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Tibet and the Oirats

The Oirat Legacy and the Origins of Tibetology

Edited by Alexander Zorin & Charles Ramble



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FOREWORD

This special issue of RET comprises papers authored by participants of the research project “Exploring the origins of Tibetology: a Russian-French collaborative study of the first Tibetan manuscripts in Europe”,¹ as well as a number of colleagues who joined us at the conference “Tibet and the Oirats: Oirat Cultural Legacy and the Earliest History of Tibetan and Mongolian Studies” held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (November 13–15, 2022).²

The Oirats, also known as Western Mongols and some – those who live in Russia – as Kalmyks, exercised significant influence from the 17th century to the first half of the 18th century. Various Oirat groups spread across a vast territory, extending from modern Xinjiang in the East to the Volga region and the Caspian Sea in the West. They established three Khanates: the Dzungar in Central Asia, the Khoshut on the Tibetan Plateau, and the Kalmyk in the southern borders of Russia. Their conversion to Buddhism made territories controlled by the Dzungars and Kalmyks a hub for Buddhist monasteries, housing libraries with Tibetan and Mongolian books, along with other religious and cultural artifacts. However, during the 18th century, the Oirats gradually lost their power. The Dzungar and Khoshut Khanates were defeated by Qing China, while the Kalmyk Khanate lost its autonomy to the Russian Empire. This eventually led to a large-scale exodus of the Kalmyks from Russia to Dzungaria under a Qing protectorate. Despite their relatively short period of political prominence, the Oirats left an enduring legacy in the history of the region, including Tibet, and in the earliest history of Tibetan studies.

Three centuries ago, in 1722, the Leipzig academic journal *Acta Eruditorum* published, for the first time in Europe, a folio of a Tibetan Buddhist text. This folio had been brought from one of the two abandoned Oirat monasteries discovered by Russians along the Irtysh River (located in present-day Kazakhstan) during the years 1717–1721. Shortly thereafter, on the personal orders of Peter the Great, the original folio was sent to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, where it was translated by two eminent Orientalists, the brothers

¹ The project was supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research and the French National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), project number 21-512-15001.

² We are grateful to our colleagues Ian MacCormack, Eviatar Shulman, and Michal Biran for their help in organizing this event.

Étienne and Michel Fourmont. Although their work resulted in a bizarre Latin text, this event may be considered a significant milestone in the history of Tibetan studies. A substantial number of other folios from the two monasteries, Darqan čorji-yin keyed (widely known as Sem Palat) and Ablai-kit, were also brought to Saint Petersburg and further to the West. These folios formed the foundation for the collection of Tibetan and Mongolian books in Europe.

The first part of this issue of RET consists of five papers on the Sem Palat and Ablai-kit studies. The first paper, authored by **Alla Sizova, Emanuela Garatti, and Nathalie Monnet**, introduces archival documents from the Bibliothèque nationale de France that make it possible to reconstruct in more details the earliest contacts between Saint Petersburg and Paris concerning the Tibetan manuscript brought from Siberia and its translation by the brothers Fourmont. The following three papers focus on presenting some of the folios from the two monasteries that are held in various institutions.

Alexander Zorin and Charles Ramble discuss ten folios from Ablai-kit that contain texts typically localized in the Tengyur. A closer analysis, however, reveals that this was not the case with these folios, dismantling the initial hypothesis that this part of the Tibetan Buddhist canon might have been kept along with the Kangyur in the Oirat monastery. Nevertheless, the analysis does add further support to the argument that Ablai-kit possessed a unique version of the Kangyur that has no parallels with any other known versions. The appendix to the article contain the full list of 250 folios of the Ablai-kit Kangyur so far identified in twelve Russian and Western European collections.

Zorin, Anna Turanskaya, and Agnieszka Helman-Ważny offer a comprehensive analysis of a bundle containing one Tibetan and six Mongolian folios, preserved at the Hunterian Library of the University of Glasgow. These folios were originally part of the private library of Th. S. Bayer, the first Orientalist at the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Additionally, one of the appendices to the article includes the second part of the catalogue of Tibetan folios on blue paper, believed to have originated from the Sem Palat library.

Furthermore, **Zorin, Turanskaya, and Vadim Borodaev** present one Tibetan and two Mongolian folios that have been held at the Linköping City Library, most probably since the 1720s. One of these folios is closely associated with the famous Swedish writer August Strindberg, who somewhat misleadingly referred to it as 'Codex Renatus Linkopensis'. An intriguing Russian inscription found on this folio, dated July 1720, is given close attention, revealing that the folio could not have been brought to Sweden by Johan Renat, a captive Carolean

who spent many years at the court of the Dzungar rulers. The authors suggest Johan von Strahlenberg as a more plausible source of the folios.

This part concludes with a review of Dmitry Ivanov's significant study of the 18th century Buddhist collections of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, now preserved at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, RAS. The review, authored by **Zorin**, provides some insights into non-textual artefacts originating from Sem Palat and Ablai-kit. In the appendix, the icon of Acala (kept in the Glasgow University Library) that is supposed to have been brought from Sem Palat is published.

The second part of the issue consists of four papers on historical connections between the Oirats and Tibet. They are arranged according to the chronological order of events analyzed by the authors. **Vladimir Uspensky** introduces translations of official documents written in Mongolian relating to the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing in 1652–1653. They include letters by the Emperor Shunzhi, the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Khoshut chieftain Gushi Khan and other high-ranking dignitaries. These written sources substantially complement the available knowledge about this visit and also provide a new viewpoint concerning the intentions of the parties and a new interpretation of the titles given by the Emperor to the Fifth Dalai Lama and Gushi Khan.

Irina Garri, Yumzhana Zhabon, and Hortsang Jigme provide their analysis of "The History of Kokonor", a work composed by the renowned Oirat Tibetan author Sumpa Khenpo Eshe Peljor. This relatively concise text sheds light on the Tibetan-Mongolian antagonism that arose after the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Sumpa Khenpo disregards his role in Tibet's history and, on the contrary, praises the virtues of Gushi Khan. While highlighting the extreme cruelty of the Manchus towards the Kokonor Mongols, he also extols the long-term peace in the region brought about by Qing policy.

Baatr Kitinov's paper focuses on the role played by Tibetan and Kalmyk Buddhist masters in preparing for the exodus of the main body of Kalmyks from Russia to Dzungaria in 1771. The study delves into various factors, including the 'calling letters' from Tibetan hierarchs urging the Kalmyks to return to their native lands, the significance of Dzungaria as the homeland of all Oirats, measures taken by Qing emperors and officials, and the missionary activities of the Russian Orthodox Church supported by the Tsarist administration. These factors are discussed on the basis of a wide range of historical documents.

Bembya Mitruiev introduces an unsigned letter written in the Oirat script, which is kept at Labrang monastery in Gansu province, China. The letter was addressed to the 2nd reincarnation of Jamyang Shepa and, as argued by the author, was composed by Ubashi Khan, the

leader of the Kalmyks who departed from Russia for Dzungaria in 1771. This document, along with a passage about the embassy of the Kalmyk Torguts found in the biography of the Panchen Lama, supports the assumption that the concern for the preservation of their traditional faith among the Kalmyks was one of the primary reasons for their exodus. A banquet that the Qianlong Emperor hosted for Ubashi Khan is the subject of a painting, by the Czech Jesuit Ignaz Sichelbarth (1708–1780), that is held in the Palace Museum in Beijing. Regrettably, permission to reproduce the image was declined on the grounds that the Palace Museum does not authorize the use of its holdings in publications related to Tibetan religion, and on p. 318 we have instead used a copy of the painting to illustrate the composition.

The third part of the issue is dedicated to the Kyivan collections of Kalmyk Buddhist books and icons, largely unknown to the international scholarly community and currently endangered due to the ongoing military conflict between Russia and Ukraine. **Olena Ogneva**, a leading expert in the history of Ukrainian collections of Tibetan and Mongolian Buddhism, presents a survey of the objects preserved in Kyiv. In the first part of her paper, she focuses on the figures of several highly educated Christian priests from the Kyiv-Mohyla Theological Academy who served the Orthodox Church among the Kalmyks during the 18th century. The second part of the paper offers extensive details about the Kalmyk icons and texts housed in the two major Kyivan collections: the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Arts and the Institute of Manuscripts of the V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine. The author introduces several valuable items, including a series of *thangkas* created by the Kalmyk artist Belene Shobol (19th century), and an Oirat manuscript of the Tibetan translation of the *Vajracchedikā* obtained by Count Jan Potocki, likely from the Polish descendants of the Kalmyk Khan Amursana at the end of the 18th century.

We would like to take this opportunity to extend our heartfelt congratulations to Olena Ogneva as she celebrates her 80th jubilee. She was born in Gulripshi, Abkhazia, on July 24, 1944. In 1966, she graduated from the Faculty of Oriental Studies of Leningrad State University, where she studied Tibetan philology with Bronislav Kuznetsov and simultaneously studied Tibetan iconography with Boris Pankratov at the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences (now the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences). From the late 1960s to the early 1970s, she took part in the cataloguing of the Tibetan collection kept at this Institute. In 1980, she defended her Ph. D. dissertation on the topic “A Tibetan medieval treatise on the theory of fine arts” at the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow, supervised by Prof.

G. Bongard-Levin. In the first half of the 1980s, she worked with the manuscript collection of the Tajikistan Academy of Sciences in Dushanbe, and afterwards moved to Ukraine. There she has worked in various institutions such as the Lesia Ukrainka East European National University (Lutsk), and the A. Krymskyi Institute of Oriental Studies, Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Kyiv). She has published about 150 works in Ukrainian and Russian on various topics related to Buddhist arts, Tibetan culture, and Buddhist collections in Ukraine. In 2013, she was awarded the A. Krymskyi Prize of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine for a series of works entitled "Philosophical, religious and scientific traditions of the East in European culture". We wish her a long and healthy life and are delighted to present one of her works to the international academic community.

To conclude, we hope that this collection of papers will draw more attention of scholars to the historical and cultural legacy of the Oirats in their relation to Tibet and the history of Tibetan studies.

*Alexander Zorin
Charles Ramble*



Part I

Sem Palat and Ablai-Kit Studies

Documents from the National Library of France related to the first Tibetan manuscripts in Europe and early Russian-French academic relations¹

Alla Sizova


(Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München)

Emanuela Garatti

(Centrum für Religionswissenschaftliche Studien
Ruhr-Universität Bochum and Centre de la Recherche
sur les Civilisations de l'Asie Orientale)

Nathalie Monnet

(Bibliothèque nationale de France)

The beginning of Tibetan studies in Europe is associated with the first Tibetan manuscripts found in abandoned Oirat monasteries in Siberia. The manuscripts were delivered to St. Petersburg, where no one could read or translate them. One of the Tibetan folios was published in *Acta eruditorum* (Mencke 1722) and subsequently, on the orders of Peter the Great, transferred to Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662–1743), a member of the French Academy of Sciences and royal librarian, to identify the language and translate the text.² Bignon had to find scholars with the proper qualifications to carry out this assignment, and this task was eventually undertaken by Étienne and Michel Fourmont,³ who only had the concise Latin-Tibetan dictionary compiled by Domenico da Fano at their disposal. The result of their work turned out to be nonsensical, though the fact of this translation gave impetus to Tibetology.

¹ **Acknowledgements.** This research was funded by RFBR and CNRS, project number 21-512-15001.

² The decision of the Russian emperor is explained by the already established academic relations with France (see Fig. 1). During his second trip to Europe, which lasted from January 27 (February 7), 1716 to October 9 (20), 1717, Peter I visited France and Paris. He stayed in Paris for 43 days, from April 26 (May 7) to June 9 (20), 1717. On May 17 (28), the Tsar visited the Royal Library (now the National Library of France; Bibliothèque nationale de France), and the day before he departed from Paris, on June 8 (19), he attended the meeting of the Royal Academy of Sciences (Académie royale des sciences), where he met Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon, its president that year.

³ For Étienne Fourmont's contribution to Oriental studies, see Leung-Hang-King 1993.

Recently, a team of scholars from Russia and France⁴ has turned to this episode in the history of Tibetology within the project “Exploring the Origins of Tibetology: A Russian-French Collaborative Study of the First Tibetan Manuscripts in Europe”. The results of their work were published, along with this edition of *RET*, in two volumes of collected papers, *Tibetology in St. Petersburg* (Issue 2, 2021) and *The Oirats and Tibet: Historical Heritage and Modern Perspectives* (2022).

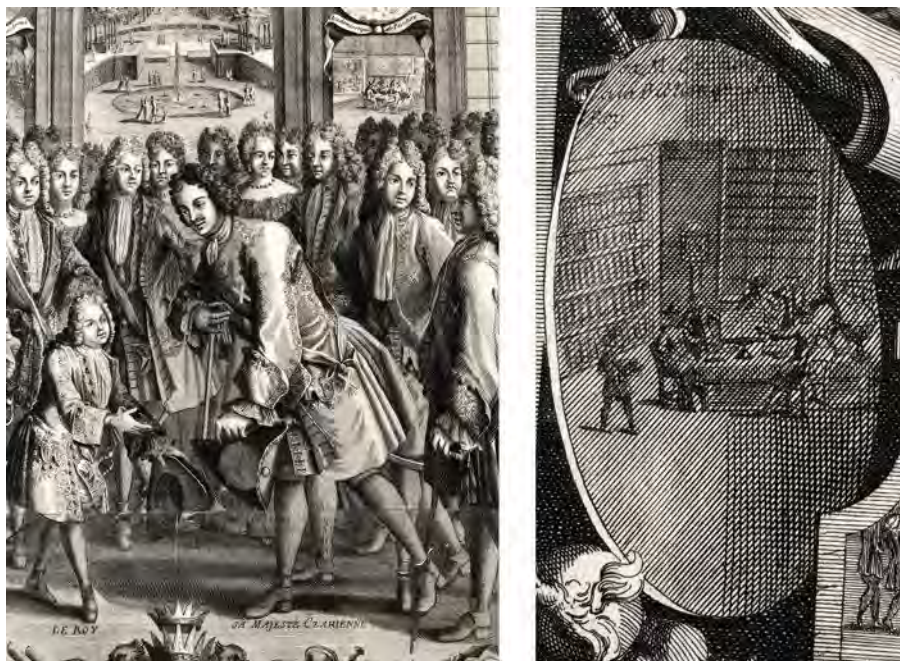


Fig. 1. Fragments of the Almanach for the year 1718 (Almanach pour l'année MDCC XVIII). On the left: The reception of the Tsar by the young king Louis XV. On the right: The visit of the Tsar to the Library

BnF, Dept. Estampes et photographies, Hennin, n° 7699.

Source: gallica.bnf.fr © BnF

The documents published in this article are associated with the two historical figures who played important roles in this story: Abbé Bignon and Johann Daniel Schumacher.

Bignon's memoir gives an exposition of the fate of the Tibetan folio in Paris, the circumstances of its translation and subsequent

⁴ Besides the authors of this paper, Dr. Alexander Zorin (Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Dr. Anna Turanskaya (Institute of China and Contemporary Asia, RAS), Viacheslav Zaytsev (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS), Prof. Charles Ramble and Prof. Marta Sernesi (École Pratique des Hautes Études) were involved in the project.

discussions. The text refers to Bignon in the third person, which suggests that he either wrote his memoirs in that style, or that the text is a summary of events based on his words, recorded by someone else. The memoir can be dated roughly to the beginning of January 1729: it was given to the addressee (presumably Bignon's secretary) on January 30, and it mentions that Michel Fourmont was at that time in Constantinople (his mission reached its destination on 4 December 1728).

Johann Daniel Schumacher (1690–1761), the Tsar's librarian, travelled in Europe in 1721–1722 performing various errands assigned to him. He was also the intermediary responsible for delivering the Tibetan folio into Bignon's possession. In addition to the letter accompanying the folio (dated June 18, 1722), two more were found among Bignon's papers. In one (dated March 2, 1723), Schumacher thanks Bignon for his kind reception in Paris, and in the last (dated February 8, 1725), he reports on the Emperor's death with expressions of condolence to all enlightened people, including, of course, the addressee.

Within the framework of the research project, we considered it necessary to draw attention to the importance of these documents for the history of Tibetology and present them again⁵ with commentaries and a partial facsimile.

*Mémoire sur des fragments de livres thibétains
envoyés à l'abbé Bignon par le czar Pierre le Grand
[Memoir on some fragments of the Tibetan books
sent to Abbé Bignon by the Tsar Peter the Great]*
BnF, Français 22225, f. 48–53.

Original text:

^{48 recto} Ce mémoire m'a été remis par M. l'abbé Bignon le 30 janvier 1729.

Pendant les guerres d'entre la Perse et la Moscovie, l'Armée de Sa Majesté Czarienne Pierre le Grand estant [campée]⁶ vers Astracan, au nord-est de La mer Caspienne, quelques soldats s'avancèrent dans les terres vers le païs des Kalmouks, et dans les débris d'un veux chasteau, trouvèrent une espèce de bibliothèque.

⁵ Bignon's memoir and one of the letters (the first letter dated June 18, 1722) were already published by Jean Porcher in a rare and hard-to-find edition containing a number of errors (Bavantola for Barantola, Chaparam for Csaparang, genre for génie etc.).

⁶ Ink spots.

Les livres leur parurent d'une figure bizarre. La plupart estoient imprimez sur des papiers, plus longs que larges d'une écriture blanche sur un fond noir, et de plus d'un caractère absolument inconnu.

Les habitants de ces lieux, ou ne voulurent ou ne purent leur donner la dessus aucun éclaircissement, ils en prirent donc et en dépécèrent plusieurs feuilles, que l'on porta à Moscou par rareté.

Sa Majesté Czarienne, le Prince le plus curieux qui fut jamais ^{48 verso} consulta d'abord sur cette écriture les savans de Moscou et de Pétersbourg, mais inutilement, aucun n'en avoit vëu de semblable.

Ensuite elle crut devoir en faire part aux différentes universitez du Nord mais quoy qu'elles soient remplies de personnes illustres pour la connoissance des langues, il ne s'y en trouva non plus aucune qui connaît ce caractère.

Enfin une de ces feuilles fut adressée par le Czar luy même à Mr l'abbé Bignon. Tout le monde sçait qu'estant venu en France et à Paris quelques années auparavant, un de ses premiers soins avoit été de visiter la Bibliothèque du Roy, de se faire instruire du nouvel établissement qui venoit d'y estre fait d'Interprètes dans les différentes langues tant anciennes que vulgaires, et surtout d'y converser avec Mr l'abbé Bignon <luy-même>⁷, dont il avoit veu la réputation si répandüe dans les diverses parties de l'Europe ou il avoit voyagé ^{49 recto} autrefois l'Instituteur(?) alors et presque toujours le président des deux académies des Belles-lettres et des sciences.

Il jugea donc que c'estoit là ou nulle part qu'il trouveroit des savans qui le satisferoient au moins sur le caractère et la langue de ces feuilles si on ne luy en donnoit pas la traduction. Mr l'abbé Bignon receut ses depesches le 1-er aoust 1722. Il les montra à Mgr le Duc d'Orléans Régent le 3 et le jour suivant la feuille fut apportée à l'Académie par M. de Boze, s'estant trouvé à Versailles par hazard. Cette feuille lui fut remise pour estre rendue à Mr Fourmont, avec une lettre.

Mr l'abbé Bignon l'exhortoit, s'il en connoissoit les caractères a les deschiffrer le plutost qu'il luy seroit possible. Le Czar ne s'estoit point trompé dans l'idée qu'il avoit eue et des Interprètes de la Bibliothèque Royale et des Mrs de l'Académie des Belles-Lettres.

A l'inspection de la feuille Mr Fréret et Mr Fourmont ^{49 verso} reconnurent l'écriture thibethienne telle qu'elle se trouve encore aujourd'hui à Lassa, à Barantola, à Csaparang et en un mot le grand et le petit Thibeth.

Bien plus, un missionnaire revenu du Thibeth, avoit autrefois donné à Mr Fréret un Dictionaire Italien-thibethien et sur ce Dictionaire que Mr Fréret avoit prêté à Mr Fourmont avec quelques notes

⁷ Insertion.

grammaticales du même Missionnaire, Mr Fourmont s'estoit mis au fait des Principes de la langue Thibethienne comme de toutes celles qui sont voisines de la langue chinoise mais pour se servir de ce même Dictionnaire dans l'interprétation de cette feuille on estait dans l'obligation d'en changer l'ordre et de mettre le thibethien le 1-er.

A ce travail Mr Fourmont associa son frère l'abbé Fourmont, aujourd'hui à Constantinople ensuite il procéda à la traduction de la feuille dont voici l'idée.

En général, cette feuille ne fait point un discours complet, elle avoit été détachée d'un livre dont elle avoit fait partie.

^{50 recto} Mais pour le sens qu'elle présente c'est un morceau d'oraison funèbre; elle est tout a fait dans le génie Tartare et à l'orientale, il y a des répétitions presque semblables à nos refrains ou plutost a celles des prédications musulmanes, il y est fort parlé de la vie future.

L'auteur est persuadé de l'immortalité de l'âme et il en donne a ses auditeurs des preuves assez métaphysiques, par exemple il prétend que la Réminiscence du passé et l'appréhension du futur forment un argument égal, l'une pour l'existence passée l'autre pour l'existence future.

Les comparaisons qu'il employe sont la plupart prises du cheval qui est l'animal que les Tartares estiment le plus, et dont ils font le plus d'usage, etc.

Mr Fourmont, pour en donner une version plus juste, fit 4 choses: d'abord il transcrivit cette feuille avec les caractères Thibethiens,

en 2 lieu, comme le latin par la différence de ses inflexions se plie et s'ajuste facilement à toutes les autres langues, sous le Thibethien double, c'est-à-dire en caractères ^{50 verso} du Thibet et en lettres latines, il mit une traduction latine interlinaire et mot à mot.

3èmement en marge et à costé par une version plus ample et plus libre il fit entendre ce que le tour et le génie tartare pouvait rendre un peu obscur.

4èmement. A cette même version Mr Fourmont ajouta des notes soit sur le tems dans lequel il croyoit que cette oraison funèbre avoit esté composée, soit sur la langue et les caractères Thibethiens, soit enfin sur certaines phrases communes au Thibethien et au Chinois.

Cette version et ces notes furent faites en François parce qu'elles dévoient estre lues a Sa Majesté.

A Versailles, Mr l'abbé Bignon mena d'abord Mr Fourmont à Mr le Duc d'Orléans, Son Altesse Royale qui les attendoit ne voulut cependant voir cette Traduction qu'après que Sa Majesté en auroit entendu la lecture, elle fut faite à Sa Majesté dans son cabinet.

Mr Fourmont l'aîné, introduit par Mr l'abbé Bignon ^{51 recto} en présence de Mr le Duc de Charost, gouverneur du Roy, et de quantité d'autres seigneurs de la cour, eut cet honneur.

Sa Majesté écouta avec plaisir et la traduction et ce qui luy fut lu des notes c'est-a-dire l'historique, elle fit même et à Mr l'abbé Bignon et au S. Fourmont l'aisné plusieurs questions très spirituelles sur la Géographie du Thibeth, sur le reste de la Tartarie et le voisinage des Chinois, Mr le Duc de Chârost avec une politesse infinie représenta à Sa Majesté le Bonheur de la France de posséder des savans du I-er ordre, et combien le règne de Sa Majesté seroit glorieux si elle les honnoroit de Sa protection, il ajouta même que quoique le règne de Louis 14 son Bisayeul eut esté magnifique en tout, Sa Majesté voyoit dès ses Ières années une chose que le Roy Louis 14 n'avoit point veüe, c'est qu'au lieu que le Roy Défunt avoit envoyé lui même chercher des savans dans les pays étrangers on envoyoit aujourd'huy de l'Extrémité de l'Europe consulter ceux de Sa Majesté comme les plus habiles qui fussent au monde.

Le Roy répondit a toutes ces honnestetés avec une sagesse admirable, dit que c'estoit bien Son Dessein et congédia l'Assemblée de l'air le plus gracieux.

^{51 verso} Mr l'abbé Bignon et Mr Fourmont rentrèrent dans l'appartement de Mr le Duc d'Orléans. Ce Prince en savant et avec cette familiarité qui luy devoit tous les gens de lettres prit la feuille Thibethienne, en considéra attentivement les caractères, fit sur leurs figures plusieurs raisonnemens philosophiques, examina la manière dont Mr Fourmont avoit rangé ses différentes traductions, voulut lire luy même la dernière et une partie des notes qui l'accompagnoient; on avoit porté à Versailles le dictionnaire Thibethien pour faire voir à son Altesse Royale qu'obligez de le retourner, Mr Fourmont n'avoient pu luy apporter cette traduction plutost et comme son Altesse Royale estoit très au fait du Chinois on s'entretint pendant quelque tems avec elle du Thibethien, du Chinois et de la langue des Tartares de Niu che, dont on luy dit qu'on avoit à la Bibliothèque du Roy les livres les plus superbes, enfin, comme dans ces notes il estoit fait mention des Descendans de Ginguiskan qui avoient subjugué depuis le Thibet jusqu'à la Pologne et sous lesquels par conséquent ces livres Thibethiens ^{52 recto} avoient esté ou apportez ou composez dans le pays des Calmouks, la conversation passa donc de Ginguiskan et ses enfans a Tamerlan, dont les descendans régnent encore aujourd'hui au Mogol et à l'occasion des uns et des autres on cita différens manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale qui contiennent leur histoire. Mr le Duc d'Orléans sentait mieux qu'aucun autre la difficulté d'une telle traduction et Mr Fourmont l'aîné, en philosophe, luy indiqua luy même les endroits qui luy faisoient encore quelque peine. Ce fut aussy dans le même goust que Mr l'abbé Bignon en écrivit à sa Majesté Czarienne.

Après avoir fait transcrire toute cette pièce, en Thibethien, en latin et en françois par le Sr Sohier, un des interprètes de la bibliothèque du Roy pour le Moscovite, l'avoir fait traduire en Moscovite même par le Sr Goussein, autre interprète, il accompagna ce paquet d'une lettre adressée à Pierre le Grand, Empereur de Russie, et pour répondre à celle qu'il avoit receue de luy le 1^{er} jour d'Aoust 1722, il luy faisoit en peu de mots le récit de tout ce que l'on vient de lire et pour la traduction il luy ^{52 verso} marquoit que quoique les Interprètes du Roy eussent fort souhaité donner à un grand empereur comme luy toute la satisfaction possible sur une curiosité de cette nature cependant ils n'osoient se flatter d'avoir réussi partout. Le Dictionnaire qu'ils avoient de la langue du Thibeth n'estant pas fort abondant et la feuille thibéthienne ne contenant pas assez de termes pour faire de l'un à l'autre les comparaisons nécessaires, qu'à l'égard du caractère, Sa Majesté pouvoit estre sure que c'estoit celui du Thibeth, que comme ce pais n'estoit pas loin de ses états elle estoit plus à portée que personne d'en faire venir des livres, que c'estoit même une chose à faire parce que le Thibeth passoit pour un pais lettré et que les missionaires nous en avoient parlé d'une manière ^{53 recto} assez avantageuse, voila en substance ce que lui écrivoit Mr l'abbé Bignon.

English translation:

^{48 recto} This memoir was given to me by Mr. Abbé Bignon on January 30, 1729.

During the wars between Persia and Muscovy, the army of His Tsarian Majesty Peter the Great was encamped near Astrakhan, in the North-East of the Caspian Sea; some soldiers advanced inland towards the land of the Kalmyks and in the remains of an old castle found a sort of library.⁸

The books seemed to them oddly shaped. Most were printed on paper longer than it was wide, with white writing on a black background and, moreover, in absolutely unknown characters.

The inhabitants of these places were either unwilling or unable to give them any explanation on the matter, therefore they [the soldiers] took out several folios, which they brought to Moscow as a rarity.

His Tsarian Majesty, the most curious prince there ever was, ^{48 verso} first consulted scholars in Moscow and Petersburg about this script, but in vain, since none had seen anything like it.

⁸ An aberrant reference to the finds made at the abandoned Oirat Buddhist monasteries (Ablai-kit and Sem Palat) in South Siberia; see Zorin 2015.

Then His Majesty thought he had to share it with the various universities of the North, but although they were filled with illustrious people knowledgeable in languages, none understood this script either.

Eventually, one of these folios was sent by the Tsar himself to Mr. Abbé Bignon. Everyone knows that when he came to France and Paris a few years before, one of his first cares was to visit the Royal Library, to be informed of the new institution which had just been made there of Interpreters in different languages, both ancient and ordinary, and above all to converse with Abbé Bignon himself, the then lecturer and almost always the president of the two academies of Belles-lettres and Sciences ^{49 recto} in the past.⁹

He, therefore, judged that it was there or nowhere else that he would find scholars who would satisfy him at least on the script and language of these folios if nobody could provide him with the translation. Abbé Bignon received his dispatches on August 1, 1722. He showed them to the Duke of Orléans, Regent [of France], on [August] 3, and in the following days, the folio was brought to the academy by Mr. de Boze, who had by chance found himself in Versailles.¹⁰ This folio was given to him to be handed over to Mr. [Étienne] Fourmont with a letter.

Abbé Bignon urged him, if he had recognized the script, to decipher it as soon as possible.

The Tsar was not mistaken in the idea that he had of both the interpreters of the Royal Library and the *Messieurs* of the Academy of Belles-Lettres.

Upon inspection of the folio Mr. Fréret and Mr. Fourmont ^{49 verso} recognized it as being Tibetan script as it is still found today in Lassa [Lhasa], in Barantola, in Csaparang [Tsaparang], in a word, in Great and Little Tibet.¹¹

⁹ Bignon was elected as a member of the Académie Française in 1693. He served as the president of the Académie des Sciences for most years between 1699 and 1721, and again in 1732 and 1734. However, he never held the presidency of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, which was led by a perpetual secretary ("secrétaire perpétuel"), not a president. In this latter academy, he was in a tutorship role ("une tutelle"), as noted in his biography (Fossier 2018a: 49). He held this position, under the authority of his cousin Jérôme de Pontchartrain, from 1691 (Fossier 2018b: 21).

¹⁰ Claude Gros de Boze, keeper of medals at the Royal Library, friend and secretary of Abbé Bignon from 1706 to 1742. He was also the secretary of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres and member of the French Academy.

¹¹ The historian and orientalist Nicolas Fréret (1688–1749); he became the perpetual secretary of the French Academy upon the death of Gros de Boze in 1742. Barantola was a name both for Lhasa and Tibet used by early travelers. Csaparang [Tsaparang] is the capital of the ancient kingdom of Guge.

Moreover, a missionary returned from Tibet had previously given Mr. Fréret an Italian-Tibetan Dictionary¹² and Mr. Fréret had lent this Dictionary to Mr. Fourmont with some grammatical notes by the same missionary; Mr. Fourmont became acquainted with the principles of the Tibetan language, as of all those close to the Chinese language. However, to use this same Dictionary to interpret the folio, one had to reverse the order and put the Tibetan first.

Mr. [Étienne] Fourmont also involved his brother, Abbé [Michel] Fourmont, now in Constantinople,¹³ in this work; then he proceeded with the translation of the folio of which [we] provide [here] the idea.

In general, this folio is not a complete whole, it had been taken out of a book of which it had been a part.

^{50 recto} But, for the meaning that it presents, it is a piece from a funeral oration. It is completely in accordance with the Tartar genius and Eastern fashion, and there are repetitions almost similar to our refrains or rather to those of the Muslims; there is much talk of the future life.

The author is convinced of the immortality of the soul and gives his audience very metaphysical proofs of this, for example, he claims that the reminiscence of the past and the presentiment of the future all equally testify, the former for a past existence, the latter for a future existence.

The comparisons he employs are made, for the most part, with the horse, the animal that the Tartars esteem the most, and of which they make the most use, etc.

Mr. Fourmont, in order to give a more accurate version, did four things:

First, he copied this folio in the Tibetan characters and transcribed it.

Second, as Latin by the difference in its inflections easily bends and adjusts to all other languages, under double Tibetan, that is to say under ^{50 verso} Tibetan script and Latin transcription, he provided an interlinear word for word translation.

¹² In fact, a Latin-Tibetan dictionary. The missionary of the Capuchin Catholic Mission in Tibet, Domenico da Fano, worked in Lhasa in 1709–1711 and completed the compilation of the Latin-Tibetan dictionary, begun by previous missionaries. In 1711, he went to Rome to report on the affairs of the Mission. Upon his arrival in the autumn of 1713, he brought the manuscript of the dictionary with him. Here, at the request of N. Fréret, he made an abridged version of it. Passing through Paris on his return journey to Tibet (in December 1714 or January 1715), Da Fano handed it over to the scholar. The manuscript consists of two parts: the first, called “Alfabetto Thibettano”, explains the Tibetan alphabet, and the second, called “Vocabulario Thibettiano”, contains the Latin-Tibetan vocabulary. The dictionary is now kept in the National Library of France [BnF, Tibétain 542], along with a copy produced by Fourmont [BnF, Tibétain 486].

¹³ About Michel Fourmont and his voyage to Constantinople in 1729–1730 see Gengler 2020.

Third, he separately provided a fuller and freer version to make accessible what was somewhat obscure due to the Tartar turn of phrase and genius. Fourth, to this same version Mr. Fourmont added notes, on the time in which he believed that this funeral oration had been composed, on the Tibetan language and script, and, finally, on certain phrases common to Tibetan and Chinese.¹⁴

This version and these notes were made in French since they were supposed to be read to His Majesty.

At Versailles, Abbé Bignon first took Mr. Fourmont to the Duke of Orleans; however, his Royal Highness, who was waiting for them, did not want to see this translation until after his Majesty had heard it. It was performed for his Majesty in his study.

Mr. Fourmont the Elder, introduced by Mr. Abbé Bignon ^{51 recto} in the presence of the Duke of Charost,¹⁵ Governor of the King, and a number of other lords of the court, had this honor.

His Majesty listened with pleasure to the translation and what was read from the notes, that is to say, the history; finally [His Majesty] even asked Abbé Bignon and Fourmont the Elder some very sharp-witted questions on the geography of Tibet, on the rest of Tartary and the vicinity of China. The Duke of Charost with infinite politeness represented to his Majesty the happiness of France in possessing scholars of the first order, and how glorious the reign of his Majesty would be, if he honored them with his protection. He even added that although the reign of Louis XIV, his great-grandfather, was magnificent in everything, his Majesty saw from his earliest years one thing that King Louis XIV had not seen: while the late King had sent missives in search of scholars in foreign countries, today people were being sent from the extremities of Europe to consult [scholars] of his Majesty as the most skillful in the world.

The King replied to all these compliments with admirable wisdom, saying that this was indeed His Design, and dismissed the Assembly with the most gracious air.

^{51 verso} Abbé Bignon and Mr. Fourmont entered the apartment of the Duke of Orleans. This Prince, being knowledgeable and with the familiarity that endeared him to all men of letters, took the Tibetan folio, carefully examined its characters, engaged in several

¹⁴ While Fourmont's notes have not yet been found, the word-by-word and "coherent" translations were published in (Bayer 1730: 108–124) and partly analyzed in (Sizova 2021) with the use of Da Fano's dictionary. As we found out, the Tibetan script was misinterpreted by the translators in almost all cases, leading to errors even in literal translation. The absence of any information about the grammar and syntax of the Tibetan language made the prospect of a meaningful translation completely impossible.

¹⁵ Armand II de Béthune-Charost (1663–1747).

philosophical reasonings based on their forms, scrutinized the way in which Mr. Fourmont had arranged his various translations, and desired to read for himself the latest one and a portion of the accompanying notes. The Tibetan dictionary had been brought to Versailles to show to His Royal Highness that, since he was obliged to return it, Mr Fourmont had not been able to provide him with this translation earlier. As his Royal Highness was very knowledgeable about Chinese, he had a conversation with him for some time about Tibetan, Chinese, and the language of the Niuche¹⁶ Tartars, and they told him that the Royal Library possessed the most magnificent books. Finally, as those notes mentioned the descendants of Genghis Khan who had conquered from Tibet to Poland, and under whom, consequently, these Tibetan books ^{52 recto} had been brought or composed in the land of the Kalmyks, the conversation then shifted from Genghis Khan and his children to Tamerlane, whose descendants still reign today in Mogol [The Mughal Empire]. On the occasion of these and other facts various manuscripts from the Royal Library were cited that contain their history.

The Duke of Orleans understood better than any other the difficulty of such a translation and Mr. Fourmont the Elder, a philosopher himself, pointed out to him the passages which were still giving him some trouble. It was also in the same manner that Abbé Bignon wrote about it to his Tsarian Majesty.

After having had this whole piece copied in Tibetan, Latin and French by Sieur [Jean] Sohier,¹⁷ one of the the Royal Library's interpreters for the "Muscovite" [Russian language], it was translated into "Muscovite" by Mr. Goussein,¹⁸ another interpreter. He [Abbé Bignon] accompanied this package with a letter addressed to Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, in reply to the one he had received from him on August 1, 1722.¹⁹ He told His Majesty in a few words about everything that we have just read and for the translation, he ^{52 verso} pointed out that although the King's interpreters had wished very much to provide a great emperor like him with all possible satisfaction on a curiosity of this nature, however, they dared not flatter themselves that they had succeeded. The dictionary of the Tibetan language they had was not very voluminous, and the Tibetan folio did not contain enough terms to make the necessary comparisons between them. That with regard to the script, His Majesty could be sure that it was that of Tibet, as this country was not far from his lands, it was

¹⁶ 女真 Nǚzhēn, or Jurchen.

¹⁷ Translator from Slavonic, Russian and Polish at the Royal Library, author of "Grammaire et Méthode Russes et Françaises" (1724).

¹⁸ Georges-Louis de Goussin (also: Gousin, Gouzin, Goussein), d. 1724/25.

¹⁹ Bignon's letter was published in (Porcher 1938) and (Zaytsev 2021).

more within reach than any other to bring books from there, that it was even a thing to do because Tibet is considered a literate country and the missionaries had told us about it in a ⁵³recto quite advantageous way. This is in substance what Mr. Abbé Bignon wrote to him.

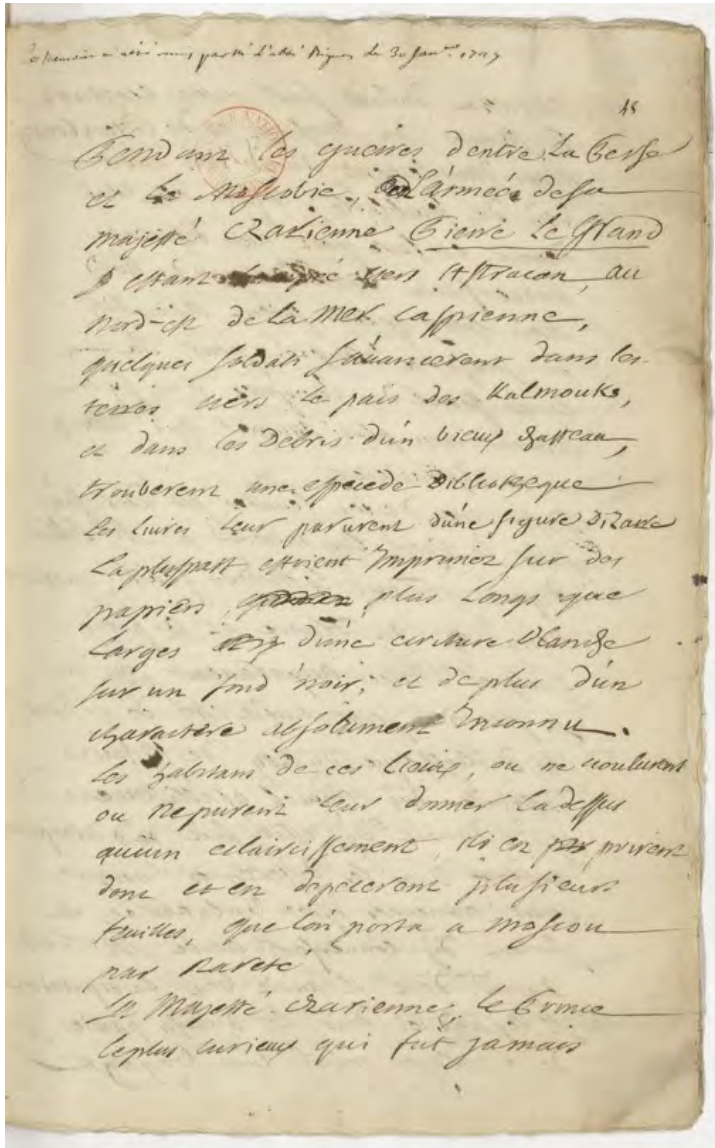


Fig. 2. Mémoire sur des fragments de livres thibétains envoyés à l'abbé Bignon par le czar Pierre le Grand. BnF, Français 22225, f. 48.

Source: gallica.bnf.fr © BnF

Three letters from Johann Daniel Schumacher
to Mr. Abbé Bignon

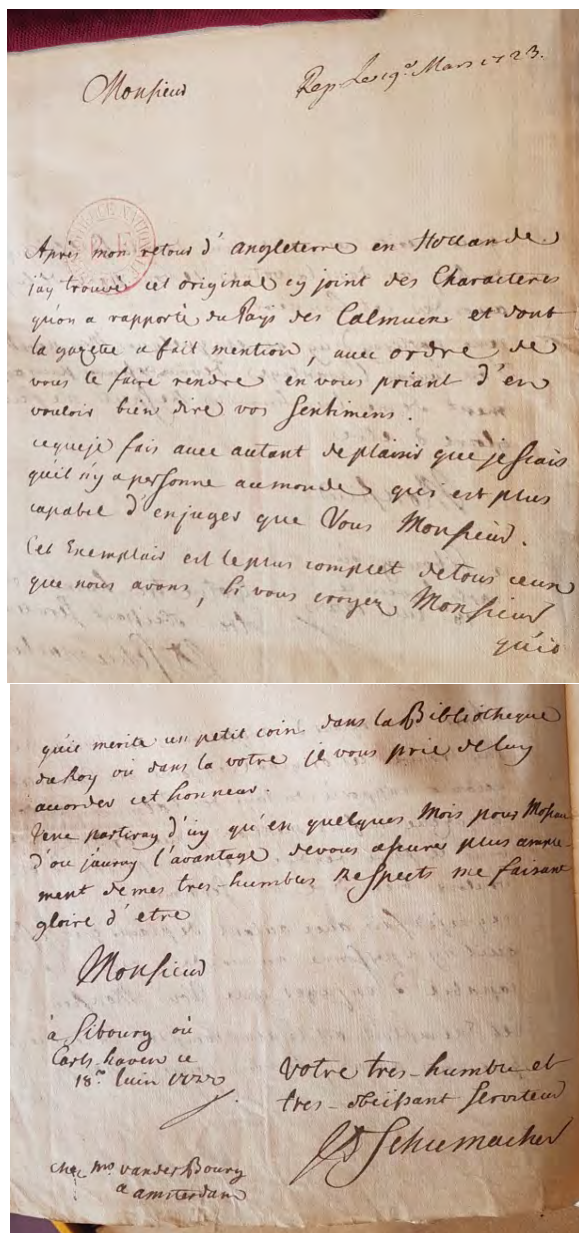


Fig. 3. The first letter from Johann Daniel Schumacher to Mr. Abbé Bignon.

BnF, Français 22233, f. 169, 170

Source: E. Garatti © BnF

The first letter:

¹⁶⁹ Monsieur,
Rep[ertorié] le 19 Mars 1723

Après mon retour d'Angleterre en Hollande j'ay trouvé cet original cy joint des Caracteres qu'on a rapporté du Pays des Calmucks et dont la gazette a fait mention, avec ordre de vous le faire rendre en vous priant d'en vouloir bien dire vos Sentiments.

Ce que je fais avec autant de plaisir que je Scais qu'il n'y a personne au monde qui est plus capable d'en juger que Vous Monsieur.

Cet exemplaire est le plus complet de tous ceux que nous avons, Si vous croyez Monsieur qu'il ¹⁷⁰ qu'il mérite un petit coin dans la Bibliotheque du Roy ou dans la votre je vous prie de luy accorder cet honneur.

Je ne partiray d'icy qu'en quelques mois pour Moscou d'où j'auray l'avantage de vous assurer plus amplement de mes tres humbles respects me faisant gloire d'être

Monsieur

A Sibourg où Carls-haven le 18 juin 1722

Votre tres-humble et tres-obeissant Serviteur JD Schumacher

Chez Mr. Van der Bourg à Amsterdam

English translation:

¹⁶⁹ Sir,
Listed on March 19, 1723

After my return from England to Holland, I found this original here attached with the characters that have been brought from the Land of Kalmyks and mentioned in the Gazette²⁰ with the orders to send it to you and ask you to share your thoughts.

²⁰ Gazette No. 42, Du 4 Octobre 1721. N° 42. A Paris: du Bureau d'Adresse, aux Galleries du Louvre, devant la rue S. Thomas, le 4 Octobre 1721. P. 485-496; Gazette No. 44, Du 18 Octobre 1721. N° 44. A Paris: du Bureau d'Adresse, aux Galleries du Louvre, devant la rue S. Thomas, le 18 Octobre 1721. P. 509-520. The first note states that, after returning to St. Petersburg, the people responsible for compiling a new map of the Caspian Sea for the Tsar reported the discovery, in the lands lying 150 leagues northeast of the sea, of 30 large stone buildings half-covered with sand. Inside, they found cabinets made of solid black wood containing more than three thousand books, bound in large volumes *in quarto*, written on a blue background in white letters. When they wanted to take away this library, the superstitious inhabitants of those places opposed this because they revered the building as a shrine and believed that taking the books away would

I do this with particular pleasure because I know there is no one in the world who is more capable than you, Sir, to judge [the matter].

Among all, this copy is the most complete we have. If you, Sir, believe that it¹⁷⁰ deserves a small place in the Royal Library or in yours, I ask you to give it this honor. I will only be leaving in a few months for Moscow from where I will be able to ensure you my humble respects.

Sir,

In Sibourg or Carls Haven,²¹ June 18, 1722

Your very humble and particularly obedient servant Schumacher.

At Mr. Van der Bourg [Burgh]²² in Amsterdam

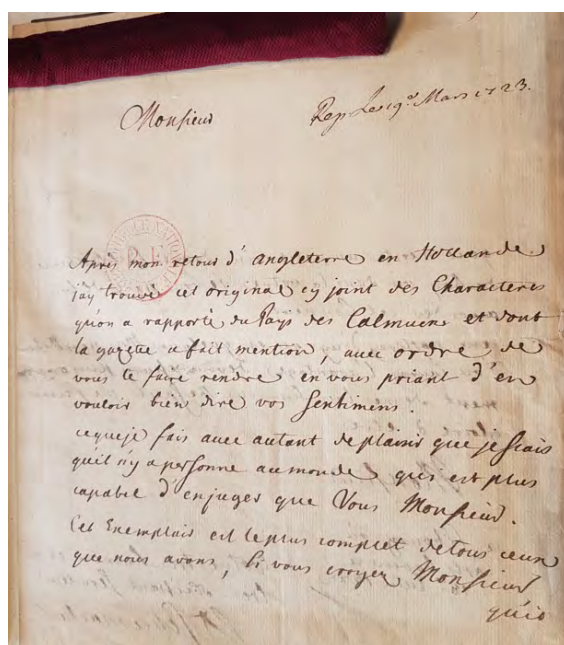


Fig. 4. The second letter from Johann Daniel Schumacher to Mr. Abbé Bignon.
BnF, Français 22233, f. 167
Source: E. Garatti © BnF

desecrate it. Russian travellers nevertheless found a way to steal three volumes. However, there was no one who could read these letters, and the Tsar ordered that the first pages of these books be copied and that these copies be sent to scholars in France and England. A second note, published two weeks later, provides more detailed information about the manuscripts and mentions other finds.

²¹ At present, the German city of Bad Karlshafen. Schumacher visited Sibourg to discuss the perpetual motion machine with Johann Ernst Elias Bessler (Orffyreus) (Zaytsev 2021: 94).

²² Johannes van den Burgh (ca. 1670–1731), a commercial adviser and agent of Peter I in Amsterdam.

The second letter:

¹⁶⁷ Souffrez Monsieur que j'ajoute ou plutôt reitere l'action des graces que je vous dois pour tant d'honnetetez que vous m'avez bien voulu faire pendant mon sejour de Paris. Je souhaitrais de pouvoir en temoigner ma reconnoissance par quelque petit service agreable dans ce pays-cy. Il n'y a que trois jours que soupire icy sous les travaux, jetois pour la pluspart parmy les tartares. Sa Maj. Imp. a ordonné d'en rendre compte à l'academie de ce que nous en avons apporté. Mr Blumentroot était encore tout ¹⁶⁸ tout à fait dérangé des fatigues de son voyage fera ses remerciements à l'academie pour la lettre qu'elle m'a donné en reponse.

Pour moy, je n'ay rien de plus à vous prier que de vouloir m'accorder l'honneur de votre bon souvenir, de m'honorer de vos ordres et de croire qu'il n'y a personne icy qui les exécutera avec plus de plaisir et de rectitude que celui qui est avec ses respects les plus profonds

Monsieur

A S. Pétersbourg le 2^e de Mars 1723

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur JD Schumacher

English translation:

¹⁶⁷ Accept Sir that I append or rather reiterate the gratitude I owe you for all the honor that you were kind enough to bestow upon me during my stay in Paris. I wish I could express my appreciation by [doing] some small services in this country. It has been only three days that I have been burdened here with work, and for the most part among the Tartars. His Majesty the Emperor gave orders to report back to the Academy what we have brought from [the trip]. Mr. Blumentrost²³ was still ¹⁶⁸ particularly disturbed by the fatigue of the journey. He will thank the Academy for the letter provided as a reply.

For my part, I have nothing more to ask of you than to grant me the honor of your good memory, to honor me with your orders, and to believe that there is no one here who will carry them out with more pleasure and rectitude than the one who is [here] with his deepest respects

Sir,

In Saint Petersburg, March 2, 1723

Your truly humble and most obedient servant JD Schumacher

²³ Laurentius Blumentrost (1692–1755), the personal physician of Peter the Great, founder and first president of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1725–1733).

The third letter:

¹⁷¹Monsieur,
Rep. le 8^{er} fe 12 avril

La perte que nous avons fait par la mort de l'Empereur de glor[ieuse] Mem[oire] nous devient de jour en jour plus sensible. Plus qu'on y songe, plus on en aperçoit la grandeur. Je plains le sort des gens de lettres qui y ont plus perdu que ceux de tout autre Etat. Quelle bonté n'a t-il pas toujours témoigné envers eux ! Et comme il avait une Estime toute particulière pour Votre Excellence, il est aisé a croire qu'Elle en fut plus sensiblement touchée qu'aucun de ces collègues. Dans nos malheurs cependant nous nous consolons que l'Impératrice a pris les renes du gouvernement. Elle fera tous les efforts pour la perfection des desseins que son antecesseur a tracé, surtout ce qui regarde les sciences. Sa Maj[esté] a écrit là-dessus une lettre tres-gracieuse à son ambassadeur le ¹⁷² le Prince de Kourakin a la Cour du Roy, et a ordonné à son Premier Medecin Mr. de Blumentrost d'en informer l'academie Royale.

On fait etat de faire icy les ceremonies des funerailles le 10 ou 12 de Mars. J'auray l'honneur de ramasser tous les papiers qui paroîtront dans cette occasion et de les envoyer à Votre Excellence. Au reste je suis avec beaucoup de respect

Monsieur
De votre Excellence
A St Pétersbourg ce 8r févr. 1725
Le très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur
JD Schumacher

English translation:

¹⁷¹ Sir,
Listed on April 12

The loss that we have endured by the passing of the Emperor of Glorious Memory becomes day by day more noticeable. The more we think about it, the more we can appreciate his greatness. I pity the fate of men of letters who have lost more than everybody else. What kindness he has always shown to them! And since he had a very particular esteem for Your Excellency, it is reasonable to believe that You have been particularly touched, more than Your colleagues. In our misfortune, however, we console ourselves that the Empress has taken the reins of the government. She will make all the necessary efforts in order to accomplish all the projects that her predecessor has traced, in

particular concerning the sciences. Her Majesty has written, concerning this matter, a very gracious letter to¹⁷² Prince Kurakin, Her ambassador at the Royal court, and has ordered her First Physician, Mr. Blumentrost, to inform the Royal Academy.

The funeral ceremonies are reported to be held on the 10th or 12th of March. I shall have the honor of collecting all the papers which will appear on this occasion and of sending them to Your Excellency. The rest I do with great respect

Sir

For your Excellency

In Saint Petersburg,

February 8, 1725

Your very humble and obedient servant

JD Schumacher

In conclusion, the article presents documents related to a pivotal episode in the history of Tibetan studies in Europe and the early Russian-French academic relations. The involvement of Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon and Johann Daniel Schumacher played a crucial role in solving the mystery of the Tibetan folios.

This historical episode underscores the importance of cross-cultural and interdisciplinary collaborations in advancing knowledge. The translation and study of these Tibetan manuscripts not only expanded the field of Tibetology but also nurtured diplomatic and intellectual connections between Russia and France. As this research continues, it reaffirms the enduring significance of these early academic endeavors in shaping our comprehension of Tibetan culture, language, and history within the context of European scholarship.

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Ten demystified folios from Ablai-kit¹


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And then there were none.

he ten folios that are the subject of this article are part of the assortment of Tibetan and Mongolian manuscript material brought to Saint Petersburg and Western Europe from two abandoned Gelukpa monasteries in the north of the Dzungar Khanate, as a result of the Russian expansion along the Irtysh River in the 1710s. The collection of examples of exotic scripts was part of the project of Tsar Peter the Great to enhance Russia's standing in the international – that is to say, European – sphere as a center of scientific knowledge and culture. One of the main sources for the manuscripts that were collected by imperial administration, Saint Petersburg academics, and Swedish captives of the Great Northern War (1700–1721), was the abandoned Gelukpa monastery of Ablai-kit, in what is now Eastern Kazakhstan, from where these folios were obtained starting from 1721.²

The majority of Tibetan manuscripts from Ablai-kit are in large pothi format, with texts written in silver or golden and silver ink on paper with black edges. Currently, the edges may appear brown in some cases. These folios contain fragments of various canonical texts, and we may be quite sure, due to the common source of acquisition and unmistakable paleographic, codicological, and text-critical similarities, that they belonged to the same manuscript copy of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. So far, 250 folios of this type have been identified in various Russian and European collections, with the majority (four-fifths) housed at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM RAS), in Saint Petersburg. The biggest share of the remaining part is almost evenly distributed among the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) in Paris, the Uppsala

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² On the circumstances of this discovery, see Zorin 2020: 15–18.

University Library (UUL), and the British Library (BL) in London, with eight other institutions holding one to three items each.

The full list of the folios is presented in the Appendix. It is an enlarged and corrected version of the table compiled by Alexander Zorin in 2015 and partly published as a result of the first stage of the study of the Ablai-kit folios in Helman-Ważny, Kriakina, Zorin 2015: 73–76. The full list comprised 235 folios, including all those kept in Saint Petersburg and some kept in Western European collections, but not all of the latter were then properly identified (*ibid.*: 64, no. 7). It was clear, however, that the majority of the folios definitely belonged to the Kangyur, and the set was labeled ‘the Ablai-kit Kangyur’, while five were tentatively considered as texts from the Tengyur (*ibid.*: 65–66). In the following years, the Kangyur list was expanded to 240 items, and that of the hypothetical Ablai-kit Tengyur to ten. All the conclusions were drawn on the basis of two criteria:

1. the identifications of the fragments mostly by carrying out a search in the Dpe bsdur ma (PDM) edition of the Tibetan Buddhist canon in the TBRC (now BDRC) online library;
2. numbers of volumes provided in the marginalia of the folios.

No titles of sections of the canonical structure are provided in any of the folios. Thus, we could only reconstruct them by comparison with other versions of the canon. The existence of six sections of the Ablai-kit Kangyur was assumed to be as follows: 1) Vinaya; 2) Prajñāpāramitā; 3) Avataṃsaka; 4) Ratnakūṭa; 5) Sūtra; 6) Tantra. The arrangement of texts within them has no exact parallels with other versions of the Kangyur (see the final part of this article).

As for the Tengyur folios, they remained a mystery until the authors of this paper decided to critically examine the initial hypothesis, armed with a much more elaborated database on the Tibetan Buddhist canon developed since then by the Tibetan Manuscript Project Vienna and presented online as “Resources for Kanjur and Tanjur Studies” (rKTs). Below follows the list of the ten folios arranged according to the presumed sequence of the volumes, with the first four “belonging” to the Tantra section and the others to the Sūtra section. The second column kills the intrigue, providing the numbers in the final list that show where they actually belong, in the Ablai-kit Kangyur (AK). Thus, there was in fact no Tengyur copy in the Ablai-kit library. Nevertheless, the narration of how we came to this conclusion may be of interest.

N o.	AK No.	Host, shelf mark	Vol., fol.	Text	Identification
1	194	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 175	Ka, 180	Mañjuśrikīrti. Rang gi lta ba'i 'dod pa mdor bstan pa yongs su brtag pa	Bstan 'gyur PDM: vol. 42, 619 ⁽²¹⁾ –622 ⁽¹⁾
2	244	British Library: Sloane 2837e	Pa, 324	Zla ba'i khyim brtsi ba dang rgyu skar brtsi ba'i mdo las 'byung ba zla ba'i bam brtsi ba	PDM: — Stog Kanjur, mdo, sa, 353b ⁽⁵⁾ –355a ⁽³⁾
3	245	Bibliothèque nationale de France: Tibétain 464: f. 8	Pa, 325	The first two folios have significant similarities with: Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo'i mdo'i 'bum 'grel, by Karmavajra	PDM: — Stog Kanjur, mdo, sa, 355a ⁽³⁾ –356a ⁽⁷⁾
4	246	Uppsala University Library: O Tibet 1(5)	Pa, 326		PDM: — Stog Kanjur, mdo, sa, 356a ⁽⁷⁾ –357b ⁽⁴⁾
5	167	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 176	Ma, 18	Sa bcu pa	PDM: — Stog Kanjur, mdo, ga, 50b ⁽³⁾ –51b ^[7]
6	168	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 186	Ma, 25	Large fragments are quoted in: Sa bcu pa'i rnam par bshad pa (Āryadaśabhūmi- vyākhyāna), by Vasubandhu	PDM: — Stog Kanjur, mdo, ga, 59b ⁽¹⁾ –60b ⁽⁴⁾
7	169	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 177	Ma, 75		PDM: — Stog Kanjur, mdo, ga, 126b ⁽⁶⁾ –128a ⁽⁴⁾
8	181	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 178	Za, 162	Rgyu gdags pa, ascribed to Maudgalyāyana	Bstan 'gyur PDM: vol. 78, 1006 ⁽¹²⁾ –1009 ⁽⁹⁾
9	182	Uppsala University Library: O Tibet 2(2)	Za, 206	Las gdags pa, ascribed to Maudgalyāyana	Bstan 'gyur PDM: vol. 78, 1134 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –1137 ⁽⁵⁾
10	183	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 179	Za, 276	'Jig rten gzhas pa, ascribed to Maudgalyāyana	Bstan 'gyur PDM: vol. 78, 712 ⁽⁵⁾ –715 ⁽⁹⁾

The list may be divided into four groups:

1. One folio from vol. ka, which belongs to a text by Mañjuśrīkīrti found exclusively in all available versions of the Tengyur.
2. Three folios from vol. pa initially associated with a text from the Tengyur by Karmavajra, later safely identified with a text from the Kangyur missing in the PDM.
3. Three folios from fol. ma initially associated with a text from the Tengyur by Vasubandhu, later safely identified with a text from the Kangyur missing in the PDM.
4. Three folios from a set of three texts ascribed to Maudgalyāyana found in all available versions of the Tengyur but sometimes also found in the Kagyur.

The last three folios, right from the outset, appeared to be promising candidates for undergoing the demystification procedure, while the first one presented a compelling argument in favor of the Tengyur hypothesis. Our recent reconsideration of the two groups in between was predicated on the same key factor (the discovery of the texts to which they actually belong, within the largely unexplored manuscript Kangyurs), leading us to focus on deciphering the puzzle presented by the first folio. Consequently, we will present these groups in reverse order of their sequence in the table. We also include the edition of one folio for each group, to provide both illustrations for our paper and samples of the catalogue of the AK folios before this work is completed and published.

The diplomatic transliteration based on the Wylie system with several extensions is supplied with lists of meaningful discrepancies with the PDM and, in two cases, with other versions of the Kangyur such as the Stog (S), Hemis (H), and Phug Brag (F) manuscripts. The following sigla are used to designate block printed Kanjur editions: D — Sde dge; Y — Yongle Kangyur, L — Lithang, Q — Peking (Kangxi Kangyur), N — Narthang, C — Cone, U — Urga, Zh — Zhol (Lhasa). The absence of a siglum means that the text of the manuscript differs from all the editions represented in PDM. When two or more syllables have discrepancies with the latter these syllables are underscored.

1 (10–8). AK181–183

Each of these three folios belongs to separate texts ascribed to Maudgalyāyana, one of the main disciples of the Buddha. It is evident that in AK they were grouped together, which led to the assumption that they might have belonged to the hypothetical Ablai-kit Tengyur,

as only in the Tengyur editions are they included as a set.³ On the contrary, none of the sixteen known versions of the Kangyur that contain these texts arrange them in this manner, as clearly seen from the table compiled on the basis of the rKTs material.

Canonical versions	'Jig rten gzhag pa (AK183)	Rgyu gdags pa (AK181)	Las gdags pa (AK182)
Tengyur			
A (Dpe bsdur ma)	A5560	A5561	A5562
NT (Narthang)	N4376	N4377	N4378
DT (Derge)	D4086	D4087	D4088
CT (Cone)	C4053	C4054	C4055
GT (Golden)	GT3590	GT3591	GT3592
Q (Peking)	Q5587	Q5588	Q5589
Kangyur			
Cz (Chizhi)	Cz107-001	Cz107-004	Cz105-006
Dk (Dongkarla)	Dk059-001	Dk059-004	Dk057-006
Dm (Drakmar)	Dm21.1	Dm12.11	Dm20.8
F (Phugbrag)	F230a, F403	—	—
G (Gondhla)	Go31,03	—	—
Gt (Gangteng)	Gt053-001	Gt053-004	Gt051-006
H (Lhasa)	—	—	H290
He (Hemis I)	He75.03	He63.1	He75.02
L (London)	L229	—	—
NK	—	—	N787
Ng (Namgyal)	Ng20.1	Ng12.4	Ng19.7
Np (Neyphug)	Np037-001	Np037-004	Np035-006
S (Stog)	S313	S316	S286
Ty (Tashiyangtse)	Ty055-001	Ty055-004	Ty053-005
V (Ulaanbaatar)	V359	V362	V332
Z (Shey)	Z323	Z326	Z296

³ See more on this group of texts, which are, as a matter of fact, three parts of one text, in Dhammadinnā 2020: 44–47. Unlike Indian and Tibetan versions, which ascribe it to Maudgalyāyana, the Chinese version attributes it to Mahākātyāyana, another eminent disciple of the Buddha (ibid.: 45).

In several cases (Cz, Dk, Gt, Np, S, Ty, V, Z), *'Jig rten gzhaḡ pa* and *Rgyu gdags pa* are located in the same volume with two other texts put between them, and *Las gdags pa* is placed in a different volume. In one case (He), it is *Las gdags pa* that is found in the same volume with *'Jig rten gzhaḡ pa*. In one case (Ng), all the three texts are placed in separate volumes; in three cases (F, G, L), only *'Jig rten gzhaḡ pa* is represented, and in one case (H) only *Las gdags pa* is represented. Thus, none of the Kangyur versions could serve as a reliable model for identifying the Ablai-kit folios as belonging to the Kangyur.

It is noteworthy that AK places *'Jig rten gzhaḡ pa* at the end of the sequence, but this discrepancy did not look significant. We considered that this group might belong to the AK only after it became clear that the folios from groups 2 and 3 did not belong to the Tengyur.

As an illustration of these three folios, we publish AK181, which is a fragment of *Rgyu gdags pa*.

AK181: vol. za, fol. 162

IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 178. See fig. 1 (A, B)

Cf.: 1) PDM Bstan 'gyur: vol. 78, pp. 1006⁽¹²⁾–1009⁽⁹⁾

2) Hemis Kanjur: mdo, vol. dza, fols. 81a4–82b7

Recto za__brgya_re'gnyis

@# __' gzhi'dang gser'gyi'gzhi'dang dngul'gyi'gzhi'dang btsag'gi'gzhi'dang sa'gar ¹ gyi'gzhi'che'ba'de'dag'ni char' pa'i'thigs'pa'chen'po'bab'kyang'thub'tu ² lcang ³ par'mi'gyur' te _sa'phyogs'de'dag'ni'mtho'bar'gyur'to _ rgyu'des'na'sa' chen'po	1
'di'la'sa'phyogs'kha'cig'mtho'la kha'cig'dma'bar'gyur'to ⁴ _ ci'i'phyir'ri ⁵ kha'cig'mtho'la _kha'cig'dma'bar'gyur ⁶ ce ⁷ na smras'pa _'jig'rten'chags ⁸ pa'na rlung'po'che ⁹ dang khams' chen'po'gang'dag'gis'bsdus'pa'de'dag'ni'>mtho'la'rlung	2
chung'ngu'dang _khams'chung'ngu'gang'dag'gis'bsdus'pa'de' dag'ni'dma'bar'gyur'to _ gzhan'yang'ri'gang'dag'la'sa'i' khams'che'ba'de'dag'char'ba'i'thigs'pa'chen'po'bab'bas'thur'tu' gshongs ¹⁰ pa'de'dag'ni'dma'bar'gyur ¹¹ la ri'gang'dag'la'de' ma'yin'ba'i'_	3
gzhi'di'ltaste _lcags'kyi'gzhi'dang khro'chu'i'gzhi'dang zangs' kyi'gzhi'dang _tshon'mo ¹² steng'gi'gzhi'dang _ro'nye'i ¹³ gzhi' dang _sa'tshur ¹⁴ gzhi'dang gser'gyi'gzhi'dang _dngul'gyi' gzhi'dang btsag'gi'gzhi'dang sa'gar ¹⁵ gyi'gzhi'che'ba'de'dag'	4

ni char	
ba'i thigs'pa'chen'po'bab'kyang'thur'tu'lcong' ¹⁶ bar'mi'gyur'te de'dag'ni'mtho'bar'gyur'to rgyu'des'na'ri'kha'cig'mtho'la kha'cig'dma'bar'gyur' ¹⁷ to ci'i'phyir'ri' ¹⁸ kha'cig'la'shing'mang' ba'dang rtswa' ¹⁹ mang'bar'gyur' ²⁰ la' ²¹ kha'cig'la' ²² shing'mi' mang'ba'dang rtswa' ²³ mi' mang'	5
bar'gyur' ²⁴ ce'na smras'pa ri'gang'dag'la'klu'i'gnas'mang'po' yod'pa'de'dag'la'ni' ²⁵ shing'mang'ba' ²⁶ dang _rtsa' ²⁷ mang'bar' gyur'to' ²⁸ ri'gang'dag'la'klu'i'gnas'mang'po'med'pa'de'dag' la' ²⁹ ni'shing' ³⁰ po'dang _rtswa'mang'po'med'do gzhan'yang' ri'(:igang)dag'la'sa' ³¹ snag'gi'kham_s_	6
che'ba'de'dag'la'ni' ³² shing'mang'po'dang'rtswa'mang'po'yod' do ri'gang'dag'la'de'ma'yin'pa'i'gzhi'di'lta'ste lcags'gyi' ³³ gzhi'dang _khro'chu'i'gzhi'dang _zangs'kyi'gzhi'dag' ³⁴ tshon' mo' ³⁵ steng'gi'gzhi'dang _ro'nye'i'gzhi'dang ³⁶ gser'gyi'gzhi' dang _dngul'gyi'gzhi'dang	7
btsag'gi'gzhi'dang _sa'gar' ³⁷ gyi'gzhi'che'ba'de'dag'la'ni'shing' mang'po'dang rtsa' ³⁸ mang'po'med'do gzhan'yang'ri' ³⁹ dag' ⁴⁰ 'og'na nyi'rtse' ⁴¹ ba'i'sems'can'dmyal'ba'rnam'syod'pa'de'dag' la'ni shing'mang'po'dang'rtswa' ⁴² mang'po'med'la ri' ⁴³ dag'gi' 'og'na'nye'rtse' ⁴⁴ ba'i'sems	8
can'dmyal'ba'med'pa' ⁴⁵ de'dag'la'ni shing'mang'po'dang rtsa' ⁴⁶ mang'po'yod'do' ⁴⁷ rgyu'des'na'ri'kha'cig'la' ⁴⁸ shing'mang'po' dang rtsa' ⁴⁹ mang'po'yod'la ri'kha'cig'la'shing'mang'po'dang rtsa' ⁵⁰ mang'po'med'do ci'i'phyir'shing'kha'cig'che'la kha'cig' chung'bar'gyur'ce'na _ _	9

Notes: ¹ dkar (H: idem); ² thur du (H: idem); ³ DYLCUZh: lcong, QN: bcong, H: gshod; ⁴ 'gyur ro; ⁵ QN: —; ⁶ H: 'gyur; ⁷ H: zhe; ⁸ DYLCUZh: chags (H: idem); ⁹ chen po (H: idem); ¹⁰ bshongs; ¹¹ H: gyur; ¹² H: mtshan mo'i; ¹³ H: nye ba'i; ¹⁴ +gyi (H: idem); ¹⁵ dkar, H: kar; ¹⁶ QN: gcong; H: gshong; ¹⁷ N: 'gyur; ¹⁸ H: —; ¹⁹ QN: rtsa; ²⁰ H: 'gyur; ²¹ H: +ri; ²² H: +ni; ²³ QN: rtsa; ²⁴ H: 'gyur; ²⁵ QN: —; ²⁶ po; ²⁷ DYLCUZh: rtswa; ²⁸ H: ro; ²⁹ H: —; ³⁰ +mang (H: idem); ³¹ H: la+sa; ³² DYLCUZh: ni, QN: la na; ³³ kyi; ³⁴ dang; ³⁵ H: tshan mo'i; ³⁶ +sa tshur gyi gzhi dang | (H: idem); ³⁷ dkar, H: kar; ³⁸ QN: rtsa; ³⁹ +gang (H: idem); ⁴⁰ +gi (H: idem); ⁴¹ nyi tshe, H: nye; ⁴² QN: rtsa; ⁴³ +gang (H: idem); ⁴⁴ nyi tshe, H: nye tshe; ⁴⁵ rnam'syod, H: med pa'i ri; ⁴⁶ rtswa (H: idem); ⁴⁷ de; ⁴⁸ H: —; ⁴⁹ QN: rtsa; ⁵⁰ rtswa.

Verso

smras'pa shing'gang'dag'la'sa'i'kham's'kyi'mthu'chen'po ⁵¹ yo'd'pa'dang chu'i'kham's'che'ba'dang _me'i'kham's ⁵² ran'pa' dang rlung'gi'kham's ⁵³ rnyoms ⁵⁴ pa'de'dag'ni'che'o ⁵⁵ shing' gang'dag'la'sa'i'kham's'kyi'mthu'chen'po'med'pa'dang _chu'i' kham's'chung'ba'dang' me'i'	1
kham's'ma ⁵⁶ ran'pa'dang rlung'gi' ⁵⁷ kham's'ma ⁵⁸ sn'yoms'pa'de' dag'ni'chung'ste _rgyu'des ⁵⁹ ni ⁶⁰ shing'kha'cig'che'la kha'cig' chung'bar''gyur ⁶¹ to ci'i'phyir'shing'kha'cig'gi'lo'ma ⁶² che' la ⁶³ ⁶⁴ kha'cig'gi ⁶⁵ chung'bar'gyur'ce'na _smras'pa _shing' gang'dag'la'sa'i'kham's'kyi'	2
mthu'chen'po ⁶⁶ yod'pa'dang _chu'i'kham's'che'ba'dang _me'i' kham's'ran'pa'dang rlung'gi'kham's'rnyoms ⁶⁷ pa'de'dag'gi'lo' ma'ni ⁶⁸ che'la ⁶⁹ shing'gang'dag'la'sa'i'kham's'kyi'mthu'chen' po'med'pa'dang chu'i'kham's'chung'ba'dang _me'i'kham's' ma ⁷⁰ ran'ba'dang rlung	3
gi'kham's'ma ⁷¹ sn'yoms'pa'de'dag'ni ⁷² lo'ma'ni'chung'ste _ rgyu'des'na'shing'kha'cig'gi ⁷³ lo'ma'che ⁷⁴ la _kha'cig' ⁷⁵ lo'ma' chung'ngo ci'i'phyir'shing'kha'cig'la'me'tog'yod'la kha'cig' la'me'tog'med'par'gyur'ce'na _ smras'pa ⁷⁶ shing'gang'dag' la ⁷⁷ kham's'bzang'po'I'sha-s	4
che'ba'de'dag'la'ni'me'tog'yod'do _ shing'gang'dag'la'kham's' bzang'pa'i ⁷⁸ shas'mi'che'ba'de'dag'la'ni ⁷⁹ me'tog'med'de _ rgyu'des'na'shing'kha'cig'la'me'tog'yod'la _kha'cig'la ⁸⁰ me' tog'med'do _ ci'i'phyir'shing'kha'cig'la''bras'bu'yod'la _kha' cig'la''bras'bu	5
med'par'gyur'ce'na _ smras'pa _ ⁸¹ shing'gang'dag'la'ro'i' kham's'kyi'shas'che'ba'de'dag'la'ni''bras'bu'yod'la shing'gang' dag'la ⁸² ro'I'kham's'kyi'shas'chung'ba'de'dag'la'ni''bras'bu' med'do ⁸³ _ rgyu'des ⁸⁴ shing'kha'cig'la''bras'bu'yo'd'la kha' cig'la''bras'bu'med'do:	6
ci'i'phyi'r'me'to'g'kha'cig'dri'zhim'la kha'cig'dri ⁸⁵ mi'zhim' par'gyur ⁸⁶ ce'na _ smras'pa _me'tog'gang'dag'la'kham's' bzang'po'yod'la _me'i'kham's'kyis ⁸⁷ ma'tshig ⁸⁸ de'dag'ni'dri'zhi'm'mo me'tog'gang'dag'la'kham's'bzang'po'yod'la ⁸⁹ _me'i'kham's'kyis ⁹⁰ tshig	7
pa'de'dag'ni'dri'm'i'zhim ⁹¹ ste rgyu'des'na'me'tog'kha'cig' dri'zhim'la _kha'cig'dri ⁹² zhim'par'gyur'to _ ci'i'phyir''bras'	8

bu'kha'cig'ro'dang'ldan'la kha'cig'ro'dang'mi'ldan'bar'gyur'ce' na _ smras'pa _'bras'bu'gang'dag'la ⁹³ ro'i'kham's'yod'la me'i'kham-s	
kyis'ma'tshig'pa'de'dag'ni'ro'dang'ldan'no _ 'bras'bu'gang'dag'la'ro'i'kham's'yod'la _me'i'kham's'kyis ⁹⁴ tshig'ba'de'dag'ni'ro'dang'mi ⁹⁵ ldan'te ⁹⁶ rgyu'des+na'bras'bu'kha'cig'ro'dang'ldan'la kha'cig'ro'dang'mi'ldan'par'gyur'to ⁹⁷ kha'dog'dang'ldan'ba'dang kha'dog'dang'mi'ldan'ba'	9

Notes: ⁵¹ che bo; ⁵² DYLCUZh: +ma; ⁵³ +ma; ⁵⁴ snyoms (H: idem); ⁵⁵ H: gi lo ma che la; ⁵⁶ Q: — (H: idem); ⁵⁷ H: kyi; ⁵⁸ H: —; ⁵⁹ QN: de; ⁶⁰ na (H: idem); ⁶¹ gyur (H: idem); ⁶² Q: —; ⁶³ H: +bar gyur; ⁶⁴ +shing (H: idem); ⁶⁵ DYLCUZh: —, H: +lo ma; ⁶⁶ H: che bo; ⁶⁷ snyoms (H: idem); ⁶⁸ H: —; ⁶⁹ DYLCUZh: ba; ⁷⁰ H: —; ⁷¹ H: —; ⁷² gi, H: gis; ⁷³ QN: —; ⁷⁴ H: che+ba; ⁷⁵ + gi, H: +ni; ⁷⁶ H: pas; ⁷⁷ DYLCUZh: —; ⁷⁸ po'i (H: idem); ⁷⁹ DYLCUZh: —; ⁸⁰ H: +ni; ⁸¹ H: +me tog gang la kham's bzang po yod la | me'i kham's kyis ma tshig pa de dag ni dri zhim mo; ⁸² H: —; ⁸³ de; ⁸⁴ +na (H: idem); ⁸⁵ DYLCUZh: —; ⁸⁶ H: 'gyur; ⁸⁷ QN: kyi; ⁸⁸ +pa; ⁸⁹ H: —; ⁹⁰ QN: kyi; ⁹¹ H: +pa; ⁹² +mi (H: idem); ⁹³ H: —; ⁹⁴ QN: kyi; ⁹⁵ H: +dang; ⁹⁶ H: to; ⁹⁷ H: te.

An assessment of the differences between these versions shows that AK181 does share certain variants with Hemis that it does not have in common with PDM's sources, but the disparities remain too great to justify a suggestion that Hemis and AK belong to a common tradition. Since this, and other two folios, are represented in many variants, there remain a chance that a better match will be found. We will delay further text-critical analysis until the future.

Fig. 1 (A, B). AK181 — za: f. 162 (IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 178)



2 (7–5). AK167–169

These three folios from vol. ma belong to the text *'Phags pa sa bcu pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, which is not included in the PDM. Therefore, it was impossible to identify the AK fragments with this sūtra in the TBRC/BDRC online library. Nevertheless, they were partially found in Vasubandhu's *Sa bcu pa'i rnam par bshad pa* (it is natural that the commentary quotes large fragments of the main text), and this identification was suggested initially (Helman-Ważny, Kriakina, Zorin 2015: 65). This mistake immediately became evident after we attempted to locate the sūtra itself and easily found it in ten manuscript versions of the Kangyur available in the rKTs database.

Initially, the text-critical analysis of these folios was based on their comparison with Vasubandhu's text. It is no surprise that significant omissions and commentarial passages were detected. Thus, AK167 (which is only half of the folio that has survived) does not have a large commentarial passage that appears in PDM, accounting for approximately 670 syllables, that runs from PDM vol. 65, p. 1135, line 14 to p. 1137, line 12. In AK167, this "omission" was detected in line 5 of the recto side. One had to read the PDM text to understand that this is nothing but a commentarial insertion, as indicated by the opening formula *zhes bya ba*, referring to the end of the citation to which the following commentary applies.

In the other two folios, AK168 and AK169, the passages in question were not just a single block of text but a series of shorter passages, reworked in such a way that in each case a quantity of text that occupied several pages in the PDM seemed to be trimmed down to occupy a single folio. However, most of them are also followed by the expression *zhes gsungs pa'o* that one would expect in a commentary. Thus, their apparent omission was simply a sign that AK168 belonged to the sūtra itself, not to its commentary.

There is no point, of course, in providing the full comparison with Vasubandhu's text in the edition of the first of the two complete folios, AK168, which we have selected for inclusion below. However, a representation of the recto side, with the main text highlighted in bold and the commentarial remarks made by Vasubandhu in plain font, may serve as a good and sufficient illustration.

The relevant fragment is found in the PDM Tengyur: vol. 65, pp. 1176⁽¹⁰⁾–1178⁽¹⁸⁾. The discrepancies between AK168 and PDM in the main text, and the discrepancies between three editions used for the PDM in the commentarial fragments are provided in brackets (Q signifies the Peking Tengyur, N the Narthang Tengyur).

<p>rab kyi mig sgrib pa med pa(par) rnam par sbyang bar bya'o zhes gsungs pa'o tshe rabs gzhan kun du tshol ba na legs par spyad pa la zhugs pa rnams kyi nyes pa ni lam ya nga bar zhugs pa yin te gang gi phyir kye ma sems can 'di dag ni 'khor ba'i lam ya nga(yang) bar zhugs pa (QN: —) zhes gsungs pa ste lam ya nga ba de ni rang bzhin dang gegs (QN: bgegs) dang chud za bar (QN: ba) bstan par rig par bya'o rang bzhin ni phongs pa'i gzhir gyur pa'i phyir 'khor ba'o de la (QN: las) nges par 'byung ba'i gegs (QN: bgegs) ni rnam pa brgyad do ngan song dang mthun pa'i phyir g.yang sa la mngon du phyogs pa ste gang gi phyir sems can dmyal ba dang dud 'gro'i skye gnas dang gshin rje'i</p>	1
<p>'jig rten gyi g.yang sa la mngon du phyogs pa zhes gsungs pa'o 'bras bu sdug bsngal ba bde bar lta ba la gnas pas rgya'i nang du zhugs pa ni gang gi phyir (N: +ro) lta ba ngan pa'i rgya nyam nga bar zhugs pa zhes gsungs pa'o de'i rgyu gti mug gi (QN: —) bag la nyal gyis khebs pa'i phyir thibs po'i (QN: pos) kun nas yogs (QN: g.yogs) pa'o des (QN: de) na brjod du zin kyang sdug bsngal de khong du mi (QN: —) chud pa ste gang gi phyir gti mug thibs (thigs) pos kun nas yogs⁶ (yog; QN: idem) pa zhes gsungs pa'o don dam pa'i bde ba la lam log par zhugs pa'i phyir log pa'i (QN: par) lam du zhugs pa ni gang gi phyir lam log par gol (par 'gal) ba'i lam du zhugs pa zhes gsungs pa'o thob (N: 'thob) pa'i 'bras bu yongs su spyod pa la 'dod chags kyis ldongs pa'i phyir ldongs par gyur pa ni gang gi phyir ldongs par gyur pa zhes gsungs pa'o mi khom par skyes pa dang bag med pa'i nyes pa gnyis kyis sangs rgyas 'byung ba mnyes par mi byed pas ston pa dang bral ba ni gang gi phyir yongs su</p>	2
<p>'dren pa med pa zhes gsungs pa'o bram ze la sogs pa tshangs pa'i 'jig rten la sogs pa la nges par 'byung bar lta bas gang du 'gro bar bsams pa de las de'i blo gzhan du gyur pa ni nges par 'byung ba ma yin pa la nges par 'byung bar lta ba zhes gsungs pa'o bdud kyi yul 'dod pa la kun du chags pa ni bsod nams zad pa dang mi sogs pa gnyis kyis (QN: kyi) bcom pa'i phyir chom pos zin pa ni gang gi phyir bdud kyi lam gyi (QN: gyis) chom pos zin pa zhes gsungs pa'o chud (QN: +mi) za ba ni rnam pa gsum ste sa ngan pa la gnas pa'i phyir ston pa mkhas pa med pa ni gang gi phyir yongs su 'dren pa mkhas pa dang bral ba zhes gsungs pa'o dgra'i sa na gnas pa ni gang gi phyir bdud kyi bsam pa'i (ba) thibs por zhugs pa zhes gsungs pa'o zun gyi sa las ring du gyur pa ni gang gi phyir sangs rgyas la</p>	3

<p>bsams¹² (bsam; QN: idem) pa las ring du gyur pa yin gyis (QN: gyi) zhes gsungs pa'o de dag dang thun pa'i gnyen po ni 'khor ba las bsgral ba dang thams cad mkhyen pa nyid la dgod pa ste gang gi phyir de dag bdag gis (QN: gi) rnam pa de (—) lta bu'i 'khor ba'i (+'khor ba'i) nags khung (N: khungs) ya nga (yang) ba bgrod par dka' ba las bsgral (QN: sgral) bar bya 'jigs pa med pa'i gnas thams cad mkhyen</p>	4
<p>pa nyid kyi grong khyer chen por dgod par bya'o zhes gsungs pa'o l'gro ba'i sgo nas srid pa tshol ba ni klung chen por bying ba nyid kyi nyes pa ste gang gi phyir kye ma sems can 'di dag ni klung (dba') rlabs chen po'i nang du bying ba zhes gsungs pa'o de ni rang bzhin dang gnod pa 'byung bar byed pa dang chud za bas bstan par rig par bya'o de la rnam pa lngas rang bzhin bstan te chu bo'i klung che ba'i phyir <i>zab pa ni gang gi phyir</i> (QN: —) 'dod pa dang srid pa dang ma rig pa dang lta ba'i chu bor zhugs pa zhes gsungs pa'o l'khor ba'i rgyun gyis rjes su bdas (QN: 'das) pa'i phyir bdas pa ni gang gi phyir 'khor ba'i rgyun gyis bdas pa (QN: gyi bdas pa'o) zhes gsungs pa'o </p>	5
<p>sred (QN: srid) pa zhes bya ba'i phyir ming ni gang gi phyir sred pa'i chu klung du zhugs pa zhes gsungs pa'o l'skad cig tsam yang mi sdod pa dang 'gram blta (QN: pa lta) bar mi nus pa'i phyir shugs drag pa ni gang gi phyir shugs drag pos bdas te lta (blta) ba'i mthu med pa zhes gsungs pa'o l'dod pa la sogs pa'i rnam par rtog pa mang po'i rjes su 'gro bas rgyas pa nyid ni gang gi phyir 'dod pa dang gnod sems dang rnam par 'tshe ba'i rnam par rtog pa mang po'i rjes su rgyu ba zhes gsungs pa'o l'gnod pa 'byung bar byed pa yang (QN: dang) rnam pa bzhi ste ngar 'dzin pa dang nga yir 'dzin pa gnyis kyis khyim gyi (N: gyis) gnas las mi 'phags pa'i phyir chu srin gyis (QN: gyi) zin pa ni gang gi phyir 'jig (QN: 'jigs) tshogs la (pa) lta ba'i chu'i srin pos zin pa zhes gsungs pa'o l'bor nas kyang 'dod pa rjes su dran pas 'dod pa rnams su skor (N: bskor) ba'i phyir klong du chud pa ni gang gi phyir</p>	6
<p>'dod pa'i thibs po'i (pos) klong du zhugs pa zhes gsungs pa'o lyongs su spyod pa'i dus na dga' ba can dang 'dod chags kyis (QN: kyi) bde ba'i 'dam du thogs pa'i phyir dkyil du thogs pa ni gang gi phyir dga' ba can dang 'dod chags kyi dkyil du kun du thogs pa zhes gsungs pa'o l'tha snyad kyi dus na nga drag go snyam pa la sogs pa nga rgyal rnam pa gsum gyis (QN: gyi) khengs par gyur pa'i phyir gling gi thang la thon (QN: 'thon) pa ni gang gi phyir nga'o snyam pa'i nga rgyal gyi thang la (las) 'thon ('khyams) pa zhes gsungs pa'o l'chud za ba yang rnam pa gsum ste ngan song rnams na skyabs med</p>	7

<p>pa'i phyir 'chi bas chud za ba ni gang gi phyir dpung gnyen med pa (QN: pa'o) zhes gsungs pa'o bde 'gror mi 'phags pa'i phyir mi 'gro bas (QN: ba) chud za ba ni gang gi phyir skye mched kyi grong nas ma 'phags pa zhes gsungs pa'o mi khom par skyes te sangs rgyas 'byung ba dang bral ba'i phyir gzhan du 'gro bas chud za ba ni gang gi phyir sgrol ba (+la)</p>	
<p>mkhas pa dang bral ba yin gyi (gyis) zhes gsungs pa'o de rnams las bzlog pa de dag dang mthun pa'i gnyen po ni thams cad mkhyen pa nyid kyis (QN: kyis) bton te thams cad mkhyen pa nyid kyis gling 'tshe ba med pa rdul med pa 'jigs pa dang skrag pa thams cad med pa</p>	8

Once the correct identification had been made we compared AK168 with the corresponding fragments found in the abovementioned ten Kangyur manuscripts. Almost all of them exhibit several significant discrepancies with AK168. We chose the Stog Kangyur as representative of this lineage (note that there are minor discrepancies between it and other eight variants). Only one Kangyur, namely Phug brag, contains a version that is essentially closer to AK168, although in some minor points it is closer to the Stog Kangyur.

Fig. 2 (A, B). AK168 — ma: f. 25 (IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 186)



AK168: vol. ma, fol. 25

IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 186. See fig. 2 (A, B)

PDM: —

Stog Kanjur: mdo, vol. ga, fols. 59b⁽¹⁾–60b⁽⁴⁾Phug Brag: mdo, vol. gi, fols. 31b⁽⁶⁾–33a⁽¹⁾

Recto ma__nye-r'lnga'

@# __ rab'kyi'mig'sgrib'pa'med'par'rnam'par' ¹ sbyang' ² bar'bya'o kye'ma'sems'can'd'i'dag'ni''khor'ba'i'lam'yang'bar' ³ zhugs'pa ⁴ sems'can'dmyal'ba'dang dud'gro'i'skye'gnas'dang gshin'rje'i'	1
'jig'rten'gyi'g.yang' ⁵ sa'la'mngon'tu'phyogs'pa _lta'ba'ngan'ba'<i>rgya' ⁶ nyam'nga'bar'zhugs'pa gti'mug' ⁷ thigs' ⁸ pos'kun'nas'yog' ⁹ pa'lam'log'pa'gol' ¹⁰ ba'i'lam'du'zhugs'pa ldongs' ¹¹ par'gyur'pa yong-su'	2
'dren'pa'med'pa nges'par' ¹² byung'ba'ma'yin'ba'la'nges'par' ¹³ 'byung'bar'lta'ba'bdud'kyi'lam'gyi'chom'pos' ¹⁴ zin'ba yong-su''dren'pa'mkhas'pa'dang'bral'ba ¹⁵ bdud'kyi'bsam'ba'thibs' ¹⁶ por'zhugs'pa'sangs'rgyas'la' ¹⁷ __	3
bsam'ba'las'ring'du'gyur'ba'y'in'gyis de'dag'bdag'gis'rnam'pa' ¹⁸ lta'bu'i''khor'ba'i''khor'ba'<i>nags'khung'yang'ba' ¹⁹ bgrod'par'dka'ba'las'bsgral'bar'bya 'jigs' ²⁰ pa'med'pa'i'gnas'thams'cad'mkhyen'	4
pa'nyid'kyi' ²¹ grong'khyer'chen'por' ²² dgod'par'bya'o kye'ma'sems'can'd'i'dag'ni'dba'' ²³ rlabs'chen'po'i'nang'du'byi'ng'ba''dod'pa'dang'srid'pa'dang'ma'rig'pa'dang'lta'ba'<i>chu'bor'zhugs'pa 'khor'ba'i'rgyun'kyis'bdas' ²⁴ pa'_	5
sred' ²⁵ pa'i'chu' ²⁶ klung'du'zhugs'pa shugs'drag'pos'bdas'te'blta'ba'i'mthu'med'pa 'dod'pa'dang'gnod'sems'dang rnam'par''tshe' ²⁷ ba'i'rnam'par'rtog' ²⁸ pa'mang'po'i'rje-su'rgyu'ba' ²⁹ 'jig'tshogs'pa'lta'ba'i'chu'i'srin'po-s'zin'pa;	6
'dod'pa'i' ³⁰ thi>bs'pos' ³¹ klong' ³² du'zhugs'pa dga'' ³³ ba'can'dang 'dod'chags'kyi'dkyil'tu'kun'tu'thogs'pa'nga'o'snyam'ba'i'nga'rgyal'gyi'thang'las' ³⁴ khyams' ³⁵ pa dpung'gny<e>n'med'pa _skye'mched'kyi'grong' ³⁶ nas'ma'phags'pa sgröl'ba'_	7
la'mkhas'pa' ³⁷ dang'bral'ba'yin'gyis de'dag'bdag'gis'snying'rje'chen'po'dang'dge'ba'<i>rtsa'ba'i'stobs'kyis'btön' ³⁸ te'thams'cad'mkhyen'pa'nyid'kyi'gling''tshe'ba'med'pa rdul'med'pa' ³⁹	8

'jigs'pa'dang skrag'pa'thams'cad'med'pa'_	
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Notes: ¹ F: —; ² F: sbyangs; ³ F: lam du, S: mya ngan gyi lam du; ⁴ S: pas; ⁵ dbyangs; ⁶ F: rgyun, S: rgyu; ⁷ F: +gi; ⁸ FS: thibs; ⁹ F: g.yogs; ¹⁰ S: —; ¹¹ F: ldangs; ¹² S: —; ¹³ S: —; ¹⁴ F: po'i; ¹⁵ FS: —; ¹⁶ F: thigs; ¹⁷ S: kyī; ¹⁸ FS: +de; ¹⁹ F: idem but nag, S: 'brog dgon pa; ²⁰ F: 'jig; ²¹ S: pa'i; ²² S: +rab tu; ²³ F: rba; ²⁴ F: brdas, S: 'das; ²⁵ S: srid; ²⁶ S: —; ²⁷ F: tshe; ²⁸ F: rtogs; ²⁹ FS: zhugs pa; ³⁰ F: pa; ³¹ FS: po'i; ³² F: gling; ³³ S: dka'; ³⁴ FS: la; ³⁵ F: thon; ³⁶ F: +khyer; ³⁷ F: —; ³⁸ F: ston, S: gton; ³⁹ S: par.

Verso

la ⁴⁰ dgod'par'bya'o;kye'ma'sems'can'di'dag'ni'khor'ba'i brtson'rar'bcug'pa sdug'bsngal'dang'yid'mi'bde'ba'dang 'khrug'pa'mang'po'mang'ba'bsdug'pa'dang mi'sdug'par''brel' ba ⁴¹ mya'ngan'dang'smre'sngags'don'	1
pa'dang'bcas'pa'I'rje-su'rgyu'ba sred' ⁴² pa'i'sgrog'tu'bcug' pa khams'gsum'pa'i' ⁴³ thibs'pos'kun'nas'khebs'pa'yin'gyis de'dag'bdag'gis'khams'gsum'pa' ⁴⁴ thams'cad'las'dben'ba''jigs' pa'med'pa'i'grong'khyer'	2
sdug'bsngal'thams'cad'nye'bar'zhi'ba'sgrib'pa'med' ⁴⁵ pa ⁴⁶ mya'ngan'las'das'pa'la' ⁴⁷ dgod'par'bya'o kye'ma'sems'can' 'di'dag'ni'bdag'tu'mngon'bar'zhe'na'pa phung'po'I'gnas' la-s' ⁴⁸ phags'pa phyin'ci'log'bzhis ⁴⁹ _	3
'gro'ba;skye'mched'drug'gi' ⁵⁰ grong'stong'pa'na'gnas'pa' 'byung'ba'chen'po'bzhi'i'sprul'gyis'gtses'pa phung__po'i' ⁵¹ gshed'ma'i'chom'pos' ⁵² bcom'pa'sdug'bsngal'dpag'tu'med'pa' myong' ⁵³ bar'gyur' ⁵⁴ ba'yin'gyis de'dag'_	4
bdag'gis'mchog'tu'bde'ba' ⁵⁵ dang ⁵⁶ gnas'pa'thams'cad'dang' bral'ba 'd'i'lta'ste sgrib'pa'thams'cad'spangs'pa'i'mya'ngan' las'das'pa'la' ⁵⁷ dgod'par'bya'o kye'ma'sems'can'di'dag'ni' ⁵⁸ zhum'zhing'zhan' ⁵⁹ pas'mos'	5
pa'dman' ⁶⁰ ba'thams'cad'mkhyen'pa'i'ye'shes'mchog'gi'sems' mi'bdog'pa' ⁶¹ theg'pa'chen'po'I' ⁶² nges'par' ⁶³ 'byung'ba'yod' bzhin'du' ⁶⁴ nyan'thos'dang rang'sangs'rgyas'kyi'theg'par' lhung' ⁶⁵ ba'yin'gyis de'dag'gis' ⁶⁶ _	6
bdag'gis'sangs'rgyas'kyi'chos'rgya'chen'pos' ⁶⁷ blo' ⁶⁸ gros'nam' par'rgyas'pas'dmigs'pa'la' ⁶⁹ dgod'par'bya'o'snya-mo kye' rgyal'ba'i'sras'dag'de'ltar'tshul'khrims'kyi'stobs'bskyed'pa'de' lta'bu'dang'ldan'ba'bya'ba'mngon'ba-r'bsgrub' ⁷⁰ _	7

pa'la mkhas pa' ci byang chub sems dpa'i ⁷¹ sa dri ma med pa' la gnas pa de la mthong ba rgya chen po dang smon lam gyi stobs kyi sangs rgyas mang po snang bar' gyur te mthong ba ⁷² chen po dang smon lam gyi stobs kyi ⁷³ sangs _	8
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Notes: ⁴⁰ S: +rab tu; ⁴¹ F: dang, S: mang po mang ba dang sdug pa dang | mi sdug par 'brel ba; ⁴² S: srid; ⁴³ FS: +ma rig pa'i; ⁴⁴ S: pa'i gnas; ⁴⁵ S: —; ⁴⁶ F: pa'i; ⁴⁷ S: +rab tu; ⁴⁸ FS: +ma; ⁴⁹ S: bzhir; ⁵⁰ F: kyi; ⁵¹ F: po lnga'i; ⁵² F: po'i; ⁵³ F: myung; ⁵⁴ F: 'gyur; ⁵⁵ S: —; ⁵⁶ FS: —; ⁵⁷ S: +rab tu; ⁵⁸ S: +mos pa chung bas; ⁵⁹ F: zhen; ⁶⁰ S: —; ⁶¹ S: pas; ⁶² F: pos; ⁶³ S: —; ⁶⁴ S: kyang; ⁶⁵ F: ltung; ⁶⁶ FS: —; ⁶⁷ FS: po; ⁶⁸ S: blos; ⁶⁹ S: +rab tu; ⁷⁰ S: sgrub; ⁷¹ F: byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po, S: byang chub sems dpa' | byang chub sems dpa'i; ⁷² FS: +rgya; ⁷³ FS: kyi.

3 (4-2). AK244-246

The three folios from vol. pa were added by Alexander Zorin to the list of the hypothetical Ablai-kit Tengyur material after 2015 since all of them are kept outside of Russia, and it took time to obtain access to them. Just as with the previous group, the text represented by these folios, *Zla ba'i khyim brtsi ba dang rgyu skar brtsi ba'i mdo las 'byung ba zla ba'i bam brtsi ba*, is not included in the PDM. Similar fragments were, however, located in another canonical text, *Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo'i mdo'i 'bum 'grel* by Karmavajra.

The section contained in the first two folios (kept in London and Paris respectively) is, essentially, a repeating list of the twenty-eight lunar mansions. Since there are thirty days in each month, the list simply begins again on the twenty-ninth day. The months in each case are named according to the old Tibetan system that follows a tripartite division of each season. Thus the spring (*dpyid*), summer (*dbyar*) autumn (*ston*) and winter (*dgun*) are each divided into a first (*ra ba*), middle (*'bring po*) and final (*tha chung[s]*), month. The first month of spring (*dpyid zla ra ba*) may correspond either to the first month of the Hor calendar or of the agricultural (*so nam*) year, which precedes it by a month.

There are certain notable differences between the lists given in the AK folios and the PDM. To begin with relatively minor disparities, we may note that, unlike the PDM, AK divides its months into a first ('upper') part (*yar ngo*) and a second ('lower') part (*mar ngo*). Thus the PDM's list opens with "...on the first day of the first month of spring..." (...*dpyid zla ba ra ba'i tshes gcig la...*), whereas the corresponding point in AK244 is "In the upper part of the first month of spring, on the first day..." (*dpyid zla ra ba yar gyi ngo la tshes gcig la...*); and while PDM continues with an unbroken sequence of lunar

mansions until the next month, in AK244 the fifteenth day is followed by the heading “In the lower part of the first day of spring, the sixteenth day” (*dpyid zla ra ba mar gyi ngo la tshes bcu drug*). Another minor point in AK’s list that may be mentioned concerns the name of Rohinī: both AK and PDM usually use the Tibetan name *snar ma*, but on just two occasions AK uses the alternative, and more unusual, name *be’u ded*. A curious feature of both lists is that except in one case in PDM the names of the consecutive mansions Dhaniṣṭā and Śatabhiṣa, respectively *mon gre* and *mon gru*, have been systematically reversed.

Apart from these relatively minor discrepancies, the really significant difference between the two lists is that they do not agree on the point in the repeating sequence of lunar mansions at which each month begins. The sequence in the PDM begins (logically) with the first month of spring, for which the lunar mansion is *byi bzhin* (Sk. Abhijita). The first spring month does appear in the first line of AK244, but it is preceded by five lunar mansions that must belong to the preceding month, presumably the last month of winter (*dgun zla tha chung*). The PDM’s list ends (as one would expect) with the last day of the last winter month, thereby completing the full annual cycle. In AK245 – which immediately follows AK244 – by contrast, the list ends with the last day of the first half of the last autumn month (*ston zla tha chung[s]*). If the folios available to us do contain part of a full annual cycle, then we would have to conclude that the beginning of the cycle, which would be on the folio that preceded AK244, must be the second half of the last autumn month.

The discrepancies between the two lists are clearly too great to justify considering them as different witnesses of the same work. Moreover, after the third folio kept in Uppsala came to our attention it turned out that its fragment has no textual parallels with Karmavajra’s treatise. It was a clear sign that the identification was wrong. Perhaps, these folios would have remained a mystery if AK245 did not have an intermediate colophon: *’jig rten ston pa’i le’u las | sa g.yo ba la+stsogs pa’i ltas kyi le’u nyi tshes logs shig du phyung ba | rgyu skar nyi shu’i gnas bstan pa mdo sde rtag rna chen po legs so*. It could not be detected in the BDRC or rKTs e-texts. However, the constituent elements could be used, and after several probes the element *rgyu skar* enabled us to find *Zla ba’i khyim brtsi ba dang rgyu skar brtsi ba’i mdo las ’byung ba zla ba’i bam brtsi ba* in the rKTs database. This is not a long text (in the Stog Kangyur it covers fewer than 14 folios), and very soon, our insistence was rewarded.

The text is found in nine manuscript Kangyurs, but they seem to represent the same textual version, slightly different from the one found in AK. We used the Stog Kangyur for our comparison. The

corresponding passages of the three works – AK, PDM and Stog – are presented below in tabular form for convenience of comparison. Numbers in parentheses in the left and right columns refer to folio numbers of AK244–245 and the Stog version respectively, while those in the middle column denote page numbers in vol. 36 of the PDM Bstan 'gyur.

