

The Tibetan Biography of the First Jetsundampa
Zanabazar
by the Khalkha Zaya Pandita
Studies, Annotated Translation, Transliteration
and Facsimile

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Introduction

The monograph presents the Biography of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa Zanabazar (1635-1723) as a literary work of the 17th century Mongolian Buddhist monk, the Khalkha Zaya Pandita Losang Prinlei (Tib. Blo bzang 'phrin las, Mong. Luvsanprinlei, 1642-1715).¹ It was composed in the Tibetan language, which soon became the language of the intellectual religious elite of the Mongols. The aim of this study is to show how a Buddhist disciple described the life of his master using new tools—the Tibetan language and *namthar*—a Tibetan biographical genre which presents an exemplary life leading to the Buddhist liberation. The genre of biography and its Tibetan counterpart will be discussed in the present work in more detail. At the same time it will be briefly examined whether there are any peculiar Mongolian features to the text, how it was understood by the Mongols and how it was preserved in the works of the next generations of Mongolian monk-writers. Different aims of Mongolian religious and lay authors will be mentioned. The life and career of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa Zanabazar, the protagonist of the biography, and of Zaya Pandita, the author of the biography, will be presented briefly in the work as well.

To introduce the subject it is important to remember that the First Khalkha Jetsundampa, known in Mongolia as Öndür Gege(ge)n,² lived in

¹Further in the present text he will be referred to just as Zaya Pandita, unless making a distinction between him and other incarnations called Zaya Pandita is necessary. The Sanskrit title *paṇḍita* is written in a simplified way as Pandita.

²This is the Mongolian title of Zanabazar which means 'High Serenity'. 'Serenity' is written as *gegegen* or *gegen* in the Classical Mongolian language. In Modern Mongolian it

very turbulent times. He lived long and passed away at the age of 88 (89 according to the Asian fashion). Therefore his biography provided material of great interest for future generations of the Mongols, Asian historians and all who wanted to know details about the important political events of the 17th-18th century history of Mongolia and its neighbouring lands. Starting as a son of a local Khalkha ruler, Zanabazar became one of the most important incarnations of Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism and the actual political leader of Northern Mongolia. His motherland was attacked by the Oirat Galdan Boshugtu (1644-1697) which forced him to escape with his people to Southern Mongolia and seek out the support of the Manchu Emperor Kangxi (r. 1662-1720). Northern Mongolia preferred to accept the Manchu Qing dynasty protection rather than be subdued by the Jungars (i.e. Western Mongols). At the time of Zanabazar's childhood, the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617-1782) became the unchallenged ruler in Tibet. Zanabazar was fortunate to become his personal disciple and to receive his Gelugpa (dGe lugs pa) recognition from him. Against the background of the biography, the Tibeto-Mongolian-Manchu relations can be seen. Finally Galdan Boshugtu was defeated, the Fifth Dalai Lama passed away and the Manchu Qing dynasty became the main power in Inner Asia. All this happened during the First Jetsundampa's life and therefore correct reading and understanding of these events was one of the principles guiding the translation of the biography with the hope to serve all interested in the subject. However, the political events were not the main focus of the work.

The object of the study is a text composed by the Khalkha Zaya Pandita in 1698-1702, included in his greatest work which is called: (*Sha kya'i btsun pa blo bzang 'phrin las kyi*) *zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gsal ba'i me long*,³ and belongs to the so called *gsan yig* or *thob yig* genre, i.e. notes made by a Buddhist believer, usually a monk, about teachings which he received. Such a register makes it easier for the practitioner to remember his spiritual heritage and to connect him with the

is written as *gegeen*. The subsequent incarnations were called *boγda gege(ge)n* in Classical Mong. (*bogd gegeen* in Modern Mong.) which means 'Holy Serenity'.

³The standard Beijing xylograph edition vol. *nga*, ff. 62v6-77v2, Lokesh Chandra's edition 1981: 124-154; Byambaa Ragchaa's edition 2012: ff. 34b6-49b2.

whole lineage of his teachers and previous practitioners back to the time of the Buddha. The list may be very brief just to document main titles of the teachings. However, in the case of Zaya Pandita, his work developed into four volumes of very detailed information about all whom he regarded as important personages in his spiritual development.

The biography of the First Jetsundampa is just one among many other biographies of eminent Buddhist masters, mainly from Tibet and India, included in this encompassing work. This setup will be discussed later in a more detailed way. Zaya Pandita wrote in Tibetan, which was a novelty among the Mongolian writers. It may be mentioned briefly that during the second wave of dissemination of Buddhism in Mongolia in the late 16th century, the main effort was put into translating the canonical Buddhist writings from Tibetan into Mongolian. Only in 1629 was the main part of the Tibetan Canon, namely the Kanjur (*bKa' 'gyur*), translated into Mongolian. The names of eminent translators, such as Shiregetü Gūūshi Chorji (Siregetü gūūsi čorji) and Kunga Odzer (Kun dga' 'od zer), written in colophons of the Mongolian translations of sutras, documented their great efforts in making the words of the Buddha available in the Mongolian language. It is not without its significance that this work was done at the court of the Mongolian khans: Altan Khan (1507-1582) and Ligden Khan (1588-1634). It is important to underline that besides gaining religious merit, the act of making translations was inspired by the lay Mongolian Buddhist longing to learn and understand Buddhism in their mother tongue. It may be added that although we are not sure about the ethnic background of Shiregetü Gūūshi Chorji, one of the most important Buddhist masters acting both in Kōke Kkota in Southern Mongolia and as well in the Erdeni Juu (Erdene Zuu) monastery in Khalkha, i.e. Northern Mongolia, we see his literary works written only in Mongolian.⁴ The same concerns the Oirat Zaya Pandita, Namkhai Gyatso (Nam mkha'i rgya mtsho, 1599-1662), who was the greatest translator of Tibetan Buddhist texts into the Oirat lan-

⁴There are doubts to which extent his treatise *Čiqula kereglegči tegūs udqatu šastir* was an original composition or rather a compilation or a translation of a Tibetan text, but nevertheless there are no proofs that he has ever written his compositions in Tibetan. See Bareja-Starzyńska 2006: 57-60.

guage (i.e. Western Mongolian). In the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th century, emphasis was still placed on making Buddhism available in Mongolian for perception of the Mongols.

It can be proposed here that the First Khalkha Jetsundampa and his disciple and biographer Zaya Pandita, soon the most influential personalities among Mongolian Buddhists, bring us to a different problem: that Mongols educated in Tibet started to communicate in writing among themselves and with the much broader circles of readers in the Tibetan language, the *lingua franca* of Buddhism in this part of the globe. The contents of their writings were addressed not to the lay Buddhists and not necessarily to the Mongols: they belonged to the world of Tibetan Buddhism and their message was addressed to their fellow monks and future generations of Tibetan educated believers.

This aim was successfully achieved and even until today Buddhist prayers and other religious texts composed by the First Jetsundampa are recited in Tibetan by Buddhist monks, mainly in Mongolia.⁵ In the case of the Khalkha Zaya Pandita, his fame as a Buddhist scholar made monks and Tibetologists read his texts and treat them as sources of knowledge about many Buddhists, Indian, Tibetan and Mongolian alike. For the Mongolian Buddhist scholars, his writings, especially the biography of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa, became the basis for getting source information about this incarnation. All later biographies of Zanabazar written in Tibetan followed the account of his life as presented by Zaya Pandita, who was contemporary and sometimes a witness of the events.

It is not surprising that finally the Mongolian translation of the Tibetan biography of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa also appeared. It is rather striking that only one copy of this text has been found so far. It was included in the bilingual Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript of the biography entitled *Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i khrungs rabs bco lnga'i rnam thar* and preserved in the Aginsky Datsan in Buryatia. It was found there in 1967 by the great Indian scholar Raghu Vira and reproduced

⁵For the list of compositions of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa Zanabazar see Byambaa 2004a: 5-56. They were reproduced in Chandra 1982 and in Byambaa 2004c.

by Lokesh Chandra in his *Life and Works of Jebtsundampa I*, pp. 411-549. There are no details about the author of the translation, nor about the date of the translation. According to Byambaa Ragchaa it can be dated within the 18th-19th centuries,⁶ which seems correct due to the letter shape and language features represented in the manuscript.⁷

Although the text became available in Mongolian, there have not yet been found any traces of using this translation for writing Mongolian versions of the biography of the First Jetsundampa.⁸ It should be remarked upon that the manuscript contains misplaced pages 457-464. The passage which ends on page 457 (line 2) with the word *bka'* should be followed by text which was erroneously written on page 461 (line 2). On page 457, however, there is a passage which should be placed on page 464 (line 2). Therefore one has to restore the right order of the text sequence on the basis of the xylograph.⁹

The textual basis for the present monograph is a critical edition made on the grounds of the very mentioned bilingual manuscript and the xylograph (block printed) edition of the First Jetsundampa's biography in Tibetan included in volume IV (*nga*) of Zaya Pandita's work.¹⁰ The critical edition is presented in the form of transliterated text, Tibetan in the so called THL Extended Wylie Transliteration Scheme¹¹ and Classical Mongolian in the

⁶Personal communication by Byambaa Ragchaa.

⁷Bira 2006: 205 commented upon Buryat features of the manuscript: "If one studies the [Mongolian] translation more closely it seems, on the basis of the handwriting of some words and the shape of the letters, that the translation itself was done by a Buryat." Modern Mong.: *Orchuulgyg nyagtlan üzvel, zarim ügiin bichleg, bichgiin khelberees kharakhad ug orchuulgyg buriad khün khüsen bololtoi байна.*

⁸On the comparison between the Tibetan biography of Zanabazar by Zaya Pandita and several versions of the Mongolian biography *Öndür gegen-ü namtar* some remarks were made in Bareja-Starzynska 2010b, Bareja-Starzynska 2013.

⁹See the Transliteration of Zanabazar's Biography in Part II of the present volume.

¹⁰Beijing xylograph ff. 62v6-77v2. It was reproduced in Lokesh Chandra 1981, *Life and Works of Jebtsundampa I*, Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 294, New Delhi, vol. IV, pp. 124-6–154-2. The references in the present work are made to this edition. It was also published by Byambaa Ragchaa in 2012 in his edition of the "Collected Works" of Zaya Pandita, ff. 34b6-49b2, (reproduced in the present work).

¹¹Provided by the Tibetan & Himalayan Library, see Bibliography for details. However,

international way of transliteration.¹² In other parts of the present work Tibetan names and titles are written in simplified English transcription, i.e. Ngawang Gyatso for Ngag dbang rgya mtsho with the Wylie transliteration in brackets at their first appearance in the text. Mongolian historical names are written in simplified transcription referring to the Classical Mongolian, i.e. Tüshiyetü Khan and not the modern Tüsheets Khaan. The title Jetsundampa is written in its Tibetan transcription, although in Mongolia it is pronounced Javzdamb. Since, however, this Buddhist incarnation title is originally Tibetan and the biography concerned within the present work is Tibetan, the Tibetan version of the title is retained. Some Classical Mongolian words are rendered in ways well established in the English secondary literature, such as Oirat for *oyirad* etc. Modern Mongolian is transliterated in the fashion that is standard in Mongolia. The Sanskrit words are written in the international system, while the Chinese names and phrases are in Pinyin. In quotations from modern works the transliterated or transcribed forms are retained as they appear in the originals.

The annotated translation of the biography presented in this monograph is the first full translation of this text into a Western language. In 1995 Bira Shagdaryn made a Modern Mongolian translation of the biography and included it in the collection of Zanabazar's biographies entitled *Öndör gegeeniin namtruud orshvoi*. In 2002 a Korean scholar, Jin Chengxiu, defended a doctoral dissertation in Chinese based on Zaya Pandita's biography of Zanabazar and later published it in book form which included a translation of the biography into Chinese. The title can be translated into English as: "The 16th and 17th century Mongolian political reform theory and Tibetan Buddhism—with focus on the Left Wing of Tümed and Khalkha", though in her English abstract the author translated the title as "Reformation of Mongol nation state and Tibetan Buddhism in 16-17th century."¹³ Jin Chengxiu also included the transliteration of the Tibetan

the Sanskrit words which appear in the Tibetan text are transliterated according to the international system of Sanskrit transliteration, see Edgerton 1985.

¹²See Poppe 1991.

¹³ *Shiliu, shiqi, shiji Menggu zhengzhi gaige lun yu Zangchuan fojiao-yi Tumote, Kaerka zuoyi wei zhongxin*. The doctoral dissertation was supervised by Feng Erkang, University

and Mongolian versions which are commented on in the present work.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the lack of knowledge of the Chinese language made it impossible for the present author to get acquainted with the whole content of the Chinese book.¹⁵

Composition

The present work consists of two main parts: Part I: Studies; and Part II: Translation and Transliteration, as well as an Appendix that includes a reproduction of the Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript of the biography and a reproduction of the Tibetan xylograph as well as photographs related to Zanabazar. Part I contains studies of Zaya Pandita's biography of Zanabazar organized in three chapters. Each chapter focuses on a different scholarly problem and can be read independently of the others. Chapter I deals with the author and the text. It presents the text against the broader background of biographical literature in Tibet and Mongolia and discusses Zaya Pandita, the author of Zanabazar's biography, as a pioneer in the field of Tibetan-language works by Mongols. Chapter 2 investigates the skillful narration technique of Zaya Pandita who related the complicated history of Tibeto-Khalkha-Oirat-Manchu relations during a crucial moment in the late 17th century. Chapter 3 depicts the political changes initiated during the time of Zanabazar: the shifting of Mongolian political authority from Khan to Gege(ge)n leading to the emergence of the Tibetan model of hierocratic rule in Khalkha Mongolia in the 20th century. Part II consists of the annotated English translation of Zaya Pandita's biography of Zanabazar and

of Nankai, VI 2002. The author of the present work would like to thank Jerzy Bayer for his help in transcribing Chinese characters and for the translation of the title page into English (p. ii).

¹⁴I would like to thank Choyiji (Qiao Ji) for making a Ph.D. dissertation available to me and Osamu Inoue for presenting me with a copy of the published book based on the doctoral work.

¹⁵However, my thanks go to Choyiji for kindly checking with me selected passages from the Chinese translation. Needless to say all faults in the misunderstanding of the Chinese text are mine.

a critically edited transliteration of the biography in which comparison is made between a bilingual Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript from Buryatia and the Tibetan xylograph editions. It is followed by a bibliography containing information about the source materials and secondary literature used in the book. Next comes the Index with proper names of places, titles and historical figures. Finally, the Appendix includes a reproduction of the bilingual Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript of the biography that was found by Raghu Vira in the Aginsky Datsan, i.e. monastery in Buryatia in 1967 and published by Lokesh Chandra in volume 294 of the Śata-Piṭaka Series in 1982 (pp. 411-549), as well as reproduction of the Tibetan xylograph published by Byambaa Ragchaa in 2012 and several photographs related to Zanabazar.

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The text of the Biography of Zanabazar written by Zaya Pandita was studied thanks to the excellent publication of Lokesh Chandra who reproduced all the important biographies of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa in the volume *Life and Works of Jebtsundampa I*, published in the Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 294 in 1982. Moreover, Lokesh Chandra kindly agreed to include in the present publication a reproduction of the bilingual Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript of the biography of Zanabazar by the Khalkha Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei, discovered in 1967 in the Aginsky Datsan, or Agin-

sky monastery in Buryatia by his father, Raghu Vira and printed in the above mentioned volume. I am heartily thankful for this generous gesture.

I would like to express my deep thanks to many colleagues who helped me during the study throughout my time studying the biography. First of all I would like to thank Byambaa Ragchaa for generously sharing his extensive knowledge about the literature on the Khalkha Jetsundampas and for making his collection available for my study. His enthusiasm and encouragement were a source of inspiration to continue this work. He also kindly agreed to reproduce his copy of the Tibetan xylograph of the biography (published by him in 2012) in the present volume.

Many important issues concerning Mongolian incarnations and questions of reading the Tibetan text were solved thanks to the kind help of Ganzorig Davaaochir to whom I am very indebted.

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I turn my cordial thanks to Choyiji (Qiao Ji), the authority on Mongolian history and literature, for help in checking of some dubious parts of the Classical Mongolian text and for translating a few passages of the Chinese translation of Zanabazar's biography.

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I would like to acknowledge the importance of Klaus Sagaster's monograph on the *Subud erike*, the biography of the Changkya / Jangiya Khutuktu, for the study of Zanabazar's biography. It served as invaluable source

of information.

Some of the events of the complicated political situation expressed in the writings of the Tibetan authors were illuminated to me by Tashi Tsering and Christoph Cüppers. I am very thankful for their kind assistance.

I express my thanks to Samten Karmay for clarifying the position of the Fifth Dalai Lama versus Mongols. I am grateful for his translation of the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography which proved very helpful in my work.

On sharing his knowledge on Tāranātha I sincerely thank David Templeman.

Several scholars offered me friendly help in finding and sharing Mongolian manuscripts of the Mongolian biography of Zhanabazar *Öndür gegen-ü namtar*. I would like to thank Shagdarsürüng Tsevel, Vladimir L. Uspensky, Osamu Inoue and Olivér Kápolnás for their kind help.

I found excellent conditions to work on the *Öndür gegen-ü namtar* in the Kotwicz Archive in the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow. My special thanks are addressed to Rita Majkowska, the Head of the Archive and Ewa Dziurzyńska, who takes care about the Kotwicz heritage.

In 2004 I was able to work briefly in the Central National Library in Ulan Bator and use all necessary manuscripts. I am very grateful for this valuable opportunity.

During my short visit in February 2007 to the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives in Dharamsala I was given the excellent opportunity to use the Tibetan materials there. I would like to thank the Director, Ven. Geshe Lhakdor for his kind acceptance and help.

On the 4th of February 2007 the author was able to conduct an interview with H.H. the Ninth Jetsundampa Dorjee Chang Jampel Namdrol Choekyi Gyaltzen (rDo rje 'chang 'jam dpal rnam grol chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1932-2012) in the Takten House in Dharamsala. It was a memorable meeting which helped in better understanding of the position of this reincarnation in the past and in today's reality.

I am indebted to Aaron Bryson for correcting my English.

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I am deeply grateful to Jacek Starzyński, my husband, for his invaluable help in typesetting the book in LaTeX.

Last but not least I would like to thank my dear family for constant encouragement and firm support.

Needless to say, all errors and inaccuracies are my responsibility alone.

Special Signs and Abbreviations

< > → text inserted by a scribe between the lines

// → text marked by a scribe as not necessary

ḡ → g written with two dots

ḡ → g written instead of γ

γ → γ written instead of g

ô → used in Mong. for foreign o and long o, like in Skt. *namō*

(..) → letters redundant in the word

[.] → letters missing in the word

[-] → space missing between the words or between the words and grammatical particles

(124-6) → page and verse number of the Tibetan xylograph of Zanabazar's biography by Zaya Pandita in Lokesh Chandra's edition 1981, in this case page 124, verse 6th of the xylograph

(=62v6) → folio and verse number of the standard Beijing xylograph of the Khalkha Zaya Pandita's *Thob yig*, vol. *nga*, in this case folio 62v, verse 6th of the xylograph

(=BR 34b6) → folio and verse number of the Tibetan xylograph of Zanabazar's biography published by Byambaa Ragchaa 2012, in this case folio 34b, verse 6th of the xylograph

(for:) → correct or expected form in Classical Tib. or Classical Mong.

Bawden → Bawden's dictionary, see Bawden 1997 in the Bibliography

Be. → Beijing xylograph of Zaya Pandita's *thob yig*

BHSD → Edgerton's dictionary, see Edgerton 1985 in the Bibliography

BR → Byambaa Ragchaa's edition 2012 of the Tibetan xylograph

Chin. → Chinese

Das → Das dictionary, see Das 1902 (1985) in the Bibliography

Jäschke → Jäschke's dictionary, see Jäschke 1881 in the Bibliography

JC → transliteration of the bilingual in Chengxiu 2002

LC → Lokesh Chandra's edition 1981 of the Tibetan xylograph

Lessing → Lessing's dictionary, see Lessing 1982 in the Bibliography

lit. → literally

Modern Mong. → Modern Mongolian

Mong. → Classical Mongolian

Mvy. → *Mahāvvyutpatti*, see Ishihama, Fukuda 1989 in the Bibliography

Rerikh → Rerikh's dictionary, see Rerikh 1983-1993 in the Bibliography

[RY], [IW], [JV] → abbreviations used in the Nitārtha online dictionary

Skt. → Sanskrit

Thob yig → *Sa ka btsun [Śākya'i btsun pa] blo bzang 'phrin las kyi // ngag rnam phyogs su bsgrigs pa las // rang gyi 'khor bar spyod pa'i tshul // shin tu gsal ba'i sgron me bzhugs*

Tib. → Tibetan

ZP → Zaya Pandita

Part I
Studies

Chapter 1

The Author and the Text

1.1 Khalkha Zaya Pandita

The author of the biography of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa,¹ Zaya Pandita Blo bzang 'phrin las, in Mongolian Luvsanprinlei (or Luvsanperenlei)² was born in 1642, just seven years after the protagonist of his work, Zanabazar. He died in 1715, i.e. eight years before his master who lived until 1723. Without a doubt Zaya Pandita was one of the greatest scholars of Mongolia. His four volume "Records of Teachings Received" (Tib. *Thob yig*) was one of the most extensive Tibetan Buddhist biographical treatises, covering tens of biographies of Buddhist masters.³

This work gained him fame among not only Mongolian monk colleagues,

¹All references and quotations from the biography of Zanabazar are taken from the Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript found in Aginsky Datsan, i.e. monastery in Buryatia and published by Lokesh Chandra 1982: 411-549.

²There are several shorter and longer scholarly works on Zaya Pandita, however, only some of them bring information based on primary sources. Therefore many accounts on Zaya Pandita, although studied for the present work, were not mentioned here, since they appeared to be secondary and not reliable. See also Bareja-Starzynska (in print) for more information about Zaya Pandita's lineage.

³The content of the four volumes was best studied by Wayman 1962, Bira 1970, Khürelbaatar 1996 and several other scholars. See more pieces of information are provided further in the present chapter.

but among Tibetans and modern researchers on the subject. His life is known owing to two works: his own autobiography covering the events until 1680 entitled: *Sa ka btsun [Shakya'i btsun pa] blo bzang 'phrin las kyi || ngag rnam phyogs su bsgrigs pa las || rang gyi 'khor bar spyod pa'i tshul || shin tu gsal ba'i sgron me bzhugs*⁴ and his biography written by his disciple, Ganjurpa Nomun Khan (Modern Mong.: Ganjuurva Nomyn Khaan)⁵ covering also the later part of his life.⁶ Some personal information is also included in Zaya Pandita's "Records of Teachings Received" (Tib. *Thob yig*).

In several secondary sources, including the influential monograph on Zaya Pandita by Khürelbaatar (1996: 44), there are accounts about Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei as the descendant of the Chinggisid's line. It is, how-

⁴Reprinted in Byambaa 2004b. The autobiography contained in the second volume of the First Khalkha Zaya Pandita's "Collected works" (*gsung 'bum*) is written in verses of 9 syllables. This makes the text a bit condensed. There are two sets of blocks of the *gsung 'bum*; however, the comparison of the two versions of Zaya Pandita's autobiography proved that this is exactly the same text with only minor scribal differences.

⁵According to Soninbayar 1998: 28 this Tibetan work can be translated into Mongolian as: *Zaya bandida Luvsanperenlein namtar khüslin khangagch galbarvaas modon*, i.e. "Biography of Zaya Pandita Luvsanperenlei called *Wish Fulfilling Kalparṛkṣa Tree*". It was a manuscript occupying 86 folios. There is also a shorter version of this biography. It is written in Tibetan, but Soninbayar 1998: 31 provides only the Mongolian title: *Zaya bandida Luvsanprinlein khuraangui namtar*, i.e. "Short biography of Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei". It is a manuscript occupying 19 folios. Unfortunately the present author was not able to see either of the mentioned above works.

⁶Bira writes about these two biographies in his monograph study about Zanabazar's biographies in the Introduction to Bira 1995: 5, note 8 (on p. 39). He described them in his book on the Tibetan historical literature written by Mongols (Russian version Bira 1960: 9-10, English version Bira 1970: 7-14, especially footnote 9). Bira has found also a register of books dated 1861. This register is reproduced in Bira 2006: 226-262. There is information in it about "Biography of Zaya Pandita, 1 volume; Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei's autobiography in manuscript form, 1 volume; biography of the reincarnation (i.e. Zanabazar) written by Ganjurpa Nomun Khan, manuscript, 1 volume" (*Zaya bandid Luvsanprelein namtar 1 bot', Zaya bandid Luvsanprelein ööröö aildsan bichmel namtar 1 bot', tüünüü shav' Ganjurba Nomyn khaan zokhioson mön gegeenü bichmel namtar 1 bot'*). Bira 2006: 207 reported also that in the State Library in Ulan Bator there is a manuscript of a register entitled *Zaya bandid khutagtynd odoo bui nom sudryn temdeglel dans* without page number. It is reproduced in Bira 2006: 210-225.

ever, a misinterpretation of the fact that he was regarded as the reincarnation of Noyan Köndölün(g) Tsökhür, in Modern Mong. Noyon Khöndlön Tsökhür, known also as Tümenkhen Sayin Khan (1558-1640). It is stated clearly in Zaya Pandita's autobiography: "As it is known, my former rebirth was a brave and noble-virtuous lord called Köndölün(g) Tsökhür."⁷ And according to the passage from Zaya Pandita's "Records of Teachings Received" (i.e. *Thob yig*): "I rely on many talks, which I seem to remember from my early age, while being a small child. [It was said that I] was the reincarnation of Köndölün(g) Tsökhür, who had official authorization obtained from the Omniscient Panchen [Lama] himself."⁸ Zaya Pandita writes clearly about his previous rebirths using words such as Tib. *skye ba snga ma*, i.e. 'former lives' or *sku skye*, i.e. 'incarnation'. Khürelbaatar at first translated them correctly as Mong. *urd töröl* (1996: 43), however, he further concludes that according to Zaya Pandita's own words his connection to Chinggis Khan was *udam*, i.e. 'origin, line, lineage'.⁹ It seems that the misinterpretation of these words resulted in the opinion that Zaya Pandita was a descendant of Köndölün(g) Tsökhür.¹⁰

⁷ZP Autobiography, f. 2b1: *bdag gi skye ba snga mar grags pa yi / / dpa' 'dzangs grags 'bar dpon po khun du lung / / tshos khur zhes pa*. See also Mongolian translation of passages from the autobiography in Khürelbaatar 1996: 43.

⁸*Thob yig*, Vol. III, f. 211a6-211b1: *ngos cag snga sor chung chung gi skabs sngon [211b1] gnas dran pa lta bu'i labs chal mang po labs par brten / paṅ chen thams cad mkhyen pa 'di nyid kyi drung du zhus pa'i bka' shog tu khun du lung tshos khur gyi sku skye yin nges 'dug pas...*

⁹This statement was repeated for example by Dashbadrakh 2004: 100 and many others.

¹⁰The discussion of Zaya Pandita's origin was repeated by Don Croner in his Foreword to the recent Mongolian translation of Zaya Pandita's "Records of Teachings Received", i.e. *Thob yig* edited by P. Nyam-Ochir (2012: II-III). Don Croner, however, did not take a firm stand on which information was correct and attributed Luvsanprinlei's poor descent "to local legend". He mentioned that "some written accounts give the name of his parents as Suntar (or Suntor) and Orkhidai..." However, he did not specify that this piece of information was taken from Zaya Pandita's autobiography and he did not give it any priority. He claimed that "other historical accounts, however, maintain that he was the son of Tsesjav Khöndlön, himself the son of the nobleman Tümenkhen Sain Noyon". Concerning Zaya Pandita's lineage he declared that "some historical sources state that the first Zaya Pandita to appear in Mongolia was Sain Noyon Khöndlön Tsökhür", who was the son of Onokh Üizen Noyon, "who oversaw religious affairs in the seven Khalkh

Noyan Köndölün(g) Tsökhür also known as Tümenkhen Sayin Khan belonged to the Chinggisid's lineage and was an important political and religious leader of the Mongols in the 16th and 17th centuries together with his uncle Abatai Khan.¹¹ Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei wrote the following passage about the ancestors of Köndölün(g) Tsökhür: "Regarding [the one] called Köndölüng Tsökhür he was the third son of the six sons of Üijen Noyan who was the oldest of the seven sons of Jalair Khung Tayiji, who was the tenth son of the eleven sons of Batu Möngke Dayan Khan who was born in the twenty sixth generation after the universal monarch Chinggis Khan [who was] appointed by the power of the greatest heaven."¹² Therefore those who regarded Zaya Pandita as the descendant of Köndölün(g) Tsökhür believed that he belonged to the Chinggisid's lineage.

However, in the view of the present author, the words of Luvsanprinlei should be given priority and should be treated as the only reliable source of information. According to his own autobiography it is evident that Zaya Pandita was born as a son of a very religiously inclined, but simple and most probably not very wealthy family. He was born in Khujirt in the valley of Khasui in the Khangai Khan mountains.¹³ His father was called Gzungs thar, i.e. Mong. Sungtar and mother Or khi tai, i.e. Orkhidai.¹⁴

banners". In any case, he concluded that "Sain Noyon Khöndlön Tsökhür was not accepted as the First Zaya Pandita by everyone." On the Zaya Pandita's lineage see more in Bareja-Starzynska (in print).

¹¹ Bira 1980 (1994): 250, Bira 2006: 202.

¹² ZP Autobiography, f. 2b1-3: ...*khun du lung / / tshos khur zhes pa* [2b2] *de ni gnam bskos mchog / / stobs kyis 'khor bsgyur ching gis rgyal po nas / / mi rabs nyi shu rtsa drug song ba'i rjes / / ba thu mung khu ta yang hāng zhes pa / / byon par sras po bcu gcig byung ba las / / bcu pa tsha la'ir* [2b3] *hong tha'i ji zhes par / / sras bdun yong ba'i rtse mo'i grangs ldan ni / / u'i tsen no yon zhes par sras drug las / / gsum pa yin zhing...*; mentioned by Khürelbaatar 1996: 44. It can be underlined that Chinggis Khan was called here 'the universal monarch', i.e. *cakravartin* in Skt., Tib. *'khor lo sgyur*, short form of *'khor lo sgyur ba*.

¹³ ZP Autobiography, f. 3a4: *hang ka'i hang (Khanggai) zhes pa'i / / char gtogs ha su'i lung pa'i hu chir thu (Khujirt) / / zhes bya'i lung bar...* See the Mongolian alliterated translation in Khürelbaatar 1996: 46.

¹⁴ ZP Autobiography, f. 3b2: *gzungs thar ming can dang / / ma ni or khi tai zhes ming can te*. See Khürelbaatar 1996: 46.

Zaya Pandita wrote: "I was born in the company of six children, one elder sister, one younger brother and two younger sisters. From the five siblings¹⁵ I was the second. The year of [my] birth was any (meaning Black) Water Horse (*sna tshogs chu pho rta*, i.e 1642). During the Saga Dava holiday of the third great celebrations¹⁶ on the 15th day at about sunrise [I] emerged from the womb."¹⁷

Judging from his autobiography Zaya Pandita was offered a chance to change his social strata by taking on a monastic career and thanks to his unique skills he was recognized as the reincarnation of Köndölün(g) Tsökhür, a Mongolian Buddhist lay activist of the times. He recalled this fact in his autobiography in the following way: "In 1653 (...) I met with Jetsundampa Losang Gyelpo and requested profound longevity empowerment. I was bestowed the position of Noyon Khutugtu."¹⁸ He referred to this recognition also in Zanabazar's biography, the main subject of the present study, while describing his meeting with the Jetsundampa: "Since I was known by the name of the reincarnation of Köndölün(g) Sayin Noyan I received the official position of Noyon Khutugtu¹⁹ thanks to this name."²⁰

The title and position (Tib. *cho lo*, Mong. *čolu*) of Noyon Khutugtu was Zaya Pandita's first honour which placed him, already as a reincarnation, closer to the authoritative circles of Mongolian Buddhist nobles such as the Jetsundampa. Further distinctions were yet to come. Zaya Pandita was

¹⁵It seems then that one child died.

¹⁶Tib. *dus chen gsum* means holiday on Saga month when the Buddha was born, attained enlightenment, and entered *parinirvāṇa*. The Saga month is the fourth month of the Tibetan calendar.

¹⁷ZP Autobiography, f. 3b3.

¹⁸ZP Autobiography, f. 4a1-2: *rnam rgyal lo la (...) rje btsun blo bzang pa'i rgyal [2] mtshan gyi | gser zhal mjal zhing tshe dbang zab mo zhus // noyon khu thug thu zhes tsho lo* (should be: *cho lo gnang*).

¹⁹The title is given both in the Tib. and the Mong. versions according to its actual pronunciation as *noyon* and not Class. Mong. *noyan*.

²⁰Zanabazar's Biography: 436-2: Tib. *khun du lung sa'in no [437-1] yon gyi skye ba yin zhes grags pa'i rgyu mtshan gyis no yon khu thug (thu) zhes pa'i tsho lo* (for: *cho lo gnang* |; Mong. *köndö-lün(g) sayin [437-1] noyan-u qubikhan kemen aldarsirγsan učir siltarγan-iyar noyon quturγtu kemen čolu soyurqabai*. The account concerns the meeting of Zaya Pandita with Jetsundampa in 1653, exactly as in the autobiography.

fortunate to spend nineteen years between 1660 and 1679 in Tibet where he studied extensively in the Gelugpa monasteries, mainly under the guidance of the First (Fourth) Panchen Lama Losang Chokyi Gyeltsen (Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1570-1662) and Namkha Sonam Dragpa (Nam mkha' bsod nams grags pa), the tutor of Zanabazar.²¹ In the Female Wooden Dragon year, i.e. 1664 Zaya Pandita received his full ordination from the Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Losang Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1682).²²

Also the Fifth Dalai Lama conferred on him the Sanskrit title of Jaya-*paṇḍita*. In the *Thob yig* Zaya Pandita writes as follow: (vol. III, f. 276a-b) "In the year in which I was turning into my thirty sixth year of life ²³ (...) I was bestowed the title of Zaya Pandita Khutugtu with edict and seal and so on..."²⁴ Since Zaya Pandita was born in 1642 the 36th year of his age was 1678. However, other accounts point to 1679.

There is no clear information about granting the title of Zaya Pandita in his autobiography. Although the lack of information may seem surprising, perhaps it was Zaya Pandita's way of showing his modesty. Describing his journey off to Mongolia in 1679, however, Zaya Pandita mentioned the farewell visit he payed to the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Regent and described the fact that he was granted an edict and a seal.²⁵ Most probably he felt that this information was sufficient to mark the fact of receiving his honourable title of Zaya Pandita. In the autobiography it is written that Zaya Pandita's meeting with the Fifth Dalai Lama happened "on the first day of the fifth

²¹In TBRC P4511. More information about him is provided in the Part II Translation of Zanabazar's Biography in the present work. See also Bareja-Starzynska 2010b: 252-253.

²²ZP Autobiography, f. 10a2: *khro mo'i lo yi dpyod ka dbus su phyin / / srid zhi'i gtsug rgyan lnga ba'i zhabs drung nas / / bsnyen rdzogs sdem* (for: *sdom*) *bzhugs*.

²³*Thob yig*, f. 276b4: *rang lo so drug pa sprul lor*.

²⁴*Thob yig*, f. 276b2: *dza ya paṇḍita khu thug thu zhes pa'i cho lo 'ja' sa dang tham ka sogs nang ma'i gnang sbyin gnang zhing /*. Lokesh Chandra 1963: 36 writes: "The Dalai Lama conferred on him the title of Jayapaṇḍita, a *tham-ka* and *rten-gsum* (icon, scripture and caitya)."

²⁵ZP Autobiography, ff. 23b3-24a3.

month"²⁶ of 1679.²⁷ On the fifth day of the fifth month of 1679 Zaya Pandita met with the Regent and asked him where to place the seal and the edict.²⁸ On the eleventh day (of the fifth month of 1679) Zaya Pandita started his journey off from Lhasa to Mongolia.²⁹ There are no other events of this kind, i.e. about granting the title, the seal and the edict mentioned in Zaya Pandita's autobiography in 1678 or 1677. Although the information in the autobiography is not written very clearly it would be quite unthinkable that someone was granted an edict and seal marking the same distinction several times during a few subsequent years. And therefore information that Zaya Pandita was conferred his title in 1679 should be regarded as correct.³⁰

In the "Records of Teachings Received", Zaya Pandita wrote that the Fifth Dalai Lama, during the audience in which he conferred upon him the title of "Zaya Pandita", requested him to follow the example of the Oirat Zaya Pandita Sechen Rabjampa Khutugtu and bring benefit about the spread of dharma in Mongolia.³¹ The Oirat Zaya Pandita Namkhai Gyatso (Nam mkha'i rgya mtsho, 1599-1662) played a major role in the dissemination of Buddhism among Oirats, Western Mongols.³² The Fifth Dalai Lama also asked the Khalkha Zaya Pandita to reject the teachings of

²⁶ZP Autobiography, f. 23b2: *hor zla lnga pa yi / / tshes gcig nyin mo.*

²⁷This year is mentioned on f. 22b4-5: *don grub lo.*

²⁸ZP Autobiography, f. 24a7: *tshes ba lnga la.*

²⁹ZP Autobiography, f. 24a6-7: *tshes ba bcu gcig nyin.* Zaya Pandita's way back home was summarized in Mongolian by Khürelbaatar 1996: 41-42. However, the dates in the Mongolian translation should be corrected. On p. 41 Khürelbaatar translates *shiniin tavand*, i.e. 'on the 5th of the new month, i.e. the first month', although actually the earlier part of the text referred to the fifth month. Later he writes about *shiniin arvan khoyorny ödör*, i.e. 'the twelfth day of the new month, i.e. the first month'. This is an incorrect translation of the Tib. *tshes ba bcu gcig nyin* 'the eleventh day'. Also this date is not correct in the light of the analysis of the dates presented above.

³⁰The information was provided by Bira (1994: 250). He did not clarified how he calculated the date, but he pointed to the passage in the *Thob yig*: footnote 6: "The Clear Mirror, vol. III, f. 276b." In other studies of Zaya Pandita (Dashbadrakh 1998: 104 followed by Majer and Teleki 2012: 16) the date is given as 1678.

³¹*Thob yig*, f. 276b3: *o'i rad [4] kyi dza ya paṇḍita se chen rab 'byams pa khu thug thu dper mdzad nas sog yul gyi bstan pa la phan pa'i re ba yod.*

³²See more in Okada and Miyawaki-Okada 2008.

the Nyingma which are said to appear in Mongolia and to spread teachings of the Victorious Tshongkhapa and give instructions according to the ‘two systems’ (*lugs gnyis*, i.e. temporal and spiritual traditions established by the Fifth Dalai Lama).³³ A similar passage is included in Zaya Pandita’s autobiography.³⁴ The title of Zaya Pandita was confirmed by the Manchu Emperor Kangxi (r. 1662-1722). During his exile from the Khalkha lands due to Galdan Boshugtu’s invasion, in 1698 Zaya Pandita traveled to Beijing and while staying at the court of the emperor he was officially recognized by him as *khutugtu* (Mong. *qutuγtu*), i.e. incarnation and granted with seal and lands.³⁵

According to Khürelbaatar (1996: 43) the title Zaya Pandita, composed from the Sanskrit words *jaya* ‘victorious’ and *paṇḍita* ‘scholar’, was given to those Buddhist scholars who mastered the Buddhist five sciences. He lists other famous Mongols who received this title, Oirat Zaya Pandita Namkhajamts, i.e. Tib. Namkhai Gyatso (1599-1662) and Buryat Zaya Pandita, Dambadarjaa khambo (1711-1776). However, the Buryat lama was called Zayaev because his father’s name was Zaya.³⁶ The fact that Oirat Zaya Pandita and Khalkha Zaya Pandita lived almost at the same time caused much confusion to those who thought that there was only one such person, one eminent Mongolian Buddhist master. Among scholars who wrongly identified the two Zaya Panditas, Oirat and Khalkha, was Aleksei Pozdnev (1971: 271-272). He regarded the Khalkha Zaya Pandita as the reincarnation of the Oirat Zaya Pandita and moreover relied on somebody’s information that the Khalkha Zaya Pandita was a Tibetan who came to Mongolia.

Digression:

³³ *Thob yig*, f. 276b4: *sog yul du rnying ma'i chos kyi rigs byas na shes pa byung ba'i lo rgyus mang po gnang nas | de rigs byed mkhan [276b5] byung tshe dgag pa dang | rgyal ba tshong kha pa chen po'i bstan pa la gang phan pa byed dgos pa sogs lugs gnyis kyi sgo nas thugs nye ba'i bslab ston...*

³⁴ ZP Autobiography, f. 23b4-6.

³⁵ Information provided by Soninbayar 1998: 29 on the basis of Zaya Pandita's biography written by his disciple Ganjurpa Nomun Khan.

³⁶ See Tsyrepilov 2014: 15.

Doubts appear also while reading other piece of information. Walther Heissig writes about Jaya³⁷ Pandita on the occasion of the description of the text on Wutaishan mountains. The author of the compilation was called *Su madhi sasana dhara*, i.e. Sumati Śāsana Dhara (f. 72r) (it is interesting to notice that Sumati Śāsana Dhvaja Śribhadra was a monastic name of Zanabazar). Later in the text (f. 73v) he was called Gusiri Blo bzang bstan 'jin. It was added by Heissig that he belonged to the retinue of Jaya Pandita because he paid respect to him, as if he was his disciple, in the colophon.³⁸ Heissig identified the date of the block print as 1667 and he wrote that the composition itself had to appear after 1662 when the reign of Emperor Shengzu (the temple name of Kangxi, A. B-S.) started hence there are blessings for his long life included in the colophon.³⁹

Heissig uses the name 'Jaya Paṇḍita von Köke qota' (1954: 12), but his reasons for adding the name of the city to the name of the monk seems to be based on the information from yet another document, namely a register called *Čaγlasi ügei süme-yin ĵerge-yin bügüde süme-yin bayiγuluγsan yabudal-i bayičaγaγsan dangsa* from circa 1785. There it was stated that "Jaya bandida qutuγtu" founded a monastery called *Sayin-i erkilegči süme* in the first year of the reign of the Emperor Kangxi (Engke amuγulang), i.e. 1662. He was said to come to Köke Khota from Khalkha from the banner of Jasagtu Khan with a retinue of 160 disciples and he was encouraged by the emperor to build a monastery any place he wished. According to the register Jaya Pandita started to build a monastery at the foot of the mountain Jirgalangtu near the source of the Kharigchin river. It has been pointed out already elsewhere by Isabelle Charleux that if it was the Khalkha Zaya Pandita that was meant here, the dates of this account do not seem to be correct. In 1662 Zaya Pandita should have been in Tibet where he went in 1660 to study. He returned to Khalkha in 1679 and left Khalkha again

³⁷Heissig 1954: 2-13. Jaya is the way Heissig writes this name.

³⁸Heissig 1954: 13, footnote 1, f. 71v: *qamuγ-i ayiladuγči-yi bančen dalai blama-yin esi bosuγ-iyar Jaya bandida qutuγ-tu kemen [72r] aldarširγan tegün-ü ölmei-yin toγusun-i oroi-bar abuγči sumadhi sasana dhara.*

³⁹Heissig 1954: 13, footnote 2, f. 73r: *manjusiri-yin qubūγan delekei-yin manduγuluγči degedü eĵen-ü tümen nasun-u batu orusil bolγan keb-tür bütügeye kemen...*

in 1688 due to Galdan Boshugtu's attack. Therefore it seems much more probable that the foundation of the monastery mentioned in the register started around 1699.⁴⁰

It is not clear why Heissig called Zaya Pandita "from Köke Khota" unless he meant another person. Who, however, could he be? The Oirat Zaya Pandita Namkhai Gyatso passed away in 1662 on his way to Tibet. He could have not been called as the one who received the mandate of "Zaya Pandita" from the Panchen Lama since he was bestowed this title by the Khalkha Subudi Jasagtu Khan after 1640.⁴¹ There are no accounts that he spent time in Köke Khota. His next incarnation was born in 1664 and most probably stayed his entire life in Tibet.⁴² Moreover, his dates do not agree with the dates mentioned by Heissig.

Heissig might have referred to the incarnation called "Jaya Pandita from Köke Khota" included in Aleksei Pozdneev's list of Mongolian reincarnations.⁴³ However, there is no more information about the Jaya or Zaya Pandita from Köke Khota there. In any case, it would be a later story connected with recognition of a reincarnation of the Khalkha Zaya Pandita after his passing away. It is possible that the author of the Mongolian text on Wutaishan, Sumati Śāsana Dhara alias Blo bzang bstan 'jin, became Zaya Pandita's disciple in Tibet.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, in the passage written by Heissig on the circumstances of composition of the text on Wutaishan in the second half of the 17th century information about Jaya (Zaya) Pandita from Köke Khota should probably be studied carefully again. From the reading of the documents available to us it would be quite impossible for the Khalkha Zaya Pandita⁴⁵ to appear in Köke Khota already in 1662 and

⁴⁰See Bareja-Starzynska (in print). Bira 1978: 230 suggested the year 1691.

⁴¹See Okada and Miyawaki-Okada 2008: 33.

⁴²Okada and Miyawaki-Okada 2008: 34.

⁴³Pozdneev 1978: 324. He is mentioned on the list under number 61. On p. 328 Pozdneev presents the list of "khutukhtus of Khalkha". There he writes about the Khalkha Zaya Pandita that "his nomadic lands and monastery are in the Sayin Noyon aimag, and his khubilgan must be distinguished from the one in Khükhe khoto, no. 61 in the first list."

⁴⁴Bira 1978: 230 came into similar conclusion.

⁴⁵And it is said in the Mongolian text that he received the mandate (*bosurγ*) from the

therefore if he was meant there, his name should not refer to Köke Khota and the date should be corrected.

Zaya Pandita acquired excellent knowledge of the Tibetan language and the majority of his texts were composed in Tibetan. However, in his autobiography Zaya Pandita wrote that at first he learnt the Mongolian script.⁴⁶ Probably this knowledge was quite profound. Many years later during his stay in Tibet he composed the biography of Tüshiyetü Khan in Mongolian.⁴⁷ After learning the Mongolian script Zaya Pandita mastered the Tibetan script and language.⁴⁸ As it was mentioned earlier he received full Buddhist ordination. His curriculum also included medicine.⁴⁹

Zaya Pandita was known in Mongolia as one of the three most influential incarnated teachers, including Jetsundampa as the most important, and besides Zaya Pandita, also Lamyn Gegeen Losang Tenzin Gyeltsen (Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan, 1639-1703).⁵⁰ All three of them exchanged teachings among themselves.⁵¹ Their importance lied in their profound

Panchen Lama, while according to Zaya Pandita's *Thob yig* f. 276a-b the title was given during Zaya Pandita's audience with the Fifth Dalai Lama. See also Lokesh Chandra 1963: 36.

⁴⁶ZP Autobiography, f. 4a5-6.

⁴⁷ZP Autobiography, f. 19a2-3. Also Lokesh Chandra 1963: 36 in his short text about Zaya Pandita wrote that "Among his writings many were in Mongol, like the Biography of King Tüshiyetü Qaγan, which were not incorporated in his *opera omnia* and are traditionally rare." Lokesh Chandra remarks: "Copies: California University, Chicago University 302, 327, Gandang Monastery, Institut Vostokovedeniya u. 59 (Blo bzang 'phrin las), International Academy of Indian Culture, and State Library of Ulanbator."

⁴⁸ZP Autobiography, f. 4a5, 4b3.

⁴⁹ZP Autobiography, f. 7b5-6. Zaya Pandita studied with Lingto Shabdrung Losang Gyatso (Gling stod zhabs drung blo bzang rgya mtsho). He who was mentioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his autobiography, Karmay 2015: 236.

⁵⁰See Byambaa 2009.

⁵¹According to Aleksei Pozdnev 1971: 272 the Mongols used to speak about: "Jetsundampa, the White Yurt khan, Zaya Pandita, the Yellow Yurt khan and Lamain Gegen, the Black Yurt khan." According to him these three colors referred to the colors of the yurts in which the lamas lived. However, while referring to the Khalkha Zaya Pandita, Pozdnev treated him as the reincarnation of the Oirat Zaya Pandita and therefore confused him with the Tibetan reincarnation of the Oirat Zaya Pandita. The whole passage contains mixed information about the two men and should be read very critically.

knowledge of Buddhist teachings as well as arts, medicine and astrology, respectively.

As mentioned earlier, Zaya Pandita's literary legacy consists of four volumes of the "Records of Teachings Received" (*Thob yig* encompassing volumes *ka-nga*) written in 1698-1702: (*Sha kya'i btsun pa blo bzang 'phrin las kyi*) *zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gsal ba'i me long* and two volumes (*ka-kha*) which are popularly known as his "Collected works", i.e. *gsung 'bum*. This notion, however, is misleading, since it is often applied to the *Thob yig*, as well.⁵²

The contents of the four volumes of *Thob yig* have been outlined by Alex Wayman,⁵³ who also made profound studies on the correlation of the Tantric section of the Kanjur to Tanjur on the basis of the *Thob yig*. Alex Wayman believed that Zaya Pandita was even a tutor to the Sixth Dalai Lama.⁵⁴

The four volumes of Zaya Pandita's *Thob yig* were translated into Classical Mongolian by Rabjamba GungaaJamts during Zaya Pandita's times.⁵⁵

⁵²Besides the Peking edition of the two-volume works there is its reprint by Byambaa Ragchaa (2004b). In the Preface he stated that there are two different blocks of the *gsung 'bum* judging from its shape and from the Index (*dkar chag*) in which titles of the works are written in verse or in prose. The two-volume "Collected Works" were edited by Shiva Shireet (or Luvsanshiva), Luvsanprinlei's disciple. On the basis of the present author's comparison of the two block sets of the autobiography of Zaya Pandita it can be concluded that there are no serious differences between them except scribal differences. The *gsung 'bum* Index in Tibetan was called *Nor bu phreng ba*, translated into Mongolian as *Cintamani-yin erike* (Modern Mong. *Chandmaniin erikh*). The manuscript of this Index was found by Byambaa 2004: 2. Another Mongolian scholar, Soninbayar 1998: 33-43 in his article on Zaya Pandita reproduced Luvsanprinlei's Index under the Tibetan title: *Rigs kun khyab bdag za ya paṇḍita blo bzang 'phrin las bka' 'bum legs bshad kyi po ti gnyis pa'i dkar chag nor 'phreng dang bklag lung legs par thob pa'i brgyud bcas bzhugs*. Khürelbaatar 1996: 58 outlined the contents of the 2 volumes in his article .

⁵³Wayman 1962. Also Bira 1970 and Khürelbaatar 1996: 71-76 summarized the *Thob yig*.

⁵⁴Wayman 1962: 109, Wayman 1959: 126 (footnote 210).

⁵⁵The unique manuscript of this translation is being rendered into Modern Mongolian by P. Nyam-Ochir in collaboration with G. Nyam-Ochir who prepared the transliteration of the Classical Mongolian original which consists of 11 parts. Two volumes have already appeared. See Nyam-Ochir 2012 and Don Croner's blog.

There were also other translations, at least of parts of the *Thob yig*. Bira Shagdaryn in his translation of the biography of Zanabazar into Modern Mongolian used another Classical Mongolian translation, by Gelegjamts Doorombo, and checked it against the Tibetan original.⁵⁶

The *Thob yig* enclosed numerous biographies, both of eminent Buddhist scholars, Indian and Tibetan, including Maitreya-nātha, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Guṇaprabha, Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Haribhadra, Dignāga, Dharmakīrti, Candragomin, Śākyaprabha, Dharmarakṣita, Śāntideva, Śākyaśrī, Abhayākara Gupta, Mitra, Śāntirakṣita, Atīśa, Khedub Khyungpo (mKhas grub khyung po), Nagtso Lotsāba (Nag tsho lo tsā ba), Lhalama Jangchub Od (lHa bla ma byang chub 'od), Sakya Pandita (Sa skya Pandita), Buton Rinpoche (Bu ston rin po che), Thogme Pelsang po (Thogs med dpal bzang po), Sempa Chenpo Pelden Yeshe (Sems dpa' chen po dpal ldan ye shes), Lhodrag Namkha Gyeltsen Pelsangpo (lHo brag nam mkha' rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po), Reddapa (Red mda' pa), Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa), Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas and many others, as well as life-accounts of model Buddhist masters: sixteen *sthaviras*, eighty four *mahā-siddhas* and others.⁵⁷

After returning to Mongolia Zaya Pandita founded four colleges and his monastery started to be called Zayaiin Khüree, i.e. 'the monastery of Zaya'. Among the disciples of the First Zaya Pandita there were eminent Buddhist scholars of Mongolia such as: Darpa Pandita Losang Sopa Gyatso (Blo bzang bzod pa rgya mtsho), in Modern Mong. Darva Pandit nomch khutagt Sodovjamts and Shiva Shireet Luvsan (the first incarnation of Shiva Shireet who was called Luvsan), who were Zaya Pandita's disciples when he was in Tibet in the Sera monastery's Tsanid (*mtshad nyid*) and Choiriin datsan (*chos grwa tshang*).⁵⁸

In order to learn more about Zaya Pandita's biography one should study the whole work of his "Records of Teachings received" (*Thob yig*) since between the accounts of the Buddhist masters Zaya Pandita included informa-

⁵⁶Bira 1995: 25.

⁵⁷Wayman 1962: 111-115.

⁵⁸Soninbayar 1998: 31.

tion about himself. The most valuable in this respect is the biography of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa Zanabazar. Therefore one should read it as the source of information of both: the author of the text and the protagonist of his story.

1.2 Genre of Biography

Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei regarded the First Khalkha Jetsundampa as his spiritual teacher. He met him before his journey for studies in Tibet, and always treated him with great respect. Both in the autobiography of Zaya Pandita and in his biography of Zanabazar it is mentioned that he 'received the longevity [empowerment] and permission to attend Niguma's practice' during his meeting with Zanabazar in 1653 (*rnam rgyal zhes pa chu mo sprul lo*, i.e. Water Female Serpent year).⁵⁹ However, Zanabazar left in 1655 (Tib. *myos byed ces pa shing lug* i.e. Wooden Sheep year) for central Tibet (dBus and Gtsang), while Zaya Pandita stayed in Mongolia until 1660 (Tib. *lcags byi*, i.e. Iron Mouse year) when he finally was able to study in Tibet. Since then until 1679 (Tib. *sa lug*, i.e. Earth Sheep year) he was away from Mongolia and therefore his account of Zanabazar's life for that period is very limited. Comparison with later biographies⁶⁰ of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa showed that actually all of them were based on the first life-story by Zaya Pandita and therefore all of them lack precise information about the period of 1660-1679.

Since Zaya Pandita included Zanabazar's biography in the *Thob yig*, i.e. "Records of Teachings Received", one should examine this genre. About Zaya Pandita's treatment of the *thob yig* genre Alex Wayman remarked as follows: "Theoretically, the author should include only those teachers in whose lineage he stands. However, apparently by encyclopedic knowledge, he (i.e. Zaya Pandita) manages to have learned something from almost everyone of importance (at least in the Gelugpa school) and this gives him the

⁵⁹Zanabazar's Biography: 436-3. Meeting with the Jetsundampa was described in ZP Autobiography, f. 4a1-2.

⁶⁰See Bareja-Starzynska 2009a.

opportunity to write up their biographies, even though in many cases it is extremely brief."⁶¹ "He treats with greater amplitude the Dalai Lamas, the Panchen Lamas, and the chief ones among the *yongs-'dzin*, religious teachers of the highly-placed Lamas, has an especially ample treatment of the 1st Pan chen Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal III, ff. 190b1 to 232a2; and coming up to his own times, gives increasingly greater information in the biographies."⁶² The biography of the First Jetsundampa is included in this part of the work, vol. IV (*nga*), starting from folio 62 verso, line 6 to folio 77 verso line 2 (Chandra 1981: 124-154, Byambaa 2012 ff. 34b6-49b2). However, since a bilingual copy also exists, references in the present work are made to the Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript (Lokesh Chandra 1982: 412-549). The biography of the First Jetsundampa is therein entitled *Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i khrungs rabs bco lnga'i rnam thar*, i.e. it was regarded as belonging to the *namthar* (*rnam thar*) genre, at least at the time of making the separate copies of the text.⁶³

Namthars are registers of virtuous deeds which lead to the Buddhist Enlightenment. They "serve both as inspirational and as instructional models for practitioners of the Path."⁶⁴ The classical Tibetological explanation of the nature of *namthar* genre was given by Giuseppe Tucci in the *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. There he discussed the similarities of such texts with the hagiographic literature of medieval Europe and therefore he concluded: "the events they relate with a particular satisfaction are spiritual conquests, visions and extasies; they follow the long apprenticeship through which man becomes divine, they give lists of the texts upon which saints trained and disciplined their minds, for each lama they record the masters who opened up his spirit to serene visions, or caused the ambrosia of supreme revelations to rain down upon him. Human events have nothing to do with these works."⁶⁵

⁶¹Wayman 1962: 115.

⁶²Wayman 1962: 115.

⁶³Although in the Mongolian translation of the text term *čadiry* or *čedig* stemming from Sanskrit *jātaka* (Lessing 156a) is used.

⁶⁴Willis 1985: 304.

⁶⁵Tucci 1949, vol. 1, pp. 150-152.

It echoes with the explanation by Hermione Lee, a modern leading biography expert from Oxford University: "Biography raises moral issues. Its early, classical and Christian versions, presented their subjects as moral examples. A good life or a martyrdom provided a model for good behaviour or spiritual aspiration; a bad ruler or a fall from greatness provided an awful warning. This 'exemplary' strain in biography has never disappeared. A recurring argument is made for the usefulness of the genre. If biography can teach us how to live our lives, or can open our minds to lives very unlike our own, then it has educational purpose: it is a branch of history and of knowledge."⁶⁶ The *New Oxford Dictionary of English* of 2001 provides such a short Western definition of biography: "an account of someone's life written by someone else".⁶⁷ Analyzing formal rules for biography Lee concluded that "there are no rules for biography" and "there is no such things as a definitive biography."⁶⁸

How is it then in the Tibetan biography? If one looks at the Tibetan *namthar* genre, the Buddhist perspective places it in a due level of development of Buddha's life-account. Ulrike Roesler writes: "among the Buddhist types of biographical literature we find, for example, genre designations like Sanskrit/Pali *carita* (deeds or acts, as in *Buddhacarita*), *vamśa* (genealogy, as in *Buddhavaśa*), or the simple designation as *kathā* (story, as in *Nidānakathā*). Biographical details and legends are part of the Buddhist commentaries (*aṭṭhakathās*), and fragments of the life story of Buddha Śākyamuni are embedded in the Sūtra and the Vinaya sections of the Buddhist canonical scriptures. Stories about previous lives, the *jātakas* and *avadānas* with their respective translations into different languages of Asia, are an important part of Buddhist stories, too. The Tibetan tradition uses the designation *rnam thar*, "liberation (story)", for religious biographies, but biographical accounts are also found in other genres, such as *chos 'byung*, "history of the doctrine", or in doctrinal works, or in eulogies of Buddhist teachers."⁶⁹ Several pages devoted to the biographical literature in Tibet

⁶⁶Lee 2009: 16-17.

⁶⁷Lee 2009: 5.

⁶⁸Lee 2009: 18.

⁶⁹Roesler, from "Introduction" in: Covill, Roesler, Shaw 2010: 5-6. About biographies

Andrei I. Vostrikov, and included it in his study of the Tibetan historical literature treating it as its part.⁷⁰

About religious biographical writings in Tibet, Brandon Dotson quite aptly points out that: "For a culture so pervaded by the Buddha's teaching of non-self, there is an awful lot of writing about the lives of individuals. And, interestingly, this is something that was not done to the same extent in India, the primary source of Tibetan Buddhism. Biographical writing in Tibet began in earnest after the 'later diffusion' of Buddhism from the eleventh century onwards, in new lineages like the Kadam and Kagyu."⁷¹ He, however, searched for earlier examples in the texts preserved in Dunhuang and found two examples showing, according to him, how Tibetan Buddhist biographies were documenting lineages and text transmissions. He concluded: "In the uncertain period after the fall of the Tibetan empire, these two things, lineages and the texts/practices they transmitted, were the tenuous means by which the Buddha's teachings would survive or fall in Tibet. (...)what we are seeing is the appearance of religious biographical writing at a pressure point in history, when the Buddhist institutions introduced by the Tibetan emperors were crumbling, and nothing had yet emerged to take their place."⁷²

It is summed up by Janice D. Willis that Tibetan religious biographies, i.e. *namthars*, can be viewed as "three distinct levels of life-story: viz. 1) *phyi'i rnam thar*, the so called outer biography which most resembles our western notions of biography, presenting details of birth, schooling, education, specific teachers and texts consulted; 2) *nang gi rnam thar* or inner biography, which chronicles the specific meditative cycles, initiations, etc., imparted to the future *siddha*; and 3) the *gsang ba'i rnam thar* or secret biography. This last level or element of the narrative is said to describe the meditative or mystical visions and their experiences of the accomplished ones."⁷³ She also suggested "to view this third level of *rnam thar* as ac-

of Indian *mahāsiddhas* in Tibetan see Robinson 1996.

⁷⁰Vostrikov 1970.

⁷¹Dotson 2014.

⁷²Dotson 2014.

⁷³Willis 1985: 312.

tually providing detailed descriptions of practice and instructions."⁷⁴ And this again points out that life-stories became so important for the Tibetan Buddhists because they carried information about lineages and practices.⁷⁵

Therefore Zaya Pandita, a Mongolian monk who was able to learn in Tibet from the best teachers of the Gelugpa tradition of the time, related so minutely biographies of great Buddhist figures and their teachings. He brought his Buddhist knowledge to the Khalkha lands and shared it in his writings. From this short recapitulation one can see that from the Tibetan perspective it is possible to discuss Zanabazar's biography by Zaya Pandita as included in the "teachings received" (*thob yig*) genre and representing the "personal path leading to enlightenment" (*rnam thar*) genre.

The biography of the First Jetsundampa was written at the request of Zaya Pandita with the approval of the Jetsundampa. He provided Zaya Pandita with all necessary information about his virtuous deeds as a Buddhist: foundation of monasteries and temples, the making of statues and the preparing of two or three Kanjur editions. Nevertheless, Zaya Pandita confronted these data with his own knowledge about those events.

An interesting feature of the text is that it not only omits the period of 1660-1679 but also it does not cover years after 1702 (until 1723), because the four-volume work was completed by Zaya Pandita in 1702 and later he did not continue this sort of writing. We may assume that for him the task of recording his "teachings received" was fulfilled. Therefore, although

⁷⁴Willis 1985: 312.

⁷⁵One may ponder on the Chinese Buddhist biographical literature. However, it seems that due to its different character, lineages and records of teachings and practices did not play so significant role in it. For example Robson (2010: 55) writes that in the collection of biographies entitled *The Biographies of the Eighteen Eminent Monks of Nanyue* (*Nanyue shiba gaoseng zhuan*) by Lu Cangyong (656-713) the author "after briefly introducing some of the eighteen monks... refrains from expatiating on the virtues of each (or any) of the monks who comprise the list and instead focuses his literary flourishes on the beauty and numinous efficacy of the terrain of Nanyue that served as a setting for their practices in monasteries there. (...) Wonderful trees, clear water, abundant herbs, strange stones, and a favorable position in relation to the celestial sphere above, could be as important to a monk's religious pursuits as a good master." It seems that contrary to the above statement, the importance of master who was crucial for the success in the Tantric practices in Tibet made biographies important tools containing necessary knowledge.

Zanabazar's biography was written during his lifetime, it stopped in 1702.

Zaya Pandita complained that he had to rely only on his master's words about the rites he received and texts that he had studied in Tibet in 1649-1651, because Zanabazar did not make any notes while young. It must have been a serious problem for Zaya Pandita since he reported about it not just once. For example: (p. 429) "at that time due to the fault of not applying himself greatly to Dharma he did not take notes except for [the fact that] on the first day he pull out [information] from sutras and tantras and words of many Indian and Tibetan accomplished masters and others and he commented [upon them] extensively. However, he was not able to remember everything. From the second day onwards, whatever he became [interested in] he was truly able to memorize and write down, but he did not write scriptures, both due to his early age, and the fact, that he did not understand its great importance for [practising] dharma" or: (pp. 439-440): "[There, i.e. in Tibet] he listened to many teachings taught by the Master Gyel Wangchuk (i.e the Fifth Dalai Lama) starting with the *Kadam Legbam* (*bKa' gdams legs 'bam*). Though he listened to such teachings [I] have not seen his register of "teachings received" and therefore all these [pieces of information] were not certain."

One can understand better while studying Zaya Pandita's autobiography—in which every teaching that he received was meticulously noted—that scant information about his master's "teachings received" must have caused his true grief.

The trustworthiness of Zaya Pandita is striking, since usually Buddhist life accounts, i.e. *namthars*, are regarded by Western viewers as hagiographies. Is it then a hagiography? Zaya Pandita was clearly attached very much to his master, the First Jetsundampa. The biography is full of Zaya Pandita's dedications to his teacher and is written in the first person, i.e. making clear his close connection to the protagonist of his work. But critical remarks on the lack of keeping proper records of teachings on the side of the master proved that it was not a hagiography. Although written in consultation with Zanabazar, it also does not fit as a model of an autobiography written by a ghost writer (i.e. Zaya Pandita) since the true author is not hiding. It is possible to examine whether Zanabazar's biography

by Zaya Pandita is suitable to the term "nested biography", i.e. biography nested in a bigger work. For the present purpose David Templeman's notion of "nested autobiography" was rephrased.⁷⁶ Templeman, however, spoke about an autobiography which was inserted into a big life-account. In the case of Zaya Pandita's writing the biography of Zanabazar constitutes, similarly to other *namthars*, a part of the grand work of his "Records of Teachings Received". It is situated differently to the "nested biographies". Detailed analysis of the *Thob yig* contents in terms of its structure, however, is beyond the scope of the present work.

The style of Zaya Pandita's writing is simple; however, if one sees that the biography is a part of the "records" serving with information about lineages and teachings, it is clear that this style must be informative and not elaborated or ornate.⁷⁷

It may be useful to see what could have been Zaya Pandita's inspiration, i.e. opinion on the style of biographical writings of the Fifth Dalai Lama, who was his religious authority. Ulrike Roesler studied the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama and found him quoting Tagtsang Lotsawa (sTag tshang lo tsā ba): "It is impious to praise oneself and defame others in a loud tone, assuming oneself to be supreme. With neither exaggeration nor deprecation, one's character should be declared to all, such is the manner of the Buddha (f. 9 b)."⁷⁸ Similar statement was written by Zaya Pandita who recalled Zanabazar praising Dromton ('Brom ston) and quoting from the *Norbu Trengba Nor bu phreng ba*: "One own's qualities should be hidden,

⁷⁶David Templeman introduced this term during his presentation titled "Nested autobiography: Life writing within larger works" at the conference "Beyond biography: New Perspectives on Tibetan Life-Writing", Oxford, 28-29.09.2012.

⁷⁷Khürelbaatar devoted the whole subchapter to the ornate (*kāvya*) style of Zaya Pandita, see Khürelbaatar 1996: 59-66. However, he wrote there about Zaya Pandita's other composition consisting of 35 exemplifications of ornate style according to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*. See Khürelbaatar 1996: 60.

⁷⁸I would like to thank Ulrike Roesler for her kind permission to see her text before its publication. See Roesler 2014: 134. Another translation of this passage is presented by Samten Karmay in his translation of the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography, Karmay 2015: 19.

other's qualities should be proclaimed!"⁷⁹ Would it be possible that the Fifth Dalai Lama's opinion and Zanabazar's words on humble behaviour had an impact on Zaya Pandita? His work was not an autobiography and therefore if he regarded them as important he would rather recall them while writing his own autobiography. Nevertheless, he might have valued the opinion of the Fifth Dalai Lama on the style of writing biographies.⁸⁰

In general it can be said that Buddhist or Asian biographies in comparison with the Western biographical world bring far more interesting perspectives.⁸¹ Since a protagonist of the biography might have had previous incarnations—there are no borders in time for a biography; since he can travel mentally to distant lands—there are no borders in space. Since he can be represented by several incarnations at once—there are no limits to the protagonists who are still seen as one entity. These aspects of the very flexible understanding of life-account are visible in Zanabazar's biography, as well.

For example Zanabazar in his talk with Zaya Pandita explained the reason for being regarded as Tāranātha's reincarnation by the Panchen Lama. He compared it with the process of the visualization of a deity: "Now if [one] asks about the reason of issuing [a statement by the Panchen Lama] about [me] being assembled with Tāranātha, although the assembly is not a deity, it is like giving authorization etc. by visualizing [oneself] as a deity. Although I am not Tāranātha, I am perceived as him—the two [notions] are similar."⁸²

Zaya Pandita mentioned also a secret visit paid by Zanabazar to Tibet

⁷⁹Zanabazar's Biography, 432-3.

⁸⁰The Fifth Dalai Lama noted in his autobiography: "I wrote as much as I could based on my own memory since the age 15", while for the earlier period he relied on the notes taken by his entourage. He concluded: "I wrote in a spontaneous manner all that occurred naturally to my mind", see Karmay 2015: 20-21.

⁸¹It was one of the conclusions drawn by the participants of the conference "Beyond biography: New Perspectives on Tibetan Life-Writing", Oxford, 28-29.09.2012.

⁸²Zanabazar's Biography 432-1-2: *tā ra nā tha'i tshom bu yin phebs par rgyu mtshan zhus tsa na tshom bu lha min kyang lhar bskyed de rjes gnang la sogs pa byed pa ltar* (129-2 + nga) *tā ra nā tha min kyang yin par 'du shes pa gnyis 'dra zhes...*

in 1655.⁸³ Although this travel to Tibet has not been recorded elsewhere and it seemed very short, no one dared to question its credibility. Obviously, incarnations as powerful as Zanabazar—reincarnated master Tāranātha—could have traveled in a different way and time than common people.

1.3 Is the Tibetan Way the Mongolian Way?

Another feature which can be analyzed, however, is the problem of other possible influences. Zaya Pandita was a Mongol who received his Buddhist knowledge in Tibet. His main language of composition was Tibetan. Is it then possible to see any Mongolian features in the biography of Zanabazar, one particular Mongolian Buddhist master described by Zaya Pandita?

One may look at Zaya Pandita's Mongolian background to search for possible impacts. Analysis of one biography usually leads to analysis of another biography, namely of its author's. In the case of Zaya Pandita it can be recapitulated that he spent all his childhood in Mongolia. He went to Tibet in 1660, at the age of 18. He knew both the Tibetan and Mongolian scripts and he was able to make translations from Tibetan into Mongolian.

An interesting document found by Bira Shagdaryn is Zaya Pandita's list of Mongolian books.⁸⁴ Actually it is a register of Mongolian books from the monastery of Zaya Pandita (called Zaya Gegeen's or Zayaiin monastery), however, it may include, as well, the private library of Zaya Pandita. The library did not survive the communist purges in Mongolia. Nevertheless, the list is a witness to its contents.⁸⁵ The register contains many books translated from Tibetan into Mongolian, such as for example the epic of Gesar, biographies of Padmasambhava, Milarepa, Marpa, the story of Choyijid Dakini etc. There are also sutras listed, such as *Altan gerel*, i.e. "Sutra of the Golden Light" and the "Ocean of Stories" known in Tibetan as *Mdo mdzangs blun*, i.e. "Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish" etc. The list also contains Mongolian historical writings, such as "The History of Togoön

⁸³Zanabazar's Biography 438-2-440-3.

⁸⁴See Bira 2006.

⁸⁵On the monastery of Zaya Gegeen see Majer and Teleki 2013.

Tömör Khan", "The White History of Chinggis [Khan]" and others. Even if these books did not belong to him, most probably Zaya Pandita, although brought up in a monastery and educated mainly in Tibet, was nevertheless quite well versed in Mongolian literature and well accustomed to Mongolian tradition. Thus were there any traces of the Mongolian influence on Zaya Pandita's biography of Zanabazar?

Referring to Mongolian history and culture one has to start with Chinggis Khan, undoubtedly the greatest hero for the Mongols. Chinggis Khan is mentioned in Zaya Pandita's biography of the First Jetsundampa, as well, as an important point of reference in his genealogy: "[...] universally famed as Chinggis Khan (*ching gi rgyal po*). And from that [king] in the twenty-seventh generation appeared a king [called:] Batu Möngke Dayan. From his eleven sons the tenth was [called] Jalair Khung Tayiji. From his seven sons the third [was called] Üijeng Noyan. From his six sons the eldest was [called] king Abutai (or Abatai). (...) When he was thirty-five years old, he proceeded to the heavenly realms (i.e. passed away). His son was Erkei Mergen. His son was called Vajra king Tüshiyetü Khan. He acted with full understanding of the two [kinds of affairs]: [regarding Buddhist] doctrine and [worldly political] rule. He was the father of the present Lord [i.e. Zanabazar]. His mother was the daughter of the daughter of the younger brother of the Lord's own grandfather, great Vajra king (i.e. Abutai / Abatai)."⁸⁶

The most remarkable life story known from Mongolian literature is the biography of Chinggis Khan as narrated in the so called "Secret History of the Mongols", which is regarded, however, as a chronicle.⁸⁷ The text survived only in the Chinese glosses, nevertheless, they enabled scholars to reconstruct the Mongolian original. The text is dated 1240.⁸⁸ One of the

⁸⁶Zanabazar's Biography: 416-3-417-3. See Part II, Translation for more explanations.

⁸⁷Recent studies of Christopher Atwood (paper read in 2014 in the Academy of Social Sciences in Hohhot) on the composition of the "Secret History" may shed, however, new light on this work.

⁸⁸Kałużyński 1970: 9-10. There are numerous studies of the "Secret History of the Mongols". It would be impossible and unnecessary to mention all of them in the present work.

interesting features of this text, noticed by scholars, was the trustworthiness of its author(s): great khan is depicted in the chronicle in a very objective way, it seems. Even the fact that he was afraid of dogs was mentioned. Some of his shameful deeds, such as killing his step-brother Bekter or leaving behind his young wife in the moment of Merkits' attack were described, as well.⁸⁹ Speaking in an objective way about all of the khan's deeds was perhaps a way to depict him for family members. Therefore trustworthiness of the author(s) could be an argument for treating this text as addressed only for the inner circle of recipients. The text survived in Beijing in the archives and was used as a primary reader for the Chinese administration learning the Mongolian language. The Mongolian text disappeared and only its Chinese glosses and translation survived. In the course of time passing, however, the text of the "Secret History of the Mongols" was studied not only by the Chinese, but also by the Mongols. Its Mongolian version was rewritten and large fragments were included in the chronicle *Altan tobči* by Luvsan Dandzan in the 17th century.⁹⁰

Perhaps trustworthiness or truthfulness and the straightforwardness of the "Secret History of the Mongols" are the features which Zaya Pandita acquired from his Mongolian background and contributed to the biography of the First Jetsundampa. Later biographies of Zanabazar written in the Tibetan language are modeled much closer to the Tibetan examples of *namthars*. Also their language is much more elaborate and ornate.⁹¹ Their authors relied on the main facts from Zaya Pandita's account of the First Jetsundampa, however, they added legends which most probably developed around this person with the passage of time. Also the Mongolian biographies of the First Jetsundampa focused on his legendary deeds.

