



## Research into the themes covered in Pandita Jamyangarav's compilation of sources from the time of the Mongol khans

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This article analyzes the content of the work "The Lineage of the Mongol Khans in Mongolian Texts" written in the late 19th / early 20th centuries by Pandita Jamyangarav (1867–1918), a Mongolian monk, poet, philosopher and scholar. This work provides valuable source materials for Mongolian history and an account of the khans of the Golden lineage of Mongolia. It contains interesting stories and information unrecorded in previous historical accounts and is of particular interest because it was written in Tibetan. It is also a valuable source for the history of the spread of Buddhism in Mongolia.

The history of Mongolia is remarkable because it was transmitted mainly orally rather than through writing. As a result, stories and oral traditions always add to the historical material that is passed down through the scriptures. However, very few Mongolian historical texts have been written in the Tibetan language. It is distinguished by the language's shortened writing.

Although this text, or one bearing a similar name, is mentioned in some lists of Pandita Jamyangarav's works, it includes valuable materials which is introduced in the context of Mongolian culture and history for the first time. It has been translated into Mongolian, its textual and scribal errors have been rectified, and it has been made available for scholarly analysis.

**Keywords:** lama; Tibetan language; Pandita Jamyangarav; Mongols; Buddhism; seal of Genghis Khan; Buddhist teacher



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## Исследование тем, затронутых в сборнике источников времен монгольских ханов Пандиты Джамъянгарава

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В данной статье анализируется содержание труда «Линия преемственности монгольских ханов в монгольских текстах» (написан в конце XIX — начале XX в.) пандиты Джамъянгарава (1867–1918), монгольского монаха, поэта, философа и ученого. Она содержит ценный материал по монгольской истории — повествует о ханах золотой династии Монголии. В ней есть интересные легенды и информация, не зафиксированные в предыдущих исторических источниках. Она также является ценным источником по истории распространения буддизма в Монголии.

История Монголии отличается тем, что она передавалась скорее устно, чем письменно. В результате устные традиции всегда дополняют исторический материал, который передается через священные писания. Данный текст также примечателен тем, что написан на тибетском языке, в то время как литературы по монгольской истории на тибетском языке довольно мало.

Хотя этот текст или текст с похожим названием упоминается в некоторых списках произведений пандиты Джамъянгарава, в монголоведении впервые анализируется содержание этого текста. Также она впервые переводится на монгольский язык, в ней исправлены текстовые ошибки и ошибки переписчиков, чтобы она стала доступной для дальнейшего научного анализа.

**Ключевые слова:** лама; тибетский язык; пандита Джамъянгарава; Монголы; буддизм; печать Чингисхана; буддийский учитель



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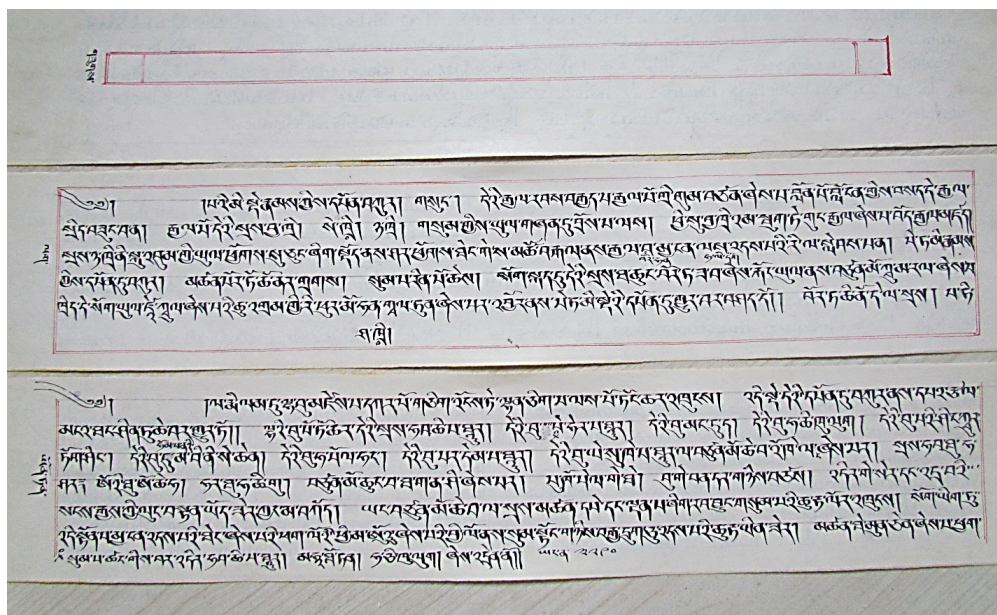
## Introduction

The well-known Mongolian monk, scholar, philosopher and poet Pandita Jamyangarav lived in the late 19th and the early 20th centuries (*Jam dbyangs dkar po*, 1861–1918) and compiled books in the Tibetan language. He was also a historian who studied the succession lineage of the khans of the Mongol state and the spread of Buddhism in Mongolia. There is quite a lot of research about Pandita Jamyangarav in Mongol studies. Among the latest works are *Poetry Theorist Jamyangarav* by D. Tserensodnom (Tserensodnom, 1975) and *On the branches of Kalpavriksha*<sup>1</sup> by L. Hurelbaatar (Hurelbaatar, 1996).

