

An overview of the Altan Kanjur kept at the library of the academy of social sciences of inner Mongolia

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE *ALTAN KANJUR* KEPT AT THE LIBRARY OF THE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES OF INNER MONGOLIA

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Abstract

This study investigates the unique manuscript of the *Altan Kanjur* kept at the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia in Hohhot (China). According to Mongolian historiographical tradition, this manuscript collection is the final product of the *Kanjur* translation project accomplished under the auspices of Liydan qayan of the Čaqar Mongols (1588–1634) in the years 1628–1629. Apart from the fact that the *Altan Kanjur* is in itself a valuable literary monument, it can help to shed light on many issues concerning the genesis of the Mongolian *Kanjur* and link together different redactions and versions of the Mongolian *Kanjur*. Nevertheless, until recently this collection remained inaccessible for European scholars. The article provides basic information about the *Altan Kanjur* (its history, physical features of the manuscript, the colophon, and the contents), and compares the findings with the other redactions and versions of the Mongolian *Kanjur*.

1. Introduction

The genesis of the *Kanjur*, the Mongolian translation of the Tibetan bKa'-gyur (the collected teachings of the Buddha) was in itself a multistage and complex process. At present we know that the *Kanjur* was a system of texts moving through time and space, rather than a collection of holy scriptures that arose already fully formed, never to be altered.

The process of reception of the words of the Buddha (Sanskrit. Buddha-vacana) by the Mongols started as early as in the 13th–14th centuries under the Yuan.¹ After the fall of the dynasty in 1368, translation activities among the Mongols declined for almost two centuries, recommencing with renewed vigour under Altan qayan of the Tümed Mongols (1508–1582). According to his biography, the *Jewel Translucent Sūtra* (Mong. Erdeni tunumal neretü sudur),

1 See, for example, ČOYILJ, 2003.

written sometime after 1607, and the colophon of the *Daśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, translated into Mongolian by Siregetü Gūsi Čorji (late 16th–early 17th cent.),² the work on compiling the entire *Kanjur* was completed under Altan’s grandson Namudai Sečen qayan (1586–1607).³ Unfortunately, this redaction has not survived to the present day. The next manuscript edition of the *Kanjur* was carried out under Liydan qayan of Čaqar (1588–1634) in the years 1628–1629. To date, it is well established that Liydan qayan’s redaction committee made extensive use of the earlier translations, changing their colophons in favour of their patron.⁴ According to the Mongolian historiographical tradition, the final product of this translation and editorial work was a special manuscript written in gold on a blue background. Subsequently it was named “Altan”, i.e. “Golden”, *Kanjur* (AK).⁵ Only a small number of volumes from this edition have survived that are nowadays preserved in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia (China) in Hohhot.⁶ Later on, this collection became the basis for yet another edition of the Mongolian *Kanjur* – at this time a blockprint – implemented under the auspices of the Qing dynasty’s Kangxi Emperor (1654–1722) in 1718–1720 in Beijing (MK).⁷

2 On him see KARA, 1983; BAREJA-STARZYNSKA, 2006: 22–28.

3 KASYANENKO, 1993a: No. 545(1); KOLLMAR-PAULENZ, 2002b: 156–159; TUYAҒ-A, 2008: 274–278.

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

5 Scholars have also repeatedly commented on the five plain copies written down together with the *Altan Kanjur* (see, for example, KOLLMAR-PAULENZ, 2002b: 159; USPENSKY, 1997: 114) but, whereas the first one is well attested in several sources (see below), the authors of this study are not acquainted with Mongolian historical records mentioning “the five black Kanjurs”. In the article, the following sigla are used: AK [= *Altan Kanjur*], CK (= the volume preserved in Copenhagen), MK [= the Kangxi edition], NM [a volume of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* preserved in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia], PK [= the St. Petersburg manuscript], UBK [70 volumes preserved as *Kanjur* in Ulaanbaatar], UUK [the Ulan-Ude manuscript]. For the volumes studied by W. Heissig and Z. Kasyanenko, the sigla UBK1 and UBK2 are chosen as they belong to the Ulaanbaatar collection.

6 BULAҒ, 2003, vol. 2: 672–675; ERDENEEBATAR, 2010; TSERENSODNOM, 1997: 25; TUYAҒ-A, 2008: 285–287; USPENSKY, 1997: 114; YG, vol. 1: No. 1.

7 The circumstances surrounding the creation of both Liydan qayan’s and Kangxi’s editions have been repeatedly described in the literature on Mongolian studies. See, for example, HEISSIG, 1957; 1962; KASYANENKO, 1993a: 18–13; TUYAҒ-A, 2008: 278–297; USPENSKY, 1997: 113–114. For the catalogue of the Kangxi edition see LIGETI, 1942. The whole text was published by Lokesh Chandra (MK), and at present a new edition is being created in China under the direction of Prof. Altanorgil.

The following manuscripts written in black were identified by scholars as belonging to Liydan qayan's redaction: the 113 volume collection kept in the St. Petersburg State University Library (PK),⁸ one volume preserved in Copenhagen (CK)⁹, two Kanjur volumes from Bayisingtu Keyid kept in the National Library of Mongolia studied by W. Heissig (UBK1)¹⁰ and six volumes from the same depository described by Z. Kasyanenko (UBK2).¹¹ Some new data on the genesis of the *Kanjur* and its versions received over the last years allows us to add to this number the almost complete manuscript *Kanjur* kept in the Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the RAS (UUK),¹² and the bulk of the 70-volume collection kept in the National Library of Mongolia as the Kanjur (UBK).¹³

Despite this newly obtained data the same questions about the Liydan qayan's redaction still seem to be urgent: the corresponding Tibetan redaction of the bKa'-gyur (if there was any at all), the time and status of PK (before, during or after 1628–1629, a draft copy or the final version), the relation between the *Kanjur* itself and the *Naran-u Gerel* catalogue kept in the library of St. Petersburg University¹⁴, and so on.

To that end, scholars of Mongolian culture have long been intrigued by the *Altan Kanjur*. Apart from the fact that this collection is in itself a valuable literary monument, being a unique manuscript, the time and status of which are very well known, it could help to shed light on the above-mentioned issues and link together different redactions and versions of the Mongolian *Kanjur*. Thus,

8 KASYANENKO, 1993a; PK.

9 HEISSIG, 1957; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ, 2002b: 162–165.

10 HEISSIG, 1973; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ, 2002b: 162–165.

11 KASYANENKO, 1993b.

12 The only published source mentioning this Kanjur collection for some reasons that are not entirely clear identifies it as a manuscript copy of MK (see PUBAYEV, 1989: 77). At present it is absolutely clear that this collection is a version of Liydan qayan's redaction very similar to PK though, presumably, a later one. At present it is studied by N. Tsyrempilov and J. Badagarov within the framework of the *Ganjur Colophons in Comparative Analysis* project (for details of the project see GCCA).

