

RIGELE NA

(University of Warsaw, Poland)

ORCID: 0000-0002-2900-9012 

**Study of the Colophons
in the Copies of the Tibetan Medical Treatise
Byu ru'i do shal by Isidanzinvangil
and the Mongolian translation of *Širün čimeg*¹**

Abstract

The medical treatise *Byu ru'i do shal* (full Tibetan title: *Gso dpyad rgya mtsho las drangs pa'i phan pa nyung bsdu byu ru'i do shal zhes bya ba bzugs so*) was originally composed in Tibetan by Mongolian Gelugpa master Isidanzinvangil at the end of the nineteenth century. It was later produced as a xylograph in Tibetan and subsequently translated and copied into several Mongolian versions. The full title of the Mongolian translation is *Emnekü sinjilekü-yin dalai-ača tataysan tusatu öčüken quriyangyui širün čimeg*. This paper is based on two sources: the Tibetan xylograph and a copy of the first translation. It provides essential background on the treatise, with a particular focus on the colophons of these two versions. By examining the historical context behind the colophon information, the paper also provides transliterations and translations of the colophons. The unique style of colophons, often preserved and repeated by authors with only minor changes, serves as a crucial tool for identifying unrecognized works. This study highlights the colophon's value in attributing medical texts to Isidanzinvangil, offering insights for future research.

Keywords: Isidanzinvangil, Buddhist master, Tibeto-Mongolian literature, medical treatise, colophon studies, *Širün čimeg*

¹ In the Mongolian manuscript under study, the title appears as *Sirünčimeg* and the author's name as Isidandzinvangil. In this paper, however, I adopt the more commonly attested forms of both the title and the author's name.



Introduction

From the late sixteenth century, following Altan Khan's (1507–1582) alliance with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam Gyatso (Tib. *Bsod nams rgya mtsho*) (1543–1588), a remarkable era of cultural and scholarly exchange was strengthened between Mongolia and Tibet.² During this period, many Mongolian monk scholars proficient in both Tibetan and Mongolian languages started intensively composing and translating Tibetan and Indian literature. This vibrant intellectual movement significantly enriched the literary and spiritual heritage of the Mongolian region. One prominent figure of this era was Isidanzinvangil (Tib. *Yes shes bstan 'dzin dbang rgyal*, 1854–1907), or the Güng-ün Juu-yin Gegen i.e., the “Holy (incarnation) of the Güng-ün Juu (monastery)”, who composed several works both in Tibetan and Mongolian in the 19th century. Isidanzinvangil's contributions spanned literature and medicine, uniquely blending poetry with medical prescriptions.

Isidanzinvangil was an outstanding poet, physician, and incarnate lama born in a well-off family in a place named Dügüreng oboy-a in Chakhar League (today's Shilingol in Inner Mongolia) in 1854. At the age of seven, he was invited to the Güng-ün Juu temple³ (Tib. *Bkra shis smin gyur gling*) in Yeke Juu League (today's Ordos in Inner Mongolia) and started to learn to read and write in Tibetan and Mongolian languages. However, the Güng-ün Juu temple was robbed and fired on by the bandits from the Gansu Muslim Rebellion⁴ during 1868–1873. Therefore, due to these circumstances, he was forced to move from the Ordos region to his hometown. After the situation stabilized, he returned to Ordos and renewed the temple. Later, he went to Kumbum Monastery (Tib. *Sku 'bum byams pa gling*), where he received education under the Gelugpa (Tib. *dge lugs pa*) Buddhist teaching system, including doctrinal and ritual training, Tibetan medicine, literature, and more.

After his graduation, he started practicing medicine, observing Mongolian social life, and writing poetry, traveling across various Mongolian regions, continually acquiring new knowledge.⁵ Several scholars suggest his presence in Yeke Küriye (today's Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia) at the end of the 19th century, where he is believed to have deepened his understanding of herbal and medical practices.⁶

² Klaus Sagaster, ‘The history of Buddhism among the Mongols’, in *The spread of Buddhism*, eds. Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher, Leiden 2007, pp. 379–432.

³ Güng-ün Juu temple is located in today's Ejina horoo Banner in Ordos, which was built in 1775. The full Mongolian name is Jarliy-iyar soyorqaysan buyan ibegegci süm-e güng-ün juu. See S. Narasu and Temurbayatur, *Ordos-un süm-e keyid*, Hohhot 2004, p. 38.

⁴ The Gansu Muslim Rebellion, also known as the Dungan Rebellion, was a revolt by various Chinese Muslim groups against the Qing dynasty that began in 1862. It later posed a significant threat to the Yeke Juu League, which directly borders Gansu and Shanxi with a large Muslim community. This rebellion negatively impacted the economy, culture, and political system of the Yeke Juu League. More details see Jegünger Qosiyun-u Arad-un Jasag-un Ordon et al., *Jegünger qosiyun-u jasag yamun-u dangsa* 19, Hohhot 2011, pp. 200–250.

⁵ B. Jigmed, *Mongyol anayaqu uqayan-u teüke*, Hohhot 2017, pp. 332–339.

⁶ Č. Damdingsürting, *Mongyol uran jokiya-un degeji jayun bilig orusibai*, Ulaanbaatar 1959, p. 556. Also, can be found in B. Jigmed, *Mongyol anayaqu uqayan-u teüke*, pp. 332–339.

Considerable uncertainty surrounds the key dates of his life, including his birth and death years, and the duration of his stay in Yeke Kūriye. Since he did not leave behind an autobiography and lived during a period of socio-political turmoil, future studies will require finding more relevant materials from diverse perspectives to uncover the facts.

Isidanzinvangil composed several poetic works and medical treatises in Mongolian and Tibetan. Among them, he wrote four medical treatises in his life, namely *Sirün čimeg* (Tib. *Byu ru'i do shal*, i.e. “The Coral Ornament”), *Erdeni čimeg* (Tib. *Rin chen do shal*, i.e. “The Precious Ornament”), *Subud čimeg* (Tib. *Mu tig rdo shal*, i.e. “The Pearl Ornament”), *Otači-yin ači tusa-yin quriyangyui* (i.e., “Short Description of the Benefits of [Being] a Medical Doctor”).⁷ The first three are written in Tibetan, and the latter is written in Mongolian. Two out of the four medical treatises, namely the *Erdeni čimeg* and the *Subud čimeg*, have been lost.

The Content and Studies of the *Byu ru'i do shal*

The work *Byu ru'i do shal* is grounded in Tibetan medicine and focuses on the concepts of wind (Tib. *rlung*), bile (Tib. *mkhris pa*), and phlegm (Tib. *bad kan*).⁸ *Byu ru'i do shal* comprises several chapters, each concluded with a summary poem by the author. Based on these summary poems, the chapters cover a range of topics:

Table 1. The chapter of *Byu ru'i do shal*⁹

Nr	Chapter	The folio number on the Tibetan xylograph
1	Illnesses caused by wind, bile, and phlegm	2b–8a
2	Illnesses of the head (Tib. <i>mgo</i>), eyes (Tib. <i>mig</i>), ears (Tib. <i>rna</i>), nose (Tib. <i>sna</i>), and mouth (Tib. <i>kha</i>)	8a–14a
3	Injuries and wounds ^a	14a–21a
4	Diseases of internal organs ^b	21b–28a
5	illness caused from the hot disorders / fever (Tib. <i>tsha ba</i>)	28a–32b
6	Disorders of the circulatory system ^c	32b–35b

⁷ Ibidem, p. 556.

