


## **“Codex Renatus Lincopensis” and two other Tibetan and Mongolian folios preserved in the Linköping City Library**

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 The Linköping City Library (Linköpings Stadsbibliotek) in Sweden is one of the European depositories that house folios from Sem Palat and Ablai-kit. It holds three folios: one in Tibetan (shelf mark OL 4) and two in Mongolian script (shelf marks OL 3 and OL 5).

The source of their acquisition remains unclear. Johan August Strindberg (1849–1912), Sweden’s eminent playwright, novelist, and poet, played a crucial role in the association of these fragments with the name of Johan Gustaf Renat (1682–1744), a Swedish warrant officer in the artillery. Renat was initially imprisoned by Russian troops after the Battle of Poltava in 1709 and later by the Dzungars in 1716. After spending seventeen years in Dzungar captivity, Renat was eventually allowed to return to Sweden in 1733. It is known that he donated several curiosities from Dzungaria, including Oirat apparel, utensils, a Chinese printed book, and two maps to the library of Uppsala University.<sup>2</sup>

In 1874, Strindberg became an assistant librarian at the Royal Library in Stockholm (now the National Library of Sweden) and visited the Linköping library in 1878. There, he discovered a copy of Renat’s map of Dzungaria made by the order of the bishop of Linköping, Erik Benzelius the younger (1675–1743),<sup>3</sup> along with

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<sup>2</sup> Baddeley 1919: clxxix–clxxx; Borodaev, Kontev 2010: 386–392.

<sup>3</sup> The copy of the map was published on Strindberg’s initiative in 1881, accompanied by an extensive commentary by Aleksei Maksheev (=Makchéeff) (1822–1892), a

Mongolian and Tibetan folios.<sup>4</sup> Apparently, he suggested that they had been acquired from Renat.<sup>5</sup> One folio from the manuscript Mongolian Kanjur, written in golden ink on indigo blue paper, particularly amused him, and he poetically referred to it in his notes as “Codex Renatus Lincopensis”.

A century later, John Ronström published an article on Strindberg’s efforts in studying the “Codex Renatus Lincopensis” (Ronström 1971). After examining the materials related to the abovementioned Mongolian folio (the one with shelf mark OL 3), Ronström concluded that there were no direct indications connecting its provenance to Renat, though the possibility could not be excluded. On the other hand, Ronström presumed that these manuscript fragments were most probably given by somebody as an exotic souvenir to Erik Benzelius the younger, who was an erudite scholar and the founder of the Royal Society of Sciences in Uppsala (known as Collegium curiosorum) in 1710. He stood out among all the Linköping library directors for showing a keen interest in Russia or Central Asia (Ronström 1971: 303).

Many Swedes were captured during the Northern War, and among them, Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg (1676–1747) and Johan Gustaf Renat became renowned figures within the scientific community.<sup>6</sup> Strahlenberg notes in his book: “A few hundred leaves of the same kind might have gotten into Europe when the Swedes returned from captivity”.<sup>7</sup> However, Renat’s fate took an even more exceptional turn: he was captured by Dzungars in 1716 and spent numerous years at the courts of their rulers, Tsewang Rabdan (1663–1727) and his son Galdan Tsereng (1693?–1745), before leaving for Saint Petersburg, in 1733, and consequent returning to Sweden. Given this unique trajectory, it becomes unlikely that Renat could have been the donor of the Mongolian folio that Strindberg tentatively attributed to him. This is especially evident since the left margin of the verso side features Russian cursive writing dated to 1720 (fig. 1), when Renat was already

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professor at the Nicholas General Staff Academy in Saint Petersburg and a member of the Russian Geographical Society (Maksheev 1881).

<sup>4</sup> Strindberg undoubtedly saw the Tibetan folio from Ablai-kit in the library collection, as he mentioned it in a letter to Swedish librarian and art collector Erik Hjalmar Segerstéen (1819–1901) dated September 14, 1879: “... Det Tibetanska får hvila!” (“The Tibetan [folio] shall rest [=be set aside]!”) (Rohnström 1971: 296).

<sup>5</sup> See Rohnström 1971: 300–301.

<sup>6</sup> Several more names of the Swedes who brought Oirat artefacts from Siberia are known to us: Baron Reh binder (see the paper by A. Zorin, A. Turanskaya, A. Helman-Ważny in this issue of RET); presumably, some member of the Medling family, Sten Arvidsson Sture (1681–1730), and Erik Millberg (1684–1742) (Rosén 2000: 55–56).

<sup>7</sup> “Es möchten von derselben Art wohl ein paar hundert Blätter in Europa, bey der Schweden Zurückkunfft aus der Gefangenschafft, hinein gekommen seyn” (Strahlenberg 1730: 312, note a).

a captive among the Dzungars, far removed from the region where folios from manuscripts taken by Russians from Sem Palat would have been in circulation.

The inscription consists of three lines in Cyrillic script. The lines are written with a pen and black ink, and the handwriting corresponds to the Russian cursive ductus typical for the late 17<sup>th</sup> to early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Although there is a minor loss of handwriting at the end of the first line, it could be confidently reconstructed, allowing one to assume that the inscription has been completely preserved.



Fig. 1. OL 3: the inscription with Russian cursive writing on the verso (Linköping City Library)

It was Strindberg who first paid attention to the inscription and correctly identified the language. He also attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to copy and translate it.<sup>8</sup>

The next attempt to decipher the text in Russian cursive script was undertaken by Carin Davidsson (1920–2011), an Associate Professor of Uppsala University, whom Rohnström asked for help. Her reading and translation were as follows:

«АУК году июля въ [в] де бѣлоярской крѣст (= крѣстьянин?)  
избошик (= извощик, извозчик?) Григо[рий] / Нечаевъ  
принялъ провъ (= провозъ?) х кану (?) / стоитъ григну ему (?)»<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> For details see (Rohnström 1971: 302, fig. 4).

<sup>9</sup> The spelling and line breakdown present in the Rohnström's publication have been preserved. In the article, the letters placed above the line were underlined with a solid line, while the letters, the reading of which aroused doubts, were underlined with a dotted line (here in italics). The lowercase letter 'в' with titlo in square brackets denoted number '2'.

1720, den [2] (?) dagen i juli mottog Bjelojarsk-bonden (?) formannen Grigorij Nečaeв transporten (?) till khanen (?). Det kostar (honom?) 1 grivna (?). (Rohnström, 1971: 301).

Carin Davidsson’s translation of the challenging handwritten Russian text can be regarded as relatively accurate. She successfully decoded the three primary semantic aspects of the inscription, pertaining to time, place, and the individual mentioned. However, her proposed interpretation does not entirely align with Russian conventions and necessitates certain clarifications.

