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**Mongolian Golden Kanjur Fragments
in the Collection of the IOM, RAS***

Abstract: The collection of the IOM, RAS contains a number of odd folios from the Mongolian Kanjur, the history of whose entry into the collection is unknown. The text is written in golden ink on blue paper. Handwriting and orthography are characteristic of the first half of the 17th c. Appearance and ductus reveal a striking similarity to the *Golden Kanjur* of Ligdan Khan kept in Hohhot. In the article the folios from IOM, RAS are compared with the *Golden Kanjur*. An attempt to trace back the history of these manuscript fragments leads to the conclusion that they could be among the first Mongolian manuscripts brought to St. Petersburg at the time of Peter the Great.

Key words: Ablai Keyid, Kanjur, “golden” manuscripts, codicology, manuscript collection of IOM, RAS

The study of the genesis of the Kanjur (Mong. Ganjur), the Mongolian translation of the Word of Buddha (Skr. *buddhavadāna*), is one of the key problems of modern Mongolian studies. Despite long-established interest in the problem, our vision of Buddhist canonical literature in Mongolia is far from complete, and new data in this field of study necessitate not so much a correction as a reconsideration of the whole picture.¹

The process of the Mongols’ reception of the *buddhavadāna* started as early as the 13th–14th cc. under the Yuan dynasty.² After the fall of the dynasty in 1368, translation activities among the Mongols declined for almost two centuries, recommencing with renewed vigour under Altan Khan (1508–

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* The authors acknowledge Saint-Petersburg State University for a research grant 2.38.311.2014.

¹ On the latest research in this field see: ALEKSEEV 2013; ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013; GCCA; YAMPOLSKAYA 2013.

² On the translation of Buddhist works into Mongolian under the Yuan dynasty see, for example, COYIJ, 2003.

1582). According to his biography, the “Jewel Translucent Sūtra” (Mong. *Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur*), written sometime after 1607, and the colophon of the *Daśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, translated into Mongolian by Siregetü Güsi Corji (late 16th – early 17th cc.),³ the work of compiling the entire Kanjur was completed under Altan's grandson Namudai Secen Khan (1586–1607).⁴ Unfortunately, not a single folio of this redaction has survived to the present day. The next manuscript edition of the Kanjur was produced under Ligdan Khan (r. 1592–1634) in the years 1628–29. Today it is well established that Ligdan Khan's redaction committee made extensive use of the earlier translations, changing their colophons in favour of their patron.⁵ The final product of this translation and editorial work was a special manuscript written in gold on a blue background. Subsequently it was named the ‘Altan’, i.e. ‘Golden’, Kanjur.

In modern Mongolian studies it has been taken for granted that the Golden Kanjur was written in a single copy. However, the Mongolian historiographical tradition does not comment on the exact number of ‘golden’ copies. Thus, for example, the Mongolian chronicle called the “Thousand Spoke Golden Wheel” (Mong. *Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü*)⁶ states that “...the Kanjur was translated into Mongolian and written in gold”.⁷ Another Mongolian work, the “Golden Rosary” (Mong. *Altan erike*), reports: “It is marvellous that having written golden and silver letters that are like the Sun and the Moon on the sky of paper that is like blue turquoise they illuminated the darkness of ignorance of the sentient beings”.⁸ Later on this collection be-

³ On Güsi Corji see BIRA 1978, 72; VLADIMIRTSOV 1927, 217–232; TSERENSODNOM 1997, 108–114; ALTANORGIL 1982, 76, 98; BAREJA-STARZYNSKA 2006, 22–28; COYILI 1985; COYILI 1988; ELVERSKOG 2003, 203–204; KARA 1983.

⁴ ELVERSKOG 2003, 210–211; KAS'IANENKO 1993, No. 545(1); KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, 156–159; TUYAҒ-A, 2008, 274–278.

⁵ VLADIMIRTSOV 2003, 113; HEISSIG 1957; 1962, 5–42; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, 151.

⁶ In transcription of Mongolian text ‘c’ and ‘j’ are given without diacritic. The following symbols are used for the Galik letters and editorial marks: <...> — glosses and interpolations, {...} — eliminations and corrections of the text, a — ʿ, d* — ʿ, d — ʿ, d — ʿ, e — ʿ, g — ʿ, j — ʿ, k — ʿ, m — ʿ, o — ʿ, t — ʿ, y — ʿ, z — ʿ.

⁷ baka-a ‘agyur-i mongyol kelen-e orciyulun altan-iyar bicibei: DHARM-A, 1987, 148.

⁸ köke bidura metü cayasun-u oytaryui-dur naran saran metü altan mönggön üsügüd-i orosiylun qubitan amitan-u mungqay-un qarangyui-yi geyigülün jokiyaysan yeke yayiqamsiy: NA-TA 1989, 114. Scholars have repeatedly commented on the five “black” or plain copies written at the same time as the Golden Kanjur (see, for example, ELVERSKOG 2003, 211 n. 176; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, 159; USPENSKY 1997, 114), nevertheless the authors of this study are not acquainted with Mongolian historical records that mention them. At present we know the following ‘black’ manuscript copies of Ligdan Khan's Kanjur: one volume preser-

came the basis for yet another edition of the Mongolian Kanjur — this time in blockprint — produced under the auspices of the Qing dynasty's Emperor Kangxi (1654–1722) in 1718–20 in Beijing (MK).⁹

The Manuscript of the Golden Kanjur Kept in Hohhot

Twenty volumes, including fragments, of the Golden Kanjur are in the library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia (AK). The history, contents and colophon of this manuscript collection have been described in detail elsewhere.¹⁰ For this study it is important to give the basic data on the codicology, paleography and orthography of the Golden Kanjur.

The Golden Kanjur consists of *pothi* format volumes; the size of the folios is 72×24.9 cm. The paper is multilayer Chinese: the inner layer is soft, white paper, while the upper layers (thinner and denser) have been painted blue. The text was written using a reed pen (*calamus*) with gold inside the blackened glossy interior of a frame (57.5×15.5 cm) outlined with a golden double line. Some minor inscriptions and graphic elements are written with silver. On the middle axis of each folio (excluding the first folios of the volumes) two double circles are drawn symbolizing the holes for the cords that used to bind some Indian palm-leaf manuscripts.¹¹ On the left side of the frame on the recto sides of the folios there is a 'rail' enclosing a marginal title denoting the section of the collection, the number of the volume marked with a Tibetan letter, and pagination in Mongolian. On the bulk of the folios hundreds in the pagination are indicated by small crosses: so, for example, the


ved in Copenhagen (CK; on this volume see: HEISSIG 1957; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, 162–165), the 113 volume collection kept in the St. Petersburg State University Library (PK; see KAS'IANENKO 1993); the bulk of the 70-volume collection preserved in the National Library of Mongolia as the Kanjur (UBK); 109 volumes kept in the Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the RAS (UUK); the Kanjur preserved in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia (HHK1).

