

REPORTS FROM THE SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION TO THE NORTH-WESTERN  
PROVINCES OF CHINA UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF DR SVEN HEDIN

— THE SINO-SWEDISH EXPEDITION —

PUBLICATION 38

## **VIII. Ethnography**

**6**

CONTRIBUTIONS TO  
ETHNOGRAPHY, LINGUISTICS  
AND HISTORY OF RELIGION

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STATENS ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM  
STOCKHOLM 1954



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*Printed in Sweden*

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# P R E F A C E

In the Preface to Publication 18 of this series Sven Hedin already mentioned that it had been found expedient to assemble all the contributions mainly based on the collections and notes of the ethnographical section under the general heading of *VIII Ethnography*. The present volume thus comprises a number of short studies of varying character and arrangement. The inclusion of this somewhat heterogeneous material in a single volume has had the advantage of permitting even short contributions to be published in this series.

Many circumstances have delayed the publication of this first collective volume with the result that several of the papers have already appeared in the form of off-prints. It therefore affords us great satisfaction to be able — at long last — to place this work complete at the disposal of our subscribers.

*Gösta Montell*



DIE TOLLWUT IN DER HEILKUNDE  
DES LAMAISMUS

VON

W. A. UNKRIG

*Printed in Sweden*

# DIE TOLLWUT IN DER HEILKUNDE DES LAMAISMUS NACH TIBETISCH-MONGOLISCHEN TEXTEN IM "STATENS ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEUM" ZU STOCKHOLM

VON

W. A. UNKRIG

FRANKFURT a. M.

**I**n seinem Buche »Våra vänner på stäppen«, dessen deutscher Übersetzung unter dem Titel »Durch die Steppen der Mongolei« (Stuttgart, Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1938) der Schreiber dieser Zeilen in den »Sinica — Zeitschrift für Chinakunde und Chinaforschung«, Jhrg. XIII/1938, SS. 287—290, eine Besprechung widmen konnte, erwähnt der Verfasser, Dr. GÖSTA MONTELL (SS. 109/110 der deutschen Ausgabe), eine kurze, traurige Episode, in der es sich um einen »tollen Hund« (dort mongolisch »Galchar nohoy« genannt, das eine örtliche dialektische Wiedergabe des schriftmongolischen *galḍaḡu noxai*, entsprechend dem tibetischen *k'yi smyo* oder *k'yi smyon pa*, ist) handelt: »Weisser Schaum stand dem Tier vor dem Maul; es machte kurze Sprünge nach den Seiten, konnte sich aber nicht entschliessen, wohin es sich wenden sollte.« Diese knappe, aber durchaus zutreffende Schilderung des von der Tollwut befallenen bedauernswerten Hundes, der glücklicherweise keinen weiteren Schaden anrichten konnte, wolle der Leser übrigens zum Vergleich mit einer fast gleichlautenden Stelle der folgenden, dem tibetischen Schrifttum entnommenen Ausführungen im Gedächtnis behalten. Das ganze Vorkommnis gelangt damit zum Abschluss, dass ein wohlgezielter Schuss den Leiden des armen Tieres ein Ende macht, indes der Schütze, ein Mongole, seinen erstaunten Zuhörern noch einige Hinweise zum Besten gibt, deren strikte Durchführung tollwütigen Tieren den normalen Zustand wiedergeben soll. So interessant nun auch die diesen Hinweisen zu Grunde liegenden Anschauungen sein mögen — und sie haben hinsichtlich der Zahl »Neun« auch anderswo in den schamanistischen Vorstellungen der Mongolen ihre Parallelen —, so wollen wir uns hier doch nicht diesen Belangen zuwenden, sondern vielmehr den vorstehenden, anspruchslosen Bericht zum Anlass für die Frage nehmen, ob und in welcher Weise nach der praktischen Seite hin die Tibeter und Mongolen den Fällen zu begegnen wissen, in welchen Menschen dem Biss tollwütiger Hunde zum Opfer werden. Wenn wir hierbei beide Völker gemeinsam betrachten, so wird das ja wohl jedem unter dem Gesichtspunkt gerechtfertigt erscheinen, dass Tibeter und Mongolen, einmal, abgesehen von den verhältnismässig wenigen, die in Städten und in den allerdings zahlreicheren Klöstern ein etwas sesshafteres

Dasein führen, Nomaden sind, dann aber im Lamaismus den gleichen Glauben bekennen, der ihnen beiden, neben so manchen anderen geistigen Gütern, die noch heute zur Anwendung gelangenden heilkundlichen Kenntnisse vermittelte, die somit der Theorie nach oder — wenn wir so sagen wollen — in ihrem systematischen Aufbau über den Weg des Buddhismus auch indisches Erbgut sind, aber in ihrer praktischen Durchführung doch mannigfache Anpassung an die autochthonen Bedingungen erkennen lassen und seit Jahrhunderten die wesentliche Quelle für den Bezug ihrer Arzneirohstoffe (mit wenigen Ausnahmen) nicht mehr in Indien, sondern in China erblicken. Daran ändert auch der Umstand nichts, dass manche dieser Heilmittel von den einheimischen Lama-Ärzten (und nur der Lama kann Arzt sein) auch heute noch mit Sanskritnamen bezeichnet werden.

Welche Rolle der Hund bei Tibetern und Mongolen als Nomadenvölkern — weniger allerdings, wie man eigentlich erwarten sollte, für das Zusammenhalten der Herden als vielmehr für die Bewachung der Gehöfte, Zelte und Jurten — spielt, braucht nicht erst besonders betont zu werden. Es gibt wohl kein Buch über diese Gebiete, in dem nicht der Hund zum mindesten Erwähnung fände, und immer werden die Tiere als dem Fremden gegenüber äusserst wild und angriffslustig geschildert. Nach SARAT CHANDRA DAS soll bei den dortigen Hunden, wie wir noch sehen werden, Tollwut eine recht häufige Erscheinung sein. Wie weit sich die kynologische Literatur mit ihnen beschäftigt hat, entzieht sich meiner Kenntnis, und von Schriften, die sich speziell mit dem Tibeterhund befassen, sind mir nur zwei, von MAX SIBER sowie ALBERT und ARNOLD HEIM (letzterer der bekannte schweizerische Minya Gongkar-Forscher), dem Titel nach bekannt geworden.<sup>1)</sup> Nirgends aber habe ich, soweit ich mich erinnere, in den zahlreichen Büchern, die ich über Tibet und die Mongolei gelesen, ausgenommen das Buch von GÖSTA MONTELL, je einen Passus über Tollwut gefunden, bis auf einen einzigen, den Prof. ROBERT BLEICHSTEINER/Wien, allerdings ohne nähere Angabe der Quelle, seinem Buche »Die Gelbe Kirche« (Wien, 1937) auf SS. 243/244 einverleibt hat. Dies Citat geht auf den bekannten indischen Tibetologen SARAT CHANDRA DAS zurück, und zwar, wie mir Prof. BLEICHSTEINER in liebenswürdiger Weise auf meine Anfrage (ich vermutete, dass ihm ein tib. Text der betreffenden Stelle vorläge) mitteilte, auf dessen »Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet« (edited by W. W. ROCKHILL. London, 1902), S. 257 ff., das mir hier z. Z. nicht zugänglich ist. Der fragliche Passus steht inhaltlich zu den im weiteren mitzuteilenden Texten in enger Beziehung, weshalb wir ihn auch hier in der Anmerkung<sup>2)</sup> wiedergeben, nur sei darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass die beiden darin vorkommenden tib. Ausdrücke nicht korrekt sind: statt »rnyabs-ras« muss es *rñabs-rva* (das Schluss-s ist im Rahmen der englischen Übersetzung überflüssig, da es ja den Instrumentalis darstellt) und statt »bon-nya« — *boñ-ña* heissen. Beiden Ausdrücken werden wir weiter unten begegnen.

Doch dem Mangel, zur Information über die Anschauungen der lamaistischen

Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header, written in a cursive script.

Main body of handwritten text, consisting of several columns of cursive script, likely a historical or literary document.

Heilkunde bezüglich der Tollwut und über ihre einheimische Behandlung einen Originaltext heranziehen zu können, sollte ein glücklicher Zufall Abhilfe schaffen, wobei zudem noch Dr. MONTELL, ohne es selbst zu wissen, das Seine getan hat: Unter den zahlreicher tib. und mong. Büchern, die er als Teilnehmer der letzten Expeditionen Dr. HEDIN's nach Stockholm heimgebracht hat, fand sich nämlich zwischen den Blättern eines grösseren mong. Werkes religiösen Inhalts ein unscheinbares, zweifach senkrecht zur Schriftrichtung gefaltetes Blatt dünnen, wahrscheinlich chinesisches Papiers, an den Rändern etwas abgegriffen und an drei Stellen unter geringem, aber leicht zu ergänzendem Textverlust eingerissen (Tafel I). Die Ausmasse des Blattes betragen 21 × 20 cm und sein Alter schätzungsweise 50—70 Jahre. Es ist mit Pinsel und Tusche beschrieben und zeigt oben zwei Zeilen in tib. Buchstaben, die das Ganze als ein Rezept zur Behandlung von Menschen kenntlich machen, die von einem tollwütigen Hunde gebissen worden sind, darunter 16 Zeilen in mong. Schrift, in die noch drei weitere tib. Zeilen — die übrigens Verse bilden — eingestreut sind. Der Ductus der mong. Schrift weist auf den Süden (Čaxar oder Ordos) hin, einige Eigentümlichkeiten in der Orthographie, auf die wir hier nicht näher eingehen können, lassen aber vermuten, dass der Schreiber ein Burjate gewesen ist. Im Zusammenhang hiermit möchten wir nicht verfehlen, darauf hinzuweisen, dass sich unter den mong. und sogar tib. Handschriften (nicht Drucken) in Stockholm noch mehrere andere finden, die burjatischen Ursprungs sind, ja, bei einigen tragen sogar die Blätter stellenweise den in Blinddruck geprägten Stempel einer russischen Papierfabrik. — Wir geben nun den Text in Umschrift mit nebenstehender Übersetzung, wobei sich das gegenseitige Verhältnis leicht verfolgen lässt.

*K'yi dug sel bai sbyar ba ni|,a ru ra  
 4 ru rta 5 šu dag 2 gla rtsi 3 sman  
 c'en 3 ,a ga ru 4 dsa ti 4 byañ k'ra 4  
 k'yi smyo dug sel man nag go | |  
 Ene em-yi saitur talxadaḍu ab[uḡa]t  
 caḡan ḡulir-yi | üt'k'en č[ē]naḍu em-luḡa  
 k'er-yi u[tt]a)r jīguraḍu oktoḡana-in |  
 xorgol-un tedüi rilu k'imüi. uḡuuxu [k'e-]  
 mjiye anu arban tabun nasun-|aca dorokši-yi inu dolo<sup>5</sup>) buyu. arban nige [ril] u  
 ük'. arban tabun nasun-aca | degek'ši  
 ider nasu-tan-du arban dolo<sup>5</sup>) buyu. arban  
 yisü. xorin nige k'ertei|ük'k'ü büget.  
 nasu k'ük'šin bolbasu xorin nigen rilu-  
 aca dorokši ük'müi. |k'ülge anu urida  
 üdeši ideši saitur ideḍü xonoḡun<sup>7</sup>) ürül-*

Das Präparat zum Heilen des Hunde-Giftes besteht in: *Myrobalane*.<sup>3</sup>) 4 (Teile), *Costus amarus*: 5, *Binsen* (wurzel): 2, *Moschus*: 3, »Grosse Arznei«: 3, *Aloë*: 4, *Muskatnuss*: 4, *byañ k'ra*: 4; das ist die Vorschrift für die Heilung des Giftes toller Hunde.

Man nimmt diese Arzneien, indem man sie gründlich zerkleinert, kocht weisses Mehl dick ein, vermischt schleunigst etwas mit den Arzneien und stellt Pillen etwa von (der Grösse der) Exkremente des *Lepus Ogotona* her. Als Mass zum 'Trinken'<sup>4</sup>) gebe man vom 15. Lebensjahr und darunter 7 oder 11 Pillen. Vom 15. Lebensjahr aufwärts gebe man solchen in blühendem Alter ein Quantum von 17 oder 19 oder 21 (Pillen). Ist aber jemand an Alter betagt, so verabreicht man von 21 Pillen an und darunter.

Die 'Methode'<sup>6</sup>) ist folgende: Man nimmt vorher ein gehöriges Abendessen ein und bringt, da man in der Frühe des (nächsten) Tages hungrig bleibt, überdies den Schwächezustand mit einem

ge ülüng|degere saın amtatai monggöl  
ark'i nige cügüce-ber bülügen darugul-  
mui. |uğuugun segül-dü gurban k'üji de-  
gürük'sen-ü xoına taşıgur anu mün k'ü/  
monggöl ark'i-yi bağa bağa gurba dür-  
ben üye uğuulğabasu şigegesü-ber|ta-  
ğumui k'erbe şigegesü ülü bağun eber-  
lebesü dorona dük'-e | xanduksan xula-  
ğuna-in nük'e-ü şiroi-aca

»Byi ba sman pa de la ni/  
nad pa gciğ yod sa blań no»

k'emem gurban-|ta ügüleđü| nigen aya-  
ğai| abcu k'itat| ark'i-dur| činadı k'ü-  
k'e yorok<sup>9)</sup>-tu boğodı ali gadar eberle-  
k'ü| bügesü xalağun büliyen jingnemüi.  
basak'ü niğuca oron-u doora tebşidü/  
suğubasu<sup>10)</sup> şigesü türgene bagumui. üldē-  
tei bolxu k'erbe k'ü k'ük'eređü | tola-  
ğai ergeđü [steht für ergidü] manaraxu  
metü bolbasu arbai-in gulir-iyar üdemüi.

Schälchen mongolischen Branntweins von gutem  
Geschmack zur Ruhe.

Nachdem bei (oder: nach) Beendigung des  
Trinkens 3 Weihrauchstäbchen<sup>\*)</sup> aufgebraucht sind,  
wird die 'Geißel' (der Schmerz), wenn man nach  
und nach denselben mongolischen Branntwein  
drei bis vier Mal zu trinken gibt, durch den Harn  
vergehen. Wenn aber der Urin nicht abfließt  
und sich plötzliche Schmerzen einstellen, dann  
wendet man sich nach Osten und nimmt aus  
einem Mausloch von der Erde eine Schale (voll),  
indem man dreimal also spricht:

»Als Heilmittel von dir, Maus, hole ich Erde für  
einen Kranken.«<sup>\*)</sup> (Die Erde) kocht man in  
chinesischem Branntwein und wickelt (sie) in  
blaue koreanische Leinwand,<sup>9)</sup> und wenn irgendeine  
Stelle plötzlich schmerzen sollte, macht man (damit)  
heisse (oder) warme Umschläge. Und wenn man  
ferner sich niederlässt, indem man die unteren  
Stellen von verborgenen Orten meidet, so wird  
der Urin schleunigst abfließen.

Wenn das glücklich vonstatten geht, jedoch  
ein Zustand eintritt, als ob sich dichter Nebel  
bilde und dabei die Luft blau wird und der  
Kopf sich dreht, dann hilft man mit Hafermehl<sup>11)</sup>  
nach.

In diesem kurzen Text ist so ziemlich alles klar, doch möchte ich mich für die  
Richtigkeit der Wiedergabe der beiden tib. Verszeilen nicht verbürgen, ebenso wie  
auch nicht dafür, ob ich in dem vorletzten Satz mit der Wiedergabe der ent-  
sprechenden mong. Schriftzeichen durch *tebşidü* das Rechte getroffen habe. Ich  
habe hier *tebşik'ü*: »sich enthalten, vermeiden, verwerfen« angenommen, das eine  
burjatische Schreibung (cf. die obigen Andeutungen) für das normale schriftmongo-  
lische *tebcik'ü* wäre, doch kann — die Identität von anlautendem *t* und *d* in der  
mong. Schrift lässt das ja nicht erkennen — statt dessen auch *debčik'ü*/*debşik'ü*  
zu Grunde gelegt werden, was »hochkommen, sich erheben, sich bewegen« be-  
deutet, aber in dem hier vorliegenden Zusammenhang keinen vernünftigen Sinn  
ergeben will. Von den im tib. Anfang des Rezeptes genannten Drogen kommen  
in dem Citat aus SARAT CHANDRA DAS nur die »Grosse Arznei« (= *bon-nya/boń na*)  
und Moschus vor; den übrigen werden wir später begegnen. Angaben über die  
Arzneistoffe dieses Rezeptes selbst (durch Kursivdruck hervorgehoben) wie auch

\*) An dieser Stelle habe ich Herrn Dr. JOHANNES SCHUBERT in Leipzig für freundliche Hilfe zu danken. Meine  
Versuche, dem kurzen tibetischen Passus eine einigermaßen vernünftige Deutung zu geben, scheiterten daran, dass  
ich den Schluss als *glan no*, also »Rind«, las, wofür auch, wie sich der Leser durch einen Blick auf die betref-  
fende Stelle der beigegebenen Tafel leicht überzeugen kann, der Ductus der dortigen Ligatur ohne weiteres zu  
sprechen scheint. Doch liess sich mit dieser »Lösung« leider beim besten Willen nichts anfangen. Dr. SCHUBERT  
liest jedoch dafür *blań no*, wodurch die Zeilen sofort einen Sinn erhalten, und ändert die fünfte Silbe in *de*, ob-  
wohl der Text (siehe die Tafel!) doch ein *da* (»jetzt«) bietet, das man allerdings schliesslich auch noch als *na*  
(»ich«) angesichts der Flüchtigkeit der Schrift auffassen könnte.

des weiterhin folgenden Textausschnittes enthält die am Schluss des Aufsatzes befindliche Liste.

Einmal durch dies bescheidene, aber trotzdem recht wertvolle heilkundliche Dokument auf die lamaistischen Anschauungen über die Tollwut und ihre Behandlung aufmerksam gemacht, musste dem Bearbeiter nichts näher liegen, als wie einmal in dem bis heute für die tibetisch-mongolische Medizin verbindlichen und darum klassischen Lehrbuch Umschau nach entsprechenden Angaben zu halten, nämlich im »*Herzen der Heilkunde — den Wurzeln der achtgliedrigen geheimnisvollen Unterweisungen*« (tib. *bDud rtsi sñiñ po, yan lag brgyad pa gsañ ba man ñag gi rgyud*; mong. *Rašiyān-u ĵirük'en, naïman gešigütü niguca ubadis-un ündüsün*), kurz »Die Vier Wurzeln« (tib. *rGyud bži*; mong. *Dürben Ündüsün*) im Hinblick auf seine vier Hauptteile genannt. Ein näheres Eingehen auf dieses Hauptwerk der lamaistischen Medizin, das auf einen bisher nicht aufgefundenen Sanskrittext zurückgeht, muss einer späteren bibliographischen Darstellung der im Stockholmer Museum für Völkerkunde so zahlreich vorhandenen tib. und mong. Handschriften und Drucke vorbehalten bleiben. Hier, in Stockholm, sind denn auch je eine tib. und eine mong. Ausgabe des »Vier Wurzel-Buches« vorhanden (die mong., wenn ich nicht irre, sogar in zwei Exemplaren). Beide Ausgaben sind Pekinger Erzeugnisse neueren Datums, jedoch wohl Abzüge von verhältnismässig alten Holzblöcken. Einige Fehlstellen, Varianten und Zusätze in diesem mong. Text deuten darauf hin, dass die hier in Rede stehende tib. Ausgabe für diese mongolische nicht als Vorlage gedient haben kann. Von den mong. Ausgaben der »Vier Wurzeln« sind ohnehin mehrere Versionen bekannt (cf. u. a. auch unsere Angaben hierüber in »Die Medizinische Welt« (Berlin), 1934, No: 4, S. 141). Des weiteren sei hier nur soviel gesagt, dass schon 1835 CSOMA DE KÖRÖS eine kurze Analyse des Inhalts nach einer tib. Version dieses Handbuches gegeben hat, während Professor A. M. POZDNEEV 1908 den mong. Text der beiden ersten Teile nebst einer russischen Übersetzung veröffentlichte. Eine schon vorher (zweimal: 1898 und 1903) von dem in Petersburg nach lamaistischen Grundsätzen praktizierenden Arzt P. A. BADMAEV, einem geborenen Burjaten und früheren Lama (er hiess vor seiner Taufe DSCHAMSARAN BADMA = tib. *lCam-srañ* und skr. *Padma*), herausgegebene, ebenfalls russische Übersetzung der beiden gleichen Teile der »Vier Wurzeln« verfolgt keine kritisch-wissenschaftlichen Zwecke und lässt viele Stellen des Originals einfach fort. Es steht mithin noch eine Bearbeitung des dritten und vierten Teiles aus, die der Berichterstatter schon vor längerer Zeit in Angriff genommen hat, und gerade diese Teile sind nach Inhalt und Umfang (Teil III hat in der tib. Ausgabe 273, in der mong. 369 Blatt, Teil IV tib. 65 und mong. 98) die bedeutsamsten des ganzen Werkes, weil sie die »Praxis«, d. h. die Behandlung der einzelnen Krankheiten und die Herstellung der Arzneien, zum Gegenstand haben.

Der Umstand, dass die heilkundliche Terminologie der Tibeter für die Tollwut



den Ausdruck *k'yi dug*: »Hunde-Gift« gebraucht (mong. *noxai-in xoorā*), liess es angezeigt erscheinen, die einschlägigen Angaben im dritten Teil der »Vier Wurzeln«, und zwar in den Kapiteln 87, 88 und 89, zu suchen, welche von den Giften, bzw. den Vergiftungen, und den dabei zu treffenden Massnahmen handeln. Diese Annahme erwies sich auch als richtig, und so finden wir denn dort im Kapitel 89, in dem von der »Heilung der wandernden und nicht-wandernden Gifte« (tib. *rgyu ba dan mi rgyu bai dug so bai leu*; mong. *yabukči ba ülü yabukči-in xoorā-yi etegek'üi . . . bülük'*) die Rede ist, folgenden Passus<sup>12</sup>) :

{*rgyu ba k'yi smyon sbrul dan sdig pa dan | | srin bu ba<sup>13</sup>) yi*  
 {*yabukči inu galḍaḡu noxai moḡai k'iget k'ilince be : xoroxai ḍügei-in*  
 {*dug la sogs pa yin |*  
 {*xoorā terigüten buyu :*

Das heisst: »Die wandernden [Gifte] nun sind die Gifte von tollwütigen Hunden, von Schlangen und Skorpionen, sowie von Würmern und Bienen (-artigen Insekten) und andere.« (Das Wort für »bienenartige Insekten« — *sbrañ* = mong. *ḍügei* — fehlt im tib. Text).

Dieser kurzen Definition der »wandernden Gifte« schliessen sich dann, die Tollwut und ihre Behandlung betreffend, beginnend mit Blatt 265 verso, Zeile 3, der tib. — und Blatt 361 recto, Zeile 2, der mong. Ausgabe, folgende Ausführungen an, die wir zunächst in beiden Sprachen in der eben angedeuteten Anordnung wiedergeben, um dann die Übersetzung folgen zu lassen, deren gleichzeitige Wiedergabe in einer parallelen Spalte sich drucktechnisch leider nicht ermöglichen lässt, da der Grundtext in zwei Sprachen einen verhältnismässig grossen Raum einnehmen würde, so dass bei einer parallelen Anordnung der Übertragung weite Lücken entstehen würden. Doch wird ein aufmerksames Verfolgen der Zusammenhänge zwischen den beiden Texten und der Übersetzung angesichts der Kürze der Sätze auf keine besonderen Schwierigkeiten stossen und gleichzeitig einen Einblick in die Technik mong. Übersetzungen aus dem Tibetischen liefern. Die in Klammern eingefügten Zahlen mit dem Zusatz r oder v kennzeichnen die Anfänge einer neuen Seite in den Originalen.

{*De nas rgyu bai dug gi gso t'abs la | | dan po k'yi dug*  
 {*Tendece yabukči xoorā-yi etegek'üi arḡa-dur uridu noxai-in xoorā-in*  
 {*mts'an n̄id rtags dan ni | | gso bai t'abs dan rnam pa gsum yin te | | mts'an*  
 {*činar belges be : etegek'ü-in arḡa ḡurban ḍüül bolai : činar*  
 {*n̄id k'yi de 'on loñ k'a c'u 'dsag | | k'a ḡañ bas mgo*  
 {*inu tere noxai ḍülei balai aman-aca usun cuburixui: aman-iyān ḡḡḡai-in teri-*  
 {*bo smad ciñ mḡug ma p'ag<sup>14</sup>) | | 'k'yom žiñ p'yogs med kun tu rgyu*  
 {*ḡün-iyen dorokši segül-iyen baḡulḡaḍu<sup>14</sup>) : xarailaḍu ḍük' ügei xotala-dur ḡü-*

{ba yin<sup>15</sup>) || de yi sos dsin rtags la gsar rñiñ gñis || gsar dus rma nas  
 {yüümü<sup>15</sup>) : tegünü ðağuksan belge-dür şine xağuçin xoyar : şine cak-tur yara-  
 { k'rag nag 'dsag pa dan || rma mdog smug<sup>16</sup>) nag mi sdug ra ri 'oñ  
 {aca xara çisun asxarayu : yara-in üngge boro<sup>16</sup>) xara üdeşi ügei eriyen bo-  
 { || skrañs şin rma yi nañ du rmen bu c'ags || rñiñs nas mgo bo  
 {luyu : xabuduğat yara-in dотора bulçirxaïdun toktaksan : xağuçirabasu tolo-  
 { na la grañ şum byed || 'p'yo 'dar sñiñ ga na la skabs su  
 {gai ebedüget dağaraxu boluyu : dolgisun çicerek'üi<sup>17</sup>) jirük'en ebedüget üye-dür  
 {'bog || me loñ c'u m'ön dñañs<sup>18</sup>) la k'yi spyod byed ||  
 {ük'üt'kemüi : tolin ba usun-dur üdebesü ayuđu<sup>18</sup>) noxai metü ağaşilabasu  
 {dug lañs rgyas pai rtags su bşad pa yin || bcos pai t'abs  
 {xoorā k'üdelün delgerek'sen-ü belge k'emen nomlabai : ðasaxu-in arga  
 {kyañ gsar rñiñ dus kyis sbyar || sos dsin mod la k'a dan  
 {cu şine xağuçin-u cak-iyar neilegül : ðağuksan-u tedüi-dür aman k'iget  
 {rñabs rvas<sup>19</sup>) drañ || sor bzii goñ du ras 'jag bsdam par bya  
 {eber sorogul<sup>19</sup>)-iyar tata : dürben xuruğun-u degere büs-iyer batulan k'üli :  
 {|| žag lon pa la rma de lcags kyis bsreg<sup>20</sup>) || de 'og žun  
 { nigen xonok bolxui-dur tere yara-yi temür-iyer tügene<sup>20</sup>) : tegünü xoïna xaï-  
 { mar (266 r) bskol ba rma nañ du || rgya ts'a skyer  
 {luksan tosun-i bucalğadu yara-in dотора : k'itat dabusun şira modon-u  
 {şun dud pa btsod kyis byug || yuñ skyer boñ na gla rtsi mar  
 {durusun utagan buduk-iyar sürji<sup>21</sup>) : yungua şira modon bong-nga jigar tosun-  
 {gyis byug || de steñ rta sbañs žo<sup>22</sup>) sbyar rma 'jibs  
 {iyar sürji : tere degere morin-u bagasun tarak<sup>22</sup>)-i xoliđu yara-yi (36I v) k'ük'e-  
 {bya || de rjes ldan nam mi ldan c'u la brtag || lce  
 {gül : tegün-ü xoïna k'üdelük'sen ese k'üdelük'sen-i usun-dur belgete-in<sup>23</sup>) k'e-  
 { dan mts'ul pa k'yi 'dra ba dan c'u || gseb tu byi ba byuñ sñam  
 {len k'iget xağuldar noxai metü be usun-u dотора xuluğana irebesü k'eme-  
 {pa byed pa dan dñañs na ldan pa yin no || mi ldan pa la 'og gi gñen po<sup>24</sup>)  
 {k'üi-dür suçibasū k'üdelk'üi mün bolai : ese k'üdelbesü xoïtu yeründek<sup>24</sup>)-  
 { bsten || ldan bar gyur na mc'e ba brañ krad<sup>25</sup>) dan || dud pa dri  
 {i şitü : k'üdelk'üi bolbasu soyoga gutulun ulan<sup>25</sup>) k'iget : utagan ünür-tü  
 {c'u sbyar blañ dug žun bslañ || lañs nas lus sbrid  
 {usun-a xoliđu ük'besü xoorā şinggek'sen-i k'üdelgemüi : k'üdelbesü beye unta-

{ k'ol bur na ba dañ || k'yi m'ön ts'ig pa za la bšul ša  
 } r(a)du šik'iren<sup>28)</sup> ebedüyü : noxai üdebesü čixuldağat niruğun mixa  
 { na || de la gi vā dsā ti p'a vañ loñ || bur dkar bži 'gyur  
 } ebedeyü : tegün-dür giwang zati bakbağai-in šigai: dürben xubi cağan buram  
 { c'u grañ 'p'ul la btañ || yañ na gi vā bzañ drug t'añ p'rom<sup>27)</sup>  
 } k'üiten usun-iyar daruğul-un ük' : esebesü giwang jirguğan sañ tangrom  
 { ba || ba spru gla rtsi ka ras k'a slañs btañ<sup>28)</sup> || rgya spos señ p'rom<sup>27)</sup>  
 } : basbru jigar šik'ir-iyer jilugadun ük'<sup>28)</sup> : rđaboi šingrom  
 { šu dag hoñ len dañ || ba t'a sug smel gur gum žun mar sbyar ||  
 } sudak xonglin : k'üyük' sük'smil gürgüm xailuksan tosun-dur xoliđu :  
 { bzā byug mi skra yuñs kar bur rñiñ gi || du bas bdugs  
 } ideget sürčidü k'ümün-ü üsün cağan k'iři xağučin buram-un: utagan-iyar utu-  
 { pas rma dañ skrañs pa 'joms || zla drug ts'un cad žag bcui  
 } basu xabuduksan yara-yi ebdeyü : jirguğan sara-aca inakši arban xonok-tur  
 { sman re bstan || žag bcu p'ar 'añs<sup>29)</sup> zla lo lon pa 'am |  
 } em niđeget šitü : arban xonok činakši nük'čibesü saran jil bolxui ba :  
 { dug lañ rtags ldan drug bđun me yis bsdam || dur byid  
 } xoorā k'üdelk'ü belge bolbasu jirguğan dologan-i tüigene : dürbyit  
 { hoñ len dha du ra<sup>30)</sup> yis sbyañ || gu gul dud pa ,a šo gandha dañ || rgya  
 } xonglin dotorā<sup>30)</sup> bar tağulğa : xara gügü utagan ašu-ğanda k'iget : luu-  
 { sne ba c'ui ril bu dri c'us dbul || yañ na p'a vañ  
 } li ünigen-ü šigesün mügülik'-i ünür-tü usun-iyar daruğul : esebesü bakbağai-  
 { loñ bu rnam pa gsum || bzañ drug gi vā tsan dan ,a ru ra bu ram dkar  
 } in šigai gurban đüil : jirguğan sañ giwang zanda arura cağan buram-  
 { po bži 'gyur sbyar btañ || nad 'go c'oms nas rgya spos na le  
 } i dürben xubi xoliđu ük' : ebečin-ü terigün-i daruđu rđaboi nališam  
 { šam || sug smel ru rta šin mñar sbrañ rtsi dañ || žun  
 } : suk'smil rurta šik'ir (362 r) ebesün bal k'iget : xailuksan  
 { mar sbyar bai lde gus<sup>31)</sup> nad rjes gcod || rmen bu skrañs  
 } tosun-dur xoliđu nixumal<sup>31)</sup>-iyar ebečin-ü segül-i tasul : bulčirxaidun xabut-  
 { na rus rñiñ 'bā c'a dañ || ña lcibs sbyar bai lums  
 } basu xağučin yasun k'üjit-ün šigaru : jığasun-u xacar xoliđu debtegel-  
 { kyis (266 v) gnan pa dañ || k'ol bu na sar hor gyi me  
 } iyer daru : k'esek' ebetk'ü gađar-tur monggol-un tüigene-ber

{bcā bya<sup>32</sup>)      me loñ k'yi      skad c'u rgal      ža sdañ<sup>33</sup>) sbañ || de yis  
 {tügenek'dek'üi<sup>32</sup>) : toli      noxai-in dağun usun getülk'üi oron-i<sup>33</sup>) tebči : tegüber  
 {k'yi      dug gis      zin      'ts'o bar      nes | |  
 {noxai-in xoorā-bar      barikdaksan-i elegek'üi      mağat :

Und nun die Übersetzung, in der Worte und Wendungen, die im Text selbst nicht stehen, die wir aber im Hinblick auf die Verständlichkeit einschalten zu müssen glaubten, in runden Klammern stehen, während Rückverweise auf die Texte und kurze Erläuterungen in eckige Klammern gesetzt sind. Die Namen der Arzneistoffe sind wieder in *Kursivdruck* gegeben und finden sich mit ihren Äquivalenten — soweit diese in den zu Vergleichszwecken in Frage kommenden Sprachen festzustellen und erreichbar waren — sowie mit einigen sachlichen Erörterungen in der alphabetischen Liste am Schluss des Aufsatzes.

»Darunter gibt es nun bei den Mitteln zur Behandlung der wandernden Gifte zunächst [*dañ po/urida* — in dieser und den folgenden Rückverweisungen auf die Texte steht (wie auch vorher in den Anmerkungen) vor dem / immer das tib., dahinter das mong. Wort, bezw. Ausdruck] drei Momente [*rnam pa/düül*], (nämlich) die (äusseren) Kennzeichen [*mts'an nīd/činar*] des Hundegiftes, die Symptome [*rtags/belges*: Anzeichen, Prognostica] (beim Kranken) und die Mittel der Behandlung. Was nun die Kennzeichen (anlangt), so ist ein solcher Hund taub und blind und aus dem Maul trieft Wasser. Er lässt seinen Kopf mit offenem Rachen abwärts (und) auch seinen Schweif herunterhängen. In die Höhe springend, läuft er ohne (bestimmte) Richtung allenthalben (umher).<sup>34</sup>)

Unter den Symptomen gibt es nun bei jemand, der von einem solchen (Hund) gebissen worden ist, zwei: frische (und) weiter zurückliegende [*gsar rñin/šine xağučin*, wörtlich: neue, alte]. In der Periode [*dus/cak*] der frischen (Symptome) sickert aus der Wunde schwarzes (oder: dunkles) Blut; die Färbung der Wunde ist eine grau<sup>35</sup>-schwarze, widerliche [mong.: unansehnliche] und bunte [tib. etwa: schlimme]. Ist Schwellung eingetreten, dann haben sich im Innern der Wunde Eiterverhärtungen gebildet. Wenn (der Fall) in ein älteres Stadium tritt [*rñins nas/xağučirabasu*], dann schmerzt der Kopf und es stellt sich Frösteln ein. Unter Empfindung von Unruhe leidet das Herz, indem es (heftig) pocht, und an den Gliedmassen macht sich Gefühllosigkeit bemerkbar. Wenn (der Kranke) in einen Spiegel oder ins Wasser schaut, gerät er in Furcht (oder: Entsetzen)<sup>36</sup>) und gebärdet sich wie ein Hund [mong.: wenn er sich wie ein Hund gebärdet]. Das ist — so hat man gelehrt — das Symptom (dafür), dass das Gift in Bewegung geraten [tib.: hochgekommen] ist. Die Mittel für die Kur (oder: Behandlung) stelle man nun [*kyañ/cu*] im Einklang mit den Perioden [*dus kyis / cak-iyar*], (nämlich) der frischen (oder) weiter zurückliegenden, zusammen. Unmittelbar [*mod la / tedüidür*] nach dem Biss sauge man (die Stelle) mit dem Munde und einem Horn-Rohr<sup>37</sup>) aus (und) umwickle (sie) fest [tib. 'jag] mit einer (einem) über vier Finger (breiten

Leinwand (streifen). Nachdem (dann) ein Tag (von 24 Stunden) dahingegangen, brenne man jene Wunde mit einem Eisen aus.<sup>38)</sup> Darauf bringe man geschmolzene Butter zum Sieden und schmiere (sie) in das Innere der Wunde mit *China-Salz*, der Rinde vom »Gelben Baum«, *Russalbe* und *Rubia cordifolia*. Auch mit *Ingwer*, *Gelb-Holz*, *Aconit*, *Moschus* und Butter mache man Einreibungen. Überdies mische man Pferdedünger und dicke Milch und lasse (die Wunde) (das) aufsaugen. Darauf forsche man (sorgfältig) im Wasser (d. h. der wässrigen Flüssigkeit der Wunde) danach, ob (die Wunde) aufgebrochen ist oder nicht, und wenn die Zunge und die Nasenwurzel (des Kranken) ähnlich wie bei einem Hunde sind (erscheinen) und (der Kranke) erschrickt, wenn man (bei ihm) die Vorstellung erweckt (mong.: wenn man — ihm — sagt), dass in das Wasser eine Maus gekommen sei, so ist sicherlich das Aufbrechen (der Wunde im Gange). Wenn (sie) aber nicht aufbricht, so verlege (verlasse) man sich auf die weiter unten (folgenden) Gegenmittel. Tritt das Aufbrechen ein, so wird man, wenn man Hauerzähne, (gepulverte) Stiefelsohlen<sup>39)</sup> und *Russalbe* in wohlriechendem Wasser mischt und (das) eingiebt, das Gift, flüssig geworden, herausbringen (in Bewegung setzen). Wenn die Bewegung erfolgt, so wird der Leib starr werden und stellenweise Schmerzen sich einstellen. Sieht (der Kranke) einen Hund, so wird er (unerträgliche) Schmerzen empfinden und beim Essen wird das Rückenfleisch schmerzen. Dabei verabreiche man *Bezoar*, *Muskatnuss* und die Fussknöchel von *Fledermäusen*, die man mit vier Teilen weissen *Sirups* in kaltem Wasser zur Auflösung bringt, oder man gebe auch *Bezoar*, die »Sechs Vortrefflichen«, *Phytolacca acinosa*, *Trichosanthes*(wurzel) und *Moschus* mit *Zucker* zum Kauen.<sup>40)</sup> Indem man *Thymus vulgaris*, *Eriobotrya japonica*, *Binsen*(wurzel), *Scutellaria baicalensis*, *Arecanuss*, *Amomum amarum* und *Carthamus tinctorius* in geschmolzener Butter mischt, (das) isst und (damit die Wunde) einschmiert, wird man, wenn man Rauch [*du bas bdugs pas / utagan-iyar utubasu*: wenn man mit Rauch . . . räuchert] (beim Verbrennen) von *Menschenhaaren*, weissem *Senf* und altem *Sirup* wirken lässt, die geschwollene Wunde [tib.: die Wunde und die Geschwulst] ausmerzen. Vom sechsten Monat an bis zu zehn Tagen verlasse man sich im einzelnen auf die Arzneien. Wenn aber die zehn Tage vorübergehen (und) es dazu kommt [*ldan / bolbasu*], dass ein Monat (bezw.) ein Jahr voll wird oder Anzeichen für das Ausbrechen (die Bewegung) des Giftes eintreten, (dann) lasse man sechs (bis) sieben (Mal) Ausbrennen zur Anwendung gelangen. In Gestalt von [*vis / -bar*] *Ipomoea turpethum*, *Scutellaria baicalensis* und *Datura* gebe man ein Abführmittel ein. Pillen aus schwarzer [fehlt tib.] *Vatica lanceaefolia*, *Russalbe*, *Physalis flexuosa* sowie *Fritillaria verticillata* und Kuh-Urin löse man in wohlriechendem Wasser auf [tib.: verabreiche man]. Oder man mische drei Stück (Teile?) *Fledermaus-Fussknöchelchen* und von den »Sechs Vortrefflichen«, *Bezoar*, *Sandel*, *Myrobalanen* und weissem *Sirup* vier Teile und gebe (das) ein. Wenn man den Ausbruch (Beginn) [*go / terigün*] der Krankheit beschwichtigt hat [*c'oms nas / darudu*], mische man *Thymus vulgaris*, *Piper nigrum*,

*Amomum amarum*, *Costus amarus*, *Glycyrrhiza glabra* und Honig in geschmolzener Butter und führe durch (diese) Mischung das Ende der Krankheit herbei (wörtlich: schneide das Ende ab [*rjes gcod / segül-i tasul*]). Wenn unter Eiterbildung Geschwulst eintritt, dann mische man alte Knochen, Rückstände (nur mong.: von Weihrauchstäbchen) und [die Copula nur tib.] »Fisch-Kiem« und unterdrücke (die Geschwulst hiermit) durch Bäder. An Stellen, wo vereinzelt Schmerzen auftreten, kommt die Brenn(methode) der Mongolen zur Anwendung. Den Spiegeln, der »Stimme« von Hunden und Stellen, an denen man über ein Gewässer setzt, gehe man (nur tib.: ängstlich) aus dem Wege. Dadurch wird sicherlich die Genesung des vom Hundegift Befallenen (wörtlich: Ergriffenen [*zin / barikdaksan*]) (zustande kommen).»

In der nun folgenden alphabetischen Liste der in den beiden mitgeteilten Texten vorkommenden Arzneistoffe, die, wie schon angedeutet, in den Übersetzungen in Kursivdruck gegeben sind, werden, wie z. T. auch schon vorher, folgende Abkürzungen gebraucht: tib. = tibetisch, mo. = mongolisch, chin. = chinesisches, skr. = sanskrit, jap. = japanisch, ma. = mandschurisch. Auf irgendwelche genaueren Quellenangaben für die Identifikation der Arzneistoffe oder — genauer gesagt — für die Versuche dazu — sowie für die verschiedenen fremdsprachlichen Äquivalente muss ich hier verzichten. Das »Statens Etnografiska Museum« in Stockholm besitzt (neben einer reichhaltigen Collection chinesischer Drogen) eine sehr schöne Sammlung von 229 tib.-mong. Arzneirohstoffproben, deren Beschaffung Herrn Dr. G. MONTELL zu verdanken ist, der dazu auch an Ort und Stelle ein Verzeichnis in beiden Sprachen hat herstellen lassen. Diese Drogensammlung, in der auch fast alle in dieser Arbeit vorkommenden Arzneistoffe vorhanden sind, soll nebst dem Verzeichnis Gegenstand einer besonderen ausführlichen Darstellung bilden, wobei auch nachgeholt werden wird, was hier in der Liste aus Raum-mangel zurückgestellt werden musste. Die bei den chin. Ausdrücken (nach GILES) stehenden Zahlen beziehen sich auf die entsprechenden Zeichen, bzw. Zeichen-gruppen der beigegebenen lithographierten Tafel II. Sie erwies sich als notwendig, da naturgemäss eine nur phonetische Wiedergabe chin. Ausdrücke für Vergleichs- und Kontrollzwecke wertlos ist. Die Niederschrift der chin. Zeichen verdanke ich Herrn Dr. LIAO BAO-SEING an der Universität und dem China-Institut Frankfurt am Main, für welche Liebenswürdigkeit ich ihm auch an dieser Stelle aufrichtige Anerkennung zollen möchte.

*Aconit* allgemein, worunter wohl *Aconitum ferox* zu verstehen ist: tib. *boñ na*, mo. nur transkribiert *bong-nga*, skr. *viṣa*, *nirviṣa*, *ativiṣa*; die lamaistische Pharmakologie unterscheidet hauptsächlich zwei Arten: 1) die weisse, tib. *boñ na dkar po*, mo. *cağan bong-nga*, *Aconitum sinense* Sieb., chin. *mo tung*,<sup>1)</sup> und 2) die rote, tib. *boñ na dmar po*, mo. *ulağan bong-nga*, chin. *ch'uan wu*,<sup>2)</sup> deren Knollen nach RÜDENBERG geniessbar sind. HÜBOTTER identifiziert das chin.

*ch'uan wu* mit *Aconitum napellus*, tib. *boñ na ser po*, mo. *šira bong-nga*. Eine weitere, sehr wichtige Art ist die »Grosse Arznei« (cf. auch HEINRICH LAUFER: Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Tibetischen Medicin. Berlin/Leipzig 1900, S. 57).

