

Frame Narratives Concerning the Chinese Origin of Divination and Geomancy in Mongolian Manuscript Texts

ONDŘEJ SRBA*

Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic

Received: September 30, 2020 • Accepted: December 23, 2020

© 2021 Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest



ABSTRACT

This paper introduces three Mongolian texts of various genres linked together by their frame narratives which all refer to Mongolian notions regarding the Chinese origin of divination, geomancy and related rituals. The frame narratives represent a rare component of Mongolian texts of these genres. The texts are published in transcription, with a translation, and compared to the corresponding textual tradition as well as to wider cultural context illustrated by instances from oral tradition.

KEYWORDS

Mongolian manuscripts; frame narratives; geomancy/land analysis (*sa dpyad*); funeral rituals; divination; source edition; 18th–19th centuries.

* Corresponding author. E-mail: ondrejsrba@gmail.com – ORCID iD 0000-0002-4777-0905

0. INTRODUCTION

To divine, to identify unapparent underlying causes of misfortune, to analyse warnings and to foretell impending disasters as well as the means of averting them are the main skills which are expected by a regular Mongolian nomad from a Buddhist lama. Almost every local oral tradition in Mongolia provides abundant narratives about lamas who astonished people by means of their divination skills.¹

Viewed by orthodox Tibetan Buddhism, this attitude concerning divination in terms of religion (*chos*) is quite problematic as discussed by R. B. Ekvall (1964: 256). However, in Tibet as well as in Mongolia, divination has always played a prominent role in daily life, and in Mongolia, a knowledge of divination has been generally expected from Buddhist monks. Common Mongols speaking about religion frequently use the word *medeh*² ‘to know’. Good lamas ‘know the doctrine’ (*nom medeh*) and they can approach, understand and explain various events through doctrine (*nomoor medeh*). In the premodern Mongolia, religion was commonly understood as, or indistinguishable from, science. To describe this science, traditional nomadic vocabulary used the verb *sinjih*, *sinjileh* (Classical Mong. *sinjikü*, *sinjilekü* ‘to analyse, to examine’) and the noun *sinji*³ (‘sign, characteristic, property’). The verb later became a part in the Modern Mongolian term for (Western-styled) science *sinjilekü uqayan* (*shinjleleh uhaan*, literally ‘analytic learning’).⁴

One of the highly appreciated spheres of traditional Mongolian Buddhist science was *yajar sinjikü* ‘to analyze/inspect land/places’ or as a noun *yajar-un sinji* ‘the characteristics/signs of land/places’. This ‘land/place analysis’ needs to be understood in the context of a large variety of traditional ‘analysing’ knowledges including the analysis of dreams (*jegüden-ü sinji*, Tib. *rmi lam brtags*),⁵ facial analysis (*niyur sinjikü*),⁶ analysis of horses (*morin-u sinji*, Tib. *rta dpyad*),⁷ the analysis of meteorological phenomena comprising both weather prognostication and defining

¹ According to author’s own research of local history-related oral tradition of Western Mongolian ethnic subgroups (Altai Urianhai, Zahčín, Torguud) and published texts of the oral tradition related to the religion; see, for example, Bayasgalan 2019, as well as Yeröölt 2012–2014.

² Note about transcriptions: For Classical Mongolian the paper uses N. Poppe’s transcription (using *j* instead of *ǰ*), majuscule *D* is used for *kebtege d* in non-standard cases such as the initial position in a word, *T* is used for the *bosuy-a t* in non-standard cases such as in the middle of a word. Dative-locative suffix (*-dur/dür/tur/tür*) is transcribed according to the actual form in the manuscript, not according the standard rules. For the Clear script the paper applies the commonly used transcription system introduced by H. Luvsanvandan and A. Luvsandendev. ‘|’ indicates the end of a column, ‘=’ indicates a single word divided by the end of a column or other reasons, < > indicates insertion in the original text. For the Modern Mongolian (transcribed from Cyrillic or dialectal forms) a simple Latin transcription (using *h* – for the Cyrillic *х, j – ж, č – ч, š – ш, ö – ө, ü – ү, i – и, ü – ү*) is applied, while the references are typed in Cyrillic, but put in the English alphabetical order, first providing a transcription of the name. This transcription of the name is used also for references within the paper. Mongolian words and names as Khan, Khalkha, Chinggis, Khubilai are written by the form commonly used in English.

³ Probably from the Chinese *xingzhi* 性質 ‘disposition, temper’. See Sühbaatar 2014: 252.

⁴ In Mongolian dictionaries the term *sinjilekü(i) uqayan* appeared for the first time probably in the orthographic dictionary by Šayja 1937: 831 (in the name of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences *Sinjileküi uqayan-u küriyeleng*).

⁵ Also a common oral tradition; see Oberfalzerová 2004, 2005.

⁶ For example, manuscript No. 5377 in the *Dumdadu ulus-un yarčay*.

⁷ Maurer 2019c, Poucha 1969, Blondeau 1972. In modern Mongolia, the *analysis of horses* is treated as particularly appreciated indigenous traditional science closely related to the nomadic pastoralism and sources on it are frequently published as both critical and popular editions. The purpose of this analysis of horses is mostly to recognize horses suitable for racing.



relations between meteorological phenomena and situations in human life or the life of cattle.⁸ Through the analysis of bird calls (particularly magpies; *šayajayai-yin kele* ‘the language of magpies’) and other phenomena associated with birds, the whole knowledge complex of ‘analysing things’ (*yayum-a sinjikü*, cf. Tib. *brtags* ‘interpretation of signs’) passes to other divinatory methods which usually do not use the verb *sinjikü/sinjilekü* or the noun *sinji*, but rather *üjekü* (‘to see’ > ‘to tell fortunes’, cf. Tib. *lta*), particularly divination of time (*edür üjekü* lit. ‘to see the [right] day(s)’).

The term ‘analysis of land’ (*yajar sinjikü*) corresponding closely to the Tibetan term *sa dpyad* is usually translated as ‘geomancy’, although the European term is inaccurate; the issue of terminology is thoroughly discussed by P. Maurer (2019a: 2–4, 2019b: 90–91). With full awareness of this inaccuracy, I will nevertheless keep for simplicity the traditional term ‘geomancy’ in this article, but solely in relation to the Tibeto-Mongolian tradition of *sa dpyad* / *yajar sinjikü*.

Local historical narratives in Mongolia attribute to this sort of knowledge and particularly to the knowledge of ‘land analysis’ a decisive role in maintaining the well-being of a community. The oral tradition frequently describes how neglecting the geomantic analysis or warnings from it had serious negative consequences for entire local communities.¹⁰

The Mongolian oral tradition is usually aware of the Tibetan origin of the shared religious tradition and the related knowledge. However, the origin of divination, geomantic knowledge or the whole complex of ‘analysing things’ has been frequently acknowledged as Chinese in origin by the Mongolian tradition. This article introduces three Mongolian texts, as yet unpublished, dealing with a funeral ritual, geomancy and divination. All of them, in their introductory narrative sections (frame narratives) refer to the Chinese origin of their content – in two cases via a reference to the ‘Green Tara’, the Chinese bride of Songtsen Gampo, and in one case via a reference to Tang Sanzang 唐三藏, the fictional character based on the historical monk Xuanzang 玄奘.

1. MONGOLIAN GEOMANCY (SA DPYAD, FAJAR SINJIKÜI)

The Mongols assimilated the Tibetan knowledge of *sa dpyad* and further developed it with regard to their own natural and landscape conditions and with regard to their own rich nomadic knowledge of landscape and meteorological phenomena. The Mongols of the Yuan period definitely came in contact with Chinese geomancy, but no Mongolian text of land analysis from the Yuan period survives.¹¹ The direct transfer of the Chinese geomantic tradition took place in the 19th

⁸ For example, see the manuscript of the second half of the 18th century transcribed and translated in Srba 2017a: 101–105.

⁹ A part of the Tibetan category of the interpretation of ‘speech marks’ (*skad brtags*), see Ekvall 1964: 271.

¹⁰ For example, an oral tradition about the Banner of Bulgan Torguts, where during the founding of a banner monastery, geomantist lamas came to a conclusion that the current place would be appropriate for the monastery and the whole banner only the next hundred years, but subsequently they would need to move, otherwise the people would be afflicted with misery. When, after a century, people forgot about this prediction, a curse from a neighbouring banner was interpreted as a reminder. The banner representatives started to organize a migration to a new place, but eventually stopped due to one reluctant dignitary and a timid banner-governor. However, the geomantic prediction soon came true and the banner was dispersed as a result of Kazakh invasions and the rise of the socialist government in Mongolia. See Srba and Schwarz 2019, Srba 2021.

¹¹ No text of this genre is found among Mongolian manuscripts from Turfan, Qar-a qota or Olan süm-e.



century, particularly in the southern Mongolian regions, which were open to a selective adoption of Chinese traditions and knowledge.¹²

The Tibetan tradition of geomancy (*sa dpyad*) became the subject of important and ground-breaking research by Petra H. Maurer (2009, 2012, 2015, 2019a, 2019b). The Tibetan *sa dpyad* tradition has seen direct application in Mongolia, in particular the popular Mongolian manuals represent innovative counterparts to the Tibetan geomantic tradition and show adaptations to nomadic society. The definition of the degree of adaptation of these text to a Mongolian setting of course is beyond the possibilities of this paper and remains as a task for future research.

Mongolian geomancy distinguished three independent traditions (*deg*): Avga *deg*, Borjigon *deg* and Dalai wangiin *deg*. According to the tradition recorded by B. Nyammyagmar (Institute of Language and Literature, Mongolian Academy of Sciences) from *šabrunḡ* (*zhabs drunḡ*) lama Gelegjamc (1933–2009) of Čahar Hövööt Cagaan Hošuu, the Avga tradition was constituted by lama Čültemplodoi, who composed a geomancy manual for Altan Khan. According to this tradition, Altan Khan used the situation and compared himself to the Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo and Čültemplodoi to the minister Thonmi Sambhota.¹³

The main purposes of geomantic analysis are analysis of places for burial sites, the construction of houses, the founding of villages and towns, the assessment of agricultural lands and pastures and places for building temples, monasteries and other religious buildings and complexes.¹⁴ Texts on geomancy have traditionally belonged to the ‘secret’ parts of the Buddhist literature and were made accessible on the basis of respective study and empowerments. On the other side, Mongolian manuscripts show an evidence that simpler geomantic texts circulated mainly as popular manuals intended for a larger literate audience. The popular geomantic manual described in chapter 5 of this paper mentions: ‘After you have inspected the place, let Mañjuśrī be meditated upon. This is not necessary [only in case of] a yogācārya, who has perceived and understood the emptiness in a deep meditation. If not realized in this way, the inspected place may be misinterpreted.’¹⁵ Despite this passage, it is probable that the examined text was intended for use or at least for an informative reading by a layman without higher monastic initiations.

Compared to the ‘classical’ works of the Tibeto-Mongolian geomancy, the Mongolian popular texts on geomancy focus on selecting propitious and fortunate nomadic dwelling-sites and on the identification of places which might result in a negative impact on people or their livestock and other properties. L. Hürelbaatar speaks of a wide-scale adaptation of the Chinese and Tibetan traditions of land analysis and calls the popular Mongolian geomantic manuals (particularly

¹² For example, manuscripts MONG. 16, MONG. 107 in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, catalogued by Heissig and Bawden (1971: 148–149).

¹³ Nyammyagmar 2012: 3. Differences between these traditions (*deg*) are unfortunately not explained and I could not find any other references in the literature on this issue. The terms are geographic in their nature: Avga refers supposedly to Avga (Abay-a) banner in Sili-yin youl ayimay of the present Inner Mongolia, Dalai wang refers probably to Dalai wang banner of Sayin noyan qan ayimay (presently northern part of Zavhan, southern part of Hövsgöl and western part of Arhangai aimags in Mongolia), while Borjigin (clan name of the Chinggisids) refers commonly to the area of Borjigin Sečen wang banner (current border districts of Dundgovi, Dornogovi, Töv and Govisümber aimags).

¹⁴ Nyammyagmar 2017: xiii.

¹⁵ Manuscript A, fol. 4v.



the *Tiger back-pad*¹⁶ described in Section 5 of this paper) ‘texts on the properties of the Mongolian land’ (*mongol gazryn šinjün sudar*).¹⁷

Agricultural lands and the founding of sedentary centres were of minor importance for a nomadic civilisation, while the founding of monasteries was definitely a matter of professional lama geomantists, an activity which is therefore not reflected in the popular Mongolian manuals, but only manuals written in Tibetan. The popular geomantic manual written in Mongolian, which might have been consulted by lama specialists as well as common laymen (Section 3 of this paper), explicitly states: ‘Signs of places which are suitable for [building] a stupa, an assembly, a monastery or for consecrating a temple, for marching troops, ... for building bridges, for building roads, for digging canals, for dismantling a military camp (or monastery), for burning offerings, for the construction of water bridges, for planting trees, these and others can be found in details in the *Extensive Instruction*.’¹⁸ Characteristics of places suitable for burials are occasionally mentioned,¹⁹ but the identification of propitious places for graves was consulted with professional lamas whenever possible.²⁰

For this paper I have selected three unpublished Mongolian manuscripts (listed in Section 3 and analysed in Section 4, 5 and 6); each contains a narrative relating to the Chinese origin of a divinatory or geomantic method they describe (texts 1–3 listed above). I have decided to publish and translate the entirety of these texts, as so far as divinatory and geomantic texts in Mongolian have been only rarely studied by scholars.

In contemporary Mongolia, sources of Mongolian geomancy were first collected and studied by the late academician L. Hürelbaatar (Hürelbaatar 2002). B. Nyammyagmar published a full-colour edition of illuminated Tibetan manuscripts of Mongolian provenance accompanied with his Mongolian translations and an introduction to Mongolian geomantic tradition by G. Nyamočir.²¹ The basic Tibetan work on *sa dpyad*, the 32nd *Chapter on the Characteristics*

¹⁶ *Niruyubči* in the title of this manual means a part of armour covering the back (of a soldier or horse, Lessing 1960: 585), therefore I translate it as ‘back-pad’. However, it can be understood more freely as ‘tiger fell’. The word *niruyubči* means also ‘sketch, plan’ (Tib. *rags rim*).

¹⁷ Hürelbaatar 2002: 426.

¹⁸ Manuscript A, fol. 4v–5r. What is meant by the *Extensive Instruction* is unclear.

¹⁹ In addition to isolated mentions about funeral places in the manuscript manual, manuscript Mong. D 267, which is a colourful collection of various divinatory methods, gives instructions on how to define suitable burial places depending on the time of death and birth year of the deceased (*edüge yerü ükügsed-i orusiyulqui jüg: orun qarši tergüTen-i jergeber nomlasuyai ...*).

²⁰ The oral history of Altai Urianhai in Bulgan sum, Bayan-Ölgii aimag mentions that during the socialist period, when an appropriate consultation of lamas was not always possible, people preferred to bury their deceased next to the older graves of eminent local lamas as to ensure that the lama of great merits would draw the deceased person to a good rebirth.

²¹ Nyammyagmar 2012 includes Tibetan manuscripts which are very similar to digitized copies from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (cited here with corresponding links):

a) *Khang sa zhing sa dur sa sog/s/ kun la gces pa'i blang sa bzang/ brtag tshul'dra ba'i dpe'i ri mo/ kun gsal me long* BSB Cod.tibet. 895, <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV040221766>. Nyammyagmar 2012: 11–57.

b) *Khang sa zhing sa dur sa sog/s/ kun la gces pa'i sa dgra rim/ brtag tshul'dra ba'i dpe'i ri mo/ kun gsal me long* BSB Cod.tibet. 896, <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV040221767> Nyammyagmar 2012: 58–92.

c) *Khang sa zhing sa dur sa sog/s/ kun la gces pa'i spangs sa ngang/ brtag tshul'dra ba'i dpe'i ri mo/ kun gsal me long* BSB Cod.tibet. 897, <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV040221768>. Nyammyagmar 2012: 93–111.

The whole manuscript consisting of three parts was also printed with a different order of pages by Erkintü 2014: 1–52. However, neither Nyammyagmar nor Erkintü mention that their published manuscript would have been taken over from the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, therefore it may be a separate copy.



of *Land* from Desi Sangye Gyatso's (sde srid sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653–1705) *White Beryl* (*Vaiḍūrya dkar po*) was published in Inner Mongolia as a facsimile of the Mongolian manuscript translation composed by the 2nd Darba Paṇḍita Fungyajamco (1703–1736) (Erkintü 2014). Later, B. Nyammyagmar published Darba Paṇḍita's translation of the same work in his own modern redaction (Nyammyagmar 2017).

A Mongolian manual of divination was first published by Antoine Mostaert (Mostaert 1969) and later the text became subject to a detailed analyses by Brian G. Baumann (Baumann 2008), itself a fundamental work for the study of Mongolian divination and astrology.

2. THE CHINESE ORIGIN OF DIVINATION ACCORDING TO MONGOLIAN ORAL TRADITION

Before approaching the fourmentioned texts, I consider it important to introduce the general historical-legendary context as was commonly known in pre-modern Mongolia. According to a traditional Tibetan legend, the knowledge of geomancy (*sa dpyad*) was introduced to Tibet by the Chinese princess Wencheng 文成 (also called Kong jo – from Chinese *gongzhu* 公主), who became wife of the king Songtsen Gampo.²² The princess Wencheng was traditionally identified with the goddess Green Tara,²³ the appellation which she bears also in Mongolian versions of the legend (*noyuyan Dar-a*). According to another traditional opinion (expressed by Sönam Gyaltzen in the *Clear Mirror on Royal Genealogy*²⁴ of the 14th century), geomancy was brought to Tibet already under the rule of Namri Songtsen, in the first decades of the 7th century,²⁵ even though Sönam Gyaltzen equally attributes geomantic knowledge to Wencheng.²⁶ More generally, geomancy in Tibet is also called 'Chinese calculation' (*nag rtsis*).²⁷

Mongols have been well acquainted with this Tibetan tradition attributing the introduction of Chinese geomancy to Tibet, for example, from the historical writings of the Fifth Dalai lama (*bod kyi deb ther dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*, 'A History of Tibet – The Song of the Queen of Spring')²⁸ or translations of the *Clear Mirror on Royal Genealogy*, but also by more abbreviated renderings in texts described in this paper.

The *Clear Mirror on Royal Genealogy* was translated into Mongolian at least four times: Classical Mongolian translations were produced by Sakya Dondub,²⁹ Mergen Otuč³⁰ (both early 17th century); the Oirat translations were by Zaya Paṇḍita,³¹ and Soqbon sayin erdeni.³² Here I quote

²² Maurer 2019a: 4.

²³ To the traditional identifications of Songtsen Gampo's wives with Taras see Beyer 1988: 8–9.

²⁴ Tib. *Rgyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*. Concerning the Mongolian translation of the work, see Heissig 1959: 34–40, the Oirat translation in a manuscript preserved by the Saxon State and University Library Dresden described by Heissig and Sagaster 1961: 1–2.

²⁵ Chapter 8, section 6. Quoted in a Czech translation of Josef Kolmaš. Sönam Gjalchän 1998: 62.

²⁶ First section of the chapter 14. Sönam Gjalchän 1998: 122.

²⁷ Te-ming Tseng 2005.

²⁸ Martin 1997: 107 (No. 222); Hürelbaatar 2002: 418–419.

²⁹ *Dumdadu ulus-un yarčay* 851, No. 4615. Heissig 1959: 35.

³⁰ *Dumdadu ulus-un yarčay* 851–852, No. 4616.

³¹ Heissig and Sagaster 1961: 1–2, No. 1.

³² *Dumdadu ulus-un yarčay* 852, No. 4617



the opening of the 14th chapter according to an anonymous manuscript of the late 17th – early 18th century kept in the Inner Mongolian Academy of Social Sciences in Kökeqota:

*basa tere čay-tur čayan dara bodistwa: | noyuyan Dar-a bodistwa-i toyan-tur mergen-i | mede-jü: čayan Dara bodistwa nigen sayuly-a | alta ögčü: uran tangyariy nigen dayuli | ükin qoyayula-i ilegejü: noyun dara | bodistwa-ača süme bariqu yajar alin-i | sayin buyu: kemen asayba: noyun Dara | bodistwa bičig üjeju: časutu tangyud-un | ene yajar abaryu em-e gedergü kebtökü-yin | bey-e buyu: ...*³³

‘At that time, White Tara Bodhisattva found that Green Tara Bodhisattva was proficient in mathematics, [so] she gave her one pail of gold and sent Wise Oath³⁴ with a servant girl to ask Green Tara Bodhisattva on which place it would be auspicious to construct the temple. Green Tara Bodhisattva consulted her books [and replied]: The Snowy Tibetan land is the body of a female giant³⁵ lying on her back ...’

The *Clear Mirror* served at this point as a source for the Mongolian chronicle of Sayang Sečen’s (1662) *Erdeni-yin tobči* (‘The Bejeweled Summary’), that tells the story of the invitation of the Tang bride to Tibet in the most detailed way of all Mongolian chronicles.³⁶ I will not cite the whole narrative, but only draw upon two passages where the knowledge of divination is mentioned. In the first one, the princess’s old nanny explains why she cannot tell how the princess could be recognized:

... man-u kitad-un toyačın toyan-du mergen-ü tula: toyabar medemüi kemebe:... ‘Because our Chinese mathematics/diviners/astrologers³⁷ are proficient in mathematics/divination/astrology, they would learn about it through mathematics/divination/astrology.’³⁸

After the minister Gar (Uran tüsimel) recognized the princess, the Chinese emperor gave the following dowry to his daughter: *tendeče qayan ečege inu: ükin-dür-iyen yekede yomudan: burqan-u bey-e-yin sitügen juu sakyamuni. gün narin toyan-u qamuy debter: küsel qangyayči čindamuni metü arban yurban sudur: busu basa keregten eldeb jüil erdini kiib tory-a terigüten ed ayurasun-i tümegeđ tümegeđ toyatan bolyaju: erke ükin-tür-iyen lab ögčü bürün:* ‘Then her imperial father became very distraught concerning his daughter and he gave his beloved daughter the statue of Buddha Shakyamuni as an object of worship, all the volumes of the most complex mathematics/etc., thirteen sutras similar to the wish-fulfilling [stone] *cintāmaṇi* and all the necessary gems, brocade, silk and tens of thousands, tens of thousands of other goods.’³⁹

The legend about the invitation of the Chinese Princess to Tibet by the Minister Gar Tongtsen Yulsung metamorphosed in the Mongolian cultural area into the well-known narrative about Üitü Mergen Temene, who is the Mongolian parallel of the minister Gar Tongtsen.⁴⁰ However, none of the abundant local versions of the legend coming from Inner Mongolia, Kökenuur, Xin-

³³ *Dumdadu ulus-un yarčay* 852, No. 4618, fol. 56r. Quoted according a xerocopy officially distributed by the Academy in 1990s, entitled *Töbed-ün qad-un üiles-i toyalaysan tuyuji orusibai*.

³⁴ Uran Tangyariy, the Mongolian name of Gar Tongtsen Yulsung.

³⁵ Always referred to as a demoness in Tibetan (I am grateful for this remark to the reviewer of this paper).

³⁶ Charles Bawden wrote about the rendering of this legend in *Erdeni-yin tobči* in the context of the Mongolian divination (Bawden 1994: 54–55).

³⁷ The word *toy-a* evokes all these connotations.

³⁸ The so-called ‘Urga’ manuscript of *Erdeni-yin tobči* (preserved in the National Library of Mongolia). Edited in facsimile as *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči* 2011: fol. 14v, p. 436.

³⁹ *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči* 2011: fol. 15r, p. 437.

