

RUSSIAN ACADEMY  
OF SCIENCES

Institute of Oriental  
Manuscripts

Founded in 2014  
Issued biannually

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# WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

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2015 (2)

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## IN THIS ISSUE

- Hiroshi Umemura, Peter Zieme**  
A Further Fragment of the Old Uighur *Qianziwen* 3
- Maxim Fionin**  
Greek Manuscript D-227 from the Collection of IOM, RAS.  
An Archeographical Analysis 14
- Arakawa Shintaro**  
On the Design of a “Trebuchet” in the Tangut Manuscript of IOM,  
RAS 21
- Olga Lundysheva**  
Fragments of dhāraṇī Blockprints from Khara-Khoto (Serindian Fund  
of IOM, RAS). With Appendix by Alla Sizova 31
- Kirill Bogdanov**  
Ritual Funeral Text Tang 665 from the Tangut Collection of IOM,  
RAS 48
- Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, Liubov Kriakina, Alexander Zorin**  
The First Tibetan Leaves Acquired by the St. Petersburg Academy  
of Sciences: Conservation Issues, Contents and Paper Analysis 61
- Svetlana Sabrukova**  
Examples of Buddhist Letters from A.M. Pozdneev Archive  
Collection 77
- Youli Ioannesyan**  
The St. Petersburg 19th c. Collection of Materials on the Babi and  
Baha’i Faiths: Primary and other Sources 85
- Reviews**
- Dmitriev S.V. *Fond etnograficheskogo otdela Russkogo muzeia po  
kul’ture narodov zarubezhnogo Vostoka: Istoriia formirovaniia i sud’ba  
(1901–1930-e gg.)*. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University, 2012,  
by **David R. Shearer** 108
- Schneider J. *Eine buddhistische Kritik der indischen Götter. Śaṃkara-  
svāmins Devātīśayastotra mit Prajñāvarmans Kommentar*. Wien:  
Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2014. (*Wiener  
Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*), by **Alexander  
V. Zorin** 111
- Mandschurische Handschriften und Drucke im Bestand der Staatsbi-  
bliothek zu Berlin. Bearbeitet von Hartmut Walravens. Stuttgart:  
Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014. 560 S, by **Tatiana A. Pang** 114
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Hiroshi Umemura, Peter Zieme

**A Further Fragment  
of the Old Uighur *Qianziwen***

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*In memoriam Masahiro Shōgaito*

*Abstract:* In this paper the authors edit one fragment of the Old Uighur *Qianziwen* that belongs to the Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. This fragment is joined with some others that were already published by M. Shōgaito. The *Qianziwen* belonging to the classical scriptures is an old Chinese primer for learning Chinese. Rarely translated into other languages the Old Uighur version confirms the strong relationship between Chinese and Uighur scholarship in the Medieval period.

*Key words:* *Qianziwen*, Thousand Characters Book, Chinese primer, Old Uighur fragments, Serindia Collection, translations from Chinese into Old Uighur

Beyond doubt one of the great achievements of late Masahiro Shōgaito is his work on Old Uighur texts and their dependence on and relationship to the Chinese originals. The texts he studied and edited include the 千字文 *Qianziwen* an old Chinese primer used for learning Chinese. In the Middle Ages this Chinese text was rarely translated into other languages. Among the Old Uighur materials quite a few fragments were identified, mainly by Shōgaito, one contribution was written by him together with Abdurishid Yakup (SHŌGAITO and YAKUP 2001).

At that time the authors referred to three Old Uighur translations. The first they mention is Ch/U 8152v studied by Tsuneki Nishiwaki,<sup>1</sup> but this is not a

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. NISHIWAKI 2002, 70–87. Ch/U 8152 verso contains the Old Uighur phrase [*miŋ uŷ]iklarnıŋ čizıgı* translated by SHŌGAITO and YAKUP 2001, 4 as “The Essay of a Thousand Characters” with the unconventional use of *čizıgı* “line” (not included in ED); cp. strophe 21 of the Old Uighur *Qianziwen*: 始制文字 *shı zhi wen zi* = *šu čı* 文字 = *ašnu-ča yarattıp uŷik čizıgı* = “First they created syllables and lines”.

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“block print” as the authors write.<sup>2</sup> The second manuscript is known from SI 4000 (4bKr 182),<sup>3</sup> SI 4006 (4bKr 194)<sup>4</sup> and SI 4084 (4bKr 185).<sup>5</sup> The third manuscript is SI 4083 (4bKr 181).<sup>6</sup> They did not mention a fourth.<sup>7</sup>

In 2003, Shōgaito discussed some more fragments that he had already edited before: SI 5778 (3Kr 14) and SI 5836 (3Kr 15)<sup>8</sup> without specifying to which manuscript they belong. They apparently constitute a fifth manuscript. In 2004 and 2008 he added SI 1787 (Kr IV 260) which also belongs to that same manuscript.<sup>9</sup> All in all, there are five different manuscripts of Old Uighur versions of the *Qianziwen*.

Now, we are introducing here fragment SI 1850 (Kr IV 312), which is a further part of the above-mentioned fifth manuscript.<sup>10</sup> It can be joined directly to the other fragments and extends from line 37 to line 52, counting from the beginning. Altogether, the fifth manuscript covers the first 38 four-character units of the *Qianziwen*, i.e., 152 characters. The four-character group is the structural unit of the *Qianziwen* and the Old Uighur translators followed this model.

Considering all the *Qianziwen* fragments known in Old Uighur, there are remnants of sections 1–38, 82–101, 104–117, 114–146 and 224–241. Altogether, this covers about 440 characters, thus so far nearly half of the *Qianziwen* is attested in Old Uighur translation albeit in different manuscripts.

Taking into account that on the Chinese recto side one line has only 17 characters<sup>11</sup> and considering the joint Uighur (verso) side, we can now better reconstruct the Old Uighur translation of the fifth manuscript. As a complete re-examination of the *Qianziwen* will be a future task, we start here from section 27 by including the new text of fragment SI 1850 (Kr IV 312).

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<sup>2</sup> SHŌGAITO and YAKUP 2001, 4. In his other papers on the *Qianziwen* fragments Shōgaito does not call the text a “block print”.

<sup>3</sup> Can be joined directly to SI 3924 (4bKr 155), not edited so far. We thank Akihito Yoshida for this information.

<sup>4</sup> Can be joined directly to SI 3864 (4bKr 38), not edited so far. We thank Akihito Yoshida for this information.

<sup>5</sup> SHŌGAITO and YAKUP 2001, 4, studied as A, B, D.

<sup>6</sup> SHŌGAITO and YAKUP 2001, 4, studied as C.

<sup>7</sup> ZIEME 1999; in SHŌGAITO 2003 it was mentioned.

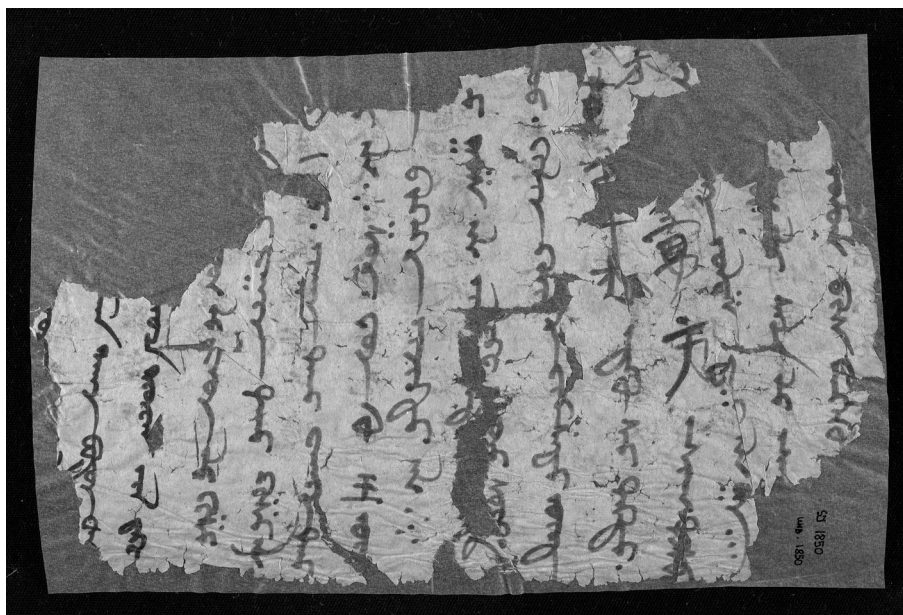
<sup>8</sup> SHŌGAITO 2008, 177.

<sup>9</sup> SHŌGAITO 2004, 184–201; SHŌGAITO 2008.

<sup>10</sup> We acknowledge our gratitude to I. F. Popova, the director of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg, for her support.

<sup>11</sup> The reconstruction in SHŌGAITO 2003, 117 presents a different picture.

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*Qianziwen* sections 27 to 38 according to the following structure

- 1) Section number;
- 2) Chinese characters and transcription in Pinyin;
- 3) English translation of Chinese, following the interpretation of the Chinese by Ōgawa and Kida;<sup>12</sup>
- 4) Chinese characters in the Old Uighur manuscript (characters only/transcription only/mixed);<sup>13</sup>
- 5) Transliteration of the Old Uighur text;
- 6) Transcription of the Old Uighur text (in Italic);
- 7) English translation of the Old Uighur text;
- 8) Commentary.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> ŌGAWA and KIDA 1997, 56–69.

<sup>13</sup> Throughout the text there is no fixed arrangement. We guess that the translator chose the method of transcription in the case of difficult characters, but, of course, there is no proof of that.

<sup>14</sup> Our comments on the Chinese text are restricted to certain general information, but we try to give some detailed explanations to the Old Uighur version. Additionally we thought it appropriate to quote the nearest other non-Chinese version which is the Mongol text edited by HAUER 1925. For each section we give his text (without altering his transcription) and his translation into German.

## 27

坐朝問道 *zuo chao wen dao*

Presiding at court and asking the way;

(35)<sup>15</sup> s'čyv 問道<sup>16</sup>

kwyswnč lwk . (36) 'wrwn 'wyz''wlwrwp {twylw}<sup>17</sup> twyrw ywl yn ''yydty  
*közünč-lüg (36) orun üzä olurup törü yol-in ayıdıtı*

Sitting on the precious throne he asked the way of the law.

Comm.: The scribe quotes the text half in transcription, half as characters. Old Uig. *közünčlüg orun* “precious throne” is the equivalent of *chao* “court, palace”. The “way” can have several meanings, here the Old Uighur translator interpreted it as “the way of the law”. Cp. HAUER 1925, 5 (Mo.) *baraglal-dur saguju yoso-yi asaguhui-dur* (p. 12) “Sitzend zu Hofe erfragten sie das Tao.”<sup>18</sup>

## 28

垂拱平章 *chui gong ping zhang*

Not moving the hand, he fairly rules.

šw kwnk . (37) py čw

twn yn k'typ 'ylykyn yyrdynčwk p'šl'ty  
*tonın kädip eligin yertinčüg başlatı*

Putting on his dress by hand he ruled the world.

Comm.: The quotation is given only in transcription. There is no rule for quoting Chinese text, laying down which words were quoted as in the original Chinese text and which were transcribed. The first two characters 垂拱 *chui gong* mean “Wearing cloth and not moving the hand”. One might assume that the translator left out a word for “not moving”, but the converb speaks against this. He interpreted the binom simply as “putting on cloth”. On the other hand, he added “by hand(s)” to the second binom. The translation of this binom makes it very clear that *başla-* means “to rule”, not only “to begin”. We quote here a clear example from a passage in the Old Uighur translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*: (T. 665, p. 443c17) 以善化衆生,

<sup>15</sup> The numbers in round brackets ( ) correspond to the lines in the complete joined text of SI 5778 (3 Kr 14), SI 5836 (3 Kr 15), SI 1787 (Kr IV 260) and SI 1850 (Kr IV 312) following Shōgaito's publication.

<sup>16</sup> This character, which should be 道, is miswritten as 通 *tong*.

<sup>17</sup> The mistake *twylw* was corrected by the scribe.

<sup>18</sup> Cp. HAUER 1925, 25.

正法治於國 = Suv 565/3–6 (以善>) *ädgügärü inčip* (化>) *ötläyür* (衆生>) *kamağ kara bodunın* / (正法>) *köni nomča* (治>) *bašlayur* (於國>) *elniñ ulušnuğ törüsin* “(The true ruler) advises his whole people to the good, he rules the law of the realm according to the true *dharmā*”.<sup>19</sup> Here the verb 治 *zhi* “to govern” is translated by *bašla-* “id.”. Cp. HAUER 1925, 5 *nurkiju julgugulun tübsin bolgaju todorhailamui* “(das Gewand) herabwallen lassend und die Hände vor der Brust gefaltet (d.h. in der Regungslosigkeit des Wuwei verharrend) klärten sie ausgleichend auf”.<sup>20</sup>

## 29

愛育黎首 *ai yu li shou*

With love he reared the common people.

(38) ’y ywq 黎<sup>21</sup>首.

’mr’nm’q[ ]n ’ykytdy q’ m’q q’r’ pwdwn wq  
*amranmak[i]n egitdi kamağ kara bodunug*

In love he reared the whole people.

Comm.: The first half of the quotation is given in transcription, the other as characters. Here the translation is rather precise, with the exception that the translator added *kamağ* “whole”. The Chinese compound 黎首 *lishou* means “the common people”. Cp. HAUER 1925, 5 *hara terigütü irgen-i ürüsigen kümüjigüljü* (p. 12) “Liebreich versorgten sie die schwarzen Häupter.”

## 30

臣伏戎羌 *chen fu rong qiang*

He administers that Rong and Qiang bend down.

(39)<sup>22</sup> šyn vwq šy kw ::

t’pyqčy qylyp y’v’ldwrty ’wč qytyq ’yl d’ky (40) kwyč’k mwnkwr wq l’r yq ::  
*tapıgçı kılıp yavaldurtı uç kılığ eldäki (40) küčäk muñuruklarığ ::*

He made to servants and pacified the wild Bellowing Ones in the border lands.

Comm.: Here the translator quotes the Chinese text only in transcription. The names Rong and Qiang are used to exemplify the various western bar-

<sup>19</sup> KAYA 1994, 304.

<sup>20</sup> Cp. HAUER 1925, 25–26.

<sup>21</sup> This character, which should be 黎, is miswritten as 梨 *li*.

<sup>22</sup> The first word in this line was erased; the scribe realised that it was miswritten.

barian tribes. These are here replaced by a more general term: people living in the border regions. The word *muḡur-uk* is not attested elsewhere, unless one postulates a missing l-hook and reads *muḡulug* = *muḡlug* “distressed”. But, more probably, it seems to be a passive of the back vowel variant of the verb *muḡra-/müḡrā-* “to bellow, howl, bleat”.<sup>23</sup> There are two possible routes of derivation: 1) supposing a verb *\*muḡur-* as a variant of *muḡra-*: > *\*muḡur-uk*; 2) or simply a word derived from *muḡra->muḡruk* with an epenthetic vowel > *muḡuruk*. Cp. HAUER 1925, 5 *gadagadu aimak tüsimel bolju dagara irejükiü* “und machten untertan die Jung und die K’iang”.

## 31

遐邇壹體 *xia er yi ti*

Far and near appear as one.

(([XXXX] özli yat-lı kiši-(41) -lär elig bāgkă... [1]rak-takı yakın-takı kišilär (42) bir tözlüg boltı :: ))<sup>24</sup>

q’šy — [t]y

’yr’q t’qy y’qyn t’qy (43) [ ]šy l’r pyr twyzlwk pwlty l’r ::

*ırak-takı yakın-takı (43) [ki]ši-lär bir tözlüg boltı-lar ::*

People of far and near became like one.

Comm.: When the scribe realised that he had omitted to translate section 31, he stopped and started to write the passage of that section, so he encircled the wrong passage with ((...)). Here, only the third character is quoted as Chinese character: 一 instead of 壹 “one”. The word *kišilär* “people” is obviously an addition. The expression *bir tözlüg* corresponds to Chinese “of one body” = “the same”. Cp. HAUER 1925, 5 *holaki oiraki-yi anu nigen adali üjijü* “Die Fernen und die Nahen in corpore”.

## 32

率賓歸王 *shuai bin gui wang*

All rallied, obeyed the king.

šwk vwn kw 王

’wyz (44) ly y’d ly kyšy l’r . ’ylyk p’kk’ ’yčykdy l’r ::

*öz (44) li yad-lı kiši-lär . elig bāgkă ičikdi-lär ::*

The own and the foreign people obeyed the king.

<sup>23</sup> ED 770b.

<sup>24</sup> The part ((...)) was erased.



Comm.: Only the last character of the group is quoted as a Chinese character. “All”, the first word of the Chinese line (*shuai*), was split into “the own and the foreign people” which might be caused by the second word *bin* “guest” or “to submit”. In this case it is easier to understand the choice for *yad* “foreign”, because a guest can also be foreign, of course. If the translator first thought of *yad*, he may have opted for *öz*, because the word pair *öz yad* is frequent. Cp. HAUER 1925, 5 *jergeber hagan-dur dagara iremüi* (p. 12) “kehrten sich, führend und geführt, dem Weltherrscher zu”.

## 33

鳴鳳在樹 *ming feng zai shu*

Calling phoenix is on the tree.

(45) 鳴<sup>25</sup> vwnk 在 šw :

ywy-y qwš l'r 'ylyky 'dty swykwd (46) 'wyz' :

*yuy kuš-lar eligi ätti sögüt (46) üzä :*

The king of the peacock birds sang on the tree.

Comm.: Two characters are quoted as Chinese, two in Old Uighur transcription. “The king of the peacocks” is a circumlocution for 鳳 *feng* “phoenix”. In the Old Uighur translation of the *Biography of Xuanzang feng* is translated in the same manner.<sup>26</sup> We think that although a special word denoting the peacock exists, 孔雀 *kongque*, in Old Uighur, *yuy kuš* could mean both peacock and phoenix. There are several examples for *yuy kuš* in the meaning of “peacock”.<sup>27</sup> Note the word *ät-* for “to sing” instead of *öt-*. Cp. HAUER 1925, 6 *garudi hulusun modun dur dongotbai* (p. 12) “Der singende Phönix war auf dem Baume”.

## 34

白駒食場 *bai ju shi chang*

White pony grazes on threshing-floor.

白駒<sup>28</sup>食čw.

kylyn k'yik yymš'dy 'wyrd- (47)-kwn t'kr' ::

*kilin käyik yimšädi ürt- (47)-gün tägrä ::*

The *kilin* animal grazed around the threshing-floor.

<sup>25</sup> This character remains unclear; most probably the scribe simply wrote another *ming*, i.e. 名.

<sup>26</sup> AYDEMİR 2013, 332–333 (com. on l. 676).

<sup>27</sup> Cp. RYBATZKI 2008.

<sup>28</sup> Probably the scribe simply wrote a character similar in pronunciation: 記 *ji* instead of 駒 *ju*.

Comm.: The reading *ürtgün*, translation of Skt. *khala* “threshing place”, is attested in Brāhmī script.<sup>29</sup> The Old Uighur word kylyn *kilin*, spelled in TT I k’l’n *kälän*, is rare, it is not attested in ED as a lemma,<sup>30</sup> but in TT I, 42<sup>31</sup> *kälän*<sup>32</sup> *käyik müyüzi tæg atıj küñj kötrülgäy* “Similar to the *kälän* animal your name and fame will be exalted!”<sup>33</sup> In their note to line 42 the editors explained *kälän* as a loan from the Chinese 麒麟 *qilin*, usually translated as “unicorn”. This shows that the Uighur translator replaced “white pony” with the probably more familiar unicorn. Cp. the legend of Oguz Kagan where a difficult word *q-r-y-a-n* is attested several times, a dog-like predatory animal, explained by some scholars as the unicorn.<sup>34</sup> The Mongol version follows the Chinese text strictly, cp. HAUER 1925, 6 *cagan daga küriyeleng düür idere iremüi* (p. 12) “das weiße Fohlen fraß von der Tenne”.<sup>35</sup>

## 35

化被草木 *hua bei cao mu*

Wise teachings reach each plant and tree;

化被<sup>36</sup>草木

tyn (?)’dkw sy t’kdy : (48) ’wt q’ ’yq’ č q’ t’ ky ::

tin(?) ädgü-si tægdi : (48) ot-ka ıgač-katägi ::

The virtue of heaven(?) reached to grass and trees.

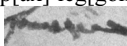
Comm.: The Chinese group is quoted in full. The spelling of the first word is doubtful. Presumably, it is tyn < Chin. 天 *tian* “heaven”. If so, this seems to be an interpretation by the Old Uighur translator. Cp. HAUER 1925, 6 *ebesü modun ece abun geskegdebei* (p. 12) “der segensreiche Einfluß erstreckt sich bis auf die Pflanzen und die Bäume”.

<sup>29</sup> MAUE 2015, 256 Nr. 51.

<sup>30</sup> But cp. ED 755a (sub *kéyik*) quoting the text of TT I, 42 as *kilen keyik müyüzi teg*. The editors of TT I used the spelling *kälän* or *kilän* in their note on p. 257.

<sup>31</sup> Cp. DTS 296a. The authors of the DTS adopted the etymology of TT I.

<sup>32</sup>  U 458 (T II Y 36.13) = TT I, 42.

<sup>33</sup> Here we offer a new reading for TT I, 46. The word *yaskag*, emended by G. Clauson to *yarsgag* (ED 975a) and treated as a Hap[ax] leg[gomenon] (cp. UÇAR 2012, 80 no. 097), can be read y’syr’q = *yasırak* “very flat”: , in the context: *yarmanayın tesärs(ä)n yasırak turur, aşayın tesärs(ä)n ediz turur* (a wonderful parallelism as very often in TT I) “If you want to climb (the mountain), it is very flat; if you want to cross it, it is high”.

<sup>34</sup> Cp. SINOR 1960, 170–171.

<sup>35</sup> According to HAUER 1925, 24, this sentence is an allusion to the 詩經 *Shijing*: 皎皎白駒、食我場苗 “Let the brilliant white colt / Feed on the young growth of my vegetable garden”.

<sup>36</sup> This character should be written, but instead the scribe probably wrote 彼 *bi*.

## 36

賴及萬方 *lai ji wan fang*

bounties reach everywhere.

賴<sup>37</sup>[及]萬方

’syq twsw (49) qylm’q yn yytkwrdy twy[ ]’n ’wlwš d’qy l’r q’ ::

*asıg tusu (49) kılmak-in yetgürdi tü[m]än uluš-dakı-lar-ka ::*

By providing gain and profit he fostered those in ten thousand countries.