*Aloë* allgemein tib. *,a ka ru*, *,a ga ru*, mo. nur transkr. *a'garu*, chin. *su hsiang*,<sup>3)</sup> *Aloë sinensis* heisst jap. *tōrokawai*, entsprechend einem chin. *lu wei*.<sup>4)</sup>

*Amomum amarum* Lour., tib. *sug smel*, mo. *sūk'smil*, *suk'smil*, chin. *pai tou k'ou*<sup>5)</sup> (nach GILES und HÜBOTTER: *Amomum cardamomum*), skr. *sūkṣmailā*, woraus also der tib. Ausdruck entstanden ist; nach BERTHOLD LAUFER ist *sug smel* *Alpinia cardamomum*.

*Arecanuss*, die Nuss von *Areca catechu*, tib. hier *ba ř'a*, mo. *guyuk'* oder (nach KOWALEWSKI 2622) *k'üyük'*; auf Grund dieses mo. Ausdrucks unsere Übersetzung; *ba ř'a* ist natürlich skr., wie schon das *ř'a* besagt, aber vorläufig nicht festzustellen; es muss Synonymon zu skr. *guvāka* sein, woraus die mo. Bezeichnung entstanden ist; gewöhnlich heisst die *Arecanuss* skr. *puga* (*phala*), chin. *pin lang*<sup>6)</sup>.

*Bezoar*, tib. *gi vā*, *gi vañ* oder *gi hañ*, mo. *giwang*, skr. *rocana*, *gorocana*, *rucaka*, chin. *niu huang*<sup>7)</sup> oder *niu yü*.<sup>8)</sup>

*Binsen*(wurzel), tib. *šu dag*, mo. *šudak*, *šüdak* (das *sudak'* im längeren Text ist wohl nur Versehen), skr. *himavati*; ich gebe die Übersetzung mit »Binsenwurzel« auf Grund eines Vier Sprachen-Wörterbuchs, wo sich für tib. *šu dag* ohne nähere Bestimmung folgende Äquivalente finden: ma. *okjiha* (nach VON DER GABELENTZ): Binse; mo. *degesü* (nach KOWALEWSKI 2318: »Zuckerrohr«, aber mit dem Zusatz *magui* — schlecht — »grosse Binse« = *Scirpus palustris*), chin. *ch'ang p'u*,<sup>9)</sup> wörtlich »Kalmus-Schilf«. Der lamaistische Arzneimittelschatz kennt zwei Arten *šu dag*: 1) *šu dag dkar po*, die weisse Art, chin. *pai chih*<sup>10)</sup> (nach GILES: Wurzel der *Iris florentina*, nach RÜDENBERG: wohlriechende Arzneipflanze, *Angelica*, wofür auch eine von A. M. POZDNEEV veranlasste Feststellung als »*Radix Umbelliferae, Angelicae*«, spricht) oder, ebenfalls chin., *pai ch'ang p'u*<sup>11)</sup>, was, gleichfalls nach GILES, weisser *Acorus calamus* wäre; und 2) *Binsen-Wurzel*, tib. *šu dag rtsva ba*, ma. *okjihada*, mo. *burgana k'üji*, nach KOWALEWSKI 1212: »Wurzel einer aromatischen Binsenart«, chin. *ts'ang shu*,<sup>12)</sup> dazu kommt noch eine schwarze Art, tib. *šu dag nag po*, chin. *shih ch'ang p'u*,<sup>13)</sup> was »Felsen-*Acorus calamus*« heissen würde; eine sachliche Erklärung für diese letztere Art bietet eine moderne jap. Botanik mit *Acorus grimineus*, Ait. = jap. *sekishō*; sonst ist *Acorus calamus* jap. *shōbu*, entsprechend dem chin. *ch'ang p'u*.<sup>9)</sup>

*byañ k'ra*; diesen tib. Ausdruck habe ich ohne Übersetzung lassen müssen; es handelt sich wohl um eine »bunte« (tib. *k'ra* statt *k'ra bo*) Abart der von SARAT CHANDRA DAS als *byañ pa* erwähnten, aber nicht näher definierten Medizinalpflanze. In einer grossen handschriftlichen tib.-mongolischen Pharma-

kologie finde ich *byañ k'ra* als Synonymon für die *Iris ensata* Thunb., tib. *dres ma*, mo. *cak'ildak*, chin. *ma lan p'êng*,<sup>14)</sup> jap. *ayame*.

*Carthamus tinctorius* L., tib. *gur gum*, mo. *gürgüm*, (tib. auch *ša ka ma* und *dri bzan*), chin. *yü chin*,<sup>15)</sup> was sich aber nach B. LAUFER sowohl auf *Curcuma* (= *Carthamus tinctorius*) als auch auf *Crocus* beziehen kann; jap. *benibana*; cf. hebr. קַרְקֹמַם *karkom*.

*China-Salz*, tib. *rgya ts'va*, mo. *k'itat dabusun*, chin. *lu sha*,<sup>16)</sup> was nach GILES »a impure kind of sal ammoniac«; die von B. LAUFER in »Sino-Iranica«, S. 508, notierte Identifikation mit »Indian salt« will mir hier in unserem Text nicht zutreffend erscheinen; allerdings ist das blossе tib. *rgya* hier, wie so oft, zweideutig, weil die Definition (*nag* für China, *gar*, bzw. *dkar* für Indien) fehlt, doch lässt die mo. Wiedergabe durch *k'itat dabusun* keinen Zweifel daran, dass hier China-Salz zu verstehen ist.

*Costus amarus*, tib. *ru rta*, mo. *rurda*, skr. wahrscheinlich *kuṣṭha*, chin. *kuang mu hsiang*.<sup>17)</sup>

*Datura*, hier tib. *dha du ra*, was natürlich weiter nichts wie Wiedergabe von skr. *dhatura*, bzw. hindustanisch *dhatūra* ist, woher unsere Bezeichnung für die Stechapfelarten als »*Datura*«; in der unter *byañ k'ra* erwähnten Pharmakologie findet sich als Synonym für »Bilsenkraut« (*Hyoscyamus niger* L.) ein »gelber *Dha du ra*«; jap. ist *Datura chōsenasagao*. In einer ganz modern herausgegebenen, aber nach dem alten einheimischen System angeordneten chinesischen Pharmakologie findet sich unser officineller Stechapfel, *Datura Stramonium*, mit *fêng ch'ieh*<sup>18)</sup> bezeichnet.

*Eriobotrya japonica* LINDL., tib. *señ p'rom*, mo. *šingrom*, chin. *p'i p'a*<sup>19)</sup> (womit die Frucht bezeichnet wird), jap. *biwa*. Diese Definition geht wiederum auf die unter *byañ k'ra* angeführte Pharmakologie zurück; nach einer Angabe in der Übersetzung des Vier Wurzel-Buchs von POZDNEEV soll aber die *Eriobotrya japonica* tib. *žu mk'an* heissen, was jedoch nach SARAT CHANDRA DAS die Areca-oder Betelnuss ist (skr. dort *kramuka*); das hier von POZDNEEV gegebene chin. Äquivalent *shih nan*<sup>20)</sup> findet sich aber in einem mir vorliegenden tib.-chin. Arzneimittelkatalog auch als Synonym für *p'i p'a*.

*Fisch-Kiemien*, tib. *ña lcibs*, mo. *ḡigasun-u xacar*; auf Grund des mo. Ausdrucks unsere Übersetzung; Fisch-Kiemien sind sonst als Heilmittel nicht nachzuweisen. Im Vier Wurzel-Buch wird unter *ña lcibs* oder *ña p'yis*, wie es dort heisst, Perlmutter verstanden, dem auch das dortige mo. *k'isugan* genau entspricht. Die Ausdrücke *ñalḡigasun* lassen aber kaum daran zweifeln, dass es sich hier um eine von Fischen herrührende Substanz handelt. Zu beachten wäre aber noch, dass *ña lcibs* nach SARAT CHANDRA DAS auch eine Arzneiwurzel bezeichnen kann, die von ihm aber nicht näher bestimmt ist. Für dies *ña lcibs* finden sich in dem unter »*Binsen* (wurzel)« erwähnten Vier Sprachen-



Wörterbuch folgende Äquivalente: mo. *ḍamak* (auch *ḍamuk*): eine Sumpfpflanze (nach KOWALEWSKI), ma. *sokji*: Wasserlinse (VON DER GABELENTZ), chin. *shui tsao*,<sup>21</sup>); ausserdem notiert KOWALEWSKI für mo. *ḍamak* auch noch ein tib. *zi ma*, was gleichfalls »Wasserlinsen« bezeichnet.

*Fledermaus* (fussknöchel), tib. *p'a van*, mo. *bakbaḡai*, chin. *fu i*<sup>22</sup>) oder *p'ien fu*<sup>24</sup>); sonst werden in der lamaistischen Heilkunde von der Fledermaus nur Fleisch und Kot gebraucht.

*Fritillaria verticillata*, var. *Thunbergii*, tib. hier *rgya sne*, wofür es aber *rgya sñi* (*ba*) heissen muss; mo. *luuli* (wohl kaum mo. Ursprungs), chin. *pei mu chē*,<sup>23</sup>) jap. *baimo*. In POZDNEEV'S Ausgabe des Vier Wurzel-Buches widersprechen sich die Angaben für *sñi ba/luuli*: einmal ist es *Chenopodium album* L., ein andermal *Solanum melongena* L. Noch grössere Verwirrung verursachen die Äquivalente im Vier Sprachen-Wörterbuch: ma. *ule*: Name einer Giftpflanze, mo. *luuli* (KOWALEWSKI: eine Art Kartoffel, Batate), tib. *rug pa* und chin. *hui shu ts'ai*,<sup>25</sup>); die beiden letzteren Ausdrücke lassen sich in den Wörterbüchern zwar nicht feststellen, doch deutet das chin. *ts'ai* darauf hin, dass es sich nicht um eine Giftpflanze handeln kann, da mit *ts'ai* ganz allgemein »Gemüse«, also geniessbare Pflanzen bezeichnet werden.

*Gelber Baum, Gelb-Holz*, tib. *skyer pa*, mo. *šira modon*, chin. *huang po*,<sup>26</sup>) jap. *kihada*, annamitisch *hoàng bá* = *Phellodendron amurense* Rupr. (nach SARAT CHANDRA DAS aber: *Berberis*).

*Glycyrrhiza glabra* (bezw. *uralensis*), L., tib. *šin mñar*, mo. *šik'ir ebesün* (»Zuckerkraut«; im Volksmund auch *xunčir*), skr. *madhūka*, *lakṣamaṇa*, *yaṣṭyahva*, chin. *kan ts'ao*,<sup>27</sup>) jap. *kwanzō*, *amakusa*.

*Grosse Arznei*, tib. *smān c'en*, mo. *yek'e em*, chin. *ts'ao wu*<sup>28</sup>) (die Knollen, *tubera*, heissen bei RÜDENBERG: *wu t'ou*<sup>29</sup>)), was nach HÜBOTTER: *Aconitum uncinatum* L.; nach SARAT CHANDRA DAS ist *smān c'en* der »schwarze Aconit«, *boñ nag*, der auch *btsan dug*, d. h. »Dämonen-Gift«, genannt wird. Nach einer Angabe von AUSTIN WADDELL ist *btsan dug* (bei WADDELL Tsa-duk geschrieben) = *Aconitum gymnantrum* Max.

*Honig*, tib. *sbrañ rtsi* (wörtlich: Bienen-Saft), mo. *bal*, skr. *madhu*, chin. *fêng mi*.<sup>30</sup>)

*Ingwer*, tib. *yuñ ba*, mo. *yungua*, chin. *chiang huang*,<sup>31</sup>) *Alpinia Galanga*, skr. *haridrā*; nach GILES: Turmeric, *Curcuma*; der Begriff »Ingwer« ist hier nur ein Notbehelf, jedenfalls handelt es sich wohl nicht um *Zingiber*, tib. *sga*; in Sikkim heisst diese Pflanze allerdings *sga ser*: »gelber Ingwer«.

*Ipomoea turpethum*, tib. *dur byid*, mo. *dür'jit*, skr. *trivṛtā*, *tripuṭā*, auch *kumbha*, chin. *li lou*.<sup>32</sup>) Ist vielleicht aber auch *Ricinus communis*.

*Knochen*, alte; tib. *rus*, mo. *yasun*; in der lamaistischen und sonstigen fernöstlichen Heilkunde finden Knochen verschiedener Herkunft häufig Anwendung, darunter auch solche von Menschen; sie werden teils gepulvert, teils nach Verbrennung zu Asche gebraucht. Da hier von »alten Knochen« (*rus rñin*/

*xagučün yasun*) die Rede ist, liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass die Asche alter Menschenknochen gemeint ist, die auch im Vier Wurzel-Buch als besondere Arznei (*mi rus . . . t'al ba|k'ümün-ü . . . yasun-u ünesün*) vorkommt.

*Lepus Ogotona* Pallas., tib. *pra li*, mo. *ogotona*; PRŽEVAL'SKIJ nennt dies Tier *Lagomys ogotona*, KOWALEWSKI — *Sciurus striatus* oder Burunduk-Eichhörnchen; bei den Kalmüken bezeichnet *ogotono* gleichfalls eine Art Feldmaus (*Lagomys*). Nach der unter *byaŋ k'ra* erwähnten Pharmakologie wird auch die Hirnmasse dieses Tiers in der Heilkunde gebraucht.

*Menschenhaare*, tib. *mi skra*, mo. *k'ümün-ü üsün*; von ihrem heilkundlichen Gebrauch habe ich bisher nur eine Andeutung bei ALBERT SALLET: L'Officine sinoannamite en Annam (Paris 1931), S. 25, gefunden; sie heissen dort annamitisch *Loan phát*, entsprechend einem chin. *luan fa*.<sup>33)</sup>

*Moschus*, tib. *gla rtsi*, mo. *ŋigar*, *ḍaḡar*, *ḍaḡaḡar*, *k'üderi-in ŋigar* (*k'üderi* ist das Moschustier, tib. *gla ba*), skr. *mada*, *myganābhi*, *kasturi*, chin. *shê hsiang*,<sup>34)</sup> jap. *jaokō*.

*Muskatnuss*, tib. *dsā ti*, mo. *ḍati*, beide aus skr. *jātī*, chin. *jou tou k'ou*,<sup>35)</sup> jap. *nikuzuku*, *Myristica fragrans* L.

*Myrobalane*, *Terminalia Chebula*, tib. *a ru ra*, mo. *arura*, skr. *haritakī* (für die einzelnen Arten gibt es besondere Namen), chin. *ho li lo*<sup>36)</sup> oder *k'o tzū*,<sup>37)</sup> jap. *kariroku* oder *kashi*.

*Physalis flexuosa*, tib. *a šogandha* (Übernahme von skr. *aśvagandha*, wörtlich: Pferdegeruch!), mo. *ašu-ḡanda*, chin. *t'ien mên tung*<sup>38)</sup> (was aber nach GILES: *Asparagus lucidus* Lindl.); jap. ist *Physalis* ganz allgemein *hōzuki*.

*Phytolacca acinosa* Roxb., tib. *t'an p'rom* (oder: *t'an k'rom*), skr. *dustura*, chin. *pu ku chin*,<sup>39)</sup>; eine *Phytolacca acinosa*, var. *esculenta*, heisst jap. *yamagobō*; eine weisse Art wird tib. *t'an p'rom dkar po* genannt, daneben auch *ba laŋ k'a c'u*, mo. *šira em*: »das gelbe Heilmittel«, ma. *fiyelesu* und chin. *tang lu*<sup>40)</sup> oder *shang lu*.<sup>40)</sup>

*Piper nigrum* L., tib. *na le šam*, aber auch *p'o ba ril* (»Magen-Kügelchen,-Pillen«), mo. *nališam*, skr. *marica phaŋijja*, chin. *hu chiao*<sup>41)</sup> (fremdländischer Pfeffer), jap. *koshō*, ma. *halhōri*.

*Rubia cordifolia* L., tib. *btsod* oder *gtsod*, mo. *budak*, *buduk*, skr. *yojanavallī*, chin. *ch'ien ts'ao*,<sup>42)</sup> jap. *akame*.

*Russalbe*, tib. *dud pa*, mo. *utaḡan*, skr. *kañjala* (die beiden ersten Ausdrücke bedeuten sonst nur »Rauch«; hier handelt es sich um eine Mischung von Russ mit Butter).

*Sandel*, allgemein, skr. *candana*, woraus tib. *tsandan* und mo. *zanda(n)*, ist nach SARAT CHANDRA DAS = *Sirium myrtifolium*; chin. *chan t'an no*<sup>43)</sup> nur Transkription); die lamaistische Heilkunde unterscheidet zwei Arten: 1) *Santalum album* L., tib. *tsandan dkar po*, mo. *caḡan zandan*, skr. *śita*, chin. *pai t'an*,<sup>44)</sup> jap. *byakudan*, und 2) *Pterocarpus santalinus* L., tib. *tsandan dmar po*, mo.

*ulağan zandan* (auch einfach: *ulağan modon*: roter Baum), skr. *lohītacandana*, *raktacandana*, *valgum* (von welch letzterem wohl auf Umwegen das hebräische אֱלִגְמוּמִים 'algūmīm der Bibel, in der Septuaginta ξύλα πεύκωνα, 2. Chron.

2, 8 und 9, 10), chin. *tzū t'an*<sup>45</sup>) jap. *shitan*.

*Scutellaria baicalensis* Georgi, tib. *hoñ len*, mo. *xonglin*, beide wohl aus dem chin. *hu lien*,<sup>46</sup>) jap. *koganebana*.

Sechs Vortreffliche, tib. *bzañ po drug*, mo. *řirgūğan sañ*; eine auch von SARAT CHANDRA DAS erwähnte Zusammenstellung von sechs Drogen, über die er aber keine näheren Angaben macht.

Senf, weisser, tib. *yuñs kar* (oder *yuñs dkar*), mo. *cağan k'iři* (worin *k'iři* aus dem chin. Ausdruck übernommen), skr. *saršapa*, *rājikā*, *gaurī*, chin. *pai chieh tzū*.<sup>47</sup>)

Sirup, tib. *bu ram*, mo. *buram*, *burum*, skr. *phānita*, chin. *hei t'ang*<sup>48</sup>) («schwarzer» Zucker).

*Thymus vulgaris* Ledb., tib. *rgya spos* (was sonst »Weihrauchstäbchen« bedeutet), mo. *rdaboi* (nach dem russischen Botaniker STUKOV ist *rgya spos* = *Thymus angustifolius* L.), chin. *mu su*<sup>49</sup>); HÜBOTTER identifiziert diesen chin. Ausdruck aber mit *Medicago denticulata* Willd., was einem jap. *uma-goyashi*, d. h. »Pferde ernährend«, entspricht; für die Richtigkeit dieser Gleichsetzung spricht eine Gegenüberstellung, die sich im Vier Sprachen-Wörterbuch findet, nämlich: das schon erwähnte chin. *mu su*, tib. *rgya spos* (daneben auch noch *rtsva bsuñ*: süß duftendes Kraut, Gras), ma. *morho*: eine Art Gras, das zum Pferdefutter dient (VON DER GABELENTZ) und mo. *ger-ün xořiyanggur*, etwa: kultivierte (häusliche, *ger-ün*) *Vicia graeca*.

*Trichosanthes*(wurzel), wohl *Trichosanthes dioica*, tib. *ba spru ba*, mo. *basbru*, chin. *po pu*<sup>50</sup>) (was hier nur lautliche Wiedergabe des tib. Ausdrucks, der annähernd *ba-bu*, *bo-bu*, gesprochen wird), skr. *patola*, jap. *karasūri*; doch hat GILES für *po pu lang*<sup>51</sup>) = *Stemone tuberosa* Lour., worin die Zeichen für *po pu* wieder einem jap. *byakubu*, dem Gattungsnamen für *Stemone*, entsprechen.

*Vatica lanceaefolia* Bl., tib. *gu gul*, *gug gul* und *go gul*, aus skr. *guggula*, wofür auch *yakřadhūpa* («Weihrauch der Ungeheuer») vorkommt; mo. *xara gügü* (schwarze Art), chin. *an pa hsiang*.<sup>52</sup>)

Weihrauchstäbchen, mo. *k'üři* (Plur. *k'üři's*, *k'üřit*), tib. *spos*, *bdug spos*, *dri bzañ*, chin. *shih ch'én hsiang*,<sup>53</sup>) wörtlich »Stunden-Zeit-Weihrauchstäbe«; ihr Abbrennen gibt annähernd einen Massstab für den Verlauf der Zeit; die Brenndauer beträgt, wie mir Herr Dr. LIAO BAO-SEING sagte, etwa eine und eine halbe unserer europäischen Stunden.

Zucker, tib. *ka ra*, mo. *řik'ir*, *řik'er*, skr. *řarkarā*, jap. *shōtō* oder *sato*.

<sup>1)</sup> MAX SIBER: Der Tibethund. Winterthur 1897, Verlag Paul Gerin, Wien. ALBERT und ARNOLD HEIM: Tibetdogge — in Schweizerischer Hundesport, Zürich, vom 6. Februar 1932; mit Abbildungen.

<sup>2)</sup> Hydrophobia is very prevalent in Tibet, Mongolia and China, and its effects are considered to manifest themselves, according to the colour of the dog, at periods varying from seven days to eighteen months, and also according to the time of day at which the bite was received. The remedies are, however, sufficiently practical. As soon as possible tie a ligature four fingers above the wound, draw out the poison by means of sucking apparatus, called rnyabs-ras, similar to the cupping glasses of the Indians, and then bleed the wounded part. If the patient presents himself to the physician a day after having been bitten the latter should only cauterize the wound, and then apply an ointment made of butter, turmeric, a poisonous bulb called bon-nya, and musk.

<sup>3)</sup> Für die in Kursivdruck gegebenen Ausdrücke, fast ausschliesslich Namen von Arzneistoffen nach lamaistischer Auffassung, aber auch einige andere, finden sich die sprachlichen Äquivalente, soweit sie hier interessieren und die betreffenden Drogen auch in der Heilkunde der Chinesen, Inder, Japaner etc. vorkommen, sowie auch einige sachliche Anmerkungen in der an den Schluß dieses Aufsatzes verwiesenen Liste.

<sup>4)</sup> So wörtlich; gemeint ist »einnehmen«. Die Pillen werden also in irgendeiner Flüssigkeit aufgelöst.

<sup>5)</sup> Hier steht, was sich häufiger findet, die Form der Umgangssprache, *dolo*, statt des korrekten schriftmongolischen *dologan*.

<sup>6)</sup> Mit »Methode« ist hier *k'ülge(n)* wiedergegeben, das eigentlich »Wagen, Fahrzeug, Gefährt, Beförderungsmittel« bedeutet, in welchem Sinne es auch in der buddhistischen Terminologie der Mongolen gebraucht wird, wie z. B. *yek'e k'ülgen*, tib. *leg pa c'en po*, skr. *mahāyāna*: »das Grosse Fahrzeug« (als Doktrin). In der lamaistischen Medizin aber werden mit *k'ülgen* in erster Linie die Stoffe bezeichnet, mit denen die Heilmittel vermischt eingegeben werden, sei es, um ihre leichtere Aufnahme durch den Organismus zu gewährleisten, sei es, um gewisse unangenehme Geschmacksempfindungen abzdämmen. Als die drei Haupt-*k'ülgen* gelten Sirup, Zucker und Honig. Des weiteren kann aber auch jede Ernährungsweise oder Diät während einer Kur als *k'ülgen* bezeichnet werden, wie eben im vorliegenden Falle. Diese letztere Erwägung hat mich veranlaßt, hier das Wort mit »Methode« zu übersetzen, was in seiner Grundbedeutung als »Mit-Weg«, d. h. Mittel zum zurücklegen eines Weges, dem ursprünglichen Sinn von *k'ülgen* ja recht nahe kommt.

<sup>7)</sup> Steht statt eines korrekten *xonok-un*; *xonok* als Tag steht nicht im Gegensatz zu Nacht, sondern bezeichnet den 24 Stunden-Tag; cf. das *νυχθημερον* im Neuen Testament, 2. Kor. II, 25.

<sup>8)</sup> D. h. nachdem ca 3 Stunden verflossen sind; siehe Liste unter »Weihrauchstäbchen«.

<sup>9)</sup> Wohl aus Hanfasern hergestellt, wofür der von KOWALEWSKI, S. 2405, unter *yorok* mitgeteilte tib. Ausdruck *ka lin kai so ras* zu sprechen scheint; in letzterem ist *so* Abkürzung für das aus dem Sanskrit von den Tibetern übernommene *so ma ra dsa* = Hanf, und *ras* = Leinwand.

<sup>10)</sup> Steht für *sagubasu*; *suguxu* ist schriftmässige Anpassung an das *suuxu* der Umgangssprache = *saguxu*.

<sup>11)</sup> Hier ist *arbai* in Anlehnung an KOWALEWSKI, S. 188, *arbai-in gulir*, mit »Hafermehl« wiedergegeben; ebenso gut oder mit noch mehr Recht könnte man »Gerstenmehl« sagen, da unter *arbai* von den eigentlichen Mongolen diese Getreideart (tib. *nas*) verstanden wird. Hafer kommt, soviel mir bekannt, in der Mongolei nicht vor, dagegen — durch die Russen eingeführt — bei den Burjaten.

Mithin dürften wir, vorausgesetzt, dass KOWALEWSKI *arbai-in gūlir* richtig wiedergegeben, hierin einen weiteren Beweis für die burjatische Herkunft des Rezeptschreibers erblicken.

<sup>12)</sup> Wir kombinieren hier wie im folgenden den tib. und mong. Text, indem wir letzteren Wort für Wort unter den ersteren setzen, soweit die Abweichung der mong. Syntax von der tibetischen nicht eine andere Reihenfolge bietet. Gleichzeitig sei darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass der tib. Text in Anlehnung an die, wie gesagt, verlorene Sanskritvorlage (abgesehen von 3 Stellen) in neun-silbigen Verszeilen geschrieben ist, was weder durch die mongolische und natürlich noch viel weniger durch die deutsche Übertragung wiedergegeben werden kann. Die tib. Verszeilen sind durch // gegeneinander abgegrenzt.

<sup>13)</sup> Das *ba* hinter *srin bu* (= mo. *xoroxai*: Würmer) ist nur eingefügt, um die Silbenzahl der Verszeile auf neun zu bringen. Eigenartigerweise aber fehlen somit hier die »Bienen(-artigen) Insekten«, von denen doch der mo. Text spricht. Oder sollen wir hier *srin sran bu* setzen und das *ba* ausmerzen? Dann bezöge sich *bu* sowohl auf *srin* = *srin bu*: Würmer, und auf *sbran* = *sbran bu*: Bienen und ähnliche Insekten.

<sup>14)</sup> Der tib. Text sagt hier wörtlich: »er hebt den Schweif nicht empor«, der mongolische drückt dasselbe anders aus: »er lässt seinen Schweif herabhängen«.

<sup>15)</sup> Hierzu vergl. die Stelle bei Dr. MONTELL: »es (das Tier) machte kurze Sprünge nach den Seiten, konnte sich aber nicht entschliessen, wohin es sich wenden sollte«.

<sup>16)</sup> Die Ausdrücke *smug/boro* entsprechen, wenn wir uns an die Wiedergabe in unseren Wörterbüchern halten, einander nicht genau; *smug* ist »purpurfarbig«, wogegen die gewöhnlichen europäischen Lexika das mo. Äquivalent *boro* mit »grau« wiedergeben. Die Auffassung der Tibeter und Mongolen wird davon wohl gelegentlich abweichen, denn in mo. Texten heisst z. B. die »Purpurne Stadt« in Peking *boro xota*.

<sup>17)</sup> Statt *čičirek'ü(i)*.

<sup>18)</sup> Also dieselbe Anschauung, die zur Bezeichnung der Tollwut mit *ὄδροσοφία*, das ja auch u. a. ins Englische und Französische übergegangen ist, Veranlassung gegeben hat. Im Deutschen kommt als Synonym ebenfalls bisweilen »Wasserscheu« vor, die nicht nur als Furcht vor Gewässern, sondern auch in Abneigung gegen Trinkwasser und andere Flüssigkeiten zur Geltung kommt.

<sup>19)</sup> Eine Darstellung des *rñabs rva/eber sorogul* findet sich im Stockholmer »Statens Etnografiska Museum« auf einer farbigen Tafel tibetischen Ursprungs mit Bildern von Instrumenten der lamaistischen Heilkunde, von denen an anderer Stelle ausführlicher die Rede sein wird.

<sup>20)</sup> Es gibt zum Ausbrennen bestimmte Apparate, die so eingerichtet sind, dass in sie Brennkörper von verschiedenen Metallen eingesetzt werden können. Auch diese sind auf der in der vorigen Note erwähnten Tafel abgebildet. Cf. auch: *Die Medizinische Welt*, Berlin, Jahrg. 8 (1934), S. 143 und Abb. 4.

<sup>21)</sup> Korrekt wäre *sürči* (das auch später hier vorkommt); doch werden *c* und *j* unter dem Einfluss der Pekinger Blockdruck-Schnitzkunst häufig verwechselt.

<sup>22)</sup> Beide Ausdrücke bezeichnen ganz allgemein geronnene Milch oder eine Art Weisskäse, in der lamaistischen Heilkunde sehr empfohlen und häufig gebraucht. Auch in der Volksmedizin anderer Kulturkreise spielte und spielt der Weisskäse keine unbedeutende Rolle, und es sei daran erinnert, dass innerhalb der vor etwa einem Jahrzehnt in und bei Berlin so rührigen Sekte der Johannes-Christen oder »Weissenbergianer« gerade bei den halb religiösen Heilkuren ihres Gründers, WEISSENBERG, dies Milchprodukt reichlich zur Anwendung kam, bisweilen allerdings mit unheilvollen Folgen.

<sup>23)</sup> Das *belgete-in* ist sicherlich fehlerhaft; es muss — wie ich annehme — statt dessen nur *belget*: »erkläre die Zeichen, untersuche«, entsprechend dem tib. *brtag*, heissen.

<sup>24)</sup> Das tib. *gñen po* bedeutet ursprünglich »Helfer, Freund« und bekommt erst in zweiter Linie den Einschlag »gegnerisch, Gegenmittel«, insofern die jeweils in Frage kommenden Stoffe sich dem Arzt und Kranken als Helfer, Freunde im Kampf gegen das Leiden erweisen. Das mo. *yeründek'* ist uns bisher allerdings nur in der Bedeutung »gegnerisch, Gegenmittel« vorgekommen.

<sup>25)</sup> So sonderbar es auch klingen mag, werden doch in der lamaistischen Heilkunde die Sohlen von abgetragenen Schuhen gebraucht. Sie sind zwar im Vier Wurzel-Buch nicht erwähnt, finden sich aber in der (in der Drogenliste) unter *byañ k'ra* angedeuteten Pharmakologie, fol. 112, recto, b, wo sie neben der obigen tib. Bezeichnung ausdrücklich als »alte Stiefelsohlen« (tib. *lham gyi gog rñin ba*, mo. *gutul-un xağučin ula(n)*) angeführt sind. Das Wort *bran* ist bei SARAT CHANDRA DAS nicht zu finden, weshalb sich die Übersetzung auf das Mongolische stützt. Zähne, insbesondere Hauerzähne (*mc'e ba/soyoğa*) werden bisweilen in pulverisiertem Zustand gebraucht.

<sup>26)</sup> Das mo. *siik'iren* mutet wegen der beiden aufeinanderfolgenden *vi* verdächtig an und lässt sich in den mir zu Gebote stehenden Lexika und sonstigen Hilfsmitteln nicht nachweisen. Die Übersetzung hält sich hier also nur an das tib. *k'ol bur*, wörtlich »in Stücken« also: stückweise, stellenweise.

<sup>27)</sup> Bezüglich dieser pflanzlichen Drogen siehe in der Drogenliste: *Phytolacca acinosa* und *Eriobotrya japonica*. Es fällt auf, dass beide Namen die Silbe *p'rom* aufweisen, womit möglicherweise auf die Herkunft dieser Pflanzen aus dem Lande *P'rom* hingedeutet werden soll, das nördlich von Tibet und nordöstlich von Yarkand lag, doch wäre, wenn diese Annahme zutreffen sollte, befremdlich, dass *p'rom* an zweiter Stelle steht.

<sup>28)</sup> 'Tib. wörtlich: »man gebe, den Mund in Bewegung versetzend, . . .«, mo.: »man gebe, indem man 'zügelt', . . .«, d. h. wie wenn man einem Pferde eine Kandare oder Trense in das Gebiss legt (*jiluga* = Zaumzeug, Zügel).

<sup>29)</sup> Wohl nur irrtümlich statt *'ons*.

<sup>30)</sup> Es ist fraglich, ob der Schreiber des mo. Textes mit *dотора*, das man natürlich auch *da-du-ra* lesen kann, den darüber stehenden Ausdruck *dha du ra* wiedergeben wollte oder aus Verlegenheit für den ihm unbekannteren (weil aus dem Sanskrit stammenden) Ausdruck das wohlvertraute *dотора* setzte, das natürlich hier keinen Sinn gibt. Solche »Verlegenheitsübersetzungen« kommen öfter vor, und in einem mir vorliegenden dreisprachigen Arzneimittelkatalog (tib.-chin.-mo.) hat z. B. der Verfasser, bezw. Übersetzer, noch dazu Lehrer an einer tib.-mo. Sprachschule in Peking, das tib. *t'an*: »Decoctum« (das in dieser Bedeutung aus dem Chinesischen entlehnt) treuherzig mit mo. *tala*: »Hochebene« wiedergegeben, was sonst ja das tib. *t'an* gewöhnlich bedeutet.

<sup>31)</sup> Bestimmte Mischungen — tib. auch *ldeu* —, denen im letzten Teil des Vier Wurzel-Buches ein besonderes Kapitel gewidmet ist.

<sup>32)</sup> Die Erwähnung des »mongolischen Brennverfahrens« (*hor gyi me/monggol-un tügene*) ist nicht nur ein allzu deutlicher Beweis dafür, wie die Lamaisten die Vorschriften des indischen Originals des Vier Wurzel-Buches ihren Verhältnissen angepasst und entsprechend erweitert, bezw. geändert haben, sondern zeugt auch von der Rückwirkung einer eigenen mongolischen Schule von Ärzten auf ihre tib. Kollegen, was wir auch noch anderweitig bestätigt finden. Ist doch sogar der mo. Ausdruck für »Arzt« — *emči* — in den tib. Sprachgebrauch übergegangen, so dass ihn (in der lautlichen Wiedergabe als »Am-chhi) Walsh für einen tibetischen hielt (The Journal of Ayurveda, Calcutta, Vol. X, 1933, Nr. 1, S. 6).

<sup>33)</sup> Das *za* kann ich nicht deuten; vielleicht ist dafür *gzi* zu setzen, was man wenigstens *einiger-massen* mit der Bedeutung von mo. *oron* in Einklang bringen könnte. Für tib. *sdan*: furchtsam, ängstlich, fehlt hier die mo. Entsprechung.

<sup>34)</sup> Cf. die Stelle bei Dr. MONTELL (im Anfang unseres Aufsatzes).

<sup>35)</sup> Hier gilt für »grau« das Note 16 Gesagte.

<sup>36)</sup> Cf. Note 18.

<sup>37)</sup> Cf. Note 2 und 19.

<sup>38)</sup> Cf. Note 20.

<sup>39)</sup> Cf. Note 24.

<sup>40)</sup> Cf. Note 6.

- |         |         |            |
|---------|---------|------------|
| 1. 麥冬   | 18. 楓茄  | 36. 訶黎勒    |
| 2. 川烏   | 19. 枇杷  | 37. 柯子     |
| 3. 速香   | 20. 石南  | 38. 天門冬    |
| 4. 蘆薈   | 21. 水藻  | 39. 補骨脂    |
| 5. 白芷   | 22. 伏翼  | 40. 當陸(商陸) |
| 6. 檳榔   | 23. 苜蓿  | 41. 胡椒     |
| 7. 牛黃   | 24. 蝙蝠  | 42. 茜草     |
| 8. 牛玉   | 25. 灰條菜 | 43. 旃檀     |
| 9. 菖蒲   | 26. 黃栢  | 44. 白檀     |
| 10. 白芷  | 27. 甘草  | 45. 紫檀     |
| 11. 白芷  | 28. 草烏  | 46. 胡連     |
| 12. 蒼朮  | 29. 烏頭  | 47. 白芥子    |
| 13. 石菖蒲 | 30. 蜂蜜  | 48. 黑糖     |
| 14. 馬蘭蓬 | 31. 姜黃  | 49. 苜蓿     |
| 15. 鬱金  | 32. 薤白  | 50. 百部     |
| 16. 礞砂  | 33. 亂髮  | 51. 百部根    |
| 17. 廣木香 | 34. 麝香  | 52. 菴巴香    |
|         | 35. 肉苁蓉 | 53. 時辰香    |

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE POPULATION  
IN THE NAN-SHAN

BY

*GERHARD BEXELL*





# SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE POPULATION IN THE NAN-SHAN

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**W**ith its sudden and sheer northern front rising over the oases and desert-zone of Kansu, the Nan-shan forms not only the geographical boundary between the great mountain-region in the south and the steppe and desert regions in the north, but also a striking ethnographical boundary between the area of Chinese settlement and the predominantly Tibetan population of the great southern ranges. With the small, scattered oases along the foot of the mountain-range, where agriculture is still possible, the Chinese settlement comes to an end. Moreover, with the exception of a small number of coal and gold diggers, the Chinese are not permitted to settle in the mountains, which have been reserved for other racial elements. While the Tibetans who live in the frontier regions farthest in the north seem latterly to be degenerating and dying out, there is clearly to be noted a continual slow advance of fresh nomadizing Tibetan elements northward from the interior or from the great plains around Kuku-nor, where perhaps from time to time a certain over-population makes itself felt.

But also the Chinese inhabitants of the small oases at the foot of the range are said to be rapidly diminishing in number. The reason given was that the water supply from the nearest mountain-regions was continually becoming less.

Of the little oasis Hung-shan, for example, situated about 30 km south of Suchow, it was said that only twenty years earlier it had had a population comprising 200 families, whereas now it could scarcely support 15. Older homesteads both in this and other oases could be bought at extremely low prices, when the buyer, often perhaps only after the transaction had been concluded, was informed that the homestead in question had been definitively cut off from the water-supply of the existing system of irrigation canals. An indication of the seriousness of the situation is a large hole or grotto cut in the bank of the Hung-shui-pa-shang-ho, which at times has a big volume of water. This hole bears witness to an attempt not so long ago by the population of the Hung-shan oasis with their primitive

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The observations upon which this essay is based were made during the course of my geological work in the Nan-shan in the years 1930—33; and they were written down in 1938 as a part of the report on my work in the service of the expedition that is published elsewhere in this series. It is printed here without any essential alterations.

tools to divert water from this river to the part of Hung-shan-kou that has now been drained practically dry. The enterprise was of course absolutely hopeless, as it would have meant tunnelling the northern chain of the Richthofen Mountains to a length of at least 4 km. And when the more superficial and weathered parts of the bed-rock had been broken through, the attempt was abandoned. The grotto thus formed was now serving a Tibetan family as a summer dwelling.

In a number of places along the foot of the mountains one can see traces of old fields and irrigation canals that have had to be abandoned. Something corresponding to this may also be observed within the more northerly parts of the mountains, where remains of old Tibetan camping-sites — that judging from information by the inhabitants and from the rubbish-heaps have been used fairly recently — are to be found in valleys with dry stream-beds that no longer carry water at any time of the year.

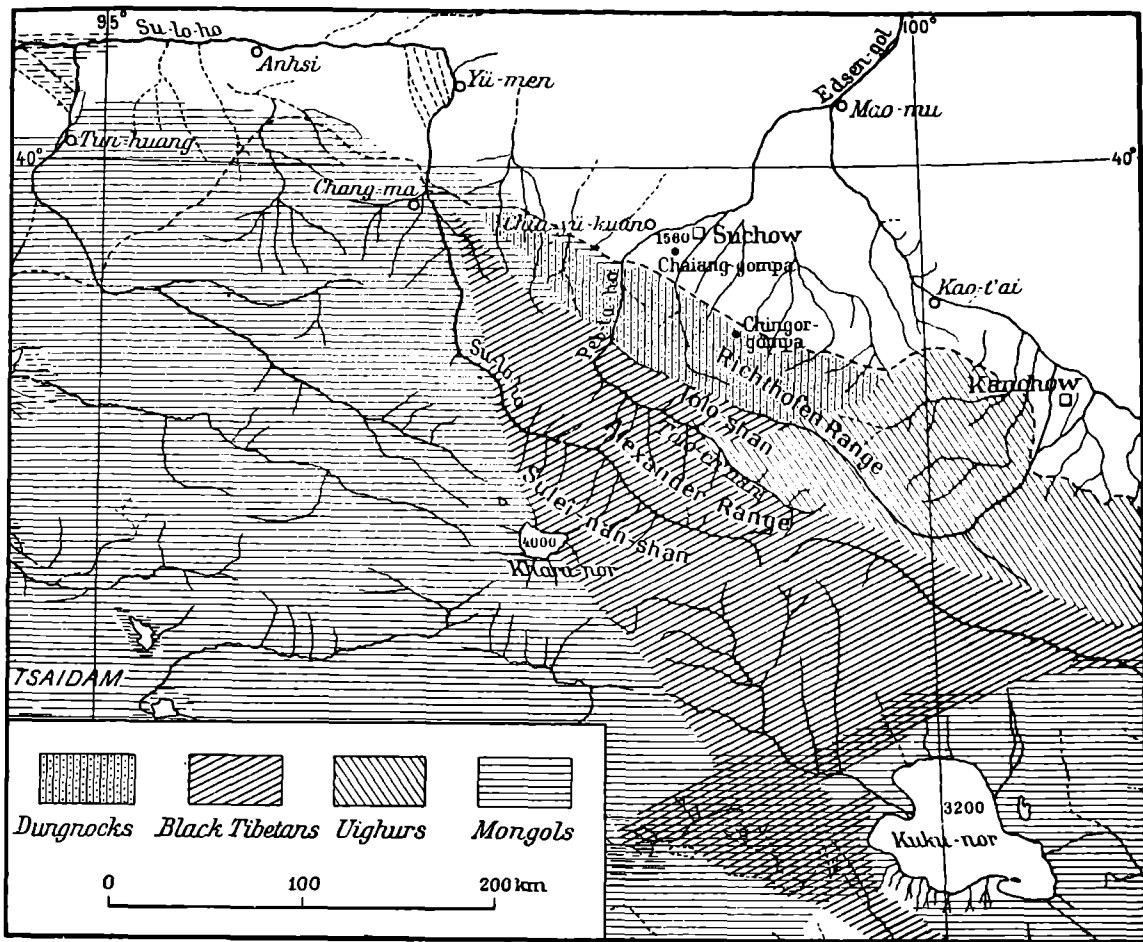
Just south of Suchow the Richthofen Mountains are inhabited by a Tibetan colony that is rapidly dying out. These people live in a region that is bounded roughly by the oases Ch'in-shui and Kam-pa-k'o (around the Ma-chang-ho) in the east and the Pei-ta-ho in the west; though they are also found farther west in the mountains around T'u-davan and Ch'in-tou-shan, about 65 km S. S. W. of Suchow.

Westwards from this point the population becomes rather mixed in the tracts where the northernmost Nan-shan begins to lose its alpine character. For it is just here that the Mongolian population from the plains to the south of Anhsi push in among the mountains, while at the same time Tolo-chuan's Black Tibetans advance north-west. It is thus possible within this region, especially in summer, as at Kuku-nor in the eastern parts of the Nan-shan, to find groups of Mongol *yurts* mingling with the black Tibetan yak-hair tents; and here, too, one finds a certain tendency among the Mongols to adopt Tibetan dress.

The Mongols in these parts seem to belong to the more well-to-do class, whereas the *yurts* that one finds out on the steppe or in the oases inhabited by the Chinese often bear witness to the greatest poverty. At times the Mongol settlements extend eastwards as far as the Pei-ta-ho, though they are few and far between.

A number of the Mongols that one meets in the mountains inside T'u-davan are Khalkha Mongols, belonging to the groups that settled in the Ma-tsung-shan in the Pei-shan after the revolution in Outer Mongolia.

