

# WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

2019  
(2)



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# WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

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2019 (2)

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Alexander Zorin,  
Alla Sizova

**On the History of the Formation and Processing  
of the Collection of the Tibetan Texts  
from Khara-Khoto Kept at the IOM, RAS\***

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*Abstract:* The Tibetan manuscripts and block prints from Khara-Khoto that were passed to the Asiatic Museum with other texts brought by P.K. Kozlov from his Mongolia and Sichuan Expedition have been insufficiently studied. Their processing was initiated in the second half of the 1960s and continued in the Post-Soviet period. The collection of the Tibetan Texts from Khara-Khoto, according to our analysis, included a number of documents from other sources. Trying to understand why it took place, we looked for and found some archival documents that shed light on the history of the formation of this collection and, simultaneously, helped to clarify some general issues concerning the fate of texts brought by P.K. Kozlov from Khara-Khoto. This paper presents the results of our study of the documents found in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Archives of the IOM, RAS, the Russian Ethnographic Museum and the Russian Geographic Society. The description of the events is divided into two parts: the first one reconstructs the chronology of the process of transferring manuscripts and block prints of P.K. Kozlov's Expedition to the Asiatic Museum; the second one deals with the history of the processing of the Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto starting from the 1920s and up to present, when the contents of the collection have been critically revised. The table that reflects the current state of the Collection of the Tibetan Texts from Khara-Khoto kept at the IOM, RAS is provided in the appendix.

*Key words:* Khara-Khoto, Tibetan manuscripts and block prints, P.K. Kozlov, S.F. Oldenburg, Russian Geographic Society, Russian Museum, Asiatic Museum, processing of manuscripts

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The history of Tangut studies started with the discovery of Khara-Khoto by Russian travelers Ts.G. Badmazhapov (1879–1937) and P.K. Kozlov (1863–1935) at the beginning of the 20th c.<sup>1</sup> The latter made the first excavations of the site and found a cache of ancient texts and Buddhist artefacts immured in the so-called “Famous” suburgan. The bulk of them were brought to St. Petersburg and are kept now at the IOM, RAS and the State Hermitage Museum.<sup>2</sup>

Tangut and Chinese texts from Khara-Khoto have been studied successfully by Russian and foreign scholars, and several catalogues and facsimile editions of many of them were published.<sup>3</sup> The Tibetan part of Kozlov’s collection, by contrast, remains largely unknown for the academia. Formed as a separate unit of the Institute’s manuscripts gathering in 1967, it was first widely introduced by M.I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya in her brief English survey of the ancient Tibetan manuscripts kept in the IOM, RAS (formerly the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).<sup>4</sup> An introductory article by K.M. Bogdanov can be mentioned, too,<sup>5</sup> while the very first attempt at cataloguing this collection, made by G.A. Leonov in his graduation thesis supervised by B.I. Kuznetsov (1931–1985),<sup>6</sup> was never published and is available only as an archival document in the IOM, RAS. This currently outdated catalogue dealt with the 70 items that had been numbered by A.S. Martynov (1933–2013) in the inventory book by the end of the 1960s. Since then, the number of items of the collection has significantly increased.

Meanwhile, the interest of the academia in the actual contents of this collection is rather high. It suffices to mention that one of the most famous Tibetan texts kept at the IOM, namely XT-67, belongs to it. This item seems to be one of the earliest dated blockprints in Tibetan; being preserved only

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<sup>1</sup> KYCHANOV 2008, 130–131.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1862–1943) who visited Khara-Khoto after P.K. Kozlov also found a number of texts there. The Tibetan ones kept at the British Museum were catalogued by the Japanese researchers Ts. Takeuchi and M. Iuchi (TAKEUCHI and IUCHI 2016).

Another collection of Tibetan documents from Khara-Khoto preserved at the Institute of Archeology of Inner Mongolia was introduced in the Institute’s combined catalogue of the documents written in languages of the national minorities of China (TALA et al. 2013). A special study of three documents from this collection was carried out in Japan (YOSHIDA and CHIMEDDORJI 2008, no. 103–105).

<sup>3</sup> GORBACHEVA and KYCHANOV 1963; MEN’SNIKOV 1984; ECANG HEISHUICHENG WENXIAN 1996–2018; KYCHANOV 1999.

<sup>4</sup> VOROBYOVA-DESYATOVSKAYA 1995.

<sup>5</sup> BOGDANOV 2010.

<sup>6</sup> LEONOV 1970.

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partially, it has very close Chinese and Tangut equivalents that allow us to date it around 1149.<sup>7</sup>

Another important text from Khara-Khoto, the scroll that contains a collection of tantric texts on the cults of Mahākāla, Viṣṇu Narasiṅha, Vajrapāṇi and the eight Nāga Kings, was included mistakenly in the collection of the Tibetan texts from Dunhuang.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, some manuscripts from Dunhuang were detected among the Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, when we started our project aimed at the thorough cataloguing of the Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto,<sup>10</sup> we realized very soon that about one third of the entire collection could not be originated from this site. We had to try to understand why and how this mixture took place. Luckily enough, a series of documents found in several archives in St. Petersburg allowed us to reconstruct basically the course of events, although some important details are still not entirely clear.<sup>11</sup> This reconstruction is presented below, being divided into two stages: the first one relates to the transfer of entire Kozlov's collection to the Asiatic Museum (AM) while the second one to the subsequent processing of its Tibetan part.

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<sup>7</sup> There are several papers on XT-67 (SIRAI 2004; SHI 2005; DUAN 2010; etc.); the publication by Shen Weirong (SHEN 2010) is of particular importance as he was first to indicate the exact Chinese equivalent for the Tibetan text. We need to state, however, that his characteristic of Lev Men'shikov's catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Khara-Khoto is unfair and not correct: *As a piece of sinological work, this catalogue is certainly excellent in its own way. However, the author was not able to convey the full value of these texts for Buddhist studies. He did not pay enough attention to a great number of manuscripts with tantric Buddhist content. Instead he relegated all of them to the amorphous category of "indigenous works"* (SHEN 2010, 343). Everyone who can read Russian will see that Men'shikov did pay attention to such manuscripts and described them with many details in a special chapter called *The Tantric Texts (gāthā, dhāraṇī)* and some other chapters, too. The comparison of three versions of the block print is an important task that will be hopefully performed in the near future. At present collated Tangut, Chinese and Tibetan versions of Uṣṇīṣa Vijaya Dhāraṇī Sūtra, the second part of the edition in question, are available in the paper by Duan Yuquan (DUAN 2010). The study of Tangut and Chinese versions of the third part, namely a postscript (后序) written by the emperor Renzong 仁宗 (reigned 1139–1193), along with the above-mentioned second one were published by Lin Ying-chin (LIN 2011).

<sup>8</sup> ZORIN 2015.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. TAKEUCHI 1995.

<sup>10</sup> Besides the authors of this paper the project team includes A.A. Turanskaya.

<sup>11</sup> The Russian version of our paper (ZORIN and SIZOVA 2019) contains an appendix with full texts of thirteen documents. All the essential quotations from them were translated by ourselves to be presented in this English paper but any interested reader is encouraged to check their full texts as well.

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## 1. Transfer of the texts to the Asiatic Museum

It is well known that in the spring of 1908 some manuscripts were discovered during the first excavations at Khara-Khoto and Kozlov sent them to St. Petersburg. On October 15 (28) a special meeting of the Imperial Russian Geographic Society (IRGS) was held to discuss this finding and Kozlov was invoked to make new excavations. He returned to Khara-Khoto at the end of May 1909 and found the main textual and artistic treasures of the “dead city” in a suburgan situated at some distance from its walls. The excavations were completed on June 7 (20).<sup>12</sup>

In a letter to the Academy of Sciences sent from Irkutsk on August 27, 1909, Kozlov notified that the objects found by the Mongolian-Sichuan expedition had been dispatched by him to St. Petersburg and would arrive there in September.<sup>13</sup> In St. Petersburg they were temporarily placed in the Building of the IRGS, and the first exhibition of finds from Khara-Khoto was held there in January and February 1910. During this initial period A.I. Ivanov (1877–1937) and V.L. Kotvich (1872–1944) sorted out a number of texts.<sup>14</sup> The further destiny of the collections, including books, was yet to be settled, according to Kozlov’s letter to the Executive Secretary of the Imperial Academy of Sciences (IAS) S.F. Oldenburg on January 16, 1910: “It is not decided so far where the Kara-Khoto [things] will be taken to. I personally tend to prefer the Academy’s [Museum] Asiatic Museum. I hope you think the same way, don’t you?”<sup>15</sup>

However, the Khara-Khoto texts were moved first to the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum (EDRM; later transformed into a separate institution which is called now the Russian Museum of Ethnography). This decision was made by the Emperor Nicholas II as we learn from a letter of notification sent to the EDRM on March 4, 1910.<sup>16</sup> The situation was

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<sup>12</sup> KYCHANOV 2008, 131–132.

<sup>13</sup> SPbB ARAS, coll. 152, inv. 1, item 50, f. 100.

<sup>14</sup> The contribution of both scholars to the study of Kozlov’s collection is summarized in (KYCHANOV 2008, 133–135). V.L. Kotvich made a brief description of a few Mongolian materials (KOZLOV 1923, 561–565). A.A. Dostoevsky in one of his letters to Kozlov mentions some details on their work: “After some manuscripts are sorted out they are placed into a special closet in the warehouse. They say a lot of interesting things. I have seen Kotvich, perhaps 3 times, seated at the Society’s” (November 8, 1909) (Archive of the RGS: coll. 18, inv. 3, item 216, f. 28–29).

<sup>15</sup> KOZLOV 1963, 454–455.

<sup>16</sup> ARME, coll. 1, inv. 2, item 337, f. 2. Other letter (f. 3–4) mentions also an attempt of F.W. Radloff (1837–1918) to get the Kozlov’s collections into the possession of the Russian Committee for the study of Central and East Asia that he headed.

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characterized by Kozlov in his letter to A.A. Dostoevsky:<sup>17</sup> “The exhibition of the collections of the Mongolian-Sichuan expedition is closed. It is going to be dismantled. I ask you, as the secretary of the Geographical Society, to proceed basically as follows: 1) The entire Khara-Khoto collection is to be passed to the Museum of the Emperor Alexander III, with the exception of two Burkhans...”.<sup>18</sup> The transfer obviously took some time and was not completed by April 2, 1910, when Dostoevsky complained to Kozlov: “Of course, the Museum has not sorted out anything in the collections nor even accepted them officially”.<sup>19</sup>

Soon after the EDRM did receive the Khara-Khoto findings its authorities announced their willingness to pass all the texts to the Asiatic Museum. On June 12, 1910, the Deputy Director of the Museum Count Dmitry I. Tolstoy (1860–1941) wrote to the IRGS: “Among the materials acquired by the Museum there is a gigantic number of manuscripts that, according to the unanimous opinion of the members of the Council of the Ethnographic Department, will be much more accessible for research if they are transferred to the institution that is specifically aimed to preserve such documents, namely the Asiatic Museum”.<sup>20</sup> Before this idea was declared, N.M. Mogilyansky<sup>21</sup> had contacted S.F. Oldenburg and asked him to “prepare the ground for that the Council of the Imperial Geographical Society would not obstruct the EDRM’s request concerning the permission to transfer the above-mentioned Khara-Khoto manuscripts”.<sup>22</sup> S.F. Oldenburg promised to promote this undertaking.<sup>23</sup>

On July 14, 1910, the Council of the IRGS announced that it did not see “any obstacles for the transfer of the above-mentioned documents to the

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<sup>17</sup> Andrei Andreevich Dostoevsky (1863–1933), a nephew of the famous writer, was the IRGS Secretary for twelve years, from 1903.

<sup>18</sup> KOZLOV 1963, 455–456. Before the revolution, the official name of the Russian Museum was the Russian Museum of His Imperial Majesty Alexander III.

<sup>19</sup> Archive of the RGS, coll. 18, inv. 3, item 216, f. 34–35.

<sup>20</sup> ARME: coll. 1, inv. 2, item 337, f. 15.

<sup>21</sup> Nikolai Mikhailovich Mogilyansky (1873–1933), an ethnographer and anthropologist, was the Head of the EDRM from 1910 to 1918.

<sup>22</sup> SPbB ARAS, coll. 208, inv. 3, item 396, f. 2. Rough copy is kept at the ARME, coll. 1, inv. 2, item 337, f. 13.

<sup>23</sup> ARME, coll. 1, inv. 2, item 337, f. 14. It is worth noting that a year earlier, on February 27, 1910, N.M. Mogilyansky also asked S.F. Oldenburg for advice on the “collections of P.K. Kozlov brought from Khara-Khoto and transmitted by a decree of the Council of the IRGS to the Museum of Alexander III” (SPbB ARAS: coll. 208, inv. 3, item 396, f. 1). The details of this meeting, if it ever took place, are unknown to us.

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Asiatic Museum and the [Russian] Museum should apply for the highest permission on that matter”.<sup>24</sup> This “highest permission” was given on March 5, 1911 when Nicholas II visited the Russian Museum.<sup>25</sup> This issue was discussed at the meeting of the Historical and Philological Department of the IAS on March 30, 1911. Carl Salemann (1850–1916), the Director of the AM, was asked to “get in touch with the curator of the Ethnographic Department of the [Russiam] Museum B.F. Adler”<sup>26</sup> to discuss the details of the transfer.

Thus, we can be sure that Kozlov’s materials could not be received by AM in June 1910, as was commonly assumed.<sup>27</sup> Luckily enough, the exact date of the transfer, April 20, 1911, turned out to be recorded in a note written by Carl Salemann.<sup>28</sup> This valuable archival document presents also a rough list of Khara-Khoto manuscript materials: the “chest No. 1 of the Russian Museum” contained “Sinica & Tangutica, Tg. — 7 packs, Mongolica — 1, assignation — 1 pack, Tibetan books, Sinica — 3 packs”. We can

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<sup>24</sup> ARME, coll. 1, inv. 2, item 337, f. 18.

<sup>25</sup> It is quite possible that S.F. Oldenburg took part in this event, too, because N.M. Mogilyansky asked him about it in a letter dated January 2, 1911: “The second thing that is not less important — I would like to ask you, in case the Emperor will visit the Museum after January 15, to give Him the explanations about Khara-Khoto. It is necessary now to complete preparation of the remaining material for the exhibition in the nearest future and I kindly ask you to come to the Museum one of these days and instruct A.A. Miller on this matter” (SPbB ARAS, coll. 208, inv. 3, item 396, f. 3–3 verso).

The letter mentions an archeologist Alexander Miller (1875–1835) who worked at the Russian Museum from 1907 and headed it from 1919 to 1921.

<sup>26</sup> BULLETIN 1911. Bruno Friedrichovich Adler (1874–1942), a museum worker and ethnographer, worked at the EDM in 1910–1911.

<sup>27</sup> KYCHANOV 2008, 133. P.K. Kozlov in his own book on Khara-Khoto’s discovery rendered the sequence of events in a slightly abridged form: “In the autumn of 1909 all the finds of the Mongolian-Sichuan expedition were taken to St. Petersburg, to the premises of the Geographical Society. Soon, most of the collections from Khara-Khoto were moved to the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum, while the smaller part — books and manuscripts — to the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences” (KOZLOV 1923, 560).

T.I. Iusupova published an excerpt of Kozlov’s letter to his wife E.V. Pushkareva where he described the visit of Nicholas II to the exhibition of Khara-Khoto collections at the EDM on March 5, 1911 and mentioned that the Emperor gave the permission for the transfer of the manuscripts to the AM (IUSUPOVA 2012, 486). As far as we know, T.I. Iusupova’s brief comment on this matter was the only correct indication upon the dating of the transfer of the manuscript collection to the AM made so far in academic literature.

<sup>28</sup> ARME, coll. 1, inv. 2, item 337, f. 25.

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see from the list that some of the Tibetan texts were already sorted out at early stages.<sup>29</sup>

On April 30, 1911 S.F. Oldenburg officially thanked the Russian Museum on behalf of the IAS “for the transfer of all the manuscript materials to the Asiatic Museum of the Academy”.<sup>30</sup>

Although in December 1913, twenty-one more Tibetan books claimed to belong to “the Khara-Khoto collection of the Colonel P.K. Kozlov” were passed to the AM from the EDRM,<sup>31</sup> they have no relation to Khara-Khoto being rather standard pothi books produced no earlier than in the 18th c. They were probably acquired by Kozlov from different sources during his expedition.

However, a few samples of Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto remained in the EDRM and, in the early Soviet time, found their way to the State Hermitage Museum along with the numerous Tangut artefacts. In 1936, the academic secretary of the AM’s reincarnation, the Institute of Oriental Studies (IOS), the USSR Academy of Sciences, S.N. Muratov (1919–1994) applied to the authorities of the State Hermitage with a proposal to exchange two leaves with images of deities of the planets from the Institute’s collection for fragments of Tibetan texts kept at the Hermitage.<sup>32</sup> We did not find any documents confirming the implementation of this proposal and, since the IOM Tangut collection still has two images of planets (inv. No. 8367) while the State Hermitage Museum still has several fragments of Tibetan texts, this exchange obviously did not take place.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> While the exhibition of the Mongolo-Sichuan expedition’s finds was held at the IRGS in January and February 1910, the eminent St. Petersburg photographer Carl Oswald Bulla (1855–1929) took some pictures of the exhibits. One of them depicts Tangut manuscripts piled up in a display case. In the lower right corner of the display case there is a vertically positioned folio of a book with some Tibetan text. The text and the sheet itself are quite illegible on the available prints (IUSUPOVA 2008, 125; KOZLOV 2015; Archive of RGS, coll. 17, inv. 7, item 1231). The doubtless identification of the text as Tibetan is based upon an imprint made for us from the negative on glass kept at the Central State Archive of Film, Photo-, and Phonographic Documents in St. Petersburg (call number Д 15832).

<sup>30</sup> ARME, coll. 1, inv. 2, item 337, f. 23.

<sup>31</sup> See N.M. Mogilyansky’s letter about the transfer of these books dated December 20, 1913 (SPbB ARAS, coll. 152, inv. 1, item 54, f. 130), and their list (SPbB ARAS, coll. 152, inv. 1, item 55, f. 121).

<sup>32</sup> The letter dated November 13, 1936 (SPbB ARAS, coll. 152, inv. 1a, item 480, f. 49).

<sup>33</sup> We are most grateful to K.F. Samosyuk, the curator of the collection of Chinese paintings, monuments of art and material culture from the Khara-Khoto, Kucha and Karashar oases at the State Hermitage Museum, for the consultation on this matter.

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## 2. Processing Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto

The World War I, to say nothing of the civil war in Russia, produced a lot of obstacles for the scholarly work. In September 1917, when the German occupation of Petrograd seemed absolutely real the Academy of Sciences decided to evacuate most valuable parts of its collections, including those from the AM, to Saratov University and the Moscow Historical Museum. In early October 1917, gold coins from the AM's rich numismatic collection, were transported to the latter.<sup>34</sup> From a Soviet book on the history of the Academy's Library we learnt that some books from the AM had been packed and transported to Saratov where they had been "kept unpacked at the University for 3 years... In 1920 the first portion returned to Petrograd, all other manuscripts were transferred from Saratov in 1921".<sup>35</sup> Surprisingly enough, we managed to learn more about the contents of the cases from an archival document entitled "Inventory of the manuscripts of the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences packed for the evacuation". According to this inventory, case No. 21 (248) contained Chinese manuscripts and blockprints divided into 4 groups: 1) the Kozlov Collection, Nos. 1–19, 2) unsorted texts of the same collection; 3) the Collection of S.F. Oldenburg, 4) xylographs dated 947 (3 folios).<sup>36</sup>

Soon after the Kozlov collection returned to the AM from Saratov, its processing continued as follows from the account of the AM activities in 1923: "Moreover, some convolutions and fragments in the Xia Xia language excavated and brought by P.K. Kozlov from Khara-Khoto were sorted out and arranged (see details below)".<sup>37</sup>

Members of the Department of Far Eastern Studies took part in this work, first of all Konstantin K. Flug (1893–1942). According to the account of the AM activities in 1925 K.K. Flug "put manuscripts and blockprints from Khara-Khoto in an uniformed format system and registered 7,246 items".<sup>38</sup> We found an apparently earlier document composed by Flug himself (it is

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<sup>34</sup> Basargina E.Yu., Kirikova O.A. *Khronika akademicheskoi zhizni v 1917 godu* [The Chronicle of the Academy's Life in 1917]: <http://www.ranar.spb.ru/rus/vystavki/id/751/>. Cf. "The list of packages accepted by the authorized official V.A. Ryshkov for depositing them in the Moscow Historical Museum" (SPbB ARAS, coll. 2, inv. 1, item 38, f. 49).

<sup>35</sup> FILIPPOV 1964: 317.

<sup>36</sup> SPbB ARAS, coll. 152, inv. 2, item 131, f. 30. According to a postscript to the document, the case returned to the AM on December 25, 1920.

<sup>37</sup> SPbB ARAS, coll. 152, inv. 1a, item 71, f. 8. Unfortunately, we failed to find these details in any archival documents.

<sup>38</sup> SPbB ARAS, coll. 152, inv. 1a, item 80, f. 12; it was quoted in POPOVA 2011: 238.

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not signed but his handwriting is recognizable enough) and entitled “An Account of the work on systematizing the Xi-Xia books brought by Kozlov from Khara-Khoto”.<sup>39</sup> It records that the texts in Tangut (6778 items) were mechanically divided into seven groups by format and concludes with the phrase: “At present, the Tangut books of the Tibetan type are being processed in a similar way”. From this document we learn also that all the items processed were marked with the official AM stamp. This stamp can be still found on a number of Tangut texts but none of Tibetan texts has it.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, it can be assumed that only an initial sorting out of texts by format could be performed at that time.<sup>41</sup>

The next mention of Tibetan materials in the context of the Khara-Khoto collection is dated 1948. According to the account of the IOS Manuscript Department, Alexander A. Dragunov (1900–1955) made some preliminary work aimed at separating Tibetan, Chinese, and Sanskrit fragments from the main Tangut part.<sup>42</sup> We do not know how many Tibetan texts were sorted out by A.A. Dragunov since he obviously left no inventories. It is possible, however, that his work facilitated the subsequent processing of the Tibetan part of the Khara-Khoto collection carried out by a Sinologist and Tibetologist Alexander S. Martynov (1933–2013) from late 1966 through 1967.

<sup>39</sup> SPbB ARAS, coll. 820, inv. 2, item 164, f. 157.

<sup>40</sup> With the exception of one item (call number XT-181) that consists of two Tibetan sheets extracted from the cover of a Tangut book to which this stamp actually belonged: the stamp indicates the language (“Xi-Xia”), format (B) and number (221).

<sup>41</sup> K.K. Flug’s account is preserved in the SPbB ARAS within the personal archive of V.M. Alekseev, the eminent Russian and Soviet Sinologist, who headed the Department of Far Eastern Studies at that time. From his own document, a proposition addressed to the AM Director on June 11, 1924, we learn that quick mechanical division of books according to the format principle was imposed by the authorities of the Academy’s Library since the Asiatic Museum was located in its newly constructed building from the early 1920s up to the end of the 1940s (SPbB ARAS, coll. 820, inv. 2, item 164, f. 148). It certainly was not an optimal decision for the aims of Tangut studies. The situation changed quite soon when N.A. Nevsky initiated “a systematic and deeply scholarly analysis and study of the collection of Tangut manuscripts and blockprints kept at the Asiatic Museum. He was also the first to be entrusted with the compilation of the inventory of the collection” (GORBACHEV and KYCHANOV 1963, 14).

Another document from V.M. Alekseev’s personal archive shows the lack of uniformity of designations used for various parts of P.K. Kozlov’s collections until the 1920s. It is a reference list compiled by A.A. Dragunov and dated April 21, 1930, with information on some Tangut and Chinese books borrowed by A.I. Ivanov in 1915–1919. The following designations are used in its eleven paragraphs: “Cozlov Tangut”, “Tangutica Kozloviana”, “Kozlov Tangutica”, “Cozloviana” (3 times), “Kz.”, “Собр. Козлова” [“Collection of Kozlov”], “Колл. Козлова” [“Collection of Kozlov”], “Рукоп. Козлова” [“Manuscripts of Kozlov”], “Sinica Mat. Козлова” [“Sinica Materials of Kozlov”] (SPbB ARAS, coll. 820, inv. 2, item 164, f. 260).

<sup>42</sup> SPbB ARAS, coll. 152, inv. 1a, item 987, f. 7–8, 14.

According to his account dated November 27, 1967 he numbered 63 items that “did not require preliminary conservation”.<sup>43</sup> Afterwards, he obviously added seven more texts since G.A. Leonov’s thesis (defended in 1970) dealt with 70 items, officially numbered for the first time by Martynov as the Collection of Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto.<sup>44</sup> Clearly, it was Martynov who introduced the call numbers starting with the abbreviation XT, i.e. “Хара-Хото Тибет” [“Khara-Khoto Tibet”].

In the post-Soviet period the collection continued to grow. In 1995, M.I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya listed four groups of texts related to the Khara-Khoto collection: 1) call numbers XT-1–XT-70 from the inventory book of A.S. Martynov; 2) call numbers XT-71–XT-86 added as a result of the continuing sorting of Khara-Khoto materials; 3) about ten folios of the *Prajñāpāramitā* sutras extracted from the covers of Tangut books; 4) fragments marked as “Koz. 1–11”.<sup>45</sup>

All the items mentioned in nos. 2–4 of this list and some others were included in the inventory book by S.S. Sabrukova who processed the collection in 2007–2008. Finally, in 2015–2017 A.A. Sizova added to the collection 21 items (XT-159–XT-179) that had been identified as those from Khara-Khoto by A.V. Zorin during the ongoing processing of the Tibetan collection of the IOM, RAS.<sup>46</sup>

In the course of our project aimed at cataloguing the Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto that started in 2018 we sorted out 39 items that had been apparently originated from other sources:

1) XT-73, a specimen of *pala* script along with some Tangut and Chinese characters, was transferred to the Tangut collection;<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> SPbB ARAS, coll. 152, inv. 1a, item 1862, f. 36–37.

<sup>44</sup> Leonov noted that two texts were divided between two separate items each (XT-28 and XT-53; XT-64 and XT-67) and that XT-16 contained two different texts. Therefore, Leonov’s catalogue contained data on 69 texts. In fact, XT-16 contained three fragments, and two of them were later given individual inventory nos. 71 and 72, the call number remained the same but letters *a*, *b*, *c* were added to differentiate the three pieces inside of it. Our own analysis has shown that all the three used to belong to one manuscript and such differentiation was not necessary.

<sup>45</sup> Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 1995, 47. In fact there are 12 fragments (Koz. 1–12), that correspond to actual call numbers as follows: Koz. 1 → XT-116; Koz. 2,3,4,5 → XT-113; Koz. 6,7 → XT-115; Koz. 8,9,10,11 → XT-114; Koz. 12 → XT-117.

<sup>46</sup> The reader should note that the call numbers and inventory numbers of the collection are not the same and they correspond to each other as follows: XT 1–70 — inv. 1–70; XT 16/2 — inv. 71; XT 16/3 — inv. 72; XT 71 — inv. 91; XT 72–78 — inv. 73–79; XT 79 — inv. 92; XT 80–90 — inv. 80–90; XT 91–158 — inv. 93–160; XT 159–161 — inv. 162–164; XT 162 — inv. 161; XT 163–179 — inv. 165–181.

<sup>47</sup> In the Tangut collection identical blockprints have call number Tang. 1109.

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2) XT-89; 90; 104; 125 were transferred to the Tibetan collection, three of them being the 18<sup>th</sup> century Kalmyk manuscripts on Russian paper and one belonging to the very first Tibetan texts acquired by the IAS in the first half of the 18th c. as evidenced by a specific little black seal with a double-headed eagle;<sup>48</sup>

3) XT-2; 4; 11; 12; 13; 14; 15; 17; 24; 29; 30; 31; 32; 33; 34; 35; 39; 46; 50; 52; 56; 57; 70; 77; 80; 81; 82; 83; 84; 85; 86; 92; 97; 108 — manuscripts from Dunhuang judging by paper and some paleographic features (although we are not absolutely sure in regard of some of them).

The Khara-Khoto collection contains also a number of items that, according to their paleographic features, were certainly produced after the 14th c. which is the upper bound for the dating of Khara-Khoto objects related to the Tangut period: XT-20; 26(?); 37; 38; 40; 41; 42; 43; 45;<sup>49</sup> 48; 49; 51; 59; 69; 71; 79; 91; 94; 98; 132; 134(?). However, it cannot be excluded that they could be brought by Kozlov from Khara-Khoto or nearby places so we decided to leave these materials inside the collection until we find any convincing evidence that they have nothing to do with the Kozlov expedition. In the catalogue they will be presented in an appendix.

Finally, in addition to the numbered items, the repository contained a few unprocessed fragments from both Khara-Khoto and Dunhuang. As was said before, two dozens of Dunhuang pieces were officially included in the Khara-Khoto collection while one Khara-Khoto scroll, on the contrary, in the Dunhuang collection. Without doubt, the two collections were mixed up to some extent and, apparently, it took place before the World War II because several Chinese texts from Khara-Khoto turned out to be inventoried by K.K. Flug (who died in besieged Leningrad in 1942) as manuscripts from Dunhuang.<sup>50</sup> We do not know exactly when the mixture of the two collections happened. It is very likely that initially it took place when the Kozlov and Oldenburg collections were put together in one case and sent to Saratov in a haste (the decision about the evacuation was made on September 2, 1917, and the train left Leningrad on October 10). The further moves

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<sup>48</sup> These texts turned out to be added to the Khara-Khoto collection because many unprocessed materials from various sources that *looked old* had been obviously put together and mixed this way at a certain point in the Soviet time. S.S. Sabrukova had to interrupt her work when she noted the discrepancy of some manuscripts with Khara-Khoto specimens. The folios that raised her suspicion were transferred to the Tibetan collection and many of them, after detailed examination, were identified as those obtained by the IAS in the 18th c.

<sup>49</sup> This manuscript seems to be a fake ancient text.

<sup>50</sup> MEN'SHIKOV 1984, 6, 411.

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of the AM to the new building of the Academy's Library in 1925 and then, of the IOS, to the Novo-Mikhailovsky Palace in 1949–1950 were also potentially dangerous in this respect.<sup>51</sup> The full-scale inventory of the collections from Central Asia started only in the second half of the 1950s.

In October 2018, it was decided to transfer all the newly recognized Dunhuang materials to the Dunhuang collection (Дх. Тиб. 222–255, inv. Nos. 222–255) while the scroll that previously had call number Дх. Тиб. 178 from the Dunhuang collection to the Khara-Khoto one (new call number: ХТ-194, inv. 196). The inventory numbers and call numbers that used to belong to these items were left vacant. A few previously unprocessed pieces were also added to the two collections (ХТ-180–193, inv. Nos. 182–195; Дх. Тиб. 256–265, inv. Nos. 256–265).

These changes have resulted in the following situation:

— the collection of Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang consists of 263 items: call numbers from Дх. Тиб. 1 to Дх. Тиб. 265, with vacant numbers 24 and 178;

— the collection of Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto consists of 147 items: call numbers from ХТ-1 to ХТ-194, with 39 vacant numbers and 8 numbers merged into some others (see Appendix).

This preliminary inspection and new arrangement of two collections of ancient texts in Tibetan that are preserved in the IOM, RAS are essential for the accomplishment of our main goal, the compilation of the catalogue of Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto and, additionally, the introduction of previously unpublished texts from Dunhuang. At the same time, the study of the archival documents allowed us to clarify some significant moments in the history of P.K. Kozlov's collection. The exact date of its transfer to the Asiatic Museum — April 20 (May 3), 1911 — the fact that it was sent to Saratov along with Oldenburg's collection in October 1917 so that parts of the two collections could be mixed up for the first time seem to be of special importance.

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<sup>51</sup> Notably, an act concerning some internal transfer of the materials within the Manuscript Department (dated May 31, 1962) stated that “during the inspection of 1956 the [Khara-Khoto] collection was registered among the unprocessed materials of the Dunhuang collection. The non-inventoried materials include 37 boxes and 1 pack of fragments” (SPbB ARAS, coll. 152, inv. 1a, item 1503, f. 20).

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## Appendix

### Table showing the current state of the IOM collection of the Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto

Legend: → moving or merging; lp — “later period”; TC — collection of Tibetan blockprints and manuscripts; Tang. — Tangut collection. Invalid call numbers are italicized.

xt 1		xt 51	lp	xt 101		xt 151	
xt 2	→ Дх. Тиб. 222	xt 52	→ Дх. Тиб. 241	xt 102		xt 152	
xt 3		xt 53		xt 103		xt 153	
xt 4	→ Дх. Тиб. 223	xt 54		xt 104	→ TC	xt 154	
xt 5		xt 55		xt 105		xt 155	
xt 6		xt 56	→ Дх. Тиб. 242	xt 106		xt 156	
xt 7		xt 57	→ Дх. Тиб. 243	xt 107		xt 157	
xt 8		xt 58		xt 108	→ Дх. Тиб. 255	xt 158	
xt 9		xt 59	lp	xt 109		xt 159	→ xt 126
xt 10		xt 60		xt 110		xt 160	
xt 11	→ Дх. Тиб. 224	xt 61		xt 111		xt 161	
xt 12	→ Дх. Тиб. 225	xt 62		xt 112		xt 162	
xt 13	→ Дх. Тиб. 226	xt 63		xt 113		xt 163	→ xt 16
xt 14	→ Дх. Тиб. 227	xt 64	→ xt 67	xt 114		xt 164	→ xt 16
xt 15	→ Дх. Тиб. 228	xt 65		xt 115		xt 165	
xt 16		xt 66		xt 116		xt 166	
xt 17	→ Дх. Тиб. 229	xt 67		xt 117		xt 167	
xt 18		xt 68	→ xt 63	xt 118		xt 168	
xt 19		xt 69	lp	xt 119		xt 169	
xt 20	lp	xt 70	→ Дх. Тиб. 244	xt 120		xt 170	
xt 21		xt 71	lp	xt 121		xt 171	
xt 22		xt 72		xt 122		xt 172	
xt 23		xt 73	→ Tang.	xt 123		xt 173	
xt 24	→ Дх. Тиб. 230	xt 74		xt 124		xt 174	
xt 25		xt 75		xt 125	→ TC	xt 175	
xt 26	lp	xt 76		xt 126		xt 176	→ xt 94
xt 27		xt 77	→ Дх. Тиб. 245	xt 127		xt 177	
xt 28		xt 78		xt 128		xt 178	
xt 29	→ Дх. Тиб. 231	xt 79	lp	xt 129		xt 179	
xt 30	→ Дх. Тиб. 232	xt 80	→ Дх. Тиб. 246	xt 130		xt 180	
xt 31	→ Дх. Тиб. 233	xt 81	→ Дх. Тиб. 247	xt 131		xt 181	
xt 32	→ Дх. Тиб. 234	xt 82	→ Дх. Тиб. 248	xt 132	lp	xt 182	
xt 33	→ Дх. Тиб. 235	xt 83	→ Дх. Тиб. 249	xt 133		xt 183	
xt 34	→ Дх. Тиб. 236	xt 84	→ Дх. Тиб. 250	xt 134	lp	xt 184	
xt 35	→ Дх. Тиб. 237	xt 85	→ Дх. Тиб. 251	xt 135		xt 185	
xt 36		xt 86	→ Дх. Тиб. 252	xt 136		xt 186	
xt 37	lp	xt 87		xt 137		xt 187	
xt 38	lp	xt 88		xt 138		xt 188	
xt 39	→ Дх. Тиб. 238	xt 89	→ TC	xt 139		xt 189	→ xt 126
xt 40	lp	xt 90	→ TC	xt 140	→ xt 94	xt 190	
xt 41	lp	xt 91	lp	xt 141		xt 191	
xt 42	lp	xt 92	→ Дх. Тиб. 253	xt 142		xt 192	
xt 43	lp	xt 93		xt 143		xt 193	
xt 44		xt 94	lp	xt 144		xt 194	← Дх. Тиб. 178
xt 45	lp	xt 95		xt 145			
xt 46	→ Дх. Тиб. 239	xt 96		xt 146			
xt 47		xt 97	→ Дх. Тиб. 254	xt 147			
xt 48	lp	xt 98	lp	xt 148			
xt 49	lp	xt 99		xt 149			
xt 50	→ Дх. Тиб. 240	xt 100		xt 150			



## Abbreviations

AM: Asiatic Museum

ARME: Archive of the Russian Museum of Ethnography

coll.: collection (in references to archival materials stands for *фонд*)

EDRM: Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum

inv.: inventory (in references to archival materials stands for *опись*)

IOM, RAS: Institute of Oriental Manuscript of the Russian Academy of Sciences

IRGS: Imperial Russian Geographical Society

RGS: Russian Geographical Society

SPbB ARAS: St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences

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**Old Uyghur Blockprint of *Sitātapatrā Dhāraṇī*  
in the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS**

*Abstract:* *Sitātapatrā*, referred to as ‘White Umbrella One’ Goddess who averts evil influences and protects from all kind of disasters and malignant beings with her *dhāraṇī*. Multiple manuscripts and blockprints dedicated to this goddess, in Old Uyghur and other languages of Central Asia are stored in different world collections. This paper deals with the Old Uyghur fragments of the *Sitātapatrā dhāraṇī* preserved in the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS). These fragments refer to the same blockprint edition and this study involves the transliteration, transcription and translation of these fragments within the scope of semantic sequence.

*Key words:* Old Uyghur, *Sitātapatrā dhāraṇī*, Buddhism, blockprint, Yuan dynasty

*Sitātapatrā* (literally ‘Goddess with the white parasol’) became one of the highly honoured female deities in the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna Buddhist traditions. The original text dedicated to the goddess *Ārya sarva-tathāgata-uṣṇīṣa-sitātapatrā-aparājitā nāma-dhāraṇī* (literally ‘White Umbrella One’ Goddess who will protect all devotees from evil, also known under the short name *Sitātapatrā dhāraṇī*) was compiled in Sanskrit before 7th c.<sup>1</sup> Later, it was translated into numerous languages of Central Asia<sup>2</sup> as it was regarded as a kind of protection against any negative influence of life or evil. It was

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<sup>1</sup> According to Prof. Sengupta, the earliest versions of the text (written in Gupta script) were found in Eastern Turkestan and date from the seventh century AD (SENGUPTA 1988, 71–72).

<sup>2</sup> For the Tibetan version, see PORCIÓ 2000, for the Chinese version see Taishō Tripiṭaka, vol. 19, No: 944, 945, 947, 975–977 (GIEBEL 2011, 31), for Sanskrit and Khotanese versions see SANDER and WALDSCHMIDT 1980, 274–279; 1985, 184–185; HOERNLE 1911, 461–463; 1916, 56–57; BAILEY 1963, Nr. 728 and Nr. 729.

translated several times into Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian. Two *Sitātapatrā* texts in Khotanese sources are known.<sup>3</sup>

The text became widely spread among the Old Uyghurs during the era of the Mongol empire (1206–1368).<sup>4</sup> *Vidyārājñī-sitātapatrā-sūtra* (Uyg. *arvišlar eligi sitātapatri sudur*) probably was of great popularity among the Old Uyghurs as it was blockprinted at least two times under the patronage of the Yuan emperor's family.<sup>5</sup> The colophons of the blockprints do not provide any information about the original text that was used for the translation, as also translators or compilers of the Old Uyghur version, date of the translation etc.<sup>6</sup>

Three fragments of one *Sitātapatrā dhāraṇī* blockprint in Old Uyghur are preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS). Two separate fragments are kept under the call number SI 4502 (inv. 4558 (Old call number: M/5). They represent sixteen complete and two damaged folios of the blockprint. According to inventory book, these fragments were obtained by S.E. Malov in 1914 in Turfan city during his second expedition to Western China (1913–1915). Later, according to the note attached to the text, on July 27, 1952, they were granted (along with two other manuscripts) to the Department of Oriental Manuscripts of the Institute Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR [Pl. 1].<sup>7</sup> These fragments were published by S.E. Malov in 1930.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> PORCIÓ 2003.

<sup>4</sup> The popularity of the *Sitātapatrā* text is probably connected with the cult of this goddess among the Mongolian rulers. It is known that the ritual services to *Sitātapatrā* took place in the capital of Yuan empire Dadu during the reign of Qubilai Khan [VAN DER KUJIP 2004, 8]. Moreover, the two Chinese translations refer to the Mongolian period (Taishō No: 976, Taishō No: 977).

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Peter Zieme was the first to notice that the fragments kept in Berlin and Russian collections are from the different blockprint editions (ZIEME 1985, 171). Some researchers assume the existence of even more editions (PORCIÓ 2003, 93). The above mentioned editions look almost similar and differ mostly in page size. Textual collation has shown minor differences in orthography and grammar. They both have Brāhmī parts included into the text. These inserted glosses pertain to Northern Turkistan Brāhmī (type B, subtype u) according to the Sander's classification (SANDER 1968, charts 29–40).

<sup>6</sup> The colophons of both editions were published by KASAI 2008, 121–124. According to the exterior, the fragment U 4762 that contains the complete colophon refers to the same edition of the blockprint kept in the IOM, RAS.

<sup>7</sup> The archival materials kept in the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences St. Petersburg Branch (where all his working and private documents are kept nowadays) do not mention where these fragments were kept since 1914. Probably they stayed in his personal archive being prepared for the publication in 1930 (cf. MALOV 1930).

<sup>8</sup> The publication includes the text printed in Uyghur script (the transliteration is absent) and translation that needs correction as the majority of the buddhist terms had not been translated carefully. Moreover the article was published without a detailed archeological and codicological description or facsimile.

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В Институт востоковедения АН СССР  
(в Ленинграде)

Трону пришло от меня 12 руко-  
писи в 1 килограмм на уйгурском яз.  
XIII в. Описание этих (уже опубликован-  
ных) документов прилагаю.

Эти руки были из-за распределителей из моего  
второго командировки в Китай в 1913-15 гг.

27 Июня 1952 г.

Гл.-кorr. АН СССР

Сер. Малов.

The third fragment kept in the Serindia collection of the IOM, RAS under the call number SI 4571 (inv. 4627 (Old call number: MA/10) comprises of two folios. They are well preserved except for the fact that the left upper part of the folio with Chinese pagination 'twelve' is missing. According to inventory book, this fragment was obtained by S.E. Malov (this also attests the old called number (MA for 'Malov's collection') but the date and circumstances of acquisition are not clear.

The fragments definitely refer to the same blockprint edition.<sup>9</sup> The blockprint was produced in the format of ‘vertical’ accordion (concertina)-style book that was widespread among the Mongols and Uyghurs in the Yuan era. The size of the folded folios is 11.5×28 cm (21.5 cm between the ‘rails’ denoting the upper and lower borders of the text). For production of the blockprint Chinese thin matte laid paper (4 vergé lines in 1 cm) was used. The blockprint folios (printed from one wooden board) were folded two times and glued to each other (along the long edge) that is why the Chinese pagination is on every third folded page. Text is on side recto only. The folded page contains five lines of the Old Uyghur text. Interval between the text lines — 1.5 cm.