Comm.: In this line, too, all the Chinese characters are quoted. The Old Uighur translation tries to make the idea of the short Chinese phrase more plausible through circumlocution 萬方 *wanfang* as *uluš-dakı-lar-ka* “those in ten thousand countries”. The verb *yetgür-* “to make something available to somebody, help him reach it” is discussed by M. Erdal.<sup>38</sup> Differently in Mongol, cp. HAUER 1925, 6 *tümen gajara ki kesik yi küliyebei* (p. 12) “und der Nutzen erreichte sämtliche Gegenden”.<sup>39</sup>

## 37

蓋此身髮 *gai ci shen fa*

Now, these bodies and hair

(50) q’y sy 身髮<sup>40</sup>

ym’ [...]z ly s’č ly ’s[...] (51) [...]

*y(ä)mä [ät’ö]z-li sač-li’s[...] (51) [...]*

And the [bodie]s and the hair [...]

Comm.: It is a word by word translation, but we cannot emend the word ’s[...]. Cp. HAUER 1925, 6 *ene beye üsün kemekei* (p. 12) “Nun sind diese Person und Haupthaare”.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> This character is difficult to recognise, only the left half can be seen and the right half was probably omitted.

<sup>38</sup> OTWF 755.

<sup>39</sup> Cp. Hauer’s commentary.

<sup>40</sup> Instead of 髮 the scribe apparently used 八 *ba* without any reason, unless one takes account of the similar pronunciation: *fa* versus *ba*.

<sup>41</sup> According to Hauer’s commentary (p. 28) this is an allusion to the *Xiaojing* I: 身體髮膚, 受之父母, 不敢毀傷, 孝之始也 “The body, hair and skin, all have been received from the parents, and so one doesn’t dare damage them—that is the beginning of *xiao*.”

## 38

四大五常 *si da wu chang*

(are made from the) Four Great Things and (keep to the) Five Principles.

四大五常

[...]t'wlwq pyš m'nkkw [...] (52) -' pwydmyš [...]

[tör]t ulug beš mängü [üz] (52) -ä bütmiš [ärür]

[By fou]r great (ones and) five eternal (principles) [they are] completed.

Comm.: The Four great (ones) are the constituents of the human body according to Buddhist theories: earth, wind, fire, and water, while the five eternal (principles) are the Confucian virtues: benevolence, righteousness, politeness, wisdom, and truthfulness. Cp. HAUER 1925, 6 *dürben yeke tabun egüride* (p. 12) “die Vier Großen und die Fünf Ewigen”.<sup>42</sup>

### Abbreviations

DTS — Drevnetiurkskii slovar

ED — Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish

OTWF — Old Turkic Word Formation

TT I — Türkische Turfan-Texte. I

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<sup>42</sup> Cp. HAUER 1925, 28–29.

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Maxim Fionin

**Greek Manuscript D-227  
from the Collection of IOM, RAS.  
An Archeographical Analysis**

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*Abstract:* This paper deals with an archeographical analysis of the Greek minuscule manuscript D-227 kept in the collection of the IOM, RAS. The author reviews its present condition and deciphers the inscriptions left on its binding by the staff of the Winter Palace Imperial Library when it was delivered there and notes made by the staff of the Asiatic Museum (forerunner of the IOM). The contents of the parts are established, as is, wherever possible, their numbering. Inscriptions in Greek, including one written by Hierotheos, Patriarch of Antioch (1850–1885), are deciphered and translated.

*Key words:* Greek lectionary, minuscule manuscript, IOM manuscript collection, collection of Gregory IV, Arab Christian manuscripts, parchment codex

The Greek lectionary D-227 (as designated by the Asiatic Museum) was among the Arab Christian manuscripts presented by Patriarch of Antioch Gregory IV to Emperor Nicholas II in 1913, the year when the Romanov dynasty celebrated its 300th anniversary. In February 1919, the entire collection was transferred to the Asiatic Museum.

The manuscripts were transferred from the Winter Palace with the active involvement of academician Ignaty Yulianovich Krachkovsky.<sup>1</sup> In one of his studies he remarked that Prof. Grigol Tsereteli had dated lectionary D-227 to the 11th c.<sup>2</sup>

Since the mid-20th c. the manuscript has hardly been mentioned in scholarly literature, but the lectionary was notably included in the catalog by Kurt Aland et al. and in another by E.E. Granstroem, listing Greek manuscripts kept in Leningrad libraries.<sup>3</sup> To my mind, the manuscript deserved more

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<sup>1</sup> KRACHKOVSKY 1946, 31–37.

<sup>2</sup> KRACHKOVSKY 1960, vol. 6, 429.

<sup>3</sup> In the former the lectionary from the IOM, RAS collection was designated as I 1847; provided was also the information concerning the place where it was stored (ALAND 1994, 331).

Granstroem provided more data, including a brief review of the contents, size, and ruling. Besides, that catalog contained decipherings of a few Greek inscriptions on its fly-leaf (GRANSTROEM 1961, 228).

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close attention as its Gospel parts reveal certain peculiarities that are possibly characteristic of the ritual observed by the Antioch Church.

Manuscript D-227 is a well-preserved parchment codex. Its wooden binding is covered with leather. On its spine, there is a band woven of yellow, green, white, and brown silk threads.

The thick parchment folios are of good quality, their inner and outer sides are almost impossible to distinguish; however, a few have developed cracks and holes. The uneven surface of the parchment proves that the manuscript was once stored in a humid environment.

The missing wooden backboard of the binding has been replaced with thick cardboard inserted into the leather cover during restoration. Additionally, the restorers made good the damaged parts of the leather with leatherette. Both flyleaves were also reinforced with pasted-on sheets of cigarette paper (ff. 01, 001).

Certain folios (252-256, 277-308) have been damaged by “pink mould”, especially ff. 305–308 where the text is next to illegible. When the manuscript was restored at the Asiatic Museum, ff. 305–308 were supplemented with paper glued onto them so that the size of the codex remained unaffected. Ff. 1–9, 278–280 have been damaged with lamp oil, making the text impossible to read. On the paper filling present on f. 1 there is an Arabic inscription attesting to the fact that the manuscript had been restored previously, possibly in the 19th c. Folio 277 is cut in the middle, with half of it missing.

The entire manuscript contains 308 ff.; medieval restorers may have inserted the three paper ones (ff. 80, 82, 83). It should be noted that two of the three display water marks: f. 80 bears three small circles resembling a clover leaf and the Latin letters *b* and *v*; f. 82 has three crescents in the middle.

According to E.E. Granstroem, the ruling corresponds to type I, 17a,<sup>4</sup> but that might well be a typographical error, as lectionary D-227 displays the features characteristic of type II, 17a, as one can easily see that there were two columns intended for text instead of just one as in I, 17a.<sup>5</sup>

The text is written in two columns; the number of lines varies between 22 and 25, but most folios are ruled for 24.

The basic text is written in black ink; the entire Greek text is provided with diacretic markings in cinnabar. The same cinnabar, frequently with gold, served for special ritualistic instructions and headings, e.g. TH̄̄̄ Ē̄̄ THC B̄̄̄ EBAΔ or ἐκ τ[οῦ] κατ[ὰ] Ιω[άννην]. Virtually every pericope starts with a multicolored initial letter; that prompts the assumption that an artist worked on the manuscript as well as the scribe.

<sup>4</sup> GRANSTROEM 1961, 228.

<sup>5</sup> LAKE 1934, pl. 5.

Almost the entire text of the manuscript, except some ritualistic instructions, is written in minuscule lettering; the hand is experienced, the characters are not slanted, a lot of them look rounded.

The size of the manuscript is 31.5 by 21.0 cm (12.4" by 8.3").

The manuscript is made up of 43 gatherings, most containing 8 ff., but as the whole has been restored more than once, some differ from the others in that respect. The folios in some gatherings carry numbers in the bottom right-hand corner, written in black, mainly lower case, but with the occasional capital. Below is a table indicating the number of folios in every gathering of the codex:

Gathering	Quantity of folia in each quire of codex	Remarks
fly-leaf	01-04	
1	III-III	
2	V-V	The gathering displays traces of restoration, a few pasted-on folios
3	III-IV	One pasted-on folio
4	IV-IV	
5	IV-IV	The first instance of a number in the bottom right-hand corner of f. 32: Ē
6	IV-IV	
7	IV-IV	
8	IV-IV	
9	IV-IV	f. 64 bears traces of cut-off numbering
10	IV-IV	The bottom right-hand corner of f. 72 displays the gathering number: Ī
11	I-III	The gathering contains inserted and pasted paper ff. 80, 82, 83
12	IV-V	F. 64 bears traces of a gathering number; one pasted folio (f. 92) with traces of cut-off numbering
13	III-V	Two pasted-on folios
14	II-III	One pasted-on folio
15	IV-IV	F. 106 bears traces of cut-off gathering numbering
16	IV-IV	F. 114 displays the gathering number: IŽ
17	IV-IV	F. 122 displays the gathering number: IH̃
18	III-III	F. 128 displays the gathering number: IÕ, its edge is missing
19	IV-IV	F. 136 displays the gathering number: K̃



Gathering	Quantity of folia in each quire of codex	Remarks
20	IV-IV	F. 144 displays the gathering number: $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}$
21	IV-IV	
22	IV-IV	
23	IV-IV	F. 168 bears undecipherable traces of gathering numbering
24	IV-I	F. 176 bears undecipherable traces of gathering numbering; there are traces of cut-away folios
25	IV-IV	F. 181 bears traces of gathering numbering, but only the character $\tilde{\kappa}$ is decipherable
26	IV-IV	
27	IV-IV	
28	IV-IV	
29	IV-IV	F. 213 displays the gathering number: $\tilde{\Lambda}$
30	IV-IV	
31	IV-IV	F. 229 bears traces of gathering numbering, but only character $\tilde{\Lambda}$ is decipherable, the rest is cut off
32	IV-IV	
33	IV-IV	F. 245 displays the gathering number: $\Lambda\tilde{\Delta}$
34	III-IV	F. 253 bears traces of a gathering number, but only the tilde $\tilde{\sim}$ is left
35	IV-IV	F. 260 bears character $\tilde{\Lambda}$ , the only trace of a gathering number
36	IV-IV	F. 268 bears character $\tilde{\Lambda}$ , the only trace of a gathering number
37	I-I	F. 276 displays the gathering number: $\Lambda\tilde{H}$ ; f. 277 is cut across its middle
38	III-III	
39	III-III	
40	II-II	
41	III-IV	F. 253 bears traces of a gathering number, but only a fragment of the tilde $\tilde{\sim}$ is left
42	II-II	
43	II-II	
rear fly-leaf	001	



*Pl. 1.* A bookplate designed by Armin, Baron von Fölkersahm

The front of the binding bears a pasted-on card carrying the following text in Russian: “4 Gospels in Greek written on 308 parchment folios. The book was donated to the Cathedral of St. Sergius, Bacchus [and] Levandius in Bosra in the year 6864/A.D. 1356, and renovated in 1418 by Patriarch Joachim”.

Below, the same card carries another inscription in black ink:

“Presented by Gregory, Patriarch of Antioch, to His Imperial Majesty on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the Romanov dynasty”. Both inscriptions must have been made when the manuscript arrived in the Library of the Winter Palace.

The left fly-leaf bears a bookplate designed by Armin, Baron von Fölkersahm, Director of the Hermitage, featuring the imperial coat of arms and Nicholas II's monogram. The text reads: “His Majesty's Own Library, the Winter Palace”.

F. 02 bears a well-preserved inscription written in lead pencil and reading: “Inventory No. 268. March 13, 1913, from His Majesty's room”.<sup>6</sup>

Below, there is a later stamp of the Asiatic Museum: “The Asiatic Museum. Ms.or. D. 227, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences” [Азиатский музей. Ms.or. D. 227 Академии наук СССР].

The last pages of the manuscript were written on in Arabic (ff. 307v and 308). More texts in Arabic can be found on ff. 03, 04, 04v, 1, 46v, 108v,

<sup>6</sup> Evidently, written when the manuscript was sent to the Library of the Winter Palace from the Tsar's private premises.

256, 263, 267, 270v, 279, 285v, 288, 292, 293v, 297 (cut off), 297v, 304v, 306.<sup>7</sup>

On ff. 04 and 304v there are a few inscriptions in Greek; f. 04 has two, written in black. The first, placed at the very top of the page, was written in a very sophisticated manner which certainly interferes with its deciphering:

Αὼνβ ἀπρίλιου κβ ἐπισκεψάμενοι τὴν ἱερὰν ταύτην μονὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου ἐλειτουργήσαμεν εἰς τὴν μνήμην αὐτοῦ καὶ παρατηρήσαντες τὸ παρὸν ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον, ἀρχαῖον ἀφιέρωμα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τούτου μοναστηρίου ἀπαγορεύομεν ἐν βάρει ἀφορισμοῦ τὴν ἀποξένωσιν αὐτοῦ. Ὁ Ἀντιοχεί(ας) Ἱεροθέος ἀποφαίνει.

“April 22, 1852, during our visit to the holy monastery of St. George we served a [holy] mass in George’s memory, and, having noticed this present holy Gospel, an ancient donation to this holy monastery, we prohibited its removal under the threat of excommunication. Hierotheos, Patriarch of Antioch, so declared”.

The author of this text was evidently Hierotheos, Patriarch of Antioch from October 19, 1850 to March 25, 1885. Before that, he had been Archbishop of Tabor and in 1833–1838 he represented the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Russia.<sup>8</sup>

Below, there is another inscription in a different hand:

Καιρὸς πατριάρχης Ἰωακὴμ τῆς Ἀντιοχίας τὸ ἅγιον εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου μοναστηρίου ἐν ἔτη 1344 ὁ Χριστός.<sup>9</sup>

“Dating from the reign of Patriarch Joachim, a Holy Gospel from the St. George Monastery, year 1344 [after] Christ”.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Regretfully, the Arabic inscriptions have so far not been studied, but at a later point in the research they are to be translated and commented upon.

<sup>8</sup> LISOVOY, SMIRNOVA 2009, 10–11.

<sup>9</sup> Note the way the name of Antioch is written Ἀντιοχίας; the omission of the ε was in no way a mistake. This was an alternative spelling of the toponym. We cannot be sure about the authorship of these lines, but as they are placed below Patriarch Hierotheos's note they must have been written later than 1852. Also remarkable is the fact that the Patriarch used the more common version Ἀντιοχείας. This sentence has yet another peculiarity: begins with two nouns, both in the nominative καιρὸς πατριάρχης, which is totally ungrammatical. A contextual reconstruction would suggest a correction ἐν καιρῷ τοῦ πατριάρχου. Of interest too is the fact that the note contains a date written in Arabic numerals instead of Greek. That question looks like requiring a separate study.

<sup>10</sup> In this case, the translation renders only the sense of the phrase, as its literal translation is impossible.

I.Yu. Krachkovsky believed that the manuscript was renovated in the 15th c., during the incumbency of Joachim II as Patriarch of Antioch (1411–1426), but that assumption contradicts the date of 1344.<sup>11</sup>

An inscription f. 304, written in lead pencil, reads: ὁ ἡγούμενος Ἀνθίμ ἱερομ. ἔτοι 1866. (“The Abbot Anthimus, hieromonk. Year of 1866”).<sup>12</sup>

So far, all attempts to identify the author of this inscription have remained unsuccessful.

Further study of the manuscript will require a better knowledge of the circumstances surrounding Gregory IV's visit to St. Petersburg. It will also be necessary to study the structure of the lectionary in more detail, along with the specifics of its text. Attempts should be made to identify possible differences between it and the main group of the 11th–14th cc. Greek lectionaries.

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<sup>11</sup> KRACHKOVSKY 1960, 429.

<sup>12</sup> The word ἔτος “year” is pluralized as ἔτοι.

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Arakawa Shintaro

**On the Design of a “Trebuchet”  
in the Tangut Manuscript of IOM, RAS**

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*Abstract:* The paper focuses on a unique Tangut manuscript (Tang. 46 inv. No. 156(2006), old inv. No. 5217) kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. In previous studies, it has been taken to be a constructional diagram of musical instrument. The writer concludes that the manuscript is the design for a *pao* 砲 (stone launcher, trebuchet, sling).

*Key words:* Tangut manuscript, Tangut script, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, stone launcher, Khara-Khoto

A unique Tangut manuscript Tang. 46 inv. No. 156(2006), old inv. No. 5217 is kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. In previous studies, it has been taken to be a constructional diagram of musical instrument. Here, we translate the whole text and conclude that the document describes the design for a trebuchet, or sling (*pao* 砲).

### **1. Outline of the Material**

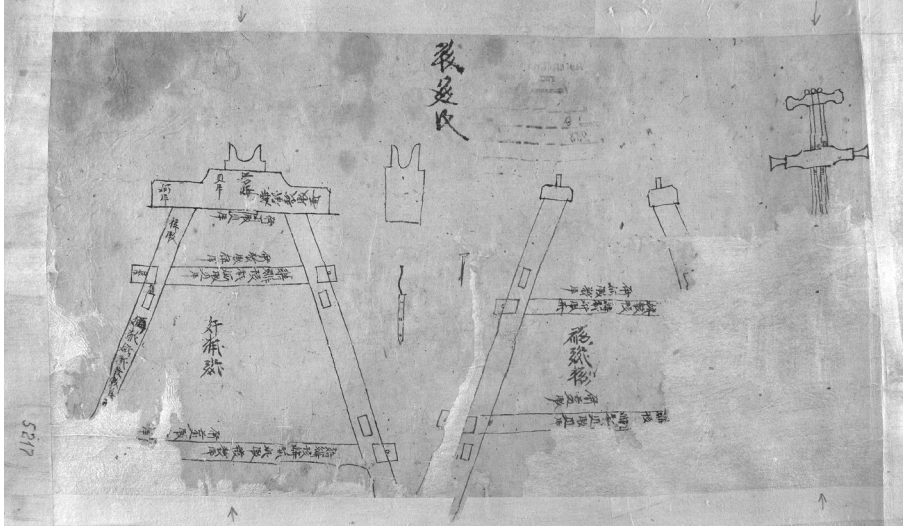
In the catalogue of the Tangut manuscripts and block prints published in 1963 the Tangut manuscript in question has been described as “no title. A drawing of a musical instrument.” The description of the material is as follows: “Manuscript. Scroll. 28×67(cm). In satisfactory condition (reconstructed). Three illustrations on one side of a piece of paper; right — the remaining half of the upper part of the neck of a musical instrument (the lower right part of the instrument being broken). According to the glyph, it is probably a two-stringed musical instrument. The depiction of the body consists of two variants for different sides. Each dimension is recorded in detail in the diagram. Sample illustrations of the nail and clamp for stability are drawn in the center of the plan. It is presumed that it is the name of the musical instrument which is written on the verso of the piece of paper in hard cursive handwriting”.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> GORBACHIOVA, KYCHANOV 1963, 113.

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Scholars have agreed on the above view until recent years. The catalogue of the exhibition held in Kyoto National Museum in 2009 describes it as “stringed instrument. Paper, Indian ink, 12th c., 34.0×76.7 cm”.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript is now kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences under the shelf number Tang. 46, inv. No. 156(2006), old inv. No. 5217.”

According to my measurements, the original size of the document is 29.8×73.4 cm. The thick paper is of fine quality but the edge of the paper is covered with newer paper. Since both sides of the paper have been discolored by the sun, the color of it is nearly ecru. Old and new numbering for the material, to wit “Tang. 46, inv. 156(2006g.), st. inv. 5217”, are recorded on the upper right part of the paper.

## 2. Design and Tangut Scripts

The document contains three figures which we call A, B, and C from right to left. A is lacking the whole of the bottom part. B lacks more than half of the right side and the bottom part, while C lacks the extreme left and bottom part. The length of the broken parts in A, B, and C is 4.1 cm, 9.1 cm and 7.3 cm respectively.

<sup>2</sup> KYOTO NATIONAL MUSEUM 2009, 113.



A sketch of three pieces has been drawn between B and C. We call them D, E and F from the top. They measure; D: 4.8 cm, E: 2.2 cm, F: 4.8 cm in height. Part D runs through the top of C.

Tangut writing appears on both sides of the paper. There are three Tangut characters in the blank area between figures B and C (hereafter, X01) on the recto. X01 is located in the top middle and could be the title (or name) of the design. Every character in X01 is about 1.8×2.0 cm. All the texts in the manuscript run vertically along the parts of the diagrams. Figure A now has no text, although it is possible that there were originally some notes on it. This figure indicates the position of the texts.

The size of the Tangut characters for B1 and C1 is 1.5×1.5 cm. The size of the others is 0.9×0.7 cm on average. The large characters on the recto (three lines) are in cursive. From right to left, we shall call them Y01, Y02 and Y03. Y01 and Y02, the size of which is 8.0×7.0 cm per character, are lacking one or two characters at the bottom. Y02 appears to be the same as X01. In other words, it probably refers to the overall title of the design. Y03 consists of only one character, which is smaller than each character of Y01 and Y02 (6×5 cm).

### 3. Text and Translation

We show the Tangut scripts, phonetic transcriptions and translation of text with notes in the order X, B, C, and Y. ‘?’ means unknown or indefinite. ‘□’ means supposition by the author. Many terms appear to be loan words from Chinese or a phonetic transcription of Chinese. We show the Chinese characters with near phonetic reconstructions. (LiXXXX) in the notes means the code number of the Tangut script, recorded by Li Fanwen.<sup>3</sup>

X01

且 橐 悲

<sup>2</sup>a: <sup>1</sup>weq2 <sup>2</sup>phyo

A-WE? sling? (鴉? 鴉? 砲?)

B01

蚤 桂 接

<sup>1</sup>cyen <sup>1</sup>a? <sup>2</sup>nyeq2

Front (正一面)

B02

枢 忙 𪛗 教 𪛗

<sup>1</sup>ka <sup>1</sup>ldyIr <sup>2</sup>tshya <sup>1</sup>soq <sup>1</sup>tshywin

Distance- four *chi*, and three *cun* (間隔四尺三寸)

B03

椽 欣 槍 捩 袴 恍 𪛗 韓

<sup>2</sup>hwe <sup>1</sup>shyeu <sup>1</sup>ko:n <sup>2</sup>gu <sup>1</sup>jo: <sup>1</sup>cheu: <sup>2</sup>tshyan <sup>1</sup>kwI

Hui zhi guang (會枝枕) Both length- six and a half *chi* (共長六尺半)

B04

枢 葆 𪛗

<sup>1</sup>ka <sup>1</sup>sha:q <sup>2</sup>tshya

Distance- seven *chi* (間隔七尺)

<sup>3</sup> LI FANWEN ed. 1997 (Rev 2008).