The purpose of this article is to introduce the topic of the historical work entitled *The Succession Lineage of the Mongol Khans in Mongolian Texts* (ཀླུ་རབས་ཀྱི་འཕུང་ཁྱེན་གྱི་སྒྲིག་ལྷག་ ༡༥; *Rgyal rabs kyi 'byung khungs kyi sog yig la*) compiled by Pandita Jamyangarav in the Tibetan language. Under the same name, this work was first mentioned in the contents of the collected works of Jamyangarav's *Bibliography of Works of Mongolian Monks in the Tibetan Language* compiled by the scholar and monk Ts. Tumen-Ulzi<sup>2</sup>. It is also cited in the works by other Mongolian monks of the past, in stories about the historical succession of the Mongolian khans. However, the work itself has not been studied yet, it was discovered only recently.

In 2011, in Jargalant *sum*, Arhangai *aimag*, Jamyangarav's own region, we have discovered this text with the same title — *MS*. It is a 14-page manuscript from the collection of D. Ganbold, which was then published in the original language — in Tibetan<sup>3</sup>. It is noteworthy that it touches upon important topics that are not covered in other written sources of the era of *The Secret History of the Mongols*.

This article also attempts to compare the information presented in the work with topics considered in other Mongolian historical sources. Special attention is paid here to new information that had not previously been recorded in other sources, such as writings on ceramics about Genghis Khan; the Name and the Seal of



*Image 1. Photo of pages 1 and 2 of the manuscript “The Succession Lineage of the Mongol Khans in Mongolian Texts”  
 (༡ ལྷ་རམས་གྱི་འབྲང་ཁྱད་སྤྱོད་པེལ་ཀུན་ཅུང་། /Pandita Jamyangarav in Tibetan)  
 kept in the personal collection of D. Ganbold)*

Изображение 1. Фотография страниц 1 и 2 рукописи “Родословная монгольских ханов в монгольских текстах” (Пандита Джамьянгарав на тибетском языке), хранящейся в личной коллекции Д. Ганболда.

<sup>1</sup>Wish-Fulfilling Tree.

<sup>2</sup> Tümen-Ölzii, Ts. *Mongol lam naryn Tövöd heleer bichsen biiteeliin tses* [ᠮᠣᠩᠭᠣᠯᠯᠠᠮᠠᠨᠢᠷᠠᠨᠲᠥᠪᠦᠳᠡᠬᠡᠯᠡᠭᠡᠪᠢᠴᠢᠰᠡᠨᠪᠢᠢᠲᠡᠭᠡᠯᠡᠢᠨᠲᠡᠰ] *The origin of the Mongolian royal lineage according to the Mongolian texts*. (A manuscript from the authors' collection).

<sup>3</sup> Pandita Hamba Jamyangarav. (2021) སྐལ་ཤྱིག་རྣམས་ལུ་རྟོང་ལྷོ་རྩལ་རབས་བྱང་ཚུལ་གྱི། [Sog yig rnam su Hor gyi rgyal rabs byung tshul ni / The origin of the Mongolian royal lineage according to the Mongolian texts]. In: Ganbold D. *Bat sujeft, pandita hamba Jamyangarav*. Ulaanbaatar, Soyombo Printing Co. Ltd. Vol. III / Erhelj hevlulsen D. Ganbold and Ch. Purevdorj. Pp. 7–32.





the Great Khan, as well as inscription on it; the text *Magic Manifested by Sakya Pandita*. The work in question with the same title is mentioned in some lists of the writings of Pandita Jamyangarav.

The history of Mongolia differs in that it was transmitted orally rather than in a written form. As a result, stories and oral traditions always complement the historical material that is transmitted through the scriptures. The manuscript of Pandita Jamyangarav was translated by us from Tibetan into Mongolian in 2021, with textual and scribal errors corrected. It is now available for scholarly analysis. Since the text was written in Tibetan, place names and names of historical figures were transcribed phonologically.

### Characteristics of the manuscript

The text in question has no contents list, and its fourteen folios (1a/gzugs-14a/ma nus) begin on the first with the title, *The Succession Lineage of the Mongol Khans in Mongolian Texts* (༣༣༣༣ ཁོག་ཡིག་རྒྱལ་ཁབ་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་རབས་འབྲུག་ཚུལ་ནི); *sog yig rnam su hor gyi rgyal rabs* 'byung tshul ni); it is a manuscript of relatively small size and of an unremarkable format. Apart from the fact that, with regard to the number of pages, it fits with what is indicated above, because the listing is similar; it is understood that this is in fact the 29th text indicated in the volume *ka* (ཀ) of Jamyangarav's collected works. That said, the folios are numbered symbolically, not by numbers, but by a secret numerical system not encountered in other texts:

- གཟིགས་ (*gzigs*) — form (1) (*form* is the symbolic term for the number 1, which is so named because it is the first of the five aggregates)<sup>1</sup>,
- ལག་ (*lag*) — hand (2) (*hand* is the symbolic term for the number 2, because a human has two hands).
- ཡོན་ཏན་ (*yon tan*) — quality (3) (*quality* is the symbolic term for the number 3, and this refers to *emptiness*, *darkness* and *the power of the heart*). By *emptiness* is meant the quality of leading to or entering into emptiness; by *darkness* is meant the darkness of heaviness or obscurity; and by *the power of the heart* is meant the clarity and lightness which are the power of the heart<sup>2</sup>,
- མཚོ་ (*mtsho*) — ocean (4) (*ocean* is the symbolic term for the number 4, referring to the four directions),
- མདའ་ (*mda'*) — arrow (5) (*arrow* is the symbolic term for the number 5, referring to those who are drunk, tipsy, drugged, successful and victorious). These are the five petals of the flower which emerges from the heads of the daughters of Dūḍgaravvanchūg (*Tib Bdud dga' rab dbang phyug*) and harm any creature they might strike<sup>3</sup>,
- རོ་ (*ro*) — taste (6) (*taste* is the symbolic term for the number 6; these are sweet, sour, pungent, bitter, hot and salty, as clearly laid out in the medical textbook<sup>4</sup>. The intensity of taste, which is the best of good medicines, is also sixfold: nutmeg, cardamom, lime, castor-oil, cloves and saffron<sup>5</sup>,
- རི་ (*ri*) — mountain (7) (*mountain* is the symbolic term for the number 7). The mountain has four faces — each one made of a different material; the northern face is made of gold, the eastern one is made of crystal, the southern one is made of lapis lazuli, and the western one is made of ruby. There are seven golden mountains around it: “Yoke, Plough, Acacia Forest, Pleasing-to-the-Eye, Horse’s Ear, Bent and Rim”<sup>6</sup>,
- ལྔ་ (*klu*) — *nāga* (8) (*nāga* is the symbolic term for the number 8). They are symbolized by the eight great kings of the *nāgas* — Vasukī, Padma, Karkotaka, Takshaka, Mahapadma, Shankapala, Kulika and Shesha<sup>7</sup>,
- དབུ་ (*dbug*) — opening (9) (*opening* is the symbolic term for the number 9). The nine openings are the mouth, the anus, the genitals, the two eyes, the two ears and the two nostrils<sup>8</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Choimaa, Sh. et al. (2000) *Buddhyn shashin soyolyn tailbar toli* [Dictionary of Mongolian Buddhism] : in 2 vols. Ulaanbaatar, Ungut Khevlle Co. Ltd. Vol. 2. P. 142.

<sup>2</sup>Choimaa, Sh. et al. (2000) *Buddhyn shashin soyolyn tailbar toli* [Dictionary of Mongolian Buddhism]: in 2 vols. Ulaanbaatar, Ungut Khevlē Co. Ltd. Vol. 1. P. 288.

<sup>3</sup> Choimaa, Sh. et al. Op. cit. Vol. 2. P. 282.

<sup>4</sup> *Anagaakh ukhaany dörvön ündes [Four foundations of medical science]*. (1991) Ulaanbaatar, Ulsyn Hevlelijn Gazar. 78 p. (In Mongolian).

<sup>5</sup> Choimaa, Sh. et al. Op. cit. Vol. 1. P. 482.

<sup>6</sup>Jamgön Kongtrul Lodrö Tayé, *Myriad Worlds* (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1995), page 110.

<sup>7</sup> Choimaa, Sh. et al. Op. cit. Vol. 2. P. 99.

<sup>8</sup> Choimaa, Sh. et al. Op. cit. Vol. 1. P. 428.



- ལྷོ་གཤམ་ (phyogs) — direction (10) (*direction* is the symbolic term for the number 10). They are east, south, west, north, the four intermediate directions, above and below,
- འགྲུག་ (drag po) — wrathful (11) (*wrathful* is the symbolic term for the number 11),
- ཉི་མ་ (nyi ma) — the Sun (12) (*Sun* is the symbolic term for the number 12). The Sun is the master of the twelve zodiacal palaces, those of the Sheep, the Ox, the Twins, the Frog, the Lion, the Virgin, the Scales, the Scorpion, the Bow, the Crocodile, the Jar and the Fish,
- འདོད་པ་ ('dod pa) — desire (13) (*desire* is the symbolic term for the number 13),
- མ་ནུ་ (ma nus) — inability (14) (*inability* is the symbolic term for the number 14).

Apart from these, the Mongolian Tibetanist L. Hürelbaatar discovered and translated Jamyangarav's Tibetan composition "Poem on Mongolian History", which was published in the first volume of *Anthology of Mongolian Literature* (Sain ugsiin san, 1995).

In our translated text, Jamyangarav perpetuates the approach taken by previous scholars, giving the origin of the Mongol khans in terms of the succession of Indian and Tibetan rulers. Following this, he briefly describes the succession of the 37 Mongol khans, how long they ruled, what kind of religious traditions were followed during their reigns, whom the leading teachers invited, what kinds of books were written and distributed, and the circumstances in which they came to and left the throne, citing Mongolian works such as Sümbe Hamba Ishbaljir's (1704–1788) history of oriental religion entitled *Kalpavriksha Tree*<sup>1</sup> and the Tsahar geshé Lubsanchültem's (1740–1810) *Blue Book* (*Höh devter; deb ther sngon po*).

### ***What is written in the manuscript?***

In terms of the origin and succession of the Mongol khans, the text briefly states that there was the Indian king Mahasamadhi, and then Nyati, the third son of the Tibetan king Digum Tsenpo, established the kingdom of Beda and was known as Bört Chono. After that, over the generations, there was Bodonchar Munhag, and then by means of his son the lineage came to Chinggis Khan (1162–1227), and after him there ruled 35 Mongol khans and two Oirat khans. From Chinggis Khan to Toghontemür Khan (1320–1370), 16 great khans reigned there for 180 years during which time the Mongols ruled over the Chinese state. From that point, the golden lineage, ruling the Mongol state, stretched until the death of Ligdan Khan. However, following this period, the state seal was handed over to the Manchu rulers. In 1368, the Chinese state wrested rule from the Mongols and then, after the time of Jüge Noyon, there was a line of 13 khans such as Yun Lo and Zün Tsi, after which a minister called Liü Zi betrayed the state and delivered the seal to Shündi khan of the Manchu<sup>2</sup>.

