

RUSSIAN ACADEMY
OF SCIENCES

Institute of Oriental
Manuscripts
(Asiatic Museum)

Founded in 2014
Issued biannually

Published with the support
of St. Petersburg State
University Alumni Association
and
Irina and Yuri Vasilyev
Foundation



Nauka
Vostochnaya Literatura
2017

WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

2017 (2)

Editors

Irina Popova, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg (Editor-in-Chief)
Svetlana Anikeeva, Vostochnaya Literatura Publisher,
Moscow
Tatiana Pang, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg
Elena Tanonova, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg

Editorial Board

Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst, Turfanforschung,
BBAW, Berlin
Michael Friedrich, Universität Hamburg
Yuly Ioannesyanyan, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg
Karashima Seishi, Soka University, Tokyo
Aliy Kolesnikov, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg
Alexander Kudelin, Institute of World Literature,
RAS, Moscow
Karine Marandzhyan, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg
Nie Hongyin, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology,
CASS, Beijing
Georges-Jean Pinault, École Pratique des Hautes Études,
Paris
Stanislav Prozorov, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg
Rong Xinjiang, Peking University
Nicholas Sims-Williams, University of London
Takata Tokio, Kyoto University
Stephen F. Teiser, Princeton University
Hartmut Walravens, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin
Nataliya Yakhontova, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
RAS, St. Petersburg
Peter Zieme, Freie Universität Berlin

IN THIS ISSUE

Li Jingrong

The Scribal Hands of the *Er nian lü ling* Manuscript Unearthed from Zhangjiashan Han Tomb No. 247 3

Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉

SI 3662 and SI 3663 — two wedge-shaped Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya in the Petrovsky Collection 17

Olga Chunakova

A Sogdian Manichaean Parable 35

Kōichi Kitsudō and Peter Zieme

The *Jin'gangjing zuan* 金剛經纂 in Old Uighur with Parallels in Tangut and Chinese 43

Tatiana Pang and Nicholay Pchelin

Portraits of Qing meritorious officers in the collection of the State Hermitage: scroll restoration and revised reading of the texts 88

Dmitrii Nosov

A Manuscript of the Mongolian Folk Tale “About old Borontai” from the IOM, RAS Collection 111

Reviews

Zare Yusupova. *The Kurdish Dialect Gorani. A Grammatical Description*. Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2017, by **Youli A. Ioannesyan** 119

Mitteliranische Handschriften. Teil 2: Berliner Turfanfragmente buddhistischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift, beschrieben von Christiane Reck. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016 (VOHD; XVIII, 2), 473 S., by **Olga M. Chunakova** 122

Li Jingrong

**The Scribal Hands
of the *Er nian lü ling* Manuscript Unearthed
from Zhangjiashan Han Tomb No. 247**

Abstract: Contrary to received texts, early Chinese manuscripts written on bamboo strips have typical physical features, of which handwriting is the significant character. This paper studies handwriting of the *Er nian lü ling* manuscript unearthed in the Zhangjiashan Han tomb No. 247. According to analysis on the monophony of the repeating characters in the manuscript, it concludes that the manuscript was most likely written by three scribes. One scribe who mastered professional writing skills and was responsible for writing more than half of the bamboo strips is the main one among the three. As the *Er nian lü ling* manuscript was required for the tomb owner's funeral, it was written by three scribes together within a short time resulting in a number of transcribe errors in the text.

Key words: Handwriting, scribe, legal manuscript, early China, Zhangjiashan

Since 1970s, manuscripts found in tombs have provided valuable information for research on legal history and law development in early China. In contrast to texts handed down to us, a manuscript has physical features. Therefore, we should study the important features including layout, shape, dimension, binding, punctuation marks, writing and scribal hands, which will help us better understanding the production and purpose of a manuscript as well as its text.

This paper is a case study about the scribal hands for a manuscript named *Er nian lü ling* (The Statutes and Ordinances of the Second Year, ENLL), which was excavated from the Zhangjiashan Han tomb no. 247 (in Jiangling district, Hubei) sealed around 186 BCE. Its text contains twenty-seven cate-







© Li Jingrong, Changsha, Hunan University

Note of the Author: This article is an expanded and updated version of a Chinese paper, *Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu Er nian lü ling shushou shuti shixi* 張家山247號漢墓《二年律令》書手、書體試析, published in *Hunan University Journal (Social Science)* 2016 (4): 38–43.

gories of statutes and one sort of ordinance of early Han, which is highly valuable for research on Han laws.¹

A couple of scholars have shown interest in scribal hands and writing of the ENLL manuscript. Chen Yaojun and Yan Pin assumed that the ENLL text was written by more than one scribe including the owner of the tomb, while they did not give any reasons for this conclusion. The article was published two years after the excavation of Zhangjiashan tomb no. 247, but the ENLL text was not published at that time.² Tomiya Itaru states that multiple scribes took part in producing the ENLL manuscript by citing an example, in which there are different morphological forms for a part of a recurrent character.³ His view will be discussed later in the article. Zhang Zhongwei shares the same statement, but he does not analyse handwriting of the ENLL manuscript.⁴

The writing on the ENLL bamboo slips is in the form of clerical script (*li shu* 隸書). As the ENLL manuscript is a legal one with statutes and ordinances, there are fixed legal terms found frequently in the text and several grammatical particles common to ancient Chinese texts. The morphology of these repeated characters is an ideal criterion for distinguishing different hands. Three distinct handwritings can be identified in this manuscript, which are designated A, B and C in this paper. The following table summarises the contrast displayed by frequently recorded characters written by the different scribes:

































Characters	Scribe A	Scribe B	Scribe C
城	 ENLL 48	 ENLL 55	 ENLL174
旦	 ENLL 48	 ENLL55	 ENLL174

¹ The annotated transcription and the photographs of all the bamboo strips of the ENLL manuscript were first published in 2001, see Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 2001. For a detailed examination of the ENLL manuscript as well as an English translation of its text, see BARBIERI-LOW and YATES 2015.





² CHEN YAOJUN and YAN BIN 1985: 1126.





³ TOMIYA 2010: 308.

⁴ ZHANG ZHONGWEI 2012: 21.

春	 ENLL 48	 ENLL55	
及	 ENLL 1	 ENLL 182	 ENLL 176
若	 ENLL 18	 ENLL 57	 ENLL 176
罪	 ENLL 15	 ENLL 60	 ENLL 176
為	 ENLL 18	 ENLL 55	 ENLL 176
人	 ENLL 36	 ENLL 57	 ENLL 176
毋	 ENLL 15	 ENLL 70	 ENLL 176
而	 ENLL 65	 ENLL 71	 ENLL 174
子	 ENLL 38	 ENLL 68	 ENLL 174
不	 ENLL 1	 ENLL 55	 ENLL 176
妻	 ENLL 38	 ENLL 68	 ENLL 176

The quality of the scribes' writing varies significantly: the characters written by scribe A are relatively elaborate and neat. The last right-falling stroke (*na* 捺) of the characters is long in proportion to the whole character and its curve shows the "silkworm head and swallow tail" (*can tou yan wei* 蠶頭燕尾). The angle between the left-falling stroke (*pie* 撇) and the right-falling stroke is bigger than that of characters written by scribe B and C. Additionally, the thickness of strokes is constant and the angles and curves run smoothly. The connects between curves goes flexibly and the characters are horizontally aligned.

Compared to the writings by A, scribe B wrote in a hasty and casual way. His characters are narrower and longer. The right side of his characters slants upwards, and they look less controlled and balanced. In addition, the structure of some characters such as  (*chong* 春) and  (*wei* 為) written by scribe A manifestly differs from that of the characters  (*chong* 春) and  (*wei* 為) completed by scribe B.

Scribe C wrote characters in a mostly square shape. There is a strong contrast among strokes, such as the last right-falling stroke (*na* 捺) of the characters  (*zhi* 之),  (*ji* 及), and  (*ren* 人) is much thicker than other strokes, which indicates using more pressure during the writing of this stroke. Although scribe B usually wrote thick right-falling strokes, such as  (*ren* 人) in ENLL 57; while compared to the one finished by scribe C, the whole character is longer and more dynamic, and the angle between the left-falling (*pie* 撇) and the right-falling stroke of the character is not as large as that of scribe C.

In addition to the morphology of characters, the whole arrangement of the writing on bamboo slips differs from each other. For instance, from ENLL 48 to 59: ENLL 48–50 and 54 were written by scribe A, while ENLL 51–53 and 55–59 were finished by scribe B. It shows that the spacing between characters and size of his characters are almost the same. In summary, the writing on ENLL 48–50 is arranged neatly and orderly. Compared to the writing by scribe A, the characters of B are longer and the size of the characters varies significantly. All the writings on ENLL 51–53 and 55–59 by scribe B slants upward so that it is more dynamic.

Special attention should be given to scribe A, who probably received professional training to have an elaborate and polished hand. He was also able to

switch between two or three forms to write the same character.⁵ For example, the upper left components of 盜 on ENLL 76, 盜 on the upper part of ENLL 153, and 盜 on ENLL 74 (*dao* 盜) differ from each other. He also used the old form of the character 之 (*zhi* 之) on ENLL 86, which has four strokes. Despite the variations in terms of structure and form, these characters were most likely written by scribe A regarding to the running of the strokes and the structure of the components. Furthermore, such characters are found between other characters that can undeniably be attributed to scribe A.

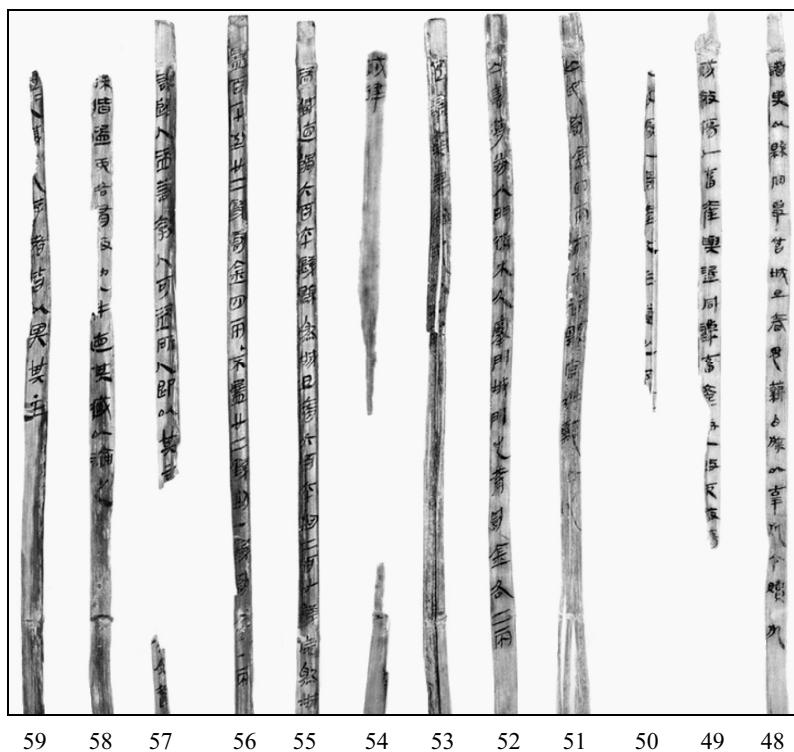


































Fig. ENLL 48–59















⁵ The articles in *Statutes on Scribes* (*Shi lü* 史律) in the ENLL manuscript explicitly regulate the writing training and examination received by scribes. According to the statutes, scribes should command eight different styles of script (*ba ti* 八體). It seems that the eight styles may correspond to those mentioned by Xu Shen 許慎 in his epilogue to *Shuowen* 說文. However, what exactly the eight different styles of script were is not clear. Of these eight different styles mentioned by Xu Shen, some are defined by the writing materials; while others are defined by their morphological structure and shape; see XU Shen 1963: 315.










Take ENLL 74 for example, Tomiya argued that ENLL 74 was written by two scribes indicating that the two records of the character *dao* 盜,  on the upper part and  on the middle part have different upper left components.⁶ Besides this character, there are also other characters found twice or even three times on ENLL 174:  (*chu* 出) (upper part),  (middle part), and  (bottom part);  (*zhi* 致) and  (bottom part),  (*fu* 符) and  (bottom part);  (*zhe* 者) (middle part) and  (bottom part). In comparison, these characters are very similar; it is clear that one scribe must write them. The recurrent characters  (*ji* 及),  (*li* 吏),  (*jin* 金),  (*yi* 以) and  (*wu* 毋) on ENLL 174 were apparently written by scribe A. In addition, the style and arrangement of the writing on the whole bamboo strip prove that this strip was written scribe A.













The variations between forms or structures of characters cannot be a single criterion to decide the scribe. The following table shows the different forms of some characters written by scribe A:

Characters	Different forms of the same character by scribe A				
之	 ENLL 1	 ENLL 15	 ENLL 86	 ENLL 180	 ENLL 262
吏	 ENLL 2	 ENLL 6	 ENLL 19	 ENLL 20	 ENLL 210
法	 ENLL 20	 ENLL 49	 ENLL 75		
予	 ENLL 216	 ENLL 217	 ENLL 289		

⁶ TOMIYA 2010: 308.

足	 ENLL 140	 ENLL 241	 ENLL 255		
過					
遠	 ENLL 312	 lower part of ENLL 314	 bottom part of ENLL 314		
盜	 ENLL 20	 ENLL 49	 ENLL 66	 ENLL 74	 ENLL 74




















It seems that these characters were different and not written by an individual scribe. The style of the writing and the alignment of the characters support that scribe A wrote them. Take  (*li* 吏) on ENLL 2 and  (*li* 吏) on ENLL 20 for example, the lower parts of the characters were in a different form, but the upper parts were written in a very similar way. The style of the writing and morphological form of the other characters on ENLL 2 show that they were written by scribe A. For instance, the frequently recurrent characters  (*mu* 母),  (*zi* 子),  (*qi* 妻). This is the same case as with strip ENLL 20, such as the characters  (*ji* 及),  (*wei* 為),  (*shou* 收) and  (*zhi* 之) on ENLL 20 were completed in the typical form of scribe A.























Scribe A did not switch between the forms of a character for semantic reasons, even different forms of a character can be found in the same phrase, such as   (*xu zhi* 許之, allowing to do it) on ENLL 115 and   on ENLL 343. Another example is:   (*qun dao* 群盜, thieves in a gang) on ENLL 65,   on the upper part of ENLL 153,   on the middle part of ENLL 153, and   on ENLL 155.

Scribe A switched between the forms of a character frequently when he wrote the same character several times onto the same strip, as we can see in the examples of *guo* 過 on ENLL 273, *yuan* 遠 on ENLL 314, and *dao* 盜 on ENLL 74 and 153. Scribe A might have done so for aesthetic reasons to avoid monotony during writing. It could be the case as well that scribe A switched the form and structure of a character at whim and these variations were made habitually without thorough consideration.

Since three scribes participated in writing this manuscript, it is important to find out the exact scribe assigned to write the specific ENLL text. ENLL 48-54 discussed above belong to the *Statutes on Banditry* (*Zei li* 賊律), thus it is evident that both scribe A and B wrote the text belonging to a category of statutes. In summary, scribe A wrote ENLL 1–50 and 54 of the *Statutes on Banditry*, ENLL 54 was the last strip of this statute and its title was written there; while scribe B only wrote ENLL 51–53.

Is this the only category of statute that multiple scribes took turns to write? To answer this question, the whole manuscript will be examined in detail. The writing of ENLL 61–81 belonging to *Statutes on Theft* will be analysed firstly in the following table.

Bamboo Strip(s)	Scribe	Typical examples		
ENLL 55–57	Scribe B			
ENLL 58 the upper part	Scribe A			
ENLL 58 the lower part	Scribe B			
ENLL 59–60	Scribe B			
ENLL 61	Scribe A			
ENLL 62	Scribe B			
ENLL 63 the beginning 25 characters	Scribe B			

ENLL 63 the following 11 characters	Scribe A			
ENLL 64	Scribe B			
ENLL 65–66	Scribe A			
ENLL 67–73	Scribe B			
ENLL 74–79	Scribe A			
ENLL 80	Scribe B			
ENLL 81: the title	Scribe B			
ENLL 81: a scribe's signature	unknown			







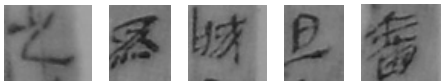
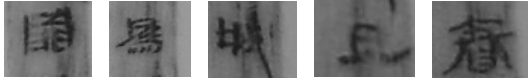
The above table shows that both scribe A and B took part in writing this statute. ENLL 58 and 63 were written by both of them. Special attention was given to ENLL 81, the last bamboo strip belonging to *Statutes on Theft*. It is found that the title “Statutes on Theft” (*Dao lü* 盜律) is on the top, while a scribe’s name is written above the bottom binding string: “written by Zheng Kan?” (鄭 歆書).⁷ It is obvious that these three characters were written more hastily and sloppily than the ordinary “clerical script”. It cannot be determined who wrote this statute, as the handwriting of the signature significantly differs from that of both scribes. Similar to the way that the appearance of modern signatures varies from ordinary writing, it may be normal for

⁷ In Yates’ opinion, “Zheng” written on ENLL 81 is “the name of a copyist either surnamed Zheng 鄭 or deriving from the city of Zheng plus a given name written with a graph with a ‘woman 女’ radical which is otherwise unknown.” He concludes that the text of the ENLL manuscript was not copied by a female copyist whose name is “Zheng X;” instead, it suggests that this slip with her name on it had been used and recycled. Afterwards, the real scribe of the text did not erase the name from the slip. He did not give the detailed reason for this statement; see YATES 2014: 209–210.

a scribe to use a special style for his signature rather than the one that he had learnt from the scribal school.⁸ However, it remains an enigma why only the one scribe's name can be found here, since this statute was written by both scribe A and B. It is the only 'signature' of a scribe that can be found in the whole manuscript. Regarding to the fact that the bottom part of the bamboo slips with the titles "Statutes on Issuing Food Rations to Post Stations" (*Zhuan shi lü* 傳食律) and "Statutes on Registration" (*Fu lü* 傅律) are lost, it is still theoretically possible that a signature was written on one of them or even both.

Besides the preceding two statutes of the manuscript, *Statutes on Banditry* and *Statutes on Theft*, there are other instances of multiple scribes participating in writing a category of statutes as well. The following examples compare the characters of different hands within one category of statutes:



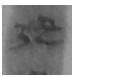
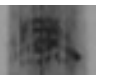




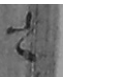

Statutes on the Generalities (*Ju lü* 具律): ENLL 82-125

Scribe A						
	ENLL 86	ENLL 90	ENLL 91	ENLL 91	ENLL 97	ENLL 102
Scribe B						
	The upper part of ENLL 100					
Scribe A						
	The bottom part of ENLL 100					

This statute was mainly written by scribe A, except for the upper part of ENLL 100 completed by scribe B.

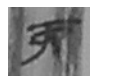




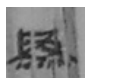






⁸ According to a Qin statute, only sons of scribes had the chance to study in scribal schools (*xue shi* 學室). QLSBZ 191: *Ling: Shi wu cong shi guan fu. Fei shi zi yi, wu gan xue xue shi, fan ling zhe you zui. Nei shi za* 令: 史毋從事官府。非史子毆, 毋敢學學室, 犯令者有罪。內史雜, "According to the Ordinances . . . clerks must not be made to work in government storehouses. If (persons) are not sons of clerks, they must not venture to study in the study-room. Those who transgress this Ordinance will have committed a crime. (Statutes concerning) the Ministry of Finance; miscellaneous" (HULSEWÉ 1985: A101). It should be noted that Hulsewé translated *shi* 史 as clerks rather than scribes. Giele discusses the signatures of "scribes" in the administrative manuscripts in early imperial China; see GIELE 2005: 353–387.

Statutes on Absconding (Wang lü 亡律): ENLL 157–173

Scribe A	 ENLL 160	 ENLL 163	 ENLL 166	 ENLL 168	 ENLL 170
Scribe B	 ENLL 164	 ENLL 172	 ENLL 164	 ENLL 172	 ENLL 172










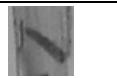


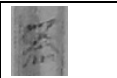
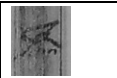
Most slips of this statute were written by scribe A, except for ENLL 164 and 172 written by scribe B.

Statutes on Enslavement and Confiscation (Shou lü 收律): ENLL 174–181

Scribe A	 ENLL 178	 ENLL 178	 ENLL 179	 ENLL 180	 ENLL 180	 ENLL 180
Scribe B	 ENLL 175	 ENLL 175	 ENLL 176	 ENLL 175	 ENLL 175	 ENLL 176













ENLL 177–181 of this statute were written by scribe A, while ENLL 174–176 were done by scribe C.

Miscellaneous Statutes (Za lü 雜律): ENLL 182–196

Scribe A	 ENLL 184	 ENLL 184	 ENLL 188	 ENLL 188	 ENLL 190	 ENLL 190
Scribe B	 The beginning three characters of ENLL 193					
Scribe A	 The following characters of ENLL 193					
Scribe B	 ENLL 182	 ENLL 183	 ENLL 183	 ENLL 191	 ENLL 192	 ENLL 195











ENLL 184–190 of this statute were written by scribe A, while ENLL 182–183, 191–192 and 194–196 were completed by scribe B. In this statute, they both took part in writing one strip ENLL 193: Scribe B wrote the first three characters, while scribe A wrote the following characters.

Statutes on Appointment of Officials (Zhi li lü 置吏律): ENLL 210–224

Scribe A	 ENLL 210	 ENLL 211	 ENLL 213	 ENLL 219	 ENLL 219	 ENLL 219
Scribe B	 ENLL 221	 ENLL 221	 ENLL 222	 ENLL 2221	 ENLL 221	 ENLL 223

ENLL 221–224 were written by scribe C and all the other slips of this statute were finished by scribe A.

Statutes on Household Registration (Hu lü 戶律): ENLL 305–346

Scribe A	 ENLL 305	 ENLL 313	 ENLL 343	 ENLL 343	 ENLL 345
Scribe C	 ENLL 332	 ENLL 331	 ENLL 342	 ENLL 342	 ENLL 344

ENLL 331–332, 342 and 344 were written by scribe C, and all the other slips of this statute were done by scribe A.

All the statutes mentioned above were written by two scribes. Except for the bamboo slips relating to *Statutes on Meritorious Rank (Jue lü 爵律)* done by scribe B, the other remaining statutes and one ordinance were probably all written by scribe A.⁹

⁹ It should be mentioned that for certain slips it is impossible to exactly determine, by whom the bamboo slips were written, either because the ink had heavily faded and the writing cannot be distinguished anymore, or because the slips were only fragments at the time of excavation.

Statutes on Meritorious Rank (Jue lü 爵律): ENLL 392–39

Scribe B	 ENLL 392	 ENLL 392	 ENLL 394	 ENLL 394	 ENLL 394	 ENLL 395
----------	---	---	---	---	---	--

Although three scribes took part in writing the ENLL manuscript, scribe A was the main one, as he was responsible for writing more than half of the text; while scribes B and C were assistant scribes. Scribe A being the main scribe was due to the fact that he was skilled in writing and mastered polished writing methods. Compared to the handwriting of the other manuscripts found in the Zhangjiashan tomb no. 247, it is probably that these three scribes only wrote the ENLL manuscript.

As we know that all the scribes used the same text layout to write the manuscript, it seems that either they had all agreed to use the same one before writing; or someone responsible for writing the manuscript, probably scribe A, had informed and guided them to finish in this way. The scribes took turns to write slips of a category of statutes or even a single strip, which suggests that they must have participated in writing this manuscript at the same place.

There must be a reason that the ENLL manuscript was produced in this way, as one scribe was responsible for writing most of the strips, while the others for writing the rest. I assume that this particular process of production may have enabled the scribes to write the ENLL text more quickly and flexibly: they could take turns to write the manuscript when the main scribe A was not available; or when one scribe, especially scribe A, wrote the slips, the other two assistant scribes assisted him in preparing stationery or slips for writing. The fact that the manuscript was bound after writing is also in agreement with this mode of production.¹⁰

The reason that three scribes wrote together for the ENLL manuscript is likely due to a short amount of time. This point is further supported by the large number of writing mistakes found in the ENLL manuscript, which strongly proves that they did not do proofreading after writing.¹¹

The author has argued that the ENLL manuscript was written in the second year of Empress Lü (186 BCE), which is around the death of the tomb

¹⁰ Li Jingrong discusses the binding of the ENLL manuscript, see Li Jingrong 2014: 23–27.

¹¹ See YOU Yifei 2013: 42–44; Li Jingrong 2014: 83–88.

owner. It is most likely that the manuscript had never been used by the owner and produced for his funeral.¹² The manuscript was probably required urgently for the funeral, which might push the scribes to write the manuscript fast.

Studying the physical features of a manuscript, especially its writing and the scribal hands, can better understand the way of its production. The writing method provides insights into the nature and purpose of a manuscript.

References

- CHEN Yaojun 陳耀鈞, and Yan Pin 閻頻 1985: “Jiangling Zhangjiashan Han mu de niandai ji xiangguan wenti” 江陵張家山漢墓的年代及相關問題. *Kaogu* 1985 (12), 1124-1129.
- GIELE, Enno 2005: “Signatures of 'Scribes' in Early Imperial China.” *Asiatische Studien* 59, no. 1: 353-87.
- HULSEWÉ, A. F. P 1985: *Remnants of Ch'in Law: An Annotated Translation of the Ch'in Legal and Administrative Rules of the 3rd Century B.C., Discovered in Yun-meng Prefecture, Hu-pei Province, in 1975*. Sinica Leidensia, Vol. 17. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- LI Jingrong 2014: The *Ernian lü ling* Manuscript, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek E-Dissertationen, <http://ediss.sub.uni-hamburg.de/volltexte/2014/6923>, published in August 2014.
- Jingzhou diqu bowuguan 荊州地區博物館 1985: “Jiangling Zhangjiashan sanzuo Hanmu chutu dapi zhujian” 江陵張家山三座漢墓出土大批竹簡. *Wenwu* (1): 1-8.
- PENG Hao 彭浩, Chen Wei 陳偉, and Kudô Motoo 工藤元男 eds. 2007: *Ernian lü ling yu Zouyanshu (Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Hanmu chutu falü wenxian shidu)* 二年律令與奏讞書(張家山二四七號漢墓出土法律文獻釋讀). Shanghai: Shanghai guji, 2007.
- TOMIYA Itaru 富谷至 2010: “Jiangling Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu chutu zhujian—tebie shi guanyu *Ernian lü ling*” 江陵張家山二四七號漢墓出土竹簡 — 特別是關於《二年律令》. In *Jianbo yanjiu erlinglingba* 簡帛研究二零零八, edited by Bu Xianqun and Yang Zhenhong. Guilin: Guangxi shifa.
- XU Shen 許慎 1963: *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字. Beijing: Zhonghua.
- YATES, Robin D. S 2014: “The Changing Status of Slaves in the Qin-Han Transition.” In *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited*, edited by Yuri Pine, Gideon Shelach, Lothar von Falkenhausen, and Robin D.S. Yates, 206-223.
- YOU Yifei 遊逸飛 2013: “Shi lun Zhangjiashan Han jian *Er nian lü ling* de jichu ewu” 試論張家山漢簡《二年律令》的幾處訛誤. In *Luo jia shi yuan* (10): 41-50.
- Zhangjiashan ersiqi hao Han mu zhujian zhengli xiaozu 張家山二四七號漢墓竹簡整理小組 2001: *Zhangjiashan Han mu zhujian (ersiqi hao mu)* 張家山漢墓竹簡(二四七號墓). Beijing: Wenwu.
- ZHANG Zhongwei 張忠偉 2012: *Qin Han lü ling faxi yanjiu chubian* 秦漢律令法系研究初編. Beijing: Shuihui kexue wenxian.

¹² Li Jingrong 2014: 82.

Ching Chao-jung 慶昭蓉

SI 3662 and SI 3663 — two wedge-shaped Kharoṣṭhī documents from Niya in the Petrovsky Collection*

Abstract: Two unedited wedge-shaped wooden documents SI 3662 and SI 3663 (= SI P 138/a and SI P 138/6, respectively) are deciphered in this paper. A preliminary analysis of their content and physical features shows that SI 3663 is very probably the wedge under-tablet to be bound with the wedge covering-tablet N. i. 17 found by Aurel Stein at the N. I. site (Niya, China). SI 3662, a king's instruction issued to Soṃjaka the *Cozbo*, is in all probability from the Niya sites, too.

Key words: Petrovsky Collection, Niya documents, Gāndhārī, Kharoṣṭhī

1. Introduction

SI 3662 and 3663 belong to the SI (Serindia) collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS). These unedited tablets are in rather good preservation. They lack site marks, and their text is bleached to some degree. Bearing old shelf numbers SI P 138/a and SI P 138/6, respectively, after the name of Nikoloi Fyodorovich Petrovsky (1837–1908),¹ their existence has been known to Russian scholars. For example, Dr. Margarita Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia's introduction to the SI

© CHING Chao-jung 慶昭蓉, Postdoctoral researcher, Centre de recherche sur les civilisations de l'Asie orientale, CNRS / International Research Fellow, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science–Kyoto University (ching.cj@gmail.com)

* I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. I.F. Popova and the Department of Manuscripts and Documents of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences since 2009. The present paper is one of the results from my project “Dynamics of writing traditions on the Silk Road: A case study of Tocharian and other languages” (Mentor: Prof. Yoshida Yutaka; Host Institute: Department of Linguistics, Kyoto University), during which my consultation on the originals of SI 3662 and 3663 in autumn 2016 was supported by the Kakenhi of the JSPS.

¹ On his outstanding career, see VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2004; POPOVA 2008: 25.

collection in 2004 — translated by Dr. Jan Nattier into English in 2006 — is extracted as follows:²

(1) The N.F. Petrovsky Collection

At present 582 items are registered in the holdings of this collection, for whose study S.F. Oldenburg was principally responsible. Of these, 266 are Sanskrit manuscripts in Brāhmī script on paper... Another 297 are Khotanese manuscripts on paper... Another eleven fragments are in Tocharian. There are two documents on wood written in northwestern (Gāndhārī) Prakrit in the Kharoṣṭhī script, and one document on wood with two different scripts: Brāhmī on one side (in the Tocharian B language, = Kuchean) and Kharoṣṭhī (in the Gāndhārī language) on the other. Two documents on wood are written in Old Uighur, in the Uighur script. ...

In addition to the bilingual-biscript tablet, namely SI P/141 (= SI 3672),³ the “two documents on wood written in northwestern (Gāndhārī) Prakrit in the Kharoṣṭhī script” no doubt mean the Niya-Gāndhārī ones to be treated below.⁴ In fact, on the occasion of the International Conference “Turfān Revisited” (8–13 September, 2002), Dr. Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia had pointed out the existence of Niya documents in the Petrovsky Collection:⁵

In all, the Petrovsky collection of manuscripts written in Indian scripts contains 582 items. The different languages present therein are: Sanskrit (251 items), Khotanese Saka (297 items), Tocharian B, Old Uighur, Old Tibetan and North-Western Prakrit. The majority of the manuscripts are written in Central Asian Brāhmī script of the southern type. But we also have some wooden documents in Kharoṣṭhī script originated from the region of Niya and Kroraina, and wooden documents with text on both sides — Tocharian B in Brāhmī on the recto side and Kharoṣṭhī on the verso side. There is also a unique wooden business document in the Old Uighur language. ...

² VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2006: 62. Lengthy footnotes are omitted here. On the Khotanese items, see EMMERICK and VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1993; EMMERICK and VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1995. On the Tocharian ones, see VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1997: 208 for her full list.

³ Deciphered in SCHMIDT 2001 and re-analyzed in CHING 2013.

⁴ The Prakrit used in the documents from the Niya and Loulan sites is now often termed as ‘Niya-Gāndhārī’. However, when using abbreviations, I follow SCHMIDT 2001 to denote it by ‘NPkt.’ (Niya-Prākṛit), in contrast to the one found in Kucha by ‘KPkt.’

⁵ VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2004: 361–362.

