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Turfan manuscripts in the State Hermitage — a rediscovery

Abstract: The article presents the results of a close cooperation of colleagues from the State Hermitage and the Göttingen Academy of Sciences (Union Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts). 23 fragments of manuscripts and block prints in five different languages (Chinese, Old Uighur, Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Syriac) are described in detail. Almost all of them could be identified. They stem from the four German Turfan expeditions (1902–1914) and were housed in the Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin) for exhibition reasons, i.e. they belong to the most important findings of these expeditions. Nevertheless some of these fragments have never been published before. For a long time it was thought that they belong to the losses during World War II. Now they have been re-discovered in the depot of the State Hermitage. In the appendix an Old Uighur fragment of the *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk* is edited. It belongs to the re-discovered texts and was known up-to-now only from some quotations in an early edition.
Key words: State Hermitage, German Turfan expeditions, Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin), manuscript, block print, scroll, folded book, amulet, illumination, Chinese, Old Uighur, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Syriac, *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk*.

The impressive exhibition "The Caves of One Thousand Buddhas. Russian Expeditions on the Silk Road", organized in close co-operation in 2008–2009 by the Hermitage Museum and the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts on the occasion of the 190 anniversary of the foundation of the Asiatic Museum deeply enhanced the long lasting cooperation between the German and Russian scholars working in the field of Central Asian studies, and Turfan studies in particular, and consequentially in 2012 an agreement of cooperation in the field of Turfan studies between the Director-General of the State Hermitage, the President of the Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation and the President of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities was signed in March 2013. The long tradition goes back even to that time,

when Russia and Germany were organizing and undertaking their archaeological expeditions to East Turkestan (todays Xinjiang Autonomous Region in the PR of China) at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th cc. When the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde started its efforts to join the exploration of the ruined sites of East Turkestan they highly benefited from the already earned experiences by their Russian colleagues and even were offered manifold support in organizing and completing the German Turfan expeditions. Although the plans for joined Russian-German campaigns failed, we have knowledge of a broad exchange of information concerning the results of their respective campaigns, the on-going research on the findings, which was in certain fields even conducted in close cooperation and the exchange of publications in this particular field.

When the above mentioned exhibition was opened to the public in December 2008, it presented not only the results of the Russian archaeological activities in Central Asia, but the State Hermitage for the first time also put on display wall paintings which were brought from Turfan and the surrounding areas to Berlin by the four German Turfan expeditions (1902–1914) and which have been kept in the archives of the State Hermitage since the end of WW II.[1]

It was already in autumn 2002 when Marianne Yaldiz, the at-that-time Director of the Berlin Museum of Indian Art (todays Museum für Asiatische Kunst and former Museum für Völkerkunde) together with the Museum's conservator were invited by the Director-General of the State Hermitage Mikhail Piotrovsky to have a look at the Berlin collections of Indo-Asian art in the Hermitage stores.[2] Back in Berlin she immediately gave an oral report to the Berlin Turfan research group at the Academy and let them know that there are also several precious Turfan manuscripts in different languages and scripts from the Berlin collection preserved amongst the objects from Berlin. The announcement of the surviving of all these objects was applauded by the community of Central Asian scholars worldwide, although the details of the single objects were not clear at this moment.

In the course of the exhibition and during visits to St. Petersburg in order to take part at several international conferences like that of "Dunhuang Studies: prospects and problems for the coming second century of research" (September 2009), the 53. Permanent International Altaistic Conference (July 2010) and "Sergei Fedorovich Oldenburg: Scholar and Academic Research Organizer" (September 2013) the members of the Berlin Turfan study

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[1] *Peshchery tysiachi budd*, 426–455: Prilozhenie 2. Pamiatniki iz kollektsii Griunvedelia.

[2] See the report of this visit, written by Marianne Yaldiz, cf. YALDIZ 2005, 2–3.

groups of the Berlin and the Göttingen Academy of Sciences were offered not only the chance to view the whole collection of wall paintings from the German Turfan expeditions preserved in the depot of the State Hermitage, but also a number of fragments which belonged to the Berlin Turfan text collection in former times. In cooperation with Peter Zieme we were able to make a provisional inventory list of these fragments and collected as much data as possible from every item. Back in Berlin we were able to identify the up to this time thought to be lost during WW II Turfan fragments. They all belong to this limited part of Turfan fragments which used to stay in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde mostly for exhibition reasons, when in 1926 the vast majority of the Turfan texts was handed over to the newly founded "Orientalische Kommission" of the Prussian Academy of Sciences for philological research and publication.[3] These circumstances already make clear that the rediscovered Turfan texts in the State Hermitage belong to the most important findings of the German Turfan expeditions and it is no wonder that most of them were already published or at least quoted by the so-called first generation of Turfan researchers shortly after their discovery in the first decades of the 20th c.

In the following we will give a detailed overview of the manuscripts and block prints from the Berlin Turfan collection in the depot of the State Hermitage, which, as seen in the photos, are very poorly preserved.

The rediscovered manuscripts and block prints

Altogether up to now 23 fragments of manuscripts and block prints are registered in the provisional inventory list. Among them ten fragments of Chinese manuscripts, one fragment with Sanskrit text on one side and Chinese on the opposite side, seven fragments of Old Uighur manuscripts and four fragments of Old Uighur block prints, one Syriac fragment and one Tibetan fragment. Some of the fragments are illustrated.

What follows is a description of the single items with known references and catalogue entries. Some of the fragments have been unpublished yet. A detailed study and edition of these fragments (Chinese, Syriac and Tibetan) we put aside for the specialists in these fields.[4]

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[3] Cf. GRAPOW 1950, 1–29.

[4] We have to thank our colleagues Peter Zieme, Klaus Wille and Tsuneki Nishiwaki for their friendly support. Thanks to them some preliminary information concerning the Chinese, Sanskrit and Syriac fragments could be added here.

(1) Chinese manuscript of the 佛說仁王護國般若波羅蜜多經卷上 *Foshuo renwang huguo banruoboluomiduo jing (juan shang)*: Taishō vol. 8, no. 244, 829a 11 – 829c 22 (identified by Tsuneki Nishiwaki).

Fragment of a scroll.
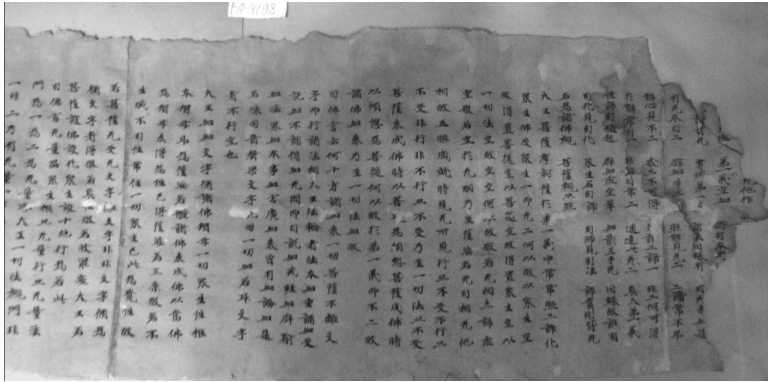
Pl. 1. ВФ-4198, beginning of the fragment. By courtesy of the State Hermitage
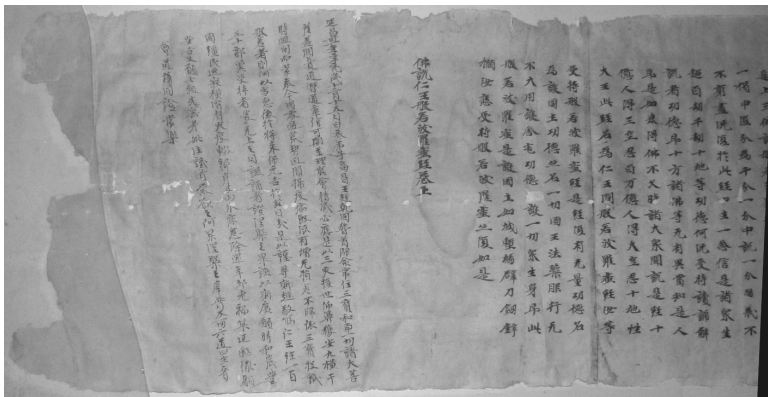
Pl. 2. ВФ-4198, final part of the fragment. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number (in the State Hermitage): ВФ-4198.

Old finding number (given in the course of the four German Turfan expeditions): Yarchoto No. 6

Size: 129.1 cm×26.0 cm.[5]

Number of lines: 59 text lines + 1 title lines + 8 lines colophon (script of smaller size).

Reference: NISHIWAKI 2008, 389–400.

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[5] This fragment consists of four sheets of paper which were glued together. The size of each sheet of paper is: approximately 41.5 cm×26.0 cm.

(2) Chinese manuscript of the 現在十方千五百佛名一卷 *Xianzai shifang qianwubai foming (juan yi)*: Taishō vol. 14, no. 442, 317b 1 – 318a 7 (identified by Tsuneki Nishiwaki).

Fragment of a scroll.
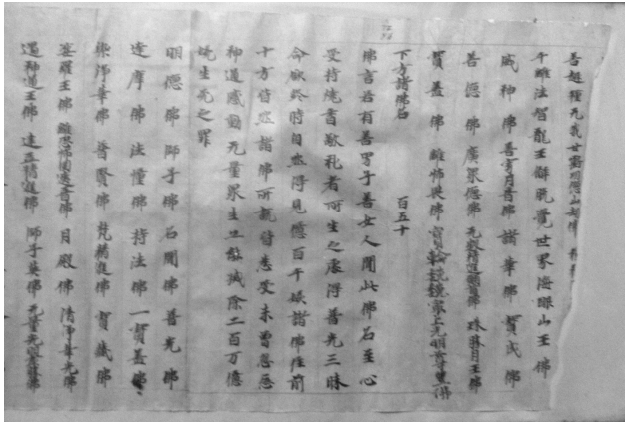
Pl. 3. ВФ-4199, beginning of the fragment. By courtesy of the State Hermitage
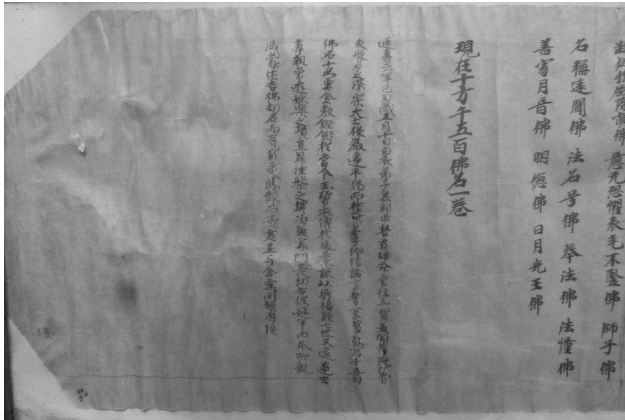
Pl. 4. ВФ-4199, final part of the fragment. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ-4199.
Old finding number: T II Y 16
Size: 158.8 cm×26.5 cm.[6]
Number of lines: 52 text lines + 1 final title line + 5 colophon lines (smaller size script).

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[6] This fragment consists of four sheets of paper which were glued together. The size of each sheet of paper is: approximately 44.5 cm×26.5 cm.

(3) Amulet (*vu*) with text lines in Chinese and Old Uighur.
Fragment of a scroll.[7]
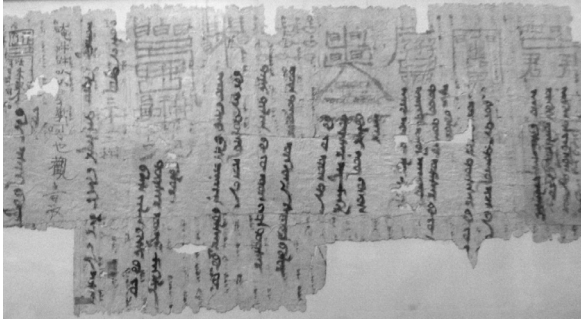
Pl. 5. BФ-4203, middle part of the fragment. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: BФ-4203.
Old finding number: T II Y 51
Additional note: Koje 7.[8]
Size: 192.6 cm×29.8 cm.[9]
Note: Old photographs of the text are preserved in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst:
 B 2288–2291.

Pl. 6. Photograph B 2288. By courtesy of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

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[7] The back side of this fragment is covered, but it can be safely reported that there was another text written on the verso of this scroll.

[8] This note was added in order to remember the location where the fragment was exhibited in the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde before WW II. These notes were most probably added during the packaging of the Museum's objects in order to prepare their transport to places for safekeeping during the war.

[9] Cf. RACHMATI 1937, 73. He also added some notes concerning the format and the quality of the paper: "Die Rolle ist aus groben und zum Teil kleinen Papierfetzen zusammengeklebt worden".

References: RACHMATI 1937, 37–38 (No. 27: T. II Y. 51.); ZIEME 2005, 182–184 (I. „Die sieben Guanyin" und Amulette) + plates XCII–XCIII.
Catalogue entry: KNÜPPEL 2013, 197–199 (catalogue No. 250–253: B 2288–2291).

(4) The Old Uighur *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk*.

Manuscript. Fragment of a scroll.
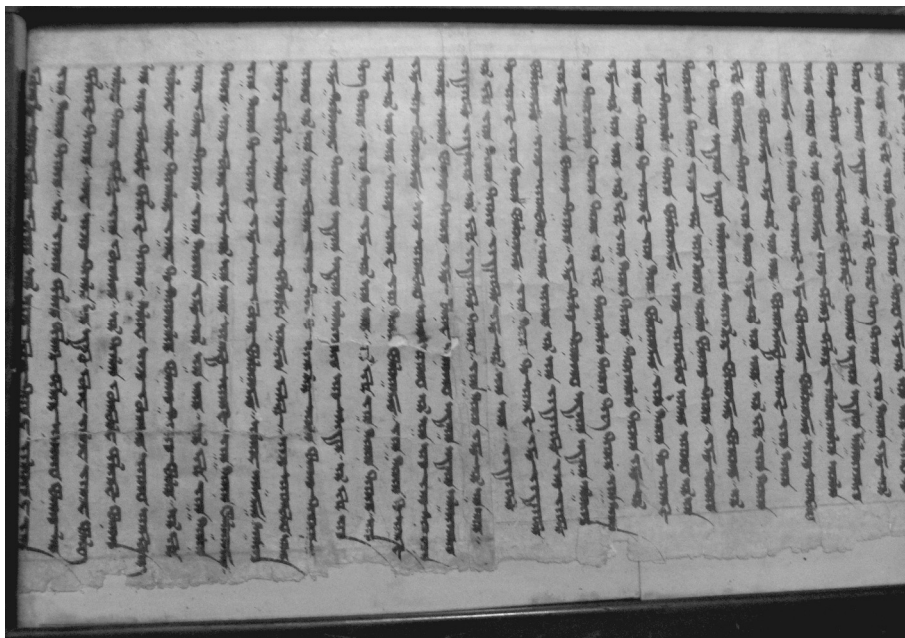
Pl. 7. ВФ-4201, beginning of the fragment. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ-4201.
Old finding number: T III TV 61 / T III 84 (**U9232).
Number of lines: 131 lines.
Size: 176.5 cm×28.7 cm.
Reference: BANG/GABAIN/RACHMATI 1934: 99, 100–101, passim (B25).
Catalogue entry: RASCHMANN 2012, 87–88 (catalogue No. 079: *U9232[10]).

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[10] This signature marks that this fragment was preserved in the Berlin Turfan collection before WW II according to previous publications and was thought to be lost during the war. At the time of the compilation of the catalogue volume in question it's surviving and present day safe custody in the State Hermitage was not known to the compiler of the catalogue volume. Now a second asterisk* is added (**U9232) in the registers to signify this special circumstance.

(5) The 妙法蓮華經 *Miao fa lian hua jing*: Taishō vol. 9, no. 262, p. 10c 26 – 11c 2 (identified by Tsuneki Nishiwaki).

Manuscript. Fragment of a scroll.
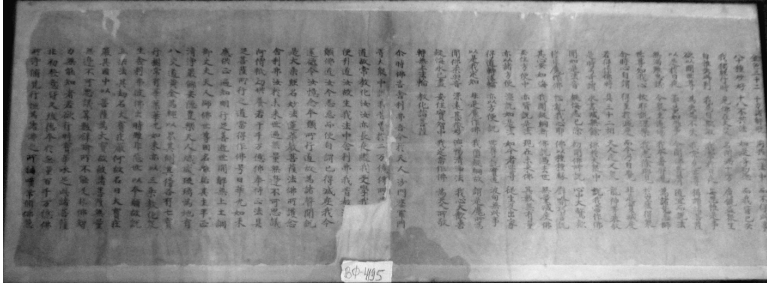
Pl. 8. ВФ-4195. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ-4195.
Old finding number: [ ] Yarchoto No. 6.
Former inventory number: (IB 6288).[11]
Additional note: ящ 835, акт 111 от 27/X п. 20.[12]
Number of lines: 43 lines.
Size: 78.8 cm×28.5 cm.

(6) The Old Uighur version of the *Sarva-durgati-pariśodhana-uṣṇīṣa-vijayā-dhāraṇī* with glosses in Brāhmī script and a Chinese pagination: 十九.

Block print. Fragment of a folded book.
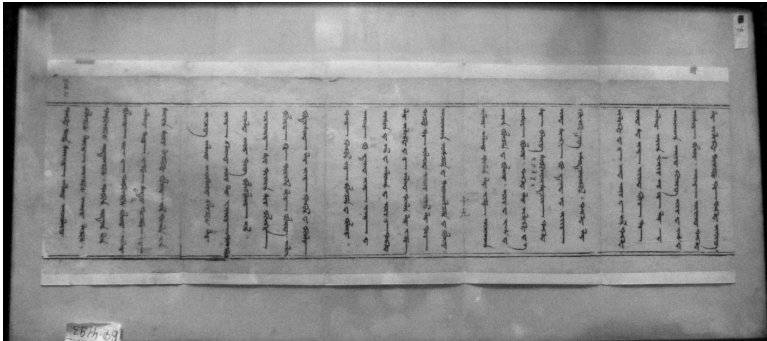
Pl. 9. ВФ-4193. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

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[11] This old German inventory number was added to the manuscript during the process of the inventory in the State Hermitage. It was possibly a mistake, because another item bears this number, too. It is still clearly visible that this label is the original German one.

[12] These data report details concerning the transport of the fragments from Berlin to St. Peterburg.

Inventory number: ВФ-4193.
Old finding number: T III M 207 / T II S 92[13] (**U9365).
Number of lines: 5 folios with 6 lines each, i.e. in total 30 lines.
Size: 56 cm×15.7 cm.
Length of the lines: 11.8 cm.
Reference: MÜLLER 1911, 47–50.[14]
Catalogue entry: YAKUP/KNÜPPEL 2007, 167–168 (catalogue no. 213: *T III M 207b, f. a-e).

(7) Fragment of an Old Uighur Buddhist text concerning the confession of sins commissioned by a lay woman Üträt by name.

Manuscript.
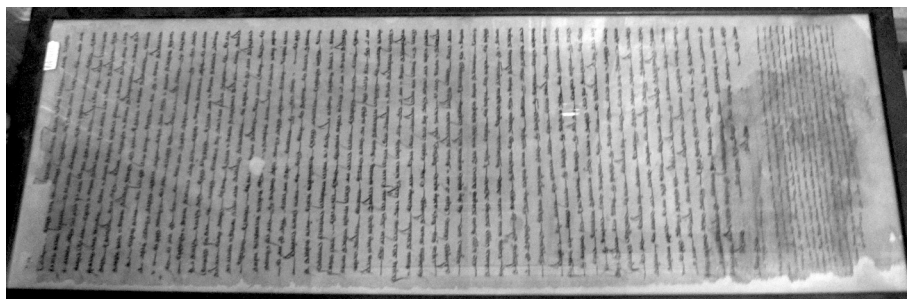
Pl. 10. ВФ-4192. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ 4192.
Old finding number: T II Y 48 (**U9090).
Number of lines: 58 lines + 14 lines colophon (script in smaller size).
Size: 115 cm×33.2 cm.

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[13] This number is cancelled.

[14] The text is published under the old finding number T III M 207b. The visible part of the fragment in the wooden frame shows only the lines 1–30 of this edition. But, on the right margin it is possible to see that the fragment was folded. The second part is not visible because the verso is covered.
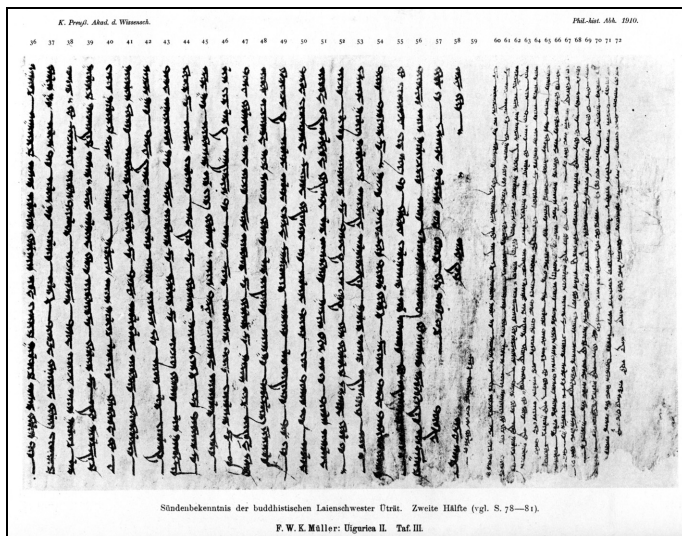
Pl. 11. Facsimile after F.W.K. Müller: Uigurica II, pl. III (see reference).

Reference: MÜLLER 1911, 76–83 (text 7) + pl. III–III.
Catalogue entry: WILKENS 2003, 258 (catalogue No. 308: **U9090).[15]

(8) Chinese manuscript of the *Buddhanama-sūtra* without illustrations. Fragment of a scroll.
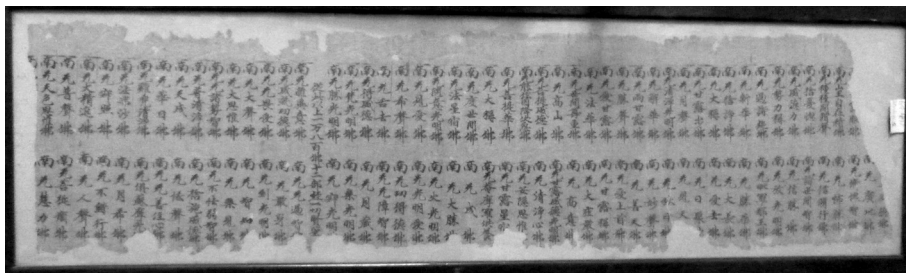
Pl. 12. ВФ-4197. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ-4197.
Old finding number: [ ] Y 66
Former inventory number: IB 6702.
Additional note: ящ 835, акт 91 от 27/X п. 22.[16]
Number of lines: 51 lines.
Size: 117.5 cm×29.7 cm.

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[15] Concerning the signature **U9090 see the explanation given for **U9232 in fn. 10.
[16] For an explanation see fn. 12.

(9) Chinese manuscript of the 佛説大辯邪正經 *Foshuo dabian xiezheng jing*: Taishō vol. 85, no. 2893, p. 1412c 22 – 1413a 28 (identified by Tsuneki Nishiwaki; cf. Pelliot 2263).

Fragment of the 1st scroll.
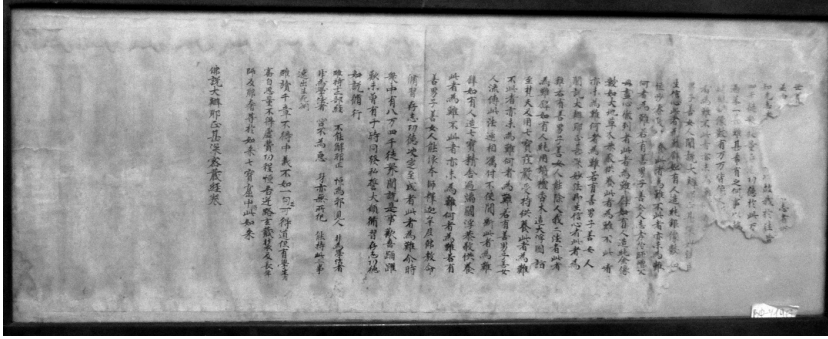
Pl. 13. ВФ-4196. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ 4196.
Number of lines: 33 lines + 1 headline (title). Each line has 17 characters.
Size: 77.8 cm×27.7 cm.[17]
Length of the lines: 19.5 cm.

(10) Old Uighur version of the *Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī* with Brāhmī glosses.

Block print. Fragment of a folded book.
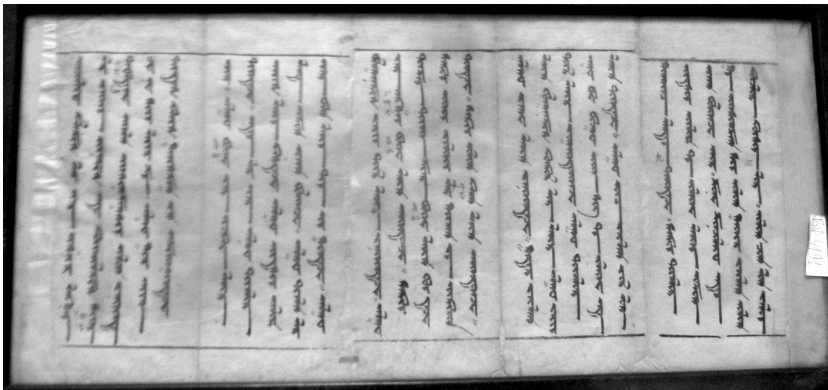
Pl. 14. ВФ-4191 а.д. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

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[17] It is visible that the fragment consists of two sheets of paper glued together overlapping each other, as usual.

Inventory number: ВФ 4191 а.д.

Old finding number: T III M 225.

Number of lines: 25 lines in total (5 pages with 5 lines each).

Size: 55.8 cm×27.5 cm.

Note: According to MÜLLER (1911) the preserved manuscript consists of three fragments:

**U9203: T III M 225 (6.–7.), Chinese pagination 八

**U9204: T III M 225 (8.–9.)

**U9205: T III M 225 (10.), Chinese pagination 九.[18]

References: MÜLLER 1911, 57–59; RÖHRBORN / RÓNA-TAS 2005, 257–259.

Catalogue entry: YAKUP/KNÜPPEL 2007, 51 (catalogue No. 29: *T III M 225 (6) *T III M 225(7)), 52 (catalogue No. 31: *T III M 225(8) *T III M 225(9)), 53 (catalogue No. 33: *T III M 225(10).

(11) Unpublished Syriac text. Handwritten manuscript in scroll(?) format.
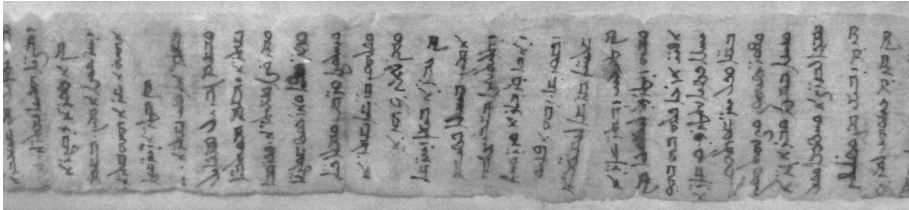
Pl. 15. ВД-524, detail. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВД 524.

Old finding number: [T] D 134 / D II 134

Number of lines: 78 lines.

Size: 89.5 cm×7.0 cm.

Note: Photos of this manuscript are preserved in the Archives of the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin-Dahlem (nos. B 1055–1060, 1777–1779, 1786).

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[18] Concerning the signatures **U9203–**U9205 see the explanation given for **U9232 in fn. 10.
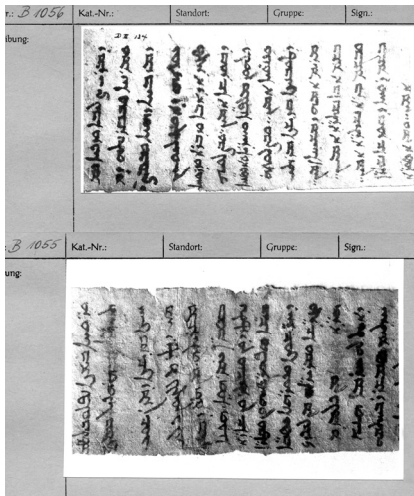
Pl. 16. B 1055–1056

Pl. 17. B 1057–1058
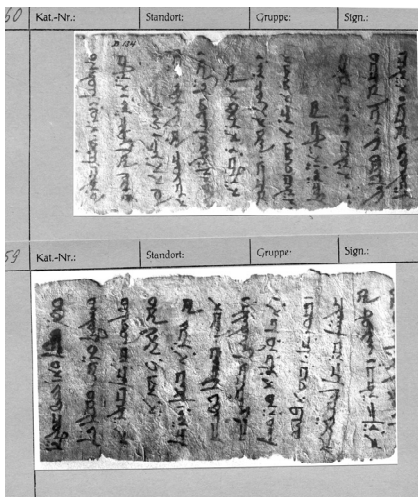
Pl. 18. B 1059–1060
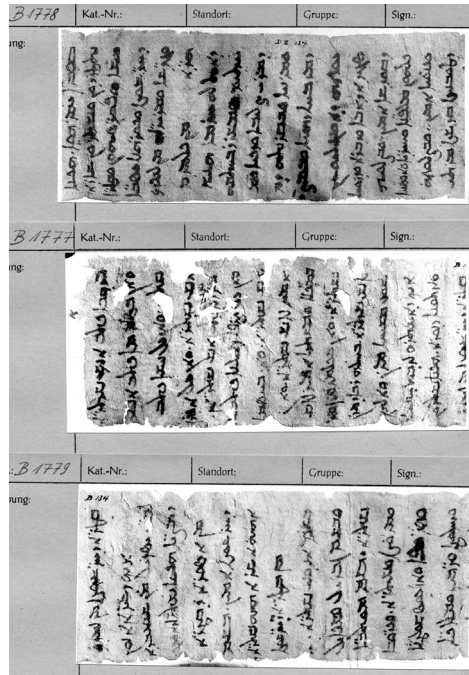
Pl. 19. B 1777–1779
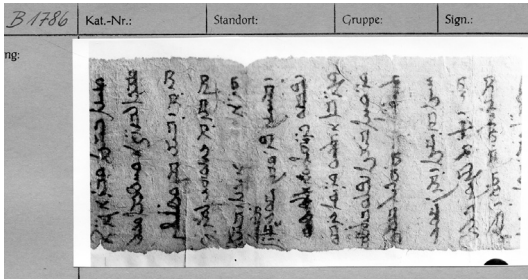
Pl. 20. B 1786

(12) The Old Uighur version of the 佛頂心 大陀羅尼 *Fo ding xin da tuo luo ni*.

