

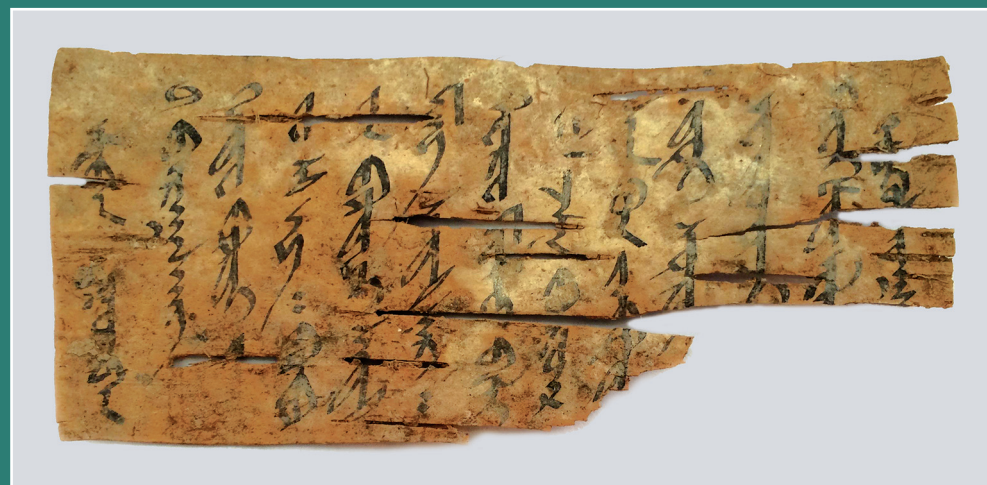
ISSN 2410-0145

WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

VOLUME 8

No. 1 (15)

2022



WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT, VOLUME 8, No. 1 (15), 2022

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RUSSIAN ACADEMY
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Institute of Oriental
Manuscripts
(Asiatic Museum)

Founded in 2014
Issued biannually

Founder:
Institute of Oriental
Manuscripts Russian
Academy of Sciences

The Journal is registered
by the Federal Service
for Supervision
of Communications,
Information Technology
and Mass Communications

CERTIFICATE
ПИ № ФС77-79201
from September 22, 2020

Biannual Journal
ISSN 2410-0145
Language: English
12+



Institute of Oriental
Manuscripts
RAS
2022

WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

VOLUME 8

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IN THIS ISSUE

Safarali Shomakhmadov

The Sanskrit Fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka in ‘Proto-Śāradā’ Script
from the Serindia Collection of IOM, RAS **3**

Nie Hongyin

Quotations from *Zhuangzi* in Tangut Literature **16**

Anna Turanskaya

An Old Uyghur Manuscript Fragment Dedicated to *Caitya* Veneration **27**

Alexander Zorin

Tibetan Texts from Khara-Khoto on Acala and Jvālāmukhī Preserved
at the IOM, RAS **38**

Alice Crowther

A Manuscript Russian-Chinese-Manchu Dictionary (from before
1737) in T.S. Bayer’s Papers in Glasgow University Library.
Part I: Authorship of the Dictionary **57**

Natalia Yampolskaya

Intermixture of Mongolian and Oirat in 17th Century Manuscripts **75**

Dmitrii Nosov

Buryat Folklore Collector’s “Desktop”:
MS Mong. E 289 from the Collection of the IOM, RAS **88**

ON THE COVER:

The Heart Sutra (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*) in Oirat. 17th c., birch bark, ink.
Fragment of folio 13 *recto*. Regional Museum of History and Local Lore,
Oskemen (Ust-Kamenogorsk), Kazakhstan.

Safarali Shomakhmadov

The Sanskrit Fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka in ‘Proto-Śāradā’ Script from the Serindia Collection of IOM, RAS

DOI: 10.55512/wmo108722

Abstracts. The article introduces the Sanskrit fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka kept in the Serindian Fund of the IOM, RAS. A brief review of the script ‘proto-śāradā’ (in which the jātaka’s text is written) is given. The author points out that this fragment is a part of a certain Jātakamālā manuscript ‘edition’. The article includes transliteration, translation and comments on the text of the fragment.

Key words: Buddhism, jātaka, kṣānti, manuscript, paleography, ‘Proto-Śāradā’, Sanskrit, Serindia

Examples of almost all the forms of Brāhmī script attested in the Tarim oases are represented in the Serindian Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS). The Sanskrit manuscript fragments from the Serindia Fund written in other scripts descended from Brāhmī are of great value and circumstances of their discovering are interesting. Few fragments of Sanskrit manuscripts written in the so-called ‘proto-śāradā’ script (according to the classification of the well-known German paleographer Lore Sander — ‘Gilgit/Bamiyan, type II’ script¹) are rightly considered to be ‘rarities’. Already judging from their titles, we can assume that this script is transitional from the so-called ‘Gilgit/Bamiyan, type I’ to śāradā² script (according to L. Sander). Well-known ‘Bower manu-

© Safarali Haibulloevich Shomakhmadov, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (safaralihshom@mail.ru)

¹ SANDER 1968: 138–160.

² Notably, Śāradā is one of the names of goddess Sarasvatī, the protector of Knowledge and Arts.

script' (Pl. 1) is the most striking example of Gilgit/Bamiyan, type I and not less known 'Bakhśālī manuscript' (Pl. 2) dated approx. the 8th c. is considered to be the earliest sample of śāradā script.

All the three abovementioned scripts, according to Ahmad Dani classification, belong to the group of the North India scripts (Mathura and the north-western region).³ As Stefan Baums notes, in the late period of Brāhmī script development (4–6th cc.), when it is more appropriate to talk about different scripts descended from one root, rather than about 'regional variations' of one script. Gilgit/Bamiyan, type I, as well as the other Brāhmī scripts spread in Tarim oases, presumably emerged on the basis of 'North-Western Gupta' script.⁴ The 'proto-śāradā' script (called Gilgit/Bamian, type II) was developed in the 7–8th cc., and after that, in 8th c. śāradā script spread in the Kashmir region and was used for writing texts in Sanskrit and in local dialects.⁵

The Serindian Collection of the IOM, RAS contains 7 fragments of Sanskrit texts written in 'proto-śāradā' script. Four of them still have to be identified: SI 3695 (3 fragments of Nikolay Fyodorovich Petrovsky⁶ collection) and SI 5521 (1 fragment of Nikolay Nikolaevich Krotkov⁷ collection). Two items, SI 2041-5 and SI 3695, are fragments of *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, Buddhist philosophical text attributed to Kumāralāta (3rd c.), founder of the Sautrāntika (Dārṣṭāntika) school. The first fragment belongs to the Nikolay Krotkov collection, the second one — to the Nikolay Petrovsky collection. Finally, the fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka of Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā ('The Garland of Birth Stories'; another title: *Bodhisattva-avadāna-mālā*) (SI 2998, fragment No. 5) was brought by Mikhail Mikhailovich Berezovsky⁸ from the expedition to Kucha in 1906–1907 (Pl. 3).

It is necessary to describe one paleographic feature of the Sanskrit fragments in 'proto-śāradā' script from the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS.

³ DANI 1963: 108–111.

⁴ BAUMS 2016: 791–792.

⁵ J. Braarvig and F. Liland follow the same dates, basing on Lore Sander data also (BRAARVIG & LILAND 2010: xxi–xxii).

⁶ Petrovsky Nikolay Fyodorovich (1837–1908) — Russian consul in Kashgar (1882–1903), archaeologist, historian, orientalist and researcher of Central Asia, the collector of Central Asian manuscripts.

⁷ Krotkov Nikolay Nikolaevich (1869–1919) — Russian diplomat, secretary in Kuldja and consul in Ürümchi, sinologist, manchuologist, manuscript collector.

⁸ Berezovsky Mikhail Mikhailovich (1848–1912) — Russian ornithologist, archaeologist, ethnographer, explorer of Asian regions.

Sometimes the vowel (*mātrā*) *-e* is more consistent with *-e* in ‘Gilgit/Bamian, type I’ script (if we keep in view the ‘scripts lineage’) and also corresponds to *-e* in varieties of South Turkestan Brāhmī (concerning the region of discovery) (Pl. 4). It should be borne in mind that most of the fragments were, apparently, found in the northern oases of the Tarim basin (fragments of Nikolay Krotkov, Mikhail Berezovsky collections). We believe that in this case we are not dealing with the export of Buddhist texts from Kashmir, but directly with the local, Serindian, Sanskrit texts written in ‘proto-śāradā’ script. Because in case of the Kashmirian manuscripts birch bark was the mostly used material, while all the Serindian Sanskrit fragments are written on paper. A similar fragment of Sanskrit jātaka from Āryaśūra’s Jātakamālā (namely, fragment of Yajña-jātaka; ‘The Jataka on Sacrifice’) is stored at the Berlin Ethnological Museum. According to common information, this fragment from Tuyoq is written in ‘proto-śāradā’ script and dated approximately by the 8–9th cc. We suppose that Berlin fragment of Yajña-jātaka and St. Petersburg fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka are two fragments of one manuscript of Āryaśūra’s Jātakamālā⁹.

The existence of ‘proto-śāradā’ in the Serindian north oases is an interesting fact itself, because since the 5–6th cc. (almost simultaneously with the formation of ‘Gilgit/Bamian, type I’ script) we can observe a clear tendency: absolutely separate South and North branches of the Turkestan Brāhmī script are formed in the Serindia oases.¹⁰ Until the 7–9th cc., the period of existence of ‘proto-śāradā’ as well as śāradā itself, Buddhist written tradition in Serindia had its own formed types of the Brāhmī script — the South Turkestan Brāhmī and the North Turkestan Brāhmī. The existence of ‘proto-śāradā’ as the formal script of Buddhist written tradition in the Serindia oases along with local writing types is, undoubtedly, the subject of a separate serious investigation that will expand our understanding of the history of the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia. It is possible that a study of the contents of the Serindian Buddhist Sanskrit texts written in ‘proto-śāradā’ script will help us in solving this problem.

The authorship of Jākatāmālā is attributed to the Buddhist poet Āryaśūra. However, there is still no consensus among researchers whether there was a real poet named Āryaśūra, or it is a pseudonym of another famous Buddhist thinker — Aśvaghōṣa, Mātṛceta, or some other person.¹¹ We can speak with

⁹ *Jataka-mala* 1943: 181–192.

¹⁰ SANDER 2005: 133–144.

¹¹ VOLKOVA 2000: 10–15.

a certain degree of certainty that Jātakamāla was compiled no later than the 6th c. because some *praṇidhis* (textual explanations for wall paintings) of the Ajanta frescoes directly indicate that depicted scenes were taken from Jātakamāla.¹²

‘The Garland of Birth Stories’ consists of 34 narratives of Buddha’s former births. Some Jātakamāla stories don’t have Pāli ‘equivalents’. Thus, there is no Pāli version of the abovementioned Yajña-jātaka. According to Oktiabrina F. Volkova,¹³ the main difference between the Jātakas Collection compiled by Āryaśūra with the Pāli version is an emphasis on Mahāyāna religious ideal, a compassionate image of a bodhisattva who acts for the sake of happiness of all sentient beings, in contrast to a strictly didactic tone of Pāli jātakas instructing in righteous behavior.¹⁴

The item SI 2998, besides the Sanskrit fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka presented in this article, contains 8 more fragments in the Tokharian, Khotanese languages and Sanskrit. The fragment written in ‘proto-sāradā’ script has a relatively small size ~ 10.0×7.5 cm; the text is written on both sides, 6 lines on each. Apparently, the right edge of the folio has been preserved because the right margin of the folio, partially intact, proves it. The close text concurrence between the Sanskrit fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka of SI 2998 and the relevant passage of Āryaśūra’s Jātakamāla edited by H. Kern¹⁵ suggests that initially the line of the manuscript contained approximately 30 (± 2) glyphs (*aḥṣaras*). And this fact, in turn, gives reason to consider that initially the folio size was approx. 20.0×7.5 cm.¹⁶

The summary of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka is as follows. The ascetic, who thanks to his religious activities is called Kṣāntivādin¹⁷ (‘One who teaches patience’), settled in a picturesque forest. One day a local ruler,¹⁸ accompanied

¹² SPINK 2009; SPINK 2007.

¹³ Volkova Oktiabrina Fiodorovna (1926–1988) — Soviet indologist and buddhologist.

¹⁴ VOLKOVA 2000: 15–17.

¹⁵ KERN 1943.

¹⁶ Thus, the size of the folio as well as the number of *aḥṣaras* in each line almost coincides with the similar characteristics of the Sanskrit fragment of Yajña-jātaka of the Berlin Ethnological Museum. We think that it can be considered an additional argument in favor of the assumption that both fragments (Yajña-jātaka and Kṣāntivādi-jātaka) used to belong to one manuscript of Jātaka-māla.

¹⁷ *Kṣānti* is (lit.) ‘patience, forbearance, endurance, indulgence’; the state of mental abstraction, acceptance [of all phenomenon as they are in reality]’.

¹⁸ The Pāli version of this jātaka contains the name of the king Kalābu as well as the name of his kingdom Kāsi (Sanskrit. Kāśi) and the capital Benares (Varaṇasī).

by his harem, was walking in this forest. When the ruler was tired and dozed off, his wives went for a walk through the woods and stumbled upon the ascetic's hut. They were imbued with his wisdom and humility and sat around him, wishing to hear his preaching. Meanwhile the king woke up, saw that his faithful wives had left him and went to look for them in the forest. And he found them, sitting near the ascetic and listening attentively to him. Because all royal wives willingly listened to every word of Kṣāntivādin, the king was enraged because nobody else, except for him, could be the object of his wives' interest. Drawing his sword, the king approached the ascetic, threatening Kṣāntivādin to kill him. However, the king's threats didn't have any effect on the ascetic who was completely free from fear. Then, the king cut off the hand of Kṣāntivādin, but the latter remained calm, free from the pain feeling and fear of death. The king sequentially cut off the ascetic's hands, ears, nose and legs. But Kṣāntivādin remained calm and unshakable, feeling only compassion for the sinful king who had departed from the righteous path. Having committed such atrocities, the king fell through the earth into hell; and the ascetic, instructing the king's subjects in the need to follow a righteous path, died of his wounds.

The Sanskrit fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka of the Serindian Collection of the IOM, RAS contains a culmination of the narrative: when an angry ruler inflicts fatal blows to the ascetic by his sword. As mentioned above, the main emphasis is on the fact that the ascetic, not paying attention to inflicted wounds, is sincerely compassionate to the ruler departed from the Discipline. Due to extreme affectation of consciousness, the king is compared with a deadly sick person. Such nuance characterizes this Kṣāntivādi-jātaka fragment; undoubtedly, as a Mahāyāna text with the ideal of a Bodhisattva.

The plot of Pāli Khantivādi-jātaka differs from the similar text from Jātakamālā in presenting a sequential 'algorithm' of the rejection of organs of sense and actions that 'generate karma': at first, the king orders the executioner to flog cruelly the ascetic, then he proceeds to cut off the limbs. After each execution the ascetic asks his tormentor: "Do you think that patience is in the skin/arms and legs/nose/ears?"¹⁹ The detailed description of the sequence of chopped off body parts refers us to the Abhidharma *mātrikā* (terminological lists) matrix lists and to certain fragments of Prajñāpāramitā texts.

Thus, five senses (*pañcendriyāni*) that, according to Buddhist doctrine, determine the attachment of an 'individual' to all mundane phenomena are

¹⁹ FAUSBØLL 1883: 40–42; COWELL 1897: 27–28.

vision (*caḡṣu*), hearing (*śrotra*), smelling (*ghrāna*), taste (*jihvā*), and touch (*kāya*). These five senses, as well as the arms and feet,²⁰ are responsible for bodily actions, belong to the ‘group of matter’ (*rūpa-skandha*).²¹ The sequential rejection of five senses and two ‘organs of [physical] action’, even in rather extreme form, can relate us to yogic practice²² leading to the attainment of the ‘Perfection of patience’ (*kṣānti-pāramitā*). Therefore, the flogging of ascetic’s skin may mean the rejection of the tactile sense. The absence of arms and feet, perhaps, marks the suppression of action generating karma. Cutting off nose (sense of smell, *ghrāna*) and ears (aural sense, *śrotra*)²³ also narrows down the influence of mundane temptations.²⁴

In this article the transliteration (comparing with H. Kern edition of Āryaśūra’s *Jātakamālā*) and the translation of Sanskrit fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka (SI 2998) of Serindian Collection of IOM, RAS are given.

Symbols used in the transliteration

- () — restored glyph(s)
 [] — glyph(s) whose reading(s) is(are) uncertain
 { } — superfluous glyph(s)
 « » — interlinear insertion
 .. — one illegible glyph
 . — illegible part of a glyph
 /// — beginning or end of a fragment when damaged
 || — double daṇḍa – punctuation mark

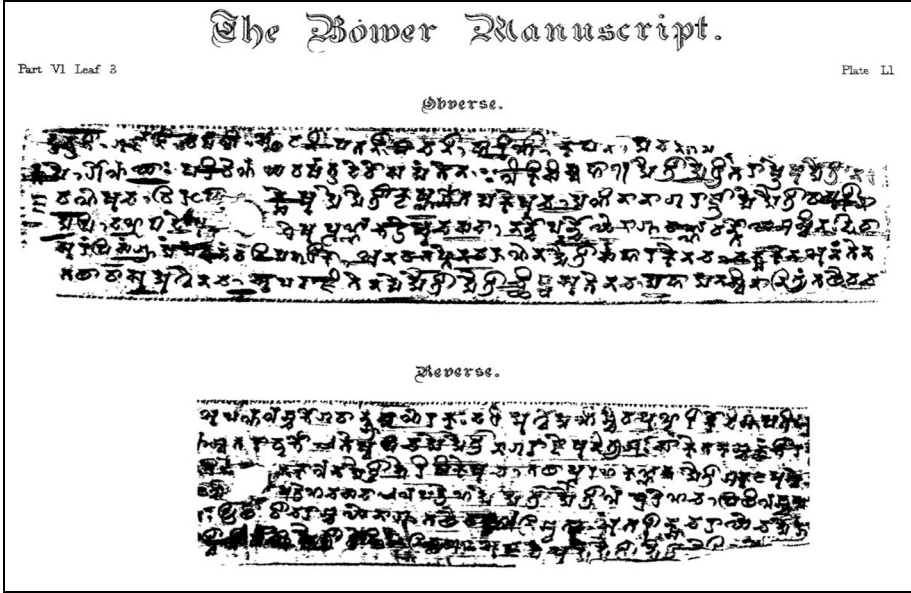
²⁰ ‘The Teaching on Faculties’ (*Indriya-nirdeśa*), the second part of ‘the Encyclopedia of Abhidharma’ (Abhidharmakośa) by Vasubandhu, characterizes hands and feet as organs of ‘holding [of objects] and movement’ (OSTROVSKAIA & RUDOJ 1998: 434). But we can read in the text of Pāli Khantivādi-jātaka that the king kicked (i.e. performed certain — evil — act) the ascetic in the heart area: <...> ‘*ti Bodhisattam hadaye pādena paharivā* <...> (*Jātaka* 1883: 41).

²¹ *Kategorii* 2000: 17–18.

²² Thus, in *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* it is pointed that bodhisavttva-mahāsattva to comprehend the emptiness of matter must comprehend, step by step, the emptiness of vision, hearing, smell sense, taste and touch (DUTT 1934: 44).

²³ It can mean that ascetic is characterized as arhat who ‘no longer needs religious teaching’ (*aśaikṣa*), i.e. he does not need listening to the Dharma (Teaching).

²⁴ There is no indication of touch reject in Sanskrit Kṣāntivādi-jātaka but the other sense organs (vision, hearing, smell sense and taste) are indicated, apparently, by one word — ‘face’ (*āna*).



Pl. 1.
The Fragment of the 'Bower Manuscript'.

Transliteration of the fragments

Recto

1. /// (na) tāpasacchadma bibharti cedbhav(ā) ///
2. /// smān abhayaṃ prayācase || bodhisattva u .. ///
3. /// .. (ta)mavadhīd brāhmaṇām nṛpa iti te matkṛ- ///
4. /// .. (i)ti me ya bhayaṃ tasmātsva
5. /// .. śreyodhigamanakṣamām || gu-
6. /// (m a)[haṃ] || atha sa rājā sūnṛtā-

Verso

1. /// .. (i)dānīm te kṣāntyanurāgam i-
 2. /// n(e)r {d}dakṣiṇaṃ pāṇiṃ niśite-
 3. /// duḥkhaṃ tathā kṣantidṛḍhavra-
 4. /// [a]tha bodhisatvaḥ kaṣṭamatikkrānto
 5. /// .. turamivairam samanūsocaṃ-s-tūṣṇīm babhū[va]
 6. /// .. śyati te tanu | muñca dumbhavrataṃ (c)e(d)aṃ ///
- « | la .. » ///

Transliteration from *The Jataka-mala. Stories of Buddha's Former Incarnations otherwise entitled Bodhisattva-avadāna-mālā* by Ārya-Çūra. Ed. By H. Kern (pp. 189–190) (the texts of the IOM fragments are given in bold letters):

<...> ityanunīyamāno 'pi sa rājā tena
munivareṇānārjavopahatamatistamanyathaiivā-bhiśaṅkamānaḥ punaruvāca |
na tāpasacchadma bibharti cedbhavān sthito 'si vā sve niyamavrate yadi |
kṣamopadeśavyapadeśasaṅgatam kimarthamas**mādabhayaṃ prayācase** || 48 ||
bodhisattva uvāca | śrūyatām mahārāja yadartho 'yaṃ mama prayatnaḥ |

anāgasam pravrajitamavadhīdbrāhmaṇaṃ nṛpaḥ |
iti te matkṛte mā bhūdyāso vācyavijarjaram || 49 ||
martavyamiti bhūtānāmayaṃ naiyamiko vidhiḥ |
iti me na bhayaṃ tasmātsvaṃ vṛttam canupaśyataḥ || 50 ||
sukhodarkasya dharmasya pīḍā mā bhūttavaiva tu |
kṣamāmityavadaṃ tubhyaṃ **śreyo'bhigamanakṣamām** || 51 ||
guṇānāmākaratvācca doṣāṇāṃ ca nivāraṇāt |
prābhṛtātīśayaprītyā kathayāmi kṣamā**maham** || 52 ||

atha sa rājā sūnṛtānyapi tānyanādrītya tasya munervacanakusumāni sāsūyaṃ
tamṣivaramuvāca | drakṣyāma **idānīm te kṣāntyanurāgamityuktvā**
nivāraṇārthamīśadabhiprasāritamabhyucchritapratanudīrghāṅgulim tasya
munerdakṣiṇaṃ **pāṇim niśitenāsinā** kamalamiva nāladeśādvayajoyat |
chinne 'grahaste 'pi tu tasya nāsīd**duḥkhaṃ tathā kṣāntidṛḍhavrata**sya |
sukhocitasyāpratīkārāghoraṃ chetturyathāgāmi samīkṣya **duḥkham** || 53 ||
atha bodhisattvaḥ kaṣṭamatikrānto 'yaṃ svahitamaryādāmapātrībhūto
'nunayasyeti vaidyapratyākhyātamāturamivainaṃ **samanuśocaṃstūṣṇīm**
babhūva | athainaṃ sa rājā saṃtarjayanpunaruvāca |

evaṃ cācchidyamānasya nāśameśyati **te tanuḥ** |
muñca dambhavratam cedam khalabuddhipralambhanam || 54 ||

Translation

But, [despite of] the all-possible respect shown in this manner by the best of the sages, this ruler, having rooted himself in bad behavior and sick²⁵ thoughts, tormented by erroneous suspicions said again: ‘**If the Venerable One doesn’t pretend to be an ascetic**, observing [the rules] of abstinence, as well as proclaiming teaching in patience why are **you begging me for patience?**’²⁶ **The Bodhisattva said:** ‘May the great king hear what purpose my diligence pursues:

‘**The king killed** sinless ascetic-**brahman!**’

[But] in **what I done**, let there be no condemnation to you and damage to your glory!

The inevitability of death for living beings is an immutable law.

So, looking back at **my life**,²⁷ **I have no fear of it.**

But just to prevent the violation of the Doctrine, which brings happiness in the future,

I have been preaching you the **patience promoted the obtaining of highest bliss.**²⁸

Because patience is called an assembly of **virtues** and an obstacle of obscurity,

I will gladly praise [this] excellent gift!’

Then the king, despising even so friendly and truthful, like the *kusuma*²⁹ flowers, words of the ascetic, angrily said to the best among sages: ‘**Now** we’ll see **your devotion to patience!**’ Having said that, [the king] chopped off, like a lotus flower from the stem, by **sharp** sword the **ascetic’s right**

²⁵ *Anārjava* — (lit.) ‘disease; moral or physical crookedness; dishonest conduct’. The mind affectiveness is regarded in Buddhism as a disease. In Buddhist canonical texts Buddha is characterized as a Skillful Healer (Bhaiṣajyaguru) and the Teaching (Dharma) as a medication from disease.

²⁶ *Abhayaṃ* — ‘fearlessness, peace’.

²⁷ *Vṛttam* — (lit.) ‘circle’.

²⁸ *Śreyo’bhigamanakṣamām*.

²⁹ According to Indian traditional beliefs, all prayers made during the time when *kusuma* flowers blossom will be realized. So, perhaps, words told by the ascetic like *kusuma* flowers [during its ‘blooming’ i.e. sermon utterance] give all hearers fulfillment of all desires and lead to Highest Bliss.

hand with long graceful fingers³⁰ that was raised forward slightly to keep [the king from the evil deed]. But for ‘**The Established in patience**’ there was no **such pain** even in the cut hand, as [he felt to the king], foreseeing³¹ the imminent inevitable terrible suffering of ‘[crowned] cutter’ who was accustomed to pleasure. **Then the Bodhisattva, feeling pity** to the ruler like to a patient whom doctors refused,³² **exclaimed with sorrow**: ‘Breaking the boundaries of righteous behavior [and as a result] of his own welfare,³³ he by this manner fell away from Discipline³⁴; [having said it the ascetic] **fell silent**. Then, the king, threatening, again said:

‘In the same way [your] face will be cut off³⁵ and **your body** will die.
Leave the ostentatious piety and this malicious deceit!’

³⁰ *Pratanudīrghāṅgulim*. ‘Long fingers’ (Skt. *dīrghāṅgulim*; Pāl. *dīgh’ āṅguli*) is one of 32 major signs (*dvātriṃśanmahāpuruṣalakṣaṇāni*) of Great Person (*Mahāpuruṣa*) mentioned in Mahāpadāna-sutta, Lakkhaṇa-sutta, Brahmāyu-sutta and etc. ‘Slender fingers’ (Skt. *anupūrvāṅguli*; *pratanu-* — synonym *anupūrvā-*) is one (fifth) of 80 minor signs (*aśītyanuvyañjanāni*) of Mahāpuruṣa (*Mahāvīyupatti* 1973: 25). Thus, Kṣāntivādin is presented in the jātaka text as the ascetic who should become a Great Person in a future: he has, at least, one of iconographic signs of Mahāpuruṣa.