In Mongolia the religious biographies in form of *namthars* appeared with the introduction of Buddhism. Typical expressions to call life-account in the Mongolian language were *čadiγ* or *čedig* (modern *tsadig*, i.e. 'biography'),⁹² *teüke* (modern *tüükh*, i.e. 'history') or *tuγuǰi* (modern *tuuj*, i.e. 'story'). It

⁸⁹Kalużyński 1970: 35.

⁹⁰Kalużyński 1970: 13-14.

⁹¹Some remarks on it are in Bareja-Starzynska 2009a.

⁹²From Sanskrit *jātaka*.

is difficult to state with certainty when the Tibetan expression *rnam thar* rendered in Mongolian as *namtar* appeared in the Mongolian writings.

There are not many records of Mongolian biographical literature from the time before the first Mongolian contact with Buddhism. In this respect the above mentioned "Secret History of the Mongols", if treated as text containing biography, seems to be an isolated example. The first Buddhist life accounts in Mongolian, which survived up to our times, were compilations based on the Tibetan originals, such as "The Twelve Deeds [of the Buddha]", in Mongolian *Arban qoyar jokiyangγui*.⁹³ The well known Indian work containing Buddha's biography entitled *Lalitavistara* was rewritten in Tibetan by Chokyi Oser (in Mong. pronunciation Choyiji Ozer, Tib. Chos kyi 'od zer 1307-1321)⁹⁴ and this work in turn was translated into Mongolian by Sherab Sengge (Shes rab seng ge)⁹⁵ at the time of Esen Tömör Khan (1276-1328). Sherab Sengge, however, commented upon the twelve deeds in a "Commentary on the Twelve Deeds of the Buddha."⁹⁶

Translation of the Buddhist canonical writings, i.e. Kanjur (*bKa' 'gyur*) into Mongolian which started in the 13th century was continued again in the 16th century. A set of the Kanjur translation was said to be done in 1607, however, it did not survive. New attempts were made at the Ligden Khan's court and full translation was ready in 1629.⁹⁷ With this grand work, Buddhist writings which originated in India containing Buddha's previous life-accounts as well as biographies of mahāsiddhas and other exemplary Buddhist practitioners became available in Mongolian. There are no accounts in Zaya Pandita's autobiography, however, whether he ever read

⁹³See Poppe 1967.

⁹⁴Famous translator of Buddhist literature from Tibetan into Mongolian. Ethnically most probably an Uighur who knew both Tibetan and Mongolian. See Atwood 2004: 106-107, Poppe 1967. Atwood mistakenly wrote about another Buddha's life-account, i.e. *Buddhacarita* by Aśvaghōṣa.

⁹⁵Disciple of Choyiji Odzer. Atwood 2004: 107, Poppe 1967.

⁹⁶The 16th-century manuscript related to this text was found by Prof. Tserensodnom and published by Tserensodnom and Khadaa 1997. However, it is very distantly connected with the 13th century text.

⁹⁷On the Mongolian Kanjur translation number of works have been published. See some of the newest research findings in Kollmar-Paulenz 2002, Alekseev, Turanskaya 2013.

them in Mongolian. The autobiography proves that Zaya Pandita became acquainted with Buddhist literature mainly via the Tibetan language.

Among Mongolian biographies the life account of the 16th century Altan Khan and his descendants titled *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur* should be mentioned. It was composed in 1607 by an anonymous author.⁹⁸ This work, however, has a different composition than a Tibetan *namthar* and its aim was, according to Johan Elverskog, to promote "the legitimacy of the Altan Khan lineage to rule"⁹⁹ and not to show the exemplary life of the khan as a Buddhist. Nevertheless, since the khan became a Buddhist, it could have served a similar purpose, as well. In any case, however, there are no traces in Zaya Pandita's writings that he was familiar with this text.

Generally it can be observed that some of the Buddhist biographies gained big popularity among Mongols. Aleksei Pozdneev traveling through Mongolia in the late 19th century¹⁰⁰ remarked: "Of Buddhist historical works one often finds the biographies of Shakyamuni, Molon toin, Juu atīša, Tsong-kha-pa, the Fifth Dalai Lama, the Jebtsun Damba khutukhtu, and Zaya pandita."¹⁰¹ Except Molon Toyin and the Oirat Zaya Pandita, other figures were all depicted by Zaya Pandita in his "Records of Teachings Received". The Oirat Zaya Pandita appeared in the *Thob yig* (f. 276b3) and Khalkha Zaya Pandita's autobiography (f. 23b4-6), however, mentioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama as an example to be followed by the Khalkha Zaya Pandita. The Oirat Zaya Pandita's biography was composed "in the 1690s or somewhat later in the present day Xinjiang. Its author, Gelong Solpon Radnabhadra, was a disciple of the First [Oirat] Zaya Pandita Namkhai Gyatso."¹⁰² Most probably the biography was written at first in Oirat and later translated into Classical Mongolian.¹⁰³ There are no traces that Zaya Pandita knew this work.

⁹⁸ Kollmar-Paulenz 2001: XII, Elverskog 2003: 42.

⁹⁹ Elverskog 2003: 5.

¹⁰⁰ Pozdneev 1978: 158.

¹⁰¹ The Zaya Pandita mentioned in this passage referred most probably to the Oirat Zaya Pandita, whose biography was quite popular. See Okada and Miyawaki-Okada 2008.

¹⁰² Okada and Miyawaki-Okada 2008: 31.

¹⁰³ Okada and Miyawaki-Okada 2008: 43.

Taking into account all previously mentioned facts, Zaya Pandita can be treated as the first ethnic Mongolian writer composing religious biographies in Tibetan. He could have taken models and inspirations from previously written works which he knew in Tibetan and Mongolian and became a precursor of *namthar* literature in Mongolia.

1.4 Later Biographies of Zanabazar

His work was followed by other Mongols. Regarding the life accounts of Zanabazar, successive biographies were written in the 19th and 20th centuries in a slightly different style, both in Tibetan and Mongolian.

List of the successive biographies of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa Zanabazar in Tibetan:¹⁰⁴

Khyab bdag 'khor lo'i mgon rje btsun dam pa blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan gyi rnam thar skal bzang dad pa'i shing rta written in 1839 by Rabjampa Ngawang Yeshe Thubten (Rab 'byams pa Ngag dbang ye shes thub bstan) alias Ngaggi Wangpo (Ngag gi dbang po), Ngaggi Wangchug (Ngag gi dbang phyug) etc.¹⁰⁵ There is also a short version by the same author. In Modern Mong. known as Agvaantüvden Ravjamba.

Khyab bdag 'khor lo mgon po rje btsun blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar skal ldan thar 'dod re ba skong ba'i dga' ston written in 1874 by Ngawang Losang Dondub (Ngag dbang blo bzang don grub). In Modern Mong. known as Agvaanluvsandondov (or Agvaanluvsandondov).

¹⁰⁴According to Byambaa Ragchaa 2004a: 1-3. See more on this topic in Bareja-Starzynska 2009a.

¹⁰⁵Vladimir L. Uspensky 2011 refers to him as Yeshei Tubten (Ye shes thub bstan) and mentions his work quite often in his study of Tibetan Buddhism in Beijing. It can be remarked, however, that the biography of Zanabazar written in 1839 in all the passages referred to by Uspensky is based on the account by Zaya Pandita.

rJe btsun dam pa rin po che'i rnam thar bstod tsig skal bzang dad gsos by Sharchoje Dragpa Gyatso (Shar chos rje grags pa rgya mtsho) written in verse in 1912.

rJe btsun dam pa ta ra na tha gang gi mchog sprul ngag dbang blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma bstan 'dzin dbang phyug dpal bzang po'i sku 'phreng so so'i rnam thar dang rgyal pa rnams lung bstan dang rgyal rabs kyi tsul gsal bar byed pa 'khrul snang rab gsal chos srid nyi zla zung gi 'od kyi snang ba written by Ngawang Trinley Gyatso (Ngag dbang 'phrin las rgya mtsho) in 1915.

sKyabs mgon rje btsun dam pa sku 'phren rim byon rnams kyi rnam thar mdor bsdus su brjod pa dang ldan kun dga'i mdzes rgyan zhes bya ba written in 1925 by Ngawang Tsultrim Gyatso (Ngag dbang tshul khriims rgya mtsho) (1880-1938). In Modern Mong. known as Agvaantsültemjamts.¹⁰⁶

It can be also remarked that the great work by Dharmatāla from 1889 entitled "Rosery of White Lotuses, being the Clear Account of How the Precious Teaching of Buddha Appeared and Spread in the Great Hor Country"¹⁰⁷ contains a long passage on Zanabazar's biography, which is a summary of Zanabazar's biography by Zaya Pandita.¹⁰⁸

The nature of the differences between the text by Dharmatāla in comparison with Zanabazar's biographies can be shown on the example of the fragment dealing with Zanabazar's genealogy.

According to Zaya Pandita:

¹⁰⁶Known also as Nomgon Sümiin Dara Ekh Lam. He composed also another version of Zanabazar's biography and history of Baraγun küriye, Modern Mong. Baruun Khüree (or Shankh Khiid) translated by Soninbayar into Modern Mongolian as: *Avral iltgelt Bogd Jivzündambyn khiid Baruun khüreenii garsan yosyg tovch ögüulsen shudraga orshigchdyn chikhiin chimeg khemeekh orshvoi*. See Soninbayar 1995.

¹⁰⁷Tib. *Chen po hor gyi yul du dam pa'i chos ji ltar dar ba'i tshul gsal bar brjod pa padma dkar po'i phreng ba*, Klafkowski 1987: XV.

¹⁰⁸Klafkowski 1987: 336-344, which is a translation of a manuscript reproduced in Lokesh Chandra 1975: 406-415.

(416-3–419-1): "...owing to power of many [people] king *cakravartin* (i.e. the one who turned the wheel [of Dharma]), Brahmā, who took form of a human, became universally famed as king Chinggis.¹⁰⁹ And from that one [king] in the twenty seventh generation there was [born] king Pathu Mongkho Tayan (i.e. Batu Möngke Dayan). From his eleven sons, the tenth was [called] Tsalair Hong Thaiji, (i.e. Jalair Khung Tayiji). From his seven sons the third [was called] U'itsen Noyon, .¹¹⁰ From his six sons the eldest was [called] king Abutai (or Abatai). [He] had the courage of Rāma(na) of taking away the arrogance [of Rāvaṇa].¹¹¹

He raised and led a large army to the Oirat land and killed thousands of Oirat people. And he submitted all the Oirats under [his] rule. He made one of his sons the Oirats' king."

Dharmatāla wrote:

"In the 27th generation of Chinggis, the Turner of the Wheel of Power, Pathu Mungkhe Tayan, (i.e. Batu Möngke Dayan) king was born. From his eleven sons, the tenth was [called] Geresengje,¹¹² (i.e. Geresenje Jalair Khung Tayiji). From his seven sons the third [was] Onohu U'ijen (i.e. Noonukhu Üijeng or Üijeng Noyan / Noyon). From his six sons the eldest was [called] king Ochir Opathai (i.e. Vajra Abatai) king (or Abutai Khan), equipped with courage and wealth..."¹¹³

¹⁰⁹Interestingly, in the Mong. version the name Chinggis is missing.

¹¹⁰The fact that in the Tib. language this name is written as Üijen Noyon indicates probably its actual pronunciation.

¹¹¹417-3: Tib. *ra ma ṇa* (for: *rā ma*) 'i *khengs pa 'phrog pa'i dpa' rtsal*. In Mong. *ide kücün anu ramd omoy : buliyaqu-yin čoy ide* 'His strength was so great as to take by force the pride of Rāma'. The Mongolian translator treated the Tibetan genitive ending of Rāma as epithet to arrogance, and not to Rāma's courage.

¹¹²It has been commented elsewhere (Bareja-Starzynska 2013: 23-24) that in several manuscripts of the Mongolian biography of Zanabazar the name Geresenje was omitted and only the title Jalair Khung Tayiji was provided, similarly to Zaya Pandita's account. Since it can be treated as the earliest life account of Zanabazar, perhaps the Mong. biographies of Öndür Gegen were somehow based on Zaya Pandita's work, although only some biographical details were narrated in a similar way.

¹¹³F. 406, 5-6: *stobs kyi 'khor los bsgyur ba čing ge se nas rgyal rabs nyi shu rtsa bdun pā thu mung khe tā yan rgyal po zhes pa byung | de la sras bcu gcig song pa'i bcu pa ge re seng je | de la sras bdun yod pa'i gsum pa o no hu u'i jeng | de la sras drug yod pa'i*

It seems that a passage about Rāma was not understood and therefore only reference to courage was mentioned in Dharmatāla's work. Rāma's story, which is retelling the famous Indic epic *Rāmāyāna* was popular in Tibet from the 8-9th century since its version was found in the Dunhuang caves. Many versions of Rāma's story were part of the Tibetan intellectual tradition.¹¹⁴ It is worth mentioning that Tāranātha was especially knowledgeable in Indian tradition, including the *Rāmāyāna*.¹¹⁵ In the Tibetan versions the name Rāma(na) denotes the protagonist of the epic. He fights against Rāvaṇa, his main antagonist, an arrogant and aggressive though very learned ruler of Laṅkā. Therefore in the present text the epithet of the Mongolian Khan Abutai / Abatai depicting him as having the courage of Rāma, makes him a great hero. The similar expression was used by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his history of Tibet to depict courage of Guushi Khan: "As the brave king Rāma killed the lord of Laṅkā, so (Gu Śri Khan) destroyed the 40,000 troops of CHog-Thu."¹¹⁶ Zaya Pandita could have been familiar with the comparison made by the Fifth Dalai Lama and he paraphrased it in his work. In any case this passage of Zanabazar's biography shows the eloquence of Zaya Pandita, well versed in Indo-Tibetan literature.¹¹⁷

Let's continue the comparison of Zaya Pandita's account with that of Dharmatāla. According to Zaya Pandita (p. 418):

"Later he went to invite the All Knowing Sonam Gyatso (bSod nams rgya mtsho) and [discussed] the opportunity of [his] visit to Mongolia. The object of offering (i.e. Sonam Gyatso) and benefactor (i.e. khan) united in one. He (i.e. the khan) was given a certain painted image of Phagmo Drupa Dorje Gyelpo, [known as] 'indestructible in fire' and was bestowed with the title of the Vajra-rāja, i.e. Vajra-king."

che ba o chir o pā thai rgyal po zhes pa dpa' rtsal stobs [407, 1] 'byor dang ldan pa zhig yod pa...

¹¹⁴More on the Tibetan versions up to the times of modern poet Dondup Gyel see in Lin 2008, esp. pp. 88-91.

¹¹⁵See van der Kuip and Tuttle 2014: 463.

¹¹⁶Translation of Zahiruddin Ahmad 1995: 195.

¹¹⁷On the Mongolian versions of *Rāmāyāna* see Damdinsüren 1979. See translation of the fragment of the Biography on p. 417-3 in Part II.

According to Dharmatāla:

"During the visit of the Victorious Sonam Gyatso (bSod nams rgya mtsho) in Mongolia he met with him. He (i.e. the khan) was given a certain painted image of Phagmo Drupa Dorje Gyelba [known as] "indestructible in fire" and was bestowed with the title of the Vajra-rāja, i.e. Vajra-king, and he was said to be the manifestation of Vajrapāṇi."¹¹⁸

It can be observed that Dharmatāla's account is very similar to Zaya Pandita's work. However, Dharmatāla's narrative could have been based on other biographies, such as those written in 1839 or 1874.

For example, in both texts, by Dharmatāla and by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten or Agvaantüvden Ravjamba (1839) Zanabazar's birth is discussed from the standpoint of the two truths:

Dharmatāla:

"As seen from the point of the ultimate truth countless eons ago he truly manifested in the four bodies."¹¹⁹

"As seen from the point of the conventional truth perceived by his disciples, he appeared in the holy land of India as great siddhi Barbai Tsobo and Nagpo Chopā, (i.e. Kṛṣṇācārin or Kṛṣṇācārya)."¹²⁰

"In Tibet [he manifested as] Jamyang Choje Tashi Pelden, the principal disciple of the great holy Tsongkhapa, as Pandita Chokyi Ninjed [and] as Jonang Kunga Drolchog and many others..."¹²¹

In the biography by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten or Agvaantüvden Ravjamba (1839) one can find similar account.¹²²

¹¹⁸407, 1-2: *rgyal ba bsod nams rgya mtsho sog yul du phebs skabs mjal bar byon pas / phag mo gru pa rdo rje rgyal ba'i sku me thub ma zhig gnang ste rdo rje rgyal po zhes pa'i mtshan gnang zhing phyag rdor gyi rnam 'phrul du yang gsung.*

¹¹⁹406: *nges pa'i don du bskal pa dpag tu med pa'i snga rol nas sku bzhi'i go 'phang mngon du mdzad zin kyang /*

¹²⁰406, 2-3: *drang don gdul bya'i snang don rgya gar 'phags pa'i yul du thub chen 'bar ba'i gtso bo dang nag po spyod pa sogs...*

¹²¹406, 3-4: *bod kyi yul du rje btsun tshong kha pa chen po'i thugs sras 'jam dbyang chos rje bkra shis dpal ldan dang / paṇḍi ta chos kyi nyin byed dang / jo nang kun dga' grol mchog sogs su...*

¹²²4a,1: *byang phyogs 'gro ba yongs kyi lha skal gcig pu / skyabs mgon rje btsun dam pa rdo rje 'chang blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mthsan dpal bzang po 'am / yo gi dznya na*

After comparison of the relevant fragments it can be concluded that while the account of Dharmatāla agrees with that of Ngawang Yeshe Thubten or Agvaantüvden Ravjamba (1839), the account written in 1874 by Ngawang Losang Dondub or Agvaanluvsandondub differs from both of them considerably. It contains long fragments on the origin of Chinggis Khan and quotations from different sources about the pre-existences of Zanabazar and persons from his lineage starting from the time of the Buddha. It contains also account about Altan Khan and the Fourth Dalai Lama, missing in the previous two texts. On the other hand, the origin of the name Jñāna Vajra alias Yeshe Dorje (Ye shes rdo rje) is explained there. This explanation was not mentioned by Zaya Pandita, but it could have been taken from the later biographies (1839, 1874) in which it is connected with the divination from the *Kālacakra* and the name of *mahāsiddha* Kṛṣṇācārin or Kṛṣṇācārya, whose future reincarnation was Tāranātha.¹²³ On the other hand, the lineage of Chinggis Khan's descendants is presented in Dharmatāla's work in the same way as in the biography by Zaya Pandita.

It can be summed up, that most probably Dharmatāla had access to the work by Zaya Pandita, as well as to the biographies composed later, such as by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten / Agvaantüvden Ravjamba (1839) and by Ngawang Losang Dondub / Agvaanluvsandondub (1874). The comparison of the short fragments of Zanabazar's biographies composed after the work of Zaya Pandita shows that they are related to each other and that they all stem from the composition of Zaya Pandita.

In the later biographies one can observe, however, that some pieces of information from the biography of Zanabazar by Zaya Pandita were omitted, such as for example a comparison of Abutai to Rāma. Perhaps such details were not important or not relevant for the contemporaries or they were not

[2] *badzra ste rang byung ye shes rdo rjes zhes grags pa'i ba dan dkar po srid pa gsum gyi bla na chos cher g.yo ba'i 'dren mchog dam pa 'di nyid ni / nges pa'i don du bgrang yas bskal pa'i sngon* [3] *nas stong nyid snying rje'i snying po can gyi tshogs gnyis zud du 'jug pa rgyal sras kyi spyod pa rgya mtsho'i pha rol tu son te sku bzhi'i ngo bor sangs rgyas zin kyang / zag med kyi dga' ba'i* [4] *dbyings su zhen pa ring bu dor te / bdag pas gzhan gtsas pa'i thugs bskyed bla na med pa'i gzhan dbang du gyur pa la...*

¹²³See the chapter "The Political Role of Zanabazar" of the present work.

understood by them. Another example can be given: while writing (p. 502-2-3) about Zaya Pandita's translation of the fragment of the Fifth Dalai Lama's biography composed by the Regent Sangye Gyatso (sde srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho) he provided the name of Batulai, with whom he did the translation. In the biography of Zanabazar written in 1839 on f. 40a1-2 there is a fragment very similar to the one written by Zaya Pandita, with some minor stylistic differences. It does not mention Batulai as one of the translators.¹²⁴ The text continues with the statement by Zanabazar that he did not have such a good 'way to liberation' (*rnam thar*, i.e. biography) as his spiritual teachers,¹²⁵ And then it goes further with explaining the reason for writing the biography of Zanabazar by Zaya Pandita. It may seem, that the biography by Zaya Pandita is referred to in the text of 1839 as *gsol 'debs*. However, on f. 40a6 it says: *dzaya paṇḍi ta'i gsung las*, i.e. 'from Zaya Pandita's text' and it quotes Zaya Pandita saying that for twelve years he was not able to fulfill the task and to write the biography of his Master.¹²⁶ There were also many other works written by Mongolian lama scholars based on the biography of the First Jetsundampa composed by Zaya Pandita. Their relationship with the original text by Zaya Pandita requires further investigation, similarly to the later biographies of Zanabazar and the fragment of Dharmatāla's work.¹²⁷

¹²⁴Vladimir L. Uspensky 2011: 149 mentioned the translation of Desi Sangye Gyatso's text in his work. I would like to thank him for turning my attention to this fragment of the 1839 biography.

¹²⁵F. 40a4-5: *nga la bla ma gong ma rnams kyi rnam thar bzang po ni med*.

¹²⁶Perhaps Ngawang Yeshe Thubten / Agvaantüvden Ravjamba used such an edition of Zaya Pandita's text which consisted of *gsol 'debs* and biography of Zanabazar and therefore he referred to it as to the *gsol 'debs*. Byambaa Ragchaa reprinted in 2012 such a xylograph. Although it is extracted from the *Thob yig*, and most of the text is printed exactly as in the Beijing edition of Zaya Pandita's *Thob yig* (ff. 1-3 are evidently different, while the rest of the text is practically the same), it has its own pagination, starting with number one. Probably it circulated as an independent text. The biography of Zanabazar starts with folio 34b6 and continues until folio 49b2.

¹²⁷For example work of Agvaantsültemjamts *Avral iltgelt Bogd Jivzündambyn khiid Baruun khüreenii garsan yosyg товч өгүүлсэн шудрага оршигчдын чикхийн чимег хемеех оршвои*, which is a compilation, in which whole passages seem to be taken from the biography composed by Zaya Pandita, such as those mentioning the comparison of

Regarding the Mongolian biographies of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa, the best known are different versions of the biography titled *Öndür gegen-ü namtar*.¹²⁸ The Mongolian text contains much more legendary materials on Zanabazar than the life account by Zaya Pandita.¹²⁹ It should be stressed that the Mongolian biography is not a translation of the Tibetan versions. It has been preserved only in manuscripts which vary among themselves and usually contain biography of not just one Jetsundampa,¹³⁰ but three or seven incarnations.

A different kind of biography describes the lives of the pre-existences or previous incarnations of Zanabazar. It is based on his ‘reverential prayers’ (*gsol ’debs*).¹³¹

While analyzing Tibetan and Mongolian biographies of Zanabazar one can see the different aims of their authors: Zaya Pandita described his master’s life story in order to show his teacher’s spiritual development—as an inspiration and Buddhist model. Later biographers tried to prove extraordinary powers of the Mongolian incarnation. Biographies written in Mongolian aimed also most probably at different readers: lay noblemen, intellectuals who were able to read in Mongolian. Therefore the texts were not

Abatai Khan to Rāma, miracles in which flowers appeared after Zanabazar’s birth, his teachers, travel to Tibet, the arrival of fifty Tibetan religious specialists in Khalkha, etc. On the other hand there is mention of the *Kālacakra* divination regarding Zanabazar’s name which connected him to Tāranātha, the letter from the Fifth Dalai Lama, and many other episodes which do not appear in Zaya Pandita’s work. In some places the author clearly refers to Zaya Pandita’s text or other works, while in others he does not mention his sources. See Soninbayar 1995.

¹²⁸Published by Charles Bawden 1961. They were discussed in: Bareja-Starzynska 2009a, 2010a, 2011, 2012b with final hypothesis on the date of its composition as 1803-1813 in Bareja-Starzynska 2013, as well as in: Bira 1995, Dashbadrakh 1995, Futaki 2011, Khürelbaγatur 2009 and other works.

¹²⁹Uspensky 2011: 148 expressed similar opinion in his work.

¹³⁰With the exception of the manuscript with only one biography of the First Jetsundampa, i.e. Zanabazar, preserved in the Kotwicz collection of the Archive of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Cracow. See Bareja-Starzynska 2011, 2012b, 2012d.

¹³¹It was studied in Bareja-Starzynska and Byambaa 2012, Byambaa 1997, Byambaa 2005, Somlai 1988.

focused on religious instructions, although they contained some information on Buddhist practices. The Tibetan texts, on the other hand, were written for the monks with a clear message on dharma teachings and practices aiming at broadening their religious knowledge.

The Mongolian features of the First Jetsundampa's biography written by Zaya Pandita can not be traced in the structure of the text. A Mongolian influence is present in the subject matter which makes reference to Chinggis Khan. It may perhaps be seen also in the objective approach of the author. However, equally probable is that the "objectiveness" of the text does not represent the Mongolian impact, following the "Secret History of the Mongols", but is a sign of Zaya Pandita's own personality. It shows his straightforwardness, diligence and simplicity.

Zaya Pandita was a careful disciple of his Tibetan masters. One can expect that as a neophyte he tried to fulfil the Buddhist genre models in the most exemplary way. He is proof of the fruitful transfer of Tibetan culture to Mongolian soil. Zaya Pandita's biography of the First Jetsundampa was very popular among the Mongolian clergy and it was followed by all later biographies of Zanabazar written in Tibetan. It has not been evaluated for the present work, however, whether Tibetan authors ever benefited from Zaya Pandita's example.

1.5 Notes about the Tibeto-Mongolian Manuscript

As it was said earlier, in the present work the bilingual manuscript of the biography of Zanabazar by Zaya Pandita found in Buryatia was regarded as the basis for study and translation. It was compared with the Tibetan block printed version included in Zaya Pandita's *Thob yig*. In order to make differences between the two versions easily visible, the critical edition was prepared, in form of transliteration.

The Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the biography are by no means identical, i.e. the Mongolian version is not always a correct and thorough translation of the Tibetan. There are passages in which the translator did

not understand the Tibetan word and just repeated it in the Mongolian pronunciation in his version, and there are passages, as well, in which he added more elaborate expressions and additional information. However, these changes should be treated as stylistic. They are commented upon in the footnotes throughout the translation of the biography (Part II).

The Tibetan standard xylograph (Beijing) of Zaya Pandita's *Thob yig* and the edition by Lokesh Chandra differ only in pagination, since the Latin numbers were added by the latter. The Tibetan xylograph published by Byambaa Ragchaa in 2012 and reproduced within the present work is printed from different blocks with independent pagination. In general this xylograph follows the standard edition of the *Thob yig* very closely. However, there are some minor scribal differences between the xylographs which are marked in the transliteration.

The Tibetan xylograph versions of Zanabazar's biography in comparison with the Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript from the Aginsky Datsan (monastery) in Buryatia, as a rule are correct regarding the Tibetan spelling. For example in the Buryat manuscript on p. 423-2 there is a passage: *mtshan blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal pa'i rgyal mtshan* in which the phrase *rgyal pa'i* is added by mistake, it does not appear in the xylograph versions, which are written correctly; p. 419-2: *khyad par du*, where the terminative case ending is repeated (*-par* and *-du*), appears correctly in the xylographs as *khyad du*, etc. However, there are places at which the manuscript contains the correct version. For example: p. 418-3: *sog yul* is written correctly in the Buryat manuscript, erroneously *sogs yul* in the xylographs; in the Buryat manuscript 543-1: correctly: *sgo mang bla ma'i sku skye*, erroneously in the xylographs: *sgo mang ma'i bla sku skye*, etc.

The study of the bilingual manuscript as such, namely its script, form etc., were not the focus of the present work, however, a few observations can be offered. There are some distinctive features of the handwriting of the Buryat manuscript. In the Mong. version quite often instead of a sign for *-n* there is *-ng* written before the consonants: *tengdeče* instead of *tendeče*, *sangvar* for *sanvar* etc. When a word ends with *-n* and there is a case ending such as *-u* / *-ü* or *-i*, the dot for *-n* is often written at a place with a vowel, on its left side. At many places a sign for *g* is written with two dots to

distinguish it from *k*. Such occurrences were marked in the transliteration as *g*. Often case suffixes are written jointly with words. Colloquial forms such as *noyon* appear together with the classical *noyan*. There are forms such as *busabai* for: *bučabai* which may point to the Buryat origin of the copyist. Discrepancies between the manuscript and standard Classical Mongolian grammar and orthography were indicated in the transliteration.

Chapter 2

The Historical Background and Its Literary Narratives

2.1 The Historical Background

The history of contacts between Tibetans and Mongols in the second half of the 17th century is the history of relations with several Mongolian ethnic groups, popularly called tribes¹ which were divided mainly into Western and Eastern Mongols,² fighting for supremacy over the whole Mongolia for hundreds of years. The most active groups among Western Mongols were Oirats or Jungars³ and regarding the Eastern Mongols—Khalkhas, who inhabited almost exclusively in Northern Mongolia. The third growing power in the region was the Manchus. It was a period of rapidly spreading

¹Christopher P. Atwood objects to using this term, see Atwood 2010. He puts forward a proposal to look at units of Mongolian society as "appanage communities" in another article—Atwood (in print).

²Vladimir L. Uspensky rightly proposed to divide Mongols in the early 17th century "related in a different way to the resurgent Manchu power" into four large factions, including besides Northern (Khalkha) Mongolia and Western Mongols (Oirats) also Eastern Southern (Inner) Mongolia and Southern Mongolia centered around Chakhar. See Uspensky 2014: 231.

³Okada and Miyawaki-Okada 2008: 36-38.

Tibetan form of Buddhism among the Mongols. It was the time of the Great Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Losang Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617-1782), the Manchu Emperor Kangxi (r. 1662-1720), the Oirat Galdan Boshugtu (1644-1697) and the protagonist of the present considerations, the First Khalkha Jetsundampa (rJe btsun dam pa), Losang Tenpai Gyeltsen (Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, 1635-1723), known as Öndür Gege(ge)n Zanabazar.

As it was said earlier in the present publication, Zanabazar was the son of the mighty Khalkha Tüshiyetü Khan Gombodorji. However, he did not succeed his father as a khan. Instead, from his early childhood he was religiously inclined and was recognized as the Buddhist reincarnation of the Jonangpa (Jo nang pa) scholar Tāranātha Kunga Nyingpo (1575-1634).⁴ He pursued a very specific education characteristic for *sprul skus* or *khuvilgans* (as they were called in Mongolian), at first in the Khalkha lands and later in Tibet (1649-51). Though interested in religious and artistic matters, Zanabazar was also engaged in politics and gradually, owing to the support of his family, Tibetan authorities, and also due to his own charisma he became the Buddhist leader of the Khalkha Mongols. With this turn of events it became quite evident that he was not only a religious leader, but a political figure as well. It is not easy to judge on the basis of the existing scarce sources what the actual plans of Zanabazar were. Was he involved in politics by his own choice or was it just the fate of events? In any case, there is a question for modern Mongols whether or not this Buddhist master and great artist should be treated as the Khalkha national hero or as a traitor, who shaped the Mongols' future under the Manchu rule.⁵ Undoubtedly,

⁴Kun dga' snying po. For details see Bareja-Starzynska 2010a and the chapter "The Political Role of Zanabazar" of the present volume.

⁵During the communist time in Mongolia historians used to blame Zanabazar as the one who caused the Manchus to rule over Mongolia (Natsagdorj 1963: 57 cited in Khürelbaatar 2005: 91). See also Kaplonski 2004. This critical opinion, which portrayed Zanabazar as a traitor and Galdan Boshugtu as a great patriot (of the united Mongols, although it is rather doubtful that there were united Mongols at that time) has survived in some of the Mongolian historical books until now, for example in the 5th volume of the Mongolian State History published in 2003: 135. This fact was criticized in turn by Khürelbaatar who rightly noticed that the author of the mentioned book contradicted

during his lifetime and with his involvement, the Khalkha Mongols made a turn from being under the political umbrella of the Tibetan government of the Dalai Lama to the protection of the Manchu Emperor. Because of this shift from Tibet to the Qing empire, Khalkha Mongols greatly influenced the political balance in Inner Asia. The events of the years 1686-88 seem crucial. The main opponent of Zanabazar was the Oirat Galdan Boshugtu (1644-1697).⁶ He was the son of Baatur Khung Tayiji, who accompanied Gushri Khan or rather Guushi Khan (1582-1655) from the Khoshuud tribe in 1640 in Tibet.⁷ Galdan Boshugtu was recognized as the incarnation of the Second Ensa (or Bensa) Tulku Losang Tenzin Gyatso (dBen sa sprul sku blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, 1605-1643 or 1644)—the same who ordained Zanabazar—and sent him to Tibet where he spent 10 years between 1656 and 1666. He was a disciple of the First or rather Fourth Panchen Lama (1570-1662) and later the Fifth Dalai Lama. He returned home in 1666. When his brother Sengge, who was the khan of the Ölets, called otherwise Jungars, died in the conflict with his two half-brothers, Galdan renounced his vows, married Sengge's wife and became leader of the Jungar tribe. In 1678 he received the title of Boshugtu Khan, 'the khan with Mandate' from the Fifth Dalai Lama.⁸

Johan Elverskog in his book *Our Great Qing* (2006) studied the situation of the Mongols in the 16th and 17th centuries in detail with focus on their shift of political authority from the Dalai Lama to the Manchu Emperor. His conclusion regarding the First Jetsundampa and the Great Fifth Dalai Lama⁹ was that the latter "was also conscious of the threat of his [i.e. Jetsundampa's, A.B-S] power presented by the elevation of Tüshiyetü Khan's

himself; see Khürelbaatar 2005: 103.

⁶Atwood 2004: 193-4. Starting with democratic changes in Mongolia in the 90. of the 20th century numerous publications on the Western Mongols (such as series Bibliotheca Oiratica), including studies on Galdan Boshugtu appeared. For example *Galdan Boshgot sudlal* in two volumes, 2014.

⁷He was from Choros line. About Khoshuud and Choros see Okada and Miyawaki-Okada 2008: 36. Guushi Khan was an honorary title from Chin. since *quo shi* means 'state preceptor', see Uspensky 2014: 231, Ahmad 2008: 151.

⁸On conferring titles by the Dalai Lamas see Ishihama 1992 and Elverskog 2006.

⁹Elverskog 2006: 195, note 32.

son as Jebdzundamba Khutugtu. Although later histories present a cordial relation between these two figures, the Dalai Lama and the Jebdzundamba Khutugtu, it is clear that at the time this newly formed Khalkha-centered form of Buddhist rule was a direct threat to Gelugpa power." His conclusion might have been built upon the interpretation of the sources proposed by Junko Miyawaki.¹⁰ She suggested that the recognition of Tāranātha's incarnation in the Khalkha prince was done at first not by the Dalai Lama and not with the Gelugpa's support. According to her view the Gelugpa Tibetan hierarchs treated Zanabazar as belonging to the Jonangpa tradition and only in 1650 tried to make him the Gelugpa follower. Nevertheless, they never trusted him and in 1688 they supported Galdan Boshugtu's demand to hand over Zanabazar to Tibet for punishment. The present author argued elsewhere¹¹ that this in turn, was not the case. It seems that the Gelugpa authorities from the very beginning of the recognition of the child as an incarnation secured his Gelugpa education and treated him as the incarnation of Jamyang Choje ('Jam dbyangs chos rje, 1379-1449), who founded Drepung ('Bras spungs) monastery and was regarded as one of the most important figures within the Gelugpa tradition. Owing to such recognition, simultaneously as Tāranātha's and Jamyang Choje's embodiment, the Gelugpas could explain the seizure of the Jonangpa monastery in Tibet on behalf of the Mongolian Jetsundampa incarnation. Such an interpretation of facts was proposed by Cyrius Stearns.¹²

Moreover, Elverskog¹³ cited Bira¹⁴ who mentioned a fragment of the First Jetsundampa's biography by Zaya Pandita, in which he described the conflict between the Khalkha Jetsundampa Zanabazar and the Oirat Galdan Boshugtu starting with the meeting of 1686. The interpretation of this fragment of the biography is, however, not correct. Elverskog concludes that "Galdan protested to the Qing court the Jebdzundamba's refusal to offer prayers to the Dalai Lama's envoy, an act that clearly points to competing

¹⁰Miyawaki 1994: 53.

¹¹Bareja-Starzynska 2010a.

¹²Stearns 1999: 71-74.

¹³Elverskog 2006: 195, note 32.

¹⁴Bira 1980: 15.

visions of the authority of the Dalai Lama and the new Khalkha incarnation." Elverskog does not take into consideration, however, that Galdan Boshugtu wanted to find a pretext to attack Khalkha Tüshiyetü's lands. In the opinion of the present author it was not a conflict between different orders of Tibetan Buddhism (Gelugpa versus Jonangpa), and not a conflict between the authority of the Tibetan Dalai Lama and the Khalkha Jetsundampa, but a power conflict between different Mongolian ethnic groups in which Buddhist arguments were used as a handy tool. The events of 1686 and of the following years were crucial to the history of the Tibeto-Khalkha-Jungar-Manchu relations, therefore it may be worth taking a closer look how these years were described in the First Jetsundampa's biography written by the Zaya Pandita.

It describes the meeting of the Khalkhas in 1686 at Küren Belcher¹⁵ which was organized in order to solve internal disputes. To mediate the situation, representatives of the Tibetan Dalai Lama and the Manchu Emperor were invited.¹⁶ The representative of the Fifth Dalai Lama was the 44th Throne Holder of the Ganden monastery, Ngawang Lodo Gyatso (Ngag dbang blo gros rgya mtsho, alias Klu 'bum ngag dbang blo gros rgya mtsho). He was born in Amdo in 1635,¹⁷ the same year as the First Jetsundapa Zanabazar. He assumed the office of Ganden Tripa (dGa' ldan khri pa) in 1682 (the year of the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama), but left the office in 1685 in order to travel to Mongolia with his peace mission. He reached Khalkha in 1686. The mission, however, failed shortly after his visit. Later, in 1687, he went to Beijing to the Manchu Emperor Kangxi. He died on the way back to Tibet in 1688, when he was only fifty three years old. This event was probably very unfortunate for the fate of the Khalkha in general and the First Jetsundampa in particular. One may expect that Ngawang Lodo Gyatso would have been able to mediate the Khalkha-Oirat conflict and prevent the war. The representative of the Manchu Emperor at the meeting of the Khalkha nobles was Arani Aliqan. In the 1839 biography of Zanabazar

¹⁵Zanabazar's Biography: 463.

¹⁶See Sperling 2003, especially p. 130, for the analysis of this meeting against the larger background of the Tibeto-Manchu relations.

¹⁷According to the *Bod kyi lo rgyus*, p. 172 and TBRC P1574.

composed by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten (or Agvaantüvden Ravjampa)¹⁸ the First Changkya / Jangiya Khutugtu Ngawang Losang Choden (lCang skya Khutugtu Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, 1642-1714) was also mentioned as present at this meeting.¹⁹ The main participants of the meeting were the so called 'seven divisions (or banners) of Khalkha'. These division originated from seven sons of Khan Geresenje,²⁰ who was the youngest son of Dayan Khan, one of the greatest Mongolian Khalkha rulers. By the time of the First Jetsundampa the term 'seven divisions' covered two wings of Khalkha: the right one governed by Jasagtu Khan and the left one governed by Tüshiyetü Khan. In 1640 the right wing allied with the Oirat tribes, while the left wing was in good terms with the Manchus (whose vassals were from 1635 some of the Khalkha communities south of the Gobi Desert).

At Küren Belcher, the First Jetsundampa was nominated as the head of the meeting by Achitu Choje, the envoy of the Manchu Emperor. According to the biography: "The Lord (i.e. Zanabazar) and the Throne Holder of the Ganden [monastery] met together and were seated on equal seats and discussed mutual news in full detail. Official decrees of the Victorious Supreme One (i.e. the Dalai Lama) and of the Majesty King (i.e. the Manchu Emperor) were proclaimed."²¹ The peace process started soon after. However, most likely it was not implemented very diligently on Tüshiyetü Khan's side. Nevertheless, what was given as the reason for starting a war by the Oirats against the Khalkha's left wing under Tüshiyetü Khan Chakhundorji, Zan-

¹⁸F. 18-7-19-1.

¹⁹TBRC P209. He is regarded as the First or the Second incarnation (depending upon the way of counting). He was educated in Tibet in the years 1661-83. Among his teachers there were the 44th Khri pa (Ngawang Lodro Gyatso, Ngag dbang blo gros rgya mtsho) and Losang Chophel (Blo bzang chos 'phel) from Tashilhunpo. He traveled to Beijing in 1687. In 1693 he was made responsible for ruling all Inner Mongolian monasteries. For the biography see Sagaster 1967. Short entry in Atwood 2004: 260-261.

²⁰Miyawaki 1994: 47-48. Mong. term *qošîγu* 'banner' should be used with care, since the autonomous banners were first organized in Inner Mongolia between 1634 and 1670, while among Khalkha Mongols only after 1691, see Atwood 2004: 30-31 and footnote in the Translation (p. 435-1) in Part II.

²¹Zanabazar's Biography: 458-2-3.

abazar's brother, was the pretext that during the meeting in 1686 at Küren Belcher the First Jetsundampa did not bow his head and did not greet the representative of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the 44th Ganden Tripa, with due respect. Galdan Boshugtu wrote a letter in which he scolded Zanabazar. Though he was regarded as the incarnation of Ensa Tulku, he was a lay person at that time. As such he had no right to scold a monk. His letter was so offensive that Tüshiyetü Khan, and actually, according to Zanabazar's biography, the majority of the seven divisions of Khalkha, were ready to start the war against Galdan.²² The Manchu Emperor through his messenger tried to mediate and stop the Khalkhas, but when Galdan's brother Dorjijab moved towards Khalkha Jasagtu Khan to join forces with him (i.e. with the Khalkha right wing), Tüshiyetü Khan Chakhundorji, Zanabazar's brother, attacked them and both Jasagtu Khan named Shira and Galdan's brother Dorjijab were killed.²³ The Manchu Emperor tried to mediate again but Galdan Boshugtu invaded Khalkha in early 1688. His army defeated the Khalkhas and advanced into their territories. Erdeni Juu monastery,²⁴ was heavily damaged. Also other Buddhist monasteries and temples were destroyed, including the First Jetsundampa's newly built monastery Ribo Gegye Ling.²⁵

Tüshiyetü Khan's family along with their subjects and Jetsundampa with his monks had to flee. Finally they reached the lands of Sönid in Inner Mongolia. According to later sources written by the Mongols, i.e. biographies of Zanabazar of 1839 (by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten alias Agvaantüvden Ravjamba, written in Tibetan) and *Öndür gegen-ü namtar* (in Mongolian), the Khalkhas had to decide whether to seek out protection from the Manchu Emperor or from the Russians. However, as Junko Miyawaki²⁶ proved con-

²² Zanabazar's Biography: 474.

²³ This attack was seen by Galdan Boshugtu as an act of aggression. In his letter of 1691 to the Russian Tsar he called Jetsundampa and Ochiroi (i.e. Vajra) Khan, meaning Chakhundorji, *yeke buruutai kümün* 'very wicked people'. See Krueger 2014: 55-56.

²⁴ About the affiliation of the Erdeni Juu monastery to the Sakya (Sa skya) order see Bareja-Starzynska 2012c: 137.

²⁵ Zanabazar's Biography: 477. Ribo Gegye Ling (Ri bo dge rgyas gling) was clearly affiliated with the Gelugpa order.

²⁶ Miyawaki 1994.

vincingly, most probably it was a later addition to Zaya Pandita's narrative of Zanabazar's biography reflecting the Khalkhas' situation. In reality the Tüshiyetü's subjects had to choose between submitting to the Oirats from whom they were escaping or to seek the protection of the Manchus. If Tüshiyetü Khan Chakhundorji and the Jetsundampa wanted to save their lives, they had to turn to the Manchu Emperor.

Zahiruddin Ahmad²⁷ presented Emperor's dilemma: should he conform with Galdan Boshugtu's request or should he defend the Khalkhas, who came under his protection of their own accord. The right to protect refugees prevailed. From that moment the Manchu Emperor treated the Khalkhas as being under his patronage and soon after, under the Manchu political protectorate. In light of these events it is not surprising that the First Jetsundampa developed a close relationship with the Manchu Emperor. The latter actually incurred many problems with the Khalkhas who appeared on his territory. Tüshiyetü Khan and Zanabazar's subjects, including monks, were no less than tens of thousands of people. Sechen Khan's regent also migrated there with some 100 thousand people. They had to be given pastures and supplies, and not once but many times. And as a consequence of Galdan's successful war with the Khalkhas, they submitted to the Manchu Emperor in 1691 in Dolonnuur.²⁸

Although Zaya Pandita mentioned the meeting of 1691 at Dolonnuur in the biography of Zanabazar, the role of Jetsundampa was not emphasized there.²⁹ Another consequence was that Galdan Boshugtu, while chasing the Khalkhas, moved close to the Manchu territory which threatened the Emperor; ultimately the situation ended with the Manchu-Oirat direct military conflict. Finally Galdan Boshugtu who was betrayed in his own lands by his nephew Tsewang Rabten (Tshe dbang rab brtan), died in 1697.³⁰ The

²⁷ Ahmad 1970: 272, 275.

²⁸ Ahmad 1970: 287.

²⁹ Zanabazar's Biography: 480.

³⁰ According to Ahmad 1970: 322 he poisoned himself on the 4th of May. However, Atwood 2004: 194 relies on Okada's version that Galdan Boshugtu died of an illness on the 5th of April 1697. See Okada 2014: 70, article reprinted in Jigmeddorj, Sükhbaatar (eds.) 2014.

fate of the Khalkha Mongols to live under the Manchus was settled. As the correspondence of the Kangxi Emperor³¹ shows, Galdan was after some time ready to parole Tüshiyetü Khan,³² but he wanted at least to hand over Zanabazar to the Tibetan government of the Dalai Lama, whom he, according to Galdan Boshugtu, had offended. The Emperor did not react to this request.

Besides the correspondence which have survived, among the Qing materials there are also documents written in Tibetan, preserved in the Lhasa Archives.³³ The documents show the Emperor's concern about providing peace among the Mongolian Oirat and Khalkha ethnic groups, "which used to live in harmony in the past."³⁴ However, this was just a bear statement, and not a description of the true situation, because Zaya Pandita in the biography of Zanabazar recorded that within the last nine generations of Oirat-Khalkha contact, peace prevailed only during Sengge's rule.³⁵

It is worth mentioning that when the Kangxi Emperor learnt about the true events surrounding the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama and the fact that this death had been concealed for many years, he wished to obtain more detailed information about it. During the meeting in 1697 with the Khalkha Mongols, including the First Jetsundampa, in Inner Mongolia in Burgasutai valley, he requested Zaya Pandita and another person (Batulai or Pa thu la'i) to translate from Tibetan to Mongolian the part of the biography composed by the Regent Sangye Gyatso (*sde srid* Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho) concerning the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama.³⁶

³¹Studied by several scholars, such as Hidehiro Okada cited by Miyawaki 1994, Charles Bawden (1968), Zahiruddin Ahmad (1970).

³²Ahmad 1970: 284.

³³Rdo rje tshe brtan 1997. Information thanks to the kind help of Christoph Cüppers.

³⁴Rdo rje tshe brtan 1997, (*bzhi pa / sog po o rod dang khal kha'i 'brel ba'i skor*), 85.

³⁵Zanabazar's Biography: 467. It should be remembered that in 1640 the so-called "Mongol-Oirat Code" (consisting of 120 provisions) was formed at the assembly of the Khalkha and Oirat Mongols called by Jasagtu Khan Subadai in order to unify the Khalkhas and Oirats. However, the Code was not effective in resolving the conflict between Galdan Boshugtu and Tüshiyetü Khan Chakhundorji. See Atwood 2004: 389, Miyawaki 1994: 48.

³⁶Zanabazar's Biography: 501-1. The task of making the translation was, according

2.2 Zaya Pandita's Buddhist Argumentation

This was a brief reconstruction of historical events. Now let us turn to the narratives of the Jetsundampa's biography by his disciple Zaya Pandita. He uses Buddhist argumentation to explain the conflict between Galdan Boshugtu and Zanabazar. In the biography, Galdan is portrayed as Devadatta (Tib. lHa byin / sbyin),³⁷ the enemy of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Devadatta was a cousin of the Buddha, and competed with him in many ways.

Étienne Lamotte³⁸ summarized these events in the following way: "Devadatta, who had entered the order, attempted to supplant the Master at the head of the community. When his manoeuvres failed, he tried to kill the Buddha, but the hired assassins he had commissioned became converted: the rock which he had thrown from the top of a mountain only gave the Buddha an insignificant wound, and the maddened elephant which he sent in pursuit of the Master prostrated itself before the latter. Devadatta provoked a schism in the community and, having won 500 Vṛjī monks from Vaiśālī to his cause, formed a separate congregation. The intervention of the disciples Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana brought the misled monks back into the fold, and Devadatta, who was abandoned by one and all, underwent the punishment for offences."

However, the Buddhist texts treated Devadatta's struggle against the Buddha in several ways and there are different accounts of the events associated with him and various interpretations of this figure.³⁹ The biography of Zanabazar explains that by his evil-doing, Devadatta made the Buddha's

to the biography, completed within four days. As even the part of the Regent's text which deals with the final year of the Fifth Dalai Lama is quite extensive, perhaps its short version was translated. In any case it was not possible for the present study to find more details about the Mongolian translation. The author would like to thank Vladimir L. Uspensky for pointing out that only a part of the Regent's text was requested for translation. See also Uspensky 2011: 149.

³⁷Zanabazar's Biography: 468-471.

³⁸Lamotte 1988: 18.

³⁹See Lamotte 1988: 18, 657; Lamotte 1970; Sugimoto 1982; Waldschmidt 1963; Ray 1994.

qualities ripen. Therefore he was the enemy who actually brought benefit to the Buddha. Referring to Zanabazar's situation, Zaya Pandita did not question the true recognition of Galdan Boshugtu as the incarnation of eminent Ensa / Bensa Tulku.⁴⁰

He tried to explain the situation in the framework of Buddhist ideology. Galdan was portrayed as Devadatta and that implied that Zanabazar was like the Buddha Śākyamuni. In this understanding the wrong deeds of Galdan (similarly to Devadatta) actually helped Zanabazar to develop his best qualities, like the Buddha himself. One should remember that the biography of the First Jetsundampa was written in 1702, when Galdan Boshugtu already passed away, while Zanabazar was still alive.

On the margin of these considerations it is interesting to observe that this interpretation of Devadatta's deeds seemed to prevail among the Mongols. Already in the Mongolian handbook of Buddhism by Shiregetü Gūūshi Chorji written at the beginning of the 17th century and entitled *Čiqula kereglegči tegüs udqatu šastir*⁴¹ it is expressed on the basis of the *Mahāratnakūta* that Devadatta should not be valued according to his wrong deeds against the Buddha, because he had accumulated enormous merits which made him close to the bodhisattva.⁴² This view corresponds with the one expressed in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*: "...Devadatta, whom the Buddha terms as his *kalyāṇamitra*, or spiritual friend—in effect, his teacher. It was through training under Devadatta as his teacher, the Buddha tells us, that he was able to perfect the qualities by which he eventually became a buddha."⁴³ Zaya Pandita refers to this dual image of Devadatta in the biography of his master explaining the deeds of Galdan Boshugtu.

It is possible to speculate that perhaps had Galdan Boshugtu been able to have an audience with the Fifth Dalai Lama, he could have been convinced not to attack the Khalkhas, destroying their Buddhist monasteries

⁴⁰Zanabazar's Biography: 473.

⁴¹About this text see Bareja-Starzynska 2002 and 2006.

⁴²See the Polish translation in Bareja-Starzynska 2006: 159. The Mongolian original text reprinted in Heissig 1959: 27-83.

⁴³*Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* 158.25-26 in H. Kern, trans., Oxford, 1884; reprint Delhi, 1965: 246 cited in Sugimoto 1982.

and to stop chasing Tüshiyetü Khan and especially the Jetsundampa. However, the Great Fifth Dalai Lama had died already in 1682. It seems that Galdan Boshugtu had enough influence over the Regent Sangye Gyatso to convince him about his rights and to work against "the joint Sino-Tibetan activity" proposed by the Manchu Emperor Kangxi in dealings with the Mongols.⁴⁴ In 1690 Regent Sangye Gyatso sent the envoy Jampa Lingpa Khenpo (Byams pa gling pa mkhan po) to the Manchu Emperor Kangxi with the Imperial Edict in which he suggested to seize Tüshiyetü Khan and the Jetsundampa and hand them over to Galdan Boshugtu while he guaranteed their lives.⁴⁵ The Emperor did not want to comply with this proposal. Soon after Galdan Boshugtu threatened and defeated the Manchu troops and started a war against the Manchu Emperor. When his position was weakened by the Manchus, he paroled Tüshiyetü Khan, but nevertheless still wanted to seize the Jetsundampa.

The Tibetan government of the Dalai Lama was not able or not willing to influence Galdan to such an extent as to stop his advance in Khalkha and his personal revenge towards Tüshiyetü Khan and Zanabazar in particular. Zahiruddin Ahmad described this part of the conflict in detail and pointed out that although Galdan Boshugtu in general listened to the Dalai Lama's envoys, he was not willing to stop his acts of revenge.⁴⁶ And the Emperor regarded the Regent's position as pro-Galdan and he accused him of secretly helping Galdan and his troops. Hence, the question arises whether it would have been practically possible for the Regent Sangye Gyatso not to take the side of Galdan Boshugtu. And it does not seem likely. Galdan Boshugtu was the strongest military leader of the Western Mongols, allied for years with the Tibetans and fighting against the Khalkha Mongols under the pretext of protection of the Dalai Lama's authority.

This shows that though the Mongols were part of the political model of the 'two systems' (*lugs gnyis*), otherwise known in Tibetan as *chos srid*

⁴⁴ Ahmad 1970: 281.

⁴⁵ For the whole passage see Ahmad 1970: 279-284.

⁴⁶ Ahmad 1970: 275.

zung 'brel, 'conjunction of religious law (dharma) and government', it was just a model and its implementation in real politics could have differed from the ideas.⁴⁷ Relations among the elements of this model were complicated by the mutual hostility and rivalry on the part of the Mongols. Though they referred to being the secular part of the model and to being an arm of the religious leader, the Dalai Lama, they fought between themselves over supremacy.

In her several publications, Yumiko Ishihama underlined the theoretical framework of the *chos srid* system among the Tibetans, Mongols and Manchus and showed through many examples how it was used in written documents. She stated that "the difference in interpretation of Buddhism later caused the Qalqa-Ch'ing war against Jungγar (1686-1696)."⁴⁸ However, the example of the Oirat-Khalkha conflict and particularly the behaviour of Galdan Boshugtu, which had far-reaching consequences for the Mongols and Tibetans, shows, in the opinion of the present author, rather a departure from the *chos srid* theoretical model and points to the fact that arguments based on this model were used by all three parties, Tibetans, Mongols and Manchus, to their political ends.⁴⁹ The Manchu Emperor was able to conclude to Galdan: "(although) openly you honour the Dalai Lama's words, secretly you disobey the Dalai Lama's orders."⁵⁰

Perhaps the great hostilities between Galdan Boshugtu and Zanabazar can be explained on two levels, both connected with the legitimation of their rule. Zanabazar developed his high religious authority owing not only to his recognition as an incarnation of a great lama and his extraordinary skills, but owing also to his high status among the Khalkha Mongols which

⁴⁷On 'two systems' or 'twin system' see Ruegg 2004: 9.

⁴⁸Ishihama 2004: 29.

⁴⁹Ishihama in her book written in Japanese (2001) devoted the whole 8th chapter to the problem of Galdan's war against Qing. The present author was acquainted with its content only owing to the kind brief oral translation by Marta Trojanowska and therefore feels hesitant to comment on it. However, it seems that the role of the theoretical concept of the 'Buddhist government' or rather policy based on the Buddhist (Gelugpa) argumentation was overestimated by Ishihama without taking into consideration its practical or even cynical use by Galdan Boshugtu only as a pretext for his war.

⁵⁰Ahmad 1970: 290.

was based upon his Chinggisid origin. Moreover, he was militarily and politically supported by his brother Tüshiyetü Khan Chakhundorji, who was also a righteous leader of his ethnic group and a potential leader for other Mongolian groups as well. Actually Galdan Boshugtu was supposed to become a religious leader whose brother would govern the Oirats, similarly to Zanabazar, but it did not work in his case, since his brother Sengge had died and he had to secularize and rely only on his own military and political power. To compensate for that, he was a faithful Buddhist, entirely devoted to the Dalai Lama, a fact which could have given him validation for his rule instead of the Chinggisid origin which he was lacking.⁵¹

In comparison with Zanabazar, Galdan Boshugtu's claims to rule over all Mongols were probably weaker (as was also the case of Altan Khan from the Tümed, who established a relationship with the Third Dalai Lama in 1578). The potential power of the future Jetsundampas was envisaged by the Manchu rulers who, following the second reincarnation, forbade Jetsundampas' recognition among the Mongols and forced them to recognize their most important incarnation among the Tibetans. The Manchus could foresee that the alliance of religious and military power in one family, related moreover by blood to Chinggis Khan, might be too dangerous. Perhaps this was also the danger to which Johan Elverskog referred while describing the relationship between the First Jetsundampa and the Fifth Dalai Lama, mentioned earlier.

To summarize: The relationship between the Oirat and Khalkha Mongols in the years 1686-88 shaped the fate of so-called Outer Mongolia and had a big impact not only on these two groups of Mongols, but also on the situation of Tibet and the Qing empire. It is very interesting to observe that both sides of the internal Mongolian conflict used Buddhist argumentation to justify their positions and get support from the Buddhist societies they

⁵¹ Ahmad 1970: 261 recalls the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography in which he described the conflict over precedence between the Khalkhas and Oirats already in 1674 at the Fifth Dalai Lama's court. The Khalkhas believed to be the most important among all Mongols due to their Chinggis Khan's origin, while the Oirats pointed to Guushi Khan's successful activity in Tibet as a successor to the Tibetan king Songtsen Gampo (Srong btsan sgam po).

lived in.

First of all, Galdan Boshugtu threatened and later attacked the Khalkha Tüshiyetü Khan Chakhundorji on the basis of an argument that Khan's brother, Zanabazar, who was ordained earlier by his own previous incarnation Khedub Sangye Yeshe (mKhas grub sangs rgyas ye shes, 1525-1590), did not pay proper respect to the Dalai Lama's representative, which was an offence to the Buddhist authority of the Dalai Lama. Galdan Boshugtu regarded himself as the true defender of the Buddhist faith and the Tibetan Gelugpa tradition in particular. However, one should remember that this was simply a cunningly used argument and that later events showed that the main reason for conducting and continuing the war against the Khalkhas was the personal revenge and struggle for power over all Mongols.

Secondly, Zaya Pandita, a close disciple of Zanabazar, explained the very complicated relationship between his master, the Jetsundampa, and Galdan Boshugtu using the example of the Buddha Śākyamuni and his cousin Devadatta. By doing so he elevated his master without treating disrespectfully the incarnation of Ensa Tulku, Khedub Sangye Yeshe, the teacher of his teacher, embodied in Galdan Boshugtu. The biography of the Jetsundampa does not answer the question whether Zanabazar was a victim of the political situation, which is quite likely, taking into consideration his religious and artistic inclinations, or whether he was one of the main instigators of the Khalkhas' political move from the authority of the Dalai Lamas to the submission under the Manchu Qing dynasty. In any case the line of the Jetsundampas, whose incarnations from the third one onwards had to be recognized among the Tibetans, eventually resulted in the hierarchical rule of Bogda Khagan, Modern Mong. Bogd Khaan (1871-1924) during the Jetsundampa's eighth rebirth.

Nowadays the past Jetsundampa incarnations are regarded as very significant in preserving Mongolian national and religious identity. The last, ninth embodiment, played an important role both in the process of rebuilding Mongolian identity and in preserving and developing Buddhism in modern Mongolia.⁵² Jetsundampa incarnations may serve also as a bridge

⁵²Though it is interesting to observe that the ninth incarnation was made responsible

between the Mongols and Tibetans in their present relationship, for both nations are threatened by the Chinese government, which claims to be the successor of the Manchu empire.

for the preservation of the Jonangpa tradition by the Fourteenth Dalai Lama. About the revival of Buddhism in Mongolia see Bareja-Starzynska, Havnevik 2006.

Chapter 3

The Political Role of Zanabazar

3.1 Shift from Khan to Gegen

When one examines¹ the model of governmental rule in Mongolia from a long perspective one may see considerable changes in the Mongolian ruling system at least twice:² firstly, when Chinggis Khan³ in the 13th century decided to secure the supremacy of his clan as a ruling clan among others and established a de facto Chinggisid dynasty in Mongolia (implemented by Khubilai Khan) and secondly, when political power, which was for centuries represented by lay khans, shifted to religious representatives, namely Buddhist incarnations in the body of the Eighth Jetsundampa (1869-1924) called Bogda Gegen (or Gegegen) by Mongols. He was elevated as the Bogda

¹An earlier version of this chapter was presented at the roundtable of Asia History Programme in May 2012 at the University of California, Los Angeles. It has not been published in the project materials.

²However, Johan Elverskog in his book on Mongolian-Qing relations (Elverskog 2006) showed quite convincingly other and more subtle changes of rule among Mongols along their relationship with the Manchus.

³In the present text both Mong. words, *qan* and *qarγan* are rendered by the English 'Khan'.

Khan and called *Olan-a ergüdegse*, i.e. 'Elevated by many', which is an equivalent to the Sanskrit name of the first world king Mahāsaṃmata, thus making an evident connection to the Buddhist world view.⁴ How did this latter change happen?

One shall look at the emergence of Buddhist incarnations in Mongolia, a phenomenon clearly based on the Tibetan Buddhist world view which did not happen during the first stage of Buddhist propagation in Mongolia in the 13th-14th centuries. It did not happen in the 16th century either. Mongolian Buddhists needed time to get acquainted with the Tibetan idea of the Buddha's wisdom reappearing in concrete bodily forms in their next lives. Most probably the first incarnations among Khalkha Mongols were: Gyelkhantse / Jalkhanz Khutugtu (rGyal khang rtse), born in 1631 and recognized in 1634,⁵ and soon after the Jetsundampa Khutugtu. It was discussed elsewhere,⁶ but perhaps will be important to recall here again, that the first Buddhist incarnations in Khalkha Mongolia developed in different ways: Jalkhanz Khutugtu did not get any considerable economic support and passed away without making significant impact on the life of the Mongolian Buddhists.⁷

It remains in sharp contrast with the career made by the First Khalkha Jetsundampa, called Öndür Gege(ge)n, who was fully supported by his family, since his father Gombodorji was a local ruler, the Khalkha Tüshiyetü Khan. Zanabazar was the second son and he did not need to succeed his

⁴See Sagaster 1989, especially p. 235.

⁵Full name: Losang Tenzin Gyeltsen (Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan). He died in 1654 (see Laagan 2004: 54). Mongols pronounce the Tibetan title rGyal khang rtse as Jalkhanz, so the incarnation is known as Jalkhanz Khutugtu. The second incarnation in Khalkha was Losang Tenzin Pelsang (Blo bzang bstan 'dzin dpal bzang, 1655-1740), see Laagan 2004: 54; *Iltgel shastir*, vol. 2: 342-343. In Zanabazar's biography see p. 540-1.

⁶Bareja-Starzynska 2008: 54.

⁷It is mentioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his autobiography that Gyelkhantse Khutugtu had a consort and son, see Karmay 2015: 277. In 1661 the Fifth Dalai Lama remarked that Gyelkhantse Khutugtu requested from him Nyinmga teachings "such as the *bKa' brgyad* cycles". The Dalai Lama refused: "I told him these kind of teachings were very unsuitable to be practised in Mongolia." See Karmay 2015: 459. However, this mention must refer to the second incarnation.

father as a ruler. He could develop his spiritual vocation and serve the family and the whole Mongolian community as an important religious leader. Education received in Tibet together with the family's economic support let him become a fully qualified Buddhist master. Moreover, he was helped by the Tibetan Gelugpa hierarchs who supplied him with fifty religious specialists to develop Buddhist activity in his newly founded monasteries in Khalkha Mongolia.

Recognition of a son of the mighty Mongolian khan as a Buddhist reincarnation is not surprising: this is a phenomenon well known in the world's history, when lay and religious powers merge in one family, whose members act in ways which are mutually profitable. There is a bit of a problem, however, regarding Zanabazar's affiliation since he was recognized as an immediate reincarnation of the Tibetan Jonangpa master Tāranātha Kunga Nyingpo (Kun dga' snying po, 1575-1634). Soon after Tāranātha's passing away the Jonangpa tradition was seriously persecuted by the Gelugpa Fifth Dalai Lama (b.1617-1682), mainly due to political reasons.⁸

Zaya Pandita described the Jetsundampa's recognition as follows:⁹ "He (i.e. Zanabazar) was born accompanied by many propitious omens on the morning of the 25th day of the ninth *hor* month in the year of Wooden Pig *shing phag* (1635). In the empty place left after moving the tent in which the Lord had been born, though it was winter, beautiful flowers appeared, as it was reported. At first when he was four, Jampa Ling Nomun Khan¹⁰ was invited to take part in his hair-cutting [ceremony] and to re-

⁸See more about Zanabazar's recognition in Bareja-Starzynska 2010a.

⁹Zanabazar's Biography: 421-422.

¹⁰Tib. *Byams pa gling no mon Khang*, Mong. *Jamba ling nom[-]jun qarγan*. About the possible identifications of Jampa Ling Nomun Khan, some considerations were proposed in Bareja-Starzynska 2010. However, now it seems that the problem with identification of this person was successfully solved and he is the thirteenth abbot of the Chab mdo byams pa gling monastery. The twelfth abbot of Chab mdo byams pa gling monastery (founded in 1437 or 1444) invited the Third Dalai Lama to Mongolia (see Elverskog 2003: 193-194, note 15). He was called in the *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur* as Rje drung rin po che and J. Elverskog gives his name as lHa dbang chos kyi dbang phyug, while K. Kollmar-Paulenz in her translation of this text (Kollmar-Paulenz 2001: 336, note 698) renders the name as: lHa dbang chos kyi rgyal mtshan. Kollmar-Paulenz's version agrees with records cited in

nounce his vows of a lay follower (*dge bsnyen*). When he was three years old, though previously not learnt [by him] by heart, he recited the *Chanting the Names [of Mañjuśrī]*¹¹ about two times a day as it was reported. When he was five years old, he was enthroned. Owing to [his enthronement] auspicious circumstances were connected properly and the second reincarnation of Khedub Sangye Yeshe called Ensa Tulku¹² acted as his preceptor of ordination. He bestowed him the name: Losang Tenpai Gyeltsen (Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan) and gave him authorization (*rjes gnang*) on Mahākāla's [practice] and explained it [to him]. And then [it was] reported to the masters, the Victorious Father and Son (i.e. the Dalai Lama and his Regent) and [they] identified [him] as the reincarnation of Jetsundampa. Namkha Sonam Dragpa (Nam mkha' bsod nams grags pa), the master of Tantric [college] at the Drepung monastery was invited to become his tutor [since] he was the one prophesied from the *Kadam Legbam* (*bKa' gdams glegs bam*).¹³

TBRC (P4362). Since he lived in 1537-1603 (or 1604) he could not have been the master mentioned in the biography because of the time gap. However, the next, thirteenth abbot of the Chab mdo byams pa gling monastery was called Chos kyi rgyal po, which agrees with the Tibetan version in the biography, and its Mongolian translation into Nom-un qaγan. According to sources quoted in TBRC (P1079) he lived in 1605-1643. He was also known by his title Phagpa Chogyel ('Phags pa chos rgyal) or his incarnation title: Phagpalha ('Phags pa lha). Presence of Jampa Lingpa in Khalkha points to the close contacts of the Mongols with the Chab mdo byams pa gling monastery and its masters. See translation of p. 422 in Part II.

¹¹In Sanskrit *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṅgīti*. On the Mong. translations of this text see Sazykin 2006.

¹²Tib. *mKhas grub sangs rgyas ye shes sku'i skye ba*, Mong. *mergen sidatu budda zana-yin gegen-ü qoyitu töröl* called dBen sa sprul pa'i sku. The second reincarnation was Losang Tenzin Gyatso (Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, 1605-1643 or 1644), see Smith 1969: 12.

¹³The text *bKa' gdams glegs bam pha chos bu chos*, "Scriptures of the Kadampas, Father and Sons" contains collected teachings and stories of the Indian master Atīṣa and his Tibetan disciples on the practice for the Kadampa order. According to the Mongolian scholar Agvaantsültemjamts (or Ngag dbang tshul khrims rgya mtsho, 1880-1938) cited by Soninbayar (1995: 10) "in the 23rd chapter of *bKa' gdams glegs bam pha chos bu chos* there should have been a fragment referring to the miracles performed by Zanabazar, though he (Agvaantsültemjamts) was not able to confirm it." (see Bareja-Starzynska

This excerpt from the biography of the First Jetsundampa shows how Zaya Pandita dealt with the very sensitive problem of recognition of the son of Tūshiyetü Khan Gombodorji as the reincarnation of Tāranātha. One can see that Tāranātha was not even mentioned in this fragment of the text. His name appeared much later in the biography (pp. 430-431). Here only the title of the Jetsundampa was mentioned in connection with the recognition made by the Dalai Lama. At first, however, Zaya Pandita states that the son of Tūshiyetü Khan was enthroned when he was five years old, without any information about the name or title of the reincarnation of which he was enthroned. The passage about the enthronement was erroneously understood as saying that he was "summoned by the four tribes of the Khalkha to the throne"¹⁴ or even "enthroned as the leader of Buddhism in Khalkha Mongolia."¹⁵ This was not the case, however, as it has also been stressed in other publications by the present author.¹⁶ He was enthroned as the Buddhist reincarnation, as every other reincarnated lama. The reason of treating a small boy as the Buddhist incarnation is given here in the previous sentence: when he was just three years old he was chanting an important and difficult Buddhist text. It is not stated explicitly, but this is the connection made between these two facts in the two following sentences. The child was showing, by the chanting, that he was a reborn Buddhist master, a 'realized being' who chose to appear in this very body.

The first Buddhist name given to the boy was Yeshe Dorje (Ye shes rdo rje), the Tibetan equivalent of the Sanskrit name Jñāna Vajra which was pronounced by the Mongols as Zanabazar. The name Yeshe Dorje was chosen on the basis of the divination from the *Kālacakra*. However, Zaya Pandita did not mention it. Only later biographies (1839, 1874) added

2010a: 245, footnote 16). However, the fragment about the prophecy was explained in the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama in a different way. He mentioned that in some copies of the prophecy of the *Pha chos* "one of the lines reads *nam mkha' bsod nams mtshungs pa med*." Due to the similarity of the name Namkha Sonam Dragpa and the line in the prophecy, since almost the complete name appeared there, he was regarded as "a man particularly enlightened through the path of Vajrayana", see Karmay 2015: 239.

¹⁴Bawden 1961: 44, f. 8r.

¹⁵Kaplonski 2004: 146.

¹⁶Bareja-Starzynska 2008: 54, Bareja-Starzynska 2009a: 8.

this information. According to the biography written in 1874 by Ngawang Losang Dondub (Ngag dbang blo bzang don grub, Modern Mong. Agvaanlunvsandondub), in the fourth year of the boy's life during the divination, the name Yeshe Dorje appeared together with the name Nagpo Chopa (Nag po spyod pa), which was the Tibetan version of the name Kṛṣṇācārin or Kṛṣṇācārya, one of the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas*. One of his future reincarnations was Tāranātha, according to his own teacher. And in this way the Khalkha prince was regarded as the next incarnation of Tāranātha.¹⁷

Most probably we will never know the real reasons of this surprising choice of lineage. However, C. Stearns¹⁸ proposed a quite convincing explanation of the whole situation. The Fifth Dalai Lama pointed out the fact that Zanabazar was also a reincarnation of Jamyang Choje ('Jam dbyangs chos rje, 1379-1449), a famous Gelugpa master, the founder of the Drepung ('Bras spungs) monastery. Owing to this fact the Gelugpa establishment could take over the Jonangpa's estate. Jamyang Choje is mentioned as the tenth incarnation in the line of succession of the Jetsundampas, in which Tāranātha is the fourteenth and Zanabazar fifteenth in order.¹⁹ In the Fifth Dalai Lama's writings Zanabazar was always called Jamyang Tulku ('Jam dbyangs sprul sku). In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama wrote: "In the 12th month [of 1650, A. B-S.] many travellers from Mongolia including Jamyang Trulku (Znabazar), the son of Thushe Yethu of Khalkha and Dogolong Tshering from Oirat arrived. Jamyang Trulku was considered to be the *trulku* of Jamyang Choje (founder of Drepung) and therefore a welcoming ceremony consisting of a procession of the great assembly of monks and cavalymen received him. For about ten days Jamyang Trulku continuously distributed gifts among the monks and likewise I received many gifts as the *ngoten*."²⁰

¹⁷ On Tāranātha and his biography of Kṛṣṇācārya see Templeman 1989, 1992.

¹⁸ Stearns 1999: 72.

¹⁹ Zaya Pandita in his four-volume *Thob yig* included Jetsundampa's *gsol 'debs* (starting with f. 30r) before presenting his biography (starting with f. 62v6), Byambaa (ed.) 2004a.

