consacrer (un animal) à une divinité"; \textit{setertel}, "consacré à la divinité"; à \textit{f'obo}), I suppose the meaning of "ransomed (as a devoted animal)". \textit{Pollard-Urquhart}, op. cit. p. 462, mentions the custom of blessing animals in this way at the \textit{obo}-ceremonies. He says: "After the ceremonies came the blessing of the animals, not for the purpose of sacrifice, but the reverse; for these fortunate animals, after being blessed and branded, were to be returned to their herds, never to be used or killed". The aspersion of animals is one of the ritual acts performed at the end of the present ceremonies. (\textit{Oboya takiq network üile}, fol. 18r.)
such as umbrellas and flags are all to be got ready, together with the feast for the congregation. Mergen Diyançi Lama admonishes to care­fulness in the preparation of the obo offerings and cakes. The virtues of the offerings can, he says, be destroyed in a moment, like hail falling on the crops, if one commits the sin of killing a living being, and so the offerings are to be carefully prepared according to his directions. The pure offerings he recommends will serve for a virtuous and glorious offering, in contrast to a cruel and sinful one consisting in the slaughter of innocent beasts and the use of their flesh, which is called an offering only in error. Later in the ritual the significance of many of these offerings is explained. The martial objects, armour, weapons and so on, do not seem to be peculiar to the obo-ritual but to belong to the cult of local deities in general; as will be seen from the later explanations they are significant as signs of protection from evil. Similar offerings are made to the lords of Muna Qan, at the beginning of whose ritual offerings including cutting-weapons, arms, riding horses and herds and flocks are listed. Later the list is expanded to include armour, helmets, swords, spears, bows and arrows, saddled horses and other riding beast, as well many of the other sacrificial objects met with in the obo-ritual. Evidently associated with the cult of local deities is a ritual for the tutelary geniuses. As was shown above, the local deities were considered by Mergen Diyançi Lama to be, inter alia, the tutelary geniuses of their adherents, while in the ritual, Tegüs čoy-tu muna qan delgerengğüi öçig there are, as has been shown (note 24 above) two long series of invocations in which Muna Qan is besought in various ways to be the tutelary genius of the worshippers. In this ritual for the tutelary geniuses, then, we find similar offerings listed. The tutelary geniuses themselves are visualised as nine brothers, emitting light and rainbows from their bodies. They wear golden armour and helmets, and ride upon powerful horses. In their right hands they carry swords and whips, in their left hands spears with streamers attached and nooses. They wear bows and arrows with quivers and bow cases, with ornaments of silk-tissue of all sorts. Above them fly falcons; their shoulders are decorated with lion and tiger (skins); fierce black bears precede them and dogs and šaralya (?) follow them. In this warlike guise they are conjured to appear through the power of their pious feelings and their oaths, together with the gods and dragons and eight classes of bhuti-demon. To them are made offerings of many kinds, offered up in the course of a litany, every item of which ends with a prayer beseeching them to enjoy the offering and then establish themselves firmly in the shrine and cause the desires and affairs of their worshippers to be accomplished. Amongst the offerings listed are to be found flowers, incense, lamps, scents, food, music; the seven jewels, eight glorious emblems; milk, kumis, sour milk,
spirits; the 'three white' and 'three sweet' foods, fruit, seeds, flour, butter and cakes; splendid palaces, fields and gardens; flags and ornaments; skins of carnivorous beasts; the lion and tiger and bear, the šaralýa and other dogs; the four sorts of domestic animal, robes, ornaments and rosaries and so on. Besides these items, many of which have been met with already in the obo ceremonies, the list of offerings includes the martial items, cutting weapons and arms, stout armour and helmets, fine riding horses. A similar litany with an even more extended list of offerings including the martial items occurs also in the Muna Qan ritual. The purpose of enumerating these objects here is to show the similarity of those offered at the obo-ceremonies with those specified for other ceremonies. I have felt it worth-while to emphasize this connection since on the one hand Banzarov does not do so, while on the other hand the presence of weapons and such like has been attested for the obo-ritual for example in West Sünit by the observers already quoted, and it appears necessary to point out the wider sphere of use of objects of this sort. To what extent the various rituals were in actual performance associated I have no evidence, but they may all have formed part of the summer religious services performed in the neighbourhood of Muna Qan by the monks of Mergen Süme and mentioned by Przhevalski.