³¹ *Samīkṣya* — ‘to be well considered or investigated or ascertained’. *Samīkṣya* is (lit.) ‘complete investigation’. The comprehension of the functioning of the 12 links (Skt. *dvādaśanidānāni*) of the causal wheel of Dependent Origination (Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*) gives an opportunity to see clearly future results of accomplished actions. In this case *samīkṣya* can be compared with *vyākaraṇa* as ‘fore-seeing’, pro-gnosis (‘fore-knowledge’) (SHOMAKHMADOV 2019: 24–36).

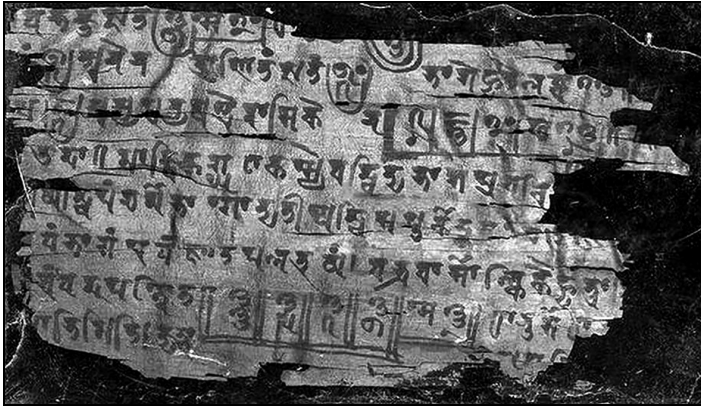
³² *Vaidyapratyākhyātāmaturam*. As one of the five deadly sins the killing of arhat means ‘the lack of Discipline (*asaṃvara*) when the offender turns away from the Doctrine-‘medicament’ and doesn’t accept the Buddha, as well as minor teachers as his healers.

³³ *Svahitamaryādām*. According to Buddhist ideas on karma *svahita* (‘one’s own welfare’) is obtained because of former merits. So, the high status of the king born in Kṣatriya family undoubtedly was obtained because of his many merits in former lives.

The one of the meanings of *maryādām* is ‘the bounds or limits of morality’. So, the king’s anger forced him to break his righteous rules (*rājadharma* – code of rules for governor) cancels his former merits depriving ‘the crowned criminal’ the perspective of obtaining of Final Liberation and the right to occupy the current social status: a ruler violated his dharma could be overthrown legally (SHOMAKHMADOV 2007: 18, 73).

³⁴ *apātrībhūto ’nunasyeti* is (verbatim) ‘to become unfit for [the obedience] of Discipline’, i.e. Vinaya rules. *Anunaya* has some meanings: (1) ‘conciliation’; (2) ‘discipline’; (3) ‘honoring’. As mentioned above, the king killed the arhat is characterized as *asaṃvarika* (‘the one who established in the absence of Discipline’) and unable to accept Buddhist Teaching. So, ‘conciliations’ of Dharma preachers are meaningless in this case. And the king being, according to Vinaya rules, an ‘ordinary laity’ (*upasāka*) broken away Vinaya rules becomes unworthy of king honors.

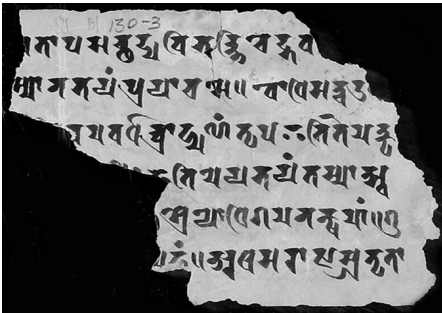
³⁵ *Cācchidyam-ānasya* ‘to cut the face’ (i.e. eyes, nose, mouth, ears), meaning to cut organs of sensibility from their objects.



Pl. 2.

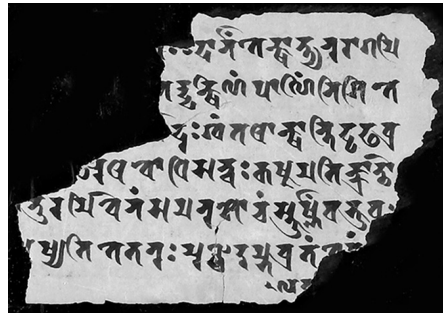
The Fragment of the 'Bakhsāli Manuscript' kept in the Bodleian Library,
Oxford Univ., UK

(source: <https://www.thehindu.com/sci-tech/science/bakhshali-jambudvipa-and-indias-role-in-science/article19792057.ece> date: 25.01.2021)



Pl. 3a.

The Fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka
(SI 2998, Berezovsky subcollection,
IOM, RAS), *recto*



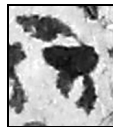
Pl. 3b.

The Fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka
(SI 2998, Berezovsky subcollection,
IOM, RAS), *verso*



Pl. 4a.

The writings of *-e* typical
for 'proto-śāradā' script.



Pl. 4b.

The writings of *-e* in
'proto-śāradā' script
of SI 5521.



Pl. 4c.

The writings of *-e* in
South Turkestan Brāhmī.

Thus, the Serindia Collection of the IOM, RAS contains an unique for the Serindia region fragment of the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript written in ‘Proto-Śāradā’ script. The similar fragment, perhaps, of the same Jātakamālā manuscript is stored at the Berlin Ethnological Museum. The observed Sanskrit fragment of Kṣāntivādi-jātaka from the Āryaśūra’s Jātakamālā has a significant similarity with the relevant text of Paḷi Tipiṭaka and clearly demonstrates the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism in North Western India and in the oases of the Tarim Basin.

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Nie Hongyin

Quotations from *Zhuangzi* in Tangut Literature

DOI: 10.55512/wmo108634

Abstract: Eleven quotations from *Zhuangzi* are found in a Tangut compilation and a Tangut translation work, in which five paragraphs prove to be missing contents of the current edition. The compilation is well accomplished, but the translation, similar to some Dunhuang manuscripts in their contents, is a shoddy work with lots of interpolations or even misunderstandings of the Chinese classics. The Taoist works, including *Zhuangzi*, were spread in a very limited scope in Xixia, causing a fact that nobody was familiar with it, except a few higher intellectuals serving the Emperor.

Key words: Tangut; Xixia; *Zhuangzi*; translation; missing paragraphs; Dunhuang

1. Introduction

As one of the most famous Taoist monuments spreading in China, the current text of *Zhuangzi* 莊子 with 33 chapters¹ is an abridged edition by Guo Xiang 郭象 (252–312). According to the 30th volume of *Hanshu* 漢書, besides the current edition there existed an ancient text with 52 chapters² which was lost no later than the Northern Song dynasty. Since the 13th c. on, many scholars have been engaged in collecting missing paragraphs or even missing sentences in order to replenish the primal contents,³ but all of their works were based on orthodox classics rather than folk literature. The aim of the

© Nie Hongyin, Sichuan Normal University, Chengdu, China (nhy54116@sina.com)

¹ The most excellent edition of *Zhuangzi* was annotated by Guo Qingfan 郭慶藩 (1844–1896), cf. *Zhuangzi jishi* 莊子集釋 (Collected Explanations of *Zhuangzi*), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1961, later printing 1892, 2006, 2013, 2016.

² 漢書·藝文志: 莊子五十二篇.

³ The work was started by Wang Yinglin's (1223–1296) *Kunxue jiwen* 困學紀聞 (*juan* 10). The most abundant achievement, (WANG 1988: 1383–1414) collected 176 statements, but a few of them seem to be later commentaries rather than the original texts.

present paper is to point out that there are also some quotations from *Zhuangzi* in the Tangut materials and a few of them may be regarded as missing sentences from Guo Xiang's edition.

The Chinese word *Zhuangzi* 莊子 is written as *tšiw tsə* 翊精 in Tangut transcription which was transcribed into Russian “Чжо-цзы” in the catalogue compiled by Gorbacheva and Kychanov,⁴ showing that some fragments of *Zhuangzi* preserved in Tangut translation were not recognized in the early stage of Tangut studies, otherwise it should be transcribed as “Чжуан-цзы”.⁵ An analytic collection of these quotations will show the spreading scope of *Zhuangzi* in Xixia and the Tanguts' understanding of the Chinese classics.

2. Tangut materials about *Zhuangzi*

As known so far, the Tanguts did not translate the whole texts of any Taoist works including *Zhuangzi*, but quoted a few paragraphs or sentences in their compilation and translation literature. There are two printing editions incidentally referring *Zhuangzi*, both of them were found in Khara-khoto ruins by Kozlov expedition and now are preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS. At the end of the 20th c., the facsimiles of the texts were published in *Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻 (Heishuicheng manuscript collected in Russia, further on — EHW) by Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House.

An unidentified xylograph catalogued by Gorbacheva and Kychanov⁶ was later tentatively entitled *Jingshi zachao* 經史雜抄 (Varied Copying from Classics and Histories) by compilers of EHW.⁷ Huang Yanjun⁸ correctly pointed out that it is actually a Tangut translation from a certain Chinese primary reader much similar to the manuscript *Xinji wenci jiujing chao* 新集文詞九經抄 (Newly Collected Aphorisms Copied from the Nine Classics, further on — XWJ) and *Wenci jiaolin* 文詞教林 (Bundle of Educational

⁴ GORBACHEVA & KYSHANOV 1963: 36.

⁵ We believe that Kychanov read *Zhuangzi* in his later life, for he found perfectly that the story line of the Tangut version *Altar Reconciliation of Confucius* came from chapter *Yufu* 漁父 of *Zhuangzi* (KYCHANOV 2000: 13).

⁶ GORBACHEVA & KYSHANOV 1963: 35–36.

⁷ EHW 199: 117–132.

⁸ HUANG 2009.

Aphorisms, further on — WJ) excavated from Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang, though its Chinese original has not been found until nowadays. In the fragments available, there are 228 short aphorisms collected from Chinese classics no later than the Late Tang era, including eight ones initiated by the phrase *tšiw tsə də* 翊翊辭 (Zhuangzi said).⁹ It is noticeable that the Tangut version comes from a very shoddy Chinese collection merely based on folk proverbs and the compiler's own memory without collating orthodox classics.¹⁰

Another moveable type printing entitled *tšja džji šio* 毓齋訓 (A compilation of Virtue), generally called *Dexing Ji* 德行集¹¹ or 德行記,¹² was compiled by Cao Daole at the end of the 12th c. in order to teach the young Emperor Huanzong how to become a sage monarch. The fundamental materials of the compilation come from traditional Chinese classics, but none of the sources accompanying the text are annotated.¹³ This is one of the excellent works in Xixia, because Cao Daole, its compiler and translator, was a senior intellectual in the Xixia government, who showed his extensive reading and accurate comprehension of Chinese originals in the compilation.

3. Quotations directly from the original

The direct translational quotations of *Zhuangzi* can be found only in *Dexing ji*. The paragraph below tells a monarch how to distinguish a worthy official from an unworthy one:

張翊結駁辭辭，批黜駁駁辭，駁黜駁駁辭，翊黜駁駁辭，翊翊駁駁辭，駁翊駁駁辭，翊翊駁駁辭，駁翊駁駁辭，駁翊駁駁辭，駁翊駁駁辭，駁翊駁駁辭。¹⁴

⁹ Besides *Zhuangzi*, there are also traditional classics such as *Zhouyi* 周易, *Shangshu* 尚書, *Shijing* 詩經, *Liji* 禮記, *Zuozhuan* 左傳, *Xiaojing* 孝經, philosophical work such as *Xunzi* 荀子, *Laozi* 老子, folk reader such as *Taigong Jiajiao* 太公家教.

¹⁰ NIE 2002a.

¹¹ EHW: 142–153.

¹² GORBACHEVA & KYCHANOV 1963: 59–60.

¹³ Besides *Zhuangzi*, there are also quotations from orthodox classics such as *Shangshu* 尚書, *Liji* 禮記, *Xiaojing* 孝經, philosophical work such as *Dadai Liji* 大戴禮記, *Kongzi jiyu* 孔子家語, *Xunzi* 荀子, *Fayan* 法言, *Xinlun* 新論, *Laozi* 老子, and some historical works by Sima Guang 司馬光. See (NIE 2002b) for the detailed study on the whole text, in which only three quotations are not traceable.

¹⁴ EHW 1999: 151.

[When the monarchs of the previous dynasty tested a person, they dispatched him far away to test his loyalty, dispatched him nearby to test his respect, dispatched him variously to test his ability, asked him suddenly to test his aspiration, made him a near-term appointment to test his credibility, delegated him wealth to test his benevolence, told him the crisis to test his integrity, made him drunken to test his character,¹⁵ left him with women to test his amorousness. Passing the nine tests, the unworthy person would come to light.]

This paragraph comes from the chapter 32, *Lie Yukou* 列御寇:¹⁶

故君子遠使之而觀其忠，近使之而觀其敬，煩使之而觀其能，卒然問焉而觀其知，急與之期而觀其信，委之以財而觀其仁，告之以危而觀其節，醉之以酒而觀其則，雜之以處而觀其色。九徵至，不肖人得矣。

[Therefore, the monarchs dispatch him far away to see his loyalty, dispatch him nearby to see his respect, dispatch him repeatedly to see his ability, asked him suddenly to see his intelligence, gave him a near-term appointment to see his credibility, delegated him wealth to see his benevolence, told him the crisis to see his integrity, made him drunken to see his incline, let him stay with women to see his amorousness. Passing the nine observations, the unworthy person will be learned.]

Twenty years ago,¹⁷ I failed in tracing the source of the following short quotation:

張胤烈彥彥，翫纒瓶循躑躅，祗纒翫翫翫；祗纒瓶循躑躅，允鋒翫翫翫。¹⁸

[The monarchs of the previous dynasty reckoned gains in the achievement of populace, imputed losses on the fault of themselves; reckoned correctness in the achievement of populace, imputed perversion on the fault of themselves.]

Now we believe that it comes from the chapter 24, *Zeyang* 則陽:

古之君人者，以得為在民，以失為在己；以正為在民，以枉為在己。

¹⁵ Tangut *tsjir* 攲 (personal character) seems to be a misunderstanding of *ze* 則 in Chinese text, which means here “incline, be tilt” (= *ce* 側), describing people who cannot sit stably after drinking too much liqueur, i.e., lost himself intoxicatedly.

¹⁶ NIE 2002b: 144–145.

¹⁷ NIE 2002b: 141–142.

¹⁸ EHW 1999: 148.

[The monarchs of the previous dynasty reckoned gains in the populace, imputed losses on themselves; reckoned correctness in the populace, imputed perversion on themselves.]

Besides a few Tangut words unequal to the Chinese original caused by translation technique, it is obvious that Cao Daole excerpted and translated the above paragraphs directly following the current edition of *Zhuangzi* without modification.

4. Translation slightly revised

On the contrary, both the anonymous translator and original compiler of *Jingshi zachao* were not so familiar with Chinese classics, even they did not collate the relevant original texts so as to provide a more correct Tangut version. The following example shows that the Tangut translator transposed the sequence of two sentences in original:¹⁹

羽翮駟：鸞慨駟翮禔，鸞慨駟翮禔。²⁰

[Zhuangzi said: A crow shows black by itself without dyeing, a crane shows white by itself without scouring.]

This paragraph, a metaphor for the sufficiency to keep the natural character, must have been a revised version from chapter 14 of *Zhuangzi*, *Tianyun* 天運:

鵠不日浴而白，烏不日黔而黑。

[A crane shows white without scouring every day, a crow shows black without dyeing every day.]

Another example may be identified with a famous aphorism from the chapter 6, *Dazongshi* 大宗師, saying that life is an irrevocable natural process, so that one should face it calmly:

大塊載我以形，勞我以生，佚我以老，息我以死，故善吾生者，乃所以善吾死也。

[The universe brings me into existence, makes me tired with survival, makes me relax with oldness, makes me restful with death, therefore being kind to my survival is just the reason for being kind to my death.]

¹⁹ It seems that Tanguts used to transpose the sequence of sentences in lots of their translation works (PENG 2011).

²⁰ EHW 1999: 122.

The corresponding Tangut version shows a simplified adaptation of the original:

𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚: 𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚, 𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚. 𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚, 𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚.²¹

[Zhuangzi said: It is temporarily tiring when survival, it is temporarily restful after death. Nothing is delighted about birth, nothing is distressed about death.]

It seems that the last two sentences in the Tangut version are not from the original text of *Zhuangzi*, but an explanation or revision made by a later compiler, for we see that the statement may also be found in *XWJC* and *WJ*.²²

5. Mistaken sources

The following two quotations in *Jingshi zachao* cannot be traced to *Zhuangzi*, but to other Chinese compositions else:

𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚: 𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚, 𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚; 𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚, 𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚. 𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚, 𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚𐞑𐞗𐞙𐞚?²³

[Zhuangzi said: When somebody is kind to me, I am also kind to him; when somebody is unkind to me, I am still kind to him. If I am not unkind to anybody, will anybody be unkind to me?]

Actually, the first part of this quotation derives from chapter 9 of *Hanshi Waizhuan* 韓詩外傳, and the original compiler mistakenly wrote the name Zilu as Zhuangzi and radically changed the meaning of the last sentence into “being kind to the others”:

子路曰: 人善我, 我亦善之; 人不善我, 我不善之。

[Zilu said: When somebody is kind to me, I am also kind to him; when somebody is unkind to me, I am unkind to him.]

²¹ EHW 1999: 119.

²² *XWJC* § 79: 勞我以生, 休我之[以]死. 生兮何足喜, 死兮何足悲 (ZHENG 1989: 202). Also see *WJ* § 60: 勞我以生, 息我以死. 生兮何足喜, 死兮何足憂 (ZHENG 1989: 65). Both the statements mean “it makes me tired with survival, it makes me restful with death. Nothing is delighted about birth, nothing is distressed about death”.

²³ EHW 1999: 117.

The Chinese source of the whole quotation may be found in both *XWJC* and *WJ*, in which the last sentence²⁴ seems to be a note added by the Chinese compiler.

Another quotation with a wrong source is given below, which tells the monarchs how to order their common people:

易精影：兼熾穉啾蕪，絳輟尾苜駁，浙誦誦慨駁；兼繆穉啾蕪，絳統穉
 穉，浙緝緝慨詭。²⁵

[Zhuangzi said: If ordering people timely, people will not feel tired though overworked; if ordering people morally, people will not raise grievances until death.]

Actually, this quotation derives from chapter *Jinxin shang* 盡心上 of *Mengzi*, and the original compiler mistakenly wrote the name Mengzi (Mencius) as Zhuangzi and slightly changed the meaning of the original:

孟子曰：以佚道使民，雖勞不怨；以生道殺民，雖死不怨殺者。

[Mencius said: To order people with a way of comfort, people will not feel resentful though overworked; to order people with a way of surviving, people will not resent the murderer though dying.]

The Chinese source of the quotation may be traced to both *XWJC* and *WJ* as the quotation from *Mengzi*.²⁶

6. Missing sentences of current edition

A few quotations cannot be traced to any traditional classics, but are only recorded in Dunhuang folk literature or even untraceable. The paragraph below includes parables that an inferior person cannot be entrusted with significant responsibility:

²⁴ Chinese original of *XWJC* § 210 and *WJ* § 180: 我既於人無惡，誰能於我惡乎？(ZHENG 1989: 238–239).

²⁵ EHW 1999: 126.

²⁶ *XWJC* § 251: 莊子云：若以逸道使，人雖勞而不怨；若以生道殺，而人至死不怨。 *WJ* § 94: 若以佚道使人，雖勞不倦；若以生道使人，雖死不怨 (ZHENG 1989: 248).

羽翳翳: 藜藜藜藜, 藜藜藜藜; 藜藜藜藜, 藜藜藜藜. 藜藜藜: 藜
藜藜藜, 藜藜藜藜. 藜藜藜藜, 藜藜藜藜?²⁷

[Zhuangzi said: Timber of wattle cannot be used as beams, arrow shafts cannot grow within wormwoods. Someone said: Decayed wood cannot be used, decayed grain cannot be seeded. How can a finch be the assistant of a phoenix though it is nimble enough?]

The first half of the above paragraph can be only found in *XWJC* § 271 (ZHENG 1989: 254) with approximately the same meaning, except the word *dasha* 大廈 (mansion) which is changed to Tangut *ljī* 徭 (arrow):

莊子曰: 荆荊之材, 不堪棟樑; 蓬蒿之中, 必無大廈。

[Zhuangzi said: Timber of wattle cannot be used as beams, there are not mansions in wormwoods].

Tangut *ji* 翳 is a syntactic marker to remind the ending of a direct speech when necessary, which shows that the following speech after “someone said” is not the original text of *Zhuangzi*, but someone’s commentary on the previous statement.

In the following paragraph, pursuing wealth is compared to sharpening a knife:

羽翳翳: 翳翳翳, 翳翳翳; 翳翳翳, 翳翳翳. 翳翳翳: 翳
翳翳, 翳翳翳. 翳翳翳, 翳翳翳.²⁸

[Zhuangzi said: One pursues a knife sharp in repairing it, but a sharpened knife may cut himself; one is never satisfied in pursuit of wealth, but abundant wealth will hurt himself. To pursue boundless wealth by limited life, boundless wealth is unending, but limited life soon ended here.]

The above paragraph comes from *XWJC* § 337 with the same meaning:²⁹

莊子云: 磨刀恨不利, 刀利傷人指; 求財恨不多, 財多還害己。

[Zhuangzi said: One repairs a knife being afraid that it is not sharp enough, but a sharp knife may cut his fingers; one pursues wealth being afraid that it is not enough, but abundant wealth will hurt himself.]

²⁷ EHW 1999: 123.

²⁸ EHW 1999: 129.

²⁹ (ZHENG 1989: 267) point out that this quotation also appears in Dunhuang manuscript *Mingxin Baojian* 明心寶鑑 (chapter *Cunxin* 存心).

This was closely followed by another paragraph which seems to be a commentary added by the Chinese compiler. It is noticeable that in another primary reader from Dunhuang, *Biancai Jiajiao* 辯才家教, These two paragraphs are also sequentially arranged.³⁰

恢駘: 羗恢祀, 羗恢羗; 羗羗恢祀, 羗羗恢. 羗羗恢羗, 羗恢恢? ³¹

[Then he said: Wealth cannot be gained without perverting the official business, pursuit of wealth will destroy oneself. In case one's life was destroyed, what is the use of wealth?]

The last two examples also cannot be traced to any Chinese materials:

芴精駘: 羗羗恢羗, 羗羗恢羗. 羗羗恢羗, 羗羗恢羗. ³²

[Zhuangzi said: If grains and treasures are always possessed at home, there is no worry to be hungry in natural disasters. If laws are carried out without slacking, the state will not be destroyed in man-made calamities].

芴精駘: 羗羗恢羗, 羗羗恢; 羗羗恢羗, 羗羗恢. ³³

[Zhuangzi said: Do not focus on wealth, for it can destroy human; leave away from amorousness, for it will destroy the body.]

In the richest collection of missing sentences of *Zhuangzi* available,³⁴ none of the above quotations with similar meaning can be traced. This fact leads us to estimate that they are newly found missing statements of Guo Xiang's edition and there might have been a prime edition spread in the Gansu Corridor at the Later Tang times. It should be noted that the words "wealth" (Chin. *cai* 財) and "amorousness" (Chin. *se* 色) are mentioned repeatedly in the above quotations, which is the subject rarely discussed by Zhuangzi. We might believe that those statements were annotations of a certain compiler who was influenced by folk aphorisms with Buddhist characteristics. Needless to say, it is an overwhelming disadvantage that many *Zhuangzi* commentaries in the collections of later philologists are confused with the original texts.

³⁰ Chinese original: 磨刀恨不利, 刀利傷人指; 求財恨不多, 財多還害己. 不枉法, 不得財; 若枉法, 禍必來 (ZHENG & ZHU 2002: 391). But *Zhuangzi* was not mentioned as source there.

³¹ EHW 1999: 129.

³² EHW 1999: 129.

³³ EHW 1999: 129.

³⁴ WANG 1988: 1383–1414.

7. More information of *Zhuangzi* spreading in Xixia

There are only two Chinese fragments, *Nanhua zhenjing* 南華真經 and *Lü guanwen jin Zhuangzi waipian yi* 呂觀文進莊子外篇義, that were identified in the Kozlov collection from Khara-khoto,³⁵ Unexpectedly, both proved to be xylographs from the Song dynasty instead of Xixia,³⁶ indicating the Taoist books, even their Chinese edition, was not widely spread in Xixia.

The word “Taoism/Taoist” is called *gju tsjir* 𪚩𪚩 in Tangut, literally meaning “religion of relief”. As recorded in volume 11 of Tangut *Tiansheng Code*, a trainee who intended to be a formal Taoist during the official examination had to prove that he was familiar with 13 Taoist texts,³⁷ but *Zhuangzi* and *Laozi* were not included there. Considering all the Taoist texts catalogued in *Tiansheng Code* entitled in Chinese phonetic transcription, we believe that the population of Chinese Taoists in Xixia was far more numerous than Tangut. Though the Xixia government set up a special organ to manage Taoist affairs, *gju tsjir tshja iow rjar* 𪚩𪚩𪚩𪚩𪚩𪚩 (Department of the Merits of Taoism), which seems to be established under the background of Buddhism, the Xixia royal family did not need its religious service, except its management over the domestic Taoists who were regarded as unconventional monks.³⁸ It is beyond doubt that the propagation of Taoism was not well-known as Buddhism in Xixia, especially its principal monuments *Zhuangzi* and *Laozi* in the later times.

Under such a cultural environment, none of the inhabitants in Xixia were aware of *Zhuangzi*, except a few higher intellectuals such as Cao Daole, who was strongly affected by the Chinese literature. The Taoist works, represented by *Zhuangzi*, were spread only in a very limited circle in Xixia.

³⁵ PELLIOU 1914.

³⁶ MEN'SHIKOV 1984: 30–31.

³⁷ KYCHANOV 1989: 161.

³⁸ NIE 2018.

Abbreviations

EHW: *Ecang Heishuicheng Wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻 (Heishuicheng manuscript collected in Russia). Eluosi Kexueyuan Dongfang Yanjiusuo Shengbidebao Fensuo 俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所, Zhongguo Shehui Kexueyuan Minzu Yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院民族研究所, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社 ed., vol. 11. Shanghai: Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House, 1999.

WJ: *Wenci jiaolin* 文詞教林. P. 2612.

XWJC: *Xinji wenci jiujiing chao* 新集文詞九經抄. P. 3990, 3368, 3169, 3469, 3615.

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Anna Turanskaya

An Old Uyghur Manuscript Fragment Dedicated to *Caitya* Veneration

DOI: 10.55512/wmo77048

Abstract: *Caitya* is the name for the holy places tightly connected with the Buddha's great deeds, that are commonly praised and worshipped in the Buddhist tradition. These worshipping texts generally called *Caityastotra* were most probably widespread among the Uyghur Buddhists. A rather brief text *Caityastotra* is included in the preface of the late edition of the Old Uyghur *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama sūtra* also known as Altun Yaruk sudur. Several fragments of the other versions are found in the Turfan collection of Berlin. The newly identified fragment dedicated to the third *Caitya* veneration is preserved in the Serindia collection of the IOM, RAS. The aim of the present article is to provide transliteration, transcription and translation of the text.

