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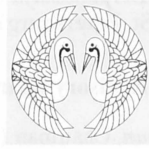
Front cover:

“Guanyin. Moon in Water”, scroll on silk (fragment), call number X 2439, Khara Khoto, 12th century, the State Hermitage Museum. Courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum.

Back cover:

- Plate 1.** Portrait of Nawwāb Mīr Qamar al-Dīn Nizām al-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh I, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Hyderabad, mid-18th century. Album (*Muraqqa'*) X 3 in the Fabergé collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 4b, 15.1 × 24.0 cm. Inner frame dimensions: 15.1 × 24.0 cm; outer frame dimensions: 22.0 × 30.5 cm
- Plate 2.** Portrait of Nawwāb Mīr Aḥmad Khān Nāṣir Jang, watercolour, gouache and gold on paper. Hyderabad, mid-18th century. The same Album, fol. 3b, 11.5 × 21.3 cm. Inner frame dimensions: 11.5 × 21.3 cm; outer frame dimensions: 21.0 × 31.2 cm.

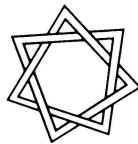
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TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS DESCRIPTION AND RESEARCH

A. G. Sazykin

THE MESSAGE OF THE THREE SACRED MONGOL LAMAS

The genre of messages, which has a long history in Buddhist literature [1], was most popular among Mongolian Buddhists. The large number of manuscripts containing injunctions has survived in both foreign and Mongolian collections of manuscripts and xylographs [2]. Rich material for the study of this genre of Mongolian literature is found in the collection of manuscripts and xylographs at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies; at present, it holds some 200 items that contain no fewer than 50 different “orders” (*jarliy*), “bequests” (*geriyes*), “royal messages” (*lingden*), “edifications” (*suryal*) and “prophecies” (*esii*). In content, they can be divided into two main categories: prophetic messages and sermon messages. The majority of epistles identified in the collection contain prophecies by celestial beings or the upper echelons of the Buddhist Church in Tibet and Mongolia; they “usually foretell the coming of a difficult time and give instructions on deeds that please the gods” [3]. Prophetic messages contain either an exposition of the general requirements of Buddhist morality or a condemnation of specific inclinations unacceptable to the Buddhist Church such as unbridled drunkenness [4], smoking [5], games of chance, etc.

Among the sermon messages in the collection, a sermon entirely devoted to criticism of Mongolian shamanist beliefs is of special interest. It exists in two redactions. The earlier redaction of the sermon is attested in the collection in two manuscripts (C 237, Q 743) and in a Buryat xylograph edition from the early nineteenth century (Q 2088) [6]. A transcription and translation of the early redaction of this anti-shamanist sermon based on the Buryat xylograph has already appeared in print [7]. The later redaction has been attested thus far in a single manuscript which served as the basis for the present publication [8]. The manuscript entered the collection of the Asiatic Museum (today the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies) in 1838 as part of the second collection of P. L. Schilling von Canstadt (1786—1837), which was acquired from the scholar's relatives after his death. The scholar of wide interests, Schilling von Canstadt had purchased the collection from A. V. Igumnov (1761—1834) during his scientific expedition to Eastern Siberia in 1830—1832 [9].

The right side of the first folio of the manuscript contains the heading “Order of Mergen-paṇḍita, Keüken Khutuktu and Dalai Khutuktu” [10]. These holy *lamas* are mentioned at the end of the text in all copies of the sermon. In attempting to correlate the titles mentioned in the heading with actual Mongolian holy *lamas*, we encountered unexpected difficulties. The greatest were associated with Dalai Khutuktu [11]. I failed to find in the lists of Mongolian *khutuktus* a holy *lama* with such a title [12]. Entirely different problems attended the identification of the second author, Mergen-paṇḍita, as two *khutuktus* in Northern Mongolia held exactly this title [13]. It does not seem possible at present to ascertain which of these two Khalkha *lamas* fulminated against shamanist beliefs.

