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# Comparative Studies on *the Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* and Other Mongolian Historical Sources (Before 1739)

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**Abstract:** Dharma Güüsi was not only a historian and translator but also an expert in sutra and tantra. He created works in Tibetan and Mongolian which he made available to the public. Although Güüsi wrote comprehensively about his homeland, Jaruud, in *The Golden Wheel with Thousand Spokes* (*Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig*), he did not include any biographical information, such as about his origin and lineage. Güüsi wrote many works on Mongolian history, traditional medical science, and sutra-tantra. Notable works include *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes*, *Merged yarqu-yin orun*, *Danjuur*, *Lhangtab*, *Onul namančilaqu-yin tayilburi gem-ün qarangquiyi arilyayči naran jula*, *Čoyta včir ayulyayči arban yurban burqantu-yin egüsgel-ün jerge-yi delgerenggüi nomlaysan sidi-yin sayin qumq-a kemekü orusibai*, and *Čindamani-yin sang*, written in Tibetan and Mongolian. Among these, *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* is a significant text in Mongolian history, written in Mongolian Script using a brush. There are three known versions of this work: the “Köke qota” version, the version held at the Institute of Oriental Studies St. Petersburg, Russia, and the original photographic version, held in Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark.

**Keywords:** golden wheel with thousand spokes; dharma; Mongolian historical source

## 1 Introduction

Among the sources of Mongolian language, literature, and history from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, many literary works have entered the sphere of research. Examples include *Asarayči neretü-yin teüke* by Jamba, *History of Dai Yuan State*, *Sir-a tuyuji*, *Bolur Erike* by Rasipungsuy, and *Erdeni-yin tobči* by Sagan Setsen.

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Among these, *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* is one such historical source that details the origin, biography, and affairs of Mongolian kings and provinces.

Most of the writings of that time were copied or cross-referenced with one other. A common structure was to first recount the history of the kings of India and Tibet, followed by the history of the kings of Mongolia. However, it is difficult to identify which source is the original and which is a copy, as some accounts differ significantly in their content.

The most valuable aspects of *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* as a historical source include its information about the origin of Mongolian provinces, the feudal titles during the Mongol Empire, and the government officials close to the Ligden Qutaytu qayan. For these reasons, some scientists consider it a valuable source for the study of Mongolian history.

From *Bolur Toli* by Rasipunsuy, we learn that *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* was an important point of reference for later Mongolian historians. This article aims to clarify some lesser-known Mongolian historical sources and examine how they were used.

*The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes*, as said, became an important point of reference for later Mongolian historians. It was one of the main sources of *Bolur Erike* by Rasipunsuy, who mentioned and quoted it extensively. Early manuscript copies also reference it, such as in a note written by Rasipunsuy: “I examined The Golden Wheel with Thousand Spokes written by Dharma Güüsi.”

Rasipunsuy also possessed another version of *The Golden Wheel with Thousand Spokes*, in which the title and the author’s name were altered. In his research on the sources of *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes*, the scholar Choiji found that the first four volumes/books of the Köke qota version were written by Sumadišila at the Köke Temple in Dolon Nuur in 1767, and the last two volumes/books were copied by another individual in 1770. Choiji also showed that the figure who Rasipunsuy didn’t name was Sumadišila – the Sanscrit version of the name of a monk named Luvsantsultim. According to the Mongolian *Danjuur*, Bichku Sumadišila translated *The Sanscrit Grammar* written by the ancient Indian scholar Panini.

## 2 Methodology

The methodology of this work comprised of a comparative textual study of *Erdeni-yin Tobči* by Sagan Setsen and *The Golden Wheel with Thousand Spokes* (Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig).

*Erdeni-yin Tobči*, written by Sagan Setsen Hun Taij, is one of the most widely translated and published Mongolian historical sources of the seventeenth century. Scholars have rightfully recognized it as one of the three major historical sources of

the Mongolian nation. Sagan Setsen Hun Taij, the twenty-second generation grandson of the Činggis Qayan and the third son of Batmunkh Dayan Qayan Barsbold, completed the work in 1662.

