

On some sources of Sagang Sechen's Teachings (1662)

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ABSTRACT

Nine of the seventy-nine alliterative quatrains of Sagang Sechen's great gnomic poem are revisited, their possible literary sources suggested, their interpretation revised. Seven of them go back, entirely or partially, to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, one to the *Janapoṣanabindhu*, one of Nāgārjuna's *nītiśāstras*, and one uses a comparison known from the *Secret History*. Parallels are quoted from Sonom Gara's and the Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita's prose translations of the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*. Also discussed are the rare word *küčigei* and the possible identity of Sonom Gara and Suonanqilo.

KEYWORDS

Sagang Sechen, *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*, Zaya Paṇḍita, Sonom Gara, Mongol gnomic poetry.

In his *Poetical Passages*, John R. Krueger (1961) deals with the three non-alliterative quatrains which introduce the chronicle *Erdeni-yin Tobči* and the numerous alliterative verses Sagang quoted from earlier, written or oral, historical tradition. Krueger dealt with Sagang's own alliterative verses (the colophon in seven quatrains and the *Teachings* with introduction, epilogue and benediction, the latter three in seventy nine quatrains, altogether 344 long lines) in CAJ 8 (1963). In note 5, he quotes Francis W. Cleaves' English version of Antoine Mostaert's statement in the preface of his *Erdeni-yin Tobči*, vol. I: 'The text in alliterative verses which terminates [the chronicle] is a piece of great literary value. It is a poem of gnomic character, which, in more than one place, is difficult to comprehend.'¹ Krueger also states (in note 6) that the 'study of such works as the *Subhāṣī-taratnanidhi* alone would ... yield new insights to the text,' and mentions James Bosson's (1969) then forthcoming dissertation on Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po's treatise.

In *Ketürkei qoyar uqayatan* 'Two Extremely Knowledgeable Ones', no. 55 of his rich anthology *Jayun bilig* (p. 180), Damdimsürüng quotes ten gnomic quatrains from a textbook edited in 1937 by the noted writer Cedenjab, without indicating that these are actually Sagang Sechen's quatrains nos. 33, 34, 37, 41, 43, 46, 48, 50, 61 and 65. A modern anthology of Mongol lyrics compiled by the Mongol poets Gun-aajaw's son Ayuurjana and Luwsandorji's son Öljiiitögs (2005: 44–48, quoted here as AÖ), cites a selection of fourteen alliterative quatrains in Russian-script modern Khalkha orthography from Sagang's *Teachings*: Batın Sagansecen (1604–?), *Awax geexiin surgaal šülgees* 'From the Poem of Teachings on What Is to Accept and What Is to Refute'², without recognizing that several of these are presumably translated from Tibetan (or versified from an earlier translation like that of Sonom Gara's) by Sagang, from the moralistic or didactic work *Sa-skya Legs-bshad*, the Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Treasury of Wise Sayings*.³

¹ Mostaert (1963: I, 45): 'Le texte en vers allitérés qui le termine est une pièce de grande valeur littéraire. C'est une poésie de caractère gnominique, qui, en plus d'un endroit, est difficile à comprendre.'

² I.e., the choice between good and bad; cf. *abquy-a gegeküy-e oyutan kü uran* 'It is the mindful who is keen to distinguish (between right and wrong)', Tib. *blang dor blo-gros ldan-pa mkhas* 'The judicious is keen to select (between right and wrong)' in Srn 2b; *yerü abqu gegeküy-yin ilyal-i sinjilen mede* 'in general, examine and know the distinction of what to accept and what to refute' in *Oyun tülkigür* 'The Turquoise Key', usually understood as 'Key (to the) Intellect', see e.g. Yakhontova 2000: 69–137; but see, e.g., Ordos *ogyü* 'turquoise', *ogyü* 'gükkür' 'turquoise snuffbottle' and *Ogyü* 'jičig' 'Turquoise Flower', female proper name, in Mostaert 1941–1944: 507b, or Khalkha *Oyündari*, *Oyünceceg*, etc.