Eastwards from the oasis Ch'in-shui, in the region to the south of Kao-t'ai-hsien and Kanchow, the population of the Richthofen Mountains comprises chiefly Uighurs, according to information received, about a couple of hundred families, six of which settled in the Tolo-chuan valley between the Tolo-shan and the Alexander chain, and are sometimes referred to as Tolo-Mongols. (According to caravan-leader BÖKENKAMP, who visited the Uighur region on a later occasion, the Uighurs belong linguistically to two different groups, the one with Turkish-Uighur dialect and the other with a dialect related to Mongolian). By the Tibetans they are called Yog-hor, by the Chinese, Huang-fan-tze.



Sketch-map showing the approximate distribution of the ethnological groups in the Nan-shan region. As regards the Kuku-nor plain, it is to be noted that although it belongs, actually, to be areas inhabited by Mongols, the present population shows a higher percentage of Tibetans than Mongols. The foot of the mountains is marked by a dotted line. To the south of this line the height above sea-level is nowhere less than 2,000 m. Some peaks of the ranges attain an altitude of about 7,000 m. Large parts of this alpine region are of course uninhabitable, but it has not been possible to distinguish such tracts on this map.

## THE DUNGNOCKS

Considerably more reduced is the Tibetan fraction inhabiting the Suchow-Nan-shan, although only a few decades ago it seems to have been rather numerous. The cause of the decimation of recent years appears to have been chiefly to seek in the epidemics from neighbouring Chinese communities, especially typhus. In the course of only one of the winters during which we were working in the mountains over a hundred of these Tibetans were said to have died of this disease. This was perhaps an exaggeration. The rapid spread of this epidemic was, however, undoubtedly furthered by the lamas going from one sick-bed to another.

The sparse remains of this people is becoming more and more influenced by the neighbouring Chinese settlements, and is thus beginning to lose its special characteristics.

The Chinese refer to these people as Hsi-fan-tze, which is the customary designation for Tibetans in general; but it possibly has a more particular meaning in order to distinguish them from the neighbouring Huang-fan-tze, the Uighurs, and Hei-fan-tze, the Black Tibetans in the more southerly parts of the Nan-shan. To distinguish from these latter the terms Ch'ien-shan-fan-tze and Hou-shan-fan-tze (The Tibetans of the Front and of the Back Mountains) are used. Among themselves they go under the name of Dungenocks.

### LANGUAGE

The Dungenocks speak a language that although not quite identical with that of the Black Tibetans, is nonetheless understood by them. But it is precisely in their language that foreign influences are most strongly marked in this racial fraction, now rapidly dying out. Among the few families living in the mountains immediately to the south of the oasis Chin-fo-ssu, important as a commercial centre, the Tibetan mother-tongue has thus been almost entirely abandoned in favour of Chinese. The younger generation here is often quite unable to speak Tibetan; but on account of the isolating effect of this mountain-country one does not need to travel many kilometers to the west or the east, beyond the reach of direct influence from the oasis, before finding, in families living also within the northernmost peripheral parts of the mountains, both women and children who do not understand Chinese. An exception in point of language is the little valley in which the tribe's chief temple is situated. This is not far from Chin-fo-ssu; and it is often visited on matters of business by Chinese. The language of conversation between the Tibetans living here is, however, still Tibetan. The presence of the temple plays a certain rôle, of course, and the fact that the families who have settled here comprise for the most part relatives of the lamas, and come from parts of the settled area where the native speech still survives.

## DRESS

What applies to the language holds good also, to a great extent, of the dress. Especially in the regions near the larger oases, the peculiar Tibetan attire is in many cases being discarded in favour of a more Chinese style of dress. The Dungenocks, however, manufacture the coarse cloth for their clothes themselves; and they have a good reputation as weavers also among neighbouring peoples.

The women are a good deal more conservative in their dress than the men; but in large parts of the region the wearing of the beautiful native costume as a whole is beginning to be restricted, also among the women, to festival occasions (Pl. 1 b and d). The male dress for such occasions, on the other hand, often tends to be more purely Chinese, at least as regards the more well-to-do.

The high yellow hat worn by the women, that at the bottom is provided with a trimming of bushy fox-skin and at the top as a rule with red fringes, is chequered with deeply sunken seams, which gives it a certain resemblance to a corn-cob. This hat is quite different from that which is worn by the peoples in the immediate vicinity of the region, but something similar seems to be worn by some tribes in the interior of Tibet or the regions to the south of Kuku-nor, where it is also worn by the men-folk.

The rich embroideries that one frequently finds, especially on the collar of the female attire and on the red-legged boots, are done by the women themselves, but they were said sometimes to be the work also of Chinese women in the oases. The style of the embroideries is partly Chinese.

## MANUFACTURE OF FELT

The manufacture of felt is carried out in the same way as among Mongols etc. The use of horses for the winding of the roll employed in connection with the felting of the wool is impracticable on account of the absence in the mountains of sufficiently big stretches of even ground. With the help of two ropes that have been looped round the two ends of the roller, the latter is instead kept rolling to and fro between two persons, who alternately pull and 'give' their ends of the ropes. The roller rolls, during this performance, on a mat of grass. If only a small piece of felt is to be manufactured, the roller, also with the help of ropes, is made to roll up and down a plank that is placed against a stone or a wall, and is worked upon at the same time with the feet of a person who sits on the stone or wall in question.

## OCCUPATIONS

A small number of these Dungenocks have moved from the mountains and carry on agriculture on a small scale in the nearest oases. Near the oasis Ch'a-ho-chin, about 60 li from the foot of the mountain, one still finds, as well as farming Uighurs,

also Tibetans, whence the Chinese name of Hsi-fan-t'ang for the place. On the other hand, one of the five groups into which the Dungenocks are divided lives in the region around the pass Chu-lung-kuan, on the boundary between the southernmost Richthofen Mountains and the Tolo-shan, thus within a region that belongs actually to the Black Tibetans. This group undoubtedly comprises the most primitive part of the people, and that which has been least affected by Chinese influence. Their isolation is the more pronounced as the high southern parts of the Richthofen Mountains, at least within the Suchow district, are uninhabited — this being due, as I was told, to the very heavy rainfall in these parts. One does, however, find traces of old camping-places in this region, which is now chiefly visited by hunters.

The Dungenocks are for the most part semi-nomadic, changing their camping-places only twice a year. In the simplest cases a sort of mountain-dairy system is used, when only a part of the family moves to the summer camping-place with the animals, as a rule higher up in the mountains. In the meantime the pasture around the main camp has time to recover.

The big yak-owners that are left are of course forced to adopt a more nomadized way of life; but large herds of yak are now rare in these mountain parts, as they have several times been decimated by cattle pest, something that is largely responsible for the increasingly wretched existence eked out by the people. In some places they have begun to keep horses instead of yaks, like the Uighur population in the east, that is known especially for its herds of horses, and even uses these animals in payment of a large part of the taxes to the Chinese authorities.

It sometimes happens that the more well-to-do among the mountain-dwelling Dungenocks own some small plot of earth in the neighbouring oases, where they carry on a little farming. In these cases the work is done by a Chinese employee. The Tibetans generally get the greater part of their supply of flour by way of payment for keeping Chinese horses and oxen during the summer months together with their own herds on their pastures in the mountains.

## DWELLINGS

The dwellings vary with the mode of life. The black yak-hair tents, of a type that diverges somewhat from those found among the Black Tibetans, are in their original form chiefly met with among the more nomadizing families; but in earlier times they doubtless constituted the usual type of dwelling, as the tent is often still found also among the more settled population, being used as a roof stretched over a stone foundation. This combination of »house» and tent is common in the summer camps of the half-nomadizing families, and is a more stable counterpart of the wall of dried yak-dung or cakes of dried sheep-droppings that among the

more nomadizing Black Tibetans is often built up round the tent as a protection against draughts.

A number of the wealthier Tibetans in the valleys adjacent to the oases live in houses approximating to the Chinese type; but more common are houses of a much simpler construction of heaped-up stones covered with a simple roof of wood or brushwood. Many families, especially the poorer ones, spend the summer months simply in caves in the mountains or the river-terraces. The caves are often extended by means of an outer stone wall provided with a roof of branches.

## HUNTING

Hunting on a fairly big scale is carried on among the Dungenocks, partly for the sake of the meat-supply, and partly for the sake of the skins, which are sold. Trade in skins seems at times to have been rather considerable. The mountain fauna is still to be regarded as rich, even if certain animals, such as musk-deer and deer, have of recent years been strongly decimated by unregulated hunting, especially the latter, of which particularly the male was said to be very rare. Older, cast antlers of the male animal are sometimes found high up between the glaciers in the bleakest parts. These animals are presumably more common farther east, where the mountains, as is the case in the Uighur country, are in part forest-clad on the northern slopes. In the tracts to the south of Suchow, on the other hand, even isolated trees are rather rare. In some places there are stunted fir-woods of no great extent.

How far the dearth of trees is a result of latter-day devastation is difficult to decide. Curiously enough, a little pine-forest, albeit of very limited extent but with some rather stout-grown trees, was found in a place within the northern chain at an altitude of about 4,000 m, and »hanging» over the completely sterile cones of debris on the steep slopes. In some places here one could also observe large tree-trunks sticking out from the ponderous heaps of boulders left by earlier landslides, by which the forest-clad surface had obviously been successively stripped. The remaining dried trunks of cypresses on the slopes here and there are felled by the Chinese with the help of stone blocks pushed down on them from above, and they are at least to some extent used in the manufacture of incense in Chin-fo-ssu. Certain plant-remains observed in younger river deposits and travertine seem to indicate the occurrence of an earlier flora adapted to a moister climate, though it is no longer found, or at least not in these parts of the mountains. Also the shells (especially of *Helix*- and *Pupa*-species), rather numerous in places, seem to speak in favour of a gradual drying of the climate. Particularly small *Pupa*-shells are common in the superficial layer of soil on the northern slopes, where there is now only very slight vegetation. Living molluscs (belonging to a third genus) were observed on one occasion after rain, though but few in number.



The few remaining wooded areas are now protected by law.

Bush-vegetation of low-growing willow is common; and in this the Tibetans weave their snares for musk-deer. Hunting with snares is used also for leopards and lynxes. For weasels and polecats stone traps are set, while marmots are generally smoked out of their holes. For the sake of the pelts, wolves, foxes and manuls (*Felis manul*), besides the above-mentioned animals, are also hunted.

Bears are not rare in these parts, but they do not seem to be hunted to any great extent. According to the Tibetans, there are four kinds of bears, these being respectively black, brown, greyish and almost white or dirty yellow-brown. Without doubt it is here chiefly a matter of colour variants.

Rather remarkable is the occurrence of wild yak as far north as in the Richtigshofen Mountains, where one or two herds of together about sixty animals generally stray in the mountains around the upper Ma-su-ho and in winter also on the Hungshui-pa plain between the Richtigshofen chain and the Tolo-shan. For yak hunting the (ancient) native gun on a forked support and with simple matchlock is used; and as yak hunting is both risky and exacting, and carried out only by special hunters, it probably has little influence on the existing number of yaks. On the other hand, however, their numbers are strongly reduced by the frequently recurring cattle-pest, to judge by the carcasses that one found on the plains around Khara-nor, where herds of considerable size still stray.

For the sake of their meat, the otherwise most hunted animals are argali, and in the highest, stony and rugged valleys the still more numerous *nahur* (*Pseudovis nayaur* or *nahoor*), as well as, finally, antelopes in the valleys between the chains.

The wild asses (*kiang*), on the other hand, that are especially numerous in the Tolo-chuan valley, seem to be very little hunted. The meat is not in favour, but the winter coat is sometimes used instead of yak-skin for the manufacture of the moccasins used by the Dungenocks.

The appearance of the serow (*Capricornis*) in these parts of the mountains is rather exceptional, as it may be presumed to be at home in forest-clad mountain regions. We were, however, able to get the skin and cranium of this animal from a Tibetan hunter who had shortly before killed one of the creatures in Hungshankou in the northernmost Richtigshofen Mountains.

According to what I was told, hunting in the mountains was in earlier times, during the imperial period, regulated by special laws. More recently, owing to political unrest, these laws had ceased to hold, and the Tibetans said that the Mohammedans in particular, in earlier periods when they had been in power in Kansu, had caused a considerable reduction in numbers of a part of the game by unrestricted and unregulated hunting. The Chinese are as a matter of fact not allowed to enter the mountain regions armed; if they carry fire-arms these may be confiscated by the Tibetan inspectors. The Tibetans themselves, from one

of the five districts into which the Dungenock region is divided, are not permitted to hunt within another of these districts.

The red alpine wolf (*Cuon alpinus*) rather common in some places seems to be but little hunted, as the skin is of only slight value. Greater respect, however, seems to be shown to this animal than to other beasts of prey in the mountains. It is said that it always appears in flocks, and is the only beast of prey that dares to attack even tame yaks. A couple of the beasts grip the chaps of the victim firmly with their teeth while the rest slit up the belly. They are even said to have their lairs in certain »communities«, that one approaches only at considerable risk. The Tibetan notion that the females never leave their young while they are small, and are supplied with food by the males, is probably to be taken with reservation. A certain superstition seems to be connected with the Tibetans' view of this animal. The shrill laughing sound they are sometimes heard to emit at night is apparently often ascribed, like the sound of certain night-birds, to spirits, and is answered by drummings on a metal object.

### RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

One of the most remarkable things about the Dungenocks is that this racial fraction, that has evidently for a long time been isolated from its nearest kin but surrounded by, and partly dependent upon, other racial elements, seems to have retained several rather original customs and peculiarities that distinguish it from the neighbouring peoples. This applies, of course, chiefly to customs and usages connected with the practice of religion. Among such usages are probably to be reckoned certain ceremonies observed in the celebration of the New Year, that as to time does not always coincide with the Chinese festival, e. g. the nature of the *gtormas* prepared by the lamas from *tsamba* and butter, that at this time of the year are placed in the temples before the gods. On the house-altars in the tents and huts are placed pastries of various but definite forms. For the hunters it seems to be of importance that their rifles also should have a place near the altar, to ensure fortune in the hunt throughout the year, just as to the same end, after every successful hunt, they like to smear the foremost part of the stock of the rifle with the blood of the kill, a custom that is probably observed among several Tibetan and presumably also other Asiatic hunting tribes.

The celebration of the New Year is begun early in the morning with k'ou-t'ou and sacrifices at the nearest obo, that is commonly situated on the pass close above the more permanent winter camping-site. Certain more important obos seem on this occasion to form a meeting place for all the families in the same tract.

Certain details in the celebration of the New Year, though scarcely those of a directly religious character, are probably to be ascribed to influence from the

Chinese of the oases. At least the Chinese coal and gold diggers settled in the mountains are in the habit of setting up as a »god» for the New Year celebration a little fir from which, except for the upper part, the branches have been cut. On the remaining branches they hang sticks of incense, which they also place in the ground before the tree. The setting up of such a »sacrificial tree» is not customary among the Tibetan population, but any Tibetans who may happen to be present do not refuse to k'ou-t'ou to the tree or to observe other ceremonies belonging to the occasion.

All the bigger obos in the region inhabited by the Dungenocks are provided with several — often a not inconsiderable number — long lances and tridents, as a rule with forged and frequently artistically designed metal tip — though in some cases this is only indicated by means of painting the upper pointed end black. On a number of the lances on each obo it is usual to have sheep's heads impaled, and at times crossed sheep's feet bound. (Pl. 5).

Obos thus provided were not observed in the parts of the Black Tibetans' country visited, but they are probably to be found in various other tracts. As the setting up of the long lances and tridents is intended as a protection against heavy hailstorms and thunder, they possibly have a special significance among more settled agricultural or formerly agricultural tribes. The shafts of the lances should be made of bamboo, that by many Buddhists is accounted sacred. An indication of this is probably to be traced in an imitation that one sometimes finds of this wood, which in these northern parts is difficult to procure. The imitation is made with painted transverse bars and rings, arranged in a manner that in point of colour and the joints reminds one of real bamboo.

In niches in some of the larger obos one finds rather well and artistically performed drawings of *bodhisatvas* scratched on pieces of the green Nan-shan slates.

### FUNERAL CUSTOMS

The funeral customs of the Dungenocks are remarkable in that the corpse is not exposed, in the manner usual among lamaists, and adopted by the Black Tibetans, Uighurs and Mongols in the surrounding country, nor is it buried, in accordance with Chinese custom: it is burned. It is possible that here, too, we are confronted with a surviving ancient custom, that has been retained in spite of the dearth in these parts of the wood necessary for the performance of the ceremony. (The usage is probably still rather general among certain tribes much farther to the south-east. It would appear that several of the peculiarities that distinguish the Dungenocks of the Suchow-Nan-shan from their nearest neighbours are also to be found elsewhere, e. g. among the tribes that have been described by TAFEL from Kin-tschuan (Chin-ch'üan?)

With the help of ropes the corpse is forced immediately after death into a crouching position and placed, for the cremation, on a rough wooden block that is laid in the middle of a rectangle formed by four other blocks, two longer and two shorter ones. The other fuel, consisting chiefly of *tuja* branches (Ephedra), is placed within the rectangle. Flour and butter is offered up as a sacrifice on the pyre.

The ceremonies take three days and nights. Candles are burned at night near the corpse, and here the lamas perform divine service at stated times, both during the day and through the night. «Corpse-mass» is also held beforehand in some temple.

During the days when the ceremonies are going on, all those present receive, besides large pieces of boiled mutton, also a number of small gifts, consisting of a little piece of cloth with needle and thread, a portion of brick-tea and some small copper coins. The distribution of these gifts ensures that the dead person shall receive corresponding benefits, i. e. tent and clothes, food, drink and money, in the other world. From the place (tent or hut) where the corpse has been kept during the days when the funeral ceremonies have been going forward it is taken to the site set apart by the lamas for the actual cremation. The corpse is borne in a red covering hanging from a pole carried on the shoulders of two men. The procession is preceded by lamas ringing small bells. The ashes, together with any unconsumed remains (considering the surprisingly small amount of fuel that is often used, the cremation must in many cases be incomplete, as may also be deduced from the fact that ravens and dogs often haunt the site of the burning) must, according to the account I was given, be collected after some days and taken to some place appointed by the lamas.

### IMMIGRATION

According to their own traditions, the Dungenocks came to the Richthofen Mountains about 250 years ago from «the interior», or from the tracts around Kuku-nor. They are thus probably not a remnant of the Tibetan population that in earlier times was spread over large parts of Kansu. In the interim, when the northern Richthofen Mountains fell within the Chinese frontier region, there was presumably no Tibetan population. Many Chinese names, that are directly connected with the period when the isolated towers and fortifications that on several peaks and ridges form a continuation of the Great Wall near Chia-yü-kuan still had military garrisons as a protection against the advancing Tibetans, are probably older than the Tibetan names, e. g. the frequently recurring name with the compound *kuan-shan* (Frontier-gate Mountain). A larger number of «Chinese» names are, however, without doubt only Chinese versions of Tibetan words. Whether this is also the case with the name Sulei-ho (Su-lo-ho) is uncertain. The valley between the

Alexander chain (Tolo-nan-shan) and the Sulei-nan-shan, where this river takes its source, is called by the Tibetans Suri, and the river itself Suri-jamba, the latter part of which constitutes the dialect form for the more southerly *tsang-po*. It is probable, however, that the Chinese form Su-lo in Su-lo-ho is an attempt to reproduce the Tibetan name Suri. The Mongols are also said to call the river the Surin-gol.

### OLD FORTIFICATIONS

In the rocky defile where the Pei-ta-ho issues from the mountains there are considerable remains of a thick wall built of stone blocks, constituting parts of an older fortification that according to tradition was stormed 5—600 years ago by a »foreign» people from the plains under the leadership of a woman. The Chinese(?) garrison is said to have been wiped out to a man, which is adduced as an explanation of the large quantities of bones that are to be found at this place. An investigation carried out on the spot, however, showed that these bones belong for the most part to sheep. They are thus more probably remnants of the garrison's meals than of the garrison itself.

A number of walls and simpler fortifications, younger than the Chinese remains, occur in some narrow valleys and on some passes. They were erected by the Tibetans, to be used in times of unrest for the guarding and blocking of the few roads through the mountains; but they are now, owing to the insignificant population, of but little importance. In earlier times it often happened that Tibetan tribes from the interior and from the Kuku-nor region set out on these roads on plundering expeditions to the Chinese oases and as far as Suchow. A small Tibetan military post of a more permanent nature has guarded the road from Ch'in-tu-shan to Tolo-chuan right up to modern times, but it was abandoned in connection with the Mohammedan unrest in the year 1928.

### ADMINISTRATION

The Dungenocks have now no chieftains of their own, properly speaking; nor are there any such among the Mongols who live nearest the Chinese settlements. They are ruled in more or less the same way as the inhabitants of the oases by a headman, appointed by themselves, for each of the five districts. Each of the headmen has under him two inspectors; and all three officials must be changed every year and be provided with passports from the yamen in Suchow.

During the imperial period the Dungenocks had a special *pa-tsung* (governor or controller), appointed with his seat in the oasis of Ch'ing-shui, to the south of which the majority of the members of the tribe still live, and where, partly on account of their relatively large numbers, they have kept themselves more isolated from the Chinese influence than in Chin-fo-ssu.

## TEMPLES

There are in the Dungenok region two temples, not counting another, smaller temple building that has no lamas of its own and is used only on some special occasions. Even the two others are rather small, but they are said to have been erected shortly after the arrival of the tribe in the Richthofen Mountains.

The principal temple, that is also the seat of a *gegen*, is called by the Tibetans Chingor-gompa, and by the Chinese Hsi-kou-miao or Hsi-kou-ssu. It is situated about 15 km to the south of Chin-fo-ssu in a valley, in the region of granite mountains that here form the northern limit of the Richthofen range. The other temple, Chaiang-gompa, is situated outside the Nan-shan proper, in a valley in the little sacred mountain Wen-shih-kou-shan (Wen-fu-shan) north of the Nan-shan at the Pei-ta-ho bend. In this valley, that runs right through the mountain, there are also a considerable number of Chinese temples. According to one account the Chaiang-gompa situated here is said to have been erected earlier than Chingor-gompa, but was re-built in its present form eighty years ago after having been burnt to the ground in a Mohammedan revolt.

Nothing gives such a drastic reflection of a general retrogression in connection with the dying out of the people as the decay of the temples. The main temple, Chingor-gompa, is said to have had, only twenty years ago, over 200 lamas; but at the time of our visit it had only 8, of whom two were novices. The number in Chaiang-gompa was given as 12. At least some of the lamas serve sometimes alternately in the one or the other temple. The temples are also often visited by lamas from Kum-bum and other tracts. Tolo-chuan's Black Tibetans also sometimes pay visits to these temples, as they themselves have only small tent-temples.

A contributory cause of the increasing decay of the main temple Chingor-gompa is probably also to seek in the fact that the *gegen* who has his seat there suffers from a trachoma that renders him both incompetent and indifferent. He regarded both himself and his people as strangers in these parts of the mountains. Nor have conflicts with the Chinese authorities been lacking during recent years. *Tang-pu*, or the party leaders of the local Kuomintang in Suchow, have also on one occasion tried to prohibit the Tibetan religious service in the mountains, an attempt that was quashed when the Tibetans sent a special representative to the Chinese government then sitting in Peking.

Formerly, however, the *gegen* in Chingor-gompa was regarded even by the neighbouring tribes as a »great» *gegen*; and at that time he undertook regular and quite extensive journeys, for example to the Khalkha refugees living in the Matsung-shan, and every third year to Kum-bum.

Chingor-gompa lies well protected and hidden in a deeply cut, narrow valley with some few deciduous trees in the granite mountains to the south of Chin-fo-ssu

(Pl. 7). The temple was originally built entirely in the Tibetan style; but in later times, with the support of the Chinese authorities, it has been provided with a new roof in the Chinese style. It is from this period that a stone with a Chinese inscription, erected in front of the temple, is said to date. On a considerably older stone opposite the one just mentioned and with a Tibetan inscription, there were said to be given certain data concerning the founding of the temple. Dr TONI SCHMID has had the kindness to study the copy of the Tibetan inscription that was made for the author by order of the *gegen*, and she has made the following statement:

»On both sides of the Hakśamalabaraya-monogram two lines are taken up by a Sanskrit text. It is corrupted and it has not been possible to interpret it. The whole of the remaining text is in Tibetan. It begins with the triratna formula (»Buddha, the perfect teacher of a hundred thousand virtues, the doctrine, the jewel« etc.) Immediately after this follows a poem (three lines) about »Buddha's sons«, the doctrine, the way etc. The remaining part of the front side is taken up by annals. They give only very brief information: names and data. The different *kalpas* and Gautama Buddha's predecessors are listed and Sākyamuni himself is mentioned. The kings are mentioned, thus Sroñ bean (sgam po), Khri sroñ sde bean (!) etc. Similarly brief accounts are given of the leading men of the lamaistic church, Padmasambhava, Atiśa, Marpa, Mila etc. After Mongolian and Chinese rulers Lhasa is mentioned, and the founding of monasteries: the Sera monastery, Taśilhunpo, Sku'bum, Táikhyil (= Labrang). Thereafter follow further annalistic notes and lists of abbots. The inscription often gives only the first syllables of the name; and the copy is, moreover, not satisfactory. There is for the present no possibility of checking this copy here. Before such checking is possible, and a photograph can be procured, it is not advisable to publish the inscription».

On the courtyard before the temple there is also a large incense-burner of bronze, with a high super-structure. It is said to have been cast on the spot by a master craftsman imported from Kum-bum.

The ancient kitchen of the temple, that lies somewhat to the side of the main building, is no longer used since the catastrophic reduction in the lamas' numbers. Its six enormous bronze cauldrons of 2—3 m in diameter and nearly the same height have for this reason, and in order that they may not be stolen, been broken loose from the brick stoves, and they are now preserved in the main temple itself.

The temple seems without doubt to have been originally fairly rich, and it still possesses a remarkably well-stocked library, where the books are kept chiefly in small niches in the big hall of the main temple, though they are partly hidden by the numerous *tang-kas* that cover the greater part of the walls.

Various other cult objects are also kept in this hall; but most of them probably do not now occupy their original and appointed places, but have been put

out of the way in the more peripheral parts, as the present small number of lamas is not sufficient to maintain the temple-services to the full extent. To judge from the yellow mantles lying on prayer-mats in the main aisle and from the 'helmets', one would say that at the time of our visit not more than three or four lamas were performing the daily divine service.

Here, too, in big boxes, were preserved a fairly rich set of dance-masks as well as costumes and musical instruments, and on shelves in the lower part of the hall a row of large cups hollowed out of wood, previously used during temple-service when the lamas drank tea. Outside the entrance there was a big bronze bell hung up in a frame, and a drum.

Near the back wall in the big hall there was a not inconsiderable collection of divine images, though none was of any great size. Especially treasured, it seemed, was a little image draped in a yellow mantle. This image was presumed to be made mainly of gold.

Bigger images, about life-size, were kept in a couple of rooms inside the back wall of the main hall. According to what we were told, there was also a larger image, kept in a chest; but this was shown only on the occasion of a certain annual festival.

In another smaller room at the side of the entrance there was a collection of older divine images partly of iron. These were said to have been brought by the tribe when it first came to the Richthofen Mountains.

In an upper storey round the main hall were the small cells that formerly served as dwellings for some of the lamas. They were now not in use. The few remaining lamas live in small houses or stone huts of the type common in the mountains, that lie grouped along a little street running down the hill where the temple itself is situated. On the yonder side of this hill lies the *gegen's* rather more elegant dwelling, built in the Chinese style.

## THE BLACK TIBETANS

The so-called Black Tibetans, Hei-fan, inhabit the more southerly and central parts of the Nan-shan. In the north is the boundary between their region and that reserved for the Dungenocks, between the Richthofen Mountains and the Tolo-shan. In this frontier region, however, it is now but seldom that any Black Tibetans live, as on account of the gold-washings here they are often exposed to attacks by robbers. In the more isolated parts around the pass Chu-lung-kuan, as has already been mentioned, a group of Dungenocks has settled down instead.

In larger numbers the Hei-fan inhabit Tolo-chuan between the Tolo-shan and the Alexander chain (Tolo-pei-shan and Tolo-nan-shan), as well as the Suri valley between the latter and the Sulei-nan-shan (the Sues Mountains), or the spring-



regions where the Pei-ta-ho and the Su-lo-ho take their origin. South of these tracts the Tibetan settlement probably continues uninterruptedly in all the tracts rich in pasturing and water. Certain parts, such as the Khara-nor plain and the Tsairmug valley, are, however, avoided nowadays as camping-places, owing to the frequent visits by robbers. The fairly large numbers of the big, clay-built fireplaces seem, however, to indicate that this avoidance is of recent date. (Pl. 2 b). The Tibetan robbers, who undertake more or less regular attacks on these tracts, belong to tribes from the interior, especially Urungas from Mahari and Goloks.

The Black Tibetans in the Tolo and Suri regions turn to other tracts for their plundering expeditions, e. g. the south-western parts of the Nan-shan inhabited by the Tsaidam Mongols and, or at least earlier, the Chinese oases along the mountain-foot in the north. They belong to the same group of »Tanguts» that inhabit the Kuku-nor plain, and they are genuine nomads, seldom seeming to camp for longer in one place than about three days, if the herds are of any considerable size. Their wanderings take place between these central parts of the Nan-shan and the Kuku-nor plain, but also southwards. They have a number of chieftains of various degrees; but the head chiefs seem to have their camps in the Kuku-nor region.

The Black Tibetans living in the Tolo and Suri regions are supposed in the main to belong to four closely related tribes: the Doba, the Nogsa, the Chugnor and the Nianock. Of these, about 500 families are said to live within Tolo-chuan.

A couple of Chinese merchants have settled here, one from Suchow and the other from Ch'ing-hai; but as the real market-place for the Tibetans of this region serve, besides the frontier towns in the Kuku-nor province, the oases Chin-fo-ssu and Ching-shui, where the Tibetans trade their skins and wool for flour. Here come Tibetans also from tracts much farther south, and the little oases may sometimes be visited during the caravan period by over a thousand yaks.

Among the Black Tibetans one also finds a few Dungenocks living. These comprise those who are staying only temporarily, as weavers or in some similar capacity, and those who are wanted in their home-tract for infringements of the law.

These tribes of the Black Tibetans certainly belong to the »Wânschdäche»-Tibetans spoken of by TAFEL, that with a number of more or less independent tribes pasture their herds in an extensive region from Amne-matchen in the south to the southern parts of the Nan-shan in the north. TAFEL describes amongst others the »Nianer-Wânschdäche» as dwelling at the Bukhain-gol and Nech-'tsa-doba to the west of Serkhe-nor. Possibly it was just these who penetrated farther into the Nan-shan.

The Wânschdäche were the first Tibetans who in the first decades of the 19th century crossed the Huang-ho and began again to penetrate the Kuku-nor region, partly ousting the Mongols, who a few centuries earlier had driven the Tibetans from the tracts to the north of the upper reaches of the Huang-ho. The Tibetan

settlement pushes into the lake-district like a wedge through the Mongol country; and it is this wedge that has been continually lengthened in a north-westerly direction through the inner mountainous parts of the Nan-shan till it has made contact also with the Mongolian settlement along the northern foot of the Nan-shan in north-western Kansu. (See map).

The Mongol-settled region takes up the wider plains around the peripheral parts of the western and central Nan-shan. Formerly, the Mongol influence was considerably greater, as is apparent from the place-names in the inner parts of the mountains, which often retain their Mongol form also in parts that are no longer settled by Mongols. Some of the names, too, are combinations of Chinese and Mongolian, or Tibetan and Mongolian. This seems especially often to be the case with the compounds with *daban* (pass) and *nor* (lake). The word *daban* does not belong to the language of the Black Tibetans, but is used by the Dugnocks. It is also noteworthy that the latter generally seem not to employ the common Tibetan word *lab-tze* for obo, which they call *rhubbo* or *rhabbo*.

If the Dugnocks, as they themselves relate, took up their abode in the Richthofen Range as early as 250 years ago, and thus belong to a considerably older Tibetan settlement in the Nan-shan than that represented by the still advancing Black Tibetans, then it is possible that they belong to the Tibetans that were in part subjugated and in part driven from their original home in connection with the advance of the Mongols to Kuku-nor, to which new tribes were arriving at least during the whole of the 16th century. The Uighurs have possibly dwelled in the Richthofen Range for a still longer time. They are supposed, as they themselves assert, to be descendants of the inhabitants of the ancient kingdom of Hor (*hor* is said to enter as a constituent syllable into the family names of at least those Uighur families living in the tract of Tolo-chuan), which kingdom was scattered by the Tibetans as early as A. D. 670, when its inhabitants were driven to the Nan-shan. It is, however, doubtful whether they have remained there uninterruptedly ever since that time.

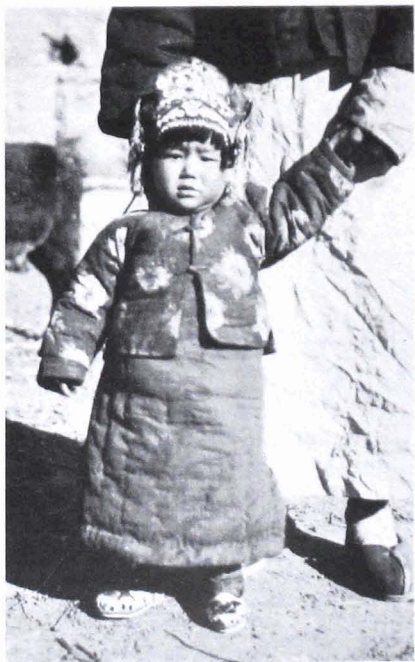




a. Dungenok girl with *goderh*, a head ornament worn by girls until their fifteenth year



b. Dungenok women in festal attire, and a lad in Chinese dress

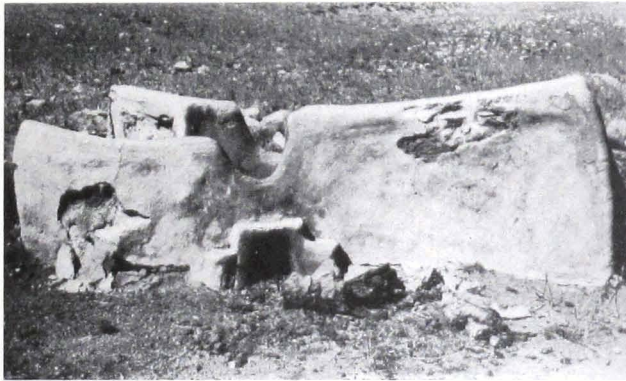


c. Small Dungenok girl with *goderh* surmounted by a richly embroidered diadem



d. Dungenok women with *dordongja*, head ornaments hanging down the back

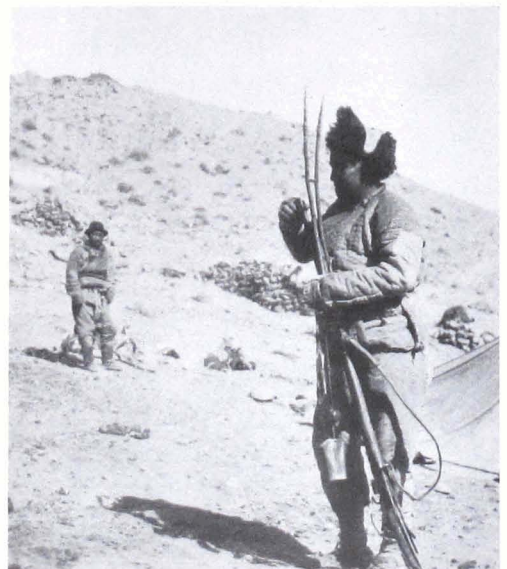
a. Partly covered sheep fold among more settled Dungnocks. The lambs are being carried inside the house for the night. Chi-chia in the northern Richthofen Mts



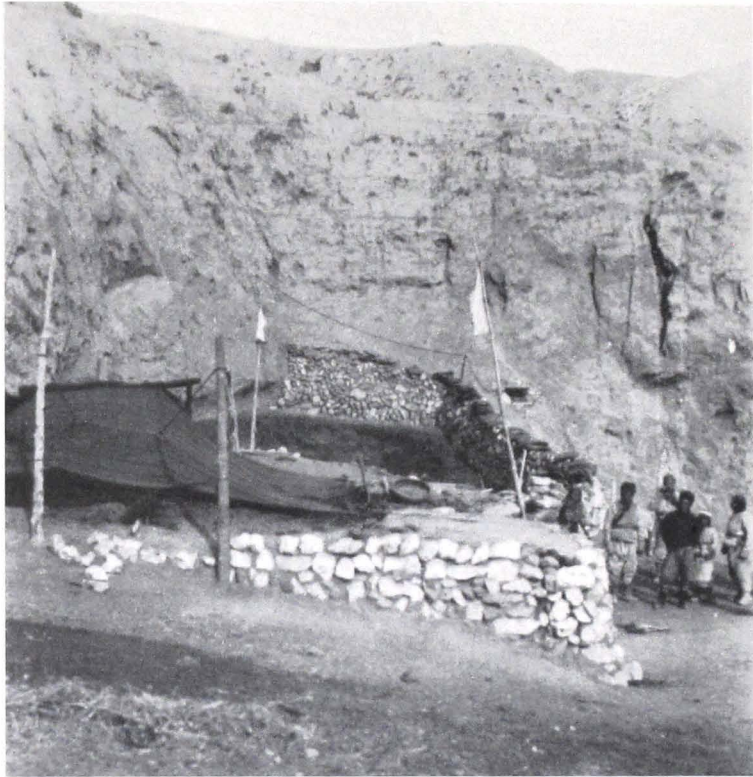
b. Triangular hearth built of stone and clay used by the nomadizing Black Tibetans in the middle and southern Nan-shan. The wider end is used to store *argal*. The Khara-nor plain



c. A Dungnock slaughtering a sheep



d. A Dungnock loading his match-lock



a. Winter camp of the Dungnocks at Goro-or in the zone of red badlands along the northern foot of the Richthofen Mts. The yak-hair tent is pitched as a roof over the central part of a larger stone cave



b. Prayer at the obo at the beginning of the New Year festival. Richthofen Mts



a. Three Dungenock women at Chingor-gompa



b. Woman of the Black Tibetans



c. Dungenock family at Goro-or in the Richthofen Mts



a. Altar and obo with trident and two spiced sheep's heads



b. Large obo with dried sheep's heads on the crest of a pass in the northern Richtlofen Mts





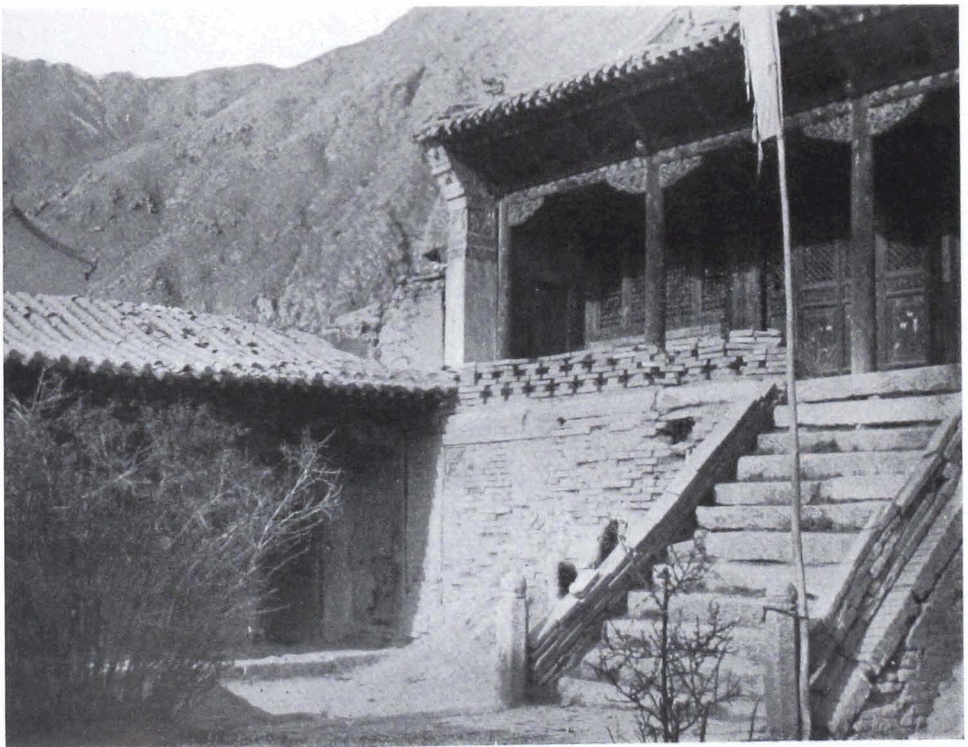
a. New Year sacrifice at the obo



b. Sacrifice and incantation outside the camp at the beginning of the New Year festival



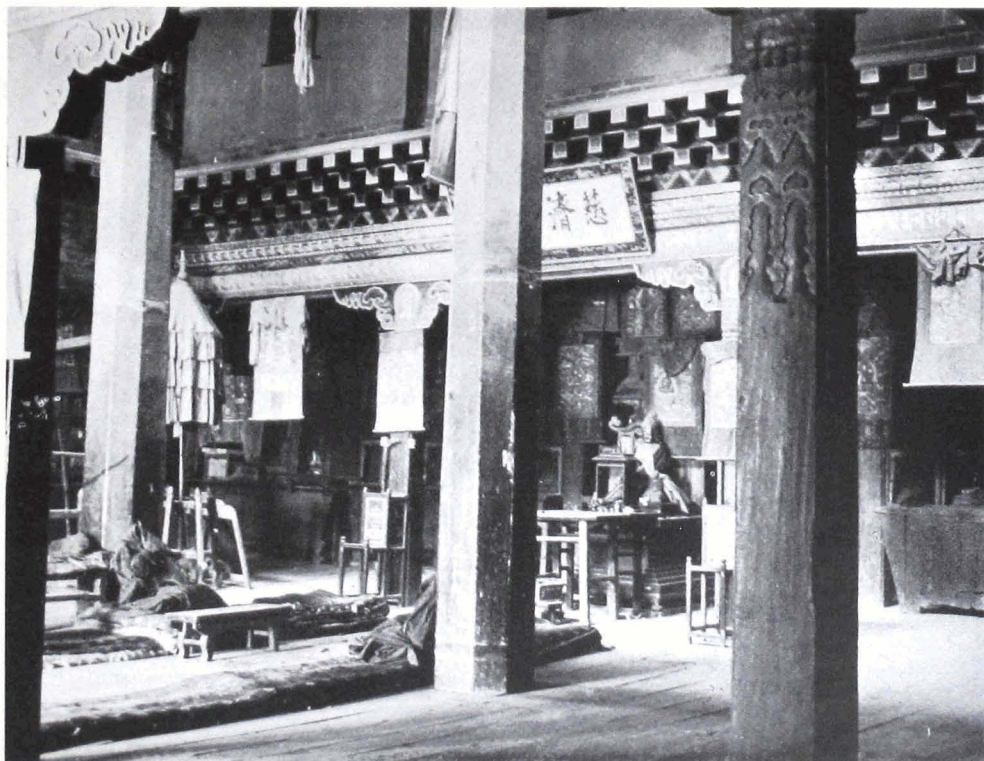
a. Chingor-gompa, the main temple of the Dungenocks in the Richthofen Mts



b. The temple and quarters of the *gegen* in Chingor-gompa



a. Sacrificial gifts made of tamba and butter and with an image of the sun-disc (in butter) placed on a tray before the god on the occasion of the New Year festival



b. The main prayer-hall in Chingor-gompa

SOME CHINESE PAPER CURRENCY FROM THE  
YUAN AND MING DYNASTIES

BY

*FOLKE BERGMAN*



# SOME CHINESE PAPER CURRENCY FROM THE YUAN AND MING DYNASTIES

BY

FOLKE BERGMAN

The Chinese, who invented both paper and the art of printing, were also the first to take advantage of these technical aids to produce money in the convenient form of notes. It is possible that paper currency was issued in China as early as the middle of the 7th century; the oldest preserved original notes, however, date from the 840's, even this a respectable age for such ephemeral things.