⁸ The subject of Tibetan medicine is currently being studied from various perspectives. The concept of the three humors and their balance was introduced to Tibetan medicine as early as the 7th century and significantly developed by the 12th century. See: Janet Gyatso, *Introduction to Being Human in a Buddhist World: An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet*, New York 2015, p. 4.

⁹ The present division of chapters follows the 2020 Mongolian translation by Čigčitu, *Erdeni čimeg kiged širün čimeg*, Hohhot 2020. That translation takes its divisions from the original Tibetan text, where chapters are marked by the author's concluding poems. This translation also consulted the Tibetan printed edition published by the Qinghai Zangyiyao Yanjiusuo, *Cha-har dge bshes kyi sman yig byu ru do shal dang rin chen do shal*, Beijing 2007.

Nr	Chapter	The folio number on the Tibetan xylograph
7	Viral infections (Tib. <i>rims nad</i>)	36a–41b
8	Hand-foot illnesses, vascular diseases ^d , gynecological diseases (Tib. <i>mo nad</i>), toxicology (Tib. <i>sbyar dug gi nad</i>)	41b–44b
9	Instructions for making medical pills	44b–47a
10	Instructions for making decoction medicine	47b–57b
11	Instruction for using <i>thu phu ling</i> ^e	57b–64a
12	Herbal processing, ritual consecration, concluding words	64a–71a

^a In this section, are included topics such as *lba ba bcos pa* (treatment of goiter), *rmen bu bcos pa* (treatment of scrofula), *mes tshig bcos pa* (treatment of burns) and others.

^b This section contains topics such as *snying gi nad bcos pa* (treatment of heart disease), *glo ba'i nad bcos pa* (treatment of lung diseases), *mchin pa'i nad bcos pa* (treatment of liver disease).

^c Tib. *ma zhu ba bcos pa*.

^d In this section, topics such as *drig grum rkang 'bam gyi nad bcos pa*, referring to gout and elephantiasis, broadly classified as vascular diseases. I would like to note that my purpose is not to engage in a medical discussion. Therefore, the translation may contain inaccuracies or inadequacies.

^e *Thu phu ling* possibly refers to the Chinese herb 土茯苓 (*Smilax glabra*), though exact identification is uncertain.

The work includes around 220 prescriptions for common health issues encountered by people, detailing the causes, symptoms, and recommended dosages. The poetry-styled medical text is a remarkable feature of Isidanzinvangil's work. In addition to the chapter-ending poems in the colophon, or the last part of the treatise with the most important information, the manuscript features a poem of homage at the beginning, a concluding poem, and an additional concluding poem in the xylograph version.

Isidanzinvangil authored numerous works in both Tibetan and Mongolian. According to the catalogue,¹⁰ he composed 159 texts, including religious praises, medical treatises, and didactic poems. His religious praises were mostly dedicated to Kurukullā.

Among his works, the most influential didactic poem is *Altan Suryal* (i.e., “Golden teaching”), which consists of 13 chapters. However, the first five chapters gained the widest attention among the Mongolian readers. Each of these chapters addresses a distinct theme. The first two chapters criticize religious leaders and government officials for corruption, abuse of power, and the oppression of the lower classes. The last three chapters focus on family morality, offering guidance on how parents should raise their children, they emphasise the importance of filial piety for children, and advise couples on how to build a harmonious family.¹¹

¹⁰ Unpublished transliteration of a Tibetan catalogue, provided by Byambaa Ragchaa.

¹¹ D. Čeringsodnam, *Mongyol uran jokiyal 13–20 duyar jayun-u eki*. Ündüsüten-ü keblel-ün qoriy-a, 1989.

Although he came from the privileged class, he criticised the injustices of Mongolian society. His *Altan Suryal* is regarded as part of the critical realist genre in Mongolian literature.¹² At the same time, it reflects the democratic spirit in early modern intellectual culture.¹³ His writing can also be regarded as a form of documentary literature that reflects the social tensions of the Mongolian society in the 19th century.¹⁴ In addition, Inner Mongolian scholars such as Erdenitoytaqu,¹⁵ Sayinjiryal and Šaraltai¹⁶ have contributed to the study of his poetic style and the compilation of his works.

In the West, several scholars have studied Isidanzinvangil's work, but most of them focus on his didactic works.¹⁷ Meanwhile, Charles Bawden¹⁸ (1993) and B. Saijirahu¹⁹ (2008) have briefly touched on Isidanzinvangil's medical work.

Isidanzinvangil's *Byu ru 'i do shal* treatise has attracted scholars' comprehensive studies from the late twentieth century in Inner Mongolia. 1981, B. Jigmed published an article introducing Ishidandzinwangjil's medical work and emphasized its importance.²⁰ In 2004, B. Jigmed identified the first Mongolian translation version of *Byu ru 'i do shal*.²¹ In 2007, the Qinghai Tibetan Medicine Research Institute compiled a series of reprints of Tibetan manuscripts, including a book titled *Cha har dge bshes kyi sman yig byu ru do shal dang rin chen do shal*.²² This compilation features the medical work of Lubsangčültem²³ (Tib. *Blo bzang tshul khrims*, also well known as the "Čaqar gebsi" among Mongols) and Isidanzinvangil's *Byu ru 'i do shal* and *Rin chen do shal*. Mönggünquvar published two articles in 2008 and 2009 discussing the different copies of manuscripts of *Byu ru 'i*

¹² D. Čayan, *Mongyol-un uran jokiyal-un unysiqu bičig* 1., Ulaanbaatar, 1961.

¹³ Č. Damdingsürüng, *Qayučin üy-e-yin uran jokiyal-un doturaqi aradčilaysan čiglel*, Ulaanbaatar 1959.

¹⁴ B. Sodnam, 'Mongyol-un uran jokiyal-yin teükečilegsen tölüb', *Sinjilekü uhayan sedkül* (1946), pp. 12–13.

¹⁵ Erdenitoytaqu, 'Danzanvanjil ba tegün-ü silüg-ün tuqai tobči tanilčayuly-a', *Mongyol teüke kele bičig* 11 (1958), pp. 20–23.

¹⁶ Sayinjiryal and Šaraltai, *Isidanzinvangil-un silüg-uud*, Beijing 1984.

¹⁷ Walther Heissig, *Geschichte der mongolischen literatur* 2, Wiesbaden 1994, pp. 575–589; Christopher P. Atwood, 'Worshipping Grace: The Language of Loyalty in Qing Mongolia', *Late Imperial China* 21/2 (2000), pp. 86–139.

¹⁸ Charles R. Bawden, 'Written and Printed Sources for the Study of Mongolian Medicine', *Bulletin of Tibetology* 29 (1993), pp. 100–125.

¹⁹ Buyanchuglagin Saijirahu, 'Folk Medicine Among the Mongols in Inner Mongolia', *Asian Medicine* 4 (2008), pp. 338–356.