Several years later, the renowned German Mongolist Walther Heissig (1913–2005), relying on Ronström’s article and Davidsson’s interpretation, arrived at a startling conclusion: “According to a marginal note in Russian cursive on the verso of the text, the leaf likely came into the possession of J. G. Renat around 1720”.<sup>10</sup> This assertion seems to lack any supporting evidence.

The reading of the inscription was elucidated and analyzed by V. Borodaev in his article, “A Folio of the Mongolian ‘Golden’ Kanjur with the Russian Inscriptions dated 1720 Kept in the Linköping City Library”, published in Russian in 2021. Below, we present an English translation of its key points regarding the inscription, commencing with the reading and translation (Borodaev 2021: 197–206):<sup>11</sup>

✱АШК году июля въ де бѣлоярской крѣсти збошик гри[\*\*\*] /  
ночаевъ принялъ провъ у казу (?) /  
стоитъ градъ пустьъ /

1720 году июля въ де[нь] Бѣлоярской крѣ[по]сти збо[р]шик Гри-  
[горей] /  
Ночаевъ принялъ про[ти]въ (?) указу (?) /  
Стоить градъ пустьъ /

On the day of July of the 1720th year a collector of Beloyarsk fortress  
Gri[gory] /  
Nochaev accepted according to (?) the order (?) /  
There stands an empty city /

<sup>10</sup> “Einem Randvermerk auf der Rückseite des Textes in russischer Schnellschrift zufolge dürfte das Blatt um 1720 in den Besitz von J. G. Renat gekommen sein” (Heissig 1979: 200–201).

<sup>11</sup> Superscript letters are underlined. Slash marks indicate line end, and letters that are not present in the text but could be reconstructed are given in square brackets.

Although, judging by the handwriting, all three lines of Cyrillic text were written by the same person, they bear no semantic unity and could be interpreted as two or three separate entries with unrelated meanings.

1. The longest and most meaningful entry, that occupies the top line and the left side of the middle line, concerns a resident of the Beloyarsk fortress, Grigory Nechaev.

In accordance with the official usage of that time, the entry begins with the date. The year '1720', counted from the birth of Christ, is traditionally written in capital letters of the Cyrillic alphabet 'ѠѠѠ'. The titlo frequently signed above the Slavic numerals is missing, so one may assume either that it was written in the excised part of the folio, or was initially absent. However, a special sign Ѡ (so called 'tail', a slanted line crossed with two short strokes), denoting 1000 in Slavic numerals, definitely indicates that the year 1720 had been written in letters. The month 'July' is written in words, though the precise day is not provided.

The phrase 'бѡлоярской крѣсти збошик' was interpreted by Carin Davidsson as 'Bjeloyarsk-bonden (?) formannen', i.e., 'a Beloyarsk peasant coachman'. One cannot agree with such reading, since the Russian words 'крестъ–крещеный–крестьянинъ' (a cross / baptized / a peasant) in the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> cc. were written with letter 'е', not 'ѡ'. Words with different semantic meaning 'крѣпкій–крѣпко–крѣпость' ('strong / hard / a fortress'), on the contrary, were written with 'ѡ' (Dal 1881: 193–195, 209–210). Therefore, the correct reading should be 'Бѡлоярской крѣ[по]сти збо[р]шик', 'a collector from the Beloyarsk fortress'.

The dropping of the syllable in the word 'крѣ[по]сти' is not common for the civil documents of the Petrine era. On the other hand, the notes in the margin of the Mongolian manuscript folio were made by an unknown Russian scribe, on his own initiative and for his own use, so the possibility of unusual abbreviations could not be excluded.

The correctness of the proposed reconstruction of the word 'fortress' is confirmed by several documents of the period.

Archival documents indicate that the wooden fortress called Beloyarsk was built by Kuznetsk town-service Cossacks on the right bank of the Ob River, above the mouth of the Chumysh River, in 1717 (Borodaev, Kontev 2015: 214–232).

Two years later, a population census of the Kuznetsk County was conducted. The original under the name "The great sovereign's census book of [1]719 of the counties of Kuznetsk town, Bersk fort, Beloyarsk fortress, Mungat burg, in terms of number of households and male

population from the elderly to infants, with census lists<sup>12</sup> and signatures”<sup>13</sup> is nowadays preserved at the Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (Moscow) (RSAAA. Coll. 214. Inv. 1. Item 1611. Folios 170–294v). Entries #565–581 of this census book concern 17 households of the Ust-Chumyshskaya hamlet located within the Beloyarsk fortress jurisdiction, and entry #567 provides the following information:

In the household a peasant on quitrent Grigory Nechaev attested he was forty years old. He has a thirteen year old son Vasily. If he, Grigory Nechaev, deceived or concealed even one soul, he would be sentenced to death. Instead of him and at his request, Gavriilo Menzelinets affixed signature (RSAAA. Coll. 214. Inv. 1. Item 1611. Folio 267v).

The census lists (‘skazki’), stories told by the inhabitants, were more extensive than the brief information included in the census books. They reflected the origin, original settlement and date of relocation, tax liability, data concerning recruitment to the Cossacks, family composition (including women), presence of arable land and quitrent. A copy of the census list dated 1719 based on the words of Grigory Kirillovich Nechaev, a resident of the Ust-Chumyshskaya hamlet, is also kept at the RSAAA:

[70r] In the household [there is] a peasant on quitrent Grigory, Kiril’s son, Nechaev, 45 years old. Came from the village of Krivets in Sol Kamskaya [County], Siberian Province, [where he was] a tax-paying peasant. Paid money taxes to the sovereign’s treasury. In 701 (ΨA) left Usol to Ishimskaya Sloboda of Tobolsk County and lived for about ten years in Irovszkaya hamlet of Obatskaya Sloboda as dragoon, serviced in dragoons’ regiment with Ishimsky dragoons. In Usolye money taxes were paid by his uncle [70v] Poluyan Nechaev. [Afterwards he] left the service in dragoons’ regiment. From Ishimskaya Sloboda he arrived at Bersky fort of Kuznetsk County in 714 (ΨΔI). Paid an annual tax of 1 ruble. Assigned to Beloyarskaya fortress in the current 719th (ΨΘI) year. He has a wife, Anna Andreeva, female of forty years old, a son Vasily of thirteen years old, [and] a ten year old daughter Vasilisa. He plows the arable land and owns hay meadows in Beloyarsky district waste lands freely from the poll-tax and in all humility. (RSAAA. Coll. 350. Inv. 1. Item 214. Folios 70r–70v)

<sup>12</sup> Census list (‘skazka’) is a document created during a revision for the purpose of head taxation.

<sup>13</sup> Literally “attachment of hands”.

According to the census list, in 1719 Grigory Nechaev became a tax-exempt ('belomestnyi', literally '[plowing] white land') Cossack. These Cossacks did not receive emoluments from the State, but served for non-taxable land. The practice of recruitment in exchange for land was widespread at that time in the Beloyarsk fortress, where there were not enough people and the local authorities sought to increase the number of settlers (Bulygin 1974: 26–27, 32).