Regarding the spread of Buddhism, it is written that, first of all, in the time of Chinggis Khan, Setsen Gungaanyambuu had private interactions with the lord to whom offerings were made. Then, in the time of Ögödei Khan, he invited the liberator Dagvajaltsan, and in the time of Godan Khan, he invited Sakya Pandita. Möngke Khan honored Garmadüisümchenba, and then Kublai Tsetsen Khan welcomed the Phagspa Lama and so supported the Dharma. After that, Öljeitü Khan welcomed Jamyanrinchin and Khaisun Külüg Khan welcomed Choigü-Odser, and a Mongolian version of the *Heart Droplets* text (*Jürken-ü tolta*) was composed and several books were translated into Mongolian. Buyantu Khan made sacrifices to Jamyangba and had blocks to print the Kangyur. Gegeen Khan made sacrifices to Sakya Shiri, Yösöntömör Khan — to Sakya Sodnomsambuu, Zayat Khan — to Sakya Gungaabadaraa, and Toghontemur Khan the Wise — to Sakya Gungaalodoi. At this point, the succession of the junior Khans entered a period of uncertainty, and in Mongolia, until the era of conflict with the Oirats, there were about 300 years of the Sakya lineage. From the time of Tümen Zasagt Khan, the teachings of the Gelugpa school were in the ascendant, and they constructed the monastery at Erdene Zuu, and in the time of Ligdan Khan, under the leadership of Gungaa-Odser, the Kangyur was translated into Mongolian<sup>3</sup>.

The majority of these events conform with the historical information of the sources concerning the khans during the golden lineage of the Mongolian state, recorded in *The Secret History of the Mongols* and in historical sources of the 17th and 18th centuries. Since the way in which personal names, toponyms

<sup>1</sup> Sümbe Hamba Ishbaljir. (2017) *Kalbarvasun modun hemeesh shashny tüüh [Kalpavriksha Tree]*. Ulaanbaatar, Amjiltyn Garts Co. Ltd. 584 p.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



and calendrical terminology are recorded and read with parallel Tibetan texts, there are quite many places in which discrepancies occur because of general misunderstandings. In this regard, there are new and interesting pieces of information, and in the following sections we will comment on some examples taken from the manuscript:

1. concerning what is written about the vase (pottery) mentioned in this text with regard to Chinggis Khan;
2. concerning the name of Chinggis Khan, his seal and the inscription on it;
3. concerning the magic displayed by Sakya Pandita.

***What is written about the vase (pottery) with regard to Chinggis Khan?***

The following sutra tells the legend about a vase that fell from the sky:

“When Chinggis Khan was not in his palace for some time, a person or a god from the sky put a vase full of alcohol near his mother, gave it and left, saying, ‘Your father has given this to you, Chinggis Khan’. He saw this and asked his mother, ‘What did the gods give to me?’ She said, ‘I know nothing. There is a covered bowl here’, and took it. He gulped down the alcohol, saying ‘Some people of my lineage are born wise, some are born ignorant. This would seem to be fate’. His elder brothers came and asked if they could have a drink, and he said, ‘You may not drink even a very little, it is my destiny’, and when Chinggis Khan tasted a little, he became drunk. Once he had sobered up, his elder brothers agreed to take pride just sitting with him for a little while, and they made a vow, as though by command, to become his subjects.

[“ཆེད་གེ་མ་ར་དྲི་ཤོ་བྲུགས་པའི་སྐབས་ཤེག་ཏུ། ལྷན་མ་ནས་ཤོད་པའི་ལྷ་མ་མེ་ཞིག་གིས་རྒྱ་བྱས་ཆེད་གེ་མ་པག་པ་བཅིག་པས་ཆེད་གེ་མ་ཁྱེད་པ་ཡིན་ཞེས་……” མདི་གས་ད་སྟེན་པ་གས་སྟེ་བཞག་  
 ཆེད་གེ་མ་ཁྱོན་ནས་མ་ལ་ལྷས་ཅེ་བྱིན་ལྷན་ད། མས་ཅེ་ཡང་མ་ཤེས་ རྒྱ་བྱས་གང་བ་ཞིག་གེ་བས་པ་དེར་འདུག། ཟེར་བ་བྲངས་བདག་གི་རྟགས་བརྒྱད་ལ་ཅིག་ཅི་འཛེམ་པ་འོང། ལ་ཅིག་ཅི་བྲན་པ་འོང་བར་འདུག། སྐུ་  
 པ་དེ་སྐར་མ་ཆེ་གསལ་ནས་ཞལ་དུ་གསོལ་བ་དང་། ལུ་ལོ་རྩ་མས་ཀྱང་འོང་ནས་དེ་ལས་འདྲང་འདྲོད་པར་འདྲི་ཁྱེད་རྩོམ་འབྲུང་མི་དྲང་། དའི་སྐུ་པ་ཡིན་གསལ་ནས་དེ་ནས་ཅེད་ཞིག་ཀྱང་བཅས་ཀྱིས་ཁྱོས་ནས་དྲན་མེད་  
 མོང་། བངས་པ་ན་ལུ་པོ་…… རྩ་མས་སྐར་ཆེ་དེ་ལས་ཉིད་ད་འཕག་ཞིན་དུ་འདུག་པའི་ད་རྩ་མ་གཞིལ་ནས་དྲོ་བོར་ཁས་སྐངས་ནས་མའང་འོག་ཏུ་རྩེ་དེ་པག་པ་བཞིན་བཟྱུད་པར་དང་མ་བཅའ་ཟེར།”<sup>1</sup>

Although this is rarely mentioned in other Mongol historical sources, in his *Golden Summary* (Altan Tobchi) Guush Lubsandanzan writes:

“By the power of ancient merit, powerful Hurmast Tenger offered a jade cup full of pure alcohol (arahi) to Chinggis Khan. As though frightened, he accepted it, and had his younger brothers sit and eat, and he said that, even though the four younger brothers might have appeared like ten in front of their elder brother, still they were but four. They said, ‘Oh, although my khan eats a lot, he offers his support to us’. The khan instructed his four younger brothers, ‘In my previous birth, I received a jade seal in my right hand, on the instructions of the Buddha, from the land of the Nagas. Now, the powerful Hurmast Tenger has granted me a jade cup full of pure alcohol. I am thinking that perhaps I am the Destined Khan. If you wish to drink, then please drink’. The four younger brothers drank, but once the drink was in their mouths they were unable to swallow it. They said respectfully to the khan, ‘We who are not destined to quarrel with the Destined Khan inappropriately. We will be nobles who understand the family. Please drink, Khan’. The khan drank. He got too drunk on the pure alcohol and announced, ‘In a previous birth, I received the jade seal of the King of the Nagas on the instructions of the Buddha. And now, the powerful Hurmast has granted me a jade cup full of pure alcohol. Tenger has ordained me as the Destined Lord’<sup>2</sup>.

Looking at this issue, the younger brothers of Chinggis Khan appear to have decided to be disputatious and quarrel with elder brother. But in Jamyangarav's text, there is a discrepancy: "When Chinggis Khan was not there, a person from the sky came bringing a jar of pure arahi to where his mother was, and he came and took it from his mother, and he drank it all saying, 'Some people of my lineage are born wise, and some are born ignorant', and he went away reeling"<sup>3</sup>. In Lubsandanzan's *Altan Tobchi*, this theme is dealt with in connection with how the lofty Hurmast Tenger and the lowly Naga Lord supported and encouraged the Lord<sup>4</sup>. Furthermore, in Sümbe Hamba Ishbaljir's *Kalbarvasun Mod*, it is said that "he partook of a pure liquid which filled a vessel of precious jewels borne in a hand that suddenly came from the sky, and afterwards the Nagas presented a seal to him as the Khan of the Mongols"<sup>5</sup>. Perhaps this is an elegant way of expressing the challenge in the question, "Who will be the Khan?"

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Guush Lubsandanzan. (1990) *Ertnii khaadyn undeslesen turtu yosny zohiolgyg товчлон хураан Altan tobchi hemeeh orshvoi [Golden summary of Mongolian historical chronicle]* / Orshil bichij erhlen hevluulsen Sh. Bira. Ulaanbaatar, Suhbaatar Ulsyn Hevleliin Uildver. P. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Jamyangarav. Op. cit. P. 84-85.

<sup>4</sup>Lubsandanzan. Op. cit. P. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Sümbe Hamba Ishbaljir. Op. cit. P. 584.



The analysis of the sources telling about the history associated with the vase has shown that the basic idea is generally preserved. Jamyangarav's text differs in that the vessel with the drink was presented to his mother, and Chinggis Khan drank from it afterwards, while not allowing his brothers to drink from it either. In addition, there is no information in it that Genghis Khan received a seal along with the vessel.

*Concerning the name of Chinggis Khan, his seal and the inscription on it*

It is known that Chinggis Khan had a square seal as the main symbol of statehood, on which was written: "By the power of the Eternal Blue Sky, the Decree of the Khan of the Great Mongolian Empire. Subject, obey this, listen!" (Bazarov, Nyam-Osor, 2003: 65).

In the work of Pandita Jamyangarav, it is said as follows:

“At the age of 28, the Lord became Beda<sup>1</sup> or Mongol Khan on the banks of the Herlen River, and an exquisite sparrow with the colors of the rainbow between the sun sat that day upon a square iron ore stone to the east of the palace, singing the sound ‘Chinggis’, and that is said to be the source of the name ‘Chinggis’. The stone split apart, and the *yontan* or four seals emerged, and one was said to be the seal of Heaven, one was the seal of the Nagas, and one was the seal of the Khans, and so the seals of Heaven, the Nagas and the Khans came into being. The length and breadth of the seal are about a span, and it is carved with letters like two dragons playing on the back of a tortoise, and every day they bite one another, drawing bright vermilion and pressing enough to pierce a thousand sheets of paper. Those letters form the following text: ‘*Yo Wang, min shou ni zoan tsin*’, which means ‘By the grace of Heaven, may you forever have a good fortune and a long life’.

[ཆོང་གེ་ས་རང་ / མཚོ་ གིང་གྲུང་ལོ་ཤིང་བཟུང་པ་ས་ཁྱལ་ལོ་ཤིང་ཁེང་ལྷ་མཚན་ཞེས་པ་རྩ་ཆུ་རྩོམ་པོ་འགྲུག་དྲུ་དང་མཉམ་ཅིག་པོ་ལོ་ཤིང་གྲུང་རྩ་པ་ཤར་མང་དུ་བཟུང་པ་ལ། དེ་ལོ་ཤིང་ན་ས་ཉི་མ་འགྲལ་པོ་བར་དྲུག་  
དྷིག་འཁར་ཆོན་རྩེར་བཀྲ་པོ་ཤིང་ཤིང་ཞིག་གིས། ལྷ་ཤིང་གར་ལྷོགས་ཀྱི་ས་ཤོང་གྲུང་ལོ་ཤིང་གཅིག་གི་སྤྱིང་དྲ་ཆོང་གེ་ས་ཞེས་པོ་ཤིང་རྩེ་བཟུང་གསུམ་པ་སུ། ལྷ་པོ་ཤིང་མཚན་ཆོང་གེ་ས་ཞེས་གྲགས། ས་ཤོང་དྲ་གསུམ་པ་ལས་ལྷང་མང་འམ་  
མཉམ་ག་བཞི་བྱུང་པོ་ཤིང་གཅིག་གྲུ། གཅིག་གྲུ། གཅིག་གིས་རྩུམ་མཉམ་དངོས་ཀྱིས། ཟེར་ཡང་ལྷ་ཤིང་རྩུམ་མཉམ་དེ་འདྲི་ན་ཆགས་ཞེས་ཀྱང་ཟེར་རོ། ལྷ་པོ་མཉམ་དེ་ཡང་དཔེར་བེད་གྲོགས་ཀར་མཚོ་དང་ཙམ་ལ་རྩུང་དཔེར་སྤུམ་ལྷ་  
ལོ་ཤིང་དྲ་འགྲུག་གཉིས་ཆོས་པ་ལྷ་བྱ་ལ་ཡི་ཅོ། །བརྩོན་པ་འདྲ་བ་ཉིན་རེ་བཞིན་མཆོས་སྤང་གཉིས་ཆོས་པ་དང་། ལན་གཅིག་བཟུང་པ་ས་ཤོག་སྤྱིང་རྩུ་རྩུ་དྲ་བཟུང་ལྷ་ཟེར། ཡི་ཅོ་ནི། ལྷ་མཚན་མིན་ཤིང་ནི། ཆོང་ཆོང་ཞེས་  
པ་ནི་ལྷ་ཤིང་གེ་བསུང་ག་ཤིང་ཤིང་། ལྷ་ཆོས་ལྷ་རྩང་དྲ་དྲ་གསུམ་ཞེས་པོ་ཤིང་ཡིན་ཆོ་ཟེར།]”<sup>2</sup>.

