

The Manuscripts and Manuscript Families of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*

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I. Introduction

The Erdeni-yin tobči (Precious Summary) is a Mongolian chronicle compiled in 1662 by Saγang Sečen, a descendant of Činggis Qaγan and a noble of the Üüsin Banner in Ordos. It goes without saying that this chronicle is an important source of material for the study of Mongolian history, and over the years it has been repeatedly copied and also read by many Mongolian intellectuals. As a result the number of extant manuscripts and printed editions of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* is incomparably greater than that of any other Mongolian chronicle.

The *Erdeni-yin tobči* was first taken outside the borders of Mongolia about one hundred years after its compilation, when Čenggünjab of the Qalq-a presented "archives recording the history of the descendants of Činggis Qaγan" (*Ch'ing-chi-ssu han shih-hsi chi-tsai tang-an* 清吉斯汗世系記載檔案) to the Chinese emperor Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 in Ch'ien-lung 31 (1766) at the latter's request. Not long afterwards these were translated into Manchu and then into Chinese, and these translations were printed together with the Mongolian text in what is known as the Palace edition. Some time later V. Novoselov, a pupil at the school of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking in the late eighteenth century, took a manuscript of the Mongolian text back to Russia, and this was acquired by the Russian Mongolist I.J. Schmidt at the start of the nineteenth century. After many years of study, in 1829 Schmidt brought out the so-called Schmidt edition, with the Mongolian text in movable type, a German translation, and annotations.

In addition to the Mongolian text of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* published by Schmidt, there subsequently came to light other versions such as the Palace manuscript and Palace edition. Meanwhile, the first person to report on the manuscripts preserved in Russia (former Soviet Union), including that brought back by Novoselov, was of course Žamtsarano (1955), and he describes four manuscripts.

Since the 1950s the existence of many more manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* has been ascertained, and the two scholars to have made the greatest contributions in this regard are E.H. Haenisch and Pére Mostaert. Haenisch pub-

lished photographic reproductions of the Urga manuscript (Haenisch, 1955), the Palace edition (*id.*, 1957), and the Palace manuscript (*id.*, 1967), while Mostaert (1956) did the same with three Ordos manuscripts. In addition, the Mongolian scholar Nasunbaljur (1961) published a text of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, using the Urga manuscript kept at the Mongolian National Library as a base text and collating it with three other manuscripts also kept at the National Library. In China, on the other hand, a full-size photographic reproduction of the so-called Alay Sülde manuscript was brought out in Inner Mongolia to commemorate the tricentenary of the compilation of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Mergenbayatur, 1962). Kökeöndör (1987) of the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences prepared a typeset edition of the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*, another text held by the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences, and more recently Chiodo and Sagaster (1996) have published the Kentei *ayimaγ* manuscript.

As the existence of these various texts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* has come to light, stemmatological research on both manuscripts and printed editions has also been conducted by Yamamoto Mamoru (1935), Gō Minoru (1940), J.R. Krueger (1959), and Ch'iao-chi (1992). But as is well-known, there actually exist far more manuscripts than have been treated of by these earlier scholars. With regard to the whereabouts of Mongolian materials, those in the former Soviet Union have been dealt with by Puchkovskij (1957) and Sazykin (1988) and those in Mongolia by Ĵadamba (1963), while those in China are covered by two catalogues (*Ch'üan-kuo Meng-wen ku-chiu t'u-shu tzu-liao lien-ho mu-lu* 全國蒙文古舊圖書資料聯合目錄 [1979] and *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu* 中國蒙古文舊籍總目 [1999]), and it is evident from these publications that there exist many more manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*. The content of many of these manuscripts is, however, not fully clear.

The present study is based primarily on investigations conducted in 1992-93, when I visited various institutions in Inner Mongolia and Ulaanbaatar and examined their manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*. During the course of these investigations I was able to examine many hitherto unknown manuscripts, all of which are indispensable for the study of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*. In the following I shall, on the basis of my observations, describe the characteristics of the manuscripts which I examined and also consider the lines of descent of the texts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, including those that have already been published and those described in various catalogues.

II. Manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* Held by Various Research Institutes

Before considering the lines of descent of manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, I shall first describe the manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* that I examined at the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences, the Mongolian National Library, and the Inner Mongolia Library and consider their textual affiliations.¹⁾

1. Manuscripts Held at the Library of the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences

The library of the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences is one of the best-known institutes in China on account of the rich variety of its holdings of old Mongolian texts, some of which are extremely valuable. According to the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu* (2000, pp. 1453–1457), this library has seven manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (nos. 08912, 08914, 08916, 08917, 08919, 08922, and 08925), of which no. 08916 is an electronic reproduction of the Palace edition. As will be further discussed below, the library has one additional manuscript of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*.

(a) Call number: 22.912/7/23 (0044) (no. 08917 in the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu*).

· Head title: *Eldeb sudur-un quriyangγui erdeni altan tobči orosiba* (hereafter: *Erdeni altan tobči*).

Above the Mongolian title there is inscribed the Tibetan equivalent: *sNats-hogs mdo-baḥi bsdus-pa rin-chen gser-gyi mdor bshugs shi*. The Mongolian and Tibetan titles are inscribed in the centre of the title folio, and to the left and right there are written in Mongolian *Naran-u gerel bolai* (“Light of the sun”) and *Saran-u dügürüng bui* (“The moon is full”). (See Fig. 1.)

· Characteristics and affiliations: Pothi format; written with a reed pen; 126 folios, 252 pages; 40.5 × 10.5 cm. It is a complete manuscript with Colophons 1 and 2.²⁾ Parts of folios 1a–b and 2a are written in red ink (Fig. 2). It is a relatively old manuscript and is one of the best preserved manuscripts in the library’s collection. It is recorded that it was brought to the library in October 1957 from a monastery called Sir-a Juu of the Qanggin Banner of the Yeke-juu *aimaγ*. Stemmatically speaking, the text of this manuscript is close to that of the Urga manuscript. There are several reasons for saying so, the first being that it evidences some omissions that are found only in the Urga manuscript and affiliated texts (which will be collectively referred to below as the Urga manuscript family). Two typical examples of such omissions are cited below.

(i) The words *ülen buγu ötegleltei* (*ülü buγu öteleltei*), which appear in the words uttered by Činggis Qaγan as he gazed at Mt. Muna in Ordos during a campaign against Hsi-hsia 西夏 (Urga ms., 39v; *Erdeni altan tobči*, 48a).³⁾

(ii) The phrase *eyin ügülerün*, which appears in the words expressing the rancour of *Mönggöjei qatun*, wife of Molan Qaγan, towards Qota Buq-a, who had caused the murder of her husband (Urga ms., 60r; *Erdeni altan tobči*, 76b).

These are both short passages, but as will be noted again below, they are invariably missing in texts belonging to the Urga manuscript family.

The second factor indicative of the close connections between this manuscript and the Urga manuscript is that its references to the dates of birth of the children of Dayan Qaγan are identical to those of the Urga manuscript. As I have previously noted (Morikawa, 1994, pp. 10–12), the various texts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* exhibit considerable differences in their references to the years of birth of the eleven sons and one daughter of Dayan Qaγan, and these differences provide important clues for determining the lines of descent of the various manuscripts. As is indicated in Reference Materials 1, one of the distinguishing features of texts belonging to the Urga manuscript family is that they do not give the year of birth of Arbolad, and this manuscript too does not mention the year of Al Bolad's birth. In addition, it also accords with the Urga manuscript in various other respects, including vocabulary and lacunae, and these characteristics all indicate that the *Erdeni altan tobči* belongs to the same manuscript family as the Urga manuscript. This manuscript was not, however, copied from the Urga manuscript, for it includes passages that are missing in the latter. For instance, in the section describing how Bolqu *jinong* became angry for having been falsely accused of having attempted to seize Manduγuli Qaγan's position as *qaγan* and his consort,

basa qoyar elči-yi ilegejü eyin ügüleriin, či nadur yakin eyin ösibe. qongqoli (qonqolai) yin üge ünün metü kemen nadur kümün ügülebe, kemen qaγan ilegelügei kemebesü, jinong tengsegül ilegegsen inu ünün ajiγu kemen kilinglejü üge ese ögbei. tendéce elčis anu irejü jinong kilinglejü üge ese ögbei kemegsen-dür, qaγan ünemšijü kilin-glen...(77b)

the underlined passage is missing in the Urga manuscript (61r). This indicates that the *Erdeni altan tobči* was copied either from the archetype of the Urga manuscript or from some closely affiliated text.

(b) Call number: 22.912/7/24 (0045) (no. 08919 in the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu*).

·Head title: none. The library's holding card has simply *Erdeni-yin tobči*.

·Characteristics and affiliations: Pothī format; written with a reed pen; 95 folios, 189 pages; 61.5×10.5 cm. It has Colophons 1 and 2. According to an explanatory note, it was brought to the library in 1958 from Jirγalangtu Süme in the Urad South Banner. Judging from its content, it may be assumed to belong to the same manuscript family as (c) *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a* and (n) *Šar teüke*. This is because, when compared with the Urga manuscript, these three manuscripts share a number of lengthy omissions,⁴⁾ the more important of which are as follows:

(i) The legend concerning how, on the occasion of the marriage of Odmčung *güngjü* (Wen-ch'eng *kung-chu* 文成公主 [Princess Wen-ch'eng]), daughter of Tayisung Qaγan (T'ai-tsung 太宗) of the T'ang 唐, to King Srongbčang Sgambo of T'u-fan 吐蕃, the latter's minister Uran Tüsimel

passed all the tests set by Tayisung Qaγan and won the hand of Odmčung *güngjü* for his king (Urga ms., 12r-17v).

- (ii) The story of how Badma Sambau-a *baγsi* was invited from India and spread Buddhism throughout Tibet, and the story of how some bright Tibetan children were then made to study the language of India and translate Buddhist scriptures into Tibetan (Urga ms., 19r-21v).
- (iii) The story of how Madi Doozau-a ('Pags pa Blam-a) became the imperial preceptor (*ti-shih* 帝師) of Qubilai Qaγan (Urga ms., 43v-44v).
- (iv) The story of how the 3rd Dalai Blam-a, after having parted with Altan Qaγan, went to Nilom Tala and there spread the Buddhist teachings (Urga ms., 78r-79v).
- (v) The story of how Molan *qatun*, who had remarried Altan Qaγan, tried to sacrifice one hundred children and one hundred young camels after the death of her own child (Urga ms., 81v-82r).
- (vi) The religious activities of the 3rd Dalai Blam-a in Inner Mongolia (Urga ms., 82v-84r) and the activities of the 1st Bančen Blam-a (Urga ms., 88-90r).

The biggest differences between this manuscript and (c) *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a* are that it has Colophon 2, which is missing in (c) (see Fig. 4), and that parts of the opening section are either missing or have been abridged when compared with (c) and other texts (see Fig. 3). This would indicate that, while belonging to the same manuscript family as (c), this manuscript was copied from a different manuscript.

(c) Call number: unknown (no. 08922 in the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu*).

· Head title: *Qad-un ündüsün erdeni-yin tobčiy-a kemekü orosiba* (hereafter: *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*) (Fig. 5).

· Characteristics and affiliations: *Pothī* format; written with a reed pen; 66 folios, 131 pages; approx. 63 × 7 cm. Colophon 2 is missing. It served as the original text of Kökeöndör's edition (1987). According to Kökeöndör, he obtained it in 1963 from Ĵirγalangtu Süm-e in the Urad Right Wing (South Banner) of the Bayan Naγur League in Inner Mongolia (*ibid.*, p. 9). This means that although the date of acquisition differs, it was obtained from the same place as (b).

In view of the large number of omissions shared with (b), as noted above, it is clear that this *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a* belongs to the same manuscript family as (b). But at the same time this manuscript also contains numerous passages not found in (b) or any other manuscripts. In addition, numerous alterations and additions have also been made to the original manuscript by an obviously later hand, and parts of these additional passages are similar in content to the *Altan tobči*.⁵⁾

It is common knowledge that in the *Erdeni-yin tobči* dates are given by stating how many years have passed since the year of the earth-rat (vuu quluγuna [mou-tzu 戊子]) in which the Buddha died, corresponding to 2133 B.C., and in the *Erdeni-yin tobči-a* this form of chronological reckoning using the year of the earth-rat as its starting point is used more widely than in other manuscripts. One such passage is considered to give the date in which this manuscript was copied. In folios 57b–58a, after describing how in 1585 the 3rd Dalai Blam-a arrived at where Sečen *qongtayijī* of Ordos was residing, the following passage has been added (Kökeöndör, pp. 256–257) (Fig. 6):

uridu tere vuu quluγuna-ača inaγsi γurban mingγan jirγuγan jaγun jiran od-tur, jiran nigen jiran nöğiγü, mön tegün-e jiran qoyaduγar vuu quluγuna-ača, sim bars kürügsen-ü arban tabun-i öğbesü γurban mingγan jirγuγan jaγun dalan tabun bolumu. basa tegün i takiy-a-dur kürügsen döčin dörben öğbesü bolumu. mön tegün-e, öğbesü edüged-ün arban qoyaduγar brabhau-a-yin sim takiy-a mön egüni kürtele γurban mingγan naiman jaγun qorin doloγan od-tur kürtele, vuu quluγuna jil jiran qoyaduγar jiran nöğiγüküi. jiran γutaγarun vuu quluγuna arban nigedüger brabhau-a-dur irelüge.