AK244	PDM: vol. 36	Stog Kanjur	
[dgun zla tha chung]		[dgun zla tha chung]	
<i>tshes 1–25 on missing preceding folio</i>		<i>tshes 1–25 on fol. 353b⁽²⁻⁵⁾</i>	
[nyi shu drug] (recto 1) la chu smad	<i>the winter months are placed at the end of the list</i>	nyi shu drug la chu smad	
nyi shu bdun la byi bzhin		nyi shu bdun la byi bzhin	
nyi shu brgyad la gro zhin		nyi shu brgyad la gro bzhin	
nyi shu dgu la mon gru		nyi shu dgu la mon gru	
tshes sum bcu la mon gre dbang		tshes sum cu la mon gre dbang	
dpyid zla ra ba yar gyi ngo la		(1462, line 7) de nas dpyid zla ra ba'i	dpyid zla ra ba yar gyi ngo
tshes gcig la khnums stod		tshes gcig la ni skar ma byi bzhin no	tshes gcig la khnums stod
gnyis la khrum (2) smad	gnyis la gro bzhin	tshes gnyis la khnums smad	
gsum la nam gru	gsum la mon gre (QN: dre)	tshes gsum la nam gru	
bzhi la tha skar	bzhi la mon gru'o	tshes bzhi la tha skar	
linga la bra nye	linga la khnums (N: khrum) stod	linga la bra nye	
drug la smin drug	drug la khnums (N: khrum) smad do	drug la smin drug	
bdun la be'u ded	bdun la nam gru'o	bdun la be'u ded	
brgyad la 'go	brgyad la tha skar ro	brgyad la mgo	
dgu la lag	dgu la bra nye'o	dgu la lag	
bcu la nam so	bcu la smin drug	bcu la nab so	
bcu gcig la rgyal	bcu gcig la snar ma	bcu gcig la rgyal	
bcu gnyis la skag	bcu gnyis la mgo	bcu gnyis la skag	

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bcu gsum la mchu	bcu gsum la lag	bcu gsum la mchu
bcu (3) bzhi la gre	bcu bzhi la nab (QN: nabs) so	bcu bzhi la gre
bco lnga la dbo dbang	bco lnga la rgyal lo (QN: —)	bco lnga la dbo dbang
dpyid zla ra ba mar gyi ngo la		dpyid zla ra ba mar (354a) gyi ngo la
tshes bcu drug la me bzhi	bcu drug la skag	tshe bcu drug la me bzhi
tshes bcu bdun la nag pa	bcu bdun la mchu	bcu bdun la nag pa
bco brgyad la sa ri	bco brgyad la gre	bco brgyad la sa ri
bcu dgu la sa ga	bco dgu la dbo	bcu dgu la sa ga
nyi shu la lha 'tshams	nyi shul la me bzhi	nyi shu la lha mtshams
nyi shu gcig la snron	nyi shu gcig la nag pa	nyi shu gcig la snron
nyi shu (4) gnyis la snums	nyi shu gnyis la sa ri	nyi shu gnyis la snrubs
nyi shu gsum la chu stod	nyi shu gsum la sa ga	nyi shu gsum la chu stod
nyi shu bzhi la chu smad	nyi shu bzhi la lha mtshams	nyi shu bzhi la chu smad
nyi shu lnga la byi zhin	nyi shu lnga la snron	nyi shu lnga la byi bzhin
nyi shu drug la 'gro zhin	nyi shu drug la snrubs (Q: snrus)	nyi shu drug la gro bzhin
nyi shu bdun la mon gru	nyi shu bdun la chu stod	nyi shu bdun la mon gru
nyi shu brgyad la mon gre	nyi shu brgyad la chu smad	nyi shug brgyad la mon gre
nyi shu dgu la khrum stod	nyi shu dgu la byi bzhin	nyi shu dgu la khnums stod
tshes sum bcu la khrum smad dbang	gnam stong la gro bzhin no	tshes sum cu la khnums smad dbang
(5) dpyid zla 'bring po yar gyi ngo la	dpyid zla 'bring po'i	dpyid zla 'bring po yar gyi ngo la
tshes gcig la nam gru	tshes gcig la mon gru	tshes gcig la nam gru

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gnyis la tha skar	gnyis la mon gre (Q: dre, N: bre)	nyis la tha skar
gsum la bra nye	gsum la khnums stod	gsum la bra nye
bzhi la smin drug	bzhi la khnums smad	bzhi la smin drug
lnga la be'u ded	lnga la nam gru	lnga la be'u ded
drug la 'go	drug la tha skar	drug la mgo
bdun la lag	bdun la bra nye	bdun la lag
brgyad la nam so	brgyad la smin drug	brgyad la nab so
dgu la rgyal	dgu la snar ma	dgu la rgyal
bcu la skag	bcu la mgo	bcu la skag
bcu (6) gcig la mchu	bcu gcig la lag	bcu gcig la mchu
bcu gnyis la gre	bcu gnyis la nab (QN: nabs) so	bcu gnyis la gre
bcu gsum la dbo	bcu gsum la rgyal	bcu gsum la dbo
bcu bzhi la me bzhi	bcu bzhi la skag	bcu bzhi la me bzhi
bco lnga la nag pa dbang	bco lnga la mchu	bco lnga la nag pa dbang
dpyid za 'bring po mar gyi ngo la		dpyid zla 'bring po mar gyi ngo la
bcu drug la sa ri	bcu drug la gre	bcu drug la sa ri
bcu bdun la sa ga	bcu bdun la dbo	bcu bdun la sa ga
bco brgyad la lha mtshams	(1463) bco brgyad la me bzhi	bco brgyad la lha mtshams
bcu (7) bcu (sic) dgu la snron	bcu dgu la nag pa	bcu dgu la snron
nyi shu la snums	nyi shu la sa ri	nyi shu la snrubs
nyi shu gcig la chu stod	nyi shu gcig la sa ga	nyi shu gcig la chu stod
nyi shu gnyis la chu smad	nyi shu gnyis la lha mtshams	nyi shu gnyis la chu smad
nyi shu gsum la byi zhin	nyi shu gsum la snron	nyi shu gsum la byi bzhin
nyi shu bzhi la gro zhin	nyi shu bzhi la snrubs	nyi shu bzhi la gro bzhin
nyi shu lnga la mon gru	nyi shu lnga la chu stod	nyi shu lnga la mon gru
nyi shu drug la mon gre	nyi shu drug la chu smad	nyi shu drug la mon gre

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nyi shu bdun la khrum stod	nyi shu bdun la byi bzhin	nyi shu bdun la khnums stod
nyi shu brgyad la (8) <khnums smad>	nyi shu brgyad la gro (QN: dro) bzhin	nyi shu brgyad la khnums smad
nyi shu dgu la nam gru	nyi shu dgu la mon gru	nyi shu dgu la nam gru
tshes sum bcu la tha skar dbang	gnam stong la mon gre'o (Q: dre'o, N: bre'o)	tshes sum cu la tha skar dbang
dpyid zla tha chungs yar gyi ngo la	dpyid zla tha chungs kyi	dpyid zla tha chung yar gyi ngo la
tshes gcig la bra nye	tshes gcig la khnums stod	tshes gcig la bra nye
gnyis la smin drug	gnyis la khnums smad	tshes gnyis la smin drug
gsum la snar ma	gsum la nam gru	gsum la snar ma
bzhi la 'go	bzhi la dbyu (QN: dbyug) gu	bzhi la mgo
Inga la lag	Inga la bra nye	Inga la lag
drug la nab so	drug la smin drug	drug la nab so
(verso, 1) <bdun la rgyal>	bdun la snar ma	bdun la rgyal
brgyad la skag	brgyad la mgo	brgyad la skag
dgu la mchu	dgu la lag	dgu la mchu
bcu la gre	bcu la nab (Q: nabs) so	bcu la gre
bcu gcig la dbo	bcu gcig la rgyal	bcu gcig (354b) la dbo
bcu gnyis la me bzhi	bcu gnyis la skag	bcu gnuis la me bzhi
bcu gsum la nag pa	bcu gsum la mchu	bcu gsum la nag pa
bcu bzhi la sa ri	bcu bzhi la (QN: —) gre	bcu bzhi la sa ri
bco Inga la sa ga dbang	bco Inga la dbo	bco Inga la sa ga dbang
dpyid zla tha chungs mar gyi ngo la		dpyid zla tha chung gi mar gyi ngo la

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tshes <bcu> (2) <drug> la lha 'tshams	bcu drug la me bzhi	tshes bcu drug la lha mtshams
bcu bdun la snron	bcu bdun la nag (QN: lag) pa	bcu bdun la snron
bco brgyad la snums	bco brgyad la sa ri	bco brgyad la snrubs
bcu dgu la chu stod	bcu dgu la sa ga	bcu dgu la chu stod
nyi shu la chu smad	nyi shu la lha mtshams	nyi shu la chu smad
nyi shu gcig la byi zhin	nyi shu gcig la snron	nyi shu gcig la byi bzhin
nyi shu gnyis la gro zhin	nyi shu gnyis la snrubs	nyi shu gnyis la gro bzhin
nyi shu gsum la mon gru	nyi shu gsum la chu stod	nyi shu gsum la mon gru
nyi shu bzhi la mon gre	nyi shu bzhi la chu smad	nyi shu bzhi la mon gre
nyi shu lnga la (3) khrum stod	nyi shu lnga la gro bzhin	nyi shu lnga la khrums stod
nyi shu drug la khrums smad	nyi shu drug la byi bzhin	nyi shu drug la khrums smad
nyi shu bdun la nam gru	nyi shu bdun la mon gru	nyi shu bdun la nam gru
nyi shu brgyad la tha skar	nyi shu brgyad la mon gre (Q: dre, N: bre)	nyi shu brgyad la tha skar
nyi shu dgu bra nye	nyi shu dgu la khrums stod	nyi shu dgu la bra nye
sum bcu la smin drug dbang	gnam stong la khrum smad do	tshes sum cu la smin drug dbang
dbyar zla ra ba yar gyi ngo la	dbyar zla ra ba'i	dbyar zla ra ba yar gyi ngo la
tshes gcig la snar ma gnyis la 'go	tshes gcig la nam gru tshe gnyis la dbyu (QN: dbyug) gu	tshes gcig la snar ma gnyis la mgo
gsum (4) la lag	tshes gsum la bra nye'o	gsum la lag
bzhi la nam so	bzhi la smin drug	bzhi la nab so
lnga la rgyal	lnga la snar ma	lnga la rgyal
drug la skag	tshes drug la mgo	drug la skag

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bdun la mchu	tshes bdun la lag	bdun la mchu
brgyad la gre	tshes brgyad la nab (Q: nabs) so	brgyad la gre
dgu la dbo	tshes dgu la rgyal	dgu la dbo
bcu la me bzhi	tshes bcu la skag	bcu la me bzhi
bcu gcig la nag pa	tshes bcu gcig la mchu	bcu gcig la nag pa
bcu gnyis la sa ri	tshes bcu gnyis la gre	bcu gnyis la sa ri
bcu gsum la sa ga	tshes bcu gsum la dbo	bcu gsum la sa ga
bcu bzhi la lha 'tshams	bcu bzhi la me bzhi	bcu bzhi la lha mtshams
bco (5) lnga la snron dbang	bco lnga la nag pa	bco lnga la snron dbang
dbyar zla ra ba mar gyi ngo la		dbyar zla ra ba mar gyi ngo la
bcu drug la snums	bcu drug la sa ri	tshes bcu drug la snrubs
bcu bdun la chu stod	bcu bdun la sa ga	bcu bdun la chu stod
bco brgyad la chu smad	bco brgyad la lha mtshams	bco brgyad la chu smad
bcu dgu la byi zhin	bcu dgu la snron	bcu dgu la byi bzhin
<i>[nyi shu omitted, gro bzhin]</i>	nyi shu la snrubs	nyi shu la gro bzhin
nyi shu gcig la mon gru	nyi shu gcig la chu stod	nyi shu gcig la mon gru
nyi shu gnyis la mon gre	nyi shu gnyis la chu smad	nyi shu gnyis la mon gre
nyi shu gsum la khrum stod	nyi shu gsum la byi bzhin	nyi shu gsum la khrums stod
(6) nyi shu bzhi la khrum smad	nyi shu bzhi la gro bzhin	nyi shu bzhi la khrums smad
nyi shu lnga la nam gru	(1464) nyi shu lnga la mon gru	nyi shu lnga la nam gru
nyi shu drug la tha skar	nyi shu drug la mon gre (N: bre)	nyi shu drug la tha skar
nyi shu bdun la bra nye	nyi shu bdun la khrums stod	nyi shu bdun la bra nye

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nyi shu brgyad la smin drug	nyi shu brgyad la khrooms (QN: khrum) smad	nyi shu brgyad la smin drug
nyi shu dgu la snar ma	nyi shu dgu la nam gru	nyi shu dgu la snar ma
tshes sum bcu la 'go dbang	gnam stong la dbyu (QN: dbyug) gu	tshes sum cu la mgo dbang
dbyar zla 'bring po yar gyi ngo la	dbyar zla 'bring po'i	dbyar zla 'bring po yar gyi ngo la
tshes gcig la (7) lag	tshes gcig la bra nye	tshes gcig la lag
gnyis la nam so	gnyis la smin drug	tshes gnyis la (355a) nab so
gsum la rgyal	gsum la bi rdzi	gsum la rgyal
bzhi la skag	bzhi la mgo	bzhi la skag
Inga la mchu	Inga la lag	Inga la mchu
drug la gre	drug la nab (QN: nabs) so	drug la gre
bdun la dbo	bdun la rgyal	bdun la dbo
brgyad la me bzhi	brgyad la (N: +la) skag	brgyad la me bzhi
dgu la nag pa	dgu la mchu	dgu la nag pa
bcu la sa ri	bcu la gre	bcu la sa ri
bcu gcig la sa ga	bcu gcig la dbo	bcu gcig la sa ga
bcu gnyis la lha 'tshams	bcu gnyis la me bzhi	bcu gnyis la lha mtshams
bcu gsum (8) la snron	bcu gsum la nag pa	bcu gsum la snron
bcu bzhi la snrubs	bcu bzhi la sa ri	bcu bzhi la snrubs
bco Inga la mchu stod dbang	bco Inga la sa ga	bco Inga la chu stod dbang
dbyar zla 'bring po mar gyi ngo la		dbyar zla 'bring po mar gyi ngo la
tshes bcu drug la chu smad	bcu drug la lha mtshams	tshes bcu drug la chu smad
bcu bdun la byi zhin	bcu bdun la snron	bcu bdun la byi bzhin
bco brgyad la gro zhin	bco brgyad la snrubs	bco brgyad la gro bzhin
<i>[mon gru omitted]</i>		
bcu dgu la mo gre	bcu dgu la chu stod	bcu dgu la mon gru

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		[<i>mon gre omitted</i>]
nyi shu la khрум stod	tshes nyi shu la chu smad	nyi shu la khруms stod

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nyi shu (recto 1) gcig la khрум smad	(1464 <i>contd.</i>) nyi shu gcig la byi bzhin	nyi shu gcig la khруms smad
nyi shu gnyis la nam gru	nyi shu gnyis la gro bzhin	nyi shu gnyis la nam gru
nyi shu gsum la tha skar	nyi shu gsum la mon gru	nyi shu gsum la tha skar
nyi shu bzhi la bra nye	nyi shu bzhi la mon gre (N: bre)	nyi shu bzhi la bra nye
nyi shu lnga la smin drug	nyi shu lnga la khруms stod	nyi shu lnga la smin drug
nyi shu drug la snar ma	nyi shu drug la khруms smad	nyi shu drug la snar ma
nyi shu bdun la 'go	nyi shu bdun la nam gru	nyi shu bdun la mgo
nyi shu brgyad la lag	nyi shu brgyad la tha skar	nyi shu brgyad la lag
nyi shu dgu la nam so	nyi shu dgu la bra nye	nyi shu dgu la nab so
(2) sum bcu la rgyal dbang	gnam stong la smin drug go	sum cu la rgyal
dbyar zla tha chung yar gyi ngo la	dbyar zla tha chung kyi	dbyar zla tha chung yar gyi ngo la
tshe gcig la skag	tshes gcig la snar ma	tshes gcig la skag
gnyis la mchu	tshes gnyis la mgo	tshes gnyis la mchu
gsum la gre	tshes gsum la lag	gsum la gre
bzhi la dbo	tshes bzhi la nab (QN: nabs) so	bzhi la dbo
lnga la me bzhi	tshes lnga la rgyal	lnga la me bzhi
drug la nag pa	tshes drug la skag	drug la nag pa
bdun la sa ri	tshes bdun la mchu	bdun la sa ri
brgyad la sa ga	tshes brgyad la gre	brgyad la sa ga
dgu la lha 'tshams	tshes dgu la dbo	dgu la lha mtshams
(3) bcu la snon	tshes bcu la me bzhi	bcu la snron
bcu gcig la snums	tshes bcu gcig la nag pa	bcu gcig la snrubs

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bcu gnyis la mchu stod	tshes bcu gnyis la sa ri	bcu gnyis la chu stod
bcu gsum la chu smad	tshes bcu gsum la sa ga	bcu gsum la chu smad
bcu bzhi la byi bzhin	tshes bcu bzhi la lha mtshams	bcu bzhi la byi bzhin
bco lnga la gro zhin dbang	tshes bco lnga la snron	bco lnga la gro bzhin dbang
dbyar zla tha chung mar gyi ngo la		dbyar zla tha chung mar gyi ngo la
tshes bcu drug la mon gru	tshes bcu drug la snubs (QN: snrubs)	tshes bcu drug la mon gru
bcu bdun la (4) mon gre	tshes bcu bdun la chu stod	bcu bdun la mon gre
bco brgyad la khrum stod	tshes bco brgyad la chu smad	bco brgyad la khnums stod
bcu dgu la khrum smad	tshes bcu dgu la byi bzhin	bcu dgu la khnums smad
nyi shu la nam gru	tshes (QN: —) nyi shu la gro bzhin	nyi shu la nam gru
nyi shu gcig la tha skar	nyi shu gcig la mon gru	nyi shu gcig la tha skar
nyi shu gnyis la bra nye	nyi shu gnyis la mon gre (Q: dre, N: bre)	nyi shu gnyis la bra nye
nyi shu gsum la smin drug	nyi shu gsum la khnums stod	nyi shu gsum la smin drug
nyi shu bzhi la snar ma	nyi shu bzhi la khnums smad	nyi shu bzhi la snar ma
nyi shu lnga la 'gro	nyi shu lnga la nam gru	nyi shu lnga la mgo
nyi shu drug la lag	nyi shu drug la dbyu (QN: dbyug) gu	(355b) nyi shu drug la lag
nyi (5) shu bdun la nam so	nyi shu bdun la bra nye	nyi shu bdun la nab so
nyi shu brgyad la rgyal	nyi shu brgyad la smin drug	nyi shu brgyad la rgyal
nyi shu dgu la skag	nyi shu dgu la snar ma	nyi shu dgu la skag
tshes sum bcu la mchu dbang	gnam stong la mgo'o	tshes sum cu la mchu dbang

AK245	PDM	Stog Kanjur
ston zla ra ba yar gyi ngo la	(1465) ston zla ra ba'i	ston zla ra ba yar gyi ngo la
tshes gcig la gre	tshes gcig la lag	tshes gcig la gre
gnyis la dbo	tshes gnyis la nab (QN: nabs) so	gnyis la dbo
gsum la me bzhi	gsum la rgyal	gsum la me bzhi
bzhi la nag pa	bzhi la skag	bzhi la nag pa
lnga la sa ri	lnga la mchu	lnga la sa ri
drug (6) la sa ga	drug la gre	drug la sa ga
bdun la lha mtshams	bdun la dbo	bdun la lha mtshams
brgyad la snon	brgyad la me bzhi	brgyad la snron
dgu la snums	dgu la nag pa	dgu la snrubs
bcu la chu stod	bcu la sa ri	bcu la chu stod
bcu gcig la chu smad	bcu gcig la sa ga	bcu gcig la chu smad
bcu gnyis la gro zhin	bcu gnyis la lha mtshams	bcu gnyis la gro bzhin
<i>[byi zhin omitted]</i>		
bcu gsum la mon gru	bcu gsum la snron	bcu gsum la byi bzhin
bcu bzhi la mon gre	bcu bzhi la snrubs	bcu bzhi la mon gru
bco lnga la khrum stod dbang	bco lnga la chu stod	bco lnga la mon gre dbang
(7) ston zla ra ba mar gyi ngo la		ston zla ra ba mar gyi ngo la
tshes bcu drug la khrums smad	bcu drug la chu smad	tshes bcu drug la khrums stod
bcu bdun la nam gru	bcu bdun la byi bzhin	bcu bdun la khrums smad
bco brgyad la tha skar	bco brgyad la gro bzhin	bco brgyad la nam gru
bcu dgu la bra nye	bcu dgu la mon gru	bcu dgu la tha skar
nyi shu la smin drug	nyi shu la mon gre	nyi shu la bra nye
nyi shu gcig la snar ma	nyi shu gcig la khrums stod	nyi shu gcig la smin drug
nyi shu gnyis la 'go	nyi shu gyis la khrums smad	nyi shu gnyis snar ma
nyi shu gsum la lag	nyi shu gsum la nam gru	nyi shu gsum la mgo gru

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nyi (8) shu bzhi la nam so	nyi shu bzhi la dbyu (QN: dbyug) gu	nyi shu bzhi la lag
nyi shu lnga la rgyal	nyi shu lnga la bra nye	nyi shu lnga la nab so
nyi shu drug la skag	nyi shu drug la min drug	nyi shu drug la rgyal
nyi shu bdun la mchu	nyi shu bdun la snar ma	nyi shu bdun la skag
nyi shu brgyad la gre	nyi shu brgyad la mgo	nyi shu brgyad la mchu
nyi shu dgu la dbo	nyi shu dgu la lag	nyi shu dgu la gre
sum bcu la me bzhi dbang	gnam stong la nab (QN: nabs) so	tshes sum bcu la dbo dbang
		<i>[me bzhi omitted]</i>
ston zla 'bring po yar gyi ngo la	ston zla 'bring po'i	ston zla 'bring po yar gyi ngo la
tshes gcig la nag pa gnyis la sa ri	tshes gcig la rgyal gnyis la skag	tshes gcig la nag pa gnyis la sa ri
(verso, 1) gsum la sa ga	gsum la mchu	gsum la sa ga
bzhi la lha 'tshams lnga la snron	bzhi la gre lnga la dbo	bzhi la lha mtshams lnga la snron
drug la snums	drug la me bzhi	drug la snrubs
bdun la chu stod	bdun la nag pa	bdun la chu stod
brgyad la chu smad	brgyad la sa ri	brgyad la chu smad
dgu la gro zhin byi zhin (<i>adds byi zhin</i>)	dgu la sa ga	dgu la gro bzhin
bcu la mon gru	bcu la lha mtshams	bcu la byi bzhin ⁴
bcu gcig la mon gre	bcu gcig la snron	bcu gcig la mon gru
bcu gnyis la khrum stod	bcu gnyis la srubs	bcu gnyis la mon gre
bcu gsum la khrum (2) smad	bcu gsum la chu stod	bcu gsum la khrums stod
bcu bzhi la nam gru	bcu bzhi la (N: +la) chu smad	bcu bzhi la khrums smad
		<i>[nam gru omitted]</i>
bco lnga la tha skar dbang	bco lnga la byi bzhin	bco lnga la tha skar dbang

⁴ Note the difference between AK and Stog here and the following four entries.

AK245	PDM	Stog Kanjur
ston zla 'bring po mar gyi ngo la		ston zla 'bring po mar gyi ngo la
tshes bcu drug la bra nye	bcu drug la gro bzhin	tshes bcu drug la bra nye
bcu bdun la smin drug	bcu bdun la mon gru	bcu bdun la smin drug
bco brgyad la snar ma	bco brgyad la mon gre (N: bre)	bco brgyad la snar ma
bcu dgu la 'go	bcu dgu la khnums stod	bcu dgu la (356a) mgo
nyi shu la lag	nyi shu la khnums smad	nyi shu la lag
nyi shu gcig la nam so	nyi shu gcig la nam gru	nyi shu gcig la nab so
(3) nyi shu gnyis la rgyal	nyi shu gnyis la tha skar	nyi shu gnyis la rgyal
nyi shu gsum la skag	nyi shu gsum la bra nye	nyi shu gsum la skag
nyi shu bzhi la mchu	nyi shu bzhi la smin drug	nyi shu bzhi la mchu
nyi shu lnga la gre	nyi shu lnga la snar ma	nyi shu lnga la gre
nyi shu drug la dbo	nyi shu drug la mgo	nyi shu drug la dbo
nyi shu bdun la me bzhi	nyi shu bdun la lag	nyi shu bdun la me bzhi
nyi shu brgyad la nag pa	nyi shu brgyad la nab (QN: nabs) so	nyi shu brgyad la nag pa
nyi shu dgu la sa ri	nyi shu dgu la rgyal	nyi shu dgu la sa ri
sum bcu la sa ga dbang	gnam stong la skag go	sum cu la sa ga dbang
ston zla tha (4) chungs yar gyi ngo la	ston zla tha chungs kyi (QN: chung gi)	ston zla tha chung yar gyi ngo la
tshes gcig la lha 'tshams	tshes gcig la mchu	tshes gcig la lha mtshams
gnyis la snon	gnyis la gre	gnyis la snron
gsum la snums	gsum la dbo	gsum la snrubs
bzhi la chu stod	bzhi la me bzhi	bzhi la chu stod
Inga la chu smad	lnga la nag pa	lnga la chu smad
drug la byi zhin	drug la sa ri	drug la byi bzhin
bdun la gro zhin	bdun la sa ga	bdun la gro bzhin

AK245	PDM	Stog Kanjur
brgyad la mon gru	brgyad la lha mtshams	brgyad la mon gru
dgu la mon gre	dgu la snron	dgu la mon gre
bcu la khrum stod	bcu la snrubs	bcu la khrums stod
(5) bcu gcig la khrum smad	bcu gcig la chu stod	bcu gcig la khrums smad
bcu gnyis la nam gru	bcu (1466) gnyis la chu smad	bcu gnyis la nam gru
bcu gsum la tha skar	bcu gsum la byi bzhin	bcu gsum la tha skar
bcu bzhi bra nye	bcu bzhi la gro bzhin	bcu bzhi bra nye
bco lnga la smin drug dbang	bco lnga la mon gru	bco lnga la smin drug dbang
<i>(list ends here in the middle of ston zla tha chungs)</i>	bcu drug la mon gre <i>(etc. to end of dgun zla tha chung)</i>	<i>(list ends here in the middle of ston zla tha chungs)</i>

As will be apparent from this table, the lists of lunar mansions given in AK and in Stog are generally similar, though a few variants may be mentioned. AK omits *tshes* (“date”) before the number more often than Stog does, although there are two instances, in the second half of the first spring month (*dpyid zla ra ba mar*), where AK has *tshes* and Stog does not. The names of certain lunar mansions differ consistently from one list to the other. Thus AK regularly renders the names of Anurādhā and Mrgaśīrṣa respectively as *lha 'tshams* and *'go*, while Stog has *lha mtshams* and *mgo*. For Mūla, usually *snubs* in Tibetan, AK systematically has *snum*s whereas Stog has *snrubs*. For Punarvas – usually *nabs so* – AK has *nam so* instead of Stog’s *nab so*. There are also certain irregularities in the sequence of lunar mansions that are worth noting. In AK, the second half of the second spring month (*dbyar zla 'bring po'i mar ngo*), the sequence passes directly from *gro zhin* (< *gro bzhin*) on the eighteenth day to *mo gre* (< *mon gre*) on the nineteenth, omitting *mon gru*, which should precede it according to the conventions of this version. At the same point in the sequence Stog also omits a lunar mansion – in this case *mon gre*, rather than *mon gru* – thus also passing directly from *gro bzhin* to *khrums stod*. The two lists subsequently remain in unison until the twelfth day of the first half of the first autumn month (*ston zla ra ba yar*), after which AK omits *byi zhin*, passing directly from *gro zhin* to *mon gru*. The discrepancy continues until the end of the second half of the first autumn month, when Stog omits *me bzhi* from the sequence. The result is that the two lists coincide again from the beginning of the first half of the middle

autumn month (*ston zla 'bring po yar*). Then, in the first line of AK245v, the ninth day of the middle autumn month inexplicably subsumes both *gro zhin* (< *bzhin*) and *byi zhin* (< *bzhin*), again putting the two lists out of step. The mismatch continues until the thirteenth day of the first half of the middle autumn month, when Stog omits *nam gru*, thereby bringing the two into alignment again until the end of the sequence of lunar mansions.

As an illustration of this group, we reproduce AK245 as it contains the element that allowed us to identify the text.

AK245: vol. pa, fol. 325

Bibliothèque nationale de France: Tibétain 464: f. 8. See fig. 3 (A, B)

PDM: —

Stog Kanjur: mdo, vol. sa, fols. 355a⁽³⁾–356a⁽⁷⁾

Recto pa_sum·brgya·_nye-r·lnga·

@# ___ gcig·la·khrum·smad nyi·shu·gnyis·la·nam·gru nyi·shu·gsum·la·tha·skar· nyi·shu·bzhi·la·bra·nye nyi·shu·lnga·la·smin·drug nyi·shu·drug·la·snar·ma nyi·shu·bdun·la·'go nyi·shu·brgyad·la·lag nyi·shu·dgu·la·nam·so _	1
sum·bcu·la·rgyal·dbang _ dbyar·zla·tha·chung·yar·gyi·ngo·la tshes·gcig·la·skag gnyis·la·mchu· gsum·la·gre bzh·i·la·dbo lnga·la·me·bzhi drug·la·nag·pa bdun·la·sa·ri brgyad·la·sa·ga dgu·la·lha·'tshams	2
bcu·la·snon bcu·gcig·la·snums _bcu·gnyis·la·mchu·stod bcu·gsum·la·chu·smad _bcu·bzhi·la·byi·bzhin _bco·lnga·la·gro·zhin·dbang _ dbyar·zla·tha·chung·mar·gyi·ngo·la tshes·bcu·drug·la·mon·gru bcu·bdun·la	3
mon·gre _bco·brgyad·la·khrum·stod bcu·dgu·la·khrum·smad _nyi·shu·la·nam·gru nyi·shu·gcig·la·tha·skar nyi·shu·gnyis·la·bra·nye nyi·shu·gsum·la·smin·drug nyi·shu·bzhi·la·snar·ma _nyi·shu·lnga·la·'gro nyi·shu·drug·la·lag nyi·	4
shu·bdun·la·nam·so nyi·shu·brgyad·la·rgyal _nyi·shu·dgu·la·skag tshes·sum·bcu·la·mchu·dbang _ ston·zla·ra·ba·yar·gyi·ngo·la tshes·gcig·la·gre gnyis·la·dbo gsum·la·me·bzhi bzhi·la·nag·pa lnga·la·sa·ri drug_	5
la·sa·ga;bdun·la·lha·mtshams brgyad·la·snon dgu·la·snums _bcu·la·chu·stod· bcu·gcig·la·chu·smad bcu·gnyis·la·gro·zhin _bcu·gsum·la·mon·gru _bcu·bzhi·la·mon·gre bco·lnga·la·khrum·stod·dbang	6
ston·zla·ra·ba·mar·gyi·ngo·la tshes·bcu·drug·la·khrums·smad bcu·bdun·la·nam·gru bco·brgyad·la·tha·skar bcu·dgu·la·bra·	7

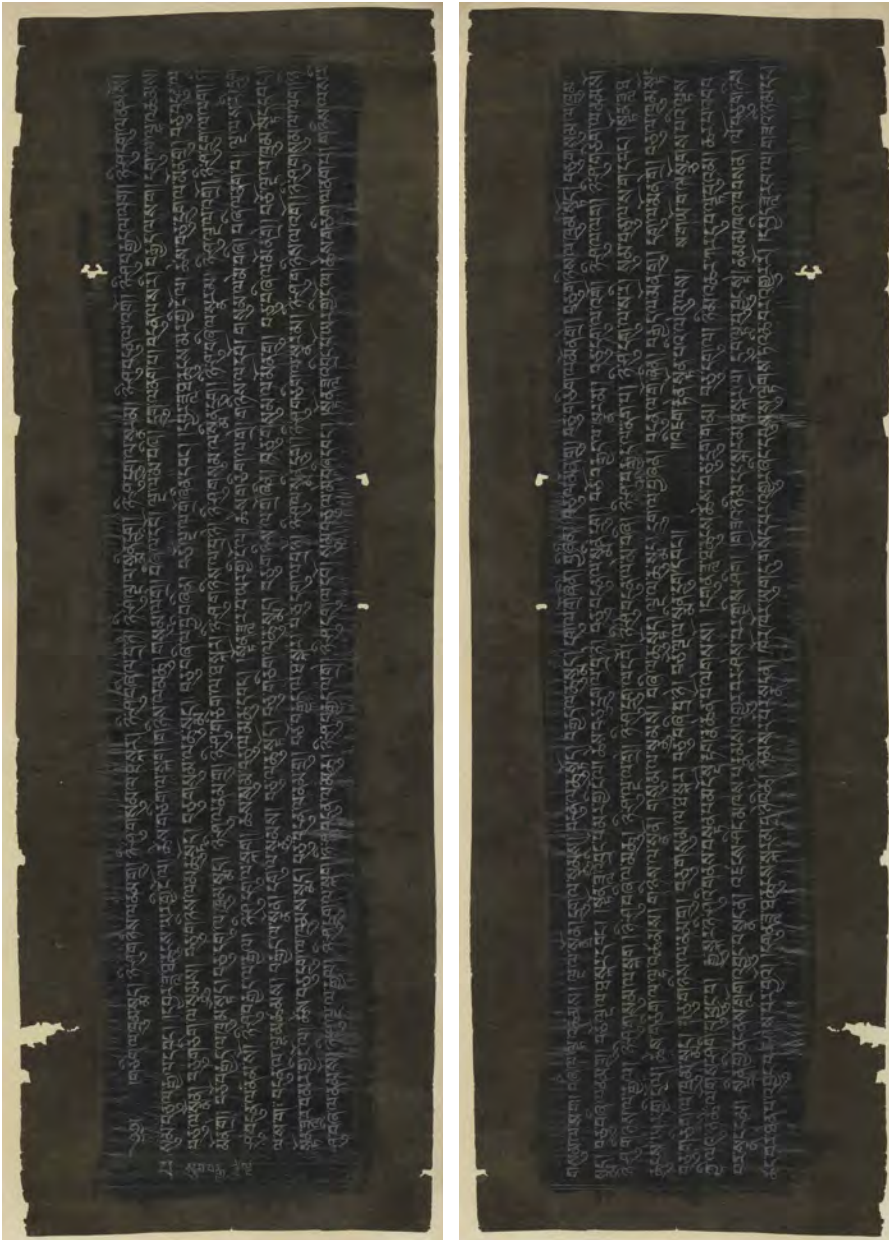
nye _nyi·shu·la·smin·drug· nyi·shu·gcig·la·snar·ma nyi·shu·gnyis·la·'go nyi·shu·gsum·la·lag nyi_	
shu·bzhi·i·la·nam·so nyi·shu·lnga·la·rgyal nyi·shu·drug·la·skag nyi·shu·bdun·la·mchu nyi·shu·brgyad·la·gre nyi·shu·dgu·la·dbo sum·bcu·la·me·bzhi·dbang· _ ston·zla·'bring·po·yar·gyi·ngo·la tshes·gcig·la·nag·pa gnyis·la·sa·ri·	8

Verso

gsum·la·sa·ga bzhi·la·lha·'tshams lnga·la·snron drug·la·snums bdun·la·chu·stod brgyad·la·chu·smad dgu·la·gro·zhi·n byi·zhin bcu·la·mon·gru bcu·gcig·la·mon·gre bcu·gnyis·la·khrum·stod bcu·gsum·la·khrum_	1
smad bcu·bzhi·la·nam·gru bco·lnga·la·tha·skar·dbang _ ston·zla·'bring·po·mar·gyi·ngo·la tshes·bcu·drug·la·bra·nye _bcu·bdun·la·smin·drug bco·brgyad·la·snar·ma _bcu·dgu·la·'go _nyi·shu·la·lag nyi·shu·gcig·la·nam·so	2
_nyi·shu·gnyis·la·rgyal nyi·shu·gsum·la·skag nyi·shu·bzhi·la·mchu _nyi·shu·lnga·la·gre nyi·shu·drug·la·dbo nyi·shu·bdun·la·me·bzhi nyi·shu·brgyad·la·nag·pa _nyi·shu·dgu·la·sa·ri sum·bcu·la·sa·ga·dbang _ ston·zla·tha_	3
_chung·yar·gyi·ngol tshes·gcig·la·lha·'tshams gnyis·la·sno·n gsum·la·snums _bzhi·la·chu·stod lnga·la·chu·smad drug·la·byi·zhin _bdun·la·gro·zhi·n brgyad·la·mon·gru dgu·la·mon·gre bcu·la·khrum·stod	4
_bcu·gcig·la·khrum·smad _bcu·gnyis·la·nam·gru bcu·gsum·la·tha·skar bcu·bzhi·bra·nye bco·lnga·la·smin·drug·dbang _____ 'jig·rten·ston·pa'i·le'u·las __sa·g·yo·ba·la+stsogs ¹ pa'i·ltas_	5
_kyi·le'u·nyi·tshe·logs·shi·g·du·phyung·ba _rgyu·skar·nyi·shu·i·gnas·bstan·pa·mdo·sde·rtag·rna·chen·po·legs·so ² _ dgun·zla·tha·chung ³ ·tshes·bcu·drug·gam _bcu·dgu·la nyi·ma·'char·kar·du·ba·lta·bu·'am char·pa·'bab_	6
_par·snang·ngam _sprin·gyi·nang·nas·glog·'byung·ba·snang·na 'dzangs· ⁴ shing·mkhas·pa·rnams·'gyur·bar·shes·par·gyi·s·shig _ gza·'nyi·ma·dang·skar·ma·tha·skar·la _du·ba·lta·bu·byung·ste nam·mkha·'khebs·na lo·bcu·gnyis_	7
tshang·bar·then· ⁵ pa·'byung·bar·shes·par·bya'o _ dgun·zla·tha·chung· ⁶ skar·ma·bra·nye·i·tshe _nyi·ma·ser·por·snang·na kho·ra·khor·yug·du·gsod·par·'gyur·zhing·dbus·su·ltogs·te· ⁷ ch'i·bar·'gyur·ro _ dpyid·zla·ra·ba·la gza·'nyi·ma·dang	8

Notes: ¹ sogs; ² —; ³ chung; ⁴ mdzangs; ⁵ than; ⁶ chung; ⁷ par.

Fig. 3 (A, B). AK245 — pa: f. 325 (BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 8)



4 (1). AK 194

These discoveries left only one folio that looked like a natural part of the Tengyur. There were no doubts regarding its identification as the text *Rang gi lta ba'i 'dod pa mdor bstan pa yongs su brtag pa* by Mañjuśrīkīrti, included in all the Tengyur editions, with no connection to any versions of the Kangyur. However, by that time, we did not believe the initial hypothesis had any validity anymore. Our first thought was that its belonging to vol. ka might have meant that the AK was supplied with one or several additional volumes, like the Narthang Kangyur that has a *kha skong* volume with the number ka. While this hypothesis is not to be discarded completely, it seems to be more plausible that this folio, in fact, belonged to the first volume of the Tantra section. Our explanation will consist of two parts: 1) an ideological one, aimed to show that the Tengyur text could be interpreted as suitable for the Kangyur collection; and 2) a spatial one, aimed to show that it does not contradict the structure of this volume as far as we can reconstruct it.

The ideological proof

This is based on John Newman's argument that the name of the author of the text should not be reconstructed as Mañjuśrīkīrti, but as “*Mañjughoṣa *Narendra *Yaśas, indicating the Sambhala emperor Kalkin Yaśas, an emanation of Mañjughoṣa/Mañjuśrī” (Newman 2023: 16, no. 24). The attribution of the treatise to such a figure might have allowed the unknown codifiers of AK to include it in the Kangyur.

The spatial proof

The AK folio number 180, its fragment of the text corresponds with pp. 619–622 of the PDM Tengyur where this text covers pp. 570–633 of vol. 42.

The AK has two folios that definitely belonged to vol. Ka of the Tantra section (see the Appendix):

1) no. 192 that contains a fragment of the text *Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog* that covers pp. 426–526 in vol. 77, the first volume of the *Rgyud 'bum* section of the PDM Kangyur; the AK fragment corresponds with pp. 437–440;

2) no. 349 containing a fragment of the text *Mngon par brjod pa'i rgyud bla ma* that covers pp. 708–1005 in the same vol. 77; the AK fragment corresponds with pp. 829–832.

Vol. 77 of the PDM Kangyur has 6 texts that preceded *Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad...*⁵ In all, these texts cover 352 pages (of which the first

⁵ *'Jam dpal ye shes sems dpa'i don dam pa'i mtshan yang dag par brjod pa* — pp. 3–31; *Dbang mdor bstan pa* — pp. 37–53; *Mchog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo* — pp. 57–311; *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud kyi phyi ma*

and last pages in these texts are partly blank). Each standard AK folio normally corresponds with 2–2.5 pages of the PDM. It means that if these texts also preceded *Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad...* in vol. Ka of AK, they would have covered approximately 160 folios.

Using the same process of calculation we can get the initial folio of *Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad...*: 437 (the page of PDM where the fragment of AK starts) minus 426 (the initial page of the text) gives about 13 pages that correspond with 5–6 AK folios; thus, the text in AK started somewhere near f. 186. This means we have a lacuna of about 26 folios. Could it be filled with *Rang gi lta ba'i 'dod pa mdor bstan pa yongs su brtag pa*? The answer is yes, because this text covers about 63 pages (570–633) of PDM that roughly corresponds to 25–30 AK folios.

To check the plausibility of these calculations, we can see if they would be true of the next folio from vol. ka in AK that belongs to *Mngon par brjod pa'i rgyud bla ma*. AK had 156 folios between it (no. 349) and the previous one, from *Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad...* (no. 192). In the PDM, the number of pages that separate the two fragments is as follows:

- p. 441–526 of *Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad...*,
- two more texts: 1) *Rtog pa thams cad 'dus pa...* — pp. 550–596; 2) *Rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal bde mchog nyung ngu* — pp. 604–689.
- The beginning of *Mngon par brjod pa'i rgyud bla ma*: pp. 708–828.

Together, they give us about 340 pp., which corresponds roughly to 150 AK folios.

We must emphasize that all the numbers are approximate and we cannot be absolutely sure that the AK did not have any additional minor texts, but what seems to be clear is that *Rang gi lta ba'i 'dod pa mdor bstan pa yongs su brtag pa* really **could be** a part of vol. ka of the AK Tantra section, concluding its part dedicated to Kālacakratāntra. This seems much more plausible than the existence of a special volume ka containing this and some other Tengyur texts. Therefore, we have placed it at the head of the Tantra section in the list of folios of AK presented in the Appendix.

The edition of this “royal” folio, which, upon reconsideration, severs the last thread with our initial Ablai-kit Tengyur hypothesis, is provided below. There are no serious discrepancies between AK and PDM in this fragment.

rgyud kyi snying po — pp. 361–396; *Dpal dus kyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi snying po* — pp. 407–411; *Dbang gi rab tu byed pa* — pp. 414–423. (The lacunas between the texts are covered by lists of discrepancies between various editions of the Kangyur.)

AK 194: vol. ka, fol. 180

IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 175. See fig. 4 (A, B)

PDM Bstan 'gyur: vol. 42, pp. 619⁽²¹⁾–622⁽¹⁾

Recto ka_brgya:___brgya[sic]·bcu

@# ___ dri-med.'gyur;phyogs·gcig·la·ni·brten·pa·yi _ shes·la·gnyis·med·yongs·su·grags ¹ _ phyogs·gnyis·rnam·par·grol·ba·yis ² _ sangs·rgyas·ye·shes·gnyis·med·do _ nag·dang'dkar·po	1
'gags ³ ·pa·gang;_sems·can·yun·ring·bag·chags·rnams _ sad ⁴ ·dus·la·yang·de·bzhin·na ⁵ ÿ:(mi·rtag·skad·gcig·'ji·ltar·yin) bag·chags·dang·ni·bag·chags·kyang· _ sad·pa·na·ni·'byung·bar·'gyur _ de·ltar·gnyid·'thug·song·pa·na rnam	2
par·shes·pa·nyams·par·'gyur ___ rnam·shes·kun·bzhi ⁷ ·rnam·shes·rnams _ gang·tshe·lus·dang·lus·la·gzhan _ mchog·gi·bdag·nyid·de·bzhin·'grub ___ thams·cad·rnams·kyi·kun·bzhi·r ⁸ ·grags rnam	3
shes·kun·gzhi·rnam·shes·rnams _ rtag·pa·tshangs·pa·de·ci·min _ ☉skye·dang·rgyu·ni·de·dag·kyang· _ mkha'·gzhan·de·yi ⁹ ·mi ¹⁰ ·nam·ci shing·☉gi·dbus·kyi·me·ji·bzhin _ bye·brag·pa·<y>i<·>lugs·la·grub de·ni_	4
byed·po·rgyu·gcig·pu _ mu·stegs·rnams·kyi·lugs·gzhan·yin bzhi·pa·i·dus·dang·gnyid·'thug·dang· _ rmi·lam·sad·par·gnas·pa·y·is ¹¹ _ lus·can·zhag ¹² ·la·srog·'jug·pa _ nyi·khri·chig·stong·drug·rgya'o ¹³	5
gnyid·'thug·gnas·la·gsal ¹⁴ ·ba·dang· _ rnam·shes·med·pa·las·byung·ba'i _ rab·sangs·rgyas·kyi ¹⁵ ·skye·bo'I·tshad _ srog·de·srog·chags·kyis·shes·bya _ ma·rig·pa·las·skyes·pa·yis ___ blun·min·'gro_	6
ba·blun·por·'gyur _ mi·shes·skye·bo·ji·lta·ba _ de·ltar·ye·shes·mig·can·min _ nam·mkha'·rig·pa·las·skyes·pas _ blun·po'i·'gro·ba·blun·min·'gyur _ sna·tshogs·ri·g·pa·las·skyes·pa'i _ blun·	7
min·rnams·ni·blun·med:('gyur·) _ rnal·'byor·rig·pa·las·skyes·pas _ sa·yi·bzh·i ¹⁶ ·la·bstan ¹⁷ ·par·'jug _ sa·min·dbang·du·byas·nas·ni _ sems·can·rnams·la·snying·rje'i·bdag _ nam·mkha'·rig·pa·las·skyes·s	8

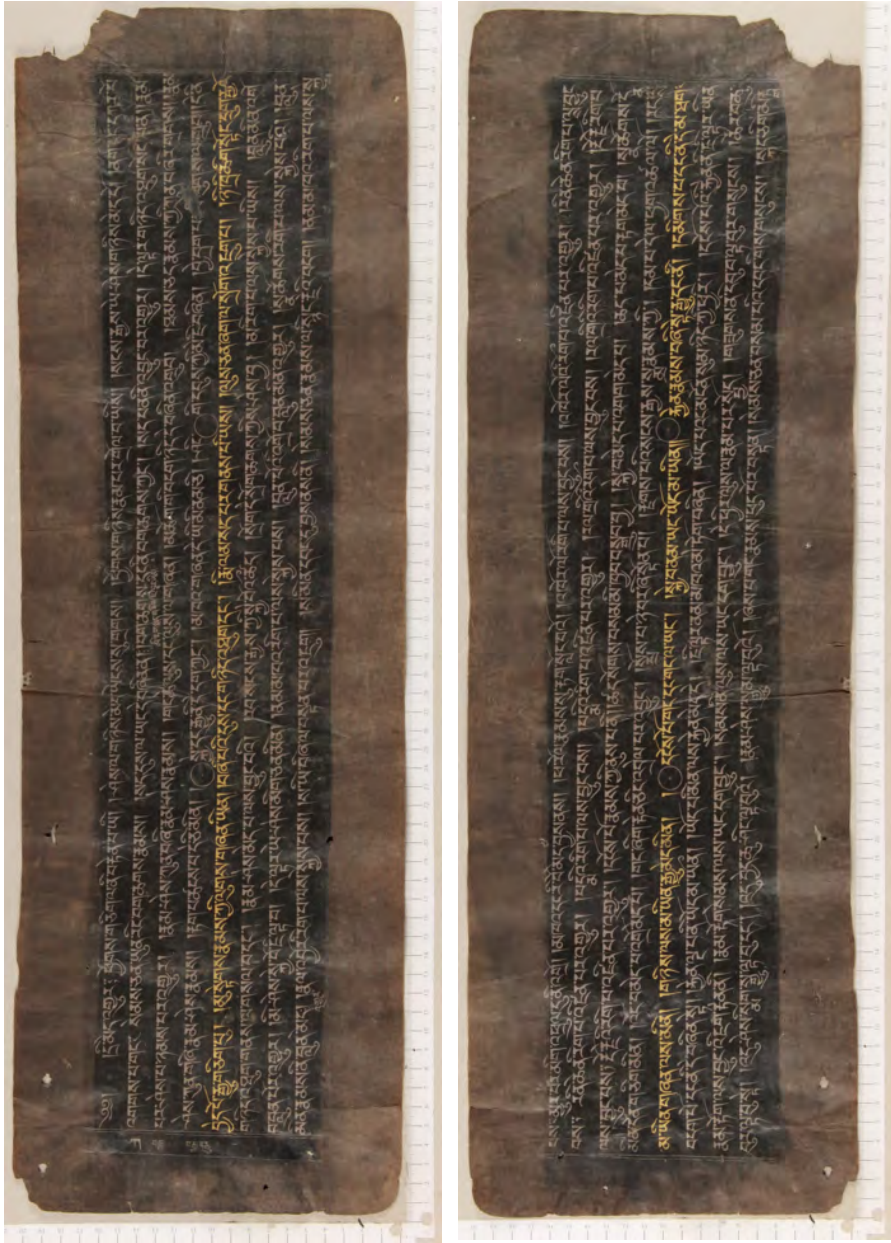
Notes: ¹ bsgrags; ² yi; ³ 'gag; ⁴ sang; ⁵ no; ⁶ cig; ⁷ gzhi; ⁸ gzhir; ⁹ yis; ¹⁰ min; ¹¹ yi; ¹² zhig; ¹³ brgya'o; ¹⁴ Q: bsal; ¹⁵ kyis; ¹⁶ gzhi; ¹⁷ brtan.

Verso

pas;myur·bar·mig'phrul·du·ni'gro _ mkha'·dang·ri·bo·med·byas·nas _ pha·rol·rnams·su·rtag·slong·ba'o _ 'khor·lo·ri·g·pa·las·byung·bas _ 'khor·lo'i·rI·g·pa'·dzin·par'gyur _ rin·chen·rig·pa·la·s·byung	1
bas;_ri·n·chen·r·ig·pa'·dzin·par'gyur _ pa+dma'i·rig·pa·las·byung·bas _ pa+dma'i·rig·pa'·dzin·par'gyur _ ral·gri'I·rI·g·pa·las·byung·bas _ ral·gri'i·rig·pa'·dzin·par'gyur _ rdo·rje ¹⁸ ·rig·pa_	2
las·byung·bas;rdo·rje'i·rig·pa'·dzin·par'gyur· _ dngos·po·rnams·kyi·nus·pa·ni tshad·sogs·bsam·mi·khyab·bsgrub·bya _ skye·ba·med·pa'·gag·med·pa _ chad·pa·med·pa·rtag·med·pa _ sna·tshogs·do·n	3
min·don'g·cig·min _ 'ong·ba·med·pa'·gro·med·pa _ gang·zhig·rten·cing'·brel·par'byung· _ spros·pa·nye·bar·zhi·ston·pa _ rdzogs·pa'i·sangs·rgyas·smra·rnams·kyi· _ dam·pa·de·la·phyag'·tshal·lo _ rang·la·s	4
ma·yin·gzhan'las·min _ gnyis·las·ma·yin·rgyu·med·min _ ⊙ dngos·po·gang·dang·gang·la·yang· _ skye·ba·nam·yang'yod·ma·yin ⊙rkyen·rnams·bzhi·ste·rgyu·dang·ni _ dmigs·pa·dang·ni·de·ma·thag;	5
bdag·po·dang ¹⁹ ·ni·de·bzhin·ste ²⁰ rkyen·lnga·pa·ni·yod·ma·yI·n _ yod·pa·min·las·rkyen·med·de _ ji·ltar·nam·mkha' ²¹ ·me·tog·bzhin _ yod·pa'ang·mngon·sum·nyid·kyi·phyi·r· _ dngos·po'i·rkyen·ni·ji·ltar·yin	6
rnam·rtog·las·byung'·j'ig·rten·ni _ rnam·rtog·sems·las·yang·dag·byung· _ sems·ni·lus·las·yang·dag·byung· _ de·phyir·lus·la·rnam·par·spyod _ gzugs·ni·dbu·ba·lta·bur·gsungs _ tshor·ba·chu·	7
bur·lta·bu·ste _ 'du·shes·smig'·sgyu·lta·bu·dang· 'du·byed·chu·shing·lta·bu'o _ rnam·shes·sgyu·ma·lta·bu'o _ zhes·pa·gang·rnams·phung·por·bstan sems·can·bsam·pa'i·dbang·g·is·gsungs _ skad·cig·mi·rta·g	8

Notes: ¹⁸ rje'i; ¹⁹ yang; ²⁰ te; ²¹ mkha' yi.

Fig. 4 (A, B). AK194 — ka: f. 180 (IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 175)



Concluding remarks

The hypothesis that the Ablai-kit library could have possessed a set of the Tengyur in addition to AK turned out to be erroneous. It would not have arisen at all if texts of all the canonical works, and not only those included in the PDM, had been available. At the same time, it is astonishing to see the progress in this field of Tibetan studies, and we are very grateful to colleagues who have dedicated so much time and effort to making access to the canonical corpus easy and comprehensive.

Thanks to the completely random selection of the folios of AK by people who had taken them from the abandoned monastery in the 1720s and 1730s (these being a drop in the ocean of writings that were doomed to disappearance), we were provided a chance to propose a broad reconstruction of the structure of this version of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. It turned out to have no clear parallels with any other version recorded in the rKTs database, something that may be seen in many examples, especially in regard to the Sūtra section. Note, for instance, the presence of the text *'Phags pa rab kyi rtsal gyis rnam par gnong pas zhus pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa bstan pa* in volume pha (no. 166 of the list in the Appendix) that must have belonged to the Sūtra section, not the Prajñāpāramitā section, where the other Kangyurs put it. Two noteworthy discrepancies are detected in the Ratnakūṭa section, where two texts are apparently assigned completely different places (see nos. 132, 138).

Discrepancies are also found in the material of the folios examined in this paper. AK is the only known version of the Kangyur that places the three texts ascribed to Maudgalyāyana together, and in a sequence different from that of the Tengyur where such grouping is attested. AK also included at least one text which normally belongs to the Tengyur. Its presence in the AK is presumably connected with the fact that its authorship might be ascribed to the King of Śambhala.

Text-critical comparison of the AK fragments with those attested in either the PDM or manuscript Kangyurs has not yet allowed us to find at least one version that could have clearly belonged to the same textual tradition. However, our work in this regard is not complete, and there is a chance that, along with the final catalogue of the AK folios, new meaningful text-critical observations will be published.

Abbreviations

AK	Ablai-kit Kangyur
BDRC	Buddhist Digital Resource Center
PDM	dPe bsdur ma
rKTs	Resources for Kanjur and Tanjur Studies
TBRC	Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center

The list of sigla of the versions of the Tibetan canon see on p. 37.
The list of institutions that host folios see on p. 76–77.

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APPENDIX

Alexander Zorin

The list of so far identified folios from the Ablai-kit Kangyur in Russian and European collections

At the moment, **250 unique folios**, complete or in fragments, that belonged to the Ablai-kit manuscript copy of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon are identified in twelve institutions in Saint Petersburg and Europe. The list of these collections may be divided into two parts, as one of them preserves the majority of the extant folios.

1. IOM RAS: Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg — 202,5 (one folio is divided between IOM RAS and BnF, see below).⁶

2. Other collections — 47,5

BnF: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris — 11 (nos. in the table below: 15, 36, 125, 138, 177, 178, 218, 223,⁷ 224, 241, 244) + 0,5 (no. 249)

UUL: Uppsala University Library — 11 (nos. 7, 24, 29, 97, 112, 143, 182, 197, 204, 205, 245)⁸

BL: British Library, London — 10 (Sloane coll.: nos. 133, 136, 148, 237, 243; Stowe coll.: nos. 43, 116, 131, 175, 176)⁹

RNL: Russian National Library, St. Petersburg — 3 (nos. 91, 92, 134)¹⁰

LUL: Lund University Library — 3 (nos. 109, 113, 201)¹¹

⁶ In addition to the extant folios, IOM RAS has ten small packs with remnants of burnt folios (found by Olga Lundysheva during her work with the IOM Serindia Collection in the 2010s). Judging by the few letters that can be seen on some of them, these remnants are likely to have belonged to the Ablai-kit batch. These folios might have been destroyed by the fire in the *Kunstkamera* that took place in 1747. We are not aware of any other fires that could have damaged these manuscripts.

⁷ It is the famous folio published in Mencke 1722 and 'translated' by the Fourmont Brothers for Peter the Great. See its recent edition in Sizova 2021: 138–145, fig. 7.

⁸ We are grateful to Mathias von Wachenfeldt and Stina Brodin (the Linköping City Library), Emil Lundin (the Uppsala University Library), Håkan Wahlquist (the Sven Hedin Foundation), Staffan Rosén (professor emeritus, Stockholm University), Anna Schottländer (Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm), and Jenny Bonnevier (the Lund University Library) for their help in obtaining information about the Swedish collections.

⁹ We are grateful to Burkhard Quessel (British Library) for his help in getting access to these folios.

¹⁰ The folios are published in Zorin, Turanskaya 2023: 258–265, fig. 23–25.

¹¹ There is also a drawing copy of one more folio: see add. after no. 93.

FS: Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle — 3 (nos. 45, 160, 250)¹²

HAB: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel — 2 (nos. 6, 222)¹³

Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek — 1 (no. 40)¹⁴

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek — 1 (no. 200)¹⁵

Linköping, Stadsbibliotek — 1 (no. 120)¹⁶

EM: Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm — 1 (no. 135)¹⁷

The list of the folios presented below provides all the major information about each of them, including:

- provisional numbers from 1 to 250 (they may change in the future if new folios will be found somewhere);
- the hosting institutions and their shelf marks;
- the volume and folio numbers provided left to the text on the recto side of the manuscripts; since some folios lack this part, the identifications were made according to the contents and, in regard to two folios from the Sūtra section it turned out to be impossible, hence they are simply placed at the end of the section;
- identification of the text made with use of the BDRC and rKTs online libraries; the titles are provided in short form (to spare place) but supplied with numbers according to the Derge edition and rKTs catalogue by which it is very easy to find complete information about each text using the rKTs website;
- identification of the fragments according to the Dpe bsdur ma (PDM) edition of the Kangyur: page numbers are supplied with superscribed numbers of lines (normally—in brackets, but when the original folios lack left or right edges and we had to suggest the correct number of line, square brackets were used); in ten cases (nos. 167–169, 181–183, 194, 243–245), we provide identifications according to the Stog Kangyur and the Dpe bsdur ma edition of the Tengyur.

¹² We are grateful to Claus Veltmann (Frankesche Stiftungen, Halle) and Hartmut Walravens (Berlin State Library) for their help in obtaining information about the Halle collection.

¹³ The folios are published in Knüppel 2014: Taf. 11–13.

¹⁴ The folio is published in Knüppel 2014: 15–18, Taf. 5–8.

¹⁵ We are grateful to Anna Turanskaya (Russian National Library) for providing us with its digital copy.

¹⁶ See its edition in the paper by A. Zorin, A. Turanskaya, V. Borodaev in this issue of RET.

¹⁷ The recto side of the folio was published in Wahlquist 2002: 28.

ABLAI-KIT BKA' 'GYUR

Vinaya (12 vols: ka-da, a)

No.	Host, shelf mark	Vol., fol.	Text	PDM
1	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 1	Ka, 84	'Dul ba gzhi (D1/K1)	vol. 1: 173 ⁽²⁰⁾ –176 ⁽⁵⁾
2	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 180	Ka, 135		vol. 1: 282 ⁽³⁾ –284 ⁽⁷⁾
3	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 2	Ka, 189		vol. 1: 384 ⁽³⁾ –386 ⁽⁶⁾
4	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 3	Ka, 322		vol. 1: 705 ⁽⁵⁾ –707 ⁽¹¹⁾
5	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 181	Ka, 327		vol. 1: 714 ⁽⁷⁾ –716 ⁽¹²⁾
6	HAB: Cod. Guelf. 9 Extra v V	[Kha?], ? 1 side, right pt.		vol. 2: 197 ^[15] –198 ^[17]
7	UUL: O Tibet 1(3)	Kha, 39		vol. 2: 238 ⁽²⁾ –240 ⁽⁵⁾
8	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 4	Kha, 195		vol. 2: 589 ⁽²⁰⁾ –592 ⁽⁶⁾
9	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 5	Ga, 106		vol. 3: 378 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –380 ⁽¹⁰⁾
10	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 6	Ga, 115		vol. 3: 396 ⁽¹⁸⁾ –399 ⁽⁵⁾
11	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 7	Ga, 1?8		vol. 3: 427 ⁽¹⁾ –429 ⁽⁷⁾
12	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 8	Ga, 154		vol. 3: 485 ⁽¹⁵⁾ –487 ⁽¹⁸⁾
13	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 9	Nga, 1		vol. 4: 86 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –87 ⁽¹⁾
14	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 10	Nga, 106		vol. 4: 335 ⁽⁵⁾ –337 ⁽¹⁶⁾
15	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 2	Nga, 149		vol. 4: 437 ⁽⁴⁾ –439 ⁽⁸⁾
16	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 11	Nga, 210		vol. 4: 568 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –570 ⁽¹¹⁾
17	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 12	Nga, 213		vol. 4: 575 ⁽⁸⁾ –577 ⁽¹⁵⁾
18	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 13	Nga, 240		vol. 4: 639 ⁽³⁾ –641 ⁽¹⁰⁾
19	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 14	[Nga], 243		vol. 4: 646 ⁽⁶⁾ –648 ⁽¹⁵⁾

20	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 15	Ca, 16 left pt.	'Dul ba nram par 'byed pa (D3/K3)	vol. 5: 97 ⁽¹³⁾ –100 ^[5]
21	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 16	Ca, 47		vol. 5: 172 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –175 ⁽¹⁷⁾
22	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 17	Ca, 117		vol. 5: 339 ⁽²¹⁾ –342 ⁽¹²⁾
23	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 18	Ca, 267		vol. 5: 703 ⁽¹³⁾ –706 ⁽⁴⁾
24	UUL: O Tibet 1(1)	Cha, 43		vol. 6: 285 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –288 ⁽⁵⁾
25	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 19	Cha, 146		vol. 6: 531 ⁽⁵⁾ –534 ⁽³⁾
26	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 20	Cha, 154		vol. 6: 552 ⁽⁶⁾ –554 ⁽¹⁹⁾
27	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 21	Cha, ?		vol. 6: 652 ⁽¹³⁾ –654 ⁽¹⁶⁾
28	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 22	Cha, 305?		vol. 7: 239 ⁽¹²⁾ –241 ^[18]
29	UUL: O Tibet 2(3)	[Cha or Ja, ?]		vol. 7: 315 ⁽⁶⁾ –317 ⁽¹¹⁾
30	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 23	Ja, 204		vol. 8: 142 ⁽⁴⁾ –144 ⁽¹⁸⁾
31	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 24	Ja, 207		vol. 8: 149 ⁽²⁰⁾ –152 ⁽⁹⁾
32	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 25	Ja, 222		vol. 8: 185 ⁽⁴⁾ –187 ⁽¹¹⁾
33	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 26	[Ja], ? right pt.		vol. 8: 308 ^[9] –310 ⁽¹³⁾
34	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 27	Ja(?), 290		vol. 8: 345 ⁽¹¹⁾ –347 ⁽¹⁷⁾
35	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 28	Nya, 72		vol. 8: 562 ⁽⁷⁾ –564 ⁽¹³⁾
36	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 4	Nya, 100		vol. 8: 623 ⁽¹³⁾ –625 ⁽¹⁶⁾
37	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 29	Nya, 119		vol. 9: 105 ⁽⁵⁾ –107 ⁽¹¹⁾
38	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 30	Nya, 181		vol. 9: 255 ⁽⁸⁾ –257 ⁽¹⁷⁾
39	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 31	Nya, 227		vol. 9: 366 ⁽¹²⁾ –368 ⁽¹³⁾
40	Kassel, UB: Ms. orient. Anhang 4[1]	Nya, 243		vol. 9: 403 ⁽⁴⁾ –405 ⁽⁹⁾
41	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 32	Nya, 294		vol. 9: 503 ⁽⁸⁾ –505 ⁽¹²⁾
42	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 33	Nya, 330		vol. 9: 583 ⁽⁶⁾ –585 ⁽¹⁴⁾

Dge slong ma'i
'dul ba nram par
'byed pa (D5/K5)

43	BL: Stowe Or 32/8	Nya, 389	Dge slong ma'i 'dul ba rnam par 'byed pa (D5/K5)	vol. 9: 725 ⁽³⁾ –727 ⁽⁶⁾
44	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 34	Nya, 409		vol. 9: 767 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –769 ⁽¹⁸⁾
45	FS: R.-Nr. 41	[Ta], ?	'Dul ba phran tshegs kyi gzhi (D6/K6)	vol. 10: 73 ⁽⁴⁾ –75 ^[12] 18
46	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 35	[Ta], ? right pt.		vol. 10: 389 ^[5] –391 ⁽⁷⁾
47	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 36	[Ta], ? right pt.		vol. 10: 391 ⁽⁷⁾ –393 ⁽¹⁶⁾
48	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 37	[Ta], ? right pt.		vol. 10: 393 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –395 ⁽¹⁹⁾
49	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 38	[Ta], ? right pt.		vol. 10: 398 ^[3] –400 ⁽⁸⁾
50	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 39	[Ta], ? right pt.		vol. 10: 400 ⁽⁸⁾ –402 ⁽¹⁰⁾
51	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 40	[Ta], ? right pt.		vol. 10: 402 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –404 ⁽¹⁸⁾
52	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 41	[Ta], ? right pt.		vol. 10: 404 ^[19] –407 ⁽⁶⁾
53	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 42	[Ta], ? right pt.		vol. 10: 407 ⁽⁶⁾ –409 ⁽¹³⁾
54	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 43	[Ta], ? right pt.		vol. 10: 409 ⁽¹³⁾ –411 ^[17]
55	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 44	Ta, 204		vol. 10: 453 ⁽¹⁷⁾ –456 ⁽²⁾
56	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, Nos. 45 & 46	Ta, 303		vol. 10: 672 ⁽⁵⁾ –674 ⁽¹⁵⁾
57	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 47	Tha, 178 left pt.		vol. 11: 342 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –345 ^[5]
58	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 48	Da, 46		'Dul ba'i gzhung dam pa (D7a/K739)
59	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 49	[Da], [1]14	vol. 12: 489 ⁽⁵⁾ –491 ⁽¹⁴⁾	
60	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 50	Da, 122	vol. 12: 530 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –532 ⁽¹⁶⁾	
61	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 51	Da, 210	vol. 12: 734 ⁽³⁾ –736 ⁽³⁾	
62	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 52	Da, 233	vol. 13: 24 ⁽¹²⁾ –26 ⁽²¹⁾	
63	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 53	[Da], 243	vol. 13: 48 ⁽¹⁾ –50 ⁽⁹⁾	

¹⁸ A small fragment at the edge where one syllable could have been written is missing, and it is unclear whether the folio contained it. If it did not, the final line of the fragment in the PDM must be 11.

64	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 54	Da, 269 left pt.	'Dul ba'i gzhung dam pa (D7a/K739)	vol. 13: 110 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –113 ⁽⁵⁾
65	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 55	Da, 289		vol. 13: 161 ⁽⁵⁾ –163 ⁽¹⁸⁾
66	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 56	Da, 328 left pt. ¹⁹		vol. 13: 256 ⁽¹¹⁾ –257 ⁽¹⁰⁾
67	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 57	A, 35		vol. 13: 325 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –327 ⁽¹⁶⁾
68	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 58	A, 211		vol. 12: 3 ⁽¹⁾ –5 ⁽¹⁵⁾

Prajñāpāramitā: 'Bum (12 vols.: ka-[na]); Khri brgyad pa (2 vols.: ka-kha)²⁰

No.	Host, shelf mark	Vol., fol.	Text	PDM
69	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 59	Ka, 26	Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa (D8/K8)	vol. 14: 49 ⁽¹²⁾ –51 ⁽¹¹⁾
70	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 60	Ka, 27		vol. 14: 51 ⁽¹¹⁾ –53 ⁽¹²⁾
71	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 182	Ka, 87		vol. 14: 175 ⁽¹⁷⁾ –177 ⁽¹⁸⁾
72	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 61	Ka, 120		vol. 14: 237 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –239 ⁽²⁰⁾
73	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 62	Ka, 311		vol. 14: 695 ⁽¹⁸⁾ –698 ⁽⁷⁾
74	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 63	Ka, 326		vol. 14: 731 ⁽²⁾ –733 ⁽⁷⁾
75	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 64	Ka, 333		vol. 14: 746 ⁽¹¹⁾ –748 ⁽¹³⁾
76	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 65	Ka, 341		vol. 14: 763 ⁽¹²⁾ –765 ⁽¹⁷⁾
77	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 66	Ka, 377		vol. 14: 799 ⁽⁸⁾ –801 ⁽¹⁵⁾
78	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 67	Kha, 197		vol. 15: 399 ⁽¹²⁾ –401 ⁽¹⁴⁾
79	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 68	Kha, 215		vol. 15: 441 ⁽¹³⁾ –443 ⁽²¹⁾
80	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 69	Kha, 238		vol. 15: 495 ⁽⁶⁾ –497 ⁽¹⁰⁾
81	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 70	Kha, 265		vol. 15: 556 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –559 ⁽²⁾
82	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 71	Kha, 288		vol. 15: 611 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –614 ⁽⁴⁾

¹⁹ It was the last folio in its volume.

²⁰ See no. 166 for a small text on Prajñāpāramitā included in the Sūtra section. It means that AK probably did not have a volume of minor Prajñāpāramitā texts.

83	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 72	Kha, 326	Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa (D8/K8)	vol. 15: 708 ⁽¹³⁾ –710 ⁽²⁰⁾
84	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 73	Ga, 119		vol. 16: 203 ⁽²⁾ –205 ⁽⁸⁾
85	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 74	Ga, 122		vol. 16: 209 ⁽²⁰⁾ –212 ⁽⁴⁾
86	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 75	Ga, 276		vol. 16: 573 ⁽⁴⁾ –575 ⁽⁹⁾
87	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 76	Ga, 277		vol. 16: 575 ⁽⁹⁾ –577 ⁽¹⁶⁾
88	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 77	Nga, 2		vol. 16: 734 ⁽²¹⁾ –735 ⁽¹³⁾
89	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 78	Nga, 123		vol. 17: 191 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –194 ⁽⁷⁾
90	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 79	Nga, 211		vol. 17: 397 ⁽³⁾ –399 ⁽¹⁰⁾
91	RNL: Dorn 857(1)	[Ca?], ? ²¹		vol. 18: 765 ⁽⁷⁾ –767 ⁽¹¹⁾
92	RNL: Dorn 857(2)	Cha, 55		vol. 19: 17 ⁽²⁰⁾ –20 ⁽⁴⁾
93	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 80	Cha, 165		vol. 19: 253 ⁽⁷⁾ –255 ⁽¹³⁾
ad d ²²	LUL: Jarring Prov. 486	Cha, 280(?): verso		vol. 19: 537 ⁽⁹⁾ –539 ⁽¹⁶⁾
94	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 81	Ja, 85		vol. 20: 91 ⁽¹⁷⁾ –94 ⁽¹⁾
95	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 82	Ja, 217		vol. 20: 344 ⁽²⁰⁾ –347 ⁽⁴⁾
96	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 83	Ja, 224		vol. 20: 361 ⁽¹⁾ –363 ⁽⁶⁾
97	UUL: O Tibet 1(8)	Ja, 227		vol. 20: 367 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –370 ⁽¹⁾
98	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 84	[Nya], ? right pt.		vol. 21: 73 ⁽³⁾ –75 ⁽¹⁰⁾
99	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 85	Nya, 182		vol. 21: 329 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –332 ⁽⁶⁾
100	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 86	Nya, 199 left pt.		vol. 21: 386 ⁽¹¹⁾ –388 ⁽¹⁵⁾
101	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 87	Nya, 239		vol. 21: 476 ⁽⁶⁾ –478 ⁽¹⁰⁾
102	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 88	Nya, 273	vol. 21: 569 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –573 ⁽⁶⁾	

²¹ Only the edge with the folio number is missing.

²² It is not a Tibetan manuscript but a drawing copy of it made by one of the Swedish captives in Siberia.

103	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 89	Ta, 5	Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa (D8/K8)	vol. 21: 778 ⁽¹⁵⁾ –780 ⁽¹³⁾	
104	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 90	Ta, 154		vol. 22: 280 ⁽¹³⁾ –283 ⁽²⁾	
105	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 91	Ta, 346		vol. 22: 704 ⁽⁷⁾ –706 ⁽¹⁷⁾	
106	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 183	Ta, 351		vol. 22: 715 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –718 ⁽¹⁾	
107	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 92	Tha, 19		vol. 23: 8 ⁽⁴⁾ –10 ⁽⁸⁾	
108	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 93	Tha, 146		vol. 23: 297 ⁽⁵⁾ –299 ⁽¹¹⁾	
109	LUL: Jarring Prov. 486 (2)	Tha, 268		vol. 23: 592 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –594 ⁽¹⁴⁾	
110	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 184	Da, 13		vol. 23: 788 ⁽⁷⁾ –790 ⁽¹¹⁾	
111	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 94	[Da], ? right pt.		vol. 24: 166 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –169 ⁽⁵⁾	
112	UUL: O Tibet 1(2)	Da, 185		vol. 24: 392 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –395 ⁽⁶⁾	
113	LUL: Jarring Prov. 486 (3)	Da, 193		vol. 24: 412 ⁽²⁰⁾ –415 ⁽⁸⁾	
114	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 95	Da, 284		vol. 24: 628 ⁽²⁾ –630 ⁽¹¹⁾	
115	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 96	Ka, 35		Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa khri brgyad stong pa (D10/K10)	vol. 29: 67 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –69 ⁽¹³⁾
116	BL: Stowe Or 32/6	Ka, 292			vol. 29: 654 ⁽²¹⁾ –657 ⁽⁷⁾
117	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 97	Kha, 107	vol. 30: 446 ⁽⁸⁾ –448 ⁽⁵⁾		
118	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 98	Kha, 108	vol. 30: 448 ⁽⁵⁾ –450 ⁽⁷⁾		
119	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 99	Kha, 109	vol. 30: 450 ⁽⁷⁾ –452 ⁽⁴⁾		
120	Linköping, SB: Ol 4	Kha, 315 or 318	vol. 31: 221 ⁽⁴⁾ –223 ⁽⁹⁾		
121	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 185	Kha, 358 left pt.	vol. 31: 311 ⁽¹¹⁾ –313 ⁽²¹⁾		

Avatamsaka (5 vols: ka–ca)

No.	Host, shelf mark	Vol., fol.	Text	PDM
122	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 101	Kha, 106	Sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya	vol. 36: 23 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –25 ⁽¹⁶⁾

123	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 102	Kha, 127	ba shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo (D44/K44)	vol. 36: 71 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –73 ⁽¹⁵⁾
124	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 103	Ga, 283		vol. 37: 132 ⁽¹¹⁾ –134 ⁽¹⁸⁾
125	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 11(2)	Nga, 50		vol. 37: 400 ⁽⁹⁾ –402 ⁽¹⁰⁾
126	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 187	Nga, 187		vol. 37: 346 ⁽¹³⁾ –348 ⁽¹⁷⁾
127	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 104	Ca, 190		vol. 38: 516 ⁽³⁾ –518 ⁽³⁾

Ratnakūta (5 vols: ka–[ca])

No.	Host, shelf mark	Vol., fol.	Text	PDM
128	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 105	Ka, 109	Sgo mtha' yas pa rnam par sbyong ba bstan pa'i le'u (D46/K46)	vol. 39: 202 ⁽⁷⁾ –204 ⁽¹²⁾
129	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 106	Ka, 161	De bzhin gshegs pa'i gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa bstan pa (D47/K47)	vol. 39: 391 ⁽²⁾ –393 ⁽²⁾
130	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 108	Ka, 166		vol. 39: 401 ⁽⁹⁾ –403 ⁽¹³⁾
131	BL: Stowe Or 32/7	[?], ?	'Od dpag med kyi bkod pa (D49/K49)	vol. 39: 771 ⁽²¹⁾ –773 ⁽²¹⁾
132	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 107	Ka, 311 (312?)	'Od srung gi le'u (D87/K87)23	vol. 44: 358 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –360 ⁽¹⁵⁾
133	BL: Sloane 2837b	Kha, 36	Go cha'i bkod pa bstan pa (D51/K51)	vol. 40: 256 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –258 ⁽¹⁹⁾
134	RNL: Dorn 857(3)	Kha, 151 left pt.	'Od zer kun du bkye ba bstan pa (D55/K55)	vol. 40: 567 ⁽²⁰⁾ –570 ^[5]
135	EM: SR 100	[Kha, 156?]: recto		vol. 40: 579 ⁽³⁾ –581 ⁽⁶⁾
136	BL: Sloane 2837c	Kha, 159		vol. 40: 585 ⁽¹⁸⁾ –588 ⁽¹⁾
137	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 188	Kha, 385	Byang chub sems dpa'i sde snod (D56/K56)	vol. 41: 82 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –84 ⁽²⁰⁾

²³ This folio and no. 138 show that the Dkon brtsegs section had some unique features in regard to the sequence of texts in it.

138	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 11(1)	Ga, 238	Gtsug na rin po ches zhus pa (D91/K91)	vol. 44: 654 ⁽⁸⁾ –656 ⁽⁹⁾
139	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 109	Ga, 308	Yab dang sras mjal ba zhes (D60/K60)	vol. 42: 313 ⁽⁹⁾ –315 ⁽¹³⁾
140	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 110	Ga, 411		vol. 42: 341 ⁽⁷⁾ –343 ⁽⁹⁾
141	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 111	Nga, 99	Yul 'khor skyong gis zhus pa (D62/K62)	vol. 42: 684 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –687 ⁽⁴⁾
142	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 112	Nga, 132	Khyim bdag drag shul can gyis zhus pa (D63/K63)	vol. 42: 778 ⁽²⁰⁾ –781 ⁽³⁾
143	UUL: O Tibet 1(7)	Nga, 293	Byams pa'i seng ge'i sgra chen po (D67/K67)	vol. 43: 255 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –257 ⁽¹⁷⁾
144	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 189	Nga, 307		vol. 43: 287 ⁽⁶⁾ –289 ⁽¹¹⁾
145	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 190	Nga, 321	'Dul ba nram par gtan la dbab pa'i nye bar 'khor gyis zhus pa (D68/K68)	vol. 43: 341 ⁽⁷⁾ –343 ⁽¹⁰⁾
146	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 191	Nga, 323		vol. 43: 345 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –347 ⁽¹⁷⁾
147	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 192	Nga, 376	Lag bzangs kyis zhus pa (D70/K70)	vol. 43: 473 ⁽¹⁸⁾ –475 ⁽¹⁹⁾
148	BL: Sloane 2837a	Nga, 398	Des pas zhus pa (D71/K71)	vol. 43: 529 ⁽⁷⁾ –531 ⁽⁵⁾

Sūtra (? vols: ka–la, <...?>, a)

No.	Host, shelf mark	Vol., fol.	Text	PDM
149	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 193	Ka, 19	Bskal pa bzang po (D94/K94)	vol. 45: 32 ⁽³⁾ –34 ⁽¹⁾
150	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 194	Ka, 122		vol. 45: 227 ⁽¹³⁾ –229 ⁽¹³⁾
151	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 195	Ka, 183		vol. 45: 348 ⁽⁷⁾ –350 ⁽⁶⁾
152	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 196	Ka, 268		vol. 45: 503 ⁽⁹⁾ –505 ⁽⁵⁾
153	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 113	Ka, 295		vol. 45: 553 ⁽³⁾ –555 ⁽²⁾
154	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 114	Ka, 306		vol. 45: 574 ⁽¹³⁾ –576 ⁽¹⁰⁾
155	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 115	Ka, 413		vol. 45: 783 ⁽⁵⁾ –785 ⁽⁴⁾

156	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 197	Kha, 11	Rgya cher rol pa (D95/K95)	vol. 46: 19 ⁽¹⁾ –21 ⁽²⁾
157	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 116	Nga, 207	Khye'u snang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pas bstan pa (D103/K103)	vol. 48: 731 ⁽¹⁾ –733 ⁽¹¹⁾
158	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 199	Cha, 36	Khye'u bzhi'i ting nge 'dzin (D136/K136)	vol. 56: 453 ⁽⁵⁾ –455 ⁽¹¹⁾
159	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 119	Cha, 221	Las kyi sgrib pa rgyun gcod pa (D219/K219)	vol. 62: 817 ⁽²¹⁾ –820 ⁽⁸⁾
160	FS: R.-Nr. 40	Cha, 219	Klu'i rgyal po rgya mtshos zhus pa (D153/K153)	vol. 58: 347 ⁽⁶⁾ –349 ⁽¹⁰⁾
161	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 120	Cha, 259		vol. 58: 441 ⁽⁴⁾ –443 ⁽⁸⁾
162	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 121	Nya, 207	Dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar gzhtag pa (D287/K287)	vol. 68: 706 ⁽⁵⁾ –708 ⁽¹²⁾
163	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 122	Nya, 249		vol. 69: 40 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –43 ⁽⁶⁾
164	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 123	Na, 4	Blo gros rgya mtshos zhus ba (D152/K152)	vol. 58: 6 ⁽¹³⁾ –8 ⁽¹⁶⁾
165	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 124	Na, 256	Sangs rgyas kyi dbu rgyan (D274/K274)	vol. 68: 91 ⁽¹⁵⁾ –94 ⁽¹⁾
166	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 100	Pha, 100	Rab kyi rtsal gyis rnam par gnong pas zhus pa (D14/K14)	vol. 34: 79 ⁽¹¹⁾ –81 ⁽²¹⁾
167	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 176	Ma, 18 left pt.	Sa bcu pa (D3993/T3333)	— Stog Kanjur, mdo, ga, 50b ⁽³⁾ –51b ^[7]
168	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 186	Ma, 25		— Stog Kanjur, mdo, ga, 59b ⁽¹⁾ –60b ⁽⁴⁾
169	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 177	Ma, 75		— Stog Kanjur, mdo, ga, 126b ⁽⁶⁾ –128a ⁽⁴⁾
170	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 198	[Tsa], 19	Lang kar gshegs pa'i mdo (D107/K107)	vol. 49: 178 ⁽²¹⁾ –181 ^[6]
171	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 125	Tsa, 57		vol. 49: 266 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –269 ⁽⁶⁾
172	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 126	Tsa, 67		vol. 49: 290 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –292 ⁽¹⁷⁾

173	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 200	Tsa, 280	Ltung ba sde Inga'i dge ba dang mi dge ba'i 'bras bu brtag pa'i mdo (D304/K304)	vol. 72: 349 ⁽²⁾ –351 ⁽⁹⁾
174	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 118	Tsa, 325	Don rgyas pa (D318/K318)	vol. 72: 537 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –539 ⁽¹⁹⁾
175	BL: Stowe Or 32/5	Tsha, 168	Rgyan stug po bkod pa'i mdo (D110/K110)	vol. 50: 63 ⁽⁸⁾ –65 ⁽¹³⁾
176	BL: Stowe Or 32/5a	Tsha, 187		vol. 50: 108 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –111 ⁽⁵⁾
177	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 9(1)	Dza, 124	Chos thams cad kyi rang bzhin mnyam pa nyid rnam par spros pa ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po (D127/K127)	vol. 55: 279 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –282 ⁽¹⁾
178	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 9(2)	Dza, 125		vol. 55: 282 ⁽¹⁾ –284 ⁽¹¹⁾
179	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 202	Wa, 86 left pt.	Sangs rgyas bgro ba (D228/K228)	vol. 63: 536 ⁽²¹⁾ –539 ^[5]
180	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 127	Zha, 198	'Dus pa chen po rin po che tog gi gzungs (D138/K138)	vol. 56: 649 ⁽²¹⁾ –652 ⁽⁷⁾
181	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 178	Za, 162	Rgyu gdags pa, ascribed to Maudgalyāyana (—/K1125; D4087/T3425)	Bstan 'gyur: vol. 78: 1006 ⁽¹²⁾ –1009 ⁽⁹⁾
182	UUL: O Tibet 2(2)	Za, 206	Las gdags pa, ascribed to Maudgalyāyana (—/K1126; D4088/T3426)	Bstan 'gyur: vol. 78: 1134 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –1137 ⁽⁵⁾
183	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 179	Za, 276	'Jig rten gzha g pa, ascribed to Maudgalyāyana (—/K1124; D4086/T3424)	Bstan 'gyur: vol. 78: 712 ⁽⁵⁾ –715 ⁽⁹⁾
184	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 128	'A, 115	Thabs mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo (D353/K353)	vol. 76: 493 ⁽¹⁾ –495 ⁽⁴⁾
185	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 133	Ya, 16	Phung po gsum pa (D284/K284)	vol. 68: 191 ⁽⁹⁾ –193 ⁽⁹⁾
186	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 134	Ya, 27		vol. 68: 214 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –216 ⁽²⁰⁾

187	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 129	Ya, 162	Yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa	vol. 52: 312 ⁽¹³⁾ –315 ⁽²⁾
188	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 130	Ra, 9	chen po'i mdo (D119/K119)	vol. 53: 16 ⁽⁴⁾ –18 ⁽³⁾
189	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 131	La, 279	Las brgya tham pa (D340/K340)	vol. 73: 659 ⁽¹⁷⁾ –662 ⁽⁴⁾
190	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 132	La, 282		vol. 73: 667 ⁽²⁾ –669 ⁽⁹⁾
191	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 201	A, 232	Chos thams cad kyi rang bzhin mnyam pa nyid rnam par spros pa ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po (D127/K127) ²⁴	vol. 55: 13 ⁽¹¹⁾ –15 ⁽¹⁷⁾
192	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 117	?, 1(?) ³⁷	Dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa (D106/K106)	vol. 68: 106 ⁽¹⁾ –108 ⁽¹⁴⁾
193	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 135	[?], ?	Tshangs pa'i dra ba'i mdo (D352/K352)	vol. 76: 216 ⁽²⁰⁾ –219 ⁽¹³⁾

Tantra (?) vols: ka–ba, <...?>, a

No	Host, shelf mark	Vol., fol.	Text	PDM
194	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 175	Ka, 180	Mañjuśrīkīrti. Rang gi lta ba'i 'dod pa mdor bstan pa yongs su brtag pa (—/T2609)	Bstan 'gyur: vol. 42: 619 ⁽²¹⁾ –622 ⁽¹⁾
195	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 136	Ka, 192	Sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog (D366/K366)	vol. 77: 437 ⁽¹⁸⁾ –440 ⁽¹⁾
196	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 203	Ka, 230		vol. 77: 518 ⁽²⁰⁾ –521 ⁽²⁾
197	UUL: O Tibet 1(6)	Ka, 349	Mngon par brjod pa'i rgyud bla ma (D369/K369)	vol. 77: 829 ⁽¹⁷⁾ –832 ⁽¹⁾
198	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 137	Kha, 96	Rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal rdo rje mkha' 'gro	vol. 78: 216 ⁽¹⁸⁾ –219 ⁽²⁾

²⁴ Two fragments of the same text are documented above as belonging to vol. Da. It is difficult to explain why the text was dubbed in a separate volume.

			(D370/K370)	
199	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 138	Ga, 84	Yang dag par sbyor ba (D381/K381)	vol. 79: 342 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –345 ⁽³⁾
200	Berlin, SB: Inv. 1381	Ga, 92: recto		vol. 79: 364 ⁽⁵⁾ –365 ⁽⁸⁾
201	LUL: Jarring Prov. 486 (1)	[Ga?, ?]	Nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po (D386/K386)	vol. 79: 575 ⁽¹⁷⁾ –576 ⁽²⁰⁾
202	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 140	Ga, 170	1) Stobs po che'i rgyud kyi rgyal po (D391/K391); 2) Ye shes gsang ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po (D392/K392)	1) vol. 79: 630 ⁽²⁰⁾ –632 ⁽¹⁴⁾ ; 2) vol. 79: 635 ⁽¹⁾ –636 ⁽⁵⁾
203	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 173	[Ga], ? right pt.	1. Ye shes gsang ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po (D392/K392); 2. Ye shes phreng ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po (D393/K393)	1) vol. 79: 638 ⁽¹³⁾ –(17), 2) vol. 79: 641 ⁽¹⁾ –643 ⁽¹⁵⁾
204	UUL: O Tibet 1(4)	[Nga, ?]	Gdan bzhi pa'i rnam par bshad pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po (D430/K430)	vol. 80: 834 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –837 ⁽⁹⁾
205	UUL: O Tibet 2(1)	Nga, 100		vol. 80: 848 ⁽³⁾ –850 ⁽¹⁵⁾
206	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 139	Ca, 111	Dgongs pa lung bstan pa (D444/K444)	vol. 81: 707 ⁽¹¹⁾ –709 ⁽²¹⁾
207	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 204	Ca, 142	Rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud dpal rdo rje phreng ba mngon par brjod pa rgyud thams cad kyi snying po gsang ba rnam par phye ba (D445/K445)	vol. 81: 802 ⁽⁸⁾ –804 ⁽¹⁴⁾
208	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 141	Cha, 37 left pt.	Rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po sgyu 'phrul dra ba (D466/K466)	vol. 83: 380 ⁽¹²⁾ –382 ⁽²⁰⁾
209	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 142	Cha, 43		vol. 83: 394 ⁽¹³⁾ –396 ⁽²¹⁾
210	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 143	Cha, 45		vol. 83: 399 ⁽⁶⁾ –401 ⁽¹³⁾

211	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 144	Cha, 123	Gshin rje'i gshed dmar po zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po (D474/K474)	vol. 83: 663 ⁽⁴⁾ –665 ⁽⁹⁾
212	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 145	Cha, 134	Gshin rje gshed dmar po'i rgyud kyi rgyal po (D475/K475)	vol. 83: 773 ⁽²⁾ –775 ⁽⁸⁾
213	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 146	Cha, 148		vol. 83: 806 ⁽¹³⁾ –809 ⁽³⁾
214	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 147	Cha, 152		vol. 83: 816 ⁽²⁾ –818 ⁽⁹⁾
215	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 148	Ja, 22 left pt.	Gsang ba rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud rdo rje rtse mo (D480/K480)	vol. 84: 476 ⁽⁶⁾ –478 ^[10]
216	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 149	Ja, 105		vol. 84: 684 ⁽³⁾ –686 ⁽⁸⁾
217	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 150	Ja, 127		vol. 84: 737 ⁽¹⁾ –739 ⁽¹⁸⁾
218	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 3	Nya, 67	Rdo rje snying po rgyan gyi rgyud (D451/K451)	vol. 86: 131 ⁽¹⁵⁾ –134 ⁽¹⁾
219	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 151	Nya, 110 left pt.	Gsang ba nor bu thig le (D493/K492)	vol. 86: 389 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –392 ^[2]
220	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 152	Nya, 128	De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi sku dang gsung dang thugs kyi gsang ba rgyan gyi bkod pa (D492/K491)	vol. 86: 250 ⁽¹⁵⁾ –253 ⁽⁵⁾
221	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 153	Nya, 135		vol. 86: 268 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –270 ⁽¹⁸⁾
222	HAB: Cod. Guelf. 9 Extra v IV	[Nya], ? right pt.	Rnam par snang mdzad chen po mngon par rdzogs par byang chub pa rnam par sprul ba byin gyis rlob pa shin tu rgyas pa (D494/K493)	vol. 86: 471 ^[16] –473 ⁽²⁰⁾
223	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 5	Nya, 188		vol. 86: 496 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –498 ⁽¹⁷⁾
224	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 6	Nya, 249		vol. 86: 640 ⁽⁸⁾ –642 ⁽²⁰⁾
225	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 154	Nya, 389	Lag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud chen po (D496/K495)	vol. 87: 285 ⁽¹⁾ –287 ⁽¹⁴⁾
226	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 155	Nya, 421		vol. 87: 360 ⁽²⁾ –362 ⁽⁵⁾
227	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 172	Nya, ??8	Rdo rje snying po rgyan (D490/K489)	vol. 86: 39 ⁽¹⁰⁾ –41 ⁽¹⁴⁾
228	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 156	Ta, 141	Dam tshig gsum bkod pa'i rgyal po	vol. 87: 669 ⁽⁶⁾ –671 ⁽¹⁴⁾

229	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 157	Ta, 147	(D502/K501)	vol. 87: 685 ⁽³⁾ –687 ⁽⁹⁾
230	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 158	Ta, 26(?) ⁸	Dpa' bo gcig bu grub pa (D544/K542)	vol. 89: 14 ⁽⁸⁾ –16 ⁽¹⁹⁾
231	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 159	Tha, 155	'Jam dpal gyi rtsa ba'i rgyud (D543/K541)	vol. 88: 733 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –736 ⁽⁶⁾
232	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 160	Tha, 250	Gser 'od dam pa mchog tu rnam par rgyal ba'i mdo sde'i rgyal po (D555/K550)	vol. 89: 117 ⁽¹⁹⁾ –120 ⁽¹⁰⁾
233	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 161	[Da?], ? right pt.	Gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po'i rgyal po (D556/K551)	vol. 89: 472 ^[20] –475 ⁽⁶⁾
234	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 162	Da, 68		vol. 89: 603 ⁽⁸⁾ –605 ⁽¹⁷⁾
235	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 163	Da, 91		vol. 89: 660 ⁽⁹⁾ –662 ⁽¹⁸⁾
236	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 164	Da, 96		vol. 89: 672 ⁽¹⁸⁾ –675 ⁽⁶⁾
237	BL: Sloane 2837d	Da, 118	Kun nas sgor 'jug pa'i 'od zer gtsug tor dri ma med par snang ba de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi snying po dang dam tshig la rnam par lta ba (D599/K593)	vol. 90: 844 ⁽⁴⁾ –846 ⁽¹³⁾
238	FS: R.-Nr. 42	Da, 190	Rig pa'i rgyal mo so so 'brang ba chen mo (D561/K556)	vol. 90: 366 ⁽¹⁾ –368 ⁽⁸⁾
239	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 165	Da, 286	De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gtsug tor nas byung ba gdugs dkar po can (D590/K584)	vol. 90: 683 ⁽¹⁴⁾ –685 ⁽¹⁹⁾
240	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 166	Da, 332— 333 ²⁵	'Od zer dri ma med pa rnam par dag pa'i 'od (D510/K509)	vol. 88: 84 ⁽⁹⁾ –86 ⁽¹⁶⁾

²⁵ The folio has a double number.

241	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 167	Na, 261	Spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po pad ma dra ba (D681/K675)	vol. 91: 892 ⁽¹⁶⁾ –895 ⁽¹⁰⁾
242	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 7	Ba (=Pa), 235	Don yod pa'i zhags pa'i cho ga zhib mo'i rgyal po (D686/K680)	vol. 92: 578 ⁽¹⁷⁾ –581 ⁽¹⁾
243	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 168	Pa, 285		vol. 92: 695 ⁽¹⁸⁾ –698 ⁽³⁾
244	BL: Sloane 2837e	Pa, 324	Zla ba'i khyim brtsi ba dang rgyu skar brtsi ba'i mdo las 'byung ba zla ba'i bam brtsi ba (—/K922)	— Stog Kanjur, mdo, sa, 353b ⁽⁵⁾ –355a ⁽³⁾
245	BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 8	Pa, 325		— Stog Kanjur, mdo, sa, 355a ⁽³⁾ –356a ⁽⁷⁾
246	UUL: O Tibet 1(5)	[Pa], 326		— Stog Kanjur, mdo, sa, 356a ⁽⁷⁾ –357b ⁽⁴⁾
247	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 170	Pha, 258	Ral pa gyen brdzes kyi rtog pa chen po (D724/K718)	vol. 94: 373 ⁽⁵⁾ –375 ⁽¹⁶⁾
248	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 169	Ba, 206	Rig pa mchog gi rgyud chen po (D746/K740)	vol. 95: 436 ⁽³⁾ –438 ⁽⁷⁾
249	IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 171	A, 94	1. Rdo rje mchu zhes bya ba klu'i dam tshig (D759/K753); 2. Rdo rje gnam lcags mchu zhes bya ba'i gzungs (D760/K754)	1) vol. 96: 147 ^(6–20) ; 2) vol. 96: 162 ⁽¹⁾ –164 ⁽²⁾
250	1) IOM RAS: Tib. 959, No. 174 (right pt.); 2) BnF: Tibétain 464: f. 10 (left pt.)	A, 190(?)	Gnod sbyin nor bu bzang po'i rtog pa (D765/K759)	vol. 96: 208 ⁽²⁰⁾ –211 ⁽³⁾



The samples of folios from Sem Palat and Ablai-kit preserved at the Hunterian Library of the University of Glasgow¹

Alexander Zorin


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ottlieb (Theophilus) Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738) was the first Orientalist at the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences. He arrived from Königsberg in 1726 and used the time in Russia to improve his knowledge of various Oriental writing systems, including Tibetan, Mongolian, and Oirat (Kalmuck). He had started these studies ten years earlier, but before his move to St. Petersburg, he did not have access even to correctly written alphabets of these languages. As a result, his early publications, Bayer 1722 and Bayer 1729 (written in 1725), were far from satisfactory. However, upon moving to the new Russian capital, he already had several manuscripts in Oriental languages in his personal collection. According to his archival documents, they included copies of two books, in Tibetan and Mongolian (as a matter of fact, Oirat), that belonged to the library of the Halle Orphanage (later reorganized into the Franckesche Stiftungen). The copy of the Oirat book from the Bayer collection is now kept in the Hunterian Library of the University of Glasgow, while the fate of the Tibetan one is uncertain.²

This paper focuses on another item, now preserved in the Hunterian Library—PL61, a bundle of several Tibetan and Mongolian

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² Their story is analyzed, and the Oirat text published, in Zorin, Menyaev, Walravens 2022.

folios from the two Oirat monasteries found by Russians between 1717 and 1721. They were described for the first time by David Weston in his catalogue of the Bayer collection in Glasgow (Weston 2018: 191–193). Unlike another important item, PL62,³ there can be no doubt that PL61 belonged to Bayer, as the folios have a wrapper with a Latin annotation written by him. They are also listed twice in the catalogue of his library, which is preserved in the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (SPbB ARAS). However, the three records are not identical, and the current contents of PL61 do not exactly match their descriptions.

The oldest list is apparently found in the draft catalogue of the Oriental part of Bayer's library:

42. *Tangutana et Mungalica intra duos alleres* [Tangut and Mongolian items between two boards]⁴

1. *Charta oblonga coerulea, Scriptura Tangutana aureis litteris elegantissima. Direpta ex Septem Palatiis.* [An oblong blue folio, with Tangut script in the most elegant golden letters. Seized from the Seven Chambers.]

2. *Charta coerulea oblonga, Mungalica Scriptura, litteris aureis elegantissimis. Direpta ex Szempalati.* [An oblong blue folio, with Mongolian script in the most elegant golden letters. Seized from Sem Palat.]

3. *Charta alba oblonga Scriptura Mungalica* [An oblong white folio with Mongolian script]

4. *Charta alia ejus modi. Vtraque ex Szempalati. Has chartas pretiosissimas dono Ill. Rehbinderi possideo.* [Another folio of the same kind. Both from Sem Palat. I possess these very valuable folios as gifts from Mr. Rehbinders.]

5. *Item.* [The same.]

6. *Epistola Mungalica cum coeruleo Sigillo Scripta a Tataris ad Magistrum Ordinis Teutonici in Prussia.* [A Mongolian letter with a blue seal written by Tatars to the Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.]⁵

According to the list, the bundle initially consisted of six items that can be divided into three groups:

1) Four folios (one Tibetan, one Mongolian on blue paper with golden letters, two Mongolian on white paper with black letters) obtained from a certain Rehbinders;

2) One more Mongolian folio on white paper, similar to the two

³ This item will be analyzed in a separate study.

⁴ The English translation is provided by the authors of this paper; we are grateful to Hartmut Walravens for his help in transcribing and translating the Latin documents. The word 'Tangut' should be understood as 'Tibetan' in all cases.

⁵ SPbB ARAS. Coll. 784. Inv. 1. Item 47. Folio 24.

(nos. 3–4), not presented by Reh binder;

3) The letter to the Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia.

We learn that Reh binder presented Bayer with three (not four) Mongolian folios from the latter's annotation on the thangka of Acala that was also obtained from Reh binder. This thangka is currently held in Glasgow under shelf mark Hunter 246.⁶ On the last item (the letter) see below.

Chronologically, the next variant of the list must be the one found on the wrapper of PL61:

Tangutana & Mungalica [Tangut and Mongolian items]

1. *Charta Coerulea, Scriptura Tangutana, aureis litteris, ex Septem Palatiis direpta* [A blue folio with Tangut script, in golden letters, seized from the Seven Chambers]

2. *Chartae coeruleae /duae* [written additionally above the line] *Scriptura Mungalica, aureis litteris ex Szem Palati* [(Two) blue leaves with Mongolian script, in golden letters, from Sem Palat]

3. *Charta alba, Scriptura Mungalica, ex Szem Palati* [A white folio, in Mongolian script, from Sem Palat]

4. *Item* [The same]

5. *Item* [The same]

6. *Epistola Mungalica, Scriptura veteri cum coeruleo Sigillo, Scripta a Tataris ad Magistrum Ordinis Teutonici in Prussia, ut mihi videtur a Batu Chan. Nam neminem potui inuenire, qui*

⁶ *Hoc idolum perillustris Liber Baro de Reh binder mihi dono dedit. Is cum a Pultaiensi praetio in exilio Siberiensi, ex Septem palatiorum ruinis, (Russice Szem Palati) ubi insignis librorum Tangutanorum et Mungalorum copia reperta est, quaedam alia esset /etiam nactus, mihi simul concessit. Haec sunt illa scripta Tangutana, quae in Europa ante paucos annos primum visa eruditos ad earum litterarum rationem inuestigandam mouerunt. Vnum folium scriptura Tangutana, tria Mungalica ex iisdem spoliis ab eodem accepi: sed maioris feci idolum hocce, coloribus suis atque pingendi arte, ut istorum populorum ingenium fert, perelegans. De Szem palati vide Strahlenbergii Septentrionalem et Orientalem Tartariam in mappa geographica subiuncta.*

Translation: This idol was given to me as a present by the respected Freiherr [Swed.: Friherr] de Reh binder. While he was in exile in Siberia as a Poltava punishment, he obtained from the ruins of the Seven Chambers (Sem Palat in Russian), where a remarkable quantity of books of the Tanguts and Mongols was found, also something /else that he granted me at the same time. These are the writings of the Tanguts, which were observed for the first time in Europe a few years ago and have invoked scholars to investigate the nature of their literature. One folio of Tangut writing, three Mongolian [folios] from the same spoils were received by me from the same [Reh binder]: but I have held the idol in higher esteem, with its colors and the art of painting, as it brings out the fine talent of these peoples. See Sem Palat on the map attached to Strahlenberg's [book about] Northern and Eastern Tartary.

See the images of both sides of the icon in A. Zorin's review of D. Ivanov's book in this issue of RET.

interpretaretur. Inueni eam inter complura vetera Ordinis Scripta. [A Mongolian letter, old writing with a blue seal, written by Tatars to the Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, and as it seems to me, by Batu Khan. I could not find anybody to translate it. I found it among several old scriptures of the Order.]

When first written, it reflected the same number of items as the previous variant of the list, but later another Mongolian folio on blue paper was added, resulting in the interlinear remark 'duae'. Rehbinder is not mentioned here, hence it is impossible to learn from this list that Bayer had more than one source of the folios. This variant of the list provides some information about "the Mongolian letter". It seems probable that Bayer obtained the letter in his native Königsberg before his move to Russia. However, this does not mean that Rehbinder's batch must belong to the same period. In Bayer's paper, published in 1729 but composed, most probably, in 1725, he only mentions the famous Ablai-kit folio published by J. Mencke in 1722. If he had obtained his own Tibetan folio by that time, he would probably have mentioned this fact and used it for his studies of the Tibetan alphabet.