There is no doubt that Grigory Nochaev, mentioned in the inscription of the Mongolian manuscript folio from Linköping, and Grigory Nechaev, who according to the census book moved to Beloyarsk fortress in 1719, are the same person. Therefore, the word 'збошик' can be reconstructed as 'збо[р]шик', i.e., a person authorized to collect money or other valuables (taxes or donations, for example, to the church). The phrase ends with the verb 'принялъ', 'accepted'. However, the text does not allow us to clarify what in particular Grigory Nechaev accepted and where this event took place.

2. After the verb 'принялъ', 'accepted' on the right side of the middle line one can read 'провъ у казу (?)'. The word 'провъ' is read clearly and confidently, while the next word, on the contrary, remains rather unclear. Carin Davidsson translated this part as 'transporten (?) till khanen (?)' ('transported to the khan'). Such interpretation is clearly incorrect, as 'провъ' ends with the letter 'ъ'.

As an alternative, two hypothetical explanations of this least understood part of the inscription could be offered. First, one may agree with Carin Davidsson and consider this fragment as a continuation of the previous text part. In this case, the text can be interpreted as 'принялъ про[ти]въ указу', 'accepted in conformity with an order'. This reading coincides with the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> cc. language norms, when the adverb 'противъ' (which in modern Russian means 'against') was used in the sense of 'in conformity, according to' (Dal 1882: 539; Panin 1991: 129).

This interpretation will require the assumption that the scribe abbreviated the word and omitted two letters in spelling. This, as mentioned before, is rather uncommon for civil documents of the Petrine era. However, an abbreviation used in the text part 'Белоярской кре[по]сти' in the first line makes this assumption plausible.

Secondly, one may assume that this part of the middle line 'провъ у казу (?)' is unrelated to the previous text part. In this case, the readable first word can only be *Prov* (Petrovsky 1966: 183), a rare male Russian name, and the next two words remain unclear.

3. The third line includes a short phrase ‘Стоить град пустъ’, which translates to ‘A city<sup>14</sup> stands empty’.

This text part is unrelated to the fragment concerning Grigory Nechaev. At the same time, it appears to be connected with the folio’s provenance, of which the scribe was aware.

It is highly likely that one of the abandoned Buddhist monasteries of the Oirats could be referred to as ‘an empty city’. This fact is attested by a map of the Russian Empire published in Amsterdam in 1725, which marks the existence of ‘3 Villes desertes des Callmuckes’ (‘Three deserted cities of the Kalmyks’), namely ‘Ablaykyt’, ‘Bostachanky’t’, and ‘Otschurtchanky’t’ (fig. 2). Thus, an idea of an abandoned /empty city (town) was familiar to people in this area during the 1710s to 1720s, and it also held true for Sem Palat.



Fig. 2. Fragment of the anonymous map of the Russian Empire, printed in Amsterdam in 1725

Along with the proposed—rather simple and rational—version of the connection between the Russian inscription and the discovery circumstances of the Mongolian folio, the short phrase “A city stands empty” may have another explanation that leads us to the realm of the Russian folklore.

The folio of the Mongolian ‘golden’ Kanjur from Linköping is not the only folio with an inscription in Cyrillic script. Another one, brought from Ablai-kit and preserved in the collection of the IOM RAS, was published by Natalia Yampolskaya in (Baipakov et al. 2019:

<sup>14</sup> Or ‘a town’. The Russian word ‘grad, gorod’ does not differentiate between ‘a town’ and ‘a city’.



274–275). In the margin of the folio, one can see the Cyrillic inscription “Стоить Град на пути”, which translates a ‘A city stands on the way’, and above it, there are two letters ‘д’. As Yampolskaya rightly pointed out, “judging by the fact that the letter ‘д’ is inscribed twice separately from the sentence, one may assume the inscription as an exercise in handwriting” (ibid.).

The phrase, written by an unknown scribe, appears to be a quotation from the ancient Russian apocrypha “Conversation of the three hierarchs” (“Beseda trekh sviatitelei”), which is written in the form of riddles, questions, and answers. One of the riddles is as follows: “A city stands on the way, but there is no way to it; a mute ambassador goes, carries an unwritten letter, gives it to an illiterate to read”. The following answer is given: “The city is Noah’s ark, floating on the flood waters; the mute ambassador is a pure dove; the unwritten letter is an olive branch, brought to Noah’s ark; the illiterate one is Noah the righteous”.

The above-mentioned biblical riddle about Noah’s ark and the dove was included in the early versions of “Conversation of the three hierarchs” (Lurie 1988: 91) and became widely spread in Russian literature in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Mochulsky 1893: 144–150). Over time, the opening phrase of the Noah’s ark riddle was replaced; for instance, in one 17<sup>th</sup> century manuscript called “Azbukovnik” (‘Alphabet’), the following beginning is attested: “A city stands empty, but there is no way to it...” (Otchet Imperatorskoi Publichnoi biblioteki 1885: 199–201). This version of the old riddle could have been written down by a Russian scribe in the margin of OL 3.

It is evident that this folio was presented to Benzelius not by Renat, but by one of the Swedish officers released from their Siberian exile after the end of the Great Northern War (1700–1721). It is to be hoped that the name of the donor of the folios to Linköping will be ascertained in the future. Currently, Philipp Strahlenberg appears to be a plausible candidate.

From one of his letters to Benzelius, we learn that Strahlenberg sent him the Tibetan manuscript found near the Yenisei river<sup>15</sup> that he published in his book (Strahlenberg 1730: Tab. I), not as a gift but as an object of study, that had to be returned: “Finally, I would like to conclude with a piece of writing that holds particular significance for me; it was discovered near the Yenisei River and the desert valley, above Krasnoyar[sk] in an old stone building; I kindly request that you

<sup>15</sup> The folio was acquired by Daniel Messerschmidt, the first scientific explorer of Siberia, from Ivan Nashivoshnikov in Krasnoyarsk. Presumably, Messerschmidt presented it to Strahlenberg, who participated in his Siberian expedition during 1721–1722 (see Zorin 2015: 171–173).

make a copy of it and return the original to me, as I do not have time for this and hold a strong desire to retain the original, as I possess only one copy of its kind”.<sup>16</sup> In the same letter, he promised Benzelius to send “some of the Kalmyk writings afterwards, on [another] occasion”.<sup>17</sup> Thus, it is quite plausible that he sent some folios from the Oirat monasteries to Benzelius without asking for their return since he had about a dozen of them.<sup>18</sup> It is also worth noting that Benzelius acquired three individual folios of varying types, which suggests intentional selection—perhaps by someone with academic interests.<sup>19</sup>

Among these three folios, the one with Tibetan text on black paper (OL 4) and the one with Mongolian text on white paper (OL 5) were brought from Ablai-kit. The folio with the Mongolian text on blue paper (OL 3) seems to have been brought from Sem Palat, because Ablai-kit was found by Russians no earlier than at the end of 1720 (more probably, in the first half of 1721), while the inscription was made in July 1720.