²⁰ Translation by Samten Karmay (2015: 235). Tib.: *Zla ba bcu gnyis par khal kha thu she ye thu rgyal po'i sras 'jam dbyangs sprul sku dang o rod nas do go long tshe ring sogs* (A.B-S.: *sog*) 'grul pa mang ba 'byor / khong pa 'jam dbyangs chos rje'i sku skye'i dbang

The Jetsundampa was recognized by the Fifth Dalai Lama and the First (Fourth) Panchen Lama as the genuine Buddhist incarnation which received the necessary teachings and initiations according to the Gelugpa tradition. There has been no evidence, so far, that he received any Jonangpa teachings and that he practiced according to that Tibetan Buddhist tradition,²¹ although some scholars, starting with Junko Miyawaki argued it.²²

According to Zaya Pandita, Zanabazar's first teacher was Jampa Ling Nomun Khan (or Chos kyi rgyal po), who was the thirteenth abbot of the Chamdo Jampa Ling (Chab mdo byams pa gling) monastery in Amdo, important for the Tibeto-Mongolian contacts since the times of the Third Dalai Lama. Another important Tibetan teacher was the second incarnation of Ensa Tulku (dBen sa sprul sku, transcribed also as Bensa or Wensa), a very influential Gelugpa master. Gene Smith believed that he could have been instrumental in recognition of the child as Tāranātha's incarnation.²³ Only

du btang ba'i tshogs chen gyi ser sbrengs dang rta bsu'i bdag rkyen cher mdzad / zhag bcu skor gyi bar mang 'gyed kyis 'brel zhing de mtshungs bsngo rten gyi ster cha'ang..., passage from the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama published in 1989, vol. 1, p. 309-310; see also Stearns 1999: 71. The fact that the Fifth Dalai Lama referred to Zanabazar exclusively as to Jamyang Tulku was very strongly emphasized by Samten Karmay in all conversations on this subject.

²¹More in Bareja-Starzynska 2010a: 252-255.

²²Miyawaki 1994: 53. She was right to suspect that for Zaya Pandita, who was a Gelugpa scholar it could have been embarrassing to mention his master's different affiliation, so he tried to exclude such information about him. However, as it is proven by the biography itself, the name of Tāranātha appears several times in the biography and even a difficult conversation regarding Zanabazar's actual connection to his previous incarnation is referred to in the text (Zanabazar's Biography, p. 432). Another example can be Khürelbaatar 2005 who analyzed Zanabazar's religious writings in order to prove his non-Gelugpa views. However, until proofs of more and clear Jonangpa or other "red tradition"'s involvement in the early years of Zanabazar's life are found, this stand should be treated only as hypothetical.

²³Smith 1969: 12: "The recognition of Tāranātha's incarnation as the son of the Tūshiyetü Khan represents an extremely complicated bit of political maneuvering on the part of the First Panchen's disciple, Mkhas-grub III Blo-bzang-bstan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho (i.e. Ensa or Bensa Tulku). Not all of the great Gelugpa churchmen shared the 5th Dalai Lama's hostility to Tāranātha. There was, indeed considerable factionalism within the Gelugpa church itself. The cleavages often followed provincial boundaries (...)."

then the Dalai Lama²⁴ was informed about the Khalkha incarnation. The time and circumstances are not given in the biography, however. It could have been several years later. Again in a later biography of Jetsundampa composed in 1839 by the Mongolian Buddhist scholar Ngawang Yeshe Thubten (Modern Mong. Agvaantüvden Ravjamba) it is described that the Dalai Lama sent a letter which confirmed the reincarnation: "when he was ten years old from the All Knowing Great Fifth [Dalai Lama] the message was sent that the incarnation of Jamyang Choje was born as the reincarnation of Kunga Nyingpo in the [body] of the son of Tüshiyetü Khan and an official letter called "The scent of Malaya to be spread to the Vajra ear" (*rdo rje'i rna bar 'thul ba'i ma la ya'i dri*) was sent upon the request."²⁵ As it was explained elsewhere, actually there was no explicit information about the recognition in the undated letter, only glorification of the rule of Ganden Phodrang (dGa' ldan pho brang) and the Fifth Dalai Lama.²⁶ The Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned sending this letter in 1642 in his autobiography.²⁷ For the Khalkha Mongols the letter must have become important proof of the First Jetsundampa's recognition by the Fifth Dalai Lama.²⁸

From all that was written above we may conclude that regardless of the

²⁴In the text there is the expression *rgyal ba yab sras*, 'Victorious Father and Son', which can be understood as any pair of master and disciple and quite often indicates the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama. It may, however, refer as well to the Dalai Lama and his Regent, and this meaning was pointed to me by Christoph Cüppers. The part *yab sras* may be also treated just as an ornament which does not carry any additional meaning and still refers only to *rgyal ba*, i.e. the Dalai Lama. The Mongolian translation proves this last reading.

²⁵F. 11a3, edition by Byambaa 2006.

²⁶Bareja-Starzynska 2010a: 248-249. Agvaantsültemjamts stressed that Jamyang Choje's activity and the importance of Tsongkhapa's teachings are underlined in this letter giving clear guidance to the Jetsundampa about his religious connection and his tasks. See Soninbayar 1995: 13.

²⁷See the translation by Karmay 2015: 173: "I wrote a letter in verse to Jamyang Trulku and sent it through Trashi Dondrub." Tib. original: *...bkra shis don grub brdzangs shing 'jam dbyangs sprul skur tshigs bcad kyi 'phrin yig bsrings*], see Chin. edition 1989: 228.

²⁸It can be observed, however, that there is a discrepancy in the dates. The Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned mentions the letter in 1642, while Ngawang Yeshe Thubten relates in the biography that Zanabazar was ten years old when he received it, (i.e., he received the letter in 1645).

problems of Zanabazar's affiliation, he was well established as a reincarnated lama in the frames of the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. Now we may investigate what it meant for his contemporaries in Mongolia.

In Zanabazar's biography by Zaya Pandita his genealogy is given, starting with Chinggis Khan up to his father, Tüshiyetü Khan.²⁹ It is clear that while defining the position of Zanabazar this genealogy was crucial. The main point of reference was naturally Chinggis Khan. We may see that owing to their 'royal blood of Chinggisid dynasty' Zanabazar's forefathers were destined to play a leading role among Mongols, at least Khalkhas.

The career of Zanabazar was developing in due time and with a due speed. He managed to found a monastery near to Erdeni Juu—Shankh Khiyd and his main seat, monastery Ribo Gegye Ling (Ri bo dge rgyas gling) by 1686. Gradually he became known as a charismatic Buddhist teacher who brought Tsongkhapa's teachings from Tibet to Mongolia. His close followers consisted of aristocrats and nobles as well as common believers whose numbers, according to the biography, reached over 2000.³⁰ However, the most important were those monks who became Buddhist teachers themselves. Thirty important 'close disciples', or 'spiritual sons' (*sras slob*) can be listed.³¹ Thanks to all his disciples Zanabazar became influential religious leader.

He also became renowned as a great artist who cast exquisite Buddhist

²⁹Zanabazar's Biography: 416-6–417-3: "...he became renowned as Ching-gi i.e. Chinggis. And from that [king] in the twenty-seventh generation appeared a king [called] Batu Möngke Dayan. From his eleven sons the tenth was [called] Jalair Khung Tayiji. From his seven sons the third [was called] Üijeng Noyan. From his six sons the eldest was [called] king Abutai (or Abatai)." P. 420-1-3: "When he (i.e. Abutai) was thirty-five years old, he proceeded to the heavenly realms (i.e. passed away). His son was Erkei Mergen. His son was called Vajra-king, the Tüshiyetü Khan. He acted with full understanding of the two [kinds of affairs]: [regarding Buddhist] doctrine and state (or otherwise: regarding spiritual [development] and worldly political rule). He was the father of the present Lord (i.e. Zanabazar). His mother was a daughter of a daughter of a younger brother of the Lord's own grandfather, the great Vajra-king, (i.e. Abutai)."

³⁰Zanabazar's Biography: 532, see Bareja-Starzynska 2008: 54.

³¹Zanabazar's Biography: 538-545. See also Bareja-Starzynska 2009a, however, some data were corrected and updated in the Translation of Zanabazar's Biography in Part II of the present volume.

images.³² Most probably he was able to observe the process of casting bronzes by the Newar artists at the court of the First / Fourth Panchen Lama. Even in Tibet casting bronzes was a costly technique which besides proper materials required skilled artisans who could build proper kilns and prepare the right alloys.³³ There were not many places where one could get acquainted with this art, however the First / Fourth Panchen Lama was fascinated by it. He employed Newar artisans and he even documented his joy over their work in his autobiography.³⁴ The author of this work believes that at the Panchen Lama's court Zanabazar learnt how to cast bronzes and that he was able to take with him Newar artisans among his entourage of 50 religious specialists on his way back home to Khalkha.³⁵

He also commanded that copies of the Kanjur were made.³⁶ He even invented two new scripts: Horizontal Square Script and Soyombo Script (in 1686) in order to provide Buddhist teachings, especially esoteric Tantric practices, written with no mistakes in three languages: Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian.³⁷

³²There are numerous studies devoted to Zanabazar as a sculptor written by art historians. See Tsultem 1982, Berger 1995.

³³See Lo Bue 1981.

³⁴I am very thankful to Tashi Tsering for pointing this passage out to me in the "Autobiography of the First Panchen Lama", see Smith 1969: 6, footnote 26. For original text in Tibetan see Smith 1969: 76.

³⁵Not all persons from the group were mentioned by their names and professions in the biography, nevertheless, a painter called Chenyepa (sPyan g.yas pa) was listed and therefore perhaps other artists or artisans could also be included in the group. Zanabazar's Biography: 434. Regarding the possibility that Zanabazar painted also thangkas, such as his own portrait and portrait of his mother, the present author agrees with Patricia Berger who regarded these works as produced by other artists, perhaps at the Manchu court. See Berger 1995: 123-124, Haderer 2009.

³⁶See Zanabazar's Biography: 530.

³⁷Due to vowel harmony in the Mongolian language, back and front vowels do not occur in the same word. Moreover, the classical Mongolian script is polyphonic. In 1587 the so called *galig* system for the transliteration of foreign words was established by Ayushi Guushi. Even so, up to Zanabazar's time many Sanskrit and Tibetan words had become distorted in the process of translating Buddhist texts into Mongolian. Both Zanabazar's Horizontal Square Script and the Soyombo Script provided a means for accurately rendering Sanskrit and Tibetan words. Still they both required special training.

Zanabazar could have remained a religious master if not for the political events which sped up his career as a leader of the Khalkha Mongols. We may mark as the first sign of the growing position and authority of Zanabazar the fact that he was requested to take part in the meeting in 1686 held in order to solve an internal dispute among Mongols. Moreover, if we believe Zaya Pandita,³⁸ Zanabazar was seated equally high as the representative of the Dalai Lama during that meeting, which was used as a pretext for starting a war by Oirat Galdan Boshugtu (1644-1697).³⁹ Galdan Boshugtu was the son of Baatur Khung Tayiji, who accompanied Gushri Khan or rather Guushi Khan (1582-1655) from the Khoshuud tribe in 1640 in Tibet. And he was an incarnation of Ensa (or Bensa) Tulku Losang Tenzin Gyatso, the one who acted as Zanabazar's preceptor of ordination. Therefore he felt superior to Zanabazar and he wanted to take personal revenge on him and his elder brother, Tüshiyetü Khan Chakhundorji. He chased Zanabazar and his family and subjects as far as to the lands of Southern (Inner) Mongolia. Perhaps the stubbornness of Galdan Boshugtu in perceiving Zanabazar as his main opponent helped elevating him as a leader of the Khalkha Mongols and made him more important than Tüshiyetü Khan Chakhundorji, his elder brother. The reasons for Galdan Boshugtu's behaviour were explained in Zanabazar's biography with Buddhist concepts. Galdan Boshugtu felt as though he was the safeguard of the Dalai Lama. But ironically, when he struggled in honour of the Fifth Dalai Lama, the latter had already passed away, however, the news was kept secret.

The political side-effects of the Oirat Galdan Boshugtu's wars against Khalkhas was an emergence of a leading position of Zanabazar among mem-

This is especially true of the Soyombo Script, which until the present has served for writing mantras and for symbolic representations of certain Tantric practices and which is regarded as a secret script. On Mongolian scripts see Godziński 1971 and Kara 2005; on Zanabazar's Square Script see Byambaa 1997, 2005; Anshuman Pandey 2014; Bareja-Starzynska and Byambaa 2012; Bareja-Starzynska 2013. On Soyombo see Kara 2005, Shagdarsüren 1981, 2001.

³⁸ Zanabazar's Biography: 463-2-460-1. Note that the text is misplaced in the manuscript.

³⁹See details in the chapter "The Historical Background and Its Literary Narratives" in the present monograph.

bers of his compatriots and Khalkha submission over the Manchu Emperor Kangxi in 1691. The First Khalkha Jetsundampa during his long stay in exile became a close associate of the Manchu Emperor, who served as his protector. Here we can observe a "patron-priest" (*mchod-yon*) relationship. The Kangxi Emperor in his writings⁴⁰ deliberated: "We are the lord of the Empire. If we do not grant asylum to, and nourish, those who come to Us, then who will give asylum to them and nourish them?" The Emperor sent his letters to Galdan Boshugtu with the request to pardon the Jetsundampa, but it received no reaction.

It must be stressed that Galdan Boshugtu was the strongest military leader of the Western Mongols, allied for years with the Tibetans. He was connected with the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama who acted as his teachers before he had to disrobe due to the family situation. On the other hand it seems that the Khalkha Mongols were not so important for the government of the Dalai Lama since it was not effective to stop Galdan Boshugtu in his revenge towards the Jetsundampa.

We may conclude this part of the chapter with the statement that the Tibetan Buddhist world view adopted by the Mongols in the 13th century, re-introduced in the 16th century and developed rapidly in the 17th and 18th centuries resulted in the shift of authority from a lay khan to an embodiment of the Buddha's wisdom—reincarnated lama, called in Mongolian *gegegen* (or *gegen*), i.e. 'Serenity'. This concept in the 20th century brought about hierocratic ruler in Mongolia—the Eighth Bogd(a) Khan, who could follow the example of the Dalai Lamas.

3.2 Models of the Mongolian-Tibetan Relations

As it was shown in the previous chapter it is important to remember that different Mongolian ethnic groups: Khalkha (Eastern Mongols) and Oirat (Western Mongols) had distinct relationships with the Dalai Lamas and

⁴⁰ Ahmad 1970: 275.

their government.⁴¹ It was shown, however, by Yumiko Ishihama⁴² that at the beginning there was an idea of the united Buddhist government shown in the *chos srid* model. She examined the nature of the relationship between Tibet, Mongolia and Manchu ruled China. She based her in depth study on original documents in Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan and/or Chinese. In one of her articles she concluded: "Tibetan-Mongol- Manchu tripartite diplomatic relations were premised on the shared notion of "Buddhist government" and that the Fifth Dalai Lama tried to restrict the meaning of "Buddhist government" to the dGe-lugs-pa form of government."⁴³

In the biography of the Jetsundampa written by Zaya Pandita the term *chos srid*, i.e. Mongolian *šasin-u törü* does not appear to define Khalkha-Tibetan relations. It should be commented, however, on the margin of such translations, that while examining sources in the Mongolian language one has to be careful. In several Mongolian quotations mentioned by Ishihama the Mongolian words appear in the reverse order: *törü šasin*, which would normally mean 'state religion' and not the 'Buddhist government'. The words *törü* and *šasin*, 'government' and 'religious teachings' respectively, do not always mean 'Buddhist government'. As it was shown above in the present article *sačin törü qoyar* in Mongolian and *bstan srid gnyis* in Tibetan in the quotation from the biography of Zanabazar by Zaya Pandita, means: '[regarding Buddhist] doctrine and state (or otherwise: regarding spiritual [development] and worldly affairs). This corresponds to a division into 'mundane' and 'worldly' opposed to 'extramundane' spheres of activity, explained excellently in David Seyfard Ruegg's study of the concept⁴⁴ and gives basis for the Tibetan expression *lugs gnyis* 'two systems', i.e. Mongolian *qoyar yosun*. Ishihama rightly points to the text of the *Čaγan teüke* which explains the division into two.⁴⁵

However, the Dalai Lamas' government, i.e. the hierocratic model, en-

⁴¹This fact was remarked by the scholars, see for example Ishihama 1992, where she analyzed titles conferred by the Dalai Lamas to the Mongols.

⁴²Ishihama 2001, see especially chapter 8, pp. 227-258.

⁴³Ishihama 2004: 30.

⁴⁴Seyfard Ruegg 2008.

⁴⁵See Klaus Sagaster's translation and study of the text, 1976.

visioned, that both spheres were governed by a ruler who was at the same time a religious hierarch. It seems that although the Fifth Dalai Lama tried to enforce his model of the 'Buddhist government', it did not live long. One could see through the example of Galdan Boshugtu that the actual situation was far more complex. In my opinion Galdan Boshugtu's aim was not to comply with the 'Buddhist government' scheme⁴⁶ and to unite the three peoples: Tibetans, Mongols and Manchus under one rule, i.e. the Tibetan Dalai Lama's power, but to use this concept in order to achieve his private goal which focused on taking revenge on his personal enemy—Zanabazar.⁴⁷

Since Galdan Boshugtu in fact did not subordinate to any requests regarding the First Khalkha Jetsundampa and evoked conflict with the Manchu Emperor, his activity actually supported the collapse of the Buddhist government understood as the Tibetan Dalai Lamas' dominance and, as a result, it brought the Manchu Emperor's dominance. We may speculate that the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama also influenced the situation. Perhaps his active involvement could have changed Galdan Boshugtu's attitude and would have prevented the Manchu-Oirat war.

The advance of the Manchu Emperor's dominance over Mongols was discussed by Johan Elverskog. He showed that by the 18th century the Manchus replaced the political authority of the Tibetan Dalai Lamas over Mongols: "Initially, the Dalai Lama had recognized the authority of a Halha ruler, and this confirmation was subsequently reconfirmed by the Manchu emperor and recorded by the Qing bureaucracy." The situation started to change from 1682 and already in 1687 the Khalkha Sechen Khan was recognized as a ruler first by the Manchu Emperor. Elverskog commented on it as follows: "Through this act the Manchu Emperor appropriated the right of sanctifying the Borjigid rulers previously reserved for the Dalai Lama." Elverskog explained that the Kangxi Emperor changed the earlier system

⁴⁶ As far as I could follow in the translation from Japanese into Polish (for which I am very indebted to Marta Trojanowska) of the 8th chapter of Ishihama's work (2001: 227-258), she concluded that Galdan Boshugtu attacked Khalkha lands because of the concept of the 'Buddhist government'.

⁴⁷ See the chapter "The Historical Background and Its Literary Narratives" of the present work.

"by appropriating to the emperorship the rituals of both Chinggis Khan and the Tibetan hierarchs." However, "Still Mongols preserved the idea that only Chinggis Khan successors, Borjigid, were entitled to rule over them."⁴⁸

Elverskog's observations are very important, because the Mongolian perspective of Mongolian-Tibetan-Manchu relations should not be underestimated or neglected. It would be too simplistic to believe that Mongols already in the 17th century, by adopting Buddhism, became such faithful followers that they forgot about their main point of reference regarding political power so far, i.e. Chinggis Khan.⁴⁹ Khalkha Zaya Pandita, a Gelugpa supporter, in his biography of the first Jetsundampa clearly shows his genealogical connection with Chinggis Khan.⁵⁰ This is of primary importance in showing his position among his compatriots, and his legitimacy for eventual power. Then comes information about other khans and powerful nobles, such as Batu Möngke Dayan, Jalair Khung Tayiji, Üijeng Noyan and Abutai / Abatai. Regarding Abatai Khan, Zaya Pandita stressed his merits in defeating Oirats and regarding his Buddhist activity.⁵¹ "He raised up a big army to the Oirat land and killed many thousands of Oirat people. And he submitted all the Oirats under [his] rule. He made one of his sons the Oirats' king. Later he went to invite the All Knowing Sonam Gyatso (bSod nams rgya mtsho) and [discussed] the opportunity of [his] visit to Mongolia. 'The object of offering' (Sonam Gyatso) and benefactor (the khan) united in one (...) and he, i.e. the khan, was bestowed with the title of the Vajra-rāja, i.e. Vajra-king."

It is interesting to observe that the introduction of Buddhism in Mongolia under the Yuan dynasty was not mentioned in Zanabazar's biography. Perhaps it was due to the fact that the Gelugpa contacts started later and only these relations were taken into consideration. Moreover, Zaya Pandita described solely Khalkha Mongols' interest in Buddhism. Since the Khalkha

⁴⁸Elverskog 2006: 75-77.

⁴⁹About the Buddhization of Chinggis Khan's cult see Sagaster 1989, especially p. 235 and several works that followed, including Bareja-Starzynska 2010c.

⁵⁰The passage was quoted earlier in the present chapter.

⁵¹Zanabazar's Biography: 418-419.

ethnic group of Mongols emerged clearly only in the second half of the 15th century, perhaps earlier history of Mongolian interest in Buddhism was not related at this place of the *Thob yig*. Zaya Pandita's model of description of the Buddhist dissemination in Khalkha was followed by other Mongolian authors, especially in regard with the First Jetsundampa's biographies.⁵²

During Zanabazar's lifetime the close Khalkha relationship with the Manchu Kangxi Emperor did not evoke any criticism, it seems. The real danger were Oirats (Jungars), who not only plundered Khalkha lands, but destroyed old temples (Erdeni Juu) and freshly built Buddhist monasteries (Ribo Gegye Ling). The Manchus appeared as saviours. Probably for a certain period of time the majority of the Khalkha people were just content to not see Western Mongols advancing. It was different for the Tibetan Gelugpa establishment, for whom Western Mongols were supporters. But even for the Tibetans, the Jungars eventually caused problems. The Manchu military's answer against the Western Mongols finally ceased their power on the Khalkha land. Although real defeat of Jungars happened only in the second half of the 18th century.

The Manchus gradually built such a strong position in Inner Asia and took over control on so many aspects of Mongolian life, that in the next centuries the peaceful Khalkha submission to them required explanation. This is why, according to Junko Miyawaki, in the Mongolian biography of Zanabazar there appeared a story that Zanabazar had to make the choice between Yellow Kitad, i.e. Russians and Black Kitad, i.e. Manchus. He chose Manchus since "The realm of the Emperor of the Black Kitad in the south is firmly established and peaceful and moreover the Buddhist faith has spread there, and in particular the garment of the Emperor of the Manchus is like the garment of heaven...", i.e. the Manchus are more similar in their manners and culture to the Mongols. Junko Miyawaki dated this story to 1785-1813.⁵³

⁵²See Charles Bawden's studies of the Mongolian biographies of the Jetsundampa, Bawden 1961 and numerous works which followed, such as Bira 1995, Dashbadrakh 1995, Futaki 2011, Khürelbaγatur 2009 and many others, as well as Bareja-Starzynska 2009a, 2010a, 2011, 2012b

⁵³Miyawaki 1994: 45-67.

In the 18th century the perspectives changed, and though Elverskog gave examples of great Mongolian reverence towards the Manchus in his book *Our great Qing* (2006), we may read between the lines and understand that the Manchus as the source of power and authority, i.e. point of reference regarding rule, might not have actually been so much welcome. As we know, the Manchus observed very carefully the development of the Buddhist incarnation system among the Mongols and forbade the recognition of the first born sons as Buddhist lama incarnations to avoid situations similar to the one of the First Jetsundampa: the merging of economic and religious powers.

In their administration policy over Mongolian lands the Manchus launched many changes and introduced new regulations, such as division into four aimags and 86 banners (by 1765), which were headed by the military generals and were grouped in leagues headed by captains. These reforms resulted in division of the Mongolian nobility which was useful for the Manchu rule over the Mongols. On the other hand, however, weakness of the divided Mongolian nobility increased the authority of the Jetsundampas.⁵⁴

3.3 Tibetan, Mongolian or Buddhist Identity

In the 17th century one can also observe interesting novelties in ethnic relations: Manchu-Mongolian and Mongolian-Tibetan. The Manchu-Mongolian alliance was reinforced by cross marriages. The old system of Asian empires based on the *quda* system reappeared with the new Qing dynasty, and now the Manchus were the rulers who were building their exogamous patri-lineages with representatives of a different ethnic group and finding allies among them.⁵⁵ The Mongols, who submitted to the Manchus, became also their cousins. Zanabazar's nephew was married to the Manchu princess.⁵⁶

⁵⁴Atwood 2004: 300.

⁵⁵Atwood 2004: 461, Uspensky 2012: 232-233. It is well known to the specialists but perhaps it will be useful to mention here, as well, that the Manchus did not marry the ethnic Chinese, keeping them carefully away as a separate group.

⁵⁶Zanabazar's Biography: 503. The marriage was mentioned also by Uspensky 2011: 176.

The family of Tüshiyetü Khan was well involved in this system.

Another novelty was the way in which Mongolian-Tibetan religious ties became closer. It started after the passing away of the Third Dalai Lama. His next reincarnation, the Fourth Dalai Lama, was recognized in the boy who was a Mongolian prince, a great grandson of Altan Khan. He became known as Yonten Gyatso (Yon tan rgya mtsho, 1589-1616).⁵⁷ At that time the Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhist connection was quiet fresh and this instance was quite an isolated example of making the Tibetan Buddhist system opened to the Mongols. Later, it seems, the ethnic background became less important than the Buddhist lineage. Whether someone was a Tibetan or a Mongol was of less significance: in the spiritual world the closeness to the Buddhist master and his teachings were of primary importance. When some Mongolian Buddhist scholars achieved the level of spiritual advancement similar to that of the Tibetan masters their ethnicity was no longer crucial. Fluent in Tibetan language they were regarded as belonging to the world of Tibetan Buddhism. Only in carefully edited biographies one can find their birthplace and suspect the ethnic origin. In the same way the Tibetan masters who lived in Mongolia were known mainly by their Tibetan Buddhist names and titles and not by their nationality.

These ties were reinforced by the Manchu policy: in Khalkha Mongolia, starting with the third rebirth, the Jetsundampas could not be recognized in the sons of the Mongolian aristocrats. Therefore the Jetsundampas, after the first two reincarnations, had to be found among the Tibetans. This policy meant being against the mergence of Mongolian noble forces with the religious authority and economic power resulted in quite an unexpected spiritual union of Mongolian and Tibetan lamas. The Eighth Jetsundampa, who was ethnically Tibetan, was loved and respected by Mongols even more than by his countrymen, while on the other hand Mongolian teachers, such as, for example, Akya Rinpoche⁵⁸ —became abbots in Tibetan monasteries

⁵⁷ See Kollmar-Paulenz 2005: 60-61.

⁵⁸ Full name: Akya Losang Lungtog Jigme Tenpai Gyeltsen (A kya blo bzang lung rtogs 'jigs med bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan, b. 1950). Other examples can be given: for instance in personal communication in 2000 Taktser Rinpoche Thubten Jigme Norbu (Stag mtsher Thub bstan 'jigs med nor bu, 1922-2008), the elder brother of the Fourteenth Dalai

and educated Tibetan monks.⁵⁹

In the case of Zanabazar we may observe the beginning of these novelties: he was linked by his younger cousin to the Manchu Emperor of China. At the same time he was linked by his religious education to Tibet. In his third reincarnation this close relation with Tibet was ensured by the rebirth of the Khalkha Jetsundampa in a Tibetan boy who was brought to Mongolia.

There are different opinions regarding Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism. For example Gray Tuttle⁶⁰ proposed to exclude Mongols from the Tibetan Buddhist world. Even though it is true that there were no "Tibetans leaving Tibet to study with Mongol lamas," I do not share his opinion that the Tibetan elite should be treated "as separate from the ethnically Mongol Tibetan Buddhists". One can similarly look in vain for Indian scholars who traveled to Tibet to gain knowledge from Tibetan lamas. And it was not only due to the fact that there were no longer Indian Buddhists because Buddhism had ceased to exist in India after the 12th century. Still, we would not exclude Tibetans from the world of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. The system of Tibetan Buddhist education worked in such a way that the renowned centers, and moreover holy centers, attracted the attention of talented and ambitious youth who tried to make their careers there. This is similar to renowned universities in our own time. Obviously it was primarily ethnic Tibetans who shaped Tibetan Buddhism. However, one cannot overlook Mongolian involvement. There are many instances which can be cited. In addition, Mongolian lamas spread Tibetan Buddhism (using the Tibetan language) to all regions inhabited by Mongols, including Buryatia and Kalmykia. They were active in China and Russia, as well. Today it can be also observed that while some Buddhist teachings were destroyed in Tibet due to the historical circumstances, they survived among the Mongols who restored them to Tibetan Buddhism (one such examples is the

Lama, several times related about his Mongolian teacher at the Kumbum (sKu 'bum) monastery.

⁵⁹Sometimes, however, the language posed a problem: Samten Karmay, well known Tibetologist, recollected that his Mongolian teacher in Drepung used to teach in Mongolian which created serious problems for him as a Tibetan in his Buddhist education.

⁶⁰Tuttle 2005: 247, note 3.

transmission of the Secret Hayagrīva or rTa mgrin yang gsang practice⁶¹ In my opinion it would be quite impossible (and unnecessary) to exclude Mongolian involvement from Tibetan Buddhism. The present work on the biography of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa is one small indication of how closely interrelated Tibetan and Mongolian performances were.

3.3.1 Emergence of the Hierocratic Rule in Khalkha Mongolia

From the 18th century onwards the Tibetan Buddhist world view was advancing among Mongols. This great ideological change also caused change in the Mongolian aspirations. Once khans lost their position to the Buddhist incarnations, only the 'living Buddhas' with their authority could govern the Khalkha Mongols. The hierocratic model of rule, similar to the Dalai Lamas' government was introduced when Mongolia became independent in 1911. However, unlike Tibet, this rule in Khalkha Mongolia was not introduced as a result of fighting factions, but was the result of the common belief that only Buddhist reincarnations enlightened by their unique wisdom can be the proper source of authority, including political.⁶²

⁶¹Byambaa Ragchaa (2011) explains in his catalogue of the "Collected Works" of Bragri Yongdzin Damtsigdorje (Brag ri yongs 'dzin dam tshig rdo rje, 1781-1855) how this Mongolian lama scholar contributed to Tibetan Buddhism by compiling the most extensive collection of teachings devoted to Secret Hayagrīva (or rTa mgrin yang gsang). He composed the three-volume collection basing himself on almost 100 texts. His work proved very important in the 20th century at the moment of the destruction of Tibetan Buddhism. The transmission of Secret Hayagrīva was apparently almost lost among the exiled Tibetans. However, the ex-abbot of Sera Je college, *sngags rams pa* Senge from Mongolian Arkhangai region, received and preserved the whole transmission of Secret Hayagrīva of Bragri Yongdzin Damtsigdorje. In the 1980s the Fourteenth Dalai Lama invited him to India and there at the Dalai Lama's palace Senge passed the Secret Hayagrīva empowerment to a gathering of eminent Tibetan masters. One of those who received full transmission from Senge was Jhado Rinpoche, (Bya rdo rin po che bstan 'dzin 'byung gnas). And he in turn, brought this lost tradition back to Mongolia, when in the 1990s democratic changes made Buddhist revival in Mongolia possible.

⁶²This shift of political authority from khans to *gegens* was by the 20th century so overwhelming, that on the 22nd of January 1912 Tsyben Jamtsarano, the Buryat scholar, was complaining in a letter to Prof. Władysław Kotwicz, renowned Mongolist and Altaist,

that the Mongols forgot Chinggis Khan's traditions and they relied only on lamas and their authority. See Dashdavaa et al. 2011: 93, Shirendev 1972: 137.

Part II

Translation and Transliteration

Chapter 4

Annotated Translation

The translation is based on the Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript from Aginsky Datsan (monastery) in Buryatia¹ and compared with the Tibetan xylograph included in Zaya Pandita's *Thob yig*.²

411 This is the conventional biography of the Jetsun Dampa Losang Tenpai Gyeltsen Pelsangpo³

Aginsky Monastery, Buryatia, 1967

412 + 413 I bow [my head] to guru, who has become the supreme one holding the sign of victory of the teachings of the Second Victorious One,⁴ Losang Dragpa⁵ (i.e. Tsongkhapa).

¹Lokesh Chandra 1981, *Life and Works of Jebtsundampa I*, Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 294, New Delhi, pp. 411-549, reproduced in the Appendix of the present work.

²Lokesh Chandra 1982, *Works of Jaya-pandita Blo-bzang-'phrin-las*, Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 281, New Delhi, vol. 4, pp. 124-6-154-2, which is a reproduction of the Beijing xylograph, vol. *nga*, ff. 62v6-77v2. See as well the xylograph containing only *gsol 'debs* and biography of Zanabazar reprinted by Byambaa Ragchaa 2012, ff. 35a6-49b2 which is reproduced in the Appendix of the present work.

³Tib. *rJe btsun dam pa blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po*.

⁴412-1: Tib. *rgyal ba gnyis pa*, Mong. *qoyaduγar ilaγuγsan*, meaning 'the Second Buddha', i.e. Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa, 1357-1419), famous master of Tibetan Buddhism. His teachings laid foundations for establishing the Gelugpa (*dGe lugs pa*) tradition.

⁵ Tib. *blo bzang grags pa*. In Mong. *sumadi giridi* for Skt. Sumati Kīrti, ordination

I beg at the feet of the Jetsun Lama,⁶ who is the incomparable leader of beings of the degenerated times.⁷

414 Saying this [I present] the extraordinary biography⁸ of the one who became the object of hymns,⁹ the fifteenth Jetsun [called] [Losang]¹⁰ Tenpai Gyeltsen Pelsangpo.¹¹

In [the text called] "The Three Times" (i.e. past, present and future)¹²

name of Tsongkhapa. TBRC P64.

⁶412-1: Tib. *rje btsun bla ma* 'venerable master' [RY], Mong. *getülgegči* 'saviour', Lessing 380b.

⁷412-2: Tib. *snyigs dus*, Mong. *cöb čary*. The term appears also in the biography of Altan Khan, f. 19v. Kollmar-Paulenz 2001: 274 in note 363 provides the Skt. equivalent *kaśāya*. Tib. *snyings ma'i dus* refers to the present eon, Skt. *Kali-yuga*, see Rerikh III, 297.

⁸413-1: Tib. *thung mong ma yin pa'i rnam thar*—this phrase usually refers to the visionary biography. However, in the title which was added to the Buryat manuscript it is written *thung mong*, i.e. 'conventional, standard'. On different kinds of biographies see the chapter "The Author and the Text". In the Mong. version *yerü busu-yin čadig*, in which *yerü busu* means 'extraordinary', Lessing 433a.

⁹412-2: Tib. *bstod yul*, Mong. *maṛtaṛal-un oron*.

¹⁰413-2: Tib. *blo bzang* is missing in the Tibetan version of the Buryat manuscript, however, it is preserved correctly in the xylograph. It appears also in the Mong. version 414-1 as *sumadi* for Skt. *sumati*, i.e. Tib. *blo bzang*. Jin Chengxiu wrongly explains it as *samadi* (2002: 117, footnote 1).

¹¹414-1: Tib. *bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po*. Mong. 413-3–414-1 *sačin-u davadza siri bhadara*, i.e. Śāsana Dhvaja Śribhadra. Monastic name of Zanabazar. It is not clear why in the Mong. version there is *san*, which appears after this expression. It is possible to suspect that it belongs to the name: i.e. *bhadara san*, however, it might reflect Tib. *bzang*, since it does not carry any meaning in Mongolian. One would expect here the Mongolian genitive ending: *-yin*.

¹²413-1: Tib. *skabs gsums pa*, Mong. *sgabs gsum-ba*. According to Ganzorig Davaaochir, to whom I am very thankful for this information, the title probably refers to the work by Tsongkhapa, which was also described in the *sKabs gsum ma'i tikka ngo mtshar dad pa rgyas byed ces bya ba bzhugs so* composed by Changkya Ngawang Choden (lCang skya ngag dbang chos ldan, 1642-1714), contemporary to Zanabazar. It was published in the collection of stories concerning Ganden monastery entitled *dPal ri bo dge ldan pa'i chos spyod sna tshogs kyi 'grel ba phyogs bsgrigs*, 1997: 22-34. The story about Garuda is related in order to give an example of Buddhist proper conduct (p. 30, line 4-11:) *dper na nam mkha' ldang gi dbang bo ste* [5] *rgyal po 'dab chags rnams kyi khrod*

[it is said that] mighty Garuda traveled and traveled in the sky and at a certain point his own bodily strength declined and he started to return. However, the sky did not end. Similarly, [if anyone would like] to applaud Your [i.e. Jetsundampa's] virtues, they are likewise [limitless and one may fall before reaching their end]. It is said so.

415 [And] similarly, even if from one eon to the next one it will be repeated, the end will not be reached. Although Buddhas and saints who are mutually similar transgressed the activity [and experience]¹³ of those who are like me—ordinary mortal individuals,¹⁴ nevertheless, according to the general view of the disciples¹⁵ [they] assume the form of [incarnations] of the true spiritual friends.¹⁶ From their exemplary biographies (*rnam thar*)

416 which are as wide as the ocean, after accepting them with reverence [which is] smaller than the tip of the *kusha*¹⁷ grass, it is suitable to

na gshog rtsal shin tu che ba yang nam mkha'i [6] *mtha' nyul bar ci tsam bgrod cing bgrod nas nam zhig na rang gi lus rtsal gyi* [7] *stobs bri ba ste zad nas rang gnas su ldog par 'gyur gyi* | *nam mkha'i* [8] *mtha' zad pas bgrod sa rnyed par ldog par mi 'gyur ba bzhin khyod kyi yon* [9] *tan brjod pa'ang rang gi blo gros kyis ci tsam dpog pa de tsam zhig brjod par* [10] *zad kyi yon tan gyi mtha' rdzogs par brjod rgyu ma rnyed par ma brjod pa ma* [11] *yin pa de ltar lags pa ste yin pas so // zhe pa'o //*. It is followed by the explanation of the fragment's meaning with regard to the Buddhist proper conduct.

¹³415-2-3: Tib. *spyod yul las 'das*, Mong. *edleküi oron-ača ketüregsən*. The Tib. expression *spyod yul* 'sphere of activity', *gocara*, *avacara* in Skt., has its equivalent in Mong. as *edleküi oron*, see Lessing 1108a. Bira 1995: 7 translates it as: *üüldel* 'action, activity', Bawden 401b.

¹⁴415-2: Tib. *so so skye tha mal pa*, Mong. *ütele bertegčün arad*.

¹⁵415-3: Tib. *gdul bya* 'disciples, those to be trained/tamed', in Mong. a bit different translation: *yerü-yin amitan* 'beings in general'.

¹⁶415-3: Tib. *bshes gnyen dam pa* 'true spiritual friend' or 'spiritual guide', which is an equivalent to Skt. *kalyāṇa-mitra*, however, different expression in Mong.: *degedü barysi* 'high teacher'. One would expect Mong. *buyan-u nökör* or *buyan-u sadun*, which are the equivalents to Skt. *kalyāṇa-mitra*, see Lessing 1164b.

¹⁷416-1: Tib. *ku sha*, Mong. *güši* can be identified with Kuśinagar(a), the city near Gorakhpur; place where Buddha attained the state of parinirvana. However, here it refers to 'kusha grass', which is 'the sacred grass used in religious ceremonies' [RY].

say that: thanks to the destiny of deities,¹⁸ from the river Ganges in the holy land of India up to China, Tibet and the ‘White Headed [ones]’,¹⁹ [although] their language was not one (i.e. the same), owing to power of many [people] king *cakravartin* (i.e. the one who turned the wheel [of Dharma]),²⁰ Brahmā,²¹ who took the form of a human, became universally famed as Chinggis Khan.²²

417 And from that one [king]²³ in the twenty seventh generation appeared a king [called:] Batu Möngke Dayan.²⁴ From his eleven sons the tenth was [called] Jalair Khung Tayiji.²⁵ From his seven sons the third [was

¹⁸ 416-1: Tib. *tshe ring gnam gyi she mong gyis*. Tib. expression *gnam gyi she mong* means lit. ‘sky’s destiny’, however here it seems to be used in the sense ‘destiny’, without special focus on the part *gnam*, i.e. ‘sky’, which could have been omitted. Tib. *tshe ring* may refer to ‘long life’ or ‘deity’, which suits better here. Often *tshe ring mched lnga*, the Five Sisters of long life are meant [RY]. Mong. *erte tngri ner-ün jayaγ-a-tai* means: ‘having [good] fate of the ancient gods’.

¹⁹ There is a difference in translation between the Tibetan and Mongolian versions: 416-2: Tib. *rgya nag bod mgo dkar* ‘China, Tibet, White Headed Ones’, while in Mong. *nanggiyad töbed qotun*. Mong. *nanggiyad* probably renders Tib. *rgya nag* i.e. ‘China’. Jin Chengxiu explains the last word as *qotung* (2002: 117, footnote 5). It refers to ‘inhabitants of Turkestan, Muslims’, see Lessing 973a. The Tib. term *mgo dkar* ‘white headed’ is more ambiguous and may refer to different people who were non-Tibetans, including Armenians, Central Asian Muslims, Europeans etc. see Martin 2006.

²⁰ 416-3: Tib. *du mar stobs kyis ’khor los bsgyur ba*, while in Mong. the word for wheel is missing: *olan arad-un küčün-iyer jiluγudan urbuγuluγsan* lit. ‘[who] led turning by power of many people’.

²¹ 416-3: Tib. *tshangs pa* Brahmā, while in Mong. *asarun*, for: *esru-a* i.e. ‘Esrua, Brahmā’. See Lessing 1169b.

²² Interestingly, while in the Tib. version it says *ching gi rgyal po*, i.e. ‘Chinggis Khan’, in Mong. there is only the term *qaγan*, i.e. ‘great khan’, without the name Chinggis.

²³ 417-1: Mong. *ten(g)de-eče* ‘from that time, then’.

²⁴ 417-1: Tib. *pa* (125-5: *sa*) *thu mong kho ta yan rgyal po*, Mong. *patu möngke dayan qaγan* for: *batu möngke dayan*, Batu Möngke Dayan Khan (b. 1475?, r. 1480?-1517?). In Mong. he is called *qaγan*, i.e. ‘the great Khan’. “Khan who united the Mongols under Chinggisid supremacy in the northern Yuan dynasty (1368-1634)”, see Atwood 2004: 138. One of the most important rulers of Mongolia, the one who defeated Oirats and consolidated Eastern Mongols as Chinggisid people.

²⁵ 417-2: Tib. *tsala ’ir hor* (for: *hong*) *tha’i ji*, Mong. wrongly *jalaran* for *jalair qung tayiji*. Tib. sign *tsa* is used regularly for Mong. sound *ja*. His full name was

called] Üijeng Noyan.²⁶

From his six sons the eldest was [called] king Abutai (or Abatai).²⁷ [He] had the courage of Rāma(na) of taking away the arrogance [of Rāvaṇa].²⁸

418 He raised and led²⁹ a large army to the Oirat land and killed thousands of Oirat people. And he submitted all the Oirats under [his] rule. He made³⁰ one of his sons the Oirats' king.³¹ Later he went to invite the All Knowing Sonam Gyatso (bSod nams rgya mtsho)³² and [discussed] the opportunity of [his] visit to Mongolia. The object of offering (i.e. Sonam Gyatso) and the benefactor (i.e. khan)³³ united

Geresenje Jalair Khung Tayiji (1513?-1548). Important ruler of the Khalkha Mongols, see Atwood 2004: 299. Tib. *hong tha'i ji* and Mong. *qung tayiji* render Chin. title *huangtaizi*.

²⁶417-2: Tib. *u'i tsen no yon*, Mong. *üijeng noyan*. Called also Nogonukuu Üijeng Noyan, see Elverskog 2003: 189, note 2 (Noonukhu Üijeng, Atwood 2004: 299). The Khalkha Zaya Pandita was regarded reincarnation of his son. See also p. 437. More information is provided in the chapter "The Author and the Text" of the present work.

²⁷417-3: Tib. *a bu tha'i*, Mong. *abutai*. On Khan Abatai, written also as Abadai, (1554-1588), see Atwood 2004: 1, 299. He led successful campaigns against Oirats.

²⁸417-3: Tib. *ra ma ṅa* (for: *rā ma*)'i *khengs pa 'phrog pa'i dpa' rtsal*. In Mong. *ide kücün anu ramd omoy : buliyaqu-yin čoy ide* 'His strength was so great as to take by force the pride of Rāma'. The Mong. translator treated the Tib. genitive ending of Rāma as epithet to arrogance, and not to Rāma's courage. Bira 1995: 7 translates as: *Manain omgiig bulaakhuits id khuchin*. It seems that Bira reads the Tib. text as: *rgyal por ma ṅa'i* and leaves *ma ṅa'i* not translated. See Ahmad 1995: 195, where there is a passage in which the Fifth Dalai Lama compared Rāma's courage with that of Guushi Khan. For more explanation about this fragment see the chapter "The Author and the Text" of the present work.

²⁹418-1: Tib. *bteg* past form of *'degs pa* 'to lift, raise, hold up'. In Mong. *mordajū*, i.e. converbum imperfecti of *morda-* 'to mount horse, to depart', Lessing 543a.

³⁰418-2: Tib. *bskos*, same as *bkod* 'to build, arrange', Das 68a.

³¹Khan Shubudai, see Atwood 2004: 1.

³²The Third Dalai Lama (1578-1588). On the relations of the Third Dalai Lama with the Mongols see van der Kuijp and Tuttle 2014, Sperling 1992, Kollmar-Paulenz 2001, Elverskog 2003, Okada 1992.

³³418-3: In Tib. *mchod yon* 'patron and priest relationship' [RY], unity of the two: *mchod gnas* and *yon bdag*. Mong. *blam-a ög(e)lige-yin ečen* (for: *ejen*) *qoyar* 'lama and

in one.³⁴

419 He (i.e. the khan) was given a certain painted image of Phagmo Drupa Dorje Gyelpo,³⁵ [known as] ‘indestructible in fire’³⁶ and was bestowed with the title of the Vajra-rāja, i.e. Vajra-king.³⁷

He erected one temple called Erdeni Juu (Modern Mong. Erdene

almsgiver’.

³⁴418-3: Tib. *thugs yid gcig 'dres* ‘mingling one’s mind with [his] mind, mixing one’s mind with the [guru’s] mind’ [IW]. Mong. *sedkil imarṭa taṅaralduju*, in which *sedkil* means ‘mind’, *imarṭa* ‘always, solely, uniquely’ and *taṅaraldu-* ‘to meet each other, to hit upon’, Lessing 765a. The meeting took place in 1587 and was related in the biography of Altan Khan on ff. 43r-43v, see Kollmar-Paulenz 2001: 203, 332. She quotes also (p. 332, footnote 671) a short passage from the biography of the Third Dalai Lama, f. 104v5-6: *khar kha rdo rje rgyal po mjal bar ongs pa la 'dod pa'i re ba yongs su bskang*, in which *khar kha* refers to Khalkha and *rdo rje* is the title of the khan: ‘When the Vajra-king of Khalkha came to meet with him (i.e. the Third Dalai Lama) he fulfilled completely [khan’s] hopes and wishes [regarding Buddhist practices]’. See also Elverskog 2003: 189-190.

³⁵418-3–419-1: Tib. *phag mo grub (for: gru pa) rdo rje rgyal po*, Mong. *paṅmu dūb bazar raza*. Dorje Gyelpo (rDo rje rgyal po, 1110-1170) was a founder of a hermitage called Phagmo Drupa (Phag mo gru pa) in Nedong (sNe gdong), which later became a monastery of Dagpo Kagyu (Dwags po bka' brgyud) school. See TBRC P127. Tib. *rdo rje rgyal po* and Mong. *bazar raza* translate Skt. *vajra-rāja*, i.e. Vajra-king.

³⁶In Chengxiu’s work the name is given as: *rdo rje rgyal po'i sku thang me thub ma* (2002: 118, footnote 9). Tib. epithet *me thub ma* seems to be used to show extra qualities of the image. I would like to thank Dan Martin who traced that this epithet can be applied to books, skulls, chortens, copper images and so on. Unfortunately for the present study it was not possible to trace whether this particular image was connected with a story which proved the quality of image as being ‘indestructible in fire’. I am thankful for Dan Martin’s comments on this topic provided in the correspondence. It can be added that Zhamtsarano Tsyben, who visited Erdeni Juu monastery in 1912 during Władysław Kotwicz’s expedition to Khalkha, noted that the holiest and most precious relic in the monastery was a painting of Rāhu which was brought from Tibet. One is tempted to connect these two pieces of information and regard this thanka as the very one mentioned by idzZaya Pandita Zaya Pandita. See Tulisow et al. 2012: 335 for Zhamtsarano’s description.

³⁷The event was described also in the biography of Altan Khan, f. 43v, see Kollmar-Paulenz 2001: 203, 332.

Zuu)³⁸ with a particularly sublime object of worship.³⁹

When he heard from the messengers of Chakhar Khan about the Mongolian Written language⁴⁰ he sent a few people to become trained in Mongolian script and to establish the law of supreme Dharma [in Mongolia].

420 When he (i.e. Abutai) was thirty-five years old he proceeded to the heavenly realms (i.e. passed away),⁴¹ as it was known. His son was Erkei Mergen.⁴² His (i.e. Erkei Mergen's) son was called Vajra-king, the Tüshiyetü [Khan].⁴³ He acted with full understanding⁴⁴ of the two [kinds of affairs]: [regarding Buddhist] doctrine and state.⁴⁵ He was the father of the present Lord (i.e. Zanabazar). His mother was a daughter of a daughter of a younger brother of the Lord's own grandfather, the great Vajra-king (i.e. Abutai / Abatai Khan).

³⁸419-1: Tib. *er te ni jo bo*, Mong. *erdeni juu*. Modern Mong. Erdene Zuu. On this monastery there are numerous publications. On its history see Tsendina 1999, on several other aspects including development of Buddhism see Tulisow et al. 2012.

³⁹419-1: Tib. *sku*, Mong. *burqan šitügen*. Most probably it is a Buddha's relic bestowed by the Dalai Lama that is mentioned here, since this fact was underlined in other accounts on the erection of the Erdeni Juu monastery as well, such as the Mongolian biography of Zanabazar (Bawden 1961: 36-37) and "History of Erdene Zuu" (Tsendina 1999: 66-67). See Bareja-Starzynska 2012: 133-135.

⁴⁰Perhaps knowledge of Mongolian language with regard to the Buddhist scriptures is meant here.

⁴¹420-1: Tib. *gnam du gshegs pa*. In Mong. *tngri bolba*, i.e. 'became a god'.

⁴²420-1: Tib. *e re khe'i mer ken*, Mong. *erkei mergen*.

⁴³420-2: Tib. *thu she ye thu*, Mong. *tüčiyetü*, which should be written as *tüsiyetü*. Title *tüsiyetü* 'supporting', appeared in a result of successful military campaigns led by Abatai and Laikhur Khan and Sholoi Ubashi Khung-Tayiji. Laikhur's descendants bore the hereditary titles of *jasartyu*, while Abatai's—*tüsiyetü*. On Khalkha khans see Atwood 2004: 299-300.

⁴⁴420-2: Tib. *mkhyen spyan yangs* can be translated as: 'with broad views and wisdoms', lit. 'with wide eye of understanding'. In Mongolian: *yeke aγuda üiledügčei* 'who practiced widely'.

⁴⁵Or otherwise: 'regarding spiritual [development] and worldly political rule'. 420-2: Tib. *bstan srid gnyis*, in which Tib. *srid* means 'worldliness, property/ kingdom'; in Mong. version: *sačin* for: *sačin törü qoyar*. More on the topic of religion and politics is written in the chapter "The Political Role of Zanabazar".

421 And she was perfected in very good manners which are qualities of a queen. She was called Khadro Gyatso.⁴⁶ Of [such] parents he (i.e. Jetsundampa) was born⁴⁷ with many propitious omens in the morning of the 25th of the ninth *hor*⁴⁸ month in the Wooden Pig year (1635).⁴⁹ In the empty place left behind after moving the tent of the [Master's] birth, though it was winter, beautiful flowers appeared, as it was known.

422 At first, at [Master's] age of four, Jampa Ling Nomun Khan⁵⁰ was invited to [participate] in his hair-cutting [ceremony]⁵¹ and to renounce his vows as a lay follower *genyen*.⁵²

It was reported that when he was three years old, though previously not learnt [by him] by heart,⁵³ he recited⁵⁴ the "Chanting the Names

⁴⁶ 421-1: Tib. *mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho*, Mong. *qanggda jīmčü*, where *qanggda* is a phonetic borrowing of Tib. *mkha' 'gro*, lit. 'sky walker', translation of Skt. *ḍakinī* and *jīmčü* of Tib. *rgya mtsho* 'ocean'.

⁴⁷ 421-2: Tib. *sku bltams*, in Mong. expression *egüde negejü qubilbai*, lit. 'opened the door and was reincarnated'.

⁴⁸ 421-2: Tib. *hor*, Mong. *saranyarγul*, which states most probably for Mercury, see *sarny daguul* in Bawden 297b.

⁴⁹ 421-2: Tib. *shing phag*, Mong. *modon γaqai*.

⁵⁰ 422-1: Tib. *byams pa gling no mon khang*, Mong. *jamba ling nom[-]un qarγan*. The thirteenth abbot of the Chamdo Jampa Ling (Chab mdo byams pa gling) monastery, called Chokyi Gyelpo (Chos kyi rgyal po), translated into Mong. as *nom[-]un qarγan*. According to sources quoted in TBRC (P1079) he lived in 1605-1643. See more explanation in the chapter "The Political Role of Zanabazar" of the present work.

⁵¹ 422-1-2: In Tib. *gtsug phud (...) phul* 'hair-cutting ceremony'[RY]. This piece of information is missing in the Mongolian version that refers only to taking the vows. The information about the hair-cutting ceremony is also missing in Bira's translation (1995: 8).

⁵² 422-2: Tib. *dge bsnyen* 'pursuer of virtue', Skt. *upāsaka*. A Buddhist layman, bound by the five vows to avoid killing, stealing, lying, sexual misconduct and intoxicating liquor [RY]. Mong. *sanvar* 'vows'. See also Bawden 295b.

⁵³ 422-3: Tib. *thugs 'dzin ma gnang* lit. 'not taken into mind', Mong. *čegejülegülün ese ayiladqarγsan bolbaǰu* 'not known by heart and recited'.

⁵⁴ 422-3: Tib. *thugs thog nas* lit. 'from the top of his mind', Mong. *čegejü-ber unǰši-* 'to recite from memory', Lessing 170a.

[of Mañjuśrī]" (i.e. *Mañjuśrī-Nāmasaṃgīti*)⁵⁵ every day about two times.

When he was five years old he was enthroned.⁵⁶

423 Due to [his enthronement], auspicious circumstances⁵⁷ were properly connected and the reincarnation of Kedub Sangye Yeshe⁵⁸ called Ensa Tulku⁵⁹ acted as his preceptor⁶⁰ of ordination.⁶¹ He gave him a name⁶² Losang Tenpai Gyeltsen⁶³ and gave him authorization (*rjes*

⁵⁵422-3: Tib. *mtshan brjod*, Mong. *naman sanggiri*. The well known Buddhist text. Ja 454b: 'calling upon the name of a deity, enumerating its characteristics and attributes'. On the Mongolian Kanjur version see Ligeti 1942-44, No 1. On Mong. translations see monograph by Sazykin 2006. See also Chiodo 2009: 142-3, note 3 where she provides a summary of the Mongolian translations of the text.

⁵⁶422-3: Tib. *khri 'don mdzad*, Mong. *širegen-e γarun*. It is not said here as whom he was enthroned. Later the tradition used this expression to denote that he was 'enthroned as the leader of Buddhism in Mongolia'. However, it seems rather, that it is just said in the text about his enthronement as an ordained reincarnation, i.e. that during his ordination ceremony he was enthroned. It was customary to every Buddhist incarnation.

⁵⁷423-1: *rten 'brel*, in full: *rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba*; Skt. *pratītyāsamutpāda* 'dependent origination', Buddhist theory of causality, interdependence. Mong. *belge*, which is not a regular translation: *sitūn barilduγsan*, see Mvy 2241 (mong. 2250), BHSD 374a, Bareja-Starzyńska 2006.

⁵⁸423-1: Tib. *mkhas grub sangs rgyas ye shes*, Mong. *mergen sidatu budda zana-yin gegen*. The second reincarnation was Losang Tenzin Gyatso (Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho, 1605-1643 or 1644), see Smith 1969: 12.

⁵⁹423-2: Tib. *dben sa sprul pa'i sku*. The name dBen sa is usually transcribed in English as Ensa or Wensa, while in Mong. as Bensa. On this line of reincarnations see Smith 1969: 12.

⁶⁰423-2: Tib. *mkhan po* 'preceptor', Skt. *upādhyāya*. Principal officiator at the ordination of a monk or nun [RY]. In Mong. *ubdani* for: *ubadīni*, translating Skt. *upādhyāya*. See Lessing 858, 1187.

⁶¹423-2: Tib. *rab byung*, in full: *rab tu 'byung ba* 'enter a monastic community, take monastic vows, renounce' [IW]. In Mong. *maγad qar(a)qui*, which is a translation of another Tib. expression referring to taking monk's vows, i.e. *nges par 'byung ba*, Skt. *pravrajaka*. See Lessing 1175a.

⁶²423-2-3: Tib. *mtshan du gsol*, Mong. *ner-e-yi kemen öčiged*. Lit. 'called him by a name'.

⁶³423-2: Tib. *blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal pa'i rgyal mtshan*. In the Buryat manuscript the expression *rgyal pa'i* is written mistakenly two times. In the xylographs (127-2) there

gnang)⁶⁴ for Mahākāla [practice]⁶⁵ and explained it [to him].

And then [it was] reported to the masters, the Victorious Father and Son, i.e. the Dalai Lama [and his Regent]⁶⁶

424 and [they] identified⁶⁷ [him] as the reincarnation of the Jetsundampa.⁶⁸

Head teacher Namkha Sonam Dragpa,⁶⁹ master of the Tantric [col-

is no mistake. In Mong. *sumadi sajin-u duvaza*, i.e. Skt.: Sumati Śāsana Dhvaja. See 414-1.

⁶⁴423-3: Tib. *rjes gnang* 'to give the blessing of meditation and recitation of the deity and hearing the explanation' [IW]. In Mong. *jinang ergübei*.

⁶⁵Later texts based on the biography written by Zaya Pandita explain that this practices of Mahākāla were expelling all difficulties [on a way to Enlightenment]—see biography of Zanabazar of 1874 by Ngawang Losang Dondub / Agvaanluvsandondub. In the text written by Ngawang Tsultrim Gyatso / Agvaantsültemjamts) titled in Mong. *Avral iltgelt Bogd Jivzündambyn khüid Baruun khüreenii garsan yosyg touch ögülsen shudraga orshigchdyn chikhüin chimeg khemeekh orshvoi* it is added that Mahākāla was the main guardian spirit of Tsongkhapa's teachings and that was the reason why the Jetsundampa worshipped this deity and made Mahākāla's cult important in all Mongolian monasteries. See Soninbayar 1995: 13.

⁶⁶423-3: Tib. *rgyal ba yab sras kyi sku gzhogs su zhuv pa*. According to Christoph Cüppers in this religious and political context Tib. *yab sras* can be understood as the Dalai Lama and his regent. The Mong. translation reads: *boγda dalai blam-a-yin gegen tan-a ayiladqarγsan*: 'he reported to the Serenity the Holy Dalai Lama'. In the Mong. version Tib. *sras* was not translated. This fact was not noticed, neither commented on by Bira 1995: 8, who translated this phrase also as 'the Dalai Lama'. In the Tib. version the expression *yab sras* can be understood, however, in different ways. Quite often it refers to the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama. See more on it in Bareja-Starzynska 2010a: 248. According to Byambaa Ragchaa (personal communication) *yab sras* may designate 'eminent teacher' (*yab*), in this case the Dalai Lama, who had his 'spiritual sons' (*sras*) and then the whole expression should be understood as referring only to the teacher, i.e. to the Dalai Lama. In such a case the Mong. translation agrees with the Tib. original.

⁶⁷424-1: Tib. *'ngos 'dzin gnang*, Mong. *todorqai boduraγulun*.

⁶⁸424-1: Tib. *rje btsun dam pa*, Mong. 423-3: *Jibfundamba*.

⁶⁹424-1: Tib. *dpon slob nam mkha' bsod nams grags pa*, Mong. *bunclub namkha sodnam darγba*. He was known as well as Nyelpa Choje (Nyal pa chos rje), TBRC P4511. He was mentioned several times by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his autobiography (Karmay 2015: 239). See more in the chapter "The Political Role of Zanabazar" of the present work.

lege] at the Drepung⁷⁰ monastery, was invited to become his tutor (*yongs 'dzin*) since he was prophesied from the *Kadam Legbam*.⁷¹ He reminded [Jetsundampa] to study and practice and gave him the grand authorization (*abhiṣeka*)⁷² of Vajrabhairava Yamañtaka [practices]⁷³ and many other teachings.

At the age of fifteen in the female Earth Ox year (1649)⁷⁴ called *'gal ba*

425 when he went to the pure fields⁷⁵ of U and Tsang (i.e. Central Tibet)⁷⁶ he was received by the vast processions⁷⁷ of monks from all the monasteries [starting with the one] of the rebirth place of the Jet-sun, the Second Victorious One (i.e. Tsongkhapa)⁷⁸ in Kumbum⁷⁹

⁷⁰424-1: Tib. *'bras spungs sngags pa'i bla ma*, Mong. *bereibüing aḡba dačan-yin* (for: -u) *blam-a*.

⁷¹424-1: Tib. *bka' gdams glegs bam*, Mong. *gadamblegbam*. The text *bKa' gdams glegs bam pha chos bu chos*, 'Scriptures of the Kadampas, Father and Sons' contains collected teachings and stories of the Indian master Atīśa and his Tibetan disciples on the Kadampa tradition. See explanations about the prophecy in the chapter "The Author and the Text" and "The Political Role of Zanabazar".

⁷²424-3: Tib. *dbang chen*, Mong. *abišig*, Skt. *abhiṣeka*.

⁷³424-2: Tib. *'jigs byed* which is an equivalent of the Skt. Bhairava and stands for Vajrabhairava, i.e. *rdo rje 'jigs byed*, form of Yamāntaka. The Mong. version here is *yaman(g)daḡa*.

⁷⁴424-3-425-1: Tib. *sa mo glang*, Mong. *em-e široi üker*. From this moment there is a very similar passage in the biography of Zanabazar of 1839 by Ngawang Yeshe Tuvden Modern Mong. Agvaantüvden Ravjamba), Byambaa ed. 2006: f.13a1.

⁷⁵425-1: Tib. *dag pa'i zhing*. In Mong. this expression is missing, there is only *oron nuḡud* 'countries'.

⁷⁶425-1: Tib. *dbus gtsang*, Mong. *üi zang*.

⁷⁷425-3: Tib. *ser sbreng*. Interestingly in the Mong. version 425-3-426-1 there is an expression *ser...ergübei*, in which *ser* is directly borrowed from the Tibetan.

⁷⁸425-1: Tib. *rje btsun rgyal ba gnyis pa*, Mong. *getülgegči qoyaduḡar ilaḡuḡsan čöngaba*. In the biography of Zanabazar by Ngawang Yeshe Tuvden of 1839, Byambaa ed. 2006: f. 13a1-2: *'jam mgon rgyal ba gnyis pa*.

⁷⁹425-1: Tib. *sku 'bum*, Mong. *günbüm*. Monastery called in full Kumbum (Ganden) Jampa Ling (sKu 'bum (dga' ldan) byams pa gling). Founded in 1578 by the Dalai Lama Sonam Gyatso (bSod nams rgya mtsho). See Tiblical by Dan Martin.

and Jakhyung Gon⁸⁰ and Northern Reting⁸¹ and Rinchen Drag⁸² and Tangsag Ganden Chokor⁸³ and Taglung⁸⁴ and the three: Sera⁸⁵ and Drepung⁸⁶ and Geden (i.e. Ganden),⁸⁷ and Tashilhunpo.⁸⁸

⁸⁰425-2: Tib. *bya khyung dgon*, Mong. *jičüing*. It is a monastery called also Jakung Drag (*bya khung brag*) or (*bya khyung brag*) situated at Lake Kokonor. It was founded by Choje Dondub Rinchen (Chos rje don grub rin chen). Tsongkhapa lived there until he was 16 years old (according to [IW]). In Ngawang Yeshe Tuvden's biography of 1839 (Byambaa ed. 2006 f. 13a2): *rJe'i dbu blo chos rje don rin pa'i gdan sa bya khyung dgon*.

⁸¹425-2: Tib. *ra sgrenng*, in the xylograph: *re sgrenng*, properly *rwa sgrenng*, a monastery founded in 1056 by Dromton ('Brom ston), a disciple of Atīśa. Mong. *ra ding* or *re ding* which reflects its popular pronunciation.

⁸²425-2: Tib. *rin chen brag*, Mong. *ringcün b(a)raγ*. According to TBRC C3036: the Gelugpa monastery in 'Phan yul founded by a disciple of Tsongkhapa, Nyenpo Shākya Gyeltsen (Nyan po shākya rgyal mtshan).

⁸³425-2: Tib. *thang sag dga'ldan chos 'khor*, Mong. *gan(g)dan čoyin(g)qur*. According to Tiblical by Dan Martin: monastery in 'Phan po founded by Thangsagpa Yeshe Jungne (Thang sag pa Ye shes 'byung gnas). It was reestablished as a Gelugpa monastery in 1651. See Tiblical by Dan Martin.

⁸⁴425-2: Tib. *stag lung*, Mong. *taγlūng*. According to TBRC C3611 ancient monastery in sNa dkar rtse rdzong connected with the great Tagtsang Lotsawa Sherab Gyeltsen (sTag tshang lo tsā ba shes rab rgyal mtshan). Formerly followed the Sakya (Sa skya) and Tsarpa (Tshar pa) tradition. On contacts with Mongols, especially of Altan Khan with the Taglung order see Elverskog 2006: 102-103, based on Tuttle 1997: 2-3, who quoted Ngawang Namgyel (Ngag dbang rnam rgyal)'s work *Chos 'byung ngo mtshar rgya mtsho*. See also van der Kuijp, Tuttle 2014.

⁸⁵425-2: Tib. *ser*, i.e. *se ra*. In Ngawang Yeshe Tuvden 's biography of Zanabazar of 1839 (Byambaa ed. 2006: f. 13a4) Tib. monasteries are listed in a different way: first the monastery of Geden *dge ldan* or *dga'ldan* is mentioned. The monasteries of Drepung and Sera are listed later, on f. 13b1. Sera is a famous Gelugpa monastery founded in 1419 (TBRC C154).

⁸⁶425-2: Tib. 'bras, i.e. 'bras spungs. In Mong. two monasteries are written as one word: 425-2: *sere[-]berei*, for Sera and Drepung monasteries respectively. Drepung is a well known Gelugpa monastery founded in 1416 (TBRC C108).

⁸⁷425-3: Tib. *dge*, i.e. *dge ldan* (Geden) or *dga'ldan* (Ganden), the name which is used more frequently. In Mong. there is one word *ge[-]süm* which, however, covers two Tibetan words: *dge* for Ganden monastery and *gsum* which is the Tib. numeral 'three' used as the conjunction 'and'. Ganden is regarded as the most important Gelugpa monastery. It was founded in 1409 (TBRC G337).

⁸⁸425-3: Tib. *bkra shis lhun po*, Mong. *dašilhün-bu*. In Ngawang Yeshe Tuvden's biography of Zanabazar of 1839 (Byambaa ed. 2006) it is described on f. 13b4-5. Tashilhunpo

426 He greeted⁸⁹ the head of the Geden (Ganden) monastery⁹⁰ called Chusangpa⁹¹ as an equal and presented him a ceremonial scarf⁹² and offered presents to the Victorious Father and Son (i.e. the Dalai Lama [and his Regent]).⁹³

He offered tea and donations in abundance⁹⁴ to communities [of monks] in monasteries, both great and petty.

He took the monastic vow of *getsul*⁹⁵ from the Omniscient⁹⁶ Master⁹⁷ Panchen (i.e. Panchen Lama).⁹⁸

He requested [from him]⁹⁹ empowerments (*dbang*),¹⁰⁰ scriptural trans-

is a well known Gelugpa monastery founded in 1447 in Tsang (TBRC C104).

⁸⁹426-1: Tib. *rtse sprod mdzad* 'to greet with equal respect' [RY]. In Mong. the whole sentence is different, since *ʃolɣaqui* means 'to greet with khadag, i.e. ceremonial scarf', Lessing 1069b. Therefore the sentence can be translated: 'He greeted with *khadag* the head of the Ganden monastery called Chusangpa and exchanged presents and [showed] great respect to the Holy Dalai Lama.'

⁹⁰426-1: Tib. *dge ldan khri rin po che*, Mong. *geden tii rinbuči*.

⁹¹426-1: Tib. *chu bzang pa*, Mong. *čübsang-ba*. It refers to the 39th throne holder of the Ganden monastery, Chusangpa Konchog Chosang (Chu bzang pa dkon mchog chos bzang), see Karmay 2015: 245. In TBRC P4065 his name is given as Toglunpa Konchog Chosang (sTod lung pa dkon mchog chos bzang, 1586-1672/3).

⁹²426-1: Tib. *mjal dar*. In Mong. it has already been expressed in the word *ʃolɣaqui*.

⁹³426-1: Tib. *rgyal ba yab sras*. In the Mongolian translation again only the Holy Dalai Lama is mentioned *boɣda dalai blam-a*. Bira 1985: 8 translates it as: "He showed great respect to the Holy Dalai Lama."

⁹⁴426-2: Mong. *ʃid mangja qotala tegüsügen ergüged* 'donated in a completely perfected [way] tea and donations'. The expression *qotala tegüsügen*, i.e. 'completely perfected' was used to translate Tib. *gya nom pa* 'abundance, sufficiency, excellence'.

⁹⁵426-3: Tib. *dge tshul gyi sdom pa*, Mong. *gečül-ün sanvar*.

⁹⁶426-2: Tib. *thams cad mkhyen pa* 'all knowing', Mong. *qamuɣ-a ayiladduɣči*.

⁹⁷426-2: Tib. *sku gzhogs* 'sir, master' [RY]. In Mong. a bit different: *boɣda-yin gegen* 'Holy Serenity'.

⁹⁸426-2: Tib. *pan chen*, Mong. *yeke bandida*. Here the First or otherwise Fourth Panchen Lama (Blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan, 1570-1662) is meant. TBRC P719.

⁹⁹426-3: Tib. *zhus*. In Mong. the verb is missing.

¹⁰⁰426-3: Tib. *dbang* 'empowerment'. The conferring of power or authorization to practice the Vajrayana teachings, the indispensable entrance door to Tantric practice [RY]. Mong. *abišig* from the Skt. *abhiśeka*.

missions (*lung*)¹⁰¹ and secret oral instructions (*man ngag*)¹⁰² as if filling a vase to the brim.¹⁰³

427 From the 25th of the Saga month¹⁰⁴ of the Iron Hare year (1651)¹⁰⁵ he received from the Victorious Great Omnipotent Holy Master (i.e. the Dalai Lama)¹⁰⁶ the empowerment of the forty two maṇḍalas¹⁰⁷ of the Vajra Garland (i.e. *Vajrāvalī*)¹⁰⁸ according to the tradition of Abhayākara[gupta]¹⁰⁹ and additional garland of the three auspi-

¹⁰¹ 426-3: Tib. *lung*, Mong. *lūng*.

¹⁰² 426-3: Tib. *man ngag* 'secret oral instruction, quintessential instructions' [RY]. Skt. *upadeśa* 'instruction' or 'advice'. Mong. *ubadis* is based on the Skt. word.

¹⁰³ 426-3: Tib. *bum pa gang byo'i tshul du*, see [RY]. Mong. *dügüreng qomq-a-yi yegü-leküi*.

¹⁰⁴ 427-1: Tib. *sa ga*, the Fourth Tibetan month. The 25th of the Fourth Tibetan month may correspond to the date of the 12th of June 1651 according to the 'new Phug pa Hor month' or the 14th of May 1651 according to the calculations (*phug pa hor* month) by the Fifth Dalai Lama. See Cüppers *Kalender* under preparation.

¹⁰⁵ 426-3–427-1: *bong bu zhes pa lcags yos lo*, Mong. *temür taulai jül*.

¹⁰⁶ 427-1: Tib. *rgyal dbang thams cad mkhyen pa chen po sku gzhogs* In the Mong. expression *ilarγuγsan-u erketü qamurγ-i ayiladdurγči tabudurγar dalai blam-a* the Fifth Dalai Lama is mentioned explicitly. In the Tib. version there are only epithets of the Dalai Lama.

¹⁰⁷ The forty two maṇḍalas are described in Mori 2009 vol. 2: 711 as mentioned in two texts by Abhayākara Gupta, i.e. the *Vajrāvalī* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī*. Actually, the three texts by Abhayākara Gupta, the two previously mentioned and *Jyotirmañ-jarī* "form a group known in Tibet as *Phreng ba 'khor gsum* (Triple Garland Cycle)", Mori 2009 vol. 1: 8.

¹⁰⁸ 427-1: Tib. *rdo rje phreng ba'i dkyil 'khor*, Mong. *vačir erike-yin qota mandal*. Full title in Skt. *Vajrāvalī-nāma-maṇḍalopāyika*, Tib. *dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga rdo rje phreng ba*. According to Mori 2009 vol. 1: 1: "It is one of the largest works of Tantric Buddhism that deals exhaustively with the various rituals and ceremonies to be performed within a monastic compound." See Mori 2009 for edition of Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama wrote about giving empowerment of the *Vajrāvalī* in the 5th month of 1650 and mentioned Zanabazar among the participants, see Karmay 2015: 236, the Chin. ed. vol. 1, 1989: 312.

¹⁰⁹ 427-1-2–428-1: Tib. *a bhya ka ra'i lugs*, Mong. *abhay-a karai*. Abhayākara Gupta, a famous abbot of the Vikramaśīla monastery around 1100 is praised by Tāranātha as one of the greatest teachers of India, comparable to Vasubandhu. See Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya 1997: 313-314 (note that the name is written there as Abhyayākara Gupta,

cious maṇḍalas called *Kriyāsamucca[ya]*¹¹⁰ [thus together] forty five [maṇḍalas which constitute]¹¹¹ the complete empowerment of ‘mother’ [tantra].¹¹²

[He obtained] also many other religious teachings, starting with the "Collected Works" of the Victorious Gedun Gyatso.¹¹³

428 At that time he was seventeen years old. Later, when he attained the age of sixty three, I¹¹⁴ received the empowerment of the Vajra

Abhayākara[gupta] and Abhyākara[gupta]). On Abhayākara[gupta]’s career and works see Mori 2009 vol. 1: 1-6.