Happened by circumstance to be the sequential parts the fragments are transcribed and transliterated in the order of the text:

## 1. Transcription and Transliteration

### Fragment 3

#### SI 4502

#### [1]

01 (1) lug y[ürün] ymä : yip[ün] lenh[ua köz]<sup>10</sup>-  
lwk y[ ] ym' : yyp[ ] lynq[ ]

02 (2) lüg : amrılmiş yavalmış köñül/i[g] ymä :  
lwk : ''mrylmyş y'v'lmyş kwynkwł lw[ ] ym' :

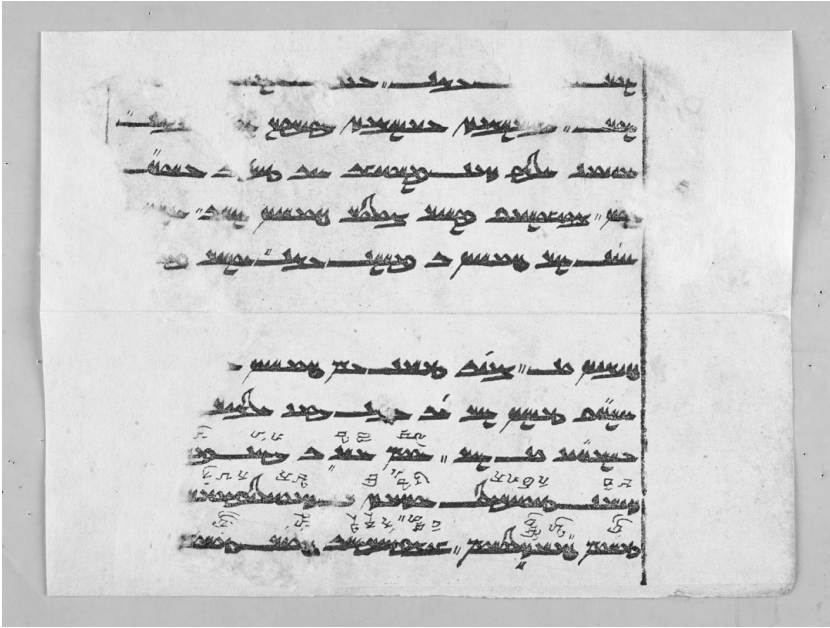
03 (3) ätöz ädgüsin biltäçi ay t(ä)ñ[r]i y(a)ruk-  
't'wyz 'dkw syn pylt'čy ''y tnk[ ] y yrwq

04 (4) lug : munčulayu bolar mudur kuvragları : alk[u]  
lwq : mwnčwł'yw pwl'r mwdwr qwvr'ql'ry : ''lq[ ]

05 (5) analar kuvragı birlä ymä : olar bar[ča]  
'n' l'r qwvr'q y pyrl' ym' : 'wl'r p'r[ ]

<sup>9</sup> All fragments were restorated to the exhibition ‘Brush and Calamus’ organised to 200-years anniversary of the Asiatic museum (nowadays IOM, RAS).

<sup>10</sup> The last line of U 4658 (T I μ) is parallel to this line; therefore, the reconstructions of *yipün*, *lenhua* and *köz* are in accordance with U 4658 (T I μ).



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [1], [2]

[2]

- 06 (1) kamagun : meni terinim kuvragz[m] [birlä]<sup>11</sup>  
q'm'q wn : myñy tyryn ym qwvr'q y[ ] [ ]
- 07 (2) alku tnl(ı)glarnı ymä küzädmäk [kılı]<sup>12</sup>  
'lq̄w tynlq l'r ñy ym' kwyz 'dm'k [ ] [ ]
- 08 (3) y(a)rlikazunlar : oom erži gana pi[šastana]<sup>13</sup>  
yrlyq'z wn l'r : 'wwm 'yrž y k'n' py[ ] [ ]
- 09 (4) sarva tatagaṭa ušniša sitaṭapatiri [huṅ]<sup>14</sup>  
s'rv' t't'k'd' 'wṣnyš ' syt'd'p'tyry [qwnk]
- 10 (5) turum hiriṣturum : čambanakari huṅ turum  
twrwm q̄yryšdwrwm : č'mp'n'k'ry qwnk twrwm

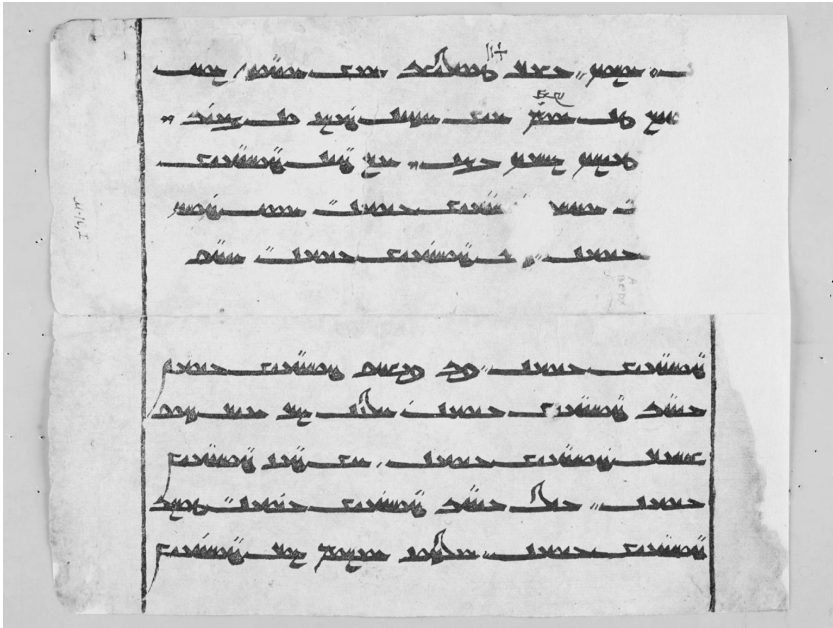
<sup>11</sup> Cf. RÖHRBORN and RONA-TAŠ 2005, 261, line 163.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. RÖHRBORN and RONA-TAŠ 2005, 261, line 164.

<sup>13</sup> Reconstructed in accordance to the Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* preserved in the texts in different languages.

<sup>14</sup> Reconstructed in accordance to the Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* preserved in the texts in different languages.





Fragment #2  
SI 4571 [1], [2]

## Lacuna

### Fragment 2

#### SI 4571

[1]<sup>15</sup> Pagination 12 (Chin. shi er 十二) "tvelwe"

11 (1) [ ] ulug : v(a)čir tutdači üč ugušlug

[ ] 'wlvq : včyr twtd'čy 'wyč 'wqwš lwq

12 (2) [man]dalta<sup>16</sup> oom enč äsän kılzun meni :

[ ] t'l t' 'wvm 'ynč 's'n qylz wn myny

13 (3) [alku]<sup>17</sup> tml(1)glarig ymä : el han korkinč-

[ ] tynlq l'ryq ym' : 'yl q'n qwrqynč

<sup>15</sup> U 4472 (o.F.) is parallel to this fragment.

<sup>16</sup> The reconstruction is in accordance with other versions. Here *üč ugušlug maṅdal* 'the maṅdala of the three spheres' stands for Skt. *tribhuvana maṅdala* (*maṅdal* < Toh. A *maṅdal* / Toh. B *maṅdāl* < Skt. *maṅdala* ). In other versions of *Sitātapatrā* also have Tib. *dkyil 'khor-maṅdala* (PORCIÓ 2000, 102, line 99); Chin. *san jiezhong wei* (Taishō No: 977 405a 11) as its counterparts. For *tribhuvana*; cf. MONIER WILLIAMS 1899, 459.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. SI 4502 [2], line 2.

- 14 (4) [intin]<sup>18</sup> : ogrı [ko]rkınčınt[ı]n : oot kork-  
 [ ] : 'wqry [ ]rǫynč ynt[ ]n : 'wwt qwrq  
 15 (5) [inč]intin : *svv* korkınčıntin : agu  
 [ ] yntyn : *swv* qwrǫynč yntyn : ''q̄w

[2]<sup>19</sup>

- 16 (1) korkınčıntin : bı bıçgu korkınčıntin  
 qwrǫynč yntyn : py pyčqw qwrǫynč yntyn  
 17 (2) yağı korkınčıntin : adınlarnıñ süü  
 y'q̄y qwrǫynč yntyn : ''dyn l'rnyk sww  
 18 (3) čäriğ korkınčıntin : ač kız korkınč-  
 č'ryk qwrǫynč yntyn : ''č q̄yz qwrǫynč  
 19 (4) intin : yad yağı korkınčıntin tolı  
 yntyn : y'd y'q̄y qwrǫynč yntyn twly  
 20 (5) korkınčıntin : üdsüz ölümlüg korkınč  
 qwrǫynč yntyn : 'wydswz 'wylwm lwk qwrǫynč

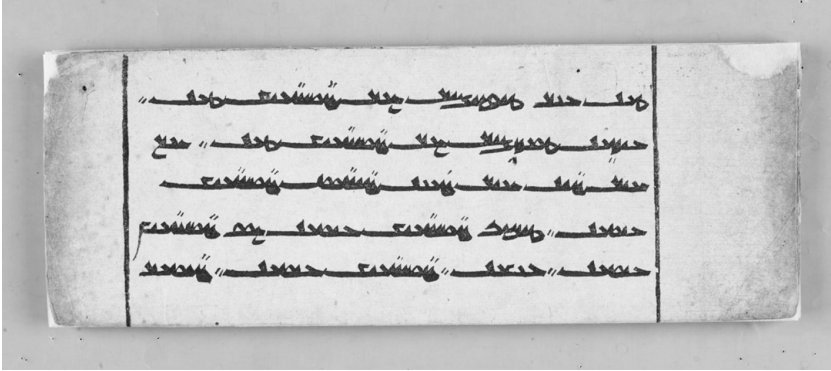
**Fragment 3****SI 4502**

## [1]

- 21 (1) tın yer täprämäklig korkınčıntin :  
 tyn yyr t'pr'm'k lyk qwrǫynč tyn :  
 22 (2) yaşın tüşmäklig korkınčıntin : el-  
 y'şyn twyşm'k lyk qwrǫynč tyn : 'yl  
 23 (3) niñ hannıñ kıy(ı)n kagut korkınč-  
 nynk q̄'n nynk q̄yyn q̄'q̄wt qwrǫynč  
 24 (4) intin : t(ä)ñri korkınčıntin luu korkınč-  
 yntyn : tnkry qwrǫynč yntyn lww qwrǫynč  
 25 (5) intin : yičın : korkınčıntin : kađır  
 yntyn : yyčyn : qwrǫynč yntyn : q̄'tyr

<sup>18</sup> There is a repetitive sequences for *korkınčıntin*; see following lines.

<sup>19</sup> U 4223 (T II T 630) and U 4265 (T III 218.519) are parallel to this fragment.



Fragment # 3  
SI 4502 [1]

[2]<sup>20</sup>

- 26 (1) yavlak kăyiklăr korkinčintın : isig-  
y'vl'q k'yık l'r qwrqynč yntyn : 'ysyk  
27 (2) kum korkinčintın garude kuš korkinč-  
qwm qwrqynč yntyn k'rwđy qwš qwrqynč  
28 (3) intın : alku ig kām ada tuda sıkıš  
yntyn : ''lqw 'yk k'm ''d' twd' syqyš  
29 (4) taııš korkinčlarıntın : yăklăr kork-  
t'nkyš qwrqyč l'r yntyn : y'k l'r qwrq)  
30 (5) inčintın : t(ă)ııri tutmaktın : luu  
ynč yntyn : tkry twtm'qtyn : lww

[3]<sup>21</sup> Pagnation: 13 (Chin.shi san 十三 "thirteen")

- 31 (1) tutmaktın : asure tutmaktın : yăk  
twtm'qtyn : ''swry twtm'qtyn : y'k  
32 (2) tutmaktın : rakšaz tutmaktın gandar-  
twtm'qtyn : r'kš'z twtm'qtyn k'nt'r  
33 (3) ve tutmaktın : garuđe tutmaktın :  
vy twtm'q tyn : k'rwty twtm'q tyn :

<sup>20</sup> U 4355 (o.F.) and U 4387 (o.F.) + U 4416 (o.F.) are parallel to this fragment.

<sup>21</sup> Some parts of U 2749 (T II M 501) and U 2752 (T II M 504) are parallel to this and following fragment.

- 34 (4) marute tutmaktin : kinare tutmaktin :  
 m'rwtý twtm'q̄ tyn : kyn'ry twtm'q̄ tyn :  
 35 (5) mahorage tutmaktin : manuši tutmak-  
 m'qwr'ky twtm'q̄ tyn : m'nwšy twtm'q̄

[4]<sup>22</sup>

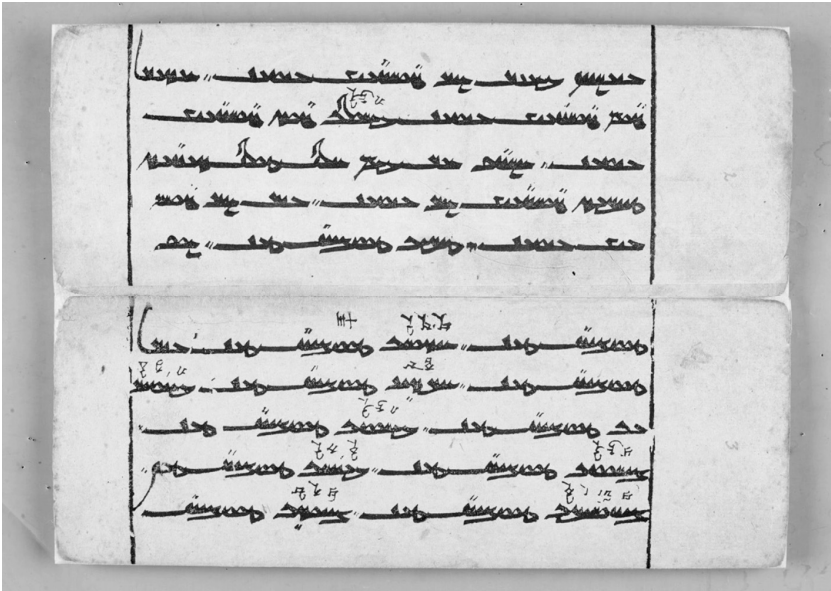
- 36 (1) tin : amanuži tutmaktin : pret  
 tyn : 'm'nwž y twtm'q̄ tyn : pryt  
 37 (2) tutmaktin : pišače tutmaktin : kum-  
 twtm'q̄ tyn : pyš'čy twtm'q̄ tyn : kwm  
 38 (3) paṇḍe tutmaktin puṭane tutmaktin  
 p'nty twtm'q̄ tyn pwd'ny twtm'q̄ tyn  
 39 (4) katapuṭane tutmaktin skanḍa tutmak-  
 k't'pwd'ny twtm'q̄ tyn sk'nt' twtm'q̄  
 40 (5) tin utmada tutmaktin apasmar tutmak-  
 tyn 'wtm'd' twtm'q̄ tyn 'p'sm'r twtm'q̄

[5]<sup>23</sup>

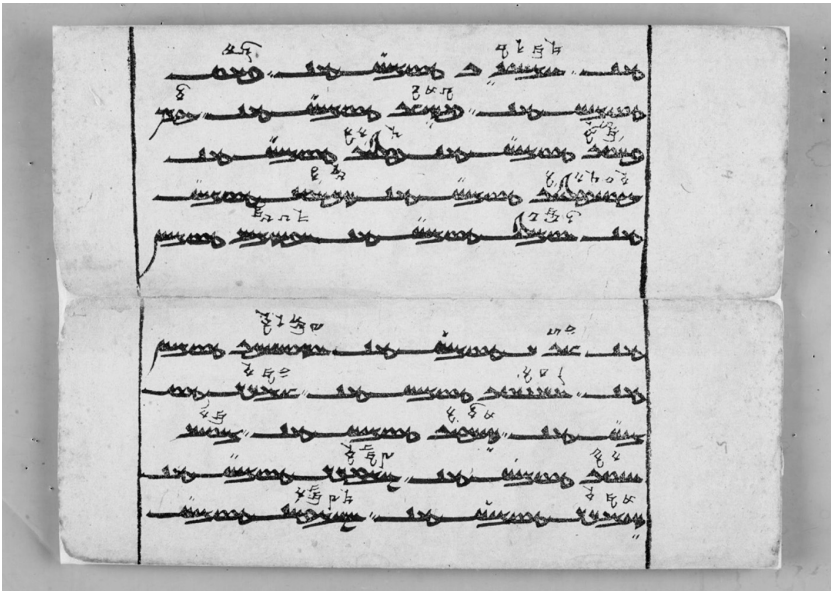
- 41 (1) tin čaya tutmaktin ostarake tutmak-  
 tyn č'y ' twtm'q̄tyn : 'wst'r'ky twtm'q̄  
 42 (2) tin : irevati tutmaktin : čamika tut-  
 tyn : 'yryv'ty twtm'q̄ tyn : č'myk' twt  
 43 (3) maktin : šakuni tutmaktin : matar-  
 m'q̄tyn : š'kwny twtm'q̄ tyn : m't'r  
 44 (4) nanḍi tutmaktin : lambika tutmaktin  
 n'nty twtm'q̄tyn : l'mpyk' twtm'q̄tyn  
 45 (5) šamika tutmaktin : alambana tutmak-  
 š'myk' twtm'q̄tyn : 'l'mp'n' twtm'q̄

<sup>22</sup> U 4633 (T II D) is also parallel to this fragment.

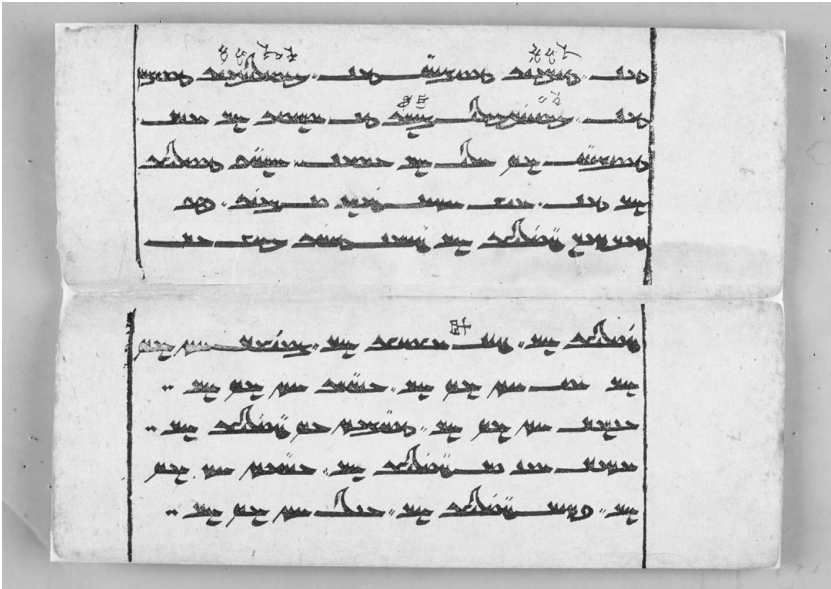
<sup>23</sup> \*U 9206 (T III M 182) (1) is parallel to this fragment. For a long time it was considered that these \*U fragments belong to the losses during World War II but now these fragments have been 're-discovered' in the storage of State Hermitage (for \*U fragments, cf. PCHÉLIN and RASCHMANN 2016, 13–14, 23–24).



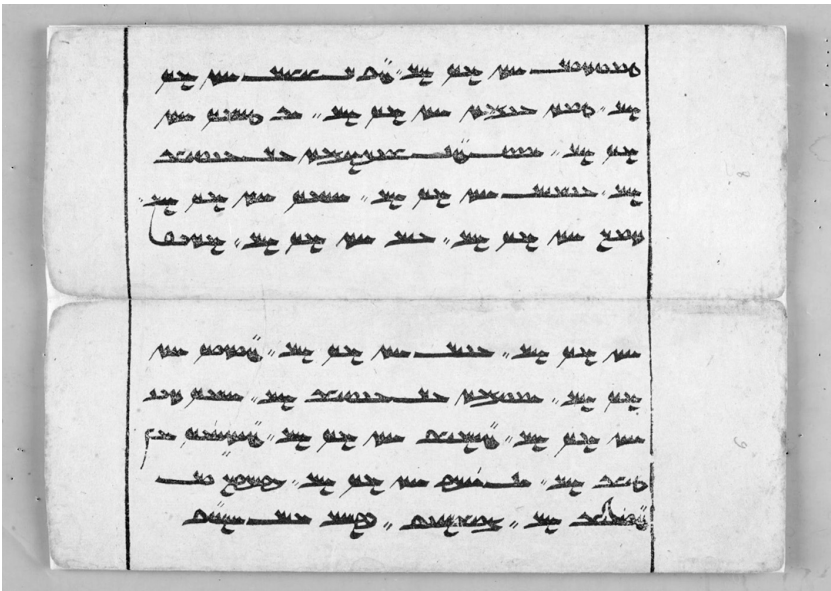
Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [2], [3]



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [4], [5]



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [6], [7]



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [8], [9]

- [6]<sup>24</sup>
- 46 (1) tın : đakini tutmaktın : katadakini tutmak-  
tyn : t'kyny twtm'q̄ tyn : k't'd'kyny twtm'q
- 47 (2) tın : katanğağa malita ulatılarnıı  
tyn : k't'ñkk'd' m'ly t' 'wl'ty l'r nynk
- 48 (3) tutmamlıg adalarıntın : alku tutdaçı-  
twtm'q̄lyq 'd' l'r yntyn : 'lq̄w twtd'čy
- 48 (4) lartın : enč äsän kılzun meni : buu  
l'r tyn : 'ynč 's'n q̄ylz wn myny : pww
- 50 (5) sigšil kundačılar karıntakı känčig  
sykšyl q̄wnd'čy l'r q'ryn t'qy k'nč yk

[7]<sup>25</sup> Pagination 14 (Chin. shi si 十四 "fourteen")

- 51 (1) kundačılar : kan içtäčilär : münčik ašlıg-  
q̄wnd'čy l'r : q'n 'yčt'čy l'r : mwyñčyk 'š lyq
- 52 (2) lar ät ašlıglar : yakrı ašlıglar :  
l'r 't 'š lyq l'r : y'q̄ry 'š lyq l'r :
- 53 (3) yilic ašlıglar : tugmišig kundačılar :  
yylyk 'š lyq l'r : twq̄myš yq q̄wnd'čy l'r :
- 54 (4) isig özüg kundačılar : yagış ašlıg-  
'ysyk 'wyz wk q̄wnd'čy l'r : y'q̄yš 'š lyq
- 55 (5) lar : psak kundačılar : yid ašlıglar :  
l'r : ps'k q̄wnd'čy l'r : yyd 'š lyq l'r :

[8]<sup>26</sup>

- 56 (1) tütsüg ašlıglar : hua čäčäk ašlıg-  
twytswk 'š lyq l'r : q̄w 'č'č'k 'š lyq
- 57 (2) lar : tüš yemiš ašlıglar : ı tarıg aš-  
l'r : twyš yymyš 'š lyq l'r : 'y t'ryq 'š

<sup>24</sup> \*U 9206 (T III M 182) (2) is parallel to this fragment.

<sup>25</sup> \*U 9207 (T III M 231) (1) is parallel to this fragment (see PCHÉLIN and RASCHMANN, 2016: 24; LE COQ, 1919: 106). Some parts of U 4611 (o.F.) and U 4716 (T III M 225) are parallel to this and following fragment with a different line or word sequence.

<sup>26</sup> \*U 9207 (T III M 231) (2) is parallel to this fragment.

- 58 (3) lıglar : ootka čöklämišig yetäči-  
lyq l'r : 'wwt q̄' čwykl'myš yk yyt'čy  
59 (4) lār : yiriŋ ašlıglar : akıg ašlıglar :  
l'r : yyrynk ''š lyq l'r : ''qyq ''š lyq l'r :  
60 (5) söl ašlıglar : yar ašlıglar : lešip  
swyl ''š lyq l'r : y'r ''š lyq l'r : lyšyp

[9]<sup>27</sup>

- 61 1. ašlıglar : yiŋ ašlıglar : kusok aš-  
''š lyq l'r : yynk ''š lyq l'r : q̄wswq ''š  
62 2. lıglar : ötmışig yetäčilär : arıgsız  
lyq l'r : 'wytmış yk yyt'čy l'r : ''ryq syz  
63 3. ašlıglar : kalınču ašlıglar : kašanıg iç-  
''š lyq l'r : q̄'lynčw ''š lyq l'r : q̄'š'nyq 'yč  
64 4. täčilär : nä nägü ašlıglar : köŋülüg  
t'čy l'r : n' n'kw ''š lyq l'r : kwnkwl wk  
65 5. kundačılar : munčulayu : bolarnıŋ alku  
q̄wnd'čy l'r : mwnčwl'yw : pwl'r nynk ''lq̄w

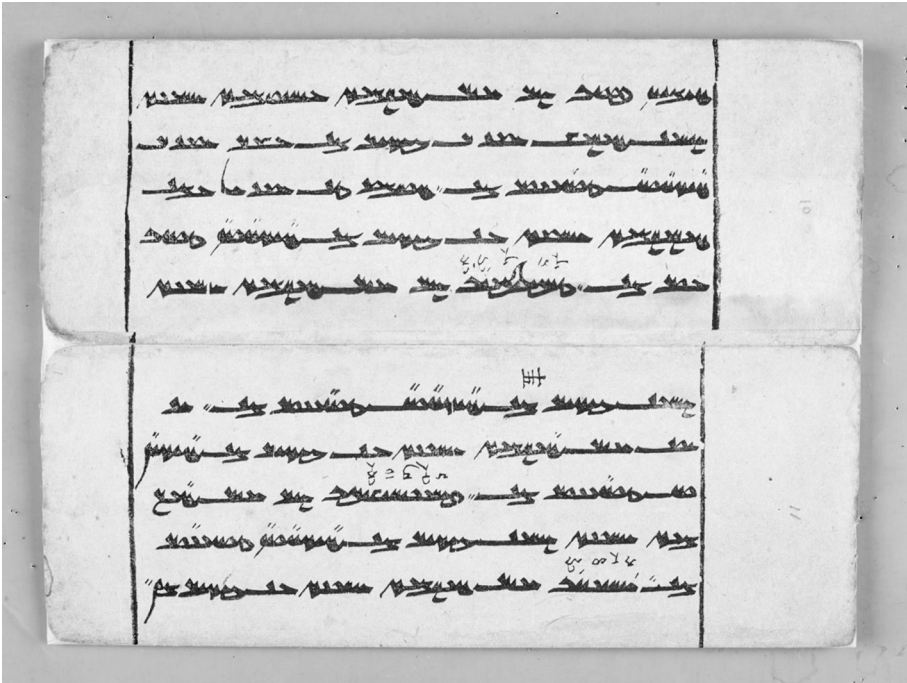
[10]<sup>28</sup>

- 66 (1) kamağ butelarnıŋ kılmiš yaratmış arviš-  
q'm'q pwtı l'r nynk qylmyš y'r'tmyš ''rvyš  
67 (2) ların kılıč üzä käsär m(ä)n v(a)čir üzä  
l'ryn qylyč 'wyz ' k's'r mn včyr 'wyz '  
68 (3) kažgok tokiyur m(ä)n : hormuzta üzä ymä  
q̄'sq̄wq̄ twq̄yywr mn : qwrmwz t' 'wyz ' ym'  
69 (4) kılılmiš arvišin käsär m(ä)n kažgok toki-  
qylylmyš ''rvyš yn k's'r mn q̄'sq̄wq̄ twqy  
70 (5) yur m(ä)n : đakadakinilarnıŋ kılmiš arviš-  
ywr mn : t'k'd'kyny l'r nynk qylmyš ''rvyš

<sup>27</sup> \*U 9207 (T III M 231) (3) is parallel to this fragment.

<sup>28</sup> \*U 9207 (T III M 231) (4) is parallel to this fragment.



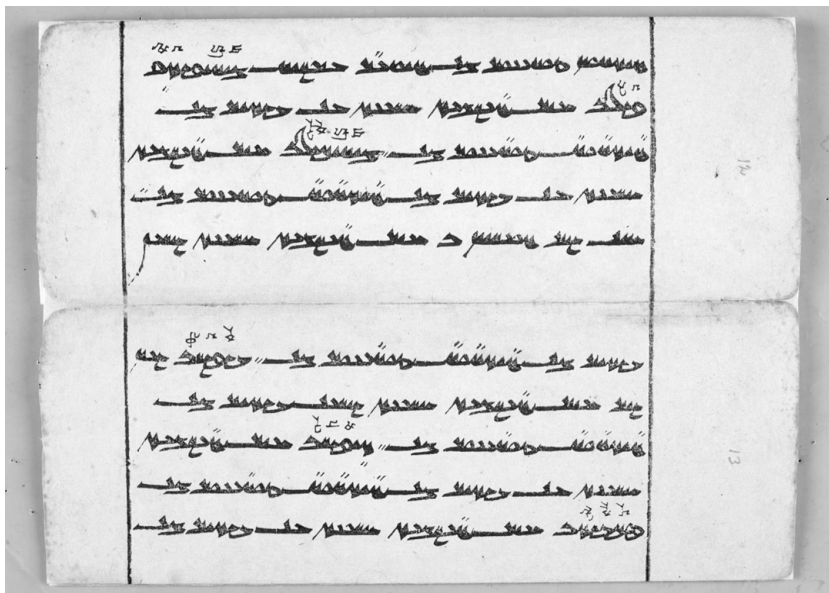


Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [10], [11]

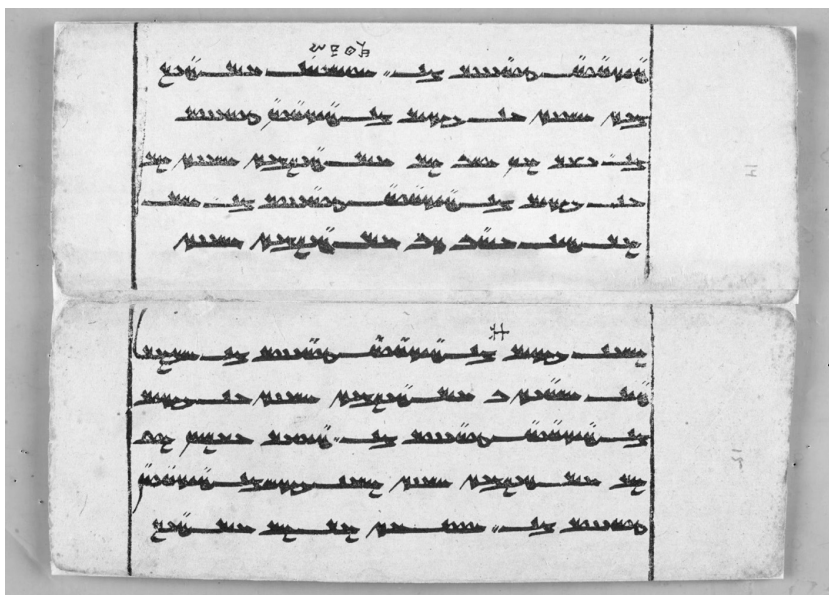
[11]<sup>29</sup> Pagination: 15 (Chin. shi wu 十五 "fifteen")

- 71 (1) ların kāsār m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : äz-  
l'ryn k's'r mn q'sqwqtwqyywr mn 'z
- 72 (2) rua-nıñ kılmiş arvişın kāsār m(ä)n kazg-  
rw' nynk qylmyş ''rvyş yn k's'r mn q's'q
- 73 (3) ok tokıyur m(ä)n : parivaraçakelarnıñ kıl-  
wq twqyywr mn : p'ryv'r'ç'ky l'r nynk qyl
- 74 (4) miş arvişların kāsār m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur  
myş ''rvyş l'ryn k's'r mn q'sqwqtwqyywr
- 75 (5) m(ä)n : narayanenıñ kılmiş arvişın kāsār m(ä)n :  
mn n'r'y'ny nynk qylmyş ''rvyş yn k's'r mn :

<sup>29</sup> U 390 (T III M 225 (59)) and U 4658 (T I M) are parallel to this fragment.



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [12], [13]



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [14], [15]

**[12]**


- 76 (1) kazgok tokiyur m(ä)n kađır yavlak mahapašu-  
q'sqwq twqyywr mn q'tyr y'vl'q m'q'p'šw
- 77 (2) pařınıđ kılmiš arvišin käsär m(ä)n  
p'dy nynk qylmyš 'rvyš yn k's'r mn
- 78 (3) kazgok tokiyur m(ä)n : mahakadeniđ kılmiš  
q'sqwq twqyywr mn : m'q'k'dy nynk qylmyš
- 79 (4) arvišin käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokiyur m(ä)n :  
'rvyš yn k's'r mn q'sqwq twkywr mn :
- 80 (5) analar<sup>30</sup> kuvragınıđ kılmiš arvišların  
'n' l'r qwvr'q y nynk qylmyš 'rvyš l'ryn


**[13]**

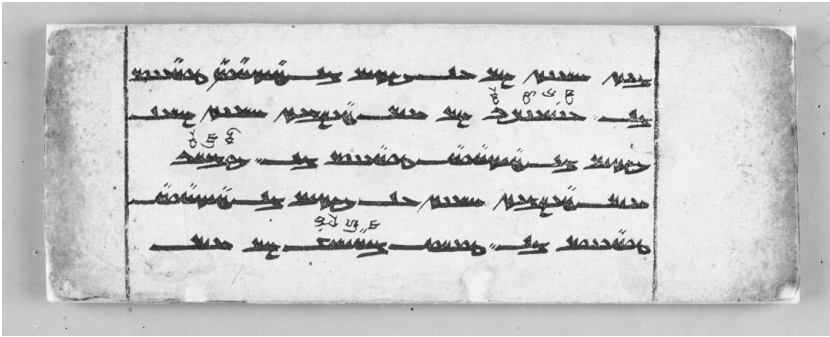
- 81 (1) käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokiyur m(ä)n : kapalilig-  
k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn : k'p'ly lyq
- 82 (2) larniđ kılmiš arvišların käsär m(ä)n  
l'r nynk qylmyš 'rvyš l'ryn k's'r mn
- 83 (3) kazgok tokiyur m(ä)n : šabarinıđ kılmiš  
q'sqwq twqyywr mn : š'p'ry nynk qylmyš
- 84 (4) arvišin käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokiyur m(ä)n  
'rvyš yn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn
- 85 (5) bukkakasiniđ<sup>31</sup> kılmiš arvišin käsär m(ä)n  
pwkk'k'sy nynk qylmyš 'rvyš yn k's'r mn

**[14]**

- 86 (1) kazgok tokiyur m(ä)n : atarvananiđ kıl-  
q'sqwq twqyywr mn : 't'rv'n' nynk qyl
- 87 (2) miš arvišin käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokiyur  
myš 'rvyš yn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr
- 88 (3) m(ä)n : v(a)čirlıg urılarnıđ kılmiš arvišlar-  
mn : včyr lyq 'wry l'r nynk qylmyš 'rvyš l'r
- 89 (4) in käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokiyur m(ä)n : ärk  
yn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn : 'rk
- 90 (5) lig han yagısıniđ kılmiš arviš-  
lyk q'n y'qy sy nynk qylmyš 'rvyš

<sup>30</sup> MALOV 1930, 91:  "n'r".

<sup>31</sup> MALOV 1930, 91:  "pwkk'k'sy".




Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [16]

[15] Pagination 16 (Chin. shi lui 十六 "sixteen")

- 91 (1) larin käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur<sup>32</sup> m(ä)n ärklig  
l'ryn k's'r mn q'sqwtwqyywr mn 'rklyk
- 92 (2) han arkişiniñ kılmiş arvişin käsär  
qñ ''rçyş y nynk qylmyş ''rvyş yn k's'r
- 93 (3) m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : kađır yavlak luu-  
mn q'sqwtwqyywr mn : q'tyr y'vl'q lww
- 94 (4) larnıñ kılmiş arvişin käsär m(ä)n kazgok  
l'r nynk qylmyş ''rvyş yn k's'r mn q'sqwq
- 95 (5) tokıyur m(ä)n : oot işligläriñ kıl-  
twqyywr mn : 'wwt'yş lyk l'r nynk qyl

[16]

- 96 (1) miş arvişların käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur  
myş '' rvyş l'r yn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr
- 97 (2) m(ä)n : vinayikelarnıñ kılmiş arvişların  
mn : vyn'yky l'r nynk qylmyş ''rvyş l'ryn
- 98 (3) käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : kumare  
k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn : kwm'ry
- 99 (4) niñ kılmiş arvişin käsär m(ä)n kazgok  
nynk qylmyş ''rvyş yn k's'r mn q'sqwq
- 100 (5) tokıyur m(ä)n : tört maharaçlarınıñ  
twqyywr mn : twyrt m'q'r'ç l'r nynk

<sup>32</sup> MALOV 1930, 91:  "twqyywr".

## 2. Translation

(01–08) [*Sitātapatrā* is... with charming eyes] and white, with violet lotus-eyes, with calm and peaceful mind, possessing knowledge of the virtue of the soul, shining like a moon-god (*Chandraprabha?*). May this groups of *mudrās* together with hosts of *mātrīs* protect me and my community and all sentient beings and deign this way. (08–10) Om ṛṣi-gana-praśastana-sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣa-sitātapatre hūṃ ṭrūṃ hrī ṣṭom jambhanakari hūṃ ṭrūṃ (11–13) [...] the great *vajradhāra* in the *maṇḍala* of the three spheres! Om! Bestow me and all sentient beings tranquility and health! (13–30) [Protect me and all sentient beings] from the fear of the king, from the fear of robbers, from the fear of fire, from the fear of water, from the fear of poison, from the fear of weapons, from the fear of enemies, from the fear of enemy troops, from the fear of famine, from the fear of foreign enemies, from the fear of hail, from the fear of untimely death, from the fear of earthquake, from the fear of falling thunderbolt, from the fear of being punished by state and rulers, from the fear of the gods, from the fear of *nāgas*, from the fear of lightning, from the fear of ferocious furios animals, from the fear of hot sand [deserts], from the fear of bird *Garuḍa*, from the fear of all diseases and illnesses, misfortunes and afflictions, from the fear of demons, (30–48) from the [danger of] possession of devas, possession of *nāgas*, possession of *asuras*, possession of demons, possession of *rākṣas*, possession of *gandharvas*, *garudas*, possession of *marutas*, possession of *kinmaras*, possession of *mahoragas*, possession of *manuṣya*, from the possession of *amanuṣyas*, from the possession of *pretas*, from the possession of *piśācas*, from the possession of *kumbhāṇḍas*, from the possession of *pūtanas*, from the possession of *kaṭapūtanas*, from the possession of *skandas*, from the possession of *unmādas*, from the possession of *apasmāras*, from the possession of *chāyas*, from the possession of *ostāraḥas*, from the possession of *revatīs*, from the possession of *jāmikās*, from the possession of *śākunīs*, from the possession of *māṭṛnaṇḍīs*, from the possession of *lambikās*, from the possession of *samīkas*, from the possession of *ālambhanas*, possession of *ḍakinīs*, possession of *kaṭa-ḍakinīs*, possession of *kaṭaṅkaṭa-mālis* etc., possession of all other grasper-demons, may [the *dhāraṇī*] give me peace and tranquility from the dangers. (48–55) The vigour-stealers, the fetus-snatchers [from mother's] womb, the blood-drinkers, the clot-eaters, the flesh-eaters, the fat eaters, the marrow-eaters, the newborn-stealers, the life-stealers, the offerings-eaters, the garland-stealers, (55–65) the fragrance-eaters, the incense-eaters, the

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flowers-eaters, the fruits-eaters, the crops-eaters, the burnt offering-eaters, the pus-eaters, the discharge-eaters, the spittle-eaters, the saliva-eaters, the phlegm-eaters, the slime-eaters, the vomit-eaters, the excrement(?)eaters, the impurity-eaters, the [food] residue-eaters, the urine-drinkers, everything-eaters, the consciousness-stealers; (65–100) in this way I cut off with a sword the spells performed by all of these [demons] and all *bhūtas* and I nail them down with a *vajra*. I cut off the spells also performed by *Indra* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *ḍākas* and *ḍākinīs* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Brahma* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *parivrājakas* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Nārāyaṇa* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by fierce and ferocious *Mahāpaśupati* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by Mahākāla and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by host of *mātrīs* and nail them down. I cut off the magics performed by *Kāpālikas* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Śavarī* and nail them down. I cut off the magics performed by *Pukkasa* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Ātharvaṇa* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Vajrakaumārī* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Yamāntaka* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by the messenger of *Yama* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by ferocious *nāgas* and nail them down I cut off the spells performed by *agnikarmins*<sup>33</sup> and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *vināyakas* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Kumāra* and nail them down. [I cut off the spells performed by] four *Mahārājas* [and nail them down...]

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<sup>33</sup> Lit. engaged in fire actions.

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-

translated several times into Chinese, Tibetan and Mongolian. Two *Sitātapatrā* texts in Khotanese sources are known.<sup>3</sup>

The text became widely spread among the Old Uyghurs during the era of the Mongol empire (1206–1368).<sup>4</sup> *Vidyārājñī-sitātapatrā-sūtra* (Uyg. *arvišlar eligi sitātapatri sudur*) probably was of great popularity among the Old Uyghurs as it was blockprinted at least two times under the patronage of the Yuan emperor's family.<sup>5</sup> The colophons of the blockprints do not provide any information about the original text that was used for the translation, as also translators or compilers of the Old Uyghur version, date of the translation etc.<sup>6</sup>

Three fragments of one *Sitātapatrā dhāraṇī* blockprint in Old Uyghur are preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS). Two separate fragments are kept under the call number SI 4502 (inv. 4558 (Old call number: M/5). They represent sixteen complete and two damaged folios of the blockprint. According to inventory book, these fragments were obtained by S.E. Malov in 1914 in Turfan city during his second expedition to Western China (1913–1915). Later, according to the note attached to the text, on July 27, 1952, they were granted (along with two other manuscripts) to the Department of Oriental Manuscripts of the Institute Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR [Pl. 1].<sup>7</sup> These fragments were published by S.E. Malov in 1930.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> PORCIÓ 2003.

<sup>4</sup> The popularity of the *Sitātapatrā* text is probably connected with the cult of this goddess among the Mongolian rulers. It is known that the ritual services to *Sitātapatrā* took place in the capital of Yuan empire Dadu during the reign of Qubilai Khan [VAN DER KUJIP 2004, 8]. Moreover, the two Chinese translations refer to the Mongolian period (Taishō No: 976, Taishō No: 977).

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Peter Zieme was the first to notice that the fragments kept in Berlin and Russian collections are from the different blockprint editions (ZIEME 1985, 171). Some researchers assume the existence of even more editions (PORCIÓ 2003, 93). The above mentioned editions look almost similar and differ mostly in page size. Textual collation has shown minor differences in orthography and grammar. They both have Brāhmī parts included into the text. These inserted glosses pertain to Northern Turkistan Brāhmī (type B, subtype u) according to the Sander's classification (SANDER 1968, charts 29–40).