During my visits at the IOM in 2009 and 2012, SI 3662 was still kept in a white cardboard box together with the only Kuchean document in the Malov collection, i.e. the wooden tag about monastic wealth SI M-TD/316 (= SI 3664),⁶ while other wooden documents in the Petrovsky Collection had been kept in separate paper envelopes, number by number. SI 3662 and 3664 were delicately embedded into the box with silk cloth lining until their separation into new envelopes around 2014. Since SI 3664 was selected for exhibition,⁷ SI 3662 must have been cherished for a long time as well. In 2015, SI 3663 drew my attention during my consultation of SI 3662. From the photographs kindly provided by the Institute in May 2017 [Fig. 1–4],⁸ readers can easily recognize both their shapes as “wedge under-tablets”, in Aurel Stein’s terms.⁹ Surprisingly, the content of SI 3663 matches the wedge covering-tablet N. i. 17, which is edited in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan* as No. 15. On the other hand, SI 3662 shows some features that imply its scribe’s hastiness or lack of experience. There is no doubt as to their genuineness and precious value for Niyā studies.¹⁰



Fig. 1. SI 3662, obverse side (Photo courtesy of the IOM, RAS)

⁶ See VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1997: 206–207 on this piece of “merchandise label”, so-called by her. MALZAHN (2007: 278 n. 34) further identified this “commercial tag” in her term as a finding from Miran. In fact, from the content and ductus it can be identified as a label of a *saṃgha*’s common wealth from a Buddhist site in Kucha, very probably just from today’s Kizil grottoes, cf. CHING 2017: 9, 85, 291.

⁷ For example, see SEIPEL 1996.

⁸ Fig. 5–8 below are all extracted through the red channel of these color photographs by Adobe Photoshop ® without further photoshopping, although the text on the original tablets look a little clearer at certain angles to my eye.

⁹ Cf. STEIN 1907, esp. 347–352.

¹⁰ My transcription generally follows the convention given by https://www.gandhari.org/a_dpreface.php. To the extent possible, the currently preserved text is typed in non-italics. I place all my text restoration and interpretation, including capitalisation and basic punctuation, in italicized format. In my translations, in order to distinguish from personal names, the title or position such as *Cozbo* or *Dvaraka* is also italicized.



Fig. 2. SI 3662, reverse side (Photo courtesy of the IOM, RAS)

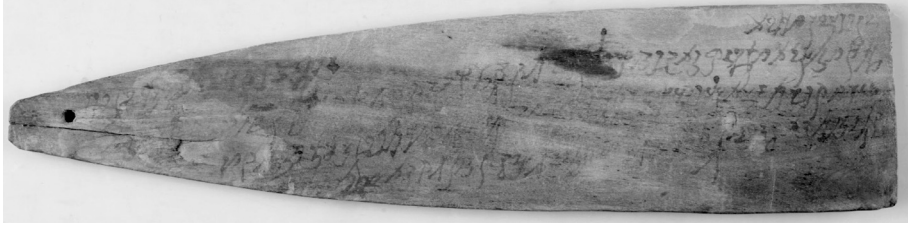


Fig. 3. SI 3663, obverse side (Photo courtesy of the IOM, RAS)



Fig. 4. SI 3663, reverse side (Photo courtesy of the IOM, RAS)

2. SI 3662 (l. 3.2 cm×w. 22.8 cm×th. 0.5 cm)

Und. Obv.

1 [ma]hanuava maharaya lihati cozbo soṃjakaṣa maṃtra deti
 ṣaca¹¹ ah.[n]. ??

2 pugo lýipeyaṣa ca¹² vimñāye[nt]ji yatha dvaraka lýipana ma[tr]eti
 [yatha] mṛt[a] jaṃna [l].[ip].[m]. ? go 1 taha matreti lýipatga ditaga matreti
 puna mṛ[ta]ga yahi e[da] ??

¹¹ As pointed out by BURROW (*LKD*, Index, p. 128) and JAMISON (2000: 77 n. 47), the postposition *ṣaca* is to be taken as the equivalent of Skt. *sacā*, here as an introductory particle meaning ‘as follows, thus’. See the next note.

¹² Although one may transcribe *Pugo Lýipeya ṣaca* ‘Pugo together with Lýipeya’, scholars have shown that such an accompaniment construction had been reanalyzed to X (zero mark) Y-*ṣa* (gen.) *ca* ‘X and Y’ and the whole serve as a subject of a 3rd pl. verb, at least in *KI* No. 419 and a few other documents, cf. JAMISON 2000: 77 n. 47. In this paper, *ṣaca* as the introductory particle of instructions and letters is taken as one word, whereas *-ṣa ca* is adopted in the case of accompaniment construction.

3 mu[dra atra eṣati] praṭha yati lýipana śa[va]tha ka[v]iṣ[y]ati go [1] ऌ-
v.oṣidavo

Und. Rev.

[FAINT TRACES] lýipanaṣa ca

Notes

[U. O. 1] **[ma]hanuava maharaya lihati**: A blank of 12.5 cm after this sentence. [U. O. 2] **vimñāye[nt]i**: Here *vimñāyemti* ‘inform, report’ (pres.3pl.)¹³ is expected. However, the second *anusvāra* is not written, although the tablet surface below *ye* is slightly scratched, perhaps during its unearthing. Moreover, the final *akṣāra* of this verb looks strange [Fig. 5]. It may denote *nti*, a ligature so far unknown to scholars, if it is not an inadvertent error of the scribe. **ma[tr]eti**: This verb is faded, seemingly due to surface friction. [Fig. 5] **yatha**: There is a dark brown speckle between *ya* and *tha*. [Fig. 6] **mṛt[a]**: The ink spot above *ta* seems to be a discontinued vocalic remark denoting *i* or *e*. [Fig. 6] **[l].[ip].[m]. ?**: An extremely faint passage denoting a personal name in genitive case based on context. The final *akṣāra* is totally bleached. It can be restored as a cramped *śa* similar to the one in *lýipeyaśa* in the same line. [Fig. 6] **lýipatga**: My transcription *tga* follows Burrow’s *tga* with regard to current convention.¹⁴ [U. O. 3] **praṭha**: The word is written rather cursively. [Fig. 7] **ka[v]iṣ[y]ati**: Sic! If in the scribe’s mind, *karīṣyati* (fut.3sg. of \sqrt{kr}) was to be written, he however distorted the tail of the *r* to the right, making it resemble *v* (*v* in old convention). [Fig. 7] **go [1] ऌ- v.oṣidavo**: The two *akṣāras* after *go* are clumsy. The scribe may have intended to write *vyoṣidavo* ‘to be handed over, to be paid (that is due)’¹⁵ immediately after *go*, then *vyo* was altered to the figure 1 and the unfinished *ṣ* was obliterated, before the gerundive was rewritten afterward. [Fig. 8]

¹³ Here and below my translations basically follow Burrow’s. Important changes are noted.

¹⁴ *LKD* § 47. But as GLASS (2000: 61 n. 10) points out, the current situation of rejecting *ṅga* (*ṅga* in old convention) could change as the new more Sanskritized documents are studied.

¹⁵ On this verb, cf. *LKD*, Index, pp. 121–122.

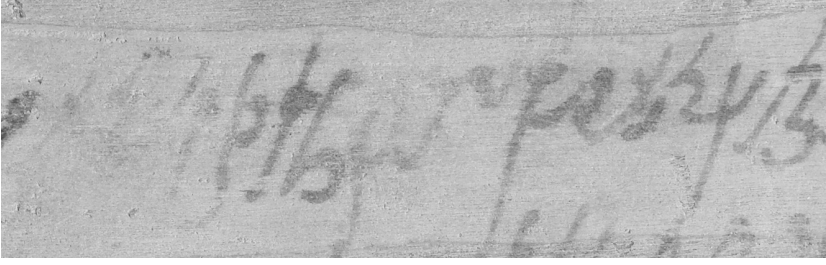


Fig. 5. vimāyē[nt]i yatha dvaraka līpana ma[tr]eti



Fig. 6. yatha mṛt[a] jamna [l].[ip].[m]. ? go 1

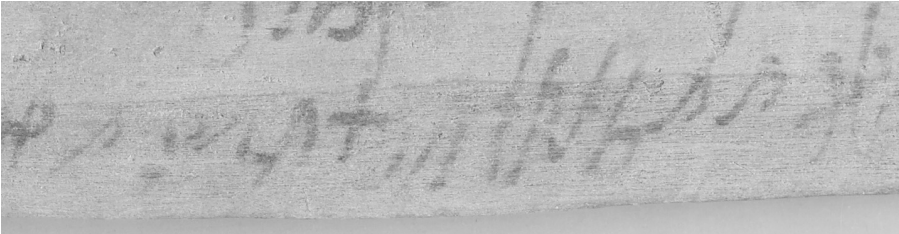


Fig. 7. praṭha yati līpana śa[va]tha ka[v]iṣ[y]ati

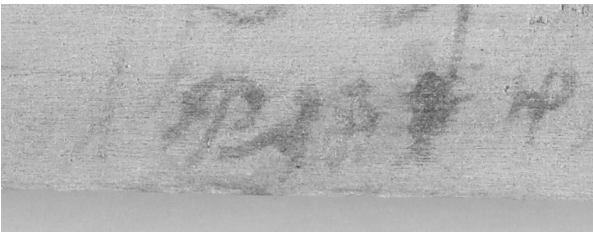


Fig. 8. go [l] ५ v. oṣidavo

Text restoration with preliminary punctuation and translation

^[U.O.1] [Ma]hanuava Maharaya lihati. Cozbo Soṃjakaṣa maṃtra
 deti. ṣaca ah(*u)[n](*o iśa) ^[2] Pugo L̥yipeyaṣa ca viṃṇave[nt]i. yatha Dva-
 raka L̥yipana ma[tr]eti. yatha mṛt[a] jaṃna [L](*ý)[ip](*a)[m](*aṣa) go 1.
 taha matreti l̥yípatga ditaga, matreti puna mṛ[ta]ga. yahi e[da]
 (*kila) ^[3] mu[dra atra eśati], praṭha yati L̥yipana śa[va]tha ka(*r)is̥[y]ati, go
 [1] ṣ- v(*y)ośidavo.

^[U.R.] (*Pugo L̥yipeya){ṣa ca} L̥yipanenaṣa ca.

[Main text] His majesty the king writes. He instructs Soṃjaka the Cozbo as follows: Pugo and L̥yipeya inform that L̥yipana the *Dvaraka* makes a statement: “The dead person L̥yipama had one cow.” Then L̥yípatga makes a statement: “It was given (to him)”, and again he makes a(nother) statement: “It has died.”¹⁶ When this sealed wedge-tablet reaches (you) there, (then) as soon as L̥yipana makes an oath, one cow is to be handed over to him.

[Object] Concerning Pugo, L̥yipeya and L̥yipana.¹⁷

Discussion

Since double-wedge documents are highly formulated, the covering-tablet to be bound with SI 3662 should bear a sentence on the obverse side such as *Cozbo Soṃjakaṣa dadavo/dadavya*. Its reverse side would be merely blank or begin with typical formulae, for example *atra na paribujisatu, hastagada (kartavo/kartavya)*,¹⁸ *iśa viśajidavo* ‘if you are not clear about it there, (the relevant people/things must be taken) in custody and sent (to me) here.’ Yet it is difficult to find a tablet of appropriate size to match from other collections. At least it is clear that all the three covering-tablets addressed to *Soṃjaka*, ΓA1151, 1152 and 1155 kept in the Hermitage, are to be excluded.¹⁹

¹⁶ On *mṛta* ‘died’ and *mṛtaga* ‘dead’, see *LKD* § 115. Literally L̥yípatga’s second statement means the cow ‘(is) dead’.

¹⁷ Here the text on the reverse side of SI 3662 is to be understood as *Pugo L̥yipeya L̥yipanenaṣa ca prace(ya)* as implied in my translation. The text on the left of *L̥yipanenaṣa* is severely bleached, but its length can be estimated by very faint traces of *pu*. On the genitive ending added on to the instrumental, see *LKD* § 118. Also omitted is *prace(ya)* ‘concerning...’, in respect of...’, a word to indicate the object and/or responsible persons of a document in addition to the addressee(s), on the reverse side of SI 3662 as well as that of SI 3663.

¹⁸ See the full expression *hastagada kartavo/kartavya* in *KI* Nos. 33, 223 and 540, etc.

¹⁹ See my preliminary edition of wooden tablets kept in the State Hermitage Museum in 2012, which is to be revised in its English version.

The scribe seems to be inexperienced. Possible errors or clumsy features include: (1) the strange *akṣāra* for the 3rd person plural ending; (2) alteration of mistakenly written **mṛte* or **mṛti* to *mṛta*; (3) incorrect writing of *kariṣyati*; (4) modification of the text after *go* ‘cow’ in order to insert its quantity. This may explain the occurrence of the syntax *yatha... yatha... taha...* which looks unusual among Niya documents.

As remarked by Burrow, *yatha* with the indicative is regularly used in introducing quoted speech.²⁰ It is noteworthy that when only *yatha* is used, the speech is quoted indirectly, i.e. from the king’s point of view. For example:

KI No. 52. ahono iṣa Lȳipeya viṃcayeti. yatha eṣa iṣa krasena [sic] dharmena mahi maharayaṣa uṭa liṣita, taṣa nadha coritaga hoati. “Lȳipeya reports here now that he dispatched a camel to me the great king to the *klaseṃna* arrangements, and its load was stolen.”

On some occasions, its coordination with *taha* described more complicated situations. For instance:

KI No. 63 Lȳipeya viṃṇayeti: yatha atra khakhorni stri 3 nikhaliṭamti, taha sudha eḍaṣa stri maritaṃti, ... “Lȳipeya reports that they took out three witch-women. They killed only the woman belonging to him, ...”

In a few cases, however, not in double-wedge documents, but rectangular ones, as a kind of judgment, the speech is quoted directly after *yatha*:

KI No. 318 Larsu viṃṇavita. yatha mahi naṭha, taha Saṃgila ni daza Kacanoṣa paride nikhaliḍa. “Larsu reported, ‘property of mine was lost and was recovered from Kacano, slave of Saṃgila.’”

Needless to say, in *KI No. 63* and other similar examples from double-wedge documents, the passage *yatha... taha...* delineates a whole statement from a certain person who informs/reports (*vi(m)ṇayeti*) or complains (*garahati*) to the king.²¹ In *SI 3662*, I assume that the text from *yatha Dva-raka ...* until *puna mṛtaga* is Pugo and Lȳipeya’s quotation of different statements including Lȳipana’s. The problems to be solved are Lȳipana’s concern and Lȳipatga’s role in this matter.

My assumption is based on the usage of the *ṵtaga* participle. As shown by Burrow and Jamison, this extended form of past participle is used frequently

²⁰ *LKD* § 130.

²¹ Or pres.3pl. *vi(m)ṇayemti*, *garahamti*, etc., in the case of plural officials or plaintiffs, respectively. In the following discussion on the verb *ma(m)treṭi* (Skt. *mantrayati*) ‘he/she says’ and *ma(m)treṃti* ‘they say’, the singular form is taken as the representative one.

as a passive adjective with a genitive agent.²² So, if Lýipatga were the one who gave a cow to Lýipama at an earlier time, or who gave it to someone else after Lýipama's death, he should have been expressed in the genitive (i.e. *Lýipatgasa*). So it is easier to interpret that Lýipana did not receive — either as Lýipama's relative, creditor or a local officer being responsible of animal husbandry — the cow left by Lýipama, while Lýipatga asserted his ownership and then stated the cow's death. If this interpretation is correct, here we see an unusual order of VS after *taha*, not to mention the fact that VS is so far un- found with *ma(m)treți* 'he/she says' in Niya documents.

The function of the denominative verb *ma(m)treți* is different from *ma(m)tra deti* 'gives an instruction' that is exclusive to the ruling class. Unlike *ma(m)tra deti* to be followed by the introductory particle *śaca*, no word is placed between *ma(m)treți* and quoted speech.²³ In fact, NPkt. *ma(m)tra* means not only ordinary speech or official instruction, but also argument and claim.²⁴ Hence it seems to me that Pugo and Lýipeya reported different arguments from Lýipana and Lýipatga at the same time, in particular Lýipatga's unwillingness to give *his* cow away.

The name Lýipama is only attested in *KI* Nos. 21, 78 and 345 (*verso*). While the latter two are just name lists, *KI* No. 21 involves Dhamaśriae's inheritance concerning a cow of which the ownership was shared between her father Lýipama and a man called Kame.²⁵ SI 3662 reveals another problem left by Lýipama.

In the corpus of Niya documents, the name Lýipana is attested more often. An *Ari*-official called such is mentioned in *KI* No. 767 dated to the 6th regnal year of Vaşmana. Another *Ari* of the same name in *KI* No. 123 is very likely the identical person, too, of which the text is dated to the 30th year of an unnamed king (possibly Mahiri, i.e. Vaşmana's predecessor). If we assume the attestations in Nos. 278, 309 and 450 all indicate the same person, his business

²² *LKD* § 119; JAMISON 2000: 71 n. 30, 74 n. 36, 77 n. 47.

²³ Two constructions are observable: (1) *ma(m)treți* + directly quoted speech (*KI* Nos. 90, 157, etc.); (2) indirectly quoted speech + *ma(m)treți* (*KI* Nos. 17, 133, 515, 633, etc.). It seems that in the second case, so far no finite form is seen, only passive participles in *-aya*, *-ae* and gerundives in *-davya* are attested.

²⁴ As revealed in the phrase *ma(m)tra nikhaleyati* '(If anyone) shall bring up arguments (against this deal)' in the contracts *KI* Nos. 419, 437, 568, etc.

²⁵ See Burrow's translation in *TKD*, 5. Although no further detail is known about Lýipama and his daughter, from SI 3662, Lýipama and Lýipana must be different persons. Padwa's identification of the two (see PADWA 2007: 325) as spelling variants of the same name is questionable, since no other alternation between *m* and *n* is provided in his onomasticon.

and/or official duty would then closely relate to cultivation, storage of grains and collection of land tax. In this case, his claim on a cow would not be surprising: Although his occupation *Dvaraka* (lit. ‘Door/Gate-man’)²⁶ in SI 3662 is thus far unattested, at least he seemed to be familiar with farming business.

As to Pugo and Lýipeya, the former is once mentioned in *KI* No. 322 dated to the 21st regnal year of Mahiri. As to the latter, the dates attested span from the 11th year of Mahiri to the 11th year of Vaṣmana.²⁷ Since Soṃjaka was known to be one of the most active officers during Mihiri’s reign,²⁸ and given the fact that he had served as a *Cozbo* as early as the 20th year of Aṃgoka (*KI* No. 582), the predecessor of Mahiri, it is safer to date SI 3662 to Mahiri’s reign. Nonetheless, the chronology of Ancient Niya is still an open issue,²⁹ hence discussion about text dating must be suspended for the moment.

3. SI 3663 (l. 5.6 cm×w. 23.8 cm×th. 0.7 cm)

Und. Obv.

1 [ma]hanuava maharaya lihati cozbo [ta]ṃjakaṣa matr[a de]ti ṣaca ahuno ísa

2 lýipeya vimñaveti yatha edeṣa vaṃti kroraṃmi [dharmena vaḍa]vi kabhoḍhami tatra kabh.ḍha[mi kolý]iṣa suḡita[sa³⁰ ca načira] gachaṃti ?

3 me rayaka vaḍavi naṭaṃti ima var[ṣ].mi carapuruṣa [a]p[ru]ya ? [ṣa]vida [co]ritaṃti avi ahuno caturtha varṣa lýipeyaṣa ?

4 ṣavida coritaṃti sudha ahuno pra[ḡaṭa] nikh. ? ? kolýiṣa ni [da]za sutrena cora nikasati yahi eda kila[mutra]

Und. Rev.

1 c[o].bo lýipeyaṣa

²⁶ Or a man who serves a local court or office, given the local custom to express ‘royal court/palace’ by *rayadvara*.

²⁷ PADWA 2007: 130–134; 325–326. MENG (1995: 321) limits Lýipeya’s days from the year of Mahiri 21 to that of Vaṣmana 11, ignoring an attestation of this name in *KI* No. 637.

²⁸ MENG 1995: 308; PADWA 2007: 332.

²⁹ PADWA (2007, 304–333) generally follows Brough by dating the year Aṃgoka 17 to 263, after digesting Chapter V of RHIE 1999 (esp. p. 352 n. 57) that summarized different solutions to date that year to 283, 230, 273–276 and 276, respectively by Enoki Kazuo 榎一雄, Nagasawa Katutoshi 長澤和俊, Ma Yong 馬雍 and Lin Meicun 林梅村. In fact, Ma dated the year to 271–274 rather than 273–276 (cf. MENG 1995: 368). Furthermore, Meng Fanren 孟凡人 dates the year Aṃgoka 17 to 269–270 (*ibid.*, 363–388), but his theory has escaped from Rhie’s and Padwa’s notions. One has to hope that new data from China will shed light on the controversial situation.

³⁰ Here ḡ is used in place of ḡ̄ in the traditional convention of *KI*.

[U. O. 1] **[ma]hanuava maharaya lihati**: A blank of 11 cm after this sentence. [U. O. 2] **krorayaṃmi**: Sic! An error for *Krorayinaṃmi/Kroraiṃnaṃmi* ‘in Kroraina’ [fig. 9]. **[dharmena vaḍa]vi**: A dark brown spot spans from *dha* to *ḍa*. [fig. 9] **kabhoḍhami**: The *bh* here can be classified as Type 4 in Glass’ scheme.³¹ The next attestation in the same line is too bleached to classify. [Fig. 9 and 11] [U. O. 3] **naṭaṃti**: A newly attested pret. 3pl. ‘they were lost’ developed from *naṭha* (Skt. *naṣṭa* < √*naś* ‘to be lost, perish, disappear, etc.; to cause to be lost or disappear, drive away, remove, etc.’). Here it is so translated instead of ‘they perished/removed (the mares)’, cf. *KI* No. 122 *Parcona pirovaṃmi go mahamaṭa 1 naṭha* ‘One large cow was lost at the fortified station of Parcona’.³² ? **[sa]vida**: To be restored as *(*pra)[sa]vida*. The word is translated by Burrow as an adjective ‘granted, allowed’ as well as a noun ‘a grant’ derived from *pra* + √*sū* ‘to allow, give up, to deliver’.³³ Presently it is translated as ‘produced, released’.³⁴ In *SI* 3663, this adjective means approximately, ‘appointed, arranged, assigned (for an action or a task)’. **pra[gaṭa] nikh. ? ?**: To be restored as *pra[gaṭa] nikh(*aleṃti)*. Having related the two words to Skt. *prakṛta-* and *niṣkālayati* respectively,³⁵ Burrow interpreted *pragaṭa nikhaliṭaṃti* in *KI* No. 17 as ‘(dogs and foxes) fetched out (the treasure) into the open’. The other example in *KI* No. 211 *aṃceṣa paḷī na praga[ta] nikhaleṣi* was translated by him as ‘you are not revealing the tax of other people’. In *SI* 3663, this phrase seems to indicate that the hunting persons revealed their misbehaviour, as clearly described in the next sentence: Kolýisa’s slave drove (or: chased up; lit. ‘moved’) the stolen mares by rope. [Fig. 10]

³¹ GLASS 2013.

³² Burrow’s translation of NPkt. *piro/piroya* as ‘bridge’ is widely accepted nowadays, cf. *LKD*, Index, pp. 105–106. However, WEBER (1997: 34–36) has identified it as a loanword from Middle Iranian, cf. Sogdian *ptrwp* ‘fort, post’ and Khotanese *prūva* ‘castle’. Since the maintenance of fortified postal stations (usually equipped with beacons) was one of the most important official businesses in ancient Turfan, a similar *corvée* system imposed on men and animals may have been practiced in ancient Niya and Kroraina, too.

³³ *LKD*, Index, pp. 107–108.

³⁴ Pāli *pasavīta*. See https://www.gandhari.org/n_dictionary.php.

³⁵ See *LKD* § 5 and Index, p. 101, respectively.



Fig. 9. kroraṃmi [dharmena vaḍa]vi kabhoḍhami



Fig. 10. koḷīṣa ni [da]za sutrena cora nikasati

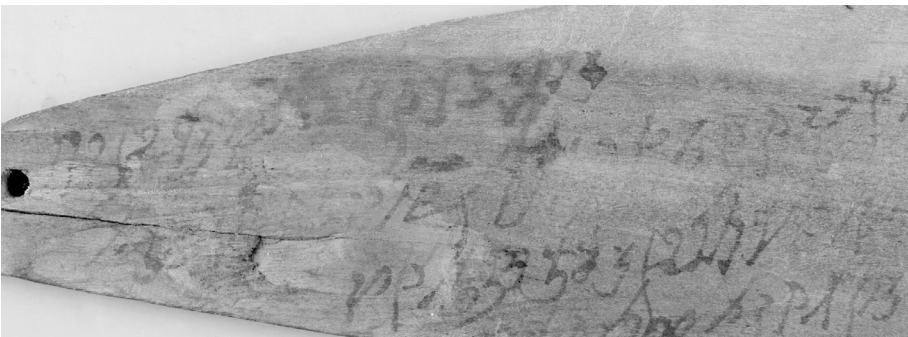


Fig. 11. Left part of SI 3663, obverse side.

*Text restoration,
preliminary punctuation and translation*

The word *kabhoḍha* (loc. *kabhoḍhami*), suggested by Burrow in *LKD* as ‘grazing-land, pasture’ and earlier in 1934 as ‘some privately owned pasture land’,³⁶ was attested in *KI* only in three documents: Nos. 13, 15 and 392. Strikingly, the content and size of SI 3663 (w. 23.8×l. 5.6 cm) and those of *KI* No. 15 (w. 23.5×l. 5.7 cm)³⁷ match each other. Although the photograph of *KI* No.15 is unavailable to this day, it is possible to restore the full text as follows:

SI 3663 + *KI* No. 15

^{|C.O.} *Cozbo Taṃjakaṣa dadavo*

^{|U.O.1} [Ma]hanuava Maharaya lihati. Cozbo [Ta]ṃjakaṣa matr[a de]ti. ṣaca ahuno iśa ^{|2}Lýipeya viṃñayeti. yatha edeṣa vaṃti Kroray<*in>aṃmi [dharmena vaḍa]vi kabhoḍhami. tatra kabh(*o)ḍhami [Kolýi]ṣa Suḡita[ṣa ca naḥira] gachaṃti. (*i)^{|3}me rayaka vaḍavi naṭaṃti. ima var[ṣ](*aṃ)mi Carapuraṣa [A]p[ru]ya (*pra)^{|4}[ṣa]vida. coritaṃti. avi ahuno caturtha varṣa Lýipeyaṣa (*pra)^{|4}ṣavida. [co]ritaṃti. sudha ahuno pra[gaṭa] nikh(*aleṃti). Kolýiṣa ni [da]za sutrena cora nikasati. yahi eda kila[mutra] ^{|C.R.1} atra eśati, praṭha Kolýiṣa Suḡitaṣa ca varidavo, na iṃ ci kabhoḍhami naḥira gaṃdavo. ghrida-coritaga prace vivada śavathena sakṣiyena samuha ^{|2}anada prochidavo. avi śamuta prace samuha anada prochidavo, yatha dharmena niḥe kartavo. atra na paribujiśatu, hastagada iśa viṣajidavo.

^{|U.R.} C[o](*z)bo Lýipeyaṣa

[Distination] To be given to Taṃjaka the *Cozbo*.

[Main text] His majesty the king writes. He instructs Taṃjaka the *Cozbo* as follows: Now here Lýipeya informs that by their side,³⁸ according to the law

³⁶ *LKD*, Index, p. 81; BURROW 1934: 513.

³⁷ *KI* No. 15 was described by STEIN (1907, 387) as follows: ‘N. i. 17 Wedge cov.-tablet *Obv.* 1¾” from sq. end, seal, standing figure in cameo (prob. Pallas). 1 l. Khar. between seal and sq. end, very clear. Usual char. near hole. *Rev.* 2 ll. Khar., very cursive and scratchy but quite distinct, except towards point where lower line deleted. 9¼”×2¼”×5/8”. Wood in perfect preservation’.

³⁸ *edeṣa vaṃti* literally means ‘nearby them, in front of them, against them, next to them’, etc. If here *edeṣa* (gen.pl.) is not a scribal error for *edeṣa* (gen.sg.), then these people’s exact identity is not specified. See *infra* concerning ghee and *śamuta*.

(set) in Kroraina,³⁹ there are mares in a pasture. In the pasture, there Kolýiṣa and Suḡita go hunting. Those royal mares disappeared (or: were lost). This year the detective Apruya was appointed (to investigate there). They were (still) stealing.⁴⁰ And recently⁴¹ Lýipeya was appointed for the fourth year. They were (still) stealing. Only right now they expose (their misbehaviour) evidently: Kolýiṣa's own slave drives (or: chases up) the stolen (mares) by rope. When this sealed wedge-tablet reaches (you) there, forthwith Kolýiṣa and Suḡita are to be prevented from going hunting in the pasture. The dispute about the stolen ghee is to be carefully investigated with sworn testimony. Also as regards to the *śamuta*, inquiry must be carefully made by you in person and a decision is to be made according to law; if you are not clear about it there, they must be sent here in custody.

[Object] In respect to Lýipeya the *Cozbo*.

Discussion

One may question the absence of *ghrida* 'ghee' (Skt. *ghṛta*) and the hapax *śamuta* in SI 3663, since both were mentioned by the king in *KI* No. 15. Nevertheless, another double-wedge document *KI* No. 13 (N. i. 15 + 107), also concerning improper usage of pasture, speaks for an underlying connection between loss of mares and horses and that of ghee. The main text of No. 13 is extracted as follows:

... ahono iśa |^{U.O.2} Pugo viṃṇayeti. yatha etaśa kabhoḍhami vaḍavi storam ca, taha jaṃna tatra načira gachaṃti. vaḍavi aśpa vijamti. avi tatra ghrida naṭha. yahi eda kila³ mudra atra eśati ... yatha dharmena niče kartavo. |⁴ jaṃna varidavo. ma iṃ ci bhuya načira gachaṃti. |^{C.R.1} ye jaṃna tatra načira gadaṃti: Yitaka Oga ? Sucamma Vaṃto Opgeya Cinamaśa ca. "Pugo informs

³⁹ Local law may differ from one province/state (*raja*) to another, cf. *KI* No. 229: *yatha purva atra tumah(*u) rajaṃmi dharmā vyavasthavidaga siyati, tena vidhanena niče kartavya* 'according as [sic] the law has been fixed of old in your province, in that manner a decision is to be made' (*TKD*: 43).

⁴⁰ Another possible interpretation of this recurring phrase in the same line is, 'They were still hiding their pilfrage'.

⁴¹ Here *ahuno* (Skt. *adhunā*), lit. 'now', is to be contrasted with *sudha ahuno*, lit. 'only now, just now' in the following sentence. It seems that the document SI 3663 was written either at the turn of the 3rd and the 4th year of a certain king, or only in his 4th year, who may be identified with Vaśmana or his predecessor Mahiri given the prosopographical data of Kolýiṣa and Suḡita collected by PADWA (2007: 314, 331)

now here that in his pasture there are mares and horses. There the people go hunting. They wound the mares and horses. Also some ghee there has been lost. ... a decision is to be made (by you) according to law. The people are to be prevented. They shall not go hunting anymore. The people who went hunting there were Yitaka, ..., Opgeya and Cinama.”

The word *śamuta* in *KI* No. 15 is not translated in *TKD*, but in *LKD* Burrow indicated the possibility to identify it with another obscure word *śamuḍa*. The latter is mentioned once together with meat (*KI* No. 252) and once in contrast to felt garments (*KI* No. 387), so perhaps it is another product of animal husbandry. In *SI* 3663 + *KI* No. 15, the absence of *ghrida* and *śamuta* in Lýipeya’s report may be explained by the ongoing investigation. In other series of double-wedge documents, for example *KI* Nos. 58 and 63, the king — or his scribe — just simplified the background information in later instructions when the case had been processed for a certain period. So we may assume the existence of earlier records about this matter, too, such as the king’s initial order of investigation of the loss in the pasture.

4. Concluding words

In addition to the famous Dharmapada collected from Khotan,⁴² *SI* 3662 and 3663 are the only Kharoṣṭhī material from the southern rim of the Tarim Basin in the *SI* Collection. Although these two wedge tablets cannot be dated precisely, they are not to be dated to the earlier kings such as Pepiya or Tajaka from prosopographical aspects. As to the provenance, *SI* 3662 may have been excavated from N. V, which is known to be closely related to Soṃjaka during his service as a *Cozbo* officer.⁴³ On the other hand, if my pairing of *SI* 3663 and *KI* No. 15 (N. i. 17) is correct, *SI* 3663 was very likely unearthed at the N. I. site. According to Stein, when *KI* No. 15 was found on 28 January 1901 by himself, it had been already detached and ‘lying on the surface of the sand’.⁴⁴ Moreover, the one who discovered the wooden documents at the Niya sites was a young villager Ibrāhīm, just about one year ago.⁴⁵ If local villagers

⁴² Cf. VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2004: 361; Pecshery Tysyachi Budd 2008: 107.