²⁰ B. Jigmed, 'Aldartu anayaqu uqayantan бүгэд silügči Isidanzanvanjil-un körüg', in: *Güng-ün Juu-yin Gegen kiged tegün-u Altan Suryal* 3, ed. Basujinyow-a, Hohhot 2011, pp. 196–197.

²¹ B. Jigmed, 'Isidanzanvanjil kiged tegün-ü anayaqu uqayan-u qoyar jokiyal', in: *Güng-ün Juu-yin Gegen kiged tegün-u Altan Suryal* 3, ed. Basujinyow-a, Hohhot 2011, pp. 200–204.

²² See Qinghai Zang yiyao yanjiusuo, *Cha-har dge bshes kyi sman yig byu ru do shal dang rin chen do shal*, Beijing 2007.

²³ Lubsangčültem (1740–1810), was a prominent physician, Buddhist scholar and Chakhar by origin, who composed several important medical treatises on recognizing the herbal medicine and wrote a Mongolian biography of Tsong-kha-pa. More information can be found in Menggu Xue Bai Ke Quan Shu Bian Ji Wei Yuan Hui (eds.), *Mongyol sudulul-un neberkei toli- anayahu uqayan*, Hohhot 2002, p. 589.

*do shal*²⁴ and the background of the three Mongolian translations.²⁵ In 2020, Čigčitu translated the *Byu ru'i do shal* and the *Rin chen rdo shal* into Mongolian, including all the poems. He categorized chapters by their thematic roles, preserving the complete poetic integrity often omitted in post-1950 translations.²⁶ In 2019, Čerenjab, Čimeg, and Č. Rulm-a examined Čigčitu's translation, providing further insight and critique.²⁷

The *Byu ru'i do shal* has been translated into Mongolian multiple times, both by official sides and private individuals.²⁸ Currently, we have nineteen Mongolian copies at our disposal, attributed to nine translation projects, with others yet to be identified.²⁹ Twelve copies are in manuscript form, and seven copies are published, spanning various historical periods. Given its practical applications, there are likely additional translations in the hands of medical practitioners.

For this study, I used the Tibetan xylograph published in China and one of the Mongolian translations, believed to be the first one, which I obtained from a private collector. Detailed information about the copies will be discussed below.

The Descriptions of the Tibetan Xylograph and Mongolian Manuscripts

The scanned copy of the Tibetan xylograph was published in the book titled *Rasiyan sim-e*, in 2023 in Inner Mongolia.³⁰ In the description of the copy, the author claimed that he obtained permission for its scanning from the private collector Yüngdüng-Sangbuu. This is a well-preserved copy, with each folio measuring 8 × 65 cm. It consists of a total of 141 pages or 71 folios, including the title page and the body of the text spread across 70 folios. A major part of the text is written in nine-syllabic and seven-syllabic verses. The number of folios is written on the verso side of each folio, in the left margin, in volume *kha*, corresponding to volume one in the Tibetan tradition. All folios have a double-line cross border. Except for the first four pages and the final page, each folio contains five lines of black printed letters. The first four pages and the final page contain three lines each

²⁴ See: Mönggünquvar, 'Isidanzanvanjil-un bičigsen širün čimeg- ün qayulburi ba bar keblel-ün tuqai', *Inner Mongolian Social Science* 156 (2008), pp. 116–118.

²⁵ Mönggünquvar, 'Ishdanjinvanjil-un širün čimeg-ün orčiyuluyčid-un tuqai', *Inner Mongolian Social Science* 161 (2009), pp. 123–126.

²⁶ More details can be found in Čigčitu, *Erdeni čimeg kiged širün čimeg*, Hohhot 2020.

²⁷ Čerenjab, Čimeg and Č. Rulm-a, 'Širün čimeg deki qabsuryaysan silüg-ün tuqai ögülekü ni', *Chinese Mongolian Medicine* 4 (2023), pp. 8–11.

²⁸ In this context, "official side or official translation" refers to translation activities initiated or financially supported by government authorities, while "private individuals" refers to translations undertaken independently, without official involvements.

²⁹ The following translators and their work can be documented: Navangisi and Sedenčimeddorji (1933, manuscript copy), Bayanbatu (1959, manuscript copy), F. Norbu (1976, printed book) and Odqunbilig (1997, printed book), Odqunbilig (2018, printed book), Altandalai (2019, printed book), Čigčitu (2020, printed book), Lagšanbürin and Qorlo (2024, printed book), and Yirincin (unknown, manuscript copy).

³⁰ More details can be found in Lagšanbürin and Qorlo, *Rasiyan Sim-e*, Beijing 2023.

due to illuminations. These initial pages (1b, 2a, 2b, 3a) feature images of the Medicine Buddha, Seven Compassionate Buddhas, and two Tibetan medical masters, Yu thog yon tan mgon po the elder and Yu thog yon tan mgon po the younger, each identified with specified names under the illustrations, which the author mentions in the eulogistic part. The final pages contain images inscribed with *Mkha' spyod ma la na mo* ("Homage to Vajrayoginī goddess") and of Red Tārā (Tib. *ku ru ku lli*), Kurukullā a wrathful form of Tara, is the main deity worshipped by Isidanzinvangil.³¹ In the colophon, there is mentioned the author's name (Isidanzinvangil), the purpose of the work, and printing details. The printing details show that the Lama Lubsang-Isidanjin and Taiji Bayanbatar from Taijinar Juu temple in Ordos (Tib. *Dge ldan chos 'khor gling*³²) conducted the printing. Güsi Jamyangjamsu was the wood carver who prepared the printing blocks. The printing colophon (Tib. *par byang*) was carried out at the request of Lubsang-Isidanjin by the Incarnate Isidanzinvangil. The printing took place was indicated as Dge ldan chos 'khor gling. More details about the passage from the colophon on the printing will be clarified in the next section.

Regarding the printing place, according to the previous studies, the *Byu ru'i do shal* was printed in Tibetan-language xylograph format in Ordos at two different temples.³³ One is already mentioned Taijinar Juu temple (Tib. *Dge ldan chos 'khor gling*),³⁴ and the other is Toqui-yin Juu temple (Tib. *bkra shis phun tshogs gling*).³⁵ Tibetan manuscripts of this work are now accessible in published versions, with the information provided that the xylograph originated from Taijinar Juu.

I got the opportunity to talk with Yüngdüng-Sangbuu, the owner of the scanned manuscript. According to him, there was only one xylograph production from Taijinar Juu temple, suggesting that the Toqui-yin temple historically operated as a branch temple (Mong. *qariyatu juu*) of Taijinar Juu. The roles and operational methods of these two temples were distinct. The Taijinar Juu temple focused primarily on studies, while its branch – Toqui-yin Juu temple was responsible for the production of xylographs and paper. In this sense, the xylograph edition should be regarded as originating from Taijinar Juu, even if the actual printing work took place at its branch, Toqui-yin Juu. No other separate edition produced at Toqui-yin Juu has been preserved. It therefore seems most likely that there was only a single edition under the authority of Taijinar Juu, however, it could have been done in Toqui-yin juu, and the idea of two separate editions produced at the two temples, cannot be confirmed at present.

Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that any other xylograph from Toqui-yin Juu has not been preserved and found until now.

The Mongolian translation in the available manuscript is written as *Sirünčimeg*, and I obtained the scanned version from Mōngkedalai in Ordos during my fieldwork in

³¹ Yüngdüng-Sangbuu, text message to author, 12 June 2024.

³² This form is documented in the colophon of the extant manuscript.

³³ Mōnggünquvar, 'Qayulburi ba bar keblel-ün tuqai', p. 116.

³⁴ S. Narasu and Temurbayatur, *Ordos-un süm-e keyid*, Hohhot 2004, p. 38.

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 39.

Ordos in August 2023. The previous studies indicated the first attempt (from the official site) to translate the Tibetan version of the *Byu ru'i do shal* was commissioned by the fifteenth ruling prince of Qanggin Banner (Mong: *Qanggin Jasag vang*), Altanvčir³⁶ in 1933.³⁷ In the colophon of the translation, not his name but rather his title is indicated, *Yeke Juu-yin čiyulyan-u ded čiyulyan-u terigün sayid ču jang Ordos Qanggin jasag vang*, in which the Vice-minister of Yeke Juu League, and “čü jang” may refer to the Chinese word *chuzhang* 处长, which means the head and the ruling prince of Qanggin Banner. According to the colophon, the *Byu ru'i do shal* was translated by the two masters, Navangisi and Sedenčimeddorji. In the colophon, there is a description of the translation date, written in Mongolian script with the use of the Tibetan-Mongolian calendar:

*Arban jiryuduyar sayitur yaruysan čöyту qangsiyartu jilün mig sarayin
čayan jüg-iin yutayar tegüs yeke čay-un edür učarayulun bičijü tegüsugsen.*

The phrase *arban jiryuduyar sayitur yaruysan čögtu qangsiyartu jilün* refers according to the Tibetan-Mongolian calendar to the year *Dpal gdong chu bya*, which was 1933–1934. The phrase *mig sara* refers to Tibetan *mrig* or the eleventh lunar moon.³⁸ The *yutayar* is ‘the third’ – *yutayar* in Mongolian (otherwise *yurbaduyar*). Therefore, the translation could have been done on December 9, 1933, if we accept the so-called ‘yellow calculation’, known as *sir-a jiruqai*.³⁹ Many astrological calculation systems were employed in Mongolian lands. According to the Mongolian expert Prof. Terbish, approximately three hundred works were written by Mongolian authors in Tibetan on this subject.⁴⁰ In present-day Mongolia, several systems are in use, and at the given time two were most popular, which are the Tibetan system of Sum pa mkhan po modified into *tegüs buyantu sin-e jiruqai* and the yellow calculation.⁴¹ The choice of a calendrical system leads to different results.

Mönkgedalai’s copy encompasses 98 pages and was documented in notebook format, where each page is used for writing the text on both sides. Each page consists of 11 lines, with 5–7 words per line. The number of pages is written on the back side in the right margin

³⁶ Altanvčir (1887–1949), inherited the title of ruling prince of Qanggin Banner in the spring of 1914 from his father, the 14th ruling prince of Qanggin Banner, Arbinbayaar. See: Sačuraltu. Ordos-un qubisqal-un teüke, Hohhot 2004, p. 420.

³⁷ Mönggünquvar, ‘Orčiyulugčid-un tuqai’, pp. 123–124.

³⁸ Distorted from the Sanskrit Mārگاśīrṣa, which refers to November–December, Viewed 1 April 2026, <https://www.wisdomlib.org/definition/margashirsha>.

³⁹ The referenced book is D. Mönke-Očir, *On čag toyalal ba mingy-a qorin jil-un sir-a jiruqai čaglaburi* (“Calendar for the One Thousand Twentieth Year of the Yellow Calculations”), Ulaanbaatar 2014.

⁴⁰ Terbish Lkhasran, “Mongolian Renown Scholars that Introduced Astrology as a Science in Mongolia”, in *The Study of Mongolian Literature in Tibetan*, ed. B. Enkhuvshin, Ulaanbaatar 2014, p. 154.

⁴¹ Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, ‘The Role of Lamyn Gegeen Blo Bzang Bstan ’Dzin Rgyal Mtshan in the Dissemination of Tibetan Astrology, Divination and Prognostication in Mongolia’, in: *Glimpses of Tibetan Divination. Past and Present*, eds. P. Maurer, D. Rossi, and R. Scheuermann, Leiden–Boston 2019, p. 210.

in Mongolian script. In the colophon, it is written that the translation was recopied by Nawangisi on September 1st, 1959. Nawangisi was one of the translators who participated in the first translation.

The Colophon of the *Byu ru'i do shal*

Dorji Wangchuk has defined the colophon as:

a piece of writing found as a rule at the end of a work (at times also at the end of its chapters, or less frequently in the frontispiece or on the front page, providing information on one or more facts related to its identity, production, and transmission, including the work's title, names of persons involved – such as author or compiler, translator, scribe, initiator (Tib. *bskul ba po*), donor (e.g., of ink, paper, and other material), or artists (in case of texts containing images) – and the duration, date, place, (re) sources, and motives of composition or production.⁴²

Based on the details given in colophons, he has classified colophons into several categories, author's colophons (Tib. *mdzad/sbyar/rtsoṃ byang*), translator's colophons (Tib. *'gyur byang*), editor's colophon (Tib. *zhus byang*), printing colophon (Tib. *dpar/spar/par byang*), and scribe's colophon (Tib. *bris byang*).⁴³

With the propagation of Mongolian Buddhist translations, colophons became crucial components of the translated works, offering rich insights into the social background and reinforcing the aesthetics of Mongolian literature through poetic verses. The colophon tradition in Mongolia initially derived from the Tibetan textual tradition, however, it gradually developed unique functions and purposes that distinguishes it from its Tibetan origin.⁴⁴ Mongolian colophons go far beyond the conventional view of the colophons as mere details regarding the creation of the books. Instead, some Mongolian colophons contain a variety of praying formulas, panegyrics, benedictions, cosmological, historical and quasi-historical accounts.⁴⁵ Several colophons of this kind are regarded by scholars as literary works and are included in the collections of Mongolian literature, such as

⁴² Dorji Wangchuk, 'The Syntax of Tibetan Colophons: An Overview', in: *The Syntax of Colophons: A Comparative Study across Pothi Manuscripts*, eds. Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti, Berlin 2022, p. 328.

⁴³ Ibidem, pp. 326–336.

⁴⁴ Vesna A. Wallace, 'Diverse Aspects of the Mongolian Buddhist Manuscript Culture and Realms of Its Influence', in: *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures*, eds. Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown, London 2009, pp. 7–8.