<sup>6</sup> The colophons of both editions were published by KASAI 2008, 121–124. According to the exterior, the fragment U 4762 that contains the complete colophon refers to the same edition of the blockprint kept in the IOM, RAS.

<sup>7</sup> The archival materials kept in the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences St. Petersburg Branch (where all his working and private documents are kept nowadays) do not mention where these fragments were kept since 1914. Probably they stayed in his personal archive being prepared for the publication in 1930 (cf. MALOV 1930).

<sup>8</sup> The publication includes the text printed in Uyghur script (the transliteration is absent) and translation that needs correction as the majority of the buddhist terms had not been translated carefully. Moreover the article was published without a detailed archeological and codicological description or facsimile.

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В Институт востоковедения АН СССР  
(в Ленинграде)

Трону пришло от меня 12 руко-  
писи в 1 килограмм на уйгурском яз.  
XIII в. Описание этих (уже опубликован-  
ных) документов прилагаю.

Эти руки были из-за распределителей из моего  
второго командировки в Китай в 1913-15 гг.

27 Июня 1952 г.

Гл.-кorr. АН СССР

Сер. Малов.

The third fragment kept in the Serindia collection of the IOM, RAS under the call number SI 4571 (inv. 4627 (Old call number: MA/10) comprises of two folios. They are well preserved except for the fact that the left upper part of the folio with Chinese pagination 'twelve' is missing. According to inventory book, this fragment was obtained by S.E. Malov (this also attests the old called number (MA for 'Malov's collection') but the date and circumstances of acquisition are not clear.

The fragments definitely refer to the same blockprint edition.<sup>9</sup> The blockprint was produced in the format of ‘vertical’ accordion (concertina)-style book that was widespread among the Mongols and Uyghurs in the Yuan era. The size of the folded folios is 11.5×28 cm (21.5 cm between the ‘rails’ denoting the upper and lower borders of the text). For production of the blockprint Chinese thin matte laid paper (4 vergé lines in 1 cm) was used. The blockprint folios (printed from one wooden board) were folded two times and glued to each other (along the long edge) that is why the Chinese pagination is on every third folded page. Text is on side recto only. The folded page contains five lines of the Old Uyghur text. Interval between the text lines — 1.5 cm.

Happened by circumstance to be the sequential parts the fragments are transcribed and transliterated in the order of the text:

## 1. Transcription and Transliteration

### Fragment 3 SI 4502

[1]

01 (1) lug y[ürün] ymä : yip[ün] lenh[ua köz]<sup>10</sup>-  
lwk y[ ] ym' : yyp[ ] lynq[ ]

02 (2) lüg : amrılmış yavalmış köñül[i]g] ymä :  
lwk : ''mrylmyš y'v'lmyš kwynkwł lw[ ] ym' :

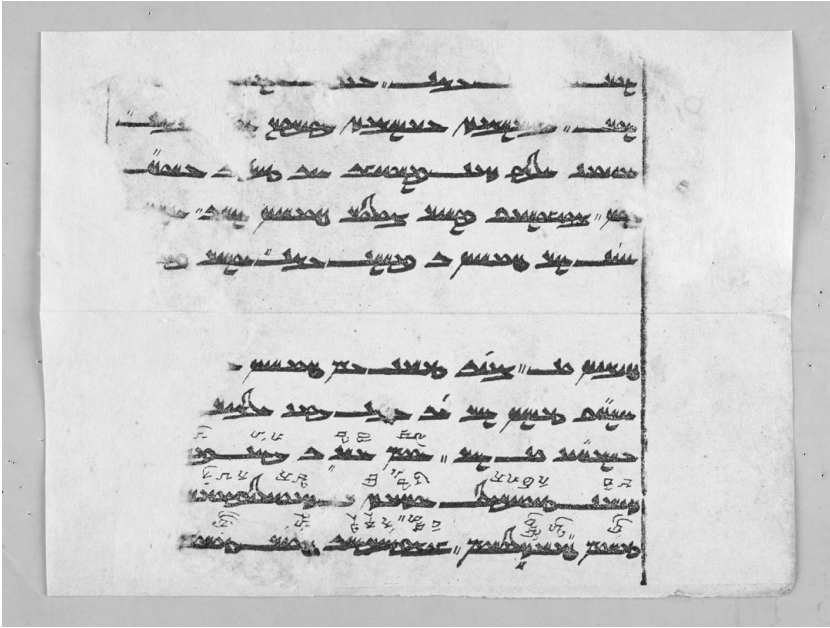
03 (3) ätöz ädgüsin biltäči ay t(ä)ñ[r]i y(a)ruk-  
't'wyz 'dkw syn pylt'čy ''y tnk[ ] y yrwq

04 (4) lug : munčulayu bolar mudur kuvragları : *alku*  
lwq : mwnčwł'yw pwl'r mwdwr qwvr'ql'ry : ''lqw

05 (5) analar kuvragı birlä ymä : olar bar[ča]  
'n' l'r qwvr'q y pyrl' ym' : 'wl'r p'r[ ]

<sup>9</sup> All fragments were restorated to the exhibition ‘Brush and Calamus’ organised to 200-years anniversary of the Asiatic museum (nowadays IOM, RAS).

<sup>10</sup> The last line of U 4658 (T I μ) is parallel to this line; therefore, the reconstructions of *yipün*, *lenhua* and *köz* are in accordance with U 4658 (T I μ).



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [1], [2]

[2]

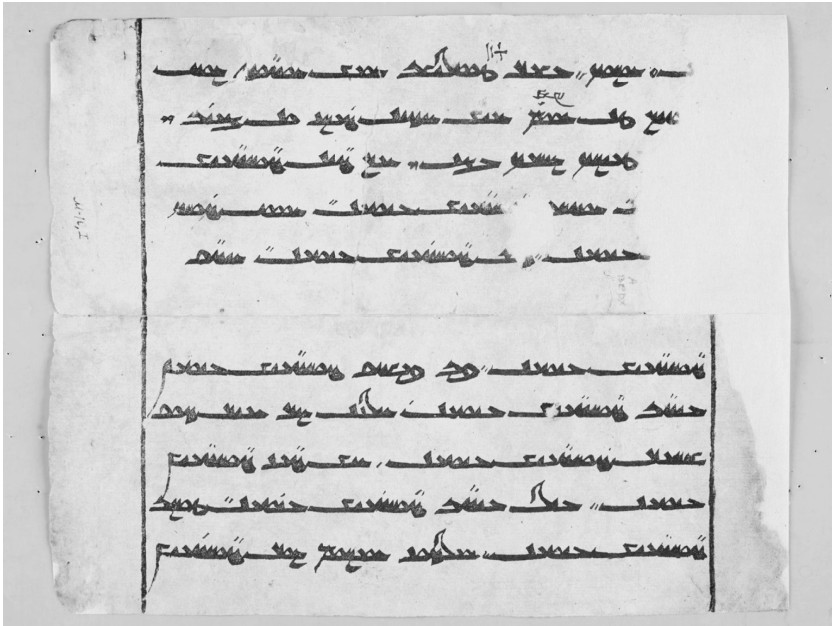
- 06 (1) kamagun : meni terinim kuvragz[m] [birlä]<sup>11</sup>  
q'm'q wn : myñy tyryn ym qwvr'q y[ ] [ ]
- 07 (2) alku tnl(ı)glarnı ymä küzädmäk [kılı]<sup>12</sup>  
'lq̄w tynlq l'r ñy ym' kwyz 'dm'k [ ] [ ]
- 08 (3) y(a)rlikazunlar : oom erži gana pi[šastana]<sup>13</sup>  
yrlyq'z wn l'r : 'wwm 'yrž y k'n' py[ ] [ ]
- 09 (4) sarva tatagaṭa ušniša sitaṭapatiri [huṅ]<sup>14</sup>  
s'rv' t't'k'd' 'wṣnyš ' syt'd'p'tyry [qwnk]
- 10 (5) turum hiriṣturum : čambanakari huṅ turum  
twrwm q̄yryšdwrwm : č'mp'n'k'ry qwnk twrwm

<sup>11</sup> Cf. RÖHRBORN and RONA-TAŠ 2005, 261, line 163.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. RÖHRBORN and RONA-TAŠ 2005, 261, line 164.

<sup>13</sup> Reconstructed in accordance to the Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* preserved in the texts in different languages.

<sup>14</sup> Reconstructed in accordance to the Sanskrit *dhāraṇī* preserved in the texts in different languages.



Fragment #2  
SI 4571 [1], [2]

## Lacuna

### Fragment 2

#### SI 4571

[1]<sup>15</sup> Pagination 12 (Chin. 十二)

- 11 (1) [            ] ulug : v(a)čir tutdači üč ugušlug  
           [            ] 'wlvq : včyr twtd'čy 'wyč 'wqwš lwq
- 12 (2) [man]dalta<sup>16</sup> oom enč äsän kılzun meni :  
           [            ] t'l t' 'wvm 'ynč 's'n qylz wn myny
- 13 (3) [alku]<sup>17</sup> tml(1)glarig ymä : el han korkinč-  
           [            ] tynlq l'ryq ym' : 'yl q'n qwrqynč

<sup>15</sup> U 4472 (o.F.) is parallel to this fragment.

<sup>16</sup> The reconstruction is in accordance with other versions. Here *üč ugušlug maṅdal* 'the maṅdala of the three spheres' stands for Skt. *tribhuvana maṅdala* (*maṅdal* < Toh. A *maṅdal* / Toh. B *maṅdāl* < Skt. *maṅdala* ). In other versions of *Sitātapatrā* also have Tib. *dkyil 'khor-maṅdala* (PORCIÓ 2000, 102, line 99); Chin. *sān jièzhōng wéi* (Taishō No: 977 405a 11) as its counterparts. For *tribhuvana*; cf. MONIER WILLIAMS 1899, 459.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. SI 4502 [2], line 2.

- 14 (4) [intin]<sup>18</sup> : ogrı [ko]rkınçınt[ı]n : oot kork-  
[ ] : 'wqry [ ]rğynç ynt[ ]n : 'wwt qwrq  
15 (5) [inç]intin : *svv* korkınçintin : agu  
[ ] yntyn : *swv* qwrğynç yntyn : ''q̄w

[2]<sup>19</sup>

- 16 (1) korkınçintin : bı bıçgu korkınçintin  
qwrğynç yntyn : py pyçqw qwrğynç yntyn  
17 (2) yağı korkınçintin : adınlarnıñ süü  
y'q̄y qwrğynç yntyn : ''dyn l'rnyk sww  
18 (3) çäriğ korkınçintin : aç kız korkınç-  
ç'ryq qwrğynç yntyn : ''ç q̄yz qwrğynç  
19 (4) intin : yad yağı korkınçintin tolı  
yntyn : y'd y'q̄y qwrğynç yntyn twly  
20 (5) korkınçintin : üdsüz ölümlüg korkınç  
qwrğynç yntyn : 'wydswz 'wylwm lwk qwrğynç

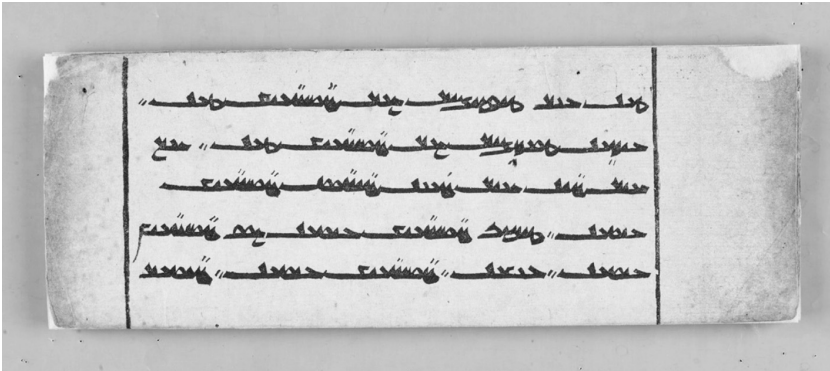
**Fragment 3****SI 4502**

## [1]

- 21 (1) tın yer täprämäklig korkınçtın :  
tyn yyr t'pr'm'k lyk qwrğynç tyn :  
22 (2) yaşın tüşmäklig korkınçtın : el-  
y'şyn twyşm'k lyk qwrğynç tyn : 'yl  
23 (3) niñ hannıñ kıy(ı)n kagut korkınç-  
nyñk q'n nnyk q̄yyn q'q̄wt qwrğynç  
24 (4) intin : t(ä)ñri korkınçintin luu korkınç-  
yntyn : tñkry qwrğynç yntyn lww qwrğynç  
25 (5) intin : yiçin : korkınçintin : kađır  
yntyn : yyçyn : qwrğynç yntyn : q'tyr

<sup>18</sup> There is a repetitive sequences for *korkınçintin*; see following lines.

<sup>19</sup> U 4223 (T II T 630) and U 4265 (T III 218.519) are parallel to this fragment.



Fragment # 3  
SI 4502 [1]

[2]<sup>20</sup>

- 26 (1) yavlak käyiklär korkinčintın : isig-  
y'vl'k k'yyk l'r qwrqynč yntyn : 'ysyk
- 27 (2) kum korkinčintın garude kuš korkinč-  
qwm qwrqynč yntyn k'rwdy qwš qwrqynč
- 28 (3) intın : alku ig kām ada tuda sikış  
yntyn : ''lqw 'yk k'm ''d' twd' syqyš
- 29 (4) taşıš korkinčlarintın : yäklär kork-  
t'nyš qwrqyč l'r yntyn : y'k l'r qwrq)
- 30 (5) mčintın : t(ä)ñri tutmaktın : luu  
ynč yntyn : tkry twtm'q tyn : lww

[3]<sup>21</sup> Pagination: 13 (Chin. 十三)

- 31 (1) tutmaktın : asure tutmaktın : yäk  
twtm'q tyn : ''swry twtm'q tyn : y'k
- 32 (2) tutmaktın : rakšaz tutmaktın gandar-  
twtm'q tyn : r'kš'z twtm'q tyn k'nt'r
- 33 (3) ve tutmaktın : garuđe tutmaktın :  
vy twtm'q tyn : k'rwty twtm'q tyn :

<sup>20</sup> U 4355 (o.F.) and U 4387 (o.F.) + U 4416 (o.F.) are parallel to this fragment.

<sup>21</sup> Some parts of U 2749 (T II M 501) and U 2752 (T II M 504) are parallel to this and following fragment.

- 34 (4) marute tutmaktin : kinare tutmaktin :  
 m'rwtv twtm'q̄ tyn : kyn'ry twtm'q̄ tyn :  
 35 (5) mahorage tutmaktin : manuši tutmak-  
 m'qwr'ky twtm'q̄ tyn : m'nwšy twtm'q̄

[4]<sup>22</sup>

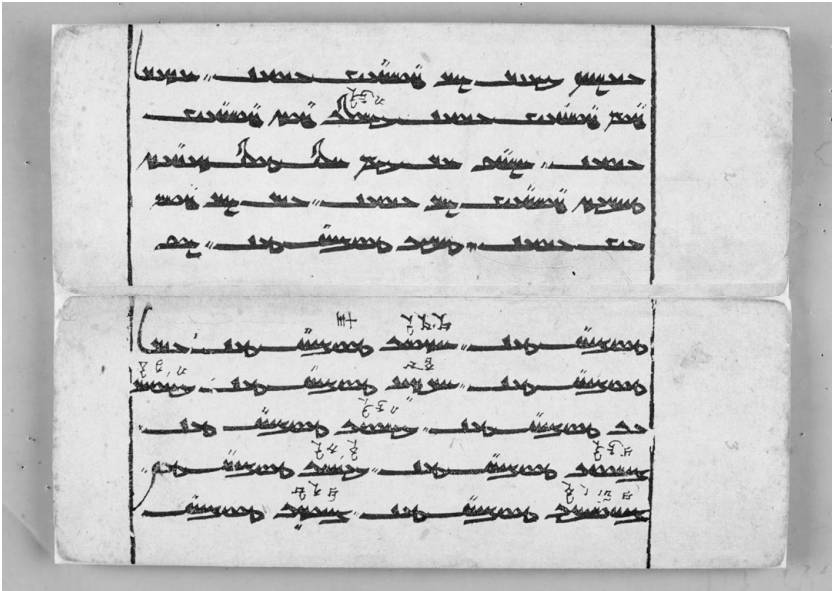
- 36 (1) tin : amanuži tutmaktin : pret  
 tyn : 'm'nwž y twtm'q̄ tyn : pryt  
 37 (2) tutmaktin : pišače tutmaktin : kum-  
 twtm'q̄ tyn : pyš'čy twtm'q̄ tyn : kwm  
 38 (3) paṇḍe tutmaktin puṭane tutmaktin  
 p'nty twtm'q̄ tyn pwd'ny twtm'q̄ tyn  
 39 (4) katapuṭane tutmaktin skanḍa tutmak-  
 k't'pwd'ny twtm'q̄ tyn sk'nt' twtm'q̄  
 40 (5) tin utmada tutmaktin apasmar tutmak-  
 tyn 'wtm'd' twtm'q̄ tyn 'p'sm'r twtm'q̄

[5]<sup>23</sup>

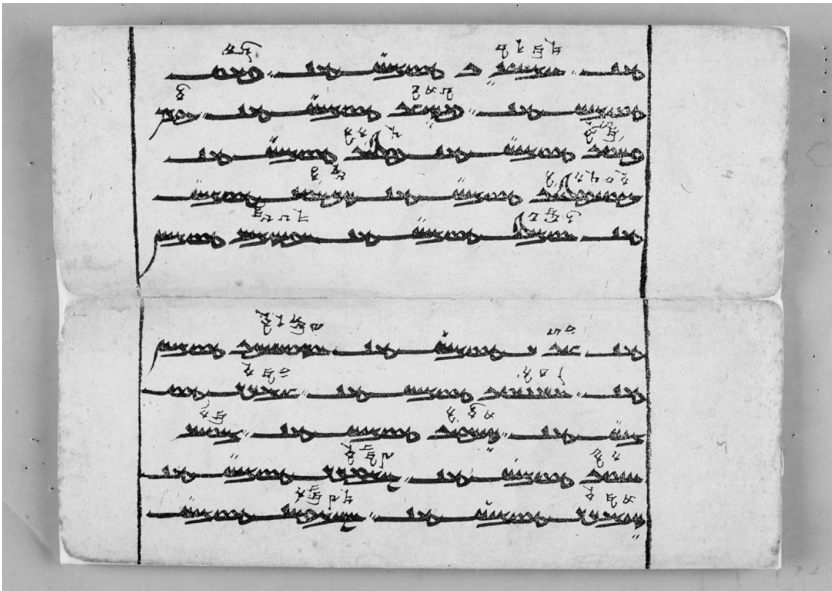
- 41 (1) tin čaya tutmaktin ostarake tutmak-  
 tyn č'y ' twtm'q̄ tyn : 'wst'r'ky twtm'q̄  
 42 (2) tin : irevati tutmaktin : čamika tut-  
 tyn : 'yryv'ty twtm'q̄ tyn : č'myk'  
 43 (3) maktin : šakuni tutmaktin : matar-  
 m'q̄ tyn : š'kwny twtm'q̄ tyn : m't'r  
 44 (4) nanḍi tutmaktin : lambika tutmaktin  
 n'nty twtm'q̄ tyn : l'mpyk' twtm'q̄ tyn  
 45 (5) samika tutmaktin : alambana tutmak-  
 š'myk' twtm'q̄ tyn : 'l'mp'n' twtm'q̄

<sup>22</sup> U 4633 (T II D) is also parallel to this fragment.

<sup>23</sup> \*U 9206 (T III M 182) (1) is parallel to this fragment. For a long time it was considered that these \*U fragments belong to the losses during World War II but now these fragments have been 're-discovered' in the storage of State Hermitage (for \*U fragments, cf. PCHELIN and RASCHMANN 2016, 13–14, 23–24).

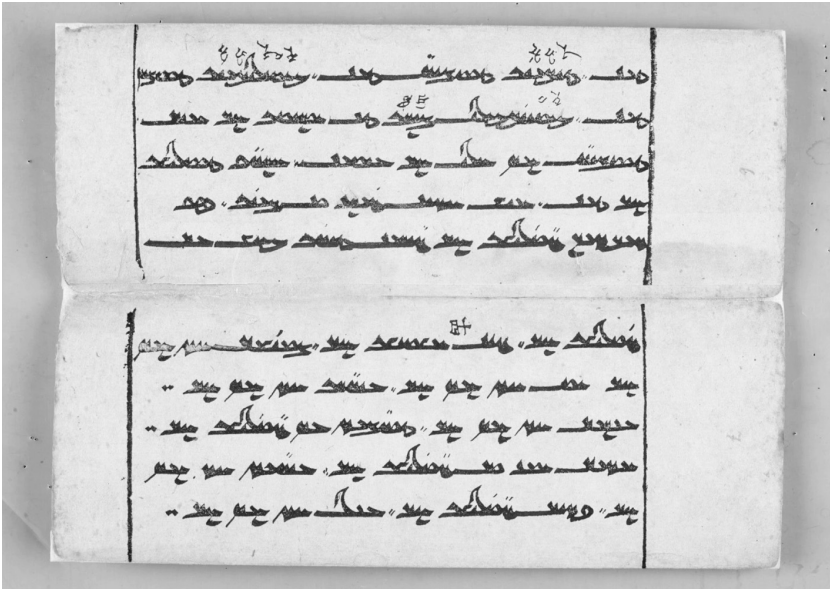


Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [2], [3]

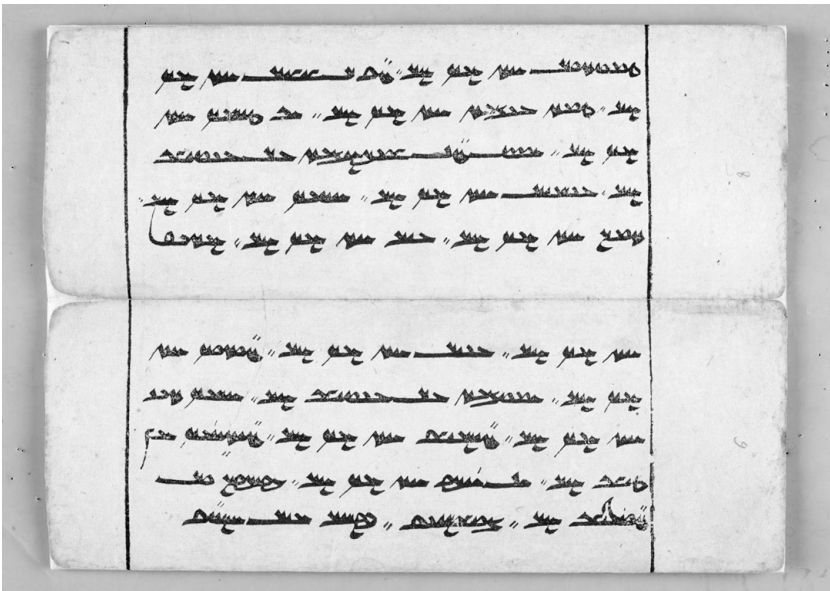


Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [4], [5]





Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [6], [7]



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [8], [9]

**[6]**<sup>24</sup>

- 46 (1) tın : đakini tutmaktın : katadakini tutmak-  
tyn : t'kyny twtm'q̄ tyn : k't'd'kyny twtm'q
- 47 (2) tın : katanğağa malita ulatılarnıı  
tyn : k't'ñkk'd' m'ly t' 'wl'ty l'r nynk
- 48 (3) tutmıklıg adalarıntın : alku tutdaçı-  
twtm'q̄ lyq ''d' l'r yntyn : ''lq̄w twtd'çy
- 48 (4) lartın : enč äsän kılzun meni : boo  
l'r tyn : 'ynč 's'n q̄ylz wn myñy : pww
- 50 (5) sigšil kundačılar karıntakı känčig  
sykšyl q̄wnd'çy l'r q̄'ryn t'q̄y k'nč yk

**[7]**<sup>25</sup> Pagination 14 (Chin. 十四)

- 51 (1) kundačılar : kan ičtäčilär : münčik ašlıg-  
q̄wnd'çy l'r : q'n 'yčt'çy l'r : mwyñčyk ''š lyq
- 52 (2) lar ät ašlıg-lar : yakrı ašlıglar :  
l'r 't ''š lyq l'r : y'q̄ry ''š lyq l'r :
- 53 (3) yilik ašlıglar : tugmišig kundačılar :  
yylyk ''š lyq l'r : twq̄myš yq q̄wnd'çy l'r :
- 54 (4) isig özüg kundačılar : yagiš ašlıg-  
'ysyk 'wyz wk q̄wnd'çy l'r : y'q̄yš ''š lyq
- 55 (5) lar : psak kundačılar : yid ašlıglar :  
l'r : ps'k q̄wnd'çy l'r : yyd ''š lyq l'r :

**[8]**<sup>26</sup>

- 56 (1) tütsüg ašlıglar : hua čäčäk ašlıg-  
twytswk ''š lyq l'r : q̄w 'č'č'k ''š lyq
- 57 (2) lar : tüš yemiš ašlıglar : ı tarıg aš-  
l'r : twyš yymyš ''š lyq l'r : 'y t'ryq ''š

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<sup>24</sup> \*U 9206 (T III M 182) (2) is parallel to this fragment.

<sup>25</sup> \*U 9207 (T III M 231) (1) is parallel to this fragment (see PCHÉLIN and RASCHMANN, 2016: 24; LE COQ, 1919: 106). Some parts of U 4611 (o.F.) and U 4716 (T III M 225) are parallel to this and following fragment with a different line or word sequence.

<sup>26</sup> \*U 9207 (T III M 231) (2) is parallel to this fragment.

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- 58 (3) lıglar : ootka čöklämišig yetäči-  
lyq l'r : 'wwt q̄' čwykl'myš yk yyt'čy  
59 (4) lār : yiriŋ ašlıglar : akıg ašlıglar :  
l'r : yyrynk ''š lyq l'r : ''qyq ''š lyq l'r :  
60 (5) söl ašlıglar : yar ašlıglar : lešip  
swyl ''š lyq l'r : y'r ''š lyq l'r : lyšyp

[9]<sup>27</sup>

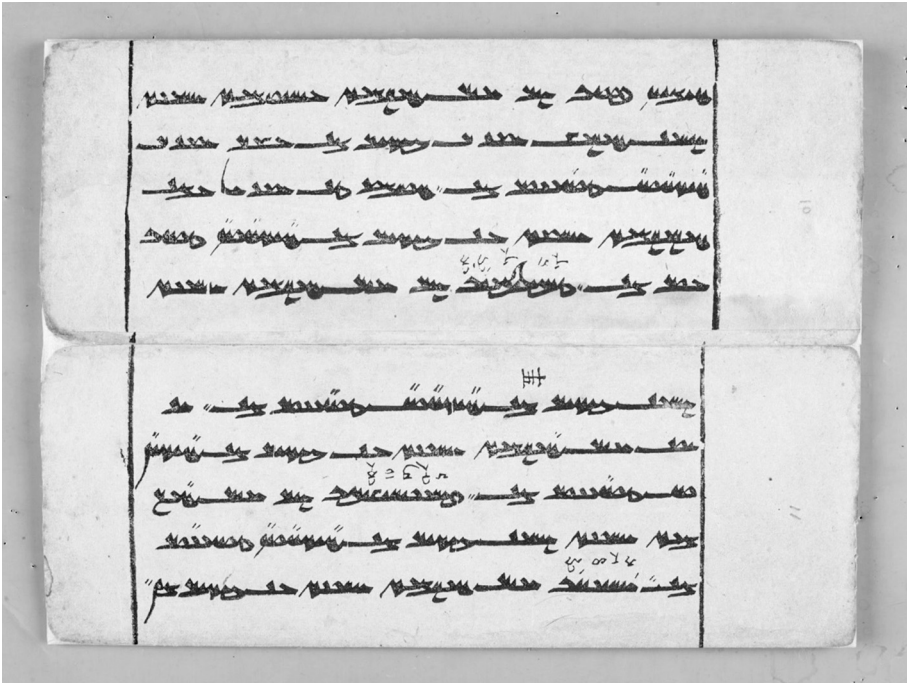
- 61 1. ašlıglar : yiŋ ašlıglar : kusok aš-  
''š lyq l'r : yynk ''š lyq l'r : q̄wswq ''š  
62 2. lıglar : ötmışig yetäčilär : arıgsız  
lyq l'r : 'wytmış yk yyt'čy l'r : ''ryq syz  
63 3. ašlıglar : kalınču ašlıglar : kašanıg iç-  
''š lyq l'r : q̄'lynčw ''š lyq l'r : q̄'š'nyq 'yč  
64 4. täčilär : nä nägü ašlıglar : köŋülüg  
t'čy l'r : n' n'kw ''š lyq l'r : kwnkwl wk  
65 5. kundačılar : munčulayu : bolarnıŋ alku  
q̄wnd'čy l'r : mwnčwl'yw : pwl'r nynk ''lq̄w

[10]<sup>28</sup>

- 66 (1) kamağ butelarnıŋ kılmiš yaratmiš arviš-  
q'm'q pwtı l'r nynk qylmyš y'r'tmyš ''rvyš  
67 (2) ların kılıč üzä käsär m(ä)n v(a)čir üzä  
l'ryn qylyč 'wyz ' k's'r mn včyr 'wyz '  
68 (3) kažgok tokiyur m(ä)n : hormuzta üzä ymä  
q̄'sq̄wq̄ twq̄yywr mn : qwrmwz t' 'wyz ' ym'  
69 (4) kılılmiš arvišin käsär m(ä)n kažgok toki-  
qylylmyš ''rvyš yn k's'r mn q̄'sq̄wq̄ twqy  
70 (5) yur m(ä)n : đakadakinilarnıŋ kılmiš arviš-  
ywr mn : t'k'd'kyny l'r nynk qylmyš ''rvyš

<sup>27</sup> \*U 9207 (T III M 231) (3) is parallel to this fragment.

<sup>28</sup> \*U 9207 (T III M 231) (4) is parallel to this fragment.



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [10], [11]

[11]<sup>29</sup> Pagination: 15 (Chin. 十五 shi wu)

71 (1) larin käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : äz-  
l'ryn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn 'z

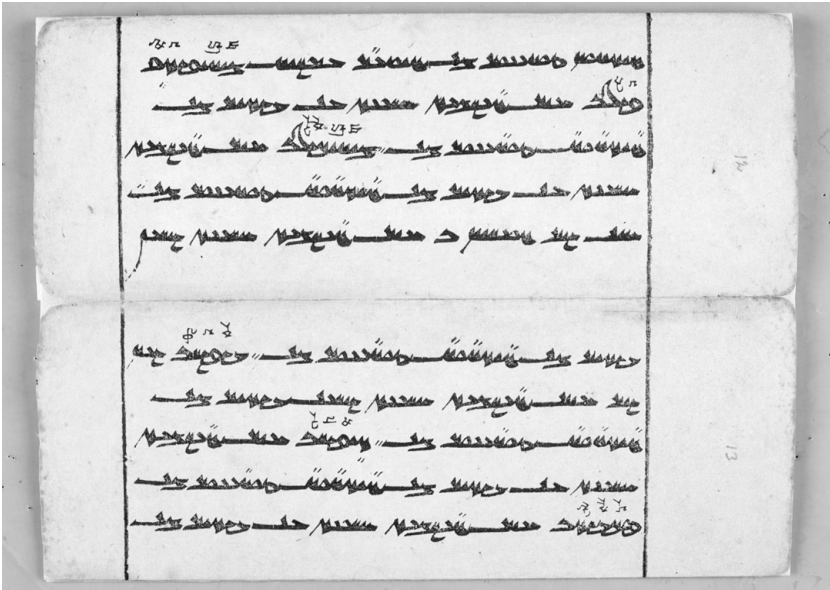
72 (2) rua-nıñ kılmiş arvişin käsär m(ä)n kazg-  
rw' nynk qylmyş ''rviş yn k's'r mn q'sq

73 (3) ok tokıyur m(ä)n : parivaraçakelarnıñ kıl-  
wq twqyywr mn : p'ryv'r'ç'ky l'r nynk qyl

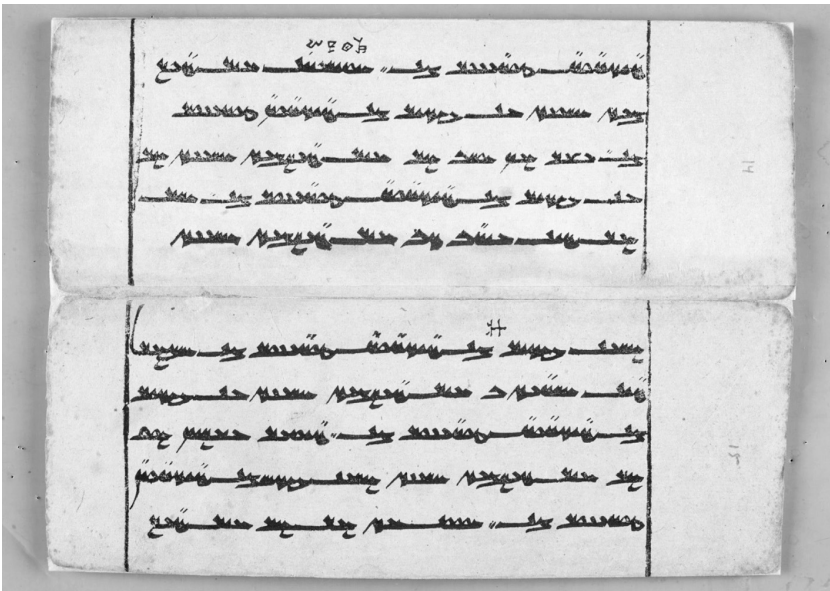
74 (4) miş arvişların käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur  
myş ''rviş l'ryn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr

75 (5) m(ä)n : narayanenıñ kılmiş arvişin käsär m(ä)n :  
mn n'r'y'ny nynk qylmyş ''rviş yn k's'r mn :

<sup>29</sup> U 390 (T III M 225 (59)) and U 4658 (T I M) are parallel to this fragment.



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [12], [13]



Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [14], [15]

**[12]**


- 76 (1) kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n kađır yavlak mahapašu-  
q'sqwq twqyywr mn q'tyr y'vl'q m'q'p'şw
- 77 (2) pařınıđ kılmiş arvişın käsär m(ä)n  
p'dy nynk qylmyş 'rvyş yn k's'r mn
- 78 (3) kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : mahakadenıđ kılmiş  
q'sqwq twqyywr mn : m'q'k'dy nynk qylmyş
- 79 (4) arvişın käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n :  
'rvyş yn k's'r mn q'sqwq twkywr mn :
- 80 (5) analar<sup>30</sup> kuvragınıđ kılmiş arvişların  
'n' l'r qwvr'q y nynk qylmyş 'rvyş l'ryn


**[13]**

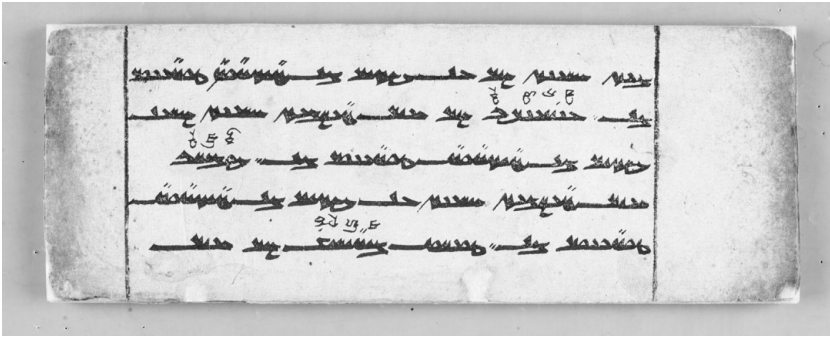
- 81 (1) käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : kapalilig-  
k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn : k'p'ly lyq
- 82 (2) larnıđ kılmiş arvişların käsär m(ä)n  
l'r nynk qylmyş 'rvyş l'ryn k's'r mn
- 83 (3) kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : şabarinıđ kılmiş  
q'sqwq twqyywr mn : ş'p'ry nynk qylmyş
- 84 (4) arvişın käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n  
'rvyş yn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn
- 85 (5) bukkakasiniđ<sup>31</sup> kılmiş arvişın käsär m(ä)n  
pwkk'k'sy nynk qylmyş 'rvyş yn k's'r mn

**[14]**

- 86 (1) kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : atarvananıđ kıl-  
q'sqwq twqyywr mn : 't'rv'n' nynk qyl
- 87 (2) miş arvişın käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur  
myş 'rvyş yn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr
- 88 (3) m(ä)n : v(a)çirliđ urılarnıđ kılmiş arvişlar-  
mn : vçyr lyq 'wry l'r nynk qylmyş 'rvyş l'r
- 89 (4) in käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : ärk  
yn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn : 'rk
- 90 (5) lig han yagısınıđ kılmiş arviş-  
lyk q'n y'qy sy nynk qylmyş 'rvyş

<sup>30</sup> MALOV 1930, 91:  "n'r".

<sup>31</sup> MALOV 1930, 91:  "pwkk'k'sy".




Fragment #3  
SI 4502 [16]

**[15]** Pagination 16 (Chin. 十六 shi liu)

- 91 (1) larin käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur<sup>32</sup> m(ä)n ärklig  
l'ryn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn 'rklyk
- 92 (2) han arkişiniñ kılmiş arvişin käsär  
q'n ''rқыş y nynk qylmyş ''rvyş yn k's'r
- 93 (3) m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : kađır yavlak luu-  
mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn : q'tyr y'vl'q lww
- 94 (4) larnıñ kılmiş arvişin käsär m(ä)n kazgok  
l'r nynk qylmyş ''rvyş yn k's'r mn q'sqwq
- 95 (5) tokıyur m(ä)n : oot işligläрниñ kıl-  
twqyywr mn : 'wwt'yş lyk l'r nynk qyl

**[16]**

- 96 (1) miş arvişların käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur  
myş '' rvyş l'r yn k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr
- 97 (2) m(ä)n : vinayikelarnıñ kılmiş arvişların  
mn : vyñ'yyky l'r nynk qylmyş ''rvyş l'ryn
- 98 (3) käsär m(ä)n kazgok tokıyur m(ä)n : kumare  
k's'r mn q'sqwq twqyywr mn : kwm'ry
- 99 (4) niñ kılmiş arvişin käsär m(ä)n kazgok  
nynk qylmyş ''rvyş yn k's'r mn q'sqwq
- 100 (5) tokıyur m(ä)n : tört maharaçlarınıñ  
twqyywr mn : twyrt m'q'r'ç l'r nynk

<sup>32</sup> MALOV 1930, 91:  "twqyywr".

## 2. Translation

(01–08) [*Sitātapatrā* is... with charming eyes] and white, with violet lotus-eyes, with calm and peaceful mind, possessing knowledge of the virtue of the soul, shining like a moon-god (*Chandraprabha?*). May this groups of *mudrās* together with hosts of *mātrīs* protect me and my community and all sentient beings and deign this way. (08–10) Om ṛṣi-gana-praśastana-sarvatathāgatoṣṇīṣa-sitātapatre hūṃ ṭrūṃ hrī ṣṭom jambhanakari hūṃ ṭrūṃ (11–13) [...] the great *vajradhāra* in the *maṇḍala* of the three spheres! Om! Bestow me and all sentient beings tranquility and health! (13–30) [Protect me and all sentient beings] from the fear of the king, from the fear of robbers, from the fear of fire, from the fear of water, from the fear of poison, from the fear of weapons, from the fear of enemies, from the fear of enemy troops, from the fear of famine, from the fear of foreign enemies, from the fear of hail, from the fear of untimely death, from the fear of earthquake, from the fear of falling thunderbolt, from the fear of being punished by state and rulers, from the fear of the gods, from the fear of *nāgas*, from the fear of lightning, from the fear of ferocious furios animals, from the fear of hot sand [deserts], from the fear of bird *Garuḍa*, from the fear of all diseases and illnesses, misfortunes and afflictions, from the fear of demons, (30–48) from the [danger of] possession of devas, possession of *nāgas*, possession of *asuras*, possession of demons, possession of *rākṣas*, possession of *gandharvas*, *garudas*, possession of *marutas*, possession of *kinmaras*, possession of *mahoragas*, possession of *manuṣya*, from the possession of *amanuṣyas*, from the possession of *pretas*, from the possession of *piśācas*, from the possession of *kumbhāṇḍas*, from the possession of *pūtanas*, from the possession of *kaṭapūtanas*, from the possession of *skandas*, from the possession of *unmādas*, from the possession of *apasmāras*, from the possession of *chāyas*, from the possession of *ostāarakas*, from the possession of *revatīs*, from the possession of *jāmikās*, from the possession of *sākunīs*, from the possession of *māṭṛnaṇḍīs*, from the possession of *lambikās*, from the possession of *samīkas*, from the possession of *ālambhanas*, possession of *ḍakinīs*, possession of *kaṭa-ḍakinīs*, possession of *kaṭaṅkaṭa-mālis* etc., possession of all other grasper-demons, may [the *dhāraṇī*] give me peace and tranquility from the dangers. (48–55) The vigour-stealers, the fetus-snatchers [from mother's] womb, the blood-drinkers, the clot-eaters, the flesh-eaters, the fat eaters, the marrow-eaters, the newborn-stealers, the life-stealers, the offerings-eaters, the garland-stealers, (55–65) the fragrance-eaters, the incense-eaters, the

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flowers-eaters, the fruits-eaters, the crops-eaters, the burnt offering-eaters, the pus-eaters, the discharge-eaters, the spittle-eaters, the saliva-eaters, the phlegm-eaters, the slime-eaters, the vomit-eaters, the excrement(?)eaters, the impurity-eaters, the [food] residue-eaters, the urine-drinkers, everything-eaters, the consciousness-stealers; (65–100) in this way I cut off with a sword the spells performed by all of these [demons] and all *bhūtas* and I nail them down with a *vajra*. I cut off the spells also performed by *Indra* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *ḍākas* and *ḍākinīs* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Brahma* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *parivrājakas* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Nārāyaṇa* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by fierce and ferocious *Mahāpaśupati* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by Mahākāla and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by host of *mātrīs* and nail them down. I cut off the magics performed by *Kāpālikas* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Śavarī* and nail them down. I cut off the magics performed by *Pukkasa* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Ātharvaṇa* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Vajrakaumārī* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Yamāntaka* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by the messenger of *Yama* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by ferocious *nāgas* and nail them down I cut off the spells performed by *agnikarmins*<sup>33</sup> and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *vināyakas* and nail them down. I cut off the spells performed by *Kumāra* and nail them down. [I cut off the spells performed by] four *Mahārājas* [and nail them down...]

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<sup>33</sup> Lit. engaged in fire actions.