⁴³ See MENG 1995: 371; PADWA 2007: 156, 332.

⁴⁴ See STEIN 1907: 318.

⁴⁵ STEIN 1907: 312–316. This villager is not to be confused with Ibrahim Mullah, an antique trader in Khotan that apparently specialized in the Russian market as an accomplice of the famous forager Islam Akhun, cf. STEIN 1903: 476; SIMS-WILLIAMS 2003: 118.

told him everything they knew, one may imagine that SI 3662 and 3663 were either collected by Ibrāhīm himself,⁴⁶ or by someone between Ibrāhīm's discovery and Stein's first excavation, or even by someone afterwards until Petrovsky resigned his position in Kashghar in 1903. In other words, taking SI 3992 and 3993 as holdings of the Petrovsky collection as granted, these tablets were very probably unearthed before Stein's revisit and the arrival of other expeditions. They shall be analyzed together with the ones kept in the State Hermitage Museum in order to give a fuller view of the Russian collection of ancient documents from Chinese Turkestan.

[In my paper collaborated with OGIHARA Hirotoshi, "SI 3656 and other Kuchean tablets related to the Kizil grottoes in the St. Petersburg Collection". *Written Monuments of the Orient*, 2016(2), 44–67, the new shelf number of SI P 139/д (= SI 3668) is wrongly given as SI 3669 by mistake. We apologize to all the readers for our error.]

References

- BURROW, Thomas 1934: "Iranian Words in the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 7 (1933–1935), 509–516.
- CHING Chao-jung 慶昭蓉 2012: "Eguo guoli Ai'ermitashi bowuguan suocang qulu wenzi ji poluomi wenzi mujian" 俄國國立艾爾米塔什博物館所藏佉盧文字及婆羅謎文字木簡 [Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī wooden pieces kept in the State Hermitage Museum, Russia]. *Xiyu Wenshi* 西域文史 [Literature & History of the Western Regions], 7 (2012), 19–41.
- CHING Chao-jung 2013: "Reanalyzing the Kuchean-Prākṛit tablets THT4059, THT4062 and SI P/141". *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, 14 (2013), 55–94.
- CHING Chao-jung 慶昭蓉 2017: *Tuhuoluoyu shisu wenxian yu gudai Qiuci lishi* 吐火羅語世俗文獻與古代龜茲歷史 [Tocharian Secular Texts and History of Ancient Kucha]. Beijing: Peking University Press.
- EMMERICK, Ronald E. and VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA M.I. 1993: *Saka Documents. Vol. VII: The St. Petersburg Collections*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. London: British Library.
- EMMERICK, Ronald E. and VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA M.I. 1995: *Saka Documents Text. Vol. III: The St. Petersburg Collections*. Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum. London: British Library.

⁴⁶ As described by STEIN 1907: 312, initially Ibrāhīm 'brought away half a dozen or so, only to throw some away on the road and to give the rest to his children to play with. Of the latter tablets only one could be recovered next morning'. Finally, Stein acquired 7 pieces (= KI Nog. 421–427) in 1901, but several more would have been lost from villagers' hands.

- GLASS, Andrew 2000: *A Preliminary Study of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript Paleography*. Master thesis, University of Washington.
- GLASS, Andrew 2013: “Bha”. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 23 (2009[2013]), 79–86.
- JAMISON, Stephanie W. 2000: “Lurching towards ergativity: Expressions of agency in the Niya documents.” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 63 (2000), 64–80.
- KI = BOYER, A.M., RAPSON Edward J., SÉNART, Émile and NOBLE P.S. 1920–1929: *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions Discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- LKD = BURROW, Thomas 1937: *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- MALZAHN, Melanie 2007: “Tocharian texts and where to find them”. In *Instrumenta Tocharica*. Ed. by M. Malzahn. Heidelberg: Winter, 79–112.
- MENG Fanren 孟凡人 1995: *Loulan Shanshan jiandu niandaixue yanjiu* 樓蘭鄯善簡牘年代學研究. Urumqi: Xinjiang Renmin chubanshe.
- MW = MONIER-WILLAIMS, Monier 1899: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- PADWA, Mariner Ezra 2007: *An Archaic Fabric: Culture and Landscape in the Early Inner Asian Oasis (3rd-4th Century C.E. Niya)*. Dissertation thesis, Harvard University.
- Pecshery tysiachi budd* 2008: *Peshchery tysiachi Budd. Rossiiskie ekspeditsii na Shelkovom Puti. K 190-letiiu Aziatskogo muzeia. Katalog vystavki. SPb.: Izdatel'stvo Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha* [The Caves one thousand Buddhas. Russian expeditions along the Silk Route. On the Occasion of 190 Years of the Asiatic Museum. Exhibition catalogue. St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publisher].
- POPOVA, Irina F. 2008: “Russian expeditions to Central Asia at the turn of the 20th century”. In *Russian Expeditions to Central Asia at the Turn of the 20th Century*. Ed. by I.F. Popova. St. Petersburg: Slavia, 11–39.
- RHIE, Martin M. 1999: *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, vol. I. Leiden: Brill.
- SCHMIDT, K.T. 2001: “Entzifferung verschollener Schriften und Sprachen dargestellt am Beispiel der Kučā-Kharoṣṭhī Typ B und des Kučā-Prākritis”. *Göttinger Beiträge zur Asienforschung*, 1 (2001), 7–27.
- SEIPEL, Wilfried 1996: *Weihrauch und Seide. Alte Kulturen der Seidenstraße*. Wien: Wasmuth Ernst.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, Ursula 2003: “Forgeries from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library’s Hoernle and Stein Collections.” *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 14 (2000[2003]), 111–129.
- STEIN, Aurel M. 1903: *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.
- STEIN, Aurel M. 1907: *Ancient Khotan. Detailed Report of Archaeological Explorations in Chinese Turkestan*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- TKD = BURROW, Thomas 1940: *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*. London: Royal Asiatic Society.
- VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA, Margarita I. 1997: “The ancient manuscripts from Eastern Turkestan in the St. Petersburg”. *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*, 7 (1997), 205–212.
- VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA, Margarita I. 2004: “The role of N.F. Petrovsky in the formation of the Central Asiatic Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies”. In *Turfan Revisited. The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*. Ed. by D. Durkin-Meisterernst, S.-Ch. Raschmann, J. Wilkens, M. Yaldiz and P. Zieme. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 361–362.

- VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA, Margarita I. 2006: "The Central Asian Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences". *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University*, 9 (2006), 61–78.
- WEBER, Dieter 1997: "Iranian loans in the Niya documents re-examined". In *Languages and Scripts of Central Asia*. Ed. by Sh. Akiner and N. Sims-Williams. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 30–38.
-

Olga Chunakova

A Sogdian Manichaean Parable

Abstract: The article is devoted to the first publication of the Sogdian fragment SI 5704 from the Serindia Collection at the IOM, RAS. The fragment contains an excerpt from the popular fable of the turtle and the two birds, widely known in the folklore and literature of different nations.

Key words: Sogdian, Sogdian Manichaean fable, migratory story, Panchatantra

Among the Sogdian Manichaean manuscripts written in both Manichaean and Sogdian scripts, around a hundred contain fables, fairy tales or parables with moralizing and edifying content whose personages are usually animals. The plots of these tales and fables are “migratory”: they are familiar to the folklore of various nations and have found reflection in many literatures of ancient, mediaeval and modern times. The best-known anthology of such works is the famous *Panchatantra*, which over the course of many centuries was rendered more than 200 times into over 60 different languages¹ and spread from India to China, Tibet, South-East Asia, Iran, the Middle East and Western Europe. The differences between its literary versions lie in the selection of parables included, their order and the didactic conclusions drawn.

The first publication of manuscript fragments containing Sogdian tales, including the well-known stories of the pearl-driller, the three fishes, and the monkey and the fox, was by Walter Bruno Henning.² Three fables, including the one about faith and the ocean and the tale of two snakes, were published by Werner Sundermann,³ two fragments of fables about a hare by Christiane

© Olga M. Chunakova, Doctor of Sciences (Philology), Leading Researcher of the Department of the Near and Middle East, IOM, RAS (ochunakova@inbox.ru).

¹ GRINTSER 1982:16.

² HENNING 1945: 465–487.

³ SUNDERMANN 1985.

Reck,⁴ and fragments of several Sogdian fables written in the Manichaean script by Enrico Morano.⁵ Key words in the fable plots are indicated in the catalogue of the Sogdian manuscripts with Manichaean content in the Berlin Turfan collection that was compiled by Dr. Reck.⁶

The Serindia Fund of the IOM, RAS (formerly the Asiatic Museum) includes a brief Sogdian fragment that also contains echoes of a well-known fable⁷ plot. This is the tale, not previously encountered in Sogdian manuscripts, of the turtle that two birds undertake to move from a pond that is going dry. The turtle is supposed to take firm hold with its mouth of the middle of a stick that the birds will carry through the air and to keep its mouth shut tight to avoid falling and being killed, but it proves unable to keep to that condition. This subject is first attested in Pali *Jātaka* tales and a few Buddhist sutras. Through Buddhist literature and folklore, it found its way into Chinese and Japanese poetry.⁸ The subject is present in the *Panchatantra* and its numerous retellings, as well as in the tales of peoples of South-East Asia and in the Middle East, most notably in *Kalila wa Dimna*. In the West, it is known from Aesop's fable *The Tortoise and the Eagle*, while in Russia the idea was reworked by Vsevolod Garshin in the short story *The Frog Who Travelled*.

This story is contained in fragment SI 5704, whose old reference number, SI 2 Kr 83, indicates that it comes from the collection of Nikolai Nikolaevich Krotkov (1869–1919). It is well known that stocktaking of the collections in the Asiatic Museum was very rarely carried out and the inventory books usually recorded not individual manuscripts but entire collections at once.⁹ Thus it is impossible to say which locality this particular document comes from. It is possible to assume that it belonged to Krotkov's second collection, which he donated to the Academy of Sciences in 1909.¹⁰ Fragment SI 5704 is pasted onto tracing paper. On the verso there are eight lines, four of which are incomplete, while on the recto, which carries a Chinese

⁴ RECK 2009: 218–224.

⁵ Morano 2009: 173–200.

⁶ RECK 2006: 333–335.

⁷ I call the plot a fable, rather than a fairy tale, because the personages are animals and compositionally it takes the form of a brief edifying tale about an intention that remained unaccomplished due to the incorrect behaviour of one of the personages.

⁸ GRINTSER 1982: 367.

⁹ RAGOZA 1972: 246f.

¹⁰ RAGOZA 1972: 255.

Buddhist text, there is one full Sogdian line and two incomplete ones. The paper is light grey, the ink black. The fragment measures 13.2¹¹×12.6 cm. The handwriting is cursive, large and careless. On the verso, the letters are about half a centimetre high, with roughly one centimetre between the lines. There are traces of ruling. The unmarked margin on the right is about 0.5 cm. On the recto, there are seven columns of Chinese characters, eight in each. The three Sogdian lines on this side have been added by an owner and were made in a different, larger, hand to that on the verso.

SI 5704 V

*Transliteration and translation*¹²

1] kyšph	1] turtle
2](1)kt	2], that:
3	tyw my'δ(°)ny kwc'kδ δ'rwkw	3	“You in the middle with mouth of the stick
4	xns *ny'z -'y m'x 'δw	4	take tight hold, and we two
5	z(n)wš ZY 'δw kyr(°)n kwc'kδ	5	falcons at both ends (the stick) with our mouths
6	xns *ny'z'm k'm frwz-'ny(m)	6	will hold tight, we shall fly,
7	šwym k'm tw' cy(my)[(2-4)	7	shall set off, you (from this) [
8	(p)]tw'ty z'yh ny(m)[8] dried up place (having taken)[....”

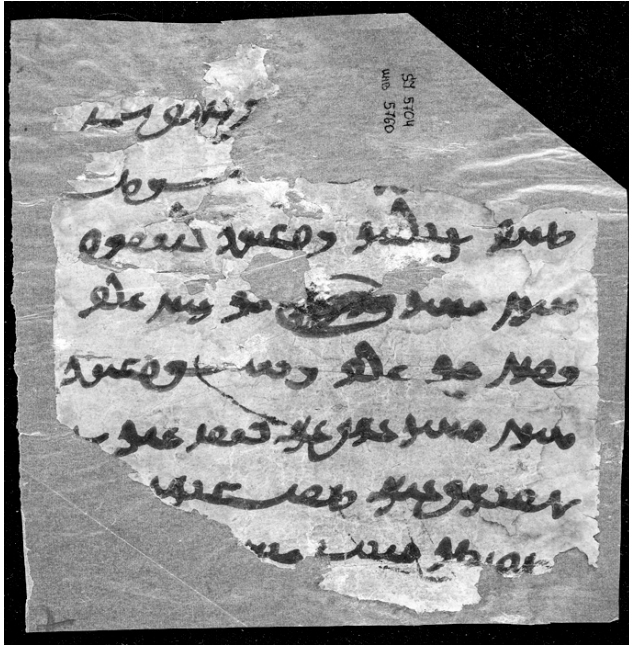
*Notes*¹³

4. The reading of the verb *ny'z -'y is tentative, although in meaning (“to accept, receive, grasp”) and grammatical form (2nd person sing. present or optative — GERSHEVITCH 1954: § 692) it fits the context. The first Sogdian

¹¹ As Christiane Reck, who published the Sogdian fragment Ch/U 7115, which is also 13.2 cm in height, observed, this measurement is half that of a traditional Chinese scroll. The Sogdians preferred small-format scrolls, “pocket books” of a sort (RECK 2009: 219).

¹² In the transliteration here and elsewhere the dash indicates that a letter is written separately from the next in the manuscript. Round brackets are used in the transliteration and translation for tentative readings; square brackets indicate lacunae; while the numbers in them indicate the presumed number of missing symbols.

¹³ In the notes here and below, the initial figure refers to the line number.



letter can represent the consonant *n* or *z*, i.e. to convey the preverb *ni-* (<иран. **ni-*) or (*ə*)*z-* (<**us-*, **uz-*). It would seem that semantically the former goes better this particular verb. In the verb it is possible to assume the root *γ'z-*. Compare the same root in the Sogdian Buddhist noun *pcγ'z-* “receipt, acceptance”.¹⁴ The ending of the verb is written after the crossed-out, but nonetheless unambiguously legible, word *k'm*. Compare the same on line 6.

5. The reading of the first noun is tentative, as the initial symbol can represent both *z* and *n*. The meaning has been determined from the Sogdian translation of the Chinese version “The Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions”.¹⁵

7. I assume *k'm* to be the particle *k'm*, the indicator of the future tense. My tentative reading of the last surviving word on the line is as a prefixal form of a demonstrative pronoun — *cymy(δδy)*.

8. The last surviving word in the line is, most probably, *nynty* — the past participle of the verb *ny's-* “to take”.

SI 5704 R

1 'yny pwstk 'z-w cw(r'k)	1 This book I, Chorak(?)
2 (4–5)](t)y ky L' pyr'nt	2] who do not believe,
3 (7–9)](1)'(yh) [3] ...[

Notes

1. *cwr'kk* is a proper noun that occurs in other Sogdian documents.¹⁶

2. The loss of the start of the line makes it impossible to reconstruct what was written. In any event, the surviving syllable (*t*)*y* cannot be a verb ending with a subject expressed by the 1st person singular personal pronoun in the direct case. Perhaps it is the copulative conjunction (*rt*)*y* “then”? A comparison with similar colophons (additions) surviving in other manuscripts¹⁷ does not help to reconstruct what has been lost either. In the opinion of Yutaka

¹⁴ HENNING 1936: 94.

¹⁵ MACKENZIE 1970: 62.

¹⁶ LURJE 2010: 168.

¹⁷ HENNING 1945: 486; SUNDERMANN 1985: 34; SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976: 66.

Yoshida, who has made a study of such colophons, the missing verb in them is *ywɣytym* (*//ywɣxtym*) “I have learnt”,¹⁸ but in that case, with a transitive verb in the past tense, the logical subject should be in the genitive case and take the form *mn’*. The corresponding verb form with a subject in the direct case should rather be *ywɣtδ’r’m* “I have learnt”, while the form *ywɣytym* literally means “I was learnt”,¹⁹ but there are not enough symbols in the missing part of the line for that. It is possible to suggest that the missing word is the reflexive possessive pronoun *xypδ* “one’s own”, so the text becomes “This book is my, Chorak’s, property”. Compare the colophon to manuscript S.4083 in the British collection *’yn’k pwts’k pw’y ɣypδ* “This book belongs to *pw’y*”,²⁰ but it is not clear whether a name denoting the logical subject can be in the direct case. Yoshida pointed to the similarity between colophons of this sort — constructed along the lines of “This book I, X., have learnt; let those who do not believe go and ask Y.” — and Uyghur ones.²¹

As has already been said, the plot of this fable can be found in many works of folklore and literature, differing only in the details. In the majority of the texts the personages are geese or ducks, but other birds do sometimes appear: herons (a Vietnamese tale, see *Skazki narodov Mira* 1988: 248–251), storks (a Sinhalese version, see *Singal’skie skazki* 1985: 59–61). In the present case, it is falcons that intend to carry the turtle from a dried-up lake to another with plenty of water. Additionally, the versions differ in which of the personages it is that proposes the means of locomotion: the turtle, as in the *Panchatantra*²² and the mediaeval Indian *Hitopadesha*,²³ or the birds, as in the Pali *Jātaka*,²⁴ *Kalila wa Dimna*²⁵ and the present fragment. The moral of the tale, if there is one, also varies slightly in different versions. In the *Hitopadesha* and *Panchatantra* it amounts to “You should follow the advice of friends”.²⁶ In the Pali *Jātaka*, which in accordance with Buddhist tradition was perceived as a tale of “past birth” (*jātaka*), it is a warning against exces-

¹⁸ YOSHIDA 2000: 84–85.

¹⁹ SUNDERMANN 1985: 34, n. 148.

²⁰ SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976: 66.

²¹ YOSHIDA 2000: 83.

²² *Panchatantra* 1972: 118.

²³ GRINTSER 1982: 131.

²⁴ *Povesti* 1989: 57.

²⁵ *Kalila i Dimna* 1986: 117.

²⁶ GRINTSER 1982: 132; *Panchatantra* 1972: 119.

sive talkativeness.²⁷ Stith Thompson assigns this folklore motif to the category of tales about “talkative fools”.²⁸

To all appearances, the present Sogdian fragment is Buddhist in content and is a translation of a Buddhist work, most probably Chinese (which perhaps explains the choice of falcons as the birds), and its language is Sogdian-Manichaean as is evidenced by, among other things, the form of the 1st person plural personal pronoun *m'x* in line 3 (the corresponding Sogdian-Buddhist form is *m'γw*).

The crossed-out word *k'm* in line 4, which is written exactly the same way in line 6, prompts the conclusion that this text was copied from some other manuscript and the scribe made a mistake when copying and allowed his eye to wander from one line in the original to another. This in turn suggests that the fable circulated widely, was well-known and popular. And the note from the owner on the recto bears that out.

References

- GERSHEVITCH, Ilya 1954: *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- GRINTSER, P.A. 1982: *Indiiskaia srednevekovaia povestvovatel'naia proza* [Indian mediaeval narrative prose]. (Russian translation from Sanskrit). Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura.
- HENNING, Walter Bruno 1936: “Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch”. In: *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1–143 (Reprinted in: Henning, W.B. *Selected Papers* I. Leiden-Téhéran-Liège, 1977, 417–557) (*Acta Iranica* 14).
- Henning, Walter Bruno 1945: “Sogdian Tales”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 11, 465–487 (Reprinted in: Henning, W.B. *Selected Papers* II. Leiden-Téhéran-Liège, 1977, 169–192) (*Acta Iranica* 15).
- IBN AL'-MUKAFFA 1986: *Kalila i Dimna* (Russian translation from the Arabic by B. Shidfar). Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura.
- LURJE, P.B. 2010: *Personal Names in Sogdian Texts. Iranisches Personennamenbuch. Iranische Onomastik*. Nr. 8. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- MACKENZIE, David Neil 1970: *The “Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions” in Sogdian*. London-New York-Toronto (London Oriental series 22).
- MORANO, Enrico 2009: “Sogdian Tales in Manichaean Script”. In: *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mittelliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 173–200.

²⁷ *Povesti* 1989: 58.

²⁸ THOMPSON 1957: 206f.

- Panchatantra* 1972: (Russian translation from the Sanskrit by A. Syrkin). Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura.
- Povesti o mudrosti istinnoi i mnimoi* 1989: [*The Story about the Wisdom of True and imaginary*]. (Russian translation from Pali). Ed. by G. Zograf. Leningrad: Khudozhestvennaia literatura. Leningradskoe otdelenie.
- RAGOZA A.N. 1972: "K istorii slozheniia kolektsii rukopisei na sredneiranskikh iazykakh iz Vostochnogo Turkeстана, khраниashchikhsia v rukopisnom otele LO IVAN" [Towards a history of the collection of manuscripts in the Middle Iranian languages of East Turkestan kept in the Manuscript Department of the LO IVAN]. *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia. 1969* [Written Monuments of the East. Historical and Philological Studies]. Moscow: Nauka, 244–261.
- RECK, Christiane 2006: *Mitteliranische Handschriften Teil 1: Berliner Turfanfragmente manichäischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift*. Beschrieben von Ch. Reck. Stuttgart (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 18.1).
- RECK, Christiane 2009: "Sogdische manichäische Parabeln". In: *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstages von Werner Sundermann*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 211–224.
- Singal'skie skazki* 1985: [*Sinhalese tales*]. Compiled and translated into Russian from Sinhalese and English, notes by B.M. Volkhonskii and O.M. Solntsev. Moscow: Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury izdatel'stva "Nauka" (Skazki i mify narodov Vostoka).
- Skazki narodov mira* 1988: [Tales of the peoples of the world]. Vol. III. *Skazki narodov Azii* [Tales of the Peoples of Asia]. Moscow: Detskaia literatura.
- SUNDERMANN, Werner 1985: *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch, mit einem Anhang von Friedmar Geissler über Erzählmotive in der Geschichte von den zwei Schlangen*. Berlin (Berliner Turfantexte 15).
- THOMPSON, Stith 1957: *Motif Index of Folk Literature*. Vol. IV. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- YOSHIDA Yutaka 2000: "First Fruits of Ryūkoku-Berlin Joint Project on the Turfan Iranian Manuscripts". *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*. 78. Tokyo: The Tōhō Gakkai, 71–85.
-

Kōichi Kitsudō and Peter Zieme

**The *Jin'gangjing zuan* 金剛經纂 in Old Uighur
with Parallels in Tangut and Chinese**

Abstract: The *Jin'gangjing zuan* consists of passages abridged from the *Diamond Sutra*, a miraculous story concerning a girl, and the Ten Feast Days and the Twelve Calendric Days. It expounds the merits of chanting this scripture itself. So far, Chinese and Tangut versions are edited. This paper provides the edition of the texts in Old Uighur attested in manuscripts of St. Petersburg and Berlin. The comparative study of the texts reveals that the Old Uighur version is parallel to the Tangut version.

Key words: *Jin'gangjing zuan*, *Diamond Sutra*, Old Uighur, Tangut

0. Introduction

The miraculous stories concerning carrying and chanting a Buddhist scripture such as *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Avalokiteśvara-sūtra*, *Ami-tābha-sūtra*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* have played an important role as subsidiary texts and promoted the popularization of Buddhism in East Asia.

The *Diamond sūtra* (Skt. *Vajracchedikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*; Chin. *Jin'gang banruo boluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經¹) underlines the merits that one could accumulate by carrying and chanting the text. Manuscripts from Dunhuang and Turfan demonstrate that the *Diamond sūtra* was one of the most influential scriptures through Tang dynasty. Accordingly, dozens of miraculous stories concerning the *Diamond sūtra* were produced² more and more. Not only the *Diamond sūtra* but also the *Diamond sūtra* with *gāthās*

© Kōichi Kitsudō, Ryūkoku University, Kyōto

© Peter Zieme, Free University, Berlin and Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo

¹ Among the eight extant Chinese versions Kumārajīva's translation (T.VIII.235) was the most influential one.

² ZHEN 2010: 19–24.

composed by the Great Master Fu were translated into Old Uighur from Chinese texts.³ The *Diamond sūtra* itself circulated among the Uighurs who had settled down along the Tianshan mountain range since the ninth century. Besides, an Uighur fragment of a miraculous story concerning the *Diamond sūtra* was identified.⁴

The present contribution aims at reconstructing the Old Uighur version of an apocryphal Chinese scripture called *Jin'gangjing zuan* 金剛經纂. It includes a miraculous story and expounds the merit of chanting the text itself. This scripture was translated into Tangut and Tibetan as well. Although the title and content are almost the same in all versions, the text itself has some discrepancies. Concluding in advance, the Old Uighur text best concords with the Tangut version. Possibly, both versions can be regarded as being translated from almost the same Chinese text which has not been found so far. The Old Uighur version can be reconstructed on the basis of the Tangut version.

1. Varieties of the *Jin'gangjing zuan*

1-1. Chinese Version

It is recorded that the *Jin'gangjing zuan* widely circulated in China in manuscripts and prints, especially during the Ming dynasty many copies of the scripture were printed. However, we know only two Chinese versions today.

TEXT A: The *Jin'gangjing zuan* from Dunhuang, it was edited by Fang 1995 based on P.3024v entitled *Foshuo jin'gangjing zuan* 佛說金剛經纂 and S.2565v entitled *Jin'gangjing zuan yijuan* 金剛經纂一卷. The two texts overlap and complement each other.

Fang 1995 appropriately divided the text into three sections. The first section invokes the summons of the Eight Great Vajrapāṇis⁵ 八大金剛 and explains the merits of chanting the *Jin'gangjing zuan* itself.

³ YAKUP 2010; HAZAI and ZIEME 1971.

⁴ ZIEME 1992: 40; ZHEN 2010: 64. A parallel story can be found in the *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 as well as in the *Chisong jin'gangjing lingyan gongdeji* 持誦金剛經靈驗功德記 (T.LXXXV, 2743). Cf. YAKUP 2010: 217–222.

⁵ This invocation accords to that of the *Diamond sūtra* with *gāthās* by Great Master Fu.

第一奉請青除災金剛。第二奉請辟毒金剛。第三奉請黃隨求金剛。第四奉請白淨水金剛。第五奉請赤聲金剛。第六奉請定除災金剛。第七奉請紫賢金剛。第八奉請大神金剛。

The second section narrates a miraculous story concerning the *Jin'gangjing* as follows. In the first year of Tianli 天曆,⁶ there lived a girl of a Liu 劉 family in Beishan county 北山縣. She died at the age of nineteen and arrived at king Yama's court. The king asked her how many good deeds she had accumulated in her life. The girl replied that she always had carried the *Jin'gangjing* next to her skin. Again the king asked why she had not carried the *Jin'gangjing zuan*. The girl said that the scripture did not exist in the world. Accordingly, the king sent her back to life and ordered her to write down the sentences of that scripture. The characters in the scripture amount to 5149 in total, 69 entries of "Buddha 佛", 51 entries of "Shizun 世尊", 85 entries of "Rulai 如來", 36 entries of "Subhūti 須菩提" and 26 entries of "good men and good women 善男子善女人". The number of characters and words show differences in each version. At the end of this section, a *gāthā* for making a vow originally attributed to the introduction of the *Diamond sūtra with gāthās of the Great Master Fu* 傅大士頌金剛經 is inserted.⁷

In the third section, the Ten Feast Days of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha 地藏菩薩十齋日 and the Twelve Calendric Days for Worshipping the Buddhas 十二月禮佛日 are enumerated. The Ten Feast Days were intended to recite the name of a Buddha or a Bodhisattva on a special Feast Day when a divinity descends to this world.⁸ The calendric twelve days encourage worshipping the Buddha at a fixed time and to a certain direction.⁹ One who acts on this instruction can remove one's own countless deadly sins.

The texts of the Ten Feast Days and the calendric twelve days were originally composed separately as known from Dunhuang manuscripts.¹⁰ Occa-

⁶ ARAMI 2014: 399.

⁷ 稽首三界尊，歸依十方佛，我今發弘願，受持金剛經，上報四重恩，下濟三塗苦，若有見聞者，悉發菩提心，盡此一報身，同生極樂國。

⁸ The Ten Feast days of a month are 1, 8, 14, 15, 18, 23, 24, 28, 29, and 30. For example, on the 18th day of a month, when king Yama descends down to this world, one should chant the name of the Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha.

⁹ The twelve days of a year are 1st day of the 12th month, 8th day of the 2nd month, 7th day of the 3rd month, 5th day of the 5th month, 6th day of the 6th month, 7th day of the 7th month, 8th day of the 8th month, 9th day of the 10th month, 1st day of the 11th month. The 3rd day of the the 12th month was omitted in the *Jin'gangjing zuan*. For example, on the 1st day of the 1st month, the one who worships the Buddha four times at dawn facing to the east can remove his own sins of two hundred thirty *kalpas*.

¹⁰ The text is edited as T.LXXXV.2850 and ZHANG 2000. ARAMI 2014 classified the Ten Feast Days texts from Dunhuang into two types. A) the text based on the Kṣitigarbha cult 地藏菩薩十齋日, B) the text which places emphasis on chanting the name of Buddha 每月十齋日. He regards the Ten Feast Days text inserted in the *Jin'gangjing zuan* as an intermediary text

sionally, both texts were copied together in Dunhuang composite manuscripts together with others.¹¹ Therefore we may assume that they were added to the original *Jin'gangjing zuan* at some time. Interestingly, the *Jin'gangjing zuan* explains that the Ten Feast Days of the month and the twelve days for worship according to the calendar were collected from one thousand scrolls brought back from India by Xuanzang 玄奘 of the Longxing monastery 龍興寺.¹²

TEXT B: Beside the Dunhuang manuscript (Text A), another Chinese version called *Jin'gang banruo boluomi jing zuan* 金剛般若波羅蜜經纂 was edited in the *Eryao jin'gang hebi* 二曜金剛合璧, “The collected scriptures concerning solar, lunar divination and the Diamond-(sūtra)”, printed in 1909 together with four other texts.¹³ The first and second sections are almost parallel with Text A, although the second one is more detailed than Text A. It is explained that, after her rebirth, a girl of the Liu family went to the Zhongli monastery 鐘離寺 in Haozhou 濠州 and copied the scripture from a version carved on the rock. More detailed is the number of words counted in the scripture. Text A extracts only five words, while Text B fifty-six words. In addition, Text B lacks the third section of Text A, namely the Ten Feast Days and twelve days of the calendar for the worship. In concluding remarks it is explained that this *Jin'gangjing zuan* was abstracted from (the *Jin'gang jing*) with reference to the content of the *Baoji jing* 寶積經 compiled in the Tripiṭaka.¹⁴ Since it is difficult to find such explanation or parallel in the *Baoji jing*, it was presumably cited as a sign of authority.

The plot of the miraculous story about a girl of a Liu family is common with some stories edited in the *Chisong jin'gangjing lingyan gongdeji* 持誦金剛經靈驗功德記 (Pelliot chinois 2094).¹⁵ For example, the story No. 9 is as

between A and B. On the other hand, Soymié 1981 thoroughly examined the twelve calendar days texts from 5th to 19th cc. including the *Jin'gangjing zuan*.

¹¹ ARAMI 2014: 383.

¹² 玄奘法師於西國取經一千卷內，掠出此禮佛日月。Soymié points out that the Longxing monastery is an error for the Hongfu monastery 弘福寺 according to other Ten Feast Days texts (SOYMIÉ 1981: 214).

¹³ The *Foshuo riguang jing* 佛說日光經, the *Foshuo taiyang jing* 佛說太陽經, the *Foshuo yueguang jing* 佛說月光經, the *Foshuo taiyin jing* 佛說太陰經. The former two scriptures concern the solar sphere and the latter two the lunar one. According to the editor, these scriptures mirror the worship of the sun and moon based on folk belief (TONG 2003: 368).

¹⁴ 此經纂按大藏寶積經內錄出 (TONG 2003: 370).