We know much more about the third author, Keüken Khutuktu, whose full title was *mergen qambo Keüken qutu-yin qubilyan* [14]. One of the *qubiljans* (reincarnations) was observed by A. M. Pozdnev in North-Western Khalkha in the Setsen Khan *ayimag* near Tengelig-Buridu during the latter's journey through Mongolia in 1893 [15]. By all accounts, this was a much respected *khutuktu* who occupied a position of some authority in the Buddhist hierarchy of Khalkha. The Mongols date his appearance to the time of the Buddha Śākyamuni, when Keüken Khutuktu first appeared in the guise of one of the Buddha's disciples [16]. After a long series of reincarnations in India and Tibet, Keüken Khutuktu, beginning with the eleventh *qubilyan*, began to be reincarnated only in Khalkha, in the Setsen Khan *ayimag*. His monastery, Rinchen-tegcin-gling, was founded there; by the end of the nineteenth century, up to a thousand *lamas* resided there [17]. The monastery had large landholdings and many *šabinars* (serfs), whose numbers swelled to thousands of *yurts* [18].

Upon the first reincarnations of the Urga Jebtsundamba Khutuktu, better known as Öndör-gegen (1635—1723), the *ayimag* (monastic community) of Keüken Khutuktu was founded in 1651 at his headquarters in Yeke Kuriyen [19].

In his diaries, Pozdnev provides several other curious facts about these Mongolian *khutuktus*. The first is that a “characteristic of the Keüken Khutuktus is that they do not shave the hair on their head and wear a long brace over their shoulders; they make daily offerings to Padmasaṃ-

bhava [20] and especially venerate Marva [21]. This, of course, should indicate that the Keüken Khutuktus belong by teaching either to the ancient sect of Ning-ma-va [22], the doctrines of which are full of Tantrism and all manner of sorcery, or to its latest permutation, the sect of Dkar-gyud-pa [23], which has a preference for the hermit's life, reflection and all manner of asceticism" [24]. Pozdnev tells also of seeing the "gegen khukhen khutuktu, who is still very young, no older than 17 or 18 years, but already walks with hair flowing over his shoulders and is distinguished by his ferocity" [25]. The *khutuktu's* frightening appearance was meant to indicate, of course, that he was a reincarnation of the fearsome deity Yamantäka, one of the eight guardians of the Buddha's teaching [26].

The *qubilyan khukhen khutuktu*, our third author whose description we find in Pozdnev, is also known as the author of a "proclamation against the Chinese and foreigners from the time of the Boxer Rebellion" [27], which critiques the decline in morals in the Ch'in empire [28]. Yet another curious circumstance is that the Keüken Khutuktu, in Pozdnev's account, enjoyed the "special favour of the Qori Buryats", who considered him the "age-old (*uridanai blam-a*) of the Buryat" [29]. As proof, Pozdnev cites a legend on the origins of the Qori Buryat and their relations with the Keüken Khutuktus [30]. Keüken Khutuktu is also mentioned in Qori-Buryat chronicles as the spiritual leader Bübci-beyile, the progenitor of 11 Qori Buryat lineages [31]. The Buryats, of course, visited this *khutuktu* [32] and he was apprised of Buryat events, so he knew the problems that beset Buddhist preachers as they tried to spread the Buddha's teaching in this part of the Mongolian world. In an attempt to aid the *lamas* in their struggle with Buryat Shamanism, Keüken Khutuktu preached a sermon that "led away from the cunning throng of *ongyons* of darkness". That this anti-shamanist sermon, which we know through Buryat manuscripts from the first third of the nineteenth century, was drawn up for the Buryats is suggested by the fact that by that time Shamanism as a phenomenon had been virtually eradicated in Mongolia. The decisive measures taken by Buddhist missionaries in the late sixteenth — early seventeenth century to crush and extirpate shamanist beliefs among the Mongols led to the complete triumph of the Buddha's teaching [33].

A different picture emerged in Buryatia, where the prostelytizers of Buddhism were unable to supplant the local shamans. The ancient beliefs of the Mongol peoples retained their strength in the Baikal region not only in the early nineteenth century, but much later as well [34]. Consequently, anti-shamanist propaganda was nowhere as necessary as in this distant corner of the Mongolian-speaking world. The word of a *lama* who enjoyed such authority among the Buryat as Keüken Khutuktu would have been a powerful argument in the anti-shamanist campaign among the Buryat *uluses*. As a result of this, the composite text of the missive injunction that has come down to us was based on the sermons of Keüken Khutuktu and two other *lamas*.

We also know the name of the author-compiler who drew up this anti-shamanist philippic. The colophon of an early redaction states that at the request of the novice Gončok, "the Šakya *gelüing* [35] *yögajari* Yamantäki Sumadi-hiya [36], having sprinkled his head with ash from the feet of the virtuous *lama*, chose the spoken injunctions of three supreme *lamas* and drew up [this injunction]" [37]. We find another colophon in a later redaction. It states that "Sumadi-hiya, having prayed to his *lama*, drew up [the injunction] after repeated requests from the novice Lubsang-Prinlai" [38]. Thus, as the colophons list the names of two different persons who commissioned the manuscript, Sumadi-hiya worked twice on the text, and we have here two authorial redactions of the work.

