

A FRAGMENT OF THE *BODHICARYĀVATĀRA*  
FROM OLON SÜME

NICHOLAS POPPE

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

At the present time there is known to us a considerable number of fragments of various Mongolian manuscripts representative of the preclassical period of the history of Written Mongolian. As most of them have never been studied, little can be said about their linguistic palæographic or literary value. It is not even known what literary works most of these fragments represent. Therefore, their identification with well-known works of original Mongolian literature or with translations from other languages is important, because the number of different fragments of the same works might serve as important testimony to their popularity in the past.

Thus, recently it was discovered that the fragment of the ᠬᠦᠫᠦᠭᠰᠤᠮᠤ xylograph found by MANNERHEIM<sup>1</sup> is a fragment of the well-known didactic work *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*.<sup>2</sup> This was the first fragment of a Mongolian book in ᠬᠦᠫᠦᠭᠰᠤᠮᠤ script known to science and it gives evidence of the fact that the didactic work in question enjoyed so great a popularity in the Yüan period that it was chosen to be published in the new script introduced in 1269.

Another important work of the Yüan period is the Buddhist

<sup>1</sup> G. J. RAMSTEDT, "Ein Fragment mongolischer Quadratschrift," *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne XXVII*:3 (1912); "A Fragment of Mongolian 'Quadratic' Script," reprinted from C. G. MANNERHEIM, *Across Asia from West to East in 1906-08*, Helsinki, 1940.

<sup>2</sup> Pentti AALTO, "Altaistica I, The Mannerheim Fragment of Mongolian Quadratic Script," *Studia Orientalia XVII*:7 (1952), p. 3 ff.; cf. Louis LIGETI, *Le Subhāṣitaratnanidhi mongol, un document du moyen mongol, Partie Ire, Le manuscrit tibéto-mongol en reproduction phototypique avec une introduction*, Budapest, 1948.

philosophic work *Bodhicaryāvatāra*<sup>3</sup> of which several Mongolian editions are known.<sup>4</sup>

A number of fragments of Mongolian manuscripts discovered by the Japanese expedition in Olon Süme ("Many Temples") was published in the valuable article of Professor HATTORI Shirō.<sup>5</sup> Professor HATTORI reproduced the original Mongolian texts by photographic means, romanized them, and gave a Japanese translation. One of the fragments characterized by him as a fragment of a Buddhist text<sup>6</sup> but left unidentified with any particular literary work proves to be a fragment of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

I present a transcription of this fragment after a photograph published in Professor HATTORI's article. (See Plate I.)

<sup>3</sup> There is a Sanscrit text of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* published by Минаевъ in Записки Восточнаго Отдѣленія Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества, т. IV, стр. 153 и сл., and another one published by DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN in *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta) 1901. Cf. Friedrich WELLER, "Zum mongolischen Tanjur," *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Bd. 97, Heft 2 (1949), p. 3; cf. Friedrich WELLER, "Über den Quellenbezug eines mongolischen Tanjurtexes," *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, Bd. 45, Heft 2 (1950), p. 1, n. 2. The Tibetan text of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* has been published by WELLER as an appendix ("Anhang") to the work cited last. The Mongolian text is mentioned in Б. Лауфер, *Очерк монгольской литературы*, перевод В. А. Казакевича под редакцией и с предисловием Б. Я. Владимирцова, Ленинград, 1927, стр. 52, прим. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The Mongolian text has been published by В. Я. VLADIMIRTSOV. Cf. Б. Я. Владимирцов *Bodhicaryāvatāra* Čāntideva, Монгольский перевод Čhos-kyi Ḥod-zer'a I, Текст, *Bibliotheca Buddhica XXVIII*, Ленинград, 1929. VLADIMIRTSOV knew of two different Mongolian translations, i. e., one by Čhos-kyi Ḥod-zer (1305) and another by Bilig-ün Dalai (1748). Cf. VLADIMIRTSOV, *op. cit.*, p. I. A xylographic edition of Čhos-kyi Ḥod-zer's commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* of 1312 has recently been identified by Erich HAENISCH, "Mongolica der Berliner Turfan-Sammlung I, Ein buddhistisches Druckfragment vom Jahre 1312," *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*, Jahrgang 1953, Nr. 3 (Berlin, 1954), pp. 1-22 + "Texttafeln," and, independently, by Francis Woodman CLEAVES, "The *Bodistw-a Čari-a Avatar-un Tayilbur* of 1312 by Čosgi Odsir," *HJAS* 17 (1954) 1-135.