An even stronger argument for later obtaining the Tibetan and Mongolian folios is provided by the paper of the wrapper, which features a watermark—the two-headed eagle with a shield depicting St. George slaying the Dragon (the Russian coat of arms). Such paper was produced near Saint Petersburg starting from the early 1720s.⁷ It is not very likely that Russian paper was accessible to a resident of Königsberg at that time.⁸

The last doubts were removed when we learnt about a letter from Bayer to the Swedish priest and scholar Erik Benzelius the Younger (1675–1743), dated September 10, 1730, in which he wrote: "I have recently received some folios from Sem Palat and an idol painted on linen".⁹ The previous letter he sent to Benzelius is dated June 3, 1730. Therefore, we can assume that Bayer likely met Rehbinder in Saint

⁷ Most probably, by the Duderhof paper-mill founded by Peter the Great near Saint Petersburg in 1709 (it began producing paper in 1716); a similar watermark dated 1720 and 1722 is documented in Klepikov 1959: 76, 247 (No. 875).

⁸ It is worth noting that the above-mentioned icon of Acala, Hunter 246, was glued by Bayer onto a leaf of a brochure made of paper that bears the same watermark.

⁹ "Nuper ex Sem Palati schedas quasam accepi et idolum in lino pictum. De litteris Tangutanis in Actis Lipsiensibus egi. Nunc ubi alphabetum brahmanicum Tangutanum et Mogulense in Sinis exesum impetrauimus, isthuc ipsum tertio in 25 tomo Commentariorum Academiae nostrae explicare institui, ut ad legendum nihil possit desiderari. Ouae Lacrosus de Dalai Lama habet, ea a me accepit" (Erikson 1979: 327). We are grateful to Larisa Bondar (the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences) for mentioning this source (personal correspondence, October 2023).

Petersburg in the summer of 1730.

The revised form of the list is contained in the final version of the catalogue of Bayer's library where the items of the Oriental part are divided thematically into several sections. The entry in question is found in the 3rd section, entitled "Tangutana Mungalica Calmucica Tatarica":

5. *Tangutica et Mungalica* [Tangut & Mongolian items]

1. *Charta /oblonga coerulea scriptura Tangutana aureis litteris elegantissimis*. [An oblong blue folio with Tangut script, in the most elegant golden letters.]

2. *Chartae oblongae coerulea duae, scriptura Mungalica, litteris aureis elegantibus*. [Two oblong blue folios with Mongolian script, in elegant golden letters.]

3. *Chartae tres albae eius modi, scriptura Mungalica litteris nigris elegantibus*. [Three white folios of the same kind with Mongolian script, in elegant black letters.]

4. *Epistola <veteri>Mungalica, scriptura veteri, cum coeruleo sigillo, scripta a Tataris ad Magistrum Ord. Teutonicum in Prussia et ut mihi videtur ab ipso Batu Cano*. [A Mongolian letter, old writing, with a blue seal, written by Tatars to the Master of the Teutonic Order in Prussia, and as it seems to me, by Batu Khan himself.]¹⁰

The two Mongolian folios on blue paper are mentioned here and all three Mongolian folios on white paper are grouped together. The bundle thus consisted of seven items.

Nowadays, PL61 still has seven items but they are not quite the same. The bundle lacks the last item, the letter, its fate being unknown. At the same time, it has a third Mongolian folio on blue paper! We can only guess whether it had been acquired by Bayer not long before his collection was sent to Königsberg or was added later by Gerdes, the next owner of the bundle.¹¹

PL61 contains samples of folios from three sets of manuscripts that once belonged to the two Oirat monasteries near the Irtysh.

The first one is a Tibetan folio on blue paper with golden letters from one of the two sets of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* that, presumably, were found in Sem Palat. This question was first discussed in Zorin 2015, and a further analysis was conducted in Zorin 2021a. Since the latter was written in Russian, it will not be

¹⁰ SPbB ARAS. Coll. 784. Inv. 1. Item 47. Folio 4.

¹¹ See Weston 2018: 8–9.

redundant to repeat the major points here.

We know that no later than 1719, several folios from the Irtysh Region were retained in Peter the Great's personal collection. At the very beginning of 1720, the Scottish traveler John Bell purchased a bundle of manuscripts in Tobolsk, which, according to him, had been taken from Sem Palat (a site discovered by Russians in 1717). In the autumn of 1721, the French newspaper *Gazette* published a report about the manuscripts owned by Peter the Great and the discovery of a ruined edifice where such books were seen, and some were stolen. The edifice was described as being built of stone but partially covered with sand. This description aligns with credible accounts of the main building of the Sem Palat complex: its lower part was constructed of flagstones, while the upper part was composed of raw bricks made from a mixture of clay and sand. Many of these bricks had deteriorated by the time Russians took control of the site.

The first six folios from Ablai-kit (discovered by Russians between the autumn of 1720 and the summer of 1721) were sent to Saint Petersburg in August 1721. It is presumed that one of these folios was published by J. Mencke in his *Acta eruditorum* in 1722 and was soon sent to Paris, where the Fourmont brothers created a "translation" for Peter the Great. In 1724, J.-P. Bignon, the Moderator of the French Academies and Royal Librarian, wrote a letter to Saint Petersburg requesting additional samples of Tibetan manuscripts. However, L. Blumentrost, the head of the Imperial library and *Kunstkamera*, responded that suitable folios could not be found, as many of them had been torn by 'rude people' who had used them for their own purposes. This aligns perfectly with the above-mentioned samples of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* found at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS (IOM RAS). These folios are divided into two groups based on size: eighteen of them belonged to one set of four volumes of larger format (ca. 75.0×26.0 cm), and fourteen to the other set, also consisting of four volumes (ca. 69.0×21.5). Another difference between the two sets concerns the Tibetan number of the fourth volume: NGA (in the first case), A (in the second).

Only two samples from the first group show no signs of intentional damage. Only four have the main part with the text intact or nearly intact, while the margins are either completely or partially cut off. The rest of the samples are nothing more than fragments, mostly less than half the original length. Some fragments are even missing both the bottom and top margins. The edges of the fragments show either an even cut (an apparent sign of deliberate truncation) or torn edges.

Sometimes, the text layer could be cut off from the folio, as seen in two fragments from the second group. However, this group has fewer damaged items: four are completely intact, one has the central layer

cut off on the front side but the verso intact, and four have losses, but they are not very extensive (two of them might be accidental).¹² The presence of folios without serious damage could be attributed to their later acquisition (for example, from the expedition of D. G. Messerschmidt in 1728¹³). We have no data about the number of fragments brought to Saint Petersburg by the time Blumentrost composed his letter to Bignon.

Unlike the first group, the second one is expanded with several folios found outside Russia.¹⁴ All of these items have intact margins, and only one of them (kept in Uppsala) is not complete, being half of a folio. The folio belonging to PL61 is among them. It was given to Bayer by Rehbinder, a Swede who spent several years in Siberia and likely possessed details about the Russian military expansion along the Irtysh. However, it is uncertain whether Bayer adopted Rehbinder's identification of all four folios (one Tibetan and three Mongolian) as originating from Sem Palat. Two Mongolian folios on white paper belonged to the Ablai-kit library, as will be demonstrated below. Rehbinder could have easily obtained folios brought to Tobolsk from both sites, while Bayer was unaware of Ablai-kit's existence and assumed that Sem Palat was the sole source of the folios. Therefore, Bayer's identification lacks evidentiary weight. Nonetheless, we lean towards considering the folios of the second group as part of the Sem Palat library. This inclination is supported by several key factors: their close paleographic and codicological resemblance to the samples from the first group, the presence of numerous intentionally damaged fragments, and, most importantly, the absence of any indications that

¹² The list of the folios from both groups that documents all the traces of "historical" damage is presented in Zorin 2021a: 19–23. It only lacks one folio preserved in the Uppsala University Library about which we learnt in August 2023. We are very grateful to Emil Lundin for the information about this and other Tibetan and Mongolian folios from the Oirat monasteries held in Uppsala. He also kindly drew our attention to Staffan Rosén's survey of Swedish collections of the Tibetan and Mongolian folios brought from Siberia in the 1720s (Rosén 2000).

¹³ This issue remains uncertain; see Zorin 2021b: 295–301.

¹⁴ In September 2023, we learnt about two blue folios (vol. Kha: ff. 163 and 105) preserved at the Lund University Library (shelf marks: Jarring Prov. 486, nos. 4 and 5), whose size is similar to the texts of the first group: 21×72 cm and 25.5×73 cm, according to the university website where the digitized copies are also provided: <https://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record:30078>. The slight difference in size is due to the fact that edges of both folios were partially cut off. Although it is very likely that these two folios belonged to the first set of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* they should be examined on site, because certain doubts remain concerning the paper of these folios. It is notable also that one of them lacks decorative circles on its recto side, while none of the other samples have such an omission. Their publication is to be carried out in a different study. We are grateful to Jenny Bonnevier and Håkan Håkansson (the Lund University Library) for the information about these folios.

they were sent by G. F. Müller (1705–1783) and J. G. Gmelin (1709–1755) in 1734,¹⁵ as most of the Ablai-kit items were acquired by the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences in this manner.¹⁶

It appears, however, that the paper for the two sets may have been produced in different locations. The analysis of the physical macro- and microscopic features of two randomly selected samples from the first group of manuscripts made in 2021 shows that their paper was composed of paper mulberry and jute fibers. When considering the origin and possible locations where these papers could have been manufactured, it is important to note that paper mulberry is typically used as a raw material for papermaking in China, Korea, Japan, and countries in Southeast Asia. The presence of jute fibers, which are not of high-quality raw material for making paper (being rigid and yellow), but are known for their strength and are commonly used for making robes and coarse textiles, makes this paper unusual. Paper mulberry was traditionally employed for producing high-quality paper used for writing, calligraphy, and other forms of art, sometimes with the addition of other fibers, although the inclusion of jute was relatively rare.

The recent analysis of a sample taken from the Tibetan folio kept in PL61 shows that it is rag paper based on hemp fibers (see Appendix III). Rag paper was produced in Europe, Russia, and the Islamic world. Considering that the history of paper production has not been equally well-documented worldwide, such as in Mongolia and Central Asia, it is impossible to attribute the exact origins of the studied paper.

Apart from the folio found in Glasgow, three samples of the second set of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* are held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the British Library,¹⁷ and the Uppsala University Library. One more folio is not available, but its

¹⁵ They were participants of the Second Kamchatka Expedition of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1733–1744).

¹⁶ D. G. Messerschmidt brought two Tibetan folios and one Mongolian folio from Ablai-kit; he obtained them in Abakansky Ostrog in December 1721 (Zorin 2021c).

¹⁷ The Stowe collection of the British Library has one more folio, Stowe Or 32/4, that looks very similar but does not belong to these sets as it contains a fragment of another version of the *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra*, in 18,000 lines, and it lacks decorative double circles that are typical for the manuscripts presented in this paper. Intriguingly, this folio belongs to the volume *nga* (the fourth), while the canonical editions present this text in three volumes, and the fragment of this folio should have been found in the middle of the third volume (*ga*). Moreover, the provenance of this folio is uncertain: either this folio or another one, Stowe Or 32/3, might have been taken by Englishmen in the early 1770s from a monastery located in “Dalamcotta” (O’Conor 1818: 2), then in Bhutanese territory, now the area around Kalimpong, West Bengal, India. This topic requires a separate study. We are grateful to Burkhard Quessel for his help in accessing the folios preserved in the British Library.

contents are known to us thanks to the engraving published by its owner, the German archaeologist Wilhelm Dorow, in Dorow 1820.¹⁸

All nineteen known folios of the second set are presented in Part 2 of the Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Sem Palat, see Appendix I to this paper.¹⁹

The topic of the Mongolian folios requires a brief introduction. The process of reception of the *Buddhavacana* ('word of the Buddha') by the Mongols began in the 13th–14th centuries during the Yuan dynasty.²⁰ After the Yuan's final decline in 1368, translation activities among the Mongols waned for nearly two centuries,²¹ only to be revitalized under Altan qaγan of the Tümed Mongols (1508–1582). According to his biography, *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur* ("The Jewel Translucent Sūtra"), compiled sometime after 1607, and the colophon of the Mongolian translation by Širegetü Güši Čorji (late 16th–early 17th centuries) of the *Daśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, the translation of the entire Kanjur was completed under Namudai Sečen qaγan (1586–1607), who was the grandson of Altan qaγan.²² Unfortunately, not a

¹⁸ It became known to us thanks to Hartmut Walravens who published it in Walravens 2015.

¹⁹ Part 1 was published in the Appendix to Zorin 2021a.

²⁰ For more details, see Čoyji 2003. The Buddhist tradition had a significant influence on the written culture of the Mongol tradition from its earliest decades. Tibetan Buddhism became an integral part of Mongolian culture as early as the 13th century, when Drogön Chogyal Phagpa (Tib. 'Gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa, 1235–1280), the fifth Sakya hierarch, was recognized as the "imperial preceptor" (1260) and, consequently, the "state preceptor" by Khubilai Khan (1215–1294), the founder of the Yuan dynasty of China. Although Buddhism was not widespread among the Mongols during that period, the first translations of Buddhist texts into Mongolian, mostly from Tibetan but in some cases from Old Uyghur and Chinese, were undertaken. Some of these translations, such as *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* (Mong. Belge bilig-ün činadu kijaγar-a kürügsen jürüken), *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* (Mong. Altan gerel-tü), *Pañcarakṣā* (Mong. Tabun sakiyan), *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* (Mong. Mañjusiri-yin ner-e üneger ügüleküi), were later included in the Mongolian Kanjur. Due to limited available data, it is difficult to ascertain the full extent of the translation activity that was carried out under the patronage of the Yuan dynasty, but it can be assumed that this process was rather chaotic.

²¹ The period after the fall of the Yuan dynasty until the middle of the 16th century is described in Mongolian chronicles as the "dark era" of "decline" and oblivion for the Buddhist tradition. However, the manuscript fragments discovered in the fortified cities of Olon Sume and Xarbuxyn Balgas during 20th-century archaeological excavations allow us to assume that Buddhist texts were still being copied and circulated among the Mongols; for instance, see Heissig 1976; Chiodo 2000; Dumas 2005.

²² Kasyanenko 1993a: No. 545; Kollmar-Paulenz 2002: 156–159; Tuyay-a 2008: 274–278.

single folio of this edition has been discovered thus far.

The earliest version of the Mongolian Kanjur that has survived to the present day is the manuscript edition produced under the auspices of Ligdan Qayan of Chakhar (r. 1604–1634) in 1628–1629. According to the Mongolian chronicles *Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütii* (“Thousand Spoke Golden Wheel”) and *Altan erike* (“Golden rosary”), the work of the translation and editorial work culminated in the creation of an elaborately decorated 113-volume manuscript written in gold on blue paper, which subsequently became known as the “Golden Kanjur” (Mong. Altan ganjur).²³

During the 17th to early 18th centuries, Ligdan’s edition was repeatedly copied and circulated among the Mongols. This is evidenced by a number of manuscript copies that have been preserved, along with references in Mongolian sources.²⁴ Currently, the following Kanjurs are recognized as copies of Ligdan Khan’s edition:

- Twenty volumes, including fragments, of the “Golden Kanjur” (AK) preserved in the library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia in Hohhot, China.²⁵ This elaborately adorned manuscript is written in golden and silver ink on dark blue paper;

- The complete 113-volume collection held in the St. Petersburg State University Library;²⁶

- A 109-volume collection, with four volumes of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (‘The Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra in Twenty-five Thousand Lines’) missing and three double volumes present, preserved in the library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia, Hohhot. The collection is compiled from volumes of

²³ For details, see Dharm-a 2000: 132; Nata 2013: 113–115. Nowadays it is taken for granted that the Mongolian Altan Kanjur was produced in a single copy. However, the chronicles remain silent on the exact number of ‘golden’ copies.

²⁴ For instance, the 18th century Mongolian biography of Neyiči-toyin (1557–1653) narrates that 108 copies of Kanjur were written and distributed amongst all the converted nobility by this renowned Mongolian missionary. The biography does not specify in what language, Tibetan or Mongolian, the copies were made. Nevertheless, W. Heissig suggests that as Neyiči-toyin had asked his followers “to read it repeatedly, and the Tibetan language was not very widely known among the Eastern Mongols”, he had produced copies of the Ligdan’s manuscript edition. See Heissig 1953: 24.

²⁵ The colophon added to Volume *ka* of the *Dandir-a* section provides a distinct indication, if not outright confirmation, that the manuscript preserved in Hohhot is the Altan Kanjur of Ligdan Khan, written in 1629. The history, contents, and colophon of this manuscript have been comprehensively described in Alekseev, Turanskaya 2013.

²⁶ See Kasyanenko 1993. The manuscript was purchased for the collection of St. Petersburg University by A. M. Pozdnev in the southern Mongolian city of Kalgan (modern Zhangjiakou, China) in 1892 (Uspensky 1988: 195–196).

several different Kanjur sets;²⁷

- A 70-volume collection stored in the Mongolian National Library, Ulaanbaatar.²⁸ The volumes do not exhibit a uniform design; there are several duplications, and three volumes that are not considered part of the Kanjur: two with Mongolian translation of “The Mani Kabum” (Tib. *Ma ṅi bka’ ’bum*) by Čültem Lodoi (late 16th–early 17th cc.) and “The Compendium of Dhāraṇīs” (Tib. *gzung ’dus*). Additionally, a few volumes contain ‘alternative’ translations of Buddhist canonical works.²⁹

- Volume *cha* of the *Dandir-a* section preserved in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen;³⁰

- An almost complete manuscript Kanjur, consisting of 109 volumes, preserved in the Center of Oriental Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan studies of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Ulan-Ude;³¹

- Manuscript fragments of three Mongolian Kanjurs discovered in Oirat monasteries Sem Palat (Darqan čorji-yin keyid) and Ablai-kit. They are currently preserved in various Russian and European institutions.

Thirty-eight fragments of luxuriously decorated manuscript volumes, written in golden ink (‘Golden’ Folios), have been identified: 21 ff. (under shelf mark K 37) in the IOM RAS;³² 1 f. (Ms. or. Fol. 477) in Berlin State library;³³ 1 f. (Cod. Guelf. 9 Extra v V) in the Herzog August Library (Wolfenbüttel);³⁴ 1 f. (Ms. orient. Anhang 3) in Kassel University Library;³⁵ 1 f. (R.-Nr. 48) in the Francke Foundation

²⁷ The circumstances and timing of the acquisition remain unknown.

²⁸ According to D. Burnee, the manuscript was brought in the 1920s from the Bayishing-tu monastery of Tushetu-Khan’s ayimaq (modern South Gobi) by the head of the Academic Committee of Mongolia, O. Jamyan (1864–1930) (Burnee 2012: 132–133).

²⁹ For details, see Alekseev 2015: 206–207.

³⁰ For the description, see Heissig 1957: 71–87; Heissig, Bawden 1971: 199–204; Kollmar-Paulenz 2002: 162–165.

³¹ See Alekseev, Tsyrempilov, Badmatsyrenov 2016.

³² The description, provenance and identification are provided in Alekseev, Turanskaya, Yampolskaya 2016.

³³ See Alekseev, Turanskaya 2015.

³⁴ See Heissig 1979; Alekseev, Turanskaya, Yampolskaya 2015: 69–72.

³⁵ See Knüppel 2014: 11–14, 95–102. In transcription presented on p. 11–14 the recto and verso sides are reversed.

collection (Halle);³⁶ 2 ff. (Tibétain 464) in the National library of France (Paris);³⁷ 1 f. (OL 3) in the Linköping City Library;³⁸ 4 ff. (Stowe 32, Sloane 2838 a-b) in the collection of the British Library; 3 ff. (PL 61/2–4) in the Glasgow University library; 3 ff. (O okat. 76) in the Uppsala University library; 1 f. in the Stockholm Museum of Ethnography (Etnografiska museet).³⁹ One more folio is partially known to us thanks to a hand-drawn copy of a fragment preserved among the archival documents of the linguist Friedrich von Adelung (1768–1843) in the Russian National Library (Coll. 7, No. 149, f. 22).

While the provenance of the fragments remains contentious,⁴⁰ the latest research allows us to presume that they were obtained in Darqan čorji-yin keyid, widely known as Sem Palat. The Russian inscription dated July 1720 on the folio kept in Linköping⁴¹ and the presence of folios obtained by H. Sloane from J. Bell who, presumably, bought them in Tobolsk at the beginning of 1720, imply that they must have circulated in the Russian territory *before* the discovery of Ablai-kit.⁴²

However, one more item that needs to be added to the list of the folios makes the situation more complicated. It is a fragment of the first folio of vol. *ka* of the *Ratnakūṭa* (Mong. Erdeni dabqučayuluγsan) section with a miniature of the Buddha Śākyamuni. This item is preserved in the collection of the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (RSAAA).⁴³ It is safely identified as an object acquired by G. F. Müller from a soldier in the Ust-Kamenogorskaya Fortress in 1734. Since Ablai-kit was located near this fortress (about 70 km away), it seems natural to suggest that the item had been found there. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the fragment had been found years earlier in Sem Palat and eventually ended up in the hands of the soldier, about whom Müller tells us nothing (Müller 1747: 449–450).

The fact that all the found folios belonged to the first volumes (marked by the Tibetan letter *ka*) of relevant sections of the Kanjur is a

³⁶ The facsimile of the folio can be found in Knüppel 2014: 117–118. The recto and verso sides are reversed.

³⁷ Two fragments of *Buddhāvataṃsakanāmamahāvopūlyasūtra* (Olangki section, f. 37 and f. 153).

³⁸ The folio became famous as “*Codex Renatus Linkopensis*”; see Rohnström 1971: 300–302.

³⁹ We do not know yet the shelf mark of this folio. However, its verso side is published in low resolution (yet, identifiable) in Wahlquist 2002: 29.

⁴⁰ For discussion, see Baipakov et al 2019: 185; Zorin 2020.

⁴¹ See the paper by Zorin, Turanskaya, Borodaev in this issue of RET.

⁴² See Borodaev 2021. History and description of this Oirat monastery are provided in Müller 1747: 432–439.

⁴³ RSAAA. Coll. 126 (“Mungal (Mongolian) files—the Ambassadorial Department’s collection”). Inv. 1. Item 2 (“Various drawings of Mongolian and Chinese antiquities”). F. 4. The original image was discovered by V. Borodaev, mentioned first by A. Zorin (Zorin 2015: 28), and published by A. Sizova (Sizova 2023: fig. 9).

puzzle that has no clear explanation. It is most likely, however, that the Sem Palat library did not have a complete set of the Mongolian canon.

In terms of codicology, paleography, and orthography, these folios exhibit a remarkable similarity to the AK preserved in Hohhot. While the size of the pothī format folios differs slightly (72×24.9 (57.5×15.5) cm for AK) and measures approximately 63.7×22.8 (51×14.3) cm. The paper consists of several layers: the inner layer is soft, white paper, while the upper layers, made of thinner and denser paper, are painted indigo blue. The central axis of each folio is decorated with two double circles drawn in golden ink, and more rarely in red ink, symbolizing the holes traditionally used for cords to bind Indian palm-leaf manuscripts. The text, spanning 27–30 lines, is written with a reed pen (calamus) in gold ink within the blackened glossy interior of a frame outlined with a double line of gold.

The volume number, marked with the Tibetan letter, the marginal title denoting the section of the collection, and the foliation in Mongolian are enclosed within a “rail” located on the left side of the frame on the recto sides of the folios. The foliation does not exhibit uniformity: certain folio numbers are inscribed using Mongolian words, while in others, hundreds are denoted with crosses. For instance, the foliation of page 153 is represented as ‘+ tabin γurban’.⁴⁴

Evidently, the initial folios of the volumes were embellished with skillfully drawn miniatures of Buddhist deities in gold and silver against a black background, as can be observed in the aforementioned fragment preserved in the RSAAA.

The text on all the folios is penned with a clear hand. The handwriting strongly resembles some instances of script encountered in the Altan Kanjur preserved in Hohhot and is characteristic of manuscripts transcribed at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries in Southern Mongolia.⁴⁵ The text has an abundance of elements of pre-classical orthography, such as the pre-classical use of ‘t’ and ‘d’ in suffixes (*tegün-tür, nom-tur*), archaic spelling (*bridi, bodisung, maqasung, es-e, ter-e*), and the initial ‘i’ in Tibetan and Sanskrit loanwords (*injan-a,*

⁴⁴ Similar crosses in foliation are found in the margins of some of the Tibetan manuscripts discovered in Dunhuang, Tabo, Mustang and Dolpo; see Scherrer-Schaub 1999: 21–22; Scherrer-Schaub, Bonani 2002: 194–195; Helman-Ważny, Ramble 2020: 54, 55, 77.

⁴⁵ The initial “teeth” do not have “crowns”, and the initial ‘s’ and ‘q’ are rather indistinguishable from each other. The initial ‘y’ and ‘j’, as well as medial ‘č’ and ‘j’, are written identically. The medial ‘t’ and ‘d’ are sharpened, and the lower element of the letter is not connected with the vertical axis. The final ‘s’ is written as a short horizontal “tail”, more typical of the Old Uyghur writing tradition. Final ‘a’, ‘e’, and ‘n’ are written either in the form of a horizontal ‘tail’ turned downward or as a long hanging ‘tail’ intended to fill in excess space.

irgalmsan).

The thirty-eight folios and one drawing copy belong to the following sections of the Kanjur:

- Eight folios and the drawing copy to *Dandir-a*,
- Thirteen to *Yum* (*Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*),
- Three to *Olangki* (*Buddhāvataṃsaka*),
- Four to *Erdeni dabqurliy*,
- Four to *Eldeb* (fragments of *Bhadrakalpika*),
- Six to *Vinay-a* (fragments of *Vinayavastu*).

The Hunterian library in Glasgow holds three folios, from the *Dandir-a*, *Yum*, and *Vinay-a* sections (Weston 2018: 192). According to the paper analysis of a sample of one of these folios (f. 4 of PL61), its paper is composed of mixed fibres varying in size and characteristics with many associated cells eg. epidermal cells typical for grass or straw type of plants (see Appendix III).

Papers with admixtures of grass or straw were commonly produced in China from about the 9th century onward. This practice also extended to other areas of Asia, where remnants of local crops or widely available grasses were added to paper pulp to modify the quality of the final product, making it more suitable for specific purposes, such as when softer or more absorbent paper was required for printing. Papers made entirely from grass or straw were typically of lower quality and often used for packaging or other everyday purposes. However, it is relatively rare to find such fiber admixtures in traditional Tibetan papers.

The so-called 'black' (written with black ink on plain paper) Kanjur fragments are believed to have originated from Ablai-kit. The total number of the fragments is 1,281, with most of them being preserved at the IOM RAS. The number aligns closely with the list of objects taken from Ablai-kit and sent by G. F. Müller and J. G. Gmelin to Saint Petersburg in 1734 (Zorin 2015: 25–27). While this is the sole argument, it holds considerable persuasiveness.

The folios belong to two Kanjur sets, both of which have rather modest outward appearance. The first set (MS.1), comprising 803 folios discovered in the IOM, RAS,⁴⁶ the Russian National Library,⁴⁷

⁴⁶ 775 ff. (K26–K36).

⁴⁷ 2 ff. (Dorn 844 (Mong Nova 10); Dorn 847). For details, see Zorin, Turanskaya 2023: 265–269.

the Berlin State Library,⁴⁸ the National library of France,⁴⁹ the Linköping City Library,⁵⁰ the British Library,⁵¹ the Uppsala University Library,⁵² the Lund University Library,⁵³ and the Glasgow University Library, is written on double-layered wove or laid paper, suggesting the usage of various types of papermaking tools and technologies. A sample from one of the Glasgow manuscripts (f. 7 of PL61) was analyzed, revealing that it is a woven type of paper made from *Stellera* fibers, which were rather exclusively used in Tibet (see Appendix III). The absence of laid lines in its structure also suggests the use of a traditional Tibetan papermaking mold, constructed with a wooden frame and a textile sieve attached to it.

The size of the folios is 64×23 cm. The text is written (with black ink, though some text titles and minor inscriptions are outlined in red) is written inside a frame, frequently drawn crookedly, in different handwritings (some of which are rather loose) and one can observe multiple corrections, especially in foliation. A large number of folios contain so-called ‘working foliation’, numbers in the right margins used for scribes’ personal use.⁵⁴ In the majority of cases the hundreds in foliation are marked by crosses and resemble the page numbers found in the ‘golden’ Kanjurs.

The volume marker (with the Tibetan letter), and marginal title denoting the Kanjur section are indicated within a ‘rail’ on the left side of the frame. In the right margins, one can find a substantial number of notes written by Mongolian scribes (including “working” foliation, calamus writing samples, and notes related to personal names of the scribes), as well as notes from European owners of the fragments.

The second manuscript set (MS.2) consists of 480 fragments known today (470 ff. in the collection of the IOM RAS,⁵⁵ 3 ff. in the Francke Foundation,⁵⁶ 6 ff. in the Berlin State library,⁵⁷ 1 f. in the National Library of France⁵⁸), one more folio is partially known to us thanks to

⁴⁸ 16 ff., 12 ff. preserved under shelf mark ‘5:9 Ohne Signatur’, and 4 ff. without shelf marks. Their description, provenance information, and text identification are provided in Turanskaya 2023.

⁴⁹ 1f. (Tibétain 464). For details, see Turanskaya 2021.

⁵⁰ 1 f. (OL 5).

⁵¹ 3 ff. (Stowe 32).

⁵² 1 f. (O okat. 76).

⁵³ 1 f. (Jarring Prov. 486, no. 6). For details, see no. 14 in this paper.

⁵⁴ For details, see Yampolskaya 2015.

⁵⁵ 470 ff. (K26–K 36).

⁵⁶ Facsimiles of the folios (R.-Nr. 43, 44, 45) were published in Knüppel 2014: 111–118.

⁵⁷ Preserved under shelf mark ‘5:9 Ohne Signatur’. For details, see Turanskaya 2023.

⁵⁸ For details, see Turanskaya 2021.

a drawing copy of its fragment.⁵⁹ The folios are written on multi-layered dense paper (its samples have not been analyzed thus far). The folios measure 71×25 cm, accommodating 30–36 lines per page.

In the majority of folios, the text is penned between two vertical double lines that frame the left and right edges. This format is characteristic of the Oirat manuscript tradition. The handwriting is uniform, neat, and akin in style to the Oirat handwriting employed for the 'Clear script' (todo bičig). Certain words are written using 'Clear script' graphemes.⁶⁰

A comparative study of the manuscripts allows us to presume that the first manuscript (MS.1) is probably of southern Mongolian origin, while the second (MS.2) was copied by Oirat monks (probably from MS.1).⁶¹

Appendix II presents, for the first time, the three folios that belong to the item PL61 of the Hunterian Library in Glasgow.

The item's Tibetan and Mongolian contents serve as representative examples of the manuscript volumes they were once part of. Their publication fills yet another gap in regard to the remnants of the cultural legacy of the 17th century Oirats. Moreover, they stand as some of the earliest and best-documented instances of Tibetan and Mongolian folios acquired in Europe. The trajectory they followed—from their origin in two abandoned and looted Buddhist monasteries to their eventual location in Glasgow, via Tobolsk, Saint Petersburg, Königsberg, and London—deserves attention. Intriguingly, the initial stage of their journey, probably originating in Tibet and Southern Mongolia, remains a subject of speculation.

⁵⁹ It is preserved among the archival documents of Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt in the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Coll. 98. Inv. 1. Item 39. Folio 114); see its edition in Sizova 2022. Our identification of this folio as belonging to MS.2 rather than to MS.1 is based on the use of the Oirat form 'cagsabad' instead of the Mongolian word 'sagsabad'; that is typical for MS.2.

⁶⁰ One could speculate that the lesser number of folios preserved for MS.2 suggests an interruption in the process of copying the Kanjur set.

⁶¹ The presence of identical marginal titles in both manuscripts supports this assumption. For details, see Baipakov et al. 2019: 275, 280.

Abbreviations

AK	Altan Kanjur manuscript preserved in the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia (Hohhot)
BK	Beijing block print edition of Mongolian Kanjur
D	Derge (sde dge) Kanjur edition
IOM RAS	Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences
RSAAA	Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts
SPbB ARAS	Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

The Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Sem Palat

Pt. 2: Set 2 of *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa*

The transliteration is based on the Wylie system and has several extensions. The reverse *gi gu* sign is marked with a capital *I*. The dot (·) renders *tsheg* sign; the + sign (e. g. *ka+rma*) is used for the cases when the *tsheg* sign is absent between syllables. The *shad* sign is marked by a vertical bar (|). The combination @# renders the *yig mgo* sign. Intervals between words in the line are rendered with underscoring. Abbreviated syllables are rendered with use of the hyphen (e. g. *yong-s*).

The lacunas are marked with square brackets, and are filled with the corresponding text from the *Dpe bsdur ma* edition (2008), but using a smaller font to indicate that they are not necessarily identical with the original texts. The Indo-Tibetan method of marking errata and other mistakes by dots marked above the text is rendered by means of quotation marks “ ”. Interlinear additions are given in brackets and marked with italics. If the vowels are moved to the right or to the left of the syllable to which they belong, the signs › and ‹ are used respectively. The decorative circles drawn on both sides of each folio are rendered with the sign ©.

All the texts are compared with *Dpe bsdur ma* and meaningful discrepancies are listed in notes. The following sigla are used to designate block printed Kanjur editions: D — Sde dge; Y — Yongle Kangyur, L — Lithang, P — Peking (Kangxi Kangyur), N — Narthang, C — Cone, U — Urga, Zh — Zhol (Lhasa). If no siglum is used it means that the text of the manuscript differs from all the editions represented in *Dpe bsdur ma*. When two or more syllables have discrepancies with the latter these syllables are underscored.

1

Vol. Ka, f. 16; the Dorow folio⁶²

See fig. 1. Cf. *Dpe bsdur ma*, vol. 26: 33⁽⁶⁾–35⁽¹⁴⁾

Recto

Marg.: ka__bcu[·]drug

@# _ , _ ba·dang·dgyes·par·sbyod· ¹ dam·zhes·'dr·i·ste _pad·mo·gser·gyi·mdog·can·mdab· ² ma·song·da·ng·ldan·ba·'d·i·dag·kyang· _bcom·ldan·'das·de·bzhin[·]gshegs·pa·rgyal·ba·'i·dbang·pos _bcom·ldan·'das·la·mchod·pa·'i·slad__	1
du·skur· ³ r[o];d[e]·nas·bcom·ldan·'das·de·bzh[i]n·gshegs·pa·shag·kya· ⁴ thub·pas·pad·mo·de·dag·bzh[e]s·nas byang·p[h]yogs·kyi·'jig·rten·gyi·khams·gang·ga·'i· ⁵ klung·gi·bye[·]ma·snyed·po·de·dag·gi·sangs·rgyas·bcom·ldan·'das·gang·na·ba·der·gtor·to;_	2
de·nas·pad·mo·de·dag·gis·'jig·rten·gyi·khams·de·dag·thams·cad·rgyas·par·khyab·par·gyur·te _pad·mo·d[e]·dag·la·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·'i·sku[·]mang·po[·]bzhugs·shing _'di·ltar·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·drug·po·'di·nyid· ⁶ brtsams·te·chos·ston·to;_	3
chos·bstan·pa·de·sems·can·gang·gis·thos·par·gyur·pa·de·da©g·thams·cad·kyang·bla·na·med·pa·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa·'i·	4

⁶² We only have the engraving published in Dorow 1820 and do not know whether it reflected the original precisely or with certain distortions.

byang·chub·tu·ng[e]s·par·gyur·to __ ©byang·chub·sems·dpa'·khyim·pa·dang rab·tu·byung·ba·dang khy[e]'u·dang·bu·mo'i·gzug·s_	
su·'dug·pa·de·dag[·]gis·kyang[·]rang[·]rang[·]gi·dge·ba'i·rtsa·bas _bcom·ldan·'das·d[e]·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i·sangs·rgyas·shag·kya·thub·pa·la[·]rim·gror·byas·so bkur·bsti·r· ⁷ byas·so _sti[·] ⁸ stang·bu[·] ⁹ byas[·]so;_	5
mchod·par[·] ¹⁰ byas·so ¹¹ _ de·nas·byang·shar·gyi[·]phyogs[·]mtshams· ¹² kyi· ¹³ 'jig·rten·gyi·kham·gang·ga'i· ¹⁴ klung·gi·bye·ma·snyed·'das·pa·kun·gyi·pha·rol·na _'jig·rten·gyi·kham[·]ting·nge·'dzin·gyis·brgyan·pa·zhes·bya·ba·yod[·]de _de·na·de·bzhin·gshegs[·]pa·dgra·bc[o]m	6
ba·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i[·]sangs·rgyas·ti·ng·nge·'dzin·gyi·glang·po·dam·pa'i[·]dpal·zhes·bya·ba·bzhus·shing·'tsho[·]skyong·ste de·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·rnams·la·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol[·]tu·phyin·pa·'d·i·nyi·d·yang·dag·par·ston·pa__	7
mdzad·do _ de·nas·'jig·rten[·]gyi·kham·de·na·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·rnam[·]par·rgyal·bas rnam·par·gnon·pa·zhes·bya·ba·'dug·'dug[·]pas snang·ba·chen·po·de·dang _sa[·]ch[e]r·g·yos·pa· ¹⁵ dang _de·bzhin·gshegs·pa'i[·]sku·blta	8

Notes: ¹ spyod; ² 'dab; ³ bskur; ⁴ shā+kya (the same in all such cases on this folio); ⁵ gā'i; ⁶ +las; ⁷ stir; ⁸ bsti; ⁹ du; ¹⁰ pa; ¹¹ nas phyogs gcig tu 'khod do; ¹² DU: 'tshams; ¹³ su; ¹⁴ gā'i; ¹⁵ +de.

Verso

[na·]chog·mi·shes·pa·de·mthong·nas bcom·ldan·'das·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i·sangs·rgyas·ting·nge·'dzin·gyi·glang·po·dam·pa'i·dpal·gang·na·ba·der·dong· ¹⁶ ste·phyin·nas _bcom·ldan·'das·de[·]bzhin·gshegs_	1
[pa]·ting·nge·'dzin·gyi·glang·po·dam·pa'i·dpal·de·la·'d·i·skad·ces·gsol·to _ bcom·ldan·'das·'od·chen·po·'di·lta·bu·'jig·rten·du·byung·ba·dang dog·sa·'d·i·ltar·ch[e]r·g·yos·pa·dang de·bzhin·gshegs·pa'i·sku·'d·i·lta·bu·gda·'ba·'di·ci'I·rgyu·ci'I	2
rky[e]n;de·skad·ces·gsol·pa·dang _bcom·ldan·'das·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·ti·ng·nge·'dzin·gyi·glang·po·dam·pa'i·dpal·gyis byang·chub·sems·dpa'· ¹⁷ rnam·par·rgyal·bas·rnam·par·gnon·pa·la·'di·skad·ces·bka·'stsal·to _ rigs·kyi·bu·'d·i·ni· ¹⁸ lho	3
nub·kyi·phyogs·mtshams·logs·su·'jig·rten·gyi·kham·gang·ga'i· ¹⁹ klung·gi·bye·ma·snyed·'das·pa·na _'jig·rten·gyi·kham·	4

mi·mjed·ces·bya·ba·yod·de _de·na©de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra· bcom·ba·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i·sangs·rgyas·shag	
kya·thub·pa·zhes·bya·ba·bzhugs·shing·'tsho·skyong·ngo _ de· byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·rnams·la·shes·rab·kyi· pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·ston·te _'d<I·ni·de'i·mthu·yin·te·de'dra'o _ de·nas·byang·chub·sems·dpa'. ²⁰ rnam·par·rgyal·bas·rnam	5
par·gnon·pas bcom·ldan·'das·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·ting·nge· 'dzin·gyi·glang·po·dam·pa'i·dpal·la'·di·skad·ces·gsol·to _ bcom·ldan·'das·bdag·kyang·'jig·rten·gyi·kham·mi·mjed·der _ bcom·ldan·'das·de·bzhin·gsheg·s	6
pa[·]dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i·sangs·rgyas·shag· kya·thub·pa·de·blta·ba·dang _de·la·phyag·bgyi·zhing·bsnyen· bkur·ba·dang _byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·de· dag·kun·kyang·phal·cher·gzhon·nur·gyur·pa gzungs·dang·so·so	7
yang·dag·par·rig·pa·bsgrub·pa. ²¹ rab·tu·thob·pa _ting·nge· 'dzin·dang·snyoms·par·'jug·pa·thams·cad·la·dbang·rab·tu·thob· pa·de·dag·blta·ba'i·slad·du·mchi'o _ bcom·ldan·'das·ting·nge· 'dzin·gyi·glang·po·dam·pa'i·dpal·gyis·bka'·stsal·pa _rigs[·] kyi[·]bu·de_	8
__ltar·de'i·dus·la·bab·par·shes·na·song·shig _____ _____ _____	9

Notes: ¹⁶ song; ¹⁷ +sems dpa' chen po; ¹⁸ nas; ¹⁹ DLNCUZh: gā'i, YP: gī; ²⁰ +sems dpa' chen po; ²¹ C: par.

2

Vol. [Ka], f. [?]; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 1

See fig. 2 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 26: 194^[17]–196⁽¹⁸⁾

Recto

Marg.: [ka_?]

[@# _ ...phyi·rol·na'ang·med gnyis·ka·med·par·ya]ng·mi·dmigs·so _ rab·'byor·'d<i·lta·ste·dper·na gang·'d<i·phyi·rol·gyi·rtswa· dang· _shing·dang·yal·ga·dang· lo·ma·dang· mdab· ¹ ma·zhes· bya·ba·de·dag·thams	1
[cad·kyang·ming·sna·tshogs·kyis·tha·snyad·du·brjod·de de·dag·kyang·] m[i]ng·dang·brda·tsam·du·tha·s[nyad]d[k]yis·gdags·pa·ma·gtogs· par· _skye·ba'am _'gag·pa·med·de[]_m[i]ng·de[-]ni·nang·na· yang·med phyi·rol·na·yang·med	2
[gnyis·ka·med·par·yang·mi·dmigs·so rab·'byor de·bzhin·du·]gang· 'd<i·shes[·ra]b·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·zh[e]s·bya·ba·dang·	3

byang[·]chu[b]·sems·dpa'·zhes·bya·ba·dang· _byang·chub·sems· dpa'·<i>m</i>·ing·zhes·bya·ba·de·dag	
[kyang·chos·su·gdags·pa·tsam·du·zad·de chos·su·btags·pa·de·]la·n[i]· m[i]ng·[dang·brda·tsa]m·du·tha·snyad·kyis·gdags·pa·ma·gtogs[·] par·skye·ba'·am _'gag·pa·med·de _m<i>ing</i>·de·ni·nang·na·yang· med _phyi·rol·na·ya·ng	4
[med gnyis·ka·med·par·yang·mi·dmigs·so _ rab'·byor'·di·]◎lta·ste· dp[e]r·na _'das·pa'i·sangs·rgyas·bcom·ldan'·da·s_◎rnams·kyi· mtshan·tsam·zhig·yod·pa·yang· mtshan·de·ni·nang·na·yang_	5
[med phyi·rol·na'ang·med gnyis·ka·med·par·yang·mi·dmigs·so] _ rab [·'byor'·di·]l[ta]·ste·dper·na _rmi·lam·dang· sgra·brnyan·dang· _gzugs·br[nya]n·dang· _sgyu·ma·dang· _smig·rgyu·dang· _ chu·zla·dang· de·bzhin·	6
[gshegs·pa'i·sprul·pa'i·chos·de·dag·thams·cad·ni·chos·su·gda]gs·pa·tsam· du·[zad·de] _chos·su·btags·pa·de'[i]· ² ni·mi·ng·dang·brda·tsam· du·[tha·snya]d·kyis·gdags·pa·ma·gtogs·par·skye·ba'·am 'gag	7
[pa·med·de ming·de·ni·nang·na'ang·med phyi·rol·na'ang·med gnyis·ka· m]ed·par·yang·mi[·dmi]gs·s[o] _ rab'·byor·de·bzhin·du·gang· 'd<i>i</i>·shes·rab·kyi·[pha]·rol·tu·phyin·pa·zhes·bya·ba·dang _bya[ng· chu]b·s[e]ms·dpa'·zhe·s	8

Notes: ¹ 'dab; ² de.

Verso

[bya·ba·dang byang·chub·sems·dpa'i·ming·zhes·bya·ba'i·chos·de·dag· thams·cad·ni·chos·su·gdags·pa·tsam·du·zad·de chos·su·btags·pa·de·la·ni· ming·dang·brda·tsam·du·tha·snyad·kyis·gdags·pa]·ma·gtogs·par_	1
[skye·ba'·am'·gag·pa·med·de ming·de·ni·nang·na'ang·med phyi·rol· na'ang·m]ed [gnyis·ka·med·par·yang·mi·dmigs·so ra]b'·byor·de[·lta· bya]ng·chub·sem[s]·dpa'·s[e]ms·dp[a'·chen·po·shes·rab·]kyi·pha	2
[rol·tu·phyin·pa·la·spyod·pa'i·tshe ming·dang·brdar·btags·pa·dang gdams·ngag·tu·btags·pa·dang cho]s·su[·btags·pa·la·bslab·]par·bya'o _ rab'·byor·byang·chub·sems·dpa'[·sems·]dpa[·'chen·]po[·shes·ra]b· kyi·	3
[pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·la·de·lta·spyod·pa·ni gzugs·zhes·bya·ba·rtag·par· yang·dag·par·rjes·su·mi·mthong·ngo gzugs·zhes·]bya·◎ba·mi·rtag· par·yang·dag·par[·rj]e[s]·su·mi·mth[o]ng·ngo _[g]zugs·zhes[·bya· ba]	4
[bde·bar·yang·dag·par·rjes·su·mi·mthong·ngo gzugs·zhes·bya·ba·sdug· bsngal·bar·yang·dag·par·rjes·s]u·mi·mthong·[ngo _]zugs·__zhes· bya·ba·bdag[·]tu[·]yang·dag·par·rjes·su·mi·mthong·ng[o _ g]zugs [·zhes·bya]	5

[ba·bdag·med·par·yang·dag·par·rjes·su·mi·mthong·ngo gzugs·zhes·bya·ba·zhi·bar·yang·da]g·par[·r]je[s·su·mi·m]thong·ngo gzugs[·zhes·bya·ba·ma·zhi·]bar·yang·dag·par·rjes[·su·mi·m]th[o]ng[·ng]o gzugs·zhes·bya[·ba·sto]ng	6
[par·yang·dag·par·rjes·su·mi·mthong·ngo gzugs·zhes·bya·ba·mi·stong·par·yang·]dag·par·rjes·su·mi·mthong·ngo gzugs[·zhe]s·bya·ba[·]mtshan[·ma·yod·pa]r·yang·dag·par·[rjes·]su·mi·m[thong·]ngo gzug[s·]zhes·bya[·ba__]	7
[mtshan·ma·med·par·yang·dag·par·rjes·su·mi·mthong·ngo gzugs·zhes·bya·ba·sm]on·pa[·yod·par·ya]ng·dag[·par·]rjes·su[·m]i·m[thong·]ngo gzugs·zhes·bya·ba·smo[n·pa·med·]par·ya]ng·dag·par·rjes·su·mi·mthong·ngo gzugs	8

3

Vol. Ka, f. 229; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 2

See fig. 3 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 26: 486⁽³⁾–488⁽⁶⁾

Recto

Marg.: ka__[ny]i[·]brgya]____nye-r·dgu

@#[]____[]ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·[ba']o tshe·dang·ldan·pa·gang·po·mi·dge·ba'i·gzugs·ni·ma·bcing[s]·ma·grol·ba'o mi·dge·ba'i·tshor·ba·dang 'du·shes·dang 'du[·by]e[d·dang r]na[m·]par·shes·pa·ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o	1
tshe·dang·ldan·ba·gang·po·lung·du·ma·bs[ta]n·pa'·i·g[zugs·]n[i·]ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o lung·du·ma·bstan·pa'i·tshor·ba·dang 'du·shes·dang 'du·byed·dang rnam[·]par[·she]s·pa·ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o tshe·dang·ldan·pa·gang	2
pho. ¹ 'ji]g·rten·pa'·i·gzugs·ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o 'jig·rten·pa'i·tsh[or]r[·]ba·dang 'du·shes·dang 'du·byed·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o tshe·dang·ldan·ba·gang·po·'ji·g·rten·la·s'·das·pa'i__	3
gzugs·ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o 'jig·rten·las'·das·pa'·i·tshor·ba·dang 'du·shes·dang 'du·byed·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o tshe·dang·ldan·ba·gang·po·zag·pa·dang·bcas·pa'i__	4
gzugs[·n]i·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o zag·pa·dang·bcas·@[pa'i·]tsho[r·ba·da]ng 'du·shes·dang 'du·byed·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·ni·ma·bci@ngs·ma·grol·ba'o tshe·dang·ldan·ba·gang·po·zag·pa·med·pa'i·gzug·s	5
ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o zag·pa·med·pa'·i·tshor·ba·dang	6

'du·shes·dang 'du·byed·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba·ste _tshe·dang·ldan·ba·gang·po·de·ci·i·phyir·zhe·na _gzugs·med·pa'i·phyir·gzugs	
ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _ tshor·ba·dang 'du·shes·dang _ [']du·byed·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·med·pa'i·phyir _rnam·par·shes·pa·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o]gzugs·dben·pa'i·phyir gzugs·ma·bcings·ma·grol·_	7
ba'o [tsh]o[r·ba]·dang 'du·shes·dang 'du·byed·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·dben·ba'i·phyir _rnam·par·shes·pa·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _ gzugs·ma·[s]ky[es]·pa'[i]·phyir gzugs·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _ tshor·ba·dang _	8

Notes: ¹ po.

Verso

['du]·she[s]·dang 'du·byed·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·ma·skyes·pa'i·phyir rnam[·par]·sh[es]·[pa·ma]·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o[]_ tshe·dang·ldan·ba·gang·po·chos·thams·cad·kyang·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba·ste med·pa'i·phyir·ma·bcing·s	1
ma·gr[ol·ba'o]dben]·ba'i·phyir·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o ma[·sk]y[e]s·pa'i·phyi·r[·ma]·bcings·ma·grol·ba·ste _tshe·dang·[ldan·pa·]gang·po·sbyi·n·ba'<i>i</i>·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _ tshul·khri·ms·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin	2
pa·dang _bzod·pa'<i>i</i>·pha·rol·tu·phyi·n·pa·dang _brtson·'grus·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang _bsam·gtan·gyi·pha·ro[l]·tu·phyi·n·pa·dang _shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·ni·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba·ste tshe·dang·ldan·pa·gang·po·med_	3
pa'i·phyir·sbyin·ba'<i>i</i>·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa ² ·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _◎dben·pa'i·phyir·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _ ma·skyes·pa'<i>i</i>·phyir·ma·bcings·◎ma·grol·ba'o _ med·pa'i·phyir·tshul·khri·ms·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang	4
bzod·pa'<i>i</i>·pha·rol·tu·[phyi]n·pa[·da]ng _brtson·'[gru]s·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa[·dang] _bsam·gtan·gyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa ³ ·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _ dben·ba'<i>i</i>·phyi·r·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o	5
ma·s[ky]es·pa'<i>i</i>·phyi[r·ma·b]ci[ngs]·ma·grol·ba'o tshe·dang·ldan·pa·gang·po nang·stong·pa·nyid·]kyang·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _ phyi·stong·pa·nyid·kyang·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _phyi·nang·stong·pa·nyi·d·kyang·ma·bcings·ma·gro[l·ba'o _ _	6
dngos·po·m[ed·pa'i·ngo·bo·nyid·]stong[·pa·nyid·kyi·bar·yang·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o] _ tsh[e]·dang·ldan·ba·gang·po·med·pa'[i]·	7

phyir ⁴ nang·stong·pa·nyid·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _ d[be]n·pa'i·phyi·r·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o _ ma·skyes·pa'i	
[phyir·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o med·pa'i·phyir·phyi·stong·pa·nyid·ma·bc]ings·ma·gr[o]l·ba'[o] _ db[e]n·pa'i·phyir·ma·bcings·ma·grol·ba'o ma·skyes·pa'i·phyir·ma[·b]cings·ma·grol·ba'o _ med·pa'i·phyir·phyi·nang·stong·pa	8

Notes: ² +ni; ³ +ni; ⁴ YP: +phyi.

4

Vol. Kha, f. 13; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 3

See fig. 4 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 26: 653⁽¹⁵⁾–655⁽¹⁶⁾

Recto

Marg.: kha__bcu·gsum

@# ___ pa·gang·yin·pa·dang· _mi·dpogs·pa·gang·yin·ba·dang· _chos·thams·cad·gang·yin·ba·de·dag·[thams·cad·kyang·dmigs·su·med·pa'i·phyir·ro rab'byor·gzhan·yang·bdag·med·pa'i·phyir sems]	1
can·dang·srog·dang·'gro·ba·dang· _gso_·ba·dang· skyes·bu·dang· _gang·zag·dang· _shed·can·dang·shed·bdag·dang[byed·pa·po·dang tshor·ba·po·dang shes·pa·po·dang mthong·ba·po·med·par·rig·par·bya'o _ mthong·ba·po·]	2
med·pa'i·phyir _yang·dag·pa'i·mtha'·med·par·ri·g·par·bya'o _ yang·dag·pa'i·mtha'·med·pa'i·[phy]i[r nam·mkha'·med·par·rig·par·bya'o nam·mkha'·med·pa'i·phyir theg·pa·chen·po·med·par·rig·par·bya'o]	3
theg·pa·chen·po·med·pa'i·phyir·mi·'jal·ba·med·par·ri·g·par·bya'o _mi·'jal·ba·med·pa'i·[phy]i[r mi·'grangs·pa·med·par·rig·par·bya'o mi·'grangs·pa·med·pa'i·phyir mi·dpogs·pa·med·par·rig·par]	4
bya'o;;mi·dpogs·pa·med·pa'i·phyi·r·chos·thams·cad·med·par·ri·g·◎par·bya'o _ [rab'byor·rnam·grangs·des·kyang·theg·pa·chen·po·de·ni sems·can·tshad·med·grangs·med·pa'i·go·byed·do _ de·ci'i]	5
phyi·r·zhe·na _rab'byor·de·ni·'d·i·ltar·bdag·gang·yin·ba·dang· _sems·can·gang·yin·ba[·dang shes·pa·po·dang mthong·ba·po'i·bar·du·gang·yin·pa·dang yang·dag·pa'i·mtha'·gang·yin·pa·dang nam·mkha']	6
gang·yin·ba·dang·theg·pa·chen·po·gang·yi·n·ba·dang· _mi·'jal·ba·gang·yin·ba·dang· _mi·'[g]r[angs·pa·gang·yin·pa·dang mi·dpogs·pa·gang·yin·pa·dang chos·thams·cad·gang·yin·pa·de·dag·thams·cad]	7
kyang·dmigs·su·med·pa'i·phyi·r·ro _ rab'byor·gzhan·yang·bdag·med·pa'i·phyi·r·sem[s·can·med·par·rig·par·bya'o sems·can·med·pa'i·phyir shes·pa·po'i·bar·du·med·par·rig·par·bya'o shes]	8

Verso

pa·po·med·pa'i·phyir·mthong·ba·po·med·par·rig·par·bya'o mthong·ba·po·med·pa'i·phyir·bsam·gyis[·mi·khyab·pa'i·dbyings·med·par·rig·par·bya'o]_	1
_____ _bsam·gyis·mi·khyab·pa'i·dbyi>ngs·med·pa'i·phyir·gzugs·med·par·rig·[par·bya'o gzugs·med·pa'i·phyir tshor·ba·dang 'du·shes·dang 'du·byed·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·med·par·rig·par]	2
bya'o;_rnam·par·shes·pa·med·pa'i·phyir·nam·mkha'·med·par·rig·par·bya'o _nam·mkha[·med·pa'i·phyir theg·pa·chen·po·med·par·rig·par·bya'o theg·pa·chen·po·med·pa'i·phyir mi·'jal·ba·med·par·rig·par]	3
bya'o;mi·'jal·ba·_med·pa'i·phyir·mi·'grangs·pa·med·par·rig·par·bya'o _mi·'grangs[·pa·med·pa'i·phyir mi·dpogs·pa·med·par·rig·par·bya'o mi·dpogs·pa·med·pa'i·phyir chos·thams]	4
cad·med·par·rig·par·bya'o __ rab·'byor·rnam·grangs·des·kyang·theg·@pa·chen·po·de·[ni·sems·can·tshad·med·grangs·med·pa'i·go·byed·do de·ci'i·phyir·zhe·na rab·'byor·de·ni·'di·ltar·bdag·gang·yin·pa·dang sems·can·gang·yin]	5
ba·dang;;_shes·pa·po·dang·mthong·ba·po'i>·bar·du·gang·yi>n·ba·dang· _bsam·_gyi>s·mi·khyab·pa'[i·]d[b]y[ings·gang·yin·pa·dang gzugs·gang·yin·pa·dang tshor·ba·dang 'du·shes·dang 'du·byed·dang rnam]	6
par·shes·pa·gang·yin·ba·dang· _nam·mkha'·gang·yin·ba·dang __theg·pa·___chen·po·gang·yin[·pa·dang mi·'jal·ba·gang·yin·pa·dang mi·'grangs·pa·gang·yin·pa·dang mi·dpogs·pa·gang·yin]	7
ba·dang;chos·thams·cad·gang·yin·ba·de·dag·thams·cad·kyang·dmi>gs·su·med·pa'i·phyir·ro _ rab·'byor·[gzhan·yang·bdag·med·pa'i·phyir·sems·can·med·par·rig·par·bya'o...]	8

5

Vol. Kha, f. ?; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 4

See fig. 5 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 26: 714^[4]-716⁽¹⁹⁾

Recto

Marg.: [kha_?]

[@# __ byang·chub·sems·dpa'·phyi·ma'i·mthar·mi·dmigs·so skye·mched·dang khams·dang rten·cing·'brel·par·'byung·ba·stong·pa·nyid·] kyi·phyir·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·phyi·ma'i·mthar·mi·dmigs·so ¹ sky[e]·mch[e]d[·]dang[khams·dang]_	1
[rten·cing·'brel·par·'byung·ba·dben·pa'i·phyir byang·chub·sems·dpa'·phyi·ma'i·mthar·mi·dmigs·so skye·mched·dang kham]s·dang·rten·cing·'brel·par·'byung·ba·ngo·bo·nyi>d·med·pa'i·phyir·byang·	2

chub·sems·dpa'·[·]phyi·[ma'i]	
[mthar·mi·dmigs·so skye·mched·dang khams·dang rten·cing·'brel·par·'byung·ba·med·pa'i·phyir byang·chub·sems·dpa'·db]u[s·s]u[·m]i·dmigs·so s[ky]e·mched·dang·khams·dang·rten·cing·'b[r]el·par·'b[yu]ng·ba·s[t]ong·pa	3
[nyid·kyi·phyir byang·chub·sems·dpa'·dbus·su·mi·dmigs·so skye·mched·dang khams·dang rten·cing·'brel·par·'byung·ba]·[dben]·[pa]i·ph[y]ir·b[y]ang·chub·s[e]ms[·dpa'·db]u[s·s]u[·mi·dmigs·]s[o] sky[e·mched·dang khams·dang]	4
[rten·cing·'brel·par·'byung·ba·ngo·bo·nyid·med·pa'i·phyir byang·chub·sems·dpa'·dbus·su·mi·dmigs·so de·ci'i·phyir·zhe·na tshe]·[dang]·l[da]n·ba· ¹ sha·ra·dwa· ² ti'i·bu·skye·mched·dang·khams·[dang rten·cing·'brel]	5
[par·'byung·ba·med·pa·dang stong·pa·nyid·dang dben·pa·dang ngo·bo·nyid·med·pa·la·sngon·gyi·mtha'·mi·dmigs phyi·ma'i·mtha'·mi·dmigs dbus·]m[i]·dm[i]g[s·t[e] kha[ms·]dang·skye·mch[e]d· ³ dang·rten·ci>[ng·'brel·par]	6
[byung·ba·med·pa·dang stong·pa·nyid·dang dben·pa·dang ngo·bo·nyid·med·pa'ang·gzhan·ma·yin byang·chub·sems·dpa'·yang·gzhan·ma·yin s]ng[on·g]y[i·m]tha'·[·]yang·gzhan·ma·yin _phyi·ma'i·mtha'·yang·[gzhan·ma]	7
[yin dbus·kyang·gzhan·ma·yin·no tshe·dang·ldan·pa·sha·ra·dwa·ti'i·bu de·ltar·na·sk]y[e·mched·dang kha]ms·dang rt[e]n·c[i]ng·'br[e]l·par·'byung·ba·med·pa·dang· stong·pa·nyid·dang·dben·ba·dang· ngo·bo·nyi·d·med·[pa·gang]	8

Notes: ¹ L: —; ² U: da; ³ skye mched dang khams.

Verso

yin·ba·dang· byang·chub·sems·_dpa'·gang·yi>n·ba·dang· sngon·gyi·mtha'·gang·yin·ba·dang· _phyi·ma'i·mtha'·gang·yin·ba·dang _dbus·gang·yi>n·ba·de·dag·thams·cad·kyang·gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·do _ tshe	1
dang·ldan·ba·sha·ra·dwa·ti'i>·bu·sbyin·ba'i·pha·rol·tu·phyi>n·pa·med·pa'·i·phyir·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sngon·gyi>·mthar·mi·dmigs·so _ tshul·khrims·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _bzod·pa'·i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _brtson·__	2
'grus·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _bsam·gtan·gyi·pha·rol·tu·phyi>n·pa·dang· __shes·rab·kyi·pha·ro>l·tu·phyi·n·pa·med·pa'i·phyir byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sngon·gyi·mthar·mi·dmigs·so _ sbyin·ba'i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa	3
stong·pa·nyid·kyi·phyir·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sngon·gyi·	4

mthar·mi·dmigs·so __tshul·khrims·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyi>n·pa·dang· __bzod·pa'i·pha·____rol·tu·phyin·____pa·dang· _brtson·'grus·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang·	
bsam·gtan·gyi>·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· __shes·rab·kyi>·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·stong·@pa·nyid·kyi·phyi__r·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·@sngon·____gyi·mthar·mi·dmigs·so _ sbyi>n·ba'i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·	5
pa·dben·ba'i·phyir·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sngon·gyi·mthar·mi·dmigs·so _ tshul·khri>ms·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang _bzod·pa'i·pha·rol·tu·phyi>n·pa·dang· __brtson·'grus·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _bsam	6
gtan·gyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dben·ba'i·_____phyir·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sngon·gy[i]·mthar·mi·dmigs·so __ sbyin·pa'i·pha·_	7
rol·tu·phyi>n·pa·ngo·bo·nyid·med·pa'i·phyir·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sngon·gyi·mthar·mi·dmigs·so _____ tshul·khrims·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· __bzod·pa'i·pha·rol[·]tu·phyin·pa·dang· _brtson·'grus·kyi·pha·rol	8

6

Vol. Ka (=Kha?), f. 73; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 5

See fig. 6 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 26: 779⁽¹³⁾–781⁽¹²⁾*Recto**Marg.:* ka__don·gsum

@# ____ zhen·par·mi·bgyid· ¹ la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ de'i·tshe'·d<i·ni·rna·ba·dang·sna·dang·lce·dang·lus·dang·yid·ces·bgyi·bar·yid·la·mi·dmigs·shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te mngon·bar·zhen·par__	1
mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ de'i·tshe'·di·ni·gzugs·shes·bgyi·bar·gzugs·la·mi·dmigs·shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te _ mngon·bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ ____	2
de'i·tshe'·d<i·ni·sgra·dang·dri·dang·ro·dang·reg·dang·chos·shes·bgyi·bar·chos·la·mi·dmigs·shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te _ mngon·bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ de'i·tshe'·d<i·ni·mig·gi·rnam__	3
par·shes·pa·zhes·bgyi·bar·mig·gi·rnam·par·shes·pa·la·mi·dmigs·shing· ² mi·len·mi·gnas·te _ mngon·bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ de'i·tshe'·d<i·ni·rna·ba'i·rnam·par·shes__	4

pa·dang sna'i·rnam·par·shes·pa·dang lce'i·rnam·par·shes·pa·dang lus·kyi·rnam·par·shes·pa·dang· yid·kyi·rnam·par·shes·pa·zhes·bgyi·bar·yid·kyi·rnam·par·shes·pa·la·mi·dmigs__	5
shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te mngon·bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ de'i·tshe'·di·ni·mig·gi'·dus·te·reg·pa·zhes·bgyi·bar·mig·gi'·dus·te·reg·pa·la·mi·dmigs·shing·mi·len·mi·gna·s_	6
te;mngon·bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ de'i·tshe'·di·ni·rna·ba'·i'·dus·te·reg·pa·dang sna'i'·dus·te·reg·pa·dang lce'i'·dus·te·reg·pa·dang lus·kyi'·dus·te·reg·pa·dang yid·kyi_	7
'dus·te·reg·pa·zhes·bgyi·bar·yid·kyi'·dus·te·reg·pa·la·mi·dmigs·shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te mngon·bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ de'i·tshe'·di·ni·mi·g·gi'·dus·te·reg·pa'·i__	8

Notes: ¹ YP: bgyi; ² L: —; ³ Y: pra; ⁴ YP: do; ⁵ YP: 'gyid.

Verso

rkyen·kyis·tshor·ba·zhes·bgyi·bar·mig·gi'·dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·kyis·tshor·ba·la·mi·dmigs·shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te_ mngon·bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ de'i·tshe'·di·ni·rna·ba'·i'·dus·te·reg	1
pa'·i·rkyen·kyis·tshor·ba·dang sna'i'·dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·kyis·tshor·ba·dang_ lce'i'·dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·kyis·tshor·ba·dang lus·kyi'·dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·kyis·tshor·ba·dang yid·kyi'·dus·te·reg·pa'·i·rkyen·kyis·tshor_	2
ba·zhes·bgyi·bar·yid·kyi'·dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·kyis·tshor·ba·la·mi·dmigs·shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te mngon·bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ bcom·ldan'·das·gang·gi·tshe·byang·chub_	3
sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·la·spyod·cing·chos·de·dag·la'·di·ltar·yongs·su·rtog·pa·de'i·tshe 'di·ni·sbyin·ba'·i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·zhes·bgyi·bar·sbyin·ba'·i·pha·rol·tu	4
phyin·pa·la·mi·dmigs·shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te mngon·bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ de'i·tshe'·di·ni·tshul·khrims·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang bzod·pa'·i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang_ _	5
brtson'·grus·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa'·dang bsam·gtan·gyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·	6

zhes·bgyi·bar·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·la·mi·dm<igs·shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te_ mngo·n_	
_bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi·bgyid·do _ de'i·tshē·'di·nI·nang·stong·pa·nyid·ces·bgyi·bar·nang·stong·pa·nyid·la·mi·dmigs·shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te mngon·par·zhen·par·mi·bgyid·la'·dogs·par·mi	7
_bgyid·do _ de'i·tshē·'d·i·ni·dngos·po·med·pa'i·ngo·bo·nyId·stong·pa·nyid·kyi·bar·zhes·bgyi·bar·dngos·po·med·pa'·i·ngo·bo·nyI·d·stong·pa·nyid·kyi·bar· ⁸ la·mi·dmigs·shing·mi·len·mi·gnas·te_ mngon·bar·zhen·par·mi·bgyid_	8

Notes: ⁶ DLC: ba; ⁷ Y: —; ⁸ —.

7

Vol. Kha, f. 170(?); IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 6

See fig. 7 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 27: 104⁽²⁾–106^[3]

Recto

Marg.: kha__brgya__??bcu(?)

@# ____ [gsog]pa·med·pa·dang _'bri·ba·med·pa·dang['grib·pa·med·pa·dang 'phel·ba·med·pa'i·phyir·mi·slob mi'byung·ba'i·tshul·gyi]s·shes[·rab]·kyi·pha[·rol][·tu·phyin·pa·la·bslabs·shing _rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·du·'byung·ngo]	1
de·nas·lha'i·dba[ng]po·brgya·byin·gyis·tshe·dang·ldan·ba[·sha]·ra[·dwa]ti[i·bu·la'·di·skad·ces·smras·so btsun·pa·sha·ra·dwa·ti'i·bu byang·chu]b·sems[s]dpa[·sems·dpa'·chen·po·rnam·s·kyi·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·gang·nas·btsal·bar]	2
bya;_sha·ra·dwa·ti'i·bus·s[m]ras·pa lha'i·dbang·po·bya[ng·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·rnam·s·kyi·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·ni rab'byor·gyi·le'u·las·btsal·bar·bya'o _ de·nas·lha'i·dbang·po·brgya·byin·gyis tshe]	3
dang·ldan[·pa·rab·]'byor·la'·di·skad·ces·smras·so _ [btsun·pa·rab·'byor 'phags·pa·sha·ra·dwa·ti'i·bus'·di·skad·du byang·chu]b·sems·dpa' [·sems·d]pa'·ch[e]n·p[o]·rnam[s·kyi·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·ni rab'byor·gyi]	4
le'u·[las·b]tsal ¹ ·bar·bya'o·zhes·smras·ste de·ni·khy[od·kyi]i[·]mthu'o _ [khyod·kyi·byin·gyi·rlabs·so rab'byor·gyis·smras·pa]_ka'u·shi·@ka'[di]·ni·b[dag]·gi·mthu·ma·yi[n 'di·ni·bdag·gi·byin·gyi·rlabs·]	5
ma[·yin·no brgya·byin·gyi]s·smras·pa _btsun·pa·rab·['byor 'o·]na·de[·su]'i·mth[u de·su'i·byin·gyi·rlabs rab'byor·gyis·smras·pa]ka'u·shi·ka·de·ni·de·bzhin·g[shégs]·pa'i·[mth]u'o[]_ de·ni·de·	6

bzhin·gshegs·pa'i·byin·gyi]	
[rlabs]·so _ brgya·byin·gyis·smras·pa _b[tsun·pa·rab·byor chos·thams·cad·byin·gyi·rlabs·med·na ci'i·phyir·de·skad·du]'di·ni·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa'i·m[thu'o 'di·ni·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa'i·byin·gyi]	7
rla[bs. ² so]·zhes·sm[r]a _byin·gyi·rlabs. ³ [me]d·pa[¹ i·chos·nyid·las·gud·na·yang·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·mi·dmigs·la] _de·b[zhin·nyid·las·g]ud·na·yang·de·bzhin·gsheg[s·pa]·yod·par·mi[·d]mi[gs·so _ rab·byor·gyis]	8

Notes: ¹ L: bcil; ² gyis brlabs but YP: gyis rlabs, NZh: gyi rlabs; ³ DLCU: gyis brlabs.

Verso

[smras·pa]ka'u·shi·ka·de·ni·de·bzhin·no _ de·ni·de·bzhin·te _byin·gyi·rlabs. ⁴ med·pa'i·chos·nyid·las·gud·na[·]yang·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·y[o]d·par·mi·dmigs·la _de·bzhin·nyid·las·gud·na·yang[·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·yod]	1
[pa]r·mi·dmigs·so _ byi·n·kyi·rlabs. ⁵ med·pa'i·chos·nyi·d·la·yang·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·mi·dmigs·la _de·bzhin·[gshe]g[s·pa]·la·yang·byin·kyi·rlabs[·] ⁶ med·pa'i·ch[os·mi·]dm[igs·so de·bzhin·nyid·la·yang·de]	2
bzhin·[g]shegs·pa·mi·dmigs·so _ de·bzhin[·]gshegs·pa·la·yang·d[e·bzhi]n·nyi·d·mi·dmigs·so _ gzugs·kyi·de·bzhin·nyid·la·yang·de·bzhin·gshe[gs·]pa·mi·dmigs[·so]_ de·bzhi[n·gshegs·pa·la'ang·gzugs]	3
[kyi·de·]bzhin·nyid·mi·dmigs·so _ gzugs·kyi·chos·nyid·la·yang·de·bzhi[n·]gshegs·pa·mi·dmigs·so _ de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·la·yang·[g]zugs·ky[·i·ch]o[s]·nyid[·m]i[·dmigs]·so _ [tshor·ba·dang 'du·shes·dang]	4
'du·byed·dang; rnam·par·shes·pa'i·de·bzhin·nyid·[la]·yang·de·bzhin·g___shegs·pa·mi·dmigs·so _ de·bzhin·g[she]g[s·pa]·la·yang·rnam·___par·she[s·pa'i·de·bzhin·nyid·mi·dmigs·so rnam·par·shes·pa'i]	5
chos·nyi·d·la·yang·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·mi·dmigs·so _ de·bzhi[n·]gsh[e]g[s·pa]·la·yang·rnam·par·shes·pa'i·ch[os·nyid·m]i·dmigs·so _ skye·mched·[dang kham·dang rten·cing·'brel·par·'byung·ba·dang pha]	6
_rol·tu·phyin·pa·rnams·dang· _stong·pa·nyid·thams·cad·dang [_bya]ng·chub·kyi·phyogs·kyi·chos·sum·cu·rtsa·bdun·dang '[phags·pa'i]·bd[e]n·pa·dang· _bsa[m·gtan·dang tshad·med·pa·dang gzugs·med·pa'i·snyoms·par]	7
_jug·pa·dang· _rnam·par·thar·pa·dang· mthar·gyis·gnas·pa'i·	8

snyoms·par·jug·pa·dang· _stong·[pa·]nyid·dang· _mtshan·ma·med·pa·dang· _s[mon·pa·med·pa·dang mngon·par·shes·pa·dang ...]	
--	--

Notes: ⁴⁻⁶ DLCU: gyis brlabs.

8

Vol. Kha, f. 193; Bibliothèque nationale de France: Tibétain 464, f. 14⁶³

See fig. 8 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 27: 172⁽¹⁰⁾–174⁽¹⁵⁾

Recto

Marg.: kha__brgya·__go·gsum

@# _· 'phags·pa'i·lam·yan·lag·brgyad·pa'i·bar·dang· sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·ma·'dres·pa·bcwo·brgyad·kyi·bar·dang· gzhan·yang·sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·tshad·med·pa·gang·ji·snyed·cig· ¹ shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa_	1
'd <i>i</i> 'i·nang·du·'dus·pa·de·dag·kyang·gzung·bar·bya'o _bcang·bar·bya'o _k <i>l</i> ag· ² par·bya'o _kun·chub·par·bya'o tshul·bzhin·du·yid·la·bya'o de·ci'i·phyir·zhe·na _ke'u· ³ shi·ka·de·ni·'di·ltar·rigs·kyi·bu·'am rigs·kyi·bu·mo·de·dag·'di	2
ltar·shes·par·'gyur·te _de·bzh <i>n</i> ·in·gshegs·pa·sngon·byang·chub·sems·d <i>pa</i> ' <i>i</i> ·spyad·pa·spyod·pa'i·tshe ⁴ _'d <i>i</i> ·ltar·shes·rab·kyi·pha·ro·l·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _bsam·gtan·gyi·pha·ro·l·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _brtson·'grus·kyi·pha·rol·tu	3
phyi·n·pa·dang· _bzod·pa'i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _tshul·khrims·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _sbyin·pa'i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _nang·stong·pa·nyi·d·dang· _dngos·po·med·pa'i·ngo·bo·nyi·d·stong·pa·nyi·d·kyi·bar·dang· _dran·pa·nye·ba·r·gzhang	4
pa·gzhi· ⁵ dang· yang·dag·par·spong·ba·dang· _rdzu·'phrul·gyi·rkang·pa·dang· __©dbang·po·dang· stobs·dang· byang·chub·kyi·yan·lag·dang· lam·dang· 'phags·pa·'a·i©bden·pa·dang· bsam·gtan·dang· tshad·med·pa·dang· gzugs·med	5
pa'i·snyoms·par·jug·pa·dang· _rnam·par·thar·pa·brgyad·dang· _mthar·gyis·gnas·pa'i·snyoms·par·jug·pa·dgu·dang· _rnam·par·thar·pa'i·sgo· ⁶ stong·pa·nyid·dang· _mtshan·ma·med·pa·dang· _smon· ⁷ pa·med·pa·dang· mngon·bar·shes	6
pa·dang· _ting·nge·'dzin·dang· gzungs·kyi·sgo·dang· _de·bzh·in·gshegs·pa'i·stobs·dang· _mi·'jigs·pa·dang· _so·so·yang·	7

⁶³ The images are published on the website <https://gallica.bnf.fr>; see Tibétain 464 (access 20.09.2023).

dag·par·rig·pa·dang· _byams·pa·chen·po·dang· _snying·rje·chen·po·dang· sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·ma·___	
'dres·pa·bco· ⁸ brgyad·po·'d <i>ci</i> ·dag·dang· gzhan·yang·sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·tshad·med·pa·dag·la·bslab·pa·mdzad·kyi· ⁹ _bdag·cag·gis·kyang·de·dag·gi· ¹⁰ rjes·su·bslab·par·bya'o _ 'd <i>ci</i> ·lta·ste·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·'di·ni·bdag	8

Notes: ¹ —; ² Zh: bklag; ³ kau (the same in all such cases on this folio); ⁴ +yang; ⁵ bzhi; ⁶ YP: —; ⁷ U: sman; ⁸ bcwo; ⁹ DYLPUCU: pa mdzad kyis, N: par mdzad kyis, Zh: par mdzad kyis; ¹⁰ de'i.

Verso

cag·gi·ston·pa'o _ sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·gzhan·tshad·med·pa'i·bar·du·yang·bdag·cag·gi·ston·pa·ste[]_de·ni·sangs·rgyas·bcom·ldan·'das·rnams·kyis·bstan·pa'o _ rang·sangs·rgyas·dang· _dgra·bcom·ba·dang· _phyir·mi	1
'ong·ba·dang· ¹¹ _lan·ci·g·phyir·'ong·ba·dang· _rgyun·tu·zhugs·pa·rnams·kyi·s·bstan·pa·yang·'di·yi·n·te _shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa'o shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·'di·la·slob·slob·pa·dang· _bsam·gtan·gyi·pha	2
rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _brtson·'grus·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _bzod·pa'i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· tshul·khrims·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _sbyin·pa'i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·la·slob·slob·pa·dang· _nang·stong·pa·nyid·la·slob_	3
slob·pa·dang· _dngos·po·med·pa'i·ngo·bo·nyi·d·stong·pa·nyi·d·kyi·bar·la·slob·slob·pa·dang· _dran·pa·nye·bar·gzha·g·pa·rnams·la·slob·slob·pa·dang· _'phags·pa'i·lam·yan·lag·brgyad·pa'i·bar·la·slob·slob·pa·dang· sangs·rgyas	4
kyi·chos·ma·'dres·pa·rnams·kyi·bar·la·slob·slob·pa·dang· _rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·◎pa·nyid·kyi·bar·la·slob·slob·pa'i·sangs·rgyas·bcom·ldan·'das·rnams·dang· _rang·◎sangs·rgyas·rnams·dang· dgra·bcom·pa·rnams·dang· _phyir·mi_	5
'ong·ba·rnams·dang· _lam· ¹² cig·phyir·'ong·ba·rnams·dang· rgyun·tu·zhugs·pa·rnams·kyis·kyang·pha·rol·tu·phyin·par·gyur·to _ pha·rol·tu·phyin·to _pha·rol·tu·phyin·par·'gyur·ro·zhes·bya·bar·shes·par·'gyur·ro __ ke'u·shi·ka·de·bas·na·rigs·kyi·bu_	6
'am _rigs·kyi·bu·mo·de·dag·gi·s·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·bzhugs·kyang·rung· _de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·yongs·su·mya·ngan·las·'das·kyang·rung·ste __shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·'di·nyid·la·brtan· ¹³ par·bya'o _ de·ci'i·phyir·zhe·na[]_ke'u	7
shi·ka·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·'di·nyid·nyan·thos·	8

dang· _rang·sangs·rgyas·dang· _byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems· dpa'·chen·po·thams·cad·kyi·rten·yin·te __lha·dang·mi·dang· lha·ma·yin·gyi·skye·dgu'i·bar·gyi·rten·yin·no[_de·]dag·gi·s	
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Notes: ¹¹ YP: 'am; ¹² lan; ¹³ brten.

9

Vol. Kha, f. 248; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 7

See fig. 9 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 27: 289⁽¹⁴⁾–291⁽¹⁴⁾

Recto

Marg.: kha__nyi·brgya_zhe·brgyad·

@# ____ zhes·bya·ba·dang· bdag·med·do·zhes·bya·ba·dang· _mi·sdug·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _ rna·ba'i·rnam·par·shes·pa· dang· sna'i·rnam·par·shes·pa·dang· lce'i·rnam·par·shes·pa· dang· lus·kyi·rnam·par·shes·pa·dang·	1
yid·kyi·rnam·par·shes·pa·mi·rtag·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston ¹ rna· ba'i·rnam·par·shes·pa·dang· sna'i·rnam·par·shes·pa·dang· lce'i· rnam·par·shes·pa·dang· lus·kyi·rnam·par·shes·pa·dang· yi·d· kyi·rnam·par·shes·pa·sdug_	2
bsngal·lo·zhes·bya·ba·dang· _bdag·med·do·zhes·bya·ba·dang· mi·sdug·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _ mig·gi·'dus·te·reg·pa·mi·rtag· go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _ mig·gi·'dus·te·reg·pa·sdug·bsngal·lo· zhes·bya·ba·dang· bdag·med·do	3
zhes·bya·ba·dang _mi·sdug·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _ rna·ba'i· 'dus·te·reg·pa·dang· sna'i·'dus·te·reg·pa·dang· lce'i·'dus·te· reg·pa·dang· lus·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa·dang· _yid·kyi·'dus·te·reg· pa·mi·rtag·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _	4
rna·ba'i·'dus·te·reg·pa·dang· _sna'i·'dus·te·reg·pa·dang· lce'i· ◎'dus·te·reg·pa·dang· lus·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa·dang· _yid·kyi· 'dus·te·reg·pa·sdu◎g·bsngal·lo·zhes·bya·ba·dang· _bdag·med· do·zhes·bya·ba·dang· _	5
² mi·sdug·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _ mig·gi·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen· gyis·tshor·ba·mi·rtag·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _ mig·gi·'dus·te· reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis· ³ tshor·ba·sdug·bsngal·lo·zhes·bya·ba·dang· _bdag·med·do·zhes·bya·ba·dang· _mi	6
sdug·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _rna·ba'i·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis· tshor·ba·dang· _sna'i·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba· dang· _lce'i·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyi·s·tshor·ba·dang· _lus· kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyi·s·tshor·ba·dang·;	7
yid·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·mi·rtag·go·zhes·bya·	8

bar·ston rna·ba'i'·dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·dang· _ sna'i'·dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·dang· lce'i'·dus·te· reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·dang· _	
---	--

Notes: ¹ YLPNCZh: —; ² C: +mi sdug go zhes bya ba dang; ³ C: kyi.

Verso

lus·kyi'·dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·dang· yid·kyi'·dus· te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·sdug·bsngal·lo·zhes·bya·ba· dang· _bdag·med·do·zhes·bya·ba·dang· mi·sdug·go·zhes·bya· bar·ston _ sa'i·khams·mi·rtag·go	1
zhes·bya·bar. ⁴ ston _ sa'i·khams·sdug·bsngal·lo·zhes·bya·ba. ⁵ dang· _bdag·med·do·zhes·bya·ba·dang. ⁶ _mi·sdug·go·zhes· bya·bar·ston chu'i·khams·dang· me'i·khams·dang· rlung·gi· khams·dang· nam·mkha'i·khams·dang· _	2
rnam·par·shes·pa'i·khams·mi·rtag·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston chu'·i· khams·dang· _me'i·khams·dang· rlung·gi·khams·dang· nam· mkha'i·khams·dang· rnam·par·shes·pa'i·khams·sdug·bsngal· lo·zhes·bya·ba·dang· _	3
bdag·med·do·zhes·bya·ba·dang· mi·sdug·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _ma·◎rig·pa·mi·rtag·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _ma·ri·g·pa·sdug· bsngal·lo·zhes·bya·ba·dang; bdag·med·do·zhes·bya·ba·dang· _mi·sdug·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _	4
_du·byed·dang· _rnam·par·shes·pa·dang· _ming·dang·gzugs· dang· _skye·mched·drug·dang· reg·pa·dang· tshor·ba·dang· sred·pa·dang· len·pa·dang· _sri◎d·pa·dang· skye·ba·dang· rga·shi·mi·rtag·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston 'du	5
_byed·dang· _rnam·par·shes·pa·dang· ming·dang·gzugs· dang· skye·mched·drug·dang· reg·pa·dang· tshor·ba·dang· sred·pa·dang· len·pa·dang· srid·pa·dang· skye·ba·dang· rga· shi·sdug·bsngal·lo·zhes·bya·ba·dang· _bdag·med·do_	6
zhes·bya·ba·dang· _mi·sdug·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston __ sbyin· ba'i·pha·rol·tu·phyi·n·pa·mi·rtag·go·zhes·bya·bar·ston _ sbyin· pa'i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·sdug·bsngal·lo·zhes·bya·ba·dang· bdag·med·do·zhes·bya·ba·dang· mi·sdug·go·zhe·s_	7
bya·bar·ston tshul·khrims·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· bzod· pa'i·pha·rol·tu·phyi·n·pa·dang· brtson'·grus·kyi·pha·rol·tu· phyin·pa·dang· bsam·gtan·gyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· _ shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·mi·rtag	8

Notes: ⁴ Zh: ba; ⁵ L: bar; ⁶ L: —.

10

Vol. Kha, f. 302; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 8

See fig. 10 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 27: 405⁽⁶⁾–407⁽⁸⁾*Recto**Marg.:* kha__sum·brgya____gnyis

@# ____ chos·sum·cu·rtsa·bdun·rnam·par·dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni·'bras·bu·rnam·par·dag·pa'o _ 'phags·pa'i·bden·ba·dang _bsam·gtan·dang _tshad·med·pa·dang gzugs·med·pa'i·snyos·par·'jug·pa	1
rnam·rnam·par·dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni·'bras·bu·rnam·par·dag·pa'o _ rnam·par·thar·pa·brgyad·dang _mthar·gyis·gnas·pa'i·snyoms·par·'jug·pa·dgu·dang _stong·pa·nyid·dang _mtshan·ma·med·pa·dang smon	2
pa·med·pa·dang· _mngon·bar·shes·pa·rnam·rnam·par·dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni·'bras·bu·rnam·par·dag·pa'o _ ting·nge·'dzin·rnam·dang _gzungs·kyi·sgo·rnam·rnam·par·dag·pa·gang·yi·n·ba·de·ni·'bras·b[u]	3
rnam·par·dag·pa'o _ de·bzhin·gshegs·pa'i·stobs·bcu·dang _mi·'jigs· ¹ pa·bzhi·dang· _so·so·yang·dag·par·rig·pa·bzhi·dang· _snying·rje·chen·po·dang ² _sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·ma·'dres·pa·bco·brgyad·rnam·par	4
dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni·'bras·bu·rnam·par·dag·pa'o _ thams·cad·@shes·pa·nyid·dang· _lam·gyi·rnam·pa·shes·pa·nyi·d·dang _rnam·pa·tham@s·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni·'bras·bu·_	5
rnam·par·dag·pa'o _ rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·gzugs·yongs·su·dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni· _shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyi·n·pa·yongs·su·dag·pa·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·yongs·su·dag·pa·gang[·]yin·ba·d[e]·ni·[gzugs]	6
yongs·su·dag·pa·ste _de·ltar·na·gzugs·yongs·su·dag·pa·dang [_]shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyi·n·pa·yongs·su·dag·pa·'d <i>i</i> ·la·gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma·yin·tha·mi·dad·do _ tshor·ba·dang _'du·sh[es·dang]	7
'du·byed·dang _rnam·par·shes·pa·yongs·su·dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni _shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·yongs·su·dag·pa _shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·yongs·su·dag·pa·gang·yi[n·ba·de·]ni _rnam·par·shes·pa·y[ongs·su]	8

Notes: ¹ C: 'jig; ² DYPu: —, LNCZh: byams pa chen po dang | snying rje chen po dang.

Verso

dag·pa·ste _de·ltar·na·rnam·par·shes·pa·yongs·su·dag·pa·dang· _shes·rab[·kyi·]pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·yongs[·]su·dag·pa·'di·la· gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma·yin·tha·mi·dad· [do _ rna]m·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·[ny]i[d·kyi]	1
bar·du·yongs·su·dag·pa·gang·yin·pa·de·ni _shes·rab·kyi·pha· rol·tu·phyin·pa·yongs·su·dag·pa __shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu· phyin·pa·yongs·su·dag·pa·gang·yi·n·pa·de·ni _rnam·pa·thams· cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·yongs·su·dag·pa·s[t]e[de·ltar]	2
na·rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·yongs·su·dag·pa·dang __shes·ra[b·]kyi[i]·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·yongs·su·dag·pa·'di·la· gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma·yin·tha·mi·dad· do _ rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·b[dag·rnam·par]	3
dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni _gzugs·rnam·par·dag·pa __gzugs· rnam·par·dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni _bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa· ste _de·ltar·na·bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa·dang __gzugs·rnam·par· dag·pa·'di[·la·gnyis]	4
su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma·yi·n·tha·mi·dad·do _ bdag·rnam·pa®r·dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni _tshor·ba·dang· _ 'du·shes·dang _'du·bye®d·dang _rnam·par·shes·pa·rnam·par· dag·pa _rnam·par·shes·pa·rnam_	5
par·dag. ³ pa·gang·yin·ba·de·ni _bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa·ste _ de·ltar·na·bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·rnam· par·dag·pa·'di·la·gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma· yin·tha·mi·dad·do _ bdag·rnam	6
par·dag·ba·gang·yin·ba·de·ni _rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa· nyid·kyi·bar·du·rnam·par·dag·pa _rnam·pa·thams·cad· mkhyen·pa·nyi·d·kyi·bar·du. ⁴ rnam·par·dag·pa·gang·yin·ba·de· ni _bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa·ste _de·ltar·na·	7
_bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa·dang _rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa· nyi·d·rnam·par·dag·pa·'di·la·gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar· med·so·so·ma·yin·tha·mi·dad·do _ sems·can·dang·srog·dang· gso·ba·dang·skyes·bu·dang _gang_	8

Notes: ³ L: —; ⁴ —.

11

Vol. Kha, f. 310; British Library: Sloane MS 2836

See fig. 11 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 27: 422⁽¹¹⁾–424⁽¹⁶⁾

Recto

Marg.: kha_sum·brgya·__bcu·them

@# _____ te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·rnam·par·dag·pas _rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·ste _de·ltar·na·nang·stong·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·dang _yid·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·rnam·par·dag·pa·da·ng·	1
rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·'d<i>·la·gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma·yin·tha·mi·dad·do dngos·po·med·pa'i·ngo·bo·nyi>d·stong·pa·nyi>d·kyi· ¹ bar·du·rnam·par·dag·pas _gzugs·rnam·par·dag·pa gzugs	2
rnam·par·dag·pas rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·ste _de·ltar·na·dngos·po·med·pa'i·ngo·bo·nyi>d·stong·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·dang gzugs·rnam·par·dag·pa·dang rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·	3
pa·'di·la·gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma·yin·tha·mi·dad·do _ dngos·po·med·pa'i·ngo·bo·nyi>d·stong·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pas _yid·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba'<i>·bar·du·rnam·par·dag·pa _yid·kyi·'dus·te·_	4
reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·rnam·par·dag·pas rnam·pa·_·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·_@nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·ste de·ltar·na·dngos·po·med·pa'i·ngo·bo·nyid·stong·pa·nyi>d·rna_@m·par· ² dag·pa·dang _yid·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·	5
ba·rnam·par·dag· ³ dang rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·'di·la·gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma·yin·tha·mi·dad·do _ dran·pa·nye·bar·gzhag·pa·rnam·par·dag·pas gzugs·rnam·par·dag·pa gzugs·rnam· ⁴	6
dag·pas _rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·ste _de·ltar·na·dran·pa·nye·bar·gzhag·pa·rnam·par·dag·pa·dang __gzugs·rnam·par·dag·pa·dang _rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyi>d·rnam·par·dag·pa·'di·la·gnyis·	7
su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma·yi>n·tha·mi·dad·do _ dran·ba·nye·bar·gzhag·pa·rnam·par·dag·pas _yid·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba'i·bar·du·rnam·par·dag·pa ⁵ _yi>d·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·_	8

Notes: ¹ YP: kyis; ² L: pa; ³ +pa; ⁴ +par; ⁵ L: pas.

Verso

rnam·par·dag·pas ⁶ _rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·ste _de·ltar·na·dran·pa·nye·bar·gzhag·pa·rnam·par·	1
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dag·pa·dang _yid·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba· rnam·par·dag·pa·dang rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen	
pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·'di·la·gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar· med·so·so·ma·yin·tha·mi·dad·do _l'phags·pa'i·lam·yan·lag· brgyad·pa'i·bar·du·rnam·par·dag·pas _gzugs·rnam·par·dag· pa gzugs·rnam·par·dag·	2
pas;rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyi·d·rnam·par·dag·pa·ste _de·ltar·na·'phags·pa'i·lam· ⁷ yan·lag·brgyad·pa·rnam·par·dag· pa·dang _gzugs·rnam·par·dag·pa·dang _rnam·pa·thams·cad· mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·'di·la_	3
gnyis·su·med·de·gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma·yin·tha·mi·dad· do _l'phags·pa'i·lam·yan·lag·brgyad·pa'i·bar·du·rnam·par· dag·pas yid·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa'i·rkyen·kyis·tshor·ba· ⁸ rnam·par· dag·pa· _yid·kyi·'dus·te·reg_	4
pa'i·rkyen·kyis·tshor·ba·rnam·par·dag·pas _rnam·pa·thams· cad·mkhyen·pa· ⁹ nyi·d·rnam·par·dag·pa·ste _de·ltar·na·'phags· pa'i·lam·yan·lag·b ⁹ rgyad·pa'i·bar·du· ⁹ rnam·par·dag·pa·dang yid·kyi·'dus·te·reg·pa ¹⁰	5
rkyen·gyis·tshor·ba·rnam·par·dag·pa·dang· _rnam·pa·thams· cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·'di·la·gnyis·su·med·de· gnyis·su·byar·med·so·so·ma·yin·tha·mi·dad·do _l'phags·pa·'ci· bden·pa·dang _bsam·gtan·dang tshad_	6
__med·pa·dang· _gzugs·med·pa'i·snyoms·par·'jug·pa·dang _ rnam·par·thar·pa·dang mthar·gyis·gnas·pa'i·snyoms· ¹¹ par· 'jug·pa·dang _stong·pa·nyid·dang· _mtshan·ma·med·pa· dang _smon·pa·med·pa·dang mngon_	7
bar·shes·pa·dang _ting·nge·'dzin·dang _gzungs·kyi·sgo· dang _de·bzhin·gshegs·pa'i·stobs·dang· mi·'jigs·pa·dang _ so·so·yang·dag·par·rig·pa·dang _byams·pa·chen·po·dang _ snyi·ng·rje·chen·po·dang· sangs_	8

Notes: ⁶ L: pa; ⁷ L: ma; ⁸ ba'i bar du; ⁹ pa; ¹⁰ pa'i; ¹¹ U: snyom.

12

Vol. Ga, f. 10; Glasgow University Library: PL61, f. 1

See fig. 12 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 27: 441⁽⁴⁾–443⁽⁶⁾

Recto

Marg.: ga__bcu·tham

@# _□_ mthar·kyis·gnas·pa·'ci·snyoms·par·'jug·pa·dgu·dang· stong·pa·nyid·dang· mtshan·ma·med·pa·dang· smon·pa·med·	1
---	---

pa·dang· mngon·bar·shes·pa·rnam·par·dag·pa'o _ bcom·ldan· 'das·bdag·rnam·par·dag	
pa'<i>slad·du· _ti>ng·nge'<i>dz<i>in·dang· gzung<i>skyI·sgo·rnam· par·dag·pa'o _ bcom·ldan·'das·bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa'<i>slad· du· _de·bzh<i>in·gshegs·pa'<i>stobs·dang· mi'<i>jigs·pa·dang· _so· so·yang·dag·par·rig·pa·rnam	2
par·dag·pa'o _ bcom·ldan·'das·bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa'i·slad· du· sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·ma'<i>dres·pa·bcwo·brgyad·rnam·par· dag·pa'o bcom·ldan·'das·kyis·bka'<i>stsal·pa rab'<i>byor·shin·tu· rnam·par·dag·pa'<i>_	3
phyir·ro _ gsol·pa bcom·ldan·'das·ci'I·slad·du·na _bdag·rna ⊙m·par·dag·pas·sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·ma'<i>dres·pa·bcwo· brgyad·rnam·⊙par·dag·pa·lags _ bcom·ldan·'das·kyi>s·bka'· stsal·pa rab__	4
'byor·shin·tu·rnam·par·dag·pa'<i>phyir·te ¹ bdag·med·pa'i· phyir·sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·ma'<i>dres·pa·bcwo·brgyad·med·pa· ni·shin·tu·rnam·par·dag·pa'o gsol·pa _bcom·ldan·'das·bdag· rnam·par·dag·pa'i·slad·du;	5
rgyun·tu·zhugs·pa'i'<i>bras·bu·rnam·par·dag·pa'o bcom·ldan· 'das·bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa'<i>slad·du· _lan·c·ig·phyir'<i>ong· ba'<i>i'<i>bras·bu·rnam·par·dag·pa'o _ bcom·ldan·'das·bdag· rnam·par·dag·pa'<i>slad	6
du;_phy'<i>ir·mi'<i>ong·ba'<i>i'<i>bras·bu·rnam·par·dag·pa'o bcom· ldan·'das·bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa'<i>slad·du· dgra·bcom·ba· nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa'o _ bcom·ldan·'das·bdag·rnam·par·dag· pa'<i>slad·du· rang·byang	7
chub·rnam·par·dag·pa'o _bcom·ldan·'das·bdag·rnam·par·dag· pa'<i>slad·du· byang·chub·rnam·par·dag·pa'o bcom·ldan· 'das·kyis·bka'<i>stsal·pa rab'<i>byor·shin·tu·rnam·par·dag·pa'i· phyir·ro gsol·pa;	8

Notes: ¹ Zh: ste.

Verso

bcom·ldan·'das·ci'i·slad·du·bdag·rnam·par·dag·pas·rgyun·tu· zhugs·pa'<i>i'<i>bras·bu·rnam·par·dag·pa·lags _ ci'<i>slad·du·bdag· rnam·par·dag·pas _lan·cig·phyir'<i>ong·ba'<i>i'<i>bras·bu·dang· phyir·mi'<i>ong·ba'<i>i'<i>bras·bu	1
dang;dgra·bcom·ba·nyid·dang· rang·byang·chub·rnam·par· dag·pa·lags _ bcom·ldan·'das·kyis·bka'<i>stsal·pa rang·gi·	2

mtshan·nyid·stong·pa·nyid·kyi·phyir·ro gso·l·pa bcom·ldan· 'das·bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa'·i	
slad·du· _lam·gyi·rnam·pa·shes·pa·nyi·d·rnam·par·dag·pa'·o _ bcom·ldan·'das·bdag·rnam·par·dag·pa'·i·slad·du· rnam·pa· thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa'·o _ bcom·ldan· 'das·kyis·bka'·stsal·pa;	3
rab·'byor·shin·tu·rnam·par·dag·pa'·i·phyir·ro _ gsol·pa bcom· ldan·'das·ci'·i·slad·du·bdag·rnam·par·dag·pas _lam·gyi·rnam· pa·shes·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·lags ci'·i·slad·du·bdag·rnam· par·dag·pas _	4
rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·rnam·par·dag·pa·lags bcom·lda·n·'das·kyis·bka'·stsal·pa rang·gi·mtshan·nyid·stong· pa·nyid·kyi·phyir·ro _ gsol·pa bcom·ldan·'das·gnyis·su·ma· mchis·shing_	5
rnam·par·dag·pa·ni·thob·par·bgyi·ba·ma·lags mngon·bar·rtogs· par·bgyi·ba·ma·lags·so _ bcom·ldan·'das·kyis·bka'·stsal·pa rab·'byor·shin·tu·rnam·par·dag·pa'·i·phyir·ro _ gsol·pa bcom· ldan·'das_	6
ci'·i·slad·du·gnyis·su·ma·mchis·shing· _rnam·par·dag·pa· ² ·thob· par·bgyi·ba·ma·lags mngon·bar·rtogs·par·bgyi·ba·ma·lags _ bcom·ldan·'das·kyis·bka'·stsal·pa kun·nas·nyon·mongs·pa· med·cing·rnam·par	7
byang·ba·med·pa'·i·phyir·ro _ gsol·pa bcom·ldan·'das·bdag· kun·tu·mtha'·yas·pa'·i·slad·du·gzugs·kun·tu·mtha'·yas·pa'·o bcom·ldan·'das·kyis·bka'·stsal·pa _rab·'byor·shi·n·tu·rnam·par· dag·pa'·i·phyir	8

Notes: ² DCUZh: +ni.

13

Vol. Ga, f. 84; Uppsala University Library: O Tibet 2, f. 4

See fig. 13 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 27: 594⁽¹⁷⁾–596⁽¹⁹⁾

Recto

Marg.: ga_gya·bzhi

@# ____ yang·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·pos· bdud·kyi·las·su·rig·par·bya'·o _ rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·chos· smra·ba·ni·gzungs·thob·par·gyur·la _chos·nyan·pa·ni·gzungs· ma·thob_	1
na;rab·'byor·de·yang·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·zab·mo· 'di·'dri·ba·dang· _lung·'bog·pa·dang _kha·ton· ¹ ·byed·pa'·i·	2

rgyu·rkyen·mi·ldan·ba·ste _rab·'byor·de·yang·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·pos·bdud·	
kyi·las·su·rig·par·bya'o __ rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·chos·nyan·pa·ni·gzungs·thob·par·gyur·la _chos·smra·ba·ni·gzungs·ma·thob·na _rab·'byor·de·yang·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·zab·mo·'di·'dri·ba·dang _lung·'bog	3
pa·dang;_kha·ton·byed·pa'i·rgyu·rkyen·mi·ldan·ba·ste _rab·'byor·de·yang·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·pos·bdud·kyi·las·su·rig·par·bya'o __ rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·chos·smra·ba·ni·'bri ² ·bar·'dod _	4
klog ³ ·par·'dod _lung·'bog·par·'dod kha·ton·bya·bar·'dod _bsgom·bar·bya·bar·'dod·la _chos·nyan·ba·ni·bri ⁴ ·bar·mi·'dod _klog ⁵ ·par·mi·'dod _lung·'bog ⁶ ·par·mi·'dod _kha·ton·bya·bar·mi·'dod _chos ⁷ ·	5
nyan ⁸ ·par·mi·'dod·na __rab·'byor·de·yang·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·zab·mo·'di·'dri·ba·dang· lung·'bog·pa·dang kha·ton·byed·pa'i·rgyu·rkyen·mi·ldan·ba·ste _rab·'byor·de·yang·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·_	6
pos·bdud·kyi·las·su·rig ⁹ ·par·bya'o _ rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·chos·smra ¹⁰ ·ba·ni·'bri ¹¹ ·bar·'dod __mnyan·pa'i·bar·du·'dod·la _chos·nyan ¹² ·ba·ni·bri ¹³ ·bar·mi·'dod _bsgom·ba'i·bar·du·mi·'dod·par·gyur·na· _rab·'byor·_	7
de·yang·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyi·n·pa·zab·mo·'di·'dri·ba·dang __lung·'bog·pa·dang _kha·ton·byed·pa'i·rgyu·rkyen·mi·ldan·ba·ste __rab·'byor·de·yang·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·pos·bdud·kyi·__	8

Notes: ¹ YP: rtog; ² YLPC: bri; ³ klag but U: klog, Zh: bklag; ⁴ DU: 'dri; ⁵ U: klog, Zh: bklag; ⁶ YP: dbog; ⁷ —; ⁸ mnyan; ⁹ C: reg; ¹⁰ nyan; ¹¹ DNZh: pa ni 'dri, YLPC: pa ni bri, U: ni 'di 'dri; ¹² smra; ¹³ DNUZh: 'dri.