⁹ The circumstances surrounding the creation of both Ligdan Khan's and Kangxi's editions have been repeatedly described in the literature on Mongolian studies. See, for example, KAS'IANENKO 1993, 18–13; HEISSIG 1957; 1962; TUYAŦ-A, 2008, 278–297; USPENSKY 1997, 113–114. The catalogue of the Kangxi's edition see in LIGETI 1942. The full text of the blockprint Kanjur was edited by Lokesh Chandra (MK), at present a new edition of the Kangxi's collection is being published in China under the guidance of Prof. Altanorgil.

¹⁰ ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013.

¹¹ ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013, 760–761.

number of page 346 will be written as ‘+++docin jiryuyan’.¹² The first folios of the volumes are luxuriously decorated with illustrations of Buddhist deities accompanied by captions and praying formulas.¹³

Although the 20 extant volumes of the Golden Kanjur demonstrate a variety of different handwriting styles, from calligraphic (especially on the first and the last folios of the volumes) to at times quite mediocre, all of them belong to the same ductus characteristic of the late 16th — early 17th cc. The initial ‘teeth’ do not have crowns, there are no diacritical marks for ‘n’ and ‘γ’ in front of the vowels, the texts do not make any distinction between the initial ‘j’ and ‘y’, nor between ‘c’ and ‘j’ in the middle position. The medial ‘t’ and ‘d’ are sharpened and the lower element of the letter is not connected with the vertical axis. Besides they are often written in front of the vowels as a ‘loop’ with a ‘tooth’ (e.g. ). Final ‘a’, ‘e’ and ‘n’ are written in the form of a horizontal ‘tail’ that is turned down, as well as the long hanging ‘tails’ at the beginning or the ends of texts or when a scribe needs to fill in some excess space. The final ‘s’ is a short horizontal ‘tail’. The *orkicas* have ‘snake’s tongues’. The ‘sticks’ are almost of the same length as the ‘teeth’ and differ from the latter only in their shape and the angle of their inclination. To this, a minimal use of the Galik alphabet must be added.¹⁴

The orthography of the manuscript also contains peculiarities characteristic of the late 16th and early 17th cc.:

- suffixes are often joined to words (Mong. *cilegeri*, *sönögegcide*, *terigüber*, *basabar*, *aciban*)
- preclassic use of ‘t’ and ‘d’ in suffixes (Mong. *tala-tur*, *oron-teki*, *ulus-dayan*, *gerel-den*)
- words can be written separately (Mong. *es-e*, *ter-e*, *erdeni-sün*)
- archaic spelling of such words as *bodisung*, *linqua*, etc.
- combination of ‘q’, ‘γ’ and ‘i’ (Mong. *qiruka*, *hayag yiruu-a*)
- characteristic use of ‘i’ at the beginning of Sanskrit and Tibetan words (e.g. *irjudci* for Tib. *rgyud kyi*, *irgalbo* for Tib. *rgyal po*, *irgalmsan* for Tib. *rgyal mtshan*, *injan-a* for Skt. *jñāna*).

¹² Such a method of pagination is found in some early Tibetan translated texts such as the manuscripts of *Prajñāpāramitā* found in Dunhuang and Tabo (SCHERRER-SCHAUB 1999, 21–22; SCHERRER-SCHAUB, BONANI 2002, 194–195).

¹³ For more details see ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013, 761–762, 771–775.

¹⁴ ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013, 762.

“Golden” Folios in European Collections

Several folios of Mongolian manuscripts written in gold on blue paper can be found in European collections. Two folios of this sort were published and described by Walther Heissig in his 1979 article titled “Die erste mongolische Handschrift in Deutschland”.¹⁵ One of them is kept at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Saxony, together with a folio of a Tibetan manuscript and a document that casts light on its history.¹⁶ The other folio is kept in the Swedish town of Linköping. It has been established that both folios were found in Siberia and came into the possession of their European owners in the early 1720s. The Wolfenbüttel folio was delivered to St. Petersburg from the ruined temple of Ablai Keyid on the river Irtysh. It came into possession of A.E. Stambke, the envoy of the Duke of Holstein at the court of Peter the Great, in 1723–24, and later became part of the collection of the German scholar J.F. Reimmann.¹⁷ The Linköping folio was brought to Sweden by the military officer Johan Gustaf Renat, who was sent to Siberia after the Battle of Poltava and spent 18 years (1716–1734) among the Dzhungar people.¹⁸ Both folios are identical to the Golden Kanjur in appearance, ductus and style of handwriting.¹⁹

The “Golden” Folios at the IOM, RAS

Odd folios and fragments (twelve complete folios and nine fragments) of the Mongolian Kanjur,²⁰ the codicology, paleography and orthography of

¹⁵ HEISSIG 1979.

¹⁶ The document is a letter dated 1 February 1723, from the French scholar Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon to Peter the Great. The history of their correspondence is covered in the paper by E. Kniazhetskaia. See: KNIAZHETSKAIA 1989. Additional comments can be found in the paper by Hartmut Walravens: WALRAVENS 1997.

¹⁷ HEISSIG 1979, 210.

¹⁸ HEISSIG 1979, 200–201.

¹⁹ For a detailed comparative codicological description of the folios see: ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA, YAMPOLSKAYA 2014.

²⁰ A.G. Sazykin in his catalogue gives a different number of folios: “17 odd folios and fragments of the manuscript Kanjur in Mongolian, written with “golden” ink on black lacquered paper” (SAZYKIN 2001, No. 2929). The same number is given on the folder that contains the folios. Most probably, this figure appeared because when calculating the quantity eight fragments were considered to be halves of complete folios.

which are strikingly similar to those of the Golden Kanjur from Hohhot and the folios published by W. Heissig, are kept in the collection of IOM, RAS under the pressmark K37 (IOMAK).