⁴⁰ Versions of the legend appear in many collections of oral narratives. The representative regional versions were collected by Čebšig 2004.



jiang or Western Mongolia relates explicitly to the bringing of the Chinese divinatory or geomantic knowledge by the Green Tara Princess herself, who plays rather a passive character in the oral Mongolian legends.

In the Mongolian legends, every action seems to be firmly in the hands of Üitü Mergen Temene. As the result of Mergen Temene's actions at the Chinese imperial court, a part of the Chinese divinatory knowledge passes from China to Tibet (or to Mongolia), when the Chinese Emperor orders his divinatory manual entitled *The Yellow Book* to be burned, and one of unburned pages flies away, coming into the possession of Üitü Mergen Temene.⁴¹ Here I quote from the Oirat version of the legend:

üügi ken zāji öqbei gēd xolo oyiro-igi mededeq xobči 'šara bičiq'-tü-bēn üzeküle: 'usun güzētei örbülge aman keleji öqbei, čoluun tolyoyitai, modon coqcotai, öbür čikin sonosba' geji yardač čiki. üündü kitad-in xān:

*caq muuraxula xolo oyiro-igi mededeq xobči 'šara bičiq'-yin biye ni yumu medekēn uurdač čiki gēd bičiq-tēn uurlād tüyimerdeji orkidač čiki. tünēs nisüqšen nige cāsu-igi ötü mergen temne olji abči geni.*⁴²

[The Chinese Emperor wants to investigate who revealed to Mergen Temene how to recognise the imperial princess.] 'Who showed them that?' When they looked in the all-denunciating 'Yellow Book' recognizing the distant and the close, the book showed: 'A mouth of pliers with a water belly revealed it, horned ears with a stone head and a wooden body heard it.' The Chinese emperor said: 'When the bad times come, even the all-denunciating 'Yellow Book' recognizing the distant and the close will cease to recognize correctly. He became angry with the book and had it burned. One page from it, which flew away, was found by Ötü⁴³ Mergen Temene.'

Another version of the legend recounts that the unburned page from the 'all-denunciating Yellow Book' landed in a flock of sheep and stuck to a sheep shoulder blade. Mergen Temene saw this, and following his advice, the Mongols began to divine by the means of sheep shoulder blades (scapulimancy).⁴⁴ According to another version of the legend recorded from Uvs aimag in Mongolia, sheep licked the ashes from the burned divinatory book and their shoulder blades consequently gained the ability to predict.⁴⁵ In several versions of the legend Üitü Mergen Temene later proves his knowledge of geomancy when he unconsciously gives advice on how to build the temple in Lhasa the construction of which was failing due to unappeased local spirits.

In the oral tradition of the Altai Urianhai, an ethnic group in Western Mongolia culturally belonging to the Oirat group, the Chinese are imagined as capable 'analysers' (*šinjeeč*)⁴⁶ or experts whom the Mongols cannot match. During my fieldwork recording the oral tradition as a source of the local history, I documented two cases of the characterization of the Chinese as good analysers.

⁴¹ The same moment is described also by the *Clear Mirror on Royal Genealogies*, Chapter 13, section 5. Sönam Gjalčchän 1998: 112.

⁴² Ötü Mergen Temene 1988: 26–27.

⁴³ The name appears in various spellings.

⁴⁴ A version from Kökenayur. Čebšig 2004: 57.

⁴⁵ Quoted by Čebšig 2004: 109–110.

⁴⁶ The word *šinjeeč* (*šinjigeč*) is commonly used in the meaning 'diviner', but here I intend to emphasise the understanding that a *šinjeeč* conducts his expertise without an indispensable support with a supernatural agency.



Batceren, a herder in Duut sum (Hovd aimag), illustrated this idea with a brief story about the competition of Chinese and Mongolian analysers. Each of the two groups was given the cooked entrails of three cows mixed together with the task of dividing the pieces of meat into three groups precisely according to their origin from one cow or the other. The Mongolian analysers divided the meat, but confused one small intestine. The Chinese analysers divided the entrails without a single mistake. The Chinese analysers also reportedly made predictions about the future of the Mongols: ‘No one can control the Mongols, but they will gradually destroy each other from within. Only then the Mongolia will disappear, otherwise it will not disappear.’⁴⁷ The meaning of the legend is that the Chinese knowledge of divination is considered superior to the Mongolian divinatory knowledge.

The second narrative recounts how Chinese diviners recognized the birth of a reincarnated lama. According to the local oral tradition of the Altai Urianhai in Bulgan sum, Bayan-Ölgii aimag, one of reincarnations of Narobančin Gegeen was born on the confluence of the rivers Bulgan and Yolt to a poor local family.⁴⁸ Despite supernatural phenomena related to the birth, the locals did not pay any attention to it and did not recognize the holy man. Since the parents, due to their poverty, were hardly able to sustain the child, they gave him to Chinese merchants, who took him to China. According to the above mentioned herder Batceren, following the departure of the Chinese merchants, some Chinese analysers (*sinjeeč*) arrived searching for a miraculous child. They inquired about him from the local ruler, who, however, had no idea that a reincarnated holy man had been born among his subjects.⁴⁹

Even in those parts of Mongolia, where a personal experience with Chinese society was rather limited, divinatory texts of an obvious Chinese origin were circulating, including – as the most famous example – the Mongolian translations of *Yuxiaji* 玉匣記, in Mongolian *Qas qayurčay* (*The Jade Box*).⁵⁰

3. INTRODUCTORY NARRATIVES IN MONGOLIAN DIVINATORY AND RITUAL TEXTS

Mongolian manuscript texts on divination, as well as ritual texts and prayers frequently lack statements about authorship and dating, creating a challenge for researchers, especially in trying to trace the supposed Tibetan sources of Mongolian texts. Almost any written text in the eyes of the common herders had the glory of infallibility (as expressed in an oral idiom: *Huučnii nom*

⁴⁷ Recording of my interview with Batceren made during his stay in Bulgan sum, Bayan-Ölgii aimag, 21st May 2018, No. of recording 180521_005, minutes 5:19–5:57 in author’s personal archive. Quotation: *deer üyed kitad mongol hoyoriin šinjeej gurban üher alaad ges dotor büh mah dotrii čančaad hayčhaad holidoy hoyor šinjeej yalgaj gargasan, mongoliin šinjeej ganc nariin gesen solison kitadiin solilgüi tavičihsan, kitadiinh arai davuu baisan baigaa biz, mongoliig ken č ezlej čadahgüi, ganc dotraasiin neg negüigeerii ustgah boluu mongol oron ustana es tegvel ustahgüi, kitadiin šinjeej toocoo gargasan ...*

⁴⁸ According to the known biographical data, any Mongolia-revealed incarnations of the Narobančin lineage was born among the Altai Urianhai. However, in the autobiography of the Fifth Dilav Hutagt Jamsranjav (1883–1965), it is mentioned that the Narobančin Hutagt Pürevjav (1884–1903) shortly after his birth in Zasagt Han Aimag got to Ili in Xinjiang, where he lived till his age of 14, when he was finally recognized as reincarnation and brought back to Khalkha (Lattimore and Isono 1982: 147–148). At this or another occasion, Narobančin might have travelled through the river Bulgan and an *ovoo* might have been founded to commemorate this.

⁴⁹ The same interview with Batceren, 4:07–5:05.

⁵⁰ Translated several times by Galsangjigmid, Koušika of Alaša and Daramagaridi, *Dumdadu ulus-un yarčay* 5427–5447.



deer hudal baihgüi, ‘There are no lies in old books.’),⁵¹ and traditional Mongolian readers have rarely questioned the authenticity of the texts. When colophons are missing, only a comparison of textual variants (if more similar manuscripts of the texts are available) can help in deciding whether the text circulated in a Mongolian version through several copying phases, or whether it originated from an *ad hoc* translation, or as an extraction from a Tibetan source.

While the authorship of the texts, the name of the translator or the date of its creation, were not of particular importance for their Mongolian users (at least in the case of popular divinatory and ritual texts), an explicit connection of the text to a prominent figure in the Buddhist history could help to increase the authority and authenticity of the text. Although the historical contextualization of divinatory or ritual texts rarely appears in Mongolian manuscripts, several divinatory and ritual texts were ascribed to important historical figures – frequently Padmasambhava.⁵² But far more exceptionally a manuscript starts with a narrative introduction recounting the origin of the text or of the knowledge described in it.

In the collections of Mongolian manuscripts in the Czech Republic catalogued within the current Mongolian ritual manuscripts project,⁵³ I found the following examples of divinatory and ritual manuscript texts with an introductory narrative part:

- 1.) *Assessment of suitable burial sites* (Mong. B 58/5) analysed in Section 4 of this paper.
- 2.) *It is a sutra about the characteristics of land* (Mong. B 59/1) analysed in Section 5.
- 3.) A divinatory manual of Tangsung Lama (Mong. D 159/1). Incipit: *degedü tangsung blam-[a]-dur: tangtai sung qayan jarliy bolurun ...* Analysed in Section 6 of this paper.
- 4.) *A story about the Genius Holy Chinggis Khan (sutu boyda činggis qayan-u üliġer büliüge;* inventory number D 79/1). A ritual text of blessing a new yurt (typically during wedding ceremonies) attributed by an opening narrative to ministers of Chinggis Khan during his wedding with

⁵¹ I have heard this phrase several times during my research of oral tradition in Western Mongolia. Here I represent it by a quotation from an interview with Mr. S. Baldaa, Bulgan sum, Bayan-Ölgii aimag, 16th June 2013, video recording No. 1, minutes 12:17. Author’s personal archive.

⁵² From collections of Mongolian manuscripts excerpted within the Mongolian ritual manuscripts project, we can mention the following examples: *erte čay-tu badm-a sambhu-a baysi: cay’arwaradi qayan-u ordu qaršiyi milayaysan sudur* (*A Sutra of blessing the palace of Cakravartin Khan [pronounced by] Padmasambhava in ancient times*) which unanimously mentions ‘the gathered Borjigin lords’ (inventory number D 225, fol. 1v-2r); A collection of magical healing methods against various diseases is ascribed to Padmasambhava (*badm-a sambuu-a bayši-yin gegen-i[yer ayi=]*; *laduysan jarliy-tu eke boluysan q[amuy]*; *amitan-u niswanis-ača bütiġsen ke[mekü]*; *jayun dörben ebečin. tegün-eče [...?]*; *čay-tur örebesün-ün sačuraysan [...?]*; *naiman tümen dörben mingy-a bolqu-| tu qara dom: ary-a erkem tusatai [...?]=] gsen jarliy-tur sitüjü:*) (inventory number D 305); *Qangyai jalbuu-yin sang oršibai* (*Incense offering for Qangyai Jalbuu*) opening by *ereten čay-tu badama sambau-a baysi-yin erketü čaġarabad qayan-u eredeni-tü altan emgele-ün elidebe jüil čėčing [=čėčeg] metü yangju-y a takiqu sudur ene bui*. (‘This is the sutra of sacrifice to the flower-like saddle-thongs on the precious golden saddle of Cakravartin Khan [composed] in ancient times [by] Padmasambhava; inventory number D 281/1). Also compare the famous text against the drinking of alcohol attributed to Padmasambhava (*Badm-a sambhau-a baysi-yin ayiladuysan arakin-u yaruysan uy siltayan kiged ayuysan-u gem ereġüü-yi üjeülükü-lüġe selte orušiba* ‘The origin of alcohol and iniquities of drinking expounded by the master Padmasambhava’, a manuscript inventory number D 279; a Buryat xylograph inventory number D 229 with a slightly different title *Badm-a sambau-a baysi-yin jokiyaysan araki-u uy yaruča kiged sayin mayu-yi teyin ber ilyaqu-yin jor-un nomlal orušibai:*). Brian G. Baumann (2006: 14) refers to a Qing edict of 1726 against Nyingmapa magic, which led to a deleting of references to Padmasambhava in various texts.

⁵³ Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts, Brno.



Qulan you-a. The blessing itself then starts with another attribution of its origin to the ministers of Cakravartin Wise Khan (referring to Khubilai Khan) and his spouse Wise Zambui.⁵⁴

5.) *Oral Instructions transmitted as Four paper scrolls of the Venerable Marpa and other [scriptures]* (*Erkin Marba-yin dörben ebkemel čayasu-tu-yin ündüsülegsen ündüsün-ü aman-u ubadis kiged selte ber orusiba*; 59 fol., incomplete, measure: 27.4 : 8 cm, Mong. B 3/1), includes four texts of the *man ngag* genre (secret oral instructions) in one manuscript opened by a narrative part dealing with the transmission of the individual 'instructions' from Marpa Lotsāwa (1012–1097) to a Mongolian noble of Altan Khan's retinue.⁵⁵

4. ASSESSMENT OF SUITABLE BURIAL SITES (MONG. B 58/5)

A manuscript of a text non-identified from catalogues of other collections and without a known Tibetan original. Manjusiri güüsi is mentioned as the translator; it is highly probable that he is identical with Siregetü güüsi Čorji, the famous translator active in the Yeke juu monastery of Kökeqota founded by Altan qayan.⁵⁶ He was present at the gathering of Altan qayan with the 3rd Dalai lama Sonam Gyatso (1578).⁵⁷ He is considered a disciple of the 3rd Dalai lama and preceptor of the 4th Dalai lama.⁵⁸ His first dated translation refers to 1587 and he remained active probably till the second decade of the 17th century.⁵⁹

It is a manuscript in *pothi* format, 2–3 layers of Chinese paper stuck together, brittle, brown, strongly blackened at the edges. In the middle of leaves, there are traces of folding. Size of pages: 30.2 × 8.5 cm, 5 fol. On fol. 1r Tibetan mark *dza*. Parts of the text are highlighted by red or yellow colour. White scratches on the lined columns are visible, yet the columns are uneven. In columns 6–15 on fol. 2, a part of the text was written by a significantly different, more professional ductus, whom I will call scribe B. In the analysis, I deal with the predominant ductus. It is a rather professional manuscript written by a bamboo or reed pen. Considering the palaeographic features of the manuscript, it is possible to approximate its origin to the first half of the 18th century.⁶⁰

The palaeographical peculiarities include: The initial *j* and *y* (undistinguished) are frequently set off from the following letter and tilted. *Eber* of *č* and *j* (undistinguished) in the middle position in form of the contemporary *j*. Scribe B uses *bosuy-a t* phonetically in the word *kiTad*, otherwise distribution of *d/t* according to the standard rules. *Keztege d* markedly flattened oval shape and

⁵⁴ *Sutu boyda činggis qayan-u üliġer büllüġe!*; *činar sayitu qulan you-a qatun-ıyan abču irıgsen-dür!*; *čındamani erdeni-metü čayan ordu-yıyan bariju!*; *činar-tu sayid-ıyar-ıyan irüġel[e]gsen ajiyu!*; *čagarwati-yin qubılıyan sečen qan!*; *sečen zambui qatun-ıyan abıysan-dür!*; *čab čayan ordu-yıyan bariju!*; *činar-tu sayid-ıyar irüġel[e]gsen bui: ... Zambui qatun* (also written as Zambai, Čimbu, Zamba) frequently occurring in Mongolian fire-worship texts as the wife of Khubilai Khan, probably the historical Čabi (Khubilai's first wife) or Namui (Khubilai's second wife). Bulay 1993: 234, 405, 498.

⁵⁵ Unpublished article 'A new source concerning Bayayud bayatur tayiji, a lay propagator of Buddhism in 16th century Tümed' and chapter in author's doctoral dissertation *Mongolian Script Paleography / Paleografie mongolského písma* (in Czech), pp. 151–166, <https://is.muni.cz/th/itzpb/?lang=en>.

⁵⁶ For an overview and biography, with the full list of 20 works where Siregetü güüsi Čorji bore undoubted responsibility for the translation, see Bareja-Starzyńska 2006: 22–28.

⁵⁷ Qiaoji 2007: 90; Heissig 1959: 33.

⁵⁸ Charleux 2006: 55. Charleux (2006: 283) mentions as well the lineage of reincarnations of Siregetü qutuytu.

⁵⁹ His last dated translation is probably his translation of the Biography of Milarepa dated by the colophon of the 1756 blockprint to 1618. Heissig 1954: Nr. 131.

⁶⁰ A facsimile of the manuscript was printed in Srba 2017a: 272–275, (with a Czech translation) 79–81.



clockwise order of writing. *Boyuni segül* regularly used for the final *-s*. Words *üüles* (fol. 3v/8 and 5r/7) and *kiris* (fol. 2r/16) have a special allograph of the final *-s*. Final *-m* rather archaic with a fully closed bow and a short tail. Diacritics are not used with exceptions (e.g. *luy-a* 4v/2). Final *b* without *numu* (*gedesü* continues directly with *čačuly-a*). *Q-/y-* in the initial position it is relatively wide with a tip and a small *numu*.

Selected orthographical peculiarities include: *yurban-ta* (fol. 3v/19 etc.) – the multiple suffix *-ta* is written unconventionally with *čačuly-a* instead of *segül*. Pronoun followed by the subject marker is written as one word: *taber*. Case suffixes are sometimes written together with names: *alyaban*, *busuyin*, *kendür* etc. The final vowel (*a/e*) standardly written by a separate *čačuly-a* is frequently written together with the word: *emüne*, *debttere*.

4.1. Transcription

[1v] *getülgeçi dar-a eke-tür! mörgümü: yajar singjilen keğür! orusiyulqu egüni: erte töbed-ün! labum kara qayan önggeraysan [!]:! tegüni yurban köbegün-i! aq-a inu sayin gereltei dotur-a-yin! eyin sedkir-ün: eçege minu ükübe:! edüge egüni keğür-i ariyun sayin! yajar tal<bi>basu: nasuta sayin! jiryalang-tu bolumu kemen: sayid! tüsümed-iyen quriyaju eyin! ögülerün: ta ber odçu dörben! jüg-eçe: yajar-un singji medekü! kümün-i jalaju ir-e kemegsen-tür:! tede ber jarliy-un yosuyar! enedke-ün [!] nigen acara. balboyin nigen! bombo: töbed-ün nigen blam-a:! kitad-un nigen jangjan abçu irejü! yajar-i singjilegü[ll]besü adali busu! olan üge ögüleksen-tür: köbegün! ber sedkil-iyen jobaju sayun! [2r] bükü-tür: qayan-u erkim tidsi! čimeg-ün üjügür neretü tüsimel: köbegün-tür eyin ayiladqar-un! köbegün ber sedkil-iyen büü čile:! ene kitad-un güngjü noyuyan dar-a:! masi erdem-tü[-]yin tula yajar-i sinjile=|küi-tür mergen bui-j-e: tegün-tür! ayiladqaqula yambar kemegsen: köbegün! ber masi yekede bayasuyad: köbegün! ekilen olan ulus odçu noyuyan! dar-a-iyen⁶¹ gegen-e jolyayad: köbegün! ber qoyar köl-iyen söğüdčü: qoyar! alyaban qamtudqan: orui-bar-iyen! mörgüged: mingyan alda čayan tory-a-tur! doluyan erdeni uyaju: altan mandal-tur! kiris erdeni-ber takil kigsen-i bariju! eyin ayiladqaba: minu ečiçe ükübe:! keğür-i inu sayin yajar orusiyulbasu: köbegün ačınar inu jayun üy-e-tür! kürtele jiryamu kemekü-i sonusçu bi: dörben jüg-eçe dörben medekü kümün-i! jalaju sinjilegülbesü adali busuyin tula! [2v] gegen oytaryui-yin naran metü beye-tü: kedün galab-un odaqu irekü medekü! uqayatu: kendür ber alayčilaqu üge! jögelen jarliy-tu: ketürkey-e sayin! yajari jiyaju öggün soyurq-a: kemen! ayiladqaysan-dur: ketürkey-e! noyuyan dara ber misiyeged jarliy! bolurun: köbegün iregsen činu sayin: sayin kemeged: eyin jarliy bolurun: bi ber kitad yajar-ača irekü-tür! toyan-u bičig singji-yin! bičig ubadis-un bičig ary-a! bičig-luy-a: sudur nuyud jayun! qasay abçu iregsen-ü tula biber! medemü kemen: debttere nuyud-iyen! tayilču: yeke bay-a dumda-tu yurban! jerge nomlayad: keğür orusiyulqui! jarliy bolurun: orusiyulqui-yin! yosun dörben jüil bolai: ali bui! dörben kemebesü: yal sirui modun! usu bui: tegün-eçe eng urida sirui-! [3r] tur orusiyulqu inu: er-e kümün-i! dörbeljin: em-e kümün-i töğüriq aqu inu! qoyar toqai: gün inu yurban toqai! uquju: urida inu rañ lañ bañ thañ: üjüg-iyer sirui-i inu sinjilejü: doruna! örüne inu eldeb kib tory-a: amar-a! inu qour-a ese qoliysan eldeb em: jabsar-tu inu eldeb em sečeg amtatu! ünür-tü eldeb idegen kiged: dumda! inu qayan kümün tümen čayan ür-e! mingyan qara ür-e: qaraču kümün! mingyan jayun čayan qar-a ür-e! ariyun čayan saba-tur kijü: tabun! öngge kib-iyer boyuju talbi: doruna-ača dotuyisi qandun eyin-i! ögüle: ay-a ijayur-tan-u! köbegüd*

⁶¹ Mistakenly instead of *dar-a-yin*.



čiber sayin lam-a-tur¹ ayuljaysan-iyar umtay-a-ügei¹ sünesün činu burqan-u qutuy-¹ tur kürbe:
 ediğe kegür-i činu¹ ene orun-tur talbiysan-u doruna¹ [3v] jüg-tü eldeb erdeni-yin jüil-i bui: [!]¹
 luus-un ükeger-ün ejen yajar-un¹ ejen: delekei-yin ejen tengri naiman¹ ayimay taber⁶² erdeni-ber
 qanuyad:¹ ene öglige-yin ejen-tür eldeb erdeni¹ tegülde bolyan amin nasun kiged:¹ buyan kisig-
 yi ögün ali sanaysan¹ üiles-i bütüğe: kemen yurban-ta¹ ögüle: emüne-eče qandun: ay-a¹ basaber
 emüne jüg-tür eldeb tari=¹yan-u talbiysan bui: luus ükeger¹ yajar-un ejen usun-u ejen čilayun-u¹
 ejen modun-u ejen delekei-yin ejed ta¹ ber eldeb tariyan-iyar qanuyad:¹ ene öglige-yin ejen-tür tari-
 yan¹ tömesün-luy-a tegülde bolyan:¹ amin nasun kiged buyan kisig öggün:¹ ali sanaysan kereg-yi
 sedkil-yier¹ bütüğe: kemen yurban-ta ögüle:¹ basaber + : ay-a basaber örüne¹ jüg-tür činu eldeb kib
 toryan-u¹ jüil bui: luus-un boyul¹ [4r] delekei-yin ejen-ü jarudas-un ta-i yajaran¹ ejen-ü nökiid
 taber eldeb kib toryan-¹ bar qanuyad: ene öglige-yin ejen-tür¹ yambar kib toryan qubčad-iyar¹ qa-
 nuyad: amin nasun kiged buyan¹ kisig ögün yambar jüg-tür odba=¹su aliba sanaysan üile bütüğe
 kemen¹ yurban-ta ögüle: basa urida metü:¹ ay-a basa umar-a jüg eldeb em-ün¹ jüil bui: luus čidkür
 yajar-un¹ ejed delekei-yin ejed ta ber eldeb¹ em-iyer qanuyad: ene öglige-yin¹ ejen-tür yere sirq-a
 kijig ebečin:¹ mayu jegüden iru-a arilyan¹ qamuy sanaysan üiles-i bütüğe:¹ kemen yurban-ta ögüle:
 basa¹ urida metü + : aya dumda činu¹ eldeb sang daruysan bui: luus yajar-un¹ ejed. delekei-yin
 ejen qamuy-iyar¹ eldeb sang-iyar qanuyad: ene¹ öglige-yin ejen-tür: amin nasun¹ [4v] kiged: buy-
 an kesig ed idegen-iyer¹ sang-luy-a tegülde bolyan:¹ aliba sanaysan üile bütüğe kemen¹ yurbanta
 ögüle: ediğe qoyar toqai¹ bulayad: tabun sakiyan-u tarni¹ amirita kemen qung qung bad bad¹ soq-a:
 kemen bičijü usun sirui¹ üli kürgen daru: basa nigen toqai¹ bulayad: sitügen-ü sača talbiyad:¹ yar-
 tur-iyar tas bürgüd ödü-¹ tü sumun-tur tabun öngge kib¹ uyayad eyin jalbari: ay-a degere¹ blam-a
 burqan bodisung nom-un sakiyulsun¹ ber örüsüen egüni: tengri naiman¹ ayimay qamuy luus-un
 qad delekei-yin¹ ejed yajar-un ejen ayisui: qorin¹ naiman yabuqu odun yeke bay-a¹ odun: doluyan
 garay: jüg-yi¹ sakiyči taber edür söni yurban¹ čay-tur takil örgün: bi kiged¹ [5r] öglige-yin ejen-
 tür urtu nasun¹ kiged buyan kisig-yi ögün:¹ jil-ün qarsi sara-yin qarsi edür-ün¹ qarsi čay-un qarsi
 kiged:¹ üli jokilduqun bügüde-yi¹ arilyan üldeged: aliba¹ sanaysan üiles küsel-i¹ nom-un yosuyar
 bütügen¹ jokiy-a: kemen yurban-ta¹ ögülüged: qutuy orusiyul¹ dara eke-yin maytayar qorin¹ nigen
 ungsi: jiriüken tarni¹ yurban ergijü ungsi:¹ kemen dar-a eke ber¹ bodatu bey-e töbed-ün¹ orun-tur
 nayirayuluysan-i:¹ mongyol-un kelen-tür¹ manjusiri güüsi ber orčiyulbai:¹ bičigeči inu lobjang sam-
 dan:¹ öljei qutuy¹ orusiqu boltuyai:¹

⁶² Written together, standardly would be written separately *ta ber*.