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Peter Zieme

## The Layman Īndu and an Old Uighur Poem

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*Abstract:* Edition of an Old Uighur poem preserved on the verso side of SI 4959 (Kr I 18) of the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts. The fragment contains twelve stanzas à four lines. The contents is difficult to define, It is assumed that stanzas I to VI refer to an unnamed young boy who may be a Buddhist novice, while stanzas VII to XII emphasise the importance of doing *puṇya*, good deeds. The layman Īndu is presented as a model. In stanza IX he vows to encounter with Maitreya expressed in an indirect way. Similar verses are known from Maitreya poems. The paper presents a full edition of this fragment with some notes on problematic words and phrases.

*Key words:* Old Uighur, alliterative poem, Buddhist culture, acquiring puṇya, layman (upāsaka) Īndu.

### Some introductory words

SI 4959 (Kr I 18)<sup>1</sup> is a fragment of a Chinese scroll of the 金剛般若波羅蜜經論 *Jingang boreboluomi jing lun*<sup>2</sup>. It was cut and used for writing the Old Uighur text on the empty verso side of the paper. A similarly shaped leaf (SI 4051 (4bKr 56)) from the same Chinese text<sup>3</sup>, but necessarily not from the same scroll, bears on its verso side an Old Uighur Maitreya text<sup>4</sup>. The Uighur script differs from that of the first leaf. It is not clear whether both fragments originally were parts of a bound booklet or not, but, clearly, the texts are different, too. Thus we have to conclude that both fragments originated under different circumstances, by different authors as well as by different scribes.

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<sup>1</sup> IOM Krotkov Collection. I express my thanks to I.F. Popova for the permission to publish the fragment, to A. Turanskaya for sending me its digital image that is attached at the end of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> T.XXV.1511.796c21-797a04.

<sup>3</sup> T.XXV.1511.790c20-791a03.

<sup>4</sup> Not metrical.

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It is not easy to characterise the Old Uighur text of SI 4959 in toto. It consists of 12 stanzas of four verses composed in the usual strophic alliteration mode. One can distinguish two parts. Stanzas I to VI all end in *täginür* apparently referring to a young boy who may be a Buddhist novice. This first part concludes with the question “How can one explain it?” In the second part from stanza VII to XII emphasis is laid on doing *puṇya*. The layman (*upase* < Skt. *upāsaka*) Īndu is presented as a model. In stanza IX he vows to encounter with Maitreya expressed in an indirect way. Similar verses are known from Maitreya poems.<sup>5</sup> In stanza XI other lay people are mentioned if the interpretation is correct: Sujāta and Sukha Tārim, both with names of Sanskrit origin. The author mentions them apparently as believers who fulfil *puṇya* deeds. With the last stanza (XII) probably a sermon started which expounds some essential Buddhist tenets like the unsteadiness of the body and the turbulences in the *samsāra*.

As a whole it is a Buddhist poem, but refers to some strange things in a very densely composed language. I am aware that my translation is not always matching the intention of the author. Some readings remain problematic.

### Transliteration

- 01 mwywm tyñm'dy k'nč 'wqln . mwñwq čwp kwylm'z twyz lwqln ..  
mwny t'k qylw t'kynsr
- 02 mwñk'dqw kwylkw sv t'kyñwr ▪ ywd'n q'pčwqy ywmwrđq' čwč'ky  
ywl ''smys
- 03 ///d'ky ywmqy t' t'nkl'q̄w sv t'kyñwr ▪ twyyn kwyrklwk 'rsl'n t'  
twdčy 'ysl'kw
- 04 'syk twr' pylyky č'q k'nč twdwp sysynm'z t'k t'kynwr ▪ pyr'dy '  
pylk'
- 05 pylyky 'nkl'mys pylk' pntyd lr nynk nwm l'ryn pylyksy sy  
kwyč'dmys pyčyn k'y'
- 06 pyt'dy 'wydkwñmys t'k t'kynwr ▪ 'rsl'n t'y y nynk m'ñkyn t' 'rwq  
tylkw
- 07 'wydkwñwp ''d' t' t'kmys t'k t'kynwr ▪ 'yryndy lyk mwny t'k 'ys lr  
nynk

<sup>5</sup> Cp. BT III.

- 08 'ysd'my p'rky n pylyp 'wk 'ydy s'črwqswz 'ys pwl'm'q 'yñdw 'wp'sy  
tyn
- 09 tyl't'q lyq t'kyñwr n'd'kyn typ tysr ▪ kym 'wl
- 10 kyčyk ykyt y's yndynp'rw . kysy t' kyñk' pwl'm'dy kyč' kwyñdwz  
tydylyp
- 11 t'kynyp kyñkwrw pwyñ lyq 'ys lr t' y'r'dynd'čy ▪ ▪ 'wyk q'ñk  
twydwñyn 'wyčwrm'dyn
- 12 'wyklydw ''z' twdt'čy . 'wyslwnčw k'd'ky 'dkwlwk 'yslyk 'wysm'dyn
- 13 qyld'čy twyswd lwk ▪ 'ylky t'ky qylyñč l'ryn 'wyčwrrp 'ydyp'dry
- 14 tkry p'ldkwrmys 'ydwq 'wrđw t' twrqw kwysws lwk 'yndw 'wp'sy ▪
- 15 ''čwk y'rwq pylyky ''z' ysnk' k'sd'my ''dyn k' 'wyzk' pyr t'k 'rm'k y
- 16 ''nwp'm' syz q' ywl'sy ▪ swč'dyt' 'dkw lwk 'ys lr t' ''vryslyk swrm'  
q'mq
- 17 pwy'n t' twyswd lwk swk' t'rym pyrl' 'ykykw 'ynč' typ swysl'sw (?)
- 18 t'kynmys l'r ▪ p'slq̄ syz 'wswn s'nsr tyn p'rw p'ssyz 't'wyz ///
- 19 p'rm'nw l'r t'k t'ksynyp p's syz [...]

## Transcription, translation and notes

### I

<sup>01</sup>moyum tınmadı kãnč oglan .

munuk čöp külmäz tüz luglan ..

munı tåg kılı tågins(ã)r

<sup>02</sup>muñadgu külgü sav tãginür ▪

Confused<sup>6</sup>, did not rest the young boy,  
disturbed<sup>7</sup>, rubbish<sup>8</sup>, not-laughing, equal<sup>9</sup> nonsense<sup>10</sup>:

Doing like this

are things<sup>11</sup> to wonder on and to laugh at.

<sup>6</sup> *moyum* “confused” (ED 773a).

<sup>7</sup> Derived form *mun-* < *bun-* ED 348, *munuk* ‘mentally confused’ (OTWF 231, 802).

<sup>8</sup> *čwp čöp* i.a. “rubbish” (ED 394a).

<sup>9</sup> *twyz tüz* “flat, equal” (ED 571b), or *töz* “root” (ED 571a)?

<sup>10</sup> *luglan* cp. BT XXV, 0741 *kırı luvlan* “sinnlos”; BT XIII.13.98 *luvlan kartı* “id.” (cp. *sačuk luglan* “id.” in a text edited by M. Ölmez, cp. ÖLMEZ 1998, 277–278). Initial *l-* suggests a foreign origin, but the variants *-g-/-v-* point to the opposite. As suggested in BT XIII, it is probably an onomatopoeic formation. A further example occurs in a medical text (IOM SI 4133 recto 10) as a name of a disease: *luvlan agrıg*.

<sup>11</sup> Or “words”?

## II

yudan kapčuki  
 yumurtga čäčäki  
 yol azmiş<sup>03</sup>[ör]däki  
 yumkita taŋlagu s(a)v täginür ▪  
 A small bag<sup>12</sup> of yudan<sup>13</sup>,  
 a flower<sup>14</sup> of an egg,  
 a duck (?)<sup>15</sup> lost<sup>16</sup> one's way  
 all (of these are) things<sup>17</sup> most astonish-able.

## III

toyın körklüg arslanta  
 tutçı işlägü<sup>04</sup> işig  
 törä biligi čak känd  
 tutup sezilmäz täg täginür ▪  
 For<sup>18</sup> the lion of a monk's appearance<sup>19</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *kapčuk* “small bag” (ED 581b).

<sup>13</sup> The word *ywd'ñ* can be read in different ways like *yodan/yudan, yödän/üyüdän*. If one thinks of a variant of *yodun* (ED 892a) one encounters the difficulty that *yodun* is not used as a single word, it is attested only in the compound *yok yodun* “destroyed”. One expects here also something as a material thing. The next candidate could be *yatan* “a wooden bow” (ED 892a) which could fit to *kapčuk* “case, a small bag”. But the vowel -w- instead of -' - in the first syllable cannot be explained. If one suggests a yodicised form of a different word like *odan/udan* etc, the problems are similar. The light solution would be “the bag of a wooden bow”, but in that compound there is no contradiction that the whole strophe aims at.

<sup>14</sup> čwč'ky ? Unfortunately, the spelling is not clear: As the second letter can be nothing else than -w-, it is nearly impossible to interpret it as a variant of *čecäk* “flower”, but there is no obvious word like *čöčäk* or *čüčäk*. The modern Uighur word *čöčäk* < *čörčäk* “tale” (Jarring 76) cannot be taken into consideration here.

<sup>15</sup> The first three letters are not clearly distinguishable, they can be read as sth. like 'l' or 'wl' or 'yl', while d'ky is very distinctly written. From the structure the final -y should be the possessive suffix and the preceding stem can end in *-ädäk*. Perhaps *ördäk* “duck” is not totally impossible assuming that a kind of contrast is meant. But still, what is a duck who lost its way?

<sup>16</sup> Spelled 'smys, this shows that also other verbs are possible, *as-* or *aš-*, but in connection with *yol* “way” *az-* is at least one of the candidates.

<sup>17</sup> The spelling is *sk* or rather *sv*. I assume *s(a)v* “word(s)” or thing(s)”.

<sup>18</sup> The translation of the suffix *+ta* here is difficult.

<sup>19</sup> The expression *toyın körklüg arslan* is probably an expression for the Buddha. I refer here to the first line of an Old Uighur poem: *toyın körklüg kesari arslan* “Lion king of monk's appearance”, cp. ZIEME 2013, 15. This poem contains also some very peculiar expressions and still unclear words.

the deeds<sup>20</sup> always to do  
 (according to the) Wisdom of the Law<sup>21</sup> just<sup>22</sup> a young (boy)  
 should keep it and be one who does not doubt.

## IV

piratya bilgä<sup>05</sup> biligi äñilmiš  
 bilgä p(a)nditlarınñ nomların  
 biligsizi küçädmiš beçinkäyä  
<sup>06</sup>bitadı ötgünmiš täg täginür ▪

Through the *dharmas* of the wise *pañditas*  
 who are bent<sup>23</sup> (by) the *prajñā* knowledge  
 the little ape<sup>24</sup> whose nescience became strong  
 is as if he is uselessly retelling<sup>25</sup> something.

## V

arslan tayınıñ mañıta

...

aruk tilkü<sup>07</sup> ötgünüp  
 adata tägmiš täg täginür ▪<sup>26</sup>  
 Because of the gait<sup>27</sup> of a lion cub<sup>28</sup>

...

<sup>20</sup> I emend to *išig*, but probably two letters stand at the beginning of the line so that another word might be meant here.

<sup>21</sup> *twr*'. This word can be read either *tura/tora* or *tuna/tona* or also with front vowels. One of such words which fits to the spelling is *tura* that has a similar meaning like *tn* "breath" (ED 512a), another *tura* is "breastwork" or "village, a place" (ED 531a). The more recent word *törä* "custom, law" (< *törö* ED 531b) is probably a better solution, although it is spelled *twyrw* otherwise. It would be most fitful in connection with *bilig* "knowledge": "knowledge of the law". But again, it is not at all sure that the word *bilig* "knowledge" was intended here.

<sup>22</sup> The spelling is unclear. The likeliest one is *čak* "exactly" (ED 404a). But perhaps we can compare it to BT III, 949 where we read: *körünčlüg känčüki čak birlä* "together with a young dancer of a performance" (cp. explanation by S. Tezcan), although D. Maue does not see in the pair (skt.) *nađa* = (Old Uighur) *čak* (spelled **ja-q**) the word "dancer" (MAUE 1996, 16, n. to no. 36). Together with this new example *čak känč* one is inclined to see in all three attestations the same word. Additionally, cp. U 4445 line 3 *čak är üküš türlüg köf J* (cp. ZIEME 2017, 2).

<sup>23</sup> *äñil*- "to be bent" (cp. *ägil*- ED 106b), cp. UWV II, 144.

<sup>24</sup> *beçink(ä)yä*. The suffix *k(ä)yä* is written *ky* ' as it is usually the case. The initial letter *k*- is written in this ms. with a hook on the line, cp. *käsdämi*.

<sup>25</sup> Cp. *ötgün*- "to imitate, tell" (ED 52a).

<sup>26</sup> This stanza has only three verses. Since all other stanzas have four lines, one verse seems to be missing.

<sup>27</sup> Cp. *mañ* "gait" (ED 766b).

<sup>28</sup> The first letter of the word is unclear, but it is probably a *t*-, cp. *tay* "a one- or two-year-old foal" (ED 566b). As documented by I. Hauenschild, *tay* is used only for "foal" (HAUENSCHILD 2003, 201–202). Thus the reading and interpretation of *arslan tayı* remains dubious.

an emaciated fox – while passing<sup>29</sup> –  
is one as if he is getting into danger.

## VI

erintilig munı tåg işlärnıñ  
<sup>08</sup>istemi bärkin bilip ök  
idi saçuksuz<sup>30</sup> iş bolmak  
indu upasetın <sup>09</sup>ıltağlıg tğınür  
Knowing the constant<sup>31</sup> steadiness  
of disgusting<sup>32</sup> deeds like this  
a totally un-scattered matter  
is caused by the layman İndu!

nätägin tep tesär ▪

How is this?

kim ol

It is like this:

## VII

<sup>10</sup>kiçig yigit yaşındınbärü .  
kişitā kenkā bolmadı  
keçā kündüz tıdılıp <sup>11</sup>tğınip  
keñürü buyanlıg işl(ä)rtā yaratıntaçı ▪  
For people from the days of child- and youth-hood  
it never became too late<sup>33</sup>  
(to be) one who night and day – (although) hindered<sup>34</sup> –  
is extensively striving in *puṇya* deeds.

## VIII

ög kañ tütünin öçürmädin  
<sup>12</sup>üklitü asa tuttaçı.  
üzlünçükätägi ädgülüg işl(ä)rig  
üzmädin <sup>13</sup>kıldaçı tüşütlüg ▪

<sup>29</sup> Although clearly written with a dotted *-n-*, it might be a mistake for *ötgür-* “to pass” (ED 52b).

<sup>30</sup> The scribe manipulated the word in one or the other way wherefore it is difficult to give an exact spelling, but *saçruksuz* or *saçuksuz* is at least a possible reading.

<sup>31</sup> Spelled *'ysdymy istemi*, cp. BT.XIII.13.135. Probably < Skt. *sthema* “continuance, duration” (MW 1265a).

<sup>32</sup> *'yryndylyk erintilig*, cp. *yerinti* “disgusting” (ED 971a; LAUT 2011, 197; LI Gang 2016, 23, line 07; MIRKAMAL 2010, 5, line 11).

<sup>33</sup> This formation is unclear, if read *kenkā* it means “for later”.

<sup>34</sup> This expression probably refers to the fact that human beings are often hindered by the *kleśas* to do good works.



Not extinguishing the smoke<sup>35</sup> of mother and father  
 (rather) increasing and stimulating<sup>36</sup> it,  
 up to the end as a doer of good deeds  
 practicing<sup>37</sup> without interrupting.

## IX

ilkitäki kılınçların öçürüp  
 idibadri <sup>14</sup>t(ä)ñri bälđürmiş  
 iduk orduta turgu küsüşlüg  
 indu upase ▪  
 (For)<sup>38</sup> extinguishing the initial sins  
 the layman İndü<sup>39</sup>  
 has the wish to stay in the holy palace  
 raised<sup>40</sup> by God Ƙddhibhadra<sup>41</sup>.

## X

<sup>15</sup>ačuk yaruk biligi  
 az iş(i)ñjä käsdämi  
 adınka özkä bir täg ärmäki  
<sup>16</sup>anupamasızka yöläši ▪

<sup>35</sup> The use of *tütün* in the sense of family bonds is an interesting feature of this popular text. In Kirgiz *tütün* has three meanings “smoke”, “house, court”, and “yurt” (JUDACHIN 286b–287a). The example *tütüñgö jarabagan jaman* “a poor man without family” makes it clear that the “smoke-hole” of a yurt is a symbol of family life.

<sup>36</sup> The order in this biverb is more often *as- ükkit-* “to foster and to increase”, cp. UWV II, 84, *tut-* is here used as an auxiliary verb.

<sup>37</sup> J. Wilkens reminded me of *tüšüt* in the meaning of “habit, practice”, cp. BT XXV, line 3713.

<sup>38</sup> Or: “(After)”.

<sup>39</sup> The personal name İndü is attested in several Old Uighur texts (U 3398 recto 05 (in bold script): 'yñdw; DTS 219; Bai & Matsui 2017, text I, l.12). From this text it is impossible to gain any further information about this İndü. There is one İndü who belongs to the entourage of Qubilay’s minister Muñsuz, cp. no. 16 印都 *yinduo* = Chinese transcription of İndü (GABAIN 1976, 205). In later periods the same name was a new borrowing from Persian as Hindi etc. (cp. Rásonyi and Baski, p. 279a).

<sup>40</sup> For the verb *bälđür-* “to develop, to raise”, a “mixed” form of *bälğür-t-* and the rare verb cp. *bälđür-t-* (*bältür-t-*) a member of the biverb *igit- bältürt-* “to nourish, raise, develop” (ZIEME 2018, 219).

<sup>41</sup> Due to the alliteration Sanskrit \*Ƙddhibhadra is here written *idibadri*, for other examples spelled with initial r- cp. KITSUDÖ 2011, 337, lines 18–20 *ridibadri t(ä)ñriniñ kut kolmaki üzä etilmiş tokuz älig sıñlıg kat kat ilig kalıklıg d(a)rmaprasat* “The Dharma-palace with forty-nine floors built by God Ƙddhibhadra’s vow”: translated from 四十九層重閣堂. 號日法殿處當陽. 牢度跋提願力作. Cp. BT III, p. 98; BT XIII, p. 117, fn. 19.43.

His clear and bright knowledge  
is near<sup>42</sup> to a deed of lust<sup>43</sup>.  
His being equal to others and to oneself  
is comparable to *anupama*<sup>44</sup>-less.

## XI

sučadita ädgülüg işl(ä)rtä ävrişlig  
sorma kam(a)g<sup>17</sup> buyanta tüşütlüg  
suka tärim birlä ikigü inčä tep  
sözläşü<sup>45</sup> 18 täginmişlär ▪

About Sujāta<sup>46</sup> behaving<sup>47</sup> in good deeds  
- do'nt ask!<sup>48</sup> – and practicing in all *puṇya*,  
together with Sukha Tärim<sup>49</sup> they both  
were discussing each other.

## XII

başl(a)gsız uzun sans(a)rtın bärü  
başsız ät'öz ///  
<sup>19</sup>parmanular täg tägzinip  
baş/// [ ▪ ]

Since the beginning-less long *samsāra*  
a headless body [ ]  
Like atoms rotating  
head[ ].

<sup>42</sup> Spelled k'sd'my: the intial *k*- is written with a hook leading to the line, the following hook is the aliph. The word *kästämilkäsdämi* is rare, it corresponds to 近 *jin* “near”, e.g. WILKENS 2017, 15v18 *ölüm käsdämi*.

<sup>43</sup> *az iş(i)ñä* “to the lust deed” is a conjecture, but perhaps it is better to read *az eşikä* “lust-woman”. Among the examples of *az* in some cases it is regarded as female (UWN II, 2, p. 104), but so far the compound \**az eşi* is not attested. On the other hand, one may also think of *az* “few”.

<sup>44</sup> Skt. *anupama* “unvergleichlich” (SWTF I, 63b).

<sup>45</sup> Here one observes some kind of correction. If *sözläşü* is the intended word, the verse is the only example of a distorted alliteration, as three verses have *so-/su-*.

<sup>46</sup> For Sujāta in the *Buyan ävirmäk* of the Old Uyghur *Altun Yaruk sudur*, cp. ZIEME 1991, 285.

<sup>47</sup> Cp. UWN II, 2, 347–348.

<sup>48</sup> *sor-ma* “do not ask!” (?).

<sup>49</sup> *swk'* may be interpreted as the Sanskrit term *sukha* “happiness” (cp. SWTF IV, 379). It is used as a female name corresponding to Turkic words like *kut* “happiness, charisma” or *sävinč* “joy”. No other information about a person Suka Tärim is available. For *tärim* cp. ZIEME 2015.

## Metrical structure

The composition follows strictly the metrical pattern of the strophic alliteration, which is the main feature of Old Uighur poetry. In detail the structure is as follows:

I mo-/mu-: 5+3 (8) / 5+3 (8) / 5+3 (8) / 3+3+3 (9)	8+8+8+9	∑ 8–9
II yu-: 2+3 (5) / 3+3 (6) / 3+3 (6) / 3+3+4 (10)	5+6+6+10	∑ 5–10
III to-: 4+3 (7) / 5+2 (7) / 5+3 (8) / 5+4 (9)	7+7+8+9	∑ 7–9
IV pi-/bi-: 4+3+3 (10) / 2+4+3 (9) / 4+3+4 (11) / 3+3+3 (9)	10+9+11+9	∑ 9–11
V a-: 5+3 (8) / ... / 4+3 (7) / 3+3+3 (9)	8+...+7+9	∑ 8–9
VI i-/i-: 4+3+3 (10) / 3+5 (8) / 5+3 (8) / 6-3-3 (12)	10+8+8+12	∑ 8–12
VII ki-/ke-: 4+5 (9) / 5+3 (8) / 4+3+3 (10) / 3+3+3+5 (14)	9+8+10+14	∑ 8–14
VIII ö-/ü-: 5+4 (9) / 5+3 (8) / 6+3+4+ (12) / 3+3+3 (9)	9+8+12+9	∑ 8–12
IX i-/i-: 4+3+3 (10) / 4+5 (9) / 5+5 (10) / 2+3 (5)	11+9+10+5	∑ 5–11
X a-: 4+3 (7) / 4+4 (7) / 3+4+3 (10) / 6+3 (9)	7+7+10+9	∑ 7–10
XI su-/su/su-/sö-: 4+3+3+3 (13) / 4+3+3 (10) 4+5+3 (12) 3+4 (7)	13+10+12+7	∑ 7–13
XII ba-/pa-: 5+5 (10) / ? / 5+3 (8) / ?	10+?+8+?	∑ 8–10

Number of syllables per verse	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Number of verses	1		6	9	10	7	2	3	1	1

The table thus shows that 11 verses have 9 syllables, this corresponds as a rule to three words consisting of three syllables each. A pattern which is not rare in Old Uighur poetry. This number is followed by verses of 8 syllables (8 times), of 10 syllables (7 times), and of 7 syllables (6 times).

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Lundysheva Olga

## Tocharian B Manuscripts in the Berezovsky Collection (2): Five More Fragments<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract:* This article is a full edition of five Tocharian B manuscripts kept in the Berezovsky sub-collection of the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS: two Sanskrit-Tocharian B Bilingual *Udānavarga* fragments (Uv. 1.26b–1.34a, Uv. 4.23b–4.34c); a Sanskrit-Tocharian B Bilingual *Karmavācanā* (*Upasāmpadā*) fragment, one fragment of a *jātaka* and one fragment of a *stotra* previously erroneously identified as *Udānastotra*. The article contains a transliteration, transcription, tentative translation as well as a commentary on the text of the fragments.

*Key words:* *Udānavarga*, *Karmavācanā*, Sanskrit–Tocharian B bilingual, textual and manuscript studies, textology, manuscriptology

In a previous article<sup>2</sup>, I have made a start with publishing fragments from the Berezovsky collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS). This article continues publication of the Tocharian B manuscripts from this collection, presenting five more manuscripts: two Tocharian B – Sanskrit bilingual fragments of the *Udānavarga*<sup>3</sup>; one fragment of the Tocharian B – Sanskrit *Karmavācanā*; one fragment of a *jātaka*; and one fragment previously erroneously identified as belonging to the *Udānastotra*.

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<sup>2</sup> LUNDYSHEVA 2019.

<sup>3</sup> For details on the publication of the *Udānavarga*, cf. PEYROT 2008a, PEYROT 2016a. For details on the publication of the *Udānavarga* from the Serindian collection of the IOM, RAS, cf. OGIHARA 2016. Two more fragments were recently published by OGIHARA 2018, LUNDYSHEVA 2019.

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### Symbols used in transliteration and transcription

()	restoration
[ ]	uncertain reading
{ }	later addition
–	one unreadable akṣara
·	unreadable consonantal or vocalic part of an akṣara
///	torn edge of a fragment
•	dot, punctuation mark
:	double dot, punctuation mark (mostly metrical)
ś	and other underlined consonants represent so-called Fremdzeichen
ā	so-called Fremdvokal, equivalent to <i>ā</i>
ṛ、	consonant in virāma position (without dot, mostly with Fremdzeichen consonant)
c、	consonant in virāma position with dot (mostly with Non-Fremdzeichen consonant) <sup>4</sup>

### *Karmavācanā* fragment, *Upasaṃpadā*

SI 2922/2 (Old number: B/3 (14–2))

Findspot: Kuča, On-baš<sup>5</sup> Miṅ-Öy

Bilingual Tocharian B/Sanskrit

fig. 1

fig. 2

SI 2922/2 fragment gives a text which is nearly identical to one of the Berlin version of the *Karmavācanā* (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz), THT 1102–1125, which belongs to the *Sarvāstivādin* school. To be precise, the text corresponds to leaf No. 16 of the Berlin manuscript (= THT 1108)<sup>6</sup>, lines a2–b3.

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<sup>4</sup> When a Fremdzeichen consonant is following under a Non-Fremdzeichen consonant in virāma position a virama with dot is used as well.

<sup>5</sup> Mikhail Berezovsky registered all the find spots of the manuscripts. He labelled this find spot “Onbaškii Minui”. However, the place is presently difficult to identify. All we know about it with certainty is that it was situated near Kucha and it was a complex of cave temples = Miṅ-Öy (“thousand caves”) or “Minui” in Berezovsky’s spelling.

<sup>6</sup> The text was read, restored and translated by Klaus T. Schmidt in a book which was submitted as *Habilitationsschrift* to Saarbrücken University in 1986. For a long time it remained unavailable in printed form. The edition (2012) given on the CEToM website (<https://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian>) is based on Schmidt’s edition and provides photographs of the manuscript. The edition is now available in print: SCHMIDT 2018.

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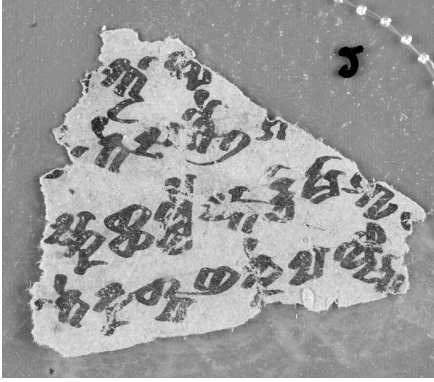


fig. 1: SI 2922/2 recto

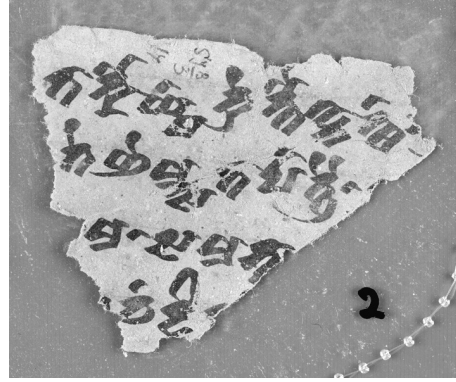


fig. 2: SI 2922/2 verso

## 1. Material description

Size (h x w, maximal): 3.7×4.7 cm. Fragment of the middle of a leaf. It is likely that the lower edge is visible on the recto side and the upper edge on the verso side. It is possible that the leaf had only four lines on each side.

## 2. Transliteration

- a1 /// (·)[p·]<sup>7</sup> ntra · ly· ///
- a2 /// [rc·]<sup>8</sup> · tesa śaul<sub>~</sub> ś· ///
- a3 /// skaṣṣalle star-c<sub>~</sub> mā św· ///
- a4 /// · te ka śpā<sup>9</sup> ṅake palsko · e ///
- b1 /// tākoym<sub>~</sub> krentauwnat<sub>~</sub> p· r<sup>10</sup>· ///
- b2 /// te ṅemtsa tā pātrai · [·ru]<sup>11</sup> ///
- b3 /// ma · saman-ā ///
- b4 /// [e]vaṃ d(·)i [r·] – ///

<sup>7</sup> The rest of the akṣara before the lacuna is rather compatible with <ma> or <pa>.

<sup>8</sup> The rest of the akṣara is compatible with <rc> of line a3.

<sup>9</sup> There is no trace of any virāma stroke, even though śpā looks closely attached to the preceding letter. But it is for sure not written somewhat below the line.

<sup>10</sup> Judging from the level of the loop belonging to the presumable ligature <tra>, it seems likely that the word was written with double /tt/, as in the next line pātrai.

<sup>11</sup> The rest of the akṣara is compatible with <ru> because of the tiny remnant of the loop. It is supported by the text of THT 1108.

### 3. Transcription

- a1 /// (war)p(a)ntrā • ly ///
- a2 /// (star)-c • tesa śaul ś(awaṣālle) ///
- a3 /// (ya)skaṣālle star-c mā św(ātsintse) ///
- a4 /// • te ka ṣpā ṅake palsko(n)e ///
- b1 /// tākoym (•)<sup>12</sup> krentauwnats p(āt)r(o) ///
- b2 /// te ṅemtsa tā pātrai • (p)ru(camñai) ///
- b3 /// (ma)ma • saman(v)ā(hara) ///
- b4 /// evaṃ d(v)ir (api) ///

### 4. Tentative translation

- a1. ...will enjoy...
- a2. ...(this eating bowl) is to be (seized) by you. Thus [your] life should be lived (by you)<sup>13</sup>...
- a3. ...(you) should beg for it, (but you shall) not (for the sake of) food...
- a4. ...and, indeed, this now in [your] mind...
- b1. ...I wish to be, (I wish to be) a bowl of virtues...
- b2. ...(I,) N.N., this excellent eating bowl...
- b3. ...(it is) mine. Pay heed to this...
- b4. ...thus the second [time]...

### 5. Comments

a1. Compare THT 1108 lines a 1–2 (*pā*)traiyne cene ompostāṃ tsankalyi wārpanantrā lyec· ///.

Note that the subjunctive of *wārpā*- “to enjoy” in SI 2922/2 makes perfect sense in this context, because the passage refers to the future. The Berlin text has the apparent present *warpanantrā* with irregular *a* in the first syllable. Schmidt emends this to a regular 3 pl. present *wārpanantrā* with *ā* in the first syllable, but in view of the reading in SI 2922/2, an emendation of the form in THT 1108 to *warpantrā* has now become more likely.

a2. Compare THT 1108 line a3 *te p(ā)tr(o) eṅk(aṣalya) s(ta)r-(c) t(ai)sa śaul śawasāle star-cā*.

<sup>12</sup> After a virama with dot a regular dot as punctuation mark was usually omitted in writing.

<sup>13</sup> “Thus you shall earn (lit. live) [your] living” (CEToM).



Note that there is no dot after the first sentence in the Berlin text. Furthermore, SI 2922/2 supports the restoration *t(e)sa* in the Berlin text, which is allowed by the lacuna. The restoration *t(ai)sa*<sup>14</sup> should be abandoned. In SI 2922/2, the gerund form ought to be restored with <lle>, as in the next line.

a3. Compare THT 1108 line a4 *tā pātrai(sa) y(a)skasṣāle star-cä mā šwātsitse pernesa šaul šailyñe šparkäsäle star-cä*.<sup>15</sup>

a4. Compare THT 1108 line a5 *te ka špä ñ(ak)e p(a)l(sk)one pyāmtsar*.

b1. Compare THT 1108 line b1 *(eñka)ššeñca tākoymä krentaunats p(āt)r(o tā)koymä*.

b2. Compare THT 1108 line b2 *(te) ñemts(a) tā pātrai prucamñai eñkaskemar solmīyai pātrai rṣākāññe bhajaṃ*. This is a word by word translation of a ritual phrase which was spoken in Sanskrit. Compare the following Sanskrit text (THT 1108 line b3) *aham itthamñāma (= te ñemtsa) idaṃ pātraṃ (= tā pātrai) pāribhogikam (= prucamñai) adhitiṣṭhāmi (= eñkaskemar) paripūrṇaṃ (= solmīyai) pātraṃ (= pātrai) rṣibhājanam (= rṣākāññe bhajaṃ)*.

b3. The following part contains the part of the ritual which was spoken in Sanskrit, except the imperative *poñ* ‘say!’. Compare THT 1108 line b2 *tavedaṃ pātraṃ poñ mama samanvāyuṣmāṃ*.<sup>16</sup>

Note that the parallel Berlin text has no dot after *mama*.

b4. Compare THT 1108 line b3 *evaṃ dvir api tṛr api*.<sup>17</sup>

## 6. Notes

This fragment belongs to a part of the ritual of ordination (*upasampadā-*) for monks, more precisely to the episode concerning the acceptance of the alms bowl (*pātra-*) by the applying monk. This part follows the request and acceptance of the clothes (*cīvara-*) by the monk to be ordained.<sup>18</sup>

There are some differences of punctuation and orthography between the two manuscripts THT 1108 and SI 2922/2, which adds an interesting testimony to the ritual manuscripts for the Buddhist communities using Tocharian B.

<sup>14</sup> SCHMIDT 2018, 24, 56.

<sup>15</sup> “You shall beg for [it] (with) this eating bowl. But you shall not, for the sake of food, let fade away [this way of] earning [your] livelihood” (CEToM).

<sup>16</sup> “Is this your eating bowl? Say: [Yes, it is] mine. Pay heed to this, o venerable one!” (CEToM, somewhat modified).

<sup>17</sup> “Thus a second [and] a third time” (CEToM).

<sup>18</sup> For the general context and background, cf. HÄRTEL 1956, 74–76.

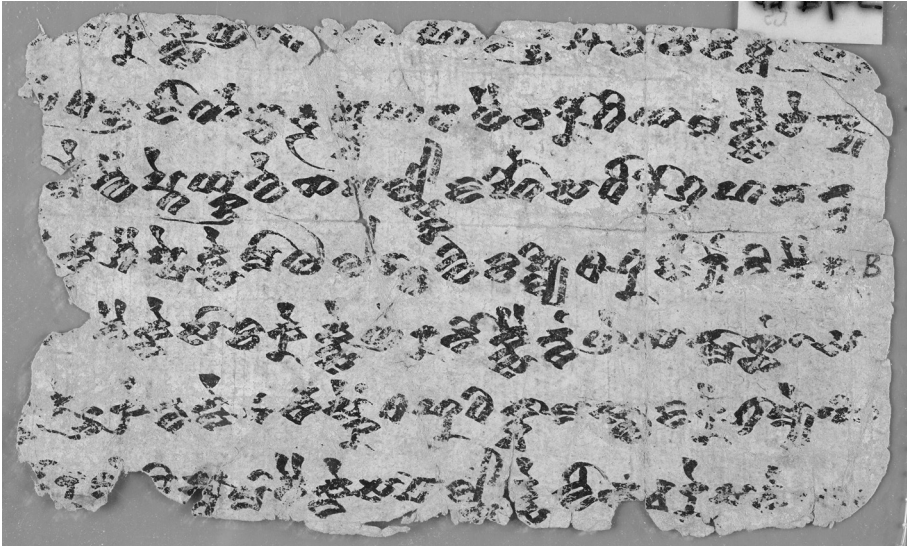


fig. 3: SI 2985/1 recto

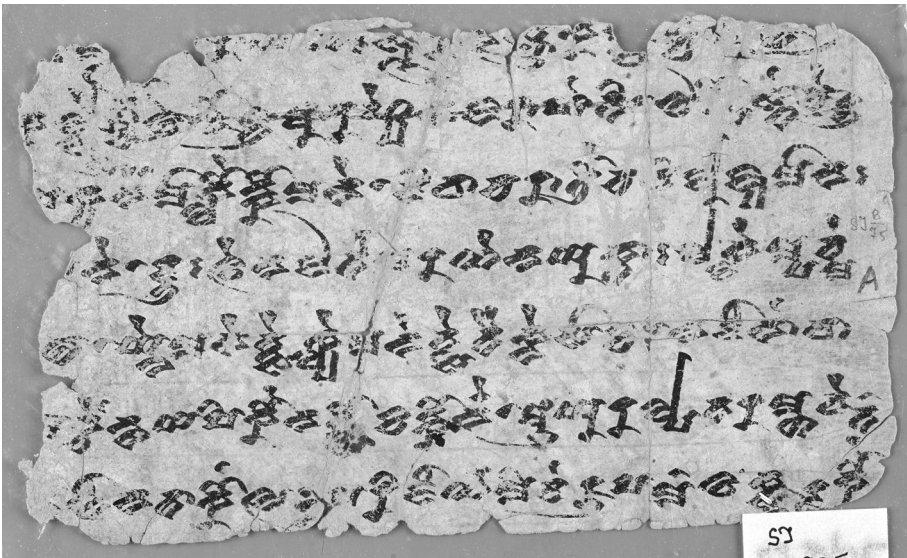


fig. 4: SI 2985/1 verso

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*Udānavarga* (Uv. 1.26b – 1.34a)<sup>19</sup>

SI 2985/1 (Old number: B/75)

Findspot: Kuča, Tadjit<sup>20</sup>, main temple.

Bilingual Tocharian B/Sanskrit

fig. 3

fig. 4

SI 2985/1 lines b2-b4 give a text which is nearly identical with the *Udānavarga* manuscript Or.15007/308, kept in London (British Library), lines a1-a3. SI 2985/1 lines a4-a7 give a text which is nearly identical with the *Udānavarga* manuscripts IOL Toch. 233 + IOL Toch. 368,<sup>21</sup> kept in London (British Library), lines a1-a4. SI 2985/1 line a2 corresponds to the *Udānālankāra* manuscript kept in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz) = THT 5,<sup>22</sup> line a1; line a5 to line a8; line a6 to line b1.

**1. Material description**

Size (h x w, maximal): 9.0×15.5 cm. The right part of a leaf. The lower and upper edges are visible. Seven lines are still visible on both sides, which must also have been the original size of the manuscript. Line b1 is damaged: the paper has been erased, and the ink has faded.

**2. Transliteration**

a1 /// [n]· (·)m·(·)<sup>23</sup> k· ktseñ(√)<sup>24</sup> • t· [s]·(·)v·h[ā]n· [k]uś·l[o] vid[i]tv· •  
[ce]<sub>u</sub><sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The numbering of the chapters follows BERNHARD 1965.

<sup>20</sup> Mikhail Berezovsky labelled this find spot “Tadjit – glavnyj xram” (Tadjit – main temple). It was situated near Kuča. According to Berezovsky there was in Tadjit a surface monastery as well as a complex of cave temples, a Miñ-Öy (“thousand caves”; “Minui” in Berezovsky’s spelling).

<sup>21</sup> Published by PEYROT 2007.

<sup>22</sup> Published by SIEG & SIEGLING 1983, 147 ff.

<sup>23</sup> The Skt. absolute *prahāya* corresponds to the Toch. B absolute in *-rmem*. Therefore, <r> and <m> should be restored.

<sup>24</sup> A virāma with dot is supposed to be here after which a regular dot as a punctuation mark was omitted in writing. However, here one can see a regular dot as a punctuation mark and no virāma at all.

<sup>25</sup> The akṣara traces are compatible with <ce<sub>u</sub>> of line a6.

- a2 /// [y.]<sup>26</sup> 20 6 jīrṇañ ca dṛṣṭveha tathaiva rogiṇamꣳ ktsaice ṣpā  
a3 /// [o]rme waipṭe ykuweṣa palsko jahau sa dhīro g[r]habandha  
a4 /// [i] no śaiṣṣentse mā olaṅkꣳ<sup>27</sup> wikaṣlyi 20 7 jīryamti<sup>28</sup> vai [rā]<sup>29</sup>  
a5 /// [t.]<sup>30</sup> taiknesākꣳ<sup>31</sup> kektseñe rano ktsaitsamñe yanmāṣṣamꣳ • sa<sup>32</sup>  
a6 /// [·cn· ce]<sub>u</sub> krentanne śarsaskeṃ 20 8 dhik tvām astu jare grāmye • hi  
a7 /// [n]<sup>33</sup> oramaṃ bimbamꣳ taiknesa pals·ontse wīna erepate • [jara]<sup>34</sup>  
b1 /// [p]· [m]r· [u] – r· y· [ṇ]·ḥ sū r·n· srūk·[ll]·śc· – w·lꣳ  
b2 /// kall{ñ}<sup>35</sup> }eścā aiwo<sub>lꣳ</sub><sup>36 37</sup> anu hy e[na]ṃ jarā haṃti • o[·p]ostamꣳ ce<sub>u</sub>  
b3 /// ṣ[e]k yanem mā klautkomane<sup>38</sup> • divā ca rātrau ca [vi]lujyamāna<sup>39</sup>ḥ  
b4 /// [m·] ne • duḥkhena jātīmaraṇena<sup>40</sup> yuktāḥ laklempa cme  
b5 /// thā<sup>41</sup> • ynemanentse klyemanentse taiknesākꣳ<sub>u</sub><sup>42</sup> • nadīnām vā  
b6 /// [mā]kceṃtsa yaṣi kaunantso katkorne • āyur alpataaram<sup>43</sup> bhavetꣳ  
b7 /// [ts]<sup>44</sup> wīna tākoṃ 30 3 pariḥṛṇam idaṃ rūpamꣳ aiksnarꣳ ku[r]au

<sup>26</sup> See in the comment section.

<sup>27</sup> There is a tiny trace on the akṣara <la> which looks like a beginning of virāma-connection with the following <ṅka> like in IOL Toch. 702 line b1. However, in the parallel text IOL Toch. 233 + 368 line a1, one reads *olaṅkā* without virāma; and also here, the akṣara <ṅka> is not lowered.

<sup>28</sup> In the parallel text IOL Toch. 233 + 368 line a1, one can see *jīryanti*.

<sup>29</sup> This akṣara should be the <rā> of *rājarathāḥ* Uv. 1.28a.

<sup>30</sup> This akṣara should be the <ti> of *upaīti* Uv. 1.28b.

<sup>31</sup> One can suppose that in this akṣara <ā> diacritical mark is used as a virāma-connection for the following Fremdzeichen consonant <k>.

<sup>32</sup> This akṣara should be the <sa> of *satām* Uv. 1.28c.

<sup>33</sup> This akṣara should be the <n> of *manoramaṃ* Uv. 1.29c.

<sup>34</sup> The akṣaras are reconstructed according to the Sanskrit text of Uv. 1.29d.

<sup>35</sup> The <ñ> has been added under the <lle> later.

<sup>36</sup> Compare Or.15007.308 line a1 *aiw*.

<sup>37</sup> A virāma with dot is supposed to be after a non-Fremdzeichen consonant. So here one can suppose to see a virāma without dot and a dot as punctuation mark which are mixed in a unitary virāma with dot.