*Erdeni-yin Tobči* is divided into three main parts:

1. The origin of mankind and the universe
2. The ancestors of the Indian and Tibetan Khans/kings
3. The ancestors of the Mongolian Khans/kings

Dharma Güüsi incorporated the section on the origin of mankind and the universe into his work, *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* (*Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig*), and briefly included information about the ancestors of the Tibetan Khans/kings, both of which are also included in the *Erdeni-yin Tobči*.

Several stories appear in both texts, including: the dialogue between Boyurči and Tegüsgeŋ Ğuo-a; Činggis Qayan's decree; Mati Duaz, grandson of Saja Bandida, and his queen Čambui Ğuo-a, who arranged the consecration of Yadam and Khe Bazar during the reign of Qubilai sečen qayan; the succession of Chingim's son Öljejitü after the death of Öljejitü Qayan; the killing of Elbeg Nigүүлsegch Qayan by Ükegči Qasiqa and Batula činsan, a descendant of the Tayičiyuud; and the prayers offered in front of the eight white gers of Manduqai sečen qatun.

## 2.1 Comparative Textual Study of *Asarayči Neretü-yin Teüke by Jamba and the Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* (*Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig*)

*Asarayči Neretü-yin Teüke*, written by Jamba in 1677, is widely considered one of the foremost examples of seventeenth-century Mongolian historiography. Jamba carefully analyzed many Mongolian and Tibetan texts to complete his work, as shown in his quotations from the *Blue Book* (1476), a Tibetan historical source written by Shonnubal (1392–1481).

The growing influence of Buddhism in the late period led to a new trend in historical writing in the seventeenth century: linking the ancestry of the Mongolian kings to the Indian and Tibetan kings. However, in more recent times it has been subject to scholarly criticism for possibly distorting Mongolian origin stories.

When using historical documents, Jamba didn't copy them directly. Instead, he summarized their main ideas, and sometimes replaced or removed older terms.

In contrast, the scholar Perinlei<sup>1</sup> believed that *The Golden Wheel a Thousand Spokes* was not a compilation of earlier chronicles; he saw it as an original work, even though it borrows and changes parts of Dharma Güüsi's work.

The location of Činggis Qayan's death is also presented similarly in both texts. There are further similarities later in both works.

## 2.2 Comparative Textual Study of *Altan Tobči* by Luvsandanzan and *the Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* (*Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig*)

*Altan Tobči* by Luvsandanzan, written at the end of the seventeenth century or the beginning of the eighteenth century, is one of the most impressive historical sources and pieces of literature of its time. In terms of content, *Altan Tobči* follows the historical writing tradition of Indian, Tibetan, and Mongolian writers. Much of its content, such as its myths, teachings, and decrees, closely resemble earlier works. The main difference between *Altan Tobči* and *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* (*Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig*) by Dharma Güüsi is that the latter contains more detailed descriptions of the origin of the universe and mankind.

## 2.3 Comparative Textual Study of *Sir-a Tuyuji* and *the Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* (*Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig*)

The *Sir-a Tuyuji* was written using the *Asarayči Neretü-yin Teüke* as a source, with overlapping content between both texts. It is possible that *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* was also used as an additional source.

The text includes a number of interesting narratives, such as the account of the invasion of Tibetan, during the reign of Činggis Qayan; the invitation of Chara Lozava Anand Garbi, who established the religious regulations; the episode of Börtegeljin Sečen Qatun ceasing to offer gifts to Boyurči; and the report of the dialogue between Boyurči and Tegüsgen Guo-a by a slave, Mechin. Other accounts include the location of Činggis Qayan's death; the consecration of Yadam and Khe Bazar, given to the Mati Duaz, the grandson of Saja Bandida, and his queen Čambui Guo-a during the reign of

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<sup>1</sup> Byamba, *Asarayči neretü-yin teüke*, Orusil bičijü keblekü-dür beledkejü, tayilburi kigsen Peringlei, Monumenta Historica, Tom. II, Fasc. 4 (1960), 4 düger tal-a.