Although during the Middle Ages several Occidental and Arabian travellers or writers<sup>1)</sup> mentioned the occurrence of paper currency in China, knowledge of this remained extremely slight in the Occident. Yet especially MARCO POLO's description was both exhaustive and very much to the point. As late as the beginning of this century only a few older Chinese notes had been published in the Occident.

In 1915 a small paper was published in which much new material was given and the earlier literature gone through and analysed: *Certain Old Chinese Notes* by ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.<sup>2)</sup> The oldest original notes in his collection were printed during the period 841—847. His reproductions of notes from the Yuan or Mongol dynasty do not, however, refer to originals but to reproductions in a Chinese numismatic work of doubtful value.<sup>3)</sup> DAVIS did not, on the other hand, know of a Russian essay printed in 1909, in which the first original notes from the Yuan dynasty are described: *Kotvič, Obrazey assignacij Juanskoj dinastii v Kitae* (Izvěstija imp. Russk. geogr. oběč. 45, St. Petersburg 1909). It is perhaps less surprising that DAVIS had not had time to acquaint himself with the Russian work which was published in 1914: IVANOV, *Bumajnoe obrashchenie v Kitae do XV v.*, i Materiali po Etnografii Rossii, II. Although CARTER knew of the occurrence of these notes, he had not seen the publications, concerning which more below.

Fig. 1 in the present paper shows one of these notes existing in Russia, while Fig. 2 shows another Yuan note that was excavated by the author.

That we Occidentals are especially interested in the Chinese notes of the Mongol

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When Folke Bergman died on May 22nd 1946 he left behind, among other manuscripts, the following paper. Although the author had intended to expand the text and add further material, we consider that it should and can be printed as it stands.

The Editor.

period is due partly to the fact that so few seem to be preserved, and partly also to the fact that they have been described in such detail by MARCO POLO. As all the notes in question from the Yuan dynasty derive from one and the same place, which place is mentioned by POLO and was perhaps also visited by him, this of course enhances the interest still further; and we may be pretty sure that it was precisely this sort of notes that he saw, used and described.

The finding place for these, the first original notes from the Mongol dynasty known to modern times, is the ruined city Khara-khoto near the desert river Edsen-gol (Etsin-gol) in the southern part of the Gobi Desert (geographical position  $41^{\circ} 45'$  latitude and  $101^{\circ} 05'$  east longitude). Building in this city came to an end in the middle of the 14th century. Its existence was long forgotten for the Occident until the Russian explorer P. K. KOZLOV rediscovered the ruins in 1908, guided by data communicated by other Russian explorers. Sir AUREL STEIN afterwards identified Khara-khoto with MARCO POLO's City of Etzina.<sup>4</sup>)

KOZLOV's expedition found no fewer than eight notes in Khara-khoto, outside the ruins of a house near what KOZLOV calls Commerce Street under a layer of sand and dry dung about half a foot in thickness.

In the course of the excavations that were later undertaken in Khara-khoto by Sir AUREL STEIN at least one fragment of a note from the Chung-t'ung period (1260—64) was found. Unfortunately, no description or picture of this fragment is given in *Innermost Asia*, where it is only mentioned as being identified by Dr. BERTHOLD LAUFER.

The next foreign explorer who visited this desolate desert city, Dr. LANGDON WARNER, seems not to have found any old paper money there.

In the course of the present writer's excavations in the same city during The Sino-Swedish Expedition, two notes from the Yuan dynasty were found in 1931. They lay together at an inconsiderable depth in a house ruin. Unfortunately, we were not permitted to bring them to Sweden, and they were taken over by the Chinese authorities in Peking who were administering the Chinese part of the expedition, together with the manuscript finds that were made in Khara-khoto at the same time. From Peking these collections were evacuated in 1933 to Nanking, in view of the threat from the Japanese army advancing from the north; and in connection with the actual outbreak of the war in 1937 they are said to have been taken to Hongkong. Concerning their further fate I am ignorant, and it is uncertain whether they were saved from destruction. The description I am able to give here is based entirely upon a rather defective photograph of the best preserved note (Fig. 2). As the paper is dark grey, thick and rather porous, the print is in itself somewhat indistinct, and the note is, moreover, worn with use. With the help of the KOZLOV notes it is possible to reconstruct their appearance fairly well.

The size of the paper is  $29 \times 25.5$  cm. The length has been somewhat greater.

The division into panels and the distribution of text and ornament are the same as in the Ming notes. The printed surface is framed with a thick line. At the top, from right to left, are the words Chih-yuan t'ung-hsing pao-ch'ao, Circulating government note of the chih-yuan period (i. e. 1264—1295). Under this follows the broad border, filled with dense indistinct floral scrolls, which surrounds the main part of the text. Whether any dragon-figures have been woven in among the floral arabesques is impossible to determine. The upper panel within this border has in the middle two large characters: Erh-kuan, 2 kuan (= 2000 cash), and under these four vertically pendant rolls of coins, indistinct owing to the red seal impression that covers this part of the note, but probably consisting of five coins each. On either side of this part there is a vertical row of Mongol square characters (phagspa).<sup>5)</sup> Under each row one glimpses three very indistinct Chinese characters.

The lower panel is filled with small Chinese script, and in the middle a vertical row of somewhat larger script. Over the whole is a square seal impression, somewhat larger than that in the upper half of the note. The writing is indistinct, except for a few single characters; but it has been possible to reconstruct it with rather great certainty. It differs from Fig. 1 only inasmuch as the department given as the issuer of the notes is called Shang-shu-sheng, while Fig. 1 has Chung-shu-sheng. The meaning is the same. Shang-shu-sheng was one of the three departments existing before the Yuan dynasty, which during this dynasty were amalgamated with Chung-shu-sheng. This amalgamation must have taken place after the issuing of the chih-yuan notes in 1287. The period-reference chih-yuan appears rather distinctly. As upon KOZLOV's notes, this, too, has a third seal impression in the left edge near the upper corner. Whether the back side has any print I am unable to say.

The three published KOZLOV notes I refer to as KOZLOV I—III.<sup>6)</sup> KOZLOV I is the best preserved, and is also of the oldest type that has been found in Kharakhoto (Fig. 1). Its value is 1 kuan, and it was printed during the period chung-t'ung (1260—1294), i. e. the beginning of KHUBLAI KHAN's government.

The upper row has only three of probably five characters preserved: Chung-t'ung yuan-(pao-ch'ao), Government note of the chung-t'ung period of the Yuan dynasty. The border with dense floral scrolls is rather distinct, and is stated to have inwoven dragon-figures, most likely one in the middle of each side.

The upper panel within the frame contains in the middle the value in four large characters: I-kuan wen-sheng, Value one kuan, and under these a horizontal roll of coins with the band arranged in a horizontal wavy line; possibly it consists of two long rolls lying close together, each consisting of 50 coins, i. e. altogether 100. On either side there is a vertical row of Chinese seal-script and a row of Mongolian phagspa with the same content. To the right we find Chung-t'ung yuan-pao, Ingot of the chung-t'ung period; to the left Chu-lu t'ung-hsing, Current in all provinces.



To the right of the picture of the rolls of coins, with ordinary Chinese characters: Tao-tze-ko, the department Tao; to the left: Tang-tze-hao, the signature Tang.

The lower half of the note is filled with Chinese script, vertically arranged and in two sizes, but forming a running text: »Chung-shu-sheng (a state department) has reported to the Throne and got permission to issue this chung-t'ung note, which will be used without any time limit and all over the provinces. Forgery punishable by death. To the informer on a forger will be paid a reward of 5 ting (= 250 liang) and he will be given the possessions of the criminal. The chung-t'ung period — year — month — day.» Signatures (printed, not written by hand) of the chief of the Pao-ch'ao k'u-tze (Note treasury) and the chief of the Yin-tsaio k'u-tze (printing office).

As on the other KOZLOV notes, there is on the reverse side a red seal impression near the top, and at the bottom the value is denoted within a border, i. e. in agreement with the Ming notes. On the reverse side of one of the largest notes there were more than ten black stamps, evidently set there by trading firms. Certain of them were provided with phagspa characters. Also the front side of some notes have black stamps, which to judge from the photographs must be very small in relation to the red official seal impressions. Whether the impression, which on the four Khara-khoto notes known to me through the reproductions is placed near the upper left corner, is black or red is not stated in the Russian description.

KOZLOV II and III are from the period Chih-yuan, i. e. the same as Fig. 2. They are less distinct as regards the print than KOZLOV I and of other values. II is equivalent to 100 cash and III to 30 cash. They are narrower than the higher values. The borders have not quite such complicated floral scrolls as the notes previously described, and they are without dragons. Apart from the denotations of value, the text on them is grouped in identically the same way as that on Fig. 2, and the single identifiable characters also conform with those on the latter. II has a single roll of coins depicted, while III has 6 star-shaped groups of coins with 5 in each. From the reproductions it would appear that all three KOZLOV notes lack any big seal impression on the lower half of the front side. That on the upper half, as well as the »extra» stamp near the left upper edge, appears distinctly.

The other five notes found by KOZLOV's expedition in Khara-khoto are not described. The data concerning the size of the paper are entirely schematic, and are reproduced here in tabular form.

*The Khara-khoto notes.*

	Period	First issued	Value	Size of paper
Fig. 1. KOZLOV I .....	Chih-yuan	1287	2 kuan (2000 cash)	21 × 21.5
Fig. 2 .....	Chung-t'ung	1260	1 kuan (1000 cash)	30 × 22
KOZLOV II .....	Chih-yuan	1287	100 cash	24.5 × 17.5
KOZLOV III .....	Chih-yuan	1287	30 cash	21.5 × 13

Notes from both the periods given here continued to be used even after the termination of these periods, although with a depreciated value.

CARTER (op. cit.) mentions these KOZLOV notes from Khara-khoto in the chapter on Paper Money. His statement that »the inscription on them is in the square Mongol character. They represent not the currency of China that was described by Marco Polo, but the currency that was in use in Mongolia itself» is explained by the fact that he himself had seen neither the originals nor reproductions of the same. The Khara-khoto notes, as has already been mentioned, have only a very small part of their text in the square Mongol characters (phagspa); the rest of the text is Chinese. Whether the red seal-stamps are in Chinese seal-characters or phagspa can scarcely be determined from the available reproductions, though I incline to the view that this is Chinese. There can, however, be scarcely any doubt that the notes from Khara-khoto represent the generally current types that were in circulation in KHUBLAI KHAN's time and that MARCO POLO saw and used.

Of chung-t'ung notes, the following values were issued: 10, 20, 30, 50, 100, 200, 500, 1000 and 2000 cash. Of the chih-yuan that were issued in 1287 there were printed two further values of 5 and 300 cash.

MARCO POLO devotes a whole chapter in his Book II to the description of KHUBLAI KHAN's paper money. In YULE-CORDIER's edition it is rendered »How the Great Kaan causeth the Bark of Trees, made into something like Paper, to pass for Money over all his Country», and in RICCI's translation of BENEDETTO's edition »How the Great Kaan makes people use paper for money». I will quote from the latter a passage dealing with the technical production.

»Know, then, that he has money made as follows. He has the bark taken of a certain kind of tree, that is to say of the mulberry-tree, the leaves of which are eaten by silkworms; then he has the thin layer of skin that lies between the bark and the trunk, removed; and he has this shredded and pounded into a kind of paste, together with glue; this he then has rolled out into sheets, something like paper, which are completely black. When the sheets are ready, he has them cut up into pieces of different sizes, but all of a rectangular shape of greater length than breadth. — And all these sheets bear the Great Lord's seal.»

That MARCO POLO is perfectly correct as regards the use of the bark of the mulberry-tree for the production of notes has been emphasized by LAUFER (*Sino-Iranica*, pp. 560 seq.). Also the Ming notes were made of the same material.

MARCO POLO's description of the actual notes themselves is very precise and apt, and he expresses his undisguised admiration of the system of issuing paper money. As in his judgement of certain other conditions in KHUBLAI KHAN's kingdom, MARCO POLO considers also the system of currency as it were from the viewpoint of the Great Khan. That the much too copious printing of paper money gave rise to a growing inflation is not mentioned. But, as DAVIS very rightly

points out, neither MARCO POLO nor IBN BATUTA, who also visited China during a period when the value of the notes had sunk very low, were accustomed to paper currency from their respective home-countries, and what they observed of the sinking value of the currency was the rising prices, which they did not connect with the forced production of notes.

When the *chih-yuan* notes were issued in 1287, a year when MARCO POLO was staying in China, 1000 cash in these was made equivalent to 5000 cash in the older notes.

Already CHAUDOIR<sup>7)</sup> gives a table of the number of notes issued during the Mongol period year by year from 1260 to 1329. MORSE,<sup>8)</sup> who probably used the same Chinese source, states the sum total of these 70 years of note-issuing to be at least 2,380 million *kuan* or taels, i. e. a mean value of 37 million *kuan* a year, an immense sum for those times.

That copper coins were only circulating on a small scale during the Yuan dynasty is reflected in, amongst other things, the finds from Khara-khoto. Only a few Yuan coins have been found there, whereas Sung coins, for example, were common. And yet paper currency was copiously issued also during the Sung dynasty, indeed, its paper currency has even been stigmatized by Chinese economists as one of the main causes of the dynasty's fall. One might with equal good reason say the same concerning the fall of the Yuan dynasty. The depreciated paper currency constituted palpable proof of a general weakness and increasing decline in the administration.

When the Yuan dynasty was overthrown in 1368 and succeeded by the purely Chinese Ming dynasty, the paper money was abolished and there was a return to solely metallic currency.

By 1375, however, it was already necessary to reintroduce paper money; but such a solid economic background was created that the paper currency was received with confidence. With the period-denotation *hung-wu* the following values were issued: 100, 200, 300, 400, 500 and 1000 cash. In 1390 also values from 10—50 cash were added. Of these, especially the notes of the highest value, which is also called 1 *kuan*, have been preserved up to our own times, a note that in its time corresponded to 1 *liang* silver or 1/4 *liang* gold.

We shall deal first of all with the notes of this kind in Swedish possession, after which there will follow a discussion of a number of notes existing abroad, which have already been published.

As the seven Chinese notes from the Ming dynasty existing here in Sweden that are known to the author are all of the same kind, they may be described rather summarily. The only difference between them lies in shades in the paper's grey colour, the more or less high degree of indistinctness of the print, and their varying degrees of wear and tear. For the sake of completeness I give the text in translation, although it is available in many publications; and I will also give

a brief description of its disposition. Concerning the dimensions, the reader is referred to the table given later in the text.

The uppermost row of large characters (cf. Fig. 3) reads from right to left: Ta-ming t'ung-hsing pao-ch'ao, Circulating government note of the Great Ming. On either side of this row there are some spiny ornaments, possibly representing flames.

The main part of the text is surrounded by a border about 3 cm in breadth and filled with an intricate ground pattern of floral scrolls, in which four thin, scaly and 4-clawed dragons writhe, one in the middle of each side. The space within the border is divided into two panels. The upper panel has in conventionalized square seal characters on the right side Ta-ming pao-ch'ao (Government note of the Great Ming), and on the left side T'ien-hsia t'ung-hsing (Current in the whole Empire). Between these two vertical lines of inscriptions there is above, in large ordinary characters, I kuan (One kuan, or tiao, or string = 1000 cash), and below there is a pictorial illustration of ten strings of cash, each containing nine coins but representing one hundred cash, the whole thus representing 1000 cash.<sup>9)</sup>

The lower panel contains the following: »The Imperial Board of Revenue having applied to the Throne has received the Imperial sanction for the issue of government notes of the Great Ming Empire, to circulate on the same footing as copper cash. To counterfeit is death. The informant will receive 250 taels (liang) of silver and in addition the entire property of the criminal. Hung wu — year, — month, — day.»

On the upper panel there is a seal impression in vermilion, about 9×9 cm: Ta-ming pao-ch'ao ta yin (Seal of the note of the Great Ming.)<sup>10)</sup> On the lower panel there is a similar seal impression, about 8×8 cm in size: Pao-ch'ao t'i chü ssu yin (Seal of the official who puts notes into circulation).

The back side (Fig. 4) has below a smaller, rectangular printed surface, which repeats the value-denotation of the front side (1 kuan and the rolls of coins) within a frame containing ornaments, inter alia, oval figures that probably represent silver ingots (yuan-pao). The upper part of the back side has a red seal impression, approximately 6.4×6.4 cm: Chu tsao pao-ch'ao chü yin (roughly: Seal of the office printing the government notes).

The best preserved of the Swedish Ming notes is that in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Östasiatiska Samlingarna) (Inv. No. K. 10792), whose origin is not known. See Fig. 3. The seal impressions, however, are almost entirely effaced. The light grey paper is of rather uneven thickness and shows longitudinal lines from the fabrication. The mean interval between these, as also on the following notes, is 3 mm. The sparser lines at right-angles to these that are found on hand-made paper have not been discoverable, owing to the thick, and in undamaged parts opaque, consistency of the paper. The note has a distinct transverse crease in the middle, and a less distinct longitudinal crease, showing that it was as a rule folded once, but sometimes twice.

Dr. GÖSTA MONTELL bought from a private person in Peking four Ming notes

of the same kind as the foregoing, but in varying states of preservation. They were stated to have been taken from the interior of an idol that had been opened in the course of the foreign soldiers' plunderings in and about Peking after the Boxer rising in 1900. As we shall see in the following, a number of the Ming notes existing abroad were found in exactly the same circumstances, and one might be tempted to assume that they all derive from one and the same idol.

The two best preserved of these four notes are now in The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden in Stockholm. Inv. No. H. 4506 has a darker, more blue-grey paper than other original notes that I have seen, and it is very thick. In addition to a distinct crease transversely across the middle there are two indistinct traces of folds in the longitudinal direction. Like Inv. No. H. 4507, it has a fairly well-preserved seal impression, which it has been in part possible to interpret. The back side of the latter is reproduced as Fig. 4. Its paper is rather thin, and shows transverse lines from the fabrication. It has an old crease right across the middle; the less distinct transverse creases from a further two foldings may be recent; there is no trace of any longitudinal crease.

The third specimen is in the private possession of Dr. MONTELL. The paper is damaged round the edges and along the transverse crease in the middle. The stamps on the front side are almost entirely effaced, but those on the reverse are tolerably preserved. The paper is thick and uneven, and shows indistinct traces of longitudinal lines from the fabrication.

The fourth note in this lot belongs to the author. The paper is almost as dark as the first-mentioned of the notes preserved in the Ethnographical Museum, and it has longitudinal lines from the fabrication. The upper part is damaged; the stamp impressions are very indistinct on the front side but rather distinct on the reverse. An old transverse crease in the middle and a less distinct crease running longitudinally are to be observed.

MR ORVAR KARLBECK possesses a very worn specimen of the same sort of note, which he acquired in China. The seal impressions in the usual places are almost entirely effaced, and it has been possible to measure them only with the help of better preserved specimens. A transverse crease in the middle has torn the paper; a longitudinal crease is less marked. The paper is opaque except for a few places, where one can make out that the close lines from the fabrication run transversely.

The note of this kind that has existed in the country for the longest time, and that has, moreover, the most interesting history, is preserved in The Royal Coin Cabinet.

This note, which is reproduced in Fig. 5, is carefully mounted between two glass plates, which are contained in a solid case of red-brown leather. In front, this bears in gilt the Swedish coat-of-arms and the following inscription: »Dem erhabenen Protektor des VIII Internat. Orientalisten-Congresses in Stockholm 1889 in tiefster Ehrerbietung dargebracht von Dr. Adolf Ehrenfeld aus Wien.»

King OSCAR II, the eminent protector in question, handed the note to the King's

Custodian of Antiquities, HANS HILDEBRAND, for preservation in the National Historical Museum. According to the text on a piece of paper preserved in the leather case, the note was found in a wall, and some other fragments of similar notes were given to other collections.<sup>11)</sup> The circumstances in which it was found may perhaps be collated with a statement by DE HALDE (*Description de la Chine*, Paris 1735), who à propos Ming notes says: »Those sheets are much sought after by such as build, who hang them up as a rarity to the chief beam of the house, the people and even those of the quality being so superstitious as to imagine that it preserves them from all misfortunes.»

There had, certainly, long been similar notes in the Imperial Academy of Science in St. Petersburg, which were, moreover, published by CHAUDOIR and VISSERING; but probably the fact was not known to Swedish scholars, and this note was regarded as unique. To judge from the slip of paper referred to above, the notions held about Chinese paper currency in general were extremely vague, for we read there: »Chinese note from the period about the birth of Christ. The oldest paper money in the world.»

As may be seen from Fig. 5, the note is rather ragged where it has been weakened by the three transverse creases. There are also traces of a longitudinal crease. The print is rather indistinct, as are also the seal impressions. The blue-grey paper shows longitudinal lines from the fabrication.

In the following table are given the measurements of the Swedish Ming notes.

*The size of the Ming notes in Sweden.*

Owner	The paper	The impression		Seal impressions		
		Face	Back	Face		Back
				upper	lower	
The Ethnographical Museum, No. H 4506 .....	34.2 × 22.3	31.9 × 21	15.8 × 10.5	9 × 9 about	8 × 8	6.4 × 6.4 about
The Royal Coin Cabinet (Fig. 5) .....	33.9 × 22.2	31.9 × 20.9	15.6 × 10.5	9 × 9	trace about	6.4 × 6.4
The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities (Fig. 3)	34 × 22.3	31.7 × 20.8	15.8 × 10.5	trace	8 × 8	6.4 × 6.4
The Ethnographical Museum, No. H 4507 (Fig. 4) .....	33.8 × 22.1 about	31.4 × 20.8	15.8 × 10.5	9 × 9	8.2 × 8.2	6.4 × 6.4 about
G. MONTELL .....	33.8 × 22 about	31.4 × 20.5	15.4 × 10.4	trace about	trace about	6.3 × 6.3 about
O. KARLBECK .....	33.7 × 22.2	31.8 × 20.8	15.5 × 10.4	9 × 9 about	8.2 × 8.2 about	6.4 × 6.4 about
F. BERGMAN .....	33.6 × 22	31.6 × 20.7	15.5 × 10.5	9 × 9	8 × 8	6.3 × 6.3

The dimensions of the paper are naturally less reliable than the other measurements, for the edges of the notes are in several cases not only uneven but also damaged. It is remarkable, really, that the differences fall within such narrow limits as 6 mm for the lengths and 3 mm for the breadths. The differences in the measurements of the print may be explained, as long as they fall within 1—2 mm, by stretching of the porous paper and the difficulty of measuring exactly; but when they amount to 5 mm for the length or breadth of the printed surface this must probably be due to the fact that different printing plates have been used.

The print is much too uneven for it to be possible to compare in detail the ornamentation and other small points in order in this way to investigate the occurrence of different printing plates. As far as such an investigation has been possible it points to an exact similarity between the plates even where the measurements adduced above indicate the use of different plates.

During the Yuan dynasty block plates cut in wood are said to have been employed until the year 1276, when copper plates began to be used. Copper plates did, however, exist earlier than this. In a work on paper currency during four dynasties, published in Chinese in 1914, LO CHEN-YÜ gives a reproduction of such a plate from 1154. According to information kindly supplied by Dr. GÖSTA MONTELL, there were in the year 1931 printing plates of copper or bronze for old Chinese notes in the Nanking Museum.

The Swedish material is of course too small to allow of any definitive statement concerning the size of the seals employed, three different ones to each note. But the agreement in size is nevertheless striking. Only in exceptional cases are the seal impressions legible, and this probably applies not only to the notes existing in Sweden.

Fig. 6 shows a bronze seal belonging to The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm (Inv. No. K 11057: 47) and of a kind similar to that used to stamp the notes of the Yuan dynasty. It consists of a plate 14—16 mm in thickness, 92—93 mm square and provided with a simple but strong handle 73 mm in length. The seal-script is typical for the Yuan dynasty. It is unfortunately impossible to give any interpretation at present. On the upper side there are three lines of engraven script, unhappily very carelessly written and not fully legible. It has, however, been possible to make out with certainty that the seal was made for *Chung-shu-sheng* (and the office *Li-pu-tsao*), i. e. precisely the department that under the Yuan dynasty was responsible for the issuing of the notes. One can also make out the period-denotation *Chih-cheng*, 22nd year, 3rd month, which corresponds to 1362.

Finally, we shall discuss a number of earlier published Ming notes. That reproduced by MORSE, with the face value 1-kuan, was found together with several other similar notes and ingots of gold and silver, gems and jewellery in an image of Buddha in the Summer Palace outside Peking, when this was

plundered by the foreign soldiers in connection with the Boxer rising in 1900. The same origin is also ascribed to notes which found their way to museums in New York, London and Berlin. Unfortunately, MORSE's note, as well as one reproduced by CARTER (belonging to the New York Museum of Numismatics), were reproduced from drawings and not from photographs. They agree, however, apart from very small details, with each other, though differing in the following respects from other Ming notes of the same value known to me: the floral scrolls of the border are coarser and fewer in number, and do not quite fill out the surfaces; the dragons predominate, are 5-clawed and more ferocious; the two seals on the face are identical both as regards size and content; the third line of text in the lower panel has »chih ch'ien» (cash, small cash), whereas on other Ming notes known to me one finds »t'ung ch'ien» (copper money); the meaning, however, is the same; the last character in the fourth line also diverges, as has already been pointed out by DAVIS; the rolls of coins have ten coins each; their strings are not so elegantly arranged as on the other type.

The differences are too great to be ascribed solely to draughtsman's errors. We have obviously to do with another edition, and it would be very desirable to have these notes published in photographic reproduction.

CHAUDOIR and RAMSDEN also reproduce their 1-kuan notes from drawings, but the originals seem here to agree closely with the notes in Sweden. There are certain schematizations in the reproduction of the floral scrolls, and the dragons have been mishandled; in CHAUDOIR's reproductions one can scarcely discover them at all. RAMSDEN has entirely omitted the seal impressions, and CHAUDOIR includes only the lower one. The printed seal-characters on the upper part of the note are badly drawn. While the rolls of coins in the latter specimen have ten coins throughout, the number varies with RAMSDEN between seven and nine; but this detail is presumably to be ascribed solely to the carelessness of the draughtsman<sup>12</sup>).

VISSERING<sup>13</sup>) gives a good photo-lithograph of one of the three Ming notes that have long been preserved in the Russian Academy of Science in St. Petersburg. Its edges are very worn, but its state is otherwise not much worse than that of the notes reproduced here, and it belongs to the same type as these.

In the YULE-CORDIER edition of MARCO POLO's Travels there is a reproduction facing page 426 of a Ming note of the usual type belonging to the numismatist Dr. J. H. S. LOCKHART. The seal impressions have been reconstructed in a rather unsatisfactory way as regards the forming of the characters. No measurements are given, but a list of English private collectors owning similar notes is included.

The Danish National Museum possesses a well-preserved note of the usual type, donated in 1915 by the well-known collector SOPHUS BLACK and reproduced in the guide-book of the museum.<sup>14</sup>) This was taken from the interior of a statue of Buddha which was broken open in connection with the Chinese Revolution;



and hundreds of other notes were found together with it, thus in circumstances similar to those connected with several other notes discussed here.

The most recent numismatic work in which Chinese paper money is discussed in detail is LIAO BAO-SEING's comprehensive *Geschichte des chinesischen Geldes*, printed in the periodical *Sinica*, Vol. 16, Frankfurt a/M 1941. The author appears to draw exclusively upon Chinese sources.

A very interesting detail mentioned in this work is that the printing of notes with the period-denotation Hung-wu was continued even after the official ending of the period in 1398. The emperor CH'ENG TSU (with the period-denotation YUNG-LO) was asked by his Minister of Finance to give orders for the production of printing plates for notes with the period name Yung-Lo, but the emperor refused to comply with this request, and decreed that the old plates should continue in use also in the sequel. And so it went on, according to LIAO, during the reigns of the succeeding Ming emperors. Other researchers have presumed that the issuing of notes came to an end under YUNG-LO. In any case, this procedure explains the as it seems copious occurrence of precisely Hung-wu notes.

The only picture of an older note reproduced by LIAO is a Chinese drawing (after Chi chin so chien lu) of a 200-cash note marked Hung-wu period but issued as late as 1639, i. e. 241 years after the official ending of the period! It has a longer text than the Z-kuan notes. The three seal impressions are reproduced separately, and certainly with perfectly correct text; it is, however, rather difficult to get any clear idea of the contents of the seals. But then with their red print they are generally much more effaced than the black print of the notes. Curiously enough, all three seals are placed on the back of the note, a procedure that differs from that usually employed in all known original notes.

A Ming note of the ordinary kind that was published by SCHLÖSSER in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* for 1937 is said to have been found in a Ming grave by HERMANN CONSTEN, a German resident in China. It has been folded twice in each direction. The seal on the back is clearer than that on the front. The same circumstance may be observed in several of the Swedish Ming notes. The first character in this seal impression has in SCHLÖSSER's and LIAO's reproductions a more complicated form than on the Swedish notes, while the succeeding five are identical. The difference is, however, only apparent, for it is a question of the same character *chu*, although an abbreviated form has been used in the one case.

After the *T'ien-shun* period (1457—1465), according to LIAO, paper currency was but little employed. During the following Manchu dynasty paper money was printed for 10 years (1651—1661); but after that this form of currency was not again employed until 1853.

The notes from the Yuan and Ming dynasties that are available for comparison show that the size, the disposition of the printed surface and the content of the text are not very different. The Yuan notes were based on well established patterns,

and the Ming notes continued on the same lines. Certain details are different. The Mongol notes have on either side of the value printed in the upper panel either a line with only phagspa-script or else this combined with Chinese seal-characters. The Ming notes, on the other hand, have only the latter. The three characters under these lines on the Mongol notes are missing in the Ming notes. In the middle of the lower panel the Mongol notes have a line of larger characters, while the Ming notes here have characters of equal size. The seals were placed in the same way and were of approximately the same size. The absence of the lower seal impression in the three Kozlov specimens is perhaps only apparent, and due to indistinctness of the photographs.

All the reproduced notes lack exact dating, although a space has been left after the period-denotation for both year, month and day to be filled in by hand. Evidently the trouble was never taken to write these figures, owing to the mass emission of notes that took place. Only the red seals were struck on, and the notes were then current. Marco Polo, it is true, writes that »on each note a number of officials specially employed for the purpose not only write their names but also press their seals on them.» No trace of the signatures has been discovered, and it is questionable whether they were ever written. Seals are to this day more important than signatures in China.

<sup>1)</sup> WILHELM OF RUYSBROECK, ROGER BACON, MARCO POLO, HAYTON, ODORIC, the archbishop of Soltania, PEGOLOTTI, IBN BATUTA, AHMED SHIBAB EDDIN and JOSAFAT BARBARO.

<sup>2)</sup> Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. L: II. Also printed separately with foreword and index, Boston 1915.

<sup>3)</sup> Ch'üan-pu-t'ung-chih. In his excellent work *The Invention of Printing in China and its Spread Westward* (New York 1925) CARTER says he can stigmatize it on PELLIOT's authority as a forgery.

<sup>4)</sup> In some editions Ezina and Euzina, which is probably to be regarded as a misprint or a slip of the pen.

<sup>5)</sup> *Phagspa* (sometimes written *Bashpah*) is a syllabic Mongolian alphabet based upon Tibetan and Sanskrit letters by PHAGSPA LAMA under the orders of KHUBLAI KHAN and established as the official character in 1269. It was of short duration, lasting only about a century.

<sup>6)</sup> Apart from the previously mentioned Russian work they are also reproduced in KOZLOV's travel book *Mongoliya i Ambdo i mervi gorod Khara-khoto* (Moscow-Petrograd 1923), where they have precisely this numbering. In the German edition *Zur toten Stadt* (Berlin 1925) the pictures of the notes are omitted.

<sup>7)</sup> *Recueil de monnaies de la Chine*, St. Petersburg 1842.

<sup>8)</sup> *The Trade and Administration of China*, London 1913.

<sup>9)</sup> The Chinese copper coins with a hole in the centre were strung on strings, in rolls of 100, of which ten go to the string (*tiao* or *kuan*). Now nothing is ever done in China for nothing, and no opportunity is ever lost of making a little extra profit; thus the money-changers have always charged for their trouble in stringing, and for the cost of the string. This charge is made by deducting one to four cash from each hundred, with the result that the string of 1000 cash contains only from 960 to 990 actual coins, the *tiao* passing, however, for 1000 cash. Evidently this is the explanation of the fact that some of the rolls of coins depicted on the Ming notes show only nine coins instead of ten.

<sup>10)</sup> This stamp is legible only on the specimen H. 4506 in the Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm. The note in Copenhagen (see note 13) has an identical stamp.

<sup>11)</sup> The British Museum got its first specimen in 1890, but I do not know from what source.

<sup>12)</sup> In RAMSDEN's paper *Chinese Paper Money* (Yokohama 1911) the different ways in which the face-values of the notes are connoted are reproduced pictorially, but not exactly this type. The Chinese source upon which he draws, as has been mentioned in note 3, is of doubtful value, and it is an open question as to whether its pictures of the Yuan dynasty's notes are not pure constructions, for they show no agreement whatsoever with the original notes here discussed.

<sup>13)</sup> *On Chinese Currency. Coin and Paper Money*. Leiden 1877.

<sup>14)</sup> *Den Kgl. Mønt- och Medaillesamling. Orientaliske, Graeske og Romerske Mønter*, Copenhagen 1940.

<sup>15)</sup> It is thus not an absurdity that BUSHELL, as DAVIS points out (op. cit., pp. 265 f.), can reproduce a Hung-wu note from the year 1639.



Fig. 1. Yuan note found by Kozlov in Khara-khoto



Fig. 2. Yuan note found by the author in Kkara-khoto in the year 1931

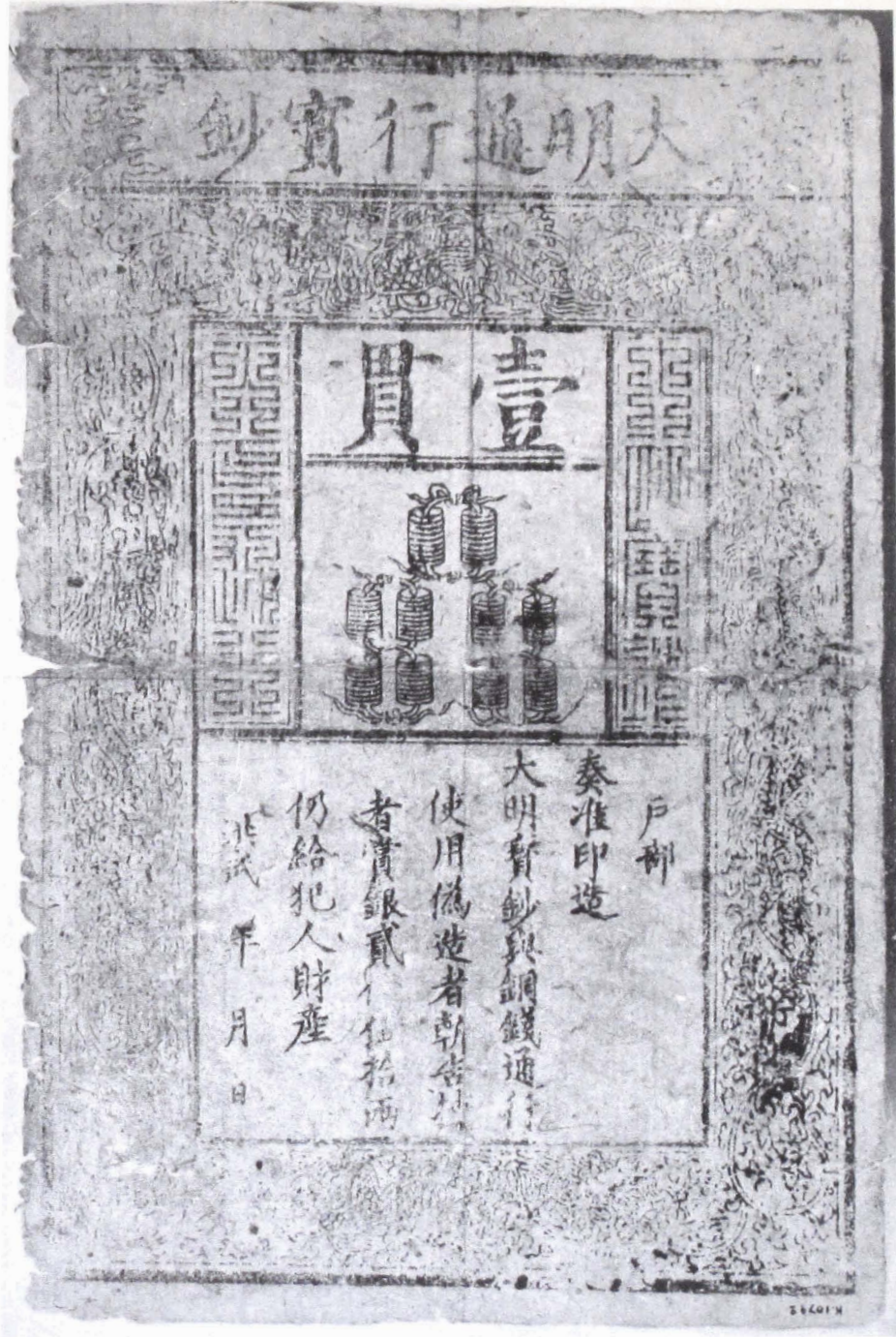


Fig. 3. Ming note belonging to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm

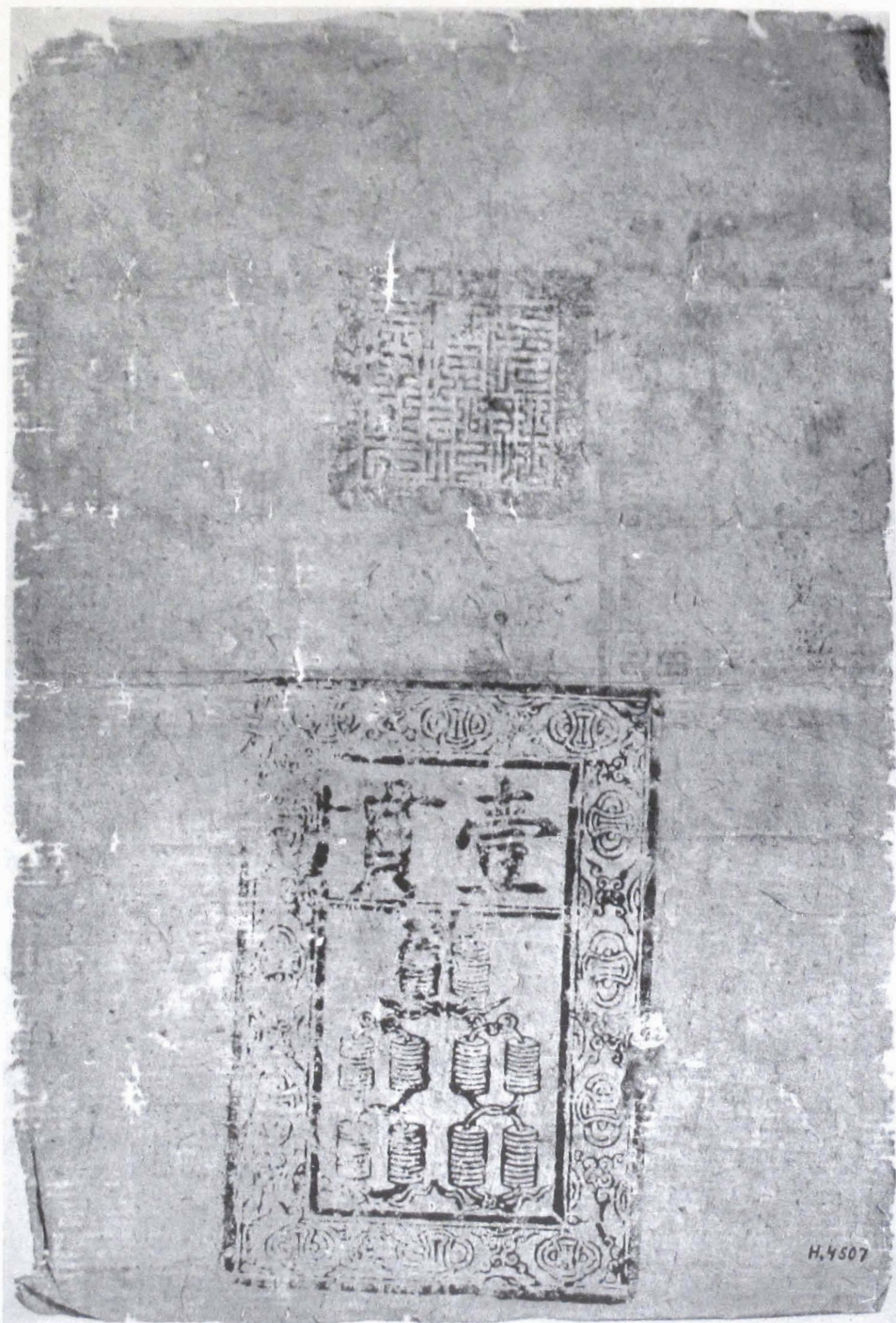


Fig. 4. Reverse side of the Ming note, Fig. 3



Fig. 5. Ming note belonging to the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm



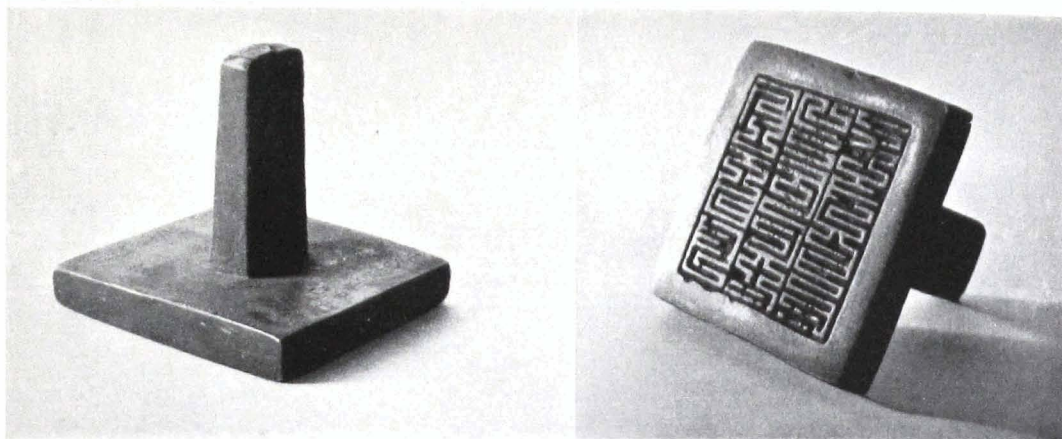


Fig 6. Bronze seal belonging to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm



Fig. 7. Yuan dynasty coins, contemporary with the notes from Khara-khoto, The Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm

A TIBETAN PASSPORT FROM 1714

BY

*TONI SCHMID*



# A TIBETAN PASSPORT FROM 1714

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The original is kept in the Ethnographical Museum, Stockholm. The text is written on Chinese silk. Uppermost is seen a coloured picture showing the second Jina and reformer of the Yellow Church Coṅkhapa (1356—1418) with his two most prominent disciples dGedungrub and mKhasgrubrje.

The passport is issued by pančhenblama bLobzanyeśesdpalbzaiṅpo (1663—1734) for tāblama bLobzaiṅgyalmchan. After bLobzanyeśesdpalbzaiṅpo's name and title follows his lesser seal, whereas at the end of the text his bigger seal is seen. The two seals differ only in size, but are otherwise identical. The center contains the monogram, Haksāmalabaraya, adorned by the flame (Rāhu), the sun and the crescent (rNambčudbaṅldan — »The Ten Powerfull Ones».<sup>1)</sup> On each side of the monogram is seen »maṅgalam». The monogram stands on a lotus flower. The inscription is made in lañcā- writing.

For the Tibetan text the »dbu med» is used. Here it is given in BACOT's transliteration. With two exceptions the Mongolian text lacks the dots and strokes, which distinguish š from s, n from e, etc in a pointed text. A few more deviations from rules now observed are found. The transliteration represents the writing, not the sound, according to the table attached. Galik-letters are underlined.

The Mongolian text usually corresponds exactly with the Tibetan. Now and then an extra word is added. Pančhenblama's name is translated, while tāblama's name is only written in Mongolian characters.