Verso

las·su·rig·par·bya'o _ rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·chos·smra·ba·ni·'dod·pa'i·sred ¹⁴ ·pa·dang·bral _gnod·sems·dang·snyom ¹⁵ ·ba·dang· gnyid·dang·'gyod·pa·dang·bral _the·tsom·dang·bral·la chos·nyan·pa·ni·'dod·pa'i·sred·pa·dang·bcas	1
gnod·sems·dang·snyom ¹⁶ ·ba·dang· _gnyid·dang·'gyod·pa·dang·bcas _the·tsom·dang·bcas·par·gyur·na rab·'byor·de·yang·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·zab·mo·'di·'dri·ba·dang _lung·'bog·pa·dang· _kha·ton·byed·pa'i·_	2
rgyu·rkyen·mi·ldan·ba·ste _rab·'byor·de·yang·byang__chub·	3

sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·pos·bdud·kyi·las·su·ri·g·par·bya'o _ rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·chos·nyan·pa·ni'·dod·pa'i·sred. ¹⁷ pa·dang·bral·la ¹⁸ gnod·_	
sems·dang·snyom ¹⁹ ·pa·dang· _gny'id·dang·'gyod·pa·dang·bral _the·tsom·dang·bral chos·@smra·ba·ni'·dod·pa'i·sred. ²⁰ pa·dang·bcas _gnod·sems·dang·@snyom. ²¹ ba·dang _gnyid·dang·'gyod·pa·dang·bcas·the·tsom·dang·bcas·_	4
par·gyur·na· _rab·'byor·de·yang·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·zab·mo'·di'·dr'i·ba·dang· lung·'bog·pa·dang· _kha·ton·byed·pa'i·rgyu·rkyen·mi·ldan·ba·ste _rab·'byor·de·yang·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·_	5
pos·bdud·kyi·las·su·ri·g·par·bya'o _ rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·zab·mo'·di'·dr'i·ba·dang· _klog·pa·dang _lung·dbog. ²² pa·dang _kha·ton·byed·pa·dang· 'chad·pa. ²³ dang· tshul·bzhin·du·yid·la·byed	6
pa'i. ²⁴ tshe;_la·la·zhig·der'·ongs·te _sems·can·dmyal·ba'·i·mi·snyan·pa·rjod ²⁵ _byol·song·gi·skye·gnas·pa·dang· _gshin·rje'i'·jig·rten·dang· yi·dags·kyi·yul·gyi·mi·snyan·pa·rjod. ²⁶ cing· _sems·can·dmyal·ba·_	7
ni'·di·lta·sdug·bsngal·lo _ byol·song·gi·skye·gnas·ni'·di. ²⁷ lta·bur. ²⁸ sdug·bsngal·ba'o ²⁹ _ yi·dags·kyi·yul·ni'·di·lta·bur·sdug·bsngal·ba'o ³⁰ _ khyod·kyis. ³¹ sdug·bsngal'·di·nyi·d·du·mthar·phyin·par·gyi·s·_	8

Notes: ¹⁴ L: srid; ¹⁵ LNZh: snyoms; ¹⁶ LNCZh: snyoms; ¹⁷ U: srid; ¹⁸ —; ¹⁹ NZh: snyoms; ²⁰ U: srid; ²¹ LNCZh: snyoms; ²² 'bog; ²³ DNC: 'chang ba; ²⁴ pa de'i; ²⁵ brjod; ²⁶ brjod; ²⁷ U: +dri; ²⁸ L: bu; ²⁹ lo; ³⁰ lo; ³¹ DLNCUZh kyi.

14

Vol. [Ga], f. ?; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 9

See fig. 14 (A, B).⁶⁴ Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 27: 628^[4]–630⁽⁷⁾

Recto

Marg.: [ga_?]

[@# _ sems·bstan·du·med·ces·bya·bar·yang·dag·pa·ji·lta·ba·bzhin·du·rab·tu·mkhyen·ce·na rab·'byor·'di·]la·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'·i·sangs·rgyas·kyis·mtshan·nyi·d·med·pa'i·	1
[sems·la rang·gi·mtshan·nyid·stong·pa·nyid·kyi·phyir mtshan·nyid·med·pa'i·sems·shes·bya·bar·yang·dag·pa·ji·lta·]ba·bzhin·du·rab·tu·mkhyen·	2

⁶⁴ The images are published on the website: <http://www.alvin-portal.org/alvin/view.jsf?pid=alvin-record%3A518394> (access: 19.09.2023).

te _rab·'byor·de·ltar·na·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa·'a·i	
[sangs·rgyas·kyis shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·du·phyin·pa·zab·mo·'di·la·brten·te sems·can·pha·rol·dang· gang·zag·]·pha·rol·kyi·sems·bstan·du·med·pa·la·bstan·tu·med·pa·'i·sems·shes·bya·bar·yang·dag·pa·ji·lta·ba·bzhin·du·rab·tu·	3
[mkhyen·to rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·pa·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa·'i·sangs·]rgyas·kyis·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·zab·mo·'di·la·brten·te sems·can·pha·rol·dang gang·zag·pha·rol·kyi·_	4
[sems·bltar·med·pa·la·bltar·med·pa·'i·sems·shes·bya·bar·yang·dag·pa·ji·lta·ba·bzhin·du·rab·tu·m]khyen·to _ rab·'byor·ji·ltar·na·◎de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa·'i·sangs·_	5
[rgyas·kyis shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·du·phyin·pa·zab·mo·'di·la·brten·te sems·can·pha·rol·dang· gang·zag·pha·rol·]kyi·sems·bltar·med·pa·la bltar·med·pa·'i·sems·shes·bya·bar·yang·dag·pa·ji·lta·ba·bzhi·n·du·rab·tu·mkhyen·	6
[ce·na rab·'byor·'di·la·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·'i·sphyan·lnga·la sems·can·pha·rol·dang· gang·zag·pha·rol·]gyi·sem·s·de·dag·snang·bar·mi·'gyur·te _rab·'byor·de·ltar·na·de·bzhi·n·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·_	7
[par·rdzogs·pa·'i·sangs·rgyas·kyis shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·du·phyin·pa·zab·mo·'di·la·brten·te sems·can·pha·]rol·dang gang·zag·pha·rol·kyi·sems·bltar·med·pa·la _bltar·med·pa·'i·sems·shes·bya·bar·yang·dag·	8

Verso

[pa·ji·lta·ba·bzhin·du·rab·tu·mkhyen·to rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·pa·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa·'i·sangs·rgyas·kyis·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyi·n·pa·zab·mo·'di·la·brten·te sems·can·pha·_	1
[rol·dang· gang·zag·pha·rol·gyi·sems·'phro·ba·dang· 'du·ba·dang· bkram·pa·dang· bcum·pa·yang·dag·pa·ji·lta·ba·]·bzhin·du·rab·tu·mkhyen·to _ rab·'byor·ji·ltar·na·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·par·rdzogs	2
[pa·'i·sangs·rgyas·kyis shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·du·phyin·pa·zab·mo·'di·la·brten·te sems·can·pha·rol·dang·]gang·zag·pha·rol·kyi·sems·'phro·ba·dang· 'du·ba·dang bkram·ba·dang bcum·ba·yang·dag·pa·ji·lta·ba·bzhin·du·rab·	3
[tu·mkhyen·ce·na rab·'byor·'di·la·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·pa·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa·'i·sangs·]s·rgyas·kyis·sems·can·pha·◎rol·	4

dang _gang·zag·pha·rol·kyi·sems·'phro·ba. ¹ dang 'du·ba·dang· bkram·ba·	
[dang· bcum·pa·gang·ji·snyed·cig·skye·zhing·'byung·ba·de·dag·thams· cad·kyang·gzugs·la·brten tshor·ba·dang·'] du·shes·dang 'du·byed· dang rnam·par·shes·pa·la·brten·pas·skye·zhi·ng·'byung·bar· 'gyur·ro·zhes·bya·bar sems·can·	5
[pha·rol·dang· gang·zag·pha·rol·gyi·sems·de·dag·rab·tu·mkhyen·to rab· 'byor·de·ltar·na·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·par· rdzogs·pa·'i·sangs·rgyas·kyis·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa· zab·mo·'di·la·_	6
[brten·te sems·can·pha·rol·dang· gang·zag·pha·rol·gyi·sems·'phro·ba· dang· 'du·ba·dang· bkram·pa·dang·] bcum·ba·yang·dag·pa·ji·lta·ba· bzhi·in·du·rab·tu·mkhyen·to _ de·la·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra· bcom·ba·yang·	7
[dag·par·rdzogs·pa·'i·sangs·rgyas·kyis sems·can·pha·rol·dang· gang·zag· pha·rol·gyi·sems·'phro·ba·dang·] 'du·ba·dang bkram·ba·dang bcum·pa·rnam·pa·'di·ltar·rab·tu·mkhyen·te _bdag·dang·'jig· rten·rtag·ces·bya·ba·	8

Notes: ¹ U: 'phrog pa.

15

Vol. [Ga], f. ?; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 10

See fig. 15. Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 27: 672⁽¹⁷⁾–673⁽⁷⁾

Recto

Marg.: [ga_?]

[@#]__ mthar·kyis·gnas·pa·'i·snyoms·par·'jug·pa·dgu·dang rnam·par·thar·pa·'i·sgo·stong·pa·nyi·d·dang· mtshan·ma·med· pa·dang·smon·pa·med·[pa·dang mngon·par·shes·pa·rnams·dang ting·nge·'dzin·rnams·dang gzungs·kyi·sgo·rnams·]	1
[dang·] de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·'i·stobs·bcu·dang mi·'jigs·pa·bzhi· dang· so·so·yang·dag·par·rig·pa·bzhi·dang byams·pa·chen·po· dang _snyi[ng·rje·chen·po·dang sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·ma·'dres·pa· bcwo·brgyad·thos·kyang·yongs·su·ma·dris]	2
[yongs· su·brtags· ¹ pa·ma·byas·pa·de·ni·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu· phyi·n·pa·zab·mo·'di·bstan·pa·' <i>·tshe nem·nur·du·'gyur rmongs·par·'gyur se[ms·zhum·par·'gyur sems·kyi·rnam·pa·gzhan· du·'gyur·ro rab·'byor·gzhan·yang·gang·zag]	3
[byang·chub]·sem[s·dpa]'i·[theg·pa·pa·gang·g]i[s·sng]o[n]·g[y]i·mthar· b[l]a·na·me[d·pa·yang·dag·par]·r[dz]ogs·pa·'i·b[y]ang·ch[u]b·k[y]i·	4

bar·[du·]tho[s·kyang·]yong[s·su...]	
<i>Missing</i>	5
<i>Missing</i>	6
<i>Missing</i>	7
<i>Missing</i>	8

Notes: ¹ brtag.

Verso — *missing*

16

Vol. Ga, f. 253; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 11

See fig. 16 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 28: 59⁽¹⁸⁾–61⁽¹⁹⁾

Recto

Marg.: ga__nyi·brgya_nga·gsum

@# __, __ par·mi'i·lus·thob·par·gyur·la· _ de·dag·rigs·kyi·bu· 'am·rigs·kyi·bu·mo·la·la·zhig·gis dge·ba·bcu' <i>i</i>·las·kyi·lam·la·rab· tu·bkod·pa·dang· bsam·gtan·bzhi·dang· tshad·med·pa·bzhi·	1
dang;gzugs·med·pa'i·snyoms·par·'jug·pa·bzhi·dang· mngon· bar·shes·pa·lnga·dang· rgyun·tu·zhugs·pa'i·'bras·bu·dang· lan·c'ig·phyir·'ong·ba'i·'bras·bu·dang· phyir·mi·'ong·ba'i·'bras· bu·dang· dgra·bcom·ba·nyid	2
dang·rang·byang·chub·la·rab·tu·bkod·pa·dang· bla·na·med·pa· yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i·byang·chub·la·rab·tu·bkod·de· dge· ba'i·rtsa·ba·de·yang·bla·na·med·pa·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i· byang·chub·tu·yongs·su·bsngos·na· rab·'byor·de·ji·	3
snyam·du·sems· rigs·kyi·bu·'am·rigs·kyi·bu·mo·de'i·bsod· nams·de'i·rgyus·mang·du·'phel·lam· gsol·pa bcom·ldan·'das· mang·ngo· bde·bar·gshegs·pa·mang·ngo bcom·ldan·'das· kyis·bka'·stsal·pa·	4
rab·'byor·de·bas·kyang·rigs·kyi·bu·'am·rigs·kyi·bu·mo·gang· shes·@rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·'di·gzhan·la·ston·pa·dang· 'chad·pa·dang·rnam·par·_ @gzhog·pa·dang· rab·tu·gzhog·pa· dang· 'grel·pa·dang· rnam_	5
par·'byed·pa·dang· gsal·bar·byed·pa·dang· _yang·dag·par· ston·na· _de'i·bsod·nams·ches·mang·du·'phel·lo· __ rab·'byor· de·ltar·spyod·pa'i·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po· rnam·pa·thams_	6
cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·dang·ldan·ba'i·yid·la·bya·bas· rnam·par· 'byed·pa·ni·sems·can·thams·cad·kyi·sbyin·ba'i·gnas·su·'gro·ba·	7

yin·te· de·ci·'i·phyir·zhe·na· de·ni·'di·ltar·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa· dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·_	
par·rdzogs·pa·'i·sangs·rgyas·ma·gtogs·par· __byang·chub·sems· dpa·'sems·dpa·'chen·po·'i·rnam·par·spyod·pa·de·lta·bu·ni·sems· can·gang·la·yang·med·de· de·ci·'i·phyir·zhe·na· de·ni·'di·__	8

Verso

ltar·rigs·kyi·bu·de·dag·shes·rab·kyi· ¹ pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·la· spyod·pa·'i·tshē· byams·pa·chen·po·mngon·ba·r·sgrub· ² ste· _ de·dag·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·la·spyod·pa·'i·tshē· _ sems·can·thams·cad·gsad· ³ par·'gyur·_	1
ba·dang· 'dra·bar·blta· ⁴ ste· _de·dag·snying·rje·chen·po·thob· ⁵ bo· _ de·dag·rnam·par·spyod·pa·des· ⁶ dga·'bas·rab·tu·dga·'ba· dang· mngon·bar·dga·'bar·gyur· ⁷ te· de·dag·dga·'ba·chen·po· mngon·bar·sgrub· ⁸ bo· _ de·dag·__	2
mtshan·ma·de·dang·lhan·cig·tu·mi·gnas·te· _de·dag·btang· snyoms·chen·po·'thob·bo· __ rab·'byor·de·ni·byang·chub·sems· dpa·'sems·dpa·'a·chen·po·rnam·s·kyi·shes·rab·kyi·snang· ba·chen·po·ste· 'di·ltar·sbyin·pa·'i·pha·__	3
rol·tu·phyin·pa·'i·snang·ba·'o· __ tshul·khrims·kyi·pha·rol·tu· phyin·__pa·dang· _bzod·pa·'i·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang· __ brtson·'grus·kyi·pha·ro__l·tu·phyin·pa·dang· __bsam·gtan· gyi·pha·rol·tu·__	4
phyin·pa·dang· _shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·'i·snang·ba·'o· __ ©rigs·kyi·bu·de·dag·ni·rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa· nyid·mngon·bar·rdzog· ©s·par·sangs·ma· ⁹ rgyas·kyang· sems· can·thams·cad·__	5
kyi·sbyin·ba·'i·gnas·su·'gyur·te· bla·na·med·pa·yang·dag·par· rdzogs·pa·'i·byang·chub·las·phyir·mi·ldog·go· __ de·dag·shes· rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·dang·ldan·ba·'i·yid·la·bya·bas· rnam·par·spyod·pa·'i·phyir·_	6
_su·'i·gos·dang· bsod·snyoms·dang· mal·ca· ¹⁰ dang· nad·kyi· rkyen·rtsi·dang· _yo·byad·la·yongs·su·spyod·pa·'i·gtong·ba· dang· __sbyin·bdag·gi·sbyin·ba·dag·par·'gyur·te· _rnam·pa· thams·cad·mkhyen·_	7
pa·nyid·dang·yang·nye·bar·'gyur·ro· __ rab·'byor·de·bas·na· byang·chub·sems·dpa·'sems·dpa·'chen·po·don·yod·par·kham· kyi·bsod·snyoms·la·yong·su·spyad· ¹¹ par·'dod·pa·dang· sems· can·thams	8

Notes: ¹ C: kyī; ² bsgrub; ³ NZh: gsod; ⁴ lta; ⁵ 'thob; ⁶ +rnam par spyod pa |; ⁷ 'gyur; ⁸ bsgrub; ⁹ DYLPUCU: —; ¹⁰ cha; ¹¹ YP: spyod.

17

Vol. Ga, f. 266; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 12

See fig. 17 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 28: 86⁽¹⁶⁾–88⁽¹⁸⁾

Recto

Marg.: ga__nyi·brgya·__re·drug

@# __ dpa'·sems·dpa[·chen·po·rnams·kyi·mnyam·pa·nyid·gang·la]gs _bcom·ldan·'das·kyis·bka'·stsal·pa rab·'byor·nang·stong·pa·nyi[d·ni·byang·chub]b[·sem]s·dpa'[·s]e[ms]·dpa[·chen·po·rnams]	1
kyi·mnyam·pa·nyid·do _ phyi·stong·pa·nyi[d·ni·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa]'·chen·po·rnams·kyi·mnyam·ba·nyid·do _ rab·'byor· ¹ phyi·nang·stong·pa·nyi[d·ni·[byang·ch]ub·sems·dpa'·sems·ch[e]n·p[o]·rnams·kyi·m[nyam·pa·nyid]	2
do;rab·'byor·dngos·po·med·pa'i·ngo·bo·nyid[·stong·pa·nyid·kyi·bar·ni·byang·chub·se]ms·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·rnams·kyi·mnya[m·]ba·ny[i]d·do _ gzugs·n[i]·gzugs[·]kyis·stong tshor·ba·dang·'du·shes·dang·'du[·by]e[d·da]ng	3
rnam·par·shes·pa·ni·rnam·pa[r·]sh[e]s·pas·stong· _[skye·mched·dang khams·dang rten·ci]ng·'brel·par·'byung·ba·ni·rten·cing·'brel·par·'byung·bas·stong pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·rnams·dang stong·pa·nyid·tham[s·cad]	4
dang;byang·chub·kyi·phyogs·kyi·chos·rnams·[ni·byang·chub·kyi·phyogs·kyi·chos·rnams·kyis·st]ong _'phags·pa'i·bden·ba·dang bsam·gtan·dang tshad·med·pa·dang gzugs·med·pa'i·snyoms·pa[r·'jug]·pa	5
dang;rnam·par·thar·pa·dang mthar·kyis·g[nas·pa'i·snyoms·par·'jug·pa·ni mthar·gyis·gnas·pa'i]·sny[o]ms·par·'jug·pas·stong stong·pa·nyid·dang mtshan·ma·med·pa·dang smon·pa·med·pa·dang [mng]on	6
bar·she[s]·pa·dang ting·nge·'dzin·dang [gzungs·kyi·sgo·ni·gzungs·kyi·sgos·stong de·bzhin·gshegs·pa]'i[·]stobs·dang mi·'jigs·pa[·]dang so·so·yang·dag·par·rig·pa·dang sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·ma['dres]	7
pa· ² ni·sangs·rgyas·kyi·chos·ma·'dres·[pas·stong rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·kyi·bar·ni rnam·pa·thams·]cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·kyis·stong·ste rab·'byor·'di·ni·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·d[pa·chen]	8

Notes: ¹ —; ² DYLPNCZh: +rnams.

Verso

po·rnams·kyi·mnyam·ba[·]nyid[·]de _de·la·gna[s·shing·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·bla·na·med·pa·]yang[·]dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i·byang·chub·tu·mngon·bar·rdzogs·par·'tshang·rgya'o _ gsol·ba·bco[m]	1
ldan·'das·ci·lags byang·chub·sems·[d]pa[·]sems·dpa'·chen·po·gzugs·bas·par·bgyi·ba'i·slad·du·slob·]na rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyi>d·du·slob·pa·lags·sam gzugs·'dod·chags·dang·bral·bar	2
bgyi·ba'i·slad·du·slob·na rnam·pa·thams·cad·m[khyen·pa·nyid·du·slob·pa·lags·sam gzugs·'gag·par·b]gy[i]·ba'i·slad·du·slob·na rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·du·slob·pa·lags·sam gzugs·mi·skye·bar·bgyi	3
ba'i·slad·du·slob·na rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen[·pa·nyid·du·slob·pa·lags·sam tshor·ba·dang 'du·shes·dang]'du[·]byed·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·bas·par·bgyi·ba'i·slad[·]du·slob·na rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·du·slob	4
pa·lags·sam·rnam·par·shes·pa·'dod·chags[·]da[ng·bral·bar·bgyi·ba'i·slad·du·slob·na rna]m·[pa]·thams[·]cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·du·slob·pa·la@gs·sam rnam·par·shes·pa·'gag·par·bgyi·ba'i·slad·du·slob·na _	5
rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid[·]du·slob·pa·la[gs·sam rnam·par·shes·pa·mi·]sk[ye]·bar·bgyi·ba'i·slad·du·slob·na rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·du·slob·pa·lags[·]sam]s[kye·m]ched·dang kham·s·dang rten	6
cing·'brel·par·'byung·ba·bas·par·bgyi·pa[·]dang 'dod·chags·bral·bar·]bgyi·ba·da[ng]_ 'gag·par·bgyi[i·ba·]dang mi·skye·bar[·b]gyi·pa'i·slad·du·slob·na _rnam·pa·thams·cad[·mkhyen·]pa·nyid·du·slob·pa·lag[s·]sam	7
pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·thams·cad·dang· s[t]o[ng·pa·nyid·thams·cad·dang byang·chub·kyi·phyo]gs·kyi·cho[s]·sum·cu·rtsa·bdun·dang ___'phags[·pa]i·bden·ba·dang· bsam·gtan·dang tsha[d·]med·pa·dang gzugs·med· ³ [pa]i_	8

Notes: ³ C: +med.

18

Vol. [Nga], f. ?; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 13

See fig. 18 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 28: 454⁽⁷⁾–456⁽⁸⁾

Recto

Marg.: [nga(?)_?]

[@# _] gyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·yongs·su·rdzogs·par·byed·pa·yin·zhe·na __rab·'byor·'di·la·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·shes·rab·kyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·la·spyod·pa'i·tshe chos_	1
[thams·cad·mtsha]n·ma·med·pa·dang· _byed·pa·med·pa·dang· _dmigs·su·med·pa·dang· _'byung·ba·med·pa·dang· _mngon·bar·'du·bya·ba·med·pa·la·mtshan·ma·dang·bral·ba'i·sems·kyis _sems·dang·po·bskyed·pa·nas_	2
[nye·bar·bzung·ste]bsam·gtan·gyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·la·gnas·shing· _de·bzhin·gshegs·pa'i·ti·ng·nge·'dzin·ma·gtogs·par·ting·nge·'dzin·gzhan·thams·cad·yongs·su·rdzogs·par·byed·do __ de·'dod·pas__	3
[dben·sdig·to·mi·]dge·ba'i·chos·kyis·dben·ba _rtog·pa·dang·bcas·pa _dpyod· ¹ pa·dang·bcas·pa _dben·pa·las·skyes·pa'i·dga'·ba·dang· _bde·ba·can·bsam·gtan·dang·po·la·nye·bar·bsgrubs·te·gnas·so	4
[bsam·gtan·gnyi]s·pa·dang· _bsam·gtan·gsum·pa·dang· ©bsam·gtan·bzhi·pa·la·nye·bar·bsgrubs·te·gnas·so __ de·byams·pa·©dang·ldan·pa'i·sems·dang· _snying·rje·dang·ldan·pa'i·sems·dang	5
[dga'·ba·dang·ldan·]ba'i·sems·dang· _btang·snyoms·dang·ldan·ba'i·sems·kyis·'ji·g·rten·chos·kyi·dbyings·kyis·klas·pa·nam·mkha'i·mthas·gtugs·pa·thams·cad·rnam·pa·thams·cad·du·rgyas·par·bkang·zhing	6
[nye·bar·bsgrubs·te·]gnas·so _ de·nam·mkha'·mtha'·yas·skye·mched·dang· _rnam·shes·mtha'·yas·skye·mched·dang· _chung·zad·med·pa'i·skye·mched·dang· _'du·shes·med·'du·shes·med·min·skye·mched·la·nye·bar·bsgrubs	7
[shing·gnas·so] de·ting·nge·'dzin·gyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa·de· ² la·gnas·shing·rnam·par·thar·pa·brgyad·la·lugs·dang·'thun·pa·dang·lugs·dang·mi·mthun· ³ bar·snyoms·par·'jug·ci·ng·rnam·par·ldang·ngo· _ mthar·kyis_	8

Notes: ¹ YP: spyod; ² Zh: —; ³ 'thun.

Verso

[gnas·pa'i·snyoms·par·]'jug·pa·dgu·dang· _stong·pa·nyid·kyi·ting·	1
---	---

nge'dzin·dang· _mtshan·ma·med·pa'i·ti>ng·nge'dzin·dang· _smon·pa·med·pa'i·ting·nge'dzin·la·nye·bar·bsgrubs·te·gnas·so _ bar·chad·med·pa'i·ti>ng·nge'dzin	
[la·nye·bar·bsgrubs·te·g]nas·so __ glog·lta·bu'i·ti>ng·nge'dzin·dang· _yang·dag·pa'i·ti>ng·nge'dzin·dang· _rdo·rje·lta·bu'i·ting·nge'dzin·la·nye·bar·bsgrubs·te·gnas·so __ de·ting·nge'dzin·gyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa'di·la·gnas_	2
[nas lam·gyi·rnam·pa·she]s·pa·nyid·kyi·ye·shes·kyis·lam·gyi·rnam·pa·shes·pa·nyid·kyi·khongs·su·ting·nge'dzin·thams·cad·chud·par·byas·shi·ng·dkar·po·rnam·par·mthong·ba'i·sa·las'da'o _ dkar·po·rnam·par·mthong·ba'i·sa	3
[las'das·nas rig]s·kyi·sa·dang· _brgyad·pa'i·sa·dang· mthong·◎ ba'i·sa·dang· _bsrabs·pa'i·sa·dang· _'dod·chags·dang·bral·ba'i·sa·◎dang· _byas·pa·rtogs·pa'i·sa·dang· _rang·sangs·rgyas·kyi·sa·__	4
[las'da'o rang·sa]ngs·rgyas·kyi·sa·las'das·nas·byang·chub·sems·dpa'i·skyon·med·par'jug·go __ byang·chub·sems·dpa'i· ⁴ skyon·med·pa_r·zhugs·nas _sangs·rgyas·kyi·sa·yongs·su·rdzogs·par·byed·do;	5
[des·de·dag·la·spyod·cing·]rnam·pa·thams·cad·mkhyen·pa·nyid·kyi·ye·shes·ma·thob·kyi·bar·du'bras·bu·bar·ma·dor·thob·par·mi·byed·de _ ting·nge'dz·in·gyi·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa'di·la·gnas·shing·mngon·bar·shes·pa·rnams·yongs·su	6
[rdzogs·par·byas·nas]_di' ⁵ sangs·rgyas·bcom·ldan'das·rnams·la·bsnyen·bkur·byed·cing· _sangs·rgyas·kyi·zhi>ng·nas·sangs·rgyas·kyi·zhing·du'gro·ste _sangs·rgyas' ⁶ bcom·ldan'das·de·dag·la·bsnyen·bkur·byed·do	7
[sangs·rgyas·bcom·ldan]'das·de·dag·la·yang·dge·ba'i·rtsa·ba·gang·gis·sangs·rgyas·kyi·zhI>ng·yongs·su·dag·par'gyur·ba·dang· _sems·can·rnams·yongs·su·smin·par'gyur·ba'i·dge·ba'i·rtsa·ba·bskyed' ⁷ pa' ⁸ byed·de __	8

Notes: ⁴ YP: pa'i; ⁵ —; ⁶ DLNCUZh: —; ⁷ YPZh: skyed; ⁸ par.

19

Vol. Nga, f. 235; IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 14

See fig. 19 (A, B). Cf. Dpe bsdur ma, vol. 28: 681⁽¹⁾–683⁽⁵⁾

Recto

Marg.: nga__nyi·brgya·_so·Inga·

@# ___ phyi'n·pa·la·spyod·pa'i·tshe _sangs·rgyas·kyi·zhing·yongs·su·dag·par·byed·de de·nam·bsam ¹ ·ba·de·dag·thams·cad·yongs·su·rdzogs·par·ma·gyur·gyi·bar·du·bla·na·med·pa·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i·byang·chub·tu·mngon·bar·rdzogs	1
par·'tshang·mi·rgya·ste _de·bdag·nyi·d·kyang·dge·ba'i·rtsa·ba·thams·cad·dang·ldan·ba·yin _sems·can·de·dag·thams·cad·kyang·dge·ba'i·rtsa·ba·dang·ldan·bar·byed·pa·yi·n·te _de·bdag·nyi·d·kyi·lus·kyang·mdzes·pa·yi·n sems·can·gang·byang·	2
chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·des·yongs·su·smi·n·par·byas·ba·de·dag·kyang·'di·lta·ste _bsod·nams·kyis·yongs·su·bzung·ba'i·phyir gzugs·bzang·zhi·ng·mdzes·la·yi·d·du·'ong·ba'i·gzugs·___mngon·bar·'grub	3
ste _rab·'byor·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po·ni _sangs·rgyas·kyi·zhi·ng·de·ltar·yongs·su·dag·par·byed·de ci·nas·kyang·ngan·song·gsum·du·gdags·pa'i·mi·ng·yang·mi·srid·pa·dang· _lta·ba'i·rnam·par·gdags·pa'i_	4
mi·ng·yang·mi·sri·d·pa·dang· 'dod·chags·dang· zhe·sdang·dang· _gti·mug+du·gdags·pa'i·ming@yang·mi·sri·d·pa·dang· _bud·med·dang· skyes·par·_@gdags·pa'i·mi·ng·yang·mi·sri·d·pa·dang· _theg·pa·gnyis·su·gdags·pa'i	5
mi·ng·yang·mi·srid·pa·dang· mi·rtag·pa·dang· sdug·bsngal·ba·dang· bdag·med·par·gdags·pa'i·mi·ng·yang·mi·srid·pa·dang· _yongs·su·'dzin·par·gdags·pa'i·mi·ng·yang·mi·sri·d·pa·dang· bdag·dang·bdag·gir·bya·bar·gdags	6
pa'i·mi·ng·yang·mi·sri·d·pa·dang· _bag·la·nyal·ba ² ·dang· ___kun·nas·ldang·bar·gdags·pa'i·mi·ng·yang·mi·srid·pa·dang· _phyi·n·ci·log·du·gdags·pa'i·ming·yang·mi·sri·d·pa·dang· _'bras·bur·gdags·pa'i·mi·ng·yang·mi·sri·d·ci·ng	7
gzhan·du·na·sems·can·de·dag·'dod·pa·bzhin·du·shi·ng·rlung·gis·btab·pa·'am phyi·nang·gi·dngos·po·dag·las·'di·lta·ste stong·pa·nyi·d·kyi·sgra·dang· mtshan·ma·med·pa'i·sgra·dang· smon·pa·med·pa'i·sgra·dang· mi·skye·mi·'gag·pa'i·sgra	8

Notes: ¹ bsams; ² YLPNCZh: —.

Verso

dang;_chos·thams·cad·ngo·bo·nyi·d·med·pa'i·sgra·dang· chos·thams·cad·chos·thams·cad·kyis·stong·ba'i·sgra·'byung·ba·dang·chos·de·dag·gi·ngo·bo·nyi·d·ji·lta·ba·bzhin·du·ngo·bo·nyi·d·med·pa'i·sgra·dang· de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·rnams·byung·yang·	1
rung; de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·rnams·ma·byung·yang·rung·ste _	2

chos·thams·cad·chos·thams·cad·kyis·stong·ngo· _ gang·stong· ba·de·la·ni·mtshan·ma·med·do _ gang·la·mtshan·ma·med·pa· de·la·ni·smon·pa·med·do·zhes·bya·bar·chos·bstan·pa'i·	
sgra·nyi·n·mtshan·rgyun·mi·chad. ³ par·'gro·yang·rung· _ 'dug· kyang·rung· sdod·kyang·rung· nyal·yang·rung·ste _ rtag·tu· 'byung·bar·'gyur·ba·de·lta·bur·sangs·rgyas·kyi·zhi·ng·yongs·su· <i>sbyong·ngo</i> . ⁴ _ de·lta·bu'i·sangs·rgyas·kyi·zhi·ng·der·bla·na	3
med·pa·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i·byang·chub·tu·mngon·bar· rdzogs·par·sangs·rgyas·nas·kyang· ___ de·bzhin·gshegs·pa· dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i·sangs·rgyas·de·la· phyogs·bcu'i·'jig·rten·gyi·kham·s	4
dag·na sangs·rgyas·bcom·ldan·'das·gang·ji·snyed·cig·bzhus· pa·de·dag·thams·cad· _ @legs·par·rjod. ⁵ par·'gyur·te sems·can· gang· @gis·de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·de'i·mtshan·thos·pa·de· ⁶ thams· cad·kyang·	5
bla·na·med·pa·yang·dag·par·rdzogs·pa'i·byang·chub·tu·nges· par·'gyur·te _ de·bzhin·gshegs·pa·dgra·bcom·ba·yang·dag·par· rdzogs·pa'i·sangs·rgyas·des·chos·bstan·na _ sems·can·gang· yang·'di·ni·chos·so _	6
'di·ni·chos·ma·yin·zhes·bya·bar·the·tsom·za·bar·mi·'gyur·ro _ de·ci'i·phyir·zhe·na _ de·ni·'di·ltar·chos·rnams·kyi·chos·nyi·d· gang·yi·n·ba·de·la·ni·chos·ma·yin·ba·gang·yang·med·de ⁷ ⁸ thams·cad·kyang·chos·so de·la·sem·s	7
can·gang·mi·dge·ba'i·rtsa·bas·non·ba·dang· sangs·rgyas·sam sangs·rgyas·kyi·nyan·thos·rnams·la·dge·ba'i·rtsa·ba·ma·bskyed· pa mi·dge·ba'i·bshes·gnyen·gyi·s·yong·su·zin·pa bdag·tu· lta·ba·r·bying·ba·na·s·lta·ba·'a·i·rnam·pa·thams·cad·kyi·bar·du· bying·ba rtag·pa	8















Notes: ³ 'chad; ⁴ LCNZh: spyod de; ⁵ brjod; ⁶ YP: +dag; ⁷ LCDU: do; ⁸ +chos.

Appendix II.

The six Mongolian folios from MS.1 preserved at the Glasgow University Library

The fragments are identified with relevant places in the later canonical Derge edition (D), thanks to the search tool available at the web site of the Buddhist Digital Research Center (BDRC). The following symbols are used for editorial marks: <...> – glosses and interpolations, {...} – crossed out words and graphemes, (=...) – possible readings, / – lines. Punctuation mark ཨ is rendered as @. The sign © renders a decorative circle.

The following symbols are used to transcribe the Galik letters:

'a		c'		d'		j'		p	
ā		c''		d''		e		p'	
h		g'		e, on the left side on the grapheme			ȳ, with diacritics		

'Golden' folios

1.1. PL 61, f. 3

See fig. 20 (A, B).

Volume marker: Tib. ka, Mong. dandir-a. *Foliation:* 309 (γurban ʒayun yisün).

Skt. Hevajradākiṅjālasamvaratantrarāja, Tib. Kye'i rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma dra ba'i sdom pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po, Mong. Qi včir-a neretü dandaris-un qaγan.⁶⁵

For collation: BK: dandir-a, ka, 307a–307b D: rGyud 'bum, nga, 26b⁽³⁾–27a⁽⁷⁾.

Recto

soroju bür-ün:: sidün-iyer door-a-tu urul-i ʒayūju :	1
suyu-ki kimusun-bar yara γarγayad : tegsi barilduqui ʒirγalang-i	2
amsaju bür-ün : tabun mudur-i sayitur ilyaqui :: lam-a bayisi	3
küsegsen burčqan-tur : mörgöküi-yin tulada kürdün-i bariyu :	4
včir bariγči lam-a-tur : mayusiyayauki üges-i ülü sonosqu	5
-yin tulada : čikin-tür inu süike ʒegüyü :: tarni uriqüi küjü-	6
gün-ü čimeg kü : bayayubči(=bayubči) amitan-i alaqui	7
tebčiküi : mudur	
dulduyidqui büselegür kü: tabun burqad-un mudur-iyar kü :	8
nasuda beyeben tamaγ-a-⊙laydaqui :: tendeče masida	9
inigejü bür-ün : sidün-iyer door-a-tu urul-i siqaju :	10

⁶⁵ Cf. Kasyanenko 1993: No. 9; Ligeti 1942–1944: No. 9; Hackett 2012 No. 440b. In the majority of Tibetan Kangyurs, this text is incorporated into Hevajratantrarājanāma (Tib. Kye'i rdo rje zhes bya ba rgyud kyi rgyal po). As a separate text it is only included in the Derge, Litang, and Ragya editions, the Tokio manuscript Kangyur, and the manuscript Kangyurs found in Bhutan. In the Mongolian Ganjurs (both the St. Petersburg manuscript and the Beijing block printed editions) it is a part of Qi včir-a neretü dandaris-un qaγan.

qi včir-a kemegdekü : qamtu törögsen-i öngge bey-e-tu : :	11
tegün-tür tere ökin tngri öčir-ün : erkin-e ali jang üiles	12
-iyer kiged : tegünčilen ali üiledküi-ber : qi včir-a-yin	13
körög bey-e egüdküi : yeke jiryalang-tu-a nomlatuyai ::	14
ilažu tegüs nöğčigsen jarliγ bolur-un : ende jiruγči	15
tangyariγ-tu boluyad : bütügegči ber tangyariγ-tu	16
boluysad : ayuqu metü körög bey-e-yi jiruγdaqui büged	17
buyu : eres-ün gabala-tur aγči tabun öngges-i :: üküdelün	18
üsün-ü biir-iyer büged : degedü körög bey-e-yi jiruγ-	19
daqui: ali ba utasun-i ☉ tamuqui kiged : ali ba	20
bü{ya}küli büs-i nekegči ber :: tere basa mayad tangyariγ-tu	21
-yin tula: tangyariγ-tur adistid oroyulqui bisiayal(=bisilyal)-	22
ača ::	
saras saras-un qayučin-u: arban <dörben>-tür aylay gerte ::	23
odču doysin	
sedkil-iyer : ariki üçügüken uuyuyusan-ača : bey-e-tür nirang	24
su-yi sedkiŋü : tegünčilen ničügün boluysan-iyar ber :: budu-	25
laqui kiged ariluγ-a edüi ber : tendeče tangyariγ-i sayitur	26
idegedeküi: duriγun čarai-dai nigülesküi sedkil-dei:	27
bey-e bilder ider nasutai sayin qubitai :: čečeg-tü	28
boluyad bütügegčün-tür bayasuyči: öber-ün mudur-i	29

Verso

jegün eteged-tür ayuluγdaqui :: qi včir-a-ača körög	1
bey-e-yin jang üiles-ün jiryudayar bölög bolai : : ::	2
tendeče tegün-e ökin tngri öčir-ün : bola kakola-yi barildu-	3
γulju bür-ün : sidün-iyer door-a-tu urul-i siqaju : gelmeli	4
ber yambar bolumui :: včir linqu-a-yi tegsi barilduγulju	5
bayasqulang-iyar burqan-a sayitur negegdegsen : gelmeli-yi	6
nomlasuyai bi : yeke qubitai ökin tngri sonos :: yeke bal	7
-iyar beke egüdčü bür-ün : kümün-ü yasun üsüg-iyer : arban	8
qoyar imuγu(=imaγu)-yin činegetü gelmeli : üsün-tür	9
tangyariγ-dan	
bičigdeküi :: gelmeli kiged ☉ köröglegsens bey-e-yi büged :	10
ker ba qubi ügegüde üjebesü ele : ene töröl-tür sidi	11
ügei boluyad : qoyitu yirtinčü-tür yabuγdaqui oron	12
ügei :: üneger sayitur ögküi tegüsügsed-de : nigen nigen	13
-degen-e uqayuldaqui büged buyu : gelmeli-yi mör-ün visai-tur	14
üsün kiged suγun-tayan kü niyuγdaqui :: бага-tur lingga-yi	15
sayitur orosiγulju bür-ün : basa basa nočoyad : yeke	16
jiryalang-i tegsi amsaju : včir-tu büged idegen-i üjügül-	17
deküi:: čiyulyan-u sayin mandal-i büged : sonostuyai delger	18

nidütei ökin tngri-e : qamiγ-a endebesü(=idebesü) kereglegsen udq-a	19
bügüde : bütügeküi-tür ile-☉te bütükü boluyu : ükeger	20
tü aγula-yin amur-a kiged : tegünçilen kümün ügei balγasun	21
-tur ba : ese bügesü aγlay-tur ba dalai-yin kiγaγar-a : ene	22
idegen-i sayitur idegdeküi :: tegün-tür oron-i onoqui	23
kemebesü : yasun üküdelün düri-tü kiged : ese bügesü bars	24
-un arasun-luγ-a ükeger-ün büs inu tegünçilen bolai :: dumda	25
qi vçir-a-yin öngge bey-e : yambar uridu yosuγar aγsan-i	26
medejübür-ün : jüg kiged jüg-eçe qaγaçaγsad-tur ber :	27
tende yoganis-i jokiyaγdaqui :: tangγariγ mala tindanan-i : bars-un	28
arasun deger-e idegdeküi : kiçiyejü qaγan-u tuturγ-a-yin	29

1.2. PL 61, f. 2

See fig. 21 (A, B).

Volume marker: Tib. ka, Mong. yüm. *Foliation:* 316 (+++ arban jiryuyan).

Skt. Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā, Tib. Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa, Mong. Bilig-ün çinadu kürügsen jaγun mingγan toγ-a-tu.⁶⁶

For collation: BK: yüm, ka, 375a–376a; D: ‘bum, ka, 333a⁽⁷⁾–334a⁽⁵⁾.

Recto

burqan : nadur sereküi-yin nemeküi ba : daki baγuraqui anu	1
es-e sedkigdebei : üneger dayan ese üjegdebei : ilaju tegüs	2
nögçigsen burqan : tere metü nadur serekü-yin nemeküi ba	3
daki baγuraqui anu es-e sedkigdeged : üneger dayan	4
es-e üjegdebesü ele : bodisung kemen <ken-i> ne{yi}reyidümü : ilaju	5
tegüs nögçigsen burqan : serekü-yin tere ner-e ber orosiqui	6
ügei muqurdaqui ügei : adistidlaydaqui ügei buyu:	7
tere yaγun-u tula kemebesü : tere ner-e anu ügei	8
büged : tegüber tere ☉ ner-e anu orosiqui	9
ügei muqurdaqui ügei adistidlaydaqui ügei	10
bolai : ilaju tegüs nögçigsen burqan : nadur sedkikü	11
-yin nemeküi ba : daki baγuraqui anu es-e sedkigdebei :	12
üneger dayan es-e üjegdebei : ilaju tegüs nögçigsen	13
burqan tere metü : nadur sedkikü-yin nemeküi ba :	14
daki baγuraqui anu es-e sedkigdeged : üneger dayan	15
es-e üjegdebesü ele : bodisung kemen ken-i nereyidümü :	16

⁶⁶ Cf. Kasyanenko 1993: No. 524; Ligeti 1942–1944: No. 746; Hackett 2012: No. 25.

ilaŋu tegüs nögčigsen burqan sedkikü-yin tere ner-e	17
ber orosiqui ügei : muqurdaqui ügei: adistid-	18
laydaqui ügei buyu : tere yayun-u tula kemebesü :	19
tere ner-e anu ügei ☉ büged : tegüber tere	20
ner-e anu orosiqui ügei : muqurdaqui	21
ügei : adistidlaydaqui ügei bolai : ilaŋu tegüs	22
nögčigsen burqan nadur üiledkü-yin nemeküi ba : daki	23
bayuraqui anu es-e sedkigdebei : üneger dayan	24
es-e üjegdebei : ilaŋu tegüs nögčigsen burqan	25
tere metü nadur üiledkü-yin nemeküi ba : daki	26
bayuraqui anu es-e sedkigdeged : üneger dayan	27
es-e üjegdebesü ele : bodisung kemen ken-i ner-e-i-	28
dümü : ilaŋu tegüs nögčigsen burqan üiledkü-yin	29

Verso

tere ner-e ber orosiqui ügei : muqurdaqui	1
ügei : adistidlaydaqui ügei buyu : tere yayun-u	2
tula kemebesü : tere ner-e anu ügei büged : tegü-ber	3
tere ner-e anu orosiqui ügei muqurdaqui ügei	4
adistidlaydaqui ügei bolai : ilaŋu tegüs nögčigsen	5
burqan : nadur medekü-yin nemeküi ba : daki bayuraqui	6
inu es-e sedkigdebei : üneger dayan es-e	7
üjegdebei : ilaŋu tegüs nögčigsen burqan :	8
tere metü nadur ☉ medekü-yin nemeküi ba :	9
daki bayuraqui anu es-e sedkigdeged :	10
üneger dayan es-e üjegdebesü ele : bodisung kemen	11
ken-i nereyidümü : ilaŋu tegüs nögčigsen burqan	12
medekü-yin tere ner-e ber orosiqui ügei muqur-	13
daqui ügei adistidlaydaqui ügei buyu : tere	14
yayun-u tula kemebesü : tere ner-e anu ügei büged :	15
tegüber tere ner-e anu orosiqui ügei muqurdaqui	16
ügei adistidlaydaqui ügei bolai : ilaŋu tegüs	17
nögčigsen burqan : nadur nidün-ü nemeküi ba :	18
daki bayuraqui anu es-e sedkigdebei : üneger	19
dayan es-e üjegdebei : ilaŋu tegüs nögčigsen	20
burqan tere metü ☉ nadur nidün-ü nemeküi	21
ba : daki {č} bayuraqui anu es-e sedkigdeged :	22
üneger dayan es-e üjegdebesü ele : bodisung	23
kemen ken-i nereyidümü : ilaŋu tegüs nögčigsen burqan	24
nidün-ü tere ner-e {anu} ber orosiqui ügei	25
muqurdaqui ügei adistidlaydaqui ügei buyu :	26
tere yayun-u tula kemebesü : tere ner-e anu ügei	27

büged : tegüber tere ner-e anu orosiqui ügei :	28
muqurdaqui ügei : adistidlaydaqui ügei bolai :	29
ilajū tegūs nögčigsen burqan nadur čikin-ü	30

1.3. PL 61, f. 4

See fig. 22 (A, B).

Volume marker: Tib. ka, Mong. vinai. *Foliation:* 53 (tabin γurban).

Skt. Vinayavastu, Tib. 'Dul ba gzhi, Mong. Nomoyadqaqui sitügen.⁶⁷

For collation: BK: dulba, ka, 59a–60b; D: 'dul ba, ka, 42b⁽⁵⁾–44a⁽⁶⁾.

Recto

tuγurbibai: öber-e öber-e arad ke[meb]esü [ridi] qubilγan	1
-tur türgen-e sedkil qatangγadqaju üiledküi-yin tula :	2
tere qan köbegün modun-u ündüsün-i tasulqui yosuγar tere	3
bratikabud-un qoyar köl-tür aγuljaγu ügüler-ün: qutuγ	4
-tu-a čī erdem-ün čiyulγan-i olbaγu : olbai tere sedkirün :	5
ene qutuγ-tu ali bükü erdem-ün čiyulγan tede bügüde	6
nadur sitüjü oluγsan bügesü: qutuγ-tu ene büged	7
urida mayad γarqui <ese> oluγsan ali bükü tere kemebesü :	8
tere	
metü ger-tü <törögsen> bügetele : bi mayad γarqui ese	9
oluγsan ali	
bükü tere kemebesü: ene ☉ metü ger-tü törögsen	10
bolai kemen sedkiged : tere bratikabud-un qoyar köl-tür	11
mörgöjü	
bür-ün eyin kemen irügebei : ene buyan-u ündüsün-iyer bi	12
büged :	
asuru bayalig-ud-un ger kiged : yadaγan ügegün-ü ger-tür ülü	13
törön : duli-tu <ger-de> ülü törökü boluγad : nasuda ger-	14
dečegen	
γaruyčīn olan bolqu boltuγai : kemen qutuγ γuyubai : ayaγ-	15
qa tegimlig-üd tegün-tür tere čaγ tere učir-taki ali bükü	16
tere qan köbegün kemebesü : toyin saributari büged bolai : tere	17
bradikabud-dur takil üiledüged : irüger irügegsen ali bükü	18
tere üile-yin ači üre☉-ber edüge ülemji bayaliγ-ud	19
-tur ülü törön : ügegün yadaγan-tur ber ülü töröged :	20
duli-tu ger-tür töröjü mayad γaruyčīn olan bolbai : ayaγ-	21
qa tegimlig-üd-e tere metü nigen qara üile-yin ači ür-e	22
bolburi inu γaγča kü qara boluγad : nigen čaγan üile-yin	23
bolburi ači ür-e inu γaγča kü čaγan bolai : eldeb	24
qoličangγui üile-yin ači ür-e inu eldeb qoličangγui	25

⁶⁷ Cf. Kasyanenko 1993: No. 599; Ligeti 1942-1944: No. 1125; Hackett 2012: No. 1.

bolumui : ayaγ-qa tegimlig tegüber nigen qara üile kiged	26
eldeb qoličangyui-yi tebčijü : nigen jüil čayan üiles-i	27
eriged tuγurbin üileddeküi : ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd-e	28

Verso

da(=ta) tere metü surulčan üileddeküi : basa ayaγ-qa	1
tegmilig sayaral sesig-i törögüljü : qamuγ sayaral sesig-üd<-i>	2
oytalqu-yin tula : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan-tur	3
öčir-ün : toyin-a nasun-a tegülder saributari üiles-i	4
ker ele üiledcü : tere üile-yin bolburi ači ür-e-yi	5
-ber : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan yeke bilig-luγ-a	6
tegüsügsen : yeke sambaγ-a bilig-den-ü degedü kemen	7
üjügülbei : ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan jarliγ	8
bolur-un : tere kemebesü irüger-ün erke bolai : ken-eče	9
qutuγ γuyubai : kemebesü ☉ ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd-e	10
erte urida boluγsan <badir-a> ene galab-tur amitan qoyar tümen	11
nasulaqui čaγ-tur : üjügülügči tegünčilen iregsen	12
dayin-i daruγsan ünen tegüs tuγuluγsan burqan uqaγan	13
kiged köl tegülder sayibar oduγsan : yirtinčü-yi medegči :	14
törölkiten-i nomoyadqan jiluyaduγči : tengsel ügei	15
tngrü kümün-ü baysi ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen kasib neretü	16
burqan yirtinčü-tür töröbei : tere varanš-a balγasun	17
-taki ügüleğči görögetü oi-tur aγči arsi dulduyid-	18
ču saγubai : tegün-ü sasin-tur ene mayad γaruγad :	19
ali ayaγ-qa tegimlig tere ☉ m[a]γad γaruγad tere	20
toyin tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i daruγsan üneger tuγuluγsan	21
kasib burqan yeke bilig-luγ-a tegüsügsen : yeke sambaγ-a	22
-luγ-a tegüsügsed-ün degedü kemen üjügülbei : tede ende	23
büged kejiy-e esen aqatala ariγun yabudal-iyar yabuba-	24
su ber : erdem-ün čiyulγan-i nigekeken ču ber ese oluγad :	25
tegün-ü qoyina üküküi čaγ-tur eyin kemen qutuγ γuyubai :	26
bida-bar ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen tegünčilen iregsen dayin-i	27
daruγsan ünen tegüs tuγuluγsan erdem-ün oron tengsel ügei	28

'Black' folios**2.1. PL 61, f. 5**

See fig. 23 (A, B).

Volume marker: Tib. ga. *Foliation:* 174 (jaγun dalan dörben).

Two texts are represented:

i. (ending: verso, line 18) Skt. Āryabuddhabalavardhānapratihārya-vikurvāṇanirdeśanāmamahāyānasūtra, Tib. 'Phags pa sangs rgyas kyi stobs skyed pa'i cho 'phrul rnam par 'phrul pa bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, Mong. Qutuγ-tu burqan-u küčün egüskeküi ridi qubilγan-i teyin büged qubilγaju üjügülküi neretü yeke kölgen sudur.⁶⁸

For collation: BK: eldeb, c''a, 205b–206a; D: mdo sde, tsa, 156b⁽¹⁾–158a⁽³⁾.

After the end of the first text, three lines are used for the Refuge.

ii. (beginning: verso, line 21) Skt. Āryaśrīguptanāmasūtra, Tib. 'Phags pa dpal sbas zhes bya ba'i mdo, Mong. Qutuγ-tu šri gubta neretü sudur.⁶⁹

For collation: BK: eldeb, dza, 348b; D: mdo sde, tsha 269a⁽¹⁾–269a⁽²⁾.

Recto

@ jirγalang-tu töröl-tür odqu boluyu :: ai ija-	1
γur-dan-u köbegün-e tere metü bey-e kiged kelen	2
sedkil-ün aman aldayсан : surtaqun-i bariqui üneger	3
abqui boluyad : erdem kiged eng olan buyan-u ün-	4
düsün : tegüskü bügesü : köbegüd tegüni ülü	5
medemüi : tendeče tere čaγ-tur oγtarγui-ača	6
yeke dayun γarqu boluyad : tedeger qamuγ nököd :	7
γayiqamsiy : γayiqamsiy kemen sañaqui yeke dayun γarγaju	8
bür-ün : čečeg kiged : yeke ünür-den quran-i oro-	9
γulbai : lags ⁷⁰ bürin amitan-nuγud-i qamuγ jobalang	10
-ača getülkü bolju : deger-e ügei üneger tuγuluγsan	11
bodi qutuγ-un qarin ülü ničuqui-yin oron-tur	12
jokiyabai : busu ber költi amitan-nuγud burqan	13
kiged : nom bursang quvaray-ud-tur itegel {yabu}	14
<yabu>γulqui boluyad : adičid ⁷¹ sedkil egüskejü : tede-	15
ger qamuγ tegünčilen iregsen ülü üjegdekü bolbai :	16
tendeče včir-a bani bodisung terigüten : včir	17
bariγči bügüdeger : qormusta kiged : esru-a :	18
yirtinčü-yi sakigči dörben maqaraaja : ilaju tegüs	19
nögčigsen-tür eyin kemen jalbarin öčibei : tegünčilen	20
iregsen ba bür-ün amuγulqui buyu : ba bür-ün	21
ene nom-un jüil kiged : tedeger tegünčilen iregsen-ü	22
ner-e-yi sonosuγad : ilaju tegüs nögčigsen-ü	23

⁶⁸ Cf. Kasyanenko 1993: No. 657, Ligeti 1942-1944: No. 942; Hackett 2012: No. 204.

⁶⁹ Another translation of the text was included in BK. Cf. Kasyanenko 1993: No. 658; Ligeti 1942-1944: No. 974; Hackett 2012: 235.

⁷⁰ D: 'bum; BK: 'abum.

⁷¹ BK: angqan.

nomlaysan nom-i : bariqui kiged : bičiküi : nege-	24
küi : bariqui : delgereküi kiged : tedeger-ün	25
oron : qotun ba : süm-e ger-nuyud ba bür-ün	26
bey-e kiged : amiban ürejšü sakın üiledsügei ::	27
oγoγata sakisuγai : qamuγ tusa-yi bütügen	28
üiledsügei : ed kiged : üres-i ber sayitur bütü-	29
gen üiledsügei : qotola <takil> bolγan üiledsügei :	30

Verso

qamuγ ebedčün-eče toniγan üiledsügei : durad-	1
qui kiged: küčün daγalayaγad-i öggün üiled-	2
sügei : tendeče ilaју tegüs nögčigsen tedeger-tür	3
sayin kemen ögčü : eyin kemen jarliγ bolbai :	4
ker ken ber tegünčilen iregsen ene nom-un tangγariγ	5
-un jüil-i darui deger-e ečülküi ülü bolqu tere	6
metü-yi čü üileddeküi : ilaју tegüs nögčigsen teyin	7
kemen jarliγ boluγsan-tur : ariy-a avalokiti is-	8
vari kiged : včir-a bani terigüten : tedeger :	9
qamuγ bodisung maqasung kiged: siravag-nuyud	10
kiged : qamuγ nököd bügüdeger : tngri kümün	11
asuri : gandari-nar-luγ-a nigen-e yirtinčü-tekın	12
jšobsiyan bayasču : ilaју tegüs nögčigsen burqan	13
jarliγ-i ilete maytabai : qutuγ-tu burqan-u	14
küčün egüskeküi bridi qubilγan-i teyin büged	15
qubilγan üjügülküi neretü yeke kölgen sudur	16
tegüsbei :: :: mongγol-un kelen-tür toyin	17
samrub orčiγulbai : samadan sengge nayirayulba<i> ::	18
namo buddhāy-a :: ::	19
namo dharmāy-a :: ::	20
namo sanggāhy-a :: ::	21
enedkeg-ün keleber : ariy-a siri gubta nām-a	22
sudur-a :: töbed-ün keleber : 'ap'ag'sba d'bal	23
sbas z'es byau-a-yi mdo : mongγol-un keleber :	24
qutuγ-tu čoy-tu niyuča neretü sudur : qamuγ	25
burqan bodisung-nar-tur mörgömü : eyin kemen minu	26
sonosuγsan nigen čay-tur : ilaју tegüs nögčigsen	27
burqan rajšagirq-a balyasun-u : gadarigud ayulan-tur :	28
mingγan qoyar jaγun tabin ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd	29
yekes quvaray-ud-luγ-a nigen-e saγun bülüge :	30
toyin : šimananča ubasi : ubasanča-nuyud :	31

2.2–3. PL 61, ff. 6–7

See fig. 24 (A, B), 25 (A, B).

Volume marker: Tib. dza, Mong. j'a, olan sudur.

Foliation: 252 (qoyar jaγun tabin qoyar); 253 (qoyar jaγun tabin γurban).

'Working foliation' (see p. 107, 185–186, 189): 27 (qorin doloyan), 28 (qorin naiman).

Skt. Tathāgatasāṅgītināmamahāyānasūtra, Tib. De bzhin gshegs pa bgro ba zhes bya ba'i mdo, Mong. Tegünčilen iregsen-i ügüleküi neretü yeke kölgen sudur.⁷²

For collation: BK: wa, eldeb, 373a–375b; D: mdo sde, dza, 264a⁽⁷⁾–265b⁽⁷⁾.

F. 252. Recto

@ minu nomlaysan sudur : egün-ü uduriγulasun-i alimad abubasu :	1
tedeger burqan-u bodi qutuγ-un siltayan : bi bui kemebesü seǰig	2
ügei : alimad qoyitu čaγ-un učir-tur : kümün-nügüd-ün	3
yosun-i tere üjemüi :: qoyitu čaγ-un učir-tur ayay-qa	4
teǰimlig-üd : burqan-u üile-yi üiledkü boluyad : minu	5
nomlaysan-i ügülegčid : ked ba egün-i sedkikü bolumui :	6
ananda-a tegün-ü tulada tegün-tür : ene metü sudur-nuyud-i	7
bi ögsügei : burqan-u nomlaysan-i ügülegčid : ali yaǰar-un	8
ǰüg-tür egün-i nomlabasu :: tedeger yaǰar-un ǰüg-tür :	9
tere čaγ-tur yagša öngge boliyčün : amitan-nuyud-un öngges-i	10
ülü boliyayad : üǰegsen sonosuγsan tere metü mededkün ::	11
alimad qoor-a-tan-luy-a nigen-e bey-e-ten : orod-un	12
ǰüg-tür ögčü ilegegdekü buyu : tende tedeger qoor-a	13
ügegü-e : bolqu inu seǰig ügei :: burqan-u nomlaysan-i	14
ügülegčid : ene sudur-i qamiγ-a nomlabasu : ananda-a tere	15
yaǰar-un ǰüg bügüde-tür : takil-un sitügen bolqu : kemen	16
mededkün :: erten-ü itegel nöǰčigsen {kü} busu : alimad yirtinčü-	17
yi geyigülügčid : ene yaǰar-un ǰüg-tür : ene sudur-i	18
sayitur nomlaǰu : γasalang-a ayuyuluyad amitan-a : edüged-	19
tür tuγuluγsan burqan bi ber : ene yaǰar-un ǰüg-üd-tür :	20
degedü sudur nomlasuyai :: yirtinčü-yin itegel sedkisi	21
ügei : tuγuluγsan burqan asaral-iyar ⁷³ ber : ene yaǰar-un	22
ǰüg-üd-tür : ene sudur-i olyaqu bolumui :: olan-i	23

⁷² Cf. Kasyanenko 1993: No. 747; Ligeti 1942–1944: No. 986; Hackett 2012: 247.

⁷³ BK: mayitri.

sonosuγsan ene asaral-iyar : ene sudur-i üjügül-ün üiledbesü :	24
nayan ayud bürin toγatan : bodi qutuγ-tur ber viyangirid	25
ügegü (=öğkü) bolumui :: bi alin-i oγoyata bolbasun bolγaγu :	26
γayiqamsiγ sigemuni burqan kemen :: tere nigen gsan-tur minu	27
ner-e-yi : tuγuluγsan burqan kemen ügülekü bolumui :: öber-i	28
öber-i asaraqui-aça : toγolasi ügei költi amitan-a :	29
minu ner-e-yi sonosγaγu bür-ün : degedü bodi qutuγ-	30

F. 252. Verso

tur irügen üiledbesü :: tegün-i nigen {ki} gsan-tur burqan	1
kiged : tegünçilen iregsed asaraqui ber : müsiyen ineyikü	2
boluγad : tere kemebesü sedkisi ügei bradi(=ridi) qubily-a-	3
tu :: qoyitu çay-tur ali jarim-ud : edeger-un yosun-i	4
erin üiledbesü : anand-a tere kemebesü tere çay-tur :	5
mayidari-luγ-a ayuljaqu viyangirid ögdeyü : sakyalig-	6
ud-un arslan tegün-iyer : ene sudur-i nomlayad mön deger-e :	7
nayan mingyan toγatan ali amitan : bodi qutuγ-tur ilete	8
orobai :: tendече ilaju tegüs nöğçigsen amin qabiy-a-tu	9
ananda-tur jarliy bolur-un : ananda-a ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd	10
dörben nom-i-luγ-a tegüsbesü burqan-u bodi qutuγ tebçin	11
üiledkü buyu :: dörben ali bui kemebesü : ananda-a egün-tür	12
ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd ülemji omoγ-dan buyu ülemji omoγ-	13
dan tegüber ülemji omoγ ügei nom {sedkiñü} <sonosçu> :	14
ayuγad	
emiyeküi ülemji emiyekü boluyu : yeke ergi ur-a-tur ber	15
unaqu boluyu : tegüber iruγar-i çaylasi ügei ber	16
tebçin üiledüged adali busu-yi qamuγ-aça ügüleged	17
kilinglen üiledümüi : ananda-a busu ber tere ayaγ-qa	18
tegmilig kemebesü bi kemen ilete sinuγad jabsar-i	19
barilduyulqu bui : ananda-a ene üy-e qoyar nom-luγ-a	20
tegüsügse ayaγ-qa tegimlig kemebesü burqan-u bodi qutuγ-i	21
tebçin üiledüged : ali busu ügüleged qamuγ-aça kilinglen	22
üiledümüi : ananda-a busu ber aljijas sayšabad-tu	23
ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd jang üile-tür buruγu-a oroγsan	24
buyu : tere aljiaγ sayšabad-luγ-a tegüsügse{n}<d> sayšabad-	25
dan-i	
ügüleküi sonosbasu mitaγu bolumui :: ananda-a {ayaγ-qa	26
tegmilig}	
γurban-luγ-a tegüsügse ayaγ-qa tegimlig kemebesü burqan-u	27
bodi qutuγ-i tebçin üiledüged qamuγ-aça adali busu	28
ügüleged kilinglen üiledümüi : ananda-a busu ber joriqui	29

F. 253. Recto

@ üjel- <u>d</u> en ayaγ-qa tegimlig bi kemen ügülekü bui : tegüber	1
qoyosun-u çinar-i ügüleküi-i sonosbasu taçiyaqui ügei- <u>tür</u>	2
ayuyad emiyeküi ülemji emiyeküi bolumui : ananda-a edeger	3
dörben nom-luγ-a tegüsüksen ayaγ-qa tegimlig kemebesü : burqan-u	4
bodi qutuγ-i tebçin üiledüged qamuγ-aça adali busu	5
ügüleged kilinglen üiledümüi : ilaju tegüs nöğçigsen teyin kemen	6
jarliγ bolju : sayibar oduγsan teyin kemen nomlaju amui : busu	7
ber üjügülküi eyin kemen jarliγ bolbai :: ülemji omoy- <u>d</u> an	8
ayaγ-qa tegimlig : ese oluγsan-i olqui sedkigçin : toyin kemebesü	9
tendeçe minu uqaγuluγsan : gün narin nom-i- <u>i</u> tebçin üiledümüi ::	10
lokavadan-a qoliçaγsan : ayaγ-qa tegimlig-ün nom ügüleküi ali	11
bügesü : minu uqaγuluγsan gün narin sudur : egün <i>i</i> inu	12
asuru tebçin üiledümüi :: ali bi kemen ügülegçi ayaγ-qa	13
teyimlig-i : joriqui ⁷⁴ - <u>tür</u> sayitur orosiγsad : bi ügei	14
nom-ud-i sonosçu bürün : minu uqaγuluγsan-i tebçin	15
üiledümüi :: ali aljijas sayşabad-tu ayaγ-qa tegimlig-ün :	16
çibil-tü nom- <u>d</u> an sanvar busu-yin tula : kereg jaray çüke-tü nom-i sonosçu : minu uqaγuluγsan-i tebçin üiledümüi ::	17
ibegçi arslan sigimuni minu : uqaγuluγsan bilig :	18
aljijas-iyar : tebçijü bürün bey-e ebdereksen-ü qoyina :	19
maγu jayaγan<-nuγud>-tur törökü boluyu :: ananda-a dörben nom	20
-luγ-a tegüsüksen ayaγ-qa tegimlig tegünçilen iregßen sedkil	21
- <u>t</u> egen oroγuluγsan-iyar nom-i sonosbasu tayalaqui kiged	22
asuru tayalaqui : ayui yeke- <u>nuγud</u> -i sayitur olqu	23
boluyu : ananda-a egün- <u>tür</u> dörben ali bui kemebesü : ayaγ-qa tegimlig ülemji omoy ügei-tan bolai : lokavadan kiged :	24
es-e qoliçaγsan bolai : busud-tur nom-ud-i üjügülügçi	25
bolai : joriqui-luγ-a tegüsüksen busu bolai : bi kemen	26
ilete sinuγçi busu bolai : ene buyan-tu nom-dan-u	27
	28
	29

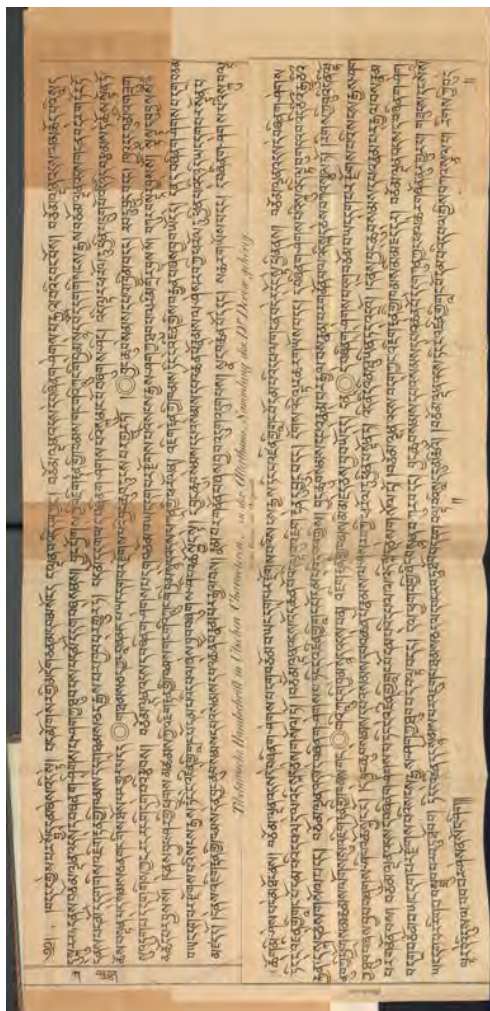
⁷⁴ BK: uriqui.

F. 253. Verso

{s} sayšabad-luγ-a tegüsügsen bolai : ananda-a edeger dörben	1
nom-luγ-a tegüsügsen ayay-qa {ti} tegimlig tegünçilen	2
iregsen sedkil-tegen orosiγsan edeger nom-ud-i	3
sonosbasu bayasqui kiged : asuru yeke bayasqulang-	4
ud-i sayitur olqu boluyu : ilaγu tegüs	5
nögçigsen teyin kemen jarliγ bolγu : sayibar oduγsan	6
teyin kemen nomlaγu amui : busu ber üjügülkü-yin	7
eyin kemen jarliγ bolbai :: ali omoγ ügei ayay-qa	8
teyimlig ünén nom-tur qutuγ orosiγsan tegüber :	9
gün narin nom-ud-i sonosbasu : ele : tegüber adalidqasi	10
ügei tayalal-i olumui : gün narin nom-un činar-i	11
sonosču bür-ün : ünén nom-tur qutuγ orosiγsan-iyar :	12
dooradus-a egün-i sayitur toγayayγu : lokavadan-i	13
dulduyiddun ülü üiledümüi :: bi ügei nom-ud-i	14
sonosču bür-ün : nigen-deki ödter mitaqu ülü	15
boluγad : übedegsi saran metü : tegün-ü bilig teyin büged	16
nememüi :: bi ügei nom-ud-i sonosču bür-ün : ali ba sesig bui	17
busu boluγad : übedegsi saran-i metü : tegün-ü belge bilig teyin	18
büged nememüi :: ilaγu tegüs nögçigsen teyin jarliγ boluγsan- tur tedeger	19
ayay-qa tegimlig kiged : tngri : kümün : asuri : gandari-luγ-a nigen-e	20
yirtinču-dekin bayasulčaγu : ilaγu tegüs nögçigsen-ü jarliγ-i ilete	21
medebeii :: :: tegünçilen iregsen-i ügüleküi neretü yeke kölgen	22
sudur tegüsbei :: :: enedkeg-ün ubadini injañ-a garba kiged :	23
kelemüči bandi {d'} d'bal g'yi ayalyus-iyar orčiγuluγad : yekede	24
nayirayuluγči kelemüči bandi d'bal brc'egs g'is nayirayuluγad	25
orosiγulbai :: :: monγol-un kelen-tür ananda güi-si : mergen ubasi qoyar	26
orčiγulbai : : mergen sečen ubasi bičibeii : asuru bertegčin oyutu	27
bükü-yin tulada : ali endel boluγsan-iyán degedüs-e namančilamui : ali nigen	28
tedüi tokiyalduγsan buyan-iyar : amitan-i bodi jirüken-tür	29
žorin irgesügeii :: ::	30

FIGURES⁷⁵

Fig. 1. Tib.: No. 1 — Ka: f. 16 (the Dorow folio)



⁷⁵ Digital copies are presented by courtesy of the IOM RAS, University of Glasgow Library Archives & Special Collections, the Bibliothèque nationale de France, the British Library. We thank Sabine Tolksdorf (Berlin State Library) for the high resolution photo of the folio published in Dorow 1820.

Fig. 2 (A, B). Tib.: No. 2 — [Ka]: f. ? (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 1)



Fig. 3 (A, B). Tib.: No. 3 — Ka: f. 229 (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 2)

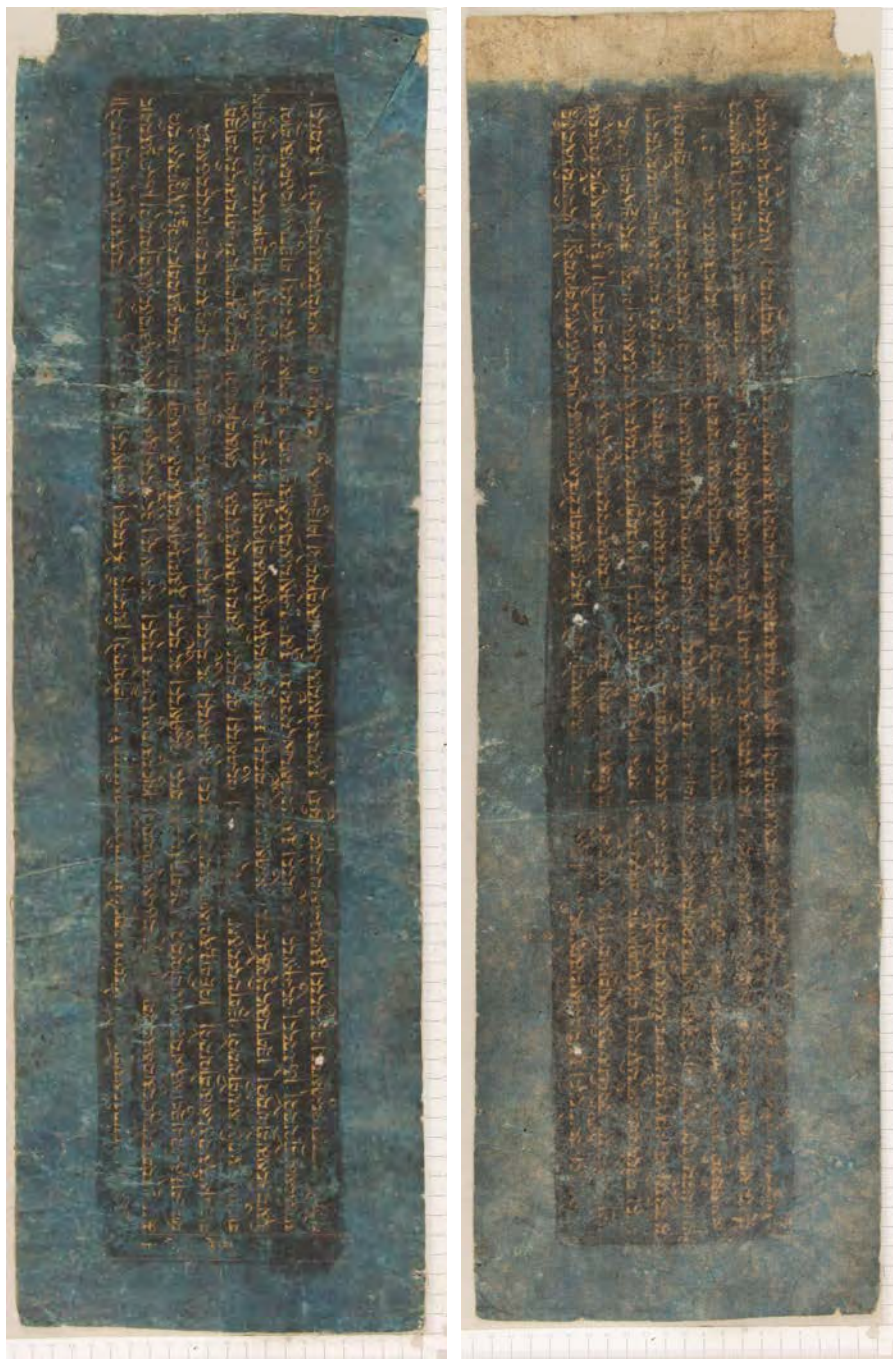


Fig. 4 (A, B). Tib.: No. 4 — Kha: f. 13 (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 3)

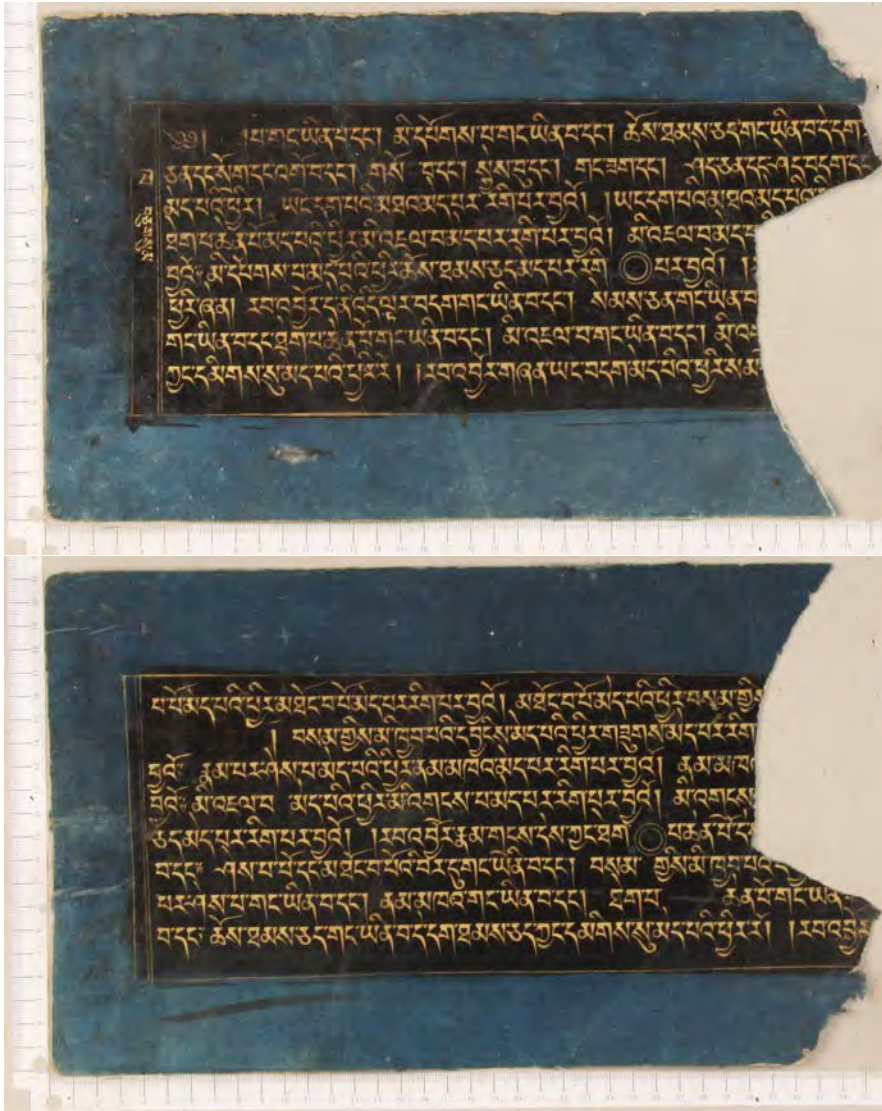


Fig. 5 (A, B). Tib.: No. 5 — [Kha]: f. ? (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 4)

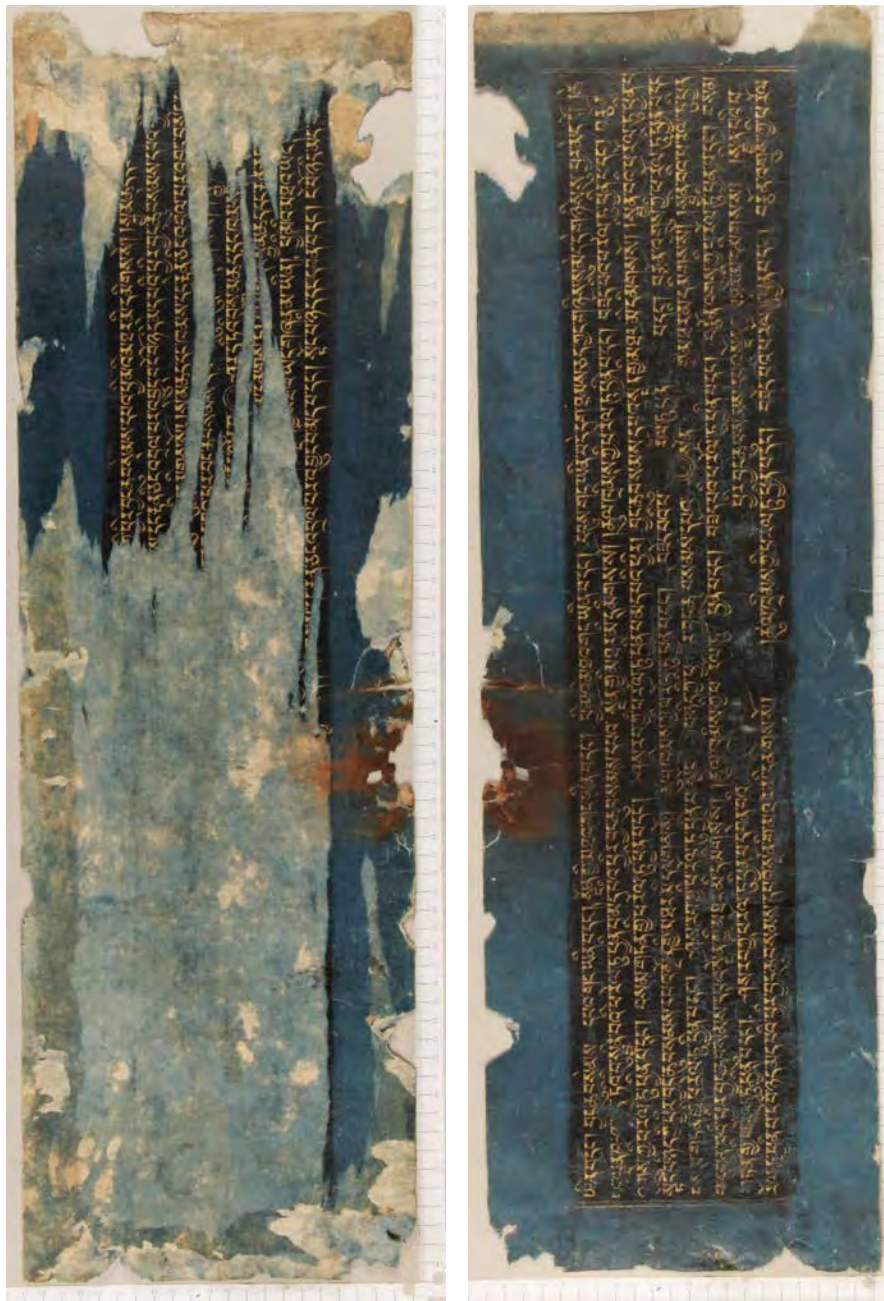


Fig. 6 (A, B). Tib.: No. 6 — Ka (=Kha?): f. 73 (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 5)



Fig. 7 (A, B). Tib.: No. 7 — Kha: f. 1?0(?) (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 6)



Fig. 8 (A, B). Tib.: No. 8 — Kha: f. 193 (BnF: Tibétain 464, f. 14)



Fig. 9 (A, B). Tib.: No. 9 — Kha: f. 248 (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 7)

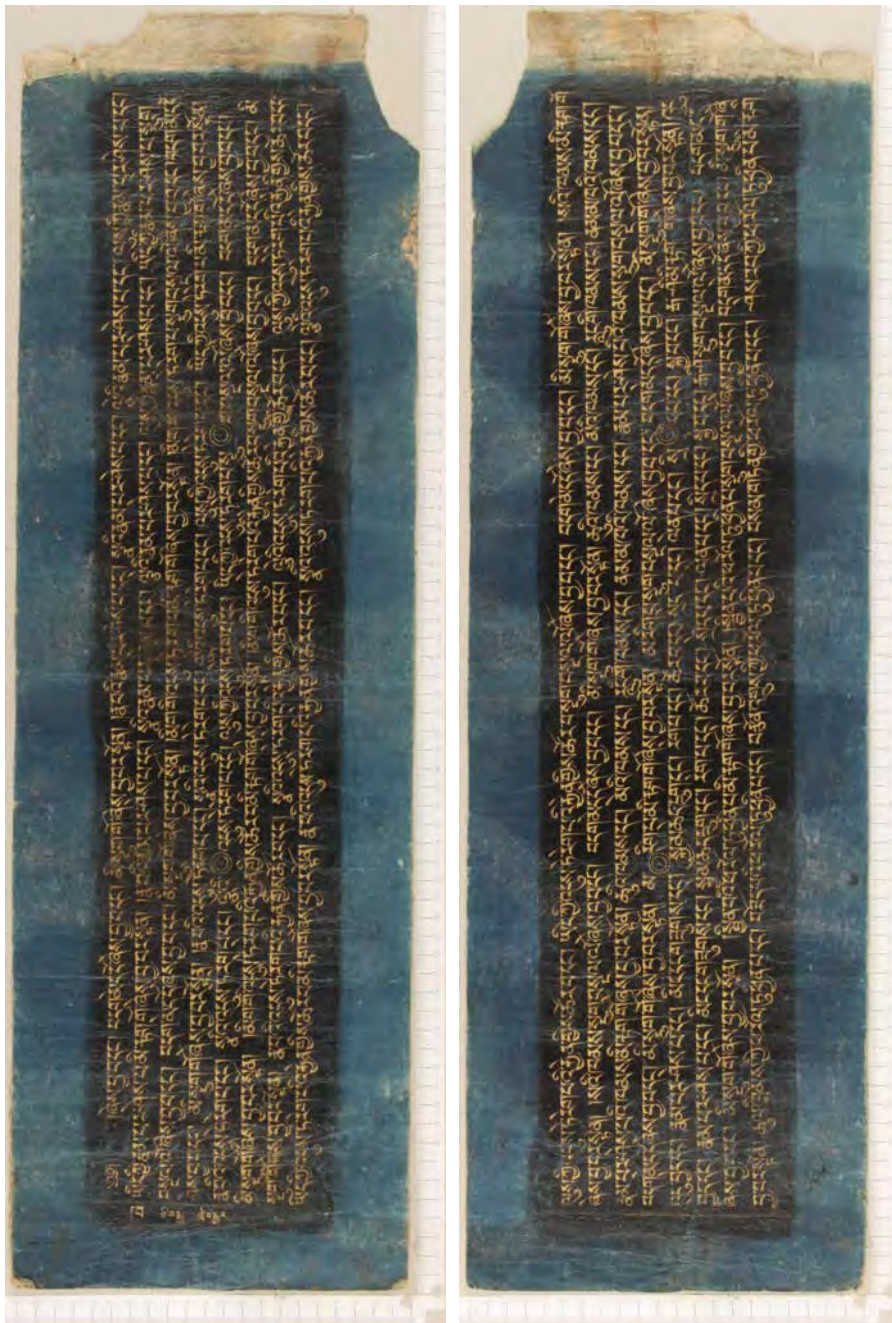


Fig. 10 (A, B). Tib.: No. 10 — Kha: f. 302 (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 8)



Fig. 11 (A, B). Tib.: No. 11 — Kha: f. 310 (BL: Sloane MS 2836)

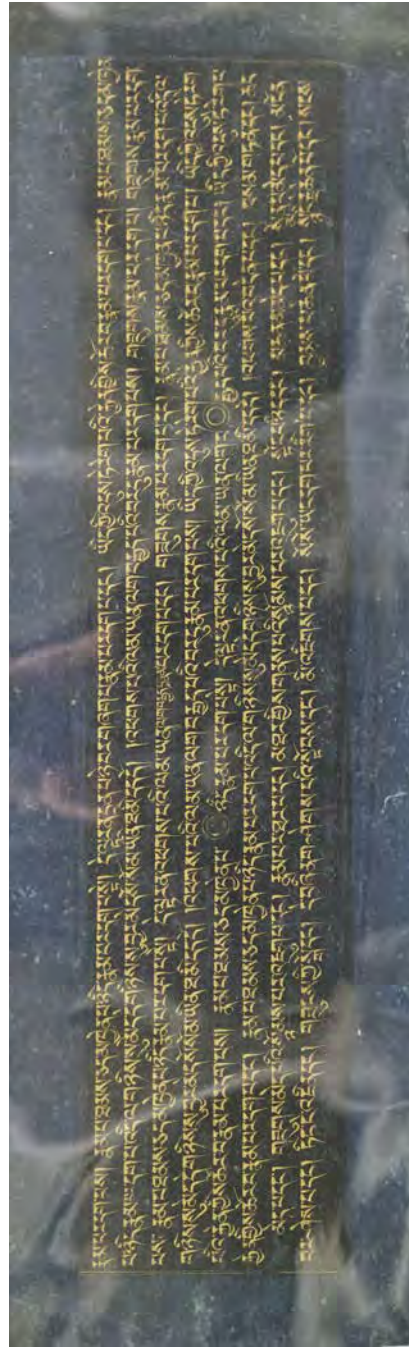
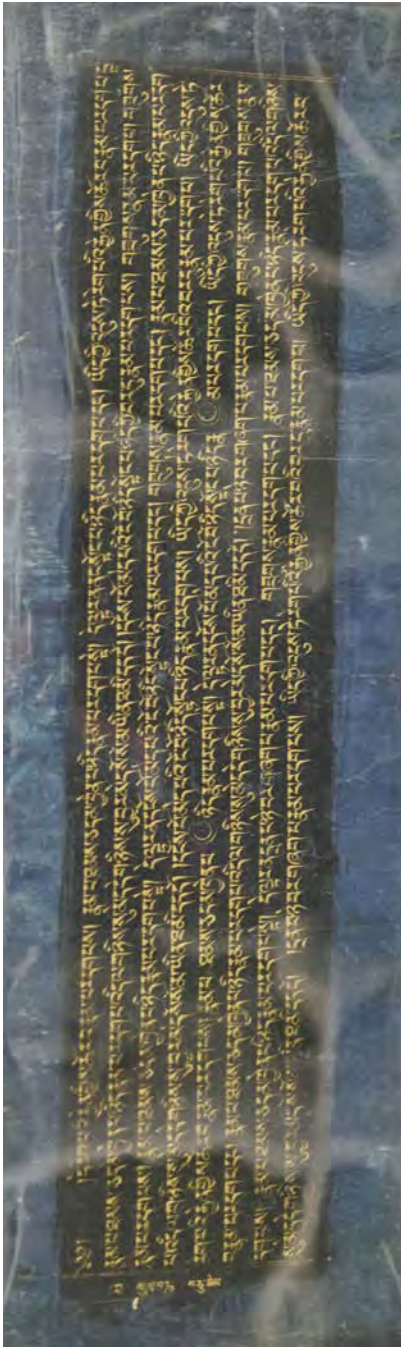


Fig. 12 (A, B). Tib.: No. 12 — Ga: f. 10 (Glasgow UL: PL61, f. 1)

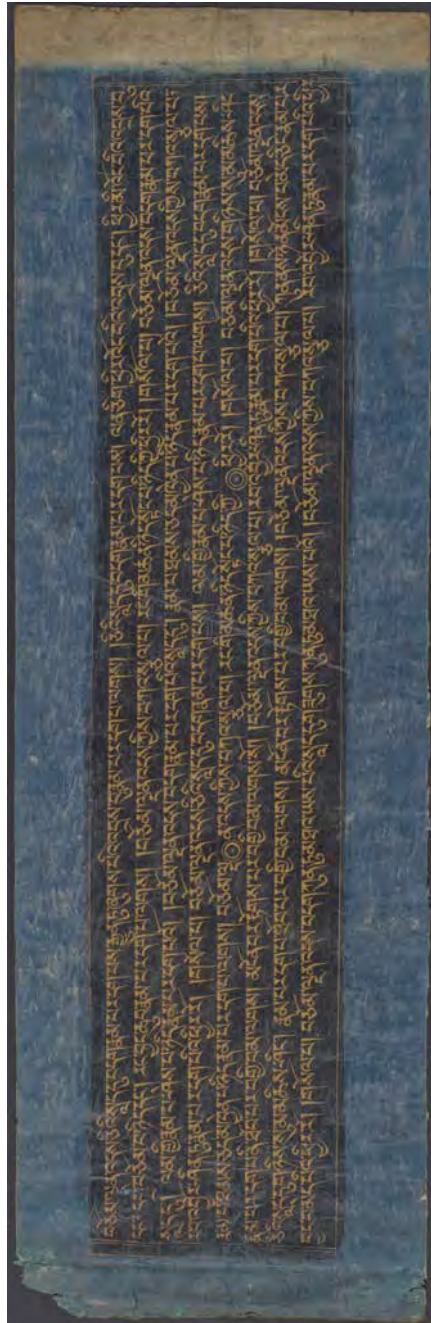


Fig. 13 (A, B). Tib.: No. 13 — Ga: f. 84 (Uppsala UL: O Tibet 2, f. 4)

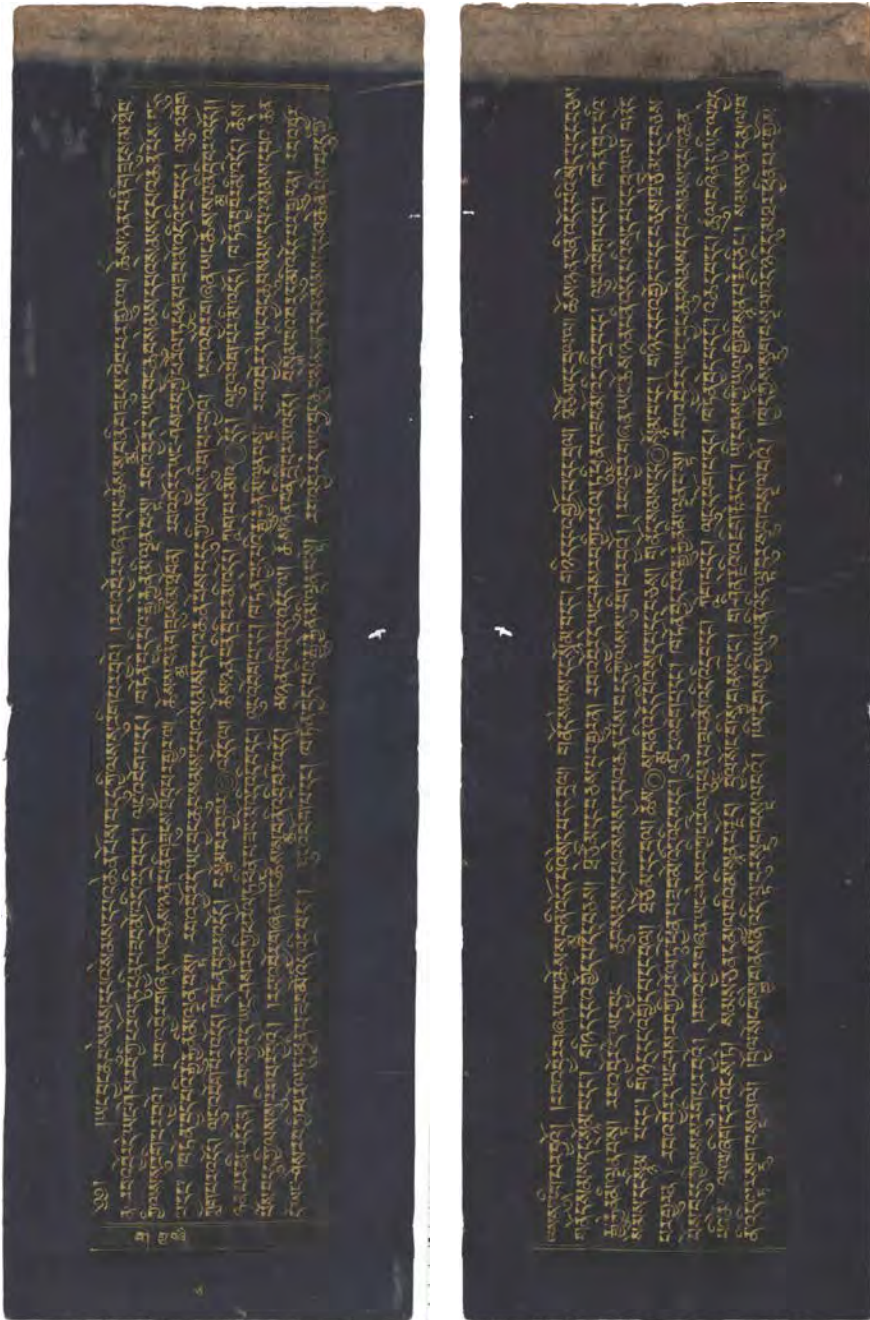


Fig. 14 (A, B). Tib.: No. 14 — [Ga: f. ?] (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 9)

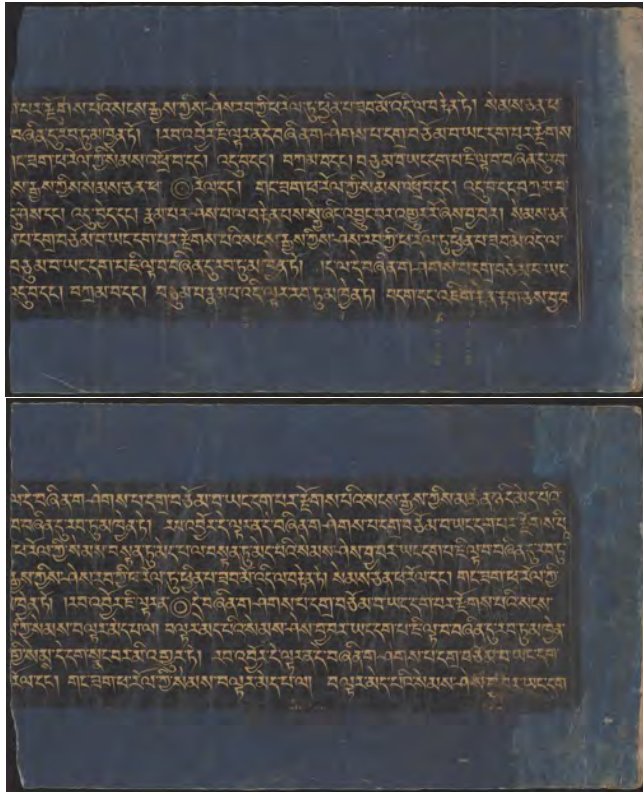


Fig. 15. Tib.: No. 15 — [Ga]: f. ? (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 10)



Fig. 16 (A, B). Tib.: No. 16 — Ga: f. 253 (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 11)



Fig. 17 (A, B). Tib.: No. 17 — Ga: f. 266 (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 12)



Fig. 18 (A, B). Tib.: No. 18 — [Nga]: f. ? (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 13)



Figure 18A shows a vertical manuscript page with Tibetan text. The text is written in a traditional style, likely using a metal-tipped pen, and is arranged in a single column. The background is a dark blue, textured surface. The text is framed by a thin black border. The characters are small and densely packed, with some larger characters that may serve as section markers or initials. The overall appearance is that of an ancient or historical document.



Figure 18B shows another vertical manuscript page, similar to Figure 18A. It also features a single column of Tibetan text on a blue background. The text is written in a consistent style, with some larger characters interspersed among the smaller ones. The page is framed by a thin black border, and the overall appearance is that of a historical document, possibly a continuation of the text on the previous page.