<sup>5</sup> HATTORI Shirō 服部四郎, "Oron Sumu shutsudo no Mōkogo bunsho ni tsuite" オロンスム出土の蒙古語文書について ("The Mongolian Documents Found at Olon Sume, Inner Mongolia"), *The Tōhō Gakuhō 東方學報 (Journal of Oriental Studies)*, Tōkyō, No. 11, Part 2 (July 1940), pp. 257-278.

<sup>6</sup> Prof. HATTORI uses the term *kyōten* 經典 which means "scriptures, sūtras, sacred books," *op. cit.*, p. 261. I am indebted to Miss Mary SUZUKI, Far Eastern Library of the University of Washington, for help in translating the Japanese text.

[Transcription] <sup>7</sup>

ǰayun γurban

[1] nigen <sup>8</sup> ber bügsen <sup>9</sup> bügesü. yaγu ba nigen-eče ču[2] ayuqu bolqu. bi kemekü nigekeken be <sup>10</sup> ügei-yin

<sup>7</sup> Prof. HATTORI's transcription differs only slightly from mine. A few words which are not quite legible have been misread by him.

<sup>8</sup> The numeral "one" is transcribed as *nigen* according to modern pronunciation. In Middle Mongolian, e. g., in the hPags-pa script, it is *nik'en*. Cf. H. H. ПОПЕ, Квадратная письменность, Москва-Ленинград, 1941, стр. 42, 154. For the *Hua-i i-yü nikän* "one", cf. Marian LEWICKI, *La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIVe siècle, Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389*, Wrocław, 1949, p. 107; cf. also Erich HAENISCH, "Sino-mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst*, Jahrgang 1950, Nr. 4, Berlin, 1952, p. 55. For the Mogol *nikän*, cf. G. J. RAMSTEDT, "Mogholica, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan," *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne XXIII:4* (1906), p. 34. The Dagur *ne'k'e* also has *k* in intervocalic position in this word. Cf. H. H. ПОПЕ, Дагурское наречие, Ленинград, 1930, стр. 143. Therefore, the transcription *niken* might be preferable for preclassical texts. VLADIMIRTSOV's text has *nigekeken* (or *nikেকেken*) with diminutive suffix *-ken*. The diminutive forms of numerals have the meaning "only so and so many", i. e., in this case "only one" or "only once, only one time."

<sup>9</sup> This is a rare form of the *nomen perfecti* of the defective verb *bü-* "to be." It only occurs in a few texts. For the *Secret History* *bügsen*, cf. Paul PELLIOU, *Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Paris, 1949, §155, where it occurs in the following context: *egeči činu čima-dača sayin bügsen bö'esü eri'ülüye* "if thine elder sister is more beautiful than thou, we shall let seek [her]." It is to be noted that the same construction *bügsen bö'esü* occurs in this context as in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* fragment. The form *bügsen* is found in HAENISCH's dictionary. Cf. Erich HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Ninca Tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao Pi-shi)*, *Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen*, Leipzig, 1939, p. 21. The *nomen perfecti* *bügsen* does not occur in classical Written Mongolian. It does not occur in the colloquial language either. The form *bīsən* (Khalkha) "was, existed" has nothing in common with *bügsen*, because *bīsən* is a development of *bui aγsan* "has been." The compound form *bügsen bügesü* means "if he has been," "if he had been" or "when he has (or had) been." The form in question is missing in VLADIMIRTSOV's text where only *bügesü* is found. The difference in meaning is not great, because *bügesü* means "if is" or "when is" (versus "if has been" or "when has been").