⁴⁵ Kirill Alekseev, 'Anatomy of the Mongolian Colophons in the Translations of the Word of the Buddha', *Archiv Orientalní* 87/2 (2019), pp. 315–316.

in *Mongyol uran jokiya-un degeji jayun bilig orusibai* by Č. Damdingsürüng, which contains the translation colophon by Siregetü Güüsi in *Mani yambum*.⁴⁶

For instance, in the manuscript colophon of the commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Mong. *Bodistv-a čari-a avatar-un tayilbur*) purchased by O.M. Kovalevsky in Peking, the author of the manuscript Choiji Odser or Čosgi Odsir (Tib. *Chos kyi 'od zer*) provides key information about the translation date and the source language of the text, which was originally composed in Tibetan.⁴⁷ Another his translation work, titled *Qutug-tu pañčaraksa kemekü tabun sakiyan neretü yeke kölgen sudur* also included important date details in its colophon.⁴⁸ In a later printed Mongolian *Danjur* (Tib. *Bstan 'gyur*), the colophon of the commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* provides valuable information about both the previous and present master-translators, the location of the work's production, the used references, the names of the scholars' council involved, and the composing date.⁴⁹ In the colophon of *Čiqula kereglegči* by Siregetü Güüsi Čorji, the author notes the individuals who requested the translation, stating that it was completed at the repeated request of two persons: Makata Bodistv and Shisrab-Singgi.⁵⁰ In the colophon of *The Twelve Deeds of the Buddha*, information about the translation master is included, specifically identifying him as the Saskya monk Shisrab-Singgi.⁵¹ In the colophon and epilogue of *Erdeni-yin tobči*, the author Sayang Sečen lists the title of the source works he referenced, along with his name and an important date related to the work's completion, and his own poetical compositions.⁵² Those few examples mentioned above indicate that important information regarding the authorship, time, place and other valuable details can be found in the Mongolian colophons. The colophon tradition reinforces the scholarly lineage and authenticity of the works, illustrating the role of specific masters in preserving and transmitting Buddhist teaching within the Mongolian text tradition.

This tradition of colophons can also be observed in Isidanzinvangil's work. For instance, the Tibetan xylograph the *Byu ru'i do shal* contains both the author's colophon (Tib. *mdzad byang*) and the printing colophon (Tib. *dpar/spar/par byang*) with poems at the end of the text. The Mongolian translation adds a translator's colophon (Tib. *'gyur byang*) and a scribe's colophon (Tib. *bris byang*), further expanding the information about the creation and transmission of the work.

⁴⁶ See Č. Damdingsürüng, *Mongyol uran jokiya-un degeji jayun bilig orusibai*, Ulanbaatar 1959, pp. 955–978.

⁴⁷ Osip M. Kovalevsky, *Mongol'skaya Krestomatiya* 2, Kazan 1836, pp. 459–460; also, in: Francis W. Cleaves, 'The Bodistv-a čari-a avatar-un tayilbur of 1312 by Čosgi Odsir', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954), pp. 1–129.

⁴⁸ Pentti Aalto, *Qutuy-tu Pancarakṣā kemekü Tabun Sakiyan neretü Yeke Kölgen sudur*, Wiesbaden 1961, p. 1.

⁴⁹ Francis W. Cleaves, 'The Bodistv-a čari-a avatar-un tayilbur of 1312 by Čosgi Odsir', p. 1.

⁵⁰ Agata Bareja-Starzyńska, 'The Essentials of Buddhism in the Čiqula Kereglegči, a 16th-Century Mongolian Buddhist Treatise', in: *Aspects of Buddhism: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Buddhist Studies*, eds. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska and Marek Mejor, Warsaw 1997, p. 1.

⁵¹ Nicholas Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha: a Mongolian Version of the Lalitavistara, Mongolian text, notes, and English translation*, Wiesbaden 1967, p. 11.

⁵² John R. Krueger, 'The Epilogue and Gnostic Colophon of the Erdéni-yin Tobči'. *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963), pp. 105–133.

1. Author's Colophon of the *Byu ru'i do shal* and *Širün čimeg*

The original colophon of the Tibetan author appears at the end of page 68a of the xylograph and finishes at the first line of 69b. It consists of poems with nine syllables per line. The author Isidanzinwangil employs metaphor in his poem to acknowledge that, while his knowledge is limited, this work might still benefit less experienced physicians. Additionally, the author includes a prayer poem expressing hopes for success, followed by his name and the purpose of the composition.

A Transliteration of the author's colophon in the Wylie system:

- 68a (15): smras ba[pa] | yan lag brgyad ldan rgya mtsho chen po'i
bkram ||
- 68b (11): ba tshwa can gyi khron chung brkos ba[pa] su || mkhas mang
gzhung chen gser ri mngon 'phags dbus || blun po'i
(12): tham thom spyor[sbyor] tshig 'di ci dgos || 'on kyang byis pa
chung ndu'i [ngu'i] mig lam du || rta glang ma blang ri mor
dga' ba bzhin ||
(13): gzhung chen ma rtogs sman pa chung rnams la || lag tu
blang bder [bde] cung zad mkho'am snyam || shing gcig las
'khrungs
(14): a mra'i che chung yang || mngar dang kha ba'i khyad par mi
'dug pas || dam pa'i dgongs bcud phan pa ma 'khrul na ||
(15): bong bu'i kha nas byung yang rin chen yin || sman rnams rnyed
sla ches dkon ma 'tshol te || sbyor pa [ba] rtogs sla
- 69a (11): sbyar bar grangs ma mang || nad la btang pa [bar] phan pa
ma chung na || rang gzhan gnyis kar tshegs chung don chen
grub ||
(12): 'on kyang nyams rtogs chung ba'i lag stabs 'dir || nongs 'khrul
gang mchis mkhas rnams bzod btsol na || dus gsum
(13): dge tshogs byang chen myur lam du || gzhan phan sga srab
ldan pa'i rta zhon shog || dug gsum nad kyis zin pa'i 'gro
kun
(14): la || phan pa'i lag len myong grub pad tshal 'dir || bsdu dngos
bzhi ldan phyin drug 'bras smin pas || bde ldan zhing
(15): mgon zhal mchog myur mthong shog || ces ba 'di ni ye shes
bstan 'dzin dbang rgyal ming
- 69b (11): can gyis rang gi slob bu rnams la phan pa dang dus ngan nyam
chung 'gro ba rnams la'ang. phan pa dga' tsam 'byung na dang
[na'ng] dgos pa chung du smin [sman] par bsam nas sug bris
su bgyis pa'o|| dge legs 'phel ||

The English translation of the author's colophon is as follows:

In conclusion,⁵³ whereas the Great Ocean has the eight qualities,⁵⁴ who would bother to dig a small well of salty water? Within truly manifested Golden Mountains⁵⁵ of great treatises [composed] by many scholars, why should unimportant prescriptions by a foolish man matter? However, it is as if in the eyes of a small child, who cannot get a horse or a cow but still enjoys seeing a drawing of them. So, consider if this small handbook may be useful for the insignificant physicians who do not understand the scriptures.⁵⁶ Moreover, the juice or essence of the fruit is the same no matter its size, just as, if not deluding the beneficial intent of the holy ones, even a donkey can say precious things. Finding medicines is easy, but the very rare ones are hard to find; knowing the application is easy, but how to compose meaningful medicines does not happen often. If the medicine is applied in the curing of illness and it brings not a small benefit,⁵⁷ there will be fewer problems and bigger accomplishments for both yourself, and others. Although my knowledge and experience are little, dear scholars please bear with my errors there.