Fig. 1. Manuscript Mong. B 58/5, fol. 1v-2r



Fig. 2. Manuscript Mong. B 58/5, fol. 2v-3r





Fig. 3. Manuscript Mong. B 58/5, fol. 3v-4r



Fig. 4. Manuscript Mong. B 58/5, fol. 4v-5r



4.2. Translation

I bow to the saviour, Mother Tara. [This tract] on the assessment of [suitable] places for burying corpses [was created as follows:] When the ancient Tibetan king Labom-kara died, [three sons remained after him]. The eldest of them, called [The One] With a Good Light, thought to himself, 'My father has died. If I put his body in a clean, convenient place, it will bring [me] everlasting happiness.' He gathered counsellors and dignitaries and told them, 'Embark on a journey and bring people from four corners of the world who know how to assess [suitable and unsuitable] places.' According to his command, [dignitaries] then brought one Indian *ācārya*, one Nepali *bonpo*, one Tibetan lama, and one Chinese *jangjan*,⁶³ but when they had them examined, their words diverged in many ways. While [the king's] son was worried about this, the king's faithful counsellor,⁶⁴ a dignitary named the Peak of Jewels (or Tip among the Jewels), came and said, 'Prince, don't worry. Chinese Princess Green Tara is very wise and is experienced in geomancy. Why not to try to ask her [for help]?' The prince rejoiced greatly and went in person, accompanied by many people, to pay homage to the wisdom of the Green Tara. The prince knelt with both feet, clasped his hands, and struck his head on the ground. He tied seven precious stones to a white silk of a thousand fathoms⁶⁵ and sacrificed it, along with a golden mandala, in which he placed turquoise and precious stones. He said, 'My father died. I have heard that if I put his body in a convenient place, sons and grandsons will live in bliss through a hundred generations. I summoned four experts from four parts of the world to find a suitable place, but their [interpretations] differed. [Therefore] you with a sun-like body in a clear sky, with a mind penetrating the flow of several kalpas, with kind unbiased speech, show me the best place [for my father's tomb].' The perfectly wise Green Tara smiled and said, 'It is very good, Prince, that you came. I know [such things] because when I came from China [to Tibet], I brought with me books on mathematics, calendars and divination,⁶⁶ analysis of [various] phenomena⁶⁷ and other instructions⁶⁸ and methodological manuals⁶⁹, [a total of] a hundred carts of books.' She unpacked her books, explained [their contents] in three stages — large, small, and medium — and said this about burial: 'Burial has four rules. There are these four: [burial] in fire, earth, wood and water. The first is burial in the ground. A pit is dug two cubits wide, three cubits deep, square for men, round for women. Before that, the place is examined using the syllables *raṃ laṃ baṃ thaṃ*. On the east and west side there are various silk fabrics, on the northern side various medicines, between which poison must not be mixed, between them [again] various medicines, flowers, various tasty and fragrant dishes. In

⁶³ In the context a world for a 'Chinese Buddhist monk' *hešang* (Chinese *heshang* 和尚) would most probably be expected. If the author of the transcript does not know the word *hešan*[g], it is possible that he could confuse it by reading *jangjan* with a false connotation of Chinese *jangjün* (general).

⁶⁴ *Tidsi* – from Chinese *dizi* 弟子 'pupil, follower', but here probably with the meaning 'counsellor'.

⁶⁵ *Alda* – distance between the tips of the middle fingers of a man's outstretched arms, equal to 1.6 m. Lessing 1960: 29.

⁶⁶ All these meanings can be included in the general term *toyan-u bičig*. Baumann 2006: 16–17 discusses various meanings of the term *toy-a* 'mathematics', 'astrology', 'astronomy', and 'numerology'.

⁶⁷ Especially *yajar-un sinji* 'geomancy'.

⁶⁸ *Ubadis* (Skr. *upadeśa* 'initiation, communication of the initiatory mantra or formula') can mean either a method of initiation, initiation into a specific doctrine or ritual practice, mostly intended for advanced monks, or more specifically a set of medical doctrines.

⁶⁹ Probably the text means methods of treatment (*ebedčün jasaqu ary-a*) and various remedial procedures of a ritual nature (*ary-a jasal*), such as repelling unfortunate symptoms, cleansing, etc.



the centre is a pure white vessel, wrapped in five-coloured silk, which, in the case of the ruler, has to contain ten thousand white and one thousand black grains, and [in the case of a commoner] has to contain one thousand one hundred white and black grains. Stand from the outside facing inwards and speak as follows: ‘Oh, son⁷⁰ of a noble family, because you have met a good lama, your soul has certainly attained Buddhahood. On the east side of the place where your corpse is stored, there are various valuables. *Luus*-spirits, lords of tombs, lords of this place, deities of the earth and eight groups of heavenly *tngri*,⁷¹ become satisfied with these precious things and give the provider of [these things] all precious things, blessings and do whatever he intends.’ Say it [three] times. Turn to the southern side and repeat three times: ‘Also on the southern side are different kinds of grain. *Luus*-spirits, lords of graves, lords of waters, stones, trees and earth, be satisfied with this grain and endow the provider of [this grain] with enough grain and potatoes, long life and blessing, may everything fulfil exactly according to his intentions.’ Similarly recite three times the following: ‘Oh, on your western side are various silk fabrics. May all the slaves of the *luus*-spirits, the servants of the rulers of the earth, and the companions of the lord of [this] place be satisfied with various silks, and may they also provide to the donor of [these things] enough of all silk and clothing, strengthen his life, and send blessings. May everything he intends be fulfilled, no matter which part of the world he goes to.’ Also, as before, repeat three times: ‘Oh, there are also different kinds of medicines on the northern side. *Luus*-spirits, [evil] *čidkür*-demons, lords of places, lords of the earth, you all take these medicines and rid their donors completely of wounds, epidemics, bad dreams and bad omens, and fulfil everything they intend.’ And, as before, repeat three times: ‘Oh, there are various offerings and wine in the middle. May the *luus*-spirits, lords of places and deities of the earth become satisfied by these sacrifices and give to [their] donor a long life, blessing, an abundance of wealth, food and offerings. Let whatever he asks be fulfilled.’ Now fill [the tomb pit to the height of] two cubits, write [the mantra] *Tabun sakiyan-u tarni amirita*: ‘qung qung pad pad soq-a’,⁷² cover it so that no water or soil can enter it, and fill in [the remaining] one cubit [of soil]. Put [there] a *caca*, hold in your hand an arrow with feathers of a vulture or an eagle, to which [a piece] of five-coloured silk is tied, and pray as follows: ‘Oh, the superior lama, buddhas and bodhisattvas, dharma protectors, eight groups of *tngri*, *luus*-spirits, rulers of the earth, lords of places, come. Twenty-eight stars,⁷³ big and small stars, seven planets, protectors of the directions, I sacrifice three times to you, day and night. Give me and the donor long life and a blessing. Remove [from us] the danger of years, the danger of months, the danger of days and the danger of hours, and everything unpleasant. Fulfil exactly what we intend and desire.’ Repeat

⁷⁰ The manuscript has plural form *köbegüd* ‘sons’, but according to context the text addresses an individual deceased.

⁷¹ Chinese *ba fang tian* 八方天. As for the term *tngri* (frequently written non-standardly *tengri*, in the colloquial forms of Mongolian pronounced *tenger*) as the Mongolian denotation for the highest of the six realms of rebirth and existence, corresponding to Tib. *lha* and Skt. *deva*, it is commonly translated as ‘gods’, but I prefer to use the Mongolian term instead as to avoid misunderstanding based on the European idea of immortal gods, because *tngri* are mortal, albeit very long-lived, beings. On a systematic description of *tngri* as a part of the Mongolian pantheon, see Heissig 1970: 352–364 (Heissig translates the word *tngri* ‘die Himmlischen’) and Birtalan 2001: 1049–1053.

⁷² The whole wording of the *amṛta* mantra in Sanskrit is: *om amṛtakuṇḍali hana hana hūm phaṭ*. It is a mantra invoking the deity Amṛtakuṇḍali (tib. *bduḍ rtsis ’khyil ba*) and averting obstacles (Berounský 2006: 208).

⁷³ *Qorin naiman yabuqu odun*, also *qorin naiman güyüki odun* – ‘twenty-eight moving stars’, Skt. *nakṣatrāṇi*, Tib. *rgyu skar*, 28 lunar mansions in Indian astrology (enumerated for example by *Mahāvīyutpatti*, Sárközi 1995: 235–237, detailed description in Baumann 2006: 99–114).



this a total of three times to secure the favour of [the deities]. Recite twenty-one hymns to Mother Tara. Recite the basic mantra [of the Mother Green Tara] three times.’

[The original work], which the Mother Tara composed in a material body in the Tibetan land, Manjusiri güüsi translated into Mongolian. His scribe was Lobjang Samdan. Let happiness and well-being be established.

5. A SUTRA ABOUT THE CHARACTERISTICS OF LAND (MONG. B 59/1)

This version is likely to be the most widely diffused popular Mongolian text on *sa dpyad*. A closely related version of this text was edited and translated in 1976 by Alice Sárközi (Sárközi 1976), who obtained the manuscript from Č. Luvsanjav.

Here, I took as the default version a manuscript described within Mongolian ritual manuscripts project as Mong. B 59/1 (further manuscript A). The text is written on Russian paper-machine made paper without any visible stamps. The brush-written text corresponds, according to its paleographical features, to first three decades of the 20th century. Fol. 1–5 are written in more robust and larger strokes, fol. 6–13 are written in smaller script in thin strokes, in both cases by one or two experienced administrative service scribes.

Among the Oirat manuscripts in Clear script digitized by the Digital Library for International Research in cooperation with the American Center for Mongolian Studies and Tod Nomyn Gerel Center (holder of the collection)⁷⁴ a manuscript entitled *Yazariyin šinjini zuraxai orošiboi*⁷⁵ (‘Enumerations of land characteristics’) was also digitized; it represents the Oirat version of a text highly similar to A. I call this Oirat manuscript version B.

L. Hürelbaatar mentions another manuscript version in his own collection bearing the title *Ājar-i sinjigči baras-un nirayubči-tu kemeküi orusiba* (‘A Land analyser called Tiger back-pad’)⁷⁶ mentioned also within the versions A and B.⁷⁷ Among the manuscripts digitized by the Mongolian ritual manuscripts project, a single leaf with the first page of the same text was also found, unfortunately without continuation. As the first page contains the narrative introductory part, I quote this manuscript as version C.

The Mongolian collection of the Royal Library of Denmark in Copenhagen includes the manuscript Mong. 314 entitled *Ājar-un sinji-yin sudur* (*Sutra on the characteristics of land*) and catalogued by Heissig and Bawden (1971: 149–151) as *Manual of divination by means of characteristics of the land*. The manuscript includes several separate texts, one of which partially corresponds to the analysed work. It is found on fol. 6r–7r. I call this text version D. The text corresponds very closely with version A, but the synoptic correspondence abruptly ends at the end of fol. 6v and the short final part of the land characteristics described on fol. 7r is not included in versions A or B. The whole text is therefore significantly shorter than A and B. Further research might con-

⁷⁴ <http://dlir.org/archive/collections/show/7> (accessed 05.06.2020).

⁷⁵ In DLIR database, labelled mistakenly as *Yazariyin šinjini zuraxai orošiboi*. Citation: Шагшаабaд тoйц, ‘Yazariyin šinjini zuraxai orošiboi,’ online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #11324, <http://dlir.org/archive/items/show/11324> (accessed 05.06.2020).

⁷⁶ Hürelbaatar 2002: 417–432. Hürelbaatar included extensive quotations of the text, but not its entire version.

⁷⁷ Hürelbaatar did not quote the text in its entirety and used probably several manuscripts, therefore I do not refer to it as a single version.



firm whether this version represents an original, and only later expanded version, or instead, an abbreviated version.⁷⁸

Version B divides the text into 14 numerated thematic sections. Version A lacks any explicit internal division but in general synoptically corresponds with the text B, but fully misses the text corresponding to sections 10–13 of B. At the end, A has a few additional sentences about land characteristics which lack in B. On the other side, B ends with a colophon mentioning the translator and the submitter of the translation, both of whom are lacking in A.

Colophon of B:

[7r] *erkin töröltü čongkor durduqsan-yēr*¹

emči blamadu šütüji Bürün:

erdeni šaq=|šābād toyin mongyolčilon orčiulji¹ orošiulbai:

öün-ēce boluqsan xamuq¹ amitan endürel ügei müri olxu bol=|tuyai::

‘Based on the order of Čongkor of noble birth,

with reverence toward Emči [Medicine] Lama / with the help of Emči Lama

toyin (noble monk) Erdeni Šaqšābād translated into Mongolian.

Thanks to this, may all beings find the infallible path.’

L. Hürelbaatar, according to his manuscript, mentions a similar colophon in B (with Emči lama and Erdeni šaqšabad) but without mentioning the submitter. The Tibetan version of the name Erdeni Šaqšabad would be Rinčinčültüm.⁷⁹ As for the present state of research, I am not able to identify these persons more closely.⁸⁰

Both the Classical Mongolian and the Oirat versions most likely originated from an identical translation. Given the prevalence of the manuscripts in a Classical Mongolian version with only one Oirat version, I would presume that the Oirat version was based on the Classical Mongolian original. It is supported also by several misspellings in the Oirat version which reflect a wrong interpretation of the (probable undotted) orthography of the Classical Mongolian original by the Oirat scribe. In general, version A is a rather late and selective copy of the text as it misses large parts preserved in B, as well as lacking a colophon. Manuscript B is a careful and neat copy, however, showing signs of adaptation and occasional misinterpretations when transmuting the classical Mongolian text into Oirat. Examples of the main formulative and wording differences between A and B are the following:

a) Corruption of individual words or sentences:

A: *beleg* (‘present’) – B: *bang* (unclear); A: *olan* (‘many’) – B: *oula* (‘mountain’); A: *tuliši-yin öglig-ber takiqui* (‘burning offerings’) – B: *toleši ögüülekü-bēr takixui* (the word *öglig* ‘donation’ is changed into *ögüülekü* ‘to speak’); A: *ölitü kötül kiged qadatai öndür ayula* (‘a low mountain saddle and a high rocky mountain’) – B: *oula-tu kötöl kiged yadādu öndür* (‘a hilly saddle and an outer peak’).

⁷⁸ The frame narrative of Mong. 314 has been quoted by Charles Bawden (Bawden 1994: 55).

⁷⁹ Hürelbaatar 2002: 422–423.

⁸⁰ Šaqšabad is also mentioned as the translator of *The Mirror for analysing land, which was granted to lama Tuyar nayboo* (gdugs dkar nag po) to *Jobo* (jo bo) (*blam-a tuyar nayboo ber jobo-dur soyurqaysan yajar sinjileküin toli kemekü oru=sibai*). A manuscript of 10 folios in the Library of the Inner Mongolian Academy of Social Sciences, *Dumdadu ulus-un yarčay* No. 5424.



b) Parallel sentences in A and B have significantly different meaning:

A: *örün-e jüg olan öndür sayin* ('It is good if there are many high [mountains] in the western side.')
 – B: *xoi=tu oula öndör bolbāsu sayin*: ('It is good if the northern mountain is high.')

The different reading of the Classical Mongolian original throughout the transmission process:

A: *duuly-a* ('helmet') – B: *tulya* ('brazier; hearth, fireplace'); A: *nömürtü yajar* ('sheltered place')
 – B: *umardu yazar* ('northern place'); A: *jülgen-dü* ('on the meadow') – B: *ölgedü* ('on the sunny side [of a hill]').

c) Synonymous wording:

A: *eteged* ('side') – B: *züq* ('direction'); A: *engdel* ('mistake, accident') – B: *aldal* ('fault, loss');
 A: *bügüden-dü mayu* ('bad for everyone') – B: *bügüdedü osol* ('perilous for everyone'); A: *boyuni yajar-a sayin*. ('[it is] good [to dwell] in a lower place') – B: *boyoni yazar-tu nutuqlaxui*: ('[it is good] to dwell in a lower place'); A: *uruysi tataysan yajar* ('a place directed towards the south')
 – B: *uruqši xandoqsan yazar* ('a place directed towards the south'); A: *barun eteged-ün* ('of the western side') – B: *baroun talayin* ('of the western side').

d) Addition or deletion of grammatical words or full-meaning words without a semantic shift:

A: *kebtegsen metü sayin*. ('as [it is] good') – B: *kebtegsen metü bolbāsu sayin*: ('if it [would be] as [it is] good'); A: *namur çaytu* ('in the autumn period') – B: *namur* ('[in autumn]');
 A: *üjey-e gebesü* ('if someone wishes to look at it') – B: *üzeküü ele bolbāsu* ('whoever likes to look at it'); A: *bui бүкүн-dü* – B: *kümün бүгүdedü* ('to everyone').

e) Elision of individual words:

A: *boru yajar qoni kiged üker ösüyü* ('In a grey place sheep and cows will increase.') – B: *boro yazar xonin ösöyü*: ('In a grey place sheep will increase.').

f) Corrupted sentence order:

A: *qara širegün yajar-a simnus- un tabun ayula-un dumadadu öndür dörben jobkis boyuni sayin. orun kümün ed ayurasun бүгүden-dü mayu*. instead of the right sequence of two sentences:

(1) *qara širegün yajar-a simnus-un orun. kümün ed ayurasun бүгүden-dü mayu*. (2) *tabun ayula-un dumadadu öndür dörben jobkis boyuni sayin*. – B has only the first sentence: *xara šeriün yazar inu sumnušiyin oron kümün ed ayuurasun бүгүdedü mou boluyu*:

g) Absence of individual sentences (within the synoptic part of the text):

For example: A: *qara ulayan alay bögesü kümün adayusun-du ükül olan bolqu*. lacks a counterpart in B.

At least some of the manuscripts on land characteristics kept in the Mongolian collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Science would appear to correspond with our text.⁸¹ Definitely related to our text are the manuscripts Q 3913/№7353 and Q3909/№7349, as they have similar information as to the authorship in their colophons (translator Erdeni saysabad toyin, and Čökögür as initiator of the translation).⁸² A further four Mongolian texts on the analysis of land preserved at the Institute of Language and Literature of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences were enumerated by L. Hürelbaatar.⁸³ The collection of C. Damdinsüren in Ulaanbaatar includes four manuscripts on the analysis of land, one of which (ac-

⁸¹ Described in the catalogue of Sazykin 1988: 339–341, catalogue numbers 1923–1938; Sazykin 2001: 329, catalogue numbers 4019–4021. I had no possibility to personally see these manuscripts.

⁸² Sazykin 2001: 329, catalogue numbers 4019–4020. I had no possibility to personally see these manuscripts.

⁸³ Hürelbaatar 2002: 432. I had no possibility to personally see these manuscripts.



ording to the catalogue entry) opens with the same frame narrative.⁸⁴ The *Catalogue of Ancient Mongolian Books and Documents in China* mentions at least 11 Mongolian manuscripts on geomancy in libraries in China.⁸⁵ Further manuscripts on land analysis in the Royal Library of Denmark are for the most part related directly to the Chinese sources (particularly Mong. 16, Mong. 107⁸⁶); they originate from Inner Mongolia. *Tajar-un sudur orusiba* (A sutra of places) included in the famous compilation of shorter ritual texts *Sungdui* (*Tarnis-un quriyangyui*, Peking xylograph of 1707, *nögüge*, section *nyu* fol. 85v-87r)⁸⁷ is not a sutra of the *sa dpyad* genre.⁸⁸

Here I present a continuous translation based on the manuscript A. Only in those cases where A is clearly corrupted and B (or Hürelbaatar's quotations) offer a clear and reliable interpretation, I gave preference to those versions. Larger parts in B missing in A (sections 10–13 and the colophon of B) are not translated here. I have completed the translation based upon my own understanding of the present manuscripts; in intricate cases I quote the translation by A. Sárközi (1976: 591–595) for comparison. Shorter sections taken from B and missing in A inside otherwise synoptic texts are in square brackets.

The text opens with the frame narrative about Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo and briefly mentions that the king together with his wife White Tara asked Green Tara to analyse the land and assess the correct place for constructing a temple. Green Tara takes a manual called *Tiger [skin] back-pad* (*Bars-un niruyubčitu*) and starts to explain characteristics of individual places. The systematic explanation is introduced by a section describing the ritual preparation for the act of land-inspection. The sequence of characteristics is divided into two main parts: the explanation of 'characteristics of outer places' (*yadayatu yajar-un sinji*), i.e. parts of the open countryside, and 'characteristics of inner places' (*dotuyadu yajar-un sinji*) related to the internal disposition of a yurt and symbolism of its parts on the basis of determining directions and shapes. A further finer division highlighted in version B by the division into parts (*keseq*) is rather obscure, and the individual parts usually do not bear specific headings. At the end of version A, there are various characteristics without synoptic parallel sentences in other versions. This part includes characteristics of 'outer places', perhaps related to the analysis of places auspicious for burials, but several sentences of this part are hardly intelligible.

5.1. Comparative Transcriptions of Versions A, B, C and D

1A: [1r] yajaron| singji-i| sudur| bülüge:| orušiγu=|laba: :|

1B: [1r] yazariyin šinjini zuraxai orošibo

2A: [1v] om loki soriy-a.| cacarwad-un qayan-u čaytur töbed-| ün časutu yajar degedü nom-i delger=|güljü. jiryuyan jüil amitan-i| amuyulang-tur jokiyaju töbed-| ün ulus arbin buyan-tu üiles-ün| jasay yabuyulju. araban qara| nigül-i tebčigüljü tere edür-dü|

⁸⁴ Catalogue No. 964–967 in Bilgüüdei, Otgonbaatar and Cendina 2018: 466–467. The manuscript with the opening frame narrative about Green Tara and Songtsen Gampo is No. 697 (1193) III3–32 (MH-988).