Block print. Fragment of a folded book.
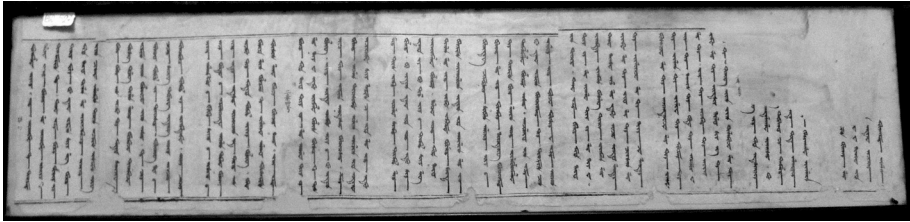
Pl. 21. ВД-527. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВД 527.
Old finding number: [T II] S 92.
Number of lines: 58 lines + 2 lines of Chinese pagination.
Size: 93.8 cm×20.8 cm.
Note: A handwritten transcript of the fragment (**U9202)[19] is preserved in the archive of the Berlin Turfan collection (BBAW).

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[19] Concerning the signature **U9202 see the explanation given for **U9232 in fn. 10. The transcript presents the text of the lines 138–185 in the edition of KARA/ZIEME 1986. The final part of the handwritten transcript (lines 186–195) is missing.

1. körgäli ynr „ näng antratav ta tozmaz
2. qſti .... turxanlar antratav ät'öz tä
3. tozmamiš täg. taqi ymä birök toquz on
4. toquz kim bu drmi nomuy sözläp ⊗ birök
5. kim qayn tinlg lar irinökänčik irinä
6. yoq čigai alangug turug ačmiš osmiš ärip

1. basa basa aš ičgü ton kädim sarinip
2. kösäp tiläp tinlg larta birgüči titzüči
3. umug inag bolguči yoq ärsär, tk čim
4. kirtü köngülin tütsük küyürüp qu-a
5. čäčäk sačip tapinip ndunup azir ayanč-k
6. kirtkümä köngül-in öngdünki „ atan čanta

1. nyau alangkar-a brök siyar-a isyar-a
2. ača budai-a amustndi atlg tngri burxan
3. nng adin adasar utzuraq äd tavar aš
4. ičgü ton kädim köngül iyin bolup „ bai
5. barimi lg bolmeq ta ulati algu kösämiš
6. kösüš läri barča bütär qanar, yaus ymä

Pl. 22. **U9202 (1.–3.)

(130)

4.
1. birök kim qayn trüz-ün lär ogli trüz-in
2. lär qiz-i ädgü ögli bilig bošük kä toi
3. bolup. aning ödi äriks öz-ä bu idug
4. nč kim nomuy aqdarsar bititsär „ mya
5. bitäk atlg taitsuki ulug azilig nom ärdini
6. ičintäki söz-lamiš-čä nom lar ning ädgü

5.
1. läg tüš-ingä utli-singa tükäl-lg
2. bolur „ bu idug drmi nom nng ädgü sin
3. ädrämin bu til öz-ä tükäl söz-läp
4. ärtürgäli bolmez, qſti nätäg kim qayn
5. tin-lg lar ning iki ykrmi bölük savda
6. tarmiš ayaguluy idug nom azilig lar ig

6.
1. bitidip čambunat šulag altun öz-ä
2. burxan-lar-ning körkin qutdurup büturmäk
3. tin turmiš tuyan larig nätäg ulgulägäli
4. tänglägäli bolmez ärsär, ančulayu ag ymä
5. bu drmi nomuy büturmäk tin tozmiš čog
6. yalin ning küči kösüši ymä antag

Pl. 23. **U9202 (4.–6.)

Pl. 24. **U9202 (7.–8.)

Reference: KARA/ZIEME 1986, 320, 329–330 (K: T II S 92, lines 138–196).[20]
Catalogue entry: YAKUP 2008, 33–35 (catalogue nos. 8–9: *U9202).[21]

(13) Chinese manuscript of the 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 卷十八 *Pañca-viṃśatisāhasrikā[mahā]prajñā-pāramitāsūtra*: Taishō vol. 8, no. 223, 351c 16 – 352c 2 (identified by Tsuneki Nishiwaki).

Fragment of the 18th scroll.[22]
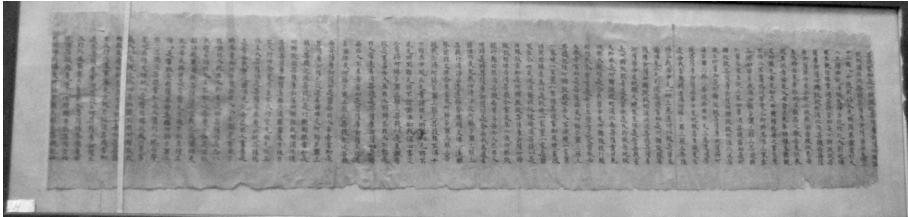
Pl. 25. ВД-523. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВД-523.
Old finding number: T II Y 20.
Additional note (on the back): Koje 2.[23]

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[20] By reading the original text some minor corrections are possible: (139) *k(a)ltı nätäg burhan-lar*; (177) *ordo-lardın*; (179) *kıyn-čı-lardın*.

[21] Concerning the signature *U9202 see the explanation given for **U9232 in fn. 10.

[22] The fragment consists of three sheets of paper glued together. The size of each sheet is: 51.5×25.5 cm.

[23] For an explanation of this note see fn. 8.

Number of lines: 69 lines, 17 characters per line.[24]
Size: 125.0 cm×25.5 cm.

相故為魔所縛益滇堅固所以者何是菩薩

不久行六波羅蜜无方便力故須菩提當知

是為菩薩魔事須菩提云何菩薩摩訶薩不

久行六波羅蜜乃至未入菩薩位為惡魔所

燒須菩提惡魔變化作種種身語菩薩言汝

於諸佛所得受阿耨多羅三藐三菩提記汝
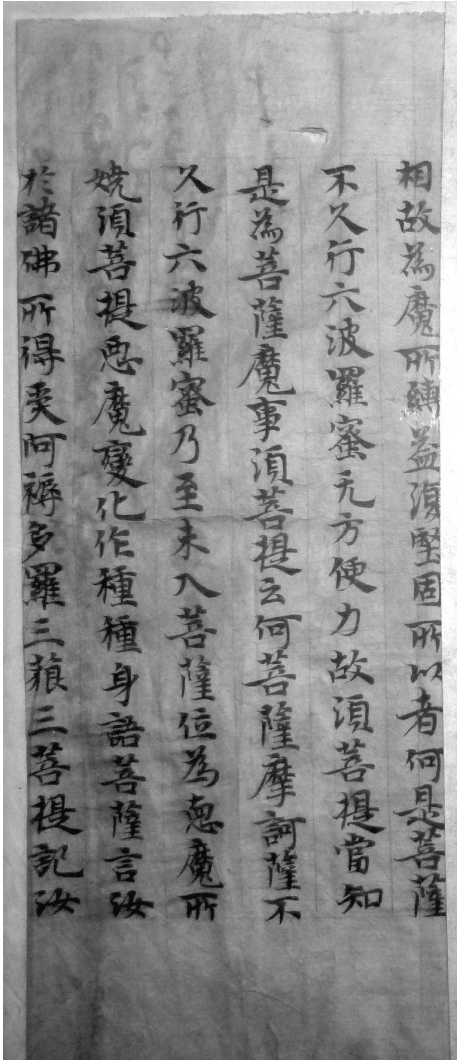
Pl. 26. ВД-523, final part of the fragment.[25] By courtesy of the State Hermitage

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[24] Between the last Chinese lines at the end of the fragment Old Uighur text lines from the back are clearly visible. Unfortunately the back is covered.

[25] For additional notes concerning this part of the fragment see fn. 22.

(14) The Old Uighur *X^vāstvānīft*.

Fragment of a manuscript in scroll(?) format.

Pl. 27. ВД-525. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВД-525
Old finding number: T II Y 60a, T II Y 60b (**U9120, **U9121).
Number of lines: 52 lines.
Punctuation: a black colon with red frame.
Size: 91.3 cm×34.0 cm.
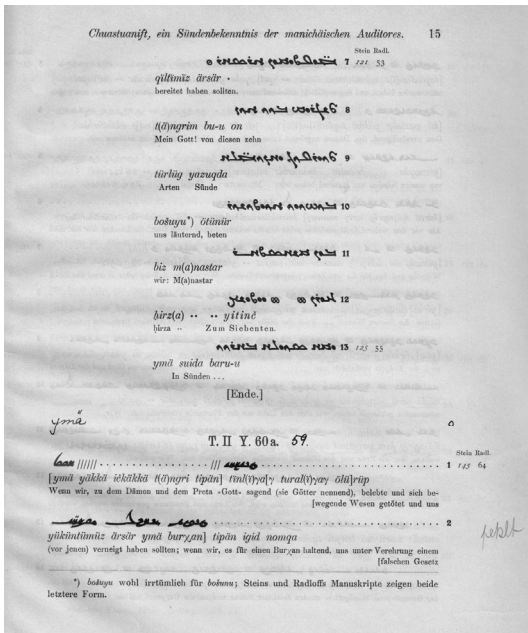
Pl. 28. Reprint from LE COQ 1911: *Chuastuanift*, 15.
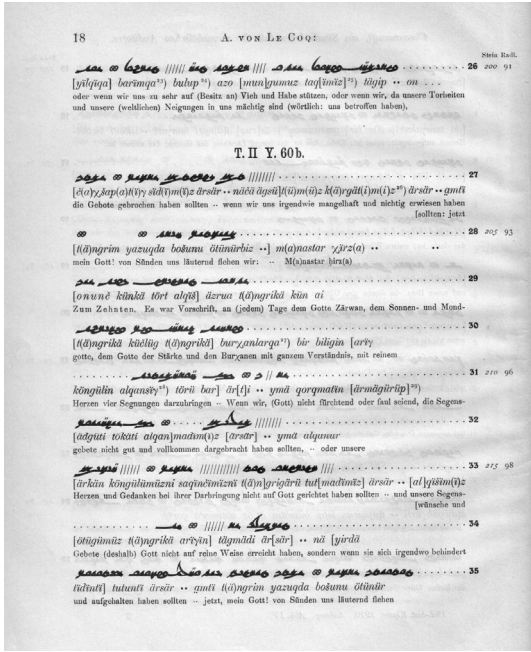
Pl. 29. Reprint from LE COQ 1911: *Chuastuanift*, 18.

References: LE COQ 1911, 15–20; ZIEME 1975, 19; ÖZBAY 2014, 246–251
Catalogue entries: WILKENS 2000, 351: catalogue No.*399 (*U9120); 355: catalogue No.*405 (*U9121).[26]

(15) The Old Uighur *Kuan-ši-im Pusar* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra*).

Fragment of a manuscript in scroll format.
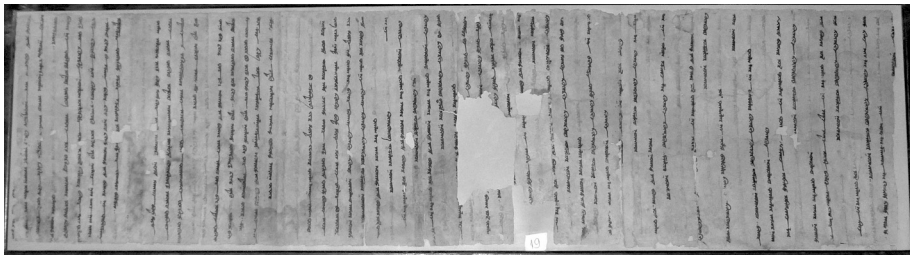
Pl. 30. ВД-526. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

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[26] Concerning the signatures **U9120 and **U9121 see the explanation given for **U9232 in fn. 10.

Inventory number: ВД-526.

Old finding number: T II Y 10 / T II Y 18 / T II Y 18 / T II Y 10 (**U9039).

Additional note (on the back): Koje 4.[27]

Number of lines: recto: 66 lines in total[28]; verso: 3 lines.[29]

Size: 117.5 cm×31.0 cm.

Note: A black-and-white photograph showing the lines 1–13 of the fragment with the old finding signature T II Y 10 is preserved in the Archives of the Berlin Turfan collection (BBAW). On the back the following note is to be read: "T II Y 10.17.18. quanšï im pusar. Original im Museum Raum X. Koje 4. Originalgröße."

Pl. 31. T II Y 10.

By courtesy of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Turfansammlung)

Note: In the edition of MÜLLER 1911 (17–18, lines 35–37) the following text can be added according to ВД-526:

35 hormuz t(ä)ŋri körkin [*körtgürü nomlayur kutgarur* : birök] maheš̌var ulug

36 [är]klig t(ä)ŋri körkin *kur[tulgu tınlıglar ärsär konši im]* pusar ol tınl(ı)g

37 -larka ulug ärklig t(ä)ŋri *körk[in körtgürü nomlayur kutga]rur* : bo birök

38 ärklig t(ä)ŋri körkin kurtulgu [   ]///[*tınlıg*]

39 -lar ärsär : konši im pusar [ol tı]nl(ı)glar-ka ärklig t(ä)ŋri körkin [*körtgürü*]

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[27] For an explanation of this additional note see fn. 8.

[28] The lines or part of the following lines are written in red ink (sometimes almost faded out): 3, 8–10, 14–15, 20–23, 28, 29, 31, 32–33, 33, 34, 35, 37–38, 40, 43, 44–45, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54–55, 56, 58–59, 61–62, 64. In the quoted text lines (35–41) the text passage in question is underlined.

[29] In the edition the following note is added: „Auf der Rückseite Bemerkung von anderer Hand in Pinselschrift".

40 nomlayur kutgarur : <u>birök</u> [   ] <u>///////////</u> [30][   ]
41 körkin kurtulgu tınl(ı)g[lar] ärsär konši im pusar ol tınl(ı)glar-ka
After line 41 the text of T II Y 18 and T II Y 10, line 1ff. (cf. Müller 1911, 18) fol-
    lows.
Reference: MÜLLER 1911, 14–20 (text no. 3); TEKIN 1960, 12–14 (ll. 71–117).
Catalogue entry: ÖZERTURAL 2012, 89–90: catalogue No. 85 (*U9039).[31]

(16) The Old Uighur *Sitātapatrā-dhāraṇī* with occasional added Brāhmī glosses.

Block print. Three Fragments of a folded book mounted in a wooden frame.
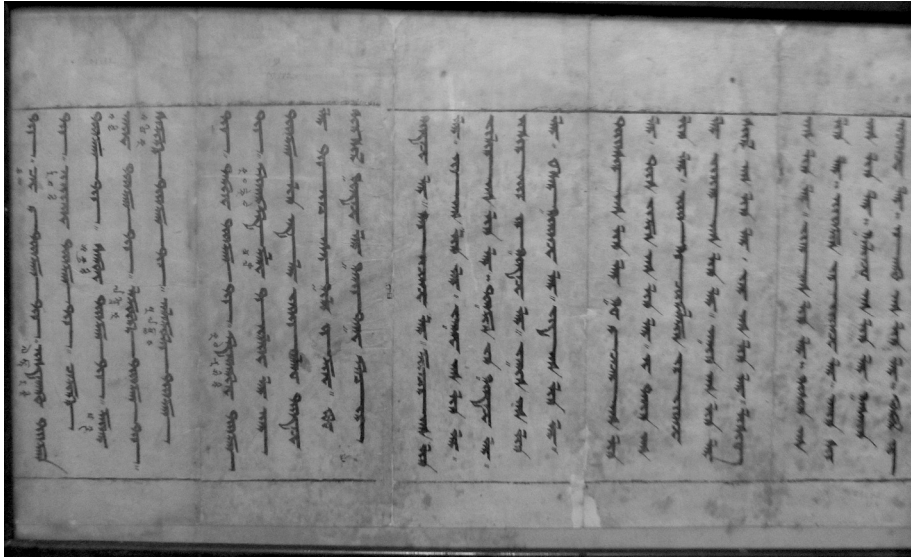
Pl. 32. ВД-531, beginning of the joined fragments. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

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[30] The text is almost faded out.
[31] Concerning the signature *U 9039 see the explanation given for **U9232 in fn. 10.
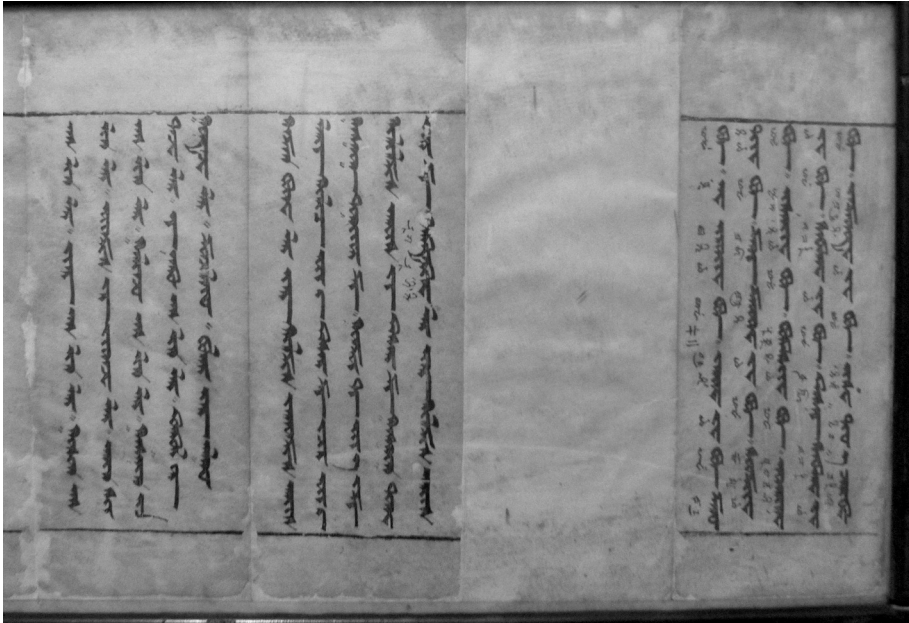
Pl. 33. ВД-531, the final part of the joined fragments. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВД-531.

Old finding number: T III M 182 / T III M 231.5 / T III M 231.

Additional note (on the wooden frame): Raum X, Koje 5 r.[32]

Number of lines: 70 lines and Chinese pagination.

Size: 170 cm×30.5 cm.

Note: According to MÜLLER (1911) the preserved manuscript consists of three fragments:

(1)[33] T III M 182 (**U9206), Chinese paginations 二(?)十四 "24(?)",二十五 "25"

(2)[34] T III M 231.5 (**U9207), Chinese pagination 十四 "14"

(3)[35] T III M 231 (**U9208),Chinese pagination 二十二 „22".

References: MÜLLER 1911, 57–59; LE COQ 1919, 105–107 + pl. 5 (T III M 231[36]); RÖHRBORN/RONA-TAS 2005, 263–265, 268–269 (ll. 207–216, 217–237, 284–289).

Catalogue entries: YAKUP/KNÜPPEL 2007, 61 (catalogue No. 47: *T III M 182), 62–63 (catalogue No. 49: *T III M 231), 66 (catalogue No. 54: *T III M 231).

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[32] For an explanation of this additional note see fn. 8.

[33] Size: 100.5×29.5 cm.

[34] Size: 44.8×30.5 cm.

[35] Size: 30.5×11 cm. As an exception, all the five text lines preserved on this fragment are completely annotated with Brāhmī glosses.

[36] Le Coq described the fragment as follows: „Vier noch zusammenhängende Blätter eines Faltbuchs (jedes Blatt 30.4×11.2 cm) weißes rauhes Papier. Anfang fehlt".

(17) Tibetan manuscript of the *Irk bitig*. Fragment of a scroll.
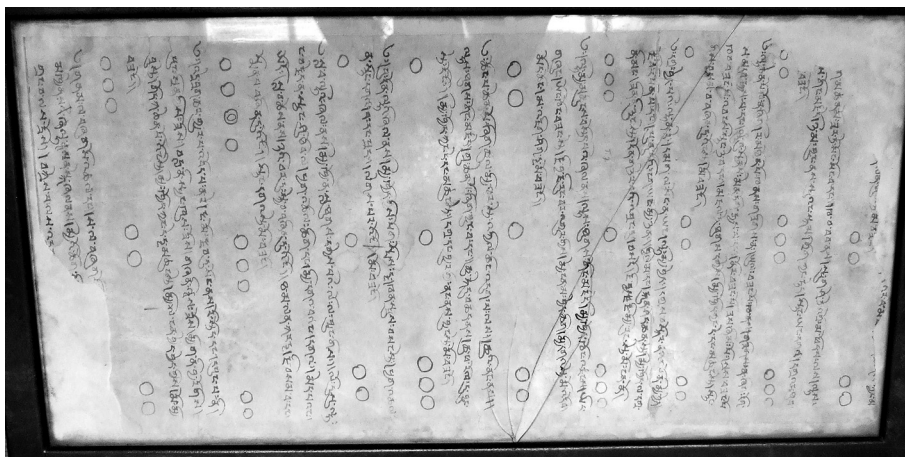
Pl. 34. ВФ-4724. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ-4724.
Old finding number: T. 7.
Number of lines: 31 (recto).
Size: 57.3 cm×26.7 cm.
Note: There is a stick attached to the frame with a note: "Rückseite Chinesisch".
  Nowadays the verso(?) side of the manuscript is not accessible, because it is cov-
  ered.
A report on this fragment is present in "the report of the Oriental Commission"
  ("Bericht der Orientalischen Kommission") dated January 1929, cf. TAUBE 1980,
  85 fn. 1. According to this reference the fragment in question belongs to the se-
  ries of Tibetan fragments TibHT 31 – TibHT 35 which are preserved in the Berlin
  Turfan collection, cf. idp.bbaw.de/database/.

(18) Chinese manuscript of the 妙法蓮華經 *Miao fa lian hua jing* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtra*) on the recto (Taishō vol. 9, no. 262). In addition, 3 lines in Brāhmī script are written on the upper margin of the Chinese manuscript. Different texts in Brāhmī script on the verso: ll. 6–32: *Prasādapratibhodhava* (= *Śatapañcāśatka*) of Mātṛceṭa (verse 1–13c, identified by Klaus Wille).

Two fragments of a scroll.
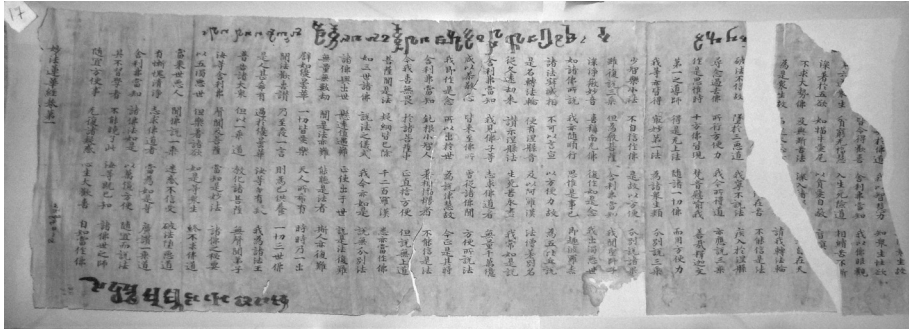
Pl. 35. ВФ-4190 recto. By courtesy of the State Hermitage
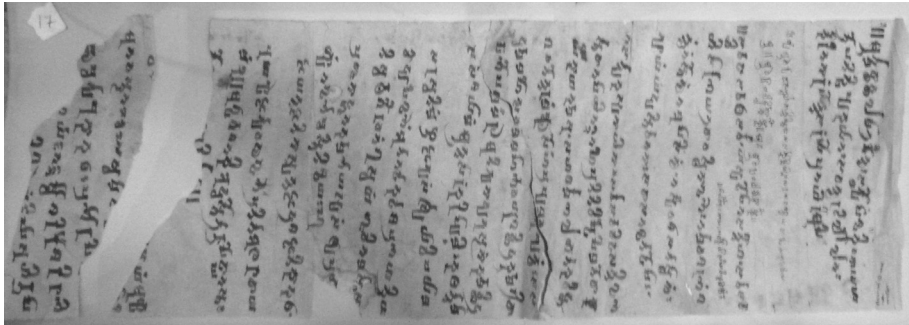
Pl. 36. ВФ-4190 verso. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ-4190.
Old finding number: T II Y 4 / T II Y 7.
Number of lines: recto (Chinese): 38+1 headline, recto (Brāhmī): 3, verso (Brāhmī): 3+2+27.
Size: 71.5 cm×26.6 cm; 13.1 cm×26.1 cm.

(19) The 佛説佛名經 *Foshuo foming jing* (*Buddhanama-sūtra*) with multi-coloured illuminations: Taishō vol. 14, no. 440, 175a 27 – b 5 (11th scroll) or Taishō vol. 14, no. 441, 283a 3–10 (25th scroll).

Identified by Tsuneki Nishiwaki.
Manuscript. Scroll format.
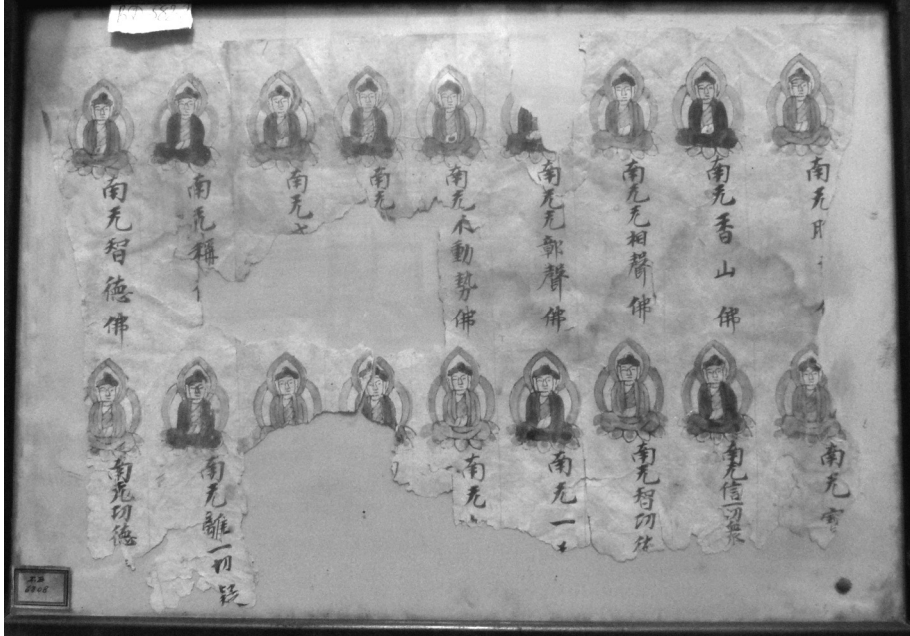
Pl. 37. ВФ-4723. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ-4723.
Former inventory number: IB 6308.
Number of lines: 9 + (1).
Size: 38.3 cm×25.8 cm.
R e f e r e n c e : *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Dokumentation der Verluste* 2002, 275 (with ill.): „IB 6308 Chinesische Buchrolle mit «1000 Buddhas»".

(20) The Old Uighur version of the *Lalitavistara Sūtra* ("Buddha Biography").

Manuscript. Scroll format.
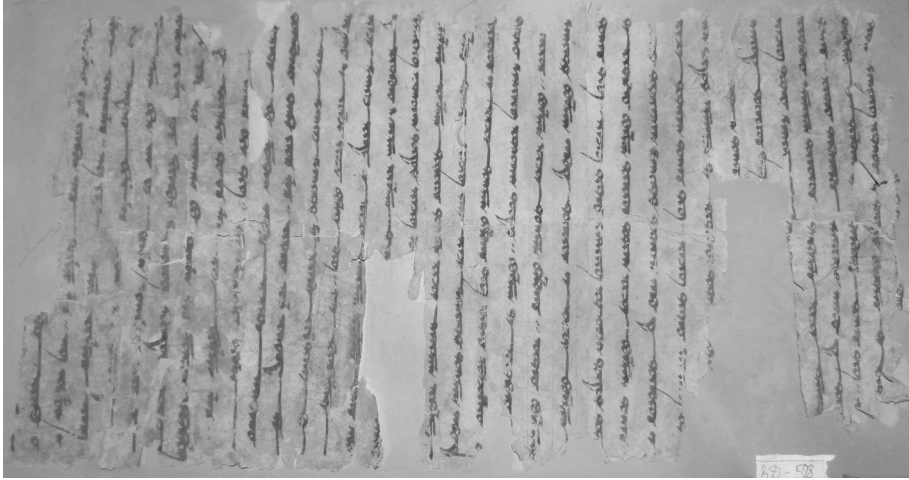
Pl. 38. ВД-528. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВД-528.
Old finding number: T II Y 32 + T II Y 21 (**U9371[37]).
Number of lines: 36.
Size: 57 cm×29 cm.
R e f e r e n c e : MÜLLER 1911, 4–7 (text 1).

(21) The 佛説佛名經 *Foshuo foming jing* (*Buddhanama-sūtra*): Taishō vol. 14, no. 440, 169c 3 – 170a 16 (10th scroll) or Taishō vol. 14, no. 441, 274b 16 – 274c 20 (22nd scroll). Identified by Tsuneki Nishiwaki.

