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Rituals of Sworn Brotherhood (Mong. *anda bol-*, Oir. *and*, *ax düü bol-*) in Mongol Historic and Epic Tradition¹

ÁGNES BIRTALAN



The Turko-Mongolic term *anda* designates one of the key phenomena of the formation of tribal confederations among the early thirteenth-century Mongols. In the contemporary indigenous and foreign historical sources, entering into an *anda*-relationship signifies a two-sided coalition of two males, usually clan or tribal chieftains, who after a ritual sealing of the alliance align to each other in military and political affairs.

The historical relevance of the *anda*-relationship has been studied by a few scholars, first by B. Ja. Vladimircov, who interpreted the term as “nazvannye brat’ja” and analysed the case of Temüjin (Mong. Temüjin)² and Jamukha (SH Jamuqa) and the relationship between Temüjin and Togril, the Ong khan (SH To’ril, Ong qan).³ In his elaborate notes to the passages of *The Secret History of the Mongols*, I. de Rachewiltz enumerates some of the main interpretations of the term and the institution – he quotes F. Isono and O. Lattimore – interpreted merely as a kind of an alliance (*anda* – “sworn friends”) and not as a pseudo-kinship. Rachewiltz also refers to the data of the Sino-Mongol glossaries written in various epochs since the period of the Yuan Dynasty. The term *and* is usually identified with the term *nökör* “ally, friend, companion, fellow”, the given Chinese equivalents of which are the following: “friend, sworn friend, intimate

¹ Here I would like to express my gratitude to Tatjana Skrinnikova, Michal Biran and Mehmet Tezcan for their valuable comments on my paper.

² In the following, the Mongol terminology will be given in Written Mongolic forms (Mong.). Any other data will be indicated separately as: Oir. (Spoken Oirad), Khalkha (the official language of the Republic of Mongolia).

³ B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Obščestvennyj stroj mongolov. Mongol’skij kočevoj feodalizm*. Leningrad 1934, 60–62.

friend".⁴ The person around whom the *anda*-relationship is centred is Temüjin/Jinggis khan. He inherited the *anda*-relationship of his father, Yisügei ba'atur, with Togril, the Kereit (Mong. SH Kere'it, Kereyid) chieftain. In *The Secret History of the Mongols*,⁵ the relationship of Yisügei and Togril is mentioned as *andas*,⁶ while Togril and Temüjin call each other "son" and "father" (SH *kö'ü* and *ečige*). The *andaship* inherited by Temüjin from his father is not an equal alliance, but merely a subordinated connection and is closer to a kind of pseudo-kinship relation.⁷ The relation between Temüjin and Jamukha, the Jajirad (SH *Ĵajirat*) chieftain is a real *andaship*, the two chieftains call each other *anda* even after their breaking off.⁸ Two more *andas* of Temüjin/Jinggis khan are mentioned in *The Secret History of the Mongols*; Khuyildar (Mong. *Quyildar/Quyuldar*) from the Manggud (SH *Mangqut*) tribe⁹ and Senggüm, Ong khan's son.¹⁰ However, there is no mention of the circumstances of how they entered into *andaship* with Jinggis khan nor of any rituals. Without going into the detail of the historical evidence, in my paper I intend to introduce the use of the term, the survival of this institution in Mongol folklore and in folk remembrance, and I touch on its contemporary re-birth.

The lexeme anda in the Mongolic languages

The Mongolic lexeme *anda* is of Turkic origin: Turkic *and/ant*, Mongolic *anda*, Manchu-Tungusic *anda*.¹¹ The earliest occurrences are analysed by G. Doerfer on

⁴ For a summary of the possible interpretations and the references, see Igor de Rachewiltz (ed. and trans.), *The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century* 2 vols. Inner Asian Library Vol. 7. Leiden-Boston, Mass. 2004, 395–396. K. Uray-Kóhalmi, Übereinstimmungen in der Tradition der Kitan und der Mongolen. in *Altaica Budapestinensia MMIII. Proceedings of the 45th Permanent International Conference Budapest, Hungary, June 23–28, 2002*. Ed. A. Sárközi – A. Rákos. Budapest 2003, 368–374.

⁵ Below, the translation referred to is that of I. de Rachewiltz (cf. above) and the transcription by Ligeti (L. Ligeti, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*. Monumenta Linguae Mongolicae Collecta I. Budapest 1971).