¹⁵ Numbers 4, 5 and 9 of the *Chisong jin'gangjing gongde lingyanji* edited in ZHENG 2010: 46–50.

follows. When seven days passed since his sudden death, the monk Lingyou 靈幽 from Chang'an met with the King of Equal Judgment 平等王. The king asked him what scripture he chanted while alive. He replied that he had held the *Jin'gangjing* all the time. The king suggested that the scripture held by Lingyou was as short as one *gāthā* only. Finally he prolonged his life for more ten years and ordered him to go to the city of Hangzhou 濠州. Accordingly, he found the inscription of the *Jin'gangjing* carved on the rock. The inscription rightly preserved 62 characters that were lacking in Lingyou's book. The scripture in circulation was based on this rock inscription.¹⁶

The story about the stone inscription described in the *Lingyan gongdeji* and in the *Jin'gangjing zuan* is based on the same common plot. However, the former scripture expounds the merits of chanting the *Jin'ganjing* itself, while the latter expels that the merits of one recitation of the *Jin'ganjing zuan* equals to three hundred thousand times recitations of the *Jin'gangjing*. In this point, the two scriptures are contradictory. One may suppose that the *Jin'gangjing zuan* was obviously made after the *Lingyan gongdeji*.

As to the two extant versions of the *Jin'gangjing zuan*, Text B is regarded as a variant of Text A composed at a later period.¹⁷ Indeed, this seems a reasonable hypothesis. As mentioned above, the *Jin'gangjing zuan* was often a target of criticism in the Ming time because of its apocryphal nature. Among the critics, an essay of Zhuhong 株宏 (1535–1615)¹⁸ provides us with some noteworthy information on this problem.

“The *Jin'gang zuan*: Among the scriptures printed privately, there is the *Jin'gangjing zuan*. It praises its own merits as follows: one recitation of this *Zuan* excels reciting the *Jin'gangjing* ten thousand times. This teaching is a downright superstition. The *Jin'gangjing* expounds the theory of extreme non-existence. Therefore it has marvellous merits in itself. [The *Jin'gangjing* expounds that] even a single *dharma* does not exist. The *prajñā*, the divine and all things in this world also have the nature of non-existence. Why should we believe that the numbers of words like “Buddha” or “Subhūti” collected from the scripture itself possess such merits? As its evil influence, when a corrupt monk receives an offering [from a follower], he does not chant the

¹⁶ ZHENG 2010: 49–50.

¹⁷ TONG 2003: 360.

¹⁸ Zhuhong was a Buddhist monk of the Ming dynasty. After a pilgrimage to Mount Wutai, he returned to Hangzhou and settled at Yunqi 雲栖 for forty years. He taught the educated class. The *Gaofeng yulu* 高峰語錄 is listed as his main work. Cp. ZHANG 2006: 998.

whole scroll [of the *Jin'gangjing*], but its extraction (*zuan*) only once. [The *Jin'gangjing-zuan*] expounds that there are extreme sufferings in hell. All of the teachings in this book are false. One should recognize the harmful effects of apocryphal scriptures as such”.

金剛纂：俗刻諸經。有金剛經纂。自讚功德。謂誦纂一遍。勝經萬遍。此訛也。金剛經所以有不思議功德者。謂其極談空理。一法靡存。般若威神。津梁萬類云爾。豈謂文中纂出佛若干。須菩提若干。何以故若干。如是等字數為功德耶。其流之弊。遂有愚僧受人嚬施。不誦全經。而以一纂當之。構地獄無窮之苦。皆此說誤之也。編輯邪書。為害如是。

Yunqi fahui 雲棲法彙 (*Jiaxinrang* 嘉興藏 vol. 33: 75c).

According to this essay, the character *zuan* 纂 in the title means to collect or extract certain words or passages from the *Diamond sūtra*. Taking into consideration that there is no mention of the Ten Feast Days and the twelve calendar days, *zuan* does not designate collected scriptures like Text A, but only the part of extracted words from the *Diamond sūtra*. Comparing the number of words extracted from the *Diamond sūtra* in the second section, Text A has only five words, while Text B has fifty-six. Text B is preferable for the name of *zuan* as explained by Zhuhong. In this way, we may conclude that Text B preserves nearly the entire original text of the *Jin'gangjing zuan*.

1-2. Tangut Version

One block print (Tang. 381, No. 6806) and two manuscripts from Khara-khoto are kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Science (IOM, RAS).¹⁹ Shintarō Arakawa edited the block print, which preserves almost the whole text.²⁰ This print bound in concertina-style measuring 12.5×6.0 cm, consists of forty-six pages in total including two picture pages depicting Buddha in sermon to an old monk (Subhūti?) and a young girl (the girl of the Liu family?), with five lines on each page.

The title of the scripture is 譯藏蕊菴 which is a literary translation of the *Jin'gangjingdian zuan* 金剛經典纂. 菴 (²*ja*) means “to gather, collect”. S. Arakawa made a comparison of the Tangut text with two Chinese versions.

¹⁹ ARAKAWA 2014: 13.

²⁰ ARAKAWA 2014: 13–24, 409–443, plates XCIX–CVI.

The composition of the Tangut text is all the same as Text A. It starts with the summons of eight Vajrapāṇīs and four Bodhisattvas in the first section, then follow the miraculous story about a girl of a Liu family and the numbers of extracted words from the *Diamond sūtra* in the second section, finally the Ten Feast Days and Twelve Calendar Days are given in the third section. However, there are differences between the Tangut version and Text A. On the other hand, the omission or confusion of some words²¹ in the second section is similar to the story in Text B.²²

According to S. Arakawa, the differences between the Tangut Text and the Text A exist in the Ten Feast Days. Text A merely repeats the expression “On a certain day when a certain deity will descend to this world, one should chant the name of a certain Buddha (or Bodhisattva)”, while the Tangut text inserts an additional verse after that. S. Arakawa pointed out that the Ten Feast Days with verse is parallel to the inscriptions at the Dazu Baoding shan 大足寶頂山 in Chongqing 重慶 from the 13th c.²³ This inscription called the *Dizang*

²¹ Here is one example which ARAKAWA 2014 does not mention. The line in the second section of the Tangut text goes as follows: 叢甦甦嫩甦甦甦甦甦甦甦甦甦甦甦甦甦甦甦甦 (ARAKAWA 2014: 420, ll. 14-4~14-5): “if there are not a view of self, a thought of person, a thought of living person and a thought of living”, “namely what I see is”, “three living bhikṣuṇīs”. These are the words extracted from the *Jin’gangjing*. To this part, corresponding lines in Text B are: “若有我相, 人相, 衆生相, 壽者相”。 “無我見, 人見, 衆生見, 壽者見”, “三比丘尼” (Z. vol. 08, 370a). There is no counterpart to the words “three living bhikṣuṇīs” at the end of Chinese text. Probably, the Tangut translator or the Chinese copy used for the translation confused “無我見人見衆生見壽者見三比丘尼” as “我見三壽比丘尼”. According to Text B, “三” means the number of times of “比丘尼” depicted in the *Jin’gangjing*.

²² ARAKAWA 2014:16.

²³ Following is the comparison of Tangut text and Dazu inscription:

[Tangut]

On the first day, (two) boys (controlling) evil and good descend (to this world). Who on that day chants the name of Dīpaṅkara Buddha one thousand times, he will never go to the Sword-Mountain hell. The praise goes:

Hearing it is a Sword-Mountain, one does not want to take hold (it),
Risky and unlikable looking makes his mind painful,
Every feast day, he practices the meritorious deeds,
One should not seek the previous evil worlds.

[Dazu inscription]

月一日念定光佛一千遍, 不墮刀山地獄。贊曰。
聞說刀山不可攀, 嵯峨險峻使心酸,
遇逢齋日勤修福, 免見前程惡業牽。

As to the comparison in detail and differences between the Tangut text and the Dazu inscription, see ARAKAWA 2014: 21–22.

pusa shizhairi 地藏菩薩十齋日 is engraved in the relief of the ten kings and hells, in front of which the followers still chant and dance on the ceremony today.²⁴

S. Arakawa concludes that the Tangut text preserves a larger and more consistent version than the Chinese texts. He assumes the existence of another Chinese version used by the Tangut translator.²⁵

1-3. Tibetan Version

Two Tibetan fragments from Turfan were introduced by A.H. Francke and later by M. Taube. Zieme identified these fragments with the story of a girl of a Liu family in the Old Uighur fragment U5058.²⁶ Now, we can definitely identify these fragments with the *Jin'gangjing zuan* which is called *rdo rje gcod pa'i bstus* "Zusammenfassung der *Vajracchedikā*" in Tibetan.²⁷ Unfortunately, due to lack of information, we cannot decide to which version the fragment can be attributed.

[63–1 Recto]²⁸

01 ...Yama, der Herr der... (sprach) zu dem Mädchen...

[Text B] 引見閻羅。天子問曰

02 ...daß du an dem Ort der Menschen geboren bist...

[Text B] 一生以來，作何功德利益

03 ...darauf gab das Mädchen die folgende Antwort...

[Text B] 女子答曰自從七歲以來

04 ...das ausgezeichnete Buch *rdo rje gcod pa...*

[Text B] 常受持金剛般若波羅蜜經，至今不闕

05 ...so sprach (sie). Warum hast du *rdo rje gcod pa...*?

[Text B] 天子再問曰何不念金剛經纂

Verso

01 ...da Mädchen bis zum zweiten Mal...

[Text B] 女子答曰

02 ...die "Zusammenfassung" ist nicht in der Welt erscheinen...

²⁴ ARAMI 2015: 47.

²⁵ ARAKAWA 2014: 23–24.

²⁶ ZIEME 2011: 159.

²⁷ FRANCKE 1924: 115, TAUBE 1980: 111–112 (No. 63–1, 2). No. 63–2 is too fragmentary to identify it in the *Jin'gangjing zuan*.

²⁸ FRANCKE 1924:115.

[Text B] 緣世上無本

03 ...er sprach: Ich will dir (sie) geben.

[Text B] 天子言曰。善哉善哉。特放汝還陽活，壽命百歲

04 ...die Zusammenfassung des *rdo rje gcod pa* lesen...

05 ...die Worte des Buches *rdo rje gcod pa* deutlich merken...

[Text B] 諦聽吾言，分明記取。

2. Old Uighur Version of the *Jin'gangjing zuan*

The manuscripts of the *Jin'gangjing zuan* in Old Uighur edited below are kept in the Serindia Collection (SI) of St. Petersburg (IOM, RAS) and in the Turfan Collection of Berlin (BBAW, Turfanforschung).²⁹ The manuscripts can be classified into four kinds of manuscripts at least. The fragmentary condition of the manuscripts does not allow us to reconstruct the whole text.

The composition of the Old Uighur text is similar to the Tangut version. Remarkably, the Ten Feast Days have also the *gāthās* as seen in the Tangut version only. However, the twelve calendric days of the third section in Text A and Tangut version have not been found yet.

2-1. St. Petersburg Manuscripts

- SI 1859 (SI Kr IV 346)
- SI 1880 (SI Kr IV 364)
- SI 5070 (SI Kr IV 370)
- SI 5673 (SI 2Kr 51)

These four fragments that belong to the collection of N. N. Krotkov (1869–1919) who was the consul in Urumqi, were possibly obtained somewhere in the Turfan basin. They are remnants of one and the same manuscript bound as a concertina. Notably, the very tiny size convenient for carrying almost perfectly matches the size of the Tangut booklet. Each page measures 15.3×8.5 cm with six lines. SI 1859, SI 1880, and SI 5070 survive as single pages of the format, while SI 5673 has eleven pages. The words for “Buddha” or “Bodhisattva” are written in red ink.

²⁹ The images of the Berlin manuscripts are available on the web site of the Turfanforschung. http://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/u/dta_u_index.htm

In her preliminary study, Tuguševa 1972 published the text and a translation of SI 5673 and indicated some keywords concerning the content, e.g. Uig. *kimkoki* < Ch. 金剛經, Uig. *vaphuaki* < Ch. 法華經, and some Dhāraṇīs in Uighur script. SI 5673 is written on both sides, but, as shown by L. J. Tuguševa, the text of one side (*ll.* 1–65 in Tuguševa's edition) is inconsistent from one page to the other. Recycling the manuscript might have caused it. A close scrutiny reveals stitches sewn with a thread on some folding portions of the concertina binding. Presumably, the folds of concertina binding almost getting torn were cut and reinforced by sewing. It is reasonable to suppose that the order of pages became upset by this procedure.

The text written on the recycled side has not been identified so far, but contains *dhāraṇīs*, the name of Amitābha, and an essence *śloka* from the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra*,³⁰ while the inconsistent text of the original recto side can be identified with the *Jin'gangjing zuan*. The order of the damaged pages including SI 1859, SI 1880, and SI 5070 can be reconstructed according to the Tangut version as follows:

SI 5673(10) ...(Lacuna)... SI 1859 ...(Lacuna)... SI 5673(9) ...(Lacuna)... SI 5673(11) → SI 5673(1) ...(Lacuna)... SI 5070 → SI 5673(8) → SI 5673(7) → SI 5673(2) ...(Lacuna)... SI 5673(3) → SI 5673(4) → SI 5673(5) → SI 5673(6) ...(Lacuna)... SI 1880.

Transliteration of the Fragments of the SI Collection (Concertina Binding)

SI 5673 (1)

- 01 []wnkm'q̄lq 'mk'k lyk
 02 [] ''nt' t'kdwd' ,,
 03 [] //syzl'rk' ,,
 04 pwrq'n.l'ryq.'wn' ''t' yw
 05 pwy'n 'dkw q̄ylynčyq kwys'nkl'r,,
 06 'wtqwr'q̄ ywl'nyp tnkryly y'lnkwq̄lyq̄'

SI 5673 (2)

- 01 'mty slwk t'qswtyn swyzl'ywr,,
 02 kynk 'wlwq 'wl p̄wdysty nynk ,,
 03 'dkw 'wykly yrlyq̄ nčwčy kwnkwly,,
 04 'wz'ty 'wmwq pwlwp 'mk'kt',,

³⁰ ZIEME 1991.

05 nyzv'ny lyq 'wykwzdyn 'wyntwrwr
06 twq̄wz pwyłwk lynqw' l' r 'yčynt'

SI 5673 (3)

01 'wd'čy 'wyčwn,,
02 'wykws q̄ylynč l'rdyn 'wzqwr (q'ly)
03 ''yyq q̄ylynč l'r nynk pwl'm'z
04 ''v'nty,,
05 tytynyp y'qwqwlwq̄ syzl'rk'
06 twq̄wz 'wtwz kwyn twyrt

SI 5673 (4)

01 mq'r'č tnkry l'r nynk 'wql'n
02 l'ry yyrtyńčw k'zkwłwk kwyn
03 'wl ,, 'wl kwyn 'wyz' 'wt' m
04 'ylyky.pwdystv'q mynk
05 q̄t' ''t's'r 'wylmys t'
06 t'myr 'wrwnlwq̄ lwq t'm[]

SI 5673 (5)

01 twysm'zl'r,,
02 'nty slwk t'q̄swtyn swyzl'ywr,,
03 pwdystv 'q plkwrtm'sy 'wyz'
04 ''tyn ''t'mys 'wl 'wt' m'ylyky
05 typ,,
06 'wyd'čy s'q̄ynt'čy l'rq̄' ''yd'čy

SI 5673 (6)

01 'wyčwn,,
02 q̄'m'q ''d' l'rdyn 'wzm'q̄yq,,
03 'wtqwr'q̄ plkwrtwp tnkryly
04 y'lnkwq̄ly d'q̄y 'wz'ty q̄y 'ynčkw
05 m'nkyk,,
06 t'myr 'wrwn lwq̄ l'rd' k'rylm'kyk

SI 5673 (7)

01 'wyč'wtwz tnkry l'r nynk
02 'wrwnkwty yyrtyńčw k' 'y[]
03 'wl kwyn 'wyz' t'ysy'čy.pwdf[]
04 stv'q mynk q̄t' ''d's'r

05 'wylmys t' 'qwlwq yyl'n lyq
06 t'mw t' twysm'z l'r,,

SI 5673 (8)

01 tylyn t' rtd' čy t' mw pyl'
02 q' tyldwrm'z q' vswrm'z,,
03 pyrwk p' r' rs' r' pw 'žwnt' ,,
04 'wym'k s' qynm' q' lyq pwl't čy,,
05 kyn 'žwn l' rd' 'wtqwr' q' ,,
06 'qt' lw twnkt' lw t' kzynm'z,,

SI 5673 (9)

01 'wyzwm 'wyz' 'yn' nwr mn 'wntwn
02 synk' rqy pwrq'n l' rq' mn
03 'mty 'wrytyp 'wlwq qwt qwlwnm' q'
04 lyq kwyswswk twt' r mn pw w
05 kymqwkyswdwr nwnk 'vdym' syn
06 ywq' rw twyrt twyrlwk 'wtly

SI 5673 (10)

01 'rd' čy pyr lyw p' qlyq qyz 'rdy,, 'wytrw
02 'wl qyz twqwz ykrmy y' synt' 'wyz
03 [] wdyp t' kdy 'rklyk q' n nynk
04 'wyskynt' ,, 'ny kwyrwp 'rklyk
05 q' n sn pyr 'zwnt' q' yw 'dkw
06 qylynč l' ryq qylytnk typ 'yytdy

SI 5673 (11)

01 kwyn 'wl 'wl kwyn 'wyz' pw pd[]
02 d' qy mynk pwrq'n l' ryq mynk
03 q' t' 't' s' r' 'wylmys d' pwzlwq
04 t' mw d' twysm'z l' r,,
05 'mty slwk t' qswtyn swyzl' ywr,,
06 pwzlwq t' mw t' 'rtwq' wl,, ,,

SI 1859 (Kr IV 346)

01 kyrtwodyn k' lmys tykwčy 'wžyk
02 'wl,, yyty qyrq pwdystv tykwčy
03 'wžyk 'wl,, ywz s' kyz qyrq swpwydy
04 'wžyk 'wl,, 'lty []z twyzwn
05 l' r' wqly twy[]r qyzy

SI 1880

01 pwlwr l' r ,, ywkw[] mn 'wlwq

02 pylk' pylyk p' r' myt q'

03 qylynč lyq ywryq l' rd' qy t' rynk

04 pylk' pylyk p' r' myt q' ,,

05 ' ' d' twd' l' ryq syzqwrđ' čy y

06 kyd' rt' čy pylk' pylyk p' r' myt

SI 5070 (Kr IV 370)

01 tytsw pdystv 'q mynk q' t'

02 ' ' t' s' r ' wylmys t' tylyn t' rtd' čy

03 t' mw t' twysm' zl' r ,,

04 ' mty slwk t' qswtyn swyzl' ywr ,,

05 pdystv 'wywr t' r q' r q' ly ,,

06 ' wykws t' lym 'mk' k [] ,,

2-2. Berlin Manuscript I (Concertina Binding)

- U 3308 (T III M 227) Recto
- U 3309 (T III M 227) Recto
- U 3310 (T III M 227) Recto

Three fragments from M (= Murtuk) are identified with the *Jin'gangjing zuan*. These belong to the same concertina manuscript, which preserves eight pages with continuing page numbers from twelve to nineteen. Each page measures about 19.5×9.5 m and contains six lines.

Interestingly, this concertina book seems to have been a large volume consisting of several scriptures that continue on the verso.³¹ Judging from the pagination, the *Jin'gangjing zuan* is the outset of this corpus. Remaining text preserves the second section only, i.e. text portions of the Ten Feast Days of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha.

Transliteration of the Berlin Manuscript I

U 3309

[12]

05 twyrl[]k 'wtl[]

06 p[]r[]q ' 'sr' []tw[] 'wy[]

³¹ This paper deals with only the *Jin'gangjing zuan*.

[13]

01 []n 'wz[]
02 pyrwk kwyr[]l[]r []
03 ymyz ny,, p'č'q̃w[] pyr t[]
04 kwnkwlwk,, q'č'n 'rd[]kw 'w[]s 't'wyz
05 l'ry ,, q'm'qwn pyr t'k twqzwn[]r''[]kry pwrq'n
06 'wlwšynt',, kym l'r pyrwk *kwynynk* 'wñ'r q't' wq̃ys'r l'r

[14]

01 s[]z[]s'r l'r ,, 'wlswz twypswz pwy'n'dkw q̃ylynčl[]q
02 yy[]mys tyrmys pwlwr l'r ,, mq'kws'r'nr'sy''tlq swdwr
03 t' swyz l'ywr,, ''y s'yw 'wn p'č'q kwyn l'r 'wl,, q'yw l'r 'wl 'wn
04 p'č'q kwyn l'r typ tys'r ,, ''y p'sy pyr y'nky kwyn 'dkw
05 ''yyq qylynč l'ryq 'dy[]l'd[]y 'wry l'r yyrtyncw k'zkwlw
06 kwyn 'w[],,, 'wl kwyn 'wyz' dyp[]kr''tlq''nč[]l'yw k'lmyš t'n[]

[15]

01 pwrq'n yq mynk q̃'t''t's'r []lmys t' p[] pyčqw t'q
02 lyq t'mw t' twysm'z ,, 'mty šlwk t'q̃šwtyn swyz-l'[]r..
03 'sydylwr py py[]q̃w lwq t'q t' ydy[] y'rm'n[] y 'wl
04 typ,, tykym l'ryn ''yyk l'ryn []k[]y []wyz''čyqw t'k t[]tyr,,
05 typ ,, p'č'q kwyn l'rk' tws[] m[] qylq'ly q̃'tyql'nq̃w
06 'wl,, 'wynkr'ky q̃ylmys q̃ylyn[] t' t'rtm'q̃ tyn qwtrwlwr,,

U 3308 (+) U 3310

[16]

01 [] mq'r'č tkry l'r []ynk 'wql'n l'ry yyrtyncw
02 [] 'wt'čy l[]r 'ylyky v'ydwry 'rdyny
03 [] pwr[]n yq mynk []r,, 'wylmys
04 []v t'm[] 'tw[]l'r,, ''mty
05 [] s[]ynq'ly q̃'tyql'nynkl'r ,,
06 [] ywlwkyn wzq̃'y syzl'r ,,

[17]

01 []q č[]s'r ,, q'č'n
02 [] čwmq̃wlvq p'dqw
03 []yzwk syn'q̃wčy p'k
04 []yn 'wyz' pw pdr'klp

05 [] t' pwz
 06 [] yn [] yz l' ywr ,,
 (line 6 of U3308 = line 1 of U 3310)

U 3310

[18]
 01 pwzlwq t' [] t' 'rtwq' wl ,, 'wyšwm [] k tw [] k'k-l'r
 02 kym pwlq' y [] t' t'ktwkd' 'w [] q' yn' []
 03 p [] rq' n l' ryq 'wq' 't' yw p [] n' d [] yq k []
 04 yw l' nyp [] q' lyd' '' [] dk [] 'w []
 05 syz l' r [] kwyn k' pys y [] y p [] k ,, []
 06 k' z [] n' wyz' '' pyt [] rq' n yq mynk

[19]
 01 q' t' '' t' s' r [] swykw t lwk t' mw [] twyšm' z
 02 l' r ,, 'mty s [] k t [] d [] ,, 'p [] ' t [] kry
 03 pwrq' n yq ,, 'rt [] lwk 'wl typ ,, syp
 04 'wš' typ [] pyčq [] twrw 'wyzy 'wk t' kynwr ,,
 05 n' nk [] wy [] ky 'ylyky '' d' qy pyčylqwlwq
 06 t' r [] ykrmy kwyn k' 'rklyk q' n yyrtyñčw

2-3. Berlin Manuscript II (Scroll)

- U 4886 (T II 908: Zieme 1992; Abdurishid 2010)
- U 5058 (T III H 504: Zieme 2010)

The fragments U4886 and U5058 are apparently from the same book scroll so that the verso remained empty. The margin lines were executed in red colour. Yakup 2010 recognized U4886 as the *Jin'gangjing* with *gāthās* of Great Master Fu. The fragment contains the title of the *Jin'gangjing zuan* in Old Uighur, which allows us to identify the correct source. The dimensions of the manuscript are not clear, as both fragments are incomplete. Although U4886 and U5058 were found (or purchased) by the second and third Prussian expeditions, respectively, it seems to be reasonable to regard both pieces as belonging to the same scroll.

Transliteration of the Berlin Manuscript II

U4886

01 pyr 'wčlwq swzwk kwnkwlyn
 02 'wqytw t'kynwrnmn pw kymqwky
 03 swdwr nwnk ''vdym' []n ,, ,,
 04 pw nwmwq 'wqyq'ly swzl'k'ly
 05 'wqr'myš swt'm'ty l'r ,, 'šnw
 06 č' 'wyp s'qynyp s'kyz 'wlvq
 07 vrčr''p'n l'ryq ,, twyrt 'wlvq
 08 pdystv l'ryq ,, nwmwq pyr
 09 kwwn 'wqys'r l'r swzl's'r
 10 l'r ,, pw mwnt'q 'wswq lwq
 11 twyzwn l'r 'wqly twyzwn l'r
 12 kymqwky swdwr 'rdnyk 'wtwz
 13 twym'n q't' 'wqymys pwlwr
 14 y'n' ym' pwlwr l'r qwt
 15 wqsyk tnkry l'r kynt'r[]

U5058

01 'dm'k lyk ''s[]
 02 twyzwn l'r []
 03 l'r nynk ywt[]
 04 l'm'k lyk 'dkwsyn []
 05 qwtlwq 'wlvq t[]
 06 t'y ly ''tlq y[y]l nyn[]
 07 nč yylyn t' py s'n []
 08 ''tlq ''lqwd' 'rd'čy pyr []
 09 lyw p'qlyq qyz 'rdy ,, 'wytrw
 10 'wl qyz twqwz ykrmy y'šyn
 11 []wyz qwdwp []d[]

2-4. Berlin Manuscript III

- U5100 (T III TV 59) Recto

The fragment U5100 belonged to a scroll as well but differed from Berlin Manuscript II. Moreover, the overlapping texts clearly prove this assumption. U5100 contains a typical passage “[the three hundred] thousand times of chanting [of the *Jin'gangjing*]”.

Transliteration of the Berlin Manuscript III

U5100

01 []wn l' r 'wqly twyzwnl' r
 02 []vyr' syn 'wqyq' ly swyz
 03 []snw č' 'wyp s' qynyp
 04 []rt 'wlwq pwdystv
 05 [] 'wqys' r l' r swyzl' s' r
 06 [] twym' n q' t' 'wqymys

2-5. Berlin Manuscript IV

- U2246 (T I 539)

The fragment U2246 belongs to a version in the pustaka format. Each page has 7 lines, the pustaka hole encircled in red interrupts lines 3 to 5.

Transliteration of the Berlin Manuscript IV

Recto

01 [] / q' pwlw []
 02 [] 'wl twyz / [] č l' r- []
 03 [] twtm' m' [] /wrynty / []
 04 [] 'wtw [] q [] s' n vyw []
 05 yyrtynčwd' k' zkwłwk kwyn 'wl []
 06 tkry [] n yq mynk q [] ' 't' s []
 07 [] d' čy t' mw d' [] sm' z l' r : ' mt []

Verso [] y s [] krmy

01 : ' nčwl' yw k' lmys [] ' t' wozyn []
 02 : t' kyrmyl' yw yr [] l wq ' dkws [] []
 03 : qłty y yrwq ' y tnkr [y]
 04 : ywłtw [] l' r [] r' s [] t' [] nmy []
 05 : [] ' wym' k [] ynm' q []
 06 : [] [ynč l' r / [] z qwrqy []
 07 [] nč l' r n [] wlm' z ' []

3. Reconstruction of the Uighur Text according to the Tangut version

The manuscripts are arranged according to the order of the Tangut text. The Old Uighur text below is compared with the Tangut and Chinese versions. The text is divided into three sections in accordance with Fang 1995. In addition, for the easy understanding, a section is divided by every feast day or the content.

- Tangut Text = The *Jin'gangjing zuan* in Tangut scripts (ARAKAWA 2014).
- Text A = The *Jin'gangjing zuan* from Dunhuang manuscripts (FANG 1995).
- Text B = The *Jin'gang banruo boluomi jing zuan* 金剛般若波羅蜜經纂 printed in 1909 (TONG 2003).
- Dazu Inscription = The *Dizang pusa shizhairi* 地藏菩薩十齋日 from the Dazu Baoding shan 大足寶頂山 (ZHANG 2000).

Section 1:

Invocation of the Eight Vajrapāṇis and Four Bodhisattvas

U4886 (T II 908)

- 001) 01 bir uçlug süzük köñülin
 002) 02 ukıtu täginürm(ä)n bo kimkoki
 003) 03 sudur-nuñ ävdimä[si]n ,, ,,
 004) 04 bo nomug okıgali sözlägäli
 005) 05 ugramış şuda-mati-lar aşnu
 006) 06 -ča öp sakınıp säkiz ulug
 007) 07 v(a)črapanlarıg ,, tört ulug
 008) 08 bodistvlarıg ,, nomug bir
 009) 09 küün okısarlar sözläsär
 010) 10 -lär ,, bo muntag osuglug
 011) 11 tözünlär oğlı tözünlär [kızı]
 012) 12 kimkoki sudur ärd[in]ig otuz
 013) 13 tümän kata okımıš bolur
 014) 14 yana ymä bolurlar kut[lug]
 015) 15 w(a)hşik t(ä)ñrilär kintar[lar]

U5100 (T III TV 59)

- 1 [... töz]ün-lär oğlı tözünlär
 02 [kızı]
 [bir uçlug süzük köñülin]
 [ukıtu täginürlär bo kimkoki]
 sudur-nuñ k]avırasın
 okıgali söz 03 [lägäli]
 [ugramış şuda-mati-lar a]şnu
 -ča öp sakınıp 04 [säkiz ulug]
 [vačrapan-larıg tö]rt ulug
 bodistv 05 [larıg nomug bir]
 [küün] okısar-lar sözläsär
 06 [lär ...]
 [...]
 [kimkoki sudur ärdin]ig otuz]
 tümän kata okımıš [bolur]

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

With a fully concentrated pure mind I endeavour to explain the collection of the *Jin'gangjing*. Those of pure mind(?) who intend to read and recite this treatise first thinking and imagining the Eight Great Vajrapāṇis and the Four Great Bodhisattvas, then if they read and recite one volume of this sūtra, in this way (it would be equal to), noble men and noble (women!), it is equal to the recitation of the *Jin'gangjing* sūtra-jewel 300 thousand times. Furthermore, there will also be [...] good spirits, gods, kiṃnara[s ...]

Parallels

[Tangut Text 1-1~6-3]

When one recites and carries the *Jin'gangjing zuan*, firstly one chants the mantra with sincerity, which purifies one's evil karmas, then chants the name of the Eight Vajrapāṇis and Four Bodhisattvas, and invokes them and keeps in mind the mantra at places.

This is the mantra to purify evil karmas: *śuli śuli mahā śuli śuli svāhā*.

With great respect I ask for the Eight Vajrapāṇis. With great respect I ask for the Blue Vajrapāṇi who removes the troubles. With great respect I ask for the Vajrapāṇi who avoids the poisons. With great respect I ask for the Yellow Vajrapāṇi who grants people's wishes. With great respect I ask for the White Vajrapāṇi of pure water. With great respect I ask for the Red Vajrapāṇi of voices. With great respect I ask for the Vajrapāṇi who surely removes the troubles. With great respect I ask for the Purple Vajrapāṇi of wisdom. With great respect I ask for the Great Divine Vajrapāṇi.

With great respect I ask for the Four Bodhisattvas. With great respect I ask for Bodhisattva Vajra-fist 金剛眷菩薩. With great respect I ask for Bodhisattva Vajra-rope 金剛索菩薩. With great respect I ask for Bodhisattva Vajra-love 金剛愛菩薩. With great respect I ask for Bodhisattva Vajra-speech 金剛語菩薩.

In this way, if noble men and noble women recite this scripture even one time, it would be equal to the recitation of the *Jin'gangjing* three hundred thousand times. In addition, many divinities watch over them with holy power, and (noble men and noble women) will obtain the assistance [of the divinities].