May you swiftly enter the path to the three times accumulation of virtues and win great enlightenment. May you ride a horse⁵⁸ saddled and bridled to benefit others. To

⁵³ It begins with the Tibetan word “*smras-ba*”, which may contain a typographical error, as “*ba*” could be a misspelling of “*pa*”.

⁵⁴ Tib. *yan lag brgyad ldan gyi chu*: water having the eight qualities or eight qualities of excellent water. 1. coolness. 2. (*zhim pa*) sweetness. 3. (*yang pa*) lightness. 4. (*'jam pa*) softness. 5. (*dvangs pa*) clearness. 6. (*dri ma med pa*) free from impurities. 7. (*'thung na lto par 'jam pa*) when drunk, soothes the stomach. 8. (*mgrin pa sang sang bde ba*) clears and soothes the throat, and not all water has these eight qualities. See ‘Nitartha’, Viewed 7 July 2024, <https://nitartha.pythonanywhere.com/>. This information is provided in the cosmological treatises about the Meru Mountain and the ocean surrounding it. Moreover, it may also allude to the “Eight limbs” of the medical tradition, as in the full title of the Four Medical Tantras: *bdud rtsi snying po yan lag brgyad pa gsang ba man ngag gi rgyud*.

⁵⁵ Tib. *gser ri* may refer to the range of Seven Golden Mountains that surround a Mount Meru in the Buddhist cosmology.

⁵⁶ Tib. *gzhung chen bcu gsum*: Thirteen major philosophical texts or great root texts of philosophy. The fundamental treatises on Buddhist philosophy covering the topics of Vinaya, the bodhisattva training, Maitreya’s five treatises covering Prajnaparamita, etc. as well as Abhidharma, Madhyamaka. See ‘Nitartha’.

⁵⁷ Regarding the word “*ma chung na*”, the Tibetan grammar structure does not correctly convey the meaning of “not small”. The word *ma* is not common before the noun. It may have a printing typo. It should be either *nad la btang par phan pa ma byung na* or *nad la btang par phan pa chung na*, to express “if [the medicine] is applied in the [curing] of illness and it does not bring benefit” or “if [the medicine] is applied in the [curing] of illness and it brings a small benefit”. It’s worth observing the author’s other works in the future to examine his word preference with *ma chung*. On the English translation, I chose to follow what it has on the printing xylograph *ma chung na*, and translated it as “not small”.

⁵⁸ A horse here may refer to one element of the seven royal possessions *rgyal srid sna bdun*. The seven possessions are the precious wheel, jewel, queen, elephant, minister, horse, and general. ‘Nitartha’. A horse with a saddle and bridles is a metaphor for a physician equipped with medicines and knowledge on how to prepare and use them.

all beings affected by the diseases from the Three Poisons,⁵⁹ the application here will bring benefits to accomplishing in the lotus garden⁶⁰ of experience. When the Four Means⁶¹ [of positively influencing others] mature with the Six Perfections' fruits,⁶² may you quickly arrive at the Protector's blissful realm of nirvana.

So, it is said that Isidanzinvangil's work was made to benefit his pupils and benefit the weak sentient beings of the Dark Age (Skt. *Kaliyuga*⁶³). Therefore, this manuscript was completed for even the few to whom it may bring some little benefit. May virtuous goodness increase!

2. The Printing Colophon of the *Byu ru'i do shal*

The printing colophon of the *Byu ru'i do shal*, found on pages 70a and 70b of the xylograph, consists of poems with nine syllables per line authored by Isidanzinvangil. Besides, it includes the names of the printing-master, the sponsor, and the printing location. Compared to the author's colophon, the printing colophon is more informative, providing essential details about the production of the text.

A transliteration of the printing colophon in the Wylie system:

- 70a (12): snyigs ma'i mgon po brtse ldan bde gshegs bdun⁶⁴ || kun
 (13): la phan pa'i snying stobs rmad 'byung gis || sman spyor[sbyor]
 yid bzhin nor bu rgya mtsho ltar || rgyas bar [par] mdzad pa de
 la gus phyag 'tshal || nad
 (14): gdon 'jigs pa mtha' dag las grol ba'i || rdzas sngags 'phrul sbyor
 bden tshig byin rlabs kyis || kun gyi sdug bsngal sel
 (15): ba'i [pa'i] thugs smon ltar || sman sbyor nyer kho 'di tsam spel
 ba la || or dus wang shog thas ci'i cos 'di yi |
 70b (11): | zhabs drung blo bzang ye shes bstan 'dzin gyis || thas ci ba
 yan pa thor gyes [bgyis] pa yin ||

⁵⁹ Tib. *dug sum*: Desire raga ('*dod chagsa*), Hatred dvesha (*zhe sdang*), and Delusion moha (*gti mug*). 'Nitartha'.

⁶⁰ Tib. *pad tshal* – a metaphorical expression of purity, and enlightenment.

⁶¹ Tib. *bsdu ba'i dngos po bzhi*: *sbyin ba*, *nyan par smra ba*, *don spyod pa*, *don mthun pa*. See: Zhang Yisun (ed.), *Zang Han da cidian/Bod Rgya Tshig Mdzod Chen Mo*, Beijing 1985.

⁶² Tib. *phar phyin drug* (The six Perfections): *sbyin pa* (Generosity), *tshul khrims* (Morality), *bzod pa* (Endurance), *brtson 'grus* (Perseverance), *bsam gtan* (Concentration), *shes rab* (Wisdom). See Mgon po dbang rgyal gyis bsgribs, *Chos-Kyi Rnam-Grans Shes-Bya'i Nor-Glin' Jug-Pa'i Gru Gzins*, India, 1991, p. 188.

⁶³ Tib. *dus ngan* – The Kaliyuga or kali age is the Hindu Iron Age. It is the last and worst in each cycle of the Four Ages in the Hindu system of cosmical periods. See: Fleet John F., 'The Kaliyuga Era of B.C. 3102', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 43/2 (1911), pp. 479–496.

⁶⁴ Tib. *bde gshegs bdun*: the Seven Sugatas, also known as the Seven Tathagatas (Tib. *de bzhin gshegs pa*), refers to the seven buddhas of healing or medicine. They appear in one of the canonical texts associated with the Medicine Buddha, the '*phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi ngon gyi smon lam gyi khyad par rgyas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*.

- (12): phan pa'i sems su bde ldan bstan par gyur || rgyu rkyen sgrub
ste par du rko pa [ba] ni || ku shri' 'jam dbyangs
- (13): rgya mtsho par du rko || sa phyogs nye [nyi] 'khor nad kyi tsha
gtung kun || sel ba'i gang ga'i rgyun 'di rab spel
- (14): zhing || 'gro kun bde gshegs bdun gyi go 'phang mchog || bgegs
med myur du thob pa'i rgyur
- (15): gyur cig || zhes ba'i [ces pa'i] dpar spyang [byang] smon tshig
'di ni zhabs drung blo bzang ye shes bstan 'dzin gyis bskul ba
- (16): ltar | sprul ming ye shes bstan 'dzin dbang rgyal gyis bgyi ba'i ||
dge ldan chos 'khor gling du dpar du grub ||

The English translation of the printing colophon is as follows:

To the Seven Sugatas, who bring forth the courage to benefit everyone and spread medicinal prescriptions, so they are like an ocean of wish-fulfilling jewels. To them, I pay homage for releasing from all illnesses and fears. By the consecration of the true words combined with a magical mantra substance as the wishful desire to dispel suffering from all, to expand so many necessary elements for the medical compound, Lama Lubsang'isidandzin, and Taiji Bayanbaatar from Taijinar Juu in Ordos accomplished the causes and conditions⁶⁵ (supporting) this works. Güüshi Jamyangjamsu carved the xylograph. May the excellent stream of the Ganges River dispel all suffering and disease in the surrounding area. May all beings swiftly attain the supreme state of the Seven Sugatas without obstacles. The printing of this prayer was done by the incarnate Isidanzinvangil according to the request of the Shabrung Lubsang'isidandzin. The print was completed in *Dge ldan chos 'khor gling*.