The changes that made their way into the second redaction do not concern the entire original text, but only the concluding part, which makes up perhaps a third of the message. Primarily, this consists of added references to three canonical *sūtras* that contain warnings of the sad fate that awaits the followers of Shamanism. This is followed by the significantly expanded and reworked concluding section of the original redaction, expounded for the most part in poetic form.

This unique manuscript, which contains one of the redactions of this lone anti-shamanist sermon, the only one of its kind in the Mongolian language, seems to us a worthy example of Mongolian literature in the genre of messages.

TRANSLITERATION

(1a) *Mergen bandida Keüken qutuy-tu Dalai qutuy-tuyin jarliy*

(1b) *Blam-a-luḡ-a ilḡal ügei yidam Yamandaga-dur-ıyan mörgümü: sayin-ıyan orkiḡ sarayul-ača tögerekü böged mayuban abuḡad mun[ḡ]qay qaran[ḡ]yuyin dotor-a tögereḡci orčilang-un jim-a yosu-yi üküen tedüi ögüley-e: čidayci-vin šajin-i nara metü mandaju bayıquyn čay-tur qara jüg-ün on[ḡ]yod-i yaḡun-ıd šitü 'ne-e bui ta: misvanis-i daruyad: ilete toyuluḡsan burqan-un kücün-eče qara jüg-ün kücün yeke kemen yayaču sanana-a bui ta: ajına-a mungqay-ud minu: ačitu burqad-un ayiladıḡsan nom-ud-un dotor-a: qarayın ayımaḡ-yi buu šitü kemegsen-i ülü itegekü bögetele: qarın iletü jergevin nökor-eče bi qara-yi šitü kü buyu: bayıqu buyu kemen asaḡuqu böged: orkibası ülü bolam kemen ögülegsed-i itegeḡ=ci kümün: üker-luḡ-a ilḡal ügei: qarın üker cü: qarayın ayımaḡ ese šitü 'gsen-ıl tulada adayusun-u töröl jobalang-yi arıyamı: onḡod-i šitü 'gci kümün tere ber ene nasun-dur-ıyan eldü 'b [=eldeb] jüil-ün jobalang-ıyar nerbegdeged ecü 's qoyitu töröl-dür-ıyen ḡurban maḡu jayaḡan-dur unaquyn tula üker-eče door-a onḡyod-i tülküi-dür qorıḡu todaqarlayci kümün üküged Erlig-ün ḡajar ocıḡsan-u [=odıḡsan-u] qoyına-a (2a) eldü 'b [=eldeb] jüil-ün iretü mes barıḡsan erlig-üd čabčıqu qadququyn bayidal-ıyar qara jüg-ün on[ḡ]yod-i orkiyad: burqan-u šašin-i šitü 'y-e kemegsen kümün-tür todqar kıḡsen kümün ci mön buyu kemen erleg-üd eldeb jüil-ün jobalang üjügülküi čay(-tur) yaḡu keley-e genem bui ta: qara jüg-ün auy-a kücün yeke: burqan-luḡ-a šidar kemen ögülegci kümün tere öber-ıyen qara jüg-ün buruḡu nom-un kümün mön-ü tula: tegünü üges-i itegekü bayıtu=ḡai buyan-dur duralaju burqan-i šitü 'y-e kemen küsegcin: onḡyod-i maḡtayci tere kümün-eče ödter türgene-e jayılaqu yeke kereg-tei bayına-a bešüi: qara jüg-ün ayımaḡ-yi burqan metü šitü 'gcin boḡda-nar-un ayiladıḡsan nom-ud-un dotor-a: qara jüg-ün ayımaḡ-yi talqadun tegermedümü kemegsen nom-i unḡıqu čay-tayan yaḡu sanaju unḡsına-a bui ta:*

jig-tü qarayın ayımaḡ-aça jigšileküi jim-a yosun egüni süsü'g beširel-luy-a tegü'sü'ysen šabi Lubsang-prenlai darui ber aḡitan-u tusayın tulada ene metü nigen kereg kemen dakin duradıysan-u urmas-tur ačitu baḡsı blam-a-dur-ıyan jalbarıju Su'madi-hiy-a ber nayıraḡulbai.