## B05

皐輔槍捩袴肛𦉳肛𦉳

<sup>1</sup>hya <sup>2</sup>chye <sup>1</sup>ko:n <sup>2</sup>gu <sup>1</sup>jo: <sup>1</sup>a:r <sup>2</sup>tshya <sup>1</sup>a:r <sup>1</sup>tshywin

*Xia zhai guang* (下寨枕) Both length- eight *chi*, and eight *cun*  
(共長八尺八寸)

## C01

牧喬接

<sup>1</sup>pi: <sup>2</sup>a <sup>2</sup>nyeq'2

Front to PI (pi與面)

## C02

捩袴教𦉳韓

<sup>2</sup>gu <sup>1</sup>jo: <sup>1</sup>soq <sup>2</sup>tshya <sup>1</sup>kwI

Both length- three and a half *chi* (共長三尺半)

## C03

樽數

<sup>2</sup>tha <sup>1</sup>tin

Iron *deng* (鐙 鐙)

## C04

肛𦉳

<sup>1</sup>a:r <sup>1</sup>tshywin

Eight *cun* (八寸)

## C05

忙𦉳

<sup>1</sup>ldyIr <sup>1</sup>tshywin

Four *cun* (四寸)

## C06

樞岐𦉳肛𦉳

<sup>1</sup>ka <sup>1</sup>leu <sup>2</sup>tshya <sup>1</sup>a:r <sup>1</sup>tshywin

Distance- one *chi* and eight *cun* (間隔一尺八寸)

## C07

樞教𦉳珎𦉳

<sup>1</sup>ka <sup>1</sup>soq <sup>2</sup>tshya <sup>1</sup>nyI' <sup>1</sup>tshywin

Distance- three *chi* and two *cun* (間隔三尺二寸)

C08

沮輔槍袴忙𦉳肛嬾

<sup>1</sup>sho:n <sup>2</sup>chye <sup>1</sup>ko:n <sup>1</sup>jo: <sup>1</sup>ldyIr <sup>2</sup>tshya <sup>1</sup>a:r <sup>1</sup>tshywin*Shang zhai guang* (上寨枕) Length- three *chi* and eight *cun*  
(長さ四尺八寸)

C09

玠𦉳

<sup>1</sup>nyI' <sup>2</sup>tshyaTwo *chi* (二尺)

C10

教嬾

<sup>1</sup>soq <sup>1</sup>tshywinThree *cun* (三寸)

C11

玠𦉳

<sup>1</sup>nyI' <sup>2</sup>tshyaTwo *chi* (二尺)

C12

忙饗愿袴紳𦉳紳□

<sup>1</sup>ldyIr <sup>2</sup>byeq <sup>1</sup>shyin <sup>1</sup>jo: <sup>2</sup>aq <sup>2</sup>tshya <sup>2</sup>aqFour pillar's length- ten *chi* and ten? (四弦身長十尺十…)

C13

枢葆𦉳□嬾

<sup>1</sup>ka <sup>1</sup>sha:q <sup>2</sup>tshya <sup>1</sup>tshywinDistance- seven *chi* and ...*cun* (間隔七尺…寸)

C14

皐輔槍捩袴庠𦉳茝教嬾

<sup>1</sup>hya <sup>2</sup>chye <sup>1</sup>ko:n <sup>2</sup>gu <sup>1</sup>jo: <sup>1</sup>gwyI' <sup>2</sup>tshya <sup>1</sup>woq <sup>1</sup>soq <sup>1</sup>tshywin*Xia zhai guang* (下寨枕) Both length- a little more than nine *chi* and three *cun* (共長九尺強?三寸)

Y01

臥? 坐? 蟬?

<sup>1</sup>bI: <sup>2</sup>T? <sup>1</sup>weEnemy? defense? (敵?防?擊?)

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Y02

且 橦 悲

<sup>2</sup>'a: <sup>1</sup>weq2 <sup>2</sup>phyo

A-WE? sling? (鴉?鷓?砲?)

Y03

求

<sup>1</sup>tsI:

Small (小?)

#### 4. What Does the Diagram Describe?

##### 4.1 Is it a musical instrument?

We have some problems if we suppose that the diagram represents a musical instrument.

First, the sizes of the parts are extremely large. If the length of a *chi* 尺 was about 30 cm in those days, the large parts (e.g. C12, C14 are nine and ten *chi* 九尺、十尺) would be too large (about 300 cm) for a practical musical instrument.

Second, although in figures B and C, the sizes of all the parts are specified by notes, the remaining figure A has no notes. It is strange that the main part of a ‘musical instrument’ is lacking all mention of size. In other words, the chief purpose of this diagram is to provide instructions for making the “main” parts B and C.

The last problem is the shape of piece A. If A is the neck of a stringed instrument, it is strange that the tuning ‘pegs’ run straight through the instrument. It is unnatural that the pegs are located in the way shown, because, usually, pegs are placed alternately.

##### 4.2 The draft describes the *pao* 砲

It is expected that pieces B and C are closely related in the construction. One of the reasons for this is that the positions of the beams and the sockets of the pillars are the same. The second reason is the correspondence of the ratio of length to width.

Based on a composition of B plus C, we can imagine a three-meter high wooden object with a trapezoidal cross-section. It resembles the base of an ancient weapon — the *pao* 砲, a stone launcher (sling) used in China. Probably, piece C is the front of the base and B is a side view. Therefore A is not the neck of a musical instrument but the turning arm of a *pao* 砲. If the

diagram did not lack the lower part of A, the complete thing would look like the image below.

**Figure Pao 砲** From *Wujing zongyao* 武經總要

A careful scrutiny of the labeling, dimensions, and numbers on our manuscript reveals a high degree of agreement. There are four kinds of beam: upper and lower beams of B and C respectively. The last word of all is 槍 <sup>1</sup>ko:n, which is used as a Tangut phonetic transcription of Chinese. It probably corresponds to the Chinese *guang* 杙 meaning ‘beam’. Below we compare the names of the parts in the Chinese version from *Wujing zongyao* 武經總要 with the Tangut names in the diagram.

**Table 1**

Chinese	Tangut (Underlining means phonetic transcription)
上會杙	會枝杙 (B03)
上扇杙	上寨杙 (C08)
下會杙	下寨杙 (B05)
下扇杙	下寨杙 (C14)

The Tangut name for a *pao* 砲 is apparently derived from the Chinese.

The top part of the object in Chinese is *antoumu* 鞮頭木. Instead of that name, the wedge-like part is called ‘iron’ (*deng* 鐙), probably because of its material and shape.

Let us look now at the length of the parts. As stated above, while a length of nine or ten *chi* (九、十尺) is too much for a musical instrument, still it is appropriate for a weapon like *pao* 砲. Some dimensions for the longest parts of a *pao* 砲 can be found in the *Wujing zongyao* 武經總要.

**Table 2**

Name	Size of pillar (脚柱)	Size of lower beam (下會杙)
<i>Danshaopao</i> 单梢砲	1 <i>zhang</i> and 8 <i>chi</i> 一丈八尺	1 <i>zhang</i> and 3 <i>chi</i> 一丈三尺
<i>Wushaopao</i> 五梢砲	1 <i>zhang</i> and 2 <i>cun</i> 一丈二寸	1 <i>zhang</i> and 9 <i>chi</i> 一丈九尺 <sup>4</sup>
Tangut <i>pao</i> 砲	10 <i>chi</i> and ? 十尺+?	8 <i>chi</i> and 8 <i>cun</i> 八尺八寸

<sup>4</sup> “Wujing zongyao 武經總要” vol. 12, leaf 36, 40.

While the Tangut version is a little smaller than the Chinese one, it is nevertheless long enough for the base of a *pao* 砲. Therefore, it is reasonable that the constructional design depicts such a weapon.

In the design, there are several expressions implying a ‘pair’. For example, B03, B05, C02, C08, and C14 all contain the same words ‘Both length...’. If the object is a *pao* 砲, those parts would be used in pairs in the construction. And the Tangut numeral ‘four’ precedes ‘pillar’.

#### 4.3 The *pao* 砲 in a Tangut document discovered in Khara-Khoto

Sato Takayasu discusses the situation of the Khara-Khoto area in the last days of Xixia based on two Tangut documents.<sup>5</sup> Of these, No. 2736 document is a letter or proposal from the Tangut officer *Renfu* 仁負. It is undoubtedly the most important source for understanding the situation of Khara-Khoto at that time. In the text *Renfu* emphasized his own achievements. We would like to draw attention to one sentence of great importance. We cite Sato’s translation.

“...since *Renfu* 仁負 has come to Khara-Khoto for the defense of the citadel... defending the citadel, preparing provisions, arms, and fifty six *pao* 砲?, both large and small...”<sup>6</sup>

E.I. Kychanov was the first to translate the Tangut character 悲 as a *pao* 砲, the view is still conjectural.<sup>7</sup> The character in question is the last in the name of the weapon in the manuscript. Furthermore, in the documents, the Tangut *pao* 砲 comes in several types, such as ‘large’ and ‘small’. If the last word of the title on the recto is taken to mean ‘small’, then we can conclude that the Tangut regarded the weapon depicted as a ‘small *pao* 砲 (stone-launcher).

## 5. Conclusion

Based on the study of the size and parts of the object, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Tangut material in question (Tang. 46 inv. No. 156(2006), old. inv. No. 5217) housed in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences is a constructional diagram of a stone launcher *pao* 砲. However, the Tangut name of this weapon is still unknown.

I would express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Furumatsu Takashi, Dr. Todoriki Masahiko, Prof. Dr. Shiraishi Noriyuki, Prof. Dr. Sato Takayasu and Mrs. Ono Hiroko for their kind suggestions.

<sup>5</sup> SATO 2007, 57–79.

<sup>6</sup> SATO 2007, 59.

<sup>7</sup> KYCHANOV 1971, 189–201.

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Olga Lundysheva

**Fragments of Dhāraṇī Blockprints from Khara-Khoto  
(Serindian Fund of IOM, RAS)**

With Appendix by Alla Sizova

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*Abstract:* The paper focuses on a blockprinted *dhāraṇī* from Khara-Khoto belonging to the group of unidentified and unpublished fragments in the Serindian Fund of the IOM, RAS. The characters used in the text of the print have much in common with the *pāla* script that was widespread in the North-Eastern India and associated with the Pala Empire. The print exists in several fragments. Judging by the content, it comprised two independent parts. Their relationship to each other, as well as the total number of pages, remain unknown. The first block of text has survived in its entirety. It has five lines of text. The first four lines are a triple repetition of the *Akṣobhya Buddha Dhāraṇī*. The fifth line consists of five *bija* mantras and the well-known “Buddhist creed”, the *Ye dharmā* mantra. Only half of the second block of text has survived but still it can be identified and is presumed to be the *mūlamantra*, *hṛdaya* and *upahṛdaya* from the *Bodhiḡarbhālaṅkāralakṣa dhāraṇī*. Part of the print is also half of an engraved image. Features of the image and its stylistic peculiarities make it very similar to the printed engravings in the Tangut and Dunhuang collections. It is assumed that the entire blockprint could have been a compilation of selected prayers used in common Buddhist ritual practice. The type of paper, image and script suggest a date for the blockprint around the 12th c.

*Key words:* IOM collection, editions, Indian paleography, Central Asia Buddhism, Sanskrit blockprint, *dhāraṇī*, Khara-Khoto

### Origin of the fragments

The fragments of blockprinted *dhāraṇī* (4+4) were kept among the unrecorded Khara-Khoto materials from Piotr Kozlov's Mongolia and Sichuan expedition of 1907–09 and were assigned shelf numbers SI 6575 and SI 6576 in the Serindian Fund IOM, RAS in February 2014. They were enclosed in a large-format light brown envelope.<sup>1</sup> The envelope was marked

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<sup>1</sup> Beside these, the envelope also contained materials that, on 9 September 2014, were allotted shelf numbers SI 6578 and SI 6579 (SI 6578, inv. No. 6634. A small fragment of

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“Ind. coll.<sup>2</sup>. Kh-Kh”<sup>3</sup> (in blue pencil; possibly Evgenii Kychanov's handwriting) and “Ind. coll.”<sup>4</sup> (graphite pencil, unidentified handwriting) and carried two brief notes: “Envelope was found in Tangut collection, box T No. 190, 26 May 59”<sup>5</sup> and “Envelope with fragm[ents] of Tibetan m[anuscript]s”<sup>6</sup> (both inscriptions in graphite pencil, Kychanov's handwriting).

Obviously, the envelope bears no relationship to either inv. No. 90 of the Tangut collection, which is considered missing,<sup>7</sup> or shelf number Tang. 190 that was given to the corresponding item in the Tangut collection much later than 1959. The collection of manuscripts and documents at IOM, RAS still includes two boxes of unidentified Tangut materials marked “T 12” and “T 214”. We presume that E.I. Kychanov discovered the envelope in question on 26 May 1959 in a similar box marked “T 190”.

### Description of Fragments

SI 6575,<sup>8</sup> inv. No. 6631. Blockprint. The text is contained within a double frame, the outside line thicker than the inside one. Concertina binding type: After restoration all four fragments have been combined on one leaf 27.7×9.7 cm. Single sided. 9 horizontal lines. Vergé paper with faintly visible lines (approx. 7 per cm), thin, smooth, light, almost white.

SI 6576, inv. No. 6632. Blockprint. Concertina<sup>9</sup> binding type: 4 separate parts. Two of the parts are combined on one leaf (text on one side, 5 horizontal lines); another part is half of a text (text on one side, 6 horizontal lines); the last part is half of an engraving. The parts with text contain decorative images of four stupas in each of five lines. The size of each part is 19.5×9.2 cm. Vergé paper with faintly visible lines (approx. 7 per cm), thin, smooth, brownish-grey.

printed text serving as part of an image of Ushnishavijaya with *dhāraṇī* text (an example of the same image is in the State Hermitage Tangut collection under shelf number H-2536, cf.: SAMOSYUK 2006. Currently under restoration. SI 6579, inv. No. 6635. Part of a paper-bound Tibetan manuscript book. Currently under restoration), as well as three sheets of recent paper that were most probably inserted by a researcher interested in the manuscript. These sheets bear various Buddhist images as well as a prayer in the Tibetan language.

<sup>2</sup> Underlined in the original text.

<sup>3</sup> “Инд. колл. X-X”.

<sup>4</sup> “Инд. колл.”.

<sup>5</sup> “Найден конверт в тангутском фонде в ящике T № 190, 26/V.59”.

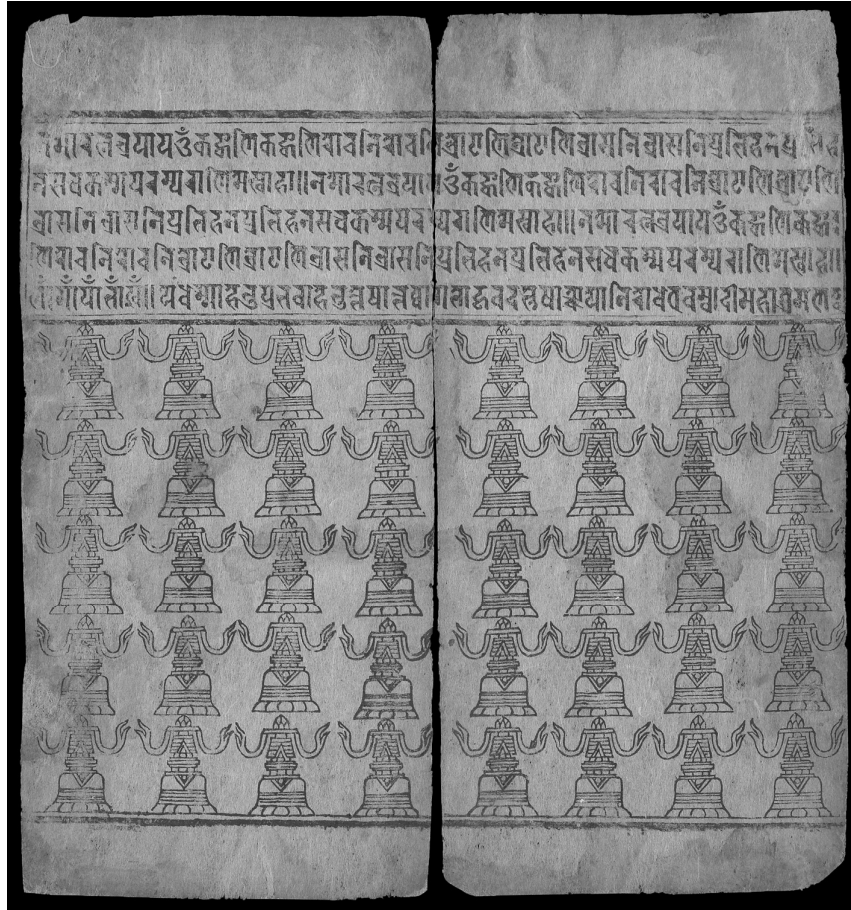
<sup>6</sup> “Конверт с фрагм[ентами] тибетских р[укопи]сей”.

<sup>7</sup> According to inventory book No. 1 of the Tangut collection (Department of Manuscripts and Documents, IOS, RAS, call number Arh. 119/1).

<sup>8</sup> We expect a forthcoming article by Alla Sizova is to be dedicated to this blockprint.

<sup>9</sup> Concertina binding was commonest for Khara-Khoto in comparison to scrolls and blockprints with butterfly binding (TERENT'EV-KATANSKY 1971, 239; MENSHIKOV 1984, 88–89).





Pl. 1 — Fragments 1 and 2 of the blockprint SI 6576, inv. No. 6632.  
 (Serindian Fund of the IOM, RAS): Akṣobhya (= Mitrugpa *dhāraṇī*) \*3;  
*bija-mantras; ye dharmā.*

The blockprint is most likely a local Tangut production.<sup>10</sup> This hypothesis is also supported by the type of material the text is printed on — vergé paper with approximately 7 lines per cm.<sup>11</sup> Paper is thin, smooth, brownish-grey, that places it in the most widespread VIII type<sup>12</sup> of “popular and cheap”<sup>13</sup> paper.

<sup>10</sup> MENSNIKOV 1961, 143–144.

<sup>11</sup> Tangut paper most commonly has exactly 7 (KYCHANOV 1999, 10; MENSNIKOV 1984, 94).

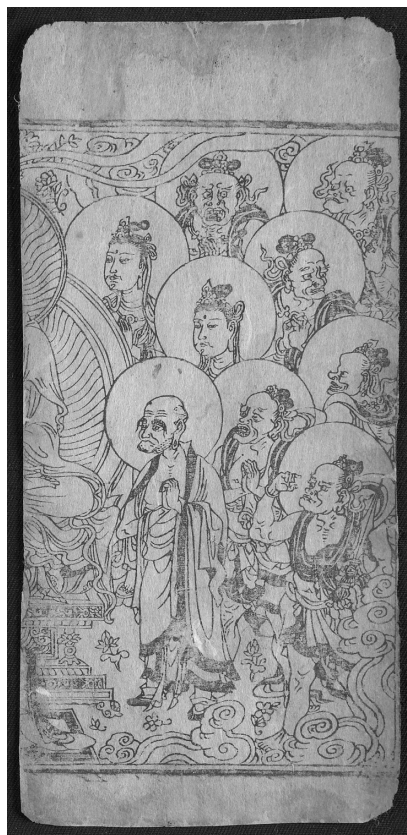
<sup>12</sup> TERENT'EV-KATANSKY 1990, 29.

<sup>13</sup> KYCHANOV 1999, 10.



Pl. 2 — Fragment 3 of the blockprint  
SI 6576, inv. No. 6632.

(Serindian Fund of the IOM, RAS):  
*mūlamantra* from *Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa*  
*dhāraṇī, hṛdaya, upahṛdaya*.



Pl. 3 — Fragment 4 of the blockprint  
SI 6576, inv. No. 6632.

(Serindian Fund of IOM, RAS): the right side  
of the engraving.

The full text block is enclosed within a double rectangular frame. It marks off the upper, right and left margins and separates the text from the decorative stupa-shaped elements. The engraving, like the text block, is placed within a double rectangular frame. The blockprint pages have a bottom border marking off the lower page margin. It consists of two black ink lines, one thin, one thick. The total height of the frame between upper and lower margins is 16 cm. The height of the upper margin is approximately<sup>14</sup> 2.5 cm, that of the lower margin 1.5 cm. The height of the text block, inside the frame, is 4.5 cm.

<sup>14</sup> The edges are damaged and uneven.

The type of paper, character of the image and particular features of the script make it possible to date the blockprint to approximately the 12th c.

### Script Type

The text is executed in an Indian script,<sup>15</sup> of the north-eastern group. The script used in the blockprints is rather distinctive, it is known from numerous epigraphic monuments and manuscripts<sup>16</sup> and has been identified by researchers as separate script type, without, however, a consistent term having emerged by which to name it. It has been referred to as *pāla* script, *gaudī*

<sup>15</sup> See the Appendix by Alla Sizova. It was made for the fragment SI 6575. The scripts used in the blockprints SI 6575 and SI 6576 are almost identical.

<sup>16</sup> In the British Museum (according to data found on the Museum website):

Museum shelf number 1967, 1018.2. Copper-plate charter. Plate of hammered copper inscribed with sixteen lines in Sanskrit recording. Inscription Type Nagari. India. Madhya Pradesh, Ujjain, 12th c.:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?assetId=230676&objectId=223701&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=230676&objectId=223701&partId=1)

Museum shelf number 1880.356 Slab. Inscription. Made of stone (schist). Inscription Type Nagari. India, 10th c.:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?assetId=542101&objectId=182051&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=542101&objectId=182051&partId=1)

Museum shelf number 1967, 1018.1 Copper-plate charter. Plate of hammered copper inscribed with sixteen lines of Sanskrit recording. Inscription Type Nagari. India. Madhya Pradesh, Ujjain, 1135 A.C.:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?assetId=23725&objectId=223702&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?assetId=23725&objectId=223702&partId=1)

In the collection of Cambridge University (according to the University website):

MS Add.1464, 11–12th c. *Pāla* script: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01464/1>

MS Or.142.1, 12th c. *Pāla* script: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00142-00001/1>

MS Add.1688, 11th c. *Pāla* script: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01688/1>

MS Or.725.2, 11th c. *Kuṭīla* script: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00725-00002/1>

MS Or.149, 11th c. *Kuṭīla* script: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00149/1>

According to BENDALL 1883:

MS Add. 866

MS Add. 1686

MS Add. 1693

Yarlung Museum, Tsethang:

An illuminated manuscript on Pattra pages. Late 11th c. This manuscript was on display from 19 August to 26 November 2006 during “Tibet — Klöster öffnen ihre Schatzkammern”, an exhibition at the Villa Hügel, Essen. It is catalogued as No. 26, 219–225. <http://asianart.com/exhibitions/tibet/7.html>

Art Institute of Chicago:

Buddhist illuminated palm leaf manuscript pages Pala, Eastern India opaque watercolor on palm leaf, 12th c. <http://asianart.com/articles/batton/fig02.html>

script, proto-bengali and even siddham/*siddhamāṭṭkā* or *kuṭīla*, depending on the chosen paleographic tradition. In several cases it has been called ranjana or lanydza.<sup>17</sup> I have elected to use the term *pāla* here, as the one most precisely indicating the place and time characteristics of this script type as well as the theme of the text recorded by the script.