3. The Translator and Scribe's Colophon of the *Śīrūn čimeg*

The translator and scribe's colophon are located on pages ninety-seven to ninety-eight of the copies. The translator's colophon includes key information about the translation master and the patron, along with their titles and roles, the motivation for the translation, and the translation date. Just after the translator's colophon, there is the scribe's colophon, which indicates that the scribe is made by one of the translation masters mentioned in the translator's colophon. The date of the scribing is recorded as January 15, 1959.

Mongolian translation of the translator and scribe's colophon is as follows:

⁶⁵ Tib. *rgyu rkyes*, causes (*rgyu*, Skt. *hetu*) bring about the production or arising of something. Conditions (*rkyen*, Skt. *pratyaya*) help shape the identity of what is produced or arises. More details see Berzin Alexander, Causes, Conditions, and Results, *Study Buddhism by Berzin Archives*, viewed 12 December 2024, <https://studybuddhism.com/en/advanced-studies/abhidharma-tenet-systems/types-of-phenomena/causes-conditions-and-results>.

- 97a (14): gūng-ün juu-yin vacardary-a-yin baṇḍida
 (15): gegegen bayṣi tan-u jokiyaysan emnekü
 (16): sinjilekü-yin dalai-ača tataysan tusatu
 (17): öcūken quriyangyui sirünčimeg egün-i
 (18): sitar-tur yabuqu Yeke Juu-yin čiyulyan-u
 (19): ded terigün sayid ču jang Ordos
 (110): Qanggin jasag vang ta, enekü tübed üsüg
 (111): -ün nayiral-y-a-yi olan amitan-u tusa-yin tula
- 97b (11): mongyol üsüg-tür bayulyasuṣai kemen tusiyaṣsan-i
 (12): dayaju, erdemtü čorji, nomči manramba,
 (13): gelüng Navangisi, meyiren jerge-yin yamun-u
 (14): daruy-a bičigeci Sedenčimeddorji nar bida
 (15): möngkes onuṣsan-u kiri-ber mongyol üsüg-tür
 (16): bayulyan učarayulju bičigsen egündür udqa
 (17): üsüg-i būrin güyičedkejü ülü uqaqu
 (18): -yin erke-ber endegüü tasiy-a boluṣsan-i
 (19): degedü erdemten merged-iyer sunjil ügei
 (110): örüsiyejü jalarayulun qayiralaqu ajiyamu..
 (112): Arban jiryuduyar sayitur yaruyṣan čoytu
- 98a (11): qangsiyartu jilün mig sarayin čayan jüg-ün
 (12): qutayar tegüs yeke čay-un edür učarayulun
 (13): bičijü tegüsügen egün-i
 (14): neyite-yin ularil-un nige mingy-a yisün
 (15): jayu tabi yisüdüger on-u nigen sar-a-yin
 (16): arban tabun-a edür navangisi
 (17): qayulun bičiju tegüsgebe.

The English translation of the translator and scribe's colophon:

The work titled *Emnekü sinjilekü-yin dalai-ača tataysan tusatu öcūken quriyangyui sirünčimeg* was composed by the incarnate Vajradhara Pandita from Gūng-ün Juu. It was translated by Navangisi, who held the role of Erdemtu čorji, Nomči manramba, and by Sedenčimeddorji, a yamen official of the rank of Meiren (deputy adjutant).⁶⁶ This work was commissioned by the Ruling Prince of Qanggin Banner to benefit all. May scholars forgive any mistakes, as we possess limited knowledge. The composition saw completion in a very auspicious hour of the blessed third day of the month of Mrig in the sixteenth year of the cycle [December 9, 1933]. The scribe of the text was taken by Navangisi, who completed copying it on January 15, 1959.

⁶⁶ Meiren, a term of Manchu origin, was a rank in the banner hierarchy.

Conclusion

This paper offers a study of Isidanzinvangil's *Byu ru'i do shal* and its textual transmission. It confirms that in the colophons of both the Tibetan xylograph and the Mongolian translation, that the xylograph printing of the *Byu ru'i do shal* treatise was executed at the Ordos in the Taijinar Juu (Tib. *Dge ldan chos 'khor gling*) monastery, and that the first Mongolian translation was completed on December 9, 1933. The colophon contains some historical information, along with the author's poems. Since the style of the colophons is usually preserved by the authors as their unique composition and are repeated with small changes in many works, this colophon may provide valuable insights for identifying other medical works by Isidanzinvangil that have yet to be fully recognized in the future study.

The *Byu ru'i do shal* treatise is considered one of Isidanzinvangil's most significant surviving medical works, and an important medical and ritual text written by a Mongolian monk-scholar in the Tibetan language during the 19th century. However, despite its significance, the *Byu ru'i do shal* has not received adequate scholarly attention, especially in Western academia. It remains largely unexplored by scholars, leaving a gap in understanding its full cultural and intellectual value.

*

The author is especially grateful to Prof. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska for her guidance and support throughout this research, and would also like to thank Byambaa Ragchaa and Thupten Kunga Chashab for their valuable comments and assistance. Fieldwork and primary source collection were supported by the ZIP Grant and the Microgrant of the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Warsaw.

References

- Aalto Pentti, *Qutuy-tu Pañcarakṣā kemekü Tabun Sakiyan neretü Yeke Kölgen sudur*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1961.
- Alekseev Kirill, 'Anatomy of the Mongolian Colophons in the Translations of the Word of the Buddha', *Archiv Orientalní* 87/2 (2019), pp. 315–316.
- Altandalai, *Tübed Mongyol Qaričayuluysan Sirün Unjilya*, Hohhot 2019.
- Atwood Christopher P., 'Worshiping Grace: The Language of Loyalty in Qing Mongolia', *Late Imperial China* 21/2 (2000), pp. 86–139.
- Bareja-Starzyńska Agata, 'The Essentials of Buddhism in the Čiqula Kerelegči, a 16th-Century Mongolian Buddhist Treatise', in: *Aspects of Buddhism: Proceedings of the International Seminar on Buddhist Studies*, eds. Agata Bareja-Starzyńska and Marek Mejor, Warsaw 1997, pp. 1–30.
- Bareja-Starzyńska Agata, 'The Role of Lamyn Gegeen Blo Bzang Bstan 'Dzin Rgyal Mtshan in the Dissemination of Tibetan Astrology, Divination and Prognostication in Mongolia', in: *Glimpses of Tibetan Divination. Past and Present*, eds. P. Maurer, D. Rossi, and R. Scheuermann, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2019.