TRANSLATION

(1a) Message of Mergen-paḡḡita, Keüken Khutuktu and Dalai Khutuktu

(1b) We venerate equally the *lama* and our patron Yamantäka^[1]. Let us speak somewhat of the customs of *orčilang*^[2], where, having rejected what is good, they abandon what is light, and, having mastered what is evil, wander in the darkness of ignorance.

Why should it be that at a time when the religion of the powerful [Buddha] is rising like a sun, you place your hopes in *ongyons*^[3] of the dark side?^[4] Why do you think that to crush vice the strength of the dark side is more powerful than the strength of the Buddha who Fully attained^[5] [understanding]? Unhappy fools!

No different than a beast is he who, not trusting the fact that it is written in the sacred books of the venerable Buddhas: "Do not believe in the throng of shamanist [*ongyons*]", asks of various acquaintances: "Should I believe in Shamanism or not?" and believes when they reply that one should not discard [the *ongyons*]. For even cattle, in recompense for not believing in the swarm of shamanist [idols], are free from the sufferings of [new] incarnations in [the form of] animals. For a man who venerates the *ongyons* is lower than a beast. In this life he shall undergo all manner of torments, and in a future incarnation he shall fall to the three types of evil fate^[6].

When a man who has hindered the burning of *ongyons* expires and arrives in the land of Erlig^[7], (2a) the *erlig*s who hold various types of sharp swords and are ready to slash and stab with them, will ask, "Are you not the man who prevented people from discarding the *ongyons* of the dark side and placing their faith in the religion of the Buddha?" What will you reply, when the *erlig*s begin to torment you?

A man who asserts that the power of the dark side is great and equal [to the power of] the Buddha is a man who follows the false teaching of the dark side. For this reason, every virtuous person who strives to place his faith in the Buddha must not only take no heed of such words, but must quickly turn away from anyone who praises the *ongyons*.

[You,] who venerate the throng [of *ongyons*] of the dark side are equals of Buddha! In the sacred books taught by the saints, it is said: "Crush into dust the swarm [of *ongyons*] of the dark side". Of what do you think when you read the sacred text? You do not know that in the hour of suffering from ailment, relying in your heart on the *ongyons*, though you begin to pray, again and again prostrating yourself before them, it shall do no good. The sufferings shall begin again and [you] will lose one who is close to you. In your stupidity [you] resemble moths that strive for the light and perish in the fire.

In the throes of a great delusion, you feel that you have been healed thanks to the intercession of shamans and female shamans. [In fact,] this merely coincided with the fact that [you] recovered on your own thanks to your previous humble [good] deeds (2b). Having thought this over, you should turn away from [your] previous [delusions].

Even the flies that alight on raw meat, desiring to taste it, and stick to it and perish [there], harming themselves, do not, however, cause damage to their future incarnations. [This is why] they are better than the shamans and female shamans, who, wearing all manner of metal trinkets and knowing not whether they themselves will die or grow ill the next day, falsely foretell to others illnesses and death, saying, "We can heal you". Because they care not for living things, but only for their own profit, [they], taking leave of the body in this life, in the next [reincarnations] will lose their souls. After death they will experience the sufferings of the *pretas* that guard the mountain. If they avoid these [torments], they shall descend to "Eternal Hell". For this reason the shamans and female shamans must by all means turn away from such deeds.

(3a) If one is to speak in detail of those who, firm in their belief and oaths, [still] venerate the *ongyons* as though they were equal to the Buddha and fill their dwellings with them and hang them higher than [depictions of] the Buddha, many will find this disgusting. This is why I do not say this. It is extremely important that all who have taken the oaths themselves think this over and turn away from their belief in Shamanism.

In the *Kanjur*^[8] there is a *sūtra*^[9] called "Distinguishing between the Consequences of Good and Evil Deeds"^[10]. It states that he who has killed living things and venerated the *ongyons* shall fall into the "Hell of those who cut with axes" and the "Hell of those who crush [you] in an iron mortar".

In the "*Sūtra* called the 'Tree of Kalbaravas'"^[11], it is said that those who venerate the throng of shamanist [*ongyons*] are akin to those black worms that end up in the fur [of animals]. [These] black worms that find themselves in fur may crawl quickly, hoping to get out, but find themselves ever more entwined in it and perish. Akin to them are the followers of Shamanism, for though they place their faith in time of illness and suffering in the *ongyons*, they perish for this reason in torment.