Khubilai Setsen qayan; the succession of Chingim's son Öljeitü following the death of Öljeitü Qayan; and the enthronement of Ligden Khutagt, as well as mentions of four foreign countries. However, none of these accounts are supported by sources that explain them in detail.

## 2.4 Comparative Textual Study of *Fangy-a-yin Urusqal* by Gombuḡab and *the Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* (*Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig*)

At the end of the text, a chronological history titled *Fangy-a-yin Urusqal* was completed in the third year of Nayirultu Töb, corresponding to 1725. It is a chronological history of the main traditional ethnicity of the Mongolian Khans and Kings. It is divided into two chapters, the first of which explores the succession of the Mongolian state's rulers, focusing on the Kiyads – the “Golden Line” descended from Chinggis Qayan. The second chapter explores the Chinggis Qayan's younger brothers, the domains of their descendants and successors, famous ministers in Mongolian history, and the administrative structure and general conditions of that period. Furthermore, in some Mongolian historical writings written during the Manch Qing period, Mongolian provinces were classified and marked for the first time in history. These sources not only influenced later historical writings but were also cited in original works.

## 3 Review and Literature

Dharma Güüsi, one of the educated lamas and scholars, was famous for his works during the eighteenth century. He mentioned in his epilogues of literature that he was born in the Jaruud headland; unfortunately, his origin and descent remain uncertain today. Until recently, the autobiography and works of Dharma Güüsi were only known to us through *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* (*Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig*) published by the German scholar Heissig and the researcher Choiji from the Institute of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia. However, research into Dharma Güüsi's life and work has increased in recent times.

Numerous scholars have studied *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* (1739) (*Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig*) and other written works by Dharma Güüsi. They have approached his works from various perspectives: history, culture,

literature, medical, and textual. Scholars such as Rasipunsuy,<sup>2</sup> Puchkovsky L. S.,<sup>3</sup> Heissig V.,<sup>4</sup> Zagchidsetsen,<sup>5</sup> Choiji,<sup>6</sup> Rahua Go,<sup>7</sup> Jigmed. B.,<sup>8</sup> Oyunbilig,<sup>9</sup> Morikava Tesuo,<sup>10</sup> Perlee. Kh,<sup>11</sup> Bira. Sh,<sup>12</sup> Tserensodnom. D,<sup>13</sup> Boldsaikhan. B,<sup>14</sup> Bayarsaikhan. D,<sup>15</sup> and Khaliun. L are among those who have contributed to this field.

During Dharma Güüsi's life, Buddhism was growing in popularity in Mongolia. Many monasteries and temples were built, and the number of monks and scholars was growing. At the same time, the printing of Buddhist texts was expanding rapidly.

Among the most significant cultural works of this period are *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes*, *Bolur Erike*, *Tangy-a-yin Urusqal*, and *Sir-a Tuyuji*. This period marked a turning point in Mongolian history, as the country was oppressed under the Manchu Ching Dynasty. The Jaruud headland belonged to Juu-Uda čiyul-yan, while the Üjümüčin headland belonged to Sili-yin yool čiyul-yan. Although Dharma Güüsi said he was born in Jaruud headland, some sources claim he was the first abbot (*Siregetü blam-a*) of the Yanzagan temple (*Injayan süm-e*) in the Üjümüčin headland. To fully understand his background, we must explore the history of the Jaruud and Üjümüčin headlands, as well as their monasteries and temples.

2 Rasipunsuy, *Bolur erike*, Koke-Öndür qaryuyulun tulyaba, Öbür mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a (1985a,b).

3 Пучковский, Л.С, *Монгольские Рукописи и ксилографы института Востоковедения (I)*. М.Л. с. 45–47 (1957).

4 Altan kürdün mingyan kigesütü bičig des Dharma (1739), Die Famillien-und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen, Teil I:16–18. Jahrhundert von Walther Heissig, Otto Harrassowitz-Wiesbaden (1959), 134–59.

5 札奇斯钦, 談蒙文史料“金輪千輔”. 蒙古史論叢(下冊, 学海出版社. 第1277–91 (1981) 页. 台湾.