The size of the *pothi* format folios is about 63.7×22.8 (51×14.3) cm, 27–30 lines in the frame.²¹ Like the manuscripts described above, these Kanjur folios are written on multilayer Chinese paper: the inner layer is thinner and denser than in the Golden Kanjur in Hohhot, the upper layers are painted blue.

The text was written using a reed pen (calamus) with gold inside the blackened glossy interior of a frame outlined with a golden double line. On the middle axis of both sides of each folio two double circles are drawn with gold. On the left side of the frame on the recto sides of the folios there is a ‘rail’ enclosing the same markers as in the Golden Kanjur. Pagination is on the recto sides of the folios. On some folios, hundreds in the pagination are indicated with small crosses.

Most likely due to the limited amount of text, the handwriting seems to be more uniform than in the Golden Kanjur, but beyond all doubt it belongs to the same ductus. Absolutely all the peculiarities of the ductus of the Golden Kanjur listed above are characteristic of the folios kept in IOM.

The text on the ‘golden’ folios displays the same orthographical characteristics as the text of the Golden Kanjur, such as preclassic use of ‘t’ and ‘d’ in suffixes (Mong. *oytaryui-tur*, *vcir-a-tur*, etc.); separate writing of some words (Mong. *ter-e*); archaic spelling of such words as *bodisung*, *maqasung* etc.; combination of ‘q’, ‘γ’ and ‘i’ (Mong. *qimusun*, *qi vcir*); characteristic use of ‘i’ at the beginning of Sanskrit and Tibetan words (Mong. *irjudci*, *irgalmsan*, *injan-a*). There is only one exception: we could not find any instances of suffixes being joined with words (possibly due to the limited amount of text material).

The folios belong to the *Dandir-a*, *Yüm*, *Olangki* and *Vinai* sections of the Mongolian Kanjur. Due to the absence of markers of works or chapters, the bulk of the fragments could not be identified. The exceptions are the fragments on folios 276 and 335 from the *ka* volume of the *Dandir-a* section.

F. 276a carries the end of the eighth work from the *ka* volume of *Dandir-a* section²² and the beginning of the ninth.²³ To show correlation of the texts in AK, IOMAK and PK we collate the concluding title and the colophon of the

²¹ Precise sizes and numbers of lines for each folio are given below.

²² KASIANENKO 1993, No. 8.

²³ KASIANENKO 1993, No. 9.

eighth work (Table 3), as well as the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Mongolian titles of the ninth work (Table 4).

Table 3

AK, Dandir-a, ka	IOMAK, Dandir-a, ka	PK, Dandir-a, ka
[341b] qamuy burqad- luy-a tegsi barilduyci <u>d*ag</u> 'ini yilvi jiryalang-un degedü kemegdekü: nigen tümen naiman mingyatu-aca qamuy onol-un qayan nayan doloduyar tegüsbei:: : :: enedkeg- ün ubadij <u>sam</u> iriti in- jan-a <u>k</u> 'irti büged orciyulbai:: öglige-yin ejen kemebesü töbed- ün ubadij jalayu aldarsiysan neretü nayirayulju nomlayad orosiylubai::	[276a] qamuy burqad- luy-a tegsi barilduyci <u>d'ag</u> ini yilvi jiryalang- un degedü kemegdekü: nigen tümen naiman mingyatu-aca qamuy onol-un qayan nayan doloduyar tegüsbei:: : :: enedkeg-ün ubadiy-a <u>sim</u> iriti inyan-a <u>k</u> irti büged orciyulbai: öglige-yin ejen kemebesü töbed-ün ubadiy-a jalayu aldarsiysan neretü nayirayulju nomlayad orosiylubai:: : ::	[73a] qamuy burqad- luy-a tegsi barilduyci <u>d*ag</u> ini yelvi jiryalang- un degedü kemegdekü: nigen tümen naiman mingy-a-tu-aca qamuy <u>nom-un</u> qayan nayan doloduyar tegüsbei:: : :: enedkeg-ün ubadini <u>sm</u> iriti inyan-a <u>ki</u> irti büged orciyulbai:: öglige-yin ejen kemebesü töbed-ün ubadij jalayu aldarsiysan neretü nayirayulju nomlayad orosiylubai:: : ::

As can be seen from the textological collation, variant readings in this fragment are associated primarily with the rendering of foreign words. An interesting difference between the texts is the translation of the Tibetan expression “the king of all [types of] conceptual comprehension” (Tib. *rtog pa thams cad kyi rgyal po*).²⁴ Here Tib. *rtog pa* is accurately and uniformly translated in both ‘golden’ copies (Mong. *onol*), while in PK there seems to be a error on the part of the scribe, who by force of habit wrote “the king of all teachings” (Mong. *qamuy nom-un qayan*), an expression that occurs abundantly in the texts of the Kanjur.

²⁴ Q, rGyud, ka, 230a/2.

Table 4

AK, Dandir-a, ka, 342a	IOMAK, Dandir-a, ka, 276a	PK, Dandir-a, ka, 73a
qi vcir-a dandir-a raja nam-a:: cii dorji se's by'au-a irjudci irgalbo:	qi vcir-a dandir-a raja nam-a:: cii dorji se's by'au-a irjudci irgalbo:	hi baj'ar d''and'r-a ra-a c'a na-a m-a: g'ye' rdo' rje: z'e's by'au-a rgyud' gyi rgyalpo'-i: hi vcir neretü d''andiras- un qayan:

As the textological collation demonstrates, the title of the work in three languages is absolutely identical in AK and IOMAK. Both manuscripts render Skt. *hevajra* as *qi vcir-a*, with the preclassic use of the 'q' and 'i' combination as well as the use of the same variant as in the Mongolian title *vcir-a* for Sanskr. *vajra*. Besides that, in the Sanskrit title in both manuscripts the long vowels are not marked. In the transcription of the Tibetan title Tib. *kye'i*²⁵ is rendered as *cii*, and 'i' is added to the transcriptions of Tib. *rgyud kyi* and *rgyal po*.²⁶ PK demonstrates more accuracy in rendering the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles. It reproduces the long vowels of the Sanskrit title and uses more *Galik* letters to render Sanskrit and Tibetan words. On the whole AK and IOMAK demonstrate a more archaic manner of rendering Sanskrit and Tibetan words. The texts are absolutely identical, which suggests that the manuscripts are closely related. However, we do not have sufficient material to draw final conclusions about the relationship between the three manuscripts.