⁶ *The Secret History of the Mongols*: § 96 and passim, *Yisügei qan ečige-lü'e Kere'it irgen-ü Ong qan anda ke'eldügsen aju'u* "With [my] father Yisügei declared Ong khan *andaship*".

⁷ *The Secret History of the Mongols*: § 104, passim. Togril calls Jamukha younger brother (SH *de'ü*).

⁸ *The Secret History of the Mongols*: § 125, passim.

⁹ *The Secret History of the Mongols*: §§ 171, 208.

¹⁰ *The Secret History of the Mongols*: §§ 181, 204. While Temüjin inherited his father's *andaship*, probably sworn an oath with his son, Senggüm, as equal to him in age and status, cf. Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, 650–651. Rashid ad-Din reveals the *andaship* of Temüjin with Jakha Gambu (SH *Ĵaqa-gambu*), Togril's younger brother, as well: *Džakagambu byl s Čingis-hanom pobratimami [ande]*. Rašid ad Din, *Sbornik letopisej*. Tom I. Pervod s persidskogo: O. I. Smirnova, primečanija B. I. Pankratov, and O. I. Smirnova, Moscow-Leningrad 1952, 109. cf. also Rachewiltz, *The Secret History*, 650–651.

¹¹ Some selected references for the linguistic evidences are: G. J. Ramstedt, *Einführung in die altaische Sprachwissenschaft*. I. Helsinki 1952, 153; A. M. Ščerbak, *Rannie tjurko-mon-*

the basis of rich source material.¹² In the ancient and Middle Turkic sources, the expression *ant iç-* appears in the meaning “to swear (lit. to drink [on the swearing])”.¹³ The Mongolic *anda* is the stem of a group of derivative words within the semantic field connected to the meanings “ally, sworn brother, friend, relation, and oath”. The *anda* in the meaning “to become *andas*” appears in the expressions; *anda bolulča-* “to become *andas*” and *anda ke’eldü-*, *anda tungquldu-* “to declare *andaship*”¹⁴ in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. The word *anda* is used widely in contemporary languages separately or in various hendiadys-expressions.¹⁵

Khalkha	Written Mongolic	Meaning
<i>and</i>	<i>anda</i>	sworn brother
<i>and ax</i>	<i>anda aq-a</i>	elder sworn brother
<i>and düü</i>	<i>anda degü</i>	younger sworn brother
<i>and nöxör</i>	<i>anda nökör</i>	sworn brother(s), friend(s)
<i>and bari-</i>	<i>anda bari-</i>	to become sworn brothers
<i>and bololco-</i>	<i>anda bolulča-</i>	to become sworn brothers
<i>andgai, andgar</i>	<i>andayai, andayar</i>	oath
<i>andgaila-</i>	<i>andayayila-</i>	to swear an oath
<i>andlai</i>	<i>andalai</i>	related by exchanged marriage
<i>andalda-</i>	<i>anduldu -</i>	to exchange [goods]

In the Mongol historical sources, it frequently appears in the phrase *anda bolulča-*, “to become *anda(s)*”, and in the folkloric use of the same phenomenon, the lexeme *anda* is often changed by the hendiadys-expression *ax düü*, “elder and younger blood brother”, the word pair together meaning “brother(s)”, and the phrase with this latter lexeme is *ax düü bol-* “become brothers”.

In the comprehensive *Encyclopaedia of the Mongolian Culture*, published in Inner Mongolia,¹⁶ there are some articles devoted to the problem of the *anda*-relationship. Although they do not contain many examples, they offer a rich ter-

gol'skie jazykovye svjazy VIII-XIV. vv. Saint Petersburg 1997, 98; B. Ja. Vladimircov, *Sravnitel'naja grammatika mongol'skogo pis'mennogo jazyka i halhaskogo narečija. Vvedenie i fonetika.* Moscow 1929/1989, 318. For further references cf. also <http://starling.rinet.ru>.

¹² G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen.* Vol. I. Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen. Wiesbaden 1963, 152.

¹³ Here I would like express the gratitude to Professor Vászary István for his comments on the Turkic data.

¹⁴ The infixes *-lča-/lče-* and *-ldu-/ldü* mean to act mutually.