Key words: Old Uyghur Buddhist literature, *Caitya* veneration, *Caityastotra*, Serindia collection of the IOM, RAS

At the turn of the 10th–11th cc. CE, Buddhism became one of the major driving forces of the Old Uyghur culture. It affected not only visual arts, architecture, literature, but also brought the new concept of space, incorporating the territories inhabited by the Old Uyghur in the Buddhist' cosmopolis. The “cosmopolis” was united through the recognition of the sacred sites in India associated with the life of the Buddha. Considered to be located in the central realm of Buddhism, these holy places were not just sites of pilgrimages by the devotees in search for the “true” teachings. They were also transferred to faraway landscapes by means of *stūpas* and *caityas* denoting the tradition's spiritual presence.

The term ‘*caitya*’ (‘that which is worthy to be gazed upon’, ‘worshipful’) in Sanskrit connotes a ‘tumulus, sanctuary or shrine’ and refers to any sacred place or object of veneration such as a burial mound, sacred tree, relics, etc. both in Buddhist and non-Buddhist contexts. The term *stupa* (‘heap’, ‘pile’) was applied to a reliquary or shrine containing the remains of a sainted person and/or artifacts (*śarīra* relics) associated with him. The distinction between *stūpa* and *caitya* is rather blurred and difficult to determine.¹ From antiquity, these terms were quite often used as synonyms in the Buddhist texts.² The construction and ritual veneration of Buddhist *stūpas/caityas* began with the death of Shakyamuni Buddha.³ The tradition eventually recognized “eight great caityas” (Skt. mahācaitya) for pilgrimage and veneration. They were erected to commemorate Buddha’s eight renowned deeds that took place in Lumbinī, Bodhgayā, Sārnāth (Vārāṇasī), Śrāvastī, Sāmkāśya, Rājagṛha, Vaiśālī, and Kuśinagara. The *caityas* in Lumbinī, Bodhgayā, Sārnāth (Vārāṇasī) and Kuśinagara were constructed to epitomize four primary events of the Buddha’s life, *inter alia* his miraculous birth, enlightenment, first sermon of the *dharma*, and passing to *parinirvāṇa*.⁴ The Buddha’s defeat of heretical teachers by displaying miraculous powers is associated with Śrāvastī, and his descent from the abode of the Trāyastriṃśa gods — with Sāmkāśya. There is no unanimity on the events that took place in other two places. According to various sources, in Vaiśālī the Buddha gave up the

¹ L. de la Vallee Poussin noted, a Dharmagupta (7th c.) *Vinaya* commentary suggested the existence of this technical distinction between shrines with relics (*stūpa*) and without them (*caitya*) (POUSSIN 1937: 284). On the other hand, many Buddhist texts do not follow this criterion. Thus, the Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing (義淨, 635–713) who traveled to India between 671 and 695, indicated: “...when the people make images and *caityas* which consist of gold, silver, copper, iron, earth, lacquer, bricks, and stone, or when they heap up the snowy sand, they put into the images or *caityas* two kinds of *śarīras*: 1. the relics of the Great Teacher; 2. the *gāthā* of the chain of causation” (TAKAKASU 1896: 150).

² The vagueness resulted that these terms were translated similarly to various languages of Central Asian.

³ According to tradition, the relics (*śarīras*) left after the Buddha’s cremation, were divided into eight portions, and each was placed in a *stūpa*. Two additional *stūpas* were erected, one over to the ashes of cremation pyre and one over the vessel (*droṇa*) used to divide the relics (SKORUPSKI 2012: 183). The fate of these *stūpas/caityas* is obscure. Some Buddhist text indicate that emperor Aśoka (304–232 BC) extracted the Buddha’s relics and divided them between 84000 *stūpas* erected in various parts of his empire (STRONG 1983: 109–110). The detailed analysis of narratives and rituals associated with *caityas* is present in (LEWIS 1994; LEWIS 2000: 21–39).

⁴ According to some Buddhist texts, it was the Buddha himself who instructed the disciples to build *stūpas* and go on pilgrimages to the four places of his principal life events.

remainder of his life or was offered the honey by the monkey, and in Rājagṛha he delivered the sermon on the reconciliation and unity of the Buddhist monastic community (Skt. *saṅgha*) and/or subjugated the mad elephant Nālāgiri.

In the Old Uyghur literature, the term *čaiti* appears rather rare, and only mentions of the eight *caityas* (sākiz čaiti) could be found.⁵ These ‘mentions’ admonish the believers to revere holy places in India that were connected with Buddha’s life. The most known nowadays Uyghur text concerning *caityas*, *Caityastotra*, is a separate work included into the preface of the 17th c. edition of Altun Yaruk sudur (Skt. Suvarṇaprabhāsottama sūtra, AY) preserved in the collection of the IOM, RAS.⁶ Manuscript and block printed fragments preserved in Turfan collection in Berlin⁷ of another version allow to assume that *Caityastotra* was also transmitted as a separate work among the Uyghurs.

Two fragments of Uyghur text on *caitya* veneration, edited by P. Zieme in 2007, were considered until recently to be one of a kind.⁸ Concerning the second and fourth *caitya* of the traditional set of eight, they commemorate

⁵ Skt. *caitya*, Chin. 提 *zhī ti*, Khotansak. *caityā*, *caitye*, *cīya-*, Tib. *mchod rten*, Mong. *čayiti*, *takil-un oron*. In the Old Uyghur texts the following examples could be found: *bo nom nomliš oron čaiti tegm-ä kut-lug yer oron tetir* “the place where the *Dharma* is preached is the blessed place called *caitya*” (AY, SI 4498, Chapter IV, 73v/1–3); *tükäl bilgä t(ä)ḡri t(ä)ḡri-si burhan-nuḡ iduk kutlug säkiz čaiti kulmıš yer orun-ların tükäl körüp* “[the one that] completely saw all places of the perfectly wise Buddha, the god of gods, [that had been] made the sacred blessed eight *caityas*” (AY, SI 4498, Preface (süü), 2r/16–19); *[i]duk säkiz čaiti-lıg iz orukug temäk sav kizläklig yörüg-lär ordusı m(a)hayan nomug tegüci söz birlä koš körši tetir*: “The saying about the traces of the eight holy *caityas* is comparable and parallel to the word about the Mahāyāna teaching, the palace of the secret meanings” (Xuanzang Biography: Mainz 819 (recto/2–5). ZIEME 2007: 165); *arayadan čaytı orun-ta arıg čahsap(a)t-lıg käd toyın altun-lug tag-ča čoglangay* “In the monastery and *caitya* places monk with pure moral precepts (Skt. śikṣāpada) will shine like a golden mountain” (Insadi sūtra: Ch/U7570; TEZCAN 1974: 1024–1026). The term **āstup**, **stup** (Skt. stūpa, Khotansak. sthūva-, Sogd. ’st’wṣ-, Chin. 窣堵波 *sudubo*, Mong. *suburḡan*) mainly refers to an ‘architectural structure’ in the Old Uyghur texts, for example, *birök kim kayı kiši-lär sačuk yaḡluk köñülin ärsär ymä stup-ka vrhar-ka kirip* “If people, being confused and wrong-minded, enter the stupa and vihara...” (Kšanti kılğuluk nom. ZIEME 1991: 54); *azu idiz tag-ta ärsär : azu idiz äv-tä ärsär : azu stup-nuḡ içintä orguluk ol* “If it is on the holy mountain or in the holy house, it is located in the stupa” (Dhāraṇī sūtra: U374. MÜLLER 1910: 38) etc.

⁶ The manuscript is preserved under the call number SI 4498 (M/1). *Caityastotra* included in the Preface was edited by Dieter Maue and Klaus Röhbörn (MAUE & RÖHBÖRN 1979).

⁷ RASCHMANN 2000: no. 018; ZIEME 2007.

⁸ WILKENS 2020: 191.

the awakening and defeat of Māra at Uruvilvā⁹ and the Buddha's preaching to his mother the Trāyastriṃśa gods in Sāṃkāśya, respectively. Another peculiar Uyghur fragment *SI 5091* (Kr IV/400) preserved in the Serindia collection of the IOM, RAS, deals with the third *caitya* describing the first sermon of the Buddha in Sārṇāth (Vārāṇasī).

SI 5091 (Kr IV/400) is a folio of booklet 15.2×12 cm in size. It was acquired by the Russian consul in Urumchi Nikolai Krotkov in Turfan oasis (provenance is unknown) and brought to St. Petersburg in summer, 1911. Paper used in the manuscript is laid (6/cm), one-layered, thin and even paper nowadays of light brownish colour. The text is written on recto and verso sides, 8 lines each. The margin found on verso only contains the folio number '29'. The text starts with two lines in red, giving a kind of a title (marking the place to be venerated), and continues in black ink. The 'rails' that denote top and bottom edges of the text were made with red ink (13.1 cm). Line spacing 1.5 cm. The folio is complete despite several insignificant holes and traces of insects.

St. Petersburg fragment bears a striking similarity with the above mentioned two folios kept in the Turfan collection of Berlin under the call numbers *U3366* and *U3367*.¹⁰ However, the leaf number on the margin is written vertically on the left side of the text, on the other hand, in *U3366* and *U3367* the entry at the top perpendicularly to the text and mentions leaf number and short title 'čaiti'. Despite this fact, the fragment kept in the IOM could be considered if not part of the same manuscript with Berlin folios, but written in the framework of the same tradition.

⁹ The other fragment *SI 1610* (Kr II/31) on *caitya* veneration identified thanks to P. Zieme is parallel to fragment *U3366* preserved in Turfan collection in Berlin. The folio fragment 18.4×11.2 cm in size contains 5 lines on recto and verso sides. On verso side Uyghur pagination '25' is indicated. As the text was edited by P. Zieme (ZIEME 2007) only transliteration is given below:

<i>SI 1610 / recto</i>	<i>SI 1610 / verso</i>	beš otuz
01 el-tä urbilvay suzak-t[a]	01 [t(ä)ŋri oghılıg š(ı)mn]ug :	
02 nayrančan ögüz kıdıg-ınta :	02 [altı] kırk kolti š(ı)mnu-lug	
03 ašvant atlg mahabodi sögüt altın	03 süü-si čäriği birlä kilišmar	
04 [-ınta v(a)čr]azan örgün üzä oluru	04 tegmä nizvani-lıg š(ı)mnug	
05 [yarlıkap toŋuz yıl ikint]i ay (...)	05 tokuz tökün nizvani-l[ıg]	

¹⁰ Transliteration, translation, along with facsimiles, were published by P. Zieme (ZIEME 2007).

SI 5091 contains the text concerning the third *caitya*.¹¹ According to various preserved Chinese and Tibetan (canonic and post-canonic) works, after attaining enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, the Buddha traveled to the Deer Park at R̥ṣivādāna near Vāraṇāsī, where the five monks whom he met before were practicing austerities. Shakyamuni presented to them the first sermon, in which he briefly laid out the entire exposition of the Buddha dharma, such as the Middle way, the Eightfold Path, the Four Noble Truths, the origin and cessation of suffering, and how right living leads to knowledge, peace and nirvana.

No parallel for the text of the fragment in any other language has come up so far and there are some peculiar details mentioned which are unique to the Old Uyghur text. So, one may suppose that it was most probably compiled by the Uyghur monk.¹²

Transliteration, transcription

SI 5091 / recto

(01)	'wycwnc 'wyz 'lyksyz 'wn kwyclwk 'wmwq 'yn'q	üçünç üzäliksiz on küçlüg umug inag
(02)	pwrq'n p'qsy : kws [///]l 'yl t' p'r'n's	burhan bahşı : kaš [kavš]al eltä baranas
(03)	p'lyqd' 'yržyv'd'n 'ryq t' syqwn l'r nynk	balıkda irživadan arıgta sıgunlarını
(04)	prkynt' nykrwt swykw t'wypyt' : twnkwz yyl	b(ä)rkintä nigrot sögüt tüpintä : toğuz yıl
(05)	s'kyz ync 'y s'kyz y'nkyq' [']wtr'st ywltwz	säkizinc ay säkiz yarıka utraš(a)t yultuz
(06)	q' : prqmy mwqwrt q' kyc'lyk 'wydt' t'qdyn	-ka br(a)hmi muhurtka kečälig üdtä tagdın
(07)	yynk'k ywwz l'nyp 'wykyrw s'vynw qyq qwmyy	yınak yüüzlänip ögürü sävinü kıg komıy
(08)	'ty kwyt'rwlmys 't'sy k'syp tnkry pwrq'n	atı kötrülmiş atası kašip t(ä)ñri burhan

¹¹ The fragment was first edited by Abdurishid Yakup in his dissertation "Studies on some late Uighur Buddhist texts preserved in Russia" (YAKUP 2000). The dissertation is rather difficult to find and was unavailable to me. I would like to thank Prof. Peter Zieme for his help in editing the fragment.

¹² This fact is impossible to prove until the colophon of the text would be identified.

SI 5091 / verso	twqwz 'wtwz	tokuz otuz
(01)	tynp'rw 'vrylm'dwk drm'c'kr tykm' nwmlwq tylk'n	tinbärü ävrilmädük d(a)rmačakr tegmä nomlug tilgän
(02)	yk s'p yyrtyncw 'rklyky 'z rw' tnkry nynk	–ig sab yertincü ärkligi äzrua t(ä)ḡriniḡ
(03)	'wytwk ynk' y'nkyrty 'vyrw t'kz yntwrw	ötüḡiḡä yaḡırtı ävirü tägzintürü
(04)	yrlyq'p : pys p'nc'ky twyyn l'r s'kyz twym'n	y(a)rılıkap : beš pañcake toyınlar säkiz tümän
(05)	tnkry l'r p'syn 'wz q'ly 'wd'cy v'ynyky l'r	t(ä)ḡrilär bašin ozgalı udaçı vai- nikelar
(06)	nynk nwmlwq kwyz yn "cyp q'wtrwlm' q'lyq	–niḡ nomlug közin açıp kutrul- mıklıḡ
(07)	kwysws yn q'ntwrwp [///]q'rw 'wyd swr'dy	küsüšin kanturup : [tur]karu üd suradı
(08)	lyq tws q't'ky "lqynm'dyn swqwlm'dyn	–lıḡ tuškaatäḡi alkinmadın sugul- madın

Translation

Thirdly. The unsurpassed, the One of ten powers,¹³ hope and trust, Buddha teacher in the country of *Kāśīkośala*, in the city of *Vāraṇāsī*, at the deer park *Rṣivādāna*, under the *Nyagrodha* tree, on the eighth day of the eighth month of the Pig year, [under] the star of *Uttarāṣādhā*,¹⁴ at night, at the *Brahma muhūrta*,¹⁵ facing to the North, being happy and rejoicing, upon the request of

¹³ Skt. daśabala, Chin. shi li 十力, Tib. stobs bcu. The list of these powers differs in various sources.

¹⁴ Chin. dou xiu 斗宿, Tib. chu smad. The constellation corresponds to the eighth day of the eighth month.

¹⁵ 1 hour and 36 minutes before sunrise. Literally meaning “the Creator's hour”, it is traditionally the penultimate phase or muhūrta of the night and is considered an auspicious time for all practices of yoga and most appropriate for meditation, worship or any other religious practice. The term **muhurt** is found in another fragment of *caitya* veneration edited by Peter Zieme and Maitrisimit: ikinti ay säkiz yaḡıka puš yultuzka vičay atl(ı)ḡ muhurtka “second month, eighth (day), under the star Puṣya, at the hour called vicaya” (TEKIN 1980: 52; LAUT 1986: 125; ZIEME 2007: 167).

god *Brahma*, the ruler of *Sahāloka dhātu*,¹⁶ deigned to turn again the *dharma* wheel called *dharmacakra*, that had not been turned since [the time of] his father, the Buddha *Kaśyapa*, whose name is elevated, opened the *dharma*-eyes¹⁷ and fulfilled the liberation desires of the *vaineeyikas*¹⁸ enabled to be liberated headed by the five *pañcaka*¹⁹ monks and the eighty thousand *devas*. For everlasting long period without being drained or disappearing [...].

The preserved portion of text corresponds to the basic Buddhist tradition. Thus, in *Caityastotra* included into the Altun Yaruk preface, the third *caitya* is presented in the following manner: “I bow to the *caityas* of four kinds of *jñāna*, that destroy and demolish all *kleśas*, [located in the place, where Buddha] deigned to turn the *dharma* wheel *dharmacakra*, that had not been turned before, [while residing] in the country of *Kāśīkośala*, in the city of *Vāraṇāsī*” (kas kavšal el-tä baranas balık-ta ävrilmätük darmaçakir nom-lug tilgän-ig ävirü y(a)rlıkap : kadgu niz-vani-larıg üzdäci kädäci : tört törlüg iñana bilgä biliglig çaiti-larka yükünürm(ä)n ::).²⁰

The significant difference of circumstantiation is clear. While the locations connected with Buddha’s preaching in Benares (the country of *Kāśīkośala*, city of *Vāraṇāsī*, deer park *Ṛṣivādāna*, and *Nyagrodha* tree) are mentioned frequently in Buddhist texts in various languages, the time span (eighth day of the eighth month of the pig year, *Uttarāśādhā* constellation, hour (Skt. *muhūrta*) called *Brahma*) are absent in any Central Asian tradition. In the case of the important for the Buddhist tradition events described in St. Petersburg and Berlin fragments, the “notion of sacred space is combined with a detailed dating, which can be interpreted as a particular, auspicious moment”.²¹

¹⁶ Chin. suo po shi jie 娑婆世界, “the world of endurance”, that refers to *Jambudvīpa* or the Three-Thousand Large Thousandfold World. Same epithet of *Brahma* is found in Mongolian language: *sablokadadu-yin ejen esrün* or *sab yirtinčü-yin ejen esrün*.

¹⁷ Skt. *dharmacakrhu*.

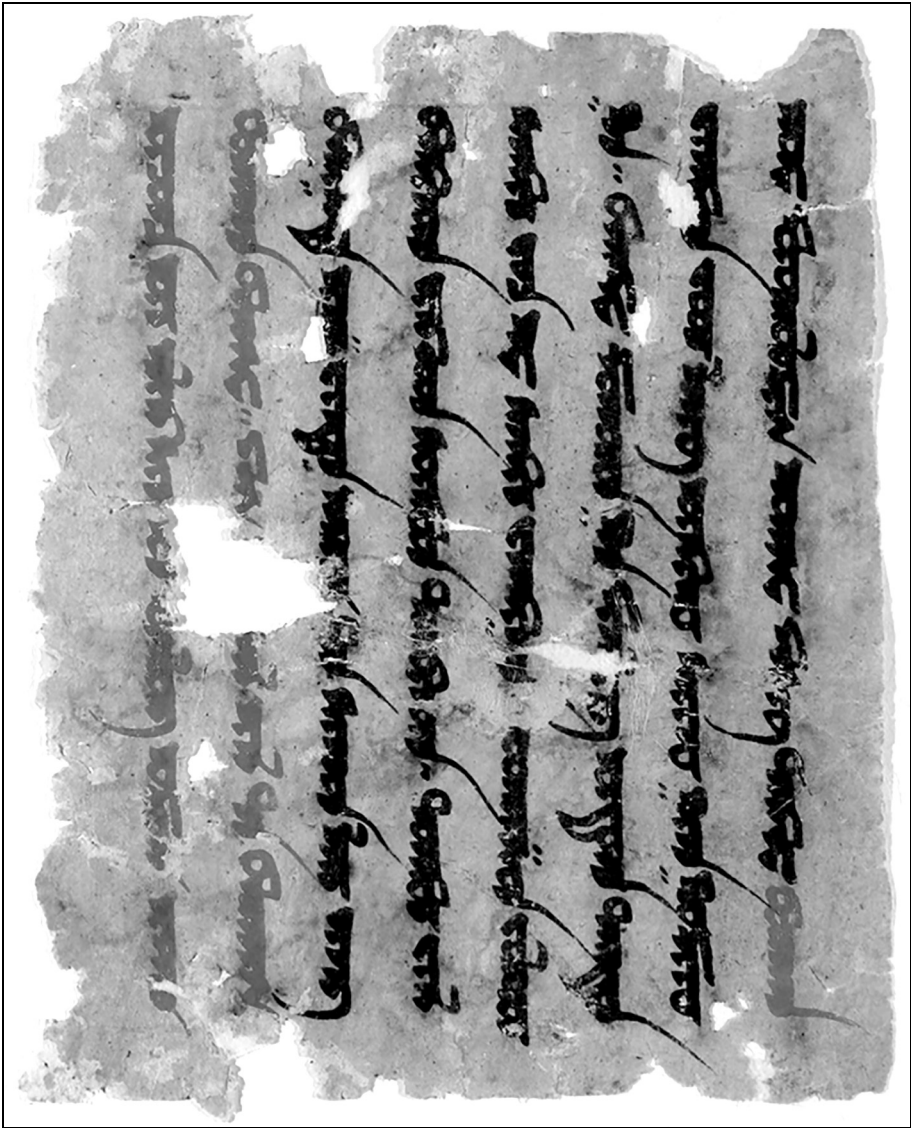
¹⁸ Skt. *vaineeyika*, a prospective convert of *śrāvakas*. About the term see EDGERTON 1959: 510; LANGBERG 2012. In the Uyghur literature the term appears infrequently. In Old Uyghur translation of *Abhidharmakośa* the terms *vaynikelar*, *vaynike tnl(i)glar* and *vaynikelig tnl(i)glar* are found (Shōgaito 1993: 392b). The latter is also used in *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (GENG SHIMIN & LAUT & WILKENS 2005: 80), *Maitrisimit nom bitig* (KASAI 2008: 178).

¹⁹ Skt. *pañcaka*, ‘the retinue of five’. This is the term used to name the group of five men who were the first disciples of the Buddha. According to *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, their names are *Ajñāta Kaundinya*, *Aśvajita*, *Bhadrika*, *Vāśpa*, *Mahānāman* (TEKIN 1980: 40).

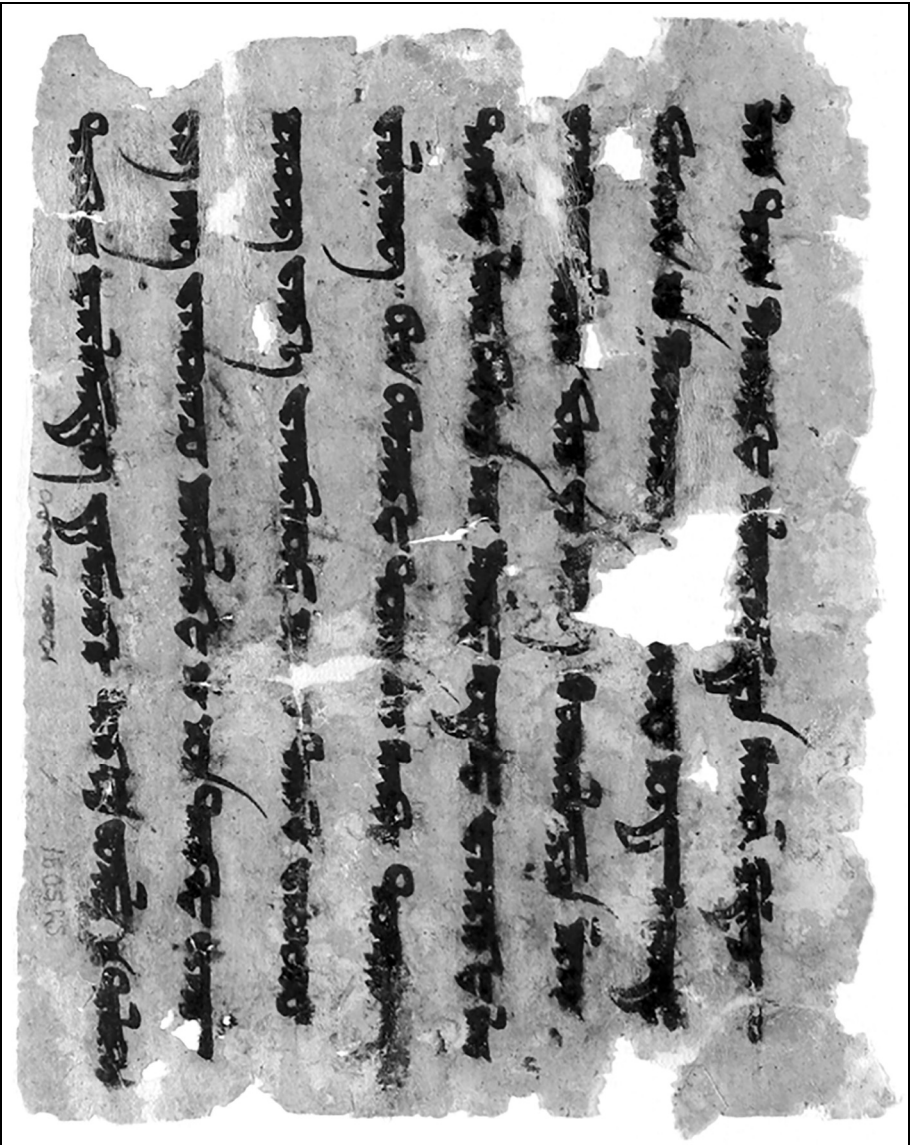
²⁰ SI 4498, Preface (süü), 17r/ 5–11.

²¹ WILKENS 2020: 192.

SI 5091



Recto



Verso

The preserved in St. Petersburg and Berlin fragments allow to assume that the order of the eight caityas differed from the commonly known order mentioned in other Buddhist texts. However, as only three fragments belonging to this version of *Caityastotra* have been identified, the corresponding list of eight *caityas* to be worshipped remain obscure.

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Alexander Zorin

Tibetan Texts from Khara-Khoto on Acala and Jvālāmukhī Preserved at the IOM, RAS

DOI: 10.55512/wmo90977

Abstract: The paper deals with two Tibetan manuscripts from Khara-Khoto that contain instructions on a variety of Tantric rites connected with the wrathful deity Acala treated here as Bhagavān, i.e. an Enlightened one, and the demoness Jvālāmukhī (Kha 'bar ma). Summarized contents of all the fragments are introduced in the paper. Both manuscripts mention the 11th c. Indian guru Vajrāsana whose Tibetan disciple Bari Lotsāwa is said to have brought his instruction on the Jvālāmukhī *torma* offering to Tibet. Another line of transmission of this practice goes back to Atiśa. The practice was certainly shaped by the first half of the 12th c. but the Indian authenticity of the demoness who gave it her name seems to be somewhat dubious.

Key words: Khara-Khoto, Tibetan manuscripts, Tantric rites, Tantric deities, Vajrāsana, Bari Lotsāwa, Atiśa

The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM) of the Russian Academy of Sciences preserves a great number of texts found in Khara-Khoto by P.K. Kozlov (1863–1935) during his famous Mongolia and Sichuan expedition (1907–1909). Texts in Tangut compose the bulk of his findings, texts in Chinese are also quite numerous. In comparison with them the Tibetan part is relatively small, the items being mostly fragments of manuscripts.¹ The recent cataloguing work carried out by a group of the IOM researchers² has shown that the collection has about 90 texts of various size³ that can be

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¹ Fragments of only two block prints are found, see HAMANAKA & SIZOVA 2020; TURANSKAYA 2021.