Manuscript with prints of small, non-coloured Buddha images. Scroll format.[38]

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[37] Concerning the signature **U9371 see the explanation given for **U9232 in fn. 10.

[38] The fragment of this scroll consists of 5 sheets of paper glued together, as usual for these scrolls. The size of each (complete) paper sheet is: 43 cm×29.7 cm.
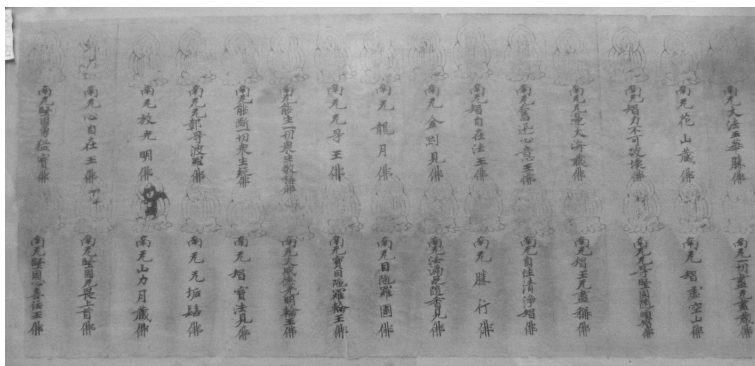
Pl. 39. ВФ-4200, the final part of the fragment. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ-4200.
Old finding number: [ ] Y 66.
Additional note: ящ 102, акт 99 от 27/X п. 71.[39]
Number of lines: 37.[40]
Size: 159.5 cm×29.7 cm.

(22) Two fragments are framed together. Only one side of each fragment is visible. The back sides of both fragments are covered by the paperboard which is put in between them.
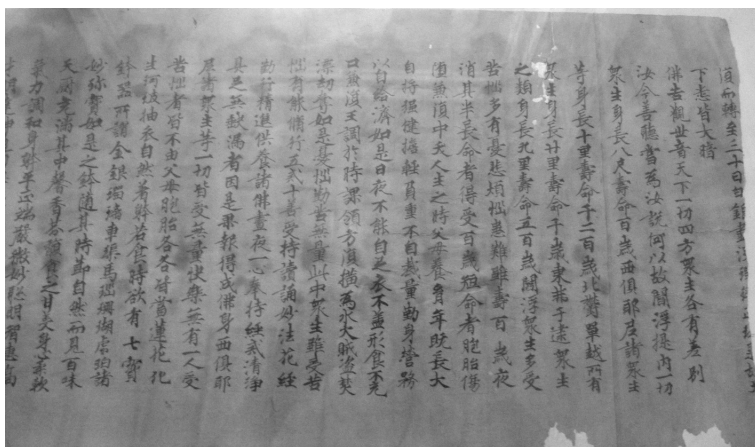
Pl. 40. ВФ-4194, beginning of fragment A. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

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[39] For an explanation concerning the data of this additional note see fn. 12.

[40] A note on the back of the frame reads as follows: „Rückseite Schrift". Remains of this script is clearly visible on the recto side of the fragment between the Chinese text lines, but the back of the fragment is unfortunately covered.

Pl. 41. BФ-4194, beginning of fragment B. By courtesy of the State Hermitage
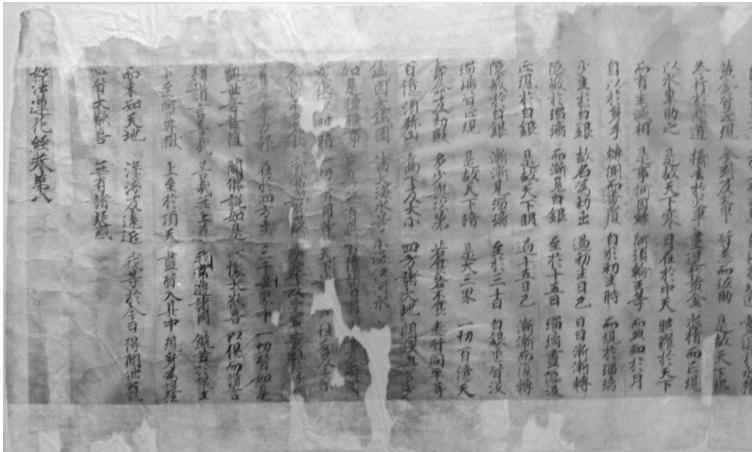
Pl. 42. BФ-4194, final part of fragment B. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Fragment A: 妙法蓮華經度量天地品第二十九 *Miaofa lianhua jing du liang tian di pin* (~BD 03917, 14-8–14-11).
Manuscript. Scroll fragment.[41]
Fragment B: 妙法蓮華經度量天地品第二十九 *Miaofa lianhua jing du liang tian di pin di er shi jiu* (~BD 03917, 14-12–14-14).
Manuscript. Scroll fragment. Title at the end: 妙法蓮花經卷第八.

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[41] This scroll fragment consists of 4 sheets of paper. There are 24 text lines on each (complete) sheet of paper. Each line has 16–19 characters. The length of each text line is 19.8 cm.

The complete manuscript of the 妙法蓮華經度量天地品第二十九 *Miaofa lianhua jing du liang tian di pin di er shi jiu* from Dunhuang is preserved in the National Library of China, Beijing under the shelf number BD 03917. For the incomplete Stein manuscript 1298 from Dunhuang see Taishō vol. 85, no. 2872, 1355c–1356a.

Identified and annotated by Tsuneki Nishiwaki.

Inventory number: ВФ 4194.

Old finding number: Fragment A: none; Fragment B: T II Y 27.

Number of lines: Fragment A: 61 lines; Fragment B: 66 + 1 head line.

Size: Fragment A: 108.2 cm×26.4 cm; Fragment B: 121.2 cm×26.3 cm.

(23) The 佛説佛名經 *Foshuo foming jing* (*Buddhanama-sūtra*).

Manuscript with prints of small, partly coloured Buddha images in scroll format.
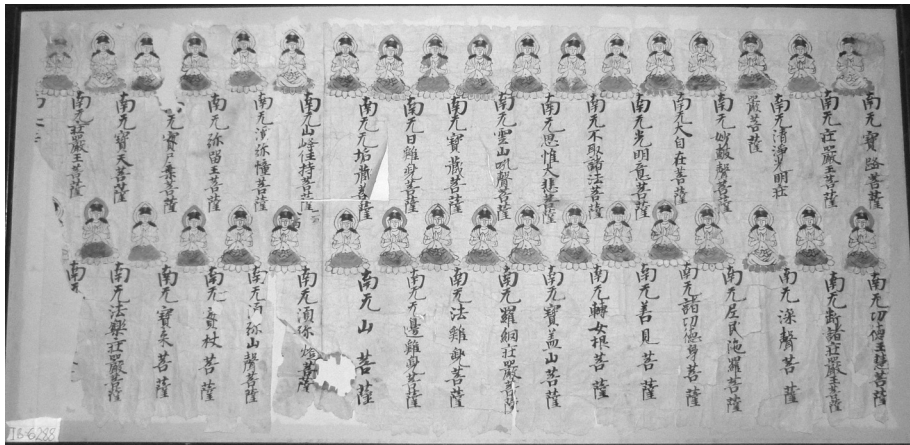
Pl. 43. ВФ-4725. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Inventory number: ВФ-4725.

Old finding number: T II T.

Former inventory number: IB 6288.

Number of lines: 20.

Size: 63.2 cm×30.0 cm.

Reference: *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Dokumentation der Verluste* 2002, 275: „IB 6288 Chinesische Buchrolle mit «1000 Buddhas». Herkunft: Toyoq, Manuskript-Raum. Papiermalerei. Maße: unbekannt. 2. Turfanexpedition (1904–1905). Letzte Ausstellung: unbekannt, unpubliziert."

Appendix

Edition of the *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk* fragment ВΦ-4201 (**U9232, T III TV 61/T III 84)

The preserved fragment is framed. The wooden frame makes it clear that this manuscript must have been on display in the exhibition's Turfan department of the Museum für Völkerkunde. On the top of the upper bottom line in red color there are added some line numbers in small pencil script. Probably it happened in the course of the work on this manuscript. The first number marked the tenth line. According to this numbering the first visible text line in the framed manuscript is line four. Probably the lines in front of this fourth line are covered by the frame.

It is because the full text of this fragment had been never edited before that in the following the text of this fragment is published here. Some quotations are present in the edition of W. Bang, A. von Gabain and G.R. Rachmati in Türkische Turfantexte VI (TT VI), which is the first edition of the full text of the *Säkiz Yükmäk Yaruk* (SYY).[42] Another, much more important reason is that Juten Oda, who recently published an excellent and detailed study on this popular Old Uighur text, was not able to take this manuscript into consideration because it's surviving was still unknown at this date. In his investigation of the different Old Uighur manuscripts he was able to detect two main versions of the text which he subdivided into two subgroups each, i.e. text versions Ia and I b, as well as IIc and IId. By studying the text of the rediscovered manuscript, labelled as B 25 in TT VI, we are now able to note that Oda's text version IIc is the closest, but not completely identical one to the SYY text of the manuscript on hand. For the parallel text cf. Bang/Gabain/Rachmati 1934 (B 25) and Oda 2010, 117–140: ll. 151–289 (Text volume). The most striking text variants are marked and a short comment is added in footnotes.

Transcription

(1)–(3) {lines not more visible}
(4) körklä . öŋ körk körür . ol öŋ körk tözi yıltızı yänä[43]
(5) yok kurug tetir. ol yokug bilir bilgä bilig ugrayu[44] burhanlar
(6) biligi tetir : anı üčün tınl(ı)g-lar ädgü köni yolčı yerči bulup

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[42] Bang/Gabain/Rachmati 1934.

[43] *yänä*: IIc, cf. Oda 2010, 117 l. 152 (Text volume).

[44] *ugrayu*: IIc, cf. Oda 2010, 117 l. 153 (Text volume).

(7) alku törög bälgüg[45] yok körsär : ol tınl(ı)g köŋüli biligi burhan

(8) -lar-nıŋ[46] köŋüli biligi tetir . k(a)ltı ınča körsär öŋkörk

(9) ulatı altı türlüg yagı-ta[47] kutrulur burhan kutın bulur . ol kim

(10) öŋ körk tetir . yok kurug ymä ol ok ärür . ol kim yok kurug

(11) tetir . öŋ körk ymä ol ok ärür öŋdä öŋi yok kurug bultukmaz

(12) yok kurug-ta[48] öŋi ymä öŋ körk bultukmaz : ulatı ašamak sakınč

(13) kılınč bilig alku inčä ök[49] bilmiš ukmıš kärgäk . inčä ötgürü usar

(14) ötrü ol ok öŋ körk yänä tözün öŋlüg atl(ı)g[50] burhan tetir

(15) ymä kulgakı turkaru adrok adrok alkınčsız ün äšidür . ol kim ün

(16) tep tetir : yok kurug ymä ol ok ärür . ol kim yok kurug tetir ün

(17) ymä ol ok ärür : üntä öŋi yok kurug bultukmaz . yok kurug-ta öŋi

(18) ymä ün bultukmaz : inčä ötgürü usar ötrü ol ok ün yänä sukančıg

(19) ünlüg atl(ı)g burhan tetir : ymä burunı turkaru adrok adrok alkınčsız

(20) yıdıpar yıdlayur : ol kim yıdıpar tetir : yok kurug ymä ol ok ärür :

(21) ol kim yok kurug tetir yıdıpar ymä ol ok ärür . yıdıpar

(22) -ta öŋi yok kurug bultukmaz yok kurug-ta öŋi ymä yıdıpar

(23) bultukmaz : inčä ötgürü usar ötrü ol ok yıdıpar yänä yıpar

(24) yükmäk atl(ı)g burhan tetir . ymä tilin turkaru adrok adrok alkınč

(25) -sız tatıglıg tatıg tatar ol kim tatıglıg tatıg tep tetir yok kurug

(26) ymä ol ok ärür : ol kim yok kurug tetir[51] : tatıglıg[52] tatıg ymä ol

(27) ok ärür : tatıg-ta[53] öŋi yok kurug bultukmaz . yok kurug-ta[54] öŋi

(28) ymä tatıglıg[55] tatıg bultukmaz : inčä ötgürü usar ötrü ol ok

(29) tatıglıg tatıg yänä[56] nom ögrünčü atl(ı)g burhan tetir . ymä ätöz

(30) -i turkaru adrok adrok alkınčsız säviglig bürtmäk bürtär : ol

(31) kim bürtmäk tetir : yok kurug[57] ymä ol ok ärür : ol kim yok kurug

(32) tetir : bürtmäk ymä ol ok ärür : bürtmäkdä[58] öŋi yok kurug

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[45] *törög bälgüg* is only attested here, cf. ODA 2010, 117 l. 154 (Text volume).

[46] *burhanlarnıŋ*: only present in T-24, cf. ODA 2010, 117 footnote to line 155 (Text volume).

[47] *yagıta*: only attested here.

[48] *yok kurugta*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 118 l. 159 (Text volume). Add –*ta*/-*da* here in l. 159: *yoq quruγ*[*ta*/*da*]

[49] *ök*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 118 l. 161 (Text volume).

[50] *atl(ı)g*: only attested here, cf. ODA 2010, 119 l. 162 (Text volume).

[51] *kurug tetir*: IId, cf. ODA 2010, 121 l. 175 (Text volume).

[52] *tatıglıg*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 121 l. 175 (Text volume).

[53] *tatıgta*: IId, cf. ODA 2010, 121 l. 175 (Text volume).

[54] *kurugta*: IId, cf. ODA 2010, 121 l. 176 (Text volume).

[55] *tatıglıg*: Ib, IIc (tatıglg), cf. cf. ODA 2010, 121 l. 176 (Text volume).

[56] *ötrü ol ok tatıglıg tatıg yänä*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 121 l. 177 (Text volume). *ötrü* is additional added here.

[57] *yok kurug*: Ia, IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 122 l. 179 (Text volume).

[58] *bürtmäkdä*: Ia, cf. ODA 2010, 122 l. 180 (Text volume).

(33) bultukmaz : yok kurug-ta[59] öŋi ymä bürtmäk bultukmaz : inčä ötgürü

(34) usar ötrü ol ok bürtmäk yänä[60] bilgä bilig yaltrıklıg atl(ı)g

(35) burhan[61] tetir : ymä köŋüli biligi[62] turkaru[63] adrok adrok alkınčsız

(36) törö sakınur adırar[64] : ol kim törö tep tetir[65] : yok kurug ymä ol

(37) ok ärür: ol kim yok kurug tetir : törö ymä ol ok ärür : törö-tä[66]

(38) öŋi yok kurug bultukmaz yok kurug-ta[67] öŋi ymä törö bultuk

(39) -maz : inčä ötgürü usar ötrü ol ok törö yänä[68] nom yaltrıklıg

(40) atl(ı)g burhan tetir : tözünlär oglı-y-a iländäči ärksindäči

(41) atl(ı)g altı kačıg-lar-nıŋ iši küdöki altı törlüg adkangu

(42) -lar birläki[69] otgurak bälgüsi bo ärür : birök[70] kim kayu tınl(ı)g-lar bolar

(43) -nı[71] ötgürü usar : yaŋılmadın köni orukča nomlasar turkaru

(44) üzüksüz išlätsär yaŋılmasar ötrü[72] ol tınl(ı)g burhan-lar yol

(45) -ıŋa kirmiš-kä sanur : birök munı bilmädin ukmadın[73] adınsıgrak

(46) adıra tutsar : azu t(ä)rs tätrü oruk-ča yaŋlok nomlasar ötrü[74]

(47) ol tınl(ı)g-lar bo yertinčüdä tägzinür[75] azu üč y(a)vlak yol-ta tüšär :

(48) sansız tümän ažunta tugar ölür taloy ügüz täg täriŋ[76] ämgäk ämgän

(49) -ür : tözün-lärim ädgüg ayıgıg kertgünmiš k(ä)rgäk {kägäk} : kim ken ökünmä

(50) -sär[77] : takı ymä tözün-lärim kamag tınl(ı)g-lar-nıŋ köŋüli ätözi

(51) burhan-lar-nıŋ nom idiši tetir : kim üč agılıg iki y(e)g(i)rmi

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[59] *yok kurugta*: Ia, IIc (kurugda), cf. ODA 2010, 122 l. 181 (Text volume).

[60] *ötrü ol ok bürtmäk yänä*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 122 l. 182 (Text volume).

[61] *bilgä bilig yaltrıklıg atl(ı)g burhan*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 122 l. 182 (Text volume). *atl(ı)g* is additional added here.

[62] *ymä köŋüli biligi*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 123 l. 183 (Text volume).

[63] *turkaru*: Ia, Ib, cf. ODA 2010, 123 l. 183 (Text volume).

[64] *törö sakınur adırar*: Ib, cf. ODA 2010, 123 l. 184 (Text volume).

[65] *tep tetir*: only attested here.

[66] *törö-tä*: only attested here.

[67] *kurug-ta*: only attested here.

[68] *ötrü ol ok törö yänä*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 123 l. 188 (Text volume).

[69] *atl(ı)g burhan tetir : tözünlär oglı-y-a iländäči ärksindäči atl(ı)g altı kačıg-lar-nıŋ iši küdöki altı törlüg adkangu-lar birläki*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 123–124 ll. 188–190 (Text volume).

[70] *birök*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 124 l. 191 (Text volume).

[71] *bolar-nı*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 124 l. 191 (Text volume).

[72] *nomlasar turkaru üzüksüz išlätsär yaŋılmasar ötrü*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 124 ll. 192–193 (Text volume).

[73] *bilmädin ukmadın*: in the type of a binom only attested here.

[74] *t(ä)rs tätrü oruk-ča yaŋlok nomlasar ötrü*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 125 l. 196 (Text volume).

[75] *bo yertinčüdä tägzinür*: Ia, Ib, cf. ODA 2010, 125 l. 197 (Text volume).

[76] *tüšär : sansız tümän ažunta tugar ölür taloy ügüz täg täriŋ*: this additional text is only attested here.

[77] *ökünmä-sär*: Ia, cf. ODA 2010, 125 l. 199 (Text volume).

(52) bölök nomug tükädi[78] köŋülintä tutar : ančulayu k(a))ltı kägdätä[79] bitimiš

(53) küün bitig täg sansız tümän ažuntabärü unıtmadın ıčgınmadın öyü

(54) sakınu tutar ugurı boltukda adınaku-ka bošgurur ulayur alkınčukadakı

(55) burhan-lar-nıŋ urugı üzülmäz kılča ägsümäz tägšilmäz busulmaz

(56) artamaz alkınmaz . ol barča[80] burhan-lar-nıŋ kömsüsi agılıkı tetir .

(57) kim köŋül bilir nom yıltızın köŋül tözin körmiš bilmiš tınl(ı)g

(58) -lar ärsär[81] : ötrü[82] ol temin anı körür anı bilir anı ötgürür anta

(59) -da öŋi arhant pratikabut ulatı šravak-lar kamag nizvani

(60) basmıš tınl(ı)g-lar[83] alku munı bilmäz ukmak-lar[84] ötgürü ymä[85] umaz

(61) -lar . tözün-lärim kim kayu tınl(ı)g-lar bo nom bitigig okıp tüpsüz

(62) täriŋ yörügin ötgürü usar . ol tınl(ı)g-lar-nıŋ[86] köŋüli ätözi

(63) burhan-lar-nıŋ nom idiši tetir : antada öŋi yaŋlok sakınčlıg

(64) tınlıglar äsrök kiši täg muna tänä adınu umadın yaŋlok sakınč

(65) turgursar [i]nčä bilmäsär bo mäniŋ öz köŋülüm ätözüm burhan

(66) -lar-nı[ŋ] nom tözi yıltızı ärür tep : ötgürü umasar[87] ötrü ol

(67) tınlıg-lar bo yertinčüdäki ügüz-tä tägzinür-čä čomar batar tägz

(68) -inür azu[88] üč y(a)vlak yol-ta tugar sansız tümän ažunta tugar ölür

(69) taluy ügüz täg täriŋ ämgäk[89] ämgänür : burhan-lar-nıŋ nomın atın

(70) ymä äšiḍmäz : ol üdün beš yüz t(ä)ŋri oglanı ol kuvrag-ta[90] ärür ärdi

(71) -lär : t(ä)ŋri t(ä)ŋrisi burhan-ta antag adınčıg muŋadınčıg[91] sukančıg

(72) tatıglıg nom äšidip nom közläri[92] alku arıtı ačıltı ögirti

(73) -[lä]r sävinti-lär[93] : alkugun tüzgärinčsiz yeg tüzü köni tuymak

(74) burhan kutıŋa köŋül turgurdı-lar : ol üdün tıdıgsız bodis(a)t(a)v

(75) t(ä)ŋri [tän]grisi burhan-ka[94] inčä tep ötüg ötünti : t(ä)ŋrim bo

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[78] *tükädi*: only attested here. Ia, Ib, IIc: *tükäti*, cf. Oda 2010, 126 l. 202 (Text volume).

[79] *kägdätä*: only attested here. Ia, Ib, IIc: *kägdäkä*, cf. Oda 2010, 126 l. 202 (Text volume).

[80] *barča*: this additional text is attested only here.

[81] *körmiš bilmiš tınl(ı)g-lar ärsär*: IIc, cf. Oda 2010, 127 l. 208 (Text volume).

[82] *ötrü*: exclusively added here.

[83] *tınl(ı)glar*: attested only here.

[84] *ukmaklar*: attested only here. Two dots are added to mark the final letter of *ukmak* as –Q.

[85] *ymä*: exclusively added here.

[86] *tınl(ı)glarnıŋ*: attested only here.

[87] *ötgürü umasar*: exclusively added here.

[88] *azu*: exclusively added here.

[89] *taluy ügüz täg täriŋ ämgäk*: attested only here. Ib, IIc: *taluy ügüztä ämgäk*.

[90] *kuvragta*: attested only here. Ia, Ib, IIc: *kuvragda*.

[91] *muŋadınčıg*: IIc, cf. Oda 2010, 129 l. 222 (Text volume).

[92] *nom közläri*: Ia, Ib, cf. Oda 2010, 129 l. 223 (Text volume).

[93] *alku arıtı ačıltı ögirti[lä]r sävintilär*: IIc (*ögirdi sävintilär*), cf. Oda 2010, 129 l. 223 (Text volume).

[94] *t(ä)ŋri [täŋri]si burhan-ka inčä*: attested only here. Ia, Ib, IIc, IId: *takı inčä*, cf. Oda 2010, 129 l. 225 (Text volume).

(76) yerti[nč]üdäki kamag tınl(ı)g-larta tugmak ölmäk bo iki törlüg

(77) törö ärtiŋü agır tetir : tugdukta kün tal[ulamaz] üdi kältükdä

(78) ötrü tugar : öltükdä ymä kün talulamaz : üd[i t]ägdüktä ötrü

(79) ölür : nä üčün yänä ölüg k(ä)rgäksiz yıdıg ätöz üčün ädgü kün

(80) ädgü üd talulayur[95] : ädgü künkä ädgü üdkä temin tašgarur-lar[96] :

(81) ulug törö toku kılur-lar[97] törö toku kılmıš-ta ken yänä söki ol

(82) ok ävdä barkda ada tuda bolmadın barmaz : ig agrıg ölüm itim[98]

(83) [bolu]r : agı barım sačılur tökülür takı antag bolur : ol kapıg tunar

(84) nä tusu boltı[99] ol ädgü kün ädgü üd körmiši : amtı t(ä)ŋrim bo

(85) muntag t[ärs] biliglig[100] ayıg kılınč-lıg t(ı)nlıg-larka köni yol oruk körgitü

(86) birg[äy ä]rti : kim köni yolča kö[n]i orukča yorızun-lar ärti :

(87) tärs tätrü törö-sin kotzun-lar ärti t(ä)ŋrim : t(ä)ŋri t(ä)ŋrisi burhan

(88) inčä tep yarlıkadı[101] : sadu sadu tıdıgsız bodis(a)t(a)v sız t(ı)nlıg-lar

(89) üčün ärtiŋü k(ä)rgäklig sav ayıtdıŋız : amtı siz koḍuru[102] *tıŋlaŋ*

(90) *[otguratı nomla]yu* beräyin : ymä bo yerli t(ä)ŋrili ärsär yetinčsiz

(91) [yetiz keŋ] alkıg[103] arıg turug yazınčsız ärür : kün-li ay-lı ärsär

(92) [ärtiŋ]ü yaruk yašuk ädgü kılınčlıg alku-ka y(a)vlaksız tetir[104] üd

(93) -li kolu-lı yıl-lı takı artokrak ädgü ärtiŋü yavaš {kim}[105]-kä ärsär[106] näŋ

(94) y(a)vlakı yok adrok adrok tägšilmäki idi yok : tözün-lärim[107] b[o]

(95) yertinčüdäki eliglär han-l[a]r[108] tegmä barča bodis(a)t(a)v-lar tetir : t[ınlıg]

(96) -lar üčün ätöz tägšürüp kälir-lär[109] : ol elig-lär han-lar ymä alkuka

(97) y(a)rlıkančučı köŋül-lüg üčün kamag bodunug inčä igidür kaltı ög

[95] *ädgü kün ädgü üd talulayur*: exclusively attested here.

[96] *tašgarurlar*: Ia, cf. ODA 2010, 130 ll. 230–231 (Text volume).

[97] *kılurlar*: attested only here.

[98] *ölüm itim*: attested only here.

[99] *ol kapıg tunar nä tusu boltı*: IIc, cf. ölüm itim

[100] *t[ärs] biliglig*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 131 l. 236 (Text volume).

[101] *t(ä)ŋri t(ä)ŋrisi burhan inčä tep yarlıkadı*: Ia, Ib, cf. ODA 2010, 131 ll. 238–239 (Text volume).

[102] *koḍuru* attested only here. Ia, Ib, IIc: *koduru*, cf. ODA 2010, 131 l. 240 (Text volume).

[103] *ymä bo yerli t(ä)ŋrili ärsär yetinčsiz [yetiz keŋ] alkıg*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 132 l. 241 (Text volume).

[104] *künli aylı ärsär [ärtiŋ]ü yaruk yašuk ädgü kılınčlıg alkuka y(a)vlaksız tetir*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 132 ll. 242–244 (Text volume).

[105] The place for this subsequent addition is marked with the sign "+".

[106] *ärsär*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 133 l. 246 (Text volume).

[107] *tözünlärim*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 133 l. 247 (Text volume).

[108] *b[o] yertinčüdäki eliglär hanl[a]r*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 133 ll. 247–248 (Text volume).

[109] *t[ınlıg]lar üčün ätöz tägšürüp kälir-lär*: exclusively attested here.

(98) -nüŋ kaŋ-nıŋ[110] bir ky-ä känč amrak urı[111] oglın ävdä barkda[112] [igidür]

(99) -čä bodun-ka näŋ y(a)vlak sakınčı yok üstürdi[113] kodı inär-lär [kamag]

(100) bodun-nuŋ ögi kaŋı bolgu üčün ötrü bo yertinčüdäki ulu[š]

(101) balık törösin etä ayu berür-lär[114] : ayıg kılınč*lar* tınl(ı)g-larıg *iyär* [*basar*][115]

(102) kıy(ı)n kızgut turgurur-lar : ö[tr]ü k[a]mag bodun-ka [   ]

(103) tep bitig bitiyür-*lär : kü*[*n*   ] *kolu* [   ]

(104) [ulu]š balık[116] sayu *ayu berü*[*rlär*   ]

(105) k(a)ltı[117] tolu tep : tüz t[ep   ]

(106) ketärmäk tep : tutmak tep [   ]

(107) ornanmak tep : turgurmak *t*[*ep*[118]   ]

(108) -äki užik bitiglärig[119] T[   ]

(109) kılgu üčün t(ä)g[120] anča munča T[   ]

(110) k(ä)ntü [n]äŋ ketärü umazlar[121] : *ad*[*a*   ]

(111) [   ]či körümči yultuzč[ı   ]

(112) [amž]u tegmä al čäv[iš   ]

(113) [   ]WRWR ///[   ]

(114) [*yä*]*k* ᾽ *ičgäk* y[änä   ]

(115) [*kı*]*lur* : takı /[   ]

(116) [] bilmäz ukmazlar : ötrü [   ]

(117) [täŋ]rili yerli körgitü[122] [   ]

(118) [ ]R: kün-li ay-lı-nıŋ[123] [   ]

(119) [   ] keŋ alkıg ulug [   ]

(120) y[o]l-ka kermiš-kä sanur : *är*[*tiŋü*   ]

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[110] *ögnüŋ kaŋnıŋ*: exclusively attested here.

[111] *känč amrak urı*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 133 l. 250 (Text volume).

[112] *barkda*: attested only here. Ia, Ib, IIc: *barkta*.

[113] *yok üstürdi*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 133–134 ll. 251–252 (Text volume).

[114] *etä ayu berürlär*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 134 l. 254 (Text volume).

[115] *ayıg kılınčlar tınl(ı)g-larıg iyär [basar] kıy(ı)n kızgut turgurur-lar*: in case, the reading is correct, this text version is attested only here.

[116] The L-hook is not visible. Two sheets of paper are glued together at this position of the text and because of the overlapping of the two sheets, the L-hook is now covered by the subsequent page.

[117] *k(a)ltı*: attested only here.

[118] *ornanmak tep : turgurmak t*[*ep*… attested only here. Ia, Ib, IIc: *ornanmak tep turmak tep turgurmak tep*, cf. ODA 2010, 135 l. 260 (Text volume).

[119] *užik bitiglärig*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 135 l. 261 (Text volume).

[120] *t(ä)g*: attested only here.

[121] *umazlar*: attested only here. Ia, Ib, IIc, IId: *umaz*, cf. ODA 2010, 135 l. 263 (Text volume).

[122] *[täŋ]rili yerli körgitü*: IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 137 l. 270 (Text volume).

[123] *kün-li ay-lı-nıŋ*: attested only here, but very close to Oda's version IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 137 l. 272 (Text volume).