6 Dharma, *Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü*, Čoyiji tul-yan qaričayulju tayilburilaba, Öbür mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a (1987).

7 Raqu-a, “Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü”-yin jökiyayči Dharm-a güüsi-yin tuqai sin-e suray, Öbür mongyol-un neyigem-ün sinjilekü uqayan, no. 69 (1994a,b): 54–57 duyar tal-a; Raqu-a, Го, *Injayan süm-e-yin teüken-dü qolbuydaqu qoyar darmadalha-yi kerkin il-yan üjekü asayudal-du*, Öbür mongyol-un neyigem-ün sinjilekü uqayan, no. 106 (2000): 23–28, duyar tal-a.

8 Jigmed, *Mongyol anayaqu uqayan-u teüke bolun surbulji bičig-ün sinjilege*, Liyooning-un Ündüsüten-ü keblel-ün qoriy-a, 151–52 duyar tal-a (2004).

9 乌云毕力格, “金轮千辅”所载扎鲁特蒙古, 西北民族大学学报(哲学社会科学版, 2011年, 第6期, 第15–23页).

10 森川哲雄. モソゴル年代記. 白帝社77ア史選書009, 白帝社, (2007), 388–408.

11 Perlee, *In the Issues of Historical Sources Related to Before the Mongolian Revolution* (1958).

12 Bira, *Studies on Mongolian history, culture and historic sources III* (2001).

13 Tserensodnom, *The Literature of Mongolian Buddhist religion* (Academy of Sciences, The Institute of Language and Literature, 1997), 39–44.

14 Boldsaikhan, *Buddhist Teachings and Sciences* (2003), 379.

15 Bayarsaikhan, *Mongolian sources related to XVII century* (2006).

To begin, we will examine the Yanzagan temple (*Injayan süm-e*) in the Üjümüčin headland and monasteries and temples in the Jaruud headland. Yanzagan temple belonged to the eastern and western Boros temples, located in Boros Jalan in the western Üjümüčin headland of Sili-yin yool čiyulyan. It was one of the “Six Headland Monasteries” that belonged to the Khan of the Manchu Dynasty, and was also known as the “Charity Nexus Monastery” (*Ögligetü barildulyatu keyed*). This temple stood on the bank of the Yanzagan zagastai river, among the five Khan Mountains, located in the woodlands of The Great Hyangan mountain pass in the present-day Shiliin Gol province. This site lies in the Western Üjümüčin headland, 105 km away southeast of the Balgar River (*Balyar yool*).

After the exaltation of the Mongolian paint print *Ganjuur* (*Tanjuur*), the great Buddhist sutra, in 1721, the Mongolian dwelling was built at *Aral-un jülge*, located between the Khujir and Narrow Rivers. This marked the founding of the temple, which was first called *Ganjuur Mound* (*Tanjuur dosi*). Later, in 1733, a small temple named *Bayankhoshuu* Temple (*Bayanqosiyu süm-e*) was built nearby, in a place known as *Ulgii Hua-Bayankhushuu* (*Ölgei qu-a Bayanqosiyu*). A tomb was also constructed at *Ganjuur Mound* (*Tanjuur dosi*). Further, the downstream section of the Zagastai River eventually became known as the Yanzagan River. Historical sources reveal that the temple was renamed Yanzagan Temple (*Injayan süm-e*) in 1745, and was expanded by many monks and saints from Mongolia and beyond. Among the visitors were Dharma Güüsi. According to the scholar Rahua Go, Güüsi was the first abbot (*Siregetü blam-a*) of the Yanzagan temple (*Injayan süm-e*). However, after studying the history of the Yanzagan temple, Rahua Go withdrew this claim.<sup>16</sup>

A Tibetan manuscript titled “The Lid of Three Years of the Ox of Yanzagan Temple” or “Temporal Wheel Sutra Exists (*Čay-un kürden-ü sudur orusibai*)” gave a detail in folio 8a, which roughly translates to “sacrificed continually to the Ganjur (*Tanjuur* idol).”