On f. 335a there is the marker of the seventh chapter of the work: *degedü tabun rasiyan yaruyşan vcir neretü samadi dolodayar bölög bolai*. This chapter is the part of the tenth work in the volume ka of the *Dandir-a* section.²⁷

The History of the Golden Folios in the IOM, RAS

It is not known how these manuscript folios appeared in the Institute's funds. The pressmark K37 was given to them in 1937, when the folios became part of the Mongolica Nova collection. This collection was formed

²⁵ Q, rGyud, ka, 230a/3.

²⁶ rGyud, ka, 230a/3.

²⁷ KASIANENKO 1993, No. 10.

between 1925 and 1937²⁸ and, besides the manuscripts and xylographs that arrived at the Institute during that period, it included some materials from the old funds, among which were the manuscript folios in question.²⁹ Apart from the record in the inventory book dated 1937, no references have been found that could cast light on the history of these folios. It is possible that before 1937 they were never catalogued or inventoried.

There are reasons to believe that the odd ‘golden’ folios of the Mongolian Kanjur were among the first Mongolian and Tibetan manuscripts that were found at the ruins of Ablai Keyid and brought to St. Petersburg in the early 1720s by order of Peter the Great.³⁰

The manuscripts from Ablai Keyid are considered to have been the basis of the Mongolian collection of the Asiatic Museum, although so far it has not been established which particular manuscripts in the IOM’s collection these were.³¹ Some of them probably became part of the first collection of the Asiatic Museum: in the catalogue compiled in 1891, under the title of Section I “Books and manuscripts according to the 1789 catalogue by Jählig”, it is stated that some of the manuscripts listed there were donated by Johann Jählig himself, while others had already been kept at the Oriental Department of the Library of the Academy of Sciences.³² Johann Jählig (1747–1795) was the first scholar in St. Petersburg to master the Mongolian language and was thus able to assess the value of the manuscripts held at the Academy. On examining these Mongolian manuscripts, Jählig referred to them as ‘torn-out folios’ (Germ. *ausgerissene Blätter*) that were worth preserving only because they had already been preserved.³³ This important detail suggests that many of the Mongolian and Tibetan manuscripts brought to St. Petersburg in the early 1720s were not only damaged, but were in fact random fragments.

Another valuable mention of the manuscripts found at the ruins of Ablai Keyid comes from Peter Simon Pallas, who travelled around adjacent territo-

²⁸ PUCHKOVSKIĬ 1954, 98.

²⁹ An entry was made in a 1934 inventory book at the manuscript fund: ORKID IV AN 1934 (Arch. 21), p. 115. The record lists twelve folios sized 23×64 cm and nine folios of different sizes (these are the torn folios) — 21 folio in total, marked “from old funds”.

³⁰ In 1720 Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts were found at the ruins of Ablai Keyid monastery on the Irtysh by Ivan Likharev’s expedition and brought to St. Petersburg. See: KNIAZHETSKAIA 1989.

³¹ PUCHKOVSKIĬ 1954, 91–92; SAZYKIN 1988, 10.

³² *Spisok mongol’skim i kalmytskikh knigam i rukopisiam, khraniaschimsia v Aziatskom muzee Akademii nauk, po khronologicheskomu postuplieniui ikh v sostav biblioteki Aziatskogo muzeia. Mart 1891*, 1.

³³ BACMEISTER 1796, 124.

ries in the early 1770s. The naturalist himself did not visit the site of the monastery, but his assistant put together a detailed description of the place, published in the 1773 book *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reiches*. According to this description, among the ruins one could still find remnants of the manuscripts that had earlier been scattered in large numbers at the abandoned monastery. Some of the manuscripts were written in black on white paper, others — in silver and gold on glossed black and blue paper. The ones that Pallas's assistant brought to him were so damaged that they crumbled to dust under his fingers, and yet the silver and golden letters could still be seen.³⁴ From this description it emerges that even fifty years after Ivan Likharev's visit to the ruins of Ablai Keyid it was still possible to find manuscript folios written in silver on black and in gold on blue paper — folios that could possibly come from the same volumes as the 21 ff. in the *Mongolica Nova* collection, the two folios from the Herzog August Bibliothek, and the one taken to Sweden by the artillery officer J.G. Renat.

In 1779 Johann Bacmeister described the collection of the Academy in the following way: "Our library is rich in Tangut and Mongolian manuscripts. Some of them with golden, others with silver, and others with black letters. A part of these manuscripts was brought in 1720 from Siberia, where they were found at Ablai-keyid on the Irtysh..."³⁵ Not only does this description establish the presence of such manuscripts in St. Petersburg in the 18th c., it also complements Pallas's evidence concerning their appearance and indicates to their possible place of origin.

All these scattered facts help to reconstruct piece by piece the history of the manuscript folios under the pressmark K37. The design of the pages and the ductus, bearing unquestionable resemblance to the Golden Kanjur of Hohhot, show that the manuscript was written in South Mongolia in the first decades of the 17th c. The codicological similarity to the folios from Wolfenbüttel and Linköping is no less evident, revealing possible connections with Ablai Keyid. The assumption that these folios were once found at the ruins of a monastery is supported by their poor state, as well as by the fact that they come from different volumes of such a large collection of texts as the Kanjur. If they were in fact brought to St. Petersburg in the 1720s, their unsatisfactory condition could possibly be a good enough reason for Jährgig not to include them in his collection. Thus the folios could have ended up being stored in the funds of the Academy of Sciences for two hundred years before they were finally listed as part of the collection *Mongolica Nova* in 1937.

³⁴ PALLAS 1773, 551.

³⁵ BACMEISTER 1796, 122.

