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**Mongolian Biography of Zanabazar (1635–1723),
the First Mongolian Jetsundampa – A Preliminary Study
of the Manuscript from the Kotwicz Collection**

Abstract

The paper investigates a manuscript of an untitled Mongolian biography of Zanabazar, the First Khalkha Jetsundampa (1635–1723), preserved in the Archives of Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kraków, in the collection of Władysław Kotwicz. The same text of the biography of Zanabazar was studied and translated to English by Charles Bawden in his work “The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtus of Urga. Text, Translation and Notes” in 1961. The Modern Mongolian version based on several manuscripts of the biography preserved in Ulan Bator was published by Dashbadrakh in 1995. The present paper provides main information about the manuscript kept in the Kotwicz Collection together with its comparison to the fragments of other copies of the biography used by Bawden and Dashbadrakh for their studies.

The Mongolian incarnation of Tāranātha Kun dga’ snying po (1575–1634), the Tibetan master of the Jonangpa (*jo nang pa*) order, called by the title Jetsundampa (*rje btsun dam pa*), was found in the son of the mighty Tüshiyetü Khan of Khalkha – Gombodorji in 1635. The recognition of the incarnation among the important family members of Chinggis Khan had a long lasting consequences: Zanabazar proved to be not only an important religious leader, but also a person having political influence over all Khalkha Mongols. His successive incarnations were treated as main Buddhist leaders of Khalkha Mongolia, despite the fact that after the second embodiment they were found among the Tibetans. The eighth incarnation of Jetsundampa became the ruler of Mongolia when it

gained independence in 1911. He was called Bogdo Khan and established hierocratic rule of a Buddhist master over lay subjects employing the example shown by the Tibetan Dalai Lamas.

There are several questions connected with the figure of the First Khalkha Jetsundampa: why the reincarnation of the Jonangpa scholar was found in Mongolia? When and how was he recognized by the Gelugpa (*dge lugs pa*) hierarchs, the Fifth Dalai Lama (*blo bzang rgya mtsho*, 1642–1682) and the First (or Fourth) Panchen Lama (*blo bzang chos kyi rgyal mtshan*, 1570–1662)? Was his religious education controlled from the very beginning by the Gelugpa masters? What was his actual role in the political situation of Khalkha Mongols? What was his relationship with the Manchu Emperor Kangxi (1654–1722)? Was he a political leader by his own choice or by coincidence? Was he a hero or a traitor of Khalkha Mongols?¹ What was his contribution to Buddhism in Mongolia?² And many others.

In order to answer these questions scholars studied biographies of Zanabazar.³ The first biography appeared in 1702, during his lifetime. It was written in Tibetan by his disciple, Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei (*blo bzang 'phrin las*, 1642–1715).⁴ According to our present knowledge Zanabazar's next biographies were written in Tibetan only over one hundred years later, in 1839 by Rab 'byams pa Ngag dbang ye shes thub bstan⁵ and in 1847 by Ngag dbang blo bzang don grub.⁶ Probably soon later, maybe in 1859, a biography written in Classical Mongolian was composed. This is the source text for the present study.

In 1961 Charles Bawden published an excellent study of the biography entitled: *The Jebtsundamba Khutukhtu of Urga. Text, Translation and Notes* in the series *Asiatische Forschungen*, vol. 9, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden. He based his research on the “five complete and three fragmentary texts” (p. 3). Their originals or photocopies were preserved in the Royal Academy in Copenhagen, the State Central Library in Ulan Bator and the British Museum in London. Bawden transliterated one of the manuscripts, which

¹ See: Miyawaki 1994, Kaplonski 2004, pp. 145–162, Bareja-Starzyńska 2008, Bareja-Starzyńska (in print b).

² See Bira 1980, Ichinnorov 2005. About Zanabazar's disciples see Bareja-Starzyńska 2009.

³ Brief study of life and compositions of Zanabazar is presented in Byambaa 2004a (esp. pp. 1–4, with bibliography of works of other scholars pp. 3–4), Lokesh Chandra 1961, Khürelbaatar 1996, survey of biographies of Zanabazar – Bareja-Starzyńska (in print a). Reprints of biographies in Byambaa 2004b, 2006, Lokesh Chandra 1981, 1982, Kämpfe 1981.

⁴ *Blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i khrungs rabs bco lnga'i nram thar*, included in the great work of Zaya Pandita, his four volume *thob yig* or ‘teachings received’ entitled (*Sha kya'i btsun pa blo bzang 'phrin las kyi*) *zab pa dang rgya che ba'i dam pa'i chos kyi thob yig gsal ba'i me long* called in short the “Clear Mirror”. Under study by the author of the present article. The annotated English translation of the text is planned. In the present article all references to this biography are made to the bilingual manuscript reproduced by Lokesh Chandra 1982, pp. 411–549.

⁵ *Khyab bdag 'khor lo'i mgon Rje btsun dam pa blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan gyi nram thar skal bzang dad pa'i shing rta*. See Byambaa 2004a, p. 1, Bareja-Starzyńska (in print a).