The preparations having been made, there follows the meditation upon a tutelary Buddha. At this point it appears as if Mergen Diyanči Lama may have had some older text at his disposal, though it is not clear if a text specifically concerned with obo-worship is concerned, for he says that it is immaterial which tutelary Buddha is called upon, but as it was thought to be the wrathful Vajrapāni (ketter včarbari) in the old text, he will recount the invitation of Vajrapāni and the offering of sacrificial cakes to him. After the salutation to Vajrapāni, the blessing of sacrificial cakes, and so on, there follows the invitation to the 'congregation' to instal themselves upon the carpets provided for their pleasure. The congregation consists of the lamas of (high) extraction (iʃayur ūndūsūn lama), tutelary gods, Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, heroes (bayatur) and dākinīs, and protectors of the faith. A similar list in the ritual Tengri luus-i taki quaternion erike includes also the name of Btsong-k’a-pa. Then follows, accompanied by various acts of worship (the offering of incense, blowing of couches, deposition of sacrificial cakes) the invitation of the gods and dragons into the obo and other shrines which have been specially prepared for this occasion. At this invitation there is recited the following prayer, which

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44 Sülde tengri, fols. 3v—4v.
45 Tegısı čoy-tu muna qan-u delgerengğü öčig takil, fols. 3v—5v.
46 Cf. Pollard-Urqhuart, op. cit. p. 461: "The most interesting thing about this obo was a figure placed in front, which was made up of various kinds of armour and weapons ancient and modern".
48 Oboya taki quaternion jang üille, fols. 4r—4v.
49 Oboya taki quaternion jang üille, fol. 7v.
50 Fol. 3v.
seems to serve to associate the local protective deities concerned with those of all localities in the Buddhist cosmos, imagined and real:

"Kii: In the manner in which in former times the master of the school, Padma Sambhava, offered prayers and offerings to the gods and dragons, so do we today, having erected a shrine for all the gods and dragons, offer prayers and offerings to them.

Kii: If the lords in the three chillocosms, the twelve steadfast goddesses of the earth, the gods and dragons, gods of the place and lords of the earth of Coytu vćir sayurin (Śri Vajrāsana) which is at the navel of Cambudib; of Wu T'āi Shan in the east, the illustrious place of Mañjuśrī; of Potala in the south, the place of the Bodhisattva Qongsim; of U rgyen in the west, the illustrious place of the dākinīs; of Shambala in the north, the place of the Secret Dhāraṇī; of Qācir sabayun čoyčalaysan (Gridrakūtha) and the rest of India; of Bkra śis lhun po, Lhaldan (sic) and Bsam-yas and the rest of Tibet: of Kōkōnōr and the rest of the lands in Oirad; of Songgin-lu ('Onion-place') and the rest of China; of such and such places and the rest of the places of Mongolia; and especially of the environs of this place which is concerned — if these together with the supreme great ones who delight in the White Region will assemble, we will, having built an obo for those who are the associates and companions, aid and friends of ourselves and all our comrades, offer prayers and worship to them. Hearing us with pity, deign to come hither.

Both the general and particular classification of local deities, which occurs here, and the description of them as 'friends' of the worshippers are to be found elsewhere, if in an abbreviated form. Thus in the ritual Tangyariy-tu nom-un qayan etc. the lords of the earth of Cambudib in general, and in particular the gods and dragons and eight classes of bhuti-demon of the place specifically concerned are begged to accept the offerings of food and drink which have been made and in return not to be inimical to the matters undertaken by the worshippers, to allay evils, and to be companionable. Each item of the earlier of the two litanies mentioned from the Muna Qan ritual in note 24 above ends with a prayer to the mountain to be a "tutelary genius, aid and friend to us, yogacaris, masters and disciples".

There follows immediately in the ritual of Mergen Diyanči Lama a set of prayers to be said during the offering of the sacrifices of food, drink and spirits given by the patrons. These prayers do much to define and elucidate the role of the obo as a cult-object. The thirteen obos, like the king of mountains, Mount Sümber, and the four continents and eight small continents, is a shrine by which all are protected, and longevity is confirmed. The prayer continues:

51 Oboya takiq Jang üile, fols. 9r—10r.
52 Fol. 2v. The wording is similar to that given from another ritual in note 17.
"For that reason we make offerings to the shrine. Strengthen the shrine by which are pacified the evil jedker-demons. Strengthen the shrine by which is diffused the virtue of (long) life. Strengthen the shrine by which (things) accumulate quickly. Strengthen the shrine by which are banished the workers of evil. Strengthen the shrine by which the feet of the lamas are made firm. Strengthen the shrine by which the faith is propagated. Strengthen the shrine by which the clergy regale themselves. Strengthen the shrine by which all peoples come to live in peace. Strengthen the shrine by which life is made long. Strengthen the shrine by which seed and power are multiplied tenfold. Strengthen the shrine by which fame and name are noised abroad. Strengthen the shrine by which flocks and herds are increased. And having strengthened it eradicate the eighty thousand hindrances; eradicate the three hundred and sixty forms of ada-demon; eradicate the four hundred and four sorts of disease, eradicate the eighty-four sinister portents; bring all our undertakings to a successful conclusion: befriend us and protect us always."53.