⁸⁵ *Dumdadu ulus-un yarčay* 5475–5485.

⁸⁶ Heissig 1971: 148–149.

⁸⁷ *Mergen keyid-ün sudur-un čiyulyan* 2012, vol. II: 2524–2527.

⁸⁸ As supposed by Sárközi 1976: 585.



2B: namo guru ...?:⁸⁹ cakirwadin! xani caqtu: töbödiyın casutu ya=|zar dödü nomai delgeroulji: zur=|yân züil xamuq amitanı amuyuu=|langdu zoköji: töböd ola[n]gki! arban buyantu üileşiyın zasaqni! yabuulji: arban xara nüülni tebçil=|jü: tere oçır-tu

2C: om logsoriy-a čak'arwad-un! qayan-u çay-tur: töbed-ün çasutu yajar-a! degedü nom-i Delgeregüljü jiryuyan jüil! qamuy amitan-i amuyulang-tur jokiyaju: töbed-ün ulus-i arban buyan-tu üilesün! jasay-iyar yabuyulju: arban qara nigül-i! tebçegülküi tere uçar-tur

2D: [6v] oom lokiswaro čakirwad-un qayan-u! çay-tur: töbed-ün çisutu yajar Dagedü! nom-i delgeregüljü: jiryuyan jüil amitan-i! amuyulang-tur jokiyaju: töbed-ün ulus-i! arban buyan-tu üiles-ün jasay-i yabuyulju! arban nigül-i tebçigülkü-yin tere! uçar-tur:

3A: uqayan belig-tü yardam-ba tüsimel! tere bügüden mangjuşiri-yin qubilyan! tayibung qayan-u noyuyan Dar-a! eke-yin qubilyan-u güncü neretü! tegün-ü töbed-ün qayan-u qatun! bolqu-yin tula jalju iregsen-! [2r] tür

3B: uxân biliqtu! bromba tüsimeltei bögöd mañjus=|riyin xubilyân tayibura: okin noyön! dere xubilyân guwangzetei töüni tö=|böd xâni xatun bolyon: zalju ireq=|sendü

3C: uqayan! beligtü gardam ba tüsimel tere böged: manjusiri-yin! qubilyan tayibung qayan-u ükin noyuyan Dhara! eke-yin qubilyan güngjü neretü tegüni töbed-ün! qayan-u qatun bolqu-yin tula jalaju iregsen-! tür:

3D: uqayan bilig-tü gardamba! tüsimel tere böged manjusiri-yin! qubilyan: tayibung qayan-u ükin! noyuyan Dhar-a-yin qubilyan güngjü! neretü tegüni töbed-ün qayan-dur qatun! bolyaqu-yin tula⁹⁰: jalaju iregsen-tür!

4A: qayan yurban erdenis-ün! sitügen-i orun süme-e ger-e! egüdküi-dür töbed-ün orun! maşi doşın-u tula egünü! beleges-i narin-a medetügei kemen! sedkijü bürün.

4B: xân yurban erdeni-yin şütē=|ni oron süme ger ni öüdküdü tö=|bödiyın oron maşi doşını tula! öüni belgeşni narinan medetügei! kemën sedkijü:

4C: qayan yurban erdenisün sitegen-ü! orun süm-e kerem egüdküi-dür: töbed-ün orun masi doysin-u tula: egün-ü! belgesi narin-a medetügei kemen sedkejü! bürün:

4D: qayan-u yurban erdenis-ün <sitügen> süm-e ger! egüdküi çay-tur: töbed-ün orun! masi doysin-u tula: egünü belges-i narin-a! medesügei: kemen sedkijü bürün

5A: qayan kiged çayan! Dar-a qoyayulan ene yerü kitad! jiruqai-tur mergen ilangyuy-a! yajar üjeküi-dür mergen-i uqaju! noyuyan Dar-a-tur nige sman?! altan ekilejü olan beleg bariyad! yajar üjegülbesü

5B: burxan kigēd: ca=|yân dare xoyoula: ene yerü kigēd! zurxayidu mergen: ilangyuya yazar! üzeküyidü mergeni uxaju: no=|yon daredü nige şing altani e=|kileji olon bang bariād: yazar! üzülbesü:

5C: qayan kiged çayan Dara qoyayula: ene! yerü kitad jiruqai-tur mergen ilangyuy-a! yajar üjeküi-tür mergen-i uqaju! noyuyan Dara-tur nigen şing alta ekelejü! olan beleg bariyad: yajar üjegülbesü!

5D: qayan! kiged çayan Dhar-a qoyayula: ene yerü! kitad-un jiruqai-tur mergen-i uqaju! noyuyan Dhar-a-tur nigen sim altan-i! ilegejü: olan belig-i bariyad: yajar-i! üjügülbesü:

6A: tere noyuyan! Dar-a tülber-ügei mangjuşiri-yin! jokiyaysan baras-un niraşubaçi-tu! [2v] kermen ündüsün-dür üjejü bürün! jarliy bolbai.

⁸⁹ A corrupted form of a transcribed Sanskrit word, which I hesitate to transcribe due to its ambiguity.

⁹⁰ Written in a non-standard fashion with *kebtege d*.



6B: tere noyön dare! tülbel-ügei mañjuşriyin zokōq=|son bariyin niruyübēn kemēkü ündü=|sündü üzüjü bürün bolbai:

6C: tere noyuyan Dara tülberel ügei! manjusiri-yin jokiyaysan bars-un niruyübči-tu! kemekü ündüsün-tür üjeju bürin jarliq! bolbai::

6D: tere noyuyan Dhar-a! türbel ügei manjusiri-yin jokiyaysan! baras-un niruyübčitu kemekü ündüsün-dür! öčijü bürün jarliq bolbai

7A: egündür yadayadu! yajarun belig ba. dotuy[a]du yajarun! belig lüge qoyar. uridur yerü! yajar inu naiman nabči negegsen! lingu-a metü oyturayui inu! naiman kegesütü kürdü metü! oračın bükü yajir inu naiman! qutuy metü uqaydaqui bolai!

7B: öün=|dü yadađu yazariyin belge ba: dotō=|du yazariyin belge lügē xoyor:| uridu yerü yazar inu nayiman nabči! nēqsen lingxuwa metü o<q>toryui nai=|man küyistü kürdü metü: orčın bükü! yazar inu nayiman ölzoı xutuq me=|tü uxuqduxui bolai:

7D: egündür! yadayadu yajarun belge-lüge qoyar: uridu-dur! yerü yajar inu oytaryui metü kegesütü! kürdün metü: naiman nabči negegsen lingqu-a! metü: orčın bükü yajar inu: naiman nabči! metü uqaydaqui bolai

8A: tegündür basa süm-e keyid-ün yajar! kiged bayudal-un yajar luy-a qoyar:| uridu kemebesü yurban erdeni-dür! itegel yabuyulun takil takin.! küsegsen-eyen unjin⁹¹ jalbirayad! [3r] mangjuşri-yin yirügel unğşiju! nam-a sa[n]gy'ati naiman gegen teregüte[n]! unğşiju sumun-du gkib uyaju! sačulai darisun/derisün altan menekei-! yin bey-e kötülüged yabudal-tu mori-! i unuju üjegdeküi.

8B: töündü basa! süme kiyidiyin yazar kigēd geriyin! [2r] buadal yazar lügē 2: uridu belges! kemēbēsü 3 erdeni-dü itelgel ya=|buulji takil küseqseni orčın zal=|birād: mañjuşriyin zürekeni unğ=|şiji: namsanggidi nayiman gegēn terigüü=|teni unğşiji: sumun tabun önggüyin kib! uyaji saculi darsun altan melekeyin! beyēgi bütēji: yabudaltai morini u=|nuji üzeqdekü kereq::

8D: tegündür bayising! süm-e keyid-ün yajar kiged: gerün bayulun! yajar-luy-a qoyar: uridu kemebesü yurban! erdeni-dür itegel yabuyuluyad: takil takin! küsegsen-iyen jalbariyad: manjusiri-yin! jirüken-i ungsiju: nam-a sangghadi naiman! gegen terigüten-i ungsiju: sumu-tur kiib [6v] uyaju sačulai darasun: altan menekei-yin! bey-e-yi kötülüged: yabudal-tu morin-i! unuju üjegdeküi:

9A: doruna! jüg boyuni bolbasu sayin.! umar-a jüg kösigē tataysan! metü sayin. örün-e jüg olan! öndür sayin. emün-e jügün! erdeni çoyčalaısan sayin.

9B: 1 dorona! züq boyoni bolbōsu sayin: umara züq! köşigü tataqsan metü bolbāsu sayin: xoi=|tu oula öndör bolbāsu sayin: ömüne! züq erdeni coqçoloqson metü! bolbāsu sayin:

9D: doruna boyuni bolbasu! sayin: umara jüg kösigē tatagsan metü! bolbasu sayin: qoyitu ayula öndür! bolbasu sayin: emüne çoyčalaısan metü! bolbasu sayin:

10A: degedü! bey-e çomurlıy tataısan sayin.!|

10B: dēdü beye cömörliq! metü bolbāsu sayin:

10D: degedü bey-e çomurlıy <tataısan! metü> bolbasu sayin:

11A: aday bey-e küriyelegsēn metü sayin!

11B: 1 yadani belge inu:| kürēleqsēn metü sayin

11D: aday bey-e inu küriyelegsēn! metü bolbasu sayin:

12A: qabiryān-u ayulan boyuni! [3v] bolbasu sayin.

12B: xabiryai uu=|la boyoni bolbāsu sayin:

12D: qabiriy-a ayula boyuni! bolbasu sayin:

⁹¹ This seems to correspond with standard *ungsin*. Sárközi 1976: 587 reads *öcin*.



- 13A: örüne jüg-dür! usun olan sayin
 13B: ömüne züq! usun ulā bolbāsu sayin:
 13D: örüne jüg usun olan! bolbasu sayin:
 14A: qoyitu jüg-ün! šiuyi oi olan sayin.
 14B: xoyitu! züq öi šiuyi oula bolbāsu sayin:!
 14D: qoyitu jüg inu šiuyi olan! bolbasu sayin:
 15A: doruna! eteged yeke čilayuu jülge sayin.!
 15B: basa dorona züq yeke čiloun kigēd! zülgen bolbāsu sayin:
 15D: basa dorona eteged yeke! čilayun kiged jülge bolbasu sayin:
 16A: qoyitu jüg yeke jayan kebtgesen! metü sayin.
 16B: xoyitu züq! zān kebtgesen metü bolbāsu sayin:
 16D: qoyitu jüg jayan kebtgesen metü bolbasu sayin:
 17A: barun ayula arasalan! kebtgesen metü sayin.
 17B: baruun! uula arsalan kebtgesen metü bolbāsu! sayin:
 17D: barayun ayula arsalan kebtgesen metü! bolbasu sayin:
 18A: jegün eteged! dörelbelčin sayin.
 18B: zoun oula dorboljin bolbāsu sa=|yin:
 18D: jegün ayula dörelbeljin! bolbasu sayin:
 19A: doruna! jüg-ün nayur sayin.
 19B: -; 19D: doruna nayur sayin:
 20A: baraun jüg-ün! yurbaljin sayin
 20B: baroun oula yurbuljin bolbāsu sa=|yin:
 20D: barayun jüg yurbaljin bolbasu sayin:
 21A: doruna emüne-e-yin! jabsar-un ayula badaraysan! yal metü sayin.
 21B: dorono nömüneyin [!] zabsar oula! badaraqsan metü bolbāsu sayin
 21D: doruna! emüne-yin jabsar-un ayula badaraysan! yal metü bolbasu sayin:
 22A: emüne-e örüne-e-yin! jabsar-un ayula muqur sayin.!
 22B: ömüne! ömüneyin zabsariyin oula muxur mu=|xur bolbāsu sayin:
 22D: emüne örüne-yin! jabsar-un ayula muqur bolbasu sayin:!
 23A: örüne-e umar-a-yin jabsar-un! [4r] ayula yodor⁹² delgegsen metü sayin.!
 23B: ömüne umariyin! zabsariyin oula yodor delgeqsan me=|tü bolbāsu sayin:
 23D: örüne umara-yin jabsar-un ayula! yodar Delgegsen metü bolbasu sayin:
 24A: umar-a doruna-a-yin jabsar-yin! ayula duuly-a metü sayin.
 24B: umara doronoyin! zabsariyin oula tulya metü bolbāsu! sayin.
 24D: umara! doruna-yin jabsar-un ayula duyuly-a metü bolbasu sayin:
 25A: tere! metü beleges-dü tegüldür bügüden-i! oyun-tur oruqui-dur duran-dur! jokistu tere ya-
 jar-tur küreged! sačin.
 25B: tere metü belgestü tögüldür bügü=|deyin oroxu: duradu zokostu tere! yazar kürēd sača:
 25D: tere belges-tür! tegülder: bügüdeyin oyun-tur oruqui! duran-dur jokis-tu tere yajar kürüged!
 sača:

⁹² Stand. yodar.



26A: sedkel-dür tačiyangyui| urin mungqay törütüged⁹³: bayasqui| amuqui teregüten teyimü sedkil| törükü ene bolbasu öglig-yin| ejen nöbür selten-ber uritu⁹⁴| nasulaju köbegün ačinar delger=⁹⁵kü. ed ayurisu arabčiqui⁹⁵| aldar ner-e yeke bolqu boluyu. [4v]

26B: sedkiltü tačangyui| [2v] urin mungxaq töröd bayasxu amuraxu| terigüüten teyimü sedkil törökülē| mün bolbasu öqligüiyin ezen nöbür| selte bër urtu⁹⁶ nasulxu köböün ači⁹⁷| nar delgerēkü ede ayuurusun arbi=⁹⁸jixu: aldar nere yeke olxu bolu=⁹⁹yu:

26D: sedkil-tür tačiyangyui urin mungqay| türütüged: bayasqui amuqui terigüten| teyimü sedkel törükü ele bolbasu| öglige-yin ejen nöbür selte ber urtu| nasulaqui kiged köbegün ačinar delgerēkü| ed ayurisu arabčiqu: aldar-a ner-e| yeke bolqu boluyu: [*The end of a synoptic text in the D version*]

27A: tere yajar-yi üjeged mangjuširi-| tur bisalyal yabuyuluydaqui|

27B: tere metü yazar üzēd:: mañjuš=⁹⁹ridu bišilyan yabuyulaqdaxu-yi:

28A: ese bögesü qoyusun činar-yi| olju. uqaysan gün bisalyal-dur| yogajar nar boluyu

28B: basa| xōson činari uxaqsan gün bišilyal=⁹⁹tu yogačuri boluyu:

29A: tegünčilen ese. | üiledbesü yajar-i üjeged engdel| boluyu kemen üjigüljükkü.

29B: tögünčile ele| yazari daxan üzēbēsü ele yazar ü=⁹⁹zeqčid-tü aldal boluyu: kemēn ögüül=⁹⁹bei:: : :

30A: basa| subury-a čiyula qurima süme-e| amilaqui čereg ayalqui yeke| yodor delgeküi kötül takiqui| kögürge talbiqui. toytuma jam| jasaqui. subay tataqui küriy-e| deledtüküi-dü sayin.

30B: basa busu suburya| čuulyan xurim süme amilxui: cereq| ayalxui yeke yodor delgerēküi: kötel| takixui kögürge talbixui: tondam za=⁹⁹mani zasan subaq tataxui kürē deled=⁹⁹kü

31A: tuliši-yin| öglig-ber takiqui usun-u kögürege| [5r] jasaqui. modun tariqui. | tedeger terigüten belges-i| delgerenggüi ündüsün-dür narina-a| medetügei.

31B: toleši ögüülekü-bër takixui:| usuni kürelgü zasaxui: modu taki=⁹⁹xui: tede terigüüteni belgeši del=⁹⁹gerenggüi ündüsündü narina medeqde=⁹⁹küi:

32A: kegüür yaryaqi tere=⁹⁹güten mön tegün-dür uqaydaqui. |

32B: küür yaryaxui terigüüteni mün| töündü uxaqdaxui::

33A: nöğüge orun bayurin belige keme=⁹⁹besü.

33B: 2 keseq:: : ögün oron buurini belges kemēbē=⁹⁹sü:

34A: čayan öngge-tü orun inu| tengri-yin aysan orun buyu. tegündür bayubasu| kümün adayusun-dur jokiyu.

34B: cayān önggütü inu dēre aqsan| oron bui: töündü buubāsu kümün| adousun-du zōqnixu:

35A: ulayan| önggetü doysin albin-tu orun| moran⁹⁸-du sayin. bögetel-e busu bügüden-| dü mayu.

35B: ulān önggü-| tü bolbasu doqšin albin aqšani o=⁹⁹ron buyu: morindu sayin bögötölö| busu bügüdedü osol:

36A: qara širegün yajar-a simnus-| un tabun ayula-un dumadadu öndür| dörben jobkis boyuni sayin. orun| [5v] kümün ed ayurasun bügüden-dü mayu. |⁹⁹

⁹³ Stand. *türüdkü*, confirmed by D with a form *türütüged*.

⁹⁴ Stand. *urtu*.

⁹⁵ Written *arabčiqui*, even though the scribe otherwise graphically distinguishes *j* and *č* in medial positions.

⁹⁶ Written with a dot as *nurtu*.

⁹⁷ Written with a dot as *nači*.

⁹⁸ Stand. *morin*.

⁹⁹ Two independent sentences are mixed together by mistake. The right wording would be: (1) *qara širegün yajar-a simnus-un orun. kümün ed ayurasun bügüden-dü mayu*. (2) *tabun ayula-un dumadadu öndür dörben jobkis boyuni sayin*.



- 36B: xara šeriün! yazar inu sumnušiyin oron kümün ed! ayuurasun bügüdedü mou boluyu:|
 37A: sayin önggetü bögesü busud sayin. | bögütel-e morin-dur mayu.
 37B: šara önggütü bolbäsu busudtu sayin! bögötölö morin-du mou:
 38A: köke yajar-a! qadantai bolbasu. yamağan-du sayin. | busud-du mayu.
 38B: kökö yazar! xadatai bolbäsu yamätu sayin bögötölö! [3r] busudtu mou::
 39A: deresetei yajar-a! üker-dü sayin:
 39B: dersütü yazar ükür=|tü sayin bögötölö busudtu mou:
 40A: jülge yajar-a moran-! du sayin.
 40B: zülge-! tü <yazar morin-du> sayin bögötölö busudtu mou:
 41A: ayula yajar-a qonin-du! sayin.
 41B: oulata=|yi yazar xoindu sayin bögötölö busud-! tu mou:
 42A: noyuyan önggetü bögesü! kümün ed ayurasun bügüden-dü! sayin:
 42B: noyön önggötü sayin:
 43A: çayan ulayan alay bögesü! kümün-dü ebedçen bolqu. qara! ulayan alay bögesü kümün adayusun-! du ükül olan bolqu.
 43B: cayän! ulän alağ böğösü kümün adousundu! ükül ebeçin olon bolxu
 44A: qara çayan alay! bögesü ideged qomsa bolqu. mal-i! [6r] jud dayayiriqu
 44B: xara cayän! alağ böğösü idän xomso bolöd:| mala zud dayirexu:
 45A: köke šara alay! bögesü kümün adayusun-a sayin. |
 45B: kökö šara önggü-! tü bolbäsu kümün adousun yerü bü=|güdedü sayin:
 46A: qara šara alay bögesü adayusun-du! sayin. kümün-e ebedçin bolqu. |
 46B: xara šara alağ bolbä=|su adousun-du sayin bögötölö kümün-! dü ebeçin bolxu:
 47A: çayan alay bolbasu mal-dur genedte! yamsiy bolqu.
 47B: genetü yamšiq bol=|xu:
 48A: quwa yajar mal! jabqaraqui kiged narin jar! ügei bolqu.
 48B: xō yazar mal aldaxu-yi kigēd! nariyin=yēr ügei bolxu:
 49A: boru yajar qoni! kiged üker ösüyü
 49B: boro yazar! xonin ösöyü:
 50A: küren yajar! morin-du sayin činu-a-yin ayul! olan bolqu.
 50B: kürün yazar morindu! sayin: čonoyin ayuul ulän:
 51A: elesün yajar! imayan-du sayin busud mayu. |
 51B: elesün! yazar yamädusayin busudtu mou:
 52A: örgesütü yajar temegen-dü sayin! busu-du mayu qoni-du masi! [6v] mayu.
 52B: üür=|gesete yazar temëndü sayin: busudtu mou
 53A: modun suyu yajar-a kümün! ed ayurisun-du mayu.
 53B: modun šuyuu <yazar> kümün ede tabar-! tu sayin: adousun-du mou::
 54A: qaburun! çaytu barayun uruysi yangduysan! sayin.
 54B: 3 keseq::! xaburiyin caq-tu baroun uruqši! xanduqsan yazar sayin:
 55A: jun-u çay-du dorun-a boyuni! yajar-a sayin.
 55B: zuni caq-tu! dorona boyoni yazar-tu nutuqlaxui:|
 56A: namurun çaytu! jegün eteged boyuni ebülün çaytu! uruysi tataysan yajar nutuyla!
 56B: namuriyin caqtu zöün etegēd boyo=|ni yazar nutuqlaxui: übüliyin caq-! tu uruqši xandoqsan yazar nutuqla::|
 57A: qabur jun-u jabsar youl! yajar sayin.
 57B: 4 keseq:: : : xabur zuni zab=|sar xōl yazar sayin::



- 58A: jun namurun jabsar! tala sayin.
 58B: zun namuriyin! zabsar tala yazar sayin:
 59A: namur ebülün-ün [!]! jabsar tarayalang¹⁰⁰ yajar sayin.!
 59B: namur übüli-! yin zabsar taralang yazar metü yazar! sayin:
 60A: ebül qaburun. jabsar-a! nömürtü yajar sayin.
 60B: übüli xaburiyin zabsar umardu! yazar sayin:
 61A: dörben! çay! [7r] naiman-du tabun maqabud-un ejed! öngge dayaju. yabuju qamuy! amitan tabun maqabud-iyar! bütüksen tula. dörben çay-un jabsar! tabun maqabud-yin youl kiged neres¹⁰¹! inaysi çinaysi odqui iriküi-yin! jüil doluyan neyilelduqsan-iyar! adayusun arabjiqu bolju.
 61B: dörbön caqtu dörbön züq! dörbön zubkis zabsar dörbön caqtu! [3v] tabun maxamudiyin önggü daxaji yabuyu;! xamuq amitan tabun maxamudiyin önggü-yër! bütükseni tula ba: dörbön caqqiyin! zabsar tabun maxamudiyin yöl kiged naran! çinaqşi inaqşi odxui ireküyin züq! tulya[n] neyilelduqsan-yër kümün adou=|sun arbijixu boluyu:
 62A: jun-u! çaytu bayuqui-du barayun ayula! öndür sayin
 62B: 5 keseq:: : :: zuni yurban caqtu bayuxu baruun! oula öndör bolbäsu sayin:
 63A: -; 63B: übüliyin! yurban caqtu zöün uula öndür bol=|bäsu sayin: xaburiyin yurban caqtu! zöün xoyitu oula öndür bolbäsu! sayin:
 64A: namurun çaytu! emün-e ayula sayuqsan düritü! ayula-yin jülgen-dü bayubasu! sayin
 64B: namuriyin yurban caqtu ömüne! oula öndür bolbäsu sayin: 6 keseq::! kümün souqsan metü dortu oulayin! ölgedü boubäsu sayin:
 65A: jayan metü ayula-yin! qabiryän-du.
 65B: zän metü oula-! yin xabiryadu buubäsu sayin:
 66A: araslan metü! [7v] ayula-yin! degere sayin.
 66B: arslan! metü ouliyin mörön dère sayin:
 67A: kerüge metü! ayula-yin qosiyu degere! sayin.
 67B: gerë! metü oulayin xoşiuun dère sayin:
 68A: oçuli süke metü! ayula-yin gejigen-dü bayu!
 68B: öli! süke metü ouliyin gijige dère sayin:!
 69A: sibaçun metü ayula-yin! dalbaçin degere
 69B: şobuun metü oulayin dalabçi dère! sayin:
 70A: -; 70B: moçoi metü oulayin soul dère! sayin:
 71A: kösigë metü! ayula-yin töb dumda julgin-du [!]!
 71B: köşigü metü oulayin töb dunda! döldögädü sayin::
 72A: duuly-a metü ayula-yin! sadur¹⁰² jülgen-dü
 72B: tulyan metü oulayin! şidar ölgädü sayin:
 73A: temegen metü ayula-yin! niruğun-du
 73B: temën metü ou=|layin nuruğun dère sayin:
 74A: qonin metü ayula-yin! segere¹⁰³
 74B: xonin metü! oulayin sër dère sayin:

¹⁰⁰ Hürelbaatar 2002: 427 according to his manuscript reads *дарайлаг*.