Since that earlier [year of the] earth-rat 3,660 years, [that is,] 61 [cycles] of 60 [years], have passed, and if one adds to that the fifteen years from the 62nd [year of the] earth-rat to the [year of the] water-tiger (1542), it becomes 3,675 [years]. Furthermore, to that one may add the 44 years as far as the [year of the] wood-cock (1585). If one adds []⁶⁾ to this, up until this [year of the] water-cock of the current twelfth *brabhau*, [that is,] until the year 3,827, the 62nd 60 [years] have passed [since] the [year of] the earth-rat. It has come to the 63rd [year of the] earth-rat, the 11th *brabau-a*.

According to Kökeöndör (p. 256n. ⑬⑭), *sim takiy-a* (water-cock = *jen-yu* 壬酉) is an error for *güi takiy-a* (water-cock = *kuei-yu* 癸酉) and corresponds to A.D. 1693, while *brabhau-a* corresponds to the Tibetan term *rabčung*. In Tibetan *rabčung* (*rab-byung*) refers to the first year of the sexagenary cycle or to the sexagenary cycle itself, which has as its starting point the year 1027 (*ting-mao* 丁卯). On the basis of the dates given in the above passage, Kökeöndör argues that this manuscript was copied in the year given here and that it is the oldest extant manuscript of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (p. 9).

(d) Call number: 22.912/7/20 (0041) (1151-⑥) in the *Ch'üan-kuo Meng-wen ku-chiu t'u-shu tzu-liao lien-ho mu-lu*; no corresponding entry in the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu*).

• Head title: *Sabloγatatu yeke yirtinčü-yin qayad-un ündüsün-ü čiqula udq-a-tu sudur*;
 subtitle: *Tegünčilen iregsed-ün šajın törö-yin qooslan bariγsan nomlan tuγuγi*.

The head title has been written in pencil in two lines on a strip of red paper attached to the cover.

· Characteristics and affiliations: Book format; written with a writing brush; 182 pages; 29×24.5 cm. On the back of the cover page the following has been written with a blue ball-point pen: *Ordos-un bazar kürgejü öggüle, 1957 on-u 9-düger sar-a-du* (Bazar of Ordos delivered it, in September 1957). About one half of the final page is missing, and it ends with “finished on the first day of the sixth month” (////////// *nigen sini gadasun grag bus odun edür-e tegüsbei*) of 1662, the day on which the compilation of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* was completed (92a).⁷⁾ In view of the fact that p. 92b is blank, it is evident that it contained nothing further at the time when it was copied, and therefore Colophons 1 and 2 are both completely missing. It belongs to the Urga manuscript family. In the first place, it shares omissions characteristic of this manuscript family, and the missing passages (i) and (ii) noted in connection with (a) *Erdeni altan tobči* are also missing in this manuscript (36a, 56a), as is the passage missing in the Urga manuscript in the story of Bolqu *jinong* and Mandrūyuli Qaγan (56b). Secondly, it gives the same account of the birth years of Dayan Qaγan’s children as does the Urga manuscript (61b; see Reference Materials 1). It also coincides with the Urga manuscript with regard to many other minor omissions.

However, the fact that the Urga manuscript is not the archetype of (d) is evident from the fact that the latter includes some passages missing in the Urga manuscript. For instance, when describing how Qubilai chose his successor from among the sons of his own son Činggim because the latter had died in Tibet when escorting ’Pags pa Blam-a back home, this manuscript includes the following passage:

tendēce bi nigen-te jarliγ boluluγai kemen, činggim tayiγ-yin γurban köbegün anu, kamala, darm-a bala, öljeitü γurbaγula-yi qaγan ebüge inu sinjilejü, ene öljeitü törö-yi barin čidamu kemeged γutayar köbegün inu öljei-tü-yi öber-iyen serigün бүкүи-дүр, nayan nasun-iyen ga morin jile qan oron-dur-iyen saγulγabai (41b)

In the Urga manuscript (45r) the underlined section is missing.

A distinctive feature of this manuscript is the fact that the section appraising the achievements of Ligdan Qaγan includes a passage found only in manuscripts affiliated to (c) *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*. A comparison of the relevant texts is provided in Reference Materials 2, and it should be evident that there is a pronounced difference between the Urga manuscript and the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*. It is immediately obvious that while the account given in the Urga manuscript is basically identical to that of (a), (g) and other manuscripts affiliated to the Palace edition, in (d) this section is essentially the same as the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*. It is not clear why a passage peculiar to the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a* manuscript family should have found its way into this single passage in a manuscript belonging to the

Urga manuscript family. It could be surmised that at a certain stage in the copying process this passage was found to be missing in the original text and was therefore supplied from a manuscript affiliated to the stemmatically different *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*.

(e) Call number: unknown (no. 08925 in the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu*).

· Head title: *Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin tobči*.

· Characteristics and affiliations: Book format; written with a reed pen; 134 folios extant, 268 pages; approx. 26 × 23 cm. The first folio and several of the final folios are missing, but originally it appears to have been a complete text with a colophon. It belongs to the Urga manuscript family. In the first place, the missing passages (i) and (ii) noted in connection with (a) *Erdeni altan tobči* and characteristic of this manuscript family are also missing in this manuscript (51a, 81b), and the same passage in the story of the confrontation between Bolqu *jinong* and Manduḡuli Qaḡan is also missing. Secondly, its account of the birth years of Dayan Qaḡan's children is identical to that of the Urga manuscript. Furthermore, in view of the fact that it likewise contains the passage on Ligdan Qaḡan peculiar to the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a* manuscript family, noted in connection with (d), it is clearly closely related to (d). However, it is not identical to (d), for there are differences in modes of expression, missing passages, and methods of indicating dates, and it is in fact a faithful copy of (p) kept at the Inner Mongolia Library. But whereas (p) has been written with twelve lines to a page, this manuscript has fourteen lines to a page. Nonetheless, the copyist tried to match the pagination of (p) as closely as possible, and because this would have resulted in blank spaces on the verso side of each folio, he has copied the final few lines on the verso in larger letters, inserted spaces between words, and in some extreme cases written only about three words in a line so as to preserve the pagination of (p). This proves that (e) was copied from (p).

(f) Call number: 22.912/7/21-22 (0042-43) (no. 08914 in the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu*).

· Head title: *Gadaḡadu saba yirtinčü toḡtaḡsan ba dotoḡadu ür-e amitan bütügsen kiged qad-un uruḡ-i ügüleksen Erdeni-yin tobči kemekü tuḡuḡi orosiba* (Fig. 7).

· Characteristics and affiliations: *Pothī* format; written with a reed pen; 122 folios, 244 pages; 55.5 × 22.5 cm. It contains many words and sentences written in red ink, and in addition to words like *tendeče* and *tegünü* at the start of sentences, some personal names are also written in red ink (Fig. 8). This use of red ink continues as far as the name “*Ĵayaḡatu Qaḡan*” in the passage “*Toḡoḡan Temür Uqayatu Qaḡan* (Shun-ti 順帝), son of *Ĵayaḡatu Qaḡan* (Wen-tsung 文宗), born in the year of the earth-horse...” (57b-58a), appearing about halfway through the manuscript in the account of the imperial lineage of the Yüan 元 dynasty.⁸⁾

This manuscript ends with the account of the overthrow of the Ming 明 dynasty by Li Tzu-ch'eng 李自成 (122b), and the rest is missing. Nevertheless, it is basically a fine manuscript and would seem to be comparatively old. It is divided into two volumes, the result of repairs made in 1965, and it did not originally take this form. At the end of the second volume it is noted in blue ink that this manuscript was brought from the home of Vangčuyrabtan, *tayiji* of Toli Otoγ of the Ügüsin Banner of the Yeke-juu League.

It is somewhat difficult to determine the textual affiliations of this manuscript. As has already been noted, the accounts of the years of birth of Dayan Qayan's children provide one indicator for determining textual affiliations, but as can be seen in Reference Materials 1, this particular manuscript, while resembling the accounts given in manuscripts belonging to the Urga manuscript family, also differs in parts, and it also differs from other texts affiliated to the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a* and the Palace edition. Consequently it is not possible to establish its relationship with other texts.

(g) Call number: 22.912/7/19 (0040) (no. 08913 in the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu*).

· Head title: none. Colophon 1 has *Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin tobči*. (Alay Sülde manuscript)

· Characteristics and affiliations: *Pothī* format; written with a reed pen. It is one of the best preserved manuscripts in the collection of the library of the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences. It was originally a complete text with Colophons 1 and 2, but the final folio and part of the penultimate folio are missing. Because it was preserved at the Alay Sülde mausoleum⁹⁾ in the south of the Otoγ Banner of the Yeke-juu League, it is generally known as the Alay Sülde manuscript. Presumably it originally had 100 folios, but the last folio is missing and it has 99 folios. Some sections are written in red ink.

A major distinguishing feature regarding its content is that the opening section differs from other manuscripts. It reads as follows:¹⁰⁾

namo śakyamuniy-a tere metü edüge čidaγcin-u erketü-yin nomlaγsan, || edüge yerüngkei-yin sitiigen γadaγadu saba yirtinčü toγtaγsan.... (1b)

By way of contrast, other manuscripts differ fundamentally with regard to the first half of this passage (as far as ||). The Urga manuscript (1r), for instance, has about fourteen lines, from *γurban itegel degedü čuqay γurban erdinis to erten-ü olan sudur-luγa neyilegülin ügülemü biber*, in which the author Saγang Sečen describes his objectives in compiling the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, and this passage is missing in the Alay Sülde manuscript. Another rather striking omission among the lacunae in the Alay Sülde manuscript occurs in the tale of how Uran Tüsimel, the minister from T'u-fan, succeeded in passing the various tests set by T'ai-tung of the T'ang, thereby winning the hand of Princess Wen-ch'eng for his ruler, and

in the opening passage of the section describing the final test, in which he was made to pick out the princess from among five hundred maidens all wearing identical clothes (*ökin[-lüge adali jüsütü tabun jaγun...qaγan-u ordo qarsi-da irebesü günjü] terigülen tabun jaγun ökid-i*), the words in brackets are missing (Urga ms., 14r; Alay Sülde ms., 17b). However, this section is not missing in manuscript (o), affiliated to the Alay Sülde manuscript. The Alay Sülde manuscript also gives a distinctive account of the birth years of Dayan Qaγan's children (see Reference Materials 1), although the discrepancy regarding the position of Ubasanja *tayijü* is simply the result of a scribal error. It is at any rate clear that the Alay Sülde manuscript belongs to a different manuscript family than the Urga manuscript, Palace edition, and so on.

2. Manuscripts Held at the Mongolian National Library

The catalogue of the library's manuscripts lists six manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (Ĵadamba, 1963, pp. 196–207). Nasunbaljur, on the other hand, states in his typeset edition of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* that the National Library has four manuscripts (Nasunbaljur, 1961, p. 5). According to my own investigations, Nasunbaljur is basically correct. That is to say, one of the six manuscripts¹¹ is, as noted below, a faithful copy of (g) (call number: 9 (517, 3) III101-B), while manuscript (l), corresponding to call number 9 (517, 3) III101-Γ, is in scroll format (*qoyilamal*) (Ĵadamba, p. 206). Since I have not actually seen the latter, I have no idea what sort of manuscript it is, and because Nasunbaljur neither used it nor mentions it in his edition, it is probably a recent manuscript. In this sense Nasunbaljur was correct when he stated that the library has four manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*.

(h) Call number: 9 (517, 3) III101-B.

·Head title: *Tngri-deče jayaγabar egüdügsen qad-un altan uruγ čaγan teüke nere-tü tuγujü bolai*. In addition, “*Erdeni-yin tobči*” has been written in a later hand to the right of the title. In my earlier study (Morikawa, 1990) I referred to this manuscript as the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke* (White History of Golden Family), and I will accordingly use this designation here too.