### Description of the Text

The text of the preserved part of blockprint consists of two complete independent blocks. The principle and reason behind the connection between the two blocks, as well as the original number of blocks, remain unknown. Obviously, each independent block of text occupied two “pages” of the concertina and was enclosed within a double frame.

The first block of text, which is extant in its entirety, consists of five lines of text where first four are a triple repetition of *Akṣobhya (Mitrugpa dhāraṇī)*<sup>18</sup> *dhāraṇī*.<sup>19</sup> The fifth line consists of five *bija* mantras and the well-known *Ye dharmā* mantra.

The second block of text, which features only half of a text unit, consists of the *mūlamantra*, *hṛdaya* and *upahṛdaya* (Pl. 1) from the *Bodhigarbhāṅkārakṣa dhāraṇī*.

### Transliteration

Fully preserved blockprint: (Pl. 1)<sup>20</sup> *Akṣobhya (= Mitrugpa dhāraṇī) \*3; bija mantras; ye dharmā.*

(01) *na mo ra tna tra yā ya oṃ ka ṅka ṇi ka ṅka ṇi ro ca ni ro ca ni tro ca ṇi tro ca ṇi trā sa ni trā sa ni pra ti ha na pra ti ha*

(02) *na sa rva ka rmma pa ra mpa rā ṇi me svā hā || na mo ra tna tra yā ya oṃ ka ṅka ṇi ka ṅka ṇi ro ca ni ro ca ni tro ca ṇi tro ca ṇi*

(03) *trā sa ni trā sa ni pra ti ha na pra ti ha na sa rva ka rmma pa ra mpa rā ṇi me svā hā || na mo ra tna tra yā ya oṃ ka ṅka ṇi ka ṅka*

<sup>17</sup> They do indeed have similarities, but Ranjana is a separate ornamental script that developed on the territory of Nepal, although under considerable influence of this regional form. As for Lanydza, it is nothing but distorted *Ranja*. It is the Tibetan variant of the script and they differ slightly from each other, although the difference is not significant. E.I. Kychanov uses “lanydza” as the term to identify the script of Sanskrit inscriptions in Tangut documents.

<sup>18</sup> Same as *Akṣobhya Buddha Dhāraṇī*, *Akṣobhya Buddha mantra*, *Mitrugpa mantra*, *Kaṅkani mantra*.

<sup>19</sup> EL 2004, 133; 153.

<sup>20</sup> Pl. 1.

- (04) *ñi ro ca ni ro ca ni tro ca ñi tro ca ñi trā sa ni trā sa ni pra ti ha na pra ti ha na sa rva ka rmma pa ra mpa rā ñi me svā hā ||*  
 (05) *Lām mām pām tām kham || ye dha rmmā he tu pra bha vā he tu nte ṣā nta thā ga tohya va da tte ṣā ñca yo ni ro dha e va mvā dī ma hā śra ma ṇaḥ*

Half blockprint:<sup>21</sup> the *mūlamantra* from the *Bodhigarbhālankāralakṣa dhāraṇī, hrdaya, upahṛdaya*.

- (01) *na mo bha ga va te vi pu la va da na kā ñca no tkṣi pta pra bhā sa:...*  
 (02) *ta thā ga tā yā rha te sa mya ksa mbu ddhā yā ta dya thā oṃ bo dhi bo [dhi]...*  
 (03) *pra ha ra ma hā bo dhi ci tta dha re cu lu cu lu śa ta ra smi sa ñco di...*  
 (04) *sa mi li mi li ga ga na ta le sa rva ta thā ga tā dhi ṣṭhi te na bha [sta]...*  
 (05) *śo dha ne hu lu hu lu bo dhi mā rga sa mpra sthi te sa rva ta thā ga ta pra [ti]...*  
 (06) *ya svā hā || oṃ hu ru hu ru ja ya mu khe svā hā || oṃ ma ñi va jre hūṃ || ...*

### ***Akṣobhya Buddha Dhāraṇī***

This work has been known under several titles. It has been referred to as the *dhāraṇī* or *Akṣobhya mantra* (or *Mitrugpa* in Tibet version), or, after one of the first words of the text, as the *kaṅkaṇī mantra*. Its full title is *Ārya-sarvakarmāvaraṇa-viśodhanī-nāma-dhāraṇī* “The Noble *dhāraṇī* that Thoroughly Removes all Karmic Obscurations”. It has survived down to the present and is commonly used in ritual (Pl. 2). This *dhāraṇī* features widely in the Tibetan canon.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Pl. 2.

<sup>22</sup> Tibetan: འཕགས་པ་ལས་ཀྱི་སྐྱོབ་པ་ཐོས་ཅད་རྣམ་པར་སྐྱོང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་གཟུངས། (*phags pa las kyi sgrub pa thams cad rnam par sbyong ba zhes bya ba'i gzungs*), Sanskrit: आर्य-सर्वकर्मवरण-विशोधनी-नाम-धारणी (*ārya-sarvakarmāvaraṇa-viśodhanī-nāma-dhāraṇī*), Mongolian: *qutuy-tu üiles-ün qamuy tüidker-i teyin böged arilyayui ner-e-tü tarni*. Recensions: Derge: (D 743) *rgyud, tsha* 236a3–236b7 (vol. 94) Peking: (Q 401) *rgyud, tsa* 89b3–90b3 (vol. 8, p. 162) Narthang: (N 652) *rgyud, ma* 1b1–3b7 (vol. 95) Cone: (C 406) *rgyud, tsa* 98b4–99b4 (vol. 17) Lhasa: (H 690) *rgyud, ba* 361a1–362a7 (vol. 93) Li-tang: (J 712) *rgyud 'bum, tsa* 89a7–90a6 (vol. 100) Urga: (U 743) *rgyud 'bum, tsha* 236a1–236b7 (vol. 95) Derge: (D 1009) *gzungs, waṃ* 178a1–179a1 (vol. 102) Peking: (Q 634) *rgyud, ya* 184a8–185b1 (vol. 11, p. 251) Cone: (C 639) *rgyud, ya* 189b1–190b2 (vol. 24) Li-tang: (J 923) *rgyud 'bum, ya* 161a8–162a7 (vol. 107) Urga: (U 1011) *gzungs 'dus, waṃ* 178a1–179a1 (vol. 102).

### ***Bija Mantras***

*Bija* or seed<sup>23</sup> mantras are generally monosyllabic mantras with final nasalization. Each *bija* mantra has specific meaning or several meanings, it can also be connected with a certain deity, quality or element: *lām* — seed of the Earth mandala, *rām* — seed of the Divine Lotus, *khām* — *bija* mantra of Amoghasiddhi Buddha,<sup>24</sup> etc. *Bija* mantras not only represent the essence of the “sacred speech” — “*vākśakti*”, but also they are used in various Buddhist tantric practices and rituals, as part of the visualization process. For example: “We imagine that... four petals of the heart chakra are opening clockwise starting from the East, as syllables lam, mam, ram and tam.<sup>25</sup> In turn, they transform into dark blue Dakini in the East, green Lama in the North, red Khandarohi in the West and yellow Rupini in the South”.<sup>26</sup> Or: “In the South-East the white syllable Lam, *bija* mantra of Lochana, transforms into a black cow, in the South-West the blue syllable Mam, *bija* mantra of Mamaki, transforms into a red dog, in the North-West the red Ram, *bija* mantra of Behzarahi, transforms into a white elephant, in the North-East the green Tam, *bija* mantra of Tara, becomes a green horse”.<sup>27</sup>

*Bija* mantras *lām mām pām tām kham*, used separately or in combination with other similar elements, form part of many *dhāraṇī* and mantras, both independent and included in various rituals. It is in this exact combination and sequence that they are attested in the *Abhidhānottara Tantra* (9–10th cc.) in the description of a purifying visualization practice.<sup>28</sup>

### ***Ye dharmā***

*Ye dharmā* is one of the most common mantras in Buddhist manuscripts and epigraphic texts. It has been regarded as something of a “Buddhist credo”.<sup>29</sup> Actually it is the *Pratītyasamutpāda gāthā* from *Arya-pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra*.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Sansk. *bija* means “seed”.

<sup>24</sup> KELSANG 1997, 105; 123.

<sup>25</sup> In another source (KELSANG 1991, 165) the same four *dakini* are associated with other syllables — Ya, Ra, La, Wa.

<sup>26</sup> KELSANG 1997, 105–106.

<sup>27</sup> KELSANG 1997, 123.

<sup>28</sup> GRAY 2014, 17: “There is earth, water, fire, wind and, likewise, space, thus: *lām mām pām tām kham*. These correspond to the goddesses Laying Low (*pātānī*), Killing (*māraṇī*), Attracting (*ākaraṇī*), Lady of the Dance (*nartasvarī*), and ‘Lotus Blaze’ (*padmajvālīnī*). It is taught that they are like space and like the sky.”

<sup>29</sup> STCHERBATSKY 1923, 40; OWEN 2012, 64.

<sup>30</sup> KYAW 2011, 386.

From the 4–5th cc. onwards it is found across South Asia,<sup>31</sup> South-East Asia<sup>32</sup> and even Central Asia.<sup>33</sup> It has been reproduced on all kinds of material (paper, stone, metal, clay tablets), commonly in Sanskrit or Pali, more rarely in Prakrit.<sup>34</sup> The script could be of almost any kind, although various derivatives of Brahmi were most commonly used. This mantra has been inscribed both independently and as a supplement to other Buddhist texts. The combination in one artifact of *Ye dharmā* mantra and a *mūlamantra* has been attested in an inscription on terracotta plate of the 7th–9th cc. from Nalanda. The interesting coincidence is that the “credo” line comes right after the *mūlamantra* from the *Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa dhāraṇī*,<sup>35</sup> the text of which is also present in blockprint SI 6576.

### *Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa dhāraṇī*

The text has been identified through SCHOPEN 2005.<sup>36</sup> According to this text is a part of the *dhāraṇī* (in the meaning of mantra) referred to as the *Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa / Bodhimaṇḍalalākṣālaṅkāra*<sup>37</sup> *dhāraṇī*, which is in turn a fragment of a larger work under the same title (*Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa / Bodhimaṇḍalalākṣālaṅkāra dhāraṇī*) comprising over 20 separate *dhāraṇī* (mantras).<sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> MCAR 2014, 44–46.

<sup>32</sup> LK 2014, 59; KYAW 2011, 385–386.

<sup>33</sup> SKILLING 2011, 378.

<sup>34</sup> SKILLING 2003, 273.

<sup>35</sup> SCHOPEN 2005, 333.

<sup>36</sup> SCHOPEN 2005, 316–317.

<sup>37</sup> The text has survived in several printings. In Sanskrit SN (“*Nālandā* tablet inscriptions” — inscriptions on several terracotta tablets found in Nalanda, SCHOPEN 1982, 107–108) and SC (also known as the “Cuttack slab inscription”, GHOSH 1941, 171–174) the title of *dhāraṇī* is not mentioned at all. Earlier Tibetan versions use the title *Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa*, and later ones, translated from Chinese, use *Bodhimaṇḍalalākṣālaṅkāra*. However, both bear the same Tibetan title *Byang chub snying po'i rgyan 'bum zbez ba'i gzungs*. G. Schopen assumes this to be a “false Sanskritization of the Tibetan title” and suggests that original title was still *Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa dhāraṇī* (SCHOPEN 2005, 315).

<sup>38</sup> According to G. Schopen there are eight Tibetan versions: two versions in the Cona Kanjur (No. 142 and 550), two in the Beijing Kanjur (No. 139[P1] and 545[P2]), two in the Derge Kanjur (No. 509[D1] and 920[D2]), one in Narthang Kanjur (No. 456) and one in Lhasa Kanjur (No. 478[L]) (SCHOPEN 2005, 315–316; 321–322). Presented here are the actual *dhāraṇī* (mantras) in “Tibetized” Sanskrit with short explanations in Tibetan before and after the Sanskrit text. There are also two versions containing the full text of the great *Bodhimaṇḍalalākṣālaṅkāra dhāraṇī*, namely Denge Kanjur (No. 508[XD]) and Lhasa Kanjur (No. 477[XL]). However, they are Tibetan translation from Chinese translation and are likely

In his article, G. Schopen presents the full text<sup>39</sup> that reads as follows:<sup>40</sup>

Om<sup>41</sup> namo bhagavate vipulavadanakāñcanot<sup>42</sup>kṣiptaprabhāsaketumūrdhane  
tathāgatāya arhate samyaksambuddhāya / namo bhagavate śākyamunaye  
tathāgatāya arhate samyaksam<sup>v</sup><sup>43</sup> uddhāyā<sup>44</sup> / tadyathā / bodhi bodhi / bo-  
dhini bodhini<sup>45</sup> / sarvatathāgatagocare / dhara dhara / hara hara / prahara  
prahara / mahābodhicittadhare / culu culu / śataraś<sup>46</sup> misañcodite /  
sarvatathāgatābhiṣikte / guṇe guṇavate / sarvabuddhaguṇāvabhāse<sup>47</sup> / mili  
mili / gaganatale pratiṣṭhite<sup>48</sup> / sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhite<sup>49</sup> / nabhastale / śame  
śame / praśame praśame<sup>50</sup> / sarvapāpaṃ praśamane / sarvapāpaṃ vīśodhane /  
hulu hulu / mahā<sup>51</sup> v<sup>52</sup> odhimārgasampratiṣṭh<sup>53</sup>ite / sarvatathāgatasu<sup>54</sup> pratiṣṭhite /

to contain elements that were not in the Indian original (SCHOPEN 2005, 329–330). There is evidence that a Tibetan translation from a Sanskrit original has been discovered by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub among the manuscripts of Pelliot's Dunhuang collection (P.T. 555) (SCHOPEN 2005, 339).

<sup>39</sup> The text has been reconstructed from the following sources: D1, D2, P1, P2, L, XL, XD, as well as the Sanskrit inscriptions SC and SN. See footnote 37 and 38. The text of the print is almost identical to the Sanskrit texts of *dhāraṇī* (mantras) in SC and SN, with some significant differences (mostly in spelling) from the Tibetan versions. The surviving part of the blockprint has none of the explanatory elements that are present in both Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. It is possible that the full version of the blockprint did not have these parts. The *mūlamantra* text could, obviously, have been used independently. At least, that is what G. Schopen concludes, and one cannot but agree with him. Especially since at least one proof of such independent use exists: “Professor G. Fussman informed me about a stamp used to imprint a *dhāraṇī* on a clay bulla. The stamp would have been found in the region of Qunduz, in Bactrian Afghanistan. It is inscribed in *Brāhmī* of the 5th–6th cc. The *dhāraṇī* on this stamp is the *mūlamantra*, ḥṛdaya and upaḥṛdaya from the *Bodhigarbhālaṅkāralakṣa dhāraṇī*” (SCHOPEN 2005, 338).

<sup>40</sup> A cursive font indicates the parts that correspond to the missing section of our print; discrepancies between his text and our print are underlined; footnotes indicate similar deviations from the Sanskrit texts of SN and SC.

<sup>41</sup> Om is missing from blockprint SI 6576.

<sup>42</sup> In the SC version and our version: \*kāñcanotkṣipta. SN: \*kāñcanākṣipta.

<sup>43</sup> In SI 6576 \*buddh. In SN and SC **b** is replaced by **v**.

<sup>44</sup> In SI 6576: \*buddhaya. SN has arhate samyaksamvuddhāya not in the same place but after śākyamunaye.

<sup>45</sup> In SI 6576: om bodhi bo[dhi]. SN: om vodhi vodhi vodhi instead of SC: bodhi bodhi bodhini bodhini.

<sup>46</sup> Palatal ś is present only in the Sanskrit texts. The Tibetan texts use s. Our text also uses s.

<sup>47</sup> In SI 6576: \*sa.

<sup>48</sup> In SI 6576, as well as in D1, D2, SN, there is no pratiṣṭhite, in SC it is present.

<sup>49</sup> SC: the whole word is missing.

<sup>50</sup> SN: praśame praśame is missing.

<sup>51</sup> SI 6576 lacks mahā.

<sup>52</sup> In SN and SC: **b** is replaced by **v**. In SI 6576 \*boddhi.

<sup>53</sup> In SN and SC: \*samprasthite as in SI 6576. In the Tibetan versions: \*sampratiṣṭhite.

<sup>54</sup> In SN and SC: sarvatathāgatapra[ti] as in SI 6576. In the Tibetan versions: sarvatathāgatasuprati.



*śuddhe svāhā* / (*mūlamantram*<sup>55</sup>) / *oṃ arvatathāgatavyavalokite* / *jaya svāhā* / (*hrdayam*<sup>56</sup>) / *oṃ*<sup>57</sup> *huru huru* / *jayamukhe svāhā* / (*upahrdayam*<sup>58</sup>) / *oṃ vajrāyuse svāhā*<sup>59</sup> /

Judging by the presence of the *mūlamantra* text in SC and SN, it was familiar to Buddhists in Orissa no later than the 10th c. and to Nalanda Buddhists in Bihar as early as the 6th–9th cc.<sup>60</sup>

The geography of the distribution of this text is extremely wide.<sup>61</sup> Beside Eastern India it has been found in Kashmir (7th–8th cc.), Ratnagiri<sup>62</sup> and the Kunduz province of north-eastern Afghanistan (5th–6th cc.).<sup>63</sup> The discovery of blockprint SI 6576 has widened still more the known territory of this text's use.

### Description of the Image

Only the right half of the engraved image (Pl. 3) has survived as the left side of the page is missing.

Apparently the central part of the engraving was occupied by a figure of the Buddha sitting<sup>64</sup> on a patterned elevation. Among the extant details is the radiance around the head and body in the form of divergent rays. The rays around the head are edged with a three line circle. The rays around the body are edged with two suchlike circles. Depicted above the Buddha's head are divergent rays in shape of bars with flowers and clouds between them. To the left of the Buddha are figures of two bodhisattvas and a standing monk with folded hands. In the lower right corner there is a guard(?) with a sword. In the background there are five more figures (guards? wrathful deities?). The heads of creatures within the Buddha's trail are bordered by circles. The engraving bears no inscriptions or cartouches. This last peculiarity apart, the style and content of the image is highly reminiscent of other engravings from the Tangut and Dunhuang collections.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Present in SC, absent in SN.

<sup>56</sup> Present in SC, absent in SN and in SI 6576.

<sup>57</sup> In SN and SC *oṃ* is absent.

<sup>58</sup> Present in SC, absent in SN and in SI 6576.

<sup>59</sup> In SN, SC, XL, XD this whole phrase is absent. It is present in all short Tibetan versions. In SI 6576: *oṃ maṇi va jre hūṃ*.

<sup>60</sup> SCHOPEN 2005, 332.

<sup>61</sup> SKILLING 2011, 379.

<sup>62</sup> SCHOPEN 2005, 338–339.

<sup>63</sup> STRAUCH 2009, 37–56.

<sup>64</sup> The surviving part of the image of the Buddha does not contradict the idea that he may be sitting in the standard *Akṣobhya* Buddha pose, *Bhumisparsha* mudra.

<sup>65</sup> Shelf numbers: No. 158, T. 320 (see. KYCHANOV 1999, 769); TK-247; Tang. 61; Dh. 03143.

## Conclusion

As a single whole the blockprint can be characterized as follows. As indicated by Professor Menshikov, the *dhāraṇī* that have been discovered in the region and served as independent incantatory texts, are mostly not fragments of larger Buddhist works but, rather, locally composed texts: “At any rate, it has not been possible to locate specific *dhāraṇī* within canonical sutras and tantric corpus”.<sup>66</sup> In our case we find a common *dhāraṇī* of Sanskrit origin, widespread across a rather large territory and even, like the *Kaṅkani* mantra and *Ye dharmā*, still widely used in everyday Buddhist practice today. Their combination is most likely of local origin, as the principles of alignment are not quite understandable and, as far as one can judge, do not correspond canonical rules. Quite typical for Khara-Khoto Buddhist (tantric) literature of the 11th–14th cc. are prayer corpora and so called ceremonials<sup>67</sup> that include whole collections of mantras and *dhāraṇī*. The content of the blockprint makes it possible to assume that in our case we are dealing with precisely this type of document, i.e., a written record of the verbal content of a ceremony, standard and widespread enough to be richly decorated and reproduced by printing. The fragmentary nature of the extant material does not allow further deductions to be made.

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<sup>66</sup> MENSHIKOV 1984, 20–21.

<sup>67</sup> MENSHIKOV 1984, 21.

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### Appendix

Akshara List of the blockprint SI 6575, inv. No. 6631.  
Serindian Fund of IOM, RAS

—	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au
—	अ				उ			ए			
k	क	का			ऊ		ऋ				
kh	ख							ख			
g	ग										
gh											
c	च		चि		चु						
j	ज										
ñ											
t	ट										
ṇ	ण		णि								
t	त	ता	ति	तु				त		ता	
th		था									
d	द		दि	दु							
dh	ध		धि								
n	न		नि					न		ना	
p	प	पा			पु						

ph											
b										बा	
bh	भ	भा									
m	म	मा	मि		भृ			म		मा	
y	य	या						य		या	
r	र				रु			र		रा	
l	ल	ला	लि		लृ			ल			
v	व	वा	वि								
ś	श									शा	
ṣ		षा									
s	स										
h	ह	हा			हृ	हृ		ह			

visarga	ृ
daṇḍa	॥
anunāsika	ँ
oṃ	ॐ





Kirill Bogdanov

**Ritual Funeral Text Tang 665  
from the Tangut Collection of IOM, RAS**

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*Abstract:* This paper represents a brief study and a translation of a ritual funeral text dated to the 11th–13th cc. Despite its brevity, the manuscript is a consistent and complete fragment describing the ritual and proving the doubtless similarity between the Tangut and Tibetan religious traditions. The very age of the text attests to the fact that this tradition has survived down to the present day in unaltered form.