² The project (supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research) was carried out by A. Zorin, A. Sizova, A. Turanskaya in 2018–2020.

³ From single items to rather big fragments, the biggest one consists of almost 90 folios. The presence of such items makes the IOM collection different from the one kept in the British Library that does not have any lengthy fragments. TAKEUCHI & IUCHI 2016.

safely attributed to Khara-Khoto. About one half of this number is covered by texts on Tantric rituals. Since all of them are fragments it is not always possible to clearly identify which deities they are devoted to. However, three groups of manuscripts that relate to the cults of several major Tantric deities were defined, namely those on 1) Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī, 2) Vajrapāṇi, 3) Mahākāla and Śrī Devī. One manuscript presents a collection of texts on Acala, a less famous Tantric deity, but treated as Bhagavān, i.e. an enlightened one.⁴ Another manuscript contains instructions on the *torma* (ritual cakes) of Jvālāmukhī (*Kha 'bar ma* in Tibetan), a demoness or minor goddess who gave her name to this practice but whose actual role in the rites described is not quite clear.

This paper is aimed at considering the manuscripts on Acala and Jvālāmukhī (both have references to the 11th c. Indian master Vajrāsana the Younger⁵) while each of the three major groups deserves a separate analysis. The main purpose of the paper is to provide scholars of Tangut Buddhism with concrete data on Tantric rites attested in the Tibetan sources from Khara-Khoto. The Tibetan texts of the manuscripts are to be presented in full in the forthcoming catalogue, therefore only few samples of them are published here. To avoid some difficulties that an entire translation of the texts would have caused I decided to summarize their contents, securing thus a larger corpus of information to be available at once to the colleagues.

I. The collection of ritual texts on Acala: XT-19 and XT-173

Although presently Acala does not belong to the circle of most popular objects of worship in Tibetan Buddhism, it is certainly a recognized figure. There are numerous texts (hymns, *sādhanās*, etc.) that deal with him, some of them being canonical translations found in the Bstan 'gyur. Six forms of his are included in the Seventh Panchen Lama's (1782–1853) album of Buddhist iconography known as *Rin byung*.⁶ The first of them is also attested in

⁴ He is associated with the Buddha Akṣobhya, both names having the same meaning 'Unmovable', 'Unshakable'.

⁵ See his profile at the BDR: <https://library.bdrc.io/show/bdr:P8224> (access: 22.12.2021).

⁶ WILLSON & BRAUEN 2000: nos. 173–178. According to Tāranātha (1575–1634), whose collection of *sādhanās* was used by the Seventh Panchen Lama for his album, Blue Acala is a "remover of internal obstacles among the six Vajrāsana Yidam Deities". Ibid.: 282.

the Tangut icons brought by Kozlov from Khara-Khoto and held in the State Hermitage.⁷ It is the most standard form of Acala with two arms that grasp a sword and a lasso and with two legs, the left knee resting on the earth. Most probably, it was this form that the Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto were devoted to. However, it may be only an assumption since the fragments we have contain no description of the deity.⁸

The extant manuscript consists of twelve numbered folios, almost all of them (nos. 7, 11–20) belong to XT-19 while one folio (no. 10) belongs to XT-173. The folios are of small pothi format, about 19×9 cm in size. Each folio is made of two layers, paper is brownish. The text is written quite clearly in the *dbu med* script, seven lines per page. However, some syllables cannot be read easily because of damage made by water; f. 15 misses a small fragment with the text on the right side. There are no frames drawn, but the foliation is written to the left of the text area on the recto sides. It is difficult to date the manuscript, but I think it could be produced during the Xi Xia time, i.e. in the 12th or early 13th cc.

We cannot know how many folios the manuscript used to consist of, and whether it was devoted solely to Acala. All the present texts belong to his cult, only one of them being complete. The contents of each part can be summarized as follows.

1. *Bcom ldan 'das myi g.yo' ba'i chu sbyin gi cho ga*

F. <...>7a1–7a8.

This is the ending of the text called in the colophon *The Ritual of Water Offering to Bhagavān Acala*. One visualizes the space in front to be filled with sentient beings and irradiates shining from a *bīja* (seed syllable) in one's heart. Just by touch of the light all sentient beings are purified of their sins, then all get transformed into the body of Acala. A three-pointed *vajra* on his tongue serves as a pipe through which *amṛtā* (divine nectar) is pulled and consumed. Acala is visualized as being full of splendor and shining. All people present dedicate their roots of virtues to the purpose of the Enlightenment, and then the water offering is over. The body of Acala gets invisible, the water (that was used) is poured on earth.

⁷ Access numbers: XX-2375, XX-2376, XX-2378, XX-2379; there is also a block printed icon XX-2537; their digital copies and descriptions are available on the website of the State Hermitage: <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage?lng=en> (access: 22.12.2021).

⁸ The Hermitage collection has an icon XX-2374 that presents a four-handed form surrounded with four minor figures; it does not have a corresponding form in *Rin byung*.

2. [Instructions concerning a protection circle]

F. 7b1—7b7<?>.

Only the beginning is available since this fragment can hardly belong to the same text with the following fragment. Homage is paid to Bhagavān Acala. The topic of the text, i.e. the protection circle aimed at pacifying all the obstacles, is defined. The instructions on how this magical object should be produced are set out. The preparatory aspects include time (the day of the constellation of Puṣya⁹ or the Planet Jupiter), materials for drawing (silk or paper), for making a reed pen (palm tree bark) and ink (based on elephant bile, mixed with ‘male’ white sandal and ‘female’ saffron). The schematic description of the protection circle with the name of the object of the protection written in the middle is provided. It was certainly followed with the instructions on the consecration of the circle, but only the beginning of this passage is available to us.

3. *Ma ’dal gi cho ga*

F. <...>10a1–10b4.

The extant fragment of the text called in the colophon *The Maṇḍala Ritual* starts with a remark that ends up the topic of the *maṇḍala* consecration, the brief and extensive *maṇḍalas* being mentioned. Then the *maṇḍala* of nine deities is exposed, their names, locations and mantras being provided. Acala is placed in the center, Vairocana (white) in the east, Ratnasambhava (yellow) in the south, Amitābha (red) in the west, Amoghasiddhi (green) in the north, Buddhhalocanā in the southeast, Māmakī in the southwest, Pāṇḍaravāsīnī in the northwest, Tārā in the northeast.¹⁰ Offerings are made to each of the nine deities and concluding manipulations with the *jñānasattva* and *samayasattva* performed,¹¹ the latter being dissolved in one’s heart. This is the end of the fragment concerning the *extensive maṇḍala*, this phrase preceding the colophon. It is not clear whether the text contained a part on the *brief maṇḍala*, too.

⁹ One of the twenty-eight “lunar mansions” in Indian astrology (the system was adopted by the Tibetans), it mostly corresponds with the constellation of Cancer.

¹⁰ Acala takes the place of Akṣobhya in this paradigm, both names having the same meaning ‘Unmovable’, ‘Unshakable’. The four female deities located at the intercardinal directions are treated as divine consorts of the four Buddhas respectively.

¹¹ *Samayasattva* is an imaginary body of a deity visualized by the yogin who then invites the real deity, called *jñānasattva*, to come from their abode and animate the imaginary body (a special procedure is used for this).

4. *Myi g.yo' ba'i sbyin sregs kyi cho ga*

4a. °rmaḷ 'byor ba'i don du <kya?>ng dum du byas pa

F. 10b5–14b8.

This text and the following one are treated here as two parts of the same entity although each of them has its own colophon. Both of them, however, have the same title, *The Ritual of the Fire Offering to Acala*, appended with different additional characteristics that rather look like as commentary remarks than parts of the original titles. The addition to the first text states that it is “divided into fragments for a yogin’s convenience”.

The text begins with a homage to the Protector Acala and designation of its aim as pacification of the *vighna* and *vināyaka* demons of obstacles. The hearth should fit this kind of ritual. Thus, it must be white and round, of certain size in width and depth, anointed with fragrant water, etc. The ritual utensils, offering substances and materials for making fire (including fragrant firewood, half a cubit in length) are briefly discussed. The yogin, full of compassion, takes a seat, facing the east, wearing white clothes and crown with skulls; he radiates white mantras and light. He visualizes himself as the wrathful king (apparently, Acala), this process being outlined. Then the actual ritual starts, the fire being “taken from the *saṃgha*”, i.e. the yogin’s assistants light it. Oil is poured three times, and in the flaming hearth the deity of fire is generated. The process is described in some details, including iconographic features (the color of his body is reddish-yellow, he has one face and four arms, the right two holding the hearth and beads, the left two — the curved stick) and a stanza to be recited to invite the *jñānasattva* of the deity:

Arrive here, come here, Great Spirit,
King of Fire, Supreme Ascetic!
To taste the food thrown in fire,
Please, take the flaming seat!

Afterwards, the offerings are made with mantras and hymns. Between the five offerings and offerings of various seeds, etc., the quality of fire is inspected. Any obstacles found are removed by means of the Wrathful King’s mantra and white mustard seeds.

When this stage is over, the yogin visualizes the hearth as the emptiness, from which appear the syllable PAM̐, that gets transformed into a multicolored lotus, and RAM̐, that gets transformed into a sun; the dark-blue HŪM̐

appears atop of them and gets transformed into a sword with the same syllable on its hilt. It produces light that fulfills all the aims of the sentient beings. Then the light returns and gets transformed into the body of the Wrathful King. The invitation of his *jñānasattva* is described. The offerings to him follow one after another, the substances he receives include red sticks, sesame, straw, white mustard seeds, curds, milk-soup, fruit, barley, wheat, medicines. This topic is discussed at some length; all necessary acts of worship, including a praise and confession of sins, being completed, the yogin expresses pleas to the deity about protecting the sentient beings, fulfilling their aims, granting appropriate *siddhis* (supernatural powers). Then the *jñānasattva* leaves for Uru (*Dbu ru*) in Central Tibet but the yogin asks him to visit their place later again. The *samayasattva* is dissolved in the yogin's heart.

The final series of offerings to the deity of fire conclude the ritual, the remaining substances being burnt. The *jñānasattva* leaves, the *samayasattva* is visualized as ash in the shape of the deity of fire. Then the *torma* is shared, the one-hundred syllable mantra of Vajrasattva¹² recited, the ash, etc. collected.

This text is said to be composed in accordance with the Tantra in Nine Chapters (*le'u rgu ba'i rgyud*)¹³ and instructions of Guru Vajrāsana (*'gu ru rdo rje gdan pa*).

4b. °bla ma rdo rje gdan pas mdzad pa'

F. 15a1–15b7.

The additional part of the title announces that the text was “composed by Guru Vajrāsana” — the same master (just the word *bla ma* is used instead of *'gu ru*) who was mentioned at the end of the text 4a as one of the two sources of information about the pacifying ritual. The latter belongs to the first of the four types of tantric rites. The text 4b provides the details that are necessary to perform the three other types of rites using the same frame of actions.

The increasing fire offering is made to increase riches and merits. The hearth is rectangular and yellow. The fire is taken from near the king.

¹² This mantric prayer is considered the quintessence of the mind of all the Buddhas and is used in many Buddhist practices.

¹³ Apparently, the following canonical *dhāraṇīsūtra* that consists of nine chapters is meant: *Āryācalanāmadhāraṇī* / 'Phags pa mi g.yo ba zhes bya ba'i gzungs. See *Dpe bsdur ma* 2008: vol. 91: 255–301.

The firewood must be one cubit and five(?) fingers long. The hearth inside must be cleaned. Four people arrange the substances to be burnt on the four sides. Curds are offered first.

The subduing fire offering is performed to subdue or assemble and put under control any malevolent forces. The hearth is semicircular and red. The firewood is one cubit long. The deity of fire is red. The fire is taken from a prostitute(?)¹⁴.

For the fierce fire offering (aimed at killing, etc. of the malevolent forces if they cannot be simply subdued) the triangular and black hearth is used. The firewood should have thorns. The yogin should face north, his clothes and crown be black. The fire is taken from a cemetery. The deity of fire appears in the middle of the hearth. All lamps should be removed, the “divine cakes” sprinkled with blood, various poisonous substances offered, the tormas offerings made black, the *linga* effigy cut into pieces and offered to the deity.

5. [*'Phags pa myi g.yo' ba'i sbyin sregs*]

F. 16a1—20b8<...>.

The text is not full, there is no title at the beginning, it starts with a homage to Bhagavān Acala and an introductory remark used for the heading here (italicized in the quote): “if it is needed to make *the fire offering to Bhagavān Acala...*”. It is an extensive description of the ritual of the same type as the one exposed in the text 4a. This one is more detailed — the five extant folios exceed by length the four folios of the latter and yet they only get to the point when the *jñānasattva* of Acala arrives and the yogin starts serving him. This text has some alterations from the previous one but it generally follows the same line, hence my summary will be schematic, with an attention paid to the details that may be notable for certain reasons.

The material aspects are discussed in the first two sections of the text: 1) concerning the hearth (*thab bsham pa'o*): the measurements and prescriptions how to prepare the hearth, which is of round shape, are provided; it should be covered with white paint mixed with *amṛta*, the eight-petaled lotus drawn on it and a hand imprint made in its center; the so-called “fire mountain” (constructed with *kuśa* grass¹⁵ and firewood) is also treated;

¹⁴ Tib.: *mye smad btsong nang gis blang*.

¹⁵ *Poa cynosuroides* or *Desmostachya bipinnata*; this grass is considered sacred in both Buddhism and Hinduism.

2) concerning the substances (*rdzas bsham pa'o*): offering articles and vessels to hold them are discussed.

The yogin who performs the ritual should put on white crown and clothes, take a sit on the throne in the posture of Maitreya (i.e. with both legs down), facing the east. He makes the preliminary actions that lead to generating the *samayasattva* of the deity of fire that has a reddish-yellow smiling face, rides a goat and is surrounded with the host of sages (*drang srong*), in his right two hands he holds a rosary and grants boons, in his left two hands he holds a stick and a hearth. The next stage is the invitation of the *jñānasattva*. After that, preliminary offerings (of water, flowers, etc.) accompanied with relevant mantras are made to him. The inspection of the fire follows then. A series of actions are prescribed to check whether the fire has some obstructing forces (*bgregs bcas mye*) which can be recognized by certain signs such as dense black smoke, shining that alternatively takes forms reminding a lance, a basket and a bull's head, very harsh sounds, the tongues of fire reaching the performer, etc. If obstructing forces are detected, all the substances should be cleansed with purifying water, and oil be offered seven times. Then the offering of the substances starts, each of them being accompanied with its own mantra. It is visualized that the firewood and *kuśa* grass are offered to the light, oil to the face of the deity of fire, all other substances to his hands. Moreover, each substance, except for sesame, is additionally empowered with a secret mantra (provided in the text). Each substance and each mantra are offered seven times. The yogin performs several other actions such as making the five general offerings, raising a praise while holding a *vajra* and a bell, and purifying water and all sacrificial articles. Afterwards the *jñānasattva* of Acala is invited (his iconography is not explained), the offering of washing water, etc. are made, all the substances to be burnt are blessed with the triple OM A(H) HŪM and visualized as *amṛta*, the yogin offers each of them with the mantra OM CAṆḌAMAHAṀROṢANA HŪM PHAṬ| SARVA-PAPAM such-and-such ŚĀNTI KURU SVĀHĀ! Once more the general offerings are made, the yogin offers the *torma*, recites a hymn, makes a confession of faults, expresses his pleas and scatters flowers. The words "Again, whatever small inappropriate things I have committed..." conclude the extant fragment.

II. The manuscript on the Jvālāmukhī *torma* offering: XT-72

This manuscript has the title page with the following heading: *Kha 'bar ma'i gtor chen gyi dbu'o*, i.e. *The beginning of the great torma offering of Jvālāmukhī* starts [here]. Although the name of Jvālāmukhī, or Kha 'bar ma (the Flame-Faced One), appears in the title, her presence in the text is almost intangible. Her place in the Buddhist pantheon is not quite clear and deserves a brief tentative survey.

Her figure is attested in the canonical *dhāraṇīsūtra* available in two versions entitled *Yi dags kha nas me 'bar ba la skyabs mdzad pa zhes bya ba'i gzungs* (*The dhāraṇī of the refuge for the pretī Jvālāmukhī*) and *Yi dags kha 'bar ma dbugs dbyung ba'i gtor ma'i cho ga* (*The ritual of the torma that relieves the pretī Jvālāmukhī*).¹⁶ No Sanskrit titles are provided, no translators or editors named in the colophons; therefore, it is very difficult to date the texts. They tell the same story about the Buddha's disciple Ānanda who meditated once in a solitary place. At night *pretī* Jvālāmukhī, a very ugly ghost demoness with the flaming face, appeared to him and said that Ānanda would die in a week (according to the first text) or a day (according to the second text) and get reborn as a *preta* in that place if he did not make a gigantic offering of food and drinks to a colossal number of the hungry ghosts and please one hundred thousand Brahmanical sages. This offering, if successfully made, could allow Jvālāmukhī herself to die and be reborn in the realm of gods. Terribly frightened, Ānanda ran to the Buddha and told him about this encounter. However, the Buddha comforted him and passed a *dhāraṇī* that had to be uttered seven times upon the *torma* offering (a series of other manipulations with the latter were also prescribed, the first text being more detailed in this regard). The rite was declared to be able to magically transform the *torma* to the extent needed to please Jvālāmukhī and other hungry ghosts and Brahmanical sages and, moreover, bring a lot of other benefits to various sentient beings. The *sūtra* does not tell the end of the story but, obviously, Ānanda successfully avoided the danger and, thanks to his offering, Jvālāmukhī obtained a better reincarnation.

XT-72 contains a reference to this canonical story in its concluding part which may be an appendix to the main text. This part refers to Atiśa (982–1054) as the bestower of the instruction contained in it. The famous Buddhist master seems to have treated the Jvālāmukhī *torma* offering as an important

¹⁶ *Dpe bsdur ma* 2008: vol. 91: 475–483, 484–490.

practice if we are to believe *The Blue Annals* according to which one of Atiśa's disciples, 'Dzeng Dgon pa pa (1016–1082), obtained it from him before all other instructions and, therefore, he also taught it first to his own disciple Sne'u zur pa.¹⁷ Atiśa's tradition is also attested in the *Snar thang brgya rtsa* collection compiled by Mchims nam mkha' grags (1210–1285): it contains a short ritual text attributed to Jo bo rje lha gcig, the honorific name of the great Indian *paṇḍita*.¹⁸

In the history of transmission of the Jvālāmukhī *torma* rites in Tibet another Indian master, namely Vajrāsana [the Younger], played a significant role. He instructed his Tibetan disciple Bari Lotsāwa¹⁹ to use this practice to escape harm that a *tīrthika* (non-Buddhist practitioner) named Bhavyarāja could inflict on him; the ritual resulted in the latter's death. XT-72 is said to contain the instructions taught by Bari Lotsāwa and transmitted through four consequent masters. It is not clear if this tantric tradition knew about the canonical *dhāraṇīsūtra*, but the Buddha Śākyamuni possesses an important place in the ritual, since he is visualized in the center of the maṇḍala being surrounded by his fourteen disciples.

To make the situation even more complicated we find another tradition from approximately the same period that deals with the protective deity Black Flaming Mouth (Kha 'bar ma nag po). It refers to the Tibetan yogin and translator Rngog lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109) and seems to have no relation to Indian sources; the deity is evoked in the death-deceiving rituals by means of “the large *torma* comprising all five pleasures”.²⁰ She obviously acts as a *dharmapāla* in this tradition. The Khara-Khoto manuscript also mentions that Vajrāsana treated his Flame-Faced goddess as a *dharmapāla*, but does not refer to her as a deity involved in the visualization of magical actions. It is also true to the other texts I was able to check. Thus, according to the Sakya hierarch Bsod nams brtse mo (1142–1182), the master who performs the rite can generate “the pride” of any personal deity

¹⁷ ROERICH 1949–1957: vol. I: 312. *The Blue Annals* mention also that another representative (judging by his name) of the 'Dzeng clan, 'Dzeng Dharmabodhi, or Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan (1052–1168), obtained the Jvālāmukhī offering instruction from a certain Snubs the “Big-Nosed” (Shangs po che). Ibid.: 177.

¹⁸ MCHIMS NAM MKHA' GRAGS 1976. *Snar thang brgya rtsa* was used by the Seventh Panchen Lama as the source for the second part of his album of Buddhist iconography. However, its order deviates from that of the original version, see WILLSON & BAUER 2000: 379, and has no visual representation of Jvālāmukhī.

¹⁹ Bari's studies under Vajrāsana are touched upon in DAVIDSON 2005: 298.

²⁰ MENGELE 2010: 120–121.

(*yi dam*) he likes, while his mantric assistant (*sngags g.yog*) — “the pride” of any wrathful deity he likes.²¹ XT-72 names Amṛtakuṇḍali in this regard, while several other texts prefer Vajravidāraṇa.²² Moreover, the later Sakya master Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen (1697–1774), who composed a text about a *white* form of the deity (*Kha 'bar ma dkar mo*), instructs the yogin to generate “the pride” of the Buddha Śākyamuni,²³ emphasizing the Indian origins of the practice.

In the colophon to his text Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen claims that he relied on the 9th c. great Indian yogin Padmasambhava’s instructions which had been concealed by him in Lho brag gnam skas can, a place in the south-east of Tibet, and discovered by Guru Chos kyi dbang phyug (1212–1270). Padmasambhava’s contribution to the spread of the practice is also treated by Tāranātha in his extensive study of the Jvālāmukhī *torma* offering. However, according to the colophon, it follows basically Bari’s instruction²⁴ that became known thanks to Bsod nams rtse mo’s text²⁵.

Thus, many recognized Tibetan authors claimed that the rituals connected with the Flame-Faced goddess/demoness had been imported from India; two texts on this topic were even included in the Tibetan Buddhist canon. However, in the first case we have to believe Tibetan hagiography only, and in the second there are no direct textual evidences of the Indian origin of the two versions of the *dhāraṇīsūtra*. The black goddess from Rngog lo tsā ba’s text seems to be of local Tibetan origin. There are also some Tibetan (both Buddhist and Bön) lists of demonic beings that include a female figure with the name Kha 'bar ma or Kha la me 'bar ma.²⁶ Perhaps, the simplest way to explain confusion that appear in connection with these multiple images would be to assume that an autochthonous Tibetan demoness was included by the 11th to 12th cc. Tibetan yogins in their magical practices and it was sanctified by reference to venerable Indian masters. However, other options

²¹ BSOD NAMS BRTSE MO: vol. 4: 199. The eighth Karmapa Mi bskyod rdo rje (1507–1554) also instructs that the yogin should apply any appropriate deity to this practice. See MI BSKYOD RDO RJE [2004]: 2a1.

²² TĀRANĀTHA 2008: 268; BSTAN 'DZIN PHRIN LAS 2005: 3a5.

²³ ZHU CHEN TSHUL KHRIMS RIN CHEN 2000: 1a5–6.

²⁴ A most detailed version of the story about Vajrāsana and Bari Lotsāwa is provided at the beginning of the text.

²⁵ TĀRANĀTHA 2008: 281. The collection of magical texts attributed to Bari Lotsāwa known as *Ba ri be'u 'bum*, see BARI LOTSĀWA 1974, does not contain this practice. Therefore, it is possible that its earliest record belongs to the Sakya hierarch.

²⁶ NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1998: 308.

cannot be ruled out. A more detailed investigation is needed for the clarification of this issue.

The Khara-Khoto text XT-72 may be the earliest known manuscript that contains information on the Jvālāmukhī *torma* offering. It consists of seven numbered folios (1–2, 6–8, 10, 12), five more (3–5, 9, 11) are missing. The folios are of small pothi format, about 18×7 cm in size, except for the last folio (12) which is a little shorter. Paper is multi-layered, thick and yellowish. The text is written quite clearly in *dbu med* script, seven lines per page, there are numerous interlinear glosses. There are no frames drawn, but the foliation is written to the left of the text area on the recto sides. Unlike the bulk of the texts identified as those from Khara-Khoto this manuscript does not have features of old orthography. Nevertheless, there are several reasons to treat XT-72 as a text from the Tangut dead city: 1) paleographically the text is very much similar to the Tantric texts from this stock; 2) it follows the peculiar way of presenting the syllable OM with the *a chung* letter subscribed as an indicator of a long vowel — it is normally superfluous since in Sanskrit the vowel *o* is already long, but it could make sense for the Tanguts who had a different phonetic paradigm (this explanation was kindly suggested by Sh. Arakawa); 3) as the primary source of the ritual it names Vajrāsana who is also mentioned in the manuscript on Acala; apparently, he was an important figure for both Tibetan and Tangut Buddhists. The fact that the new orthography is used in the manuscript can refer to its relatively later dating — it is known that the Khara-Khoto library contained some texts from the 14th c.²⁷. Since this time is supposed to be the period when the new Tibetan orthography started disseminating, we can presume that XT-72 was produced in the 14th c.

At the beginning of the manuscript five parts of the text are listed in the following sequence (without the numbers which are added by me for the convenience): 1) *gtor ma mi glud du gtang ba'i sgo nas 'chi ba bslu ba* (The deception of death by means of giving the *torma* as a ransom effigy); 2) *pha rol gyi byad bzlog pa* (The reversing of external curses); 3) *gri gug la brten te dgra bgegs gsad pa* (The killing of hostile demons by means of a *kartr̥ka* chopper); 4) *chu zor 'phang ba la brten te gzhan gyi mkhar gzhig pa*

²⁷ See the lists of dated and undated Chinese texts from Khara-Khoto kept at the IOM, RAS, in MENSNIKOV & CHUGUEVSKY 1984: 467–468, according to which the latest safely dated texts were produced in 1371 while the items hypothetically dated to the 14th c. include many Tantric texts. The presence of the 14th c. Chinese texts allows us to assume that some Tibetan manuscripts also could be produced in or brought to Khara-Khoto after the downfall of Xi Xia.

(The destruction of the others' citadels by throwing cursed water); 5) *rgyun du tshogs bsag pa* (The constant gathering of accumulations).

However, in reality the sequence of the parts is different: 1–4–[2?]-5–3 + a concluding part not mentioned in the list. Although ff. 3–5 are missing it can be assumed that ff. 6–7 (recto) contain the ending of pt. 1. Thus, it is the longest part that provides the frame for other possible applications of the *Jvālāmukhī* ritual. It is followed with a fragment on the transmission of the instructions given to Bari Lotsāwa by Vajrāsana. This fragment looks like a colophon that emphasizes the primal role of pt. 1 in the structure of the manuscript. The extant folios do not contain the heading of pt. 2. Perhaps, it followed pt. 4 and occupied the entire f. 9 which is missing.