⁶ *Khyab bdag 'khor lo mgon po Rje btsun blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mshan dpal bzang po'i nram thar skal ldan thar 'dod re ba skong ba'i dga' ston*. See Byambaa 2004a, p. 1, 3, Bareja-Starzyńska (in print a).

originally belonged to Lama Tümen Bayar of the temple Siregetü jūu at Köke qota, and compared it to other versions, translated the text and commented the differences between the manuscripts. The last date mentioned in the biography is the “earth-sheep year called *don-grub*” i.e. 1859, which is probably the date of the composition or copying of the text. The biography bears no title.⁷

Another study and translation of this biography into the Modern Mongolian language was made by D. D a s h b a d r a k h. He based his study on two manuscripts selected by him from fifteen manuscripts (p. 1) of this text preserved in the collection of Mongolian manuscripts of the State Central Library in Ulan Bator. In comparison with B a w d e n’s manuscripts the version of biography chosen by D a s h b a d r a k h differs in length since depictions of lives of the fourth to the seventh incarnations of Jetsundampa are missing. D a s h b a d r a k h’s work entitled *Öndör gegeenii namtar* was included in the collection of translations of Zanabazar’s biographies edited by Shagdaryn Bira under the title *Öndör gegeenii namtruud orshvoi*, Ulaanbaatar 1995, pp. 1–47.

There are also probably other copies of this biography, in libraries as well as in private collections. It is worth mentioning that there are manuscripts kept in the St. Petersburg’s Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences listed in the catalogue by A.G. S a z y k i n 1988 under numbers: 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, and 594–595 (the last two describe lives of the three incarnations of Jetsundampa) and in the St. Petersburg State University Library listed by V. U s p e n s k y in his catalogue (1999) under numbers 257 and 238 which require study and comparison with the previously mentioned copies. At least one more manuscript of the biography is kept in Mongolia by Prof. S h a g d a r s ü r e n in Ulan Bator.⁸

Moreover there is also a manuscript of the biography of Zanabazar preserved in the K o t w i c z Collection of the Archives of Sciences of PAN and PAU in Kraków.⁹ It consists of 14 pages, the one of which, however, is seriously damaged. Otherwise the text is complete.¹⁰ Pages are numbered in Mongolian on each corners, left and right, i.e. twice on each page: 3 and 3 etc.,¹¹ starting from the first page of the contents, the cover remaining without numbering. This is why in the transcription of the biography in

⁷ However, D a s h b a d r a k h 1995 on p. 2 writes that in the State Central Library in Ulan Bator the two manuscripts which he used bear the title *Erdene jūu ba öndör gegeenii namtar* and they consist of two texts: the history of Erdene dzuu and the biography of Öndör Gegeen.

⁸ The author of these lines would like to express her gratitude to Prof. S h a g d a r s ü r e n for making his copy entitled *Öndör gegen-ü namtar kemekü sudur orosiba* available for her study. It covers biographies of three incarnations of Jetsundampa.

⁹ The author of the present article would like to express her sincere gratitude to the Archives of Sciences of Polska Akademia Nauk [Polish Academy of Sciences] and Polska Akademia Umiejętności [Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences] for making the manuscript and its scans available for her research and for publishing. Special thanks go to the Head of the Archives, Dr. Rita M a j k o w s k a and the curator of the collection, Mrs. Ewa D z i u r z y Ń s k a, for their kind assistance whenever items of the K o t w i c z Collection were dealt with.

¹⁰ The manuscript was renovated in 1994 by Fundacja Nauki Polskiej [Foundation for Polish Science] and is now preserved in an excellent state.

¹¹ However, there is a numeral *tabuun(!)* written on top of the page marked by a Mongolian number as 4.

the present paper pages are marked with 3a and 3b etc. for each part of the page. The manuscript is written on the Chinese paper (52,5 x 26 cm, text 48 x 26 cm) with black ink. Usually there are 24 lines on a page.

The book was labeled in the collection as “The history of Erdene dzuu” under the number K-III-19, j. 69a. The manuscript was written most probably in the 19th century. The dates which are mentioned on the cover are: “the 14th year of Badarayultu törü” i.e. Guangxu emperor from the Qing dynasty (1875–1908) and “of fire-dog” (*yal noqai*) and again “the 15th year of Badarayulti törü”. The dates do not match each other very well: the fourteenth year of the reign of emperor Guangxu should be the year 1889. However, the fire-dog year was 1886. If it was in the 15th year of the reign – it should be the year 1890. If the date of birth of emperor Guangxu is taken into consideration, the dates are closer to match: Guangxu was born in 1871, if one adds 15 years, it gives the date 1886, the year of fire-dog. However, Guangxu started to reign in 1874/5 and this date should be the beginning of his “era”. Besides, if it was “in the 15th year of the reign” it would be 1885 and not 1886. In any case these dates might be confusing. The whole “cover” cannot be treated as a cover proper. There is no proper title, but several short writings, which look rather as if someone was practicing how to write Mongolian script, than if someone wanted to convey any important message or title and date of the book. Nevertheless, judging from the state of the paper and the way of scribing, the 19th century seems to be probable dating of the manuscript. Unfortunately, so far it has not been established in which way this manuscript was obtained by Professor K o t w i c z. It could have happened during his expedition to Mongolia in 1912.¹²

The manuscript of K o t w i c z covers the whole biography of Zanabazar, the First Jetsundampa, not like the other versions of the text, which depict also the subsequent reincarnations of Jetsundampa in Mongolia. In comparison with the version chosen by Bawden as his main copy, the manuscript of K o t w i c z agrees with it from folio 1 recto to 26 recto 4th line, while the rest of the text: from folio 26 recto 5th line to folio 48 verso which depicts lives of the second to the seventh incarnations of Jetsundampa, is missing.

A peculiarity of the K o t w i c z manuscript is a dot on the right side of the initial “t” to mark the initial “d”, and y is marked by a double dot even when it is not necessary. Quite often particles of grammatical functions (such as of declension) are written together with base words, for example: *čimadur* (3a12) instead of *čima-dur*, *žiliin* (3a21) instead of *žil-iin* and *sarayin* (3a21) instead of *sara-yin* etc.