<sup>38</sup> Compare Or.15007.308 line a2 *n·(ṃ) mā klautk*.

<sup>39</sup> In BERNARD 1965, 107: Uv. 1.31b *vilujyamānāḥ*.

<sup>40</sup> Compare Or.15007.308 line a3 *maṇe*.

<sup>41</sup> This is the last akṣara of *tathā* Uv. 1.32b.

<sup>42</sup> As in line a5, one can suppose that in this akṣara <ā> diacritical mark is used as a virāma-connection for the following Fremdzeichen consonant <k>. However, there is a possibility, that the word *taiknesāk* was spelled as *taiknesākā*.

<sup>43</sup> In BERNARD 1965, 108: Uv. 1.33a *alpataaram*

<sup>44</sup> According to the Sanskrit text a genitive plural ending of a pronoun is supposed to be here. The rest of akṣara could be compared with <tsā> of *mākceṃtsā* line b6.

### 3. Transcription

a1 /// (reri)n(or)m(eṃ) k(e)ktseñ • t(āṃ sar)v(a)h(ā)n(iṃ k)uś(a)l(o) vid(i)tv(ā) • ce<sub>u</sub> Uv.1.26b, c

a2 /// y 26 jīrnañ ca dṛṣṭveha tathaiva rogiṇam •<sup>45</sup> ktsaice ṣpā Uv. 1.26d; Uv. 1.27a

a3 /// (lyelyak)orme«ṃ» waipite ykuweṣā palsko jahau sa dhīro grhabandha Uv. 1.27b, c

a4 /// (yśelm)i no śaiṣṣentse mā olaṅk wikāṣlyi 27 jīryaṃti vai rā(jarathāḥ) Uv. 1.27d; Uv. 1.28a

a5 /// taiknesāk kektseñe rano ktsaitsāmñe yanmāṣṣām • sa Uv. 1.28b, c

a6 /// (kreñ)c n(o) ce<sub>u</sub> krentānne śarsāskeṃ 28 dhik tvām astu jare grāmye • hi Uv. 1.28d; Uv. 1.29a

a7 /// (ma)noramam bimbam taiknesa pālskontse wīna erepate • jara Uv. 1.29c, d

b1 /// (so) p(i) mṛ(ty)u(pa)r(ā)y(a)ṇ(a)ḥ sū r(a)n(o) srūk(a)lleśc(ā) (ai)w(o)l Uv. 1.30b

b2 /// (sū rano srū)kallñeścā aiwol • anu hy enaṃ jarā haṃti • ompostām ce<sub>u</sub> Uv. 1.30b, c

b3 /// ṣek yanem mā klautkomane • divā ca rātrau ca vilujyamānaḥ Uv. 1.31a, b

b4 /// (pālke)m(a)ne • duḥkhena jāṭimaraṇena yuktāḥ laklempa cme Uv. 1.31c, d

b5 /// (ta)thā • ynemanentse klyemanentse taiknesāk • nadīnām vā Uv. 1.32b, c

b6 /// mākceṃtsā yaṣi kaunantso kātkorne • āyur alpataram bhavet Uv. 1.33a, b

b7 /// (ṃ)ts wīna tākoṃ 33 pariūrṇam idaṃ rūpam aiksnar k<sub>u</sub>rau Uv. 1.33d, Uv. 1.34a

### 4. Reconstruction and tentative translation

Uv. 1.26b /// (reri)n(or)m(eṃ) k(e)ktseñ

sarve gamiṣyanti prahāya deham “[men] will all pass away, casting off [their] bodies.”

Uv. 1.26c ce<sub>u</sub> ///

tāṃ sarvahāniṃ kuśalo viditvā “the wise man [who] understands (lit. having seen) [that] the loss is complete”

<sup>45</sup> After a virama with dot a regular dot as a punctuation mark was omitted in writing.

- Uv. 1.26d /// y  
*dharṃe sthito brahmacaryaṃ careta* “should live a life of purity (life of continence and chastity) according to the Law (steadfast in the Law)”
- Uv. 1.27a *ktsaice spā* ///  
*jīrnañ ca dṛṣṭveha tathaiva rogiṇam* “seeing an old man here (= in this world), and likewise [seeing] a sick man” THT 5 a1
- Uv. 1.27b /// (*lyelyak*)orme«m» *waipṭe ykuweṣā palsko*  
*mṛtaṃ ca dṛṣṭvā vyapayātacetasaṃ* “seeing a dead man, abandoned [by] consciousness”
- Uv. 1.27d (*yśelm*)i no *śaiṣṣentse mā olañk wikāṣlyi* IOL Toch. 233 + IOL Toch. 368 a1  
*kāmā hi lokasya na supraheyāḥ*. “however, the desires of the world [are] not easily extinguished”
- Uv. 1.28b *taiknesāk kektseñe rano ktsaitsāmñe yanmāṣṣām* IOL Toch. 233 + 368 a2; THT 5 a8  
*hy atho śarīram api jarām upaiti* “likewise, the body also gets old”
- Uv. 1.28d (*kreñ*)c n(o) *ce<sub>u</sub> krentānne śarsāskeṃ* THT 5 b1  
*santo hi taṃ satsu nivedayanti* “and the virtuous men make it known among the virtuous men”
- Uv. 1.29a *hi(št)* /// IOL Toch. 233 + 368 a3  
*dhik tvām astu jare grāmye* “shame on you, old and vulgar”
- Uv. 1.29c *taiknesa pālskontse wīna erepate* IOL Toch. 233 + IOL Toch. 368 a4  
*tathā manoramaṃ bimbam*. “since the form [that is so] lovely”
- Uv. 1.30b (*sū rano srū*)*kallñeścā aiwol*  
*so pi mṛtyuparāyaṇaḥ* “Even that one [is] prone to death” Or.15007/308 a1
- Uv. 1.30c *ompostām ce<sub>u</sub>* ///  
*anu hy enaṃ jarā haṃti* “and thus death follows old age (lit. old age kills)”
- Uv. 1.31a *ṣek yanem mā klautkomane* Or.15007/308 a2  
*sadā vrajanti hy anivartamānā* “perpetually they go (away) without returning (=die)”
- Uv. 1.31c /// (*pälke*)m(a)ne  
*matsyā ivāṭīva hi tapyamānā* “like fish exceedingly burnt”
- Uv. 1.31d *laklempa cme* ///  
*duḥkhena jātīmaraṇena yuktāḥ* “with the suffering of birth and death” Or.15007/308 a3
- Uv. 1.32b *ynemanentse klyemanentse taiknesāk*  
*caratas tiṣṭatas tathā* “of the moving [one and] as also of the staying [one]”

Uv. 1.33a *mākceṃtsä yaṣi kaunantso kätkorne*  
*yeṣām rätridivāpāye* “of [men] whose days and nights have passed”  
 Uv. 1.33d (*m*)*ts wīna tākom*  
*kā nu teṣām ratir bhavet* “what pleasure should they have (=find)”  
 Uv. 1.34a *aiksnar k<sub>n</sub>rau*  
*parijīrnam idaṃ rūpam* “this completely old form (=body)”

## 5. Comments

a1. Toch. B *kektseñ*, obl. sg., “body”<sup>46</sup> corresponds to Skt. *deham*, acc. sg., with the same meaning.

a1. The Skt. absolutive *prahāya* must be rendered in Toch. B with an absolutive in *-ormem*. According to the palaeographic traces, it is possible to restore (*veri*)[*n*]*ormem* “after having abandoned” (absolutive from *rin-* “renounce, abandon”),<sup>47</sup> which is the expected translation of *prahāya*.

a1. Toch. B *ce<sub>n</sub>*, obl. sg. masc., “that” corresponds to Skt. *tām*, acc. sg. fem., with the same meaning. Evidently, the Skt. feminine *sarvahāniṃ* was in Toch. B rendered with a masculine or alternant noun, for instance a verbal noun in *-lñe* like *nkelñe* ‘destruction’ or *kselñe* ‘extinction’.

a2. According to the akṣara traces, Skt. *careta*, 3sg. optative, is rendered in Toch. B with a 3sg. optative ending in *-y<sub>z</sub>*.

a2. Toch. B *ktsaice*, obl. sg., “old age” from *ksaitstse*,<sup>48</sup> corresponds to Skt. *jīrnam* “old age”, acc. sg.

a2. Toch. B *spä* “and” corresponds to Skt. *ca* with the same meaning.

a3. The Skt. absolutive *dr̥ṣṭvā* must correspond to a Toch. B absolutive in *-ormem*, so that the omitted <ṃ> is to be added. It is possible to restore (*lyelya*)*kormem* “after having seen” (absolutive of *lāk-* “see, look at”),<sup>49</sup> which makes perfect sense in this context.

a3. The Skt. compound *vyapayācetasam* “[the one] whose mind has gone apart” was translated into Toch. B as a phrase: *waipte ykuweṣä palsko*. The Skt. participle *vyapayāta* “gone away” is rendered as Toch. B *waipte* “apart, separately” and *ykuweṣä* “having gone”, obl. sg. preterite participle from *i-* “go, travel”.<sup>50</sup> Toch. B *palsko*, obl. sg., “mind” corresponds to Skt. *cetasam*, acc. sg., with the same meaning.

<sup>46</sup> ADAMS 2013, 202.

<sup>47</sup> ADAMS 2013, 581.

<sup>48</sup> ADAMS 2013, 263.

<sup>49</sup> ADAMS 2013, 596.

<sup>50</sup> ADAMS 2013, 65.

a4. For Skt. *kāmā*, nom. pl., “desires, sexual pleasures” it is possible to restore Toch. B *yśelmi*, nom. pl., “(sexual) pleasure” from *yśelme*.<sup>51</sup>

a4. Toch. B *no* “but, however” corresponds to Skt. *hi* with the same meaning.

a4. Toch. B *śaiṣṣentse*, gen. sg., “world”<sup>52</sup> corresponds to Skt. *lokasya*, gen. sg., with the same meaning.

a4. Toch. B *mā* “no, not” corresponds to Skt. *na* with the same meaning.

a4. The Skt. nom. pl. gerund *supraheyāḥ* “± perfectly dispatched” was translated into Toch. B as a phrase with *olaṅk* “enough, easy” and the nom. pl. gerund *wikāṣlyi* from *wik-* “decrease and disappear”.<sup>53</sup>

a5. Skt. <hy> is normally not translated. Rather, pada-initial <hy> is often left out in the Skt. parts of the bilinguals.

a5. Toch. B *taiknesāk* “thus, just so”<sup>54</sup> corresponds to Skt. *atho* “like-wise”. a5. Toch. B *kektseṇe*, nom. sg., “body”<sup>55</sup> corresponds to Skt. *ṅaroram*, nom. sg., with the same meaning.

a5. Toch. B *rano* “also” corresponds to Skt. *api* “also, moreover, surely”.

a5. Toch. B *ktsaitsāmñe*,<sup>56</sup> obl. sg., “old age” corresponds to Skt. *jarām*, acc. sg., with the same meaning.

a5. Toch. B *yanmāṣṣām*,<sup>57</sup> 3sg. active present from *yām-* “achieve, obtain; reach”<sup>58</sup> corresponds to Skt. *upaiti*, 3sg. present, “reach, obtain, to get into any state or condition”.

a6. Compare the beginning of the Toch. B part with THT 5 b1: *kreñc no c· – krentämne śarsäskemne eñ(we)tsts(e)*.

a6. Toch. B *kreñc*, nom. pl. masc., “good”<sup>59</sup> corresponds to Skt. *santaḥ*, nom. pl. masc., “good, real, true; a good or wise man”.

a6. Toch. B *no* “but, however” corresponds to Skt. *hi* with the same meaning.

a6. Toch. B *rano* “also” corresponds to Skt. *api* “also, moreover, surely”.

<sup>51</sup> ADAMS 2013, 565.

<sup>52</sup> ADAMS 2013, 696.

<sup>53</sup> ADAMS 2013, 652.

<sup>54</sup> ADAMS 2013, 325.

<sup>55</sup> ADAMS 2013, 202.

<sup>56</sup> The correct form is *ktsaitstsāmñe* (ADAMS 2013, 263). However, in the parallel text IOL Toch. 233 + 368 line a2, one can see *ktsaitsāmñe* as well.

<sup>57</sup> The correct form is *yānmāṣṣām*. One can see it in the parallel text IOL Toch. 233 + 368 line a2.

<sup>58</sup> ADAMS 2013, 538.

<sup>59</sup> ADAMS 2013, 153–154.



a6. Toch. B *ce<sub>u</sub>*, obl. sg. masc., “that” corresponds to Skt. *tam*, acc. sg. masc., “that”.

a6. Toch. B *krentänne*, loc. pl. masc., “good” corresponds to Skt. *satsu*, loc. pl. masc., “good” etc.

a6. Toch. B *šarsäskem*, 3pl. active present from *šärs-* “to make known”, corresponds to Skt. *nivedayanti*, 3pl. present, with the same meaning.

a6. The Toch. B part starts with *hi*. One can suppose *hišt* “pfui, pooh”<sup>60</sup> to be reconstructed as a rendering of the Sanskrit interjection *dhik*, or otherwise *hiś*<sup>61</sup> as in the parallel text IOL Toch. 233 + 368 a3. This assumption is supported by THT 5 b8: *hišt*<sup>62</sup> *t(w)e tākoyt (kts)aitsänñe*.

a7. Toch. B *taiknesa* “thus” corresponds to Skt. *tathā* “thus, in that manner”.

a7. The Skt. adjective + noun phrase *manoramam bimbam* “charming, beautiful image” was translated by a Toch. B complex phrase with an element of composita *pälskontse* (gen. sg.) *wīna* (nom. pl.<sup>63</sup>) *erepate* (nom. sg.) “form [which is] a pleasure for the mind”.

b1. Toch. B *sū*, nom. sg. masc., “he, this one” corresponds to Skt. *saḥ*, nom. sg., with the same meaning. Toch. B *rano* “also” corresponds to Skt. *api* “also, moreover, surely”. The Skt. compound *mṛtyuparāyaṇaḥ* “[the one who is] an aim of death” was translated into Toch. B as a phrase with *srūkalleścä*, all. sg., “death”<sup>64</sup> and *aiwol* “towards, directed to”.<sup>65</sup>

b2. It looks like that the beginning of the line is a repetition of Uv. 1.30b from the line b1, at least in Toch. B. However, for some reason the word *srūkalleścä* in the repetition was corrected by the subscription of <ñ> to the ligature <lle>. It seems strange because there are two derivatives from *sruk-* “die”:<sup>66</sup> *srukalle* as a noun and *srukalñe* as a verbal abstract. The combination of <llñ> with double /ll/ before /ñ/ would be irregular. So this seems to be a scribal mistake.

b2. Toch. B *ompostäm* “afterwards”<sup>67</sup> corresponds to Skt. *anu* “after, afterwards, thereupon”. Skt. *hy* is not translated. Toch. B *ce<sub>u</sub>*, obl. sg. masc., “that” corresponds to Skt. *enam*, acc. sg. masc., with the same meaning.

<sup>60</sup> ADAMS 2013, 797.

<sup>61</sup> Here *hiś* is written together with the following *twe*. So the last <ɤ> of *hišt* could be omitted.

<sup>62</sup> As the original manuscript was lost one cannot be sure about the omittance or presence of the final <ɤ> in the ligature.

<sup>63</sup> *wīna* is a pluralia tantum (ADAMS 2013, 654).

<sup>64</sup> ADAMS 2013, 792.

<sup>65</sup> ADAMS 2013, 111.

<sup>66</sup> ADAMS 2013, 791–792.

<sup>67</sup> ADAMS 2013, 126.

b3. Toch. B *šek* “continually, perpetually” corresponds to Skt. *sadā* with the same meaning.

b3. Toch. B *yanem*, 3pl. active present from *i-* “go, travel” corresponds to Skt. *vrajanti*, 3pl. present, “go, work, proceed”.

b3. Skt. *hy* is not translated.

b3. The Toch. B present participle *klautkomane* from *klautk-* “to turn, return, become”<sup>68</sup> with negation *mā* corresponds to Skt. *anivartamānā*, nom. pl., “not returning to life, without return”.

b4. The Skt. pl. participle *tapyamānā* corresponds normally to a Toch. B present participle in *-mane*, so that <ma> would seem to be the best option for the restoration of the preserved traces at the beginning of the line. The whole form may be *pālkemane*, as the Toch. B root corresponding to Skt. *tap-* “to make hot, to suffer pain, to torment oneself” is often *pālk-* “to burn; (caus.) torture”.<sup>69</sup> However, the rest of akṣara does not look like <m> but more like <y>. If it is indeed <m>, the lower right part must have been lost completely through abrasion. This is certainly a possibility, because there is a tear in the fragment at exactly that place.

b4. Toch. B *laklempa*, com. sg., “suffering”<sup>70</sup> corresponds to Skt. *duḥkhena*, ins. sg., with the same meaning.

b4. Toch. B <cme> should be the beginning of a derivative of the word *camel* “birth, rebirth”<sup>71</sup> *cmel*<sup>o</sup>, or the word *cmelle/cmelñe* “birth, rebirth” nom./obl. sg. gerund from *tām-* “to be born”<sup>72</sup>, corresponding to Skt. *jātī* with the same meaning.

b4. The Skt. compound *jātīmarāṇa* may have been translated into Toch. B as *cmelle srūkalle* as in *Udānavarga* manuscript PK AS 1A b1. The Skt. instrumental is rendered the with Toch. B comitative here so that one can restore *cmelle srūkallempa*.

b5. Toch. B *ynemanentse*, gen. sg. present participle from *i-* “to go”, corresponds to the Skt. present participle *caratas*, gen. sg., “moving”.

b5. Toch. B *klyemanentse*, gen. sg. present participle from *kāly-* “to stand”, corresponds to Skt. present participle *tiṣṭatas*, gen. sg., “standing”.

b5. Toch. B *taiknesāk* “thus, just so” corresponds to Skt. *tathā* “thus, in that manner”.

<sup>68</sup> ADAMS 2013, 248.

<sup>69</sup> ADAMS 2013, 404.

<sup>70</sup> ADAMS 2013, 589.

<sup>71</sup> ADAMS 2013, 269.

<sup>72</sup> ADAMS 2013, 308.

b6. The Toch. B gen. pl. reflexive pronoun *mākceṃtsä* corresponds to Skt. *yeṣām*, gen. pl., “which”.

b6. The Skt. compound *rātridivāpāye*, loc. sg., “passing of nights(s) and days(s)” was translated into Toch. B as a phrase with gen. pl. *yaṣi kaunantso*<sup>73</sup> “night(s) and days” and *kātkorne*, loc. sg. of the *r*-abstract from the preterite participle from *kātk-* “proceed, pass on, pass [of time]”.

b7. Toch. B *wīna*, nom. pl. (tantum), “pleasure” corresponds to Skt. *ratih*, nom. sg., with the same meaning.

b7. Toch. B *tākom*, 3pl. active optative from *nes-* “be, exist, become”<sup>74</sup> corresponds to Skt. *bhavet*, 3sg. optative, “be, exist, become”.

b7. Skt. *parijīrṇam*, nom. sg., “old, decayed” is translated into Toch. B by a phrase with *aiksnar* “(al)together, completely” and *k<sub>i</sub>rau*, nom. sg. preterite participle of *kwär-* “to age, grow old”.<sup>75</sup>

## 6. Notes

This fragment belongs to the first Udānavarga<sup>76</sup> chapter named Anit-yavarga.

There are some differences between orthography and verbal forms of the two texts of IOL Toch. 233+368 and SI 2985/1. The translation from Sanskrit is done word by word. However, sanskrit compositas are usually translated by Toch. B phrases. Toch. B is not as rich in synonyms as Sanskrit is used to be. Some Skt. phrases get an additional elaboration as in line a7. All these instances helped not only to keep the translation close to the original but also make it clearer for the audience and omit excess stylistic effort.

### *Udānavarga* (Uv. 4.23b – 4.34c)

**SI 2994/9** (Old number: SI B/114)

Find spot: Kuča, On-baš Miñ-Öy

Bilingual Tocharian B/Sanskrit

fig. 5

fig. 6

<sup>73</sup> In *yaṣi kaunantso*, *yaṣi* is in the singular and *kaunantso* is in the plural. We probably have to take it as a compound, even though no accent effect in *yaṣi* is seen.

<sup>74</sup> ADAMS 2013, 366.

<sup>75</sup> ADAMS 2013, 254.

<sup>76</sup> For the general context, cf. ĀNANDAJOTI BHIKKHU, 2007.

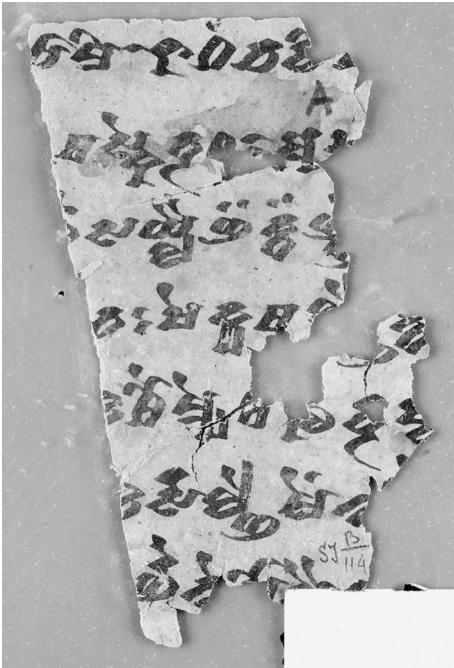


fig. 5: SI 2994/9 recto

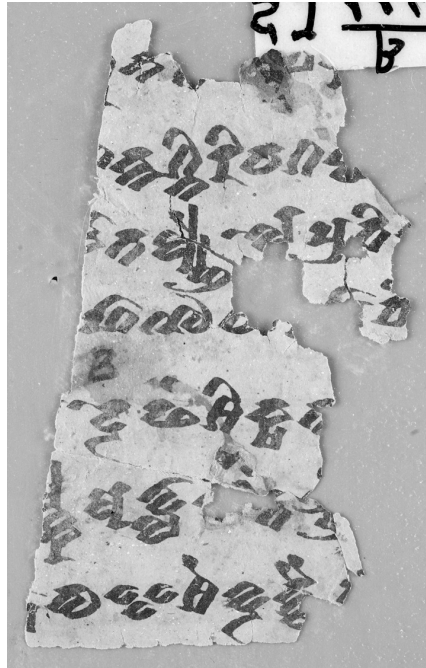


fig. 6: SI 2994/9 verso

## 1. Material description

Size (h x w, maximal): 8.2×5.3 cm. Fragment of the middle of a leaf. It is likely that the lower and upper edges are both visible. On the fragment, seven lines are still visible on both sides. One can assume that each side had seven lines. The fragment is heavily damaged. All the lines have losses of text.

## 2. Transliteration

a1 /// [y]āmi • rāgaṃ ca d[oš·]<sup>77</sup> ///  
 a2 /// masketra 20-[3] a[p·]<sup>78</sup> ///  
 a3 /// [rñe]<sup>79</sup> sa ylaiñäktäññ[e] ///  
 a4 /// ta<sup>80</sup>ḥ ṣek yamal[y]ñent· ///

<sup>77</sup> These akṣaras should be the <doṣa> of *doṣaṃ* Uv. 4.23c.

<sup>78</sup> This akṣara should be the <pra> of *apramādaṃ* Uv. 4.24a.

<sup>79</sup> The akṣara is compatible with <rñe> of a7 line.

<sup>80</sup> Compare BERNGARD 1965, 134: Uv. 4.25b *pañditāḥ*.

- a5 /// [ai]śaumye 20-5 dṛ[ṣṭ·]<sup>81</sup> ///  
 a6 /// karsalñemem [ai]·[au] ///  
 a7 /// rñene [p]·os·ai [l] ///  
 b1 /// [dhu]n[āt]· [-] p·[k]<sup>82</sup> ///  
 b2 /// [ha]<sup>83</sup>nn agnir iva ga[cch·]<sup>84</sup> ///  
 b3 /// n[au]talyñe • 30 prati –<sup>85</sup> ///  
 b4 /// hāṇā[ya] (-)<sup>86</sup> [m]ā c[ä] ///  
 b5 /// • dṛḍham śikṣata ///  
 b6 /// ltk· awlā[wat]taññ[e] ///  
 b7 /// [m]<sup>87</sup> tu iše wrantsai [p·]<sup>88</sup> ///

### 3. Transcription

- a1 /// yāmi • rāgaṃ ca do(ṣaṃ) /// Uv. 4.23b, c  
 a2 /// māsketrā 23 ap(ramādaṃ) /// Uv. 4.23d; Uv. 4.24a  
 a3 /// (snai yko)rñesa ylaiñāktāññe (•) /// Uv. 4.24c  
 a4 /// (paṇḍi)taḥ ṣek yamālyñent(ane aiśaumye •) /// Uv. 4.25b  
 a5 /// aiśaumye 25 dṛṣṭ(adhārmika) /// Uv. 4.25d; Uv. 4.26a  
 a6 /// karsalñemem ai(ś)au(mye) /// Uv. 4.26c  
 a7 /// (yko)rñene p(r)os(k)ai l(kāskemane •) /// Uv. 4.27b  
 b1 /// (•) dhunāti(i pā)p(a)k(āṃ) /// Uv. 4.28c  
 b2 /// (da)hann agnir iva gacch(ati) /// Uv. 4.29d  
 b3 /// nautalyñe • 30 prati(vidhyate) /// Uv. 4.30d  
 b4 /// (pari)hāṇāya – mā cā /// Uv. 4.32c  
 b5 /// • dṛḍham śikṣata /// Uv. 4.33b  
 b6 /// (snai spe)ltk(e) awlāwattaññe /// Uv. 4.33d  
 b7 /// (pratibudhyadhva)m tu iše wrāntsai p(karsas) /// Uv. 4.34c

<sup>81</sup> This akṣara should be the <ṣṭa> of *dṛṣṭadhārmika* Uv. 4.26a.

<sup>82</sup> These akṣaras should be <dhu>nā<ti>< pā><pa><kām> of *dhunāti pāpakām dharmām* Uv. 4.28c.

<sup>83</sup> This akṣara should be the <ha> of *dahann* Uv. 4.29d.

<sup>84</sup> This akṣara should be the <ccha> of *gacchati* Uv. 4.29d.

<sup>85</sup> This akṣara should be the <vi> of *pratividhyate* Uv. 4.31c.

<sup>86</sup> There is a folio abruption at this place. It is not clear enough if an akṣara was eliminated by it. On the one hand, the traces of ink on the left and on the right sides of the abruption doesn't merge into one akṣara because the first one is looking more like <p> or <ṣ> and the second one is obviously <m>. On the other hand, from the semantical point of view there is no need of any additional akṣara.

<sup>87</sup> This akṣara should be the <m> in virāma position of *pratibudhyadhvam* Uv. 4.34c.

<sup>88</sup> The rest of akṣara could be either of <p> or <k>.

#### 4. Restoration and tentative translation

Uv. 4.23b /// *yāmi*  
*dharmasya bhavati hy anudharmacārī* “...of the law, fulfills his duties  
(walks in the path of the Law)”

Uv. 4.23d /// *māsketrā*  
*prahāya bhāgī śrāmaṇyārthasya bhavati* “shares the benefit derived from  
the monastic life”

Uv. 4.24c (*snai yko*)*rñesa ylaiñāktāññe*  
*apramādena maghavān* “through heedfulness of Maghavan (= Indra)”

Uv. 4.25b *ṣek yamālyñent(ane aiśaumye)*  
*sadā kṛtyeṣu paṇḍitaḥ* “a wise one permanently about [his] doings...”

Uv. 4.25d /// *aiśaumye*  
*atigrhñāti paṇḍitaḥ* “a wise one surpasses”

Uv. 4.26c /// *kārsalñemem ai(ś)au(mye)*  
*arthābhisamayād dhīraḥ* “having clear understanding of things, a wise man”

Uv. 4.27b (*yko*)*rñene p(r)os(k)ai l(kāskemane)*  
*pramāde bhayadarśakaḥ*. “[the one, who is] looking with fear at negli-  
gence...”

Uv. 4.30d /// *nautalyñe*  
*sarvasamyojanakṣayam* “elimination of all that binds to the world”

Uv. 4.32c *mā cā* ///  
*abhavyaḥ parihāṇāya* “[the one who is] improper for a decrease”

Uv. 4.33d (*snai spe*)*ltk(e) awlāwattaññe*  
*anutthānam asamyamaḥ* “with a lack of endeavour and with uncontrolled  
[senses]”

Uv. 4.34c *tu iśe wrāntsai p(karsas)*  
*tad aṅgaṃ pratibudhyantadhvam* “O you! Recognize this!”

#### 5. Comments

a1. Toch. B *yāmi* “doer”, agent noun from *yām-*,<sup>89</sup> corresponds to the last element of the Skt. compound *anudharmacārī* “[the one who] acts according *dharmā*”.

a2. Toch. B *māsketrā*, 3sg. middle present from *māsk-* “to be, become”,<sup>90</sup> corresponds to Skt. *bhavati*, 3sg. present, “to be, become”.

<sup>89</sup> ADAMS 2013, 532.

<sup>90</sup> ADAMS 2013, 491.

a3. Toch. B *snai ykorñesa*, perl. sg., “without negligence; diligence”<sup>91</sup> corresponds to Skt. *apramādena*, ins. sg., with the same meaning.

a3. Toch. B *ylaiñäktäññe*, nom. sg., “pertaining to Indra, Indrahood”<sup>92</sup> corresponds to Skt. *maghavān*, nom. sg., “epithet of Indra”.

a4. Toch. B *šek* “continually, perpetually” corresponds to Skt. *sadā* with the same meaning.

a4. Toch. B *yamälyñentane*, loc. pl., “doing”, verbal abstract from *yām-* “to do, act”,<sup>93</sup> corresponds<sup>94</sup> to the Skt. gerund *kṛtyeṣu*, loc. pl., “to be done or performed”.

a4. The Toch. B correspondence to Skt. *pañḍitaḥ*, nom. sg., “a wise one” should be restored as *aiśaumye* as in line a5.

a5. Toch. B *aiśaumye*, nom. sg., “a wise one” corresponds to Skt. *pañḍitaḥ* with the same meaning.

a6. The Skt. compound *arthābhisamayād*, abl. sg., “clear understanding of artha” was translated into Toch. B as a phrase with *kārsalñemem*,<sup>95</sup> abl. sg., “knowledge” as the last component. The first component could be restored as *arthantse / ārth*.<sup>96</sup> Toch. B *aiśaumye*<sup>97</sup> “a wise one” corresponds to Skt. *dhīraḥ* with the same meaning.

a7. Toch. B *ykorñene*, loc. sg., “negligence”<sup>98</sup> corresponds to Skt. *pramāde*, loc. sg., with the same meaning.

a7. One can safely restore<sup>99</sup> the Toch. B phrase *proskai lkāskemane* “seeing fear” corresponding to the Skt. compound *bhayadarśakaḥ*, nom. sg., “[the one who is] looking with fear”.

b1. Only Sanskrit text Uv. 4.28c.

b2. Only Sanskrit text Uv. 4.29d.

b3. Toch. B *nautalyñe*, obl. sg., “disappearance”<sup>100</sup> corresponds to the last component of Skt. composita *sarvasamyojanakṣayam* “the destruction of all bounds [to *saṃsāra*]” acc. sg.

<sup>91</sup> ADAMS 2013, 559.

<sup>92</sup> ADAMS 2013, 563.

<sup>93</sup> ADAMS 2013, 529.

<sup>94</sup> *yamälyñe* “doing” would match much better to gerund, fem. from this root *kṛtyā* with meaning “act, doing”. However, the loc. pl. of *kṛtyā* is *kṛtyāṣu*.

<sup>95</sup> The correct form would be *kārsalñemem* with *a* in the first syllable (ADAMS 2013, 177).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. ADAMS 2013, 56: *ārth* (n.[m.sg.]) ‘meaning, sense’ [*ārth*, *arthantse*, *ārth*//-, -, *arthanma*] *arthantse kārsalce* ‘knowledge of the meaning’

<sup>97</sup> Cf. ADAMS 2013, 113.

<sup>98</sup> ADAMS 2013, 559.

<sup>99</sup> Compare IOL Toch. 48 line a2: *proskai lkāskem*.

<sup>100</sup> ADAMS 2013, 371.

b4. Sanskrit (Uv. 4.32c): *abhavyaḥ parihāṇāya*. Lit. “[the one who is] improper for a decrease”. One can suppose that in Toch. B it was translated as “[the one who is] not able to die or decrease” by a form of the verb *cāmp*-<sup>101</sup> “to be able to”. May be the agent noun *cāmpamo* was used.

b5. Only Sanskrit text Uv. 4.33b.

b6. One can safely restore the Skt. *anutthānam*, acc. sg., “want of exertion” as a Toch. B *snai* “without” *speltke*, obl. sg., “exertion”.<sup>102</sup>

b6. Toch. B *awlāwattaññe*, nom. sg., “absence of self-control”, abstract noun from adjective *awlāwatte* “uncontrolled, undisciplined”,<sup>103</sup> corresponds to Skt. *asaṃyamah*, nom. sg., with the same meaning.

b7. Toch. B *tu*, obl. sg., “that” corresponds to Skt. *tat*, acc. sg., with the same meaning.

b7. Toch. B *iše*, a particle implying attention, corresponds to Skt. *aṅgam* with the same meaning.

b7. Toch. B postposition *wrāntsai* “against, opposite” and a 2pl, imperative, possibly *pkarsas* from *kārs-* “to know, understand, recognize”,<sup>104</sup> correspond to the Skt. *pratibudhyantadhvam* “to be aware of” 2pl, imperative.

## 6. Notes

This fragment belongs to the fourth *Udānavarga*<sup>105</sup> chapter named *Apramādavarga*.

Translation from Sanskrit is mostly a word by word one; however, there are some exceptions. Padas 4.28a-b, 29a-b, 30a-b, 31a-b, 32a-b are omitted as they are a mere repetition of padas 4. 27a-b.

## A stotra fragment

SI 2921/7 (Old number: SI B/3-6)

Find spot: Kuča, On-baš Miṇ-Öy

Tocharian B

fig. 7

fig. 8

<sup>101</sup> For the meaning of *cāmp*- cf. VYZHLAKOV 2020.

<sup>102</sup> ADAMS 2013, 788.

<sup>103</sup> ADAMS 2013, 32.

<sup>104</sup> ADAMS 2013, 176.

<sup>105</sup> For the general context, cf. ĀNANAJOTI BHIKKHU, 2007.





fig. 7: SI 2921/7 recto

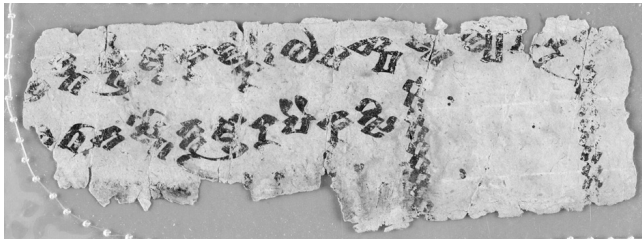


fig. 8: SI 2921/7 verso

## 1. Material description

Size (h x w, maximal): 3.7×10.5 cm. The right part of a leaf, preserving the lower right corner on the recto, and the upper right corner on the verso. On the fragment, three lines are still visible on both sides. One can assume that originally each side had at least 4 or 5 lines.

On the verso side, one can see two vertical lines of ornament made of doubled slanting strokes going up to the end of the page. This drawing is the usual device for marking the final leaf of a manuscript, following a colophon. This assumption fits the content of the line b2, which mentions the end of the copy of a text. Line b3 is very damaged: the paper has been erased, and the ink has faded, so that one can see only the top of some akṣaras.

## 2. Metre<sup>106</sup>

The metrical character of the text is made sure by the double dots and by the instances of alternative word order. The complete metrical segments (*āñmalāṣlñe porttar ñiś : ketara kartseś; yārpointasa ñiññana : ce cmeltsa warñai, pūdñäktäññe akälko : ot spä snai lyīpär*) lead to the assumption that

<sup>106</sup> About Tocharian metre cf. PEYROT 2018.

the metre was 4 x 12 syllables, rhythm 5/7 (precisely 5/4+3). But the sentence to be found in line b2 was not metrical: it contained the title of the work, and probably the mention of the author of the text and the scribe.

### 3. Transliteration

- a1 /// ·[m]· – [p]· c[ā]r[ · ] p·yś·nts· c· [y]n·  
 a2 /// ·[n]uñña āñmalāṣṭhne porttar ñis<sup>ā</sup> · : ketara kartse[ṣ<sup>ā</sup> · ]  
 a3 /// ·o yārpontasa ñiññana : ce cmeltsa warñai wiko  
 b1 /// [d]ñ·ktāññe akālko ot · ṣpā sn· ly·[pā]r[ · ] [w]· ///  
 b2 /// [n]idhānastotrā āra paikatsi  
 b3 /// – ·e ·e l· ·e

### 4. Transcription

- a1 /// (śpāl)m(eṃ) (u)p(a)cār p(o)yś(i)nts(e) c(e) yn(eś)  
 a2 (yāmtsi : ----- : ---- ·nuñña āñmalāṣṭhne porttar ñis :  
 ketara kartseś  
 a3 (yamaṣṣeñcai po skeye : warpoymar ok)o yārpontasa ñiññana : ce  
 cmeltsa warñai wiko  
 b1 (yenträ – – – : ) ----- : ----- (pū)dñ(ä)ktāññe  
 akālko : ot ṣpā sn(ai) ly(ṭ)pār w·  
 b2 /// (pra)ñidhānastotrā āra paikatsi  
 b3 /// no restoration possible

### 5. Tentative translation

- a1 ...in order to make manifest the excellent practice of the omniscient.  
 a2 ...(please bestow) compassion, acknowledge me for the good of every-  
 one  
 a3 (as making all efforts. May I enjoy the fruit) by my own meritorious  
 acts. From this [present] existence onwards, may (the afflictions) disappear.  
 b1 (May my) wish of [attaining] Buddhahood (come true), and then entirely  
 (the refuge?) ...b2 ...the writing [of this] Prañidhānastotra has come to the end.

### 6. Comments

- a1. The words of this line should probably be restored as follows.  
*upacār* – noun, obl. sg., a loan from Skt. *upacāra*- “practice, behavior,  
 method”.

*poysintse* – gen. sg., “the all-knowing one, omniscient”, epithet and title of the Buddha, calque of Skt. *sarvajña*- “omniscient”.

*ce* – obl. sg. masc., of the demonstrative pronoun *se* of near deixis.

*yneś* – adverb, “really, obviously”; one could restore it as a part of the phrase *yneś yāmtsi*, infinitive, from the phrase *yneś yām-* “to make clear, manifest”.

Accordingly, these would make a complete pāda: *śpālmem upacār poysintse ce yneś yāmtsi* “in order to make manifest the excellent practice of the omniscient”; in other words, “to follow his example”.

a2. The first word of the line remains conjectural. The ligature ends with <·*nu*>, but the upper part remains problematic: it may be <*s*·>, or a more complex ligature. The reading of <·*ñña*> is perfectly safe, and it would be arbitrary to suppose a mistake. Otherwise, this text does not show any spelling error. The nom. sg. *-ñña*, if it were the feminine of an adjective in *-ññe*, does not fit with *āñmalāṣṣālñe*, which is masculine. Alternatively, an abstract in *-ñña*, (obl. sg. *-ññai*), does not fit in this context. The remaining option would be a verb form, the direct object of which would be “compassion”. This would be a 2sg. active of an imperative (V) based on a subjunctive stem in *-ññ-* (class XII), maybe from a denominative verb.

a2. *āñmalāṣṣālñe* is a verse form of *añmalāṣṣālñe*, nom./obl. sg., “compassion”.

a2. *porttar* – 2sg. middle imperative from *ārttā-* “to approve of, love, praise”. A new form and obviously correct. For this variant of the imperative prefix *p(ā)-* compare *pokse* from *āks-* “to announce, proclaim”.<sup>107</sup>

a2. *ñiś* – oblique of the 1sg. person personal pronoun. The nominative form is identical but does not fit in the present context. This form cannot be simply the direct object of the preceding verb, because one would expect the suffixed pronoun (*-ñ*) of the 1st person. Therefore, this pronoun ought to be constructed with a participial clause, which was made complete with the next segment. See the possible reconstruction of the text:<sup>108</sup> *porttar ñiś : ketara kartseś (yamaṣṣeñcai po skeye)* “acknowledge me, (as making all efforts), for the good of everyone”, where *yamaṣṣeñcai*, obl. sg.

<sup>107</sup> ADAMS 2013, 41.

<sup>108</sup> However, it is important to mention that as there normally should be a syntactic break after the punctuation mark (double dots), this reconstruction supposes a misfit between metre and syntax. Otherwise the translation ought to be as follows:

a2 ...acknowledge me [with respect to?] compassion; for the good of everyone, ...

a3 ...(May I enjoy the fruit) by my own meritorious acts.

*nt*-participle from *yām-* “doing”; *po* “all, every. each, complete”; *skeye*, obl. sg., “effort”.

a3. The first word of the line ought to be restored as (*ok*)*o*, obl. sg., “fruit, result”. As this text clearly contains a series of wishes, *oko* would be the complement of a verb meaning “to obtain, reach” or “to enjoy” in the optative, possibly *wārp-*. This would make a complete *pāda*: (*warpoymar oko*) *yārpontasa ñiññana*.

a3. *yārpontasa*, perl. pl., “good deed, merit” (an equivalent of Skt. *puṇya-*) and *ñiññana*, obl. fem. pl., “pertaining to me, my own” were put in a metrical order<sup>109</sup> to impose the rhythm 4+3 in the segment of 7 syllables.

a3. The last word of the line ought to be completed most probably as an optative form of *wik-* “drive off, disappear” either 3sg. middle *wikoytār* or 3pl. middle *wikoy(e)ntār*.<sup>110</sup> The term *kleś*, (oblique, pl. *kleśanma*), loan from Skt. *kleśa-* “affliction, impurity, depravity, defilement” is commonplace<sup>111</sup> as the direct object of the causative (transitive) of the verb *wik-*. So the complete *pāda* can then be restored as follows: *ce cmeltsa warñai wiko(yentrā kleśanma)*.

b1. *akālk* – nom./obl., sg. “wish”. The form of the text is *akālko* with so-called mobile *-o*, which is attested in other metrical texts. This vowel alternates with *-ā* and with zero at the end of the word. A final *-k* should have been written <̣k>. However, according to the requirements of metre, the *-o* has been written here. The wish in question pertains to becoming a Buddha in the next life, based on the merits.

b1. *snai lyipār* – current phrase (as an equivalent of Skt. *puṇya-*) used as an adverb “without any rest; entirely, completely”.<sup>112</sup>

b1. The last word of the line remains conjectural. One could restore *wa(ste)* “protection, refuge”.<sup>113</sup> This would refer to a commonplace notion, the threefold protection given by the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha.