13 In the summers of 2011 and 2012 the authors of this article had the opportunity to study this collection. Though it is kept in the library separately from other manuscripts as a unified *Kanjur* set, and the bulk of the collection is similar to PK, including the volumes described by W. Heissig and Z. Kasyanenko, it also contains non-canonical works and "alternative" translations of works from the *Kanjur*. Work on a catalogue for the whole collection is in progress and will be published in the near future.

14 For greater detail about this catalogue see KASYANENKO, 1987.

speaking of a correlation between PK and CK, K. Kollmar-Paulenz remarks: “Perhaps the solution to this problem lies in an analysis of the ‘Golden Kanjur’ preserved in China?”¹⁵ Only in 1990 did V. Uspensky have the chance to get a brief glance at the *Altan Kanjur* preserved in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia, though he did not have the opportunity to study its text.¹⁶ Apart from that, until recently this collection remained inaccessible for European scholars and only indirect data on it drawn from other sources could be found in European works.¹⁷

In the summer of 2012, the authors of this article had the unique opportunity to study the text of the *Altan Kanjur*. The results of this work are presented in this article, anticipating the publication of the full catalogue of the collection. It should be noted that because this work has not been completed yet the conclusions drawn here are of tentative nature.

2. Current state of research

Modern Mongolian sources on this edition are scarce and give us a minimum of information. Referring to the article of a certain Gua¹⁸, D. Tserensodnom tells us of the existence of 20 volumes of the *Altan Kanjur* at the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia.¹⁹ A brief description of the *Altan Kanjur* is included in first position in *The Catalogue of Ancient Mongolian Books and Documents of China* published in 1999. It contains a brief description of some physical features of the manuscript, the enumeration of the volumes and the fragments that have survived from the whole set (unlike Gua, *The Catalogue* gives the figure of 19 volumes), and the quotation of the part of the colophon for the first volume of the *Dandira* section, mentioning the fact of the “invitation” of the Kanjur to Mongolia by Liydan qayan.²⁰ In his two volume monograph dedicated to the history of religion in Mongolia, the Mongolian scholar Bulay gives the same data about the *Altan Kanjur*, but again marks the number of

15 KOLLMAR-PAULENZ, 2002b: 167.

16 USPENSKY, 1997, 113–114.

17 See, for example, HEISSIG, 1962: 12.

18 GUA, 1991: “Mongγol altan ganjuur-un tuqai tanilčayuly-a.” In: *Öbör mongγol-un neyigem sinjilekü uqayan*, 4. Unfortunately, we do not have this article at our disposal.

19 TSERENSODNOM, 1997: 25–26.

20 YG, vol. 1: No. 0001.

extant volumes at 20.²¹ In her book dedicated to the history of Mongolian manuscript culture Tuyay-a, besides the same data that is given in the *Catalogue*, quotes a part of the colophon to the entire collection to prove that the preserved volumes belong to the very same Kanjur of Liydan qaγan.²² Erdeneebatar in his article “Some Issues of the ‘Mongolian Golden Buddhist Canon’ of Mongolian Ligdan Khan”, having given some data on the appearance of the *Altan Kanjur*, concentrates mainly on how the collection got to the Library of the Academy and makes some suggestions on the location of the rest of the collection.

3. The history of the *Altan Kanjur*

The fact that the *Kanjur* was written in gold, after the editorial board had completed its work in 1629, under the auspices of Liydan qaγan, is described in several historical records including *Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kegesütü*,²³ *Altan Erike*²⁴ and the colophons of the Mongolian translations of the *Ārya-vajrapāṇi-abhiṣeka-mahātaḥtra* and the *Vinaya-uttaragrantha* included into PK and MK.²⁵

Having been written down, it was kept as one of three relics of the Mongols together with the golden statue of Mahākāla and the jade state seal of the Yuan dynasty. All three were called the “Three Jewels” (Mong. *γurban erdeni*) of Liydan qaγan. After the qaγan’s death in 1634 his nearest circle including his two wives, a son and Mergen lama surrendered to the Manchus and passed the relics to the Emperor Hong Taiji (r. 1627–1643). The possession of these relics, together with other factors, resulted in the subsequent declaration of the new Da Qing dynasty. The Mahākāla image and the *Altan Kanjur* were enshrined in the Temple of Complete Victory (Ch. Shishēngsi), also called the Mahākāla temple, built in the Manchu capital of Mukden (modern Shenyang) in 1638.²⁶

21 BULAF, 2003, vol. 2: 671–674.

22 TUYAY-A, 2008: 284–287.

23 AKMK: 148.

24 AE: 113–115.

25 HEISSIG, 1962: 12; MK: No. 130; PK: Nos. 128, 614. The numbers of the works in PK and MK are given in accordance with KASYANENKO, 1993a, and LIGETI, 1942 correspondingly.

26 ALTANORGIL, 2012: 57; BULAF, 2003, vol. 2: 672–673; ERDENEEBAATAR, 2010: 38–39; USPENSKY, 2011: 72–73, 250.

In 1957, a certain Jodba brought 20 volumes of the *Altan Kanjur* from the Mahākāla temple to the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences in Hohhot.²⁷ The fate of the other volumes is uncertain. According to Erdeneebaatar, the Japanese scholar Naitō Konan (1866–1934) who was staying in Shenyang from the 2nd of October, 1902, to the 4th of August 1905, saw some *Kanjur* volumes written in golden letters in the Pagoda of the Eastern Buddha of the Shishēngsi temple.²⁸ Erdeneebaatar suggests that afterwards the bulk of this collection was taken away to Japan where it was kept at the Imperial University until it was destroyed by the Great Kantō earthquake of 1923.²⁹

4. The manuscript of the *Altan Kanjur*

The 20 volumes, including the fragments, that are preserved in the library are written on soft multilayer Chinese paper. The inner layers are white, while the upper layers are painted indigo blue. The size of the folios in *pothi* format is 72 x 24.9 cm. The text is written with a reed pen (calamus) with gold (unwrapping the silk covers of the volumes, one can see the golden sand on them) inside the blackened interior of a frame (57.5 x 15.5 cm) that is 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.

On the left side of the frame on the recto sides of the folios there is a “rail” enclosing the number of a volume marked with the Tibetan letter, a marginal title denoting the section of the collection, and the pagination in Mongolian. In the pagination, hundreds are marked with small crosses so, for example, the number of page 346 will be written as “+++ dōčin jiryūyan”. This rule, however, is not followed throughout the whole collection and sometimes the whole number is written down with Mongolian words.