In order to show the differences between the manuscript of K o t w i c z and other manuscripts studied by B a w d e n and D a s h b a d r a k h the fragment which describes birth and early years of Zanabazar’s life will be presented in Latin transcription and in the form of facsimile of the text¹³ at the end of the paper.

¹² For the expedition of Kotwicz to Mongolia in 1912 see Tulisow 1996 and Tulisow 1997a, Tulisow 1997b.

¹³ The author plans to publish the facsimile and to study the whole manuscript kept at the Kotwicz Collection. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, Jerzy Tulisow and Osamu Iuoue work on the materials connected with the Erdene dzuu for the project led by Prof. Matsukawa.

The Kotwicz version does not follow exactly any of the manuscripts studied by Bawden, nor those used by Dashbadrakh (pp. 8–10). However, it seems to be quite close to the Bawden versions B, C and at places U, V, W and X, and versions studied by Dashbadrakh. For example the expression about *altan uruy* – ‘the golden family’ of Chinggis Khan, in the Kotwicz manuscript p. 3a12, appears in versions C, U, W and X (Bawden footnote 7 to folio 6r, p. 42) and Dashbadrakh (p. 8), though it is replaced in the main manuscript of Bawden by *altan nutuy* ‘the golden motherland’. The information about white flowers which appeared after moving a yurt when the queen gave birth to Zanabazar is missing in the Kotwicz version p. 3b2, as well as in manuscripts B, C, U and W (Bawden, footnote 4 to folio 7r on p. 42) and the manuscripts used by Dashbadrakh (p. 8). On page 3b11 the Kotwicz manuscript adds the sentence “He will be a very excellent lama, the saviour of us all” like manuscripts B, C and V (Bawden, footnote 4 to folio 7v, p. 43), missing in Dashbadrakh (p. 9). The Kotwicz manuscript (page 4a12) follows also manuscripts B, U, V (Bawden, footnote 1 to folio 93, p. 45) and Dashbadrakh (p. 10) when it is said that Zanabazar returned to Khalkha lands and “established his rule”.

There are also in some places such variant readings of the text which can be found only in the Kotwicz manuscript. For example (Kotwicz, page 3b21, Bawden, 8r6, Dashbadrakh p. 9) the name of a lama, who gave the name *jñanabadzar* (Sanskrit *Jñānavajra*) to the boy is written as Biligün Lama Nomun Khan while in other manuscripts there are different spellings of the name *jambaling* for the Tibetan name: *byams pa gling*, maybe the name of the monastery in Amdo better known as Kumbum (*sku 'bum*, the full name of the monastery being: *sku 'bum byams pa gling*). In the biography written in Tibetan by the Khalkha Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinlei in 1702 (p. 422-1) the name of this person is given as: *Byams pa gling no mon khan*.

A more striking difference found in the Kotwicz manuscript is the information concerning Zanabazar's age. Unlike the other versions, it states that Zanabazar was enthroned as a reincarnation when he was four years old (page 3b22), while in all other manuscripts it is written that he was then five years old (Bawden, 8r6, Dashbadrakh, p. 9). This information is provided by Zaya Pandita in the biography written in Tibetan in 1702 (p. 422-3) as well.

Furthermore, the Kotwicz manuscript and those used by Dashbadrakh (p. 9) inform that Zanabazar went to Tibet when he was sixteen years old, though other manuscripts (Bawden 8v1) say that he was fifteen years old at that time. This is the correct information given as well by Zaya Pandita (p. 424-3). All versions of the Mongolian biography, including the Kotwicz manuscript (Kotwicz, page 4a1, Bawden, 8v1), add that it happened in the sixth year of the reign of *Eyeber zasayči* (1644–1661) which is the year 1649.¹⁴ This corresponds to the name of the year *sirui iiker* (earth-cow), which was 1649 and this is also confirmed by Zaya Pandita in his biography of Zanabazar (Tib. *sa mo glang*, pp. 424-3–425-1). Therefore if Zanabazar

¹⁴ Dashbadrakh gives the wrong date – 1709. See Dashbadrakh, p. 9.

was born in 1635 (*kökegčün modun yaqai jil* – Kotwicz, page 3a21, Bawden, 6v7) then he was fifteen years old in 1649.¹⁵

The person who participated in the ordination of Zanabazar as his preceptor was an eminent Gelugpa scholar Blo bzang bstan 'dzin rgya mtsho (1605–1643 or 1644) who was the second incarnation of Khedub Sangye Yeshe (*mkhas grub sang rgyas ye shes*) called Bensa Tulku (*dben sa sprul sku*) which is explained in the Zaya Pandita's biography (p. 423-1-2). It seems that the Tibetan name appeared in all manuscripts of the Mongolian biography in corrupted forms. The Tibetan term *sprul sku* was written in Mongolian as variants of *bürilegüü* and Tibetan *dben sa* as *wansu* (Bawden, footnote 12 to folio 8r, p. 44, Dashbadrakh, p. 9, footnote 26). The last part of the name is missing in Kotwicz (p. 3b23) and Bawden's main manuscript (f. 8r7-8). Instead in the Bawden's main manuscript the name of the incarnation: *qayidub sangjii isi* (f. 8r7-8), i.e. *mkhas grub sangs rgyas ye shes*, appeared. However, only in the Kotwicz version (p. 3b23) the title of the incarnation is given as *dar-a bangdida*.