Conclusion

A striking similarity between the ‘golden’ folios from IOM, RAS, the library of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Linköping and the Golden Kanjur from Huhhot indicates that most probably these manuscripts were written at the same time, as part of one and the same ‘project’. As at the moment we do not have any reason to doubt that the ‘golden’ manuscript collection kept in Hohhot is the Golden Kanjur of Ligdan Khan,³⁶ we can assume that the other manuscript fragments were also written in 1629 after the translation and editing of the Mongolian Kanjur had been completed. At present it is not clear how some of these manuscripts came to be at Ablai Keyid. The possibility to solve this riddle lies in further study of the ‘golden’ fragments on blue paper preserved in European collections.³⁷ For now, having given free rein to our imagination, we can only conjecture that because, under pressure from the Manchu, Ligdan Khan retreated to Kōkenuur, where he died in 1634, and then in 1636–1637 that area was taken by the Khoshud under Gūüsi Khan,³⁸ some part of the holy books of the last all-Mongolian khan may have come into the Khoshud’s hands as trophies, as repeatedly happened in Mongolian history.

The Catalogue of the ‘Golden’ Folios in the IOM, RAS

Given below is the catalogue of the folios of the manuscript Kanjur kept in the IOM, RAS. The folios are listed according to the order of sections and folios in the Kanjur. The folios that have not been identified are given in the end of the list. The description of each folio includes: the section marker, the volume number, the folio number (including its Mongolian spelling), the sizes of the folio and the frame, the number of lines on both sides of the folio, the beginning and concluding lines of the folio. For the fragments without part of the text only the length of the folio and the beginning and concluding lines are indicated.³⁹

³⁶ ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013, 777.

³⁷ Similar folios are kept in libraries in Berlin, Glasgow and London (HEISSIG 1998, 158).

³⁸ IMNR 194; ATWOOD 2003, 335, 421.

³⁹ In the transcription of the Mongolian text the following additional symbols are used: parentheses — to indicate the side of the folio and the number of the line (empty parentheses indicate the lines of a folio, the beginning of which is lost), asterisks — instead of words which are impossible to read, a question mark — for words, the reading of which is doubtful, three dots — to indicate a lost fragment of the text.

1. Dandir-a, ka, 164/194? (jayun jiran/yiren dörben?), 63.7×22.9 (51×14.3) cm, 28 and 29 lines

(a/1) ilekü singekü boluyad jici basa ene kemebesü tegüncilen ür-e-i (2) teyin büged ariyun bolayyu: tere metü qoyar yurban naiman-iyar (3) ilekü-i singegülkü boluyad jici basa singeküi ene kemebesü degedü (4) bida-nuyud-i-iyar: ese singgebesü ele amitan-tur kejiy-e naiman (5) söni boltala kürdün-ü odoqui sayitur boluyu: ...

...(b/25) mingyan toytan nebtelküi jayun-iyar qubilay(26)san jayun kiged költi: nebteleküi-yi kejiyede ber medejü: (27) öbere öbere edür qonoy-un cay-tur idegdekü boluyad (28) cayan kiji qubi-aca ecüs-tür isginceyin⁴⁰ qubi bolai: (29) sayin keyid kiged yajar-un ger küiten kei-lüge qalayun-aca

2. Dandir-a, ka, 276 (qoyar jayun dalan jiryuyan), 63.6×22.8 (51.7×14.3) cm, 27 and 28 lines


(a/1) qoyin-a kümün-i nomoyadqaqui cay-tur: tedeger-i ber yambar (2) degedü jiryalang-tu bolyaqui-yin tulada: tere metü yeke (3) ayalyutu öcijü bür-ün: köbegün-lüge nigen-e qamuy burqad: (4) yeke vcir satu-a-yi nomlaysan-i ilete maytabai:: qamuy (5) burqad-luy-a tegsi barilduyci d'agini yilvi jiryalang-un (6) degedü kemegdekü: nigen tümen naiman mingyatu-aca qamuy onol-un (7) qayan nayan doloduyar tegüsbei:: : :: ...

...(b/25) vcir-a garbi ocir-un: (26) ai ilaju tegüs nögcigsen-e: vcir-tu bey-e-tür kedün (27) sudal amui: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen jarliy bolur-un: sudal (28) kemebesü yucin qoyar bülüge: yucin qoyar bodi sedkil

3. Dandir-a, ka, 335 (yurban jayun yucin tabun), 63.8×23.3 (51.4×14.5) cm, 28 and 28 lines

(a/1) bilig baramid-un belge bilig: egüni vcir-tu ***⁴¹ (2) kemen ügüleyü: qamuy nom-ud-un oron: tegüncilen iregsen (3) ayusi: burqan vcir-tu-yin büged: ary-a bilig kiged-i (4) kölgelegsed:: qotala yurban yirtincüs-ün delekei kiged delekei(5)-yin door-a oytaryui-tur: cisun kiged sukir-a-bar (6) dügürügsen bey-e: ijayur-tan-u erketü egüni nomlar-un: ...

...(b/24) vcir-tu urilyan-u ilyal-iyar: kelen-ü vcir kkir ügei: (25) moq-a vcir-a-yi sayitur barilduyuluysan-iyar: nidün-ü (26) medeküi-yi arilyaydaqui:: diyan-a vcir-a-yi sedkigsen(27)-iyer: dayun-u qayaly-a-yi sedküki bolai: qabar-i mad(28)sary-a vcir-iyar: jiryuyan amitan-i yeke vcir-iyar::

⁴⁰ ? 

⁴¹ AK, Dandir-a, ka, 405b: naran.

4. Yüm, ka, 56 (tabin jiryuyan), the end of the folio is torn off, the length is 44 cm

(a/1) ilete tuyulju burqan boluy-a inaru: qamuy ilaju tegüs (2) nögcigsed-ün ülü anggijiraqu boluyu: saradudi-yin köbegün: (3) mergen arı-a ügegü bodisung maqasung-nar nigedüger diyan-tur (4) tegsi ayuluyu:

...(b/19) ücügüken ber ügei-yin törölki-tür ber (20) tegsi orolduyu: sedkiküi ügei: sedkiküi ügei busu-yin töröl(21)ki-tür ber tegsi oroldu-ıad tedeger mergen arı-a-tu(22)-yin tula ... -yin ba tegsi orolduqu-yin keber-...

5. Yüm, ka, 62/92? (jiran/yiren qoyar?), 63.5×23.4 (51.7×14.6) cm, 29 and 29 lines

(a/1) idegen umtayan-i olıayulqui ba: ebeciten-ü ebecin-i anayaqui (2) ba: iregü-tü <qarangyui> ıau-tur aısad bögüde-yi bi ridi qubılın(3)-ıyar<-ıyan> ba bi kücün-ıyer-ıyen ali tayalaysabar bolyasuyai (4) kemen tayalaycid bodisung maqasung-nar bilig baramid -tur (5) suralcaydaqui: ...