·Characteristics and affiliations: *Pothi* format; written with a reed pen; 152 folios, 303 pages; 32.2×9.5 cm. Colophon 2 is missing. Each folio has on average 23 lines, and the text is written inside a red frame. Each folio has a small hole on each side, suggesting that the manuscript was originally tied together with string. In addition, the first word on the recto of each folio, regardless of whether or not it coincides with a grammatical break, is preceded by an ornamental volute mark (*birγa*), usually used at the start of a sentence or chapter. This manuscript corresponds to manuscript ‘a’ used by Nasunbaljur.

On folio 1a there has also been written by a later hand in addition to the

title “*Tüsiyetü qan-u barigsan teüke*” (“The history presented by Tüsiyetü Qan”). This statement is, however, incorrect, and “Tüsiyetü Qan” should read “Sayin Noyan (Čenggünjab)” (Morikawa, 1994, p. 2). This manuscript represents the original text of the *Ch’ing-chi-ssu han shih-hsi chi-tsai tang-an* presented by Čenggünjab to the emperor Ch’ien-lung, and it is to be surmised that the Palace handsript and Palace edition were compiled on the basis of this manuscript (Morikawa, 1990, p. 519).

The opening first line (*namo guru manju gho š-a*) is written in red ink, but this is the only passage in the entire manuscript written in red ink. In content it shares many characteristics with the Palace handsript and Palace edition, and it goes without saying that these three texts are similar. In the first place, passages missing in the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke* are also missing in the Palace handsript and Palace edition. For instance, in the following passage from the Urga manuscript,

tendecče döcin on bolqui ding gonin jile tere qaγan-u jiran nasun-a anu nigen sönide qaγan-u jögüdün-dür, jisün buruγu tabun sayid aran irejü, (Urga ms., 9v)

the underlined section is missing in the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke* (14a) and also in the Palace handsript (I-24r) and Palace edition (I-22a). Again, the passage reading

tegün-ü ači-bar basa jiran nasun nemejü, tere totori qaγan jaγun qorin nasulayad, jiči ding gonin jile tengri boljuqui. (Urga ms., 9v)

is completely missing in the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke* (14b), and it is likewise missing in the Palace handsript (II-1r) and Palace edition (II-1a). There are many other such examples.

Secondly, in the Palace handsript and Palace edition there are some obvious errors in choice of vocabulary and in additions, and it is to be surmised that these errors have arisen on account of the shape of the letters and the method of writing used in the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke*. These errors fall into three patterns.

1) Errors that have occurred because a word coming at the end of a line was too long to be written on the one line and ran over into the next line. For example, in the Palace handsript (VIII-14r6) and Palace edition (VIII-15b) we find *guru tabunang-dur baγan tur güyeng tabunang*. In the corresponding section of the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke*, *baγa* comes at the end of one line and *tur* at the start of the next line (141a). In the *Ch’ing-chi-ssu han shih-hsi chi-tsai tang-an* compiled on the basis of this manuscript for presentation to the emperor Ch’ien-lung, *baγatur* was probably miscopied as *baγan tur*, and this error was then carried over in the Palace handsript and Palace edition.

2) Words that have been marked with an ‘x’ by the original copyist of the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke* but have not been deleted in the Palace handsript and

Palace edition. For example, in the sentence *edüge ene edüre temēčeküi čaγ-un kürdün sigemuni boγda lam-a* (*Altan uruγ čaγan teüke*, 119b), there is an 'x' mark to the right of the word *kürdün*, indicating that it was meant to be deleted. This word does not in fact appear in other manuscripts such as the Urga manuscript, but it has been copied as it is in the Palace handschrift (VII-6v) and Palace edition (VII-7a).

3) Scribal errors that have occurred because it is in many cases difficult to decide how to read certain letters in the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke*. For example, the name "Ončadba (Oγčadba) uran tangγariγ tabunang" (*Altan uruγ čaγan teüke*, 142a; Urga ms., 91r) is written "Omzabda noyan tangγud tabunang" in the Palace handschrift (VIII-16r1) and Palace edition (VIII-17a8). In other words, *uran* has become *noyan* and *tangγariγ* has become *tangγud*. In the former case the change is due to the fact that in the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke* the letter 'r' in *uran* has been written somewhat indistinctly, but it is nonetheless possible to read it as 'r' if one looks at it carefully. When the *Ch'ing-chi-ssu han shih-hsi chi-tsai tang-an* was being compiled, *uran* was carelessly read as *noyan*, and this error was carried over in the Palace handschrift and Palace edition.¹²⁾ In the latter instance the error occurred because the two words look very similar when written in cursive script.

When the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke* is compared with the Palace handschrift, it is found that in the latter the circumstances surrounding Princess Wen-ch'eng's marriage to the king of T'u-fan, the genealogy of the Chinese emperors as far as Činggis Qaγan, and the achievements of the 1st Pančen Blam-a have been deleted, and when one compares the Palace handschrift and Palace edition, one finds that those sections infringing taboos of the Ch'ing 清 imperial family (e.g., the relationship between the royal family of Čaqar and the Ch'ing imperial family, the use of Nurqači's and Qongtayiji's real names, etc.) have been omitted. In addition, the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke*, Palace handschrift and Palace edition all include additional passages from the *Altan tobči* unknown authorship and the *Asaraγci neretü teüke*.¹³⁾

(h') Call number: 9 (517, 3) III101-D.

· Head title: *Erdeni-yin tobči*.

· Characteristics: This is a copy of (h). It is in book format with a green cover, and is written with a pen on Western paper. Žamtsarano (1955, p. 38) was referring to this manuscript when he wrote, "a copy of the chronicle of Sanang sečen exists, entitled the White History of Cinggis, written on white Russian paper."

(i) Call number: 9 (517, 3) III101-A.

· Head title: *Erdeni-yin tobči*.

· Characteristics and affiliations: Book format; written with a writing brush; 375 pages. It corresponds to manuscript 'e' used by Nasunbaljur. The pages have

been numbered in sky-blue ink, with the last page number reading '373'. However, pages 125 and 134 have inadvertently not been numbered, and it actually consists of 375 pages. It is a complete text with Colophons 1 and 2, and the entire text of Colophon 2 has been reproduced by Jadamba (1962, pp. 196–205). This manuscript is said to have been brought back from Inner Mongolia by Ĵamiyang *güng*,¹⁴⁾ for on the final page the following has been written with a red pencil:

daruγa ĵamiyan abaγa-nar-ača olju iregsen nuuray eki-eče qaγulan bičigülbe (Had [this] copied from an original text obtained from Abaγa-nar by the director, Ĵamiyang.)

Thus, although it was brought from the Abaγanar Banner in Inner Mongolia, this manuscript is not the original manuscript recovered by Ĵamiyang *güng*, but a copy of an original (*nuuray eki*). The references to the birth years of Dayan Qaγan's children, which provide important clues for determining the textual affiliations of the different manuscripts, are basically identical to the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke* (see Reference Materials 1). That is to say, references to Geresenje and to Ubasanja *čing tayiži*, borne by Oyirad Güsei *qatun*, are missing as in the case of the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke*, Palace handschrift, and Palace edition. This means that this manuscript (i) belongs to the manuscript family deriving from the archetype of the *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke* (Morikawa, 1990, p. 12).

(j) Call number: 9 (517, 3) III101-B.

· Head title: none. Colophon 1 has *Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin tobči*. (Urga manuscript)

· Characteristics: *Pothī* format; written with a reed pen. I was unable to inspect the original, but a photographic reproduction has already been brought out by Haenisch (1955). Although there are a number of lacunae, it includes Colophons 1 and 2 and is the best of all the manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*. Because Haenisch referred to it as the "Urga-Handschrift," it is generally known as the "Urga manuscript." A photographic copy of it had already reached the former Soviet Union in the 1930s, and Žamtsarano (1955, pp. 14–26), calling it "MS. A," alludes to its outstanding qualities as a manuscript and reproduces Colophons 1 and 2 in their entirety. Throughout the text the original forms of proper names of Tibetan origin are given between lines in Tibetan script. In the second half, the 'ten stems' such as *ga*, *uu*, etc., given in their Chinese pronunciation and used to indicate years, are glossed interlinearly with the five colours (*sira*, *siragčün*, etc.), but this is clearly the work of a later hand.

(k) Call number: 9 (517, 3) III101-Ж.

· Head title: none.

· Characteristics and affiliations: Book format in one volume; written with a writing brush. It is a relatively recent manuscript. It was used as manuscript 'i' in Nasunbaljur's edition, but he notes that its provenance is unclear (1961, p. 5). At the time of my investigations in 1992, I was unable to conduct a full examination of this manuscript, but the passage relating to the birth years of Dayan Qaγan's children may be restored as follows on the basis of the edited text:

tegünü köbegün törö bolad ulus bolad qoyar sim bars jültei, töröltü günji barsubolad qoyar ga luu jültei, arsubolad ding qonin jültei, alčubolad včir bolad qoyar ging noqai jültei, arbolad jalayir qatun-u ger-e bolad giresenče tayiži sim bars jültei-e, oyirad güsi qatun-u ubasanja čing tayiži geretü tayiži yi yaqai jültei bülüge.

This is basically the same as the Urga manuscript, but reference is made to Arbolad (underlined), not mentioned in the Urga manuscript. This passage is identical to manuscript (f) (held by the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences) cited in Reference Materials 1. However, the lacunae in these two manuscripts do not coincide, and they cannot be said to belong to the same manuscript family. Arbolad is also mentioned in the Alay Sülde manuscript and (x) Ordos manuscript A, but when one compares other missing passages and interpolations not found in other manuscripts, one finds that they do not coincide, and this manuscript cannot be considered to be affiliated to these other manuscripts either.¹⁵⁾

(l) Call number: 9 (517, 3) III101-Γ.

· Head title: unknown. Ĵadamba (1963, p. 206) simply gives the standard title *Erdeni-yin tobči*.

· Characteristics: As was noted above, it is described as being in scroll format (*ibid.*). But since I was unable to examine either the original or a copy, I cannot say anything more about it.

(m) Call number: 63, 3 (5Mo) ㉓-75.

· Head title: *Erdeni-yin tobči kemekü tuγuži teüke bolai*.

· Characteristics: Book format; written with a writing brush. This manuscript is not included among the six manuscripts mentioned by Ĵadamba (1963). I saw only a copy rather than the original, and it bore the call number 63, 3 (5Mo) ㉓-75. In several places it is stated that it was copied in Kuang-hsü 光緒 13 (1887), and the content has been radically modified in parts. For instance, at the start it lists the titles of the sources used by Saγang Sečen and gives the names of the Ch'ing emperors as far as the emperor Kuang-hsü, and in the final section it gives a genealogical table of the Mongol *qaγans* as far as the seventeenth century.

3. Manuscripts Held at the Inner Mongolia Library

Along with the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences, the Inner Mongolia Library has the best holdings of old Mongolian texts in China. According to the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu* (pp. 1453-1457), this library has seven manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (nos. 08916, 08917, 08918, 08920, 08924, 08926, and 08936), but nos. 08916, 08917 and 08918 are electronic or photographic reproductions of other manuscripts. In 1992 I was able to examine the three manuscripts described below, but unfortunately I had no opportunity to examine no. 08926.

(n) Call number: k281.2/5-5 (no. 08920 in the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu*).

·Head title: *Šar teüke*; subtitle: *Žambuling amitan egüdegsen-eče edüge-dür kürtele baruylaǰu medekü tobči*.

The head title on the cover is written in a different hand from the text itself and was presumably added later.