27 BULAF, 2003, vol. 2: 673; ERDENEebaatar, 2010: 39; Tserensodnom, 1997: 25; YG, vol. 1: No. 1.

28 This observation is confirmed by the information provided in the inscription *Shisheng beiji* of 1638 that many scrolls of sacred scriptures were stored at the Eastern Hall of the temple, see the translation of the inscription in GIMM, 2000/01: 89.

29 ERDENEebaatar, 2010: 39–40.

Sometimes small rectangular or trapezoidal “rails” are drawn on to the outer side of the frame. Such “rails” enclose the names of the scribes who appear to have been highly regarded, or considered themselves to be so, in the creation of the *Altan Kanjur*. Thus, on fol. 221v of the work No. 4 in the Vol. *ka*, *Dandira* (PK No. 4), we find the following sentence set in such a “rail”: d’gendun rinčen uran kičiyenggüi d’geslong bičibe. In the first part of the *Vinayavastu*, occupying the Vol. *ka* of the *Dulba* section (PK No. 599) on fol. 22r is written: ‘abrilay mergen darqan bičigeči bičibe;³⁰ and on the last folio of the same work (535r): lori dai güisi bičibe. In No. 1 of the Vol. *tha*, *Dulba* (PK No. 611) on 431r is written: ‘abayalay mergen darqan bičigeči bičibe. And on the last folio (284r) of the second part of the *Karmaśataka* in the Vol. *aH* of the *Eldeb* section (PK No. 883) and of the whole collection we encounter the name of Lori Dai Güisi again: lori dayi güisi bičibe. Most resourceful turned out to be the scribe who wrote down his name on fol. 1v of the Vol. I, *Eldeb*, right under the image of Maitreya together with the worshipping formula in Tibetan, indicating that he wrote down the beginning of this section: erdeni dayi güisi nangsü eldeb sudur-un eki bičibe.

The marks of volumes in Tibetan and Mongolian are written on the covers of some volumes. Also, in some volumes the names of the sections in Tibetan are written in red on folio 1v, and the pagination in Chinese graphemes is added on the right sides of the folios. Both were definitely added later.

The front and back folios of the Vol. *ka* of the *Dandira* section are framed with wooden boards encased with silk with the images of the eight auspicious symbols³¹ as well as animals and mythical creatures.³² The other volumes were probably decorated in the same way but their covers are lost.

The first folios of the volumes are decorated with ornamental frames which depict images of clouds and flowers. Each of the 1v folios of the volumes is illuminated with two illustrations of Buddhist deities skillfully drawn with gold and silver on a black background. Along with the illustrations, the praying formulas to the deities are provided (vertical inscriptions in Mongolian on the outer side of the illustrations and horizontal ones in Tibetan under them). The illustrations do not correspond with those in MK. The praying formula to the Three Jewels

30 In this study the following symbols are used for the Galik letters and editorial marks: ᠠ – ‘a, ᠳ – d’, ᠭ – g’; <...> – glosses and interpolations, {...} – eliminations and corrections of the text.

31 See BEER, 2003: 1–15.

32 See BEER, 2003: 60–79.

and the Sanskrit title of the work are located between the illustrations. Tibetan and Mongolian titles and the text itself continue on the subsequent folios.

Although only 20 volumes and fragments have survived of this *Kanjur* collection, they demonstrate a variety of different handwriting styles. The beginning and final parts of the texts are written in a skillful and discrete hand with sharp “teeth”, vertical forms of the long “tails” and obvious differences between thick and thin lines. The bulk of the texts is written in a smaller and less discrete, at times quite mediocre handwriting with horizontal forms of long “tails”. Both types of ductus are strongly reminiscent of some specimens of handwriting met in PK and are characteristic for manuscripts written down in the first half of the 17th century in Southern Mongolia.³³ The texts do not make any distinction between the initial “j” and “y” and the cup-shaped “č” and “ǰ” in the middle position. There are no diacritical marks for “n” and “γ”, the final “s” is a short horizontal “tail”, and the medial “t” and “d” are very often written in front of the vowels as the “loop” with the “tooth”, in the same way as “d” in front of the consonants. The initial letters do not have crowns. 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. As far as can be judged from the volumes preserved, a minimum of the Galik alphabet is used, less than the same works in PK.

Despite the obvious fact that this manuscript is a gala and luxurious edition, it is not free of all manner of editorial marks including corrections and additions. The bulk of the orthographical peculiarities of the manuscript are also characteristic for the first half of the 17th century:

- suffixes are often joined to the words (Mong. čilegeri, sönögegčide, terigüber, basabar, ačiban)
- preclassic use of “t” and “d” in the suffixes (Mong. tala-tur, oron-teki, ulusdayan, gerel-den)
- words can be written separately (Mong. es-e, ter-e, erdeni-sün)
- archaic writing of such words as *bodisung*, *linqua* and so on
- combination of q, γ and i (Mong. qiruka, hayag γiruu-a).

In contrast, there is a practically ubiquitous use of the forms *endkeg* or *enedkeg* for “Indian” in Sanskrit titles and colophons instead of the form that prevails in

33 For details of such handwritings see KARA, 2005: 111–112.

PK, *hindkeg*, which is regarded as being more archaic as it is found in the *Mukaddimat al-Adab* dating to the 14th–15th centuries.³⁴

5. The colophon

Three folios added to the Vol. *ka* of the *Dandira* section (all marked as 476, fol. 476/2v is empty) contain a colophon to the entire collection.

5.1 *Transcription*

- (1) [476/1r] oom suvasti siddam::
- (2) γayiqamsiy nigülesküi sedkil-ün egüled-eče:
qanusi ügei nom-un qur-a-yi oroγulju:
qalaγun nisvanis-ün čilgeri sönögegčide:
qamuγ-ača terigüber-iyen mörgöjü bür-ün::
- (3) erketü sigemüni burqan baγsi bidan-u:
erkilen nomoγadqaydaqun-i dayusču:
engke nirvan-tur orobasu ber:
erketü küčütü qayan bolun tegün-ü jarliy-i:
- (4) erten-ü irüger-ün küčün-iyer bodisung-nar:
elmig morid-i jiluγadqui metü:
ejelejü öber-ün öber-ün ulus-dayan:
erdeni sasin-i delgeregölügßen tere kü yosuyar::
- (5) urγumal naran metü geyigüljü bür-ün:
ülemji oron-taki dayi-un ulus-un ejen bolju:
uridus uγan³⁵ kigßen törö sasin-ača ülegßen-tür:
uduriduyči tere boγda-yin aldar inu čab boljuqui::
- (6) er-e-yin erdem-i temečeküi čaγ-tur:
ösijü iregßen küčüten dayisud-i:
esergüben es-e qanduyuluγsan:
eres-ün arslan lindan qutuγ-tu činggis qayan::

34 POPPE, 1938: 185, quoted after HEISSIG, 1957: 78.

35 The meaning of this word is not entirely clear. It is written without the initial “tooth” and with the use of diacritical marks that only sporadically appear in the manuscript of the *Altan Kanjur* (ᠲᠠᠭᠤᠨ ᠤᠮᠤᠨ). It can be interpreted either as erroneous writing of the suffix *-yuyan*, or the word *uuyan/auyan*- “the elder”.