The verso of f. 10 has a picture of two footed vessels, in the left one there are two seated figures with the captures *zhi ba'i gtor ma* (the *torma* for pacification) and *gtor ma'i 'gron* (a guest of the *torma*); in the right one there is one standing figure with the capture *pha rol gyi byad bzlog pa* (reversing of external curses). The first illumination relates to one of the two additions to pt. 5 (see below) while the third one to pt. 2. We can only guess whether the figures relating to the remaining parts were drawn on the recto side of the missing f. 11. It is also difficult to say if these illuminations marked the end of the main part of the text, separating it from the concluding part. Perhaps, they were simply drawn on the blank side of the last folio since the concluding part, which is attributed to Atiśa (982–1054), could be a later appendix. This assumption seems to be supported by the fact that f. 12 is a little shorter than the other folios.

The contents of the extant fragments of the manuscript are summarized below, their sequence being marked with Roman numerals.

I: pt. 1. The deception of death by means of giving the *torma* as a ransom effigy (*gtor ma mi glud du gtang ba'i sgo nas 'chi ba bslu ba*; ff. 1b4–2b6 <...> 6a1–7a6).

The *maṇḍala* is smeared with fragrant water, petals of flowers are assembled in fifteen little heaps. In a cauldron or metal dish (*katora*) a cubit size effigy of the diseased person is made of five kinds of grain, at its right shoulder a “female” wooden plank is placed, at its left shoulder a “male” plank is placed.²⁸ If the harm from the *dön* demon is severe, eight bits of dough (*chang bu*)²⁹ made of five kinds of grain supplied with a *liṅga* effigy [of the *dön*]

²⁸ Wooden planks to which pictures of a man and a woman are glued serve as magical substitutes for real people in various rituals.

²⁹ To be more precise, a portion of dough squeezed out between the fingers.

should be put to the right of the performer of the rite. If the harm is very severe, *liṅgas* should be put in the middle of each of these bits. To all of them the mixture of “three whites” and “three sweets”³⁰ and medicines is applied.

Then the *bodhicitta* (the mind striving for the enlightenment) is generated. In the *maṇḍala* placed in front of the yogin the fifteen heaps of flower petals are visualized as fifteen deities (*lha bcwo lnga*) who are, in fact, the Buddha and his fourteen major disciples. In its center Bhagavān Śākyamuni is seated resting his back on the tree of the Enlightenment. In front of him the yogin himself should be visualized with the palms enclosed, making a plea. To the right of Śākyamuni there are Maudgalyāyana, Subhūti, Kāśyapa, Ānanda, Katyayana, Anuruddha, Upāli; to the left there are Ājñātakauṇḍinya, Bākula, Vaṣpa, Aśvajit, Mahānāman (two names are missing). The offerings to them are to be made in the state of deep meditation (*samādhi*). On the words “be that pacifying or fierce” (they refer to the types of rites) the text breaks, three next folios are missing.

The next extant folio (6) starts with an additional inscription written above the first line. It contains an incantation directed to the malevolent forces who threaten the life of the sick person. They are asked to be satisfied with the ransom since, unlike the sick person who “has no *skandhas*, no *dhātus*, no *āyatanas*”, the ransom has all these psycho-physical elements of an individual being. The main text also contains some threatens addressed to an unspecified great being (*bdag nyid chen po*) which will be turned to dust if not faithful to the Buddha’s word. Thus, it is said, *you, a great demon (bgegs chen), go and do not break the samaya vow*. It is visualized that the *dön* spirit takes the *torma* as the sick person’s effigy and carries it away. Then it is visualized that the harming demons are burnt in the blazing mass of fire spreading from the body of the wrathful deity and the remains of grass are brought away by wind. Amṛtakuṇḍali’s mantra is recited to scare the demons of obstacles. The yogin, having “the pride” of the personal deity, delivers the *torma*; if delivered for the sake of another person the *hr̥daya* of Śākyamuni written in vermillion should be attached to the top of his or her head. Several concluding details are provided then.

II. A brief story of the transmission of the ritual (7b1–8a1).

It goes back to the hagiography of Bari Lotsāwa who traveled to India and, on his way there, had a dispute with the *tīrthika* Bhavyarāja (Skal Idan

³⁰ Three white substances include curd, milk and butter, three sweet substances include sugar, molasses and honey.

rgyal po),³¹ defeated him and said some harsh words. Bhavyarāja became angry and hinted that something would happen to Bari in a week.³² Bari tried to appease him by offering gold and showing respect but remained alarmed and, when coming to his teacher Vajrāsana, told him this story. The latter realized that Bhavyarāja was a dangerous magician. He threw a *torma* to counteract the curse and ordered a bastard boy to deliver it. It was done secretly and, in a week, the *ūrthika* died.

The instruction on the ritual was passed by Vajrāsana to Bari who passed it to Bla ma rgya dar seng, that — to Lce dben tsha, that — to Gnyan ston gser zhing ba, that — to “me”, i.e. the author of the text represented in XT-72.³³ The interlinear inscription at the end of the text tells that “Vajrāsana’s Dharmapāla was Jvālāmukhī, the queen of all *yakṣas*, etc.”

III: pt. 4. The destruction of the others’ citadels by throwing cursed water (ff. 8a2–8a6).

In a non-iron footed vessel four ingredients (barley, wheat, beans, buckwheat) are put inside water, and five precious substances are added there. A mantra should be recited seven times above this water and the latter thrown towards the citadel (it may be simply a house). It is visualized that the precious sixteen vowels and thirty-two consonants get inside the citadel, start growing and filling it and finally make it burst up.

IV: pt. 5. The constant gathering of accumulations (ff. 8b1–8b2).

A very short instruction that prescribes the mantra to have no triple OM and a bit of dough without any figure (effigy) be thrown as the *torma* at a river’s shore. This very brief text is followed by two additions (8b3–8b4; 8b5–8b8). The first of them says that the *torma* of pacification has a hood

³¹ Apparently, the well-known Kashmiri Brahmanical *paṇḍita* who helped Tibetan lotsāwas in the translation of Buddhist treatises on logic; notably enough, the above-mentioned Rngog lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab, the author of the text on Kha ’bar ma nag mo, was also one of his students. See JACKSON 2012: 92–95.

³² Another version of the story presented by Tāranātha does not mention Bari’s victory in any dispute but claims that Bhavyarāja wanted Bari to be his translator in Tibet. Bari refused this proposal because he did not want to propagate non-Buddhist ideas. See TĀRANĀTHA 2008: 266. On the similar doubts Rngog lo tsā ba had concerning the theory of *pramāna* (logic and gnoseology) see JACKSON 2012: 92.

³³ Rgya dar seng and Lce bande dben tsa are named among the four main disciples of Ram rtsan can who, in turn, was one of the main disciples of the eminent Bka’ bryud master Rngog Chos sku rdo rje (1023–1090). See DUCHER 2017: 238. The third person, Gnyan ston gser zhing ba, as well as the author of the text who preferred not to name himself remain unidentified. However, it is most probable that the text of XT-72 was composed at around the end of the 12th c.

with five heads of snakes and that two big effigies are put in front, they are offered as objects to which harm may be caused (see the illumination). The second addition provides some details on Wrathful Amṛtakunḍali. He seizes the demon of obstacles and puts him into the mass of fire through an opening(?) in it; he seizes with a hook, frightens with various weapons; when bringing the *torma* one should stop at the distance of forty steps and go away without looking back.

V: pt. 3. Killing of hostile demons by means of a *kartr̥ka* (ff. 10a1–10a5).

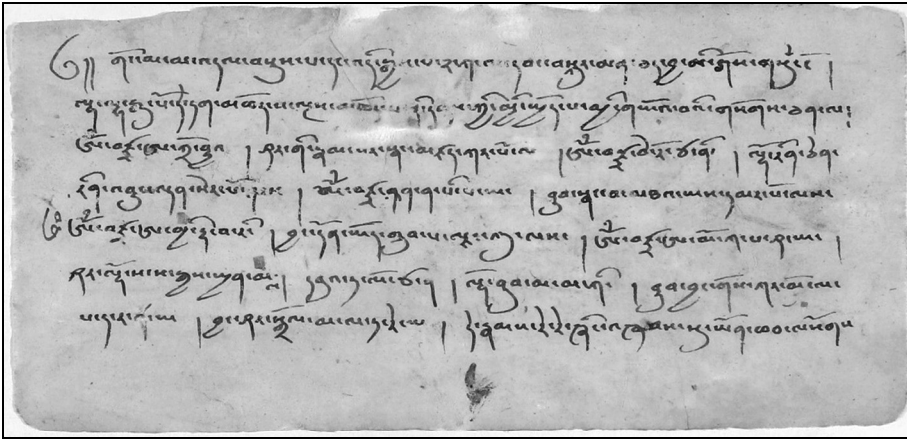
The *liṅga* effigies of the demons of obstacles that bear their name(s) are put upon one hundred and eight bits of dough. The effigies are animated and visualized as having flesh and blood of the demons. With the incantation MARAYA (Kill!) they are offered to the Dharmapāla Ḍākinī. The *liṅga* effigies are cut with an iron or wooden *kartr̥ka* (chopper).

VI: A concluding part (ff. <11>–12b4).

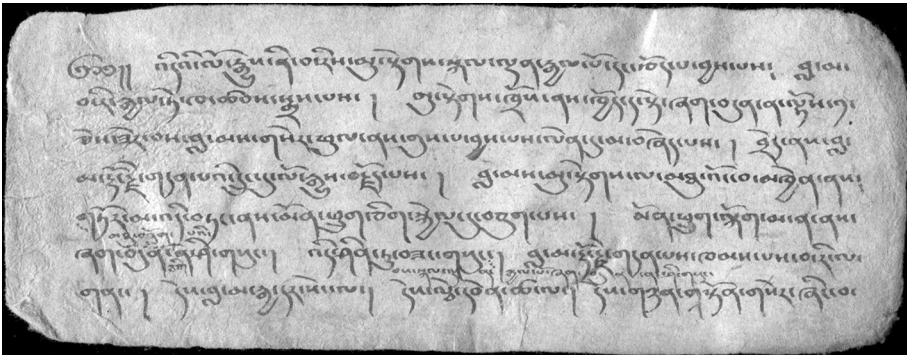
Although the beginning is missing it is clear that the fragment describes a ritual during which the *torma* is thrown to water. The first extant sentence prescribes to deliver the great water *torma* to various guarding deities, then to those demons(?) who cause sicknesses and, finally, to all six classes of sentient beings. Then a sermon is given to the monks and a prayer made for the extension of a sick person's life and pacification of the causes of the sickness and demonic obstacles. Even if the span of life has come to an end, it can be prolonged this way for a week. This power of the Jvālāmukhī *torma* is said to be connected with the Buddha Bhagavān who once prolonged the life of Ānanda. To make its effect irreversible the essence (*hṛdaya*) of Prajñāpāramitā should be recited.

At the end the colophon is found that provides the title of this part of the manuscript: *The Divine Lord's [instruction on] the Jvālāmukhī torma that presents the sequence [of actions] for oneself and the ācarya (Jo bo rje lha l gis rang dang slob dpon gyi rim gror mdzad pa'i kha 'bar ma'i gtor ma)*. The name of the Divine Lord (*jo bo rje lha gcig*) refers to Atiśa that allows us to consider this part as an appendix to the manuscript, reflecting another tantric tradition.

Samples of folios



XT-19/XT-173: f. 10 recto — the description of the nine-deity Acala maṇḍala



XT-72: f. 7 verso — the story of how Bari Lotsāwa obtained the instructions from Vajrāsena



XT-72: f. 10 verso, illuminations to the rites described in the manuscript

Conclusions

1. The two incomplete manuscripts analyzed in this paper are united with references to the eminent 11th c. Indian master Vajrāsana who had a number of Tibetan disciples, including Bari Lotsāwa, and who passed them numerous secret teachings and instructions. Some of them were, apparently, transmitted to Tangut Buddhists.

2. The first manuscript (tentatively dated from the 12th to early 13th cc.) deals with the cult of Acala who is applied to perform various protective actions by means of four types of tantric rites, from pacifying to fierce ones. Acala is treated as Bhagavān, i.e. the Enlightened one, and takes the place of Akṣobhya in the nine-deity *maṇḍala*. One of the texts includes a plea to him to return again from Central Tibet to the place where the rite was performed. Perhaps, Xi Xia was meant although it is impossible to prove.

3. The second manuscript contains instructions on the *torma* rites associated with Jvālāmukhī, the Flame-Faced demoness, who is supposed to have the Indian origin although the authenticity of such an attribution may be put under question. Nevertheless, the two traditions of the practice that appeared in Tibet are claimed to have come from the eminent Indian masters, Atiśa and Vajrāsana. The Khara-Khoto manuscript follows mostly the latter's instructions, but its concluding part (perhaps, a later appendix) adds Atiśa's instructions as well. The manuscript is likely to have been produced in the 14th c. but the text it represents must have appeared at the end of the 12th c. The author does not name himself, and we can only guess whether he had any relation to Xi Xia.

4. The two manuscripts discuss a variety of rites that include making protective amulets and *maṇḍalas*, fire and *torma* offering, deception of death, several fierce rites, all typologically well-known and described in literature on Buddhist tantra³⁴. However, I hope the details provided in this paper may be important for defining features of Tantric Buddhism practiced among Tanguts and other inhabitants of Khara-Khoto during the 12th to 14th cc.

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³⁴ See NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1998; MENGELE 2010, etc.

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Alice Crowther

**A Manuscript Russian-Chinese-Manchu Dictionary
(from before 1737)
in T.S. Bayer's Papers in Glasgow University Library.
Part I: Authorship of the Dictionary¹**

DOI: 10.55512/wmo108635

Abstract: This article presents an anonymous Russian-Chinese-Manchu manuscript dictionary (from before 1737) held in the papers of Theophilus Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738) in Glasgow University Library's Special Collections. Part I of the article introduces the Manchu materials found in the papers of T.S. Bayer, a member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences from 1726 to his death, and the history of the arrival of the Bayer papers in Glasgow. Previous scholarship on the dictionary is then summarized and possible candidates for its authorship are reviewed. Although it is not possible to identify the author of the dictionary, it is clearly a product of the language-learning activities of the members of the first Russian Ecclesiastical Mission to Peking. Part II will discuss the Manchu and Chinese lexicon of the Bayer collection dictionary and the dictionary's annotations.

Key words: Manuscript dictionary, Manchu, T.S. Bayer, Hunterian Library, Russian Ecclesiastical Mission

The Bayer Collection and the Manchu material in Glasgow

Theophilus (or Gottlieb) Siegfried Bayer was born into a Pietist family in Königsberg in 1694. His father was a painter, and his mother the daughter of a painter. He studied theology and philosophy, as well as Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, at the University of Königsberg, defending a doctoral thesis on the last words of Christ in 1716. The city of Königsberg then awarded him a

© Alice Crowther, École pratique des Hautes Études/Centre de recherches sur les civilisations de l'Asie orientale, Paris, France (alice.crowther@me.com)

¹ I sincerely thank David Weston, director of Glasgow University Library's Special Collections, for having taken the time to speak with me when I visited the library in August 2016, and in particular for allowing me to consult a draft version of his catalogue of the Bayer collection before its publication.

scholarship for a study tour, and he built up a working library by recopying manuscripts and books — including missionaries' dictionaries and grammars of Chinese² — over the course of six months in which he visited Berlin, Halle, Leipzig, Frankfurt an der Oder, Wittenberg and Stettin. After returning to Königsberg, he worked as a librarian and Privatdozent. He left Prussia in 1726 to take up an invitation to join the just-founded (1725) Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, where he first held the Chair of Classical Antiquities and then, from 1735, the Chair of Oriental Antiquities. Whilst in St. Petersburg he corresponded and exchanged books with the Peking Jesuits, and in 1730 he published a manual of Chinese, the *Museum Sinicum*.³ His contributions to the Acts of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences ranged from essays on the history of the Church in the East to the Tibetan script, and included a study of the Manchu script.⁴

Unhappy with his low salary, he had resigned from the Academy of Sciences on several occasions only to be persuaded to stay, but in 1737 his decision to leave St. Petersburg was fixed, and he sent some of his books and papers ahead to Königsberg. However, he then fell ill with a fever and died in St. Petersburg on the 21st of February 1738. His wife, Anne Dorothea née Bollner (1694–1758), who would have been looking after four children under the age of seventeen,⁵ sold the material that had been sent ahead to

² Three of the eight extant manuscript copies of Martino Martini (1614–1661)'s Chinese grammar manual were made by Bayer during his stay in Berlin and are now held in Glasgow. See BERTUCCIOLI 2003: 631, which identifies five manuscripts (in Glasgow, Berlin, and Krakow). Since then Luisa M. Paternicò has identified three other manuscript copies (in Cambrai Municipal Library, in the private archive of the mathematician and sinologist Giovanni Vacca (1872–1953) in Rome, and in the Vigevanese Diocesan Archives), and a printed version. See PATERNICÒ 2011.

³ Information taken from Knud Lundbaek's biography of Bayer (LUNDBAEK 1986) and the biographical information in David Weston's catalogue of the Bayer collection (WESTON 2018: 7–15). Note also Michel Mervaud's introduction in JOUTEUR & MERVAUD 2004: 11–26. See also PEKARSKII 1870: I, 180–196; KONONOV 1996.

⁴ “De Litteratura Mangjurica”, *Commentarii Academiae Scientiarum Imperialis Petropolitae* VI (1732–1733), 1738: 325–328. He had published a first essay treating the Manchu script in 1731: “Orthographica Mungalica, quam Academiae Petropolitanae tradidit, A. 1730, Cal. Dec.”, *Acta Eruditorum* 1731: 307–319. On Bayer's study of Manchu, see SAARELA 2020: 180–189. On Bayer's study of Tibetan, and for an English translation of his Latin essay on the Tibetan script (“Elementa literaturae brahmanicae, tangutanae, mungalicae”), see WALRAVENS & ZORIN 2017: 183–241.

⁵ The Bayers married in 1720. In a letter (Ms Hunter B13, summarized in WESTON 2018: 8, 121–122) to Dominique Parrenin dated 5th January (Old Style) 1735 Bayer mentions his four daughters. His tombstone (transcribed in de CHAUFFEPIÉ 1750: 496–497) records that he had two sons and six daughters, and that four children survived him.

Heinrich Walter Gerdes (b. 1690 in Hamburg, d. 1741 in London), pastor of the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in London. Bayer and Gerdes had corresponded during Gerdes' work on a multilingual paternoster for which Bayer sent him the Chinese text.

In 1752 Gerdes' widow, Anna Bertels (1702/1703–1787), put his books and manuscripts up for sale for a minimum of 100 guineas. The Bayer collection remained an ensemble and was then or at some later date bought by the Scottish but London-based anatomist, obstetrician and collector William Hunter (1718–1783) who added it to his catalogue with the note “At last in Dr. Hunter's library”. Hunter bequeathed his library and collections to Glasgow University where they form the base of the Hunterian museum. Apart from the Bayer collection, Chinese books were not at the centre of Hunter's interests (anatomy, natural history, medicine; incunabula, Greek typography; curiosities but not chinoiseries).⁶ Perhaps his keen interest for the collection was down to its most spectacular item, a copy of Ferdinand Verbiest's (1623–1699) *Kunyu quantu* 坤輿全圖 world-map incorporating engraved images of animals and plants which Dominique Parrenin, S.J. (1665–1741) sent to Bayer in August 1732. However, in the Hunterian, the map was only restored and put on display in 2007, and likewise Bayer's books and papers seem to have sat largely ignored until in the 1980s head of special collections David Weston unwrapped “brown paper parcels” and began cataloguing them,⁷ and the collection had no influence on the development of Scottish sinology or Manjuristics.

The Manchu material held in Glasgow includes copies and manuscript drafts of Bayer's publications on Manchu (Ms Hunter 607; Ms Hunter B/E3a and E3b); his manuscript recopyings of a Manchu and Mongolian syllabary (Ms Hunter 382) and of Ferdinand Verbiest's Manchu-Chinese description of the solar eclipse of 19th April 1669⁸ (Ms Hunter 377); copies of Manchu

⁶ See PEARCE 2015: 263–281. Hunter had studied at Glasgow University from the age of thirteen to eighteen. He had petitioned the British government for a building to house his anatomical preparations — the heart of his collection — and as a site for anatomy lectures. However this was not granted as the government dared not “venture to openly patronize dissection”, and so in his will he instead left his collections to Glasgow University. See TEACHER 1900: lxx–lxxi.

⁷ WESTON 2018: 11.

⁸ 康熙八年四月初一日癸亥朔日食圖/ *Elhe taiḥin-i jakūci aniya duin biyai ice de pun be jetere nirugan*, 1669. A digitalized version of the original blockprint Bayer copied during his study tour has been made available by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, see (shelfmark Libri sin. 22–2): <https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN1041996543> (last accessed 05/08/2021).

syllabaries and descriptions of the Manchu language can also be found inside the scrapbooks Bayer organised his material into (Ms Hunter 213, copy of a Manchu grammar attributed to Gerbillon, also insert with copy of a syllabary; Ms Hunter 299 copy of a letter from discussing Manchu; Ms Hunter 392 copy of the Dalai Lama's quadrilingual seal); some passages on Manchu in letters from Peking from the Jesuits Dominique Parrenin (Ms Hunter B/A18) and Antoine Gaubil (Ms Hunter B/E63); and two manuscript pamphlets (Ms Hunter B/E 11 *Sermo cum Mangjuro* and Ms Hunter B/E 31 *Sermo cum legatis sinicis*) where Bayer records his meetings with Qing ambassadors and with a captured Manchu soldiers, which also contain loose inserts of paper where they write their names, and the words for tea and silk.

Glasgow University Library also holds twenty-six Manchu blockprints.⁹ Twenty-four of these certainly come from Bayer's collection: fourteen calendars, the earliest for 1723 and the latest for 1737;¹⁰ six descriptions of lunar eclipses in Peking,¹¹ three eighteenth-century Jesuit translations of earlier Chinese-language catechistic and theological texts into Manchu, the *Tumen jaka-i unenggi sekiyen* (*True Origin of the Ten Thousand Things*) (translated from Giulio Aleni's (1582–1649) *Wanwu zhenyuan* 萬物真原) (HC 76) (a copy of the first, 1694, translation), the *Abkai ejen-i enduringge tacihyan-i oyonggo gisun* (*Essence of the Heavenly Lord's Sacred Teaching*) (translated from João Soeiro's (1566–1607) *Tianzhu shengjiao yueyan* 天主聖教約言) (HC 77), and the *Geren holo be milarabuha bithe* (*Refutation of Errors*) (translated from Xu Guangqi's 徐光啓 (1562–1633) refutation of Buddhism, the *Piwang* 闢妄 *Refutation of Errors*) (HC 78); and a copy (E9) of Kangxi's "Red Decree" (*Hongpiao* 紅票), a Latin/Manchu/Chinese "open letter" printed by the Wuyingdian 武英殿 Imperial Press in Peking for distribution by the governor-general of Canton to any European who arrived, stating that until the Jesuits sent to Rome by Kangxi as envoys returned, or information about their whereabouts was given, he would not give credence to any news about the position of Rome on the rites

⁹ For descriptions see WESTON 2018: 196–227.

¹⁰ Hunter Chinese (HC) 1/1, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/7, 1/8, 1/9, 1/10, 1/11, 1/13, 1/14, 1/15, and 1/16. On the first page of each of these blockprints the text is in seal script and in Manchu, as well as in Chinese, with the rest of the ephemera being only in Chinese. On the front cover of each there is a note in Bayer's hand giving a descriptive title.

¹¹ With notes in Bayer's hand on title page. HC 41/1 (for the year 1720), 41/2 (1726), 41/3 (1731), 41/4 (1731), and 41/5 (1732), HC 82 (1732).

controversy¹². The two remaining blockprints, which may have belonged to Bayer or may have been acquired by William Hunter or the University at a later date, are both dictionaries: a copy of the 1702 edition of the Manchu-Chinese dictionary *Tongwen guanghui quanshu* 同文廣彙全書 (*Enlarged and complete dictionary in corresponding translations*) (HC 67) (first edition 1693) and a copy of the 1699 *Xinke Qingshu quanji* 新刻清書全集 / *Ice foloho Manju-i geren bithe* (*Newly engraved complete dictionary of the Manchu language*) (HC 69).

The Dictionary

The Bayer collection includes a manuscript Russian-Chinese-Manchu dictionary (Ms Hunter B/E1). On the dictionary's first page, to the top right, Bayer has written:

Vir Nobilissimus Gothofredus Paschke, vetus amicus, hoc Lexicon Russicum, Sinicum, Mangjuricum dono mihi dedit 23. jun st.v. 1737. T.S. Bayer.

[The most noble Gottfried Paschke, an old friend, gave me this Russian-Chinese-Manchu Dictionary as a gift on the 23rd of June (Old Calendar) 1737. T.S. Bayer].

The fact that the dictionary must have been compiled in or before 1737 makes it the earliest dated example of a dictionary between Manchu and a European language in any direction. It is also from only a few decades after the first dated and extant Manchu dictionaries, Shen Qiliang's 沈啟亮 1683 monolingual Manchu dictionary *Daicing gurun-i yooni bithe/ Da Qing quanshu* 大清全書 (*Complete dictionary of the Qing language*) and the 1690 bilingual Manchu-Chinese dictionary *Manju nikan šu adali yooni bithe/ Man Han tongwen quanshu* 滿漢同文全書 (*Complete dictionary of Manchu and Chinese in corresponding translations*).¹³ Gottfried Paschke (d. 1740, St. Pe-

¹² David Helliwell lists seventeen other copies. See his discussion: <https://serica.blog/2011/11/09/the-red-decree/>. See also The Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History (University of San Francisco), "The Red Manifesto" (<http://www.ricci.usfca.edu/the-red-manifesto.html>).

¹³ Both woodblock prints not manuscripts. On early Manchu dictionaries, see the chronological list of Qing-dynasty Manchu dictionaries appended to Larry V. Clark's list of Tungusic dictionaries (updated by Hartmut Walravens) (CLARK 2006: 132–134), and also Marten Söderblom Saarela's Princeton PhD thesis (SAARELA 2015: 271–292). See also, for bibliographical descriptions of Qing-era Manchu dictionaries (but not covering dictionaries between Manchu and European languages), CHUNHUA 2008.

tersburg), who gave the dictionary to Bayer, had come to St. Petersburg together with Bayer in 1726, and then served as librarian of the Academy. He left to study law in Halle in 1728, but at some point afterwards returned to St. Petersburg to work in the Collegium of Justice. He does not seem to have been particularly interested in China, and could not have been the dictionary's author¹⁴

The Bayer collection dictionary is bound into two volumes in patterned (a mixture of zigzags and two different sorts of flower bud) silk covers (19.3×21.8 cm, first volume 114 ff., second volume 103ff.).¹⁵ The dictionary contains 2,328 Russian headwords, with Chinese and Manchu definitions. Each page is arranged in three columns enclosed in a 14.5×17.2 cm ruled frame. The headword at the left is in Russian, the middle column gives the Chinese translation and the right-hand column the Manchu translation. The entries on each page are evenly spaced with place for a maximum of eleven entries. Many pages do not contain the all eleven entries for which there is space, and there are several pages which contain only one entry. Folio numbers (in Arabic numerals) have been added in pencil to the top corner of the recto of each folio (from 1 to 114 for the first volume, from 1 to 103 for the second volume).