¹¹⁰427-1: Tib. *kri ya sa mu tstsha*, Mong. *karay-a* (JC reads: *kerl-e samū cača*. Skt. [*Ācārya*]/*Kriyāsamuccaya*, the collection of important Tantric rites by Jagaddarpaṇa. See TBRC W22914, English 2002, Mori 2009 vol. 2: 711. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned his practice of the [*Ācārya*]/*Kriyāsamuccaya* in its ‘medium term’ in the 4th month of 1651, see Karmay 2015: 236.

¹¹¹Mori 2009 vol. 2 provides a table of forty two maṇḍalas (Table B, p. 713) mentioned in the *Vajrāvalī* and three in the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya*. He comments on forty five maṇḍalas depicted on the fourteen thangkas of the Ngor monastery and their differences from that of the *Vajrāvalī* and *Niṣpannayogāvalī* with an addition of three further maṇḍalas which were extracted from the *Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya* (p. 711 and Table C, p. 714). He also presents a table with information on the still existing thangkas of the *Vajrāvalī* maṇḍalas (Table D, p. 715).

¹¹²The Third Dalai Lama paid special attention to the intensive study and practice of the system of the forty five maṇḍalas. See his biography in the *Essence of the Refined Gold* (the Third Dalai Lama 1985: 225).

¹¹³427-3-428-1: Tib. *dge ’dun rgya mtsho*, Mong. *gen(g)den jīmso*, the Second Dalai Lama (1476-1542), TBRC P84. See the "Collected Works" in TBRC W1CZ2857. Again, in his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned that "towards the end of the 5th month and the beginning of the 6th month, to a fair number of people including Jamyang Trulku (i.e. Zanabazar A.B-S.) and Nyal Gungang Choje Lhodzepa, I gave the *lung* (transmission, A.B-S.) of the first volume of the Collected Works of the omniscient Gedun Gyatsho and the *sNar thang brgya rtsa*." See Karmay 2015: 239; Chin. ed. of the autobiography 1989: f. 315: *zla ba lnga pa’i zla mjug dang drug pa’i stod kyi bar ’jam dbyangs sprul sku dang gnyal gung snang chos rje lho mdzes pas thog drangs mang tsam la thams cad mkhyen pa dge ’dun rgya mtsho’i gsung ’bum po ti dang po dang snar thang brgya rtsa’i lung phul*.

¹¹⁴428-3: Tib. *bdag gis*, Mong. *bi ber*. Here Zaya Pandita, the author of the biography speaks about himself. In Mong. *ber* serves as emphasizing particle, see Lessing 99, and not to translate Tib. instrumental case.

Garland, i.e. the *Vajrāvalī*¹¹⁵ and I listened to the instructions¹¹⁶ from His Holiness (i.e. the Jetsundampa).¹¹⁷ [And then] also according to the words¹¹⁸ of the very Master

429 at that time [back when he was young] due to the fault of not applying himself greatly to Dharma,¹¹⁹ he did not take notes,¹²⁰ except for¹²¹ [the fact that] on the first day he pulled out [information] from sutras and tantras and words¹²² of many Indian and Tibetan accomplished masters¹²³ and others and he commented [upon them] extensively. However, he was not able to remember everything. From the second day onwards, whatever he became [interested in]¹²⁴ he was truly able to memorize and write down,

430 but he did not write scriptures, both due to his early age, and the fact that he did not understand its great importance for [practicing] dharma.¹²⁵

The All Knowing Panchen [Lama]¹²⁶ confirmed that he was the rein-

¹¹⁵ 428-1: Tib. *rdo rje phreng ba*, Mong. *vačir erike*.

¹¹⁶ 428-3: Tib. *bka' phebs* 'to receive an order, instruction, authorization, command' [RY]. In Mong. *jarlıγ bolqu*.

¹¹⁷ 428-1: Tib. *sku gzhogs*, Mong. *gegen tan*.

¹¹⁸ 428-3: In Tib. *zhal nas* 'from the mouth', in Mong. 'according to the words' *jarlıγ*.

¹¹⁹ 429-1: In Mong. 'by the fault of not considering the greatness of Dharma as important', since Mong. *keregsiye-* means 'to consider important', Lessing 456b.

¹²⁰ 429-1: In the Mong. version the text says clearly 'learnt by heart' *čegejilegsen*. In the Tib. version this information is missing.

¹²¹ 429-1: Tib. *ma gtogs*. In Mong. *abuγsan-ača busu*. Bira (1995: 9) seems to ignore the last element *busu* and he instead adds the verb 'was' and translates: 'he did not take writing' (*bičij es avsan bilee*).

¹²² 429-2: Tib. *gsung* 'writings', Mong. *jarlıγ* 'order, the Word', Lessing 1038b.

¹²³ 429-2: Tib. *mkhas grub* i.e. 'siddha', Mong. *merged siditen* 'scholars and siddhas'.

¹²⁴ 429-3: In Tib. missing, in Mong. *soyurqaγsan*.

¹²⁵ 430-1: Tib. *chos la gal bo cher ma byas*, Mong. *nom-i yekede ker[k]igsen ese üled-dügsen*. In Mong. the expression *kerigsen* 'was stingy', Lessing 458, 471, should be corrected to *kerkigsen* 'how to proceed' (Past form), Lessing 458a.

¹²⁶ 430-2: Tib. *pan chen thams cad mkhyen pa*, Mong. *qamuγ-i ayiladduγči ban(q)čin boγda*.

carnation of the Lord Tāranātha.¹²⁷ And owing to his saying so and owing to the kindness of the blessing of the name of Tāranātha he (i.e. Zanabazar) acquired sound knowledge.

431 However, because he was not able [to write notes about his teachings, since he did not know how to practice dharma], it happened like that [and he did not write his 'records of teachings received']—he said. Therefore "followers, disciples like myself should be diligent"—he said. Moreover,¹²⁸ when the Lord was asked about knowledge of *mo* divination¹²⁹ and the like he said that he had never experienced such a field of knowledge.¹³⁰

Similarly to the spiritual teacher Dromton(pa)¹³¹ he purposefully understated¹³² his own accomplishments, as much as possible.

432 "Now, if [one] asks about the reason of issuing [a statement] about [me] being assembled¹³³ with Tāranātha, although the assembly is not a deity (*deva*),¹³⁴ it is like giving authorization¹³⁵ etc. by visualizing

¹²⁷ 430-2: Tib. *rje tā ra nā tha'i sku skye yin*, Mong. *boγda taranata-yin qubilγan mōn*.

¹²⁸ 431-2: Mong. *basa busu* translates directly Tib. *gzhan yang*.

¹²⁹ 431-2: Tib. *thugs dam brtag pa* 'to do *mo* divination', Mong. *jöng bilig* 'prescience', Bawden 178b, Lessing 1075a.

¹³⁰ 431-3 Tib. *rigs byed*, should be: *rig byed* 'kinds, Vedic knowledge, discipline [RY]'. In Mong. *jūil* 'kind, category'.

¹³¹ 431-3: Tib. *'brom ston pa*, Mong. *burum*. 'Brom ston (1004-1064) was the main Tibetan disciple of Atīśa, founder of the Kadampa (*bKa' gdams pa*) school.

¹³² 431-3: Tib. *sped* which is explained in Nitārtha as an archaic word, *sped sa* 'small'. So the whole phrase: *sku yon sped gang thub gnang* probably means: 'made [his] accomplishments insignificant, as much as possible'. In the Mong. version, however, *niγun ayiladqui* means 'to say secretly'. Therefore the passage in Mongolian can be translated in the following way: 'spoke about [his] accomplishments secretly, as much as possible'.

¹³³ 432-1: Tib. *tshom bu* 'bundle, bunch, assembly'. The word was not translated into Mong. but repeated as: *čombu*. It is not sure whether it was understood. Bira 1995: 9 translates it as *or* 'bed, basis, remains, trace, replacement' in the sense of 'reincarnation'. The passage refers to the previous statement that the Panchen Lama recognized Zanabazar as the reincarnation of Tāranātha.

¹³⁴ 432-1: Tib. *lha* 'deity', Skt. *deva*, is interestingly translated into Mong. as *burqan* 'the Buddha', although Mong. translation of *lha* is usually *tengri*.

¹³⁵ 432-1: Tib. *rjes gnang*, Mong. *jīnang*. Bira 1995: 9 translated as *dagan soyorkhol*.

[oneself] as a deity.¹³⁶ Although I am not Tāranātha¹³⁷ I am perceived¹³⁸ as him—the two [notions] are similar." He said this again and again. And it is similar to the saying from the [work] *Shulen Norbu Trengba*¹³⁹ "One's own qualities should be hidden,¹⁴⁰ other's qualities should be proclaimed!"

433 Later from the main [office]¹⁴¹ [an order was issued] that the Namgyel college's¹⁴² preceptor (*slob dpon*) was made the [Jetsundampa's] college lama.

He was [the one who was] bestowed [the title] of an abbot of [the

¹³⁶ 432-1: Tib. *lhar bskyed*, Mong. *burqan-dur egüskejü*.

¹³⁷ The xylograph version reads: *nga tāranātha min*, but in the Buryat version 432-2: *nga*, i.e. the first person's pronoun 'I' is missing and consequently it is missing also in the Mong. version: *taranata busu*.

¹³⁸ 432-2: Tib. *'du shes pa* 'conceive of as existent, perceive as existent'; in Skt. *saṃjñā*, i.e. 'to perceive; hold a notion / an idea, entertain an idea, feel an inclination of, think'. Mong. *sedkegč'i* for: *sedkigč'i*, Lessing 680b: 'thinker'. Since this active form means 'the one who thinks', probably the passive form should have been used, i.e. *sedkigdegč'i*—'the one about whom it is thought', 'the object of thought'. Bira 1995: 9: *Taranata bus bolovch mön khemeen setgekh khoyor adil bui* "Although I am not Tāranātha I am thought of as I were—the two are similar."

¹³⁹ 432-2-3: Tib. *zhu lan nor bu phreng ba*, Mong. 432-3 *sülen norbu norbu barinba*, probably refers to the work on Kadampa school. Its full title is: *bka' gdams bu chos zhu len nor bu'i phreng ba bu chos rngog chos nyi shu*. See TBRC W1CZ2325.

¹⁴⁰ 432-3: Tib. *spa*, for: *sba* 'hidden' (Jäschke 404b), since in Mong. it is translated as: *niγun* 'hidden'.

¹⁴¹ 433-1: Tib. *gzhung* means 'rule', but also 'middle' Jäschke 481a, and the Mong. version *γoul* suggests reading as 'main', i.e. from 'the Dalai Lama's main office'. This is what Bira 1995: 9 suggests: *Dalai lamyn gol ordnoos* 'from the Dalai Lama's main palace'.

¹⁴² 433-1: Tib. *rnam rgyal grwa tshang*, Mong. *namjil dačang*. In the Mong. version Tib. word *rnam* appeared twice: once taken by mistake as *rnams* and translated as plural suffix into Mong. *-nar* in *blam-a-nar-tur* and again as a part of the Tib. name of the college *namjil*. Tantric College called Namgyel was founded in 1468 by the Second Dalai Lama. It was later situated within the Potala palace in Lhasa and concentrated on tasks connected with the Dalai Lamas. See TBRC G4249.

monastery of] Jayul,¹⁴³ the Sharkhang Kukye.¹⁴⁴

The manager responsible for the common funds¹⁴⁵ of the Drepung [monastery]¹⁴⁶ was made the [Jetsundampa's] college treasurer.¹⁴⁷

And a cantor (i.e. chant master)¹⁴⁸ from the main assembly hall¹⁴⁹ of the Drepung [monastery]¹⁵⁰ [was made a cantor of his college].

¹⁴³433-2: *bya yul*, Mong. *jiyül*. An ancient Kadampa monastery, see TBRC G229. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama wrote that he 'appointed Nyalpa Choje (i.e. gNyal pa chos rje) as the lama of Chayul Mangra (i.e. Bya yul mang ra) Monastery', see Karmay 2015: 239, p. 315 of the Tib. original.

¹⁴⁴433-2: Tib. *shar khang sku skye*, Mong. *šarqan qubilγan*. Under such name he was also mentioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his autobiography, see Karmay 2015: 71, or as Sharkhang Trulku (p. 146), Sharkhang Nomun khan (p. 239) and later in his text as Sharkhang Noyon Khan (p. 442), while further in Zanabazar's biography (see translation of p. 539-1) he is called Sharkhang Nom[-]un Khaan. Full name: Ngawang Lobsang Tenzin (Tib. Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan 'dzin, see TBRC P5779 where the Jetsundampa's biography is outlined from the Drepung records) or Losang Jampel Tenzin (Blo bzang 'jam dpal bstan 'dzin) as he is mentioned by Sereeter 1999: 97.

¹⁴⁵433-2: Tib. *spyi sa*, Mong. *jšisa*.

¹⁴⁶433-2: Tib. *'bras spungs*, Mong. *berei būng*. Famous Gelugpa monastery near Lhasa founded in 1416 by Jamyang Choje Tashi Pelden ('Jam dbyangs chos rje bkra shis dpal ldan). See TBRC G108. Since the Jetsundampa Zanabazar was regarded the incarnation of Jamyang Choje this monastery is specially important for the Jetsundampas.

¹⁴⁷433-2: Tib. *phyag mdzod* Jäschke 348a; Mong. *čandzodba*.

¹⁴⁸433-3: Tib. *dbu mdzad*, Mong. *umdzad*.

¹⁴⁹433-3: Tib. *tschogs chen*, Mong. *yeke qural*.

¹⁵⁰Name of Drepung is missing in the Tib. version, however, it is provided in the Mong. translation.

And His Highest Honour's¹⁵¹ chamberlain Kharnag Chodze¹⁵² [was made] a general manager.¹⁵³

The reincarnation of Jampa Lingpa¹⁵⁴ as a household official (*gsol dpon*)¹⁵⁵

434 [and] a lama physician Dagpo Drungtsoba¹⁵⁶ [were sent].

[And] a painter from Chenye¹⁵⁷ and others, altogether as many as fifty Tibetan monks¹⁵⁸ were ready to offer themselves to service and [when]

¹⁵¹ 433-3: Tib. *sku gshogs rtse* 'the side, presence', a title of honour Jäschke 21b. Mong. *gegen*. The Tib. *rtse* 'top, summit' is translated by Bira 1995: 9 as *deed geegen* 'high Serenity' which usually refers to the Dalai Lama. However, in this case it is not very clear. The Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned in his autobiography that he gave *lung* transmission to Jamyang Tulku, i.e. Zanabazar, and Nyel Gungnang Choje Lhodzepa together with gifts, while the Depa (i.e. Regent) "was in charge of seeing off some monks, led by Lama Sharkhang, Nomon Khan, the latter's treasurer and chamberlain Lhaje..." Samten Karmay (2015: 239). The expression 'seeing off the monks' referred here to sending monks to Mongolia. Karmay listed separately Sharkhang and Nomon Khan, as two persons, while it seems that here Nomon Khan could have been used as a title of Sharkhang's incarnation: *shar khang no mon khan phyag mdzod mgron gnyer lha rjes gtsos pa...*, Tib. original (p. 315 of the Chinese ed. 1989, vol. 1).

¹⁵² 433-3: Tib. *mkhar nag chos mdzad*, Mong. *qarnaq čoyinzad*.

¹⁵³ 433-3: Tib. *mgron gnyer*, Mong. *donir*.

¹⁵⁴ 433-3-434-1: Tib. *byams pa gling pa yin pa sku skye*. Mong. *ḡimba li(a)ng ba-yin qu-bilγan*. About the identification of Jampa Ling Nomun Khan with Chokyi Gyelpo (Chos kyi rgyal po) from Jampa Ling monastery in Chamdo (Chab mdo (Chab mdo byams pa gling) monastery see notes earlier in the translation (p. 422-1). His next incarnation was Gyelba Gyatso (rGyal ba rgya mtsho, 1644-1713). See TBRC P1079.

¹⁵⁵ 434-1: Tib. *gsol dpon*, Mong. *solbon*.

¹⁵⁶ 434-1: Tib. *bla sman pa dwags po drung 'tsho ba*, Mong. *otači blam-a darγbu dūng ču ba*.

¹⁵⁷ 434-1: Tib. *spyān yas* (for: *g.yas*) *pa yin pa'i lha bris pa*, mentioned by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his autobiography as the 'the artist Chenye, who was an official of Jamyang Trulku', see Karmay 2015: 481. Chenye Gonpa (or 'Phyongs rgyas spyān g.yas dgon) is a monastery which was in 1650 transformed from Kagyu to Gelugpa, see TBRC G1KR1455. It is worth noticing that Tib. *spyān yas* means 'blind' (Jäschke 333b) and therefore the incorrect way of writing might have caused wrong understanding of this fragment of the biography. In the Mong. version there is *ḡiruqaiči daruγ-a* which means 'chief painter'.

¹⁵⁸ 434-1: Tib. *grwa pa*, Mong. *sabinar*.

it was noticed by the great lama, he paid them back with unsurpassed reward.¹⁵⁹

He was invited to nominate the throne master¹⁶⁰ of the Lord [Tsongkhapa]'s¹⁶¹ chief spiritual advisor (*chos rje*) Dondub Rinchen's¹⁶² monastery Jakhyung Drag.¹⁶³

In winter of the Hare year (1651)¹⁶⁴

435 he went to [his] encampment.¹⁶⁵

In autumn of the Water Male Dragon year (1652)¹⁶⁶ called *dga' ba* he was invited to the great assembly of the seven divisions.¹⁶⁷

¹⁵⁹434-2: Tib. *bdag rkyen 'gran zla dang bral ba mdzad*. In the Mong. version the expression is longer and more elaborate: *yeke blam-a jirum jerge-ber qayirlan kündül[e]küi-yi jégüürleši* (for: *jüürlesi*) *ügei ayilad(d)qarγad* 'the Great Lama treated [them] with incomparable favour and respect according to their rank'.

¹⁶⁰434-3: Tib. *khriir mnga' gsol* 'to nominate to the position of *khri*, i.e. head lama'. In Mong. *siregen-dür jalarγad*.

¹⁶¹434-3: Tib. *rje* 'Lord', but in the Mong. version more precise information is provided: *boγda čongkaba* 'Lord Tsongkhapa'. The same is repeated in the Mong. version by Bira 1995: 9 *Bogd Zonhava*.

¹⁶²434-3: Tib. *don grub rin chen*, Mong. *dundüb rinčin*. According to TBRC P1558 Dondub Rinchen (1309-1385) founded in 1349 the monastery Bya khyung theg chen yon tan dar rgyas gling and became its first abbot.

¹⁶³434-3: Tib. *bya khyung brag*, Mong. *jačüng baraγ*. See note above, the full name of the monastery is Bya khyung theg chen yon tan dar rgyas gling, see TBRC G161.

¹⁶⁴434-3: Tib. *yos lo*, Mong. *taulai jül*.

¹⁶⁵435-1: Tib. *sgar*, Mong. *küriyen*.

¹⁶⁶435-1: Tib. *chu pho 'brug lo*, Mong. *usun er-e luu jül*.

¹⁶⁷435-1: Tib. *tsho ba bdun gyi tshogs* in which *tsho ba* means 'tribe, group' and *tsho pa* 'unit, group, clique, sector' [RY]. Referring to the political situation of Amdo, Gray Tuttle 2011 proposed to translate Tib. *tsho ba* as 'division' and this suggestion seems suitable for the present text, as well. Mong. translation reads *doloγan qosirγun-u čirγulγan*, in which *qosirγu* can be translated as 'banner', Lessing 970b. However, the autonomous banners were first organized in Inner Mongolia between 1634 and 1670, while among Khalkha Mongols only after 1691 when they submitted to the Manchus, see Atwood 2004: 30-31. Since the present text was written in the Tibetan language and describes years before and during the Manchu rule over Khalkhas, the use of the Mong. term *qosirγu* in the translation should be treated with care. In the given example it can be regarded as an anachronism. The seven divisions of the Khalkha Mongols originated from the seven sons

[There] three khans of Khalkha presided [over the meeting] which [consisted of] all the great and petty leaders of Khalkha; they attended and revered the spiritual master¹⁶⁸ and offered great service to him.

In the Water Female Serpent year (1653)¹⁶⁹ called *rnam rgyal* he was invited to the vicinity of Erdeni Juu

436 by the assembly of four divisions.¹⁷⁰ He was revered by all the members of these four divisions and [he oversaw] the public religious ceremony.¹⁷¹ Within a few days he presided over the great prayer [festival].¹⁷² I¹⁷³ also met the Lord there personally and requested the empowerment for the first time. I received the Longevity [empowerment] and the authorization to attend Niguma [’s practice].¹⁷⁴

of Geresenje. See more details on Khalkha in Bawden 1968: 39-134, Elverskog 2003: 189, note 3.

¹⁶⁸ 435-2: Tib. *bla mar bsten*, Mong. *blam-a barin*, but Bira 1995: 10 adds: *öörsdün lamd barin* ‘revered their own spiritual master’.

¹⁶⁹ 435-3: Tib. *chu mo sprul lo*, Mong. *em-e moγoi jül*. In the Mong. version the element ‘water’ is missing.

¹⁷⁰ 436-1: Tib. *tsho ba bzhi*, Mong. *dörben ayimaγ*. See note regarding translation of the term *tsho ba* at p. 435-1.

¹⁷¹ 436-2: Tib. *spyi rim chen mo*, Mong. *ney[i]te-yin gürim*. In the Mong. translation *neyite-yin* is used for Tib. *spyi* meaning ‘general, common’, while *gürim* serves to translate *rim* in the sense *rim ’gro* ‘religious ceremonies’ [JV]. Mong. *gürim* itself is a borrowing from Tib. *sku rim* meaning also ‘complete ceremonies, service, rite, reverence’ [JV].

¹⁷² 436-2: Tib. *smon lam chen mo*, Mong. *yerügel yerügebei*. Tibetan Monlam Chenmo is the name of the New Year religious festival initiated by Tsongkhapa in Lhasa. In the Altan khan’s biography there is an indication that Monlam Chenmo was organized perhaps for the first time in 1590, see Kollmar-Paulenz 2001: 340. However, Elverskog 2003: 198 hesitated to translate the Mongolian expression *yeke irüger* as the equivalent to the Tib. *smon lam chen mo*.

¹⁷³ 436-2: Tib. *bdag*, Mong. *bi*. The author Zaya Pandita speaks about himself.

¹⁷⁴ 436-3: Tib. *tshe dbang grub rgyal ma’i rjes gnang*, Mong. *ayuuši-yin abišig*. Tib. *tshe dbang* ‘longevity, empowerment’ is translated into Mong. as *ayuuši* meaning the name of Buddha of Long Life. The phrase ‘permission to attend Niguma’ seems to have not been translated into Mong. However, Bira 1995: 10 translates both, from Mong. and from Tib. *Ayuushiin avishig*, *Dwojalmagiin jinan*: ‘empowerment of Ayushi (i.e. Amitāyus) and authorization [to attend] Niguma’. Niguma was the consort of Naropa, the great Buddhist master, one of the eighty four *mahāsiddhas*.

437 I was known by the name of the reincarnation of Köndölün(g) Sayin Noyan¹⁷⁵ and thanks to this name I received the official position¹⁷⁶ of Noyon Khutugtu.¹⁷⁷

[When the Lord] went to U and Tsang¹⁷⁸ and while striving for teaching he requested [advice] from the All Knowing Panchen [Lama,] [who answered]: "instead of striving here for [religious] teaching it will be better if you go to Mongolia. You will establish a religious community and bring benefit to all sentient beings and to Dharma."

438 And in order to reach [this goal] in the Wooden Horse year (1654)¹⁷⁹ called *rgyal ba* in the place called Kentei Khan¹⁸⁰ he started to found the monastery Ribo Gegye Ling.¹⁸¹

In autumn of the Wooden Sheep year (1655)¹⁸² called *myos byed* he went secretly¹⁸³ to U and Tsang and offered prayers for increasingly long life to the All Knowing Panchen [Lama].

While being there for some time

439 he [received] the empowerment¹⁸⁴ of Vajrabhairava (a form of Yamān-

¹⁷⁵ 436-3–437-1: Tib. *khun du lung sa'in no yon*, Mong. *köndö-lün(g) sayin noyan*. See more explanations in the chapter "The Author and the Text" and in Bareja-Starzynska (in print).

¹⁷⁶ 437-1: Tib. *tsho lo*, Mong. *čolo*. In Mong. 'rank', 'title'.

¹⁷⁷ 437-1: Tib. *no yon khu thug thu*, Mong. *noyon qutuγtu*. It is interesting to observe that both the Tib. and Mong. versions use here Modern Mong. Khalkha pronunciation *noyon* and not Class. Mong. *noyan*.

¹⁷⁸ 437-1-2: Tib. *dbus gtsang*, Mong. *üi jang*.

¹⁷⁹ 438-1: Tib. *shing rta*, Mong. *modun qonin jül*.

¹⁸⁰ 438-1: Tib. *khen the'i han*, Mong. *kentei qan*.

¹⁸¹ 438-1: Tib. *ri bo dge rgyas gling*, Mong. *ribugejai ling*. The name is connected to Ribo Gandenpa (Ri bo dga' ldan pa), the name of the Ganden monastery and an early name of the Gelugpa order. Tib. *dge rgyas* means 'Bounteous Virtue'; one of the three abodes in *bsam gtan gsum pa* [RY], a place of full beauty.

¹⁸² 438-2: Tib. *shing lug*, Mong. *modun qonin jül*.

¹⁸³ 438-2: Tib. *gsang stabs su phebs*, Mong. *niγuča bayidal-iyar*.

¹⁸⁴ 439-1: Tib. *dbang*, Mong. *abišig*.

taka),¹⁸⁵ the *Narhang Gyatsa*,¹⁸⁶ he listened to the short and extensive explanation of *Lamrim*,¹⁸⁷ the "Fifty Verses of Devotion to the Guru",¹⁸⁸ the instruction on the visualization of Bhairava (Yamāntaka)¹⁸⁹ and the development and completion [stages] of contemplation of the personal deity (*yidam*)¹⁹⁰ by Gomde Namkha Gyeltsen¹⁹¹ and many other teachings. Then he went to Drepung.

440 [There] he listened to many teachings taught by the Master Gyel

¹⁸⁵ 439-1: Tib. *rdo rje 'jigs byed*, Mong. *yaman(g)daka*.

¹⁸⁶ 439-1: Tib. *sNar thang brgya rtsa*, Mong. *nar tang jiz-a*, collection of *sādhanās* and empowerments of the hundred deities of Narhang. One of the important sources of Buddhist iconography. Tāranātha, the former incarnation of Jetsundampa, composed *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa* which appeared in vol. *ba* of his "Collected Works". It was a basis for Losang Tenpai Nyima (Blo bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma), i.e. Fourth / Seventh Panchen Lama's work *Yi dam rgya mtsho'i rin chen 'byung gnas kyi lhan thabs rin 'byung don gsal*. See Lo Bue 1990 186. According to him and Beyer 1978: 480, note 82, *sNar thang brgya rtsa* together with Panchen Lama's text and Abhayākara Gupta's *Vajrāvalī* were illustrated by the Mongolian artists and printed as *Rin 'byung snar thang brgya rtsa rdor 'phreng bcas nas gsungs pa'i bris sku mthong ba don ldan*, reproduced by Lokesh Chandra 1961. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned his teachings of *sNar thang brgya rtsa* to Zanabazar in the 5th or 6th month of 1651. See Karmay 2015: 239 and footnote at p. 427-3 to the present translation.

¹⁸⁷ 439-1: Tib. *bla ma rim*, correctly in the xylograph version: *lam rim*, Mong. *lam(a)rim*. The exposition of Dharma by Tsongkhapa entitled *Lam rim chen mo*. TBRC W466.

¹⁸⁸ 439-2: Tib. *bla ma lnga bcu ba'i rnam bshad*, Mong. *blam-a ligebaču-yin namšad*. Skt. *Gurupañcāśīkā*, "Fifty Verses on Guru Devotion" by Aśvaghōṣa; Tanjur, Tohoku Catalogue 3721. It was commented by Tsongkhapa in: *Bla ma lnga bcu pa'i rnam bshad slob ma'i re ba kun skong*, TBRC W30084.

¹⁸⁹ 439-2: Tib. *'jigs byed kyi bskyed rim gyi mdzub khrid*, Mong. *yaman(g)daga-yin egü-skelel-yin* (for: -ün) *jerge-yin jübtid*. The First / Fourth Panchen Lama wrote description of the *sādhanā* visualization focusing on practice of Vajrabhairava titled: *'Jigs byed kyi bskyed rim dngos grub kyi snye ma*, TBRC W9773.

¹⁹⁰ 439-3: Tib. *yid dam gyi bskyed rdzogs*, Mon. *idam-yin egüskel tegüskel*. Skt. *utpatti and sampānnakrama*—'the Generation Process and the Perfection Process of contemplation' [RY]. Work by Gomde(wa) Namkha Gyeltsen, see the next footnote.

¹⁹¹ 439-3; Tib. *sgom sde nam mkha' rgyal mtshan*, Mong. *qan(g)danamkai jülse*. Gomde Namkha Gyeltsen (1532-1592) called also Shar pa sgom sde ba nam mkha' rgyal mtshan; an abbot of Gyuto Tantric monastery, a teacher of the First / Fourth Panchen Lama. TBRC P1550.

Wangchog (i.e. the Fifth Dalai Lama)¹⁹² starting with the *Kadam Legbam*.¹⁹³

Though he listened to such teachings [I] have not seen his register of teachings received (*sanyig*)¹⁹⁴ and therefore all these [pieces of information] were not certain.¹⁹⁵

In the Fire Monkey year (1656)¹⁹⁶ called *gdong ngag* again he happily returned to Mongolia. In the Fire Hen year (1657)¹⁹⁷ called *gser 'phyang* he invited four divisions of the eastern wing¹⁹⁸ to the main assembly hall of the Erdeni Juu [monastery]

441 to organize the meeting. Similarly as before, he presided over the public religious ceremony and the Great Prayer [festival]¹⁹⁹ and the Invitation of Maitreya²⁰⁰ and other [ceremonies].

¹⁹²439-3-440-1: Tib. *rgyal dbang mchog gi sku gzhogs*, Mong. version gives no translation but rather identification: *tabudurγar dalai blam-a-yin gegen*. Also Bira (1995 29, footnote 35) provides this identification: 'the Fifth Dalai Lama'.

¹⁹³440-1: Tib. *bka' gdams pa glegs bam*, Mong. *γadam legbam*, see footnote at p. 424-1.

¹⁹⁴440-2: Tib. *gsan yig*, Mong. *sanggyag*. The same as *thob yig*. 'A list of teachings received [including the lineages of transmission]' [RY].

¹⁹⁵440-1: In the Tib. version it is expressed clearly with two negations: *ma mthong bas thams cad ma nges* 'because [I have] not seen everything [it was] not certain'. However, in the Mong. version it says: *ese öčigsen* (for: *üjgesen*)-*iyer qamuγ-yin* (for: *-i? JC: ese*) *lablabai* 'because [I have] not seen [it] all [of it was] confirmed'. Jin Chengxiu transcribed it as *ese lablabai* 'not confirmed', which is the correct translation of the Tib. text. However, the text is not easily readable and it seems that there is not *ese*, but *-yin* that can be read from the poor reproduction of the text. This form is grammatically not correct and perhaps *-i*, i.e. the accusative particle was meant.

¹⁹⁶440-2: Tib. *me spreḷ*, Mong. *γal bečin*.

¹⁹⁷440-3: Tib. *me bya*, Mong. *γal takiy-a*.

¹⁹⁸440-3-441-1: Tib. *g.yon ru tsho ba bzhi*, Mong. *ḷegün qosiγun-u dörben baγ*. Here Tib. *ru* 'province, division' was translated into Mong. as *qosiγu* and *tsho ba* 'division, group, tribe' as *baγ*. Term *qosiγu* as 'banner' started to be used as a name for an administrative unit under the Manchu rule. On translation of *tsho ba* and *qosiγu* see note at p. 435-1.

¹⁹⁹441-1: See 436-2.

²⁰⁰441-2: Tib. *byams pa gdan 'dren*, Mong. *mayidar ḷalaqui*. The ceremony when a statue of Maitreya is taken out from the monastery and shown during a procession

Lamas, officials, lay people and clergy, high and low [born], [all] who gathered there showed their respect and offered their service to him. And he bestowed on them whatever teachings they requested, one by one.

In the Earth Pig year (1659)²⁰¹ called *sgyur byed*

442 he invited seven Khalkha divisions²⁰² to meet at the blessed White Lake.²⁰³ At this meeting the [incarnation called] Gyelkhangtse²⁰⁴ also arrived in person and the two masters did (not) meet.²⁰⁵

They discussed [their] service to religion and politics.²⁰⁶ The ruler of the right wing²⁰⁷ was granted an official position etc., coming to full age²⁰⁸ and as all the masters requested.

around it.

²⁰¹ 441-3: Tib. *sa phag*, Mong. *šaroi* (for: *siroi*) *γaqai*.

²⁰² 442-1: Tib. *khal kha tsho ba bdun po*, Mong. *qalq-a doloγan qoširγu*. On the use of the Tib. term *tsho ba* and Mong. *qoširγu* see note at p. 435-1.

²⁰³ 442-1: Tib. *bkra shis mtsho dkar*, Mong. *ölzei qutuγ-tu čaγan nuur*. See note regarding the Mong. term *qoširγu* as ‘banner’ at p. 435-1. Note the spoken form of ‘lake’ in Mong. *nuur* instead of Classical Mong. *naγur*.

²⁰⁴ 442-2: Tib. *rgyal khang rtse*, Mong. *jalqasan*. According to Bira 1995: 10 *Jalkhanz*. See Laagan 2004: 53-54.

²⁰⁵ 442-2: Tib. *bla ma gnyis mjal 'dzom ma gnang*. In the Mong. version negation is missing: *qoyar blam-a aγulzan učar[a]čü*. In my opinion the Tib. particle *ma* was added by mistake. Especially while judging from the following lines there should be no negation.

²⁰⁶ 442-2: Tib. *bstan srid la rgya*, Mong. *šačün* (for: *šajün*) *törü-yin niruγun-u kereg*. Though Tib. *rgya* can be understood in several ways, the Mong. version ‘common matter’ suggests translation as ‘service’. One more remark can be made here: the phrase *bstan srid* or *šajün törü* is translated here as ‘religion and politics’. There is no indication that ‘religious government’, i.e. ‘dual principle’ or ‘twin system’ of ruling the state by a religious figure was meant. Further in the text (464-2) there is a phrase in Tib. *gzhung ba bstan la rgya* ‘to spread teachings or scriptures’ translated into Mongolian as *šajün törü-yin naraγun-u γoul kereg* which means: ‘the principal common matters of religion and politics’ which is not a thorough translation.

²⁰⁷ 442-3: Tib. *g.yas ru'i rgyal po*, Mong. *baraγun qoširγun-u qaγan*. Tib. *ru* ‘horn, province, division, district’ is again translated by the Mong. term *qoširγu*, i.e. ‘banner’. See note at p. 435-1.

²⁰⁸ 442-3: Tib. *che 'don* ‘coming to full age, attaining the age of majority’ [JV], but in Mong. *yekedken* ‘to increase, to enlarge, to magnify’ Les 431b.

443 Because of this [the Lord] also accepted it gladly.²⁰⁹ During the assembly meeting I²¹⁰ was an attendant for both [of them].

In the same way as before, to everyone of all who gathered:²¹¹ lamas, officials, lay people and clergy, for both extremes: people of high and low birth [the Master] turned the endless wheel of²¹² the highest dharma and brought [all of them onto the path of] ripening and liberation.²¹³

In the spring of the Iron Mouse year (1660)²¹⁴ called *kun ldan*

444 I intended to go to U and Tsang²¹⁵ and I asked [Master] about it. He was very delighted and put his mind to it. [His] Brilliance offered me as presents his own personal hand-rosary and a large riding-horse to mount.

From the Iron Mouse year (1660)²¹⁶ until the Earth Sheep year (1679)²¹⁷

²⁰⁹443-1: Tib. *thugs khar bzhes te mdzad*, Mong. *sedkel* (for: *sedkil*)-*degen taγalan ayiladbai*.

²¹⁰443-1: Zaya Pandita, the author of the text.

²¹¹443-2: Tib. *mjal mkhan* 'those who gathered', 'participants', Mong. *mörgölčün* 'those who were praying'.

²¹²443-3: Tib. *chos kyis 'khor lo* should be written as: *chos kyi 'khor lo*, supported by the Mong. version: *nom-un күрдү*.

²¹³443-3: Tib. *sm̄in grol la bkod*, Mong. *bolbasuraγulan tonilaγan okiy-a-bai* (for: *γokiy-a-bai*). Tib. *sm̄in grol* means 'ripening and liberation'. It is explained as: 'two vital parts of Vajrayana practice: the empowerments which ripen one's being with the capacity to realize the four kayas and the liberating oral instructions enabling one to actually apply the insight introduced through the empowerments' [RY]. In the Mong. version the two first words *bolbasuraγulan tonilaγan* translate word to word Tib. *sm̄in grol*. However, *okiy-a-bai* should be corrected into *γokiy-a-bai* 'created, made, organized'. Bira 1995: 11 translates as *bishrel, avralyn zamd oruulav* which means 'introduced into the path of worship and liberation'.

²¹⁴443-3: Tib. *lcags byi*, Mong. *temür j̄il[-]j̄ün qabur quluγun-a* (for: *quluγan-a*).

²¹⁵444-2: It is interesting to observe that here two Tibetan provinces, U and Tsang are called in Mong. just 'West': *baraγun*, although one line further 444-3: *üi j̄ang-un γaγar*, i.e. 'U and Tsang regions'.

²¹⁶444-2: Tib. *lcags byi*, Mong. *temür quluγun-a* (for: *quluγan-a*).

²¹⁷444-3: Tib. *sa lug*, Mong. *šaruī* (for: *siroī*) *qonin*.

I was in Tashilhunpo²¹⁸ and other [places] in U and Tsang. And therefore I was not able to write about the [Master's] exemplary deeds²¹⁹ of this period well and with certainty.

445 In the Iron Female Pig year (1671)²²⁰ called *'gal byed* he dispatched the official Pinthu Nangso (or Batu Nasu)²²¹ to U and Tsang²²² to the 'Father and Son' i.e. Dalai Lama (and his Regent)²²³ and he greeted them and offered them gifts and donated food and money²²⁴ to small and big monasteries. From the government [of the Dalai Lama] one Kanjur of Gyeltse Thempang tradition²²⁵ of excellent quality was brought.

²¹⁸ 444-3: Tib. *bkra shis lhun po*, Mong. *dasi lhün(g)bü*.

²¹⁹ 444-3–445-1: Tib. *rnam thar mdzad bzang rnam*, Mong. *sayin jokiyał čidag (for: čadiγ) -nuγud*.

²²⁰ 445-1: Tib. *lcags mo phag*, Mong. *temür em-e γaqai*.

²²¹ 445-1: Tib. *gnyer pa pin thu nang so*, where *gnyer pa* means 'steward', *pin thu* seems to be the name and *nang so* may be translated as 'officer'. G. Tuttle quotes "the well-known Gyelrong scholar Tsenlha who defines *nang so* as a 'minister looking after domestic affairs' (*nang tshags du so byed pa'i blon po*)", see Tuttle 2011; also van der Kuijp and Tuttle 2014: 470. In Mong. there is an expression *batu nirba nasu*, in which Batu Nasu seems to be the Mong. name 'With firm age, life', while the function of the person, 'steward' is inserted into two parts of the name. Bira 1995: 11 writes *nyarav Bintu nanso*.

²²² 445-1: Mong. *baraγun*.

²²³ 445-2: Tib. *yab sras* 'father and son', but in the Mong. version only *dalai blam-a* 'the Dalai Lama'. Also Bira 1995: 11 translates only the 'Dalai Lama'.

²²⁴ 445-3: Tib. *mang 'gyed* which means: 'money, food, etc. offered to a person as charity [usu. to monks]' [RY]. The Mong. version is more precise: *mangja jed*: 'tea [for many]' and 'money distributed among lamas taking active part in a religious ceremony'.

²²⁵ 445-3: Tib. *rgyal rtse them spangs lugs kyi bka' 'gyur*, Mong. *jülze ten(g)bang-un yosun-u γanjur*. The Them spangs edition of Kanjur derives from a manuscript produced in Gyeltse (rGyal rtse) in 1431 (revised later). This edition was used as the master copy to create new Kanjurs. The Fifth Dalai Lama wrote about similar event in his autobiography, see Karmay 2015: 374. Probably the Kanjur was brought to Mongolia for this very reason and returned after completing the task. On Kanjur's editions see for example Eimer, Germano (eds.) 2002. On the Tibetan Gyeltse Thempangma Kanjur in Mongolia see Bethlenfalvy 1982.

446 Vajra-king²²⁶ gave this [Kanjur] later to Chonggye Emchi²²⁷ when he was traveling to Tibet and then [he] gave it to the Victorious Father and Son, i.e. the Dalai Lama (and his Regent)²²⁸ together with many presents (food and money).²²⁹

Before that,²³⁰ as well as two or three times later, he similarly made donations [sending goods] by different people, but I did not notice it by myself and forgot to note it.

On the twelfth *hor* month of the Earth Sheep year (1679)²³¹ called *don grub*

447 I returned to Mongolia.

In summer of the Iron Monkey year (1680)²³² called *drag po* I went to pay respects to the Lord Master. When I arrived at the monastery the Master already knew about my coming and he received and blessed me. For a long time we discussed news in detail. Later [the Master] departed to the monastery Ribo Gegye Ling and [I] followed him.²³³

²²⁶ 446-1: Tib. *rdo rje rgyal po*, Mong. *vačir qaγan*. According to Bira 1995: 30, note 45 Jetsundampa's father, Tüshiyetü Khan Gombodorji (1594-1655) was meant here. However, it was not possible due to the fact that Gombodorji passed away in 1655. Therefore the next Tüshiyetü Khan, Chakhundorji, the brother of Jetsundampa was meant.

²²⁷ 446-1: Tib. *'phyong rgyas emchi*, Mong. *čungji emči*. Mong. *emchi* means 'medical doctor', it is used with the same meaning in Tib. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned Chonggye Pandita ('Phong rgyas paṇḍita) several times in connection with Mongols visiting him, but he did not mention receiving back Kanjur described above. Chonggye Pandita is referred to as a Mongol coming from Khalkha. The Dalai Lama wrote that 'he was very talkative, had a very developed discernment and everybody was attracted to him' (Karmay 2015: 249).

²²⁸ 446-1-2: Tib. *rgyal ba yab sras*, Mong. *boγda dalai blam-a*. Mong. version suggests only the Dalai Lama.

²²⁹ 446-2: Tib. *mang 'gyed*, Mong. *mangja ed*. Perhaps it should be *jed* like at 445-3.

²³⁰ 446-2: Tib. *de dag gi snga*, Mong. *tedegerün urid* 'before these [events]'.
²³¹ 446-3: Tib. *sa lug gi hor zla bcu gnyis*, Mong. *šarui* (for: *siroi*) *qonin jül[-]ün ebül[-]ün*

adaγ sara. In the Mong. version 'the last winter month'.

²³² 447-1: Tib. *lcags spre'i*, Mong. *temür bečün*.

²³³ 447-3: Tib. *ri bo ge rgyas gling*, Mong. *ribo gejei ling*.

448 Outside the monastery it was the time when majority of objects [of cult] were manufactured.²³⁴ [The Master] stayed there for ten days and [I] requested an empowerment.²³⁵ [He] was delighted and gave me [religious] instructions, [as well as] Master's own personal upper robe, ten liangs²³⁶ of gold, a silver bowl, a throne cushion, ten [pieces] of fine leather [called] *bu la ka*,²³⁷ and thirty horses headed by one excellent horse of the 'White Heads',²³⁸ a charger in the stable²³⁹

449 and other things he offered [me] as gifts which have no comparison.

In autumn of the Iron Bird year (1681)²⁴⁰ called *blo ngan* [the Master] assembled four divisions of the eastern wing²⁴¹ in the main assembly hall of the Erdeni Juu [monastery]. He performed lengthy general religious ceremony [including] a Prayer Festival and Invitation to Maitreya.²⁴²

At this time the representative of the government, i.e. the Dalai

²³⁴ 448-1: Tib. *rten bzhengs pa* or *sku gsung thugs kyi rten bzhengs pa* 'sponsor the making of sacred objects symbolic of the enlightened body, speech, and mind' [RY], Mong. *burqan šitügen* 'sculptures of Buddhas' and other objects used by the Buddhist cult. Here perhaps this expression refers to the activity of casting bronzes by Zanabazar.

²³⁵ 448-1: Tib. *bka' dbang zhus*, while in the Mong. translation instead of the word for 'empowerment', which is expressed in this text usually as *abišig*, there is *de[l]gereküi-e* (for: *delgerenggüi-e*) *ayiladqarγsan* which means 'told extensively'. Bira 1995: 11 translates as *zarlig avishig ailtgav*, which corresponds closely to the Tib. version.

²³⁶ 448-2: Tib. *srang*, Mong. *ling* 'liang, i.e. an ounce' [JV], measure of weight.

²³⁷ 448-3: Tib. *bu la ka* i.e. *bu la ha ri* 'a kind of fine leather used to line boxes' [JV]. Mong. *bulaγ-a*.

²³⁸ 448-3: Tib. *mgo dkar*, Mong. *qotang*. On 'White Heads' see note to p. 416-2. Bira 1995: 30 (note 48) gives a long explanation about so called *khotongün mor*, i.e. horses of Khotons from Turkestan.

²³⁹ 448-3: Tib. *chibs chen* 'charger, best horse in the stable' [JV]. Mong. *kölgen-e toγta-γsan* means 'set as a steed'.

²⁴⁰ 449-1-2: Tib. *lcags bya*, Mong. *temür takiy-a*.

²⁴¹ 449-2: Tib. *g.yon ru tsho ba bzhi 'tshogs pa*, Mong. *jegün qoširγun-u dörben ayimaγ-un čirγubγan*. On the use of the Tib. term *tsho ba* and Mong. *qoširγu* see note to p. 435-1.

²⁴² 449-1: Tib. *smon lam byams pa gdan 'dren*, Mong. *gürim ba yerügel kiged mayidar jalaqui*.

Lama,²⁴³ chamberlain Kyarpo²⁴⁴

450 arrived to the Precious Master himself. He appealed for peace among the Khalkha and Ölet [people].²⁴⁵ In the past inside the right wing of Khalkha, during the time of turmoil, Ölets made mistakes.²⁴⁶ But [now] the entire people starting from those who [came] to partake in the mutual agreement they should consult [with each other] whatever good they can do to bring benefit to spreading scriptures and teachings.²⁴⁷

451 The true meaning of [Dharma] scriptures and teachings²⁴⁸ [should] increase more and more like the moon in the waxing period of the month. At that time Dayan Khung Tayiji²⁴⁹ gave a thousand horses, gold and silver, silk for garments and other objects as presents. Each of the other monks and officials who came also offered very many goods as presents. For them also the wheel of highest Dharma was turned in whatever suitable way.

²⁴³ 449-3: Tib. *gzhung gi sku tshab*, but the Mong. version says directly about the Dalai Lama: *boγda dalai blam-a-yin emün-e-eče*.

²⁴⁴ 449-3: Tib. *skyar po nas*, Mong. *jarbunai*. He is mentioned in the "Collected Works" by the Fifth Dalai Lama, see TBRC W1PD107937. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned Losang Legden (Blo bzang legs ldan) from Kyarpo, Karmay 2015: 20, 452. sKyar po nai was also mentioned in the biography of Changkya Khutugtu in the years 1689-90, see *Subud erike*, ff. 65v, 66v, Sagaster 1967: 223.

²⁴⁵ 450-1: Tib. *o'i lod*, Mong. *ögelüd*.

²⁴⁶ 450-2: Tib. *'khyar* which means 'to err, blunder, make mistakes'. But the Mong. version is more explicit: *ebderel boluγsan* 'caused damage'.

²⁴⁷ 450-3: Tib. *gzhung bstan pa*, however, translated into Mong. as *γoul sač'in* (for: *sač'in*) *törü*. The Mong. version can be understood as 'the main religious government'. Tib. *gzhung* means 'scriptures', but also 'general, ordinary, main', which seemed to have been translated to Mong. as *γoul* meaning 'main'. Bira translates this phrase as: *tör*, *shashny tusyn tuld* 'for benefit of government and religion' understanding *gzhung* as 'rule, government'. Bira 1995: 12. See also the next footnote.

²⁴⁸ 451-1: Tib. *gzhung bstan pa'i don*, but in Mong. *γoul šač'in-u tusu* (for: *tusa*) 'for benefit of main teachings'. Bira 1995: 12 translates as *tör*, *shashny üil khereg* 'deeds of government and religion'.

²⁴⁹ 451-1: Tib. *dha yo'i hong tha'i ji*, Mong. *dha yu'ai qung tayiji*.

452 In the Water Pig year (1683)²⁵⁰ called *khrag skyug* I went to pay respect [to the Master] and get blessings and requested²⁵¹ several teachings which I wished [to receive]. At this time Vajra Tüshiyetü Khan²⁵² performed longevity practice²⁵³ [for the Master] at length.

At that time I also offered a maṇḍala for longevity ceremony²⁵⁴ and innumerable sacrificial objects²⁵⁵ and requested long life for the "lotus-footed"²⁵⁶ (i.e. the Jetsundampa).

453 Many times, previously and later, from the forty nine heads [of divisions]²⁵⁷ of the Holy Lord²⁵⁸ several pilgrims came secretly to have an audience [with the Master] and after paying respect they asked for religious advice and also offered extensive offerings.

²⁵⁰ 452-1: Tib. *chu phag*, Mong. *usun ᠴaqai*.

²⁵¹ 452-1: Mong. *ösirγsen* meaning 'hated' should be corrected into *öčigsen* 'said, requested'.

²⁵² 452-1-2: Tib. *rdo rje thu she ye thu rgyal po*, Mong. *vačirai tüšiyetü qarγan*. In both languages the ruler's function is expressed very strongly by words: 'king' and 'khan'.

²⁵³ 452-2: Tib. *zhabs brtan brtan bzhugs*, Mong. *ölmei batud[qa]qu-yin tuqai-dur dansurγ*. Mong. expression *dangšurγ* is a phonetical borrowing of the Tib. *brtan bzhugs*, ceremony 'to stay long and stable' which is performed for Buddhist masters. On *zhabs brtan* literature see Cabezon 1996: 344-357.

²⁵⁴ 452-2-3: Tib. *zhabs brtan gyi maṇḍala*, Mong. *dansurγ-un mandal*.

²⁵⁵ 452-3: Tib. *'bul ba'i rnam grangs stong min tsam*, Mong. *ergül-ün jüil[-]ün toγan-dur qangdab-un tedüi*. The Tib. expression means 'offerings not less than one thousand'. In Mong. *qangdab* 'contribution, offering' Bawden 427a. Therefore the whole passage reads 'objects of offering in amount as much as for the contribution'. Perhaps here Mong. *qangγal(ta)* meaning 'satisfaction' would be more suitable, Lessing 928b.

²⁵⁶ 452-3: Tib. *zhabs pad*, Mong. *ölmei lingqu-a*, which means 'lotus-footed, Tibetan chief, ministers' [JV].

²⁵⁷ 453-1: Tib. *ja sag bzhi bcu zhe dgu*, but in Mong. *dotoγadu döčün yisün* 'inner forty nine'. It seems that here Tib. *ja sag*, which is borrowed from Mong. *jasag* refers to the 49 banners that were established by 1670 in Inner Mongolia and therefore in the Mong. translation they are also called *dotoγadu* 'inner'. On Mongolian banners see Atwood 2004: 30b, on *jasag* Atwood 2004: 617b. See also note at p. 435-1.

²⁵⁸ 453-1: Tib. *gong ma rgyal po* 'higher king, majesty', Mong. *boγda ejen* 'holy lord'. In the biography these appellations refer to the Dalai Lama or to the Manchu Emperor. Here the latter is meant.

Also a great hanging brocade image²⁵⁹ was made and offered to the Jakhyung monastery.²⁶⁰

454 The image of the Buddha, [called] the Meaningful to Behold (i.e. seeing that which brings merits)²⁶¹ was made according to the description of the *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra*²⁶² and moreover three other golden images²⁶³ [of the Buddha were made] and they were offered to the Dalai Lama. He was very pleased with them and in return offered great presents to the Holy Master (i.e. Zanabazar) and also to his messengers.

From U and Tsang²⁶⁴ precious Kanjur pressed in the type of bronze²⁶⁵ that comes from Jang²⁶⁶ was brought.

²⁵⁹ 453-3: Tib. *gos sku chen mo*, Mong. *yeke torγan burqan*. Bira writes (1995: 31, note 53) that in some biographies it is specified that it was Tsongkhapa's image. In the Mong. version the expression *tere učar-a* 'at that occasion', 'because of that' suggests that the image was also sponsored by the pilgrims mentioned earlier.

²⁶⁰ 453-3: Tib. *bya khyung*, Mong. *jačüng*. The monastery in which Tsongkhapa lived; visited by Zanabazar. See note at p. 425-2.

²⁶¹ 454-1: Tib. *sku mthong ba don ldan*, Mong. *mdông ba dôn ldan-un* (for: *-u*) *körüg*. Bira (1995: 31, note 55) remarks that according to the tradition the image brings good fortune to everyone who venerates it.

²⁶² 454-1: Tib. *'jam dpal rtsa rgyud*, Mong. *jïmbal jačüd*. Root or chief tantra of Mañjuśrī. Skorupski 1996: 100, who translates the title as the "Ordinance of Mañjuśrī", writes that it is the longest text among works of the Action Tantra (*kriyā tantra*) which 'are predominantly concerned with the worship of deities, offerings and praises, the procurement of worldly and spiritual benefits, the appeasement of diseases and demonic powers, the blessing of images, and the consecrations of their adepts. They also contain instructions for painting deities.' Therefore Zanabazar consulted this tantra in order to produce an image which would comply with the tantra's requirements.

²⁶³ 454-1: Tib. *gser sku* 'golden images', but Mong. *saγumal burqan* '[images of] seated Buddha'. Bira 1995: 12 translates in accord with the Tib. text.

²⁶⁴ 454-3: Tib. *dbus gtsang*, Mong. *baraγun*. In Mong. there is a combination of dative-locative suffix *-da* and ablative *-ača*. See description of similar instances in Poppe 1991: par. 300.

²⁶⁵ 454-3: Tib. *khro pa* used in the Tib. version in terminative and dative/locative pleonastically: *khro par la*, in Mong. *kürel keb-tür*.

²⁶⁶ 454-3: Tib. *'jang*, Mong. *jang*. According to the Resources for Kanjur and Tanjur Studies at the University of Vienna, "the edition of Kanjur known as 'Jang sa tham or the Lithang Edition [...] was made under the patronage of Mu zeng (1587-1646),

455 In the encampment, where he stayed, the original manuscript of the Kanjur was taken as a model²⁶⁷ and it was again written down at least two times.²⁶⁸ Moreover, the Vajradhāra²⁶⁹ [image] was made by the Lord with his own hands and numerous golden cast images starting with those of the ‘five great families’ of the Victorious [one]²⁷⁰ were well produced under the Lord’s direction²⁷¹

456 and moreover, eight beautiful great silver stupas of the Enlightened One and very many of the three kinds of relics.²⁷² He listened to several kinds of teachings starting with those on the secret Vajradhāra²⁷³

king of ‘Jang sa tham under the supervision of the 6th Zhva dmar gar dbang chos kyi dbang phyug. The Tshal pa edition of the Kanjur located in ‘Phying ba stag rtse was used for this edition which was completed in 1621. The xylographic boards were transferred to the monastery of Byams pa glings in Lithang (therefore the double name of this edition) by the Mongolian troops which controlled the region in the 17th cent.” <https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml4/editions/lithang.php>.

²⁶⁷ 455-1: Tib. *ma dpe byas* ‘original taken as a model’, in the xylograph (134-2 or 67b2) incorrectly *ma dpa byas*.

²⁶⁸ 455-2: Bira 1995: 31, note 56 writes that in some biographies it is said that the First Jetsundampa wrote down the first pages of these Kanjurs with his own hand.

²⁶⁹ 455-2: Tib. *rdo rje ‘chang*, Mong. *včirdar-a*. The bronze statue of Vajradhāra cast by Zanabazar is preserved in the National Museum in Ulan Bator according to Uspensky 2011: 157.

²⁷⁰ 455-3: Tib. *rgyal ba rigs lnga che*, Mong. *il[a]γurγsan tabun ijaγur-tu yeke* ‘the five Buddha families of *tathāgata*, *vajra*, *ratna*, *padma* and *karma*. They represent the innate qualities of our enlightened essence’ [RY].

²⁷¹ 455-2-3: Tib. *zhal dgod kyis bzhengs*, Mong. *gegen-iyer ... bütüdglegsen jalaγurγsan*. Bira 1995: 32 translated it as: *ööröö zaavarlan büteelgesen* which means: ‘made according to his own appearance’, ‘produced taking his own face as a model’. However, Bira (note 58) mentioned that Gelegjamts Doorombo translated it as *nüüreer zavaarlan büteelgesen* which means: ‘produced under his own direction’. This translation seems more correct judging from the Tib. version. A separate problem is posed by the Mong. expression: *eyinejü bayijü bütüdglegsen* which means: ‘produced while smiling’. Most probably the translator separated out the Tib. word *dgod* for ‘to smile, laugh’, although the Tib. phrase should be corrected and read as *zhal dkod kyis*, i.e. ‘under direction’.

²⁷² 456-1: Tib. *rten gsum gyi rigs*, Mong. *γurban sitügen-ü jüil*. The three supports: images, scriptures, mind (of holy beings) which represent the Buddha’s body, speech and mind [RY].

²⁷³ 456-2: Tib. *rdo rje ‘dzin pa*, Mong. *vačar-a dar-a*.

from two to three [lamas]²⁷⁴ [and] to about one hundred²⁷⁵ ‘methods of realization’ (*sādhana*) [including] the ‘method of realization’ of Ratnasambhava.²⁷⁶

457 However, I could not ascertain which teachings exactly he listened to as I was not able to ask about it.

In autumn of the Wooden Ox year (1685)²⁷⁷ called *khro bo* the reincarnation of Dalai Mañjuśrī, Ildeng Khung Tayiji²⁷⁸ together with donors²⁷⁹ and also myself paid respect [to the Lord].²⁸⁰ [We received] the authorization (*rjes gnang*) [to practices] of the patrons of the Three Families²⁸¹ (i.e. bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi and Mañjuśrī)²⁸²

461-3 and the authorization to Longevity of Niguma.²⁸³ The three of us

²⁷⁴ 456-2: Tib. *gnyis gsum las*, but in the Mong. version word for ‘lama’ is added: *blam-a qoyar* *γurban-ača*. Also Bira 1995: 12 translates similarly: *khoyor, gurvan lamaas*.

²⁷⁵ 456-3: Tib. *rtsam* which stands for *tsam* ‘about, approximately’. The Tib. xylograph reads: *rgyam* which is meaningless. In the Mong. version *jizam* is a phonetic repetition of the Tib. version *brgya tsam*.

²⁷⁶ 456-3: Tib. *sgrub thabs rin chen ’byung gnas*, Mong. *tübtap ringčün jüungnai*. The Buddha Ratnasambhava is a central figure of the *ratna* family, [RY].

²⁷⁷ 457-1: Tib. *shing glang*, Mong. *modun üker*.

²⁷⁸ 457-2: Tib. *ta la’i mañdzu shrī sku skye el deng hong tha’i ji*, Mong. *dalai manjusiri-yin qubilγan üldeng qung tayiji*. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned Yel deng no yon as the younger brother of Erdeni Khung Tayiji of Khalkha, see Karmay 2015: 278. Zaya Pandita also mentioned him in his autobiography, see ff. 25a-26a.

²⁷⁹ 457-2: Tib. *mchod yon*, Mong. *öglige-yin efen*.

²⁸⁰ 457-3: Tib. *phyag dbang la phyin* which means ‘I went to pay respect’. In Mong. a bit different meaning: *mörgöl-dür üčelčebei* (for: *üjelčebei* ‘we saw each other at the prayer’).

²⁸¹ Tib. 457-3: *rigs <gsum> mgon po*, Mong. *rigsüm gonbo*.

²⁸² The text continues with the words ‘according to the words’ (Tib. *bkas rje*, Mong. *jarliγ-iyar*) which, however, do not appear in the xylograph version, since they belong to another passage. The manuscript from the Aginsky Datsan is erroneously written and the continuation of the text appears only on p. 461-3, while the phrase ‘according to the words’ matches with the text on p. 464-2, and then jumps back to p. 458-1. Tib. version in the xylograph continues on f. 134-5=67v5=BR 39b5.

²⁸³ 461-3: Tib. *tshe dbang grub rgyal ma’i rjes gnang*, but in Mong. *ayusi-yin abisig*,

with donors requested

462 the Master's personal transmission (*lung*) of his own reverential prayers.²⁸⁴

We were granted a private audience inside the Master's sleeping chamber and were very delighted to discuss news in detail. Moreover, the Master offered [us] his own brocade cloak, throne cushion and an excellent riding horse, an ambler,²⁸⁵ and other objects on a vast scale.

463 In summer of the Fire Tiger year (1686)²⁸⁶ called *zad pa* the construction of the monastery in Kentei called Ribo Gegye Ling²⁸⁷ was completed and accordingly several monks performed its consecration.²⁸⁸

In autumn of this [year] (i.e. 1686) Ngawang Lodro Gyatso,²⁸⁹ [who was] the Throne Holder of the Geden [monastery],²⁹⁰ the personal representative of the Victorious Supreme One (i.e. the Dalai Lama)²⁹¹

which means 'empowerment of Amitāyus', i.e. bodhisattva of long life, without mentioning the name of Niguma (a consort of Naropa).

²⁸⁴462-1: Tib. *gsol 'debs* 'reverential prayers' usually contain a list of previous incarnations and prayers for the next reincarnation. In the manuscript Tib. *lcags* 'iron' is used instead of the correct version from the xylograph: *ljags* 'tongue', which serves to create honorific forms.

²⁸⁵462-3: Tib. *chibs pa'i gras rta 'gros ma che*. Jäschke 103a translates '*gros chen* as 'ambler'. More details are included in the Mong. version: *kölgen-dür toḡtaḡsan nigen yeke sayiqan jīruḡu-a mori* which means 'one excellent ambler with peaceful leg movement'.

²⁸⁶463-1: Tib. *me stag*, Mong. *ḡal baras* (for: *bars*). Bira 1995: 32, note 67 explains that another Fire Tiger year was year 1786 and then the monastery was built and consecrated. However, this seems to be a mistake.

²⁸⁷463-1: Tib. *ri bo dge rgyas gling*, see note at p. 438-1. Mong. *ken(g)tei-yin keyid bütügel daḡusju* (for: *daḡusču*). In Mong. it is usually translated as *delgerenggüi buyantu*, see Mvy 3093 (Ishihama and Fukuda ed.), in Skt. Śubhakarṭshna. However, here the Mong. *bütügel daḡusču* means 'completely accomplished'. In the Mong. version its location in the Kentei mountains (*ken(g)tei*) is also provided.

²⁸⁸463-2: Tib. *rab gnas*, Mong. *rabnai*.

²⁸⁹463-3: Tib. *ngag dbang blo gros rgya mtsho*, Mong. *aḡvangludui jīmso*. He was the 44th abbot of Ganden (in the years 1682-1685). See also TBRC P1574. He traveled later (1687) to the Manchu emperor, but on the way back, he died in 1688.

²⁹⁰463-2-3: Tib. *dge ldan khri rin po che*, Mong. *geden(g)danba*.

²⁹¹463-2: Tib. *rgyal dbang mchog*, in the Mong. version the Fifth Dalai Lama *tabudugar*

was sent from Tibet and Arani Aliqan amban,²⁹² the personal representative of the Majesty King (i.e. Manchu Emperor),²⁹³

464 + 457 and others were sent [to Khalkha] and the seven [Khalkha] divisions²⁹⁴ were permitted to hold a gathering²⁹⁵ in the [place] called Küren Belcher.²⁹⁶

On that occasion, according to the words²⁹⁷ of Achitu Choje,²⁹⁸ the envoy of the Manchu emperor,²⁹⁹

458 the Lord (i.e. Zanabazar)³⁰⁰ was invited to be the head of this meeting.

The Lord and the Throne Holder of the Geden [monastery]³⁰¹ met together and were seated on equal seats and discussed mutual news in full detail. Official decrees of the Victorious Supreme One (i.e. the

dalai blam-a is mentioned.

²⁹²Mentioned as Arani by Sagaster 1967: 87 in his study of the biography of the Changkiya / Jangiya Khutugtu in connection with the meeting at Küren Belcher. According to Gerbillon quoted by Sagaster 1967: 116 (footnote 202), Arani was the vice-president of the Lifanyuan ('Board for the Administration of Outlying Regions').

²⁹³463-3: Tib. *gong ma rgyal po* 'higher king, majesty', Mong. *boγda ežen* meaning 'holy lord'. In the biography it regularly refers either to the Dalai Lama or to the Manchu Emperor. Here it refers to the Manchu Emperor Kangxi. Bira 1995: 32 (note 69) provides his Mong. name: Enkh Amgalang (1662-1722).

²⁹⁴464-1: Tib. *tsho ba bdun*, Mong. *doloγan qosiyu*. On the Tib. term *tsho ba* and Mong. *qosiyu* see note at p. 435-1.

²⁹⁵464-1: Tib. *tshogs 'du byed du bcug*, in Mong. a bit different wording: *čiyulγan-i čiyulun üiledkü* 'were holding a gathering'.

²⁹⁶464-1: Tib. *khu rin bel cher*, Mong. *küren belčer*. Sagaster 1967: 86 notes versions: Küreng belčir or Kuriyen belčiger.

²⁹⁷Here the phrase: 'according to the words', Tib. *bkas rje*, Mong. *jarliγ-iyar* is added from p. 457-3.

²⁹⁸464-2: Tib. *a chi thu chos rje*, Mong. *ačitu čoyiži*. See Bira 1980: 14. Sagaster 1967: 105 (and footnote 167) explains, that he was the Jasag or Da Lama (i.e. head lama) of Köke Khota. He arrived at Gonlung (dGon lung) monastery to invite Changkya / Jangiya Khutugtu to Beijing on behalf of the Kangxi Emperor.

²⁹⁹464-2: Tib. *gong ma chen po*, Mong. *boγda ežen*.

³⁰⁰Here the whole passage from pp. 458-1-463 is added. 458-1: Tib. *rje 'di pa* 'this Lord' and Mong. *enekü boγda* 'this Holy One' both refer to Zanabazar.

³⁰¹458-1: Tib. *dge ldan*, Mong. *dgilden*, differently from p. 463-2.

Dalai Lama)³⁰² and of the Majesty King (i.e. the Manchu Emperor) were proclaimed.

After more than one month

459 Sechen Nangso Namgyel Toyin³⁰³ and Lama Pandita Choje,³⁰⁴ of the home monastery³⁰⁵ of this Lord's³⁰⁶ minister [called] Darpa³⁰⁷ and the seven divisions³⁰⁸ headed by the three rulers of Khalkha³⁰⁹ [including] chieftains, lamas, commanders and officials [altogether] sixty [men], and the two great lamas

³⁰² 458-2-3: Tib. *rgyal ba mchog*, Mong. *dalai blam-a*.

³⁰³ 459-1-2: Tib. *se chen nang so rnam rgyal tho yon*, Mong. *seč'in nangsu namjil toyin*. Mong. *toyin* is used to denote a monk of noble descent. See Lessing 820a. Nangso Namgyel Nang so rnam rgyal is mentioned in the "Collected Works" of the Fifth Dalai Lama, see TBRC W1PD107937. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned Sechen Thoyon (Se chen tho yon) among other Mongols who paid him a visit in 1629, see Karmay 2015: 151, Tib. original (Chinese ed.) 1989: 198.

³⁰⁴ 459-1: Tib. *bla ma paṇḍi ta chos rje*, Mong. *blam-a darba ban(g) dida suyijī*.

³⁰⁵ 459-1: Tib. *gzhi dgon* or more properly *gzhis dgon* 'native monastery' [RY]. Mong. *saγurin keyid*.

³⁰⁶ 459-1: Tib. *rje 'di pa*, Mong. *eneküü boγda*.

³⁰⁷ 459-1: Tib. *'dar pa*, in the Mong. version the name *darba* appears as an epithet to 'pandita'. In his autobiography the Fifth Dalai Lama mentioned an official in Tsang supporting him, Darpa Sonam Lhunrub Dorje ('Dar pa bsod nams lhun grub rdo rje) and explained that during the Tsang king's rule, he had a position of *nang so*, translated as 'treasurer', see Karmay 2015: 336 and 440. As to Lama Pandita Choje: according to Lygžima Chaloupková 2003, who studied his biography, the Mong. reincarnation called Darpa Pandita Losang Sopa Gyatso (Blo bzang bzod pa rgya mtsho) was born in 1637 in Khankh of the Khangai Khan mountains in Khalkha. In 1654-1677 he studied in Tibet in Sera, Drepung and Ganden, with Sera Je college as his main monastery. He was appointed as the head of the Darpa lineage monastery in Tsang called rMang mkhar dga' ldan dar rgyas gling by the Fifth Dalai Lama with a task to make peace in the region (against the resistance initiated by the rival Sakya monks). The Dalai Lama bestowed upon him the title of 'Darpa Pandita the Holder of the Dharma'. In 1678 he returned to Mongolia and took part in the meeting at Küren Belcher, where he represented the Jetsundampa and performed the religious ceremonies. See also *Lavain egshig* 1998: 44-48.

³⁰⁸ 459-2-3: Tib. *tsho ba bdun*, Mong. *doloγan qoširγun*. On *tsho ba* and *qoširγun* see note at p. 435-1.

³⁰⁹ 459-2: Tib. *khal kha'i rgyal po*, Mong. *qalq-a-yin γurban qaγan*. Jasagtu Khan, Tüshiyetü Khan and Sechen Khan.

460 took an oath and put law in force in accordance with tradition.³¹⁰

At that time some principalities³¹¹ headed by the chief of the eastern wing³¹² of the Ölets, called Rabten Khado Künsang,³¹³

461 + 464 came to pay respect to this Lord Master.³¹⁴ He bestowed the graciousness of the High Dharma to the majority of gathered monks and lay officials of Khalkha. During this meeting politics and religion³¹⁵ were discussed at length.

At the request of the Majesty [i.e. the Manchu Emperor], Mergen

³¹⁰460-1: Tib. *dam tshig la bkar nas khriṃs tshul dang mthun par gcod du bcug*. Mong. *čarγaja qauli-yi čingγadqaju toγtarγarad yosun-luγ-a jokilduγulun joqačiju* (for: *jokiyaju?*) *ayiladdalčabai*. Tib. *dam tshig* refers to the Buddhist commitment, Skt. *samaya* [JV], however, *dam* means 'a solemn promise, confirmation, oath, pledge' Jäschke 250a, which is followed by *bkar*, 'to proclaim'. The sentence is expressed in Mong. slightly different. There is no information about an oath. Instead there is a general statement about 'establishing tightening of laws in accordance with tradition'. Bira 1995: 13 translates: *tangarag örgön tsaaz yosond zokhildon orov* '[they] took an oath and entered into agreement in accordance with tradition'.

³¹¹Tib. *dgon khag*. Different in Mong. *küčütei noyad*, i.e. 'powerful nobles'.

³¹²460-2: Tib. *ru*, Mong. *γar*. In Tib. the position is given as *dpon po* 'chief, master, lord', while in Mong. *noyon* 'noble'.

³¹³460-2: Tib. *rab brtan mkha' 'gro kun bzang*, Mong. *rabdan qan(g)do günsang*. Probably he was mentioned as Rab brtan wang from the Ölets (Ögelet) in the biography of Changkya / Jangiya Khutugtu, see Sagaster 1967: 238.

³¹⁴460-3-464-1: Tib. *rje 'di pa'i sku gzhogs*, Mong. *enekü boγda-yin gegen*. In this sentence the expressions used in the Tib. and Mong. versions both clearly refer to Zanabazar.

³¹⁵464-2: Tib. *gzhung ba bstan*, Mong. *sajin törü*. Here *gzhung* was translated in its meaning 'rule, government'. It may be discussed whether the meaning 'religious rule' or 'the rule of Buddhist religion' should be taken into consideration. Bira 1995: 13 translates: *tör, shashin*. See the footnote at p. 451-1. Bira's translation (1980: 14) can be understood as 'settled all the questions of religion and state'.

Pandita Rabjampa³¹⁶ and [Zanabazar's] nephew Ganden Dorji³¹⁷

465 were sent to the Majesty King Lord³¹⁸ [to inform him about the results of the meeting].

During the meeting I also went to welcome [the eminent guests]. I made an offering of maṇḍala, a silver vase, silk robes and one hundred horses. On the way back I invited [the guests] to my own monastery. Khan³¹⁹ and Ba(ḡa)tur Khung Tayiji³²⁰ and others came [to visit my place].

466 Milk and curd were served diligently. [The guests offered] seats, cushions, five camels, thirty yaks and three hundred sheep. Three images from the temple were consecrated³²¹ briefly³²² and grains were

³¹⁶ 464-3: Tib. *mer ken paṇḍi ta rab byams pa*, Mong. *rabjimba mergen ban(g)dida*. He is mentioned also at the end of the biography in the list of close disciples of Zanabazar, p. 545-2. According to Sereeter 1999: 98-99 his name was Paljor Rabten, (dPal 'byor rab brtan, Modern Mong. Baljoravdan). He was a Tibetan teacher sent by the Panchen Lama to accompany Zanabazar when he was returning from Tibet. He became the second abbot of Zanabazar's monastery. His next incarnation was Rabten Dorje, (Rab brtan rdo rje, Modern Mong. Gelegravdandorj, 1663-1702), the abbot of Ikh Khüree in 1681-91. See Sereeter 1999: 98. I would like to thank Ganzorig Davaaochir for turning my attention to Sereeter's explanations.

³¹⁷ 464-3: Tib. *dga' ldan rdo rje*, Mong. *geden(g)dorji*. See Bira 1980: 14 mentions Ganden Dorji as a nephew of Zanabazar.

³¹⁸ 465-1: Tib. *gong ma rgyal po'i sku gzhogs*, Mong. *boḡda ejen-ü gegen*. The Manchu Emperor is meant here.

³¹⁹ 465-3: Tib. *rgyal po*, Mong. *qaḡan*. Bira 1995: 32, note 71 suggests that the khan Tüshiyetü Gombodorji was meant. However, since he passed away in 1655, it must refer to the khan Chakhundurji.