Another difference in the Kotwicz manuscript, which seems distinct, is the name of the empowerment heard by Zanabazar from the Fifth Dalai Lama. Bawden translates it as "Vajrapāṇi" though he quotes from the *Erdeni-yin Erike* (in footnote 6 to the folio 8v, on p. 44) "the power of Vajradhara" (Mong. *vačar dara erke*). Dashbadrakh writes *ochir erkhiin van* (p. 9). The Tibetan biography by Zaya Pandita says: *rdo rje phreng ba*, which means "Vajra Garland", the explanatory tantra of Guhyasamāja (p. 427-2), what is translated there to Mongolian as *vačir erike*. Probably the confusion in reading Sanskrit words led to the version in the Kotwicz manuscript (p. 4a4) which reads: *dar-a eke*, meaning "[the empowerment of] Tāra" and can be a corrupted form of *vačar dara erke*, like in the *Erdeni-yin Erike*, though the proper translation of the Tibetan *rdo rje phreng ba* would be *vačar erike*.

In comparison with Zanabazar's biography written in Tibetan by Zaya Pandita the Mongolian text differs in several points. First of all, it includes more stories of legendary character concerning Zanabazar's life. They might have been developed by the following generations. The Tibetan text by Zaya Pandita focuses on a description of Buddhist merits of the First Jetsundampa in accordance with the principles of the *rnam thar* genre, a Buddhist hagiography which shows the path to enlightenment on the example of a hero's deeds. The Mongolian biography includes more narratives and resembles *tuyujii*. Extraordinary events, signs, predictions and miracles attracted the attention of a writer and were probably most welcome by readers.

The texts differ also in details. In the studied fragment Zaya Pandita put emphasis on the recognition of Zanabazar and his early teachings, while in the biography written in Mongolian – the deeds of Tüshiyetü Khan and Sechen Khan are equally important. Many details of the religious life, such as names of teachers: Namkha Sönam Drakpa (*nam mkha' bsod nams grags pa*, p. 424-1) and teachings received by Zanabazar, like

¹⁵ Problem with years counting concerns also the cover of the Kotwicz manuscript, though the letterings there look as if they were written by a different hand than the content of the book.

Yamantaka empowerment (p. 424-2), names of monasteries visited in Tibet: Kumbum, Jachung Drag, Reting, Rinchen Drag, Tangsag Ganden Chökor, Taglung, Sera, Drepung, Ganden, Tashilhunpo (p. 425-1-3) recorded by Z a y a P a n d i t a are missing in the Mongolian biography. Moreover, it does not mention an important fact of Jetsundampa coming back to Mongolia with an entourage of 50 Tibetan monks, highly qualified specialists on different aspects of monastic life to help him develop Gelugpa establishments in the Khalkha lands (p. 433-2–434-2). On the other hand, the Tibetan text does not specify the year (white-tiger, i.e. 1650 according to the Mongolian biography, p. 4a3) when Zanabazar took the monastic vow of *getsül* (*dge tshul*) from the First Panchen Lama (p. 426-3).

Conclusion

In general, it may be concluded that the Mongolian manuscript of Zanabazar's biography belonging to the K o t w i c z collection of the Archives of Sciences in Kraków does not differ considerably from other manuscripts of this text. It is unique among those manuscripts which have been studied so far because it ends with the depiction of the life of the First Jetsundampa, while other versions proceed with biographies of at least two subsequent incarnations. The manuscript deserves further detailed study while a critical edition of all available versions of Zanabazar's biography is postulated, as well.

Transcription of the fragment of the K o t w i c z manuscript compared to the B a w d e n ' s main manuscript (represented in their original orthography with no attempts to correct Mongolian).

+ ... text added in the B a w d e n ' s version

[...] part of the text missing in the K o t w i c z manuscript due to its damage

x...x part added by a copyist

The Kotwicz manuscript, page 3a (= page 4 according to the Archives' numbering) 7 *gerel solongy-a* [Bawden 6r5 + *ba*] *üjegdekü* [Bawden 6r5 *üjigden*] *buyu* [Bawden 6r5 omits *buyu*] 8 *qayan qatun qoyar* [Bawden 6r5 -*un*] *eldeb* [Bawden 6r5 *eldib*] *jüül-iin* [Bawden 6r5 omits *jüül-iin*] *sayiqan jегüden terigüten sayin* [Bawden 6r5 *sayiqan*] *beleg singji* [Bawden 6r6 *šinji*] *olan 9 -ta boluysan-u daray-a mön tüsiyetii qan-u* [Bawden 6r6 omits *qan-u + qayan*] *qatun qangdajamčo biy-e* [Bawden 6r6 omits *biy-e*] *jirmsiin boluysan 10 tere čay-tu gegen sečen qan ber mön tüsiyetii qan-dur beleg bičig ilegejü* [Bawden 6r7 *ögčü*] *qalq-a-yin 11 qan vang noyad ertenü* [Bawden 6r7 *urid-yin*] *sayin irügel-iin küčün ber* (should be *küčün-iyer*) *tngrī sutu* [Bawden 6r8 *sür-tü*] *boɣda činggis qayan-u 12 altan uruɣ* [Bawden 6r8 *nutuɣ*] -*un köbegün bide nuɣud-i* [Bawden 6r8 -*yī*] *udaradduɣči* [Bawden 6r8 *udaraddaɣči*] *nigen sayin köbegün čimadur* [Bawden 6v1 *čima-dur*] *irekü-i* [Bawden 6v1 *irikü-yī*] 13 *imaytu* [Bawden 6v1 *imayta*] *minu sedkel* [Bawden 6v1 *sedkil*] -*dür törömüi . teyimü-yin tula bi čimadur* [Bawden 6v1 *čima-dur*] *očiraɣu* [Bawden 6v1 *očiju*] . *onuɣad* [Bawden 6v2 omits *onuɣad + kedün qonoy-un*] *nayadum* 14 *kisiigei kemegsen* [Bawden 6v2 *kemeged*] *daray-a* [Bawden 6v2 *daraya*] *sečen qan* [Bawden 6v2 + -*tan*] *ber kedün kümün-tei očiju* [Bawden 6v2