These prayers are followed immediately by another set which offer an interpretation of the various offerings which are made to the shrine:

"The one who soars in the sky, with a diadem of the glorious cindamaniz jewel and perfected with wings of wisdom and method is the shrine whereby strength is increased. For this reason we make offerings to the shrine. The twenty-one birds of splendid colour and hue and harmonious song, and most delightful, are the shrine whereby everything is collected into (your) power. For this reason, etc.54. The armour and helmet of diamond which, though all sorts of weapon are aimed at them, conquer in the battle where one is hit and dies, are the shrine whereby the life of living creatures is protected. For this reason, etc.
The great bow and arrow, essence of wisdom and method, which aim at the heart of the poisonous enemies the todqar-demons, are the shrine whereby sinister evils are repressed. For this reason, etc.
The various sharp spears, ornamented with ornaments of all kinds of silk-tissue and with flags, are the shrine whereby doers of evil are banished, and the shrine of ...55 firm intention and absence of obstacle. For this reason, etc.
The hard and sharp cutting-weapons of all sorts which, as occasion serves, reduce to dust the inimical todqar-demons, are the shrine whereby majesty (süide) and glory are revivified. For this reason, etc.

53 Oboya takigu Jang üille, fols. 10r—11r.
54 The abbreviation is mine. Elsewhere in these rituals repetitive passages are abbreviated in the Mongol text, as for example in Tegüs čov-tu muna qan-u delgerengüi öçig takil, fols. 3v foll., where a long invocation to Muna Qan occurs in its frequent repetitions as Tegüs čov-tu terigüten uridaki adali.
55 Reading uncertain here.
The various trees, juniper, reed, tamarisk, birch and willow, are the shrine whereby all perfect felicity is multiplied. For this reason, etc.

The various ornaments of silk-tissue are the shrine whereby understanding is multiplied. The jewels are the shrine whereby want is eradicated. The various seeds are the shrine whereby joy is produced. For this reason, etc.

The various medicines are the shrine whereby epidemics fail to occur. The various fruits are the shrine whereby suffering is eradicated. The various vessels are the shrine whereby all goods are brought to perfection. For this reason, etc.

These beasts which have been consecrated to you are the shrine whereby every birth shall be enriched and long-lived stock and posterity be firmly established. For this reason, etc.

The decoration by white silk-tissue and mirrors of these very straight arrows, feathered with vulture-feathers, is the shrine whereby long life and felicity are distilled. For this reason, etc.

The blessed dhāranis and the syllables on the mani-prayer-flags and also the blessed images are the shrine of the Body of the Doctrine (nomun beye, dharma-kaya) which perfects the Buddha-intelligence. For this reason, etc.58

This recitation completed, the offerings, cakes, food and drink, and incense, etc., are all offered up, presumably to the local deities, with a prayer that they will be constant companions and protectors, and offerings of incense are made to the lords of the obo, with a prayer that they will sweep away filth and impurities59

Subsequently there is recited the 'Praise of the Obo' (Oboyan-u mañtayal). The text of this runs:

*We adore the gods and dragons, the protectors and tutelary geniuses who accomplish perfectly our desires when we offer prayers and offerings, in the manner of the cindamani which accomplishes what is desired. Through the strength of this our obeisance, worship and praise do you constantly be companions and friends to us all, sacrificers and those on whose behalf sacrifice is made, at home or in the steppe or wherever we may be. Allay illness and the hindrances of ada- and Jedker-demons; spread the splendour of (long) life and the joy of felicity; bring all in the three worlds into your power; banish all the tormenting, inimical todqar-demons; banish all plague and epidemic illnesses, and ills of day, month and year; avert

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58 The block is badly cut here; possibly bodi is intended, but this is most uncertain.
57 The Mongol text has taqul tamsly for which Kowalewski gives the equivalents 'cough, cold in the head'. This hardly seems a general enough concept for the context, and I suggest the second meaning given by Kowalewski for taqul alone: 'plague, contagious sickness, epidemic'.
58 Oboya takigu jang üile, fols. 11r—12v.
59 Oboya takigu jang üile, fol. 13r.
60 Bida bürin takiyči ba takiydayči-nuyud ber: ger-ten kiged kegere ba qamiya ber bolbaçu. Cf. a similar phrase in the ritual Tegüs čoy-tu muna qan terigüten, quoted in note 19.
evils of the type of wolves attacking the flocks, thieves and brigands stirring abroad, hail, drought or cattle-pest occurring; and effect the consequences that rain and water should occur at the times when they are needed; that crops and seeds should flourish, and living beings multiply their joy and devote themselves to the very white virtues”.