³ See also Ligeti 1973, etc., Kara & Kiripolská 2009. As to the translator of the Middle Mongol version, which is known in several fragments of square script printed editions and in later, Uygur script manuscripts, the Kharachin MS kept in the Ligeti Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has his title and name *tarniči toyin Sonom Gara*. The first part is clearly from Tib. *bsod-nams* 'merit, virtue, good deed'. If the second part, written *kr-* in the Kharachin MS, is not the distortion of something else, it may be from Skr. *kara* 'doer, maker' as in *Puṇyākara* or *Dīpaṃkara*, forming here a hybrid name, but it may also be the same as *chīzhōu shāmén* Suōnánqíluó 持咒沙門莎南屹囉 in the *Dàshèng yàodào mǐjī* 大乘要道密集 'Secret Collection of Works on the Fundamentals of the Mahāyāna', a compilation attributed to 'Phags-pa. Beckwith (1984: 12) reconstructed this name and title as Dhāraṇī-holding Śramaṇa *Bsod-nam grags. This monk is named as the translator of several Sa-skya treatises from Tibetan into Chinese, seven of the twenty-eight in the collection in question. The identification of the second part of the name is problematic: the Chinese transcription suggests an aspirate *kh* and there is no indication of a coda, but *khra* 'bird of prey, falcon' and *khro* 'fury, wrath' cannot form a name with *bsod-nams* 'virtue'. Chin. *luò* 囉 may render foreign *la* or *ra* in Middle Chinese, but usually not in Old Mandarin. It could stay for *grogs* 'friend, companion', but this is not attested as constituent of Sa-skya names. Sòng Lián's 宋廉 *Yuánshǐ* 元史, Chapter 202 has *Qīlāsībāwòjié'ér* 乞刺斯八斡節兒, *k'hi-la-si-pa 'o-dzār (with aspirate initial for the Tib. *g* of *gr* > Central Tib. *tʰ* -) = Grags-pa 'od-zer. Niàncháng's 念常 *Fóuzú lìdài tōngzài* 佛祖歷代通載 mentions Gōnggē érjiànzàng bānzāngbù 公哥兒監藏班藏卜, *guṇ-ga ergjäm-dzan ban-dzan-bu = Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan dpal bzang-po and Gōnggēluó 公哥羅 for Kun-dga' 'lo [of lo-tsā-ba?]. Otgonbaatar published the Mongol text of a



In what follows I discuss those nine quatrains of Sagang Sechen's *Teachings*, the literary sources of which I was able to identify. They are quoted here in transcription from Erich Haenisch's facsimile edition of the Ulaanbaatar manuscript, with my revised or new translation and interpretation, the relevant passages of their sources given in the same way. In the translation, the words in italics have no direct equivalents in the original. I quote the parallel passages of Sonom Gara's Mongol translation of the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* (hence abbreviated as *Srn*) from the bilingual Kharachin manuscript kept in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest (see Ligeti 1948, 1973; Bosson 1969).

(1) II:11

qoyaduyar orčilang-un gem-tü jobalang anu •• (f. 98a)

qokimai tamu-yin oron-daki amitan kemebesü ••

qoltoran siljaratala činaydan tülegden eneljü ••

qotala-ača küiten-e delberen üküged jiči edegen ❖⁴

'The second is the vicious pain of the wheel of life: / The living beings in the deadly realm of hell / Suffer being cooked until they are boiled soft and peeled apart; / They burst from the cold on all sides and die but recover again, and ...'

Nägärjuna's *Dusul* 56ab: *asuru qalayun-iyar tülegden küiten-iyer köldekü terigüten •• arban naiman tamu-yin yeke jobalang-ud-i edür büri sana ••* 'Remember everyday the great sufferings in the eighteen hells such as being burned by excessive heat and being frozen in the cold and the like' (Lubsangsülrim's version quoted in Damdinsürüng's *Jayun bilig*, no. 57, quatrain 56, 1959: 358–359).

(2) III: 29

ülemji seced merged erdeni altan ••

ünen kü bayatur ere silyamal ayta ••

öber-ün yaĵar-a abasu tende kü čimeg ••

öber-e eteged odbasu kündülegdekü-yin oron ❖

long versified postscript attached to Sonom Gara's translation found in two manuscripts (see Otgonbaatar 2008) and quoted a part of it in *Mongyol-iyar keblegsen dörbelfin üsüg-ün 'Medegdekün-i belgetey-e geyigülügči šastir'*, one of his four essays on the Square Script, in Otgonbaatar 2013, which is reproduced in Russian script orthography and transcribed in Mongol script in Otgon 2017. This document given in two versions contains such preclassical lexical elements and phrases as *tamay-a čoyolya-* and *tamayalayul-* for printing, *čaylabasu ülü boldaqun šastir nom-ud* 'immeasurable treatises and teachings' and states that Chos-kyi 'Od-zer (Čosgi *odsiri*) translated many books into Mongol, mentioning the titles of the following: Čary-a avadar (Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*), *Ratnāvali* (*Radn-a avali*), *Subašida* (the Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* or another *nītiśāstra* ?), Čadigamal/Čidigamal (Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*), *Mani avali* (*Manyavali*) and *Iny-a barag-y-a/Iyabaragq-a* (*ȳ* or *q* is a late sixteenth-century Galik sign for Skr. *ṣ*, here wrongly used in the distortion of the expected *Iny-a bragaša* = 'Phags-pa's *Jñeyaprakāśā* or *Shes-bya rab-gsal*, written for the Mongol crown prince Činggim/Altan). In fact, this colophon is a collation of two postscripts, the first mentions Yisüntemür (r. 1323–1328), the second contains a date from Külüg's reign (*bečin jil* 'year of the monkey', *či dai terigün* on 'the first year of *zhida* = 1308, the first full calendar year of Külüg/Wuzong/Haishan), but it also speaks about the time of his successors. It is known that Chos-kyi 'Od-zer translated the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* in 1305 and his translation with commentary was printed in 1312, the first year of Buyantu/Ayurbarvada's reign, not in Külüg's time.

⁴ The sentence continues in the next quatrain.