*Key words:* Khara-Khoto, funeral ritual, bardo teaching, Tangut Buddhism

**The Description and Identification  
of the Manuscript**

This manuscript Tang 665 was selected for study when a catalog of the Tangut collection kept at the IOM, RAS was being compiled in 2005–12<sup>1</sup> under the supervision of Evgenii Kychanov (1932–2013). As a rule, the process involved special descriptions of those books whose bindings differed from those traditional or regular for canonical texts (pothi, scrolls, and accordion book) and which looked more like small copybooks. This manuscript is a book with its pages sewn in that way; its two folios, each with text on both sides, measure 17.5 by 12.3 cm. The cursive handwriting is fairly legible (cf. Pl. 1–4). Concerning dating, we can easily determine that it belongs to the 11th–13th cc., that is to say, it is the same age as the bulk of the items collected by Piotr Kozlov (1863–1935). The visible features of the text reveal its structure to be an alternation of poetic and prosaic parts. The latter contain 15 characters per line; a poetic line consists of two parts (each of 7 characters) separated by a caesura. This brief handwritten fragment represents part of the burial procedure, but it also is logically consistent which provides reliable grounds for making it the object of a separate study.

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<sup>1</sup> Until recent times this manuscript was registered under inv. No. 4084. This unattributed fragment was entered in the inventory by E.I. Kychanov along with other items in the 1950s.

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The self-sufficiency of the text, legible handwriting and good condition of the manuscript simplified its reading and comprehension.<sup>2</sup> The basis for this short study was found in the translation of the title written over the top right-hand margin of page 3: *je ngiwə tšja vje šjei*<sup>3</sup> 階繡魏淨穰 *Ritual [sequence] of cutting in the temple*. Firstly, this clearly indicated the nature of the ritual described; and it did indeed soon become clear that the text dealt with funerals. Secondly, the positioning of the inscription on the margin before the text body indicated that the title concerned either the previous or, more likely, the following chapter or text, a component of some larger whole text cycle.<sup>4</sup>

### Text's Characteristics

Now it is the time to address the text. An indication that the book was used for practical purposes is the line containing the formula *someone's name* intended to be replaced with the actual name of the dead or dying person for whom the ritual was performed:

*žjon si liwų lin mje swi nje* 駁解身穰修穰穰 “Someone's name's life is expiring. The body will be changed, changed”. (p. 2)

The following lines reveal that a lama read the text over the body of a *disciple*, i.e. a monk or some person following the path of the Buddhist teaching:

*liwų lin ndzje ngi mə tšhja šje* 身穰駁駁駁穰穰 “The body has changed, the disciple will ascend to the heaven!” (p. 3)

That personal and at the same time social characterization of the deceased determined both the form and the content of the ritual. The text states the points of doctrine relevant for the ritual, along with the established rules. The latter were traditionally supported by diverse metaphors and comparisons making it easier to perceive the sense correctly and in-depth. At the same time, these metaphors provide the text with a degree of artistic value. Its basic idea is the following: as soon as one feels that death is imminent, one should immediately and decisively give up one's attachment to the temporary and fragile body:

<sup>2</sup> This is rarely the case with books from Khara-Khoto, most of which have reached us as fragments of various sizes.

<sup>3</sup> The phonetic transcription in M.V. Sofronov's reconstruction is used in this article.

<sup>4</sup> It might also be a convolution.

*liwü 'm tsi ti ndzu kyo tseu ndziwo liwü mi 'ju ndzin nje*  
 身 亦  
 “Do not feel affection for [your] body and do not love it! A human body is short-lived, you are about to borrow another”. (p. 1)

Such are the initial lines of the fragment; this appeal was repeated more than once when the ritual was performed. The body belonged to and symbolized the fleeting and illusory world that was also to be rejected. Instead, the spirit of the dying (or already dead) person is exhorted to consider the Buddhist faith, to apply every effort in order to purify the *nje* 解 (Chin. *xin* 心, “mind”, “consciousness”) of all affectations, to acquire the new nature of disembodied being, to ascend, and later, fate permitting, to achieve a better rebirth.

### Religious and Ethno Cultural Parallels in Ritual Context

Now, we should take a closer look at certain peculiarities of the ritual found in the text.<sup>5</sup> They are of interest as they make the procedure comparable with later descriptions of the burial traditions of the Tibetans, Buryats, and Mongols. The manuscript contains the following lines:

*zjon si liwü lin vjə tsin na / thi tha 'ja ta mbju ngjei tjei / thi lə wo ta na*  
*liwü ndza* 駁 解 亦  
 “Listen about the expiry of life and the changes the body will undergo! This is a great umbrella giving [you] shelter. This is a banner measuring [your] body”. (p. 2)

These lines can be considered the origins of the ritual that was described much later as follows: “A Tibetan was dying... His name accompanied by invocations was written on an umbrella-shaped shield covered with a khadak. Food was left in front of it; it was revered”.<sup>6</sup> “The deceased’s best clothes were placed in front of the body, with a representation of the person’s soul affixed to them... (stamped... on a sheet of paper)”.<sup>7</sup> At this point, one

<sup>5</sup> In Russian sinological tradition this key concept of Buddhist philosophy is usually translated as “mind”, “consciousness”, but these words do not provide an adequate understanding of the meaning. Evgenii Torchinov, for instance, used a better equivalent, “heart-mind” (TORCHINOV 2008). We, however, will use the traditional translation, “mind”, occasionally employing more elaborate versions, i.e. “heart-mind”, “heart” and “mind”.

<sup>6</sup> KYCHANOV, SAVITSKY 1975, 159–160.

<sup>7</sup> GERASIMOVA 1981, 117.

may recall the Tibetan tradition of making flags with representations of the *wind-horse* indicating the birth date and the wish to ascend like that wind-horse.<sup>8</sup> Rolf Alfred Stein also compared the *tente du corps* (“tent (umbrella) of a body”) with the traditional Tibetan *wind-horse* flags.<sup>9</sup> One can assume that the invocations and the pictures of the soul symbolically represented the merits attained by the deceased during earthly life. It also corresponds to the Tantric concept of *body-consciousness* according to which the *body* denotes only the living shell, a means to spend one's life, but never an object for study by a pathologist.<sup>10</sup> It should be added that Richard Gombrich emphasized the similarity and even identity between the notions *merits* and *good karma* acquired during one's lifetime and passed on at rebirth.<sup>11</sup>

Describing the transformations of Central Asian shamanic rituals under the influence of Tibetan Buddhism, Kseniia Gerasimova mentioned as essential the fact that the lama performing the ritual was identified with as the god of the corresponding ritual: “The lama acted in the name of Buddha's specific Tantric form. The power of the invocations was secured by the force of Buddha's holiness and the teaching of the Buddhist religion”.<sup>12</sup> In the Tanguit ritual text, too, the officiating lama, in accordance with the tradition, glorified Buddha: *mjuo ldje pju me tshje tjei min* 絳儼敵效芻聚緡 “Words cannot express Tathagata's power and wisdom”. (p. 3)

Then, the lamaist ritual demanded purification of the dead body which was to be cleansed of evil spirits: *jen giwə phe to si 'u ndžei / rju kai mbe je ngiwə phe vie / njei pu 'u zon ndju su rai* 騰鑼欖絨穉穉穉處處殞 騰鑼欖穉穉穉穉穉穉 “In the temple, the dead body will be cut, [then the body] will be carried away. [So] the entire illusory nature of [this] world [will be] perceived. The oldest nephew is to carry the head and be more joyful than anybody”.<sup>13</sup> (p. 3)

As indicated by the title of this chapter, it concerned the ritual of dismembering conducted in a certain order. One can assume that the initial beheading might possibly be of importance for the posthumous fate of the dead. A lot of peoples developed a special attitude towards the skeleton, the bones. For example, the Buryats had a prohibition on breaking animals' bones during hunting, especially their skulls.<sup>14</sup> The Tibetans believed that the

<sup>8</sup> KYCHANOV, SAVITSKY 1975, 234.

<sup>9</sup> STEIN 1970, 170–171.

<sup>10</sup> GUENTER 1986, 148.

<sup>11</sup> GOMBRICH 1996, 56.

<sup>12</sup> GERASIMOVA 1981, 122.

<sup>13</sup> See the commentary on the text translation.

<sup>14</sup> GALDANOVA 1987, 49.

bones held preserved the soul, and, when performing purification of dead bodies, "...they tended to break the bones of the dead".<sup>15</sup> These beliefs were linked to the idea that the shelter best home of the soul and the life force in a dead body was the skull. The supposed particular sacral nature of the head is confirmed by funeral (and other) rituals observed by several peoples in Central Asia. For the Tibetans, the soul was linked to a substance of life, the *wind*, *wind-horse* dwelling in the *shin*. If the deceased was someone who had achieved holiness, the soul could find its way to heaven on its own; ordinary secular persons required special rituals performed by a lama and invocations allowing the soul to exit via the top of the dead head.<sup>16</sup> The Mongols associated the head with the notion of *sulde* (one of its meanings being "the life force"). Galina Galdanova remarks that according to the "Secret History", Gurbesu, Nayman Dayan-Khan's mother, ordered that the head of Van-Khan be brought and gave it for sacrifice because Van-Khan belonged to an ancient clan. The legend about ongon Burte says that while the Buryats were moving from Mongolia one of them took along his father's head... as his most cherished treasure.<sup>17</sup> And in the same study there is evidence recorded by Tsyben Zhamtsarano (1880–1942): "...give your gray head to your descendants".<sup>18</sup> All these actions involving the dismembering of bodies, probably rooted in ancient shamanistic ritual sacrifices, were sanctified by the Buddhist ritual with its primary meaning of magical unification turning into *nothingness*.<sup>19</sup> That initial and final emptiness, the illusory nature of the body is emphasized in the Tangut ritual text as well; there, the body is represented as "the center of emptiness" and likened to "a mass of clouds", "a reflection of the Moon in the ocean".

As soon as the evil spirits were chased out, the lama addressed the deceased's spirit urging it to abandon the perceived world and everything in it, to reject all components of samsaric existence: feelings, attractions, urges, and to strive towards the Three Jewels of the Buddhist faith. The Tangut text confirms that the tradition was old indeed: *thi niyo zjon si liwu lin mje zi phju so ldjə ndo mbju tjei ldeu* 隸緞散解身囊彥編維散戮魏魏纒纒 "This is the reason why the one whose life is expiring, whose body is being changed, should seek the protection of the Three Highest Jewels". (p. 2)

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<sup>15</sup> GERASIMOVA 1981, 119

<sup>16</sup> KYCHANOV, SAVITSKY 1975, 234.

<sup>17</sup> GALDANOVA 1987, 49–50.

<sup>18</sup> GALDANOVA 1987, 50

<sup>19</sup> GERASIMOVA 1980, 67.

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**Text Transliteration and Translation**
**Ms. Tang 665, p. 1. Pl. 1**

- (01) *liwụ `m tsi ti ndzu kụo tseu ndziwo liwụ mi `ju ndzin nje wạ sju*  
 (02) *`wê lo mi `ju rại ndzie mi liệ zje phạ `je sju tshio rjụ ndziwo*  
 (03) *liwụ `m ndzu kụo ldeu nịau*  
 (04) *zịon si liwụ lin ndjụ ti ndzu / ndziwo liwụ nga ngu ndi tson sju*  
 (05) *rại ndzie mi ndu xịa rịạ ndziạ / rjụ kha tị `m tha vjạ sju*  
 (06) *ndzịon sju nga ngu lhịei to sju / lhịei rạ liệ ngôn zje kha sịa*  
 (07) *tha lhịei zje kha to ldịạ nịau / liệ ngôn zje kha lhịei mi ndjụ*

**Ms. Tang 665, p. 2. Pl. 2**

- (08) *rjụ kha tị `m tha vjạ sju / zịon si liwụ lin nwạ tsin ldeu*  
 (09) *zịon si liwụ lin mje swi nje sọ kại rạ ndai tị zị tha vjạ sju mi*  
 (10) *ngwi lwo zịạ kwạ tị min nwạ tsin ldeu thi niu zịon si liwụ lin*  
 (11) *mje zị phjụ so ldịạ ndo mbjụ tịei ldeu*  
 (12) *zịon si liwụ lin vjạ tsin na / thi tha `ia ta mbjụ ngịei tịei*  
 (13) *thi lẹ wo ta na liwụ ndzạ / thi ndzjụ wo ta mje `o tịei*  
 (14) *thi nje wo ta nien dzje tịei / thi ruo `u ta ngwi ldeu ngwu*

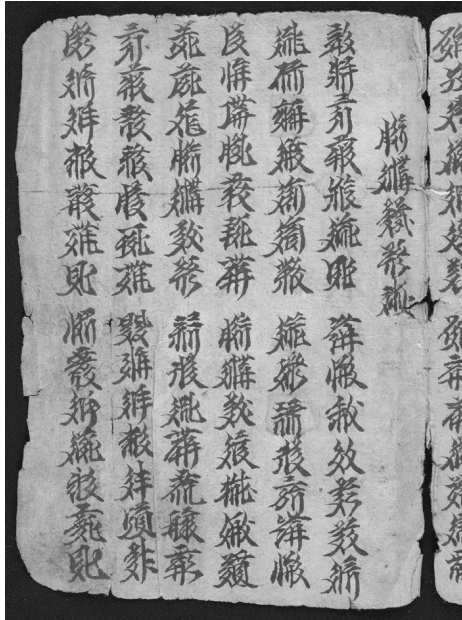
**Ms. Tang 665, p. 3. Pl. 3**

- (15) *`je ngiwạ tịa vjạ sịei*  
 (16) *zịon si liwụ lin vjạ tsin na / mjuo ldịạ pjụ me tshjẹ tịei min*  
 (17) *nga `m mbi `ê mbie ndziwon tha / phjụ tseu lhi pụ `in zịon si*  
 (18) *ldạ `u tseu rjẹ na sjuwo zon / `je ngiwạ phe to si `u ndzêi*  
 (19) *rjụ kại mbe `je ngiwạ phe vjạ / nịei pụ `u zon ndjụ su rại*  
 (20) *liwụ lin ndzie ngi mạ tshjạ sịạ / nde ldị nje ngwu tha lhịạ we*  
 (21) *zjẹ min nje ngwu nda sịạ na / lị liu nje ta vjẹi ka na*

**Ms. Tang 665, p. 4. Pl. 4**

- (22) *khu ndzịei nje ta tin in na / mi ngeu nje ngwu sịạ ldeu ngwu*  
 (23) *liwụ lin ndzie ngi xịa `in tsin / zịon si liwụ lin vjạ tsin na*  
 (24) *mụ mje `je nịa ti zon zjẹ / tha `u `in ndzjẹ ngo ki zjẹ*  
 (25) *rại `ia ki liwụ nda lin / thjẹ zjẹ thi mje mbạ ndzjịo ldeu*  
 (26) *lhi pụ vjẹi `u na tsjwụ zjẹ / rjụ kha ndzu a zị khwa ka*  
 (27) *nde ldị nje ngwu `in `a tshjịo / tha khwai `u ngwu `in nda na*  
 (28) *tha zị mje ngwu `in nda na / tha kê `je ngwu `in nda na*
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Pl. 3 — manuscript Tang 665, page 3



Pl. 4 — manuscript Tang 665, page 4

- (01) Do not feel affection for [your] body and do not love it! A human body is short-lived, you are about to borrow another.<sup>20</sup>
- (02) Noble birth and wealth are temporary, like the material world, and passing like bubbles on water. Therefore,
- (03) It should not be attached to [thy] body.
- (04) Life ends, the body will undergo changes,<sup>21</sup> do not be attached [to it].<sup>22</sup> A human body is like the center of emptiness,<sup>23</sup> an accumulation of clouds.
- (05) It does not exist for long, it perishes soon. Such is the law of [this] world.<sup>24</sup>
- (06) Like the center of emptiness, like the rising Moon with its reflection<sup>25</sup> in the ocean water.
- (07) Though the Moon is reflected in the water, [it is] not there, the Moon is not in the ocean.
- (08) This is like the law for [this] world. Life ends, the body will undergo changes; it should be recognized.<sup>26</sup>
- (09) The life of *someone's name* is expiring; the body will undergo changes, be changed in the Three worlds,<sup>27</sup> everything obeys this law.<sup>28</sup>
- (10) A human body is not a solid fruit, it does not have a [solid] basis; it should be recognized.

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<sup>20</sup> As the entire text is an exhortation, a monologue addressed to the listener, punctuation marks used for indicating direct speech have been omitted.

<sup>21</sup> The ritual could be performed over a person dying or already dead; the text has no temporal indications, and so the translation will not go into particulars concerning the alternatives to be expressed by grammatical tense: “life is ending or has ended, the body is undergoing or has undergone changes”.

<sup>22</sup> Lit. “You shalt not love”.

<sup>23</sup> Meaning “shunyata” (Sansk. *śūnyata*), “nothingness”. The word denotes a key concept in Buddhist philosophy.

<sup>24</sup> Here, the grammatical construction allows for other translations. The dictionary compiled by E.I. Kychanov (below, DEK) translates character No. 4179, 影, present in similar texts, as “the Buddhist Dharma” — according to the tradition. The metaphor can doubtlessly indicate the unavoidable and universal nature of the dharma laws. However, a literal and possibly simplified meaning of “law” is also possible.

<sup>25</sup> The text employs the character 影 “shadow” (DEK No. 2454), but the context suggests “reflection”.

<sup>26</sup> The text unequivocally emphasizes the process of dying instead of its end, death. Likewise the body (more strictly, “body-mind”) transforms (and not just decomposes!) thus acquiring the properties required for reincarnation.

<sup>27</sup> According to Buddhist cosmology, the life in the three spheres is conditioned by the individual karma.

<sup>28</sup> The grammatical construction allows also another translation: “Like all dharmas of the Three Worlds /which/ get changed...”

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- (11) This is the reason why one whose life is drawing to its end and whose body is undergoing changes, should seek protection from the Three Highest Jewels.<sup>29</sup>
- (12) Listen about the extinguishing of life and about the changes which the body will undergo! This is the great umbrella which can give [you] shelter.
- (13) This is the banner measuring [your] life.<sup>30</sup> This is the explanation of the place where the [earthly] glory dwells.
- (14) This is where consciousness resides, like a pearl [in a shell]. [At the same time] this vessel of evil is [nothing but] the outer cover.
- (15) Ritual [sequence] of cutting in the temple
- (16) Listen about the extinguishing of life and about the changes which the body will undergo! No words can express the might and wisdom of Tathāgata!<sup>31</sup>
- (17) My might is great, my name is glorious, [I am] the greatest descendant [from the clan] of Tathāgata [himself],<sup>32</sup>
- (18) [I] hold a skillfully sharpened ax in [my] hands. In the temple, the dead body will be dissected, [then the body] will be taken away.
- (19) [So,] all illusory nature<sup>33</sup> of [this] world [will be] revealed.<sup>34</sup> The oldest nephew is holding the head, more joyful than anybody around.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The Three Highest Jewels in Buddhism are Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha.

<sup>30</sup> The passage possibly implies the merits attained during one's earthly life.

<sup>31</sup> Sansk. *tathāgata*, “thus gone”, is one of Buddha's epithets.

<sup>32</sup> There is a problem with reading the 8th character in the second line. It looks like 𐰃𐰚 (DEK No. 4509) “old, ancient” or *phju* 𐰃𐰚 (DEK No. 4573) “high, upper”. In the event of the first interpretation, this phrase is of particular interest and raises a few questions. The one performing the ritual, the oldest descendant of the deceased, claims to belong to Tathāgata's kin. Most probably, however, the second variant is correct, so it is a metaphor reflecting the identification of the performer with the Tathāgata himself.

<sup>33</sup> Correct understanding of this line is hindered by the poorly written top of the left-hand side of one character which could be read as 𐰃𐰚, “illusion, magic” (DEK No. 4913) or 𐰃𐰚, “indivisible” (DEK No. 4914). The same ideogram (minus the two top horizontal strokes) means “empty” (NEVSKY 1960, 1,494). However, as a rule, the notion of emptiness was rendered in Tangut texts (including this one) by 𐰃𐰚 (DEK No. 2735). As the right-hand character in ideographs No. 4913, No. 4914 in Kychanov's dictionary and the ideograph denoting “emptiness” in Nevsky's dictionary was a determinative grapheme with the meaning of “demon” (KYCHANOV 2008, 397), it cannot be ruled out that the line implied revealing or perceiving the demons' world, which in turn might be directly linked with the idea of purifying the body during the ritual.

<sup>34</sup> Lit. “[will be] disclosed”.

<sup>35</sup> The text repeatedly mentions a descendant of the deceased as a participant in and performer of the funeral ritual (cf. p. 3, lines 2–4, p. 4, line 5). The implication that custom demanded that certain relatives participate in the funeral ritual requires additional research

- (20) The body has undergone changes, and the disciple will ascend to heaven! With heart-mind<sup>36</sup> full of joy, [he] will be reborn in Buddha's land.
- (21) Go with [your] mind cleansed of perplexity!<sup>37</sup> Purify [your] mind of passion and greed!
- (22) Do not hurry [your] mind when it is being perfected. [You] should leave with [your] mind purified of all perplexity!
- (23) The body undergoes changes, the disciple must recognize it now! Listen about the exhausting of life and about the changes which the body will undergo!
- (24) The dark earthly habitat cannot withstand testing. When [you] dwell in it, there come sicknesses-obstacles.<sup>38</sup>
- (25) Lots of days passing, the body will undergo changes. That habitat must be left behind now.
- (26) [When] the descendant,<sup>39</sup> an ax in his hand, touches the head,<sup>40</sup> he will release [you] from everything [in this] world, whatever [you] loved and [whatever you] submitted to.
- (27) Ascend [to heaven] with joyous heart-mind!<sup>41</sup> Having played [your part] in this great play, go ahead!
- (28) Having sacrificed a lot, go ahead! Having obeyed the Great Law, go ahead!<sup>42</sup>

### **The Wholeness of Ritual Tradition in Historical Prospective**

Finally, we should pay attention to the semantic similarity between this ritual text and the Tibetan treatise “Bardo Thodol”,<sup>43</sup> also known as the

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involving other sources. The “oldest nephew” and the “oldest descendant” mentioned here imply the importance of paternal filiation common for the family ties existing in Tangut society at that time (KYCHANOV 1997, 72–78). The text actually mentions two descendants: the oldest member of the clan who dissects the body, and the “oldest nephew” who is to hold the head, but these two might well be the same person. Besides, it remains unclear whether the “descendant” and the lama performing the ritual and identifying himself as Tathagata are two people or one.

<sup>36</sup> The text reads “with joyous mind”; cf. commentary to fn. 4.

<sup>37</sup> Lit. “with your mind [from which] all obstacles have been removed”.

<sup>38</sup> I.e. obstacles on the path to liberation.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. fn. 39.

<sup>40</sup> Evidently, cutting the head off in accordance with the ritual.

<sup>41</sup> Lit. “with joyous mind”; cf. Preface, fn. 5.

<sup>42</sup> I am very grateful to Kirill Solonin for the assistance he rendered during the translation.

<sup>43</sup> Its title has been transcribed in more than one way.