- (7) γayiqamsiy burqan-u sasin-i manduyulju:
qarangyui [476/1v] nisvanis-ün čilgeri sönögen:
qanusi ügei uran arɣ-a-bar:
qamuɣ-a tusatu ɣurban sang nom-i delgeregülbei::
- (8) altan toɣorčay-tur qamtu-bar amurlin aɣsan:
asuru törö sasin-u dumda töröl oluɣsan:
asaraqıı nigülesküi usqal sedkiltei:
adalidqası ügei noɣoɣan dar-a mügelen günji neretei::
- (9) uridu sayın irügel-ün ačıbar:
ulus-un ejen qaɣan-a soyorqaydayısan:
umurtal ügei küčün auɣ-a tegüsüksen:
onča törö sasin-i bariysan tonoi küi vang jirin-e::
- (10) ečiɣe eke-deče törögksen ačıban duradču:
ene ba qoyıtus-tur aldarsıqu-yin tulada:
erkilen bütügebei noɣoɣan dar-a günji tonoi küi vang qoyar::
- (11) čınar buyan-u küčün yeketei:
čındamani erdeni metü sedkiltei:
čing joriɣ-un urɣumal sambay-a-tu:
čınar-ača orosiysan teden-ü duradqal-ıyar::
- (12) gegen qoɣosun čayalsun-u tala-tur:
gandig-un qaɣan kürdün morin-ıyar aɣulun <barıbasu:>
gerel-den odud-un körög urɣuysan metü:
ken-e ba üjebesü qamuɣ-un sedkil bayasqu metü::
- (13) [476/2r] tunumal altan erdeni-ber bütügebei burqan-u nom-i:
tungyalaysan ejen qaɣan-u jarlıy-un ači-bar:
tobčılan erkilebei güisi nangsu lori dayi güisi bagıma (begime?) qonjin:
türgen-e bütügebei arban tümen-ü bičiɣečin::
- (14) čındamani olju takıbasu küsel-i qanɣaqu metü:
čing joriɣ-ıyar aɣuras-ıyan ergüjü ene oron-tur:
čınar buyan-tu burqan-u jarlıy nom-i jalɣad:
čiqula mongɣol-un ayalɣu-<tur> ündüsün bolbai::
- (15) asuru ene degedü ɣurban sang nom-i:
aju erkilen jakıruysad-un neres inu:
ariyun sanvar-tu quvaray-ud-un erdeni saysabad:
aɣuda bingtu joriqai namasai sengge tayisi kiged <buyu>::
- (16) imayta čıdayči sigemüni burqan:
itegel ügegün-tür idegen öggügči-yin qoriyan-tur:
ilangɣuy-a ɣurban sang nom-i nomlayısan metü:
ilete ɣurban sansar-i ilayuyči keyid-tür bütügebei::

- (17) čayalsun ba aliba üile üiledügčid:
 čing joriγ-dan tede bügüdeger:
 čaylasi ügei nasun-u ečüs-tür kürčü:
 čay jergeber burqan-u qutuγ-tur kürtügei::
- (18) dalai-metü ene degedü nom-i bičigülügen sayin buyan-iyar:
 daki qamuγ amitan-u nisvanis arilju bür-ün:
 tengsel ügei qoyar čiyulγan-i quriyayad:
 tegsi amitan-u tulada burqan bolun bütütügei::
- (19) mangga lam bavandu::
- (20) [476/3r] ilete γurban sansar-i ilayuyči neretü keyid-tür bütügebei::
- (21) čayalsun ba aliba üile-yi jakiruγsan:
 čing <joriγ-dan> tede bügüdeger:
 čaylasi ügei jirγalang-tu nasun-u ečüs-tür kürčü bür-ün:
 čay jergeber ečüs-tür burqan-u qutuγ-tur kürtügei::
- (22) dalai metü ene degedü burqan-u jarliγ nom-i bičigsen sayin buyan-iyar:
 daki qamuγ amitan-u qarangγui nisvanis arilju bür-ün:
 degedü qoyar čiyulγan-u ünen mör-i üris-ün quriyayad:
 tengsel ügei degedü burqan-u qutuγ-i jergeber olqu boltuyai:: ::

5.2 Translation

- (1) Om svasti sidam!
- (2) [I] bow down
 To the one who extinguishes the heat of the burning *kleśas*,
 By shedding the rain of the unsurpassed Teaching
 From the clouds of wonderful merciful thoughts.
- (3) When the mighty Śākyamuni Buddha, our teacher,
 Having disciplined those who were to be tamed
 Passed to serene *nirvāṇa*,
 Bodhisattvas through the power of former wish-prayers
- (4) Became mighty qayans.
 And each in his own *ulus*, ruled by them,
 Just as they rein an unbroken horse,
 Having spread the jewel[like] religion,

- (5) Let [it] shine like the rising sun.³⁶
 When [he] became a sovereign of the Dayuan *ulus* [located] in the vast land
 And the state and religion exceeded those established by his ancestors
 The glory of this Holy Leader became outstanding.³⁷
- (6) A lion among men, Lindan Qutuy-tu Činggis Qayan,
 Who in times of contest in men's skills
 Did not let the hostile mighty enemies
 March forth against him,
- (7) Let the wonderful religion of the Buddha flourish,
 And having extinguished the heat of the dark *kleśas*,
 Spread the Teaching of the Three *Piṭakas*³⁸ that is beneficial to all
 Through unsurpassed skillful means.
- (8) The peerless Green Tārā, called Mügelen günji,
 Who serenely rested in a golden flower bud,
 Who obtained her birth amidst the outstanding [union of] state and religion,
 Who is endowed with kind, merciful and gentle thoughts
- (9) And Tonoï küi vang, the holder of outstanding state and religion,
 Endowed with unforgettable power,
 Who due to the previous good benedictions
 Was favoured by the qayan, the sovereign of the *ulus*,

36 It is interesting to note that the first three stanzas of this colophon are very similar to some parts of the colophon in the *Pañcarakṣā* translated into Mongolian by Shes-rab Seng-ge (14th cent.). Cf.: [12r] [...] ürgülji nigülesküi sedkil-ün egülen-eče: ükül-ügei nom-un qur-ayı oroyulju: orčilang-un čilger qalayun-i sönögegči-de: oroi-bar-ıyan kündülen mörgöjü bürün:: [...] [13v] qočorlı ügei nirvan-tur orobai öbesüben:: öber-ıyen nomoyadqaqun-i dayusqaju: orobasu ber tere boyda nirvan-tur: ölgeldün merged töröjü tegün-ü jarlıy-i: urıymal naran-tur adalı geyigülügsen-i: erten-ü irügel-ün küčün-ıyer bodisung-nar: erketü küčütü qayan bolun töröjü: ejelejü öber-ün öber-ün ulus-tayan: erdeni sasin nom-i delgeregüljüki:: PR, pt. V: 12r–13v. For a description of the blockprint edition of the *Pañcarakṣā* containing the quoted colophon see ÜSPENSKY, 1999, No. 003.