As well as the dictionary entries, which are written in black ink, the Bayer collection dictionary contains two layers of annotations. In Bayer's hand Latin, and sometimes German, (and on occasion Russian) translations or notes have been added to most of the Russian head-entries in the first volume and to the first two pages of the second volume. The ink used appears brown and is identified by Weston as iron gall ink. The work and business of the Russian Academy of Sciences was conducted in Latin or in German until 1773,¹⁶ and biographies of Bayer note that he did not learn Russian,¹⁷ despite living in St. Petersburg from 1726 and 1738 and his

¹⁴ DUNN 1987: 13 notes that on his death Paschke's library of 503 books contained only two works dealing with China. (WESTON 2018: 142, 253).

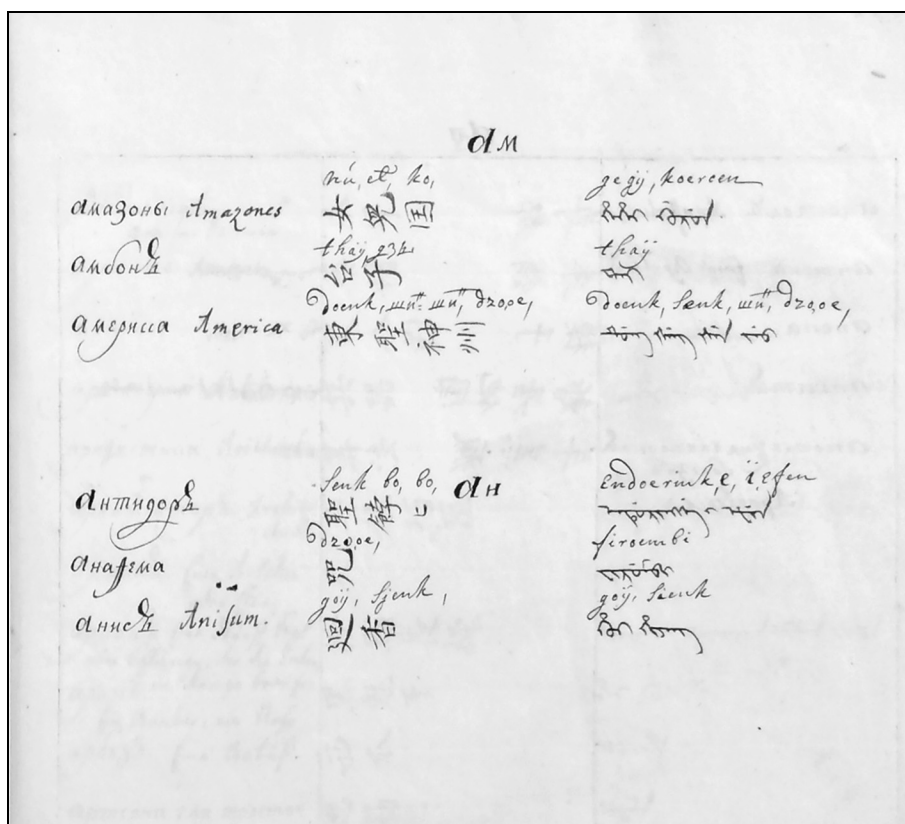
¹⁵ For this and for all measurements see David Weston's catalogue description: "The paper is Chinese, folded in double leaves, stitched into four holes into coloured (faded pink) floral-patterned silk covers". (WESTON 2018: 141–143). Today the pink is faded so as to appear dark blue/purplish at a first glance.

¹⁶ MARKER 1985: 46.

¹⁷ E.g. LUNDBAEK 1986: 21. Bayer's lack of knowledge of Russian is frequently referred to in passing mentions of him, e.g. MARKER 1985: 47 ("individuals who, like the Orientalist Gottlieb Bayer, absolutely disdained learning Russian or teaching Russian students"); TREVOR-ROPER 2010: 56; SHEIKO & BROWN 2014: 103 ("Bayer had expertise in a great many languages. The striking exception was Russian").

interest in languages (as well as Latin and Greek, and Chinese and Manchu, he also studied Hebrew, Coptic, Persian, Sanskrit, Arabic, Mongolian, and Tibetan). These annotations in his hand demonstrate that he did in fact also attempt and begin to study Russian.

The other layer of annotation is in black ink. It consists in the transcription of the Chinese and Manchu entries into a mixture of Latin and Cyrillic letters written above the original entries in a smaller size and with a much finer-tipped writing instrument. The colour of the black ink is not discernibly different from that of the original entries. Sixty pages (a total of 321 entries) have been annotated. Where transcription is given the Chinese and the Manchu are always both transcribed.



Pl. 1.

Hunterian Library, Special Collections, University of Glasgow.
Ms Hunter B/E1. vol. 1, f. 3r. Photo: A. Crowther, 2016.

The first page of the first volume contains both layers of annotation and the entries are given here as an example of the sort of information the dictionary provides. The conventions used are: in italics the annotations in black ink; Bayer's annotation underlined; between square brackets my transcription of the Manchu script according to the Möllendorf system.

ab

a ㄨ 就 *Dzjooe* [uthai] *oetgajj*

абие 一會兒 *i goij ei* [dartai sidan] *darthaij uu᠔*="

ar

аГГЛЬ¹⁸ Angelus 天神 *then uu*=" [abkai enduri] *abgajj in, doe, ri*

аГнець Agnus 羊羔 *jank kaoe* [honin-i deberen] *gonin, ni, deberen*

John Dunn of Glasgow University's Russian Department published three articles between 1987 and 1996 focusing on the possible authorship of the dictionary; the relationship between Russian and Church Slavonic in the head-entries;¹⁹ and the transcription of Chinese in the dictionary's annotations.²⁰ However, the Manchu entries have not been studied, and the Chinese entries have not been examined by a Sinologist.

Authorship of the Dictionary

Looking at the Russian headwords, Dunn concludes that the dictionary drew on Fedor Polikarpov's (1671–1730) 1704 eight hundred-page Russian-Greek-Latin dictionary, possibly through the intermediary of a modified copy differing from the published version.²¹ The entries are organised on the same principal of groupings under the first two letters of a Russian word — however in the manuscript dictionary within groups with the same first two letters the ordering is not always alphabetical, and there is often space for additional entries. The lexicon of the two dictionaries also has many similarities, especially in the first volume of the manuscript dictionary — although Bayer's dictionary is both much shorter, and also contains some words not included in Polikarpov (e.g. the list of fifteen different types of horses found in vol. 2, f. 11v).

¹⁸



¹⁹ On the Russian entries, see also CLEMINSON 1988: 54–55, for whom they are “in the vernacular language, with few Church Slavonic elements”.

²⁰ DUNN 1987, 1992, 1996.

²¹ DUNN 1987: 9–11; DUNN 1996: 15–27.

Λο

λοπαλια	Дли, ва, кое, 程北程骨	galba 程
лошиа	и, ши, 是子	šaiji 子
лошѣ	假	шашанѣ
лошопѣ	ke, bo, dzo, 肢膊肘	шajan 肘
лоша	шое, ша, 一船	šei gce 船
лошѣ зѣзда	шѣ, шин дик 北辰星	šacaga, шин 辰星
лошѣ шѣ	Link, šei, वो, वो, 乘碎布帛	ge bo, šanai 布帛
лошѣ шѣ гунаѣ	шѣ, ма, 馬馬	алашанѣ 馬
лошѣ шѣ гунаѣ	шѣ, ма, 馬馬	шешинѣ 馬
лошѣ шѣ гунаѣ	шѣ, ма, 馬馬	шашанѣ 馬
лошѣ шѣ гунаѣ	шѣ, ма, 馬馬	šajtem, ni, morin 馬

Pl. 2.

Hunterian Library, Special Collections, University of Glasgow.
Ms Hunter B/E1. vol. 2, f. 11r. List of types of horses. Photo: A. Crowther, 2016.

On the question of authorship, Dunn contends that the author was not a native speaker of Russian. His grounds for this are: occasional possible confusions between Latin and Cyrillic alphabet in the head entries (e.g. в used for б); mistakes confusing voiced and unvoiced consonants where the spoken distinction between the two would be maintained; occasional confusion of ш and с, ж and з, u and y; some strange words that it seems must be copied from a text the author did not completely understand.²² He also concludes that the headwords of the dictionary are in a combination of contemporary Russian and Church Slavonic, a large proportion of the Slavonic being in the entries taken from Polikarpov, and the Russian in the other

²² DUNN 1987: 11–12.

entries — but some Church Slavonic words from Polikarpov appear in a “Russified” form in the dictionary, and on the other hand some of the additional material is in Church Slavonic, perhaps indicating that a clear division between the two was not drawn in the author’s perspective.²³

From an examination of the writing of the Chinese and Manchu entries and hands (see part two of this article forthcoming in the next issue), it seems clear that the dictionary was produced through a collaboration between a Russian-speaker who wrote the Russian headwords and either a Manchu scribe bilingual in Chinese or two scribes, one Chinese and one Manchu. Given the length of the dictionary, the collaboration must have been able to continue for a certain length of time (several weeks at a minimum). The most probable site for such a collaborative working process to have been possible is the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Peking, which was established in 1716. The first Russian students, whose presence was authorized as part of the treaty of Kiakhta (1727), arrived there on December 26th 1727. They were Luka Voeikov, a student from the Moscow Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy (where Polikarpov had taught, and where he would certainly have encountered the 1704 trilingual Russian-Greek-Latin dictionary), Ivan Pukhort, and Feodot Tret’iakov. The two students originally chosen for the mission had been Luka Voeikov and Ivan Shestopalov-Iablontsov, but the head of the embassy Count Sava Vladislavich-Raguzinskii (1668?–1738)²⁴ replaced Voeikov with, first, Stepan Pisarev, and then, instead deciding to employ Pisarev as his personal secretary, with Ivan Pukhort, who had been his page.²⁵ Then, when Shestopalov-Iablontsov died in a border skirmish, Voeikov was reinstated to replace him. Feodot Tret’iakov was added after a petition from his father, a translator of Mongolian (or possibly a caravaner). In June 1729, with the arrival of the mission’s head Archimandrite Antonii Platkovskii (1682–1746, head of the Second Mission from 1729 to 1736), came three new students from the school for the teaching of Mongolian he had set up in Irkutsk: Gerasim Shulgin, an orphan from a Siberian monastery, Mikhail Ponomarev, the son of a priest, from the settlement of Ialutorskii-Rogatorsk in Siberia, and Ilarion Rossokhin (1717–

²³ DUNN 1996: 54–72.

²⁴ Russian ambassador to the Qing Empire between 1725 and 1728. Of Serbian origin, his title of count had been awarded by the city-state of Venice during a period of residence there. He was ennobled in Russia in 1722.

²⁵ Another page linked to Count Sava was Pushkin’s African great grandfather, who Sava bought as a slave in Constantinople when he was the Russian ambassador there, and then presented to Peter the Great as a page.

1761), from Selenginsk, also the son of a priest. Rossokhin's translation work on his return to St. Petersburg, even though mostly unpublished and at the time overlooked, qualifies him as one of the founders of Russian sinology. In 1732, they were joined by Aleksei Vladykin and Ivan Bykov, who arrived in a caravan led by Lorents Lange (1690–1752), a Swede in Russian service.²⁶ In 1736, with the arrival of Lange's next caravan came another new student, Ivan Shikhirev, but given the short time between his arrival in Peking and Paschke's presentation of the dictionary to Bayer, he can be discounted as an author. Lange's caravans were an important route for the transfer of letters and books between Peking and St. Petersburg in these years, and it seems possible that the dictionary was sent to St. Petersburg with the return of either the 1732 or 1736 caravan. The most probable candidate for authorship of the dictionary would be one of these eight students, or Platkovskii. Lange himself, who made six trips to Peking between 1716 and 1737, and spent over 18 months there in 1720–1722, is also a possible author of the dictionary.²⁷ The fact that the dictionary, written on fine paper and bound in silk, represents a significant investment of both time and resources and would have been an invaluable tool further suggests that if it had passed out of its author's hands before 1737 this was because by this date the author had either died, or had left Peking and had no more need to use the Chinese or Manchu languages.²⁸ Ponomarev remained in Peking

²⁶ WIDMER 1976: 79–80, 99, 181.

²⁷ Dunn finds it unlikely that he was the author as he finds no other evidence of Lange having learnt Chinese or Manchu. He does however note similar idiosyncrasies in documents written by Lange as those found in the head-words of the dictionary, notably confusion of *u* and *u*, and *u* and *u* (DUNN 1987: 16–17).

²⁸ It is of course also possible that the dictionary was given away to pay a debt, or stolen. (AFINOGENOV 2020: 75) notes that Rossokhin and other students stole Platkovskii's diary in October 1731 and gave it to Lange who took it back to St. Petersburg where it is now kept in the synodal archives held in the Russian State Historical Archive (reference given as RGIA, f. 796, op. 11, d. 23, 1137–155.) It is therefore not impossible that a dictionary could also have been stolen and sent back to St. Petersburg with Lange (although the motivation for the theft of the diary seems to have been to use it as evidence in the internal disputes and appeals to the synod of the mission, not simply mischief or larceny). The fine quality of the paper and binding could be an argument for Platkovskii's authorship as the mission — but above all its students — always had very little money. It would be very interesting to be able to compare Platkovskii's handwriting with that of the Bayer collection dictionary. On the indebtedness of members of the Russian mission, see e.g. the references in Antoine Gaubil's letters (GAUBIL 1970: 635–637, 639.) The Bayer collection dictionary includes a number of words related to the repayment of debts, e.g. vol. 1, f. 80r. должникъ/欠賬的人/*edelehe* [debtor]; долгъ плачу/還賬/*bekdun toodambi* [to repay a debt], etc. See also the entries found in vol. 1, f. 96r.

until his death there in or before 1740. Rossokhin stayed until 1741. Vladykin and Bykov both remained until 1746.²⁹ For this reason, the most probable compilers are: either Ivan Pukhort or Feodot Tret'iakov, who both returned to Saint Petersburg in 1729; Luka Voeikov, a student from the Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy, who died in Peking in 1734; Gerasim Shulgin, a student from the Mongolian school in Irkutsk, who died in Peking in 1735; or Archimandrite Platkovskii, who was arrested and forcibly recalled to St. Petersburg in 1736.

Dunn's hypothesis that the author was not a native Russian speaker leads him to think that the most likely candidate is Ivan Pukhort, who appears in a 1750 archival list of foreigners employed by the Academy of Sciences.³⁰ After his return to St. Petersburg from Peking in 1729 he worked in the Academy as a German copyist for a time.³¹ At one point he later served as a stable clerk in a Polish cavalry regiment³². For Dunn, his work as a copyist would correspond to the "normal scribe's hand of the early eighteenth century" of the Russian handwriting, his return to St. Petersburg in 1729 would explain why he no longer needed the dictionary, and his employment by the Academy would have brought him into contact with Paschke.³³ However, as Dunn acknowledges, this identification remains a hypothesis unless future archival research allows an identification of the authorship of the dictionary on the basis of comparison with handwriting samples.

²⁹ On their return the Jesuit Antoine Gaubil wrote to St. Petersburg recommending their characters, and their ability in Chinese and in Manchu: "2 écoliers Russiens, apellés Yvan et Alexis, s'en retournent en Russie. Ils se sont toujours ici bien comportés, ils sont habiles en chinois et en tartare, et j'ai toutes sortes de raisons pour m'intéresser pour eux. [...] ils pourront vous être utiles pour les monuments chinois et tartares chez vous". ("2 Russian students, called Yvan and Alexis, are returning to Russia. They have always behaved well here. They are at ease in Chinese and in Manchu, and I have all sorts of reasons to be interested on their behalf. [...] they may be of use to you for the Chinese and Manchu texts you have there"). (Letter dated 13th June 1746, received 15th April 1747, cf. GAUBIL 1970: 569–570). Also (GAUBIL 1970: 568, another letter to Delisle with the same date of 13th June 1746): "Messieurs Yvan et Alexis se sont toujours ici très bien comportés par leur sagesse et application au chinois et au tartare. Tartares, Chinois, et Européans, tous les estiment et ayment. J'ay en particulier grand sujet d'être satisfait de leurs bonnes manières a mon égard" ("Messrs Yvan and Alexis have always behaved very well here through their good sense and application to [the study of] Chinese and Tartar. Tartars, Chinese, and Europeans all esteem and like them. I have particular cause to be satisfied with their good conduct towards me").

³⁰ Dunn gives as his source SUKHOMLINOV 1885: IV, 739 (DUNN 1987: 18).

³¹ DUNN 1987: 18.

³² WIDMER 1976: 161.

³³ DUNN 1987: 8, 18.

There is evidence of work on the compilation of other language study tools by other students of the Mission, although all those to which dates are assigned are slightly later than the Bayer collection dictionary. At some point between 1738 and 1746 Rossokhin translated the Slavonic grammar of M.G. Smotriskii (1578–1633) *Grammatiki Slavenskija Pravilnoe Sintagma* (1619), which he used for teaching Russian, into Manchu, with the help of two Manchus called “Fulehe and Maèa” [Ma. Maca].³⁴ Feodot Tret’iakov’s language study may be attested by a manuscript annotation in Manchu script on the front of a copy of the Manchu syllabary in twelve heads held by the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts: Volkova transcribes it and identifies it as possibly being Feodot Tret’iakov’s name.³⁵ Aleksei Vladykin later worked with Aleksei Leont’ev (1716–1786), who had arrived in 1743, on the compilation of a Manchu-Chinese-Russian dictionary.³⁶

There are several undated and anonymous manuscript trilingual dictionaries held in collections in St. Petersburg which may possibly originate from the Ecclesiastical Mission, however these are from Chinese or Manchu into Russian and are manifestly not related to the dictionary from the Bayer collection. C49mss³⁷ in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg is very short (10ff.) and gives Chinese head-phrases (e.g. one page gives 未 / 未必是這樣呢 / 未有 / 未初 / 未正) followed by Manchu and then Russian translations. C43 Mss in the IOM has Manchu head phrases and their translation into Chinese and Russian.³⁸ Plg 96³⁹ in the

³⁴ PANG 1991: 124; VOLKOVA 1965: 61, no. 109, call number л I.

³⁵ VOLKOVA 1965: 55, no. 96, call number AI31.

³⁶ PANG 1991: 125. The British Library holds a manuscript topically-organized (101 sections) Manchu/Chinese-Russian(-Latin) lexicon (with German translations added) (call number Add. Ms 18104) which has sometimes been attributed to Leont’ev (e.g. SIMON and NELSON 1977: 23 (no. I.7); Clark (ed. WALRAVENS 2006: 129) because of an inserted title page with a handwritten note claiming that that it was composed by Leont’ev in 1773 and that the German translations were appended by a certain Gerhard Mertens, ‘an Aulic Councillor in the Medical College of Irkutsk in Eastern Siberia’ (*consiliarii aulici in Collegio medico Irkutskae in Siberia orientali*). However, Cleminson’s examination of watermarks in the dictionary shows sheets used which can be dated to 1798, 1799, 1801, 1802, and 1803 (CLEMINSON 1988: 72–73). Moreover there was no Medical College in Irkutsk at the time, nor was there an Aulic Councillor called Gerhard Mertens. The dictionary came from an auction of books belonging to the notorious forger and book thief Guglielmo Libri (1803–1869), and it seems probable that this forged note claiming Leont’ev as author can be attributed to Libri.

³⁷ PANG 2001: 127, no. 291.

³⁸ 1 fasc., 33 ff., 21416.5 cm, 8 lines/page. “A collection of colloquial Manchu phrases with Chinese and Russian translation” (PANG 2001: 139, no. 237).

³⁹ 6 fasc., 31×20 cm, three columns (in a grid layout ruled in black ink)/page, approx. 25,000 entries, ordered by radicals (JACHONTOV 2001: 119–120, no. 341).

collection of St. Petersburg State University's Faculty of Oriental Studies Library gives Chinese characters and their definitions in Chinese, ordered by radical, annotated (in many but by no means all cases) in a more brown-coloured ink with Manchu and/or Russian translations; there is a second layer of annotation in Russian in blue ink.⁴⁰

The involvement of members of the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in the compilation of dictionaries at this time, which was the background to this dictionary's creation, can also be seen in a letter from Parrenin to Bayer (in Latin, dated 13th July 1734) (Ms Hunter B/A8) which mentions the help given him by Luka Voeikov (before his death from illness), who knew Latin and had been studying Chinese, in making a copy of his Latin-Chinese dictionary, and that Archimandrite Platkovskii had also asked to borrow this dictionary to transcribe it and add Russian glosses.⁴¹ In a letter to Count Sava dated 30th July (new style) 1734 Parrenin then mentions that Platkovskii was still in the middle of making a copy of this dictionary.⁴²

No members of the Jesuit Mission in Peking had knowledge of Russian sufficient to be responsible for the manuscript dictionary. However it is worth noting that during this period the Peking Jesuits did feel a need for a Russian dictionary. A letter from Antoine Gaubil, S.J. (1689–1759) to Joseph Nicolas Delisle (1688–1768, Astronomer at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences) dated 15th May 1732 requests a Latin-Russian or Russian-Latin dictionary and a basic grammar of Russian written in either Latin, French, Italian, or Spanish.⁴³

⁴⁰ Consultation of manuscript dictionaries in St. Petersburg was made possible by a fieldwork grant from the China and Inner Asia Council of the AAS in 2018.

⁴¹ See the summary of the contents of the letter made by David Weston (WESTON 2018: 101–102). Parrenin gives Luka Voeikov's name as Lucas Wojjekoff, and Platkovskii as Archimandrite Plietkoff. The only known copy of Parrenin's dictionary is Ms Hunter 392 (V.2.12) *Lexicon Latino-Sinicum*, which was a copy made by Valentin Chalier, S.J. (1693–1747) (“Père Challier” in the letter) for his own use which Parrenin sent to Bayer with this letter in 1734. See WESTON 2018: 86–87. Divided into two columns with clearly-defined margins and written in a clear hand, it is a phrase-book for use in everyday life, e.g., f. 238 contains phrases such as: *Quanti valet tuus Equus* 你的馬值多少 [How much is your horse worth?]/ *Parvi valet ille Equus*/ 那馬不值錢 [That horse is worthless.] Pronunciations are included, added beneath the Chinese characters in Latin script.

⁴² Ms Hunter B/C15. Summary of contents given in Weston 2018: 130.

⁴³ “Les Jésuites qui sont ici ont trop a faire pour joindre a leurs occupations l'étude de la langue Russe, cependant dans bien d'occasions un dictionnaire russe et latin, ou russe et latin nous seroit très utile et même nécessaire. De même on seroit bien aise d'avoir une grammaire russe dont les règles fussent en latin, ou français, ou italien ou castillan. On ne

In his analysis of the Russian lexicon of the dictionary, Dunn mentions the occurrence of a number of words — not found in Polikarpov — from Trans-Baikalian or Siberian dialects.⁴⁴ Authorship by one of the students from Irkutsk should therefore also not be discounted. The presence in Peking of a Russian community — the “Russian company” (Ch. *Eluosi zuoling* 鄂羅斯佐領/ Ma. *Oros niru*) which was incorporated into the Eight Banner system — descended from soldiers who had surrendered to the Qing or been captured along the Russian border in Siberia in the late seventeenth century and who had taken Manchu or Chinese wives should also be noted.⁴⁵ Members of this company taught in a Russian school intended to train interpreters and translators for diplomatic exchanges with Russia which was founded during the Kangxi period. At some point — during or after the Yongzheng reign (1723–1736) — because members of the company were no longer capable of teaching the Russian language, the teaching was taken over by students attached to the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission.⁴⁶ The well-attested, and authorized, contact between the “Albazinian” community (often so-called in contemporary Western writings because many of them were descended from soldiers captured when the Qing took the Russian fortress of Albazin in 1685) — and the fact that prolonged contacts between foreigners resident in Peking and Chinese or Manchus were not encouraged by the Qing state — and the Russian Ecclesiastical Mission suggests that it is possible that a member of the Albazinian company may have been involved in the dictionary’s compilation, and perhaps have been responsible for the Chinese and Manchu entries.

demande pas une grammaire parfaite, on se contenteroit des petites concordances et des règles pour les déclinaisons et conjugaisons de la langue russe. (“The Jesuits here have too much to do to add the study of the Russian language to their occupations, however there are many occasions when a Russian and Latin, or Latin and Russian dictionary would be very useful, even necessary, for us. It would also be very convenient for us to have a Russian grammar with the rules in Latin, French, Italian, or Castilian. We don’t ask for a perfect grammar, we would be happy with a few concordances and rules for the declensions and conjugations of the Russian language”). The original letter is held in the French National Archives: Marine, 2 JJ 62, no. 82. Cited in Chabin 1983: 194. Also reprinted in GAUBIL 1970: 305–307. There is a manuscript copy in the Bayer papers held in Glasgow (Ms Hunter B/C3).

⁴⁴ He gives a list of 14 words (DUNN 1996: 69–70).

⁴⁵ PANG 1999: 132–139.

⁴⁶ STARY 1999: 140–146.

Conclusion

I hope that this preliminary presentation may interest Manjurists with knowledge of eighteenth-century Russian and German, and linguists, to carry out further research on the Bayer collection manuscript dictionary — the earliest known dictionary between Manchu and a European language, — the transcriptions it contains, and (perhaps through palaeographic research in archives if possible) the identity of its authors. It occupies an important place in the history of the creation of linguistic tools for the study of Manchu and of the beginnings of Manchu studies in Europe, as well as being evidence of the important role exchanges between native speakers and Europeans played in the creation of these tools.

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Natalia Yampolskaya

Intermixture of Mongolian and Oirat in 17th Century Manuscripts

DOI: 10.55512/wmo106173

Abstract: The Oirat alphabet Clear Script was created in 1648, but few specimens of Oirat penmanship from the 17th c. have survived, and very little is known about the early history of its development and adaptation. Some information on the subject can be gathered from manuscripts that were discovered at the site of the ruined Dzungar monastery Ablait. Among these manuscripts are multiple fragments of the Buddhist canonical collection Kanjur and two folios from ritual texts composed by the Fourth Panchen Lama. These texts are written in Mongolian, but the scribes used graphemes from Clear Script, elements of the vocabulary and grammar of Written Oirat. Fragments of another manuscript found in Ablait, a small birch-bark copy of the Heart Sutra, contain a text written in Oirat with interpolations from Mongolian. Combined, the observations based on the study of these sources show that the transition from Mongolian to Clear Script was gradual, and for a period of time in the second half of the seventeenth century both writing systems were used by the Oirats.