Do you or do you not read the sacred *tarni*^[12] from [the *sūtra*] "Eight Types of Light"^[13], which one must only pronounce (3b) for the heads of the swarm [of *ongyons*] of the dark side to split into seven parts? If you read it, then what will you then venerate after you have smashed the brains of your [once] esteemed *ongyons*? If you do not read it, then what sacred books taught by the saints will you read, finding them beneficial, and what of the indispensable [literature] will you not read?

Unhappy, unreasoning fools! If you show me the *sūtra* where it is said that it is correct to believe in a swarm of shamanist [idols], I will repent before your eyes of my wrongfulness. But if it is said, "Do not believe [in Shamanism]!" then [you] must cleanse the sin of your previous veneration and in the future strive to swear an oath not to place your faith [in Shamanism], though your life be in danger.

Though some people, free from doubt and fear, have burned the *ongyons* in their homes, [they] still fear the mountain *ongyons* and living shamans. And since this stems from their great ignorance, they should stop to think and realize that there is no difference between these domestic *ongyons*, mountain *ongyons*, and living shamans.

May all people who have given up their faith in the unworthy swarm of shamanist [idols] (4b) acquire the highest sanctity of the Buddha!

May each person who has entirely turned away from faith in the throng of shamanist [*ongyons*] find in future reincarnations the supreme enlightenment of the Buddha!

May each living thing, having grasped the difference between that which one should accept and that which one should reject, avoid the ten black sins^[14] and attain the supreme enlightenment of the Buddha!

May each living thing, born anew from a flower in the tranquil land of *Sukavadi*:^[15] by the most merciful Abida, acquire the body of an enlightened *bodhisattva*:^[16]

I raze the foundations of Shamanism not because I myself am so virtuous, but because I rely on the injunctions of the merciful, sacred *lama*-teacher.

When the Conqueror, he who has attained complete *nirvāṇa*, he who thus gone^[17], the Buddha Śākyamuni, in those long-gone times, for the benefit of the six types of all living things^[18], to counteract the eighty-four thousand vices, preached a mound of eighty-four thousand sacred books, he enjoined not to believe in the swarm of shamanist [*ongyons*].

One should remember that this was preached not so that many living things should suffer, but to bring benefits and grace to many living things in this and future lives.

If there are here any errors and omissions, then please forgive them, my most merciful sacred *lama*-teachers.

I have recounted this not because I have learned great wisdom and understood the difference between the present and future.

[I] am not shod by pride, contradict no one (4b) and dispute no one.

I have told [all of this] in the hope that [my words] will become a means of bringing reason and reminding many living things [of the path of salvation].

My wise men, [filled] with reason!

Avoiding anger and rage, without delay having remedied [all] artfully, please distribute [this] guide.

I am an uneducated [person], foolish and of low birth.

[For this reason], my venerable wise men, please correct that which I have [here] spoken without thought for good sport.

I drew up [this teaching] because the adept Lubsang-Prinlai, filled with pioussness, repeatedly noted the necessity of this guide to turning away from the cunning swarm of shamanist [*ongyons*] that living things may benefit. Sumadi-hiya, having prayed for strength to my merciful *lama*-teacher.

Commentary

^[1] Yamantāka (Yamandaga, Skt. Yamāntaka) — Buddhist divinity of menacing appearance, one of the eight *dharmapālas* (defenders of the Teaching), implacable extirpators of Buddhism's enemies.

^[2] *Orçilang* — the material world populated by the six types of animated beings.

^[3] *Ongyon* — a shamanist idol, keeper of ancestor-spirits. The main object of worship in Shamanism.

^[4] Dark side (*qara jüg*) — in accordance with ancient Turkic and Mongol beliefs in Central Asia, black corresponded to the north side of the world.

^[5] Who Fully attained understanding — an epithet of the Buddha.

^[6] Three types of ill fate (*yurhan maṃu javayan*) — birth among animals, *pretas* (beings constantly tormented by hunger and thirst) and the dwellers of hell.

^[7] Land of Erlig (*Erlig-ün yajar*) — Buddhist hell. Erlig (or Erlik Nomun Khan) is the lord of hell, judge of the dead and guardian of the Buddhist teaching. He is aided by numerous *erligs* with the heads of various animals.

^[8] *Kanjur* — a collection of Buddhist canonical texts ascribed to the Buddha.