This ode of praise is said to be based upon an old Mongol text, but since that part of it from the words 'banish all plague' to 'white virtues' of the translation occurs almost word for word also in the Muna Qan ritual, it cannot be taken as an indication that the text which Mergen Diyanći Lama had at his disposal was actually an obo-ritual, and the same reservation must probably be made at other points where he refers to such old Mongol texts. It is however, a further indication of the common purpose and liturgical connection of the obo-rituals and other rituals and prayers concerning the local deities.

Following this prayer banners and flags are to be flown, oboes and conches played and flowers scattered and then another prayer is recited, beginning as follows:

"We cause to blaze the countenances of the gods and dragons and other protectors and tutelary geniuses who have entered as rulers into the obos, which are similar to Mount Sümber and the continents. Protecting us like the shadow with the body (i.e. inseparably), be zealous in being our friends and companions."

The rest of the prayer, a plea that the spirits should look after one by day, guard one by night, escort one when departing and go to meet one when arriving, be zealous in guiding and supporting the worshippers and continue to be friends and companions, is found also, word for word, in the Muna Qan ritual and the ritual for the Sülde Tengri, as well as here in the obo-ritual.

There follow the dalarya ceremony of prayer for good fortune and then the ceremony of ablution (ugiyal). Finally, after further offerings have been made, including the scattering of flowers by mounted men trotting round the obos clockwise at a not too great distance, together with another prayer to the gods and dragons and other guardians who are guests.

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61 Oboya takigu Jang ülle, fols. 14v—15r.
62 Ditto, fol. 14v: qayucin mongol sudur-aça boluyan oboyan-u maytayal keneke-d-i üiledkü-i.
63 Tegüs çoy-tu muna qan-u delgerengan-ë dig, fol. 7v. The text of the obo-ritual follows; variations in the Muna qan text do not affect the meaning and are omitted: Kijig yamsly ebedin ba qonoy sara jil-un yai: mal-dur çhno dobtalaqi ba degerme qulayal: yarqu ba mondor salkin yang jud bolqui ekilen: künkül-un siltay-an çinayel-da garful: qura usun kereglekül çay-tur-iyen oroju: tariya ba üre sime delgereg dedim amitan amur jiryal arbijaui masi çayan buyan-a: kiçiyekü-yin nöküed-si öbesüben bültüge.
64 Oboya takigu Jang ülle, fols. 15r—15v.
at the banquet (saki
ysun jočid) to protect the obo and to be constant companions, the benefits to be expected from erecting obos and worshipp-
ing at them are enumerated. These include, as is to be expected, the ex-
termination of the jedker-demons concerned with life and with pasture land, the blossoming of sons and grandchildren, multiplication of flocks and herds and possessions, eradication of sinister evil portents, relief from all misfortunes; relief from the three hundred and sixty ada-demons, from the four hundred and four diseases, and from the eighty thousand lodgar-
demons which are met with suddenly, likewise the accession of good fortune, and protection on the part of the powerful great local deities
who have been rendered happy, and, what is not absolutely clear, “find-
ing the original obo of one’s ? final rebirth” 66.