Key words: Ablait, Oirat manuscripts, Clear Script, Zaya paṇḍita, Mongolian manuscripts, Kanjur

Clear Script (Oir. *todo bičiq*) was created in 1648 by the Oirat Buddhist teacher and scholar *Zaya paṇḍita Nam mkha'i rGya mtsho* (1599–1662) based on the Mongolian script (Mong. *qudum bičig* or *mongyol bičig*). In this new alphabet, the ambiguity of several Mongolian graphemes was eliminated, and new letters were introduced in order to clarify the pronunciation and bring the written text closer to the spoken language.¹ Clear Script was conceived as a writing system for all the Mongols, but eventually was

© Natalia Yampolskaya, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (nataliyampolskaya@yandex.ru)

¹ For a thorough description of Clear Script and the classical Oirat language see JAMCA 1999 & IAKHONTOVA 1996.

adopted only by the Oirats (it is still in use today among the Oirat population of Xinjiang, China).²

Zaya paṇḍita and his disciples translated numerous Buddhist texts into Oirat,³ which means that *todo bičiq* was actively used from the mid-seventeenth century. However, no written sources have come down to us from the first decades of its existence, and most of the surviving manuscripts and xylographs date back to the eighteenth century or later (the earliest dated manuscript in Clear Script is the letter written by *Galdan Bošoqtu Qān* (1644–1697) to the Czar of Russia in 1691⁴). In the absence of early sources, it is difficult to estimate to which scale this ‘young’ system of writing was used in the seventeenth century, and how long it took for it to replace the Mongolian script in the Oirat cultural milieu.

Some data on the subject can be gathered from the manuscripts that were discovered at different times at the site of the ruined Dzungar monastery known as Ablait (Oir. *abalaiyin keyid* or *abalayin süme* ‘Ablai’s monastery’; its proper name remains unknown). This fortified monastery was built by the order of the Khoshut leader *Ablai tayiji* (fl. 1638–1671) in 1654–57, at the south-western foothills of the Altai mountains (modern East Kazakhstan Region). In 1657, its temple was consecrated by *Zaya paṇḍita* himself, who was invited by his brother *Ablai tayiji*. Ablait was last mentioned in a historical source in connection with the events of 1661 when the fortress suffered a siege.⁵ Its subsequent fate remains unclear. Presumably, the monastery fell into decay after the demise of its founder who died around 1672.⁶ Starting from the 1720s, travellers and explorers visited the deserted monastery while its walls were still intact and found the remnants of a large library. In 1734, around 1,500 fragments of manuscripts in the Tibetan and Mongolian languages were collected at the site by the Second Kamchatka (or the Great Northern) Expedition and delivered to St. Petersburg.⁷ The manuscripts were stored at the Academy of Sciences, but were not described or studied until 2014 when they were identified as fragments of three sets of the Buddhist canon Kanjur, one in Tibetan (204 folios) and two in the Mongolian language (1,245 folios). These materials (1,449 folios in total) are kept

² LUVSANBALDAN 2015: 295.

³ For the list of texts they translated into Mongolian and Oirat see RADNABHADRA 1999: 62–67.

⁴ KRUEGER 1969.

⁵ RADNABHADRA 1999: 75, 78.

⁶ For a detailed account of the life of *Ablai tayiji* see TSYREMPILOV 2020.

⁷ The circumstances were described by Gerhard Friedrich Müller in MÜLLER 1738.

at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. Several dozens of fragments of the same manuscripts are preserved in a number of European collections.⁸

Fragments of the Mongolian Kanjurs found in Ablait are from two different manuscripts which will be referred to as MS 1 and MS 2.⁹ MS 1 is of Mongolian (presumably, Southern Mongolian) origin, while MS 2 was copied by Oirat scribes, most probably — in Ablait itself. The surviving folios of MS 2 are of thick layered paper, 71×25 cm in size; the text (30–36 lines per page) is written with a calamus in black ink, on some folios red ink is used to draw the frame or highlight certain words. The Dzungar origin of the manuscript is obvious from several features: the prevailing style of frames (most folios of MS. 2 have an Oirat-style frame, i.e. double lines that mark the right and left margins, with no framing on the upper and lower margins; see Pl. 2), the ductus (the graphic elements on the right and left side of the axis have an incline¹⁰), and the sporadic use of graphic elements of Clear Script, Oirat orthography and grammar (will be discussed below). Several details indicate that MS 2 was copied from MS 1. The two manuscripts have identical marginal markers (indicating the section of the Kanjur, and in some instances — the name of a particular text) even in those cases when the volumes are marked in an unusual or ‘random’ way.¹¹ The folios

⁸ There are fragments of other Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts that were delivered from Siberia to St. Petersburg and Europe in the eighteenth century, but their origin is a matter of argument. A number of publications have come out on the topic in the recent years. A summary on the topic can be found in BAIPAKOV ET AL. 2019: 181–281. The subject has been thoroughly studied by the curator of the Tibetan collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts Alexander Zorin. See ZORIN 2015. The most recent findings on the topic can be found in a special section of the volume “Tibetan Studies in St. Petersburg” (*Tibetologija* 2021: 14–266).

⁹ The two manuscripts are described, and most of their fragments from different collections listed, in IAMPOL'SKAIA 2015.

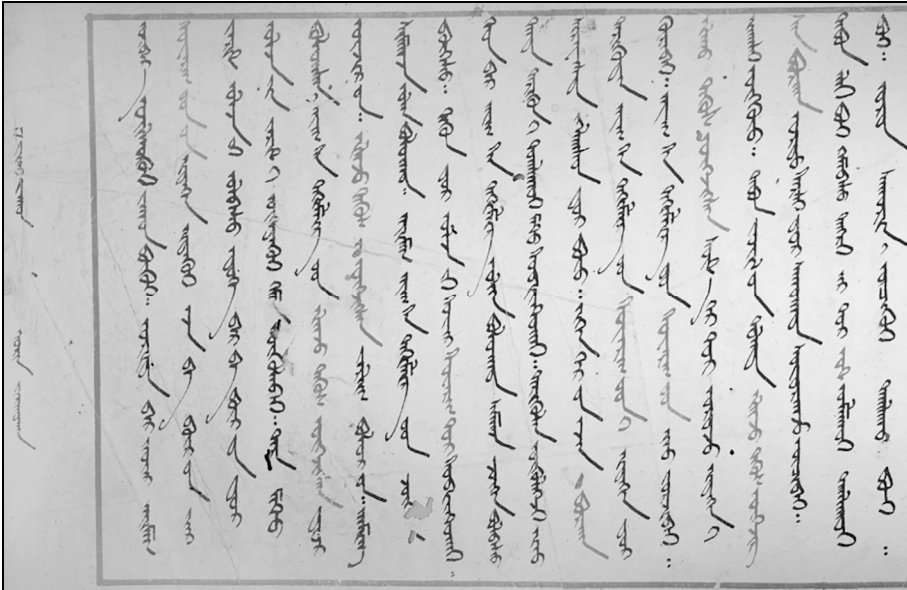
¹⁰ This ductus was described as typically Oirat by Gyorgy Kara in KARA 2005: 151–152.

¹¹ For example, in both manuscripts the folios that belong to the *nga* volume of the Tantra section are marked as *niyuča quriyanggui-yin dandir-a*, part of the folios of the *ca* volume — *včir erike-yin dandir-a*, the *pa* volume — *dandir-a yeke altan gerel*. Within the *Pañca-vimśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, the folios of the *ka* volume are marked as *yum qorin tabun mingyatu*, the *kha* volume — *qorin tabutu nögüge*, the *ga* volume — *qorin tabun mingyatu*, the *nga* volume — *qorin tabutu*. In the Vinaya section, the folios of the *ja* volume are marked as *dulba* (from the Tib. *'dul ba*), all the other ones — *vinay-a* (in different spelling variations). In the Sutra section, the volumes *ga*, *ja*, *da*, *na*, *dza* and *wa* are marked as *olan sudur*, the volumes *ma*, *ya*, *sha* and *i* — *eldeb*, the volumes *zha*, *ra* and *sa* — *eldeb sudur*, while the folios from the volume *ah* have to varying margins — *eldeb* and *jayun üiletü*. These volume markers match consistently in MS 1 and MS 2 and, as most of them have nothing to do with the content of the volumes, this cannot be a coincidence.

were delivered to St. Petersburg mixed together, which means that they had probably been mixed before they were found in Ablait where they had been stored within the same space at the temple library. The number of the surviving folios of MS 1 (794 ff.) is almost twice as big as that of MS 2 (479 ff.). All these observations suggest that MS 2 was copied from MS 1, and the copying process was never finished, which would mean that the work was carried out in the place where the folios were found, that is, in Ablait itself. Possibly, the copying process stopped when the monastery was abandoned. Based on this hypothesis, MS 2 can be provisionally dated to the period from the late 1650s to the 1670s. It is remarkable that, although Clear Script was known to some of the scribes, the Kanjur was copied in Mongolian. Translating the Kanjur into one's language is a potent move in terms of cultural empowerment, but, clearly, the goal of creating a copy of the Buddhist canon in *todo bičiq* was not pursued in this case. Possibly, there were no means to organize such a grand project, as creating an Oirat Kanjur would require a board of skilled editors to coordinate the work. Alternatively, it could indicate that the tradition of writing in Clear Script had not been developed enough by the time MS 2 was being copied, or that the new alphabet was not viewed as a symbol of cultural identity at that stage.

In MS 2, elements of Clear Script and the Oirat language, from single graphemes to several words in a sentence, occur irregularly, showing that some of the scribes were not simply acquainted with *todo bičiq*, but had developed a habit of writing in Oirat. These elements are found in those fragments of text that are written in the typical Oirat ductus characterized by oblique (rather than horizontal) transverse lines (this ductus prevails in MS 2). The most often used grapheme is *i*: instead of the Mongolian 'stick' or 'long tooth' (an element used in Mongolian writing for both *i* and *y* in the middle position) the scribes prefer the Oirat *i* that has a 'notch' that 'breaks' the axis. Plate 1 shows a fragment of folio 126 *recto* (volume *pa*, Vinaya section) where the scribe uses the Oirat form of *i* exclusively (the Mongolian *i* is not used, the 'long tooth' designates the letter *y* only).¹² In Plate 2, in the margin of folio 195 *recto* (vol. *kha* of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*) the scribe used two Oirat graphemes — *i* (in *qorin*) and *e* (in *yeren*).

¹² In the same fragment, the grapheme *t* in the word *metü* is also written as it would be in *todo bičiq* (see lines 4, 10), but the phenomenon of using the initial form of *t* in the middle position occurs in Mongolian manuscripts of that period as well (in particular, in the Mongolian Kanjurs discovered in Dzungaria), so the use of this grapheme can be attributed to the archaic orthography of the manuscript.

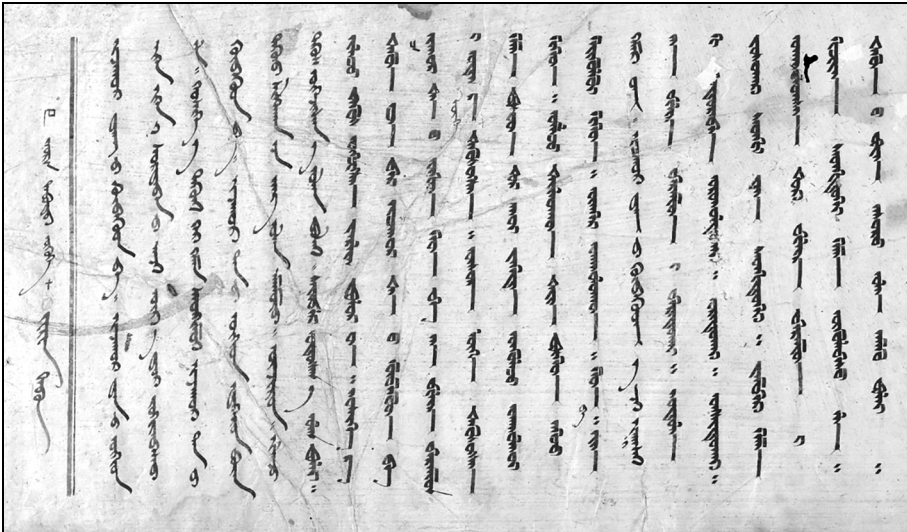


Pl. 1.

Mongolian Kanjur. 17th c., paper, ink. Fragment of folio 126 *recto*, volume *pa*, Vinaya section, Shelfmark Mong. K 36; IOM, RAS.

The text copied on folio 195 *recto* demonstrates a peculiar case of a change of hand which corresponds to the change of ductus. The first five lines are written in an ‘Oirat’ hand characterized by the incline of transverse lines and the use of the grapheme *i* from Clear Script. This hand continues up to the middle of line 6 (the words *nogčigsen-e olan bolai:*), when (starting from the words *sayibar oduysan-a olan bolai:*) another hand takes on. The ductus changes considerably: the soft, sliding, rounded oblique lines give way to straight, thick, bold geometrical strokes, with stark contrast between thin and thick lines. The graphemes *a* and *n* in the final position have long vertical ‘hanging tails’ (as opposed to curved or horizontal ones), the ‘braids’ of *l* and *m* are thick vertical lines that go directly upwards and downwards (where space allows it). This kind of calligraphy was used in seventeenth-century Mongolian manuscripts (one famous example is the manuscript of the “Twelve Deeds of the Buddha” from the collection of St. Petersburg State University, Mong. E-13). This exemplary ‘uncial’ hand goes on in lines 7–13, until the ‘Oirat’ hand returns in line 14 — for just one line, only to be taken over again by the thick-bodied ‘uncial’ from line 15

onwards. A closer look at line 14 shows that the scribe was trying to mimic the ductus of lines 6–13 by introducing vertical ‘tails’ (in *kemer-ün*, *iḷḷayur-tan* and *köbegün*) that he had not used in the initial lines of the folio. Not only did he copy the vertical shape of the ‘tails’, he tried to reproduce the decorative element (a thin crescent) on their ends. His first attempt resulted in a clumsy forked line (*kemer-ün*), while the following two (*iḷḷayur-tan*, *köbegün*) closely resemble the original, although the delicate thinness of the rounded stroke is not achieved here. Apart from this experiment in imitating Mongolian calligraphy, the Oirat scribe holds on to his habitual ductus, and in the last word of line 14 uses two graphemes from Clear Script: *i* and *q* (*inaqsi*).



Pt. 2.

Mongolian Kanjur. 17th c., paper, ink. Fragment of folio 195 *recto*, vol. *kha*, *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Shelfmark Mong. K 29; IOM, RAS.

This little case study is a vivid instance of two writing traditions in interaction. While one can but fantasize about the circumstances under which the copying of this folio took place, a few details can be reconstructed with some certainty. The page demonstrates the work of two scribes copying a sutra written in Classic Mongolian. One of them is well familiar with Clear Script, his hand is used to writing in the Oirat style (hence the typical ductus), and he sporadically uses graphemes from *todo bičiq*. Whether these

graphemes are reproduced mechanically, due to the formed habit of writing in Oirat, or introduced intentionally, is not clear. The other scribe is very well skilled in Mongolian calligraphy. It is possible that on this page he demonstrated the style of writing that he had mastered or considered to be most suitable for copying a canonical text. After writing a few lines to display his technique, the calligrapher allows the Oirat scribe to try and copy his style of penmanship, and line 14 shows the result of this experiment, demonstrating how hard it is to break the habit of moving one's pen in a certain way and switching to a different ductus.



Pl. 3.

Collection of ritual texts composed by the Fourth Panchen Lama.
17th c., paper, ink. Fragment of folio 59 *recto*, Shelfmark Mong. K 38; IOM, RAS.

Among the Kanjur fragments found in Ablait and preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts there are two folios (shelfmark Mong. K 38)

that belong to a collection of ritual texts composed by the Fourth Panchen Lama *Blo bzang Chos kyi rGyal mtshan* (1570–1662) and, possibly, other authors. These texts are not part of the Kanjur, and the size of the folios is smaller than that of MS 2, however, the handwriting is very similar, and certain features of orthography and the use of grammar structures point to the Oirat origin of the manuscript: it is safe to say that it was copied by Oirat scribes, possibly, in Ablakit or another site in Dzungaria. The folios (numbers 59 and 90) are of thick unpolished paper, 64.5×22 cm in size; the text (52 lines per page) is written with a calamus in black ink. The full facsimile, identification and transcription of these fragments have been published by Alla Sizova.¹³

The ductus of the handwriting on both folios is the same as the prevailing ductus of MS 2 — the ‘slanting’ Oirat kind (see Pl. 3, in which a fragment of folio 59 *recto* is presented). Occasional use of graphemes from Clear Script (*i*, *e*, *q*) is present as well. The ritual texts on the folios of K 38 contain a number of *dhāraṇī* (formulas in Sanskrit) written with the help of Galik signs, that is, special letters used in Mongolian scripts to render foreign words with more precision. Here, apart from the Mongolian Galik, the scribes introduced two signs that are used exclusively in Oirat Galik — the graphemes that imitate the Tibetan subscript letters *ya* ཡ (Tib. *ya btags*) and *wa* ࠩ (Tib. *wa zur*). These signs are used in such words as *śākya*^a (= Skt. śākya), *bidyā*^a (= Skt. *vidyā*; see Pl. 3, lines 17, 19), *swā hā* (= Skt. *svāhā*; see Pl. 3, lines 16, 17, 18, 20 and 21), *bôdhi sadwā*^a (= Skt. *bodhi-sattva*; see Pl. 3, line 4), etc. The spelling of *bôdhi sadwā*^a is a good example of the fusion of two Galik traditions. The word *bôdhi* is spelled using the Mongolian Galik sign for *ô* ࠨ (this letter marks *o* in foreign words, as in Mongolian writing there is no distinction between *o* and *u*) — in Clear Script it would be spelled as *bodhi* using the letter *o* Ѡ. The word *sadwā*^a is spelled as it would be in Clear Script — in Mongolian it would most probably be spelled as *saduva*.

Apart from the use of individual graphemes from *todo bičiq*, the two folios of K 38 contain several examples of entire words written in Clear Script: *ôsō* ‘malice’ (= Mong. *ösiy-e*), *kônōkū* ‘harmful’ (= Mong. *könögekü*), *yamāru* ‘which’ (= Mong. *yambar*), *tegēd* ‘after that’ (= Mong. *teyin kiged*). Several words are partly written in Clear Script, for example: *duusuṣan* ‘complete’ (cf. Mong. *dayusuṣan*, Oir. *duusuṣan*), *duurisuyṣan* ‘resound-

¹³ SIZOVA 2022.

ing’ (cf. Mong. *dayurisuγsan*, Oir. *dourisuqsan*). There is an Oirat ‘trace’ in the lexicon of the text as well: the term *ilayun tegüsügsen* (the Oirat equivalent of the term *Bhagavan*, a title used to address buddhas, corresponds to the Tib. *bcom ldan 'das*) is used here consistently (occurs eight times), while its Mongolian counterpart *ilaju tegüs nögčigsen* does not appear on the two surviving folios.

Finally, elements of Oirat grammar (case markers and verb suffixes) appear in the text alongside Mongolian ones. To mark the Genitive case, in several instances the suffix *-yin* is used instead of *-un*: *busud-yin*, *takil-yin*, *nom-yin*, *γar-yin*, *iγayur-yin*, *tangγariγ-yin*, *yabudal-yin*, *simnus-yin*. It is not written according to the rules of Clear Script (cf. Oir. *simnusiγin*, *nomiyin*, etc.), but the Oirat influence is apparent. In several cases the suffix *-i* is used to mark the Genitive instead of *-u* (*boluγsan-i*, *γirüken-i*, *amitan-i*, *burqan-i*, *čiyulyan-i*, *mön-i*), but the use of *-i* for the Genitive is not uncommon in seventeenth-century Mongolian manuscripts, so in this case the connection with the Oirat tradition is arguable.

For Converbium Imperfecti, the suffix *-jī/-čī* is used alongside *-ju/-ču*: *üiledčī*, *abčī*, *γarčī*, *tasuljī*, *darujī*. In Oirat, this is the only suffix for this type of converb, while in Mongolian manuscripts it is rather rare (Nicholas Poppe described this form as occurring under the influence of the colloquial language).¹⁴ A similar example is the suffix of the past tense *-lai* which appears in the text once (*nomlalai*). It is not known to have been used in Mongolian texts of the seventeenth century (Poppe describes it as a variation of *-luya/lüge* that occurs in popular books of the modern period).¹⁵ In the Oirat language, *-lai/-lei* is one of the three main suffixes of the past tense.¹⁶

The fragments of manuscripts collected at the abandoned temple of Ablait in the eighteenth century are not the only sources that cast light on the book-related practices that took place at the monastery. An important contribution was made by the archeological expeditions that worked at the site in the years 2016–19.¹⁷ Over two hundred fragments of manuscripts on birch bark (the exact number has not been published) were discovered during the

¹⁴ POPPE 1954: 96.

¹⁵ POPPE 1954: 92.

¹⁶ IAKHONTOVA 1996: 86–87.

¹⁷ The work was initiated in 2016 by the Margulan Institute of Archeology and taken on “Archeological Expertise” LLC under the academic guidance of professor Karl Baipakov (1940–2018) in 2016–18 and Marc-Olivier Pérou in 2019. Archeologist Yelran Kazizov was in charge of the excavations throughout the whole period of 2016–2019.

excavations at the ruined temple, most of them around the altar (closer to the northern wall of the temple), at the depth of 0.3–0.5 m from the daylight surface. Previously the site had been disturbed by treasure-hunters, and it is problematic to reconstruct the circumstances under which the manuscripts appeared in the occupation layer of the temple.¹⁸ It is possible that they were scattered inside the temple after Ablait was abandoned, but the fact that the fragments were found within the foundation of the altar suggest that they could have been ritually buried there during the construction of the monastery. Ceremonial burying of Buddhist texts inside sacral constructions (possibly, as part of consecration rituals) was practiced in Mongolia as a way of handling damaged or dispensable manuscripts that could not be simply discarded because they contained sacred scriptures.¹⁹

All the manuscripts discovered during the archeological excavations at the Ablait temple are written on birch-bark, and most of them are small, damaged pieces. The few fragments that still carry legible text contain *dhāraṇī* written in Tibetan script. There are three fragments with writing in Clear Script which have been identified as folios of the same manuscript — a small *pothi* format book (5×10 cm, black ink, calamus) that contained the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* sutra (widely known as the Heart Sutra) translated by *Zaya paṇḍita*.²⁰ If the manuscript was indeed ritually buried within the foundation of the altar, it could be dated rather precisely to the period from 1648 (the creation of Clear Script) to 1657 (the consecration of the temple), if not — to a longer period, possibly up to the 1710s. In either case, it is one of the earliest surviving specimens of Oirat penmanship.

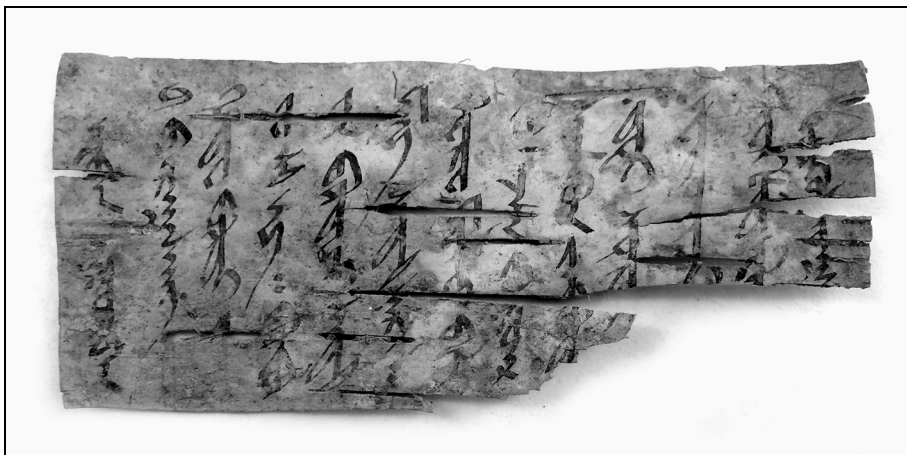
The three folios of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* are severely damaged, and very few complete words can be read with full certainty (Pl. 4 demonstrates folio 13 *recto* — the best preserved piece of text). It is beyond dispute that the text is written in Clear Script: graphemes exclusive to *todo bičiq* are clearly visible on all the three folios, the text contains Oirat vocabulary (e.g. *ilaḡun tögüsüqsen* for *Bhagavan*) and elements of grammar — case markers (e.g. *-ēce* for the Ablative, *-bēr* for the Instrumental). For example, see the following words on folio 13 (Pl. 4): *sw^a ha* in (line 3), *sadw^a* (lines 4 and 5), *cāna kūrūqsen* (lines 7–8), *tegēd* (line 10). However, the few undestroyed fragments of text contain elements of Classic Mongolian as well: in four in-

¹⁸ BAIPAKOV ET AL. 2019: 345–348.

¹⁹ CHIDO 2000: 2.

²⁰ For the full facsimile, transliteration and detailed commentary see YAMPOLSKAYA 2022.

stances Mongolian forms of case markers are used instead of Oirat ones. In two cases the suffix *-un/-ün* marks the Genitive instead of *-iyin*: *b[o]disad[w^a-na]run* (f. 2r, lines 5–6) and *[sed]kilün* (f. 2v, lines 3–4). The other two examples show the suffix *-dur/-dür* used for the Dative-Locative instead of *-dul/-dii*: *yabud[al]-dur* (f. 2r, line 8) and *üzeqçi-dür* (f. 13v, lines 5–6).



Pl. 4.

The Heart Sutra (*Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*) in Oirat. 17th c., birch bark, ink. Fragment of folio 13 *recto*. Regional Museum of History and Local Lore, Oskemen (Ust-Kamenogorsk), Kazakhstan.

The data gathered from these fragments of text is scarce, but it complements the observations based on the Ablakit Kanjur (MS 2). While in MS 2 the scribes were writing in Mongolian and demonstrating their knowledge of Clear Script, in the birch-bark copy of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* the situation seems to be reverse: the scribe was writing in *todo bičiq*, but was not very well skilled in writing in Oirat, hence the occasional interpolations from Mongolian. If the assumption concerning the early origin (1648–1657) of this manuscript is correct, it is possible that its text reflects the period when the practice of writing in the new script was still being adapted. That said, the irregularities in the use of case markers could simply come from the lack of experience and knowledge of this particular scribe: his handwriting is unsteady, the text contains mistakes and cases of irregular spelling. The fact that it is written on birch bark (an inexpensive material compared to paper)

indicates that the manuscript was probably meant for private use or served as an amulet.

In the absence of other manuscripts that date back to the first decades after the introduction of Clear Script, the texts discovered in Ablait serve as a unique source of information on the early development of the Oirat writing tradition. Most notably, these texts show that the transition from Mongolian script to *todo bičiq* was not immediate for the Oirats: there was a period when the two literary traditions coexisted, and both scripts were used concurrently within the same environment. This material is especially significant as the manuscripts come from Ablait — a place so closely connected with the life and work of the creator of Clear Script, *Zaya paṇḍita*.