## Translation:

Letter from the Śākyamonk The-Good-and-Noble-Master-of-Knowledge who, after having zealously preached the doctrine which we have received from the Wise One, who owns the essence of āgama and adhigama, has given himself to comprehending the unperishable.

All you people who belong to the Great Convent marked with the Jambu-tree, that is to say lamas, scholars, disciples, kings, subkings, ministers, generals, commanders of fortresses, officers sent to civil and military governors, and all subjects, high, low and middleclass without distinction of the mañjus, Chinese, ordos čhakars, tumeds, khalkhas, oi rods and other regions — consider well when this

<sup>1)</sup> W. FILCHNER, Kumbum Dschamba Ling. 1933. 160—161.

has been made known so that this tāblama 'The banner of Noble Thought (Sumatidhvaja) at home, on the road at every station, wherever it may be, is helped and treated as a friend, and not hurt, harmed or hindered. Action with the above intention leads propitiously to bodhi.

Thus this letter is to be understood, written in the part of the month in which the moon increases, in the victorious year and the victorious month,<sup>1)</sup> on an auspicious day, in the high school of bKraśiṣlhunpo, the high abiding-place of the victorious Convent Community, shining in all quarters of the heaven.

Text:

1. luñ dañ rtogs pa'i bdag ñid čan gyi thub pa'i bstan pa la bśad sgrub  
*esi oxagan-o ecen                      cidagci-jin                      sacin-a nomlaxo butukekui*  
 kyi bya ba lhur bgyis de ñams pa med par 'jin pa la  
*yin uile-ji bagoralta ukekuj-e baraxoi-dor simdan uledku-e*
2. gžol ba śākya'i dge sloñ blo bzañ ye śes dpal bzañ po'i yi ge  
*colojigsan śākja-jin dge slong sajin oibto belke bilig-un sajin cogtojin bicik*
3. 'jambu'i ljon pas rnam par mchan pa' i gliñ čhen po' i gžir phyod pa' i  
*'jambo kalparadaś modon-jiar tejin belkedeksen jeke tib-un delekei-dur*  
 skye 'gro  
*jabogci jeru amitan*
4. phyi dañ bye brag mañju rgya nag ur tu su čha dkar thu mad khal kha  
*kiket ilanggoi-a mañco              kitad              ordos              caxar              tumed              xalxa*  
 o'i rod sogs kyī sa' i čhar 'khod pa'i bla ma slob dpon gra  
*ojirod terikuten-u              gacara agci              blama sorgal-on nojan*
5. rigs rgyal po rgyal phran mdun 'don dmag dpon mkhar sroñ gi mi  
*sabinar xagan              ucuken xad              tusimed              cerig-un nojan xoota balgad-*  
 dpon bya ba ži drag gi 'jug ldog la mñags  
*on kumun-u nojan jukelen xatago uile-jin daroga-dor jarogsan*
6. pa'i sner sleb dmañs kyī skye bo sogs mčhog dman bar ma mtha dag gis  
*uilecis              olan              xaroco              kumun dekedu dorodo domda bukude-ber*  
 dgoñs śiñ mñan par bya ba la tā bla ma blo bzañ rgyal mchan  
*ajilad-on sonosco oxaxoi ino              dā blama blo bžang rkial mčan*
7. 'di pa gžis lam byes gsum gañ du'añ goñ 'khod thams čad nas mthun pa'i  
*ene jaboxo sagoxo jagolcilaxo gorba alin-co dekere biciksen ta xamog-jiar tosalaxoi*  
 grogs 'gyur las gnod 'gal log par 'gro ba gtan ma byed  
*nukucel bolxoi-aca boso xooratai xagacal borogo-dor odxo-ji ogogata boo uile duktun*

<sup>1)</sup> s. paṣya, the eleventh.

8. smras pa don ldan bgyid pa'i dge ba byañ čhub tu sño ba yin žes go  
*ukulebei tosatai uileduksen bojan-i bodhi-dor irukeku mun bu kemen*
- bar bya ba' i yi ge rnam rgyal gyi lo rgyal zla ba'i yar ches  
*oxan uiledkui bicik-i masi ilagogci jil-on ilagogsan sara-yin sin-yin sajin*
9. dge ba la čhos gr(v)a čhen po bkra šis lhun po dpal gyi sde čhen phyogs  
*edur jeke nom-on jeksen bkra šis lhun bə cogto jeke ajimak xamok jok-aca masi*
- thams čad las rnam par rgyal ba'i gliñ gi gzims khañ rgyal  
*ilagogsan tib-un nojirsodak ordo xarsi undur mchan*
10. mthon po nas bris  
*dvāja-aca bicibei*

luñ dañ rtogs <i>esi oxagan (eši uxagan)</i>	āgama and adhigama, Abhidharmakośavyākya (de la Vallée Poussins) 8, 218, n. 5
bdag ñid <i>ecen (eđen)</i>	s. ātman
thub pa <i>cidagci</i>	s. muni
bstan pa <i>sacin (šašin)</i>	doctrine, s. śāsana
bśad pa <i>nomlaxo (nomlaxu)</i>	to preach, jfr s. bhāṣ
lhur bgyis <i>simdan uiledkue (šimdan üiletk'üe)</i>	with devotion, zealously
de ñams med par <i>bagoralta ukekuje (bağuralta üge üje)</i>	not feeble, not perishable
gžol ba <i>colojigsan (colojik'san)</i> (part. praet. perf.)	to remain fixed, absorbed in
'jin pa la <i>baraxoi-dor (baraxui-dur)</i> (dat.)	taking, hold of s. grahana
blo bzañ ye šes dpal bzañ <i>sajin oibto belke bilig-on sajin cogto</i>	s. Sumatijñānaśribhadra

'jambu' i ljon pas <i>jambu kalparadas modonjar</i> (instr.)	Ĵambutree, Ĵambu-wishingtree (Kowalewski: »kalparavaras» s. kalpavikša)
rnam par <i>tejin</i>	much, quite, s. vi
mchan pa <i>belkedeksen</i> (part. praet. pf)	marked
glin tib	s. dvīpa, island, convent
čhen po <i>jeke</i>	big, great
gžir (termin.) <i>delekei-dur</i>	residence, s. ālaya
phyod pa <i>jeru (jerü)</i>	all
skye 'gro <i>jaboxci amitan</i>	men, walking beings
phyi dañ bye brag <i>kiket ilanggoia</i>	(the following) and specially
sogs terikuten ( <i>terigüten</i> )	and so on
sa'i čha <i>gacara (gačara)</i>	part of the earth, country
'khod pa <i>agci (akči)</i>	being (pt. pr.)
slob dpon <i>sorgal-on nojan (surgal-un nojan)</i>	teacher, s. ācārya
gr(v)a rigs <i>sabinar (šabinar)</i>	disciples
rgyal po <i>xagan</i>	king
rgyal phran <i>ucuken xad (ücüken xat)</i>	subking

mdun 'don <i>tusimed (tüşimet)</i>	minister (s)
dmag dpon <i>cerig-un nojan (cerig-ün nojan)</i>	general
mkhar sron gi mi dpon <i>xoota balgad-on kummun-u nojan (xota balgad-un kümün-ü nojan)</i>	commander of a fortress
bya ba <i>uile</i>	action, deed
ži drag <i>jukelen xatago (dögelen xataǵu)</i>	soft (and) hard, civil (and) military
'jug ldog <i>daroga (daruǵa)</i>	commander
mñags <i>jarogsan (ǵaruksan)</i>	sent
sner sleb <i>uilecis (üilečis)</i>	officers, servants
dmañs <i>xaroco (xaruču)</i>	common people, common subjects
sogs <i>olan</i>	all
mčhog dman bar <i>degedu dorodo domda (degedü dorodu dumda)</i>	high, low, between
ma mtha dag gis (instr.) <i>bukude-ber »</i>	»without limit«, all
dgoñs śin mñan par bya ba <i>ajilad-on sonosco oxaxoi ino (ajilad-un sonosču uxaxui inu)</i>	considering that which has been heard great
tā bla ma <i>dā blama</i>	lama, ta: <i>Chinese</i> meaning great
blo bzañ rgyal mchan <i>blō bzang rkjal mcan</i>	s. Sumatidhvaja
'di pa <i>ene</i>	this



gžis lam byes <i>jaboxo sagoxo jagolcilaxo (jabuxu sağuxu jağulčilaxu)</i>	at home, on the road and at every station
gsum <i>gorba (ğurba)</i>	three
gañ du 'añ <i>alin-co (alin-ču)</i>	whensoever, wheresoever
thams čad <i>ta xamok</i>	all
goñ 'khyod <i>dekere biciksen (degere bičiksen)</i>	written above
mthun pa' i grogs 'gyur las (abl.) <i>tosalaxoi nukucel bolxoi-aca (tusalaxui nükücel bolxui ača)</i>	to help, to treat as a friend
'gro ba odxo (otxu)	to, walk, to move
gtan <i>ogogata</i>	wholly
gnod 'gal log par 'gro ba gtan <i>xooratai xagacal borogo-dor odxo-ji ogo- gata.</i>	to help (or) harm (or) hinder
boso (busu)	not
ma byed <i>boo uileduktun (buu üiledüktün)</i>	do not!
smras pa don ldan bgyid pa <i>ukulebei tosatai uileduksen (üğülebei tusatai üiledüksen)</i>	who has acted according to what has been said
dge ba <i>bojan (bujan)</i>	virtue
byañ čhub <i>bodhi</i>	s. bodhi
sño ba yin <i>irukeku mun-bu (irügekü mün bü)</i>	blessing
žes <i>kemen</i>	thus, so

go bar bya ba'i yi ge  
*oxan uiledkui bicik-i (acc.)*

rnam par  
*masi (maši)*

rgyal gi lo  
*ilagogei jil*

rgyal zla  
*ilagogsan sara*

yar  
*sin*

ches dge ba  
*sajin edur (sajin edür)*

čhos gr(v)a čhen po  
*jeke nom-on jeksen*

dpal gyi sde čhen  
*cogto jeke ajimak*

phyogs  
*jok (duk)*

gzims khañ  
*nojirsodak ordo xarsi*

mthon po  
*undur (ündür)*

bris  
*bicibei (bičibei)*

the letter, understood

very, s. vi-

victorious year

» month

the increasing (moon, part of the  
month)

auspicious day

the Great school of the Doctrine

the Noble Great Community

quarters

sleeping-palace

high

written

Transl.	beg.	m.	end	sound
a	ᠠ	ᠡ	ᠢ	a
e	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠣ	e
i	ᠤ	ᠤ	ᠤ	i
o	ᠨ	ᠨ	ᠨ	o, u
u	ᠯ	ᠯ	ᠯ	ö, ü
s	ᠰ	ᠰ	ᠰ	s, š
n	ᠨ	ᠨ	ᠨ	n
m	ᠮ	ᠮ	ᠮ	m
l	ᠯ	ᠯ	ᠯ	l
b	ᠪ	ᠪ	ᠪ	b
r	ᠷ	ᠷ	ᠷ	r
t	ᠲ	ᠳ	ᠳ	t, d
d	ᠳ	ᠳ	ᠳ	d, t
c	ᠴ	ᠴ		c, č
j	ᠵ	ᠲᠵ	ᠵ	j, ĵ, y
x	ᠶ	ᠶ	ᠶ	x, k, g (hd)
g	ᠶ	ᠶ		g, k
k	ᠶ	ᠶ	ᠶ	kh, g
ng		ᠶ	ᠶ	ṅ
z	ᠶ	ᠶ		z



Passport from 1714

On top: Conkhapa between his foremost disciples

This image shows a page of handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, with musical notation. The text is arranged in several horizontal lines, each starting with a musical staff. The script is dense and appears to be a form of musical notation or a specific dialect of Tamil. There are two prominent red square seals or stamps on the page, one near the top center and one near the bottom center. The paper is aged and shows some discoloration and wear.

Text of the passport from 1714

A CATALOGUE OF THE HEDIN COLLECTION  
OF MONGOLIAN LITERATURE

BY

*PENTTI AALTO*

*Printed in Sweden*

## PREFACE

**T**he collection of Mongolian block-prints and manuscripts listed below is conserved in the Ethnographical Museum of Sweden, Stockholm. The greater part of it, viz. the items indicated by H. 63—H. 4775 and H. 5727—H. 5835 were collected in Inner Mongolia and Peking by Dr GÖSTA MONTELL of the SVEN HEDIN expedition of 1927—1935, among them the Nos H. 3500—3538 were acquired in the printing office of the Lamasery Sung-chu-ssu in Peking (see MONTELL p. 441), while those marked H. 5463—H. 5467 were presented in 1951 by Mr GEORG SÖDERBOM, a former member of that expedition. The works marked 03. 11, were acquired by Dr SVEN HEDIN in 1893—1897, N. 29. 21. 140 was collected by HENNING HASLUND CHRISTENSEN, who also at that time was a member of the expedition. Thus only the five books marked 15. 1, which were brought by the THORILD WULFF expedition of 1913—1914 and No. 46. 7. 1 (presented by editor N. P. OLLÉN in 1946) are not actually part of the HEDIN collections.

The bulk of the works consist of Buddhistic religious literature, canonical and non-canonical. Whenever possible the catalogue gives the titles in all the three languages, Mongolian, Sanskrit, and Tibetan, and reference is made to the catalogues of the Buddhistic canons as well as to other literature. Regrettably enough, however, many of the works could not be identified, and in such cases the incipit or explicit or at least some evidence of the text has been quoted. It is to be hoped that their identification will be possible later on, when we get more published catalogues of the Mongolian collections in various libraries and can study the works themselves more thoroughly. Many of them have been classed below as "astrological", but they may in fact represent other branches of Lamaistic divination.

Since the colophons are our most important source of information for Mongolian literary history, they have, whenever possible, been quoted in extenso.

In the transliteration I have in general followed the system employed by RAMSTEDT. As in the later works of RAMSTEDT already the back *g* ( $\gamma$ ) has not been differentiated from the front one. It is, however, to be regretted that so far we have no authoritative dictionary in respect of the transcription of the Mongolian words, the various scholars often not being in accord about writing *o* or *u*, *ö* or *ü*, *t* or *d*, *g* or *k*. The errors of the copyists have been retained in some cases, where they can in my opinion throw light on the quality of their work or their language. Where the reading or meaning of a word is uncertain, this has been indicated by a question mark. This does not, of course, exclude the possibility of misinterpretations in other cases too.

In order to aid the study and identification of the works and their various editions the sizes of the folios and the printpages have been given.



As regards the grouping of the works according to their contents, some remarks have already been published in my paper in *Ethnos* (1950: 1—2). There I also gave some information about the historical and religious background of some more important works or groups of works in the collection.

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The date of printing (sometime also that of translation or writing) of a work is often indicated in the colophon, usually according to the sexagenary cycle, as well as according to the Nien-hao of the Chinese Emperors. The cycle alone is of course not sufficient for the dating of a work with certainty (cp. e. g. H. 72 and H. 3516 b), while the Nien-hao date is quite definite, and the two systems together afford a possibility of controlling. As I have shown in my above-mentioned paper in *Ethnos* (see p. 4 as well as Fig. 2 on p. 3), a date may later have been added to older printing blocks, as has happened just in the case of No. 15. 1. 699.

Since it appears to be very troublesome to find in the literature the information relating to the chronology of the Mongolian books, it would perhaps seem not inappropriate to give the most important details here. The basis of the Mongolian chronology is the cycle of the twelve animals employed also by the Chinese, the Tibetans etc.

1. <i>qulugana</i>	‘Rat’	7. <i>morin</i>	‘Horse’
2. <i>üker</i>	‘Bull’	8. <i>qonin</i>	‘Sheep’
3. <i>bars</i>	‘Tiger’	9. <i>mečün</i>	‘Ape’
4. <i>taolai</i>	‘Hare’	10. <i>takija</i>	‘Hen’
5. <i>luu</i>	‘Dragon’	11. <i>noqai</i>	‘Dog’
6. <i>moqai</i>	‘Serpent’	12. <i>yaqai</i>	‘Pig’

This cycle is then extended to cover 60 years by providing every name with attributes taken in due order from some of the following two series consisting of five items, each of which can be further indicated as being male or female:

1) the five elements:	<i>ere</i>	‘male’	<i>modun</i>	‘Tree’
	<i>eme</i>	‘female’	„	„
	<i>ere</i>		<i>gal</i>	‘Fire’
	<i>eme</i>		„	„
	<i>ere</i>		<i>širui</i>	‘Earth’
	<i>eme</i>		„	„
	<i>ere</i>		<i>temür</i>	‘Iron’
	<i>eme</i>		„	„
	<i>ere</i>		<i>usun</i>	‘Water’
	<i>eme</i>		„	„

or 2) the five colours:	<i>köke</i>	‘blue’	
	<i>kökegčün</i>	„	(female)
	<i>ulagan</i>	‘red’	
	<i>ulagčün</i>	„	„
	<i>šira</i>	‘yellow’	
	<i>širagčün</i>	„	„
	<i>čagan</i>	‘white’	
	<i>čagagčün</i>	„	„
	<i>qara</i>	‘black’	
	<i>qaragčün</i>	„	„

or 3) the ten cyclic signs borrowed from the Chinese:

<i>Ga</i>	= Chin. Chia
<i>Ji</i>	Yi
<i>Bing</i>	Ping
<i>Ting</i>	Ting
<i>U</i>	Mou~Wou
<i>Ki</i>	Chi
<i>King</i>	Kêng
<i>Sin</i>	Hsin
<i>Šin</i>	Jên
<i>Küi</i>	Kuei

Thus we get, e. g.

<i>ere temür</i> or <i>čagan</i> or <i>king luu</i>	= 1700
<i>eme temür</i> or <i>čagagčîn</i> or <i>šin mogai</i>	= 1701
<i>ere usun</i> or <i>qara</i> or <i>šin morin</i>	= 1702
<i>eme usun</i> or <i>qaragčîn</i> or <i>küi qonin</i>	= 1703
<i>ere modun</i> or <i>köke</i> or <i>ga mečîn</i>	= 1704

etc., the same series beginning anew with a *king luu* 1760 (see the corrected cyclic tables in Pelliot p. 664).

The Mongolian names of the Nien-liao's from the time of the Manchu or Tai-ch'ing dynasty are as follows:

<i>Eje-ber žasagči</i> (Shun Chih) 1644—1661,
<i>Engke amugulang</i> (K'ang Hsi) 1662—1721,
<i>Najiraltu töb</i> (Yung Cheng) 1722—1735,
<i>Tengri-jin tedgügsen</i> (Ch'ien Lung) 1736—1795,
<i>Sajisjaltu irügeltü</i> (Chia Ch'ing) 1796—1820,
<i>Törü gereltü</i> (Tao Kuang) 1821—1850,
<i>Tөгemel elbegtü</i> (Hsien Feng) 1851—1861,
<i>Bürin-e žasagči</i> (T'ung Chih) 1862—1874,
<i>Badaraqultu törü</i> (Kuang Hsü) 1875—1908,
<i>Kebtü josun</i> (Hsüen T'ung) 1909—1911.

The era of the Emperor Pu Yi of Manchukuo (1934—1945) was *Engke erdentü* in Mongolian. After the Chinese revolution in 1911, the years of the Chinese republic are indicated *Dumdatu ulus* (Chung Kuo). Further, the title of the Qutugtu of Urga, who during the revolution of 1911 proclaimed the independence of Outer Mongolia, *Olan-a cryügdcgsen*, has been used in dating books and official documents (1911—1924). In the latest literature, the printing year is generally reckoned from the year 1206, when Chingis-Qagan was proclaimed Emperor.

As regards the reckoning of months and days, reference should be made to the article "Ochronologii Mongolskiej", by Wl. Kotwicz, in *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* II (Lwów 1925), pp. 220—239, with the French summary, p. 331 f., and its continuation in *Rocznik* IV (Lwów 1926), pp. 108—166, with the French summary, pp. 314—318.

# CATALOGUE

## H. 63

*Qutugtu degedü altan gerel tu erketü sudur nugud un qagan necetü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Ārya suvarṇaprabhāsa-uttama sūtra-indra-rāja nāma mahāyāna-sūtra.

'phags-pa gser-'od dam-pa mdo-sde'i dbaṅ-po'i rgyal-po žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo.

10 kesegs, 29 bölögs.

Colophon (X fol. 21v.): arslan bogda sakiamuni jin nomlagsan altan gerel tu erketü sudur nugud un qagan i / ajagqa takimlig / umžad lobsang bsinba / amitan u tusa jin tulada keb i bü-tügebei // ejin bütügegsen arigun bujan u küčün ijer / erketü sakiamuni jin sasin arban žüg tur delgereged / eje bolugsan amitan nugud un ada todqar arilžu bürün / ečüs tur včir a dara jin qutug i olqu manu boltugai // [taji]čing ulus un engke amugulang' un žiratugar [on u] namur un segül sara jin sajin edür tur [ngan din]g men qagalqan u gatan a sagugsan [fu dala]i sejilgežü gargabai //

Block-print, dated 1721; 235 folios measuring 17 × 49: 13 × 45 cm.

Otani No. 175, Ligeti No. 177, Coll. No's 3583, 3528; J. Nobel, Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra, Leipzig 1937, and Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra, Leiden and Stuttgart 1944, E. Haenisch, Altan Gerel, Leipzig 1927, P. Aalto, Notes on the Altan Gerel, Studia Orientalia XIV: 6, Helsinki 1950.

## H. 66

*Erdeni altan saba kemekü süder (!).*

Inc. (1v.): namo mañjughošaya / edüge nögcigsed un togas i delgen nomlasugai / amin bei e erketen kei mori dörben ijen . . .

Expl. (12v.): . . . bars taolai žildan mogai bečin žildan qai / ilanggui gaqai [

Manuscript, 12 folios (fol. 13 ss. om.) measuring 9 × 39: 7 × 29 cm.

## H. 67

*Bogda žibžung damba qutug jin (!) gegyn u qubilgan ileren doturaqu jin nigen žalbiral kereg tci kemen.*

Inc. (1v.): gajiqamsig tu belge bilig čuburil ügei žali qubilgan u bücir / čidagči jin sasin u lingqua . . .

Expl. (3v.): lčaṅ-skya-la-lita-bjar ügülegsen i ijer (?) küsegsen kereg sedkilčilen bütükü boltugai // dā blama blo-dpon dge-sloṅ blo-bzaṅ šes-rab kürbegülebegeü //

Manuscript, 3 folios measuring 9 × 29: 6 × 24 cm.

The Tibetan proper names are also spelled with Tibetan letters between the columns of the Mongolian text.

## H. 68

*Ükügsed un qara toya kemekü.*

Inc. (1v.): žalagu mančusiri tur mörgümü / ali (?) tur torugsan kümün ükübesü / amin abugsan erlig inu / tere gerte nigen sira nogai bügesü tegün tur odba /

Expl. (4v.): naiman čagan tu / bandi bumba jin kkir burtag eče bolba // jisün ulagan a ükübesü / burtag ba keregür ün gažar a odugsan eče qani bolba //

Manuscript, 4 folios measuring 8 × 29 cm.

## H. 69

*Rasijan u žirügen naiman kesikütü' niguča ubadisun ündüsün eče nomlaqui jin ündüsün kemekü (qojatugar debter).*

Amṛta-hṛdaya-aṣṭa-aṅga-guhya-upadeśa-tantra (an extract).

21 bölögs.

Inc. (1v.): tendече üzügülüci ilažu tegüs nöğčigsen amiduragulun žokijagči otačis un blama būduria genel tu qagan tere ber/tere samadi eče bosču ügülekü jin arslan kemekü . . .

Expl. (67r.): rasijan [u žirügen naiman kesikütü niguča ubadis un] ündüsün eče anagagči emči jin gučin nigetüger bölöğ / rasijan [u žirügen naiman kesikütü niguča ubadis un] ündüsün eče nomlaqui ündüsün kemekü tegüsbe / manghalam / om subratistha bažar in suva haa //

Block-print, 67 folios measuring 11 × 57: 8 × 51 cm.

## H. 72

*Qutuqtu jekede tonilgagči žüg ud tur delgereysen qasiqutan kemsiküi ber kilinčes i arilgagad burqan bolgan bütügeküi e tejin büged žokijaysan neretü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Ārya ghanja maha bhrica phulu karma abirna papam śodhaya bhudha ra kora bhuhana nāma mahāyāna-sūtra (with a Tibetan transliteration).

'phags-pa thar-pa čhen-po phyogs-su rgyas-pa 'gyod čaṅs-kyis sdiḡ sbyaṅs-te saṅs-rgyas-su 'grub-par rnam-par 'kod-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo (according to the Tibetan spelling inter the columns of the Mongolian script, which gives this title according to its pronunciation).

I keseg folios 1v.—33r., II keseg fol. 1v.—37r., III keseg fol. 1v.—30r.

Colophon (III 29v.): jirtinčü dekin u itegel burqan bagsi / jegüdgel ügei bodi jabudal tan bodistva nar a / jerü busu degedü jeke kölgen i ilanggui a nomlagsan jekede tonilgagči neretü ene jeke kölgen sudur i // dalai metü ülemži süsüg bisirel tu / dajiming sečen qagan u duradtugsan žarlig ijer / dagan bajasulčažu köke odser kemekü kelemeči dajidu jin darumal sudur eče monggolčilan orčigulbai // ejin orčigulugsan (30r.) arigun bujan u genel ijer / eldeb amitan u sedkil un qarangus i gejjigülüged / erkin qojar čigulgan u ligad (?) i delgeregülcü / erketü burqan u qutug tur kürkü boltugai // (a dhāraṇī in sanskrit) . . . // sira qulugana žil un arban nigen sara jin / arban dolugan a tegüsbe //

Block-print, dated 1708 (?); 101 folios measuring 18 × 52: 15 × 49 cm.

Otani No. 930, Ligeti No. 1021, Coll. No's 3585, 3529—31, cp. 3592—93.

## H. 74

*Nogugan dar-a eke.*

Inc. (1v): degedü botalang agula jin agui tur ugugada üsüre eče bolugsan abida burqan ijer titim tai gurban čag un burqan nugud un üjles un eke . . .

Expl. (9r.): genel badaragči ülemži tu qutug orusitugai // mamghalam //

Manuscript, 9 unnumbered folios measuring 7 × 21 cm.

### H. 75

*Surtal un ugugada sudulqu gurban sitügen u žang (?) olan terigüten anggida tonilugči jin [4 unreadable words] tobčılan (?) qurijagsan i bogda jeke bi?i barigči granga (?) ba erkilmčžen (?) u žokijal.*

Inc. (1v.): degedü blam a nar tur mörgümü / gurban egüden u gem un togosun u bulanggir eče qagačagsan / arigun jabudal un naiman kesikütü usun (?) ijer dügürügsen . . .

Expl. (52v.): nigen ajagqa takimlig un emüne namančilagsan ijer arilqu kemen nomlagsan bolai //

Manuscript, 52 folios measuring 10 × 39 cm; unclear writing; fol. 1—11 paginated in Mongolian, 12—52 in Tibetan.

### H. 76

*Mani kambu.*

Mani bka'-'bum.

Kesegs VI—XI.

Inc. (upper cover of the pothi = VI fol. 1v.): om mani badme huṃ // jeke nigülesügči jin qubilgan nom tedkügči sidurqu tülgel qagan u žarlig un ubadis / monggaq törülkiten i (VI 2r.) nom tur orugulqi . . .

Expl. (XI fol. 10r.): . . . nisvanis un gurban qour a jin bajildugsan eče tejin büged dejilezü // urbal ügei dörben bei e jin ezen činar jeke amugulang ene nasun tur ilergei e bolgan adislan sojurga //

Colophon: bečing qotan u baragun čagan suburgan u terigün blama bčod-ba rin-čhen gelong ber jerü burqan u sasin kiged amitan u tusa jin tulada mani kambu ji liusiba (?) / qorin qojar bagsi (?) ber naribčılan bičigülčü keb tur sečilgezü bürün / tajičing engke amugulang un tabin žirgutugar on u / ulagčün takija žil un ebül un segül sara jin nigen sine delgeregsen edür eče ekilezü / sira nogai žil un namur un dumdatu sara jin sine jin nigen tur tegüsgebei // sarva mangghalam //

Block-print, dated 1717; 229 folios measuring 22 × 66: 18 × 54 cm.

Vide H. 1058 D.

Coll. No's 3578—79 and 3603—3604. Mus. As. Petr. Notitiae 1904, No. 36.

### H. 77

= 15. 1. 699.

Without the date.

### H. 1058 A

*Mila bogda jin sudur.*

Inc. (fol. 1v): namo guru // jogačaris un erketü milaraspa kemen aldarsigsan tere bogda anu / čunglung garudi jin gurga tur maqa mudur un gegen genel . . .

Expl. (fol. 294r.): egenegten žirgaglang un čog ijer jabužu bürün / endegürel ügei bujan i üjles delgeretügei // tegüsbe // mamghalam //

Colophon: qutug tu bogda milaraspa jin ene silüg ud i / qočorli ügei nom un dagurisqu jin ene süsüg ud i / qotala olan amitan a sonusqu jin ene čimeg ud i qudqulagči manu nisvanis i sajitur ariltugai ene togožu ber // om mani padme huṃ //

Manuscript, 294 folios measuring 22 × 66: 17 × 55 cm.

### H. 1058 B

*Čagan lingua ncretü degedü nom jekke kölgen sudur.*

Saddharmapuṇḍarika nāma mahāyānasūtra.

Dam-pa'i čhos pad-ma dkar-po žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo.

27 bölögs paginated separately.

Manuscript in black and red; 292 folios measuring 22 × 64: 16 × 50 cm; somewhat damaged by moisture.

Otani No. 781, Ligeti No. 868.

### H. 1058 C

*Qutug tu erdeni saran köbeyün ü [öçigsen] ncretü jekke kölgen sudur.*

Ārya [dāraka] ratna-čandra-paripreçhā nāma mahāyāna-sūtra.

'phags-pa khye'u rin-čhen žla-bas žus-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo.

Colophon (13r.): ... thegüčbe (!) // enedkeg un ubadini bisudda singqa ba / kelemürči bandi bujanu čogtu orčigulbai / enedkeg un ubadini vidja kara singqa luga / jekede üzegči kelemürči anu bandi deu a čandira najiragulču sudur tur bagulgabai // thegüčbe / maṅghalam // bevanto //

Manuscript in black and red, 13 folios measuring 23 × 63: 16 × 51 cm; somewhat damaged by moisture //

Otani No. 831, Ligeti No. 920.

### H. 1058 D

*Mani kambu (terigün debter).*

Mani bka'-'bum.

Kesegs I—V.

Inc. (I fol. 1v.): om mani padme huṃ / mön činar un ezen (?) arilugsan nom un činar tur / togurbil un belge бүкүн ijer masi aqalagdugsan ...

Expl. (V fol. 51v.): qubilgan sidurqu tölgen nom un qagan u nomlugsan baling mör e abqui žarlig un ubadis bui / tere tabun mör e abqui jin žarlig un ubadis un žüil amu / tegün eče degegsi angqan u čagasun u čuglagur / žarlig un nom terigüten amu // maṅghalam tegüsbe / om mani padme huṃ hri / öm aa huṃ ///

Manuscript in black and red; 226 folios measuring 21 × 52: 17 × 40 cm.

Vide H. 76.

### H. 1068 A

*Sen-sijang-juwan kemekü bičig.*

Fascicle I missing.

Fasc. II (gojartugar debter) of 44 double folios.

Fasc. III (gurbatugar debter) of 42 double folios.

Manuscript in form of a Chinese book, measuring 11 × 20 cm.

### H. 1068 B

*Üžesküleng lingua jin üliger.*

Fascicle I (terigün debter): Inc. (2r.) üžesküleng lingua jin öglige öggügsen sudur terigün debter / üžesküleng lingua altan qadgur i öglige ögbei / ... Expl. (14v.): sajin magui jambar bolqui ji qojitu bölög tur üzetügei /

Fasc. II (qojartugar d.): Inc. (2r.) üzesküleng lingqua jin erlig un orda kündüle abçigsan gojartugar bölög / ügülekü anu / ... Expl. (23v.) like the former.

Fasc. III (gurbatugar d.): Inc. (2r.) üzesküleng lingqua jin arban naiman tamu ji ilergei üzegsen gutagar bölög / tamu jin orun a ... Expl. (19r.) like the former.

Fasc. IV (dötüger d.): Inc. (2r.) üzesküleng lingqua jin jirtinçü tur egezü (?) busud un nöküger tur qubilgagsan dötüger bölög/ ügülegü anu ... Expl. (23v.) like the former.

Fasc. V (tabtugar d.): Inc. (2r.): üzesküleng lingqua jin qarižu ireged jirtinçu jin üjles i sigümçilen qalalçigsan / tabtugar bölög / tegünçe degegsi ... Expl. (23v.): orçud tur sejligegeđ darumal daružu kümün tur dargabasu neng sajin //

Manuscript in the form of a Chinese book measuring 11 × 20 cm.

#### H. 1068 C

11 fascicles of an unidentified novel.

Fasc.	? = chapter	6,
„	? = „	11,
„	? = „	20,
„	XV = chapters	48—49,
„	XVI = „	50—51,
„	XVII = „	52—53,
„	XXI = „	60—61,
„	XXVI = „	70—71,
„	XXVIII = „	74—75,
„	XXIX = „	76—77,
„	XXX = „	78—79.

Manuscript in the form of a Chinese book, measuring 18 × 26 cm.

#### H. 1068 D

*Qaguçin nom un qurijanggui.*

(A summary of the Old Testament.)

Inc. (2r.): ebüge eçige ner un emüne çag / jirtinçü ji bolbasurgal un bütügegsen uçira/ angqa tur burqan anu ogtargui kiged delegei ji bolbasurgulbai / ...

Expl. (62r.): jüde ulus eçe tabun tümen kümün / jüde ulus ulus (!) dagan buçabai / tejin büged tede inu žegüdeliçid (?) metü bolbai / tede inu burqan u (the rest of the page is blank).

Manuscript in the form of Chinese book; 66 double folios measuring 25 × 26 cm.

#### H. 1069 A

*Jirtinçü ji sergegçi kemekü teüke.*

6 fascicles: I = 26 double folios

II = 27 „ „

III = 26 „ „

IV = 30 „ „

V = 24 „ „ (the upper cover missing)

VI = 21 „ „

Manuscript in the form of a Chinese book, measuring 11 × 22 cm. (Probably a translation of a Chinese work from the times of the Ming dynasty).

## H. 1130

*Gzuñs-sdus* (in Tibetan).

The upper cover bears the designation: byin brlabs dños grub bkra-sis čhar 'bebs-pa'i bstan 'gros phan bde'i dga' chal rgyas-pa'i phyir ño mchar 'jam-gliñ sa-šteñ dkon-pa'i mčhog gzuñs mdo brgya dañ drug-bču-rca-bdun bžugs-sho //

Block-print, 591 folios measuring 34 × 90: 26 × 70 (in black with a red ornament around the text). Thereafter a dkar-čhag of 5 fol. in Tibetan. At the end a dkar-čhag of 7 fol. in Mongolian. The contents seem to be identical with the block-print Mdo-mañ Coll. No's 3546—47 marked I by Lalou (see her pp. 8 and 76 ff.) = Mong. No. 3588—89 catalogized by Ligeti (see pp. 134 ff.).

The Mongolian dkarchag has also a colophon (fol. 7r.): žang üjle ji ber andas tur bajigulqui terigüten buju / qurijabasu sudur tarnis un masi čigula keregten jeke adistid tu žagun žiran tabun ekiten edes i orusigulba // tegün tur kitad eče orčigulugsan ba sang eče gargagsan terigüten žedker i garigulqui tur sajisijagsan edüi tedüi keregtü jin tula degter un adas orusigulbai / tere metü adistid tu žibqulang tu gerel i gargagči erkin žarlig erdeni jin sang / tegri jin köbegün tajičing ulus un dötüger ilagugsan terigülen engke amugulang qagan u / ülemži sedkil amsi arilugsan jeke süsüg bisirel ijer keb i sajitur bütügežü / egün i bajigulugsan bujan ijer tegri deče žajag a tu qagan ečige köbegün ižagur ündüsün nugud / sümbür agula kiged včir metü batutugad tümen nasulatugai // tegün qubitan arad barasi ügei bujan u ölžei (7v.) qutug un aman i negežü bür ün / öber busud ta tusatu žirgalang un bajasgulang tu qurim i delgereregülgči qotala tegüsügsen ülemži sedkil ten / burqan u sasin u ilagugsan čimeg batuda sajitur orusiqu boltugai // basa busu ülü žokilduqu jin qamug žedker i amuriligulču bür ün / ölžei qutug tegüsčü erketen sajin bujan masida udqa tu sasin ünide orusiqui ba / sasin i barigči degedüs un köl un linqu a batuda orusizu / egün tur erkiležü nöküčeldügsen / amitan bügüdeger öbesüben ilada burqan bolqu boltugai // gajiqamsig tu tegri jin köbegün engke amugulang un ogtargui tur / emči budda dovača usun barigči niggügsen / sasin kiged amitan u tusa amugulang tarijan i delgereregülgči / barasi ügei nom un jeke qura ji ende urugulbai // sajin bujan nemetügei //

## H. 1131

*Padma kadany sudur.*

(= Padma bka'-thañ).

Fol. 1v.: namo . . . / udijana keleber / oru aksa sangrani / tübed un keleber / guru pad-ma mčogs-ni / sgrab (2r.) rnam-thar rčens-pa žes-bya-ba // monggolun keleber / badma sambu a bagsi jin delgerenggüi e žokijagsan törül un čatig neretü / . . .

118 bölögs, 7 kesegs, marked in the left hand margin, but only one thoroughgoing pagination.

Colophon (290v.): sarasvati jin qubilgan žajagan (?) dalai ilagugsan dakini / umurtal ügei žirügen i olugsan ijer / irege edügüi čag un amitan u tusa jin tulada / badma sambu a bagsi jin žarlig un tuguči ji kemekü ba / delgerenggüi e žokijagsan törül un čatig kemekü ba / ri srong sdabsan qagan qarijan žarlig kemekü ba / kelemüčid bandita narun čatig nom un ene salburi ji / bičizü erdeni sang tur nigubai / qubitan amitan tur učiraqu boltugai / qagačagan ibegegsen sira čaglasun tur ažugu / üsüg inu sangrita jin kelen bičigsen ažugui / qagačagan ber üge ji ü lü adas orčigulbai / žerlo un (?) bolur gatan eče určan lingba neretü sang eče gargabai // dagusba sadu edkü legso // egüdügsen busu qogusun ogtargui jin mön činar inu / eteged žegüdgeküi törüküi törirdküi ügegü orun u / erdem ud tegün dugulču togorbiqui eče qagačagsan / erkin nom un bei e tu abida burqan tur sögüdümüi // terekü nom un bei e jin qogusun ogtargui tur / temdegtei e üzegdeküi



solongan a (?) genel metü / degsi amitan i nigülesügçi abural qutugtu / tegün žirgalang un bei e tu lokisvari tur süsülümü // tegün qojar čigulgan u erdeni jin činar eče bolugsan / degedü vijang-girid uqagan u ojina (?) sajitur tegüsüsen / tengsel ügei sasin u dörben dwib un dumda čogtai a bajjgsan / degere ügei gažar barigçi (291r.) erketü qubilgan badma čimadur mörgümü // ilagugsan u qubilgan bei e jin kalbaravaran (?) modun tur ilada dörben žüil üjles un nabči žimis delgeregsen ijer / imagta nomugadgagtaqui amitan u egerel i qagagçi / itegel un orun badma sambu a bagsi čimadur mörgümü // kkir ügei medeküi minggan gereltü mandal un genel ijer / kižaglal ügei qubitan amitan u čigulgan tur / kkir eče qagačagsan tonilqui mör i gegegen e üzügülüğçi / geser eče törügsen degedü bogda čimadur mörgümü / majidari asaraqui sedkilün egülen e / masi nigülesügçi nom a qura ji orugulču / magui žajagan u čilger qalagun sönügegčid e / manglai ber ijen kündülen mörgüzü bürrün / ene sajin kalab un dotura inu / edüi togatan burqan nugud törüzü / erdeni žarlig nom inu monggol irgen tur / edüi tedüi ken kürüged i ügülesügei // ürgülči amitan togolasi ügei nasulagçi eče ekiležü / üneden tegüs dugulugsan burqan nugud törüzü / ür e siltagan u arban baramid un nom ijer / oldamilal ügei amitan i uduridčugui // tendece amitan žagun nasula-qui čag tur inu / tegüs dugulugsan sikamuni burqan törüzü / degedü sudur tarni qojar žüil nom ijer / delegei dekin i sajin mör tur orugulčuğui // udurigulsun nirvan bolugsan u qojina inu / ulam basa döčün qojar on (?) bolugsan tur i / ürünetü u dijana neretü gažar / ülemži qubilgan badma sambu a törüzü / uran argabar ijen enedkeg un gažara / olan žüil ijer amitan i nomugad-gažu / orusigulču sudur tarni jin sasin i (291v.) ulam basa bar agui ta delgeregülcüğü // tegünü qojina časutu tübed un gažar a / degsi nigülesügçi qutugtu jin qubilgan / degedü čakirvart neretü qagan törüzü / temdegtei e sasin nom i sai (?) terigüležüğü // bogda degedü tabtagar üi e tur anu bujan belge bilig un kücün jeketü / bodistva risrong sdabsan neretü qagan törüzü / bundarika badma sambu a kiged i iregülcü / sedkisi ügei nom un kürdün u sume gejid i bajjgulču / sačalal ügei sudur tarni nom ud i delgeregülcü / sajibar odugsan u qamug tagalal i inu bütügezü / sača raksa i nomugadgan odugsan ažuğu // qubilgan bei e tu degedü sasin tur anu / qubilai sečen qagan neretü monggol tur törüzü / qutugtu bagsba lam a ji iregülcü / gurban kölgen ü nom i sajitur delgeregülcüğü aldar tu tere bogda eče terigülcü / ači üre jin üre tur kürtele arban ülekü üjes (?) boltala ber / arigun sudur tarni jin sasin i delgeregülcüğü // basa ber mön tende külüg neretü qagan törüzü / barasi ügei erdem tu čoski odser kelemüči ji iregülcü / baramid sudur tarni jin nom ud i orčigulču / bagsi bolgan amitan u qarangui minggan i arilgagsan ažu / qojina basa togogan temür neretü qagan törüzü / qotala qamug ulus irgen ijen / qojar žüil nom un törüber žirgagulun atala / qutum sian nangkijas irgen e qan orun ijen abtažigui // tegün u qojina monggol ulus tur / degedü burqan u nom čülüjidežü / dalai a tu olan üjes boltala / tečireküi nisvanis un erkeber jabu-žugui // basa ber (292r.) terekü boržigin u urug tur / batu möngke dajun qagan u ači inu / barasi ügei bujan tu altan qagan törüzü bagsba qutug tu dalai lam a ji iregülcü / erdeni sasin nom i delge-regülün sedkižü / edüged nangkijas irgen luga barildužu / erten u aldagsan törü sasin ijen sined-gezü / erdem tu dalai lam a ji orui jin čimeg bolgabai ergüzü / qamug i medegçi tere dalai lama irežü / qarangui monggol irgen i nom ijer gejjigülcü / gajiqamsig qubilgan bei e ben mön tende jegüdgežü / qagan u ordan bolun törügsen üje tur učiražu / erten u irüger un bujan u kücün ijer törügsen / erdeni manggus qolači bagadur tajiži čing üneden ijer erdeni tu badma sambu a bagsi jin ene delgerenggüi čatig i / erkin monggolčin ajalubar orčigul kemen duradugsan tur // ečiđe eke de edügüldežü / ene bei e ji olugsan tur / erdem ten sajid i dagažu / edüi tedüiken ailaqu (?) ji surugsan // sačalal ügei uridu kelemüčid i dagurijažu / seče bügüde ji tokijaldugulun najira-gulugad / saki a türrib kelemürči orčigulču sajitur orusigul un tegüshebei // ene bujan ijer qamug

törül törül tutum tur / ende öglige jin ezen ba qamug amitan erdeni sasin nom un josugar jabužu /  
ecüs tur burqan u qutug i oltugai // kei qura kereg çag ijer urizu / kereg ijer tarijan tamus un  
urgutugai / kesig ebeçin terigüten amurližu / kelekü ulus un törü töhsin boltugai //

Block-print, 292 folios measuring 20 × 60 : 14 × 49 cm.