37 As Liydan qayan's name appears only in the next sentence it is not quite clear if these lines refer to him or to some other ruler. In the colophon of the *Pañcarakṣā* a similar expression describes Činggis qayan, PR, pt. V: 13v: [...] aldar inu: činggis qayan kemen jambudiib-tur čab boljuqui::

38 Though the common Mongolian equivalent for *piṭaka* is *ayımay saba*, here the expression *yurban sang nom* is used, verbally translating Tib. mdzod gsum.

- (10) These two, Noḡuyan Dara gūnji and Tonoī kūi vang
 Recalling the benefaction of birth from their parents
 And to gain renown in this and future lives
 Headed the creation [of this *Kanjur*].
- (11) As a result of their recollection, which comes from the quality
 Of possessing great power of merits,
 Thoughts that are like the Cintāmaṇi jewel,
 And growing strength of sincere aspiration
- (12) They inscribed the Buddha’s Teaching with pure gold and jewels
 On sheets of bright and clean paper
 Like when the Gandig qaḡans³⁹ maintain the line on their fast horses,
 The images of bright stars appear
- (13) And whoever sees them, his thoughts rejoice.
 By the benefaction of the sovereign qaḡan’s considered order
 Gūsi Nangsu, Lori Dai Gūsi and Bagima (Begime?) Qonjin headed its
 creation.
 Scribes from the ten *tūmen* quickly carried it out.
- (14) As if having found Cintāmaṇi and worshiped it, one fulfills his wishes,
 [They] made an offering of their property in sincere aspiration
 And invited the meritorious *buddhavacana* to this land
 [So] the tradition was established in the Mongolian language.
- (15) The names of those who managed [the creation of]
 This outstanding supreme Three *Piṭakas* are
 Erdeni Sajsabad from those monks with pure vows,
 Bingtu Joriqai and Namasai Sengge tayisi.
- (16) Just as the mighty Śākyamuni Buddha
 Had always preached the Teaching of the Three *Piṭakas*

39 Mong. gandig-ūn qaḡan. This expression is also met in another colophon (PK No. 817) where they are called “seven Gandig qaḡans dispersing any darkness” (Mong. eldeb qarangyu-yi arilyayči doloḡan g’andig-ūn qaḡan). The word *gandig* seem to be a very corrupted form of the Sanskrit *śikhaṇḍin* amongst its other meanings denoting the stars of the Big Dipper constellation. See also the expression *citra-śikhaṇḍin* given in Amarakośa as one of the names of the Big Dipper AM: 14v/3.

In the hall of Anāthapiṇḍada⁴⁰

They created [it] in the temple Victorious over the Three Worlds.

- (17) May all those with sincere aspiration
Who [provided] the paper or did any other deeds
Having come to the end of their endless lives
Finally attain the state of Buddhahood.
- (18) Through the good merit of commissioning the writing of this supreme
ocean-like Teaching,
May all sentient beings be cleansed of their *kleśas*
Acquire the unparalleled Two Accumulations⁴¹
And become Buddhas for the sake of sentient beings.
- (19) Manggalam bavandu!⁴²
- (20) Completed in the temple named Victorious over the Three Worlds.
- (21) May all those with sincere aspiration
Who [provided] the paper or did any other deeds
Having come to the end of their endless blissful life
Finally attain the state of Buddhahood.
- (22) Through the good merit of having written this excellent ocean-like
Teaching
May all sentient beings be cleansed of their dark *kleśas*
Quickly acquire the true path of the excellent Two accumulations
And properly attain the incomparable superior state of Buddhahood.

Apart from the inevitable praise of Liydan qayan, the colophon mentions three groups of persons involved in the creation of the *Altan Kanjur* and the spot where the project took place.

The first group of persons, which initiated and, probably, donated the creation of the manuscript collection, includes Green Tāra Mūgelen gūnji and Tonoī kūi vang.

40 Mong. itegel ügegün-tür idegen öggügči; Tib. mgon med zas sbyin – a generous benefactor of the Lord Buddha.

41 Mong. qoyar čiyulyan; Tib. tshogs gnyis – the accumulations of wisdom and merit that are the fundamental elements of the Bodhisattva path.

42 This seems to be the end of the colophon. On fol. 476/3r the last part of the colophon is repeated with some variations, as if someone was editing it.

The second group of persons, which carried out the direct management of the creation of the manuscript, comprises Erdeni Saysabad, Bingtu Joriqai and Namasai Sengge tayisi.

At present we do not have sufficient data for the exact identification of these persons, as none of their names are mentioned in full in connection with Liydan qayan's *Kanjur* in any sources available to us. From the three persons with the name Tonoï (Tonai) offered by the *Mongyol Sudlul-un Nebterkei Toli*, only Tonoï (?–1659), who was based on the territory of the Qaračïn Mongols, chronologically fits the time of Liydan qayan's translation project.⁴³ It may also be worth mentioning that *Altan Erike* informs us of a certain Bingtu Sečen Ombo who brought some Tibetan bKa'-gyur used for the translation.⁴⁴ The name Erdeni Saysabad could be a translation of the Tibetan Tshul-khrims Rinchen. A bilingual (Mong. tel kelen-i medegči) translator with the name Čulkrim or Čulkrim toyin is mentioned in several *Kanjur* colophons.⁴⁵

The third group of actants are the direct creators of the *Altan Kanjur* – Güsi Nangsu, Lori Dai Güsi and Bagima (Begime?) Qonjin. In a number of colophons in the Mongolian *Kanjur*, Güsi Nangsu, or in full Erdeni Dai Güsi Nangsu, is named as the Mongolian translator and scribe.⁴⁶ In the colophon of the *Vinaya-uttaragrantha*, Lori Dai Güsi is said to be the person who wrote this work down in some “golden book”, which Heissig, in our opinion reasonably, identifies with the *Altan Kanjur*.⁴⁷ Apart from being mentioned in the colophon to the entire collection, his name appears twice in the manuscript, within the “rails” drawn on to the outer side of the frame⁴⁸ allowing us to suggest that he was one of the main scribes of the project. The name of Bagima (Begime?) Qonjin does not occur in the colophons of PK or MK.