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Dmitrii Nosov

Buryat Folklore Collector’s “Desktop”: MS Mong. E 289 from the Collection of the IOM, RAS

DOI: 10.55512/wmo108580

Abstract: The paper contains a brief description of Mong. E 289 unit from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences. This is a set of 373 folios of various formats recorded and compiled by Tatiana K. Alekseeva, a Buryat folklore scholar. Among them is the text of an epics, titled by the author as *Geser qayan-u nom yaraq-u-yin tuqai* (“Prehistory of Geser”). The text is presented in different phonetic transcription systems. 120 folios of text in Old Mongolian scripts were done in the field. The record took place on the territory of the modern Osinsky district of the Irkutsk region during the summer of 1946 from the storyteller Morkhonoï A. Shobonov. The complex of both field record and different “whitewashed” variants of the text can help to uncover the “desktop” of the collector.

Key words: Buryats, shamans, Geser epics, folklore textology, Old Mongolian script

According to the tradition of the Asiatic Museum the written monuments are divided into two categories: manuscripts written in classical writing systems of the Orient and archival materials — documents compiled in Russian and other European languages, as well as records of original texts made in phonetic transcriptions based on Cyrillic and Latin. But in the collection of the IOM, RAS there is a handwritten monument that belongs to both categories at the same time. This is the manuscript Mong. E 289¹ from the Mongolian collection of the IOM, RAS. This unit can be called a “desktop” of the collector and researcher of the Western Buryat folklore — Tatiana Kapitovna (Kapitovna?) Alekseeva.

Little information about Tatiana K. Alekseeva has been published. I do not exactly know the correct form of her middle name, since it is indicated

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¹ SAZYKIN 1988: 37–38.

differently on different folios of the document. In one case — *Kapitonovna*, in the other — *Kapitovna*.² It is known for sure that she was born on the territory of the modern Osinsky district of the Irkutsk region, the Russian Federation. In 1937 she graduated from LIFLH,³ from its Northern Department,⁴ and from May 1, 1938 to June 21, 1940 and again from August 01, 1945 to July 01, 1947 she was a postgraduate student at the Institute of Oriental Studies⁵, specializing in the Mongolian language.⁶ According to Ilya I. Iorish, Tatiana K. Alekseeva was engaged in the processing of folklore materials which she had collected during her field work in Buryatia (cult mythology, chants of the Mongolian peoples and shamanism).⁷

In 2021 the leading specialist in Buryat shamanic folklore Ludmila S. Dampilova paid attention to the legacy of Tatiana K. Alekseeva. She was searching for the origin of the materials on Buryat shamanism published by Byambain Rinchen⁸ in Wiesbaden without any passport data,⁹ since they were secretly taken out by him from the Soviet archives.¹⁰ Dr. Dampilova proved that some of the notes were written by the outstanding Buryat philologist and educator Tseveen Zh. Zhamtsarano,¹¹ Their originals are kept at the IOM, RAS (St. Petersburg)¹² and in the collection of the IMBT SB RAS

² The *Kapitovna* form is indicated on an additional folio of the first part of the unit Mong E 289. The form *Kapitonovna* is indicated on the first page of the fifth part of the unit Mong E 289, that contains the genealogical table of Geser.

³ The Leningrad Institute of Philosophy, Linguistics and History was a humanitarian university separated from the Leningrad State University in 1931 and re-incorporated into the University in 1937.

⁴ IORISH 1972: 228.

⁵ From 1818 to 1930 — the Asiatic Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Nowadays — IOM, RAS.

⁶ St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Fund 152, Inv. 3, Unit 3.

⁷ IORISH 1972: 228.

⁸ Byambiin Rintchen (russ.: *Ринчин Бимбаев*, mong.: *Бямбын Ринчен*. December 25, 1905 — March 4, 1977, Altanbulag, Selenge aimak, Mongolia) — Mongolian philologist and a writer of Buriat origin. The first academician of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences.

⁹ RINTCHEN 1961.

¹⁰ DAMPILOVA 2021: 58.

¹¹ Tseveen Zhamtsarano (russ.: *Цыбен Жамцаранович Жамцарано*, mong.: *Жамсрангийн Цэвээн*. 1881, Suduntui, Transbaikalian district, Russian Empire — May 14, 1942, Sol'-Ilets'k prison, Orenburg region, USSR) — Russian, Mongolian and soviet researcher in philology and history, politician of Buriat origin. Known as the most productive collector of Mongolian peoples' folklore.

¹² Archive of Orientalists of the IOM, RAS. Fund 62.

(Ulan-Ude).¹³ Another part of the shamanic texts, published by B. Rintchen was recorded in Western Buryatia, a region where Tseveen Zh. Zhamtsarano had not conducted field research. They were made by another collector — Tatiana K. Alekseeva¹⁴ during the period of World War II. This fact was not mentioned by the editor of the texts.

Despite the absence of any context information in B. Rintchen's publication, Ludmila S. Dampilova convincingly proved that 15 shamanic chants from the book were recorded by Tatiana K. Alekseeva from the shaman Morhonoï A. Shobonov in Osinsky aimag of Irkutsk region. Tatiana K. Alekseeva's records, stored in Ulan-Ude, contain not only the texts in phonetic transcription itself, but also auxiliary ethnographic materials for it. These are descriptions of the ritual conditions under which the texts were recited and the biographies of the shamans who performed them.¹⁵

In addition to fund 753 in IMBT SB RAS, which contains recordings of 20 shamanic chants, Dr. Dampilova mentions another depository in which Tatiana K. Alekseeva's recording of the epic poem *Гесер богдо хан, его происхождение, жизнь и деятельность*¹⁶ ("Geser Bogdo Khaan, his origin, life and activity")¹⁷ is preserved.¹⁸ The text is written in the Cyrillic alphabet and presented in two versions — handwritten and typewritten.

We assume, that the text, kept in Ulan-Ude, is a copy, while original field record of this epic poem is contained in the IOM, RAS manuscript Mong. E 289 *Geser qayan-u nom yaraqy-yin tuqai*¹⁹ ("Prehistory of Geser", as interpreted by the author of the manuscript). This monument is an organized set of folios placed in a cardboard folder produced by the First Leningrad Regional Printing House. It is included into the set of manuscripts under the common title "1955 collection" (Russ.: *Коллекция 1955 г.*) under number 10.²⁰

¹³ Center for Oriental Manuscripts and Woodcuts of the Institute of Mongolian Studies, Buddhismology and Tibetology of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Fund 6.

¹⁴ Ibid. Fund 753.

¹⁵ DAMPILOVA 2021: 60–61.

¹⁶ The original names of fragments in Russian given by the author of the manuscript are in italics.

¹⁷ Here and below, translations into English are made by the author of the paper.

¹⁸ Center for Oriental Manuscripts and Woodcuts of the Institute of Mongolian Studies, Buddhismology and Tibetology of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Fund 1791. DAMPILOVA 2021: 58.

¹⁹ Transliteration done by Alexey G. Sazykin.

²⁰ SAZYKIN 1988: 37.

The description, prepared by Alexey G. Sazykin (1943–2005) for the catalog, divided the storage unit into three groups²¹. Actually, there are five parts within the unit.

The first part of the unit consists of 120 paginated folios of 21×30 cm standard size, the text is written in blue and purple ink in the Old Mongolian script. Sheets are paginated in Arabic numerals, the text is applied only on the recto side, with the exception of a few marks on the verso side of ff. 32 and 120.

There is also an additional non-paginated folio within the first part. It contains the sections' titles of the manuscript in Russian, Old Mongolian and Buryat languages, as well as passport data of the field material.²² From this information we can find out, that the recording was made in the Ongoi-Kutanka ulus of the Osinsky aimag²³ of the Irkutsk region in June and July 1946. The informant was a 72-year-old storyteller-shaman Morkhonoï Alsa-garovich Shobonov.

The titles of the sections of the manuscript in Old Mongolian script are as follows:

1. *Geser qaqaṅ-u nom qaryui-yin tuqai*²⁴ (“About the origin of the Geser-khaan”, ff. 1–102).
2. *Abai Geser-ün qoyar-duyar gerlegesen-ü tuqai* (“About the second wedding of Abai Geser”). The title of the second section is given with mistake: at the beginning of the text inside the manuscript (ff. 103–112) we read *Geser-ün dürben-deki-ben gerlegesen-ü tuqai* (“About the fourth wedding of Abai Geser”).
3. *Loyir qara Lobčoyoldoi-luḡ-a Geser qaqaṅ-u temečegsen бүлүг* (“The chapter about the struggle between Geser-khaan and Disgusting Black Lobsogoldoi”, ff. 113–119).
4. *Abai Geser-ün kübegün-ü tuqai* (“About the son of Abai Geser”, f. 120).

The second part of the storage unit Mong. E 289 is titled by the collector as *Гэлхэр Богдойн ном харгуйн* and consists of 170 folios of 21×30 cm stan-

²¹ SAZYKIN 1988: 37–38.

²² English translation of the folio is given in Appendix 1.

²³ Nowadays — the territory of the Bilchirsky, Kakha-Ongoysky and Uleisky municipalities of the Osinsky district of Irkutsk region, the Russian Federation.

²⁴ Here and below, the transliteration of the Old Mongolian text is made by the author of the article.

dard size. The text is in Cyrillic. The text is in blue ink and occupies only the recto side of each folio, paginated in Arabic numerals. There is also an additional folio containing Russian text written in blue ink.²⁵ It also contains the entry's passport details, but is dated by May 24, 1948. At the same time, it indicates that 120 folios of text in the Old Mongolian script (the first part of the unit Mong. E 289 — *D.N.*) are field records. This suggests that May 24, 1948 is the date when the transcription of the epic text was completed. An additional confirmation that the text in Cyrillic is a “whitewashed” manuscript, and not a field one, can be the almost complete absence of blots. This distinguishes it from the text written in the old Mongolian script, where there are many corrections and different spellings of the same word.

The third part of the storage unit Mong. E 289 contains the same Buryat text *Гэхэр Богдойн ном харгуйн*, rendered in a phonetic transcription based on the Cyrillic alphabet. The writing is done in pencil on both recto and verso sides. 65 folios of 21×30 cm standard size are placed in a separate jacket. The number of blots is minimal.

The fourth part of the storage unit Mong. E 289 consists of 14 folios of 21×30 cm standard size. It is divided into two sections containing transcriptions based on the Latin alphabet:

1. *Abai geser boyda yin xūbegūin muxai*²⁶
2. *Geser-un dörbe deki=iyer iyen gerlegesen=u tuxai*
3. *Loir xara Lobsoyoldui luyā Geser xayān u temcegsen бүлүгэ.*

The texts are written in blue ink only on the recto side, pagination, made in Arabic numerals, is not through — ff. from 1 to 9 and ff. from 1 to 5. The number of blots is minimal.

The fifth part of the storage unit Mong. E 289 includes three folios of additional ethnographic materials in Russian. The first sheet, 69×83.5 cm in size, contains a genealogical table *Происхождение Абай-Гэхэр-богдо и его роль в шаманизме* (“The origin of Abai Geser-bogdo and his role in shamanism”), written by Tatiana K. Alekseeva in blue ink. The second folio, 20×25.5 cm sizes contains a sketch of the area on its recto side. The sketch is applied in pencil. The verso side gives us a description of the sketch: *Следы Гесера в местности Улей, Осинский район Иркутской области* (“Tra-

²⁵ English translation of the folio is given in Appendix 2.

²⁶ The original form of transcription is given.

ces of Geser-khaan in the Uley area, Osinsky district of the Irkutsk region”). The third folio of the same size contains a more detailed explanation of the depicted area in Russian. The text is done in blue ink on the recto side.

Basing on the description, given above, it is possible to draw preliminary conclusions about the value of this handwritten monument.

The storage unit Mong. E 289 of the manuscript collection of the IOM, RAS represents the “desktop” of the Buryat folklore collector Tatiana K. Alekseeva. It reflects the process of “deciphering” of the text written in summer of 1946 in the Old Mongolian script. The process of “deciphering” was completed by May 24, 1948.

The unit contains both a field manuscript written in the classical Old Mongolian script and various versions of a “whitewashed” manuscript written by a native speaker of the dialect in which the epic text was performed.

The fact that the Old Mongolian script was used for field recording by Soviet Buryat scholar from the Academic Institution is quite remarkable. From the beginning of the 20th c., Russian and Soviet Mongolian scholars, including those of Buryat origin, tried to reduce the usage of the classical Old Mongolian writing for recording the works of oral folk art. This was done because of the peculiarities of this writing system, that does not reflect the features of the Mongolian dialects. For example, the above-mentioned Tseveen Zh. Zhamtsarano used the Old Mongolian script only at the very beginning of his activity in collecting the folklore of the Mongols and Buryats. Since the second decade of the 20th c. he used a specially developed transcription based on the Cyrillic alphabet.

The same process was observed among the users of the Oirat “clear” script, that fits the dialects of the Mongolian languages better. On the instructions of Boris Ya. Vladimirtsov (1884–1931) in 1924–1925 Don Kalmyk, Tseren-Dorji Nominkhanov,²⁷ collected the folklore of the Oirats of Western Mongolia,²⁸ in transcription based on the Latin alphabet.²⁹

The use of the Old Mongolian script was not typical for researchers from Western Buryatia either. A student of the Leningrad Oriental Institute Andrei

²⁷ Nominkhanov, Tseren-Dorji (September 8, 1898, stanitsa Grabbevsckaya, region of the Great Don Cossacks, Russian Empire – 1967, Elista, USSR) — the name, given in Mongolia to Buur Ochirovitch Yundzukov, during his stay there as a military instructor in 1921–1923. Under this name he became famous as the first D.Sc. (philology) of Kalmyk origin.

²⁸ More about this activity see NOSOV 2021.

²⁹ For published texts see GANTSOGT & SÜKHBAATAR 2016.

K. Bogdanov³⁰ handed over to the Asiatic Museum several epics recorded by him. Like Tatiana K. Alekseeva, during the summer holidays of 1928, he went to his home region of Bokhan aimag,³¹ where he discovered a 30-year-old expert in folklore Apollon A. Toroev.³² The researcher recorded the stories using transcription based on the Cyrillic alphabet.³³ In his report, Bogdanov does not indicate whether Apollon A. Toroev was considered a shaman, but among the recorded material there are 2 shaman chants.³⁴

It is doubtful that the professional philologist Tatiana K. Alekseeva was not familiar with various variants of phonetic academic transcriptions. It is reasonable to assume that the choice of the Old Mongolian script for writing down the text directly at the moment of performance was conscious. It could be due to both the ritual status of the storyteller-shaman and the sacred meaning of the performed text — the epic about Geser-khaan. Probably, the recording took place in the area described in the fifth part of this storage unit Mong. E 289 — Uley area, Osinsky district of the Irkutsk region, the Russian Federation.

After getting acquainted with this monument, another question arises: how did Tatiana K. Alekseeva write down shamanic chants from her informants? Are the texts published by B. Rinchen a field records or do they transmit “whitewashed” manuscripts? Can other Mongolian folklore manuscripts from the collection of the IOM, RAS in the Old Mongolian and Oirat “clear” script be field records?

The storage unit Mong. E 289 of the manuscript collection of the IOM, RAS raises much more questions for researchers than it answers, but we can definitely say that it is a valuable source on the shamanic folklore of the Western Buryats. It is important not only for the Mongolist — the “desktop” of Tatiana K. Alekseeva is a reliable basis for developing a methodology for the historical-folkloristic and historical-linguistic analysis of the folklore texts of the peoples of Russia.

³⁰ Bogdanov, Andrei Kirillovitch (September 1, 1902, Ukyr ulus, Bokhan aimag, Irkutsk governate, Russian Empire — September 22, 1963, Leningrad, USSR) — soviet philologist of Western Buryat origin.

³¹ Nowadays — the territory of Bokhansky and Osinsky districts of the Irkutsk region, the Russian Federation.

³² Toroev, Apollon Andreevitch (December 14, 1893, Shunta ulus, Bokhan aimag, Irkutsk governate, Russian Empire — December 25, 1981, Usol'e-Sibirskoe, Irkutsk region, USSR) — Buryat epics performer and poet, member of the Union of Writers of the USSR (1939).

³³ Archive of Orientalists of the IOM, RAS. Category II, Inv. 1, Units 378–381.

³⁴ Central State Archive of St. Petersburg. Fund 7222, Inv. 9, Unit 49, P. 13.

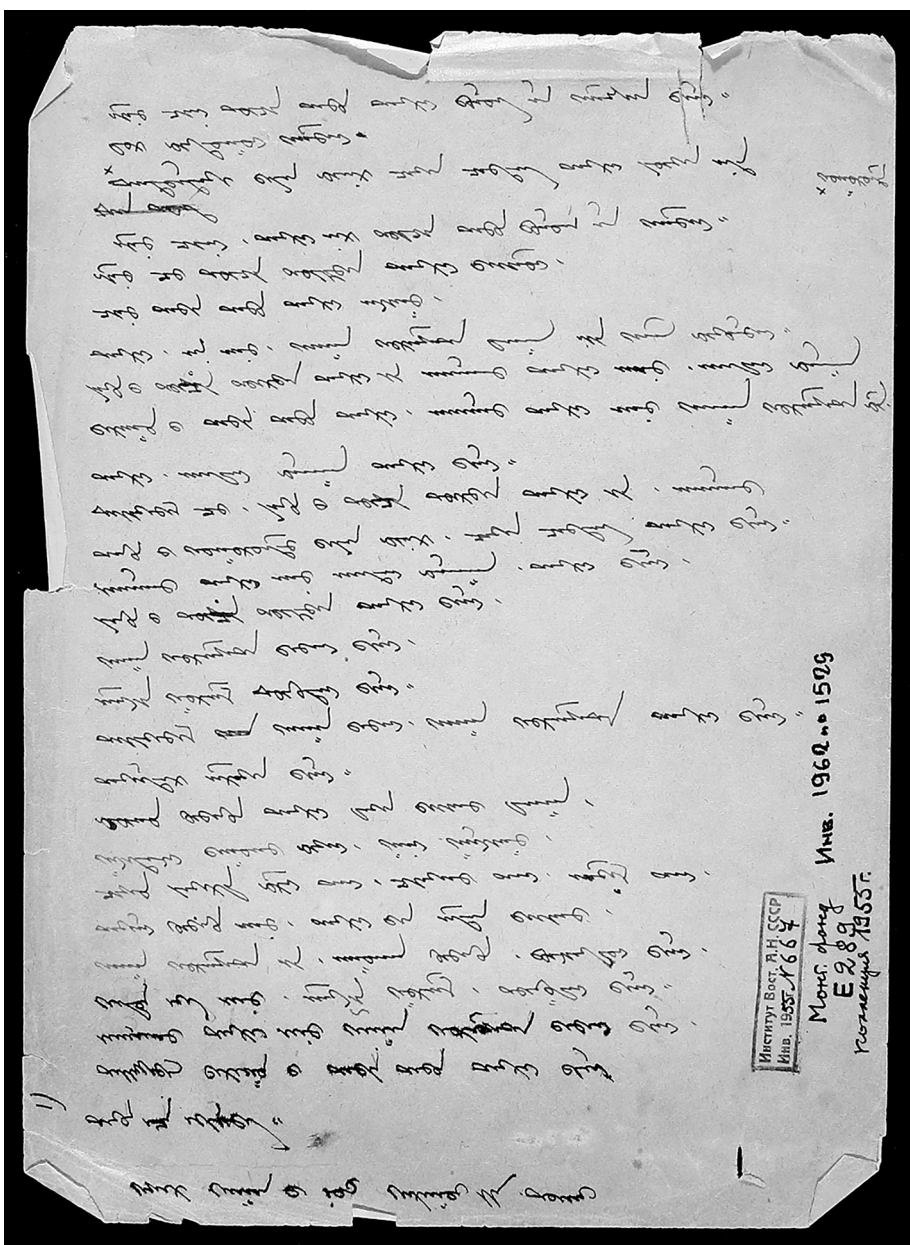


Plate 1.
The first folio of the Old-Mongolian text of the Ms. Mong. E 289

-1- Итх. 1962 no 1520

Энэр бөгдлийн ном хоргойн.

Түүнхэн захиалаад.

Тибел баруун тавин табан тэнгэр бэлэй,
 Ахалла тэнгэрийн Хан Ширмае баабай бэлэй,
 Агшан эхэн Манзан Гурмал төөдэй бэлэй,
 Хан Ширмаеийн ууган хубуун Бүрхенитэй бэлэй,
 Тэдэн хубуун тэнгэрээс мэдэн байла, Иунае
 зээрда морийтэй, Иунаеийн мээлтэй,
 Заварданаеи дүүхейдээ Ганитэ Санзуу бэлэй,
 Ойхон хубуун, тэнгэртээ байладала,
 Тэжэлтэр мэргэн бэлэй, тибэл. Хан баабай
 Хан-Ширмае тэнгэр бэлэй, Манзан Гурмал төөдэй
 бэлэй, Хан Ширмае баабай бэлэй, Зүүн дөшөн
 дорбэн тэнгэр бэлэй, Ахалла тэнгэрийн, Агшан
 улаан тэнгэр бэлэй, Түүн хорондо баадн үнэр
 сэгэн ~~с~~ бөдгээ тэнгэр бэлэй, тибелмае,
 Зүүн дөшөн дорбэн тэнгэрийн ахалла тэнгэр
 Агшан улаан тэнгэр бэлэй.

↓

Plate 2.

The first folio of the Cyrillic transcription of the Ms. Mong. E 289

Ms. 1962 no 1529

Doir xara Lobsogoldoi luja Geser xayan u temcegseen fülüge.

Lobsogoldoi yin uram=du burxan tura bodolai. Geser-un 3
 eüener Lobsogoldoi yin oron=du odon Lobsogoldoi yin burxan tura
 du niürgül xeki yosutai geju kelebei. Ködgin ügei niürgid=un
 amu köbegin=tei bolju baina. Ügei=tei kümün amu bayan bolju
 baina. Geser amu xiden jil=du üge=du amu oraju ese ügönö.
 Namai=yi melekceye geju Lobsogoldoi oron=du orolai. 3 xara
 joro utarilujad, Geser luge yadaja amu bairad nid bairu
 daju yaraxu 1000 luja yin daju nigedkeju daju yarala, tūs
 bairu daju yarala, tümen luja=yin daju nigedkeju daju yarala.
 Teingenadu ilsiige feu kelebei. Či orujad čirujad bairu, či zell.
 Lobsogoldoi bolhol tümer oron degere feu tūs geju čašijū unaku.
 Burxan baibal sajuxu. Orujad šaynalai. Lobsogoldoi amu
 Geser-un dajun yaraxa=du tümer oron=degere feu čököcken
 tūs geju unabai. Jls: amu Lobsogoldoi geju genem gele ču
 kelen amu buraju ırgeldeju, burxan geju kelebei. 3 xatun amu
 orolai taygor ürgeju bairu. Geser egiden=ü moji=yi tūsigeč
 bairu azad bayasij doxiku jajuwa, xara xeger morin bolon
 xubilabai. tümer noyta fer ene ču mori=yi Lobsogoldoi
 noytolobai, tümer xajajär iyer xajajärlen. 3 xatun amu
 quilden yaralai. Popoxa dajan sajujad ger degen xatad amu
 yabubai. Xara xeger morin iyer tümer čüder iyer čidurleju suxai ulajan
 tašijur iyer baribai. dair degere ečč amu sazulaju, dair=yin mita=yi
 samna sorju yadajaš: amu yabuju yarlai, tümer iyer xumud keju,
 tümer iyer anzasa keju ~~at~~ oi=yin modo urbazulja=ber amu
 xaxalbai, oi=yin modon nigud amu ~~tegi~~ tarxi fer iyer unaju
 baina. Seguxo dotor 40 destina xajalju baina, 3 kuxe egeči nigud
 amu medegun dotor dajan medebi, uxayan gülsju ~~at~~ oilaju yabubai +
 Jegün doitu tuli=du jorin joxin orobod, Lobsogoldoi yin oron=du 1

Plate 3.

The first folio of the Latin transcription of "The chapter about the struggle between Geser-khaan and Disgusting Black Lobsogoldoi" at the Ms. Mong. E 289

Appendix 1

Translation from Russian into English of an explanatory non-paginated folio to the first part of the IOM, RAS storage unit Mong. E 289, containing a field record of the Western Buryat version of Geser epic in the Old Mongolian script.

Alekseeva Tatiana Kapitovna

1. Origin of Geser.
2. Geser and his struggle with Loir Lobsogoldoy.
3. The 4th marriage of Geser.
4. About the son of Geser.

[Old Mongolian text]:

- 1) Geser qaqaᠨ-u nom qaryui-yin tuqai :
- 2) Loyir qara lobčoyoldoi-luγ-a Geser qaqaᠨ-u temečegsen бүлүг :
- 3) Abai Geser-ün kübegün-ü tuqai :
- 4) Abai Geser-ün qoyar-duγar gerlegsen-ü tuqai :

[Text in Cyrillic]:

1. Абай Гэхэри ном хоргуйн тухай.
2. Абай Гэхэри Лойр Хара Лобсолгодойтой дайлалдахани тухай.
3. Абай Гэхэри дурбэдугар гэрлэхэни тухай.
4. Абай Гэхэри хубегуни тухай

The material was recorded by me in 1946 in June and July from the famous storyteller-shaman Morkhonoі Alsagarovich Shobonov. In the Osinsky district of the Irkutsk region.

Appendix 2

Translation from Russian into English of an explanatory non-paginated folio of the second part of the IOM, RAS Mong. E 289 storage unit. This part contains transcription of the Buryat epic text in Cyrillic.

Buryat Geser Bogdo and his life path. Prehistory of Geser (Geser in heaven), his birth on earth. Childhood, struggle with Sharablin khans (rulers — *D.N.*) and monsters of the Earth, how the name Abai Geser was given to him.

Recorded from the 72-year old storyteller-shaman Morkhonoï Alsagarovich Shobonov in the Ongoi-Kutanka ulus of the Belchir bulsoviet³⁵ of Osinsky aimak, Irkutsk region, in the summer of 1946. Volume — 171 pages. Field record — 120 pages.

Except for Geser and his life path, there are the following sections in the manuscript:

About the son and second son of Geser,

About Geser's fourth marriage, About the battle with Loir Khara Lobso-goldoy. 14 pages

24/V 48 Alekseeva T.

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³⁵ Bulsoviet (Russ.: булсовет) — a local community council in Western Buriatia. I thank Dr. Zhargal Badagarov for the clarification of the term.

Written Monuments of the Orient
Scientific biannual journal
Founder: Institute of Oriental manuscripts RAS (Asiatic Museum)
Address: Dvortsovaya Emb., 18, Saint-Petersburg, 191186, Russia
Chief editor: member-correspondent of RAS Irina Fedorovna Popova

Submitted to print 20.06.2022
Date of issue 28.06.2022
Print run: 500 copies

The price is free.
Editorial Office address: Dvortsovaya Emb., 18, Saint Petersburg, 191186, Russia,
www.orientalstudies.ru
Printing address: «Litografiya print». Dnepropetrovskaya st., 8, office 14, 191119, Saint-Petersburg,
Russia www.litobook.ru, e-mail info@litobook.ru, tel. +7(812) 712-02-08