The central issue here is the giving of the name of Chinggis, presenting the seal to the khan, the form of the seal, the words inscribed upon it, and their meaning. This account differs slightly in some imagery and language in both the brief and the extensive accounts given in such historical texts as *The Secret History of the Mongols*<sup>3</sup>, Sagan Setsen's *Summary Treasure of Mongolian Historical Chronicle*<sup>4</sup>, Darma Güüş's *The Golden Wheel with Thousand Spokes*<sup>5</sup>, Jamba's *Shamba's Brief History of Mongolia*<sup>6</sup> and Lubsandanzan's *Golden Summary of Mongolian Historical Chronicle*<sup>7</sup>. In this regard, the indicated sources contain the following pieces of information: "Seven days after Chinggis Khan was born, a lark was singing on a peninsula in the ocean"<sup>8</sup>; "The day after the day after the Lord was born"<sup>9</sup>; "At the age of twenty-eight, the Khan took his seat on an island in the Herlen"<sup>10</sup>; and "When he was fully-grown, he was hunting at the edge of the eastern ocean"<sup>11</sup>. But the versions provided by Sagan Setsen and Ishbaljir follow Jamyangarav's idea.

The information regarding the jade seal, its form and inscription is not clear in all the sources except *Summary Treasure of Mongolian Historical Chronicle*<sup>12</sup>. So we know that Jamyangarav read this text. But it is

<sup>1</sup> Beda is a name of Ancient Mongolia.

<sup>2</sup> Jamyangarav. Op. cit. P. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Mongyul-un niyuca tobciyan* [The secret history of the Mongols] (1947) / Qayucin bicig-ece C. Damdinsüreng orciyulba. Ulaanbaatur qota, Uls-un Keblekü Üyiledbüri. 237 p.

<sup>4</sup> Sagan Setsen. (2006) *Erdeniin tobchi [Summary treasure of Mongolian historical chronicle]*. Ulaanbaatar, Soyombo Printing Co. Ltd. 366 p.

<sup>5</sup> Darma Güüşh. (2006) *Altan hürden myangan higeest bichig [The golden wheel with thousand spokes]*. Ulaanbaatar, Soyombo Printing Co. Ltd. 319 p.

<sup>6</sup>Jamba. (2006) *Asragch nertiin tüüh [Shamba's brief history of Mongolia]*. Ulaanbaatar, Soyombo Printing Co. Ltd. 108 p.

<sup>7</sup>Lubsandanzan. Op. cit.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. P. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Jamba. Op. cit. P. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Sagan Setsen. Op. cit. P. 62; Sümbe Hamba Ishbaljir. Op. cit. P. 132.

<sup>11</sup> Darma Güüşh. Op. cit. P. 38.

<sup>12</sup> Ordos Hishigbat. (2019) Ert ba edügeegiin Erdene-yin tobchi [Summary treasure of Mongolian historical chronicle]. In: Ordos Hishigbatyin бүтээлийн чуулган / transcribed in Cyrillic and with annotations by D. Zorigt and D. Ganbold. Beijing, People's Publishing House. 233 p.





obscure how many seals emerged when the iron ore stone broke apart. If we consider texts such as “From within the stone that broke apart, what is called the ‘jade’ seal emerged...”<sup>1</sup>; and “Yesühei the warrior tried to split it, and a jade seal emerged...”<sup>2</sup>, we may think that only one seal emerged. But in *Altan Tobchi* we can read that when he tried for the first time “a golden seal was seen rising into the sky”, on the second time “a silver seal was seen entering the ocean” and on the third time “a jade seal emerged”<sup>3</sup>. Thus, there seem to be three seals, but Jamyangarav says that “four seals emerged, and one was said to be the seal of Heaven, one was the seal of the Nagas, and one was the seal of the Khans”<sup>4</sup>. There is nothing here, though, either in the information or in the stories, concerning the fourth seal. According to the sources above, the gold and silver seals are the seals of Heaven and the Nagas, while the jade seal is the seal of the human ruler. This references the idea that Chinggis Khan dominated in the upper, middle and lower lands.