[Text A]

先須啟請八大金剛。奉請青除災金剛，奉請辟毒金剛，奉請黃隨求金剛，奉請定除災金剛，奉請白淨水金剛，奉請赤聲火金剛，奉請紫賢金

剛，奉請大神金剛。每欲讀誦持念，先須啟請八大金剛。經云：若善男子、善女人，持此金剛經纂一遍，如轉金剛經三十萬遍，感得神禮如滿道。³²

[Text B]

奉請八大金剛。奉請青除災金剛。奉請辟毒金剛。奉請黃隨求金剛。奉請白淨水金剛。奉請赤聲火金剛。奉請定除災金剛。奉請紫賢金剛。奉請大神金剛。

奉請四菩薩。奉請金剛眷菩薩。奉請金剛索菩薩。奉請金剛愛菩薩。奉請金剛語菩薩。

金剛般若波羅蜜經纂

如是我聞。善男子、善女人受持讀誦此經纂一卷，如轉金剛經三十萬卷。又得神明加護，眾聖提携。³³

**Section 2 (1):
Miraculous Story**

U5058 (T III H 504)

SI 5673 (10)

016) 00 [küz]

017) 01 ädmäk-lig 's[]

018) 02 tözün-lär []

019) 03 l'r-nynk yut[söz]

020) 04 lämäk-lig ädgüsin []

021) 05 kutlug ulug t[avgač elintä]

022) 06 taili atl(1)g y[1]l-nıñ [yeti]

023) 07 -nč yılın-ta bi šan

024) 08 atl(1)g arkuda ärdäči bir

01 ärdäči bir

025) 09 liu baglıg kız ärdi ,, ötrü

liu baglıg kız ärdi ,, ötrü

026) 10 ol kız tokuz y(i)g(i)rmi yašin

02 ol kız tokuz y(i)girmi yašin

027) 11 -[ta] öz kodup [täg]d[i]

ta öz 03 [k]odup tägdi

028) 12 ärklig han-nıñ

ärklig han-nıñ

029) 13 üskintä ,, anı körüp ärklig

04 üskintä ,, anı körüp ärklig

030) 14 han s(ä)n bir ažuñta kayu ädgü

05 han s(ä)n bir ažuñta kayu ädgü

031) 15 kılınč-larıg kılınj tep ayıtdı ,,

06 kılınč-larıg kılınj tep ayıtdı

³² FANG 1995: 355.

³³ TONG 2003: 370.

Translation of the Old Uighur text

(016–020) ...with the protection... noble men... goodness of speaking... (021–031) In the Blessed Great Chinese Realm in the seventh year of the reign Dali, there was a girl of the Liu family in the city of Pishan prefecture. At the age of nineteen she died and arrived at King Yama. When he saw her, King Yama asked her: “What good deeds did you conduct in your existence (on earth)?”

Parallels

[Tangut Text 06–2~07–3]

The Holy One (= Buddha?) bestows one, (who recites the *Vajracchedikā-sūtra* three hundred thousand times), with divine power, and he obtains the assistance (of the Holy One).

Long ago, in the seventh year of Great Han realm, there was a young girl of the Liu family in the city of Pishan prefecture. After she died because of illness at nineteen she went to arrive at the hell. King Yama looked at the girl and said to her: “What kind of merits and good deeds did you conduct while living on earth?”

[Text A]

天曆元年，北山縣有一劉氏女子，年十九歲身亡，到冥司，見閻羅王問女子曰：「一生已來，作何罪福」女子答曰：「一生已來，偏持《金剛經》。」閻羅王問女子曰：「何不念取《金剛經纂》」女子曰「緣世上無本」³⁴

[Text B]

國建大曆七年，毗山縣令劉氏女子，年一十九歲，得病身亡。至五七日，引見閻羅。天子問曰：「一生以來，作何功德利益」女子答曰：「自從七歲以來，常受持《金剛般若波羅蜜經》，至今不闕。」天子再問曰：「何不念《金剛經纂》」女子答曰：「緣世上無本」³⁵

Section 2 (2):

Numbers of Words Extracted from the *Jin'gangjing*

SI 1859

032) 01 kertüdin kälmiš tegüči üžik

033) 02 ol ,, yeti kırk bodistv tegüči

³⁴ FANG 1995: 355–356.

³⁵ TONG 2003: 368–369.

034) 03 üzik ol ,, yüz säkiz kırk subudı

035) 04 üzik ol ,, altı [otu]z tözün

036) 05 -lär oğlu tö[zünlä]r kızı

Translation of the Old Uighur text

[Eighty-five] entries of “Truly Come”.³⁶ Thirty-seven entries of “Bodhi-sattva 菩薩”. One hundred thirty-eight entries of “Subhūti 須菩提”. Twenty-six entries of “Noble men and noble women 善男子善女人”.

Parallels

[Tangut 11-5~12-2]

Eighty-five entries of “Tathāgata 如來”, thirty-seven entries of “Bodhi-sattva 菩薩”, one hundred thirty-seven entries of “Subhūti 須菩提”, twenty-eight entries of “Noble men and noble women 善男子善女人”.

[Text A]

八十五如來，三十六須菩提，二十六善男子善女人。³⁷

[Text B]

八十八如來，二十三金剛，四十菩薩，一百三十八須菩提，一十三善男子善女人。³⁸

Section 2 (3):

Interlude Verses

SI 5673 (9)

U3309 (T III M 227)

037) 01 özüüm üzä inanur-m(ä)n ontun

038) 02 sıñarkı burhan-larka m(ä)n

039) 03 amtı öritip ulug kut kolunmak

040) 04 -lıg küsüşüg tutar-m(ä)n bo

041) 05 kimkoki sudur-nuñ ävdimäsin

042) 06 yokaru tört türlüg utlı³⁹

XII 05 türlü[ü]g utl[ı ...]

U3309 (T III M 227)

Pagination: [iki y(i)g(i)rmi]

043) XII 06 p[]r[]q []tw[] asra /// üč []

³⁶ One of the expressions of Tathāgata 如來.

³⁷ FANG 1995: 356.

³⁸ TONG 2003: 369.

³⁹ ABDURISHID 2010: 64, fn. 160.

Pagination: üç y(i)g(i)rmi

044) XIII 01 [yollar-tı]n oz[gurgay]

045) XIII 02 birök kör[sär]l[ä]r [bo biziñ ävrilmäkimizni ögrätig]

046) XIII 03 -im(i)zni ,, barčag[un] bir t[äg öritgäy ... bodi]

047) XIII 04 köñülüg ,, kačan ärd[in]gü ö[ñi birär birär] t[üş] ät'öz

048) XIII 05 -läri ,, kamagun bir tæg tugzun[la]r a[bita tä]ñri burhan

049) XIII 06 uluşınta ,, kim-lär birök künüñä onar kata okıсар-lar

Pagination: tört y(i)g(i)rmi

050) XIV 01 s[ö]z[lä]sär-lär ,, ulsuz tüpsüz buyanädgü kılınč-[ları]g

051) XIV 02 yı[g]miš termiš bolur-lar ,, (...)

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

I, by myself, rely on the Buddhas from ten directions.

Now I make a great vow and hold this *Collection of the Jin'gang jing*.

Upward, I shall repay with the four kinds of indebtedness.

Downward, I shall rescue from the three evil sufferings.

One who hears and sees will make his mind to the enlightenment.

I will repay until the end of this body.

Hopefully we will be born in the Sukhāvāfī together.

If one recites this scripture every day ten times, one will have collected limitless merits.

Parallels

[Tangut 15-2~15-4]

Countless Buddhas from ten directions!

I genuflect and make a great vow to the supreme one of the three worlds.

I shall hold this *Jin'gang jing*.

Upward, I shall repay four kinds of indebtedness.

Downward, I shall rescue from three evil sufferings.

[Text A]

稽首三界尊，歸依十方佛，我今發弘願，受持金剛經，上報四重恩，下濟三塗苦，若有見聞者，悉發菩提心，盡此一報身，同生極樂國，一日贊般若，遍積善無涯。⁴⁰

⁴⁰ FANG 1990: 356.

Section 3 (1):**The Ten Feast Days of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha with Praises**

051) XIV 02 (...) m(a)hakošaratn(a)raši atl(i)g *sudur*

052) XIV 03 -ta sözläyür ,, ay sayu on bačag kün-lär ol ,, kayu-lar ol on

053) XIV 04 bačag kün-lär tep tesär ,, (...)

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

... In the *Mahākošaratnarāši-sūtra* it is said: There are the Ten Feast Days every month. What are the Ten Feast Days?...

Parallels

[Tangut 16-3~16-4]

The *Dazang Baoji jingdian* explains that there are great Ten Feast Days every month.

[Text A]

No parallel.

[Text B]

此經纂，按大藏寶積經內錄出。⁴¹

<First Feast Day>

053) XIV 04 (...) ay başı bir yañı kün ädgü

054) XIV 05 ayıg kılınč-larıg adı[rtla]d[ač]ı urı-lar yertinčü kəzgülük

055) XIV 06 kün o[l] ,, ol kün üz-ä dipank(a)r atl(i)g anč[u]layu kälmiš tä[ñri]

Pagination: beš y(i)g(i)rmi

056) XV 01 burhan-ıg miñ kata atasar [ö]lmiš-tä b[ı] bıçgu tag

057) XV 02 -lıg tamu-ta tüšmüz ,, amtı šlok takšutın sözlä[yü]r ,,

058) XV 03 äšidilür bı bı[č]gu-lug tag-ı idi yarman[maguluk] ol

059) XV 04 tep ,, tikim-lärin äyik-lärin [kö]rs[ä]r öz açıgu täg tetir ,,

060) XV 05 tep ,, bačag kün-lärkä tuš[uš]-m[ak] kılğalı katıglangu

061) XV 06 ol ,, öñräki kılmiš kılın[č]-ta tartmak-tın kutrular ,,

⁴¹ TONG 1990: 370.

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

The first day of the beginning of the month is the day that the boys who distinguish the good and evil conducts walk around the world. On that day, if one recites the name of the Tathāgata Dīpaṅkara one thousand times, one never falls to hell of the mountain of knives even after his death. Now, the śloka says with the verse:

Hearing that nobody can climb the mountain of knives,
and if one sees its heights and quicksand,⁴² it is as if oneself feels pain.
One meets with the Feast Days to train oneself,
one can escape from keeping up the evil deeds conducted in the past time.

Parallels

[Tangut 16–5~18–1]

On the first day, (two) boys (controlling) evil and good descend (to this world). Who on that day chants the name of Dīpaṅkara Buddha one thousand times, he will never go to the Sword-Mountain hell. The praise goes:

Hearing it is the Sword-Mountain, one does not want to take hold (it),
Risky and unlikable looking makes his mind painful,
Every feast day, he practices the meritorious deeds.
One should not seek the previous evil worlds.

[Text A]

一日有善惡童子下界，念定光佛。⁴³

[Dazu Inscription]

月一日，念定光佛一千遍，不墮刀山地獄。讚曰：
聞說刀山不可攀，嵯峨險峻使心酸。
遇逢齋日勤修福，免見前程惡業牽。⁴⁴

<Eighth Feast Day>

U3308 (T III M 227)

Pagination: [altı y(i)g(i)rmi]

062) XVI 01 [säkiz kün] m(a)harač t(ä)ḡri-lär-niḡ oglan-ları yertinčü

063) XVI 02 [käzgülük kün ol ,, ol kün üz]ä otaçı-lar eligi vaiduri ärdini

⁴² The Old Uighur word *äyik* can best be explained as a variant of *öyik* “quicksand” (ED 271b), it only approximately corresponds to Chinese *xianjun* 險峻 “steep and dangerous”.

⁴³ FANG 1995: 356.

⁴⁴ ZHANG 2000: 360.

- 064) XVI 03 [] burhan-ıg miñ [kata atasa]r ,, ölmış
 065) XVI 04 [-tä sanči]v tam[u-k]a t[üşmäz]-lär ,, amti
 066) XVI 05 [šlok takšutın sözläyür ,, ögäli] s[ak]ıngalı katıglanıqlar ,,
 067) XVI 06 [] yülügin ozgay-sızlar ,,
 Pagination: [yeti y(i)g(i)rmi]
 068) XVII 01 [] q č[omur]sar ,, kaçan
 069) XVII 02 [] čomguluk batgu
 070) XVII 03 [-luk ärmäz ,,] (...)

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

[The eighth day] is [the day] that the son of Mahārāja Deva walks around [the world. Who, on that day, chants (the name of)] Bhaiṣajya-rāja-vaiḍūrya- (Vajra-prabhāsa) Buddha one thousand times, [he does not fall into the Saṃjīva] hell after his death. Now, [the śloka says in verse:]

Practice [to think] and contemplate [Bhaiṣajya-rāja-vaiḍūrya Buddha]!
 You will escape from⁴⁵ [the hardship of sufferings in the hell of hot water].
 If you sink..., when...
 You will [not] sink...

Parallels

[Tangut 18–2~19–3]

On the eighth day, the Prince descends to (this world). Who chants the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru-vaiḍūrya-vajra-prabhāsa Buddha one thousand times, he will never go to the Pot-Boiling hell.

The praise goes:

Who encourages a person (with virtue) to chant the name of Bhaiṣajyaguru,
 He does not run between the pain of Pot-Boiling and the urgency.

How could he take deliverance after going to among (the pain and urgency).

Don't transmigrate through the wrong (place) in the evil paths.

[Text A]

八日齋，太子下界，念藥師琉璃光佛。⁴⁶

[Dazu Inscription]

(月八)日念藥師琉璃光佛千遍，不墮鑊湯地獄。

⁴⁵ The word *ywlwkyn* = *yüliigin* can be best explained as translation of Chin. 向 *xiang*.

⁴⁶ FANG 1995: 356.

勸君勤念藥師尊，免向鑊湯受苦辛。
落在波中何時出，早修淨土脫沈淪。⁴⁷

<Fourteenth Feast Day>

U3308 (T III M 227)

070) XVII 03 [(...) tört y(i)g(i)rmi kün ö]züg sinaguçı bæg

071) XVII 04 [yertinçü-dä kâzgülük kün ol ,, ol k]ün üz-ä bo b(a)drak(a)lp
SI 5673 (11) 01 kün ol ,, ol kün üzä bo b(a)d[rak(a)lp]

072) XVII 05 [-dakı miñ burhan-larka miñ kata atasar ölmış]-tä buz

SI 5673 (11) 02 -dakı miñ burhan-larig miñ 03 kata atasar ölmış-dä buz

073) XVII 06 [-lug tamu-da tüsmâz-lär amtı šlok takšut]ın [s]özlâyür ,,
SI 5673 (11) -lug 04 tamu-da tüsmâz-lär ,, 05 amtı šlok takšutın sözlâyür ,,
U3310 (T III M 207.502)

Pagination: säkiz [y(i)g(i)rmi]

074) XVIII 01 buzlug ta[mu]-ta artuk ol ,, üšüm[äk to[ŋmaklıg äm]gäk-lär

SI 5673 (11) 06 buzlug tamu-ta artuk ol ,, ,, SI 5673 (1) 01 [üšümäk
t]oŋmakl(i)g ämgäk-lär

075) XVIII 02 kim bolgay [an]ta tägdükdä umug ina[g sizlärk]ä

SI 5673 (1) 02 [kim bolgay] anta tägdük-dä ,, 03 [umug inag] sizlärkä ,,

076) XVIII 03 burhan-larig ok atayu buyan äd[gü kılınç]ıg k[üsäñlär ot-
gurak]

SI 5673 (1) 04 burhan-larig una atayu 05 buyan ädgü kılınçıg küsäñlär 06
otgurak

077) XVIII 04 yolanıp [t(ä)ŋrili yalŋu]k-lıda a[nta ä]dg[ü] o[run-ta tuggay]

SI 5673 (1) yolanıp t(ä)ŋrili yalŋu]k-lı-ka

078) XVIII 05 -sızlar [,,] (...)

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

The fourteenth day is the day that the chief who presides over the life [walks around the world]. On that day, those who chant the name of one thousand Buddhas in the Bhadrakalpa time, they never fall to the iceberg hell even when he passes away. Now, the śloka says with a verse:

The Iceberg is the most (painful) among hells. It is the pain of cold and freeze.

Who would become the refuge for you when you reached there?

⁴⁷ ZHANG 2000: 360.

You should chant the Buddhas to seek the meritorious good deed.

Definitely setting out in/to the (world of) human and heavenly beings, you will be born in pleasant place there.

[Tangut 19-4~20-5]

On the fourteenth day, the Emperor who manages the order descends (to this world). Who chants the name of thousand Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa time, he will never go to the Iceberg hell.

The praise goes:

Above all, the Iceberg hell is the most painful,
It is difficult to rescue from there after arriving at,
Just earnestly chant the names of the Buddhas and seek the merits!
The human beings and heavenly beings create the paradise.

[Text A]

十四日，司命下界，念賢劫一千佛。⁴⁸

[Dazu Inscription]

(月十四)日念賢劫千佛一千遍，不墮寒冰地獄。

就中最苦是寒冰，蓋因裸露對神明。
但念諸佛求功德，罪業消除好處生。⁴⁹

<Fifteenth Feast Day>

U3310 (T III M 207.502)

078) XVIII 05 (...) [beš y(i)g(i)rmi] kün-kä beš y[ol ärklig]i b[ä]g []

079) XVIII 06 [küzgölük kün ol ,, ol kü]n üzä abit[a täñri bu]rhan-ıg miñ

Pagination: tokuz y(i)g(i)[rmi]

080) XIX 01 kata atasar [,, ölmıştä bı bıçgulug] söğüt-lüg tamu-[ka] tüšmüz

081) XIX 02 -lär ,, amtı š[lok] t[akšutın sözläyür ,, äši]d[mäk] ,, ab[it]a t(ä)ñri

082) XIX 03 burhan-ıg ,, a[rtukrak artuk küç]lüg ol tep ,, sıp

083) XIX 04 ušatıp [bı] bıçg[ulug söğütlüg tamu yan]turu özi ök täginür ,,

084) XIX 05 näng [] ü[zä]ki eligi adakı bıçılguluk

085) XIX 06 tark[,,] (...)

⁴⁸ FANG 1995: 356.

⁴⁹ ZHANG 2000: 360.

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

(The fifteenth) day is the day that the (General of the Five Existences walks around the world). Who, on that day, chants (the name of)] Amituo 阿彌陀 Buddha one thousand times, he does not fall into the Sword-Trees hell (when he passes away). Now, the śloka says with the verse:

(To listen to the name of) Amituo Buddha is the (most powerful),
 Breaking the Sword-(Trees hell),
 It returns and he takes [its results] by himself
 His hand and leg on... never be cut soon.

Parallels

[Tangut 21-1~22-2]

On the fifteenth day, the General of the five paths descends to (this world). Who chants the name of Amituo 阿彌陀 Buddha, he never will go to the Sword-Trees hell.

The praise goes:

Hearing that the merit of Amituo is superior to others,
 Any nicks could not be found in the Sword-Trees.

What one did by himself returns to himself, and furthermore one takes (its result) by himself.

At that time, one should not stop moving his hands and legs.

[Text A]

十五日齋，五道將軍，念阿彌陀佛。⁵⁰

[Dazu Inscription]

(月十五)日念阿彌陀佛千遍，不墮劍樹地獄。讚曰：
 聞說彌陀福最強，[]殘劍樹[]消亡。
 自作自招還自受，莫待[]時手腳[]。⁵¹

<Eighteenth Feast Day>

U3310 (T III M 207.502)

085) XIX 06 (...) [säkiz] y(i)g(i)rmi kün-kä ärklik han yertinčü

SI 5070

086) 01 titso bodistv-ag miñ kata

⁵⁰ FANG 1995: 356.

⁵¹ ZHANG 2000: 361.

- 087) 02 atasar ölmış-tä tilin tartdaçı
 088) 03 tamu-ta tüšmäzlär „
 089) 04 amtı šlok takšutın sözläyür „
 090) 05 bodistv uyur tarkargalı „
 091) 06 üküš tälim ämgäk-[lärig] „

SI 5673 (8)

- 092) 01 tilin tartdaçı tamu birlä
 093) 02 katılduramaz kavšuramaz „
 094) 03 birök bar ärsär bo ažunta „
 095) 04 ömäk sakınmak-lıg boltaçı „
 096) 05 ken ažun-larda otgurak „
 097) 06 agtalu toñtalu tägzinmäz „

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

(The eighteenth) day is the day that the King Yama (walks around) the world. (Who, on that day, chants (the name of) Dizang Bodhisattva one thousand times, he does not fall into the hell of removing tongue when he passes away. Now, the śloka says with the verse:

The bodhisattva is able to remove many sufferings,

[The bodhisattva] does not let [beings] mix and unite with the hell of removing tongue.

If there is one who thinks about [the Bodhisattva] in this existence definitely,

In the later existences, he is never revolved rolling about.

Parallels

[Tangut 22-4~23-4]

If one chants the name of Bodhisattva Kṣitigarba, he never goes to the hell of removing tongue. The praise goes:

“The Bodhisattva is able to relieve many sufferings.

Why does one see the hell of removing tongue?

At present, one who calls the name of the Buddha

Never suffers in the later existences”.

[Text A]

十八日齋，閻羅王天子下界，念地藏菩薩。⁵²

⁵² FANG 1995: 356.

[Dazu Inscription]

[] [] [] [] 如來一千遍，不墮拔舌地獄。
 拔舌更使鐵牛耕，萬種凌持不暫停。
 要免閻王親叫問，持念地藏一千聲。
 假使熱鐵輪，於我頂上旋，
 終不以此苦，退轉菩提心。⁵³

<Twenty-third Feast Day>

SI 5673 (7)

098) 01 üç otuz t(ä)ñri-lär-niñ
 099) 02 uruñuti yertinčü-kä e[när]
 100) 03 ol kün üzä ta-ši-či bod[i]
 101) 04 -şty-ıg miñ kata atasar
 102) 05 ölmış-tä agulug yılan-lıg
 103) 06 tamu-ta tüşmäz-lär ,,

SI 5673 (2)

104) 01 amti šlok takşutin sözläyür ,,
 105) 02 keñ ulug ol bodışty-niñ ,,
 106) 03 ädgü ögli y(a)rlıkançuçı köñüli ,,
 107) 04 uzatı umug bolup ängäktä ,,
 108) 05 nizvanı-lıg ögüzdin üntürür
 109) 06 tokuz bölük lenhua-lar içintä

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

The twenty-third. General of Heavenly beings descends to the world. Who, on that day, chants (the name of) Mahāsthāmaprāpta Bodhisattva one thousand times, he does not fall into the hell of poisonous snakes when he passes away. Now, the śloka says with the verse:

The mercy of that Bodhisattva is wide and huge.
 Always, he becomes the refugee in the pains
 and makes us to release from the river of defilements.
 Among the lotus flower with nine layers of leaves

⁵³ ZHANG 2000: 361.

Parallels

[Tangut Text 22-3~24-5]

On the twenty-third day, the Heavenly Great General descends (to this world).

If one calls the name of Bodhisattva who attains the great power (= Mahāsthāmaprāpta) one thousand times, he never goes into the hell of poisonous snakes. The praise goes:

“The mercy mind of the Bodhisattva is wide and huge.

It always becomes the refugee in the pain,

And makes us cross the river of defilements.

We are born among the lotus flower with nine layers of leaves

How can we dare to do after seeing the poisonous snakes?”

[Text A]

二十三日齋，天大將軍下界，念大勢至菩薩。⁵⁴

[Dazu Inscription]

(月二十三)日念大勢至如來一千遍，不墮毒蛇地獄。贊曰：
菩薩慈悲廣大多，救苦常教出愛河，
九品蓮花沾有分，毒蛇豈敢便相過。⁵⁵

<Twenty-fourth Feast Day>

U2246 (T I 539) Recto

110) 01 []z-ka bolu[]

111) 02 [] ol töz [kılın]č-ları[]

112) 03 [] tutmamak[tın]turıntı-[lar]

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

... becoming... the nature... deeds... to hold...

Parallels

[Tangut 25-5~26-3]

The body is cut into pieces, the millstone does not stop.

Receiving the punishment, one cannot explain its distresses.

Now I want to ask. For what reason, do I get this body?

Why did I not keep away from committing sins in the former lives?

⁵⁴ FANG 1995: 356.

⁵⁵ ZHANG 2000: 361.

[Dazu Inscription]

斬身挫確沒休時，都緣造惡不修持。
觀音哀愍眾生苦，免離地獄現慈悲。

<Twenty-eighth Feast Day>

U2246 (T I 539) Recto

- 113) 04 [säkiz] otu[z]-ka [tay] šan viü [kun]
114) 05 yertinčüdä kägülü[k] kün ol [ol kün üzä viročan]
115) 06 tñri [burhan]-ıg miñ k[at]a atas[ar ölmıştä]
116) 07 []däči tamu-da tüšmäzlär: amtı [šlok takšutın]

U2246 Verso: kimkoki säkiz ygrmi

- 117) 01 : ančulayu kälmiş-[niñ] ät'özin [körüp]
118) 02 : tägirmiläyü yr[uk]-lug ädgüsi [ınča]
119) 03 : k(a)ltı-ı y(a)ruk ay t(ä)ñri[niñ]
120) 04 : yultu[z] -lar ara[sın]ta ünmi[ši täg]
121) 05 : bu[rhan-larıg] ömäk [sak]ınmak [udači üçün]

SI 5673 (3) 01 udači üçün ,,

122) 06 : ü[küş kıl]ınč-lardıñ [o]z-gurga[lı]

SI 5673 (3) 02 üküš kılınč-lardıñ ozgurgalı

123) 07 : [ayıg kılı]nč-lar-nı[n] bolmaz a[vantı]

SI 5673 (3) 03 ayıg kılınč-lar-nıñ bolmaz (3) 04 avanti ,,

124) SI 5673 (3) 05 tutunıp yaguguluk sizlärkä

The translation of the Old Uighur Text

On the twenty-[eighth] day. It is the day when Tayšanviu[kun] (= 太山府君) is walking on the earth. If [on that day] one calls the divine [Buddha Vairocana] a thousand times, one will after dying not fall into the... hell. Now, [in verse:]

[Seeing(?)] the body of the Tathāgata, the [essence(?)] of his goodness shining around is [like] the brilliant moon appearing among the stars. Because of thinking of the Buddha for the release from many evil deeds the evil deeds are not the reason. [The body] is torn to pieces and one should approach to you.

Parallels

[Tangut Text 27–5~29–2]

On the twenty-eighth day, the lord of Taishan descends (to this world). If one calls the name of Vairocana Buddha one thousand times, he never goes to hell of sawing. The praise goes:

The merits of Tathāgata is originally perfect and bright,
As if the white moon increased between a large numbers of stars.
One just praises the Buddhas and seeks the merits.
How can the cutting by a saw approach to you?

[Text A]

二十八日齋，太山府君下界，念盧舍那佛。⁵⁶

[Dazu Inscription]

(月二十八)日念盧舍那佛千遍，不墮鋸解地獄。
如來功德大圓明，由如朗月出群星。
但念能除多種罪，鋸解無由敢用君。⁵⁷

<Twenty-ninth Feast Day>

SI 5673 (3)

125) 06 tokuz otuz kün tört

SI 5673 (4)

126) 01 m(a)harač t(ä)ŋri-lär-niŋ oġlan

127) 02 -ları yertinčü kâzgülük kün

128) 03 ol ,, ol kün üzä ot äm

129) 04 eligi bodistv-ag miŋ

130) 05 kata atasar ölmış-tä

131) 06 tämir orunluk-lug tam[u-ka]

SI 5673 (5)

132) 01 tüšmâz-lär ,,

133) 02 amtı šlok takšutın sözlâyür ,,

134) 03 bodistv-ag b(ä)lgürtmäsi üzä

135) 04 atın atamış ol ot äm eligi

136) 05 tep ,,

137) 06 ödäçi sakıntacı-larka aydaçi

⁵⁶ FANG 1995: 356.

⁵⁷ ZHANG 2000: 362.

- SI 5673 (6)
 138) 01 üçün ,,
 139) 02 kamag ada-lardın ozmakıg ,,
 140) 03 otgurak b(ä)lgürtüp t(ä)ñri-li
 141) 04 yalñuk-lı-dakı uzatı-kı ençgü
 142) 05 mänjig ,,
 143) 06 tämir orun-luk-larda kärilmäkig

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

Twenty-ninth. This is the day that the sons of Heavenly Great Kings walk around the world. Who, on that day, chants [the name of] Bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyarāja one thousand times, he does not fall (to) the Iron Grounded Hell when he passes away. Now, the śloka says with the verse:

One calls the Bodhisattva as Bhaiṣajyarāja by his appearance.

Because [Bhaiṣajyarāja] calls out to one who thinks about [him],

To escape from all danger, longtime-peacefulness to appear certainly in [the existences of] the heavenly being and human being, [and] to be spread out in the Iron Grounded [Hells]...

Parallels

[Tangut Text 28–1~29–2]

On the twenty-ninth day, Four Heavenly Guardians will descend (to this world).

If one calls the name of the Bodhisattva Bhaiṣajyarāja one thousand times, one never goes to the Iron Grounded Hell. The praise goes:

“The name of the bodhisattva is Bhaiṣajyarāja.

If one calls the name (of Bhaiṣajyarāja),

One is able to remove even the most evil sins.

(If) one obtains human form and always has a peaceful mind,

The Iron Grounded Hell will disappear forever.”

[Text A]

二十九日齋，四天王下界，念藥王菩薩。⁵⁸

⁵⁸ FANG 1995: 356.

[Dazu Inscription]

(月二十九)日念藥王藥上菩薩千遍，不墮鐵床地獄。
菩薩真名號藥王，鐵床更用火燒燬。
直饒造業如山重，但念眾名免眾殃。⁵⁹

Section 3 (2):

Interlude passage

SI 1880

144) 01 bolur-lar ,, yükü[nür]-m(ä)n ulug

145) 02 bilgä bilig paramit-ka

146) 03 kılınç-lıg yorıglardakı täriñ

147) 04 bilgä bilig paramit-ka ,,

148) 05 ada tuda-larıg sızgurdaçı

148) 06 ketärtäçi bilgä bilig paramit

Translation of the Old Uighur Text

They become... .

I venerate the Mahāprajñāpāramitā.

I venerate the Prajñāpāramitā of the depth in the action progress (i.e. the Bodhisattva path).

I venerate the Prajñāpāramitā that melts and removes difficulties.

Parallels

[Tangut Text 31–2~31–5]

The Mahāprajñāpāramitā (摩訶般若波羅蜜), the Prajñāpāramitā which removes difficulties (難除般若波羅蜜), the Prajñāpāramitā of concentration (禪定般若波羅蜜), deeply conducted Prajñāpāramitā (深行般若波羅蜜), the Prajñāpāramitā of wisdom (智慧般若波羅蜜).

[Text B]

若有人看一卷，如轉金剛經三十萬卷。摩訶般若波羅密、行深般若波羅密、消災般若波羅密、禪定般若波羅密、智慧般若波羅密、精進般若波羅密。每日淨心唸十卷，積福壽而無涯矣。⁶⁰

⁵⁹ ZHANG 2000: 362.

⁶⁰ TONG 2003: 370.

4. Notes

005 *šuda-mati-lar*: < Skt. *śuddhamati* “pure minded”. Possibly, it renders the noble men and noble women.

006–007 *säkiz ulug v(a)črapanlig*: Chin. *ba jin'gang* 八金剛. Tang. 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰸
𐰇𐰺 (Li 4602, 0152, 4735).

014–015 *kutlug w(a)hšik t(ä)ñrilär kintar-lar*: Text B refers to only *shen* 神.

016–017 [*küz*]-*ädäk-lig*: Chin. *youde shenming jiahu* 又得神明加護 in Text B.

018 *tözün-lär*: Chin. *zhongsheng* 眾聖 in Text B.

022–023 *taili atl(i)g y[ɪ]lnuŋ [yeti]nč yilunta*: Uig. *taili* < Chin. *dali* 大曆. Probably, in the Tangut one translated the *li* 曆 as a year 𐰇 (Li 3318). H. Arami pointed out that the Tianli 天曆 in Text A is also a misreading. We can reconstruct the regnal year, which is fragmentary in the Uighur text, according to the Text B.

023–024 *bišan*: Chin. *beishan* 北山 in Text A, while *pishan* 毗山 in Text B. S. Arakawa suggests the Tangut character 𐰇 (Li 1427) is used for the character *pi* 毗. In Uighur-Chinese pronunciation, both 北 and 毗 are transcribed as *py*.