It is thought that the first Jangulin temple (*Jangüling süm-e*) was founded in the year of the Wooden Ox in Bayankhoshuu. Based on this, it is unlikely that Dharma Güüsi was the first abbot (*siregetü blam-a*) of the Yanzagan temple, as there is no detail of this in the records – there is only mention that he passed away at the age of 44, without specifying any dates.

If we consider that the expansion of the temple took place in 1745, Dharmadala (Dharm-a dala) must have been born in 1701, but this is inconsistent with the chronology of his written works. Oral tradition claims he lived till 70, which is more plausible.

<sup>16</sup> Raqu-a, “*Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü*”-yin *jokiyayči Dharm-a güüsi-yin tuqai sin-e suray*, *Öbür mongyol-un neyigem-ün sinjilekü uqayan*, no. 69 (1994a,b): 54–57, duyar tal-a.

We also could not find any evidence of Dharma Güüsi in the *Dangzi*, the religious history of the Yanzagan temple, which is a smaller sutra written in the Tibetan language. This means we cannot confirm that Dharma Güüsi actually was an abbot (*siregetü blam-a*) at Yanzagan Temple (*Injayan süm-e*). Making these kinds of assumptions only risks distorting the facts of his life.

Although there are no records in the monastery and temple history of the Jaruud headland, Dharma Güüsi is still considered a prominent figure of the region.

To date, seven of Güüsi's works have been found, translated, and published. However, there may be more that will be found in the future. His epilogues often include his name, under which he wrote his works.

When he conducted a comparative study on the sources as mentioned above, the scholar Choiji proved that the first four versions of the *Köke qota's* source were written in the Blue temple of Dolon Nuur in 1767 by Sumadišila. The next two versions were written by another person in the thirty-fifth year of Heaven's Goodness (1770), and they also confirmed<sup>17</sup> Sumadišila to be the man who wasn't mentioned by Rasipunsuy.<sup>18</sup>

In the Copenhagen source, Dharma Güüsi wrote his name twice, so we can be certain that he is author of *Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kegesütü*.

This means that during the Manchu Ching Dynasty in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Burinebadara, who lived in the northern headland of Qorčin's eastern region, transcribed it again. This shows that the source was preserved and circulated through manuscripts at that period.

This dictionary was published from 1741 to 1749 as part of the efforts to standardize terminology for translating the *Danjuur* (a canonical Tibetan treatise) into Mongolian.

This reveals who participated in the translation and editing, and the nature of their contribution.

*Lhangtab* is a medical text written by Tesrid Sanjaajamts, also known as *Additional Method*, translated from Tibetan into Mongolian by Dharma Güüsi in the twelfth year of Heaven's Goodness (1747). In this text, Dharma Güüsi clearly explains where, why, and how he translated the text. The xylograph version of the book was widely distributed.

It was stated that the *Onul namančilaqu-yin tayilburi gem-ün qarangqui-yi aril-yayči naran jula* is an explanatory sutra related to medicine and mantras, translated from Tibetan into Mongolian in the twenty-third year of Heaven's Goodness (1758).

<sup>17</sup> Dharma, *Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü*, Čoyiji tulyan qaričayulju tayilburilaba, Öbür mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a (1987), uduridqal ögüel-ün 19–23 duyar tal-a.

<sup>18</sup> Dharma, *Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü*, Čoyiji tulyan qaričayulju tayilburilaba, Öbür mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a (1987), uduridqal ögüel-ün 19–23 duyar tal-a.

This shows Dharma Guusi wrote the text between 1747 and 1748, and also explains where, when, how and by whom the work was written, with a biography dated to 1737.

Researchers Besüjinyou-a and Qurčabilig. N published an article titled “About *Chandmaniin San* (*Čindamani-yin sang*),” another autobiography of Neij toin (*neyiji toyin*). According to the translator Dharma, the temple was called “The inspirer splendor of the good fortune” (*Öljei qutuy-un čoy-i badarayuluyči töb*), and was located in the eastern headland of Jaruud, Juu-Uda čiyulyan (普照寺).