^[9] *Sūtra* (*sudur*, Skt. *sūtra*) — a sacred text that contains a sermon by the Buddha.

^[10] The Mongolian version of the *Kanjur* lacks a *sūtra* with the title *Qara çayan üleyin üre-i ilyaqu kemegçi neretü sudur*. The reference is likely to the work *Qutuy-tu sayin maṃu üile-yin siltayan kiged aci ür-e-yi uqaṗulqui neretü yeke kölgen sudur*, found in the *Kanjur* in the section *Eldeb*. See L. Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé* (Budapest, 1942), i, No. 1118.

^[11] “*Sūtra* called ‘The Tree of Kalbaravas’” — we know of a *śāstra* with this title in vol. 181 of the Peking xylograph edition of the *Tanjur* in Mongolian.

^[12] Sacred *tarni* — magic formulas, incantations.

^[13] “Eight Types of Light” (*Nayiman gegen*) — the canonical work *Qutuy-tu oytarṗui yajar-un naiman gegen neretü yeke kölgen sudur* in the *Dandr-a* section of the *Kanjur*. See Ligeti, *op. cit.*, No. 709.

^[14] Ten black sins — they include sins of the body (murder, theft, adultery), sins of speech (lying, cursing, slander, idle chatter), sins of thought (rapacity, anger, untoward views).

^[15] *Sukavadi* (Skt. *Sukhāvati* “land of purity”) — one of the Buddhist paradises, where the buddha Amitābha (Abida) resides in the company of the righteous.

^[16] *Bodhisattvas* (*bodisadu-a* Skt. *bodhisattva*) — in Lamaism, beings that have reached the Buddha-state but declined to leave the vortex of life so that they can help and save living things. According to *Dharmasaṃgraha*, the *Mahāyāna* pantheon includes eight main *bodhisattvas*: Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, Kṣiṭigarbha, Sarvanirvarāṇa, Maitreya, Samantabhadra, Ākāṣagarbha. Especially venerated by the northern Buddhists were Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī.

¹⁷¹“The Conqueror” (Skt. *Jina*), “he who attained complete *nirvāṇa*”, “he who thus gone” (Skt. *tathāgata*) — epithets of the Buddha.

¹⁸¹Six types of living things (*jurjuyan jūil qamuy amitan*) — *tengrin*, *asuri* (bellicose heavenly demons), people, animals, *pretas*, dwellers of hell. According to Buddhist teaching, each living thing can after death be reborn in any of these six forms; the first three are considered reincarnations of propitious fate, or higher incarnations, while the latter three are reincarnations of evil or unpropitious fate.

Notes

1. Among the earliest examples of this genre are such works as the “Message to a Friend” by Nāgārjuna, “Message to a pupil” by Candragomin and “Message to the *mahārāja* Kaniṣka” by Maṭṭceta. Translations of these writings found their way into the Tibetan and Mongolian versions of the *Tanjur*.

2. A. Sarkozi, “A preclassical Mongolian prophetic book”, *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, XXIV (1971), pp. 41—9; *idem*, *Political Prophecies in Mongolia in 17—20th Centuries* (Budapest, 1992).

3. “Spisok materialam Ts. Zhamsaranova i B. Baradiina: 1903—1904” (“List of materials by Ts. Zhamsaranov and B. Baradiyn: 1903—1904”), *Izvestiia Imperatorskoĭ Akademii nauk*, XXII/3 (St. Petersburg, 1905), p. 56.

4. D. Ėndon, A. G. Sazykin, “Tibeto-mongol'skaia didakticheskaia literatura o vrede p'iansva” (“Tibetan-Mongolian didactic literature on the perniciousness of drunkenness”), *Narody Azii i Afriki*, 3 (1984), pp. 45—55.

5. A. G. Sazykin, “Iz istorii tibeto-mongol'skoĭ didaktiki” (“On the history of Tibetan-Mongolian didactic literature”), *ibid.*, 5 (1988), pp. 98—104; *idem*, “Pouchenie-nakaz Dalaĭ-lamy liudiam, kuriashchim tabak. Pis'mo sviatogo Dzhebtzsun-damby” (“Injunction of the Dalai Lama to tobacco smokers. Letter by the holy Jebtsundamba”), *Buddizm Rossii*, Nos. 29—30, Spring-Fall 1998 (St. Petersburg, 1998), pp. 25—7; *idem*, “Prophetic messages of holy lamas about the sinfulness and perniciousness of smoking tobacco”, trans. into English by György Kara, in *Mongolian Studies. Journal of Mongolian Studies*, XXI (Bloomington, 1998), pp. 49—69; *idem*, “Dalai-lama preduprezhdaet” (“The Dalai Lama warns”), *Altaiica* (Moscow, 2001), pp. 150—9.