(121) oglum kim kayu tınl(ı)g tugsar [   ]
(122) -un ol ogul ögin ämgätmäd[in   ]
(123) bilgä igsiz ämgäksiz ada[sız   ]
(124) kim kayu tınl(ı)g ölsär[124] ymä [   ]
(125) keniŋä näŋ ada tuda bolm[agay] T/[   ]
(126) ay-lar takı ädgü yıl yıl-ka[125] kältä[či   ]
(127) takı tözün ärtiŋü yavaš : bitig *okıp* [   ]
(128) tuda bolgusı yok : ölüg-kä törö *toku*[   ]
(129) -ig [ü]č kata okızun ärtiŋü kutadur /[   ]
(130) bolur : ol äv[126] kün küniŋä yokaru asılur [   ]
(131) kotsar burhan-lar yeriŋä barır-lar[127] : tak[ı   ]
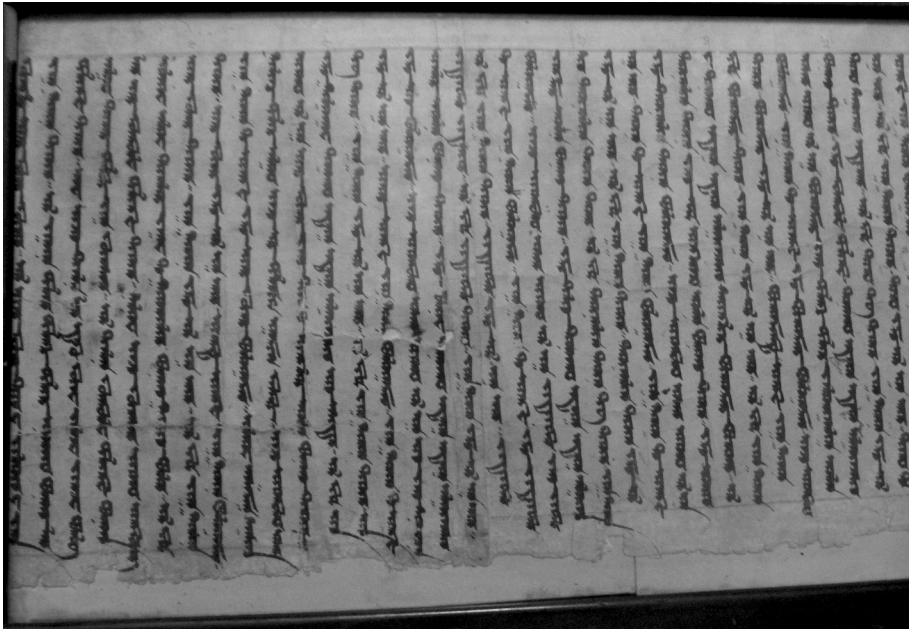
Pl. 44. ВФ-4201, ll. 4–37. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

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[124] *kim kayu tınl(ı)g ölsär*: attested only here, but very close to Oda's version IIc, cf. ODA 2010, 139 l. 280 (Text volume).

[125] *yıl-ka*: attested only here and Pli-7, cf. ODA 2010, 139: footnote to l. 282 (Text volume).

[126] *äv*: hardly readable. The ink is faded out. Ia, Ib, IIc: *äv bark*, cf. ODA 2010, 140 l. 287 (Text volume).

[127] *burhan-lar yeriŋä barır-lar*: attested only here.
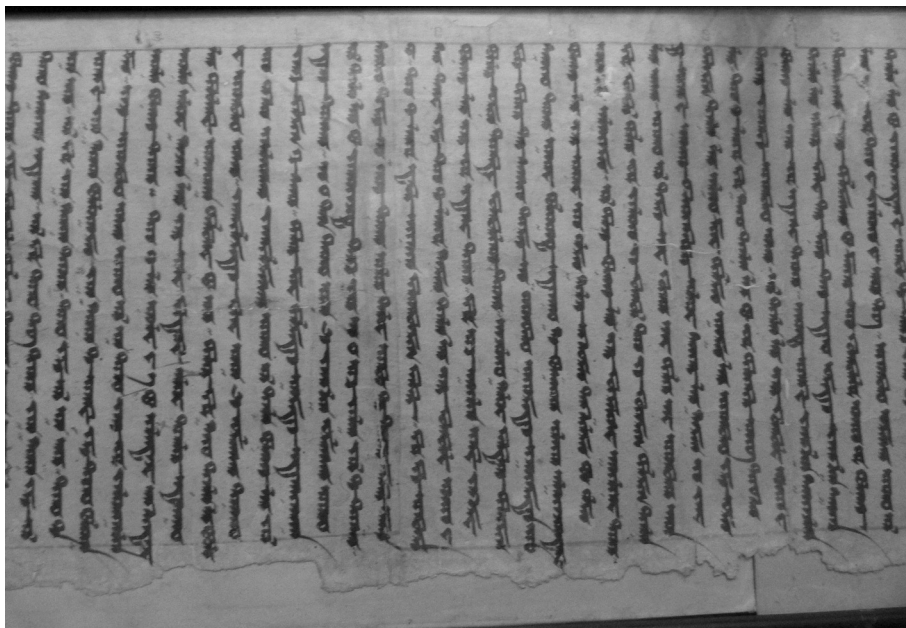
Pl. 45. ВФ-4201, ll. 36–66. By courtesy of the State Hermitage
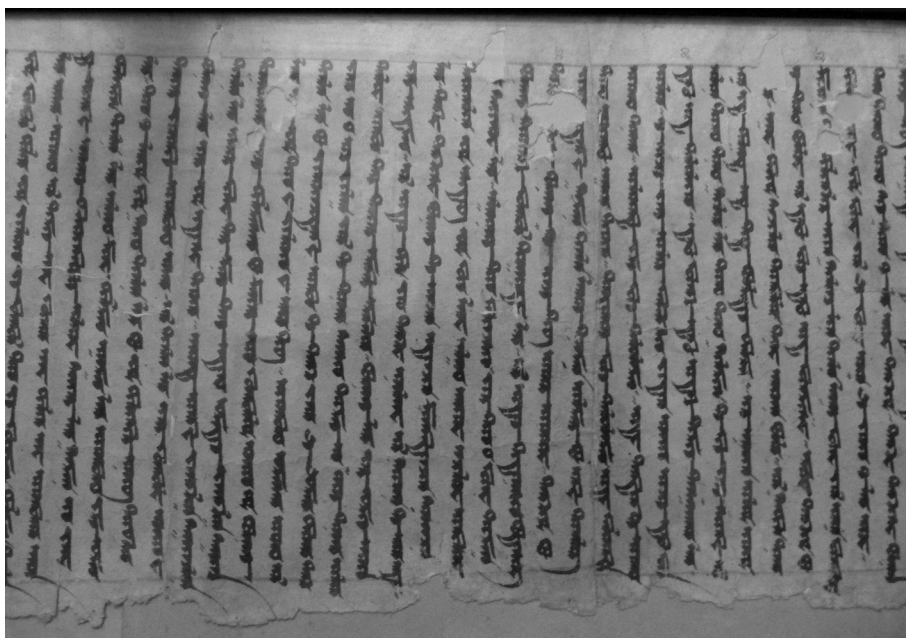
Pl. 46. ВФ-4201, ll. 58–87. By courtesy of the State Hermitage
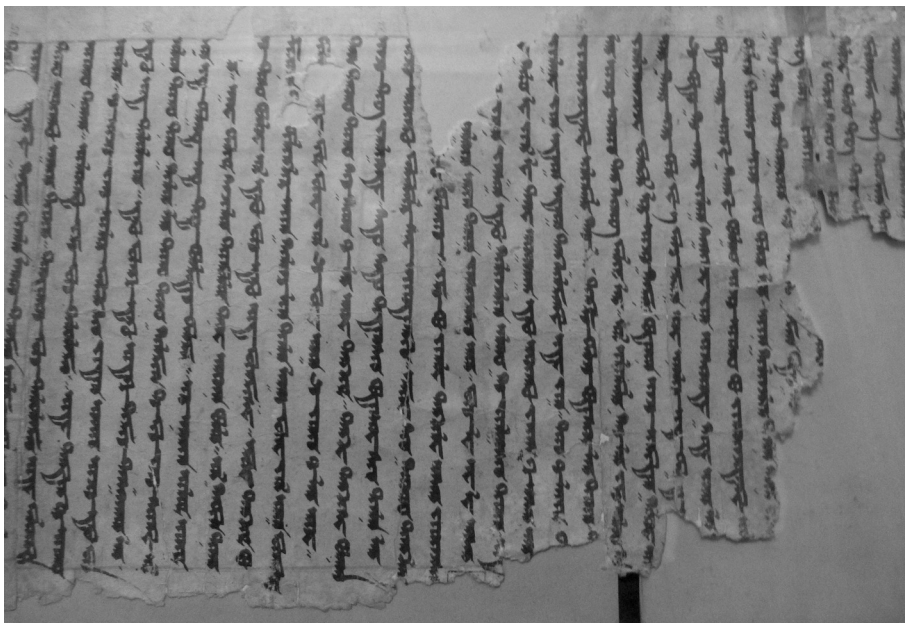
Pl. 47. ВФ-4201, ll. 77–106. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

Pl. 48. ВФ-4201, ll. 93–121. By courtesy of the State Hermitage
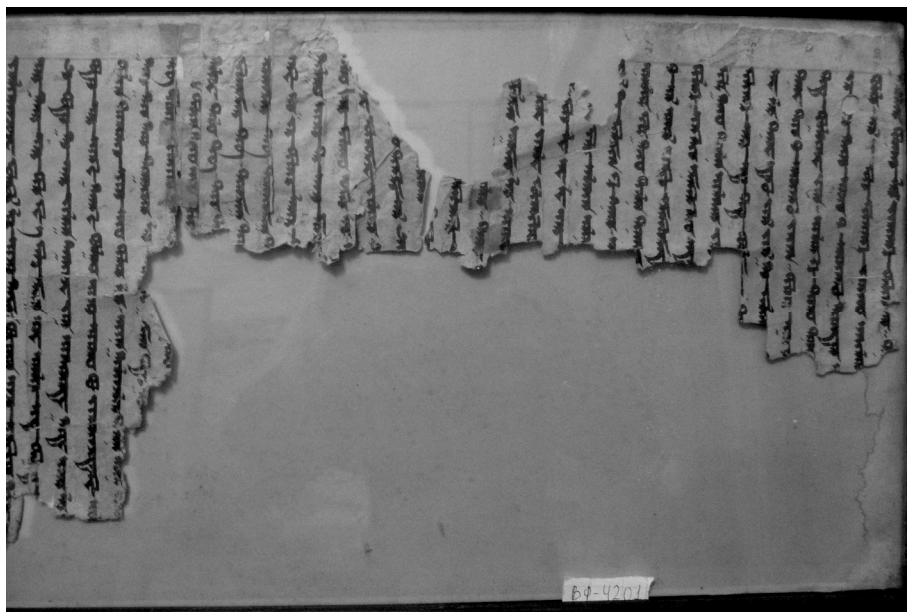
Pl. 49. ВФ-4201, ll. 98–131. By courtesy of the State Hermitage

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SI 3656 and other Kuchean tablets related
to the Kizil grottoes in the St. Petersburg Collection*

Abstract: This paper introduces five wooden tablets written in Kuchean (Tocharian B) and kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS), namely SI 3656 (SI P/136в), 3669 (SI P/139д), 6385 (SI Strelkov-D/3), 1931 (SI Strelkov-D/51) and 6456 (SI Strelkov-D/85). THT4063, an unedited tablet kept in Berlin, the text of which is largely parallel with SI 6456, is also introduced here.
According to the joint authors' investigation, which has been ongoing since 2009, these tablets are economic and administrative documents, and some of their features are comparable with the Kuchean sale contract THT4001. The severely damaged SI 1931 is particularly valuable because it proves that three currencies circulated in pre-Tang Kucha. Together with THT4063, the other four tablets are closely related to the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery, which is repeatedly mentioned in the findings from the Kizil grottoes as well as the graffiti surviving there. Therefore, the content of these tablets helps scholars to restore the history of this important Buddhist site as well as the activity of foreign expeditions in Chinese Turkestan.
Key words: Kucha, Tocharian, Kizil, Buddhism, Central Asia

1. Introduction

Since Sylvain Lévi's correspondence with Sergei F. Oldenburg, Nikolai D. Mironov and other Russian scholars, the importance of the Tocharian materials kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy

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of Sciences (IOM, RAS) in St. Petersburg has been widely known.[1] After the investigation led by Dr. Margarita I. Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia in the 1990s, Tocharian manuscripts in the Russian Collection have been largely identified.[2] Therefore, Prof. Georges-Jean Pinault published several Kuchean (i.e. Tocharian B) secular documents in 1998[3] and Dr. Klaus T. Schmidt was expected to publish more texts.[4] In addition, Douglas Q. Adams (2000, 4) provided Pinault's provisional revision of the Kuchean tablet SI P/139(d) (i.e. SI P/139д) that was published by Lévi (1913, 320 n. 1),[5] and Schmidt (2001b) analysed a bilingual Kuchean-Prākrit tablet SI P/141 together with two similar ones (THT4059 and THT4062) kept in Berlin.[6] Since 2002, Pinault has revised the reading of the *Buddhastotra*s SI P/1b and 2b in addition to the Sanskrit-Kuchean glossary SI P/65b 1+2 previously published by Dr. V.S. Vorobiov-Desiatovskii (1958).[7] Melanie Malzahn (2007a: 93) also read SI M-TD/31b in the Malov Collection according to a photograph published by Wilfried Seipel (1996: 345).

During our first visit to the IOM, RAS (March 21 to 12 April 2009), we were provided with a list of new SI numbers, which were still a work in progress. It is largely comparable to Pinault's hand-written list of old SI numbers made in 1998, which he kindly communicated to us in autumn-winter 2008. But a few numbers seemingly escaped from his early investigation, including the tablet SI 3656 (SI P/136в) to be treated in this paper.[8]

The text of SI 3656 is faint, but its features are similar to those in the contract of sale HT4001.[9] Like THT4001, SI 3656 is also related to the *Yurpūṣka* Monastery. As argued in our edition of THT4001, *Yurpūṣka* is the

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[1] For example, see MIRONOV 1909; LÉVI 1913: 320 and BONGARD-LEVIN et al. 2002: 123–141. For a more complete review of the studies of the Tocharian manuscripts kept in St. Petersburg in the last century, see MALZAHN 2007a: 91–93 and VOROBIOVA-DESYATOVSKAIA 2008: 72–73.

[2] See VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1997; VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2006.

[3] I.e. SI B Toch./9, 11~13 and SI P/117.

[4] Cf. VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1997: 210. The five pieces published by Pinault (1998) are also partially mentioned by Schmidt (2001a).

[5] See *infra*, § 4.

[6] Ching (2013a) gives a reinterpretation of the three tablets as receipts of tax payment.

[7] See PINAULT 2002a: 274–276 (SI P/2b); PINAULT 2008: 293–311 (SI P/1b and P/2b) and PINAULT 2002b (SI P/65b 1+2).

[8] It seems that at a certain stage, the SI 3655 (SI P/136б) and 3656 (SI P/136в) were confused or counted together. The former was partially transliterated by Pinault in 1998, and the full content of this tablet was read by Ching (2010: 324–326).

[9] See CHING and OGIHARA 2012.

ancient name of a district around the Kizil grottoes or the general name of the whole area. The Kuchean documents kept in the IOM, RAS preserve abundant attestations of this name, and they are the most valuable first-hand material for the study of the early history of this region.

2. SI 3656: Formal description

The tablet SI 3656 measures 27.0 cm in width and 13.1 cm in length. The upper-left corner of the recto side is largely broken. Both sides are written in Kuchean.

As indicated by the old signature SI P/136в, the tablet once belonged to the Petrovskii collection.[10] The round blank in the centre of the recto can be found on several Kuchean tablets, such as the sale contract (THT4001) and the three bilingual tablets (SI P/141, THT4059 and THT4062) mentioned above. On the central blank of SI 3656, traces of greyish clay used for sealing can be seen. The V-shaped incisions on its four sides are also similar to THT4001, the three bilingual tablets and the well-known *laissez-passer*s found by Paul Pelliot. Therefore, the original binding of SI 3656 may resemble the model we have suggested for THT4001:

SEAL

SI 3656
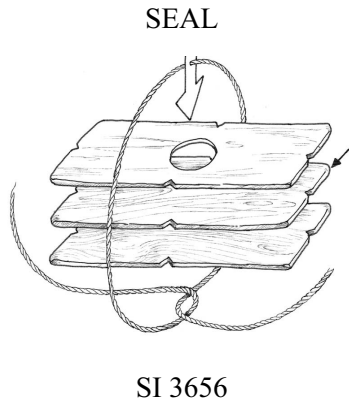
Among the tablets treated below, SI 6385 and THT4063 preserve one and four V-shaped incisions, respectively, although it is uncertain whether there are central round blanks due to the poor condition of these two tablets.

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[10] For N.F. Petrovskii's activities and contributions, see VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2004; POPOVA 2008a: 25; and POPOVA 2008b: 148–150.

3. Translation of SI 3656 (=SI P/136в)
(see the transliteration on p. 48)[11]

a

1 /// …(is) being in the year of…(?). (At) this moment ///
2 /// (something) [has been done]… (In) the *Yūrpaṣka* [Monastery]... ///
3 /// (The ones being) present in…, the novice monk called *Puṇyayaśe*…
4 ///   …thus (these are namely) we. We two are subject to… ///
5 ///…they torment and harm us ///
6 /// For [this] reason, we two thought thus: 'The *Oko_u*-official[12] was dwelling (here). …a legal dispute(?) agreed(?) with *Mānäkke*… ///
7 …He could bring the *Saṃgha* (of) this monastery to our life (lit. 'He could give us this monastary-*saṃgha* in existence'). Then we two ourselves
8 We discuss the giving of…' Forever in the future, with this document(?)[13]… together with… ///
9 …they are not to be claimed by anyone [else] nor should be [inquired about] (by anyone else). As in this monastery… ///
10   /// … ∧ … May our monastery be the refuge(?)… ///

b

1 /// of/to *Puṇyayaśe*… ∨ …from this moment on(?)… ///
2 ///…, *Pūñyavräddhi* the *Ārañye*, …the *Agamadhāre*, …
3–8 [*untranslatable*]

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[11] The conventions generally follow the principles set up by E. Sieg and W. Siegling:
Transliteration
[ ]   partly damaged *akṣara*(s).   /// damaged edge.
( )   seriously damaged *akṣara*(s) of which   – an indeterminable *akṣara.*
        the reading is partly or totally restored. · indeterminable part of an *akṣara.*
Transcription: *Fremdzeichen* and *virāma* in the transliteration are ignored. When necessary, restoration based on the knowledge of the Tocharian manuscripts is adopted. Proper names and titles/positions are indicated with capitals.
Translation: The usage of brackets and parentheses follows that of the transliteration. The brackets indicate the damaged text, of which the uncertainty of reading should be kept in mind, and the parentheses indicate our restoration or interpretation based on seriously damaged text.
[12] This official title/position is attested in THT4001, which Ching related to Niya-Prākrit *Ogu* and a later form *Akau* in Kuchean (see CHING and OGIHARA 2012: 112–113). It appears as *Okau* in SI 6385 and THT4063 (see *infra*).
[13] The word *parso* as used here is interesting. It is usually understood as the Kuchean word for 'letter', but from the context, it seemingly means 'document' here.

Transliteration of SI 3656

a

1 /// [p]· kw· l[n]· sp[or]t(o)mane ce_u pre[k](e) ///

2 /// – m\ [y]ām[wa] ce_u sa(ṅkā)[r]āṇa yūrpa[ṣ]k· – ///

3 /// – skeñcā ṣanmire puṇyayaśe ñeṃ\ · o ///

4 mamṭ\ wes teṃ wene kettrā eka̱ly[m]ī ///

5 yamaskenme miyäske(ṃm)e ///

/// – cai lakle

lskamo oko_u wsaṣ[i] māṇakkempā placā [ya] ///

6 /// (ce)[ṣu] ṣarmtsa we[r]e mamṭ\ pa̱- nestsine ā[yi] wene no ṣañ āṃmo ś· e r·ā – ///

7 (–) [c](e)_u sāṅkārāṇa sāṅkā weṣañ\ stañ̃e preke ce pa̱rsosa me[s]· – rtsi – mpā su ///

8 – – c[c]e āyo[r]\ w[e]skem\ enṣketse po-

9 (–) – ma k[e]tara āl(y)e[k](e)pi ñāṣṣalyi ma pre[k](ṣa)[l]yi tāko ṃak[r]se ce_u saṅkrāmne – – – ///

10 /// (– –) – – /// /// [w]· ṣa m· – – – ∧ – ne weṣañ̃ sāṅkā waste tāko_i – /// /// – – ///

b

1 /// (pu)[ṇ]y(a)[va]śi – – ∨ – – ce_u preke[m]· – – – – ābh(i)dhā[rm]i[k](e)

2 2 /// (– – – – – – – – –) āraṇye pūṇyavṛaddhi ‡ † [a]gamadhāre

3 /// [vṛa̱ddh](i) – – [FAINT TRACES]

4 /// – ce_u sutta· [FAINT TRACES]

5 /// – – ///

6 /// [r]ra –

7 [FAINT TRACES]

8 [FAINT TRACES]

/// r[N]

/// – cai lakle

Notes on transliteration

a1   **[p]· kw· l[n]·** : Possibly to be restored *p(i)kw(ä)ln(e)*.

a2   **sa(ṅkā)[r]ām̠a**: Sic! Perhaps a scribal error for *sāṅkārāmä* 'monastery' as attested in a7.

       Yūrpa[ṣ]k· /// : We intend to restore *Yūrpaṣk(aine)* 'in *Yūrpaṣka*' here.

a3   − **skeñcā**: To be restored *(m̠a)skeñcā*.

       ñem̠\ ·o: It is possible to restore *ñem(m)o* with the so-called *bewegliche -o* in Kuchean.

a4   **eḵaly[m]ī**: Alternatively to be read *eḵaly[mi]*.

a5   **cai**: It is also possible to read *rcai*.

a6   **ya** ///: Perhaps a form of *yām-* 'to do'.

a9   **tāko**: Scribal error for *tāko$_i$*, 3sg.opt. of *nes-* 'to be'.

       m̠ak[t]se: Scribal error for *mäkte* 'as'.

a10   **sāṅkā**: Probably another scribal error for *sāṅkārām*.

b1   /// − **[ñ]y·** : Perhaps to be restored *(āra)[ñ]y(e)*.

       preke[m]· : It is uncertain if one can restore *prekem(eṃ)*, abl. sg. of *preke* 'time' here.

4. Textual features of SI 3656

In SI 3656, the ductus of <m̠a> and <n̠a> shows an archaic phase as those attested in B133 (THT133) indicated by Malzahn (2007b: 297). From a linguistic point of view, these are also archaic:

Forms attested in SI 3656	Classical forms
mäskeñcā	*mäskeñca*
kettrā	*ketara*, etc.
ekälymī (or: *ekälymi*)	*ekalymi*
pälskamo	*palskam*
mānäkkempā	**manakkempa*
placä (obl.)	*plāc*
pärsosa	*parsosa*
ālyekepi	*alyekepi*
ārañye	*arāñye*

However, forms that should be classified as belonging to the classical stage also appear, e.g. *sportomane*, *ṣarmtsa*, *ṣañ*, *postaññe*, *ketara* and so on. This leads one to think that SI 3656 was not written in the archaic stage, but at a later time under the influence of an older model text; thus, when the

formulae were copied, some archaic features were retained. Content highly comparable to the sale contract THT4001 is given as follows:

THT4001a9

e[nṣk]etse postäñ[ñ]e preke mā ketra alyekepi ñäṣṣälle m[ā] prekṣälle tako$_i$.
Forever in the future, he (i.e. the sold person) should not be claimed by anyone else nor should be inquired about (by anyone else).

SI 3656a8

enṣketse postaññe preke… 'Forever in the future…'

SI 3656a9

…[mā] k[e]tara āl(y)e[k](e)pi ñäṣṣalyi ma pre(kṣä)[l]yi tāko$_{(i)}$.
…they are [not] to be claimed by anyone [else] nor should be [inquired about] (by anyone else).

The phrases ce$_u$ preke(ne) '(at) this moment' (a1!),[14] ce$_u$ ṣarmtsa 'for this reason' (a6!) and mäskeñcā 'being present (somewhere)' (a3!) are also used in THT4001, and they seem to be typical expressions in official and civil documents. The name list in SI 3656b2–3 also resembles the list of witnesses in THT4001 in the sense that several monks with the title of Araññe 'forest-dweller', Agamadhāre 'Āgama-holder', etc. are found in the latter; thus, at first glance, SI 3656 appears to be another sale contract. Nonetheless, no price or payment is mentioned. Therefore, it is safer to see SI 3656 as a document that allowed refuge sought by two persons, namely the novice monk Puṇyayaśe and his partner, whose name and identity were lost. Because of some unpleasant incident (a5), they decided to quit their original identity and requested the Oko$_u$-official's permission to move to the Yurpūṣka Monastery. In particular, if our restoration of mäskeñcā (a3) is plausible, these two persons are very likely the active party in this process of application because the two sellers in THT4001 are introduced by the first person (nom. pl. wes) after the word mäskeñca just before expressing their will to announce the sale.

In this case, Puṇyayaśe and his partner may have asked to become novices in the Yurpāṣka Monastery. We are unsure whether waste 'refuge' (a10) is a rhetoric expression or has a legal implication (e.g. obtaining financial or

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[14] The akṣara on the right of preke does not remain. Whether the locative suffix ne was written or not, the comparability between the two tablets is evident.

juridical support from the authorities or the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery). At any rate, the damaged content reveals that the authorities agreed to their request, and this document was written in presence of several witnesses, including the monk *Pūñyavräddhi* and his colleague(s).

Buddhist disciplines support this view. A rule widely found in the *vinaya* texts states that the *saṃgha* should not recruit a new member who is someone's slave or servant. For example, the Chinese *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* says:

> 從今奴大家不放，不應與出家。若與出家，得突吉羅罪。[15]
>
> From now on, one should not let a slave/servant to be ordained without his owner's permission. If such a slave/servant is ordained, one convicts the *duṣkṛta* sin.

According to the *karmavācanā* belonging to this school that is to be spoken on the occasion of a monk's ordination, the *saṃgha* should ask him a series of questions:

> 汝丈夫不。年滿二十未。非奴不。不與人客作不。不買得不。不破得不。非官人不。不犯官事不。不陰謀王家不。不負人債不。…[16]
>
> Are you male? Are you over 20 years old? Are you not a slave/servant? Are you not hired by someone? Have you never been bought by someone? Have you never been forcibly owned by someone (because of invasion, etc.)? Are you not a slave/servant working for the government? Are you free from any criminal conviction? Have you never been traitorous to the royal family? Do you bear no burden of debt?

Thus, it is reasonable to suggest that the purpose of SI 3656 is to authorize the change of the civil identity of the two applicants. It seems, at least, that the novice monk *Puṇyayaśe* was allowed to move into the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery. In pre-Tang Gaochang (today's Turfan), the population was mainly classified as either 'lay' (俗 *sú*) or 'monastic' (僧 *sēng* for *saṃgha*). This classification involved a distinction between the monastic population and lay people in terms of taxation and labour services. We do not know whether the pre-Tang Kucha also classified its people into these two categories, but one can imagine that in such a 'Buddhist' country, some procedure may have existed to certify one's *entrée* into a monastery or movement from one monastery to another to avoid administrative problems. If this interpretation is plausible, SI 3656 implies the official registration of monks and novices in Kucha. More investigation is necessary to understand the control of the mo-

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[15] Taishō vol. 23, no. 1435, *juan* 21, p. 151 c28–29.
[16] Taishō vol. 23, no. 1435, *juan* 21, p. 156 a28–b2.

nastic population in this powerful oasis state on the eastern branch of the
Silk Road.

5. *Yurpāṣka*: the possible finding spot of SI 3656

As mentioned above, the district of *Yurpāṣka* is located approximately at
today's Kizil grottoes rather than in Yanqi (around 300 km in the east of
Kucha). Several tablets tagged with MQ (*ming-öi* Qizil) in the Berlin collec-
tion attest this toponym, including THT4001, THT4059 and TS43.[17] Re-
cently, we examined more graffiti surviving *in situ* that strongly supports the
identification of the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery with the grottoes.[18] Consequently,
the finding spot of SI 3656 is very likely Kizil as well, although its site sig-
nature is lost. For the same reason, the tablet initially published by Lévi
(1913), through a collaboration with S.F. Oldenburg, is possibly from Kizil,
too. Here is our revised reading:[19]

SI 3669 = SI P/139д

a

1 *śak*(\) *kṣ*[*e*] *kṣu(ṃ)tsa swarṇābūṣpe lānte* [*kṣu*](*ṃne*) ///
2 [*y cau*]*w*ᵃ\ *preke yurpāṣkai saṅkrāmne maṣkeñca sa* ///
3 *purṇāṣ̱ä̱ ñ*[*e*]*m*ᵃ\ *śamaśk*[*eṃ*] *tsukalemeṃn*ᵃ\ *tarkāte tuṃ*[*ts*]*e* ///
4 *akeñe ypoy*ᵃ\ *moko nañīṣṭe*

1 In the eleventh regnal year, [in the reign] of the king *Swarṇābūṣpe*, ///
2 …(At) [that] time, …being present in the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery, ///
3 (sb.) let a [boy] called *Purṇāśa* leave from (his) nurse(?). … of it… ///
4   *Nañīṣṭe*, Prefect of the Frontier (Prefecture).

b

1 *kaw*[*o*]*tsiñe*[20] *yaśotarkontse soyä laraṣk*(*e*)	*śātuma*[*ṣ*]· [21]///
2 *purnakki procer*\ *purnakṣeme*	*akeñe pi* · [*v*]·[22]///
3 *ṣṭakule*	*tyuti s*[*ā*]*wä* ///
4 *atsiñe yoniyatse śiñcake sutasomi proce*[*r*\]	
5 − − [*ṣ*]*eṣ*[*ṣ*]*e kaparcä*[*t*]*āy*ᵃ\ *śa*[*ṃ*]*aśkeṃtse tsukale* − ///[23]	

[17] See Ching's review and arguments in CHING and OGIHARA 2012: 106.