¹⁵ Sources for the table are: Ya. Cewel, *Mongol xelnii towč tailbar toli.* [Brief Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the Mongolian Language]. Ulaanbaatar 1966; C. R. Bawden, *Mongolian-English Dictionary.* London 1997; J. E. Kowalewski, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français.* Vol. I. Kazan 1844-1849. (reprinted Taipei 1993).

¹⁶ Bűrintegüs ed., *Mongyol jäng üyile-yin nebterkei toli. Oyun-u boti.* [Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Mongol Customs. Spiritual Culture]. Kökeqota, Öbör Mongyol-un Šinjilekü uqayan tekniq mergejil-ün keblel-ün qoriy-a 1999, 77-80.

minology of the institution: *amaraldu*- “to love each other”,¹⁷ *andayarla*- “to become *andas*”, *aq-a degü tangariy barildu* - “to swear an oath of brothers”, *amin tangariy barildu*- “to swear a life oath”, *andayayilaju tangariyla*- “to swear an oath by becoming *andas*”, *ḡrum-un aq-a degü balrildu*- “to become brothers according to the rule/custom”, *anda aq-a degü bol*- “to become *anda*-brothers”, *ngri-dü mörgöjü aq-a degü bol*-, “to become brothers by praying to the sky”.¹⁸ The problem of the nature of particular terms, whether they are real terms or only explanations of the phenomenon, must be clarified during further fieldwork and by involving new sources in the research.

The phenomenon of “sworn brotherhood” in The Secret History of the Mongols

In the following the ritual action and the ritual objects of entering into a sworn brother-relationship will be examined as they occur in *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Some chronicles of the later (17–19th century) historiographic tradition refers almost word for word to the text of *The Secret History* concerning the cases of Ong khan and Temüjin or Temüjin and Jamukha, and the term *anda* occurs only very sporadically among the events in the history after the collapse of the Great Mongolian Empire.¹⁹

Some examples of folklore texts of the *tuuli* genre, i.e. “heroic epics”, will be demonstrated below. In order to show the structure of the sworn brother-rituals in the epics, the case of Temüjin and Jamukha as narrated in *The Secret History of the Mongols*²⁰ will be referred to, to compare the epic tradition with the historical evidence. The description of the same ritual is found in the later Mongol historiographical tradition.

The ritual that seals the alliance of Temüjin and Jamukha is the most famous and frequently quoted story of sworn brotherhood in the historical sources; some elements of it might be the prefigurations of folkloric phenomena. While still children, both chieftains decided to enter into friendship, into brotherhood, and they sealed their amity – the first stage of their future alliance – by exchanging gifts according to their age; astragals and later arrow heads. They strengthened their primary oath two more times.²¹

Fragment 1

“Temüjin and Jamuqa got together and set up camp in the Qorqonaq Valley. Remembering how earlier on they became sworn friends, they said, “Let us renew our mutual *pledge* of friendship, let us now love each other *again!*”

¹⁷ This expression occurs in the *Secret History* as well.

¹⁸ Bürintegüs, *Mongyol ḡang üyile-yin nebterkei tol.*, 77.

¹⁹ Such a case is the *andaship* between Sigüsitei bayatur and the Oyirad Guyilinči bayatur: *Tere qoyar urida anda aysan aḡıyu*. “They were *andas* before.” H.-P. Vietze, and G. Lub-sang, *Altan Tobči. Eine mongolische Chronik des XVII. Jahrhunderts von Blo bzan bstan ’jin*. Tokyo 1992.

²⁰ *The Secret History of the Mongols* §§ 116–117.

²¹ *The Secret History of the Mongols*, 44–45 (The terms in italics are marked by Rachewiltz).

Earlier, when they had first become sworn friends, Temüjin was eleven years old. Jamuqa had given Temüjin a roebuck knucklebone, Temüjin *in return had given him* a copper knucklebone, and *so* they had become sworn friends. Having declared themselves sworn friends, they had played knucklebones together on the ice of the Onan River. There they had declared each other friends by oath *for the first time.*"

Fragment 2

"After that, in the spring, as they *practised* shooting with their firewood bows, Jamuqa *split* and stuck together the two horns of a two-year-old calf, bored holes in them, and gave this whistling arrowhead of his to Temüjin. In exchange Temüjin gave him a knob-headed arrow with a tip of juniper wood, and they became sworn friends *once more.*"

This is how they declared themselves friends by oath for the second time.