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“Tibetan Book of the Dead”,<sup>44</sup> that has been extremely popular (if that word is appropriate for such compositions) in Europe since 1927, when it was translated into English and commented on by Carl Gustav Jung (1875–1961). That work, presumably written in the 9th c., has been ascribed to Padmasambhava. It used to be one of the “clandestine texts” or “concealed books” hidden when Buddhists were persecuted at that moment in history.<sup>45</sup> In the course of time that text, or rather, an entire set of texts have undergone inevitable changes; it was not written down until the 14th c., in the version subsequently edited in English translation by Walter Evans-Wentz (1878–1965). Admittedly, the teaching concerning the existence in the intermediary state between death and rebirth (Sansk. *antarābhava*, Tib. *bardo*) was thoroughly covered in the Buddhist canon and philosophical treatises. That teaching was especially well-known and widely applied in practice in Tibet. The process must have involved writing ritual texts of various length and structure, in which the basic ideas were presented in a form easy to understand and use in practice, so the “Bardo Thodol” might well be just another text of that type. Returning to the Tangut ritual funeral text, we can safely assume that it also was one following the teaching of *bardo* and intended for use in everyday practice. It was genetically and ideologically related to the doctrine and the “Bardo Thodol” text, reflecting the same key values. Therefore, the Tangut text was supposed to confirm the veracity of the Teaching and to attest of the fact that, while transferred, the Teaching had not been interrupted.

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<sup>44</sup> This conventional title was initially used when the treatise was translated into English. There exist other translations actually disclosing the meaning of the word.

<sup>45</sup> That apocryphal text has primarily been quoted and referred to in esoteric literature, while until recently academic Russian tibetology remained more skeptical about it. For example, Andrei Vostrikov (1902–1937) was critical about both its history and presumed authorship (VOSTRIKOV 2007, 46).

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Agnieszka Helman-Ważny, Liubov Kriakina,  
Alexander Zorin

**The First Tibetan Leaves Acquired  
by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences:  
Conservation Issues, Contents and Paper Analysis\***

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*Abstract:* The paper presents the first results of the study of 204 folios from the legendary Ablait monastery recently identified within the IOM, RAS Tibetan collection. The three main aspects touched upon are 1) the condition of the folios and the conservation treatment applied to make the study of their contents possible, 2) identification of texts that turned out to be fragments of an independent version of the Tibetan Buddhist canon, and 3) paper analysis.

*Key words:* conservation of Oriental texts, history of Tibetan paper, Tibetan *thing shog* manuscripts, Tibetan Buddhist Canon, Ablait monastery

In 2012–15, a number of rolled decorated folios were identified among the unprocessed materials held in the Tibetan collection of the IOM, RAS. These book leaves originated from the two Dzungar monasteries discovered by Russian soldiers along the Irtysh river in southern Siberia<sup>1</sup> in 1717–21. The study of their history<sup>2</sup> showed that some of them, with blue margins and gold letters, were acquired first, perhaps, in 1718 from the Sem Palat Monastery, while the greater portion of the leaves, with dark violet margins and silver and gold letters, were sent to the Russian capital by two members of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705–1783) and Johann Georg Gmelin (1709–1755), from Ablait Monastery in 1734<sup>3</sup>.

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\* The study was supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, project No. 14-06-00460.

<sup>1</sup> It is now the territory of East Kazakhstan Province in the Republic of Kazakhstan.

<sup>2</sup> ZORIN forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> The first batch of six leaves from the Ablait library was sent to St. Petersburg in 1721 and one of them must have been reproduced in Leipzig in 1722 ([MENCKE?] 1722) and then sent to Paris where É. and M. Fourmont attempted its translation (WALRAVENS 2008, 150–

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After all the calamities of the 1930s and 1940s, the folios were effectively lost within the Institute's huge Tibetan collection, especially after it was enlarged by several thousand texts brought to Leningrad from closed and destroyed Buryat Buddhist monasteries in the late 1930s. Later, during the 1960s and 1970s, the Tibetan collection was in the main sorted out by Margarita Vorobiova-Desiatovskaya, Lev Savitsky and Elena Ogneva but these materials remained among the scattered items until their re-discovery in 2012. They were found in several locations. Most were being kept rolled up, while the remainder were arranged in three piles placed between sheets of thick cardboard, possibly by Lev Savitsky, the curator of the Tibetan collection in the years 1969–2004. Unfortunately, this measure proved far from sufficient to return the damaged leaves to a usable condition. In fact, all the leaves, both rolled and slightly flattened, needed urgent conservation due to numerous defects and great fragility. This work started in 2014.

The paper of the folios turned out to be very dry and brittle; their edges, being the most vulnerable parts, were especially fragile and seriously deformed from the rolling; the numerous cracks, small losses of paper, flaws and dirty spots, through and incomplete splits, flaking of golden paint and ink layers, erosions of text, faded paper dye along the outer part of leaves, breaks and exfoliations in the paper were clearly visible, the traces of the holes made by the larva of bark beetles were noticed.

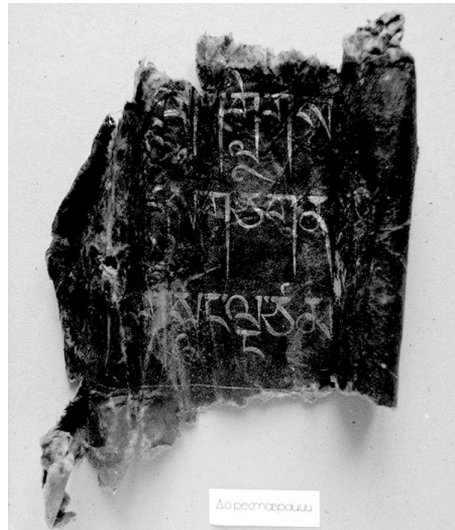
During initial conservation treatment, first a general dry cleaning of the paper, consisting of the removal of dust with a soft brush and of bird droppings with a scalpel, was undertaken. The most seriously soiled places were cleaned with a non-abrasive rubber eraser and a special *Wishab* sponge. Spots of pastose flows were cleaned with a cotton wool tampon barely moistened with a 1:1 water-alcohol solution (Pl. 1).

A test on dye flow by the application method gave a positive result, showing that the folios would be harmed if processed with water. We then employed a method of indirect moistening using special membranous materials such as *Gore-tex* and *Bondina*, which are recommended for the delicate moistening of paper objects sensitive to water. This method produced good results. Moreover, it allowed us to return the lost hydro component to the paper pulp, making it more flexible, thanks to which paper could be flattened more evenly, without any new losses or splits. Each folio was put on technical textile and covered with a sheet of *Gore-tex*, several

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152). The other five folios may be at the British Library, under the shelf number Sloane 2837. They could have been left in London by J.D. Schumacher (1690–1761) in early 1722 (SCHIEFNER 1864, 44–45) but this still needs to be ascertained.

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Pl. 1. One of the fragments: before and after conservation treatment

sheets of moistened filter paper, a layer of polyester film, and a layer of plywood beneath a weight. The level of moisturizing, with liquid from the filter paper, remained under control. After the folios were flattened and moistened, they were kept between two layers of technical textiles to complete the drying process and remove deformation.

To restore aesthetic unity and structural integrity to the leaves the special paper inserts and reinforcements were applied together with wheat paste (3% to 7%). Lost parts were replaced and tears reinforced with paper produced in Japan that was then painted to match the original colours with water-soluble dyes. The fragments of the most damaged folios were consolidated, but not reconstructed to original size.

Along with conservation treatment the folios were all numbered and contents of each folio identified (the *RKTS* and, in few cases, *TBRC* search tools were used).<sup>4</sup> There are 237 unique folios all together. Most of them are complete but a number were found to be in fragments, some rather small. The folios consist of two groups:

1) 33 ff. on blue paper with golden writing originated from Sem Palat. They consist of two subgroups of folios<sup>5</sup> belonging to two different copies of a four-volume set of the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* in 25,000 stanzas;

2) 204 ff. on paper with dark violet margins and silver or/and gold writings originated from Ablait. They belong to various volumes from the set of an unknown edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon.<sup>6</sup> A few other leaves found in various European repositories<sup>7</sup> belong to this same work.

The following analysis deals only with the Ablait materials although some aspects of it are true for both groups of texts.

The Ablait library certainly had the entire first part of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, the *Kagyur*. The second part, the *Tengyur*, could also have been present there, at least partially. The bulk of the 204 ff. kept at the IOM, RAS are fragments of various texts from the six divisions of *Kagyur*:

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<sup>4</sup> Marginalia to the left of the text on the recto contain the numbers of the volumes (indicated with Tibetan letters) and folio numbers, no brief names of the sections or other titles are provided.

<sup>5</sup> The shelf numbers at the IOM, RAS — Tib.957 and Tib.958.

<sup>6</sup> The shelf number at the IOM, RAS is Tib.959.

<sup>7</sup> The following are known so far: National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg, 3 items — two are found under No. 857 in DORN 1852, the third in the fund 390, inv. 1, unit 80, all three identified by A. Zorin in 2014; British Library, London, 5 items — Sloane 2837a-e, information provided by S. van Schaik; Herzog August Library, Wolfenbüttel, Germany, 2 items — Cod. Guelf. 9 Extra v IV and V, see HEISSIG 1979, KNÜPPEL 2014; Library of Kassel University, 1 item — Ms. orient. Anhang 4 [1, see KNÜPPEL 2014; Linköping City Library, 1 item — Ol 4, information provided by M. von Wachenfeldt; Berlin State Library, 1 item, information provided by K.V. Alekseev and A.A. Turanskaya. There are also eight Tibetan and Mongolian folios in the National Library of France, Paris, including the most famous one reproduced in [MENCKE?] 1722, see ABEL-RÉMUSAT 1820, 332, n. 1; MXT, 41, No. 464.

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- 1) *Vinaya* — 60 ff.<sup>8</sup>
- 2) *Prajñāpāramitā* — 46 ff.<sup>9</sup>
- 3) *Avataṃsaka* — 6 ff.<sup>10</sup>
- 4) *Ratnakūṭa* — 13 ff.<sup>11</sup>
- 5) *Sūtra* — 33 ff.
- 6) *Tantra* — 41 ff.

The comparison of the order of texts in the Ablakit *Kagyur Sūtra* and *Tantra* sections with that in other editions shows no exact or close parallels (see the Appendix). It seems that there are similarities with the latest Lhasa edition (1934), especially in *Tantra* section, yet the difference is still too great. Apparently, we are dealing here with an independent version of the canon.<sup>12</sup>

The remaining five folios from three different volumes seem to belong to a *Tengyur*. The following texts are represented:

- 1) *Rang gi lta ba'i 'dod pa mdor bstan pa yongs su brtag pa zhes bya ba* (vol. ka?) by Mañjuśrīvarman, from the *Rgyud 'grel* section in the later xylographic editions of the *Tengyur*,
- 2) *Sa bcu pa'i rnam par bshad pa* (2 ff., vol. ma) by Vasubandhu, from the *Mdo 'grel* section;
- 3) *Rgyu gdags pa* (vol. za) ascribed to Maudgalyāyana, from the *Mngon pa* section;
- 4) *'Jig rten gzhaḡ pa* (vol. za) ascribed to Maudgalyāyana, from the *Mngon pa* section.

The *Kagyur* editions of the Them spangs ma group also contain *Rgyu gdags pa* and *'Jig rten gzhaḡ pa* but the Ablakit *Kagyur* seems to be very different from them, hence there are more chances they were a part of the

<sup>8</sup> The following texts are represented: *'Dul ba gzhi* (vols. ka-nga), *'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa* (vols. ca-nya), *Dge slong ma'i 'dul ba rnam par 'byed pa* (vol. nya), *'Dul ba phran tshogs kyi gzhi* (vols. ta, tha), *'Dul ba gzhung dam pa* (vol. da, a), *'Dul ba gzhung bla ma* (vol. a).

<sup>9</sup> The following texts are represented: *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra in 100,000 stanzas* (vols. ka-da), *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra in 25,000 stanzas* (vol. kha), *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra in 18,000 stanzas* (vols. ka, kha), *'Phags pa rab kyi rtsal gyis rnam par gnong pas zhus pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa bstan pa* (vol. pha?).

<sup>10</sup> Folios from vols. kha, ga(?), nga and ca are found.

<sup>11</sup> Folios from vols. ka, kha, ga and nga are found.

<sup>12</sup> All known editions of the *Kagyur* are divided into five groups: Tshal pa group, Them spangs ma group, Mustang group (scarcely represented), mixed and independent editions. We would suggest that the Ablakit edition can be included in the last category, joining the Phugbrag, Bhatang, Dolpo and Tawang *Kagyurs* (for details check the *RKTS* web resource). A deeper textual study of the fragments of the Ablakit *Kagyur* is certainly needed to back up this statement.

Ablaikit Tengyur. In any case, the first two texts in the list can hardly be expected to be found in any edition of the Kagyur so at least some volumes from a Tengyur must have been kept at Ablaikit.<sup>13</sup>

The technique of writing in gold or/and silver on a decorated background employed in the preserved manuscripts from Ablaikit monastery suggests that they belong to the deluxe editions of canonical texts called in Tibetan *thing shog* (referring to blue-black paper). Such luxurious productions would often be commissioned by a patron for a family or shrine, or as a gift to a monastery. The most common texts chosen for this technique were the *Prajñāpāramitā* Sūtras, but often entire *Kagyur* sets were produced. The distinct practice of writing Tibetan manuscripts in gold on a dark background and embellishing them with precious stones began during the period known as the Tibetan Renaissance (spanning the 10th to 13th cc.), but this technique was known earlier in other book cultures as well. During the production of such decorative manuscripts, sheets of paper were cut down to the appropriate size, glued in a number of layers in order to create an adequately thick leaf, then processed on the surface to provide a good background for writing and painting. After the general layout of the page was planned (e.g., number of text lines, frames/borders, circles, initial signs), the page was lightly ruled with a sharp, pointed stick or wooden colouring stick, and the scribe set to work with an ink-pot and reed pen to execute the text.

Writing in gold involved the use of powdered gold mixed with a binding material to create an ink that was usually burnished when dry. The traditional production of *thing shog* paper involves a range of specific products, such as paper (*shog bu*), brains (*glad pa*), yak-hide glue (*phing*) and soot.<sup>14</sup> However, we do not know when and where exactly Tibetans started to use such peculiar ingredients. In fact, there are many varieties of both materials and techniques used for this luxurious type of manuscript, which are preserved within Tibetan books written in gold in many library and museum collections. According to Jim Canary, who has recently made a study of the Tibetan craftsmen's technique, for preparing the black mixture a paste of yak, sheep or goat brains with very fine black powdered soot and a small amount of cooked hide glue is kneaded.<sup>15</sup> He points to the fact that if there is too much brain material the paper will have an oiliness that will resist the writing and can also develop saponification problems, resulting in a white,

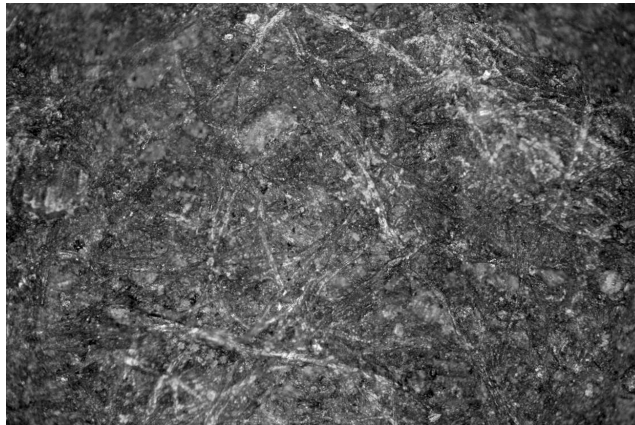
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<sup>13</sup> One of the leaves (from vol. pa) kept at the British Library with the shelf number Sloane 2837e may also belong to the Tengyur but this has yet to be checked.

<sup>14</sup> CANARY 2014, 109.

<sup>15</sup> CANARY 2014, 109.

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Pl. 2. Surface of paper painted with diluted dark violet or brown paint in 200× magnification (sample 1).



Pl. 3. F. 2 recto from the 4th volume of the *Vinaya* section, Ablakit Kagyur (after initial conservation)

soapy bloom on the surface. This mixture is painted on the surface and left to dry. Then the surface is burnished (*dbur ba*) with a smooth piece of conch shell or a *gzi* stone. Both the specific ingredients and burnishing process turn the matte surface into a beautiful shining support for writing in gold.

The Ablakit folios are of large format, about 19×62.5 (text area 14×57) cm. All have a black part in the central area of each page, intended as a foundation for the text, with blue or black coloured borders. Some of the folios have been burnished like lacquer sheets, which is a distinguishing feature of this technique. All of them have dark violet or brownish borders, probably painted on the surface with diluted ink with the possible addition of brown paint (Pl. 2).

Some folios have small “clips” — narrow strips of brownish red paper which join several paper layers together, having both a decorative and structural function. Thicker folios with this feature, often placed at the beginning of the book or book section, serve as a kind of inner cover (and title page).<sup>16</sup> For example, folio 2 from one of the volumes of the *Vinaya* section is made up of three layers of thick paper and has a dark blue passe-partout that is not glued to the other layers along its inner perimeter. It is clear, then, that in this case the “clips” are a structural element fastening the layers of the thick leaf together (Pl. 3). The rectangular frame, composed of red and black lines edged with thin golden lines, is a purely decorative element here. On the right side, beneath the passe-partout, there is a fragment of untwisted yellow silk thread. On the verso side of the folio, we can see rather careless traces of the brush with which the black background for the text was applied. Some folios have appliqués of white or grey paper bearing *stūpa* images painted bright yellow, lemon red, bright vermillion red or pink.

Scribal base lines can be dimly seen on some folios. The binding places, symbolic rather than actual, are marked with characteristic double circles. This is a common feature of Tibetan manuscript layout: circles located exactly in the places where holes would have been pierced for stringing pages together in the Indian *pustaka*. These circles were primary to the layout of the text. First, frames, side margins, and circles were sketched, and then text was inscribed. These circles are found in many Tibetan books such as the Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang, the Tibetan *Sel dkar* Kagyur from the British Library, and gold manuscripts in the Columbia University Library.<sup>17</sup> There are a variety of forms, such as one or two circular shapes sketched by a sharp tool, often redrawn multicoloured with gold, red or silver ink. Some of these circles are also richly decorated with ornaments and even gems. In rare instances these circles can even be found in early prints from Central Tibet.

The materials composing ink and paints require further analysis, but we can assume that lamp-black was used here. Black ink in Tibet is usually made of carbonized plants or oil soot with yak hide glue. The most essential ingredient for Tibetan black ink (*nagtsha*, *snag tsha*) is the soot of burned pine trees (*Pinus wallichiana*) or sometimes the soot from burning oil (*num*, *snum*). Traditionally, a boiled solution of animal glue allowed to cool and congeal was added to soot.<sup>18</sup> This solution was repeatedly pressed in a

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<sup>16</sup> PAKHOUTOVA and HELMAN-WAŻNY 2012, 125.

<sup>17</sup> HELMAN-WAŻNY 2014, 86–88.

<sup>18</sup> RICCIARDI and PALLIPURATH 2014, 105.

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leather bag, and then water was gradually added. After the solution had been mixed and dried, it was ground to a powder, sometimes with the addition of mica.<sup>19</sup> However, it could also contain other organic components that modified its properties to meet particular needs. Various recipes for its preparation include soot from burnt resinous wood or butter lamps, other pigments, or metal as the ink's main components, with the possible admixture of gum, honey, borax or, for some special occasion, other unusual and extravagant materials. Soot would be collected from the interiors of stacked bottomless clay pots after selected components were burned at the bottom of the vessels.

Paper analysis was performed on one sample that cannot be ascribed to any particular folio but was taken from numerous tiny fragments easily separating from the fragile edges. We assume that this analysis can be taken to apply to all the Ablakit folios, given their evident close similarity, but to be sure some more tests of random samples are to be made later.

The paper sample No. 1 shows the presence of two types of fibre belonging to the Thymelaeaceae family: *Edgeworthia/Daphne* sp. mixed with a small addition of *Stellera chamaejasme* fibres. Fibres of the first type were generally narrower and more rigid. The broad portions were not associated with cross-markings, which occurred densely and were often visible as a 'v' or zigzag shape in polarized light. Dislocations and irregularities in the fibre-thick walls and narrow-lumens stained pinkish with Herzberg were clearly visible. This type may be one of two species — *Edgeworthia* sp. or *Daphne* sp., both belonging to the Thymelaeaceae family. It was very difficult to tell these two species apart, but they can at least be distinguished from the second type by observing the shape and size of fibres. Both species were used as the basic materials in papers originating from the foothills of the Himalayas. Fibres of the second type were wider, flat, and presented a very wide lumen and narrow fibre walls. (Pl. 4) Ribbon-like fibre placement and significant irregularities in fibre length make it possible to identify this type as *Stellera chamaejasme*, which is distinctive among the range of fibres found in historical papers and can be clearly differentiated from *Daphne* and *Edgeworthia* despite the fact that all three plants belong to the Thymelaeaceae family. (Pl. 5)

The fibre composition of the sample examined suggests that this paper was produced in Tibet. Similarly composed original Tibetan paper was made mainly from the phloem of shrubs belonging to the *Daphne* and *Edgeworthia*

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<sup>19</sup> CÜPPERS 1989.

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Pl. 4. *Edgeworthia/Daphne* sp. fibres with addition of *Stellera chameejasme* fibres stained olive-grey/greenish with Herzberg at 100× magnification.



Pl. 5. *Edgeworthia/Daphne* sp. and *Stellera chameejasme* fibres (on the left) stained olive-grey/greenish with Herzberg at 400× magnification. The narrow lumen with some broad portions in the *Edgeworthia/Daphne* fibre (in the middle) and very wide lumen and thin fibre walls on the *Stellera* fibre on the left are clearly visible in the above photograph.

species (*shog shing* in Tibetan) by the 9th century and the roots of the *Stellera chamaejasme* species (*re lcag pa* in Tibetan) by the 10th century in Central Tibet. We cannot date the folios from Ablait, <sup>20</sup> however, we can

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<sup>20</sup> It is clear they must have been produced before 1671 when Ablait was left by its founder, the Dzungar chieftain Ablai, and it was destined to oblivion. We can also speculate that the canon could be obtained in connection with the visit of the famous Oirat teacher and translator Zaya Pandita (1599–1662) who consecrated Ablait in 1657 (BORODAEV and KONTEV 1999).

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recognize some general indications on the regional origin of paper production, since the usage of particular raw materials is strongly dependent on geographical region. The altitude range of *Daphne* sp. extends to 3,600 m above sea level, while *Stellera* sp. is widely distributed across the Himalayan range at altitudes of 2,700 to 4,500 m. Additionally *Daphne* plants need much more moisture than *Stellera*. Thus, these two species very rarely grow in the same habitat. Preliminary research shows that the *Stellera* root fibres are confirmed as a dominant component in manuscripts from both Central and Western Tibet. However, we should undertake further research to see if other features of the Ablait leaves correspond to their paper support.