In *The History of Mongolian Kings’ Seals*, Saishaal wrote about the inscription on the seal — “Shu min yuüü tuan gi sü yun tan” (“By the order of Heaven, may your life be long”) — that “of the 8 Imperial *bau* seals during the Yuan dynasty, the seal of the second state was ‘by the decree of Heaven, eternal and of good fortune’”<sup>5</sup>. In Darma Güüsh’s *The Golden Wheel with Thousand Spokes*, it is said that “... Tsin Shi Hun khan’s minister Lin Zi knew that white Chuan zi jade was rare in the world, and he had the seal inscribed eight hieroglyphs (*shou min chjui tin gya shyu chjun chan*) which can be translated as “the life ordained by Heaven will be long”. So it became the symbol of the state and of good fortune. Among other things, it is mentioned that “a seal of precious stones is traditional for many Mongolians...”<sup>6</sup>. Therefore, it is clear that Chinggis Khan had a jade seal, and that it had eight characters which read “By the grace of Heaven, your life will be eternal”. And yet in his book, Jamyangarav gives a parallel gloss on the inscription which differs from the others<sup>7</sup>. This needs a closer examination.

### Concerning the magic displayed by Sakya Pandita

Pandita, a historical figure who lived in the 13th century, was the abbot of the Sakya Monastery. In 1243, he created the Mongolian alphabet. There is much information about his life in Mongolian sources. For instance, it is written about him in *Collection of Jewels Subashid* translated by Tsahar gebshi Lubsantsultim<sup>8</sup>.

Jamyangarav writes the following:

“In the Earth Monkey year (1248)<sup>9</sup>, things were reported to Sakya Pandita so as to arouse sadness. [Godan] Khan asked Sakya Pandita the reason why a tortoise has no hair on its shell, and Pandita taught wonderful things many times, such as that the tortoise does indeed have hair on its shell. There is the custom that there are hairs of light on the skin of the tortoise in the world, and there is a Buddha bodhisattva on every five hairs, and there is the special custom that there are a thousand Buddhas during a good era. But it did not affect the mind of the Khan, and the Tibetan teacher grew angry and said, ‘I have given these fine words in order to tame wild animals such as our Khan and his friends’. A wizard in the region near to Lanjü [that is Sakya Pandita] paid a visit to a magic monastery so as to conjure something extremely beautiful, but when he went to the door of the monastery and uttered his spell, he could not summon his magical powers. When he blessed the monastery in its physical form, it was known as Huvilgasan Hiid, or the Magic Monastery.

[ཡུང་བར་འདུའི་ས་ཁྱེལ་མོར་རྒྱལ་པོས་ས་པུལ་ཉམས་སྐད་འདི་ལྟར་མཛད་དེ། རྒྱལ་པོས་ཅུས་ཁྱེལ་པར་སྤྱོད་པའི་རྒྱ་མཚན་དེས་པ་ལ། པཱྱི་ཏུས་... ཅུས་ཁྱེལ་གྱི་པགས་ལ་སྤྱོད་དེ། སྤྱོད་པའི་ཅུས་ཁྱེལ་གྱི་པགས་སྤྱོད་ཅེར་ཅུས་ཁྱེལ་རེ་རེ་བཞིན་སངས་རྒྱལ་བྱང་སེམས་བཞུགས་ཚུལ་དང་། རྒྱལ་པོས་བསྐྱལ་བཟང་སངས་རྒྱལ་སྤྱོད་བཞུགས་ཚུལ་སྤྱོད་པ་མཛད་དུ་གསུང་བ་ན། རྒྱལ་པོའི་ཡིད་ལ་མ་ཕབས་བར། བོད་གྱི་པཱྱི་ཏུས་ལག་པོ་འདི་དེ་གྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་འཁོར་བཅས་དང་འགྲོའི་གྲངས་ལྟར་འདྲེན་ཅེར་ཞིང་། ཁྱེལ་ནས། མོ་བྱང་ལང་རྩའི་ཉེ་འཁོར་ཞིག་ན་རྒྱ་མ་མཐན་གྱིས་རྒྱ་མཐོ་གཞུག་ལག་ཁང་ཤན་ཏུ་བཟང་པོ་སྤྱུས་ཏེ། རྒྱལ་

<sup>1</sup> Sagan Setsen. Op. cit. P. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Darma Güüsh. Op. cit. P. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Lubsandanzan. Op. cit. P. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Jamyangarav. Op. cit. P. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Saishaal. (2006) *Mongol haadyn tamgany tüüh [The history of Mongolian kings’ seals]*. Höhhot, Inner Mongolian People’s Publishing House. P. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Olon Mongolchuudyn ug ehiig temdeglesen bichig [The origin of the Mongols]* (2019) Höhhot, Inner Mongolian People’s Publishing House. P. 10.

<sup>7</sup> Jamyangarav. Op. cit. P. 13.

<sup>8</sup> *Collection of jewels subashid* (1990) / transl. by Lubsantsultim. Ulaanbaatar. 222 P. 5–6.

<sup>9</sup> Sümbe Hamba says in *Kalpavriksha Tree* that in the sexagenary calendar, “although the Yellow Monkey year (1248) is verified by Sakya Panchen, we believe that the magical symbols have been revealed” (Sümbe Hamba Ishbaljir. Op. cit. P. 514).





པོས་པཱི་ཏ་ལ་དང་ཅག་ལ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་ན་ཏུ་སྒྲིབ་པ་ཞིག་མཆིས་པས་ཁྱེད་དེར་བྱོན་པར་ཞུ་ནས་པས། ཁོང་དོར་བྱོན་ཏེ་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་སྒོ་ན་བྱོན་ཙ་ན་བཀའ་བསྐྱོད་མཛད་པས་སྒྲིམ་མ་མཁན་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་སྒྲིམ་སྒྲིབ་པར་གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་དངོས་ཉིད་དུ་བྱོན་ཀྱིས་རྒྱབས་པས་སྒྲིམ་བའི་དགོན་པ་ཞིས་གྲགས་སོ།།<sup>1</sup>.