³²⁰ 465-3: Tib. *ba' thur hong tha'i ji*, Mong. *baḡatar qungtayiji*. Name is written in Tib., most likely, in the way in which it was pronounced in Mong. Here probably Batur Khung Tayiji from Khalkha was meant. See Karmay 2015: 274.

³²¹ 466-2: Tib. *rab gnas ...mdzad, rabnai ayiladju* (for: *ayiladcu*).

³²² 466-2: Tib. expression *rta thog ma*, lit. 'from a top (or back) of a horse', refers to a consecration which is performed in a brief way. See: Bentor 1996: 94. She explains after T.J.Norbu, that it is 'the ritual which can be performed while riding a galloping horse near the receptacle'. In the Mong. version it is written that the consecration ritual was a short version: *quriyanggui*.

spread.³²³ After one day [the party] was seen off.

In the past, in the time of [Buddha] the Teacher,³²⁴ there were two fully ordained monks: 'Dzapo³²⁵ and Salekye.³²⁶ In many incarnations³²⁷

467 [they] quarreled and due to their hatred a fully ordained monk called Jedbunor³²⁸ and a fully ordained nun Utpalavarṇā³²⁹ were slandered in various ways.

Isn't it similar to this [example] that starting from the time of grandfather of this Lord, Vajra-king,³³⁰ up to now, during the nine generations, excluding only the time of Sengge,³³¹ Khalkhas and Ölöts [used] to be engaged in wars³³² and [due to that] demons arose?³³³

³²³ 466-2: Tib. *phyag nas gtor ba gnang* where *phyag nas* means 'from a hand', *gtor ba* 'spread, scatter' [JV]; in Mong. *sarbai* (for: *arbai*) *sačun qayiralaγad*—'bestowed barley [grains] spreading [them]'.
³²⁴ 466-3: Tib. *ston pa*, Mong. *burqan baγsi*.

³²⁵ 466-3: Tib. *'dza' po*, Mong. *'zaa pō*.

³²⁶ 466-3: Tib. *sa las skyes*, Mong. *lai ji*.

³²⁷ 466-3: Tib. *tshe rabs*, 467-1: Mong. *töröl*.

³²⁸ 467-1: Tib. *gyad bu nor*, Mong. *jidbu nor*.

³²⁹ 467-1: Tib. *utpala'i mdog*, Mong. *udbalai dorγ*. Skt. Utpala or Utpalavarṇā, Mvy 1072.

³³⁰ 467-2: Tib. *rdo rje rgyal po*, Mong. *vačir qaγan*. Here Abutai / Abatai Khan.

³³¹ 467-2-3: Tib. *seng ge*, Mong. *sarsalan* (for: *arsalan*). Sengge, the brother of Galdan Boshugtu is meant.

³³² 467-3: Tib. *'khrug pa byed* 'to take up arms, to begin war' [RY]. In the xylograph version the word *phyed* is used mistakenly.

³³³ 467-3: Tib. *sri langs pa lta bu 'am*, Mong. *buγ kötülügsen metü büyü*. Here Zaya Pandita starts explanation regarding Khalkha-Oirat conflict which led to war and Galdan Boshugtu's invasion on the Khalkha lands. He uses Buddhist argumentation. More on this topic in the chapter "The Historical Background and Its Literary Narratives" of the present work.

468 According to the *Uttaratantra*³³⁴ saints³³⁵ are completely free from the sufferings of being born, aging and getting sick.

Similarly, to what was said, [if we consider] the ultimate meaning,³³⁶ by the power of actions and emotions³³⁷ involuntarily³³⁸ they are free from being born, aging, dying and other sufferings from the core. However, [if we consider] conventional meaning,³³⁹ when the foot of the Buddha Bhagavān³⁴⁰ was pierced by an acacia splinter and when Devadatta³⁴¹

469 flung a stone from a catapult³⁴² and struck fragment of the big toe of his (i.e. Buddha's) foot—blood appeared.

³³⁴ 468-1: Tib. *rgyud bla ma*, Mong. *jüüd blam-a*. Full title: *Mahāyanottaratantra-śāstra* known also as *Ratna-gotra-vibhāga*. The well known Mahāyana Buddhist text included in Tengyur (or Tanjur), Peking ed., vol. 108, no 5525, Derge ed., vol. *phi*, no 4024, Mong. version vol. 44, see Lokesh Chandra 1973-79, Ligeti 1942-44.

³³⁵ 468-1: Tib. *'phags pa*, Mong. *quturṭan*.

³³⁶ 468-2: Tib. *nges don* 'definitive meaning, real meaning, absolute truth, ultimate meaning, *nitārtha*; truth' [RY]. Mong. *maṅad udq-a*.

³³⁷ 468-2: Tib. *las nyon* 'actions and emotions' [RY], in Skt. *karma* and *kleśa*, Mong. *nisvanis* is a translation of only the second Tib. element *nyon*.

³³⁸ 468-2: Tib. *rang dbang med pa*, Mong. *öber[-]ün erke ügei*.

³³⁹ 468-3: Tib. *dran* (for: *drang*) *don*, Mong. *sidurṅu udq-a*.

³⁴⁰ 468-3: Tib. *sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das* 'the Buddha Bhagavan' [RY], Mong. *itaḷu tegüs nögčügsen burḡan*.

³⁴¹ Now Zaya Pandita gives examples of how the Buddha was wrongly treated by his cousin Devadatta. Here only two of his deeds, piercing the Buddha's foot by an acacia splinter and throwing a stone at him are mentioned. Devadatta's behaviour is compared with the actions of Galdan Boshugtu. The reasons for using these examples in the text are explained in the chapter "The Historical Background and Its Literary Narratives" of the present study.

³⁴² 468-3-469-1: Tib. *sgyogs rdo*, Mong. *čü(y)dür čülaḡun* which means 'a stone from a catapult'. Bira 1995: 14 translates as *kharvasan chuluu*, meaning 'stone shot [from a catapult]' Bawden 430b.

A naked women³⁴³ slandered³⁴⁴ [the Buddha].

Shouldn't this and other [similar] actions be interpreted³⁴⁵ accordingly as the ripening [of karma]?

And moreover [another example can be given], the teachings of the Lord Gedun Gyatso³⁴⁶ and his actions which spread in U [province]³⁴⁷ were beneficial for beings. Regarding his friendship with Panchen Yeshe Tsemo,³⁴⁸

470 however, [it can be remarked that] he let [himself] go to U province in a way, that was not pleasing [to Yeshe Tsemo].

Isn't it similar, to what is said, that the deeds of Māra can not reach above the seventh ground [of the spiritual development of bodhisattvas] and his methods to quickly terminate their accumulations³⁴⁹

³⁴³469-1-2: Tib. *gcer bu mo* 'naked woman, goddess Kali' [JV]. Mong. version repeats Tib. words in Mong. pronunciation: *ĵerbü-yin ekiner*, which Bira 1995: 33, note 78 explains: 'in Sanskrit: Naganka'. The Tib. male form: *gcer bu pa* is used to denote Jain ascetics [RY].

³⁴⁴469-2: Tib. *skur ba zhus pa*, Mong. *qoçai* (for: *qoçï*) *taliban* (for: *talbin?*) *öçigsen*. Mong. expression *qoçï talbïγsan* was used previously in this text in 467-2, translated also as 'slandered'.

³⁴⁵469-2: Tib. *bzhes tshul gsum*, but *bzhes tshul gsungs* in the xylograph version, where *gsungs* 'to speak' seems more appropriate than *gsum*, meaning 'three'. In Mong. *ĵoγubγaqui yosun*. In Lessing 1067 *ĵoγuγlaqu* 'to eat, drink, put on' used in elevated style only. Bira 1995: 14 translates: *gurvan yos yavdaltai zokildulan*, i.e. 'fitting with three principles'. Bira takes 'three' as the correct version.

³⁴⁶469-2-3: Tib. *dge 'dun rgya mtsho*, Mong. *gen(g)dün ĵimso*. The Second Dalai Lama of the Gelugpa order, (1475-1542).

³⁴⁷469-3: Tib. *dbus*, Mong. *üi oron*.

³⁴⁸469-3: Tib. *pañ chen ye shes rtse mo*, Mong. *ban(g)çin yesi ĵimso*. Panchen Yeshe Tsemo (born in 1433) was a throne holder in Tashilhunpo monastery in years 1487-1510, see TBRC P481. He bestowed the throne of Tashilhunpo on the Second Dalai Lama. Then he retired to meditate in his Bla brang gzims khang ser po. He was also a biographer of Gedun Drub, see Thupten Jinpa 2013: 126.

³⁴⁹470-2: Tib. *tshogs*, Mong. *çïγubγan*. Or otherwise, it can be explained that after achieving the seventh ground (Skt. *bhūmi*) one will not fall from it, although he may strive for more (in the 10 perfections' system). It is understood that Mara 'provides opportunities for others to act in opposition'. see Rangjung Yeshe Viki.

[are meaningless], [because] bodhisattvas manifest as Māra, the Evil one,³⁵⁰ and make obstacles for him (i.e. Māra).

Devadatta caused harm during³⁵¹ the path of learning³⁵² of the Teacher (i.e. the Buddha)³⁵³

471 in order to quickly terminate the Teacher's accumulation. It is said in many sūtras.³⁵⁴

It is similar to what we may know, or not, regarding what was said in a sūtra³⁵⁵ about generating bodhicitta from our³⁵⁶ Teacher's (i.e. the Buddha's) deeds many eons³⁵⁷ ago by Devadatta.

About the reason of ignorance Buddha Bhagavān also said: "I or a similar

472 individual³⁵⁸ should know his own limits (i.e. control himself).³⁵⁹ If an individual does not control himself, he certainly degenerates." This is said and, according to it in a general sense, individuals do not control themselves.

In particular [one example can be shown:] the Panchen [Lama],³⁶⁰ the great omniscient one, recognized the incarnation of Khedub Sangye

³⁵⁰ 470-2: Tib. *bdud*, Mong. *simnus*. BHSD 430b, Mvy 6423 (Mong. 6401).

³⁵¹ 470-3: Tib. *gnas skabs su* 'at occasion, circumstances', but in Mong. *erte*, meaning 'in the past'.

³⁵² 470-3: Tib. *slob lam*, Mong. *surulčaqu mör*.

³⁵³ 470-3: Tib. *ston pa* 'teacher', while in Mong. *burqan* 'the Buddha'.

³⁵⁴ 471-1: Tib. *mdo sde*, Mong. *sudur-un ayimaγ*.

³⁵⁵ 471-2: See the chapter "The Historical Background and Its Literary Narratives" of the current work, where *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* was mentioned.

³⁵⁶ 471-1-2: Tib. *bdag cag gi*, Mong. *bürid-ü*. Mong. version is not a translation of Tib. 'our' and probably came from *bürin*, which means 'complete, fully'.

³⁵⁷ 471-2: Tib. *bskal pa*, Mong. *γalab*. Skt. *kalpa*.

³⁵⁸ 472-1: Tib. *gang zag*, Mong. *bodgali*, Skt. *puḍgala*.

³⁵⁹ 472-1: Tib. *tshod gzung ba* for *bzung ba* 'keeping control over one's own actions' [RY], Mong. *kemji/ye/l-i barimui*.

³⁶⁰ 472-2-3: Tib. *paṅ chen*, Mong. *bangč'in boγda*.

Yeshe³⁶¹ [in Galdan Boshugtu], and genuinely showed him his kindness.³⁶²

473 If his (i.e. the Panchen Lama's)³⁶³ words are beyond interpretation³⁶⁴ [then Galdan Boshugtu] was indeed the reincarnation of Khe-dub Sangye Yeshe, who was a great saint and this is similar to what was said earlier.

Relying on this Lord (i.e. Zanabazar),³⁶⁵ the Emperor established close ties³⁶⁶ [with him on the path leading to] enlightenment and emancipation.³⁶⁷ The reason of it should be understood³⁶⁸ as words beyond (i.e. which do not require) interpretation.³⁶⁹

³⁶¹472-3: Tib. *mkhas grub sangs rgyas ye shes*, Mong. *qayidub sangji ishi*.

³⁶²472-3: Tib. *bdag rkyen mdzad*, Mong. *ayiralan jokiyabai*.

³⁶³The whole passage poses difficulties for translation. The Tib. versions differ among themselves. The Mong. translation is hardly understandable. Most probably Zaya Pandita's meaning was difficult to comprehend or part of his text was missing, and both copyists and translators created their own versions. Therefore the English translation should be treated as tentative.

³⁶⁴473-1: Tib. *dgongs pa can gyi gsung min tshe*, in which *dgongs pa can* means 'implied, indirect [meaning], intentional, intended meaning' [RY]. This phrase, however, was translated into Mong. as *taγalal jarliγ* 'pleasing speech', since *taγalal-tu* means 'agreeable, pleasing', Lessing 763b. Bira 1995: translates as *taalalt zarliγ busyn cagt*, i.e. 'not meant as pleasing speech' (?).

³⁶⁵473-2: Tib. *rje <'di> par brten nas*, Mong. *ene boγda-dur šitüjü*.

³⁶⁶473-2-3: Tib. *'brel bar gyur pa'i thabs su 'gyur ba* in which Tib. *'brel ba byed pa* 'to have contact, relations' [IW]. Mong. *barildaγulqu* (for: *barildaγulqu*)-*yin arγ-a-dur bolqu*, in which *barildaγulqu* means 'to arrange mutual relation', see Lessing 87b.

³⁶⁷473-2: Tib. *byang grol* 'enlightenment and emancipation' [RY], Mong. *tonilqu tuγulqu*.

³⁶⁸473-2: Tib. *shes la* 'in order to know', 'because it is known', 'when it was known' etc., translated into Mong. as *bayidaltai* 'looking like'. However, in the Tib. xylograph edition (138-1=69v1=BR 41b1) there is *shas kha* which means 'part, share'. Bira 1995: 14 translates this phrase as *oilguushtai* 'seems to be understood, understandable' (the word is missing in Lessing and Bawden's dictionaries, however, it is constructed similarly to deverbal nouns in which suffix *-ši* with negation is added to verbs resulting in meaning 'unfit to act on', Poppe 1991: 49; here, however, the comitative ending *-tai* gives positive meaning, i.e. 'possible to do'.

³⁶⁹473-3: There is a difference in the Tib. versions. In the bilingual manuscript from

And because of that, while enjoying life³⁷⁰ of an ordinary being,³⁷¹ with mind possessed by Māra,³⁷²

474 Galdan Boshugtu³⁷³ asked this Lord (i.e. the Jetsundampa): "Why didn't you bow your head to the Throne Holder of Geden (i.e. Ganden)?"³⁷⁴ and so on and sent a slandering letter.

This Lord's anger did not grow, but all the great and petty chieftains headed by the khan could not bear [their anger] and the majority of the seven divisions³⁷⁵ raised armies. The Khan of the right wing³⁷⁶ and Daiching Khung Tayiji³⁷⁷

475 cultivated a friendship³⁷⁸ with Boshugtu, [but] due to many improper deeds they were captured. Later some of the chieftains of the khan of Uriyangkhai,³⁷⁹ Khalkha right (western) wing, were conquered by

Buryatia the Tib. version reads *yin* 'is', while in the xylograph (138-1=69v1=BR 41b1) there is negation: *min* 'which is not'. Mong. *mön boluγad* 'really became'. Bira 1995: 14 translates as *bus bolj* 'being not that'. Bira divides the Tibetan text in different way and connects 'not pleasing speech' with further fragment on Māra.

³⁷⁰474-3: Tib. *dga' ba yin tshe*. In Mong. different meaning: *mön čaγtu* 'at that time'. Bira 1995: 14 translates as *mön bolokh cagt*, i.e. 'time which is coming'.

³⁷¹473-3: Tib. *mi rang* 'human being' [JV] or 'he himself', Mong. *ütele-yin kümün* 'common people'. Bira 1995: 14 *egel yerdiin khün* 'common people'.

³⁷²473-3: Tib. *bdud kyis yid brlams pa*, in which *rlom pa* means 'assume, presumption, arrogant assumption' [RY]. Mong. *simnus-iyar sedkil-eče toγtaγsan* probably means 'mind fixed by Māra'. Bira 1995: 14 translates as *shulmast setgelee dogdhuulsan / khödelgüülse* 'mind worked out by Māra', 'mind moved by Māra'. On Skt. Māra see BHSD 430b, Tib. and Mong. translations in Mvy 6423 (Mong. 6401).

³⁷³474-1: Tib. *gda' ldan po shog thu*, Mong. 473-3–474-1 *γadan* (for: *γaldan*) *bošoγtu*.

³⁷⁴474-1: Tib. *dge ldan khri pa*, Mong. *geden tiba*.

³⁷⁵474-3: Tib. *tsho ba bdun*, Mong. *doloγan qosıγu*. On *tsho ba* and *qosıγu* see note at p. 435-1.

³⁷⁶474-3: Tib. *g.yas ru*, Mong. *baraγun qosıγun*. Again the Mong. term *qosıγu* was used, although in the Tib. original *ru* ('province, district') appeared.

³⁷⁷474-3: Tib. *ta'i ching hong tha'i ji*, Mong. *dayičing qung[-]tayiji*.

³⁷⁸475-1: Tib. *mdza' mo byas*—most probably wrongly for *mdza' byas* 'to cultivate friendship', while *mdza' mo* means 'a girlfriend, mistress'. Mong. *žokildun ayiladju* (for: *ayiladču*) 'be on agreement'.

³⁷⁹475-2: Tib. *u rāng khang*, Mong. *urıyangqan*. According to Atwood in the 17th

Galdan Boshugtu and because of that they became Boshugtu's spies. [As such] they accompanied the younger chief Dorjijab³⁸⁰ and were killed with him.

Because of that, from U-Tsang

476 Gyel Metog Thang's³⁸¹ abbot came to mediate [the situation]³⁸² as a representative of the government of [the Dalai Lama].³⁸³

In the month of the Monkey³⁸⁴ he went in person and intervened³⁸⁵ and because of that all the Khalkha troops headed by Vajra Tüshiyetü Khan³⁸⁶ accepted [it].³⁸⁷

In the second month of the Earth Dragon year (1689)³⁸⁸ called *rnam 'byung* Boshugtu raised his soldiers from his own lands and conquere-

century this name was applied by Mongols "for all the dispersed bands to the northwest, whether Samoyed, Turkish, or Mongolian in origin." Atwood 2004: 9a.

³⁸⁰475-3: Tib. *dpon chung rdo rje skyabs*, Mong. *ded noyan dorjī jab*. The younger brother of Galdan Boshugtu.

³⁸¹476-1: Tib. *rgyal me tog thang*, Mong. *jal midar tang*. According to TBRC G4634 a monastery founded by the Second Dalai Lama, Gedun Gyatso. Its other name is *chos 'khor rgyal (rgya tshwa rdzong)*.

³⁸²476-1: Tib. *chings la phebs pa*, in which *chings* means 'intervention, mediation' [IW]. Mong. .

³⁸³475-3: Tib. *gzhung gi sku tshab la* 'as a representative of the government'. However, in the Mong. version there is a longer explanation that the 'letter of invitation to assembly was sent': *sidqaran* (for: *sidirya*?) *quraqu jarliγ-un bičig-i jalajū*. In Mong. *quraqu* means 'to assembly', however, *sidqaran* or *sidarqan* is not clear, perhaps *sidurγa* 'honest, loyal', Lessing 698. Bira 1995: 15 translates this fragment in the following way: *evlerüülekhcer zarliqün bičig zalan*—'sent a letter of mediation'.

³⁸⁴476-1: Tib. *sprel zla*, Mong. *bečün sara*.

³⁸⁵476-1: Tib. *chings byas pa*. But in Mong. *quraqu bičig ergügsen* 'presented a letter to assemble'.

³⁸⁶476-2: Tib. *rdo rje thu she ye thu rgyal po*, Mong. *vačir tüshiyetü qan*. Here Chakhundorji, the younger brother of Zanabazar is meant.

³⁸⁷476-2: Tib. *long* can be the past form of *lang ba* 'to get up, to rise, to arise' and *len pa* to receive, accept' [JV], Jäschke 542b, 551. In Mong. *baγuγsan* 'came down, dismounted'.

³⁸⁸476-2: Tib. *sa 'brug*, Mong. *luu*. In the Mong. version the element 'earth' is missing.

red³⁸⁹ about two principalities (i.e. noble's divisions)³⁹⁰ called Eljigen³⁹¹ of the right wing of Khalkha.³⁹²

477 Then, gradually, he arrived at the land of Khalkha majority. Owing to his (i.e. Galdan Boshugtu's) advanced merits³⁹³ all Khalkha fled.³⁹⁴

The Erdeni Juu monastery³⁹⁵ and other famous³⁹⁶ temples and monasteries were damaged one by one. Some were destroyed [completely] and at some [monasteries] images were destroyed. In the Lord's (i.e. Zanabazar's) encampment,³⁹⁷ images, both great and small were destroyed, while the monastery Ribo Gegye Ling³⁹⁸ was demolished completely and many

³⁸⁹ 476-2: Tib. *bcom* 'conquered', Mong. 'made dependent', since *sitüged* conv. imperf. of *sitü-* 'to rely on, depend upon', Lessing 720a.

³⁹⁰ 476-3: Tib. *dpon khag* 'principality' [JV], Mong. *küčütei noyan* 'powerful nobles'. Bira 1995: 15 translates: *khoyor khösgüig darav* 'conquered two charts (vehicles)'.
³⁹¹ 476-3: Tib. *el ci ken*, Mong. *eljigen*. This group living in western Mongolia is described in Ochir and Gerelbadrakh 2003: 116-119, where also explanations about the origin of the name are provided. During the 17th century they were under Jasagtu Khan's rule. I am indebted to Odbayar Ganbaataryn for providing citation.

³⁹² 476-3: Tib. *khal kha g.yas ru*, Mong. *qalq-a baraγun qosirγun*. On *qosirγu* see note at p. 435-1.
³⁹³ 477-1: Tib. <*kho*> *rang gi bsod nams dar bas*, Mong. *tegün[-]ü öber[-]ün jayaγ-a delgeregsen-iyer*.

³⁹⁴ 477-1: Tib. '*ur* means 'noise', but '*ur* 'ded byed pa 'swoop'. Probably the second meaning is correct, since the Mong. translation stems from: *dürbekü* 'to run or flee in panic', Lessing 281b.

³⁹⁵ 477-2: Erdeni Juu by that time was a temple with no strict affiliation, although the services were conducted by the Sakya order. See Tsendina 1999: 45-46 on the Sakya and Gelugpa relations in Mongolia in the 16th and 17th centuries, Bareja-Starzynska 2012: 137. Perhaps the connection with Sakya made it possible for the Gelugpa supporter Galdan Boshugtu to attack this temple and as well as other Khalkha Buddhist sites.

³⁹⁶ 477-2: Mong. *nertei* which is missing in the Tib. Version. JC read it as *erdeni*, i.e. 'precious'.

³⁹⁷ 477-3: Tib. *bzhugs sgar*, Mong. *saγurin küriyen*.

³⁹⁸ 477-3: Tib. *ri bo dge rgyas gling* while in Mong. *ken(g)tei-yin keyid* which means 'monastery of Kentei'. See p. 463-1 of the present translation.

478 other wrong³⁹⁹ deeds were done.

At that time it was said that if someone's actions terminated,⁴⁰⁰ it was similar to the achievements accomplished by⁴⁰¹ one thousand Bud-dhas.

This Lord (i.e. Zanabazar) knew, that owing to [their past] deeds the tragedy of the Khalkhas would come⁴⁰² and he went⁴⁰³ in the direction of the [Manchu] Emperor.

After only a few days of some slight fatigue, and without further delay, he went towards Uriyangkhai⁴⁰⁴ and Daiching⁴⁰⁵ of the Khalkha left wing.⁴⁰⁶

479 All people there showed great respect and reverence [to Jetsundampa] and worshipped him and served him with utmost care. At that time the Emperor with amban Beihatalar⁴⁰⁷ and others sent nobles⁴⁰⁸ as well as servants with millet and yaks and sheep⁴⁰⁹ and many presents to the Master (i.e. Jetsundampa).

³⁹⁹ 477-3–478-1: Tib. *mi rigs pa*, Mong. *ḡokis ügei*.

⁴⁰⁰ 478-1: Tib. *las zad na* 'if deeds (karma) terminated', while in Mong. *ḡayaḡ-a baruḡdabasū* lit. 'if fate was exhausted'. Both expressions denote someone's death.

⁴⁰¹ 478-1: Tib. *mdzad pa zad* 'achievements terminated' was translated into Mong. as *ḡokiyal mö[r]ḡö(de)müi* 'we pray to the accomplishments'. Since in this way Mong. version does not make sense, there must be a mistake in it. Bira 1995: 15 translates this passage as *zohyol baragdana*, i.e. 'acts will terminate'.

⁴⁰² 478-2: Tib. *rtus nyes* for *jus nyes* meaning 'tragedy, wrong strategy, unlucky event' [IW]. In Mong. *doruyital* 'decline'.

⁴⁰³ 478-2: In Mong. version it is added: *degeg(e)ši*, i.e. 'upward'.

⁴⁰⁴ 478-3: Tib. *u rāng khang*, Mong. *uriyangqan*. See footnote at the translation of p. 475-2.

⁴⁰⁵ 478-3-479-1: Tib. *ta'i ching*, Mong. *Dayičin[ḡ]*.

⁴⁰⁶ 478-3: Tib. *khal kha ḡ.yon ru*, Mong. *qalq-a ḡegün qosiyun*. On *qosiyun* see note at p. 435-1.

⁴⁰⁷ 479-2: Tib. *be'a kha ta lar am pang*, Mong. *qadalara amban*. Bira 1995: 15 writes: 'Beihatalar amban'.

⁴⁰⁸ 479-2: 'Nobles' are expressed in Tib. as *mi bzang*, from *bzang ba* 'noble', 'good'; in Mong. *sayid kergemten* 'dignitaries'.

⁴⁰⁹ 479-2-3: Tib. *khre dang nor lug*, Mong. *čaling budaḡ-a kiged . üker qoni*. The difference is *čaling* i.e. 'wages' in the Mong. version, missing in the Tib.

In the fourth *hor* month of the Iron Sheep year (1691)⁴¹⁰ called *skyes bdag*

480 the Emperor arrived at Dologan Nagur (Dolonnur).⁴¹¹ He received this Master (i.e. Jetsundampa) and all the great and petty chieftains headed by the two Khalkha khans in audience. On behalf of all people [the Emperor] invited this Master to the tent used in the past by the Emperor⁴¹² and exchanged ceremonial scarfs⁴¹³ and met with him. They experienced great joy [since they felt] as if they had united their minds⁴¹⁴ into one.⁴¹⁵

481 Then [the Jetsundampa] went to the great residence⁴¹⁶ and held there an exquisite feast.

Also on one day the Emperor visited this Lord's (i.e. Zanabazar's) tent.⁴¹⁷ Many previous incarnations [of emperors and lamas] kept the 'patron and priest relationship'⁴¹⁸ and showed unparalleled close mu-

⁴¹⁰ 479-3: Tib. *lcags lug*, Mong. *temür qonin*.

⁴¹¹ 480-1: Tib. *mtsho bdun*, Mong. *doloγan naγur*. Modern Mong. Doloon Nuur, Chin. Dolon Nor. Here the meeting of Khalkha khans and nobles with the Manchu Emperor took place which is regarded as the Khalkha submission under the Manchu rule. The political events, however, are not described by Zaya Pandita.

⁴¹² 480-2: Tib. *gong ma'i gzims gur* 'the imperial tent', while in Mong. *ᠵᠢᠷᠭᠠᠭᠤ ᠣᠷᠳᠤᠨ*. Mong. *ᠵᠢᠷᠭᠠᠭᠤ* means 'to be happy', hon. 'to sleep', therefore it should be translated as 'palace of resting', 'residence'. Bira 1995: 15 translates similarly: *jargakh (untakh) ordon*.

⁴¹³ 480-2: Tib. *mjal dar* 'Tibetan ceremonial scarf (hon.)' [RY]. In Mong. *ᠣᠭᠦᠷᠬᠦ* (for: *ᠣᠷᠭᠦᠬᠦ*, i.e. *ergükü* 'to show respect', Lessing 325b. This word is repeated in the manuscript again by mistake.

⁴¹⁴ 480-3: Tib. expression *thugs yid gcig tu 'dres pa* was used earlier in this text to denote union of teacher and disciple, see p. 418-3, while describing a meeting of Abutai (Abatai) Khan with Sonam Gyatso. In the Mong. version word *tuγtam*, which means 'at first' or 'anew' is added.

⁴¹⁵ Bira 1980: 15 referred to this passage in English as follows: "the emperor and Undur-Gegen, having met each other, came to full understanding and harmony."

⁴¹⁶ 481-3–482-1: Tib. *bzhugs gral chen mo*, however, in Mong. *yeke yamun-a*, i.e. 'great office'. Bira 1995: 15 translates it as *Ih suudal*, i.e. 'great residence'. Lessing 659a.

⁴¹⁷ 481-2: Tib. *gzims gur*, while in Mong. *ᠵᠢᠷᠭᠠᠭᠤ ᠣᠷᠳᠤᠨ*, i.e. lit. 'palace of resting'.

⁴¹⁸ 481-2: Tib. *sku gong ma mang por mchod yon 'brel pa yod pa*, while in Mong. *erten-ü*

tual relations. Owing to that fact, at the present time many containers with gold and silver and one thousand silver coins⁴¹⁹

482 [the Emperor] presented to the Lord together with his own imperial tent⁴²⁰ and a charger, the best riding horse with a saddle and full equipment (for riding).⁴²¹

Also in winter that year [the Jetsundampa] was requested to visit [the Emperor] in his great palace in Beijing and [accordingly, he] went to the great palace.⁴²² At that time, as in the past while inviting the Victorious Great Omniscient (i.e. the Dalai Lama), the ruler's uncle⁴²³ and elder brother and authorities⁴²⁴ headed by eight principal great lords,⁴²⁵

483 as well as other nobles,⁴²⁶ great and petty, arrived and erected cotton tents outside the palace⁴²⁷ and welcomed [the Jetsundampa] lavishly with ceremonial tea. He was then invited to the palace and the Emperor came to welcome him. [The Emperor arrived] about two or

ečen (for: *ejen*) *olan üy-e blam-a öglige-yin ezen* (for: *ejen*) *bolulčarγsan* meaning 'in the past many generations of emperors were almsgivers [of] the lamas'.

⁴¹⁹481-3: Tib. *dn̄gul srang stong phrag gcig*, Mong. *nige mingγan lang mönggü*.

⁴²⁰482-1: Tib. *gong ma rang gi gzims gur*, while in Mong. *öber[-]ün jürγaqu ordu qarsi*, i.e. 'his own palace of resting'.

⁴²¹482-1: Tib. *chibs chen sga bcas tshang ma rnams*, Mong. *übaši emegel qajγar-tai kölḡen-ü mori-nuγud*. In the Mong. version there is a Plural ending, while in the Tib. version it seems that only one best horse was presented. Bira 1995: 15 translates in Plural: *khüleg mor'dyγ örgöv*.

⁴²²482-2: Tib. *pho brang chen po* 'great palace', while in Mong. *begejing*, i.e. Beijing.

⁴²³482-3: Tib. *rgyal po'i a khu*, Mong. *ejen-ü abaγ-a*.

⁴²⁴482-3: Tib. *dbang*, Mong. *dbang*. Bira 1995: 15 translates as *noyod* 'lord, prince, chief, superior', Lessing 589b.

⁴²⁵482-3: Tib. *gt̄sos pa'i dbang chen po*, Mong. *örü jerge-yin vang*. Bira 1995: 15 translates as *ih van* 'great prince'. This passage refers most probably to the heads of the Manchu eight banners. See Atwood 451a.

⁴²⁶483-1: Tib. *mi bzang* 'noble', while in Mong. *ambas*, which is Plural of *amban* 'minister, governor, dignitary', Lessing 36b. Bira 1995: 15 translates as *said tūshmed* 'ministers, dignitaries'.

⁴²⁷483-1: Tib. *pho brang* 'palace', while in Mong. *begejing* 'Beijing'.

three days earlier [to secure] that [arrangements were made] inside the palace for the relaxation and comfort [of Zanabazar] and many things were discussed and arranged accordingly.

484 In the eleventh *hor* month⁴²⁸ this Lord (i.e. Zanabazar) was invited to the residence at Sirga (i.e. Sirha river)⁴²⁹ to consecrate a life size statue of the Buddha Śākyamuni⁴³⁰ and one hundred statues of Amitāyus⁴³¹ each the size of more than one cubit, founded by Tha'i hung tha'i hu (i.e. the Empress Xiaozhuang), the previous Emperor's mother,⁴³² and golden Kanjur(s)⁴³³ [prepared] for the completion of death commemoration offering for the Great Tha'i hu (i.e. Xiaozhuang).⁴³⁴

485 That day the Master was wearing an exemplary coat with sable fur lining inside and a throne robe [made] outside with black fox exterior with silken lining ornamented with pearls, a black fox yellow hat of the Gelugpa order decorated with golden vajra castings, and fully accomplished exquisite robes⁴³⁵ patched with golden thread,

⁴²⁸ 484-1: Tib. *hor zla ba bcu gcig*, while in Mong. *ebül[-]ün dumdadu sar[-]a*, i.e. 'middle month of the winter'. The story was related also by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten in his biography of Zanabazar (1839) ff. 34b2, see Uspensky 2011: 174.

⁴²⁹ 484-1: Tib. *shar ka'i khu rē*, Mong. *sary-a* (for: *sirγ-a*)-*yin küriyen*. Bira 1995: 16 *Sharyn khüreen*. Sagaster 1967: 235, footnote 822 explains that the name of this place was written in several ways in different sources, however, it refers to the summer residence at Sirha river in the Jehol province.

⁴³⁰ 484-2: Tib. *thub dbang*, Mong. *sigemuni*.

⁴³¹ 484-2: Tib. *tshe dpag med*, Mong. *ayuši*.

⁴³² 484-1: Tib. *gong ma chen po snga ma'i yum tha'i hung tha'i hu*, Mong. *uridaki šenčü ežen-ü eke tayiqu-yin tayiqu*. Khorchin lady, who later became the Empress Dowager Xiaozhuang (1613-1688). A concubine and later spouse of Hong Tayiji, mother of Emperor Shunzhi, grand mother of Emperor Kangxi, whom she raised. See Atwood 2004: 451.

⁴³³ In both versions, Tib. and Mong., there are Plural particles: 484-3; Tib. *bka' 'gyur gser ma rnams*, Mong. *altan γanjuur-nurγud*.

⁴³⁴ 484-2: Tib. *tha'i hu chen mo*, Mong. *yeke tayiqu*.

⁴³⁵ 485-3: Tib. *gos khyad 'phags las grub pa'i sku chos*, Mong. *ilangγuy-a ketürkei nomtu debel*. Bira 1995: 16 translates a bit differently as *ülemj deed torgoor khiisen nomyn deel*, i.e. 'monk's robe made of exquisite silk'.

486 a monastic shawl made of *shin shing cang*,⁴³⁶ shoes⁴³⁷ decorated with pearls, corals and other precious jewels and so on, and the whole set of garments, [which was] a gift, accepted by him in order to please the Emperor.

Clergy from Khalkha and from the palace,⁴³⁸ one hundred each, assembled in order to become retinue⁴³⁹ [of the Jetsundampa].

The incarnation of Neyichi Toyin⁴⁴⁰ from Köke khota,⁴⁴¹ Chojor Rabjampa⁴⁴²

487 and Tsangpa Kukye⁴⁴³ and twenty five monks from the palace and twenty five servants of this Lord [Zanabazar], altogether fifty monks within two days performed consecration for the sake of the ‘Thirteen Deities’⁴⁴⁴ of the glorious Vajrabhairava, a form of Yamāntaka.⁴⁴⁵

⁴³⁶Expression not found in dictionaries. Most probably a Chinese (?) name for a kind of wool used to make good quality shawls.

⁴³⁷486-1: Tib. *zhabs bcags* ‘ground, territory’, however, the word should be written as *zhabs chags* which means ‘shoes’. Mong. *boyiba*. Bira 1995: 16 translates into Modern Mong. as *boiva* which is a rarely used word for ‘foot, shoe’, see Bawden 54b (*boiv*, *boivog*) and which Bira explains by another word: *gotal* which is used in Modern Mong. for ‘shoes’.

⁴³⁸486-2: Tib. *pho brang gi ser mo*, while in Mong. *süm-e-yin quvaraγ* ‘of the temple’.

⁴³⁹486-1: Tib. *phyig phyir* but in the xylograph correctly: *phyag phyir*, Mong. *baraγ-a bolγaqu*.

⁴⁴⁰486-3: Tib. *gnas bcu*, Mong. *gnasbaču toyin*. Perhaps Neyichi Toyin who was a famed Mongolian Torgut monk proselytizing among Ongnigud and Khorchin Mongols. On his biography see Kollmar-Paulenz 2008.

⁴⁴¹486-3: Tib. *mkhar sngon*, Mong. *köke qota*, modern Hohhot. On Neyichi Toyin’s activity in Hohhot and Baga Juu monastery see Elverskog 2003: 208, footnote 66. See also information at 543-1.

⁴⁴²486-3-487-1: Tib. *chos ’byor rab ’byams pa*, Mong. *čoyijor rabjamba*. He was mentioned in the biography of Changkya / Jangiya Khutugtu as the ‘Jasag Lama of Beijing’: *begčing-ün jasaγ blam-a*, see Sagaster 1967: 107, 77v6-7.

⁴⁴³487-1: Tib. *tsang pa sku skye*, Mong. *jangba qubilγan*. He was mentioned in the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, see Karmay 2015: 370.

⁴⁴⁴487-2: Tib. *lha bcu gsum*, Mong. *arban γurban burqan*. The group of thirteen deities accompanying Vajrabhairava, in Tib. full name is: *dpal rdo rje ’jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma*.

⁴⁴⁵487-2: Tib. *rdo rje ’jigs byed*, Mong. *yaman(g)daga*. In the Tib. version Yamāntaka

Other monks made offerings to the teachers⁴⁴⁶ in the two temples on the right and left and

488 [performed] the rite etc. of Amitāyus⁴⁴⁷ and after completing the consecration recited Kanjur for three days.

He (i.e. the Emperor) made a great offering [to Jetsundampa] starting with the tea pot of the Great Tha'i hu (Xiaozhuang)⁴⁴⁸ and [her] tea churner [made] of one hundred lang of gold and a big silver pot etc.⁴⁴⁹

Afterwards according to the order of the Emperor, [the Jetsundampa] went to visit [the sacred] images⁴⁵⁰ of the Chinese temples situated in the mountains in the right direction from the Palace (i.e. Beijing).⁴⁵¹

489 Amban⁴⁵² Sor Sung Tor Ken⁴⁵³ and Batulai⁴⁵⁴ became his retinue. Then he went to U'i chin shang.⁴⁵⁵ Then he went by boat on the river

is called 'glorious' *dpal*, which is missing in the Mong. version. Bira 1995: 16 translates as *tsogt ochir Yamandaga*, i.e. 'glorious Vajra Yamāntaka'.

⁴⁴⁶487-3: Tib. *bla ma mchod pa*, Mong. *blam-a-yin takil*. These are rituals of veneration of the teachers, i.e. guru.

⁴⁴⁷488-1: Tib. *tshe chog*, a short expression in which *tshe* stands for *tshe dpag med*, i.e. Amitāyus; in Mong. *ayusi-yin čorγ-a* with full name Ayusi for Amitāyus. Bira 1995: 16 translates as *Ayushün zan uil* 'rite of Amitāyus'.

⁴⁴⁸488-12: Tib. *tha'i hu chen mo*, Mong. *yeke tayiqu*. See translation of p. 484-2.

⁴⁴⁹Similarly in Ngawang Yeshe Thubten's biography of Zanabazar (1839) ff. 35a5, see Uspensky 2011: 174.

⁴⁵⁰488-3: Tib. *rten mjal* means literally 'to visit images' but can be understood as: *rten mjal phyag mchod* 'to visit images and venerate them'. In Mong. *burqan sitügen-e mörgöküi* 'to pray / to salute to the Buddha images'. See Lessing 549a.

⁴⁵¹488-3: Tib. *pho brang*, Mong. *begejing*.

⁴⁵²489-1: Tib. *am bang*, in the xylograph: *am pa*. In Mong. instead of *amban* there is *alban* which means 'official obligation or service', Lessing 27b.

⁴⁵³489-1: Tib. *sor sung tor ken*, Mong. *sūr sūng durgan*.

⁴⁵⁴489-1: Tib. *pa thu la*, Mong. *batulai*. He is referred to again on p. 501. The Fifth Dalai Lama in his autobiography mentioned Bathula Dorjebum from Ordos 'or *dus su'i ba thu la rdo rje 'bum*, see Karmay 2015: 284 (in translation he is mentioned as Dorjebum of Wordu Subathula).

⁴⁵⁵489-2: Tib. *u'i chin shang*, Mong. *üi čin šan*.

to Chan chu yang⁴⁵⁶ and stayed there for two to three days. Then he went [back]⁴⁵⁷ to the Palace (Beijing). Then he visited⁴⁵⁸ all [the sacred] images in the temples outside the Palace starting with the image of the Sandalwood Buddha.⁴⁵⁹

490 He made many sorts of different offerings, real and imagined, and prayed for the spread of the [Buddha's] teachings.

Moreover, on the way back, he made great offerings starting with a silver tea churner of fifty lang, silver bowl of fifty lang, fifty bolts of cloth,⁴⁶⁰ five hundred velvet cushions, a golden saddle and others.

In the past, in the happy time in the Tiger year (1686),

491 at the end of the 'month of miracles'⁴⁶¹ at the camp of the four divisions of the eastern wing⁴⁶² all scholar-translators discussed and decided in harmony to translate the *Dag yig za ma tog*⁴⁶³ into Mongolian.

⁴⁵⁶489-2: Tib. *chan chu yang*, Mong. *čanču yang*. The place, called *Čang čung yuvan süm-e* is described in the biography of Changkya / Jangiya Khutugtu, *Subud erike*. Its garden is full of fruit trees, flowers, lotuses etc. See Sagaster 1967: 267.

⁴⁵⁷489-3: In the Mong. version *sögürkü* instead of *sörgekü*, which is the causative from of *sörkü* 'to move in a contrary direction', Lessing 732a.

⁴⁵⁸490-1: Tib. *mjal*, but Mong. *kesčü* which should be corrected into *kesüjü* from *kesükü* 'to wander, to visit', see Lessing 460a. However, the writing can also be read as *gesčü* from *geskü* 'to be corrected', which however, does not make sense. Jin Chengxi corrected it into *geskejü* from *geskekü* 'to correct' which, however, does not fit either.

⁴⁵⁹489-3: Tib. *tsan dan jo bo*, Mong. *jan(g)dan juu*. On the Sandalwood Buddha in Beijing see Charleux 2016: 38-39. She underlines the Jetsundampa's visit in 1695 and the audience granted by the Kangxi Emperor in front of the statue.

⁴⁶⁰490-2: Tib. *gos yug* 'roll of cloth' [IW], 'piece of cloth or satin enough for making a robe'. In Mong. a bit different version: *torγ-a mangnuγ*, in which *torγ-a* means 'silk' and *mangnuγ* means 'brocade', therefore the gift is described as more valuable. Bira 1995: 16 translates as *tavin бүкхел торо* 'fifty full [bolts] of silk'.

⁴⁶¹491-1: Tib. *cho 'phrul smon*, Mong. *čarγan sarayin yerügel*. Mong. version means 'prayer of the White Month' which is the New Year.

⁴⁶²491-1: Tib. *g.yon ru tsho ba bzhi*, Mong. *jegün qosıru dörben baγ*.

⁴⁶³491-2: Tib. *dag yig za ma tog*, Mong. *dakyik zam-a dök*. Full Tib. name *Dag yig rin chen za ma tog* which is a versified dictionary (explaining Tibetan orthography) [IW], written in the 16th century by Zhalu Lotsaba Chokhyong Sangpo (Zha lu lo tshā ba chos

Moreover, since in the old Mongolian script⁴⁶⁴ many letters were similar to each other and pronunciation did not resemble the modern one,⁴⁶⁵ this Master (i.e. the Jetsundampa)

492 created a new and correct Mongolian script⁴⁶⁶ based on Lañca script.⁴⁶⁷

[He also] intended to translate Kanjur⁴⁶⁸ to Mongolian. However, unfortunate times came and therefore this wish was not accomplished.

At that time I asked [the Master] whether [in order to repay] some of the gifts [which I had obtained from him], he would agree that I

skyong bzang po, 1441-1528). See TBRC P856 and W25159. Bira 1995: 33 in note 93 wrote the Sanskrit name of the Tibetan master's as Darmabala (Dharmapāla) instead of Dharmabhadra.

⁴⁶⁴Here the Mongolian script used for writing in the Classical Mongolian is mentioned. It is called also Uighur-Mongolian. On Mong. books and scripts see Kara 2005, Shagdarsüren 1981.

⁴⁶⁵This sentence underlines the phonological observations made by Zanabazar, on the Mongolian language, shared by his biographer, Zaya Pandita. However, it is known that the Soyombo Script enabled Mongols to write in three languages and its use for recitation of Sanskrit mantras, as well as correctly rendering Tib. names and words seem equally important. There is no information here about yet another script, Horizontal Square Script or Zanabazar Square Script created by Zanabazar, most probably prior to the creation of the Soyombo script. See Byambaa Ragchaa 2005: 9. It was probably modeled after the Phagpa Square Script by 'Phags pa bla ma chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1235-1280). On Zanabazar's scripts see also Anshuman Pandey's Unicode Standard projects.

⁴⁶⁶492-1: Tib. *sog yig gser* (for: *gsar*) *pa legs pa* 'Mongolian script new and correct', in the Mong. translation 'new' is missing: *mongγol üsüg sayiqan nigen* 'certain Mongolian elegant script'. Bira 1995: 17 translates as *mongol negen sain shine üseg*. It is very important information about the creation of the Soyombo Script by Zanabazar, although its name did not appear in the biography. See also note 95 by Bira 1995: 34 that the name Soyombo was added in the later biography of Zanabazar, by Ngawang Yeshe Tuvden, Mong. Agvaantüvden Ravjamba. This script survived in a limited number of sources written in Mongolian, Tibetan and Sanskrit up until today. However, it is an important witness not only to Mong. history of writing and Mongolian Buddhist culture, but also to the phonological changes of the Mongolian language. One sign of the Soyombo Script, namely so called 'Soyombo sign' gained special importance due to its use on the Mong. flag. On Soyombo see Kara 2005: 163-168, Shagdarsüren 1981.

⁴⁶⁷492-1: Tib. *la nydza*, Mong. *lan(g)za*. It is a form of Rañjana script.

⁴⁶⁸492-1: Tib. *bka' 'gyur .. bsgyur ba'i dgongs gtad*, Mong. *γanjuur ... orč'γulay-a taγalal ayiladdurγsan aju*.

would write his biography (*rnam thar*).

493 Or if not, then [a biography] just as small as a seed should be [composed]. However, [the Lord] did not accept [my proposal]. Again, when I pressed [him] he answered: "I do not have such a good life-story of liberation *rnam thar* to please the wise ones. Eminent masters [should be] thanked for their benevolence of Holy Dharma and they should be spoken about first and later we will see."

[Then] [Zanabazar] traveled⁴⁶⁹

494 to the Yellow Palace.⁴⁷⁰ While he was there [I] went to bid [him] farewell and to receive [his] blessing. When I urged him about his *namthar*, he said: "Should I tell you that I went to the palace and ate exactly this many cookies?"⁴⁷¹ He joked and played and let [this question] pass [in that manner].

In autumn of the Water Monkey year (1692)⁴⁷² called *anggir* when the Emperor went [out on a hunt on] wild animals⁴⁷³ to the North,⁴⁷⁴ the Lord (i.e. Zanabazar) traveled there to meet with the Emperor.

495 [They] held talks and discussions in full detail.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁶⁹ 493-3: Tib. *chibs kha bsgyur* lit. 'turned his horse'. In the xylograph, p. 142-4: it is misprinted as *chings kha bsgyur*. Mong. *kölgelen jalara-* 'to ride or travel by any means of transportation' in elevated style, Lessing 485b.

⁴⁷⁰ 493-3-494-1: Tib. *lha khang ser po*, Mong. *šara süm-e*.

⁴⁷¹ 494-2: Tib. *po'a pu*, Mong. *boobo*. Modern Mong. *boov*, see Bira 199 : 17. Bawden 57b: 'cake, pastry'. Bira 1995: 34 explains in note 96, that Gelegjamts Doorombo translated this passage in two different ways. Firstly he understood *po'a po* as *po'i po* since he translated it as *ecgiin khövgön*, i.e. 'father's son'. However, while translating biography by Ngag dbang ye shes thub ldan (i.e. Agvaant üden Ravjamba), he translated it as referring to a cake.

⁴⁷² 494-3: Tib. *chu spre'i*, should be corrected into *spre'u*. Mong. *usun bečin jül*.

⁴⁷³ 494-3: Tib. *ri dwags kyi sa* 'place of wild animals', while in Mong. *aba-yin γajar-a* which means 'place of hunting'.

⁴⁷⁴ 494-3: Tib. *byang la*, missing in Mong. Bira 1995 17 adds 'in the Northern direction', *umar zügt*.

⁴⁷⁵ 495-1: Tib. *zhib rgyas*, which means 'in full detail'. In Mong. *narin eyeten*, in which *narin* means 'detailed', while *eyeten* 'friendly, harmonious'.

In the summer of the Water Bird year (1693)⁴⁷⁶ called *dpal gdong* [Zanabazar] was invited [to the Palace] when the Great Emperor became ill. He performed a very powerful healing ceremony⁴⁷⁷ and also [a ritual] against the enemies of Tāra.⁴⁷⁸ Then, similarly to the connection which exists between the cause of liberation [and liberation], the origin of the Emperor's illness also very quickly cleared up.

496 Many great ceremonial scarves⁴⁷⁹ and twenty bolts of cloth and one thousand lang of silver were offered to [the Master].

At that time I also went to the Changkya (Jangiya) Khutugtu⁴⁸⁰ in order to obtain the longevity empowerment.

In the autumn of that year when the Emperor went [hunting] wild animals, they met with each other⁴⁸¹ according to the previous custom.

⁴⁷⁶ 495-1: Tib. *chu bya*, Mong. *usun takiy-a*.

⁴⁷⁷ 495-2: Tib. *sku'i rim gro* 'healing ceremony'. Mong. *gūrim*.

⁴⁷⁸ 495-3: Tib. *sgrol ma g.yul bzlog*, Mong. *dar-a eke-yin dovi*. There is a 'ritual text associated with Tāra known as *sGrol ma g.yul bzlog* according to the Nāgārjuna' mentioned in TBRC under the title: *sGrol ma g.yul bzlog bltas chog tu bkod pa bden 'bras myur ston* by Kongtrul Yonten Gyatso (Kong sprul yon tan rgya mtsho). The last Mong. word *dovi* perhaps should be read as *dōi* and is the phonetic rendering of *bzlog*. Bira 1995: 17 translates as *Dara ehiin daisny nyatsaalt* 'rebuff of enemies of Tāra', in which *nyatsaalt* means 'rebuff'. It is not clear what Mong. *qaraγan ayiladduγsan* means in this context. Mong. *qaraγan* denotes 'the act of watching from an elevated place; watchtower, elevated place for lookout', Lessing 933a. This phrase is missing in the Tib. version.

⁴⁷⁹ 496-1: Tib. *kha rtags* should be corrected into *kha btags*. Mong. version correctly *qadaγ*.

⁴⁸⁰ 496-2: Tib. *lcang skya khu' thog thu*, Mong. *jangyan-a qutuγtu*. Ngawang Losang Choden (Ngag dbang blo bzang chos ldan, Modern Mong. Agvaanluvsanchoidan, 1642-1715) of Monguor (Tu) nationality is meant. He was the head of the Golung Jampa Ling (dGon lung byams pa gling) monastery in Amdo. In 1693 he was appointed by the Kangxi Emperor the incarnation of Changkya / Jangiya Khutugtu and supervisor of Inner Mongolian Buddhism. He is regarded as the first or the second incarnation, depending upon the way of counting. On his biography see Sagaster 1967. TBRC P209.

⁴⁸¹ 496-3: Tib. *'jal* which means 'weight, measure' should be corrected into *mjal* 'to meet' as it is in the xylograph, p. 143-2. Mong. *jobγulčan* should be corrected to *jobγalčan* 'meeting'.

[The Jetsundampa] was treated with immense respect and rendered the best service.

497 In the autumn of the Wooden Dog year (1694)⁴⁸² called *dn̄gos po* when the Emperor went [hunting] wild animals,⁴⁸³ according to the previous custom [the Master] met with him.⁴⁸⁴

In the winter of that [year] when I (i.e. Zaya Pandita) went to pay my respects [to the Jetsundampa] I sat down to present offerings for the twenty-fifth (i.e. anniversary of the passing of Tsongkhapa)⁴⁸⁵ and I requested the longevity empowerment and blessing with authorization (*rjes gnang*) of the Wishfulfilling Wheel of the White Tāra⁴⁸⁶ and of the black Mañjuśrī.⁴⁸⁷

[The Lord] offered [me] his own monk's shawl,⁴⁸⁸

498 silver maṇḍala,⁴⁸⁹ many scarves and seats and cushions and two good horses.

It was a time of turmoil⁴⁹⁰ and [therefore] many [sacred] images were destroyed. [The Jetsundampa] restored many big and small images starting with the images of the Buddhas of the Five Families⁴⁹¹ and

⁴⁸²497-1: Tib. *shing khyi*, Mong. *modon noqai*.

⁴⁸³497-1: Tib. wrongly *rigs* 'clan, kind, type' for: *ri dwags* 'wild animals', correctly in the xylograph (p. 143-2). In Mong. *aba* 'hunting'.

⁴⁸⁴497-1: Tib. again wrongly *'jal* instead of *mjal* as in the xylograph 143-2 and Mong. *joljulčan* instead of the correct form *joljalčan*, see footnote to 496-3.

⁴⁸⁵497-3: Tib. *lnga mchod* lit. 'five offerings' which denotes 'twenty five offerings' [RY], while in Mong. *qorin tabun* 'twenty five'.

⁴⁸⁶497-3: Tib. *sgrol dkar yid bzhin 'khor lo*, while in the Mong. version *saγan* (for: *čaγan*) *dar-a eke*, 'wishfulfilling wheel' is missing.

⁴⁸⁷497-3: Tib. *'jam nag*, Mong. *qara man(g)jusiri*.

⁴⁸⁸497-3: Tib. *sku gzhogs nyid kyi sku gzan*. In the Mong. version *öber[-]jün asγaγsan orkimji*. The word *asγaγsan* is used in the sense 'to dress, to put on' (resp.) see Bawden 8a.

⁴⁸⁹498-1: Tib. *dn̄gul man*, Mong. *man(g)dal*. Bira 1995: 17 translates as: *möngö, erdene* 'money and jewels', which does not seem correct.

⁴⁹⁰498-2: Tib. *dus zing gi skabs*, Mong. *busunin-u čaγ*. The Mong. form stems from *busaniqu* 'to break up, to be ruined'.

⁴⁹¹498-2: Tib. *rgyal ba rigs lnga*, Mong. *ilaγuγsan tabun ijaγur-tu sayibar odduγsad*.

the eight stupas of Sugata⁴⁹² and consecrated and completed them.

In the autumn of the Wooden Pig year (1695)⁴⁹³ called *mchod ldan*

499 according to the previous custom [the Master] met⁴⁹⁴ with the Great Emperor. From beginning to the end [of their meeting] lamas, chieftains great and petty, clerics and lay people of high and low status of the eight divisions⁴⁹⁵ [belonging to] Abaga, Sönid, Üjemchin and Ordos,⁴⁹⁶ [came] to meet with [the Master] and to let fall the rain of holy Dharma and to display liberation.

That year was the ‘year of obstacles’⁴⁹⁷ of the Master and in order to heal [him] the Kanjur was recited many times

500 and very powerful healing ceremonies were performed.

In the autumn of the Fire Mouse year (1696)⁴⁹⁸ called *'dzin byed* according to the previous custom [the Master] met with the Great Emperor.

In the summer of the Fire Ox year (1697)⁴⁹⁹ called *dbang phyug* the Great Emperor went to Nying Sha (Chin. Ningxia)⁵⁰⁰ and when he

⁴⁹² 498-2: Tib. *bde gshegs mchod rten* although the text speaks about eight stupas, it actually refers to the first stupa out of eight. Similarly in Mong. *sayibar oddurγsad naiman suburγ-a*, i.e. ‘eight stupas of Sugata’.

⁴⁹³ 498-3: Tib. *shing phag*, Mong. *modon γaqai*.

⁴⁹⁴ 499-1: Tib. *'jal* instead of *mjal*.

⁴⁹⁵ 499-1: Tib. *tsho ba*, Mong. *qosiγu*. On translation of these terms see footnote at p. 435-1. Bira 1995: 18 adds *Tsaharyn*, i.e. ‘of Chakhars’.

⁴⁹⁶ 499-2: Tib. *a pa ka, su nyid, u tsu mer min* (correctly in xylograph 143-5: *chin*), or *dus*, Mong. *abarγ-a, sönid, üjümerčün, uridui* for: *urad*, i.e. Ordos. Ethnic groups of Mongols inhabiting mainly Inner Mongolia.

⁴⁹⁷ 499-3: Tib. *sku skeg*, Mong. *següder tasiyaraqū* ‘age at fault’. The 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th and 61st year of age are regarded specially difficult for the health of every person. To eliminate potential dangers special ceremonies should be performed.

⁴⁹⁸ 500-1: Tib. *me bye*, Mong. *γal quluγun-a* (for: *quluγan-a*).

⁴⁹⁹ 500-2: Tib. *me glang*, Mong. *γal üker*.

⁵⁰⁰ 500-3: Tib. *ning sha*, Mong. *ning ša*. See Sagaster 1967: 239 (80v).

was returning he invited this Lord and met with him and went up to Burgasutai valley⁵⁰¹ which is outside Changkya (or Jangiya) -khu'a.⁵⁰²

501 [The Emperor] requested the translation into Mongolian of a part of the biography of the Supreme Ruler (i.e. the Fifth Dalai Lama)⁵⁰³ composed by the Regent⁵⁰⁴ which refers to the [Dalai Lama] passing on to another [Buddha] field.⁵⁰⁵ Therefore Batulai⁵⁰⁶ and myself (i.e. Zaya Pandita) for about four days⁵⁰⁷ stayed there as the retinue and accomplished [that goal].⁵⁰⁸ Batulai⁵⁰⁹ prompted the offering of gifts to the Great Emperor. Then he went to his residence

502 and for two to three days I followed as a servant. [Master] said that he

⁵⁰¹500-3: Tib. *pur su tha'i ... lung*, i.e. 'Burgasutai valley', but Mong. *burγasu-tai-yin* γoul means 'Burgasutai river'. Bira 1995: 18 writes *Burgastain khöndü* 'Burgasutai valley'.

⁵⁰²500-3: Tib. *lcang skya khu'a gi phyi logs*, Mong. *jang kya qu-yin* γadanaki. The meaning of the syllables: Tib. *khu'a* and Mong. *qu* is not clear. Bira 1995: 18 writes *Janjkhugün gadna*, i.e. 'outside Janjkhü'. Father of Changkya / Jangiya Khutugtu (see footnote at p. 496-2) was called Janggyi hor (from the Chinese name Chang) and the last syllable of his name was written differently in sources (*huvar*, *hvar*, *bhar*, *har*, see Sagaster 1967: 90). Perhaps syllables *khu'a* / *qu* are connected with this name.

⁵⁰³501-1: Tib. *rgyal dbang mchog* refers here to the Fifth Dalai Lama, what is confirmed by the Mong. version: *tabudurγar dalai blam-a*.

⁵⁰⁴501-1: Tib. *sde pa*, Mong. *deba*. Until 1697 the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama was kept secret by the regent Desi Sangye Gyatso (sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1677-1795). It is very much probable that the Emperor had become interested in the biography of the deceased Dalai Lama just after he had received news about his death.

⁵⁰⁵501-1: Tib. *zhing brjes pa* 'changed the field', while in Mong. *jangc̄i araljiqui* (for: *araljiqui*), where *jangc̄i* means 'mantle worn by lamas' and *araljiqui* 'to change' and is used to denote death of a respected person, similarly to *jangc̄i qalaqu* 'to be reincarnated', Lessing 1034b, Bawden: 154b 'to die (high lama)'. Bira 1995: 18) *oron sol'son* lit. 'changed the place'. About this passage see Uspensky 2011: 149.

⁵⁰⁶501-2: Tib. *pa thu la'i*, Mong. *batulai*. See p. 489-1.

⁵⁰⁷501-2: Tib. *nyi ma bzhi*, while in Mong. *dörbe qonoγ* 'four days and nights', since *qonoγ* means 'twenty four hours'.

⁵⁰⁸See the chapter "The Author and the Text" of the present work on comparison of this passage with the biography composed by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten / Agvaantüvden Ravjamba in 1839.

⁵⁰⁹501-3: Tib. *pa thu las*, previously the name was written as *pa thu la'i*. Mong. *batulai*.

would like to stop for a break for one day. Prayers for [his] long-life were offered and then [he] offered a silver maṇḍala, ceremonial scarves *kha btags*, seats, cushions, brocade clothes, a silver tea churner, a silver bowl, robes and [different] types of silken brocade and other things. He also offered tea for the monks two [times], ceremonial scarves and offered tea and alms.⁵¹⁰

503 [He] was requested to give blessing and authorization *rjes gnang* of Anuttara[-yoga-tantra]⁵¹¹ of White Amitāyus⁵¹² of the tradition of Rechung[pa].⁵¹³

The next day while going back Master Rinpoche (i.e. Zanabazar) offered the garment which he was wearing and one hundred lang of silver as his contribution to expand the monastery.

In winter that year in order to offer the Emperor's daughter princess [for marriage] to [Zanabazar's] nephew Dondub Ephu⁵¹⁴

504 he (i.e. the Jetsundampa) went to the Palace (i.e. Beijing).

In the temple called Cun cing ting, i.e. Zhongzhengdian⁵¹⁵ one hun-

⁵¹⁰502-3: Tib. *'gyed* which means 'offered a feast; throw a party' [RY], Mong. *jed* 'alms distributed to lamas' Bawden 187b. Bira 1995: 18 translates as Modern Mong. *dzed* and explains by another word *öglög*, which means 'alms, gift, donation', see Bawden 269b.

⁵¹¹503-1: Tib. *bla med lugs* which means 'tradition of Anuttara', while in Mong. *te[ng]sel ügei ündüsün* 'Anuttara-tantra'. In the Tib. version the word *tantra* is missing.

⁵¹²503-1: Tib. *tshe dpag med dkar po*, Mong. *čayan ayusi*.

⁵¹³503-1: Tib. *ras chung lugs*, Mong. *raičung-un yosun*. Rechung Dorje Dragpa (Ras chung rdo rje grags pa, 1085-1161), disciple of Milarepa (Mi la ras pa). See TBRC P4278. Rechungpa's lineage practices of White Amitāyus are said to be particularly effective in preventing death.

⁵¹⁴503-3: Tib. *don grub e phu*, Mong. *dondub ebu*. He was mentioned in the *Subud erike*, Sagaster 1967: 79r5-6. See also short description of the marriage by Uspensky 2011: 176 who relied on the biography of Zanabazar by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten (1839), ff. 40b6-41a3.

⁵¹⁵504-1: Tib. *cun cing ting*, Mong. *jüngčün*. See Uspensky 2011: 176. It is described by V.L. Uspensky (2011: 128) as a hall located in the north-western part of the Imperial Palace. Uspensky and G. Tuttle 2005: 24 underline its role as the center of Tibetan Buddhism inside the Forbidden City and Qing dynasty relations with Tibetan Buddhism.

dred eight⁵¹⁶ monks, the personal retinue of the Lord and eight monks of the Palace (i.e. Beijing) headed by Mergen Choje⁵¹⁷ and Chojor Rabjampa⁵¹⁸ held services for four to five days and recited Kanjur⁵¹⁹ and other texts. In order to offer nine great *torma* offerings,⁵²⁰ for three days

505 two or three times a day, they performed rituals of ‘repair and fulfillment’⁵²¹ similar to the previous way with the assembly of monks⁵²² of that very monastery. For the offering, eight⁵²³ pieces *lang* of silver and ten big pieces of silk were offered.

On the first day of the New Year, Losar,⁵²⁴ the Lord [Jetsundampa] and the Great [Emperor] met with each other at the image of the Sandalwood Buddha⁵²⁵ and after exchanging [ceremonial] presents

⁵¹⁶504-1-2: Tib. *brgyad dang brgyad* which means ‘eight and eight’ should be corrected into *brgya dang brgyad* ‘hundred and eight’ as it is written in the Mong. version: *ᠵᠠᠷᠤᠨ ᠨᠠᠶᠢᠮᠠᠨ*.

⁵¹⁷504-2: Tib. *mer ken chos rje*, Mong. *mergen čoyisrči*. Sagaster 1967: 107, footnote 175 writes that he was the highest lama in the Buddhist clergy in Beijing.

⁵¹⁸504-2: Tib. *chos ’byor rab ’byams pa*, Mong. *čoyiᠵur rabᠵimba*. Mentioned earlier on p. 486-3. Sagaster 1967: 107, footnote 176 calls him also ‘Dzasakh Da lama’.

⁵¹⁹504-3: Tib. *bka’ ’gyur gsung sgrog*, Mong. *ᠷᠠᠨᠵᠢᠷ ᠠᠶᠢᠯᠠᠳᠠᠳᠤᠷᠠᠳ*.

⁵²⁰504-3: Tib. *gtor*, Mong. *durm-a*.

⁵²¹505-1: Tib. *bskang gso*, Mong. *ᠷᠠᠩᠰᠤ*. ‘A religious service propitiating and pleasing deities and protectors, amending faults and transgressions’ [IW]. Bira 1995: 18 translates into Modern Mong. as *khangal*.

⁵²²505-1: Tib. *grwa grangs* ‘number of candidate monks in a monastery’ [JV], Mong. *qur[a]l/-ᠵᠤᠨ ᠲᠣᠷᠠ*.

⁵²³505-2: Tib. *brgyad* which means ‘eight’. But in the Mong. version *ᠵᠠᠷᠤᠨ* which means ‘hundred’. Bira translates as ‘one hundred’, p. 18.

⁵²⁴505-2: Tib. *lo gsar*, Mong. *čᠠᠷᠠᠨ ᠰᠠᠷᠠ*.

⁵²⁵505-2: Tib. *tsandana jo bo*, Mong. *zangdan ᠵᠤᠤ*. I. Charleux underlined that ‘visiting Beijing, Mongol and Tibetan reincarnations asked the emperor for permission to worship the Sandalwood Buddha’ and that it in the case of Zanabazar he ‘was received in audience by Kangxi in front of the icon which became witness to their lama-patron relationship’, see Charleux 2015: 39, where, however, she refers to the visit which took place in another year, 1695. V. Uspensky explained in his work the importance of the ruler’s participation in the New Year prayers and mentioned the event of 1698, according to the biography of Zanabazar by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten written in 1839 (f. 41a3-4, see Uspensky 2011: 61).

506 went to the residence of Mergen Choje.⁵²⁶

Audiences were granted to many monks and a few Ölet nobles with Tashi Batur vang⁵²⁷ and a few representatives of the officials from Amdo.⁵²⁸

While taking their seats this Master [Zanabazar] was invited to sit on the top of the row [of seats]⁵²⁹ together with the Great [Emperor] on one throne.⁵³⁰

507 Then on the sixth [day of the New Year] he went to the hot springs. He informed [me, i.e. Zaya Pandita] that from the eleventh to the seventeenth [day of the New Year] every evening he was invited [there to watch] a performance of playing with fire in different ways and that he participated in it.

On the twenty second [day of the New Year] he went back to the Palace (i.e. Beijing). On the twenty seventh [day of the New Year] together with the Great [Emperor] he went to the Wutaishan [mountains].⁵³¹

The sequence of the events in Ngawang Yeshe Thupten's account follows the narratives of Zaya Pandita's work.

⁵²⁶Sagaster 1967: 107 wrote that the Kangxi Emperor offered residence in the temple 'Yeke asaral-tü süme (Fa-yüan-szu)' for important lamas, including Mergen Choje, Chojor Rabjampa and others.

⁵²⁷506-1: Tib. *bkra (145-3) shis pa 'thur dbang*, Mong. *dasi baγatar vang*. See Sagaster 1967: 114-115, the leader of the confederation of the Mongols from Qinghai.

⁵²⁸506-2: Tib. *a mdo ba nang so rnam pa*, Mong. *amdo nangso erkimten*. In Tib. *rnam pa* stands for 'representation'. In the Mong. version *erkimten* is a form built from *erkim* 'distinguished, respectable, honorable', see Lessing 330b, although not to be found in the dictionaries. Bira 1995: 18 translates as *khümüüs*, i.e. 'people'. On the nature of the *nang so* officials in Amdo see explanation in a note at p. 445-1 of the present work provided by Gray Tuttle 2011 that *nang so* can be understood as 'ministers looking after domestic affairs'.

⁵²⁹506-3: Tib. *bzhugs pa'i gral gong du* 'on the top of the row of seats'. Tib. *bzhugs gral* means 'row of important ceremonial seats' [JV]. It was translated into Mong. *saγuγsan saγudal-un ekin* 'top or beginning of the seated chairs'. Bira 1995: 18 translates as *khoyor adıl tegsh suudal suusny ekhend n'* 'on two equal seats on the tops of [rows of seats]'.

⁵³⁰506-3: Tib. *bzhugs khri gcig gi steng* 'on one throne', while in Mong. *nigen širegen-ü deger-e* 'at one table'.

⁵³¹507-3: Tib. *ri bo rtse lnga*, Mong. *ü tai šan*. See also Charleux 2015: 120. She

508 He visited monks living there and gifted them with tea and money⁵³² and bestowed them with scriptural transmission (*ljags lung*) and authorization (*rjes gnang*). Two wives of the Emperor requested an empowerment and the Lord (i.e. Zanabazar) made them learn it by heart. When the Emperor [himself] requested an empowerment [Master] blessed him in the same way.

After that they went along the northern route. Since I⁵³³ remained in the Palace,

509 due to illness⁵³⁴ and stayed [there], when I was on my way back [home],⁵³⁵ we met [on the northern route]. I requested the empowerment of Amitāyus and Hayagrīva⁵³⁶ and he (i.e. the Jetsundampa) was very pleased to bestow them on me.

In autumn of this year according to the Emperor's order,⁵³⁷ he (i.e. Zanabazar) went together with the Emperor to the place called Ula⁵³⁸

observed, quoting *Subud erike* (Sagaster 1968: 117), that at the same time several other Mongols, including Changkya / Jangiya Khutugtu paid a visit to Wutaishan together with the Manchu Emperor. They were not, however, mentioned by Zaya Pandita. He did not mention Changkya / Jangiya Khutugtu also at other occasions, such as the meeting at Küren Belcher (p. 464-1).

⁵³²508-1: Tib. *mang 'gyed* which means 'to distribute money, food etc. to the monks', while in Mong. it is said *manča jid kiged* 'made offering of tea and money' as if it was in Tib. *mang ja* and *'gyed*.

⁵³³508-3: Tib: *gdag* 'attach', however in the xylograph edition (145-6) there is misprinted *bdag* 'I' therefore it would be a repetition: *bdag pho brang du bdag*. In Mong. *bi* 'I' appears only once. Here *gdag* is the correct form: 'I was attached to the Palace'

⁵³⁴509-1: Tib. *na nas* 'because of illness'. Mong. *genegerke-* 'to be indisposed, fall ill', see Lessing 377a.

⁵³⁵Bira 1995: 19 translates *emchliüüled butsakhdaa* 'when coming back after being cured'.

⁵³⁶509-1: Tib. *tshe rta* for *tshe dpag med* and *rta mgrin*, Mong. *ayuši damdin*.

⁵³⁷In the Buryat manuscript 509-2: *bkas* 'order' in instrumental case, while in the xylograph (146-1=73v1=BR 45b1) *bka*'.

⁵³⁸509-2: Tib. *u la zhes pa'i yul*, Mong. *ulan kemekü oron*. City called at that time Wulajie or Kirin (modern Jilin) in Manchuria, which grew rapidly due to the Qing military and economic activity. The Kangxi Emperor visited it also earlier, in 1682. The trip in 1698 was also mentioned in the *Subud erike*. Sagaster added that the Emperor left Beijing on the 27th of July 1698 and returned on the 13th of September 1698 (Sagaster 1967: 119

and later went to the Palace (i.e. Beijing)⁵³⁹ and spent⁵⁴⁰ the New Year there. At that time he offered the Emperor an excellent golden cast image of the [Buddha] Mañjuśrī having the appearance of the incarnation of the Buddha Tathāgata.⁵⁴¹

510 The Lord (i.e. Zanabazar), in conformity with two khans of central Khalkha and a majority of great and petty nobles, sent a letter to the Great Emperor to recall the continuing kindness of the Great Emperor who out of his graciousness supported them. It pleased the Emperor greatly.

Then when [Zanabazar] was preparing to go together with the Emperor to Potala, news about the passing away of his own elder brother Vajra Tūshiyetü Khan⁵⁴²

511 was sent together with a prayer of dedication [of merits] by a messenger and reached the ears of the Greatest of Fortunes (i.e. Emperor).⁵⁴³ The Jetsundampa decided that it was appropriate to go to [Tūshiyetü Khan's] camp residence and console his wife⁵⁴⁴ and children and per-

and note 209).

⁵³⁹509-2: Tib. *pho brang*, Mong. *ordu qarsi*. Note that in the Tib. version Beijing is designated always by *pho brang*, i.e. 'palace', while in the Mong. version it is written either as *ordu qarsi* 'palace' or phonetically as *begejing*, for example p. 508-3.

⁵⁴⁰509-3: Mong. *siγlan* should be corrected to *sinelen*, which means 'to celebrate the New Year', Lessing 711b.

⁵⁴¹509-3: Tib. *sprul skye de bzhin gshegs pa'i cha lugs can gyi 'jam dbyangs*, Mong. *qubilγan bey-e tegünčilen iregsen-ü jang-u düritü man(g)juširi*. Note that in the xylograph (146-1) *cha lugs*, meaning 'appearance' [RY], is written erroneously as *chu lugs*. In the transliteration of the Mongolian version by Jin Chengxiu, the word *jang-u*, meaning 'of nature, character', Lessing 1034a, is given as *jangj-u* with the footnote 268 referring to the Tib. word *dbyangs kyi*. However, this seems to be a mistake, since Tib. *'jam dbyangs* is translated to Mong. as *man(g)juširi*, i.e. Mañjuśrī. The statue of Buddha Mañjuśrī cast by Zanabazar and given to the Emperor is also mentioned in his biography by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten (1839), f. 39a and related by Uspensky 2011: 157.