Fragment 3

They said to each other, listen to the pronouncement of the old men of former ages which says:

Sworn friends – *the two of them*

Share but a single life;

They do not abandon one another:

They are each a life's safeguard *for the other.*

We learn that such is the rule by which sworn friends love each other. Now, renewing once more our oath of friendship, we shall love each other.

Temüjin girdled his sworn friend Jamuqa with the golden belt taken as loot from Toqto'a of the Merkit. He also gave his sworn friend Jamuqa for a mount Toqto'a's yellowish-white mare with a black tail and mane, a mare that had not foaled for several years. Jamuqa girdled his sworn friend Temüjin with the golden belt taken as loot from Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit, and he gave Temüjin for a mount the kid-white horse with a horn also of Dayir Usun. At the Leafy Tree on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in the Qorqonaq Valley they declared themselves sworn friends and loved each other; they enjoyed themselves revelling and feasting, and at night they slept together, the two of them alone under their blanket.

The ritual of the sealing of sworn brotherhood and the gift exchange has been analysed by Roux and Sárközi, among others.²² Below some of the major phenomena that are relevant to the folk tradition will be pointed out.

²² J.-P. Roux, "A propos des osselets de Gengis Khan," *Tractata Altaica. Denis Sinor Sexagenario optime de rebus altaicis merito dedicata.* ed. W. Heissig et al., Wiesbaden 1976, 558-568; A. Sárközi, "Love and Friendship in the Secret History of the Mongols," in

An astragal (in *The Secret History*, *ši'a*, in written Mongolian *siyai*) is not only a children's and also adults' toy but also a principal sacral object used for various sacral purposes, for instance, for divination, and it is a sacrificial item as well. In the above three passages of *The Secret History* a certain hierarchy of ritual presents can be observed; astragals, arrow heads and finally the belts and mounts of the defeated enemies. As the sworn brothers grew up, so grew the value of the exchanged objects, all of which serve military purposes. The astragal is a popular toy, but the game Temüjin and Jamuqa played on the ice of the Onan River is a good practice for archers.²³ The arrowheads (Mong. *yor*, *qodoli*) and the later exchanged military booty – the belt (Mong. *büse*) and mount – are also clear evidence of nomadic warfare and the military nature of their alliance. Another case is the renewal of the previous *anda*-relationship between Temüjin's father, Yisügei, and Togrul, the chief of the Kereyid tribe after his father's death. Temüjin, wishing to seal this relationship, offered to Togrul the gift of his fiancée's father, a sable fur coat (see also above). Rachewiltz explained this gesture in the frame of the father-son relationship. In the case of Temüjin and Jamukha the two allies have equal positions, in the case of Temüjin and Togrul the wedding present is due to the father of the bridegroom, that is why it is given to Togrul, who substitutes as Temüjin's father. Concerning the alliance, the younger (Temüjin) and that time less prominent ally depends on the mightier tribal chief (Togrul). The *anda*-relation is clearly reflected in the objects that are offered to seal the *andaship*. In the case of Temüjin and Jamukha, the exchange of ritual presents is two-sided, while in the case of Temüjin and Togrul it is one-sided. The main element is the mutual and equal exchange of gifts and shared activity of a ritual nature that predicts the future joint actions (first of all practice for warfare). Concerning the morphology of ritual actions and presents they could be demonstrated as follows:

example	actions:	objects:	sayings:
1. Temüjin – Jamukha	exchange of presents; play with knucklebones on the ice of the Onan River	roe buck knucklebone, copper knucklebone	no special saying or oath
2. Temüjin – Jamukha	practised in shooting with their firewood bows	knob-headed arrow with a tip of juniper wood; a whistling arrowhead made of two horns of a two-year-old calf;	no special saying or oath

Aspects of Altaic Civilisation II. Proceedings of the XVIIIth PIAC, Bloomington, June 29 – July 5, 1975. ed. L. C. Clark and P. A. Draghi, Bloomington 1978, 145-154.

²³ M. Tatár, "Le mósón šagaj charvach, jeu d'osselets mongol," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 25 (1972), 221-226; Á. Birtalan, "A csigacsont szakrális szerepe és a csigacsontjátékok [The sacral role and games with astragal]" in *Mongol játékok és versenyek. Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár* 27. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó 2006, 24-73.