[18] See OGIHARA 2013 and Xinjiang Kucha Academy et al., 2013b.

[19] Based on CHING 2010: 327−329 with slight modification.

[20] Or: *kaw*[*ī*]*tsiñe*.

[21] One may also read *śātuma*[*p*]· ///.

[22] One may also read *pi* ·[*c*]· ///

[23] This line is faint and difficult. The *akṣara* following *tsukale* may be *kā*.

1 *Laraṣke*, son of *Yaśotarko** (being inhabitant?) of *Käw[o] tsi**. | … ///
2 *Purnakṣeme*, brother of *Purnakke** | …of the frontier ///
3 *Ṣṭakule*. | … ///
4 *Śiñcake* of the **Ātsi* district(?)[24] brother of *Sutasome**.
5 …, nurse of the boy *Kapärcätāy* of (some region/clan) ///[25]

As indicated by Lévi, this tablet was written during *Suvarṇapuṣpa*'s reign (?–624CE). We have pointed out that the expression *akeñe ypoy$^{\ddot{a}}$\ moko* does not mean 'the country-elder of the Agnean kingdom' but the prefect of a prefecture near the border of Kucha, possibly not far from the Kizil grottoes.[26] In addition, we read *śak$_{(\backslash)}$kṣ[e]* 'eleven' (a1) instead of *p[i]k\k[c]e* 'fifth', *[y cau]w$^{\ddot{a}}$* (a2) instead of *cauw$^{\ddot{a}}$* and *purṇāśạ̈* (a3) instead of *purṇāyä*. These modifications permit us to improve the translation.

Thanks to Pinault (p.c. April 2009), the hapax *tsukäle* may be regarded as the gerundive of *tsuk-* 'suck, suckle, etc.', and the monastery may have operated an orphanage. Inspired by this idea, we see *tsukäle* as 'nurse, wet nurse'[27] and perceive side a of SI 3669 as the prefect's permission for someone in the monastery to take the boy *Purṇāśä* from his nurse. In other words, this tablet is probably an official document of adoption. Strictly speaking, an orphan is a child whose parents are dead, but the broken text of SI 3669 does not state whether the boy's parents are alive. Henceforth, one cannot exclude other situations, e.g. his parents had donated themselves to the *saṃgha*, leaving their child in the care of their relatives. Interestingly, the Chinese *Sarvāstivādin Vinaya* regulates that a lay Buddhist should not enter the *saṃgha simulataneouly* together with his own child, if the child is under 15 years old, because such an act will cause rumours of intermarriage between monks and nuns.[28] Given that the *Sarvāstivādin* school was deeply influential in Ancient Kucha, part of its population may have gone into the monastic world generation by generation at a certain stage of their lives.

Another tablet SI 6385 also attests the name of *Yurpāṣka*. Our transliteration is as follows:

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[24] *yoniya* is probably a variant of *yoñiya*, which most likely means a kind of administrative district in rural areas (see OGIHARA 2009: 385, 287 and CHING 2013b: 70−72).

[25] An alternative translation is '*Kapärcätāy* of (some region/clan), the boy's nurse'. In this case, the nurse is a male, as revealed by the adjective masculine form ^{o}*ṣṣe*.

[26] See CHING and OGIHARA 2012: 106; Ching, forthc.

[27] CHING 2010: 328.

[28] Taishō vol. 23, no. 1435, *juan* 21, p. 151b4–22. In the following paragraph, the limit is tolerated as under seven years old.

SI 6385 (= SI Strelkov-D/3)

(a)

1 (– –) – *ñay*\ *eñc(i)l*\^(*ä*) – [*s*]·(·) [*k*]· [*k*]· [*ñ*]· *k*(ᵤ)*ś*· –²⁹ –––––– ///
2 – *aits*(*i*) *tun*\ – [*we*]*ṣa ompek patalakṣane*³⁰ *yurpaṣka* ///
3 – *pa*[*l*]*keṣe ñem*\ *ci*[*m*]\^(*ä*) ··*e*[*m*]³¹ (*k*ᵤ*śā*)*nem*(*t*)[*s*]*a piṣaltse ce*(*m*) *wantare*[*s*]*a* ///
4 ///·*e* /// /// – – – – – ∧

1 …(a kind of tax or duty?) imposed on… [*k*ᵤ*śāne*]… ///
2 to give… [we] right there in *Patalakṣa* ..., *Yurpāṣka*... ///
3 …(sb.) called *Palkeśe* …[is able](?)… (valued) at five thousands *k*ᵤ*śāne*s. Because of this affair, ///
4 [*untranslatable*]

(b)

1 – ·*or*(\)³² *yamaṣa* **:** *ce*ᵢ *r*(*e*)*mi takare okau* ∨ [*sa*]*ṅkul*[*e*] ///
2 – *wr*[*au*] *ko* – *kalya no*[*c*]*cot*\ *ṣletaś*[\] (·)*kalya ṣarpala*[*śk*]*e* ///³³

1 He made a (purchase?). These witnesses were (*Saṅkule*) the *Okau*-official, ///
2 …*Wrau*… *Ṣletaś*-official… [*untranslatable*]

The ductus can be classified to Malzhan's standard script. Linguistically, the text shows a few archaic features, e.g. *Yurpaṣka* ((a)2, class. *Yurpāṣka*), *wantäresa* ((a)3, class. *wäntaresa*) and *takare* ((b)1, class. *takāre*). Nevertheless, there is at least one form placed in the classical stage, namely *piśältse* in (a)3, due to an allegro pronunciation of *piś yältse* 'five thousands' as noted by Peyrot (2008: 128–129).

The remaining context does not permit us to determine the exact purpose of this document. It may be some kind of official document or contract, in which the currency of *k*ᵤ*śāne* 'Kuchean coin' is attested in many wooden documents. For example, the price given in the contract THT4001 to buy a young man or boy is 18,000 *k*ᵤ*śāne*s. Given that the sellers in THT4001 (i.e. the party who took the initiative in the transaction) are expressed by the

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[29] To be restored a form of *k*ᵤ*śāne*.

[30] Locative of *patalakṣa**. This proper name is seen in Ot.12.14 as the stem of an adjective *patalakṣāṣṣe**.

[31] The form *cim*(*mp*)*em* (= *cimpem*), 3.pl.prs. of *cämp-* 'to be able to' may be restored here, although this form is usually classified to the late stage (cf. Peyrot, 2008: 55–57).

[32] Perhaps (*kary*)*or** 'buying'.

[33] The word segmentation of this line is uncertain. The hapax *no*[*c*]*cot* (a personal name?) may be a variant of *nocot* 'deposit(?)'. Another hapax *kalya* may be related to an identity or an official title *kalyä* that is seen in THT4001.

first-person plural, there is reason to suggest that the *wesä* 'we' in SI 6385(a)2 indicates the active party of a deed, of which some socially important persons including an *Oko_u*-official called *Saṅkule* were present as witnesses (*remi*).

The IOM, RAS possesses another important tablet concerning currencies in Ancient Kucha, which is thus far the only piece of secular document attesting the local circulation of gold coins (*tinār**< Buddhist Skt. *dīnāra*-):

SI 1931 (SI Toch 1931) = SI Strelkov-D/51

(a)

1 /// [*s*]*u*[34] − − ///   /// [*4*[35] *1000*] − [*100 50*]
2 /// *postanont*[*ä*] *teṃ* ///   /// [*10000*][36] *6 1000 8 100 50*
3 ///   *eneś*[*n*]*e* [*k_u*]*ś*[*ā*]*ni 2* [*10000*] − [*1000 5 100*] −
4 ///   *paiykānt*[*s*]*aṃ cāneṃ ka*[*m*]*ā(nt)*[*e 3*] − − ///
5 ///   *y*[*u*]*sa*[37] *cā*[*n*](*e*)*ṃ wsaṃ*\ *1000 5* − − ///

(b)

1 /// [*ly*](*ipār*)[*e k_uś*](*ā*)*neṃntsa 2 1000 3 100 40*
2 /// · [*au*] − *tinārạ̄ṛanta 3* [*c*]*ān*[*i*] *3* −[38] ·*s*· −[39] − *trau kạ* [*tt*]·[40] − − (*k*)_[*u*]*ś*(*āni*) *9 1000 8 100 6*
3 /// *1000* [*2*] *100* (− −)

SI 1931 is thus far the only piece of secular document attesting the circulation of gold coins in the pre-Tang Kucha. Both the script ductus and the language appear quite standard, although a closer reading must be done after infrared photography. Because the text is extremely faint and the figures are mostly broken, its full translation cannot be determined at this stage. Nevertheless, the readable parts look very interesting. Some fixed expressions have been found from other wooden documents, e.g. *postanontä* 'later, latter', *eneś*[*n*]*e* [*k_u*]*ś*(*ā*)*ni* 'Kuchean coins in cash(?)'[41] and the verbal form

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[34] Or [*p*]*u*.

[35] Or [*5*].

[36] For more on the difference between the figures 10000 and 100, see CHING and OGIHARA 2012: 108.

[37] Or *y*[*u*]*s*[*ai*].

[38] Possibly [*100*] or [*10000*].

[39] Perhaps to be restored wsaṃ\.

[40] To be read either [*tt*]· or [*nt*]·.

[41] For more on the Kuchean term for 'cash', see CHING and OGIHARA 2012: 108.

lyipāre '(somethings) remained' as the expression for 'balance' in Kuchean accounting. Interestingly, this tablet records a payment to a group of painters or calligraphers (*paiykānt*[*s*]*aṃ< pik-* 'write, paint'), which is meaningful to interpret the development of Kuchean art. The word *paikāntsa** '± painter, calligrapher' was previously only seen from a wall inscription in Kizil Cave No. 181.[42] Its attestation in SI 1931 is the first in Kuchean documents.

SI 1931 is thus far the only piece of secular document that attests multiple currencies in Ancient Kucha, and three kinds of money are indicated: *cāne** '(Chinese?) coins', *k*u*śāne** 'Kuchean coins' and *tinār** 'gold coins'. It is still difficult to identify them as various archaeological types of unearthed coins, but at any rate, SI 1931 supports Xuanzang's depiction of Kucha that 'the currencies are gold coins, silver coins and small copper/bronze coins'.[43] In this regard, SI 1931 is one of the most valuable documents for historians of Chinese Turkestan.

6. SI 6456 and THT4063:
a series of reports?

Soon after our first visit to IOM, RAS in 2009, the parallelism between THT4063 and SI 6456 (Strelkov-D/85) came to our notice. The condition of the wooden tablet THT4063 is better, so it is useful for restoring some damaged parts of SI 6456.

As revealed by its site signature (T III MQ 212), THT4063 was found at the Kizil grottoes by the third German expedition. It is also a document about the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery. This name is not preserved in SI 6456, but both THT4063 and SI 6456 mentioned a person called *Tarmatāse* (<Skt. *Dharmadāsa-*, lit. 'slave/servant of the Law'). Therefore, they likely concern the same monastic community. The remaining text of SI 6456 is almost perfectly parallel to THT4063. The only difficulty is a broken passage near the beginning of SI 6456, namely *s· lt· – śco – – –* (line 1), which should correspond to THT4063a1 *– – [le] – – – [ntso k]·* ; however, different content is probably involved. In addition, the broken texts *ṣamāne* /// 'monk' (line 1) and *ekita* /// 'help' (line 2) found in the upper-right margin of SI 6456 may be useful in restoring the lost part of THT4063.

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[42] Attested as pl.com. *pai*[*k*]*āṃtsämpa*, see Xinjiang Kucha Academy et al. 2013a: 345.
[43] CHING and OGIHARA 2010: 102 n. 56.

THT4063 (The passages matching SI 6456 in bold)

a

1 /// [l]· – [ts]· lān[t̠]₍̇₎ [k̟u̇śiñ]ñ(e) ∨ (oro)c[c](e **lā**)[**nt**]\ **orocce omo[r]k̟**₍̇₎
ñ[äk]tents(e) s[o]y[ä]\ ⁴⁴ – – [le] – – – [ntso k]· n[i] s̟s̟· (–)

2 mā̆ – /// /// – yurpā[s̟](kai saṅk)r(ā)[mn](e) w[r]· – ·[ai sa]ṅka – – – ·[i] – – – [ly]·
[eka]m̟(ñ)ñ(e m)ā̆ (s̟)ai artstsa pikul̠\ orocce lānt̠ ś(ar)s̟a(s̟)y(em) orots[ts]e wa-⁴⁵

3 /// – – – ·e ·i – ·k· tse (ma)ñ(i)y(e) pr · **t̠ar̠**\ ⁴⁶ **ta(r)matāse ñem̠**\ † **se tarmatāse**
lantaññana⁴⁷ **pre-**

4 /// – – – – /// /// – – – – r·· ·e ·e [r]ñ[e]sa⁴⁸ **mā s̠[p̠]**\ **lam̟s̟īt̠ar̠**\ **ta ñake se tar-**
matāse pkāte pi[ku]l[s̟]e(m̟) k̟uśānem̟ wiltse yurpās̟ka-

5 /// s̟s̟ai e(k)[s̠](a)ly[i]m̟ – /// /// l· – – – – [salk](a) **t̠aṅ[k](wa)lyesa † ñi**
p[u]t̠[ta]tā[s]i yärs̟al[ñ]esa c[e p]ete – tarmatā-

b

1 /// – [ś̠]c̠a [śā̆]mn(a) pī̆ś̠\ – – – – /// /// ·emñe ·[s]· [t]· – – – – – **m̟antak̠**\ **tākoy**ᵃ\
m̟akte ce parsone om̟s̟ame(m̟) papek[au] e(m̟)[s̟]k(e)tstse p[o] ·[t]· [ññe]⁴⁹

2 /// ·· r· ke okau saṅkai[ś]e [ā]ks̟(a) [s]u – – [p](ai)[ka] ‡—

a

1 /// the king of …, [the great **king** of Kucha]**, son of the great *Omork***
god/majesty, …///

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⁴⁴ Here, the passage [l]· – [ts]· lān[t K̟uśiñ]ñ(e oro)c[c](e lā)[nt] orocce Omo[r]k
ñ(ä)ktents(e) s[o](y) contains a series of epithets of a certain Kuchean king. Strikingly, to
relate Kuchean kings with *Omork** is only attested on these two tablets. *Omork** seems to be
either a deity, a foreign sovereign('s title?) or a toponym. Its variants and derivatives are
attested in THT2994, SI B Toch./11 and PK L.C. XXXVI, etc., cf. Ching 2010: 398−399.

Incidentally, the expression *ñäktem̟ts soy* 'son of gods' that Winter (1963) claimed to have
read in a Prākrit-Tocharian B bilingual document kept in Berlin and understood as a transposi-
tion of Skt. *devaputra-* is thus far not been found among the bilingual tablets kept in Berlin.
In THT4063 and SI 6456, the text evidently reads *ñäktentse* (sg. gen.) instead of *ñäktem̟ts*
(pl. gen.). If Winter's reading is reliable, what he studied may have been lost after he pub-
lished his paper.

⁴⁵ To be restored *walo* 'king' together with the beginning of the next line.

⁴⁶ To be restored *pretär* following its counterpart in SI 6456. It is probably a verbal form,
although providing a satisfactory solution is difficult. We temporarily take it as the
3sg.mid.prs. of *pär-* 'to carry, bear', of which the ideal form should be **partär*. It may be an
analogical form influenced by *premane* or *preñca*, which has *-e-* as a thematic vowel; alterna-
tively, the class III of the present system may have influenced this root.

⁴⁷ The f.pl.nom./obl. of *lantaññe**. This feminine form is not registered by Adams (1999;
2013) or Thomas (1964), but it is seen in PK NS 63a3: *l[a](n)t[a]ñña[na] klai(na)*, lit. 'the
king's women', cf. Ogihara 2009: 305–306.

⁴⁸ Perhaps to be restored (p)e(rn)e[r]ñ[e]sa.

⁴⁹ To be restored p[o](s)[t](a)[ññe].

2 /// ...(in) the *Yurpāṣka* (Monastery)… [a monastery… **it was not a possession… Each year, they informed]** the great king. The great king… ///

3 /// **…[a servant] by the name of *Tarmatāse* [is given]. This *Tarmatāse*… royal…**

4 /// but he was not working because of …**Now, this *Tarmatāse*** intended to give(?) two thousand *k_uśāne*s as a yearly (amount) to(?) the *Yurpāṣka*

5 /// …[was… season… he showed]… by (giving a) mercy. By honouring me, (namely) [*Puttatāse*,… *Tarmatāse*]…

b

1 /// …people… five… Thus it shall be as it is written(?) above in this document. Forever in the future… ///

2 /// …*Saṅkaiśe* the *Okau*-official announced. *Su*-? [wrote].

SI 6456 (= SI Strelkov-D/85)

1 /// **(lān)[t̲]**₍₎ **[o]rocce [o]mor̲k̲\ ñä[k]tentse s[o]y**ᵃ**\ s· lt· − śco − − − [ni]ṣṣe ṣamāne** ///

2 /// **(e)k(a)ññe mā ṣai † arts[t]sa pikul̲\ orocce lāṃnt̲\ śar̲ṣa̲ṣyeṃ or[o]ts[ts](e) wa̲lo ekita** ///

3 /// **(ma)ñiye pre̲ṯa̲r\ tarmatāse ñe̲ṃ\ se [ta]rmatāse lantaññana (p)re** ///

4 /// **[ña]ke se tarma[t]āse** ///

1 /// …(the great) **[king]** (of Kucha), **son of the great *Omork*** god/majesty,… ///

2 /// …**it was not a possession… Each year, they informed the great king. The great king**… help… ///

3 /// **…a servant by the name of *Tarmatāse* is given. This *Tarmatāse*… royal…**

4 /// **Now, this *Tarmatāse*…** ///

There is no trace of writing on the verso of SI 6456; hence, the lower part of its contents would have been written on another tablet that has been lost.

The ductus of THT4063 and SI 6456 are standard. Generally, their language can be dated to the classical stage. [50] The spelling <śc̲a̲> in THT4063b1 can be dated to both archaic and classical stages,[51] but this faint *akṣara* may also be read as [ṣ]c̲a̲. Therefore, precisely dating THT4063 and SI 6456 is still impossible. Moreover, determining whether SI 6456 is a straightforward duplicate of THT4063 or vice versa is difficult. A safer interpretation is to view both as annual reports written in different years and submitted to the royal house or some responsible officers. At any rate, the

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[50] For example, *wiltse* 'two thousand' in THT4063a4 is classical according to Peyrot (2008: 128–129, 184).

[51] For a discussion of <śc̲a̲>, cf. PEYROT 2008: 179–180.

dates of these two tablets are not far from each other because the same person *Tarmatāse* is mentioned in both. They are very probably older than the seventh-century wooden *laissez-passer*s found by Pelliot.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, we give our reading and interpretation of the thus-far unedited tablets SI 3656 (SI Р/136в), 3669 (SI Р/139д), 6385 (SI Strelkov-D/3), 1931 (SI Strelkov-D/51) and 6456 (SI Strelkov-D/85). Among them, SI 3656, 3669 and 6385 attest the name of *Yurpāṣka*. They are good examples to indicate the significance of the Russian Collection for the study of human geography in the western regions of China.

SI 3656 is especially valuable to scholars because it reveals the practice of copying formulae from old documents to make new ones. As far as can be seen, SI 3656 is likely a certification of change of identity. It seems to have been a necessary document for the novice *Puṇyayaśe* and his partner to settle in the *Yurpāṣka* Monastery, which was located around the Kizil grottoes.

The practice of making documents by copying formulae from old documents or a model text is further implied by SI 6456 and THT4063, both of which belong to a series of yearly reports to Kuchean kings. Given that it is about the same person *Tarmatāse*, these two tablets were possibly issued by the same group of staff. Because THT4063 was unearthed from the Kizil grottes, SI 6456 is also likely to be from the same site. Infrared photography will be indispensable to compare the two tablets thoroughly.

SI 1931 is another important piece. The severely damaged text proves that three currencies, k_uśāne* 'Kuchean coins', *cāne** '(Chinese?) coins' and *tinār** 'gold coins', circulated in Kucha simultaneously at a certain historical period before the Tang Conquest.

In conclusion, the wooden documents kept in the IOM, RAS are essential first-hand materials to study Buddhist sites in the Kucha region. Their connection to the Berlin collection invites scholars to continue tracing the activities of Russian and German expeditions in Chinese Turkestan in the early twentieth century.

Glossary

The transcribed forms are used here in the place of the transliterated ones. (PN for personal name; exclamation marks for damaged attestations).

Akeñe	'of the Frontier'	m.sg.nom. *akeñe*	SI 3669a4, b2
Agamadhāre	'*Āgama*-holder'	sg.nom. *Agamadhāre*	SI 3656b2!
Arañ̃e	'forest-dweller, ascetic'	sg.nom. *Ārañye*	SI 3656b2
artstsa	'each'		SI 6456.2; THT4063a2
allek	'other'	m.sg.gen. *ālyekepi*	SI 3656a9
Atsiñe	'of *Ātsi'	m.sg.nom. *Atsiñe*	SI 3669a4
āks-	'to announce'	3sg.prt. *ākṣa*	THT4063b2
Ābhidhārmike	'one learned in the *abhidhārma*'		
		sg.nom. *Ābhidhārmike*	SI 3656b1!
āyor	'gift, donation'	sg.obl. *āyor*	SI 3656a8
emṣketstse	'even, unto'	*emṣketstse*	THT4063b1
		enṣketse	SI 3656a8
ekañ̃e	'possession'	sg.nom. *ekaṃñ̃e*	THT4063a2
		sg.nom. *ekañ̃e*	SI 6456.2
ekalymi	'subject to'	*ekälymī*	SI 3656a4! (or: *ekälymi*)
ekito*	'help'	sg.obl. *ekita*	SI 6456.2!
ekṣalye	'season'	pl.obl. *ekṣalyiṃ*	THT4063a5!
eneśne	'in cash' (for accounting, lit. 'in one's eyes')		SI 1931(a)3!
eñcil	'imposed'	sg.nom./obl. *eñcil*	SI 6385(a)1
ai-	'to give'	3sg.opt. *āyi*	SI 3656a7!
		inf. *aitsi*	SI 6385(a)2!
omṣameṃ	'(from) above'		THT4063b1
Okau	Official title/position	nom. *Okau*	SI 6385(b)1; THT4063b2
		nom. *Oko_u*	SI 3656a6
Omork*	'?'	obl. *Omork*	SI 6456.1; THT4063a1
ompek	'right there'		SI 6385(a)2
orotstse	'great, big'	m.sg.nom. *orotstse*	SI 6456.2; THT4063a2!
		m.sg.obl. *orocce*	SI 6456.1, 2; THT4063a1!,1, 2;

Kapä[rc]ä[t]āy [PN]		nom. *Kapä[rc]ä[t]āy*	SI 3669b5
kalya	Official title/position(?)	sg.nom. *kalya*	SI 6385(b)2!
kärs-	'to inform (K.)'	3.pl.impf. *śarsäṣyeṃ*	THT4063a2
		3.pl.impf. *śarsäṣyeṃ*	SI 6456.2
*Käw[o]tsiñe**	'of *Käw[o]tsi*'	m.sg.obl. *Käw[o]tsiñe*	SI 3669b1
*kₐśāne**	'Kuchean coin'	pl.nom. *kₐśāni*	SI 1931(a)3!, (b)2!
		pl.obl. *kₐśāneṃ*	THT4063a4
		pl.perl. *kₐśāneṃtsa*	SI 6385(a)3!
kₐśiññe '	Kuchean, of Kucha'	m.sg.obl. *kₐśiññe*	THT4063a1
ketara	'to whomever'		SI 3656a9!
kettrā	'to whomever'		SI 3656a4
*kṣuṃ**	'reign'	sg.perl. *kṣuṃtsa*	SI 3669a1!
		sg.loc. *kṣuṃne*	SI 3669a1!
ksa	indef.pron.	gen. *ketara*	SI 3656a9
		gen.: *kettrā*	SI 3656a4
*cāne**	'coin'	pl.obl. *cāneṃ*	SI 1931(a)4, 5!
cämp-	'to be able to'	3.pl.prs. *cimmpeṃ*	SI 6385(a)3!
ñake	'now'		SI 6456.4; THT4063a4
ñakte	'god'	sg.gen. *ñäktentse*	SI 6456.1; THT4063a1
ñäś	'I'	sg.gen. *ñi*	THT4063a5
		du.nom. *wene*	SI 3656a4, 6, 7
		pl.nom. *wes*	SI 3656a4
		pl.nom. *wesä*	SI 6385(a)2
		pl.gen. *wesäñ*	SI 3656a7, 10
ñäsk-	'to demand'	Ger.I.m.pl.nom. *ñäṣṣalyi*	SI 3656a9
*ñem**	'name'	sg.obl. *ñem*	SI 3656a3; 3669a3!; 6385(a)3; 6456.3; THT4063a3
ta	'then'		THT4063a4
Tarmatāse [PN] < Skt. *Dharmadāsa-*		nom. *Tarmatāse*	SI 6456.3, 3, 4!; THT4063a3, 3, 4!
täṅkw-äññ-	'to love '	Abstr.perl.: *täṅkwalyesa*	THT4063a5!
tärk-	'let go; allow, etc.'	3sg.prt. *tärkāte*	SI 3669a3
*tinār**	'gold coin'	pl.nom. *tināränta*	SI 1931(b)2

nes-	'to be'	inf.loc. *nestsine*	SI 3656a7
		3sg.impf. *ṣai*	SI 6456.2; THT4063a2, 5
		3sg.opt. *tākoy*	THT4063b1
		3sg.opt. *tāko$_i$*	SI 3656a9!, 10
		3pl.prt. *takare*	SI 6385(b)1
Nañīṣṭe [PN]		nom. *Nañīṣṭe*	SI 3669a4
no	'but'		SI 3656a7
nowcot	'deposit(?)'		SI 6385(b)2!
patalakṣa*	'? (proper name?)'	sg.loc. *patalakṣane*	SI 6385(a)2
parso	'document'	sg.perl. *pärsosa*	SI 3656a8
		sg.loc. *parsone*	THT4063b1
Palkeśe [PN]		nom. *Palkeśe*	SI 6385(a)3!
päk-	'to intend'	3sg.prt. *pkāte*	THT4063a4
pär-	'to carry'	3sg.prs.(?) *pretär*	SI 6456.3; THT4063a3
		3pl.prt. *kamānte*	SI 1931(a)4!
pärk-	'to ask'	Ger.I.m.pl.nom. *prekṣalyi*	SI 3656a9
pälsk-	'to think'	1pl.prt. *pälskamo*	SI 3656a6
pik-	'to write'	3sg.prt. *paika*	THT4063b2!
		3pl.prt. *paikānte*	SI 1931(a)4
		prt.part.m.sg.nom. *papekau*	THT4063b1
pikul	'year'	sg.obl. *pikul*	SI 6456.2; THT4063a2
pikulṣe	'prting to a year'	m.pl.obl. *pikulṣeṃ*	THT4063a4
piś	'five'		THT4063b1(*pīś*)
piśältse	'five thousands'		SI 6385(a)3
Pūñyavräddhi [PN] < Skt. *Puṇyavṛddhi-*		nom. *Pūñyavräddhi*	SI 3656b2
Puṇyayaśe [PN] < Skt. *Puṇyayaśas*		nom. *Puṇyayaśe*	SI 3656a3
		gen. *Puṇyayaśi*	SI 3656b1!
Puttatāse* [PN] < Skt. *Buddhadāsa-*		gen. *Puttatāsi*	THT4063a5
Purṇāśä [PN]		nom. *Purṇāśä*	SI 3669a3
Purnakke* [PN]		gen. *Purnakki*	SI 3669b2
Purnakṣeme [PN] < Skt. *Pūrṇakṣema-*		nom. *Purnakṣeme*	SI 3669b2
paikāntsa*	'± painter, calligrapher'	pl.nom. *paiykāntsaṃ*	SI 1931(a)4!
postanu	'later, latter'	m.sg.obl. *postanontä*	SI 1931(a)2
postaññe	'later'	m.sg.obl. *postaññe*	SI 3656a8; THT4063b1

preke	'time'	sg.obl. *preke*	SI 3656a1!, 8; 3669a2
		sg.abl. *prekemeṃ*	SI 3656b1!
procer	'brother'	sg.nom. *procer*	SI 3669b2
plāce	'word, speech'	sg.obl. *placä*	SI 3656a6
mañiye	'servant'	sg.nom. *mañiye*	SI 6456.3; THT4063a3
mant	'so'	*maṃt*	SI 3656a4, 6
		mäntak	THT4063b1
mā	'not'	*mā*	SI 6456.2; THT4063a2, 4
		ma	SI 3656a9, 9
mānäkke*	'?'	sg.com. *mānäkkempā*	SI 3656a6
mäkte	'as'	*mäkte*	THT4063b1
mäktse			SI 3656a9!
mäsk-	'to be'	prs.part. *mäskeñcā*	SI 3656a3
		prs.part. *mäskeñca*	SI 3669a2
mi-	'to harm'	3pl.prs. *miyäskeṃme*	SI 3656a5
Yaśotarko* [PN]		gen. *Yaśotarkontse*	SI 3669b1
yām-	'to do'	3pl.prs. *yamaskenme*	SI 3656a5
		3sg.prt. *yamaṣa*	SI 6385(b)1
		prt.part.f.pl.nom. *yāmwa*	SI 3656a2!
yärs-	'to honor'	Abstr.I.perl.: *yärṣalñesa*	THT4063a5
Yurpāṣka	Name of monastery	nom. *Yurpaṣka*	SI 6385(a)2!
		nom. *Yurpāṣka*	THT4063a2!, 4!
		obl. *Yurpāṣkai*	SI 3669a2!
		Yūrpaṣk·	SI 3656a2!
y[u]sa	'?'		SI 1391(a)5
yoniyatse	'of *yoniya*'	m.sg.nom. *yoniyatse*	SI 3669b4
Ypoy-moko	'± Prefect'	sg.nom. *Ypoy-moko*	SI 3669a4
reme	'witness'	pl.nom. *remi*	SI 6385(b)1
lakle	'pain'	sg.obl. *lakle*	SI 3656a5
lantañ̃e*	'royal'	f.pl.nom./obl. *lantañ̃ana*	SI 6456.3; THT4063a3
Laraṣke [PN]		nom. *Laraṣke*	SI 3669b1!
lāṃs-	'to work'	3sg.impf. *laṃṣītär*	THT4063a4
lip-	'remain, be left over'	3pl.prt. *lyipāre*	SI 1931(b)1!

walo	'king'	sg.nom. *walo*	SI 6456.2; THT4063a2
		sg.obl. *lānt*	SI 6456.1; THT4063a1, 1, 2
		sg.obl. *lāṃnt*	SI 6456.2
		sg.gen. *lānte*	SI 3669a1
waste	'refuge'	sg.nom. *waste*	SI 3656a10
wäntare	'affair'	sg.perl. *wantäresa*	SI 6385(b)3
wäs-	'to dwell'	3sg.impf. *wsaṣi*	SI 3656a6
wiltse	'two thousand'		THT4063a4
we-	'to tell'	1pl.prs. *weskem*	SI 3656a8
Wrau [PN]		nom. *Wrau*	SI 6385(b)2!
śakk ṣe	'eleven'		SI 3669a1!
śamaśke	'boy'	sg.obl. *śamaśkeṃ*	SI 3669a3!
		sg.gen.: *śamaśkeṃtse*	SI 3669b5!
Śiñcake [PN]		nom. *Śiñcake*	SI 3669b4
śaumo	'person, man'	pl.nom./obl. *śāmna*	THT4063b1
ṣañ āñm	'(one)self'	*ṣañ āñmo*	SI 3656a7
ṣanmire	'novice monk'	sg.nom. *ṣanmire*	SI 3656a3
ṣamāne	'monk'	sg.nom. *ṣamāne*	SI 6456.1!
ṣarm	'cause'	sg.perl. *ṣarmtsa*	SI 3656a6
Ṣṭakule [PN]		nom. *Ṣṭakule*	SI 3669b3
ṣpä	'and'	*ṣp*	THT4063a4
Ṣletaś [Official title]		sg.nom. *Ṣletaś*	SI 6385(b)2
saṅkārām	'monastery'	sg.obl. *saṅkārāmä*	SI 3656a2, 10!
		sg.obl. *sāṅkārāmä*	SI 3656a7
Saṅkaiśe [PN]		nom. *Saṅkaiśe*	THT4063b2
Saṅkule [PN]		nom. *Saṅkule*	SI 6385(b)1!
saṅkrām	'monastery'	sg.loc. *saṅkrāmne*	SI 3656a9; 3669a2
sāṅk	'(monastic) community'	sg.obl. *sāṅkä*	SI 3656a7
sälk-	'to show'	3sg.prt. *salka*	THT4063a5
sim	'bundary, limit'	sg.nom./obl. *sim*	SI 1931(a)5
su	dem.pron.	m.sg.obl. *ce$_u$*	SI 3656a1, 2, 6!, 7, 9, b1, 4
		m.sg.obl. *cauw*	SI 3669a2!
		n.sg.obl. *tu*	SI 6385(a)2
		n.sg.gen. *tuṃtse*	SI 3669a3!