Mus. As. Petr. Notitiae 1904, No. 38.

Cp. Le Dict de Padma, Padma thang yig, MS. de Lithang, trad. du thibétain par Gustave Charles Toussaint. Bibl. de l'Institut des hautes études chinoises, vol. III, Paris 1933.

### H. 1175

100.000 songs of Milaraspa.

Block-print, 281 folios.

Out on loan in Berlin since 1941.

### H. 1178 A

= H. 72.

Manuscript in black and red, 3 kesegs = 89 folios measuring 16 × 44 : 13 × 38 cm, somewhat damaged.

### H. 1179 A

*Qutugtu vçir ijer ogtalugçi bilig un çinadu kiçagar a kürügßen neretü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Ārya vajracchedikā-prajñā-pāramitā nāma mahāyāna-sūtra.

'phags-pa šes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa rdo-rje gçod-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa çhen-po'i mdo.

Expl. (fol. 99v.): tendeçe krisna qatun naran tegri tur žalbarig tegün lüge.

Manuscript measuring 13 × 40: 10 × 35 cm; folios 2, 11, 13, 96, 97 as well as 100 — missing.

Otani No. 739, Ligeti No. 771, Coll. 3532—35, 3586—87. Max Müller, Translation of Vajracchedikā in the Sacred Books of the East, vol. XLIX, Oxford 1894.

### H. 1179 B

*Qojitu ündüsün.*

bšad-pa'i rgyud.

Bölügs 1—24 of the *Rasijan u širiügen*.

Inc. (1v): tendeçe ilažu tegüs nöçügßen amiduragul un žokijagçi vaiduria gerel tu otaçid un qagan . . .

Manuscript, 52 folios measuring 13 × 42 cm.

### H. 1179 C

*Qutug tu vçir ijer ogtalugçi bilig un çinadu kiçagar a kürügßen neretü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā nāma mahāyāna-sūtra.

'phags-pa šes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa'i rdo-rje gçod-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa çhen-po'i mdo.

(The upper cover bears the erroneous title vçir ijer ebdeççi = Vajravidāraṇā. Otani No. 406, Ligeti No. 412.)

Block-print, 50 folios measuring 18 × 30: 8 × 27 cm.

= 1179 A.

### H. 1180 A—E

= 15. I. 699.

The same block-print edition as this, but without a date.

## H. 1187

*Qutugtu jekede qurijagsan erdini oki jin togtagal neretü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Ärya mahāsaṃnipāta ratnaketu dhāraṇi nāma mahāyānasūtra.

'phags-pa 'dus-pa čhen-po rin-po-čhe tog-gi gzuñs žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo.

Colophon (fol. 136v.): enedkeg un ubadini šilendra bodhi luga üzegči jeke kelemürči helge bilig un bandi sine žasagsan ajalgu bar najiragulču sudur tur orusigulbai // (137r.) erketü qamug i medegči sakiamuni jin nomlagsan erdini jin oki neretü ene togtagal i erkiležü süsüglen tejin (?) monggolčilan kemegsen ijer / edüi tedüi medekü jin činegeber sürüm orčigulba // ker ber endegürel boluğsan bügesü / kedün nom un sakigulsud küližen sojurg a / genedte uçiražu žöb boluğsan bügesü / kesig ebečin dagul sajitur amurliqu boltugai / ünemleküi gurban bei e ji oluğsan burqan u adistid kigeđ / ürgülčide jegüđgel ügei nom un činar ünən u adistid ba / ülemzi qagačal ügei quragsan qowarag ud un adistid ijer / ödür söni nasuda ölzei qutug orusiqu boltugai // ejin bičigülüğsen bujan ijer öglige jin ezen ba bürün / egenegte qotola törül tutum tur / erkin sajin bagsi luga agulču nom sonusugad / ečüs tur qamug i medegči nomun qagan bolqu boltugai // arsalan bogda šakiamuni burqan u nomlaqui čag tur / arban žüg un (137v.) burqan bodistva nar dagan bajasgulčagsan aldar-sigsan erdini jin oki neretü ene togtagal i / ažitü žalan žanggi süsüglen erizü sudur i inu ese olugad // tejin ülü olun sedkil tegen küsen atala / tejün i (?) monggol un keleber orčigulgažu abqu ji sonusču bajasun / tedüi jagaran čagasun i inu beledüged / darui tur nigen kedün edür un žagura bičigülčü tegüsbei // ejin bičigülüğsen bujan ijer öglige jin ezen u / erizü küseğsen bügüde dörbel ügei bütüzü bürün / ebečin ügei ordu agulan ed tawar qotola büridüged / ečüs tur qamug i medegči bolqu jin siltagan boltugai //

Block-print, 137 folios (fol. 1 and 3 missing) measuring 18 × 52 : 13 × 47 cm. Soweat damaged.

Otani No. 806, Ligeti No. 895.

## H. 1190

= 15. I. 699.

The same block-print edition as this, but without a date.

## H. 1191 A

*Rasijan u žirügen naiman kesikütü niguča wadis un ündüsün* (a part).

Inc. (fol. 1v.): tendėče ilažu tegüs nögčigsen amituragul un žokijagči vajidurija gereltü otačis un qagan burqan ber tere dijan eče bosču / türbel ügei kemekü em . . .

Fol. 10v. ends: sudal barižu ebečin i nigur i taniqui ene terigün hölög.

Expl. (13v.): burqan u gažar tur ada qubiluğsan.

Manuscript, 13 folios (14- om.) measuring 8 × 49 cm.

## H. 1191 B

Dpal-ldan lha-mo'i šo-mo mron-šis 'khrul-med 'din gsal-bar =

*Tegüs čogtu ökin tegri šai sin tölge qudal ügei egün ü dotur douturaqai.*

The Mongolian interlinear text begins on fol. 2r., ends on fol. 97.

Manuscript, 100 folios measuring 7 × 24 cm.

## H. 1191 C

*Ebedčiten i irekü ürleg* (?).

Inc. (1v.): bars taolai qojar süne tur ebedgülei (?) tur ükükü / güne tur jasun simedkü / . . .

Expl. (22v.): tabun öngge tü duran a doruna žüg dalan alqu tere.

Manuscript, 22 folios (end missing) measuring 8 × 20 : 6 × 23 cm.

### H. 1191 D

Fol. 1 with the title missing.

Inc. (fol. 2r.) qarugsan tojin i ču nigen dagun ijer bolgaqu bügesü . . .

Expl. (fol. 13r.); śabi ber burqan kiged blam a terigüten e aci qarigulqu jin tula mandal ergül üjled / blam a ber ölzei tu silüg terigüten i ali žokis tai ber ügüle //

Manuscript, 12 folios measuring 8 × 31 cm.

### H. 1191 E

Folios 1—22 missing. The colophon gives a title: *Edürün mergen qajisun*.

Manuscript, 13 folios measuring 9 × 30 : 7 × 23 cm.

### H. 1191 F

*Rasijan u žirügen naiman kesigütü niguča ubadis un ündüsün eče izagur un ündüsün kemekü.*

(The 6:th bölüg of the Amṛta-hṛdaya-aṣṭa-aṅga-guhya-upadeśa-tantra.)

Colophon (18v.): sajin edür bičižu tegüsbe /

Manuscript, 18 folios measuring 9 × 22; numbered in Tibetan and Manchu.

### H. 1829

= 15. 1. 699. *Tabun sakija* (= Pañcarakṣā).

I (36 fol.): *Jeke minggan i masi darugsan neretü sudur* (= Mahāsāhasrapramardana sūtra).

II (40 fol.): *Jeke tagus sibagun uqagan u qatun* (= Mahāmāyūrividya-rājñi).

III (30 fol.): *Qutug tu öber e dagagči jeke uqagan u tarnis un qatun* (= Ārya mahāpratisarividya-rājñi).

IV (17 fol.): *Jeke serigün tün neretü sudur* (= Mahāśītavani; in the end the title reads bsilbai sita bani sutra).

V (10 fol.): *Jeke niguča tarni ji dagan barigči sudur* (= Mahāmantra anudhāri).

Colophon (V fol. 10r.): enedkeg un bandita silen dra bodi kiged inčana (!) sidi ba / saski a braba / gurban merged žokijažu / tübed un jeke kelemüči bandi je ses di kemekü / sine žasagsan ajalguš ijer tübed kelen orčigulču orusigulugsan u qojin a / ene qutug tu tabun ajimag tu nom erdeni / daidu qoto da kemen esen temür neretü kümün duradqun ügülegežü / sakialig ud un tojin serab sengge tübed eče monggol un ajalguš ber orčigulba //

Fine manuscript in black and red. 133 numbered folios measuring 20,5 × 63,5 : 15 × 61 cm.

### H. 1830 a

= H. 5811.

No colophon.

Fine manuscript in black and red. 28 folios measuring 21 × 61 : 16 × 50 cm.

### H. 1830 b

= H. 1187.

The colophon ends (fol. 149r.): qamug i medegči nom un qagan bolqu boltugai. Thereafter follows a dhāraṇi in sanskrit: om bajar sattva samayam anupālaya etc.

Fine manuscript in black and red. 149 folios measuring 21 × 61 : 16 × 50 cm.

Cp. H. 1830 a.

**H. 2629**

An astrological treatise with figures.

Manuscript in form of a Chinese book; 22 double folios measuring 22 × 11 cm, in cloth covers; badly damaged.

**H. 2866**

*Em un neres ba čidal ügüleksen debter.*

Inc. (3r.): namo guru bidiria a jin gereltü otačis un qagan tur mörgümü tegün u ailadtugsan nomlaqui jin ündüsün u dotura eče em un čidal i nigen nigen ijer jambar metü üzegülügen i tere tere josugar bičibei anu /

A catalogue of a collection of lamaistic drogues. Contains 229 items in Tibetan and Mongolian, compiled by Djongna Märin.

Expl. (22r.): žirgutugar tur amitan eče garqu em žüil kemebesü, eber, jasu, miqa, čisu, süsü, ügegü, tariki, arasu, kimusu, üsü, sigesü, bagasu, hükü bei e lüge arban gurban žüil nomlagsan bolbažu tere bügüde ji bičizü ese čidabai //

Manuscript in form of a Chinese book; 24 double folios measuring 20 × 16 cm.

**H. 2902 Å**

A printed cloth measuring 61 × 47 containing seven verses pronounced by the seven Buddhas heretofore, in Tibetan, Manchu, Mongolian and Chinese.

**H. 3222**

Di-ni-las gañ-gis dmyal bdañ-gi dvags gañ-du skye rgyu-las ris-mo-dañ bśad sbrags-nas 'jigs-pas čams-su len-te lam bzañ-la 'jug-rgyu'i man nag =

*Ene anu jambar üjles ber tamu birid tu törükü učir-i ilgan salgažu busaburi irug nom i qamtu tan üjledügsen eče ajun angqarazu abubasu sajin mör tur oroqu jin ubadis.*

Tibetan text with a partial Mongolian translation, illustrated, partially in colours.

Block-print, 397 folios measuring 9 × 43 cm, numbered by a m<sup>2</sup> with Tibetan numbers.

**H. 3310 A**

= H. 1179 C.

Expl. (fol. 58r.): . . . iladda magtabai // bilig un činadu kižagar a kürügsen ogtalugči včir bodi qutug un mör togolaqui neretü jeke kölgen sudur tegüsbe //

Fine manuscript in gold on black with blue margins; 58 folios measuring 11 × 29: × 22 cm.

**H. 3310 B**

*Qutug tu čaglası ügei nasun kiged belge bilig tu jin neretü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Ārya aparimita-āyurjñāna-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra. '

'phags-pa che-dañ ye-šes dpag-tu-med-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo.

Fol. 1r. bears the title in shortened form: *qutugtu ajusi neretü sudur*).

Colophon (fol. 16r.): egüni orčigulugsan ilgal anu edür tedüi bui bolbasu ber egüni arigun ezen qamug i medegči dara nada nasun kiged čaglası ügei belge bilig tu jin ene sudur i (16v.) tajilburi žokijagsan dagalal luga žokildugulču čogtu egüride orusigsan nom un jeke kürijen tur keb tur čigulugsan bolai tegün tur sitüjü über busud qamug amitan ükül ügei nasun u erke ji olqu boltugai / dge'ö (17r.) legsho //

Fine manuscript in gold on black with blue margins. 17 folios measuring 8 × 23:5,5 × 17 cm. Pagination on rectos in Tibetan and Manchu (!).

Otani No. 361, Ligeti No's 366 and 367, Coll. No's 3539—41. M. Walleser, *Aparimitāyur-jñāna-nāma mahāyānasūtram*, SBHeid. 12. Heidelberg 1916.

### H. 3310 C

= H. 5811.

The same colophon as in this.

Fine manuscript in gold on black with blue margins. 88 folios measuring 8 × 30:5 × 24 cm.

### H. 3501

= H. 63.

10 kesegs, 29 bölögs.

Block-print, 224 folios measuring 11 × 52:7 × 48 cm.

### H. 3504

= 15. I. 699.

The same block-print edition as this, but without a date.

### H. 3505 a

*Jeke bodi mör un žerge* (in marg. *Bodhi mör.*).

Lam-rim čhen-po.

Inc.: namo guru mañjughosaya / qotala tegüs küldi sajin bujan ijer egüdügšen bei e / kižaglası ügei amitan . . .

Expl. (f. 384r.): jeke budiklis un mör un žerge eče bodistva narun jabudal tur surulčaqui ber dijan u čag tur amurlin orusıqu i jambar ijer surulčaqu josun i nomlan barabai //

Block-print, 384 folios measuring 11 × 57:8 × 48 cm.

Cp. H. 3505 b.

### H. 3505 b

*Bodhi mör un žerge*.

Lam-rim čhen-po. (The title is only given in marg.: *mör un žerge*.)

Inc. (1v.): getülgeğči mañjuśrı jin ölmei jin lingua tur bisireküi ber mörgümü / alimad i nomlagsan ijer . . .

Expl. (204r.): umara tu rasgring ilagugsad un qagalga orun u gejid arslan qada jin agulas tur sajitur najiragulugsan bičigči anu bujan u sajin čogtu bolai / egüber śasin erdeni i qagalga eče qamug žüg bügüde tur delgeregülün čidaqu boltugai //

Block-print, 205 folios measuring 11 × 57:8 × 48 cm.

Cp. 3505 a.

G. C. Cybikov, *Lam-rim čhen-po I: 1—2*. Vladivostok 1910—13.

### H. 3510

*Ilažu tegüs nöğčigšen burqan bagsi jin gegen u tejin arıgun namtar čatig gajıqamsig žokıjal i endegürel ügegüi e ügülegšen / sajiabar odugsan u degedü jabudal un sang kemegdeki.*

(Śākyamuni rnam-thar.)

2 pothis:

A: žüils I—XIV, 250 folios, B: žüils XV—XXIV, 292 folios.

Two colophons: I (286r.): ilažu tegüs nögčigsen burqan u gajiqamsig čatig namtar žokijal i ende-gürel ügegüi e ügüleksen sajibar odugsan u degedü jabudal un sang kemegdekü egün i inu / gün arin nom i ajiladqu jin nidün tegülder nom un bogda čag kelemürči nom un qagan u žarlig ijer simtan (?) duradgagsan ba / busu olan überün sabinar ber duradgagsan u ildar a / burqan u žarlig kiged / čiqula žang (?) tu merged un žokijagsan itegemčiležü bolqu sastir nugud tur sudulun (286v.) üjledüksen büged / jeke niguča mergen narana jin sudur / arban nom tu jin sudur / jeke nirvan u sudur nugud eče nomlagsan gün arin ubadis ijer sajitur qagugsan (?) jeke kölgen u sudur nugud un kücü ber burqan u žokijal namtar üčügülkü jin sambaga ečidtü (?) / sakia jin ajagqa takimlig saqam un tojin sajin qubi tu nom un dalaı bujan erketü jin ajimag kemegdekü ber / ulabar sira kemegdekü ere modun bars žilun udirasun sara jin čagan u žüg un sine jin naiman a ilagugsan burqan ber nom un kürdün i erkigülügsen ilangui a jeke adis tu čagun sajin edür e / arslan u čag un tügel (?) tur tegüsken / tegün čogtu bragur kjid jeke nom un qural un gažar a najiragulugsan egüber ču bei e ten qamug amitan ber čidagči jin erketü burqan u žokijal tur batu süsüg i olqu bol-tugai // (287r.) sine nemegsen keb un žorilga ügülelge anu / ... mörgümü etc. (288r.) ... žoriqui jin irüger un üges anu // ... (290r.) ... ölzei ügülekü jin üges anu // ... (291v.) ... // kemekü edeger üges i šabrunğ ber eblegülcü tegüsgebei // burqan bagsi jin gajiqamsig žokil (!) čatik egün i čaqar köbegetü čagan qosigun u najimatugar sumun u erdeni tusi kemekü qotala bajasgulangtu süm e jin šabrunğ tojin lobsang samrub nima ber degedüs un žokijal nugud eče tegüzü ebelgülün sudulčagsan (?) i mön tere blam a jin ači büged šabrunğ sedačendarčai (?) keb sejilegülcü qojar boti bolgan talbigsan ene bujan tur dagan bajasulčagsan šira qara öglige jin ežed un (292r.) qarsi nögücel amurliqun nasun bujan arbidču namur žirgalang qotala tegüsüged burqan u qutug i darui türgen e olqu jin tula žorin irügemüi //

Colophon II: taičing ulus un bürindü žasagči jin arbatugar on u namurun terigün sara jin arban naiman u sajin edür e bičin tegüsgežü sejilegülüged / ene keb un modun i jeke ulus un bagsi žanggi a erdeni jin gegen e ergüzü süng žü se süm e jin dergede büküi tjig čing šu po kemekü nom un posan tur tusilažu talbibai // mangğalam //

Blockprint, dated 1871, 542 folios measuring 20 × 60 : 14 × 55 cm.

### H. 3511

*Qutugtu tarnis un qurijangui žungdui kemegdekü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Gzuñs-bsdus.

Inc. (1v.): ügüleši sanasi kelesi ügei bilig un činadu kürügsen ülü törüküi ülü törüdküi ogtargu jin mön činar ...

Expl. (452r.): ... amugulang degedü tere ölzei qutug ende sajitur orusitugai // mamğhalam // Thereafter 8 folios paginated separately: the catalogue of the contents of the work.

Colophon (7r.): ... agudtugsan det žasag un terigün blama žangčir ba prajñā samudra ber duradugsan u nigura tojin dürsü tu žalagu vakindra dharma samudra neretü ber / jeke orun begčing un žandan žuu (7v.) jeke süme tur najiragulugsan u bicigči anu sinčileküi tegülder daga a bču nđen čhos' bor (?) bolai / egün ijer ču ilagugsan u šasin erdeni qamug žüg tur delgeren delgerežü ünide orusitugai // ai a tegüs dugulugsan arslan bogda šakiamuni abural tegün ü žarlig naiman tümen dörben minggan togatan eče / asuru gün anu tarnis ba sudur nügüd eče tegüzü abugsan / aldarsizu gzuñs-bsdus kemegdekü jeke kölgen sudur egüni // mañjuśri šingču örüsijel tu bogda nom un qagan u žarlig ijer / manglai degedü siregetü nojan čhos rye (?) t?u gegen kiged / magun qud josun u mandal agudtugsan blam a dbings gčarči ten ber / masi inetelen žöbsijeldüžu sajin žarlig

ud i mekelegsen (?) ene tarnis un qurijangui ji debter un türi inu ücügüge bügesü üzemžitei sajin büged / temdegtei e amitan bügüde žalažu (8r). jahuqui (?) tur amur boltugai kemen degere ügei jamantaka jin süme jin terigün blam a / tegüs bisireltü sürüg tegülde ŕagšabad kemekü ber // kižiježu keb tur bütügegsen ücügügen ene bujan ijer / ketürgei šasin erdeni delgerežu . . . // kemegsen egüni guuširi kemegdekü sge-long dharma vadi ber najiragulgusan bolai // maᅡghalaᅡ //

Block-print, 6 fascicles, 461 folios measuring 11 × 52 : 7 × 45 cm.

Cp. 15. 1. 697—698.

#### H. 3513 a

*Rasijan u žirügen naiman kesigütü niguča ubadis un ündüsün.*

Amᅡta-hᅡdaya-aᅡᅡa-aᅡga-guhya-upadeša-tantra.

Colophon (IV 98) : asuru uduridugči otači burqan u nomlagsan / amitan u siltagan üre jin žo-balang eče tonilgagči / amtatu rasijan u žirügen em un dörben ajimag ündüsün i angqa urida jin qagučin orčigulan a luga žokildugul un // ese orčigulgusan ba endeküü bolugsan metü ji / erdem tu merged un tajilburi nugud luga nejilegülcü / egeren küsegči kereglegčid un duradugusan tur sidüžu / erke čoras rči jin neretü guuš mingčuur rduvarče ber orčigulbai // udqa üje tur endegürežu burugu (?) bolugsan bui bügesü / ugugada (?) merged arigudgan žasaqui ji ažilugsan üzemüi onužu žöb bolugsan bujan ijer eke (?) qamug amitan / otači burqan u [. . . ? . . .] i olqui siltagan bolgan irügemüi // sarva manggalam //

Block-print, somewhat unclear; 4 kesegs, 304 folios measuring 12 × 55 : 8 × 51 cm.

Coll. No's 3568 and 3606. Vāgbhaᅡa's Aᅡᅡāᅡghaᅡdayasaᅡhitā, aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übertragen, mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Indices von Luise Hilgenberg und Willibald Kirfel. Leiden 1941. A Pozdnejev, Učebnik tibetskoj medicinu (S mongoljskago i tibetskago perevel). St Petersburg 1908.

#### H. 3513 b

= H. 4684

Sman-gyi rgyud-bži'i glegs-ba ma bar-du bžeᅡs-pa'i kha-byaᅡ = *Em un dörben ündüsün u debter i keb tur bajigulgusan u temdeg.*

Tibetan text with a Mongolian interlinear translation.

Block-print, 3 folios measuring 12 × 55 : 8 × 51 cm.

Mus. As. Petr. Notitiae 1904, No. 28.

#### H. 3516 a

Miᅡ-gi rgya-mcho'i rgyab gnon dag-yig čhen-po skad-kyi rgya-mcho 'ma skad rigs gsal-byed ᅡi-ma čhen-po žes-bya-ba = *Nere jin dalai jin darulga žab dag jig üges un dalai ba üges un žiül i dutagulun (?) üjledügči jeke naran kemekü.*

A Tibeto-Mongolian dictionary.

The first 43 folios written in Tibetan.

Then a new title: miᅡ-gi rgya-mcho 'ma chig-gi rgya-mcho žes-bya-ba (in Tibetan only).

Expl. (fol. 221r.) : . . . amitan a tusa jin tulada anu maᅡjuᅡri thon-mi sambhota jin guči tu kiged belge oruqui jin udan a čilen e degü ked žokijagsan bolai // ölzei qutug sajin bujan badaraqui a boltugai //

Block-print, 22 folios measuring 12 × 56 : 8 × 52 cm.

Coll. No. 3572.



### H. 3516 b

Dag-yig chuñ-ñu gdul-bya'i sñin mun-sel-byed ñi-ma stoñ-gi dod-zeñ zes-bya-ba = *Üčüg* [ . . ? . . ]  
*nomugadgalana jin žirügen u qaranggui ji arilgan üjledküi tur minggan naran u gerel.*

A Tibeto-Mongolian dictionary.

Expl. (104r.): 'bro-ba rab 'byams-pa kun-dga 'rgya-meho kemekü ber öber un žil žiran dörben tu čag da kürdü sajitur garqu arban-qojitugar un tejin nomčilan tu kemekü jin ere sirui nogai žil un jisün sara tur bičigsen u bujan ijer nomugadgalan a amitan bügüde jin žirügen u qaranggui bügüde ji arilgan čidaqui a boltugai // ölzei qutug //

Block-print, dated 1717 (?), 104 folios measuring 12 × 56:8 × 52 cm.

Coll. No. 3572.

### H. 3516 c

Rmi-lam-gyi legs-bśad-pa'i šel-dkar-me-loñ zes-bya-ba = *žegüden u idene sajitur nomlagsan čagan sil un toli kemekü.*

Block-print, 8 folios measuring 12 × 56:8 × 52 cm.

### H. 3516 d

Brda'-yig miñ-do gsal-bar bye-ña-ba'i zla-ba'i 'od-snañ zes-bya-ba = *Ncre udqa ji dotodgagči saran u gegen gerel tüge jin bičig.*

Inc. (1v.): namo guru arya tareya (= Ātreya ?) / ka-ra = siker . . .

Colophon (137v.): . . . jeke čing ulus un qagan törü gereltü (= srid gsal) jin arban naimatugar on arban dörbetüger rab-byuñ sira noqai žil tur sajitur nejigtelegülbei // om svasti / ene kü tügijen u bičig i keb tur / süsü öngge terigüten sajisijaqui a žokis tu erdem ud ijer (138r.) sajitur čimegsen jekirügči namo kemegtei ber / čagan mönggü dalan lang i ergüzü siltagan i bütügebei / eki bičig i inu dge-sloñ dag dbañ 'od-zer kiged / dge-sloñ thos-bsam dpal-'bar qojagula bičibe / keb un bičig i bičigči anu qojar josun tur / tejin sinžilel masida agužirigsan (?) čañ-gi mčhog-gsum bolai (138v.) [ . . ? . . ] sigügči anu tojin dge-legs-te kemegdekü büged / egün e baraldulag tu ele büküi ber orulan / eke bolugsan qamug amitan šemegtele jin qurun tur törüzü bürün / obug tegüs (= rigs-ldan-gsuñ) qagan u žarlig un čog edlekü boltugai / keb un temdeglel egün i ču (139r.) alaša lha rnam pas ügülegsen e sajin bujan arbidtugai // ene keb i nejislel qotan u sung žu se jin sudur un bu-ša tur orusigulbal //

Block-print (dated 1838), 139 folios measuring 11 × 54:7 × 50 cm.

(Cp. Coll. Ligeti p. 125.)

### H. 3517

*Qutug tu sajin čag un neretü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Ārya bhadra-kalpikā nāma mahāyāna sūtra (written °badira kalpingga°).

'phags-pa bskal-pa bzañ-po-pa zes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo.

6 fascicles, 26 bölögs.

Colophon I (XXVI 23v.): enedkeg un ubadiai a Bidia kara singga kiged / tübed un kelemürči bande čogtu egesig tübedčilen orčigulču / jekede üzegči kelemürči anu bande čog i čogčalagsan üžežü / tübed ün ajalgu ber sudur tur bagulgabai // ene sajin čag un neretü jeke kölgen sudur edeger monggol un ajalgu tur ügei jin tulada / endegürel ügei dededü bilge bilig tu / eldeb žüil kölgen i josugar onogči čaqar ulus taki / guru guli ökin tegri jin qubilgan burqan u / gür ulus un tusa jin tulada (24r.) žarlig bolun duradugsan tur / kündi čečeg un oi ese delgereged kü hügetele / güñ

ünemlekü jin udqas i čikin tur sonusugsan ojun u činegeber tajičing tajiži monggolčilan orčigulbai // donrub brasi bande manžusiri tabunung ažu edeger bagsi nar bičibei // ene orčigulugsan bujan u küčün ijer . . .

Colophon II (XXVI 25r.): engke amugulang un tabtugar on gal morin žil un žun u terigün sara jin sine jin sajin edür e tegüsgebei / ene bujan ijer ogtargui lug a sazaqu amitan enelun bükü žobalang ud eče tonilugad / erkin minggan burqan u adistid orusižu / erketü qamug i medegči jin qutug i türgen e olquboltugai // om subra tista bažar je suvaqa //

Block-print, blocks dated 1666; 523 folios measuring 20 × 55: 14 × 49 cm.

Otani No. 762, Ligeti No. 849, Coll. No's 3520—21.

### H. 3519

*Gurban törülkiten u angqarun abqu jin bodi mör un žerge.*

Lam-rim čuñ-ñu (in marg. *Baqa mör*).

Expl. (253v.): kemen tübed un gereči smon-lam rabs 'bam-pa kiged monggol un guusi n(gegdba)n bcod-pa ajagqa (254r.) takimlig ber orčigulugsan i mön gereči ber sigün arigudgabai / tejin atala bertegčin u ojun ese arilugsan kiged endegürel tu jin tula üges nidana tur endegüregsen bui bügesü sidurqu orusigči merged žasan sojurga / mañhalañ //

Block-print, 254 folios measuring 11 × 56: 8 × 49 cm.

### H. 3520

*Bodi sedkil tegüsügsen köke qogolai tu saran kögege neretü sibagun u toguči orčilang bükün i žiriügen ügei kemen medegčid un čikin u čimeg kemen.*

Inc. (1v.): namo guru mañjuśri ārya dānapatyā / bodi sedkil . . . čimeg neretü ji danang bunggas bügüde medeküi e amur i erkiležü ügüleksen kemekü . . .

Tibetan proper names are also written in Tibetan characters. The text as well as the colophon unclear and partially difficult to read.

Expl. (166r): . . . ötter türgen olqu jin siltagan boltugai //

Block-print, 166 folios measuring 11 × 54: 8 × 49.

Coll. No. 3601.

### H. 3521

*Žüglen itegel šasin žula mahā bazra dhara žanggiya ješes bstanbai rgyal mchan śri badra jin törül un üjes lüge selte jin čatig / gurban orun i üžesküleng bolgagči gagča čimeg / sajin nomlal un čindamani jin erike kemegdekü terigün debter.*

Colophon (fol. 308r.): kemen žüglen itegel šasin u dededü naran bolugsan lčañ-skya erdeni ye-šes bstan-pa'i rgyal-mchan dpal bzañ-po jin čatig i keb tur egüdüksen ijen žoriqu jin irügel un üges i rwa sgreñ qutugtu nağ-dbañ ye-šes chul-khrims rgyal-mchan ber najiragulugsan bujan bolai . . . (309v.) . . . ölzei jin jeke tögmel bujan tegüsügsen ilanggui tu tajičing ulus un törü šasin i tedküküi e / ügede bolun alagačil ügei iregsen törül üjes un jeke tübed namtar i činu / ürgülči nom un kürdün i masida erkigülügči jeke gejid jung ga kung tur monggol tur orčigulugsan bujan egüber / über ba busud bükün ber törül tutum tur inu tegri kümün ü bei e ji olču büriün / . . . (310r.) . . . kemegsen anu monggol tur orčigulugsan terigüten u žalbaril dagusqal un silüg ud bolai // kemegsen egüni mön kü abural dededü bogda jin bei e ojir a jabugsan süsüg tegülder šabi tamagan u žasag büged / tun süme jin tā blam a rgya-mcho ber kežijenggüjilen / tübed un orun a žokijagsan ačitu bogda jin namtar čatig ijen inu monggol tur delgeregülküi e süsügležü / najiraltu najiramtaqu ordun u

dörben surgaguli ji erkilen žakirugči žasag mkhan-po tā bla-ma šes-rab-'od-zer mchan-ñid-rchañ un surgagči blama eče debšigsen oi čijan (?) kesküi tā bla-ma 'jigs-med tan tur qadag selte ergün kündülel i güičedgežü / tübed üsüg i inu monggol tur orčigulugad / keb tur bütügežü / (310v.) bogda gegen tan u monggol öglige jin ežed un süsüglen üžeküi jin gün dagalal tur kilbar bolgaqu bolban kemen simtan duradgagsan a / edeber külijen abugad / keregsel ed un žerge ber qabsuran bajasulčizu bürün / üsüg bičikü kiged / keb sejilegülkü terigüten u učir a / ajumsig ügei quguratu jin alban u guusi jin nere ji egüregsen üčüken žaliqai tu . . . mchan-ñid grwa-chañ un šabi olan i sonusugsan šarmani jin josu tu ci-lu jin sanvar tu 'jigs-med bkra-šis kemekü bagši žogan egeris šidügsen e / minu bujan satun ču mön kü jekede kečižežü / busu olan mergečüd eče ulamčilan nodalagsagar kü / eke dörbed (311r.) üsüg i gool bolgan barimtalagsan u deger e / monggol üges tur ajalqu bolqu üges kiged / kilbara medegtekü üges ba / basaču bogda jin busu olan namtar tur bajizu / aldarsigsan üges udan a ji soligdaqu bolugužai kemen tejin kü nemežü qasugsagar / üges un ildar a bolai orčigulugsan kiged / üsüg un ildar a endeküü tešij e bičigsen edeger bükün i ber / . . . // ölžei boltugai // mangalam //

Block-print, 311 folios measuring 15 × 55 : 10 × 47 cm.

### H. 3522

*Čagan lingqu a nceretü degedü nom jeke kölgen sudur.*

Saddharma-puñđarika nāma mahāyāna sūtra.

Dam-pa'i čhos pad-ma dkar-po žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo.

13 kesegs, 27 bölögs.

Colophon (274v.): enedkeg un ubadiaia surendra bodhi kiged tübed un jekede üžegči kelemürči bande sna-rnam jñan a ajimag ber öčin orčigulču sudur bagulgabai.

Block-print, somewhat unclear; 275 folios measuring 11 × 51 : 7 × 45 cm.

Otani No. 781, Ligeti No. 868.

### H. 3527

Byaň-čhub lam-gyi rim-ba'i dmar khrid thams-čad mkhyen-bar bgron-pa'i bde-lam 'žes-bya-ba = *Bodhi mör un žerge jin ulagan ködelgekiü qamug i ajiladugči tur ircküi anur mör kemegdekü.*

Tibetan text with a Mongolian interlinear translation.

Block-print, 97 folios measuring 10 × 52 : 7 × 43 cm.

### H. 3532

*Jogačaris un erketü degedü getülgegči milaraspa jin rnam tar / nirvan kiged qamug i ajiladugči jin mör i üžegüleksen kemegdekü.*

Inc. (1v.): namo guru / üneger nom un bei e tegri jin mör un mungqag usun barigčid un ündüsün . . .

Expl. (233v.): un morin žil un čagan sarajin tergel edür / qamug tur aldarsigsan köke qota jin emüne teki / nom tu tjib ner e tu qarsi tur (234v.) tegün ijer orusigulun orčigulbai // ogtargui luga seče qamug amitan / orčigulugsan ene bujan ijer keb kežiže nom un köngergerge ji deledtüged / nuta amugulang ijer orusitugai / tegüsbe / mangghalambhavatu //

Fol. 334r. begins a *keb un temdeg* with own pagination (1r.—3r.); expl. (2v.): . . . kemen jeke erketü yogacari getülgegči mila hasa bajar kemen nere aldar ugugada aldarsigsan ali tegün u čatig kiged lakša togatan dagulal qovar un keb un orusil egün i tegün süsüg tu pho blo bzañ don grub un küsegsen josugar lčañs gya lalida bcar najiragulugsan ijer ölžei orusitugai.

Block-print, 237 folios measuring 11 × 43 : 8 × 37 cm.

### H. 3539

*Jamantaka jin dbang sudur.*

Inc. (fol. 1v.): namo guru mañjughośaya / indra nila jin öngge / tegülter dürsü bei e jin qotala ji gejiğülügçi jeke jasun u žirgugan čimeg.

Expl. (fol. 58r): dā blama blo bcan bsam gdan bsim dan duradugsan tur sačužu (?) / tojin u dürsü tu jałdani üjle tü vagindra dharma sagara kemegetkü ber / mañjughośa degedü jeke qagan u begčing un jamantaka süm e jin žasag blam a isi bal dan dakižu keb tur sejiłgebei / egüber žüglen itegel nom un qagan jeke bcong kapa (?) jin šasin erdeni delgereged delgeren önide orusiqu bol-tugai // mamghalaṃ // ene keb i inu sung ču se jin nom un busa tur talbibai //

Block-print, 58 folios measuring 10 × 45:8 × 40 cm.

### H. 3544 a

*Jamantaka sudur.*

Inc. (1v.) om a loka mañjuśrī jamantaka ilgal ügei jin ölmei tur bisireküi mörgün itegemüi / . . .

Colophon (44r): . . . bičigči anu jeke kižijel tu gelong / keb i üžežü sejiłgegči gsol nom to bolai //

Block-print, 44 folios measuring 11 × 47:8 × 41 cm.

Cp. H. 3539.

### H. 3544 b

*Mahākāla sudur.*

Inc. (1v.): namo mahākālāya / nidüber üžegči erketü nigülesügči jin tejin qubilugsan ijer . . .

Colophon (27r): . . . delgerenggüi gün arin bisilgal un žang üjle egüni / degsi öber busud a tusalaqu bujan tu sedkil ijer / temdegtei e olan a delgeregülküi ji sedkižu bürün / det žasag un terigün blam a dbyangs gcarci brañ ja samudra ber // sine sajitur sigüžü žasan orčigulbasu žokistai metü kemen / simdal ijer kižijen tebden duraddugsan u tula / siltagan tübed surgaguli jin bagsi büged qud kelen i ügülegči / silemel guusi satan 'jin čhos tar gelong ber // uridu erten u qagučin orčigulugsan bičig eče / üde ügegüi e qagučin ajalgad i anu üliu tebčin nejilegülcü bürün / üneger sigün arigudgažu sin e orčigulugad udal ügei šağšabad dā blama keb tur sejiłgebei // kedüi bükü endegsen ijen / bural un orun bükün e namančilasugai / ker ba učiraču žüg bolugsan tedeger bujad ijen / kelekü amitan nugud un tusa žirgalang un sečekü orun / ketürkei e burqaṅ u šasin erdeni žüg čag bükün e delgeretügei bujan ijer / mamghalaṃ //

Block-print, 27 folios measuring 11 × 47:8 × 41 cm.

### H. 3544 c

*Nom un qagan sudur.*

Inc. (1v.): ilažu tegüs nögčigsen jeke včir ajuğulugči mañjuśrī kilinglegsen bei e tur mörgümü / . . .

Colophon (20r): . . . degedü sudarasun balgasun begčing taki / tengsel ügei bogda yamāntaka süme jin / det žasag un terigün blam a dbyaṅs 'čarči ber / temdegtei e šasin ba amitan u tusa jin tula orčigul kemen duraddugsan žagur a // bagatur včir un žokijagsan qatagatu dotugadu nom un qagan u / bagargaqu metü dörben üjles i bütügegči gün arin ene žang üjle ji / belen uridu jin qagučin monggol un bičig ud lüge / basa guusi čhos rgya mcho jin orčigulugsan i nejilegülcü / türbel sine arigun a žasag büridgežü / tübed surgaguli jin bagsi blam a guusi bstan 'zan čhos 'dar orčigulugad / dugulugsan yamāntaka jin süme deki dā blama šağšabad gelong / tüdel ügei keb

tur sajitur sejilgebei bürin ijer // kedüi bükü endegsen ijen blama jidam un ilede namancilasugai ... //

Block-print, 20 folios measuring 11 × 47:8 × 41 cm.

Mus. As. Petr. Notitiae 1904, No. 37.

#### H. 3544 d

*Ökin tegri sudur.*

Inc. (iv.): jisün küsel un degedü ji öggügçi ündüsün blama luga /

Colophon (35r): ... tübed surgaguli jin bagsi büged terigün bla [ma . ? . . .] 'jin čhos dar ber /  
tulgur urida orčigulugsan bičig ba guusi čhos rgya mcho jin orčigulugsan bičig qojar i / todorqai  
tala (?) nejilegülcü qagučin ajalgu eče ülü quldagul un / tüdel ügegüi e arigun a žasag sin e sajitur  
orčigulbai // . . . // bičigçi anu jeke kižijel tu gelong keb i üzežü sejilgegçi gsol nom tu bolai //  
mamghalaṃ //

Block-print, 35 folios measuring 11 × 47:8 × 41 cm.

#### H. 3544 e

*Bisman tegri sudur.*

Inc. (iv.): jeke qagan olan sonusqal tu jin köbegün tur takil gtoorma ergükü jin žerge siddhis  
un sang neretü . . .

Expl. (11r.): . . . qamug törülkiten amitan ükükü jadaqu žobalang eče tonilqu boltugai // ölžei  
qutug i boltugai // mamghalaṃ /

Block-print, 11 folios measuring 11 × 47:8 × 41 cm.

Coll. No. 3595.

#### H. 3547

*Badaranggüi usniša neretü tarni.*

(Uṣṇiṣojjvala nāma dhāraṇi.)

Block-print, 3 folios measuring 9 × 25:5 × 20 cm.

Ligeti No. 229; cf. Otani No. 224.

#### H. 3572

*Qutug tu üjles un qannug tüüdker i tejün büged arilgagči neretü tarni.*

Ārya sarva-karma-āvaraṇa-viśodhanī nāma dhāraṇi.

'phags-pa las-kyi sgrib-pa thams-čad rnam-par sbyod-pa žes- bya-ba'i gzuṅs.

Tibetan text with a Mongolian interlinear translation.

Expl. (fol. 10r.): . . . keb tur sejilgeküi čag tur keb un žokijal ene metü nigen i kereglemüi  
kemegsen u josugar bka'-'gyur-pa mergen nomun qagan ber najiragulugsan u bičigçi inu duradugči  
bilig un dalai bolai // manggalaṃ //

Block-print, 10 fol. measuring 8 × 21:6 × 17 cm.

Otani No. 146, Ligeti No. 146.

#### H. 3573

*Qutuḡtu majidari öbesüben aman aldagsan neretü tarni.*

Ārya maitrīpratijñā nāma dhāraṇi.

'phags-pa byams-pas dam-bčas-pa žes-bya-ba'i gzuṅs.

Tibetan text with a Mongolian interlinear translation.

Expl. (7r.) : . . . qabtasun tur čogulgagsan u žokijal ene metü nigen i kereglemüi kemen da a blama gušri ajagqa (v.) takimlig bilig un dalai duradugsan tur nom ügülegči lcañ-skya-rol-ba'i rdo-rje najiragulbai / manggalam bhavantu /

Block-print, 7 fol. measuring 9 × 23 : 6 × 17 cm.

Otani No. 330, Ligeti No. 335.

#### H. 3581

*Bodisattva jin čindamani jin erike.*

Bodhisattva-maṅyāvali.

byañ-čhub sems-dpa'i nor-bu'i phreñ-ba.

The fol. 1r. bears the title: arban žirgugan dusul un žang üjledür ečiđe jin nom eče nemežü kereglekü čindamani jin erike. / köbegün öberün öndüsün duradugsan ba / žorin irügežü ölzei ügülekü selte = thig-le bču-drug-gi čho-ga-la pha-čhos-nas kha 'geñs dgos-pa'i nor-bu'i phreñ-ba / rañ-rgynd bskul-'debs-ma-bu / bsño-smon-šis brjod-bčas.

Expl. (55r.) : kemegsen keb un temdeg egüni ber siltagan i najiragulugči ber duradugsan u ildara tojin mthu stobs ñi-ma najiragulbai //

Block-print, 55 folios measuring 10 × 29 : 7 × 24 cm.

Tanjur (Lalou p. 32) Mdo XXXI 13, XXXIII 7.

#### H. 3650

Thugs-rje čhen-po'i sgrub-thabs = *Jeke nigülesügči bütügel un arga.*

Expl. (f. 42v.) : ilanggui a klu'bum (43r.) dka' bču ba saṅ gha'i neretü bir dur a dugsana sidžüžü dalai blama sanggha a sakra šri ber nairagulugsan u bičigči inu žüg eče asuru ilagugsan bolai // bhavantu //

Block-print, 43 folios measuring 10 × 40 : 7 × 35 cm.

#### H. 3671 B

*Nasun u bütügel amrita kundali eče arigulqui bičig qamuy šedker i arilgagči kiged niguča jin ežen u sojurgagsan sülde tegri ji tegünčilen magtaqui.*

Inc. (1v.) : badma gbała jin erike tü tur mörgümü / ündüsün eče bilig ögküi ba orun i abqui kiged ežen u üzegdel . . .