The mention of the Beloyarskaya fortress in the inscription is noteworthy in connection with Strahlenberg. He joined Daniel

<sup>16</sup> In German: “[Z]u letz schließe noch hiebey an, mir sonderliche ahrt schriff, die am Jenisei Strohme und der wüsteneÿ dahin, oberhalb Crasnoÿjahr in ein alt steinern Gebeude gefunden worden, ich wolte aber bitten sie abcopyren zu laßen, und solche zurück zu senden, weil nicht die Zeit dazu habe; und daß Original selbst gerne behalten möchte, da ich nur ein exemplar von der Sorte habe”. The letter is kept in Linköpings stadsbibliotek: Eric Benzelius den yngres arkiv. Brev till Eric Benzelius. E005/Br 10, Vol. 8, brev 47: 21.04.1724. It was reproduced and transcribed in Lehfeldt et al. 2021, the quoted fragment on pp. 127, 140.

<sup>17</sup> In German: “[V]on denen Calmackschen schriffen werde nach diesen und bey gelegenheit einige übersenden”; see Lehfeldt et al. 2021: 127, 139.

<sup>18</sup> Introducing his publication of the Tibetan folio brought from a Tuvan temple in mountains near the Yenisei river, he wrote about the manuscripts found in Siberia: “Such writings are already known in Europe and have been published, engraved on copper, by the highly respected and erudite Mr. Court Councilor Mencke in the ‘Acta Eruditorum’. I could add to them at least 10 or 12 other examples if I were not afraid of significant expenses. I have given these writings, at various times, to dear friends”. (Solche aber, weil sie bereits in unsern Europa bekant, und durch den Hoch-Edelgebohrnen und Hochgelerten Herrn Hof-Rath Mencken in den actis Eruditorum in Kupfer gestochen heraus gegeben worden, zu welchen, wenn ich nicht die vielen Unkosten gescheut, wenigstens ein 10. oder 12. Stück hinzu thun können; Die ich aber guten Freunden in ihre Cabinette hin und wieder verehret) (Strahlenberg 1730: 312). In this passage, it is not clear whether “10 or 12 other examples” consisted of the folios found in the Irtysh region or if they also included folios found near the Yenisei.

<sup>19</sup> A similar collection of folios passed by Baron Rehbinder to G. Bayer and held now at the Glasgow University Library also comprises three types of folios (the Tibetan one is different from what is found in Linköping). However, one type, with the Mongolian text on white paper, is represented with two sheets. This might indicate that Rehbinder either presented all the folios he possessed or that he had more folios of the latter type.

Messerschmidt's Siberian expedition in March 1721 and maintained its diary until their parting in late May 1722. In two records made in Tomsk, where Strahlenberg stayed without Messerschmidt, there are mentions of certain manuscripts:

"3. August 1721. <...> I was with a cornet today named Wrangell. In his quarters was a fellow from the countryside and from the Berd river area. He had two writings, found near Bikatun. I wanted to buy them, but he would not let me have them. Instead, he said he wanted to give them to the Commandant";

"12. August 1721 <...> I was at Mr. Commandant's today, thanked him for the horse, reminded him about the Kalmyk writings. He said: Yes, he had received them, and gave me one on blue paper, which, as he said, was Chinese script, but which I consider to be Tangut. He mentioned that he had sent the others to Chaussky [fortress] to Kruglikov for them to be read. If he were to get them back, I should also have those".<sup>20</sup>

It is highly tempting to speculate that both entries refer to the same writings, even though the first one mentions two pieces (without identifying their script) while the second one indicates more than two: one plus "the others". If it is true that Strahlenberg obtained one or more Kalmyk/Tangut manuscripts brought from Bikatun (presently, Biysk in the Altay region of Russia), which was closely associated with the Beloyarskaya fortress, we have an intriguing combination of facts:

- there were two Kalmyk/Tangut folios brought from Bikatun,<sup>21</sup> both or one of them acquired by Strahlenberg;
- Strahlenberg was a correspondent of Benzelius and sent to him in Linköping some items he had brought from Siberia;
- one of the folios preserved in Linköping has the Russian inscription that mentions Grigory Nechaev from the

<sup>20</sup> "3. August 1721 <...> Ich war heute bei einen Kornett namens Wrangell. In dessen Quartier war ein Kerl vom Lande und vom Berd'-Strom her. Der hatte zwei Schriften, so bei Bikatun gefunden. Ich wollte sie kaufen, aber er wollte sie mir nicht lassen, sondern sagte, er wollte sie an dem Kommandanten geben"; "12. August 1721 <...> Ich war heute beim Herrn Kommandanten, dankte ihm wegen des Pferdes, erinnerte ihm wegen der kalmakschen [kalmückischen] Schriften. Er sagte: Ja, er hätte sie bekommen, und gab mir eines auf blau Papier, welches, [wie] er sagte, kitaische [chinesische] Schrift wäre, so ich aber vor [für] Tangutisch halte. Die andern, sagte er, hätte er nach Čausskij [ostrog] an Kruglikov gesandt, umb solche lesen zu lassen. Wenn er sie zurückbekäme, sollte ich solche auch haben" (Messerschmidt 1962: 121, 124).

<sup>21</sup> If the record from August 3, 1721, means the same "Kalmyk" manuscripts as those mentioned in the record from August 12, it is hardly possible that they were actually *found* near Bikatun, even though the Dzungars claimed the territory where this fortress was established as theirs. It is more plausible that the folios were brought to Bikatun either directly from Sem Palat or/and Ablai-kit or from another place where they could have been first brought from the abandoned monasteries.

Beloyarskaya fortress.

It does not necessarily mean that Benzelius was presented the Tibetan and Mongolian folios by Strahlenberg or that OL 3 was one of the two folios from Bikatun, but both assumptions are plausible.

As a matter of fact, OL 3 has one more inscription, in the upper left margin of the recto side (fig. 2). It is one line of signs written in black ink. The script remains unidentified. It does not look like any European script. Our main hypothesis is that it is an imitation of a certain Oriental writing. Since it might have been brought by Strahlenberg, we tried to read it as an imitation of one of the scripts he and the head of the expedition, Daniel Messerschmidt, encountered during their travel.



Fig. 3. OL 3: the unidentified inscription on the recto side: the first two pictures (from left) are cut off from the picture of the entire folio provided by the Linköping City Library in 2021, and the last was made by Alexander Zorin on his phone during his visit to the Library in August 2023: taken from an angle, it shows more clearly the lower part of the inscription

It has a certain similarity with Runic signs or petroglyphs published by Strahlenberg in his book (Strahlenberg 1730: Tab. V, XI et al.). However, their comparison made by our colleague Alla Sizova in 2021 did not show any *convincing* similarity. It appears to be more promising to see in this inscription an attempt to imitate various elements of Mongolian script, not entire lexical units but separate letters. However, this is not completely convincing either; any element

in the inscription can find an equivalent in Mongolian script, even though in distorted way. A person without any knowledge of Mongolian calligraphy could easily commit such distortions. Nevertheless, we would be happy if somebody finds a more satisfactory explanation of this inscription.