‘The sublime sages *and* the wise, the gems, the gold, / The truly valiant men *and* the select geldings / Are the ornaments in their own land when they are there, / And they are spots of veneration when they go to other places.’⁵

|| Srn 245: *erdemtū kümün sayin altan •• bayatur er-e sayin ayta •• mergen otači sayin čimeg •• qamiy-a kürbesü tende kündülegdemüi* ❖ ‘A virtuous man, a piece of fine gold, a brave male, a good gelding, a wise physician, or a beautiful ornament, these are appreciated wherever they reach.’

The same in the Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita’s translation: *erdemten kigēd sayin altan •• bayilduyān-du bātur kigēd sayin morin •• mergen emči kigēd sayin čimeq •• xamiyā kürüqsen tende tōqdoxu* ❖ ‘The virtuous *men* and fine gold, the brave in the battle and the good steed, the wise physician and the fine ornament are valued wherever they reach.’⁶ Cf. also Srn 23: *merged öber-ün yaǰar-ača ber •• munda busu ulus-tur takiydayu •• erdeni-yi angyida yaǰara kündülekü metü •• dalay-yin qoi-tur qamiy-a kündülegdekü* ❖ ‘The wise are more venerated in another country than in their own land. / How would the gem be so much venerated on the island of the sea as it is venerated in other places?’

(3) IV:30

yaǰiqamsiy seced merged kedüi doroyitabasu ••
qarin uqayan bilig dülete [= düledte, cf. MNT *dület*] nemeyü ••
yaǰiqaqui metü silıyama altan erdeni-yi ••
yal-dur tüleküi tutum öngge-ben nemeyü ❖

‘No matter how admirable⁷ sages and wise people may be ruined, / Their knowledge and wisdom will increase all the more. / The marvelous golden jewel / Will increase its own color at each time when [: even if] one burns it in the fire.’

|| Srn 51: *sayid amin-dayan kürtebesü •• törölki sayin-ıyan qamiy-a talbıqu •• altan-i tüleked oytalbasu ber •• tegünü öngge inu ülü yutuyu* ❖

‘Even if it costs their lives, how would the noble forsake their innate goodness? Even if one burns and cuts gold, its color would not wane.’

The same in the Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita’s version:

dēdüs amandu [read *amindu*] *kürbeči •• sayin āli xamiyā orkixu •• sale-sbrami*⁸ *tülen utulba-ču •• töüni önggü ülü buuraxu boluyu* ❖

‘Even if it costs their lives, how [*lit.* where] would the excellent abandon the good behavior? Even if one burns and cuts the grain of gold, its color would not fade.’

In Mergen Gegen’s much later isosyllabic verses without alliteration:

yeke boydas kedüi ele amin-dayan kürbesü •• čuqum erkim činar-ıyan qamiyasi [xyl. *qamiyaki*] *oyorqu •• sıǰir altan kedüi kerčin sitayaqu bolbaču •• mön kü tere öngge inu ebderekü ügei bui* ❖

⁵ Verses *a-c* form one sentence with four subjects (*merged*, *altan*, *ere*, *ayta*), one nominal predicate (*čimeg*), and an embedded conditional clause (*abasu*). Verse *d* is another sentence without repeating the same four subjects, having another nominal predicate (*oron*) and another embedded, antithetic, conditional clause (*odbasu*). In JRK’s rendition, verses *a* and *b* appear as independent sentences; he took the second and fourth subjects of the enumeration for nominal predicates, and misunderstood *öbere* ‘other’ as ‘own’ in verse *d*.

⁶ For the Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita Oqtoryuyin Dalaı’s version, see Luvsanbaldan 1972: 195–225.

⁷ For *yaǰiqaqui metü* ‘wonderful, admirable’, cf. *sonosqu metü* ‘agreeable to hear’, *üjekü metü* ‘beautiful’. Var. *qıyqı* (*qayı*- ‘to search’) is not for the context.

⁸ Tib. *sa-le sbram* ‘fine grains of gold found in sand’ (Das 1902: 1263b).



‘Even if it costs their lives, how [*lit.* where to] would the great saints forsake their excellent qualities? Even if one chops and burns (a piece of) pure gold, its color (remains) the same, would not perish.’

(4) IV:31

suraytan sayid nigen-te sintarabasu *ḏaki*⁹ ••
surtaqui meṭü nigen öber-e bilig yaruyu ••
süman neretü seçeg-i kedüy-e bürkübesü ••
sonin nigen sayin ünür tügemel angkilüj[=y]u¹⁰ ♦

‘Even famous nobles may be ruined at a time, / But from that *they will have* another instructive lesson. / No matter how one covers the sumana flower,¹¹ / Its peculiar, agreeable odor would be felt everywhere.’

|| Srn 42: *sayid-un erdem-i kedüi niyubasu ber •• qamuy yirtinčü-dür demdeg-e* [= *temdeg-e*] *delgereyü •• süman čeceğ-i kedüi bürkübesü ber •• sayin ünür inu qotala-dür kürümüi* ♦

‘No matter how one conceals [: suppress] the virtues of the noble, they will clearly spread all over the world. No matter how one covers the sumana flower, its agreeable fragrance will reach everywhere.’

The Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita’s version: *dēdüyin erdem nuun üyiledbeči •• yertüncü bükün-dü tügēmel tododxu •• sambaya cecegi bürkün üyiledübeči •• sayin ünür bügüde-dü tügēmel boluyu* ♦

‘Even if one hides the virtue of the excellent, it will become universally obvious all over the worlds. Even if one covers the *campaka* flower, its fine odor will be universal(ly felt) everywhere.’