kedün qonoy-un *nayadum nayadıyad bučabai* [Bawden 6v2 *bučibai*] 15 *tere on* [Bawden 6v2 *üy-e*] *-dur yang jud . ebedčün taqul ügei qur* [Bawden 6v2 *qura*] *usu elbeg oi čečeglig nıyta juřayan* [Bawden 6v3 *juřıyan*] 16 *olan sibıyü* [Bawden 6v3 *sıbayun*] *nuıyud* [Bawden 6v3 omits *nuıyud*] *sonin* [Bawden 6v3 omits *sonin*] *sayıqan ırayıu* [Bawden 6v3 *ırayıu*] *dayun sonustaqu terigüten eldeb sayin* 17 *yabudal* [Bawden 6v4 *jegüdden*] *olan bükün-iyer* [Bawden 6v4 *bügüdeger*] *jegüüdelekü* [Bawden 6v4 *jegüdelekü*] *kiged ilangyui-a qan qatun-u jegüüden-dü olan burqad* 18 *üjegdekü* [Bawden 6v4 *üjigdekü* + *ba*] *olan nom-un dayun ni* [Bawden 6v5 omits *ni*] *sonustaqu gerel solongya ilede* [Bawden 6v5 *ile*] *oyırqan* [Bawden 6v5 *oyırda*] *üjegdekü* [Bawden 6v4 *üjigdekü*] 19 *terigüten olan jüil* [Bawden 6v5 omits] *jüil-ün sayin beleg* [Bawden 6v6 + *sinji*] *bolıysan* [Bawden 6v6 *-dur*] *sečen qan kemen* [Bawden 6v6 omits *kemen*] *ber sayin* [Bawden 6v6 omits + *nutuy-tur-ıyan kürcü ıriged*] *určud-i* [Bawden 6v6 *uračud-yi*] *iregüljü* [Bawden 6v6 *irigüljü*] 20 *erdeni-yin* [Bawden 6v6 *ölögei*] *ıurban temür büstei* [Bawden 6v7 *büs-tei*] *kilegejü* [Bawden 6v7 *keyilegejü*] *degüüretel-e* [Bawden 6v7 *degüürtele* + *tüsiyetü qan-u*] *qatun eke qangduıamčo-ača kökegčün* 21 *modun* [Bawden 6v7 omits *modun*] *yaqai jilün* [Bawden 6v7 *jıl-ün*] *yisiün sarayin* [Bawden 6v8 *sara-yin*] *qorin tabun-u* [Bawden 6v8 *tabun-du*] *öljei büriddügsen sayin edür* 22 *ıayıqamsııtu* [Bawden 6v8 *ıayıqamsıı-tu*] *nigen* [Bawden 6v8 + *sayin*] *köbegün mengdülbei* [Bawden 6v8 *mendelebei*] . *mengdülkü* [Bawden 6v8 *mendelekü*] *-yin urid tüsiyetü qan ber nadur* 23 *sayin köbegün ıarqu* [Bawden 7r1 omits *ıarqu* + *ıayayıaqu*] *boljosi ügei yambar* [Bawden 7r1 *yampar*] *ıajar bayıqu nutuy-i üjeküi* [Bawden 7r1 *üjiküi*] *-dür* [Bawden 7r1 *-ber*] 24 *kegere morılaıu yabuıui-dur usun jüilün qoyıtu tabı kemekü ıajar* [Bawden 7r2 + *-tur urid badaračün*] *blam-a* [Bawden 7r2 *blama-yin*] *temdeg*

page 3b (= page 4 according to the Archives' numbering)