### *The edition of the folios*

#### 1. The Tibetan folio OL 4 (fig. 4–5)

This is one of 250 identified folios that used to belong to a set of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon from the library of Ablai-kit.<sup>22</sup> It lacks most of the edges, which were most probably cut off by locals in South Siberia for practical use. Moreover, the extant fragment has numerous losses, including a rather big one in the lower left corner. These losses were compensated for by somebody (perhaps in Europe) with paper repairs that were also colored black to match the background of the text area. Notably, in three places, the paper appears to have been damaged before the scribe wrote the text, as they coincide with blanks: at the end of the first line on the recto side, and at two spots in the first line on the verso side. The folio shows traces of folding, reminiscent of the way these folios were often scrolled by their new European possessors.

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<sup>22</sup> They are kept in the following institutions: the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg (202 and a half\*), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (11 and a half\*\*), the British Library, London (10), the Uppsala University Library (11), the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg (3), the Lund University Library (3), the Franckesche Stiftungen, Halle (3), the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (2), the Kassel University Library (1), the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (1), the Linköping Stadsbibliotek (1), the Etnografiska Museet, Stockholm (1). To this number a drawing copy of one more folio preserved in Lund should be added. For more details, see the appendix to the paper by A. Zorin and Ch. Ramble in this issue of RET.

\* and \*\* These two halves comprise one folio.



Fig. 4-5. OL 4 (Linköping City Library)

According to the marginalia, the folio belonged to vol. Kha of the *Khri brgyad pa* section of the Bka' 'gyur that consists of one large text: *Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa khri brgyad stong pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (*Āryāṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-nāmamahāyānasūtra*). The number of the folio was either 315 or 318.<sup>23</sup> It contains text that corresponds with the following fragment of the modern critical editions of the canon: Bka' 'gyur dpe bsdur ma, vol. 31: 221<sup>(4)</sup>–223<sup>(9)</sup>. The text is written in silver ink on black paper.

A diplomatic edition of the text is presented below; it follows the same principles as specified in Appendix 2 of the paper by Zorin, Turanskaya, Helman-Ważny in this issue of RET.

Recto kha\_\_suṃ·brgya·bco·[??]

@#ḡ   __   rnam·par·bya[ng·ba]r'gyur·ba' am   'gro·ba·lnga'i·'khor·ba·na·gdags·pa'i· <sup>1</sup> dngos·po·gang·yang·ma·mchis·lags·so     bka'·stsal·pa   rab'byor·de[·lta·cho]s·thams·cad· <sup>2</sup> kyi·chos·kyi·tshul· <sup>3</sup> [__ (?)]legs·	1
par·rtogs·pa·yi·n·no     de·nas·bcom·ldan' das·la·tshe·dang·ldan·ba·rab'byor·kyis' di·skad·ces·gsol·to     bcom·ldan' das·ci·gzugs·thams·cad·de·bzhi·g[sheg]s·pa'i·sprul·pa·lta·bu·lags·sa[?]m   tshor·[ba·tha]ms·ca[d]	2
dang; 'du·shes·thams·cad·dang   _'du·byed·thams·cad·dang   rnam·par·shes·pa·thams·cad·kyang·de·bzhi·n·gshegs·pa'i·sprul·pa·lta·bu·lags·sam   bka'·stsal·pa   <sup>4</sup> rab'byor·gzugs·thams·cad·ni·d[e]·bzhi·n·gshegs_	3
pa'i·sprul·pa·lta·bu·yin·no     tshor·ba·thams·cad·dang   'du·shes·thams·cad·dang   'du·byed·thams·cad·dang   rnam·par·shes·pa·thams·cad·kyang·de·bzhi·n·gshegs·pa'ci·sprul·pa·lta·bu·yi·n·no     gsol·pa   bcom·ldan' das·gal	4
te·thams·cad·spul·pa·lta·bu·lags·na[   _]sprul·pa·la·ni·gzugs· <sup>5</sup> ma·mchis   tshor·ba·ma·mchis   'du·shes·ma·mchis   'du·byed·rnams·ma·mchis   rnam·par·shes·pa·ma·mchi·s   kun·nas·nyon·mongs·pa·ma·mchis   [rna]m·par·byang	5
[ba·ma·mchi]s·shing   gang·las·sem[s]·can·[rnam]s·yongs·su·thar·par·bgyi·ba'ci·'gro·ba·_lnga'i·'khor·ba·yang·ma·mchis·lags·na   'o·na·ji·lta·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po'i·skyes·bu'i·mth[u]r'gyur·lags	6
[bcom·lda]n' das·kyis·bka'·stsal·pa   ra[b·]'byo[r·]'di·ji·snyam·du·sems   byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·pos·sngon·	7

<sup>23</sup> The final syllable of the number is illegible but the variant 'bco' can be used only with 'lnga' or 'brgyad'.

byang·chub·sems·dpa'i·spyad·pa·spyod·pa·na   gang·sems·can <sup>6</sup> dmyal·ba'·am   dud'·gro'i·skye·gnas·	
[sam   g]shin·rje'i'·jig·rten'·am <sup>7</sup>   mi'am·lha·dag·las·yongs·su· thar·bar·bya·ba'·i·sems·can'·ga'·yang·dmigs·snyam'·am <sup>8</sup>   gsol· ba·bcom·ldan'·das·de_·ni·ma·lags·so     bka'·stsal·pa   rab·[byor· de·]d[e·bzhin]	8

Notes: <sup>1</sup> gda' ba'i; <sup>2</sup> rnam; <sup>3</sup> P: +la; <sup>4</sup> NZh: —; <sup>5</sup> Y: bzugs; <sup>6</sup> Y: —; <sup>7</sup> nam; <sup>8</sup> NCUZh: mam.