Fig. 19 (A, B). Tib.: No. 19 — Nga: f. 235 (IOM RAS: Tib. 958, No. 14)



Fig. 20 (A, B). Mong.: No. 1 — Ka: f. 309 (Glasgow UL: PL 61, f. 3)



Fig. 21 (A, B). Mong.: No. 1.2 — Ka: f. 316 (Glasgow UL: PL 61, f. 2)



Fig. 22 (A, B). Mong.: No. 1.2 — Ka: f. 53 (Glasgow UL: PL 61, f. 4)

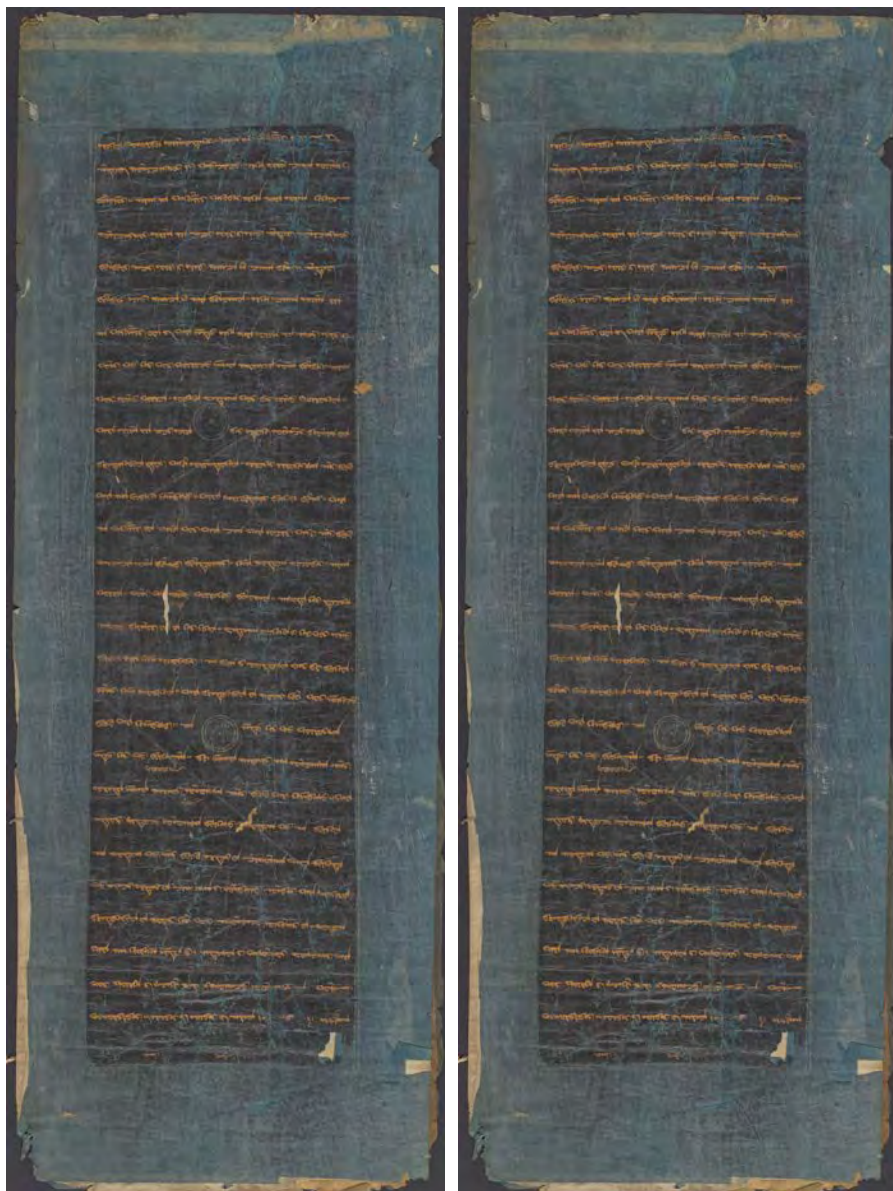


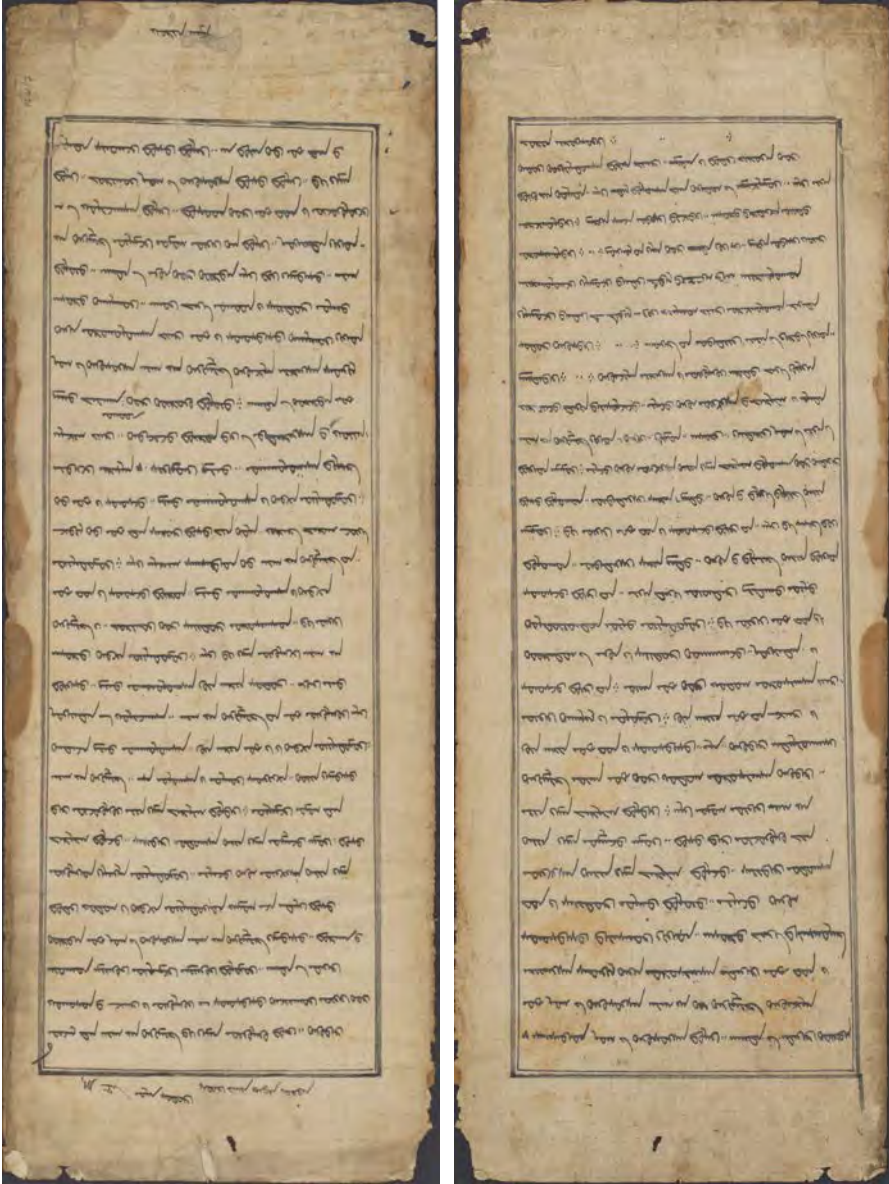
Fig. 23 (A, B). Mong.: No. 2.1 — Ga: f. 174 (Glasgow UL: PL 61, f. 5)



Fig. 24 (A, B). Mong.: No. 2.2 — J'a: f. 252 (Glasgow UL: PL 61, f. 6)



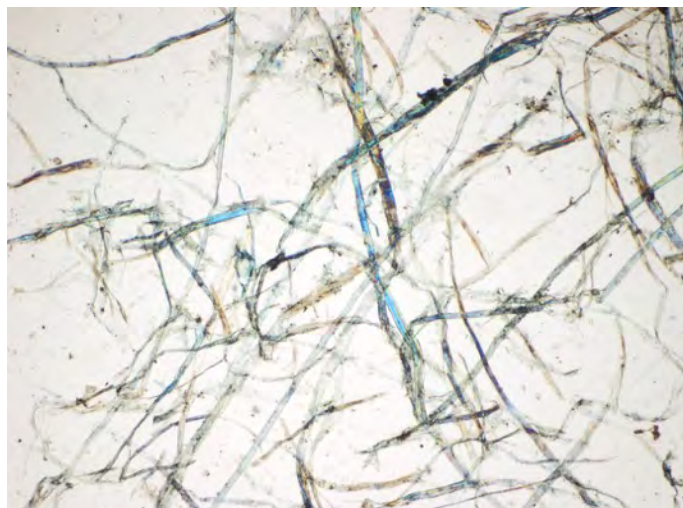
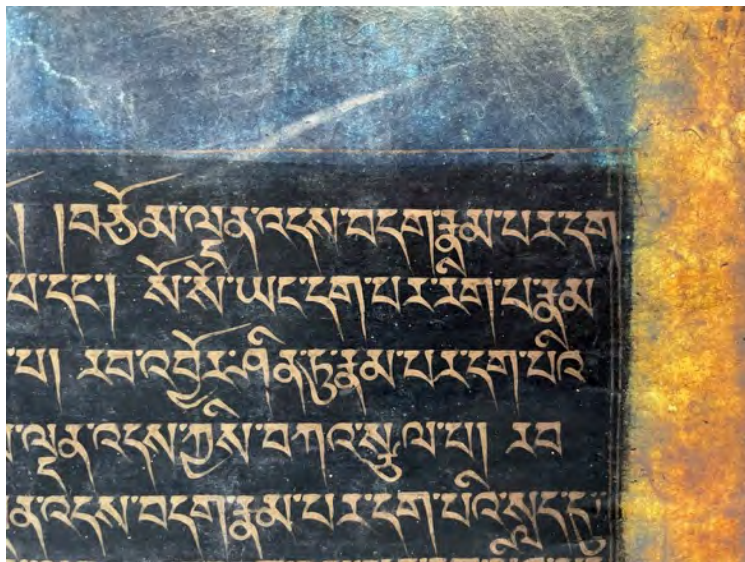
Fig. 25 (A, B). Mong.: No. 2.3 — J'a: f. 253 (Glasgow UL: PL 61, f. 7)



Appendix III

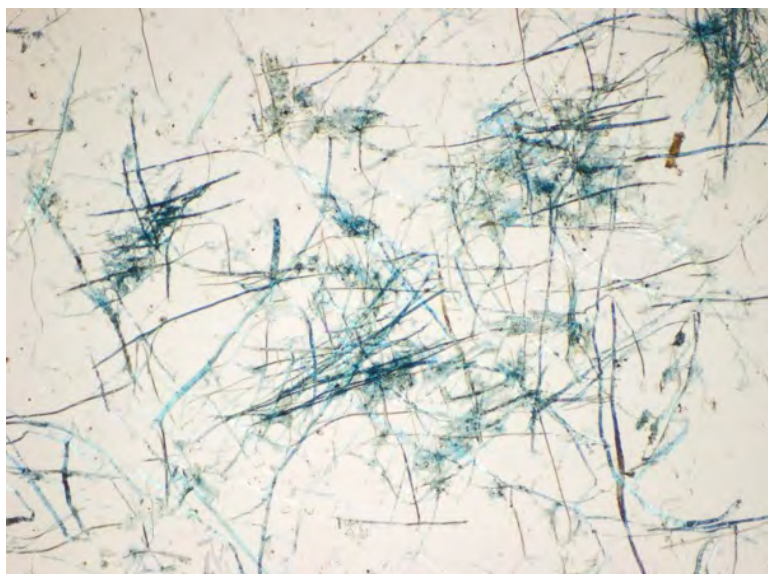
The microscope photos of paper fibers that characterize three types of manuscripts represented in PL61⁷⁶

F. 26 (A, B). PL61, f. 1: Tibetan. Rag paper based on hemp characterized by a ribbed texture imparted by the manufacturing process (see backlit image A)

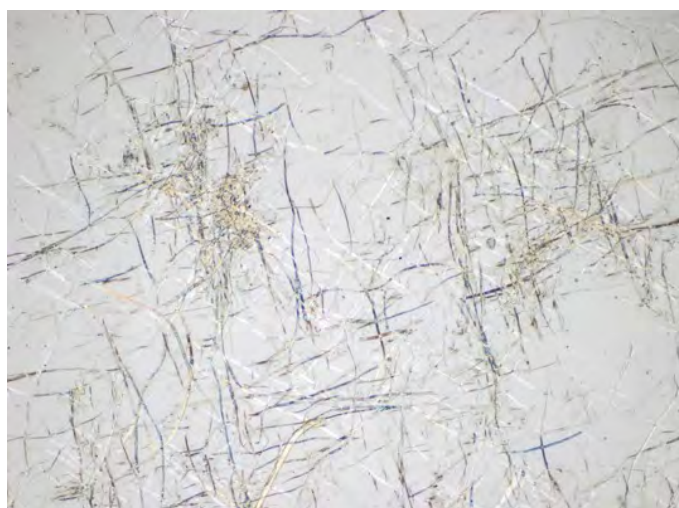


⁷⁶ Backlit images were graciously provided by Keira McKee, Book Conservator at the University of Glasgow Library Archives & Special Collections.

F. 27 (A, B). PL61, f. 4: "Golden" Mongolian. Laid type of paper made with mixed fibres varied in size and characteristics, many associated cells eg. epidermal cells




F. 28 (A, B). PL61, f. 7: "Black" Mongolian: Wove type of paper made of *Stellera* fibres



“Codex Renatus Lincopensis” and two other Tibetan and Mongolian folios preserved in the Linköping City Library

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he Linköping City Library (Linköpings Stadsbibliotek) in Sweden is one of the European depositories that house folios from Sem Palat and Ablai-kit. It holds three folios: one in Tibetan (shelf mark OL 4) and two in Mongolian script (shelf marks OL 3 and OL 5).

The source of their acquisition remains unclear. Johan August Strindberg (1849–1912), Sweden’s eminent playwright, novelist, and poet, played a crucial role in the association of these fragments with the name of Johan Gustaf Renat (1682–1744), a Swedish warrant officer in the artillery. Renat was initially imprisoned by Russian troops after the Battle of Poltava in 1709 and later by the Dzungars in 1716. After spending seventeen years in Dzungar captivity, Renat was eventually allowed to return to Sweden in 1733. It is known that he donated several curiosities from Dzungaria, including Oirat apparel, utensils, a Chinese printed book, and two maps to the library of Uppsala University.²

In 1874, Strindberg became an assistant librarian at the Royal Library in Stockholm (now the National Library of Sweden) and visited the Linköping library in 1878. There, he discovered a copy of Renat’s map of Dzungaria made by the order of the bishop of Linköping, Erik Benzelius the younger (1675–1743),³ along with

¹ **Acknowledgements.** We thank former and current fellows of the Linköping City Library, Mathias von Wachenfeldt, Stina Brodin, and Katarina Johansson, for their kind help in obtaining access to materials preserved in the library.

² Baddeley 1919: clxxix–clxxx; Borodaev, Kontev 2010: 386–392.

³ The copy of the map was published on Strindberg’s initiative in 1881, accompanied by an extensive commentary by Aleksei Maksheev (=Makchéeff) (1822–1892), a

Mongolian and Tibetan folios.⁴ Apparently, he suggested that they had been acquired from Renat.⁵ One folio from the manuscript Mongolian Kanjur, written in golden ink on indigo blue paper, particularly amused him, and he poetically referred to it in his notes as “Codex Renatus Lincopensis”.

A century later, John Ronström published an article on Strindberg’s efforts in studying the “Codex Renatus Lincopensis” (Ronström 1971). After examining the materials related to the abovementioned Mongolian folio (the one with shelf mark OL 3), Ronström concluded that there were no direct indications connecting its provenance to Renat, though the possibility could not be excluded. On the other hand, Ronström presumed that these manuscript fragments were most probably given by somebody as an exotic souvenir to Erik Benzelius the younger, who was an erudite scholar and the founder of the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala (known as Collegium curiosorum) in 1710. He stood out among all the Linköping library directors for showing a keen interest in Russia or Central Asia (Ronström 1971: 303).

Many Swedes were captured during the Northern War, and among them, Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg (1676–1747) and Johan Gustaf Renat became renowned figures within the scientific community.⁶ Strahlenberg notes in his book: “A few hundred leaves of the same kind might have gotten into Europe when the Swedes returned from captivity”.⁷ However, Renat’s fate took an even more exceptional turn: he was captured by Dzungars in 1716 and spent numerous years at the courts of their rulers, Tsewang Rabdan (1663–1727) and his son Galdan Tsereng (1693?–1745), before leaving for Saint Petersburg, in 1733, and consequent returning to Sweden. Given this unique trajectory, it becomes unlikely that Renat could have been the donor of the Mongolian folio that Strindberg tentatively attributed to him. This is especially evident since the left margin of the verso side features Russian cursive writing dated to 1720 (fig. 1), when Renat was already

professor at the Nicholas General Staff Academy in Saint Petersburg and a member of the Russian Geographical Society (Maksheev 1881).

⁴ Strindberg undoubtedly saw the Tibetan folio from Ablai-kit in the library collection, as he mentioned it in a letter to Swedish librarian and art collector Erik Hjalmar Segerstéen (1819–1901) dated September 14, 1879: “... Det Tibetanska får hvila!” (“The Tibetan [folio] shall rest [=be set aside]!”) (Rohnström 1971: 296).

⁵ See Rohnström 1971: 300–301.

⁶ Several more names of the Swedes who brought Oirat artefacts from Siberia are known to us: Baron Reh binder (see the paper by A. Zorin, A. Turanskaya, A. Helman-Ważny in this issue of RET); presumably, some member of the Medling family, Sten Arvidsson Sture (1681–1730), and Erik Millberg (1684–1742) (Rosén 2000: 55–56).

⁷ “Es möchten von derselben Art wohl ein paar hundert Blätter in Europa, bey der Schweden Zurückkunfft aus der Gefangenschafft, hinein gekommen seyn” (Strahlenberg 1730: 312, note a).

a captive among the Dzungars, far removed from the region where folios from manuscripts taken by Russians from Sem Palat would have been in circulation.

The inscription consists of three lines in Cyrillic script. The lines are written with a pen and black ink, and the handwriting corresponds to the Russian cursive ductus typical for the late 17th to early 18th centuries. Although there is a minor loss of handwriting at the end of the first line, it could be confidently reconstructed, allowing one to assume that the inscription has been completely preserved.



Fig. 1. OL 3: the inscription with Russian cursive writing on the verso (Linköping City Library)

It was Strindberg who first paid attention to the inscription and correctly identified the language. He also attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to copy and translate it.⁸

The next attempt to decipher the text in Russian cursive script was undertaken by Carin Davidsson (1920–2011), an Associate Professor of Uppsala University, whom Rohnström asked for help. Her reading and translation were as follows:

«АЩК году июля въ [в] де бѣлоярской крѣст (= крѣстьянин?)
избошик (= извощик, извозчик?) Григо[рий] / Нечаевъ
принялъ провъ (= провозъ?) х канц (?) / стоитъ григну ему (?).⁹

⁸ For details see (Rohnström 1971: 302, fig. 4).

⁹ The spelling and line breakdown present in the Rohnström's publication have been preserved. In the article, the letters placed above the line were underlined with a solid line, while the letters, the reading of which aroused doubts, were underlined with a dotted line (here in italics). The lowercase letter 'в' with titlo in square brackets denoted number '2'.

1720, den [2] (?) dagen i juli mottog Bjelojarsk-bonden (?) formannen Grigorij Nečaeв transporten (?) till khanen (?). Det kostar (honom?) 1 grivna (?). (Rohnström, 1971: 301).

Carin Davidsson’s translation of the challenging handwritten Russian text can be regarded as relatively accurate. She successfully decoded the three primary semantic aspects of the inscription, pertaining to time, place, and the individual mentioned. However, her proposed interpretation does not entirely align with Russian conventions and necessitates certain clarifications.

Several years later, the renowned German Mongolist Walther Heissig (1913–2005), relying on Ronström’s article and Davidsson’s interpretation, arrived at a startling conclusion: “According to a marginal note in Russian cursive on the verso of the text, the leaf likely came into the possession of J. G. Renat around 1720”.¹⁰ This assertion seems to lack any supporting evidence.

The reading of the inscription was elucidated and analyzed by V. Borodaev in his article, “A Folio of the Mongolian ‘Golden’ Kanjur with the Russian Inscriptions dated 1720 Kept in the Linköping City Library”, published in Russian in 2021. Below, we present an English translation of its key points regarding the inscription, commencing with the reading and translation (Borodaev 2021: 197–206):¹¹

✱АҨК году июля въ де бѣлоярской крѣсти збошик гри[***] /
ночаевъ принялъ провъ у казу (?) /
стоитъ градъ пустьъ /

1720 году июля въ де[нь] Бѣлоярской крѣ[по]сти збо[р]шик Гри-
[горей] /
Ночаевъ принялъ про[ти]въ (?) указу (?) /
Стоить градъ пустьъ /

On the day of July of the 1720th year a collector of Beloyarsk fortress
Gri[gory] /
Nochaev accepted according to (?) the order (?) /
There stands an empty city /

¹⁰ “Einem Randvermerk auf der Rückseite des Textes in russischer Schnellschrift zufolge dürfte das Blatt um 1720 in den Besitz von J. G. Renat gekommen sein” (Heissig 1979: 200–201).

¹¹ Superscript letters are underlined. Slash marks indicate line end, and letters that are not present in the text but could be reconstructed are given in square brackets.

Although, judging by the handwriting, all three lines of Cyrillic text were written by the same person, they bear no semantic unity and could be interpreted as two or three separate entries with unrelated meanings.

1. The longest and most meaningful entry, that occupies the top line and the left side of the middle line, concerns a resident of the Beloyarsk fortress, Grigory Nechaev.

In accordance with the official usage of that time, the entry begins with the date. The year '1720', counted from the birth of Christ, is traditionally written in capital letters of the Cyrillic alphabet 'ѠѠѠ'. The title frequently signed above the Slavic numerals is missing, so one may assume either that it was written in the excised part of the folio, or was initially absent. However, a special sign ≠ (so called 'tail', a slanted line crossed with two short strokes), denoting 1000 in Slavic numerals, definitely indicates that the year 1720 had been written in letters. The month 'July' is written in words, though the precise day is not provided.

The phrase 'бѡлоярской крѣсти збошик' was interpreted by Carin Davidsson as 'Bjelojarsk-bonden (?) formannen', i.e., 'a Beloyarsk peasant coachman'. One cannot agree with such reading, since the Russian words 'крестъ–крещеный–крестьянинъ' (a cross / baptized / a peasant) in the 18th–19th cc. were written with letter 'е', not 'ѡ'. Words with different semantic meaning 'крѣпкій–крѣпко–крѣпость' ('strong / hard / a fortress'), on the contrary, were written with 'ѡ' (Dal 1881: 193–195, 209–210). Therefore, the correct reading should be 'Бѡлоярской крѣ[по]сти збо[р]шик', 'a collector from the Beloyarsk fortress'.

The dropping of the syllable in the word 'крѣ[по]сти' is not common for the civil documents of the Petrine era. On the other hand, the notes in the margin of the Mongolian manuscript folio were made by an unknown Russian scribe, on his own initiative and for his own use, so the possibility of unusual abbreviations could not be excluded.

The correctness of the proposed reconstruction of the word 'fortress' is confirmed by several documents of the period.

Archival documents indicate that the wooden fortress called Beloyarsk was built by Kuznetsk town-service Cossacks on the right bank of the Ob River, above the mouth of the Chumysh River, in 1717 (Borodaev, Kontev 2015: 214–232).

Two years later, a population census of the Kuznetsk County was conducted. The original under the name "The great sovereign's census book of [1]719 of the counties of Kuznetsk town, Bersk fort, Beloyarsk fortress, Mungat burg, in terms of number of households and male

population from the elderly to infants, with census lists¹² and signatures”¹³ is nowadays preserved at the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (Moscow) (RSAAA. Coll. 214. Inv. 1. Item 1611. Folios 170–294v). Entries #565–581 of this census book concern 17 households of the Ust-Chumyshskaya hamlet located within the Beloyarsk fortress jurisdiction, and entry #567 provides the following information:

In the household a peasant on quitrent Grigory Nechaev attested he was forty years old. He has a thirteen year old son Vasily. If he, Grigory Nechaev, deceived or concealed even one soul, he would be sentenced to death. Instead of him and at his request, Gavriilo Menzelinets affixed signature (RSAAA. Coll. 214. Inv. 1. Item 1611. Folio 267v).

The census lists (‘skazki’), stories told by the inhabitants, were more extensive than the brief information included in the census books. They reflected the origin, original settlement and date of relocation, tax liability, data concerning recruitment to the Cossacks, family composition (including women), presence of arable land and quitrent. A copy of the census list dated 1719 based on the words of Grigory Kirillovich Nechaev, a resident of the Ust-Chumyshskaya hamlet, is also kept at the RSAAA:

[70r] In the household [there is] a peasant on quitrent Grigory, Kiril’s son, Nechaev, 45 years old. Came from the village of Krivets in Sol Kamskaya [County], Siberian Province, [where he was] a tax-paying peasant. Paid money taxes to the sovereign’s treasury. In 701 (ΨA) left Usol to Ishimskaya Sloboda of Tobolsk County and lived for about ten years in Irovszkaya hamlet of Obatskaya Sloboda as dragoon, serviced in dragoons’ regiment with Ishimsky dragoons. In Usolye money taxes were paid by his uncle [70v] Poluyan Nechaev. [Afterwards he] left the service in dragoons’ regiment. From Ishimskaya Sloboda he arrived at Bersky fort of Kuznetsk County in 714 (ΨΔI). Paid an annual tax of 1 ruble. Assigned to Beloyarskaya fortress in the current 719th (ΨΘI) year. He has a wife, Anna Andreeva, female of forty years old, a son Vasily of thirteen years old, [and] a ten year old daughter Vasilisa. He plows the arable land and owns hay meadows in Beloyarsky district waste lands freely from the poll-tax and in all humility. (RSAAA. Coll. 350. Inv. 1. Item 214. Folios 70r–70v)

¹² Census list (‘skazka’) is a document created during a revision for the purpose of head taxation.

¹³ Literally “attachment of hands”.

According to the census list, in 1719 Grigory Nechaev became a tax-exempt ('belomestnyi', literally '[plowing] white land') Cossack. These Cossacks did not receive emoluments from the State, but served for non-taxable land. The practice of recruitment in exchange for land was widespread at that time in the Beloyarsk fortress, where there were not enough people and the local authorities sought to increase the number of settlers (Bulygin 1974: 26–27, 32).

There is no doubt that Grigory Nochaev, mentioned in the inscription of the Mongolian manuscript folio from Linköping, and Grigory Nechaev, who according to the census book moved to Beloyarsk fortress in 1719, are the same person. Therefore, the word 'збошик' can be reconstructed as 'збо[р]шик', i.e., a person authorized to collect money or other valuables (taxes or donations, for example, to the church). The phrase ends with the verb 'принялъ', 'accepted'. However, the text does not allow us to clarify what in particular Grigory Nechaev accepted and where this event took place.

2. After the verb 'принялъ', 'accepted' on the right side of the middle line one can read 'провъ у казу (?)'. The word 'провъ' is read clearly and confidently, while the next word, on the contrary, remains rather unclear. Carin Davidsson translated this part as 'transporten (?) till khanen (?)' ('transported to the khan'). Such interpretation is clearly incorrect, as 'провъ' ends with the letter 'ъ'.

As an alternative, two hypothetical explanations of this least understood part of the inscription could be offered. First, one may agree with Carin Davidsson and consider this fragment as a continuation of the previous text part. In this case, the text can be interpreted as 'принялъ про[ти]въ указу', 'accepted in conformity with an order'. This reading coincides with the 18th–19th cc. language norms, when the adverb 'противъ' (which in modern Russian means 'against') was used in the sense of 'in conformity, according to' (Dal 1882: 539; Panin 1991: 129).

This interpretation will require the assumption that the scribe abbreviated the word and omitted two letters in spelling. This, as mentioned before, is rather uncommon for civil documents of the Petrine era. However, an abbreviation used in the text part 'Белоярской кре[по]сти' in the first line makes this assumption plausible.

Secondly, one may assume that this part of the middle line 'провъ у казу (?)' is unrelated to the previous text part. In this case, the readable first word can only be *Prov* (Petrovsky 1966: 183), a rare male Russian name, and the next two words remain unclear.

3. The third line includes a short phrase ‘Стоить град пустъ’, which translates to ‘A city¹⁴ stands empty’.

This text part is unrelated to the fragment concerning Grigory Nechaev. At the same time, it appears to be connected with the folio’s provenance, of which the scribe was aware.

It is highly likely that one of the abandoned Buddhist monasteries of the Oirats could be referred to as ‘an empty city’. This fact is attested by a map of the Russian Empire published in Amsterdam in 1725, which marks the existence of ‘3 Villes desertes des Callmuckes’ (‘Three deserted cities of the Kalmyks’), namely ‘Ablaykyt’, ‘Bostachanky’t’, and ‘Otschurtochanky’t’ (fig. 2). Thus, an idea of an abandoned /empty city (town) was familiar to people in this area during the 1710s to 1720s, and it also held true for Sem Palat.



Fig. 2. Fragment of the anonymous map of the Russian Empire, printed in Amsterdam in 1725

Along with the proposed—rather simple and rational—version of the connection between the Russian inscription and the discovery circumstances of the Mongolian folio, the short phrase “A city stands empty” may have another explanation that leads us to the realm of the Russian folklore.

The folio of the Mongolian ‘golden’ Kanjur from Linköping is not the only folio with an inscription in Cyrillic script. Another one, brought from Ablai-kit and preserved in the collection of the IOM RAS, was published by Natalia Yampolskaya in (Baipakov et al. 2019:

¹⁴ Or ‘a town’. The Russian word ‘grad, gorod’ does not differentiate between ‘a town’ and ‘a city’.

274–275). In the margin of the folio, one can see the Cyrillic inscription “Стоить Град на пути”, which translates a ‘A city stands on the way’, and above it, there are two letters ‘д’. As Yampolskaya rightly pointed out, “judging by the fact that the letter ‘д’ is inscribed twice separately from the sentence, one may assume the inscription as an exercise in handwriting” (ibid.).

The phrase, written by an unknown scribe, appears to be a quotation from the ancient Russian apocrypha “Conversation of the three hierarchs” (“Beseda trekh sviatitelei”), which is written in the form of riddles, questions, and answers. One of the riddles is as follows: “A city stands on the way, but there is no way to it; a mute ambassador goes, carries an unwritten letter, gives it to an illiterate to read”. The following answer is given: “The city is Noah’s ark, floating on the flood waters; the mute ambassador is a pure dove; the unwritten letter is an olive branch, brought to Noah’s ark; the illiterate one is Noah the righteous”.

The above-mentioned biblical riddle about Noah’s ark and the dove was included in the early versions of “Conversation of the three hierarchs” (Lurie 1988: 91) and became widely spread in Russian literature in the 16th–18th centuries (Mochulsky 1893: 144–150). Over time, the opening phrase of the Noah’s ark riddle was replaced; for instance, in one 17th century manuscript called “Azbukovnik” (‘Alphabet’), the following beginning is attested: “A city stands empty, but there is no way to it...” (Otchet Imperatorskoi Publichnoi biblioteki 1885: 199–201). This version of the old riddle could have been written down by a Russian scribe in the margin of OL 3.

It is evident that this folio was presented to Benzelius not by Renat, but by one of the Swedish officers released from their Siberian exile after the end of the Great Northern War (1700–1721). It is to be hoped that the name of the donor of the folios to Linköping will be ascertained in the future. Currently, Philipp Strahlenberg appears to be a plausible candidate.

From one of his letters to Benzelius, we learn that Strahlenberg sent him the Tibetan manuscript found near the Yenisei river¹⁵ that he published in his book (Strahlenberg 1730: Tab. I), not as a gift but as an object of study, that had to be returned: “Finally, I would like to conclude with a piece of writing that holds particular significance for me; it was discovered near the Yenisei River and the desert valley, above Krasnoyar[sk] in an old stone building; I kindly request that you

¹⁵ The folio was acquired by Daniel Messerschmidt, the first scientific explorer of Siberia, from Ivan Nashivoshnikov in Krasnoyarsk. Presumably, Messerschmidt presented it to Strahlenberg, who participated in his Siberian expedition during 1721–1722 (see Zorin 2015: 171–173).

make a copy of it and return the original to me, as I do not have time for this and hold a strong desire to retain the original, as I possess only one copy of its kind”.¹⁶ In the same letter, he promised Benzelius to send “some of the Kalmyk writings afterwards, on [another] occasion”.¹⁷ Thus, it is quite plausible that he sent some folios from the Oirat monasteries to Benzelius without asking for their return since he had about a dozen of them.¹⁸ It is also worth noting that Benzelius acquired three individual folios of varying types, which suggests intentional selection—perhaps by someone with academic interests.¹⁹

Among these three folios, the one with Tibetan text on black paper (OL 4) and the one with Mongolian text on white paper (OL 5) were brought from Ablai-kit. The folio with the Mongolian text on blue paper (OL 3) seems to have been brought from Sem Palat, because Ablai-kit was found by Russians no earlier than at the end of 1720 (more probably, in the first half of 1721), while the inscription was made in July 1720.

The mention of the Beloyarskaya fortress in the inscription is noteworthy in connection with Strahlenberg. He joined Daniel

¹⁶ In German: “[Z]u letz schließe noch hiebey an, mir sonderliche ahrt schrifft, die am Jenisei Strohme und der wüsteneÿ dahin, oberhalb Crasnoÿjahr in ein alt steinern Gebeude gefunden worden, ich wolte aber bitten sie abcopyren zu laßen, und solche zurück zu senden, weil nicht die Zeit dazu habe; und daß Original selbst gerne behalten möchte, da ich nur ein exemplar von der Sorte habe”. The letter is kept in Linköpings stadsbibliotek: Eric Benzelius den yngres arkiv. Brev till Eric Benzelius. E005/Br 10, Vol. 8, brev 47: 21.04.1724. It was reproduced and transcribed in Lehfeldt et al. 2021, the quoted fragment on pp. 127, 140.

¹⁷ In German: “[V]on denen Calmackschen schrifftten werde nach diesen und bey gelegenheit einige übersenden”; see Lehfeldt et al. 2021: 127, 139.

¹⁸ Introducing his publication of the Tibetan folio brought from a Tuvan temple in mountains near the Yenisei river, he wrote about the manuscripts found in Siberia: “Such writings are already known in Europe and have been published, engraved on copper, by the highly respected and erudite Mr. Court Councilor Mencke in the ‘Acta Eruditorum’. I could add to them at least 10 or 12 other examples if I were not afraid of significant expenses. I have given these writings, at various times, to dear friends”. (Solche aber, weil sie bereits in unsern Europa bekant, und durch den Hoch-Edelgebohrnen und Hochgelerten Herrn Hof-Rath Mencken in den actis Eruditorum in Kupfer gestochen heraus gegeben worden, zu welchen, wenn ich nicht die vielen Unkosten gescheut, wenigstens ein 10. oder 12. Stück hinzu thun können; Die ich aber guten Freunden in ihre Cabinette hin und wieder verehret) (Strahlenberg 1730: 312). In this passage, it is not clear whether “10 or 12 other examples” consisted of the folios found in the Irtysh region or if they also included folios found near the Yenisei.

¹⁹ A similar collection of folios passed by Baron Rehbinder to G. Bayer and held now at the Glasgow University Library also comprises three types of folios (the Tibetan one is different from what is found in Linköping). However, one type, with the Mongolian text on white paper, is represented with two sheets. This might indicate that Rehbinder either presented all the folios he possessed or that he had more folios of the latter type.

Messerschmidt's Siberian expedition in March 1721 and maintained its diary until their parting in late May 1722. In two records made in Tomsk, where Strahlenberg stayed without Messerschmidt, there are mentions of certain manuscripts:

"3. August 1721. <...> I was with a cornet today named Wrangell. In his quarters was a fellow from the countryside and from the Berd river area. He had two writings, found near Bikatun. I wanted to buy them, but he would not let me have them. Instead, he said he wanted to give them to the Commandant";

"12. August 1721 <...> I was at Mr. Commandant's today, thanked him for the horse, reminded him about the Kalmyk writings. He said: Yes, he had received them, and gave me one on blue paper, which, as he said, was Chinese script, but which I consider to be Tangut. He mentioned that he had sent the others to Chaussky [fortress] to Kruglikov for them to be read. If he were to get them back, I should also have those".²⁰

It is highly tempting to speculate that both entries refer to the same writings, even though the first one mentions two pieces (without identifying their script) while the second one indicates more than two: one plus "the others". If it is true that Strahlenberg obtained one or more Kalmyk/Tangut manuscripts brought from Bikatun (presently, Biysk in the Altay region of Russia), which was closely associated with the Beloyarskaya fortress, we have an intriguing combination of facts:

- there were two Kalmyk/Tangut folios brought from Bikatun,²¹ both or one of them acquired by Strahlenberg;
- Strahlenberg was a correspondent of Benzelius and sent to him in Linköping some items he had brought from Siberia;
- one of the folios preserved in Linköping has the Russian inscription that mentions Grigory Nechaev from the

²⁰ "3. August 1721 <...> Ich war heute bei einen Kornett namens Wrangell. In dessen Quartier war ein Kerl vom Lande und vom Berd'-Strom her. Der hatte zwei Schriften, so bei Bikatun gefunden. Ich wollte sie kaufen, aber er wollte sie mir nicht lassen, sondern sagte, er wollte sie an dem Kommandanten geben"; "12. August 1721 <...> Ich war heute beim Herrn Kommandanten, dankte ihm wegen des Pferdes, erinnerte ihm wegen der kalmakschen [kalmückischen] Schriften. Er sagte: Ja, er hätte sie bekommen, und gab mir eines auf blau Papier, welches, [wie] er sagte, kitaische [chinesische] Schrift wäre, so ich aber vor [für] Tangutisch halte. Die andern, sagte er, hätte er nach Čausskij [ostrog] an Kruglikov gesandt, umb solche lesen zu lassen. Wenn er sie zurückbekäme, sollte ich solche auch haben" (Messerschmidt 1962: 121, 124).

²¹ If the record from August 3, 1721, means the same "Kalmyk" manuscripts as those mentioned in the record from August 12, it is hardly possible that they were actually *found* near Bikatun, even though the Dzungars claimed the territory where this fortress was established as theirs. It is more plausible that the folios were brought to Bikatun either directly from Sem Palat or/and Ablai-kit or from another place where they could have been first brought from the abandoned monasteries.

Beloyarskaya fortress.

It does not necessarily mean that Benzelius was presented the Tibetan and Mongolian folios by Strahlenberg or that OL 3 was one of the two folios from Bikatun, but both assumptions are plausible.

As a matter of fact, OL 3 has one more inscription, in the upper left margin of the recto side (fig. 2). It is one line of signs written in black ink. The script remains unidentified. It does not look like any European script. Our main hypothesis is that it is an imitation of a certain Oriental writing. Since it might have been brought by Strahlenberg, we tried to read it as an imitation of one of the scripts he and the head of the expedition, Daniel Messerschmidt, encountered during their travel.



Fig. 3. OL 3: the unidentified inscription on the recto side: the first two pictures (from left) are cut off from the picture of the entire folio provided by the Linköping City Library in 2021, and the last was made by Alexander Zorin on his phone during his visit to the Library in August 2023: taken from an angle, it shows more clearly the lower part of the inscription

It has a certain similarity with Runic signs or petroglyphs published by Strahlenberg in his book (Strahlenberg 1730: Tab. V, XI et al.). However, their comparison made by our colleague Alla Sizova in 2021 did not show any *convincing* similarity. It appears to be more promising to see in this inscription an attempt to imitate various elements of Mongolian script, not entire lexical units but separate letters. However, this is not completely convincing either; any element

in the inscription can find an equivalent in Mongolian script, even though in distorted way. A person without any knowledge of Mongolian calligraphy could easily commit such distortions. Nevertheless, we would be happy if somebody finds a more satisfactory explanation of this inscription.

The edition of the folios

1. The Tibetan folio OL 4 (fig. 4–5)

This is one of 250 identified folios that used to belong to a set of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon from the library of Ablai-kit.²² It lacks most of the edges, which were most probably cut off by locals in South Siberia for practical use. Moreover, the extant fragment has numerous losses, including a rather big one in the lower left corner. These losses were compensated for by somebody (perhaps in Europe) with paper repairs that were also colored black to match the background of the text area. Notably, in three places, the paper appears to have been damaged before the scribe wrote the text, as they coincide with blanks: at the end of the first line on the recto side, and at two spots in the first line on the verso side. The folio shows traces of folding, reminiscent of the way these folios were often scrolled by their new European possessors.

²² They are kept in the following institutions: the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg (202 and a half*), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (11 and a half**), the British Library, London (10), the Uppsala University Library (11), the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg (3), the Lund University Library (3), the Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle (3), the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (2), the Kassel University Library (1), the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (1), the Linköping Stadsbibliotek (1), the Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm (1). To this number a drawing copy of one more folio preserved in Lund should be added. For more details, see the appendix to the paper by A. Zorin and Ch. Ramble in this issue of RET.

* and ** These two halves comprise one folio.



Fig. 4-5. OL 4 (Linköping City Library)

According to the marginalia, the folio belonged to vol. Kha of the *Khri brgyad pa* section of the Bka' 'gyur that consists of one large text: *Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa khri brgyad stong pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (*Āryāṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-nāmamahāyānasūtra*). The number of the folio was either 315 or 318.²³ It contains text that corresponds with the following fragment of the modern critical editions of the canon: Bka' 'gyur dpe bsdur ma, vol. 31: 221⁽⁴⁾–223⁽⁹⁾. The text is written in silver ink on black paper.

A diplomatic edition of the text is presented below; it follows the same principles as specified in Appendix 2 of the paper by Zorin, Turanskaya, Helman-Ważny in this issue of RET.

Recto kha__suṃ·brgya·bco·[??]

@#ḡ __ rnam·par·bya[ng·ba]r'gyur·ba'am 'gro·ba·lnga'i·'khor·ba·na·gdags·pa'i· ¹ dngos·po·gang·yang·ma·mchis·lags·so bka'·stsal·pa rab'byor·de[·lta·r·cho]s·thams·cad· ² kyi·chos·kyi·tshul· ³ [__ (?)]legs·	1
par·rtogs·pa·yi·n·no de·nas·bcom·ldan'·das·la·tshe·dang·ldan·ba·rab'byor·kyis'·di·skad·ces·gsol·to bcom·ldan'·das·ci·gzugs·thams·cad·de·bzhi·g[sheg]s·pa'i·sprul·pa·lta·bu·lags·sa[?]m tshor·[ba·tha]ms·ca[d]	2
dang;'du·shes·thams·cad·dang _'du·byed·thams·cad·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·thams·cad·kyang·de·bzhi·n·gshegs·pa'i·sprul·pa·lta·bu·lags·sam bka'·stsal·pa ⁴ rab'byor·gzugs·thams·cad·ni·d[e]·bzhi·n·gshegs_	3
pa'i·sprul·pa·lta·bu·yin·no tshor·ba·thams·cad·dang 'du·shes·thams·cad·dang 'du·byed·thams·cad·dang rnam·par·shes·pa·thams·cad·kyang·de·bzhi·n·gshegs·pa'·i·sprul·pa·lta·bu·yi·n·no gsol·pa bcom·ldan'·das·gal	4
te·thams·cad·spul·pa·lta·bu·lags·na[_]sprul·pa·la·ni·gzugs· ⁵ ma·mchis tshor·ba·ma·mchis 'du·shes·ma·mchis 'du·byed·rnams·ma·mchis rnam·par·shes·pa·ma·mchi·s kun·nas·nyon·mongs·pa·ma·mchis [rna]m·par·byang	5
[ba·ma·mchi]s·shing gang·las·sem[s]·can·[rnam]s·yongs·su·thar·par·bgyi·ba'·i·'gro·ba·_lnga'i·'khor·ba·yang·ma·mchis·lags·na 'o·na·ji·lta·r·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po'i·skyes·bu'i·mth[u]r'gyur·lags	6
[bcom·lda]n'·das·kyis·bka'·stsal·pa ra[b·]'byo[r·]'di·ji·snyam·du·sems byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·pos·sngon·	7

²³ The final syllable of the number is illegible but the variant 'bco' can be used only with 'lnga' or 'brgyad'.

byang·chub·sems·dpa'i·spyad·pa·spyod·pa·na gang·sems·can ⁶ dmyal·ba'·am dud'·gro'i·skye·gnas·	
[sam g]shin·rje'i'·jig·rten'·am ⁷ mi'am·lha·dag·las·yongs·su· thar·bar·bya·ba'·i·sems·can'·ga'·yang·dmigs·snyam'·am ⁸ gsol· ba·bcom·ldan'·das·de_·ni·ma·lags·so bka'·stsal·pa rab·[byor· de·]d[e·bzhin]	8

Notes: ¹ gda' ba'i; ² rnam; ³ P: +la; ⁴ NZh: —; ⁵ Y: bzugs; ⁶ Y: —; ⁷ nam; ⁸ NCUZh: mam.

Verso

[no de·de·bzhin]·te ___byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·d[pa]'· chen·pos:;(gang·kham)s·gsum·nas[·]yongs·su·thar·par·bya·ba'·i· sems·___can'·ga'·yang·mi·dmigs·so de·ci'i·phyir·zhe·na 'di· ltar·des·chos·thams·cad·sgyu·ma·lta·bu	1
[dang sprul·pa·lta·]bur·shes·shi·ng·mthong·la·rnam·par·rig·pa'i· phyir·ro gsol·pa bcom·ldan'·das+gal·te·byang·chub·sems· dpa'·sems·dpa'·ch[e]n·pos·chos·thams·cad·sgyu·ma·lta·bu·dang· sprul·pa·lta·bur'·tshal·ci·ng· ⁹ mtho·ng	2
[la·rnam·par·rig]·lags·na _byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen· po ¹⁰ ·gang·gi·don_·du·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa:;(drug)dang bsam· gtan·bzhi·dang tshad·med·pa·bzhi·dang gzugs·med·pa'i·snyoms· par_·jug·pa·bzhi·dang byang·chub	3
[kyi·phyogs·kyi·cho]s·sum·bcu ¹¹ ·rtsa·bdun·[dang]byang·chub· kyi·lam·la·spyod·ci·ng·sangs·rgyas·kyi·zhi·ng·yongs·su·dag·par· bgyid·pa·dang sems·can·rnam·yo·ngs·su·smin·par ¹² ·bgyid·lags de·skad·ces·gsol·pa·dang bcom·ldan_	4
[das·]ky[i]s·tsh[e]·dang·ldan·ba·rab'·byor·la'·d[i]·skad·ces·bka'· stsal·to rab'·byor·gal·te·sems·can·rnam·rang·rang·gis ¹³ ·chos· thams·cad·rmi·lam·lta·bu·dang sprul·pa·lta·bur·shes·su·zin·na· ni byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sem·s	5
dpa'·chen·po·yang·sems·can·rnam·kyi·don·du·bskal·pa·grangs· med·par· byang·chub·sems·dpa'i·spyad·pa·mi·spyod·pa·zhig· na rab'·byor'·di·ltar·sems·can·rnam·rang·rang·gis·chos·thams· cad·rmi·lam·lta·bu·dang sprul·pa·lta·b[u]r	6
mi·shes·te;de'i·phyir·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po· bskal·ba·grangs·med·par·pha·rol·tu·phyi·n·pa·drug·la·spyod· ci·ng· sems·can·rnam·yongs·su·smin·pa[r·bye]d sangs·rgyas· kyi·zhi·ng·yongs·su·dag·pa[r·]byed·do de·nas_	7
bcom·ldan'·das·la·tshe·dang·ldan·ba·rab'·byor·gyis'·di·skad·ces· gsol·to bcom·ldan'·das·gal·te·chos·thams·cad·rmi·lam·lta·bu· dang __mig·[y]or·lta·bu·dang [sgyu·]ma·lta·bu·dang smi·g·	8

sgyu. ¹⁴ lta·bu·dang· sprul·pa·lta·bu·lags·na	
--	--

Notes: ⁹ zhing; ¹⁰ DU: pos; ¹¹ cu; ¹² YP: pa; ¹³ DYPLNCZh: gi; ¹⁴ rgyu.

2. The Mongolian folio OL 3 (fig. 6–7)

This is a fragment of the so-called ‘golden’ Kanjur;²⁴ this folio became known to the academic community as ‘Codex Renatus Lincopensis’.

J. Rohnström managed to discover a faint photograph of the fragment in the collection of Birger Mörner (1867–1930), a Swedish diplomat, traveler, and writer. In a letter dated April 19, 1880, a well-known French Mongolist and Tibetologist, Léon Feer (1830–1902), mentioned that he obviously made the first draft translation of the fragment on Strindberg’s request. L. Feer characterized it in the words “la traduction n’est pas un chef-d’œuvre” (“the translation is not a masterpiece”) and added that “il y a, dans les traités bouddhiques, nombre de passages comme ceux-ci, où le bizarre le dispute à l’obscur” (“in the Buddhist treatises there are numerous passages like these, where the bizarre contends with the obscure”) [Rohnström, 1971: 300].

²⁴ For more details about these Kanjur folios, see Alekseev, Turanskaya, Yampolskaya 2016: 89–91; Baipakov et al. 2019: 263–269. The question of their origination—Sem Palat vs Ablai-kit—is briefly discussed in the paper by Zorin, Turanskaya, Helman-Ważny in this issue of RET.

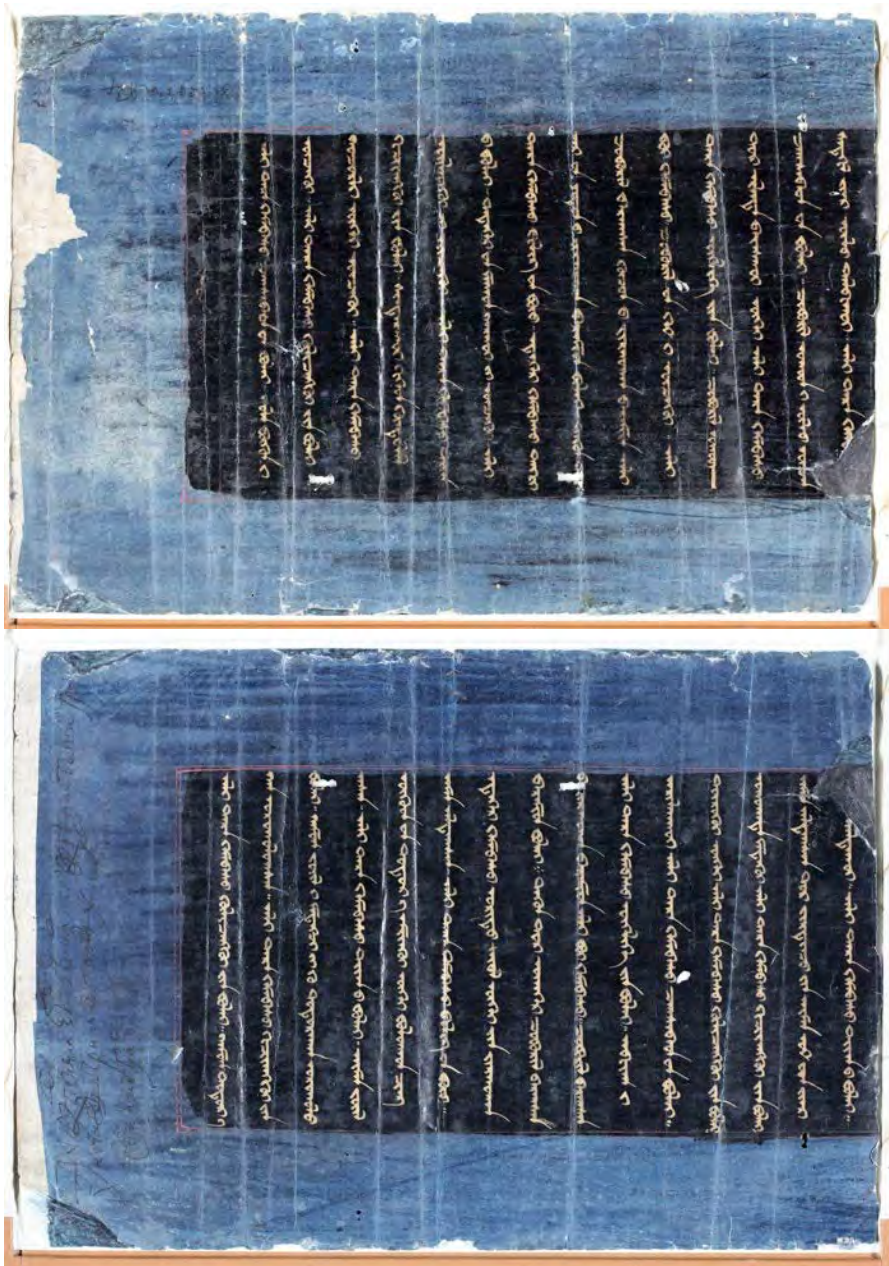


Fig. 6-7. OL 3 (Linköping City Library)

The facsimile published along with Rohnström's article allowed W. Heissig to edit the text fragment eight years later [Heissig 1979: 201]. However, it contained multiple misreadings, and text identification was not provided.

The folio is incomplete, with the right part missing (13–16 lines are missing). The text is written in golden ink on indigo blue paper. As another translation of the text was included in the Beijing block print edition of Mongolian Kanjur (BK) and the corresponding version in the St. Petersburg manuscript Kanjur (PK) differs significantly, the missing text fragment could not be reconstructed properly.

Volume marker: Tib. ka, Mong. eldeb. *Foliation:* 109 (ḡayun yisün).

Skt. Āryabhadrakalpikanāmamahāyānasūtra, Tib. 'Phags pa bskal pa bzang po pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, Mong. Qutuḡ-tu sayin čaḡ-un neretü yeke kölgen sudur.²⁵

For collation: BK: eldeb, ka, 99a–100a; D: mdo sde, ka, 84a⁽¹⁾-85b⁽²⁾.

A diplomatic edition of the text is presented below; it follows the same principles as specified in Appendix 1 of the paper by Zorin, Turanskaya, Helman-Ważny in this issue of RET.

Recto

ali tere kemebesü čaḡsabad-un bolai: olan bükün-i	1
üjeküi: ali tere kemebesü küličenggüi-yin bolai:	2
qočorli ügei üjeküi: ali tere kemebesü	3
kičiyenggüi-yin bolai: sintaraqı kiged kündülel	4
üiledküi-yi üjeküi ali tere kemebesü diyan	5
-u bolai: tedeger-ün mayad ḡarqui-yi üjeküi: ali	6
tere kemebesü bilig-ün buyu: edeger kemebesü tngri	7
-ner-ün nidün-ü ḡırḡuyan baramid bolai: tegün-tür	8
čuburil baraysan küčün-ü ḡırḡuyan baramid ali	9
bui kemebesü: čuburil-un gem-i üjeküi: ali	10
tere kemebesü öglige-yin bolai: čuburil-nuḡud	11
-tur ilete bayasqui ügei ali tere kemebesü	12
čaḡsabad-un bolai: čuburil-nuḡud-i ülü üjen	13
sedkil-iyer ülü talbıqi: ali tere ke[mebesü ***]	14

Verso

ali tere kemebesü küličenggüi-yin bolai: qamuḡ dotor-a	1
-qan oroyuluḡsan: ali tere kemebesü kičiyenggüi-yin	2
bolai: qamuḡ jüil-i medegči-yi kü dotoraqan oroyulu	3
ḡsan: ali tere kemebesü diyan-ü bolai: naiman jüil	4

²⁵ Cf. Kasyanenko 1993: No. 615; Ligeti 1942–1944: No. 849; Hackett 2012: No. 111.

nököd-ün dotor-a emiyeküi ügei boluyad čing	5
aman aldayсан: ali tere kemebesü bilig-ün buyu:	6
edeger kemebesü uridu ayul ügei-yin jiryuyan	7
baramid bolai :: tegün-tür üneger uburil baraysan	8
-u jiryuyan baramid ali bui kemebesü: čuburil baraysan	9
ali tere kemebesü öglige-yin bolai: abiyay(=abiyas)-i	10
arilyaqui ali tere kemebesü čaysabad-un bolai:	11
töröküi ügei ali tere kemebesü küličenggüi-yin bolai:	12
oγoγata medeküi ali tere kemebesü kičiyenggüi-yin bolai:	13
aman aldayсан-tur yirtinčü-yin naiman nom-ud-iyar	14
[ülü] qaldaqui: ali tere kemebesü diyan-u bolai: [***]	15

3. The Mongolian folio OL 5 (fig. 8–9)

This is a complete folio of one of the two sets of the ‘Black’ Kanjur set from Ablai-kit; Yampolskaya refers to it as Ms. 1. The text is written with black ink on plain white paper.²⁶ In the margin on the reverse side of the folio there is a later note in pencil “*Mongoliska Manchuriska*”.

The edition of the folio.

Volume marker: Tib. ga, Mong. olan sudur. *Foliation:* 102 (jaγun qoyar). *Working foliation:* 15 (arban tabun).

Skt. Āryalalitavistarānāmamahāyānasūtra, Tib. ‘Phags pa rgya cher rol pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo, Mong. Qutuγ-tu aγui yekede čenggegsen neretü yeke kölgen sudur.²⁷

For collation: BK: eldeb, k’a, 117a–118a; D: mdo sde, kha, 80a⁽³⁾–82a⁽²⁾.

²⁶ More details see in Yampolskaya 2015; Baipakov et al. 2019: 269–275.

²⁷ Cf. Kasyanenko 1993: No. 617; Ligeti 1942–1944: No. 850; Hackett 2012: No. 112.



Fig. 8-9. OL 5 (Linköping City Library)

A diplomatic edition of the text is presented below; it follows the same principles as specified in Appendix 2 of the paper by Zorin, Turanskaya, Helman-Ważny in this issue of RET.

Recto

@ nüken yarču : edüged-tür ber sumun-u quduy	1
kemegdekü bolai : tere çay-tur jayun mingyan tngri kümün	2
-nügüd ay-a yayiqamsiy kemen {nügüd} ügüleldüged :	3
jayun mingyan çokilduqu inegeldüküi dayun yarbai :	4
sakyaliy saky-a-lig-ud-un qamuç çiyulyan ber	5
yayiqamsiy tangsuç-i öljü : ai yayiqamsiy bolai: ene	6
kemebesü surbasu ber suruça edüküy-e kücü-ber medekü	7
ene metü tegüsüksen kemebesü yeke yayiqamsiy kü bolai :	8
kemen ügüleldübei : oytarçui-yin töb-tür bükü	9
tngri-ner-ün köbegüd ber : sudadani qaçan kiged	10
olangki irgen oryon-u ²⁸ tedeger çiyulyan-tur eyin	11
kemen ügülebei : tere metü yayun yeke yayiqamsiy bui :	12
tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü ene kemebesü yaçar-un	13
jirüken erten-ü burçan-u sayurin-tur sayuçad :	14
amurliysan numu-yi bariju bi ügei qoyosun sumud-iyar	15
nis-vanis-un dayisun-i daruçad üjelün toor-i tamtulju	16
{bu} bür-ün : kir ügei çasalang ügei amurliysan degedü	17
bodi qutuç-i oluyu :: teyin kemen ügüleju : tedeger	18
tngri-ner-ün köbegüd bodisung-tur tngri-ner çecög-üd	19
-i ilete saçuçad jorçibai : tegünçilen kü qarayıqu-yi	20
kiged üsüg yar-un toç-a sanaya toçalaqui bökes-ün	21
barilduqui : qolada-ça onoqui orolduqui kinaqui	22
umbaqaqui qarbaqu qaçan(=jaçan)-u küjügün-tür unuqui :	23
mörin-tür bisiyu bolqu-yi : tergen-ü arç-a numu sumu	24
arç-a : orosingçui kücün auç-a baçaturqaqui :	25
qadqulduqui quç-a-bar qubilçaqui arç-a alm-a-yin	26
arç-a uruysiban olduriqu qoyisiban çoyuriqu-yi	27
kelberiküi barilduqui alququi üsün jayidqui oçtalqu	28
tamtulqui jançiqui ebdeküi qaçalqui aldal ügei onoqui :	29

Verso

{ki} amin-tür onoqui sonosdaqui-aça onoqui	1
küçütüy-e onoqui sintaran (=sitar-a)-u naçadun jokis-tu ayaçyu	2
-yi nayiraçulqu-yi mör juraç öngge öngge-yin üiles	3
arç-a-yi onoqui çalun üiles küg dayun-u egisiç :	4
büjig quçur : çoyur üsüg uriqui nidün sirteküi	5
kelelçeküi : inegeküi naçadqui tebseküi üjügürgeküi :	6
erikes kelkiküi degigür-iyer degiküi : buduç-iyar erdenis	7

²⁸ The Mongolian word oryon ‘people’ is most often used in Middle Mongol and Preclassical Written Mongol as an element of the compound.

qubilyaqui	
buduγ-iyar torγan qubilyaqui : nidün	8
qubilayaqui : jegüdün-ü belge-yi onoqui : sibayun-u	9
kelen : em-e-yin sinji er-e-yin sinji : jayān-u sinji : mörin	10
-ü sinji : üker-ün sinji : qonin-u sinji : imayān-u sinji :	11
noqai-yin sinji : belgetey-e medeküi dayun-i mayad barildu	12
γulqui : deger-e ayalyu qubilyaqui : balar erten-ü	13
üge : ved <sastir> vivangirid ögküi : mayad üge : üsüg-ün	14
kündü könggen : üge qubilyan-qui : takil öglige-yin	15
jang : odun-u toro(=törö): sangku ²⁹ (?) -yin törö yogaçari-yin törö	16
üiles-ün ayimaγ : visasikin ³⁰ -u törö : ed tavar-i	17
uqaqui : barayasabad ³¹ -yin törö : varuna-yin törö	18
asuri-yin törö : görögesün sibayun-u kelen : yukti ³² -yin	19
uqayan : enggesgen-ü onisun lab-iyar üiledküi : onoqu	20
-yi çoyulbir joriqu-yi : nabçin eskeküi : küji nayirayul	21
qui terigüten yirtinçü-yin küçün qubilyan-i tngri	22
kiged kümün-eçe deged bügüde-tür ber : bodisung	23
imayta ilangγuy-a übedegsi ülebei : tere çay-tur	24
{ted} tedeger sakiliγ öber-ün kübege ökin-ü bodisung	25
-tur ögbei sududani qayan ber tegün-i jergeber beride	26
abuyad bodisung-tur ögbei : tende bodisung	27
yirtinçü-tek-in-luγ-a adalidqan üiledküi-yin tula	28
da : naiman tümen dörben mingyan qatud-un dotor-a	29
sayuju : amaraldun jiryaldun sayitur yabuqui	30

Conclusions

The three folios, one in Tibetan and two in Mongolian, preserved in the collection of the Linköping City Library, were brought from the two Oirat monasteries discovered in Southern Siberia in the early 18th century. Evidently, they were acquired by Erik Benzelius the younger, the director of the Linköping library and a Swedish encyclopedist with a keen interest in Russia and Central Asia.

One of the folios, Ol 3, became associated with a Swedish warrant officer Johan Gustaf Renat, due to Johan August Strindberg who tried to study it in the early 1880s and named it “Codex Rensus Lincopensis”. This version is not correct as becomes clear from the inscription in Russian cursive writing. It provides the date, July of

²⁹ Skt. sāmkhya. BK: toγatan.

³⁰ Skt. vaišeṣika.

³¹ Skt. bṛhaspati.

³² Skt. yukti, Tib. gtan tshigs; BK: nuta üge.

1720, and at that time Renat had been already taken by Dzungars deep inside the territory they controlled.

The inscription mentions a certain Grigoriy Nechaev, a collector of the Beloyarsk fortress, and the existence of such a person in the vicinity of this fortress in this period of time is testified by archival documents held in the RSAAA.

Perhaps, this folio might have been possessed by Philipp Strahlenberg who obtained, in August of 1721, one or two folios brought from Bikatun, a place related to the Beloyarskaya fortress. Strahlenberg was also a correspondent of Benzelius and sent him some of the artifacts he brought to Sweden from Siberia. However, no direct evidence that Benzelius obtained any Tibetan or Mongolian folios from Strahlenberg has been found so far.

Ol 3 also has another inscription, written in an unidentified script. Perhaps, it is an imitation of randomly selected elements of the Mongolian writing but this remains only an assumption.

Each of the three folios represent varying types of the folios brought from Sem Palat and Ablai-kit. Ol 3, the Mongolian folio on the blue paper, likely belonged to the Sem Palat library, while the Tibetan folio with text on black paper (OL 4) and the Mongolian folio with text on white paper (OL 5) were brought from Ablai-kit.

The edition of these folios continues series of publications of the fragments from the two Oirat monasteries scattered between a number of depositories.

Abbreviations

BK	Beijing block print edition of Mongolian Kanjur
D	Derge (sde dge) block print edition of Bka' 'gyur
IOM RAS	Institute of Oriental manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences
PK	St. Petersburg manuscript Kanjur
RSAAA	Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts

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Review on the book:
Dmitry Ivanov. *Buddiiskie kollektsii Kunstkamery*
[Buddhist Collections of the Kunstkamera]. Saint
Petersburg: Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography,
RAS, 2021. 224 pp., ill. (*Kunstkamera Petropolitana*.)
ISBN 978-5-88431-397-2

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his book presents the significant findings resulting from Dmitry Ivanov's focused study of more than fifteen years on reconstructing the earliest phase of collecting Buddhist artefacts by the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences.¹ It covers the span of time from Peter the Great's last years up to the very end of the 18th century. The Academy obtained all these objects through the contributions of several outstanding scholars and travelers, all of them Germans by origin, who played a substantial role in exploring remote parts of the Russian Empire. The book is based on meticulous study of archival documents and actual objects kept at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography of the Russian Academy of Sciences (MAE RAS), the main heir of the legacy of the first Russian museum, known as the Kunstkamera and founded by Peter the Great in 1714. Despite completing this book, the author's exploration of the subject remains ongoing. He has recently unveiled a preliminary version of an online catalogue showcasing the earliest Buddhist collections housed at the MAE RAS, comprising images and brief descriptions of 124 items.² When necessary, I will refer to the numbers of this catalogue in this review.

¹ See his first major contribution on this topic: Ivanov D. "Buddiiskie kollektsii Kunstkamery XVIII veka" [Buddhist Collections of the Kunstkamera from the 18th Century]. *Vostochnaia Aziia: Veshchi, istoriia kollektsii, teksty* [Eastern Asia: Items, History, Collections, Texts]. St. Petersburg: Nauka, pp. 254–276.

² URL: <https://www.kunstkamera.ru/exposition/cpecproekty/buddiyskoe-sobranie-akademii-nauk-xviii-v-/> (access 22.12.2023). The text's original language is in Russian, but it can be easily translated into English or other languages using services like Google Translate.

It is a great merit of the book that the author dedicates the first chapter to describing how the 'old Kunstkamera', once a relatively unified entity up to the beginning of the 19th century, evolved into several museums. The process commenced with the foundation of the Asiatic Museum in 1818, initially receiving all Oriental items, including arts and ethnography. For the first time, the exact location of this museum within the Kunstkamera, its home until the early 20th century, is revealed. Other museums subsequently emerged, and the Asiatic Museum transferred most items unrelated to textual and numismatic collections to the Museum of Ethnography (1837), which was later merged with the Museum of Anthropology (1879). These changes led to cataloging complexities due to objects being assigned different numbers over time. Moreover, 18th-century documentation has gaps, making it challenging to identify items from the earliest collections. The author's efforts have made it possible to connect over one hundred items to specific 18th-century collectors. Some items were housed temporarily at the Museum of the History of Religion (established in 1932), and some remain in its possession. This story is also discussed in great detail for the first time.

The next two chapters focus on the collections of Buddhist arts acquired for the Academy of Sciences mainly by the following four scholars: Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685–1735), Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705–1783), Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811), and Johannes Jährgig (1747–1795). Among them, Daniel Messerschmidt played a foundational role; the extensive collections he brought from Siberia in 1727 were proudly exhibited at the Kunstkamera.³ Unfortunately, these collections were lost in a devastating fire at the Kunstkamera in December of 1747, prompting the Academy to seek compensation for its losses (p. 58). Thus, about twenty objects were acquired from Gerhard Müller in 1748 (pp. 61–62). The scholar claimed to have "spent extraordinary efforts and many presents" to procure "this gathering of very rare things unseen in Europe so far" (p. 62). The Author states that these items were obtained from Agwang Puntsuk (=Ngawang Puntsok) (d. 1752?), the initial head of Buryat Buddhists,⁴

³ The first Buddhist items, however, appeared during Peter the Great's time. As the author rightly mentions, the foundations of collecting Oriental curiosities in Russia were laid by the reformist Russian tsar himself (pp. 43–44). One could add that by 1721, the Saint Petersburg collection had at least a couple of Buddhist statuettes; engravings depicting them were published by Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741) in his *Supplément au liore de l'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*. T. 5. Paris, 1724, Pl. LXIX–LXX. Unfortunately, these statuettes seem to have been lost.

⁴ He was a Tibetan lama originally from the Cone monastery. Müller never addresses him by name but uses the title Dzorzhi Lama or Tsordzhi Lama, derived from the Tibetan *chos rje* (though there is a typo in the book: *thos rje*, p. 75, no. 94). The Author delves into several pages discussing whether this could have referred

in 1738 (p. 76–77).⁵ Alongside several “Mungal idols” (Buddhist icons and clay figurines known as *tsatsa*), they included a hand drum, a hand-held praying wheel, a couple of musical plates and a rosary, among other items.

A substantial enrichment of the Kunstkamera collection occurred in 1770, attributed to Peter Pallas, who orchestrated the acquisition of “82 burkhans” (bronze Buddhist statuettes) from the Ural Cossacks in Yaitsky Gorodok (currently Oral or Uralsk, Kazakhstan). The author has reconstructed this captivating story in meticulous detail (pp. 88–107). The Cossacks maintained close ties with the Kalmyks, some of whom even served in the Cossack Army, and obtained these objects either from them or more plausibly from the Kazakhs as, according to Pallas, they looted numerous Oirat monasteries following the downfall of the Dzungar Khanate (p. 106). The collection acquired by the Academy of Sciences included “Nepalese and Tibetan statuettes, works of the esteemed Mongolian Master Zanabazar, and sculptures in the Dolonnor style” (p. 184).

Pallas’s first expedition throughout Russia also contributed to the Kunstkamera collection with the following artifacts: in 1771, from Captain Islenyev (1738–1784), Pallas acquired three “idols” from Ablai-kit and three small fragments from its structures (p. 107–108); during his travels among the Buryats in 1772–1773, Pallas obtained several Buddhist hats and a monk’s garment (p. 117).

Another significant ‘acquisition’ of Pallas for the Academy of Sciences was Johannes Jährgig, a modest German who was expelled from the Herrnhut community in Sarepta (on the Volga River) due to his deep fascination with Kalmyk culture and way of life (p. 122). Thanks to Pallas, Jährgig was accepted onto the staff of the Academy of Sciences as a translator and, in return, provided his patron with extensive information about Buddhism, including Tibetan translations that Pallas used in his works (pp. 123, 155). Due to the migration of a significant part of the Kalmyks from Russia to Dzungaria in 1771, fewer learned lamas remained in the southwest of Russia. Consequently, in 1779, Pallas arranged for his assistant to relocate to Buryatia, where Jährgig continued his studies of Mongolian and Tibetan

to Damba-Dorjo Zayaev (1710–1776), the first holder of the title Bandida or Bandido (now spelled as Pandito) Khambo Lama, the grand lama of the Transbaikalian Buddhists. However, the Author concludes that this suggestion, proposed by the current 24th Pandito Khambo Lama, Damba Ayusheev, lacks support from Müller’s correspondence (pp. 73–76).

⁵ It is notable that Müller, when sending his query to Ngawang Puntsok, stated that the objects were intended for the Imperial Kunstkamera and pledged “a significant commendation” to his correspondent (p. 77). And yet, the Kunstkamera received these items ten years later, and the Academy of Sciences had to pay 30 rubles for their acquisition.

languages (p. 127). Among his responsibilities was procuring and copying Buddhist icons, and in 1782, Jährig sent drawings of the four Mahārājas (Great Kings), guardians of the directions, and a copy of an icon of Padmasambhava that he had made himself.⁶

A year later, a painting depicting Buddha Dīpaṃkara⁷ was sent to the Academy of Sciences by Lubsan Zhimba Akhaldav (ca. 1711–1797), Jährig's personal Tibetan teacher and the abbot of Gusinoozersky Datsang.⁸ This painting was a token of gratitude for a silver medal awarded to Akhaldav by the Academy for his efforts in teaching Jährig. This helped Akhaldav in his competition for an equal hierarchical position with the second Bandida (Pandito) Khambo Lama, Sodnompil Kheterkheev who had held authority over all Buryat Buddhists from the oldest Tsongolsky Datsang. With Akhaldav becoming the third Bandida Khambo Lama, this presidency became divided. The author vividly reconstructs this episode, noting, "While the academicians residing in Saint Petersburg did not grasp the intricacies of the intrigues among the grand Buryat lamas, Jährig, who genuinely sympathized with his old teacher, understood well the significance that this exchange of gifts held for Akhaldav and Gusinoozersky Datsang" (p. 138).

Jährig, who favored a free life among the Russian Mongols, rarely visited Saint Petersburg but, in 1789, he appeared in the capital on the orders of the Academy's President, Ekaterina Dashkova (1743–1810). She was benevolent to the modest translator and kept him in service even though Pallas lost his positions in Saint Petersburg at the end of the 1780s (pp. 157–158). Upon his arrival, Jährig transferred his collections of Tibetan and Mongolian books along with Buddhist icons to the Academy's Library. This event allows the author to commence the fourth and last chapter of his book that is dedicated to items held at the MAE RAS but previously associated with the library.⁹

In addition to delivering his collections, Jährig provided brief descriptions in German, which were posthumously published in 1796 by librarian Johann Busse (1763–1835).¹⁰ Busse also compiled an

⁶ See the online catalogue: nos. 78–81, 83.

⁷ See the online catalogue: no. 82.

⁸ Buddhist monasteries in Buryatia are traditionally called *datsangs* (from Tib. *grwa tshang*).

⁹ It prompts the question of why these items were moved from the Asiatic Museum to the Museum of Ethnography in the 19th century. The book does not provide an answer. I can speculate that this shift might have occurred because none of the objects could be categorized as Tibetan or Mongolian manuscripts or block prints, even though some of them belong to this book culture.

¹⁰ [Busse J., Jährig J.] "Über die Mongolischen Bücher der hiesigen akademischen Bibliothek. Verzeichniß des Inhalts Mongolischer und Tübätischer, theils gedruckter, theils geschriebener Bücher und Schriften, und selbst abgezeichneter

unpublished addition in 1798, listing other objects found at the Academy's library that were not cataloged by Jähri¹¹. This addition revealed that one icon from Jähri's collection was missing,¹² prompting Busse to attempt a substitution with another icon, likely identified as a thangka of White Mahākāla according to the description. However, this and two other thangkas of similar style owned by the *Kunstkamera* by the late 18th century¹³ were not included in Jähri's list of icons. While these three are now housed at the MAE RAS, the author does not discuss the latter. Perhaps, this matter will be clarified in due course.¹⁴

The origin of the three icons remains uncertain, too. It is possible they were the same 'idols' obtained by Pallas from Islenyev and originating from Ablai-kit. However, the available documents lack specific descriptions of these 'idols', leaving us uncertain if they were icons or statuettes. One document refers to them as "three idol images" (*три идольские образа*), while another mentions "a small flat box containing three Kalmyk *istukans* from Mr. Captain Islenyev" (pp. 107–108). The Russian word *устыкан* (*istukan*) generally denotes 'an idol, an image of a pagan god', typically in a form of a statue or a carved figure. Yet, it is unclear if it might not have been used in a broader sense to refer to 'pagan' images without explicitly categorizing their material form. The fact that they were placed in a *flat* box adds to this ambiguity.

It is noteworthy that two of the icons depict a lama above the main deity (White Mahākāla in one case and Pelden Lhamo in the other), and in both cases the lama has the same type of hat recalling that of the First (Fourth) Panchen Lama, Losang Chökyi Gyaltzen

Allegorischer Tempeln-Bildniße Brachmanischer Heiligen, wie selbige in derselben Tempeln befindlich". *Journal von Rußland*. Dritter Jahrgang. Zweiter Band. St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Buchdruckerei, pp. 122–144.

¹¹ *Catalogus librorum Sinicorum, Manshuricorum, Japonicorum nec non Mongolicorum, Tiibeticorumque in Academiae Imperialis Petropolitanae Bibliotheca qui reperiunter*. Petropoli IV Idus Septembris MDCCXCVIII. – The manuscript is kept at the Saint Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Collection 3, inventory book 1, item 2263. The list that relates to Tibetan and Mongolian collections was published in: Walravens H., Zorin A. "Two archival documents on the Tibetan and Mongolian Texts Preserved at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences by the end of the 18th century and not included in J. Jähri's Catalogue". *Zentralasiatische Studien*, vol. 45, 2016, pp. 659–676.

¹² In Jähri's description, it is numbered '1–25', which might seem unusual at first glance. However, the description clarifies that the icon depicted 25 figures—the Buddha, his two principal disciples, the eighteen arhats, and the four great kings.

¹³ See the online catalogue: nos. 117–119.

¹⁴ It is highly likely that nos. 114–116 in the online catalogue align with items 53, 80 and 88 in Jähri's description. These items consist of copies depicting Yamāntaka and sets of different Buddhist symbols, presumably drawn by the German scholar.

(1570–1662). In the first case, there seems to be no doubt that it is he who is depicted: the lama holds a *pothī* book with his left hand, and his right hand shows the teaching *mudrā*.¹⁵ In the second case, there is no book, and both hands are clasped together, probably showing the teaching *mudrā* (this detail is not clearly visible on the digital copy). The presence of Losang Chökyi Gyaltsen on these icons (or at least on one of them) may be meaningful since Zaya Pandita (1599–1662), who inaugurated Ablai-kit, was his disciple. Thus, it may be one of the arguments to identify them as originating from this Oirat monastery and acquired from Islenyev.

I am uncertain if the stylistic elements of these three icons align chronologically with the assumption that they were created in the 17th century when Ablai-kit was established. Currently, we only have knowledge of one icon from either Sem Palat or Ablai-kit, and it differs stylistically from these three. I mean an icon of the wrathful deity Acala that once belonged to Gottlieb (Theophilus) Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738), the first Orientalist at the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, and is presently preserved at the Glasgow University Library. However, this stylistic difference might not pose an issue since the Acala icon could have belonged to Sem Palat and been crafted earlier or by local artists. Nonetheless, it would be beneficial if experts specializing in the history of Tibetan Buddhist arts could analyze these objects. For this purpose, I am including the photo of the Acala icon in the appendix to this review.¹⁶

Some more objects from Ablai-kit potentially can be identified among two wooden 'books' (*sambar*) and several printing matrixes preserved in the MAE RAS.¹⁷ Apart from Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts, the list of objects taken from this Oirat monastery and sent to Saint Petersburg by Gerhard Müller and his companion Johann Gmelin (1709–1755) in August of 1734 included a wooden Kalmyk 'book', Kalmyk printing blocks (6 nos.), and four Buddhist icons painted on wooden plates.¹⁸ Regrettably, these plates seem to have been lost (perhaps, in the fire of 1747). But the *sambar* and printing

¹⁵ Cf., for instance, with this thangka: <https://www.himalayanart.org/items/2180> (access 22.12.2023).

¹⁶ The icon itself was published first by David Weston, Honorary Research Fellow of the University of Glasgow Library, in a book that is not very known to Tibetologists: *William Hunter and the Anatomy of the Modern Museum*. Edited by Mungo Campbell and Nathan Flis, with the assistance of María Dolores Sánchez-Jáuregui. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, pp. 298–299.

¹⁷ See the online catalogue: nos. 104–105 (*sambar*s); 94, 95, 100, 101, 107 (printing blocks).

¹⁸ See p. 160 (25) in: Zorin A. "Tibetan Buddhist Texts Acquired by the Russian Academy of Sciences during the 18th Century". *Journal of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies*. Vol. XIX. Tokyo: ICPBS, 2015, pp. 184–142 (1–43).

blocks might have survived. According to Busse's addition to Jähriġ's catalogue, there were two wooden 'books' and six wooden printing blocks. One of the wooden books was acquired by the Academy of Sciences in 1794. Dmitry Ivanov suggests that it was brought by Peter Pallas and identifies it with one of the two *sambars* kept at the MAE RAS (p. 164). The other one, therefore, may have originated from Ablai-kit. As for the printing blocks, some of them could have been sent by Müller and Gmelin, some by Jähriġ. However, some old *sambars* and printing blocks are also kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. The exact attribution of these items remains problematic (pp. 152–153).

To conclude the discussion on the Oirat monasteries, it is worth mentioning that Dmitry Ivanov tentatively attributes nine statuettes purchased by the Academy from the Cossacks in 1770, along with one *tsatsa* figurine, as originating from Ablai-kit.¹⁹ In addition, the Regional Museum of Local History in Semey (Semipalatinsk), Kazakhstan, displays at least one statuette of Amitāyus (?) and one *tsatsa* of Uṣṇīṣavijayā.²⁰ They were acquired in 1939 and 1907, respectively, from two people who had lived in Semipalatinsk for many years.²¹ Therefore, it is possible that these pieces of Buddhist art belong to the Oirat cultural legacy.²²

The last category of items discussed by the author comprises five engravings from European books.²³ One was created for Pallas's

¹⁹ See the online catalogue: nos. 29–31, 44–47, 69–70 (statuettes), 92 (*tsatsa*).

²⁰ <https://semeymuseum.kz/ekspozitsiya-posvyashhennaya-istorii-goroda/> (access 22.12.2023).

²¹ The information about these two pieces of Buddhist art was kindly provided to me by the Museum Chief Curator, Saktagan Serdalina (personal correspondence, December of 2023). According to the inventory book, the statuette of Amitāyus (shelf marks: COM 1353 and XP2716) was purchased by the Museum from Nikolay Beloslyudov (1880–1945). While he spent most of his life in Semipalatinsk and Ust-Kamenogorsk (the closest city to Ablai-kit), he also resided for several years in two other Siberian cities, Omsk and Tomsk. Consequently, the exact origin of this statuette remains unknown. Similar ambiguity surrounds the *tsatsa* of Uṣṇīṣavijayā (shelf marks: COM 1357 and XP1275). It was donated by Nikolai Nitskevich (?–1921?), a deputy governor of the Semipalatinsk Oblast from 1898 to 1907. Nitskevich had previously served in the Transbaikal Oblast, raising the possibility that he had obtained this artifact there from the local Buryats.

²² Several objects found by in 1857 during the excavations on the site where Sem Palat were located. They included, among various materials, a plate with an image of a stūpa, a human skull and a bull's skull with Buddhist symbols (they were used for rituals). See the description of these findings (preserved at the State Hermitage in Saint Petersburg) in: Gomboev G. "Obiasneniia Semipalatinskikh drevnostei" [The explanation of the Semipalatinsk antiquities]. *Izvestiia Imperatorskogo Archeologicheskogo Obshchestva* [News of the Imperial Archaeological Society]. Vol. 2. Saint Petersburg, 1861, pp. 207–219, pl. 1–II.

²³ See the online catalogue: nos. 109–113.

travelogue detailing his second Russian journey, in 1793–1794, during which he visited Kalmyck lands and Astrakhan.²⁴ There, he observed the rituals of the local Hindu merchants from Panjab, and this engraving depicts their temple (pp. 159–163). The other four engravings are individual offprints from Antonio Giorgi's (1711–1797) renowned book, *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (1762).²⁵ The Author provides an analysis of these engravings along with a concise narrative of the Christian missions to Tibet (pp. 165–179).

The Appendix to the book contains an annotated list of items purchased from the Ural Cossacks (pp. 191–201). This list utilizes their laconic descriptions compiled by Aleksei Protasov (1724–1796), the first ethnic Russian anatomist (!) at the Academy of Sciences (pp. 101–102), and other archival documents. Some objects are yet to be identified.

Without doubt, the ongoing work on the catalogue of the earliest Buddhist collections kept at the MAE RAS (Kunstkamera) promises to bring more details about this fascinating page of the history of academic collections and Buddhist studies in Russia. I am also hopeful that the currently partially introduced archival lists of these objects under study will be published in their entirety.

Appendix²⁶

The University of Glasgow Library possesses a collection of books from the private library of Gottlieb (Theophilus) Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738). It was sent from Saint Petersburg by its owner to Königsberg where he was going to return from Russia. His sudden death prevented him from doing this, and his widow sold the books to Heinrich Walther Gerdes (1690–1741), a Lutheran pastor resident in London.²⁷ After his death, the books were purchased by William Hunter, the noted Scottish anatomist and obstetrician, whose huge collections were eventually passed to Glasgow University. The Bayer

²⁴ Pallas P. S. *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise in die südlichen Statthalterschaften des Russischen Reichs in den Jahren 1793 und 1794*. Leipzig: G. Martini, 1799–1801; 1803 (2nd ed.).

²⁵ The library of the IOM RAS possesses a full copy of this valuable book.

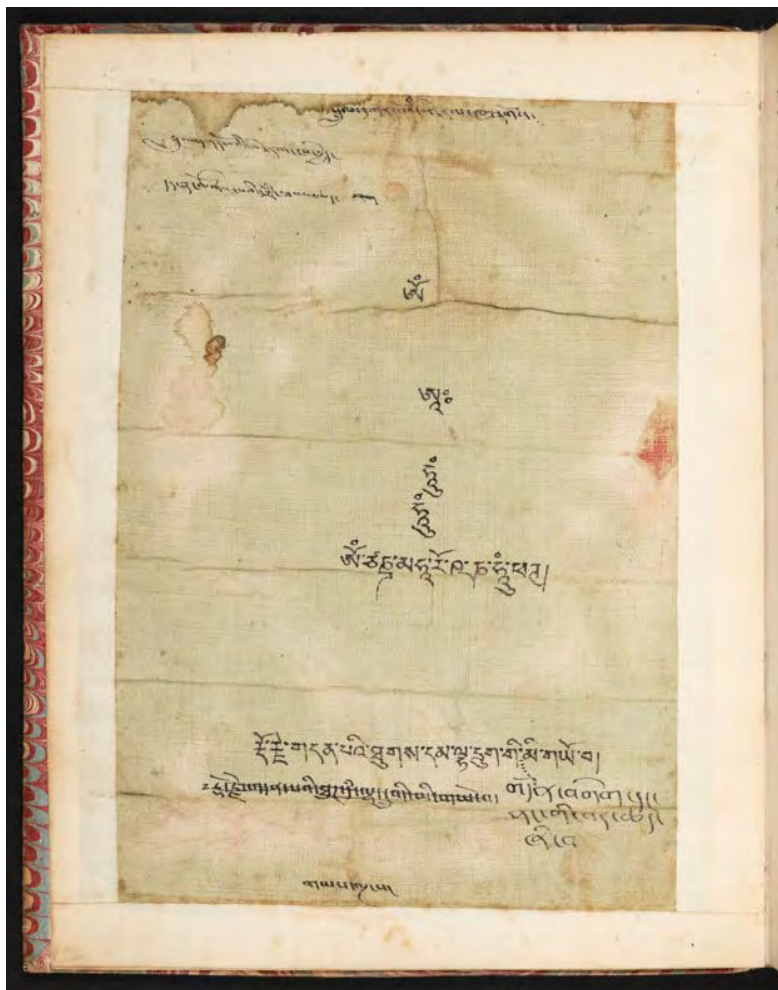
²⁶ **Acknowledgements.** This part was funded by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung, project number AZ 14/V/20. I am grateful to the staff of the University of Glasgow Library Archives & Special Collections for their help with accessing MS Hunter 246.

²⁷ Otherwise, it would have been acquired by the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences after Bayer's death. However, it does not necessarily mean that non-textual items, such as the icon of Acala, would have been kept in the Kunstkamera now. Regrettably, as we know, the Siberian collections of the first half of the 18th century (except for manuscripts) almost entirely disappeared in the fire of 1747.

(and Gerdes) collection was catalogued by David Weston, including the item *MS Hunter 246* which has the Latin title: *Idolum Tangutanum, Sinicum, Mungalicum, Calmucicum, Japonicum, ex Septem Palatiis direptum, simul cum variis variarum gentium et nominibus et interpretationibus.*



MS Hunter 246. Courtesy of The University of Glasgow Library



MS Hunter 246. Courtesy of The University of Glasgow Library

It is a European-style book containing the icon of the Buddhist wrathful deity Acala, accompanied by several Latin records related to it. David Weston published these records along with a comprehensive description of the book and the icon.²⁸ In the first record, Bayer

²⁸ Weston D. *The Bayer Collection. A preliminary catalogue of the manuscripts and books of Professor Theophilus Siegfried Bayer, acquired and augmented by the Reverend Dr Heinrich Walther Gerdes, now preserved in the Hunterian Library of the University of Glasgow*. University of Glasgow, 2018, pp. 65–69.

This edition also includes a description of a block-printed protective circle, MS Hunter 227, which may have belonged to Bayer (see pp. 64–65). This item is not

mentions that the icon was acquired from Baron Rehbinder, a Swedish officer who had been a Russian captive in Siberia. According to the record, the icon is said to have originated from Sem Palat, although I would not rule out the possibility that it was taken from Ablai-kit.

The icon depicts Kneeling Blue Acala (Tib. *mi g.yo sngon po pus btsugs ma*) as a part of the group named “Ācārya Vajrāsana’s six yidam deities.”²⁹ The reference to this group is indicated in one of the inscriptions found on the verso of the icon. Another name of Acala, Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa, can be extracted from his mantra written in the middle part of the verso. I provide below transcriptions of these and other inscriptions (mostly written in the *dbu med* script; other cases are noted).

A. The upper part (the inscriptions that refer to some details of Acala’s iconography):

- 1) (the sentence is crossed through) *sbrul dkar po’i se ral kha bgos* (“wears a white snake shoulder-belt”³⁰);
- 2) *sbrul dkar po’i se ral kha byed* (“makes a white snake shoulder-belt”);
- 3) *dar sna tshogs pa’i sram (=sham?) thabs chad (=chas?) | <??>* (“as his dress, [he has] a lower garment of various kinds of cloths”).

B. The middle part (written in the *dbu can* script; the mantras):

*om
āḥ
hūṃ
hūṃ
om tsa+ṅḍa ma+hā ro ṣa ṅa hūṃ phaṭ |*

C. The lower part (the inscriptions that refer to Acala as belonging to the group of six deities and define his functions):

- 1) (written in the *dbu can* script) *rdo rje gdan pa’i thugs dam lha drug gi mi g.yo ba |* (“Acala from [the group of] Vajrāsana’s six yidam deities”);

mentioned in the catalogue of his private library, but the presence of several inscriptions in Mongolian and a small inscription in Tibetan, accompanied by Latin annotations, suggests its association with Bayer. However, the origin of this item in his possession remains unknown. It is possible that it also originated from one of the Oirat monasteries.

²⁹ See: Willson M., Brauen M. *Deities of Tibetan Buddhism: The Zürich Paintings of the “Icons Worthwhile to See (Bris sku mthong ba don ldan)”*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2000, pp. 88–89, 282 (No. 173), and 94–97, 291–293 (nos. 195–200). MS Hunter 246 presents a standard depiction of Acala from the iconographic point of view; the only significant discrepancy is in the color of the body of the Buddha Akṣobhya atop the head of the deity (white instead of blue).

³⁰ See http://rywiki.tsadra.org/index.php/se_ral_kha (access 22.12.2023).

2) (a dotted line connects this sentence to the previous one) *gdon bgeg dang nang gi bar chad zhi ba* ("pacifying evil spirits and internal obstacles");

3) (written in the *dbu med* script; the sentence is crossed through) *^rdo rje gdan pa'i thuṭ dam lha dru-gi mi g.yo ba* ("Acala from [the group of] Vajrāsana's six yidam deities");

4) *g.yas lnga pa* ("right, the fifth").

The last inscription seems to indicate the place of the icon in the row of either the group of Vajrāsana's six yidams or another sequence that is unknown to us.




Part II

Oirat and Tibetan Historical Connections

Official documents in Mongolian language relating to the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit to Beijing in 1652–1653¹

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he visit of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, to Beijing in 1652–1653 was a history-making event. Needless to say, there is no shortage of scholarly studies and interpretations of this event.² The aim of the present article is to present to scholarly view a translation from Mongolian of several documents relating to this visit. Most of these documents are known through their translations from the Chinese. However, Chinese was one of the two state languages of the Qing 清 Empire alongside the Manchu language. The importance of the historical sources in the Manchu language which had hitherto been regarded just as “duplicates” of those in Chinese was recognized by historians in recent decades. The Mongolian language was also widely used for official purposes, in particular in regard to matters relating to the “outer territories” (Mongolia, Tibet and Eastern Turkestan). This particularly refers to the period of the early Qing at the time when the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit took place. These recently published documents, which are kept in the First Historical Archives of China in Beijing, demonstrate the fact that the official correspondence relating to the Fifth Dalai Lama's visit was primarily conducted in Mongolian. However, these letters contain only a part of the information and in most cases it is also written that the message would be conveyed orally by the envoy. The presents sent are always listed in these letters – most probably, with the aim of avoiding a possible theft.

The Dalai Lamas are commonly regarded as symbols of Tibet and “rule by incarnation” is considered as a unique and ingenious Tibetan

¹ **Acknowledgements.** The author wishes to express his profound gratitude to Dr. Diana Cousens (Melbourne) who kindly corrected the article and contributed valuable remarks.

² Ahmad 1970: 166–186; Li Pengnian, Chen Qiangyi 2004; Martynov, Pang 2003; Rockhill 1910: 13–18; Schwieger 2014: 61–64; Taklha 2019; Testimony of History 2002: 106–113; Tuttle 2006.

invention. However, initially the emergence of the Dalai Lamas was a Mongol project.

The Tibetan cleric, Bsod nams rgya mtsho (1543–1588), was given the title of “Dalai Lama” by a powerful Mongol ruler Altan Khan (1507–1582) in 1578. The word *dalai* means “ocean”. However, the first written texts in Mongolian already testify to its usage in the sense of “great, enormous, all-embracing”. In this meaning it was used as a part of the great Mongol Khan’s titles. In the “Secret History” (*Yuan chao mi shi* 元朝秘史, § 280) the expression *dalai-yin qahan* “the universal ruler” is used in relation to Ögedei, son and heir to Genggis Khan.

The vast and fragmented Mongolia of the sixteenth century needed a unifying authority acknowledged by everyone. Heaven was worshiped by the Mongols from time immemorial but who could speak on behalf of Heaven? Only a ruler chosen by Heaven, like the deified Genggis Khan who had no analogues in subsequent Mongolian history. Meanwhile the Dalai Lama was the incarnation of a deity and, as is evident from his title, was initially supposed to be the highest Buddhist authority. The second half of the sixteenth century is known as the second dissemination of Buddhism among the Mongols. Since that time Buddhism has dominated the spiritual, political and even economic life of the Mongols.

Having received the title “Dalai Lama”, Bsod nams rgya mtsho did not return to Tibet. After ten years of travels in Mongolia and Qinghai, he passed away on the way to Beijing in 1588. The next incarnation, the Fourth Dalai Lama, was Altan Khan’s grandson, Yon tan rgya mtsho (1589–1617), who arrived in Tibet only in 1603. In this way, twenty-five years after the title of the Dalai Lama was announced in Mongolia, its bearer appeared in Tibet. He was an ethnic Mongol and was accompanied by a Mongol military unit.

1. Sending an invitation to the Fifth Dalai Lama

The initiative to invite the Dalai Lama to the capital of the new Manchu Qing dynasty appeared almost simultaneously with its promulgation in 1636. There exist two letters about the invitation of the Dalai Lama sent by rulers of Khalkha Mongolia to the Emperor in 1637. It should be noted that Khalkha (also known as “Northern” and “Outer”) Mongolia did not join the Qing Empire with the Southern (“Inner”) Mongolia. Some Chinese officials regarded the invitation of the Dalai Lama as a means of establishing control over Khalkha Mongolia.³

³ Ahmad 1970: 169.

Oum svasti siddham:

Maq-a-samadi Sečen qaγan-i boγda-du bičig bariba:

Boγda mendü buyu: bide ende mendü bui:

Dalai lam-a-yi ĵalay-a gegči ĵöb buyu: Ende doloγan qosiyu Qalq-a: ĵalay-a geĵi bayiy-a bile: Basa Dörben Oyirad ĵalay-a gegser bile: Tani ĵalayčün: mani dayarin ir-e: Qamtu-bar yabuγsan ĵöb buyu: γurban qaγan-i mani üge nige ĵöblegsen bai: Bide γurban-i üge nige-yin tulada: mendü asayun elči-ben ilegegči ene bile: Bičig-ün beleg-tü: döčün bulaγ-a: döčün aduyu bai: Elči mani Sečen Qonĵin: Bilig-tü Sanĵin bai:⁴

Om svasti siddham!

Secen Khan Mahasamadi conveys a letter to the Emperor.

Is the highest [Khan] in good health? We here are in good health.

Your saying, "I shall invite the Dalai Lama!" is correct. Here all the seven banners of Khalkha say, "[We] shall invite [him]!" The Four Oirats are also constantly saying, "[We] shall invite [him]!" Your envoys with the invitation can go through our [territory]. It would be correct for them to go together with us. We, the three Khans [of Khalkha] are in union. Since we three are united in our words, we sent to you envoys in order to ask about your health. The presents, forty sabres and forty horses, are sent with this letter. Our envoys are Secen Qonĵin and Biligtu Sanĵin.

Oum svasti siddham:

Aγuda örösiyegči nayiramdayu: Boγda qaγan-i gegen-ü emüne: Tüsiyetü qaγan bičig ergübe: Urida mendü-yi ese medeged: elči-ben ese yabuγuluγsan-u tulada mendü-yi asuyun elči ilegebe:

Dalai lam-a-yi ĵalay-san ĵöb metü sananam bide: Doloγan qosiyu Qalq-a ĵalay-a geĵi ĵöblegsen bile: Dörben Oyirad ĵalay-a geĵi bayiy-a genem: Tendeče ĵalaqu elči ilegeküle qamtu-bar yabuγulqula yamar: Ali-ba üge üiles biden-i: Sečen qaγan-tai öber-e ügei bai ĵ-a: Bičig ayiladqaqu-yin beleg-tü qoyar sira numu: γurban mori bui: Elči-yin ner-e Kingli Sami Naγur Sigecün bui: Erdeni juu-yin emün-eče sayin edür yabuγulba:⁵

Om svasti siddham!

Tushetu Khan conveys a letter to his serenity, the merciful and harmonious Emperor.

As I had not previously sent an envoy and did not ask about your health, I am [now] sending an envoy in order to enquire about your health.

We think that you were right to invite the Dalai Lama. The seven banners of Khalkha accordingly say, "[We] shall invite [him]!" The Four Oirats say, "[We] shall invite [him]!" So when you send the envoy with the invitation, how about sending them jointly? All my words do not differ from those by Sečen Khan. With the letter [I am sending to you are these] gifts: two yellow bows and three horses. The names of my envoys are Kingli Sami and Nagur Sigecin.

⁴ Mongolian Documents I: 190.

⁵ Ibid: 191–192.

Sent on an auspicious day from a place near the Erdeni juu Monastery.

The political situation in Inner Asia and Far East at that time should also be taken into account. In 1634 the last Mongolian ruler, Ligdan Khan, was defeated by the Manchus and died on the way westwards. In 1636 a new Qing dynasty was promulgated, claiming to be the only legitimate Chinese-style dynasty. However, to the south of the Great Wall the Ming 明 dynasty continued to rule and nobody could predict that in 1643 it would be overthrown by the Chinese themselves and that its last Emperor would commit suicide. Only after seizing this unique historical opportunity did the Qing dynasty take the whole of China under its control. The seventeenth century could have reproduced the situation of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, when the Jin 金 dynasty of the Jurchens, who were the ancestors of the Manchus, opposed the Chinese Song 宋 dynasty. In 1637 the Qing dynasty controlled a relatively small territory to the north of the Great Wall and had no border with Tibet. This is why the Khalkha rulers proposed a “northern way” to the envoys of the Manchu emperor.

In 1637 the Qinghai-based Mongolian opponent of the Gelugpas, Čogtu tayji, was defeated and killed by Gushi Khan, the leader of the Khoshuts, a Western Mongolian tribe. In 1640 a big assembly of Mongolian and Oirat rulers was convened in order to develop the principles of co-existence under the new circumstances. By that time Southern “Inner” Mongolia became a part of the Qing Empire, so it was attended by the rulers of the Northern “Outer” Mongolia. Gushi Khan also attended this gathering, which developed a new law code. This law code is known as the “Great Legislation” (Mong. *Yeke čayaġa*) and it mentions Rje Tsongkapa, the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama in its preamble.⁶

This shows that the Gelugpa supremacy with the Dalai Lama as its chief spiritual authority was first acknowledged by the Mongols. The subsequent Khoshut invasion of Tibet made all the Tibetans recognize the Mongolian choice.

In 1639 the Manchu Emperor Hong Taiji decided to send a mission to Tibet which should have visited the major religious centers and meet the most outstanding lamas of different schools. In a special letter Gushi Khan was requested to assist this mission. It seems that the Emperor of the newly-proclaimed dynasty did not want to get involved in religious struggles in Tibet. However, in a few years only Gelugpa leaders were addressed by the Emperor (in 1643–1650 Dorgon was the regent).

⁶ Taupier 2018: 298–299.

Daičing ulus-un ayuda örösiyegči nayiramdayu boyda qayan: Güüsi qayan-du bičig ilegebe: Törü sasin-ača eteged yabuyčid-i kesegen jasaysan-i čini sonosba: Bičig ilegekü-yin učir: Bi erten-ü degedüs-ün törü sasin-i jaljamji-yi tasural ugei bolγaqu-yin tulada: Töbed-eče siditen merged-i jalagu-yin tula: Ilayuγsan qutuγ-tu-luγ-a elči ilegejem: Sir-a ulayan-i ilyaqu ügei keyid büri kürkü bai: Burqan-i sasin-i sanaji tusalaqui-ban či mede: Bičig üjeküi-dür: nige öbji quyaγ bai:⁷

The merciful and harmonious Emperor of the Great Qing state sent a letter to Gushi Khan.

I have heard that you punished those who divert from the [way] of state and religion.

The matter of sending this letter is as following. In order to maintain inseparably the connection between the State and the Religion I am sending an embassy headed by the Ilagugsan Khutugtu with the aim of inviting from Tibet sages and practitioners. Let them visit all monasteries without making distinction between "Yellow" or "Red". [I offer my] support and care for the Buddhist Religion! With this letter, I am sending you armor.

The first Tibetan mission sent by the victorious Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama arrived in 1642 at Mukden (Shengjing 盛京), the capital of the Manchu Qing empire at that time.⁸ The fact that the Tibetan embassy was sent not to the Chinese Ming ruler but to the Manchu Qing ruler was not only a highly symbolic gesture but, more importantly, a recognition of the Manchu dynasty as the only legitimate government in the areas both to the north and to the south of the Great Wall. Needless to say that it was Gushi Khan who was behind this attitude of the Gelugpa hierarchs.

A question arises: was the invitation to the Dalai Lama really sent to him in 1637? In this year he was far from being the chief spiritual authority in Tibet. A modern Chinese scholar, Li Baowen, proposed a view that such an invitation was never sent. The plans to invite leading Tibetan lamas articulated by Emperor Hong Taiji in 1639 were later mistakenly interpreted by Chinese chroniclers as an invitation addressed to the Dalai Lama. In the years that followed, Gushi Khan established the Dalai Lamas' supreme spiritual authority in Tibet and the Qing dynasty established itself in Beijing. Thus the one and only invitation to the Dalai Lama was sent in 1648.⁹ It was written in verse in Mongolian.

Erten-ü ilayuyasad-ača vivanggirid ögdegšen:
Eng olan amitan-i udurid-un:

⁷ Mongolian Documents I: 378–379; Ishihama 2001: 216.

⁸ Schwieger 2014: 83.

⁹ Li Baowen 2006.

Erkin sayin üilen-dür oruγulju el-e:
 Engke jirγalang-tur kürgökü-yin tulada:
 Ülemji degedü blam-a bey-e-ber:
 Ürgüljide sayin öljei qutuγ orosiγul-un:
 Ünen gün mör-i jiγaju ögkü-yin tula:
 Ögede bolju irekü ajiyamu
 kemen::¹⁰

He – whose coming was foretold by Buddhas of ancient times,
 Who is followed by multitudes of living beings
 And who caused them to do what is good
 In order to bring to them peace and joy –
 This exalted high Lama
 In order to bring perpetual blessing
 And demonstrate the true and profound Way
 Please, deign to come.¹¹

Information about this invitation is found in the Chinese sources.¹² However, the text of the invitation is available only in Mongolian. Letters announcing the invitation sent to the Dalai Lama were also sent to the Panchen Lama and Gushi Khan.¹³ They both were requested to assist in the implementation of this visit.

Gushi Khan responded immediately.

Om suvasti:

Ülemji yeke buyan-u kücün-iyer tngri-eče jayayatu törögßen kümün-ü erketü degedü qayan-u gegen-e: sajin amitan-i tusalan tedküküi-tür duralaqui sedkil-tü: Sajin bariγči nom-un qayan bičig bariba: Edüge čaγ-tu yerü amitan-u kesig jayay-a egüdügen bey-e oγtarγui-yin čintamani-dur jokis ügei egülen-e daldalaydal ügegü-y-e meden üiledküi kücün-ü gerel-iyer čambudiib-un čečerlig-nuγud-i amuyulang-iyar tedküküi-yin irayū sayin aldar-luγ-a tegüsügseger bičig beleg öggügen kürbe: Ende amur mende-ber sajin kiged sajin-i bariγčid-i kündelen takiju γabiy-a-tu ulus irgen-i amur-iyar tedküküi-yin yosuγar-bar: qamuγ amitan tonilqui-yin siltayan sajin-i delgeregülküi-yin tula: amitan-u itegel sajin-u naran qamuγ-yi medegči včir-a-dar-a dalai lama-yi jalara elčis iregsen: adalidqasi ügei eyimü sayin üile-dü: adqay mayu sedkil-ten-eče busu ken ber yaγun-dur daγan ülü bayasum: Deger-e-eče lam-a ögede bolqui čaγ-yi ene jarliγ boloγsan-i tere učir-a biden tusalaqui-yi kičiyekü bai j-a: aliba üge elči-dü bai: bičig-ün beleg quyaγ: sayadaγ: numu: ildu: quba erike: budija erike: tabin čengme: γučin mori: qoyar tas: Üker jil-ün qoyaduγar sara-yin sayin edür qubilγan-u ordu qarsi-yin oyira-ača bariba::¹⁴

¹⁰ Mongolian Documents III: 11–12.

¹¹ This invitation is followed by the list of gifts which is not translated.

¹² Ahmad 1970: 166–167.

¹³ Mongolian Documents III: 12–13.

¹⁴ Ibid: 78–79.

Om svasti.