¹⁰¹ Hürelbaatar 2002: 427 according to his manuscript reads *наран*.

¹⁰² Intended as a nonstandard writing of *şidar* 'near'. The written form *sadar*, however, might lead to the reading [*sadar*] appearing in the colloquial compound word *надар садар* meaning '[hills] lining up one after another' (MHDTT III 1318).

¹⁰³ Stand. *seger*.



- 75A: yaqai metü-yin qangsiyar-| du
 75B: yaxai metü| oulayin xangšar dēre sayin:
 76A: morin metü-yin köl-dü
 76B: morin me=|tü oulayin köl dēre buu:
 77A: qos| kürdün sangdali metü ayula-yin| [8r] orgil degere
 77B: yasan me=|tü oulayin tarki dēre sayin: morin me=|tü oulayin orgildu buu:
 sandalai| metü oulayin orgildu buu:
 78A: küriyelegsen metü-yin| töb dumda
 78B: kürē=|leqsen metü oulayin töb dunda buu:|
 79A: abdara metü| dörbeljin qabaryan-du
 79B: abdar metü oulayin jib sarjana-du| buu
 80A: büriy-e| metü-yin belčer čöngkür-dü. |
 80B: bürē metü oulayin belčir dēre| congğürtü buu:
 81A: dörbeljin tulayan metü-yin youl dumda|
 81B: dorboljin tulya| [4r] metü oulayin xöl dunda buu:|
 82A: jeregelegsen erbeng serbeng-yin| belčer tala-du
 82B: zergeleqsen arbaxa sarbaxa oulayin| belčir taladu buu:
 83A: urtu-yin qabiryan-du|
 83B: urtu oulayin| xabiryadu buu:
 84A: yurbaljin-yin beldü. toli metü-yin| dumda öngdür-yin emün-e beldü|
 84B: yurbaljin uulayin ber-| dü buu: öndür oulayin ömüne| beldü buu: tolai metü oulayin dunda|
 buu:
 85A: boyuni-yin jülgen-dü.
 85B: boyoni oulayin ölgödü buu:|
 86A: keseg| keseg čilayu-tu yajar| bayubasu sayin.
 86B: keseq keseq čoloutai yazar buu bā=|su sayin:
 87A: öčüken ayula-| yin orgil siqaju bayubasu| sayin
 87B: üçüken oulayin orgil dēre| buu:
 88A: -; 88B: 7 keseq:: : ::
 89A: basači nigen jüil linggiqu-a| [8v] metü kiged labai čingdamani| čoy-tu jiruqai irura lingqu-
 a-yin| negegsen qosi irja tuy kürdü| metü. edeger belges-ün tegüsebečü. | qamiy-a bayubasu gem
 ügei. | tegün-dü yajarun ejed bayasču. |
 89B: basa ölzöi xu=|tugiyin orošixu lingxuwa metü: labai| metü činčamani/činčamani¹⁰⁴ metü:
 coqtu zuruxai| metü: arura metü lingxuwa-yin aman nēq=|sen metü: šoši arca metü: tuq metü:|
 kürdü metü: edeni belges tögüsbösü| ölzöi xutuq orošin nasuda jirya=|yu: töündü aqsan yazari-
 yin ezed baya=|sun nökcöji:
 90A: usun-u jüil kemebesü čilayun-u| doturača yaruqsan anu ečegsen| mal-du singgeküy-e
 berke. |
 90B: 8 keseq:: : ::| basa usuni züyil kemēbesü: čiluun-| ēce yaruqsan usun eceqsen maldu| šinggekü
 berke:
 91A: jülge-tü yajarun usu qaburun| čaytu mayu.
 91B: züyilgetü yazariyin| usun xaburiyin caqtu mou:
 92A: qujir-tu usu| namur čaytu mayu

¹⁰⁴ The right form in Sanskrit *cintāmaṇi*.



- 92B: xujir-| tu yazariyin usun namuriyin caqtu mou:|
 93A: elesü| sayirtai usu yerüde sayin.
 93B: elestai yazariyin usun yerüdên| sayin:
 94A: yerü| alay šabar-tu usu. osul.
 94B: yerü laq šabartu usun bügüdedü| mou: osol:
 95A: qur-a-yin| [9r] usu yerüde sayin.
 95B: xura casun-ni usun| yerüdeyin sayin:
 96A: modun-u yiruyar-| ača usu ebedçitü amitan-a| mayu.
 96B: modoni iröl-ēce| yaruqsan usun ebeçitü amitandu mou:|
 97A: urasqal-yin usu yerü sayin. |
 97B: urusxal usun yerüdeyin sayin:
 98A: yirü usu amta ügei| bolbasu sayin.
 98B: yerü| usun amtan ügeyini sayin
 99A: jun-u çaytu ayula-u| jegün eteged-ün usu sayin.
 99B: zuni caqtu| oulayin zoun etegēdiyın usun sayin:|
 100A: namur| çaytu youl-un usu sayin.
 100B: namur yol usun sayin:
 101A: ebül çaytu| ayula barun eteged-ün usu sayin. |
 101B: übül oulayin| baroun talayın usun sayin:
 102A: qabur çaytu nar yaruq juğ-ün| usun sayin.
 102B: 9 keseq:: : :| xaburiyin caqtu naran yaruqı zügiyin| usun sayin:
 103A: qalayun usu kümün mal| bükün-dü qoyultai
 103B: xaluun usun kümün bügüdedü| [4v] xöltai sayin:
 104A: jun-u çay dulayan| usu sayin.
 104B: -; 105A: öndür ayula-ača| küçütei bayuqsan usu sayin. |
 105B: öndür oula-ēce buuq=|san usun küçitai
 106A: -; 106B: zuni caqtu küiten| übüliyin dulayın usun yerüdeyin sayin:|
 107A: tegünçe inayşi erkeber küçün| [9v] ügei usu bolai.
 107B: töün-ēce inaqşi usun zer=|ge ber küçi ügei usun bolai:
 108A: delger üjey-e| gebesü yeke ündüsün-dü bui:
 108B: delge=|renggüi üzeküi ele bolbasu yeke| ündüsün-dü üzeqdeküi:
 A: *corresponding text missing*; B: 10 keseq::| to 13 keseg [fol. 6r] transcription not included here
 109A: ülü| bayuqu qarsi-yin beleg kemebesü|
 109B: 14 keseq:: [fol. 6r] ülü buuxui xar=|şiyin belges kemēbēsü:
 110A: oytas¹⁰⁵ solildaysan jam-un yajar| mayu em-e mangyus-un güyüküi| orun bui bükün-dü mayu
 110B: oqto solil=|çiqsan yazariyin zam yazar inu eme| mangyaşiyin gükü oron bolai: kümün| bügüdedü mou:
 111A: ayuljar| jam simnus-un güyüküi orun bui. | mön mayu.
 111B: ayoulazariyin zam| şumnuşiyin güyüki yazariyin oron bolai| basa bügüdedü mou:
 112A: gerün sidar qoyiyur jam| bolbasu basa qoyitu eteged yeke| ereg bolbasu çinu-a yabuqu orun|

¹⁰⁵ *Oytus* I understand as meaning 'something suddenly and abruptly broken' (гэнэт огзом хугарч тасарсан байдал; МНДТТ III 1465).



112B: geriyin šidar xo=|yiyuur zam bolbāsu čono yabuxu zam! bui: basa xoyitu tal yeke zam ergi! bolbōsu conoyin zam bui:

113A: gerün emün-e inayši oruqu! metü usu sayin yarqui metü! mayu.

113B: geriyin ömnö! inaqši oroxu metü usun sayin:: yarxu! metü usun mou:

114A: -; 114B: dorono züq oula! amangyayisan čono metü böğösü mou::! [6v]

115A: dorun-a jüg ayula mörü! niyuysan metü bolbasu mayu.! [10r]

115B: xoyitu zügiyin oula moyoi zuuq=|san metü böğösü mou:

116A: egüde jüg-ün ayula qaruul! yaruyısan metü ba bolbasu! mayu.

116B: öüden züq! oula xaruul xaraqısan metü bolbāsu! mou:

117A: ölütü¹⁰⁶ kötül kiged qadatai! öndür ayula bolbasu albin! yabuqu orun bui. tegün-i! čegerel.

117B: oula-tu kötöl kiged yadādu! öndür bolbāsu albin yabuxu yazar bui::! töüni erkin

118A: üküdel yasun-u. dergede! bayubasu idege qomsa bolqu.!

118B: üküdüliyin yasun dēre! buubāsu idēn xomso bolxu:

119A: qoyusun balyasun-u dotur-a! sünesü ergekü osul bolai.

119B: xuučın! balyasun dotoro buubāsu sünüsün! ergikü osol yazar:

120A: barun! ayula-ača yurban moyai bayuqu! bolbasu

120B: baroun oula-! ēce yurban moyoi buuxu metü! bolbāsu mou:

121A: jegün ayula-ača noytas! tasuraysan metü abasu! mayu.

121B: zoün oula oqto tasu=|raqısan metü bolbāsu mou.

122A: yerü usun-u barun! eteged mayu.

122B: yerü usuni! baroun tal sayin:

123A: jegün! [10v] jegün eteged sayin.

123B: -; 124A: tebši metü! yajarun dumda buu bayu.

124B: tebši metü yazariyin! dunda bu buu:

125A: -; 125B: tebiür metü yazariyin! dunda bu buu:

126A: egüde-ü! emün-e öčüken qadatai čilen! aljiyaysan metü bolbasu mayu.!

126B: öüden nücügün xatun! kümün aljaqsan metü oula bolbāsu mou!

127A: jegün eteged-dü bosuysan kümün! metü ayula bolbasu qulayai! irikü belges osul.

127B: zoün tal bosuqsan kümün metü oula! bolbāsu xulıyayı ireküyın belge osol:!

128A: qadatai! siregün¹⁰⁷ öndür ebēsü ügei! abasu albin yabuqu-yin! orun.

128B: usun xadatai šuruun öndör öbösü! ügei oula bolbāsu albin yabuxu oron! bui:

129A: qoyusun qada-yin! köndüi-dü sidar bayubasu! ebedčın-u orun bui

129B: xōsun xadayın köndödü šidar bol=|bāsu ebečini oron bui:

130A: mese üjegürtü! sidar doluyan naiman bolbasu! degerem-e qulayai yabuqu orun! [11r] bui.

130B: maši üzüür=|tai šidar dolōn nayıman oula bolbāsu! derme xulıyayın oron bui:

131A: tal-a yajar nigen keseg! čılayutai bolbasu mal-du genedte! ebedčın bolqu

131B: tal yazar nigen! keseg çayān čıluun bolbāsu maldu genete! yamşıq ebečın bolxu bui:

132A: yačıa modun-u! dergede bayubasu kümün-dür genedte! ebedčın bolqu

132B: 15 keseg:: yaqça! moduni dergede bu buu: kümün genete! ebečın bolxu:

133A: jülgen-ü! dotur-a üker qonin-u čınegen! čılayu abasu qabudar ebedčın! bolju.

133B: zülgeni dotoro üker! xoyini čınēn čıloun bolbāsu xabudar e=|bečın bolxu.

134A: olan moyai-tu yajar! bayubasu mal-du qamayı bolqu.!

¹⁰⁶ Probably stand. *öli-tü* 'with a low pass' (Ол: Уулын онь хөтөл, намхан даваа; MHDTT III 1567).

¹⁰⁷ Written as *sergül*, but this reading seems to have no appropriate meaning.



- 134B: oula moyoi-tai yazar buu=|bāsu maldu xamou bolxu:
 135A: qosiu-u-tu [!] tus emün-e buu bayu.¡
 135B: xōšoun tus! ömüne bu buu:
 136A: busu yajar yurbaljin niyur! terigüiten-ü čegerletügei.
 136B: basa busu yurbaljin nuur! terigüüteni cērleqdekü:
 137A: qoyar! mörgüldügsen metü ayula-yin! jabsar-tu buu bayu
 137B: xoyor xuca! mürgüceqsen metü cayān oulani zabsar! bu buu:
 138A: buq-a! [11v] yajar-i uqaysan metü yajar-un! tus emün-e buu bayu
 138B: buxa uxuqsan metü yazariyin ömüne! [7r] bu buu:
 139A: tedeger! orun kemebesü erlig-üd-ün! orun bolai.
 139B: tede orod kemēbēsü erli=|giyin orod bolai:
 140A: tere masita seregün! bögetel-a jabsar-du! inu usu bui. abasu gem ügei.
 140B: tere maši šürüün bō=|götölö zabsar-tu usun bui bögösü gem! ügei:
 141A: yerü doysin ba. nomuqan! aliba bögesü naiman gegen! dabqur qutuy terigüiten nom! um-siju nöküge
 141B: yerü oron yazar doqšin nomoyon! ali bēr bögösü nayiman gegē ölzöi xu=|tuq orošiulxu terigüüteni unğši=|ju takil takibāsu bēr ibēn nökücö=|ji:
 142A: dotuyadu! yajarun belig kemebesü jegün! qoyitu jüg-dü takil takibasü! ber ibegen nöküčeju orun-u! jasyadaqu
 142B: arban zuryān keseq:: basa dotō=|du yazariyin belges kemēbēsü: zoün! xoyitu züqtü oroni zaxsui:
 143A: jegün emün-e jam¹⁰⁸! [12r] idegen sang-i talbiyadaqu.¡
 143B: zoün! ömüneyin¹⁰⁹
 144A: barun emün-e tulay-a jasa.¡
 144B: zabsar tulyani zasa:
 145A: barun qoyina-a mangyus-un jügtü! yurban erdeni-yin sitügen-ni! bayiyltuyai.
 145B: baroun! xoyitu mang<y>siyin züq-tü yurban erdeniyin! šütēni bayiyoulxui:
 146A: qayaly-a-yin¹¹⁰! dorun-a emün-e-yin jügtü! qangdayul.
 146B: xāl̄ya dorno ömüne-| yin zabsar xandoul:
 147A: yadayadu dotuyadu! yajarun üjelge-i tobčilan! üjegülbei.
 147B: yadādu dotōdu yazari-| yin üzelgeši tobčilon üzüülüqči
 [The end of the mutual correspondence between A and B]¹¹¹
 148A: basa dorun-a jüg! yeke youl sayin. emün-e jüg! čöngkür sayin. örün-e yeke jam! sayin. umar-a qara yasutu! menekei sayin. basa yeke jam-| un qoyitu eteged sayin. jegün-| [12v] te eteged sayin. busu jüg-ün! jam mayu
 149A: dörben öngčüg! tegsi. sayin nigen-i keltegei! abasu isebe [?].
 149B: [on fol. 5r within the 11th section:] 4 züq teqši sayin:| öncöq kelterkei bolxulā eme yazar! ulān bolxulā ere kemēkü sayin:

¹⁰⁸ Sárközi 1976: 590 has *jegün emün-e-yin jabsar-a ...* ‘between South and East’ (‘in the south-eastern side’). *Jam* (‘road, path’) in A seems to be a *lapsus calami*, as it handles here about the interior of a yurt.

¹⁰⁹ Written with a dot: *nömüneyin*.

¹¹⁰ Reading uncertain, written as *qaly-a-yin* or *qalq-a-yin*, but these readings do not provide relevant meanings. Apparently, the intended meaning is *qayaly-a-yi*.

¹¹¹ The synoptical part of the text edited by Sárközi 1976 ends here (and continues by the colophon).



150A: gedürgü kebtbesü! oyturyui tegsi sayin-i! singji! türügülen kebtbesü! delekei tegsi toytaysan-i! singjile. örgüstü modu! üjegdebesü ulayan önggetü! yajar üjegdebesü öglig-yin! ejed mayu umar-a jügtü! yayça <toluyai abasu üre-i ere yayça> bolqu. dorun-a jügtü! abasu qulyai degerem ba.! mayu egüdten eme cöle! [13r] qayabci-i çerel. emün-e köb! nayurun barun qajabaçi cüngkürni! qosiyu-u tus tus emün-e yajar! öndür-i jegün eteged-dü kebegei! ba: yerü keltegei ba kelterkei! yajar-ud-i çererlekü mön! bolai ene bolbasu kegüür-ün! yajara-du erekilemüi! om sayin amuyulan boltuyai! mangy'alam

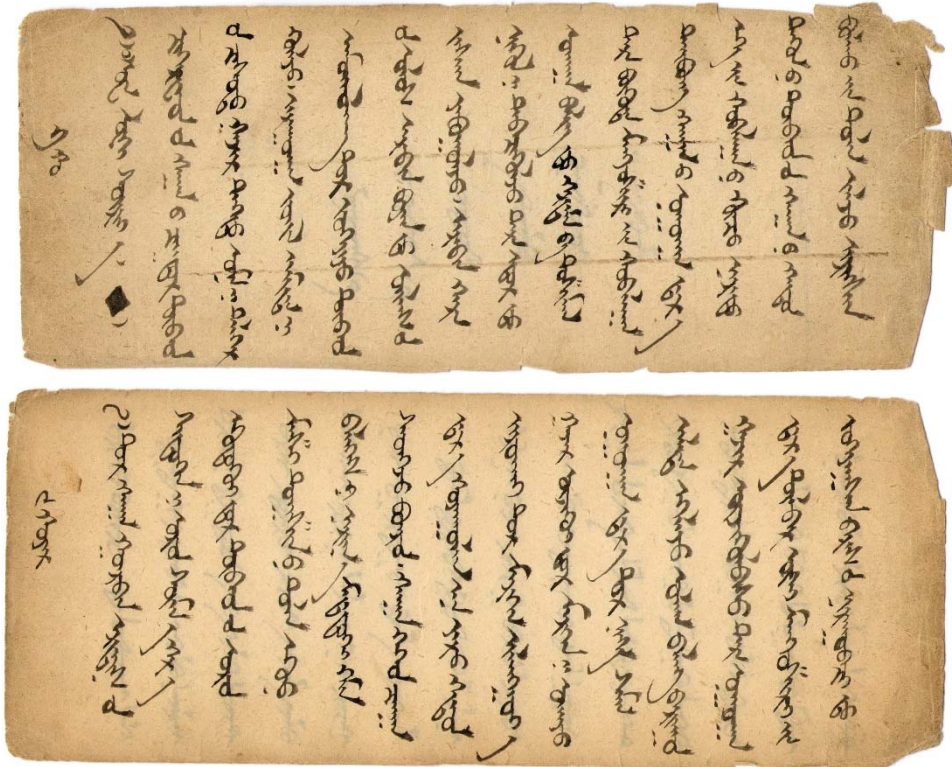


Fig. 5. Opening fol. 1v-2r of the manuscript Mong. B 59/1.



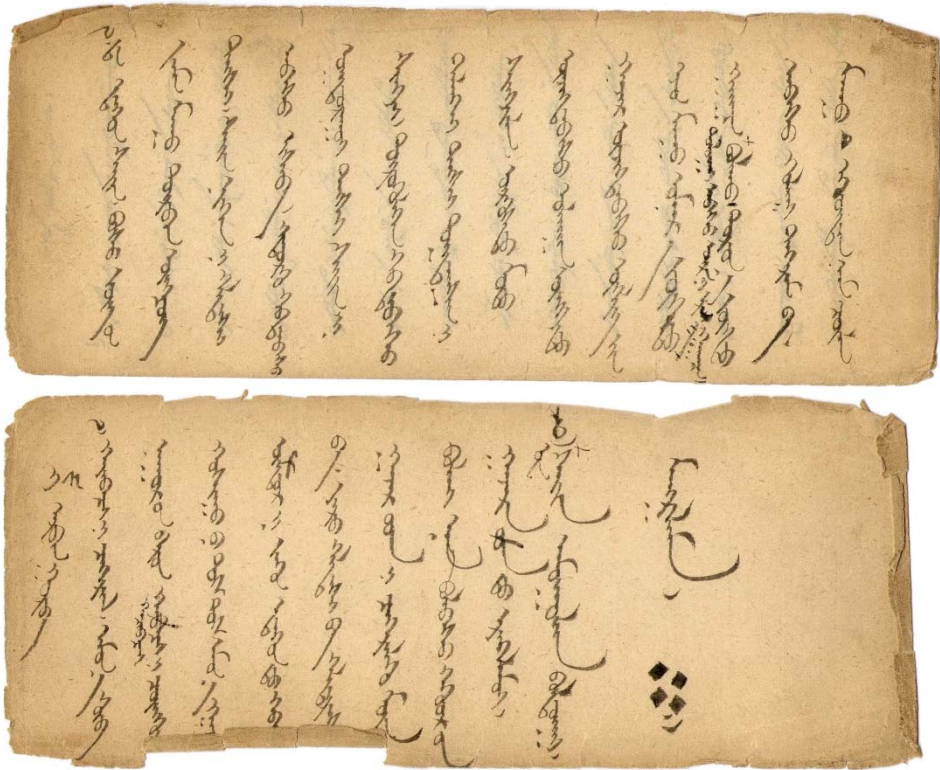


Fig. 6. Final fol. 12v–13r of the manuscript Mong. B 59/1

5.2. Translation Based on Version A

[1r] A sutra about the characteristics of land (Mong. B 59/1)

[1v] In the time of the cakravartin king,¹¹² when [the King] was spreading the Supreme doctrine in the Tibetan Snowy land, he arranged peace for all beings, he governed the Tibetan people by the rule of abundant good deeds¹¹³ and let them reject the ten black sins, the wise minister Gardamba¹¹⁴ and all the other [dignitaries] invited and brought as the wife for the Tibetan king the princess-incarnation of the Green Mother Tara – [the daughter] of Tayibung Khan¹¹⁵, the reincarnation of Mañjuśrī. [2r] When the king was establishing a temple as the worshipping place for the Three Jewels, he thought: As the Tibetan land is too fierce, the signs [of the land] should be well

¹¹² The Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo (srong btsan sgam po; 569–649?).

¹¹³ Originally *arban śāyan buyan* ‘ten white deeds’, the scribe of version A changed the numeral *arban* (‘ten’) into *arbin* ‘numerous’. ‘Ten white deeds’ also called *arban buyan-tu üiles* (‘ten virtuous actions’) are listed for example in *Mahāvīyutpatti*, Sárközi 1995: 141–142.

¹¹⁴ B: Bromba. Gar Tongtsen Yulsung (mgar stong btsan yul srung; 590–667) is meant.