This account of the main prayers and explanations in the obo-ritual as
expounded by Mergen Diyanči Lama is not meant as a complete analy-
thesis of the ritual, which from the point of view of its complexity and of the
number of other rituals involved, which are often referred to merely by
short quotations, is beyond my present abilities and intentions. I have tried
to extract those items which serve to give some insight into the signifi-
cance of the obo-ritual as a whole, as distinct from the intrinsic signifi-
cance of the individual acts of worship enclosed in the ritual. I hope to
have shown that the obo-ceremonial is closely linked with the worship
of the local deities of natural features, mountains and rivers and so on, by
indicating from time to time that common features occur in the various
rituals concerning these deities and in the obo-ritual. I seems significant
that the worship of Muna Qan is associated with that of Tibetan mountain
deities; and from this I would like to surmise that the intention of
Mergen Diyanči Lama was perhaps not so much, as Banzarov pro-
posed, to suppress shamanistic elements of worship by incorporating
them, suitably altered, into Buddhist ritual, as to strengthen the position
of Buddhism in Mongolia by associating indigenous cult-elements with
similar phenomena already established in Tibetan lamaism. Such a view
must not be pressed too far, without discovering in more detail the general
religious climate in which these rituals were composed. Nor is it at all
clear how to distinguish between 'lamaist' and 'shamanist' elements. It is
however clear what significance the obo had for Mergen Diyanči Lama,
as was brought out in quotation by Banzarov67. It was to be erected as a
shrine for the local gods and dragons, who are characterised as a protec-
tion, enclosure, aid and tutelary genius of the inhabitants of the place,
wherein they can dwell and be worshipped and exercise their beneficent
functions. Similar functions are ascribed specifically to the lords of Muna
Qan and of the Yellow River. To the former in particular are addressed,
as we have seen, two series of invocations, the latter one cast in the in-

66 Oboya takigu jang üile, fols. 19r—19v. The text of the last eight words of the translation appears to be: ečüs-ün törölün yeke ifayur-un oboya-i olyuy, but the cutting of the word ečüs is rather doubtful.
67 loc. cit.
interesting form of a group of similes, beseeching the mountain to be the tutelary genius of its worshippers. The obo-ceremonies of Mergen Diyanči Lama are to be considered primarily as belonging to the complex of rituals devoted to the local deities which make up a considerable part of the fourth volume of his collected works. Banzarov draws a contrast between the obo-ritual as it was under Mergen Diyanči Lama's new dispensation, emphasizing that fact that former, shamanist ceremonies were marked by bloody sacrifices. However, the ritual of Mergen Diyanči Lama makes only one passing reference to shamans, and that in a context unconnected with bloody sacrifices, which he criticises as an erroneous practice without identifying those who perform them. It is interesting to note the observation of Pollard-Urquhart, à propos the ceremonies in West Sünit: "In front of the obo were placed the carcasses of the sheep that had been killed for the offering." It is most improbable that these ceremonies were to be classed as shamanistic. Göto also quotes instances of bloody offerings being made. While Mergen Diyanči Lama's protest against the slaughter of innocent beasts for so-called offerings certainly stands, it occupies a small place in this two texts, which are apparently well integrated in the larger framework of his rituals concerning local deities, and is apparently not connected by him with shamanism. As was remarked above, it is very hard to distinguish between 'shamanist' and 'lamaist' elements in Mongol religion, but it appears that obo-worship, as described in the two texts at our disposal, falls within the general scope of lamaist Buddhism.

These similes, as well as a similar set in the ritual Sülde tengri, fol. 6r., seem to me similar in type to the visual comparisons discussed in connection with the oldest type of Mongol literature by W. Heissig in his article Zum sprachlichen Ausdruck der altmongolischen Sprachdichtung, OE 2/2, 1955, pp. 206—209. The text runs: Masi kürkireğći yekë luu: egülen-e yambar yosuyar: tegüs çoy-tu yekë muna qan: salul ügei sülde boluylan: oytaryui-da nisekû garudi: figür-lüge yambar yosuyar: tegüs etc. görüged-ün qayan arsalan: çasu-tu-da yambar yosuyar: tegüs etc. doysin küčün tegüs bars ber: yekë ol-dur yambar yosuyar: tegüs etc. enerëği eke edige: köbegün-e yambar yosuyar: tegüs etc. gevigliği naran saran-a: gerel tegüsüsigen yosuyar etc. sedkişsger cindamani-dur: kere tegüsüsigen yosuyar etc.

"Like the loudly roaring dragon in the clouds, do you, supremely glorious great Muna qan, etc.
Like the garudi with its wings soaring in the firmament . . .
Like the lion, king of beasts, in the snowy places . . .
Like the tiger, with all its wild strength, in the great forest . . .
Like mother and father, having pity on the child . . .
Like the abundance of light in the illuminators, the sun and moon . . .
Like the abundance of goods in the wishing-jewel Cindamani . . .
The text of the Sülde tengri ritual is slightly different in detail but contains the same items. A similar simile is to be found in the obo-ritual, Oboya taktiku jang tilie, fol. 15v., where the idea of inseparability is expressed by the image of the body and the shadow: beye-lüge segider-ün yosuyar ibegeged, "protecting in the manner of the shadow with the body".