...(b/25) ölüsügsen ba: umtayasuısad-a (26) idegen umtayan-i olıayulqui ba: ebeciten-ü ebecin-i anayaqui (27) ba: eregü-tü qarangyui ıau aısad bögüde-yi ridi qubılın (28)-ıyar-ıyan ba: bi kücün-ıyer-ıyen ali tayalaysabar bolsuyai: (28) kemen tayalaycid ber bilig baramid-tur suralcaydaqui: ker kijü (29) qamuy arban jüg-deki nijeged büri-yin g'angga mören-ü qumaki-yin

6. Yüm, ka, 153 (+ tabin ıurban), 63.5×22.8 (51.3×15.8) cm, 29 and 30 lines

(a/1) -ıulumui: üiledküi ba qoyosun-a ülü barilduyulumui: qoyosun (2) ba üiledküy-e ülü barilduyulumui: medeküi ba qoyosun-a ülü (3) barilduyulumui: <qoyosun ba> medeküi ba {qoyosun-a} ülü barilduyulumui: ...

...(b/26) duran-u medekü-yin ııayur ba qoyoson-a (27) ülü barilduyulumui: qoyosun ba duran-u medekü-yin (28) ııayur-a ülü barilduyulumui: *** ***
*** (29) kemebesü saradudi-yin köbegün ene metü *** *** qoyosun (30) bisilyal kemebesü: degedü bisilyal buyu: saradudi-yin

7. Yüm, ka, 240 (++) döcin), 63.5×22.8 (51.3×15.8) cm, 29 and 30 lines

(a/1) burqan jarlıı bolur-un: subuti tegün-i yayun kemen sedki(2)mü: üiledkü-yi bodisung buyu kemen sedkimü-üü: öci(3)rün: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan teyimü busu buyu: (4) ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan jarlıı bolur-un:

...(b/26) duran-u medekü-yin ııayur ba qoyosun-a (27) ülü barilduyulumui: qoyosun ba duran-u medekü-yin (28) ııayur-a ülü barilduyulumui: *** ***
*** (29) kemebesü saradudi-yin köbegün ene metü *** *** qoyosun (30) bisilyal kemebesü: degedü bisilyal buyu: saradudi-yin

8. Yüm, ka, 278 (++ dalan naiman), край листа оборван (52×14.6) cm, 29 and 30 lines

(a/1) kemekü ner-e anu bodisung bolqu qamiγ-a bui: duran-u tegüncilen (2) kü cinar busu busud anu bodisung bolqu ber qamiγ-a bui: ...

...(b/28) ilaju tegüs nögcigsen <burqan?> bodisung oγoγ-a(29)ta ügei büged: ülü sedkigdeküi ele bügesü: tegün-tür öngge(30)-yin ijaγur-un tegüncilen kü cinar kemekü ner-e anu bodisung bolqu:

9. Yüm, ka?⁴², 348 (+++ döcin naiman), the end of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 39 cm

(a/1) dayan ese üjegdebei: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan tere metü (2) nadur yeke asaraqu ene nemeküi ba: daki bayuraqui anu ese (3) sedkigdeged üneker dayan ese üjegdebesü ele: bodisung (4) kemen ken-i nereyidümü: ...

...(b/10) ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan edür öngge (11) ügei-yin dörben tegsi orolduqun-u nemeküi ba daki bayuraqui anu ese sedkigdebei: üneker dayan ese (12) üjegdebei: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan tere metü nadur (13) ...ügei-yin tegsi orolduqun-u nemeküi ba: taki (14) ...anu ese sedkigdeged: üneker dayan ese üjegde(15) ...-disung kemen ken-i nereyidümü: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen (16) ...tegsi urbaduqun-u tere (17) ...adistid (18) ...büged

10. Yüm, ka, 353 (+++ tabin γurban), 63.4×23.2 (51.8×15) cm, 30 and 31 lines

(a/1) buyu: qoyosun büged duran bolai: öngge öngge ber (2) qoyosun boluγsan büged: öngge-yin qoyosun anu ali (3) bügesü: tere ber öngge busu: öngge-ece öber-e (4) qoyosun ügei: öngge büged qoyosun buyu: ...

...(b/25) cikin-ü qurayad <kürelceküi> cikin-ü (26) qurayad kürelceküi ber qoyosun boluγsan büged: cikin-ü (27) qurayad kürelceküi qoyosun anu ali bügesü: tere ber (28) cikin-ü qurayad kürelceküi busu cikin-ü qurayad kürelceküi(29)-ece öber-e qoyosun ügei cikin-ü qurayad kürelceküi (30) büged qoyosun buyu: qoyosun büged cikin-u qurayad

11. Olangki, ka, 68/98? (jiran/yiren naiman?), the end of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 34.5 cm

(a/1) töröged: genel egüles-iyer qamuy жүг бүгүде-yi (2) дүгүргеgeged: bodi modun-u aγsan tngri-yin ayimaγ: (3) burqan-i nasuda üjeged takil üiledümüi:: eldeb (4) küjin-ü tuy badarayci mani erdeni: küji genel utuqui (5) küji nasuda γaruyad: dalai metü nököd бүгүде-te (6) sayin ünür түgemel: tere metü modun-u qayan жүг(7)-tür üjesküleng-tü bolai: ...

⁴² The marker of the volume is not clear.

...(b/12) dalai metü sansar-tur bodi yabudal-iyar yabuqui (13) cay-tayan: bisirel-ün mandal irüger oyooyata aril(13) ...oron kiged oron busu kücün bügüde sedkil-tür (14) ...sayibar oduysan-i kücün bügüde mayad (15) ...qutuy dalai metü...

12. Olangki, ka, 211 (qoyar jayun arban nigen), the end of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 46.3 cm

(a/1) dayan kiciyegci kemegdeyü: degedü nidün kemegdeyü: jüg-i (2) geyigülügci kemegdeyü: ai ilayuysad-un köbegüd-e: tere metü (3) tedeger terigüten bürüküi tegüsügsen yirtincü-yin ulus-tur (4) qutuy-tanu ünen-nügüd-ün ner-e inu <döcin> jayun mingyan költi toyatan (5) buyu: ...