<p>3. Temüjin - Jamukha place: At the Leafy Tree on the southern side of the Quldaqar Cliff in the Qorqonaq Valley</p>	<p>revelling and feasting; spending a night together alone under their blanket</p>	<p>golden belt taken as loot from Toqto'a of the Merkit, Toqto'a's yellowish white mare with a black tail and mane, a mare that had not foaled for several years; with the golden belt taken as loot from Dayir Usun of the U'as Merkit; mount the kid-white horse with a horn, of Dayir Usun</p>	<p>no special saying or oath</p>
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The phenomenon of sworn brotherhood in Mongol epic tradition

In the epic tradition, the term *anda* occurs rarely, and predominantly in hendiadys-expression with *ax düü* "brothers", (lit. younger and elder brothers, cf. above): *and ax düü*. I have analysed the role of the phenomenon on the basis of *Üülen/Üülñ tiw* ("Cloud-continent"), a Western-Mongolian epic recorded in 1991 from a Dsakhthchin (Khalkha Jaxčín, Oirad Zaxčín, Jaxčín) story-teller.²⁴ An article I have published elsewhere contains the transcription and the translation of the Dsakhthchin text and an analysis of the historical relevance of the motifs, among others, of the sworn brotherhood.²⁵

The motif of sworn brothers occurs in the motif-index of Mongolian Epics prepared by Walther Heissig, who surveyed several hundred epics of various Mongolian ethnic groups. Heissig proved that the thorough description of this motif is more characteristic of the West-Mongolian Oirad epics or, as he called it, the North-Western epic tradition. The motif is called in his system No. 7.5.6. "Bruderbund (anda)".²⁶ This motif is placed in motif-group 7., *Helfer und Freunde*, and within that, in 7.5., *Wettkampf*. Competition indeed precedes entering into brotherhood. In numerous instances of the epic tradition, the circumstance of entering into sworn brotherhood is a combat between the future allies. The protagonist of the epics, the main hero, obtains allies after defeating them in the three traditional contests of men - the *naadam*-competition also well known to-

²⁴ The Dsakhthchins live in five districts of the West-Mongolian Khowd province. They are descendants of frontier guards settled there in the eighteenth century at the command of the Manchu emperors. Their ethnonym means "frontier guard", Mong. *jaq-a* "neck, frontier". The sound recording of the epic belongs to the archive of the Hungarian-Mongolian Joint Expedition Researching Mongolian Dialects and Folk Culture (the research has been supported by the Hungarian Research Fund OTKA, currently by K 62501).

²⁵ Á. Birtalan, "A Western-Mongolian heroic epic: *Ülñg Tiw*. A story about the sworn brotherhood," *Central Asian Journal* 48 (2004) 1, 8-37.

²⁶ W. Heissig, *Erzählstoffe rezenter mongolischer Heldendichtung*. II. Asiatische Forschungen 100. Wiesbaden 1988, 850.

day: wrestling, archery and horse races.²⁷ In some epics all three competitions appear, while in most cases there is only archery and first of all wrestling. In the epic tradition, to become the sworn brother of the protagonist is an honour which must be deserved by prowess in fighting. The rarer occurrence of the horse race is explained by the fact that horse racers are usually not the heroes themselves but, similarly to the contemporary practice, they are small children (e.g., the hero's groom). The wrestling and the archery competitions are described with hyperbolic expression, as in the epic *Üülen Tiw* "Cloud continent":

<p><i>Dal darās-n' i awan dalan guruw ergüen guyudārās-n' i awan gučün guruw ergüün dēši xarūljkeptüen abdar cayān cējšdār'n' i sökirči süčikād, [...] cājīn cayān üldān guruw nilāi okijē.</i></p>	<p>[Üülñ Tiw] grasped [Xatñ Xawx] by his shoulder blade, whirled him seventy three times, grasped him by his thigh and whirled him thirty three times. He laid him over and kneeled on his trunk-white breast. [Üülñ Tiw] whetted his white sword of the law²⁸ three times.</p>
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In the epics the role of a third party who tries to appease the fighting heroes, namely their horse(s), also occurs. The horse is the wise advisor for the protagonist, the horse prompts the hero to act properly, saves the hero's life.²⁹ The following fragment demonstrates the role of the horse in the epic *Üülen Tiw*:

<p><i>Xoyor mor' n' xur möndör xoyirör uiljexeljē: - Ta xoyor yū bolow? - gexed - - Ta xoyor ax dū xoyor bolōd amar saixan jargacgā! - gewē. ... Xalūn törlin ax dū bolj aix ayūlgüi adal malār bayin albat xošūgār örgön Altai nutagtā amar saixan jargajē.</i></p>	<p>The two horses started to sob shedding rain and hail: - What are you doing you two? - they said. - You two become brothers and live in peace and joy! - they said. ... They became brothers of warm kinship, they lived in peace and joyfully on their ter- ritory in Altai, richly with livestock, wealthily with vassals. and without fear.</p>
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²⁷ A current review of the history and the various competitions of the *naadam* games, based on historical sources and contemporary fieldwork materials: *Mongol játékok és versenyek* [Mongol Games and Competitions], ed. Á. Birtalan. Kőrösi Csoma Kiskönyvtár 27. Budapest 2006.

²⁸ A sword for execution.

²⁹ On the role of the horse, see motif-index 4. 9. *Pferd* and 7.1.10. *Tierische Helfer*. Heissig, *Erzählstoffe*, 848, 850.

In a version of *Xaan Cenggel* ("Khan Merriment") the horses set an example of how two allies, two sworn brothers, should act instead of fighting. The horses of the heroes share their food and drink, as the sworn brothers should do it ritually and also as they will practise it during their life.³⁰

<p><i>Ködöögün öbösun idešitei</i> <i>Kiitün bulaq-eče umdutai</i> <i>Aduussu mal bide</i> <i>Axa düü barilduqsan baitala</i></p> <p><i>Axa bolǰ nige-bēn örged</i> <i>Düü bolǰolǰ nige-bēn dayuul! -</i> <i>gebei.</i></p>	<p>The grass of the steppe is our food, From cold fountain we have drink, We the two animals, We became brothers, so [you two act similarly]</p> <p>The one who becomes elder brother should lift the other, The one who becomes younger brother should follow the other – said [the horses].</p>
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The combat between the future allies could be avoided or stopped not only by the horses, but also by the main hero, who can also decide not to continue. In the text of the epic *Xaan Xaranggui* ("Khan Darkness") the protagonist only indicates what could happen in a fight, what he will not do. There are some allusions in the following fragment to an oath-phrase as well: the future allies unite their souls.³¹

<p><i>Qan qarangγui</i> <i>gedeg-čini bii bayin-a.</i> <i>Qar-a maq-a-čini idejī</i> <i>qara čisu-bar-čini umda kikü biši.</i> <i>Amināsān aq-a degüü bolǰ</i> <i>ami sünesüben nigedkeǰi</i> <i>aq-a degüü ǰurbayul[ā]ra boluy-a</i> <i>ginem bi.</i></p>	<p>I am [the man] called Khan Kharanggui. I do not intend to eat your black flesh, I do not intend to make a drink from your black blood. Let me suggest becoming all three of us brothers, brothers for life. Let us three³² unite our souls!³³</p>
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Concerning the ritual and the ritual texts, there are several ways of sealing an entry into sworn brotherhood. The most important action that accompanies the swearing is related to blood. In several texts are instances of allies cutting their thumb to suck each other's blood, or the main hero tastes his enemy's (future

³⁰ Heissig, *Erzählstoffe*, 561–562. Here I followed Heissig's transcription.

³¹ On the concept of souls, see Á. Birtalan, "Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volksreligion," *Wörterbuch der Mythologie. I. Abteilung Die alten Kulturvölker* 34. Lieferung. ed. E. Schmalzriedt and H. W. Haussig, Stuttgart 2001, 879–1097, passim.

³² The protagonist of *Xaan Xaranggui*, his younger brother Ulaadai, and the pacified enemy who is supposed to be the third sworn brother.