6. *Idem*, “Rannepchatnye buriatskie ksilografirovannye izdaniia v sobraniikh mongol'skogo fonda Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR” (“Early-print Buryat xylographs in the collections of the Mongolian fond of the Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies”), *Istoriografiia i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki*, fasc. X (Leningrad, 1987), p. 146, No. 12.

7. *Idem*, “Antishamanskaia propoved' trĕkh buddiĭskikh sviatykh” (“An anti-shamanistic sermon of the three Buddhist saints”), *Istoriografiia i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki*, fasc. XI (Leningrad, 1988), pp. 154—72.

8. Manuscript No. 11, inv. No. 2298; 4 fols. (42.0 × 11.0 cm), text dimensions: 35.5 × 8.0 cm; 32 lines per page, Russian blue paper, early 19th century, ink, pen.

9. L. S. Puchkovskii, “Sobranie mongol'skikh rukopiseĭ i ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR” (“Collection of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs at the USSR Russian Academy of Sciences Institute of Oriental Studies”), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia*, IX (Moscow—Leningrad, 1954), p. 96.

10. The same heading is found in a manuscript from the collection of O.M. Kovalevskiy held in Vilnius, see Y. Rintchen, “Manuscripts mongols de la collection du Professeur J. Kowalewski à Vilnius”, *Central Asiatic Journal*, XIX/1—2 (1975), pp. 109—10, No. 29.

11. In a manuscript legend found on the face page of the Buryat xylograph, the Dalai Lama is indicated erroneously in place of the Dalai Khutuku.

12. We know that in ordinary speech Mongolian *khutukts* were frequently referred to by names that had little to do with their official titles. This may be the case here.

13. A. M. Pozdnev, *Ocherki byta buddiĭskikh monastyrei i buddiĭskogo dukhovenstva v Mongolii v sviazi s otnosheniem sego poslednego k narodu* (Essays on the Daily Life of Buddhist Monasteries and the Buddhist Clergy in Mongolia in Connection with the Lamer's Attitude Toward the People) (St. Petersburg, 1887), p. 240, No. 20, p. 241, No. 26.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 248, No. 43.

15. *Mongolia i mongoly. Rezul'taty poezdki v Mongoliiu, ispolnennoi v 1892—1893 gg. A. Pozdnevym* (Mongolia and the Mongols. Results of a Journey to Mongolia by A. Pozdnev in 1892—1893). Vol. 2: Diary and route, 1893 (St. Petersburg, 1898), p. 472—5.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 481.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 474.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 475.

19. S. Purebjab, *Qubsyalan omnoq iq qurce* (Ulan Bator, 1961), pp. 29—30.

20. Padmasambhava (Padma Sambhava) — Indian proselytiser of Buddhism in Tibet in the second half of the eighth century.

21. Marva (Marpa), see below, n. 23.

22. Ning-ma-va (Ningmapa) was a sect of Tantric Buddhism founded in Tibet in the eighth century during the Padmasambhava's time there. It was characterized primarily by the predominance of mystical practice and conjuring was the main path to salvation from suffering.

23. Dkar-gyud-pa (Kajudpa) — a sect founded in the eleventh century by a Tibetan teacher named Marpa (1012—1097). Along with Tantric practice, the teaching of the Kajudpa sect concentrated on asceticism as an effective means of salvation.

24. Pozdnev, *Mongolia i mongoly*, p. 474.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Confirmation of the fact that the Keüken Khutukts were venerated as earthly incarnations of Yamantäka can be found, for example, in another well-known work by one of the *khubilgans* of this holy *lama*, *maṅtal* (hymn) in honour of the fearsome deity Mahäkäla. At the beginning of the text and in the colophon, the *khutuku* is referred to as none other than — “His Majesty Šinje Yamantäka, the dear Keüken Khutuku” (*erkim Singvi* (Tib. Gšĭn-rje — A. S.) *Yamandaga Erdeni Keüken qutuy-tu*). The work is kept in the Mongolian collection at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number Q184. For a translation of the short redaction of the *maṅtal*, which consists of 12 strophes, see *Obraztsy narodnoi literatury mongol'skikh plemĕn* (Examples of Folk Literature of the Mongol

Tribes). Fasc. I: *Narodnye pesni mongolov* (Folk Songs of the Mongols). Collected and published with notes on the nature of the folk song poetry of the Mongol peoples, literary poems and Mongolian poetic devices by A. Pozdnev (St. Petersburg, 1880), pp. 213—6. It is worth noting that the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection contains 9 Buryat manuscripts with the text of this *maytal*. It is also included in five collections (also Buryat) of hymns and good wishes. This manuscripts for the most part contain the full version of the *maytal* replete with 16 quatrains (see, for example, manuscript Q 308 from the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).