Expl. (26r.) . . . emüne taki sang un josun u arigulqui takil tegüşbe // sarva manggalam // türbel ügei sakın ibegegči ji tübed lüđe qagučin sudur i tokijaldugulču orčigul kemen / tögmel jaman-taka jin süm e jin terigün blama čürim duradugsana / töb orun u sirga jin süme taki terigün blama guusi mani orčigulbai // kürgegülün bičigsen egün i qorčin darqan čin wang un qosigun u / kündü itegel tü ulus un dededü kögčü jin ači öłzei bujan tu bi / küsežü ögsin takigčid tur nom ün öglige bolgan delgeregülkü jin tulada küseküi süsüg ijer keb tu bütügegsen bujan ijer amitan a žorimui // kemeküi ji duradugči čürim bicibeı //

Block-print, 26 folios measuring 11 × 47 : 8 × 41 cm.

= Tib. H. 3671 A. che sgrub bdud-rci' 'khyil-ba-las bsañs yig-bar čhad kun-sel gsañ-ba'i bdag-po'i gñañ-ba'i dgra-lha'i dpañ-bstod.

Cp. Otani No. 464 [Sha 11].

#### H. 3678 A

Rgyal-po čhen-po-ste lña-la gsol mečhod 'bul chul 'phrin-los 'gag-med rdo-rje'i sgra-dbyaňs žes-bya-ba = *Tabun jeke qagan tur öčiđe takil ergüküi josun u üjles türidgel ügei včir un iragu egesig kemegdekü.*

Tibetan text with Mongolian interlinear translation.

Expl. (56r.) : basa busu kereglegsен nugud tur tusala üjledkü jin tula түbed un kelen eče monggol un kelen tur orugulugad qojar keleber keb tur бүтүгеbei / egün tur josu čilen üjledүgsen bujan u kücүн ijer / čidagči jin sasin i barigči nugud i qagačal ügei nökičel sakigad / todgar un čigulga nugud i ner e jin tedüi ču ülelgei ügei darun / tegün qubitan amitan u qamug üjles žibqulang tai a бүтүкү boltugai //

Block-print, 39 folios measuring 10 × 33 cm.

The pages, not the folios, are numbered 1—76.

#### H. 4481

Medicinal text in Tibetan and Mongolian.

Inc.: khyi-dug-sel-ba'i sbyor-pa-ni . . . ene em i sajitur talagdazu abugad . . .

Manuscript, 1 folio measuring 21 × 20.

Published by W. A. Unkrig in Reports 1942.

#### H. 4554

Sman-bla (in margine).

Tibetan text with Mongolian interlinear version.

Fol. 15 inc.: dad-pa-med-pa'i mi-rnams-la . . . = süsüg ügei kümün nugud tur . . .

Block-print, fragmentary; there are only 18 folios: 14—18, 23—24, 46, 65—66, 69, 74, 81, and 5 folios with a number over 100; they measure 10 × 50: 7 × 46.

Cp. Coll. No. 3560.

#### H. 4684

= H. 3513 b

Sman-gyi rgyud-bži'i glegs-ba ma bar-du bšeñs-pa'i kha-byañ = *Em un dörben ündüsün u debter i keb tur bajigulugsan u temdeg.*

Colophon (3r.) : kemen težigekü uqagan u sastir un žirügen em un dörben ündüsün u sajin žarlig monggol un kelen tur agsan egüni gulu sira jin qosigun eče sudur tarni jin uqagan olan ta sonusug-san jeke bujan u satun mai ggiuur (?) čhos rjes ber žokilduqu nökičel i najiragulugad keb tur bajigulugsan u temdeg irüger un silüg nigen keregtei kemen duradugsan josugar / nom ügülegči tojin akia sumati (= blo-bzañ) sasana dhovaja (= bstan-pa'i rgyal-mčhan) / ber najiragulbai šubhamastu / manggalaṃ /

Block-print, 3 folios measuring 11 × 56: 8 × 50 cm.

#### H. 4775

*Sui (?) ulus un žang tai jin bičig (qoritugar debter).*

The 20:th fascicle of a translation from Chinese or Manchu.

Manuscript in form of a Chinese book; 54 double folios measuring 13 × 26.

#### H. 5463

*Erken monggol ber qaslan bičigsen bogda jin surgal.*

In Mongolian and Chinese by Wang Sanang Rinchen.

Dated in the 25:th year of the Chinese Republic (= 1935), in a year of blue rat.

18 fascicles measuring 13 × 25 in a blue cloth cover.

**H. 5464**

*Monggol un uqsagatan kiged teüke sudur.*

Translation from Japanese by Manichab.

Dated in the year 738 of Chinggis Khan (= 1943).

A modern book, 260 + pages 8<sup>o</sup>.

**H. 5465 A and B**

*Marco Polo jin togorin jabugsan ajan u temdeglel, I and II.*

Translation from Chinese by Gombo Chab.

Dated in the year 739 of Chinggis Khan (= 1944).

I + II = 596 pages 8<sup>o</sup> with thoroughgoing pagination.

**H. 5466 A and B**

*Monggol nangkijad üsüg un toli bičig.*

I (terigün debter) and II (qojatugar debter).

Compiled by Kilchantai.

Dated in the 37:th year of the Chinese republic (= 1947).

I = 112 + II = 68 double folios great 8<sup>o</sup>.

**H. 5467**

*Jeke juwan ulus un mandugsan törü jin köke sudur.*

456 pages great 8<sup>o</sup>. Covers and titlepages missing.

See W. Heissig in Monumenta Serica, vol. VIII pp. 244 ff. and 263, Peking 1943.

**H. 5727**

*Žagutu bilig.*

Inc. (1v.): namo guru lokisuvvari / blama luga ilagal ečige badma bani itegel . . .

Expl. (7r.): gurban bei e minu bolqu boltugai / minu sedkigsen u terigüten i üjledteküi

Manuscript, 7 folios measuring 8 × 23: 5 × 18 cm.

**H. 5800**

*Qutugtu včir ijer ogtalugči biligun činadu kižagar a kürügsen nerctü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Ārya vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā nāma mahāyānasūtra.

Manuscript, 54 folios measuring 8 × 19 cm.

Otani No. 439, Ligeti No. 771.

**H. 5801**

*Včir ijer tejin büged ebdegči nerctü turni.*

Vajra-vidāraṇa nāma dhāraṇī.

Rdo-rje rnam-par 'joms-pa žes-bya-ba'i gzuñs.

Manuscript, 7 folios measuring 10 × 28: 7 × 24 cm.

Otani No. 406, Ligeti No's 412 and 590.

**H. 5802**

= H. 5800.

Block-print, 55 folios measuring 11 × 29: 7 × 28 cm.



### H. 5803

*Itegel sudur.*

Inc. (1r.): arban züg un gurban čag un qamug tegünčilen iregsed un bei e kelen sedkil erdem üjles [bügüde jin] mön činar bolugsan.

Expl. (6r.): sajin čag üzereļ ijer ünēn aqu boltugai / mangghalam bhavatu / tegüsbe //

Colophon: engke amugulang un döčēn jisütüger bičigsen / tegüsbe //

Manuscript, dated 1707; 6 folios measuring 12 × 31.

### H. 5804

*Qutug tu ogtargui gašar un naiman gegegen [neretü] jekē kölgen sudur.*

Ārya ka-bhang sūtra nāma.

'phags-pa gnam-sa snañ brgyad (written jañ sa snang ržad) theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo.

Colophon (25r.): kitad un nom eče tamaga jogačari krasis rin-čhen najiragulun / ajagqa takimlig surijasiri ber lab qojigulču / amlagsiri (?) bagsi ber sajitur žokijažu / arigun qatasiri kiged ijer qabtasun tur tamaga čigulgažu / agui ulus irgen e tügežü delgeregölbei / krasis brakur-čhen tegüsbe //

Manuscript in black, blue, red and yellow. 25 folios measuring 8 × 27 : 7 × 22 cm.

Ligeti No. 709, Coll. No. 3609. Bang-Gabain-Rachmati, Das buddhistische Sutra *Säkiz Yükmäk*. Türkische Turfantexte VI. SBAW 10, Berlin 1943.

### H. 5805

= H. 74?

No title.

Inc. (1v.): degedü botalang agula jin agui tur / ugugada dam üsüg in qubilugsan / gurban čag un [burqan] nugud un üjles un eke / amitan u tusa jin tulada iren sojurga // tengri kiged asuris un titim anu . . .

Expl. (5v.): . . . törügüleküi ügei qutug orusitugai // mangghalam bhavatu //

Manuscript, 5 folios measuring 10 × 29 cm; damaged.

### H. 5806

*Qutug tu qara kelen aman žala amurligul un üjledügči neretü jekē kölgen sudur.*

Ārya kadug me dampa vidi a (?) nāma mahāyana-sūtra.

'phags-pa kha mčhu nag-po ži-var byed-pa (written bsedba) žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i i mdo.

Colophon (17v.): ratna bali guusi duradugsan ijer erdem tu dalai lam a jin včir tu köl un ölmei sidžü / ajusi guusi orčigulugad üžüg tegüsge (18r.) bičibe // nigen žagun najan dörben časun oru ba / ene inu bügüde büi // tegüsbe // mangghalam // bhavatu //

Block-print, 18 folios measuring 7 × 16 : 5 × 13 cm.

### H. 5807

No title.

Inc. (1v.): namo guru manžu gosaia / ečige uduridugči blama jin köl tur sögüdümüi / . . .

Fol. 3 — missing.

Manuscript, 2 folios measuring 7 × 16.

### H. 5808

= H. 5806.

Colophon (20r.): ratna bali guisi / duradugsan ijer / erdeni tu bogda dalai lam a jin včir tu (20v.) köl un ölmei tur sitüzü ajusi guisi nom silüg gurban üzegülüged badm a sabi arsuğ (?) tegüisgen bičibei.

Manuscript, 20 folios measuring 5 × 13 cm.

### H. 5809

= H. 5801.

Manuscript, 10 folios measuring 7 × 16 cm.

### H. 5810

= H. 5811.

Colophon (fol. 63r.): erdeni tour tu ji / bičigülügšen kücün tur najidanggui nisvanis arilugad / najiragulugsan bujan delgereged / nasuda burqan u qutug tur kürkü boltugai // ölzeitü / morin žil un dolugan sara jin mogai edür tegüsbe //

Manuscript in black and red, 63 folios measuring 8 × 25 : 6 × 23 cm.

### H. 5811

*Qutug tu erdeni tourtu jin öčigsen neretü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Ārya ratnajāliparipṛcchā nāma mahāyānasūtra.

'phags-pa rin-čhen dra-ba čan-gyis žus-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo.

Colophon (fol. 28r.): endkeg un ubadija inčan a garbi luga bandi jeses isning-po isdi (?) kelemürči orčigulugad jeke kelemüči bandi gbal irsigis najiragulču orusigulbai // ene sudur egündür nomlagaan čaglası ügei tusa ji sedkizü / dharm a dijang kira baddir kelemürči ting taolai žil un / qubi terigün sara jin ölzei tu edür tur orusigulbai / egüni orčigulugsan eče bujan bolbasu tegün ijer / erdini tour tu jambar bolbasu tere metü ijer / neng olan burqan tur bisirel bolbasu ünen ijer / egüncilen irügemüi qutug bolbasu süsüg ijer // tegüsbe // mangghalam //

Block-print, 28 folios (of which fol. 3 missing) measuring 18 × 52 : 13 × 46 cm.

Otani No. 830, Ligeti No. 919.

### H. 5812

The title unidentifiable.

Inc. (1v.): namo guru mañju-gho-ša-ya // qagan u törü ji silüsün ü kökesün metü . . .

Expl. (11r): . . . üsüg un magad josun i žokijan üjledbei // sarva jangdama bhavantu / ölzei qutug orusitugai / manggalaṃ.

Dhāraṇis in Tibetan by a m<sup>2</sup>.

Manuscript, 11 folios measuring 9 × 48 cm.

### H. 5813

*Erdeni čogčalagsan qubilgan törütü ubadis un (?) ündüsün.*

'čog lañ rol-če man na 'če rčod rin-čhen 'buñ-ba.

(nangkijad un keleber: rcam sang go rgya ma a sani ratr a ratna bala?)

Inc. (1v.): ejin kemen minu sonusugsan nigen čag tur / utai sang agula jin dededü orui tur medegčid un erkin qutugtu manžusiri tegri simnu erlig ekener luu keres terigüten . . .

Expl. (14r.): erdeni čogčalagsan ündüsün tegüsbe // maṅghalaṅ //.  
Manuscript with numerous orthographical faults; 14 folios measuring 7 × 30.  
Cp. Wassiljew, *Mélanges Asiatiques* II p. 580.

**H. 5814**

= H. 5803.

Inc. (1v): bi kiged ogtargui luga sačaqu eke bolugsan qamug amitan arban žüg un . . .

No colophon.

Block-print, 13 folios measuring 8 × 17: 5 × 13 cm.

**H. 5815**

*Padma sambava ubasang.*

Inc. (1v.): ubasang un aman negekü boltugai / monggol ulus engke amugulang ijer žirgatugai / sansar un žobalang eče toniltugai . . .

Manuscript, 25 folios measuring 7 × 20: 5 × 17 cm.

**H. 5816**

= H. 5804.

Colophon (34v.): törü gereltü jin dolutugar on ileküü tabun sarajin gučün jisün e sajin ölzei tü edür bičibei //

Manuscript in red and black, dated 1827, 34 folios measuring 8 × 22 cm.

**H. 5817**

*Qutug tu qamug maṅgi šajagan i ber ilagugsan ncretü tarni.*

Ārya sarvadurgati-parišodhani-uṣṇiṣavijaya nāma dhāraṇi.

'phags-pa ṅan-'gro thams-čad yoṅs-su sbyoṅ-ba gcug-tor rnam-par rgyal-ba žes-bya-ba'i gzuṅs.

Manuscript, 22 folios measuring 9 × 25, damaged.

Otani No. 198, Ligeti No. 203.

**H. 5818**

*Qutug tu ülemži qutug neretü jeke kölgen sudur.*

Ārya maṅgala-kūṭa nāma mahāyāna-sūtra.

'phags-pa bkra-śis brcegs-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo.

Inc. (2r.): ejin kemen . . . burqan degedü sümir agula jin orui tur ölzei qutug čogčalagsan ordu qarsi čečeg čogčalagsan čečeglig / včir čogčalagsan dharmagir . . .

Manuscript in red and black, 22 folios measuring 9 × 22 cm.

**H. 5819**

= H. 5817.

Folios 26 — missing.

Manuscript, 25 folios measuring 6 × 14 cm.

**H. 5820**

Slob-dpon padma 'byuṅ-gnas-kyis mjad-pa'i čhaṅ-gi 'byuṅ-khyuṅs daṅ . . . =

*Badma sambu a bagsi jin šokijagsan erkin u ug garugsan kiged . . .*

4 lines of the Tibetan text on page, below them the Mongolian translation.

Manuscript, 9 folios measuring 9 × 51 cm. The right-hand half of fol. 1 missing.

**H. 5821**

Title missing.

An astrological treatise with figures.

Expl. (6v.): ede tur čisun ülü abqu //

Manuscript, damaged, 6 folios measuring 10 × 31 cm.

**H. 5822**

No title.

An astrological treatise.

Inc. (1v): nigen čagan tusijagsan kümün modun eče unažu üküm / . . .

Expl. (7v.): . . . abisig i abun nasun i urigdaqui / mengge jin qani üzekü züil / tegüsbe // bkrais manggalam bavantu //

Manuscript, 7 folios measuring 9 × 31 cm.

**H. 5823**

*Ükeger un jisün ügen u žasal (?)*.

Inc. (1v.): namo mañjughošaya qamug burqan u mön činar tu mañjušri tur mörgümü // erte nigen čag tur nangkijad un ulus tur utajisan agula jin doruna žüg tur / lige dabčang (?) neretü dajibung qagan u gurban köbegün / qojar ökin bülüge / . . .

Expl. (8r): . . . nökiud kiged sečen ed tavar bügüde ji delgeregülin sojurga // mamghalam //

Manuscript, 8 folios measuring 8 × 28.

Cp. H. 5813.

**H. 5824**

*Čagan lingqua čomorlig*.

Inc. (1v.): namo mañjughošaya // qojar köl tanu erkin čidagčün u erketü jin časutu agulan eče sajitur bütügsen . . .

Expl. (18r.): sajin ügetü čagan lingqua jin čomorlig neretü sastir eče gažar ködelkü jin sajin magtū belges medeküi arbatugar züil tegüsbe // mangghalam bhavantu // saddhu // om . . .

Manuscript, 18 folios measuring 9 × 30 cm, damaged.

**H. 5825**

*Qutugtu tegünčilen iregsen orui eče garugsan čagan sikür tu busud ta ülü ilagdagči jckede qarigulugči degedü bütügsen neretü tarni*.

Ārya tathāgata-uṣṇiṣa-sitātapatre-aparājitā-mahā-pratyāṅgira-paramasiddhi nāma dhāraṇī.

'phags-pa de-bžin-gšegs-pa'i gcug-tor-nas byuñ-ba'i gdugs dkar-mo can gžan-gyis mi-thub-ma phyir zlog-pa čhen-mo mčho-tu grub-pa žes-bya-ba'i gzuñs.

Manuscript, 17 folios measuring 9 × 28.

Otani No. 203, Ligeti No. 207.

**H. 5826**

= H. 5803.

Begins and ends with dhāraṇis in sanskrit. No date.

Manuscript, 5 folios measuring 9 × 22 cm.

### H. 5827

No title.

Inc. (1v.): namo budaia... / arban žüg ud tur sagugsan qamug burqan bodistva nar un nigülesküi luga tegüsügen...

Expl. (17r): žirgugsan žaguratu tonilgagči ene ündüsün üge sajin bujan tan luga uçiralduqu boltugai //

Manuscript, 17 folios measuring 7 × 8 cm.

### H. 5828

*Rasijan u žirügen naiman kesigütii niguča ubadis un öndüsün.*

Manuscript; fragmentary, measuring 10 × 44:7 × 39 cm. Folios 1—3, 24—27, 67, 69—72, 77—101, 129—131, 134—141, 150—102, 177, 179—180, 185—186, 202 — missing; two folios numbered 72; two lose fragments.

### H. 5829

= H. 5828.

Manuscript; fragmentary, measuring 10 × 44:6 × 39 cm; folios 1—104, 112—114, 117—119, 198 — missing; some lose fragments.

### H. 5830

*Čogtu čindan.*

Inc. (1v.): qamug amitan nasun ürgülčide lam a tur itegemüi / ... burqan tur itegemüi ...

Expl. (5r): ... alagaban qamtudgažu örgülčide itegesügei / ölzei qutug orusitugai // mamghalam //

Manuscript, 5 folios measuring 9 × 24 cm.

### H. 5831

No title.

An astrological treatise with figures and tables (explanations in Tibetan and Mongolian) on fol. 1v—12v.

Mongolian text (13r.—26r.).

Expl. (26r.): üker qonin tur sirege žasaqu darbalga delgeküi ji dabči /

Fol. 26v. a figure and some lines in Mongolian by a m<sup>2</sup>.

Manuscript, 26 folios measuring 7 × 22 cm, damaged.

### H. 5832

= H. 5804.

Fol. 1—40 missing.

Colophon (45r.): kitad un nom ece jogačari krisun rinčen najiragulun (45v.) ajagqa takimlig surija siri ber nemegesün (?) lab qojigulču namlagsiri (?) bagsi ber sajitur žokijažu bičigülčü / arigun qatasiri kiked ijer qabtasun tur čuglagažu / agui ulus irgen tügežü delgeregülbei // mangalam // ...

Manuscript, 6 folios measuring 6 × 14 cm.

### H. 5833

No title.

An astrological treatise in Tibetan and Mongolian, with tables.

Manuscript, 10 folios measuring 7 × 21 cm.

### H. 5834

No title.

Folios 11—15 of an astrological treatise.

Expl. (15v.): qamug qarsi (?) nugud i nuta amurligulqu boluju // om sajin amugulang bol-tugai //

Manuscript, 5 folios measuring 7 × 21 cm, damaged.

### H. 5835

3 unnumbered folios of an astrological treatise in Tibetan (written in cursive) and Mongolian.

Manuscript measuring 7 × 21 cm.

### 03. II. 291

= 15. I. 699.

The same block-print edition as this, but without a date.

### 03. II. 292

= H. 63.

Defectuous manuscript in red and black, with numerous faults; 212 folios of 18 chapters measuring 17 × 49: 13 × 37 cm.

### 15. I. 697 and 15. I. 698

A mdo-mañ without a collective title (= "*Tarnis un qurijanggui*").

Colophon (15. I. 698 fol. 256v.): ... ende kizaglal ügei sudur tarni jin dalai eče / endegürel ügei čiqula kereg tu jeke adistid tu / ene tarnisun qurijanggui kemekü sudur i / erkin süsüg tu ačitu žalan žanggi kiged karma bagsi // ülemži süsüg ijer monggolčilan kemen duradugsan ijer / urida merged un orčigulugsan i najiragulču surun orčigulbai / ülegsen nigen kedün südüri sumati amogasidi tojin orčigulugsan buju / üsüg i tegüsgen balbo bandi bičigsen bolai // . . . // tere ene ding men gatan a sagugsan fu dalai / tede bügüde olan nökiid žöbsijegsen tur sajin kemen / temdegtei e sajitur arilan simdažu kizijen sejilgežu gargabai (257r.) tejin kü balbo setse songting qojagula nojidgar ügegüi e kizijen bičibej // . . . // engke amugulang un döčün žirgutugar on u ulagčün gaqai žil un žun u dumdatu sara tur sajin edür tur bičizü tegüsgebei //

Block-print, dated 1707; I + II = 237 + 257 = 494 folios measuring 23 × 65: 17 × 54 cm.

In 15. I. 698 after the text 4 folios paginated separately containing a catalogue of the collection and a colophon of its own.

Inc. (1v.): oom suvasti siddam // . . . časutan ugažar un žirügen čing batu da orusigsan qojatugar ilagugsan degedü getülgegči tara nata / sajitur qurijagsan ene čindamani ji / qotala tegüsügen žirgalang tu kitad un orun tur žalgagsan i / dalai metü bujan u ölžei qutug orusigsan ordu qarsi tur / tarni kiged čiqula kereg tu üčügügen sudur nugud i qurijažu debter tur sajitur bičigülin orusigulbai // ene urida tantira tur qarija tu togtagal kiged sudur un ajimag anu // Ka . . . -Pho . . .

Expl. (4v.) . . . tegün tur kitad eče orčigulugsan ba sang eče gargagsan terigüten žedker i gari-gulqui tur sajisijagsan edüi tedüi kereg ten i debter un endeg tur orusigulbai // tere metü adistid tu

žibqulang tu genel gargagči erkin žarlig erdini jin sang . . . // naiman tümen dörben minggan nom un čogča sudur tarni jin ene čindamani debter i bičigsen takigsen erkigsen mörgügen süsüglen bisilgagsan ungsigsan udurigulsun abugsan egünü činar i burqan žagun žarlig bolugsan bögüde tegüsbe.

Cp. H. 3511.

Coll. No's 3588—89 (the contents analyzed by Ligeti p. 134 ff.), cp. Lalou, Mdo-mañ and Aalto, Mdo-mañ.

### 15. I. 699

*Qutug tu pañcarakṣā kemekü tabun sakija ncretü jeke kölgen sudur.*

I: 1v.—36r.

*Jcke kölgen u jeke minggan jirtinčü ji magad daruqui ncretü sudur.*

Mahāsāhasrapramardana sūtra.

Stoñ-čhen-po rab-tu-'joms-pa žes-bya-ba'i mdo.

Otani No. 177, Ligeti No. 179.

II: 1v.—46r.

*Arvis un erketei jeke tagus.*

Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī.

Rig-sñags-kyi rgyal-mo rma-bya čhen-mo.

Otani No. 178, Ligeti No. 180.

III: 1v.—32r.

*Qutug tu arvis un erke tei öber e öbere dagaqui ncretü tarni.*

Ārya mahāpratisarāvidyārājñī.

'phags-pa rig-sñags-kyi rgyal-mo so-sor-brañ-ba čhen-mo.

Otani No. 179, Ligeti No. 181.

IV: 1v.—17r.

*Jcke serigün tiin sudur.*

Mahāśītavanī sūtra.

Sil-ba'i (!) chal čhen-po'i mdo.

Otani No. 180, Ligeti No. 182.

V: 1v.—10v.

*Jcke niguča tarni ji dagan barigči sudur.*

Mahāmantra-anudhāri sūtra.

Gsañ-sñags čhen-po rjes-su 'jin-pa'i mdo.

Colophon (V fol. 11v.): ken tere ene badir a kalab un dotur a / kedüi togatan burqan nugud törüzü / gem ügei žarlig nom i monggol irgen dur / ker kürügsen siltagan i qurijan ügülesügei // ali čag tur ene sab jirtinčü bajigulugad / agui jeke dalai jin dumda minggan nabčitu (12r.) altan öngge tu lingqu a delgeregseni arigun orun daki tegri ner üzežü bürün // sajitur delgeregsen altan lingqu a jin belge / sagar ügei ene kalab tur minggan togatan / sajibar odugsan burqan nugud törükü kemen / sajin kalab sajin kalab kemen žarlaldužugui // ali tere čag eče terigüležü bürün / amitan naiman tümen nasulaqui tur kürtele / altan kürdütü čakravat un qagan törüzü / amitan i arban bujantu mör tur žokijažugui // tendeče amitan naiman tümen nasulaqui eče / terigüležu žagun nasulaqui čag un urida / tegüs dugulugsan karkasundi terigülen kanakamuni tegüncilen kasib itegel törüzü bürün // tog a tomsi ügei olan amitan i / tonilqui qutug tur žoki-

jažu dötüger tur / dugulugsan bagsi bidan u sikamuni / törübei amitan nasulaqui žagun čag tur // qubitan amitan dagalal ijer anu / gurban žüil ijer qojar kölgen i nomlažu / qotala ji qutug tur žokijažu čogčas un qočorli ügei nirvan dur oruba öbesüben / öber un beje ber nomugadgagad i dagusgažu / orubasu ber tere bogda nirvan dur / ölgeldün merged törüzü tegüni žarlig i (12v.) urgumal naran dur adali gejjigülügen i // erten u irüger un kücün ijer bodistva nar erketü küllüg qagan bolun törüzü / ejeležu öber un öber un ulus dagan / erdini sasin nom i delgeregülcügüi // udurigulsun nirvan bolču gurban minggan / öbermiče basa žagun on u dotura / uridu bujan u kücün ijer čambudvib un / ümetü orgil onan neretü gažar tur delekei dekin i nižen törü tur orugulsun / tegri ner e üre sačugdagsan u urug tur / tengsel ügei bujan bilig un kücün jeketü / temüžin neretü ere bogda törüzü bürün // činggir qada metü jekergegëid un terigün i / čimeg i bagulču inu ken köl düri čimeg ijer takigulugsan u qojina aldar inu činggis qagan kemen čambudvib tur čab bolčugui / bogda tegün ü čag tur i / burqan u nom i bügü monggol ulus a ese aldarsigulbasu ber burqan u erdem i sonusugad mön degere / bursang quvarag ud i alban eče gargažugui // qutug tu tegün u gutagar üj e tur inu / qubilgan büged törügen u tula ner e inu qubilai kemen qotal a jin orui deger e ergügdežu qojina sečen qagan kemen aldarsizugui / erdem bilig ijer čimegdežu jirtinču dekin e (13r.) egenegten tusatu sedkil inu esru a metü / edüi ken ber žasadag ügei ünün žorig inu erten u arsi nar un qagan metü // bükü jin tula tere bogda burqan u nom bügüdeče degedü ji ünün ijer abču bodistva bags ba blam a ji iregülču bürin e burqan u sasin i sonusagulčugui // urida ügei tulgurčin monggol un üsüg i / uran a sajitur žokijagulču bagsi bolugad / ünün sajin tonilqui mör i üzügülügen / orui jin čimeg bolgan kündüležügüi / oor a tere ber bügesü burqan u nom i / oor monggol ijer togulgažu ese bolugsan ijer / olan a togulgan jadan nöküd ijen ču / olanggi da ujigurčin kelen ijer sonusun ažuui // tegün u qojin a terigülegëi tere qagan u delekei jin ežen bolgan erke ögdegsen / tede köbegün u gutagar üj e togulgazu tengsel ügei qajisa neretü törüzü bürün / köbegün čag ačagan büged uridus tur / küsigürgeseni küllüg ijer ijen ülüdgežu gür ulus un ežen bolgagdažu bürin e / küllüg qagan kemen aldarsigsan ken bügesü / ünün uduridugči ügülegčid un naran / üzerežu čoski odser neretü kelemürči lüge (13v.) üje qojar un arg a bilig un kücün ijer oor monggol un ajalgu bar nom i delgeregülcügüi // sajibar odugsan burqan u nomlagsan / sakijan u degedü ene bančaraksa nom i / sajitur kičijen sedkižu süsüg i egüs kiged kü / sačalal ügei duradču bičigülügen bujan ijer // qagan qatun terigülen altan urug ijer ba qamug amitan u ebedčin ada todqur anu / qagarqai a qočorli ügegüi e arilču aliba qamug küsegsen küsel bügüde bütütügei // amarag tagalgad eke köbegün kiged / amitan öber žagura ben eserkü teserkü žokildužu asuru ba eriküi küsel bügüde bütüzü amugulang jin (!) üjles anu öber ijen bütükü boltugai //

Thereafter an obviously later addition on the older blocks (cp. Aalto, Notes p. 3 fig. 2): engke amugulang un qorin tabtagar on u bing bars žil un namur un dumdatu sara jin arban tabun tu sajitur bütügebei // öglige jin ežen tur bujan kesig nemekü boltugai // tegüčebei // mangghalam //

Block-print, dated 1686; 144 folios measuring 21 × 60: 14 × 46 cm.

Otani No. 181, Ligeti No. 183.

Coll. No's 3527 and 3584.

### 15. I. 700

= 46. 7. 1.

Colophon (fol. 346v.): ... hindkeg un kelen eče ... (347r.) ilanggui a sonom nomči tajičing ... orusigulbai // tegüsbe //

Block-print; 347 folios (fol. 1 om.) measuring 23 × 65: 18 × 54; not dated.



15. I. 703

*Sine ger milijaqu irügel.*

Inc. (2r.): om sajin amugulang tan boltugai / naran u gerel metü badaražu nabčitai zengde modu metü delgerežü saran u gerel metü badaragulču . . .

Expl. (13v.): . . . žirgal žirgalagtugai //

Manuscript; a book, 14 double folios measuring 12 × 2.

29. 21. 140

*Sajitur nomladqui erdenijin sang kemckü sastir.*

Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi nāma śāstra.

Legs-par bsad-pa rin-po-che'i gter žes-hya-ba'i bstan-bčod.

Manuscript, 33 folios measuring 12.5 × 47: 10 × 37 cm, the headlines of chapters in red. The scripture as well as the language seem to be Kalmuckian (= Torgutan).

L. Ligeti, *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol*. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica VI. Budapest 1948. P. Aalto, *Altaistica*. Studia Orientalia XVII: 7 pp. 3—9.

46. 7. I

*Qutug tu biligun činadu kižagar a kürügsen naiman minggatu.*

Ārya aṣṭa-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā.

'phags-pa šes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa brgyad-stoñ-pa.

Colophon (fol. 345v.): ugugada sajitur öggügsen gučin qojatugar žüil / ilažu tegüs nögčigsen biligun činadu kižagara kürügsen naiman minggan silüg tu tegüsbe // enedkeg un kelen [eče] / enedkeg un ubadija dharma dala kiged / locchau a bande biročan a rakšita kiged / sang surija brahha najiragulugad orusigulbai // sakialig ud un dededü arslan u vivanggirid öggügsen / ene bilig baramid umar a eče umara žüg tur delgeremüi kemen žarlig bolugsan ijer / edüge monggol ulus tur delgeregsen u tulada / edüged un ba qojitu qubitan amitan a tusa boltugai kemen / ene qutuqtu bilig un činadu kižagar a kürügsen naiman minggan a dededü törül un sajin erdem ud qamug eče tegüsüged / bujan tu nom ud un ölžei tu qou a ta čimegtegsen nom ba (46r.) jirtinčü jin törü josun i sajitur žilugadugči // tümen erdeni sečen qung tajiži / bodhi satuva qatun togtaqu sečen čögegür tajiži kiged / ilanggui a 'bsonde 'goms noms tajičing gumbu tajiži qojar un žarlig ijer / bsam gdan sengge monggolčilan orčigulugad najiragulču orusigulbai (dhāraṇi in sanskrit) // najiraltu töb un tabtugar on žun u terigün sara jin sine jin nigen e sajin edür bicibei //

Block-print dated 1727; 346 folios measuring 21 × 60: 14 × 40 cm.

Otani No. 734, Ligeti No. 766, Coll. No's 3517—19.

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H. 5825  
Tegünčilen iregsen orui-eče garugsan ča-  
gan sikür-tü busud-ta ülü ilagdagči  
jekede qarigulugči degedü bütügsen  
H. 5825

Tegüs čogtu ökin tegri šai sin tölge qudal  
ügei egün-u dotura douturaqai  
H. 1191 B  
Thar-pa čhen-po... H. 72  
Thugs-rje čhen-po'i sgrub-thabs  
H. 3650  
Ügeger-un jisün ügen-u žasal H. 5823  
Ükügsed-un qara toga H. 68  
Ülemži qutug H. 5818  
Üjles-un qamug tüidker-i tejin büged  
arilgagči H. 3572  
Uṣṇiṣojjvala nāma dhāraṇi H. 3547  
Üžesküleng lingqua-jin üliđer H. 1068 B  
Vajravidāraṇa H. 5801, H. 5809  
Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā  
H. 1179 A, H. 1179 C, H. 5800,  
H. 3310 A, H. 5802  
Včir-ijer ogtalugči H. 5800, H. 1179 A,  
H. 1179 C, H. 3310 A, H. 5802  
Včir-ijer tejin büged ebdegči H. 5801,  
H. 5809  
Žagutu bilig H. 5727  
Žegüden-u idene sajitur nomlagsan čagan  
sil-un toli H. 3501  
Žirügen-u qaranggui-ji arilgan üjledküi-  
tur minggan naran-u gerel H. 3516 b  
Žüglen itegel šasin žula maha bažra dhara  
žanggiya ješes bstanbai H. 3521

THE EIGHTEEN WORTHIES  
CROSSING THE SEA

BY

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*Printed in Sweden*

## DESCRIPTION

The scene represented by the artist of this wonderful painting is popular in China under the name "The Eighteen Worthies Crossing the Sea". It depicts a rock-bound sea which covers more than two-thirds of the picture. The waves are represented by stylized lines. On the ocean there swim or walk five sea monsters, namely a dragon (to the left above) faced by a tortoise (above to the right), a lion and a tiger (middle left), and, eclipsing them all, a so-called sea-elephant (Sanskrit. *makara*, middle of the picture), all proceeding to the right towards an invisible destination. Only a single boat of peculiar shape moves the opposite way towards a figure which, at the first glance, resembles a *homunculus*. In fact, it is the apparition of a Buddha enclosed in some sort of crystal which radiates in all the colors of the rainbow. It is carried on a cluster of clouds. As if obsessed with a *horror vacui* the artist has crowded all the space between these vehicles with animals of various kind, sea monsters, lotus flowers, and jewels. The small strips of shore line, which protrude here and there from the margins into the sea, are fenced in by mountains capped with stylized clouds.

The Four Protectors of the Universe face each other from their positions near the bottom on promontories. Three persons, located in the lower right corner, deserve special attention. A central figure, of dignified mien, dressed in royal attire, is flanked by two attendants. One of these points with a peculiar gesture in the direction of the Buddha just mentioned, while the other holds an emblem of a long-stemmed fan or parasol, framed with peacock feathers, over the master. On this fan is painted a palace or temple, which reminds us somewhat of the Chieh-t'ai-szu<sup>2</sup> (G. 1531, 10577, 10583, 10295; M. 627, 6016, 6008, 5597) in the Western Hills near Peking.

The placid figure in the upper third of the picture forms a sharp contrast to the agitated ocean below. He is Çākyaṃuni, the latest of the human Buddhas, enthroned on an elaborate "lotus tree", flanked by two of his chief disciples. Their bodies, draped in the simple garments of monks, converge symmetrically to the central figure. This group stands in vivid contrast to the free rhythm in which the groups of worthies crossing the ocean are depicted. Two pairs of goddesses, borne by hovering clouds, are approaching the Buddha from opposite sides, carrying offering gifts and bestowing consecration.

# INTERPRETATION

The picture taken as a whole represents the *maṇḍala* (conclave of deities) of Çākyaṃuni with a few additional figures and a group of onlookers — the donor and his two attendants. However, the figures do not appear in their strict arrangement (grouping) of a cosmogram with the Buddha in the center, but freely placed on floating vessels in a seascape.

The picture does not seem to have a direct basis in Chinese or Tibetan canonical sources, nor have we found in the non-canonical literature a legend or story fitting this scene. We have therefore to rely chiefly on our own general experience with Buddhist iconography. It must be taken into consideration that some Buddhist images, just as certain Buddhist texts, are capable of a double explanation — exoteric and esoteric. Let us discuss the picture under this double aspect.

Many a visitor to a Chinese Buddhist temple will remember what is called the "Hall of the Great Hero", namely the Buddha. There we meet invariably with the statue of Çākyaṃuni as the principal figure, placed against the North Wall, facing the main entrance, while the statues of Eighteen Worthies — this is their usual number in China — are seated along the walls, often in front of their paintings. The ultimate literary source for this scene is to be found in those Buddhist texts which narrate how the Buddha Çākyaṃuni commands his disciples "to teach all nations", or, to put it in more elaborate Buddhist terms, to teach, protect, and preserve the teachings throughout the universe. It is this memorable scene (incidentally, incorporated in pertinent Tibetan rituals) which is initially evoked in the imagination of the faithful. He will mentally follow these apostles on their arduous travels during which they "scaled the mountains and crossed the seas", as the poetical Chinese express it, in order to reach the distant lands and preach the Buddha's great message of liberation.

To the Buddhist, the eighteen *arhats* are as many solid (one of their Sanskrit names, *sthavira*, means "firm") pillars on which the immense temple of Buddhist "Law" (*dharma*) firmly rests. They vouch both for its growth in space and its continuation in time. Although not Buddhas, they possess the six supranatural powers, namely, to see all sights, hear all sounds, move unobstructedly to any place throughout the universe, read anybody's mind, remember their own former reincarnations, and change their forms at will. It is merely for the edification of the worshipper that they have created living vehicles which carry them over the waves. Even the World Protectors, visible symbols of the universality of the Law, are mysteriously identical to them and therefore inseparable in this polysemantic symbolry. They guard the imaginary borders of this illusory cosmos just as they appear in the entrance hall of many a Chinese temple.

While the immediate terminals of their journeys are not depicted, the ultimate goal to which

they are leading “all sentient beings” is indicated by the Buddha Çākyaṃuni in the uppermost part of the picture. He is seated on the lotus, which conveys the idea of purity from the defilements of the empirical world. Though remote, he is not unapproachable, for all sentient beings are potential Buddhas and are to become, like him, completely purified, that is, enlightened, when they sooner or later awaken to this reality through his message. Çākyaṃuni is depicted here in one of the most frequent attitudes: the fingers of his right hand touch the surface of the earth, here represented as resting on the large lotus flower. With this gesture (*S. mudrā*) he calls the earth as a witness to testify that he, unyielding to the temptations of Māra, never deviated from the narrow path towards self-purification. The left hand, with the palm turned upwards, rests in his lap, thus making the gesture of equipoise (*S. upekshā*, “remaining in the middle of things”), one of the highest qualities inherent in Buddhahood.

But, apart from the direct aspect of the painting intended for the less sophisticated worshipper, there is still an allegorical meaning to it, for the analysis of which we are obliged to throw a glance upon some fundamental tenets held in later (Mahāyāna) Buddhism. Here certain schools founded their world conception upon an uncompromising idealism comparable to that held by Bishop Berkeley and devised for the same reason, namely to convert the unbelievers. These thinkers analysed the phenomena constituting the empirical world into primary mental elements (*dharmā*) which they classified from a soteriological viewpoint under various categories. The elements are supposed to spring from our external and internal sense activities. They have empirical but no absolute reality. They are coordinated by an ego consciousness, likewise unreal. As conscious states which follow each other in rapid succession and “hold in perfection but a little moment”, they create within our imagination the false impressions of a continuum (*S. santāna*), which results in the illusion of duration, an ego, and an external independent from ourselves. All of our conscious life, they teach, springs from the store-consciousness (*S. ālaya-vijñāna*) within us, which preserves the seeds of all our deeds (*karma*), both good and bad, waiting for the time when the conditions meet which lead to their resurgence, producing good and bad actions, as the case may be. Salvation, then, consists in methodically destroying such seeds as are conducive to bad actions, bad actions being those which delay salvation, and in fostering such seeds as are apt to accelerate the process of purification. The scriptures offer numerous similes in order to make the abstruse points of this highly sophisticated system clear. One of the most frequently used is the comparison between water and waves, the constituents of the “sea of troubles” Ch. *k’u hai*,<sup>3</sup> (G. 6258, 3767; M. 3493, 2014). Even as the waves are different from and yet identical with the water, so the activities of the seven senses, viz. the five external senses, the sixth sense, roughly comparable to what we call mind, and the ego, are different from and yet identical to the eighth or store-consciousness, of which the seven first types are merely modifications. The store-consciousness, taken individually, is the mainspring of our reincarnations. Collectively, it is the creator of the empirical world. Both are but different aspects of the same thing. Liberation from the one is *ipso facto* liberation from the other, and this is the Buddhist’s final aim. In the light of these teachings the deeper meaning of the picture must be investigated.

The waves in the painting, then, allegorize our sense activities or transitory mental states. They are “born” from the ocean, which symbolizes our “store-consciousness”. We are engulfed in this sea of self-created illusions much the same way as the animals half emerging from the waves in the picture. Not so the *arhats*. Since they are, in a more esoteric sense, identical and, so to speak, consubstantial, with the Buddha, and therefore share his illusory body, they are vicarious appari-

tions of him, created by him, though endowed with somewhat limited potentialities which draws them closer to the orbit of mortals. The monsters on which they ride the crest of the waves and the animals they have tamed, being their own creations, are no more real than they themselves.

The spectator more advanced on the path towards perfection is aware of the fact that they do not really appear to him as external objects to which he pays worship, but that he is able to envision them as they really are (*yathā-bhūtam*), namely, as symbols of salvation, creations of his own mentality.

The Buddha himself, enthroned on the lotus-seat, symbolizing self-origination (*S. svayam-bhū*) is more remote from us than the Worthies, his substitutes. Though of human form, the fact that his gestures indicate him as sitting on the diamond or thunderbolt seat (*S. vajrāsana*), symbol of immobility and indestructibility, unapproachable except by the fully enlightened, inspires the worshipper with a presentiment of that absolute state into which he aspires to dissolve and which he knows as extinction (*S. nirvāṇa*), suchness (*S. tathatā*), reality (*S. tattva*), the matrix of the "So-come" (i.e. the Buddha; *tathāgata-garbha*), names which describe the thing as little as the finger pointing to the moon characterizes the moon itself.

The figure of the Buddha accompanied by his two acolytes, who incline their bodies towards him, is inscribed in an isosceles triangle with its apex reaching the highest point of the central axis of the picture, the summit of the absolute, being another "finger pointing to the moon". It suggests the *bhūta-koṭi*, summit of reality. The central axis around which the Buddha's figure is constructed suggests the static axis around which this dynamic universe with its innumerable worlds rotates. It guides the eye out of this picture into the realm of nowhere and everywhere, of pure mysticism. These are presumably the most obvious topics of the sermon which this painting preaches with silent eloquence.

Before winding up the interpretation of the subject, there remains the scene in the foreground to be explored. Here we enter the field of the hypothetical, as no documentary proof has turned up yet to remove all doubts. The central figure in the lower right corner bears all the marks of distinguishing an emperor or a high-ranking member of the imperial clan. While such data as the style and colors and certain objects such as the telescope and the ornate gold vessel in the boat lead us to the eighteenth century as the probable date of the painting, the dress of this portly figure and his two attendants point to an epoch a thousand years before that time. No doubt the person in question represents the "donor" at whose behest the picture was made. Certainly it was destined as an offering to the Buddha, to adorn either a public temple or his private chapel. Could he be emperor Ch'ien-lung, who poses here as an emperor of the T'ang? Unlikely, although he is known for his professed or real leanings towards Lamaism.