Verso

[no     de·de·bzhin]·te   ___byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·d[pa]'· chen·pos:;(gang·kham)s·gsum·nas[·]yongs·su·thar·par·bya·ba'·i· sems·___can'·ga'·yang·mi·dmigs·so     de·ci'i·phyir·zhe·na   'di· ltar·des·chos·thams·cad·sgyu·ma·lta·bu	1
[dang   sprul·pa·lta·]bur·shes·shi·ng·mthong·la·rnam·par·rig·pa'i· phyir·ro     gsol·pa   bcom·ldan'·das+gal·te·byang·chub·sems· dpa'·sems·dpa'·ch[e]n·pos·chos·thams·cad·sgyu·ma·lta·bu·dang·   sprul·pa·lta·bur'·tshal·ci·ng· <sup>9</sup> mtho·ng	2
[la·rnam·par·rig]·lags·na   _byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen· po <sup>10</sup> ·gang·gi·don_·du·pha·rol·tu·phyin·pa:;(drug)dang   bsam· gtan·bzhi·dang   tshad·med·pa·bzhi·dang   gzugs·med·pa'i·snyoms· par_·jug·pa·bzhi·dang   byang·chub	3
[kyi·phyogs·kyi·cho]s·sum·bcu <sup>11</sup> ·rtsa·bdun·[dang   ]byang·chub· kyi·lam·la·spyod·ci·ng·sangs·rgyas·kyi·zhi·ng·yongs·su·dag·par· bgyid·pa·dang   sems·can·rnam·yo·ngs·su·smin·par <sup>12</sup> ·bgyid·lags   de·skad·ces·gsol·pa·dang   bcom·ldan_	4
[das·]ky[i]s·tsh[e]·dang·ldan·ba·rab'·byor·la'·d[i]·skad·ces·bka'· stsal·to     rab'·byor·gal·te·sems·can·rnam·rang·rang·gis <sup>13</sup> ·chos· thams·cad·rmi·lam·lta·bu·dang   sprul·pa·lta·bur·shes·su·zin·na· ni   byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sem·s	5
dpa'·chen·po·yang·sems·can·rnam·kyi·don·du·bskal·pa·grangs· med·par·   byang·chub·sems·dpa'i·spyad·pa·mi·spyod·pa·zhig· na   rab'·byor'·di·ltar·sems·can·rnam·rang·rang·gis·chos·thams· cad·rmi·lam·lta·bu·dang   sprul·pa·lta·b[u]r	6
mi·shes·te;de'i·phyir·byang·chub·sems·dpa'·sems·dpa'·chen·po· bskal·ba·grangs·med·par·pha·rol·tu·phyi·n·pa·drug·la·spyod· ci·ng·   sems·can·rnam·yongs·su·smin·pa[r·bye]d   sangs·rgyas· kyi·zhi·ng·yongs·su·dag·pa[r·]byed·do     de·nas_	7
bcom·ldan'·das·la·tshe·dang·ldan·ba·rab'·byor·gyis'·di·skad·ces· gsol·to     bcom·ldan'·das·gal·te·chos·thams·cad·rmi·lam·lta·bu· dang   __mig·[y]or·lta·bu·dang   [sgyu·]ma·lta·bu·dang   smi·g·	8



sgyu. <sup>14</sup> lta·bu·dang·   sprul·pa·lta·bu·lags·na	
------------------------------------------------------------	--

Notes: <sup>9</sup> zhing; <sup>10</sup> DU: pos; <sup>11</sup> cu; <sup>12</sup> YP: pa; <sup>13</sup> DYPLNCZh: gi; <sup>14</sup> rgyu.

## 2. The Mongolian folio OL 3 (fig. 6–7)

This is a fragment of the so-called ‘golden’ Kanjur;<sup>24</sup> this folio became known to the academic community as ‘Codex Renatus Lincopensis’.

J. Rohnström managed to discover a faint photograph of the fragment in the collection of Birger Mörner (1867–1930), a Swedish diplomat, traveler, and writer. In a letter dated April 19, 1880, a well-known French Mongolist and Tibetologist, Léon Feer (1830–1902), mentioned that he obviously made the first draft translation of the fragment on Strindberg’s request. L. Feer characterized it in the words “la traduction n’est pas un chef-d’œuvre” (“the translation is not a masterpiece”) and added that “il y a, dans les traités bouddhiques, nombre de passages comme ceux-ci, où le bizarre le dispute à l’obscur” (“in the Buddhist treatises there are numerous passages like these, where the bizarre contends with the obscure”) [Rohnström, 1971: 300].

<sup>24</sup> For more details about these Kanjur folios, see Alekseev, Turanskaya, Yampolskaya 2016: 89–91; Baipakov et al. 2019: 263–269. The question of their origination—Sem Palat vs Ablai-kit—is briefly discussed in the paper by Zorin, Turanskaya, Helman-Ważny in this issue of RET.