·Characteristics and affiliations: *Pothī* format; written with a reed pen; 91 folios; 11.2 × 42 cm. A picture of a lotus has been drawn on the recto of folio 1 (Fig. 9), while the above subtitle has been written on the recto of folio 2. The title *Šar teüke* appears on the recto of folio 3, and the text itself starts from the verso of folio 3 (Fig. 10). The opening section is essentially identical to (b), kept at the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences, and the passage extending from folio 1v1 to folio 2r23 in the Urga manuscript is missing. In other words, it begins from *ǰürγuγan ǰüil amitan ǰergeber bütübei*. In (b) this sentence is preceded by *namo gho š-a. o suvasti sidam siri, blam-a idam*, but this is not found in the *Šar teüke*. As regards its content, it basically lacks the same passages as are missing in (b) and (c). For instance, as has already been noted with regard to (b), the story of how Uran Tüsimel of T'u-fan passed all the tests set him by Tayisung Qaγan of the T'ang and won the hand of Princess Wen-ch'eng for the king of T'u-fan, the story of how 'Pags pa Blam-a became Qubilai Qaγan's imperial preceptor, and the accounts of the activities of the 3rd Dalai Blam-a in Inner Mongolia and the activities of the 1st Pančen Blam-a are all missing. In addition, the account of the birth years of Dayan Qaγan's children (65a) is the same as (c), as is the appraisal of the activities of Ligdan Qaγan (67a). With regard to the omission and interpolation of words, on the other hand, it resembles (b) in many respects, and, as in the case of (b), some interpolated passages found in (c) are missing. In this respect this manuscript resembles (b). The greatest difference between the two is, however, that the *Šar teüke* ends with the enthronement of the emperor K'ang-hsi 康熙. The final sentence reads as follows:

tegün-ü köbegün Engke amuγulang qaγan ga morin ǰiltei, yisün nasun-ıyan sim bars

ǰile qan oron saγuǰu, Engke amuγulang qaγan kemen qotala ǰüg-üd-tür ǰügülün ǰirγaγulbai. (90b)

This sentence ends about midway through folio 90b (line 13), and since the rest of the page is blank, its termination at this point is not due to subsequent pages having been lost (Fig. 11). Although Colophons 1 and 2, found in (b), are missing, in view of the identical opening section and other features, there can be no doubt that this manuscript is closer to (b) than to (c).¹⁶⁾

(o) Call number: k281.2/5-2 (no. 08926 in the *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu*).

· Head title: *Qad-un ündüsün sār-a teüke altan tobäi bičig orosibai.*

· Characteristics and affiliations: Book format in one volume with a yellow cover (Fig. 12); written with a writing brush; 108 folios, 216 pages; 26 × 26.5 cm. A complete text with Colophons 1 and 2, it is a relatively recent manuscript. Like the Alay Sülde manuscript, it opens with *namo ša ky-a muni ya tere metü edüge čidaγcin-u erketü-yin nomlaγsan*, after which about 12 lines found in the Urga manuscript are missing, and it continues with *edüge yerüngkei-yin sitügen...* as in other manuscripts. As is evident from Reference Materials 1, the account of the birth years of Dayan Qaγan's children is basically the same as that in the Alay Sülde manuscript, although there are some differences. Furthermore, in the Alay Sülde manuscript, in the section describing how Bolqu *ǰinong* became angry at being falsely accused of having attempted to seize Manduγuli Qaγan's position as *qaγan* and his consort,

...üge ese ögbei. tendeče elčis anu ireǰü, ǰinong kilingleǰü üge ese ögbei kemegsen-dür...
(63a)

the underlined passage is missing, and it is similarly missing in this manuscript too (65a). However, there are also numerous passages which are missing in the Alay Sülde manuscript but not in this manuscript. For instance, in the Urga manuscript the division of Barsu Bolad's legacy among his seven sons is described in the following terms:

angq-a inu gün bilig mergen ǰinong bing bars ǰiltei, ordos tümen degere saγuǰuqui. altan qaγan ding taulai ǰiltei, arban qoyar tümed-ün yekengki degere, labuγ tayiǰi gi taulai ǰiltei, tümed-ün ügüsin degere, bayisqal ging morin ǰiltei, yöngsiyebü-yin doloγan (otoγ) qaračın degere, bayandar-a sim bečın ǰiltei, čaqar-un čaγan tatar degere (Urga ms., 68v–69r)

Whereas the underlined section is missing in the Alay Sülde manuscript (68b), it is not missing in this manuscript (73a). In addition, in the account of

the meeting between Altan Qayan and the 3rd Dalai Blam-a, the section reading “he sent [them] to gather under his power the Heaven and Dragon in the land of Mongolia, and then on the night on which he arrived at Gün Ergi” (Urga ms., 75r) is also missing in the Alay Sülde manuscript (72b) but not in this manuscript (79a). There are further examples like this, and it is therefore to be surmised that this manuscript is not based on the Alay Sülde manuscript, but on another text belonging to the same manuscript family.

When compared with the Alay Sülde manuscript, words and sentences have also been considerably modified in this manuscript. The alliterative verses in particular have been altered quite freely, and this is especially pronounced in the famous dirge of Shun-ti (Togon Temür) and in Colophon 2. Furthermore, whereas in the section of Colophon 1 giving the title of this chronicle the Alay Sülde manuscript (94b) has (*ügüler-ün enekü qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči kemekü-yi*,¹⁷) this manuscript (102a) has altered the title to *qad-un ündüsü altan tobči-yi* (Fig. 13). This is why the head title of this manuscript reads *Qad-un ündüsün šar-a teüke altan tobči*.

(p) Call number: k281.2/5-3 (no. 08924 in the Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu).

• Head title: *Qad-un ündüsün sir-a teüke altan tobči biig*.

• Characteristics and affiliations: Book format; written with a writing brush; 142 folios, 284 pages; 27 × 22.5 cm. It may be described as a “complete” manuscript with Colophons 1 and 2. However, it appears to have lost the first and last folios at an early stage, and these were subsequently restored on the basis of manuscript (o), as a result of which it is now a complete manuscript (Fig. 14). Consequently it opens, like the Alay Sülde manuscript and manuscript (o), with the words *na mo ša ky-a mu ni ya*, and the section describing Saγang Sečen’s motives in compiling this chronicle is missing. But the main text starting from folio 2 has the characteristic features of the Urga manuscript family. That is to say, the two passages invariably missing in these manuscripts and noted in connection with (a) *Erdeni altan tobči* are missing in this manuscript too (51a, 81a), and the account of the birth years of Dayan Qayan’s children is also essentially the same as the Urga manuscript (Fig. 15). There can thus be little doubt that, apart from the two restored folios, this manuscript originally belonged to the Urga manuscript family. At the same time, however, it also contains references to the achievements of Ligdan Qayan distinctive of manuscripts affiliated to (c) *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*, and this means that it belongs to the same manuscript family as manuscripts (d) and (e) held at the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences. As was noted in connection with (e), this manuscript (p) represents the original text on which (e) is based.

III. Manuscripts Held at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences

I have not had the opportunity to examine the manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* held at the Institute of Oriental Studies. They have, however, already been dealt with by Žamtsarano (1955), Puchkovskij (1954, 1957), and Sazykin (1988), and in the following I shall describe them on the basis of the publications of these scholars.

(q) Call number: F 188.

· Head title: none.

Žamtsarano (p. 26) and Puchkovskij (1957, p. 24) give the title as *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči*. The title appearing in Colophon 1, on the other hand, reads *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*, and this is the title adopted by Sazykin (p. 111). Žamtsarano (p. 28) states in this regard that the original title was *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči* and that the author Saγang Sečen also wrote with reference to the title *enekü Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobčiy-i*, but the copyist of this manuscript mistakenly wrote *tobčiy-a* for *tobčiy-i*. This explanation is not very convincing, for most of the manuscripts have *Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči kemekü-yi*, with the word *kemekü* coming between *tobči* and *-yi*, and it would be impossible to mistake *tobči kemekü-yi* for *tobčiy-a*. There is, however, a different opinion on whether it should read *tobči* or *tobčiy-a*.¹⁸⁾ All the same, this interpretation of Žamtsarano's is at any rate untenable.

· Characteristics and affiliations: Book format in four volumes; written in black ink with a pen. It corresponds to the manuscript designated "MS. B" by Žamtsarano (p. 26). At the end of the fourth volume it is stated that it represents the original text presented by imperial command to the emperor Ch'ien-lung by Čenggünjab, pacifier of the frontier and vice-general of the left (*ting-pien tso fu Chiang-chün* 定邊左副將軍) and Ĵasaγ imperial prince of the Qalq-a, in Ch'ien-lung 31 (1766). This manuscript was purchased by V. Novoselov in Peking some time between 1795 and 1807 (Puchkovskij, *ibid.*, p. 27), but it is not clear why it is considered to be the "original" presented to the emperor Ch'ien-lung.

This manuscript was used by Schmidt as his base text, but there are considerable differences between this manuscript and the Schmidt edition.¹⁹⁾ Žamtsarano (p. 27) also states that "this copy cannot be considered reliable, because it contains important clerical errors and omissions, as compared to the other, better copies." There can, however, be little doubt that it is very similar to the Palace manuscript on which the Palace edition was based.

(r) Call number: I 42.

· Head title: *Enekkeg Töbed Mongγol qad-un tuuji orosibai*. The back cover is

also inscribed with the words *Enedkeg Töbed Mongγol γurban ulus-un qad-un tuuǰi*.

·Characteristics and affiliations: Book format in one volume, divided into four chapters. It corresponds to the manuscript designated "MS. C" by Žamtsarano (p. 36). According to Puchkovskij (*ibid.*, p. 29), it is a copy of F 188 made in 1828. It is written in ink with a pen. It includes a note according to which Vasili Novoselov, a student who had returned from living in Peking, brought back with him the son of Itanču Fool in 1808 together with a manuscript of this chronicle; later on in 1817 the original copy was taken by Nomtu Uuta and Badm-a Morsun (*ǰayisangs* of the Qori Buriyats) to St. Petersburg, where it was handed over to a person called Isag Yaküb Simid (Žamtsarano, *ibid.*). Being a copy of F 188, it is in content presumably essentially identical to (q).

(s) Call number: F 254.

·Head title: *Qaγan-u šara debter orosiba*.

·Characteristics and affiliations: Book format in one volume. It corresponds to the manuscript designated "MS. D" by Žamtsarano (p. 37). Žamtsarano and Puchkovskij give quite different explanations of the provenance of this manuscript. According to Žamtsarano (*ibid.*), it is "a poor reproduction of a good copy, which belonged to the chancery of the representation of Tüšiyetü qan's *ayimay* at Urga in 1917." Puchkovskij (*ibid.*, p. 30), on the other hand, writes, "collection of the 3rd Russian Committee for the Study of East and Central Asia, No. 38, 1911, Ordos." But according to Sazykin (pp. 11, 13), it was obtained by Žamtsarano in 1910 while travelling through Inner Mongolia. In content this manuscript covers the period as far as the start of the emperor K'ang-hsi's reign, but Colophons 1 and 2 are both missing (Puchkovskij, *ibid.*, p. 30).

(t) Call number: F 212.

·Head title: none.

·Characteristics and affiliations: Book format in one volume; 34 folios. It was obtained by A.V. Burdukov. In content, it is said to be similar to the first volume of F 188 (Puchkovskij, *ibid.*, p. 37). Puchkovskij (1954, p. 103) also notes that "it contains only the dynastic histories of India and Tibet, but they are described in a little more detail than in the manuscript brought back by Novoselov." It is written with a pen.

(u) Call number: H 99.

·Head title: *Mongγol-un γaǰar qad-un iǰaγur-un šastir buyu*.

·Characteristics: Book format in one volume; 25 folios. "[This] manuscript is extremely close to the second volume of F 188, and [it can be said] with adequate grounds [that] it is a copy of it" (Puchkovskij, 1957, p. 31). It is written in black ink with a pen in Buriyat handwriting. It was obtained by the Kazan Academy of Religion.

(v) Call number: E 79.

·Head title: none.

·Characteristics: Book format in one volume; written in the Todo script on Russian paper in ink with a writing brush. This is not, however, a manuscript of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* itself, but a collection of various Mongolian works of literature, and it includes only a very small section of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* (folios 1-10 of the second volume of F 188). Sazykin (p. 108, n. 424) does not include it among texts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*.

(w)Call number: F 549.

·Head title: *Erdeni-yin tobči*.

·Characteristics: Book format in one volume; 251 folios; written on Chinese paper in black ink with a writing brush. It is said to have been acquired in 1955, but it is not mentioned by Puchkovskij. Concerning its “acquisition” in 1955, Sazykin (p. 17) writes, “The formation of the first section of the Mongolian holdings of the Institute of Oriental Studies [covering] more than two centuries ended with the acquisitions of 1955. To these were added manuscripts which, although old, had not previously been catalogued and books donated to the institute by G.D. Natsov, T.A. Alekseev and Ts. Damdinsuren.” This manuscript (w) was simply included among the old manuscripts, and nothing is mentioned about its provenance. There is also no mention of its characteristic features, and its textual affiliations are unclear.

IV. The Ordos Manuscripts

As is well-known, Père Mostaert, a Christian missionary active in prewar Inner Mongolia, came across three manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* in Ordos, which he had copied and later published as Volume II of the series *Scripta Mongolica* brought out by the Harvard-Yenching Institute of Harvard University, and these are generally known as the “Ordos manuscripts.”²⁰ Furthermore, in accordance with Mostaert’s classification, these are usually referred to as ‘manuscript A’ (Part II), ‘manuscript B’ (Part III), and ‘manuscript C’ (Part IV). According to Mostaert’s own explanatory comments, the original manuscripts themselves were not all that old (Mostaert, 1956, Part I, pp. 58-66). Mostaert stresses the fact that the Ordos manuscripts are in many respects superior to the Schmidt edition (*ibid.*, pp. 67-73), but they cannot be said to be all that outstanding when compared with older manuscripts in *pothū* format such as (j) Urga manuscript, (g) *Alaγ Sülde* manuscript, and (a) *Erdeni al-tan tobči*. In the following I shall, with reference to Mostaert’s explanatory comments, compare their content and consider their textual affiliations.