Sutasome* [PN] < Skt. *Sutasoma-*		gen.sg. *Sutasomi*	SI 3669b4
se	dem.pron.	m.sg.nom. *se*	SI 6456.3, 4; THT4063a3, 4
		m.sg.obl. *ce*	SI 3656a8; 6385(a)3; THT4063a5!, b1
		m.pl.nom. *ce$_i$*	SI 6385(b)1
		m.pl.nom. *cai*	SI 3656a5!; THT4063a5!
seṃ	dem.pron.	n.sg.obl. *teṃ*	SI 3656a4
soy	'son'	sg.nom. *soy*	SI 6456.1; THT4063a1
		sg.nom. *soyä*	SI 3669b1
spārtt-	'to turn'	prs.part. *sportomane*	SI 3656a1
Swarṇābūṣpe [PN] < Skt. *Suvarṇapuṣpa-*		nom. *Swarṇābūṣpe*	SI 3669a1
tsukäle	'nurse(?)'	abl.sg. *tsukälemeṃn*	SI 3669a3
		tsukäle − ///	SI 3669b5

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An Old Uighur Receipt Document Newly Discovered in the Turfan Museum

Abstract: This article introduces an Old Uighur document, which had been excavated seemingly in the Bezeklik Caves and was recently re-discovered in the Turfan Museum. It is supposed to be a receipt for the payment of the poll tax (*qupčïr*) of the Mongol period, and to be closely related to the Old Uighur administrative orders of the St. Petersburg collection (SI 6544).
Key words: Old Uighur document, Turfan, receipt, taxation, *qupchir*, Mongol Empire

Introduction

The Old Uighur texts unearthed from the Bezeklik Caves (Turfan, Xinjiang, PRC) have been the target of the academic researchers of Central Asian history and Old Turkic philology. In particular, the Turfan Bureau of Cultural Relics excavated a huge number of the texts in 1980–1981.[1] Among them, five Old Uighur Manichaean letter correspondences from the tenth and eleventh century are considered the most noteworthy materials for the history of the religion.[2] Also, other texts excavated simultaneously, most of which are the Buddhist fragments, are now under cataloguing through the international cooperation.[3]

[1] Tulufan diqu wenwu guanlisuo 1985.
[2] TXM; Yoshida, Moriyasu 2000.
[3] Cf. Matsui 2009b, 42.

Besides them, six Old Uighur secular documents had been earlier brought under the preservation in the Turfan Museum: five of them are Old Uighur administrative orders of compulsory requisition for fodder;[4] and another is a document concerning the transaction of Buddhist portraits.[5] So far as reported, all of the six should have been excavated in front of one of the Bezeklik Caves in October 1974,[6] and accordingly they should have been given inventory numbers beginning with 74TB ("[19]74, T[urfan], B[ezeklik]"). However, the precise inventory numbers for them were not informed in the previous scholarly publications, and afterward these texts got substantially inaccessible in the Turfan Museum.[7]

Quite recently, the Turfan Museum has conducted reorganization of their collections and rediscovered those six Old Uighur documents. Actually they had been preserved under a single inventory number 81TB60:6, mistaken as a group. Considering the information in the former publication, the Turfan Museum has now given them new inventory numbers beginning with 74TB.[8]

More notably, they are accompanied by another Old Uighur fragment thus far unpublished. It is highly plausible that the fragment should be excavated in October 1974, on the same occasion with the other six documents. Thus the Turfan Museum has given this fragment a new inventory number as 74TB60:6-2. In this paper, we would present the edition of this brand-new fragment.

The text is written on the sheet of dark yellow paper (14.7 cm in length and 11.5 cm in width) and in the so-called cursive Uighur script which may well date the text to the Mongol period. The upper part of the text is faded for any reason, and rather difficult to decipher (see Pl. 1).

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[4] GENG 1980; cf. UMEMURA 1981; KURBAN 1984. For the latest revised edition, see MATSUI 2009a.

[5] DOLKUN, UMEMURA, MORIYASU 1990; UMEMURA 1990, 177–182.

[6] GENG 1980; DOLKUN, UMEMURA, MORIYASU 1990, 13–14; UMEMURA 1990, 177; cf. KURBAN 1984, 105, for another date of excavation as early 1976.

[7] Cf. MATSUI 2009a, 340, fn. 1.

[8] 74TB60:6-3, 74TB60:6-4, 74TB60:6-5, 74TB60:6-6 for the four fragments of the five administrative orders, and 74TB60:6-1 for the document of the transaction of Buddhist portraits.
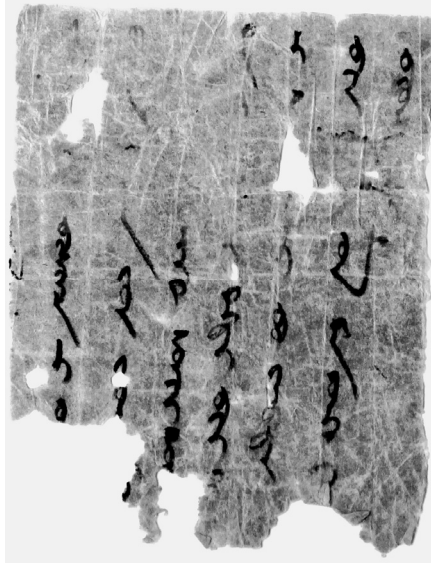
Pl. 1
74TB60:6-2 (Turfan Museum)
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Text