¹¹⁵ B: Tayibura. Emperor Taizong of Tang dynasty (ruled 626–649).



known. Therefore, the king and the White Tara¹¹⁶ understood that the Green Tara was proficient at the Chinese divination and particularly at geomancy, and they presented her with a piece of gold¹¹⁷ and other gifts and let her inspect the land. The Green Tara looked in the instruction called the *Tiger [skin] back-pad*, composed by Mañjuśrī, [2v] and spoke without hesitation:

[It can be explained in two parts:] External land signs and internal land signs. The first one: The land should be understood as a lotus that has opened eight petals, the sky as a wheel with eight spokes,¹¹⁸ the whole environs as eight auspicious symbols. Further we distinguish [features of] places for the foundation of a monastery and [features] for nomadic encampments. First, take refuge in the Three Jewels and make an offering, pray pronouncing your intentions, [3r] read the Wish-prayer of *Mañjuśrī*, *Nāma-Saṃgīti*,¹¹⁹ *The Eight Luminous*¹²⁰ and other [sutras], tie a silken scarf to an arrow, [sprinkle] a libation of wine,¹²¹ the body of the golden turtle be guided,¹²² mount a soft-mouthed horse and [go] inspect [the signs of the place].

It is good if the eastern side is low. It is good if the northern side is like a stretched curtain.¹²³ It is good if there are many high [mountains] in the western side. It is good if the south side is like accumulated jewels. It is good if the upper part is like a sheaf of grain.

[1st section: External signs]

It is good if the lower part is like encircled. [3v] It is good if the mountain ridge is low. It is good if there is much water in the western¹²⁴ direction. It is good if there are many forests in the northern

¹¹⁶ Traditionally identified with the Princess Bhrikuti Devi (known as Bal mo bza' Khri btsun), the first wife of Songtsen Gampo.

¹¹⁷ A: *smān*, B: *śing*, Mong. *šing*, Chinese *sheng* 升, a Chinese unit of volume, a tenth of *dou* 斗.

¹¹⁸ A place with these characteristics (called also *gajar-un qutuγtu sinji* 'holy characteristics of a place') is considered as most propitious particularly for the construction of monasteries. Metaphorically it is called *qota mandal* (mandala). An example of this place is the Monastery of Chin Sujigt Nomun Khan (Чин сүжигт номун ханы хийд) in present-day Bayankhongor aimag, Galuut sum. Nyammyagmar 2012: 3.

¹¹⁹ Skt. *Mañjuśrī-Nāma-Saṃgīti* (full title *Mañjuśrījñānasatvasya Paramārthā Nāmasaṃgītiḥ*), Tib. 'jam dpal mtshan brjod, Mongolian title in the Peking xylograf Kanjur *Mañjuśrī jñāna-satva-yin ünemleküü ner-e-yi üneger ögülegçi*, translated variously as *A praise to the lord of soft speech by eight maidens* (THL), *The Litany of Names of Manjushri* (Davidson 1981), *Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī* (Wayman 1985). An earlier translation by Chos Rgya mtsho (on the order of Bayayud bayatur dai qung tayiji) in the xylograph of 1592 preserved in the National Library of Mongolia *Qutuy-tu manjusiri-yin ner-e-yi üneger ögülekü* (*Truly reciting of names of Manjushri*). Raghu Vira 1962.

¹²⁰ A short canonical text Tib. *gnam sa snang brgyad*, Mong. *oytaryui yajar-un naiman gegegen*, *Sutra of Eight Luminous of Heaven and Earth*, probably of Chinese origin (*Fo shuo bayang shenzhou jing* 佛說八陽神咒經). Srba 2017b, Mirzayeva 2019a, 2019b.

¹²¹ A: *darisun* or *derisiün*, B: *darsun*, Manuscript of L. Hüreibaatar cited in Hüreibaatar 2002: 424 reads in Cyrillic *дэрсэн алтан мэлхий* ('a golden turtle made of feather-grass'), which is a plausible interpretation, but at least B understood the world as 'wine' (Class. Mong. *darasun*). This is also supported by version D with *sačulai darasun: alta menekei-yin bey-e-yi...*, where the two words are clearly separated by two dots. I understand *sačulai darasun* as 'libation wine' (-ai in *sačulai* as a pre-classical genitive suffix preserved in Buryat dialect).

¹²² An alternative translation: '[sprinkle] a libation, lead the body of the golden turtle made of feather-grass.' Explanation in the preceding note. – Version in A: *altan menekei-yin bey-e kötlüged* can be understood: 'drive/lead the body of the golden turtle; guide yourself by the body of the golden turtle', the meaning is not clear. Sárközi 1976: 587 reads *altan minekei-yin bey-e-yi kötelüged* (probably more correctly *ködelüged*) and translated 'moving the body of the golden frog' (in the note explained as turtle). However, version B has *altan melekeyin beyēgi bütēji*: 'having created/creating the body of the golden turtle'. Golden turtle might refer to *alay menekei* 'spotted turtle', an image of turtle composed of sheep ankle-bones usually placed at a water source in order to please the lords of water and to avert negative influences (according to own field research in Bayan-Ölgii aimag).

¹²³ Sárközi 1976 translates 'like a put-up tombstone'.

¹²⁴ B: southern.



direction. It is good if there are big stones and meadows in the eastern direction. It is good if the northern direction is like a big lying elephant. It is good if the western mountain is like a lying lion. It is good if the eastern direction is square-shaped. A lake to the east is good. It is good if the western side is of triangular shape. It is good if the mountain in the south-eastern direction is like flaming fire. It is good if the mountain in the southwestern direction is bald. It is good if the mountain in the north-western direction [4r] is like stretched ‘moving flags’.¹²⁵ It is good if the mountain in the north-eastern direction is like a helmet.

When you come to such a place which perfectly meets these characteristics which is pleasant to your mind and according to your desire, if [the place helps to] suppress passion, anger and ignorance and originate the mind of happiness and peace, then [it is an appropriate place where] the master¹²⁶ with all who belong to him will live to a long age, will have an abundance of sons and grandsons, his property will multiply and his reputation will increase. [4v] After you have inspected the place, let Mañjuśrī be meditated upon. This is not necessary [only in case of] a yogācārya, who has perceived and understood emptiness in deep meditation. If not realized in this way, the inspected place may be misinterpreted.¹²⁷

The signs of places which are suitable for [building] a stupa, [for holding] an assembly or a feast,¹²⁸ [for founding] a monastery or for consecrating a temple, for marching troops, for erecting a large structure with prayer flags, for sacrifices in a mountain pass, for building bridges, for building roads, for digging canals, for dismantling a military camp (or a monastery?),¹²⁹ for burning offerings, for the construction of water bridges, [5r] for planting trees, these and others should be found in details in the *Extensive Instruction*. [Places suitable] for laying corpses can also be found there.

[2nd section] Concerning the signs of nomadic encampments: A place of white colour is a place where the *tngri* have dwelled. It is suitable for people and animals to settle there. A place of red colour [is a place] with fierce *albin*-demons¹³⁰ and it is suitable for horses, but bad for all other [animals]. A black and harsh place is a place of *simnu*-demons,¹³¹ it is bad for people and their

¹²⁵ *Yodur, yodar* – Tib. *gyo dar* 1.) synonymous to Tib. *dar lcog*, ‘moving flag’, streamers or ribbon-like flags, prayer flags; 2.) tree branches stuck in a cemetery; 3.) a lonely tree in the landscape.

¹²⁶ The text has *öglige-yin ejen* (Tib. *sbyin bdag*, Skt. *dānapati*, ‘royal patron, dispenser of gifts, sponsor, benefactor’), but I translate here by a more general equivalent.

¹²⁷ B: ‘... otherwise the land examiner will suffer a loss.’

¹²⁸ Sárközi 1976 translates ‘wedding’, I prefer a more general meaning ‘feast’.

¹²⁹ Exact intended meaning is obscure: *küriy-e deledküi* (also in B: *küre deledküi*). *Deledküi* means ‘to beat, to strike’, but it is not a relevant meaning to *küriy-e* ‘monastery’ or (originally) ‘military encampment’. It might be a scribal error for *delgeküi* ‘to lay out’. Sárközi 1976: 588 has *körüge deledküi* translated ‘to build a bridge’.

¹³⁰ Central Asian Buddhist demonology of the Mongolian cultural area knows various demons, all of negative influences, the most frequently occurring in the textual tradition are *ada*, *todqar*, *tüdker*, *čidkür* and *simnu* (Baumann 2006: 162). *Albin* are usually perceived as imps emitting blue light at night (Oberfalzerová 2006: 76); Lessing (1960: 621) translates the word as ‘will-o’-the-wisp, ignis fatuus’.

¹³¹ *Simnu* (modern literary Mongolian *шумнус*, colloquial *šulam*), from Sogdian *šmnw* (reconstructed pronunciation *šmanu*; from Avestan *Angra-mainyu*, Gharib 1995: 375) probably via Old Turkic *šimnu*, *sumnu* (DTS 1969: 523). Evil demons frequently with similar characteristics to *mangyus/mangas*. In details see Birtalan 2001: 1043–1044.



property. If the middle [mountain] of five mountains is high and the intermediate points of the four directions (i.e. northwest, northeast, southwest, southeast) are low, it is good.¹³² [5v]

If [the place] has a good colour,¹³³ it is a good place for everyone except horses.

A blue place with rocks¹³⁴ is good for goats, but bad for other [animals]. A place with feather grass is good for cows. A place with meadows is good for horses.¹³⁵ A hilly place is good for sheep.¹³⁶ If it is of green colour, it is good for everyone, both people and their property.¹³⁷

If [the place] is white and red, people will get sick. If [the place] is black and red, numerous deaths of animals will occur. If [the place] is black and white, there will be shortage of food and the cattle [6r] will suffer from *zud*. If [the place] is blue and yellow, it is good for both people and animals.

If [the place] is black and yellow, it is good for animals, but people will get sick. If [the place] is white-spotted,¹³⁸ there is a risk of a sudden calamity for the cattle. In a light red place the cattle will be distorted and go poorly. In a grey place sheep and cows¹³⁹ will increase. A brown place is suitable for horses but the danger of wolf will be high. A sandy place is suitable for goats, but for other [animals] it is bad. Thorny sites are suitable for camels, but for others [animals] they are bad, for sheep they are very [6v] bad. Forest sites are bad for people and for [their] property.¹⁴⁰

[3rd section] In the spring [season] it is good if the [grazing land] is oriented to the southwest.¹⁴¹ In summer low places to the east are suitable. In autumn low [places] to the east are suitable. In winter sites extending to the south are suitable.

[4th section] At the turn of spring and summer a place by the river is suitable. At the turn of summer and autumn a plain is suitable. At the turn of autumn and winter a [harvested] field is suitable. At the turn of winter and spring a sheltered place¹⁴² is suitable. In the four seasons and [7r] eight [directions]¹⁴³ the lords of the five agents¹⁴⁴ follow characters¹⁴⁵ [of the five agents]. And as all beings are formed by the five agents, if the four seasons and [eight] directions, the substance

¹³² In A to the sentence seems to have been incorporated by mistake another independent sentence. In B there is only the sentence about the 'place of *simnu*'. The whole passage as it remains in A should be translated as follows: 'In a black and harsh place with five mountains of *simnu* spirits, it is suitable, when the middle hill is high and the intermediate points of the four directions (i.e. northwest, northeast, southwest, southeast) are low. [But in general, such a] place [5v] is bad for people and their properties.'

¹³³ B: yellow colour (also Sárközi 1976: 588 *šara öngge-tü*).

¹³⁴ This is a literal translation. The text does not allow to decide whether the blue colour refers to the colour of the soil or the colour of the rocks.

¹³⁵ B adds: but bad for others.

¹³⁶ B adds: but bad for others.

¹³⁷ B lacks 'for everyone, both people and their property'.

¹³⁸ B omitted the condition: 'If [the place] is white-spotted'.

¹³⁹ B lacks 'cows'.

¹⁴⁰ B: 'Forest sites are good for people and [their] properties, [but] bad for animals.'

¹⁴¹ Manuscript A has actually this wording: 'It is suitable if in the spring a drought occurs on the southwest side.' However, regarding the real context of nomadic experience, a drought in the spring is unsuitable, as it prolongs the winter insufficiency of grass. Even though the manuscript has a clear diacritics (*qoyar čeg* above both *γ* letters in the word *yangduysan* ('drought-ridden' – but the standard form is *yangdaysan*), it seems to be more reasonable to read it *qangduysan* – '(to be) directed towards'. This reading (*qangduysan*) is confirmed by Sárközi 1976: 588.

¹⁴² B has a probably misunderstood wording 'a northern place'.

¹⁴³ Four cardinal and four intercardinal directions.

¹⁴⁴ *Tabun maqabud* 'five agents, five elemental phases': fire (*yal*), water (*usun*), wood (*modun*), metal (*temür*), and earth/soil (*sirui*).

¹⁴⁵ Literary 'colours' (*öngge*).



of the five agents and the leaving and coming back and forth [of the sun¹⁴⁶ and of the waxing and waning lunar phases] – when all these seven¹⁴⁷ combine together, animals¹⁴⁸ grow in number.

[5th section] [Then] in summer, if the western hills are high, it is suitable to dwell there. [B adds: During the winter three months it is good if the eastern hills are high. During the spring three months it is good if the north-eastern hills are high. During the autumn three months it is good if the southern hills are high.]

[6th section] In autumn¹⁴⁹ it is good to dwell on the meadow of a southern hill in the shape of a sitting [man]. It is good [to dwell] on the slope of an elephant-shaped mountain or on a lion-shaped [7v] mountain. [To dwell] on the spur of a saw-shaped mountain is good. Settle on the back slope of the adze or ox-shaped hill.

It is good to settle on: on the wing of the mountain in the form of a bird, [B: it is good [to dwell] on the tail of a snake-like mountain,] on the middle meadow of the mountain in the form of a statue, on the lawn¹⁵⁰ near the mountain in the form of a helmet¹⁵¹, on the back of a mountain in the form of a camel, on the spine of the mountain in the form of a sheep, on a snout [of a mountain] in the form of a pig, at the foot [of a mountain] in the form of a horse, on top of a mountain similar to a chair with two wheels,¹⁵² [8r] in the middle of a place that seems to be surrounded by [other mountains], on a slope of a [hill] quadrangle as a chest, in a depression at the confluence in the form of an trumpet, in the middle of a [hill] in the form a quadrate brazier,¹⁵³ on a plain [below] a confluence [of valleys coming from] a range of sticking out [hills], on a slope of a long [mountain], at the foot of a triangular [mountain], in the middle of a mirror-shaped [hill], on the front slope of a high [mountain], on a meadow of a low [mountain], on a site with stones accumulated in here and there. It is good to settle near the top of a small hill.

[7th section] Also [in a place]¹⁵⁴ which is like one kind of lotus, [8v] like a [white] conch,¹⁵⁵ like a *cintāmaṇi* stone, like the glorious knot,¹⁵⁶ like *arura*,¹⁵⁷ like an open lotus flower, like the two gold-

¹⁴⁶ A has *tabun maqabud-un youl kiged neres* meaning ‘the substance and names of the five agents’, but other versions (B, Sárközi 1976) have *naran* (‘sun’) instead of *neres*. In the case of version A I would interpret the ‘leaving and coming back and forth’ as lunar phases in accord with Hürelbaatar 2002: 427, but the original meaning was as translated by Sárközi 1976: 593 ‘the sun’s coming and going to and fro’.

¹⁴⁷ ‘These seven’: five agents and two phases of the moon or moving of the sun.

¹⁴⁸ B: humans and animals.

¹⁴⁹ In B, without mentioning the period. The mention ‘in autumn’ in A seems to have belonged to a lost sequence about the position of high hills which is fully preserved in B.

¹⁵⁰ Mong. *jülge(n)* ‘lawn’ indicates smaller pieces of pastures with dense fine grass usually around watercourses.

¹⁵¹ B: brazier.

¹⁵² In B rendered by three phrases: ‘It is good [to dwell] on the spine of a peg-like mountain, settle on the top of the horse-like mountain, settle on the top of the chair-like mountain.’ Sárközi (1976: 593) translates: ‘Settle down on the wheel of a cart-like mountain. Settle down on the top of a santal-like mountain.’

¹⁵³ I prefer here to translate the word *tuly-a* meaning also ‘hearth, fireplace’ in a yurt by an inaccurate word ‘brazier’, because here it points to the shape of the object.

¹⁵⁴ B: ‘Also [places, where] the blessings are present, ...’

¹⁵⁵ Tib. *dung dkar gyas* ‘*khрил*’ white conch turning to the right’. One of the Eight auspicious symbols (*bkri shis rtags brygad, öljeitü naiman temdeg*).

¹⁵⁶ Also commonly known as the ‘endless knot’, Tib. *dpal gyi be’u*, Skt. *śrīvatsa*. One of the Eight auspicious symbols.

¹⁵⁷ Tib. *a ru ra*, fruits of *Terminalia bellirica* (Cyx6aarap 2014: 37) or *Terminalia chebula* (THL/JL).



en fish,¹⁵⁸ like the flag¹⁵⁹ and wheel¹⁶⁰. If these characteristics are perfect, you can settle wherever you want, and the local spirits will rejoice.¹⁶¹

[8th section] Regarding water sources: The water that springs from the stones is difficult to digest for thin cattle. The water on lawns is bad in the spring. Salt-marsh water is bad in autumn. The water from the sandy riverbed is generally good. Water with multi-coloured mud is generally dangerous. [9r] Rainwater¹⁶² is generally good. Water from the bottom of tree roots is unsuitable for sick individuals. Running water is generally good. It is generally good if the water is tasteless. In summer there is a good water on the eastern side of the mountain. In autumn, the river water is good. In winter there is good water on the western side of the mountain.

[9th section] In spring there is good water on the side of the rising sun. Hot water is nourishing [?]¹⁶³ for all humans and animals. In summer, warm water is good.¹⁶⁴ It is good if the water flowing down from the mountains flows intensely.¹⁶⁵ From there, the water is without strength [?].¹⁶⁶ [9v] If you want to read it in more detail, it is in the *Great Instruction*.

[14th section]¹⁶⁷ Signs of inappropriate places not to settle: A place where roads bend sharply (change direction) is bad – it is a place where female *mangas*-demons¹⁶⁸ occur – it is bad for everyone. Crossings are places where the *simnu*-spirits occur – these are also bad.¹⁶⁹ If a road is close behind the yurt or there is a high bank on the northern side – it is a place where wolves move. If there is water in front of the yurt that flows towards it, that is good. If the water flows away, it is bad.¹⁷⁰ If the mountain in the east looks like it is with its shoulders hidden, it is bad.¹⁷¹ [10r] If the mountain in the direction of the door looks like it is on guard, that is bad. A low mountain saddle and a high rocky mountain are places where *albin*-spirits occur – avoid them.

¹⁵⁸ Both A and B seem to be confused in this point. A: *qosi irja* is entirely unclear, B: *šoši arca* ‘beans and juniper’, Sárközi 1976: 589 *qusi mitü arca mitü* ‘like a Siberian pine, like a juniper’. Hürelbaatar 2002: 428 reads here *хоч сэрна* ‘two *sernya*’ (*алтан загас* ‘golden fish’), Tib. *gser nya* ‘gilded fish’, one of the Eight auspicious symbols, which fits the best into the list.

¹⁵⁹ Class. Mong. also *ilayuyusan temdeg*, Tib. *rgyal mtshan*, Skt. *dhvaja*, ‘victory banner’. One of the eight auspicious symbols.

¹⁶⁰ Mong. *kürdü* ‘wheel’ refers to Tib. (*chos kyi*) ‘*khör lo*, Skt. *dharmacakra*, ‘Wheel of the Law’, i.e. ‘Wheel of the Buddhist teaching’. B lacks ‘wheel’.

¹⁶¹ B: If these characteristics are perfect, the blessing will be present, and everlasting happiness will be enjoyed. Lords of places, which are on those [sites] will rejoice and favour [the people].

¹⁶² B: Water from rain and snow.

¹⁶³ *Qoyultai* – unclear. I tend to understand it as *qoyula-tai*. Sárközi 1976: 594 translated as ‘drinkable’.

¹⁶⁴ B: In summer, cold water is good. In winter, hot water is good.

¹⁶⁵ B omits ‘it is good’.

¹⁶⁶ The sentence is unclear in both A and B. Sárközi 1976: 589 has an almost identical wording as A (*öndür ayula-аца байуған усун күчүте сайн: тегүн-еңе инәйи ерке-бер күчүн үгеи осол буй*) and is translated (Sárközi 1976: 594) as ‘Water coming down from a high mountain is good for those with strength, but beyond it, it is a mishap for those without strength.’ However, I understand it rather as referring to the strength of the water (the water flowing down from a high mountain flows rapidly. As the water comes to the lowlands, its flow rate slows down.)

¹⁶⁷ Sections 10–14 of B entirely missing in A.

¹⁶⁸ Evil demons usually with many heads, who are able to transform themselves into human beings (Oberfalzerová 2006: 76). For the description of their characteristics and manifestations as viewed by the Mongolian folk tradition, see Lőrincz 1970, Birtalan 2001: 1009–1010 and Heissig 2000: 238. The Mongolian word *mangyus* is used as a general equivalent for both the Tibetan (male) *srin po* and (female) *srin mo* demons, which themselves further reference Indian *rākṣasa* and *rākṣasi* (Lőrincz 1970: 315).

¹⁶⁹ Concerning places where according to tradition evil spirits occur, see Oberfalzerová 2006: 77.

¹⁷⁰ B: adds: ‘If the eastern mountain looks like the open mouth of a wolf, that’s bad’.

¹⁷¹ B: If the mountain in the northern direction looks like it was bitten by a snake.



If you settle next to graves, you will lack food. Souls move inside the empty ruins, [it will] bring misfortune. If from the western hill three snakes descend or if the eastern hill looks like suddenly torn down,¹⁷² it is bad. The western side of water is generally bad¹⁷³, the [10v] eastern/left¹⁷⁴ side is good.¹⁷⁵

Do not settle in the middle of a dish-like place.¹⁷⁶ If the small rocks in front of the door look tired, it is bad.¹⁷⁷ If there is a mountain on the eastern side that looks like a standing man, it is a dangerous symbol that a thief will come. If the rocky steep peak is without grass, it is the place where *albin*-spirits occur. If you settle near a rock cleft, it is a place of disease. If the mountain has a sword-like pointed peak¹⁷⁸ and around seven, eight [smaller] hills around, it is a place where thieves occur. [11r] If there is a stony section on the plain, the cattle will suddenly get sick.¹⁷⁹

[15th section] If a person settles next to a lonely tree, he will be suddenly affected by a disease. If there is a stone the size of a cow or a sheep in the lawn, a swelling illness comes. If someone settles in a place with many snakes,¹⁸⁰ the cattle will get sick by scabies. Do not settle right in front of the mountain spur. Also avoid natural phenomena with a triangular appearance (or avoid a triangular lake).¹⁸¹ Do not settle between two mountains that seem to collide with each other.¹⁸² Do not settle right in front of a place [11v] that looks like an excavated irrigation canal. These places are the places of *erlig*s.¹⁸³ Even though [these places] are very harsh, there is no danger if there is water between them. Whether the place is severe (wild) or mild (calm), read *The Eight Luminous, The Double Blessing* in order to gain its favour.

[16th section: Internal signs (Signs of inner places)]

As for the internal signs of places. Place the bed in the north-eastern direction and gain favour [of the place-spirits] with the help of an offering. Present food and make an incense offering [12r] on the south-eastern side. Prepare a brazier on the southwestern side.¹⁸⁴

¹⁷² The translation of A would be: 'if the eastern hill looks the ragged fur' – *noytas tasuraysan metü* (stand. *noytus* – short-haired fur of animals in autumn). B reads *oqto* instead of *noytas* (confirmed by Hürelbaatar 2002: 429 *ozmo macarсан мэм*): *oytus* a word describing a sudden rupture, breakage.

¹⁷³ B: 'is generally good'.

¹⁷⁴ The word *jegün* 'left, eastern' is reduplicated by mistake.

¹⁷⁵ This sentence is missing in B.

¹⁷⁶ B adds 'Do not settle inside a rack-like place (easer/stand-like place).' Within this sentence the key word in B is *tebiür* 'rack, easer, stand' (Class. Mong. *talbiyur*), while Hürelbaatar 2002: 429 mentions *дэвгүүр* 'fan' (Class. Mong. *debigür*).