1 *talbıysan . tere ıajar deger-e* [Bawden 7r3 *deger-e*] [...] [Bawden 7r3 *čayan*] *ölögčün noqai göliglejü bayıysan tegün-dür* [Bawden 7r3 *degere*] 2 *örgöge* [Bawden 7r3 *örgögen-ıyen*] *barııu mengdülügsen* [Bawden 7r3-4 *mendelgülügsen*] *bui* [Bawden 7r4 *bolai*] . *mengdül* [...] [Bawden 7r4-5 *mendelegülügsen* + *ordu örgöge-yi jögegsen qoyına ebül čay bügetele čayan čečig sayıtur urıyysan aıııııı . mendelekü-yin*] *edür-dü* [Bawden 7r5 omits *-dü*] *qatun-u ayayacı arban jıryıyan* 3 *nasutai* [Bawden 7r5 *nasu-tai*] *nigen keüken-ü* [Bawden 7r5 omits *-ü*] *köken-eče genedte s[...]* [Bawden 7r5 *süü*] *ıarıysan-dur* [Bawden 7r6 *-du*] *tere keüken* [Bawden 7r6 omits *tere keüken*] *yekede içjü* 4 *yabuıysan-dur eke qatun ber bitegei* [Bawden 7r6 *betegi*] *ič[...]* [Bawden 7r6 *aljıya*] *büs ügei* [Bawden 7r6 *büsügei*] *ııayurtan* [Bawden 7r6 *ııayur-tan*] *-ača* [Bawden 7r6-7 + *ıire ıarıyayı-dur mön büs ügei ııayurtan-ača*] *süü ıarqu* 5 *yosutai* [Bawden 7r7 *yosu-tai*] *kemen qayırču* [Bawden 7r7 *qayıran*] *keleged* [Bawden 7r7 + *daraya*] *qatun eke-yin köken-eče süü ese ıarıysan-du bügüdeger* 6 *jöbleldin ayayacı keüken-ü köke-i* [Bawden 7r8 *-yi*] *rasiyan-ıyar ugiyau simegülügsen* [Bawden 7r8 + *-ıyer*] *örölög* [Bawden 7r8 *örlöge*] *eke bolıysan bu (bui?)* [Bawden 7v1 *bolai*] 7 *tere köbegün ni* [Bawden 7v1 *-i*] *erdeni-yin ölögei-dü* [Bawden 7v1 *-dur*] *ıalayıad . edür söni ürgüljide* [Bawden 7v1-2 + *tere köbegün-ni kümün*] *sakııu sayıtal-a* 8 *genedte ıurban ačarı* [Bawden 7v2 *ačıra*] *kümün irebesü köbegün ber üg* [Bawden 7v2 *üge*] *egülekü* [Bawden 7v2 *ügülekü*] *metü temegülebesü* [Bawden 7v3 *temegülbesü* + *gegen*] *sečen qan* 9 *ber köbegün ni* [Bawden 7v3 *-i*] *öber degereben abču sayatayulun sayııu bayıtıl-a ıurban ačar* [Bawden 7v4 *ačar*] *genedte* 10 *ügei bolba* [Bawden 7v4 *bolun odbai*] . [Bawden 7v4 + *tere čay-tu*] *sečen* [Bawden 7v4 *sečin*] *qan ber ene keüken* [Bawden 7v5 *köbegün-dür*] *egünče qoyısı ıai* [Bawden 7v4 + *barčid*] *ügei bolumui . bide bügüden-ün* 11 *getülgegči ber sayin blam-a bolumui* [Bawden 7v5 omits *bide bügüden-ün getülgegči ber sayin blam-a bolumui*] *kemen ayıladču gegen ner-e ben* [Bawden 7v5 *nere-ben*] *čimadayan* [Bawden 7v5 *čima-dayan* + *ergüye*] *kemegsen-ıyer* [Bawden 7v5 *kemen ergügsen-ıyer*] 12 *gegen keüken*

kemen nereyidbei . sečen [Bawden 7v6 *sečin qan ber* [Bawden 7v6 uy] *nutuy-tayan bučayad öbertün* [Bawden 7v6 *öber-ün*] *nigen singjiječi* [Bawden 7v6 *singjigči*] 13 *kümüin ni* [Bawden 7v6 -i] *ilegejü tüsiyetü qan-u yaruyşan köbegün ni üjejü* [Bawden 7v7 *üjjiü*] *iretügei kemen ilegegsen-dür* 14 *tere şingjeječi kümün ber üjged* [Bawden 7v7 omits *iretügei kemen ilegegsen-dür tere şingjeječi kümün ber üjged + kelegsən anu*] *ton üjejü* [Bawden 7v7 omits] *qanusi ügei sayıqan köbegün bayına .* [Bawden 7v8 + *basa laşsan biye inu burqan bügüde-yin laşsan yaruyşan bui .*] 15 *ilangyui-a nidü* [Bawden 7v8 *nidiin*] *inu . subuğan* [Bawden 8r1 *subayan*] *boluyad* [Bawden 8r1 *büged*] *qara čayan tegsi arban жүг-i* [Bawden 8r1 -eče] *nigen* 16 *qamtu üjekü* [Bawden 8r1 *üjkiü*] *singitei* [Bawden 8r1 omits + *mayad ünen-iyer*] *burqan gegči mön bolbau* [Bawden 8r2 *bui j-a*] . *kemegsen gekü* [Bawden 8r2 *bolai*] . *tere köbegün yurban* 17 *nasun degere angqan* [Bawden 8r2 + *üge*] *ayiladqu-dayan vang* [Bawden 8r2-3 omits *vang + lharji blama*] *ba-a* [Bawden 8r3 omits *ba-a*] *düisümsangji čoyjinkorol* [Bawden 8r3 *düisüm sangji čoyji korlo*] *jörilamun* [Bawden 8r3 *jorilamu*] *kemen* 18 *ayiladduşsan* [Bawden 8r3 *ayiladdaşsan*] -ača *qoyisi yandanglhaşai-a* [Bawden 8r3 *gandang lhabjaya*] x *şambalčangčid x m-a ni bačarbanı* [Bawden 8r4 *bačarbdarana*] *terigüten ni* [Bawden 8r4 -i] 19 *bayşai ügei* (crossed as not necessary) *ber* [Bawden 8r4 omits *ber*] *jıylayal* [Bawden 8r4 *jıyal*] *ügei öber-iyen ürgüljide* [Bawden 8r4 *ürgülji*] *ungsiqu imayta olan keiked-tei* [Bawden 8r4 omits -tei] 20 *süme ger bariqu qural quraqu* [Bawden 8r5 omits *qural quraqu*] *terigüten jüil* [Bawden 8r5 omits *jüil + olan*] *jüil-ün nayadum nayaduşsan anu üneger* 21 *yayiqamsiytai* [Bawden 8r5 *yayiqamsiy-tai*] *kemen ügüeldümüi* [Bawden 8r5 *ügüeldüjükiü*] . [Bawden 8r5 + *basa*] *şira* [Bawden 8r5 *şara*] *baras* [Bawden 8r5 *bars*] *jil* [Bawden 8r6 -dür] *qalq-a* [Bawden 8r6 *qalqa*] -yin *yaşar-tu* [Bawden 8r6 omits] *bilig-ün* [Bawden 8r6 *şimbalid*] *nomun* [Bawden 8r6 *nom-un*] *qan* [Bawden 8r6 *qayan*] 22 *blam-a* [Bawden 8r6 *blama*] -ača [Bawden 8r6 omits -ača] *geneng sangvari* [Bawden 8r6 *sanvar*] *abuşsan-du* [Bawden 8r6 -dur] *şnanabadzar* [Bawden 8r6 *cnana bacar*] *kemen ner-e* [Bawden 8r6 *nere*] *ergügsen* [Bawden 8r6 *ergüged*] *dörben* [Bawden 8r7 *tabun*] *següder deger-e* [Bawden 8r7 *degere*] 23 *qalq-a* [Bawden 8r7 *qalqa-yin*] *dörben ayımay-iyar siregetü* [Bawden 8r7 *şirege-tü*] *nuur kemekü yaşar siregen-dü jalaşu dar-a bangdida* [Bawden 8r7-8 omits *dar-a bangdida + qayidub sangji isı-yin qubilyan*] 24 *bürilegüi* [Bawden 8r8 + *kemekü*] *blam-a* [Bawden 8r8 *blama*] -ača *rabjung* [Bawden 8r8 *rabjun*] *sangvari* [Bawden 8r8 *sanvar*] *abču ayiladduşsan-du lobsangdanbijangčin* [Bawden 8r8 *lobsang dambi jančin*] *kemen*