(x) Ordos manuscript A

- Head title: none. At the very end (136b) there is written *Erdeni tobči*.
- Characteristics and affiliations: Book format in two volumes. Although the original manuscript is not divided into chapters, the text reproduced in Part II, following the Schmidt edition, has been divided into ten chapters. Not only are Colophons 1 and 2 missing, but there is also one folio of the main text missing between folio 8b and folio 9a. In addition, several lines have been left blank on folio 32b between the words *abubai* and *mön uridu*, but this is not due to a lacuna in the original manuscript. Manuscripts affiliated to the Palace edition have a quotation from the *Altan tobči* here,²¹⁾ and it is to be surmised that because Mostaert referred to the Schmidt edition, deriving from the Palace edition,²²⁾ when having this manuscript copied he mistakenly assumed that a passage was missing and left it blank. This manuscript is a copy of an original belonging to Duḡār Jab, *tayijī* of the Üüşin Banner, and the text reproduced in Scripta Mongolica II was made from Mostaert's dictation by Töbšin of the Otoḡ Banner in January-February 1910.

The section on the birth years of Dayan Qayan's children reads as follows:

tegün-ü köbegün törö bolad ulus bolad qoyar sim bars jil-tei, töröl-tü günji barsubolad qoyar ga luu jiltei, arsubolad ding qonin jil-tei alcu bolad vačir bolad qoyar ging noqai jil-tei, arbolad jalayar qatun-u gere-e bolad geresenje tayiji sim bars jil-tei oyirad güsei qatun-u ubasanja čing tayiji geretü tayiji ii yaqai jil-tei bülüge. (92a)

This is basically no different from manuscript (f) held at the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences cited in Reference Materials 1. But there are no other distinctive similarities between the two manuscripts, and they cannot be said to belong to the same manuscript family. Krueger (p. 219) gives a diagram in which Ordos manuscript A is shown as being closely related to the Urga manuscript, but the reference to Arbolad in the above passage indicates that this manuscript belongs to a different manuscript family from that of the Urga manuscript, and in point of fact other omissions shared by manuscripts of the Urga manuscript family are not mirrored in this manuscript.²³⁾ In this sense its relationship to other manuscripts is not clear.

(y) Ordos manuscript B

- Head title: *Ejin boḡda činggis qayan-u šara teüke orošiba*.
- Characteristics and affiliations: Book format. The original manuscript belonged to Tümen Öljei, who was Meyiren *janggin* of the Otoḡ Banner in Ordos, and it is said to have had the oblong form of a Buddhist *sūtra* (Mostaert, *ibid.*, Part I, p. 62). The text reproduced in Scripta Mongolica II was copied in 1918 by Töb Delger of the Otoḡ Banner, and at the end of the text (148a) one reads: "Finished writing [this] on the fifteenth day of early summer (fourth month) of

the seventh year of the Republic (1918), the earth-horse year." On the very last page (148b) it is stated that the original text of the manuscript owned by Tümen Öljei was copied by Rinčindorji, a *tayiji* of the fourth rank (promoted one rank), in Kuang-hsü 17 (1891).

This manuscript has Colophons 1 and 2. As regards its textual affiliations, Krueger (p. 219) has already pointed out that it is closely related to the Urga manuscript. In the first place, passages characteristically missing in manuscripts of the Urga manuscript family are also missing in this manuscript. That is to say, the passages (i) and (ii) quoted earlier with reference to (a) *Erdeni altan tobči* and missing in the Urga manuscript are missing in this manuscript too.²⁴ Secondly, in the section describing how Bolqu *jinong* became angry at being falsely accused of having attempted to seize Manduγuli Qaγan's position as *qaγan* and his consort, the same passage is missing as in the Urga manuscript (73b). Thirdly, the account of the birth years of Dayan Qaγan's children is also the same as that found in the Urga manuscript (see Reference Materials 1).²⁵ The above characteristics prove that this manuscript belongs to the same manuscript family as the Urga manuscript.

Meanwhile, as is shown in Reference Materials 2 (4), a passage found only in texts affiliated to (c) *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a* of the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences has found its way into the section dealing with Ligdan Qaγan (83ab), and in this sense it could be said to be closely related to manuscripts (d), (e) and (p). However, the 'ten stems' are expressed by means of the five colours (*sira, siragčïn, qara, qaragčïn, etc.*) rather than being given in Chinese pronunciation, and in this respect it concurs with manuscript (k) of the Inner Mongolia Library. In other points of wording too this manuscript is closer to (p) than to (d). Therefore, it could be said that, although affiliated to the Urga manuscript, Ordos manuscript B is more closely related to (p).

(z) Ordos manuscript C

·Head title: none. Colophon 1 has *Qad-un ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin tobči*.

·Characteristics and affiliations: The original manuscript was written on white Western letter-writing paper and was not bound. Its owner belonged to the Qanggin Banner, and the manuscript was brought to Mostaert by Kešigbatu of the Üüşin Banner in about 1916. The text reproduced in Part IV of Scripta Mongolica II was copied by Mostaert himself. Like (x) Ordos manuscript A, it follows the Schmidt edition in being divided into ten chapters, but the original manuscript was not divided in this manner.

The text ends with Colophon 1, and Colophon 2 is missing. This manuscript also has the same characteristics as manuscripts of the Urga manuscript family. Firstly, passages characteristically missing in manuscripts of the Urga manuscript family (passages (i) and (ii) cited under manuscript (a) above) are also missing in this manuscript (Part IV, p.103, 1.3; p. 163, 1.2); secondly, in the

section describing how Bolqu *jinong* became angry at being falsely accused, the same passage is missing as in the Urga manuscript (*ibid.*, p. 165, 1.5); and thirdly, it gives the same account of the birth years of Dayan Qayan's children as (y) Ordos manuscript B (*ibid.*, p. 180). As for Ligdan Qayan's achievements and their appraisal (*ibid.*, p. 184), on the other hand, it is basically identical to manuscripts (d) and (y) and includes a passage distinctive of texts affiliated to (c) *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*. This manuscript shares the above characteristics with (d), (e), (p) and (y), but, like (d), it gives the 'ten stems' in their Chinese pronunciation (*ga, uu*, etc.), and the spelling of some words is also similar to that found in (d). In this sense, this manuscript is most closely connected with (d).

V. The Kentei Ayimay (Ka) Manuscript

·Head title: none.

·Characteristics and affiliations: This manuscript was included among the Mongolian and Tibetan manuscripts presented to Professor Yondon of Mongolia while conducting fieldwork among the Kentei *ayimay* in 1970, and it was subsequently published by Chiodo and Sagaster (1996). It is thus referred to as the Kentei *ayimay* manuscript (or simply Ka manuscript). According to Chiodo and Sagaster, it consists of 87 double folios measuring 45×13.5 cm, and the last folio (88r) has only 20 lines (Chiodo & Sagaster, p. 1). The final episode concerns Ulus Bolad, the second son of Dayan Qayan—when he became *jinong* and betook himself to the Right Wing, Ibarai, Mandulai and others rose in revolt and tried to kill him, and the manuscript ends at the point where Bayičuγur Darqan of Ordos tries to protect him. It is thus an incomplete manuscript.

As regards the textual affiliations of this manuscript, it is evident that it is affiliated to the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*. This is because passages missing in the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a* and affiliated texts are also missing in this manuscript. For instance, there is a lacuna between *oljuqui* and *tere boγda* at folio 8v13 (Urga ms., 5v-6r). There is another lacuna between *qaγan kemekü* and *ilaγuγsan* at folio 9r24 (Urga ms., 6r), and *ilaγuγsan* is followed by a passage found only in the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a* and affiliated texts (*čidaγci-yin dalai metü jarliγ-yi debter-tür orosiγulqui eldeb erdenis terigüten-iyer*). There are many more examples like this, and some quite long passages are also missing. For the sake of brevity I will cite no further examples, but there can be no doubt that this manuscript is affiliated to the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*. Being incomplete, it cannot be described as a good manuscript, but it is of interest in that it shows that manuscripts affiliated to the *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a*, hitherto found only in Inner Mongolia, were also circulating in Mongolia proper (Outer Mongolia).

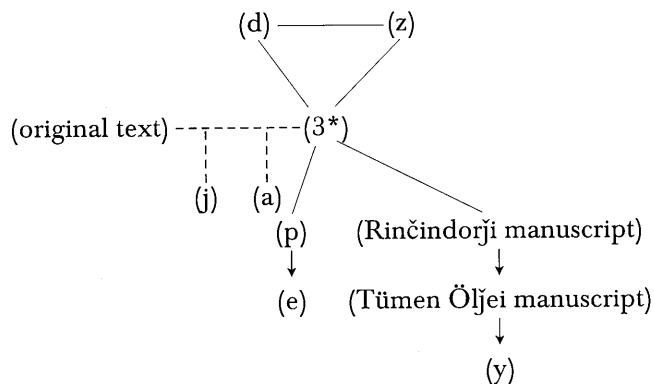
VI. The Manuscript Families

In the above I have described the characteristics and textual affiliations of manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* held by various institutions. When attempting to classify these manuscripts (and printed editions) stemmatically, the best method is probably to use as yardsticks relatively early manuscripts characterized in their content by certain distinctive features and then to indicate to which of these the remaining manuscripts and printed editions are most closely related. When considered from this vantage point, one may point to the Urga manuscript, Alay Sülde manuscript, *Erdeni-yin tobčiya*, and Palace edition as representative texts from among the manuscripts (and printed editions) described above. As regards the Palace edition, properly speaking (h) *Altan uruγ čaγan teüke*, its archetype, should probably be given at the head of this manuscript family, but since the Palace edition is the best-known text belonging to this family of manuscripts, I have used it to represent this manuscript family. In the following I have stemmatically classified the texts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* along the above lines. (The manuscript family of the Palace edition is based on Morikawa, 1994, and the grouping of texts after single parenthesized numerals indicates that they stand in a particularly close relationship to one another.)

I. Urga Manuscript Family

- (1) (j) Urga manuscript
- (2) (a)
- (3) (d), (e), (p), (y), (z)

Among the five texts grouped under (3), (e), (p) and (y) are especially closely related, as are (d) and (z). The archetype of these five texts has not been discovered, but if we provisionally call it (3*), then the relationship between these texts may be shown by means of the following diagram.²⁶⁾ (Solid lines indicate that the intertextual relations are especially strong, while arrows indicate that a manuscript has been copied.)



II. Alay Sülde Manuscript Family

- (1) (g) Alay Sülde manuscript
- (2) (o)

III. *Erdeni-yin tobčiy-a* Family

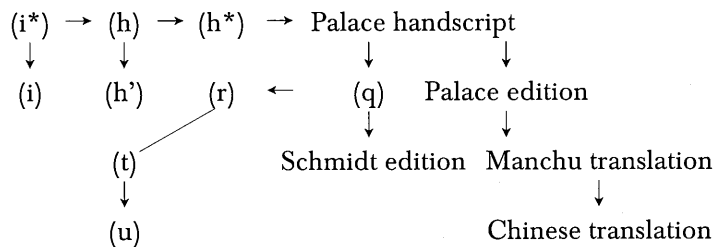
- (1) (b)
- (2) (c), (n)
- (3) (Ka)

Manuscripts (c) and (n) in group (2) are especially closely related.

IV. Palace Edition Family

- (1) (h) → (h')
- (2) (i)
- (3) Palace handschrift
- (4) Palace edition
- (5) Schmidt edition
- (6) (q) F 188, (r) I 42, (t) F 212, (u) H 99

Were there to have existed an early manuscript (i*) on which (i) is based, then one could draw up the following stemma (in which (h*) indicates the *Ch'ing-chi-ssu han shih-hsi chi-tsai tang-an*).



IV. Texts of Unknown Affiliation and Texts Not Examined by the Author

- (1) (y) Ordos manuscript A
- (2) (f) *Γadaγadu saba yirtinčü...*
- (3) (k) Ж in *ǰadamba* (1963, p. 207)

These three texts would seem to belong to different manuscript families, but in their accounts of Dayan Qayan's children they all include the name of Arbolad, not found in manuscripts of the Urga manuscript family.