¹⁷⁷ B has a different interpretation 'If on the entrance-side there is a hill looking like a weary bare *khatan* noblewoman, it is bad.' The textual tradition of A has probably misread the undotted Mongolian script original *ničügün/nüčügün qatun-tai* ('with bare noblewomen') or *ničügün/nüčügün qatuytai* ('bare lady') as *öcükən qadu(n)/qada* ('small rocks'). Note that also the following sentence deals with an anthropomorphic interpretation of a mountain. Sárközi 1976: 590 stays in between A and B with *egüden tanu öcükən qatuyti kümün alciyağsan mitü bolbasu mayu* translated (Sárközi 1976: 595 'It is bad if toward the door a little woman looks as if she bestraddled.'

¹⁷⁸ B has *maši* ('very') instead of *mese* ('sword').

¹⁷⁹ B: 'will be suddenly affected by calamity and disease.'

¹⁸⁰ B: 'mountain with snakes' instead of 'with many snakes'.

¹⁸¹ A *niyur* is likely to be miswritten or intended *nayur* 'lake' attested in B *nuur*. Sárközi 1976: 590, 595 has *yurbaljin yajar yurbalji ayui terigüten-i čegerliküi* 'Keep away from other triangular lands, triangular caves, and so on.'

¹⁸² B: 'which look like two head butting rams'.

¹⁸³ According to the general Mongol idea, *erlig*s are the executors of sufferings in hells resulting as the consequences of human deeds. In the figurative sense, the word *erlig* can denote any force hostile to man.

¹⁸⁴ B: 'Prepare a brazier on the south-eastern side.' B seems to have committed an elision between two sentences: 'On the south-eastern road/side [it is necessary to present food and make an incense offering. On the southwestern side] prepare a brazier.'



On the north-western side – the side of the *mangas* spirits – erect a shrine to the Three Jewels. Direct the entrance to the southeast. This was a brief analysis of outer and inner places.¹⁸⁵

[Supplementary characteristics included only in version A]

It is also good if there is a large river in the east. It is good if there is a depression in the south. The big road in the west is good. To the north, the black turtle is good.¹⁸⁶ Also the northern side of the big road is good. The eastern [12v] side is good. Roads in other directions are bad. If the four angles are the same, that is good. If one [angle] is askew, ... [unclear]. If it lies up, the heavens are balanced, it is a good sign. If it lies down, it means that the earth is in balance.

If a thorny tree appears, if a red ground appears, it is bad for the benefactor. If there is only one hill in the north, there will be only one male offspring. If it is in the east, robbers will come and bad things will happen. [13r] [*The next passage is not clearly understandable*]

... It is generally good to avoid slanting and scree places. Such places are preferred for graves.

May there be a good peace! *Mangalam*.

6. A DIVINATORY MANUAL OF TANGSUNG LAMA (MONG. D 159/1)

The third text to be analysed by this paper is a divinatory text analysing days suitable and unsuitable for prayers, reciting sacred texts and accomplishing good deeds, and in particular warning against days which bring negative results of pious activities. The text is introduced by a short narrative relating its origin to Tangsung (Chinese Tang seng 唐僧 ‘the Tang monk’ or Tang Sanzang ‘Tang Tripitaka’), a somewhat fictionalized character based on the historical Buddhist monk Xuanzang (602–664), well known for bringing Buddhist scriptures from India.

This manuscript of miniature size 5,5 × 17 cm is calamus-written on very thin and fragile Chinese paper of probably only two layers. On fol. 1r is visible a trace of the Chinese tea label with two characters (perhaps 黃?記?). The presence of the Chinese tea label together with palaeographic characteristics support dating of the manuscript most likely to the first half of the 18th century.

The work seems to correspond to *Erdenitü altan qayirčay* (‘Precious Golden Casket’) ascribed in Mongolian versions to the Tang monk Tangsung or Tangsug. The work represents an extract from the larger Tibetan work *brjed tho g.yang ti'i za ma tog* (‘Records from a Jade Basket’),¹⁸⁷ which is related to the Chinese text *Yuxiaji* (‘The Jade Box’). The catalogue of Mongolian manuscripts in China mentions five manuscripts in libraries in China with the title *Erdenitü altan qayirčay*.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁵ The end of the synoptic correspondence between A and B.

¹⁸⁶ For comparison I quote here a sentence in Desi Sangye Gyatso’s *White Beryl* (Mongolian edition, Nyammyagmar 2017: 57): *Умар зүгт яст мэлхий хад буй болвоос хүмүүн тоогоор арвидан сэтгэлд санасныг бүрнээр олмуу*. ‘If on the northern side there is a rock [in the form of] a turtle, people will increase in number and they will achieve everything they desire.’

¹⁸⁷ Three versions in the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center: *yus shy'a' ky'i'i // brjed tho g.yang ti'i za ma tog* (reproduction of a Peking blockprint, right side marker 玉, Rewalsar: Zigar Drukpa Kargyud Institute, 1985) <https://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W27507>; <https://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W1NLM685> (a later imprint or Khalkha recarving (?) of the probably identical Peking blockprint, digitized from the Mongolian National Library); a handwritten copy from the Library of Tibetan works and archives, ltwa acc. no. 13778, <https://www.tbrc.org/#!rid=W4CZ333426> all accessed 27.07.2020).

¹⁸⁸ *Dumdadu ulus-un yarčay* 5306–5312 (5310–5311 are microfilms of manuscripts of the Royal Library of Denmark), ranging in length from 2 to 17 folios.



However, the frame narrative concerning the Tang monk Tangsung is included as well in another larger Mongolian manual of divination which refers more directly to the Chinese text of *Yuxiaji*.¹⁸⁹ This work circulated in several Mongolian translations usually under the title *Qas qayurčay* (*The Jade Box*) referring to the Chinese source. However, the title *Qas qayurčay* also frequently served as a common title for texts of a great internal variability (Bawden 1994: 25).

One of the earliest Mongolian translations was accomplished by Lama-yin gegen Lubsang-danjinjančan in Da Kūriy-e, but the translation has been lost.¹⁹⁰ The most commonly represented translation is the Mongolian translation by Koušika (or Goošiga)¹⁹¹ of Alaša banner printed as a Chinese-style xylograph book carved in 1895.¹⁹² Another undated xylograph represents a translation (not identical in its content with the previous one and with the Chinese *Yuxiaji*) by šabrong Galsangjigmed of the Mingyan banner.¹⁹³ This version also opens with the frame narrative about the Tang monk Tangsung, whose name is rendered as *yeke baysi* ('the great preceptor') Jang Cang.¹⁹⁴ Among the Mongolian manuscripts of the Royal Library of Denmark the same frame narrative appears also in manuscripts Mong. 152 (*Erdeni-yin altan qayurčay orusiba* 'The Precious Golden Box')¹⁹⁵ and Mong. 300 (with no title).¹⁹⁶

Following is a comparison of opening parts of the frame narrative in *The Jade Box* in the Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian versions:

Chinese: 貞觀元年正月十五日 唐太宗皇帝宣問諸大臣僚朕見天下萬姓毋¹⁹⁷三四日長明設齋求福如何卻有禍生當時三藏和尚奏萬姓設齋之日值遇凶神故為咎者皆是不按藏經內值言神可用之日所以致此臣今藏經內錄如來選擇記奏上見其禍福由之日吉凶也¹⁹⁸

'The 15th day of the first month of the first year of Zhenguan era [06.02.627]. Tang Emperor Taizong asked all of his dignitaries and officials: "I realized that people in the world, although they feast and give alms for three or four days and pray [the deities] for the good fortune, yet they meet

¹⁸⁹ The standard version of *Yuxiaji* included in the Daoist canon, *Daozang* 道藏 (*Zhengtong Daozang* 正統道藏), where section 1108 contains four parts (described in Mitruyev 2019: 753). The earliest part (*Xu Zhenjun Yuxiaji* 許真君玉匣記 'Records of the Jade Box of Xu Zhenjun') is traditionally ascribed to a Daoist Master named Xu Xun 許遜 (239–301) (<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=203605>; accessed 31.07.2020). The text corresponding to the *Erdenitü altan qayurčay* bears in Chinese the title *Fashi xuanze ji* 法師選擇記, 'A record of the Master of Dharma about selecting [auspicious days]' and traditionally accredited to Xuanzang, online version in *Daozang* (<https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&res=749253>; accessed 31.07.2020).

¹⁹⁰ Mönh-Očir 2006: 296.

¹⁹¹ Also called Arslan jalan.

¹⁹² Titles of the xylograph: short title *Eldeb keregtü qaš qayurčay nere-tü bičig orusiba* and full title *Sine orčiyuluysan eldeb kereg-tü qaš qayurčay*, *The newly translated Abbreviated Jade Casket for Various Affairs*. A catalogue entry with a detailed description of contents Heissig and Bawden 1971: 166–170, MONG. 234. Many full and abbreviated manuscript versions are preserved in various libraries. The Mongolian translation was carried directly from Chinese, but also by consulting an earlier Tibetan version translated by the *Da lam-a* Üjijeng šabrong of Buyan ündüsülegči monastery of Alaša banner in 1839 as stated in vol. II, fol. 58r of the blockprint (Poppe, Hurvitz and Okada 1964: 179–180, Baumann 2006: 12, Mönh-Očir 2006: 295). B. L. Mitruyev (Mitruyev 2019) described a Mongolian manuscript in the Altan Maadyr National Museum of the Tyva Republic (sign. M-653) representing a (slightly modified) copy of the 1895 xylograph (represented in Mitruyev's article by sign. F-145 of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences).

¹⁹³ The Royal Library of Denmark, Peking block print MONG. 275 and 279 (identical).

¹⁹⁴ Cited by Heissig and Bawden 1971: 171.

¹⁹⁵ Heissig and Bawden 1971: 176.

¹⁹⁶ Heissig and Bawden 1971: 181.

¹⁹⁷ Probably instead of *mei* 每.

¹⁹⁸ Quoted according to <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=68919> (accessed 28.07.2020).



misfortune. Why is that so?” At that time, the monk Sanzang submitted a memorandum: “Some days when people feast and distribute alms, it coincides with fierce deities. That is why they are affected by misfortune. It is all because people do not follow the instructions in the Tripitaka about the days of the deities that can be used [as fortunate]. Now I wrote down a record about choosing days of Tathagata and respectfully deliver it to the Emperor. May the Emperor please to understand that the fortune or misfortune depend on the favourable or unfavourable days.”

The Chinese texts corresponds to the Mongolian version in the *Sine orčiyulaysan eldeb keregtü qaš qayurčay neretü bičig* (Peking blockprint 1895):

terigün büllüg erdenitü altan qayiračay anu: tang ulus-un jang guvan-u batu üjegči-yin terigün on čayan sar-a-yin arban tabun-a: taizung qayan ber olan yeke tüsimel-dür-iyen: e[y]in kemen jarliy bayubai: bi üjebesü delekei-dakin-u aliba kümün-ü jarim edür-e nom buyan üledbesü jobalang boluyči yayad bui kemen asaγuysan-dur: mön čay-tur yurban ayimay saba-yi tuyuluysan quušang e[y]in ayiladqabai: yerü kümün-nügüd nom buyan üledküi-dür: doysin tngri ejelegsen edür-e tokiyaldubasu teyin kü yamšiy jobalang bolqu böged: čöm yanjuur dotor-a бүкүү sayin tngri ejelegsen edür-i ese keregleksen-ü qariy-a büllüge:: edüge tüsimel bi yanjuur nom-un dotur-a-ača tegünčilen iregsen-ü üjelge-yi songyuju seyiregülün bičiged ayiladsuyai:

*deger-e üjeju buyan kilinče-yin siltayan edür-yin sayin mayu-ača bolduy-i ayiladun soyurq-a kemebei:*¹⁹⁹

The Mongolian version of undated blockprint (Royal Library of Denmark, Mong. 275 and 279 according to Heissig and Bawden 1971: 171) represents a close translation of the Tibetan opening of *brjed tho g.yang ti'i za ma tog*: *getülgegči manjuširi kiged qutuy-tu dara eke-dür mörgümü:*

*yeke baysi tang jang cang-un quriyaysan odun-u üre-yi nomlaysan inu tang din gwan qayan-u tngri terigün on angqa sara-yin sine-yin arban tabun edür-e: tang tai cung qayan ber yeke tüsimel-üd-tür buyan-u üile-dür kičiyegči kümün-nuyud ber yurban buyu dörben edür terigüten-e ürgülji burqan takiq ba öglige ögkü terigüten-i üiledbeči ači tusa ügei ber ülü baran öljei busu bolqui yayun bui kemen asaγuysan čay-tur: yeke baysi tang jang cang ber učir tegün-i öčirün ...*²⁰⁰

‘I bow to Mañjušrī the Saviour and to the Holy Mother Tara. The explanation of the influence of stars summarized by the Great Master Tang Jang Cang. On the 15th day of the first month of the [reign] of the Emperor Din Gwan of Tang, the Emperor Tang Tai Cung inquired his high officials: “People are diligent in good deeds, although they worship Buddha and distribute alms continuously for three or four days, not only it does not bring any benefit [to them], but even is it unfortunate for them? Why is that so?” In that time, the Great Master Tang Jang Cang explained its reason ...’

A corresponding part of the Tibetan version in *brjed tho g.yang ti'i za ma tog* reads:

*rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs dang 'phags ma sgröl ma la byag 'tshal lo / slob dpon chen po thang zan tsang gis bsdus pa'i skar ma'i 'bras bshad ni / thang Tin kwan rgyal po'i gnam lo thig ma'i zla bdang po'i tshes bco lnga'i nyin / thang tha'i tsung rgyal pos blon po chen bo rnam la dge ba'i las la brtson pa'i mi rnam kyis nyi ma gsum mam bzhi sogs la rgyun du lha mchod pa dang sbyin gtod sogs byas kyang phan yon med par ma zad bkra mi shis pa dag 'byung ba ci yin zhes dris pa'i tshes / slob dpon chen po thang zan tsang gis skabs de nyid du zhus ba / ...*²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Quoted according to <https://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=68919> (accessed 28.07.2020).

²⁰⁰ Quoted according to the transcription published by Mitruyev 2019: 764–765. I adapted Mitruyev’s transcription of the Mongolian script according to the transcription system followed in this paper.

²⁰¹ Transcribed according to three versions of *Yu shyāa kyī'i // brjed tho g.yang ti'i za ma tog* in the Buddhist Digital Resource Center based on the Peking blockprint TBRC Resource ID W27507, pp. 1rv (pp.32–33 of the digitized resource).



6.1. Transcription of the Manuscript Mong. D 159/1

degedü tangsung blam-[a-]! dur: tangtai sung! qayan jarliy bolurun:| ene yirTinčü-yin kümün! nigen edür nom buyan! üiledbesü qarın ükül! jobalang olan tere! yayun bui: kemen jarliy! boluysan-tur: tenggri! narun bayši tangsung! blam-a bičig-iyer qayan-| tur eyin kemen ayilad=|qabasu yeke qaan-ā! yirtinčü-yin kümün-i! tusa=lavči burqan! bayuqui edür-i ese! [...]ged nom buyan-i! [...] üiledügsen-ü! [.....]ndal boluysan! [.....]sang olan! [.....]! [2r] degedü yeke qayan-ā! činu ene asayuyusan! inu. delgeringgüi qamuy! amitan-tur yeke tusa! bolba: tegün-i tula:| biber ganjur nom-un! dotur-a-ača yirtinčü-tür! tegesi tusalaqu yurban! sigimuni-yin edür-i! yaryay-a: tegüber amitan-| dayan Dayuruyaju nom! buyan-i üiledtügei:| köke quluyun-a edür! burqan-u süsüytü [!] šabi! yirtinčü-yi tusalamu:| ene edür nom buyan! üiledbesü: ögilege! barimida ögbesü tere! kümün-i ači üre! [del]gerekü buyan kes[ig]! [2v] nemekü: ečige eke ači! üre bügüde-tür engke! amuyulang bolqu sayin! edür bui: kögegčün! üker: ulayan bars! edür ananda burqan! tenggri qoyar učiraqu! yirtinčü-yi tusalamui:| ene edür nom buyan! üiledbesü ögilige! ögbesü yekede sayin! boluyad: nigen nom-i! ungsibasü qamuy nom-i! ungsigsen luy-a adalı! bui: kei mori delgeriged! ed tawar öber-iyen! quramui: ulayayčün! taulai edür yal-un! ejen naima egüden-ü! ejen: jam-un ejine:| [...] ejen amitan t[...]| [3r] [at least five columns lost]! -basu: tere jil-tür ebečün! taqul kele ama mayu bui?! šarayčün üker edür:| yal-un ejen qan: yirtinčü-| yin kümün-i sayin mayu! üile üiledküi-yi! te[n]gsekü edür bui: ene! edür nom buyan üiled! čaylasi ügei sayin edür! bui: čayan baras:| čayayčün taulai edür! ad[a]yusun-u dayisui! ergikü edür bui: ene! edür nom buyan üile=|dübesü: tere una? tu?[...]| ed tawar ...! [3v] [at least six columns lost]! luu edür! ananda buraqan amitan-i! tusalamui: ene edür! nom buyan üiledbesü! köbegün ügei kümün! bögesü köbegün olqu. ügegü yadayu kümün! bögesü ed mal olqu! sakiyulusun buraqan! inu jöb-iyer üjekü! yurban jil boltala! ibegekü sayin edür bui:| qarayčün moyai edür:| doysin dayisui! qourtu tnggri qoyar! yirtinčü-tür ...! [4r] eketü üile bütükü! sayin edür bui:| čayan luu čayayčün moyai! qara mori edür ariyun! ejen: qourutu čidkür-| ün ejen: yiritinčü-yi! ergin iremüi ene edür! nom buyan üiledbesü! kümün-tür yara sirq-a! yaraq: ükeri čisun-i! üjekü ebečün bolqu! nigen jil-tegen mayu:| qarayčün qoni edür em-e! ünegen-ü dayisui! amitan-i ergin iremüi! edür aliba <nom buyan-i> üile! üiledügči kümün-tü! Dakin kümün-dü jil Des!iyaqu? m...! [4v] köke bačün kögegčün takiy-a! ulayan noqai edür! buraqan amitan-tur nom! nomlaysan edür bui:| ene edür aliba nom! buyan üiledbesü yurban! jil-ün dotur-a aliba! sayin üile bolaqu²⁰² bui:| ači üre inu delgerekü:| amin nasun emnekü dörben! luusun qad sakiqu! jayun eketü! bütükü sayin edür bui:| ulayayčün yaqai edür! ulayan sijayai idesilekü! edür bui ene edür nom! buyan üiledbesü ebečün! taqul bolqu mayu edür! bui: <erlige qayan-u elči> ...! [5r] kibesü üre-yin üye-| tür sayin: tere kümün! ükübesü ariyun yajar! törümüi: köbegün ünün! törübesü arban erdem! tegüskü sayin:| köke luu kögegčün moyai! edür: dörben eber-tü! dayisui ergekü edür bui:| ene edür nom buyan kibesü! sayin üile mayu bolqu:| mal-tu ebečün bolqu! edür bui: ulayan mori! ulayayčün qonin edür:| üker tolyuyai-tu erlig! qayan yirtinčü-tür ergikü! ergekü edür bui: ene edür! nom buyan bisirel ügei! kebesü²⁰³ yurban jil dotur-a! jobalang nigül bolqu! ... mayu edür bui. ... bačün! [5v] keb kejiy-e mayu bui:| köke morin kögegčün qoni! ulayan bači ulaya[y]čün! takiy-a: šara noqai! sirayčün yaqai čayan! quluyuna čayayčün! üker ene edür! manjusiri ariy-a balu-a! qoyar amitan-du buyan! üiledün tusalaqu! edür bui: ene edür! nom buyan üiled=besü! sanaysan setegigsen²⁰⁴

²⁰² Standard: *bolqu*.

²⁰³ The manuscript uses the Oirat form of the verb *ki-* ('to do') written as *ke-*.

²⁰⁴ Standard: *sedkigsen*.



üile| bütükü sayin edür bui:| qara baras qarayčın taulai edür mingyan| muturtu qongsim| bodisung qubilyan-| iyar yabuqu edür| ene edür| [6r] kökegčın t[a]ul[a]i ede edür| qamuy burqan qortu mayu| modun-tur öglige ögümüi| ene edür nom buyan kebesü yai ügei bui:| ulayan luu ulayagčın| moyai edür edür| yeke maqaranjan yirtinčü-| tü ergekü edür bui:| ene edür üile üiled=|besü mayu| edür bui:: sira mor[i]n| edür qamuy buraqan| tngri amitan-i| amalaysan-i keriglekü| ügei edür bui:| ene edür nom buyan| [ki]besü mayu bui:| [6v] edür mingyan buraqan qot...| qan?-iyar amitan-tur ba...| tusalamui: ene edür nom| buyan üiledbesü kümün| amitan-a nigen nom-i| ungsibasü tümen nom-i| ungsigsan [!] luy-a ad[a]li| bui: kümün mal-tur ed| idegen nimikü²⁰⁵ masi sayin| edür bui::| çayan noqai çayayčın| yaqai edür: qamuy buraqan| tnggri amitan-i tusalaqu| edür bui ene edür| nom buyan-i kebesü| toy-a tomsi ügei sayin| buyan qurmui::| qara quluyun-a qara| ... köke bars ...|| [7r] sigemuni buraqan baysi| kiged bodisung nar| sayin üilesi üiledkü| öglige baramid ögükü| edür bui: ene edür| nom buyan kebesü yirüde| sayin edür bui??| çayan bačın çayayčın ta-kiy-a| edür sigemuni buraqan-u| nom-i nomlaysan edür bui:| ene edür nigen nom-i| ungsibasü mingyan-i| ungsigsan-u činar-luy-a| ad[a]li bui: ene beyen-tür| çaylasi ügei buyan nemekü| boluyad: ači üri| delgerekü alibasü sayin| üile bütükü masi sayin| edür::| [7v] qara noqai qarayčın| yaqai edür: qamuy| burqad sayin üilesi-yi| üjekü ügei edür bui:| ene edür nom buyan kebesü| yeke mayu bui:: : ::|



Fig. 7. Opening fol. 1v-2r of the manuscript Mong. D 159/1

²⁰⁵ Standard: *nemekü*.





Fig. 8. Final fol. 7v–8r of the manuscript Mong. D 159/1

6.2. Translation of the Manuscript Mong. D 159/1

The Emperor Tangtai Sung²⁰⁶ spoke to the Venerable Tangsung Lama²⁰⁷: ‘What does it mean, that in some days when the people of this world do prayers and good deeds, on the contrary, death and suffering come?’ The heavenly teacher Tangsung Lama announced the emperor through a letter: ‘Great Emperor, if someone does not know days when the buddha helping the mundane people descends, although he does prayers and good deeds [2r] Supreme Emperor, this your question has brought a high profit to all beings. Therefore, according to the scriptures of Ganjur, I will show the days of the three Shakyamuni, who help the world. Let people follow this example and do prayers and good deeds accordingly.

Blue mouse day:²⁰⁸ Devoted followers of the Buddha help the world. If prayers and good deeds are accomplished this day, [and] if the paramita of generosity is fulfilled, [then] people obtain enough good fruits and multiply good fortunes. It is a good day that will bring peace and tranquillity to parents and descendants.

Bluish cow day, Red tiger day: Ananda and *tnгри* meet and help the world. If good deeds are done and gifts are given these days, it is very good. If you recite one [sacred] book, it is as if you have recited all scriptures. Vital energy will raise, property will accumulate on its own.

²⁰⁶ Emperor Taizong of Tang dynasty 唐太宗 (reigned 626–649).

²⁰⁷ Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664).