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1  [        ](..)L[                                    ]
2  y[    yïl] bešinč ay ʼW[                             ]
3  b(ačaγa) (t)[a]r(qan) yụz-i[n]t(ä) (b)[olmïš? taz?   ]
4  (      ) iki stïr qu(p)[čïr kümüš                    ]
5  -tä (b)[ir stï]r tägdi bir s(tïr) [qupčïr? kümüš?-   ]
6  -ni s[anap] [alï]p bo yanụḍ [berdimiz    bo tamγa/nišan]
7  biz-[nin](g) ol män ongš(a)y [                       ]
8  bit(i)[dim]
```

Translation

₁…………….
₂The [....] year, the fifth month, [on] the [.... day].
₃₋₄Of two *stïr* of the [*qupčïr*-silver] that B[olmïš-Taz?] of Bačaγa-*tarqan*'s century [should pay?], [one *stïr*] has arrived (= we received). ₄₋₅[We?] counted and received (this) one [*stïr* of the *qupčïr*-silver], and ₅₋₆[we issued] this receipt. ₆₋₇[This seal/signature] is ours. ₇I, Ongšay [.....], ₈wrote (this receipt).

Analytic Reconstruction of the Context

It is rather difficult to reconstruct the whole context of the document, though we would present the text and translation above, based on the analysis as follows.

The first keyword is $_3$*yụz-i[n]t(ä)* "of/in the century (of)." Uig. *yụz ~ yüz* "hundred" can be interpreted as "a century, a unit of one hundred households" to correspond to Mong. *ǰaɣun* (>*ǰaɣud* (pl.)) and Chin. 百戸 *bai-hu*. The following locative suffix *-i[n]t(ä) ~ -intä* (= *-YNT'*) is well restorable in comparison with other attestations of *yụz-intä* in the Uighur documents SI 6544 (SI Uig. 14 = USp 53(1–4)) and *U9251: the former consists of four administrative orders for compulsory requisition issued to a single person named Bolmïš-Taz, who belonged to a century of one named Bačaɣa-*tarqan* and delivered a horse at each of the requisition orders to convert into a part of the *qupčïr*-tax imposed on him[9]; and the latter should be a fragment of the record of the grain for land tax, collected by six decuries (Uig. *on ~ on-ï* = Chin. 十戸 *shi-hu,* unit of ten households) under a century headed by one named Quduqun.[10]

The second keyword is $_6$*yanuḍ ~ yanut* "something given in return for or in place of." Even though it is written as if *Y'PD'Z*, it should be read as *Y'NWD = yanuḍ (~yanut)*: we find the similar stroke for *yanuḍ* in the attestations of *yanuḍ bitig* "a receipt document" (SUK Mi18$_4$ and U 5960$_{v6}$).[11] Here *yanuḍ* alone must be interpreted as "a receipt."[12]

These two keywords may well lead us to suppose that this document was a receipt (*yanuḍ ~ yanut*) for the payment of any tax or labor service imposed on a person/persons belonging to a century (*yüz*). Taking into consideration such a function of our document, we can further supplement the context.

Line 1 of our document is almost illegible except for a few strokes including *-L-*, and the ductus of the writing is smaller than that of the lines 2–8. Thus, we would be allowed to consider that the document substantially begins with line 2, which apparently concerns the date of the document: other ex-

[9] MATSUI 2015b, 63–64.

[10] MATSUI (forthcoming).

[11] MATSUI 2005a, 28–36; MATSUI 2015a, 102–103.

[12] In an unpublished document *U9326 (T III M 253), we find another attestation of *yanuḍ* to stand alone for "a receipt." This document has been lost from the Berlin Collection during the Second World War, and is now available only in the photograph taken by late Prof. Reşid Rahmeti ARAT during 1933–1938. We are deeply grateful to Prof. Osman Fikri SERTKAYA (Istanbul) for his kind permission to investigate the photograph.

amples of the Old Uighur receipt document (*yanut bitig*) mentioned above also begin with their date. The beginning of line 2 should be restored as either *y[ïlan yïl]* "the Serpent year" or *y[unt yïl]* "the Horse year," the definite date of which will be argued below. *'W[....]* after *bešinč ay* "the fifth month" should be any of *(ü)[č]~ üč* "three," *o[n] ~ on* "ten" or *o[tuz] ~ otuz* "thirty," evidently concerning the day of issue.

The expression $_5$*tägdi* (past tense) < v. *täg-* "to reach, to arrive at" should be interpreted as "was paid, was delivered"[13] and suggest that the sender of this receipt (*yanuḍ ~ yanut*) did receive something, which should have been described in the preceding text and be related with $_4$*iki stïr* "two *stïr*." Uig. *stïr* was a unit of weight (ca. 40 grams) and then a currency denomination equal to the value of the silver of the same weight. And the stroke following $_4$*iki stïr* is written as *XW(.)[...].* From the context, we dare to restore it as *qu(p)[čïr kümüš]* "the *qupčïr*-silver": Uig. *qu(p)[čïr] ~ qupčïr* (~Pers. *qupčūr* < Mong. *qubčiri*) is a notorious poll tax installed on the Eurasian-wide under the Mongol rule, and was to be paid in silver cash.[14] And we may note that the combination *qupčïr kümüš* is also attested in several administrative orders.[15]

The locative suffix $_5$*-T'* (= -*ta/-tä*), however, does not allow us to interpret that $_4$*iki stïr qu(p)[čïr kümüš]* "two *stïr* of the *qup*[*čïr*-silver]" wholly arrived at the sender of this receipt. Therefore, we would tentatively restore $_5$*(b)[ir stï]r* "one *stïr*" in the illegible part following the locative -*tä*, and consider "[one *stïr*] of two *stïr* of the *qupčïr*-silver" as the received material: in other words, this receipt was issued at the partial payment for the *qupčïr*-tax, and "two *stïr* (*iki stïr*)" was the annual burden on a person belonging to the century.

Comparing with the other examples of Old Uighur receipts (*yanuḍ ~ yanut bitig*), we can restore the following context, which confirms the transaction of the silver cash and issue of this receipt: $_5$*bir s(tïr)* "one *stïr*" just after *tägdi* may lend support for our restoration of the preceding *(b)[ir stï]r*; in the Old Uighur sale contracts we frequently find the combination *sanap al-* (<v. *san-* "to count" and *al-* "to take") for transaction,[16] and then we can restore $_6$*s[anap] [alï]p* in the lacuna before *bo yanuḍ [berdimiz]* "[we issued] this receipt." Even though any seal (*tamɣa*) or signature (*nišan*) is not visible on the extant

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[13] E.g., 3Kr 30c = USp 121, $_2$*[..üü](r) bilä iki šïɣ tarïɣ tägdi* "together with [X] of millet, two *šïɣ* of wheat arrived (= was paid)"; U5960v = Matsui 2005, 31–33 and Matsui 2015a, 102.

[14] Matsui 2005b, 74–76, 78.

[15] *U9252(a) = Matsui 2014, B5$_6$; *U9259 = Matsui 2014, 619, C5$_2$; *U9255 = Matsui 2014, 619, C6$_1$; *U9188(b) = VOHD 13,22, Nr. 470 = Matsui 2014, C10$_1$.

[16] Yamada 1963, 45–46; Yamada 1967, 98–99.

manuscript, we may restore either of them in the end of line 6. *₇Ongš(a)y* should be the name or title of the scribe: it seems derived from Chinese, but its origin remains unclear.[17]

Here, we consider the name of the leader of the century, which should be written before *₃yüz-intä*. Though fading into less legible, it can be restored as *P('Č'X') (T)[']R(X'N) = b(ačaγa) (t)[a]r(qan)*. In SI 6544 mentioned earlier, we find the same name *Bačaγa-tarqan,* who was a leader of a century.[18] And the ductus of the handwriting of our document is, even though not identical, rather similar to that of three of SI 6544 (= Matsui 2015b, B1, B2, B4). Now we can consider our document and SI 6544 as contemporary and mutually related, and *Bačaγa-tarqan* in these texts as one and the same person. If our identification is the case, we may furthermore restore another personal name Bolmïš-Taz in the damaged part below *yüz-intä*, as he appears in SI 6544: in fact, a part of the round stroke for *P-* is slightly visible, and it might belong to *(b)[olmïš]*.

The "Sheep year (*qoyn yïl*)" of SI 6544 has been dated to the 己未 *ji-wei* "*ji*-Sheep" of 1259 CE.[19] Consequently, we can offer two plausible date of our document from either *y[ïlan yïl]* "the Serpent year" or *y[unt yïl]* "the Horse year": the former would fall on the 丁巳 *ding-si* "*ding*-Serpent" of 1257 CE, and the latter on the 戊午 *wu-wu* "*wu*-Horse" of 1258 CE. Even though we should take into account the possibility of dating twelve years earlier/later than those candidates, these dates may well tally with the socio-economic situation in the Old Uighur history that the *qupčïr*-tax was later integrated into other labor services, at the latest before the Chaghataid domination from the late 1320's.[20]

Conclusive Remark

Through the analysis above, we can now recognize that the brand-new document should be a receipt for the partial payment of the *qupčïr*-tax, and that it concerns the same century (*yüz*) of a named Bačaγa-tarqan, which is mentioned in the four Uighur administrative orders SI 6544 of 1259 CE. Thus,

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[17] It is unlikely that Uig. *ongšay* here should be related to Pers. *WNKŠAY = ūngšāy ~ YWNKŠAY = yūngšāy*, which are corrupted forms of *WANŠY = wānšay ~ WYNŠAY = wīnšāy < * Mong. *'WYNŠ'Y = önšai* < Chin. 元帥 *yuan-shuai* "marshal." Cf. PELLIOT 1963, 858; TMEN IV, Nrn. 1762, 1935; SUGIYAMA 1987, 32–33.

[18] MATSUI 2015b, 63–64.

[19] MATSUI 2014, 617–618; MATSUI 2015b, 62, 64–65.

[20] MATSUI 2014, 624–625.

we have five Old Uighur documents belonging to a contemporary period of the mid-thirteenth century. These documents deserve to be further analyzed in comparison with the other secular texts, concerning the *qupčïr*-tax or other taxes and labor services.

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Ekaterina Shukhman

Hebrew Palaeotypes in the Collection
of the St. Petersburg IOM, RAS

Abstract: The present paper is actually a review of Hebrew palaeotypes (i.e. books printed in a Hebrew font between January 1, 1501 and January 1, 1551) kept at the IOM, RAS. It gives a brief description of the ways in which the collection was formed along with the numbers and genres of the books, while also identifying particularly noteworthy items.
Key words: Palaeotypes, publishing, Hebrew literature, incunabula, the Friedland collection, 16th-century printing houses

    The IOM, RAS has a significant fund of old Hebrew books. Its core came from a private collection belonging to a well-known benefactor and collector, Moshe Arieh Leyb[1] (Lev Faivelevich) Friedland who donated his library to the Asiatic Museum of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences in 1892. As time went on, the collection kept growing, with the addition of books from private libraries of famous scholars, copies of all books printed in the Russian Empire and those confiscated from synagogues and Jewish schools after the revolution of 1917. A number of them were seized in other countries at the end of WWII as trophies, etc. Consequently, the collection traditio-

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[1] In this paper, all names and titles follow the so-called simplified translation with elongated vowels, glottal or duplicated consonants remaining unmarked. The character 'ה' ir rendered as 'h'. The articles are not separated from the nouns, but the nouns themselves start with capital characters. Wherever needed, the titles have been translated (in brackets). Hebrew titles are indicated in footnotes. All geographical names have been standardized, except Istanbul, which is always cited as Constantinople.

nally referred to as the Friedland Library (Bibliotheca Friedlandiana) has by now grown to an impressive size. In the beginning, the books were actually kept at the Asiatic Museum (after 1917, part of the Oriental Institute) situated in the building of the Library of the Academy of Sciences; later, in the 1950s when the Institute was moved to Moscow, the collections of manuscripts and books were left behind. Approximately at the same time, its Leningrad department was moved to the Novomikhailovsky Palace. The Hebrew collection, however, remained in its place, at the AS Library, until the 1990s. Presently, the books are stored at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the RAS, which is in effect a reincarnated Asiatic Museum. Due to certain historical reasons, the greater part of the collection still remains undescribed and therefore out of researchers' reach.

The most valuable part of the collection are incunabulae and palaeotypes. The former, constituting a separate fund, have been catalogued and described by S.M. Yakerson.[2] Chronologically, these were followed by palaeotypes. This is a conventional designation for all books printed in a Hebrew font between January 1, 1501 through January 1, 1551, the period universally considered the "golden age" of Jewish book printing. It was during those years that a large number of printing houses emerged, the genre range expanded considerably and print-runs kept growing. The main difference between incunabulae and palaeotypes was the inclusion of title pages, which are even nowadays regarded as the basic source of bibliographic information. However, the palaeotypes still contained colophons that are usual in manuscripts and incunabulae and those retain significant historical value. During the same period, pagination was introduced. All this allows us to say that it was during the five decades in question that the printed book finally acquired its modern appearance.

At present, the collection of old Jewish books kept in the IOM, RAS is being reviewed so that all the palaeotypes can be separated and properly described. Their exact number will become clear only after the work is finished, as quite often several treatises by a certain author or on a similar topic were united in a single binding regardless of the date when they were printed. Consequently, the search for all publications from the given period involves an attentive examination of every single volume within a library numbering tens of thousands of items. However, it is already evident that the IOM, RAS has a fairly comprehensive collection and the books are in

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[2] YAKERSON 1985.

excellent condition. Naturally, this paper is not the right place to provide a complete description of the part already dealt with, so I will have to simply offer a brief outline of the history of the collection and its composition, while drawing the reader's attention to the most remarkable pieces.

The Collection in Its Development

To date, 264 palaeotypes have been discovered in the collection kept at the IOM, RAS, comprising 237 separate publications (including convolutes but without duplicates). Of those, only 102 bear the mark of Friedland's collection; the remaining 162 books have come from other sources. Most books bear the signatures of previous owners; occasionally, new owners tried to eliminate the inscriptions made by their predecessors, deleting them or even cutting them out. In most cases, these signatures can be found on the title pages, on the fly-leaves, or near the end, after the colophon. Though valuable historical sources in themselves, the signatures cannot indicate the specific library to which the books once belonged, as none of them are repeated; all the signatures are unique. Private owners desiring to avoid losses mainly used book-plates and stamps. This paper seems a suitable place to list those later sources of the IOM, RAS palaeotype collection.

I have already stated that the collection started with the library of L.F. Friedland, donated by him to the Asiatic Museum. In his own words, the library included "300 handwritten volumes, some of those written on parchment, 32 incunabulae printed in the 15th century, 10,000 volumes, most of them printed in the 16th and 17th centuries, and a number of books in various languages dealing with Jewish literature and bibliography."[3] According to bibliographer Samuel Wiener, who worked with Friedland's library and catalogued it, the collection was based on the library of Issakhar Bampi of Minsk, which Friedland had bought in its entirety. Besides minor collections purchased elsewhere in the Russian Empire and other countries, the collector acquired the following rarities: about 1,000 volumes that were absent from the Bampi library but present in the one owned by Lipman-Rabinovitch of Minsk; the huge library of Rabbi Shlomo (Solomon) Zuckerman[4] of Mogilev, and a collection assembled by Rabbi Mendel Landsberg of Kremnitz. These three collections also contained books from the famous library of Rabbi Joseph

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[3] YAKERSON 2008, 56, pl. 29.
[4] ש' צוקערמאן.

Mazel of Vyazin; a few thousand rare and expensive books from the library of Rabbi Rabinowitsh of Munich.[5] All the books from the Friedland collection bear his stamp, but other stamps, signatures and book-plates remaining from previous owners make it possible to trace the routes by which they reached Friedland. For instance, *Perush al haTora* (Explanation of the Pentateuch)[6] written by Menahem Ricanati and printed in Venice by Daniel Bomberg in 1523 (des. Fr K 2629) bears, along with Friedland's stamp and the inventory number of the Asiatic Museum, a stamp of Tzukerman's library with a corresponding number.

Three palaeotypes from the Friedland collection bear stamps of Ephraim Deinard's bookstore in Odessa. Deinard (1846–1930) was an outstanding bibliophile; as a book dealer he maintained contacts with virtually all major collectors and libraries across Europe and the USA, so it is no wonder that Friedland used to be his regular customer.

From all his collections, Friedland selected duplicates, which he donated to the Beyt Midrash in Tartu (Derpt) in 1890. In all, he sent about 1,500 volumes there: Talmudic treatises and commentaries, commentaries on the Bible, sermons, cabbalistic texts, and manuals. Of those, two were palaeo-types: *Abydarham* (named after its author)[7] printed in Constantinople in 1513, and in Venice in 1546. Both editions can be found in the IOM, RAS collection (des. Fr L 163 and Fr L 3 respectively), but strangely the Venetian one does not bear Friedland's stamp and must therefore have been acquired elsewhere. Friedland possibly sent some duplicates to Jerusalem in 1899, for the library he founded in an old people's home. Among them was a palaeo-type *Beur haTora* (Explanation of the Pentateuch)[8] by Bahya ben Asher (Venice, 1546), no copy of which has yet been found in the IOM, RAS collection.

We know little about the personal library of Samuel Wiener (1860–1929), the bibliographer who worked with the Friedland library and catalogued it. We can only say that he collected books all his life and accumulated about 10,000 volumes in Hebrew and 3,000 in Yiddish. Besides, he owned a unique collection of around 4,000 Jewish leaflets (IOM, RAS official site, 2011). Among the IOM, RAS palaeotypes there is a book with his personal

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[5] WIENER 1893, 3.

[6] ריקאנאטי, מנחם בן בנימין. פירוש על התורה.

[7] אבודרהם, דוד בן יוסף. אבודרהם.

[8] בחיי בן אשר אבן חלאוה. באור התורה.

stamp (without Friedland's), written by Shem Tov ben Joseph ibn Shem Tov, a prominent 15th c. philosopher and preacher (died in 1493): *Drashot haTora* (Biblical sermons)[9] (Saloniki, 1525) (des. Fr L 25). It might be of interest to note that this book bears several impressions of Wiener's stamp, but only one of them, placed approximately in the middle of the volume, is properly legible: all the others were at some point in time partially masked with black ink — his name in Hebrew characters especially thoroughly. So far, this is the only book from Wiener's personal library that has been found in the IOM, RAS collection.

In 1909, the Asiatic Museum purchased Professor D.A. Chwolson's library with its Hebraic part including a number of palaeotypes as well. So far five items bearing Khvolson's book-plates have been discovered. Among them are two editions of the religious digest *Kol Bo* (Everything in it)[10] (Rimini, 1520 and Venice, 1547) (des. Fr L 164 and Fr L 19 respectively), and a first edition of Jehuda haLevi's philosophical treatise *Kuzari*[11] (Fano, 1506) (des. Fr K 2574).

During the 1930s, the collection of Jewish books and manuscripts absorbed the stocks of the National Karaite Library in Evpatoria (Karay Bitikligi). The only palaeotype bearing its stamp as yet discovered is *Seder haTefillot leMinhag kahal haKaraim. Minchat Jehuda* (Karaite prayer-book. Jehuda's prayer. In five volumes. Venice, 1528–1529)[12] (des. Fr K 2814). It carries an inscription specially mentioning that the book was donated by a prominent 20th c. Karaite scholar, I.Y. Neyman-Kruglevitch, a research fellow at the State Palace-Museum of the Turkic culture in Bakhchisaray. The personal archives of that famous scholar are also kept at the IOM, RAS.

Possibly at the same time as manuscripts and books were being confiscated from Crimean Karaite Jewish kenasas and synagogues, the collection acquired two copies of the Karaite legal code *Aderet Eliyahu* (Eliyahu's cloak) composed by Eliyahu Bashiyachi[13] (Constantinople, 1530) (des. FR M 74). One of them had been donated to the Karaite Theological Academy by I.B.Z. Kaplanovsky (a fact attested by the book-plate), the other came from the Rayetzky brothers' library (the Lutsk Karaite

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[9] אבן-שם טוב, שם טוב בן יוסף. דרשות התורה.

[10] כל בו.

[11] יהודה בן שמואל הלוי. הכוזרי.

[12] סדר התפלות למנהג קהל הקראים. מנחת יהודה. חלק א-ה.

[13] באשיאצי, אליהו בן משה. אדרת אליהו.

synagogue). In all, the collection has three copies of this edition (the third one had been bought by Friedland from Ephraim Deinard in Odessa).

Among other private, mostly probably, European collectors who marked their books with book-plates and stamps, mention can be made of Frederik Muller of Amsterdam (1 book), Marco Camajoli (3 books, one also bearing Friedland's stamp), Fr. Rabut Cumbs (1 book), B.C. Reichard (2 books, also bearing Friedland's stamp).

One gem of the collection is a book from the personal library of Samuel (Shmuel) de Archivolti, a Jewish writer and grammarian[14] (1530–1611). It is the second edition of *Machberot Emanuel* (The Emanuel Notebooks)[15] (Constantinople, 1535), poems by Emanuel the Roman who also commented upon the Pentateuch. Originally, the collection had been printed in 1491 in Brescia by Gershon Soncino, and after that in Constantinople, by his son Eliezer. Professor Khvolson described this anthology as excellent and brilliant, written by a 13th c. Heine, sparkling with genuine humor. The great codifier of Jewish law Joseph Karo, though, forbade people not only to read it on the Sabbath, but even to print it, as "the publishers promoted sinning". As a result, a third edition did not appear until 1796 (Berlin), when Enlightenment ideology prevailed thanks to Moses Mendelsohn's friends and disciples.[16] Thus printed copies of that anthology are extremely rare; the IOM, RAS has two (des. Fr K 2253). As has already been mentioned, one of them once belonged to Samuel Archivolti whose name is stamped in gold on its leather binding. The other copy bears the library stamp of "Ducalis Gothana" and is in excellent condition.

A real treasure in the IOM, RAS collection is the 4th volume of the Jewish Bible[17] *Arbaa weEsrim Gadol* (Twenty-four [books])[18] (Venice, 1546–1548) (des. Fr M 129). This edition of four folio volumes is represented in the collection in its entirety. However, the first three volumes were donated by Friedland, while the fourth came from the library of Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572), the King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, an inveterate bibliophile who assembled a large library, mostly on the humani-

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[14] Samuel de Archivolti.

[15] עמנואל בן שלמה הרומי. מחברות עמנואל.

[16] KHVOLSON 1896, 28.

[17] Scholars use the term Jewish (or Masoret) Bible to denote the Biblical canon established and codified by Judaic tradition (Biblia Hebraica).

[18] ארבע ועשרים גדול.

ties, which later became the basis of Vilnius University library. Presently, the 82 volumes from the collection of Sigismund II are kept at the Library of the Academy of Sciences; in 1994, they were catalogued.[19] This volume, like all the others from that collection, has a distinctive binding made in Vilnius during the King's lifetime. The front cover carries Sigismund Augustus's double coat of arms: the Polish Eagle and the Lithuanian "Chaser". The back bears the stamped inscription: "Sigismundi Augusti Regius Polonia monumentum". The LAS received the book in 1927 from the St. Petersburg Roman Catholic Theological Academy, as is attested by a sticker on the spine: "Bibliotheca Romano–Catholica ecclesiasticae Academiae Petropolitana".

Concluding the discourse, I note that 44 palaeotypes at the IOM, RAS have no handwritten notes or stamps whatsoever (except the modern stamps of the IOM, RAS and the inventory number). They are not even signed by censors. Naturally, a lot of the 16th c. volumes have been damaged by water, fire or bookworms, but there are some that look like they have just come from the printer.

The Composition of the Collection

The palaeotypes in the IOM, RAS make it possible to get an idea of the genre diversity of Jewish books printed in the early 16th c. A significant portion of them are religious in character or else on such naturally related topics as didactics, law and philosophy. Due to Europeans' increased interest in Hebrew studies, grammar and reference books were in demand. Fiction was also popular.

The collection contains 15 editions of separate Biblical books, 3 complete Venetian editions of the Jewish Bible printed in 1517, 1524, and 1546 (des. Fr M 121; Fr M 123, and Fr M 129 respectively). Especially notable are two rare volumes of translations of the Pentateuch, each in a pair of languages. The Arabic and Persian edition (Constantinople, ed. Eliezer ben Gershom,[20] Soncino, 1546) (des. Fr L 37) is in a poor condition, with both its beginning and end missing. Still extant are Gen. 17:–5–49:26; Ex. 6:5 to the end; Lev. and Num. completely, Deut. up to 11:6. The Greek and Spanish edition

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[19] SAVELYEVA 1994.
[20] אליעזר בן גרשם שונצינו.

(Constantinople, ed. Eliezer ben Gershom, Soncino, 1547) (des. Fr L 49) is in an equally poor state with Genesis missing altogether. The extant sections of the other books are: Ex. from 10:22, Lev. complete, Num. up to 7:75 and 11:1–11:14, Deut. from the end of 10:22 to 11:12. In all, of the 390 ff. just 116 have survived and of those ff. 24, 37–39, 84, 107 and 108 only partially.

The collection also includes a few early editions of Talmud and its separate treatises, among them 8 of the 23 treatises of the Babylonian Talmud printed by Gershom Sonchino in Pesaro in 1508–19 (des. Fr L 56; Fr L 58, Fr L 60; Fr L 61; Fr L 62, Fr L 26, Fr L 59, Fr L 57). A particular pride is the first Venetian edition of the Talmud (1519–1524) (des. Fr M 130). It was in Daniel Bomberg's printing house in Venice that the printed Talmud acquired the form that is still retains today: pagination was introduced, the text was accompanied by the commentary by R. Shlomo Yitzchaqi (RaSHI) (1040–1105)[21] and Tosaphot,[22] along with other commentaries positioned after the relevant treatise. Subsequently, it became traditional to print the Talmud preserving the pagination of the Venetian edition, even when the text was split into pages in a different way (cf. the Viennese edition). Thus every printed copy of the Talmud has 2947 numbered folios or 5894 pages which makes it possible to precisely cite any given passage. All references contain the title of the treatise, the folio number, and the indication of its side.

A significant part of the collection consists of studies by Jewish experts in religion. There are, for instance, 8 editions of works by Maimonides (RaMBaM) (1135/38–1204),[23] the earliest being a large copy of *Mishne Tora* in two volumes (Constantinople, 1509) (des. Fr L 25) (des. Fr L 53); 4 editions of studies by Nachmanides (RaMBaN) (1194 — after 1270)[24] (the earliest printed in Constantinople in 1510) (des. Fr K 463); 4 editions of works written by Yitzchak ben Yehuda Abrabanel, a philosopher and commentator (1460 — after 1523)[25] (the earliest printed in Constantinople in 1505) (des. Fr K 2422); 5 editions of commentaries on various Talmudic treatises (Venice, 1523) (des. Fr L 192, (a convolute); Fr L 193 (a convo-

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[21] ר' יצחק בן שלמה (רש"י).

[22] תוספות — commentaries on the Talmud compiled by a group of rabbis and Talmudic scholars who lived in France in the 12th and 13th cc.

[23] משה בן מימון (רמב"ם). משנה תורה.

[24] משה בן נחמן (רמב"ן).

[25] אברבנאל, יצחק בן יהודה.

lute); Fr L 197 (a convolute) and an edition of Responses (Bologna, 1529) by a major Rabbinical expert Shlomo ibn Aderet (1235–1310).[26]

Of significant interest are two compositions by Abraham Bibago, a 15th c. Spanish Jewish philosopher and preacher (died before 1489): *Derekh Emuna* (Path of Truth)[27] (Constantinople, 1521) and *Ze Yenachamenu* (This will comfort us)[28] (Saloniki, 1522). Both have only been printed once. *Derekh Emuna* is a philosophical study on faith and religion; the author explicates a lot of passages from the Bible and Talmudic literature, referencing Moslem and Christian theologies. Bibago was notably vitriolic in his defense of Maimonides's credo attacked by his opponents. *Ze Yenacha-menu* is a sermon based on the book of Genesis, telling about Creation and the Sabbath. Bibago was fairly well known among Jewish scholars and philosophers, but his works did not gain universal acceptance. This is a possible reason why his major opus, although frequently quoted by other philosophers, e.g. Abrabanel, was never reprinted (while another book, *Etz Chayim* (Tree of Life) mentioned in *Derekh Emuna* was not printed at all). In the IOM, RAS collection the two publications are united in a single binding (des. Fr L 50).

Linguistics is fairly well represented in the IOM, RAS collection. There are five editions of works by Eliyahu Levita[29] a Hebrew philologist, grammarian and lexicographer (1458–1539). *Diqduq Eliyahu* (Eliyahu's Grammar)[30] (Isni, 1542) (des. Fr K 2456) discusses the grammatical functions performed by vowels and consonants; an identical book exists under the title *haBachur*[31] (The Chosen One, a nickname of its author) (Isni, 1542) des. Fr K 1363); *Masoret haMasoret*[32] (The Masoretic Tradition) (des. Fr K 2791) proved, for the first time ever, that punctuation and cantillation signs had not been in existence since Moses' time and, indeed, were not invented before the Talmud was finished; the same signs are dealt with in his composition *Tov taam*[33] (Good Understanding) (des. Fr K 2573) (both books: Venice, 1538). Finally, there is a dictionary, *Meturgeman*[34] (Translator), of

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[26] אבן-אדרת,שלמה בן אברהם (רשב"א).

[27] ביבאגי, אברהם בן שם טוב. דרך אמונה.

[28] זה ינחמנו.

[29] אליהו בן אשר הלוי אשכנזי.

[30] דקדוק אליהו.

[31] בחור, אליהו אשכנזי.

[32] מסורת המסורת.

[33] טוב טעם.

[34] מתורגמן.

the Aramaic language used in targums (Isni, 1541) (the IOM, RAS has two copies of this, des. Fr L 55). Thanks to the clarity of Levita's language, his books (which were also translated into Latin) promoted the study of Hebrew and its grammar among Jews and Christians alike.

The works of David Qimchi (ca. 1160–1235),[35] another famous Jewish grammarian and Biblical commentator, are represented in the collection by three editions: *Sefer ha Mikhlol* (Book of Perfection) (Constantinople, 1533) (des. Fr L 38) is a systemized Hebrew grammar; *Sefer haShorashim* (Book of Stems)[36] (des. Fr. L. 27), a lexicon of Hebrew, is considered the second part of that grammar treatise (Constantinople, 1513, and a later edition, Venice, 1529). The collection includes the third edition of another grammar that was written by David's brother, Moshe Qimchi (died in 1190), *Diqduq* (Grammar)[37] (Ortona, 1519 (des. Fr K 197). Its full title was *Mahalakh sheviley haDaat. Darkhey Leshon haQodesh*[38] (Going along the path of knowledge. The ways of the holy language). This work was first printed in Soncino in 1488. The IOM, RAS has a copy of that incunabula.[39] Translated into Latin by Sebastian Muenster, that book was a highly popular Hebrew grammar among 16th c. Christian linguists.

In the collection, there are three editions of a major Talmudic dictionary, *heArukh* (The Systemized [dictionary]),[40] compiled by Natan ben Yehiel of Rome (1035–1110) and first printed in 1470 in Rome. Our collection contains the second abridged edition (Constantinople, 1511) (des. Fr K 2507), the third (Pesaro, 1517) (des. Fr L 8, two copies) and fourth (Venice, 1531–1532) (des. Fr L 176).

Another interesting item is the only edition of a book by Shlomo ben Abraham of Urbino (died ca. 1513) with the title *Ohel Moed*[41] (Ark of Covenant) (Venice, 1548) (des. Fr K 1664). This is an encyclopedia of sorts, with the words arranged in the alphabetical order of their stems. It was reprinted in Vienna in 1881, but 75% of that publication consisted of commentaries on the basic text.

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[35] קמחי, דוד בן יוסף.
[36] ספר השרשים.
[37] קמחי, משה בן יוסף. דקדוק.
[38] מהלך שבילי הדעת. דרכי לשון הקודש.
[39] YAKERSON 1985, No. 50
[40] נתן בן יחיאל מרומא. הערוך.
[41] שלמה בן אברהם מאורבינו. אהל מועד.

An important contribution to the development of Hebrew studies was the first edition of the concordance of the Jewish Bible by Yitzchaq Natan ben Qalonimus, *Meir Nativ* (Illuminating the Path)[42] (Venice, 1524) (des. Fr M 122). In this work, the author followed the methods developed by the scholars who compiled Latin concordances: the Biblical books to which he referred were listed in the order in which they were arranged in the Vulgate. Additionally, he divided them into chapters ("*capitula*") and numbered the verses. His study opened with a list of all sections of all books of the Jewish Bible with an indication of their initial words. The headwords were arranged according to their stems, a principle later observed in virtually all Hebrew concordances.

Fiction is represented in the collection, among everything else, by a highly interesting collection of poetry *Shirim uZemirot* (Verses and Poems)[43] (Constantinople, 1545) (des. Fr K 1656) containing 298 vocalized poems, songs and religious hymns. Most of them had been written by medieval poets: Shlomo ibn Gabirol (1021–1055/70),[44] Yehuda haLevi (1075–1141),[45] Abraham ibn Ezra (1055–1139),[46] etc. About 60 poems were written by R. Mazal Tov ben Shlomo,[47] who was the probable creator of the compilation. The collection was printed as a small narrow (7×16 cm) book, which was unusual for that time. This particular copy represents additional interest, as it bears an autograph of Samuel Wiener who wrote on the fly-leaf that the book was bought from R. Finn of Vilnius in 1889.

The palaeotype collection includes what might be termed "ground-breaking" publications. For instance, the first ever book with partial pagination, a two-volume *Mishne Tora* by RaMBaM[48] (the printing house of the brothers David and Shmuel ibn Nachmias, Constantinople, 1509) (des. Fr L 53), and the first book furnished with a title-leaf: *Sefer haRoqeach* (Book of the Apothecary)[49] by Eliexer ben Yehuda of Worms (1165–1230) (Fano, printing house of Gershom Soncino, 1505) (des. Fr L 166). Sadly, the actual title leaf is missing from this copy. Besides, the collection has a copy of

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[42] יצחק נתן בן קלונימוס. מאיר נתיב: קונקורדנציא.
[43] שירים וזמירות.
[44] אבן-גבירול, שלמה בן יהודה.
[45] יהודה בן שמואל הלוי.
[46] אברהם אבן-עזרה.
[47] מזל טוב בן שלמה.
[48] משה בן מימון (רמב"ם). משנה תורה.
[49] אלעזר בן יהודה מגרמיזא. ספר הרוקח.

Mashal haQadmoni (Ancient Parable)[50] by Yitzchaq ibn Sahul, a Spanish Jewish author (died ca. 1282). This work contains fables about animals with satirical commentaries reflecting contemporary events. It was first printed around 1491 at Gershom Soncino's printing house in Brescia, becoming the first illustrated book in Hebrew. The IOM, RAS library possesses a copy of its equally well illustrated third edition (Venice, 1547) (des. Fr K 2504).

In conclusion, I should once again emphasize the exceptional value of the palaeotypes kept at the IOM, RAS. They include publications from most printing houses producing Hebrew books in the early 16th c. Furthermore, the collection contains books in virtually all genres that existed at that time. Most items have title leaves and colophons that are essential sources of bibliographic information. Many contain marginalia and owners' signatures that open up a vast field for further research. A considerable number of the books have extremely valuable artistic bindings. The work of separating and cataloguing these books continues, with the publication of a complete scholarly catalogue of the palaeotypes kept at the IOM, RAS being planned.

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Reviews

M. Sergeev. *Theory of Religious Cycles: Tradition, Modernity, and the Baha'i Faith.* Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2015. — 161 p. Value Inquiry Book Series. Contemporary Russian Philosophy. Ed. by R. Ginsberg, L. Donskis. Vol. 284. ISBN: 978-90-04-30003-3; ISNN: 0929-8436.

In his book, Mikhail Sergeev puts forward and substantiates his theory of "religious cycles", applying it to the whole history of humankind. Within it, a prominent place among religions is given to the Baha'i faith. Consequently, viewed from this angle, the book should also be seen as a large-scale and impartial study of this religion because the author is biased neither for nor against the Baha'i faith. He fits facts into a logical chain to prove his point. Sergeev should be given credit for the depth and thoroughness of his analysis as well as for his profound erudition. Nevertheless, even this approach, in the opinion of the present writer, does not prevent the author from having a certain "twist" which leads him to some fairly debatable conclusions. That applies, however, to only a limited number of issues without detracting from the main merits of the book.

According to the theory of "religious cycles", in the course of its development and history, a religious system goes through six phases: formative, orthodox, classical, reformist, critical and post-critical. The early or formative phase in the evolution of religious system is characterized by the formation of its scriptural canon and the establishment of its sacred tradition. The orthodox phase, as the author puts it, "cements the traditional foundations of religion by fighting heretical movements and their alternative scriptural interpretations." The classical phase reformulates sacred tradition by adding new interpretations to the canon. Reformists (who come into play at the "reformist phase"), on the contrary, purify tradition from the accumulated interpretations in order to get back to the core of sacred teachings and restore the original faith. During the critical stage a religion goes through two crises: structural and systemic. The latter can be overcome only by the introduction of new religious systems with their own scriptural texts. It is at this stage, according to the author, that mother-religions usually produce their offshoots in the form of new religious

systems or movements evolving into new religions. After the critical phase (at the post-critical phase) religious systems do not disappear from the historic scene but renew and reconfirm their foundations. As a result, age-old religions continue to exist alongside their younger counterparts by reorganizing their sacred tradition and restoring the authority of primary scriptures (pp. 7–8).

The theory described is, in the opinion of the present writer, interesting and well-founded. The author analyses the evolution of the five major religions: Judaism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam and the Baha'i faith, successively applying the model of religious cycles to each religion (p. 8). He convincingly proves the validity of his theory using sound arguments and making tenable conclusions.

Having proceeded on to religions which originated after the European Enlightenment, Sergeev dwells specifically on the Baha'i faith as the most representative example among those systems with regard to the theory of "religious cycles". He substantiates his choice, arguing that "it is the only independent modern religion with its own scriptures and tradition that have been evolving for a considerable amount of time — almost two centuries" (p. 10). The author exhibits profound knowledge of the Baha'i faith basing his analysis, as on other occasions, on a wide circle of different sources, which highlights his thorough approach to the subject. He gives a succinct and precise account of the Babi and Baha'i faiths dividing the corpus of the Baha'i writings into three main periods (p. 60). Touching on the Baha'i principle of "harmony between science and religion", Sergeev clarifies the distinctive features of scientific and religious truths (pp. 66–67). He makes a detailed analysis of the Baha'i administrative system and envisions possible lines for its future development. Though many observations and conclusions he makes sound reasonable, some do appear to the present writer highly disputable. For example, the author states that, in his opinion, the Baha'i administrative system looks similar in its approach to "organized dissent" to "the Soviet political system with its principle of democratic centralism", which combines "democratic elections of the governing bodies — the Soviet councils… with the unchallenged power given to those bodies to suppress opposition" (p. 91). In the opinion of the present writer, it could reasonably be contended that the apparent analogy between the two models becomes invalid as soon as we consider such a counterbalance as a genuine mechanism of appeal "from the bottom-up" against decisions by higher authorities, on the basis of a special procedure, which functions effectively in the Baha'i administrative system but was practically non-existent in the Soviet model (not to mention the possible negative consequences of any such attempt under the Soviet system).

Considering efforts "to fight dissent" in the course of history and indicating their futility, the author arrives at the conclusion that there are "only two ways to deal with organized dissent. One is to legitimize it; the other is to repudiate but never eradicate it. In both of these cases, the conflict would still be embedded in the social organization" (p. 92). However, in the opinion of the present writer, it is important to bear in mind that civil society at large can neither wholly consist of like-minded

people, nor can it even be guided by a set of entirely common values and moral principles. One should agree with the author that any attempt to impose "a uniform way of thinking" or one worldview on such a society would be not only futile but also detrimental to the progress of that society. It is, however, different in the case of a community of people united by a common religious faith who *consciously* and *voluntarily* make a choice in favor of a certain set of values (pertaining to a particular religion). Such people are by definition like-minded in principle, while the differences between them are purely individual and secondary. The Baha'i faith, as becomes clear from its writings (primary sources), does not impose its worldview on humanity. It offers it as an alternative model leaving it up to each individual to decide whether to accept or reject it. Besides, Baha'i writings emphasize that the cornerstone of Baha'i teachings is *unity in diversity* as opposed to "unity in uniformity", while humanity is likened in those writings to a garden with different species and types of flowers co-existing in harmony. In other words, the Baha'i Faith puts forward a concept of a whole which instead of destroying the autonomy of its parts preserves it. The principle described is applied not only to human and international relationships but also to the Baha'i administrative system. In the latter, it is expressed in the form of such a mechanism as a clear separation of powers between administrative bodies functioning on all levels, a system of checks and balances and non-interference in the private life of the individual (except for cases affecting the life of the community as a whole) etc. The author correctly points out that "in traditional societies the rejection of opposition was often a sign of tyrannical government." He goes on to say that "there are three main checks in the Bahá'í organizational system to prevent that from happening." However, this system of checks and balances in its present form seems to him "somewhat vulnerable to abuse of power under the pretext of the protection of the faith from the dangers of dissent and division" (p. 94). In the opinion of the present writer, this conclusion ignores the fact that the whole of the Baha'i administrative system is built in such a way as to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of one individual or group. This factor minimizes the danger of abuse of power as the probability of such a development tends towards zero. This does not, however, preclude the possibility of a further evolution of the system with more counterbalances being added to it in the future, something which is admitted by the author himself (p. 94).

Comparing the Baha'i religion with the ideology of the European Enlightenment, the author states that "in dealing with organized dissent, and covenant-breaking as the most radical form of opposition, Bahá'ís stand, as they do on many other controversial issues, somewhere between modernity and traditional religions. They are not as tolerant as the adherents of the Enlightenment ideology that institutionalizes opposition. Nor do they crush it as harshly as the fervent religious leaders of the past. There are no anathemas or fatwas in the Bahá'í administrative responses to covenant-breaking" (p. 95). It might be contended that a comparison between the Baha'i faith and the Enlightenment ideology appears somewhat irrelevant, although not