The project was located, according to the colophon, at the temple called “Victorious over the Three Worlds” (Mong. *γurban sansar-i ilayuyči keyid*). A similar name occurs in the bilingual inscription in Čayan Suburya-tu copied by A. Pozdneev during his journey in Mongolia in 1893. Mentioning the alliance of Liydan qayan and Šarba qutuγtu, this inscription dedicated to the construction of two suburyans by the qayan and his sister in 1626 refers to another text, saying that all this is already written in detail on the stone pillar at the temple Victorious

43 NT: 874.

44 AE: 114.

45 PK: Nos. 285, 287, 549, 627, 629, 630, 632.

46 See HEISSIG 1962: 39–41; PK: Nos. 634, 704, 705, 707, 709, 710, 723, 816, 817.

47 HEISSIG, 1962: 11–12. See the colophon in MK: No. 141; PK: No. 613.

48 See in details above.

over the Three Worlds (Mong. *γurban sansar-takin-i teyin ilayaqui ordo qarsi-yin kösiy-e čilayun*; Tib. *pho brang srid gsum rnam rgyal gyi rdo ring*).⁴⁹

A more detailed name for this temple is given in the *Altan Erike*: “The Court of Universal Joy, Victorious over the Three Worlds of Siregetü Noyan Čorji in the monastery of the second Juu Rimboche” (Mong. *qoyaduyar juu rinboči-yin keyid siregetü noyan čorji-yin γurban sansar-i teyin büged ilayuyısan qotola bayasqayči qoriyan*) as the location of the *Kanjur* translation project.⁵⁰

On the basis of the data maintaining that from 1626 Šarba qutuıtu lived in Pai-t’a-tzu where the Čayan Suburyan was erected and the above-mentioned inscription was located, Heissig suggested that the year-long work of translating and editing the *Kanjur* was carried out in the temple built by Liydan qayan in Čayan Suburya-tu.⁵¹ This assumption was shared by other scholars as well.⁵²

A number of Inner Mongolian scholars adhere to a different point of view and identify this place as being the eminent Hohhot monastery Siregetü Juu (Ch. *Xilitu zhao*)⁵³, that was built by Sengge Dügüreng qayan in 1585 to coincide with the visit of the Third Dalai Lama to Hohhot.⁵⁴ This assumption is probably based on the partial coincidence of the name of this monastery (Mong. *qoyaduyar juu süm-e; siregetü juu*) with the name of the translation site given in *Altan Erike* and the possibility that Liydan qayan stayed in Hohhot during his campaign against the Ordos in 1627.⁵⁵

Despite the attractiveness of both assumptions (especially the idea that the translation project took place in Hohhot, which would explain the absence of any physical evidence of Namudai Sečen qayan’s redaction, which in this case could have been used as a draft copy), they are based on circumstantial evidence. At present, we do not have any direct evidence relating to where the temple mentioned in the colophon of the *Altan Kanjur* was actually located.

49 POZDNEEV, 1898: 374–375, 385 paragraph 26, 394.

50 AE: 114.

51 HEISSIG, 1980: 30.

52 See, for example, TUYAT-A, 2008: 284.

53 ERDENEEBATAR, 2020: 35; TSERENSODNOM, 1997: 25

54 ELVERSKOG, 2003: 212 note 80.

55 ERDENEEBATAR, 2010: 35. This point of view is close to yet another suggestion advanced by Altanorgil and others, that during this march Liydan qayan acquired a copy of the *Kanjur* translated in 1605–1607 while he was residing in Hohhot. ELVERSKOG, 2003: 211 note 76.

6. The contents of the *Altan Kanjur*

The *Altan Kanjur* is not arranged in any order in the storage of the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences, but as the number and order of works in its volumes are absolutely identical with those in PK, we will follow the same order in the description of its volumes.

Dandira section

Vol. 1(1)

Fols. 1–474. Marked Tib. *ka*. Margin. *dandir-a uridu*. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Mañjuśrī with inscriptions (Mong. *mañjusri-yin dandir-a nigen::*, Tib. ‘*jam dpal la phyag ‘tshal lo*); on the right – Kālacakra with inscriptions (Mong. *čoytu čay-un kürdün-e mörgömü::*, Tib. {‘}dus ‘*chor la na mo//*). 11 works corresponding with PK Nos. 1–11.

Vol. 10(10)

Fols. 1–335. Marked Tib. *tha*. Margin. *dandir-a*, from fol. 100 changes into Mong *ta*. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Mañjuśrī with an inscription (Tib. ‘*jam dpal la na mo//*); on the right – Mañjughoṣa with an inscription (Tib. ‘*jam dbyangs la na mo//*). Two works corresponding with PK Nos. 133–134.

Vol. 19(19)

In one bundle with the Vol. *zha*. Incomplete, fols. 1–83, then fol. 413, prepared for writing but empty. Marked Tib. *dza*. Margin. *dandir-a*. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Avalokiteśvara with inscriptions (Mong. *yeke nigülesügči-de mörgömü::*, Tib. ‘*jam dpal la phyag ‘tshal lo*); on the right – Amoghapāśa with inscriptions (Mong. *tus-a-tu salm-a-tu mörgömü::*, Tib. *don zhags pa la phyag ‘tshal lo//*). Only the first incomplete work corresponding with PK No. 288.

Vol. 21(21)

In one bundle with the incomplete Vol. *dza*. Fols. 1–419; fol. 304 is missing. Marked Tib. *zha*. Margin. *dandir-a*. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Hayagrīva with inscriptions (Mong. *hayag yiruu-a-tur mörgömü::*, Tib. *rta mgrin la phyag ‘tshal lo//*); on the right – Ekajaṭī with inscriptions (Mong. *γayča üsütü eke-tür mörgömü::*, Tib. *ral gcig ma la phyag ‘tshal lo//*). 17 works corresponding with PK Nos. 297–313.

Vol. 22(22)

Fols. 1–398. Marked Tib. *za*. Margin. dandir-a. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Buddha Dīpaṅkara with inscriptions (Mong. dibang'g'ar-a burqan-a mörgömü::, Tib. mar me mdzad la phyag 'tshal lo//); on the right – Maitreya with inscriptions (Mong. mayidari burqan-a mörgömü::, Tib. sangs rgyas byams pa la na mo//). One work corresponding with PK No. 314.