024–025 *liu baglig kız*: Chin. *liushi nūzi* 劉氏女子. The story of the same girl can be seen in the *Jin'gang banruo boluomi jing ganyingzhuan* 金剛般若波羅蜜經感應傳 as follows (X87, No. 1632, 489c):

劉縣令。昔毗山劉縣令。為官清廉。家法甚嚴。日誦金剛經三卷。寒暑不輟。前任運司幕官。同妻難月。夢見一僧從空而來。云。有事冒于尊聽。貧道修行六十餘年。蓋因世緣未了。再令出世。念閣下善根成熟。特來依投。願收錄。劉曰。既蒙不棄。無吝見教。其僧便入臥房。劉怒而覺。次日。其妻分娩得生一女。聰惠過人。年七歲。不曾從師。經書盡皆通曉。隨父日誦金剛經。未及月餘。便能暗誦。父母甚喜。年登十九。吟詠成章。女因患方愈。值夏月。忽作蚊蚋詩云。昨日曾未與君期。今朝擅自入羅幃。玉體任君食。一飽猶作嬌聲。阿誰其父聽得大怒。喚出廳前。深責情意。欲置之死地。母急來救。詢問其由。女曰。昨夜蚊虫叮我。今朝作詩。別無他事。母即去白父。說其因由。父曰。汝既在室。安得有此等語。句句有情。女告父曰。不然請題。奴別作四句。父將剪子為題。女隨口便答曰。有情兩股合。無情兩股開。快從腰裡取。長短任君裁。父微咲不語。女便入房。索浴更衣。出廳白父。念奴適來。幾乎不得其死。不如及早拜辭父母去矣。因成頌曰。十九年來作客清淨。無花無逸

了了分明。歸去一任東西南北。生也了死也了。不論年多年少。今日撥轉遇真空。一輪明月清皎皎。描也難描畫也難畫。滿頭插花盤膝坐化。

028 *ärklig han*: Skt. *yama-rāja*. Chin. *yanluowang* 閻羅王. Tang. 髻薩帝 (Li 4660, 4710, 3830).

051 *m(a)hakošaratn(a)raši atl(i)g sudur*: Skt. **mahākośaratnarāśi-sūtra*. Such a name of a sūtra does not exist. It must be a literal translation of the *Dazang Baoji jing* 大藏寶積經 in Text B as well as 鞞菴瓔瑟胝菴(大藏寶積經典 : Li 4456, 4730, 5655, 1259, 0437, 4343) in the Tangut text. The name of this sūtra reminds us the *Dabaoji jing* 大寶積經 (T. 310). The Uighur and Tangut texts explain that the Ten Feast Days is extracted from the *Dazang Baoji*. However, the *Dabaoji jing* does not refer to the Ten Feast Days. This problem still remains unresolved.

055 *dipank(a)r*: < Skt. *Dīpaṅkara*. Chin. *dingguang fo* 定光佛. Tang. 暎毘鉢 (Li 2833, 4573, 2852).

056–057 *b[i] bičgu tag-lig tamu*: Chin. *daoshan deyu* 刀山地獄. Tang. 蕭菴毘胝 (Li 5037, 4871, 0726, 1786).

059 *tikim*: “danger”. Cp. *birär üdtä turur siz tikim idiz säñirtä* (AY VII. 16b): 或在山巖深險處 (T16n0665_p0437a14). Tang. 毘胝 (Li 1111, 0464) “danger”.

068 *č[omur]sar, kačan...*: 落在波中何時出 (Text B).

069–70 *čomguluk batgu-luk ärmäz*: “Don’t transmigrate through the wrong (place) in the evil paths” (Tangut Text). 早淨土脫沈淪 (TextB). Considering both passages, the lacuna could be filled by the negative auxiliary verb. Tang. 毘胝毘胝 (Li 3351, 0020, 2983, 2952, 1735, 5937, 0726) “Don’t transmigrate through the wrong (place) in the evil paths”.

070 *özüg smaguči bäg*: Chin. *siming* 司命. Tang. 窳窳 (Li 3614, 3266). Literally translation of Chin. *siling* 司令). The character 窳 might be caused by misreading of *ming* as *ling*.

071 *b(a)drak(a)lp*: < Skt. *bhadrakalpa*. Chin. *xianjie* 賢劫. Tang. 窳窳 (Li 3294, 4740).

072–073 *buzlug tamu*: Chin. *hanbing deyu* 寒冰地獄. Tang. 窳窳毘胝 (Li 3177, 3358, 0726, 1786).

075) *kim bolgay anta tägdükdä umug inag sizlärkä*: This passage is parallel with Tangut passage 窳窳窳窳窳窳 (Li 2019, 2983, 2679, 1906, 2776, 5173, 2144) “It is difficult to rescue from there after arriving at” rather than the passage in the Dazu inscription 蓋因裸露對神明 “Supposedly, it must be due to facing to the divine spiritualities all in the buff”.

077–078 *yolanıp t(ä)ñrili yalñuk-lıda anta ädgü orun-ta tuggay-sızlar*: The passage “(the world of) heavenly and human beings” is common in the Uighur and Tangut texts, while there is no parallel in the Chinese text.

078 *yol ärkliǵı bäg*: Chin. *wudao jiangjun* 五道將軍. Tang. 倮靨靨靨 (Li 1999, 0020, 1531, 2805). The lacuna can be reconstructed according to the *Shiwang jing* 十王經 in Old Uighur: *beş yol ärkliǵı çön luin wang (atl(i)g) bäg*. See RASCHMANN 2012: 212.

080 *bı bıçgulug sögüt-lüg tamu*: Chin. *jianshu deyu* 劍樹地獄. Tang. 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾𐰿 (Li 5205, 5814, 0726, 1786).

083 *yanturu özi ök täginür*: Chin. 自作自招還自受. Tang. 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾𐰿𐰽𐰾𐰿𐰽𐰾𐰿 (Li 1245, 5113, 1245, 1100, 3101, 1245, 3159) “What one did by himself returns to himself, and furthermore one takes (its result) by himself.”

086 *titso bodistv*: < Chin. *Dizang pusa* 地藏菩薩. Tang. 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾𐰿𐰽𐰾𐰿 (Li 2627, 4730, 5906, 3574).

092 *tilin tartdaçı tamu*: Chin. *bashe deyu* 拔舌地獄. Tang. 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾𐰿𐰽𐰾𐰿 (Li 3190, 1893, 0726, 1786).

097 *agtalı*: Passive of *agtar*- “to revolve, turn”. See RÖHRBORN 2010: 27 *agtal*-.

098 *t(ä)ñri-lär-niñ uruñutı*: Chin. *tiandajiangjun* 天大將軍. Tang. 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾𐰿𐰽𐰾𐰿 (Li 3513, 4456, 1531, 2805).

100–101 *tai-ši-çi bodistv*: Chin. *dashizhi pusa* 大勢至菩薩. Tang. 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾𐰿𐰽𐰾𐰿 (Li 4456, 5307, 1599, 5906, 3574) “Bodhisattva who seizes great power”.

102–103 *agulug yılan-lıg tamu*: Chin. *dushe deyu* 毒蛇地獄. Tang. 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾𐰿𐰽𐰾𐰿 (Li 0080, 0008, 0726, 1786).

110–112 These lines correspond to the last two stanzas of the śloka of the 24th day, but it is impossible to give exact equivalents.

113 *tay šan viu [kun]*: Uighur pronunciation of Chin. *taishanfu jun* 太山府君, Mid. Chin. t^hai šaŋ pju kjuən. Tang. 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾𐰿𐰽𐰾𐰿 (Li 4456, 4871, 3782, 5306).

114 [*viročan*]: < Skt. *vairocana*. The reconstructed sentence *käzgülü[k] kün ol [ol kün üzä viročan]* seems to be too long to fill the lacuna. The *ol* repeated twice might be omitted.

116 [*jdäci tamu*]: The passage can correspond to Chin. *jujie deyu* 鋸解地獄 “hell of sawing.”

121–122 *udaçı ücün üküš kulñč-lardın ozgurgalı*: Chin. *nian neng chu duozhongzui* 念能除多種罪. Tang. 𐰇𐰺𐰽𐰾𐰿𐰽𐰾𐰿 (Li 3317, 0968, 2852,

5870, 2748, 4587, 0105) “One just praises the Buddhas and seeks the merits”. The Uighur passage corresponds well with Chinese text. However, the Tangut translation may be a mere simplification of the expression.

123–124 *ayig kılınč-lar-niñ bolmaz avanti* ,, *tıtunıp yaguguluk sizlärkä* “[the Karmans] do not become the causes for the evil deeds. [The body] is torn to pieces and one should approach to you”: Chin. *jujie wuyou ganyoungjun* 鋸解無由敢用君 “There is no reason to execute the sewing for you.” Tang. 穉穉穉穉穉穉穉穉 (Li 5019, 4008, 5688, 0433, 2628, 4950, 3693) “How can the cutting by a saw approach to you?” The first passage in Old Uighur might correspond to *wuyu* 無由.

126–127 *m(a)harač t(ä)ñri-lär-niñ oğlan-ları*: Chin. *sitianwang* 四天王. Tang. 纒纒纒 (Li 3228, 0510, 3830). Only the Uighur text refers to the sons of Heavenly Great Kings. The reason is obscure.

128 *ot äm eligi bodistv*: Chin. *yaowang pusa* 藥王菩薩. Tang. 籊籊籊籊 (Li 3612, 3830, 5906, 3574).

142 *tämir orunluk-lug tamu*: Chin. *tiechuang deyu* 鐵床地獄. Tang. 穉穉穉穉 (Li 4995, 2397, 0726, 1786).

136–142 The Uighur translates the passage of ll. 129–133 as accusative, while the Tangut text does not translate so. However, the accordance of the words suggests that the original Chinese passage for both was the same.

143 *bolur-lar*: According to the corresponding passage in Text B (若有人看一卷，如轉金剛經三十萬卷) and the Old Uighur text (ll. 12–13), the missing passage could be reconstructed as [*kimkoki sudur ärdinig otuz tümän kata okımıš*] *bolur-lar*.

143–148 The order of the names of wisdoms in the Old Uighur text accords with Text B rather than with Tangut.

143–144 *ulug bilgä bilig paramit*: Chin. *mohe banruo boluomi* 摩訶般若波羅蜜. Tang. 穉穉穉穉穉穉穉穉 (Li 4737, 0685, 0776, 4983, 5685, 4710, 1339). < Skt. *mahāprajñāpāramitā*.

145–146 *kılınč-lig yorıglardaki täriñ bilgä bilig paramit*: Chin. *shenxing banruo boluomi* 深行般若波羅蜜. Tang. 穉穉穉穉穉穉穉穉 (Li 4693, 3844, 0776, 4983, 5685, 4710, 1339).

147–148 *ada tuda-larıg sızgurdači ketärtäči bilgä bilig paramit*: Chin. *xiaozai banruo boluomi* 消災般若波羅密. Tang. 穉穉穉穉穉穉穉穉 (Li 2444, 1585, 0776, 4983, 5685, 4710, 1339).

5. Comparative Analyses

The title of the Old Uighur version is named *kimkoki sudur-nuḡ ävdimäsi* “The Collection from the *Jin’gangjing*” (U4886 and SI 5673). Undoubtedly, this is literary translation of the *Jin’gangjing zuan* 金剛經纂. Besides this appellation, the variant form *kimkoki sudur-nuḡ kavırası* in U5100 with the same meaning proves that there were two recensions at least. Although the Tangut text translates *jing* 經 as *jingdian* 經典, it does not contradict our supposition.

If the character *zuan* “纂” in the Chinese title rightly designates the second section only, which consists of the collection and extraction from the *Diamond sūtra* as explained by Zhuhong, there is a high possibility that the text which preserves original text of the *Jin’gangjing zuan* is the Text B printed in 1909.

As seen above, the Text A from Dunhuang and the Tangut text are equally divided into three sections: 1. Invocations of the Vajrapāṇis and Bodhisattvas. 2. Miraculous story and the words abstracted from the *Jin’gangjing*. 3. The Ten Feast Days and Calendric Twelve Worship Days. Although the Old Uighur text does not preserve the Calendric Twelve Worship Days, we can expect that it will be found in the future.

Concerning the Ten Feast Days in section 3, the Tangut, the Old Uighur texts, and the Dazu Inscription consist of prose and Gāthās, while Text A has only the prose section. Presumably, as its origin, the Ten Feast Days was a separate scripture as Text A, then the Gāthās were added to the prose, and later the Ten Feast Days with Gāthās were inserted in the *Jin’gangjing zuan* or applied to the Dazu Inscription.

The prose section of Tangut and Old Uighur texts starts with a set phrase, i.e. 1. the day of a lunar month, 2. a god descends to patrol the world, 3. one who calls the name of a Bodhisattva or Buddha one thousand times, 4. he never goes to hell. Text A explains 1, 2, and 3, on the other hand the Dazu inscriptions merely mention 3 and 4. The reason why the Dazu inscription does not mention the day of the lunar month and the names of officers and gods who patrol the world seems to relate with the composition of the figures on which the texts are written. The inscriptions are accompanied by the Ten Kings, i.e. Chin. *shiwang* 十王, respectively, whereas, the officers in the *Jin’gangjing zuan* do not accord with the names of all ten kings.⁶¹ The Dazu inscriptions intentionally do not record the names of the officers because the

⁶¹ Some kings among the Ten Kings are depicted in the *Jin’gangjing zuan*, i.e. the king Yama Rāja 閻羅王 and the General of the Five Paths 五道將軍.

texts should accord with the figures of the Ten Kings. As H. Arami pointed out, the Dazu inscriptions reflect the situation that the cult of the Ten Kings was interwoven with the Ten Feast Days.⁶²

Comparing the Gāthās of the Ten Feast Days, the Tangut and Old Uighur texts rather agree each other than to the Dazu Inscriptions: cp. Fourteenth and Eighteenth Feast Days. On the other hand, there are also some discrepancies between the Tangut and the Old Uighur texts. This can clearly be seen by an example from the First Feast Day.

Old Uighur

Hearing that nobody can climb the mountain of knives,

and if one sees its heights and quicksand, it is as if oneself feels pain.

One meets with the fast days to train oneself,

one can escape from keeping up the evil deeds conducted in the past time.

Tangut

Hearing it is the Sword-Mountain, one does not want to take hold (it),

Risky and unlikable looking makes his mind painful,

Every fast day, he practices the meritorious deeds.

One should not seek the previous evil worlds.

Dazu Inscription

聞說刀山不可攀，嗟峨險峻使心酸。

遇逢齋日勤修福，免見前程惡業牽。

Comparing the first stanza highlighted, the Old Uighur text agrees with the Dazu inscription rather than with the Tangut. But most of such discrepancies seem to be due to mistranslation or different ways of translation. On this point, the *Jin'gangjing zuan* texts are unique materials to compare the translation technics between Tangut and Old Uighur.

6. Concluding Remarks

As examined above, we can add two more versions of the *Jin'gangjing zuan* to the three versions known so far. The chart below shows the correlation between the five versions based on our results.

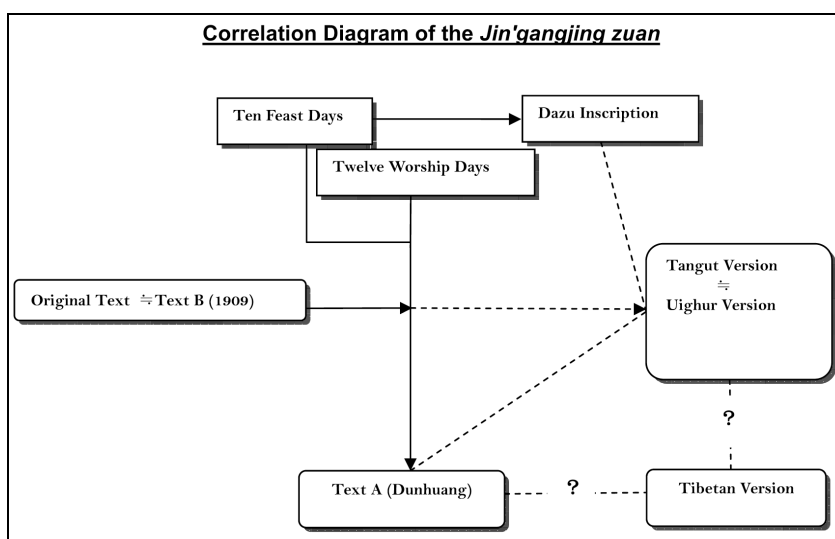
Comparing the Uighur version with the Tangut one, it is difficult to regard them as the same text, because they exhibit some specific discrepancies. Still the two versions match in composition and passages, especially, in the de-

⁶² ARAMI 2010: 177–180, ARAMI 2015: 46–47.

scription of the Ten Feast Days. Therefore we may assume that both versions were translated from a Chinese version belonging to the same branch, which became the focus of lay people's worship in the North-Western region of China stretching from Khara-Khoto to Turfan. The attribution of the Tibetan version is an open question.

Chinese historical records tell us that Uighur Buddhist monks contributed to the Buddhist activities in the capital of Xixia.⁶³ On the base of this testimony, it has been assumed that there were Buddhist interchanges between the West Uighur kingdom and the Tangut-Xixia kingdom. Even though D. Matsui demonstrated the existence of Tangut-Uighur bilingual Buddhists using a Tangut fragment for writing some Uighur scribbles,⁶⁴ we have no information on specific Buddhist texts that give evidence to the interchange or influence between Uighur and Tangut Buddhists.

Although the *Jin'gangjing zuan* does not go this far either, we were able to demonstrate that Uighur and Tangut Buddhist texts can complement each other. Hopefully, further cooperation between specialists of Uighur and Tangut Buddhism and/or language will lead to a greater understanding of the relationship between these two.



⁶³ According to the *Xixia shushi jiaozheng* 西夏書事校證 edited by Wu Guangcheng 吳廣成 in 1825, Uighur Buddhist monks expounded Buddhist scriptures at the Gaotai monasteries 高台寺 in Xingqingfu 興慶府. The lectures were recorded with Tangut scripts. YANG 2003: 476.

⁶⁴ MATSUI 2012.

Abbreviations

T: Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新脩大藏經.

Z: Zokuzōkyō 卍藏經.

Li: Li Fanwen 1997.

References

- ARAKAWA Shintarō 荒川慎太郎 2014: *Studies on the Tangut Version of the Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā* 西夏文金剛經の研究. Kyoto.
- ARAMI Hiroshi 荒見泰史 2010: *Dunhuang jiangchang wenxue xieben yanjiu* 敦煌講唱文學寫本研究. Beijing.
- ARAMI Hiroshi 荒見泰史 2014: Dunhuangben shizhairi ziliao yu zhaihui yili 敦煌本十齋日資料與齋會儀禮. In: *Dunhuang tuluban yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 vol. 14, 379–402.
- ARAMI Hiroshi 荒見泰史 2015: “Afterlife of Chinese depicted in Dunhuang manuscripts” シルクロードの敦煌資料が語る中国の来世観. In: *Shirukurōdo no Raisekan* シルクロードの来世観 [*The Faith of Afterlife on the Silk Roads*]. Shirasu, Joshin 白須淨眞 (ed.). Ajia Yugaku アジア遊学 vol. 192. Tokyo, 18–54.
- FANG Guanzhang 方廣鎬 (ed.) 1995: *Zangwai fojiao wenxian diyiji* 藏外佛教文獻第一輯. Beijing, 354–358.
- FANG Guanzhang 方廣鎬 (ed.) 2003: *Zangwai fojiao wenxian dibaji* 藏外佛教文獻第八輯. Beijing.
- FRANCKE, August Hermann 1924: “Weitere tibetische Handschriftenfunde von Turfan”. In: *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Berlin, 110–118.
- HAZAI, György and Zieme, Peter 1971: *Fragmente der uigurischen Version des ‘Jin’gangjing mit den Gāthās des Meister Fu’*. Berliner Turfantexte I. Berlin.
- LI, Fanwen 1997: *Xiahan zidian* 夏漢字典. Beijing.
- MATSUI Dai 2012: “Uighur Scribble Attached to a Tangut Buddhist Fragment from Dunhuang”. In: Rossiskaia Akademiia Nauk Institut Vostochnykh Rukopisei (ed.), *Tanguty v Czen-tral’noi Azii: Sbornik statei v chest’ 80-letii professor E.I. Kychanova*. Moscow, 238–243.
- RASCHMANN, Simone–Christiane 2012: “The Old Turkish Fragments of the *Scripture of the Ten Kings*” (十王經 *Shiwang jing*) in the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. In: *Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second Century of Research*. Popova, Irina and Liu Yi (eds.). St. Petersburg, 209–216.
- RÖHRBORN, Klaus 2010: *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien* –Neubearbeitung– I. Verben Band 1: ab- - äzüglä-. Stuttgart.
- SOYMIÉ, Michel 1981: Un calendrier de douze jours par an dans les manuscrits de Touen-houang. *Bulletin de l’Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient*. T. 69, 209–228.
- TAUBE, Manfred 1980: *Die Tibetica der Berliner Turfansammlung*. Berliner Turfantexte X. Berlin.
- TONG Yuan 通源 2003: “Eryao jin’gang hebi” 二曜金剛合璧. In: *Fang*, 359–371.
- TUGUŠEVA Liliia Jusufzhanovna 1972: “Uigurskaia rukopis’ iz Sobraniia LO IVAN SSSR”. *Pis’mennye pamiatniki Vostoka 1969*. Moskva, 315–339 + 400–421.
- YAKUP Abdurishid 2010: *Prajñāpāramitā Literature in Old Uyghur*. Berliner Turfantexte XXVIII. Turnhout.

-
- YANG Fuxue 楊富學 2003: *Huihu wenxian yu huihu wenhua* 回鶻文獻與回鶻文化 [uighur script & uighur culture], Beijing.
- ZHANG, Zhizhe 張志哲 2006: *Zhonghua fojiao renwu dacidian* 中華佛教人物大辭典. Hefei.
- ZHENG Acai 鄭阿財 2010: *Jianzheng yu xuanyun. Dunhuang fojiao lingyanji yanjiu* 見證與宣傳: 敦煌佛教靈驗記研究. Taipei.
- ZIEME, Peter 1992: “Probleme alttürkischer Vajracchedikā-Übersetzungen”. In: *Turfan and Tun-huang: The Texts. Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route*. Cadonna, A. (ed.). Firenze. 21–42.
- ZIEME, Peter 1991: “Der Essenz-Śloka des Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-Sūtras”. In: *Varia Eurasistica. Festschrift für Professor András Róna-Tas*. Szeged, 249–269.
- ZIEME, Peter 2011: “Buddhistische Unterweltsberichte — alttürkische Varianten aus der Turfan-Oase”. In: *Life and Afterlife & Apocalyptic Concepts in the Altaic World. Proceedings of the 43rd Annual Meeting of the Permanent International Altaistic Conference (PIAC), Château Pieterheim, Belgium, September, 3–8, 2000*. Knüppel, M. and van Tongerloo (eds.). Wiesbaden, 143–163 (Tunguso Siberica Band 31).
-

Tatiana Pang and Nicholay Pchelin

**Portraits of Qing meritorious officers
in the collection of the State Hermitage:
scroll restoration and revised reading of the texts**

Abstract: The finished restoration of the portraits representing prominent Qing officers kept in the collection of the State Hermitage resulted in a possibility to not only prove their artistic value, but also to read the eulogies written by Emperor Qianlong in Manchu and Chinese. As a follow-up of our previous paper¹ we are presently able to become certain that the State Hermitage has five portraits (of Yeotun, Fusil, Cebdenjab, Bolbunca and Guwandase), originally from the Ziguang-ge Pavilion (Hall of Purple Glaze), which made it to Germany in the early 20th c., and then, after 1945, to Russia. The analysis of the texts has revealed the peculiarities of Manchu and Chinese poetry at the same time proving that both versions of the eulogies were written in accordance with corresponding poetic rules thus becoming variations of the same topic.

Key words: portraits of Qianlong meritorious officers, Qianlong's poems, the State Hermitage, the Manchu language, the Chinese language

Our paper “Portraits of meritorious officers from the collection of the State Hermitage museum” published in “Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka”, issue 2(15), 2011² contained the first ever presentation of four portraits representing four heroes of the Eastern Turkestan raid and painted in 1760 for the Ziguang-ge Pavilion (Hall of Purple Glaze) of the Imperial Palace in Peking. The State Hermitage received these portraits after WWII from the Ethnological Museum in Berlin; for a long time they were kept in a secret storage. The scrolls had been badly damaged during the Berlin battles of 1945, and it was not before 2007 that they got delivered to the Hermitage

© Pang Tatiana Alexandrovna, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts

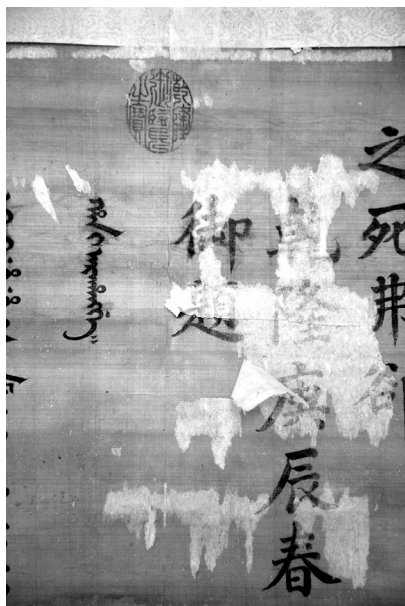
© Pchelin Nicholay Georgiyevitch, The State Hermitage Museum

¹ PANG, PCHELIN 2011: 262–278.

² PANG, PCHELIN 2011: 262–278.



Figs. 1 and 2. Scrolls delivered to the Hermitage laboratory of scholarly restoration of fabrics and watercolors
© State Hermitage Museum



Figs. 3 and 4. The fabric and paper were coated with a layer of starch-based glue, the silk and paper having been strongly destructured and soiled with dust, soot, and ash
© State Hermitage Museum



Fig. 5. The process of restoration
© State Hermitage Museum

Laboratory of scholarly restoration of fabrics and water colors. At that moment, their condition was described by the experts as follows: the previously restored scrolls had been completely pasted over paper; both the fabric and paper were coated with a layer of starch-based glue, the silk and paper having been strongly destructured and soiled with dust, soot, and ash; their surfaces displayed multiple brown spots and dense rust. The paint was peeling off the over-dry and deformed, partly destroyed silk base; the remaining parts were frayed and torn. The edges were burnt and threadbare.

The complicated and time-consuming restoration of these four scrolls had been conducted in 2007 through 2014 by artists A.F. Alexandrova, L.E. Kovaleva, and N.Yu. Liakina who described the process in the following way: the layer of paint was fixed; the spots of rust were softened with chemicals; all fragments were cleansed with water solvents. After that, all parts of the scrolls got joined anew over a dubbing silk basis, the dirt and pasted-over paper having been removed. The complexity of this work resulted from the fact that the fragments were to be joined from the front side; that required immense care and accuracy, ruling out any possibility of the glue soiling the neighboring parts of painting. The work was considered finished when the

scrolls were cleaned and dubbed, their deformation removed, and the whole of the original basis, restored.

Yet before the end of restoration works, motivated by the chance to introduce the exhibits from the former German collection, in 2011 we attempted publishing four of these portraits as they were at that time. Then, the Laboratory had seven scrolls, but only five among them portrayed Manchu meritorious officers, and at that moment only four could be unfolded without fear of damaging them. Our reports on the restoration and the value of these portraits have been presented at several international conferences.³

Once published, our paper and the work over the portraits caused significant interest of our German colleagues,⁴ which attested of the importance of the artifacts for learning the original compound of the Hall of Purple Glaze, as its collection has by now been scattered all over the world. Meanwhile, the work went on, and the restoration conducted at the State Hermitage resulted in our having not solely the portraits themselves, but also the significantly damaged texts of the eulogies in Manchu and Chinese. Our first paper already contained detailed descriptions of the portraits painted on these four scrolls; we provided information about clothes and uniforms, and attempted to read and interpret legible words and phrases.⁵ Thanks to the restoration, we have managed to read the Manchu and Chinese texts anew, to correct previously made mistakes and to correctly split Manchu lines in accordance with the alliteration of Manchu poetry.⁶

In that, we were assisted by the paper “Die ehemalige Sammlung von Porträts verdienter Offiziere der Feldzüge des Qianlong-Kaisers (China, 18. Jahrhundert)” by Hartmuth Walravens,⁷ providing descriptions of the scrolls containing the portraits and prior to WWII kept in Berlin, at the Königliches Museum für Völkerkunde, presently the Ethnological Museum and deemed irretrievably lost. That publication is highly valuable, also because it presented archival photographs of 15 portraits (out of 16), among which there are also those presently kept at the State Hermitage.

All portraits are uniformly shaped as vertical scrolls with eulogies in Manchu and Chinese written over them in black ink; between the dates, each one displays a red oval seal reading *Qianlong yulan zhi bao* 乾隆御覽之寶

³ PANG 2015: 180–181.

⁴ WALRAVENS 2013: 125–166; BÜGENER 2015.

⁵ PANG, PCHELIN 2011: 267–276.

⁶ PANG, PCHELIN 2016: 74–90.

⁷ WALRAVENS 2013: 125–166.

“A treasure having the highest approval of Qianlong”. The previously published four portraits display dates in Manchu: *Abkai wehiyehe-i šanyan muduri aniyai niyengniyeri* (the spring of the White Dragon year of Abkai wehiyehe) and Chinese: *Qianlong gengchen chun* 乾隆庚辰春 (the spring of the *gengchen* year of Qianlong) which corresponds the year of 1760. The fifth portrait bears a later date: *Abkai wehiyehe-i fulgiyan bonio aniyai niyengniyeri* (the spring of the reddish monkey year of Abkai wehiyehe), in Chinese *Qianlong bingjia chun* 乾隆丙甲春 (the spring of the *bingjia* year of Qianlong) or 1776. Below the texts, every scroll has the full-length portrait of a chieftain.

Presently we can introduce the texts in full along with their translations.⁸

The eulogy on the first scroll (ref. No. VF 2801) is dedicated to *keterkei baturu* (outstanding hero)⁹ Yeotun who belonged to the Pure Yellow banner and served in Butha. He is known to have been a marksman who killed a tiger during an Imperial hunting in Mulan. In 1755, he participated in the Eastern Turkestan raid after which was appointed the commanding officer of the Mongolian Boarded White banner in Qiqihar.¹⁰

The Manchu eulogy is written as two stanzas with initial alliteration, the first one beginning with *i*, the second with *e*. Noteworthy is the fact that the Manchu text provides more information than its Chinese counterpart: it indicates Yeotun’s origin in Manchuria, “he hunted near the river Ula”. Each line of the Chinese version has four characters with a caesure in the middle;

⁸ We made our first attempt to analyze poetic peculiarities of Manchurian and Chinese eulogies accompanying these four portraits in our report during the 7th International scholarly conference "Problems of literatures of the Far East" in 2016 (PANG 2016: 473–481).

⁹ Hartmuth Walravens suggested translating *keterkei baturu* as “der Haervorragende Held” (WALRAVENS 2013: 142).

William F. Mayers in his manual of Chinese titles “The Chinese Government” suggests the following explanation of *baturu*: “The military distinction called in Chinese *Pa-t’u-lu* (a representation of the Manchu word *baturu*, signifying ‘brave’) is an institution dating from the early years of the present dynasty, and is conferred solely for active service in the field. It constitutes an order of merit partaking of some characteristics of the French *Légion d’honneur*; but its special feature of difference from a European order consists in the fact that it has no outward mark of decoration to be worn by its possessor, in the place of which there can only be reckoned the distinguishing word (or title) which is assigned to each recipient on the bestowal of the order. These specific titles may be either Manchu, Mongolian, or Chinese, the Manchu being considered the most honourable. Under this system an officer upon whom the distinction is conferred might receive the designation *Yih Yung Pa-t’u-lu* 毅勇巴圖魯, or “Bat’uru with the title Magnanimous Brave”, and so forth. The title carries with it the right to wear the peacock-feather.” (MAYERS 1886: 67).

¹⁰ WALRAVENS 2013: 142–144; BÜGENER 2015: 350–352.



Figs. 6 and 7. Yeotun's portrait before and after the restoration
© State Hermitage Museum

the eulogy contains references to Chinese classics. For instance, *shenshou* 生手 “with bare hands” can be found in the “Tang Anthology” — “Quan Tang shi” 全唐诗 (QTSh, j. 23) and the Song collection “Detailed Chronicles of the Taiping Years” — “Taiping guangji” 太平廣記 (TPGJ, section *jing cha* 精察, chapter Wei-Xiansheng); the expression *tang nang qui* 探囊取 “to get into a sack and produce easily” is encountered in the novel “Journey to the West” (XYuJ, ch. 8) and history of “Three Kingdoms” (SGZh, ch. 23); the

verb *yueli* 閱歷 “to learn from one’s own experience” is there in the “Detailed Chronicles of the Taiping Years” (TPGJ, j. 4); the word *shizhi* 世職 “a hereditary title” can be found in the Song encyclopedia “Highly Approved Collection of the Taiping Years” “Taiping yuelan” 太平御覽 (TPYL, j. 430).