## 7. Notes

This fragment has been used by Lévi for his edition of the *Udānastotra*,<sup>114</sup> with the following comment:

<sup>109</sup> The normal (prose) order would be: *ñiññana yārpontasa*.

<sup>110</sup> ADAMS 2013, 652.

<sup>111</sup> For example, THT 1126 line a4 *kleśanma wikāṣṣām*.

<sup>112</sup> ADAMS 2013, 602.

<sup>113</sup> ADAMS 2013, 634.

<sup>114</sup> Lévi 1933, 66.

“Un fragment à Pétrograd semble appartenir au colophon:

1 *taññe akālk : oṣ ṣpa snai lyipar*

2 *tānastotr āra paikatsi*”

Lévi attributes this fragment to the *Udānastotra*. However, the connection with the *Udānastotra* seems to be wrong. Lévi assumes that for the *d* of *udāna* the scribe wrote <ṭ> (*uṭāna*), but with the alternative <ta>, namely the Fremdzeichen, transliterated currently as <t̄a>. But the Fremdzeichen <t̄a> is never found together with the diacritic mark of long vowel <ā>. Therefore, one should read <dhā>. The next decisive point is the reading of the preceding akṣara: this sign could be <ñi>, <ṇi>, or perhaps <śi>. One should quite definitely restore (*pra*)[ṇ]idhānastotrā, a transposition of Skt. *Praṇidhānastotra*.

In any case, the preceding text shows no common phrase with the conclusion of the *Udānastotra*.<sup>115</sup>

Since the notion of *praṇidhāna*-, alternatively *praṇidhi*- “solemn resolution, wish, vow”<sup>116</sup> is quite important in the Buddhist doctrine, a work with such a title is not unexpected.<sup>117</sup> But an exact identification seems to be out of reach at this point.

## Fragment of a *jātaka*

SI 2921/24 (Old number: SI B/3-13)

Findspot: Kuča, On-baš Miṇ-Öy

Tocharian B

fig. 9

fig. 10

<sup>115</sup> See the edition and restoration by PINAULT 1990 and the comments by PEYROT 2016b.

<sup>116</sup> EDGERTON 1953, 360.

<sup>117</sup> One would remember *Samantabhadracaryāpraṇidhāna*, also known as *Bhadra-carīpraṇidhānastotra* and *Ārya Bhadracarya Praṇidhāna Rāja*, the text which was popular in the region. Also the *Samantabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna text* is written in the first person, as the text of SI 2921/7. However this text does not fit the Sanskrit version: [http://gretil.sub.unigoettingen.de/gretil/1\\_sanskr/4\\_rellit/buddh/bst-108u.htm](http://gretil.sub.unigoettingen.de/gretil/1_sanskr/4_rellit/buddh/bst-108u.htm).

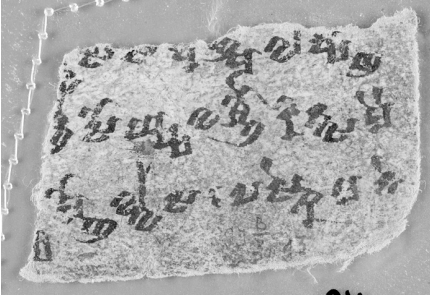


fig. 9: SI 2921/24 recto

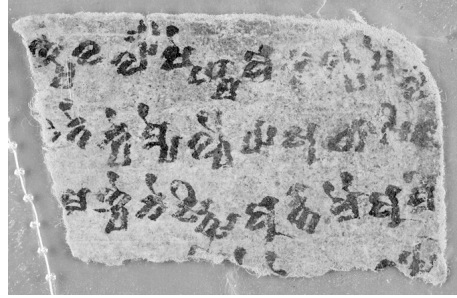


fig. 10: SI 2921/24 verso

### 1. Material description

Size (h x w, maximal): 3.3×5.5 cm. The right part of a leaf, preserving lower right corner of the presumed recto, and the upper right corner of the presumed verso. Based on the content, one cannot establish with safety what is the recto and the verso. On the fragment, three lines are still visible on one side, and four lines on the other side. Line b4 is much damaged so that one can see only the top of some akṣaras. One can assume that originally each side had at least five lines. The text seems to be entirely in verse, judging from the double dot in a6, and the number in b2, and from instances of verse forms.

### 2. Metre

The metrical character of the text is made sure by the double dots and by the instances of metrically pressed forms (*ṣlyamoñ lwāsa* and *teky empelye*) as well as several verse forms. The definition of the metre remains uncertain. However, there are several instances of sequences of 7 (4+3) syllables, and the final sequence of the pāda ought to be of 4 syllables (*ṣlyamoñ lwāsa* ; *teky empelye* 10). Therefore, one may tentatively surmise that the metre was of 4 x 18 syllables, rhythm 7(4+3)/7(4+3)/4.

### 3. Transliteration

- a1 /// [lt]s· [r]s· s· añm·l·ṣṣ[e]mñ  
 a2 /// [rñe] soṣṣawa śaul · rintsamai  
 a6 /// ·y· moñ · lwāsa : paskemane  
 b1 /// ñ[e]m · walo ṣeym · akalye p[r]e·[ṣ]l

b2 /// [wa] teky empelye 10 subhāṣi[ta]

b3 /// mañye nestsi arttamai am[ā]ṃ

b4 /// --- ·ā ·e ·e -- [ra] [p]o

#### 4. Transcription

a1 /// (au)lts(o)rs(a) s(e) añm(a)l(ā)ṣṣeṃñ

a2 /// (perne)rñe soyṣṣawa śaul rintsamai

a3 /// (ṣl)y(a)moñ lwāsa : paskemane

b1 /// ñem walo ṣeym akalye pre(k)ṣl(e)

b2 /// (lyakā)wa teky empelye 10 subhāṣita(gaveṣi)

b3 /// mañye nestsi arttamai amāṃ

b4 /// --- ·ā ·e ·e -- ra po

#### 5. Tentative translation

a1. ...in brief, this one, out of pity

a2. ...I satisfied the glory, I gave up [my] life

a3. ...the flying animals. Observing

b1. ...was the king named ... The learning (ought) to be asked for (by myself)...

b2. ...(I suffered?) a dreadful disease. 10 (The king) *Subhāṣitagaveṣin*...

b3. ...I approved to become a servant. (I abandoned) the pride...

#### 6. Comments

a1. The words of the line one should probably restore as follows.

*aultsorsa* – adverb, “in short, briefly”, based on the verbal noun from the preterit participle from *wālts*- “to put together, press together.

*añmalāṣṣeṃñ* – causal (ending in *-ñ*) from *añmalāṣṣe*, equivalent of *añmalāṣṣālñe*, abstract, “sympathy, pity, compassion”. This form would be of the late layer of Tocharian B, featuring assimilation of a cluster of palatal consonants.

a2. The first word of the line ought to be restored as *pernerñe*, obl. sg., “splendor, glory”.

a2. *soyṣṣawa* is a verse form with syncope for *soyāṣṣawa*, 1sg. active preterit from *soy*- “to satisfy”.

a3. One knows already the fixed phrase *lwāsa ṣlyamñana* (THT 29 b8; to be restored in THT 343 a3), lit. “flying animals”, referring to birds. Here the

feminine plural *ṣlyamñana* of the agent noun *ṣlyamo* has been replaced by the masculine due to metrical requirements.

a3. *paskemane* is the *m*-participle from *pāsk-* “to protect; to observe (rules), practice, beware of”.

b1. *ñem* – nom. sg., “name”. It features here in the so-called naming construction with apposition to the proper name and the title of the person: “the king named N.N.”.

b1. *ṣeym* is a late form of *ṣaim*, 1sg. active imperfect from *nes-* “to be”.<sup>118</sup>

b1. *prekṣle* is a verse form with syncope for *prekṣalle*, gerund (I), expressing obligation, from *pārk-* “to ask for, beg”.

b2. The first word of the line remains conjectural. One could restore *lyakāwa*, 1sg. active preterit from *lāk-* “to see”, hence in this context “to suffer”.

b2. *teky* is a sandhi form, metri causa, for *teki*, obl. sg., “disease, illness”. With *empelye*, obl. sg., “terrible, horrible, dreadful, awful” composes a metrically pressed form *teky empelye*.

b3. *mañye* is a verse form with syncope of *mañīye*, obl. sg., “(male) slave, servant”.

b3. *amām* – nom./obl., sg., “pride, arrogance”; here probably a direct object, complement of a verb meaning “to set apart, abandon”.

## 7. Notes

The fragment belongs to a text which tells in verse stories of the past life (*jātaka*) of the Buddha in the first person, see the verbs in lines a5, b1, b3. Furthermore, the line b1 contains the typical sentence of conclusion, which gives the identification of a character of the distant past, in the 3sg. imperfect (*ñem walo ṣeym*).<sup>119</sup> This sentence corresponds to the so-called *samodhāna*, a finishing part of a *jātaka* in the Pāli *Jātaka* collection.

The king *Subhāṣitagaveṣin* is a well-known figure of Bodhisattva, which was the hero of a *jātaka* or *avadāna*.<sup>120</sup>

In Tocharian B, *Subhāṣitagavesin* is found in several texts: IOL Toch. 115 a1, IOL Toch. 278 b1, THT 95 a6, THT 99 a6. Precisely, in Berlin fragments, the story of *Subhāṣitagaveṣin* was told following the telling of the *Arañemi-jātaka*, the story of a very generous king, see the transition in THT

<sup>118</sup> Cf. PEYROT 2008, 58.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. THT 95 a1 (*etre ṣaim*), A 17a2, THOMAS 1957, 74–75, 162.

<sup>120</sup> See the references in PANGLUNG 1981, 177. See in particular *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*, *Vinayaḥsūdraka* (T. 1451). *Bodhisattvāvadānakaḥpalatā* by Kṣemendra, No. 53 (see translation and analysis by STRAUBE 2009, 271–278); *Avadāna-śataka*, No. 38.



95 recto.<sup>121</sup> The story itself was told in drama form, as seen in the fragments THT 99 to 101.<sup>122</sup> In short, the king in question is eager to learn a saying (*subhāṣita*) of the Buddha. With this intention he meets a *Yakṣa* (who is actually *Indra/Śakra* in disguised form) in the forest, and learns finally from him the saying (stanza) in exchange of his own life: in this goal the king prepares a gigantic fire and throws himself into it, which however changes itself immediately into a pond. Then he obtains to hear the saying and to spread it.

There is however some uncertainty concerning the SI 2921/24 fragment, partly because the fragmentary text does not offer any common word or phrase with the fragments THT 95, 99–101. This situation can be explained by a difference of genre, since the treatment in dramatic form in THT 99–101 is quite extensive, with alternating prose and verse. It is not at all certain that the king who was named in SI 2921/24 b1 was identical to *Subhāṣitagaveṣin*, who is named later in line b2. The phrase “I gave up my life” (line a2) may apply to many *Bodhisattvas*. Then, it is possible that our text contained the successive telling of several *jātakas* in very abridged form (a type of text which is known otherwise) and in verse. And among them it contained the *jātaka* of *Subhāṣitagaveṣin*.

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<sup>121</sup> SIEG & SIEGLING 1953, 32.

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Aliy Kolesnikov

## **The Miniatures and Texts in the E28 Album from the IOM, RAS**

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*Abstract:* The E28 Album is composed of five stray sheets from an unknown Persian manuscript datable by circumstantial evidence to the 17th–18th cc. The texts contained therein are for the most parts accounts pertaining to the activities of the Sufi fraternities in Central Asia in the period from the 11th to the 15th c. The five miniature paintings illustrate the stories told.

*Key words:* Abu Said Abu-l-Khair, Herat, Khorezm, Amu Darya, sheikhs, mysticism, boat.

An album code-named E28 (inv. No. 10371) is kept in the Arabic-script section of the Department of Manuscripts and Documents of the IOM (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts) of the RAS (Russian Academy of Sciences). It is made up of five stray sheets from a medieval Persian manuscript purchased from an antique shop in Saint-Petersburg on 18 January, 2016. One side of each sheet carries a text accompanied by an illustrating miniature painting (or, conversely, each miniature is explicated by a text), while the other side carries a text only. Incidentally, the miniature with its text can appear both on the obverse and reverse side of the leaf, in which case the illustration-free text and that with a miniature change places.<sup>1</sup> A watchword (*custoda*) is invariably located below the text on the verso, denoting as it does the end of the narrative and determining the initial word on the recto of the next sheet. Judging by its sporadic pagination, the entire manuscript might have comprised a total of 290 to 300 sheets. On circumstantial evidence (such as the state of paper preservation, the content of the text and the writ-

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<sup>1</sup> In the present album, this is observable in sheets E28 2 and E28 4.

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ing manner), it is datable to the late 17th or 18th c. The different pagination markings in pseudo-Arabic, as well as the Arabic figures in the upper right corners of the sheets indicate that the manuscript was already in quires as early as the 20th c. or the early 21st.

The scarcity of sources available makes it impossible to make assertions about the content of the manuscript, but even the little that the writer has gleaned from the fragments of its five tales suggests that the genre dealt with was an entertaining story, which was so richly represented in medieval Central Asian literature in the Persian and Tadjik languages.<sup>2</sup> In the fragments dealt with in this publication, the key role belongs to narratives connected to a greater or lesser extent with the activities of the Sufi sheikhs of the Central Asian area. The main shortcoming of the passages is the absence of the beginnings and endings of the stories recorded on the stray leaves of this small album, but the clarity of the texts in combination with the lifelike quality of the miniatures facilitates understanding the content.

What follows is a description of the material and its characteristics in the same order as the pagination of leaves in the E28 Album.

### **E28 1R (Pl. 1)**

The leaf measures 13 cm (w. width)×22.3 cm (h. height).

On the recto a miniature and a text appear inside a frame.

The frame measures 10.8 cm (w.)×16 cm (h.)×0.4 (th. thickness).

Figures ۱۱۷ (117) are placed left above the frame and the Latin letter M appears in the upper right corner of the page.

Most of the space within the frame is occupied by the miniature painting. A group of four conversing men is shown against a blue ground interspersed with a summarily treated plant motif. One of them, in the centre of the composition, asks the others some questions and the three say something in reply. There are three others in the pale pink background (two on the left and one on the right), watching the first group.

A glued-on rectangle over the picture carries four lines of Persian script, the three first ones being lyric distichs (*beits* or *baits*), the fourth line a marker in prose indicating transition to a new episode of the narrative. Two more lines are inscribed in a glued-on rectangle in the lower part of the miniature.

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<sup>2</sup> A catalogue of manuscripts from the RAS, IOM collection that included tales in this genre was compiled in her day by N.N. Tumanovich (TUMANOVICH 1981).

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Pl. 1: recto of sheet E28 1R

۲۶۱ - ۲۶۰

نصبت

ده گونی کم کرد و وقت ان را اول  
 کفته بودم بر بنای جان کند و مکن  
 در پی او چشم بر خون ز سر کردن  
 بر بنای آنجا خون از برج جریان  
 عاقبت به بحر عشق افتد دور یابی بی گنا رود در سر کوشه  
 گشتی تگشته صد هزار سر زمان موج آن دریا پشته نمیکند  
 و آن گشتی شکسته ز رود بر میکردید آن سحاره در زود  
 نیست و باد بان صبر را بطاب تخلص در سورش  
 دریا عو خط خورده و ز جمت بسیار سر از کوه بر آورده  
 جبر است افتاد و میدانت که راه که امت و سر که ناما  
 بر سر جبار را می رسید جبران سر کرد آن کردید درین صحرای  
 که اورا واقع بود ناما که دید که از جاب مشی شخصی سید عالم  
 هم شتقد علم بپسته بر سر هم جامه حکم کرده در  
 چشم او خون بر رخسار سپه افتاد چشمهای خون از زمین

Pl. 2: verso of sheet E28 1V

Here are the upper texts:

چشم کو تا باز بینم روی یار	پای کو تا باز پویم کوی یار
یا ز زیر خاک و خون سر بر کنم	دست کو تا خاک ره بر سر کنم
دوست کو تا دست گیرد یکدمم	یار کو تا دل دهد در یک غمم
این بگفت و روی در صحرا نهاد و مجنون وار در آن جست و جوی	

The lower text reads:

بسی شتافت اثری از سفر کرده خود نیافت بدین طرف  
و بدان طرف می نگریست و سنگ بسینه میزد و در عشق او میگفت

And this is their translation into English:

“Where is that trace to find my friend’s street with?  
Where is that eye to let me see my friend’s face with?  
Where is that hand to sprinkle my head with road dust?  
Or drag my head out of the blood-soaked earth?  
Where is the friend to sympathise with my sorrow?  
Where is the beloved one to lend a hand at once?”  
Saying that, he made way into the wilderness [desert] and,  
like Majnun,<sup>3</sup> began a search [for his friend].

Hard as he searched, he found no trace of his friend on his sojourn. He would now peer in one direction, then in the other, and would pound himself on the chest with a rock, repeating in romantic despair.

### E28 1V (Pl. 2)

The reverse side contains a text within a frame and a watchword below it.

The frame measures 8.3 cm (w.)×16 cm (h.)×0.5 cm (th.).

Inscribed in the upper right of the page, is the number 60 in words (شست), within a smaller later-date polychrome frame; next to it appears a pencil mark: 241–20.

<sup>3</sup> Hero of *Layli and Majnun*, a poem by Nizami Ganjavi (1141–1209).

Confined within the frame are 12 lines of Persian text in the *Nasta'liq* hand,<sup>4</sup> two of which make, in terms of content, a romantic *ruba'i* quatrain, whereas the other ten describe the hero's adventures in his quest of the person he deified.

The texts are as follows:

وہ کہ پی گم کرد و رفت آن یار و دل بیجای ماند  
در پی او چشم پر خون باز سرگردان ماند  
گفته بودم بر نیاید جان کہ بینم دیگرش  
بر نیاید آنچنان و دل درین حیران بماند

عاقبت بہ بحر عشق افتاد و دریای بی کنار و در ہر گوشہ  
کشتی شکستہ صد ہزار ہر زمان موج آن دریا بیشتر میگردد  
و آن کشتی شکستہا زیر و زبر میگردد آن بیچارہ در زورق  
نشست و بادبان صبر را بہ طناب تحمل بر بست در شورش آن  
دریا غوطہ خوردہ و بزحمت بسیار سر از گوشہ بر آوردہ در وادی  
حیرت افتاد و نمیدانست کہ راہ کدامست و سر کدام ناگاہ  
بر سر چہار راہی رسید حیران و سرگردان گردید درین حیرانی  
کہ اورا واقع بود ناگاہ دید کہ از جانب دمشق شخصی رسید نام او عشق؟

ہم شفقہ علم بستہ بر سر      ہم جامہ حلم کردہ در بر  
چشم او چون بر رخسار پسر افتاد      چشمہای خون از دیدہ بگشاد

Their translations into English are as follows:

[Ruba'i]:

"Crying shame every trace has been lost. My friend missing, my heart's  
ever restless.

Searching for him, I suffer again no end, weeping torrents of bitterest  
tears.

I was right when I said he would never come back t' let me see him again  
even briefly.

As he fails to return, my forlorn broken heart is in sorrow plunged and de-  
spair.

<sup>4</sup> One of the four main hands in Arabic calligraphy, which combines the stateliness of Naskh and roundness of Ta'liq. It became established in Iran in the 14th c. For varieties of this hand and its creators see: YUSOFI 1990, 696–699 and 709–714; Qazi Ahmad (AKIMUSHKIN) 2016, 162–174.



[Narrative]:

That way he drowned himself in the sea of love. Meanwhile the boundless sea around him kept breaking the ship (*keštī*). Every time hundreds of thousands sea waves grew more powerful, scattering the fragments of the vessel all over the sea surface. The seafarer went over into a *zawraq* boat, fastening its sail of patience with a rope of endurance. In the middle of the stormy sea, he suddenly plummeted into an abyss and only with great difficulty was able to surface from the depth. Suddenly he found himself in a wonderful valley and could not see where it led or where terminated. Unexpectedly, he reached an intersection of four roads and halted in great amazement and confusion. Lingering in that state, he saw somebody named Love<sup>5</sup> making a sudden appearance from the direction of Damascus.

[Distichs]:

Wearing the same headband of scholarship,  
The same aura of modesty round his head.  
When his eye fell on the young man's face,  
Hot tears streamed down his cheeks.

Clearly discernible near the bottom left edge of the page is this watchword: از هر ("from every/each...").

Comment: The beginning and end of the narrative are missing, yet the purport is not hard to perceive: the passage is about the mystic Sufi love by the worshipper for God as supreme object of veneration. In Sufi literature, the boat the dervish takes implies estrangement from daily life needs and concerns, i.e. asceticism.<sup>6</sup>

### E28 2V (Pl. 3)

The sheet measures 12.8 cm (w. top) and 13 cm (w. bottom)×22 cm (h.).

The recto carries a text inside a frame.

The frame measures 8.2 cm (w. bottom) and 8.1 cm (w. top)×15.7–15.8 cm (h.)×0.4 cm (th.).

<sup>5</sup> The text erroneously has عشق in lieu of عشق .

<sup>6</sup> For more details on mystic love see: BARTHOLD 1966, 114–120; BERTELS 1965, 181–184; SCHIMMEL 2012, 138–156.

No Persian pagination appears in the upper left corner of the sheet. The upper margin over the frame is inscribed with Figures 241–16 in pencil and 09.20 in ink.

The space within the frame is inscribed in the *Nasta'liq* hand with 12 lines of Persian text.

The text follows.

بغایت شکیل بود و خدمت آنحضرت کما ینبغی میکرد  
و آنحضرت بسیار شیفته او بودند آن جوان ماه منظر  
در بیرون خلوت سرای آن شیخ بزرگوار بسر میبرد  
و ابریق آبی که شیخ از آن وضو می ساخت مهیا می  
داشت شبی آن جوان با طلعت چون قمر در خواب خوش  
بود جمعی از ستمکاران بر بالین آن سرو خرامان آمدند  
و سر آن جوانرا از قلعه بدن جدا ساختند در روی  
سینه اش گذاشتند دروغ آن سر که تیغ از تن جدا کرد  
جون صبح کاذب رخ نمود آن جوان ابریق آب حاضر  
نگردانید آنحضرت از آن بارگاه متوجه درگاه احدیت  
بودند و میخواستند که بگذارند نماز نوافل اشتغال نمایند  
که تا دمیدن صبح صادق نعره زدند جواب نیامد

This is its translation into English:

...He was very well-built and served His Holiness properly. And His Holiness was literally enchanted by the moonfaced young man that lived behind the solitary cell occupied by the great sheikh. The youth would usually prepare a jug of water the sheikh made ablutions with. One night, when the handsome moonfaced youngster enjoyed his sleep, some villains stole to the pillow where that graceful cypress of a man lay, severed his head and laid it on his chest:

I feel so much pity for that head the sword cruelly severed from its body!

When the dawn cracked (lit. “revealed its face”), the youth had not delivered his jug of water. His Holiness made way from his cell to the secluded worship place and wanted to have optional prayers (*namāz-e nawāfil*)<sup>7</sup> first. He went on calling for the [servant] until daybreak [lit. until morning proper], but the call went unanswered.

<sup>7</sup> “Optional” is used here for prayers that supplemented obligatory ones that lay worshippers said. It cannot be ruled out, however, that in this particular context *hadīs an-nawāfil* was implied, which promised the presence of God in loving slaves for their pious deeds (SCHIMMEL 2012, 276, 496).

۲۴۱-۱۱

۲۵

بابت تشکیل بود و خدمت آنحضرت کما فیغیبی میکرد  
 آنحضرت بسیار شفیقه او بودند آن جوان ماه منظر  
 در پروان خلوت سه ای آن شیخ برزگوار بر سپر  
 و ابرق ابی که شیخ از آن وضو می ساخت میبای  
 داشت شبی آن جوان باطلت چون قمر در خواب  
 بود جمعی از پستکاران بر بالین آن پسر و حرمان  
 و سر آن جوان از قلعه بدن جدا ساختند و روی  
 سینه اش گذاشتند در آن سر که شیخ از صبح کرد

چون صبح کاوب رخ نمود آن جوان ابرق آب حاضر  
 نکرد ایند آنحضرت از آن بارگاه متوجه درگاه احدیه  
 بودند و میخواستند که بگذارند نماز نوافل اشتغال نماید  
 که تا میدان صبح صادق لغیره زدن جواب نیاید



Pl. 4: verso of sheet E28 2R

**E28 2R** (Pl. 4)

The reverse side carries a miniature with a text within a frame, a watchword below the latter.

The frame measures 11 cm (w. bottom) and 10.8 cm (w. top)×15.8 cm (h.)×0.4 cm (th.).

The upper left corner, above the frame, is inscribed with a washed-out number, ٢٨٤ (284), with another number, ١٥ (15), and with the Latin capital letter M in the extreme right corner.

The miniature depicts the aftermath of the murder: seven men stand round the beheaded body appalled by the horrific crime. Two glued-on lines of text continuing the narrative appear right under the upper edge of the frame.

در خلوت باز گردند دیدند که جوان را کشته اند و سرش را  
بر روی سینه اش نهاده اند شیخ چون دید که جنان حالی

Here is the English for them:

“People gathered in the cell and saw the youth had been killed and his head had been laid on his chest. When He (the sheikh) saw that something unexpected...”

In the bottom part of the frame, under the picture, the two last lines of the text appear. Here they are:

طاری شده مطلقان اظهار نفرمودند و کسی از ایشان  
اصلاً فهم نکرد و در همان زمان حضرت سلطان ابو سعید ابو الخیر

Their translation into English is as follows:

“...had happened, He [the sheikh] said nothing at all. None of them [none of those present] understood anything. Immediately His Majesty Sultan Abu Said Abu-l-Khair [arrived].

Comment: The person referred to is Abu Said Abi-l-Khair Maikhani (967–1049), one of the founders of the Eastern (Khorasan) school of mysticism and the head of the Sufi centre in Nishapur, (RYPKA 1959, 216–217; BERTELS 1965, 47–50; BÖWERING 1983, 377–380; O.A. 1991, 10–11; SCHIMMEL 2012, 243).

A watchword, رسیدند (“arrived”), appears under the frame near the lower left edge of the page.

**E28 3R (Pl. 5)**

The sheet measures 13.5 cm and 13.4 cm (w.)×22 cm (h.).

The recto is occupied by a miniature and a framed text inscribed in rectangles glued onto the image.

The frame measures 11.4 cm (w.)×15.8 cm (h.)×0.4 cm (th.).

Arabic numbers, ٥٦ (56) and ٦٠ (60), appear on the left above the frame.

The upper right corner of the sheet is inscribed in ink with an Arabic number, ٧٧ (77), and the Greek letter delta (δ).

Inside the frame there is a miniature depicting a drunk attacking a sheikh and breaking his head with a musical instrument. The four witnesses shown condemn the pugilist.

The text over the miniature (4 lines) opens with a short poetic maxim on the advantages of voluntary privations and hardships for the sake of attaining the ultimate goal of unity with God, illustrating the dicta with examples from the sheikh's pious life. Another text (2 lines), under the miniature, records the fact of the bodily damage sustained by the sheikh.

Here is the text appearing over the miniature:

زان درد طلب که علت بی درد یست      درد یست که هیچگونه درماتش نیست  
فقر و فنا و اخلاق آنحضرت بمرتبه بوده که اکثر اوقات  
هر روز پیاده سیر میفرموده و مردم خوارزم او را فرشته  
روی زمین می گفته اند      روزی یزدان بخش مست در کوجه ای

Translations into English follow.

This is the distich in English:

“Summon pain that rids of pain [lit. “is the cause of pain’s absence”],  
That pain for which no remedy exists”.

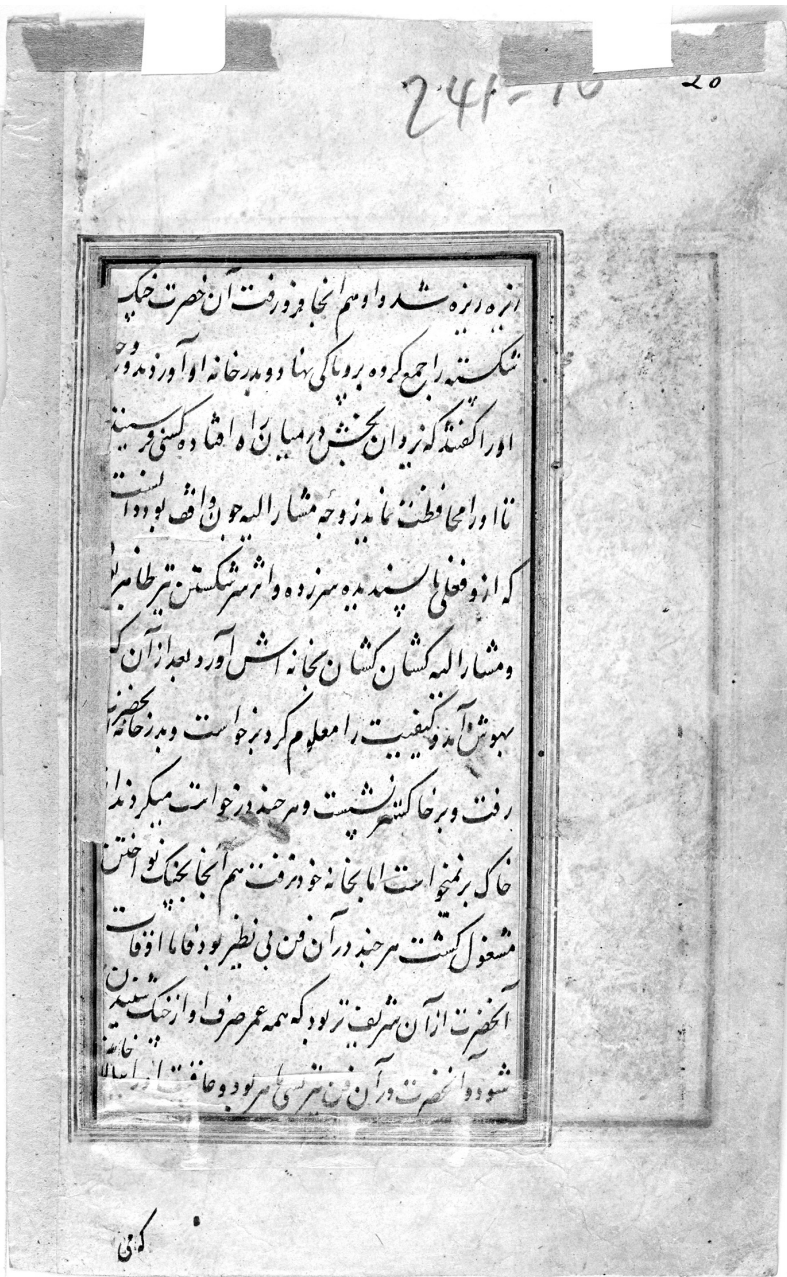
The self-imposed poverty, asceticism and piety of His Holiness reached a degree enabling the man to spend most of his time walking on foot daily and the residents of Khorezm would call him a terrestrial angel. One day in a street in that city a drunkard named Yazdanbakhsh...

This is the text appearing under the miniature:

بآن حضرت رسیده در مستی در مرتبه بود که چنگ را جنان  
بر سر مبارکش زد که سر آنحضرت بشکست و چنگ نیز



Pl. 5: recto of sheet E28 3R



Pl. 6: verso of sheet E28 3V



And this is the English for it:

...came up to His Holiness. The fellow was so drunk and he hit His Holiness' blessed head so hard with a *chang*<sup>8</sup> that His Holiness's head was broken. And so was the *chang*..."

### E28 3V (Pl. 6)

The verso contains a text within a frame and a watchword below the frame.

The sheet measures 8.4 and 8.3 cm (w.)×15.8 and 15.9 cm (h.)×0.4 cm (th.).

Above the frame runs a later-date pencil note: 241–70; 20, in ink, is in the top right corner.

Within the frame appear 12 lines of Persian text in the *Nasta'liq* hand, which continue the narrative.

This is the Persian text:

ریزه ریزه شد و او هم آنجا فرو رفت آنحضرت چنگ  
شکسته را جمع کرده برو پاکی نهاد و بدر خانه او آوردند و زوجه  
او را گفتند که یزدان بخش در میان راه افتاده کسی فرستید  
تا او را محافظت نماید زوجه مشار الیه چون واقف بود دانست  
که ازو فعلی ناپسندیده سر زده و اثر سر شکستن نیز ظاهر بود  
و مشار الیه کشان کشان بخانه اش آورد بعد از آن که  
بهوش آمد و کیفیت را معلوم کرد درخواست و بدر خانه آنحضرت  
رفت و بر خاکستر نشست و هر چند درخواست میکردند از  
خاک بر نمیخواست اما بخانه خود نرفت هم آنجا بچنگ نواختن  
مشغول گشت هر چند در آن فن بی نظیر بود فاما اوقات  
آنحضرت از آن شریف تر بود که همه عمر صرف او از چنگ شنیدن  
شود و آنحضرت در آن فن نیز بس ماهر بود و عاقبت او را ببالا خانه...

<sup>8</sup> *Chang* is a variety of the harp (GAFFAROV 1976, I, 239). The article in the Encyclopedic Persian Dictionary is hardly more exhaustive, but the drawing next to the text shows beyond doubt that it is a harp of sorts (MUHAMMAD HUSAYN TABRIZI (MU'IN) 1963, 664). The miniature itself depicted the two surviving facets of the broken instrument. The *chang* in action can be seen in a miniature in the hand-written copy of Nizami Ganjavi's *Hamce* manuscript dated 1431. It shows a hunt by Bahram Gur and his beloved Fitne strung the *chang* (ADAMOVA 2010, 142–143, pl. 28). The difference of the Oriental *chang* from the European harp is the smaller size of the former.

Its translation into English follows:

...smashed into smithereens. The man himself [the assailant] fell down next to it. His Holiness gathered the broken *chang*, cleaned and took it to the man's house. He said to his wife, "Yazdanbakhsh has had a fall and lies on the road. Send somebody to guard him." When the aforementioned man's wife heard what was up, she realized something vicious had been done, as was evident also from the wound on the head [of His Holiness]. The woman dragged the aforementioned husband to their home. After he [Yazdanbakhsh] came to [lit. "after regaining consciousness"] and appraised the circumstances, he got up and went to the doorstep of His Holiness. In front of the entrance he sat down on the ground [lit. "on the ashes"] and would not stand up no matter how much they asked him to; nor did he go back home. At last he began playing the *chang*. As he [Yazdanbakhsh] was unequalled in this art, the mood of His Holiness grew increasingly high-minded, willing to listen to the sound of the *chang* all his life as it were. His Holiness, too, was well versed in this art. Finally, he [invited] the musician into his room upstairs..."

A watchword appears near the bottom left edge of the sheet: **که می** ("in order to...").

### **E28 4V (Pl. 7)**

The sheet measures 13.5 and 13.6 cm (w.)×22 cm (h.).

The recto only contains texts within a frame.

The frame measures 8.3/8.4 cm (w.)×16 cm (h.)×0.4 cm (th.).

In the top left corner two numbers in ink, 764 and 20, appear inside a small polychrome frame.

A pencil mark, 241–10, appears in the upper central part.

The margin next to the left side of the frame is inscribed with an Arab number, ۵۴ (54), which probably denotes the ordinal number of the story in the manuscript. Inscribed inside the frame in the *Nasta'liq* hand are 12 lines of Persian text providing the ending of one story and the beginning of the next one.

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۲۴۱ - ۱۵

46H  
20

که بدو دینار مژین بقعه سپه و ن کردی آنجا که قسم میسازیم  
 میدهند که بجای دیگر رود و در قبول بنکنیم ملک بخندید و گفت  
 ز نهادن پستانی که به بیچاره دینار را ضعیف خواهند شد حضرت  
 مولانا محمد شار الیه در تاریخ متصد و نو دو یک عالم  
 زفته اند و قرآن حضرت در خیابان مراره است

۵۲

صدر شین بارگاه امینا خواهر عبداله  
 متعلق مولانا شیخ ابوسعید مجله بوده اند که از بنا کردان مولانا  
 حاجی محمد پیر مری غریز بوده و خواهر عبداله را برادر حضرت  
 ز می گفته اند و با حضرت خواهر سالها مصاحب و با او از  
 حالانی که در ایام مصاحبت آن حضرت مشاهده کرده بوده پان

بر بوده و این رباعی خوانده	با بر که نشستی و نه جمع است
در تو ز مبد رحمت آفت است	ز نهادن مکر و صحبتش باز مگرد

Pl. 7: recto of sheet E28 4V



Pl. 8: verso of sheet E28 4R

This is the Persian text:

که بده دینارم از این بقعه بیرون کردی آنجا که هستم بیست دینارم  
 میدهند که بجایی دیگر رود من قبول نمیکنم ملک بخندید و گفت  
 زنهار نستانی که به پنجاه دینار راضی خواهند شد حضرت  
 مولانا محمد مشارالیه در تاریخ هشتصد و نود و یک از عالم  
 رفته اند و قبر آن حضرت در خیابان هراة است  
 صدر نشین بارگاه انبیا خواجه عبد الله  
 متعلق مولانا شیخ ابو سعید مجلد بوده اند که از شاگردان مولانا  
 حاجی محمد بس مردی عزیز بوده و خواجه عبد الله را برادر طریقت  
 خود می گفته اند و با حضرت خواجه سالها مصاحب بوده اند از  
 حالاتی که در ایام مصاحبت آنحضرت مشاهده کرده بوده بیان  
 میفرموده و این رباعی میخوانده با هر که نشست و نشد جمع دلت  
 و ز تو نرمید زحمت آب و گلت زنهار بگرد صحبتش باز مگرد

Its translation into English follows:

For those ten dinars of mine that you earned from this abode [version: “plot of land”] I will be given twenty dinars where I live. If it goes elsewhere, I will disagree [lit. will not accept that]. The Shah laughed and said: “No need to apologize, they will agree for fifty dinars”.

Their Holiness, our aforementioned Lord Muhammad departed from this world in 891 AH (1486 AD). The grave of Their Holiness is in an avenue/alley of Herat.

54 Khoja Abdallah, the head of Prophets’ Hall, a relative of our Lord Abu Said, in his days of working as a bookbinder, used to be one of the most favourite disciples of our Lord Hajji Muhammad, who called Hajji Abtallah his spiritual brother in *tariqat* (the mystic way to truth comprehension). For years he was an interlocutor of His Holiness Khoja [Abdallah].<sup>9</sup> Of the mystic fervour that he witnessed on the occasions of his communion with His Holiness, [Hajji Muhammad] would often reminisce, citing the following quatrain:

“Beware of each one you have talked with [lit. “sat with”] and your heart  
 Not turning more attentive [lit. “not concentrating”, “not getting composed”] for that talk.

<sup>9</sup> Judging by the mention of kinship between Khoja Abdallah and Abu Said Maikhani, the episodes took place in the 11th c.

Nor did you feel any concern as a result — about your nature/ego.  
Beware then, and don't restart conversing/debating with them any longer.

### E28 4R (Pl. 8)

The verso includes a miniature and a text (inside a frame), with a watchword below. The frame measures 10.8/10.9 cm (w.)×16 cm (h.)×0.4 cm (th.).

A number in ink, ۶۸ (68), appears on the right above the frame; the upper right corner is inscribed with the Latin M in pencil.

Two thirds of the space within the frame is occupied by the miniature, which depicts a young man in a bookbinding workshop, who hands a book to a Shaikh. In front of the shop stand two passers-by, talking, a mounted horseman and a young man wearing a turban, with a cane in his hand. Over the miniature run three lines of Persian text, continuing the narrative; two concluding lines appear under the miniature.

Here is the original text:

ور نه نکند خون عزیزان بخلت آن حضرت اکثر اوقات بدکان  
صحافی می آمدند و می نشستند و با او ببهانه کتاب دیدن سخن  
می گفتند و کتبی که در آن دکان بوده یک بیک از آن نو جوان  
مد حیین (؟) می گرفته اند و در پهلوی خود می گذاشته اند و در وقت  
رفتن همراه می برده اند و روز دیگر مولانا حاجی محمود آن جوانرا

Its translation follows:

Associate otherwise your Saints'<sup>10</sup> blood won't forgive you.

His Holiness spent most of the time in the bookbinding shop, where he sat and talked with the young craftsmen under the pretext of choosing books. One by one, the books from the shop were picked up from the friendly young man and stocked near the guest's seat, to be taken away when leaving. The next day His Holiness Hajji Mahmud [invited] the young man [to his home].

A watchword, منزل ("home"), appears near the lower left edge of the page.

<sup>10</sup> GAFFAROV, 1976, II, 557.

**E28 5R** (Pl. 9)

The sheet measures 13.6 cm (w.)×22 cm (h.).

The recto contains a miniature and a text (inside a frame).

The frame measures 11.3 cm (w.)×16 cm (h.)×0.4 cm (th.).

The upper left corner, outside the frame, is inscribed in gouache with 2 figures: ۱۳۷ (137) and, slightly lower, ۵۳ (53). The upper number pertains to general pagination, the lower one may indicate the ordinal number of the narrative.

The miniature depicts a wrestling scene, the outcome of which is keenly watched by a mounted horseman and by seven unmounted men. Inscribed over the miniature are six lines of Persian text in the *Nasta'liq* hand, one line appearing under the miniature.

Here is the text in the Persian original:

احسان که با آن نمود و دل اورا و مادر پیرش بدست آورد  
 حضرت و اهب العطایا پرده حجاب از پیش دیده پهلوان  
 زمان برخاسته شد و تا پای عرش پروردگار معاینه  
 بدید و چون بر زمین نگریست تا پشت گاو و ماهی ملاحظه نمود  
 و بعد از آن پادشاه را میل شکار شده پهلوانرا همراه برده  
 و در عقب آمویی تاخته و بلری رسیده میخواست که از لر بجهد  
 پهلوان از اسب خود بزیر آمده و دو پای اسب پادشاه گرفته و نگاه داشته

Its translation into English is as follows:

By virtue of magnanimity [towards the defeated fighter] he captivated his heart and the heart of his elderly mother. His Majesty, who had brought lavish presents, was hiding behind the curtain. The knight Zaman stood up and eyed everything up to the Creator's Throne. And when he looked at the ground, he took note of the cattle and fish. Then the padishah fancied a hunt, and he took along the knight with him. They galloped to the other side of Amu Darya and reached a canal. The padishah was about to jump over the canal. However, the knight dismounted from his horse, lifted [lit. "took"] the padishah's horse by two legs and held it like that.

## E28 5V (Pl. 10)

The verso carries a text (within a frame) and a watchword.  
 The frame measures 8.5/8.2 cm (w.)×16 cm (h.)×0.4 cm (th.).  
 Inside the frame appear three lines of Persian prose text in the *Nasta'liq* hand and nine lines of distichs.