There are more than a few such accounts in the historical sources of which we are aware, but in Setsen Han Nanzaddorj agramba's *Melmiin bayasgalan*, it is written: "In order to test Sakya Pandita, the Khan conjured a magical city and invited him there. Sakya Pandita taught a poem, which started with the words 'Mingyur lhunpo', and scattered flowers, and the Khan was unable to destroy what Sakya Pandita had conjured and died from the magic he had caused"<sup>2</sup>. In another version of this text (*Nüdnii bayar hurim*), we read that "Godan became the Khan in the Earth Monkey year. He met with Sakya Pandita and in order to test Sakya Pandita he had a conjurer create a magical city. Then he invited Sakya Pandita to enter, Pandita recited a poem beginning with the words 'Minjur lhunbo'"<sup>3</sup>. The Khan tried to destroy the magical city and scattered flowers, but he could not destroy it. The city became known as Lanjübrülviidon.

Godan Khan had heard that Sakya Pandita (1182–1251) was an outstanding individual who had defeated the Indian sages, and he sent him an invitation. This was an interesting historical account of testing the extent of magical abilities, but the themes of these two stories contradict one another (Danjandagva, 2021).

With regard to "Mingyür lhünbo", it is worth mentioning that it echoes with *The History of the Four Good Fortunes of the Buddha* published in *Borjigin aman bilig* (*Jodyn aman damjlaga*) and its meaning is more explicit than in the oral account:

"They think that the Buddha is constantly harmed by evil spirits. At one time, an evil spirit invited the Buddha and made a bed for him so that the roof above would collapse upon it. But even once they had finished their tea, it did not collapse. When the Buddha was going to leave, the evil spirit told him the truth. 'But why did it not collapse?' he asked. 'I blessed it so that it would not collapse. *Minjür lhunpo guei dashi shog. Yanlag dugjü sungi tashi shog. Taavral donid tügji dashi shog. Jalba güsüntügi dashi shog.* I scattered this verse about'"<sup>4</sup>.

### Examples of some names, transcriptions of which are generally disputed

In his work, Jamyangarav gives the following spellings in Tibetan for some anthroponyms and names of geographical objects. The name of Burhan Haldun is rendered in Mongolian as *Gaslangaas nögchsön Yalguusan uul* and in Tibetan as *Borhanhalidug* (བོར་ཏན་ཏེ་ལེ་བུག་), while Sümbe Hamba is recorded as *Phurmohangultun* (ཕུར་མོ་ཏན་ལུ་བུག་). Moreover, some names are transmitted in the following forms: Lake Baikal is written as *Zeegül* (ཇེ་གུལ་dsee kul); Duva sohor as *Poro sohor* (པོར་ཤོར་); Tumbinai setsen as *Humbinai* (ཏུམ་བཤེན་: *hom pa na'i*); Begter as *Bügebandar* (བུ་གེ་པན་དར་ *Bu ge pan dar*); Temüjin as *Temünjin* (ཐེ་མུན་ཅེན་ *the mun cen*); and Jüge as *Yoga* (ཡོ་ག་ *yo ga*)<sup>5</sup>. Of particular interest is the name *Zeegül* (ཇེ་གུལ་ *dsee kul*) for Baikal Lake. Such issues require a more careful study.

### Conclusion

In his work, Pandita Jamyangarav explores important moments of Mongol history, intertwining them with interesting legends. After conducting a comparative analysis with other sources, we came to several notable observations.

The sources telling about the seals given to Chinggis Khan have a similar structure. However, Jamyangarav claims the existence of four seals, listing them as the seal of Heaven, the seal of Naga, and the seal

<sup>1</sup> Jamyangarav. Op. cit. P. 17–18.

<sup>2</sup> Nanzaddorj agramba. (2019) *Burhany shashny orchihyn hemjee, lam deedsiin daraalan zalarsan düriiüd, oron shireetiin erembe, haadyn üye-yig товч хураангуй баигуулсан мелмин байасгалан хемеех оршибой. Mongolyn Tövöd sudlalyn tsuvral* [A delight for the eyes called "A brief history of Mongolian Buddhism"]. Vol. XVII. Ulaanbaatar, Amjiltyn Garts Co. Ltd. P. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Gantulga, Ts. (1999) *Nanzaddorj agrambyn "Nüdnii bayar hurim" zohiolyn orchuulga, eh bichgiin sudalgaa* [Translation and research of <A delight for the eyes called "A brief history of Mongolian Buddhism">]. Ulaanbaatar, Soyombo Printing Co. Ltd. P. 54.

<sup>4</sup> *Borjigin aman bilig: Jodyn aman damjlaga [The oral tradition of Zod]*. (2019) Mongolyn Tövöd sudlalyn tsuvral. XXXII [Series of Mongolian tibetology ] / comp. by B. Nyammyagmar. Ulaanbaatar, Amjiltyn Garts Co. Ltd. P. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Jamyangarav. Op. cit. P. 20.



of Khan, leaving the fourth seal unmentioned. In addition, there are discrepancies in the specific details of the seals, especially regarding the eight hieroglyphs. This discrepancy requires further investigation.

It is noteworthy that this work incorporates Tibetan renderings of proper nouns pertaining to Mongolian history. It is plausible that Jamyangarav adapted this style of writing from other Tibetan sources. Nonetheless, further investigation is required to ascertain the truth of this hypothesis.

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