Transliteration of the Manchu text:

Meiren-i janggin keterkei baturu Yeotun:
ulai ba-i gurgu buthašara mergen bihe.
umesi koimali niohe be jabduburakû wambihe
ubašsaha hülha sabe warangge.
uthai fulhû de jaka gaire gese ja bihe:
emu ikiri kejine ferguwecuke gungge ilibuha
ere imu ambula dulembuhe ci banjinaha
ede sirara hafan šangnafi ambakan tušan de
isibuhangge.
erei faššaha gungge de karulaha
Abkai wehiyehe-i šanyan muduri aniyai
niyengniyeri han-i arahangge

Chinese text:

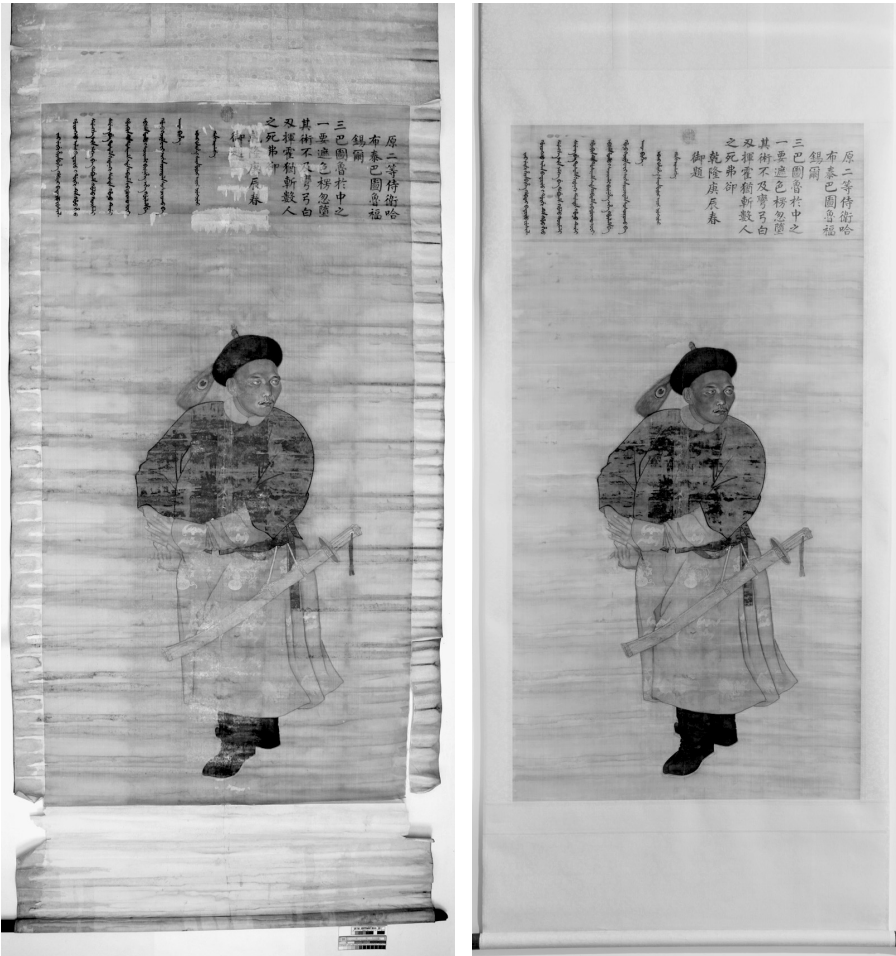
副都統克特爾客巴圖魯由屯
 本射生手
 狼不暇走
 以之殺賊
 如探囊取
 奇功屢建
 亦因閱歷
 世職崇階
 酬其勞動
 乾隆庚辰春御題

Translation from Manchu:

Flank chieftain keterkei baturu Yeotun expertly hunted wild animals in the Ula, he never got tired of killing ferocious wolves.
 He killed traitors and rebels with an equal ease, as if he put animals into a sack.
 He incessantly performed surprising deeds.
 He stayed alive after great [trials].
 For all that he received a hereditary title and achieved high ranks.
 His merits and deeds were rewarded.
 Written by the Emperor in the spring of the White Dragon year of Abkai wehiyehe.

Translation from Chinese:

Futudun keterkei baturu Yeotun He hunted with bare hands, A wolf could not escape [him].
 He also killed traitors,
 As if putting them into a sack.
 He frequently performed outstanding deeds
 And he learned everything from his own experience.
 He glorified his clan with a hereditary title,
 And his merits and deeds were rewarded.
 Written by the Emperor in the spring of the *gengchen* year of Qianlong.



Figs. 8 and 9. Fusil's portrait before and after the restoration
© State Hermitage Museum

Qianlong's eulogy on the second scroll (ref. No. VF 2819) is dedicated to *habtai baturu* (skilled warrior)¹¹ Fusil (Chinese *habutai batulu Fusier*) of the Manchu Boarded Yellow Banner.¹²

The two stanzas of the Manchu text have initial alliteration, the first one beginning with *h*, the second with *e*.

¹¹ Hartmuth Walravens suggested translating *habtai baturu* as "der Fähige Bogenschütze" (WALRAVENS 2013: 150).

¹² WALRAVENS 2013: 150–151; BÜGENER 2015: 360–362.

The Chinese text is written in four-syllable lines with caesuras in their middle and contains expressions borrowed from classical writings. For example, *baidao* 白刃 “white blade” is common in the novel “Three Kingdoms” (SGYYi, ch.6), the Song poems and the “Tang Anthology (QTSh, j.866); *huihuo* 揮霍 “to fly up- and downwards (about a sword)” can be found in the Song encyclopedia “Taiping yuelan”, in “Taiping guangji” and “Tang Anthology”; *fuque* 弗卻 “to keep one’s ground”, in “Meng-zi” (MZ, ch. 13).

Transliteration of the Manchu text:

jai jergi hiya bihe habtai baturu Fusil.
horonggo ilan baturu-i dorgi de
hoo hio serengge ere emke be dabuha
holo kûmali šereng be tosome gidanaki serede.
hono terei hûbin de dosinaha
ede gabtame jabdurakû ofi.
ebšeme loho-i sacirahai birenehe
ehe hûlha be hono kejine wafi.
ergen jocitala sosoroko ba akû bihe.
Abkai wehiyehe-i šanyan muduri aniyai
niyengniyeri han-i arahangge

Chinese text:

原二等侍衛哈布泰巴圖魯福錫爾
 三巴圖魯
 於中之一
 要遮色楞
 忽墮其術
 不及彎弓
 白刃揮霍
 猶斬數人
 之死弗卻
 乾隆庚辰春御題

Translation from Manchu:

Second-rank Imperial bodyguard habtai-
 baturu Fusil
 Of the three experienced warriors
 he is considered the bravest.
 When he was about to attack treacherous
 Sheren,
 he was ambushed.
 Having no time to use his bow,
 he fearlessly attacked (the enemy) with
 his sword,
 it took him long to fight the evil enemy,
 but he killed him.
 Not even once did he retreat.
 Written by the Emperor in the spring
 of the White Dragon year of Abkai
 wehiyehe.

Translation from Chinese:

Second-rank Imperial bodyguard habtai-
 baturu Fusil
 Three brave warriors,
 He was one of them.
 When Seren was to be stopped in his
 path,
 That one suddenly crushed his plans.
 He had no time to use his bow,
 And his naked blade started flying up-
 and downwards.
 Chopping, he killed many people
 And did not retreat while he stayed alive.
 Written by the Emperor in the spring of
 the *gengchen* year of Qianlong.



Figs. 10 and 11. Cebdenjab's portrait before and after the restoration
© State Hermitage Museum

Qianlong's eulogy on the third scroll (ref. No. VF 2820) is dedicated to General Cebdenjab (Chinese Cebudengzhabu) (1705–1782), Khalkha-Mongol of the Bordjigit clan. His father had been married to a Qing princess. In 1755, he won his spoors during the Davatchi and Amursana crackdown, and in 1758, took part in the battle of Horgos. In 1771–1773, he remained the ruler of Khalkha.¹³

¹³ WALRAVENS 2013: 136–137; BÜGENER 2015: 332–335.



Figs. 12 and 13. A fragment of Cebdenjab's portrait before and after the restoration
© State Hermitage Museum

The two stanzas of the Manchu text have initial alliteration, the first one beginning with *ya*, the second with *e*.

The Chinese text written in four-character lines with caesuras in their middle contains the following expressions borrowed from classical writings: *yuzhan* 猶斬 “to chop” encountered in the Song encyclopedia “Taiping yue-lan” (TPYL, section *bubo*, ch. 6); *fuque* 弗卻 “to keep one’s ground”, in “Meng-zi”; *paima* 拍馬 “to hit a horse with a whip” is common in the novel “Three Kingdoms” 三国演义; expressions *suoxiang* 所向 “on his way”, *guming jiang* 古名將 “great General of the ancient times”; *chaoyong* 超勇 “exceptional courage”, in “History of Three Kingdoms” 三国志. The Chinese text also clearly indicates Cebedenjab’s relation with the Royal family: his father was an *efu*, i.e. the husband of the Emperor's seventh daughter.

Transliteration of the Manchu text:

*Jecen be toktobure ici ergi aisilara jiyanggiyûn
cin wang-ni jergi colgoroko baturu giyûn
wang Cebedenjab:*

yaluha morin be dabkifi gabtame dosici

yaya bade afara de bakcilarangge akû

yargiyan-i bihe hûlahakû niyalma bime.

yala julgei gebungge jiyanggiyûn sa ci eberi akû

ebšeme horgos sere bade hûlha be ucarafi

emu gargan-i coohai hûlha be etehe bihe kai.

ere gese sain haha ini ama we seci.

efu colgoroko baturu cing wang-ni jui ka

*Abkai wehiyehe-i šanyan muduri aniyai
niyengniyeri han-i arahangge*

Chinese text:

定邊右副將軍親王品級超勇郡
王策卜登扎卜

拍馬彎弓

無敵所向

不曾讀書

如古名將

和洛羅斯

少勝眾彼

超勇親王

額駙之子

乾隆庚辰春御題

Translation from Manchu:

Right-flank General of the qingwang
rank, a prominent hero, junwang
Cebedenjab

He had no equals in various battles
when he advanced shooting from
his horse on the move.

He was not someone reading true
histories,

Translation from Chinese:

Vice-General of the established borders
bearing the qingwang rank, a prominent
hero, junwang Cebedenjab

He rode his horse and drew his bow, and
there were no enemies on his path.

He never read books,

Really, he was comparable with Generals of the past.	Like Generals of the past.
During a forced [march] he met robbers at a place called Horgos.	In Horgos,
When he attacked, shooting while riding his horse, he defeated a gang of armed bandits.	He defeated enemies having small forces.
If this worthy man were asked, who his father was,	For his heroics, he was granted the title of tzinvan.
He would reply: “I am a son of the Emperor’s son-in-law, a prominent qinwang’s hero”.	He was the son of an <i>efu</i> .
Written by the Emperor in the spring of the White Dragon year of Abkai wehiyehe.	Written by the Emperor in the spring of the <i>gengchen</i> year of Qianlong.

Qianlong’s eulogy on the fourth scroll (ref. No. VF 2821) dated of 1760 is dedicated to General Bolbunca of the Aola clan, serving with the Manchu-Solon Blue Boarded Banner.¹⁴

The two stanzas, four lines in each, of the Manchurian text have initial alliteration, the first one beginning with *u*, the second with *d*.

The Chinese text written in four-character lines with caesuras following the second character follows the regular Chinese model. While the Manchu text is devoid of any hidden meanings and perfectly clear, its Chinese counterpart contains a few allusions to classical writings. For instance, *jueshuo* 矍鑠 “vivid (strong) in old age” can be found in the Tang dynasty “Yi wen lei jui” — “Collection of diverse from art and literature” (YWLJ, j. 18, section “About men”) and in Ma Yuan’s biography (14 BC–AD 49); he lived in the time of the Han dynasty and was a famous military chieftain revered by the Manchus for his fidelity to the throne and care about his soldiers in the field. The word *jubuo* 巨擘 “leader” was first used by Zhu Xi in his commentary upon “Meng-zi” (MZZZh, ch.10), while *wan wu shi li gong* 輓五石力弓 is often there in the Song encyclopedia “Taiping yuelan” 太平御覽. The expression *shazei* 殺賊 “to kill bandits” is common in the novel “Three Kingdoms” 三國演義.

¹⁴ WALRAVENS 2013: 138–140; BÜGENER 2015: 339–341.



Figs. 14 and 15. Bolbunca's portrait before and after the restoration
© State Hermitage Museum

Transliteration of the Manchu text:

*Meyen-i amban dorgi amban Bolbunca
udu bahacibe cooha de faššabureo seme wesimbuhe
umesi kiyangkiyan solon-i dorgi bolgo deci ombi
udu uheken beri be darafi gabtacibe
utala hūlha be fuhali wame mutehebi:
debsitere giyahūn-i gasha be dasihire gese
der seme burulaha hūlha be funceburakū waha.
derengge darangga Ma Yuwan-i adali amasi marifi.
desereke kesi isibume saktaka seme dosholome
tuwaha:
Abkai wehiyehe-i sanyan muduri anyai niyengniyeri
han-i arahangge*

Chinese text:

領隊大臣內大臣博而奔察
嬰鑠請行索倫巨
輓五石弓尚能
殺賊如鷲之擊不
留飛鳥馬援來歸
殊恩榮老
乾隆庚辰春御題



Figs. 16 and 17. A fragment of Bolbunca's portrait before and after the restoration
© State Hermitage Museum



Figs. 18 and 19. A fragment of Bolbunca's portrait before and after the restoration
© State Hermitage Museum

Translation from Manchu:

Brigade General Bolbunca commanding
the palace bodyguards.

Whenever there was an occasion,
he desired to fight.

He was the bravest leader of the Solons.

He could, shooting from a poorly drawn
bow,

kill a lot of bandits.

Like a bird waving its wings,

He spared no effort killing bandits about
to run.

Like Ma Yuan, he returned home in
respect and glory,

His old age was marked with limitless
gratitude and honor.

Written by the Emperor in the spring
of the White Dragon year of Abkai
wehiyehe.

Translation from Chinese:

Brigade General Bolbunca commanding
the palace bodyguards.

Vivid in his old age, he looked for fight.

He was the leader of the Solons.

Using five heavy bows one after another,

He could kill bandits.

Attacking like a bird of prey,

He left no [other] flying birds alive.

[He] returned home like Ma Yuan.

And deserved respect and honor in his
old age.

Written by the Emperor in the spring of
the *gengchen* year of Qianlong.

The fifth scroll from the State Hermitage collection presently undergoes restoration, but we have gained access to this portrait (according to WALRAVENS 2013: 135, its old ref. No. I D 22221). It represents a warrior wearing a winter yellowish-brown robe and a checkered green apron over it. Over the apron, on the waist level, there is a lily bandolier with ten sections and a brown powder flask. Behind his back, there is a saber, its sheath fixed to his belt. His footwear consists of winter boots with thick soles. On his head, he wears a round uniform hat with sable edging and rank distinctions: a coral sphere on its top and a peacock feather with one eye (*kongqiaoling*). With both hands, he is holding a musket on his left shoulder. The badly damaged text reads that the portrait depicts the commandant of town Datong in the Shangxi province, Second-rank General *bardan baturu* (proud hero)¹⁵ Guwandase (Chinese Guandase). The publication of an archival German photo and the full text of the eulogy made it possible to restore the fragments missing from the scroll.¹⁶

¹⁵ Hartmuth Walravens suggested translating *bardan baturu* as “der Stolz Held” (WALRAVENS 2013: 157).

¹⁶ WALRAVENS 2013: 157–158.

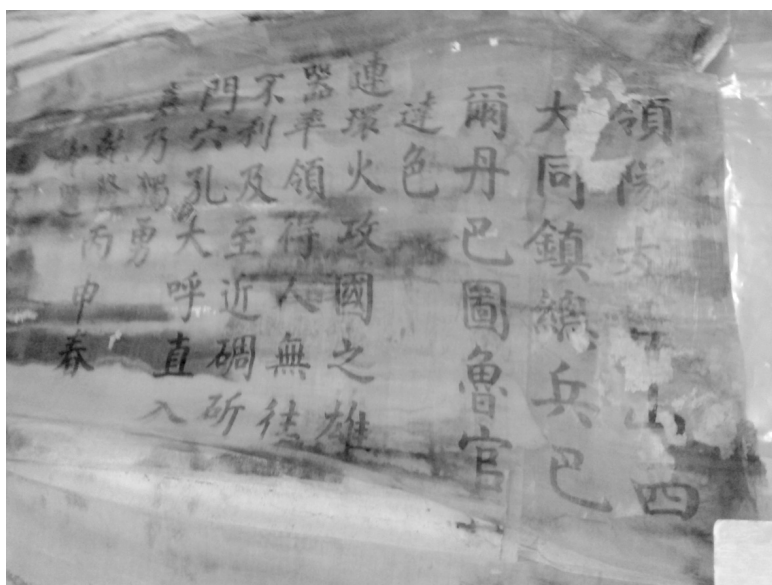
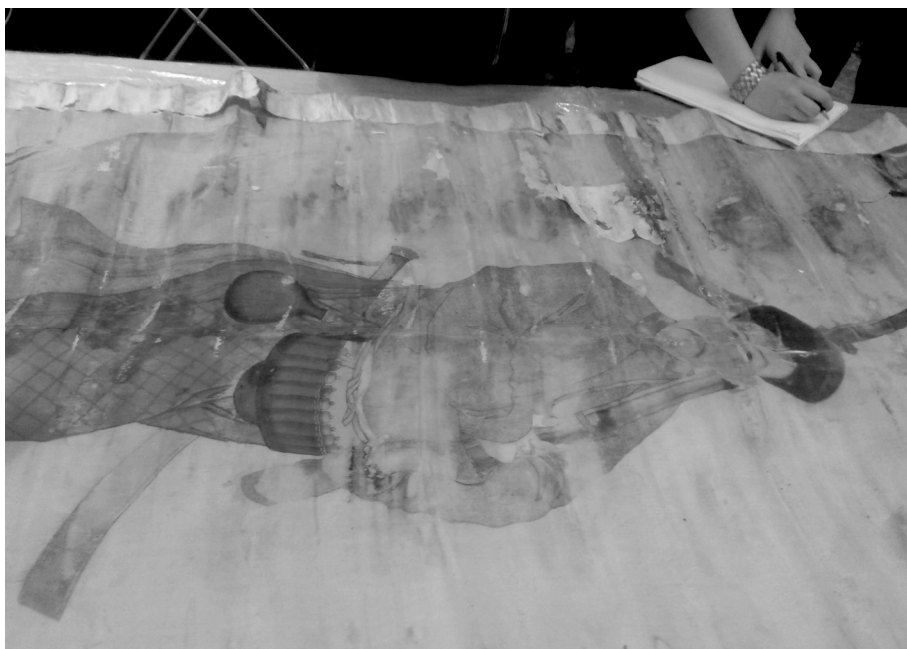


Fig. 20. Guwandase's portrait on the restoration table.

Fig. 21. A fragment of the Chinese text dedicated to Guwandase prior to its restoration

© State Hermitage Museum

The Manchu text is split into two stanzas with the first line starting with *i*, the second one, with *t*. The Chinese text contains words and expressions borrowed from classical compositions, e.g. *lianhuan* 連環 “inseparable unity, chain” frequent in the novel “Voyage to the West”; *huogong* 火攻 “attack with fire, shelling” can be found in “Collection of diverse from art and literature” (YWLJ, j. 80) and is common in the novel “Three Kingdoms”; *shuailing* 率領 “to lead, to head” can be encountered in the novels “Journey to the West”, “Three Kingdoms”, and “Jin ping mei”; *xuekong* 穴孔 “hole” was used in “Taiping yuelan” (TPYL, j. 17); *duyong* 獨勇 “lonesome hero” — in “Taiping yuelan” (TPYL, j. 75).

Transliteration of the Manchu text:

*meyen-i amban Šansi-i Datung-ni uheri kadalara
da bardan baturu Guwandase*

iberelime miyoocalame afarangge.

inu musei ferguwecuke agūra seci ombi.

imbe meyen gaiḟi yabubuhangge acanaha ofi

isinaha bade gemu tusa arahabi.

tereci yerutu de hanci latunafi.

tere duka be sacime sangga araha.

tede den jilgan-i kaicame dosika ofi.

terei emhuleme baturulaha be saišaha:

Abkai wehiyehe-i fulgiyan bonio aniya niyengniyeri

Han-i arahangge

Chinese text:

領隊大臣山西大同鎮總兵
把爾丹巴圖魯官達色

連環火攻

國之雄器

率領得人

無往不利

及至近礮

斫門穴孔

大呼真人

喜乃獨勇

乾隆丙申春

御題

Translation from Manchu:

Brigade General, Second-rank General
bardan baturu Guwandase of [town]
Datong, [province] of Shangxi

The one who attacked and advanced,
shot his rifle,

That one truly was our great weapon.

Leading his troops, he was dispatched
to follow [the enemy]

Wherever he was, he always helped,

Translation from Chinese:

Brigade General military commandant
of [town] Datong, [province] of
Shangxi *bardan batulu* Guandase

He advanced and attacked, and shot his
rifle.

He was called the great weapon of our
country.

He led his troops and successfully
attacked.

In all places, he was successful.

When he approached and stormed
a stone house,
He chopped a hole in the door with his
ax making a passage,
He burst inside with a loud shriek.
[His] bravery is praiseworthy.

Written by the Emperor in the spring
of the Red Monkey year of Abkai
wehiyehehe.

When he approached and attacked a
tower,
He chopped the door and made a hole,
and burst inside with a loud shriek.
This is why his surprising courage should
be celebrated.

Written by the Emperor in the spring of
the *bingjia* year of Qianlong.

Unlike the eulogies accompanying the previous four portraits, this text is dated of 1776. It was written after the second Jinchuan campaign (i.e. suppressing the Sichuan rebellion of 1771–1776) which attributes the Guwandase portrait to the second series of those intended for the Ziguang’ge Hall of Purple Glaze. Military chieftains Yeotun, Fusil, Cebdenjab, and Bolbunca had fought in the first campaign against Eastern Turkestan (in 1755–1757), so their portraits belonged to the first series of portrait scrolls with the eulogies dated of 1760.

The analysis of the eulogies by Emperor Qianlong shows that they reflected the poetical rules of their corresponding languages. Manchu texts followed the Manchu canon presuming initial alliteration, while those written in Chinese observed the rule requiring a four-syllable line with a caesure following the second word. They are written in accordance with the rules of Chinese classical ode. However, the most essential feature of the eulogies in Chinese is Qianlong’s allusions to Chinese classics, which was typical for Chinese traditional poetry. The eulogies accompanying the five portraits kept in the State Hermitage make it possible to define those literary and historical sources which were used by Qianlong. Among them, there were the Song encyclopedia “Taiping yuelan” 太平御覽, the Song collection of stories “Taiping guangji” 太平廣記, “History of Three Kingdoms” 三国志, “Collection of commentaries to Meng-zi” 孟子集注, and the “Tang Anthology” 全唐詩, novels “Three Kingdoms” 三國演義, “Journey to the West” 西游記, i.e. compositions of the Ming and Song periods well known at the Manchu court.¹⁷ No hints at Chinese texts have been traced in the Manchu version, which leads to the conclusion that Manchu eulogies were not straightforward translations from Chinese (or vice versa): these versions

¹⁷ DURRANT 1979.

strictly followed the poetic rules of their languages thus actually becoming two variants of the same topic.

The restoration and conservation of the portrait scrolls conducted at the State Hermitage Laboratory for scholarly restoration of fabrics and watercolors yielded fantastic results: there have been revealed artistic peculiarities of the portraits and identified the people represented in them. It is therefore possible to say that presently the State Hermitage has five portraits (of military chieftains Yeotun, Fusil, Cebdenjab, Bolbunca and Guwandase), originally from the Peking Hall of Purple Glaze Ziguang-ge which had been brought to Germany in the early 20th c., and later, after 1945, — over to the USSR.

References

- BÜGENER, Annette 2015: *Die Heldengalerie des Qianlong-Kaisers. Ein Beitrag zur chinesischen Porträtmalerei im 18. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXVIII. Kunstgeschichte. Bd. 441).
- DURRANT, Stephen 1979: “Sino-Manchu Translations at the Mukden Court”. *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol. 1, no. 4, 653–661.
- MAYERS, William F. 1886: *The Chinese government. A manual of Chinese titles, categorically arranged and explained, with an appendix*. 2nd ed. Shanghai, Hong Kong, Yokohama: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd.
- MZJZ — *Mengzi jizhu* 孟子集注 [Collection of commentaries to “Mengzi”]. Chinese Text Project. URL:<http://ctext.org/mengzi>.
- PANG T.A. and PCHELIN N.G. 2011: “Portrety vydaiushchikhsia voenachal’nikov perioda pravleniia imperatora Tsian’luna iz kolleksii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha” [Portraits of meritorious officers from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum]. *Pis’mennye pamiatniki Vostoka* [Written monuments of Orient], 2(15), 262–278.
- PANG T.A. and PCHELIN N.G. 2016: “Portrety tsynskikh voenachal’nikov iz kollekcii Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha: restavratsiya svitkov i novoe prochtenie tekstov” [Portraits of meritorious officers from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum: restoration of scrolls and revised reading of the texts]. *Pis’mennye pamiatniki Vostoka*, T. 13, No, 4(27), 74–90.
- PANG T.A. 2015: “Portraits of the Qing meritorious generals in the Saint-Petersburg museums”. In: *The Fifth International Symposium of Ancient Ethnic Minority Documents of China. Proceedings*. Yinchuan: Beifang University of Nationalities, 180–181.
- PANG T.A. 2016: “Stikhi Tsian’luna na portretah vydaiushchikhsia generalov iz kollekcii Ermitazha” [The Qianlong emperor poems to the portraits of meritorious officers in the Hermitage museum]. In: *Problemy literatur Dal’nego Vostoka* [Issues of the far Eastern Literature. The 7th International conference, June 29 — July 3 2016]. Saint-Petersburg: Izdatel’stvo “Studia NP-Print”, vol. 1, 473–481.

- QTSh* — *Quan Tang shi* 全唐詩 [Anthology of the Tang dynasty poems]. Chinese Text Project. URL:<http://ctext.org/quantanshi>.
- SGYY* — *Sanguo yanyi* 三國演義 [The Romance of Three kingdoms]. Chinese Text Project. URL:<http://ctext.org>.
- TPGJ* — *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 [Complete records of the Taiping years]. Chinese Text Project. URL:<http://ctext.org>.
- TPYL* — *Taiping yuelan* 太平御覽 [Imperially approved collection of the Taiping years]. Chinese Text Project. URL:<http://ctext.org>.
- WALRAVENS, Hartmut 2013: “Die ehemalige Sammlung von Porträts verdienter Offiziere der Feldzüge des Qianlong-Kaisers (China, 18. Jahrhundert)”. *Baessler-Archive*, Bd. 61, 125–166.
- YWLJ* — *Yi wen lei jui* 藝文類聚 (Various collection on art and literature). Chinese Text Project. URL:<http://ctext.org/yiweileiju>.
-

Dmitrii Nosov

**A Manuscript of the Mongolian Folk Tale
“About Old Borontai” from the IOM, RAS Collection**

Abstract: The manuscript “About Old Borontai” kept in IOM, RAS, is one of the earliest written fixations of the cumulative tale common among Mongolian people and well known to scholars working in the field. The present paper contains the first ever publication of the manuscript in transcription and translation of the text written in old Mongolian script based on the Uighur alphabet.

Key words: Mongolian manuscripts, lore, folklore, tales, cumulative tales

The three items at the Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs fund of IOM, RAS containing Mongolian tales originated from different collections, one belonging to A.M. Pozdneev (1851–1920), another to the Kazan Theological Academy (hereafter, KDA) and the third to D. A. Alekseev.¹ They all arrived in Petrograd/Leningrad between 1920 and 1947. All of them have remained unpublished until now; therefore, introducing them to scholars will significantly broaden our perception of the topics and poetics of 19th–20th cc. Mongolian oral folklore.

The manuscript chosen for publication here is written in old Mongolian script and kept in the Mongolian collection of the IOM, RAS Manuscript Department (des. D 114). The two unseparated folios of Russian bluish paper each measure 17.5×21.5 cm; the text occupies three sides written in pen and black ink. The maximum number of lines on a page is 18.²

© Dmitrii Nosov, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences

¹ Dmitrii Adrianovich Alekseev was a Soviet philologist specializing in Mongolian. In 1938–40, a post-graduate student at the Institute of Oriental Studies (Leningrad), in 1945–48, a doctoral student of the IOS and a professor at Leningrad State University, from 1949 Head of the Mongolian department within its Oriental Faculty. His collection of 13 items was received by the Institute in 1947 (SAZYKIN 1988, 16–17).

² SAZYKIN 1988, 45.

The manuscript has inventory marks from 1929 and 1962. Its 1929 designation — KDA 328³ — indicates that it once belonged to the large collection delivered to the Asiatic Museum in 1927–28 from the disbanded KDA.

The manuscript bears no title, but its contents can be deduced from its first line. That was the way in which it was described by A.G. Sazykin (1943–2005) in his catalogue of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs: “erte čagtu nige borontai ebügen geĭi yabuba”.⁴ This standard beginning of a Mongolian tale should be translated as “Once upon a time there lived an old man called Borontai”. Regrettably, IOM did not receive from Kazan any descriptions accompanying the texts, so the precise dating of the manuscript and the place where it was written remain obscure.

The folktale type, presented by the manuscript, was listed as No. 198 at the catalogue, compiled by Laszlo Lörincz. The type was named *Die Heldentaten des Alten, der nie existierte* [The exploits of an old man, who never existed] and seen as unique, having no similarities among other peoples’ folklore⁵. It includes two publications in Russian, made by M.N. Khangalov (1858–1918) in 1889 and by G.N. Potanin (1835–1920) in 1893. And two publications in Mongolian, made in late 1950-es.⁶

Mongolian texts were later united⁷ under the title “Old man Borolzoi who never existed” by D. Tzerensodnom, a researcher who assembled a scholarly collection of Mongolian lore. He defined it as a heroic fairy tale.⁸ However, the structure of the composition shows that it should rather be considered a cumulative epic tale, according to V.Ia. Propp’s (1895–1970) classification.⁹

The structure of this composition is unique; it seems to consist of two cumulations. In the first part, the hero keeps being attacked by enemies of increasing strength, but his abilities allow him to defeat them all. Later, the hero and Khormusta-tengri¹⁰ have a talk during which the hero consistently rejects all charges. Below is a summary of the plot as presented in Tzerensodnom’s publication:

³ SAZYKIN 1988, 45.

⁴ SAZYKIN 1988, 45.

⁵ LÖRINCZ 1979, 111.

⁶ LÖRINCZ 1979, 111.

⁷ Mongol ardyn ulger <Монгол ардын үлгэр> 1982, 334.

⁸ Mongol ardyn ulger <Монгол ардын үлгэр> 1982, 81–83.

⁹ PROPP 1976, 244.

¹⁰ Khormusta-tengri in Mongolian folklore is the supreme god, the ruler of the world.

One of old Borolzoy's sheep gives birth to a snow-white lamb that the owner decides to sacrifice to Khormusta-tengri ||: Khormusta-tengri's raven pecks out the lamb's eyes. In revenge, Borolzoy tears the raven's beak off. Khormusta-tengri sends wolves to kill Borolzoy's gray flying horse, but Borolzoy replaces the flying horse with a regular one and pulls the wolves' hides over their heads. Then, Khormusta-tengri sends two demons to assassinate the old man, but the intended victim burns their faces. Khormusta-tengri dispatches two dragons to turn the old man into ashes, but Borolzoy hides from them, and then catches them and chops their tails off. : || Khormusta-tengri decides to discuss the issue with the old man himself. The man comes to his dwelling and Khormusta-tengri starts questioning him. ||: Why did he pull the raven's beak off? Why did he pull the wolves' hides over their heads? Why did he burn the two demons' faces? Why did he chop the dragons' tails off? The old man gives consistent and satisfactory answers. : || Khormusta-tengri lets him go.¹¹

In brief, the text of manuscript D 114 tells the story like this:

One of old Borontai's sheep gives birth to a snow-white lamb that the owner decides to sacrifice to Khormusta-tengri ||: Khormusta-tengri's two ravens peck out the lamb's eyes. In revenge, Borontai tears the ravens' beaks off. Khormusta-tengri sends two wolves who kill Borontai's poor gray horse, and Borontai pulls the wolves' hides over their heads. Khormusta-tengri sends his seven devils who tear away a wall of the old man's yurt; the man puts out their eyes in revenge. Khormusta-tengri sends Tengri¹² the Thunderer who burns the hill on which the old man lives, and Borontai takes his revenge by chopping through the calf of his leg. : || Khormusta-tengri then decides to see the man himself. The old man greets him and Khormusta-tengri starts his questioning. ||: Why did he pull the ravens' beaks off? Why did he pull the wolves' hides over their heads? Why did he put out the seven devils' eyes? Why did he chop through Tengri the Thunderer's calf? The old man gives consistent answers which satisfy Khormusta-tengri. : || Then Khormusta-tengri gives old Borontai wealth and a lot of children.