27. “Spisok materialam sobrannym Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano v 1910 godu vo vremia ego puteshestviia po Iuzhnoi Mongolii” (“List of materials collected by Ts. Zh. Zhamtsarano in 1910 during his journey to Southern Mongolia”). The work is kept in the archive of Orientalists at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, collection 62, inv. 1, No. 18, p. 579.

28. A. G. Sazykin, “Order of the Mongolian Keüken Khutuktu”, *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, L1/1—2 (1998), pp. 179—84; *idem*, “Proklamatsiia Khukhun-gegeña” (“Khukhun gegen's proclamation”), *Altaica III* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 82—7.

29. Pozdnev, *Mongolia i mongoly*, p. 472.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 472—4.

31. Rinchen, “Ob odnoi khori-buriatskoï rodoslovnoi” (“On one Qori Buryat genealogy”), *Acta Orientalia Hungaricae*, XVIII/1—2 (1965), pp. 223—4; G. O. Tudenov, “Legenda o Bal'zhin-khatun, odin iz pervykh pamiatnikov dorevolutsionnoi khudozhestvennoi buriatskoï literatury” (“The legend of Balzhin Khatun, one of the first texts of pre-revolutionary Buryat prose”), *Buriatskaia literatura* (Ulan-Ude, 1972). — Works of the Buryat Institute of Social Science, issue 16, philology series.

32. Pozdnev came upon one of these “Russian Buryats of the Qori jurisdiction, who had come to worship at the monastery of Keüken Khutuktu”, when he visited this sacred Mongolian *lama* (Pozdnev, *Mongolia i mongoly*, p. 472).

33. One of the most fervent proponents of the Buddha's teaching among the Western Mongols (Oirats) in the seventeenth century was Zaya-paṅḍita Namkhai-Jamco (1599—1662), whose biography tells us that he issued the order that runs: “anyone who sees someone making an offering to the *ongyons*, let him burn [those] *ongyons* and take [from the offender] a horse and a sheep. Let he who invites a shaman or female shaman to go into occultation have a horse confiscated. May the shaman and female shaman be covered in dog faeces” (Radnabhadra, *Lunnyi svet. Istoriia rabdzham Zaia-pandity* (Moonlight. The Story of Rabjam Zaya-paṅḍita), manuscript facsimile, translation from the Oirat by G. N. Rumiantsev and A. G. Sazykin. Transliteration of the text, foreword, commentary, indices and notes by A. G. Sazykin (St. Petersburg, 1999), p. 67. — Pamiatniki kul'tury Vostoka. St. Petersburg scholarly series, VII).

At the same time, another equally famed Buddhist missionary was spreading the Buddhist faith in Khalkha — Neyiji-toyin (1557—1653), also renowned for his uncompromising struggle against Shamanism, which he put into practice primarily by burning the above-mentioned hapless *ongyons*. See W. Heissig, “A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of Shamanism in the 17th century”, *Anthropos*, 48 (Wien, 1953), pp. 1—29, 493—536.

34. N. N. Poppe, “Opisanie mongol'skikh ‘shamanskikh’ rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia” (“Description of Mongolian ‘shamanist’ manuscripts at the Institute of Oriental Studies”), *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR*, 1 (Leningrad, 1932), p. 152.

35. *Gelüng* (*dgeslōng*) — a *lama* who has taken the full spiritual oath and is obliged to reside permanently in a monastery.

36. *Hiya* (*hiy-a*) — a person who accompanies noble religious and secular figures, a bodyguard. Over time this position “became a title bestowed as the distinction of several *lamas*” (Pozdnev, *Ocherki byta*, p. 168).

37. Sazykin, “Antishamanskaia propoved'”, p. 169.

38. The same colophon is found in a Buryat manuscript of a message from the Kovalevsky collection, see Rintchen, “Manuscripts mongols”, pp. 109—10, No. 29.