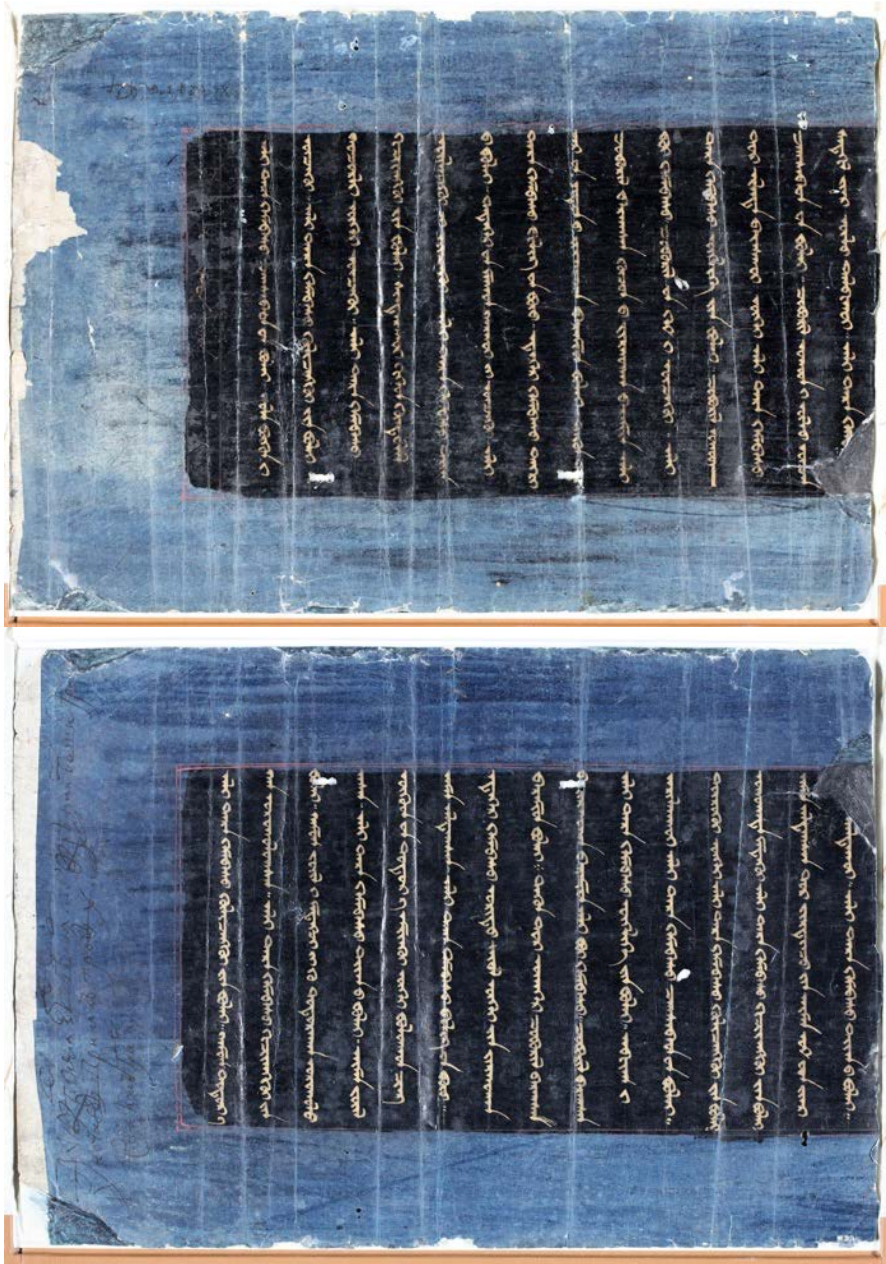


Fig. 6-7. OL 3 (Linköping City Library)

The facsimile published along with Rohnström's article allowed W. Heissig to edit the text fragment eight years later [Heissig 1979: 201]. However, it contained multiple misreadings, and text identification was not provided.

The folio is incomplete, with the right part missing (13–16 lines are missing). The text is written in golden ink on indigo blue paper. As another translation of the text was included in the Beijing block print edition of Mongolian Kanjur (BK) and the corresponding version in the St. Petersburg manuscript Kanjur (PK) differs significantly, the missing text fragment could not be reconstructed properly.

*Volume marker:* Tib. ka, Mong. eldeb. *Foliation:* 109 (ṣayun yisün).

Skt. Āryabhadrakalpikanāmamahāyānasūtra, Tib. 'Phags pa bskal pa bzang po pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, Mong. Qutuḡ-tu sayin čaḡ-un neretü yeke kölgen sudur.<sup>25</sup>

*For collation:* BK: eldeb, ka, 99a–100a; D: mdo sde, ka, 84a<sup>(1)</sup>-85b<sup>(2)</sup>.

A diplomatic edition of the text is presented below; it follows the same principles as specified in Appendix 1 of the paper by Zorin, Turanskaya, Helman-Ważny in this issue of RET.

#### Recto

ali tere kemebesü čaḡsabad-un bolai: olan bükün-i	1
üjeküi: ali tere kemebesü küličenggüi-yin bolai:	2
qočorli ügei üjeküi: ali tere kemebesü	3
kičiyenggüi-yin bolai: sintaraqı kiged kündülel	4
üiledküi-yi üjeküi ali tere kemebesü diyan	5
-u bolai: tedeger-ün mayad ḡarqui-yi üjeküi: ali	6
tere kemebesü bilig-ün buyu: edeger kemebesü tngri	7
-ner-ün nidün-ü ḡırḡuḡan baramid bolai: tegün-tür	8
čuburil baraysan küčün-ü ḡırḡuḡan baramid ali	9
bui kemebesü: čuburil-un gem-i üjeküi: ali	10
tere kemebesü öglige-yin bolai: čuburil-nuḡud	11
-tur ilete bayasqui ügei ali tere kemebesü	12
čaḡsabad-un bolai: čuburil-nuḡud-i ülü üjen	13
sedkil-iyer ülü talbıqui: ali tere ke[mebesü ***]	14

#### Verso

ali tere kemebesü küličenggüi-yin bolai: qamuḡ dotor-a	1
-qan oroyuluḡsan: ali tere kemebesü kičiyenggüi-yin	2
bolai: qamuḡ jüil-i medegči-yi kü dotoraqan oroyulu	3
ḡsan: ali tere kemebesü diyan-ü bolai: naiman jüil	4

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Kasyanenko 1993: No. 615; Ligeti 1942–1944: No. 849; Hackett 2012: No. 111.

nököd-ün dotor-a emiyeküi ügei boluyad čing	5
aman aldayсан: ali tere kemebesü bilig-ün buyu:	6
edeger kemebesü uridu ayul ügei-yin jiryuyan	7
baramid bolai :: tegün-tür üneger uburil baraysan	8
-u jiryuyan baramid ali bui kemebesü: čuburil baraysan	9
ali tere kemebesü öglige-yin bolai: abiyay(=abiyas)-i	10
arilyaqui ali tere kemebesü čaysabad-un bolai:	11
töröküi ügei ali tere kemebesü küličenggüi-yin bolai:	12
oγoγata medeküi ali tere kemebesü kičiyenggüi-yin bolai:	13
aman aldayсан-tur yirtinčü-yin naiman nom-ud-iyar	14
[ülü] qaldaqui: ali tere kemebesü diyan-u bolai: [***]	15

### 3. The Mongolian folio OL 5 (fig. 8–9)

This is a complete folio of one of the two sets of the ‘Black’ Kanjur set from Ablai-kit; Yampolskaya refers to it as Ms. 1. The text is written with black ink on plain white paper.<sup>26</sup> In the margin on the reverse side of the folio there is a later note in pencil “*Mongoliska Manchuriska*”.

#### The edition of the folio.

*Volume marker:* Tib. ga, Mong. olan sudur. *Foliation:* 102 (jaγun qoyar). *Working foliation:* 15 (arban tabun).

Skt. Āryalalitavistarānāmamahāyānasūtra, Tib. ‘Phags pa rgya cher rol pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo, Mong. Qutuγ-tu aγui yekede čenggeksen neretü yeke kölgen sudur.<sup>27</sup>

*For collation:* BK: eldeb, k’a, 117a–118a; D: mdo sde, kha, 80a<sup>(3)</sup>–82a<sup>(2)</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> More details see in Yampolskaya 2015; Baipakov et al. 2019: 269–275.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Kasyanenko 1993: No. 617; Ligeti 1942–1944: No. 850; Hackett 2012: No. 112.



Fig. 8-9. OL 5 (Linköping City Library)

A diplomatic edition of the text is presented below; it follows the same principles as specified in Appendix 2 of the paper by Zorin, Turanskaya, Helman-Ważny in this issue of RET.