Looking back at the temple’s history, the “Temple of Pig” in Jaruud belonged to both of the western and eastern headlands of Jaruud. Most large gatherings were held there. In the twelfth year of *Nayiraltu töb* (1734) a new temple was built on the sunny side of Meir Mountain at the embankment of Öljeimören River and was named the center of “The inspirer splendor of good fortune” (*Öljei qutuy-un čoy-i badarayuluyči töb*).

Therefore, it can be presumed that Choijamts, the author of *Čindamani-yin sang*, was an abbot (*siregetü blam-a*) of the temple *Öljei qutuy-un čoy-i badarayuluyči süm-e* in the eastern headland, Juu-Uda čiyulyan.

In the 1990s, Raashdavaa wrote about the “Temple of Pig” in his article “Temple of Jirem.” He explained that the temple’s activity was followed<sup>19</sup> by the organizational model of Köke qota in western Tümed. During the 1730s, the governments of western and eastern Jaruud separated from the Qosiyuu temples, and the Tsorj Lama (*Čorji blam-a*) separated from the Temple of Pig and built another temple<sup>20</sup> behind the Ulziimurun River. This temple was located at the base of Meir Mountain in an area called Bart Zoo (*Bart juu*). At first, the temple was called Meir Khan but eventually due to sound changes it became known as Meyiren. The Meiren temple (*Meyiren süm-e*) was also called the Qosiyuu (headland) temple because the government of the Jaruud eastern headland held gatherings there.

It was also stated that the Tsorj Lama (*Čorji blam-a*) was the first to establish “The inspirer splendor of the good fortune” (*Öljei Qutuy-un čoy-i Badarayuluyči Töb*), which became the first incarnation of the Meiren (*Meyiren*) saint. As a result, Choijamts can be considered to have served as an abbot (*siregetü blam-a*) of the Meiren temple (*Meyiren süm-e*). Since the Meiren temple was established in 1734, it can be presumed that the abbot completed the *Čindamani-yin sang* three years later, in 1737.

<sup>19</sup> Khurelshaa, *The Monasteries of Jirem* (Cultural Publishing Committee, 1993), 39, 77.

<sup>20</sup> Altan-Orgil et al., *Encyclopedia of Mongolian Studies* (Public Publishing Committee, 2007).

## 4 Results

There are three versions of *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* (Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig<sup>21</sup>): the “Köke qota” version; the version held at the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg, Russia; and the original version published in image form stored in Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, where it remains today.

These versions all contain nine chapters across six volumes.

The first volume discusses a sacrificial poem, the creation of the organic and inorganic worlds and materials, the so-called three wise countries – India, Tibet, and Mongolia – and the succession of kings.

The second volume (the fifth chapter) tells the story of Činggis Khan, from birth to his rise to power.

The third volume (the sixth chapter) covers the sons of Činggis Khan (from Ögedei Qan till Ligden Qutaytu Qayan) and the political and religious affairs of the 20 kings who ruled the North Yuan State.

The fourth volume (the seventh chapter) notes the succession of Batmunkh Dayan qan, and the fifth volume (the eighth chapter) explores the descendants of Khasar, Bilgutei, Khachugin, and Otchigin.

The sixth volume (the ninth chapter) explores five foreign countries with five colors (White Korean, Black Tibetan, Blue Mongols, Yellow Sartuuls, and Red Chinese).

From the rest of the text, it is clear that Dharma Güüsi used historical sources such as *Erdeni-yin Tobči*<sup>21</sup> by Sagan Setsen, *Asarayči Neretü-yin Teüke*<sup>22</sup> by Jamba, *Altan Tobči*<sup>23</sup> by Luvsandanzan, *Sir-a Tuyuji*,<sup>24</sup> and *Fangy-a-yin Urusqat*<sup>25</sup> by Gombujab. In terms of historical events and legends, *Asarayči Neretü-yin Teüke*, *Sir-a Tuyuji*, and *Erdeni-yin Tobči* are very similar. Comparative studies also show that some people in these sources are referred to by different names. The most important parts of *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* as a historical source are the origins of Mongolian provinces, the feudal titles used during the Mongolian Empire, and the government officials close to the Ligden qutaytu qayan. As a result, the work is considered by some to be a priceless source for Mongolian historical research.