His portrait is well known to us, particularly since the Ku-kung Ti-hou hsiang,<sup>4</sup> (G. 6190, 6580, 10924, 4021, 4288; M. 3455, 3705, 6204, 2144, 2569) and other Chinese publications have made known all the documentation found in the imperial archives, even such rare items as two paintings representing him as a lama seated in the midst of his conclave of deities (*S. maṇḍala*). Could it be Ch'ien-lung's ill-reputed minion Ho Shen? It is hardly thinkable that he, in spite of his unbelievable arrogance, would dare to pose as an emperor or prince in such a painting. Besides, the figure hardly resembles the Ho Shen portrait known to us. So a guess may be permitted. We know the pathetic story of Prince Hsien<sup>5</sup> (G. 4523, M. 2692) as told by himself in the preface to the Chinese translation of the Tibetan ritual for the Seven Medicine Buddhas written by the fifth Dalai Lama.

According to this document, he became a very devout, not to say bigoted, Buddhist who never ceased to have masses said for the salvation of his wife who had predeceased him. He built himself a temple in the garden of his palace, and had the aforementioned *sūtra* translated because he considered it superior to Chinese rituals in bringing about the desired result, namely of saving his wife from the tortures of hell and of effectuating a happy reunion with her in the hereafter. The mild expression on the donor's face seem to be more fitting for a man of his disposition than the virile sternness of the emperor or the wily features of Ho Shen.

Obviously, the donor has dispatched the boat with a precious offering gift to the Buddha appearing in the circle, who is, we believe, merely another manifestation of the Buddha above the ocean, Maitreya = Ho-shang, popularly known as the Pot-bellied Buddha, the last and only Chinese among the eighteen arhats, accompanied by three of his six children, and a mild-faced person attended by a man looking through a telescope, are the messengers who bring an offering gift to the miraculous apparition. But the telescope is not the only foreign object here. The gift itself is plainly of European style and provenance. It shows the familiar four parts of a large cup or goblet: base, stem, cup and lid, an elaborate product of the goldsmith's workshop. The only Oriental or, more precisely, Buddhist addition is the lotus blossom, obviously added by the painter on orders of the donor. The lotus symbol makes the gift acceptable to the Buddha. Several questions arise which we feel not safe to answer definitely: What was the original purpose of the vessel? Was it meant for decoration only? Or was it a sacred vessel? Was it of French or Italian workmanship? Baroque or rococo? How did it get to China? As "tribute"? Brought over by Jesuits? At any rate, it seems to give us a lead to determine an earliest date of the picture, perhaps the beginning of the eighteenth century. However, since the wife of Prince Hsien, if he is prince Hsien, died in 1737, and it seems that he turned into a renowned patron of Buddhism after that event, the painting may have been made around 1750.

Regarding the incongruity of the donor's dress, we have only one hypothesis to offer: we know that at that time such occasional masquerades were fancied. We cite the famous portrait of Hsiang Fei in European armor, painted by Castiglione (Lang Shih-ning) and the less known one of Emperor Yung-cheng wearing a full-bottomed wig. So the dignified attire of a T'ang emperor might be admissible for this solemn occasion.

It seems not impossible that the donor, by donning a T'ang robe, wanted to indicate that he considered himself the incarnation of some saintly person of that period.

For another allegorical explanation of the painting see "Use" (below).

# HISTORY

**T**he subject of this picture is, no doubt, the last link in a long chain of developments, the result of cross-fertilizations between literature and art. Already during the period of Gandharan art, when the type of the Buddha appears for the first time, he was very frequently shown flanked by two acolytes, e.g. Bodhisattvas, or, as here, favorite disciples. In various schools and at various times two of these disciples won prominence. When Buddhism embarked on its world mission, a group of sixteen disciples became finally established in the pertinent texts as having been entrusted with his teaching. It is an attractive hypothesis that originally four were so distinguished, one for each cardinal point, and that their number was gradually brought up to sixteen, four for each quarter of the world, so as to make their number agree with the cosmic number of the Vedic age, which, as the first power of four, was generally considered as the perfect number. This limitation to sixteen was the rule in Indian Buddhism and also, it seems, in early Buddhism in China. However, for reasons not clear to us, in late T'ang times, from the 9th century A.D. onwards, we find two saintly persons added to this group, bringing the usual number of Worthies up to eighteen. The same happened in Tibet, but the additional figures are not the same as in China.

We do not feel prepared to trace the iconography of the arhats back to their origin. As far as we see, it begins in the Mahāyāna Buddhism of Central Asia. In China we distinguish, as stated above, two very diverging types, which obviously go back to quite different prototypes. On the one hand we have a type revealing a highly emotional state of mind, with bent or twisted bodies, and faces often contorted in convulsions, such as may befall a shaman performing magical feats. Their artistic lineage is traced back to famous Kuan Hsiu<sup>6</sup> (832—912; G. 6378, 4651; M. 3566, 2786). Contrasting with this "baroque" type is a meditative type of rather "classical" outlines as represented in the paintings of celebrated Li Lung-mien<sup>7</sup> (ca. 1040—1106; G. 1884, 7479, 7882; M. 3852, 4258, 4504). There are, of course, many transitions between the two extremes, especially in painting.

Since the painter's brush is a more pliable tool than the chisel, one would think that the paintings influence the sculptor to a higher degree than vice versa.

The painter will be responsible for placing the Worthies in landscapes, or, as here, in seascapes. In many temples we find the arhats represented both as statues and in paintings, often executed as murals, behind them. In such paintings, they are very frequently shown singly, or in pairs or in larger groups, meditating, conversing, displaying magical powers, seated, standing, walking, flying through the air, or walking on the water. Such paintings are meant to fire the imagination

of the spectator, stimulating feelings of religious awe and devotion not so deeply felt when looking at the sober statues. Whether the pictures were originally developed apart from the statues and only added to them in later times as an additional decoration of the temple halls is difficult to say. In any event, they are now found either alone or together.

The scenes in which the Worthies appear have not yet been sufficiently studied, it seems. A thorough search in Chinese and possibly Tibetan sources is necessary for a satisfactory explanation. To all appearances Buddhist China is the country where the type of the arhat found, if not its origin, at least its full development. Chinese artists evolved within the range of the different types a number of portrait-like figures which make identification often possible even without reference to characterizing attributes, as a tiger, a dragon, a diadem, etc.

Our picture, which shows, besides other figures, the Buddha, all the eighteen arhats, and the four World Protectors, is the last word in the development of arhat representation. Here again we are not able to say at what period this arrangement appears for the first time. But it is certain that it took many centuries before maturing into something so perfect and convincing as we have before us.

In concluding it may be mentioned that the subject of this Buddhist picture has its popular Taoist counterpart in the common folkloristic subject: "The Eight Genii Crossing the Sea" (*Pa-hsien kuo hai*<sup>8</sup> G. 8504, 4449, 6622, 3767; M. 4845, 2707, 3730, 2014). In contrast to the "pessimistic" trend of Buddhism the sea is here called *Fu-hai*, "Ocean of Happiness". Sometimes they are depicted as walking on the water, in other cases as aloft on the raft of the Genii (Ch. *hsien-ch'a*,<sup>9</sup> G. 4449, 198; M. 2707, 106). The story which bears all the markings of a folktale may have gained the shape in which we know it sometime between the Great Sung Dynasty, when we first hear of the *Pa-hsien* and the declining years of the Ming Dynasty (roughly between 1000 to 1500 A.D.). Our immediate source is a mythological novel popularly known as *Pa-hsien tung-yu-chi*<sup>10</sup> (G. 8504, 4449, 923, 2740, 12428, 13421; M. 4845, 2707, 6605, 7524, 431, 1446). It is ascribed to Wu Yüan-t'ai<sup>11</sup> (G. 12748, 13744, 10596; M. 7201, 7707, 6023) of Lan-ching.<sup>12</sup> It narrates in 56 chapters the legendary lives of the Eight Genii and particularly how they found the TAO.<sup>13</sup> Finding the TAO is comparable to obtaining the Buddhist perfect enlightenment. The scene which interests us here is their "crossing the sea" in order to visit the "Fairy Queen" Hsi-wang-mu<sup>14</sup> (G. 4031, 12493, 8067; M. 2460, 7037, 4582) and the *P'an-t'ao-hui*<sup>15</sup> (G. 8632, 10807, 5184; M. 4909, 6148, 2345) the festival of the ripening of the 'peach' of immortality. They throw their famous emblems, such as a crutch, a flute, a fan, etc. into the sea. These change into sea monsters and carry them over to the Island of the Blessed. Other details do not concern us here.

Pending further research we only wish to make a few preliminary remarks about the various possibilities as to the origin of the Buddhist and the Taoist scenes, indicating our own view based on the material available here to date:

a) Independent origin. Not likely in the light of the history of the interpenetration between Taoism and Buddhism in China.

b) Priority of the Taoist picture. Not likely in the historical development known so far.

c) Mutual influence in detail. Very likely in view of the many cases of cross-fertilization between Buddhism and Taoism in their popular forms.



# IDENTIFICATIONS

1. Buddha Çäkya-muni with Arhats (Plate 1).
- 2 and 3. The "Egrefious Pair": Maudgalyāyana and Çāriputra (Plate 2).
- 4 and 5. Two pairs of devīs.
6. Piṇḍola Bharadvāja (probably not Panthaka), conqueror of the dragon, with a book in his raised right hand, an alms bowl on his left palm (Plate 2 a).
- 7—11. Group on a tortoise flanked by lion and tiger (Plate 2 b).
  7. Rāhula carrying a golden diadem in both hands.
  8. Angaja or Ingata with a flywhisk and incense burner.
  9. Abhedā lifting a stupa which emits rays.
  10. Arhat making the gesture of adoration.
  11. Bakula or Vakula with mongoose vomiting jewels.
- 12—15. Group with Tiger and Lion (Plate 2 a).
  12. Gopaka (or Panthaka or Kanaka Bharadvāja) holding a book, partly wrapped in cloth, in both hands.
  13. Arhat making a gesture with both hands.
  14. Arhat holding both palms down and a female snake demon (Nāgi) squirting water from a shell or jewel on them.
  15. Bhadra or Panthaka riding on a tiger. His left hand apparently makes threatening gesture, right hand carrying flywhisk.
- 16—21. Group on a "sea dragon" ("dolphin", *S. makara*, Plate 4).
  16. Kālīka, holding two golden rings.
  17. Ajita (probably not Nāgārjuna), characterized by seven snakes rising from behind his back. They wear jewel-like crowns.
  18. Vajriputra or Vanavāsa holding a flywhisk in his left hand.
  19. Kanakavatsa holding a jewelled noose with hood.
  20. Panthaka (?) (seems to hold a book).
  21. Nāgasena. R. pours holy water from a vessel into the sea, L. shakes a staff.
  22. Dharmatrāta or Dharmatāla. L. pours holy water from a vessel, R. raised. Head tilted back, looking towards a Buddha appearing in a "rainbow circle" on clouds rising behind his back. He steps on an enormous flywhisk. A crouching tiger appears at his feet (Plate 4).

- 23—28. Group sailing in a boat rowed by No. 28. Evidently all Chinese (Plate 4).  
23. Does not resemble a Worthy (Kuan Ti, Ch. God of War?).  
24. Possibly Chou Ts'ang, arms-bearer of 23, with telescope.  
25. Hvā-çang or Pot-Bellied Buddha. One of the eighteen Worthies.  
26—28. Probably three of the six children accompanying No. 25.
- 29—32. The guardians of the Four Quarters.  
29. Virūdhaka, with his guitar.  
30. Dhṛtarāshṭra, with his sword.  
31. Virūpāksha.  
32. Vaiçravaṇa with his banner.
33. The "donor" of the painting (Plate 3 a).

## USE

Some aspects of the multiple purpose of this painting have already been explained (see the sections on interpretation and history). It functions as decoration of the temple and, as such, an offering gift of the Buddha, as well as an object of edification. In these respects, the picture is meant both for priests and laymen. But to the priest it is more than that. It is an important means of stimulating his imagination, when he, reciting the pertinent texts, or absorbed in meditation, mentally creates the Buddha and his conclave in the complex process of performing the holy ritual involved, while he is offering worship, sacrifices and prayers. Such pictures guide his mind more surely than words for visualizing the sacred image of Lord Buddha himself and the impressive figures of his heralds entering the various spheres of their activities as apostles, protectors, saviors, and workers of miracles. Space forbids elaboration on this.

Only one facet of their thaumaturgical role should be briefly mentioned: They are believed to be rain-makers. The Taishō edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka contains numerous texts intended for this purpose, such as Nos. 989, 990, 991, 992, 993. We may compare this picture with some of the rain *maṇḍalas* contained in the Picture Supplement of vols. 5 and 12 of the Taishō Tripiṭaka. Those pictures show, of course, a very simplified arrangement. On top we have the Buddha Çākyaṃuni, flanked by two of his disciples, and — this is very significant — one dragon king at the right and two at the left of the Buddha. If we eliminate from our picture the Eighteen Worthies, the Four Lokapālas, and the unidentified figures, then there remains exactly the skeleton of a picture as the one represented in this supplement.

The strange goblet in the boat might be a gift to the Buddha as required by the texts, or it might be one of the "Pure Water Vessels" which the texts mention and which were used in sympathetic magic (Analogiezauber). In order to prove my point I submit a rough translation of text number 990 contained in Volume 19, p. 492—493 of the Taishō Tripiṭaka, called: Ritual to be observed in the erection of the altar when praying for rain, according to the Sutra of the Great Clouds (Ch. *Ta-yün-ching ch'i-yü-t'an-fa*<sup>16</sup> G. 10470, 13812, 2122, 1013, 13623, 10705, 3366; M. 5943, 7750, 1123, 540, 7662, 6059).

"If a person in times of great drought wishes to pray for rain he should construct an altar in the open, remove all debris and uncleanness, pitch a blue-green tent, hoist blue-green flags and construct a square altar, anointing it with scented unguents." (The altar seems to be nothing more than a square *maṇḍala* drawn on the ground.)

"In the center of the altar he should paint a pond with the seven jewels. In the pond he should paint the palace of the dragon kings with Çākyaṃuni Tathāgata inside... To the right of the Buddha he should draw Avalokiteçvara Bodhisattva, to the left Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva." (These are missing in the simple drawings of the supplement as well as in our picture. Instead of that we have in both cases the Egregious Pair.)

"In front of the Buddha, to the right, we have the Lun-kai Lung-wang, dragon king Lun-kai, Lord of the 3000 Great Thousand-Worlds; to the left, the two dragon kings Nanda and Upānanda.

"On each of the four sides of the altar one should draw one dragon king." (These are described as to size, number of heads, etc.)

"The dragons should be drawn in a haze of black clouds. The bodies should end in snakes and the tails should be in the pond. The upper part of the body should show the forms of a Bodhisattva. Emerging from the water, they make the gesture of obeisance.

"At the four corners of the altar, vases containing water should be put and one should offer food and drink according to one's ability. All should be painted blue-green. One should arrange the offerings with a devoted and pure heart, burn incense and scatter blue-green flowers, as everything used in this ceremony should be of blue-green color.

"If the person praying for rain be a monk, he should observe all the precepts. If he be a layman, he should observe the eight injunctions.

"During the ceremony he should live on the three kinds of white food (curd, milk and butter). Every day he should bathe in scented water, dress in a new clean blue-green garment and should prepare a seat made of green material at the west of the altar, anoint his hands with a scented ointment after consecrating his body with the three mysteries,\* and protect the altar (with sacred formulas, etc.). On a table he should put the *Sūtra of the Great Clouds*, conceive great commiseration for all beings, and, full of devotion, pray to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas for consecration. This *Sūtra of the Great Clouds* should be read devoutly day and night, either by two or by three people alternately. The sound of the reading should never cease. If it is read according to this ritual one, two or up to seven days in time of drought, there certainly will fall a sweet rain. If the calamity is so heavy that there will be no rain, the ceremony should be repeated and rain will certainly come.

"One should, however, make a vow that the merit produced by reading this sūtra will be turned over to the nāgas in order to save them from their sufferings, and one must produce in one's self the brightest enlightenment in order to procure rain for living things."

In this connection, an additional allegorical explanation may be presented. We read in the Taishō Tripitaka, Supplement, vol. 10, p. 692:

"The Dharmakāya, in-itself-nature of the Buddha (roughly equivalent to what we mean by the absolute) produces the egoless commiseration which assumes the form of Čākyamuni, who enters meditation to increase his magic power (*S. tejas*). So he lets rain fall which makes the plants grow and produces the five kinds of grain by which the greed and stinginess of beings are turned into the enjoyment of ease and abundance.

"In reality, this rain is the water of 'wisdom of great commiseration' of Mahāvairocana which extinguishes the burning passions of living beings. Therefore the *Sūtra of the Great Cloud* says: 'Clouds mean the Bodhisattvas; thunder means that which bursts the bonds forged by actions springing from our passions and makes the sprouts of our Buddha-nature grow'. Čākyamuni lives in the north in the region of water; therefore, his epithet is Thunder Buddha of the Heavenly Drum. The treasures are identical with the products of the water of the law. Dragons are the quintessence of the water, therefore the sacred text speaks about them as clouds..."

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\* This means that he should make gestures (*S. mudrā*) and mutter "spells" (*S. dhāraṇī*) "identifying" his own body, speech, and mind (= personality) with that of the Buddha.

## APPRECIATION

Our approach to works of art, and that includes also the religious art of east and west, largely leads us to canons of taste we often rather naïvely regard as permanent and immutable. It appears from what has been said above that such an approach, though perhaps not wholly erroneous, would hardly do justice to a religious painting like the one under consideration. For any criticisms derived from aesthetic standards new or old must miss the mark, as they lose sight of the main purpose for which most works of Buddhist art, especially in later times, were created.

It does not concern us here whether the most ancient works of Buddhist art were really not more than plain memorials made in honor of the great religious leader and installed at gathering points for adorants, while only times of highest artistic tension, such as the Gupta period (300 to 600 A.D.) created works refined enough to satisfy the more sophisticated beholder. Let us recall to mind that we have to judge this painting as an aid towards salvation in the first place. Tibetan sources speak about certain religious books as *thos grol* (pronounce tödö [1], "hearing-saving") — salvation through hearing; the Tibetan "Book of the Dead", improperly so called, is a famous example. By analogy, religious paintings are termed *nthong grol* (thongdö [1], "seeing-saving") — salvation through seeing. The two terms aptly describe their respective ultimate purposes.

This does not imply that an aesthetic element is entirely lacking or even negligible. But it is certainly not a predominant factor in the artist's mind. However, to honor the deity imagined to be present in its image with a more perfect, elaborate and costly creation holds in the eyes of many a donor a greater promise of religious merit than to offer up some product of indifferent workmanship. Therefore, artistic genius, taste and skill will reveal themselves in various degrees to the beholder. But the liturgical function for which the image is intended sets a limit to the freedom of the artist in using his genius and his resources.

Our painting, however, does not belong to the class of strictly "hieratic" imagery. This vast seascape alive with mythical creatures reminding us of the brush of an Arnold Böcklin or even, faintly, of Goethe's poetic imagination as displayed in the Classical Walpurgis-Night (Faust, Part ii, Act ii, iii); these groups of saintly men afloat on phantastic vehicles bound for some mysterious shore; the treasures drifting on the agitated waves; the denizens of the deep sea, offering up precious jewels; the animals marking the points of the compass — all this has its root in religious romanticism, a by-product of that religious imagination which paints a miraculous cosmorama on a canvas woven of impalpable religious trends, thus creating what is called in Sanskrit a *pratibimba*, a "counter-picture", a mirage.

As far as the arhats are concerned, tradition has permitted the artists to develop, within the wide range of a general type, a great number of individualities, with portrait-like pictures, some of which are rightly regarded as real masterworks of this kind. Many seem to be modelled directly after living persons, just as in western religious art images of apostles are known to bear sometimes the features of famous priests. And as in the west races are distinguishable among the Three Sages bearing offerings to the *sacro bambino*, so we can discern light and dark-skinned Indians and mongoloid faces in certain groups of arhats.

Returning to our painting, we cannot but admire the wise economy with which about three dozen persons are distributed over the plan of the picture, the fluidity of the movements, the clarity of the presentation, the diversity of features, the wealth displayed in the many kinds of dress, the variety of postures, the loving care devoted to detail, and, not to be forgotten, the sure application of a color scheme, which, although reflecting a late tradition, still is inspired by a noble sensitiveness and refined perception.

One may object to the many smaller objects floating rather aimlessly between the magic craft. But they were not superfluous to the Oriental observer, certainly not if he happened to be a Buddhist. Comparisons with similar paintings or with descriptive texts may reveal some deeper reasons for their presence here.

# THE MAṄḌALA OF ÇĀKYAMUNI

Of all images used as cult objects the maṅḍala in its various shapes occupies the first place. It is the most elaborate of all the *yantras* (helps towards concentration) picturing an ideal world as emanating from and reflected in the divine person. This may justify the following notes intended to supplement and conclude this essay.

We choose the maṅḍala of Çākyaṃuni constructed for the Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra service held from October 1 to 3 1931 in Hall VII (called *Chos lkhor rab rgyas gling*) of the Lamaist temple Yung-ho-kung in Peking.

The following notes were taken during the service by the presented writer and illustrated by Dr. Gösta Montell.

The reading of the celebrated Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra is one of the most important rituals of the Lamaist Church, at least in the Dge lugs pa or Yellow School, because of the many blessings which this text promises to those who pay worship to it and to the deities mentioned therein. If fully performed, the ceremony should continue for forty-nine days and nights without interruption. It is simple enough in itself as only a small group of lamas (at certain times, esp. at night, only one) are sufficient to perform it, although its effect is supposed to increase in proportion to the number of priests engaged in it.

These activities, as far as they were performed indoors and we were permitted and able to ascertain by direct observation and inquiries, consist in chanting the rather lengthy Tibetan text (it comprises 65 folios in the Derge edition of the Kanjur) and in regular circumambulations of the sacred precinct. There is, however, a burnt-offering (*homa*) for Çrīdevī to be performed in connection with this rite. Preparations on a rather small scale were made for it outside in front of the main entrance door. For description of *homa* see Yung-ho-kung vol. I, pp. 156—161<sup>1</sup> and plates XXX to XXXII.

The hall chosen for the ceremony differs from all the other fifteen halls in that its plan does not show the usual rectangular shape; instead it suggests the shape of a cross, by allowing the eastern and western walls to project thus forming two spacious niches. But for this occasion what might be called the nave of the building was shut off from the niches by a row of very large religious images arranged parallel to the west, north and east walls. A number of these images (part of them were paintings, while others were manufactured in the famous *k'o szu* technique) had an obvious bearing on the ceremony, while others seemed to have a rather distant connection with it.

<sup>1</sup> F. D. Lessing, *Yung-Ho-Kung, an Iconography of the Lamaist Cathedral in Peking*. Stockholm 1942 (Reports from the Scientific Expedition to the North-Western Provinces of China under the Leadership of Dr. Sven Hedin, Publication 18).

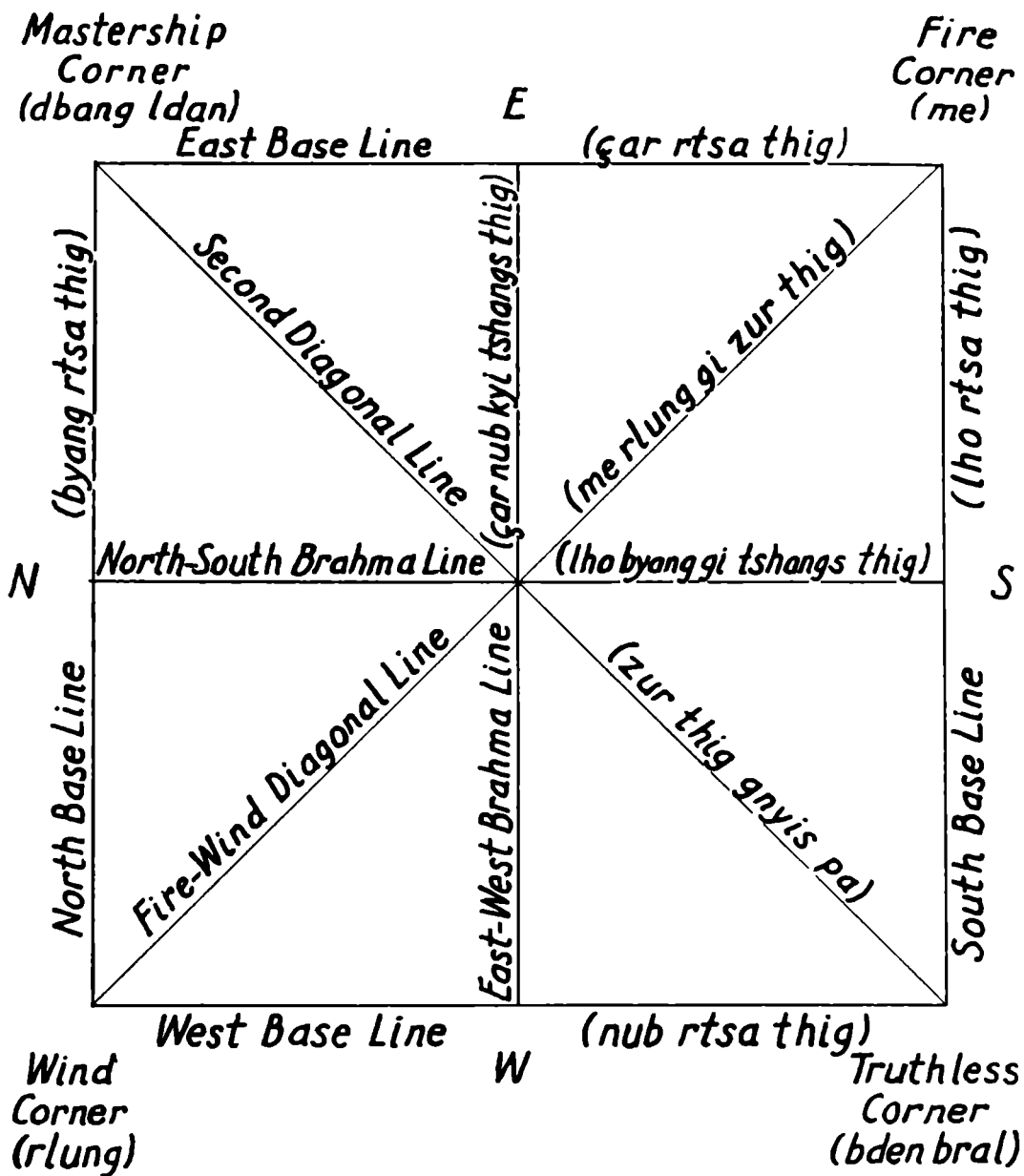
We give here merely a list of names of deities represented, leaving a more detailed account of them for a later occasion (see Sketch).

1. Vaiṣravaṇa (Op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 41, 98 (Fig. 14) and pp. 139—149).
2. Çākyaṃuni.
3. A red ḍākinī, (Na ro mkhaḥ spyod ma?).
4. Kshetrapāla (Op. cit., p. 93—94, Fig. 13).
5. Ḍākinī, blue, on mule (Çrīdevī?).
6. Mahākāla (Op. cit., p. 73. See No. 17).
7. Vaiṣravaṇa (See No. 1).
8. Avalokiteṣvara.
9. Tshogs-zhing of Tsong kha pa (For Tsong kha pa see Op. cit., p. 110, Fig. 18).
10. Sitāta-patr-āparājītā (Op. cit., p. 85—87, Fig. 11).
11. Manjuṣrī.
12. Kurukulle.
13. Ḍākinī on mule (Çrīdevī? See No. 5).
14. Dharmarāja (Yama. Op. cit., p. 76, Fig. 7, p. 90, 93 etc.).
15. Çrīdevī (Op. cit. See No. 13).
16. Vaiṣravaṇa (See No. 1).
17. Mahākāla (See No. 6).
18. Saṃjaya.
19. Maṇḍala with symbols instead of figures. Not accessible for close inspection. Çākyaṃuni?

It seems doubtful whether the lamas had followed any ritual precepts in arranging these images. However, this much seems to be sure, that the series should begin with Vaiṣravaṇa and wind up with Saṃjaya, who both play a prominent part in the text as recited. Both function as generals of the hosts of treasure-protecting beneficent Yakshas. Before each of the images stood a table laden with offering gifts, the so-called *stongmchod* or thousandfold offering (S. *Sahasra-pūjā*. Op. cit., Sketch on p. 140). Saṃjaya (or Saṃjñeya) whose painting we found close to the seats of the officiating lamas, belongs to the eight "Horsemasters" (T. *Rta bdag*; see G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, vol. II, p. 475—6) of the circle of Vaiṣravaṇa. As such he plays less than a secondary role in the ritual, except in the ceremony under discussion where he is found among the most prominent deities to be worshiped. This exceptional position is based on the twelfth chapter of the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*. In this book the *Yaksha* makes the most extraordinary promises to worshipers, "because I see before my eyes the light of inconceivable knowledge" (whence the confusion between the names, Sanskrit Saṃjaya meaning victorious, while the alternative form Saṃjñā [Tib. Yang dag ces] refers to his wisdom) "the torch of inconceivable knowledge, the path of inconceivable wisdom, the sphere of inconceivable wisdom. I correctly understand, contemplate, discern, and analyze all the dharmas ("mentals") regarding their causes. Therefore my name is Saṃjñā (*sam* = *samyak* 'correctly')". Later on he enumerates the rewards he is going to bestow upon those who worship him faithfully and assiduously.

The painting we saw showed a dark, slightly oval face of the heroic or martial (S. *vīra*) type, i.e. neither serene like that of Buddha, nor wildly distorted like that of a Yamāntaka (Op. cit., vol. I p. 75, Fig. 6). His beard was drawn with a care for detail worthy of the brush of a Dürer.



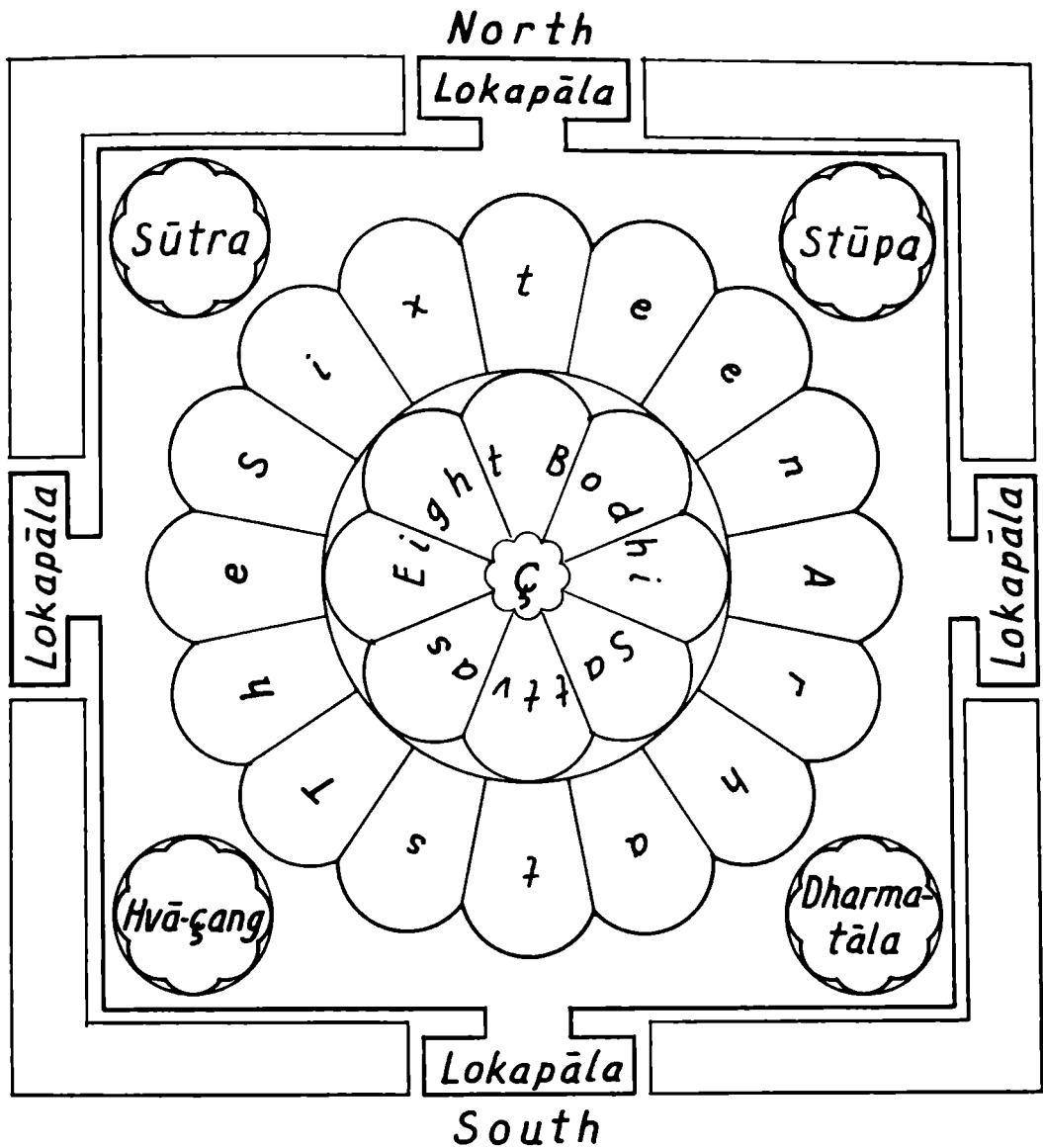


Sketch 1. First lines to be drawn in Maṇḍala (order in Tshong kha pa's school)

He wears helmet and armor and a fish-shaped apron of mail (the latter is well known as part of the costume in which Chinese actors playing the part of generals used to appear on the stage).

*Key to the Çākyaṃuni maṇḍala*

Center: Bronze statue of Çākyaṃuni. On the inner (eight) lotus petals: drawings of the familiar group called The Eight Great Bodhisattvas. On the outer (sixteen) lotus circles: drawings of the



Sketch 2. The maṇḍala of Čākyaṃuni surrounded by Eight Great Bodhisattvas and the Sixteen (Eighteen) Arhats

Sixteen Worthies (*arhat*). On the four lotus rosettes in the four corners inside of the palace: A. Dharmatāla (bronze); B. Maitreya as the monk Pu-tai Ho-shang (bronze), generally known as the Pot-bellied Buddha (Op. cit., p. 36, Fig. 1 and Plates X and XIII, pp. 21—37); C. a stupa (bronze); and D, a book, the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*.

The central statue, together with the book and the stupa, in this order, represent the body, speech and mind, i.e. the mysterious "personality" of the Buddha. The three bronze objects (A, B, C) are

placed on three-legged incense burners. It will be noticed that Maitreya, though represented in the shape of a monk, is distinguished by a lotus seat. By this his double role is indicated: he is one of the Worthies and also the next to follow in the series of future Buddha incarnations. This sets him apart from Dharmatāla, who is simply an arhat.

1. 羅漢過海以過渡
2. 戒台寺
3. 苦海
4. 故宮帝后像
5. 顯
6. 貫修
7. 李龍眠
8. 八仙過海
9. 仙槎
10. 八仙東遊記
11. 吳元泰
12. 蘭江
13. 道
14. 西王母
15. 蟠桃會
16. 大雲經祈雨壇法

## ABBREVIATIONS

- G. H. A. Giles, Chinese-English Dictionary  
London and Shanghai, 1912.  
M. R. H. Mathews, Chinese-English Dictionary  
Shanghai, 1931.



Çakyamuni with Arhats Crossing the Sea. Lamaist Painting  
Statens etnografiska museum, Stockholm



a. Group with Tiger and Lion  
(Identification, 12—15)  
Pindola? Panthaka? (Identification No. 6)



b. Group on Tortoise  
(Identification, Nos. 7—11)



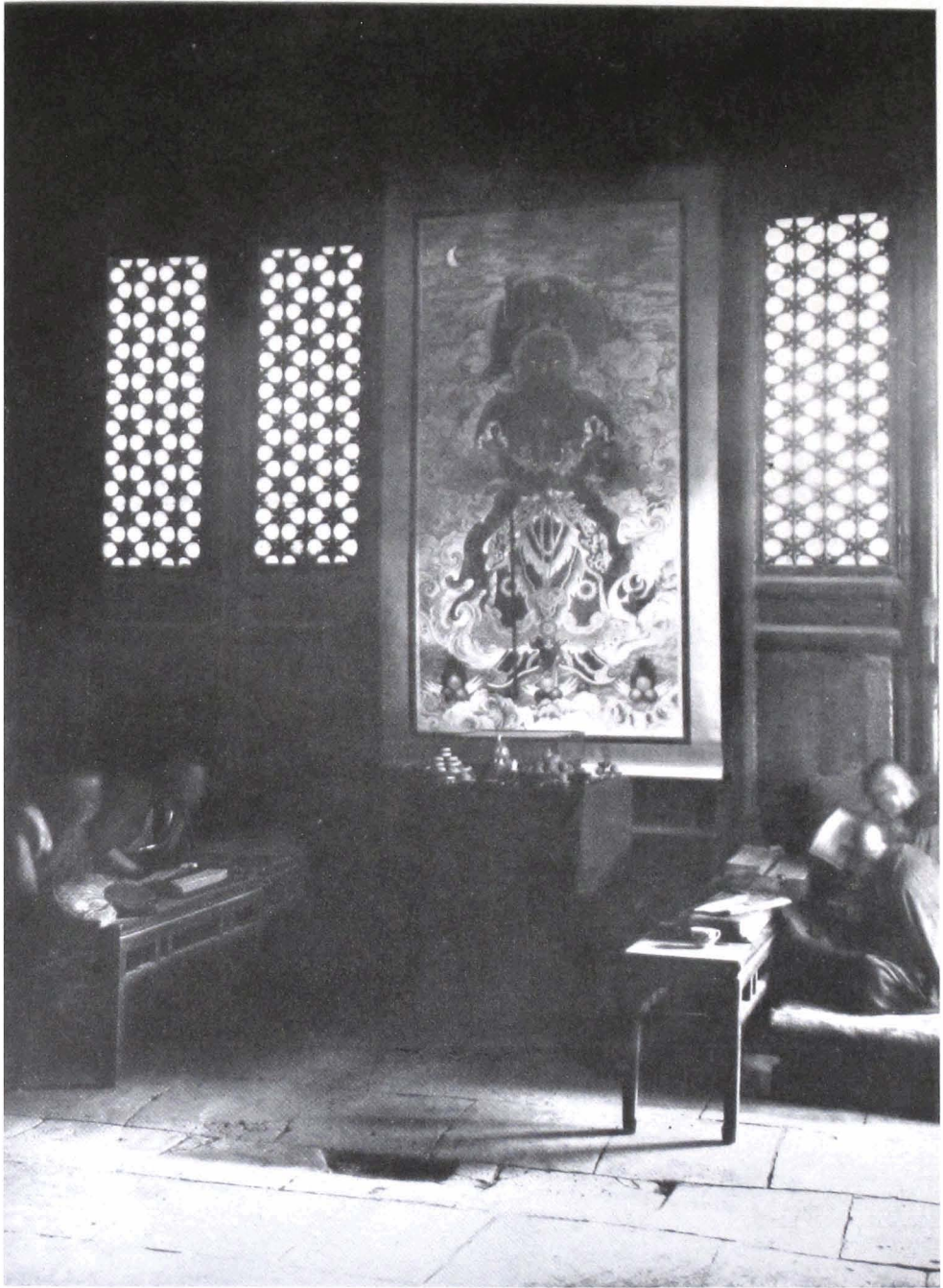
a. Donor of the Painting with Two Attendants  
(Identification, No. 23)



b. Two of the Four Guardian Kings  
(Identification, Nos. 29—30)



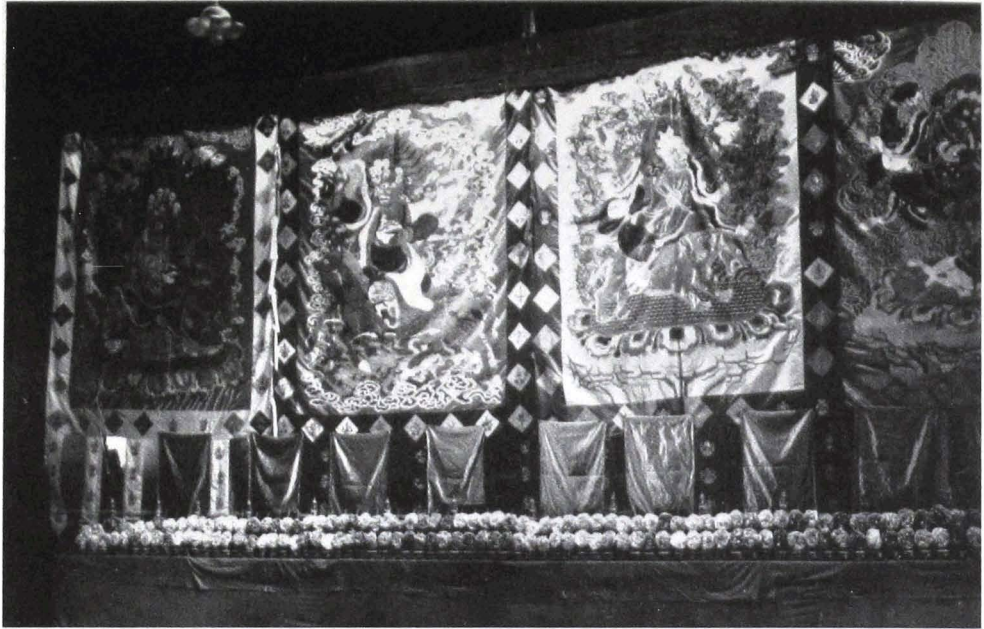
Group on Sea Dragon (Identification, Nos. 16—21)  
Hvā-çang and His Group (Identification, Nos. 23—28)



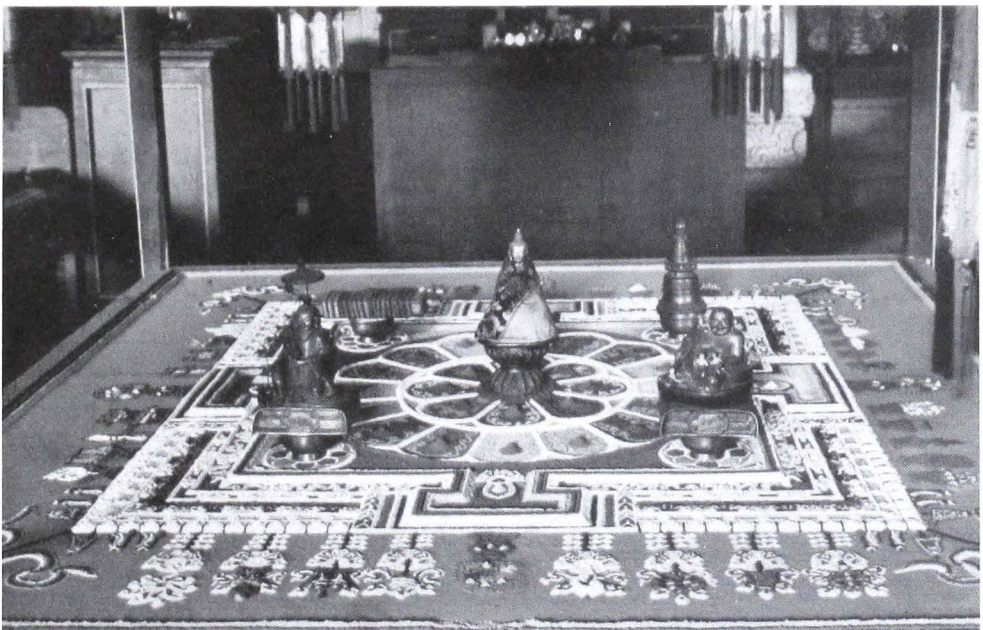
Reading the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*. Yung-Ho-Kung 1931.

*Photo G. Montell*





Row of very large embroideries shutting off centre of Temple Hall



Maṇḍala of Čākyaṃuni constructed for the *Suvarṇa-prabhāsa-sūtra*, 1931

For Kev see end of article

*Photos G. Montell*