Vol. 25(25)

Fols. 1–358. Marked Tib. *ra*. Margin. 1v dandir-a, from 2r köke degel-tü dandir-a. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Vajravārāhī with inscriptions (Mong. yaqai eke-tür mörgömü::, Tib. phag mo zhal gnyis pa la na mo//); on the right – Kurukullā with inscriptions (Mong. g'uru g'ülig ökin tngri-tü mörgömü::, Tib. ku ru ku li lha mo la na mo//). 16 works corresponding with PK Nos. 502–517.

Yum section

Vol. 38(12)

Incomplete, fols. 5–325; first four and the last folios are missing. Marked Tib. *na*.⁵⁶ Margin. yum arban qoyaduḡar. One incomplete work corresponding with PK No. 535.

Qorin tabun mingyatu section

Vol 41(3)

Fols. 2–333, the first folio is missing; in its place there is an empty folio with an inscription (Mong. qorin tabun mingyatu ḡutayar ga boti: 325 qayudsu-ača eke nigen qayudasu ügei::) written with red pencil. Marked Tib. *ga*. Margin. qorin tabun mingyatu. One work corresponding with PK No. 538.

Olangki section

Only the 328 folio is preserved in one bundle with Vol. *wa* from the *Eldeb* section. No volume mark. Margin. olangki burqan.

(incipit) [328r] qamuḡ bügüde nököd bayasču bisireged daḡan bayasču: ker ele emüsügšen debel-nurud-iyar tegünçilen iregsen-ü bey-e-tür emüskeḡü: tendeče nomoḡadqaqui neretü tere genel akanista oron-tu inaysida amitan-u ayus tamu-

56 In PK this volume is marked Tib. *a*.

ača degegsi-de geyigülün üiledčü arban жүг-үн qamuy burqad-i түгүрејү жічи
 ireged: ilaju tegüs nögčigsen-ü oroi usnir-tur singgebei: [...] (terminator) [328v] [...] ene nom-un жүил-i sonosuγad sača bayaturqan yabuqui
 diyan-i olumui: ayalγu kiged: ayalγu busu-yi medeküi samadi kiged:

Dulba section

Vol. 60(1)

Fols. 1–535. Marked Tib. *ka*. Margin. *dulba*. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Buddha Śākyamuni with inscriptions (Mong. sig'emuni-tur mörgömü:, Tib. shA kya thub pa la na mo//); on the right – Buddha Śākyamuni with inscriptions (Mong. aldarsiγsan čoy-tuda mörgömü:, Tib. dpal rgyas la na mo//). The first part of the *Vinayavastu* corresponding with PK No. 599.

Vol. 61(2)

In one bundle with the incomplete Vols. *tha*, *na*. Incomplete, fols. 2–183; the first folio and the last ones are missing. Marked Tib. *kha*. Margin. *dulba*, some folios have no margin. The second incomplete part of the *Vinayavastu* corresponding with PK No. 600.

Vol. 69(10)

In one bundle with the incomplete Vols. *kha*, *na*. Incomplete, fols. 367–431; the beginning and the last folios are missing. Marked Tib. *tha*. Margin. *dulba*. One incomplete work corresponding with PK No. 611.

Vol. 71(12)

In one bundle with the incomplete Vols. *kha*, *tha*. Incomplete, only fols. 14–15. Marked Tib. *na*. Margin. *dulba*. The first incomplete part of the *Vinaya-uttara-grantha* corresponding with PK No. 613.

Vol. 72(13)

Incomplete, fols. 1–355; the last folios are missing. Marked Tib. *pa*. Margin. *dulba*. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Buddha Vimala with inscriptions (Mong. kkir ügegütüde mörgömü:, Tib. dri ma med pa la na mo//); on the right – Buddha Kusumaśrī with inscriptions (Mong. čėčeg-ün čoy-tuda mörgömü:, Tib. me tog dpal la na mo//). The second incomplete part of the *Vinaya-uttara-grantha* corresponding with PK No. 614.

Eldeb section

Vol. 92(20)

Incomplete, fols. 1–256, the last folios are missing. Marked Tib. *wa*. Margin. olan sudur. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Buddha Kusumaśrī with inscriptions (Mong. čečeg-ün čoy-tuda mörgömü::, Tib. me tog dpal la na mo//); on the right – Buddha Ratnāṅgavyūhadyuti with inscriptions (Mong. erdeni öngge-yi yog'a üjügülügči-de mörgömü::, Tib. rin chen gzugs bkod snang la na mo//). Six works (the last one incomplete) corresponding with PK Nos. 749–754.

Vol. 103(31)

In one bundle with the incomplete Vols. *U*, *rI*. Incomplete, only fols. 1–39, 54. Marked Tib. *oM*. on the cover and the first folios, then Tib. *a* as in PK. Margin. eldeb. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Buddha Ratnaśikhin with inscriptions (Mong. erdeni usnir-tuda mörgömü::, Tib. rin chen gtsug tor can la na mo//); on the right – Buddha with inscriptions (Mong. erdeni ilayūsan sang-tuda mörgömü::, Tib. rin chen rgyal ba'i mdzod la na mo//). Two works (the last one incomplete) corresponding with PK Nos. 840–841.

Vol. 106(34)

Incomplete, fols. 1–355; fol. 350 and the last folios are missing. Marked Tib. *I*. Margin. eldeb sudur, starting from the third folio – olan sudur, then – olangki. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Śākyamuni with inscriptions (Mong. saky-a muni burqan-a mörgömü::, Tib. shAkya thub pa la na mo//); on the right – Maitreya with inscriptions (Mong. ilayūsan mayidari-tur mörgömü::, Tib. rgyal ba byams pa la na mo//). Nine works (the last one incomplete) corresponding with PK Nos. 866–874.

Vol. 108(36)

In one bundle with the incomplete Vols. *oM*, *rI*. Incomplete, fols. 2–82, 174–182, 240–413; folios from 370 are damaged with moisture, the last six folios are seriously damaged and have stuck together so they are practically unreadable; some of the last folios may be missing. Marked Tib. *U*. Margin. eldeb sudur. The second incomplete part of the *Ārya-saddharmānusmṛtyupasthāna* corresponding with PK No. 876.

Vol. 110(38)

In one bundle with the incomplete Vols. *oM*, *U*. Incomplete, only fols. 189–191. Marked Tib. *rI*. Margin. eldeb. One incomplete work corresponding with PK No. 878.

Vol. 113(41)

Fols. 1–284. Marked Tib. *aH*.⁵⁷ Margin. eldeb ṣayun üiletü, ṣayun üiletü. On 1v two illustrations: on the left – Buddha Yuddhajaya with an inscription (Tib. g.yul la shin tu rnam pa rgyal ba la na mo); on the right – Buddha Suvikrāntaśrī with an inscription (Tib. mam par gnon pa gshegs pa'i dpal la na mo//). The second part of the *Karmaśataka* corresponding with PK Nos. 883.