⁵⁴²510-3: Tib. *rdo rje thu she ye thu rgyal po*, Mong. *vačir tūsiyetü qaγan*. Chakhundorji is meant here.

⁵⁴³511-1: Tib. *'byor pa gong ma*, while in the Mong. version just *ejen*.

⁵⁴⁴511-2: Tib. *rgyal mo* 'wife', while plural in Mong. *qatud*. Bira 1995 19 translates in

form a funeral service and ‘the root of virtue’.⁵⁴⁵ [Therefore] on the twenty fifth of the first *hor* month⁵⁴⁶ he left the Palace (i.e. Beijing) and traveled to the camp residence [of the Khalkha khan].

512 He performed an exalted funeral service for the khan.

Also in the autumn of that year according to the previous custom he met with the Emperor in the woods [full of] wild animals.

In winter he went back to the Palace (i.e. Beijing) and spent there the New Year, and the rest according to the previous custom.

On the twenty second of the third *hor* month⁵⁴⁷ of the Iron Dragon year called *dpa’ bo* (1700) he left the Palace and traveled

513 to Mongolia with no delay⁵⁴⁸ to the nomadic dwelling place used previously [by him].⁵⁴⁹

From the Khalkha left wing,⁵⁵⁰ Sechen Khan’s ayimag, many great and petty nobles and common people of high and low status came with many mounts [as offerings]: relay⁵⁵¹ camels, horses etc. Countless

singular.

⁵⁴⁵511-2: Tib. *dge rtsa mdzad*, Mong. *buyan-u yosučilan üiledkü*. In Skt.: *kuśala-mūla* ‘fundamentally positive factors, virtuous deeds created in the present and in former lives’. According to the Buddhist idea good actions, virtuous life, will bring rewards in the future.

⁵⁴⁶511-3: Tib. *hor zla dang po’i nyer lnga*, while in the Mong. version *čaγan sarayin qorin tabun* ‘the twenty fifth of the Tsagaan Sar, i.e. the New Year’.

⁵⁴⁷512-3: Tib. *hor zla gsum pa*. the date is expressed in the Mong. version as *qabur[-]jun segül sara* ‘the last spring month’.

⁵⁴⁸513-1: Tib. *ma ’gyangs par*, while in Mong. Converbium Modale of *siγurqayila-* ‘to do a thing with decision or determination’, Lessing 701b.

⁵⁴⁹Since Galdan Boshugtu died in 1697, now finally the Jetsundampa and his people were able to go back to their homeland.

⁵⁵⁰513-1: Tib. *ru*, Mong. *qosiγu*. See a note on p. 435-1.

⁵⁵¹513-: Tib. *u lā*, Mong. *ulaγ-a* ‘relay horses and means of transportation’, Lessing 869a.

people moved by faith arrived.⁵⁵² Jamba Daichin Vang⁵⁵³ [offered] one hundred horses, and also the majority of the other great and petty nobles

514 welcomed [the Master] and respected him with incomprehensible reverence.

In the Iron Serpent year called *khyu mchog* (1701) he went to visit the image of Erdeni Jobo and to give instruction in the works of its restoration. He spread seeds [of consecration] from [his own] hand. The Khalkha great and petty nobles and many [believers who came] to have an audience with [him] were made satisfied by him spiritually and materially.⁵⁵⁴

515 In the last winter month of that year he went to the Palace (i.e. Beijing) and in the year of the Water Horse called *sna tshogs* (1702) he spent the New Year, and the rest according to the previous custom.

[Then] he traveled to Mongolian lands to rest in the camp residence. He prepared successively necessities for deep meditation⁵⁵⁵ and for general and personal use for religious services (*sku rim*) and for the excellent ten dharma practices⁵⁵⁶ increasing [them] like a waxing moon.

⁵⁵² 513-2-3: Tib. *dang pas* (for: *bas*) 'bul mkhan the probable meaning is 'people moved by faith', while in Mong. *süsüg-ten ber ergülčün*. In both cases, Tib. and Mong., the expression may be translated in English by one word 'believers'.

⁵⁵³ 513-3: Tib. *byams pa ta'i ching dbang*, Mong. *jimba dayičün vang*.

⁵⁵⁴ 514-3: Tib. *chos dang zang zing gis tshim par mdzad*, Mong. *nom kiged ed aγurasun-iyar qangγan ayiladju*. Bira 1995 (p. 20) translates similarly to the Mong. version: *Khalkhyn ikh, бага noyod baraalkhan irsen olnyg nomoor bolon ed aguursaar khanggan zokhyov*.

⁵⁵⁵ 515-2: Tib. *thugs dam zab bzhes*, Mong. *gün narin bisitγal bütügel*.

⁵⁵⁶ 515-3: Tib. *chos spyod pa bcu* the 10 dharma practices: 1) *yi ge bri ba* 'transcribing the teachings'; 2) *mchod pa* 'worshiping'; 3) *sbyin pa* 'giving'; 4) *chos nyan pa* 'listening to the teachings'; 5) *klog pa* 'reading the teachings'; 6) '*dzin pa* 'comprehending the teachings'; 7) *rab du ston pa* 'instructing others'; 8) *kha 'don byed pa* 'reciting holy works'; 9) *sems pa* 'contemplation'; 10) *sgom pa* 'meditation'. In Mong. *arban nom[-]jun adalal-un jokiyał*.

516 On this occasion the Tibetan great Tatsag Jedrung Rinpoche⁵⁵⁷ and Demo Tulku⁵⁵⁸ came to request [the Lord's] blessing [in which he would place] a hand [on the head of the worshipped].⁵⁵⁹

It was said that [previously] Tatsag Jedrung Rinpoche was on Galdan Boshugtu's side and that the Emperor was not pleased by that fact. However, Zanabazar owing to [his] skilled means,⁵⁶⁰ forgave him and brought great benefit [to all].

517 And the Emperor said: "[In general] among lamas I have not seen anyone who would be greater than Jetsundampa." I have personally heard him saying this two or three times for sure. "Among nobles this Lord alone is a unique embodiment of most excellent Khalkhas" he said and praised his vast knowledge.

One day at the end of the previous⁵⁶¹ Ox year (1697)

518 in the temple Cun cing teng (i.e. Zhongzhengdian) I went to greet Hung Thaihu.⁵⁶² At that time the Lord [Jestundampa] was sitting in the Emperor's small house⁵⁶³ located on the back side of the temple, accompanied only by little Chopel.⁵⁶⁴ Besides him and the two of us there was nobody else, [even his] attendants.

⁵⁵⁷516-1: Tib. *rta tshag rje drung rin po che*, Mong. *dačarγ jūdūng rinbučei*. TBRC P417: personal name Ngawang Konchog Nyima (Ngag dbang dkon mchog nyi ma, 1653-1707). Mentioned several times by the Fifth Dalai Lama in his autobiography, see Karmay 2015: 498, 501.

⁵⁵⁸516-1: Tib. *de mo sprul sku*, Mong. *demü-yin qubilγan*. TBRC P10235. Mentioned in the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Karmay 2015: 423, 518, 521, 522.) as well as in the *Subud erike* as Demo Khutugtu, see Sagaster 1967: 258, note 1002.

⁵⁵⁹516-1: Tib. *phyag dbang*, Mong. *mörgöl*. The Tib. meaning also indicates 'pay respects to superior' [IW].

⁵⁶⁰516-3: Tib. *thabs mkhas* or *thabs la mkhas pa* 'skillful in means', Mong. *uran arγ-a*. In Skt.: *upāyakaśālya*, BHSD 146b.

⁵⁶¹517-3: Tib. *snga sor*, Mong. *arad üker* which should be corrected into *urid üker*, i.e. 'previous Ox'. Transliteration by Jin Chengxiu *ired ügei* is incorrect.

⁵⁶²518-1: Tib. *hung tha'i hu*, Mong. *qōng tayisu*, i.e. Xiaozhuang.

⁵⁶³518-2: Tib. *gzims chung*, Mong. *jürγaqu ordun* 'bedroom'.

⁵⁶⁴518-2: Tib. *gcung chos 'phel*, Mong. *degüü keüken noyan*. In Tib. *gcung* means 'younger sibling'. In the Mong. version the name was not provided. Mong. *keüken*

At that moment the Lord [Jetsundampa] narrated about the Fifth Dalai Lama, who bestowed [on him] the empowerment of the *Vajrā-valī*⁵⁶⁵ and who, at that occasion, sat dressed in the ornaments of the sixth universal monarch (*cakravartin*).⁵⁶⁶

519 The ornaments were all made of bones and the Dalai Lama looked very impressive.⁵⁶⁷ When the [Master] told [us] about it for a long time [we] cried and wept. Then the Master said: "Don't cry! Remove [the tears] from [your] eyes!"⁵⁶⁸ but even when he repeated it, the tears did not stop falling. In this situation I recalled that the Master was similar to Dromtonpa⁵⁶⁹

520 who used to hide his excellent qualities. This is what [I]⁵⁷⁰ said indeed.⁵⁷¹ He said to me: "whenever you recall the Master (i.e. the Fifth Dalai Lama) you should not weep, but think of him as a rare star visible during the daytime."⁵⁷²

means 'child, girl, maiden', Lessing 461. Zanabazar's consort was referred to as *keüken noyon*. Mong. *degüü* means 'younger brother or sister', Lessing 246.

⁵⁶⁵ 518-3: Tib. *rdo rje phreng ba*, Mong. *vačar erike*. see footnote to p. 427-1.

⁵⁶⁶ 518-3: Tib. *'khor lo bsgyur drug*, Mong. *jürγuγan čakr-a vadi*. Bira 1995: p. 20 translates as: *zurgaan khürden orchuulagch* lit. 'the one who moved the six wheels'.

⁵⁶⁷ 519-2: Tib. *shin tu mdzes pa* 'very beautiful'. The Mong. version *masi sayiqan čai adaγ bile-e lun* is not clear. Bira 1995: 20 translates as *mash üzesgelentei baisan ajguu* 'he was very handsome'.

⁵⁶⁸ 519-2: In the Mong. version Jetsundampa said: *keüken noyan ber büü qayilan*: 'Noble child (or girl), do not cry!...'

⁵⁶⁹ 519-3: Tib. *'brom ston pa*, Mong. *burumdun ba*, full name was: 'Brom ston rgyal ba'i 'byung gnas (1004/5-1064). Master of the Kadampa (bKa' gdams pa) tradition, disciple of Atīśa. See TBRC P2557.

⁵⁷⁰ 520-1: In the Tib. version there is no indication who said these words, but in the Mong. version *öčiqsen minu* 'my saying'.

⁵⁷¹ 519-3-520-1: Mong. *erdem-iyen niγun ayiladdun ajiγu* '[who was] said to hide his skills'.

⁵⁷² 520-2: Tib. *nyin skar* 'a star visible during the daytime, a rarity', [IW], or: *nyin skar tsam* 'as rare as seeing a star in the daytime' [RY]. In the Mong. version *ken yaγan* in which *ken* means 'who' and *yaγan* may be a colloquial form derived from *yaγaki* 'How to act?' 'What to do?', 'How to proceed?', Lessing 423b. Therefore this phrase can be translated as: 'whom he was and what he did'. Perhaps the expression *nyin skar* was not

Previously the great ruler (i.e. the Fifth Dalai Lama)⁵⁷³ said with no respect about the Master Kunga Nyingpo (i.e. Tāranātha)⁵⁷⁴ in his biography⁵⁷⁵ and it seemed that he supported⁵⁷⁶ the destruction of the silver stupa⁵⁷⁷ of the Tagten [monastery]⁵⁷⁸ and so on.⁵⁷⁹

521 Therefore, I was feeling a little bit unhappy. [Now, however, it was] like the sun rising in the dark hole full of my misconceptions. It cleared [them] away. But from the bottom of my heart I confess, that [I] regretted that [I] was not able to say it openly.

[Regarding the Master's teachings:] Some types of authorization (*rjes gnang*), especially the types of grand empowerments,⁵⁸⁰ such as the *bsnyen* ritual for the propitiation of deities⁵⁸¹ were not included [in his curriculum] and usually [Jetsundampa] did not perform them. He said that he did not [even] receive them at all. These very *bsnyen* ritual for the propitiation

522 and the others which were not yet purified for performing the deeds of

understood. Bira did not translate this fragment. There is no translation of *nyin skar* in the Tibeto-Mongolian dictionary of Sumatiratna 1959.

⁵⁷³520-2: Tib. *rgyal dbang mchog*, while the Mong. version says explicitly 'the Fifth Dalai Lama': *tabudurγar dalai blam-a*.

⁵⁷⁴520-2: Tib. *rje kun dga' snying po*, Mong. *boγda güngga ningbuu*, i.e. Tāranātha.

⁵⁷⁵520-3: Tib. *rnam thar*, Mong. *čadig*.

⁵⁷⁶520-3–521-1: Tib. *brten tshul bstan* 'supported and pretended', but in the Mong. version: *šitüjü ünen ur-taγan ... sanaγu* '[I] believed and took as truth originally'.

⁵⁷⁷50-3: Tib. *dn̄gul gdung* in which *gdund* stands for *gdung rten* 'tomb, stupa (for a body)' [IW]. In Mong. *mönggün suburγ-a*, i.e. 'silver stupa'.

⁵⁷⁸520-3: Tib. *rtaγ brtan*, Mong. *taγdan*. Full name: rTag brtan phun tshogs gling. Monastery founded in 1615 by Tāranātha (1575-1634) as Jonangpa and in 1635 confiscated and converted into Gelugpa. See TBRC G390.

⁵⁷⁹This passage refers to the hostility of the Fifth Dalai Lama towards Tāranātha and the Jonangpa and his activity connected with them. It seems that owing to the Jetsundampa's kind words about the Fifth Dalai Lama, Zaya Pandita could dismiss his own doubts regarding the Dalai Lama and his relationship with the Jetsundampa.

⁵⁸⁰521-3: Tib. *dbang chen*, Mong. *yeke abišig*.

⁵⁸¹521-3: Tib. *bsnyen pa*, Mong. *nin(g)ba*. Bira translates as *nyamba*, i.e. 'meditation', Bira 1995: 20.

maṇḍala and those that were meant as suitable due to their meaning—those [he] received. Especially, Khedub Thamche Khyenpa⁵⁸² said: "those [lamas] who do not know the Tantric meaning of rites, who do not keep vows and *samaya* commitments, who restrain [themselves] from yoga practices with improper retreat as well as wrong practices with any of their undertakings, make *abhīṣeka* for their disciple followers [only] a reflected image."⁵⁸³

523 [Regarding] those who follow *mo* divination, astrological instructions, who listen to the words of physicians and then refute their pledges—giving one hundred *abhīṣeka* transmissions to such disciples is [like being] a trader. This is the reflected image of the *abhīṣeka* of *sādhanā* methods of hell.⁵⁸⁴ This is what he said. [And] this is similar to belief in a self because applying name of the *abhīṣeka* to whatever is available

524 made them (i.e. *abhīṣeka*) many and those who perform [them] and who seem to be genuine [as well] and therefore it gives impression that they do it for the benefit [of others].

Furthermore Lord Mañjuśrī said to the great Lord Tsongkhapa: "Do

⁵⁸²522-2: Tib. *mkhas grub thams cad mkhyen pa*, Mong. *qayidub tamjid činba*. Here the title is used to denote the Panchen Lama.

⁵⁸³522-3: Mong. translation is slightly different. Tib. *cho ga* 'rites' is translated as *abisi(n)g*, i.e. Skt. *abhīṣeka*. Tib. expression *dbang in: slob ma rjes 'dzin dbang gi gzugs brnyam* is translated again as Skt. *abhīṣeka: sabinar-i daγan barīčī anu abišig-un dūrmeg*, i.e. '[activity] of those who make disciples follow is [only the] shape of *abhīṣeka*'. Mong. *dūrmeg* is perhaps a form derived from *dūri* 'shape, form, figure, look', Lessing 282. Bira 1995: 21 translated close to the Class. Mong.: *...shav naryn daquulan barikh n' avishigün zövkhön tusgal dūrs mōn* 'making [Buddhist] disciples to follow is only a reflection of *abhīṣeka*'.

⁵⁸⁴523-2: In Tib. *dmyal ba'i sgrub thabs dbang gi gzugs brnyan yin* is a parallel to the similar phrase in a previous paragraph. In Mong. the sentence is constructed differently and ends: *abisi(n)g-un dūritü tere minu tamu-yi bütügekü-yin arγ-a büyü* '[which is of the] form of *abhīṣeka* being a *sādhanā* method of hell'. Mong. *bütügekü-yin arγ-a* translates Tib. *sgrub thabs* 'method of achievement', in Skt. *sādhanā*.

not perform [different] kinds of *abhiṣeka*.⁵⁸⁵ Otherwise⁵⁸⁶ [your] span of a lifetime will become short, distance to the supreme accomplishment (*siddhi*) will be far reaching and the benefit for the [Buddhist] teachings will be insignificant" he said.

This is the reason why during his lifetime⁵⁸⁷

525 in general [Master] did not perform *abhiṣeka*⁵⁸⁸ except giving some authorizations *rjes gnang* [to *abhiṣeka*]. It seems to be similar to the teachings in the supplement⁵⁸⁹ to the biography of the Lord of Accomplishment (i.e. Tsongkhapa),⁵⁹⁰ [written] by Lama Togdenpa.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁵524-2: In Mong. the sense of the utterance is not clear. The last verb, which is hard to decipher, ends on *-bai/-bei* indicating past action. However, the interrogative particle *-buu* can be added after past forms, see Poppe 1991: 92. If it is *tulabai* it means 'relied on'. Or perhaps it is written for *kelebei* meaning 'said'. Better fitting would be other verbs, for example *üiled* 'to act, to make' with prohibitive particle *buu* used before the verb, as it is in this case. There seems to be suffix *-üid* indicating plural form added to *dzüil*, but again it is not written clearly enough. Then, the meaning would be: 'Do not rely on the instructions (?) of *abhiṣeka*'. Bira 1995: 21 translates it as: *avshig zarligiün züiliig büü üild* which means: 'Do not perform instructions (?) of *abhiṣeka*'.

⁵⁸⁶524-2: Mong. translation says *kerbe an(g)dal bolbasu*, which means: 'if a mistake occurs'. Bira (1995: 21) translates in a way which is close to the Tib. meaning: *ööröör bolboos* 'if it is otherwise'.

⁵⁸⁷524-3: Tib. *zhal bzhugs*, Mong. *tunγalaγ ögede bolju* means 'when he was alive, during his lifetime'. Mongolian expression is perhaps not so popular, but in Modern Mong. in the similar phrase: *serüün tunggalag* the meaning is 'alive and well', 'hale and hearty', see Bawden 320a. Mong. *ögede bolqu* means 'to rise, get up, improve', Lessing 630b.

⁵⁸⁸525-1: Tib. *dbang bskur gtan mi mdzad* 'in general he did not perform *abhisheka*'. However, in the Mong. version: *abisig yerü örösiyel ese qayirlaγsan* 'in general he had no mercy for *abhisheka*'. Bira 1995: 21 translates almost exactly in the same way: *avshig yer örshöön es khairlasan*.

⁵⁸⁹525-2: Tib. *zur 'debs*, Mong. *sürdeb*.

⁵⁹⁰525-2: Tib. *mdzad pa'i rje*, Mong. *boγda zöngkaba*. The Tib. version gives just the epithet, while in Mong. the name appears clearly: 'Holy Tsongkhapa'.

⁵⁹¹525-2: Tib. *bla ma rtogs ldan pa*, Mong. *blam-a duγdanba*. The Mong. version is the phonetic rendering of the Tibetan name. The author of Tsongkhapa's biography was Kucor Togden (Ku cor rtogs ldan) alias Kucor Sangye Pelsang (Ku cor sangs rgyas dpal bzang, 1386-1445). See Tiblical.

If one would like to learn [about it] Togden said the following: "those who are not given⁵⁹² authorization (*rjes gnang*) and instructions (*bka'i rigs*)⁵⁹³ to *abhiṣeka*

526 should be the object of examination with regard to how do they respect the lineage of empowerment of *Guhyasamāja* and transmission of certain authorization (*rje gnang*) of the Lord Tsongkhapa.

Moreover, this Lord's (i.e. Zanabazar's) enlightened mind (i.e. *bodhicitta*) is [full of] limitless love and compassion. Beggars from all directions of great variety⁵⁹⁴ approximately on one thousand occasions and at least about five hundred times

527 were given summer and winter clothing continuously and served with food and drink uninterruptedly. He told me⁵⁹⁵ repeatedly that during any actions he trusted just the guru and the Three Jewels⁵⁹⁶ and he was never deceived by them.

In the Ox year (1697)⁵⁹⁷ during the ceremony for stability and longevity⁵⁹⁸ [upon my request] about the previously mentioned biography (*namthar*) [of his].⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹²526-1: Tib. *gnang gi med tsho*, Mong. 525-3 *soyurqaγdaγ ügei*. In Mong. *ügei* is repeated again on 526-1. The next word *bolγaγula* means 'as soon as' so it should be translated as 'as soon as they are not given' (converbium successivum *-gula*, *-küle*, Poppe 1991: 182).

⁵⁹³525-3: Tib. *bka' rigs*, Mong. *abisig-un jüül*. Bira 1995: 21 translates as *zarligiin züül*.

⁵⁹⁴526-2: Tib. *mu lto ba'i rigs mang*. This short Tib. expression was translated into Mong. in a much more elaborated way: *soqur doγulang γuyulangči* (for: *γuyilingči*) *čaγačim-u jüül olan*, meaning: 'blind and lame beggars, many kinds of outsiders'.

⁵⁹⁵527-2-3: Tib. *bdag la*, Mong. *nadur*, i.e. 'to me'. Zaya Pandita underlines that it was said directly to him.

⁵⁹⁶527-2: Tib. *bla ma dkon mchog*, Mong. *blam-a γurban erdeni*. Buddha, his teachings (*dharma*) and congregation of monks (*sangha*).

⁵⁹⁷527-3: *glang lor*, Mong. *üker jül-dür*.

⁵⁹⁸527-3: Tib. *zhabs brtan brtan bzhugs*, Mong. *batudqaqu-yin dangšurγ*. See footnote to p. 452-2.

⁵⁹⁹527-3: Mong. *čadig-iyān* which means 'own biography'. On discussion on the Tib. term *nam thar* 'story on liberation' and Mong. *čadig* from Sanskrit *jātaka* 'stories about

528 [he said:] "I do not have such an exemplary "self-liberation story" as great lamas. Nevertheless, if [you] start [your work] from recollecting the kindness of great lamas,⁶⁰⁰ I agree [that you may write a biography] as tiny as a grain.⁶⁰¹ Do not write compliments with obvious fabrications!"⁶⁰² —he ordered.

Although from the Fire Tiger year (1686) called *zad pa* until now [I] made supplication to tell his liberation story (*rnam thar*),

529 was it because I was [too] busy and due to that I did not have free time [to write it], or was it because I was not fortunate,⁶⁰³ or because the time has not come yet⁶⁰⁴ —regardless of the reason—it did not happen.

[The Master] constructed numerous images symbolizing body, speech and mind [of the Buddha]. He always made offerings to them without interruptions. Especially in the middle palace⁶⁰⁵ every day

530 he prepared and gave⁶⁰⁶ offerings of seven kinds (i.e. seven limb *pūjā*) a hundred times.⁶⁰⁷

the previous lives of the Buddha' as well as their ideological implications see chapter "The Author and the Text" of the present work.

⁶⁰⁰528-2: Tib. *bka' drin*. In Mong. should be written not as *ačai*, but as *ači*, which carries the same meaning as the Tib. word, see Lessing 7.

⁶⁰¹The comparison to grain does not appear in the Mong. version which says *tobči tedüiken* 'as insignificant as a summary', although word *tobči* can be translated as well as 'button', Lessing 810b.

⁶⁰²In Tib. the sentence is quite clear, however, in Mong. it is not. Probably *orbuyilγaju* stems from *orbui-* 'to bristle'. Perhaps for: *urbaγulγaju*. See Lessing 616b and 680b, and Bawden 386a. Bira 1995: 21 omits this fragment in his translation.

⁶⁰³529-1: Tib. *skal ba dang mi ldan pa*, Mong. *qubi-lüge ese tegüsügen*.

⁶⁰⁴529-2: Tib. *dus la ma babs*. However, in Mong. *čarγ-tarγan gürügdüi (?) aγsan* which is not clear. One would expect *čarγ-tarγan ese kürügen*. Bira 1995: 21 translates *tsag n' es bolson* 'time has not come'.

⁶⁰⁵529-3: Tib. *gzims gur bar ma*, Mong. *dumdadu ordon*. In Tib. lit. 'middle tent', in Mong. 'middle palace'.

⁶⁰⁶530-1: Tib. *bshams shing phul ba*, Mong. *beledkel ergüküi*.

⁶⁰⁷529-3–530-1: Tib. *mchod pa rnam pa bdun brgya tshar*, translated into Mong. 529-3: *doloγan jaγun* 'seven hundred', which is incorrect. In the Mong. version the word 'offer-

And foremost he venerated the Three Jewels. His [activity] was similar to the spiritual guide⁶⁰⁸ Phuchungba.⁶⁰⁹

He (i.e. Jetsundampa) constructed the monastery Ribo Gegye Ling with holy images and furthermore⁶¹⁰ [cast] a statue of the Buddha Vajradhāra and many others.

Moreover he [copied] Kanjur⁶¹¹ two or three times.

531 He exerted himself in erecting eight silver stupas and three supports (i.e. images, scriptures and mind). It was like the [deeds of the] spiritual guide Chenngaba.⁶¹² Also the division of monks in [the Tibetan provinces] U and Tsang⁶¹³ during peaceful times⁶¹⁴ in two colleges [reached] over two thousand monks and today it is approximately one

ing' is missing. Instead there is 'preparation' *beledkel*. Bira 1995: 22 translates this fragment differently: 'he made hundred times offerings of seven items' *doloon zūiliin takhilyg zuun udaa güitset*. The 'seven limb pūjā' ritual can be recited in a shorter way, included in the "Prayers to Samantabhadra", or longer, found in Śāntideva's "Engaging in the Bodhisattva Deeds" (i.e. *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra*). See Geshe Lhundup Sopa 2008: 158. The offerings may consist of seven bowls with water etc.

⁶⁰⁸530-1-2: Tib. *dge ba'i bshes gnyen*, Mong. *buyan sadun*. In Skt.: *kalyāṇamitra*.

⁶⁰⁹530-2: Tib. *phu chung ba*. Full name and title: Phu chung ba gzhon nu rgyal mtshan, (1031-1106), one of the three famous Kadampa masters, called 'the three brothers'. See "The Blue Annals" 264; Vetturini 2007: 118-120. He was responsible for the transmission of the Vajrayāna lineage and regarded as an embodiment of bodhisattva Mañjuśrī. TBRC P405.

⁶¹⁰530-2: Tib. *gzhan yang*, Mong. *busu basu* for *basa*. The Mong. version is a literary translation of the Tib. expression which does not occur otherwise in Mong. in such a way. Bira (1995: 22) translates as *mön*.

⁶¹¹There is a wrong translation in Mong. Instead of the word for *kanjur* the word *qoyar* is repeated twice.

⁶¹²531-2: Tib. *spyen snga ba*. Full title and name: sPyan snga ba tshul khriṃs 'bar, 1033-1103. One of the three famous Kadampa masters, called 'the three brothers'. See "Blue Annals" 263 (it is written there that he was born in 1031); Vetturini 2007: 48, 123-125. He was considered an embodiment of Avalokiteśvara. His important deeds included building a monastery in Lo (Lo dgon pa). According to the tradition, 'Brom ston passed the oral transmissions of the Kadampa school on to him. TBRC P3473.

⁶¹³Maybe it concerns the fact that there was a division of Khalkha monks in Tibet.

⁶¹⁴The information concerns the state before Galdan Boshugtu's invasion on the Khalkha lands.

thousand monks to whom he always pays respect and is sincerely devoted.

532 This is similar to pursuing the enlightened life (*rnam thar*)⁶¹⁵ of the spiritual guide Potoba.⁶¹⁶ He [mastered] the scriptural traditions of sutra and mantra, as well as arts, medicine, astrology and other conventional⁶¹⁷ fields of knowledge which [became] as wide as the sky and made him the peak of learned ones.

Having threefold vows,⁶¹⁸ unsullied by the impurities,

533 he became the finest of virtuous ones.

To all beings without distinction he became the great treasure of compassion who reached to the highest limits.

He listened to numerous supreme teachings from eminent tutors starting with the Dalai Lama.⁶¹⁹

And he heard collections of scriptures and contemplated them until he attained the complete rest of mind. He studied, and listened and contemplated⁶²⁰ always long before dawn until well after noon,

⁶¹⁵532-1: Tib. *rnam thar*, but in Mong. *qauli j̄irum* meaning 'law'.

⁶¹⁶532-1: Tib. *po to ba*. Full title and name: Po to ba rin chen gsal, (1027-1105), see "Blue Annals": 263-264; Vetturini 2007: 120-122. Another of the 'three brothers' of the Kadampa order. He was responsible for the scriptural traditions. TBRC P3442.

⁶¹⁷532-2: Tib. *tha snyad*, Mong. *inaḡunki* meaning 'conventional' [RB], Lessing 1171b. In Mong. used mainly in expression *inaḡunki ūnen* to translate Skt. *saṃvṛti-satya* 'conventional truth', BHSD 541a.

⁶¹⁸532-3: Tib. *sdom pa gsum*, Mong. *ḡurban sanvar*. In Skt.: *trisaṃvara*, vows of *pratimokṣa*, in Tib. *so thar*; bodhisattva vows *byang sems kyi sdom pa* and the mantra vows *gsang sngags kyi dam tshig* [RY].

⁶¹⁹533-2: Tib. *rgyal ba yab sras*, Mong. *boḡda dalai blam-a*. Although the term *yab sras* may designate the Dalai Lama and his Regent or the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lama, the Mongolian translation points at the usage which means only the Dalai Lama.

⁶²⁰533-3: Tib. *klog pa thos bsam* lit. 'to read, listen and contemplate'. See *klog pa thos bsam gyi 'khor lo* 'the study wheel of learning and contemplation' [IW]. Mong. *sudur ayiladqaqu kiged sonosqu sanaqu* 'to recite scriptures, listen and contemplate'.

534 and in the evenings he received many people in audience.⁶²¹ While going to the sleeping chamber also he was striving to practice his *samaya* vows firmly and meditated on renunciation. He performed virtuous deeds for the doctrine and beings, limitless like the waves of an ocean of goodness⁶²² timely self-existing⁶²³ and ever-flowing in order to increase the wheel of deeds.

535 Also in terms of the wheel of three spheres⁶²⁴ he greatly clarified the northern precious dharma [and it was such a splendor] as if he had stolen a thousand [times] the brightness⁶²⁵ of the Lord of the ‘Day Maker’, i.e. Sun.

Due to the activation of habitual tendencies of [Master’s] former incarnations, in his very early age he mastered Sanskrit and Tibetan languages unequalled.⁶²⁶ I did not know Sanskrit [so I can not judge his knowledge], however, the Tibetan language [which I knew]

536 he knew better than the Tibetans regarding all tiny details and [there-

⁶²¹ 534-1: Tib. *mjal kha gnang* ‘received in audience, granted admittance’. In Mong. there seems to be a mistake. In the phrase *mörgölcin-i oroi örgölküd ayiladcu*, the first word means ‘worshipper’ (in accusative), the second: ‘evening’ or ‘crown of the head, top’. Regarding the rest of this phrase Jin Chengxiu reads: *mörgölküd ayiladju*, however, the form *mörgölküd* is not correct. Bira 1995 22 translates similarly to the Tib. version: *mörgöl örshööz* ‘was kind to [give] blessings’.

⁶²² 534-2: Tib. *bzang rgya mtsho* ‘good ocean’, ‘ocean of goodness’, in Mong. a slightly different version: *sayin ugiyal-u* (for: *ugiyal-un*) *dalai* ‘ocean of good bath, washing’.

⁶²³ 534-2: Tib. *yol med du lhun grub*, in which *yol med du* can be translated as ‘on time, timely’ and *lhun grub* as ‘self-existing’. In the Mong. version slightly different expressions are used: *kelbeigel* (for: *kelberil*) *ügegüy-e jöng[-]degen bütüged*, in which *kelberil ügegüy-e* means ‘immovable, firmly’, see Lessing 447a, and *jöng[-]degen bütüged* can be translated as ‘produced by itself’, Lessing 1075a.

⁶²⁴ 534-3–535-1: Tib. *’khor lo gsum*, Mong. *γurban kürden* for: *kürdün* ‘the three spheres’ which regard ‘renunciation, study and work’ or ‘three spheres of a teacher’s activity: exegesis *bshad pa*, attainment *sgrub pa* and work *las*’ [RY].

⁶²⁵ 535-1: Tib. *gzi* ‘shine, brightness’, in Mong. a bit different: *sür* ‘grandeur, majesty, might’.

⁶²⁶ Since Tāranātha was famed for his excellent knowledge of Sanskrit and as a great Buddhist scholar, here it seems that the reference is made to him.

fore it is clear that] he knew Sanskrit similarly well.

He composed writings [which] were like those explained above⁶²⁷ — not showing [his own] knowledge and talents.⁶²⁸ He hid them and he did not include them in whatever he composed, where all words regarding their meaning and composition are ‘eloquent elucidation’ (*legs bshad*). Nevertheless, according to [the Master’s] words:

537 "there are many ‘eloquent elucidations’ by high lamas. Therefore, while practicing dharma what⁶²⁹ should be done by me?"—he said. "Composing [religious teachings] was never [my] desire."⁶³⁰

Nevertheless, since worshippers insisted,⁶³¹ he agreed and gradually he [composed] at the request of Umdzad Choje,⁶³² "*Guru-yoga* relying on Tsongkhapa".⁶³³

⁶²⁷536-2: Tib. *gsum du bshad pa* which means: ‘explained in three’, however, the correct meaning is written in the xylograph: *gong du bshad pa* ‘explained above’. Mong. *urid nomlaγsan* ‘explained earlier’.

⁶²⁸536-2: Tib. *sku yon gyi rigs*, Mong. *erdem-ün jūil* lit. ‘types (or potentials) of knowledge’.

⁶²⁹537-1: Tib. *ci*, Mong. *yaγun* ‘what?’. Jin Chengxiu wrongly transliterated as *jaγun* ‘one hundred’.

⁶³⁰537-2: Tib. *ljags rtsom la thugs 'dod ye mi gnang*, but in Mong. slightly different meaning: *nomlal jokiyal-dur joriγlan tösču ton[g] ülü üyiledkü* ‘he absolutely did not plan or aim at writing [Buddhist] teachings’. Bira 1995: 22 *nomlol zarlig zokhiokhyg tödii l khüsdeggüi baiu* ‘he did not wish at all to compose [Buddhist] teachings’.

⁶³¹537-2: Tib. *nan gyis* ‘with great insistence’ [RY], Mong. *simdal-iyar* ‘with diligence’, Lessing 709b.

⁶³²537-3: Tib. *dbu mdzad chos rje*, Mong. *umčad čös rji*.

⁶³³537-3: Tib. *rgyal ba tsong kha pa la brten pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor*, Mong. *ilaγuγsan zōngkaba-dur šitügsen blam-a-yin jūrba*. According to the Catalogue of the Collected Works of the First Jetsundampa by Byambaa 2004: 5, no 00002 the title reads: *rJe btsun tsong kha pa la brten pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor*. It was reproduced by Byambaa 2003, vol. 1. The difference in the title of the work concerns its first element, being the title of Tsongkhapa, who is called *rgyal ba* i.e. ‘victorious’ in the present biography and *rje btsun*, i.e. ‘venerable, Lord’ in the "Collected Works". It is translated into Mongolian by Bira 1995: 23 as *Yalquugsan Zonkhavad shütsen lamyn yoga* and by Byambaa Ragchaa 2004: 5 as *Bogd Zonkhavad shütsen lamyn yoga*.

538 Upon the request by Lovon⁶³⁴ Shireyetü Sangye Tashi⁶³⁵ [he composed] *sKyer sgang pa las brgyud pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor rgyas pa.*⁶³⁶

By himself he wrote *'Khrungs rabs gsol 'debs,*⁶³⁷ *Phun tshogs sku gsum ma,*⁶³⁸ and numerous [texts], similar to them.⁶³⁹

[Regarding] his own row of pupils:⁶⁴⁰ the head lama of the Lord, the incarnation of the precious throne holder of Geden (i.e. Ganden), Sangye Rinchen,⁶⁴¹ the abbot of Jayul,⁶⁴²

539 Sharkhang Nomun Khaan,⁶⁴³ a disciple from Tashilhunpo [monastery],

⁶³⁴537-3: Tib. *slob dpon*, Mong. *lubbun* 'preceptor'. It translates the Skt. *ācārya*. The Mong. version is a borrowing from Tib.

⁶³⁵537-3: Tib. *shri ye thu sangs rgyas bkra shis*, Mong. *sireyetü sangjai taši*. The first element in both languages is the Mong. title which should be rendered correctly in Mong. as *siregetü* and which denotes someone who occupies the throne, 'throne holder', 'abbot' and translates Tib. *khri pa*.

⁶³⁶In the Catalogue by Byambaa 2004: 5-6, no 00003 this text is listed under the title *Rang rang gi rtsa ba'i bla ma la sbyar chog pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor skyer sgang pa las brgyud pa'i gdams pas brgyan pa.*

⁶³⁷In the Catalogue by Byambaa 2004: 32, no 00069) *rJe nyid kyi 'khrungs rabs gsol 'debs kun tu dga' ba'i ma.*

⁶³⁸Not under this title in the Catalogue by Byambaa 2004.

⁶³⁹Byambaa 2004: 1-56. The list of works of the First Jetsundampa comprises 125 texts.

⁶⁴⁰The following fragment includes information, however, updated and broadened, from the article Bareja-Starzynska 2009a. In order to provide comparative data, notes are added on the basis of the biography by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten (Agvaantüvden Ravjamba) of 1839 reproduced in Lokesh Chandra 1982: 397-1-399 and Kämpfe 1981, where the list of disciples is studied on pp. 337-338, reproduced in facsimile on pp. 377-378, folios 58r7-58v24 of the original manuscript and the biography of 1874 by Ngawang Losang Dondub (Ngag dbang blo bzang don grub), ff. 74v6-75r3.

⁶⁴¹538-3: Tib. *sangs rgyas rin chen gyi sku skye*, Mong. *sangji rin(g)čin-u qubilγan*. Sangye Rinchen (1540-1612) was the 27th Throne Holder of the Ganden monastery (TBRC P5563).

⁶⁴²539-1 Tib. *bya yul* the ancient Kadampa monastery located in Lo bya yul (TBRC G229).

⁶⁴³539-1: Tib. *shar khang no mon khāng*, Mong. *šarqang nom[-]jun qaγan*. In the 1839 biography Ngawang Yeshe Thubten added his personal name: Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan 'dzin (Lokesh Chandra 1982: 397-2 and Kämpfe 1981: 377, f. 58r10-1). He was mentioned earlier in the present biography on p. 433-3. See also Bareja-Starzynska 2009a.

Mergen Nomun Khaan,⁶⁴⁴ as well as a relative⁶⁴⁵ Nomun Khaan Kushonpa;⁶⁴⁶ the one who incarnated in many master practitioners from India and Tibet starting with holy *sthavira* Aṅgaja⁶⁴⁷ Tongkhor

Sereeter gives his title as *Sergan Khutagt* and his name as: *Luvsan-jambal-danzan* i.e. Blo bzang 'jam dpal bstan 'dzin. In Modern Mong. the title which he was bestowed is written as *Khanbo nomon khan*, see Sereeter 1999: 97.

⁶⁴⁴539-1: Tib. *mer ken no mon khāng*, Mong. *mergen nom[-]un qaγan*. In the Ngawang Yeshe Thubten's biography of 1839 he is listed on the seventh position (p. 397-5). In its Mongolian version it says: *šabtai nom-un qan*, which Tib. glosses read as: *zhabs gras* 'servant, attendant' (Kämpfe 1981: 377, f. 58r23). In the biography of 1874 he is also listed in the seventh position (f. 75r5). His name was Peljor Rabten (dPal 'byor rab brtan, Modern Mong. Baljor-ravdan). He was sent to Mongolia to accompany Jetsundampa and became *chos rje* of his monastery. Later he was appointed the abbot of Ikh Khüree, Khanbo Nomun Khaan. Sereeter 1999: 97-98 gives his titles as: *Mergen tsorj* and *khanbo nomon khan*.

⁶⁴⁵539-2: Tib. *sku nye* 'relative, kinsman, relation' [RY], but translated into Mong. as *tegünü qubilγan*, i.e. 'his incarnation'.

⁶⁴⁶539-2: Tib. *sku gzhon pa* 'junior, younger', not a name, but expression explaining that he was his next incarnation, as it is suggested by the Mong. version. His name was Geleg Rabten Dorje (dGe legs rab brtan rdo rje, Modern Mong. Gelegravdandorj 1663-1702). He was a son of Gonchigdorji Tayiji from the *qosiγu* of Ganden Dorji (Modern Mong. Galdandorji), see Sereeter 1999: 98. Geleg Rabten Dorje was the abbot of Ikh Khüree in 1681-1691. In the biography of 1839 he is listed as the eighth disciple (p. 397-5) and in its Mongolian version he is called: 'personal favorite': *biye-yin sidar* (f. 58r23-24). In his translation Kämpfe 1981: 337 omitted this person.

⁶⁴⁷539-2: Tib. *gnas brtan pa yan lag 'byung*, Mong. *aγui šitügen-ü yanglaγ jüüng*. Tib. term *gnas brtan* describes 'sthavira of the Śrāvaka school', 'firm in his place'. Tib. *yan lag 'byung* is the Tib. rendering of the Skt. name Aṅgaja, one of the 16 arhats.

Shabdrung Jampel Sangpo;⁶⁴⁸ the manifestation of Khuton,⁶⁴⁹

540 the incarnation of the precious throne holder Gyelkhangtseba Peljor Gyatso,⁶⁵⁰ Losang Tenzin;⁶⁵¹ the incarnation of the great accomplished one⁶⁵² Legtsog Lhundrub⁶⁵³ precious abbot Nomun Khaan;⁶⁵⁴

⁶⁴⁸ 539-3: Tib. *stong 'khor zhabs drung 'jam dpal bzang po*, Mong. *dongqor sabdün jïmbal sangpuu*. The sTong 'khor monastery and its lineage are important for the Mongols, since the second incarnation, Yonten Gyatso (Yon tan rgya mtsho, 1557-1587), was a teacher of Altan Khan (see TBRC P2043). In Bawden 1961: 37 he is called Mañjuśrī 'Jam dbyangs chos rje or 'Jam dbyangs rgya mtsho. About the early Tibetan sTong 'khor incarnations see Martin 2007. On sTong 'khor incarnations with relations to the Mongols see Terbish 2008: 64-65, 246-247. On the unusual way of reincarnation of Gyelba Gyatso (rGyal ba rgya mtsho, 1588-1639) from Kham see narration in the autobiography of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Karmay 2015: 202). According to the information by Ganzorig Davaaochir the second sTong 'khor incarnation, Yon tan rgya mtsho, reincarnated not only once, in Kham, but in the same year 1588 also in Khalkha and in Ordos. Tib. *zhabs drung* means 'title in the monastery to secretary of a high priest', Rerikh vol. 8: 56. In TBRC records (P1768) there is mentioned Tongkor Shabdrung called Jamyang Pelden ('Jam dbyangs dpal ldan, 1682-1754), who was active in Mongolia. Perhaps here his name is given in another form.

⁶⁴⁹ 539-3: Tib. *khu ston rnam sprul* i.e. manifestation of Khu ston brtson 'grus g.yung drung (1011-1075), one of Atīśa's chief disciples, see TBRC P3464, a teacher in the major transmission lineage of the *Abhidharmakośakārikā* that passed from Tsongkhapa and the Fifth Dalai Lama.

⁶⁵⁰ 539-3-540-1: Tib. *khri rin po che rgyal khang rtse ba dpal 'byor rgya mtsho*. Peljor Gyatso (1526-1599) was the 25th abbot of the Ganden monastery (see TBRC P3116).

⁶⁵¹ 540-1: Tib. *blo bzang bstan 'dzin*, Mong. *lubsang tangzin*. Full name: Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan, 1631-1654, Laagan 2004: 54. He was mentioned in the present Zanabazar's biography on p. 540-1. Mongols pronounce the Tib. title rGyal khang rtse as Jalkhanz, so the incarnation is known today as Jalkhanz Khutagt.

⁶⁵² 540-1: Tib. *grub chen* 'mahāsiddha, great accomplished one, saint, great hermits, great master' [RY], Mong. *yeke sidütü*.

⁶⁵³ 540-1: Tib. *legs tshogs lhun grub*, Mong. *legčurγ lhündüb*. He is mentioned in the biography of Lamyn Gegeen since he was his first incarnation. He was a monk at Ensa / Bensa (dBen sa) monastery in Tsang province and the student of Ensa / Bensa Losang Dondub (dBen sa blo bzang don grub), as well as Khedub Sangye Yeshe (mKhas grub sangs rgyas ye shes). I am very thankful to Ganzorig Davaaochir for providing this information. See Byambaa 2009: 15.

⁶⁵⁴ 540-2: Tib. *rin po che mkhan po no mon khāng*, Mong. *er(i)deni qambu nom[-]jun qaγan*. Kämpfe 1981: 337 adds his name: Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan, (Mong.

the one who previously gave the *Vajrāvalī* initiation of tradition of Abhayākara[gupta]⁶⁵⁵ to all those interested in it from among Khalkha and Oirat, the incarnation of Dorjechang Shabdrung⁶⁵⁶ Ochirdara Khuthuktu;⁶⁵⁷ preceptor of Kyilkhang [college],⁶⁵⁸

541 incarnation of venerable⁶⁵⁹ Sangye Pelsang,⁶⁶⁰ Erdeni Noyan Khutugtu,⁶⁶¹ incarnation of venerable Sangye Sangpo,⁶⁶² Dalai Mañjuśrī

f. 58r18-19; Tib. text Lokesh Chandra 1982: 397-3). He is known popularly in Mongolia as Lamyn Gegeen or Khanchin Chojal. He was the first one from his line of incarnations who was born in Mongolia. See monograph on him by Byambaa 2009.

⁶⁵⁵540-2: a *bhya ka ra'i lugs*. In Skt. Abhayākara[gupta]. See translation of p. 439-1.

⁶⁵⁶540-3: Tib. *rdo rje 'chang zhabs drung*. Tib. *rdo rhe 'chang* translates Skt. Vajradhāra in Skt. Ganzorig Davaaochir pointed out to me that in the vol. *ga*, p. 217b of Zaya Pandita's *thob yig* there is information on Dorjechang Shabdrung Jinpa Dargye (rDo rje 'chang zhabs drung sbyin pa dar rgyas), who bestowed *rDo rje phreng ba* and many other rituals on Oirats and Khalkhas and that he is mentioned in the biography of the Oirat Zaya Pandita (see *Ravjamba...* 2008: 69) as Ochir dar khutagt, who arrived to teach Buddhism to the Mongols at the request of Jasagtu Khan.

⁶⁵⁷540-3: Tib. *o chir ta ra khu thug thu*, Mong. *vačir dar-a qutuγtu*. Both forms, Tibetan and Mongolian, denote Skt. *Vajradhāra*. On the reincarnation called Ochirdara Khutuγtu see the footnote above.

⁶⁵⁸540-3: Tib. *dkyil khang* here refers to a college (*grwa tshang*) at the Tashilhunpo monastery (see TBRC G106). In the Mongolian translation of the 1839 biography by Ngawang Yeshe Thubten the Mong. word *surγaγuli* 'school' is added (Kämpfe 1981, p. 337, f. 58r25) which supports the meaning of 'college'.

⁶⁵⁹541-1: Tib. *zhal snga nas* 'in the presence of' [RY]. But in Mong. *boγda-yin gegen*, 'Holy Serenity', used as honorific appellation.

⁶⁶⁰541-1: Tib. *sangs rgyas dpal bzang*, Mong. *sangčai balsang*. Ganzorig Davaaochir provided me with information that Sangye Pelsang had three lines of incarnations in Mongolia: "Goviin dogshin Noyon khutagt, Ongin Noyon khutagt, Khangaliin Noyon khutagt". I am very thankful for this data.

⁶⁶¹541-1: Tib. *er te ni no yon khu thug thu*, Mong. *erdeni noyan qutuγtu*. Perhaps here the Mongolian incarnation called Goviin noyan khutagt, i.e. Noyan Khutagtu from Govi was meant. His personal name was Agvaangonchig, i.e. Tib. Ngag dbang dkon mchog (1622-1704). Again, owing to Ganzorig Davaaochir's kind help we know that there were not only three lines of incarnations of Sangye Pelsang, but more incarnations with the title *noyan qutuγtu* in Mongolia. According to *Iltgel shastir* (2006: 364-365) in the Sayin Noyan Khan province the second incarnation with the title Erdeni Mergen Noyan Khutugtu was called Jantsan (1674-1748).

⁶⁶²541-2: Tib. *sangs rgyas bzang po*, Mong. *sangčai sangbu*. Kämpfe 1981: 333 gives

Khutugtu;⁶⁶³ incarnation of Jang Rampa,⁶⁶⁴ precious Throne Holder of Geden,⁶⁶⁵ Losang Khutugtu,⁶⁶⁶ incarnation of Ilagugsan Choje who was enthroned as Lama Shang;⁶⁶⁷

542 incarnation of venerable Tsultrim Chöphelba, Gandan Khutugtu;⁶⁶⁸ venerable of Shartse,⁶⁶⁹ incarnation of Peljor Wangpo, [called] Shartse

the Tibetan name as: Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, though the Mongolian letters and Tibetan glosses read Sangs rgyas bzang po (p. 377, f. 58r27).

⁶⁶³541-2: Tib. *ta la'i mañju shrī khu thug thu*, Mong. *dalai manzusiri qutuγtu*. See note to p. 457-2. There is a bilingual Tibeto-Mongolian letter at the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives (no 1579) in which the incarnation Erdeni Manjusiri Dalai Khutugtu is mentioned. The letter sent from Potala to the Mongols was written in the Iron Sheep year, which could have been 1631, 1691 or 1751 of the 17th-18th century period. Since the name of the Fifth Dalai Lama and Jampa Lingpa (Byams pa gling pa) were mentioned in this letter as well, perhaps it was written in 1691, not long after the events described, although someone wrote on the letter the date 1751. I am grateful to Ganzorig Davaaochir for pointing to this document.

⁶⁶⁴541-2-3: Tib. *ljang ram pa* is mentioned in the "Collected Works" of the Fifth Dalai Lama: *dga' ldan khri rin po che ljang ram pa*, i.e. 'Jang Rampa, the throne holder of the Ganden monastery' (TBRC W1PD107937, p. 231-232), as well as in his autobiography (Karmay 2015 : 173), however, no more details are provided.

⁶⁶⁵541-2: Tib. *dge ldan*, Mong. *geden(g)*. Refers to the Ganden (*dGa' ldan*) monastery, see footnote above.

⁶⁶⁶541-2-3: Tib. *blo bzang khu thug thu*, Mong. *lubsang qutuγtu*.

⁶⁶⁷541-3: Tib. *bla ma zhang gi khri phebs pa'i i la kug sang chos rje'i sku skye*, Mong. *šang blam-a-yin siregen-dür jalγarγsan ilaγarγsan čös rji-yin qubilγan*. In Modern Mong. *shireend zalah* 'to install, to enthrone (a high lama)', Bawden 545b. Shang (Tib. Zhang) is a district in Tsang in Tibet. In Tibetan tradition a famous lama of Shang was brTson 'grus grags pa (1123-1193) from the Tshalpa tradition of the Kagyu school. His seat was the monastery Tshal gung thang, destroyed in 1546 by fire. See TBRC P1857. According to Ganzorig Davaaochir here Agramba Agvaangeleg is meant, i.e. Ngag dbang dge legs, for whom Zaya Pandita wrote two texts.

⁶⁶⁸542-1: Tib. *tshul khrim chos 'phel ba'i sku skye dga' ldan khu thug thu*, Mong. *čültim čuyipel-yin (for: -un) gegen-ü qubilγan γandan qutuγtu*. Incarnation of Tshul khrim chos 'phel (1561-1623), who was the 32nd abbot of the Ganden monastery in 1620-1623. See TBRC P2555.

⁶⁶⁹542-1: Tib. *shar rtse*, Mong. *šarzi*. In the previous article (Bareja-Starzyńska 2009a) I wrote that "Shar rtse refers most probably to the college of the Ganden monastery", however, not Ganden, but Tashilhunpo is meant here. I am thankful to Ganzorig Davaaochir for his correction.

Khutugtu;⁶⁷⁰ Lama of Gandan Jangtsi,⁶⁷¹ incarnation of Chokyong Gyatso, Erdeni Ilagugsan Khutugtu;⁶⁷² venerable of Je [college] of the Sera [monastery],⁶⁷³ incarnation of Jampa Monlam, Pandita Nomun Khan;⁶⁷⁴

543 incarnation of Lama of the Gomang [college] of the Drepung [monastery],⁶⁷⁵ Ilagugsan Khutugtu;⁶⁷⁶ incarnation of Tulku Sonam Yeshe

⁶⁷⁰542-1-2: Tib. *dpal 'byor dbang po'i sku skye shar rtse khu thug thu*, Mong. *baljur vangbu-yin qubilγan šarzi qutuγ tu*. Chos rje dpal 'byor dbang po is mentioned in the "Collected Works" (*gsung 'bum*) of Panchen Lama (First / Fourth), see TBRC W23430 and W9848.

⁶⁷¹542-2: Tib. *dga' ldan byang rtsi*, Mong. *γa[n]dan jang zi*. Byang rtse is one of two teaching colleges at the Ganden monastery (see TBRC G77).

⁶⁷²542-2-3: Tib. *chos skyong rgya mtsho'i sku skye er te ni e la kug sang khu thug thu*, Mong. *čuyi čin jamču-yin qubilγan erdeni ilaγuγsan qutuγ-tu*. Chokyong Gyatso (1473-1539) was an abbot of the Jangtse (Byang rtse) college of the Ganden monastery and an important Gelugpa teacher (see TBRC P3160). His first incarnation who started the line (called in Modern Mong. Yalgusan Khutagt) was 'Gro mgon bstan pa'i nyi ma according to his biography (information provided by Ganzorig Davaaochir).

⁶⁷³542-3: Tib. *ser byes pa* is a short form of *ser byes dpe mdzod*. Mong. *serjei ba*. Je (Tib. Byes) college of the Sera monastery (TBRC G155).

⁶⁷⁴542-3-543-1: Tib. *byams pa smon lam gyi sku skye paṇḍita no mon khāng*, Mong. *jimba mun(g)lam-un qubilγan bandida nom[-]jun qaγan*. Kämpfe (1981 p. 338) writes Byis pa instead of Byams pa, which must be a printing error. According to Ganzorig Davaaochir his personal name was Agvaansodnam, i.e. Tib. Ngag dbang bsod nams. Zaya Pandita wrote his 'reverential prayers' (*gsol 'debs*).

⁶⁷⁵543-1: Tib. *'bras spungs sgo mang bla ma'i sku skye*, Mong. *bereyibüing γoma-yin blam-a-yin qubilγan*. Perhaps Sangye Dorje (Sangs rgyas rdo rje), who was an abbot of the Gomang college of the Drepung monastery, TBRC P8LS12029.

⁶⁷⁶543-1: Tib. *i la kug sang khu thug thu*, Mong. *ilaγuγsan qutuγ-tu*. According to Ganzorig Davaaochir (based on the history of temples and monasteries of Köke Khota) he was made the head lama of all monks in Köke Khota (Hohhot) in 1685 by Guushi Khan and given a seat in Puntsag Juu monastery. The situation was changed in 1696, when the Manchu Emperor appointed Neyichi Toyin at Baga Juu the head lama of Köke Khota's clergy. See also Elverskog 2003: 208, footnote 66.

Wangpo,⁶⁷⁷ Naran Khutugtu,⁶⁷⁸ incarnation of venerable Chonyer Dragpa,⁶⁷⁹ Shiretü Khutugtu,⁶⁸⁰ Bütügsen Khutugtu,⁶⁸¹ incarnation of Gangchen Khenpo,⁶⁸² incarnation of Mergen Nomun Khan,⁶⁸³

⁶⁷⁷543-1-2: Tib. *sprul sku bsod nams ye shes dbang po*, Mong. *bürilgüü sodnam yeši vāngbu*. bSod nams ye shes dbang po (1556-1592) founded the monastery Thub bstan chos 'khor in Lithang at the order of the Third Dalai Lama (see TBRC P100). According to the information in the next footnote sPrul sku bSod nams chos kyi nyi ma would be expected here instead of him.

⁶⁷⁸543-2: Tib. *na rang khu thug thu*, Mong. *naran qutuγtu*. According to Ganzorig 2005: 3 this title was first used in Mongolia to denote the 23rd reincarnation of *mahāsiddha* Virupa (Tib. Bir wa pa), the Tibetan lama bSod nams chos kyi nyi ma, who was invited for the opening ceremony of the monastery of Zaya Pandita and from whom this line of incarnations started in Mongolia. His Mongolian incarnation Sangs rgyas snang grags was confirmed by the Third (or Sixth) Panchen Lama (1737-1780).

⁶⁷⁹543-2-3: Tib. *chos gnyer grags pa*, Mong. *čuyiner daγba*. Perhaps there is a spelling mistake, and it refers to bShes gnyen grags pa, the 29th abbot of Ganden in 1607-1614, see TBRC P5571.

⁶⁸⁰543-3: Tib. *shi re' thu khu thug thu*, Mong. *sir[e]getü qutuγtu*. Here the incarnation of Śiregetü güüsi čorji is meant. He was known otherwise as Śidetü gabču. It is not clear whether he was a Mongol or a Tibetan, but he came to Köke Khota together with the Third Dalai Lama with whom he participated in the famous meeting with Altan Khan in 1578. He also consecrated Erdeni Juu monastery in Khalkha and gained fame as a translator of Tibetan Buddhist scriptures into Mongolian, see Bareja-Starzyńska 2006: 22-28. According to Ganzorig Davaaochir (on the basis of history of the monasteries and temples of Köke Khota) the third incarnation was called Agvaanluvsandanzinjaltsan, i.e. Tib. Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgyal mtshan, he was enthroned in 1659, while the fourth incarnation was called Agvaanluvsanravdan, Tib. Ngag dbang blo bzang rab brtan, enthroned in 1674.

⁶⁸¹543-3: Tib. *pu thug sen khu thug thu*, Mong. *bütügsen qutuγtu*. According to Ganzorig Davaaochir he was the reincarnation of the abbot of Gangchen monastery, which makes him related to the next name, Gangchen Khenpo.

⁶⁸²543-3: Tib. *gangs can mkhan po'i sku sbye*, Mong. *γangjin qambu*. There is a monastery Gangs can chos 'phel near Tashilhunpo. It was founded by Pan chen bzang po bkra shis . The First / Fourth Panchen Lama was its abbot. See TBRC P719.

⁶⁸³543-3: Tib. *mer gen no mon khāng*, Mong. *mergen nom[-]un qaγan*. He is the reincarnation of the second person from this list, the Tibetan master named dPal 'byor rab brtan.

544 Rabten,⁶⁸⁴ Jigmed Dorje Dalai Khutugtu;⁶⁸⁵ Dethang Pandita Khutugtu;⁶⁸⁶ incarnation of Üijing Noyan;⁶⁸⁷ incarnation of Neyichi Toyin of Köke Khota;⁶⁸⁸ venerable of Tho Samling,⁶⁸⁹ incarnation of Legshe Peldenpa, Mergen Choje;⁶⁹⁰ Ilagugsan, incarnation of Gyepa Shabdrung;⁶⁹¹ preceptor

545 Shiregetü Sangye Tashi,⁶⁹² Lama of the home monastery⁶⁹³ of Darpa—Pandita Choje,⁶⁹⁴ Mergen Pandita Rabjampa⁶⁹⁵ were the main disci-

⁶⁸⁴544-1: Tib. *rab brtan*, Mong. *rabdan*. His full name was Geleg Rabten Dorje, (dGe legs rab brtan rdo rje), he was born in 1663. He became the third Khambo Nomun Khan of Ikh Khuree, i.e. head lama of the headquarters of Jetsundampa, between 1681-1691. Died in 1702, see Sereeter 1999: 98-99.

⁶⁸⁵544-1: Tib. *'jigs med rdo rje tā la'i khu thug thu*, Mong. *jigmed dorjei dalai quturγtu*.

⁶⁸⁶544-1: Tib. *bde thang paṇḍita khu thug thu*, Mong. *de tang bandida quturγtu*. According to Ganzorig Davaaochir his name was Luvsantsultimnamjal, i.e Tib. Blo bzang tshul khriṃs rnam rgyal.

⁶⁸⁷544-1-2: Tib. *ui tsen no yon gyi sku skye*, Mong. *üijing noyan-u qubilγan*. In this way Zaya Pandita mentioned himself, since he was known as the reincarnation of the son of Üijing Noyan (Uyizin, Uizen in Modern Mongolian). Üijing Noyan was mentioned earlier in this biography (p. 417-2) as one of Zanabazar's predecessors.

⁶⁸⁸544-2: Tib. *mkhar sngon gnas bcu tho yon gyi sku skye*, Mong. *köke qota-yin ḡnabču toyin-u qubilγan*. The second reincarnation (1671-1702) of the well-known monk Neyichi Toyin (1557-1653), who was the Buddhist missionary in Eastern Mongolia among Ongnigud and Khorchin. On Neyichi Toyin see Kollmar-Paulenz 2008.

⁶⁸⁹544-3: Tib. *thos bsam gling*, Mong. *toyisam ling*. It is one of the colleges in the Tashilhunpo monastery (see TBRC G105).

⁶⁹⁰544-2-3: Tib. *legs bshad dpal ldan pa'i sku skye mer ken chos rje*, Mong. *legsadan baldan-yin* (for: -u) *qubilγan mergen čoyiji*. In the Mong. version there is no particle *-pa* after *dpal ldan*, the same in the biography of Zanabazar of 1839, f. 58v15 (Kämpfe 1981: 338). Leghse Pelden at Gangchen Chophel is mentioned in the "Collected Works" of the First Panchen Lama, see TBRC W23430, 15 ff.

⁶⁹¹544-3: Tib. *rgyas pa zhabs drung gi sku skye i la kug sang*, Mong. *jayiba šabdüd-yin* (for: -un) *qubilγan ilaγurγsan*.

⁶⁹²544-3-545-1: Tib. *slob dpon pa she re ke' thu sangs rgyas bkra shis*, Mong. *siregetü sangjai daši*. Sangye Tashi from Gomang college participated in the *dge tshul* ordination of the Fifth Dalai Lama, see Karmay 2015: 62.

⁶⁹³545-1: Tib. *gzhi dgon* small monastery attached to a village [JV].

⁶⁹⁴545-1: Tib. *paṇḍi ta chos rje*, Mong. *bandida čos rji*. He was mentioned earlier in the biography (p. 459-1-2) when the meeting at Küren Belcher in 1686 was described.

⁶⁹⁵545-2: Tib. *mer ken paṇḍi ta rab byams pa*, Mong. *mergen bandida rabjamba*. He

ples.

And also many other masters,⁶⁹⁶ great and petty, and officials great and petty headed by the three khaans⁶⁹⁷ of Khalkha, and many ordained and lay people⁶⁹⁸ of high or low [status].⁶⁹⁹

546 And starting with us, all disciples [who strived] to gain the essence of Dharma⁷⁰⁰ beyond calculation and number, beyond words, in this way the teachings of the northern direction⁷⁰¹ for the benefit of limitless beings of the earth⁷⁰²

547 shall increase by all pervading actions just like Lotus-footed vajra, [which is] unchangeable, spontaneously consecrated and firmly established.

548 Now I, as well as other students,⁷⁰³ [who] take refuge in holy protectors, pray to be firm and Lotus-footed in one hundred eons.⁷⁰⁴

was mentioned earlier in the biography (p. 464-3) in the fragment about the meeting at Küren Belcher in 1686.

⁶⁹⁶ 545-2: Tib. *bla ma*, Mong. *blam-a*.

⁶⁹⁷ 545-3: Tib. *rgyal po*, Mong. *qarγan*.

⁶⁹⁸ 545-3: Tib. *skya ser* 'ordained and lay people' [RY].

⁶⁹⁹ 546-1: Tib. *mchog dman* 'high or low' [RY]. It means also 'rank, social status' [RY].

⁷⁰⁰ 546-1: Tib. *chos kyi bdud rtsi*, Mong. *nom-un arsiyan*.

⁷⁰¹ I.e. Buddhism, 546-3: Tib. *byang phyogs kyi bstan pa*, Mong. *umar-a jüg-ün šajın*.

⁷⁰² 546-3: In Tib. a poetical expression for earth: *rgya mtsho'i gos can* [IW] from Skt.: *sāgarāṃvarā* which lit. means: 'ocean-clad', see also Rerikh, vol. 2: 34. In Mong. *del/e]kei*, which is regular expression for 'earth, world, universe', Lessing 248b.

⁷⁰³ 548: Tib. *gdul bya* lit. 'someone to be tamed / trained, a tamable being', 'those to be trained / tamed' [RY]. In Mong. the same meaning: *nomuqadqaqui amitan*, i.e. 'beings to be tamed'.

⁷⁰⁴ In the translation of Bira 1995: 24-25 into Modern Mong. there is a long passage where many Zanabazar's works are quoted. It is extant in the Buryat manuscript version.

(Colophon added to the Tibeto-Mongolian version, extant in the version included in Zaya Pandita's *gsung 'bum*)

- 549 And saying so, Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei Pelsangpo⁷⁰⁵ composed this biography⁷⁰⁶ of the fifteenth reincarnation⁷⁰⁷ of the supreme Lo-sang Tenpai Gyeltsen Pelsangpo⁷⁰⁸ and included it in his *gsan yig* (i.e. "Records of Teachings Received").

⁷⁰⁵549-1: Tib. *dza ya paṇḍi ta blo bzang 'phrin las dpal bzang po*, Mong. *jay-a bandida sumadi karm-a sarai badar-a*.

⁷⁰⁶549-2: Tib. *'khrung rabs* means '[Jataka] story of previous life of Buddha' and *'khrungs rabs rnam thar* 'narration of past lives' [RY], the same in Mong. expressed by *čadig*. On *rnam thar* and *čadig* see the chapter "The Author and the Text".

⁷⁰⁷The Tib. numeral *bco lnga* 'fifteen' appears just in the middle of the Tib. expression *'khrungs rabs rnam thar*. In Mong. it is expressed as *arban tabun töröl* 'fifteen incarnations', which, however, stands for 'the fifteenth incarnation' which was probably also what was meant by Zaya Pandita in the Tib. text.

⁷⁰⁸Tib. *blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po*, Mong. *sumadi šajin-u duvaza sarai badar-a*. Translations of Skt. Sumati Śāsana Dhvaja Śrībhadrā. See p. 412 of the present text.

Chapter 5

Transliteration

5.1 Tibeto-Mongolian Manuscript

References are made to the transliteration of the bilingual text by Jin Chengxiu 2002 abbreviated as JC, as well as to the xylograph editions: Lokesh Chandra's edition 1981: 124-154; Beijing original xylograph, vol. *nga*, ff. 62v6-77v2; Byambaa Ragchaa's edition 2012, ff. 34b6-49b2.