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1 *ner-e* [Bawden 8r8 *nere*] *ergüjü yombo* [Bawden 8v1 *gomboo*] -yin *jing* [Bawden 8v1 *jinong*] *abču* [Bawden 8v1 *qayirlaşu*] *ayiladduşsan basa* [Bawden 8v1 *kiling kemekü*] *sirui* [Bawden 8v1 *şirui*] *üker jil eyeber jasayči* [Bawden 8v1 *jasayači*] 2 *qayan-u jiryuduşar on-du arban jırıuyan* [Bawden 8v2 *tabun*] *següder degere tübed-ün oron-du eyeber jasayči qayan* 3 *şalarču* [Bawden 8v2 *şalaraşu*] *čayan baras* [Bawden 8v2 *bars*] *jil-dü bangčin* [Bawden 8v2 *bančin*] *boyda -ača gečül sangvari* [Bawden 8v3 *sanvar*] *abču mön* [Bawden 8v3 omits *mön*] *dalai blam-a* [Bawden 8v3 *blama*] -ača 4 *dar-a eke-yin* [Bawden 8v3 *vačir erke-yin*] *vang sonosču jibjundamba blam-a* [Bawden 8v3 *blama*] *kemen* [Bawden 8v3 *kemekü*] *čolo* [Bawden 8v4 *čolo-a*] *şara* [Bawden 8v4 *sira*] *torşan* [Bawden 8v4 omits *torşan*] *sikür kereglekü* 5 *boluşsan* [Bawden 8v4 *bolai*] . *basa bangčin boyda-ača* [Bawden 8v4 *bančin-ača*] *yamangdaya-a* [Bawden 8v4 *yamandaga*] -yin *vang terigüten olan jüil-ün* [Bawden 8v4 + *nom-yin*] *şinang* [Bawden 8v4 *şinong*] *ubidas-i* [Bawden 8v5 *ubadasu-yi*] 6 *sonosču ayiladduşsan* [Bawden 8v5 *ayiladduşad*] *basa olan* [Bawden 8v5 omits *olan*] *süm-e keyid-dü* [Bawden 8v5 + -tiir] *şed* [Bawden 8v5 omits *şed*] *mangji* [Bawden 8v5 + *şed*] *talbişu ergül ergügsen* [Bawden 8v5 *ergüged*] . 7 *basa urid urid-yin töröl* [Bawden 8v6 *diiri*] -dü *bayışuluşsan keyid süm-e-eče*

sang-dur [Bawden 8v6 + *daruysan*] *dzangdan modun-u* [Bawden 8v6 -*tu*] 8 *nabčîn-du* [Bawden 8v6 -*dur*] *altan-bar bičigsen jiddamba* [Bawden 8v7 *jadda(m)ba*] . *mayidar* . *logisiri* [Bawden 8v7 *logasiri*] *dar-a eke terigüten yeke* 9 *adistid-tu burqan sitügen sudur nom čaylasi ügei olan ni jalaysan ba* : *basači* 10 *bangčîn* [Bawden 8v8 *bančîn*] *boyda dalai blam-a* [Bawden 8v8 *blama*] -*nartu* [Bawden 8v8 -*nar-tu*] *tübed-tü sayužu surayyuli kisügei* [Bawden 8v8 *keyisügei*] *kemegsen-dü* [Bawden 9r1 *bučaju*] 11 *qalq-a* [Bawden 9r1 *qalqa*] -*yin oron-du süm-e* [Bawden 9r1 *süme*] *keyid bayiylju qural delgerebesü* [Bawden 9r1 *delgeregülbesü*] *masi sayin kemegsen-dü* [Bawden 9r1 -*iyer*] 12 *qalq-a* [Bawden 9r1 *qalqa*] *nutuy-tayan jalažu* [Bawden 9r2 *jalaraju*] *iriged törü* [Bawden 9r2 omits] *toytažu* [Bawden 9r2 *toytožu*] [...]