<sup>10</sup> Although at the present time this is read as *nigekeken ba* "anyone", the particle can also be transcribed as *be*, because in Middle Mongolian it complied with the rules of vowel harmony. Cf. *Secret History*, PELLIOU, *op. cit.*, §66: *ökin-iyen be öksü kö'ün-iyen be güreget-te talbiγu ot* "I shall give my daughter and leave [thou] thy son as a son-in-law and go." CLEAVES correctly transcribes this particle as *be*, e. g., *kedün-te be* "even many times." Cf. F. W. CLEAVES, "The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1338

- [3] tulada. ayuyçi tere ken buyu. sidün üsün kimu-  
 [4] sun bi busu. yasun čisun ber bi busu. nisun  
 [5] nilbusun <sup>11</sup> ber [bi] busu sir-a üsün <sup>12</sup> ügesün ber [bi] busu  
 [6] bui. egüküd <sup>13</sup> ber kölösün ber bi busu. eligen  
 [7] ayuski ber bi busu. kesel toγoriqui ber <sup>14</sup>

in Memory of Ĵigüntei," *HJAS* 14(1951).55. The very precise hP'ags-pa script renders this particle as *be* after front vocalic words. Cf. POPPE, *op. cit.*, p. 84 *et passim*.

<sup>11</sup> This word is illegible. VLADIMIRTSOV's text has *silüsün* "saliva," but this looks like *nilbusun* "spittle."

<sup>12</sup> Both in the fragment and in VLADIMIRTSOV's edition we find *sir-a üsün*, but this is an obvious mistake for *sir-a usun*, because *sir-a üsün* means "yellow hair" (i. e., the hair on the body), while *sir-a usun* is "yellow water," i. e., "sanies, lymph, pus." Cf. "pus sereux, pus, sang corrompu" (J. É. KOWALEWSKI, *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, Vol. II, Kasan, 1846, p. 1518). The latter meaning corresponds exactly to the Tibetan *č'u ser* "serum." The corresponding lines in the Tibetan text read as follows: *snabs min bad kan ma yin te, č'u ser daŋ ni rnaq kyaŋ min* "the mucus and the phlegm are not; the serum and the pus are not either."

<sup>13</sup> The form *egüküd*, a plural of *egükün* "fat, grease," deserves attention. The usual Written Mongolian form is *ügekün*. Cf. Khalkha *ᠮᠡᠭᠦᠭᠦᠨ*, Ordos *ᠮᠡᠭᠦᠭᠦᠨ*, Kalm. *ᠮᠡᠭᠦᠭᠦᠨ*, Aga and Khorī Buriat *ᠮᠡᠭᠦᠭᠦᠨ* id., but Alar Buriat has *ᠮᠡᠭᠦᠭᠦᠨ* "grease." Cf. H. H. POPPE, *Аларский говор*, ч. I, Ленинград, 1930, стр. 57. The form *ᠮᠡᠭᠦᠭᠦᠨ* < \**egükün* "grease" occurs also in the new dictionary of ČEREMISOV, cf. БУРЯТ-МОНГОЛЬСКО-РУССКИЙ СЛОВАРЬ, составил К. М. Черемисов, Москва, 1951, стр. 521, however, with no indication of the dialect. The Middle Mongolian form *e'ükün* "grease" occurs in the text of the *Secret History*, cf. HAENISCH, *Wörterbuch zu Manḡol un niuca tobca'an*, p. 47. VLADIMIRTSOV's text does not have this word, but instead we find there *qorayun*, a word not occurring in the dictionaries of Written Mongolian. It occurs, however, in Kalmuk as *χоргун* "tallow, suet, dissolved fat or grease," vide G. J. RAMSTEDT, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, Helsinki, 1935, p. 187. I find this word also in Written Oirat. Cf. *χоргон* "dissolved fat or tallow." Cf. H. A. ZWICK, *Handwörterbuch der westmongolischen Sprache*, Donaueschingen, 1853, p. 198. It occurs also in Buriat in the form of *χоргон*, although it is not found in ČEREMISOV's dictionary. It occurs as a loanword in Yakut. Cf. *χоргун* ~ *χоргум* ~ *χаргин* "dissolved fat." Cf. Edouard PEKARSKIY, *Yakut dili sözlüğü*, I cilt, İstanbul, 1945, p. 387. I do not have the original Russian edition and quote the Turkish translation of it. It is possible that the Even (Lamut) word *orakan* "the fat of the intestines" is a further development of this word, because the initial \**q* disappears in Manchu-Tungus in loanwords taken from Mongolian, cf. Ma. *orin* "twenty" < Mongolian *qorin* id., etc.