The main conclusions of our research can be listed as follows.

In spite of high fragility and numerous defects of the manuscripts that were kept for about three centuries without any special treatment, initial conservation using the method of remote moistening proved rather effective in returning them to academic and cultural spheres.

The 204 manuscripts folios from Ablait monastery are fragments from various volumes of a set of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. The bulk of them, 199 ff., represent an independent edition of the Kagyur, while the other five (or at least three) indicate that an entire Tengyur, or some volumes of one, was also kept at Ablait.

The manuscripts belong to the deluxe editions of canonical texts called in Tibetan *thing shog* (referring to blue-black paper) and so they must have been produced to a special commission from some patron who could finance such a costly project.

The paper sample shows the presence of two types of Thymelaeaceae family fibres: *Edgeworthia/Daphne* sp. mixed with a small amount of *Stellera chamaejasme* fibres. This supports a hypothesis of a Central or Western Tibetan origin for the manuscripts.

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### Electronic resources

- RKTS: Resources for Kanjur and Tanjur Studies; <https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/xml/>
- TBRC: Tibetan Buddhist Research Center; <http://www.tbrc.org>
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## Appendix

To compare the structure of the Ablakit Kagyur, which can only be reconstructed in a very limited way due to the small number of folios known, we compiled a list of concordances between the Ablakit manuscripts and all the Kagyur editions represented on the *RKTS* web resource. We did this only for the *Sūtra* and *Tantra* sections since the other sections are fairly standard and do not vary much in structure.

The two tables presented below are reduced versions of the full ones since the order of the texts in the two basic groups proved almost identical while the mixed Lhasa and Narthang editions also have much in common. Two independent editions, Phugbrag and Dolpo, turned out to be totally different from the Ablakit Kagyur so their data are omitted here. All the other editions seem to be too scarce to be included, either.

The first column of the tables contains the access numbers at the IOM, RAS (from Tib. 959, No. 113 to Tib. 959, No. 174 and from Tib. 959, No. 193 to Tib. 959, No. 204<sup>21</sup>), the second the folio marginalia if legible, the third the standard Tibetan titles as provided by the *RKTS*. In addition to the manuscripts kept at the IOM, RAS we used the texts of three leaves from the same set found at other libraries in Europe (see footnotes). Those entries are marked with italics.

### *Sūtra Section*

<b>Tib.959 No.</b>	<b>Folio No.</b>	<b>Tibetan title</b>	<b>Vol. in Tshal pa group</b>	<b>Vol. in Them spangs ma group</b>	<b>Vol. in Lhasa / Narthang eds.</b>
113–115 193–197	Ka, 295 Ka, 306 Ka, 413 Ka, 19 Ka, 122 Ka, 183 Ka, 268	'Phags pa bskal pa bzang po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	ka	ka	ka / ka
197	Kha, 11	'Phags pa rgya cher rol pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	kha	kha	kha / kha
198	Ga?, 19	'Phags pa lang kar gshegs pa'i theg pa chen po'i mdo	ca	da	ca / ca
116	Nga, 207	'Phags pa khye'u snang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pas bstan pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs	nga	ta	nga / nga
117	?, 1(?)37	'Phags pa dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	ca	na	ca / ca
118	Ca, 325	'Phags pa don rgyas pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs	sa	dza	la / la

<sup>21</sup> Two rolls that contained 25 ff. were found in 2015, after the previously found folios had been already given their access numbers.

199	Cha, 36	'Phags pa khye'u bzhi'i ting nge 'dzin ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	na	nya	tha / tha
119	Cha, 221	'Phags pa las kyi sgrub pa rgyun gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	tsha	nya	ma / ma
120	Cha, 259	'Phags pa klu'i rgyal po rgya mtshos zhush pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	pha	ba	na / na
121–122	Nya, 207 Nya, 249	'Phags pa dam pa'i chos dran pa nye bar gzhas pa	ya	ki	za / za
123	Na, 4	'Phags pa blo gros rgya mtshos zhush ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	pha	ba	na / na
124	Na, 256	'Phags pa sangs rgyas kyi dbu rgyan zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo chos kyi rnam grangs chen po	ya	cha	za / za
125–126	Tsa, 57 Tsa, 67	'Phags pa lang kar gshegs pa'i theg pa chen po'i mdo 'Phags pa lang kar gshegs pa'i theg pa chen po'i mdo	ca	da	ca / ca
200	Tsa, 280	ltung ba sde lnga'i dge ba dang mi dge ba'i 'bras bu brtag pa'i mdo	sa	chi	la / la
127	Zha, 198	'Phags pa 'dus pa chen po rin po che tog gi gzungs zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	na	ra	tha / tha
128	'A, 115	Thabs mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo	aḥ	wa	a / a
129–130	Ya, 162 Ra, 9	'Phags pa yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i mdo	nya	ka	ka <sup>22</sup>
131–132	La, 279 La, 282	Las brgya tham pa	ha	ha	sha / sha
133–134	A, 16 A, 27	'Phags pa phung po gsum pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	ya	cha	za / za
201	A, 232	'Phags pa chos thams cad kyi rang bzhin mnyam pa nyid rnam par spros pa ting nge 'dzin gyi rgyal po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	da	ja	ta / ta
202	?	'Phags pa sangs rgyas bgro ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	dza	cha	a / a
135	?	Tshangs pa'i dra ba'i mdo	aḥ	cha	a / a

<sup>22</sup> Here and in the Them spangs ma group this long Sūtra is presented as a separate section briefly titled *Myang 'das*.

## Tantra Section

Tib.959 No.	Folio No.	Tibetan title	Vol. in Tshal pa group	Vol. in Them spangs ma group	Vol. in Lhasa / Narthang eds.
136	Ka, 192	Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog ces bya ba'i rgyud bla ma	ka	ka (var. nga)	ka / ka
203	Ka, 230	Dpal sangs rgyas thams cad dang mnyam par sbyor ba mkha' 'gro ma sgyu ma bde ba'i mchog ces bya ba'i rgyud bla ma	ka	ka (var. nga)	ka / ka
137	Kha, 96	Rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po dpal rdo rje mkha' 'gro zhes bya ba	kha	ka (var. kha)	kha / kha
138	Ga, 84	Yang dag par sbyor ba zhes bya ba'i rgyud chen po	ga	ga (var. kha)	ga / ga
139	Ca, 111	Dgongs pa lung bstan pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud	ca	ca	ca / ca
140	Ga, 170	Dpal stobs po che'i rgyud kyi rgyal po	nga (var. ga)	ka (var. kha)	—
204	Ca, 142	Rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud dpal rdo rje phreng ba mngon par brjod pa rgyud thams cad kyi snying po gsang ba rnam par phye ba zhes bya ba	ca	ca	ca / ca
141–143	Cha, 37 Cha, 43 Cha, 45	Rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po sgyu 'phrul dra ba zhes bya ba	ja	cha	ca / cha
144	Cha, 123	Dpal gshin rje'i gshed dmar po zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po	ja	cha	ca / ja
145–147	Cha, 134 Cha, 148 Cha, 152	Dpal ldan gshin rje gshed dmar po'i rgyud kyi rgyal po zhes bya ba	—	cha	ca / —
148–150	Ja, 22 Ja, 105 Ja, 127	Gsang ba rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud rdo rje rtse mo	nya	ja	cha / nya
151	Nya, 110	'Phags pa gsang ba nor bu thig le zhes bya ba'i mdo	tha	ta	nya / ta
152–153	Nya, 128 Nya, 135	De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi sku dang gsung dang thugs kyi gsang ba rgyan gyi bkod pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po	ta (var. tha)	ta	ja / nya
	<i>Nya, ?</i> <sup>23</sup> <i>Nya, 188</i> <sup>24</sup>	<i>Rnam par snang mdzad chen po mngon par rdzogs par byang chub pa rnam par sprul ba byin gyis rlob pa shin tu rgyas pa mdo sde'i dbang po rgyal po zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs</i>	tha	ta	nya / ta

<sup>23</sup> Cod. Guelf. 9 Extra v IV.<sup>24</sup> [Mencke?] 1722.

154–155	Nya, 389 Nya, 421	'Phags pa lag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud chen po	da	tha	ta / tha
156–157	Ta, 141 Ta, 147	Dam tshig gsum bkod pa'i rgyal po zhes bya ba'i rgyud	da	tha	ta / tha
158	Ta, 208	Dpa' bo gcig bu grub pa zhes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po	pa	da	tha / da
159	Tha, 155	'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi rtsa ba'i rgyud	na	da	tha / da
160	Tha, 250	'Phags pa gser 'od dam pa mchog tu rnam par rgyal ba'i mdo sde'i rgyal po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo	pa	na	da / na
161–164	Da, ? Da, 68 Da, 91 Da, 96	'Phagspagser 'oddampamdosde'idbangpo'irgyalpoz hesbyabathegpachenpo'imdo	pa	na	da / na
	Da, 118 <sup>25</sup>	<i>Kun nas sgor 'jug pa'i 'od zer gtsug tor dri ma med par snang ba de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi snying po dang dam tshig la rnam par lta ba zhes bya ba'i gzungs</i>	pha	pa	na / pa
165	Da, 286	'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi gtsug tor nas byung ba gdugs dkar mo can zhes bya ba gzhan gyis mi thub ma phyr zlog pa'i rig sngags kyi rgyal mo chen mo	pha	pa	na / pa
166	Da, 332– 333	'Phags pa 'od zer dri ma med pa rnam par dag pa'i 'od ces bya ba'i gzungs	pha	pa	na / pa
167	Na, 261	'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po pad ma dra ba zhes bya ba	ba	pha	pa / pha
168	Pa, 285	'Phags pa don yod pa'i zhags pa'i cho ga zhib mo'i rgyal po	ma	ba	pha / ba ( 'og)
169	?, 106	'Phags pa rig pa mchog gi rgyud chen po	tsa (var. dza)	tsa	ba / ma
170	Pha, 258	Ral pa gyen brdzes kyi rtog pa chen po byang chub sems dpa' chen po'i rnam par 'phrul pa le'u rab 'byams las bcom ldan 'das ma 'phags ma srol ma'i rtsa ba'i rtog pa zhes bya ba	—	ma	tsa
171	A, 94	1. Rdo rje mchu zhes bya ba klu'i dam tshig 2. Rdo rje gnam lcags mchu zhes bya ba'i gzungs	tsha (var. wa)	tsha	ma / ma
172	?, ?8	Dpal rdo rje snying po rgyan ces bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po	tha	nya	nya / ta
173	?	Dpal ye shes phreng ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po	nga (var. ga)	ga (var. kha)	— / —
174	?	Gnod sbyin nor bu bzang po'i rtog pa	tsha (var. wa)	tsha	tsha / tsha

<sup>25</sup> Sloane 2837d.

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Svetlana Sabrukova

**Examples of Buddhist Letters  
from A.M. Pozdneev Archives Collection**

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*Abstract:* Buddhist letters represent official documents that were issued by the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas to prominent political or religious figures as a sign of recognition of their achievements. They appeared at the end of the 16th c. when Buddhism was recognized as a state religion among Mongolian peoples. Three copies of such letters have been kept in the A.M. Pozdneev (1851–1920) collection in the Archives of the Orientalists at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. The earliest letter, which was written in Tibetan semi-uncial script and included a translation in the Oirat language, was given by the 5th Panchen Lama (Lobsang ye shes dpal bzang, 1663–1773) to a Torghut Yogochari Tsordji. Two other scrolls were written only in Tibetan semi-uncial script and were given by the 13th Dalai Lama (1876–1933) and the 9th Panchen Lama (1883–1937) in 1903 to a Dörbet Lama Ngag dbang sangs rgyas. From a practical point of view, these letters can be seen as certificates of completed education and obtaining a title that enabled the holder to engage in teaching activities. Their language and style have a formal structure and are of scholarly interest to researchers as examples of Buddhist documents.

*Key words:* Buddhist letters, Panchen Lama, text, document, seal

Buddhist letters represent official documents that were issued by the great lamas — the Dalai Lamas and Panchen Lamas — to prominent political or religious figures as an acknowledgment of their achievements. They first appeared at the end of the 16th c. when Buddhism was recognized as a state religion among Mongolian peoples.

As the centers of religious life in Tibet as well as in other Buddhist regions. Monasteries provided education to the sons of Mongolian and Oirat khans and princes. After graduation they were given official letters or certificates from the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama. Those letters can be seen as certificates of having completed their studies at a Tibetan monastery and obtaining a certain degree that allowed the holder to engage in teaching activities. Such letters are kept in the Pozdneev collection in the Archives of the Orientalists, IOM, RAS, and belonged to the prominent specialist in

Mongol studies Aleksei Matveevich Pozdnev (1851–1920). Among its many and varied documents the collection contains a folder with some papers bearing the inscription “Photographs and reprints of Mongolian and Tibetan texts including receipts for having them copied”.<sup>1</sup> Besides the photographs and reprints the folder also contains an invoice and a receipt made out to A.M. Pozdnev for the making of three zinc plate engravings and three photographs dated 1st January 1907 and received from the Office of the Supplier to the Court of His Imperial Majesty, the Company of R. Golike and A. Willborg. He paid a total of 54 roubles and 99 kopecks.

The collection consists of twelve items — three photographs and one printed reproduction for each of the three official letters or certificates issued by the Dalai Lama or the Panchen Lama. The originals appear to be pieces of material bearing images and texts. There is no data about the place where those letters were found.

As we have established, one letter is older than the other two. It is written in Tibetan semi-uncial script and contains a translation into the Oirat language. The copy of this letter shows that at the time the photograph was taken it was in a worse condition than the other two — in several places the material had become worn out and wrinkled therefore both the Tibetan and the Oirat texts cannot be fully reconstructed.

As far as the copies show, the two other letters were preserved quite well. They resemble the letters described by the Mongolian academician Rinchen, which also contain images of Buddhist deities at the top and bottom. “Among the Oirat people of Western Mongolia the librarians of the Gandantegchinlen monastery have found unique documents dating from the time of the Oirat conquest of Tibet and issued to Oirats by the Dalai Lama, the Panchen Erdeni and the Nechung-chojung oracle. They were written in the Tibetan and Kalmyk languages by a skilful calligrapher on pieces of yellow silk: Tibetan — in Tibetan cursive script and Kalmyk — in the Oirat script developed by Zaya Pandita Ogtorguyn Dalai. At the top and the bottom of each letter there are several images of Buddhist deities and stamps with inscriptions in the *phags-pa* script<sup>2</sup> belonging to the great lamas who issued those letters”.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the letters described by the academician Rinchen, the text in our letters is written in Tibetan. They are official letters or certificates issued by the 13th Dalai Lama (1876–1933) and the 9th Panchen Lama (1883–1937) to the same person — Ngavan Sangye, a lama

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<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Orientalists, IOM, RAS. Fund 44, inv. 1, unit 120.

<sup>2</sup> Phags pa (*'phags pa*) script named after its creator Drogön Chögyal Phagpa (*'gro mgon chos rgyal 'phags pa*, 1239–1280). For more details about this script see POPPE 1941, 11–12.

<sup>3</sup> RINCHEN 1966, 65.

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from the Tashilhunpo monastery who belonged to a Dörben clan of chief scribes (*shog dpon*) Tseren Sar-gerel (*tshe ring zla-'od*). The letters open with a call to northern peoples: to nine Mongolian tribes, four Oirat tribes and seven Khalkha tribes, to khans and their sons, to Buddhist clergy, to great and minor ministers, *zaisangs*,<sup>4</sup> monks and laypeople. After that the text says that this person Ngavan Sangye honours the teaching with great respect, makes an effort to understand the wisdom, has finished the complete course of study at the monastery, has been engaged in the translation of sacred scriptures, and has been awarded a title or a position of Chos Rje — chief abbot of the monastery (*chos rje*).<sup>5</sup> At the end of the letters there is information about the place and the time that they were issued: the first letter was issued in the Dalai Lama's residence, the Norbulingka Palace, in the year of the water rabbit, i.e. 1903, the second letter was issued in the Tashilhunpo Palace — the residence of the Panchen Lama, both were sealed by stamps of the great lamas.

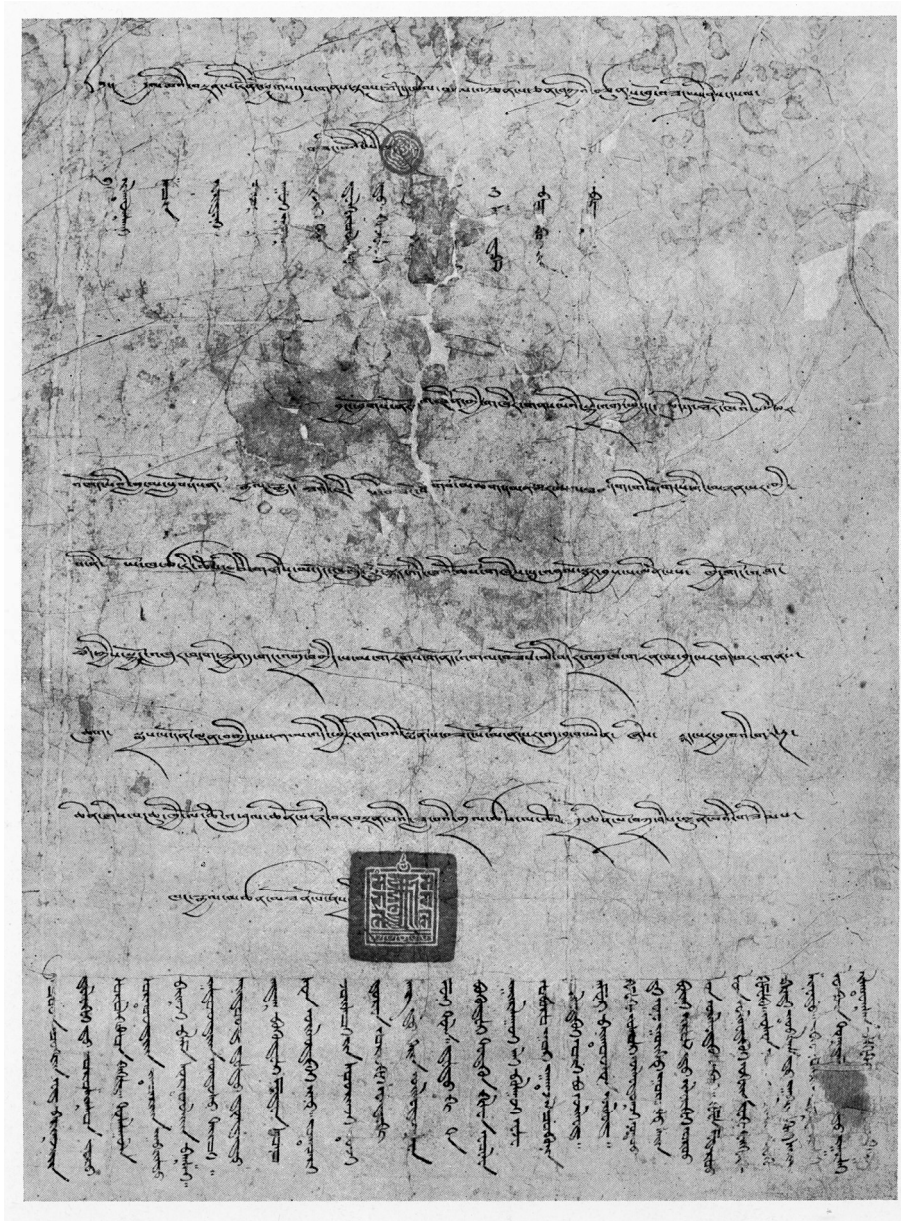
The texts of the letters issued by the Dalai Lama and the Panchen Lamas have a similar structure: they start with an address to all living beings, then introduce the person, state his position in the society, the place he was born, and list his achievements in Buddhist studies. After that, they state a request or a wish addressed to rulers and common people to show this person proper respect. At the end there is a mention of the place and time that the letter was issued.

The most interesting among those three copies is the reproduction of the earliest letter written in two languages, dated the year of the water dog, i.e. 1682, and issued in the Tashilhunpo Palace, the residence of Panchen Lamas by the 5th Panchen Lama Lobsang Yeshe (*lobsang ye-shes dpal bzang*, 1663–1737). It is an official document at the top of which there is an inscription that the letter was given by the 5th Panchen Lama and sealed with his personal round seal. Comparison of the two parts in parallel languages helped to understand the meaning of both Tibetan and Oirat texts. A major problem was posed by abridged words in the part of the text written in Tibetan cursive script.

The Tibetan word *ri ne* is a short form from *rin chen*. In the Oirat text this was translated as *erdeni* which means “precious”. Another shortening is the Tibetan word *tham cad* “all, together”, here the syllable *ca* was dropped and it became *thamd*. The word was translated into Oirat with two words *bügüder* and *xamuq* that both mean “all”.

<sup>4</sup> Zaisang, head of a Mongol or Kalmyk clan (BROCKHAUS-EFRON 1894, 145).

<sup>5</sup> POZDNEEV 1993, 116.





Due to the poor condition of the original letter at the moment the copy was made the transliteration of the Tibetan text presented more problems than the transliteration of the Oirat text, which is a complete translation of the Tibetan original text. Both texts are identical in meaning. The only difference was found at the beginning of the letter in the address to all human beings: the Tibetan text mentions the northern direction (*byang phyogs*) while the Oirat text translates this phrase as “western direction” (*zöün zügiyin*). This might be explained by the historical circumstances at the end of the 17th c. when, after the collapse of the confederation of four Oirat tribes, the Torghut tribe migrated west towards the Irtysh region. For that reason the Oirat translator presumably changed the Tibetan word “northern”. Another Tibetan word, *nor 'dzin*, which belongs to an elevated style and is usually found in poems meaning “the earth”, although it can be literally translated as “holder of wealth”, was translated into Oirat as *ed bariqči*, also one of the words meaning “the earth”. The phrase in Tibetan *tsho 'phrul* and in Oirat *pradi xubilyān* is, as far as we could discover, the name of the first lunar month of the Tibetan calendar which usually begins in February.<sup>6</sup>

For convenience and to help compare the texts, the Tibetan part was divided into eight sections, following the number of lines in this part of the text. The Oirat text was also divided into eight parts correspondingly and they are presented in the following order: Tibetan (1–8), Oirat (a–h), etc. The meaning of the signs used in transliterations: parenthesis with ellipsis (...) — the lexeme or grapheme has not been reconstructed; without dots ( ) — has been reconstructed.