411 T 1 rje btsun dam pa blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i thun mong ba'i rnam thar bsdus ba bzhugs

412 T 1 na mo gu ru | (124-6=62v6=BR 34b1) rgyal ba gnyis pa blo bzang grags pa yi

M 1 namô (JC namo-ya) gürü qoyadu-γar ilaγuγsan sumadi giridi-sumadi giridi-yin

T 2 bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan 'dzin pa'i mchog gyur pa | snyigs dus 'gro ba'i

M 2 saḷin-u duvaza bariqu-yin manglai boluγsan cöb (for: čöb-ün) čaγ-un amitan-i

413 T 1 'dren pa bla na med | (125-1=63r1=BR 35a1) rje btsun bla ma'i zhabs la gsol

M 1 udaridduči (for: udduriduḡči) tengsel ügei . getülgeḡči blam-a-yin ölmei-dür ḡalba-

T 2 ba 'debs || zhes (125-1: | missing) pa'i bstod yul du gyur pa bco lnga pa rje btsun ... (125-1: + blo bzang)

M 2 -rimui . kemeküi maḡtan ḡal (for: maḡtaḡal)-un oron boluḡsan arban tabuduḡar getülgeḡči

414 T 1 bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i thung mong ma yin pa'i rnam thar pa ni | skabs gsum par

M 1 sumadi saḡin-u duvaza siri bhadara san yerü busu-yin čadig kemebesü sgabs (JC sgbas) gsum-ba-dur

T 2 mkha' lding (125-2) dbang pos mkha' la bgrod bgrod nas || (125-2: | missing) nam zhiḡ rang stobs bri bas ldog 'gyur gyi || nam

M 2 ḡigürten-ü erken ḡarudi ber oḡtarḡui-dur nisčü nisčü nigen čaḡ-tur öber[-]ün küčün-iyen muquraḡu bučaḡsan bui ḡ-a)

T 3 mkha' zad pas ldog par mi 'gyur bzhin || khyod gyi yon tan brjod ba'ang de ltar lags || zhes gsungs

M 3 oḡtarḡui-yi baruḡsan-iyar bučaḡsan busu metü činu (JC činü) erdem-i üḡileḡči ču tere metü bülüge kemen nomlaḡsan

415 T 1 pa ltar bskal pa nas bskal pa'i bar du brjod (125-3) kyang mtha' mi rdzogs pa dang | sangs rgyas

M 1 ḡalab-ača ḡalab kürtel-e üḡilebečü kiḡiḡar (for: kiḡaḡar) ülü tegüsküi ba . imaḡta burqan

T 2 'phags pa nang phan tshun kho na'i yul ma gtogs bdag lta bu'i so so skye tha mal pa'i spyod yul las 'das

M 2 qutuḡ-tan dotor-a ḡaḡur-a-ban edleküi-yin oron-ača busu bi metü-yin ütele bertegčün arad-un edleküi oron-ača keterigsen (for: ketüre-gsen)

T 3 mod (125-3: mdo, for: mod, BR 35a3 correctly) | 'on kyang gdul bya thun mong ba'i snang ngor bshes gnyen dam pa'i tshul bzung (125-3: bzungs)... pa'i thun (125-4) mong ba'i rnam

M 3 amu : bolbaču yerü-yin amitan-u üjegdel-dür degedü baγsi-yin dūri bariγsan anu : niyte čadig-un

416 T 1 thar rgya mtsho lta bu las | dad gus kyi ku sha'i rtse mos cung zad blangs te brjod par bya ba ni | tshe ring gnam gyi

M 1 dalai metü-eče süsüg biširal-un güši-yin üjegüür (for: üjügür)-iyer öčüken abuγsan ayan (for: -iyan) nomlan üiledsüγai (for: üiledsügei) tere ču erte tngri

T 2 she mong gis 'phags yul rgya gar chu bo ggānga (125-4: ganggā) tshun nas rgya nag | bod mgo dkar sogs skad rigs mi gcig

M 2 nereče (JC nereün, for: ner-ün) jayaγ-a-tai qutuγ-tan-u oron enedkeg-ün γangγa mören-eče inaγši nanggiyad töbed qotun (JC qo-tung) terigüten kelen-ü jüil nige busu

T 3 pa du mar stobs kysis 'khor (125-5) los bsgyur ba tshangs pa mi'i gzugs can ching gi rgyal po zhes yongs su grags pa

M 3 olan arad-u (for: -un) küčün-iyer aluγutan (JC jiluγutan) urbuγ-uluγsan (JC urbaγuluγsan) asarun (for: esru-a) kümün-ü dūri bariγsan qaγan kemen oγuγada aldaršiγsan

417 T 1 de nas rgyal rabs nyi shu rtsa bdun na | pa (125-5: sa, for: pa, BR 35a5 correctly) thu mong kho ta yan rgyal po byung | de la sras bcu gcig

M 1 ten(g)de-eče qaγad-un üy-e qorin doloduγar-tur patu (JC batu) möngke dayan qaγan boluγsan tegündür (for: tegün-dür) arban nigen

T 2 yod pa'i bcu pa tsal 'ir hong (125-5: hor, for: hong) tha'i ji | de la sras bdun (125-6) yod pa'i gsum pa u'i tsen no yon | de la sras drug

M 2 aginar aγsan-u arbaduγar oi jalaran (for: jalaair, JC: jalaraγ) qungtayiži tegün-dür doloγan eki (for: agi) aγsan-u γutaγar üijeng (JC: uičang) noyan tegün-dür jirγuγan

T 3 yod pa'i che ba a pu tha'i zhes bya ba rgyal po ra ma ṅa'i khengs pa 'phrog pa'i dpa' rtsal dang ldan pa des o'i rod

M 3 agi aγsan-u auγan anu abutai (JC: abudai) ner[e]tū qaγan ide
küčün anu ramd (JC: ramad) omoγ-i : bulayaqu (for: buliyaqu)-yin
čoγ ide-lüge tegüsügen mön kü tere[-]ber oirod-tur

418 T 1 la dmag dpung chen po bteg ste o'i rod stong phrag mang po bsad
o'i rod (126-1=63v1=BR 35b1) thams cad dbang du bsdud

M 1 čereg (JC čerig)-ün ömüg yekede mord(a)ju oirod-un ulus-ača
olan mingγan toγatan daruju qamuγ oirod-i erke degen quriyaju

T 2 rang gi sras gcig kyang o'i rod kyi rgyal por bskos de rjes thams
cad mkhyen pa bsod nams rgya mtsho

M 2 öber-ün nige agi-yi ču oyirod-un qaγan bolγan saγulγaγad tegünü
qoyin-a qamuγ-i ayiladduγči sodnam jimsü-yin gęgen

T 3 sog (126-1: sogs, incorrectly) yul du phebs skabs mjal bar byon |
mchod yon thugs yid gcig tu 'dres phag mo grub (for: gru pa)

M 3 -ten (JC tan) mongγol-un oron-dur jalaraq-u-yin učir mörgör-e
ögede bol(a)ju blam-a ög(e)lige-yin ečen (for: ejen) qoyar[-]un tuγtam
sedgkil (for: sedkil) imaγta taγarladuju (for: taγaralduju) paγmu düb

419 T 1 rdo rje (126-2) rgyal po'i sku thang me thub ma zhig gnang ste
rdo rje rgyal po zhes pa'i mtshan gnang | er te ni

M 1 bazar (JC: vajra) raza-yin körög metüb ma kemekü nigen soy-
orqaju vačar qaγan kemegdekü ner-e qayirlabai ten(g)de-eče erdeni
juu

T 2 jo bo zhes pa'i lha khang sku dang bcas pa khyad par (126-2 par
missing) du 'phags pa cig (for: zhig) bzhengs | tsha khar rgyal po'i mi
sna las

M 2 kemekü keyid süm-e burqan šitügen-lüge-selte ilangγuy-a ketürkei
nigen-i bütügeju čaqar qaγan elčiner-eče

T 3 sog yig gi skad cha gsan nas mi 'ga' (126-3) zhig sog yig slob tu
btang nas dam pa'i chos kyi srol btong

M 3 mongγol bičig-ün kelen-ü jüil sonosun ayiladduγad (JC ...daγad) nige kedün kümün-i mongγol bičig surγar-a ilegejü degedü nom-un qauli bayıγulju γučin tabun

420 T 1 dgung lo sum cu so lngar gnam du gshegs par grags | de (126-3: de'i) sras e re khe'i mer ken rgyal po | de sras

M 1 tabun següder deger-e-ben tngri bolba (JC: bolbai) kemen al-darsijuγui (for: ...-juqui) tegün[-]ü agi anu erkei mergen qaγan bui tegün[-]ü agi anu

T 2 rdo rje thu she ye thu rgyal po zhes bstan srid gnyis la mkhyen spyen yangs (126-4) pa de ni | rje 'di'i yab yin la | yum

M 2 vačari (JC: vačirai) tüčiyetü (for: tüsiyetü) qaγan kemekü šačın (for: šašin) törü qoyar yeke aγuda üleddügči tere kemebesü eneküü boγda-yin ečege (for: ečige) buyu eke-yi ču

T 3 yang rje nyid kyi mes po rdo rje rgyal po chen po'i gcung gis sras mo'i sras mo gzugs mdzes lta na sdug cing

M 3 boγda-yin öber[-]ün ebüge ečege (for: ečige) yeke vačar (JC: vačir) qaγan-u degüü-yin abaqai-yin abaqai üjibesü (for: üjebesü) γuu-a dürsü üjesküleng sayin aburitu

421 T 1 tshul bzang ma zhes pa ltar btsun mo'i yon tan dang ldan pa mkha' 'gro rgya mtsho zhes bya ba'i yab

M 1 gegdegsen metü qatud-un erdem-lüge tegüsüγsen qangda jimču kemegdekü ečege (JC: ečige)

T 2 yum (126-5) gnyis kyi sras su na chod (for: tshod, BR 35b5 correctly) ldan ces pa shing phag lo'i hor zla dgu ba'i nyi shu lnga'i snga dro ngo mtshar pa'i lta du ma

M 2 eke qoyar agi bolun jayaγaju načuddan kemekü modon γaqai jil[-]ün saranyaγul-un yisüdüger sara[-]yin (for: sar-a-yin) qorin tabun-u örlüge sonin γayıqamsiγ-tu olan

T 3 dang bcas te sku btams (for: bltams) | sku bltams ba'i gzims gur spos pa'i shul tu (126-5: du, correctly) dgun dus yin kyang me tog

M 3 aru-a (for: žerge) belge-lüge selte egüde negežü qubilbai qubiluγsan ordu qarši čaγ inu ebül ču bolba masi sayiqan čėčeg nigen uruγaγsan

422 T 1 legs pa cig (for: zhig) skyes par (126-6) grags | thog mar byams pa gling no mon khang gis dgung lo bzhi'i thog gtsug phud

M 1 gelen (for: kelen) ten(g)deče ang terigün jimba ling nomon qaγan ber dörben següder juγulaγsan-u deger-e žalaγad

T 2 zhus shing dge bsnyen gyi sdom pa phul | dgung lo gsum bzhes pa'i dus nyi ma re la snga sor thugs 'dzin ma gnang

M 2 san(g)var ergübei γurban següder juγulaγsan čaγ-taγan urid čegenilgülün (JC: cegežilegülün, correctly) ese ayiladqaγsan bolbaču edür büri

T 3 yang thugs thog nas mtshan brjod tshar (127-1=64a1=BR 36a1) gnyis tsam zhal 'don mdzad | dgung lo lnga'i steng du khri 'don mdzad

M 3 naman sanggri (JC: sangbri) di-yi tubdan abuγ(a)saγar qosiyad-un tedüi čegeži-ber ungšin üileddegsen (for: üileddügsen) kelen . tabun següder juγulaγsan deger-e širegen-e γarun

423 T 1 pa'i sgo nas rten 'brel legs par bsgrigs | mkhas grub sangs rgyas ye shes kyi sku'i skye ba

M 1 ayiladqu-yin egüden (JC: egüde)-eče belge sayitur žokiyabai mer-gen sidatu budda zana-yin gegen-ü qoyitu töröl

T 2 dben sa sprul pa'i skus rab byung gi mkhan po mdzad de | (127-2 = 64a2) mtshan blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal pa'i (127-2: rgyal pa'i missing, correct) rgyal mtshan tu (127-2: du, correct)

M 2 ben(g)s-a (JC: bense) qubilγan gegen ber maγad γar(a)qui-yin ub[a]dani (for: ubadini, JC: ubatani) žokiyažu tere ber . ner-e-yi sumadi sajin-u duvaza

T 3 gsol zhing | mgon po'i rjes gnang phul | de nas rgyal ba yab sras kyi sku gzhogs su zhus par rje btsun

M 3 kemen öčiged mahakala-yin jinang ergübei : ten(g)de-eče boγda dalai blam-a-yin gegen tan-a ayiladqaγsan-dur jibjundamba-yin

424 T 1 dam pa'i sprul skur ngos 'dzin gnang | 'bras spungs sngags pa'i
bla ma bka' gdams glegs (127-3) bam nas lung bstan

M 1 qubilγan mön kemen todorqai boduraγulun lüngdeng (JC: lüng-
düng) soyorqabai baraibüing aγba dačan-yin (for: -u, JC: dača-yin)
blam-a gadamblegbam-ača (JC: gedamglegbam-eče) is(e)i (JC: esi,
for: esi or isi) üjegülüγsen

T 2 pa'i dpon slob nam mkha' bsod nams grags pa yongs 'dzin du
gdan drangs | des gsan sbyongs kyi zhabs

M 2 bunglub namkha (JC: namka) sodnam daγba-yi baγši bolγan
jalažu tere-ber sonosun sudulaqui-a durad-un

T 3 bskul dang | 'jigs byed kyi dbang chen sogs chos bka' mang ba
phul | dgung lo bco lnga 'gal ba zhes (127-4) pa sa

M 3 ayiladqaγsan yaman(g)dakga-yin (JC: yamandag-a-yin) abišig te-
r[i]güiten jarliγ nom-ud olan baribai : arban tabun següder degerben
(for: deger-e-ben) γalba kemekü em-e

425 T 1 mo glang lor dbus gtsang dag pa'i zhing du byon | rje btsun rgyal
ba gnyis pa'i 'khrungs yul sku 'bum

M 1 široi üker jil-dür üi zang-un oron-nuγud-dur jalaraqui-dur getülge-
gči qoyaduγar ilaγuγsan čongaba (JC: čongkaba)-yin qubiluγsan oron
günbüm

T 2 dang | bya khyung dgon | byang ra (127-4: re) sgren | rin chen
brag thang sag dga' ldan chos 'khor | stag lung | ser 'bras

M 2 kiged jičüing keyid jiang (JC: jing) ra ding ringč'in b(a)raγ tangsaγ
γan(g)dan čoyin(g)qur (JC: coyigqur) taγlüng sere[-]berei (JC: sere-
barai) ge[-]süm (JC: gesüm)

T 3 dge gsum bkra shis lhun (127-5) po thams cad nas bsu ba ser
sbrengs (127-5: sprengs) rgyas pa rgyal ba yab sras phebs ba'i

M 3 dašilhün-bu . qamuγ-ača ser inu boγda blam-a-yi jalaraqui-yin
qauli

426 T 1 lugs bzhin gzabs rgyas gnang | dge ldan khri rin po <che> chu
bzang pa dang mjal dar rtse sprod mdzad | rgyal ba yab sras

M 1 yosuḡar neng yekede delgeringgüi (for: delgerenggüi)-e ergübei
geden tii (JC: ti) rinbuči čübsang-ba-üge (JC: corrects to -lüge, for:
-luḡ-a) ḡolḡuqui (JC corrects to: ḡolḡaqui)-daḡan belge-iyen solilčan
ayiladduḡad boḡda dalai blam-a

T 2 la khri 'bul dang | grwa sa che chung phal che bar (127-6) mang
'gyed gya nom pa gnang | pan (127-6 paḡ) chen thams cad mkhyen
pa'i sku gzhogs

M 2 tan-a ergül kündülel yeke kiged . olangki yeke baḡa keyid-ün
qurul-dur ḡid (for: ḡed) mangḡa qotola (for: qotala) tegüsüksen ergüged
qamuḡ-i ayiladduḡči yeke ban(g)dada boḡda-yin ḡegen

T 3 nas dge tshul gyi sdom pa bzhes | dbang lung man ngag bum pa
gang bya'o (for: byo'i) tshul tu (for: du) zhus | bong bu zhes pa lcags

M 3 -eče gečül-ün san(g)var ḡoḡulḡaḡu abišig lüng ubidas (JC: ubadis,
correctly) bökün : dügüreng qomq-a-yi yegüleküi (JC: yegülegüi)-yin
yosuḡar bongbuu kemekü temür

427 T 1 yos lo'i sa ga zla ba'i nyer lnga nas rgyal dbang thams cad (128-
1=64v1=BR 36b1) mkhyen pa chen po'i sku gzhogs su slob dpon a

M 1 taulai ḡil[-]ün saga sara-yin qorin tabun-ača ekilen ilaḡuḡsan-
u erketü qamuḡ-i ayiladduḡči tabuduḡar dalai blam-a-yin gegen-eče
abh(a)y-a karai

T 2 bhya (128-1=64v1 bhyā) ka ra'i lugs kyi rdo rje phreng ba'i dkyil
'khor zhe gnyis kyi steng du kri ya sa mu tstsha zhes (128-1: nas)
gsungs pa'i dge legs su

M 2 baḡsi yosun-u vačir erike-yin qota mandal döčün qoyarun deger-
e karay-a (JC: kerl-e) samü zača kemen nomlaḡsan sayin sayiqan
bolḡaḡši

T 3 byed pa'i dkyil 'khor gsum bsnan pa'i phreng (128-1: + ba) zhe
lnga ma'i dbang yongs rdzogs dang | (128-2) rgyal dge 'dun rgya

M 3 γ urban qota mandal nemegsen döčin tabun erike-yin absang (for: abišig) čöm tegüsgeged ila γ u γ san gen(g)den ĵimso-yin

428 T 1 mtsho'i bka' 'bum sogs chos bka' mang po gsan | de dus dgung lo bcu bdun pa zhes pa'i skabs yin

M 1 gabüm ter[i]güten ĵarli γ nom-ud-i olan sonosun üleddü γ sen tere ča γ dur (for: ča γ -tur) arban dolo γ an següdü (for: següder) ĵo γ u γ la γ san kür(e)tel-e

T 2 'dug pas | physis su dgung lo re gsum bzhes ba'i dus su rdo rje phreng ba'i dbang gnang skabs sku gzhogs nas

M 2 -ben qoyin-a ĵiran γ urban següder ĵo γ u γ la γ san ča γ -ta γ an vačir erike-yin abišig soyurqaqu-yin üy-e-dü gegen tan-u nomlal

T 3 ljags (128-3) bshad 'di 'dra gnang gi 'dug ces bka' phebs pa bdag gis thos | gzhan yang rje nyid kyi zhal

M 3 ene-yin metü ayiladdu γ san saču γ u (for: saču γ u) kemen ĵarli γ bolqu-yi bi[-]ber bodutai sonoslu γ -a basu bo γ da-yin öber[-]ün

429 T 1 nas (128-3 + |) de dus chos la don gnyer chen po ma byas pa'i skyon gyis zin bris su ma bkod pa ma gtogs |

M 1 ĵarli γ -ača tere ča γ nom-i yeke ese keriseyegsen (for: keregsiyegsen)-ü gem-iyer čegeĵilegsen-iyen bičijü (JC: bičiju) ese abu γ san-ača busu

T 2 nyi ma dang por mdo rgyud dang rgya bod kyi mkhas grub (128-4) mang po'i gsung sogs drangs te ljags bshad rgyas pa rang gnang

M 2 angqan-u edür sudur tantras ba enedkeg töbed-ün olan merged siditen-ü ĵarli γ terigüten-eče tataju nomlal (JC: nomlan) delgerenggüi soyurqa γ san qamu γ ar-i sedkil-dür

T 3 ba thams cad blo la zin ma thub kyang | nyi ma gnyis pa nas bzungs te gang gnang ba thams cad zin bris

M 3 barin ese čidabaču qoyadu γ ar qono γ -ača ekilejü ali soyurqa γ san bügüde čegeĵilegsen-iyen

- 430 T 1 byed thub pa nges par yod kyang na so gzhon pa dang | chos la gal bo cher ma (128-5) byas pas yi ger 'god rgyu ma byung
 M 1 tobtai (for: tabtai) bečin (for: bičin) čidlati (for: čidaltai) bayibaču nigen-dür nasu ĵalaγu kiged qoyar-tu nom-i yekede ker[k]igsen ese üileddügsen (JC: üileddugsen)-iyer sudur bolγan ese abubai
 T 2 zhes gsungs (128-5: gsungs) pa dang | pan (128-5 paᅇ) chen thams cad mkhyen pas rje tā (128-5 tāra) ra nā tha'i sku skye yin gsung ba gsung gis byin gyis
 M 2 kemen ailadduγsan kiged qamuγ-i ayiladduγči ban(g)čin boγda boγda taranata-yin qubilγan mön kemen ayiladduγsan ĵarliγ-iyar adis-laγsan
 T 3 brlabs pa dang | rje tā ra nā tha'i mtshan gyis byin gyis brlabs pa'i bka' drin gyis shes rab dga' mo (128-6)
 M 3 kiged boγda taranata-yin ner ber adislaγsan ači-bar bilig minü qayiqui (for: γayiqam) šig (for: siγ, JC: footnote 43: γayiqamširiγ, correctly)
- 431 T 1 yod kyang ma nus pas 'di 'dra byung ba yin | zhes gsungs pa ni rjes 'jug gi gdul bya bdag lta bu brtson
 M 1 bayibaču γaitu γaraγčaγar ene metü bolbai kemen ayiladduγsan inu daγan oroγči nomuγadqaqui šabi bi metü
 T 2 'grus byed dgos pa'i don du gsungs par snang | gzhan yang rje 'di nyid thugs dam brtag pa la sogs pa zhus na'ang |
 M 2 kečiyekü keregtei-yin tuqai-dur ayiladduγsan amui basa busu mön kü ene boγda jöng bilig-iyer ayiladqu terigüten üjebesü
 T 3 ngas de 'dra'i rigs (for: rig) (129-1=65r1=BR 37a1) byed ma myong gsung ba sogs dge ba'i bshes gnyen 'brom ston pa ltar rang gi sku yon sped gang thub
 M 3 bi[-]ber tere metü-yin jüil bütügejü ese üjelüge kemen ayiladqu terigüten buyan-u nökor sadun burum baγši metü öber[-]ün erdem-i ali čidaqui

- 432 T 1 gnang ba dang | da tā ra nā tha'i tshom bu yin phebs par rgyu mtshan zhus tsa na tshom bu lha min kyang lhar bskyed de rjes gnang
 M 1 činege[-]ber-iyen niγun ayiladqui ba taranata-yin čombuu buyu kemen jarliγ boluγsan siltaγan öčibesü čombuu inu burqan busu bolbaču burqan-dur egüskeǰü
 T 2 la sogs pa byed pa ltar (129-2 + nga) tā ra nā tha min kyang yin par 'du shes pa gnyis 'dra zhes yang yang gsungs pa ni | zhu lan
 M 2 ĵinang ter[i]güten talibaqu (for: talbiqu) metü ber taranata busu bolbaču mön kemen sedkegči (for: sedkigči) qoyar adali bui kemen dakin dakin jarliγ boluγsan anu sülen norbu
 T 3 nor bu'i 'phreng bar | bdag gi yon tan spa bya zhing | (129-2 | missing) gzhän gyi yon tan bsrag par bya | (129-2 | missing) zhes pa'i don bzhin
 M 3 norbu parinba-dur öber[-]ün erdem-i niγun üleddüged busud-un erdem-i daγurisqaγ-a-tuγui (for: -tuγai) kemegsen metü ayiladdaγsan (for: ayiladduγsan)
- 433 T 1 mdzad par snang | de nas (129-3) gzhung nas grwa tshang gi bla mar rnam rgyal grwa tshang gi slob dpon mdzad cing
 M 1 amui tegün[-]ü qoyin-a γoul-ača datsang-yin (for: -un) blam-anar-tur namǰil dačang-yin (for: -un) baγši boluγsan kiged
 T 2 bya yul gyi mkhan po gnang ba'i shar khang sku skye dang | 'bras spungs spyi sa'i gnyer ba phyag mdzod dang
 M 2 ĵiyül-ün γan(g)bu tusiųalaγsan šarqan qubilγan kiged berei -büng-yin (for: -ün) ĵisa-yin nerba čaγzudba ba bereibüng
 T 3 tshogs chen gyi dbu (129-3: da bu) mdzad | sku gshogs rtse'i mgron gnyer (129-4) mkhar nag chos mdzad | byams pa gling pa yin
 M 3 yeke qural-un ümdzad gegen-ü donir-ud-un erkim qarnaq čoyin-zad ĵimba li(a)ng ba-yin
- 434 T 1 pa'i sku skye gsol dpon | bla sman pa dwags po drang 'tsho ba | spyän yas (for: g.yas) pa yin pa'i lha bris pa sogs bod kyī grwa pa

M 1 qubilγan-u solbon otači blam-a daγbu düng ču ba ĵiruγuči daruγ-a ter[i]güten töbed-ün sabinar

T 2 lnga bcu tsa ma phyag g.yog la gtong ba gnang ba sogs bla chen gyi mthong bdag rkyen (129-5) 'gran zla dang bral ba mdzad cing

M 2 tabiγad-un tedüi baraγa[-]bolγan soyurqaγsan ter[i]güten yeke blam-a ĵirum ĵerge-ber qayirlan kündül[e]küi-yi ĵegüürleši (for: ĵüirlesi) ügei ayilad(d)qaγad

T 3 rje'i dbu bla chos rje don grub rin chen gyi dgon pa bya khyung brag gi khrir mnga' gsol | yos lo'i dgun kha bzhugs

M 3 boγda čongkaba-yin terigün-ü blam-a čoyiĵidondüb rinčin-u(n) keyid jačüing baraγ-un širegen-dür ĵalaγad taulai ĵil[-]ün ebül saγurin

435 T 1 sgar la phebs | dga' ba zhes pa chu pho 'brug lo'i ston ka tsho ba bdun gyi tshogs 'du chen mor

M 1 küriyen-dü ĵalarabai γava kemekü usun er-e luu ĵil[-]ün (JC: ĵilun) namur doloγan qosiγun-u čirγulγan-a

T 2 gdan drangs | (129-6) khal kha'i rgyal po gsum gyis gtso mdzad khal kha'i dpon chen chung thams cad kyis bla mar bsten

M 2 ĵalaraĵu qalq-a-yin γurban qaγan ekilen yeke baγ-a qamuγ noyon (for: noyan) ber blam-a barin šitüged

T 3 cing bsnyen bkur zhabs tog rgya chen po bsgrubs | rnam rgyal zhes pa chu mo sprul lor er te ni jo bo'i lha khang

M 3 aqui yeke ergül kündülel ergübei namĵil kemekü em-e moγoi ĵil-dür erdeni ĵuu-yin dergede(n)

436 T 1 gi nyi sgor (for: nye 'khor) du tsho ba bzhi'i tshogs 'du'i thog tu spyan (130-1=65r1=BR 37a1) drangs | tsho ba bzhi ka thams cad kyis zhabs tog zhus shing

M 1 dörben ayimaγ-un čirγulγan-u degere ĵalaĵu dörben ayimaγ qamuγ-iyar ergül kündülel

T 2 spyi rin (130-1: rim, correctly) chen mo dang | nyi ma 'ga' zhis smon lam chen mo ghang | bdag gis kyang rje di pa'i zhal dkyil mjal

M 2 öčiged ney[i]te-yin gürim kiged nige kedün qono᠎ yerügel yerügebei bi ču enekü bo᠎da-yin gegen-e učira᠎ad

T 3 zhing | (130-1 | missing) phyag dbang zhu ba'i thog ma de yin | tshe dbang grub rgyal ma'i rjes ghang (130-2) zhus | khun du lung sa'in no

M 3 mörgöl-i öčigsen minu (JC: minü) : angqan tere buyu ayuuši-yin abišig ayiladqa᠎u köndö-lüng sayin

437 T 1 yon gyi skye ba yin zhes grags pa'i rgyu mtshan gyis no yon khu thug (thu) zhes pa'i tsho lo (for: cho lo) ghang | dbus

M 1 noyan-u qubil᠎an kemen aldarsi᠎san učir silta᠎an-iyar noyon qutu᠎tu kemen čolu soyurqabai üi

T 2 gtsang la phebs skabs thugs gnyer la bzhugs par pa᠎ chen thams cad mkhyen pa'i sku gzhogs su zhus par

M 2 ᠎ang-tur ᠎alar[a]qui učir-ta᠎an bi sur᠎a᠎ulin-dur sa᠎umui kemen ayiladdu᠎či ban(g)čin bo᠎da-yin gegen-dür öči᠎sen-e či ber

T 3 (130-3) khyed kyis 'dir thugs gnyer ghang ba las sog yul du dge 'dun gyi sde btsugs na bstan pa dang sems can la

M 3 e(e)n(g)de (JC: enede) sur᠎a᠎uli kigsen-eče mong᠎ol oron-da᠎an buča᠎u bursang quvara᠎-un ayima᠎-i bayi᠎ulbasu šačin (for: ša᠎in) amitan-dur

438 T 1 phan pa yod phebs pa ltar rgyal ba zhes pa shing rtar khen the'i han zhes pa'i yul du ri bo dge rgyas gling zhes bya ba'i dgon

M 1 yeke tus[a] bolumui kemen ᠎arli᠎ ba᠎u᠎san metü ᠎alba kemekü modun morin ᠎il-dür kentei qan kemekü-yin oron-dur ribuge᠎ai ling kemekü keyid bariqu

T 2 pa 'debs pa'i dbu (130-4) btsugs | myos byed ces pa shing lug gi ston ka dbus gtsang la gsang stabs su phebs |

M 2 -yin eki bayıγulju noyijid kemekü modun qonin jil[-]ün namur barayun-dege (for: -daγan) niγuča bayidal-iyar jalar[a]ju

T 3 pañ chen thams cad mkhyen pa chen po'i sku gzhogs su zhabs brtan rgyas pa cig phul | rgyun rgyang tsam bzhugs shing (130-4 ring)

M 3 qamuγ-i ayiladduγči ban(g)čin boγda-yin gegen tana-a dansuγ delgerenggüi-e nigen-i ergüjü ten(g)de dunda saγuqui-yin üy-e

- 439 T 1 dpal rdo rje 'dzigs byed kyi dbang dang | (130-4 + |) snar thang brgya rtsa | bla ma (130-5: lam, correctly) rim gyi 'khrid rgyas bsdu | bla ma

M 1 -yin-degen yaman(g)daka-yin abišig kiged nar tang jiz-a lam(a)rim-un kötölbüri delgeringgüi (for: delgerenggüi) quriyanggüi blam-a

T 2 lnga bcu ba'i rnam bshad | 'jigs byed kyi bskyed rim gyi mdzub khrid | sgom sde nam mkha' rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad

M 2 ligebaču-yin namšad yaman(g)daka-yin egüskelel-yin (for: -ün) jerge-yin jübtid qan(g)danamkai jilsen ber ayiladduγsan

T 3 pa'i (130-5 pha'i) yid dam gyi bskyed rdzogs sogs bka' chos mang po gsan |de nas (130-6) 'bras spongs su phebs | rgyal dbang

M 3 yidam-yin (for: -un) egüskel tegüskel ter[i]güten jarliγ nom-ud olan sonosču ayiladduγad ten(g)deče barayibüng-dur jalar[a]ju tabu-duγar dalai

- 440 T 1 mchog gi sku gzhogs nas bka' gdams glegs bam sogs bka' chos mang po gsan zhes thos pa las bka'

M 1 blam-a-yin gegen-eče γadam legbam ter[i]güten jarliγ nomud-i olan-ta sonosun ayiladduγsan bolbaču

T 2 chos ji 'dra gsan pa gsan yig ma mthong bas thams cad ma nges | gdong ngan zhes pa me sprel slar yang (131-1=66r1=BR 38a1) sog

M 2 jarliγ nom-ud yambar metü sonosun ayiladduγsan sangyag bi[-]ber ayiladqaju ese öčigsen (for: üjegsen)-iyer qamuγ-yin (for: -i? JC: ese) lablabai : dung a(a)n (JC: an) kemekü γal bečin jil-dür jiči basu mongγol

T 3 yul du bde bar phebs | gser 'phyang zhes pa'i me bya la er te ni
jo bo'i lha khang gi thog tu g.yon ru

M 3 oron-daγan amuγulang jalaraγad ser čang kemekü γal takiy-a
jil-dür (JC: -dur) erdeni juu deger-e jегün qosiγun-u dörben baγ-un

441 T 1 tsho ba bzhi'i tshogs tu (131-1: tu missing) 'du byas par spyan
drangs | sngar lugs bzhin spyi rim dang smon lam chen mo

M 1 čiyulγan čiyulqui-daγan jalaju urid yosuγar neite-yin gürim kiged
yerügel keküi (for: kiküi) ba :

T 2 byams pa gdan 'dren sogs (131-2) gnang | der 'tshogs pa'i bla
dpon skya ser mchog dman du ma (131-2: mas) bsnyen bkur zhabs

M 2 mayidar jalaqui ter[i]güten ayiladdaγad ten(g)de čiyulaγsan blam-
a-nar noyon (for: noyan) quvaraγ qara degedü dooradu olan arad ber
ergül kün(g)dülel öčiged

T 3 tog zhus shing | de rnam la yang rang rang so so'i 'dod chos ci
rigs pa stsal | sgyur byed ces pa'i sa phag

M 3 tede bügüde-dür ču öber öber tus tus-un küsegsen nomud : ali
jokis-iyar örsüyebei jürjid kemekü-yin šarui (for: siroi) γaqai

442 T 1 la bkra shis mtsho dkar zhes par khal kha tsho ba bdun (131-3)
po tshogs 'du byas par spyan drangs | tshogs 'du der

M 1 jil[-]dür ölzei qutuγ-tu čaγan nuur kemekü γazar qalq-a doloγan
qošiyu čiyulγan čiyulqui-daγan jalaju tere čiyulγan-dur jereg

T 2 zhabs drung rgyal khang rtse ba yang phebs bla ma gnyis mjal
'dzom ma gnang | bstan srid la rgya'i bka'i

M 2 šabdun jalqasan (JC: jalasan) ba ču (JC: čü) ögede boluγad qoyar
blam-a aγulzan uçar[a]ju šačin (for: šajin) törü-yin niruγun-u kereg

T 3 bgros dang | g.yas ru'i rgyal po la che 'don cho lo gnang ba sogs
thams cad sku gzhogs 'di (131-4) nyid du zhus

M 3 ayiladdulčaγad baraγun qošiyun-u qa(l)γan-dur yekedken čolu
örsüyekü ter[i]güten bügüde mön kü enekü gegen ta(a)n-a

- 443 T 1 shing 'di nas kyang thugs khar (for: kar) bzhes te mdzad | tshogs 'du gnyis kar bdag kyang zhabs phyir yod |
- M 1 ayiladqaγsaγar mön kü ene gegen ber ču (JC: čü) sedgel (for: sedkil, JC note 89)-degen taγalan ayiladbai : qoyar čiγulγan ken kender ču bi baraγ-a boluγsan ajiγu
- T 2 de dag gi snga phyi thams cad du phyogs so so'i mjal mkhan gyi bla dpon skya ser mchog dman mtha' dag la
- M 2 tedeger[-]ün urid qočid (for: qočid) qamuγar-tur γazar (for: γaγar) γazar (for: γaγar)-un iregsen mörgölčin blam-a-nar noyad qara quvaraγ degedü door[a]du arad-tu
- T 3 dam pa'i chos kyis (for: kyis) 'khor lo mtha' (131-5=66a-5) klas pa bskor nas smin grol la bkod | kun ldan zhes pa lcags byi'i
- M 3 degedü nom-un kürdü ergegül(e)jü (for: ergigüljü) bolbasuraγulan tonil(a)γan okiy-a-bai (for: jökiy-a-bai) :: künden(g) (JC: kündag) kemekü temür jil[-]ün qabur quluγun-a (for: quluγan-a)
- 444 T 1 dpyid ka bdag dbus gtsang la 'gro ba'i dgongs pa zhus par shin tu mnyes par mdzad de dgongs pa gnang | sku
- M 1 jil[-]ün (JC: jilun) qabur bi baraγun-dege (for: -daγan) očiqu-ban taγalal-iyān ayiladqaγsan-a masi bayasun ayil[a]dju (for: ayiladču) jöbsiyen soyurqaγad
- T 2 gshogs (131-5: gzhogs, correct) nyid kyis phyag 'phreng dang | chibs pa'i gras bong rta gcig gi gnang sbyin yang stsal | lcags byi nas
- M 2 öber[-]ün mutur-taγan bariγsan nigen erike kiged kölgen-dür toγtaγsan eke bütügün mori-i ču qayiralan örüsiyebei temür quluγun-a (for: quluγan-a)
- T 3 sa lug gi bar bdag gis bkra shis lhun po sogs dbus gtsang la bsdad pas de bar gyi rnam thar mdzad bzang
- M 3 jil[-]ün-eče (JC: jilun-ača) šarui (for: siroi) qonin jil kürtele bi[-]ber baraγun-un (for: -u) dasi lhünbu ter[i]güten üi jang-un γaγar saγuγsan-iyar qoγorumdu sayin jokiyał

445 T 1 rnam s nges pa cig ma byung | 'gal byed ces pa lcags mo phag lor
gnyer pa pin thu nang so (132-1=66v1=BR 38b1) dbus

M 1 čidag (for: čadiγ) -nuγud-u maγadlan ese lablabai γaljid kemekü
temür em-e γaqai jil[-]dür batu nirba nasu-yi baraγun

T 2 gtsang du gtong ba gnang nas rgyal ba yab sras la sku 'tsham 'dri
zhu ba'i rten 'bum dang chos sde che chung rnam

M 2 -ta (for: -da) ilegejü boγda dalai blam-a-yin gegen-ü amuγulang
erijü ayiladqu-yin ergül beleg kiged yeke baγ-a keyid-ün γařar-a

T 3 su mang 'gyed gnang | gzhung nas rgyal rtse them spangs lugs
kyi bka' 'gyur rin po che spus shin tu legs

M 3 mangja jed ergügülbei baraγun-u-ača (for: baraγun-ača) . jilze
ten(g)bang-un yosun-u γanřur erdeni sayiqan masai (for: masi) čineg
(for: činege) nigen-i :

446 T 1 pa cig gdan (132-2) drangs | de rjes rdo rje rgyal po bod la phebs
dus 'phyong rgyas em (132-2: aim) chi gtong ba gnang nas rgyal ba

M 1 řalabai tegünü qoyin-a vačir qaγan töbed-tür morilaqui-daγan
čungji emči-yi ilegejü boγda dalai blam-a-dur

T 2 yab sras la 'bul ba dang mang 'gyed kyang gnang | de dag gi snga
phyir mi sna gzhan 'dra lan gnyis sum (132-2: gsum) tsam

M 2 ergül kiged mangja ed ču ergügülbei : basu tedeger[-]ün urid qořid
busu elčiner qoyar γurban üy-e

T 3 gtong ba gnang yang des (132-2: nges) rang ma (132-3) shes shing
brjed pas ma bkod | don grub ces pa <sa> lug gi hor zla bcu gnyis

M 3 ilegen ayiladduγsan bolbaču tobdi? maγad-i bi ber ese lablaγad
martařu ese ugiyabai (for: řokiyabai) dun(g)dub kemekü řarui (for:
siroi) qonin jil[-]ün ebül[-]ün adaγ sara

447 T 1 par bdag sog yul du slebs | drag po ces pa lcags spre'i dbyar ka
rje 'di pa'i sku gzhogs su

M 1 bi mongγol oron-daγan kürčü ir[e]ged daγbu kemekü temür bečin
jil[-]ün jun-(u)u enekü boγda gegen

T 2 phyag dbang zhu bar phyin | dgon par phebs pa'i lam tu (132-3:
du) phebs rjes (132-4) zin te phyag dbang zhus | yun ring po'i

M 2 tan(a)a-a mörgör-e erebei (for: irebei) tedüi dačang keyid-tür
ögede bolqui jam-dur jalaraγsan-u qoyin-a-ača nekejü mörgögsen-e
öni udaγan

T 3 bar du gsung gleng zhib rgyas gnang | de nas ri bo dge rgyas gling
du phebs pa'i phyag phyir phyin | dgon pa'i

M 3 baralqaγulju narin niγta-yi mas(a)i delgerenggüi asaγun ayilad-
duγad tendeče ribu gejei ling jalaraqui-dur baraγ-a bolbai keyid-ün

448 T 1 phyi rgya phal cher grub cing rten bzhengs kyi skabs su 'dug | der
zhag po bcu lhag tsam bsdad de bka' (132-5) dbang

M 1 γadaγada bey-e yekengki-yi baraγčaγad burqan šitügen-ü bütüge-
küi-yin üy-e бүкүй-yin tula ten(g)de arba γarun qonoγ-un tedüi tüdejü
de[l]ger[e]küi-e

T 2 zhus | thugs shin tu mnyes pa'i bslab ston <gyi>) rigs dang | sku
gzhogs nyid kyi sku gzan gcig | gser srang

M 2 ayiladqaγsan-a sedkil masai (for: masi) bayasqui ber surγal jarliγ-
un jüil soyurqaγad öber[-]ün asaγaγsan nigen orkim(e)ji arban lang

T 3 bcu | dngul kyi ka to ra gcig | gdan snye 'bol | bu la ka bcu| chibs
chen grwas mgo dkar gyi rta bzung po

M 3 selte (for: alta) nigen mönggü γadur olbuγ tüsilge bulaγ-a arba
kölgen-e toγtaγsan qotang (for: qotung)-un nigen sayin mori-bar

449 T 1 gcig gis (132-6) gtsos pa'i rta sum cu gnang ba sogs bdag rkyen
dpe med gnang | blo ngan zhes pa lcags

M 1 ter[i]gülen γučin aduγu qayirlaqu ter[i]güten orošiyul (JC: note
108: örüşiyel, correctly) qayir-a üliγer ügei soyurqabai : lo nam ke-
mekü temür

T 2 bya lo'i ston (132-6 bya'i ston) ka er te ni jo bo'i lha khang gi thog tu g.yon ru tsho ba bzhi 'tshogs pa'i tshogs 'dur spyan drangs spyi rim

M 2 takiy-a jil[-]ün (JC: jilun) namur erdeni juu deger-e jегün qošiγun-u dörben ayimaγ-un čiyulγan čiyulqui-taγan (for: -daγan) jalaju niyte (for: neyite)-yin gürim ba yerügel kiged

T 3 smon lam byams pa gnan (132-6: gdan) 'dren sogs rgyas (133-1=67r1=BR 39a1) par gnang | de skabs gzhung gi sku tshab mgron gnyer skyar po nas

M 3 mayidar jalaqui ter[i]güten delgerenggüi-e ayiladqabai tere učartu boγda dalai blam-a-yin emün-e-eče dunir jarbunai irejü

450 T 1 byon te sku gzhogs rin po che 'di nyid la khal kha o'i lod kyi sproden len gyi sgor la snyan 'bul zhus par snga sor

M 1 mön kü eneküü gegen ta(a)n-a qalq-a ögelüd-ün eb ey-e jasaqu-yin ayiladqal öčigsen-e urid baraγun qošiγu

T 2 khal kha g.yas ru nang du dus 'khrugs (133-2) byung ba'i skabs dang | o'i lod nas kyang 'khyar nas yongs pa'i mi sogs

M 2 qalq-a dotor-a jaγur-a-ban ebderel boluγsan učir ba ögeled čaγču irejü iregsen ulus ter[i]güten

T 3 sproden len rnam phan tshun lugs mthun gang legs kyi ngos nas gzhung bstan pa'i la rgyar phan pa'i bslab ston

M 3 eb ey-e-nuγud (for: -nügüd)-i ögerekü ögerekü ali sayiqan jokildu-qu-yin yosuγar γoul sačin (for: sajin) törü-yin tölöp ariγun-dur tusatu surγal jarliγ

451 T 1 gnang ste gzhung bstan pa'i don yar ngo'i zla ba ltar (133-3) 'phel bar mdzad | de skabs dha yo'i hong tha'i

M 1 baγuju γoul sačin (for: sajin)-u tosu (for: tusa)-yi sin-e-yin saran metü arabadqan (for: arbidqan) jokiyabai : tere učir-tur dha yuvai qung tayiǰi

T 2 jis rta stong phrag gcig dang gser dngul gos dar sogs kyis gtsos pa'i khri 'bul dang | gzhan bla dpon so

M 2 ber ireged mingγan adaγu kiged altan mönggü mangnuγ ter[i]gü-ten-ber e(r)kilen ergül ergüged : busu blam-a-nar noyod (for: noyad)

T 3 so'i (133-3 sos) 'bul pa'i rigs kyang shin tu mang ba phul cing | de rnam la yang dam pa'i chos (133-4) kyi 'khor lo ci rigs

M 3 tus tus ber ergül-ün jüil-i ču masi olan ergüged tede bügüde-dür ču degedü nom-un kürdü alin jökis-iyer

452 T 1 pa bskor | khrag skyug ces pa chu phag lor bdag phyag dbang la phyin nas 'dod chos 'ga' zhus | de skabs rdo

M 1 ergügülün soyurqabai taγjü(n)g kemekü usun qaγai (for: γaqai, JC: note 116) jil-dür bi mörgör-e očiγu küseγsen nige ked[-]ün nom-ıyan ösiγsen-e (for: öčiγsen-e) tere uçir-tur

T 2 rje thu she ye thu rgyal pos zhabs brtan brtan bzhugs rgyas pa cig phul | de skabs bdag kyang rgyal po dang

M 2 vačirai tüsiyetü qaγan ber ölmei batud[a]qu-yin tuqai-dur dansuγ delgerenggüi-e ergüksen-ü tere uçir-a bi ču qaγan-lüge (for: -luγ-a)

T 3 (133-5) lhan tu (133-5: du) zhabs brtan gyi maᅇᅇala dang 'bul ba'i rnam grangs stong min tsam dang zhabs pad brtan pa'i snyan

M 3 qamtu nigen-e danšuγ-un mandal kiged ergül-ün jüil[-]ün toγan-dur qangdab-un tedüi orolčaγagun ölmei lingqu-a batud[qa]qu-yin

453 T 1 'bul <zhus> shing | gsol ba btab | de'i snga phyi mang por gong ma rgyal po'i ja sag bzhi bcu zhe dgu'i

M 1 ayiladqal öčün jalbariγu ergünč[e]lbei tegün[-]ü urid qoγid olan üy-e boγda eγen-ü dotoγadu döčün yisün

T 2 nang nas kyang mjal mkhan 'aga' yang (133-6) gsang stabs su yongs te mjal nas chos kyi bka' drin zhu ba

M 2 dotor-a-ača nigen kedün mörgölčün inu niγučaγai (for: niγuča) ber ir[e]jü mörgöged jarliγ nom-ud-i ayiladqaqu ba ergül-i

T 3 dang 'bul ba yang gzabs rgyas phul | gos sku chen mo zhig kyang bzhengs te bya khyung dgon par phul ba

M 3 ču neng delgeringgüi-e (for: delgerenggüi-e) ergübei : basu (for: basa) tede učir-a nigen yeke torγan burqan-i bütügejü jačüing keyid-tür ergüγsen (for: ergügsen)

454 T 1 dang | 'jam dpal rtsa rgyud nas gsungs pa'i bris sku mthong ba don ldan dang | (133-6 + |) (134-1=67v1=BR 39b1) gser sku gsum tsam bzhengs

M 1 ba jımbal jačud-ača nomlaγsan mdông ba dôn ldan-un (for: -u) körü(n)g-lüge saγumal burqan γurba-yin tedüi bütügelegejü

T 2 te gong ma rgyal por phul bas rgyal pos kyang shin tu mnyes te sku gzhogs rin po cher 'bul ba dang |

M 2 boγda ejen-e ergüγsen-iyer . ejen ber ču mas(a)i ayiladduγad degerekei-dür ergül yeke kiged

T 3 mi sna rnams la yang gnang spyin rgya chen po gnang | dbus gnang (134-1: gtsang, correctly) nas 'jang gi khro par la rgyag pa'i bka'

M 3 elčiner bükün-dür ču qayir-a örüşiyel yekede baγulγabai baraγunda-ača jaŋg-yin (for: -un) kürel keb-tür γaruγsan γanjur

455 T 1 'gyur rin po che gdan drangs | (134-2) bzhugs skar (134-2: sgar, correctly) la yang bka' <'>gyur snga mas ma dpe (134-2: dpa, incorrectly, BR 39b2 dpe, correctly) byas nas bka'

M 1 erdeni-yi jalažu saγurin küriyen-dür ču uridu γanjur-iyar ekilen üiledčü γanjur :

T 2 'gyur tšhar gnyis tsam bzhengs pa gnang | gzhan yang sku gzhogs nyid kyi phyag bzo ma rdo rje 'chang dang | zhal

M 2 qošiyad-un tedüi bütügelgen ayiladduγsan ba busu basu (for: basa) gegen tan öber[-]ün ayiladju (for: ayiladču) bütügegsen včirdar-a ba gegen-iyer

T 3 dgod (for: dkod) kyis bzhengs su bcug pa'i rgyal ba rigs lnga che legs (134-3) kyis gtsos pa'i gser sku lugs ma shin tu

M 3 eyinejü bayiju bütüglegsens il[a]γuγsan tabun ijaγur-tu yeke sayiqan-iyar e(r)kilegsen saγumal burqan masi

456 T 1 mang ba dang | dngul las grub pa'i bde gshegs mchod rten brgyad che legs sog rten gsum gyi rigs

M 1 olan kiged basu (for: basa) mönggün-iyer bütügegsen sayibar odduγsad-un nayiman suburγ-a yeke sayiqan ter[i]güten γurban sitü-ge-ü jüil ču

T 2 kyang shin tu mang po bzhengs pa gngang | gsang ba'i rdo rje 'dzin pa gnyis gsum las kyang (134-4) sgrub thabs brgya

M 2 masi olan bütügelgejü ayiladduγsan ajiγuu basu (for: basa) niγuča-un (for: -yin) vačar-a dar-a blam-a qoyar γurban-ača ču tüb tab

T 3 rtsam (134-4 rgyam, for: tsam) | sgrub thabs rin chen 'byung gnas sog bka' chos kyi rigs shin tu mang po gsan pa yod 'dug

M 3 jizam tübtat ri(n)gč'in jüingnai terigüten jarliγ nom-ud-un jüil : mašai (for: masi) olan ta sonosun ayiladduγsan bui

457 T 1 na'ang | bdag chos (134-4: tshos, correctly) gang gsan zhib cha ni zhu ma nus pas nges | khro bo zhes

M 1 abasu ču bi[-]ber tede bügüdeger-i niyetelen (for: neyitelen) ali alin sonosuγsun (for: sonosuγsan) bolba kemen ayiladqažu ese čidaγsan tula ese lablabai tobo kemekü

T 2 pa shing glang gi ston ka ta la'i mañdzu shrī sku skye el deng hong tha'i ji mchod yon rnames dang lhan tu (134-5: du, correctly) bdag kyang

M 2 modun üker jil[-]ün namur dalai manjusiri-yin qubilγan ildeng qung tayiji blam-a öglige-yin ejen-nuγud (for: -nügüd) qamtu bi ču

T 3 phyag dbang la phyin | rigs <gsum> mgon po'i rjes gngang | (134-3) bkas rje

M 3 mörgöl-dür üčelčebei (for: üjelčebei) tedüi ten(g)de mördelčeged rigsüm gonbo-yin jīnang [space in the manuscript] jarliγ-iyar

(There is a passage missing in the Buryat manuscript. It appears erroneously on page 461-3, which corresponds to the xylograph editions: LC 134-3 = Be. 67v3 = BR 39b3)

458 T 1 'di pa tshogs 'du'i mgon tu (135-3=68r3=BR 40a3: du, correctly) spyān drangs | rje 'di pa dang | dge ldan khri pa gnyis bzhugs khri

M 1 enekü boγda degereki-yin gegen : čigulγan-u eki bolγan jalaju tngri?-lüge dgildan tiba qoyar-un širegen ::

T 2 mnyam mnyam mdzad nas mjal 'dzom mdzad de phan tshun gsung gleng zhib rgyas gnang | rgyal ba

M 2 adaliqan nigejü aγuljaγulun üileddeged narin niγta kereg-üd-i delgerenggüi-e jarliγ bolulčaju dalai blam-a

T 3 mchog dang gong ma (135-4) rgyal po'i bka' shog gnyis ka bsgrags | zla gcig lhag tsam gyi bar du

M 3 kiged boγda ejen-ü jarliγ-un bičig qoyaγulan daγudaγad nigen sar-a ilegüü boltal-a tüdejü ayiladdulčaγad

459 T 1 rje 'di pa'i bka' blon 'dar pa'i gzhi gyi (135-4: gyi missing) dgon gyi bla ma paṇḍi ta chos rje | se chen nang so

M 1 eneküü boγda-yin sayid saγurin keyid-ün blam-a darba bangdida suyijī sečīn nangsu

T 2 rnam rgyal tho yon dang | khal kha'i rgyal po gsum gyis : : : gtsos pa'i tsho ba

M 2 namjil toyin kiged qalq-a-yin γurban qaγan bar e(r)kilen . doloγan qošiγun-u

T 3 bdun (135-5=68a5) gyi dpon po bla dang (135-5: dang missing) | : : : dpon che gras kyi blon po drug cu bla ma chen po rnam gnyis

M 3 yeke nertei noyon (for: noyan) blam-a-nar sayid tūsīmed jiraγad-un tedüi qoyar jūil yeke blam-a-nar

- 460 T 1 kyis dam tshig la bkar nas khrims tshul dang mthun par gcod
(135-5: gtsod) du bcug | de skabs
M 1 ber čaγaǰa qauli-yi čingγadqaǰu toγtaγaγad yosun-luγ-a ǰokilda-
γulun ǰoqarču ayiladdalčabai tere
T 2 o'i lod g.yon ru'i dpon po : : : : rab brtan mkha' 'gro
M 2 čaγ[-]tur ögeled ǰegün γar-un noyon (for: noyan) rabdan qan(g)do
T 3 kun bzang sogs : : : dpon khag (135-6 = 68a6) 'ga' zhig kyang :
: rje 'di
M 3 günsang ter[i]güten nige kedün küčütei noyad ču ireǰü enekü
- 461 T 1 pa'i sku gzhogs su phyag dbang zhus | der 'tshogs pa'i
M 1 boγda-yin gegen-e mörgöbei tengde čiyuluγsan
T 2 khal kha'i bla dpon phal che bar : : : dam pa'i chos kyi bka' drin
(misplaced fragment)
M 2 qalq-a-yin blam-a-nar noyad olangki-dur degedü nom[-]un ači
T 3 (134-5=67b5) tshe dbang grub rgyal ma'i rjes gnang dang | nged
mchod yon gsum gyis zhus pa'i
M 3 ayusi-yin abisig ba blam-a-yin öglige-yin eǰed mön kü bide γurban-
u
- 462 T 1 sku gzhogs nyid kyi gsol 'debs kyi lcags (134-5 ljags) (134-6) lung
zhus | gzims chung sbug tu sger mjal
M 1 ayiladqaγsan gegen-ü öber[-]ün soldeb-ün lüng ayiladqan kürteged
tuγtam-un ordon-dur tuq[a]yilan
T 2 gnang yun ring po'i bar tu (134-6: du) gsung gleng zhib rgyas
shin tu mnyes pa'i sgo nas gnang ba dang | nyid kyis
M 2 baralqaγulǰu yeke oroi udaγan masi bayasqabal egüden-eče sayin
narin niγta yaγum-a delgerenggüi-e ǰarliγ bolun ayiladduγad öber[-]
]ün asaγaǰu

- T 3 bzhes pa'i gos ber dang gdan snye 'bol chibs pa'i gras rta 'gros ma che legs sogs kyi gnang sbyin (135-1=68a1) yang rgya chen
- M 3 ayiladduγsan nigen žangči kiged olbuγ tüsilge ba kölgen-dür toγtaγsan nigen yeke sayiqan žiruγu-a mori terigüten örüsiyel qayir-a-yi
- 463 T 1 po gnang | zad pa zhes pa me stag gi dbyar ka ri bo dge rgyas gling gi rten bzhengs grub bstun
- M 1 örösiyebei sadba kemekü γal bar(a)s žil[-]ün žun ken(g)tei-yin keyid bütügel daγusžu ner[e]tei nigen kedün bütügül
- T 2 bla ma'i gras 'ga' zhig gis rab gnas mdzad 'dug | de'i ston ka bod nas rgyal dbang mchog gi sku tshab (135-1=68r1=BR 40a1: chi ba) dge ldan
- M 2 blam-a-nar-iyar rabnai kilgen ayiladduγsan tegün[-]ü namur töbed γazar[-]ača (for: γažar-ača) tabuduγar dalai blam-a-yin emün-e-eče geden(g)danba
- T 3 khri (135-2) rin po che ngag dbang blo gros rgya mtsho'i zhal snga nas dang | gong ma rgyal po'i sku tshab ar ni a li hang am pa
- M 3 rinbučei aγvangludui žimsu-yin gegen kiged boγda ečen (for: ežen)-ü emün-e-eče arani aliqan amban
- 464 T 1 sogs gtong ba gnang nas tsho ba bdun khu rin bel cher zhes par tshogs 'du byed du bcug skabs gong ma chen
- M 1 ter[i]güten ilegežü doloγan qosiγu qamuγ-iyar kürin belčer neretü γazar čičulγan-i čičulun üiledkü-yin učir-a boγda
- T 2 po'i mi sna a chi thu chos rjes (135-3) gong ma chen po'i
- M 2 ečen (for: ežen)-ü elčei ačitu čoyiži bar boγda ečen (for: ežen)-ü (misplaced fragment)
- 464 T 2 ... stsal | tsgogs 'du'i steng du gzhung ba bstan la rgya'i bka' bgros
- M 2 ... boγda ečen (for: ežen)-ü čičulγan-u deger-e sav cin (for: sajin) törü-yin nariγun-u (for: niruγun-u) γoul kereg-i ayiladdulun

- T 3 mdzad pa rnamgong ma chen (136-1=68v1=BR 40b1: mar) mor
zhu bar mer ken paṇḍi ta rab 'byams pa dang | sku tsha dga' ldan rdo
rje gnyis
- M 3 joyuḡsan бүкүй-бен боḡda ečen (for: ejen)-e ayiladq-a kemen
rabjimba mergen ban(g)dida ači geden(g)dorji qoyar
- 465 T 1 gong ma rgyal po'i sku gzhogs su btang | tshogs 'du la phebs pa'i
skabs bdag gis phebs
- M 1 boḡda ečin (for: ejen)-ü gegen tan-a elči bolḡan jar[u]ju ilegebei
čiḡulḡan-a jala(ba)raqu-yin učir-tur bai (for: bi)-ber uḡtuḡul-dur
- T 2 bsu la phyin te maṇḍala dngul bum gos dar sogḡ dang rta (136-2)
brgya tham pa phul cing phyag dbang zhus | tshur log
- M 2 očiju man(g)dal mönggün bumba torḡ-a mangnuḡ ter[i]güten
kiged jaḡun adaḡu ergüjü mörgöbei inaḡši
- T 3 phebs skabs bdag gi dgon pa ru spyang drangs | rgyal po dang ba'
thur hong tha'i ji sogḡ (136-2 + phyag) phyir phyir phebs |
- M 3 tekerejü jalaraqui-yin üy-e-dür bi[-]ber öber[-]ün keyid-tegen jalaḡu
qaḡan kiged baḡatar (for: baḡatur) qung[-]tayiji ter[i]güten baraḡa[-]
]bolun erilčegsen-e
- 466 T 1 dkar dro gzabs rgyas zhus | bzhugs gdan | snye 'bol | rnga mong
lga | (136-2 + |) (136-3) g.yag sum cu | lug sum brgya
- M 1 tangsuḡ čaḡan idege jimes-ün ḡuril regüged (for: ergüged) olbuḡ
tüšilge tabun temege ḡučin sarluḡ ḡurban jaḡun
- T 2 tham pa phul | dgon pa'i rten gsum la rab gnas rta thog ma mdzad
de phyag nas gtor ba gnaḡ | zhag po
- M 2 qoni ergüged keyid-ün ḡurban šitügen-dür quriyanggui rabnai
ayiladju sarbai (for: arbai) sačun qayiralaḡad nigen
- T 3 gcig tsam la phebs skyel zhus | sngon ston pa'i dus su dge slong
'dza' po dang sa las skyes (136-4) gnyis tshe rabs
- M 3 qonoḡ-un tedüi dötelege ayiladqaju busabai (for: bučabai) erte
burqan baḡši-yin üy-e-dür : 'zaa poö kiged lai ji neretü : qoyar

467 T 1 mang por 'khon yon pa'i rgyu mtshon gyis dge slong gyad bu nor dang dge slong ma utpala'i mdog la skur

M 1 gelüing olan töröl tutum-dur ös bolulčaγsan siltarγan-iyar gelong jidbu nor-lüge (for: -luγ-a) gelüing udbalai doγ qoyar eldeb

T 2 zhus sna tshogs byas pa ltar rje 'di pa'i mes po rdo rje rgyal po nas bzungs te da bar mi rabs dgu'i par du seng ge

M 2 jüil-iyer qoči talbiγsan metü enekü boγda-yin ebüge ezige (for: ečige) vačir qarγan-ača ekilen edüge kümün-ü yisün üy-e

T 3 gcig po'i dus (136-5) ma gtogs khal kha o'i lod gnyis 'khrug pa byed (136-5: phyed, for: byed) bzhin pa de'i sri langs pa lta bu 'am |

M 3 kürtel-e γarčaqaqan sarsalan (for: arsalan)-yin čaγ-ača busu qalq-a ögeled qoyar anu ebderen üleddüg-senger (for: -sen-iyer) tegün-ü buγ kötülügsen metü buyu

468 T 1 rgyud bla ma las | 'phags pas skye dang rga ba dang | na ba'i sdug bsngal rtsad nas spangs | zhes gsungs pa ltar

M 1 jüüd blam-a-ača qutuγtan (for: qutuγtan) ber törökü ötelkü kiged ebedkü-yin jobalang-i uγ-ača tebčilüge kemen nomlaγsan metü

T 2 nges don la las nyon gyi dbang gis (136-6) rang dbang med par skye rga na (136-6: rgan) 'chi sogs kyi sdug bsngal rtsa ba nas spangs kyang |

M 2 maγad ud(u)q-a-dur nisvanis-un erkeber öber[-]ün erke ügei törökü ötülkü ebedkü ükükü ter[i]güten jobalang : uγ-ača tebčiγsen bolbaču

T 3 dran (136-6: drang, correctly) don du sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi zhabs la seng ldeng gi tshal pa zug pa dang | lhas byin gyis skyogs (136-6: sgyogs, correctly)

M 3 sidurγu udq-a-dur ilaju tegüs nögčigsen burqan-u ölmei-yin gegen-dür sengdeng-yin (for: -ün) jaldasu qadquγsan kiged devadad ber či(y)dur čilaγun

469 T 1 rdo 'phangs pa'i dum bu zhabs kyi mthe bong (136-6: bod) la 'phag nas (137-1=69r1=BR 41a1) sku mtshal byung ba | gcer bu mos

M 1 erejü (for: erijü) talbaγsan (for: talbiγsan) üçür (for: üjür) büri
ber köl-ün gegen-ü erkei-dür tosču singqu γarγaγsan jerbü-yin ekiner

T 2 skur ba zhus pa sogś las kyi rnam smin bzhes tshul gsum (137-1:
gsungs) pa dang mthun par bstan pa yin nam | yang na rje dge

M 2 qočaj (for: qoči) taliban (for: talbin?) öčigsen ter[i]güten üle-
yin ačaj ür-e jöγulγaqui yosun-lüge (for: luγ-a, JC note 165: luγ-a)
jokildaγulan ayiladduγsan buyu basu boγda

T 3 'dun rgya mtsho'i bstan 'gror phan pa'i 'phrin las dbus su rgyas
pa'i grogs su (137-2) paᅇ chen ye shes rtse mo mi

M 3 gen(g)dün jimsu-yin gegen šačín (for: šajín) amitan-dur tusalaqu-
yin üiles inu üi oron-dur delgeregülkü-yin nökör-tür ban(g)čín yesi
jimsu ay-a

470 T 1 mnyes pa'i tshul gyis dbus su phebs bcug pa dang | sa bdun pa'i
byang sems yan chad la bdud kyiś gnod

M 1 ügei-yin yosuγar üi-dür jalaraγuluγsan kiged doloduγar γazar
(for: γajar) oluγsan bodisadu-a nar[-]ača degegeśi (for: degegsi)-dür
simnus ber

T 2 pa byed mi thub par de'i tshogs myur rdzogs kyi thabs su byang
sems rnams bdud du sprul nas de la bar (137-3) chad

M 2 qourlan ülü čidan tegün[-]ü čīγulγan türgen-e tegüskekü-yin arγ-
a-dur bodisaduva-nar simnus bolun qubilaju tegün[-]dür jedker

T 3 byed par gsungs pa ltar ram lhas byin gyis ston pa'i slob lam gyi
gnas skabs su gnod pa sna tshogs byas pa

M 3 bolun üiledümüi kemen nomlaγsan metü buyu devadad ber erte
burqan baγši-yin surulčaqui mör-ün aqui učar-a-dur eldeb jüil-iyer
qourlan

471 T 1 rnams ston pa'i tshogs myur rdzogs kyi thabs su mdo sde rnams
las gsungs shing | bdag cag

M 1 üleddügsen-nuḡud (for: -nüḡüd) anu burqan baḡši-yin čiyulḡan türgen-e tegüskekü-yin arḡ-a kemen sudur-un ayimaḡ-ud-un nomlaḡsan büged ba bürid-ü

T 2 gi ston pa las kyang lhas byin (137-4) gyis bskal pa mang po'i snga rol tu (137-4 du, correct) sems bskyed par mdo las gsungs pa

M 2 baḡsi-dur ču devadad olan ḡalab-ud-un urid sedkil egüskelüge kemen sudur-ača nomlaḡsan metü ali mön ::

T 3 bzhin gang yin ma shes | mi shes pa'i rgyu mtshan yang | sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis | nga'am 'dra ba'i

M 3 ese medebei ülü medekü-yin siltaḡan ču ilaḡu tegüs nöḡčigsen burqan ber bi buyu bi metü

472 T 1 gang zag gis gang zag gi tshod gzung par (137-4: bar) bya yi | gang zag (137-5) gis gang zag gi tshod gzung bar mi bya ste nyams par

M 1 bodgali ber podgali-yin kemji[ye]l-i barimui j-a bodgali ber bodgali ber kemji[ye]l-i barin ülü üiledküi dor[uy]i(d)taqu

T 2 gyur ta re | zhes gsungs pa ltar spyir gang zag gi tshod mi gzung zhing | lhag par paḡ (137-5: phan) chen thams cad mkhyen pa

M 2 bolḡuḡai kemen nomlaḡsan metü yerüngkei bodgali-yin kemji[ye]l bariḡu boluḡai (for: boluḡi) ügei büged ilangḡuy-a qamuḡ-i ayiladduḡči ban(g)čün boḡda

T 3 chen pos mkhas grub sangs rgyas ye shes kyi sku'i skye bar ngos 'dzin (137-6) gnang nas bdag rkyen mdzad | de ni

M 3 ber qayidub sangji iši-yin qubilḡan mön kemen todorqai ayiladḡu (for: ayiladču) qayiralan ḡokiyabai tere inu

473 T 1 dgongs pa can gyi gsung min tshe mkhas grub sangs rgyas ye shes de nyid skyes chen dam pa yin

M 1 taḡalal jarliḡ busu-yin čaḡ[-]tu qayidab sangji isi mön kü tere inu mön-ü tula urid

T 2 gshis gong (137-6: ging, for: gong) tu (137-6: du, correctly) bshad pa ltar rje <'di> par brten nas gong ma rgyal po byang grol gyi 'brel bar gyur pa'i thabs (138-1 = 69b) su 'gyur (138-1: 'byur, for: 'gyur)

M 2 nomlaγsan metü mön kü ene boγda-dur šitüjü ečen (for: ečen) qaγan-u tonilqu tuγulqu-yin mör-tür barildaγulqu (for: barilduγulqu)-yin arγ-a-dur bolqu-yin

T 3 ba'i rkyen yin shes (138-1=69v1=BR 41b1: shas) la (138-1 kha) | dgongs pa can gyi gsung yin (138-1: min) zhing mi rang dga' ba yin tshe bdud kyis yid brlams pa

M 3 siltaγan mön bayidal[-]tai taγalal-tu jarliγ mön boluγad yerü ütele-yin kümün mön čaγ[-]tu simnus-iyar sedkil-eče toγtaγsan γadan (for: γaldan) bo-

474 T 1 dga' ldan po shog thus rje 'di bar khyed dge ldan khri par phyag dbang ma zhus pa ci yin zer ba sogs skur zhus kyis

M 1 šoγ-tu ber enekü boγda gegen geden tiba-dur ese mördgögsen šiltaγan yaγun bui kemekü ter[i]güten daγarin

T 2 yi ge phul bar (138-2) rje 'di bar thugs khro ba sogs ga la yod kyang | rgyal po sogs dpon che chung thams cad kyis ma

M 2 ayiladqaγsan bičig ergügsen-e ene kü boγda-dur kilinglejü ayiladqaqu ter[i]güten qamiγ-a bui ügei bolbaču qaγan ter[i]güten yeke baγ-a qamurγ noyad ber tesen

T 3 bzod par tsho ba bdun phal che bas dmag dpung bteg | g.yas ru'i rgyal po dang ta'i ching hong tha'i ji gnyis kyis

M 3 jada(1)[γ]san doloγan qosiγu olangki bar čerig mordužu baraγun qoširun-u qaγan kiged dayičing qung[-]taiji qoyaγula γaldan

475 T 1 po shog thu dang mdza' mo byas (138-3) nas mi rigs pa mang po byas par brten khong gnyis bzungs | de nas

M 1 bošurγ-tu-luγ-a jokildun ayiladju (for: ayiladču) jokis ügei üiles-i olan ta üilleddügsen-ü siltaγan-iyar tere qoyar-i baribai ten(g)deče

T 2 khal kha g.yas ru'i u rāng khang nas dpon 'ga' ldan po shog thus
bcom la brten po shog thu'i so par

M 2 qalq-a baraγun qošiγun-ača uryangqan-ača nige kedün noyad-i
γaldan bošuγ-tu šidegse (for: siidügsen)-dür siltaγlažu bošuγ-tu-yin

T 3 yongs pa'i dpon dpon (138-3: dpon missing) chung rdo rje skyabs
'khor bcas bsad | de skabs (138-4) dbus gtsang nas gzhung gi sku tshab
la

M 3 qaraγul-dur ilegegsen ded noyan dorji jab nökör selte-yi alabai :
tere učir-tur baraγun degegsi boγda dalai blam-a-yin

476 T 1 rgyal me tog thang gi mkhan po chings la phebs pa'i sprel zla zhal
ngo zhig yongs nas chings byas par brten khal kha rdo

M 1 emün-e-eče jal midaγ tang-yin (for: -un) qambu sidqaran (sidar-
qan? for: sidurγa?) quraqu jarliγ-un bičig-i jalažu bečin sar[-]a[-]yin
sin-e-ber irejü quraqu bičig ergügsen siltaγan-iyar qalq-a-yin

T 2 rje thu she ye thu rgyal po sogs khal kha'i dmag thams cad long
| rnam 'byung zhes pa sa (138-4: pas, for: pa sa) (138-5) 'brug gi hor
zla gnyis par

M 2 vačir tüsiyetü qan ter[i]güten qalq-a-yin qamuγ čerig baγuγsan
namjüng kemekü luu jil[-]ün qoyaduγar saran-dur

T 3 po shog thu rang yul nas dmag bteg khal kha g.yas ru'i el ci ken
zhes pa'i dpon khag gnyis tsam bcom || (138-5 one | is missing)

M 3 bosuγ-tu öber[-]ün oron-ača čerig mordažu qalq-a baraγun qosiγun-
u eljigen kemekü küčütei noyan qoyar-un tedüi sitüged

477 T 1 de nas rim gyis khal kha mang ma'i dkyil du slebs te <kho> rang
gi bsod nams dar bas khal kha tsho'ur (138-6) 'ded

M 1 ten(g)d[-]eče ulam-iyar olan qalqačud-un dumda oružu ir[e]ged
tegün[-]ü öber[-]ün jayaγ-a delgeregsen-iyer qalq-a čöm dürbüjü (for:
dürbejü) oobai (for: odbai)

T 2 la btang | er te ni jo bo sogs lha khang dang dgon pa khag so so
las la la bshig | la la'i sku 'dra tsho bshig |

M 2 oobai (for: odbai) : erdeni juu ter[i]güten keyid süm-e kiged basu basu ner[e-]tei (JC: erdeni) keyid tus tus-un jurim (for: jarim)-ud-i ebden : jarim-ud-un burqan sitügen-i ebden

T 3 rje 'di ba'i (for: pa'i) bzhugs skar (138-6 sgar) gyi sku 'dra che chung dang | ri bo dge rgyas gling gi dgon pa thams cad bshig pa sogs mi

M 3 eneküü boγda-yin saγurin küriyen-ü burqan šitügen yeke baγ-a bügüde kiged ken(g)tei-yin keyid qamuγar ebdegsen ter[i]güten jokis ügei üiles-i yekede

478 T 1 rigs pa (139-1=70r1=BR 42a1) chen po byas | de skabs sems can cig gi las zad na | sangs rgyas stong gi mdzad pa zad ces

M 1 yekede üiledbei yambar kemeküi-dür nigen amitan-u jayaγ-a baruγdabasu mingγan burqan-u jokiyal mö[r]gö(dü)müi (JC note 183) kemen

T 2 gsungs pa ltar rje 'di pa las dbang gis khal kha'i rtus (139-1: jus) nyes yong ba mkhyen te gong ma rgyal po'i phyogs su phebs

M 2 nomlaγsan metü tere uçir-tur eneküü boγda ber qalq-a üilü (for: üile)-yin erke[-]ber doruyital bolqu-yi ayiladju (for: ayiladču) boγda ečen (for: ejen) degeg(e)ši qan(g)duju jalaraqu-yin

T 3 skabs zhag (139-2) 'ga' zhig cung 'o brgyal ba tsam byung yang ma 'gyangs par khal kha g.yon ru'i u rāng khang gi ta'i

M 3 uçir-a nigen kedün qonoγ-tu öčüken čilen aljiyaju ayiladbaju (for: üiledbeju) udul (for: udal) ügei qalq-a jeg[-]ün qosiγun uriyangqan dayičin[g] qoyar

479 T 1 ching rnam gnyis kyi thog tu phebs | de thams cad kyis brnyen (139-2: bsnyen, correctly) bkur zhabs tog phun sum tshogs pa bsgrubs |

M 1 jüil-ün deger-e jalaraju tede ergül kündüel qotula tegüsügsen ergübei :

T 2 de skabs gong ma rgyal pos be' kha ta lar am pang sogs mi bzang rnamtsang nas phyag g.yog rnamtsang la khre dang nor

M 2 tere učir-tur boγda qaγan ber qadalara amban terigüten sayid kergemten-nuγud (for: -nügüd)-i uγtuγulun ilegejü baraγ-a boluγčün bügüden-dür

T 3 lug sogs dang sku gzhogs su yang 'bul ba mang po phul | skyes bdag ces pa lcags lug gi hor zla bzhi par

M 3 čaling budaγ-a kiged . üker qoni ter[i]güten ba degereki-yin gegen tan-dur ču ergül yekede ergüjü ji daγ kemekü temür qonin jil[-]ün dötüger

480 T 1 mtsho bdun zhes par gong ma rgyal po (139-4) phebs | rje 'di pa dang khal kha'i rgyal po gnyis kyis gtsos pa'i dpon che chung thomd (=thams cad)

M 1 sara-dur doloγan naγur kemekü γaγar boγda ezen (for: ejen) jalaraju ögede boluγad eneküü boγda-luγ-a qalq-a-yin qoyar /luγ-a/ qaγan ber erkilen : yeke baγ-a qamuγ noyad degere

T 2 la gong ma'i mjal kha gnang | rje 'di pa dmangs las sngon du gong ma'i gzims gur la gdan drangs phan tshun mjal

M 2 baralaqui ayiladqaγsan-a soyurq-a-γad : eneküü boγda-yi olan büküi-eče urid čaγ-u (for: -un) jirγaqu ordon-dur jalaraju ögerkü (for: örgükü, i.e. ergükü) ögerkü (the word is repeated) beleg-iyen

T 3 dar phul te mjal 'dzom gnang nas (139-5) thugs yid gcig tu 'dres pa lta bur dgyes pa chen po gnang | bzhugs

M 3 ergülčejü učaraldan ayiladduγad tuγtam sedkil-iyen nigen-e ayilad-duγsan metü yeke bayasulčan ayiladqabai : yeke

481 T 1 gral chen mor phebs nas ston mo gzabs rgyas gnang | nyin gcig gong ma rgyal po yang rje 'di

M 1 yamun-a γaγar-a jalar[a]ju qurim-i ču neng delgerenggüi-e ergübei nigen edür boγda ezen (for: ejen) ču eneküü

T 2 pa'i gzims (139-5: gzings, incorrectly) gur la phebs | sku gong
ma mang por mchod yon gyi 'grel (139-5: 'brel, correctly) pa yod pa'i
stabs kyis phan tshun

M 2 boγda-yin ĵirγaqu ordon-dur ĵalar[a]bai erten-ü ečen (for: eĵen)
olan üy-e blam-a öglige-yin ezen (for: eĵen) bolulčaγsan bayidaltai
činaγši inaγši

T 3 thugs nyi (139-6: nye, correctly) mo dpe <med> mdzad | de skabs
gser dngul gyi snod spyad mang po dang | dngul srang (139-6: sang,
incorrectly) stong phrag gcig| gong

M 3 üligerleši ügei sedkil-iyen amurlalčan ayiladdulčabai tere učir-a
olan altan sab (for: saba) mönggün saba kiged nige mingγan lang
mönggü ezen (for: eĵen)-ü

482 T 1 ma rang gi gzims gur | chibs (139-6: chings, wrong) chen sga
bcas tshang ma rnam phul | lo de'i dgun kha pho brang chen po
(140-1=70v=BR 42b) be'

M 1 öber[-]ün ĵirγaqu ordu qarsi übaši emegel qaĵaγar-tai kölgen-ü
mori nuγud-i ergübei mön tere ĵil[-]ün ebül yeke ordu qarši

T 2 cing la phebs zhus pa ltar pho brang chen por phebs | de skabs
snga sor rgyal ba thams cad mkhyen pa chen po

M 2 beĵejin-dür ĵalaqui-a öčigsen metü beĵejing-dür ĵalarabai : tere
učar-a (for: učir-a) erten-dü qamuγ-i ayiladduγči dalai blam-a-yi ĵa-
laγsan-u qauli

T 3 phebs skabs bzhin rgyal po'i a khu dang jo lags dbang sogs kyis
gtsos pa'i dbang chen po brgyad dang

M 3 qauli (word repeated) yosuγar ezen (for: eĵen)-ü abaγ-a kiged
aγ-a dbang ter[i]güten ber erkilen (JC: ekilen, correctly) naiman örü
ĵerge-yin vang kiged

483 T 1 gzhan yang mi bzang che chung (140-2) mang pos pho brang gi
phyi log su ras gur rgyab ste gsol ja dang bcas

- M 1 busu basu yeke baγ-a ambas-ud olan ber begejing-ün γadan-a asar ergüjü joγuγ-yin (for: -un) čai-luγ-a selte
- T 2 te phebs bsu rgyas pa gnang | de nas pho brang du spyang drangs gong ma yang phebs bsu la byon te sngar zhag gnyis
- M 2 jalaraq-yin uγtulaγ-a-yi delgerenggüi-e uγtuγulun ayiladbai ten(g)de-eče begejing-dür jaladaki-dur ezen (for: ejen) ču öber[-]iyen uγtun jalaražu önü qoyar
- T 3 gsum tsam song ba dang pho brang nang du thugs 'gol ba (140-3) gnang nas gsung bgros mang po mdzad kyin yod pa
- M 3 γurban qonoγ-un tedüi uγtuγsan-a ordu qarši-dur čögelen (for: jögelen) ayiladžu (for: ayiladču) yeke olan jüil jarliγ bolun ayiladdulča-γsaγar bayiγsan ajuγu
- 484 T 1 'dug | hor zla ba bcu gcig par shar ka'i khu rē la gong ma chen po snga ma'i yum tha'i hung tha'i hus bzhengs
- M 1 ebül[-]ün dumdadu sara-dur sarγ-a (for: sirγ-a)-yin küriyen-dür uridaki šenčü ezen (for: ejen)-ü eke tayiqu-yin tayiqu-bar bütügegsen sigemuni
- T 2 pa'i thub dbang gi sku mi tšhad ma dang | tshe dpag med kyi sku khru gang lhag tsam brgya tham pa (140-4) dang | tha'i hu chen mo'i
- M 2 burqan kümün-ü činege kiged nigen toqui ilegüü-yin tedüi ayuši burqan jaγuγad kiged yeke tayiqu-yin taγalal
- T 3 dgongs rdzogs la bzhengs pa'i bka' 'gyur gser ma rnam la rab gnas zhu bar rje 'di pa spyang drangs |
- M 3 tegüsküi-dür bütügegsen-selte altan γanjuur-nuγud-tu rabnai ayiladqai-dur enekü boγda-yi jaladžu
- 485 T 1 de nyin sku gzhogs nyid kyi na bza' la dpe byas nas bzos pa'i gsol slog bul ka'i nang sha can
- M 1 mön tere edür degereki-yin öber[-]ün bari(n)γda-bar üli(r)gerlen eskejü kilgegsen bulaγan (JC: bulγan) dotortai (JC todurqai) čobača kiged