²⁰⁸ Names of days according to the sexagenary system (Stems-and-Branches, Chin. *gan zhi* 干支) used for recording days in the traditional Chinese calendar.



Reddish hare day, lords of fire, lords of the eight doors, lords of the ways, lords ... [help] beings ... [3r] (*at least five columns lost*) ... that year there will be diseases, epidemics and slanders.

Yellow cow day, the lords of fire (?), it is a day when evil and good deeds of people in the world are proven. Perform prayers and good deeds on this day, it is an extremely good day.

White tiger day and Whitish hare day: these are the days when enemies of animals go around. If prayers and good deeds are performed these days property ... [3v] ... [*at least six columns lost*] ...

Tiger day: Ananda Buddha helps the beings. If prayers and good deeds take place on this day, a person without a son will receive a son, the poor will find property and cattle, and the protective deity will look for him and protect him for three years.

Black snake day: cruel enemy spirits and dangerous *tngrī* in the world ... [4r] it is a good day to do good deeds.

White dragon day, Whitish serpent day, Black horse day: pure lords, lords of dangerous evil spirits travel around the world. If prayers and good deeds take place on this day, ulcers and wounds will appear on the human body, cows will become ill, and bad luck will last for one year.

Blackish sheep day, the evil spirit of the female fox circles around beings. On this day, a person who performs prayers and good deeds [4v]

Blue monkey day, Bluish hen day and Red dog day: These are the days when Buddha preached the Doctrine to the people. If any recitation of prayers or good deeds takes place on this day, for three years it will have all sorts of good consequences, the offspring will multiply, the health will be strengthened, four water deities will protect it, every intention will succeed.

Reddish pig day: the day when the red magpie grazes. It is a bad day. If prayers and good deeds are performed on this day, diseases and epidemics will come. The envoy of Erlig Khan²⁰⁹ [5r] ... if he does ..., it will be good for the generation of [his] descendants. If he dies, he will be born in the pure land. If he has a son or daughter, they will show ten qualities.

Blue dragon day, Bluish snake day: These are the days when enemy spirits with four horns circle around. If prayers and good deeds are done these days, it will not have good consequences. Cattle will be affected by disease.

Red horse day and Reddish sheep day. It is a day, when the cow-headed Erlig Khan walks around the world. This day, if the prayers and good deeds are done without devotion, sufferings and sins will follow for three years. ... is a bad day. ... monkey ... [5v] it will be bad forever.

Blue horse day, Bluish sheep day, Red monkey day, Reddish hen day, Yellow dog day, Yellow pig day, White mouse day, Whitish cow day: These days Mañjuśrī and Āryabala help and do good deeds for the benefit of beings. If prayers and good deeds take place on this day, all intended actions will succeed. This day ... [6r]

Days ... and Bluish hare day. These days, all buddhas present gifts to an evil poisonous tree. If prayers and good deeds are held on this day, it will not do anything wrong.

Red dragon day and Reddish snake day: The great Maharaja walks around the world. It is a bad day to do deeds.

Yellow horse day: It is a day when all buddhas and *tngrī* do not pay attention to vows of the people. This day, it is bad to do prayers and good deeds. ... [6v] day thousand buddhas ... help the beings ... If there are prayers and good works on this day [it is good] and if one [sacred] book is recited

²⁰⁹ Mong. *Erlig nomun qayan*, Tib. *gshin rje rgyal po*, Skt. *Yama*, commonly considered the lord of the hells, lord of death.



on this day, it is the same as if ten thousand scriptures had been read. It is a very good day when people's property and cattle's food multiply.

White dog day and Whitish pig day: These are days when all buddhas and *tngrī* help the beings. If prayers and good deeds are performed on this day, countless good deeds will accumulate.

Black mouse day, Black ... [day], Blue tiger [day] [7r] are days when the Buddha Shakyamuni and the bodhisattvas do good deeds and perform the paramita of generosity. If prayers and good deeds are done on this day, it is generally a good day to do so.

White monkey day and Whitish hen day: These are days when Buddha Shakyamuni preached the doctrine. If one [holy] text is recited on this day, it has the value of reading thousand scriptures. It is a good day, when that person will multiply countless blessings, descendants will flourish, all good deeds will be fulfilled. [7v]

Black dog day and Black pig day: It is a day when all buddhas do not pay attention to good deeds [of men]. If prayers and good deeds are held on this day, it is very bad.

CONCLUSION

This paper presents the edition of three Mongolian texts of different genres linked together by frame narratives concerning the general legend about the introduction of divinatory methods from China to the Tibeto-Mongolian cultural area. The comparative evidence of this paper is limited by only three edited manuscripts and a small number of variants taken into account for comparison. Section 2 showed that these legends had been fully integrated into the wider cultural knowledge in Mongolia. The burial ritual text edited in Section 4 is likely to represent a hitherto unknown translation by the famous translator of larger works in the Mongolian Kangyur, Siregütü güüsi Čorji. Section 5 brought a comparative transcription and translation of a new version of a widely spread but little studied Mongolian text on the analysis of land (*sa dpyad*). A way of selecting characteristics included in this text in regard to the specific conditions of Mongolia and the nomadic lifestyle, as well as its (supposedly) complicated genesis from Tibetan sources remains to be examined in the future research. Section 6 attempted to identify and contextualize a small and fragmentary text on divination, which turned out to be an early Mongolian rendering of the Chinese divinatory work *Fashi xuanze ji* included in the larger manual on divination of Chinese origin *Yuxiaji*, which is well-known in Mongolian translations and editions of the 19th century; the manuscript analysed here can be dated to the 18th century. In this chronological context, it testifies to an early circulation of the text as well as the early presence of this frame narrative in Mongolia.

The texts in Sections 4 and 5 recall the legend of the Chinese Princess Green Tara as the first expert in Chinese methods of land analysis in Tibet. The frame narrative of the first text refers to Green Tara's alleged advice as to where and how to bury the deceased Tibetan king, and then provides a funeral ritual guideline. Both the selection of the correct location for burial, as well as the correct ritual procedure are generally apprehended by traditional Mongols as fundamental, not only for the afterlife of the deceased, but especially for the lives of the bereaved and their descendants. The second text opens with a frame narrative, well-known from Tibetan historiography, describing how Green Tara was asked to select locations suitable for constructing a Buddhist temple, even though the exposition that follows deals more with land analysis in terms of conditions for nomadic livestock breeding. A preliminary comparison of the versions indicates that



recent variants are assemblies of more independent source texts. Both frame narratives clearly serve to legitimize the credibility of the subsequent interpretative passages. In the manuscript analysed in Section 6, the short narrative introducing the list of favourable and unfavourable days for religious actions describes its authorship by Tangsung Lama as reaching back through a Tibetan intermediary to an original Chinese source. This narrative is therefore not particularly relevant within a consideration of Mongolian tradition, but both its use as a frame narrative and its message — divination and astrology both came to Mongolia from China — are in accord with the popular Mongolian conception as documented by the oral tradition.

While Mongolian studies in the 20th century strove to discover allegedly indigenous shamanist rituals among Mongolian written texts of popular (i. e. extra-monastic) use,²¹⁰ premodern Mongolian authors tended to a different approach, seeking to add weight to the texts by connecting them with famous personages and stories of the shared Buddhist past. This genre of frame narrative introducing a subsequent non-narrative passage of doctrinal, conceptual or technical exposé was widely known from the canonical sutras traditionally attributed to the Buddha (*Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, and many others). In divination and geomantic manuals – as in canonical texts – framework narratives were perceived as an integral part of the entire work. The narrative approach of opening a didactic message by means of explanatory storytelling of the alleged circumstances of origins became common as well in oral tradition, particularly the traditions concerning sage lamas and saints (for example, the accounts in Bayasgalan 2019).

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

This publication was made possible with the support of the Czech Science Foundation within the project GA19-07619S: Mongolian ritual manuscripts in a Czech collection: their edition, history and Central Asian roots. (Further referred to as the Mongolian ritual manuscripts project.) The author thanks Rachel Mikos for her careful English proofreading and reviewers for valuable remarks and corrections. All errors are my own.

REFERENCES

Manuscripts edited in the paper:

Mongolian Ritual Manuscripts project – Masaryk University, Faculty of Arts, Brno – Mong. B 58/5 ‘Assessment of suitable burial sites’; Mong. B 59/1 ‘A sutra about the characteristics of land’; Mong. D 159/1: A divinatory manual of Tangsung Lama.

DLIR: The Digital Library for International Research – Tod Nomin Gerel Collection <http://dlir.org/archive/collections/show/7> – ‘Yazariyin (correctly: Tazariyin) šinjini zuraxai orošiboī’ <http://dlir.org/archive/items/show/11324> (Accessed 05.06.2020.).

²¹⁰ Current scholarship deconstructs this rather simplistic concept of popular ritual texts as an expression of shamanist tradition (see, for example, Atwood 1995).



- ATWOOD, Christopher P. 1996. 'Buddhism and Popular Ritual in Mongolian Religion: A Reexamination of the Fire Cult.' *History of Religions* 36/2: 112–139.
- BAREJA-STARZYŃSKA, Agata (transl., ed.) 2006. *Siregetü Gūüsi Čorji: Czikula kereglegcz. Zasady buddyzmu. Mongolski traktat z XVI w. [Siregetü Gūüsi Čorji: Čiqula kereglegči. The Essentials of Buddhism. The 16th century Mongolian Treatise]*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego.
- BAUMANN, Brian G. 2008. *Divine Knowledge: Buddhist Mathematics According to the Anonymous Manual of Mongolian Astrology and Divination*. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- BAWDEN, Charles R. 1994. *Confronting the Supernatural: Mongolian Traditional Ways and Means*. Collected papers. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.
- BAYASGALAN, T. [Баясгалан, Түдэвийн] 2019. *Хутагт хувилгаадын домог* [Legends about reincarnations]. Улаанбаатар: Соёмбо.
- BEROUNSKÝ, Daniel 2006. 'Tibetan ritual texts concerning the local deities of the Buryat Aga Autonomous Region, Part I.' *Mongolica Pragensia* '06: 191–240.
- BEYER, Stephan 1988. *Magic and Ritual in Tibet. The Cult of Tara*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers. (First published in 1973, University of California).
- BILGÜÜDEL, G., R. OTGONBAATAR, and A. CENDINA [Билгүүдэй, Г., Отгонбаатар, Р. and Цендина, А.] 2018. *Ц. Дамдинсүрэнгийн гэр музейн монгол ном судрын бүртгэл* [Catalogue of Mongolian books in the Private Flat Museum of C. Damdinsüren]. Улаанбаатар: ШУА Хэл Зохиолын Хүрээлэн.
- BIRTALAN, Ágnes 2001. *Die Mythologie der mongolischen Volkreligion*. [A special volume of *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*. I. Abteilung, 34. Lieferung, 879–1097.] [Stuttgart]: Klett-Cotta.
- BLONDEAU, Anne-Marie 1972. *Matériaux pour l'étude de l'hippologie et de l'hippiatrie tibétaines [à partir des manuscrits de Touen-houang]*. [Hautes études orientales, 2.] Genève, [Paris]: Droz.
- BULAY 1993. *Mongyolčud-un yal takily-a-yin sudur orusibai* [Mongolian Texts on the Fire Worship]. Kökeqota: Öbür mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a.
- ČEBŠIG 2004. *Mergen Temene-yin domuy-un sudulul* [A Research about the Legend of Mergen Temene]. Kökeqota: Öbür mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a.
- CHARLEUX, Isabelle 2006. *Temples et monastères de Mongolie-intérieure*. Paris: Éditions du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, Institut national d'histoire de l'art.
- DAVIDSON, Ronald M. 1981. 'The Litany of Names of Manjushri – Text and Translation of the Manjushri-nama-samgiti.' In: Michel STRICKMANN (ed.) *Tantric and Taoist Studies*. Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises, 1–69.
- DTS: NADELYAYEV, V. M. [Наделаяев, В. М.] et al. (red.) 1969. *Древнетюркский словарь*. Ленинград: Издательство Наука.
- DUMDADU ULUS-UN YARČAY: *Dumdadu ulus-un erten-ü mongyol nom bičig-un yirüngkei yarčay = Catalogue of Ancient Mongolian Books and Documents of China* 1999. 3 vols. Bejejing: Bejejing nom-un sang keblel-ün qoriy-a.
- EKVALL, Robert B. 1964. *Religious Observances in Tibet: Patterns and Function*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
- ERENCEI 1988. 'Ötü Mergen Temene. A narrative by Šobtai-in Norob retold by Erencei.' *Xān tenggeri* 31[1988]/3: 17–42.
- ERKIMTÜ (ed.) 2014. *Tajar-un sinji-yin mongyol sudur* [Mongolian texts on the land analysis]. [Erten-ü mongyol jiruytu nom-un čubural.] Kökeqota: Öbür mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a.
- GĦARIB, B. 1995. *Sogdian dictionary: Sogdian–Persian–English*. Tehran: Farhang Publications.
- HEISSIG, Walther 1954. *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache. Materialien zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.



- HEISSIG, Walther 1959. *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen. I. 16.–18. Jahrhundert*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- HEISSIG, Walther 1970. 'Die Religionen der Mongolei.' In: G. TUCCI and W. HEISSIG: *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*. Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln – Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 293–428.
- HEISSIG, Walther and Charles BAWDEN 1971. *Catalogue of Mongol Books, Manuscripts and Xylographs*. Copenhagen: The Royal Library.
- HEISSIG, Walther and Klaus SAGASTER 1961. *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH.
- HÜRELBAATAAR, L. [Хүрэлбаатар, Л.] 2002. *Судар шастирын билэг* [The wisdom of sutras and shastras]. Улаанбаатар.
- LATTIMORE, Owen and Fujiko ISONO 1982. *The Diluv Khutagt. Memoirs and Autobiography of a Mongol Buddhist Reincarnation in Religion and Revolution*. [Asiatische Forschungen 74.] Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- LESSING, Ferdinand D. (general ed.) 1960. *Mongolian-English dictionary*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- LŐRINCZ, L. 1970. 'Die Mangus-Schilderung in der mongolischen Volksliteratur.' In: Lajos LIGETI (ed.) *Mongolian Studies*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 309–340.
- MAURER, Petra 2009. *Die Grundlagen der tibetischen Geomantie dargestellt anhand des 32. Kapitels des Vaidurya dkar po von sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705)*. Halle: IITBS.
- MAURER, Petra 2012. 'Sa dpyad and the concept of Bla ri.' In: Charles RAMBLE and Jill SUDBURY (eds.) *This World and the Next: Contributions on Tibetan Religion, Science and Society. PIATS 2006: Tibetan studies: proceedings of the eleventh seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*. Andiast: IITBS GmbH, 67–79.
- MAURER, Petra 2015. 'The Importance of Water in Tibet and its Influence on Sa dpyad.' In: Olaf CZAJA and Guntram HAZOD (eds.) *The Illuminating Mirror. Tibetan Studies in Honour of Per K. Sørensen on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 321–340.
- MAURER, Petra 2019a. 'When the tiger meets Yul 'khor srung, or how to protect a construction site.' *Études mongoles et sibériennes, centralasiatiques et tibétaines* 50. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/ems-cat/3950> (accessed 16th July 2020).
- MAURER, Petra 2019b. 'Landscaping Time, Timing Landscapes.' The Role of Time in the sa dpyad Tradition.' In: P. MAURER, D. ROSSI and R. SCHEUERMANN (eds.) *Glimpses of Tibetan Divination: Past and Present*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 89–117.
- MAURER, Petra 2019c. 'Horse and Social Status or How to Assess the Quality of a Horse.' *Revue d'Études Tibétaines* 49: 204–232.
- MHDTT: Bold, L. (Болд, Л.) (editor-in-chief) 2008. *Монгол хэлний дэлгэрэнгүй тайлбар толь* [The large explanatory dictionary of the Mongolian language]. 5 vols. Улаанбаатар: Шинжлэх ухааны академи, Хэл зохиолын хүрээлэн.
- MIRZAYEVA, S. V. [Мирзаева, С. В.] 2019a. 'Монголызычные версии «Сутры о восьми светоносных» (монг. Найман гэгээн, калм. Нээмн гегэн): об истории изучения и списках в фондохранилищах России.' *Oriental Studies* 4: 716–727.
- MIRZAYEVA, S. V. [Мирзаева, С. В.] 2019b. 'Монгольский перевод 'Сутры о восьми светоносных' как образец дхарани-сутр.' *Новый филологический вестник* 51/4: 409–425.
- МИТРУЕВ, В. Л. [Митруев, Бембя Леонидович] 2019. 'О фрагменте монгольского перевода «Заново переведенных "Записей нефритовой шкатулки" для разных дел» из Национального музея



- имени Алдан Маадыр Республики Тыва.' *Монголоведение* 4: 751–813. [URL: <https://mongoloved.kigiran.com/jour/article/view/384/337>; accessed 25th August 2020.]
- MÖNGKEBATU, S. (ed.-in-chief) 2012. *Mergen keyid-ün sudur-un čiyulyan* [A collection of scriptures of the Mergen Monastery]. Kōkeqota: Öbür mongyol-un suryan kümüjil-ün keblel-ün qoriy-a.
- MÖNH-ОСІР, D. [МӨНХ-Очир, Д. Шарнууд овогт] 2006. *Монгол зурхайн түүхэн товчоон* [The history of the Mongolian divination]. Улаанбаатар.
- MOSTAERT, Antoine 1969. *Manual of Mongolian Astrology and Divination*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- НҮАММУАГМАР, В. [Няммыагмар, Б.] (ed., transl.) 2012. *Газрын шинжийн монгол судар = The Land Inspection Knowledge of Mongols*. [Mongolian Tibetology Series IV.] Улаанбаатар.
- НҮАММУАГМАР, В. [Няммыагмар, Б.] (ed., transl.) 2017. *Газрын шинжийн монгол судар II = Mongolian Geomancy Sutra II. The 32nd chapter of the White Beryl of Desi Sangye Gyatso translated into Mongolian first by the 2nd Darba Paṇḍita Gungyajamco and adapted by B. Nyammyagmar*. [Mongolian Tibetology Series XIX.] Улаанбаатар.
- ОBERFALZEROVÁ, Alena 2004. 'Language of dreams – one of the keys to the culture of nomads.' *Mongolica Pragensia* '04: 11–62.
- ОBERFALZEROVÁ, Alena 2005. 'Nomads in the reality of dreams.' *Mongolica Pragensia* 05: 11–53.
- ОBERFALZEROVÁ, Alena 2006. *Metaphors and Nomads*. Prague: Triton.
- POPPE, Nicholas N., Leon HURVITZ, and Hidehiro OKADA 1964. *Catalogue of the Manchu-Mongol Section of the Toyo Bunko*. Tokyo and Seattle, Washington: The Toyo Bunko & The University of Washington Press.
- POUCHA, Pavel 1969. 'Über eine mongolische Hippologie.' *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. 1, Vorträge Teil 2: 738–741.
- QAD-UN ÜNDÜSÜN-Ü ERDENI-YIN ТОВČИ [The Bejewelled Summary of the origin of Khans] 2011. Ed. M. Баярсайхан. [XVII зууны монгол түүхэн сурвалжийн тулгуур эхүүд, Vol. IV.] Улаанбаатар: МУИС, МХСС; Монголын үндэсний номын сан; Шинжлэх ухааны академийн түүхийн хүрээлэн.
- QIAOJI 乔吉 (Čoyji) 2007. *Menggu fojiao shi – Bei Yuan shiqi (1368–1634) 蒙古佛教史—北元时期* [The History of Mongolian Buddhism: Northern Yuan Period]. Hohhot: Neimenggu renmin chubanshe.
- RAGHU VIRA (ed.) 1962 (?). *Mañjuśrī-Nāma-Saṅgīti in Mongolian, Tibetan, Sanskrit and Chinese and Sekoddeśa in Tibetan and Mongolian*. [Śata-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 18.] New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- SÁRKÖZI, Alice 1976. 'A Mongolian Manual of Divination by Means of Characteristics of the Land.' In: Walther HEISSIG et al. (eds.) *Tractata Altaica*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 583–604.
- SÁRKÖZI, Alice (ed.) 1995. *A Buddhist terminological dictionary. The Mongolian Mahāvuyutpatti*. In collaboration with János SZERV. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.
- SAZYKIN, A. G. [Сазыкин, А. Г.] 1988. *Каталог монгольских рукописей и ксилографов Института востоковедения академии наук СССР*. Том I. Москва: Наука.
- SAZYKIN, A. G. [Сазыкин, А. Г.] 2001. *Каталог монгольских рукописей и ксилографов Института востоковедения Российской академии наук*. Том II. Москва: Восточная литература РАН.
- ŠAJA 1937. *Mongyol üsüg-ün dürim-ün toli bičig* [Mongolian orthographical dictionary]. Ulaγanbayatur: Mongyol arad ulus-un sinjileküü uqayan-u küriyeleng.
- SÖNAM GJALCCHÄN 1998. *Zrcadlo králů. Tibetská kronika 14. století* [The Mirror of Kings. A Tibetan Chronicle of the 14th century]. [Translated from Tibetan into Czech by Josef Kolmaš.] Praha: Vyšehrad.
- SRBA, Ondřej 2017a. *Paleografická čítanka mongolského písma klasického období (17.–20. století)* [A Palaeographic Reader of the Classical Mongolian Script (17th–20th centuries)]. Praha: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy.



- SRBA, Ondřej [Срба, Андрей] 2017b. ‘Огторгуй газрын найман гэгээн’ судрын асуудалд: ‘Харш засах найман гэгээн’ судрын нэгэн шинэ хувилбар [About a 17th century Mongolian Manuscript of the Qutuuyu Оүтарыуи үажар-un Naiman Gegegen (Gnam sa snang brgyad)]. In: *Монгол Ганжуур: Олон улсын судалгаа*. Улаанбаатар: ШУА Түүх, Археологийн Хүрээлэн, 224–246.
- SRBA, Ondřej 2021. ‘Interpreting Future Histories: Prophetic Thinking in Oral Tradition of the Bulgan River Basin in Western Mongolia.’ *Mongolica Pragensia* (forthcoming).
- SRBA, Ondřej and Michal SCHWARZ 2019. ‘Teüken sedübtü aman ulamjilal-un üliгер kiged orun nutuy-un teüke-yin öber-ün oyilayalta [Narratives from the historical oral tradition and the self-understanding of a local history].’ In: SARANGEREL and ЦОҮТУ (eds.) *Mongyol jang üile soyul sudulul = Menggu minsu wenhua yanjiu* 蒙古民俗文化研究. Begejing: Üндүсүтен-ü keblel-ün qoriy-a, 423–440.
- Sühbaatar, O. [Сүхбаатар, О.] 2014. Монгол хэлний харь үгийн толь. Улаанбаатар: МУ ШУА, Хэл Зохиолын Хүрээлэн.
- THL: Tibetan to English Translation Tool <http://www.thlib.org/reference/dictionaries/tibetan-dictionary/translate.php> (accessed 15th July 2020).
- TSENG, Te-ming 2005. *Sino-tibetische Divinationskal-kulationen (Nag-rtsis) dargestellt anhand des Werkes dPag-bsam ljon-shing von Blo-bzang tshul-khrims rgya-mtsho*. Halle: IITBS.
- WAYMAN, Alex (intro., trans., annot.) 1985. *Chanting the Names of Mañjuśrī: The Mañjuśrī-Nāma-Saṃgīti*. Boston & London: Shambhala. [Reprint Motilal Banarsidass Publishers. Delhi 2006.]
- ҮЕРӨӨЛТ, J. [Ерөөлт, Ж.] and P. ЛНАМ [Лхам, П. *only the first vol.*] (eds.) 2012–2014. *Монголын Бурханы шашины аман түүх I–III* [The Oral history of Mongolian Buddhism I–III]. Улаанбаатар.