The tale about old Borontai was known not only among the Mongols, but among the Buriats as well. It was written down by M.N. Khangalov while

¹¹ Here, the cumulation is placed between the repetition signs ||: || which Propp borrowed from music notation (PROPP 1976, 249).

¹² Tengri was a god of Mongolian lore.

visiting Balagan Buryats¹³ near Irkutsk. That text has been published three times: in the collected “Buryat tales” in “VSORGO notes on ethnography” (Irkutsk, 1889),¹⁴ in the collected works of that scholar where it was listed among Shamanic legends,¹⁵ and in a collection of Buryat folklore published in 1990.¹⁶ The plot of that version is as follows:

Two ravens peck out old Khoredoy’s lamb’s eyes. ||: He tears one eye from each of them and gives them to his lamb. The ravens complain to Esege-malan.¹⁷ Wolves kill a limping stallion, and the old man skins them. The wolves complain to Esege-malan. The old man pours boiling water over nine shulmuses.¹⁸ The shulmuses complain to Esege-malan. :|| Esege-malan comes to old Khoredoy and asks him, why he ||: tore out the ravens’ eyes, skinned the wolves, and burned the shulmuses. :|| The old man explains the situation. Esege-malan, satisfied with the answers, leaves him in peace.

This tale is peculiar, as it has a type of cumulation missing from those found in Russian folklore and therefore from Propp’s morphological descriptions. The present manuscript is possibly the earliest Mongolian fixations of the tale type *Die Heldentaten des Alten, der nie existierte* [The exploits of an old man, who never existed], since it came to Kazan no later, than 1920.¹⁹

Below, are the transcription and translation of the manuscript.

Transcription of manuscript D 114

Folio 1a:

- [1] erte čag-tu nige borontai ebügen geji yabuba. Tere sayin boru
- [2] mori mayu boru mori qoyar-tai : 10 boru qoni agsan aji
- [3] mayu boru mori-bar nigen edür boru qoni-ban qariyulji yabun-
- [4] atalan 10 boru qoni yay-a jay-a qaljan boru qoni-ača <ere> qaljan čayan
- [5] quriy-a töröleküi; ebügen bi quriy-a-yi qormusta tngri-

¹³ Balagan Buryats belong to the Balagan or Ungin local ethnic groups dwelling in the valleys of the Unga and its tributaries, along the middle Oka, and the western bank of the Angara (The Buryats 2004, 50). That area presently belongs to Irkutsk region of Russian Federation.

¹⁴ KHANGALOV 1889, 4–6.

¹⁵ KHANGALOV 1960, 35–37.

¹⁶ Buryat Fairy Tales 1990, 65–66.

¹⁷ Esege-malan was a senior deity of Buryat lore.

¹⁸ A shulmus (in this context) was “a devil, a demon”.

¹⁹ USPENSKII 1994, 16.

- [6] degen ergümüi kemen yekede bayarlaǵı : busu qoni-ban buçaǵuqui-yin
 [7] ǵayura 2 qong keriy-e ireǵı tere kü qurıy-a-u 2 nidün-i maltaǵaqui
 [8] ebügen tegüni üjgedeg maşı yeke qumuduǵu : ǵıǵürten-i güyçeden[=g]
 [9] sayın boru mori-ban unuǵu tere kü 2 qong keriy-e-yi bariǵu nidün-i
 [10] maltatai amitui tabiba : tere kü 2 keriy-e anu qormasta tngri-dür
 [11] oçini ebügen-i mörgübei : qormasta tngri 2 çinu-yi borontai ebügen-ü
 [12] ǵıǵürten-i güyçedeg sayın boru mori-yi idegtün kemen ǵakıǵı ilegebei
 [13] ebügen 2 çinu-a ireǵı sayın boru mori-yi ideküi-i jöng bilig-iyer
 [14] medeged : sayın boru mori barıladaq ǵaǵar-a maǵu boru mori-ban
 [15] bayılǵaǵı : sayın boru mori ǵadan-a tabiba 2 çinu süni ireǵı
 [16] maǵu boru mori-yi idesüküi : ebügen sayın boru mori-bar 2 çinu-a-yi
 [17] güiçejı buyıǵad : arisu-yi bügsen-eçe bitekü ebçıǵı toloyai-tu-i
 [18] torıyǵı amitui tabçuqui : 2 çinu-a qormasta tngri-yi oçıǵu

Folio 1b:

- [1] ayıladyaba : qormusta tngri ayurlaǵu 7 çidgür-i borontai ebügen-i
 [2] alaytun kemen ǵakıǵı iledekebe : ebügen mön tede-i ireküi-yi medeged :
 [3] ger-ün edüge-ben qayaçǵı : yeke toǵon-dur morin-u qubaqai arayal-i usun-
 [4] tu buçlayǵad : örgüsütei qarayana-a-bar biyinay buquǵad bayıtala :
 [5] 7 çidgür ireǵı ger-i anu çuǵulǵı sayǵaǵı bayıqui-tur ebügen
 [6] buçalagsan arayal-aça bayınay-iyar keyigsen-tür 7 çidgür-ün nidün anu
 [7] tasqurba gekü : tede mön qurmasta-dayan ayıladqaysan-tu : buri
 [8] yeke aqurlaǵu : nirgeden tngri-yi borontai ebügen-i nirgi kemen
 [9] ǵakıǵı ilegebi : borontai ebügen tegün-i medeged : sayın mori-ban
 [10] unuǵı sayaday umar-ban anǵaǵı : sarun çayın selmen-ben jegüǵü
 [11] bolǵoy-tu-yin boru toloyai-du bayıǵaqui teyitele nirgedeg
 [12] tngri ireǵı nirgeküi-dür sayın boru mori-bar deb geǵı qarqui-dur
 [13] boru toloyai-yin kemke nirgeǵüküi : nirgede tngri-yin gün-ün
 [14] bolçin-i borontai ebügen selmen-ber tasu çabçıǵı gemüi nirgedeg
 [15] tngri anu mön qormusta tngri-du ayıladqaba qormusta anu
 [16] bi über-e üjeǵı tegün-ü jöb buruǵu-yi şıǵüsügei geküi-yi ebügen
 [17] medeged 10 boru qoni <illegible> yaǵ-a ǵay-a qalǵan borulan qoni alaǵu
 [18] çeberken bolıyǵı çaqan tuluq debsger debsün : eldeb idegen

Folio 2a:

- [1] amtan-u degeǵı beledüged qurmasta tngri ireǵı mini ǵadqaylal
 [2] soyurqa kemen ǵalbarın mörgüǵı bayıtala-a qormasta irgedeg : j-a ebügen
 [3] 2 keriy-e-ü mini nidün yaǵun-tu maltaba gebe : qormasta tngri-tan dayan

[4] bariqu kemen bayarlaǰı bayıgsan qalǰan čayan quriyan-u mini nidün maltaysan-

[5] du qumuduyad maltalai bi gebe : tere činu jöb : 2 činu-ǰ-u arasu-yi

[6] jaqun-tu amitui-bar ebčige gebe : 10 boru qoni-bar qariyuladaq mayu

[7] boru mori-yi-ban idegsen-dü yomuduǰı tegsleb bi gebe : tere čini jöb :

[8] 7 čidgür-ün nidü-yi yaǰun-du tasulaba gebe : namayi-yi alaqu-bar <il-legible>

[9] alan ügei em ür-e-yin mini toloqai-ban qayaǰı sayuqu ger-i

[10] mini čuyuluysan-du ayurlaǰı tegšileb gebe : tere čini basa jöb :

[11] nirgeden tngri-yin bolčın yaǰun-du tasu čabčiba gebe : namai-yi

[12] nirgen ügei 10 boru qoni-u mini iredeq boru toluǰai nirgegsen-tü tegsleb

[13] bi gebe : borontai ebügen-ü buruyutai biši aǰı : ür-e-ber čini bayan önör

[14] boltuǰai geǰı ayiladayad bučaǰı : ebügen yeke bayan önör bolǰı

[15] jaryaba gekü :

Translation of manuscript D 114

Once upon a time there lived an old man called Borontai. He had a good gray horse, a poor gray horse, [and] 10 gray sheep. Once, while the old man was riding his poor gray horse and shepherding his ten gray sheep, a dappled white sheep with a white muzzle gave birth to a snow-white lamb. The old man was happy and said,

“I will sacrifice this lamb to my Khormusta-tengri.”

On his way back home, two ravens appeared that plucked out the lamb’s eyes. The old man, seeing this, got enraged, mounted his good gray horse which could outrun birds, caught the ravens, plucked out their eyes, and let them go. The two ravens flew to Khormusta [and] complained about the man. Khormusta-tengri sent two wolves telling [them], “Feed on old Borontai’s good gray horse which outruns birds”. The old man sensed the wolves coming to feed on his good gray horse and left his poor gray horse in the place where his good gray horse used to be kept, leaving his good gray horse outside. At night, the two wolves came and ate the poor gray horse. In the morning, the old man mounted his good gray horse, caught the two wolves and skinned [their] hides. Then, after stitching the hides to their heads, he let them go. The two wolves went to Khormusta-tengri to tell [him about

everything]. Khormusta-tengri, angered, sent seven devils with the order to dispatch old Borontai. Having learned about them coming, the old man locked the door of his yurt [and] began coiling dry horse argal²⁰ in a large caldron stirring it with a thorny stick of caragana.²¹ When the seven devils came and began watching through [a hole in the wall] of his yurt, the old man hit [them] with the stick taking it out from the argal boiling [in the caldron]. Thus he pierced the eyes of the seven devils, so people say. When they reported back to Khormusta, too, he got even angrier and sent Tengri the Thunderer with orders to kill old Borontai with a lightning bolt. Old Borontai heard about that, saddled his good horse, took his coral sword and rode northwards. After Tengri the Thunderer turned into ashes everything on that gray hill, [the old man] immediately came back on his good gray horse and chopped Tengri the Thunderer's calf through to the bone for having completely burnt the gray hill, so people say. Tengri the Thunderer also reported everything to Khormusta. When the old man learned that Khormusta said,

“I will go myself and see if this is true or not”.

Then he <illegible> his ten gray sheep, slaughtered his dappled white sheep with the white muzzle, spread a clean white carpet, cooked various best dishes, and prayed saying,

“May you arrive, Khormusta-tengri, may you arrive”.

Khormusta-tengri arrived and [asked],

“Well, old man, why did you pluck out the eyes of my two ravens?”

“Khormusta-tengri, after they pecked out the eyes of my gray lamb with a white muzzle that I had intended to sacrifice to you, [I] felt insulted, so I plucked their eyes out”.

“You had the right to do that”.

“But why did you skin the two wolves alive?” [Khormusta-tengri] asked.

“After they had fed upon my poor gray horse on which I shepherded my ten gray sheep, I got angry and took my revenge”, [old Borontai] said.

“You had the right to do that, too”.

“When they tried to kill me, but failed, having beheaded my wife and children, when they cut the wall of my yurt in which [I] was sitting, hiding my head, [I] was enraged and [thus] took my revenge”, he said.

“Again, you had every right to do that”.

²⁰ Argal is dried manure used as fuel in Mongolia.

²¹ Caragana (Lat. *Caragána*) is a species of leguminous plant.

“Why did you, then, chop through the calf of Tengri the Thunderer?” he asked.

“That was my revenge,” [he] said, “for his having struck the gray hill on which my ten gray sheep grazed, when he had failed to kill me with his lightning”.

“Old Borontai is not guilty of anything. May you be wealthy and have many children”. Having said this, he went away.

The old man became rich, had many children, and lived happily ever after, [so] they say.

References

- Buriatskie narodnye skazki* 1990: *Buriatskie narodnye skazki* [Buryat Fairy Tales]. Moscow: Sovremennik.
- Buriatskie skazki i pover'ia* 1889: “Buriatskie skazki i pover'ia, sobrannye N.M. Khangalovym, N. Zatopliaevym i drugimi” [Buryat Fairy Tales and Popular Beliefs collected by N.M. Khangalov, N. Zatopliaev, and others]. In: *Zapiski Vostotchno-Sibirskogo Otdela Imperatorskogo russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* [Notes of Eastern Siberian Department of Russian Imperial Geographic Society], vol. I, issue 1. Irkutsk: Na sredstva Chl. A.O. Startseva.
- Buriaty 2004: *Buriaty* [The Buryats]. Moscow: Nauka.
- KHANGALOV M.N. 1960: *Sobranie sochinenii* [Collected works], vol. III. Ulan-Ude: Buriat kn. Izd-vo.
- LÖRINCZ L. 1979: *Mongolische Märchentypen*. Budapest: Akademiai KIADO.
- Mongol ardyn ulger 1982: *Mongol ardyn ulger*. D. Tzerensodnom emkhtgeev [Mongolian folktales. Collected by D. Tzerensodnom]. Ulaanbaatar.
- PROPP V.Ia. 1976: *Fol'klor i deistvitel'nost'*. *Izbrannye stat'i* [Folklore and reality. Selected works]. Moscow: Nauka.
- SAZYKIN A.G. 1988: *Katalog mongol'skikh rukopisei i ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk SSSR* [Catalogue of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences], vol. I. Moscow: Nauka.
- USPENSKII V.L. 1994: “Mongolovedenie v Kazanskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii” [Mongol studies at the Kazan Theological Academy]. *Mongolica III*. St. Petersburg: Nauka, 11–17.
-

 REVIEWS

Zare Yusupova. *The Kurdish Dialect Gorani. A Grammatical Description.* Saarbrücken: Lambert Academic Publishing, 2017. ISBN: 978-3-330-05472-1

In March 2017, Lambert Academic Publishing (Saarbrücken, Germany) published “The Kurdish Dialect Gorani” by Z.A. Yusupova which is an English translation of the updated version of the earlier book in Russian by the same author: “Kurdskiy dialect gorani po literarturnym pamyatnikam 18–19 vekov” (The Kurdish dialect Gorani as represented in the literary monuments from 18th–19th cc.). Edited by L.G. Herzenberg. Saint-Petersburg: Nauka, 1998).

The publication of the book in English is a significant event because it makes reading audiences in the West, who are often unaware of works coming out in Russian, familiar with the Russian school of Kurdish linguistic studies and its most recent discoveries largely contributed to by Z.A. Yusupova’s works (monographs and articles).

A noticeable interest in *Gorani* as a subject of research both in Russia and abroad might have resulted from the fact that not all scholars specializing in the field recognized *Gorani* as one of the Kurdish dialects, some tended to consider it a separate Iranian dialect (or a dialect continuum). Up to the present day its attribution to Kurdish varieties is being questioned in certain (mostly Western) publications.

Apart from the political considerations which may be behind the reluctance of some scholars to “extend the geographical area” of the Kurdish language, it would be safe to assume that *Gorani*’s “disputable” linguistic status or position for other researchers was due to insufficient data and, consequently, lack of conclusive arguments for defining the position of *Gorani* within Iranian dialects. Z.A. Yusupova’s book in Russian (see above) which served as a basis for its English version provided a clue for resolving this issue. In the book, the author employing data collected from the divans of four famous poets: Wali Dewana, Mawlawi, Ranjuri and Jafai as well as from Khanai Kubadi’s romantic poem “Shirin and Khusraw”, all of which are major masterpieces of the 18th–19th cc. *Gorani*

literature, has convincingly proved that *Gorani* used for several centuries as a literary language in Eastern Kurdistan undoubtedly belongs to Southern Kurdish dialects.

The book has sections about phonetics, morphology and syntax and also includes a Gorani-English glossary. Some special problems are dealt with in the Conclusion. The detailed introduction contains the history of *Gorani* studies in Europe and in Kurdistan as well as an analysis of the position of *Gorani* among other Kurdish dialects.

The problem of including *Gorani* into the continuum of Kurdish varieties has been most thoroughly addressed, which resulted in refuting the opinion of those scholars who consider *Gorani* to be a non-Kurdish idiom and try to prove this viewpoint by using data of historical phonetics only. Such a narrow and selective approach is neither convincing nor sufficient, because the problem cannot be solved without taking into consideration grammatical and lexical data, without a general evaluation of the linguo-geographical structure of contemporary Kurdish, and without taking into account such an important extra-linguistic factor as the ethnical identity (self-identity) of the dialect speakers: the *Gorans* are profoundly convinced to be Kurds and to speak a Kurdish variety.

This meticulously researched book presents a thorough description of all grammatical parts of speech of *Gorani*, including various categories of pronouns. It is written in an elegant style, well-argued, extremely informative, and quite convincing. A large part of the material is presented in the form of tables, which makes the book easy to use and more reader-friendly. The author obviously tried to illustrate every linguistic phenomenon by examples from a wider range of sources in order to avoid the impression that she based her description on isolated instances of observed facts. This approach makes the author's arguments more convincing and her conclusions more tenable. These can be summarized in the following way: *Gorani* has an obvious Kurdish grammatical structure, being essentially a southern Kurdish dialect it has special features, which relate it to the mentioned dialect group; however, it also has much in common with northern dialects (*Kurmanji*).

Z.A. Yusupova's research goes far beyond a study of one single dialect (such as *Gorani*), because it provides convincing proofs for refuting the theory, which regards *Awromani* as a variety of *Gorani*, as the former displays quite a few unique grammatical features distinguishing it from the latter, despite all the similarity between the two dialects. This fact alone highlights the importance of the book as an extremely valuable contribution to Kurdish and even Iranian dialectology as a whole, because it casts light on various aspects of Iranian linguistics, including the classification of Iranian dialects in general, and Kurdish varieties in all their diversity in particular.

I would like to conclude by saying that the publication of the English version of the book, updated and revised, marks a new milestone for Kurdish and Iranian studies, making it much more available for interested readers throughout the world.

Youli A. Ioannesian,
Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
Russian Academy of Sciences

Mitteliranische Handschriften. Teil 2: Berliner Turfanfragmente buddhistischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift, beschrieben von Christiane Reck. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016 (VOHD; XVIII, 2), 473 S. ISBN 978-3-515-11356-4

In the *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (VOHD)* series, a second volume of the Catalogue of Middle Iranian Manuscripts in the Berlin Turfan collection has been brought out, again prepared by Dr. Christiane Reck. It contains a description of the manuscript fragment with Buddhist content written in the Sogdian script. The first volume of the catalogue (*Mitteliranische Handschriften. Teil 1: Berliner Turfanfragmente manichäischer Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift, beschrieben von Christiane Reck*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006 (VOHD; XVIII,1). 363 S.) was devoted to the description of Middle Iranian manuscripts with Manichaean content written in the Sogdian script. The third volume of the catalogue, on which Dr. Reck is still working, will be devoted to the description of Sogdian manuscripts with Christian content and also economic documents, letters, magical, medical and pharmacological texts.

The second volume of the catalogue contains descriptions of more than 500 manuscript fragments, numbered 443–970, continuing the numbering of the first volume that covered manuscripts 1–442 (several fragments are described under a single number if they are kept in the same glass plate). This volume covers a considerable portion of the large collection that came into being as the result of four German expeditions undertaken between 1902 and 1913 to Turfan, the north-eastern part of the present Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in China.

In the introduction (pp. 11–16) Dr. Reck gives a brief characterization of the Buddhist Sogdian fragments and indicates that the present volume covers Buddhist fragments as determined by content, distinctive names that appear in the text or special vocabulary. The Sogdian character set in which the Buddhist fragments are written is represented by a variety of hands: there is the standard (or “formal”) script and a difficult-to-read cursive in which the shapes of several letters coincide, causing considerable difficulties in interpretation. Typically the Buddhist manuscripts take

the form of either scrolls or *pustaka* (*pothi*) bound books that differ in the length of the line, long or short — when the lines run parallel to the short edge of the page. If a piece of paper has writing on one side, then as a rule it is part of a scroll, something that may be confirmed by the presence of margins or ruling. Sheets in the format of codex books were not used for writing Buddhist texts. The present catalogue also includes a depiction of Sogdian fragments that have Chinese or Sanskrit texts on the other side.

The overwhelming majority of the Sogdian Buddhist texts from Turfan are fragments of scrolls or of pages from *pustaka* (*pothi*) books and only a small portion of them carry coherent texts. That is a difference between this collection and those in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the British Library in London that contain materials from Dunhuang. The manuscript fragments in the Berlin Turfan collection are comparable to the fragments in the collections of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS and Ryukoku University in Kyoto since they come from the same places.

The Buddhist Sogdian texts, like the Manichaean and Christian ones, date from the 8th–10th cc. AD. The greater part of the fragments come from Khocho, while a significant number are from Toyuq, Bāzäklik, Sängim, Shorchuq and Yarkhoto.

For the identification of the Sogdian texts use was made of the Chinese translation of the Mahāyāna-Sutra and commentaries on it, Vinaya texts, prose texts from the sutras and Sanskrit dhāraṇī texts. According to the colophons that have survived in isolated fragments, some of the copyists had Old Turkish (Uighur) names, suggesting these manuscripts may have been copied in a Turko-Sogdian milieu. A few of the Sogdian fragments contain lines in Old Turkish. Besides, the Sogdian Buddhist writings may have been translated from Tocharian, as is evidenced by Tocharian loanwords in some of the Sogdian texts and the colophon of manuscript So 10100i.

Buddhist Sogdian texts, in contrast to Manichaean ones, were not written on the reverse of Chinese scrolls, but quite often scrolls originally carrying a Buddhist text on one side were later cut into pieces and used for Old Turkish, Manichaean Sogdian, Sanskrit or Tocharian texts. The headings of the Buddhist scrolls and *pustaka* differ from those found in codex books: the only scroll on which the start of the text has survived has a heading on the reverse side. The *pustaka* books frequently carry the ordinal numbers of the volumes or chapters instead of a heading. Punctuation marks, where they exist, most often take the form of double symbols resembling parallel lines, rhombi or arcs, but they sometimes have the shape of a cross or a scattering of several dots. The pages of a *pustaka* have a frame marked around the opening used to join them with a cord.

The greater part of the Buddhist Sogdian texts from Turfan are passages from a translation of the Chinese Mahāyāna-Sutra. It follows that Sogdian Buddhism was

closely connected with the Chinese variety and, judging by the sutras most frequently translated, more specifically with Zen Buddhism. The fragmentary nature of the surviving Sogdian translations prevents their conclusive attribution to any particular school.

The introduction indicates the principles used in describing the fragments. The catalogue includes descriptions of lost Buddhist Sogdian fragments, photographs of which do exist in the Hamburg collection of photographic documents, and those descriptions take account of the information given on them in the Hamburg catalogue.

The fragments in the catalogue are arranged in ascending numerical order. The description of each document includes the characteristics of the paper (with its colour described for the first time), size (length and breadth, margins, height and breadth of the script, interlinear distance), and an indication of whether the writing appears on one or both sides, the number of lines, a description of the handwriting, an indication of ruling, punctuation marks and other features. The compiler provides information about the existence of photographs in the Hamburg collection, pointers to documents with similar handwriting and the like. She gives transliterations of the lines cited as examples, indication of the publications of a fragment, its content, references to it in scholarly literature, quotations made from it, identification with Chinese or other manuscripts, and so on. If the fragment being described is enclosed in glass together with others, then the detailed characteristics of the first are followed by a brief description of the rest.

The main part of the catalogue consists of the descriptions of the fragments (pp. 17–358) and six concordances (pp. 361–458). The descriptions begin with number 443, as the numbering continues from the fragments in the first volume of the catalogue. Detailed descriptions following the principles indicated above are given for the six groups of fragments stored under the codes So and Ch/So, h, M, Mainz, MIK, SHT and U, as well as a few Chinese fragments written in Sogdian script.

The concordances are also an exceptionally important and valuable component of the catalogue as they make it possible to consider the fragments described from various angles.

The first concordance (pp. 361–388) comprises five lists in which the fragments are enumerated by the old codes numbers that were originally allotted to them according to the place where they were found. The first list contains fragments mentioned in Ilya Gershevitch's classic work (*A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Oxford, 1961) and gives references to them in other publications. The second lists fragments with amended reference codes. The third enumerates fragments that have been published. The fourth lists fragments by the code numbers given when they were found, the fifth by early descriptions of the manuscripts.

The second concordance (pp. 389–392) consists of four lists that enumerate fragments that also carry texts in other languages: those with Old Turkish texts on the other side; Old Turkish fragments included in the same glass mount as Sogdian fragments; fragments carrying texts in Bactrian, Brahmi, Chinese, Sanskrit and Tocharian; and fragments with bilingual texts.

The third concordance (pp. 393–444) is made up of nine lists in which the fragments are grouped according to their contents. The first list contains fragments that have been identified with Chinese originals, including Sogdian texts identified with Chinese originals, a Sanskrit text written in Sogdian script, Chinese texts written in Sogdian script and Chinese texts written on the recto side of the paper. The second list in the third concordance enumerates fragments containing quotations from the works in the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāprāramitā-sūtra* and commentaries, including fragments from the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāprāramitā-sūtra*, the *Vajracchedikāprajñāśāstra* and *Vajracchedikā-śāstra*. The third list contains fragments from the *Mahāyāna-Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*: those in the form of scrolls and those that come from large-format *pustaka* books with short lines. The fourth list contains fragments from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*. The fifth enumerates texts from the *Vinaya* (a code of canonical disciplinary rules for the behaviour of the members of a monastic community); the sixth fragments from some commentary; the seventh fragments containing stories. The eighth list contains smaller texts grouped together — as Sogdian versions of identified and unidentified texts, handwriting groups and significant features. The ninth list in the third concordance is an index of keywords. In this index, the fragments are systematized according to the following: 1) proper names and titles: Sanskrit names and titles, honorary titles and other epithets, names of the Buddha, titles of books, proper names, languages mentioned; 2) selected keywords; 3) numbers; 4) a selective list of Sogdian words of unknown meaning.

The fourth concordance (pp. 445–453) comprises nine lists that classify the Sogdian fragments by formal characteristics. In the first list the fragments are grouped by properties of the handwriting: cursive, “brush” script, using red ink. The second list includes fragments with numbered headings. The third gives those fragments where the colophon has survived; the fourth those with illustrations; the fifth those with distinctive features (corrections, embellishments, particular punctuation, dots at the start of the line, holes for a cord, pasted labels, and so on). The sixth list enumerates those fragments that are pages of *pustaka* books (with short and long lines). The seventh records those manuscripts that exist as fragments of scrolls: scrolls with writing on one side, fragments of scrolls with an Old Turkish, Sogdian or Brahmi text on the verso and of those with a Chinese text on the recto. The eighth list contains small fragments whose format cannot be determined. The last list in this concordance enumerates the fragments with a paper colour differing from the standard.

The fifth concordance (pp. 454–456) comprises lists of fragments from other collections that have been described and quoted, including ones from the Museum für Asiatische Kunst (Berlin), the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS (St. Petersburg) and Ryukoku University (Kyoto).

The sixth and final concordance (pp. 457f) is a list of lost fragments and references that cannot now be identified with specific fragments.

The catalogue ends with an extensive bibliography (pp. 461–470), including more than 200 works, and a list of abbreviations (pp. 470–472).

Such a comprehensive, detailed, thorough and meticulous description of the Buddhist Sogdian manuscript fragments in the Berlin collection, which have now been digitized and placed on the website of the Turfan Studies research group, is undoubtedly an exceptional aid to the study of this manuscript collection. However, Dr. Reck's catalogue also has scholarly value in its own right as a reference work for all those engaged in the study of Sogdian Buddhist manuscripts, the Sogdian language and the Buddhist religion. Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the descriptions of the fragments take account of manuscripts from other collections that relate in one way or another to those in Berlin. Therefore, the catalogue material should (and indeed will) be in demand as an aid to the study of fragments in other collections. This also applies to the 14 manuscript fragments in the Serindian Fund of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, known by the description numbers L 6, L 8, L 9, L 11, L 12, L 14, L 15, L 19, L 20, L 22, L 93, L 96, L 100a and L 100c that were previously published by Asiia Ragoza (*Sogdiiskie fragmenty Tsentral'noaziatskogo fonda sobraniia Instituta vostokovedeniia*, Moscow: Nauka, 1980. 183 pp.) and were used in the preparation of the present catalogue: our understanding of these manuscripts in St. Petersburg can now be refined.

The catalogue that Christiane Reck has produced is astonishing for the vast amount of work the author has performed and testifies to her high professional standard, exceptional erudition and competence, qualities that evoke sincere admiration, respect and heartfelt gratitude. The standard of the catalogue's printing is also impeccable.

Placed on the cover of both volumes of the catalogue as an epigraph is a quotation from the Sogdian Manichaean work So 14410 I verso 20: *xpδ ryž 'γδy s't βyryk'n*. Its use is entirely justified: those who want will find everything in this catalogue.

Olga M. Chunakova
Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
Russian Academy of Sciences

Guidelines to the authors of the Journal “Written Monuments of Orient”

- All papers are to be submitted in electronic form in both formats, WORD and PDF.
- The paper should not exceed more than 10 000 words, the fonts used are to be submitted along with the article.
- The layout of the article should be as follows:
 1. Title, author’s full name, abstract, key words.
 2. All references are given in foot notes in abridged form: author’s name in small caps, year, page — IVANOV 2004, 15; POPOVA 2013, 56; UMEMURA, SHOGAITO, YOSHIDA, YAKUP 2002, 143.
 3. List of abbreviations.
 4. References:

— for monographs:

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

MASPERO, Henry 1953: *Les Documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie Centrale*. Ed. by H. Maspero. London: The Trustees of the British Museum.

Translation of Russian titles is given in square brackets; name of the series is at the end in round brackets:

Kitaiskie dokumenty iz Dun’khuana. Vyp. 1. Faksimile. Izdanie tekstov, perevod s kitaiskogo, issledovaniia i prilozheniia L.I. Chu-guevskogo [Chinese documents from Dunhuang], Part 1. Faksimile. Publication, translation, research and appendix by L.I. Chu-guevskii. Moscow: Glavnaia Redaktsiia Vostochnoi Literatury, 1983 (Pamiatniki pis’mennosti Vostoka [Written monuments of the Oriental scripts series] LVII, 1)

The references to Oriental publications should be as follows: title in italics in transliteration, original title, English translation in square brackets:

NIE Xiaohong 乜小紅 2009: *E cang Dunhuang qiye wenshu yanjiu* 俄藏敦煌契約文書研究 [A study of the Dunhuang texts of contracts from the Russian Collection]. Shanghai: Guji chubanshe.

Dunhuang yanjiu lunzhu mulu 2006: 敦煌研究論著目錄 [A bibliography of works in Dunhuang studies]. 1998–2005. Ed. by Cheng A-tsai 鄭阿財 and Chu Feng-yu 朱鳳玉. Comp. by Tsai Chung-Lin 蔡忠霖, Chou Hsi-po 周西波. Taipei: Lexue shuju.

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.

ZIEME, Peter 2000: “Fragments of the Old Turkic *Maitrisimit nom bitig* in the Otani Collection”. *Nairiku Ajia gengo no kenkyū* [*Studies on the Inner Asian Languages*], 15 (2000), 123–134.

- The article should be accompanied by the information about the author: full name and affiliation.
- The Russian titles should be given in transliteration and English translation using the following system: я – ia, е – e, ю – iu, й – i, ы – y, х – kh, ц – ts, ч – ch, ш – sh, щ – shch, ж – zh
- The Oriental titles should be given in transliteration and original script, followed by English translation.
- Pictures are accepted, but the author must safeguard that no rights are violated and/or declare that he/she has obtained permission for the reproduction.

© Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, 2017

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission of the publishers.

Editorial Office address: Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
Dvortsovaya emb., 18, Saint Petersburg 191186, Russia
Tel. 7 812 3158728, Fax 7 812 3121465
www.orientalstudies.ru
email: ppv@orientalstudies.ru

Vostochnaya Literatura Publisher: Nauka Publishers, Maronovsky line, 26,
Moscow 119049, Russia
www.vostlit.ru
email: vostlit@gmail.com

Print Subscription/Distribution: Please send all inquiries relating to subscriptions to:
Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Dvortsovaya emb., 18, Saint Petersburg 191186, Russia
Журнал «Письменные памятники Востока», № 2, 2017 (на английском языке)

PPE Nauka Printing House
Shubinsky per., 6, Moscow 121099, Russia