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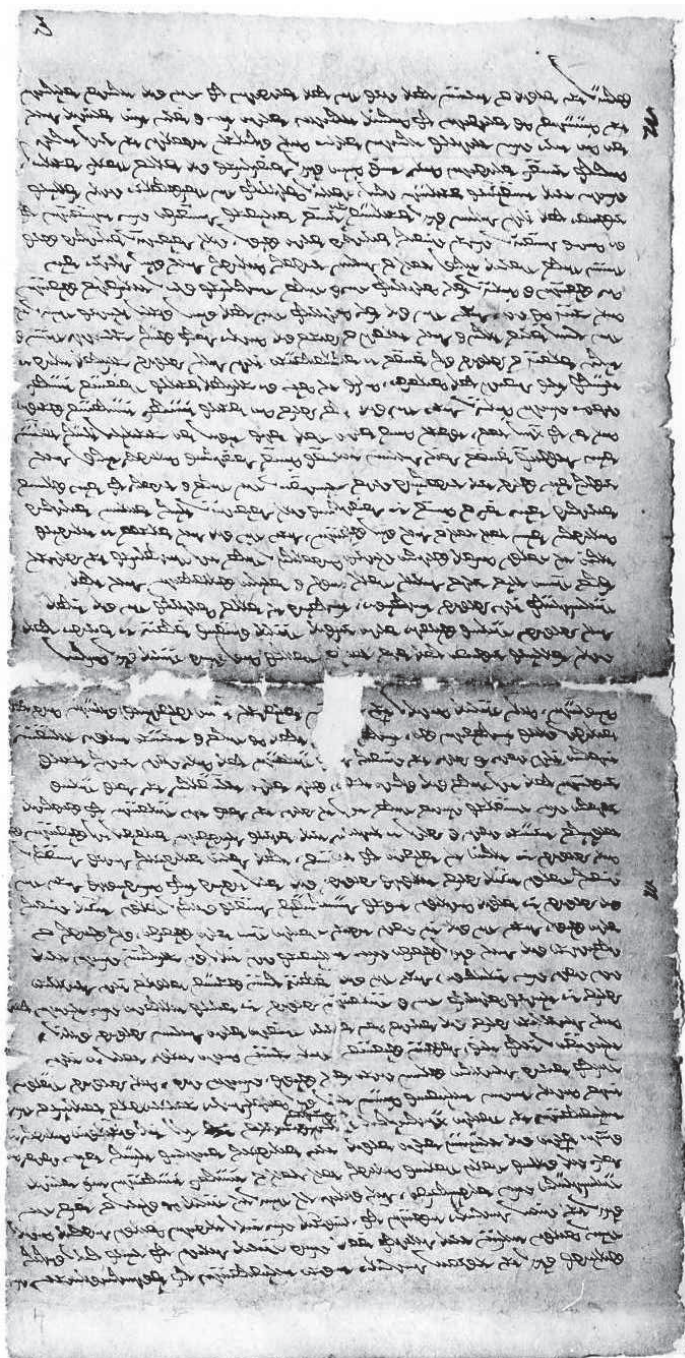
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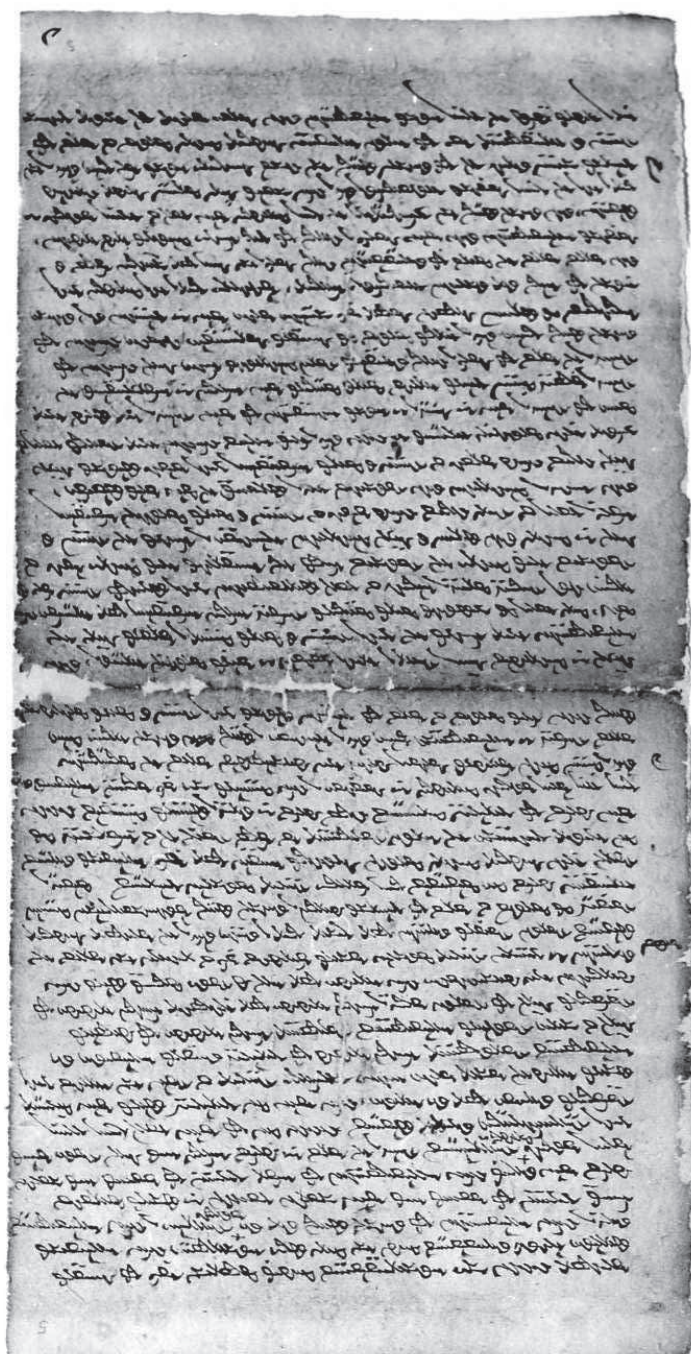
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