Bstan 'dzin Chos rgyal¹⁵ [Gushi Khan], remembering the necessity of guarding and assisting the Religion and living beings, conveys a message to his serenity, the great and mighty Emperor, who by the force of great virtues [collected in previous births] was born [in accordance with] the Mandate of Heaven. [You], by the power of knowledge, disperse unworthy clouds which cover the Treasury of Heaven which is the source of happiness and destiny of common living beings in modern times. By this [you] guard with tranquility the flower gardens of Jambudvīpa. You sent a letter and gifts [which] were received. Following the tradition of worshipping and respecting the Religion and its adherents and of protecting meritorious people, in order to spread the Religion, which is the cause of salvation of all living beings, [your] envoys arrived in order to invite the protector of living beings, the sun of Religion, the omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama. Who cannot be glad about this unprecedented good deed except for confused, bad people? When an order is issued about the time of the Lama's visit we shall do our best to assist in this matter. The envoy knows my further words. With this letter I am [sending] these gifts: armor, a quiver with arrows, a bow, a sword, an amber rosary, a rosary made from a Bodhi tree, fifty rolls of *pulu* 氍毹 fabrics, thirty horses and the plumage of two vultures. This letter was sent on the auspicious day of the second month of the Ox Year from the [residence] near the Big Jo bo Temple.

The Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama also sent letters and gifts to the Emperor.¹⁶ However, these letters contain no information about the visit.

As the visit was approaching, the correspondence between Beijing and Lhasa intensified. The registers contain the following brief note:

Eye-ber ḡasaḡči-yin naimaduḡar on: qabur-un segül sara-yin qorin qoyar edür Güsi ombo: Dorḡi Darḡan noyan qoyayula ireḡu: Sirab gelong-yin abču ireḡsen Dalai Lama-yin bičig-i abuba:¹⁷

On the twenty second day of the last spring month of the eighth year of the Shunzhi reign,¹⁸ Gusi ombo and Dorḡi Darḡan noyan arrived, and they delivered the Dalai Lama's letter carried by Sirab gelong.

¹⁵ The Mongolian translation of this title is used in the original letter. In order to avoid misunderstanding, the original Tibetan title given by the Fifth Dalai Lama to Gushi Khan is used in the translations of this and other documents.

¹⁶ Ibid: 75–77.

¹⁷ Ibid: 248.

¹⁸ 1651.

Within a few days a new embassy was sent to Tibet carrying letters and gifts to the Dalai Lama, to the Panchen Lama, to Gushi Khan and to the *sde pa*.

Jun-u terigün sara-yin sin-e-yin qoyar-a:

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čaγ-i ejelegsen· qaγan-u jarlaγ:

Včir-a-dar-a qamuγ-i medegči včir-a-dar-a dalai lam-a engke amuγulang bui ĵ-a: Bide ende engke amuγulang amu: Lam-a-yin jarlaγ: luu ĵil-ün ĵun ögede boloy-a kemegsen bülüge: Edüge qamuγ amitan-u tusa-yin tulada: luu ĵil-ün namur-un terigün sara-dur ĵolyalduqu-yi küsemü: bi: Gegen-degen örösiyen ayilad: Jalaqu elči Tunbcang Güsi: Dorĵi Darqan noyan: Gabĵu gelüng: urida nilegegsen elči Čaγan gelüng· Sirab gelüng· Sereng: Bičig üjeküi-yin beleg · qoyar emegel qaĵayar-tu mori· nigen altan dongmu: nigen altan čara: ĵaγun lang altan: qoyar mingγan lang mönggün: ĵaγun torγ-a::¹⁹

On the second day of the first month of summer.

Decree of the Emperor [who] rules by the Mandate of Heaven.²⁰

Is the Omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama healthy and tranquil? Here we are healthy and tranquil. The Lama's word was, "I will arrive in the summer of the Dragon Year." Now, for the benefit of all sentient beings, in the first autumn month of the Dragon Year I want to meet [you]. Please, reply [to this invitation] clearly. The envoys with the invitation are Tunbcang Gusi, Dorĵi Darqan noyan, Gabĵu *geliing*²¹ joined by the previous envoys: Cagan *geliing*, Sirab *geliing* and Sereng.²² With this letter [are sent] these presents: two horses with saddles and bridles, one golden pitcher, one golden goblet, one hundred *liangs*²³ of gold, two thousand *liangs* of silver, one hundred pieces of silk.

The Panchen Lama and Gushi Khan were both informed about the Emperor's wish to meet the Dalai Lama and were both requested to assist the Dalai Lama.²⁴ The gifts sent to them were very generous. For example, the Panchen lama received "a golden pitcher, a footed golden bowl, one hundred *liangs* of gold, two thousand *liangs* of silver and one hundred rolls of silk".²⁵ Gifts for Gushi Khan were more ceremonial and included one thousand *liangs* of silver, arms, a saddle and skins of leopards and tigers.²⁶

¹⁹ Mongolian Documents III: 249–250.

²⁰ Lit. "who possesses the time". Tibetan equivalent is *bskal pa'i mnga' bdag* – "the lord of the *kalpa*".

²¹ Tib. *dge slong* – an ordained monk.

²² Cf. the information found in Ahmad 1970: 167.

²³ 1 *liang* 兩 = 37.3 grams.

²⁴ Mongolian Documents III: 250–253.

²⁵ Ibidem: 251–252.

²⁶ Ibidem: 252–253.

The *sde pa* also received generous donations in order to supervise and sponsor the performance of the rituals necessary for the Dalai Lama's safety during his long journey.

Olan amitan-i tusalaqu-yin tulada: luu ḡil-ün namur terigün sara-dur · Dalai Lama-luḡ-a ḡolḡalduqu-yi küseḡu · ḡalaqu elči ilegeḡem: Kičiyen durad-un öčḡjü ḡalarayulqu-yi: sdiba mede: Juu-yin emun-e · Ganḡur ḡayun unḡsiḡulqu-yin tula · čab · čai · beleg qoyar tümen lang mönggün Sdiba-yin ḡar-tu talbiqu bai: Tende quvaray-ud-i čuḡlayulḡu unḡsiḡulqu-yi Sdiba mede:²⁷

For the benefit of all sentient beings in the first autumn month of the Dragon Year I want to meet with the Dalai Lama and have sent an envoy with this invitation. *Sde pa*, be diligently mindful and correct in [your] speech! In order to arrange the reading of the Bka' 'gyur one hundred [times] in front of the [statue of the Big] Jo bo, twenty thousand *liangs* of silver are given into the hands of the *sde pa* for [providing] food, tea and presents for the monks.

2. A Discussion: How Should the Emperor Meet the Dalai Lama?

After the Dalai Lama, accompanied by a large retinue, had departed from Tibet in March 1652, the question arose as to how his meeting with the Emperor should take place.

The Dalai Lama sent the Emperor a lengthy eloquent letter in which he styled the addressee "Illustrious Lord of the World Mañjuśrī Emperor" (Tegülde čöḡ-tu delekei-yin erketü Mañḡusiri yeke qaḡan). Here is translated only the part which is related to the visit.

Turban sara-yin arban doloyan-a nom-un küriyen-eče ködüḡjü yabuḡsaḡar Köke naḡur-tur oyiratuyad: tuslaḡu ayiladqaqu-yin uçir: ḡolḡalčaqu ḡaḡar · saḡuqu oron terigüten yerü narilaqu aliba üge-yi elči-ber ayiladqaḡsan metü: tayalal-un ḡokis-iyar ögede bolqu terigüten-i: Gangga mören-ü urusḡal metü-yi ayiladqamu: Sitügen bey-e-yin sakiḡulsun včir-tu ḡangḡi-a-luḡ-a nigen-e: ḡirḡuyan sara-yin sinede ergübe:

Namur-un dumdadu sara-yin arban nigen-e:²⁸

Having departed from Tibet²⁹ on the twenty-seventh day of the third month, I have approached Qinghai. The reason for my correspondence [is as follows].

Since [my] words requesting detailed information about the meeting place, the dwelling place and other things have been delivered [to you] via the envoy, please advise me of your intentions regarding [your] arrival and

²⁷ Mongolian Documents III: 253–254.

²⁸ Ibid: 335–336.

²⁹ Lit. "the Place of Dharma".

other things as if they had the [quality of the natural] flow of the River Ganges.

With [this letter is sent] an amulet *vajra*-knot.

On the eleventh day of the autumn's middle month.

In his letter Gushi Khan also expressed his opinion about the meeting of the Dalai Lama by the Emperor.

Nom-un qaγan-i ergügsen bičig:

Qaγan-u bey-e· yeke törü-yin tulada: luu jil-ün· jirγuγan sara-dur kürtele: bi daγasu geji ayiladqaju kiku yaγum-a daγusba: Öljei-tei bolba: Qoyitu süm-e-dür qutuγ orosiyulqu nom-i on büri· čaγan sara-dur ungsiyulqu buidoloγan sara· naiman sara-dur asida sayin-i tulada: qaγan-u bey-e· yeke törü-dür sayin geji: dalai lam-a-yi jalaγsan bile: Erten-ü čaγ-un qad· lam-a qoyar uçiralduγsan-dur adali busu: Edüge dalai lam-a-yi kedüi čidaqu činege-ber kündüleju: jarlaγ-iyar ni bolbasu· asida sayin bui: Minü sanaγar bolqula ulus-un jaq-a-dur tüsime-diyer uγtuγul: Tegün-ü qoyin-a vang-ud uγtuγul: Qaγan-u bey-e Tayiγ-a-dur uçiraldubasu asuru sayin tere bile: ene üge-yi jöb geküle: urida yaγaraju elči ilegeju ayiladγaqula sayin:

Namur-un dumdadu sara-yin arban nigen-e:³⁰

A letter offered by the Chos rgyal [Gushi Khan].

Because the Emperor [is occupied with] great state affairs, I, having decided to accompany [the Dalai Lama] until [the beginning of] the sixth month, finished all my activities and was content. Sutras will be chanted for well-being in the Northern Temple [beginning from] the New Year holiday. Because the seventh and the eighth months are very favorable, let the Khan [be occupied with] great state affairs. [You] invited the Dalai Lama. In the past rulers and lamas met in a different way. Now the best thing will be to honor the Dalai Lama to the utmost and [to act] according to his words. I think that on the state border he should be met by functionaries. Then [he] should be met by princes. The best thing would be if the Khan would meet [him] in person in Taiga. Regarding these words as correct it would be good to quickly send [to him] in advance an envoy.

[Received] on the eleventh day of the autumn middle month.

The Emperor decided not to leave the territory of China proper and sent the following letter:

Dalai lam-a-dur ilegegsen bičig:

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čaγ-i ejelegsən · qaγan-u jarlaγ:

Qamuγ-i medegči včir-a-dar-a dalai lam-a-yin gegegen-e ilegebe: Minu bey-e Kerem-ün γadan-a uγtubasu: dotor-a barayun emün-e-tü eteged-tür qulaγayičin oladaju edür büri bičig kürčü irekü-yin tulada: ulus-un yeke kereg-i uγurču: Kerem γarču qola uγtubasu· ülü bolqu-yin tulada: erkin

³⁰ Ibid: 337–338.

vang-ud kiged· sayid-iyar uytuyulqu bui: Qulayayičid-i usadqaju· kereg sayad ügei bolbasu· bi bey-e-ber uytuqu bui: Ene metü ürgülji kereg sayad bui bolbasu· Kerem-ün dotor-a oyir-a uytuy-a:: Elči Nomči gelüng· Ügedekei· Quvaqai· Bičig üjekü-yin beleg· nigen qadaγ· subud erike bui::

Namur-un dumdadu sara-yin arban γurban-a.³¹

The letter sent to the Dalai Lama.

Decree of the Emperor [who] rules by the Mandate of Heaven.

Sent to his serenity, the Omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama. If I personally meet you outside the Great Wall [the matters are as follows]. In the South-Western part of the Inner [Land] insurgents have increased in number. Reports about this arrive every day and for this reason I cannot leave behind the great state affairs and I cannot travel far and meet you outside the Great Wall. That is why you will be met by the great princes and ministers. If the insurgents are exterminated and there are no hindrances I will meet you in person. If these kinds of hindrances still exist I will meet you close to the Great Wall. My envoys are Nomci *geliing*, Ugedekei and Quvaqai. With this letter are sent a *khadaγ* and a rosary.

On the thirteenth day of the autumn middle month.

However, the Dalai Lama continued to insist on meeting the Emperor outside the Great Wall, setting forth different reasons – from inappropriate climate to epidemics. Epidemics of smallpox seem to have been the true source of the Dalai Lama's worries.³² The fact that the young Shunzhi Emperor was under the pressure from his officials, representing different approaches to the official protocol, has already been studied.³³ In accordance with the Chinese tradition, a distant chieftain should arrive in the capital of China with his “local products” (*fang wu* 方物) upon receiving the Emperor's permission.

Dalai lam-a-yin bičig

Tegus öljei-tü delekei-yin erketü degedü Manjusiri qaγan-u gegen-e:

Edüge basa cambutiib-un törölkiten bügüde-dür: buyan-u küčün-iyer bey-e kele sedkil galbaravaras metü ilete delgeregsen üges-i jergeber sonosču masi bayasba: Bide ber Nom-un qaγan-u tayalal-i qangγaqu-yin tula: kičiyēju yabuysayar edüge Köke Naγur-tur kürčü ireged: tuslaju ayiladqaqu-yin učir: urida Sečen Onbo terigüten elči ber učiran jolyalčaqu-yin učir-i narilan ergüged: qoyitu Günčüg Loroi ber aliba yerü üges-i ayiladqar-a ilegebesü ber: Sečen Darja ber orčilang-un orosiqui yosun kiged: basa busu ayiladqaqu üge · Kitad dotor-a yeke ebečin elbeg-ün tula minu bey-e ba · küriyen-ü nüküd tügükei inu olan boloyad: erkin qaγan-u bey-e tügükei-yin tula: dotor-a jolyalčaju saγuqu bolbasu: qaγan · bide qoyayula-dur jedker yeke-yin tula saγuqu ülü bolqu: Köke Qota: Tayiy-a qoyar-un nigen-dür jolyalčaqu-yi

³¹ Ibid: 338–339.

³² Karmay 1989: 34–35.

³³ Ahmad 1970: 168–172.

jöbsiyen soyory-a: yerü aliba kereg-tü üges-i elči ayiladqaqu bui: gegegen-
degen ayilad:: Sitügen bey-e-yin sakiγulsun včir-tu janggi-a-luy-a nigen-e:
Naiman sara-yin sine-yin nigen-e: Čaγan Tala-ača ergübe:

Namur-un dumdadu sara-yin qorin yisün-e:³⁴

The letter of the Dalai Lama.

To his serenity, the high Mañjuśrī Emperor, the prosperous Lord of the World.

Now I listen with great joy to the flowing words that, by the power of virtue, spread to all beings abiding in Jambudvīpa [from your] body, speech and mind [and which are] like a wish-fulfilling tree. In order to fulfill the wish of the Chos rgyal [Gushi Khan], we proceeded untiringly and have now reached Qinghai. The reason for my reporting [is as follows].

Earlier Secen Onbo and other envoys have communicated in detail the matters concerning our meeting. Although Guncug Loroi later [came] to report general words, [these are] the words about the situation in the world and other [things] which were reported by Secen Darja. Inside China epidemics are widely spread. Because I and many people in my retinue are immature,³⁵ and the exalted Emperor is also immature, if we both meet inside [China] we will not be able to stay [there] since there will be great hindrances for the Emperor and for us. Please, approve our meeting at Köke Qota or Taiga. Various important words will be conveyed by the envoy. Please, reply [to me about this] clearly. With [this letter is sent] an amulet *vajra*-knot.

[Received] on the twenty-ninth day of the autumn's middle month, sent from the Čaγan Tala.

The reasons set forth by the Dalai Lama seemed to the Emperor to be convincing, and he decided to meet him personally outside the Great Wall.

Dalai lama-dur ilegegsen bičig:

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čaγ-i ejeleksen· qaγan-u jarlay:

Qamuγ-i medegči včir-a-dar-a· Dalai lam-a-yin gegegen-e ilegebe:

Lam-a-yin bičig-tür Kerem-ün dotor-a ebedčün taγulal olan: Kerem-ün γadan-a jolyabasu sayin bui: kemegsen-dür: edüge bi Kerem-ün γadan-a Tayiγ-a-dur uγtaqu bui: Elči kiy-a Lam-a· Gumu· Bičig üjekü-yin beleg nigen čaγan qadaγ bui:

Namur-un segül sara-yin arban nigen-e:³⁶

A letter sent to the Dalai Lama.

Decree of the Emperor [who is] ruling by the Mandate of Heaven.

Sent to his serenity, the omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama.

³⁴ Mongolian Documents III: 341–342.

³⁵ The word “immature” (Mong. *tiigiikei*) here refers to the fact that neither the Emperor nor the Dalai Lama had previously been ill with smallpox and thus had no immunity to this illness.

³⁶ Mongolian Documents III: 343–344.

It is said in the letter of the Lama that [in the lands] inside the Great Wall the epidemics are widespread and it would be better if we meet outside the Great Wall. For this [reason] I will meet you outside the Great Wall in Taiga. The envoys are Lama and Gumu. With the letter [is sent] one white *khadag*.

On the eleventh day of the last autumn month.

Dalai lam-a-yin bičig:

Tegüs öljei-tü delekei-yin erketü degedü Mañjusiri qaγan-u gegegen-e:

Edüge bas-a sayin üles-iyer bey-e ülemji amuγulang-iyar orosiγu ilegegsen: beleg bičig kürčü irebe:

Bi ber yekede kičiyejü yabuγsaγar Qatun-u γool-tur oyiratuγad: čiqula aliba keregtü siltayan-i narilan jokiyaysan mayad boloy-san-dur: jiči basa yabuqu-yin činegeber yabuγsaγar bui: uridu qoyar üy-e ilegegsen elči-yin üges-tür adali: Tayiγ-a-dur kürüged čiqulalan ayiladqaqu kereg bui: Üge-yin tobči ber ergügsen-i: gegegen-degen ayilad: Beleg-tür burqan-u arbidqu šaril: včir-tu žanggi-a-luγ-a nigen-e:

Sin-e-yin doloγan-a ergübe:

Namur-un segül sara-yin qorin nigen-e:³⁷

The Dalai Lama's letter.

To his serenity, the high Mañjuśrī Emperor, the prosperous Lord of the World.

Now thanks to good karma you abide in peace and sent me a letter and presents which were received.

Proceeding untiringly we reached the River Huang Ho. Various important matters had been precisely settled. For this reason [we] are continuing to proceed at the same pace. In accordance with the words of the two previous envoys, should I advise [you] after having reached Taiga? Please, reply [to me] clearly about these short words.

With [this letter are sent] a pill-sized Buddha's relic and an amulet *vajra-knot*.

Sent on the seventh day.

[Received] on the twenty-first day of the autumn's last month.

Kija lam-a-yin abču iregsen bičig:

Tegüs öljei-tü delekei-yin erketü: degedü Mañjusiri qaγan-u gegen-e ergübe ·

Ilegegsen bičig beleg kürčü irebe ·

Qaγan-u bey-e Tayiγ-a-dur ögede bolqu-yi sonosču masi bayasba: Bi ber yabuqu činegeber yekede kičiyejü yabuγsaγar bui · Ayiladqu üge elči-dür bui: Sitügen bey-e-yin sakiγulsun žanggi-a-luγ-a nigen-e ·

Qorin doloγan-a ergübe:

Ebül-ün terigün sara-yin sin-e-yin naiman-a:³⁸

³⁷ Ibidem: 344–345.

³⁸ Ibidem: 348.

Letter [from the Dalai Lama] brought by Kija lama.

To his serenity, the high Mañjuśrī Emperor, the prosperous Lord of the World.

The letter and the presents sent [by you] were received.

I am very glad to hear that the Emperor will personally arrive to Taiga. I am proceeding at [my best] pace and am greatly trying to move [fast]. The words of my report [will be communicated] by the envoy. With [this letter is sent] an amulet [*vajra*]-knot.

Sent on the twenty-seventh day.

[Received] on the eighth day of the first month of the winter.

However, being convinced by his advisers, the Emperor decided not to meet the Dalai Lama outside the Great Wall and informed him of this final decision.

Dalai lam-a-dur ilegegsen bičig:

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čaγ-i ejeleksen qayan-u jarlay:

Qamuγ-i medegči včir-a-dar-a· Dalai lam-a-yin gegege-e ilegebe:

Urida minu bey-e uγtuy-a kemen bičig ilegegsen bülüge: Edüge qulayai olandaju: edür büri bičig kürčü iremü: Ulus-un yeke kereg-i uqurču: uγtubasu ülü bolqu-yin tula: bey-e-yin tulada jasay-un Kesingge čin vang: dotoγadu sayid-iyar uγtuγulba: Mini bey-e ese uγtuγsan siltayan-i medetügei kemen bičig ilegebe:

Ebül-ün terigün sara-yin arban γurban-a:³⁹

Letter sent to the Dalai Lama.

Decree of the Emperor [who is] ruling by the Mandate of Heaven.

Sent to his serenity, the omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama.

Previously I sent a letter saying that I shall personally meet [you]. Now reports arrive saying that insurgents have multiplied. Because it is not possible to put away the great affairs of state and go to meet you, instead of myself you will be met by *jasag qinwang*⁴⁰ Kesingge – the Minister of the Interior.

The letter was sent in order to inform you why I will not personally meet you.

[Sent] on the thirteenth day of the first month of the winter.

Dalai lam-a-yin bičig:

Tegüs öljei-tü delekei-yin erketü degedü Manjusiri qayan-u gegegen-e: tuslaju ergükü-yin učir: Bide arban sara-yin arban tabun-a Qatun γool-un ene eteged γaruγad: degedü ežen bügüde-yin ebedčün taγul terigüten jedker-i qarıγulqu kereg yeke-yin tula: darui-dur arıγaqu kereg-ten üiles-i üiledčü dayusuγad: kičiyejü yabuqu terigüten: yerü aliba učir-i čiqulalan

³⁹ Ibid: 349–350.

⁴⁰ Mong. *jasay* – “a ruler”; Chin. *qinwang* 親王 – the highest princely rank during the Qing dynasty.

ayiladqaqu-yin tula elči ilegebe: gegegen-degen ayilad: sitügen bey-e-yin sakiγulsun včir-tu janggi-a-luγ-a nigen-e:

Qorin γurban-a Qatun-u γool-un jaq-a-ača ergübe:
Ebül-ün dumdadu sara-yin sin-e-yin jirγuyan-a:⁴¹

Letter of the Dalai Lama.

To, his serenity, the high Mañjuśrī Emperor, the prosperous Lord of the World.

The reason for reporting [is as follows].

We crossed the River Huang Ho and stepped on the other shore on the fifteenth day of the tenth month. Since it is greatly important to protect the high Emperor and everyone from the epidemic and other obstacles, [we] performed and have now finished the necessary purifying rites and are proceeding untiringly. I sent an envoy to report about these and other things. Please, reply [to me about this] clearly. With [this letter is sent] an amulet *vajra-knot*.

Sent on the twenty-third day [of the first winter month] from the shore of the River Hoang Ho.

[Received] on the sixth day of the middle winter month.

3. Letters from Tibet

Meanwhile letters and lavish gifts from Tibet sent by Gushi Khan, the Panchen Lama and the *sde pa* arrived in Beijing. The Panchen Lama in his letter reminded the Emperor of his efforts to urge the Dalai Lama to undertake the journey. The letters by the *sde pa* and Gushi Khan urged an early return of the Dalai Lama to Tibet.

Diba-yin bičig:

Degedü Manjusiri yeke qaγan-u köl-ün linqu-a-dur: ayiladqaqu-yin učir edüge erdeni bey-e-yin jibqulang-tu gerel üjejü jasaqu-yin öljei ülemji delgeren sayuju: jarlay bičig öglige jakilγ-a jarlay soyorqaγsan-i oroi-dur abuba: Degedü ilaγuγsad-un erketü lam-a erdeni tere жүг-tür morilaju ögede bolqu-yi duradquγad: bey-e-yin sakiγulsun Ganjur-i jaγun-da ungsiγulquidur qočorli ügei kičiyejü tegüskeged: jarlay-iyar kötelüsi ügei bütügebe: Bančan erdeni kiged Töbed-ün sasin-i bariγči Nom-un qaγan terigüten degedüs bügüdeger: ilaγuγsad-un degedü lam-a erdeni-yi Töbed oron-dur udal ügei ögede bolγaqu-yin kereg masi yeke-yin tula: sakiltai sakil ügei elčis-iyer ayiladqaγjam: Tusa-yi bütügekü-yin tula qayiralan soyorqaqu-yi ayiladqaba: Bičig ergükü-yin beleg-tür öljei-tü qadaγ jögelen ulayan čengm-e qori: enggesken buduγtai čengm-e qori: sira čengm-e qori: čoqur čengm-e qori: čaγan čengm-e qori: qorin mori-luγ-a nigen-e luu jül-ün tabun sara-yin sin-e-yin sayin edür-tür ergübe:

Ebül-ün segül sara-yin qorin dörben-e:⁴²

⁴¹ Mongolian Documents III: 354–355.

⁴² Ibidem: 370–371.

Letter of the *sde pa*.

The reason for reporting to the lotus feet of the great Mañjuśrī Emperor [is as follows]. I have now taken to the top of my head the decree and the donation bestowed [by you] on me, and am extremely happy to see the radiance of the majestic light of your precious body.

Since the precious lama [who is] the exalted Lord of the Victorious Ones proceeded outside [Tibet], I have steadily fulfilled your orders and arranged [lamas] to read the Bka' 'gyur [which is] the guardian [of the Dalai Lama's] body one hundred times. Panchen Rinpoche, religious leaders of Tibet, Chos rgyal [Gushi Khan] and other high people together regard the early return to Tibet of the exalted Lord of the Victorious Ones as being very important. Monks and lay people inform [us] of this wish via envoys. In order to accomplish their benefit I ask for your kindness. With this letter are sent the presents: a fortunate *khadag*, twenty rolls of soft red *pulu*, twenty rolls of dyed *pulu*, twenty rolls of yellow *pulu*, twenty rolls of motley *pulu*, twenty rolls of white *pulu*, twenty horses.

Sent on the auspicious day of the fifth month of the Dragon year.
[Received] on the twenty-fourth day of the winter's last month.

Güsi qaγan-u bičig

Oum svasti

Ülemji yeke buyan-u kücün-iyer tngri-yin jayaγaysan kümün-ü erketü degedü qaγan-u gegen-e: sasin kiged amitan-u amuγulang tusa-yi kuseküi oyutu sasin-i bariγči nom-un qaγan bičig bariba: Edüge olan amitan i qubi jayaγ-a bey-e keke sedkil ülü jokilduqui jüg-i teyin büged ilaju qoyar yosun-u sayin üilesi qotala-da tögegseger aju jarlay bičig beleg kürügsen-e bayasba: Ende mendü amur-iyar ilaγuγsan-u sasin kiged sasin bariγčid-i takiju amitan-a tusalaqu arγ-a-yi kičiyegseger bai: Qamuγ-i medegči Dalai lam-a üdter ögede bolqu uçir-i tusalan kemegsen tere metü: kičiyen ayiladqaju ögede bolγaba: Boyda Bančan erdeni ekilen bide lam-a öglige-yin ejen bügüdeger γurban jil boloyad Töbed-ün sasin kiged amitan-u tusa-yin tula üdter ögede bol: kemen jalbariγsan-dur: γurban jil boloyad ögede boloy-a kemen jarlay boloyan bai: Yeke qaγan ber degedsü üdter ögede bolqui-dur tusalaqui-ača busu ülü tüdegeküi-yin jüil aliba üges-i elči medegültügei: Bičig-ün beleg-tü quyay tuγulγ-a selm-e tegüs saγadaγ jayun čengm-e tabin mori bai:

Usun luu jil-ün γurban sara-yin sayin edür Dam-un Sanal bütügsen yeke jirγalang-tu-ača bariba:⁴³

Letter of Gushi Khan.

Om svasti.

Bstan 'dzin Chos rgyal [Gushi Khan], who wishes to bring benefit to the Religion and to the people, conveys a message to his serenity, the Lord of the People, the great Emperor who by the force of great virtues [collected in previous births] was born with the Mandate of Heaven. At this time when all living beings have completely overcome the negative side of [their] karma

⁴³ Ibid: 372–373.

[which resulted from the actions of their] bodies, speech and minds, and are full with religious and mundane⁴⁴ virtuous deeds, I am glad to receive your edict and presents. Here we are trying peacefully to venerate the Religion of the Victorious One and religious authorities and to help living beings. In accordance with the decision that the omniscient Dalai Lama will quickly return, [I am] writing to ask that he be brought back. For three years all lamas and alms-givers beginning from the Panchen Rinpoche begged [the Dalai Lama] to proceed on a visit for the sake of the Religion and the people of Tibet. After three years he said that he will proceed on a visit. Let the great Emperor inform [us] through an envoy any words concerning the assistance for [the Dalai Lama's] quick return here without hindrance. With [this letter are sent] these presents: armor, a sword, a quiver with arrows, a hundred rolls of *pulu* and fifty horses.

Sent on the auspicious day of the third month of the Water-Dragon Year from the Fulfilling Wishes Joyful [Monastery].⁴⁵

4. The Titles Given by the Emperor to the Dalai Lama and Gushi Khan

The information about the stay of the Dalai Lama in Beijing and his audiences with the Emperor are described in Chinese and Tibetan sources.⁴⁶ After staying two months in the capital, the Dalai Lama proceeded back to Tibet. His return journey was not as speedy as had been the outgoing journey to meet with the Emperor. Two months after his departure from Beijing he was still in Taiga, where there arrived the imperial envoys who brought letters to the Dalai Lama and Gushi Khan, patents⁴⁷ and seals for them both.

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čay-i ejelegsen: quvangdi-yin jarliy:

Bi sonosbasu· qamtudqan jasayči: γayčayar sayin boloyči: ündüsün-i iledkegči yosun nigen adali busu: Yirtinčü-eče nögčigsen ba: yirtinčü-dür ayči: surγayuli-yi bayiyuluγsan yosun inu mön kö öger-e: Teyin ber bögesü: sedkil-iyen tungyalay bolγan: törölki yabudal-iyen todorqay-a bolγaju: yirtinčü-dekin-i sayin mör-tür udurid-un: irgen-i jiluyaduγči bügüde nigen udq-a-tu bolai: Lubsang jamso dalai lam-a činu gegegen uqayan töb ülemji boloyad: erdem bilig masi gün narin-u tula: sedkil ba yabudal-iyen neyite jasan: qamuγ bodas-i qoγosun kemen onoju: tegüber burqan-u surγayuli-yi delgeregülün: mungqay amitan-i surγan uduriduγsan-iyar: sasin-u surγayuli barayun eteged-tür delgereged: sayin ner-e jegün eteged-tür aldarsiγsan-i: ečiγe Tayisung Uqay-a-tu quvangdi sonosuyad sayisiyan: tusalaju elči ilegen jalaysan-dur: či ber tngri-yin čay uçir-i urida-ača uqaju

⁴⁴ Lit. "the two laws" (Tib. *lugs gnyis* or *lugs zung*).

⁴⁵ This seems to be Lā mo bde chen Monastery located in the present-day Jianzha 尖扎县 county (Tib. Gcan tsha rdzong) of Qinghai Province.

⁴⁶ Ahmad 1970: 173–183.

⁴⁷ Chin. *ce 册*, Mong. *nabčitu ergimjilel*.

medeged: luu jil-e jolyaldusuyai kemegsen bülüge: bi tngri-yin ibegel-iyer çay-i ejeleged: delekei-dekin-i toytataysan-u qoyin-a: jalaysan-luy-a üneker jokilduyul-un irebei: Edüge üjebesü: jang aburi inu örösiyegdekü metü boloyad: ügülekü üges inu kemjij-e-tü: sečen· mergen· uqayan· tegsi asaraqu-yin jerge-dür kürüjüküi: örösiyeküi· nigülesküi· suryaqui· uqayulqu-yin qayalγ-a-yi negen delgeregülsen inu: mayad tergegür-ün satu kiged· onγoča buyu: Yerü burqan-u yosun· ayula kiged odod metü bolai: Tegüber bi masi sayisiyan altan še biçig tamγ-a öggüged: Barayun eteged-ün ülemji sayin amuyulang-tu burqan i:: delekei-deki burqan-u suryaγuli-yi erkilegsen: qamuy-i medegçi vçir-a-dar-a dalai lam-a ergübe: Çay-luy-a jokilduyul-un yabuju: burqan-u sasin-i manduyul: Uçir-luy-a nayirayulju: burqan-u yosun-i aldarsiyul-un: olan amitan-dur tusalan üiled: Egüber bolbasu degedü-yin degedü bolomui: Tegüber se biçig tamγ-a ögbe:⁴⁸

Decree of the Emperor [who] rules by the Mandate of Heaven.

I have heard that those who manage things collectively and those who are happy being alone establish their spiritual lineages in a different way.

Those who have renounced the world and those who stay in the world also establish their teachings in a different way.

However, those who, having made their minds transparent and their inborn qualities clear, guide the inhabitants of this world and lead the masses, have the same goal.

Dalai Lama Lubsang Jamco! Because your clear mind is noble and upright and your wisdom is very profound and subtle you completely control your thoughts and way of living and understand that all things are empty. Therefore you have caused the Buddha's teaching to spread and have inspired ignorant sentient beings. For this reason the religious Teaching spread in the Western realm and your glorious name became famous [also] in the East. My father Taitsung Uqayatu Huangdi heard and praised [you and your activity] and sent an envoy to invite you [here]. Since you know the ways of Heaven in advance you foretold this [when you said], 'We shall meet in the Dragon Year'. As the order of the world has been established by the Mandate of Heaven, you came now as requested by the invitation.

I see now that [your] manners are agreeable and the words [you] say are restrained. [Your] sagacious and wise intellect has attained immeasurable⁴⁹ qualities. [You] opened wide the gates of benevolence, compassion, teaching and instruction and became a staircase and a boat on the broad road of truth. In general Buddha's law is like a mountain and stars.

So I praise [you] very much and, having bestowed on you a golden patent and a seal, confer on you [the title] "Superior Blissful Buddha of the Western Realm who Supervises Buddha's Teaching in the World, Omniscient Vajradhara Dalai Lama."

Act in accordance with the [proper] time and heighten the Religion of the Buddha!

⁴⁸ Mongolian Documents IV: 45–48.

⁴⁹ Lit. "10⁵⁷ [and] 10⁵¹".

In accordance with circumstances glorify Buddha's Law and help multitudes of living beings!

If it be so [you] will become the greatest of the great.

Thus the patent and the seal were conferred.⁵⁰

The letter to Gushi Khan is shorter.

Tngri-yin ibegel-iyer čaγ-i ejelegsen: quvangdi-yin jarliγ:

Erten-ü boydas: delekei-dekin-i jasaqui-dur: sayar ügei qamuγ ulus irgen-i amuγulang bolγaγad: erdem-ün surγaγuli-yi delekei-dekin-dür aldarsiγuljuqui: Aliba ulus-un ejed čaγ učir-i uqaju medeged: ünen sedkil-iyer ey-e-ben nigedbesü: sayar ügei ergün temdeglejü: örösiyen kesig-iyen kürtegülügsen ajuγu: Ögeled ulus-un Güsi qaγan či: erdem-i erkilen sayin üile-dür bayasuljaγu: törü yosun-iyar yabuγad: irgen eteged-tür öglige kesig örösiyel qayir-a-ban neyite aldarsiγuluγsan: ülemji jokistu sayin yabudal: ünen sedkil-i činu medeged: bi masi sayisiyaγu: altan se bičig tamγ-a öggün: Nom-un yosubar yabuγči Sečen Güsi qaγan kemen ergübe: Či basa ülemji čing ünen yabudal-i kičiyejü: törü šasin kiged: sayin ner-e-yi aldarsiγul-un: nadur tusalaγu: kijaγar-un γajar-i amuγulang bolγ-a: egüber bolbasu: aγula kiged: dalai metü buyan kesig egüride kürten amui j-a: Kičiy-e:

Jun-u terigün sara-yin: qorin qoyar-a:⁵¹

Decree of the Emperor [who] Rules by the Mandate of Heaven.

Supreme Emperors of the past who ruled over the world always made peaceful all countries and peoples and caused the teaching of virtue to be glorified. If rulers of any country sincerely associated themselves with harmony, in accordance with time and circumstance, this was recognized as a matter of course and benevolently awarded. Gushi Khan of the Oirats, you are guided by virtue and delight in good deeds, [you] act in accordance with state rules and your generous compassion and loving mercy towards your subjects is famous. Having learnt about your exceptionally noble way of living and your sincere mind, I approve of them and grant you a golden diploma, a seal and a title "Sagacious Gushi Khan who acts in accordance with the Dharma". While trying to act very sincerely and thus glorifying the state and the Religion and your good name, assist me and keep the border regions peaceful! If you succeed, you will receive [my] eternal favors similar to a mountain and an ocean. Strive!

On the twenty second day of the first summer month.⁵²

The Mongolian version of Gushi Khan's title is rather interesting. "Gushi Khan who acts in accordance with the Dharma" has a clear correlation with the title given to him by the Fifth Dalai Lama: "Dharmarāja Upholder of the Religion" (*bstan 'dzin chos kyi rgyal po*). Dharmarāja is a ruler who by properly exercising his responsibilities

⁵⁰ For English translation made from Chinese see Ahmad 1970: 184–185.

⁵¹ Mongolian Documents IV: 48–50.

⁵² For English translation made from Chinese, see Ahmad 1970: 185.

(*svadharma*, his personal *dharma*) ensures the stability, prosperity and security of his country. However, this title was given (especially by Chinese Emperors in the form 法王 *faawang*) to high Tibetan lamas. In connection to clerics this title meant that the person who received it had a perfect knowledge of Buddhist doctrine and practice and can be referred to as a king in this domain. Needless to say, Gushi Khan was a secular Dharmarāja. The Mongolian verb *yabuqu* “to walk, to act” corresponds to the Tibetan *spyod pa*, which in Buddhist texts is used as an equivalent of Sanskrit *√car* “to walk, to perform, to act.” The title, which had been given to Gushi Khan by the Fifth Dalai Lama, was acknowledged by the Emperor and used in the official correspondence.

Gushi Khan was satisfied by the outcome of the Dalai Lama’s visit and sent a letter to the Emperor expressing his gratitude.

Om suvasti:

Ülemji yeke buyan-u üm-e kücün-e tngri-eče jayaγatai-a törögsen: kümün-ü erkin dededü qayan-u gegen-e: burqan-u sasin kiged amitan-i tusa-yi küsegçi: sasin-i bariγči nom-un qayan bičig ergübe: edür čay-un qamuγ amitan-i qubi jayaγ-a egüdügsen čintamani-eče ülemji: bey-e sedkil-e qoor könügel ügegüy-e: asaran tedküküi-yin teyin čayan üiles-i yeke dalai-yin kijayar kürtele tügegejü: sayin-i ülü čökeregül-ün mayu-yi ülü manduγul-un olan ulus irgen-i küsel-i qangγaγsaγar: man-i ber qayiralaju sayin jarlay al juuqu altan tamaγ-a soyorqaγsan kürügsen-e sedkil masida bayasba: edüge beleg bsiru erike: mumin erike: quba erike: tabin čengm-e: qorin moritai: Qubilγan-u süm-e-yin oyir-a-ača sayin edür ergübe:

Jun-u segül sara-yin qorin-a:⁵³

Om svasti.

Bstan ’dzin Chos rgyal [Gushi Khan], with the wish to bring benefit to the Buddha’s Religion and the people, conveys a message to his serenity, the Lord of the People—the great Khan who by the force of great virtues [collected in previous births] was born with the Mandate of Heaven. [You who are] greater than the Treasury from which originates the happiness and fate of modern living beings, [who] without [causing] physical or mental harm spreads to the limits of the great ocean the white deeds of loving care, not hindering the good and not supporting the bad and thus satisfying the wishes of many peoples, [you] obliged us and bestowed a good decree and a golden seal. I was delighted by this. I am now sending a gift: a coral rosary, a lapis lazuli rosary, an amber rosary, fifty rolls of *pulu* fabrics, twenty horses.

[This letter] was sent on the auspicious day from the [residence] near the Big Jo bo Temple.

[Received] on the twentieth day of the last summer month.

⁵³ *Mongolian Documents*: 153–154.

Thus the visit of the Fifth Dalai Lama legitimized the outcome of the turbulent events of two preceding decades which changed the political and religious landscape of Inner Asia and the Far East. The Manchu Qing dynasty, which had a few years before supplanted the Ming dynasty, was blessed by the Dalai Lama. The Dalai Lama was acknowledged by the new rulers of China as the chief Buddhist administrator. Thus the military exploits of the Khoshut leader, Gushi Khan, who crushed other contenders for spiritual authority in Tibet, received approval and support from the new dynasty.

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Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Peljor and his “History of Kokonor”¹

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Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Peljor (1704–1788) stands out as a prominent figure in the Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist realm. He can be regarded as an exemplar of what is known as Qing cosmopolitanism or ‘Pax Manjurica’. Born into an Oirat Mongol family of Kokonor, he was recognized as the reincarnation of a Tibetan lama, received education within the Geluk monastic tradition, and maintained close ties with the imperial court in Beijing. Sumpa Khenpo lived a long life and bore witness to a turning point in the history of the Mongols and the Tibetans, as they were compelled to submit to the Manchu empire. He was a man of great learning, acknowledged as an *Erdeni Pandita*. His “Collected Works” (Tib. *gsung ’bum*) comprise eight volumes and include 68 compositions. The research collective consisting of Irina Garri, Yumzhana Zhabon, and Hortsang Jigme, produced a comprehensive study, a critical text edition and a Russian translation of one of Sumpa Khenpo’s most significant works, “History of Kokonor”.² This paper presents the outcomes of this joint research endeavor.

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Previous Studies on Sumpa Khenpo

Sumpa Khenpo and his works were first brought to the attention of academia by the Indian scholar Sarat Chandra Das (1849–1917), a pioneering figure in Tibetan Studies. He published a biography of Sumpa Khenpo, a translation of his Chronological Table (Tib. *re'u mig*) (Das 1889), as well as the most renowned work by this Mongolian scholar, the *chojung* (Tib. *chos 'byung*, 'history of religion') entitled "Paksam Jonzang" (Tib. *dPag bsam ljon bzang*, "Wish-fulfilling tree") (Sum pa mkhan po 1908). It is worth mentioning that concurrently with Das, the Russian sinologist Vasily Pavlovich Vasiliev was engaged in studying Sumpa Khenpo's works. Even prior to the Indian scholar, Vasiliev drew attention to Sumpa Khenpo's significance (Vasiliev 1855). Within the scholar's archives, a manuscript of a Russian translation of "The Chronological Table" is preserved, along with "Excerpts from the work of Sumba Khutukhtu", which represent partial translations and narrations from "Paksam Jonzang". Regrettably, since Vasiliev wrote his works in Russian, and most of them were never published, the contribution of this Russian scholar remained unnoticed within Western academia.³ Regarding Das's works, the Soviet scholar Andrey Ivanovich Vostrikov later pointed out numerous mistakes in the Indian scholar's translations and works (Vostrikov 1962: 250–256). Nonetheless, Das's role in introducing Sumpa Khenpo's works is indispensable, and despite the errors, his works laid the foundation for all subsequent scholarly investigations.

The subsequent step in the investigation of Sumpa Khenpo's works involved the examination of the catalog (Tib. *dkar chag*) of his *sumbum* (Tib. *gsung 'bum*) or Collected Works. The Japanese scholar Nagao Gajin was first to undertake this (Nagao Gajin 1947). Thereafter, the catalog was also described by Indian scholar Lokesh Chandra⁴ and Soviet Tibetologist Bidiya Dandarovich Dandaron (Dandaron 1965). In 1967, Jan Willem de Jong provided a comprehensive summary of the history of the study of Sumpa Khenpo's biography and writings, and he compared four distinct versions of the scholar's *sumbum* (de Jong 1967).

The next crucial step in the exploration of Sumpa Khenpo's works was their publication through modern typographic methods. Between 1975 and 1979, Lokesh Chandra published a facsimile edition of the Mongolian scholar's *sumbum* in nine volumes as part of the Śatapiṭaka series in India (Sum pa mkhan po 1975–1979). In 1982 and 1992, "Tsongon gyi Logyu" (Tib. *Mtsho sngon gyi lo rgyus*, "History of

³ See Vostrikov 1962: 10; Pubaev 1981: 12–21.

⁴ Lokesh Chandra's catalog was published in the foreword of the third volume of "Paksam Jonsang" [Sum pa mkhan po 1959: xvi–xxxii].

Kokonor"), the "Paksam Jonzang", and several other works were published in China (Sum pa mkhan po 1982; Sum pa mkhan po 1992). Furthermore, in 2015, a comprehensive critical edition of the Collected Works of Sumpa Khenpo was released in twenty volumes (Sum pa mkhan po 2015).

Regarding translations of Sumpa Khenpo's works into various languages, Tibetologists have undertaken the following efforts: Yang Ho-chin translated the second chapter of "History of Kokonor" (Sum pa mkhan po 1969) into English. Bidiya Dandaron provided a complete translation of this text into Russian (Dandaron [1972] 2006). Regbi Pubaev translated two sections of "Paksam Jonzang", namely "The Genealogy of the Tibetan Kings" (Tib. *rgyal rabs*) and "The Chronological Table" (Tib. *re'u mig*), into Russian (Paksam-Jonzang 1991). There are two Chinese translations of "History of Kokonor" released simultaneously but in different journals: one by Huang Hao (Sum pa mkhan po 1983–1984a), and the other jointly undertaken by Xie Jian and Xie Wei (Sum pa mkhan po 1983–1984b). Pu Wengchen and Cai Ran jointly translated "Paksam Jonzang" into Chinese (Sum pa mkhan po 2013). This work was translated into Mongolian in traditional script by Tsingele (Tsengel) and Mo Baozhu (Sum pa mkhan po 1993) and into Cyrillic Mongolian by Besud Perenlei Nyamochir (Sum pa mkhan po 2017).

Valuable information about Sumpa Khenpo and partial translations of his works were also provided by Giuseppe Tucci (Tucci 1943), Shagdayrn Bira (Bira 1960), Tsendin Damdinsuren (Damdinsuren 1957), and Regbi Pubaev, who published a comprehensive book on the "Paksam Jonzang" (Pubaev 1981), the only monographic study of this foundational work by the Mongolian scholar. In Inner Mongolia, Erdenibayar studied Sumpa Khenpo's poetry (Erdenibayar 2002) and his biography (Erdenibayar 2007). Research on Sumpa Khenpo in the West ceased for an extended period, until articles by Matthew Kapstein on Buddhist doxography (Kapstein 2011) and Solomon FitzHerbert on the Gesar epic, based on Sumpa Khenpo's writings (FitzHerbert 2015), emerged. The most recent and significant contributions to Sumpa Khenpo studies have been the PhD dissertations and articles by scholars Hanung Kim (Kim 2013; Kim 2017; Kim 2018) and Rachael Griffiths (2020).

The life and activity of the Buddhist master

Sumpa Khenpo was born on the 15th day of the 8th month in the tree-monkey year (1704) in a place called Toli (Mong. 'mirror'), situated on the banks of the Machu (upper Yellow) River south of Lake Kokonor (Tib. *Tsongon*, Chin. *Qinghai*). His father, Dorje Tashi,

belonged to the Batud clan of the Oirat tribe, while his mother, Tashi Tso, was from the Dzungars. The name given to him at birth remains unknown. He became known in subsequent generations as Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Peljor, a name composed of three parts bestowed upon him during different stages of his life and diverse circumstances. Among seven siblings, he was the fourth child. Their family was associated with the right wing of the Oirat Mongols, descendants of Gushi Khan, who had settled in the expansive pastures of Kokonor in the mid-17th century. The Mongolian clan into which Sumpa Khenpo was born belonged to the princely family (Tib. *rje'u dpon*) of the Kokonor Mongols. When Sumpa Khenpo was two, his father initiated his writing education. The child exhibited remarkable aptitude, mastering the Panchen Lama Prayer by the age of three, taught to him by his father (Samten Chhosphel 2010). When he turned four, he commenced his education at the Gongba Dragkar Melongling monastery, under the tutelage of the Mongolian monk Sokpo Chehor gelong.

In 1710, at the age of seven, he was recognized, based on the recommendation of Labrang monastery's abbot, Jamyang Zhepa Dorje (1648–1722), as the reincarnation (Tib. *tulku*, Mong. *khubilgan*) of Gonlung monastery's abbot, Sumpa Zhabdrung Losang Tenpa Gyaltsen. During the same year, he took novice ordination under Tarshul Ponlop Chokyong Gyatso, adopting the monastic name Losang Chokyong. The designation "Sumpa", which the young tulku also adopted, is derived from an ancient Tibetan clan. This led Sarat Chandra Das and subsequent researchers, lacking access to Sumpa Khenpo's autobiography, to erroneously identify Sumpa Khenpo as being of Tibetan origin. Other Tibetologists, such as Louis Schram, a prominent researcher of the Monguors⁵ (Schram 1957), and subsequently, Yang Ho-chin, the English translator of "History of Kokonor" (Sum pa mkhan po 1969: 4), concluded that Sumpa Khenpo was of Monguor descent. This interpretation likely stemmed from the fact that the Gonlung Monastery, where Sumpa Khenpo was recognized as a reincarnation along with the Changkya and Tukwan lineages, was situated in the region inhabited by the Monguors (Chin. Tu). Such interpretations gave rise to considerable confusion regarding Sumpa Khenpo's ethnic and cultural identity. Eventually, scholars including Damdinsuren, Bira, and Pubaev rightly identified Sumpa Khenpo as a Mongolian scholar who wrote in Tibetan (Damdinsuren 1957; Bira 1969: 18; Pubaev 1981: 43). In light of the complex identities prevalent in the population residing in this part of

⁵ The Mongour, the Tu people (Chin. Tuzu), the White Mongol or the Tsagaan Mongol, are Mongolic people, one of the 56 officially recognized nationalities in China.

Inner Asia, referred to as Amdo in Tibetan, we will align ourselves with the standpoint of these representatives of Mongolian historiography and designate Sumpa Khenpo as a Mongolian scholar. This choice is supported by Sumpa Khenpo's own words in his autobiography, where he indicates that his father belonged to the Batud tribe (one of the four tribes of the Oirats), that his mother was Dzungar by origin, and that his family traced their lineage back to Gushi Khan.

In 1712, at the age of nine, Sumpa Khenpo arrived at Gonlung Monastery as one of the principal incarnations. It is noteworthy that Sumpa Khenpo's life, representing the Sumpa lineage, was marked by numerous challenges and conflicts. The term 'Sumpa' denoted not only a tulku lineage but also a local clan closely associated with the monastery. The Sumpa clan, in fact, sought to designate tulkus from their own ranks rather than from the external Oirat-Mongolian community. However, it was Jamyang Zhepa who selected this boy from his Mongol patrons' clan, despite the Sumpa clan's opposition. Consequently, the Sumpa clan's influence over local affairs was diminished by the Mongols. As a result, the clan consistently plotted against Sumpa Khenpo, leaving an enduring impact on his subsequent life. Sumpa Khenpo never maintained a permanent residence in the monastery. Despite assuming the role of its abbot on three occasions, he did so without genuine enthusiasm each time.

Most likely, conflicts with local clans significantly influenced Sumpa Khenpo's view of the tulku institution itself. Bira highlighted his substantial doubts about his Khubilgan origins, vehemently criticized this institution, and even declined the Khutukhtu title granted by Emperor Qianlong (Bira 1969: 20). As per Kim Hanung, Sumpa Khenpo did not reject the tulku institution itself (Kim 2018: 150–151). However, being a scholarly individual with a critical mindset, he opposed the excesses associated with this tradition. For instance, in his autobiography, he observed that in Central Tibet, Amdo, and Mongolia, incarnate lamas became as many as "the number of ears in good harvest" (ibid: 150). In this context, he cited the following lines from the Fifth Dalai Lama:

A foolish and inferior child,
Beautifully decorated with satin piece by piece,
Put on the higher throne in the midst of a foolish group of followers,
Is like frost destroying the lotus garden of Buddha's teachings.⁶

⁶ mi shes gdol ba'i phru gu dar zab kyis / /
phang phung mdzes par byas te mthon po'i khrir / /
blun po'i 'khor tshogs dbus na 'gying ba yi / /
ba mos thub bstan pad tshal bcom gyi dogs / / (Cit. according to Kim 2018: 115.)

It is evident that by citing these words written by the Dalai Lama, Sumpa Khenpo conveyed his adverse attitude towards the thoughtless propagation of this tradition.

Looking back at the years when Sumpa Khenpo studied at the Gonglung Monastery, we observe that he delved into Logic, Vinaya, Abhidharma, and Prajñāpāramitā under the guidance of Ngawang Tenzin and Lodro Gyatso, and Lamrim under the tutelage of Chozang Rinchen. In 1716, he formally embraced novice monkhood (Tib. *dge tshul*) under Chozang II. The subsequent year, in 1717, he journeyed to Kumbum Monastery, where he had an audience with the Seventh Dalai Lama, Kelsang Gyatso (1708–1757), during the young Geluk hierarch's stay under the protection of the Khoshot Mongols. From the age of fifteen to twenty, Sumpa Khenpo dedicated himself to the study of the arts (Tib. *bzo rig pa*) and created numerous Buddhist thangkas. In 1720, he embarked on Vajrabhairava meditation. By 1722, he had completed his study of Prajñāpāramitā, and in 1723, he and 700 fellow monks received tantric initiation from the master Pa Rinpoche Ngawang Tashi.

Looking ahead, we observe that among Sumpa Khenpo's teachers were Tukwan II Ngawang Chokyi Gyatso (1680–1736), Changkya Khutukhtu II Ngawang Lobzang Choden (1642–1714)—who extended assistance to the young tulku while in Beijing in 1737—and Changkya Khutukhtu III Rolpai Dorje (1717–1786). It was the latter, rather than the Manchu Emperor, who bestowed upon Sumpa Khenpo the title of Erdeni Pandita in 1749.⁷ In response, Sumpa Khenpo bestowed the name Rolpai Dorje (Tib. *rol pa'i rdo rje*) upon Changkya Khutukhtu III. The subsequent Tukwan III Lobzang Chokyi Nyima (1737–1802), a renowned scholar, became a student of Sumpa Khenpo. These three Khubilgan lineages of Gonglung Monastery maintained close connections. The Changkyas and Tukwans primarily resided in Beijing, with the Changkya Khutukhtus serving as imperial mentors (Chinese: *da goshi*). Through their influence, Tibetan Buddhism gained substantial popularity among the imperial elite of the Qing Dynasty.

While being in Amdo, Sumpa Khenpo always aspired to study in Central Tibet. When he was 19 years old, his dream came true. On the 15th day of the 6th month of the water-hare year (1723), he set off to study in Central Tibet. Along the way, Sumpa Khenpo visited numerous monasteries and holy places and eventually reached Lhasa. However, he did not stop there. He continued his journey to Tashilhunpo Monastery in Tsang, where he had two audiences with the Fifth Panchen Lama, Lobzang Yeshe (1663–1737). During the second audience, Sumpa Khenpo was able to take the full *gelong*

⁷ On this matter see below.

monastic vow and received a new name—Yeshe Peljor. Afterward, he began his journey back to Lhasa. Once there, he was received in audience by the Seventh Dalai Lama and joined the Samlo Khamtsen of the Gomang Dratsang within the Drepung Monastery.

In the following year, 1724, during his residence in Gomang Dratsang, a Mongol messenger delivered news to him about an uprising among his fellow tribesmen, the Khoshots, descendants of Gushi Khan. They had rebelled against the Manchu dynasty but were subsequently defeated and suppressed.⁸ This terrifying information had such a profound impact on Sumpa Khenpo that he fell seriously ill. Most likely from that moment he developed an ambivalent attitude towards the Manchu dynasty: loyal and hostile at the same time, as we can assume from his writings. In his work "The Chronological Table", he recounts that in 1723, the Olyots (Oirats) of Kokonor suffered defeat at the hands of the Chinese forces. The latter inflicted casualties on over 700 monks, set ablaze numerous monasteries, and in 1724, even razed his native Gonlung Monastery (Paksam-Jonzang 1991: 138). In "History of Kokonor", composed when he was already advanced in age, he expressed these events through poetry. His verses reflect empathy for his fellow tribesmen, while also conveying an understanding of the futility of their uprising. He metaphorically likened the Khoshots to a flock of birds, while the Manchurian troops were depicted as an eagle, and the planet Rahu causing an eclipse of the moon (Sum pa mkhan po, IMBTS, TT-11993: f. 9a).

In this context, Dandaron wrote in the preface to his translation of "History of Kokonor": "Sumpa Khenpo calls for reconciliation with reality, as the struggle against foreign domination has little chance of success. It is necessary to establish peace with the Qing power, relying on it for aid and support in advancing the cause of faith, thereby assisting the Mongols [...]. The prevailing political circumstances shape Sumpa Khenpo's ideology and approach. Unlike Zaya Pandita and Galdan Boshogtu, he emerges as a reformist, conciliator, collaborator, who nevertheless maintains a progressive stance for his time and serves, to a degree, as an educator. It is plausible that if the Dzungar Khanate had not been vanquished by the Qing, Sumpa Khenpo's perspectives would have diverged" (Dandaron 2006: 567). From this excerpt, despite the critical tone of Dandaron's analysis, it is evident that he accurately captured the prevailing ethos of the era in which Sumpa Khenpo lived. This was a turning point in the histories of Mongolia and Tibet, where the Mongols and Tibetans were

⁸ The rebellion, which received backing from the Geluk monasteries, was led by Losang Tenzin, the grandson of Gushi Khan. However, it faced ruthless suppression by the Qing forces, ultimately resulting in Kokonor's incorporation into the Qing empire (Petech 1950: 82).

compelled to acquiesce to the Manchus, thus reshaping completely their future trajectories.

So, during his stay in Lhasa, Sumpa Khenpo learned about the Khoshots' defeat in Kokonor and continued his studies at Gomang Dratsang. In 1725, he embarked on visits to numerous monasteries in Ü, including Ganden and Sera, where he engaged with numerous lamas. In 1726, during a Monlam prayer gathering, he attained the *lingse* degree (Tib. *gling bsre*) and honed his debating skills. He persisted in his study of Buddhist disciplines under the guidance of several mentors, including the Seventh Dalai Lama, Gyalse IV, Konpo Lobpon, and Namkha Sangpo. Notably, Namkha Sangpo served as his primary teacher, and through him, Sumpa Khenpo delved into the Lamrim while also receiving various Geluk oral transmissions. An important aspect of his studies in Central Tibet was his interest not only in Buddhist disciplines (Tib. *nang don*) but also in 'worldly sciences' (Tib. *tha snyad*), that subsequently left a discernible impact on his religious and scholarly pursuits.

Regarding the duration of Sumpa Khenpo's stay in Central Tibet, it is crucial to highlight a substantial error in Das's account of Sumpa Khenpo's biography, a mistake that has been subsequently replicated in almost all references to the Mongolian master. This pertains to the claim that Sumpa Khenpo held the position of abbot at Gomang Dratsang from the age of twenty-three and retained this role for a span of five years (Das 1889: 38). Remarkably, the master's autobiography does not corroborate this assertion. Furthermore, Sumpa Khenpo's name is conspicuously absent from the list of Gomang's abbots during that timeframe. Plausibly, Das's error can be attributed to the fact that the Mongolian scholar bore the title "*Sumpa Khenpo*", denoting the *abbot* Sumpa. However, it is crucial to clarify that he acquired this title and position not as a Khenpo of Gomang Dratsang, but rather as a Khenpo of the Dreyul Kyetsel Monastery. This distinction was bestowed upon him by the Tibetan ruler, Polhane Sonam Tobgye (1689–1747) (Kim 2018: 54–56).

In connection with Sumpa Khenpo's time at Gomang Dratsang, another detail of significance emerges: amidst all the historians who wrote in Tibetan, he stood alone in expressing support for the Dzungars. Within his autobiography, he extolled the 'good' approach of the Dzungars, who ousted negligent students from educational centers in Lhasa, effectively cleaning the Dratsangs. He contended that this strategy, when coupled with the exceptional tutelage provided by the foremost masters, engendered an ideal environment for the study of Buddhism in Geluk monasteries. As a result, students could attain, within just two or three years, the level of knowledge that previously required a minimum of 15 years to acquire (Kim 2018: 165).

While studying at Gomang Dratsang, Sumpa Khenpo also distinguished himself through his unconventional stance during the civil war of 1727–1728 between the Ü and Tsang regions, or, as one might also say, between the pro-Dzungar and pro-Manchu factions. The former was led by the ministers Lumpawa Tashi Gyelpo (d. 1728) and Ngapopa Dorje Gyelpo (d. 1728), while the latter was led by Kangchenne Sonam Gyelpo (d. 1727) and Polhane Sonam Topgye, companions and followers of Lhasang Khan, who had been slain by the Dzungars. The first faction assassinated Kangchenne. In response, Polhane organized resistance and ultimately emerged victorious (see Petech 1950). During this period, the still young Sumpa Khenpo, albeit pro-Dzungar, urged the monks of the Lhasa monasteries not to join the army on the side of the Ü province, thus providing significant support to Polhane. This is a highly intriguing detail that has captured the attention of previous researchers. It is documented in Sumpa Khenpo’s autobiography and holds immense importance in understanding his character.

Sumpa Khenpo wrote: “Although I was young and foolish, I expressed the following words without fear even though the Tibetan government would throw me into the river” (Cit. according to: Kim 2013: 175–176). He argued that involvement in the pro-Dzungar faction would inevitably lead to retaliation by the Manchus, a reality that the Amdowa were well aware of, unlike their counterparts in Central Tibet. He expressed it as follows:

Previously, when Amdo people and China were in conflict, monks, who were like greatly flourishing trees of poisonous thorns which grew from now ripening hundreds of crimes produced by non-virtuous seeds of earlier times, gave the doctrine a bad name and participated in the army. Based on this, to Chu-bzang Rin-po-che, who held the mkhan-po position of three great monasteries of Amdo, [a Chinese general] said, “Since you did not stop the monks many of them went to the army”. Then [the Chinese troops] surrounded and put Chu-bzang Rin-po-che, many elder monks and dharma lords of Gser-khog monastery on the second floor of Yamen building, and burnt them alive. This is what I heard. Now it is out of question to appeal for permission for becoming monk soldiers (Ibid: 176).

For taking this stance, Sumpa Khenpo was poisoned but swiftly recovered. According to him, afterwards, numerous monks and people from the Ü region acknowledged his position, considering it a significant service to the Sangha and the lamas of the major monasteries. In appreciation for his assistance, both Polhane and the Seventh Dalai Lama appointed him as the abbot, *khenpo*, of the Dreyul Kyetsel monastery. He resisted this appointment, yet he was

compelled to accept it (Kim 2018: 70). From that point onwards, he became renowned as Sumpa Khenpo.

In 1729, Yeshe Peljor received news of the restoration of the Gonlung Monastery. In the same year, he was ordered by the emperor, conveyed through a messenger, to return to Amdo. Although he resigned from his position as abbot, he delayed his departure and instead traveled to Central Tibet. During his time there in 1729, he learned that Gonlung Monastery was now requesting his return. Simultaneously, Polhane intended to appoint him as an envoy to China (Tib. *Rgya nag mkhan po*). In order to avoid this assignment, he returned to his homeland in 1731 at the age of 28.

However, he felt uncomfortable at Gonlung and thus did not stay for long. He began traveling to various monasteries, delivering teachings, meeting with lamas, and only occasionally returning to Gonlung, residing in a secluded hermitage during his visits. He bestowed initiations at Ganden Rinchenling and then accepted an invitation to lead Pari Tashi Choling monastery, assuming the role of its abbot. During his time there, he painted a magnificent thangka depicting the six-armed Mahākāla, conducted initiations, and taught various rituals, including the grand ritual of offering tormas (Tib. *gtor chen*) and religious dances of Dharmarāja in accordance with the Zhalupa tradition. He received significant Sakya teachings, such as the practice of Guhyasamāja Tantra and Lojong (Tib. *blo sbyong*), from Kumbum Sherab Chojor and Gyupa Khenpo Losang Kunga. Kumbum Tripa Gendun Dondub XXIV (born 1668) granted him the Kalachakra empowerment. On the right side of the Serlung monastery, he established the Ganden Chodzung hermitage and became the abbot of the same monastery. He conferred the Vajramāla initiation upon local residents and secular patrons from Tibet, Mongolia, and China (Samten Chhosphel 2010).

In 1735, Sumpa Khenpo received an invitation from the Qianlong Emperor to visit Beijing, and in 1737, at the age of 34, he made the journey to the imperial capital. This visit and his meeting with the emperor gave rise to another myth surrounding Sumpa Khenpo, which, we may surmise, can be traced to the abovementioned article by Sarat Chandra Das. According to Das, the emperor was greatly impressed by the Mongolian master's knowledge and bestowed upon him the title of "the spiritual guide of all the chiefs of Mongolia" and "authorized him to bear the title of Huthogtu (saint)" (Das 1889: 38). However, the master declined this title, as "according to him" it [was] "intended for those who aspired to worldly glory". "Henceforth he rose high in the esteem of the emperor and was declared to be a real Lama" (Ibid: 39).

However, no mention of this episode exists in Sumpa Khenpo’s autobiography. In fact, his autobiography suggests the opposite—that Sumpa Khenpo was disenchanted with his time at court. During his initial audience with the Qianlong Emperor, Sumpa Khenpo conversed more extensively with Prince Guo, given the emperor’s youthful age at the time. But Prince Guo’s primary interest lay in the Nyingmapa school, which Sumpa Khenpo held a negative opinion of. Consequently, when the prince sought a subsequent meeting, the master declined. As a result, the bestowed title and gifts were not significant (Kim 2018: 80–81; Uspensky 1997: 17–18).⁹ The following year, Sumpa Khenpo began experiencing leg pain and sought his release. The emperor granted his request, permitting the master to depart from the capital. The emperor summoned Sumpa Khenpo to Beijing for the second time in 1742, when he was 39 years old. However, the subsequent year, he fell seriously ill and left the capital due to his health. Sumpa Khenpo made his third trip to Beijing in 1755, yet this visit involved performing a healing ritual for Changkya Khutukhtu. After receiving gifts and instructions, he promptly departed. These instances of Sumpa Khenpo’s visits to the capital reveal a complex relationship with the ruling dynasty, portraying a dynamic involving strained associations rather than a model *choyon* (Tib. *mchod yon*, ‘Buddhist master – secular patron’) relationship. His contributions to the propagation of Tibetan Buddhism within the empire’s capital remained quite modest in comparison to the endeavors of the Changkya and the Tukwans Khutukhtus. It appears that Sumpa Khenpo genuinely distanced himself from pursuits of worldly acclaim.

In 1746, at the age of 43, Sumpa Khenpo became the abbot of Gonlung Jampaling Monastery. This marked the first of his three terms as abbot there. In this role, he offered teachings and initiations of the 11-faced Avalokiteśvara at the Ganden Chokhorling and presided over the Monlam Chenmo. Based on the recommendation of Changkya Khutukhtu III, he taught classes in Sanskrit grammar, Tibetan language, poetry, astrology, and medicine in Gonlung. Additionally, he undertook the construction of a new prayer temple at Ganden Dechenling, served as abbot of Shedrup Dargyeling for one month, and received teachings and initiations on the four medical tantras, *Gyushi*, from Menrampa Nyima Gyaltsen. In 1750, Sumpa Khenpo embarked on a pilgrimage to Wutaishan (Samten Chhoshphel 2010).

⁹ While his retinue was discontent with this treatment, he personally viewed it as a protector’s blessing, as it facilitated his resignation (Kim 2018: 81).

From 1747 to 1748, Sumpa Khenpo wrote his famous treatise on the history of religion titled “Paksam Jonzang”. This work is one of the best-known sources for the history of Buddhism in India, Tibet, and Mongolia. Another of his historical works is the “History of Kokonor”, which he wrote in his later years. The complete collection of Sumpa Khenpo’s works consists of eight volumes, with its xylographic blocks being carved in the monastery of Chugo Serpo. Apart from these two historical writings, his works include numerous texts on philosophy, the art of statue-making and thangka-painting, medicine, astrology, poetics, epistolography, etc. When considering Sumpa Khenpo’s scholarly career, one cannot overlook his indifference to acquiring high scholarly degrees, which he rejected more than once. He was quite content with titles like Khenpo and Erdeni Pandita.

Returning to his life story, we observe that the encyclopedia “Treasury of Knowledge” (Tib. *Shes bya’i gter mdzod*; see Mi rigs dpe mdzod khang, vol. 3: 483–487) and the biography of the master compiled by Samten Chhosphele (Samten Chhosphele 2010) contain information that in 1776, at the age of 66, Sumpa Khenpo traveled to Lhasa. During this journey, he received a solemn welcome in all monasteries, occupied a prominent seat in meetings, conducted public teachings and initiations on Lamrim, and engaged in debates with renowned lamas. However, Kim Hanung notes that Sumpa Khenpo’s autobiography does not provide such information. Instead, it indicates that in that year, he traveled to locations within the modern provinces of Gansu and Sichuan (Kim 2018: 57).

The final point, depicted in varying ways across academic literature, pertains to Sumpa Khenpo’s journeys to Mongolia. Samten Chhosphele recounts that around 1771, he ventured to Mongolia and stayed for eight years, conducting teachings, initiations, and rituals, among other activities. Conversely, Kim Hanung observes that Sumpa Khenpo extensively traveled in Mongolia, yet he consistently spent no more than a year in any given location, always returning to Gonlung thereafter (Kim 2018: 58). Nevertheless, the noteworthy aspect remains that Sumpa Khenpo embarked on extensive travels to Mongolia, which holds significant implications for the propagation of Buddhism within the Mongolian region. He made trips to Alashan, where he delivered teachings to fellow Khoshots, and ventured to the Khoshuns of Ordos, Hohhot, and Dörben Kheükhed, as well as the lands of the Yugurs.¹⁰ These journeys were prompted by invitations from Mongolian princely families. During these visits, he primarily assumed the role of a cleric, engaging in diverse tantric rituals (Tib.

¹⁰ The Yugur, Chin. *Yuguzi*, the so-called Yellow Uyghurs, one of the 56 officially recognized nationalities in China.

dbang, lung, rjes snang, khrid) and disseminating worldly sciences (Tib. *tha snyad*). The rituals he performed for inducing rain and for retrieving souls gained special popularity.

Summing up the life and activities of Sumpa Khenpo after his return from Central Tibet to his homeland, it is worth noting that the orthodox Geluk scholar also gained fame as a renowned teacher and cleric. Sumpa Khenpo’s interest in worldly sciences, or practical knowledge, was apparent both in his younger years and during his studies in Lhasa. However, it was only after returning to Kokonor that he fully committed himself to teaching the people, emerging as a central figure in the Amdo cultural renaissance of the 18th century and playing a vital role in the widespread dissemination of Buddhism in Inner Mongolia. In 1788, Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Peljor passed away at the age of 85, leaving behind a substantial scholarly and spiritual legacy.

*Collected works (sumbum) of Sumpa Khenpo
and his “History of Kokonor”*

We analyzed seven *sumbums* of Sumpa Khenpo preserved in the following Chinese and international libraries and institutions:

1. Chinese National Library (Chin. *Zhongguo guojia tushuguan*);
2. Labrang monastery library (Tib. *Bla brang mdzod dpe*);
3. Potala Library (Tib. *Po ta la mdzod dpe*);
4. Library of the Northwestern University of Nationalities (Chin. *Xibei minzu daxue tushuguan*);
5. Center of Oriental Manuscripts and Xylographs of the Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences (COMX IMBTS SB RAS);
6. *Sumbum* facsimile edition: Lokesh Chandra, ed. *Gsung ’bum of Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-shes dpal’byor*; 9 volumes. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1975.¹¹
7. *Sumbum* critical edition: *Sum pa paṇḍita Ye shes dpal ’byor gyi gsung ’bum* [Collected Works of Sum pa paṇḍita Ye shes dpal ’byor]. Zi ling: Mtsho sngon mi rigs dpe skrun khang (20 vols.).¹²

A comparative study of these *sumbums* (excluding No. 7) allowed us to conclude that they are almost identical in terms of the number of volumes, their numbering, the number of pages of each volume, and the number of lines per page, with only rare exceptions. The prefaces to Lokesh Chandra’s and the BDRC editions both state that Sumpa Khenpo’s *sumbum* xylographs were made at the Gonlung monastery,

¹¹ <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:MW29227> (access 31.08.2023).

¹² <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:MW3CN7697> (access 31.08.2023).

while the *sumbum* catalog on the Chinese National Library website notes that the xylographs were made at the Chumig Serpo monastery, located near Hohhot in Inner Mongolia. This information is also supported by Kim Hanung's research. In our opinion, the second point of view is correct.

Therefore, it can be argued that there is only one edition of the *sumbum* of Sumpa Khenpo, produced in the Chumig Serpo monastery and found in libraries of various monasteries and institutes. It consists of 67–69 works spread across 8–9 volumes. According to Lokesh Chandra's description, there are 9 volumes and 67 texts in the *sumbum*, while Bidiya Dandaron indicates 8 volumes and 69 texts, and Kim Hanung specifies 8 volumes and 68 texts. Kim Hanung's research has demonstrated that among the three texts included by Lokesh Chandra in the 9th volume, the first two were not authored by Sumpa Khenpo, and the third one, "The Indian Method of Examining Horses" (Tib. *Rgya gar ba'i lugs bstan rta dpyad dpal gyang zhes by aba bzhugs so*), lacks a serial number. Dandaron included this text in Volume 8 under No. 8 (8–8) and concluded his description of the *sumbum* with it (Dandaron 1965: 53).

"The History of Kokonor", with the full title "New Melodic Song of Brahma Containing the History of Kokonor and Other [Information]" (Tib. *Mtsho sngon gyi lo rgyus sogs bkod pa'i tshangs glu gsar snyan zhes bya ba bzhugs so*), is Text No. 11 of the second volume in Sumpa Khenpo's *sumbum*. The text consists of seven lines per folio and comprises 19 folios, all in the format of 56.2x10.5 cm (COMX IMBTS SB RAS, No TT-11993).

There is also a handwritten version of "The History of Kokonor". Published by the Mongolian lama Guru Deva in Sarnath in 1965 (Sum pa mkhan po 1965), it consists of 33 pages written in blue letters on green paper. Facsimiles of the text were published by Lokesh Chandra and the digital copy by BDRC.

In 1982, "The History of Kokonor" was published in Xining by the National Publishing House of Qinghai (Sum pa mkhan po 1982) in the form of a modern typesetting edition. It was also included in Volume 5 of the Full Collected Works of Sumpa Khenpo, published by the same publishing house in 2015 (Sum pa mkhan po 2015, vol. 5: 220–269).

"The History of Kokonor" was translated into English by Yang Hochen (Sum pa mkhan po 1969), into Russian by B. Dandaron (Dandaron [1972] 2006), into Chinese concurrently by Xie Jian and Xie Wei (Sum pa mkhan po 1983–1984a), and by Huang Hao (Sum pa mkhan po 1983–1984a), and into Mongolian by D. Dashbadrakh (Sum pa mkhan po 1997). It is worth noting that Yang's English translation is partial, covering only the second chapter of the work. Despite its thoroughness and valuable notes, which greatly assisted our work, we identified

numerous semantic errors in Yang's translation, which we have duly annotated in the footnotes to our Russian translation of the text. Yang Ho-chin, like his predecessors, made several mistakes in Sumpa Khenpo's biography, including believing that the Mongolian master was of Monguor origin and served as the abbot of Gomang Datsan during his studies in Central Tibet. Dandaron's translation, on the other hand, contained multiple errors that at times distorted the meanings of entire sentences. Nonetheless, Dandaron's account of Sumpa Khenpo's *sumbum* and the preface to his translation of "The History of Kokonor" proved valuable resources for our research. In 1997, D. Dashbadrakh's Mongolian translation of "The History of Kokonor" was published (Sumpa Khenpo 1997). It remained faithful to the Tibetan original, albeit with scarce accompanying notes.

Evidently, "The History of Kokonor" by Sumpa Khenpo garnered the most attention among researchers studying the author's complete *sumbum*. What factors contributed to such heightened interest in this work? And what is the source's significance in the realm of Tibetan Studies? Let us delve deeper into these questions.

"The History of Kokonor" was composed by Sumpa Khenpo two years before his passing in 1786, when he was 83 years old, at the request of Gushi Khan's descendants—namely, Erdeni Tsetsen, Boshoktu Beiizi, and Tsokye Dorje. In this work, he did not provide references to sources as meticulously as he did in his primary historical work, "Pagsam Jongsang". Instead, he simply noted that the work is written in a narrative style, drawing from the biographies of great lamas, ancient legends, and stories of common people.

"The History of Kokonor" is composed of four main parts along with an extensive separate afterword, which can be seen as an additional chapter. All these sections employ a mixed genre, blending a narrative tone with enumerations of chronological events, poetic interjections, praises, geographical descriptions, folk literary examples, and biographical references. In this relatively concise treatise, a wide range of information is presented, making it challenging to fully comprehend. In the first chapter, the author delves into ancient legends about the origins of Lake Kokonor (ff. 1b1–3a3). The second chapter discusses both secular and religious life in Tibet and the Kokonor region spanning from 1612 to 1786 (ff. 3a–10b6). The third chapter offers an exceedingly poetic portrayal of Kokonor and Amdo (ff. 10b6–14a1), while the fourth chapter extols the contentment of the region's inhabitants, who, according to the author, live in accordance with the primary precepts of Buddhism (ff. 14a1–14b7). The afterword provides a succinct overview of the history of Dzungaria and China, along with geographical insights into these regions (ff. 14b7–19a6). Consequently, this treatise can be approached

from various disciplinary perspectives, including history, religious studies, folk literature studies, geography, and rhetoric. Yet, it appears that delving into the Mongolian master's work from a viewpoint of historical anthropology could yield the most productive analysis, as such an approach could offer deeper insights into the text and its academic significance.

Given that Sumpa Khenpo's work primarily drew the attention of historians, let us initially focus on its historical aspect, particularly the second chapter of the text. This chapter scrutinizes a pivotal period in Tibet and Kokonor's history, occurring during the mid-17th century, when the head of the Geluk school, the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Losang Gyatso (1617–1682), and the Khoshot leader, Gushi Khan (1582–1654), established a formidable Tibeto-Mongolian alliance. This alliance successfully united all the regions of Greater Tibet (Ü-Tsang, Kham, and Amdo) into a single state. Nevertheless, in the first quarter of the 18th century, this alliance began to crumble due to the Manchu pressure, leading both the Mongols and Tibetans to succumb to the authority of the Manchu empire.

The value of Sumpa Khenpo's work lies, firstly, in the fact that, in contrast to traditional Tibetan historiography, it focuses primarily on secular rather than religious history in Tibet and Kokonor. Secondly, it stands as the first work in Tibetan historiography dedicated to the Amdo region. Thirdly, it exhibits a distinct 'sectarian' character. What the author presents is not merely history but its interpretation from the perspective of a devoted follower of the Geluk school and a representative of the Oirat-Mongolian community. He was also a contemporary witness to many of the events he describes. This narrative offers comprehensive detail on some events while significantly overlooking others that are equally important. This dual nature defines the paradoxical uniqueness of this work—showcasing its encyclopedic breadth on one hand and, on the other, its distinct viewpoints on events and personalities that differ from the Tibetan historical tradition.

The first notable characteristic of the work is its apparent disregard for the role of the Fifth Dalai Lama in Tibet's history, particularly when compared to that of Gushi Khan. Sumpa Khenpo mentions the Dalai Lama only a few times. While extolling the virtues of Gushi Khan, the author acknowledges that the Dalai Lama bestowed upon the Khan the title of Dharmaraja, Tenzin Chogyal, and that the Khan became Tibet's king (*gyalpo*). However, he remains utterly silent about the fact that Gushi Khan offered Tibet as a gift to the Dalai Lama—a central theme in Tibetan historiography, tracing back to "The History of Tibet" by the Fifth Dalai Lama and reiterated in "Tibet: A Political History" by Tsepon Shakabpa (Shakabpa 1984). This omission can be

explained, in part, by Sumpa Khenpo's affiliation with the Khoshot Mongols and his desire to please his benefactors—the descendants of Gushi Khan. However, by the time he penned his work, Sumpa Khenpo had already established a reputation as an erudite scholar—Erdeni Pandita. It is unlikely that he would have so blatantly distorted historical facts solely to appease his secular patrons. Consequently, it is plausible that the well-known account of Tibet being presented as an offering to the Dalai Lama, the earthly incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, might be a historical myth or an event later embellished significantly within Tibetan historiography.

Behind the façade of this discourse, it is not difficult to discern the Tibetan-Mongolian antagonism that emerged after the death of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama. And it is clear where Sumpa Khenpo's sympathies lay. Describing the conflict between the regent of the Dalai Lama, Desi Sangye Gyatso (1653–1705), and Lhasang Khan of the Khoshots (who ruled from 1703 to 1717), he strongly criticizes the regent's policies. Narrating the events when a grand retinue of Manchu dignitaries from the imperial capital Beijing and Mongol princes from Kokonor accompanied the Seventh Dalai Lama Kelsang Gyatso (1708–1757) to Lhasa under orders from Emperor Kangxi (1654–1722), he refers to stories of his Kokonor tribesmen in poetic form. According to these accounts, for their role in discovering the Dalai Lama, ensuring his safety, and placing him on the religious throne, the Kokonor Mongols expected nothing less than the secular throne of the King of Tibet. However, in response, they received only a disdainful attitude from the local Tibetan authorities. This led them to vow revenge in front of the Buddha image in Lhasa.

Detailing the subsequent Kokonor Mongol uprising in 1723, which was brutally suppressed by the Manchus (when Sumpa Khenpo was 19 years old), he avoids mentioning the leader of the uprising, Losang Tenzin, the grandson of Gushi Khan. Instead, he notes the senselessness of the uprising and subtly expresses sympathy for his fellow Khoshots. Yet, this event marked a pivotal moment in Amdo's history. It forced the Kokonor princes—*wangs* and *gongs*—to become vassals of the Qing and serve as a key instrument for governing the Tibetan and Mongol residents of Amdo. Regarding Sumpa Khenpo's position during the civil war of 1727–1729, we have already mentioned it in the narration of his biography. In that context, despite his affiliation with the Yellow Hats, *shaserwa*, he actively opposed the Tibetan 'nationalists' represented by the ministers of the Tibetan government. He urged the monks of Lhasa not to join the army, thereby rendering significant service to Polhane (1689–1747), a loyal companion of Lhasang Khan.

Also of great interest, as we have previously mentioned, is Sumpa Khenpo's position in relation to the Manchu court as recounted in his biography. It was ambivalent: hostile on the one hand, and reverent on the other. As noted by Yang Ho-chin in his preface to the English translation of the work, Sumpa Khenpo likely aimed to be very precise in expressing his thoughts due to the strict 'literary inquisition' (Chin. *wenzhiyu*) (Yang 1968: 8). Nonetheless, he frequently emphasizes the extreme cruelty of the Manchus towards the Kokonor Mongols and their monasteries. Simultaneously, he fully acknowledges the rule of the Manchu Empire in Tibet and Kokonor, resulting in long-term peace for the region. Sumpa Khenpo dedicates significant portions of his work to poetic praise of this peace.

Regarding other non-historical aspects of the work, they are covered in the first, third, and fourth chapters. Each chapter is written in a distinct literary genre and merits special examination. Let us highlight their defining features. The first chapter elucidates the universe based on the Abhidharmakośa and the Kālacakra-tantra. It discusses Tibet and Greater Tibet, with Amdo situated to the north. The author critically attempts to explain the origin of Lake Kokonor using rational logic and references to Buddhist scriptures, ultimately arriving at a reasonable conclusion that refutes certain existing oral traditions. The third chapter presents the initial description in the Tibetan written tradition of Kokonor and the broader Amdo region, situated in the northeastern parts of the Tibetan plateau. Here, the author exhibits an uncommon level of geographic knowledge for his time, conveyed in a grandiose poetic style. He eloquently describes mountains, rivers, valleys, and plains, highlighting the region's distinct characteristics when compared to Nepal in the south and Russia in the north. Sumpa Khenpo portrays the people of Kokonor as content and prosperous folk dedicated to virtuous deeds. The fourth chapter aptly exemplifies the genre of praise. In it, Sumpa Khenpo portrays himself as an enthusiastic devotee of the Geluk school and the Oirats. He strongly asserts that the Geluk school represents the "apex of all other Buddhist schools in the Land of Snows" and emphasizes that the rulers of Kokonor are descendants of the divine family of Genghis Khan, comparable in wealth and power to the "splendor of the deities" (f. 14a). The epilogue returns to a more historical genre. It presents a rather unstructured, yet extensive, treatment of historical events and geographical attributes of Dzungaria, Kham, Ü-Tsang, Mongolia, China, and even India.

In conclusion, we assert that "The History of Kokonor" by Sumpa Khenpo Yeshe Peljor is a unique work in the Tibetan writing tradition. Its primary value lies in being the first work dedicated to the history and culture of Amdo, with a predominant focus on the descendants of

Gushi Khan. These descendants arrived in Tibet and Kokonor during the mid-17th century, becoming kings and rulers of these lands. An outstanding characteristic of this work is that it was authored by one of the most learned scholars of that era, an Oirat Mongol and a fervent follower of the Geluk school. This combination of factors gives this work its distinctiveness, rendering it a clear mirror of the medieval history of Amdo during a turbulent period of wars and alliances.

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Lamas and Oirat migrations: religion and the exodus of the main part of Kalmyks in 1771

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At the beginning of 1771, a significant historic event occurred when the main part of the Kalmyks departed from their long-established territory in Russia, situated between the Volga and Yaik (Ural) rivers, where they had roamed since the 1630s, and left for their former homeland in Dzungaria. The exodus to the east was driven by various factors, with socio-economic, political, and religious reasons being of great importance.

The Kalmyks were gradually forced out of their pastures due to the development of arable lands in the regions of Caspian Sea and the North Caucasus by Russian peasants and the founding of German colonies in the Lower Volga region. By the middle of the 18th century, more than a third of the entire Kalmyk population had been completely ruined. In 1765, the Russian government issued a law allowing the sale and transfer of state (that is, the Kalmyk) lands to landowners, further exacerbating the situation. As a result, Kalmyks were deprived of pastures and gradually forced to move to semi-deserts and salt marshes.

The Kalmyk Khan Ubasha (ruled 1761–1771) wrote to the Astrakhan governor N. A. Beketov in September 1765, expressing his concerns. He mentioned that the areas where the Kalmyks used to roam “without any obstacle or oppression” were now facing a different situation. Peasants were seizing cattle and people, and he remarked, “if the Russian settlements grow up, then Kalmyk cattle breeding will inevitably die due to a lack of forage”.¹ The economic hardships that forced the Kalmyks to go to work (*otkhodnichestvo*) in Russian regions, along with the loss of the male population during wars and conflicts, formed a negative demographic situation.

One of the indicators of the Kalmyks’ well-being was the number of yurts (*kibitkas*, i. e., the number of subjects) of the chief lama: in times

¹ Ocherki 1967: 200–201.

of prosperity, the lama had from 3,000 to 4,000 Shabiner² yurts. Under Donduk-Dashi,³ there were only 1,040 such yurts.⁴

The importance of political reasons became crucial over time. Tsebek-Dorji, the grandson of Donduk-Ombo and great-great-grandson of Ayuka,⁵ sought to take advantage of the ongoing centrifugal processes. He claimed the Khan's place, for which in December 1761, he went to St. Petersburg with gifts (two girls, a boy, and three horses).⁶ However, he was unsuccessful in regaining the Khan's Bagatsokhurovsky ulus and remained known in history as one of the most zealous supporters of the idea of exodus. By the decree of Empress Catherine the Great on May 8, 1765, Tsebek-Dorji was appointed head of the Zargo⁷ and started plotting "to act against the governor (*namestnik*) Ubushi through intrigues".⁸

Meanwhile, the situation with the Zargo was rather difficult after the changes implemented by the Russian authorities. When Ubasha was approved for the khanate, "the signs for this dignity [were sent to him] ... the same letter prescribed about the government⁹ of the Kalmyk people, and what basis it will henceforth rely upon".¹⁰ Since some rulers (Ayuka and Donduk-Ombo) "excessively strengthened in their people",¹¹ while others (Tseren-Donduk¹²) were considered "weak khans",¹³ it was proposed to increase the number of the Zargo members by the *zaisangs* "according to proportion to their uluses; they have all the affairs decided by a majority of votes, and in case of disagreement, inform us here and act according to our resolutions".¹⁴ It was assumed that in this way the ruler would not be excessively

² Shabiners – the subjects of lama.

³ He became the Kalmyk ruler in 1741 (*namestnik* from 1741, Khan from 1758), after the death of Donduk-Ombo (ruled 14.11.1735 – 21.03.1741) and the most likely pretender, Galdan-Danzhin (27.06.1741).

⁴ Archive of foreign policy of the Russian Empire (hereafter referred to as AFPRE). Coll. 119. Inv. 119/2. Book 2. 1732–1773. Folio 232.

⁵ The famous Kalmyk ruler, Khan from 1698 to 1724.

⁶ AFPRE. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/2. Book 2. 1732–1773. Folio 291.

⁷ The Zargo was the highest governmental and judicial body, comprising representatives of the upper strata (*zaisangs*, *noyons*), lamas, and managers (*tusalagchi*, *zarguchi*, and others).

⁸ Pal'mov 1927: 214. Cf. Kolesnik 2003: 189; Guriy 1915: 217.

⁹ I. e. Zargo.

¹⁰ In Russian: "знаки на сие достоинство... сей же граматою предписывается и о правительстве калмыцкого народа, на каком основании оно впредь быть имеет" (AFPRE. Coll. 103. Inv. 103/1. Item 10. 1762. Folio 1).

¹¹ In Russian: "излишно в своем народе усиливались" (AFPRE. Ibid. Folio 1 verso).

¹² Son of Ayuka, ruled 1.05.1731 – 24.10.1735.

¹³ In Russian: "слабого состояния хан" (AFPRE. Ibid. Folio 1 verso).

¹⁴ In Russian: "по пропорции их улусов, которые имеют все дела решить по большинству голосов, а в случае несоглашения доносить сюда и поступать по здешним резолюциям" (AFPRE. Ibid. Folio 2).

strengthened, and all the owners would be involved in the decision-making process, thereby avoiding a split among the Kalmyks: "it is decided that the Kalmyk people should not be divided separately".¹⁵ Thus, in domestic political affairs (foreign political affairs were practically nullified), further restrictions on the rights of the Khan prevailed.¹⁶

Religious reasons also played an important role, as highlighted by scholars. Kolesnik noted: "There is no doubt that the Buddhist clergy of the Kalmyk Khanate fully and completely shared the position of the Dalai Lama" regarding the Kalmyks' decision to leave Russia.¹⁷ The threat of Christianization was also significant; this circumstance, cited as one of the main reasons for the exodus, was pointed out by believers who subsequently visited Tibet.¹⁸

As Rahul wrote, the Torguts¹⁹ retained political and religious ties with Tibet, which were vital for justifying the return of the Torguts to their former lands in Central Asia. He mentioned that this occurred after the alleged appeal of the chief Kalmyk lama to the Dalai Lama, requesting the indication of the date of the exodus.²⁰ Ukhtomskiy pointed out the connection between the Kalmyks and the Dalai Lama, which influenced the Kalmyks' exodus in 1771.²¹ Besprozvannykh was certain: "The Tsarist administration ... did not realize the importance of the religious factor in the life of the Kalmyk people and thus provided an additional argument to the supporters of migration from Russia".²²

It cannot be said that the Russian authorities were unaware of the ongoing changes in the Kalmyks' moods. They received fairly regular information about their preparations for migration, but no proper conclusions were drawn.²³ On February 10, 1770, the Empress Catherine the Great herself wrote to the Kazakh Nurali Khan, who warned about the escape of the Kalmyks, that this was unlikely, since "they, being under the highest patronage of Her Imperial Majesty, have the happiness ... to enjoy all the necessary advantages for human

¹⁵ In Russian: "представлено калмыцкого народа не разделять порознь" (AFPRE. Ibid. Folio 4 verso).

¹⁶ AFPRE. Ibid. Folio 4 verso.

¹⁷ Kolesnik 2003: 192. Cf. Dordzhiyeva 2012: 55; Besprozvannykh 2008: 191.

¹⁸ Ukhtomskiy 1904: 57.

¹⁹ The Torguts were the main among other Kalmyk peoples that left Russia. All the Kalmyk khans belonged to the Torgut people.

Rahul 1969: 216.

²⁰ Ukhtomskiy 1891: 14.

²¹ Besprozvannykh 2008: 35.

²² Dordzhiyeva 2002: 77–85; Kolesnik 2003: 170–177.

life, and, moreover, the immaculate justice".²⁴ Meanwhile, the information was supplied by quite reliable people; for instance, the Khoshut noyon Zamyán wrote to Beketov on February 28, 1767: "the derben Oirods' native place is over there, and even more, because the Chinese are of the same [religious] law [with them]; also, it is heard about the Chinese Khan that he gives great favors to his subjects, and besides, the Dalai Lama [worshipped by] Kalmyks is not far from there".²⁵ Some Kalmyk leaders were sure of the need to leave Russia: "Why should we live in the world like this under an infidel khan, it's better at least to die in the country of an orthodox khan".²⁶

Thus, a complex combination of a wide variety of factors had an impact on the young Kalmyk Khan Ubasha, eventually leading him to decide to return to the ancient homeland of the Oirats.

Exodus

Ubasha, on the night before the movement, announced to his army his decision to leave Russia "not only with great regret, but also with great tears",²⁷ also mentioning that he was under pressure to hand over "his son and other children of 5 owners and of a hundred zaisangs" as amanats.²⁸ Ubasha said, "Let the Russians follow their own way, but we Kalmyks ... have been harsh to harsh ones, and peaceful to peaceful ones. During the life of my father, what was it like? You do know whether we remained peaceful at home!"²⁹ (perhaps he meant the Kalmyks' participation in uprisings, wars, etc.).³⁰ Before the last campaign in which Ubasha took part, he had prayed to "the Burkhans

²⁴ In Russian: "они, будучи под высочайшею протекциею ея императорскаго величества, имеют счастье... пользоваться всеми к жизни человеческой нужными выгодами, а притом и непорочною справедливостию" (Cited in Dordzhiyeva 2002: 85).

²⁵ In Russian: "дербен ойродов природное тамо место, а паче потому что китайцы однозаконцы, при том же слышно о китайском хане, что он к подданным оказывает великие милости, к тому ж где и Далай-лама калмыцкой оттуда недалеко" (Cited in Dordzhiyeva 2002, 77). Cf. Gedeyeva 2020: 248.

²⁶ In Russian: "Чем нам жить на свете вот этак под неправоверным ханом, так лучше хоть помереть в стране правоверного хана" (Cited in Dzhambadordzhi 2005: 146).

²⁷ Guriy 1915, 219; Pal'mov 1992: 98.

²⁸ Guriy 1915, 219; Mitirov 1998: 268.

²⁹ He considered it necessary to repeat the same at the reception of the Qing emperor when Ubasha presented the Emperor with family heirlooms—two sabers—uttering that "now he will not have to exhaust himself with wars". (Cited in Mitirov 1998: 271–272).

³⁰ In December 1769, the Russian authorities demanded that Ubasha equip 15,000 troops, although they typically required no more than 5,000. (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/2. Book 2. 1732–1773. Folios 326, 328).

for a calm and prosperous journey".³¹ On January 5, 1771, Kalmyks moved towards Yaik river. In total, more than 30,000 kubitkas, or at least 120,000 people, tried to leave Russia.³²

There were also those who were against migration: the Torgut noyon Asarkho, the Khoshut noyons Zamyán and Teke, and others. Nature itself seemed to be against the exodus as, by January 1771, the Volga had not been covered with stable ice.³³

At the end of the summer, with heavy fighting, they arrived in the lands of the former Dzungaria, where they hoped to restore an independent Oirat state and gain reliable contact with the Dalai Lama. However, after reaching the land of their ancestors, they discovered that it had already been transformed into the province of Xinjiang, and the Kalmyks had no choice but to agree to become subjects of the Qing.

Upon their arrival at the border of the Qing Empire, Qianlong Emperor sent his representatives to Ubasha, through whom he stated: "If you wish to go to Tibet to boil tea³⁴ before the Dalai Lama, we will also give you permission. At present Tibet has been incorporated into our territory. In the Yellow Religion no one is higher in the hierarchy than Dalai Lama and Pan-ch'an E-er-te-ni Lama".³⁵

The Imperial son-in-law, "commissioner, and Minister of Presence", Septen Paljur (Se-pu-t'eng Pa-le-chu-er), wrote to Qianlong:

"We have investigated and found that the Turgot Eleuths who escaped from Russia are descendants of A-yu-ch'i Khan, different from the Eleuths in Dzungaria.³⁶ ... It is the Turgots' custom to worship the lamaism of the Yellow Sect. Therefore they have petitioned us to allow them to go to Tibet to do religious service. The religion of the Russians is similar to the Moslem. Their scriptures and religion are different from those of the Turgots; therefore they cannot get along well".³⁷

According to the English representative J. Bogle, who visited Tibet in 1774–1775, the Sixth Panchen Lama Lobsang Palden Yeshey told him that "a few years ago, the Tatar tribe, who were subjects of Russia, went to the Chinese, and that the emperor of China had previously

³¹ Guriy 1915: 220.

³² Rychkov 1772: 55; Nefed'yev 1834: 70.

³³ According to other information, ice drift began; see AFPRE. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/2. Book 2. 1732–1773. Folio 427 verso.

³⁴ It was the well-known 'mancha' ('manja fuifumbi' – in Manchu) or 'aocha' (熬茶 – in Chinese) ceremony, held during the interaction between a lama and a believer. The main act involved the believer preparing the tea and offering it to the lama.

³⁵ Cited in Fu Lo-shu 1966: 256.

³⁶ Regarding the time and reasons for the appearance of the designation of a part of the Oirats as Dzhungars (also known as Eleuths/Elets) and the meaning of this word, see Kitinov, Lyulina 2023.

³⁷ Cited in Fu Lo-shu 1966: 258.

written to him about this, boasting of his luck".³⁸ From this information, we can infer that the highest lamas of Tibet were not involved in the political game played by the Emperor to achieve the long-standing dynastic goal of subordinating all Mongols to Manchu power. As one of the sources suggests, the return of the Kalmyks "completed the conquest of the Mongols, which began with the accession of the Manchurian dynasty".³⁹ Gibson notes that the Torguts were hardly mentioned in Tibetan writings even after their return to Xinjiang.⁴⁰ The Qing authorities were not only interested in this exodus, but also wished for the Kalmyks to arrive as weakened as possible, only wanting to survive and not being prepared to fight for independence. As a result, the Kalmyks were dispersed within the boundaries of the former Dzungaria.

The religious factor: obtaining the Khan title from the Dalai Lama

The issue of obtaining the title of Khan from the Dalai Lama also played an important role in the Kalmyks' exodus. It served as a significant condition for legitimizing and sacralizing the rule of their main Kalmyk (Torgut) leader.

Meanwhile, the Tsarist government's policy aimed at restricting contacts and any form of communication with Tibet and the Dalai Lama, which posed a considerable challenge for the Kalmyks. In our opinion, this communication conflict became the most crucial and practically insurmountable obstacle for Ubasha. The connection with the Dalai Lama and Tibet had always been essential for maintaining stable inner and foreign policies of the Khanate. For instance, Donduk-Dashi emphasized this importance in his letter to Colonel N. G. Spitsyn, head of Kalmyk affairs, regarding the dispatch of envoys to the Tibetan Hierarchy: "There is no other matter more critical, and you are well aware that anyone who has Law (Faith) has no greater necessity than to go to Zou".⁴¹

Probably, the most essential aspect of the interaction between the Kalmyk leader and the Tibetan hierarchs was the reception of the Khan title from the Dalai Lama. This tradition took shape during the early reign of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Daichin, the son of Torgut taiji Ho-Urlyuk and the grandfather of the renowned ruler Ayuka, was the first

³⁸ Cited in Besprozvannykh 2001: 210–211.

³⁹ Zhang-mu and He-tsi-tao 1895: 144.

⁴⁰ Gibson 1990: 91.

⁴¹ In Russian: "более сего важнаго дела еще другаго не имеется, и вы находитесь не без известно, ибо, всякая кто имеет закон, крайнее сей надобности другою быть не может, как отправление в Зоу" (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 14. 1752. Folio 7).

Kalmyk ruler to meet the Fifth Dalai Lama⁴² and received the Khan title from him in the early 1650s.⁴³ Ayuka received the Khan title from the Sixth Dalai Lama after the enthronement ceremony of Tsanyang Gyatso that took place in Potala on October 25, 1697; a representative of the Kalmyk leader was also present there. Most likely, the title was delivered to him at the beginning of the following year, in 1698. It is worth noting that Ayuka had already received the Khan title in 1690 from Dipa Sangye Gyatso,⁴⁴ whom he had met in 1682.⁴⁵ At that time, the Dipa had already ruled Tibet for eight years on behalf of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

Despite facing certain difficulties with the embassy's route and their stay in Tibet,⁴⁶ Tseren-Donduk, Ayuka's son, was granted the title "Daichin-Shasa-Byuja Khan".⁴⁷ The Russian authorities supported this son of Ayuka, and the consent of the Dalai Lama was important to them. As mentioned in an archival document, if the Dalai Lama granted the title of "Khan to no one but him, Tseren Donduk, then Her Imperial Majesty has no objections to that".⁴⁸ The solemn ceremony took place on September 10, 1735, but, soon after, by decree of the Empress, Tseren-Donduk was detained in Tsaritsyn⁴⁹ and sent to St. Petersburg.⁵⁰

In November 1735, Donduk-Ombo became the new Kalmyk ruler, and his authority was more widely recognized among the Kalmyks than Tseren-Donduk's. A year later, in October 1736, Donduk-Ombo requested the Empress to send an embassy to the Dalai Lama. "And given the circumstances of having a war with the Turks, it was permitted for this Donduk Omba Khan to send 70 of his envoys to the Dalai Lama".⁵¹ The decree of the Empress also emphasized that among

⁴² Ngag dbang 2012: 219.

⁴³ The first visit took place in the 1640s.

⁴⁴ Together with those regalia to Ayuka, Byukongin (Bukang) lama could receive an assignment to the Kalmyks to head the sangha, and then went to the Kalmyks, since the previous chief lama, Dondub Gyatso, had already left for Boshogtu Khan (see below).

⁴⁵ Ayuka met the Fifth Dalai Lama in January, 1682. See Sangs rgyas 1999: 298.

⁴⁶ Ishihama 1992: 510–511.

⁴⁷ Pal'mov 1926: 96.

⁴⁸ In Russian: "ханской не иному кому, но ему Черень Дондуку, то из того Ея Императорскому Величеству противности быть не имеет" (AFPРЕ. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 18. 1732–1735. Folio 310 verso).

⁴⁹ At that time, the authorities accessed Tseren-Donduk as "having a low mind and being drunk" and considered him militarily "powerless" (AFPРЕ. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 4. Folio 13 verso).

⁵⁰ Pal'mov 1926, 146.