³³ P. Lágler, *Qan Qarangγui. Transcription des Textes des Rintschen-Ms. Debter* 9. Budapest 1993, lines 1091–1097.

ally's) blood. Another mode for sworn brothers to seal their relationship is passing under the string of their bows.³⁴

<p><i>Bum Erdene kelwai</i> <i>Buiman bor činiikain durand</i> <i>Xajir xariig bi alšgüi</i> <i>Er kümen xelsen ügandain boldag</i> <i>geed</i> <i>Xajir xaran bulgilsan cusnaas</i> <i>Guraw dolaagaad,</i> <i>Tatan bosgaad awaxdaan</i> <i>Xaluun juuraa tüšigtei</i> <i>Ariin ataa daind nöxörtei</i> <i>Xarin baxtai</i> <i>Sain axtai bolaw bišüü geed.</i> <i>Orai deeren Očirwaani sololcood,</i> <i>Olan törliin ax düü xuyar bolaad,</i> <i>Zulain deerain Zonxawaa</i> <i>Burxanaan tawilcaad,</i> <i>Magnai deerain Maxagala</i> <i>tawilcaad,</i> <i>Magad olan törliin ax düü bolaad,</i> <i>Amrag ügain čiken deerain</i> <i>xüüneldeed,</i> <i>Amtat ĵimisee amaraan awalcaj idaid,</i> <i>Küder xar numnaan köwč dooguur</i> <i>šürgalaad,</i> <i>Cust dain tost xurimaas</i> <i>Tun bitgai tulalc geed.</i> <i>Aminaa ax düü xuyar bololcsan.</i></p>	<p>Bum Erdene said as follows: – For the sake of the [horse] Buiman grey I do not kill Black Khajir. The man follows his own saying! – and he licked three times the spilt blood of Black Khajir, helped him to his feet and said: – Now I have a support in dangerous times and I have an ally behind in hostile war. But I also have a cheerful good elder brother, haven't I? They exchanged the Vajrapani image on top of their heads and became brothers of multiple relations. They put the Cong-kha-pa Buddha image on their fontanels They put the Mahakhala image on their foreheads and became brothers of countless relations. Affectionate words they said into one an- other's ears They ate tasty fruits from one another's mouth They got through under the string of the black-brown bow. – Let us not miss the bloody war and greasy feast! [they said] and became brothers for life.</p>
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The above example emphasises that the aim of the ritual and the sayings is to form an alliance that is close to a real blood relationship. The allies share their food, their sayings, their beliefs and their instrument of warfare, the bow. The text above refers to shamanic and particularly buddhicised shamanic rites. The swearing parts summon various gods that according to tradition appear on body-parts. This phenomenon is borrowed from shamanic invocation, where the in-

³⁴ In the variants of *Bum Erdene*, the famous Oirad epics also recorded by Vladimircov at the beginning of the twentieth century, the protagonist entered into sworn brotherhood with his former enemy Black Khajir after defeating him. The transcription used by Katuu, the editor of the book, is used above. Balčigiin Katuu, *Aldart tuul'č M. Parčin-ii tuul's*. [Epics of the famous Story-teller, Parčin. Collection of Mongol Folklore]. Mongol aman joxioliin čuulgaan XXX. Ulaanbaatar 2006, 120-121.

voked spirits occupy the shaman's body.³⁵ The swearing ritual of sworn brothers is a very strong bond controlled by obedience to gods. A further example of this phenomenon is the following:³⁶

<p><i>Kirges Sayin Buyidar geči belē bi</i> ... <i>Amin-nāsā aq-a degüü yurbayula</i> <i>boluy-a</i> <i>geji bayibul-a buyu gen-e.</i> <i>Qan Qarangyui-ni:</i> <i>Tenggül-e bui je-e geji</i> <i>oroi degerini</i> <i>Wačirbani</i> <i>magnai dgereni</i> <i>Mahaya[l]a-yin burqan-ıyan talbiju</i> <i>adaya tangyaray-ıyan abulčan</i> <i>amin-nāsā aq-a degüü yurbayulan</i> <i>bolun.</i> ...</p>	<p>I am the Good Buyidar of Kigis [clan]. Let us three become brothers for our life! - While he said that, the others said: - Yes! Khan Kharanggui [replied]: - It will be surely so! They three became brothers for their life Swore an oath to each other, [Khan Kharanggui] put a Vajrapani [im- age] on the top of his head and a Mahakala Buddha [on his forehead].</p>
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In the epics, the motif of the exchange of gifts or just simple objects usually appears in a later phase of the heroes' life, when they have to part with each other. They exchange rings and, according to the well-known motif, the sworn brothers keep these rings and when the colour of the ring changes, the destiny of its owner turns bad.³⁷ In point of fact the motif of exchanging gifts is emphasised more in the historical sources (cf. above the examples of *The Secret History of the Mongols*) and is of secondary importance in the epic tradition.