- (4) (l) Γ in *ǰadamba* (*ibid.*, p. 206) (not seen by the author)
- (5) (s) F 254, (v) E 79, (w) F 549 (all held by the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences)
- (6) *Chung-kuo Meng-ku wen ku-chi tsung-mu*, nos. 08921 and 08923 (held by Yeke-juu League Library), no. 08926 (held by Inner Mongolia Library),

and no. 08928 (held by Qorčin Left Wing North Banner Library)

VI. Other Manuscripts (texts which have been considerably altered or which make considerable use of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*)

(1) (m) Kuang-hsü 13 manuscript held by the Mongolian National Library

(2) *Erteki ba edügeki-yin Erdeni-yin tobči*. Compiled by Kešigbatu of Ordos in 1904-5. It quotes extensively from the *Erdeni-yin tobči*. Heissig (1970) has published a photographic reproduction of the entire text. A copy is also held by the Inner Mongolia Academy of Social Sciences (call number: 22.912), and a typeset edition of this has been brought out by Altansümbür and Qurčabaʻatur (1997).

VII. Concluding Remarks

In the above I have considered from a variety of angles the manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, both those dealt with in the past by other scholars and some which I myself was able to examine personally. As a result it has become clear that the texts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* can be basically classified into (I) the Urga manuscript and affiliated manuscripts, (II) the Alay Sülde manuscript and affiliated manuscripts, (III) the *Erdeni-yin tobčiya* and affiliated manuscripts, (IV) the Palace edition and affiliated manuscripts, (V) those of unknown affiliation, and (VI) other miscellaneous texts. Not only do there exist a large number of manuscripts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči*, but they are held by institutions scattered across several countries, and thus it is still difficult to personally examine them all. Consequently, with regard to some texts I have had to base my comments almost entirely on the information provided by the relevant catalogues. Nonetheless, quite a number of texts have been described here for the first time, and the total number of texts covered is far greater than that covered by previous scholars. In this respect it has been possible, I believe, to classify the texts of the *Erdeni-yin tobči* with considerable accuracy. In the future I hope to be able to examine other manuscripts held by several libraries in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region and the manuscripts kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Notes

- 1) The order in which the manuscripts have been listed below follows the order in which I examined them, and it has no special significance.
- 2) 'Colophon 1' refers in the Urga manuscript to the section from folio 96v16 (starting from *ene metü urida sitügen saba yirtinčü...*) to folio 97r21 (as far as *-yi negelgekü boltuyai*), while 'Colophon 2' refers to the subsequent section from folio 97r22 to the final line at folio 102v10. In the following, all references to 'Colophon 1' and 'Colophon 2' refer to these two sections.
- 3) The words *ülen buʻru ötegleltei* represent the text as found in the Alay Sülde manuscript (42b),

while the words *ülü buγu öteleltei* in parentheses represent the version found in the Palace edition (IV-4b).

- 4) In addition, passages characteristic of the *Erdeni-yin tobčiya* are to be found in manuscript (b) and also in manuscript (i).
- 5) For instance, in the account of how Tayisung Qaγan fled to the home of his estranged wife when being pursued by Oyirad (by whom he was eventually killed) (Urga ms., 56r), the underlined section in the following passage has been added in the left margin of folio 37b as an interpolation to the main text.

...kemedeg, tayisung qaγan taki (qula) mori-bar-iyān dutaγad, kentei qan-i jorin kerülen mören-i getülen buruγuduyad, urida γoorlad-un čabtan kemeküi-yin altaγaljin neretü ökin-i inu tayisung qaγan-u qatun bülüge. tegün-i tariyačün-u qalčaγai neretü kümün-lüge sedkiltei kemen buruγusiyaju jimeleküi-dür törküm-degen oduγad saγuγsan ajuγu gegeged qariγulju öggügsen ajuγu.

A passage somewhat similar to the above underlined section appears in the *Altan tobči*. According to Blo-bzang bstan-'jin's *Altan tobči*,

...kemen tayisung qaγan tögeken nököd-lüge kerülen-dü buruγudba. uridu čabtan-i ökin altai qatun taratın-i qalčaγai-luγa qobtai geju qalčaγai-yi alaγu, qatun-i čikin qabar-i köndejü öggügsen qatun-yuγan törküm γoorlad-un čabtan-dur jorin odqui-dur... (Bira, 1990, 146a. Mostaert, 1952, II, p. 138)

It is stated, in other words, that because Altaγaljin, Tayisung Qaγan's wife, had had a relationship with Čabtan, she was sent back to her parental home.

- 6) A numeral indicating the number of years ought to be given here, but it is missing from the text.
- 7) The solidi indicate that the paper has been torn and part of the text is missing.
- 8) Other texts with sections written in red ink include (a) *Erdeni altan tobči* and (g) Alay Sülde manuscript, but in no other manuscript is red ink used to such a great extent.
- 9) It has been suggested that this Alay Sülde mausoleum may be the tomb of Qabtu Qasar, Činggis Qaγan's younger brother. It is located in Eriyen Toloγai in the south of the Otoγ Banner and in the north of the Üüşin Banner (explanatory comments on text published by Mergenbaγatur). Eriyen Toloγai adjoins the southeast of the Otoγ Banner, the eastern extremity of Erketü Sumu, and the Üüşin Banner.
- 10) The opening words *namo śakyaṃuniya tere metü edüge* are written in red ink and are made even more difficult to read because of poor printing. The original text is just as difficult to make out. Čidalu (1987, main text, p. 1, l. 2), who published a typeset edition of this Alay Sülde manuscript, was also unable to read this section correctly, and he has erte for edüge. I was, however, able to read it correctly on the basis of manuscript (o) held at the Inner Mongolia Library.
- 11) Ĵadamba, 1963, p. 206, call number 9 (517, 3) III101-Д.
- 12) When written in the Mongolian script, noyan and uran look similar.
- 13) On this point, see Morikawa, 1990 & 1994.
- 14) Nasunbaljur, 1961, p. 5. It was for this reason that I earlier referred to this manuscript as "the manuscript recovered by Jamiyang güng" (Morikawa, 1994), and for convenience' sake I have used this designation below too.
- 15) For instance, when compared with the Urga manuscript, the passage from *baγsi qoyar aγula-yin to dorji qobon kemen nereyidčü* (Nasunbaljur, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–57) is said to be missing. However, the name 'Dorji Qobon' appears in some texts only and is not found in the Urga manuscript (*ibid.*, p. 56, n. 12). The subsequent passage from *nigen yeke qara buγa* to *niγuča nere inu* (*ibid.*, p. 56, n. 13) is also missing. But this is followed by a quite lengthy interpolation not found in any other text (*ibid.*, pp. 57–58). In content it corresponds to part of the tale of the invitation of Padmasaṃbhava to Tibet found in the *Badma katang sudur-un orosiba*, the Mongolian translation of the Tibetan *Padma bka' thang* (Ishihama, 1992, pp. 51–54). Similar passages are to

be found in other texts, but their content has been simplified. Thus, when considered in this light too, the relationship between this manuscript and other texts is not clear.

- 16) On the differences and similarities between manuscripts (b), (c) and (n), see Morikawa, 1996.
- 17) The word *ügüler-ün* in parentheses is found in other texts, but not in the Alay Sülde manuscript.
- 18) According to Kōkeōndör (1987, p. 12), the *Yüan-ch'ao pi-shih* 元朝秘史 is rendered in Mongolian as *Mongyol-un ni'yuča tobčiyān* and has always been known as *tobčiyān*; the word *tobčiya* is another form of *tobčiyān*; and therefore *Erdeni-yin tobčiya* is correct and *Erdeni-yin tobči* is wrong.
- 19) See Žamtsarano, 1955, pp. 26-36; Yamamoto, 1938, pp. 7-15.
- 20) Mostaert, 1956, Parts I-IV.
- 21) See Morikawa, 1990, pp. 504-513.
- 22) In this regard, see Morikawa, 1994, pp. 12-14.
- 23) The two passages characteristically missing in manuscripts belonging to the Urga manuscript family, cited in connection with (a) *Erdeni altan tobči*, are found in Ordos manuscript A (51b7, 83a4).
- 24) Mostaert, *op. cit.*, Part II, 44b5, 72b8.
- 25) *Ibid.*, 80b10.
- 26) The asterisk (*) indicates a hypothetical text which is no longer extant, but may conceivably have existed in the past.

Reference Materials 1: A comparison of passages relating to the birth years of Dayan Qa'yan's children.

A total of eight manuscripts have been compared, with (j) Urga manuscript serving as the base text; the others are: a) *Erdeni altan tobči*, c) *Erdeni-yin tobčiya*, D) Palace edition (referred to as 'D' for convenience) sake), f) *ᠮᠠᠳᠠᠭᠠᠳᠤ ᠰᠠᠪᠠ ᠶᠢᠷᠲᠢᠨᠦ ᠲᠣᠭᠲᠠᠭᠰᠠᠨ...*, g) Alay Sülde manuscript, i) *Erdeni-yin tobči*, and o) *Qad-un ündüsün šar teūke altan tobči*. Scribal errors have been transcribed as they are without any emendation. Crosses (xxx) indicate that the corresponding section is not found in that particular text, while blank spaces indicate that the corresponding section is found elsewhere in the text. Underlines indicate that the word(s) in question are given as they appear in the text. (The above conventions have also been followed in Reference Materials 2.)

j)	<i>tegünü köbegün törö bolad, ulus bolad qoyar sim bars jültei, töröltü günji, barsubolad</i>
a)	<i>tegünü köbegün törö bolad, ulus bolad qoyar sim bars jültei, töröltü günji barsubolad</i>
c)	<i>tegünü köbegün törö bolad ulus bolad qoyar sim bars jültei, töröltü günji, barsu bolad</i>
D)	<i>tegün-ü köbegün törö bolod ulus bolod qoyar sim bars jültei töröltü günjü barsubolod</i>
f)	<i>tegünü köbegün törö bolad, ulus bolad qoyar sim bars jültei, töröltü günji barsubolad</i>
g)	<i>tegün-ü köbegün törö bolad ulus bolad xxxxx sim bars jültei, töröltü günjü barsubolod</i>
i)	<i>tegümü köbegün törö bolod ulus bolod xxxxx sim-e bars jültei töröltü günji barsubolod</i>
o)	<i>tegünü köbegün törö bolod, ulus bolod, qoyar sim bars jültei töröltü güngjü barsu bolod</i>
j)	<i>qoyar ga luu jültei, arsubolad, ding qonin jültei, alčubolad včir bolad qoyar ging noqai</i>
a)	<i>qoyar ga luu jültei, arsubolad ding qonin jültei, alčubolad včir bolad qoyar ging noqai</i>
c)	<i>qoyar ga luu jültei, arsubolad ding qonin jültei, alčubolad, včir bolad qoyar ging noqai</i>
D)	<i>qoyar ga luu jültei arsubolod xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx včir bolod qoyar ging noqai</i>
f)	<i>qoyar ga luu jültei, arsubolad ding qonin jültei, alčubolad, včir bolad qoyar ging noqai</i>
g)	<i>qoyar ga luu jültei, arsubolad ding qonin jültei, alčubolad včir bolad qoyar ging noqai</i>
i)	<i>qoyar ga luu jültei arsubolod, ding qonin jültei alčubolod včirbolod, qoyar ging noqai</i>
o)	<i>qoyar kiya luu jültei, arsubolad ding qonin jültei, alju bolod včir bolod qoyar ding noqai</i>
j)	<i>jültei, xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx jayilar qatun-u ger-e bolad xxxxxxxx xxxx giresenje</i>
a)	<i>jültei, xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx jalayir qatun-u gere bolad, xxxxxxxx xxxx giresenje</i>