⁵¹ In Russian: "И по тогдашнему с турки военному времени, оному хану Дондук Омбе, посланцов его 70 человек к Далай ламе отправить позволено" (AFPРЕ Item 14. 1752. Folio 28).

the Kalmyks, the appointment of the Khan was made “only by the highest permission of Her Imperial Majesty”,⁵² indicating that the Dalai Lama’s decision and the Empress’s consent had to align.

Special nuances were added to the embassy due to Jimba Jamtso, a representative of Donduk-Ombo, carrying, according to his words, a letter from Donduk-Ombo to Pulutaiji⁵³ with a request for assistance in visiting the Dalai Lama.⁵⁴ Consequently, when sending his envoys to Tibet, Donduk-Ombo believed that the Dalai Lama was still in the east of Tibet (though, by the time the embassy was sent, the Dalai Lama Kalsang Gyatso had already returned to Lhasa) and was well aware of the situation in Tibet and the great power of Polhanai. Donduk-Ombo’s embassy arrived in Siberian Selenginsk in 1739, but the Manchu authorities refused its entry into China, stating that “the Russian people should not be admitted to the Dalai Lama, and thus the envoys of the Kalmyk Khan, a subject of the Russian state, should not be accepted, and it is impossible to proceed [to the Dalai Lama]”.⁵⁵ As a result, Donduk-Ombo did not receive the title of Khan.

The embassy, led by Zouchi-Gelung on behalf of the next Kalmyk ruler Donduk-Dashi, departed for China on September 30, 1755, traveling through Kazan and Irkutsk. At the border, the Qing authorities did not have any questions about their allegiance, as the decree of the Empress stated that the ambassadors were traveling at “their own expense”⁵⁶ and not at the expense of the state treasury.

The Kalmyks, like the envoys of Tseren-Donduk in 1729, visited Beijing. Meng-gu-yu-mu-chi reports:

“In 1756, the Torgut envoy Choi-Jab⁵⁷ introduced himself to Qian-long, and, declaring that he, on the orders of his khan, Donrob-rashi,⁵⁸ traveled through Russia and arrived in Beijing⁵⁹ only in the third year, asking permission to go to Tibet to worship the Dalai Lama. Bogdokhan ordered to give him an escort. Upon his return from Tibet, he was given gifts for the Khan...”⁶⁰ According to another source, the meeting took place in Zhehe (Jehol) on October 5, 1756, during which

⁵² In Russian: “только по высочайшему Ея императорского Величества соизволению” (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 41. 1737–1741. Folio 47).

⁵³ This name meant Polhanai (or Polhane; 1689–1747), the Tibetan ruler.

⁵⁴ AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 41. 1737–1741. Folio 397 verso.

⁵⁵ In Russian: “российских людей до Далай ламы допускать не положено, того ради подданного Российского государства калмыцкого хана посланцов принять не надлежит, и пропустить невозможно” (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 14. 1752. Folio 31).

⁵⁶ In Russian: “[На] собственном коште” (AFPRES. Ibid. Folio 50).

⁵⁷ Hoshouchi-Tsoijit, who led the embassy after Zouchi’s death en route.

⁵⁸ Donduk-Dashi.

⁵⁹ In this work (*Meng-gu-yu-mu-chi*), there are some chronological errors. It is not clear when this meeting took place.

⁶⁰ Zhang-mu and He-tsi-tao 1895: 144.

Choi-Jab (Ch'uei-cha-pu) presented a "tribute".⁶¹ Probably, the envoys of Donduk-Dashi managed to receive the title of Khan and the seal from the Dalai Lama for their leader,⁶² as a document composed after the return of the embassy states that "the Kalmyk masters receive such seals from Tibet from the Dalai Lama".⁶³

Before the return of the embassy, on March 21, 1757, Empress Elizabeth (Elizaveta Petrovna) issued a decree, appointing Donduk-Dashi as Khan, and designating his son Ubasha as the governor. This appointment was officially announced a year later, on April 30 (according to other sources, February 20), 1758, during a meeting of the Kalmyk nobility near Cherny Yar (presently, in the Astrakhan region).⁶⁴ During the ceremony, Donduk-Dashi and Ubasha recited the oath in front of the Buddha statue and bowed their heads to it.⁶⁵ Almost simultaneously, in March 1758, a messenger from the returning embassy came to Donduk-Dashi with news that the Dalai Lama had "passed away from this world to the Taralang place",⁶⁶ and that "he would be reborn soon".⁶⁷

By that time, the situation in Lhasa had undergone another change: after the suppression of the uprising of Jurmed Wangyal, the Emperor reinstated the Dalai Lama (the Panchen Lama was still young then) into the political system, making him a ruler of Tibet once again. According to the Emperor's Decree of 1751, the system of management and selection of higher tulkus was changed. The Qing, on one hand, developed and maintained the image of the Dalai Lama as the spiritual leader of all Buddhist peoples, who was considered to be outside the system of state control. On the other hand, the institution of the tulku became the tool and basis of Qing influence in Tibet.⁶⁸ Subsequent

⁶¹ Fu Lo-shu 1966: 198–199.

⁶² The Seventh Dalai Lama passed away on 22.03.1757.

⁶³ In Russian: "калмыцкие владельцы получают таковые печати из Тибета от Далай ламы" (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 22. 1760. Folio 2).

⁶⁴ This event was preceded by a meeting of a special board called "the conference" established at the court of the Empress, during which a report was presented by the Collegium of Foreign Affairs (*Kollegiia inostrannykh del*). It was noted that a change of the leading person among the Kalmyks would usually bring about some "strife, especially since the khans appoint their heirs themselves and also seek the khan title from the Dalai Lama, whom they idolize, instead of seeking it from our imperial court, and efforts have been made from our side up to this day to encourage them to seek this title from our imperial court and not from the Dalai Lama" (cited in Mitirov 1998: 219). Therefore, it was decided to meet the wishes of Donduk-Dashi and declare him as the Khan, while his son Ubasha as the governor (*namestnik*).

⁶⁵ Nefed'yev 1834: 83.

⁶⁶ In Russian: "от сего света переселился в Таралангово место" (Mitirov 1998: 218). Most likely, this word refers to his rebirth in the paradise of Tushita.

⁶⁷ In Russian: "скоро оный паки возродится" (Mitirov 1998: 218).

⁶⁸ Schwieger 2015: 220.

changes led to the increasing dependence of Tibetan religious institutions on the Emperor.

There is no definite information regarding the actual sending of an embassy to Tibet for the Khan title for Ubasha, the son of Donduk-Dashi, who died in 1761. The available data suggest the possibility of such an embassy in connection with the so-called “calling letters”, the last of which was allegedly received by Ubasha shortly before the Kalmyk exodus.

The Kalmyks also had various everyday connections with Tibet, including obtaining medicines, ritual and cult items that were highly valued by them,⁶⁹ and training new novices in monasteries. When Donduk-Ombo’s embassy could not proceed to Tibet due to the Qing ban, they managed to smuggle the most important part of the gifts and offerings to the Dalai Lama, without attracting the attention of the Manchu authorities. “In return, the Burkhangs, which earlier had been sent to be blessed, books, and other things in three wraps were brought to them, secretly from the Chinese”.⁷⁰ Donduk-Dashi also attempted to send novices to study in Tibet. Unlike the Dzungar rulers, he had reasons to make this request directly to the Dalai Lama. He hoped that out of the participants of his embassy to Tibet in 1748 “23 people will remain there to learn the Law”.⁷¹

The religious factor: A “Calling Letter” from Tibet

A special place in the history of the exodus of the Kalmyks is occupied by so-called “calling letters” (or “conscriptio letters”), which were allegedly transmitted by the Dalai Lama to the Kalmyk rulers, demanding their return to their former homeland. The earliest mention of these letters dates back to the first quarter of the 18th century when Shakur Lama, originally a Kalmyk, arrived from Tibet to the homeland, seemingly carrying a “calling letter” from the Dalai Lama, urging a return to Dzungaria.⁷²

⁶⁹ The assessment made by Batur-Ombo, a member of the embassy in 1729, regarding the medicines and books confiscated by the Qing authorities was as follows: “[they] cost more than the Khan’s expenses for draught animals and provisions during their journey”; in Russian: “[они] более цены стоят нежели в их тракте от подвод и корму ханскому интересу убытку учинилось” (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 18. 1732–1735. Folio 256).

⁷⁰ In Russian: “и напротив того привезли к ним оттуда посланные на благословение бурханы, книги и протчая в трех ширях, тайно же от китайцов” (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 14. 1752. Folio 44).

⁷¹ In Russian: “23 человека для обучения их закона, тамо останутся” (AFPRES. Ibid. Folio 42 verso).

⁷² National Archive of the Republic of Kalmykia (hereafter referred to as NARK). Coll. 36. Inv. 1. Item 15. Folio 211 verso.

Shakur spent more than twenty years in Tibet, receiving education at Gomang Dratsang, and eventually becoming the head of the Shakhor (Shag skor) Dratsang, following established tradition.⁷³ At the request of Ayuka Khan and with the agreement of the second Sixth Dalai Lama, he left Lhasa in the spring of 1717, before the Dzungars captured Lhasa in the autumn of the same year. Most likely, Shakur Lama returned to the Kalmyks as part of an embassy that arrived back in the Khanate in 1719. His return was likely promoted by the death of the chief lama of Bukang (Byukongin), with Anjjatan temporarily holding the position of chief lama.

Zlatkin cites a Russian archival document from 1728 that states: "In the past years, upon the arrival of Shakur Lama from the Dalai Lama, he, Shakur Lama, announced the Dalai Lama's order to Khan Ayuka that all of them, Kalmyks, should migrate to their one-law Khan from the Russian protection, and Khan Ayuka and his wife Darma-Bala⁷⁴, along with Shakur Lama and Emchi Gelen, ... suggested that they migrate to Khontaisha, speak to him, and announce to him the command of the Dalai Lama, and they hoped that he, Khontaishi, would not disobey the Dalai Lama's order and would not ruin them (like he did to Sanjip, the Khan's son)".⁷⁵

Pal'mov believed that the "order" of the Dalai Lama made "a sensation in the steppe ... they debated the question which way to go, whether to the east of Mongolia or to its west".⁷⁶ According to Batmaev, Shakur Lama not only brought a call to come back to the "one-law" ruler but also tried in every possible way to implement it; however, family troubles in the Khan's family prevented this.⁷⁷

Kurapov also asserts that "'Eastern migration' was Shakur Lama's objective from the outset of his political career".⁷⁸ Such a definitive stance has led researchers to offer a negative evaluation of Shakur Lama's activities. However, it is worth noting that he was one of the most influential Geluk lamas, probably deeply involved in Tibetan

⁷³ See Doboorn Tulku's "A Brief History of Drepung Monastery".

⁷⁴ Darma-Bala, who was a cousin of the Dzungarian Khungtaiji Tsevan-Rabdan, was originally intended to marry Ayuka's youngest son, Gundelek. However, the 55-year-old Khan decided to marry her himself. She later bore him three sons.

⁷⁵ In Russian: "В прошлых годах по прибытии Шакур-ламина от Далай-ламы объявил он, Шакур-лама, повелением Далай-ламинным хану Аюке, чтоб они все, калмыки, ис под российской протекции к своему однозаконному хану откочевали, и хан де Аюка и жена его Дарма-бала и Шакур-лама и емчигелен... предложили, чтоб им откочевать к хонтайше, обослався с ним и объявля ему повеление Далай-ламино, и надеялись де, что он, хонтайши, Далай-ламино повеление не оставит и их (так, как ханова сына Санджипа), не разорит" (Zlatkin 1983: 221).

⁷⁶ Pal'mov 1926: 53–54.

⁷⁷ Batmaev 1993: 273.

⁷⁸ Kurapov 2021: 143.

politics during the initial fifteen years of the 18th century. Later, his role among the Kalmyks remained significant as well.⁷⁹

An incorrect assessment of this lama's actions often arises solely from the assumption of the "delivery" of the "calling letter" and from a general analysis of the Kalmyks' situation during their difficult historical period, without taking into account the situation in Tibet, which could have also exerted influence on policies towards the Kalmyks.

It is highly improbable that Shakur Lama could have brought a "calling letter" because the situation in Tibet was not conducive to such actions. Since 1707, there was a second Sixth Dalai Lama, Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso, appointed to this position by the "king" of Tibet, Lhavzan. The latter had no interest in the return of the Kalmyks to Dzungaria, as it would only strengthen the Dzungars and pose a significant threat to Lhavzan's rule. Despite Lhavzan's attempts at reconciliation with Tsevan-Rabdan after the execution of Dipa Sangye Gyatso in 1705, differences persisted.⁸⁰ In 1714, the lamas of Sera, Drepung, and Tashi-Lhumpo sought Tsevan-Rabdan's help in overthrowing Lhavzan, eliminating the "false" Dalai Lama, and enthroning the "true" incarnation—the young Kalsang Gyatso.⁸¹ Even after the subsequent marriage between Tsevan-Rabdan's and Lhavzan's children, the situation remained unchanged.⁸² Therefore, the circumstances in Tibet and its surroundings were not suitable for the dispatch of a "calling letter" at that time.

The issue of returning to Dzungaria once again became relevant among the Kalmyk leaders during the period of unrest that followed the death of Ayuka in February 1724. It is believed that this problem was mostly raised by the Dzungarian Darma-Bala, Ayuka's widow, against the backdrop of disagreements in the Khan's family. According to contemporaries, Shakur Lama allegedly again raised the issue of returning to the east at that time,⁸³ but no concrete evidence has been presented to support this claim.

The situation with the clergy remained tense as before, and with the loss of the embassy of Arabjur, the Khanate faced a shortage of important lamas,⁸⁴ making it difficult to replenish their ranks. Faced with these difficult religious and political conditions, Shakur Lama made a decision in early March 1729 to appeal to the Russian authorities, seeking permission to travel to Tibet "to pay homage to

⁷⁹ Kitinov 2015.

⁸⁰ Kraft 1953: 64–65.

⁸¹ Rockhill 1998: 32.

⁸² Petech 1966: 276; Dzhabdordzhi 2005: 129.

⁸³ APPRE. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/2. Book 1. Folio 10 verso.

⁸⁴ See below for more information about the lamas of Arabjur embassy.

the Dalai Lama".⁸⁵ The letter, written on behalf of Tseren-Donduk to Emperor Petr II, requested permission for his people to visit the Dalai Lama "to commemorate his father, the Khan, and to offer tea"⁸⁶⁸⁷, and "to construct a temple"⁸⁸.⁸⁹ However, the Russian authorities denied the lama's request to leave the Khanate due to his significant political influence.⁹⁰ The embassy departed from Saratov at the end of December 1729. Despite this embassy being considered one of the most important foreign policy actions of Shakur Lama, the archival documents related to it did not reveal any additional information about the supposed "calling letter".

Additional information regarding the "calling letter" pertains to Donduk-Dashi's embassy, which successfully reached the Dalai Lama and returned. Specifically, Pal'mov, citing the translator M. S. Vezelev, mentioned that the "calling letter" was delivered, but Donduk-Dashi did not agree to migrate.⁹¹ Kolesnik, on the other hand, suggested that Donduk-Dashi might have received such a "call" from the Dalai Lama: "It is quite possible that he called on the Kalmyks to return to their homeland".⁹² However, no definite confirmation exists. Despite the missing letter, experts are endeavoring to determine its possible authorship: G. Dordzhiyeva proposed the Dalai Lama as the author,⁹³ while Besprozvannykh suggested the Panchen-lama.⁹⁴

Perhaps there was another, a third "calling letter", during Ubasha's reign, but it was also not found. Pal'mov provides the following information from Beketov: there was another secret embassy to Tibet, after the death of the Seventh Dalai Lama and shortly before 1771.⁹⁵ This point appears to be crucial for further research on the issue, as it implies that Kalmyk envoys had to meet with the all-powerful regent-*gyaltsap* Demo Rinpoche (regent in 1757–1777), who was dependent on the Manchus and had the authority to act on behalf of the Dalai Lama. Consequently, if this "secret" embassy indeed existed, it could have delivered a "calling letter" from the "Dalai Lama" to Ubasha—an

⁸⁵ In Russian: "поклониться Далай-ламе" (AFPPE. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 12. 1729. Folio 13).

⁸⁶ This refers to the ceremonies of commemoration of the dead, which consisted in the performance of special rites, after which the monks were treated to tea and presented with offerings (see no. 34).

⁸⁷ In Russian: "для поминовения отца ево хана и для подчивания чаем" (AFPPE. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 18. 1732–1735. Folio 256).

⁸⁸ A stūpa was probably meant.

⁸⁹ In Russian: "построить церковь" (Pal'mov 1926: 77).

⁹⁰ Pal'mov 1926: 76.

⁹¹ Pal'mov 1992: 95–96.

⁹² Kolesnik 2003: 192.

⁹³ Dordzhiyeva 2012: 55.

⁹⁴ Besprozvannykh 2008: 167.

⁹⁵ Pal'mov 1927: 164.

essential element in the elaborate operation of the Qing court (see above). Hence, it is not surprising that upon their return from Tibet, the envoys “exceedingly praised the mercy of the Bogdykhan, the local ruler, to the newcomers”.⁹⁶

It is important to note that the idea of Manchu rulers being involved in the “calls” for the Kalmyks to leave Russia first emerged during the reign of Donduk-Dashi. Pal’mov was the first to propose this perspective, noting that “in regard to the Far Eastern influence on the Kalmyks as an aspect of the explanation of their departure, Vezelev believes the center of gravity lies in the influence of the Dalai Lama, while Beketov shifts the focus to the Bogdykhan”.⁹⁷ Upon considering the political situation in Tibet and the position of the young Eighth Dalai Lama, it is reasonable to assume that the opinions of Vezelev and Beketov do not generally contradict each other.

Be that as it may, one should concur with Kolesnik’s viewpoint: “The originals or copies of these calling letters have not yet been found. Maybe they did not exist at all”.⁹⁸ These letters might not have physically existed, but they could have been subjects of discussion among the Kalmyk rulers, serving as imagined symbolic supplement to the Khan’s regalia and signifying the Dalai Lama’s trust in the Kalmyk leader.

The Dzungarian factor

There was another powerful incentive that the Russian authorities considered, although contrary to reality, to prevent the Kalmyks from thinking about escaping: the Dzungars, or rather, the fall of the Dzungar Khanate. Despite the Tsarist government’s expectations that the Kalmyks would learn from the fate of the Dzungars, the Kalmyks had a different perspective on the situation. This viewpoint was clearly expressed by the envoys of Tseren-Donduk in Beijing. They asserted that even though the Qing might subjugate Kontaisha and his people, their land originally belonged to the Oirats, and it was only ceded to Kontaisha by them, the “Ayukans”. Hence, they would not yield it to the “Chinese”.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ In Russian: “чрезвычайно хвалили милость тамошнего богдыхана к пришельцам” (Pal’mov 1927: 164).

⁹⁷ Pal’mov 1927: 164.

⁹⁸ Kolesnik 2003: 190.

⁹⁹ In Russian: “что они китайцы говорят о взятъе контайши и народ ево и может быть что избудется а землю ево они аюкинцы им китайцам не уступят и невозможно понеже изстари та земля была их” (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 18. 1732–1735. Folio 255 verso).

Indeed, the Kalmyk rulers held their own perspective on Dzungaria, its inhabitants, and territory. They never forgot about the Torguts of Sanjip, who had settled there in the early 18th century, and they regarded the land of Dzungaria as part of their shared Oirat heritage, received from their ancestors. Similarly, the Dzungarian leaders also kept their fellow tribesmen in Russia in mind and remembered their ties to them.

Interest in the events in Dzungaria was rekindled with the arrival of Louzan-Shuno, one of the sons of Tsevan-Rabdan, born from Seterjap, daughter of Ayuka, to the Kalmyk Khanate, in 1727.¹⁰⁰ Louzan-Shuno escaped the threat of assassination by Galdan-Tseren and probably hoped to receive support from the Kalmyks in his upcoming fight for the Dzungar throne.¹⁰¹ However, Shakur Lama and several other leaders actively opposed such sentiments and persuaded Tseren-Donduk to remain in Russia.

The most active attempts of the Dzungarian Khungtaiji, Galdan-Tseren, to entice the Kalmyk rulers, and by extension all Kalmyks, to move to Dzungaria occurred during the reign of Donduk-Dashi.¹⁰² This was veiledly communicated to Donduk-Dashi and Darma-Bala in a letter from Darma Bala's brother, Gomang Lama. He served as a lama in Drepung Gomang and later became the head of the sangha in Dzungaria.¹⁰³ In his epistle, Gomang Lama mentioned a former letter

¹⁰⁰ Another significant factor of interest in Dzungaria arose due to the capture of Lhasa. Twenty years later, in October 1736, count A. I. Osterman, the head of the Collegium of Foreign Affairs, informed Abuja, the envoy of Donduk-Ombo, that he was aware "of the devastation of the Dalai Lama's residence by the father of that Galdan Cheren"; in Russian: "о разорении отцем того Галдан Череня Далай Ламиной резиденций" (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 40. 1736. Folio 32).

¹⁰¹ Donduk-Ombo married his daughter Cheren-Balzang to Shuno; in 1732, Shuno passed away "childless". See Bakunin 1995: 57.

¹⁰² Zlatkin states that as early as the mid-1640s the Dzungarian Batur-Khungtaiji urged the Kalmyks to return to their former nomad camps, and a certain lama came to convey this wish to them. It is possible that Zaya Pandita brought this message to the Kalmyks during his visit in the spring of 1645, when he met with many Kalmyk leaders at Daichin's invitation. However, if such events did occur, they remained unfulfilled due to conflicts, primarily between the Oirats themselves, as the Khoshuts of Kundulen and Ablay could block the Kalmyks' way to Dzungaria. See Zlatkin 1983: 112, 133.

¹⁰³ Gomang Lama in Dzungaria "has primacy over all spiritual ones"; in Russian: "надо всеми духовными их имеет первенство" (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 23. 1745-1746. Folio 2 verso). It was a famous Buddhist master, Lobsan Phuntsok, also known as Kempotan Lama, Goman Laza Lobsan Phuntsog and Dzungarian Noyon Khambo Luvsanpuntsog, he was a prominent disciple of Jamyang Shadpa (see Terbish 2008: 88; Kitinov 2004: 131-134). He was the head of the Drepung Gomang datsan, and during the period of Dzungar occupation of Tibet, he was tasked with overseeing the persecution of lamas from different schools, not aligned with Geluk.

from Galdan-Tseren, saying: “Galdan Cheren narrated everything to you, both past and future, and the apt advice he gave you, mindful of the Yellow Law and the former four Oirots’ [=Oirats’] power, when he swore an oath, is, in my opinion, better for you to trust”.¹⁰⁴ Thus, shortly after coming to power, the Dzungar ruler appealed to Donduk-Dashi and Darma-Bala, urging them to remember the union of the four Oirats, their common faith, and to return to their former homeland (“the apt advice he gave”). The letter specifically emphasized the unity of Buddhism and the Oirat people, stating: “And the Yellow Law with the power of four Oirats still stands unflinching and indestructibly”.¹⁰⁵ It is evident that Gomang Lama linked the “invincibility” of Tsongkhapa’s teachings with Dzungaria, and he did not consider the Oirat people outside the sphere of Buddhist faith: “And because I only have you, my younger sister, for that, without hesitation, I give you advice that it is better to die than to lag behind your law and become a Russian”,¹⁰⁶ which implies a case of accepting Orthodoxy and thereby forsaking their Oirat identity.

However, the Russian authorities, to whom Donduk-Dashi handed this letter, did not view it as a cause for serious concern and did not pay significant attention to the emphasis placed by Gomang Lama on the importance of religion for the unity and future of the Oirats. They only noted that the lama was attempting to “cause indignation” and “do harm” to the Kalmyks, and considered the letter to reflect the lama’s position rather than Galdan-Tseren’s, who was in “good neighborhood” with the Russians.¹⁰⁷ Nevertheless, the information about this “sign of hostility” was presented to the Dzungarian ambassadors, Lama Dashi and Navasbai, on October 31, 1745. Meanwhile, at the end of July 1745, Orenburg Governor I. I. Neplyuev wrote to the Collegium of Foreign Affairs, reporting that one of his subjects had visited Galdan-Tseren and claimed that Galdan-Tseren

¹⁰⁴ In Russian: “вам Галдан Черен обо всем прежнем и будущем представлял, и какой он памятуя желтой закон и прежнюю четырех ойротов власть, при учинении им присяги, вам склонной совет подавал, по моему мнению лучше вам тому верить” (AFPRE. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 23. 1745–1746. Folios 14 verso – 15).

¹⁰⁵ In Russian: «А желтой закон со властью четырех ойротов и донныне непременно и несокрушимо состоит» (AFPRE. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 23. 1745–1746. Folio 15). In Dzungaria during the reign of Tsevan-Rabdan and Galdan-Tseren, Buddhism reached a high level of development (Das 1984: 154; Dzhambadordzhi 2005: 121; Moiseyev 1991: 35; Baruun 2018).

¹⁰⁶ In Russian: “А понеже я тебя толко одну мою меньшую сестру имею, того ради не обвиняя в совет тебе представляю, что лучше умереть, нежели от закона своего отстать и учинится росианином” (AFPRE. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 23. 1745–1746. Folio 15).

¹⁰⁷ AFPRE. Ibid. Folios 22 verso – 23.

“constantly talks and regrets that [the Kalmyks] are converting to the Christian faith, but he does not know how to help them”.¹⁰⁸

Christianization was indeed perceived by the Kalmyk leaders as one of the most significant issues in their relations with the Russian authorities.¹⁰⁹ At one point, Donduk-Ombo expressed deep concern about the religious situation among the Kalmyks. In the 1720s to 1730s, the government intensified Christianization efforts by offering significant benefits and privileges to converts.¹¹⁰ In response to this, the Khan, while meeting the Russian envoy foreman Danila Efremov in the Kuban region at the end of 1734, demanded that “the Kalmyks who come for baptism not be accepted in Russian towns and cities because it weakens the strength of their people”.¹¹¹ Archival records contain a description of the confrontation between zaisang Abuja, the envoy of Donduk-Ombo, and count Osterman. Abuja, representing the Kalmyk ruler, appealed to the Empress, requesting the prohibition of the baptism of Kalmyks who come to Russian urban areas, stating that “because of this their Kalmyk uluses get diminished, indulging Donduk Ombo in much sadness”.¹¹²

The count replied that the voluntary desire to be baptized cannot be prohibited, as it would be considered “a great sin and so on in similar terms”.¹¹³ He added that to Her Majesty, all Kalmyks are considered “equally subjects”, whether they are baptized or not. Apparently, the zaisang received instructions on how to act in case of an evasive response, effectively denying the claims made. “The envoy, upon hearing this, stated that Donduk Ombo wishes for their Russian spiritual scholars to engage in a debate with their Kalmyk spiritual scholars, and if their Christian faith appears more right than the Kalmyk one, then Donduk Ombo himself may consider accepting the Christian law. To this His Excellency did not respond directly, but reiterated the earlier answer and statements”.¹¹⁴ The threat to the

¹⁰⁸ In Russian: “имеет всегдашние разговоры и сожаление, что [калмыки] обращаются в христианскую веру, токмо как им помочь не знает” (AFPРЕ. Ibid. Folio 26).

¹⁰⁹ Bakunin 1995 : 51.

¹¹⁰ Dzhundzhuzov 2011: 114.

¹¹¹ In Russian: “приходящих для крещения калмык в российские города не принимать, для того что от того сила их народа слабеет” (Bakunin 1995: 127).

¹¹² In Russian: “оттого их калмыцкие улусы умяляются, от чего Дондук Омбо находится в немалой печали” (AFPРЕ. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 40. 1736. Folio 32).

¹¹³ In Russian: “превеликий грех и протчая в тому подобных терминах” (AFPРЕ. Ibid. Folio 32 verso).

¹¹⁴ In Russian: “Выслушавший сие посланец говорил, что Дондук Омбо желает, дабы их российских духовных ученые люди, с их калмыцкими духовными учеными же людьми имели диспутацию, и буде христианская вера их калмыцкой покажется правед, то Дондук Омбо и сам может принять

Kalmyk Buddhist faith resurfaced after the death of Donduk-Dashi. Rumors spread among the Kalmyks that Peter, the baptized son of Donduk-Ombo from a Kabardinian Moslem woman named Dzhan, would become Khan, leading to the belief that all Kalmyks would be baptized. This concern left them in “a state of great confusion”.¹¹⁵

Being cautious about potential interreligious conflicts and not wanting the “return” of the newly baptized individuals to Buddhism, and also considering the request of the baptized themselves, the government decided to build a fortress for them: “Privy Councilor Tatishchev ... found a site in the Simbirsk province, commonly known as Kunya Voloshka ... and erected a fortress there, which was named Stavropol in 1739¹¹⁶”.¹¹⁷ By June 1754, there were already 8,695 people living in it.¹¹⁸ It was here that the Dzungars, who fled to the territory of Russia after the fall of their Khanate and were baptized, were sent.¹¹⁹ Out of more than 25,000 Oirats from Dzungaria who crossed the Siberian border lines, around 3,000 people converted to Orthodoxy.¹²⁰ To prevent potential attempts by Qing authorities to forcibly return the fugitives, the Russian authorities decided to resettle the remaining Dzungars with the Volga Kalmyks.¹²¹ At the request of the Empress, Donduk-Dashi sent a lama to Altai in March 1756 to expedite the migration process.¹²²

христианской закон. На что Его Сиятельство точно ничего не сказал, но вышеписанный ответ и соизъявлений повтори” (AFPRES. Ibid. Folio 32 verso).

¹¹⁵ In Russian: “в великом смятении находятся” (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/2. Book 2. 1732–1773. Folio 150 verso).

¹¹⁶ Presently, the city of Tolyatti.

¹¹⁷ Bichurin 1991, 107.

¹¹⁸ Rychkov 1762, 115–116.

¹¹⁹ AFPRES. Coll. 113. Inv. 113/1. Item 7. 1757. Folios 9 verso – 10; Coll. 113. Inv. 113/1. Item 3. 1757. Folios 343, 343 verso, 345, 345 verso.

¹²⁰ Shovunov 1992: 135.

¹²¹ NARK. Coll. 35. Inv. 1. Item 85. Folios 5–6.

¹²² NARK. Coll. P-145. Inv. 1. Item 429. Folio 4. For details see Kitinov 2004: 139–141.

The religious factor: Lamas and Emperors

Upon the arrival of the Dzungars among the Kalmyks, the situation of the latter began to change, including in religious terms. According to Pallas, "As soon as the Syungor uluses arrived, they also had a commanding lama".¹²³ It is likely that Pallas was referring to the Dzungarian lama Delek, who arrived among the Kalmyks around the end of July 1758, accompanying the envoys of Donduk-Dashi to the Dalai Lama. Once among the Kalmyks, this lama proclaimed himself to be "a reborn one", a khubilgan, supporting his claims with "miracles". Ubasha wrote that lama Delek "... when he came here, and having not yet got used to us, did amazing things".¹²⁴ According to N. Spitsyn, "all the Kalmyk people worship him in the likeness, as if to their Burkhan, that is why he, the khutukhtu Lama, after that began to manage according to their law",¹²⁵ meaning he became one of the leaders of the Kalmyk sangha.¹²⁶

Around the end of October 1759, his shabiners complained to Donduk-Dashi "about the considerable insolence committed by him [lama Delek] by damaging their Burkhans, and other nasty deeds, and so on".¹²⁷ Khan not only removed him from the post of one of the main lamas but even arrested him. This decision aligned with the articles of

¹²³ Pallas 1809: 516.

¹²⁴ In Russian: "как сюда приехал, и с нами еще не обвыкнув, удивительные дела произвел" (NARK Item 429. Folio 30).

¹²⁵ In Russian: "оному весь калмыцкий народ поклоняется на подобие как бы их бурханом, почему он, хутухту лама, после того в правление свое по их закону и вступил" (NARK Item 429. Folio 29).

¹²⁶ In fact, he most likely attained equal status with the chief lama of the Khanate, Lauzan Jalchin, because only the Dalai Lama had the authority to appoint the chief lama among the Kalmyks. Tseren-Donduk stated that "... although they [Kalmyks] also have other lamas, they cannot do this [appoint the chief lama] without the order of the Dalai Lama"; in Russian: "хотя у них и другие ламы имеются, но без повеления Далай-ламы им того чинить не можно" (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 2. 1736. Folio 82 verso). Jimba Jamtso expressed a similar view (AFPRES. Coll. 119. Inv. 119/1. Item 41. 1737–1741. Folio 396). Pallas also observed that "the Torgout Kalmyks have a Lama or a viceroy of the Dalai Lama" (Pallas 1809: 515). The precise origin of this practice is difficult to determine. It is possible that the first such appointment took place in 1690—the events associated with this year were described earlier. In 1688, two years prior, Dondub Gyatso, possibly the chief lama of Ayuka (it cannot be excluded that he may have been appointed by Ayuka himself), left the Torguts for the Dzungars (Das 1984: 154; Norbo 1999: 122). The next chief lama was Byukongin, who may have received the necessary charter (seal) from Dipa in 1690. Thus, Ayuka's subsequent appeal to the Dalai Lama regarding the return of Shakur-lama to replace the aged Byukongin is noted in the documents as a common practice.

¹²⁷ In Russian: "о учиненных от него немалых предрозостях повреждениями их бурханов, и других противных поступках, и о прочем" (NARK. Coll. P-145. Inv. 1. Item 429. Folio 29).

the Togatol laws, which imposed stricter punishments on clerics for violations of vow requirements, duties, etc. Spitsyn stood up for the lama and insisted on his release.¹²⁸

On January 21, 1761, Donduk-Dashi passed away. His son, Ubasha, wasted no time and, on March 28, sent a letter to Spitsyn, accusing lama Delek of witchcraft and implicating him in Donduk-Dashi's death: "therefore, we do not trust him at all".¹²⁹ Ubasha demanded "his lama be excommunicated, for his obscene actions, to a remote place where no Kalmyks would be".¹³⁰ Taking into consideration the role of the clergy and the importance of a peaceful resolution, Spitsyn informed the Collegium of Foreign Affairs about this incident, which resulted in the order to send the lama to St. Petersburg. In autumn, Delek, along with his nephew, who was also a lama, was sent to Moscow and later to St. Petersburg, where he was questioned about the system of incarnations. The nature of the questions suggests that the officials responsible for supervising the Kalmyks and their spiritual life had little understanding of the concept of "reincarnation" and its significance for believers. On the way to his new place of residence, Delek fell ill and passed away near the city of Voronezh.¹³¹

The reasons for the rapid growth of Delek's authority can be attributed to the unique circumstances prevailing among the Kalmyks. During their settlement in a new place, in the Volga region, and the establishment of a new social order, the cultural values and orientations of the Kalmyk people were closely intertwined with their political and religious systems. The religious institutions and principles, as reflected in legislative acts, played a crucial role in political legitimization. As time passed, the influence of the limited spiritual (Buddhist) context of the region and intermittent connections with the Dalai Lama led to the prominence of separate specific institutions within the religious system as well as the political system closely connected with it. In particular, the institution of reincarnation, due to its social perception and influence on the political processes of the Kalmyks, started determining the order of political legitimization (for instance, we can mention the anxieties surrounding the confirmation of the next Dalai Lamas whose authority extended to sending the Khan regalia or confirming the main Kalmyk lama).

¹²⁸ Kitinov 2004: 143–144.

¹²⁹ In Russian: "из того усмотря, мы ему вовсе не доверяем" (NARK. Coll. P-145. Inv. 1. Item 429. Folio 30).

¹³⁰ In Russian: "чтоб его ламу за непристойные ево поступки отлучить в отдаленное место где б калмыков не было" (NARK. Coll. 36. Inv. 1. Item 330. Folio 91).

¹³¹ NARK. Coll. P-145. Inv. 1. Item 429. Folio 34.

Perhaps the first such experience, many years after the death of Khoshut lama Zaya Pandita, occurred with the arrival of lama Delek. The mere fact that he was perceived by the people as a "saint" due to his khubilganism suggests that, until that time, there were no obvious (well-known) examples of such phenomena among them. Consequently, among the Kalmyks by the middle of the 18th century, the tradition of searching for and discovering incarnations had apparently been interrupted. However, there is limited information about the possible line of reincarnations among the Torgut lamas, which played an important role in the exodus of 1771. Russian geographer Rychkov, who personally spoke with a subject of Ubasha (Kalmyks were already moving towards Dzungaria), mentioned a lama "called Lauzin Lanchin,¹³² who, being revered by the people as an immortal person, excited everyone with the name of his gods, to go to Zyungoriya". Before that, he "pretended to be dead while being near the Volga River, but after three years he appeared alive again, telling the people that he was revived in Tibet, in the capital of their chief Dalai Lama, from where he brought a written testimony from this immortal high priest".¹³³ His "revival" gave the Kalmyk chiefs the opportunity to use this "holy incident" to convince the ordinary people to leave Russia.

If Rychkov's information has a certain historical basis, it can be assumed that this lama "died" around the mid-1760s, and after that, he was "resurrected in Tibet" and returned to his homeland with "written evidence" of this event.¹³⁴ The reappearance of Lauzan Jalchin

¹³² He is better known as Lauzan Jalchin.

¹³³ Rychkov 1772: 54.

¹³⁴ This story is truly remarkable, and at this point, there are no confirmed sources that verify Rychkov's account of the "death" and "revival" of this lama in Tibet. Nevertheless, such information does not appear to be entirely unique. In an archival document from 1617, which describes the presence of Russian envoys at the East Mongol Altyn Khan, there is a record stating: "And after negotiations, the Golden king Kunkachei [Ubashi-Khungtaiji] told us, yours serfs, about kutuktu: he is a saint according to our Busurman faith, and he was sent to us from the Labaist state [Tibet]. And when that kutukta was born, he knew how to read and write. He lived for 3 years from birth and [then] died. He remained in the ground for 5 years, dead, and [then] revived. And again, he began to read and write as he did before and recognized his people just as he did previously. And from that kutuktu, [they have] their gods, and bells, and books according to their faith"; in Russian: "И после посольства Золотой царь Кунканчей [Убаши-хунтайджи] нам, холопом твоим, сказал про кутукту: то де у нас по нашей вере бусурманской святой, а прислан де он к нам ис Лабинскова государства [Тибет]. А как де тот кутукта родился, и он де грамоте умел. Да жил де он от рожения своево 3 годы да умер. Да лежал де он в земле 5 лет мертв да ожил. Да опять де по старому к грамоте уметь стал и людей своих по старому стал знать. А того кутукты по своей вере боги их и колокола и книги" (Materialy 1959: 57).

played a dual role: on the one hand, the deep faith of the Kalmyks in his words and actions reflects a fairly high level of religiosity within the nation, and on the other hand, their unquestioning trust in the “fidelity” of the lama’s calls and actions allowed him to become one of the main organizers and inspirers of the Kalmyks’ exodus.

Part of the description of Lauzan Jalchin’s activities can be gleaned from an epigraphic source—a text (referred to hereafter as the “stele text”) written in both Chinese and Oirat on the pedestal of a stele dedicated to the 19th Anjjatan Lama Lobsang Danbi Nyima (1918–1985),¹³⁵ situated in the Bayangolin Mongol Autonomous Prefecture, Xinjiang Uigur Autonomous Region of PRC. This text provides information about his predecessors, the most famous lamas of this lineage. The details about them found in Russian archival documents, as well as in Chinese and Kalmyk sources, are scarce and sometimes contradictory. However, by studying the history of some lamas among the Oirats and Kalmyks, important information that can be revealed, which may contribute to understanding the reasons for the high position of this lineage, and consequently, to a more comprehensive assessment of Anjjatan Lama.

A Torgut boy Lobsan Sanji, a disciple of another Torgut lama named Lobsan Dorja,¹³⁶ devoted approximately 27 years of study in Drepung Gomang monastery,¹³⁷ and, during the period from 1700 to 1707, he studied under the guidance of the renowned Jamyang Shadpa.¹³⁸ His Tibetan name was Lobsang Gelek.¹³⁹ He successfully defended the highest degree of Geshe Rabjamba and returned to the Kalmyk khanate around 1712. It was him that the Qing ambassador Tulishen referred to among the three lamas of Ayuka Khan, whom he met on July 1, 1714, namely Geva, Aramjamba, and Samtan.¹⁴⁰ Among the Kalmyks, his name transformed into Anjjatan,¹⁴¹ and his temple (originally built by his first mentor, Lobsan Dorja) became known as Anjjatan-khure. Pozdneev mentioned that “during the time of the first Kalmyk Khan Ayuka, Anjjatal Lama was the high priest”,¹⁴² indicating that Anjjatan likely held the position of chief lama until 1719, when the pointed Shakur Lama returned from Tibet.¹⁴³ Although there is no

¹³⁵ The photo of the monument, along with the text of the inscription on the stele, was kindly provided to me by the Chinese researcher Da Li.

¹³⁶ Terbish 2008: 167.

¹³⁷ Batubayar 2016: 75.

¹³⁸ Gibson 1990.

¹³⁹ Lijai 2020: 704.

¹⁴⁰ Zapiski 1978: 467, 471; also, see Pal’mov 1926: 39.

¹⁴¹ Kitinov, Lyulina 2021: 863.

¹⁴² Cited in Kurapov 2007: 216.

¹⁴³ According to Pal’mov, he returned to the Kalmyk Khanate in March 1719 or around a year later. See Pal’mov 1926: 53. About Shakur Lama, see Kitinov 2015.

available data on Anjjatan's passing, it seems that he was the main Kalmyk lama during the period in question.

As the stele text notes, "the seventh incarnation of Anjjatan Lobsan Danzan, [who] was one of those who made the decision that the Torgut [Kalmyk] aimags should return to their homeland in the 36th year [of the reign] of Qianlong (in 1771)". This name, Lobsan Danzan, almost completely coincides with the name of Lauzan Jalchin, making it evident that they are referring to the same individual.

According to Astrakhan Tatar Mustafa Abdulov, Lauzan Jalchin claimed upon his return to Dzungaria that, "allegedly, through his efforts and influence, the Kalmyk people escaped to the Chinese side, leaving behind Russian protection, and, thanks to his leadership, they reached that place, and it was his intention to secure, in retribution, the main position of a leader among this people for himself".¹⁴⁴ This information further corroborates Rychkov's account.

Some Chinese researchers also mention the Torgut lama Dunlubu Jyatso, who, in collaboration with Lauzan Jalchin, secretly journeyed to the Dalai Lama before 1771. Subsequently, he traveled to Qianlong to report on the plan and organization of the Kalmyk exodus. After the Kalmyks arrived in the Ili region of Xinjiang, this lama was honored the title of "Gomang" and returned to Xinjiang, where he established his line of reincarnated khubilgan Gomang Lamas. Meanwhile, Lauzan Jalchin remained in Yonghegong as a "kanbu"¹⁴⁵ and visited the Kalmyks in Xinjiang twice a year to preach.¹⁴⁶

About the "Torgut" policy of Qianlong

The policy of the Qing Dynasty concerning Buddhism is an almost endless topic. Often, the Qing's "Buddhist" policy ran in parallel with its "ethnic" policy, as exemplified by their approach towards the Kalmyks. During the reigns of Xuanye Emperor (1654–1723, reigning motto of Kangxi, reigned until February 1723), Shizong Emperor (1678–1735, reigning motto of Yongzheng, reigned until October 1735) and Hongli Emperor (1711–1799, reigning motto of Qianlong, reigned until 1795), differences can be observed in their Oirat policies. Under Kangxi Emperor, the primary focus was on the Dzungars, with efforts made to win their individual leaders to the Manchu side. However, during the reign of Yongzheng, the Qing court extended its

¹⁴⁴ In Russian: "якобы по ево старанию и склонению калмыцкой народ побег ис протекции российской в китайскую сторону зделал, да и по ево предводительству тамошних мест достиг, желая в воздаяние за то получить себе главное в сем народе начальство" (cited in Istoriiia 2009: 425).

¹⁴⁵ From the Tibetan term *mkan po*, meaning 'abbot', or 'main lama of a monastery'.

¹⁴⁶ Li 2016.

benevolence to other Oirat groups, including the Khoshuts and Torguts. By the time of Qianlong, the court's attention shifted towards the Torguts. The content of the letter (decree) from Yongzheng to Tseren-Donduk, delivered to the Kalmyks by the Qing embassy led by Merin Zangin Mandai in 1731, reveals two main vectors in the policy of the Manchu rulers towards the Kalmyks (Torguts), which also influenced the exodus of 1771.

The first vector has a religious dimension.

The letter addresses the fate of the embassy of Arabjur, who was Ayuka's nephew and the son of Ayuka's cousin, Nazar Mamut. Arabjur was sent by Khan to worship the Dalai Lama in the middle of 1698 and stayed in Tibet for several years. However, he was forced to stay in China afterward because he failed to return through Dzungaria due to worsening relations between the Dzungars and the Kalmyks. Several years earlier, Khungtaiji Tsevan-Rabdan had taken 15,000 yurts from Sanjip, Ayuka's son.¹⁴⁷ Many publications that focus on the embassy of Arabjur either ignore its religious aspect¹⁴⁸ or include interpretations that need clarification.¹⁴⁹

Yongzheng acknowledges that Arabjur was detained at the order of his father, Kangxi Emperor, and as a form of "compensation", he was granted a high rank and salary. The letter states: "And, while returning from there [from Tibet, Arabjur] was not allowed to pass through by Tsong Araptan; my late father showed mercy and accepted Him along with his mother ... also, Gomang Lama's spiritual servants, who had participated in religious ceremonies with the Dalai Lama, were not permitted to return by the Tangut people who held them captive, and Boktokhan gathered them and provided food, showing his mercy. Later, [he did the same for] the Torgouts brought by the Zengorians [=Dzungars] who had captured [them]. And [he] brought them all together from various places and provided food, making them partake of his mercy".¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁷ In 1701, Sanjip, along with his ulus, headed towards Lake Kukunor to join forces with the local Torguts, who were part of the Khoshut khanate. The reason for this move was a quarrel between Sanjip and Ayuka.

¹⁴⁸ Zlatkin 1983: 221; Perdue 2005: 215.

¹⁴⁹ Natsagdorz 2015.

¹⁵⁰ In Russian: "И оттуда [из Тибета Арабджур] возвращался Цонг Араптаном не пропущен, покойный отец мой принял Ево и с матерью под свою милость... также Гоман ламинных духовных служителей бывших на мольбищах у Далай ламы, тангуцкой народ не отпустил назад завладел был их, которых боктохан собрал и содера в своей милости, питал. Потом от зенгорцов в добычь полученных торгоутов. И бывших в разных местах воедино совокупил и учиня причастными своей милости питал же" (AFPRES. Coll. 62. Inv. 62/1. Item 9. 1731. Folios 334 verso – 335).

The Arabjur embassy consisted of a large group of Kalmyk lamas with their shabiners, who were subordinates of the chief Kalmyk lama, Byukongin (also known as Gomang Lama). For some unknown reasons, they were detained by the Tibetans (“[they] were not permitted to return by the Tangut people who held them captive”), however, thanks to the intervention of the Emperor, they were able to return to the envoy of the Kalmyk Khan (“Boktokhan gathered them and provided food, showing his mercy”).

The involvement of these lamas in internal Tibetan affairs, particularly in relation to the events surrounding the Sixth Dalai Lama Tsanyang Gyatso, cannot be discounted. Moreover, lama Dondub Gyatso, mentioned earlier, may have wielded considerable influence in this regard. By approximately 1701, he found himself in Lhasa, where he could have had encounters with the Kalmyk lamas, who were his former subjects. In 1710, a decision was made to relocate the monks and subjects of Dondub Gyatso, who had passed away in the same year, from Kham (where he had overseen the Litang monastery), to the Serten area in Amdo.¹⁵¹ Due to the scarcity of relevant sources, one can only surmise that they might have been united with the subjects of Arabjur who were roaming in the area.

Thus, the Manchu court skillfully manipulated the situation with the Arabjur embassy to its advantage. The considerable presence of Kalmyk clergy among the embassy’s representatives seemingly rendered them a valuable bargaining asset in the political dealings between Beijing and the Kalmyk Khan. Consequently, the Emperor strategically highlighted the Tibetans’ “guilt” while emphasizing his own benevolence: he “gathered” the Kalmyk lamas and “fed” them mercifully.

The second vector has an ethnic dimension.

The Emperor aimed to demonstrate to Ayuka and other leaders that under his rule, the Torguts would experience a better life compared to living in Russia: as stated in the letter, the Emperor “brought them all together from various places and provided food, making them partake of his mercy”. Ambassador Tulishen conveyed: “We were ordered to bring four of the Arabjur people and present them to Arabjur’s father, Nadzar-Mamut, and ensure that Nadzar-Mamut would be fully aware of all the mercies bestowed upon his son Arabjur by His Highest Majesty, our most sacred Khan”.¹⁵²

The Torguts were traditionally distinguished by the Qing rulers. It is possible to speculate that one reason for this distinction was the

¹⁵¹ Natsagdorzh 2015: 164–165.

¹⁵² Zapiski 1978: 457.

existence of a special relationship between the Torguts and the Chinese authorities. This is evidenced by historical information suggesting that Torgut leaders possessed a seal from the Ming dynasty. For instance, in the late 1920s, Haslund reported witnessing the seal of Ubasha Khan, which he received in 1776 from Qianlong as a replacement for a previous seal acquired from the Ming dynasty.¹⁵³ That seal was kept in the palace of Seng-chen Gegen, the ruler overseeing all the Torguts. According to Bichurin, in 1771, during a meeting with Qing officers at the Chinese border, Ubasha presented various gifts to the 'Commander-in-Chief' of the Ili area. "At the same time, he also presented a jasper seal with an inscription in ancient Chinese characters, which had been granted to his ancestor by the Ming court during the 8th summer of the reign of Yong-le (in 1410)¹⁵⁴".¹⁵⁵

These data validate the Chinese politico-historical tradition, which suggests that local leaders who acknowledged the Emperor's authority were granted seals that they were required to personally exchange in the event of a change in dynasties. Failure to do so was perceived as loyalty to the previous Huangdi. Consequently, it appears that one of the Torgut rulers received such a seal from Zhu-di (the motto of the reign of Yong-le, ruled in 1402–1424), Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, and it was subsequently preserved and inherited by Torgut rulers until it reached Ubasha Khan. This information holds significant research potential as it indicates that the head of the Torguts, who were not yet part of the Oirats,¹⁵⁶ had established relations with Nanjing, then capital of the Ming Empire. Zhu-di Emperor recognized him as a local ruler and, consequently, a "tributary" of the Ming Empire, through the presentation of the seal. The study of the history of this seal could potentially shed light on the Torguts' former roaming grounds. In our opinion, the seal bestowed by the Emperor upon the Torgut ruler in 1410–1411 may serve as evidence of the Torguts' possible presence in the northwestern lands of the former Tangut state Xi Xia, a territory occupied by Ming troops in 1405.¹⁵⁷ This period likely marked the Torguts' close contact with the Ming Empire.

¹⁵³ Haslund 1935: 308–309.

¹⁵⁴ According to Denby, the seal was made of jade, and the Torgut ruler received it in 1411; see Denby 1891: 172. Batubayar mentions that the seal was presented in 1409 to the Torgut wang Taiwan for services to the Ming Empire. The same author also writes that after arriving in Xinjiang, Ubasha received "an old seal with the inscription 'Yongle ershier nian san-yue sanzhi'", which was handed to one of the Torgut rulers on February 2, 1424, but Batubayar found it difficult to "assume if there is any obvious connection between the two [seals]" (Batubayar 2014: 82).

¹⁵⁵ Bichurin 1829: 193.

¹⁵⁶ The Torguts joined the Oirats under the Choros Toghon in 1430s.

¹⁵⁷ Gumilev 2007: 133.

Having joined the Oirats, the Torgut rulers retained possession of that seal—and in this context, the reasons and conditions for the Torguts' submission to Choros Toghon should be reexamined. It is possible that the possession of such a seal influenced the cautious and balanced policy of subsequent Torgut rulers towards Beijing, regardless of whether the Ming or Qing dynasty ruled China. Additionally, the possession of the seal could have played a role in the recognition of the Torgut ruler's leadership by other Kalmyk leaders signifying a special relation with the Celestial Empire.

Indeed, the Kalmyks, on the whole, had stable contact with the rulers of China. According to Haslund, the lamas of the "Yellow Monastery" recounted that Ayuka once received an invitation from the Qing authorities to return to Dzungaria. Although Ayuka declined the proposal, he prudently kept a secret document in case the Torguts decided to establish their yurts again in Dzungaria under the protection of powerful China.¹⁵⁸ China held significant importance for the Kalmyks in both political and religious contexts. In regard to the political aspect, it is worth remembering that the Torguts' former homeland was in the territories of Qinghai and Gansu, and Dzungaria was located within Xinjiang. Religiously, the Kalmyks sought free access to Tibet. Pal'mov emphasized the close relationship between religion and politics among the Kalmyks: "The negotiations with Beijing concerning the organization of the Kalmyks' political future demanded their caution and thoughtfulness. The Kalmyks tried to secure political freedom for themselves, which they had unsuccessfully sought from Russia and would fail to get from China".¹⁵⁹ All the Manchus promised to them was only to facilitate access to Tibet.

Conclusion

The 1771 exodus of Kalmyks from Russia to former Dzungaria occurred under the influence of several factors, with the religious aspect being of utmost significance. This factor encompassed several dimensions, namely the acquisition of the Khan title, which was to be received from the Dalai Lama; the phenomenon of "calling letters" from Tibetan hierarchs that urged the Kalmyks to return to their native lands; the importance of Dzungaria as the homeland of all Oirats, where Buddhism could thrive as traditionally did; the influence of the Kalmyk lamas, and special intervention of the Qing emperors and officials.

¹⁵⁸ Haslund 1935: 209.

¹⁵⁹ Pal'mov 1926: 102.

It is evident that after Ayuka, each Kalmyk leader (Tseren-Donduk, Donduk-Ombo, Donduk-Dashi, and Ubasha) encountered the challenge of seeking legitimization from the Dalai Lama. By the time of Donduk-Ombo, the Kalmyks were aware that the Dalai Lama could not grant Khan titles independently, without approval of the Emperor. However, due to their adherence to religio-political traditions, they did not fully grasp the implications of these political changes.

The new element that significantly influenced these traditions was the introduction of the "calling letters". While historical tradition asserts that the first letter "came" to the Kalmyks around 1719 with Shakur Lama, this assumption did not take into account the complex conditions prevailing in Tibet itself. The Dalai Lama Ngawang Yeshe Gyatso was entirely dependent on the Tibetan "king" Lhavzan, who was not interested in strengthening Dzungaria. Information about a second and third letter of this kind "emerged" during the reigns of Donduk-Dashi and Ubasha. However, to date, no original letter has been discovered, leading to the possibility that these "calling letters" might not have been actual written documents.

The Dsungarian factor, independent of Tibetan affairs, held its own significance. Dzungaria was regarded as Oirat land, located in close proximity to Tibet. During Galdan-Tseren's rule, relations between the Kalmyks and the Dzungars began to improve. The Dzungar ruler extended an invitation to the Kalmyks to return to their former homeland, emphasizing Buddhism as a shared indicator of their Oirat identity, in contrast to the active promotion of Christian Orthodoxy among the Kalmyks. However, after the Qing troops defeated the Dzungar Khanate, the refugees migrated to Southern Siberia and partially converted to Christianity. Later they were sent to a specially established town for baptized Kalmyks, Stavropol, while other Dzungars arrived among the Volga Kalmyks.

The Russian authorities were aware of the shifts in the Kalmyks' sentiments. They received regularly updates about their intentions to leave, yet they failed to draw appropriate conclusions. As the negative processes escalated and the situation among the Kalmyks worsened, their leaders made the decision to return to their former homeland.

The desire to return to Dzungaria grew stronger among the Kalmyks during the 18th century, especially with the arrival of the Dzungarian refugees. When Delek Lama declared himself a khubilgan, he gained significant authority and a high position in the Kalmyk sangha, effectively becoming the second spiritual leader alongside Lauzan Jalchin Lama. Although Ubasha later removed Delek Lama from his position due to unrighteous behavior and he died around 1762, his example had a lasting effect. Lauzan Jalchin himself took advantage of the theme of incarnation, claiming that he was

reincarnated in Tibet after death, attaining a status comparable to a khubilgan. The Kalmyks placed complete trust in him, allowing him to become one of the main organizers of the eastward exodus.

The comparative analysis of Oirat (also Kalmyk), Tibetan, Manchu, and Russian sources reveals the significant role played by lamas in the Kalmyk exodus.

The available data strongly suggests the strong influence of the Qing court on the Kalmyk sangha, primarily through the main Kalmyk lama, Lauzan Jalchin, and his inner circle. It is possible to identify this lama with Lama Lobsan Danzan, who, after the exodus, was acknowledged by the Qing as a spiritual leader instrumental in the migration and, furthermore, was declared to be the seventh incarnation of the renowned Kalmyk lama Anjjatan, also known as Lobsan Sanji and Lobsan Gelek. Anjjatan spent 27 years in Drepung Gomang monastery and achieved the highest degree of Rabjamba. Chinese sources also mention Lama Dunlubu Jyatso, who played a significant role in this tragic event.

Indeed, information about these lamas is scarce, but historical records shed more light on the Arabjur Kalmyk embassy to Tibet in 1698, which played a crucial role in the Qing court's geopolitical game aimed to make the Kalmyks return to their former lands. This event marked the fusion of religious and political matters.

The Qing authorities employed various tactics to promote their vision of a new world that awaited the Kalmyks if they chose to leave Russia for China. The Emperor, often depicted as a Bodhisattva, would appeal to his distant believers, showing concern for his far-flung subjects. The Emperor's promises, coupled with the pro-Manchu stance of some lamas, created a distorted perception of the situation and instilled false hopes of a brighter future among the Kalmyks.

Changes in the national mentality of the Kalmyks were also significant. The confidence they once had in overcoming all difficulties, bolstered by the support of the Dalai Lama, began to waver. It is possible that the Kalmyks no longer relied on their ability to adapt to changes and were truly willing to relinquish their lands in Russia to return to their former homeland. In their perception, this homeland held the promise of freedom from any restrictions, including or even especially those of a religious nature, that they believed were unavoidable in their current situation.

Indeed, during that period, all the leaders showed some interest in the Kalmyk exodus to their former Oirat homeland, Dzungaria. This interest was observed among Tibetan hierarchs, Qing emperors of China, some Kalmyk rulers, and even the Dzungars themselves. The Tsarist authorities, on the other hand, seemed to be the only side that opposed it, but their actions were influenced more by geopolitical

considerations rather than genuine concern for the Kalmyks' well-being or interests. Each side pursued its own goals, driven by geopolitical interests. Notably, the Qing court achieved the most success in this regard, skillfully using religious and ethnic factors that primarily concerned the ruling Kalmyk elite.

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A letter of Ubashi Khan from Labrang Monastery in the light of Tibetan sources on the relationship of Kalmyks with spiritual hierarchs

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uring the last years a number of works containing letters of Kalmyk Khans and nobles in Oirat “clear script” (“todo bichig”), including letters of the governor (*namestnik*) of the Kalmyk Khanate, Ubashi, have been published. However, to date, there have been no publications of letters written by Ubashi Khan after he left for the Qing Empire in 1771. This article discusses a letter in Oirat “clear script” which survived in Labrang monastery in Gansu province. The aim of the study is to introduce the letter from Labrang into academic study, establish the authorship and date, as well as the possible addressee of the letter, and analyze its content in the light of Tibetan sources on the relations of Kalmyks with the Tibetan spiritual hierarchs in the period after 1771. The material for this research is an 18th century letter in Oirat “clear script” kept in the Great Prayer Hall of Labrang monastery and also Tibetan language sources: the biography of Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe and the biography of the Eighth Dalai Lama Jampel Gyatso. The author believes that the letter was written by Ubashi Khan in 1772. The addressee of the letter is presumably Konchok Jigme Wangpo, the second incarnation of Jamyang Shepa. The analysis of the letter in the light of the data from other sources provides an additional argument in favor of the assumption that one of the main reasons why Ubashi Khan’s Kalmyks left their former nomad territories was their concern for maintaining the traditional religious confession among his people.

1. Introduction

In recent years several works containing letters of Kalmyk rulers before the 18th century have been published.¹ However, nothing is known about the letters of Ubashi (1742/1744–1775), the governor of the Kalmyk Khanate, dating from the period after he and most of the

¹ See Pis'ma namestnika Kalmytskogo Khanstva Ubashi (XVIII v.) 2004; Suseyeva 2003; Suseyeva 2009; Tepkeyev, Natsagdorzh 2016; Uspensky, Yakhontova 2021.

Kalmyk people moved to Qing China in 1771.

Batubayar, a researcher from Urumqi, reports that the Chinese archives contain letters in Oirat “todo bichig” with imprints of Ubashi Khan’s seal, addressed to Emperor Qianlong, the military governor of Xinjiang and advisor to the Governor-General of Tarbagatai in the period between 1771 and 1775. Nine such letters are known to exist. They are kept in the First Historical Archive of China.² His work also states that one letter in “todo bichig” with Ubashi Khan’s seal is stored in the Great Prayer Hall of the Labrang Tashi Khyil (Bla brang bkra shis ‘khyil) monastery in Gansu province.³

The purpose of this study is to introduce the letter from Labrang into scientific circulation, establish the authorship and date, as well as the possible addressee of the letter, and analyze its content in the light of Tibetan sources on the relations of Kalmyks with Tibetan spiritual hierarchs in the period after 1771.

2. Events after the arrival of the Kalmyks in Qing China in 1771

Ubashi Khan was the fourth son of Donduk-Dashi, the Khan of Kalmyk Khanate, and the only son born to his second wife, Dejit. In 1757 Donduk-Dashi was appointed Khan and his son Ubashi was appointed governor of the Khanate. After his father’s death in 1761 Ubashi inherited the Khan’s power, retaining the title of governor.⁴ Ubashi had two sons, the eldest being Khan Tseren Namjal. Ubashi’s second son was Rabdan Dorji, a taiji of the first degree.⁵ In the Chinese sources the Kalmyks who arrived with Ubashi Khan are referred to as Torguts, as they were representatives of that ethnic group, with only a minor exception (for a small group of Khoshuts who had arrived). In our article the ethnonym mentioned in such sources is used further, which indicates the ethnic group of Kalmyks that came to the territory of Qing China in 1771.

The Chinese court clearly understood the importance of dispatching Kalmyk embassies to the Dalai Lama in Tibet for the Kalmyks themselves (called Torguts), as evidenced by the following fact: upon the arrival of Ubashi Khan in the territory of the empire Qianlong sent his representatives Shuhede⁶ and others with the following message for Ubashi: “If you wish to go to Tibet on a mission

² Batubayaer 2017b: 154.

³ Batubayaer 2017b: 154.

⁴ Sanchirov 2016: 46.

⁵ Sanchirov 2016: 103.

⁶ Shuhede (舒赫德; Shūhèdé) served as the Ili jiangjun (governor general) in the period 1772–1774.

to 'boil tea'⁷ for the Dalai Lama, we will also give you permission. Tibet is currently included in our territory. In the Yellow Religion there is no one higher in the hierarchy than the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Erteni Lama".⁸

Interestingly, after the Emperor Qianlong accepted Ubashi Khan's Torguts, he notified the young thirteen-year-old Eighth Dalai Lama Jampel Gyatso (1758–1804):

When the Dalai Lama received the following message: "On the eleventh day of the ninth Tibetan month <...> of the Iron Hare year [1771 – B. M.] it was reported to the emperor that about fifty leaders of the Torgut-Oirats living in Russia together with more than ten thousand families⁹ had submitted. Then he took them under his patronage. Since this is a religious matter, perhaps if the Dalai Lama is approached [on this matter], he will be pleased. In fact, make it public!" – [The Dalai Lama] gave the two Ambans a blessing with his hand as well as lavish gifts^{10, 11}

⁷ "To boil tea", "aocha" (熬茶; áochá), literally translates as "boiling, making tea". In the old days, devout Buddhists donated tea with butter and money to temples, a practice referred to as "boiling tea".

⁸ Fu Lo-shu 1966: 256.

⁹ This figure differs from the one given to the Dalai Lama by the merchant envoys below. Perhaps the difference is due to differences in the method of calculation or to the fact that the Torgut nobility tried to inflate the number of their subjects.

¹⁰ Here the word 'gifts' (*sba yer gyi gsol ras*) comes from Chinese baye (拜谒; пиньинь bàiyè), meaning 'to visit, to visit (an elder)'. But in this context, bàiyè means 'a gift given respectfully to the emperor or other dignitaries'.

¹¹ Lcags yos <...> zla ba dgu pa'i tshes bcu gcig la gong ma'i gral rtse'i thog thor god o rod kyi mi u ru sur sdod mi mgo yod lnga bcu skor/ sde dud khri tsho bcu brgal bas mgo btags zhush byung ba skyabs byas pa yin pas 'di bzhin chos kyi lugs srol yin gshis tA la'i bla mar zhush na thugs mnyes 'gro/ spyir yang dril sgrogs shig ces phebs par/ am ban gnyis la phyag dbang / sba yer gyi gsol ras gya nom pa stsal (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 110–111).



Fig. 1. Copy of “Qianlong’s Painting of Ten Thousand Dharmas Return as One”
© Olga Ważny¹²

The Qing Emperor Qianlong (1711–1799) granted an audience to Ubashi and other representatives of the Kalmyk nobility at the imperial residence in Jehol. The scene of the banquet hosted by

¹² For a photograph of the original painting, which is held in the Palace Museum, Beijing, see: <https://www.dpm.org.cn/collection/paint/233340>; a color reproduction of the image has previously been published in Xu 2021: 8, and a monochrome reproduction in Wang 2014: 391. The reason why the original image has not been reproduced in this article is explained in the editors’ foreword to the present volume.

Emperor Qianlong for the leader of the Torguts, Ubashi Khan, is depicted in the Qianlong's Painting of Ten Thousand Dharmas Return as One (乾隆萬法歸一圖; Qiánlóngwànfǎ guīyī tú) by Ignaz Sichelbarth¹³ (1708–1780). In the painting, we see the pavilion “Ten Thousand Dharmas Return as One” (fig. 1) with Emperor Qianlong to the right of the center and Ubashi Khan to the left. In front of the pavilion, the Third Jebtsundamba Ishdambinyam (ye shes bstan pa'i nyi ma; 1758–1773) is depicted on the left, and the teacher of Qianlong, Changkya Rolpe Dorje (lcangs kya rol pa'i rdo rje; 1717–1786), on the right.¹⁴

While in Jehol, Ubashi and his subjects took advantage of the opportunity to receive religious instruction and probably establish a connection with Emperor Qianlong's preceptor, Changkya Rolpe Dorje. In Changkya Rolpe Dorje's biography “A Summary of the Biography of the Lord who has the essence of Vajrasattva, the Magnificent Saint Teacher Yeshe Tenpe Dronme Pelsangpo,¹⁵ ‘A Beautiful Embellishment of the Teaching of the Geden¹⁶ Tradition’” (khyab bdag rdo rje sems dpa'i ngo bo dpal ldan bla ma dam pa ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa mdo tсам brjod pa dge ldan bstan pa'i mdzes rgyan) composed by Tukwan Lobsang Chokyi Nyima (thu'u bkwan blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma; 1737–1802) recounts how the Torguts, who had submitted to Emperor Qianlong, asked Changkya-hutugta for instruction in dharma:

In the year of the Iron Rabbit [1771 – B. M.] <...> each of several Torgut tribes, who came to submit to the great emperor [Qianlong], made an offering to the supreme teacher [Changkya-hutugta] and asked him for instructions in dharma. The [Changkya-hutugta] gave [instructions] according to their wishes, so satisfying their aspirations.¹⁷

On the 17th day of the 9th lunar month of the 36th year of the Qianlong reign (October 25, 1771) Ubashi Khan was given the title “Zorigtu Khan of old Torguts Ünen Süzügtü”.¹⁸ Thus, Qianlong confirmed Ubashi in the Khan's dignity with the title Zorigtu (‘Brave’). Tsebek

¹³ Ignaz Sichelbarth (1708–1780) was a Czech Jesuit, missionary, and artist who received the title of mandarin.

¹⁴ Wang 2014: 390.

¹⁵ Yeshe Tenpe Dronme Pelsangpo (Tib. Ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me dpal bzang po) is another name for the third incarnation of Changkya Rolpe Dorje.

¹⁶ Geden (Tib. dge ldan), ‘Virtuous’, is another name for the Tibetan Gelug tradition.

¹⁷ Lcags yos lo <...> thor god kyi rgyal khag 'ga' gong ma chen por mgo 'dogs par 'ongs pa rnams kyi rje bla ma mchog la so sos 'bul nod dang bcas bka' chos zhus pa rnams 'dod pa bzhin stsal te de dag gi yid kyi re ba rdzogs par mdzad do (Thu'u bkwan 1989: 545).

¹⁸ Dorji, Batubayar, Lizei 2009: 43.

Dorji received the title Buyantu ('Virtuous') qinwang (秦王; qínwáng), Sheareng received the title Biliktu ('Wise') junwang (郡王; jùnwáng), Bambar the title Bishireltü ('Faithful') junwang, Gunge the title Tusatu ('Useful') beile, Momontui the title Jirgalan ('Joyful') beile, "and the others were granted the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh degrees of princes without titles. In addition, all newly bestowed Princes were called Dzasaks, which meant they had the right to receive a salary from the emperor in wages and were no longer dependent on each other".¹⁹

Apparently, some of the taijis who arrived with Ubashi Khan were very religious people. For example, among those who arrived was the Khoshut taiji Yerempel,²⁰ who was granted the title 'Gushan-amurlingui-beise'²¹ and was appointed a dzasak. In 1771, Yerempel requested Changkya-hutugta to give him monastic vows with an attachment to Changkya-hutugta's nomad territory.²² Here is what is said about it in the biography of Changkya-hutugta:

When a Turgut taiji named Yerempel,²³ after making a report to the Great Emperor, completely abandoned his children, wife, wealth, power, and subjects, and asked the Lord Supreme Teacher [Changkya-hutugta] to graciously grant him monastic vows before the novice, of the novice and full monastic vows, and wished not to return to his homeland but to remain close to the excellent teacher [Changkya-hutugta], the Supreme Lord Teacher [Changkya-hutugta] showed [Yerempel] great mercy, saying: "Such renunciation as that of Yerempel is rare, even among the great lamas of our time. The likes of us who now occupy the position of great lamas are mentioned in the sayings of Drukpa Kunlek:²⁴ 'They preach to their disciples the holy doctrine of temperance, But the lamas themselves are busy hoarding [everything], down to a thread and a needle'. So, they are no different from what is described here. Yerempel's aspiration seems like a mockery of us". Then the teacher [Changkya-hutukhta] went to Beijing.²⁵

¹⁹ Qi shi and 1820: 221–222 (264–265).

²⁰ In the literature there are also variants of the spelling of the Khoshout owner's name: Yarampil and Erempel.

²¹ The Manchu title beise (贝子; bèizi) was used in Manchu and Mongol titles.

²² Meng-gu-yu-mu-ji 1895: 147.

²³ Henceforth, English transcriptions of Oirat names are given according to the Oirat pronunciation.

²⁴ Drukpa Kunlek ('brug pa kun legs; 1455–1529) was a teacher of the Drukpa Kagyu tradition.

²⁵ Thor god kyi tha'i ji yar 'phel zer bas gong ma chen por snyan sgron phul te kho rang gi bu dang chung ma nor rdzas mnga' 'bangs thams cad blos lings kyis bskiyur nas/ rje bla ma mchog las rab byung dge tshul bsnyen rdzogs kyi sdom pa'i bka' drin zhus shing rang yul du mi 'gro bar bla ma dam pa'i sku drung du bcar sdod bgyid pa la/ rje bla ma mchog nas/ yar 'phel gyis blos btang 'di 'dra deng sang gi bla ma tshos kyang yong dka' ba 'dug ces kho la thugs shin tu brtse ba mdzad/ kho bo cag Ita bu'i deng sang gi bla chen gyi go sar bzhugs pa rnam ni/ 'brug pa

3. Letter from Ubashi Khan

Immediately after their arrival, the leaders of the Torguts tried to establish ties with nearby Buddhist monasteries and the Buddhist hierarchs residing there. One such monastic center was the Labrang monastery in Amdo province at the time. From the anonymous letter (fig. 2) discussed below, we learn that the Torgut ruler requested permission from a certain gegēn to house monks in this monastery. These monks were apparently sent there for training. Additionally, he promised to carry out some command of this hierarch mentioned in the previous correspondence.

Translation of Ubashi Khan's letter from Labrang monastery

“The reason for the separate lowest report: though we are pleased and glad that among [your,] gegēn [,] instructions with mercy to us has arrived the permission about accommodation of shabinars²⁶ in the monastery, as [we] roam in this area for the first time and for the first time districts are established, we think to execute your order after [the division into] the districts is fixed.

Also, the reason for the lowly report is this: formerly, the continuation of the dharma residing in our locality was mainly carried out by the manifest [i.e., direct. – B. M.] disciples of the Omniscient gegēn Jamyang Shepe Dorje.²⁷ For this reason, now we [need] one good lama, immediately pacifying and unceasingly helpful, and, in view of the variety of diseases of degenerate times, one good physician, versed in the basic precepts (Oir. γol ubidas). Kindly take note, take note!

Also, some [information] missing [in the letter] will be reported orally by the messengers.

With khadak”²⁸.

kun legs kyi gsungs las/ slob ma nrams la chog shes dam chos gsungs/ /bla ma rang ni khab skud tshun chad bsog/ ces pa'i ngang tshul las ma 'das pa 'dug pas/ yar 'phel gyi 'dun ma de bdag cag la co 'dri ba lta bur snang ngo/ / de nas rje bla ma pe'i cing du phebs (Thu'u bkwan 1989: 545–546).

²⁶ Shabinars – novices and monks.

²⁷ The full name of Jamyang Shepa is Jamyang Shepe Dorje ('Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje).

²⁸ Khadak (kha btags) – a ceremonial silken scarf.

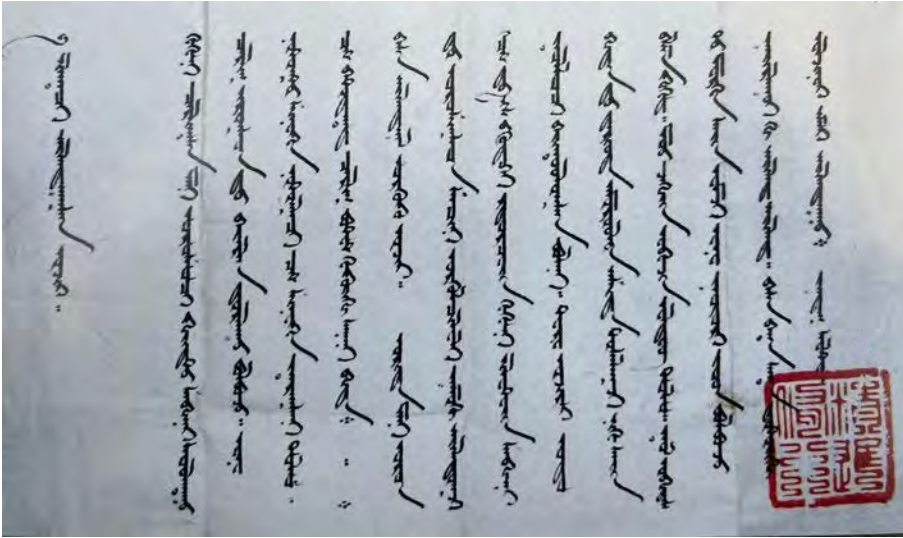


Fig. 2. Letter of Ubashi Khan kept in Labrang monastery

Transliteration

Ilyaji ayiladxaqsan ućir :: gegēni jarliγāsa mani öröšōji kiyidtü šabinar soulayaxu jarliq ireqsen-dü bayarlan duralaxu bolboću: ene nutuqtu šineken nutuqlaji jam šineken γaraqسانی төлө : jam batudγad jarliq bütēm geküyigi sananai bida :: ::

basa ayiladxal örgükü ućir : urida mani oron-du orošiqson šajini ürgüljileli xamugi ayiladuqçi jam dby[a]ngs bzh[a]dpai rdoŕjeyin gegēni ileteyin šabinar γolloji bayiγuuluqsan bolnai:

tere ućirār odō bidan-du dariuda amuruulun ašida tusalaqçi nige sayin blama kigēd : mou čagiyin ebecin eldeb tölō: γol ubidas-tu mergen sayin emci ene xoyori youn bolboću xayirlaxui-gi ayilad ayilad: basa baγa saγa dutuyigi elciner amār ayiladxaxu::

xadaq selte:

Although the letter under consideration here, written in Oirat 'todo bichig', does not name either the addressee or the issuer, it is possible to establish the author, presumable date, and addressee based on the content of the letter and the seal.

The use of the Oirat 'clear script' ('todo bichig') created in 1648, and the reference to Jamyang Shepa (1648–1721) indicate that this letter was written in the 17th–18th centuries. The red seal in the lower right corner of the letter bears the legend "jīngjìn xiūxíng" (精進修行),²⁹

²⁹ Batubayar 2017b: 153.

which translates as 'diligently practice'. Batubayar writes that this legend can be translated into the Mongolian language as 'хичээнгүйлэн бясалгах', or 'хичээнгүйгээр бүтээгч'.³⁰ Judging by the available documents on 'todo bichig', this seal with the legend in Chinese was used from 1710 to October 1775, between the 49th year of the Kangxi reign and the 40th year of Qianlong.³¹ This seal successively belonged to Chagdorjab, his son Donduk-Dashi Khan, and then Donduk-Dashi's son, governor Ubashi. Having received the title 'Zorigtu Khan', Ubashi Khan continued to own this seal until his death.³²

After the Ubashi's Torgut were temporarily relocated to Jair (斋尔; Zhāir), all kinds of difficulties continued: some people fled back to the Volga, others were forced by the lack of food to take risks and steal, many were not used to the area, and the crops they grew gave miserable yields, diseases were so common that even Ubashi's mother,³³ wife and daughter died of illness. Under such circumstances, on the 22nd day of the 7th lunar month of the 37th year of Qianlong (August 20, 1772), Ubashi applied to the Qing court for permission to change nomadic settlement. The Qing court approved Ubashi's request, and after long discussions it was agreed that he should move to Yuldus.³⁴ The nomadic migration of Ubashi Khan to Yuldus itself took place in 1773.³⁵

After Ubashi Khan's death on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month of the 39th year of Qianlong (January 9, 1775), the Qing court introduced the system of seims and banners among the Torguts and Hoshuts in the 40th year of Qianlong (1775) and issued seals to the dzasaks of seims and banners. In the 9th lunar month of the 40th year of Qianlong's reign (period between September 25 and October 23, 1775) the eldest son of Ubashi, Tseren Namjal, took office as head of the Southern seim 'Ünen Süzügtü'³⁶ of old Torguts³⁷ and received a new seal.³⁸ In the work of the Chinese prince Qishiye, it is stated that,

³⁰ Batubayar 2014: 81.

³¹ Batubayar 2017b: 153.

³² Batubayar 2017a: 148.

³³ The source [Dorji, Batubayar, Lije 2009: 29] refers to Ubashi's stepmother, as his mother Dejit died in 1755. In 1756, Donduk-Dashi married the younger sister of the deceased Dejit, Tseren-Jal, also known as Najitun hansha [Batmaev 1993: 344].

³⁴ Dorji, Batubayar, Lije 2009: 29.

³⁵ Meng-gu-yu-mu-ji 1895: 462.

³⁶ Ünen Süzügtü – 'True Believers'.

³⁷ The 'old' Torguts were those Kalmyks who had migrated from the Kalmyk Khanate to Qing China in 1771 and whose ancestors had joined the Russian state in the seventeenth century. The 'new' Torguts were those who fled from Jungaria to the Kalmyk Khanate in the 1750s, during the war between the Oirats of the Jungar Khanate and the Qing authorities.

³⁸ Dorji, Batubayar, Lije 2009: 43.

at the time of Ubashi Khan's death, his son Tseren Namjal was eight years old.³⁹

'Old Torguts' of the 'Ünen Süzügtü' seim were divided into four districts according to the geographical location of pastures: southern, northern, eastern, and western, and each district also represented a seim. Each such seim had a head and a deputy head, both of whom were endowed with a seal.⁴⁰

The above data allows us to assert with certainty that the author of the letter is Ubashi Khan, as confirmed by his seal. Since Ubashi's son Tseren Namjal was still young, he could not be the author of the letter. The letter was written between 1771 and 1775 when Ubashi Khan was already in Qing territory. However, it is most likely that it was written in Jair in 1772, during a period when Ubashi Khan's subjects were facing great difficulty, and his stepmother, wife, and daughter died. It is possible that the request to send a physician expressed in the letter was due to the illness of someone close to Ubashi Khan. The letter mentions the division of the 'Old Torguts Ünen Süzügtü' into districts.⁴¹ At the time the letter was written, this division into districts had not yet been established. The Qing court introduced the system of banners for Torguts and Hoshuts not immediately, but only in the 40th year of the Qianlong reign (1775).⁴²

To whom was this letter addressed? Apparently, after his arrival in Jair, Ubashi tried to renew old ties and create new ones with the Buddhist hierarchs of Tibet. The contents of the letter indicate that Ubashi was in active correspondence with a high-ranking figure from Labrang monastery.

As the letter was preserved in the Great Prayer Hall of Labrang monastery and uses the address *gegēn* ('one of the highest ranks of Buddhist clergy; the title of an incarnated Lama'),⁴³ it can be assumed that the message was addressed to either an abbot of the Labrang monastery or to a high lama of the monastery. Among the disciples of Changkya-hutugta whom Ubashi Khan and his entourage met in Jehol, Konchok Jigme Wangpo (dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po; 1728–1791), the second incarnation of Jamyang Shepa and the 11th throne holder of Labrang monastery, stood out as a prominent figure. Konchok Jigme Wangpo was already acquainted with the Kalmyks, as

³⁹ Qi shi i 1820: 266.

⁴⁰ Dorji, Batubayar, Ligei 2009: 34.

⁴¹ In the book *Study of the Seals of the Torguts and Hoshuts of the Qing Dynasty*, the word 'jam', meaning 'road', is equated to the Chinese character 路 (lù), which not only denotes 'road' but also means 'district'. In each district, a seim (cuulyan) was established [Dorji, Batubayar, Ligei 2009: 99].

⁴² Dorji, Batubayar, Ligei 2009: 33.

⁴³ Bol'shoi akademicheskii mongol'sko-russkii slovar' 2001: 477.

their embassy paid him a visit in Lhasa in 1757.⁴⁴

In addition, somewhat later, in 1778, an envoy of the Torgut Khan, Tseren Namjal Ragba Lama, and others visited Konchok Jigme Wangpo in Labrang:

In the year of the Earth Dog [1778 – B. M.], the messenger⁴⁵ of the Torgut Khan, Tseren Namjal Ragba Lama, and others arrived. They made offerings of many things, and [Konchok Jigme Wangpo] bestowed the empowerment of the Single Hero [Vajrabhairava] and the permissions⁴⁶ of the outer, inner, and secret forms of Dharmarāja.⁴⁷

The Khan's envoys visited Konchok Jigme Wangpo again in 1791:

On the fourteenth day <...> of the sixth month <...> of the year Iron Pig [1791 – B. M.] <...> from the coast of the eastern sea arrived the envoys of the Tseren Namjal Khan Kashubo-chitsan, with about twenty monks and others, and also the messengers of the Khalkha Dondub beile. [Konchok Jigme Wangpo] received their reports of arrival and engaged in pleasant conversation with them. In accord with their personal wishes, [Konchok Jigme Wangpo] gave them the vows of lay-ubashi, novice, full monastic vows and the like. At their request, he graciously bestowed the profound Vajrabhairava empowerment upon about 550 aspirants. As an offering, etc., along with the written petition of the Torgut Khan, numerous special valuable items were offered, such as expensive kinds of jewels, approximately two thousand sangs of silver, and other sumptuous offerings. [Konchok Jigme Wangpo] gave everyone suitable answers and other things without interruption.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Mitruiev 2022: 54.

⁴⁵ Here *elci* (el chi) is an Oirat word that has the meaning 'messenger'.

⁴⁶ Permission (rjes gngang; anujñā) is a special kind of initiation in Buddhist Tantric practice, during which not all the steps of full deity initiation are performed, but enough is done to allow the disciple to perform the practice of a particular deity.

⁴⁷ Sa kyi <...> thor god rgyal po tsho ring rnam rgyal han gyi el chi grags pa bla ma sogs 'byor te khyad nor du ma'i dngos 'bul bteg par dpa' bo gcig pa'i dbang dang chos rgyal phyi nang gsang gsum gyi rjes gngang stsal (Gung thang 2019: 251).

⁴⁸ Lcags phag <...> drug pa'i tshes <...> bcu bzhi'i nyin shar phyogs rgya mtsho'i 'gram nas thor god tsho ring rnam rgyal han gyi mi sna khA shu bo chi tsang gi dge 'dun sogs nyi shu skor dang / hal ha don grub pe'i li'i mi sna bcas gsar slebs rnam kyis 'byor phyag zhus par dgyes pa'i bka' mchid gngang / so so'i mos pa bzhin du dge bsnyen dge tshul dge slong sogs kyi sdom pa phog / khong rnam kyis zhus ngor don gnyer can phyed dang drug brgya skor la 'jigs mdzad rdo rje'i smin byed kyi dbang zab mo'i bka' drin rdzogs par bskyangs / thor god rgyal po'i zhu yig gi rten sogs su rin po che'i rigs 'gangs che ba mang pos mtshon khyad nor du ma dang / dngul srang nyis stong du nye ba sogs dngos 'bul gtos che bar byung ba kun la babs 'os kyi bka' lan sogs 'tshem med du stsal (Gung thang 2019: 350–351).

4. Information from Tibetan sources on the worship of Kalmyks arriving in China by Tibetan spiritual hierarchs

Among the reasons for the Kalmyks' exodus in 1771 cited by researchers, the religious reason is considered one of the most significant. The denial of permission to visit Tibetan hierarchs and the gradual Christianization of the Kalmyks are mentioned as reasons for their flight.⁴⁹

The same reason was cited by the Kalmyk envoys during the visit of the Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe. His biography, from which the information is introduced in academic circulation for the first time, states the following:

On the twenty-first day <...> of the seventh Tibetan month <...> of the year of the Water Bird [1773 – B. M.], called 'Victorious' (rnam rgyal; vijaya), [the Panchen Lama] gave a blessing with his hand, a tea treat, and questioned the arrived envoys of Torgut Zorigtu Khan Ubashi, Jimba Gelüng and Loroi Shirab, as well as about thirty [other] envoys—wangs, beiles, beises, and others, and dispatched by order of the Emperor jar[guchi] and bi[chachi],⁵⁰ two boshoks,⁵¹ qian[zong] and ba[zong]⁵² along with about ten soldiers.

Beginning from the twenty-third, [the Panchen Lama] gave the full monastic vows to fifty-six Torguts and others, and the novice vows to twenty-five [of them].

On the twenty-fourth day, the Torgut envoys, having invited [the Panchen Lama] to lead the prayer assembly, presented him with a silver maṇḍala, vestments and other things included in the complete set of necessities, Chinese and German⁵³ clothes and silks, silver, gold, pearls, various kinds of leather, and other sumptuous offerings. [In addition, they] made offerings to the monastic assembly and requested [the Panchen Lama] that his lotus feet [remain in this world as] steadfast as a vajra. Together with the monks' assembly, [the Panchen Lama] gave them the oral transmission of the "One Hundred Deities of Tuṣitā"⁵⁴ and performed the dedication of the accumulated collection of merit [so that it would become] the cause for

⁴⁹ Kitinov 2021: 414; Ukhtomsky 1904: 57.

⁵⁰ Jarguchi and bichachi (Tib. jar bi gnyis; jar bi is a short form for jar go chi dang bi cha'i chi). Jarguchi (tsarguchi) is a Mongolian (or Manchu) official of the middle rank who had administrative and judicial powers. Bichachi – a clerk, secretary.

⁵¹ Boshoku (Tib. sbo sho kha) – a small administrative official; assistant to the jarguchi.

⁵² Qianzong and batsong (Tib. chan pA gnyis; chan pA is a short form for chan tsong dang pA tsong). Qianzong (千總; qiānzǒng) was a rank of middle commanding officer during the Qing dynasty, corresponding to lieutenant. Bazong (把總; bǎzǒng) was a junior army officer during the Qing Dynasty.

⁵³ Nem shi (немши) is a Kalmyk word for German.

⁵⁴ "The Hundred Deities of Tuṣitā" (bla ma'i rnal 'byor dga' ldan lha brgya ma) is a guru yoga written by Dulnagpa Pelden Sangpo ('dul nag pa dpal ldan bzang po; 1402–1473) and dedicated to Lama Tsongkapa.

[attaining] unsurpassed awakening.

At the request of the Torgut envoys and the monastic community of Dechen Rabgye [Ling] monastery,⁵⁵ beginning from the twenty-fifth day, for two days, [the Panchen Lama] gave the empowerment of the thirteen deities of Vajrabhairava.

At the request of a jarguchi, [the Panchen Lama] granted the [long]-life empowerment in the Siddharājñī tradition;⁵⁶ to the Torgut envoys, jar[gochis], bi[chachis], boshoks, monks of Sera and Drepung monasteries and some others [he] successively granted the common permission of Damchen Dharmarāja and the permission of the goddess Parṇaśabari.

On the twenty-sixth, [the Panchen Lama] made lavish gifts to the Torgut envoys, together with jar[guchis] and bi[chachis], in the form of statues, blessed ‘supports’, and the like, and parting gifts, together with return letters for the requests of the various lords, members of the monastic community, and subjects together with enclosed gifts.

During the tea treat, [the Panchen Lama] gave orders to maintain, as before, a perfectly pure determination to serve the Yellow Hat doctrine.

The messengers replied: “Although we were happy to spread the teachings of Lord Teacher [Tsongkhapa] in the old homeland of our ancestors, in the Torgut lands, since we were surrounded on all sides by non-Buddhists, we thought day and night without rest, what we would do when [our] descendants converted to the non-Buddhist faith in the future. [Therefore,] led by Zorigtu Ubashi, about fifty thousand families traversed many deserts and many gangs of enemies and robbers. Because of being chased on the way by many plundering armies of Kazakhs, Buruts,⁵⁷ and others, [we] have lost about twenty thousand families⁵⁸ in skirmishes. Many people were lost because of epidemics and other things. In spite of the great losses suffered, those who remained, having submitted to the great [Manchu] emperor Mañjuśrī, are now living in happiness thanks to the emperor’s mercy. Especially, [now we] may express our reverence and offer cloud-like gifts to

⁵⁵ Ganden Dechen Rabgye Ling or Shang Ganden Dechen Rabgye Ling (dga’ ldan bde chen rab rgyas gling/ shangs dga’ ldan bde chen rab rgyas gling) is an important Gelug monastery in Tsang Province, restored by Panchen Lama Lobsang Palden Yeshe (blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes; 1738–1780).

⁵⁶ Siddharājñī (grub pa’i rgyal mo) is a female teacher of the 11th century Tantra tradition.

⁵⁷ Burut (po rod) is a Kalmyk term for the Tien Shan Kyrgyz.

⁵⁸ Various documents and research studies provide varying estimates of the number of Kalmyks who left. For instance, G. O. Avlyayev estimates that 60,000 kubitkas of Torguts and Khoshuts left [Avlyayev 2002: 300]. Lipovtsov’s note to his translation of “On the migration of the Turguts to Russia and their return from Russia to Zhungaria” assumes 50,000 kubitkas, and also provides data from the “Statistical review of Siberia” and “Description of all peoples living in the Russian state”, which states that all Kalmyks who left for Zyungaria numbered 60,000, with up to 20,000 kubitkas remaining in Russia. According to the “Dictionary of the geographical Russian state”, the departed were 26,162 kubitkas [Qishiyi 1820: 173–174]. N. Nefed’yev, N. Rychkov and “The history of Kalmykia from the most ancient times to our days” suggest about 30,000 kubitkas [Rychkov 1771: 55; Nefed’yev 1834: 70; History of Kalmykia 2009: 431].

the Buddha's teachings in general, and to the great saints of the pure lands⁵⁹ of the Ü and Tsang provinces, and to the assembly of the sangha of noble saints,⁶⁰ as well as the three special supports.⁶¹ We have gained the conviction that our encounter with them was the manifestation of the compassion of the [Three] Jewels".

Moreover, all the lords and subjects made a request to the [Panchen Lama], so that they, existing by the grace of the emperor established by heaven under his rule, might better and better serve the Yellow Hat teaching, and so that the longevity, merit and power of the lords and subjects might be multiplied and they might be inseparable from the [Panchen Lama] in all their lives under his spiritual protection. The [Panchen Lama] gladly accepted their entreaties. [He] consecutively satiated them with dharma and material things, [providing them] with a feast and individual gifts, etc.⁶²

⁵⁹ 'Pure lands' (dag pa'i zhing) is the Buddhist designation for the paradisiacal lands in which the Buddhas and bodhisattvas reside. Here the regions of Central Tibet are equated in their religious significance with the pure lands of the Buddhas and bodhisattvas.

⁶⁰ The sangha of noble saints ('phags pa'i dge 'dun) is the assembly of saints who have attained the path of direct vision of emptiness (mthong lam).

⁶¹ The three supports (rten gsum) are images of the body, speech and mind of the Buddha, represented by statues, Buddhist texts and stūpas.

⁶² Rnam rgyal zhes pa chu mo sbrul <...> zla bdun pa'i <...> tshes nyer gcig la thor god ju rigs thu han u pa sha'i mi sna dge slong sbyin pa dang blo gros shes rab / gzhan ma wang / pa'i li / pa'i se sogs kyi el chi bcas sum cu skor dang gong nas bkas mngags pa'i rngar [=jar] bi gnyis / sbo sho kha gnyis / chan pA gnyis / dmag mi bcu skor bcas 'byor par phyag dbang ja gral bka' 'dri gngang / tshes nyer gsum nas bzung thor god pa sogs lnga bcu nga drug bsnyen rdzogs dang / nyi shu rtsa lnga dge tshul bsgrubs / tshes nyer bzhi la thor god mi sna rnams kyis tshogs dbur spyang drangs nas dngul dkar gyi maN+Dal / na bza' sogs sku'i nyer spyad cha tshang / rgya dang nem shi'i yul gyi gos dar dang gser dngul / mu tig / pags rigs sogs dngos 'bul spam mtho ba dang 'dus sder mang 'gyed bcas zhabs pad rdo rje'i rang bzhin du brtan pa'i gsol 'debs zhus par / tshogs pa dang mnyam du dga' ldan lha brgya ma'i lung tsal / dge tshogs bla na med pa'i byang chub kyi rgyur bsngo bar mdzad / thor god mi sna rnams dang bde chen rab rgyas tshogs yongs nas zhus ngor / tshes nyer lnga nas bzung nyin gnyis kyi ring 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i dbang chen gngang / jar go chis zhus ngor grub rgyal lugs kyi tshe dbang dang / thor god el chi rnams dang jar bi / sbo sho kha / ser 'bras pa sogs kha shas la dam can chos kyi rgyal po'i rjes gngang thun mong ba dang / lo ma gyon ma'i rjes gngang bcas rim bzhin tsal / tshes nyer drug la thor god mi sna / jar go chi / bi cha'i chi bcas la sku brnyan / byin rten sogs dngos po'i gngang skyes gya nom pa dang / dpon khag rnams dang sde dmangs kyi skyabs zhu sogs la 'byor lan rten sbrags bcas thon phyag gngang zhing / ja gral thog zhwa ser bstan pa'i zhabs 'degs la lhag bsam mnam par dag pa sngar bzhin byed dgos pa'i bka' phebs par / mi sna rnams nas nged tsho pha mes kyi sdod gnas rnying pa thor god kyi sa'i char sngar phan rje bla ma'i bstan pa dar rgyas dga' mo yod kyang / mtha' thams cad phyi pa sha stag gis bskor bar brten / ma 'ongs pa na bu tsha brgyud rnams phyi pa'i chos lugs la zhugs na ci drag snyam nyin mtshan khor yug tu blo bde ba'i go skabs dang bral gshis / jo rigs thu u pa shis dbus dud kha khri phrag lnga tsam zhig mya ngam gyi thang mang po dang dgra jag gi sde du ma brgal te 'ongs par lam bar du kha sag dang po rod sogs kyi dmag jag mang pos rjes 'ded byung nas 'thab 'dzing du dud kha khri tsho gnyis tsam shor / nad yams kyis

Did the Torguts get an opportunity to send embassies to Tibet to the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama after they were settled in Qing China? We found materials on this question in the following two sources in Tibetan: “Biography of the Eighth Dalai Lama ‘Decoration of the Jambudvīpa vastitude’” (rgyal dbang sku phreng brgyad pa’i rnam thar ‘dzam gling tha gru yangs pa’i rgyan), compiled by Demo Khutugtu Lobsang Tubten Jigme Gyatso (de mo ho thog thu blo bzang thub bstan ‘jigs med rgya mtsho; 1778–1819), and “Biography of the Lord-teacher, the crown of existence and peace, the great paṇḍita, the all-knowing Lobsang Palden Yeshe Pelsangpo, narrated from his lips, entitled ‘Sunbeams’” (rje bla ma srid zhi’i gtsug rgyan paN chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes dpal bzang po’i zhal snga nas rnam par thar pa nyi ma’i ‘od zer), written by the second incarnation of Jamyang Shepa Konchok Jigme Wangpo.

These sources allow us to conclude that the Torguts of Ubashi Khan were able to send such embassies. Furthermore, even after his death, they continued to send them. Thus, in 1773, Ubashi sent envoys to the 8th Dalai Lama:

In the year of the Water Snake [1773 – B. M.] <...> [the Dalai Lama] gave an audience to the officials who delivered the emperor’s gifts, etc., and to a host of Torgut, Amdo and other envoys. Each of the envoys made an offering symbolizing the interdependence of auspiciousness. [The Dalai Lama] individually gave an oral transmission on “The Rise of the Young Sun”,⁶³ “[The Praise of] Tārā [in twenty-one stanzas]”, “The Three Levels [of existence]”,⁶⁴ and others.⁶⁵

kyang mi mang po god pa sogs nyes skyon tshabs che ba byung yang ‘phros lus pa rnams ‘jam dbyangs gong ma chen por mgo btags zhus nas da lta gong ma’i bka’ drin la brten tshang ma skyid po yod cing / khyad par du sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa spyi dang dbus gtsang dag pa’i zhing gi skyes chen dam pa rnams dang ‘phags pa’i dge ‘dun gyi sde rten gsum khyad par can rnams la bsnyen bkur mchod sprin spro rgyu yod pa dang / nged rang rnams kyang de dag mjal rgyu byung ba ni dkon mchog gi thugs rjer nges pa rnyed / da dung dpon ‘bangs tshang ma gnam skos gong ma chen po’i chab srid kyi ‘og tu bka’ drin gyis ‘tsho nas zhwa ser gyi bstan pa’i zhabs ‘degs su ches che bar gyur pa dang / dpon ‘bangs rnams kyi tshe bsod mnga’ thang rgyas shing tshe rabs kun tu ‘bral med rjes ‘dzin gyi skyabs ‘jug dgos pa’i gsol ba btap par bka’ bzhes bzang po dgyes bzhin stsal / snga phyr ston mo zur gos sogs chos dang zang zing gnyis kas tshim par mdzad do (dKon mchog ‘jigs med dbang po 2014a: 488–490).

⁶³ “The Rise of the Young Sun” (nyi gzhon ‘char ka ma) is a eulogy of Amitāyus composed by Lama Tsongkapa.

⁶⁴ “The Three Levels of existence” (Tib. sa gsum ma) is a eulogy of Lama Tsongkapa composed by Kedrub Geleg Pelsangpo.

⁶⁵ Chu mo sbrul <...> gong ma’i sba yer ba sogs dang thor rgod am mdo sogs mi sna mang bar mjal phyag gngang / so sos rten ‘byung dngos ‘bul phul / nyi gzhon ‘char ka ma / sgrol ma / sa gsum ma sogs kyi ljags lung kha yar stsal (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 115).

The same envoys asked the 6th Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe to compose a prayer for the Dalai Lama's longevity:

On the twenty-seventh day of the eighth month [of the same year 1773 – B. M.], at the request of the Torgut envoys, the supreme Lord of Victorious ones [the 8th Dalai Lama], having sent gifts with Drungkor Lobsang Norbu, made an offering for [the Panchen Lama invoking him] to begin composing a prayer for longevity.⁶⁶

When in 1780 the Panchen Lama visited China and was in Jehol, the eldest son of Ubashi Khan, Tseren Namjal Khan, met with him along with other representatives of the Torgut nobility:

On the tenth day of <...> the eighth Tibetan month <...> of the Iron Mouse year [1780 – B. M.], called “sārvari” (kun ldan), the Tümet beise Tsenden Dondub, the Torgut Khan Tseren Namjal,⁶⁷ the taiji Rabdan Dorji,⁶⁸ the Khan's wife Deden Rolma, daughter Norjun Wanmo, with many divisions [of the people] made lavish offerings.

Torgut Jirgal[ang] beile⁶⁹ along with hatun Tsebek, Erdeni taiji,⁷⁰ Kükö taiji,⁷¹ Dalai taiji,⁷² Kögshin taiji⁷³ and Somon,⁷⁴ and Hoshout beile Delek Ubashi Tseren Delek wang,⁷⁵ Badma Ubashi,⁷⁶ Bayan Dalai,⁷⁷ together with their lords and subjects, and Luusan Tsoirak gelün, and others individually made offerings and offered words of truth in prayer for the long life of [the

⁶⁶ Zla ba brgyad pa [491] <...> tshes nyer bdun la <...> thor god el chi rnams kyis zhus ngor rgyal dbang mchog nas zhabs brtan bka' rtsom gyi thog ma ghang bar drung 'khor blo bzang nor bu rdzong sta mdzad de legs 'bul bstar (dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po 2014a: 492).

⁶⁷ Tseren Namjal was the eldest son of Ubashi Khan, who became Khan after him [Rodoslovnaia torgutskikh khanov i kniazei 2016: 103].

⁶⁸ Rabdan Dorji was the second son of Ubashi, a taiji of the first degree [Rodoslovnaia torgutskikh khanov i kniazei 2016: 103].

⁶⁹ Jirgalang beile Momoto was the grandson of Balbu and the son of Dondug [Ibid.: 113].

⁷⁰ Erdeni taji was the eldest of the five sons of Momoto; he is also known as Erdeni beile [Ibid.: 113].

⁷¹ Kükö taiji or Köögekü was the second son of Momoto; he is also known as Köögekü beile [Ibid.: 113].

⁷² This is probably the secular name of the third son of Momoto, who later became a monk and was named toin kambo Lubzan Kiiirib [Ibid.: 114].

⁷³ Kögshin taiji was the fourth son of Momoto, second-degree taiji Kögshin [Ibid.: 114].

⁷⁴ This is probably the fifth son of Momoto, the second-degree taiji Norbo Tseren. The name by which he is known is Sabagar [Ibid.: 114].

⁷⁵ Tseren-Delek wang was the eldest of the three sons of Bambar, the junwang Tseren-Delek [Ibid.: 98].

⁷⁶ Badma Ubashi was the second son of Tseren Delek, the junwang Badma Ubashi [Ibid.: 98].

⁷⁷ Bayan Dalai was the third son of Bambar, the second-degree taiji Bayan Dalai [Ibid.: 98].

Panchen Lama]. They made an emphatic request to accept [them] under [his] patronage and not to abandon [them] in all [their] lives. The [Panchen Lama] gave them a blessing with his hand, a tea treat, instruction, reciprocal gifts, and the desired [instruction in the Buddha's] teachings, thus satisfying [them] with dharma and material things. [The Panchen Lama] bestowed the novice vows upon 135 [people].