Here are the Persian texts:

پادشاه ازین معنی بیخود شده و چون بحال خود آمده گفته ای  
 پهلوان کاری کردی که مقدر بشر نیست آن کشتی گرفتن  
 بدان نوع چه بود و این چه حالتست پهلوان گفت  
 ما نیم که سل بر نتابد لت ما بر جرخ برین زنند این شوکت ما  
 گر مورچه بیاید اندر صف ما آن مورچه شیر گردد از همت ما  
 ما سنگ نیستی بتر ازو نهاده ایم سود و زیان خویش بیکسو نهاده ایم  
 سرگشتگان بادیه محنت غمیم نی در ره وصال همی رو نهاده ایم  
 چشمی رسیده باز که نماید کار خود دیگر بدان ده بر کس جادو نهاده  
 رفتیم ما بحسرت و غم آه چون کشتیم با این دلی که بر سر آن کوه نهاده ایم  
 دستی نمیرسد جو نیابی بر زلف یار قوت ز پا و زور ز بازو نهاده ایم  
 و این رباعی تیر فرموده که بر سر نفس خود امیری مردی  
 گر بردگری نکته نکته نی مردی مردی نبود فتاده را پای اذن

Their translations into English follow:

All that literally made the padishah faint. When he came to, he said to the hero, "Hey, giant! What you have accomplished is beyond human ability. The way you wrestled, and what you have done this time." The knight replied:

"We are those whose vessel/raft (*sal*)<sup>11</sup> will not turn into our wreckage,  
 Our gallantry looms heaven-high.  
 If an ant should join our ranks,  
 Our grace will convert the tiny thing into a lion.  
 We laid the stone of non-existence worse than the ant did,  
 We have placed our benefits and harm on the same side.  
 We are wanderers in the wilderness of worry and sorrow,  
 Our eyes not fixed on the path of communion [with God].

<sup>11</sup> GAFFAROV 1976, II, 469.





Pl. 9: recto of sheet E28 5R

241-11 40

پادشاه ازین معنی سنجیده چون بجال خود آمد کشفی  
به پهلوان کاری کردی که مقدمه و شهنشیت آن گشتی گرفتن  
بدان نوع چه بود و این چه حالتیست پهلوان گفت

ما ییم که پهل ربتا بدلت ما	بر صبح برین تدا بیعت ما
که مورچه بسیار از صفا ما	آن مورچه شیر کرد و آفت ما
مانند نستی تیز رو نهادیم	سود و زیان خویش کنی ما
سر کشکان با دو محنت غنم	فی ذره و حساب همی روز ما
چشمی رسیده باز که کما و چه	دیگر بدان ده کس جا و نه ما
ز قتم با محبت و غم آه چون غم	با این دلی که بر سپهر آن ما
دستی غیر سپه جوانی بفریاد	قوت ز پا و زور ز بازو ما
و این رباعی تیر سه موده	که بر نفس خج و امیری مر ما
که رود که نیک است هر ما	مردی نبود خفا ده را پانی ما

کادت

Pl. 10: verso of sheet E26 5V

He who suffered from the evil eye will not return to his pastime.  
 For he had handed over his calling to the abode of the wizard.  
 We went in gloom and great sorrow as we wandered,  
 With our heart left behind on the peak of that mountain.  
 Happiness will become unattainable unless you find a friend in a lock of  
 hair.  
 We have contributed to this end the strength of our legs and the might of  
 our hands”.

Besides, he extemporised (lit. “shot forth”) this quatrain (*ruba‘i*):

“He who manages his passions is a real man.  
 He who rules over the others is a middling man.  
 A man will never ask permission from a defeated one...”

The fourth line is missing. It might have been carried over to the sheet that followed, as indicated by the watchword, **گردست** (If the hand...).

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Hartmut Walravens<sup>1</sup>

## **Schilling von Canstadt and His Correspondence with Julius Klaproth in the IOM**

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*Abstract:* The paper documents the relationship between the inventor printer and collector of Oriental books Schilling von Canstadt and the Orientalist Julius Klaproth by means of their extant correspondence. Both travelled to the Russian-Mongolian border and acquired books, both were connected with the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg and Paris, the centre of Oriental Studies. Klaproth's focus were the history and geography of East and Central Asia, Schilling's book collecting and quality printing. Small wonder they got in close contact — Schilling profited from Klaproth's Orientalist expertise, Klaproth from Schilling's rich library and his experience with printing. The letters show an alienation at some point, which was never redressed nor explained, even though the relationship was not severed.

*Key words:* Schilling von Canstadt, Paul Ludwig (1786–1837); Klaproth, Heinrich Julius (1783–1835); history of printing Oriental scripts; history of Oriental Studies

### **Paul Schilling von Canstadt**

Traditionally, Orientalists were often theologians, explorers and linguists. It is rather rare to see a scientist and inventor among them: Schilling von Canstadt (1786–1837) was also a pioneer in printing Oriental scripts, a bibliophile and a book collector.

Schilling was born in Reval and received a military education but at the age of 16 he was transferred as an interpreter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire and attached to the embassy in Munich. There he befriended the physician Samuel Thomas Sömmering (1755–1830) who experimented with electricity and was working on a telegraph. Schilling

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continued these experiments later on and presented an electromagnetic telegraph at the naturalists' conference in Bonn in 1835. As he died soon afterwards it took decades until the priority of his invention became generally known.

His involvement in printing started allegedly when he became dismayed with the large amount of copying necessary for official forms and documents. He suggested to use lithography for this purpose, so he was sent to Munich (lithography had been invented by Alois Senefelder in 1788) to study the technique, and in 1818 he established the first lithographic printing shop in Russia, with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He realized that this printing method might also be usefully applied to the printing of Oriental scripts. And indeed, his reproductions of several Chinese texts won the admiration of Sinologists.

We do not know what exactly influenced him to become an Orientalist and book-collector.

At any rate, he was already involved in printing Manchu and Mongol in 1817 as he had a font cut by Friedrich Gass, of the Imperial Mint, who became his assistant. Two years later he had a smaller Manchu-Mongol font cut by Schelter in Leipzig. It was apparently used to print the gospel of St. Matthew, translated into Manchu by Stepan Lipovcov (1770–1841), in 1822. Schilling was also involved in the production of a 4 page sample (printed by Gretsche) of a pentaglot (Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, Latin and Russian) dictionary edited by Pavel Kamenskii (archimandrite Petr); the project was not continued, however, as Kamenskii was sent to China, and there was no Sinologist left in Petersburg to oversee the printing.

In 1841, the academician Marie Félicité Brosset wrote about Schilling's collections:<sup>2</sup>

«The late Baron Schilling von Canstadt had a declared taste for the literatures of East Asia, a taste which ever grew until the end of his life. By means of occupying himself with them as an amateur, he acquired that

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<sup>2</sup> BROSSET 1841.

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bibliophile erudition which guided him in the choice of works and enabled him to make good collections. On the other hand the connections which he formed and which he never stopped to entertain with all the Sinologists of Russia and Europe kept him updated regarding the progress of Chinese literature while his inventive genius led him to search for and to imagine the means for its diffusion. ...

While he occupied himself so actively with these experiments, he by no means neglected his Chinese library which comprised beautiful and good works, choice editions and many manuscript works of the Russian interpreters. When this collection had reached about 252 items he ceded them to the government on the proposition of Prince Lieven,<sup>3</sup> then Minister of public instruction, in 1830. As the latter had developed a project of organizing Oriental language instruction at the University of St. Petersburg in large, this collection should serve as the nucleus of an annexed library. One notices here among others a good number of copies of the better Chinese and Manchu dictionaries, a magnificent edition of the classics in 24 volumes (185 fascicles), the geographic dictionary in 6 languages, which was often mentioned in the Academy, two copies of the Manchu translation of the famous novel *Jin Ping Mei*, and many historical and geographical books.

As there was not sufficient space in the University building, all these works were provisionally deposited in the halls of the Asiatic Museum; but after the change of the minister had postponed or rather modified the project of establishing an Oriental faculty, the Academy was instructed by His Excellency the Vice-President that His Majesty had deigned to transfer the ownership of these treasures to the Academy. Thus our collection was at once almost doubled.

Indefatigable in his research, baron Schilling had hardly given away his first collection when he started working on the second: a trip which he undertook in the suite of the Russian mission and a stay of some time at the Chinese border provided him at first with the means, then – the route was set – the missionaries in Peking flooded him with the best literary productions of China; all his activity, his zeal, his resources were directed to this goal and with a perseverance and an extraordinary skill deployed in this sense, he saw himself soon at the head of a new, not only Chinese and Manchu, but also Mongol, Tibetan and polyglot library which certainly

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<sup>3</sup> Karl von Lieven (1767–1844), 1828–1833 Russian Minister of Public Instruction. Cf. DIEDERICHS 1883.

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did not have its equal in any place in the world. I do not want to speak here about Tibetan and Mongolian works, the examination and classification of which is the responsibility of my learned colleague Mr. Schmidt. As to the Chinese works, the new collection was singularly rich in historical, geographical and juridical works. A very beautiful copy of the general statistics of China [= gazetteer, *Da Qing yitong zhi*], in 300 fascicles; a general history of China from the oldest times to the present, in 77 volumes or 699 fascicles; two copies of the hexaglot geographical dictionary [*Xiyu tongwenzhi*] and a large number of polyglot dictionaries, Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian; the decrees of the Yongzheng emperor in 50 large vols. or 300 fascicles, many maps and illustrated books, the best Chinese novels, with printed or ms. Manchu translations and among the books published by missionaries, many printed in the Chinese style, books much sought after by amateurs. Such are the most remarkable productions which the second collection brought our Museum. It is ever regrettable that the most precious of the works I have talked about, the Chinese annals, which are so rare to find in one and the same edition, were reclaimed. The Academy proved, by returning them, a lack of interest and a goodwill which will cost it dear. As the finest product of Chinese typography I should not forget to mention here a second copy of the collection of classical books which was present already in the first collection; but this one surpasses the other by being printed on white paper, admirably executed, and stored in 24 wooden boxes, thus testifying to the price attached to such a book by the care given to its conservation.

After the death of the owner on July 25, 1837, the Academy showed its wish that his Oriental library should not become lost to Russia; on the proposition made to Him by H.E. the Minister of Public Instruction and President of the Academy, His Majesty deigned to acquire it from his private funds and to give it as a present to our Museum in 1838. Thus Russia did not lose a treasure amassed by the perseverance of one of her children, and the future Sinologist who will doubtlessly one day want to exploit here the riches of Chinese literature, will only be embarrassed by the choice in the middle of the most abundant resources».

At the time of this report, the Chinese collection of the Museum numbered 1.071 titles; thus it seems to have comprised around 500 titles before Schilling's collections. Considering the quality of the works, the new acquisition was truly remarkable. This gift required a rearrangement and new classification of the whole collection, which was undertaken by Marie Félicité Brosset

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(1802–1880), originally a Sinologist and a disciple of Stanislas Julien in Paris. Brosset went to Russia and became an outstanding specialist for Georgian and Armenian culture. Apparently no other Sinologist was available at the Academy at that time, and so he had to step in. He did his job so well that the collection was from then on dubbed «Brosset Collection» while Schilling's name fell into oblivion. Brosset's catalogue does not give Chinese characters and no description — mainly the titles. Its merit was in the classification of the material. The first collection was described by Isaak Jakob Schmidt in *St. Petersburger Zeitung* 1830 (no. 88 ff.) while a list of the second collection was also described by Schmidt, on the basis of data provided by archimandrite Iakinf (unpublished).

It may be noted that Schilling made two donations of Tibetan and Mongol books to the Société asiatique in Paris; the collections were later transferred to the Institut de France; they were catalogued by Jacques Bacot and by Louis Ligeti.

August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845), professor of modern literatures at Bonn University and well-known Indologist, was so charmed by his learned and urbane visitor that he wrote a Sanskrit ode on him which he published in his *Indische Bibliothek* (2. 1824, 215):

Dich preise ich, o glückbegabter Schilling, und erfrage Dein Wohlsein, denn Du bist der Stirnschmuck unter den Gelehrten im Reiche des Nordlandes. Du vertiefst Dich in das Lesen der Bücher der Bauddha und der Brahmanen; an allen Orten suchst Du Schriften auf, bist aller Sprachen kundig. Du bist das Auge im Lesen alter Schrift, und selbst in mannichfacher Schreibekunst geschickt; im Schachspiel bist Du unbesiegter, auch ohne selbst zuzusehen.

[I praise you, o lucky Schilling, and ask after your wellbeing, because you are the forehead adornment among the scholars of the Northern Empire. You are engrossed in reading the books of Buddha and the Brahmins; in all places you search for scriptures, and you are knowledgeable about all languages. You are the eye in reading old script and well versed in various forms of the art of writing. You are invincible in chess, even without watching yourself].

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### **Heinrich Julius Klaproth**

Life and works of Julius Klaproth (Berlin 11 Oct. 1783–28. Aug. 1835 Paris) have been dealt with extensively (see Bibliography below) so that a brief sketch may suffice to recall the most important dates of his career. Klaproth was the son of Martin Heinrich Klaproth, chemist in Berlin and member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. Among his achievements was the

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discovery of four chemical elements, among them uranium. Young Klaproth was supposed to follow in his father's footsteps but he spent his time at the Royal Library, teaching himself Chinese quite successfully. His father's attempts to win him for the natural sciences were in vain. Young Klaproth convinced a publisher to publish his journal *Asiatisches Magazin* (Weimar 1802). In 1805 he was invited by the Polish historian Jan Potocki to join an embassy destined to China, under the leadership of Count Jurii Golovkin. When this enterprise had to be given up in Mongolia, Klaproth became a



member (adjunct) of the Russian Academy of Sciences and was sent on a trip of exploration to the Chinese border. After being promoted to extraordinary academician he explored the Caucasus (1808–1809). Afterwards he catalogued the Chinese and Manchu books of the Academy Library; apparently St. Petersburg was not attractive for him as the centre of Orientalists was Paris. Back in Germany he won the protection of the Humboldt brothers, the minister Altenstein and the Prussian king and was appointed professor of Asiatic Languages at the newly established University at Bonn (1816). This did not please Klaproth because he saw no way to publish his works in the Oriental field in a sleepy country town – Paris offered a large Chinese and Manchu book collection, Orientalists of the different disciplines and the Imperial (then Royal) Printing-shop; so he made it clear to his mentors that he would only in Paris be able to do satisfactory research and publish the results of it. His protectors finally agreed and allowed him to settle in Paris on a Prussian research stipend. There he was one of the co-founders of the *Société asiatique*, co-editor of the *Journal asiatique*, became the friend of the first European professor occupying a chair of Chinese Studies, J.P. Abel Rémusat and published a large number of works, altogether about 300. He was not only an outstanding Sinologist, he turned out to be an excellent cartographer, created the first typography to print Egyptian hieroglyphs, had a Manchu and a Chinese typography cut, was one of the first scholars to work with Japanese texts, acquired a basic knowledge of Tibetan and Mongolian. He was a feared and relentless critic, and more often than not he was

right. Thus he fought against I.J. Schmidt's theory that the Uighurs had been of Tibetan stock (they were Turks) and Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin's, a good Sinologist's, belief in unfounded Chinese theories, against Joseph Hager's belief in his own Chinese scholarship, Weston's Sinological efforts, Langlès' Manchu pretensions and unveiled deficits in Champollion's readings of hieroglyphic inscriptions... He certainly was a very influential scholar with a large European network.

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## The Letters

After Schilling had been appointed head of the first lithographic printing-shop in Russia in 1818, he impressed his contemporaries with a reprint of a popular Chinese textbook, the Three Character Classic *Sanzijing* 三字經 (1819) which he circulated to a number of experts, such as Jean-Pierre Abel Rémusat who held the first chair of Chinese Studies in Europe, and Julius Klaproth, also in Paris, who was supported by a Prussian research grant on the recommendation of the Humboldt brothers. Letter 1 and 2 praise the booklet as an outstanding beautiful achievement of printing technique. Klaproth assumed that Schilling was the originator of the apparently anonymous shipment and that the printing was done in collaboration with the well-known printer Karl Tauchnitz of Leipzig.<sup>4</sup> He sent Schilling the first fascicle of his Supplement to the Paris Chinese Dictionary.

Letter 3 is a cover note to the communication of the Société asiatique that Schilling was elected foreign Associate of the Society. The following note enquires after a map in the possession of the Italian collector Onorato Martucci — whether it is complete, of which date, and whether it is in Chinese only, or in Chinese and Manchu; Schilling was in London at that time, apparently the Martucci was there, too. In another letter (in the Academy Archives) Klaproth, after his own visit to London in 1825, gave a negative evaluation of the map and Martucci’s books. It is noticeable that Klaproth addressed Schilling «Monsieur le Baron» before, and now he switched to «Dear Friend». Letter 5 reports on Klaproth’s recent and current works and shipments of some of his publications. He apologizes for having kept a copy of the geographical dictionary *Xiyu tongwenzhi* which he had borrowed from Schilling, longer than had been agreed. Apparently Schilling was unhappy about this, the relations seem to have cooled somewhat and Klaproth reverted to the address «Theuerster Herr Baron». He excused his behaviour by stating that he needed extra time for translating the whole dictionary. For Klaproth, Schilling was an important contact. While he was pleased to live

<sup>4</sup> The latter was never confirmed.

in Paris with a good Oriental library and an efficient Oriental printing-shop at hand, he still needed more material, and usually Schilling owned it. Thus the letters always contain requests for books and information, like the repeated (and apparently never filled) wish for the supplement to the Manchu Dictionary (*Manju gisun be buleku bithe*) and the explanation of works in the annals of the three foreign dynasties Jin, Liao and Yuan 金遼元國三史語解 *Jin Liao Yuan guo san shi yujie*. Klaproth was wondering why Schilling was hardly ever answering his letters, and communicated that his colleagues, especially Rémusat, had the same experience.

Klaproth enquired also after the situation of the monk Hyacinth (Iakinf), the former head of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking, who had been banished to a term in a lonely monastery, on account of his worldly behaviour in Peking. Schilling indeed managed to claim Iakinf's services for his work, e.g. for the official trip to Kiakhta where the monk's outstanding language skills and experience in things Chinese proved very beneficial. The close cooperation between Schilling and Iakinf may have contributed to the cooling of his relations with Klaproth: The latter kept pointing out Iakinf's mistakes, which led to a literary fight by means of pamphlets published by both sides. The same happened with Isaak Jakob Schmidt, the founder of Mongolian Studies in Europe and godfather of Tibetan Studies. Klaproth insisted that he unveiled and criticized the others' mistakes not for personal reasons but in the interest of scholarship: «If he [Iakinf] publishes something in the future he would do well to compare the pieces with the [original] texts beforehand, and pass them on to sensible people so that he will not again have dates grown in Lesser Bukharia, and say that the Bukharians did not have a first day of the first month» (Letter 5).

In the following letter information is given on a change of the publisher of the *Journal asiatique*, vol. 3 of Klaproth's *Mémoires* is currently in press, and a large map of China is being engraved. Klaproth is expecting a dictionary of the Chinese concept style, which he ordered for Schilling from Canton.

Klaproth reports on his conciliatory effort to have Iakinf elected foreign member of the Société asiatique, which, however, met the opposition of Rémusat, as Iakinf had just released another pamphlet against Klaproth who now comments on individual items in the critique. He repeats his request to let him borrow the *Jin Liao Yuan guo san shi yujie* in which the authors attempted to explain all Central Asian names on the basis of the Mongolian language, a futile and senseless endeavour the results of which were incorpo-

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rated in the *Da Qing yitongzhi* 大清一統志. He also defends his studies on the hieroglyphs which had found wide acclaim in the journals – even if Schilling is reported to have said «that Klapproth liked to write about matters he did not know anything about».

There are a number of notes (mostly undated) and short communications, several of which refer to St. Petersburg collections or list his requests.

The file contains also a letter from Klapproth to the Indologist Horace Hayman Wilson (1833) and a review (by Schilling?) of Klapproth's *Examen critique des travaux de feu M. Champollion sur les hiéroglyphes*.

All these communications offer stimulating reading; they contain a cornucopia of details that throw light on the work of two outstanding scholars. They fill gaps in the Klapproth file of the Academy Archives in St. Petersburg, which was published in KLAPROTH 2002b, 13–36:

- 1 9. Dec. 1821 from Schilling
- 2 10. April 1822
- 3 25. Sept. 1822
- 4 16. Febr. 1823
- 5 6. April 1824
- 7 11. Oct. 1824
- 8 26. Dec. 1824
- 9 13. Jan. 1825
- 10 9. Sept 1825
- 11 10. Sept. 1825
- 12 24, Oct. 1825
- 14 13. Aug. 1826
- 16 11. Febr, 1827
- 17 24. May 1828
- 18 n.d.
- 19 n.d.
- 20 n.d.
- 21 n.d.
- 22 n.d.
- 23 n.d.
- 24 10. Aug. 1834

**Letters of Klapproth to Schilling  
in the Archives of Orientalists of IOM, RAS:**

- 1 8 Jan. 1820
- 2 20 Jan. 1820
- 3 14 Nov. 1822
- 4 1 Nov. 1824
- 5 25 Aug. 1826
- 6 11 Sept. 1827
- 7 n.d.
- 8 10 Nov. 1829
- 9 n.d.
- 10 n.d.
- 11 n.d.
- 12 18 Oct. 1829
- 13 n.d.
- 14 n.d.
- 15 n.d.
- 16 n.d.
- 17 15 Sept. 1830
- 18 1 March 1831
- 19 n.d.
- 20 n.d.
- 21 8 Aug. 1833 to Wilson
- 22 n.d. on Champollion

**1 [1820]**

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A Monsieur  
Monsieur P.B.S. de C-t  
Editeur du San tsi king

Paris ce 8 Janv. 1820

Mon cher ami, ou mon cher Monsieur P.B.S. de C-t

Je Vous remercie de tout mon cœur pour les belles etrennes, que Vous m'avez envoyé. Votre San-tsu-king<sup>5</sup> égale en beauté les impressions les

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<sup>5</sup> The *Sanzijing* 三字經, The Classic of Three Characters, was used as educational text for the instruction of children in traditional China. It is usually attributed to Wang Yinglin 王應麟 (1223–1296). Baron Schilling printed a remarkably beautiful edition which is praised in the letter.

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mieux soignées du palais impériale de Pe king, et principalement celui que Vous avez reçu de Mr. Huttmann.<sup>6\*</sup> La fable d'un amateur qui étudie depuis deux ans seulement le Chinois aurait pu prendre; si je n'avais pas trouvé dans la lettre anonyme une expression qui Vous est propre, sans que Vous le remarquez. Savoir «Je ferai voir à Messieurs les Anglais» etc. C'est Votre expression qui Vous trahit. Néanmoins j'ai répondu à Mr. Firmin Didot<sup>7</sup>, comme Vous l'avez désiré. Savez Vous ce que je pense: Vous avez fait ce San-tsu-king avec Mr. Tauchnitz à Leipzig. Ce sont les caracteres Mantchoux qui se trouvaient dans le paquet de Mr. Rémusat<sup>8</sup>, et qui me paroissent d'être gravés sur mes dessins, qui me font penser cela.



En tout cas, Votre devise était: A dieu mon ame, ma vie au Roi, ma cœur aux dames, l'honneurs à moi, je trouve que personne ne Vous dispenserai pas la dernière partie de cette devise. Votre San-tsu-king est un monument qui doit faire écrouler (崩) la vanité de Morrison, et de tous les missionnaires de la Chine. Si c'est Mr. Tauchnitz<sup>9</sup> qui a fait le San-tsi-king avec Vous, je Vous prie de lui dire mille choses flatteuses de ma part.

Vous devez avoir reçu la première partie de mon Supplement,<sup>10</sup> c'est-à-dire les bonnes feuilles qui Vous manquaient, et la chemise de la première

<sup>6</sup> William Huttmann (9 March 1792 – 3 Oct. 1844), Orientalist, with special interest in Chinese and Manchu. He offered to prepare a translation of the Chunqiu. He served until 1832 as secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society and became a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. A short biobibliography is ready in ms. See the obituary: ANON 1844.

<sup>7</sup> Firmin Didot (14 April 1764 – 24 April 1836), was a printer, engraver, and type founder. He used stereotype technology to create quality printing at low prices. He was appointed director of the typefoundry of the Imperial Printing-shop in Paris.

<sup>8</sup> Jean-Pierre Abel Rémusat (Paris, 5 Sept. 1788 – 4 June 1832, Paris), studied medicine but taught himself Chinese and was appointed to the first chair of Chinese Studies in Europe in 1814. Together with his friend Klaproth he founded the Société asiatique in 1821; he published extensively and may justly be regarded, with Klaproth, as the founder of scholarly Sinology. Cf. WALRAVENS 1999.

<sup>9</sup> Carl Christoph Traugott Tauchnitz (Großbardau 1761–1836 Leipzig), printer and publisher at Leipzig, known for the introduction of stereotype technology in Germany. Schilling was in contact with Tauchnitz, at least later on when in 1835 he induced him to print two Tibetan texts. Cf. WALRAVENS 2004.

<sup>10</sup> KLAPROTH 1819. The introduction to this work was written by Rémusat.

livraison. Tachez d'avoir le Novembre et Decembre du Journal des Savans, dans lequel Vous trouverez l'analyse de mon ouvrage par Remusat.<sup>11</sup> Je Vous souhaite toute Sorte de bonheur 後福前福 pour la nouvelle année qui nous commençons, et dans laquelle je compte de voir enfin paroître un des ouvrages que Vous preparez avec tant d'assiduité. Les mêmes felicitations pour Madame et pour Catarino.<sup>12</sup>

V. sincere ami

JHKLaproth

Der Königl. öffentlichen  
Bibliothek in Berlin  
vom Herausgeber  
Karl N. Schilling von Langstedt.

Schilling's dedication to the Berlin Royal Library

\*Je reconnois avec assurance que les caracteres du San-tzu-king dont il est question ici, n'ont aucune ressemblance avec ceux de l'edition merveilleuse publiée par M. le Baron de Schilling. Antonio Montucci<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> RÉMUSAT 1819.

<sup>12</sup> Possibly Catarino Cavos (1775–1840), Italian opera composer and conductor in St. Petersburg. He was married to Camilla Baglioni (1773–1832), a renowned opera singer.

<sup>13</sup> Antonio Montucci (Siena, 22 May 1762 – 25 March 1829 Siena), Doctor of Law, from Siena, made his living as Italian master, for a while on the estate of the porcelain manufacturer, later at the Berlin and the Dresden court. He earned some Chinese from two Chinese in Britain but was largely self taught. He pursued the idea of editing and printing a comprehensive Chinese dictionary, and for this purpose he had appr. 18.000 wooden types engraved. He was never given a chance to practice his expertise as the European courts, in spite of their interest, had other more urgent worries. Only Napoleon had a dictionary printed in 1813 – he hired Desguignes fils (1759–1845) who had worked in Canton as a merchant and who saw Father Basilio Brollo's (1648–1704) outdated manuscript through the press. Cf. WALRAVENS 1992b.

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2 [1820]

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Monsieur

Depuis trois jours je suis en admiration devant Votre bel ouvrage, qui pour la correction et pour l'elegance de l'exécution égale tout ce que j'ai vu de plus parfait imprimé en Chine même; et qui laisse loin derriere lui les essais qui ont parut jusqu'à présent en Europe et aux Indes. Sans le timbre sur de la première page qui enveloppait l'exemplaire, que Vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'envoyer, je n'aurais jamais cru que l'ouvrage fut imprimée (!) en Europe.

Ce que Vous nommez, Monsieur, le dictionnaire Impérial est vraisemblablement le Khang-hy-tsu-tian<sup>14</sup>; mais permettez moi de Vous observer, que Vos caractères ne sont pas tous près dans ce tresor de la langue Chinoise p.e. le mot meng y est ecrit de la maniere suivante 孟 et chez Vous 孟. Du reste ce n'est pas une faute mais une difference de style.

Quant à la gravure de Vos caracteres, ils me paraissent d'être executés en bois, et je ne vois pas que Vous ayez polytypé par la clissage le même lettre quand elle revient plusieurs fois. Le San tsu king contient 1068 caractères Chinois.

Pour les faire graver en bois, à raison de trente sols par pièce: cela occasionnerait une depense de 1602 francs. En se servant du polytypage cette somme se reduirait peut-être à 1200 fr. Un artiste, graveur en bois, peut executer jusqu'à quinze caracteres per jour. Il lui faudrait donc 71 jours pour achever 1068 caracteres. Vous me dites, Monsieur, que Votre procédé est peu couteux et expeditif; votre gravure doit donc couter beaucoup moins; en cas que Vous la faites executer à Paris ou en France; car dans l'étranger ces sortes de travaux sont à meilleur compte.

Tout cela n'empêche pas, que je Vous ne felicite de la superbe execution du San-tsu-king, qui doit même etonner les Chinois, qui le verront. Mon seul desir est d'avoir bientôt l'honneur de connaître Votre nom, et de me mettre en correspondance directe avec un propageur si zélé de la litterature Chinoise en Europe.

Agréez en attendant l'assurance de la consideration très-distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être

Monsieur

Paris ce 20 Janv. 1820 Votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur

JHKlaproth

Rue Coquillière Nr. 23

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<sup>14</sup> The *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典, compiled under the ægis of the Kangxi emperor became a standard dictionary which featured 214 radicals (or keys) which are in se still today. It was published in 1716 and comprises approximately 47.000 characters.

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3 [1822]

Monsieur le Baron

J'ai l'honneur de Vous envoyer ci-jointe une lettre du Secretaire de la Société Asiatique, par laquelle la Société Vous prie d'agr er le choix qu'elle a fait de Vous, pour  tre un de ses associ s  trangers.

Je Vous prie de recevoir avec indulgence le petit  crit de ma fa on qui accompagne ces lignes, et je saisis cette occasion pour Vous rapeller les demandes de ma derniere.

J'ai l'honneur de Vous r iterer l'assurance des sentiments inalterables avec lesquels je suis

Monsieur le Baron

Paris ce 14 Novembre 1822. Votre tr s humble et tr s obeissant Serviteur  
JHKlaproth

4 [1824]

Paris d. 1. Nov. 1824

Lieber Freund

Ihren Brief und auch die drei Paquete f r Mlle Millet<sup>15</sup> habe ich richtig erhalten. Da kurz darauf ein anderer Russischer Courier von London angekommen ist, so habe ich die Hoffnung aufgegeben Sie sobald hier zu sehen. –

Der dritte Band von Morrison<sup>16</sup> f r Remusat ist nun hier angekommen, geben Sie sich also weiter keine M he ihn von Morrison zu bekommen. Wir sind nun quitt.

Sie w rdten mir einen gro en Gefallen erzeigen wenn Sie die Charte von Martucci<sup>17</sup> genau in Augenschein n hmen und mir mit n chsten eine Notiz davon g ben. Erlauben Sie mir folgende Fragen.

1. Ist sie compl t?
2. Von welchem Jahre?
3. Ist sie chinesisches und mandshuisches, oder nur chinesisches.
4. Ist sie in der geraden oder schr gen Projektion

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<sup>15</sup> Not identified.

<sup>16</sup> MORRISON 1815–1823.

<sup>17</sup> Onorato Martucci (1774–1846), merchant, traveller and collector. He established a Chinese Museum in Rome, which he sold to the King of Bavaria. Cf. WALRAVENS 1984.

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Thun Sie mir auch die Gefälligkeit für mich einen schwarzen Schleyer für 1 oder 1 1/2 Guineen zu kaufen. Ich hatte ihn Madame Doulx<sup>18</sup> von London mitzubringen versprochen, habe es aber vergessen.

Sie erhalten anbei was von Schmidt<sup>19</sup> fertig ist.

In der Hoffnung Sie baldigst gesund und froh wieder zu sehen, mit freundschaftlicher Hochachtung der Ihrige

JHKlaproth

5 [1826]

Paris d 25 Aug. 1826

5 Rue d'Amboise

Sie erhalten anbei, theuerster Herr Baron, ein neues Stück des Asiatischen Journal<sup>20</sup>, sowie auch das für Herrn Prof. Fraehn<sup>21</sup>. Nur mit Mühe habe ich es dahin bringen können, daß die Sendung des letzteren so wie die der Schmidtschen<sup>22</sup> Exemplare, unterdrückt worden ist. Sie wissen daß die As. Gesellschaft nur 200 Ex. vom Journal erhält, und diejenigen, welche sie über diese Zahl braucht, bezahlen muß. Da nun an 200 Mitglieder sind, so hat sich die Commission des Journals genöthigt gesehen, die mehrsten, bisher gratis gegebenen, zu unterdrücken.

Ich lege auch das 2te Heft meines Magazins<sup>23</sup> bei. Ferner habe ich für Sie das Essay sur le Pali<sup>24</sup> für 6 fr. gekauft, weil ich glaubte es würde Sie interessiren. Die Supplemente zur Japanischen Grammatik<sup>25</sup> und den 2ten Band

<sup>18</sup> Madame Doulx is mentioned in a letter to Ladislaus Endlicher as owner of two Japanese dictionaries. Cf. WALRAVENS 2002b, 45.

<sup>19</sup> KLAPROTH 1824.

<sup>20</sup> *Journal asiatique*, the official journal of the Société asiatique.

<sup>21</sup> Christian Frähn (Rostock, 4 June 1782 – 28 Aug. 1851, St. Petersburg), Orientalist numismatist, professor of Oriental studies at the University of Kazan; in 1818 he became the director of the newly established Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg. Cf. KLENZ 1904.

<sup>22</sup> I.e. Isaak Jakob Schmidt (Amsterdam, 14 Oct. 1779 – 8 Sept. 1847, St. Petersburg), started his career as a merchant in the Moravian settlement of Sarepta, on the Volga, where he learnt Kalmuck. This enabled him later on to translate the Bible into both Kalmuck and Eastern Mongol. He became the founding father of Mongol studies in Europe and a keen promoter of Tibetan studies. Cf. WALRAVENS 2002a.

<sup>23</sup> KLAPROTH 1825/26.

<sup>24</sup> LASSEN 1826.

<sup>25</sup> LANDRESSE 1826.

meiner Memoires, der sich im Umschlage des Thung wen tschi<sup>26</sup> findet, bitte ich von mir geneigt [!] anzunehmen. Das dritte Heft des Magazins<sup>27</sup> wird in 8 Tagen fertig werden. Es enthält einen Theil der Beschreibung von Tübet, die ich aus dem Chinesischen übersetzt habe. Die Tableaux<sup>28</sup> sind fertig, aber die Charten noch nicht alle illuminirt. Meine Reise nach London

[One page is apparently missing in the original]

ein Geschwür am Schenkel, das mich 2 Monate am Sitzen hinderte und das Ausziehen (weil da wo ich wohnte gebaut werden soll) haben mich in meinen Arbeiten sehr aufgehalten.

Ich wiederhole Ihnen meine Entschuldigungen, daß ich das Thung wen tschi<sup>29</sup> länger behalten habe als Sie es wünschten. Ich habe es ganz übersetzt. Meine Übersetzung enthält über 200 Folio-Seiten. Wenn Sie nicht mehr böse sind, so bitte ich Sie, meinem gehorsamsten Ansuchen Gehör zu geben, und mir auf 3 oder 4 Monate das 金遼元國三史語解 (so ist der Titel, wenn ich nicht irre) zu leihen. Da ich einmal mir die Mühe gegeben das Thung wen tschi zu übersetzen, so würde mir es sehr angenehm seyn auch dieses Werk zu vergleichen. Es würde mir bei der Herausgabe meiner Charten, und dem dazu gehörigen Texte von großem Nutzen seyn. Ich verspreche Ihnen es nicht länger als 4 Monate zu behalten. Thun Sie mir die Freundschaft es zu schicken. Sie wissen daß ich Ihre Güte bei jeder Gelegenheit, mit Dank, öffentlich anerkenne.

Von Rémusats Chinesischen Roman<sup>30</sup> wird der zweite Band jetzt gedruckt.

Hat man noch keine Aussicht den Archimandriten<sup>31</sup> aus dem Kerker zu ziehen? Ich finde, daß die von Timkowski mitgetheilten<sup>32</sup>, und von jenem

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<sup>26</sup> 御製西域同文志, i.e. the geographical dictionary of the Western Regions; this identification is supported by the receipt for this work as printed in WALRAVENS 2002b, 20.

<sup>27</sup> KLAPROTH 1826a.

<sup>28</sup> KLAPROTH 1826b.

<sup>29</sup> 同文志, v.s.

<sup>30</sup> RÉMUSAT 1826.

<sup>31</sup> Iakinf (i.e. Nikita Yakovlevich Bichurin) (27 Aug. 1770 – 11 May 1853). The monk headed the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking but was released from this responsibility because of an unbecoming, lascivious lifestyle. He was sentenced to a prison term by an Ecclesiastical Court but then released and became Russia's foremost Sinologist of the time. He served as Schilling's interpreter when he was sent on a mission to the Russian-Chinese border. Cf. WALRAVENS 1988.

<sup>32</sup> In: TIMKOVSKII 1824. – Timkovskii (Poltava Gvt. 23 May, 1790 – Febr. 9, 1875), official in the Roads Department, led the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission to Peking in 1820. After his return to Russia, he became department head in the Asiatic Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and from 1830–1836 he served as consul in Moldavia. Apparently it is owing to his strong support that the monk Iakinf was released from prison and enabled to resume his scholarly work. Cf. MUNKUEV (n.d.); SKACHKOV 1875.

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übersetzten Stücke, viele Mißgriffe enthalten, die ich bei der Französischen Ausgabe<sup>33</sup> zu bemerken, genöthigt gewesen bin. Wenn er ins Künftige etwas herausgiebt, so wird es wohlgethan sein, die Stücke vorher noch einmal mit dem Texte zu vergleichen, und sie verständigen Leuten zu communiziren, damit er nicht wieder Datteln in der kleinen Bucharei wachsen lasse, und nicht sage, die Bucharen hätten keinen ersten Tag im ersten Monate.

Wenn Sie mir einige von den, an Herrn v. Turgeneff<sup>34</sup> gegebenen, Georgischen Desideratis verschaffen können, werden Sie mich sehr verbinden. Darf ich auch an die Beschreibung von Peking, und ans Supplement zum Mandshu Lexicon<sup>35</sup> für mich erinnern? – Was haben Sie für Florenz ausrichten können?<sup>36</sup>

In der Hoffnung einer baldigen gütigen Antwort verharre ich mit freundschaftlicher Hochachtung

Ihr gehorsamster Diener

JHKlaproth

Ich beschwöre Sie, mir umgehend ein oder 2. Exemplare des Tatarischen Abulghasi zu schicken, der längst fertig ist.<sup>37</sup>

## 6 [1827]

Paris d. 11 Sep. 1827

5 Rue d'Amboise

Ich erfahre so eben daß heute ein Russischer Courier nach St. Petersburg abgeht, und benutze diese Gelegenheit mich wieder bei Ihnen in Erinnerung zu bringen. Weder ich, Remusat und andere Ihrer hiesigen Freunde begreifen Ihr vollkommenes Stillschweigen. Wäre ich der einzige dem Sie nicht geschrieben, so würde ich glauben, Sie wären noch böse, wegen des zu späten Empfangs des Thung wen tschi, da aber niemand von Ihnen eine Sylbe erhält, so kann ich dieser Meinung nicht seyn. Da die Erfahrung gelehrt hat, daß die Paquete für Sie auf der hiesigen Gesandtschaft liegen bleiben, so weiß ich jetzt kein Mittel Ihnen etwas sicher zu übersenden. Es ist auch

<sup>33</sup> TIMKOVSKII 1827.

<sup>34</sup> Possibly Sergei Ivanovich Turgenev (1790–1827, Paris) who served as diplomat in Paris and in Constantinople.

<sup>35</sup> Possibly the *Manju gisun be niyeceme isabuha bithe* of 1786.

<sup>36</sup> It is not explained what Schilling's goal was in Florence. From the Academy Archives part of the files it is obvious that Klaproth had asked Schilling to take care of something on his behalf, possibly researching something at the Biblioteca Magliabechiana.

<sup>37</sup> FRAEHN 1825.

nichts erschienen was Interesse für Sie haben könnte. Remusats Roman werden Sie durch Baron Merian<sup>38</sup> erhalten haben, und ich hoffe auch meine beiden Lettres sur les hieroglyphes.<sup>39</sup> Von Neuigkeiten kann ich Ihnen nichts melden, als daß die Asiatische Gesellschaft Dondey Dupre abgesetzt hat, und das Journal Asiatique, vom 1. Januar an unter dem Namen Nouveau Journal Asiatique zu erscheinen und in der Königlichen Asiatischen [!] Druckerey gedruckt werden wird. Wir haben dabei einen schweren Kampf gegen den immer halsstarriger werden S. de Sacy<sup>40</sup> auszustehen gehabt, aber mit einer Majorität von 2/3 gegen 1/3 den Sieg davon getragen. Das Asiatische Journal hat nur einen jährlichen Fond von 2000 fr. der angewendet werden kann um nützliche Arbeiten zu machen, statt daß wir früher an D.D. den Druck zur Hälfte bezahlten und ihm 3/4 der Ausgabe gratis überließen.

Ich lasse jetzt den 3ten Band meiner Memoires<sup>41</sup> drucken, fertig davon sind 9 Bogen, enthalten Lettres sur la litterature mandchoue, Description du Baikal und den Anfang von Fr. Petrarchas *Vocabularium Latino-Persico-Comanicum*, das im Ganzen 7 Bogen einnimmt.<sup>42</sup> Seyn Sie so gefällig dieß an Krug<sup>43</sup> und Frähn zu sagen, denen es interessant seyn wird.

Eine große Charte vom Chinesischen Reiche, wird wahrscheinlich im May des künftigen Jahres fertig seyn. Ich lasse auch eine große Charte vom eigentlichen China in 6 Blättern vom größten Formate stechen, auf der der Grad an 3 Zoll Länge hat, fast in derselben Größe wie Ihre große Chinesische Charte, von der ich eine neue Edition besitze. Ich hoffe vielleicht in einer jetzt für mich in London angekommenen Kiste Chinesischer Bücher das 彙字草<sup>44</sup> zu finden, das ich für Sie in Canton bestellt habe. Die Bücher

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<sup>38</sup> Andreas Adolf von Merian (Basel, 4 July 1772 – 25 April 1828, Batignolles), Austrian diplomat, since 1812 state councillor in Russian service; his special interest was in comparative linguistics. His friend Klaproth edited his *Tripartitum seu de analogia linguarum libellus* (Paris 1820) and *Principes de l'étude comparative des langues* (Paris, 1828). During the last years of his life Merian worked in Paris as diplomatic agent for contributions. Cf. HIS 1941.

<sup>39</sup> KLAPROTH 1827a, KLAPROTH 1827b.

<sup>40</sup> Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy (Paris, 21 Sept. 1758 – 21 Febr. 1838, Paris), Professor of Persian at the College de France, curator of Oriental mss. at the Imperial Library in Paris, member of the Institute. Cf. SALMON 1905.

<sup>41</sup> KLAPROTH 1828.

<sup>42</sup> Lettres sur la littérature mandchoue, pp. 1–88; revised republication of Klaproth 1815: – pp. 89–108 Description du Lac Baikal; – pp. 113–256. Vocabulaire latin, persan et coman, de la Bibliothèque de Francesco Petrarcha.

<sup>43</sup> Johann Philipp Krug (Halle, Jan. 29, 1764 – June 4, 1844, St. Petersburg), historian, member of the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg in 1807, became its chief librarian in 1817. ANON 1903.