c)	<i>jiltei</i>	<i>ar bolad gi taulai jiltei</i>	<i>jalayir</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>gerebolad</i>	<i>sim noqai</i>	<i>jiltei</i>	<i>giresenje</i>
D)	<i>jiltei</i>	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	<i>jalär</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>ger-e bolod</i>	<i>sim bars</i>	<i>jiltei</i>	xxxxxxx
f)	<i>jil-tei</i>	<i>arbolad xxxxxxxxxxxxxx</i>	<i>jalayir</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>gerebolad</i>	xxxxxxx	xxxx	<i>giresenje</i>
g)	<i>jiltei</i>	<i>arbolad xxxxxxxxxxxxxx</i>	<i>jalayir</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>gerebolad</i>	<i>sim noqai</i>	<i>jiltei</i>	<i>geresenje</i>
i)	<i>jil-tei</i>	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	<u><i>jalir</i></u>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>ger bolod</i>	<i>sim-e bars</i>	<i>jiltei</i>	xxxxxxx
o)	<i>jiltei</i>	<i>ar bolod xxxxxxxxxxxxxx</i>	<i>jalayir</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>ger-e bolod</i>	<i>sim bars</i>	<i>jiltei</i>	<i>geresenje</i>
j)	<i>tayiji sim bars</i>	<i>jiltei</i>	<i>oyirad</i>	<i>güsei</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>ubasanja</i>	<i>cing</i>	<i>tayiji</i> xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
a)	<i>tayiji sim bars</i>	<i>jiltei</i>	<i>oyirad</i>	<i>güsei</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>ubasanja</i>	<i>cing</i>	<i>tayiji</i> , xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
c)	xxxxx <i>ding taulai</i>	<i>jiltei</i>	xxxxxx	<i>güsei</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>ubasanja</i>	xxxx	<i>tayiji</i> <i>ding taulai jiltei</i>
D)	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	xxxx	xxxxxx	xxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxxx	xxxx	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
f)	<i>tayiji sim bars</i>	<i>jil-tei</i>	<i>oyirad</i>	<i>güsei</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>ubasanja</i>	<i>cing</i>	<i>tayiji</i> , xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
g)	<i>tayiji qoyar</i> ,		<i>oyirad</i>	<i>güsei</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	xxxxxxx	xxxx	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
i)	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	xxxx	xxxxxx	xxxx	xxxxxx	xxxxxxx	xxxx	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
o)	<i>tayiji, qoyar</i> ,		<i>oyirad</i>	<i>güsei</i>	<i>qatun-u</i>	<i>ubasanja</i>	<i>cing</i>	<i>tayiji</i> xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
j)	<i>gerütü</i>	<i>tayiji</i>	xxxxx <i>yi</i>	<i>yaqai jiltei</i>				<i>bülüge</i> .(Urga.66r-v)
a)	<i>gerütü</i>	<i>tayiji</i>	xxxxx <i>yi</i>	<i>yaqai jil-tei</i>				<i>bülüge</i> .(84b-85a)
c)	<i>gere-tü</i>	<i>tayiji</i>	xxxxx <i>yi</i>	<i>yaqai jiltei</i>				<i>bülüge</i> .(46b)
D)	<i>geretü</i>	<i>tayiji</i>	xxxxxxx	<i>yaqai jiltei</i>				<i>bülüge</i> .(VI-11b-12a)
f)	<i>geretü</i>	<i>tayiji</i>	xxxxx <i>yi</i>	<i>yaqai jil-tei</i>				<i>bülüge</i> .(61b-62a)
g)	<i>geretü</i>	<i>tayiji</i>	xxxxx <i>yi</i>	<i>yaqai jil-tei</i> , <i>ubasanja tayiji</i>				<i>bülüge</i> .(67a)
i)	<i>ger-tü</i>	<i>tayiji</i>	xxxxx <i>gei</i>	<i>yaqai jil-tei</i>				<i>bülüge</i> .(pp.240-241)
o)	<i>ger-e-tü</i>	<i>tayiji</i>	<i>qoyar yi</i>	<i>yaqai jiltei</i>				<i>bülüge</i> .(70b)

Reference Materials 2: A comparison of passages relating to Ligdan Qayan.

A total of four manuscripts have been compared, with (j) Urga manuscript again serving as the base text; the others are: c) *Erdeni-yin tobči*-a, d) *Sablojatatu yeke yirtinčü-yin qaγad-un ündüsün-ü čiqula udqa-tu sudur*, and y) Ordos manuscript B.

j)	<i>dayan qaγan-u üre</i> ,	<i>qad-un uruγud ba</i> ,	<i>qaraliγud yeke</i>	<i>ulus-tur</i> ,	<i>törö-ēce eteged</i>	<i>üile yabudal</i>	
c)	<i>dayan qaγan-u üre</i>	<i>qad-un urud-ud ba</i> ,	<i>qaraliγud yeke</i>	<i>ulus-tur</i> ,	<i>törö-ēce eteged</i>	<i>üile yabudal</i>	
d)	<i>dayan qaγan-u üre</i>	<i>qad-un uruγud ba</i>	<i>qaraliγud yeke</i>	<i>ulus-tur</i>	<i>törö-ēce eteged</i>	<i>üile yabudal</i>	
y)	<i>dayan qaγan-u üre</i>	<i>qad-un uruγud ba</i> ,	<i>qaraliγud yeke</i>	<i>ulus-tur</i>	<i>törö-ēce eteged</i>	<i>üile yabudal</i>	
j)	<i>olan</i>	<i>boluγsan-dur</i> ,	<i>tayibing</i>	<i>törö-ber</i>	<i>erkedür-iyen</i> ,	<i>oroγulun yadaγun</i> ,	<i>ülibesü erten-ü</i>
c)	<i>oldaγsan-u</i>	<i>siltaγabar</i>	<i>amurlingγui</i>	<i>törö-xxx</i>	<i>yabudal-iyar</i>	<i>toγtaγan yadaγad</i> ,	<i>ülibesü erten-ü</i>
d)	<i>oldaγsan-u</i>	<i>siltaγa-a-bar</i>	<i>amurlingγui</i>	<i>törö-xxx</i>	<i>yabudal-iyar</i>	<i>toγtaγan yadaγad</i>	<i>ülibesü erten-ü</i>
y)	<i>üldegsen-ü</i>	<i>siltaγa-bar</i>	<i>amurlingγui</i>	<i>törö-xxx</i>	<i>yabudal-iyar</i>	<i>toγtaγan yadaγad</i>	<i>ünibesü erten-ü</i>
j)	<i>qaučün</i>	<i>üliger-tür</i>	<i>qaγan</i>	<i>kilinglesesü</i>	<i>törö-yugen</i>	<i>ebdemüi. jaγan</i>	<i>kilinglesesü qota-yügen</i>
c)	<i>qaučün</i>	<i>üliger-tür</i>	<i>qaγan</i>	<i>kilinglesesü</i>	<i>törö-yugen</i>	<i>ebdemüi. jaγan</i>	<i>kilinglesesü qota-yügen</i>
d)	<i>qaučün</i>	<i>üliger-tür</i>	<i>qaγan</i>	<i>kilingnesesü</i>	<i>törö-yugen</i>	<i>ebdemüi. jaγan</i>	<i>kilingnesesü qota-yügen</i>
y)	<i>qaučün</i>	<i>üliger-tür</i>	<i>qaγan</i>	<i>kilinglesesü</i>	<i>törö-yuγan</i>	<i>ebdemüi. jaγan</i>	<i>kilinglesesü qota-yüγan</i>
j)	<i>ebdemüi kemegsen</i>	<i>metü</i> ,	<i>qaγan-u</i>	<i>gegegen sedkil-dür</i>	<i>unta γun</i>	<i>törö-gsen-iyer</i> ,	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx
c)	<i>ebdemüi</i> ,	<i>kemegsen metü</i> ,	<i>qaγan-u</i>	<i>gegegen sedkil-dür</i>	<i>urin</i>	<i>töröjü</i> ,	xxxx <i>γadaγadu</i> xxxxxxxx
d)	<i>ebdemüi</i> ,	<i>kemegsen metü</i>	<i>qaγan-u</i>	<i>gegen sedkil-dür</i>	<i>urin</i>	<i>töröjü</i>	xxxx <i>γadaγadu mongγol</i>
y)	<i>ebdemüi</i> ,	<i>kemegsen metü</i>	<i>qaγan-u</i>	<i>gegen sedkil-dür</i>	<i>uran</i>	<i>töröjü</i>	xxxx <i>γadaγadu mongγol</i>
j)	xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx	xxxxxxxxxx	<i>jirγuγan yeke</i>	<i>ulus-i</i>	<i>dayičing</i>	<i>törö-ber quriyaγad</i> ,	<i>γučin nigen on-dur</i>
c)	<i>ulus-a morilan</i>	<i>aγuluγad</i> ,	<i>jirγuγan yeke</i>	<i>ulusi</i>	<i>dayičag</i>	<i>törö-ber quriyan</i> ,	<i>γučin nigen jile</i>

- d) *ulus-i morilan aγuluγad jūrγuγan yeke ulus-i dayičing törö-ber quriyan γučin nigen jile*
 y) *ulus-i morilan aγuluγad jūrγuγan yeke ulus-i dayičing törö-ber quriyan γučin nigen jil x*
- j) *qan oron-a saγuju, döčün γurban-ıyan, ga noqai jil-dur jayaγan-a erüsten ogede bolai ene ber*
 c) *qan oron-dur saγuju, döčün γurban-ıyan ga noqai jil-dur jayaγan-a erüsten qalibai. ene ber*
 d) *qan oron-dur saγuju döčün γurban-ıyan ga noqai jil-dur jayaγan x erüsten qalibai. ene ber*
 y) *qan oron-dur saγuju döčün γurban-ıyan čaγan noqai jil-dur jayaγan-a erüsten qalibai ene ber*
- j) *dayan qaγan-u nigedüger köbegün töröbolod-ača saluγsan qad-un törö xx xxxx yabudal bolai.*
 c) *dayan qaγan-u nigedüger köbegün törö bolod-ača saluγsan qad-un uruγ-un xxxx yabudal bolai.*
 d) *dayan qaγan-u nigedüger köbegün törö bolod-ača saluluγsan qad-un uruγ-un üile yabudal inu*
 y) *dayan qaγan-u nigedüger köbegün törö bolod-ača saluluγsan qad-un uruγ-un üile yabudal inu*
- j) (Urga.68r-68v)
 c) (48a)
 d) *qoyaduγar köbegün ulus bolod …… (64b)*
 y) *qoyaduγar köbegün ulus bolod …… (83a-b)*

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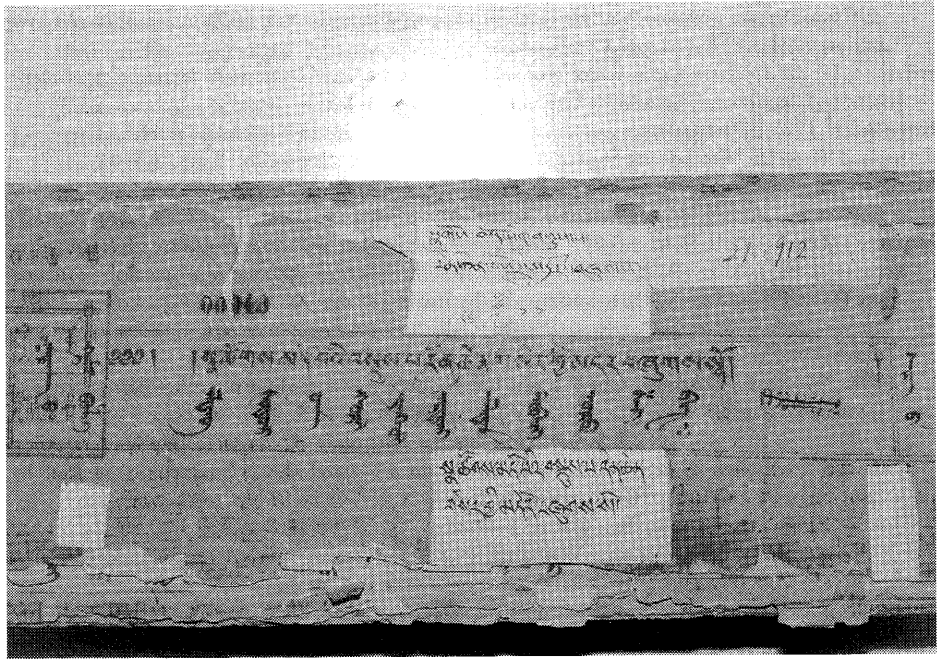