7. Analysis

The extant 20 volumes and the fragments of the *Altan Kanjur* contain 76 complete and incomplete works. As mentioned above, the order of works and their number in the volumes are absolutely identical to those in PK and differ considerably from MK where the same works are often scattered in different volumes. The texts of the works with the exception of those containing the *Pañcarakṣā* (PK Nos. 506–510)⁵⁸ are also very close to those in PK.

The works of the *Altan Kanjur* contain 48 colophons. Apart from a number of orthographical and lexicographical variant readings, the bulk of them are identical to those in PK. The exceptions are:

- The colophon of the work No. 3 in the Vol. *ka* of the *Dandira* section, where there is a second part of the Tibetan colophon omitted in PK No. 3.
- The colophons of the works Nos. 5–9 in the Vol. *ra* of the *Dandira* section containing the *Pañcarakṣā* (PK Nos. 506–510).⁵⁹
- The colophon of the work No. 13 in the Vol. *ra* of the *Dandira* section, where there is a second part of the Tibetan colophon and a Mongolian colophon saying that Mati Badr-a Sagar-a Siri Badr-a Toyin Čorji translated this work under the guidance of Künga Odser (omitted in PK No. 514).
- The colophon of the work No. 14 in the Vol. *ra* of the *Dandira* section, where there is a Mongolian colophon identical to No. 13 and a benediction omitted in PK No. 514.
- Three colophons adding the names of the scribes not mentioned in PK: No. 11 in the Vol. *ka* of the *Dandira* section – Biligtü Nom-un Dalai (PK No. 11); No. 1 in the Vol. *ga* of the *Qorin tabun minyatu* section – Sarva Bandi

57 The same volume in PK is marked as Tib. *a*.

58 See in details below.

59 See in details below.

(PK No. 538); and No.1 in the Vol. *wa* of the *Eldeb* section – Surum (PK No. 749).

The five works containing the *Pañcarakṣā*⁶⁰ represent the major divergence between AK and PK. In both collections, these works are Nos. 5–6 in the Vol. *ra* of the *Dandira* section (PK Nos. 506–510). The titles of the works in AK are different from those in PK and coincide with the titles of the *Pañcarakṣā* identified by P. Aalto as “the drafts going back to the version of Chos-kyi ‘Odzer”,⁶¹ an eminent scholar and translator of Buddhist texts of the 14th century. The first three works in AK have colophons, the Mongolian parts of which say that they were translated from Tibetan with the use of Uigur texts by another famous translator of the 14th century, Shes-rab Seng-ge on the orders of Qubilai qaγan’s grandson Esen Temür.

The works in PK have different titles and only the translation of the *Mahā-mantrānudhāri-sūtra*, the last work in the set, has a long colophon giving an account of the new translation of the *Pañcarakṣā* accomplished in the 16th century by Ayusi Güsi, one of the eminent Mongolian translators of the late 16th–early 17th centuries.⁶²

In MK, the *Pañcarakṣā* works are in the Vol. *pha* of the *Dandira* section (Nos. 179–183). The titles of the first two works are slightly edited in comparison with PK, while the other three are identical with PK. Works Nos. 3 and 4 have Tibetan colophons but no Mongolian ones. The last work in the set has the same colophon as PK.

Even a superficial textological analysis shows that all five texts of the *Pañcarakṣā* in AK substantially differ from those in PK, having preserved the language and the Buddhist terminology of the 14th century. The texts of the same works in PK are much later translations with the Buddhist terminology being based on Tibetan equivalents.⁶³ The same texts in MK represent the slightly edited versions of translations prepared by Ayusi Güsi.

60 See the titles of the works in KOLLMAR-PAULENZ, 2002a: 177–178 note 4.

61 AALTO, 1954: 35–46.

62 KOLLMAR-PAULENZ, 2002a: 177–178; KASYANENKO, 1993a: No. 510.

63 For a description of the Buddhist terminology of the two translations of the *Pañcarakṣā*, see SÁRKÖZI, 2010.

8. Conclusion

In summing up this overview of the collection preserved in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia, it should be noted that all the characteristics of the manuscript indicate that it is the Liydan qaγan's *Altan Kanjur* completed in 1629.

Taking into account the similarities between AK and PK, together with the fact that the yellow snake year (Mong. *sir-a moyai*) when the translation project was completed⁶⁴ as well as the creation of the *Altan Kanjur* itself⁶⁵ are mentioned in the colophons of PK, it is unlikely that PK is a draft copy written down some time before 1629, as has been suggested in some works on Mongolian studies.⁶⁶ Instead, it would appear to be a copy which was created after the *Altan Kanjur*, with the old translation of the *Pañcarakṣā* being replaced with a newer one. With regard to this a question arises: Is this copy one of the “black” *Kanjurs* made within Liydan qaγan's project, or a later version?

To ascertain this, a deep textological analysis of all the existing versions of the Mongolian *Kanjur* is needed.⁶⁷ In any event, even relying alone on the data we already have, we can maintain that the history of the *Kanjur*, rather than a succession of separate redactions, appears to be a continuous process in which the creation of each new copy was sufficient grounds for some further editing.

64 PK: Nos. 268, 413, 581, 624, 733.

65 PK: No. 614.

66 See, for example, KOLLMAR-PAULENZ, 2002b: 166, 173.

67 In connection with this it is worth mentioning a separate volume of the Mongolian translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (NM) preserved amongst the volumes of two manuscript *Kanjurs* (YG, vol. 1: Nos. 00002, 00003) in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia. The design and size of this manuscript are absolutely identical to those of PK. Even the boards for holding the manuscripts seem to be identical. NM is written on paper of a poorer quality and with a bolder hand than the similar volume of PK. Therefore the number of folios is almost double. The colophon is identical to PK but adds the name of a scribe (Mong. Bilig-tü Küngga Ubasi Šanding) and a benediction. Overall, it appears to be clear that PK and the *Kanjur* collection to which NM belonged were twin manuscripts written down at the same time and in the same place.

Abbreviations

| | |
|------|---|
| AE | Altan erike |
| AK | Altan Kanjur |
| AKMK | Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü |
| AM | Amarakoša |
| GCCA | Ganjur Colophons in Comparative Analysis |
| MK | Mongolian Kanjur |
| NM | Qutuy-tu bilig-ün činadu kiĵayar-a kürügsen naiman mingyatu |
| NT | Mongyol sudlul-un nebterkei toli |
| PK | Kanjur. Ms., St. Petersburg State Library |
| PR | Mongolian translation of Pañcarakṣā |
| YG | Dumdadu ulus-un erten-ü mongyol nom biĉig-ün yerüngkei yarĉay |

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