<sup>14</sup> The expression *kesel toγoriqui* corresponds here to Tibetan *naŋ grol* "the intestines, bowels, entrails." The form *kesel* (or *gesel*?) does not occur in the dictionaries and known sources, but *toγoriqui* is a *nomen futuri* from *toγori-* "to circle around, to walk around, to encircle, etc." In KOWALEWSKI's dictionary (vol. III, p. 1813) there is found the word *toγoringgai* "the thin intestines of pigs." In RINČINE's Khalkha-Russian dictionary the corresponding form is *toirinχoi* id. Thus *kesel* (or *gesel*) *toγoriqui* means "entrails." VLADIMIRTSOV's text has *busud kesel* (or *gesel*) "the other intestines." The form *kesel* (*gesel*) is of unknown origin.

- [8] bi busu. burtaγ ber sigesün ber bi busu.  
 [9] miqan arasun ber bi busu bui. qalaγun kei<sup>15</sup>  
 [10] ber bi busu nüküd<sup>16</sup> ber bi busu. teyigen<sup>17</sup>  
 [11] büged jiryuyan bilig ber busu. ker  
 [12] be dayunu bilge<sup>18</sup> möngke ele bügesü. nasu čaγ-  
 [13] tur dayun sonosqu bolqu. medegdeküi<sup>19</sup> ügei

This fragment coincides almost verbatim with verses 56 to 60 of the IXth Chapter of the Mongolian text published by VLADIMIRTSOV. (See Plate II.) The verses in question in his edition read in transcription as follows:<sup>20</sup>

56 kerbe bi nigeken ber bügesü ele,  
 yaγuba nigen-eče ču ayuqu boldaqu,<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> The term *qalaγun kei* means literally "the hot wind" or "the hot air." It corresponds to Tibetan *drod dañ rluṅ* "heat and wind."

<sup>16</sup> This is usually spelled *nüken*, meaning "hole, opening." Cf. *nüked* in VLADIMIRTSOV's text. It corresponds to Tibetan *bu ga* "the nine openings in the human body" (i. e., two eyes, two nostrils, two ear openings, the mouth, the urethra, and the anal opening).

<sup>17</sup> The expression *teyin büged* is well known. It corresponds to Tibetan *ṃam par* and means "thus, in this manner." Both in the fragment and in VLADIMIRTSOV's text, instead of *teyin*, the form *teyigen* is found. It can be compared with Buriat *ṭige- < \*teyige-* "to act in that manner."

<sup>18</sup> The form *bilge* is interesting. It is a loanword taken from Ancient Turkic (Uigur) where it means "wise, a wise person." Cf. A. VON GABAIN, *Alttürkische Grammatik*, 2. verbesserte Auflage, Leipzig, 1950, p. 303; cf. also *Divanü lûgat-it-Türk dîzîni "Endeks,"* yazan: Besim ATALAY, Ankara, 1943, p. 92; cf. also С. Е. Малов, Памятники древнетюркской письменности, Москва-Ленинград, 1951, стр. 371. The word *bilge* occurs in preclassical Mongolian texts together with *bilig* "intellect," i. e., as *bilge bilig*, but in modern xylographs *bilge* is replaced by *belge* "mark, sign," i. e., we find there only *belge bilig*. In VLADIMIRTSOV's text *bilge* is replaced by *bilig*, the usual Written Mongolian word for "intellect."

<sup>19</sup> The form *medegdeküi* is a *nomen futuri* of the passive verb *medegde-* "to be known." This form means "that to be known, that which will be known," i. e., "the object of knowledge" or "the object of perception," and corresponds to Tibetan *šes bya* "what ought to be known." The sentence is not finished here. The whole verse in Tibetan is *šes bya med na či rig na* and corresponds to the Sanscrit *jñeyaṃ vinā tu kiṃ vetti*. Cf. WELLER, "Über den Quellenbezug eines mongolischen Tanjurtextes," p. 19.

<sup>20</sup> VLADIMIRTSOV, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>21</sup> The form *boldaqu* is a *nomen futuri* of the passive verb *bolda-* (from *bol-* "to become"). This passive form, together with the preceding *ayuqu*, should be translated as "should be exposed to fear." While the corresponding line of the fragment means "if only I had existed, I would be afraid of everyone," this is to be translated "if I were alone, I would be exposed to fear of everyone."

bi kemekü nigeken be ügei-yin tulada,  
ayuyçi tere ken buyu.