T 2 dang | wa nag gis (140-5: pyi) phyi byas gos chen gyis nang sha byas pa'i ber mu tig gi rgyan can dang | wa nag gi dge ldan zhā (140-5: zhu, for zhwa) ser dbu

M 2 qara ünegen γadar-tai mangnuγ-bar (for: -iyar) dotorlaγsan daqu subud tobči-tai ba qara ünegen geden šiser

T 3 zhwa gser gar blug gi rdo rjes rgyan pa gser skud kyi (140-5: kyis, correctly) bcos pa'i gos khyad 'phags las grub pa'i sku chos dang |

M 3 titim čidqumal altan jingse-tei kiged altan utasun-iyar nekejü bütügegsen ilangγui-a kütürkei (for: ketürkei, JC doturqai) nom-tu (JC -du) debel kiged

486 T 1 shin shing cang gis bzos pa'i sku (140-6) gsan (for: gzan) | mu tig byi ru sogs rin po ches brgyan pa'i zhabs bcags (for: chags) sogs (JC sot, for: sogs)

M 1 šingšin jan-u orkimji kiged subud širu ter[i]güten erdeni-ber čime[gl]sen boyiba (JC beyebe) ter[i]güten öb(e)či

T 2 na bza' cha tshang phul ba gong ma'i thugs dgyes pa'i ched du bzhes pa gnan | khal kha dang | pho brang gi ser mo

M 2 barin(g)taγ ergügsen-e ezen (for: ejen)-ü sedkel (for: sedkil) bayasqu-yin tuqai-dur toγtaγaju ayiladqubai (for: ayiladqabai) qalq-a-yin quvaraγ-lüge (for: -luγ-a) süm-e-yin quvaraγ-ača

T 3 ba brgya brgya 'tshogs par rje 'di pa'i phyig (140-6 phyag) phyir mkhar sngnon gyi (141-1=71r1=BR 43a1) gnas bcu tho yon gyi sku skye | chos 'byor

M 3 jaγuγad jaγuγad quraγulun gegen tan-a baraγ-a bolγaqu anu : köke qota-yin gnasbaju [JC qasbaču] toyin-u qubilγan ber čoyin(g)jor rabjamba

487 T 1 rab byams pa | gtsang pa sku skye sogs pho brang gi grwa pa nyi shu rtsa lnga pa (141-1, pa missing) | rje 'di'i phyag

M 1 ba ja[ng]ba qubilγan ter[i]güten süm-e-yin blama[-]nar-ača qorin tabu ene boγda-yin baraγ-a

T 2 g.yog nyi shu rtsa lnga ste khyon bsdoms grwa pa lnga bcus dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum gyi sgo nas rab (141-2)

M 2 bolun[-]ečen (for: ejen)-eče qorin tabu-lüge (for: -luγ-a, JC note 205) neite tabin quvaraγ ber arban γurban burqan-du yaman(g)daga-yin egüden-eče qoyar

T 3 gnas nyi ma gnyis mdzad | grwa pa gzhan rnams kyis g.yas g.yon gyi lha khang gnyis la bla ma mchod pa

M 3 edür rabnai kijü ayiladbai busu quvaraγ-ud ber baraγun jегün qoyar süm-e-dür blam-a-yin takil kiged

488 T 1 dang | tshe chog sogs dang | rab gnas grub nas nyi ma gsung (for: gsum) la bka' gyur gsung sgrog gnang | tha'i hu chen

M 1 ayusi-yin čoγ-a ter[i]güten un[g]siγad rabnai tegüsüγsen-e γurban edür γandzuur ungsiγulju yeke tayiqu-yin

T 2 mo rang gi gsol ja'i snod (141-3) gser srang brgya'i ldong mo dang | dngul gyi khog ma chen mos gtsos pa'i yon chen

M 2 jirγ (JC: juγ)-yin čai baridaγ jaγun la(a)ng-yin (for: -un) altan dongmo kiged nige yeke mönggün toγu-a-bar erkilen (for: ekilen) yeke ergül bariča

T 3 po phul | de nas pho brang gi nub ngos kyi rir yod pa'i rgya'i lha khang rnams kyi rten mjal la gong ma'i bka' bzhin

M 3 ergübei ten(g)deče begejing-ün baraγun degesi aγulan-dur bariγsan kedün süm-e-yin burqan sitügen-e mörgöküi-dür ezen (for: ejen)-ü jarliγ baγuγsan

489 T 1 phebs par sor sung tor ken am bang (141-3: pa instead of bang) dang | (141-3 + |) (141-4) pa thu la'i gnyis phyag g.yog la gtong ba gnang |

M 1 metü sūr (JC: sur) süng dürgen alban kiged batulai qoyar : baraγ-a bolγan ilegejü ayiladbai

T 2 de nas u'i chin shang la phebs | de nas chu nang du gru la byon de chan chu yang la phebs bzhugs zhag gnyis gsum

M 2 ten(g)deče üi čin šan-dur ĵalar[a]γad basu ten(g)de(n)če usun dotor-a onγuča-bar ĵalar[a]ĵu čanču yang-dur (JC: -tur) ĵalar[a]γad qoyar γurban qonoγ-un tedüi tüden ayiladduγad

T 3 bzhugs | de nas pho brang nang du phebs | tsan dan jo bo sogs pho brang gi phyi na (141-5) yod pa'i lha khang thoṃd (= thams cad) (141-5: thams cad) kyi rten

M 3 ten(g)deče sögürekü (JC: sögeregü) beĵing-dür ĵalar[a]ĵu ĵan(g)dan ĵuu ter[i]güten ordu qarši-yin γadaki qamuγ boγda süm-e-yin burqan sitügen-dür

490 T 1 mjal ghang | dngos bshams yid sprul gyi mchod pa sna tshogs pas mchod par mdzad de bstan pa rgyas pa'i

M 1 kesčü (for: kesüĵü, JC geskeĵü) mörgöl ayiladduγad bodatai boluγsan sedkel (for: sedkil)-eče qubilγaγsan eldeb ĵüil takil-iyar takil ayiladĵu (for: ayiladču) šašin-i delgerengülkü-yin

T 2 smon lam ghang | log phebs khar dngul srang lnga bcu'i ldong mo | | dngul srang (141-5: + lnga, correctly) bcu'i (141-6) ka ʈo ra | gos yug lnga

M 2 yerügel (for: irügel) ayiladbai degereĵü ĵalaraqu-yin čaγ[-]tur tabin lang-yin (for: -un) mönggün dungmu tabin lang-un mönggün γadur torγ-a mangnuγ tabiγad

T 3 bcu | zam zo lnga ba brgya | gser sga sogs 'bul ba rgya chen po phul | snga sor dus bde skabs stag lo'i

M 3 sayin böš tabun ĵaγuγad altan emegel ter[i]güten ergül aqui yeke ergübei : erten-ü engke čaγ-un üy-e-dür bars ĵil[-]ün

491 T 1 cho 'phrul smon las grol skabs su g.yon ru tsho ba bzhi'i lo tsā shes mkhan tsho bzhugs sgar la

M 1 ĵil[-]ün čaγan sara[-]yin yerügel (for: irügel) tegüsküi-yin kiri-dü ĵegün qosiγu dörben baγ-un kel[e]mürči

T 2 'bod pa ghang nas (142-1=71v1=BR 43b1) thams cad kyi bgros mthun thog nas dag yig za ma tog sog skad du bsgyur | rje 'di pa'i

M 2 saγurin küriyen deger-e daγudan ayiladju (for: ayiladču) qamuγ jöbsiyelden (JC: jöbsiyeldan) deger-e dakyik zam-a dōk-i mongγol kele[-]ber orčiγulbai basa ene

T 3 sku gzhogs nas sog yig rnying pa 'di la 'bod mi shes pa sogs 'dra yig mang gshis sku gzhogs nas

M 3 boγda gegen ber qaγučin mongγol üsüg egün[-]dür daγudalγ-a ülü medegdekü ter[i]güten adali üsüg olan-a tula gegen tan öber-iyen

492 T 1 la nydza 'i yi ge dang cha 'dra ba 'i sog yig (142-2) gser (for: gsar) pa legs pa cig kyang mdzad | bka' 'gyur sog skad tu (142-2: du, correctly) bsgyur

M 1 langza-yin üsüg-lüge qubi adali mongγol üsüg sayıqan nigen ču (JC: čü) tubdan (JC: ?) ayiladju (for: ayiladču) jökiyabai γanjuur mongγol kelen-ber (for: kele-ber) orčiγulay-a

T 2 ba 'i dgongs (142-2 + pa) gtad kyang dus ma bde ba byung ba 'i stabs kyis bzhed pa ltar ma grub | de skabs su bdag gis

M 2 taγalal ayiladduγsan aju čaγ minu amur busu bolqu-yin bayidal-iyar (JC: -iyer!) taγalaγsan (JC: daγalaγsan) yosuγar ese jabdubai tere učir-a bi[-]ber

T 3 'bul ba 'i rnam grangs 'phran (for: phran) bu dang bcas te rang rnam thar (142-3) gyi ljags rtsom zhig gnang ba dang | de ma byung

M 3 ergül-ün jüil baγ-a saγ-a-yin ergüjü gegen tan-u öber[-]ün čadig nigen-i ayiladju (for: ayiladču) qayirlaqui ba tedüi delgerenggüi

493 T 1 na'ang sa bon tsam zhig gnang dgos tshul zhus par zhal gyi (142-3: gyis, correctly) ma bzhes | slar nan gyis zhus

M 1 ese bolbaču tobči-yin tedüi nigen-i ayiladju (for: ayiladču) qayirlamu kemen ayiladqabasu ber aγdun (JC: aγdaγun, correctly) ese ayiladduγad basa šimdai-iyar (JC: šimetel-iyer, incorrectly) uyiledqabasu (for: ayiladqabasu, JC: üiledqabesü)

T 2 kyang bdag la mkhas pa dgyes pa 'i rnam thar bzang po ni med | bla ma dam pa rnam las dam pa 'i (142-4) chos kyi

M 2 ber merged-i bayasqaqu sayin čidag (for: čadig) anu ügei : degedü blam-a-nar-ača degedü nom[-]un esi-yi öčigsen (JC: üčigsen)

T 3 bka' drin zhus pa sogs kyi skor slar e yong ba lta gsungs pa ltar pho brang nas chibs (142-4: chings, incorrectly) kha bsgyur te lha khang

M 3 ter[i]güten jüül qoĵim bolĵu bayiĵai medey-e kemen üleddüĵsen (for: ayiladduĵsan, JC: üiledüĵsen) metü ordu qarsi-ača kölgelen ĵalaraĵu šara (for: sir-a)

494 T 1 ser po'i nang du bzhugs skabs phebs skyel gyi phyang dbang la phyin | rnam thar gyi zhabs bskul zhus par pho brang

M 1 süm-e-dür saĵuqui učir-a üde baraĵ-a bolĵu odduĵad mörgöĵü čadig ayiladqaĵsan-iyān sanaĵulun öčibesü ordu

T 2 du slebs (142-5: slabs, incorrectly) nas po'a pu 'di tsam zas zer dgos rgyu yin nam gsungs shing sku rtsed kyi dang du gtong ba gnang

M 2 qarsi-daĵan kürčü boobo edüi činege idebei kemekü kerigtei (for: keregtei) adaĵ buyu ĵ-a kemen ayiladduĵsaĵar nemer[i]leĵü qusig naĵadum ber öngkürigülün ayiladbai

T 3 anggir zhes (142-5 + pa) chu spre'i (for: spre'u) ston ka gong ma ri dwags kyi sar byang la phebs (142-5 + skabs, correctly) chibs kha sgyur te gong ma dang mĵal

M 3 anggir kemekü usun bečün ĵil[-]ün namur ezen (for: eĵen) abayin ĵazar (for: ĵaĵar)-a ĵalaraq-u-yin üy-e-dür kölgelen ĵalaraqad ečen (for: eĵen)-lüge

495 T 1 'dzom gnang ste gsung gleng zhib (142-6) rgyas gnang | dpal gdong zhes pa chu bya'i dbyar ga gong ma chen mo

M 1 ĵolĵulčan aĵulčaĵu narin eyeten yaĵum-a-yi yeke delgerenggüi-e ayiladdulčabai baldun kemekü usun takiy-a ĵil[-]ün ĵun boĵda eĵen-i

T 2 sku ltem par spyān drangs | sku'i rim gro stobs chen dang sgrol ma g.yul bzlog kyang mdzad cing | de skabs

M 2 gegen-ü jalaqui-dur jalaḡu yeke küčütü gürim-üd kiged dar-a eke-yin dovi (?) kijü (JC: geḡü) qaraḡan ayiladduḡsan tere učir-a

T 3 byang grol gyi rgyur gyur pa'i 'brel pa yang bzhag yod pa 'dra gong ma'i (143-1=72r1=BR 44a1) bsnyung gzhi yang yang (143-1: the second yang is missing) mgyogs myur du dwangs |

M 3 tonilqu tuḡulqu uḡ-tur boluḡsan barildulḡ-a-yi ču talbiḡsan bayi-daltai eḡen-ü čilege qurdun türgen ileri boluḡsan-a ergül-dür

496 T 1 kha rtags (for: btags) che legs mang ba dang | gos yug nyi shu | dngul srang stong phrag gcig phul | de skabs bdag

M 1 yeke sayin qadaḡ olan kiged qorin yeke torḡ-a mingḡan lang mönggü ergübei tere učir-a bi[-]ber

T 2 gis kyang tshe dbang zhus shing lchang skya khu' thog thu la phyag phyi zhus | de'i (143-2) ston ka gong ma ri dwags la

M 2 ayuši-yin abisig ayiladqaḡad ḡangyan-a qutuḡtu-dur mörgöküi-yi ayiladqaḡu odbai tere jil[-]ün namur ezen (for: eḡen) aba-dur

T 3 phebs skabs sngar lugs bzhin 'jal (143-2: mjal, correctly) 'dzom gnang | bsnyen bkur zhabs tog rgya chen po mdzad |

M 3 ḡalaraqı učir-a urid yosuḡar ḡolḡulčan (JC note 228: ḡolḡalčan, correctly) ayiladduḡsan ergül kündülel aqui yekede ergübei

497 T 1 dngos po zhes pa shing (143-2 shi, incorrectly) khi'i ston ka gong ma rigs (143-2: ri dwags, correctly) la phebs skabs sngar lugs bzhin 'jal (143-2 mjal, correctly)

M 1 üibu kemekü modon noqai jil[-]ün (JC: dzilun) namur ezen (for: eḡen) aba-dur ḡalaraqı-yin üy-e-dür urid yosuḡar

T 2 'dzom gnang | de'i (143-3) dgun kha bdag gis phyag dbang la phyin | lnga mchod grol grol bsdad tshe dbang dang

M 2 ḡolḡulčan (JC note 230: ḡolḡalčan, correctly) ayiladbai tere jil[-]ün ebül bi mörgöl-dür odduḡad (JC: oddaḡad, incorrectly) qorin tabun-u yerügel (for: irügel) tegüs[-]ün tegüstel-e

T 3 sgrol dkar yid bzhin 'khor lo | 'jam nag gi rjes gnang rnam zhus
| sku gzhogs nyid kyi sku gzan |

M 3 saḡuḡu ayuši-yin abisig kiged saḡan (for: čaḡan) dar-a eke qara
man(g)jusiri-yin jinang ayiladqaba gegen tan-u öber[-]ün asḡaḡsan or-
kimji

498 T 1 dngul maḡ kha rtags (for: btags) dang bcas pa | gdan | snye 'bol
(143-4) rta bzang po gnyis kyi gnang sbyin kyang stsal | de skabs

M 1 man(g)dal qadaḡ-lüge (for: -luḡ-a, JC note 232) selte olbuḡ
tüšilge qoyar sayin mori-yi örösiyel qayirlabai tere učir

T 2 dus zing gi skabs skyon byung ba'i rgyal ba rigs lnga dang | bde
gshegs mchod rten brgyad sogs rten che chung

M 2 čaḡ-un busunin-u üy-e-dür gemtügsen šitügen ilaḡuḡsan tabun
iḡaḡur-tu sayibar odduḡsad naiman suburḡ-a ter[i]güten yeke baḡ-a
šitüged-i

T 3 du ma'i zhig gsos mdzad cing rab gnas kyang gnang grub 'dug |
mchod ldan ces (143-5) pa shing phag gi ston ka sngar

M 3 olan nigen-i selben ayiladduḡad rabnai ču ayiladduḡsan aḡiḡu
čuddan kemekü modon ḡaqai jil[-]ün namur

499 T 1 lugs bzhin gong ma chen po dang 'jal (143-5 mjal) 'dzom gnang |
de dag gi snga phyi bar gsum du tsho ba brgyad |

M 1 urid yosuḡar boḡda ezen (for: eḡen)-lüge jolḡulčal (for: jolḡalčal)
ayiladbai tedeger-ün urid qoḡim ḡabsar ḡurban-dur naiman qosiḡu

T 2 a pa ka | su nyid | u tsu mer min (143-5: chin, correctly) | or dus
sogs kyi bla dpon che chung skya ser mchog dman mjal mkhan

M 2 abaḡ-a sönid üjümerčün uridui (JC note 235: urad [ordos], correct-
ly) ter[i]güten-ü blam-a-nar yeke baḡ-a noyad qara quvaraḡ degedü
douradu olan merigülčün (JC: mörgölčün, correctly)

T 3 du mar (143-6) dam pa'i chos kyi char pa phab ste smin grol la
bkod | (143-6 | missing) lo der sku skeg gi sku rim la bka' 'gyur tshar

M 3 -dür degedü nom-un qur-a baγulγaǰu bolbasuraγulun ulaγan
 jokiyabai mön tere jil[-]ün gegeṅ tan-u següder tasiyaraqū gürim-dür
 γanǰur olan ter[i]güten yeke

500 T 1 mang po sogṣ sku rim stobs chen mdzad 'dug | 'dzin byed ces pa
 me byi'i ston ka sngar lugs bzhin gong

M 1 küčütei gürim-üd jokiyān ayiladduγsan aǰiγu zinǰed kemekü γal
 quluγun-a jilün (for: jil-ün) namur urid yosuγar

T 2 ma chen mo dang mjal 'dzom gnang | dbang (144-1=72v1=
 BR 44b1) phyug ces pa me glang gi sos ka gong ma chen po nying shā
 la phebs nas

M 2 boγdan (for: boγda) ezen (for: ejen)-lüge jolγulčan (for: jolγalčan)
 ayiladduγad vangčur kemekü γal üker jil[-]ün jun boγda ezen (for:
 ejen) ning ša-dur jalaraǰu

T 3 tshur phebs skabs rje 'di pa spyān drangs mjal 'dzom gnang |
 leang skya khu'a gi phyi logs pur su tha'i zhes

M 3 inaγsi tekereküi-yin üy-e-dür enekü boγda-yi jalaǰu aγulǰan ayilad-
 duγad ǰang kya qu (JC keü)-yin γadanaki burγasu-tai-yin γoul ke-
 mekü

501 T 1 pa'i lung pa thub lhan du phebs | rgyal dbang mchog (144-2) gi
 zhing brjes pa'i skabs kyi rnam thar sde pas

M 1 kürtel-e qamtu jalaraγad tabuduγar dalai blam-a-yi ǰangči arilǰiqui
 (for: aralǰiqui, JC: aralaǰiqui) üyes-ün čadi(n)g deba (JC: diba)-bar
 jokijaγsan-i

T 2 mdzad pa sog skad du bsgyur bar zhus pa'i zhabs phyir bdag dang
 pa thu la'i gnyis nyi ma bzhi tsam phyag g.yog zhus

M 2 mongγol kele[-]ber orčiγul kemen ayiladduγsan tula batulai (JC:
 bodulai) bida qoyar dörbe qonoγ-un tedüi dergede (JC tergeten) baraγ-
 a

T 3 te grub pa dang pa thu las la gong ma chen por 'bul du bcug pa
 gnang ste |(144-2 + |) (144-3) de nas bzhugs sgar phyogs su phebs

M 3 bolun üjeñü tegüsüksen-e batulai ber boγda ezen (for: eñen)-e ergügülün ayiladbai ten(g)de-eče saγurin kür[i]yen-dür

502 T 1 zhabs phyr nyi ma gnyis gsum gyi sar phyin te | nyi ma gcig bcags mar bzhugs par zhus te zhabs brtan

M 1 ĵalaĵaqui (for: ĵalaraqui) čaγ[-]tu qoyar γurba qonoγ-un γazar (for: γaĵar) bi[-]ber baraγa[-]bolĵu oddulčaγad nigen edür tüdeĵü saγa-taqui-yi öčiged ölmei batudqu-yin dangšur

T 2 brtan bzhugs 'bul bar dngul gyi maᅇdala kha rtags (for: btags) bzhugs gdan | snye 'bol | (144-3 + |) (144-4) gos ber | dngul gyi ldong mo

M 2 ergüküi-dür mönggün man(g)dal qadaγ olbuγ tüsilge torγan ĵangči mönggün dungmu

T 3 dang | dngul gyi ka ʈo ra | gos dar gyi rigs sogs kyi 'bul ba dang grwa ja gnyis kha rtags (for: btags) ja 'gyed dang bcas pa

M 3 kiged mönggün γadur torγ-a mangnuγ-un ĵüil ter[i]güten ergüged qural-dur qoyar mangĵa ke(n)den čai ĵed-lüge selte ergüĵü

503 T 1 phul | ras chung lugs kyi tshe dpag med dkar po bla med lugs kyi rjes gnang zhus | de'i sang (144-5) nyin log

M 1 ergüĵü rayičung-un yosun-u te[ng]sel ügei ündüsün-ü čaγan ayusi-yin ĵinang ayiladqaĵu tegün[-]ü manaγar-tur

T 2 yong khar sku gzhogs rin po che nyid kyi gsol slog | lha khang bzhengs rgyu'i snon khar dngul srang brgya'i gnang sbyin

M 2 tekereĵü bučaqui deger-e minu gegen ene-[y]i öber-e-ün (for: -yin) asaγul ayiladduγsan anu keyid süm-e bariqu-yin nemeri-dür ĵaγun lang mön[g]gü örösiyeĵü

T 3 stsal | de lo'i dgun kha sku tsha don grub e phu (144-5: pu) la gong ma chen po'i sras mo kong jo gnang ba'i legs so 'bul

M 3 qayirlabai mön tere ĵil[-]ün ebül gegen-ü ači dondub ebu-dür boγda ezen (for: eñen)-ü abaγai govangčova soyurqaqu-yin beleg

- 504 T 1 bar (144-6) pho brang du phebs | cun cing ting zhes pa'i lha khang
 du | rje 'di pa'i phyag g.yog dge 'dun pa brgyad dang
 M 1 ergüküi-dür ordu qarsi jalaraγad jüngčün kemekü süm-e-dür eneküü
 boγda-yin baraγ-a boluγsan jaγun naiman
 T 2 brgyad | mer ken chos rje | chos 'byor rab 'byams pa sogs pho
 brang gi dge 'dun pa brgyad kyis nyi ma bzhi
 M 2 ge(ü)dün-lüge mergen čoyisrči čoyiγor rabjimba ter[i]güten ordu
 qarsi-yin quvaraγ-ača naiman quralčaju dörben tabun-dur kürtele
 T 3 lnga'i bar du bka' 'gyur gsung (145-1=73r1=BR 45a1) sgrog sogs
 gngang | yang dgu gtor chen mo'i skabs nyi ma gsum la
 M 3 γaγur (for: γanγur, JC note 255) ter[i]güten ayiladduγad basu
 yisün-ü yeke torm-a jalaqu-yin üy-e-dür γurban qonoγ
- 505 T 1 yang lha khang de nyid du grwa grangs sngar lugs ltar bskang gso
 khag gnyis gsum tsam
 M 1 -tur mön kü tere süm-e-dür qur[a]l[-]un toγ-a urid yosuγar γangso
 qoyar γurban üy-e tesjü (?) ayiladdun
 T 2 mdzad | yon la dngul srang brgyad dang gos yug bcu phul | lo
 (145-2) gsar tshes gcig gi nyin tsandana jo bo'i
 M 2 jokiyaγsan-a ergül-dür jaγun lang mönggü arban yeke torγ-a
 ergübei čaγan sara[-]yin sine[-]yin nigen-ü edür[-]e zan(g)dan juu-yin
 T 3 sku gzhogs su rje 'di pa dang gong ma gnyis phan tshun mjal dar
 phul te mjal 'dzom gngang | de nas mer
 M 3 gegen-ü emün-e-dür ene kü boγda-lüge (for: -luγ-a, JC note
 263) ezen (for: ejen) qoyaγulan (ögerekü) ögerekü (for: örgüku, i.e.
 ergükü) beleg-iyen ergülčeγü jolγaγulčan ayiladduγad ten(g)deče mergen
- 506 T 1 ken chos rje bzhugs pa'i gzims khang la phebs te bla ma mang ma
 dang | o'i lod kyi bkra (145-3) shis pa 'thur dbang
 M 1 čôngčoi (JC: čoyisrji)-yin saγuγsan jirγaqui-yin qarsi-dur jalar[a]-
 ju blam-a-nar olan kiged : ögeled-ün tasi baγatar (JC: dasi baγatur)
 vang

T 2 sogs dpon po 'ga' zhig dang | a mdo ba nang so rnam pa sogs la
mjal kha gnang | gzims khang der

M 2 ter[i]güten nige kedün noyad ba amdo nangsü erkimten ter[i]güten
nige kedün baraγulan (for: baraγadan?) sayilabai (?) tere qarsi-dur

T 3 bzhugs skabs bzhugs khri gcig gi steng rje 'di pa dang gong ma
gnyis mnyam por bzhugs pa'i gral (145-4) gong

M 3 saγuqu-yin üy-e-dür nigen širegen-ü deger-e ene boγda-lüge (for: -
luγ-a, JC note 263) ezen (for: ežen) qoyuγulan (for: qoyaγulan) qamtu
saγuγsan saγudal-un ekin-dür ene

507 T 1 du rje 'di pa bzhugs | tshes drug la chan chu yang la phebs | tshes
bcu gcig nas bcu bdun

M 1 boγda-yi jalabai ten(g)deče sine[-]yin jirγuγan-dur čang čuyang-
dur (JC: -tür) jalaraγad arban nigen-eče arban doloγan kürtel-e

T 2 gyi bar rgongs ltar me'i rtsed mo sna tshogs pa'i gzigs mor spyang
drangs te | (145-4 | missing) spyang 'bebs zhus | nyi shu gnyis

M 2 üdesi büri γal-un naγadu[m] aldeβ (for: eldeb, JC note 265) jüil :
ayiladqar-a (JC: ayiladγar-a, incorrectly) jalažu üjegülün ayiladqabai
qorin qoyar-tu

T 3 la slar pho brang du phebs | nyi shu bdun (145-5) la gong ma
dang lhan du ri bo rtse lngar chibs kha bsgyur der bzhugs

M 3 ači ordun-daγan jalar[a]žu ten(g)deče qorin doloγan-dur ezen (for:
ežen)-lüge qamtu ü-tai šan-dur kölgelen jalaražu kürüged ten(g)deče
orusiγsan

508 T 1 pa'i dge 'dun pa rnam la mang 'gyed dang ljags lung rjes gnang
mang po gnang | gong ma'i btsun mo gnyis kyis

M 1 quvaraγ бүкүн-дүр mangča žid kiged lung jinang olan örsiyebei
tere učir-a ezen (for: ežen)-ü qoyar qatun ber (JC: gedün-ber)

T 2 phyag dbang zhus par rje 'di pas gong ma'i (145-5 + sku, correct)
gzhogs su thugs (145-6) 'dzin pa gnang bar gong mas phyag dbang
gnang

M 2 mörgöl ayiladqaγsan-dur eneküü boγda ber ečen (for: ejen)-
ü gegen-dür sedkel (for: sedkil) čegerlejšü (JC: čegerlekü) soyurqal
öčigsen-e ečen (for: ejen)-ber mörgöl

T 3 zhig zhus pa ltar byin rlabs stsal | de nas byang lam brgyud de
phebs pa'i lam bar du bdag pho brang du gdag (145-6: bdag)

M 3 qayirlaγdun kemen öčigsen metü adis örüsübebei ten(g)deče umar-
a-yin jam-iyar damnažu jalaraqu-yin möri deger-e bi begejšing

509 T 1 na nas bsdad pa tshur log yong dus mjal te tshe rta gnyis kyi bka'
dbang zhus shin tu mnyes (146-1=73b1=BR 45b1) mnyes

M 1 -tür genegerkejšü (JC: kenegerekejšü, incorrectly) saγuγsan-a inaγsi
jalar[a]ju ireküi (JC: eregüi, incorrectly) čaγ[-]tur mörgöjšü ayuši damdin
qoyar-un abisig-i öčigsen-e masi bayasuγsaγar örüsüyen

T 2 mdzad | lo de'i ston ka gong ma'i bkas (146-1: bka') gong ma
dang lhan du u la zhes pa'i yul du phebs nas pho brang du yang lhan

M 2 ayiladbai mön tere jil[-]ün namur ezen (for: ejen)-ü jarliγ-iyar
ezen (for: ejen)-lüge qamtu ulan (JC: olan, incorrectly) kemekü oron-
dur jalar[a]ju ordu qarsi-dur ču qamtu

T 3 du phebs te lo gsar mdzod (141-1: mdzad, correctly) | de skabs
sprul skye de bzhin gshegs pa'i cha (146-1: chu, incorrectly) lugs can
gyi 'jam dbyangs kyi

M 3 jalaraγad čaγan sara siγlan (for: sinelen, JC note 267: siγalan)
ayiladbai tere učir-a qubilγan bey-e tegünčilen iregsen-ü jang-u (JC:
jangj-u) düritü man(g)juširi-yin bey-e

510 T 1 gser sku lugs (146-2) ma legs pa cig gong mar phul | gong ma rgyal
pos bka' drin bskyangs pa'i bka' drin (146-2 + dran) pa'i zhu

M 1 saγumal sayiqan nigen-i ezen (for: ejen)-dür ergüged boγda ezen
(for: ejen)-ü ači-bar asar[a]ju tedkügsen ači-yi duradqu ayiladqal-un
bičig

T 2 yig rje 'di pas dbus khal kha'i rgyal po gnyis dang dpon che chung phal che bas spyi mthun tu (146-2: du, correctly) phul bas gong mas thugs

M 2 eneküü boḡda ber erkilen (for: ekilen) qalq-a-yin qoyar qaḡan kiged yeke baḡ-a noyad olan ken ber ḡokildaḡulun ergüḡü ezen (for: eḡen) ber sedkel (for: sedkil)

T 3 shin tu mnyes pa mdzad | de (146-3) nas gong ma dang lhan tu (146-3: du) po ta lar phebs rtsis la rje nyid kyi jo lags rdo rje thu she ye thu

M 3 -iyen masi bayasun ayiladbai ten(g)deče ezen (for: eḡen)-lüge qamtu botala-dur ḡalaraqui-a toḡtoḡsan (for: toḡtaḡsan)-dur eneküü boḡda-yin aq-a vačir tüsiyetü

511 T 1 rgyal po gshegs pa'i skad cha dang bsngo zhus 'bul mkhan 'byor pa gong ma'i snyan du phul bar

M 1 qaḡan tegeri (for: tengri, JC note 269: tngri) bolba kemekü medege kiged yerügel (for: iregül) ayiladqaqu ergül ergügčün erigsen(e)-e (for: iregsen-e) ezen(e)-e (for: eḡen-e) ayiladqal ergügsen-dür

T 2 bzhugs sgar la phebs rgyal mo dang sras po rnams kyi sems gso (146-4) dang | dgongs rdzogs kyi dge rtsa mdzad pa

M 2 saḡurin küriyen-degen ḡalaraḡad qatud keüked-nuḡud (for: -nügüd)-un sedkel (for: sedkil) sergegekü (for: seregekü) ba taḡalal tegüsügsen-i buyan-u yosučilan üiledkü

T 3 'gab tshul phebs pa ltar hor zla dang po'i nyer lnga la pho brang nas chibs kha bsgyur | bzhugs sgar la phebs

M 3 ḡöb kemen ḡarliḡ baḡulḡaḡsan metü čaḡan sara[-]yin qorin tabundur ordu qarši-ača kölgelen ayiladḡu (for: ayiladču) saḡurin küriyen-dür ḡalaraḡad

512 T 1 te rgyal po'i dgongs pa rdzogs thabs rgya chen po mdzad | lo de'i ston ka yang sngar lugs bzhin ri dwags kyi (146-5)

M 1 qaγan taγalal tegüsügsen arγ-a buyan aqui yekede jokiyan (JC: jokiya) ayiladbai mön tere jil[-]ün namur ču urid yosuγar aba-yin γazar (for: γaǰar)-a

T 2 sar gong ma dang mjal 'dzom gnang | dgun kha pho brang du phebs te lo gsar sogs sngar lugs bzhin

M 2 ezen (for: ejen)-lüge jolγulčaǰu ayiladduγad ebül inu ordu qaršidur jalar[a]ǰu sinelekü ter[i]güten urid yosuγar

T 3 mdzad | dpa' bo zhes pa lcags 'brug gi hor zla gsum pa'i nyer gnyis la pho brang nas chibs kha bsgyur |

M 3 ayiladǰu (for: ayiladču) babu kemekü temür luu jil[-]ün qabur[-]un segül sara-yin qorin qoyar-tur ordu qarsi-ača kölgelen jalar[a]ǰu

513 T 1 ma 'gyangs par sog yul sngar (146-6) gyi mtsher sar bde bar phebs | khal kha g.yon ru se chen rgyal

M 1 siγu(u)rǰ[a]yilan mongγol oron-u qa[γ]učin nutuγ γazar (for: γaǰar)-taγan amuγulang jalaraqu-yin učir-a qalq-a jегün qosiγu sečen

T 2 po'i skor nas dpon che chung mchog dman mang pos u lā rnga mong dang rta mang po dang gzhan yang dang pas (for: bas) 'bul

M 2 qaγan-u ayimaγ-ača yeke baγ-a noyad degedü dour[a]du olan arad ber ulaγ-a temege olan kiged busu basu süsüg-ten ber ergülčin ču

T 3 mkhan yang bsam gyis mi khyab cing | byams pa ta'i ching dbang gis rta brgya tham pa dang gzhan dpon (147-1=74r1=BR 46a1) che chung

M 3 sedkiši ügei büged jimba dayičin vang ber jaγun adaγu kiged busu yeke baγ-a noyad

514 T 1 phal che bas (147-1: ba'i) bsu ba dang | bsnyen bkur 'bul ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa byas 'dug | khyu mchog ces pa lcags

M 1 olangki(n) ber uγtuγad ergül kündülen sedkiši ügei ergügsen aǰiγu čümčur kemekü temür

T 2 sprul er te ni jo bo'i rten mjal dang zhig gsos gnang rgyu'i zhal
bkod gnang par phebs shing phyag nas 'thor

M 2 moγai jil-dür erdeni juu-yin sitügen-e mörgöged selbikü[-]yin
jerge-yi gegen-iyer-iyen ayiladdun sel(e)begülün (for: selbigülün) jokiyaγad
jalar[a]ju mutur arbai

T 3 ba (147-2) gnang | khal kha'i dpon che chung mjal mkhan mang
po chos dang zang zing gis tshim par mdzad | lo de'i dgun

M 3 sasun (for: sačun) ayiladduγad qalq-a-yin yeke baγ-a noyad ber
mörgölč'in olan büküi-dür nom kiged ed aγurasun-iyar qangγan ayi-
ladju (for: ayiladču) mön tere jil[-]ün

515 T 1 zla tha mar nar pho brang du phebs te sna tshogs zhes pa chu
rta'i lo gsar sogs sngar lugs

M 1 ebül[-]ün adaγ sara ordu qarsi-daγan jalar[a]ju načuγ kemekü
usun morin jil[-]ün čaγan sara-yin ten(g)de

T 2 bzhin mdzad de sog yul du chibs kha bsgyur bzhugs (147-3) sgar
la bde bar phebs | thugs dam zab bzhes

M 2 sineleke[n] terigüten-ü urid yosuγar jokiyaju mongγol oron-daγan
kölgelen tekerijü saγurin küriyen-degen amurqan jalaraγad öber[-]ün
ayiladqu gün narin

T 3 kyi rim pa dang | spyi sger gyi sku rim sogs chos spyod bcu'i
mdzad bzang yar ngo'i zla ba ltar gong 'phel

M 3 bisilγal bütügel jerge kiged yerü-yin jisaγ-a gürim ba du[l]ayitu
čaγ čaγ-un gürim ter[i]güten arban nomun (for: nom-un) adalal-un
jokiyal sine-yin sara metü ulam degegside arbidqan

516 T 1 du mdzad | bod kyi bla chen rta tshag rje drung rin po che dang
| de mo sprul sku rnam kyis rje 'di par /phyag/ phyag dbang

M 1 ayiladbai tere učir-a töbed-ün yeke blam-a dačaγ jidüing rin-
bučei kiged demü-yin qubilγan-nuγud ber eneküü boγda-dur mörgöl
öčigsen-e

T 2 zhus | rta tshag rje drung rin po ches dga' ldan po shog thu'i
phyogs byas pa yin zhes gong mas ma mnyes pa'i

M 2 dasaγ jidüing rinbučei ber γaldan bošuγtu-yin ayimaγ-tur baγta-
γsan kemen ezen (for: ejen, JC: -eče) ber ay-a ügei düri bariju

T 3 tshul gnang ba la rje 'di pas thabs mkhas kyi sgo nas dgongs
(147-4 + pa) yangs su bcug ste phan thogs rgya chen

M 3 jarliγ baγuγsan-a eneküü boγda ber uran arγ-a-yin egüden-eče
sedkil-ün ay-a taγalal-i dasira[mda]γulju aγui yeke tusu kürgen

517 T 1 po gnang | gong ma chen pos bla ma la rje btsun dam pa las lhag
pa'i bla ma ma mthong

M 1 ayiladbai tedüi boγda ezen (for: ejen) ber yerü blam-a-nar-tur
jibjundamba qutuγtu-ača ölmei blam-a ese üje

T 2 gsung ba bdag gis lan gnyis gsum dngos su thos (there is a mark
by a pencil till here) | mi bzang rnam pa khal kha'i bzang po thams

M 2 -lüge kemen qoyar γurban üy-e ayiladqu bi[-]ber tobtai sonosluγ-a
qalq-a-yin jergeten sayin baiγši (for: baγsi, JC note: 264) bügüde

T 3 cad rje 'di pa gcig pur 'dus 'dug ces mkhyen rgya che ba'i bsnags
pa brjod | (147-6) snga sor glang lo'i

M 3 γaγ(a)ča enekü boγda-yin ači ajiγu kemen ali bükü yaγum-a-yi
masi yeke sonin kemen sayisiyaju ayiladbai arid (for: urid, JC: ired,
incorrectly) üker (JC: ügei, incorrectly) jil[-]ün segül

518 T 1 mjug tu nyin gcig cun cing teng lha khang la hung tha'i hu mjal
bar phebs skabs rje 'di pa lha khang gi rgyab

M 1 sara[-]tu nigen edür jünjing teng-ün süm-e-dür qōng tayisu mörgör-
e irekü-yin učir-a enekü boγda süm-e-yin qoyituki

T 2 kyi gong ma'i gzims chung du bzhugs pa'i phyag g.yog la gcung
chos 'phel lags dang | nged gnyis las

M 2 ezen (for: ejen)-ü jirγaqu ordun-dur aγsan-a ter[i]güten degüü
keüken noyan-lüge (for: -luγ-a, JC note 287) bide qoyar-ača busu
baraγ-a bolučün ügei

T 3 med | de skabs (148-1=74v1=BR 46b1) rje 'di pas rgyal dbang mchog gis rdo rje phreng ba'i dbang gnang skabs 'khor lo bsgyur

M 3 tere učir-a enekü boγda ber tabuduγar dalai blam-a-yin gegen-ten ber (JC: -bar) vačar erike-yin abišig örüsiyekü-yin üy-e-dür ĵir(u)γuγan čakr-a vadi-yin

519 T 1 drug gi dbang gi nyin rus rgyan thams cad bzhes shing bzhugs pa shin tu mdzes pa yod

M 1 abišig edür-tür yasun čimeg бүкүи-ben ögede boluγad bayiqu-daγan masi

T 2 pas gsungs nas rgyun ring po'i bar bshums rang bshums (148-2) par rje btsun mas kyang ma bshums spyang spos yang

M 2 sayiqan čai adaγ (?) (JC: qadaγ) bile-e lun (?) (JC: bila-a) kemen ayiladduγad ünün (?) egüride qayilan qayilaγsan keüken noyan ber büü qayilan nidün-ü gegen ču

T 3 yang (148-2 missing) zhus kyang bshums 'phro ma chad | de skabs bdag gis kyang rje nyid 'brom ston pa ltar rang gi yon

M 3 qabudmui basu basu quriĵu (for: qariĵu) ayiladqabaču ese ĵoγsun qayilaγsan-a tere učir-a bi[-]ber ču mön kü ene boγda burumdun ba metü erdem-iyen

520 T 1 tan spas (148-2: sbas, correctly) pa gnang gi 'dug zhus pa 'di yin mod | bdag la ni blo (148-2: bla, correctly) ma dran nas du mi dgos (148-3) dran rgyu yang

M 1 niγun ayiladdan (for: ayiladdun) aĵiγu kemen urid öčigsen minu ene mön amui nadur inu blam-a-yi sanaĵu ukilaqu bayituγai dur[a]dqu ču

T 2 nyin skar lta bu 'dug ces zhus | snga sor rgyal dbang mchog gis rje kun dga' snying po la mi mnyes pa'i

M 2 ken yaγan aĵiγu kemen sedkeged (for: sedkiged) erte-dü tabuduγar dalai blam-a-bar boγda güngga ningbuu-dur γomudan ayiladduγsan

T 3 gsung rnam thar la brgyag pa gnang ba dang | rtag brtan gyi
dngul gdung bshig pa sogs la brten tshul

M 3 -iyan čiding (for: čadig)-tur talbiγsan ayiladduγsan kiged taγdan-
un mönggün suburγ-a ebdegsen ter[i]güten-dür šitüjü

521 T 1 bstan la cung thugs mi mnyes pa yod shas kha snyam pa'i log rtog
mun khung ngu nyi ma shar ba ltar

M 1 ünen uγ-taγan baqan sedkel (for: sedkil)-tegen (for: -degen)
yaγum-a sanaju ayiladduγči bui j-a kemen sedkegsen (for: sedkigsen)
buruγu adqaγ minu qarangγui nüken-dür naran

T 2 bsal nas dngos su zhu ma nus kyang 'gyod pa skyes te snying thag
pa nas bshags pa phul | rgyun du <rjes> gnang gi rigs

M 2 man(g)daγsan metü arilaju ilede ayiladqan ese čidabaču gemsil
töröjü ünen kü jirüken-eče naman(g)čilan ergübei yerü kejiyede jinang-
un jüil

T 3 'ga' ma gtogs dbang chen gyi rigs bsnyen pa ma (148-5) song
gsungs nas gtan nas mi gnang | de yang bsnyen

M 3 nige kedü (for: kedün)-eče busu yeke abiši(n)g-un jüil-i nin(g)ba
kigsen ügei kemen ayiladqaju ton[g] ülü örüsiyejü tere ču nin(g)ba

522 T 1 sogs dag par ma byas par | dkyil 'khor las la 'jug pa dang | zhes
pa'i don dang mthun par gnang ba dang |

M 1 ter[i]güten-iyer ariγudqan üleddül ügegüi-e qot[-]un man(g)dal-
un üile-dür oroqui ba kemen nomlaγsan udq-a-lüge (for: -luγ-a) joki-
ldun ayiladduγsan kiged

T 2 lhag par mkhas grub thams cad mkhyen pas | bla ma cho ga rgyud
don mi (148-6) shes shing |(148-6 + |) dam tshig sdom la mi gnas

M 2 ilangγui-a qayidub tamjid činba-bar blam-a bar abisi(n)g-un jang
üilen-ü ün(g)düsün-ü udq-a ülü medeged tangγariγ san(g)var-taγan
ülü oručin

T 3 rnal 'byor bral | | bsnyen sogs ma dag gang byung lag len gyis | |
slob ma rjes 'dzin dbang gi gzugs

M 3 burqan-u yoḡa-a-ača tasiruḡu (for: tasuraḡu, JC note 295) nin(g)ba ter[i]ḡüten-iyer ese ariḡu[d]qaḡad alin tusiyaquyiča (for: tusiyaqui-ača) ḡang üilebei sabinar-i daḡan bariḡči anu abiši(n)g-un dürmeg buyu

523 T 1 bsnyan (148-6 = 74b6: brnyan, correct) yin ces dang | | mo dang rtsis lung sman pa'i ngag nyan nas | | dam tshig sdom pa

M 1 kemegsen kiged töl(e)gečün ḡiruqayičün-u bosiy (for: bošuḡ) ba emčiner-ün ügen-dür oruḡu öberün tangḡaraḡ (for: tangḡariḡ) sanvar-iyān tebčigči

T 2 spangs (149-1=75r1=BR 47a1) pa'i slob ma la | | brgya phrag dbang bskur 'bul ba'i brje tshod (149-1 tshong, correctly) can | | dmyal ba'i sgrub thabs dbang

M 2 sibānar (for: šabīnar)-tur ḡaḡun toḡatu abisig-i öḡbečü olčan (for: olḡan)-u arilḡiy-a qudulduḡči (for: qudaldūḡči) abisi(n)g-un dūritü tere minu tamu-yi

T 3 gi gzugs brnyan yin | | (149-1 | missing) ces gsungs pa ltar bdag lta bus dbang gi ming btags pa'i gang (149-1 = 75a1: ḡing, for: gang) byung mang

M 3 bütügekü-yin arḡ-a buyu kemen nomlaḡsan-dur adali bi metü[-]ber abisi(n)g-un nere öḡčü ali boluḡsaḡar

524 T 1 byung byed mkhan dag(g) (149-1: dagg, for: dag) pa'i (149-2: ba'i) phyir don gyis mdzad pa yin 'dra zhing | gzhan yang rje btsun 'jam dbyangs

M 1 tusiyaqui-ača üleddüḡčün idqa(a)qu-yin tula tusalan üiledkü-yin ḡokiyal mön bolultai busu basa ḡetülgečči man(g)ḡuširi ber

T 2 kyis rje btsun tsong kha pa chen po la dbang bka'i rigs ma byed | gzhan du tshe thung bar 'gyur zhing | dngos

M 2 boḡda čöḡḡkaba-dur ta ber abisig-un ḡüil-üd (? not clear) büü talabai (for: tulabai) (or: kelebei ?) kerbe an(g)dal bolbasu nasun aḡur boluḡad sidei (for: sidi)

- T 3 grub las ring bar 'gyur ba dang | bstan pa la phan thog (149-3):
thogs) chung ngu 'gro gsungs pas | zhal bzhugs
- M 3 qoladaqui ba šačín (for: saĵin)-dur tusa kürgeküi inu yaliča (for:
yaliĵ-a) ügei bolun od[u]mui kemen ayiladduγsan-iyar tungγalaγ ögede
- 525 T 1 dus su rjes gnang re tsam ma gtogs | dbang bskur gtan mi mdzad
pa'i rgyu mtshan de
- M 1 bolĵu bayiqu čaγ-taγan busud-tur ĵinang ĵarim nigen-eče busu
abisig yerü orosiyal (for: örösiyel) ese qayiralaγsan siltaγan
- T 2 yin gsung zhes bla ma rtogs ldan pas mdzad pa'i rje'i rnam thar
zur 'debs las gsungs pa (149-4) ltar
- M 2 inu teyimü buyu kemen blam-a duγdanba boγda zōngkaba-yin
namtar sürdeb-eče nomlaγsan metü daγaγaĵu
- T 3 dgongs <pa> yin shes la (149-4: kha) | rtogs ldan pas de ltar
gsungs pa ltar rjes gnang dang dbang bka'i rigs
- M 3 ayiladduγsan sanaγsan (JC aγsan) bolultai duγdanba-yin tere
metü nomlaγsan yosuγar ĵinang kiged abisig-un ĵüil soyurqaγdaγ (JC:
soyurqaγad) ügei
- 526 T 1 gnang gi med tsho gsang 'dus kyi dbang brgyud (149-4 + dang)
rjes gnang 'ga'i brgyud pa la rje tsong kha pa <'dren pa> gang yin
dpyad
- M 1 ügei bolγaqul-a sangdüi-yin abišig ün(g)düsün kiged ĵinang-un
ün(g)düsün-dür boγda zōngkaba-yi toγulan (for: toγalun) čeneγsen
inu yaγu bui sin(g)ĵilen
- T 2 par bya ba'i gnas (149-5) su 'dug go (mark by a pencil) | rje 'di
la byams snying rje byang chub kyi sems dpag tu med pa mnga'
- M 2 neyiledkü-yin oron aĵiγu basu ene boγda-dur asaraqū nigüleskü
sedkel (for: sedkil) inu čaγlaši ügei bui
- T 3 ste | phyogs phyogs kyi mu lto ba'i rigs mang skabs stong phrag
tsam | nyung mtha' yang lnga brgya

M 3 qamuγ γaǰar γaǰar[-]un soqur doγulang γuyilangči (for: γuyilingči)
 čaγač'in-u jüül olan üy-e-degen mingγad-un tedüi kedüi čögedküi-degen
 tabun jaγuγad-un

527 T 1 tsam la dus rgyun du dbyar dgun gyi gon pa dang bza' btung
 rgyun mi (149-6 = 75a6) 'chad par gnang nang (149-6: nas) gsos

M 1 tedüi-dür čaγ ürgülji-de ebül jun-u qubčad ba idegen umdaγan-i
 ürgülji tasural ügegüy-e soyurqaǰu teǰigen ayiladduγsaγar

T 2 par mdzad | bya byed gang la yang bla ma dkon mchog rang la
 blo gtod de rnam kiyis bslus mi yod zhes bdag

M 2 amui yambar ba üile üiledbečü blam-a γurban erdeni-dür oyun
 sedkel (for: sedkil)-iyen daγadqabasu tede bükün ber umdaγ-a ügei
 busu kemen nadur

T 3 la yang yang gsungs | glang lor zhabs brtan brtan bzhugs phul
 skabs yang snga sor zhus pa'i rnam

M 3 dakin dakin ayiladduγsan aǰuγu ten(g)deče üker jil-dür (JC: -dur)
 batudqaqu-yin dan(g)šuγ ergükü-yin üy-e-dür basu erten-ü ayiladqa-
 γsan čiding (for: čadig)-iyan

528 T 1 thar gyi (150-1=75v1=BR 47v1) zhabs bskul zhus par | nga la bla
 ma gong ma <rnam kyi> rnam thar lta bu'i rnam thar bzang po ni
 med | 'on kyang

M 1 eyin (JC: -iyan) sanaγulǰu ayiladqaγsan-a nadur degedü blam-a
 narun čiding (for: čadig) metü sayin čiding (for: čadig) inu ügei bui
 j-a bolbaču

T 2 bla ma dam pa rnam las chos kyi bka' drin zhus pa sogs kyi sa
 bon tsam zhig ster ro khyod kiyis sgro btags

M 2 degedü blam-a-nar-nuγud-ača : nomun ač(a)i öčigsen ter(i)güten
 tobči tedüiken nigen-i ögsügei : či ber orbuyilǰaǰu (for: urbaγulǰaǰu
 ?) ketürkei-e (for: ketürküi-e, JC: ketüreküy-e)

T 3 kyi bstod rang (150-1: ra) bzhin (150-2) ma byed ces bka' phebs
| zad pa (150-2: pha |) zhes pa me stag nas da bar du rnam thar gsol
ba btab

M 3 büü maḡtaḡtun kemen üiledjü ḡarlıḡ baḡubai sadba kemekü ḡal
bar(a)s (JC; note 310) ḡilün-eče (JC: -ača) edüḡe kür(i)tüle čidig (for:
čadig)-iyan ayiladqaḡu soyurqamui

529 T 1 kyang thugs brel kyis gnang long med pa'am | bdag skal ba dang
mi ldan pa yin nam | dus la ma

M 1 yaḡar[a]ču (for: yaḡaraḡu) ayiladduḡ saḡar toḡ-a čilüḡe ese bol-
baqu (for: bolbasu?) nige (?) bi qubi-lüḡe (for: -luḡ-a) ese tegüsüḡsen
bolbaqu (for: bolbasu?) nige (?) čaḡ-taḡan

T 2 babs pa gang yin kyang gnang ma byung | (150-2: + |) (150-3)
sku gsung thugs kyi rten mang du bzhengs shing | de dag la dus rtag

M 2 güürüḡdüḡe (?) aḡsan bolbaqu (for: bolbasu?) alin-i bolbaču ese
soyurqabai basu (for: basa) ene boḡda ber bey-e ḡarlıḡ sedkel (for:
sedkil)-ün šitüḡen olan(g)ta bütüḡeḡjü tedeger-i čaḡ nasun

T 3 tu mchod pa rgyun mi 'chad gnang ba dang | lhag par gzims gur
bar ma la nyin re bzhin mchod pa rnam

M 3 ürgüljide dakin (JC: degen) ayiladqaqui ba ilangḡui-a dumdadu
ordon-dur edür tutum doloḡan ḡaḡun

530 T 1 pa bdun brgya tshar re bshams shing phul ba sogs dkon mchog
(150-4) mchod pa la gtso bor mdzad pa ni dge pa'i bshes

M 1 beledkel ergüküi-degen ḡurban erdeni-yin takil-dur erkilen (for:
ekilen) üileddüḡči anu buyan : :

T 2 gnyen phu chung ba (150-4: pa) dang 'dra | ri bo dge rgyas gling
gtsug lag khang rten lha sku dang bcas pa dang | gzhan yang

M 2 sadun büčüngbe-lüḡe adali buyu ribugeḡjei ling-un keyid süm-e
burqan šitüḡen-lüḡe selte ba busu basu (for: basa)

T 3 rgyal ba rdo rje 'chang sogs bris 'bur gyi sku 'dra mang po dang
| bka 'gyur tshar (150-5) gnyis gsum dang dngul

M 3 ilaγuγsan vačir dar-a ter[i]güten körüg saγumal burqad masi olan kiged qoyar qoyar γurba-yin (for: γurban-u) tedüi kiged

531 T 1 gdung mchod rten brgyad sogs rten gsum bzhengs pa la brtson par mdzad pa ni dge pa'i bshes

M 1 naiman mönggün suburγ-a ter[i]güten γurban šitügen : yeke kišiyel-iyer (for: kičiyel-iyer, JC note 313) bütügen ayiladduγsan anu buyan-u sadun sbyan (JC: sabin)

T 2 gnyen spyan snga ba dang mtshungs | dbus gtsang gi dge 'dun gyi sde dang | dus bde skabs grwa tshang gnyis

M 2 -neg-lüge adali buyu basa baraγun tegeki (for: tege) keyid süm-e-yin quvaraγ-un ayimaγ ba erten-ü (JC: -u) engke čaγ-un üy-e-dür qoyar

T 3 la grwa pa stong phrag gnyis lhag tsam dang ding sang grwa pa (150-6) stong phrag la nye bar dus rgyun du zhabs tog mdzad pa

M 3 dačang-dur (JC: -tur) quvaraγ inu qoyar mingγ-a γarun kiged čaγ edüge-deki mingγ-a siqaγu quvaraγ-tur čaγ ergüljide ergül kün(g)dülel üingčiyeljü (for: üilečilejü, JC note 316)

532 T 1 lhur bzhes (150-6: bzhengs, incorrectly) ni dge ba'i bshes gnyen po to ba'i rnam thar gyi rjes su bsnyegs par mdzad | mdo sngags kyi

M 1 ayiladduγči inu buyan-u saduva buduba-yin qaulai (for: qauli) jirum-i daγaγu ayiladduγsan bayidal-tai busu ene boγda

T 2 gzhung lugs dang bzo gso rtsis (151-1=76a1=BR 48a1) sogs tha snyad kyi rig gnas rnams la mkhyen pa mkha' ltar yangs

M 2 ber sudur darani-yin qamuγ γoul yosun kiged urulaqai (for: uralaqui) ba em jiruqai ter[i]güten inaγungki-yin uquγan (for: uqaγan) oron qamuγar-tur ayiladču inu oγturγai (for: oγtarγui) metü aγuu

T 3 pas mkhas pa'i yang rtser son | | (151-1=76r1=BR 48a1 : | missing) sdom pa gsum la bcas rang gi dri mas ma gos pas btsun pa'i

M 3 -bar mergen-ü toyin-dur kürügsen γurban san(a)var-taγan kkir-selte ber ese bol(t)uγsan tula ariγun-u degedü

533 T 1 mchog tu gyur | ris med kyi 'gro ba rnams <la> (151-2) thugs rje'i (151-2: rje) chen po'i gter du gyur bas bzang po'i (151-2: ba'i)

M 1 manglai boluγsan ba . alaγ(a)čilan ügegüi-e amitan бүкүн : yeke nigülesküi-yin kü sang-dur boluγsan tula sayin-u

T 2 mthar thug tu gyur pa dang | rgyal ba yab sras sogs yongs 'dzin mkhas pa rnams las dam pa'i chos du ma gsan

M 2 ečüs-tür kürküi boluγsan kiged basu ene boγda ber boγda dalai blam-a ter[i]güten mergen baγsi[-]nar бүкүи-еče boγdas-un nom[-]un olan nigen : sonosun ayiladduγad

T 3 cing sde snod la thos bsam dpyis phyin par gnas pa klog pa thos bsam dang (151-3) dus rgyun par tho rangs snga mo nas nyi phyed

M 3 ayimaγ saba-yi sonosqu sanaqu-yin toyin-dur күртелен орушін sudur ayiladqaqu kiged sonosqu sanaqu ba čaγ ürgüljide erte manaγar üür-eče ekilejü üde

534 T 1 yol yol dang rgongs mo mi mang la mjal kha gnang nas gzims chud spug (for: sbug) tu phebs nas kyang thugs dam zab

M 1 önggeren önggertel-e ayiladduγad olan бүкүи mörgölčün-i oroi örgölküd (for: mörgölküd ?, JC note 319) ayiladju (for: ayiladču) jirγaqu ünten (for: untan, JC note 320)-daγan jalar[a]ju gün narin bišilγal бүтүгел-дүр

T 2 bzhes la brtson par mdzad pa spong ba bsam gtan (151-3: bstan, incorrectly) dang | bstan 'gro'i rnam dkar kyi mdzad (151-4) bzang rgya mtsho'i

M 2 čingdalan ayiladduγči anu dayan-u (for: diyan-u) samadi bišilγal ayiladqui ba tobčilabasu šajin amitan-u asuru čaγan sayin ugiyal-u dalai-yin

T 3 rlabs bzhin yol med du lhun grub rgyun mi 'chad du 'phel bar mdzad pa bya ba las kyi 'khor lo ste 'khor lo

M 3 dabalγ-a metü kelbeilgel (for: kelberil) ügegüi-e jöng[-]degen

bütüged ürgüljiden tasural ügei arbidqaqu-yin jokiyal üleddügsen üiles[-]ün kürdü (JC: kürtü)-lüge

535 T 1 gsum gyi sgo nas kyang byang phyogs kyi bstan pa rin po che nyin byed dbang po stong gi gzi 'phrog pa

M 1 γurban kürden (for: kürdün, JC: kürten)-ü egüden-eče umar-a jüg-ün sačin (for: šašin) erdeni-yi mingγan naran-u sür gerel-i bul[i]-yaγsan metü

T 2 bzhin ches cher gsal bar mdzad (151-5) do | | sku gong ma'i bag chags sad pas sku na phra me (for: mo) nas a tsa ra'i skad

M 2 neng yekede geyigülün jokiyabai : degedü degedü töröl-ün ab[i]yas-un serigsen-iyer nasun següder qara bičaqañ (for: bičiqañ)-ečegen (for: -ačaγan) azara-yin kele kiged

T 3 dang | bod skad 'gran zla dang bral bar mkhyen | a tsa ra'i skad bdag gis mi shes kyang bod skad ni bod pa'i mi las

M 3 kiged töbed kelen-ü čü jügüürleši (for: jüürlesi) ügei ayiladqu büged azara-yin kelen-yi (for: -i) bi[-]ber ese medebečü töbed kele ayiladqu töbed kümün-eče

536 T 1 kyang lhag pa'i phra zhing phra ba thams cad mkhyen pa ltar na a tsa (151-6) ra'i skad kyang de ltar mkhyen pa yin yod | legs

M 1 ču (JC: čü) ülemji neng narin neyite-yi ayiladqui-bar bolal-a (for: boltal-a?) azara kelen-yi (for: kelen-i) ču (JC: čü) bolba tere metü ayiladdun bolultai sayin

T 2 bshad ljags rtsom ni gsum (151-6: gong, correctly) du bshad pa ltar sku yon gyi rigs mi mngon par sbas pa ma gtogs ljags

M 2 nomlal-i tuγurbin ayiladqu inu urid nomlaγsan metü erdem-ün jüül ülü iledekei niγuqui-ača busu alin

T 3 rtsom gang gñang thams cad ni tshig don 'byor pa shin tu legs pa 'dug na'ang bka' las bla ma (152-1=76v1=BR 48b1) gong ma

M 3 nomlal-i tuḡurbin ayiladduḡsan бүкүү inu üge udq-a-u (for: -yin, korea note 321) učaral masi sayıqan abasu ču (JC: čü) ĵarliḡ degedü blam-a narun sayin ĵarliḡ

537 T 1 rnams kyi legs bshad mang po yod bzhin du nged chos byas pa la dgos pa ci yod gsungs nas

M 1 nomlal olan bui bügetele bide nom ĵokiyaqu kereg yaḡun (JC: ĵaḡun) bui kemen ayiladqaju

T 2 ljags rtsom la thugs 'dod ye mi gnang | 'on kyang dad ldan rnams kyis nan gyis zhus par gnang ba'i

M 2 nomlal ĵokiyal-dur ĵoriḡlan tösčü ton[g] ülü üyiledqu (for: üyiledkü) amui bolbaču ĵarim nigen süsügten ber yeke simdal-iyar öčigsen-dür

T 3 rim pa la | rgyal ba tsong kha pa la brten (152-2) pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor dbu mdzad chos rjes zhus pa | slob dpon

M 3 soyurqaḡsan ĵerge inu ilaḡuḡsan zôngkaba-dur šitügsen blam-a-yin ĵurba umčad čös rĵi ber öčigsen ba lubbun

538 T 1 shrī ye thu sangs rgyas bkra shis <kyis> zhus pa'i skyer skad (152-2: sgang, correctly) pa las brgyud pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor rgyas pa (152-2: gyis pa, incorrectly) | rje nyid

M 1 sireyetü (for: siregetü) sangĵai taši ber öčigsen ĵirḡan ba-ača ündüsüleksen blam-a-yin yoga delgeyienggüi (for: delgerenggüi) kiged boḡda-yin

T 2 kyi 'khrungs rabs gsol 'debs phun tshogs sku gsum ma sogs (152-3) 'og nas bshad pa ltar te mang du mchis |

M 2 öber[-]ün töröl üyes-ün ĵalbaral pünčöḡ güčüm ma ter[i]güten qoyin-a nomlaḡsan metü olan bui :

T 3 sras slob kyi rim pa ni | rje nyid kyi dbu blar pa'i dge ldan khri rin po che sangs rgyas rin chen gyi sku skye bya

M 3 ür-e šibinar[-]un ĵerge inu boḡda-yin öber[-]ün ter[i]gün blam-a-geden(g) tiba rinbučei sangĵi rin(g)čin-u qubilḡan ayul-un

- 539 T 1 yul mkhan po shar khang no mon khāng | bkra shis lhun po'i grwa
pa mer ken no mon khāng | yang de'i
M 1 qambu šarqang nom[-]un qaγan dasilhünbu-yin sabai mergen
nom[-]un qaγan basu
T 2 sku (152-4) nye no mon khāng sku gzhon pa | 'phags pa'i gnas
brtan yan lag 'byung sogs rgya bod kyi mkhas grub
M 2 tegünü qubilγan nom[-]un qaγan güšun(g)ba qutuγtu aγui (for:
aγuu) šitügen-ü yanglaγ jüüŋ ter[i]güten enedkeg töbed-ün mergen
T 3 mang par (152-4: por) sku skye ba bzhes pa stong 'khor zhabs
drung 'jam dpal bzang po | khu ston gyi rnam sprul khri rin po
M 3 siditen-dür töröl abun ayiladduğsan dongqor sabdün jımbal sang-
puu kü baγsi-yin qubilγan erdeni
- 540 T 1 che rgyal khang rtsa ba dpal 'byor rgya mtsho'i (152-5) sku skye
blo bzang bstan 'dzin | grub chen legs tshogs lhun grub
M 1 šir[e]getü jilkangzaba baļjur jımsu-yin qubilγan lubsang ten(g)zin
yeke sidütü legčuγ lhündüb-ün
T 2 kyi sku skye rin po che mkhan po no mon khāng | snga sor khal
kha o'i rod thams cad la slob dpon a bh[a]ya ka
M 2 qubilγan er(i)deni qambu nomun qaγan erten qalq-a oyirad bükün-
dür abh[a]y-a kiri baγši-yin
T 3 ra'i lugs kyi rdo rje phreng ba'i dbang gnang ba'i rdo rje 'chang
zhabs drung gi sku skye o chir ta ra (152-6) khu thug thu | dkyil khang
M 3 yosun-u vačir erkei-yin abisiğ soyurqaγsan vačir dar-a saba dung-
yin qubilγan očir dar-a qutuγtu jılqan
- 541 T 1 slob dpon pa rje zhal snga nas sangs rgyas dpal bzang gi sku skye
er te ni no yon khu thog (152-6: thug, correctly) thu |
M 1 lubbun ba boγda-yin gegen sangčai balsang qan qubilγan erdeni
noyan qutuγtu

T 2 rje zhal snga nas sangs rgyas bzang po'i sku skye ta la'i manydzushrī khu thug thu | dge ldan khri rin po che ljang

M 2 boḡda-yin gegen sangčai sangbu-yin qubilḡan dalai manzusiri qutuḡtu geden(g) tiba rinbači jangramba-yin

T 3 ram pa'i sku skye blo bzang khu thug thu | (152-6 + |) (153-1=77r1=BR 49a1) bla ma zhang gi khrir phebs pa'i i la kug sang chos rje'i sku skye |

M 3 qubilḡan lubsang qutuḡtu šang blam-a-yin siregen-dür jalḡaḡsan ilaḡuḡsan čös rji-yin qubilḡan

542 T 1 zhal snga nas tshul khirms chos 'phel ba'i sku skye dga' ldan khu thug thu | shar rtse zhal snga nas dpal

M 1 čültim čuyipel-yin (for: -un) gegen-ü qubilḡan ḡa[n]dan qutuḡtu šarzi-yin gegen baljur

T 2 'byor dbang po'i sku skye shar rtse khu thug thu | dga' ldan byang rtsi'i bla ma (153-2) chos skyong rgya mtsho'i

M 2 vangbu-yin qubilḡan šarzi qutuḡ tu ḡa[n]dan jang zi-yin blam čoyi čin jamču-yin qubilḡan

T 3 sku skye er te ni e la kug sang khu thug thu | ser byes pa zhal snga nas byams pa smon lam gyi sku skye

M 3 erdeni il[a]ḡuḡsan qutuḡ-tu serjei ba-yin gegen jimba mun(g)lam-un qubilḡan

543 T 1 paḡdi ta no mon khāḡ | 'bras spungs sgo mang bla ma'i (153-2: ma'i bla, incorrectly) sku skye i la kugs sang khu thug thu | sprul

M 1 ban(g)dida nom[-]un qaḡan barayibüḡ ḡoma-yin blam-a-yin qubilḡan ilaḡuḡsan qutuḡ-tu būrilgüü

T 2 sku bsod nams ye shes dbang (153-3) po'i sku skye na rang khu thug thu | zhal snga nas chos gnyer grags pa'i sku skye

M 2 sodnam yeši vangbu-yin qubilḡan naran qutuḡtu čuyiner daḡba-yin qubilḡan-u

T 3 she re' thu khu thug thu | pu thug sen khu thug thu | gangs can
mkhan po'i sku skye | mer gen (153-3 ken) no mon khāng (153-3 khan)
M 3 gegen sir[e]getü qutuḡtu bütügsen qutuḡtu ḡangġin qambu-yin
qubilḡan mergen nom[-]un qaḡan

544 T 1 gi sku skye rab brtan | 'jigs med rdo rje tā la'i khu thug thu | bde
thang paṇḍi ta (153-4) khu thug thu | u'i tsen

M 1 qubilḡan rabdan ġigmed dorġei dalai qutuḡtu de tang bandida
qutuḡtu üiġing

T 2 no yon gyi sku skye | mkhar sngon gnas bcu tho yon gyi sku skye
| thos bsam gling zhal snga nas legs bshad

M 2 noyon-u qubilḡan kōke qota-yin ḡnabčü toyin-u qubilḡan toyisam
ling-un gegen legsadan

T 3 dpal ldan pa'i sku skye mer ken chos rje | rgyas pa zhabs drung
gi sku skye i la kug sang | slob dpon pa

M 3 baldan-yin (for: -u) qubilḡan mergen čoyiġi ġayiba šabdüd-yin
(for: -un) qubilḡan ilaḡuḡsan lubbun

545 T 1 she (153-4: shi) re (153-4: ri) ke' thu sangs rgyas bkra shis | 'dar
pa'i gzhi dgon gyi bla ma paṇḍi ta chos rje |

M 1 sir[e]getü sangġai daši dar ba-yin saḡurin keyid-ün blam-a ban(g)-
dida čos rġi

T 2 mer ken paṇḍi ta rab byams pa sogs slob ma'i gtso bo rnamdang
| gzhan yang bla (153-5 + ma) che chung mang

M 2 mergen ban(g)dida rabġamba ter[i]ġüten sabinarun (for: šabinar-
un) erken ed bükün kiged busu basu yeke baḡ-a blam-a-nar üile ba

T 3 po dang | khal kha'i rgyal po gsum gyis gtsos pa'i dpon che chung
sogs : : skya ser

M 3 qalq-a-yin ḡurban qaḡan ber erkilen yeke baḡ-a ter[i]ġüten qara

546 T 1 (153-6) mchog dman rnamdang | ngos cag sogs chos kyi bdun
rtsi thob pa'i

M 1 quvaraḡ degedü do[u]r[a]du olan büküi kiged ba bürün ter[i]güten
nom-un arsiyan-i kürtegsen

T 2 slob mar gyur pa bgrang ba las : 'das shing : brjod kyis mi lang

M 2 šabinar toḡ-a-ača ketürged ügüleḡü güičeši ügei bui

T 3 de ltar byang phyogs kyi bstan pa dang : 'gro ba'i don : rgya
mtsho'i gos can

M 3 tere metü umar-a jüg-ün šajın amitan-u tusa aḡui yeke bükü
del[e]kei-yin

547 T 1 gyi mtha'ang khyab par mdzad pa'i : : 'phrin las (154-1=77v1=
BR 49b1) gong 'phel du

M 1 kiḡaḡar tügemel ḡokiyal üiles-iyen arbidqaqu-yin tul[a]da

T 2 zhabs pad rdo rje ltar : : : mi 'gyur ba'i : : rang bzhin du

M 2 ölmei-yin lingqu-a-ban vačir metü urbalta ügei-yin öberčilen-dür

T 3 byin gyis brlabs te : : brtan par bzhugs bzhin pa : : lags shing

M 3 adislaḡu batuda orusiḡsaḡar mön büged

548 T 1 da dung yang bdag : : : sogs gdul bya'i

M 1 edüge ču (JC: čü) bi ter[i]güten nomuqadqaqui amitan-u

T 2 mgon skyabs dang : : dpung gnyen : dam par

M 2 degedü itegel abural kiged ömüg

T 3 bskal brgya'i bar du zhabs : pad : brtan (154-2=77v2=BR 49b2)
par : gsol ba 'debs so || (up to p. 548-3 the Tibeto-Mongolian
manuscript follows xylograph editions of Zanabazar's biography in
the Tibetan language)

(The Colophon added to the Tibeto-Mongolian manuscript, extant in the xylograph editions)

549 T 1 zhes pa 'di ni dza ya paṇḍi ta blo bzang 'phrin las dpal bzang po'i
gsan yig gi nang du rje btsun

M 1 kemekü ene inu ĵay-a bandida sumadi karm-a sarai badar-a-yin
sonosuᳵsan bičig-ün dotora degedü

T 2 dam pa blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i 'khrungs
rabs bco lnga'i rnam thar gsung 'dug pa las

M 2 getülgeḡči sumadi šačin (for: šajin)-u duv[a]za sarai badar-a-
yin arban tabun töröl-ün čadig nomlaᳵsan büküi-eče ügečüyilen (for:
ügečilen)

T 3 zur du blangs te bris pa'o | |

M 3 abuᳵju (for: abču) bičibei ::

5.2 Concordance of the Xylograph Editions

The biography of Zanabazar appears in Zaya Pandita's "Collected Works" (*gsung 'bum*) in Lokesh Chandra's edition 1981: 124-154 (abbreviated LC); Beijing original xylograph, vol. *nga*, ff. 62v6-77v2 (Be.); Byambaa Ragchaa's edition 2012, ff. 34b6-49b3 (BR).

LC	=	Be.	=	BR	LC	=	Be.	=	BR
124	=	62v	=	34b	140	=	70v	=	42b
125	=	63r	=	35a	141	=	71r	=	43a
126	=	63v	=	35b	142	=	71v	=	43b
127	=	64r	=	36a	143	=	72r	=	44a
128	=	64v	=	36b	144	=	72v	=	44b
129	=	65r	=	37a	145	=	73r	=	45a
130	=	65v	=	37b	146	=	73v	=	45b
131	=	66r	=	38a	147	=	74r	=	46a
132	=	66v	=	38b	148	=	74v	=	46b
133	=	67r	=	39a	149	=	75r	=	47a
134	=	67v	=	39b	150	=	75v	=	47b
135	=	68r	=	40a	151	=	76r	=	48a
136	=	68v	=	40b	152	=	76v	=	48b
137	=	69r	=	41a	153	=	77r	=	49a
138	=	69v	=	41b	154	=	77v	=	49b
139	=	70r	=	42a					

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THL Extended Wylie Transliteration Scheme
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Part III

Appendix

Chapter 6

Facsimile of the Tibeto-Mongolian Manuscript

Chapter 7

Facsimile of the Tibetan Xylograph

Chapter 8

Photographs