...(b/19) ai ilayuysad-un (20) köbegüd-e: ken jobalang-i qamuy-a törögülügci (21) qutuy-tan-u ünen kemegdekü tegün-tür tuyuluysan arilyayci (22) yirtincü-yin ulus-tur tacyangyui kemegdeyü: ügüleküi

13. Vinay-a, ka, 216 (++arban jiryuyan), 63.6×23 (51×14.2) cm, 28 and 29 lines

(a/1) aysad dötüger ba: irejü sayuyad jokistu bolbasu: (2) tedeni eyin kemen sedkigdeküi: ked ber ese iregsen ayay(3)-qa tegimlig bui bolai kemen ülü sedkiged: nom-i sedkiküi(4)-lüge jokistay-a sedkigci tedeger jalbarin öcijü: ...

...(b/26) tede nököd ese bosuyad: ayay-qa tegimlig (27) oduysan tegün-ü qoyina <genedte> iregsed saca ayay-qa tegimlig (28) saca qamtu irebesü: tedeger-ün mandal-tur uriju? bür(29)-ün: tejigen arilyaqui üiledüged: ang-gida anggida tonilyayci

14. Vinay, ka, 284 (++ nayan dörben), 63.5×22.8 (48.7×14.3) cm, 26 and 27 lines

(a/1) vinai busu-tur vinai kemen: vinai-tur vinai busu kemen üjügülkü (2) bolbasu tere metü ügülegci-tür tokiyalduyuluyad ünen-iyer (3) tokiyalduyulju adqay negeküi üileddeküi:

...(b/22) ecüs (23)-tür kürtele busu kedber ecüs-ün tula bügesü nöögöge ber busu (24) ba: ecüs kürtele busu ba: kedber sür üiledügsen bügesü (25) edür üiledügsen-ü tula busu ba: kedber edür üiledügsen (26) bügesü söni üiledügsen busu: kedber mör tögürigsen-tür (27) üiledügsen bügesü mör-tür üiledügsen busu:

15. Vinay-a, ka, 449 (++++ döcin yisün), 64×23.1 (51.3×13.7) cm, 28 and 29 lines

(a/1) nom-luy-a adaliş-iyar qariyulun cidamui: kemen sedkibesü ele (2) tere-nuyud ba ülü ügülen: biraman-u köbegün yekerkemsig(3)-tü ene sitügen-tür

adali nom-luy-a adali-bar qariyula(4)γultuyai biraman-nuyud-ta ker ba eyin kemen sedkijü: ...

...(b/25) tendece yar-tayan vcir-un jibqulang badaraysan (26) *** qamuy-a sayitur badarayci-tur nigen γal-un oci (27) bolayad badarabai: biraman-u köbegün yekerkemsig-tü terigün(28)-degen barayad ker be biraman-u köbegün yekerkemsig-tü-tür (29) ilaju tegüs nögcigsen γurban-da boltala asay-un ügülegsen

16. ? (margin. of the section is not clear, adii?), ka, 89 (nayan yisün), 64×23.2 (51.3×14.5) cm, 29 and 30 lines

(a/1) tedeger kemebesü ene metü nom-i abqui-yin tulada amin bey-e-yi (2) ber oγoyata tebcijü bür-ün: ene sudur-tur oroqu boluyu: (3) tegün-tür qoyitu cay inu alimad amitan bal ene metü nom-i (4) sonosqui-yin tulada kiciyegci tedeger ber: cuqay bolbasu (5) ele: üsüg-tür jiruqui: ungsiqui: jegüküi: amabar uriqui (6) busud-tur delgerenggüy-e üjügülküi kiged-i-taki yayun (7) ügületele: alimad ene nom-un jüil-i nemegülüged: ...

...(b/22) tegüncilen iregsen kemebesü yambar-iyar jobalang-un (23) udq-a-yi üjügülügcü tegüncilen kü: aljiyas-un udq-a (24) kiged: tacyangyui-aca angijiraysan-u udq-a-yi üjügülbei: (25) tegüncilen iregsen kemebesü yambar nirvan boluysan inu (26) amurliysan bolai kemen üjügülügcü tegüncilen kü: qamuy coγ(27)cas-i mayad tebciküi udq-a-yi üjügülüged: möngke busu (28) jobalang: bi ügei: nirvan kiged-ün qayaly-a-aca: (29) oγoyata ariluysan nom-un qayaly-a-yi ber üjügülüyü: (30) kijayar ügei jokiyayci-a: tegüncilen iregsed

17. ?, the beginning of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 42.1 cm

(a)... üileddeküi... () duradqaydaqui: jorin... () -da nom-un qurim-i üiledüküi lam-a burqan... () ber bayasqaydaqui: lam-a-tur-iyar ***-i öggün öciged: () tegünü qoyina qamuy ciyuluysad-tur bolai: ...

...(b) lam-a-yin següder () qatun kiged qutuy-un debisger kiged oron-i: ali ba () yeke mungqay-ud alqubasu ele: tere narin büged kiryaqui () bariyci buyu: sayitur abisig ögdegsen ali tere

18. ?, the beginning of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 40.8 cm

(a) kiciyenggüi baramid-iyar masida arbijimu: () diyan baramid-iyar masida arbijimu: bilig () baramid-iyar masida arbijimui: bodisung gem ügegüy-e () üneker oroqu boluyu:

...(b) ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan jarliy bolur-un: subuti () tegün-i yayun kemen sedkimü: öngge ügei nigen-i () bodisung buyu: kemen sedkimü-üü:

öcir-ün () ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan teyin busu buyu: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan jarliy bolur-un: subuti tegün-i yayun kemen sedkimü:

19. ?, the beginning of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 54 cm

(a)... kei orosiqui:() ügei: moqor... ..idlaydaqui (=adistidlaydaqui) ügei: () buyu: tere... -u tula kemebesü: tere nere anu ügei () büged: tegüber tere nere anu orosiqui ügei: moqordaqui () ügei: adistidlaydaqui ügei bolai:: ...