Recto

@ nüken yarču : edüged-tür ber sumun-u quduy	1
kemegdekü bolai : tere çay-tur jayun mingyan tngri kümün	2
-nügüd ay-a yayiqamsiy kemen {nügüd} ügüleldüged :	3
jayun mingyan çokilduqu inegeldüküi dayun yarbai :	4
sakyaliy saky-a-lig-ud-un qamuç çiyulyan ber	5
yayiqamsiy tangsuç-i öljü : ai yayiqamsiy bolai: ene	6
kemebesü surbasu ber suruça edüküy-e kücü-ber medekü	7
ene metü tegüsüksen kemebesü yeke yayiqamsiy kü bolai :	8
kemen ügüleldübei : oytarçui-yin töb-tür bükü	9
tngri-ner-ün köbegüd ber : sudadani qaçan kiged	10
olangki irgen oryon-u <sup>28</sup> tedeger çiyulyan-tur eyin	11
kemen ügülebei : tere metü yayun yeke yayiqamsiy bui :	12
tere yayun-u tulada kemebesü ene kemebesü yaçar-un	13
jirüken erten-ü burçan-u sayurin-tur sayuçad :	14
amurliysan numu-yi bariju bi ügei qoyosun sumud-iyar	15
nis-vanis-un dayisun-i daruçad üjelün toor-i tamtulju	16
{bu} bür-ün : kir ügei çasalang ügei amurliysan degedü	17
bodi qutuç-i oluyu :: teyin kemen ügüleju : tedeger	18
tngri-ner-ün köbegüd bodisung-tur tngri-ner çecög-üd	19
-i ilete saçuçad jorçibai : tegünçilen kü qarayıqu-yi	20
kiged üsüg yar-un toç-a sanaya toçalaqui bökes-ün	21
barilduqui : qolada-ça onoqui orolduqui kinaqui	22
umbaqaqui qarbaqu qaçan(=jaçan)-u küjügün-tür unuqui :	23
mörin-tür bisiyu bolqu-yi : tergen-ü arç-a numu sumu	24
arç-a : orosingçui kücün auç-a baçaturqaqui :	25
qadqulduqui quç-a-bar qubilçaqui arç-a alm-a-yin	26
arç-a uruysiban olduriqu qoyisiban çoyuriqu-yi	27
kelberiküi barilduqui alququi üsün jayidqui oçtalqu	28
tamtulqui jançiqui ebdeküi qaçalqui aldal ügei onoqui :	29

Verso

{ki} amin-tür onoqui sonosdaqui-aça onoqui	1
küçütüy-e onoqui sintaran (=sitar-a)-u naçadun jokis-tu ayaçu	2
-yi nayiraçulqu-yi mör juraç öngge öngge-yin üiles	3
arç-a-yi onoqui çalun üiles küg dayun-u egisiç :	4
büjig quçur : çoyur üsüg uriqui nidün sirteküi	5
kelelçeküi : inegeküi naçadqui tebseküi üjügürgeküi :	6
erikes kelkiküi degigür-iyer degiküi : buduç-iyar erdenis	7

<sup>28</sup> The Mongolian word oryon ‘people’ is most often used in Middle Mongol and Preclassical Written Mongol as an element of the compound.

qubilyaqui	
buduγ-iyar torγan qubilyaqui : nidün	8
qubilayaqui : jegüdün-ü belge-yi onoqui : sibayun-u	9
kelen : em-e-yin sinji er-e-yin sinji : jayān-u sinji : mörin	10
-ü sinji : üker-ün sinji : qonin-u sinji : imayān-u sinji :	11
noqai-yin sinji : belgetey-e medeküi dayun-i mayad barildu	12
γulqui : deger-e ayalyu qubilyaqui : balar erten-ü	13
üge : ved <sastir> vivangirid ögküi : mayad üge : üsüg-ün	14
kündü könggen : üge qubilyan-qui : takil öglige-yin	15
jang : odun-u toro(=törö): sangku <sup>29</sup> (?) -yin törö yogaçari-yin törö	16
üiles-ün ayimaγ : visasikin <sup>30</sup> -u törö : ed tavar-i	17
uqaqui : barayasabad <sup>31</sup> -yin törö : varuna-yin törö	18
asuri-yin törö : görögesün sibayun-u kelen : yukti <sup>32</sup> -yin	19
uqayan : enggesgen-ü onisun lab-iyar üiledküi : onoqu	20
-yi çoyulbir joriqu-yi : nabçin eskeküi : küji nayirayul	21
qui terigüten yirtinçü-yin küçün qubilyan-i tngri	22
kiged kümün-eçe deged bügüde-tür ber : bodisung	23
imayta ilangγuy-a übedegsi ülebei : tere çay-tur	24
{ted} tedeger sakiliγ öber-ün kübege ökin-ü bodisung	25
-tur ögbei sududani qayan ber tegün-i jergeber beride	26
abuyad bodisung-tur ögbei : tende bodisung	27
yirtinçü-tek-in-luγ-a adalidqan üiledküi-yin tula	28
da : naiman tümen dörben mingyan qatud-un dotor-a	29
sayuju : amaraldun jiryaldun sayitur yabuqui	30

## Conclusions

The three folios, one in Tibetan and two in Mongolian, preserved in the collection of the Linköping City Library, were brought from the two Oirat monasteries discovered in Southern Siberia in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century. Evidently, they were acquired by Erik Benzelius the younger, the director of the Linköping library and a Swedish encyclopedist with a keen interest in Russia and Central Asia.

One of the folios, Ol 3, became associated with a Swedish warrant officer Johan Gustaf Renat, due to Johan August Strindberg who tried to study it in the early 1880s and named it “Codex Rensus Lincopensis”. This version is not correct as becomes clear from the inscription in Russian cursive writing. It provides the date, July of

<sup>29</sup> Skt. sāmkhya. BK: toγatan.

<sup>30</sup> Skt. vaišeṣika.

<sup>31</sup> Skt. bṛhaspati.

<sup>32</sup> Skt. yukti, Tib. gtan tshigs; BK: nuta üge.

1720, and at that time Renat had been already taken by Dzungars deep inside the territory they controlled.

The inscription mentions a certain Grigoriy Nechaev, a collector of the Beloyarsk fortress, and the existence of such a person in the vicinity of this fortress in this period of time is testified by archival documents held in the RSAAA.

Perhaps, this folio might have been possessed by Philipp Strahlenberg who obtained, in August of 1721, one or two folios brought from Bikatun, a place related to the Beloyarskaya fortress. Strahlenberg was also a correspondent of Benzelius and sent him some of the artifacts he brought to Sweden from Siberia. However, no direct evidence that Benzelius obtained any Tibetan or Mongolian folios from Strahlenberg has been found so far.

Ol 3 also has another inscription, written in an unidentified script. Perhaps, it is an imitation of randomly selected elements of the Mongolian writing but this remains only an assumption.

Each of the three folios represent varying types of the folios brought from Sem Palat and Ablai-kit. Ol 3, the Mongolian folio on the blue paper, likely belonged to the Sem Palat library, while the Tibetan folio with text on black paper (OL 4) and the Mongolian folio with text on white paper (OL 5) were brought from Ablai-kit.

The edition of these folios continues series of publications of the fragments from the two Oirat monasteries scattered between a number of depositories.

### Abbreviations

BK	Beijing block print edition of Mongolian Kanjur
D	Derge (sde dge) block print edition of Bka' 'gyur
IOM RAS	Institute of Oriental manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences
PK	St. Petersburg manuscript Kanjur
RSAAA	Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts

### Bibliography

#### *Archival documents*

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