(5) IV:32

silyaml uqayatan sayid-i kedüi *ḏarubasu* ber ••
siluyun erdem inu nigen čay-tur yarumui ••
sitayamal jula-yi uruyu qandülun¹² baribasü ••
sitarun¹³ yaḷ inu degegside badaran oduyu ♦

‘No matter how one suppress the eminent and intelligent noble, / their upright virtues will emerge at a time. / Even if one turns the burning lamp downwards, its fire will flare upwards.’

⁹ For this Middle Mongol adverb, clitic or conjunction *taki*, in preclassical texts *taqi*, *taki*, *ḏaki*, MNT *taki*, *teki*, Bca *taki* (67 occurrences) alternative for *ber* ‘also, even, too’, see Old Turk. *taqi* ‘and, also, too’, Clauson 1972: 466ab (for its derivation from *tak*- ‘to fix, attach’ see Erdal 1991: I.340).

¹⁰ Variant: *angkilaju*, certainly for *angkilayu*.

¹¹ The Tibetan original has *sna-ma’i me-tog* ‘nutmeg flower’, cf. Bosson 1969: 317. n. 42. The first syllable *ü* is to assure the Sanskrit high rounded vowel different of the Mongol ‘pharyngeal’ *u*. Skr. *sumana*, *sumanaka* is the name of various flowering plants, see Monier-Williams 1899: 1230c. As to Oir. *sambaya*, see Ordos *jambaga* ‘semence qui a la forme de la samara qu’on place devant les divinités; n. pr. f.’ and *sambaga*, female proper name, Mostaert 1941–1944: 174a, 556b, Mong. *jambaga* (KOWALEWSKI 1844–1849: III,2103a: ‘S. tchampaka: чампака, дерево средней величины, съ крупными, чрезвычайно душистыми цветами = nom d’un arbre, dont les Indiennes ornent leurs cheveux et parfument leurs vêtements, Michelia champaka, ...’), Khalkha *jambag* (also a female name) < Tib. *tsampaka* (Das 1902: 998a) < Skr. *campaka* ‘Michelia Campaka (bearing a fragrant yellow flower)’, Monier-Williams 1899: 388c.

¹² Krueger (1963: 118): *qandulun* for *qanduyulun*.

¹³ Preclassical use of *-rUn*.



|| Srn 394: *uqayatan aran-i doroyidtayulbasu [= doroyita°] •• doroyitayuluyçi-tur gem töröyü ••* jul'a-yi uruyu qanduyulju baribas •• qanduyuluyçi kümün-ü yar tüleyü ♦

'If one oppresses the intelligent people, it will be harmful to the oppressor *himself*. / If one holds the *burning* lamp turning it downwards, it will burn the hand of the one who turns it down.'

The Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita's version: *uxātai kümüni uruu daruxulā •• moudxaqçi töün-dü gem bolxu •• zula uruu xandoulxulā •• xandouluqçiyin yar tülekü ♦* 'If one oppresses the intelligent one, it will be harm(ful) for that slanderer *himself*. If one turns a lamp downwards, it will burn the hand of the one who turns it down.'

(6) V:39

gün-e ese (var. *eš-e*) suruysan üçügüken bilig-ten ••

kürülčeged sačayu erdem-iyen ügülen bui ••

küčütü bars omoy-iyar kürkiren ayurlayu ••

küčigei miš sem-iyer mariyan niyumui ♦¹⁴

'Those of little knowledge who have not learned profoundly / Recount their virtues just as they arrive. / The mighty tiger fumes roaring with pride. / The dove and the cat silently stealth and conceal *themselves*.'

Cf. Srn 119cd: *mayui noqai dayisun-tur qučayu •• uqar miyui sem-iyer mariyamui ♦*

'The bad dog barks at the enemy. / The heron and the cat silently stalk.'

Mergen Gegen: *mayui noqai dayisun-dayan urkiraju qučamui •• uqar miyui dayun ügei mariyaju getemüi ♦*

'A bad dog growls *and* barks at the (*lit.* its own) enemy.¹⁵ The heron *and* the cat stalk noiselessly creeping.'

See parallel passage cited in Bosson 1969: 323. n. 119 and also *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, V 73ab (f. 18a, lines 27ff. in the Delhi MS, ed. Chandra 1976, variants here in parantheses): Mong. *uqar mis (miš) kiged qulayayiçi (qulayai) kümün sem-iyer mariyan (miriyan) yabuju ••* 'the water fowl, the cat, and the thief go sneaking silently ...', rendering Tib. *chu-skyar byi-la chom rkun dag | sgra-med 'jab-cing 'gro-ba-yis*. For *uqar*, Tib. *chu-skyar*, he quotes Das 1902: 414, 'spoon-bill', Mong. *uqar* 'spoon', Kipchak Turk. *uqar qaz* 'héron, cicogne').¹⁶

¹⁴ In Damdinsürüng 1959: 180, this line reads as *küčgei mis sem-iyer miriyan niyumui ♦*

¹⁵ Another possible but unlikely reading (not supported by the Tibetan original *dgra-la*): *dayisun dayan* 'following the enemy'.