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21 “Qayad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobči,” Textology complex studies by Bayarsaikhan Magsarjav (pH.D), and edited by Professor Choimaa Sh (Sc.D) (2011).

22 *Asarayči neretü-yin teüke* by Jamba, transcribed from Mongolian script and footnote, explanation, and name list by D. Zayabaatar (pH.D). The series of Mongolian historic sources, Volume 9, NUM, CMS, SMLC.

23 “Altan tobči” by Luvsandanzan, introduction, and published by Academician Bira Sh.

24 *Sir-a tuyuji*, transcribed from Mongolian script with explanation and appendix by Shagdarsuren and Munkh-Uchral. The series of Mongolian historic sources, Volume 7, NUM, CMS, SMLC.

25 Gombujab, *Fangy-a-yin urusqat*, Čoyiji tulyan qaričayulju tayilburilaba, Öbür mongyol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a, 1981.

Based on comparative studies of all historical sources written before 1739, we can conclude that Dharma Güüsi used *Qayad-un Ündüsün-ü Erdeni-yin Tobči*, *Asarayči Neretü-yin Teüke* by Jamba, *Altan Tobči* by Luvsandanzan, *Sir-a Tuyuji*, and *Tangy-a-yin urusqal*.

From the epilogues of his works, we can determine that *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* was written in 1739, and we have also tried to study how other historical sources were used in it.

## 5 Conclusions

Although we couldn't find any information about Dharma Güüsi in the historical records of temples and monasteries in the Jaruud headland, he is considered a well-known figure from Jaruud. In some of his epilogues, he says he was born here. However, according to the literature mentioned earlier, his origin and ancestry remain uncertain. Despite this, his works still reveal much about him: he was not only a translator and historian but also a scholar of mysticism and had a strong command of the Tibetan and Mongolian languages. Although he wrote in detail about Jaruud in his work, he did not leave any autobiographical information. In conclusion, we make the following points:

First, while descendants of the dignitaries of Jaruud and Üjümüčin are mentioned in works such as *Iledkel Sastir*, Dharma Güüsi is not. Some historians and translators of the time often wrote their names in Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Mongolian, but no evidence has been found for him. His name appears as Dharma in Sanskrit, Chojjamts (Čoyijamtsa) in Tibetan, and Nomuundalai in Mongolian. According to his works, he was not a secular person; he was a well-known monk. If he had started as a monk and later became secular, there should be historical records regarding his titles and inheritance, but there are none.

Second, not only is Dharma Güüsi's autobiography unclear, but there is also the issue of the history of temples and monasteries of Jaruud, the western headland of Juu-Uda čiyulyan, and the abbots (*siregetü blam-a*) of these temples and monasteries.

We also cannot claim, without evidence, that Dharma Güüsi lived in the Jaruud headland and was the first abbot (*siregetü blam-a*) of the Yanzagan temple in the Üjümüčin headland. Therefore, previous conclusions such as "He was the first abbot (*siregetü blam-a*) of the Yanzagan temple" must be re-considered.

Third, if we consider that he was the abbot (*siregetü blam-a*) of the temple called "The inspirer splendor of the good fortune" (*Öljei qutuy-un čoy-i badarayuluyči süm-e*), as mentioned in *Čindamani-yin sang* written by Dharma Güüsi, then we must study again not only his autobiography and historical documents but also the biographies of other well-known eighteenth-century scholars.

Fourth, scholars of every generation have recorded the histories of their countries based on facts and earlier works. The first historical texts were passed down orally, and later written down in many versions, as can be seen from the first part of *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Since the thirteenth century, Mongolians have had a strong tradition of written historical records, and later historians copied earlier sources. One such example of this is *The Golden Wheel with a Thousand Spokes* (Altan Kürdün Mingyan Kigesütü Bičig) by Dharma Güüsi.

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