<sup>44</sup> *Caozi hui*, a dictionary of the concept style of Chinese characters.

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müssen im Laufe dieser Woche anlangen und ich werde es, wenn es dabei ist, Ihnen mit nächster sichern Gelegenheit übersenden; erinnere Sie dabei aber auch dabei an Ihr Versprechen mir ein Exemplar der Supplemente zum mandshuischen Wörterbuche<sup>45</sup> zu verschaffen.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung habe ich die Ehre zu seyn  
Ihr ganz ergebenster und dienstwilligster Diener  
JHKlaproth

7 [n.d.]

Ich hatte total vergessen, daß ich heute früh ein Rendezvous bey Eyriès<sup>46</sup> habe. Wir müssen daher unsere Zusammenkunft bis morgen verschieben. Ich habe wohl heute beim oder vor Essen die Ehre Sie zu sehen.

Tout à Vous  
Dimanche matin. JHKlaproth

A Monsieur  
Monsieur le Baron Schilling de Canstadt  
Hotel d'Italie

8 [1829]

Paris d. 10 Nov. 1829  
5 Rue d'Amboise

Theuerster Herr Baron!

Ogleich es scheint als ob Sie Ihre Freundschaft mir gänzlich entzogen habe[n], so nehme ich mi dennoch die Freiheit, mich durch diese Zeilen wieder bei Ihnen in Erinnerung zu bringen, indem ich mir nicht bewusst bin irgend etwas gethan zu haben was Ihnen unangenehm sein könnte, oder mir Ihre Zuneigung abwenden dürfte. Sollte das aber, ohne mein Verschulden geschehen seyn so bitte ich es великодушный<sup>47</sup> zu verzeihen.

<sup>45</sup> Probably: *Han-i araha Nonggime toktobuha Manju gisun-i buleku bithe*. Yuzhi zengding Qingwenjian 御製增訂清文鑒. 1772, niyeceme banjibun. 4 fasc. Cf. WALRAVENS 2014, no. 15.

<sup>46</sup> Jean-Baptiste Benoît Eyriès (Marseille, 24 June, 1767 – 12 June, 1846, Gravelle), geographer, since 1805 in Paris where he worked as a prolific writer and translator and members of several learned societies, among them the Société asiatique. Cf. LOUVET 1856.

<sup>47</sup> Generous.

Ich habe Ihnen mit der Post, sous bande franco Memel, die drei ersten (fehlerhafte Correctur) Bogen der Übersetzung der Beschreibung von Tibet überschickt, und die folgenden durch Courriergelegenheit, muß aber fürchten daß Ihnen diese noch nicht zu Händen gekommen sind. Wenn Sie diese Übersetzung mit dem Russischen und dann mit dem Chinesischen Originale vergleichen wollen, so werden Sie sehen, daß ich viele Unrichtigkeiten des Archimandriten mit Stillschweigen übergangen habe, und mehrere von ihm ausgelassene Stellen, ohne es zu sagen, dem Französischen einverleibt habe. Nun muß ich Ihnen aber einen komischen Vorfall erzählen. Da ich die Dummheit der Leute kenne die von einem Gelehrten verlangen er solle alles wissen, so kam es mir beim Durchlesen eines der letzten Correcturbogen des Werkchens ein, daß meine Anmerkungen dem Archimandriten am Ende in Rußland Schaden thun könnten, was doch ganz und gar nicht meine Absicht war. Ich glaubte diesem Übelstande nicht besser abhelfen zu können, als auf eine ehrenvolle Art eine Anerkennung seiner nicht zu läugnenden Verdienste zu geben, und ging deshalb Sonnabends auf die Bibliothek, um Remusat zu ersuchen ihn, mit mir, in der nächsten Sitzung der Asiatischen Gesellschaft zum Auswärtigen Mitgliede vorzuschlagen. Wie sehr aber war ich erstaunt einen förmlichen Refus zu erhalten. Auf meine Anfrage warum? gab er mir die Antwort. *Venez après la bibliotheque chez moi et Vous verrez.* Und was zeigte er mir die Broschüre des Archimandriten gegen mich. Ich habe sie bei ihm gelesen und werde darauf nicht anders antworten als in den Noten zu der Beschreibung von Tubet und in meinem Artikel über seine Записки о Монголии. Der Ton den er annimmt ist wirklich lächerlich und ich halte ihn dem beleidigten Priester zu gute. Sie kennen mich genug um überzeugt zu seyn, daß ich meine Arbeiten nicht eines nichtigen Ruhmes willen mache, sondern daß mir die historische Wahrheit die Hauptsache ist, ich kann daher und werde es nie zugeben, daß dieselbe durch Unverstand beeinträchtigt wird, sondern diesen so lange ich lebe zu bekämpfen suchen. Ein lächerlicher Widerspruch ist es wenn Hyacinth sagt ich verstünde assez bien le chinois, und nachher meine Übersetzungen voller Fehler findet, die er aber nicht angibt, denn da wo er seine Übertragung der meinigen gegenüber stellt, sagen wir gewöhnlich dasselbe nur mit anderen Worten. Wo bei mir etwas fehlt war der schlechte Abdruck des Originals das ich 1825 hatte an der Stelle unleserlich, auch fehlten demselben die Vorreden. Erst vor kurzem habe ich ein gutes und vollständiges Exemplar aus Canton erhalten. Das erste war zwar auf schönem weißen Papier aber ein Abdruck der schon alt gewordenen Platten.

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Lächerlich ist der Vorwurf den er meiner mandschuischen Chrestomathie<sup>48</sup> macht, sie bestehe aus Stücken die schon Leontiew<sup>49</sup> und Remusat übersetzt hätten. Was Leontiew russisch gegeben haben kann kenne ich nicht. Existirt es aber wirklich so vergleiche man nur meine Übersetzung mit der Seinigen und man wird den Unterschied finden. Dasselbe gilt von der Eloge de Moukden<sup>50</sup>, und das Livre de Recompenses et de Peines<sup>51</sup> war bereits 1817 abgedruckt, also mehrere Jahr früher als ich Remusat mein Chinesisches Exemplar lieh, aus dem er seine Übersetzung gemacht hat. Auch diese vergleiche man mit der meinigen und man wird sehen daß ich seine Verstöße verbessert und was er ausgelassen hinzugesetzt habe. Mit der Expedition Thsin schi huang ti nach den glücklichen Inseln im östlichen Meere, die ich aus du Halde genommen haben soll, ist er ebenfalls unglücklich, ich habe seit mehr als vier Jahren Du Halde nicht aufgeschlagen. Die Stelle ist aus den Japonischen Chroniquen genommen, und ich werde sie nächstens in einer kleinen Dissertation über jene Expedition, nebst anderen dazu gehörigen, und aus der große Japonischen Encyclopédie<sup>52</sup> entlehnten, im Journal asiatique abdrucken lassen.

Wenn übrigens Hyacinth glaubt mir durch seine Brochure ein großes Herzeleid gemacht zu haben, so irrt er sich. Ich halte dafür daß der Mann recht gut Chinesisch versteht, aber manche Stellen nicht übersetzen kann weil sie zu dunkel sind, oder weil ihm dazu die nöthigen positiven Kenntnisse abgehen, das ist aber mehr oder weniger der Fall mit allen Europäern die Chinesisch treiben. Übrigens ist er ein unkritischer Kopf, dafür kann er nicht. Er hat auch Unrecht meine Erklärung über seine Mongolische Geschichte so verstanden zu haben als behauptete ich in derselben der Tung wen tshi sei ein unbrauchbares und schlechtes Werk; das ist nicht der Fall, es ist im Gegentheile sehr schätzbar, nur nicht für den Türkischen Theil.

Ich spreche von einem ganz anderen Buche um dessen Mittheilung ich Sie oft vergeblich gebeut habe es ist das 語元金遼 (oder so ungefähr betitelt). In diesem Werke haben die Verfasser gesucht alle Eigennamen die in der älteren Geschichte Mittelasiens vorkommen aus dem Mongolischen zu erklären, ohne daß die Chinesischen Schriftsteller die Übersetzung dieser Namen gegeben haben, die allein die Richtigkeit der Erklärung beweisen können.

<sup>48</sup> KLAPROTH 1828b.

<sup>49</sup> Leont'ev (1716–1786), Sinologist and Manchurist, prolific translator from Chinese and Manchu. Cf. WALRAVENS 1992a.

<sup>50</sup> AMIOT 1770.

<sup>51</sup> *Livre de recompenses et de peines*, i.e. *Tai shang ganying pian* 太上感應篇. Rémusat used a Chinese edition with an imperial preface of 1655. Cf. RÉMUSAT 1816.

<sup>52</sup> *Kimmô zui* 訓蒙圖彙; cf. RÉMUSAT 1827.

Sie können sich ein großes Verdienst um die Lösung der streitigen Punkte in der Mittelasiatischen Geschichte machen, wenn Sie das Buch der Asiatischen Gesellschaft mittheilen, und es deren Examen unterwerfen. Es ist dieses die einzige [15b] Art, um allen dem uncritischen Unwesen auf einmal ein Ende zu machen. Schmidt Mongol. Geschichte ist hier noch nicht angekommen. Aus Deutschland schreibt man mir, daß er jetzt von derselben dasselbe Urtheil in seiner Vorrede fülle, das ich vor mehreren Jahren schon gedruckt habe, daß sie nämlich ein in mehrer Hinsicht unzuverlässiges Werk sey.

Obgleich Sie, geehrter Freund, vor einiger Zeit in St. P. bemerkt haben, daß ich gern über Dinge schriebe von denen ich nichts verstände, so lehrt doch jetzt der Erfolg, daß ich mich hinsichtlich der Hieroglyphen und Champollion nicht geirrt habe. Lesen Sie nur die Artikel, in der London Literary Gazette, im Classical Journal, im Asiatic Journal, in der Quotidienne, im Temps, in den heidelberger Jahrbüchern und in den Italiänischen Journalen, in denen man meinen Observations sur l'Alphabet hieroglyphique<sup>53</sup> alle Gerechtigkeit widerfahren läßt, und sie als ein Muster der Kritik aufstellt. Ich schreibe Ihnen das nicht aus Eigendünkel, sondern einzig als Antwort auf Ihre mündliche Bemerkung von 1827. Jetzt erst fallen den Leuten die Schuppen von den Augen und sie sehen sich verwundert an, sich fragend, ob sie denn wirklich alle das Zeug dem Champollion<sup>54</sup> geglaubt hatten, was er ihnen weiß gemacht habe. Aber ist es nur möglich zu glauben daß es vor mir niemand eingefallen die ganze Sache einer vernünftigen Prüfung zu unterwerfen. In Eile. Bon soir.

[Randschrift:] Sie sehen wohl ein, daß ich jetzt den Hyacinth nicht eher zum auswärtigen Mitgliede vorschlagen kann als bis die Beschreibung von Tibet ganz fertig gedruckt ist, weil ich sonst als Poltron erscheinen würde. Dann aber soll es gewiß geschehen, denn ich habe eben so wenig gegen ihn als gegen Schmidt Rancune. Hyacinth hat viel Pfaffenstolz und Schmidt Herrnhuterischen kaufmännischen Eigendünkel.

A Son Excellence  
monsieur le Baron  
Paul Schilling de Canstadt  
Au college des Affaires étrangères

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<sup>53</sup> KLAPROTH 1829.

<sup>54</sup> Jean-François Champollion (Figeac, 23 Dec. 1790 – 4 March 1832, Paris), linguist who managed to decipher a number of hieroglyphs and thus paved the way for a complete understanding of the old Egyptian scripts. Cf. *Archives biographiques françaises*.

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St. Petersburg  
port payé

[marginal note] Pag 84 ligne 5 et pag 91 ligne 4 il faut lire «voyant qu'il n'existait aucun livre imprimé», etc.

### 9 [n.d.]

Guten Morgen,

Anbei das Tübetische Arzeneyenverzeichnis. Bemerken Sie daß der Verfasser nicht gut Chinesisch konnte, indem auf der Etiquette [---] gedruckt ist. Wie gefallen Ihnen [---] Georgische Buchstaben. [---] abgedruckt. Sein Sie so gütig [---] mir den Doy baslaba [---] das andere Heft der Hexa[---]<sup>55</sup>

Tout-à-Vous

Kl.

A Monsieur  
Monsieur le Baron de Schilling  
62. Rue de Richelieu  
Avec un étui rouge.

### 10 [n.d.]

Ich hoffe von Ihrer Großmuth, theuerster Herr Baron, daß Sie die Güte haben werden mir und Remusat ein Exemplar der Beschreibung von Tubet zu senden; denn auf Briefe und andere Communicationen von Ihnen können wir wohl nicht mehr rechnen.

Kl

### 11 [n.d.]

Notes

In geschriebenem alten Catalog der Academie sind folgende Nummern als fehlend angemerkt.

N°23, 24 sind nur 3 Hefte statt 2 Bände. 32. 45 fehlt 1 Band. 51. 62.62\*. 111. 130. 142. 143. 144. (Diese 3 Nummern sind die Karten.) N°143 und 144 befinden sich in Paris im Auswärtigen Depart. wo sie durch Segur<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Text partly covered by the strip with Georgian letters.

<sup>56</sup> Probably the French diplomat Louis-Philippe de Ségur (Paris, 10 Sept. 1753 – 27 Aug. 1830), who acted as ambassador in St. Petersburg from 1783–1789. *Archives biographiques françaises*.

hingekommen sind. 132 ist durch Wladikin<sup>57</sup> an Kl. gekommen. 150 hat nur 2 Hefte statt ganz Tao. 177 soll 11 Hefte hat aber nur fünfe. 181 hat statt 6 Bände nur 3.

In der Bibliothek der Academie befindet sich Messerschmidts<sup>58</sup> Tagebuch und andere Orientalia vom Ditto.<sup>59</sup>

Der alte Graf Stroganof hat eine Chinesische Sammlung von Münzen mit einem spanischen Catalog von [Manuel de] Agote<sup>60</sup> spanischem Consul (?) in Canton.

## 12 [1829]

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Seit Baron Merian's Tode habe ich keine Gelegenheit Paquete durch die Gesandtschaft nach St. Petersburg zu schicken. Seyn Sie daher so gefällig einem der jetzigen Secretaire derselben zu ersuchen meine Sendungen für Sie anzunehmen und auch abgehen zu lassen, damit nicht wieder solche Confusion entsteht wie mit dem Thung wen tchi.

Empfangen Sie meinen besten Dank für die drei Werke des Archimandriten, die ich vor einiger Zeit erhalten habe. Sollte es möglich seyn so bitte ich mich auch mit der Beschreibung von Peking<sup>61</sup> nebst Plan zu bedenken, aber sowohl Russisch als Französisch, denn man kann sich nie auf Übersetzungen verlassen.

Wenn Sie recht freundschaftlich seyn wollten, so schicken Sie mir auf einige Zeit das 金遼元國三史語解.

Schmidt Mongolische Geschichte ist hier noch nicht angelangt. Wir warten mit Verlangen darauf.

Paris d. 18 Oct 1829

Sie werden wahrscheinlich schon das Siamische Vocabulair haben copiren lassen. Seyn Sie so gütig mir mein calquirtes Exemplar zurück zu senden.

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<sup>57</sup> Anton Vladykin (1761–1811), Sinologist and interpreter. Cf. WALRAVENS 1982.

<sup>58</sup> Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt, (Danzig, 13 April 1685 – 25 March 1735, St. Petersburg), physician and explorer; he undertook a research trip through Siberia for seven years; unfortunately part of his rich collections were lost when he suffered ship-wreck in the Baltic Sea. His travel diaries were only published in Berlin (MESSERSCHMIDT 1962–1977), with the commentaries considerably abridged). Cf. JAHN 1885.

<sup>59</sup> «The said, the mentioned».

<sup>60</sup> Manuel de Agote – no further details found.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. EYRIÈS, KLAPROTH 1829.

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## 13 [n.d.]

Bitten für mich

Was von Sibirischen, Caucasischen Georgischen Charten seit 1822 herausgekommen ist und noch heraus kömmt.

1. Broniewski Kaukasus<sup>62</sup>

1. Timkowski, Womöglich 2 Exempl. von der Charte

Die Georgischen Costüme und Kaukasischen die in S. Petersburg lithographirt sind.

Orlowski<sup>63</sup> von mir zu grüßen und zu bitten mir seine Persische Lithographien zu schenken.

Reichel bei der Bank bestens zu grüßen

Zepplin ebenfalls und ihn zur auswärtigen Correspondenz über geographisch-historische Gegenstände anzumahnen.

Der Academische Arzt, der 1809 erblichen ist, hatte mir einen Chinesischen Original Atlas versprochen. Diesem nachzustellen.

Description de Peking auf einen Monat nach Paris.

## 14 [n.d.]

Curiosa in der Bibliothek der Academie in St. Petersburg

Historico Politica

14. Kurze Beschreibung der Reise von St. Petersbg. nach Peking

132. Messerschmidts Sibiria perlustrata

<sup>62</sup> BRONEVSKII (1823). – State councillor Semen Mikhailovich Bronevskii (1763 – Dec. 27, 1830) was head of the Chancery of the Commander-in-chief of the Caucasus in Tiflis, Prince P.D. Tsitsianov. Cf. ANON 1908.

<sup>63</sup> Aleksandr Osipovich Orlovskii (1777–1832): 41 drawing for book: «Drouville, Voyage en Perse, pendant les années 1812 et 1813... St. Petersburg, Imprimé chez Pluchart, a ses frais. F Paris chez Firmin Didot 1819». Два тома 4° и атлас. В первом издании сего атласа 1819 г. он озаглавлен: Atlas pour servir au voyage en Perse, Pendant les années 1812 et 1813, Par Gaspard Drouville. — La plus grande partie des dessins ont été Lithographies par M.M.A. Orlowsky, Swébach, et autres artistes. В этом Атласе имеются ниже поименованные 59 рисунков и карта Персии. В моем собрании находится третье издание этого Атласа со следующим заголовком: Atlas ou Collection de 43 Costumes [Два из них (№№ 18 и 27) уже были изданы Орловским прежде и описаны выше под №№ 43 и 44.] Persans militaires et civils, Dessinés par A. Orlowsky, pour orner le voyage de Perse, fait pendant les années 1812 et 1813. Par Gaspar Drouville, Colonel de Cavallerie au service de S.M. l'Empereur de toutes les Russies. Troisième tirage... St.-Pbg... Pluchart... 1823. (According to Rovinskii. See

[https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/enc\\_biography/96278/%D0%9E%D1%80%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%B9](https://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/enc_biography/96278/%D0%9E%D1%80%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%B2%D1%81%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%B9)).

133. Varia Messerschmidtiana ad geographiam et historiam Naturae spectantia. 3 vol.

206. Collectanea Messerschmidtii ad linguas Sibiriae spectantia.

Lassen Sie davon eine Copey für mich machen.

Im Archiv der Academie Resanows<sup>64</sup> Russisch Japanische Grammatik nebst Wörterbuch

### 15 [n.d.]

Mir fehlt das 7e. Blatt des 163. kiven [卷] des Thai tsing y thung tshi<sup>65</sup>. Nach dem academischen Exemplare.

Provinz Kan su, district 府州甘

Das vorhergehende 6e. Blatt endigt mit 自。渠水.

Das folgende 8e. Blatt fängt an 末梁後

Wie heißen die boules chinoises<sup>66</sup> und Godmichés<sup>67</sup>

Wie hängt es mit dem Brennen der Frauenzimmer zusammen.

### 16 [n.d.]

Supplement zum Mandshuischen Wörterbuche

Könnten Sie mir nicht mit demselben die Beschreibung von Peking senden.

### 17 [1830]

Ich hoffe, daß Sie diese Zeilen nebst Beilagen, in bester Gesundheit, an der Chinesischen Gränze treffen werden. Duplicate einiger Broschüren erhalten Sie durch A. Turgeneff, der in acht Tagen von hier nach Moskau abreist. Empfehlen Sie mich dem P. Hyacinth und bitten ihn in meinem Namen, nicht zu glauben, daß Feindschaft mich anreize gegen ihn zu schreiben, aber den Unsinn der Khian lung-schen Commission konnte ich nicht unnotifizirt der Europäischen Welt übergeben lassen. Vergessen Sie nicht

Ihren ergebensten

Paris 15 Sept. 1830

JHKlaproth

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<sup>64</sup> Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov (1767–1807), Russian diplomat, participant of the Krusenstern expedition, went to Nagasaki in 1804 but was not accepted by the Japanese government. He retaliated by having some villages on Sakhalin Island pillaged in 1806. Cf. WALS 1941.

<sup>65</sup> 大清一統志.

<sup>66</sup> To be inserted in the vagina to increase lustful sensations.

<sup>67</sup> Dildoes.

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 18 [1831]
 

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Paris 1 mars 1831  
5 Rue d'Amboise

Je ne sais pas, mon cher Baron, avec quoi nous autres pauvres Parisiens, nous avons mérité Votre animadversion, mais nous devons effectivement craindre d'avoir entièrement perdu Votre bienveillance, puisque depuis plusieurs années Vous ne donnez aucun signe de vie, et il paraît que vous Vous êtes expressément retiré à la frontière du Céleste empire, pour trouver une raison plausible de cet oubli.

Malgré Votre attitude boudeuse nous pensons souvens à Vous, et je prends la liberté de me rappeler à Votre souvenir par l'envoi ci-joint, que je Vous prie avec bonté quoiqu'il ne sera peut-être tout-à-fait agréable à Votre compagnon de Voyage. Soyez pourtant convaincu que mon but en refaisant son livre a été de le facher. Au contraire Vous savez que j'ai été toujours très-porté pour lui. Mais la description du Tübet devait paraître en Europe dans une langue généralement intelligible, et il était alors impossible de la publier aussi defectueuse, quelle l'était dans la traduction russe.

Pour consoler le P. Hyacinthe je le proposerai Lundi prochain comme Membre externe de la Société Asiatique, et je ne doute pas que cette compagnie savante ne s'empresse à se l'adjoindre à ce titre. Dans un mois je pourrais donc avoir le plaisir de lui envoyer la notification de sa nomination, que je m'empresserai de faire mettre dans le Moniteur et dans d'autres Journaux.

J'ai beaucoup de cahiers du Journal Asiatique pour Vous, mais je ne sais pas comment Vous les faire parvenir, et je crains si je les envoie d'ici par un Courrier de l'Ambassade ils ne restent aux Affaires étrangères à St. Petersburg.

Je reviens toujours à mon ancienne demande relative à un 鑑文清 avec le Mongol et le Tübetain.<sup>68</sup> Veuillez me faire le plaisir de m'en procurer un s'il est possible, et agréez d'avance les remerciements et les civilités de

Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur  
JHKlaproth

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<sup>68</sup> *Duin hacin-i hergen kamciha Manju gisun-i buleku bithe*. Yuzhi siti Qing wenjian 御製四體清文鑒. 36 fasc. or: *Duin hacin-i hergen kamciha buleku bithe*. Siti hebi wenjian 四體合璧文鑒 40 juan. Cf. WALRAVENS 2014, no. 255, 288.

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**19**

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Liebe Hanny,  
Wenn ich Dich ansehe, so sehe ich daß du mich liebst und möchte vor Freude weinen.<sup>69</sup>

**20**

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The following table of contents of a description of the Caucasus and Georgia does not in any way match either the *Voyage au mont Caucase et en Géorgie* (1823) nor the *Tableau historique, géographique, ethnographique et politique du Caucase et des provinces limitrophes entre la Russie et la Perse* (1827). Thus it seems to be an outline for a description of the Caucasus that was not realized.

## Ie. Partie

Introduction – Notions géographiques générales. Notions préliminaires du Caucase.

Chap. I. – Etendue, limites, denominations, population primitive, progrès géographiques. Epoques historiques:

Epoque 1 – Période grecque

Epoque 2 – Période romaine

Epoque 3 – Période byzantine ou greco-persane

Epoque 4 – Période turco-persane

Epoque 5 – Période russe

Religion – Langue – Mœurs – Manière de vivre – Gouvernement –  
Difference des conditions – Politique – Commerce – Population – Revenue.

Chap. II – Coup-d’œil sur l’état physique du Caucase – Montagnes et rivières.

a. Position et analyse des montagnes prises dans toutes leurs directions; d’après Guldenstædt.

b. Rivières – Terek – Kouma – Kouban – Rion – Engouri & Khopi – Tchorokhi.

Chap. III – Notions sur le commerce du Caucase.

a. Commerce de terre ferme et de la mer Caspienne

b. Commerce ancien et moderne du Kour et du Phahe

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<sup>69</sup> Whether this strip of paper really belongs to this file is doubtful.

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Chap. IV – Nomenclature de quelques animaux du Caucase et de la Géorgie, d'après le système de Linné.

Divisions principales du Caucase

– Contrée occidentale, ou rivage du nord-est de la mer Noire. – Du trafic des esclaves.

2. Section – L'Abkhazie ou Abaza – Petite Abazie – L'Abkhazie du N.O. – L'Abkhazie du S.O. – Territoire de Sokhou kalah – Notions sur le commerce de cette côte.

## II. Partie

Region septentrionale du Caucase.

Chap. I. Coup d'œil général – Etendue, limites – Fragments sur l'état physique de la region septentrionale du Caucase, prises en grande partie dans les observations de Guldenstædt et de Poltar. – Mont Elbrouz – Monts Bechtan – Production – Eaux minerales.

Chap. II. Tcherkesses – Coup d'œil général – Limites – Monuments remarquables dans la contrée des Tcherkesses – Division de leur pays – Tcherkesses transkoubaniens – Kabardie – Origine, histoire – Grande Kabardie – Petite Kabardie – territoire sans nom et contrée de Baragoune – Etat civil et politique des Tcherkesses, et principalement des Kabardiens – Religion – Langue – Formes exterieures – Costume – Manière de batir – Education – Loix ou gouvernement – Coutumes qui tiennent lieu de loix – Manière de faire la guerre – Mœurs – Mariage – Hospitalité – Mediation des femmes – rixes et Duels – Economie rurale – Agriculture – Haras – Education des bestiaux – Aliments – Revenues – Sciences – Métiers – Commerce – Amusements – Maladies – Funerailles.

Chap. III Kistes – Etendue et limites – Rivières – Denominations – Origine, histoire – Langue.

– Kistes – Ingouches – Karaboulaks – Tchetchentses.

Chap. IV Koumik's – Etendue, limites – Rivières, position et propriété du sol – Oriine, notions historiques – Division du territoire – Observations générales –

Chap. V – Tribus Nogay, etablies vers la contrée septentrionale du Caucase – Nogay nomades en deçà du Terek et du Kouban – Nogay etablies chez les montagnards au delà du Terek, de la Mulka et du Kouban – Nogay établis dans les montagnes du Caucase au delà du Terek et du Kouban, dans le courant du 18e ou vers la fin du 17e siècle.

Explication des signes appelés Tarzei, dont on marque les chevaux dans les huras.

#### Partie Orientale du Caucase

Chap. I – Coup d’œil général – Limites, etendue – Division générale – Propriété du sol – Production – Economie rurale, agriculture – Animaux domestiques.

Chap. II Le Daghestân – Denomination – Limites – Domaine du Chamkhal de Tarkou – Djangotei – Langue – Domaine de l’Ouzmei des Kara Kaidak – Recherches sur la ville de Koubitchi et sur l’origine européenne de ses habitans – Khanat de Derbend – Tabasseran –

Chap. III – Le Chirwan – Coup d’œil général – Pleine entre le Samour et l’Ata tchou et la Territoire sterile entre l’Ata tchou et la vallée en deçà du Kour – Vallée sur la gauche du Kour –

## 21

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Paris 8 Aout 1833

5 Rue d’Amboise

Monsieur

Je m’empresse de Vous offrir mes remerciements pour le beau cadeau que Vous avez eu la bonté de me faire, et pour la bienveillance que Vous me montrez dans Votre lettre du 12 Juillet.

Tous les Orientalistes, et principalement ceux qui s’occupent d’étudier les antiquités et l’ancien idiome de l’Inde, vous avaient déjà la plus grande obligation pour la publication de la première édition de Vôtre excellent Dictionnaire sanscrit; leur gratitude doit doubler quand ils verront la service si considérablement augmentée et perfectionnée. Revenu dans Votre patrie dans le climat est plus propice aux travaux scientifiques, que celui de l’Inde, nous espérons tous que Vous nous ferez participer des riches trésors que Vous avez rapportés des bords du Gange, et que le Ciel Vous accordera la santé et le bien-être nécessaire à d’autres travaux, qui ils ne peuvent ajouter à Votre gloire, contribueront toujours à rendre l’Inde et sa littérature plus connue en Europe, et exciteront un plus grand nombre de personnes à l’étude de sanscrit, cette langue si merveilleuse à laquelle aucune autre du monde se peut comparer.

Je Vous remercie aussi pour l’envoi du XVIIe volume des Asiatic Researches, que j’ai trouvé dans le même paquet que le Dictionnaire, et que je

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dois par consequent également à Votre bonté. Je saisis Votre offre de m'être utile dans mes relations avec Calcutta, et je prendrai dans quelque temps la liberté de Vous envoyer un petit mémoire pour la Société Asiatique de cette ville, dans lequel je me propose d'exposer, ce que je pense qu'il faudroit faire pour resoudre la question relative au Cours inférieur du Tsang-bo du Tübet. Je suis fache que je n'ai pas donné cet exposé il y a long-temps, car si je l'avais fait Mr. Wilcox<sup>70</sup>, aurait pu resoudre la question, lors de son dernier séjour dans l'Assam.

Je n'ai eu aucune nouvelle du paquet de Calcutta qui a été en effet ainsi adressé à Mr<sup>s</sup>. Eyriès frères au Havre, mais qui n'y est jamais arrivé. Neanmoins je Vous remercie toujours pour le soin que Vous avez bien voulu donner à cette petite commission et j'ai l'honneur d'être

Votre très-devoué

JHKlaproth

Copy of a letter to Horace Hayman Wilson<sup>71</sup> in the Fond Klaproth of the Academy Archive. Cf. KLAPROTH 2002, 175.

## 22

Nicht treffender hätte der gelehrte Verfasser dieser Kritik die Arbeiten des verstorbenen Champollion über die Hieroglyphen characterisiren können, als durch das so glücklich gewählte Motto des Plinius: *Nitor verius quam splendor*, «Mehr Schimmer als leuchtender Glanz». In der That sind wir nur durch Champollions Entdeckungen aus der finsternen Nacht, welche die Litteratur der alten Ägypter bedeckte, in eine, bis jetzt noch sehr spärliche, Dämmerung getreten, wie diese ist, wenn sich am frühesten Morgen sich die Umrissse ferner Gebirge noch kaum von dem Helldunkel des Horizontes trennen. Vieles, fast noch alles bleibt zu thun übrig, ehe man dahin kommen wird etwas heller zu sehen. Die ersten Versuche Champollions, die er in seinem Briefe an Herrn Dacier 1822 bekannt machte, sind unstreitig der gediegenste Theil seiner Arbeiten über die Hieroglyphen. Es ging ihm aber wie dem eifrigen Bergmann, der, wenn er irgendwo eine kärgliche Goldader entdeckt hat, trotz seines Eifers die fernere Spur derselben verliert, und nun mit gieriger Hand und mit fruchtloser Mühe im tauben Gesteine fort arbeitet.

<sup>70</sup> WILCOX 1832.

<sup>71</sup> H.H. Wilson (1786–1860), britischer Arzt und Indologe. Cf. B. 1890.

Die Entdeckung des phonetischen Alphabets, die Champollion in den Stand setzte Griechische, Römische und auch einige Ägyptische Eigennahmen zu lesen, mußte allgemein Beifall finden, denn sie war in allen ihren Theilen erwiesen. Dieses Alphabet setzte jeden neugierigen Leser in den Stand, auf dem vom Entdecker vorgezeichneten Wege fort zu gehen, und es auf den Monumenten selbst zur Entzifferung solcher Eigennahmen mit Glück anzuwenden. Ein litterarischer Zeitvertreib, der gewisser maßen das damals schon aus der Mode kommende Casse-tête chinois<sup>72</sup> ersetzte, nur mit dem Unterschiede, daß bei jenem die Stücke nicht immer so gut an einander paßten als bei diesem. Die Gewissenhaftigkeit und der regelmäßige Gang der Demonstration welche in dem Briefe an H. Dacier<sup>73</sup> nicht zu verkennen waren, konnten nicht anders als ein günstiges Vorurtheil für diesen Verfasser erwecken, und man durfte sich mit der Hoffnung zu schmeicheln, daß der, welcher seine Laufbahn so rechtlich angefangen hatte, auch auf derselben eben so rechtlich und redlich fortwandeln werde. Äußere Umstände, die Beschränktheit der Menge und der Neid der französischen Gelehrten zwangen ihn aber bald auf Abwege zu gerathen. Seit mehr als zehn Jahren hatte Champollion mit Eifer über die Hieroglyphen gearbeitet, ohne jedoch zu einem Resultate zu gelangen; vielmehr hatte er es versucht, bei seiner keineswegs glücklichen Lage, von den gelehrten Instituten Frankreichs oder von der Regierung Unterstützung zu erlangen. Endlich leitet ihm des Engländer's Young Idee, tonangebende Zeichen in der ägyptischen Schrift zu suchen, auf die Entdeckung des phonetischen Alphabets, er macht sie bekannt, beweist ihre Richtigkeit, wird allgemein bewundert, aber man thut nichts für ihn. Wo er um Unterstützung anfragt, erhält er zur Antwort: «Sie lesen ja nur Eigennahmen; erst wenn Sie dahin gekommen seyn werden, Texte zu entziffern, können Sie auf academische Ehrenstellen und pecuniäre Belohnungen Anspruch machen». Natürlich mußte da dem Manne der Muth sinken.

Hätte er seine Entdeckung vor achtzig oder neunzig Jahren machen können, so würde er mit Belohnungen überhäuft worden seyn. Das einzige was er jetzt von der Französischen Regierung erhalten konnte, war das Versprechen, daß, wenn er ein Werk über die Entzifferung der Hieroglyphen schriebe, man es in der Königlichen Druckerei unentgeltlich drucken, und dann sehen wolle was für ihn zu thun sey. Geschäftige Freunde riethen ihm, das

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<sup>72</sup> Tangram, 七巧.

<sup>73</sup> Bon-Joseph Dacier (1742–1833), historian and philologist, member of the Académie française, editor of the *Journal des savants*. Here reference is made to CHAMPOLLION 1822.

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Eisen zu schmieden weil es an der Zeit sey und einen *Précis du Système hieroglyphique des anciens Egyptiens* heraus zu geben. Champollion ward nun bei Hofe und den höheren Zirkeln wie eine Art Zauberkünstler oder Faiseur de tours de passe-passe vorgestellt; Herrn und Damen drängten sich um ihn und baten um die Entzifferung ägyptischer Pasten die in ihren Busennadeln prangten. In Gegenwart des diplomatischen Corps und der besten Gesellschaft und ihre Pässe für die Ewigkeit dem neuen Hierophanten überreicht, den man zwang sie aus dem Stegereif abzulesen und zu erklären. Wenn nun bei diesem abgeschmackten Treiben dem armen Champollion auch nicht das Verständniß der Ägyptischen Schrift weiter eröffnet wurde, so ward ihm doch das Decipiatur mundus klar, und er gewiß wider seinen Willen zum Charlatan gestempelt. Stets gezwungen das zu erklären, was er nicht verstand, scheint es daß er bald anfang selbst an seine Erklärungen zu glauben und ein Opfer eigener Täuschung ward.

Indessen ging der Gang des Druckes des *Précis* langsam fort und ward erst 1824 vollendet. Dieses Werk ist ein sonderbares Gemisch von wirklichen Entdeckungen und unhaltbaren Behauptungen. Zu einem *Précis du système hieroglyphique* fehlten noch die ersten Elemente, und doch zwang eine eiserne Nothwendigkeit den Verfasser ein solches System in die Welt zu schicken, wenn er nicht wollte, daß alle seine Bemühungen um das Studium der Hieroglyphen für ihn selbst unfruchtbar würden. Er war genöthigt in diesem Buche Grundsätze aufzustellen, von welchen der Gang seiner Untersuchungen in demselben Werke ihn häufig abzugehen nöthigte. Aus dieser Ursache ist ein beständiges Schwanken in den Behauptungen des Verfassers nicht zu verkennen das er selbst in Hinsicht des phonetischen Alphabets nicht hat vermeiden können. So ist bei ihm das Auge ohne Brauen bald ein s, bald ein Vocal; und bald bezeichnet es das Glied selbst welches es vorstellt. Die letztere Annahme ist aber dem von H. Champollion aufgestellten Grundsätze schnurstracks entgegen «daß die einmal als phonetisch anerkannten Zeichen ihren phonetischen Valor in allen hieroglyphischen Texten beibehalten». – Ein Zeichen das H. Champollion bald ein Blatt bald eine Feder nennt, ist in seinem Alphabet ein s; anderweitig bezeichnet es die Göttin Sate oder Juno und später Toné oder Themis. – Eine fliegende Ente oder Gans drückt einmal den Vocal e oder ie aus, dann wieder in vielen Texten ein p. – Eine zirkelförmige Figur wird zuerst für ein r gegeben, dann für ch, für u oder ooh, und bezeichnet endlich die Sonne. – Ein Arm dessen Hand einen Hacken hält ist hier ein Vocal, dort bedeutet er leiten, Leiter. – Ein Widder bezeichnet den Buchstaben b, dann wieder Leben oder Geist. – Eine

Räucherbüchse ist ein b, bedeutet aber auch Anbetung, Verehrung, – Die Schwalbe bezeichnet bald den Consonanten dsh, bald den Vocal ô. Eine Menge ähnlicher Abnormitäten und Abweichungen von der festgesetzten Regel, beweisen wie wenig man auf die Angaben des H. Champollion fassen kann.

Was die symbolischen und ideographischen Hieroglyphen betrifft so eröffnet sich bei diesen noch ein viel weiteres Feld gewagte und unstatthafte Behauptungen. Um hier das Ansehen zu haben auf einer festen Grundlage zu arbeiten, hat der verstorbene Champollion sich genöthigt gesehen eine neue ägyptische Mythologie aufzustellen, die mit der, welche wir fragmentarisch aus den Schriften der Alten ziehen können, wenig oder gar nichts gemein hat. Die Materialien zu diesem mythologischen Systeme behauptet Champollion in den graphischen Denkmälern der Ägypter gefunden [zu] haben, und er benutzt nun jene Systeme um diese zu erklären, also das unbekannte durch das Unbekannte. Der Raum erlaubt es nur nicht in die vielen Einzelheiten einzugehen, die H. Klaproth in seiner Kritik auseinandersetzt. Sie lassen sich auch nicht ohne Hülfe der hieroglyphischen Zeichen dem Leser genügend darstellen. Es sei mir hier nur erlaubt die oft gemachte Bemerkung zu wiederholen, daß wenn H. Champollion wirklich im Stande gewesen wäre, die Hieroglyphen Schrift zu übersetzen und zu erklären, der wahre Probiertest seiner Kunst die Inschrift von Rosette seyn mußte, weil er die einzige ist, von der wir die griechische gleichzeitige Übersetzung besitzen. Aber diese Klippe hat er stets weislich vermieden, um nicht an derselben einen gänzlichen Schiffbruch zu leiden. In der That, sehen wir auch durch die von H. Klaproth gemachte Zusammenstellung der hieroglyphischen Zeichen einer Zeile der erwähnten Inschrift und der wenigen ungewissen wo man in über einem Theil dieser Zeilen in den Schriften Champollions findet, daß es ihm unmöglich gewesen den Inhalt des Monuments mit den ihm zu Gebote stehenden Hilfsmitteln nur einigermaßen zu deuten.

Das Bewußtsein seiner Schwäche hat Champollion stets abgehalten auf gegründete Einwürfe gegen seine Hypothesen zu antworten; er hat nur diejenigen seiner Gegner öffentlich zu bekämpfen gesucht, die ihn mit unhaltbaren Gründen angefochten haben, oder deren Unbehülflichkeit er genugsam kannte, um nichts von ihnen befürchten zu dürfen. Was diejenigen Personen betrifft, die auf die Gewissenhaftigkeit seiner Arbeiten, auf die Richtigkeit seiner Angaben sich mit Untersuchungen über die Hieroglyphenschrift beschäftigt haben, so begreifen wir wohl daß es ihnen jetzt schwer fallen muß [auf] die Illusion zurück zu kommen, in der sie eine Zeitlang gelebt haben. Wie glauben daher, daß weder sie, noch entschiedene Gegner Champollions,

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werden als Schiedsrichter zwischen dem verstorbenen und den Verfassern der Kritik seiner Arbeiten auftreten werden; weil es natürlich beiden an Unparteilichkeit fehlen muß. Es steht also zu hoffen, daß es anderen überlassen werde, das Wort in dieser Angelegenheit zu führen, die nicht vor ihr Forum gehört.<sup>74</sup>

## References

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<sup>74</sup> This is a review of KLAPROTH 1832.

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## Errata

p. 113 – line 3: The author’s name should read: SONDERMANN, Frieder

p. 117 – line 20: instead of “les missionnaires” read: “les missionnaires hérétiques”

p. 118 – footnote 13, line 3: after “porcelain manufacturer” insert: “Josiah Wedgwood”

same line: instead of “earned” read: “learned”

p. 119 – line 15: instead of “le même lettre” read: “la même lettre”

same line: add an annotation to “clissage”: “(more common: clichage)”

p. 119 – footnote 14, line: instead of “are in se” read: “are in use”

p. 123 – footnote 34: exchange the text for:

Possibly Aleksandr Ivanovich TURGENEV (1784–1845 Moscow), civil servant and historian. He was in contact with writers and artists (he was, e.g., a close friend of Pushkin) and was in opposition to the régime of Tzar Alexander I. who dismissed him from his positions. After 1825 he mainly lived abroad. Tzar Nicolas I. ordered him to collect material on Russian history from foreign archives. Cf. Brokgauz/Efron 34 (1901), 96.

p. 125 – footnote 46, line 2: instead of “members” read: “member”.

p. 130 – footnote 60: exchange text for:

Manuel de AGOTE (Getaria 1755–1803 Getaria), merchant and traveller, in 1887 he was the representative of the Royal Company of the Philippines in Macao. His diaries and collections are preserved in the Basque Maritime Museum in Donostia.

p. 133, 2nd paragraph, line 5: instead of “été de le facher” read: “été celui de le facher”. Annotation: “This remark is either ironical, or a “not” was omitted by accident.”

p. 137 – footnote 71, read “H. H. WILSON (1786–1860), British physician and Indologist. Cf. B. (1890).”

p. 142 – entry: KLENZ, instead of “ADB” read: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie”

p. 143 – exchange entry: “~~Walravens, Hartmut (2002a): *Isaak Jakob Schmidt (1779–1847): Schriftenverzeichnis*. Berlin: 2002. 71 pp.~~” for:

“WALRAVENS, Hartmut (2005): *Isaak Jakob Schmidt (1779–1847). Leben und Werk des Pioniers der mongolischen und tibetischen Studien. Eine Dokumentation*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2005. 180 pp. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 56,1.)”

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