<...> On the eleventh day the Torgut Kirib qinwang⁷⁸ along with lavish offerings said the words of truth of prayer for the long life of [the Panchen Lama], and also asked [the Panchen Lama] to take them under [his] patronage in all lives. Taiji Tseren Ubashi,⁷⁹ Badma, Dorji Delek, and others, [a total of] seven taijis, Khatun Pune and others, the Jungar Dalai Khan, Lama Gaban Zamyang, Kambo Bandida, Da Lama⁸⁰ Gaban Puntsak, Jangdren Da Lama Gaban Rigzin, demchi⁸¹ Gaban Jamtso, demchi Luuzan Bambar, nirba⁸² Rashi Tugmed, nirba Gaban Jantsan individually made clouds of offerings. The [Panchen Lama] bestowed on the aforementioned [individuals] a blessing by hand, a tea treat, asked [them] questions and presented with gifts. Upon the request of the benefactors, [the Panchen Lama] gave [them] an oral transmission on the Hundred Deities of Tuṣitā, the Protectors of the Three Families, and the long-life Practice".⁸³

⁷⁸ Kirib dzasag was the second son of Galdan Norbo, grandson of Donduk Ombo, great-grandson of Gunjab [Istoriia Kho-Örlöka 2016: 31] ; as Tsebek Dorji had no sons, Kirib was made the wang [Ibid.: 107].

⁷⁹ Tseren-Ubashi qinwang, the eldest of the three sons of Ag Sahal and the grandson of Galdan Norbo. Since Kirib had no sons, he adopted Tseren Ubashi, the eldest son of his younger brother Ag Sahal [Ibid.: 107].

⁸⁰ The Da Lama was the head lama of the monastery, the lama-principal of the monastery.

⁸¹ Demchi, an official in the taxation system, was among the highest dignitaries of the Khanate.

⁸² Nirba (gnyer ba) – manager, treasurer.

⁸³ Kun ldan zhes pa lcags byi lo <...> zla ba brgyad pa'i [301] <...> tshes bcu'i nyin thu med pa'i se tshe brtan don grub dang / thor god han tshe ring rnam rgyal ring rnam rgyal/ tha'i ji rab brtan rdo rje/ ha thon bde ldan sgrol ma/ sras mo nor rgyun dbang mo/ sde mang bcas nas dngos 'bul gyi bdog pa spam mtho ba bteg / thor god cir gal ba'i li/ ha thon tshe dpag /er te ni tha'i ji/ tha'i ji khu khos/ tha'i ji de le/ tha'i ji khug shun/ so mon bcas thun mong / ho shod pa'i li bde legs u pa shi/ wang tshe ring bde legs/ pad ma u pa shi/ pa yan tA la'i dpon 'bangs thun mong / dge slong blo bzang chos grags sogs so so nas dngos 'bul bteg ste zhabs brtan bden tshig brjod/ tshe rabs kun tu 'bral med rjes 'dzin gyi skyabs 'jug kyang nan tan du zhus/ de dag la phyag dbang ja gral bka' mchid/ slog cha/ 'dod chos bcas stsal te chos dang zang zing gnyis kas tshim par mdzad/ dge tshul brgya dang so lnga bsgrubs <...> tshes bcu gcig gi nyin thor god mkhas grub ching wang gis dngos 'bul spam mtho ba dang bcas zhabs brtan bden tshig brjod de rjes 'dzin gyi skyabs 'jug kyang zhus/ tha'i ji tshe ring u pa shi dang pad+ma/ rdo rje bde legs sogs tha'i ji bdun/ ha thon phu ne sogs dang jun gar dwa las han dang / bla ma ngag dbang 'jam dbyangs/ mkhan po paN+Di ta/ tA bla ma ngag dbang phun tshogs/ byang 'dren tA bla ma ngag dbang rig 'dzin/ dem chi ngag dbang rgya mtsho/ dem chi blo bzang dpal 'bar/ gnyer pa bkra shis thogs med/ gnyer pa ngag dbang rgyal mtshan bcas so so nas dngos 'byor mchod sprin spros/ gong gsal de dag la phyag dbang ja gral bka' 'dri gngang skyes bcas stsal / sbyin bdag

After Ubashi Khan's death, his descendants continued to send embassies to Tibet:

On the seventh day of the tenth Tibetan month <...> of the year of the Water Ox [1793 – B. M.] there came envoys from the individual Torgut tribes, sent to offer a long-life prayer to the Great Refuge and Protector [i.e. the Dalai Lama – B. M.]. [The Dalai Lama] gave them all an audience on arrival and received from each lord a greeting and a khadak. In particular, he graciously, with joy, received a greeting and a khadak, as well as a pocket watch, from the personal envoy of the Khan, Bakshi Gelüng. In return, the Great Refuge and Protector [i.e. the Dalai Lama – B. M.] answered at length and in detail the questions and so on [of the messengers], according to the wishes [of the disciples] who should be subdued. Also, separate messengers, filled with joy at the sight of the golden face [of the Dalai Lama], made prostrations, while shedding tears, etc., thus showing the highest reverence.⁸⁴

Since, according to the predictions of certain lamas and deities to remove obstacles associated with a bad year, it was necessary for [the Dalai Lama] to repeat [the mantra] of Tārā Tura-vīrā,⁸⁵ on the third day of the eleventh Tibetan month [of 1793 – B. M.] he began effectively to do so. As soon as he had completed the first session of the repetition [of the mantra], the Torgut Khan, Gunga Tseren,⁸⁶ presented an ornate coral rosary along with a request for spiritual protection through the secretary. [The Dalai Lama] uttered: "Now the yidam deity has bestowed this rosary [upon me] as a rosary for the [mantra] repetition",—and was very glad. The [Dalai Lama's] butler, Gelek Gyaltzen, said: "This seems to be an auspicious connection suitable for the magnetizing activity".⁸⁷ To this the [Dalai Lama] replied, "The tantra says that whatever acts are performed, whether pacifying, multiplying, magnetizing or wrathful, if the proper study manifests there, the siddhis appropriate to the activity will manifest. So gladly said [the Dalai Lama].⁸⁸

rnam nas zhus ngor dga' ldan lha brgya ma dang rigs gsum mgon po/ tshes sgrub bcas kyi ljags lung gnang (dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po 2014b: 310).

⁸⁴ Chu glang <...> zla ba bcu pa'i tshes bdun nyin thor rгод rgyal khag mi 'dra ba so sos/ skyabs mgon chen por zhabs brtan 'bul bar mi sna btang ba rnam 'byor ba/ tshang mar 'byor phyag gi thog dpon khag so so nas mtshams zhu kha btags re dang / lhag par rgyal po rang gi mi sna pak+Shi dge slong nas rgyal po'i mtshams zhu kha btags dang / chu tshod kyi 'khor lo zhig 'bul rgyu 'dug pa dgyes bzhes bka' drin che zhing skyabs mgon chen po nas kyang gdul bya'i mos ngo dang 'tsham pa'i bka' 'dri sogs zhib rgyas dang / mi sna khag kyang gser zhal mjal ba'i dga' bas phyag 'tshal zhing / mig nas mchi ma khrug pa sogs gus 'dud bla na med pa zhus (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 349).

⁸⁵ Tārā Tura-vīrā (sgrol ma myur ma dpa' mo) is "Tārā the Swift Heroine", one of the twenty-one forms of Tārā.

⁸⁶ Probably the ruler of the Northern Department of the Seim Ünen Süzügtü, Gunga Tseren, son of Tsebegdorji, is meant here [Sanchirov 2016: 48].

⁸⁷ Magnetizing activity (dbang gi las) is the third of the four enlightened acts. This act means drawing other beings or other things into one's sphere of influence.

⁸⁸ Zla ba bcu gcig pa'i tshes gsum <...> lha bla'i lung 'ga' zhig tu dgung skeg rkyen sel du sgrol ma myur ma dpa' mo'i ljags bzlas shig gnang dgos tshul phebs pa

Two months later, the messengers met again with the Dalai Lama:

On the seventeenth day [of the first Tibetan month] of the year Wood Tiger [1794 – B. M.], a prayer was offered on behalf of the Torgut Khan for [the Dalai Lama's] long life. Additionally, [the Dalai Lama] received in turn prayers for long life from the Torgut qinwang, Tseren Ubashi, the Gung Atsara, the Gung Gunga Tseren, and the Jungars. On the twenty-first day, [the Dalai Lama] consecutively fulfilled the aspirations of many people who sought an audience with him.⁸⁹

<...> On the next day [the ninth day – B. M.] of the third Tibetan month <...> of the year of the Wood Tiger [1794 – B. M.], [the Dalai Lama] granted full monastic vows to the Torguts aspiring for [this]. On the tenth day, [the Dalai Lama] granted the Thousand-Armed and Thousand-Eyed Avalokiteśvara permission to a large number of Torgut envoys and others. He gave them a detailed [explanation] of the repetition [of the mantra] and the visualization [of this deity]. In the evening, he again gave full monastic ordination to about fifty Torguts who were seeking it.⁹⁰

On the second twelfth day⁹¹ of the third Tibetan month <...> of the year of the Wood Tiger [1794 – B. M.] <...> the [Dalai Lama] gave a farewell audience and made gifts to the Torgut and Jungar envoys [in the form of] many blessed substances consisting of statues, multiplying relics,⁹² precious pills and other things. Upon each noble envoy he bestowed many things: a set of clothes as well as Kashmir saffron, a bowl made of burl,⁹³ smoking sticks, woolen cloth, and other things. To each tribe [the Dalai Lama] gave excellent images [of

yang 'di nyin nas dbu tshugs pa'i gnad smin bskyangs/ dus 'di'i ljags thun dang po grub 'phral mgron gnyer brgyud thor rgod rgyal po kun dga' tshe ring gis skyabs 'jug zhu rten du byu ru'i phyag 'phreng rgyan ldan zhig phul bar/ bka' las da lam yi dam gyi lhas bzlas 'phreng du 'phreng ba 'di gnang ba yin zhes mnyes mnyes mdzad par/ gsol dpon dge legs rgyal mtshan nas 'di 'dra dbang gi las dang mthun pa'i rten 'brel yin 'dra zhus par/ zhi rgyas dbang drag gi las gang byed kyang / de dang rnam pa mthun pa'i dpyad pa gnas der byung na/ las mthun gyi dngos grub 'byung ba rgyud nas gsungs pa yin zhes mnyes mnyes ltar gyi bka' yang phebs (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 349).

⁸⁹ Shing stag <...> tshes bcu bdun nas thor rgod rgyal po'i zhabs brtan dang / gzhan yang thor rgod 'ching wang tshe ring u pa shi/ gung a tsa ra/ gung kun dga' tshe ring / jun sgar pa bcas kyi zhabs brtan rnam rim bzhin bzhes te tshes nyi shu gcig nas mjal phyag don gzher ba phon che ba rnam kyi re ba yang rim bzhin du bskang (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 360).

⁹⁰ Shing stag <...> zla ba gsum pa'i <...> de'i phyi nyin thor rgod kyi don gnyer ba lnga bcu skor la bsnyen rdzogs kyang stsal/ tshes bcu nyin thor rgod mi sna sogs phon che bar spyen ras gzigs phyag stong spyen stong gi rjes gnang dang / bzlas sgom gyi dmigs pa rgya cher stsal zhing / phyi dro don gnyer can lnga bcu skor la bsnyen rdzogs kyang stsal (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 361).

⁹¹ In the Tibetan calendar, there are double days, introduced to compensate for the difference between solar and lunar days.

⁹² 'Multiplying relics' ('phel gdung) are relics found in the ashes of cremated saints that multiply over time.

⁹³ 'A burl' (rdzab) is an outgrowth on wood from which bowls and other objects are made.

body, speech and mind] and objects for making offerings.

[The Dalai Lama] gave a gracious speech: "You, the tribes of the North, are incomparable benefactors of the teachings of the Great Tsongkapa. You have now sent messengers to Tibet who have paid homage to the various lamas of the Ü and Tsang provinces, as well as to a multitude of monastic communities, and especially you have paid perfect homage to the more than ten thousand members of the sangha who assembled for the Great Prayer [Festival] in the City of the Gods [i.e. Lhasa – B. M.], and have made offerings, etc., to various images [of Buddhas, etc.]. The extensive utterly white [merits accumulated by these acts] are definitely a sure sign of the unfailing sincere faith in the teachings of Lord Lama [Tsongkapa] and its holders, for which I am extremely pleased. Therefore, I have prayed to the deities of the Three Jewels that the power and wealth of the Khans of the North may increase and that any deeds in the service of the teaching may be multiplied. I made the dedication of merit and offered prayers so that the harvest of virtue performed now would not be destroyed by the hail of obscurations, but would be transformed into the fruit of the Buddhahood". [The Dalai Lama] made the following promise: "I will give spiritual protection, virtuous in both temporal and final respects, keeping you close to my heart so that you messengers may, among other things, reach [homeland] without difficulty in safety and meet [your] rulers and close relatives, and may enjoy the feast of perfect fulfillment of the purposes and other things for which you have been sent".

All the messengers and their entourage were filled with joy, faith and happiness, and they did not want to leave [the Dalai Lama's] presence; many had tears in [their] eyes.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Shing stag <...> zla ba gsum pa'i <...> tshes bcu gnyis rting ma la thor rgod dang / jun sgar gyi mi sna mams la thon phyag gsol ras su sku brnyan/ 'phel gdung / rin chen ril bu sogs byin rten phon che ba dang / mi sna drag gras so sor gyon pa cha skor/ gzhan yang dri bzang kha che/ dzab phor/ spos snam bu sogs zang zing gi gnang cha phon che ba dang / rgyal khag so sor yang rten chas gya nom pa dang / rjes su brtse ba'i bka' phebs su/ khyed byang rgyud kyi rgyal khag rnam rje tsong kha pa chen po'i bstan pa'i sbyin bdag gzhan 'gran med pa yin/ da lam bod du mi sna ched rdzong gi yul dbus gtsang na mchis pa'i bla ma khag dang / dge 'dun gyi sde mang po la bsnyen bkur/ khyad par lha ldan smon lam chen por 'dus pa'i dge 'dun khrir can la bsnyen bkur phun sum tshogs pa dang / rten khag la mchod 'bul sogs nam dkar rgya cher bsgrubs pa 'di dag ni/ nges par rje bla ma'i bstan pa bstan 'dzin dang bcas par snying nas dad pa 'gyur med kyi rtags yang dag pa yin pas nged kyang sems shin tu dga' ba byung / de'i phyir nged nas lha dkon mchog gsum la gsol ba btab ste/ byang rgyud rgyal po mams mnga' thang longs spyod 'phel zhing / bstan pa'i zhabs 'degs su 'gyur ba'i bya ba gang ci gong 'phel kho nar 'gyur ba dang / da lam bsgrubs pa'i dge ba'i lo tog kyang nyon mongs sad kyis mi bcom par 'bras bu sangs rgyas nyid du 'grub pa'i phyir du bsngo ba dang smon lam btab yod cing / khyed mi sna rnam kyang bshul bgrod bde'i thog rje bo dang gnyen chen rnam ma nyams par 'phrad nas/ ched du mngags pa'i don 'di dag legs par grub pa'i dga' ston la spyad chog pa sogs gnas skabs dang mthar thug tu dge ba'i skyabs 'jug snying dang 'grogs nas byed ces zhal bzhes bzang po mdzad par/ mi sna 'khor bcas tshang ma dga' dad spro gsum lhag par 'phel ba'i sku mdun nas 'gro mi 'dod pa lta bu'i mig mchi mas gang ba'ang mang ngo (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 361–362).

On the fourteenth day of the third Tibetan month of the year of the Wood Tiger [1794 – B. M.] [the Dalai Lama] gladly instructed the departing guide of the Torguts, the Chinese Amban.⁹⁵

On the twentieth day of the third Tibetan month of the Year of the Wood Tiger [1794 – B. M.], the departing Torgut envoys arrived [in the presence of the Dalai Lama] to receive a blessing with [his] hand. Among them was one faithful individual who was gravely ill because he had fallen from an upper floor to a lower one at the Tromsigkhang.⁹⁶ He barely survived⁹⁷ only by the grace of the Great Refuge and Protector [i.e., the Dalai Lama – B. M.]; supported by two servants, he appeared before [the Dalai Lama]. The Protector [Dalai Lama], more and more radiant with compassion, said: “How can [I] help [your] suffering?”—and gave [him] a blessing with [his] hand. [The faithful replied]: “I came here from afar to meet you, Protector Avalokiteśvara, but my virtue is weak, and I have encountered such misfortune. The purpose of my visit is a desire to see your face and [to receive] full monastic vows, but what better way [to proceed] now?”—So he [uttered] with weeping. Because the Protector [the Dalai Lama] does not reject beings of faith and cares for them, and full monastic vows are the foundation of the Buddha’s teachings and the most important of all teachings, so [their] immediate granting to anyone who makes a request and who has no obstacles [to receiving monastic vows] is the hallmark of [the Dalai Lama]. For this reason, on this occasion too [the Dalai Lama] said: “It is wonderful that you did not perish and were able to meet me. Now, when your body is afflicted with illness, although you cannot properly follow the ritual of taking monastic vows, the main thing is the desire to take [the vows] and the understanding that you have received the vows. Since this is most important, at the time of [receiving the vows] only symbolic fulfillment is sufficient, so it is possible to receive the full monastic vows right now”. Having said this, [the Dalai Lama], together with the clerics performing the acts of the ritual of bestowing the monastic vows, performed the ritual of vow restoration, the blessing of violations and the other perfectly pure preliminary stages of bestowing full monastic vows in the small Wangkang chamber, and then carried out the wish of the unfortunate faithful.⁹⁸ In addition, at the unanimous request of Bakshi Gelüng Luzan Danjin and other Torgut envoys, [the Dalai Lama] also wrote a “Supplication prayer” and immediately granted

⁹⁵ Shing stag <...> zla ba gsum pa’i <...> tshes bcu bzhi nyin <...> thor rgod mi sna’i sne shan rgya am ban la thon gngang bka’ slob dgyes bzhin du mdzad (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 363).

⁹⁶ Tromsigkhang: the translation assumes that the term *khrom khang* refers to the Khrom gzigs khang, the large “house that looks onto the market” in Lhasa’s Barkhor and that served as the residence of the Amban, who was hosting the visitors.

⁹⁷ Here “survived” is translation of *lnga lam du ma gyur*, where *lnga lam* literally means “path of the five”, i. e. five elements, viz. earth, air, fire, water and space, and dissolution into them is death.

⁹⁸ ‘Carried out the wish’ (re ba’i ’bras bu thog tu smin par mdzad) – literally ‘brought to maturity the fruit of aspirations’.

it to [the petitioners].⁹⁹

The Torguts, who had migrated from the Russian state, also asked the Dalai Lama to write religious compositions for them:

At the request of Wangtsuk Zorigtu [the Dalai Lama], a descendant of the Torgut Ayuka Khan, [he wrote] a supplication prayer.¹⁰⁰

At the request of the Torgut Danjin, [the Dalai Lama wrote] a supplication prayer.¹⁰¹

It is worth noting that the heirs of Arabjur, a first cousin once removed of Ayuka Khan, who had traveled with an embassy from the Kalmyk Khanate to Tibet in 1698 but had been detained by Tsewan Rabdan on the way back, also sent embassies to Tibet. Subsequently, he was forced to beg to enter into Chinese allegiance, where he received a title and a nomadic settlement in Serten. Thus, an embassy of Arabjur's great-grandson, the Torgut Wanjal beile,¹⁰² met with the Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe in 1775:

Beginning from the seventeenth day of the second Tibetan month of the Year of the Wood Sheep [1775 – B. M.], called “manmatha” (myos byed), the

⁹⁹ Shing stag <...> zla ba gsum pa'i <...> tshes nyi shu nyin thor rgod mi sna rnams thon gdong phyag dbang du byung ba/ 'di ba'i gras dad pa can zhid khrom khang du g.yangs la lhung ba'i nad bab lci nges byung yang skyabs mgon chen po'i thugs rjes lnga lam du ma gyur tsam gyi g.yog gnyis kyis bteg nas sku mdun du byung ba/ mgon po nyid snying rje'i rang mdangs ches cher g.yos te sdug ge ci drag gsungs shing phyag dbang stsal/ kho bos kyang ngas thag ring nas mgon po spyang ras gziags khyed mjal du yongs kyang bsod nams dman pas nyes pas (sic) 'di 'dra la thug/ 'dir yongs pa'i dgos pa ni khyed kyi zhal mjal ba dang / bsnyen rdzogs kyi sdom pa zhid 'dod pa'i phyr yin kyang da ci drag ces rjes pa na/ mgon po nyid ni dad pa dang ldan pa'i sems can bsun mi 'byin zhid rjes su 'dzin pa dang / bsnyen rdzogs ni bstan pa'i gnas gzhi bslab pa kun gyi gtso bo yin pas bar chad dang mi ldan pa zhid yin na sus gsol ba btab kyang 'phral du gnang ba ni khyad chos yin pas na skabs 'dir yang / da khyod rang ma shi ba rang re thug rgyu yod pa shin tu legs pa yin/ da lus nad kyis btab pa'i gnas skabs 'dir bsnyen rdzogs len pa'i kun tu spyod pa ji bzhin bsgrub mi nus kyang / gtso bo sdom pa len par 'dod pa dang / thob blo shes pa nyid gal che ba yin pas skabs der brda sbyar bas chog pas bsnyen rdzogs kyi sdom pa da lta nyid du yong zhes gzim chung dbang khang du las gral ba rnams dang bcas/ phyr bcas dang / ltung ba byin rlabs sogs bsnyen rdzogs kyi sngon 'gro rnam par dag pa mdzad nas/ dad can nyam thag de yi re ba'i 'bras bu thog tu smin par mdzad/ gzhan yang spag shi dge slong blo bzang bstan 'dzin sogs thor rgod mi sna mgrin gcig gis zhus pa bzhin/ rjes 'dzin gsol 'debs kyang bka' rtsom bskyabs te de 'phral gnang (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 365).

¹⁰⁰ Thor rgod a yu She rgyal po'i tsha rgyud dbang phyug dzu rig thu nas bskul ngor gsol 'debs (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 554).

¹⁰¹ Thor rgod bstan 'dzin nas bskul ma zhus ngor gsol 'debs (De mo ho thog thu 2010: 559).

¹⁰² Wanjal beile or Wanjal Tseren was the son of Luuzang Darji, great-grandson of Arabjur [Rodoslovnaia torgutskikh khanov i kniazei 2016: 100].

messenger of the Torgut Wanjal beile, Rabjamba,¹⁰³ along with about thirty servants <...> [and others] arrived one after another. The [Panchen Lama] gave them a blessing with [his] hand, a tea treat, and asked questions. <...> Then the envoys sent by the Torgut beile, the treasurer¹⁰⁴ of Dagyab Tulku, and the nirba of the incarnation of Ra Lotsava¹⁰⁵ offered [the Panchen Lama] a long-life prayer [to be uttered] in the chamber. At the request of the Torgut envoys, the envoys themselves, the four officials, the pilgrims from Kham, etc., over two hundred monks and laymen received from [the Panchen Lama] the permission of the White Acala, Amitāyus and the Great Mother [Prajñāpāramitā]; an oral transmission on the “Guide to [guru-yoga] ‘One Hundred Gods of Tuṣitā’” and the “Collection of Eleven Acts Related to ‘Migtsema’¹⁰⁶ Prayer”¹⁰⁷ from the collection of the works of the Lord Supreme Teacher [Panchen Lama]; [he] also [gave] the messengers and the treasurer of Dagyab Tulku [his] answers to the messages and a parting audience.¹⁰⁸

Another embassy to the Panchen Lama was sent in 1780:

On the eleventh day <...> of the second Tibetan month <...> of the Iron Mouse year [1780 – B. M.], known as “sārvari” (kun ldan), the Torgut beile Wanjal Tseren, having invited [the Panchen Lama] to lead the prayer meeting of Ngagpa Dratsang, offered a long-life prayer together with offerings. [The Panchen Lama] gave a blessing with his hand to more than five hundred monks and laymen.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ Rabjamba (rab ‘byams pa) is the name of one of the degrees obtained in Tibetan monasteries.

¹⁰⁴ Treasurer (mdzod pa).

¹⁰⁵ Ralo kukye Lobsang Thinley (Rwa lo sku skye blo bzang ‘phrin las).

¹⁰⁶ “The Migtsema (dmigs btse ma) is a prayer addressed to Lama Tsongkapa, written, as tradition has it, by Lama Tsongkapa himself. It takes its name from the first line of the prayer, dmigs med brtse ba’i gter chen spyen ras gzigs – “Avalokiteśvara is the great treasury of compassion that does not perceive [true existence]”.

¹⁰⁷ “A detailed explanation of the meaning of the ‘Collection of the Eleven Acts Related to the ‘Migtsema’ Prayer” (dmigs brtse ma’i las tshogs bcu gcig gi don zhib tu bshad pa) is located in the fifth volume (ca) of the Panchen Lama Palden Yeshe’s collected works.

¹⁰⁸ Myos byed ces pa shing mo lug <...> zla ba gnyis pa’i <...> tshes bcu bdun nas bzung thor god dbang rgyal pa’i li’i mi sna rab ‘byams pa ngo g.yog sum cu skor dang / <...> rim bzhin ‘byor par phyag dbang dang ja gral bka’ ‘dri mdzad / <...> de rjes thor god pa’i lis ched du mngags pa’i el chi rnams dang brag g.yab sprul sku’i mdzod pa / rwa lo sku skye’i gnyer pa bcas nas gzims chung zhabs brtan phul / thor god mi snas zhus ngor khong rnams dang / zhal snga nas bzhi / khamis ‘grul ba sogs ser skya brgya phrag gnyis brgal bar mi g.yo ba dkar po dang / tshe dpag med / yum chen mo bcas kyi rjes gnang / dga’ ldan lha brgya ma’i khrid dang rje bla ma mchog gi gsung ‘bum gras nas dmigs brtse ma’i las tshogs bcu gcig gi ljags lung bcas dang / mi sna rnams dang brag g.yab phyag mdzod so sor ‘byor lan dang thon phyag gnang (dKon mchog ‘jigs med dbang po 2014a: 530).

¹⁰⁹ Yongs grags kyi kun ldan zhes pa lcags byi lo (1780) <...> zla ba gnyis pa’i tshes gcig la thor god pa’i li dbang rgyal tshe ring gis sngags grwa’i tshogs dbur spyen

Thus, these examples from Tibetan sources indicate that the Kalmyks who arrived in Central Asia and were organized by the Qing Chinese administration into seims and banners continued the practice of worshipping their spiritual teachers and sending embassies to the Tibetan hierarchs.

5. Conclusion

The letter from Labrang monastery is unsigned. This study has made it possible to identify the author of the letter, its addressee, and the date of its composition. Thanks to the presence of the seal, it is possible to identify the author of the letter as Ubashi Khan. Based on the content of the letter, we believe that the possible date of the letter is 1772, when Ubashi Khan was in dire need of a knowledgeable and skilled physician for his relatives. The addressee of the letter is presumably Konchok Jigme Wangpo, the second incarnation of Jamyang Shepa, who was already familiar with Kalmyks and to whom Ubashi Khan's successor later sent embassies not only to Tibet but also to China.

A comparative analysis of Ubashi Khan's letter and the passage about the embassy of Kalmyk Torguts from the biography of the Panchen Lama (translated into English for the first time) provides an additional argument in favor of the assumption that one of the main reasons why Ubashi Khan's Torguts left their former nomads was their concern for maintaining the traditional faith among the people.

Moreover, the passages provide evidence that embassies to the Panchen Lama were sent even after the death of Ubashi Khan.

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dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po. *rJe bla ma srid zhi'i gtsug rgyan paN chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes dpal bzang po'i zhal snga nas rnam par thar pa nyi ma'i 'od zer. sTod cha. sKu phreng drug pa dpal ldan ye shes kyi rnam thar. paN chen sku preng rim byon mdzad rnam.* Beijing: krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2014(a).

dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po. *rJe bla ma srid zhi'i gtsug rgyan paN chen thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang dpal ldan ye shes dpal bzang po'i zhal*

drangs te dngos 'bul dang bcas zhabs brtan phul zhing ser skya lnga brgya brgal bar phyag dbang stsal (dKon mchog 'jigs med dbang po 2014b: 163).

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Part III

Kalmyk Books and Icons in Ukraine

A brief survey of the monuments of the Kalmyk spiritual culture held in Kyiv collections of Ukraine

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During the late 17th and most of the 18th century, students, graduates, and educators of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (KMA, 1659–1817), the first higher educational institution in Eastern Europe, which later became the Kyiv Theological Academy (KTA, since 1819),² established direct connections with diverse religious communities. These interactions included Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, Shamanistic, and Buddhist communities in China, Buryatia, and Kalmykia. Engaged in pastoral and missionary services, the priests of the academy worked among various peoples in Siberia, the Volga region, and the Astrakhan diocese, which was established as early as 1609 and included the Kalmyks. Many of these preachers and educators were monks who received their education at Kiev-Mohyla Academy, and they actively participated in charitable initiatives. Thus, those associated with KMA aimed to fulfill their spiritual duties by spreading Orthodoxy, employing preaching, missionary endeavors, and acts of charity (fig. 1).

By the middle of the 17th century, the Kalmyks began to embrace Orthodoxy, and baptized settlements started to emerge. However, Buddhism in its Tibetan version remained their primary religion [Yakunin 2022: 23]. The significance of the priests' interactions with the Kalmyk population cannot be understated, as these contacts

¹ **Acknowledgements.** Translated into English by Alexander Zorin. I would like to express my appreciation for his work on this translation and for his helpful remarks that contributed to improving my paper.

² In 1632, through the merger of the Fraternal (Bratskaya; 1619) and Lavrskaya monastic schools, Metropolitan Petro Mohyla established the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium, which gained Academy status within the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from 1659. This status was reaffirmed twice (1694, 1701) after the Andrusovo Truce and the change of the territorial affiliation of the Left-Bank Ukraine (1667) and Kyiv (1686). The Kyiv-Mohyla Academy's status evolved in 1817, becoming the Kyiv Theological Academy, and it continued to exist until 1917. See Hizhnyak, Mankivsky 2003: 54, 170.

predated the migration of a part of the Kalmyks to their historical homeland in 1771, although they continued in various forms thereafter. The main difference between Catholic and Orthodox missionary activities is the Orthodox Church's dependence on state policy. Peter I (1672–1725) (fig. 3) believed that Russia was surrounded by a dense wall of “evil-believers who needed to be enlightened with the light of Christianity, and it was worth sending ‘around ten people’ at least to Kyiv schools if the light of enlightenment was dimming at home in Moscow” (Runkevich 1906: 105). The beginning of missionary efforts was marked by the decrees of Peter the Great, “On the Kalmyks, to persuade their owners and precept-holders to embrace Christianity through education and bounty, and to translate necessary books into their language (June 18, 1700), and “On the search for capable teachers to convert the Kalmyks to piety”.³ Hieromonk Nikolay (Adoratsky, 1849–1896), the historiographer of the Ecclesiastical Mission in Beijing, emphasized the essential qualities of Ukrainian priests for successful work in both the parish and mission, particularly highlighting “the steadfast characters of Malorussians⁴ who hardened through the struggle against Catholicism and possessed relatively greater enlightenment” (Nikolay 1887: 58).

The expression ‘Greater Enlightenment’ signifies that educated clergy who graduated from KMA maintained its traditions. They followed the example of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla (1596–1647),⁵ (fig. 2) its founder, and some of them went on to serve, spending a certain time as educators in their native academy, to which nearly all archpastors of the Orthodox Church of Russia were related until the mid-18th century. Virtually regardless of where their subsequent service took place, whether in Ukraine or beyond its borders, they endeavored to establish all-encompassing schools when possible,

³ See Yakunin 2022: 23; Kahamlyk 2021: 305–306.

⁴ The term was commonly used in the 19th century Russia to designate Ukrainians.

⁵ Saint Peter (formerly known as Peter Simeonovich Mohyla, 1596–1647), Metropolitan of Kyiv, was a descendant of Moldavian and Wallachian rulers. He studied at the Lviv Fraternal (Bratskaya) School, and possibly at various European universities. During the conflict with the Ottoman Empire, he fought on the side of Poland and distinguished himself in battles at Tsetsora and Khotyn. Upon becoming a Metropolitan, he reorganized education along the lines of Jesuit teaching traditions and established a *collegium*, which is now known as the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. He sought to reconcile all confessions, restored the Sofia Cathedral to Orthodoxy, and revived the Vydubychi Monastery, while also reconstructing ancient Russian churches. During the demolition of the Desiatynna Church in Kyiv, the relics of the apostle-like Prince Volodymyr were discovered. Metropolitan Peter was actively involved in publishing, demanding that canonical texts be compared with their Greek originals during the publication process. He bequeathed his library to the Kyiv Collegium. Canonized by all branches of the Orthodox Church, both in Ukraine and Russia. See Nychyk 1997: 3–11, 323.

accessible to orphaned children, *collegia*, taught in fraternal schools, assembled libraries, bequeathed books to the schools they had established, similar to what Metropolitan Petro did in his time. Priests aspired, as required, to translate sacred scripture texts into languages understandable to the newly converted flock, to conduct lessons and preach in their native tongues.⁶ The teacher had to be “pious, wise, humble, meek, patient... [He had] to diligently instruct children in useful knowledge, and exhibit an example of virtuous deeds in all things”. Education at KMA intended to shape future pastors with life orientations directed towards a monastic and spiritual life, corresponding to their level of education. If earthly rulers possess power over property and life, to the priest, authority over a person’s soul is bestowed (Kahamlyk 2021: 231).

In the first third of the 18th century, two graduates of KMA led the Astrakhan Eparchy—Lavrentiy Gorka and Varlaam Linitsky. A connoisseur of classical languages and the author of one of the first Ukrainian dramas, “Joseph the Patriarch”, Lavrentiy Gorka (1671–1737), Bishop of Astrakhan and Stavropol (1723–1727) (fig. 4), in a note submitted to the Holy Synod, highlighted the necessity for priests dispatched to the Steppe to have knowledge of the Kalmyk language. Lavrentiy Gorka⁷ was born in Lviv, into a Cossack family from the village of Stayky (now part of Obukhivskiyi, formerly Kagarlytskyi district of Kyiv Oblast), or possibly in the “Polish” town of Lavrovo (now a village in Staryi Sambir district of Lviv Oblast).⁸ He graduated from KMA, served as a lecturer there, taught the course of rhetoric, became the igumen (abbot) of the Vydubychi Monastery, served as a hieromonk in the Persian Fleet of Peter I.⁹ As a result of his missionary work in Astrakhan, he composed a special instruction directed towards the Kalmyks. This instruction included a “brief explanation of dogmas, simplified administration of sacraments, and other elements to facilitate their conversion to Orthodoxy. Bishop Lavrentiy believed it was necessary to establish shelters for orphaned children and schools for children of all social classes (clerical, townsmen, and household servants) near the churches. However, due to the lack of resources within the Astrakhan Eparchy, he was unable to realize this goal.¹⁰ Information about the personal library of Bishop of Astrakhan and Stavropol has been preserved. It contained 355 volumes of religious and secular content, including works in Latin, Greek,

⁶ See: Hizhnyak, Mankivsky 2003: 8–14; Kondakov 2018: 150–166; Kahamlyk 2021: 189–191, 691–872.

⁷ Born as Andriy, he took the monastic name Lavrentiy.

⁸ See Kahamlyk 2021: 803–806.

⁹ See Runkevich 1906: 28–34.

¹⁰ See Kahamlyk 2021: 387–388.

Hebrew, Polish, and with a minor inclusion of books on natural sciences. In 1738, after the bishop's death (1737, Vyatka), the library was transferred to the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy.¹¹

Bishop Varlaam Linitsky/Lenitsky (late 17th century – 1741), the successor to Lavrentiy Gorka in the Astrakhan Eparchy (1727–1730), was a native of Kyiv and also a graduate of the KMA. He arrived in the eparchy during a plague epidemic.¹² Varlaam served as the igumen of the Kyiv Zlatoverkhyi Mykhailivskiy Monastery (fig. 5), the second most significant monastery in Ukraine. He was proficient in Tatar and Turkish languages, undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (1712–1714), and left travel notes compiled in 1714 in Constantinople, entitled “Peregrination” or “Journey”.¹³ In virtually every eparchy where Varlaam Linitsky served, he established schools. In Astrakhan, he organized a Slavic-Latin school where children of all social classes were taught the alphabet, psalms, the Horologion or Book of hours (a collection of liturgical texts for the daily service), and Latin grammar.¹⁴ At his personal request, he was transferred to the Kyiv-Pechersk Monastery, where he passed away in 1741, and his Latin books from his personal library were added to the KTA library.¹⁵

During the time of Bishop Lavrentiy Gorka, when the first missionary camp was established, the images that had been brought by the Oirats in the 17th century were still in use in the Kalmyk Steppe.¹⁶ By the early 1890s, there was already a tradition that attributed the presence of a *zurkhachi* (astrologer)¹⁷ and a *zurachi* (artist) in the Astrakhan Steppe to Ayuka/Ayushi Khan (1642–1724). From then on, artists emerged in every ulus and khurul, and painting schools were established at khuruls, where *zurachis* (artists) were trained or improved their skills.¹⁸ The Great Barunov Khurul and the Dundu Khurul were the most significant among them.

In 1725, Hieromonk Nikodim Lenkevich/Linkevich (1673–1739), armed with the instruction “On Educating Newly Baptized Kalmyks in the Teachings of the Christian Faith”,¹⁹ embarked on a missionary journey to the Steppe. He accompanied the newly baptized Kalmyk prince Pyotr Taishin, grandson of Ayuka Khan (prince Chakdordzhab

¹¹ See Sholom 1967; Kahamlyk 2021: 665.

¹² See Travnikov, Olshevskaya 2010: 753.

¹³ See Kahamlyk 2021: 720–722.

¹⁴ See Travnikov, Olshevskaya 2010: 753–755.

¹⁵ See Travnikov, Olshevskaya 2010: 755 (91 books are mentioned); Kahamlyk 2021: 720–722 (92 books are mentioned).

¹⁶ See Zhitetsky 1893: 44, no. 1.

¹⁷ His name is mentioned as ‘Aryngk-Jaltyn’; in Cyrillic script: ‘Арынк-Джалтын’: evidently, a distorted Oirat rendering of some Tibetan name.

¹⁸ See Zhitetsky 1893: 61, 64.

¹⁹ See Yakunin 2022: 23; Batmaev 2022: 8–18.

(?–1722) – Taisha Bakdasai-Dordzhi before baptism), along with the portable church gifted by Peter I.²⁰ By birth, Lenkevich was of Polish origin, born in the Brańsk Powiat of the Bielsk Land (now Gmina Brańsk of Bielsk County, Podlaskie Voivodeship, Poland). He was named Nikolai at baptism and took the name Nikodim upon monastic tonsure in 1715. It is believed that Nikodim Lenkevich learned the Kalmyk language from baptized Kalmyks, and that he was ordained as a monk and a missionary by Metropolitan Filofey (1650–1727; schema-monk Feodor from 1709) of Tobolsk and Siberia,²¹ although this appears questionable from the point of chronology. In 1715, Metropolitan Filofey was in Siberia, and in 1716, he briefly stayed in Kyiv, while Nikodim Lenkevich was already in the Kalmyk Steppe. The question of when and where their paths might have crossed remains unanswered. Nonetheless, due to his knowledge of the Kalmyk language and possibly the missionary insights he gained from Metropolitan Filofey, Nikodim Lenkevich was appointed the head of the first Orthodox spiritual mission in the Kalmyk Khanate.²² To conduct worship and fulfill missionary objectives, students from the Moscow Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy were assigned to him, including Andrey Chubovsky (?–1780), who later became a priest and an ardent participant in Orthodox missionary work among the Kalmyks.²³

The earliest attempts at translating Christian texts into the Kalmyk language date back to the beginning of the 18th century. Hieromonk Nikodim was one the first contributors to this process; he translated the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments along with commentaries (according to the Orthodox Encyclopedia, cited in Kondakov 2018: 152–155). The determination and dedication of Hieromonk Nikodim contributed to the continuity between the 1st and 2nd Orthodox missions in Kalmykia,²⁴ with him again leading the second mission. Thanks to Nikodim Lenkevich, an ethno-confessional group of baptized Kalmyks formed, along with schools for them. With his support, services were translated and conducted in the Orthodox church in the Kalmyk language.²⁵ The responsibility for the school, as proposed by Lenkevich himself, was entrusted to his student, protopop Andriy Chubovsky (Goryaev 2019: 25). In 1739, Hieromonk Nikodim was transferred to the Saint Michael's Monastery of the Kyiv Diocese, which was certainly not coincidental, and there he passed away in 1740. The Monastery, also known as the Miracle-Michailovsky

²⁰ See Pokrovsky 1913: 190; Dzhundzhuzov, Lyubichankovsky 2017: 173–175.

²¹ See Dzhundzhuzov, Lyubichankovsky 2017: 173–174.

²² See Istoriya 1990: 42–43; Shvets 2001: 42–43; Goryaev 2019.

²³ See Istoriya 1990: 42–43; Dzhundzhuzov, Lyubichankovsky: 176–177.

²⁴ See Dzhundzhuzov, Lyubichankovsky 2017: 186.

²⁵ See Dzhundzhuzov, Lyubichankovsky 2017: 186–190.

or Vydubychi Monastery²⁶ (fig. 6), has a tradition of its temple holidays “firmly linked to the idea of the struggle of Christianity against paganism and the ‘real’ help of the Archangel Michael to Christians” (Ulyanovsky 2011: 47). Hieromonk Nikodim Lenkevich, due to his missionary work, earned his stay and end in such a monastery.

Andriy Chubovsky continued the work of his teacher, caring for the baptized Kalmyks in the Stavropol region for forty years. The Orthodox priest Chubovsky (?–1780) hailed from Kamianets-Podilskyi.²⁷ Proficient in the Kalmyk language, he translated the Gospel and Extracts from Church History into it. He also authored a Kalmyk primer.²⁸ In 1780, he passed away and was buried in Stavropol, the city for which he cared in his later years (fig. 7). As a priest, Chubovsky had the right to collect material evidence of the past faith of converted Kalmyks, including books. His knowledge and collection of Kalmyk materials served as the foundation for sections on the Kalmyks and Kalmyk Buddhism in the works of participants in academic expeditions of 1768–1771, including P. S. Pallas (1741–1811), I. I. Lepekhin (1740–1802), as well as earlier figures such as V. N. Tatishchev (1686–1750) and others.²⁹ While the baptized Kalmyks primarily fell under the care of missionaries and parish servants, scholars during their scientific expeditions gathered materials related to Kalmyk Buddhists.

It is significant that scientific expeditions, exploring the territories of the nomadic Kalmyks, found themselves there in 1768–1770, on the eve of the migration of a great part of the Kalmyks to their historical homeland (1771). This timing enabled them to document the state of Kalmyk Buddhism as it evolved during the 17th–18th centuries.³⁰ By the beginning of the 17th century, when the Kalmyks joined the Muscovite state (1655), they had already officially adopted Buddhism. A testament to this is the “Iki Tsaajin bichig” (“Great Code”) enacted in 1640 at a congress of Mongol and Oirat feudal lords, which designated Buddhism as the official religion. Princely congresses took place near cult constructions. In the law of 1614, the text of a prayer first

²⁶ The Vydubychi Male Orthodox Monastery, constructed between 1070 and 1077, underwent reconstruction in the Ukrainian (Mazepin) Baroque style during the 17th to 18th centuries. It was established in honor of the miracle of the Archangel Michael, the conqueror of dark forces, and his aid to Christians in their struggle against paganism—the overthrow of idols at the sanctuary and their immersion. Like other monasteries commemorating such a miracle, it was built on a steep bank of the Dnieper River, in a remote area near a river crossing. See Ulyanovskij 2011.

²⁷ Currently, a city in the Khmelnytskyi region of Ukraine, serving as the administrative center of the Kamianets-Podilskyi district within this region.

²⁸ See Zudina 2013: 42–43.

²⁹ See Zudina 2013: 39–40; Batmaev 2022: 8–18, 13.

³⁰ See Zudina 2013: 39–40.

appeared: "...uum suvasti šiddham. We bow to Shakyamuni Burhan, who achieved perfection, defeated evil spirits (shimnus), comprehended the two truths. We pray to the Burkhan of the ten directions [of the world] and three times for happiness" (Nasilov 2022: 53). The law of 1617 introduced an entry about the punishment for those who "offend the image of Buddha through actions" (Ibid.: 52).

Therefore, by the time the Kalmyks arrived in the European steppes, they were already practicing Buddhism, which was legislatively protected and included a corresponding pantheon. Their migration to the new Steppe was accompanied by specific rituals and ceremonies carried out in movable monasteries (khuruls). The cult of worshiping Amitāyus, also known as Ayuša or the Buddha of Infinite Life, was prevalent. Researchers relied on various materials, including the history of Kalmyk migration, Mongol writings, translations by Chubovsky of specific sacred texts, and his collection of Buddhist books.³¹ As a result, scholars who worked in the Russian Empire, unlike their Western European colleagues at that time, were able to gain insight into the vibrant spiritual culture of Buddhism. Among the books that belonged to the archpriest Andriy Chubovsky, there is mention of "Dojo Zodba", or "Dorjo Jodbo"—a distorted Tibetan name for the text "Dorje Chödpa" (Tibetan: *Rdo rje gcod pa*, Sanskrit: *Vajracchedikā*), also known as the "Diamond Sūtra".³²

Unfortunately, as of now, no manuscripts, woodblock prints from the 18th century, or artifacts of visual arts originating from Kalmykia and somehow associated with the names of the priests who served in Kalmykia during that time, or the native bearers of Kalmyk Buddhist culture, have been discovered in Ukrainian collections. Nevertheless, there is still some hope, particularly because certain priests like Bishop Varlaam Linitsky or Hieromonk Nikodim Lenkevich found their final resting place in Kyiv monasteries. Therefore, there is a reasonable possibility of uncovering some cultural artifacts that could remind us of the challenging intracultural work undertaken by clergy in the 17th–18th centuries. As for the collection of Protopriest Andriy Chubovsky, it undoubtedly either remained in the hands of the 18th century scholars or has been preserved in the archives of Stavropol and Astrakhan, unless they were taken to central Russian archives in Moscow or Saint Petersburg. Their comprehensive descriptions are not available to date. Thus, the first phase of contacts between Ukrainians and Kalmyks is not represented by monuments of spiritual culture, or these monuments have not yet been identified. However, Ukrainian clergy played a role in the formation of an ethno-confessional group of

³¹ See Zudina 2013: 41–49; Yakunin 2019: 333–341.

³² The "Diamond Sūtra" is a concise rendering of the Prajñāpāramitā, a fundamental teaching of Mahāyāna Buddhism dating back to the early 1st millennium CE.

baptized Kalmyks, contributing to the emergence of settlements in the Steppe. Thus, they contributed to the division of the Kalmyks into baptized and nomadic groups, strengthening positions of those who practiced Buddhism and sought to maintain historical ties with their distant homeland.

In the second half of the 19th century, the situation underwent a change. The outcomes of spontaneous collecting efforts by both clergy and secular professionals found their way into the collections of Ukrainian museums and archives. Materials that represent “traces” of the presence and movement of Kalmyks across parts of the territory that now constitutes modern Ukraine are discussed below. These materials are categorized as those with a documented history of acquisition and those with an uncertain provenance. Kalmyk spiritual cultural artifacts could have been discovered as chance findings during geological, archaeological excavations, or through epidemiological expeditions, topographical surveys, and interactions between Christian priests and Kalmyks. Newly accessible sources include accidental surface finds and expedition discoveries, some of which have become available only at the beginning of the 21st century after conservation treatment.

The materials that provide insight into the Buddhist written and visual traditions of Kalmykia, previously belonging to the Church-Archaeological Museum (CAM) at the KTA,³³ and the archive of Saint Vladimir's University,³⁴ are now present in collections in Kyiv. Icons

³³ The CAM, affiliated with the KTA, was established in 1872. Originally planned, created, and operated as a public institution, it was opened to the public in 1878. According to the museum's regulations, its funding and collection development were supported by the Church Archaeological Society, church donations, academic and educational organizations, and private individuals. This set the Kyiv CAM apart from similar museums in St. Petersburg and Moscow. The museum's collections encompassed pre-Christian and Christian, Islamic and Buddhist beliefs, as well as religious art from around the world. With the closure of the Kyiv Theological Academy in 1920, the museum was also shut down. However, its collections became part of the All-Ukrainian Museum Complex in 1926, a state cultural and historical reserve that existed within the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra until 1934. After the reserve's dissolution in 1934, its collections were dispersed among various archives and museums. Books and manuscripts were transferred to the Manuscript Department of the Nationwide Library of Ukraine (now the V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine). Four encaustic icons brought by bishop Porphyry (Uspensky) (1804–1885) from Saint Catherine's Monastery located at Mount Sinai, along with several Buddhist paintings, found their place in the present-day Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Arts. Some icons were taken by the Germans during World War II, while other materials became part of the collections of other museums in Kyiv. See more details in Anthony (Pakanich) 2012: 271, 286.

³⁴ The Imperial Kyiv University of Saint Vladimir, currently known as Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, was founded in 1833. It was established

of burkhans (thangka) are housed in the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Arts (fig. 8),³⁵ while textual monuments are held at the Institute of Manuscripts of the V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine.³⁶ By the end of the 19th century, the KTA museum was the largest CAM in the Russian Empire.³⁷ The museum was established not only to gather and preserve unique church artifacts but also to allow Academy students to familiarize themselves with the spiritual culture of their future congregation, which became mandatory after introducing the course in biblical archaeology and related disciplines. The museum's holdings included items of church antiquity, history, and sacred art, serving as a foundation for the educational process, practical exercises, and academic research. Kalmyk artifacts began to appear in the CAM at the KTA in the second half of the 19th century, thanks to the professional service or personal dedication of clergy and believers alike. According to the list of museum acquisitions compiled by Nikolai Petrov (1840–1921) in the late 19th century (Petrov 1897: 23–26), the following items were donated to the museum:

primarily on the basis of the transferred Kremenets Lyceum, along with its classrooms, laboratories, and unique library (the University and its library were opened in 1834). In the years 1925–1927, the library's collection was transferred to the Nationwide Library of Ukraine (now the V. I. Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine).

³⁵ The Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Arts (1936–2011, originally known as the Museum of Western and Eastern Art) was established in 1919 in accordance with the will of the collector Bohdan Ivanovich Khanenko (1849–1917) and the donation of Varvara Nikolivna, his wife (1852–1922). This unique collection is showcased in two departments where European and Eastern collections are displayed. Visitors can explore Byzantine icons, European painting masterpieces, Chinese paintings, Japanese woodblock prints, Tibetan thangkas, and Iranian ceramics.

³⁶ The Institute of Manuscripts was established in 1992 based on the Manuscript Department of the V. I. Vernadsky National Library as an academic research institute. Its main focus is on the study, publication, and preservation of the library's manuscript collection. It was formed based on the holdings of the Kyiv Theological Academy, the Church Archaeological Museum, brotherhood schools, the Prince Bezborodko Historical and Philological Institute in Nizhyn, Saint Vladimir's Kyiv University, along with materials from Kremenets Lyceum, Vilnius University, and other educational institutions. Some items also originated from monasteries, including the Sofia and Michael Zlatoverkh Monasteries and the Kyiv-Pechersk Lavra. The Eastern section of the collection includes cuneiform tablets from Mesopotamia, a Batak manuscript from the island of Sumatra, manuscripts on palm leaves, Arabic and Persian manuscripts, Tibetan, Chinese, Oirat manuscripts and woodblock prints, Hebrew materials.

³⁷ See Burlykina 2018: 93–94.

- an icon of a burkhan from Astrakhan, donated by Professor Alexey Afanasyevich Dmitrievsky (1856–1929)³⁸ of the KTA;
- thirteen icons acquired from the family of the Chief Trustee of the Kalmyk people,³⁹ Kapiton Ivanovich Kostenkov (?–?),⁴⁰ donated by Archpriest of the Kyiv Alexander Nevsky Cathedral, Kliment Ioanikievich Fomenko (fig. 9) (1836 – after 1914),⁴¹ along with photographs of Kalmyk bakshees (lamas) and a Kalmyk astronomical table;
- a bronze statue of Buddha with Tibetan inscriptions from the Novokhopyorsk District of the Voronezh Governorate, donated by Cathedral Archpriest of the Kyiv Sophia Cathedral, Pyotr Gavrilovich Lebedintsev (1820–1896)⁴² (fig. 10);

³⁸ A. A. Dmitrievsky (1856–1929), born in the Astrakhan Province, a graduate of the Kazan Theological Academy, a professor in the Department of Church Archaeology and Liturgics at the Kiev Theological Academy, Honorary member of the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society; a Russian Byzantinist, and a Church historian.

³⁹ An official of the imperial administration that headed a special board, known as the Kalmyk Administration Council, responsible for overseeing various aspects of life in the Kalmyk Steppe.

⁴⁰ Previously, Captain-Lieutenant (Court Counsellor) of the Guards Crew, K. I. Kostenkov served as the leader of the military-topographical Kum-Manych Expedition. In 1860–1861, this expedition conducted an “economic-statistical” study of the Kalmyk Steppe. Astronomical, topographical, and geological work was carried out, new communication routes were determined, and suitable locations for settlements were identified. The collected materials formed the basis for his own research. Not much is known about Kapiton Kostenkov except for a few episodes of his service and his publications about the Kalmyks. Thus, he was Manager of State Property and Chief Trustee of the Kalmyk People; he supported the proposal for the establishment of a settlement near a forest plantation that became known as Elista; he was Collegiate Counsellor (from 1877, Colonel), Actual State Counsellor (from 1879, Major General); he also assisted I. I. Mechnikov during his 1872–1874 expeditions to the Kalmyk Steppe.

⁴¹ Archpriest K. I. Fomenko (1836 – after 1914/1915), served at the Church of the Savior at Berestove in Kyiv and was a priest at the Church of Alexander Nevsky (until 1917; the church was destroyed in the mid-1930s). He studied at the Kyiv Theological School of St. Sophia, Kyiv Theological Seminary, and from 1859 to 1863 at the KTA. He was a member of the Church Archaeological Society, a representative of the Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society, and the author of numerous theological works.

⁴² Petr Lebedintsev, mentor at the Kiev Theological Academy, editor of the “Kyiv Diocesan Gazette”, protopriest; from 1860 to 1868, he served as a law instructor at the gymnasium; historian, archaeologist, educator, journalist, and religious figure—he was a protopriest (from 1868 until the end of his life) at the Cathedral of St. Sophia. He was also the founder and first editor (1862–1874) of the “Kyiv Diocesan Gazette”; member of the Kyiv “Old Community” (a society of Ukrainian intelligentsia, acted from 1859 till 1876), a friend of many prominent figures in the Ukrainian intellectual, literary, and social movement; active member of the Historical Society named after Nestor the Chronicler at Kyiv University, as well as a member of the Commission for Analyzing Ancient Documents.

- an aquatint depicting the banner of the Kalmyk regiment of Prince Serebjab Tyumen (1774–1858)⁴³ (fig. 11), donated by Nikolay Fedotovych Belyashevsky (1867–1926);⁴⁴
- some other donations from individuals whose names have yet to be identified.

Only a few of the aforementioned gifts have been preserved. The contributions of Dmitrievsky, Lebedintsev, Belyashevsky, including the photographs and an enigmatic ‘astronomical table’ donated by Father Kliment, are evidently lost.

Kliment Fomenko transferred Kalmyk “burkhans” (sacred objects) to the CAM, which were donated by the descendants of Major General K. I. Kostenkov, the leader of the military-topographical Kum-Manych Expedition on the territory of Kalmykia in 1860–1861.⁴⁵ These items, belonging to Kostenkov and donated to the CAM by Priest Fomenko, known as “thangkas” or “zurug shuteen” in Kalmyk,⁴⁶ were identified through old museum numbers reflected in the published Index (Petrov 1897: 23–26). The thangkas are painted with adhesive paints on different mediums, including silk, cotton fabric, and paper. They depict figures from the Buddhist pantheon.⁴⁷ Seven thangkas feature inscriptions, one in Cyrillic script (in the old orthography) only, while the rest are in both Oirat (“*Todo Bičig*”) and Cyrillic scripts. The Oirat

⁴³ Serebdzhab (Sereb-Dzhap) Tyumen (1774–1858), a Kalmyk prince, Noyon of the Khosheutovsky Ulus in the Astrakhan Province, Russian Empire (now in the Kharabalinsky District, Astrakhan Oblast); founder of the Khosheutovsky Khurul, commander of the Second Astrakhan Kalmyk Regiment, participant in the Patriotic War of 1812, colonel (1816), recipient of Russian and foreign awards. In memory of the Kalmyks’ participation in the Patriotic War of 1812, he constructed the Khosheutovsky Khurul in the village of Tyumenevka (now the village of Rechnoe in the Kharabalinsky District of the Astrakhan Oblast). Alexander von Humboldt in 1829 and Alexandre Dumas on October 17–18, 1858, during their travels in Russia, were guests of Serebdzhab Tyumen; see Ilishkin 2010: 27–34.

⁴⁴ Nikolai Belyashevsky (or Biliashivsky), historian, museum curator, honorary member of the Poltava Church Historical and Archaeological Committee. He studied at the Law Faculty and attended lectures at the History and Philology Faculties of St. Vladimir’s Kyiv University, and he passed his final exams at the Novorossiysk University in Odessa. Belyashevsky was the organizer and director (1902–1923) of the Kyiv Art-Industrial and Scientific Museum. During World War I, he was appointed by the Imperial Academy of Sciences to protect cultural monuments in Galicia and Bukovina. Under the Ukrainian Central Rada, he served as the head of the Central Committee for the Protection of Ancient Monuments and Art in Ukraine. Under the Soviets, he remained in charge of the museum; a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (from 1919), and the author of numerous publications.

⁴⁵ See Petrov 1897: 23–26.

⁴⁶ Some details about the Kalmyk tradition of Buddhist iconography are presented in Nurova 2011.

⁴⁷ See Ogneva 2011: 93–102.

inscriptions were read and translated by Natalia Yakhontova, Svetlana Batyreva, and Evgeniy Bembeev.⁴⁸

The inscriptions in Todo Bičig script from three of these thangkas not only identify the figures but also mention the previously unknown artist, Belene Šobol, from the Kerait clan. He is also called 'getsel' (= 'getsül'), meaning a monk who has taken 36 monastic vows.

1. Shelf mark: 496 ЖВ (old shelf marks: 1927, 7692, 13, 313 ВК). Emchi = Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Medicine Buddha (fig. 12).

Inscriptions on the recto side: 1) Left margin: (in Cyrillic) "По индѣйски: Бендарѣи" ("In Indian: Bendaryo [=Bhaiṣajyaguru?]); 2) Margin below: (in Cyrillic) "Оточи / богъ лѣкарей / Эмчи" ("Otochi / the god of healers / Emchi"); (in Oirat) "odoči buruxan" ("Burkhan Odochi/Otochi"); 3) Right margin: (in Oirat) "kerēd анги belene šobol gecel zurubu" ("Drawn by Belene Šobol Getsel (=Getsül) from the Kerait clan"), (in Cyrillic) "по Тибетски Манли" ("In Tibetan: Manli (=Menla)").

2. Shelf mark: 498 ЖВ (old shelf marks: 1926, 7699, 315, ВК). Manza Shire = Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom (fig. 13).

Inscriptions on the recto side: 1) Margin below: (in Cyrillic) "Манза Шире / Богъ астрологов-зурхачи" ("Manza Shire / the god of *zurkhachi* astrologers"), (in Oirat) "zuruxači manzang širē" ("Manzang Shiren [=Mañjuśrī], [the protector? of] astrologers"); 2) Right margin: "kerēd анги belene šobol gecel zuruba" ("Drawn by Belene Šobol Getsel from the Kerait clan").

3. Shelf mark: 501 ЖВ (old shelf marks: 1918, No. 3, 318 ВК). Shakjimini = the Buddha Śākyamuni (fig. 14).

Inscriptions on the recto side: 1) Margin below: (in Cyrillic) "Шакджимуни верховное божество" ("Shakjimini [=Śākyamuni] the supreme deity"), (in Oirat) "šačji-i muyini" ("Shakjimini"); 2) Right margin: "kerēd анги belene šobol gecel zuruba" ("Drawn by Belene Šobol Getsel from the Kerait clan"). An inscription on the verso side: (in Cyrillic) "Шакджимуни" ("Shakjimini").

The four other thangkas, evidently produced by the same master, have similar bilingual inscriptions.

4. Shelf mark: 499 ЖВ (old shelf marks: 1919, 4, 316 ВК). Madira = Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future (fig. 15).

Inscriptions on the recto side: 1) Left margin: (in Cyrillic) "По Тибетски Джамба" ("In Tibetan, Jamba"); 2) Margin below: (in Cyrillic) "Майдере / по индѣйски / Верховное существо" ("Maidere [=Maitreya] / in Indian / the supreme deity"); 3) Right margin: (in Oirat) "madira" ("Madira [=Maitreya]), (in Cyrillic) "По монгольски

⁴⁸ See Batyreva 2016: 129–134; Ogneva 2016. I also thank Anna Turanskaya, Jargal Badagarov, and Alla Sizova for several additional remarks in regard to these inscriptions.

Асаралъ гуута” (“In Mongolian, Asaral guuta [=Asaraqyitu ‘Compassionate’]). An inscription on the verso side: (in Cyrillic) “Майдере” (“Maidere”).

5. Shelf mark: 502 ЖВ (old shelf marks: 1928, 7689, 14, 319 ВК). Amidava = the Buddha Amitābha (fig. 16).

Inscriptions on the recto side: 1) Margin below: (in Cyrillic) “Авидва (покровитель покойников)” (“Avidva (the protector of deceased people)”); 2) Right margin: (in Oirat) “amidava” (“Amidava [=Amitābha]”). An inscription on the verso side: (in Cyrillic) “Авидва. 14” (“Avidva. 14”).

6. Shelf mark: 497 ЖВ (old shelf mark: 1917, 27, 2, 314 ВК). Ноҕон Дари Еке = the Green Mother Tārā (fig. 17).

Inscriptions on the recto side: 1) Margin below: (in Cyrillic) “Наганъ-Дар-Эке /Покровительница женщинъ при родахъ/” (“Nagan Dar Eke [=the Green Mother Tārā] / the Protectress of women during childbirth”); 2) Right margin: (in Oirat) “ноҕон дари еке” (“the Green Mother Dari [=Tārā]”), (in Cyrillic) “Перерождение Цаган-Даръ-Эке” (“The reincarnation of Tsagan Dar Eke [=the White Mother Tārā]”). An inscription on the verso side: (in Cyrillic) “Наганъ Даръ-Эке” (“Nagan Dar Eke”).

7. Shelf mark: 500 ЖВ (old shelf marks: 7668, 308 ВК). Namsarai = Vaiśravaṇa (fig. 18).

An inscription on the recto side, margin below: (in Cyrillic) “Намсара (Богъ богатства)” (“Namsara (the god of wealth)”). An inscription on the verso side: (in Cyrillic) “По монгольски Тенсон (Сокчинъ Кювенъ) по индѣйски: Бишараваръ” (“In Mongolian, Tensong (Sokchin Küwen [=Sonosuyči-yin köbegün]); In Indian, Bisharawar [=Vaiśravaṇa]”).

In the late 19th to early 20th century, several artists from the monasteries of the Don Host Oblast and the Maloderbetovsky Ulus of the Astrakhan Governorate were well-known among the Kalmyks. They included bagshi (master) Nemgirov, an icon painter from the Khurul of Batlayevskaya Stanitsa; Orgochko Jambaev, a skillful producer of burkhans (Buddha images); Dorzhi/Dortsia, a master of the Maloderbetovsky Khurul, who was the author of four images of White Tārā submitted to the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts.⁴⁹

Thus, more than a hundred years later, at the beginning of the 21st century, one more name was identified. Its bearer was evidently recognized in the Kalmyk iconographic tradition, but he became known to us only after the above-cited inscriptions were read by experts. The influence of the getsul Belene Shobol from the Kerait clan on his contemporaries in Kalmyk monasteries was undoubtedly

⁴⁹ See Batyreva 1991: 24; Batyreva 2009: 59; Zhitetsky 1893: 64.

significant. We can even probably talk about the Shobol school of iconography. Evidence of this is attested in some of the Kalmyk icons, currently preserved in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera), RAS, in Saint Petersburg. Notably, the Kalmyk thangka depicting the bodhisattva Tārā from Admiral C. Possiet's collection (No. 470-4)⁵⁰ stylistically closely resembles the thangka presenting the bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (No. 5528-2).⁵¹

Apart from the thangkas depicting figures of the pantheon, Kliment Fomenko also presented one more. It was recorded as "a linen Kalmyk burkhan", under the number 1915 (Petrov 1897: 23–26); current access number: 482 ЖБ (old shelf marks: 1915, KK297, 7673, 697, 297 BK). As it turned out, the thangka depicts the "Wheel of Existence", Bhavacakra (Tibetan: *srid pa'i 'khor lo*; Kalmyk: *sansar-un kürde*), the Buddhist picture of universe (fig. 19). The "Wheel of Existence", grasped by a monster, is depicted in the form of concentric circles. The outer circle consists of twelve scenes numbered 1 to 12, reflecting the everyday life of people, symbolically reproducing the twelve links of dependent origination. The second circle is divided into six sections, each of which symbolically reflects the life and existence of beings comprising the Wheel of Life: 1 – the realm of gods, 2 – the realm of humans, 3 – the realm of asuras, 4 – the realm of animals, 5 – the realm of hungry ghosts, 6 – the realm of hell-dwellers. The next circle is divided by color into two fields: black and white. On the black field, a demon pulls sinners into the abode of hungry ghosts; on the white field, a monk leads those who have rid themselves of negative accumulations to new rebirths. Finally, the central circle contains images of a pig, a snake, and a bird in the middle, symbolizing the three types of obscurations—ignorance, anger (envy), and passion (greed)—that bind beings to cyclic existence. The earth is represented by towering mountains; the sky, filled with deep blue, is occupied by clouds and plumes of fragrant smoke.

To the left of the monster, the figure of Buddha Śākyamuni hovers in space, having transcended existence; to the right, the Wheel of Teaching is depicted. The "Wheel of Existence" is painted on primed fabric using adhesive pigments and inscribed with gold, mounted on a blue silk frame, with a covering of yellow silk (Tibetan: *zhal khebs*).

⁵⁰ Constantine Possiet (1819–1899) was a Russian admiral (1882), Minister of Communications (1874–1888), a member of the State Council (1888), and a passionate collector. Like many other collectors who understood the scientific and museum significance of objects, he bequeathed his collection to the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography. He likely acquired the above-mentioned thangka around 1868 when he traveled along the Volga River and the Caspian Sea; see Ivanov 2009.

⁵¹ Published in Ivanov 2009: 29 (No. 470-4) and 32 (No. 5528-2). See also Ivanov 2005.

On the front side of the thanangka, Cyrillic inscriptions in cursive (in ink) identify the depicted characters and the narrative; a Tibetan inscription in gold is written on a red-painted plaquette. At the upper right of the Buddha Śākyamuni, a moon is depicted, and he points towards it with his hand; beneath the figure of the Buddha, an inscription reads: “Бурханъ Шикджи Мунѣ” (“Burkhan Shikdji Muni” (the Buddha Śākyamuni). The central part of the thanangka is occupied by the depiction of a gigantic monster clamping the “Wheel of Existence” with its fangs and claws; at the bottom, by the ankle of the monster’s right leg, an inscription reads: “Мангусъ” (“Mangus”). In this context, Mangus corresponds to the demon Mara embodying “Eternal Time”, which governs all, or “Eternal Load of Desires/Passions/Greed”, giving rise to one desire after another. To the right of the monster, beneath the hermit’s image (at the monster’s knee), an inscription reads: “Даянчи” (“Dayanchi”, “Hermit”). To the right of the monster, beyond the wheel, in the center, on a blue background, “Небо” (“Heaven”) is written; on a green background, “Земля” (“Earth”) is written. Arabic numerals from one to twelve are marked from left to right in a circle, depicting the sequence of twelve links of dependent origination and the six realms where beings reside. Above and to the right of the monster, from top to bottom, the Wheel of Teaching is presented; below on the red plaquette, the Tibetan inscription reads: *brtsam par bya zhing dbyung bar bya// sangs rgyas bstan la ’jug par bya// ’dam bu’i khyim la glang chen bzhin//’chi bdag sde ni gzhom par bya//* — “[One] should cultivate [merits] and cast away [defilements]. // [One] should enter the Buddha’s teachings. // Like a great elephant [breaking] a reed house, // [One] should defeat the armies of the Lord of Death”.⁵² Below, on a cloud, “Избавление” (“Liberation”) is written (fig. 19).

Only in 1969 did the Museum acquire a new Kalmyk thanangka as a part of the collection of Buddhist arts purchased from Vasily Velichko, Moscow.⁵³ The thanangka bears a dedicatory inscription indicating its Kalmyk origin.⁵⁴ According to the inscription, the thanangka was a gift to Ilya Ilyich Mechnikov (1845–1916)⁵⁵ from the Kalmyk people as a

⁵² The same stanza and another variant of its English translation are published in Sopa 1984: 128, 131.

⁵³ About this person, see Fil 2016.

⁵⁴ See Ogneva 2002: 18–24.

⁵⁵ Ilya Ilyich Mechnikov (Élie Metchnikoff) (1845–1916) was a Russian and French microbiologist, cytologist, embryologist, immunologist, physiologist, and pathologist born in Ukraine (village of Ivanovka, Kupyansk district, the Kharkov Province of the then Russian Empire). He was an honorary member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (1902) and a Nobel Prize laureate in the field of physiology and medicine (1908). He graduated from Kharkov (Kharkiv) University, taught at Novorossiysk University in Odessa. In 1887, he moved to

token of gratitude for his anti-epidemic work (fig. 20). According to the memoirs of Olga Mechnikova,⁵⁶ “the entry into the steppes was festive: a delegation of Kalmyks at the Kalmyk Bazaar (now the settlement of Privolzhsky within the boundaries of Astrakhan) met the mission and presented Ilya Ilyich with a bronze Buddha” (Mechnikova 1926). In their estate of Chervlenoye in the Maloderbetovsky Ulus, the Mechnikov couple and members of the expedition were received by the Tundutov family,⁵⁷ representatives of one of the most distinguished families in Kalmykia.⁵⁸ The *thangka* depicts One Hundred Deities of Joy (or *Tuṣitā Heaven*).⁵⁹ The painting is executed on primed fabric using adhesive pigments, with a “rainbow” made of red and yellow colors, mounted on a green satin frame, and the zhal-

Paris where he worked at the Pasteur Institute in Paris. Engaging in research in the field of anthropology, he conducted two expeditions to the Astrakhan and Stavropol steppes, where he studied the appearance and life of the Kalmyks and the Kazakhs (1872–1874). In 1911, he led an epidemiological expedition focused on combating tuberculosis in Kalmykia; see Peretiako et al. 2020.

⁵⁶ Olga Nikolaevna Mechnikova, née Belokopytova (1858–1944), was the second wife of Ilya Mechnikov (since 1874). Until Mechnikov’s passing in 1916, the couple lived together for over thirty years. Olga was Mechnikov’s closest friend and assistant in his scientific work, translator of his writings. She was also a talented artist, exhibiting her sculptures and paintings at solo exhibitions in Paris. After her husband’s death, Mechnikova published a wonderful book-length memoir in French entitled *La vie d’Élie Metchnikoff* (Paris, 1920).

⁵⁷ The Tundutov family was considered sacred, referred to as “ТЭНГЭР йозурта” (“Heavenly Predestination”) among the Kalmyks. The Tundutovs of Maloderbetov descent traced their maternal lineage to the descendants of Genghis Khan and were related to almost all the khans of Kalmykia. The Tundutovs were the first to adopt a settled way of life. However, all generations of the family, including those who met Mechnikov, such as Elzyata Tundutova, the widow of the noyon Tseren-David Tundutov (1860–1907), a member of the First State Duma, the Russian parliament, from the Astrakhan and Stavropol provinces, preserved and upheld Kalmyk Buddhist vows, rituals, and customs. Tseren-David Tundutov received a special seal, the “eternal visa”, as a gift from the 13th Dalai Lama, granting him access to Tibet. Elzyata Tundutova was a member of the Russian Geographical Society, and many scholars, such as Mongolists Andrey D. Rudnev (1878–1958), G. J. Ramstedt (1873–1950), sought her advice. The Tundutovs provided funds for the journey to Tibet for the renowned Baaz Menkedzhuyev (1846–1903) and supported the family of Nomto Ochirov (1886–1960), the first explorer of the Kalmyk epic. Born to Tseren-David and Elzyata, Danzan Tundutov (1888–1923) was the founder of the Kalmyk Cossack force, with the goal of uniting all Oirat regions along the Volga, which had been divided among several Russian provinces since the late 18th century. As one of the Cossack leaders, he actively participated in the Civil War in Russia.

⁵⁸ See Archive of the Russian Geographical Society. Coll. 18. Inv. 3. Item 694.

⁵⁹ In Tibetan: *dga’ ldan lha brgya ma*, or Ganden lha gyama, see a detailed analysis of this composition by Kyabje Lama Zopa Rinpoche (1946–2023), a master of Tibetan Buddhism in the Gelug tradition, the leader of the international network of Buddhist centers under the Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition (Zopa 1986).

khebs (cover) is preserved. The dedicatory inscription, in modern Russian language (with modern spelling and punctuation), consists of five lines and is placed on the reverse side of the *thangka*, at the top left corner: “Подарок И. И. Мечникову / от населения за работу / противэпидемическ[ого] характера / совместно с проф[ессором] Л. А. Тарасевичем / Из коллекции Тарасевич Юл[ии] Львовны” (“Gift to I. I. Mechnikov / from the local people for his work / of an anti-epidemic nature / jointly with Professor L. A. Tarasevich / From the collection of Tarasevich, Yulia Lvovna”).⁶⁰

In the center of the *thangka*, amidst the clouds of offering incense, Tsongkhapa Lobzang Drakpa (1357–1419), the reformer of Tibetan Buddhism and founder of the Gelug school, is depicted, accompanied by two disciples. At the upper part is Tuṣitā Heaven, also known as Galden, the pure land of Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future. To his right, the image of the bodhisattva of Compassion, Avalokiteśvara, is depicted, while to his left is the bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi. At the bottom, the human realm is represented. To his right stands the Dharmapāla Chögyal (in one of his forms), in the center is an offering table with gifts, and in the lower left corner, a disciple with an offering.

Ilya Mechnikov, a pioneer in comparative pathology and embryology and a Nobel Prize laureate, undertook two trips to the Kalmyk steppes: in the early 1870s and together with colleagues from the Pasteur Institute in 1911. In the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, the following materials are preserved within the Nobel Prize laureate’s collection: 1. Notebooks titled “The First Expedition to the Kalmyk Steppes for Anthropological Purposes, 1871–1873”, containing sketches of people; 2. “Materials from the expedition to the Kyrgyz Steppes in 1911. Notebooks with data on the examination of the local population for tuberculosis”; 3. “Diaries, notes, and observations made during the trip to the Astrakhan Steppes from May 15 to August 31, 1911”; 4. An album with 23 photographs from the 1911 expedition, and one additional photo.⁶¹ Drawings by Mechnikov have been preserved in written materials, including a full-length profile sketch of a Kalmyk, a detailed depiction of a suborgan (stupa) with indications of its color scheme, and a bust image of a

⁶⁰ See Ogneva 1997: 4–13; Ogneva 1998: 277–284.

⁶¹ Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Collection 584: 1) Inv. 1. Item 261; 2) Inv. 3. Item 13; 3) Inv. 2. Item 4; 4) Inv. 2. Items 294 and 295. On the history of Mechnikov’s archival collection, see Dirbe 1977.

Kalmyk.⁶² During his trip in 1872, K. I. Kostenkov, the chief patron of the Kalmyk people, provided substantial assistance to the scholar.⁶³

Reflecting on Ilya Mechnikov's early travels, Olga Mechnikova wrote that in 1874, when Mechnikov was collecting ethnographic information, he became acquainted with "a Kalmyk priest—baksha, who told him so much that was interesting and instructive about Buddhist religion and the organization of the clergy that it aroused his desire to travel with him to Tibet... However, this plan was not realized" (Mechnikova 1926). During his last expedition, he was accompanied by Lev Tarasevich (1868–1927),⁶⁴ Étienne Burnet (1873–1960),⁶⁵ and other members of the expedition. Since Lev Tarasevich was part of the last expedition, this establishes the upper limit—the year 1911—beyond which the thangka could not have been created. In the Dundu Khurul of the Maloderbetovsky Ulus, by the time of Mechnikov's visit with his colleagues, a renowned workshop was in operation with well-known artists. It is quite likely that the depiction of the thangka of One Hundred Deities of Joy could have been painted in the Dundu Khurul workshop. An indirect confirmation might be the thangka's central part, where Tsongkhapa Lobzang Dakpa with his disciples is painted. The fact that the prominent scientist was accompanied by two of his closest students, among other things, could have influenced the choice of the gift. Furthermore, the winter temple of the Dundu Khurul was dedicated to Lobzang Dakpa and bore his

⁶² I would like to express my sincere gratitude and fond remembrance of Mrs. Aija Dirbe (1932–2014) for her kind drawing my attention to the Moscow Archive of Ilya Mechnikov.

⁶³ See Alekseeva, Lantsanova 2006: 107–111.

⁶⁴ Lev Aleksandrovich Tarasevich (1868–1927) was an immunologist, epidemiologist, microbiologist, pathologist, healthcare organizer, and medical scientist. He held a Doctor of Medicine degree, was a professor, a member of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (1926). He graduated from Novorossiysk University (Odessa) and the Medical Faculty of Université de Paris. From 1900 to 1902, he worked at the Pasteur Institute in Paris under Mechnikov. He was one of the followers of Mechnikov's cellular theory of immunity. Since 1907, he taught in Moscow, in various universities. During World War I, Tarasevich served as the chief military field sanitary inspector of the Russian army. He initiated and organized the vaccination of the army against typhoid and cholera. Under his guidance, a program of anti-epidemic measures was developed for the Medical Council under the Provisional Government.

⁶⁵ Étienne Burnet (1873–1960) was a French microbiologist. He initially studied literature and philosophy at the Université de Paris, then switched to the medical faculty in 1898 and graduated in 1904. He worked at the Pasteur Institute under the guidance of Émile Roux, Albert Borrel, Albert Calmette, and Ilya Mechnikov. In 1936, he became the director of the Pasteur Institute in Tunisia, a position he held honorably until the end of his life. In 1911, Burnet, along with Mechnikov and Tarasevich, studied the epidemiology of plague in the steppes of the Astrakhan province that included the territories inhabited by Kalmyks. After World War I, Burnet was a member of the hygiene commission of the League of Nations.

name. As of today, this remains the most recent Kalmyk thangka identified in the Khanenko Museum's collection.

The Catalog of the Church Archeological Museum mentions "a Kalmyk book in a cloth" with the number 1992 (Petrov 1897: 23–26). Using this old number, it was possible to locate it in the collection of the Institute of Manuscripts under the new code: Coll. 74, No. 72 (old number: 1992, inv. No. 19524) (fig. 21). Unfortunately, the provenance of this "Kalmyk book in a cloth" has not yet been determined. However, it has been ascertained that the book is written in the Oirat language, in Todo Bičig script. The first and, so far, the only identification of its contents has been made by Natalia Yakhontova, with additional consultation from Svetlana Batyreva.⁶⁶

Following an old tradition dating back to Zaya Pandita (1599–1662), the beginning of the text presents its title in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Mongolian. In this manuscript, the Tibetan and Sanskrit titles are reproduced using the Todo Bičig script. N. Yakhontova provided me with the Oirat title of the manuscript: "Sayitur nomloxoi erdeniyin sang gereliyin cočcokemēkü šastir" ("A śāstra entitled 'The well-instructing treasure of jewels, a heap of light'"), which resembles a title of a subhaṣita. The Oirat script is also used to render the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles. The Sanskrit one is recorded as follows: "Sub hata pra bha ska tā shā stra nā ma". It seems to have been derived from "Subha[ṣi]ta-prabhā[skandha]-nāma-śāstra". The Tibetan title can be reconstructed as *Legs-bshad 'od-kyi phung-po zhes-bya-ba'i bstan-chos* ("A śāstra titled 'The well-instructing [treatise], a heap of light'"). A Sanskrit or Tibetan treatise with such titles has not been identified so far.

The colophon to the text states that the Oirat translation was carried out by Gelong Güüši.⁶⁷ The paper is Russian, produced by the Yaroslavl factory of Sava Yakovlev at the end of the 18th century as indicated by the watermark of the coat of arms of the Yaroslavl province and the Cyrillic letters "ЯМСЯ" ("Yaroslavl Manufacture of Savva Yakovlev"),⁶⁸ found on folio 94.⁶⁹

The Institute of Manuscripts also houses a Tibetan manuscript which was owned by Count Jan Potocki (1761–1815) (fig. 22)⁷⁰ (Ogneva

⁶⁶ I would like to express sincere gratitude to my colleagues for their help.

⁶⁷ According to Natalia Yakhontova, the translator with this name is mentioned in the 19th century texts (personal communication).

⁶⁸ See Klepikov 1978: 62–63.

⁶⁹ Folios 1, 2, 3, and 123 bear the stamp that reads "Лаврский музей" ("The Lavra Museum"), indicating that the manuscript was held for some time in the collection of the Museum of Cults and Everyday Life within the premises of Kyiv Pechersk Lavra, before it was transferred to the Institute of Manuscripts.

⁷⁰ Jan (in Russian tradition, Ivan Osipovich) Potocki was a privy councillor, writer, historian, ethnographer, geographer, and archaeologist, an honorary member of

2009: 20–28). Its current shelf mark is Coll. VIII 561/11; the old shelf marks are: 519, “РКП. № 11”, “УН. 561/11”⁷¹ (fig. 23); the first of the old shelf marks is written on a small wrapper that also has an inscription “Manuscript Thibetan” and a red wax seal with the coat of arms of the Potocki family (fig. 23a). The text is a copy of the “Dorji Jodwa” or “Vajracchedikā”.

The sūtra is written in black ink in a large, beautiful *dbu-can* handwriting on Russian (?) paper that shows signs of water damage, slight staining, and yellowing due to time. It features Tibetan foliation (on the left side of the recto leaf), 41 folios, of which only 32 are preserved, with folios 29–35 and 37–39 missing. The first page is blank, but the title is indicated on f. 1b in Sanskrit (in Tibetan transliteration) and in Tibetan script, as is customary for canonical works. There is a damaged marginal note in French on f. 5a, its tentative reading being as follows: “F.[oliis] cu[i]lle en langue [Thib]etane” (“Content of the leaves, in the Tibetan language”). The manuscript lacks a colophon. (fig. 23, 23b.)

Some folios have fragments of a watermark (fig. 24) that seems to be a variation of the one indicated in the catalogue of Sokrat Klepikov as belonging to the papermill of Afanasy Goncharov (?–1788): it combines the “Pro Patria” composition and the monogram ‘AG’; Klepikov dates two variants of this watermark 1742 and 1744 (Klepikov 1959: 75, 246, Nos. 867–868) (fig. 24a). Therefore, it seems that the manuscript can be roughly dated the middle of the 18th century. According to the opinion of Alexander Zorin,⁷² the handwriting is very typical for the 18th century Kalmyk manuscripts. Hence, of several assumptions that could be made concerning the way the manuscript came into the possession of Count Potocki, the most probable is that it was passed to him along with the documents of the Kalmyk Khan Amursana (1722–1757) by the Polish descendants of the rebellious khan. Amursana’s grandson even accompanied Potocki on his journey along the Volga in 1797.⁷³

the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences. The author of the immortal novel “Manuscript Found in Saragossa”, he was the last European encyclopedist, and its first romanticist. He made several trips to the remote parts of the Russian Empire and to China. He had an interest in Buddhism and carried with him an album of images (burkhans) depicting various figures of the Buddhist pantheon.

⁷¹ The manuscript was passed to Kyiv University along with materials from the Kremenets Lyceum when the Saint Vladimir Kyiv University Library was formed in the 1830s.

⁷² Personal communication, August 2023.

⁷³ See Potocki 1896: 320. (In the Russian translation, the name ‘Amursana’ is incorrectly rendered as ‘Амурфана’, =‘Amurfana’, evidently due to the wrong reading of the letter ‘long s’ used in the original edition.) Amursana, the Kalmyk Khan (1722–1757), belonged to the ruling nobility of the Dzungar Khanate with ancestral domains in Tarbagatai. He was the last khan of

Another possibility is that the old manuscript was presented to Potocki by somebody he encountered during his journeys, be that Moravian missionaries in Sarepta⁷⁴ or Tibetan and Kalmyk Buddhist monks in the camp of the above-mentioned Kalmyk noyon (prince) Serebjab Tyumen (Potocki 1896). The count had access to Buddhist artefacts in Kyakhta⁷⁵ and Urga (now Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia) in 1805–1806, while leading an academic part of the embassy of Count Yury Golovkin (1762–1846) to the Chinese Emperor's court.⁷⁶ However, it is hardly possible that the Kalmyk manuscript would have been obtained by him there.

Another manuscript of “Vajracchedikā” found in the territory of Ukraine at the end of the 18th century can also be mentioned. This is a scroll excavated from the earth during geological surveys in the territory of the Don Cossacks (present-day Luhansk region, part of modern Ukraine). The scroll, which exists as two items since the original big scroll was cut into two parts, was passed to the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences in 1796 and is now kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. The scrolls are meticulously conserved by Liubov Kriakina and have been analyzed by Alexander Zorin, according to whom they represent “unique examples of Kalmyk

the Dzungars, and his actions led to the downfall of the Dzungar Khanate and the subjugation of the Dzungars by the Chinese in the 18th century. Amursana participated in the Chinese occupation of Dzungaria, hoping to become its khan, but in vain. He headed an Oirat anti-Chinese movement that was eventually defeated. Amursana fled to Russia in the summer of 1757, where he died of smallpox. His wife, Bitya, sought refuge in Kalmykia and later moved to St. Petersburg, where she passed away in 1761. Her son from a previous marriage, Puntsuk, converted to Orthodoxy. See Zlatkin 1958.

⁷⁴ Sarepta was a former colony of the Moravian Brethren, known as the Herrnhuters, a community of followers of the Czech preacher Jan Hus (1370–1415). They adhered to an ascetic way of life. The settlement was established according to the decree of Catherine II in 1765; it is now part of the city of Volgograd.

⁷⁵ Kyakhta (Buryat: Хяагга хото; founded in 1727, known as Troitskosavsk until 1734) was a trading settlement that gained the status of a city in 1805. It is currently considered a town, the administrative center of the Kyakhtinsky District of the Republic of Buryatia. Historically, it was a major hub for Russo-Chinese trade, although its significance diminished after the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Kyakhta served as the starting or ending point for numerous research expeditions into Central Asia, including those led by Nikolay Przhevalsky (1839–1888), Petr Kozlov (1863–1935), Sven Hedin (1865–1952), and others.

⁷⁶ Count Yury Alexandrovich Golovkin (1762–1846) was a statesman, actual Privy Councillor, and senator. He was born in Lausanne and received his education in Paris. In 1805, he led a mission to establish trade relations between Russia and China. This mission was intended to address several political and trade matters concerning Kyakhta, Canton, and a trading point on the Bukhtarma River. However, the mission proved to be unsuccessful. Golovkin, refusing to fully participate in the ceremonial reception (which involved triple kneeling and a ninefold kowtow ritual), disrupted its execution.

Tibetan manuscripts from the 18th century, not preserved within Kalmykia itself" (Zorin, Kriakina 2020: 50).⁷⁷

The discovery of this scroll once again confirmed the significance of the "Dorje Chodpa" Sūtra among the Kalmyks. According to research by Delyash Muzraeva, this text should be present on the household altar of every home, to bring and safeguard happiness and well-being to the family. Believers held the conviction that storing, reciting, and copying this sūtra would bring practical benefits to anyone engaging in these practices: all sins would be forgiven and any obstacles to achieving one's desires would be eliminated. Reading and copying the sūtra was supposed to lead to the accumulation of religious merits, which would prevent unfavorable rebirths, especially in hell (Muzraeva 2012). Illiterate believers who could not read the "Dorje Chodpa" regularly approached their ancestral temple (khurul) to have it "revived" (Kalmyk: *эмруллаһи*), meaning that a spiritual person would read it aloud in their home. To ensure that the blessings of the sūtra extended to all family members, it became necessary to include their names in the text of the sūtra itself. Consequently, in the Kalmyk Buddhist tradition, "Dorje Chodpa" transformed into an equivalent of the Orthodox Christian "Pomianik" or Psalter, where the memory of family members spanning generations was preserved. Due to further sacralization of the sūtra, any sacred book could be referred to as "Dorji Jodwa" or "Jodwa" by laypeople.

In the initial period of contacts between Ukrainian Christian priests and Kalmyks, conditions were established for the formation of an ethno-confessional group of baptized Kalmyks, the emergence of settlements in the steppe, and the establishment of educational institutions. Simultaneously, a gradual division occurred within Kalmyk society, creating a rift between those who adhered to their ancestral faith, Buddhism, and Christian neophytes, as well as between settled Kalmyks and those leading a nomadic way of life. A

⁷⁷ One more item related to "Vajracchedikā" and Ukraine may be mentioned here: a folio from a (Kalmyk?) manuscript of this sūtra, written on black paper in silver ink, was found in Bessarabia by General Ivan Inzov (1768–1845) and passed to Pyotr Arakcheev (1780–1841), who served as the Kyiv commandant. In June 1824, he sent it to his brother, the notorious Russian statesman Aleksei Arakcheev (1769–1834). The latter presented it to the Public Library in Saint Petersburg (currently, the Russian National Library). It has the access code Dorn 853 (Vasilieva 2020: 82, 239, 288). Another folio in Tibetan found in Bessarabia, with the beginning of "The Hymn to Tārā in Twenty-One Stanzas", was later passed to the Asiatic Museum by Nikolai Khanykov (1822–1878) (Khanykov 1856). I thank Anna Turanskaya for the information about these two folios from Bessarabia.

system of institutionalized education did not develop, and the first translations of Christian texts carried out by Ukrainian missionaries were lost.⁷⁸ Despite some clergy managing to return to their homeland, no material evidence—such as texts or examples of visual or decorative-applied art—has survived.

The artifacts of Kalmyk spiritual heritage preserved in Kyiv might not be extensive in volume, but they have a significant historical dimension and raise a few intriguing questions. The visual (iconographic) material represents different artistic schools that existed in Kalmykia during the second half of the 19th century, including *thangkas* signed by their author. For the first time in the last hundred years, a new name is introduced into art history as a master of Kalmyk/Oirat sacred painting—Shobol Getsul from the Kerait lineage. Written materials are represented by Oirat (Todo Bičig) and Tibetan texts. The manuscript in Oirat language, whose title defines it as a *subhaṣita*, has yet to be conclusively identified and requires further detailed study. The “*Vajracchedikā-sūtra*” in Tibetan can be dated to the late 18th to early 19th centuries—the period when its owner, Polish writer and orientalist Jan Potocki, traveled through the Kalmyk lands along the Volga River. The source from which he acquired the manuscript remains uncertain, but this event was most probably connected with his time spent among the Kalmyks or his travels to Urga (modern-day Ulaanbaatar). “*Dorje Chodpa*”, known among the Kalmyks as “*Dorjo Zhodvo*”, seems to be the first Buddhist text in the lands of Ukraine that has survived from those distant times to the present day.

Abbreviations

CAM	Church-Archaeological Museum
KMA	Kyiv-Mohyla Academy
KTA	Kyiv Theological Academy

⁷⁸ In the 21st century, Ukrainian Protopriest Igor Shvets continued the historical connections between graduates of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and the Kalmyks by dedicating a special chapter of his dissertation to Christianity among the Kalmyks (Shvets 2001).

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FIGURES



Fig. 1. The Kyiv-Mohyla Academy and its students. Engraving of the 18th century



Fig. 3. Portrait of Peter the Great by A. P. Antropov, 1772. (Canvas, oil)
The Taganrog Art Museum



Fig. 2. Portrait of Metropolitan Petro Mohyla, 17th century. (Canvas, oil)



Fig. 4. Portrait of Archbishop Lavrentiy (Gorka) by an unknown artist. 19th century



Fig. 5. View of St. Michael's Golden-Domed Cathedral in Kyiv before 1917. Postcard



Fig. 6. The Vydubychi Monastery in Kyiv. Etching by Taras Shevchenko, 1844



Fig. 7. Map of the Stavropol Region, 1755, with the administrative center in Stavropol (currently, Tolyatti)



Fig. 8. The Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum, Kyiv.
Photo taken on October 10, 2022



Fig. 9. Photo of Protopriest Kliment Fomenko (1836 – after 1914), who donated Kalmyk thangkas from the collection of Kapiton Kostenkov (19th century) to the CAM



Fig. 10. Photo of Cathedral Protopriest Pyotr Lebedintsev of Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv



Fig. 11. Portrait of Kalmyk Princes Tyumen (from right to left: brothers Serebjab, Batur, and Tseren-Norbo) by Karl Hampeln, first half of the 1820s. The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow



Fig. 12. Emchi (Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Medicine Buddha), by Belene Shobol.
496 ЖВ, the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum, Kyiv



Fig. 13. Manza Shire (Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom), by Belene Shobol. 498 ЖВ, the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum, Kyiv



Fig. 14. Shakjimuni (the Buddha Śākyamuni), by Belene Shobol.
501 ЖВ, the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum, Kyiv



Fig. 15. Madira (Maitreya, the Buddha of the Future), by Belene Shobol. 499 ЖВ, the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum, Kyiv



Fig. 16. Amidava (the Buddha Amitābha), by Belene Shobol.
502 ЖВ, the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum, Kyiv



Fig. 17. Noyon Dari Eke (the Green Mother Tārā), by Belene Shobol. 497 ЖВ, the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum, Kyiv



Fig. 18. Namsarai (Vaiśravaṇa), god of wealth, by Belene Shobol.
498 ЖБ, the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum, Kyiv



Fig. 19. *Sansar-un kürde*, or *Bhavacakra*, the "Wheel of Existence".
Thangka, Kalmykia, the 19th century.
482 ЖВ, the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum, Kyiv



Fig. 20. *Dga' ldan lha brgya ma*, One Hundred Deities of Joy.
Thangka, Kalmykia, the 19th or early 20th century.
462 ЖБ, the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum, Kyiv



Fig. 21. *Sayitur nomloxoi erdeniyin sang gereliyin çoqço kemëkü şastir* (A šastra titled 'The well-instructing treasure of jewels, a heap of light'). Manuscript, Kalmykia, the 19th century. Fund 74, No. 72. The Institute of Manuscripts, Kyiv



Fig. 22. Portrait of Jan Nepomucen Potocki z Podhajec, by A. Varnek, 1810. (Canvas, oil.)
Łańcut Castle Museum, Poland



Fig. 23a. The Piława coat of arms of the Potocki Family

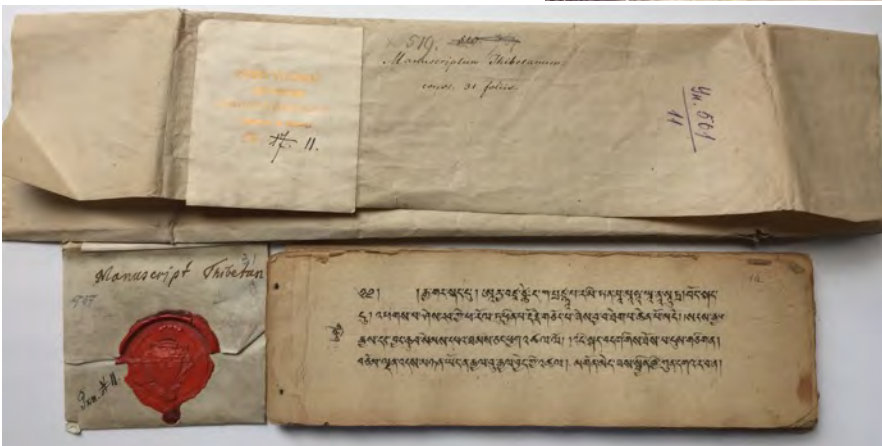


Fig. 23. “Dorji Jodwa”, or “Vajrachhedika”: f. 1b of the text. Manuscript, Kalmykia, presumably the middle of the 18th century. Two paper wrappers with inventory inscriptions and the red wax seal with the coat of arms of the Potocki Family. VIII 561/11. The Institute of Manuscripts, Kyiv

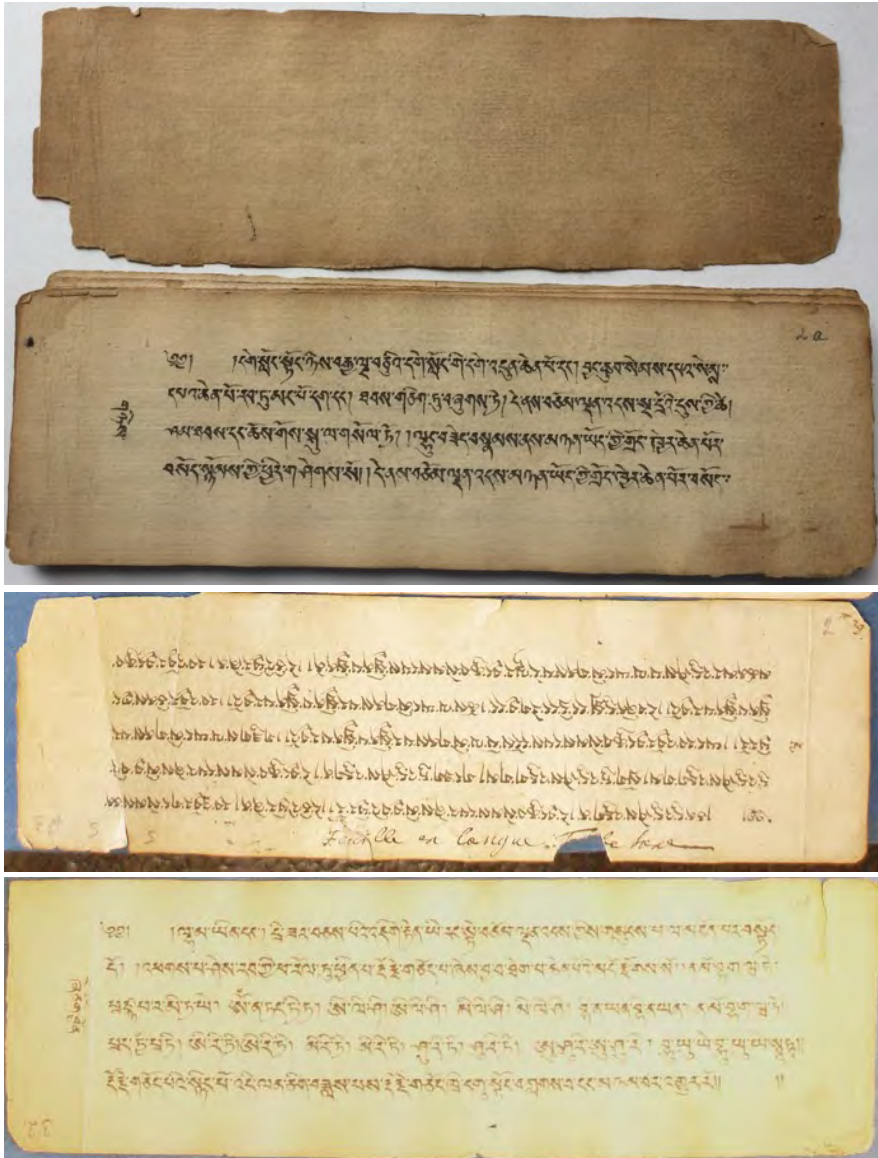


Fig. 23b. “Dorji Jodwa”, or “Vajracchedikā”: ff. 1a, 2a, 5a, 41a of the text VIII 561/11. The Institute of Manuscripts, Kyiv

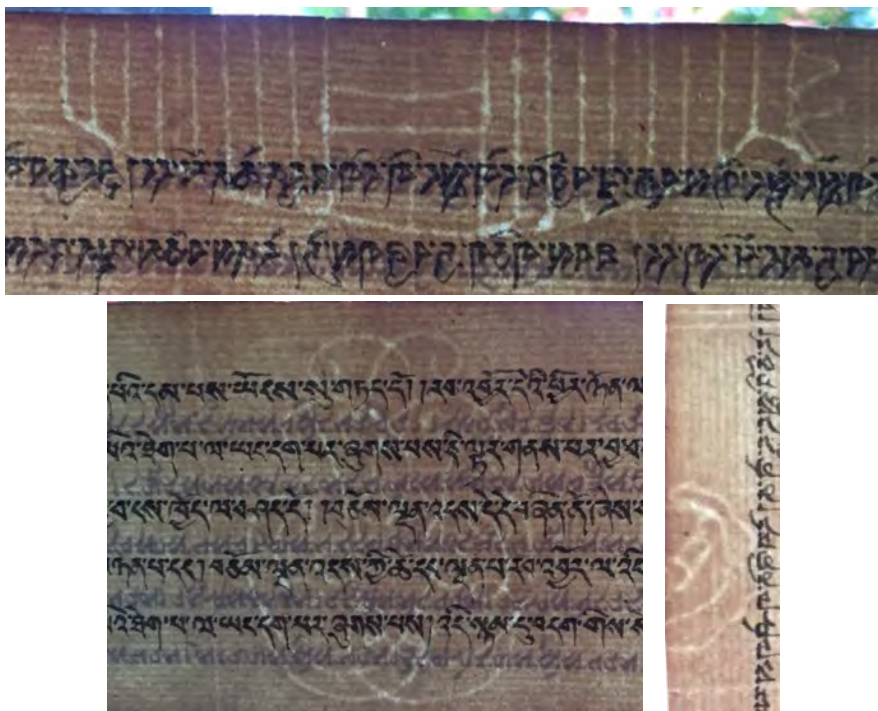


Fig. 24. VIII 561/11: Fragments of the watermark

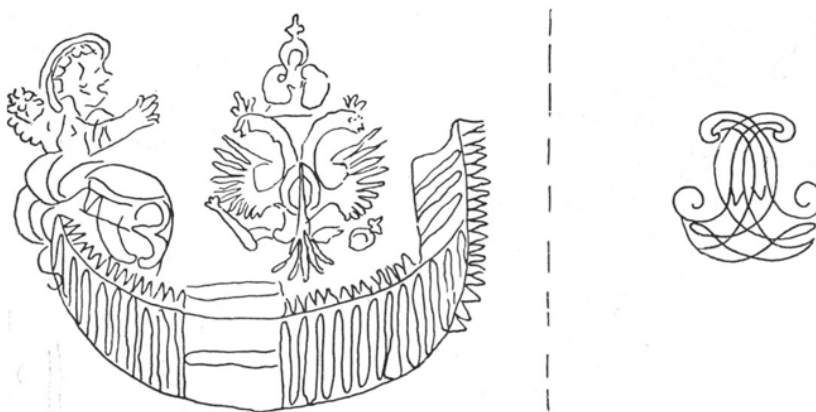


Fig. 24a. To compare: a similar watermark dated the early 1740s
(Klepikov 1959: Nos. 867–868)