Contemporary revival of the institution

During our fieldwork in Mongolia we have collected some data on the contemporary revival of the *anda*-relationship. Ordinary people, seemingly townsmen, follow Temüjin and Jamukha and seal their friendship in a similar way: exchanging presents and more importantly, testing each other's loyalty and perseverance by spending a night in the steppe, similar to a survival camp. Obviously this test makes no sense in the case of countrymen. The most interesting data is the sworn "brotherhood" of females and particularly that of female shamans. The Darkhad shamaness Dsoldsayaa (Khalkha Joljayaa) of the black creed (i. e. whose rituals are traditionally devoid of the Buddhist influence) took an oath with Shamaness

³⁵ I discuss this phenomenon in detail in a monograph devoted to the Darkhad shamanic text; Á. Birtalan, *Darkhad Shamanic Texts. Performer, Communication, Genre* (a manuscript prepared for publishing).

³⁶ Lágler, *Qan Qarangyui*, 1917, 1925-1934.

³⁷ In detail, see Heissig, *Erzählstoffe*, 557, 560.

Tsogtbayar (Khalkha Cogtbayar) of the yellow creed (i. e. whose rituals are bud-dhicised) as follows:³⁸

“How did you get to know each other?”

- In the First circle [of Ulaanbaatar in] her yurt, there is Tsogtbayar, a yellow shamaness sister. I am a black shamaness. My husband went to a *dātgal* ritual³⁹ of shamaness Tsogtbayar. I am a sworn-sister with sister Tsogtbayar. I got to know my husband at [the place of] sister Tsogtbayar.

- *How do shamanesses take an oath to become sisters?*

- [The shamanesses] cut their thumbs, unite [their] blood and become sisters.⁴⁰

- *Do you say a special word during this?*

- We say an oath with the meaning “Death, pain, whatever should happen, we do not separate, we will help and support each other in the future”.

- *Is there any special verse?*

- No, there is not such a verse.⁴¹

To designate sworn brotherhood, or rather sistership, the shamaness did not use the word *anda*, but the terminology of a female kinship structure; *egč, düü* “elder and younger sisters”. Both shamanesses took an oath (with no special verse) and by cutting their fingers united their blood.⁴² In this ritual the motifs of the epic tradition are decisive, unlike in the contemporary sealing of alliance by males. The shamanesses seal their pseudo-kinship relation with the mingling of blood. According to our knowledge and the materials at our disposal, entering into a sworn sistership is a new phenomenon, based on the known tradition.

Conclusion

On the basis of the few examples mentioned above concerning ritual actions, oaths, and objects, it could be concluded that the historical basis of the institution of sworn brotherhood as a means of entering into alliance has been preserved in the folkloric epic tradition of the Mongols. Folk memory, however, changed the circumstances of the ritual of entering into sworn brotherhood as compared to the historical examples. In the epic tradition it is more emphasised that the sworn

³⁸ Recorded in January 2000 in Ulaanbaatar by J. Coló (materials of the Hungarian-Mongolian Expedition). The whole text is included my monograph about Darkhad shamanism (Birtalan, *Darkhad Shamanic Texts*).

³⁹ *Dātgal*, “devoted prayer”. On the genre typology of Mongol shamanic texts, cf. Á. Birtalan, “Mongolian Shamanic Texts. Text collections and monographs on Mongolian Shamanic Texts.” *Shamanism. An Encyclopedia of World Beliefs, Practices, and Culture*, ed. M. Namba Walter and E. J. Neumann Fridman, Santa Barbara, California 2004, 586-593.

⁴⁰ This ritual seems to be a fairly new one, invented probably recently, but we do not have sufficient data on its traditional existence.

⁴¹ The full Mongol text will be published in the above mentioned monograph: Birtalan, *Darkhad Shamanic Texts*.

⁴² The shamaness did not want to explain any more details of her sworn sistership, so we have no further data at our disposal currently.

brothers seal their alliance with a ritual connected to contesting each other and using blood to seal the league, and sworn brotherhood is comprehended as a pseudo-blood relationship. The contemporary revival of the institution and the apparently new phenomena in it need further research, but its connections to the historical and epic traditions are beyond doubt.