...(b) üneker dayan () ese üjegdebei: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan tere metü () nadur boda ügei qoyosun-u... ba: daki bayuraqui anu ese sedkigdeged üneker dayan ese üjegdebesü ele:

20. ?, the beginning of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 56.7 cm

(a) -sung maqasung ilaju tegüs nögcigsen ()... -ruysan üneker tuyuluysan yasalang ()... coy-tu kemegdekü burqan-a eyin kemen ocibei: ilaju tegüs () nögcigsen burqan bi ber tere sablokadatu yirtincü-yin oron()-taki ilaju tegüs nögcigsen tegüncilen iregsen dayini daruysan () üneker toyoluysan tere saky'amuni burqan-i üjer-e ba: () tegün-tür mörgüjü ergün kündüler-e ba: tendeki tedeger () bodisung maqasung-nar ber olangki anu jalayu büged: ...

...(b) tende tegüncilen iregsen dayini daruysan üneker tuyu()luysan saky'amu-ni burqan kemegdekü sayun amidurayulun tedkü aju: () tere bodisung maqasung-nar-tur bilig-ün cinadu kürügsen-i

21. ?. the beginning of the folio with the part of the text is torn off, the length is 39 cm

(a) burqan öngge ügei yin... () nereber orosiqui ügei... () ...<-laydaqui buyu: tere yayun-u tula kemebesü ...-dekü ber tere nere anu orosiqui ügei...> -laydaqui ügei bolai:: ilaju tegüs nögcigsen burqan... () burqan-i dayan duradqui-yin nemeküi ba: taki... ese () sedkigdebei: ...

...(b) tere yayun-u tula kemebesü: tere nere anu ügei () büged: tegüber tere nere anu orosiqui ügei: moqordaqui () ügei: adistidlaydaqui ügei bolai:: ilaju tegüs

Abbreviations

IMNR: Istoriia Mongolskoi Narodnoi Respubliki

AK: Altan (Golden) Kanjur

CK: Volume of the manuscript Kanjur. Copenhagen

GCCA: Ganjur Colophons in Comparative Analysis

HHK1: Manuscript Kanjur. Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia, PRC

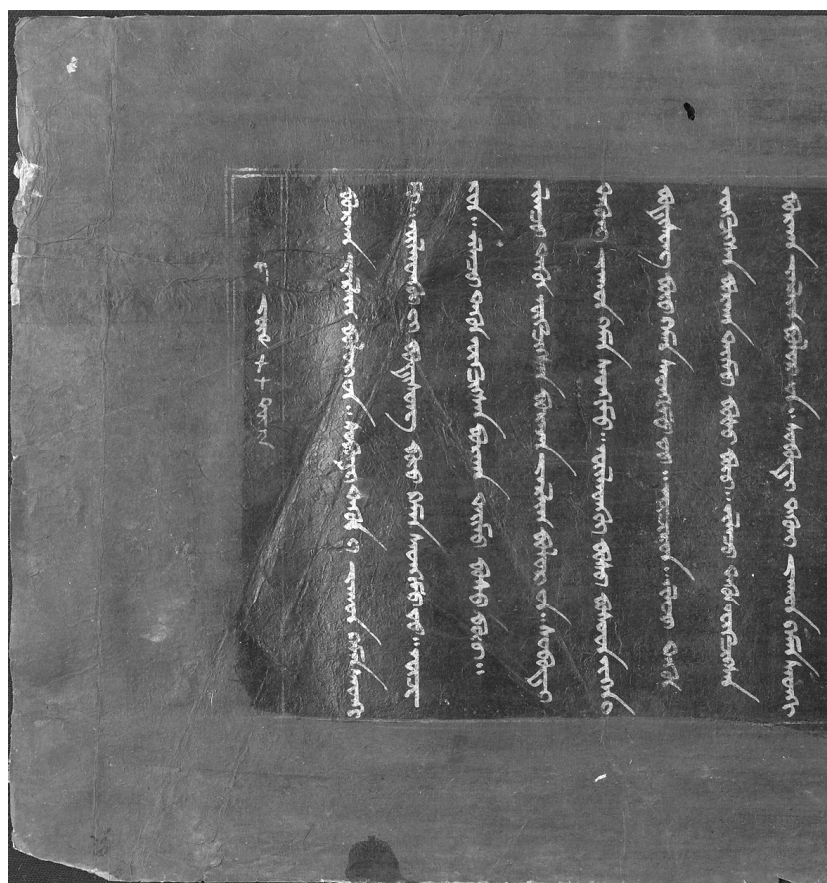
IOMAK: Fragments of the Golden Kanjur, IOM, RAS
MK: Mongolian Kanjur
PK: Manuscript Kanjur. St. Petersburg State University Library
Q: *bKa' gyur pe cin par ma*
UBK: Manuscript Kanjur. National Library of Mongolia
UUK: Manuscript Kanjur Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the RAS
ZAS: Zentralasiatische Studien

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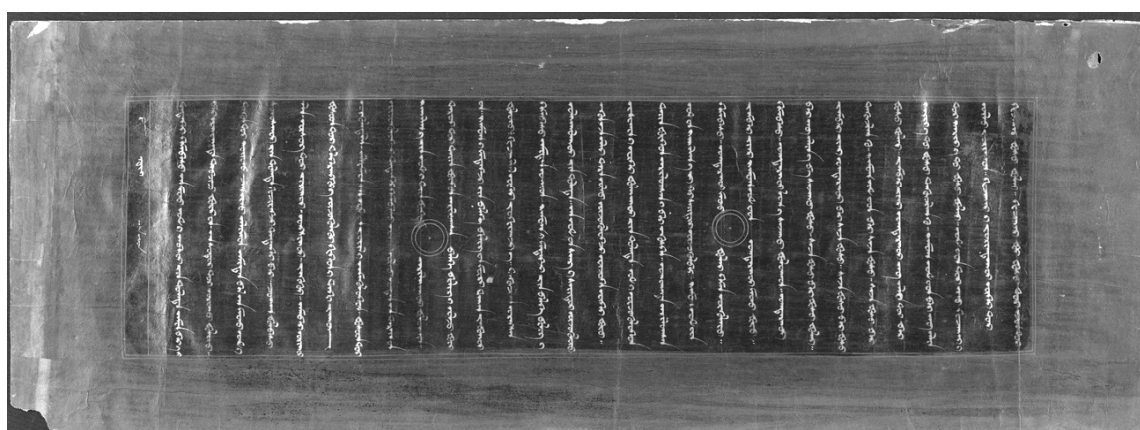


Pl. 1

An example of crosses used to mark hundreds in pagination.

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Pl. 2

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