- Bawden Charles R., 'Written and Printed Sources for the Study of Mongolian Medicine', *Bulletin of Tibetology* 29 (1993), pp. 100–125.
- Berzin Alexander, 'Causes, Conditions, and Results', *Study Buddhism* by Berzin Archives, Viewed 12 December 2024, <https://studybuddhism.com/en/advanced-studies/abhidharma-tenet-systems/types-of-phenomena/causes-conditions-and-results>.
- Čayan D., *Mongyol-un uran jokiyal-un unysiqu bičig* 1., Ulaanbaatar 1961.
- Čerenjab, Čimeg and Č. Rulm-a, 'Sirün Čimeg teki qabsuryaysan silüg-un tuqai ügülehu-ni', *Chinese Mongolian Medicine* 4 (2023), pp. 8–11.
- Čeringsodnam D., *Mongyol uran jokiyal 13–20 duyar jayun-u eki*, Ündüsüten-ü keblel-ün qoriy-a, 1989.
- Čigčitu, *Erdeni Čimeg kiged Sirün Čimeg*, Hohhot 2020.
- Cleaves Francis W., 'The Bodistw-a Čari-a Awatar-Un Tayilbur of 1312 by Čosgi Odsir', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 17 (1954).
- Damdingsürüng Č., *Mongyol uran jokiyal-un degeji jayun bilig orusibai*, Ulaanbaatar 1959.
- Damdingsürüng Č., *Qayučin üy-e-yin uran jokiyal-un doturaqi aradčilaysan čiglel*, Ulaanbaatar 1959.
- Erdenitogtaqu, 'Danzanvanjil ba tegün-ü silüge-ün tuqai tobči tanilčayuly-a'. *Mongyol teüke kele bičig* 11 (1958).
- Fleet John F., 'The Kaliyuga Era of B.C. 3102', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 43/2 (1911).
- Gyatso Janet, *Introduction to Being Human in a Buddhist World: An Intellectual History of Medicine in Early Modern Tibet*, Columbia University Press, New York 2015.
- Heissig Walther, *Geschichte der mongolischen literatur*, Volume 2, Harrasovitz, Wiesbaden 1994.
- Jalsanzanbu and Odqonbilig, *Dangzanvangjil tobtanim-a-yin emčilegen-ü jor jasal*, öbör mongyol-un arad-un keblel-un qoriy-a, Hohhot 1997.
- Jegüingar Qosiyun-u Arad-un Jasag-un Ordon (ed.), *Jegüingar qosiyun-u jasag yamun-u danyssa* 19, Hohhot 2011.
- Jigmed B., 'Aldartu anayaqu uqayantan büged silügči Isidanzanvanjil-un körüg', in: *Güng-ün Juu-yin Gegen Kiged Tegün-u Altan Suryal* 3, ed. Basujinyow-a, Hohhot 2011.
- Jigmed B., 'Isidanzanvangjil kiged tegün-ü anayaqu uqayan-u qoyar jokiyal', in: *Güng-ün Juu-yin Gegen Kiged Tegün-u Altan Suryal* 3, ed. Basujinyow-a, Hohhot 2011.
- Jigmed B., *Mongyol anayaqu uqayan-u teüke*, Hohhot 2017.
- Kovalevsky Osip M., *Mongol'skaya krestomatiya* 2, Kazan 1836.
- Krueger John R., 'The Epilogue and Gnomie Colophon of the 'Erdéni-yin Tobči'', *Central Asiatic Journal* 8 (1963), pp. 105–133.
- Lkhasran Terbish, 'Mongolian Renown Scholars that Introduced Astrology as a Science in Mongolia', in: *The Study of Mongolian Literature in Tibetan*, ed. B. Enkhtuvshin, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Language and Literature, Ulaanbaatar 2014.
- Mengguxue baike quanshu bianji weiyuanhui (ed.), *Mongyol sudulul-un nebterkei toli- anayaqu uqayan*, Hohhot 2002.
- Mgun po dbang rgyal gyis bsgrigs, Chos-Kyi Rnam-Grans Shes-Bya'i Nor-Glin' Jug-Pa'i Gru Gzins, India 1991.
- Mönke-Očir D., *On čag toyalal ba mingy-a qorin jil-un sir-a jiruqai čaglaburi*, Ulaanbaatar 2014.
- Müngenhuwar, 'Isidanzanvanjil-un Bičigsen Sirün Čimeg- ün Qayulburi Ba Bar Keblel-un Tuqai', *Inner Mongolian Social Science* 156 (2008).
- Müngenhuwar, 'Ishdanjinvanjil-un Sirün Čimeg-ün Orčiyulugčid-un Tuqai', *Inner Mongolian Social Science* 161 (2009).
- Narasu S., and Temurbayatur, *Ordos-un süm-e keyid*, Hohhot 2004.
- Nicholas Poppe N., *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha: A Mongolian Version of the Lalitavistara*, Mongolian text, notes, and English translation, Harrasovitz, Wiesbaden 1967.
- 'Nitartha', Viewed 7 July 2024, <https://nitartha.pythonanywhere.com/>.
- Norbu F. *Mongyol emnelge-yin dügüm nayiragulga. öbör mongyol-un arad-un keblel-un qoriy-a*, Hohhot 1976.

- Odqonbilig, *Anagaqu uqayan-u dalai-ača tataju quriyaysan tusatu öčüken quriyangyui sirün čimeg orusibai*, Hohhot 2018.
- Qinghai Zang yiyao yanjiusuo, *Cha har dge bshes kyi sman yig byu ru do shal dang rin chen do shal*, Beijing 2007.
- Sačuraltu, *Ordos-un qubisgal-un teüke*, Hohhot 2004.
- Sagaster Klaus, 'The History of Buddhism among the Mongols', in: *The Spread of Buddhism*, eds. Ann Heirman and Stephan Peter Bumbacher, Brill, Leiden 2007.
- Saijirahu Buyanchuglagin, 'Folk Medicine Among the Mongols in Inner Mongolia', *Asian Medicine* 4 (2008).
- Sayinjiryal and Šaraldai, *Isidanjinvangil-un silüge-uud*, Beijing 1984.
- Sodnam B., 'Mongyol-un uran jokiyal-yin teükečilegsen tölüb', *Sinjilekü uhayan sedküil* (1946).
- Wallace Vesna A., 'Diverse Aspects of the Mongolian Buddhist Manuscript Culture and Realms of Its Influence', in: *Buddhist Manuscript Cultures*, eds. Stephen C. Berkwitz, Juliane Schober, and Claudia Brown, Routledge, London 2009.
- Wangchuk Dorji, 'The Syntax of Tibetan Colophons: An Overview', in: *The Syntax of Colophons: A Comparative Study across Pothi Manuscripts*, eds. Nalini Balbir and Giovanni Ciotti, De Gruyter, Berlin 2022.
- Zhang Yisun (ed.), *Zang Han da cidian/Bod Rgya Tshig Mdzod Chen Mo*, Beijing 1985.