¹⁶ See also Kara & Kiripolská 2009: xvi. Bosson (1969: 317. n. 42) also mentions that in the Tibetan version of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (*Bstan-'gyur, Sgra-mdo*, vol. *she*, f. 342a, *chu-skyar* renders Skr. *balāka* 'a kind of crane', but the Mongol *Danjuur* has *čaqulai* 'gull'; see the Russian-script Modern Mongol reading of the *Danjuur* version in Galidasa 2002: 28. According to Roerich (1985: 88a), Tib. *chu-skyar* = Skr. *kalahaṃsa* 'čajka; sea-gull, though according to Monier-Williams (1899: 260b), *kalahaṃsa* is the name of several species of the *Haṃsa* bird or goose; 1286a, *haṃsa* 'goose, gander, swan, flamingo (or other aquatic bird, considered as a bird of passage; sometimes a mere poetical or mythical bird ...). Krang 1985: I.796b: *chu-skyar* = *nya za mkhan chu-bya'i rigs shig | min-gi rnam-grangs-la rkang gcig-pa dang | chu-can | nya-'bigs byed | mdza-mo bcas-so | ōu* 鸥 'seagulls, terns, etc.', *yúyào* 鱼鰲 lit. 'fishing kite', *shuǐ ōu* 水鸥, Sumatiratna's *Sgron-me or Jula*, I, p. 629, translates Tib. *chu-skyar* with Skr. *kadampa* and *kutara*, Mong. *čaqulai* 'gull', *uqar* 'spoon-bill', *čuučali* 'snipe', and adds the saying *chu-skyar char* 'bebs explained as *üker čuučali anu čuučali adali böged baqan yeke* [•] *dayun yarqul-a erke ügei boroyo-a oromui* 'The large snipe is similar to the snipe but it is much bigger. If it cries, it will certainly rain.' In a second *chu-skyar* entry (*ibid.*) he says: *buq-a sibayun qulusun-u dotor-a törömüi* 'the bull-of-the-bog is born in the reeds', *bičiqan tanglay-ača* [read: *degeley-eče*] *yekeken* [•] *dayun yarqu bolqul-a qosiyu-ban usun-dur dürüjü öyüglejü* [for *öyügele-/ öyügede- ?*]



The Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita's version: *zarim ögüüleküi-bēr бүтүгсен-дү төхү •• zarim ülü ögüülen udx-a-du*¹⁷ *kičëkü •• köqšin noxoi dayisuni duudan üyiledkü*¹⁸ •• *caxu mis dou ügei mirāxu* ♦

'Some consider (that the deal) is accomplished by talking. Some strive to achieve it without talking. The old dog summons the enemy. The gull and the cat stalk without noise.'

For *caxu* and *mis*, see Ramstedt 1935: 420a, *tsax*^o (šowün) 'ein Vögel; Möwe', and p. 263b, *mī, mīs*, Oelet *mīš* 'Katze'; Munin Bembe 1977: 626b, *cax* 'čajka', one of three homonyms, and p. 353a, *mīs* 'koška'.

De Rachewiltz & Krueger (1991: 121a) read *küčigei**.¹⁹ Krueger has *sim-iyer, miriyan*, also quotes variant readings B, Zh *mariyan*, B *küčü ügei*, MNT *küčügür* 'Maus', *küčügüne* 'Feldmaus'. He renders verse *d* as 'The cat approaches the mouse stealthily in silence', but adds, in note 11: '*küčü ügei* 'without strength, weak' also makes good sense, and is moreover parallel to the preceding verse, viz., the mighty tiger angrily roars with pride, the feeble cat stealthily approaches in silence'. It is clear, however, that Sagang Sechen needed a bird's name with K W Y (*kö/kü/gö/gü*) initial for this strophe, and found the Middle Mongol word attested in a form more 'modern' than its also rare classical equivalent *kütege* 'turtle-dove', see in KOWALEWSKI 1844–1849: III.2593a, also quoting Manchu *dudu* and Tib. *drud drud*, 'gorlica = tourterelle' (from *Manju Mongyol ügen-ü toli*²⁰). Srn 297c has *küčiye* (*gergey-yügen alaysan k. metü* 'like the turtle-dove that killed his wife'; in Mergen Gegen Dambijamsan's *Subašida* version the rare word is substituted with *kökege* 'cuckoo'; Lubsangsülrim has *kegürjigene* 'turtle-dove', while the Zaya Paṇḍita retains the Tibetan word *thi-ba* 'sandpiper' or 'stock-dove' (Das 1902: 575b): *nayijinarān alaqsan tivā metü* 'like the stock-dove that killed his wife' (Kalm. *nājīnr*).²¹ Cf. Bosson 1969: 348–349. n. 297, *küčiy-e* 'wood pigeon', *Zhiyuan Yiyu* 至元譯語 *küčë*, *Hua Yi Yiyu* 華夷譯語 *küčë*, AnonLeiden *küčë*, *küčën*,