- 57 sidün üsün kimusun bi busu,  
yasun çisun ber bi busu,  
nisun silüsün ber bi busu,  
sir-a üsün ügesün ber bi busu bui.
- 58 qoraγun kölösün ber bi busu,  
eligen aγuškin ber bi busu,  
busud kesel ber bi busu,  
burtaγ sigesün ber bi busu.
- 59 miq-a arasun ber bi busu bui,  
qalaγun kei ber bi busu,  
nüked ber bi busu, [140]  
teyigen büged jirγuγan bilig ber bi busu.
- 60 kerbe daγun-u bilig möngke ele bügesü,  
nasu čaγ-tur daγun sonosqu bolqu,  
medegdeküi ügei bügesü yaγun-i medeküi kemebesü,  
alin-iyar bilig kemen ügülemü.

I translate the text of the Olon Süme fragment in the following manner:

[Translation]

[Folium] One Hundred Three.

- [1] If only [I] had existed, I would be afraid of everyone.  
[2] As there is no ego,  
[3] who is that frightened one? The teeth, the hair, and the  
[4] nails are not the ego. The bones and the blood are not the  
ego. The mucus  
[5] and the saliva are not [the ego]. The lymph and the pus  
are not [the ego].  
[6] The grease and the perspiration are not the ego. The liver  
[7] and the lungs are not the ego. The bowels  
[8] are not the ego. The excrements and the urine are not  
the ego.  
[9] The flesh <sup>22</sup> and the skin are not the ego. The heat

<sup>22</sup> Mongolian *miqan* stands for "flesh" and "muscles" and corresponds to Tibetan *ša* "flesh, meat, surface of the body, muscle," while the French translation of the Sanskrit text has "ni la chair, ni les muscles."



sait, par la doctrine de la vacuité, que] le moi n'est rien, qui pourrait avoir peur, [puisqu'il n'y a pas de moi]?

58-60) Ni les dents, ni les ongles, ni les os, ni le sang, ni le mucus, ni le phlegme, ni le pus, ni la salive, ni la graisse, ni la sueur, ni la lymphe, ni les viscères, ni les [124] boyaux, ni les excréments, ni l'urine, ni la chair, ni les muscles, ni la chaleur vitale, ni le souffle, ni les neuf ouvertures, ni les cinq connaissances sensibles, ni la connaissance intellectuelle ne sont le moi.

61) En effet, si la connaissance auditive était le moi, le son serait toujours perçu, puisque le moi est donné comme éternel. Si vous dites que la connaissance auditive est permanente, mais que son objet lui fait parfois défaut, que connaît-elle, à défaut d'objet, pour que vous la définissiez comme connaissance?

We have seen above that the Olon Süme fragment differs from the text published by VLADIMIRTSOV in five instances (*bügsen* versus *Zero*, *bolqu* versus *boldaqu*, *egükiid* versus *qorayun*, *kesel toyoriqui* versus *busud kesel*, and *bilge* versus *bilig*). Thus, this is a fragment of a version different from the manuscript discovered by KOWALEWSKI and published by VLADIMIRTSOV, which is close to the Tanjur version of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. Unfortunately, the fragment is too small to enable us to determine exactly what version it is. However, it is beyond doubt that the fragment belonged to a preclassical text, probably not earlier than the middle of the XIVth century, possibly containing the same version as that published in 1312.



PLATE I

*Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Chapter IX, §§ 56–60

(Olon Süme Fragment)

*The Tōhō Gakuhō*, No. 11, Part 2 (July, 1940)

- ମନେ କର ଶିଳ୍ପ ଗଣି ଗୁଣିତଃ ଃ  
 ନିଷ୍ପାଦିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ କରଣେ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- ୫୫ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- ଗୁଣିତଃ କରଣେ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଃ  
 ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- ୫୬ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- କରଣେ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଃ  
 ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- ୫୭ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଃ  
 ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "
- ୫୮ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ ଗୁଣିତଃ "

PLATE II

*Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Chapter IX, §§ 56-60  
*Bibliotheca Buddhica XXVIII*, pp. 139-140