entirely devoid of interest, from a purely theoretical standpoint. What makes this comparison a bit far-fetched is the fact that these two phenomena are quite different in nature, if not opposites. The Enlightenment was primarily based on an atheist worldview that was a natural reaction to medieval religious obscurantism, while the Baha'i faith is a *religion* which by definition cannot wholly resemble something that is its opposite (atheism). Moreover, the solutions to human problems that this religion offers are an alternative to an atheistic approach. As far as "organized opposition" is concerned, in a democratic civil society, its only goal is to gain political power. Viewed from this angle, it fully justifies its existence. It is for this goal that political parties come into being which reflect the interests of particular groups of the population as well as their aspirations in pursuit of political power. Despite all the advantages of this model compared with totalitarian and authoritarian systems, it cannot escape one deficiency, i.e., the situation where the group gaining power imposes its factional interests on the rest of society. This deficiency is only partly made good by such groups' replacing each other at the top. The Baha'i administrative system, on the contrary, is oriented toward the opposite goal, i.e., excluding the pursuit of power or a power struggle by individuals and groups as well as preventing such groups from imposing their interests on the whole community. Time will show how effective the model offered by the Baha'i faith will prove to be and whether it will succeed in achieving this goal, especially given the fact that this model is not static. It has been dynamically developing over the course of its history and is very likely to undergo further evolution in the future.

Sergeev envisages three possible lines of development of the "theocratic" tendencies in the Baha'i administrative system and considers the implementation of these models in the "world commonwealth of nations" that Baha'is view as the global level of the future super-state reflecting the worldwide unity of humankind (pp. 100–101). The first, according to the author, may resemble the power structure of a constitutional monarchy with the House of Justice (supreme elective administrative body on the national level) playing the role of the "monarch". In this scenario, the House of Justice may guide the civil authorities by providing recommendations on how Baha'i laws and ordinances could be translated into the civil legislative practices of the country. The government would then "enforce" those recommendations, given that the appointment of the prime minister of the state is endorsed by the House of Justice. The second model provides for a more direct participation of the Baha'i Houses of Justice in the process of civil legislature by applying the modern principle of the separation of power into religious and civil institutions, and creating mutual checks and balances between them. According to this model, the House of Justice would play a legislative role but have authority somewhat similar to the president of the United States. The parliament would pass new laws, which the House of Justice could either approve or veto. The third model allows for a higher concentration of power in the House of Justice by reducing civil government to its executive arm and practically absorbing it into this religious institution. This last

model seems to the author "the most problematic of the three" (p. 101). Although Sergeev's reasoning is definitely not devoid of interest, this whole part of the book referring to a very distant future and, therefore, to quite an imaginary reality, is lacking one point which needs to be considered here. It could be reasonably contended, with regard to "theocracy", that theocracies, properly speaking, have never existed, at least in the context of Abrahamic religions. What historians and political scientists often refer to as "theocracies" in the past and present are not theocracies, but rather clerical regimes or clerical government models (providing a dominant role for the clergy in the government and society). In societies, where the official or dominant religion has clergy, the latter represent a social class or stratum of their own. Consequently, a state based on such a religious organization and claiming to be "theocratic" inevitably becomes a clerical state, because once a conflation of church (or any other religious organization with the clergy at the top) and state occurs, the clergy become the ruling class of such a state (concentrating political power in their hands). This was the case with medieval Europe during the dominion of the Catholic Church there, and it is equally the case with modern countries under *Sharia* (Islamic) law. While the application of the term "theocratic" to this system of government creates confusion and leads to the substitution of one notion ("theocratic") for another ("clerical"), projecting such a pseudo-theocratic model onto the Baha'i administrative system is irrelevant, given the fact that there are no clergy in the Baha'i religion who could concentrate power in their hands as a social class or stratum "in the name of religion". Based on this distinction, it would be proper to conclude that, while there are obvious democratic and theocratic tendencies in the Baha'i administrative system, clerical or authoritarian tendencies do not exist in it (because at no level of its functioning is solitary decision-making practiced). This is its major difference from the government models in history which have claimed or claim to be "theocratic," while being clerical in essence.

Describing the Baha'i religion in general, Sergeev notes: "if modernity offers short-term solutions to the social problems of humanity by focusing on external reforms, the Baha'i Faith envisions long-term changes based on the inner transformation of individual human beings… Similarly, the Baha'i teachings are designed with the aim of humanity's global survival" (p. 112). The author summarizes the conclusions of his study in the following way: "…although some of the features of the Baha'i worldview may seem like a step backward from the project of the Enlightenment, a systematic comparison between the two demonstrates the progressive nature of the first over the second" (p. 117). He goes on to say: "First, Baha'i doctrines display spiritual depth, which is lacking in the Enlightenment ideology that relies purely on reason and external social reforms. Second, Baha'i teachings reaffirm most of the Enlightenment principles in a different religious setting thus making them more deeply rooted in the human psyche and consciousness. Third, the Baha'i ideology takes into consideration the disproportionate development of various nations on the planet by modifying and adjusting some of the Enlightenment principles

to better fit the whole of humanity." He finally states: "Overall the Baha'i Faith represents a religious tradition that is neither antimodern nor simply modern or even postmodern… Such a position… gives the Baha'i Faith a unique attraction and an advantage over both the older and the more recent religious movements — an advantage that, if properly understood and appreciated, would reveal its high long-term potential" (pp. 117–118).

It should be acknowledged that Mikhail Sergeev's book is undoubtedly a profound and thorough scholarly work, based on a wide range of sources. Not only is it a valuable contribution to studies in the evolution of human religious and social consciousness, but it also outlines possible perspectives for that evolution in the future. The author is an innovator with regard to the theory of "religious cycles" which he puts forward and convincingly substantiates. This theory deserves very serious consideration by experts in the relevant field. The counterarguments the present writer has made to certain points are more polemical than critical. Such a book is definitely in high demand and it will be duly appreciated by a wide range of scholars and students specializing in religion, social science, philosophy, culture and history.

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Bodies in Balance. The Art of Tibetan Medicine. Ed. by Theresia Hofer. Rubin Museum of Art, New York & University of Washington Press, Seattle and London 2014. ISBN-13: 978-0-295-99359-1 (hardcover).

This catalogue was published in conjunction with an exhibition organized and presented by the Rubin Museum of Art, New York, 15 March, 2014, through 8 September, 2014, and curated by Theresia Hofer with the assistance of Elena Pakhoutova. I had a chance to visit the exhibition on September 8, coming from a conference in Princeton just an hour before it was to close. Therefore, I could only briefly observe its panels, elaborately prepared and so rich in details, thus opening to visitors the main aspects of both beautiful and intricate world of traditional Tibetan medical culture. Fortunately, I have got this catalogue to study and add more theoretical depth to visual impressions.

The catalogue consists of the Introduction (by the editor Theresia Hofer), 12 chapters and 3 vignettes divided almost evenly into two parts. The first part, *Theoretical Foundations and Practices of Tibetan Medicine*, explores basic theoretical and practical aspects of Tibetan medicine. Chapter 1, *The Art of Tibetan Medical Practice* (by Barbara Gerke), presents structure of the canonical text of Tibetan medicine, *The Four Tantras* (*rgyud bzhi*), and its most important theory, that of three *nyepa*[1], which is explicated in connection with various types of diseases, their symptoms, methods of diagnosis (by pulse, urine, tongue, eyes, questioning) and therapy. Ideas that some diseases are caused by harmful demons and they can be healed or prevented by means of righteous behavior, religious rites and astrological calculations are also touched upon. Thus, the Tibetan term for medicine, *Sowa Rigpa* (*gso ba rig pa*) does "encompass more than what is commonly meant by the same terms in the present-day West" (p. 24).

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[1] According to B. Gerke, it roughly corresponds with Western concept of humors although their English translations (wind, bile and phlegm) "while apt, cannot be taken literally" (p. 24). In Russian literature the Sanskrit term *doṣa* is usually used.

Chapter 2, *Body and Mind in Tibetan Medicine and Tantric Buddhism* (by Geoffrey Samuel), focuses on the concept of the subtle body which is treated as "the internal structure of *tsa* (*rtsa*, channels; Skt. *nāḍī*), *khorlo* (*'khor lo*, wheels or junction points; Skt. *cakra*), and inner flows that form part of the vision of the human organism in Buddhist Tantra" (p. 34). This theory does not correspond directly with exact bodily organs and is more important for the Tantric practices although some important Tibetan medical theoreticians, e.g. Zurkharwa Lodro Gyalpo (16th c.), saw it as a problem and tried to reconcile Tantric and medical views of the body.

Chapter 3, *Foundations of Pharmacology and the Compounding of Tibetan Medicines* (by Theresia Hofer), explains such crucial aspects of preparation of medicines as their tastes, potencies and the seven "limbs" (stages) of their compounding starting with "the growth of medical plants in their natural habitat", etc. (p. 50). A big part of the chapter is given to a detailed survey of contemporary compounding practices as witnessed by the author, on the one hand, in a traditional monastery clinic in Central Tibet restored after the disastrous effects of Cultural Revolution in China and, on the other hand, in the laboratories and factory of Padma, Inc., Switzerland, the only officially legalized Western producer of Tibetan medicines whose products can be bought in drug stores along with standard medicines in certain European states. Padma's drugs are "evaluated through in-house and external laboratory tests" (p. 63) but do not *look* or even *taste* like Tibetan medicines thus lacking the flavor of *Tibetanness* that is an important feature in the eyes of many followers of *Sowa rigpa*.

Chapter 4, *External Therapies in Tibetan Medicine: The "Four Tantras", Contemporary Practice, and a Preliminary History of Surgery* (by Pasang Yonten Arya), divides external therapies into three groups — mild (including fomentation, spring waters and medicated baths, massages and oil applications), rough (moxibustion first attested in one of the Dunhuang manuscripts, and bloodletting), and drastic external therapies ("application of heated objects, such as stones, smooth pieces of wood, animal horns, or *gzi* stones onto specific points of the body" (p. 75), and cauterization). Some other therapies, not relating to the *Four Tantras*, are also discussed, e.g. golden-needle therapy and cupping. Finally, the author, an expert in this field of medical practices, touches upon the question of surgery in Tibetan medicine. Some practices of this kind were probably used in old times but were lost except for cataract surgery. It is remarkable that one of the few critical remarks on Tibetan medicine is expressed by its native practitioner — "Whether for cultural reasons or a lack of more frequent dissection and surgical practice, the limited study of human anatomy and physiology seems to me, from my practice-informed perspective, to be one of the weak points in Tibetan medicine" (p. 85).[2]

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[2] It is hard not to mention that Pasang Yonten Arya has some unconventional ideas on the neighbors of the Tibetans in the old times. According to him, "the name *hor* refers to the peoples who lived on the northernmost border of Tibetan areas, such as the Mongols, the ancient Kurds, and Caucasians and who tended to be nomads and pastoralists" (p. 78).

Chapter 5, *Medicine, Astrology, and Divination* (by Ronit Yoeli-Tlalim), discusses "some of the theoretical background of the links between medicine and astrology: the lunar cycle of vital energy, urine and pulse analysis, and the seven-day planet week" (p. 91). The astrological tradition extracted from Kālacakra Tantra is of major importance but Chinese influence attested already in Dunhuang manuscripts is more emphasized in the chapter, with links to *Yizing* (*parkha* trigrams), the *renshen* concept of the human spirit (*bla*) that transfers around the body according to the lunar calendar, the turtle myth and even the image of Kongtse. Yet, as the author thinks, the vividness of Tibetan astro-medicine "seems to be all its own. In attempting to explain this vividness, one can perhaps point out the implications of the Buddhist notion of karma <…> In addition to any deterministic readings into one's constitution, links with particular heavenly bodies or any other calculation, it is the karmic factor that may alter, in one way or another, a basic proscribed tendency <…> Hence in the context of Tibetan medical divinations, predictions are not considered to be deterministic but cautionary and prescriptive" (p. 104).

This chapter is supplied with Vignette 1, *A day at the Astrology Department of the Men-Tsee-Khang in Dharamsala, India* (by Inger K. Vasstveit), that outlines some routines of the astrologers and their assistants who work at the Men-Tsee-Khang, the astro-medical institution founded by the Tibetan government-in-exile in Dharamsala, India. The expertise on finding a good day, making amulets for individual wear, and recommendations on ritual remedies against various obstacles (including compilations of horoscopes of various types) are most required services.

Chapter 6, *Tibetan Medicine in the World: Local Scenes, Global Transformations* (by Sienna R. Craig), adds some sociological (and slightly ironical) dimension to the picture of Tibetan medicine in the contemporary world. The author presents five scenes starring practitioners of Tibetan medicine. One is a doctor in Kathmandu whose clinic is especially trusted with people from his native land of Mustang, who claim that they find both medical and psychological help there. Another illustrates the ideas of members of the Tibetan community in Charlottesville, US, who enjoy all the advantages of Western medicine and still belong to the ever-going process of exchanging medicines "across Tibetan cultural and diasporic worlds" (p. 115). Another is a group who studies Tibetan medicine in the US and is basically motivated by "their desires to alleviate suffering", even if they were "quick to recognize that making a living as Tibetan medical practitioners would be difficult" (p. 119). Last come vignettes on a proud Western guru of Tibetan religious medicine who eagerly claims "that no real Tibetan medicine can be found anymore inside China's Tibet" (p. 121), and a Tibetan woman working for the Arura Group (a leading producer of Tibetan medicines in China) who reports that both Chinese clients and salespeople rarely care much about Tibetan medical culture as such — but that for them the Arura outlet in the Chinese city of Xian, is nothing but "a *supermarket* for medicine" (p. 123).

Part II of the catalogue, *Medicine, Buddhism, and Historical Developments*, analyzes the history of Tibetan Medicine as a part of Tibetan religious culture and textual tradition. Chapter 7, *The Buddhas of Medicine* (by Gyurme Dorje), focuses on the image of Bhaiṣajyaguru, the Buddha of Medicine whose iconic representations are widely found in Tibetan and Mongolian areas. A special attention is paid to maṇḍalas, with Bhaiṣajyaguru and seven other buddhas of medicine in the center and a number of attending bodhisattvas, protector divinities, etc., structured in several rows around it, up to fifty-one or fifty-five figures in all. Various ways of contemplative dealing with Bhaiṣajyaguru and his maṇḍala aimed at curing diseases and obtaining longevity are exemplified in texts belonging to three genres of Buddhist ritualistic literature, namely *anujñā* (*rjes snang*, permission ritual) *sādhana* (*sgrub thabs*, the means of attainment), and *abhiṣekavidhi* (*dbang chog*, empowerment rite). Some translations are also provided in the Appendices.

Chapter 8, *The Origins of the "Four Tantras" and an Account of Its Author, Yuthog Yonten Gonpo* (by Yang Ga), considers various views on the genesis of the *Four Tantras*, the canonical text of Tibetan medicine and shows quite convincingly that its actual, human author was the Tibetan doctor and theoretician of the 12th c., Yuthog Yonten Gonpo, although he did draw on earlier sources, including the famous Ayurvedic text, Vāgbhata's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* (*The Heart of Medicine*) translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan in the 11th c. This is one of the reasons why the *Four Tantras* could not have been produced earlier, such as in the eighth century, as some Tibetan scholars have claimed. The problem of Yuthog Yonten Gonpo the older, the legendary figure possibly invented in the fourteenth century or later, is discussed among many other details relating to the development and transmission of the *Four Tantras*[3].

Chapter 9, *The Making of Medical History, Twelfth to Seventeenth Century* (by Frances Garrett), emphasizes the role of the *terma* tradition associated with Nyingma lineages in transmitting Tibetan medical knowledge. The *Four Tantras* itself is called "the most prominent revealed text in the medical tradition" (p. 179), this statement being in contradiction with the previous chapter arguing that this is but a legend. The major medical lineages and their chief representatives are further discussed, up to Situ Panchen, the 18th c. prolific medical writer. The author then shows that close links between medicine and religion neighbored in Tibet with wide spread belief in the higher effectiveness of purely religious and magical practices[4] in comparison with medical treatment. Legendary stories supporting it are easily found in Buddhist historiographic literature such as Zhonupal's *Blue Annals*.

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[3] The author mentions some early 20th c. Russian translations of this fundamental text (p. 159) but seems to be unaware of the latest full translation made by the Buryatian scholar D.B. Dashiev, see — *Chzhud shi: Kanon tibetskoi meditsiny* [*Gyushi: the Canon of Tibetan Medicine*], tr. by D.B. Dashiev. Moscow, Vostochnaya literatura 2001.

[4] The practice of "edible letters" (*za yig*) taken as medicine is particularly impressive.

Chapter 10, *Buddhist Practices and Ideals in Desi Sangye Gyatso's Medical Paintings* (by Janet Gyatso), explores some circumstances of the creation of the famous set of about eighty paintings (late 17th c.) that illustrated the famous treatise *Blue Beryl*, a commentary to the *Four Tantras* composed by Sangye Gyatso, the regent to the Fifth Dalai Lama. The National Museum of the Republic of Buryatia, Ulan Ude, preserves one copy of the set. First published in full in 1992, it has been widely used in literature and this catalogue is adorned with numerous pictures borrowed from it[5]. The author of the chapter shows that the paintings have some tendency to a more secularized view of medicine since they often use Buddhist imagery on one level with other phenomena of day-to-day life. It gets even a slightly scandalous dimension when the picture "illustrating things that one should not do on the night before having a urinalysis" includes the image of "a monk sitting with a young novice monk on his lap" as a reference to a homosexual encounter and the whole picture has no moral judgment whatsoever. This, Gyatso asserts, "marks a central way in which the medical paintings depart from Buddhist discourse on the subject of sex" (p. 210).

It is important to mention that neither this chapter nor the previous one provides any information on another medical treatise written by Sangye Gyatso after *Blue Beryl*, in 1702, the so-called *Lhan thabs*. According to D.B. Dashiev, *Lhan thabs* was written not as a commentary on the *Four Tantras* and could include, therefore, a lot of medical information gathered by several generations of Tibetan medical practitioners that could not be attached directly to the earlier canonical text. *Blue Beryl*, in this sense, completed the long formational period when medical knowledge was mainly borrowed from sources of other medical systems. The Tibetans could turn then to the systematization and description of their own medical experience and *Lhan thabs* served as a fundamental text in this process. The Tibetan collection kept in the Institute of Mongolian Studies, Buddhology and Tibetology, RAS, Ulan Ude, has much more copies of this text than those of *Blue Beryl* or even the *Four Tantras*.[6] The same proportions also pertain to the IOM, RAS and its Tibetan collection as well.

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[5] Though the book mentions that the Ulan Ude set was "copied from an older set at the Mentsikhang" and "taken to Buryatia in southern Russia" (p. 202) and refers to the paper by N.D. Bolsokhoyeva on the history of this set I suppose more details could be presented here, taking into consideration its importance for academics worldwide.

[6] This is my abstract of some ideas expressed in the paper: Dashiev D.B. *Meditsinskie traktaty Desrida Sanchzhai-chzhamtso* [*The Medical Treatises by Desi Sangye Gyatso*], published as an introduction to Dashiev's complete translation of *Blue Beryl* in Russian – Desrid Sanchzhai-chzhamtso. *Vaidurya onbo (Girlyanda golubogo berilla): kommentarij k "Chzhud-shi" — ukrasheniyu ucheniya Tsarya meditsiny* [Desi Sangye Gyatso. *Vaiḍūrya ngonpo (The Garland of Blue Beryl): The Commentary to Gyushi — the Decoration of the King of Medicine's Teaching*]. Tr. by D.B. Dashiev. Moscow, Nauka — Vostochnaya literatura 2014. It seems to be the first full translation of this extensive and complicated text in any European language.

Vignette 2, *The Tree Murals of Labrang Monastery's Medical College, Eastern Tibet* (by Katharina Sabernig), recites the story about the famous tree-shaped schemes of concepts taught in the *Four Tantras*' first volume, *Root Tantra*, painted on the murals at the medical college of Labrang, the major Buddhist monastery in Amdo. They were seriously damaged during the Cultural Revolution in China but restored twice by Nyingchag Jamzer although his recent attempt at renovation, completed in 2007, "does not seem as elaborate in style as the previous one" (p. 225).

Chapter 11, *Illustrated Materia Medica Prints, Manuscripts, and Modern Books* (by Theresia Hofer), presents several Tibetan texts aimed at the identification of plants, animals, minerals, etc., that can be used in pharmacology. The main attention, especially visually, is paid to the 19th c. block printed encyclopedia *Beautiful Marvelous Eye Ornament* by the Mongolian author Jampal Dorje but some other interesting books of this kind are treated, too, up to the recent books produced in the second half of the 20th c. One of them was even printed during the Cultural Revolution in Lhasa, "Tibetan pharmacopeia being one of the few areas of Tibetan medicine officially sanctioned and perceived by local health authorities to have *socialist potential*" (p. 244).

Chapter 12, *The Journeys of Tibetan Medicine* (by Martin Saxer), presents a nice sketch of the history of the Badmaev family who brought traditions of Tibetan medicine and its Mongolian and Buryatian sub-branches to St. Petersburg and eventually via Poland to Switzerland where some traditional recipes were put into production by the company Padma, Inc., discussed in Chapter 3. Although one can expect to find incorrect statements in papers dealing with the Russian realities if not written by professional Slavists this is definitely not the case.

Finally, Vignette 3, *Pillars of Tibetan Medicine: The Chagpori and the Mentsikhang Institutes in Lhasa* (by Theresia Hofer and Knud Larsen), outlines the story of two major medical institutions founded in two periods when Tibetan history wavered to relative secularization and application of some advanced forms of social life. The Chagpori Medical College was established by Desi Sangye Gyatso as "the first documented example of a formalized monastic medical institute" (p. 265) that was a progressive step for the end of the 17th c., while the Mentsikhang Institute was founded by the 13th Dalai Lama, in 1916, its mission being "to teach students from diverse social groups rather than only Gelugpa students" (p. 262). The vignette provides some very interesting information of architecture of both structures, their localization in the city of Lhasa, and their so different fates after the end of "old Tibet".

As my review has hopefully shown, the catalogue covers so many important aspects of theory, practice and history of transmission of Medical knowledge in Tibet and areas influenced by Tibetan culture that it can be called a great source of learning for anybody who would like to be introduced into Tibetan medicine as a holistic entity. The wonderful and numerous illustrations make this introduction a really inspiring experience. Perhaps, some issues could be added or expanded to a greater

extent. I lack, for example, some criticism concerning real problems that the Tibetan society did face in this sphere of life before the implementation of Western, in its Soviet form, approach to hygiene and medicine. But, of course, it is impossible to tell about everything in one book and my sincerest gratitude is directed to all the authors of the catalogue and, particularly, to its editor, Theresia Hofer, for structuring my own understanding of this part of Tibetan culture and giving some clues to further learning.

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Peng Xiang-qian 彭向前. Xi xia wen "Mengzi" zhengli yanjiu 西夏文 《孟子》整理研究 (The complex study of the Tangut translation of the "Mengzi"). Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海：古籍出版社, 2012. — 295 页。

The most important part of literary legacy of the Tangut state Xi Xia (982–1227) is the Tangut translations of Chinese classical works which in the Chinese Tangut studies are denoted with the abbreviation *xia yi han ji* 夏译汉籍. They include translations of works of Chinese Confucian canon, military treatises, historical works, and translations from Chinese compiled by the Tanguts themselves.

Among the vast variety of handwritten books and xylographs discovered by Kozlov's expedition in Khara-Khoto in 1908–09 was the Tangut translation of the *Mengzi* treatise. Now it is kept in the Tangut collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The text of this classic was introduced into scholarly circulation by V.S. Kolokolov and E.I. Kychanov, who published the facsimile edition of *"Kitaiskaia klassika v tangutskom perevode ("Lun' yui", "Men tsy", "Siao dzin").Faksimile tekstov, perevod i slovar' V.S. Kolokolova i E.I. Kychanova (Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka, IV. Moskva, 1966* [Chinese Classics in Tangut translation (Lun Yu, Mengzi, Xiao-jing) Facsimile of the texts. Introduction and glossary by V.S. Kolokolov and E.I. Kychanov (Written Monuments of the Orient IV. Moscow, 1966]

The damage to nearly every page of the manuscript, fragmentary state of many characters and cursive handwriting – for a hundred years these factors made reading difficult and, probably, discouraged researchers who intended to study this work. As a result, the *Mengzi* in Tangut was deciphered and studied much later than other translated Chinese works.

Peng Xiang-qian, a researcher of the Academy of Xi Xia Studies at the Ningxia University, was not deterred by the difficulties just mentioned. Six years of his work

on the Tangut translation of the *Mengzi* resulted in the monograph "A complex study of the Tangut translation of the *Mengzi*", published by the Shanghai publishing house "Ancient Books" (Shanghai guji chubanshe) in 2012 in the series "The Study of the Tangut Script Monuments" edited by Du Jiang-lu. The following year Peng Xiang-qian's monograph received an award from the government of the Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region for outstanding achievements in the field of social sciences.

Peng Xiang-qian's monograph consists of three chapters. The structure of the work reflects the author's intention to make acquaintance with the results of his research as convenient as possible. The first introductory chapter (pages 1 to 61) is divided into 11 sections and covers several important subjects.

The first chapter begins by establishing the time when the Confucian canon appeared in the state of Xi Xia and the date of the Tangut translation of the *Mengzi*. The author believes that the Tangut ruler Liang-zuo (1048–1068) addressed the authorities of the Northern Song with a request of a collection of canons and historic works, which brought the *Mengzi* to Xi Xia in 1063. At the beginning of Emperor Qian-shun reign (1086–1139), the Tangut Empire undertook a series of actions aimed at disseminating Confucianism. That suggests that the Tangut translation of the *Mengzi* was produced in the first half of Xi Xia's 250-year existence. During the reign of Ren-xiao (1139–1193) Xi Xia saw an unprecedented surge in translation and publication activity. A considerable number of translations of Chinese classical works were produced, as well as original works in Tangut, which were strongly influenced by the Chinese literature. The author confidently asserts that during that period the Tangut translation of the *Mengzi* continued to be published.

In Xi Xia, it was a common practice to make the personal names of the rulers as a taboo. A distinctive feature of the books published during the Ren-xiao reign was constant absence of the last vertical line in the second hieroglyph of sovereign's personal name: 轩, which corresponds to the Chinese *xiao* 孝. In the Tangut translation of the *Mengzi* this character occurs twice, both times in its full form, because the character was not a taboo. Therefore, Peng Xiang-qian concludes, that the translation of the *Mengzi* with inventory number 6738 could not have appeared during the Ren-xiao era, but was rather translated into Tangut during the reign of either Liang-zuo (in the 1160s) or Qian-shun (first quarter of the 12^{th} c.) (p. 31).

In the next section the author reconstructs correct order of the manuscript's surviving fragments. The text of the translation of the *Mengzi* "was simply unreadable before restoration" (Kolokolov, Kychanov, 1966, p. 17), but as the result ofr restoration certain fragments were wrongly joined together and the order of some pages was confused. Laboriously analyzing the fragments of the manuscript Peng Xianqian has restored the original appearance of the surviving parts of the text which

comprises 51 pages. It turned out that the upper left-hand corner of the 6th page was actually the beginning of the last three lines of the 8th page, while the fragment 57 went with fragment 51. The author managed to identify the proper position of the fragment 56, a tiny and severely damaged piece of the text, only after the main work on monograph under review has been completed. Fragment 56 is the beginning of the first line on the 51st page (p. 8–9).

Further on the author carries out an analysis of special translation technique, which is of great interest. Following Nie Hong-yin's guidance , the author of the monograph discovered that in translation from Chinese to Tangut the characters in complex words and homogeneous elements in complex sentences could often be reversed. Here are a few examples from the monograph. Combination of words 富贵 "rich and noble" in the sentence 人亦孰不欲富贵 (*Who of the people doesn't desire to be rich and noble*) was written in reverse in Tangut translation: 𗦬𗦱 (i.e. = 贵富). In the phrase 屦大小同，则贾相若 (*Shoes of the same size would have the same price*) the word 大小 "size" turned out to be inverted in translation 𗿀𗿁 (i.e. = 小大). The sentence 鹄不日浴而白，乌不日黔而黑 (*For the swan does not need to bathe every day to be white; the raven does not need to be smeared with mud to be black*) from the chapter "The Cycle of Heaven" of the Zhuang-ziwas translated into Tangut with inversion: first it mentions the raven, then the swan: 𗼎𗟲𗼛：𗰛𗤫𗫗𗊬𗿀，𗵴𗤫𗗛𗊬𗰕. An awareness of such translation changes may prove to be very useful, because this technique was used by other peoples who had their own system of writing: the Tibetans and even the Khitans, whose language was very different from Tangut (p. 31–36)

The section "Tangut transcriptions of Chinese words and the north-western dialect of the Chinese language in the Song era" presents rich phonetic material, based on the three surviving chapters of the Tangut translation of the *Mengzi*. Peng Xiang-qian found 108 Tangut transcriptions of Chinese proper nouns, among which there are names of peoples, places, rivers, states and dynasties, posts and philosophical schools. A total of 140 phonetic units were identified by the author (p. 36–53).

Based on Tangut transcriptions, the author describes several features of the north-western dialect of the Chinese language in that era: sonant initials became hollow, dorsal and dental initials were unified, dentolabial initials appeared, terminal consonants -p, -t, -k as well as terminal sonants -m, -n, -ŋ fell apart. Since these characteristics completely coincide with the phonetic phenomena found in bilingual Tangut-Chinese dictionary "Pearl on the Palm" from the year 1190, the author concludes that such phonetic changes in the north-western dialect of the Chinese language in the Song era may appear in the previous century (p. 53).

Peng Xiang-qian also points out that the translation inevitably reflects Tangut specific understanding and perception of certain phenomena and concepts. The section "Tangut translation of the *Mengzi* as a source of data on Tangut society" is de-

voted to this subject. The translation now and then reveals information about Tangut society. For instance, Confucius's name is rendered not in transcription but with the glyphs 絇䶂, which literally mean "The Great Teacher". This apparently reflects both the desire to distinguish Confucius among other philosophers, and the veneration of Confucius in the Tangut state. For this reason the Tangut translator used the word combination 繆㾵 (literally "scholars, educated people, "Confucian scholars"). At the same time the names of other philosophical schools are rendered in transcription, for example Mohism 疕豴. The official history of the Song dynasty confirms the fact that Confucianism witnessed great power in Xi Xia. The chapter "Xia guo zhuan" states that in the time of Ren-xiao's rule Confucius was granted the title Wenxuan-di 文宣帝 ("The Perfect Enlightened Emperor") which surpasses the title Wenxuan-wang 文宣王 ("The Perfect Enlightened King") granted to Confucius during the Tang time (p. 54–55)

Facsimiles of all surviving fragments of the work are published in the second chapter "Correspondence of Chinese and Tangut Characters" (p. 62–118). These are the second part of the "Gongsun Chou" chapter and both parts of the "Teng Wen-gong" chapter. Under each facsimile image the author placed a Chinese word-by-word translation with notes to each line of it. All lines of the Chinese interlinear translation are numbered, for example 1201 signifies the first line on the 12[th] page of the manuscript. It should be noted that placement of the verbatim translation directly under each facsimile page of the manuscript appears to be a certain novelty. Such presentation makes it possible to match the glyphs at any time and to verify the accuracy of the reconstructed Tangut text. That is particularly important because some words in the manuscript have survived only in fragments.

While writing a word-by-word translation, the author used an important tool: the original text of the *Mengzi* published in "Thirteen Classics with Comments and Explanations" (Zhonghua publishing house, 1980). Since Peng Xian-qian made an attempt to reconstruct the Tangut text, her sought to fill in the most damaged parts of the manuscript. All characters, added by the author, are underlined. The footnotes to the Chinese interlinear translation specify notes and changes made by the Tangut copyist, as well as inversions and places where the correct sequence of lines or pages is violated.

It is truly admirable that the author not only identified indistinct characters, but also mistakes made by the Tangut translator, and pointed out missing words. For example Peng Xiang-qian discovered that in a sentence with a double negative 城非不高 (*It's not the matter that the walls aren't tall*) the negative 㣲 (不) was changed by error with the Tangut character 㣲 (后), which can be easily confused (p. 63).

The author deduced that the sentences 非直为观美也，然后尽于人心 (*Not only to look at the beautiful, but to completely show human feelings*) and 王如用予，

则岂徒齐民安, 天下之民举安 (*If the king hired me to serve him, is it only the people of Qi will be in peace, — the entire people of Tianxia will be in peace*) one and the same mistake was made. In both cases the Tangut character "only, exclusively" 𘜠 is mistakenly replaced by the similar character 𘜝 (真) (pp. 71, 78).

The third chapter "Translation and Commentary of the Tangut text of the *Mengzi*" (pp. 119–183) consists of a computer printed Tangut text of the classic, its translation into Chinese and detailed commentary. Before each Tangut sentence. the page and line numbers are indicated, which allows the reader to return promptly to the second chapter and find the relevant phrase in the facsimile copy. In the manuscript the titles of the chapters are missing. Chapters and sentences are marked with large and small circles. For convenience the author has added modern punctuation to the printed Tangut text. The commentary is made in accordance with the traditional Chinese practice of text commentary, where Tangut words lacking equivalent in Chinese, auxiliary particles and transcriptions are clarified. Comments are sequentially numbered, with 381 comments in total.

The contents of comments speak eloquently of tremendous analysis carried out by Peng Xian-qian. For instance one of the comments is a parsing of the sentence 于宋, 馈七十镒而受 (*At Song [you] were presented with 70 yi, and [you] accepted [them]*). It is translated into Tangut as 𘝵 𗤁 , 𘝵 𗣼 𘜩 𘃡 𗤁 . The unit of weight *yi* 镒 was translated with the Tangut character 𘜩 that corresponds to the Chinese *jin* 斤, which is a mistake. The author painstakingly explains why: "The Tangut state created an agency to produce standards for measuring various units of weight and volume, similar to the Chinese Wensi yuan 文思院 ("Chamber of Fine Craftsmanship and Artistry"). It was determined that 16 *liang* correspond to 1 *jin*. According to the Tangut dictionary "The Sea of Writings" the character 𘜩 (*jin* 斤) means: "In weight sixteen *liang* are equal to one *jin*". ZhaoQi's (赵岐, 108–201) commentary on the *Mengzi* says:"In weight twenty-four *liang* are equal to one *yi*"(p. 126).

The Tangut language usually is attributed to the Qiangic languages of the Tibetan-Burmese group. The Tibetan language may be a certain aid to deciphering Tangut texts, as it still uses words that at some point were employed in Tangut. In the commentarys the author frequently and rather successfully tries to apply his knowledge of the ancient Tibetan language.

The sentence 劝齐伐燕, 有诸 (*May it be possible to advise Qi to go to war against Yan?*) is translated into Tangut as 𘓃 𗣼 𗤁 𘜩 𗣼 , 𗣼 𗤁 . The author comments on the grammar particle 𘜩 in the following way: "It is a verbal affix, and it has imperative meaning. Imperative verbs in the Tangut language are formed in two modes: morphological and syntactical. The first mode is the alternation of consonant and sonant, the second mode is when an affix is added to the verb, as in this sentence. In the ancient Tibetan language formation of imperative mood occurs in the same manner" (p. 134).

Another sentence from the *Mengzi* "古之君子, 其过也, 如日月之食" (*In the ancient times if a noble man committed a mistake, it was like lunar or solar eclipse*) is translated into Tangut as 𗰔𗟲𗼃𗊢𗍫𘊐𗰔𗏁𘃽𗼷𗏟. The literal translation of the characters 𘃽𗼷 is "Luohou has hidden". In the Tibetan language solar eclipse and lunar eclipse are written as *nyivdzin* and *zlavdzin* respectively, the literal meaning is "the Sun is captured" and "the Moon is captured" which has to do with the Indian mythology where the demon Luohou (Rahu) devoured the Sun and the Moon from time to time, and that was when eclipses happened. The Tangut word combination 𗰔𗏁𘃽𗼷 (*the Sun and the Moon have been hidden by Luohou*) is constructed in a similar way in terms of word formation, which means that through Tibetans the Tangut people were subject to great Indian influence in astronomy and the calendar (pp. 55–56, 58). Such original comments and interpretations are to be found in abundance in the monograph.

The monograph contains three appendixes: a selected bibliography, the text of the corresponding chapters from the Chinese original of the *Mengzi* and a glossary. The glossary (pp. 198–294) contains all the glyphs encountered in the manuscript. The characters are listed in ascending order by their numbers according to Li Fanwen's "Tangut-Chinese Dictionary". For each character there is a number by the four-corner method; phonetic reconstruction; meaning; all word combinations from the manuscript that include the character; number of the commentary for this character; and character coordinates, for example 080614 means that the hieroglyph is encountered on the 8th page in the 6th line and is the 14th in the row. Obviously, the creation of such a substantial glossary took a lot of effort and is worthy of the highest praise.

In the words of Nie Hong-yin, a well-known Chinese Tangut scholar, "the study of the Tangut manuscripts is an endless research process, especially as researchers have l not yet developed any unified methods of text reading, not even the most basic principles that would be observed by everybody" (Nie Hong-yin 聶鸿音. Xi Xia wenxian lun gao 西夏文献论稿 [On the Tangut manuscripts]. Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2012, p. 1). Possibly, the only flaw in the monograph under review is the coding of verbal indicators of direction of action with the symbol "∆". There is no analogy for such particles in the Chinese language. When naming the verbal prefixes with a single sign the grammatical functions of these particles are not taking into consideration. It seems a certainty that Peng Xiang-qian will improve the coding in his future works.

The amount of information that a source may reveal in the hands of a particular researcher depends on individual experience and skill. It seems that Peng Xiang-qian has literally "squeezed" all possible information from the Tangut translation of the *Mengzi* down to the last drop. Thanks to his formidable training in history and philology, the author of the monograph was able to skillfully and seamlessly employ the approaches of both fields, and explore a variety of issues and subjects, each of

them being investigated in every manner. The volume of work done as well as the degree of complexity of this research is impressive.

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CLAUSON, Gerard 1972: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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References to articles:

MALOV S.E. 1932: "Uigurskie rukopisnye dokumenty ekspeditsii S.F. Oldenburga" [Uighur manuscript documents from S.F. Oldenburg's expedition]. *Zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR*

[*Proceedings of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR*], vol. 1. Moscow-Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 129–149.

LAUT, Jens Peter 2009: "Neues aus der Katalogisierung der *Maitrisimit*". In *Studies in Turkic Philology. Festschrift in Honour of the 80th Birthday of Professor Geng Shimin*. Ed. by Zhang Dingjing and Abdurishid Yakup. Beijing: China Minzu University Press, 332–338.

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