dayun yarumui •• masi qola sonostamui 'It is somewhat bigger than the heron. When it emits a cry, it does it plunging its beak in water and pulling it up and backward [cf. *öyüge* > *öyöö* 'backwards']. It is heard in a great distance.' In a third entry (*ibid.*): *čaqulai •• yeke bay-a adali ügei öngge čayan küjügün ba jigür čöm narin •• segül oyotor •• jiyasu barimui* 'gull: its size varies; its color is white; the neck is thin, the wings are narrow, the tail is short; it catches fish.' A fourth entry, *chu-skyar sngon-po* 'blue heron' is interpreted as *t'b'l'n* (?) •• *anu köke tanglai-dur* [read *degelei-dür*] *adali masi baqan* [= *bayaqan*?] •• *usu balčiy debege-dür törömüi* •• '... similar to the blue heron, very small (?); it lives in water, marshes and wet meadows.'

¹⁷ In Luvsanbaldan's edition *udxaxu* 'to scoop, to draw', but according to the Tibetan original, *don-la* 'bad', it should be *udxa-du*, dative-locative of *udxa* 'meaning, essence, content' (*utxv* 'Grund, Ursache, Sinn, Gedanke, Absicht' in Ramstedt 1935: 452b), borrowing here the meaning 'affair, concern, business' of the polysemous Tib. *don* (cf. Das 1902: 643a) instead of using Oir. *üyile* (Mong. *üile*) 'deed, deal' etc.

¹⁸ This verbal compound is a Tibetanism, common in Written Oirat Buddhist texts, where *üyiled-* 'to act, do' is often used as Tib. *byed*, 'a pleonastic addition to verbs' (Das 1902: 892a). In this case, the Tibetan original has a different compound: *khus-ḍebs*. Sumatiratna's *Mun-sel sgron-me* I, p. 182, renders Tib. *khus-ḍebs-pa* with Mong. *ügle-* 'to shout', *sanay-a alda-* 'to sigh, moan', and *süile-* 'to sniff, snort', has *khus* 'byin explained as *ügelge* 'shouting' and *qaškiruly-a* 'shouting, howling', further *khus-su chud-pa* = Mong. *qoriy-a yalayda-* (?), and *khus ḍebs sman* = Mong. *sekegüregülügči* (read *sekegeregülügči*) *em* 'resuscitating medicine'.

¹⁹ The same form occurs in the Eriyen Toluyai MS (of Otok banner of Ordos), facsimile ed. by Mergenbayatur 1962.

²⁰ See also in the Manchu Pentaglot (*Wütü Qingwén jiàn* 五體清文鑑 III, 4142): Manchu *kilaxôn* = Tib. *chu-skyar* = Mong. *čaqulai* = Turki *šibturungyu* = Chin. *ou* 鷗.

²¹ For the singularized plural marker *-nAr*, see Mong. *ekener* '(married) woman', Khalkha *exner* 'wife'. On the fable about the uxoricide pigeon, see also Vladimircov 1921: 5–6.



VocIstanbul *küčē*, Monguor *k'udziē* *ṣu*: (*ṣu*: < *sibayun*), Manchu *kuwečixē*²² (Ligeti 1962: 51); cf. also Yemen Polyglot *كوحا küčē* (200B4; Ligeti 2012: 180), *Lulongsai lüe* 盧龍塞略 *küčeye* (Ap- atóczy 2016: 117); Jurchen *xutie* and *alin xutie*, see Kane 1989: 231, no. 484, *xutie* 忽帖 = *gēzi* 鴿子 ‘pigeon’; p. 227, no. 462, *alin hutie* 阿林忽帖 = *bānjiū* 斑鳩²³ ‘pigeon, dove’, where *alin* is ‘mountain’ (like in Manchu *alin čibiryan* ‘mountain swallow’).²⁴

(7) V: 40

ünen kü bilig-ten merged bögesü daki ••

örigü doysin aburi-tu bolbasu ele ••

üjesküleng-tü tayus öngge-tü bögetele ••

ürgülji qoor-a idekü meṭü-yi²⁵ ♦

‘Even if they are truly knowledgeable sages, / if they become wild and cruel, / they are like the beautiful peacock that has *brilliant* colors, / but always eats venomous food.’