Fig. 1

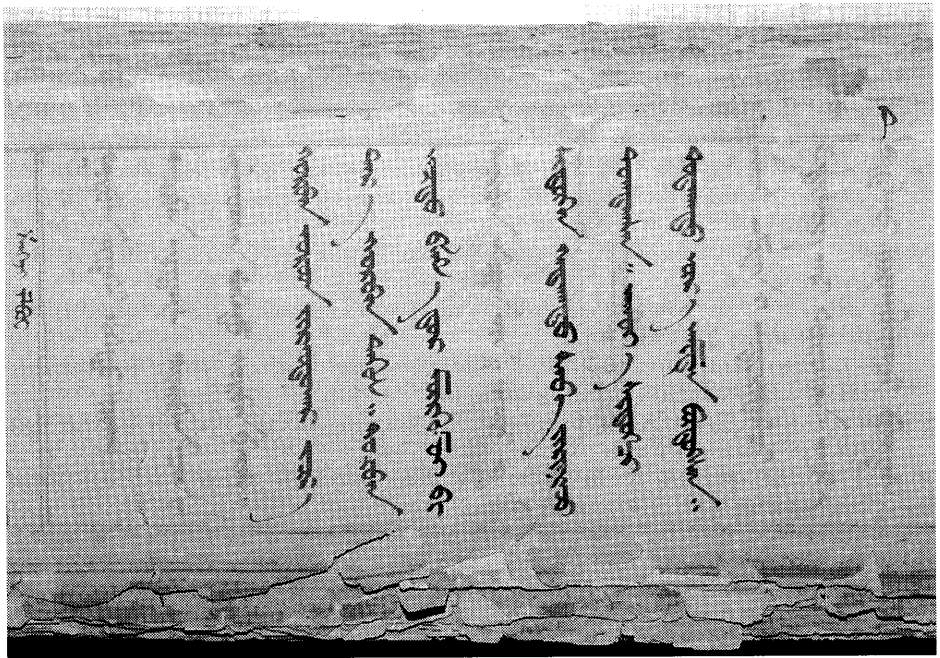


Fig. 2

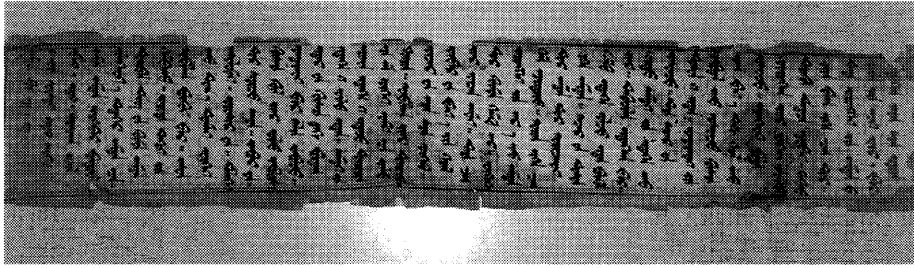


Fig. 3

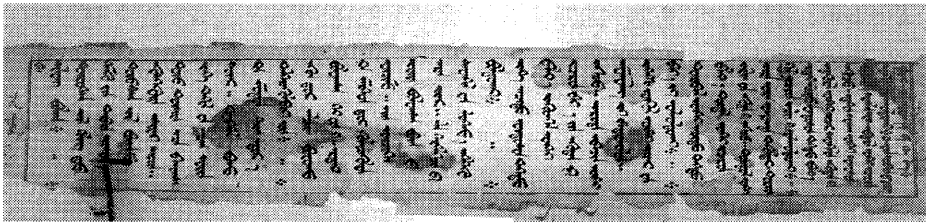


Fig. 4

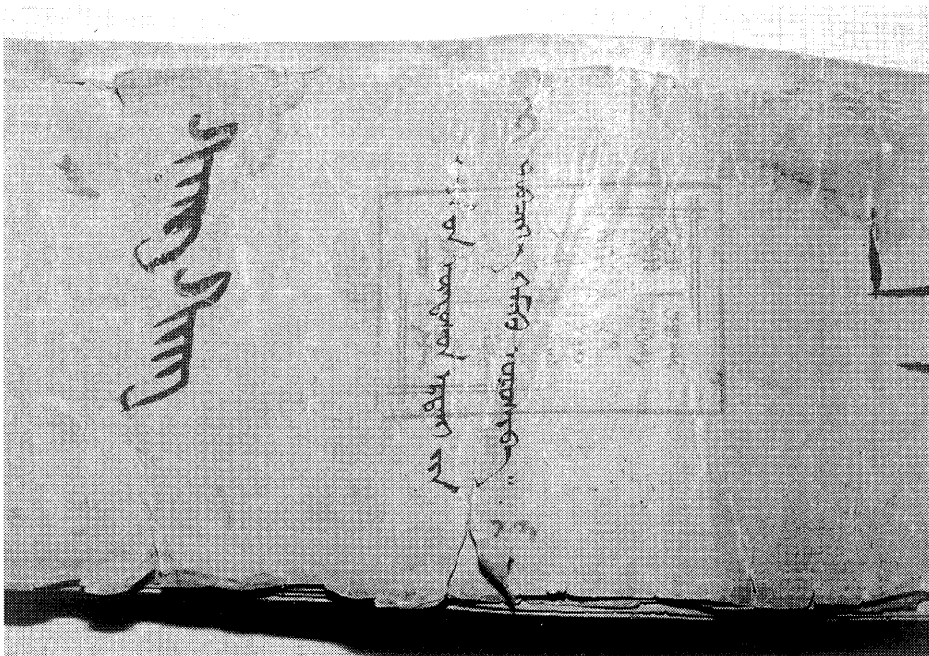


Fig. 5



Fig. 6

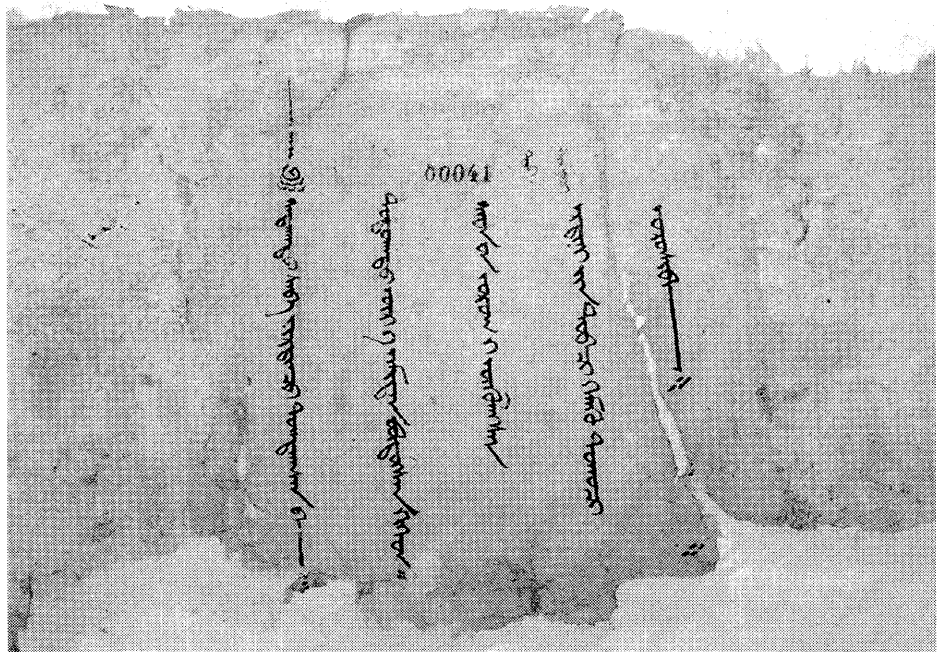


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

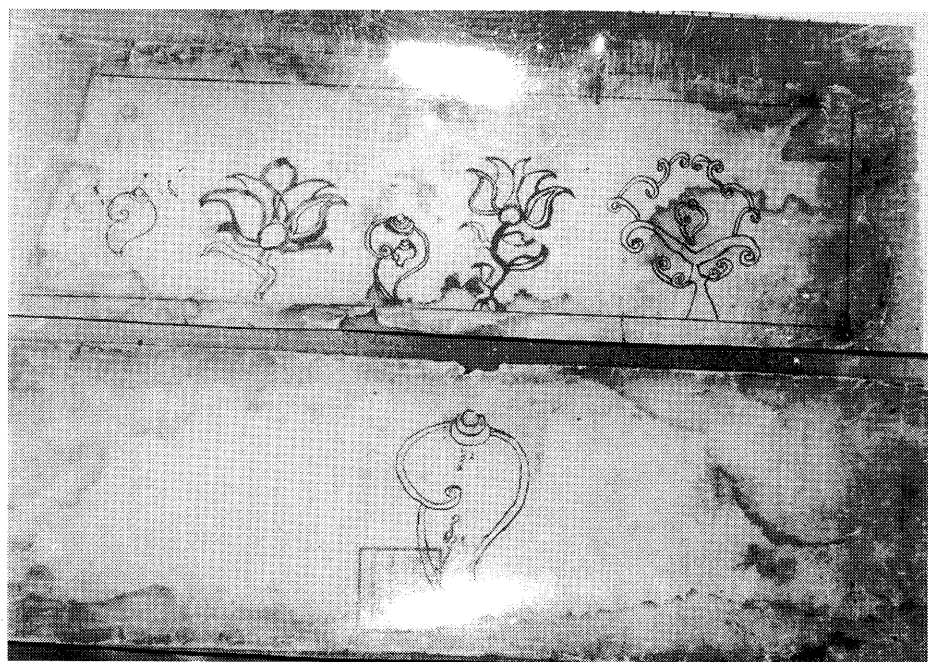


Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

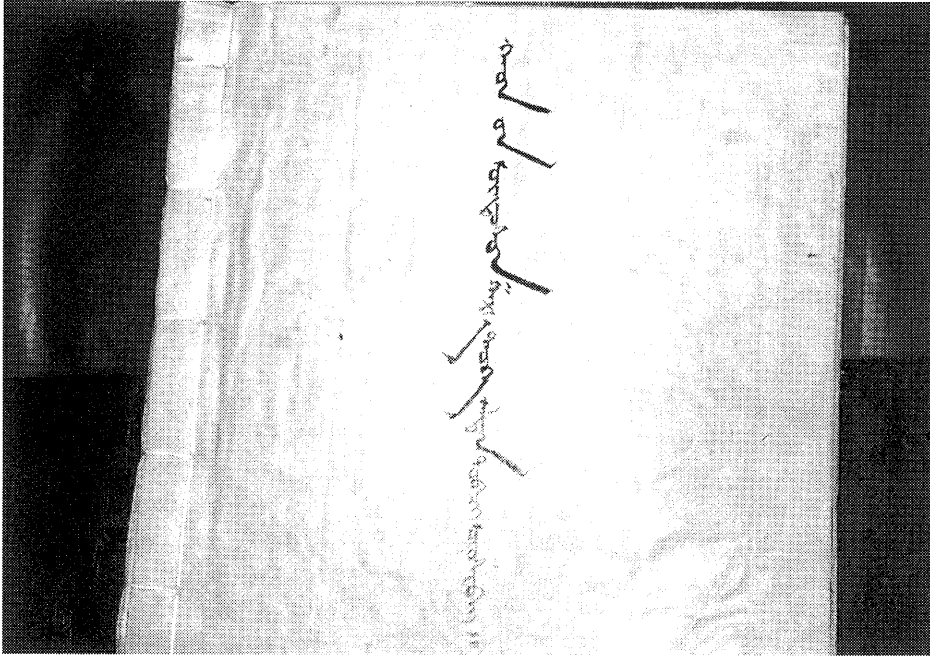


Fig. 12

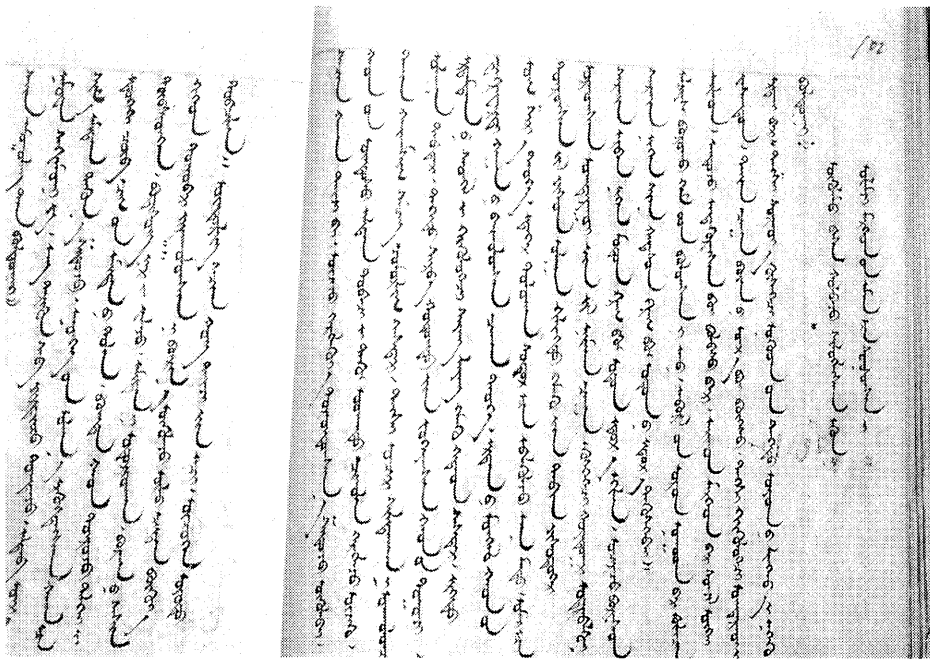


Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15