²² Manchu *kuwečixē* = [kʰwəŋʲixə]. This is a case of partial regressive assimilation of the first rounded consonant, like in *guwejixē* ‘stomach’, Mong. *güjegen*, or in *qôwaran* ‘enclosure’, Mong. *qoroyan*, *qoriyan*. Spoken Manchu has *gučixē* (Yamamoto, quoted by Kane) and /ku:ʧku/ and /kütʃko/, see Ėnhébätü 1995: 277. The Manchu Pentaglot (*Wütü Qingwén jiàn*) has 1. Manchu *kuwečixē* = Tib. *phug-ron* = Mong. *taytay-a* = Turki *kefter* = Chin. *gēzi* 鴿子 ‘dove, pigeon’; 2. Manchu *nungyari fatxangya kuwečixē* ‘dove with downed legs’ (here not ‘sand grouse’; as to *nungyari*, it is cognate to Mong. *ungyari*, *ungyasun*, *noyosun*, MNT *nungqasun*, Turk. *yung*) = Tib. *phug-ron khra-bo* ‘spotted dove’ = Mong. *edün* [= ödün] *ulatu taytay-a* ‘dove with feathered legs (lit. soles)’ = Turki *payfayliq kefter*, lit. ‘dove with socks’ = Chin. *máojiǎo gē* 毛脚鴿, 3. Manchu *dudu* ‘turtledove’ = Tib. *drud-drud* (here certainly not ‘pelican’) = Mong. *kütege* [Lessing 508b, *kütege* ‘turtledove’] = Turki *tuzlaya* = Chin. *bānquè* 斑雀 (III, 4164), and Manchu *ilxuru* ‘multicolored’ *dudu* = Tib. *drud-drud mgo-nag* (‘black-headed’) = Mong. *noyoyan* ‘green’ *kütege* = Turki *yaşil yaba* (‘green’ and ‘wild’) *kefter* = Chin. *lǜ* (‘green’) *bānquè* 綠斑雀 (III, 4165). – Mong. *kütege* is read *ködege* = *xödög* = *tagtaatai adılxan negen jüil šuwuu* ‘a kind of bird similar to the pigeon’ in Cewel 2013: 969b; *xödög* = *šildee cagaan bolon šarawtar tolbotoi*, *oxor xušutai*, *xeer süргеее amidarč*, *taria nagooni üreer xoollodog xüren bor šuwuu* ‘a brownish grey bird with white and yellowish spot on the nape, has short beak, lives a gregarious life on the grassland, feeds on the seeds of crops’ in Bold et al. 2008: vol. T-X.2603; *hödege* (хөдөө) = *bey-e boro küreng sili-degen čayan buyu sir-a küreng tolbo-tai* • *qosiyu oqor* • *köl ulabur nige jüil-ün sibayu* •• *yerüdegen keger-e süri-glen yabuju amu tariy-a idedeg tula tarimal-du köniügel-tei* •• ‘a kind of bird, its body is greyish brown, with a white or yellowish brown spot on the nape; its beak is short, the feet reddish. In general it lives in flocks on the grassland and feeds on grains, therefore it is harmful for the crop’ in Norjin et al. 1997: 1551ab; *ködege* [xödög] = *bānquè* 斑雀 in *Mongyol Kitad toli*, 713a; Bazılxañ’s *Mongol–Kazak dictionary* (1984: 604b), translates Mongol *xödög* into Kazak as *ködek* and *orman kepteri* (‘forest pigeon’), wherein the relation of Kazak *ködek* and the Mongol word requires further investigation. Corff (2013: v. 2.910b, also reads *ködege*, but this form does not seem attested in the living Mongol languages despite its presence in the dictionaries. According to Munin Bembe 1977: 319b, Kalmyk has *kömz* (köteg) ‘горлица = turtledove’.

²³ The Awakuni MS uses an unusual character for *bān*, a horizontal combination of *bān* 班 and *niāo* 鳥.

²⁴ Cognates listed in Cincius 1975: 432b: Udehe *kūnti*, Nanai *kūci*, *kuti*, *kutiti(n)*, Manchu *kuwelčixē*, *kuwečike*, *kuwečixē*; *kuwelčixeri*, *kuwelčičexē*, *kuwečexē bočo* ‘dove-colored’; ‘сизый (как голуб) = grey (like a pigeon)’; ‘бледный (как луна) = pale (like the moon)’; also *guwečexē* ‘pale’, *guwečixeri* ‘bluish grey’.

²⁵ An accusative would have sense here with an omitted transitive verb, for instance, *üjegtün* or *üjedkün* ‘look!’. It may be an error for the sentence final mirative clitic *ni*, modern *nee*. It is present in preclassical texts, see, for instance, in Shes-rab Seng-ge’s *Arban qoyar jokiyanğyui üiles* (ed. Ligeti 1974b), f. 42a, *üküdel-teki orliyasun-tur bökeyikü inu yayiqamsiy ni* ‘It is astonishing that he is bending over the wraps on a corpse’. See more in Ligeti 1974b: 331, and in Umjad Lubang Salsinba (dbu-mdzad Blo-bzang sbyin-pa)’s xylograph edition (1659; I quote the print of 1721) of Shes-rab Sengge’s *Altan gerel* (cf. PLB, no. 57; Sazykin 2001: II, nos. 2433–2434) Book X, Chapter XXVI, f. 11a: *ay-a yeke kilinča-tu mayui tere jegüdüñ-ü bütügsen ači ür-e inu ene bolbai ni* ‘Oh, is this the fulfilled meaning (lit. result, consequence) of that heinous (lit. sinful), evil dream?’ and f. 9a: *yo čim-a bi amaray köbegün-15-ečegen qayačaqai ni* ‘Oh, dear, does this mean that I should lose (lit. be separated from) my beloved son?’



Here Sagang used only the second couplet of a quatrain of the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*:

Srn 152: *narin-a aburilan jögelen üge-tü aryatan-i •• sinjilen uqay-a inaysida ülü itegegdekü •• tayus sayin öngge dayu-tu bolbasu ber •• idesi inu yeke qoro bui* ❖

‘Do not trust the crafty that have fine manners and soft words before you examine *and* get to know *them*. Though the peacock’s colors and voice are beautiful (*lit.* good), its food is a powerful (*lit.* great) poison.’

The Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita’s version:

aryatan yosubēn daldalan üge zölön •• šinjilen bolyōtolo sedkil ülü nutalaxu •• toyos dürsün yō doun sayixan bolboči •• töüni ideši yeke xoron bui ❖

‘The crafty conceal their *true* behavior *and* their speech is smooth. Until examining and attentively observing *them*, one should not be certain about their intentions. The peacock’s form is gorgeous and its voice beautiful, its food is a powerful poison.

(8) V: 46cd

örigü doysin kücü-tü singqor sibayun ••
öber-ün següder-e dobtulqui meṭü ❖

Like the fierce, ferocious *and* forceful falcon *that* strikes its own shadow.

Cf. Srn 189c örigü ‘wild, feral’; the Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita has *zöriü doqšin buxa* where *zöriü* is ‘obstinate, stubborn’; AÖ ürex ‘waisting, squandering’? For verse *d*, cf. MNT §78, in Höelün’s scolding his sons: *se’üdertüriyen dobtulqu šingqor meṭü* ‘like a falcon that strikes its own shadow’.

(9) VII: 54

mayad qoyar jayayan-a qayaçal ügei tere erdem-i ••
manayar ükübesü daki ene edür-e kičiyen surtaqui ••
masi edüge qojidabasu nökögede kereg-tü kemen ••
manglai Nagajun-a-yin nomlaysan-i üjebesü eyin kü ❖²⁶

‘Even if you die tomorrow, assiduously learn today that knowledge / that will be certainly yours (*lit.* inseparable) in two fates (*i. e.*, lifetimes, reincarnations). / Even if now you may be greatly behind of *doing this*, it is necessary for the next *life*. / Thus is it, if one considers what was taught by Nāgārjuna²⁷ the Leader.’

|| Srn 7: *erdm-i manayar ükübesü ber surtaqui •• ene jayayan-tur mergen ese bolbasu ber •• qoyiči töröl-tür öber-ün asara(γu)luysan •• ed-iyen öbesün* [/öbesüben] *abqui-tur adali* ❖ ‘Even if you die tomorrow, learn knowledge. Although you may not become a sage, this will be like receiving your own goods you saved for a future rebirth.’

²⁶ Verses *cd* form one sentence, the predicate of which is a (verbal) adverb, *eyin*, with the emphatic clitic *kü*.

²⁷ Modern Mong. (Ordos, Khalkha) *Naganjana*; Written Oirat *Nayanzuna*. For the *-n-*, see Ordos *maxaranja* (Mostaert 1941–1944: 450a), Khalkha *maxranj* from the Tibetan transcription of Skr. *mahārāja*. Cf. also Vladimircov 1921: 9–10. n. 5; Ordos *maxambut* ‘corps’ (*op. cit.*, p. 449b) vs. Khalkha *maxbod* ‘element’, both from the Tibetan transcription of Skr. *mahābhūta*, although both words are originally transmitted by Buddhist Old Turkic *maxarač*/*maxaraač*/*maxaranč*/*maxaranča* and *maxabut*, *maxambut* (in *maxambutlug*), cf. also Square Script Mong. *maqarač* in the Čabčäl Inscription. The internal nasal is a usual reflex of the Tibetan *ʼa chung*, similar to what happened with the *ʼa chung* of *gyur* in Mong. *Ganjūr* < Tib. *Bkaʼ-gyur*, but in our cases, the subscript (and so actually small) *ʼa chung* is originally a vowel length marker.



The Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita's version: *uxāni manayār ükübeči sur •• ene nasun-du mergen ese bolboči •• xoyitu töröl-dü xadyaloulsan •• edi öbörön abxui-luyā adali ♦ || manayar ükükiü bolbaču erdem-i kičiyen surulčaqu keregtei* 'Even if you die tomorrow, it is necessary to diligently learn knowledge' in *Oyun tülkigür* 'Turquoise Key', cf. variant in Yakhontova 2000: 114, no. 100. – Damdinsürüng (1959: 362) mentions similar works of *suryal šilüg*, didactic poetry, found in the Mongol *Danjūr*, vol. 211, and quotes several quatrains from Nāgārjuna/Naganjuna's *Bilig-ün yool modun*, like this: *merged ber erdem-i qotala jüil-iyer / nasun önggerebečiü surun üiled •• kerbe ende ači ür-e ese ögbečiü / busu töröl-dür olqu anu kilbar ••* 'Sages, you should learn knowledge by all means, even if your lifetime is going to elapse and even if this would not give its fruit here; it will be easy to get it in another life (lit. birth).'

It is unknown if Sagang Sechen knew Sonom Gara's Middle Mongol version of the Sa-skya Paṇḍita's *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* or the Tibetan style translation of the Oirat Zaya Paṇḍita Oqtoruyuin Dalai (1599–1662), but it is certain that there is no trace of influence of the latter in the *Teachings*. The Ordos prince may have directly used the Tibetan original or the Middle Mongol translation and skillfully transformed the maxims as well as the ideas he took from his sources and applied them in his own fine alliterative quatrains.

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