### Transliteration of the Tibetan and Oirat Texts

- 1) *rgyal ba'i bstan pa rine phyogs dus gnas skabs thamd du 'phel bsal brtson pa can sha'a kya'i btsun pa blo bzang ye shes dpal*
- a) *ilaŋuqsani šaèin erdeni züg (cag) axui xamuq uçir-tan delgeröülküi-dü kičēqseni šakya-i (...) ni š(ei) dpal*
- 2) *bzang po'i (yi ge)*
- b) *bzang poyin bičig:*
- 3) *byang phyogs nor 'dzin gyi gzhir gnas pa'i skye 'gro spyi dang ched du thor kho'i sa'i char*
- c) *zöün zügiyin ed bariqčiyin delekei-dü orošiqson yerü törölkitön kigēd: tuslaxulā toryoudiyin yazariyin*

<sup>6</sup> BURNEE 2003, 361.

- 4) *'khod pa'i bla ma slob dpon rgyal rgyud tha'i ji sa 'i thod (...) mchog dman bar ba mtha' dag (gis)...dgongs shing bnyan par bgyi*
- d) *xabiyādu bayiḡči blama suryūliyin baqši: xādoudiyin ündüsü tayiji: sayidoud dēdü dundadu adaḡ büḡüdēr meden sonosun üyiledkūi*
- 5) *ba ni yo kha tsa ri chos rje'i gzhis ma dung kha gsum cu ltar 'di kha'i mos gzhis 'du'bul sbyor byas pa yin pas khye gong (bshod)*
- e) *inu: yoyočar čoyisji-yin söürinči yuči düren örökei endeki sang-du barin üyiledüqsen möni tula: dēdü-ki ta*
- 6) *thamd kyis skyong 'khur bdag rkyen du gang 'gro bgyid pa ma (gtogs) gnod 'gal (bzos) mi bder 'gro bag tan pa byed par bde bar gnas*
- f) *büḡüdēr tedkün kilen ezelen xayiralaxui ali bolxui-ēce öbörö xor xayacal zobonin üyiledkūi ori bü üyiled: amur bayiyoulun üyiled:*
- 7) *chug smras pa don ldan bgyid pa (de dag) 'di phyir dge ba'i smon pa bzang po mngon par 'du bya ba yin zhes (shad par) bya ba'i (gsung) rnga*
- g) *kemēbe yosör üyiledüḡči-noyoudi ene xoyitu xoyitu sayin buyani iröl-dü ilerkei oroulun üyiledkūi bui: kemēn mederöülün üyiledkūi ügeyin yeke (kenggerge) kemēkü:*
- 8) *chen zhes pa chu khyi lo cho 'phrul chen po nye bar bstan pa'i zla ba'i gral tshes la chos gra chen po bkra shis lhun po'i gzims khang rgyal mtshan mthon po nas (bris)*
- h) *usun noxoi jiliyin yeke pradi xubilyān-du xabiya-tai sarayin šinedü: yeke (...) taši lunboyin tuḡdama (...)-du xarši ilayūqsan belḡetü (...) (bičimüi):*

### English Translation

This letter [certificate] to a follower of Buddha Shakyamuni the venerable Lobsang Eshe Palzan zealously disseminating the precious teaching of the Glorious [Buddha] in all places to those interested.<sup>7</sup>

Princes and noblemen of high, middle and low ranks, if you want to help all living beings situated in the countries of the northern<sup>8</sup> [part] of the Earth listen to the honourable tutor of lamas and a native of the Torghut land. Since in the camp of Yogochari Tsordji<sup>9</sup> thirty full families have made a donation to our monastery [Tashilhunpo]. So you high [rulers] besides taking an effort to protect and acknowledge the achievements, do not commit

<sup>7</sup> These words are followed by a small round personal seal of the 5th Panchen Lama.

<sup>8</sup> Western in the Oirat text.

<sup>9</sup> Spiritual name of a lama.

actions [that bring others] only suffering, harm and misery. Always practice good actions [and] live happily. Those who follow the law will definitely acquire good virtues in this life and next rebirths. Such is the meaning of the Big drum of words.

In the year of the water dog of the first Lunar month [following] the instructions, at the beginning of the month contemplating the glorious flag [of the great teaching of the Buddha], in the Tashilhunpo Palace I wrote.

At the end the text is sealed by a square seal with square *mangala* writings on the left and right sides and a sign of Kalachakra in the middle. N. Poppe in his work about square script wrote that it became obsolete soon after 1351. It is, however, still in limited use nowadays in Tibet and called *hor yig* (Mongol script). It is employed on seals (e.g. the Dalai Lama's seal) and in book titles. "Still after many centuries the square script is being used as a seal script. It is known that the inscriptions on the Dalai Lama's seal have been carved in square script up to the present day. Such seals were affixed to letters and documents as a special indication of their importance,"<sup>10</sup> As far as the seal described here is concerned, it is the common seal of all Panchen Lamas and is passed on from one Panchen Lama to another, as is evident from the letter of the 9th Panchen Lama (*Blo bzang thub bstan chos kyi nyi ma*, 1883–1937) which was also sealed with the same seal (at the bottom). At the top of the letter after the image of the Buddhist teacher and the words that the letter was issued by the Panchen Lama, his personal seal is affixed. The letter issued by the 13th Dalai Lama is also sealed with the common seal that is handed on from one Dalai Lama to another. Hence it can be assumed that, besides common seals that passed from one "great" lama to another, the lamas also had their personal seals. The language and the structure of the letters are formal, they are written in an elevated style and are of scholarly interest to researchers as examples of Buddhist documents.

In conclusion it can be stated that such letters were traditionally given to students who had completed their education, received a certain title (in this case *Tsordji*) that enabled the holder to govern a monastery, to engage in teaching activities and to collect donations for Buddhist temples.

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<sup>10</sup> POPPE 1941, 15; 23.

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Youli Ioannesyan

**The St. Petersburg 19th c. Collection  
of Materials on the Babi and Baha'i Faiths:  
Primary and other Sources**

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*Abstract:* The article is concerned with one of the richest collections of materials related to the Babi and Baha'i faiths, the St. Petersburg collection. The large amount of primary sources flowing into pre-revolutionary Russia was distributed between three scholarly and learning centers: the Asiatic Museum, presently the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (the bulk of the sources), the St. Petersburg State University and the Russian National Library. These materials either in Persian or Arabic take the form of manuscripts and lithographs. The article describes these materials and gives briefly the history of studies of these sources.

*Key words:* manuscript collections, Babi and Baha'i studies in Russia

**Introduction**

The Russian Empire during the 19th c. was highly interested in current events and political changes taking place in Persia, including the events surrounding the appearance of the Babi and Baha'i faiths. Persia has always been a strategic concern of Russia's geopolitical interests and this traditional importance allotted to Iran materialized itself in hundreds if not thousands of documents and writings collected by the pre-revolutionary Russian government. Among these materials constantly flowing into the Russian Empire was information about and original texts belonging to these two emerging religions. Fortunately, this information was supplied regularly and systematized by the Russian diplomats and scholars working in Persia. Among the Russian diplomats were trained Orientalists, who were able to properly appreciate their significance. This paper is a brief introduction to the work carried out and materials collected by these remarkable men.

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### Prominent Figures

The work of gathering, preserving, identifying, classifying, studying, translating and publishing the Babi and Baha'i materials was performed by numerous people, but the most prominent were A.G. Tumanski (1861–1920), both a scholar and a diplomat, and Baron Victor Rosen (1849–1908), a pure scholar. Other notable figures included scholars such as Professor Valentin Alekseevich Zhukovski and Boris (Johannes Albrecht Bernhard) Dorn, diplomats, such as Fiodor Bakulin, M. Bezobrazoff and the Orientalist Matvei Gamazoff. The latter was the Head of the School of Oriental Languages within the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire. A substantial contribution to the collection of manuscripts and especially of lithographs was made by the prominent Iranologist Vladimir Ivanow.

It would be fair to say that Russian scholars became acquainted with the writings of Baha'u'llah before they found out about Baha'u'llah himself.<sup>1</sup> Russian was the first European language into which the writings of Baha'u'llah, the founder of the Baha'i religion, were translated. First and foremost among these translations is Tumanski's translation of the *Most Holy Book* by Baha'u'llah (see below).

Rosen, among his many merits, must be given special credit for identifying and describing the manuscripts, as well as for founding and editing a periodical journal, "Proceedings of the Oriental Branch of the (Imperial) Russian Archaeological Society" (ZVORAO), where his and Tumanski's translations of Baha'i texts were published.

Tumanski graduated from the School of Oriental Languages of the Asian Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he studied languages under Gamazoff. He ended his career as a major-general in the Russian army, but he was also an Orientalist (Iranologist and Turkologist). The scarcity of biographical information about him might be due to the fact that he left Russia after the Bolsheviks took over in 1917 and was not considered noteworthy by the new regime. He is known to have spent some time in Ashkabad, where he came into close contact with the Baha'i community, and ever since was keenly interested in the Baha'is and their beliefs. He died in emigration on the Princes' Islands (near Constantinople).

It has now been established that as early as 1877, the first part of the writings of Baha'u'llah was delivered to the Library of the Educational

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<sup>1</sup> Thus, *Tumanski* wrote: "Our knowledge of the writings of Baha'u'lah preceded that of himself and his reform" (KITABEAQDES 1899, xxvii–xxviii).

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Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (St. Petersburg) by Russia's Consul General in (Persian) Azerbaijan M. Bezobrazoff through Gamazoff. As he was describing the *Tablets* for a catalogue, Rosen discerned the special character of the 29 *Epistles* and also spotted their marked difference from the early writings of the Bab. His study of the texts led him to the conclusion that "[a]ll the Epistles should more or less be considered as revelations".<sup>2</sup>

As early as 1877 Rosen described these 29 *Tablets (alvah)* in *Collections Scientifiques* and later, in 1890, began to prepare them for publication, along with a number of other *Tablets* and *Epistles* by Baha'u'llah, in a substantial volume which came out after his death (see ROSEN (ed.) 1908).

Rosen published a detailed description in French of the Babi and Baha'i manuscripts, often illustrated with large extracts from the original texts.<sup>3</sup> The collection he described would later become known as the Collection of the Asiatic Museum (presently the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS). Unfortunately, the materials added to the collection after Rosen's death are not included in the aforementioned descriptive catalogue.

### **The Origin of the Babi and Baha'i Materials in the IOM, RAS Collection**

The majority of Babi and Baha'i materials collected during the 19th c. ended up in St. Petersburg. Eventually, these materials were distributed between the following three centers of learning: the IOM, RAS (originally Asiatic Museum), the Russian National Library and the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg State University.

The St. Petersburg collection of Babi and Baha'i sources consists of manuscripts, lithographs and published materials. The most significant of these can be divided between (1) the writings of the Bab, the prophet-founder of the Babi faith who was Baha'u'llah's forerunner; and (2) the writings of Baha'u'llah, the founder of the Baha'i faith. In this paper, I will further divide the materials into two broad groups: 1) Manuscripts or publications of manuscripts of the *writings* (with and without translations) of the central figures of the Babi and Baha'i faiths as primary sources; 2) Manuscripts and publications of other materials, such as eyewitness accounts and historical documents about the Babi and Baha'i faiths, which I

<sup>2</sup> "Toutes les lettres devaient être considérées plus ou moins comme des révélations" (*Collections Scientifiques* 1877, 192), see also KITABEAQDES 1899, xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1877–91, vols. 1, 2 and 6.

define as *other sources*. The materials are organized in the following manner: first I list those writings of the Bab which are unpublished,<sup>4</sup> followed by those of Baha'u'llah which are also unpublished; second, the writings of Baha'u'llah, which have been published; third writings of Baha'u'llah's son — 'Abdu'l-Baha; and fourth the other sources for Babi and Baha'i history.

The majority of the materials below belong to the IOM collection, therefore, unless otherwise indicated, they are kept in the IOM and can be found in three major descriptive catalogues: AKIMUSHKIN et al. 1998, KHALIDOV (ed.) 1986, SHCHEGLOVA 1975. However, whenever it is necessary to specify the first two catalogues I will refer to them by their abbreviated titles: PMS — *The Persian MSs Catalogue*, and AMS — *The Arabic manuscripts Catalogue*. I also make reference to the two descriptive catalogues of lithographed books published by Olimpiada Shcheglova (SHCHEGLOVA 1975, SHCHEGLOVA 1989). The first number in each listing stands for the sequential number in the relevant catalogue, while the second number in parentheses is the code under which the manuscript or lithograph is registered.

## **I. Unpublished Manuscripts and Lithographs, Described or Registered in Catalogues:**

### **A. The Writings of the Bab — the Forerunner of Baha'u'llah (1819–1850)**

1. The Persian Bayan (*Bayan-i-Farsi*)<sup>5</sup> — the major doctrinal work of the Bab. Written in Persian, it comprises 8,000 verses and is divided into nine sections called *Vahids* (lit. 'units'), of nineteen chapters each, except for the last which has ten chapters. There are 2 manuscripts of the *Persian Bayan* in the IOM:

a. No. 392 (A 458)-PMS. The manuscript was a gift to the Institute of Oriental Languages from Russia's consul general in Tabriz (Northern Iran) Bezobrazoff, which was delivered on 4 April 1877. The manuscript has a dedicatory note. It consists of 394 ff. and contains 9 *Vahids*. The name of the copyist and the date are not mentioned. This manuscript is described by

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<sup>4</sup> What I mean by 'published' here is that the text of a particular manuscript or another of the same writing was published or used for a scholarly publication in pre-revolutionary Russia.

<sup>5</sup> Bayan lit. means "explanation, exposition, utterance".

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Rosen.<sup>6</sup> The description is followed by a large extract from the *Persian Bayan*, containing the whole of the first *Vahid*. Rosen also included a list of the titles of the remaining eight *Vahids* of the book. This manuscript is also mentioned by Dorn,<sup>7</sup>

b. No. 393 (Д 439)-PMS. Another manuscript of the *Persian Bayan*, which was also a gift, this time from Bakulin. It was received on 5 May 1874, as follows from a note in the manuscript.

The manuscript, though written in a very clear hand, is incomplete. It consists of 98 ff. and contains only 7 *Vahids*, without the name of the copyist and the date. This manuscript is also mentioned by Rosen in his description.<sup>8</sup>

2. The Commentary on the Surih of Josef (*Qayyumu'l-Asma'*) — the first chapter of which was revealed in the presence of Mulla Husayn (the first person to believe in the Bab) on the evening of 22 May 1844. This event marked the Bab's open declaration of his mission. Baha'u'llah described the *Qayyumu'l-Asma'* as “the first, greatest, and mightiest of all books” of the Bab. Written in Arabic in rhymed prose, it consists of 9,300 verses divided between 111 chapters. Each of the chapters, except for the first, contains a verse from the Surih of Josef in the Koran and the Bab's commentary on it. One whole chapter is titled “The Surih of Josef”.

The IOM has 2 manuscripts of the *Qayyumu'l-Asma'*. Both are beautifully executed, written in a clear hand, and in red ink. Neither bears a title, but their identification as manuscripts of this work by the Bab is beyond any doubt (see below):

a. No. 3169 (C 1167)-AMS. It has 158 ff. Not only does it fit the above description of the content of the *Qayyumu'l-Asma'* (for example, it has on f. 7a a chapter, titled “The Surih of Josef”), but furthermore on f. 1b the work is referred to as “The Best of Stories” (“Ahsanu'l-Qisas”), which, according to E.G. Browne, is another name for the *Qayyumu'l-Asma'*.<sup>9</sup> Apart from the copyist's postscript, the manuscript contains a few others which taken together provide a clue to the history of the manuscript. It follows from the copyist's postscript that the manuscript was finished in the month of *Shawwal* of 1297 A.H. (1880 A.D.). Below is a second postscript in another hand saying: “What the copyist omitted to say is that this noble book

<sup>6</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1886, 4–13

<sup>7</sup> *Mélanges Asiatiques* 1876, 177.

<sup>8</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1886, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Thus, Browne writes: “Ahsanu'l-Kisas, another name for the Bab's Commentary on the Sura-i-Yusuf, also called Kayyumu'l-Asma” (BROWNE 1893, 2:398, n. 5). See also BROWNE 1892a, 699–01.

was, with God's help, finished by humble, poor, rebellious, [yet] hoping for the Mercy of the Lord, the All-Sufficient, Muhammad Mahdi ibn Karbalayi Shah Karam in... the month of *Jumadiu'l-Ula* of 1261 of the *Hijra* (1845 A.D.). May the Lord forgive the copyist, the reader and him who will ask God to forgive the copyist" (translation mine).

As follows from another postscript (in Russian), the manuscript is "a copy made from the original, kept in the Library of Prince 'Ali Quli Mirzal'tizadu'l-Saltanih, son of Fath 'Ali Shah, the Minister of Education". It also says that the manuscript was "a gift from I. Grigorovich,<sup>10</sup> presented on 12 August 1880 — 17 *Ramadan* 1297 A.H.". Thus, putting together all this information, contained in the postscripts, it is fair to conclude that the manuscript dated 1880 was a direct copy of a much earlier manuscript, written in 1845 (only a year after the Bab's proclamation of his mission in 1844!) by a copyist, named Muhammad Mahdi ibn Karbalayi Shah Karam.

b. No. 3070 (B 1141)-AMS. Another MS of the same writing, consisting of 252 ff. Unlike the previous manuscript, this is described in detail by Rosen<sup>11</sup> with the publication of a number of extracts. As Rosen points out, the manuscript is without a title, divided into 111 chapters, each beginning with the words 'In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate' and, except for the first chapter, containing a verse from the Koranic *Surih* of Josef. These characteristics, after comparing the text with Browne's description of a manuscript of the *Commentary on the Surih of Josef*, enabled Rosen to identify the work as the famous *Qayyumu'l-Asma'*. In his description, he even traced the Koranic verse in each chapter of the *Qayyumu'l-Asma'* back to the Koran.

This manuscript was a gift from Bezobrazoff, presented on 4 April 1877. It is undated and has no mention of the copyist.

3. No. 3071 (C 1660)-AMS. A manuscript of 52 ff., consisting of 9 texts in Arabic and 1 in Persian: ff. 1b–24b, 25a–26b, 26b–30a, 30a–31a, 31a–32a, 32b–33b, 34a–40b, 41a–42a, 42b–50b, 50b–52b. It is erroneously designated in AMS as: "Two *Surih*s from the Koran of the Bab". The style of all parts of this manuscript is that of divine revelations, therefore, they could only proceed from the pen of either the Bab or Baha'u'llah. Only two of these texts have been identified.

The first text can with certainty be identified as part of the Bab's Commentary on the Suriy-i-Baqarih described by Browne.<sup>12</sup> The manuscript

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<sup>10</sup> I.G. Grigorovich was chief interpreter of the Russian diplomatic mission in Tehran.

<sup>11</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1877, 179–191.

<sup>12</sup> BROWNE 1892a, 498.

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contains one third of this commentary. The text on ff. 34a–40b is titled: “Sahify-i-‘Adliyyih” (in Persian). Comparison with the Bab’s Treatise on Divine Justice has revealed that they are identical, which leads me to the conclusion that the manuscript contains a full text of the said treatise.

f. 1 carries a memorandum from Zhukovski, a date: 1919 and a number: 82.

4. An untitled and undated manuscript in Arabic consisting of 87 ff. No. 3073 (A 923)-AMS.

It has a postscript in Russian on the last page, from which it is clear that the manuscript was obtained by Ivanow: “Bought in Isfahan 24/11.VII.1910. W. Ivanow”, while a note on the first page probably indicates the year of its joining the collection: 1916.

The manuscript is erroneously registered in AMS as the “[Kitab-i-]Iqan by Baha’u’llah” (*The Book of Certitude*), which it is not, nor is its author Baha’u’llah. In identifying the text as the Book of the Spirit (*Kitab’ur-Ruh*), I have been greatly assisted by a British colleague Ismael Velasco.<sup>13</sup> The text itself contains a reference to the title of the book with a call “to follow it” (f. 17a).

The text, divided into verses in rhymed prose (numbered in red ink), is close in style to the Commentary on the Surih of Josef. A curious note in Persian, definitely not in the copyist’s hand, on the inner side of the cover not only dispels the last doubt concerning the non-authorship of Baha’u’llah, but also suggests that the text most likely originated before Baha’u’llah’s declaration of his mission: “May God’s mercy and the Prophet’s praise be on the guardian of the book (*hajib-i-kitab*) and on its other followers: Azal, Baha’, ‘Abbas Affandi and the rest...”. Based on this note and the mention of the name of ‘Abdu’l-Baha (‘Abbas Affandi), Velasco has suggested 1863 as the year when this manuscript originated.

5. The Book of Names (*Kitab-i-Asma’*). Kept in the National Library. The manuscript in Arabic found its way to St. Petersburg in the 19th c. as part of Chanykov’s collection (Chanykov was Russia’s consul in Tabriz at the time of the Bab’s martyrdom there) and was described by Dorn under the wrong title “The Koran of the Babis”.<sup>14</sup> Dorn also provided a printed sample of the text of the manuscript. The transcript is written in the hand of the Bab’s amanuensis,<sup>15</sup> as has recently been confirmed by the Research Department of

<sup>13</sup> For more information on this book see, for example, NICOLAS 1905, 213–218.

<sup>14</sup> *Mélanges Asiatiques* 1868, 279–289.

<sup>15</sup> Dorn states: “Of the above manuscript a Persian Mirza wrote several sheets of paper according to the original and provided diacritical points and vocal signs. In appendix II, I

the Baha'i World Center. This adds to the value of this manuscript, making it one of the oldest transcripts (if not the oldest manuscript) of this book.

Browne was the first to have correctly identified the manuscript as the *Kitab-i-Asma'*,<sup>16</sup> though until quite recently it was still registered in the library under the incorrect name "the Arabic Bayan". The manuscript is defective, starting only with the 12th *Vahid* (it lacks *Vahids* 1–11), but it contains *Vahids* 12–18, which are missing from Browne's manuscript. The chapters are grouped together according to chapter number and not by *Vahids*, which only proves that the pages were assembled by people unaware of the structure of the book and the sequence of its parts and subdivisions.

### **B. The Writings of Baha'u'llah, Prophet Founder of the Baha'i Faith (1819–1892)**

1. The Book of Certitude (*Kitab-i-Iqan*) — A volume in Persian revealed by Baha'u'llah in Baghdad about two years before his declaration of his mission, which took place in 1863. In it, among other things, Baha'u'llah proclaims and substantiates some key principles of Baha'i teachings, such as the oneness of God and progressive revelation, explains the station and mission of the prophet-founders of world religions, the spiritual meaning of prophecies about the return of Christ, the coming of the *Qa'im*, and presents the essential qualities of the 'true seeker' of religious truth.

*The Book of Certitude* is represented in the IOM by a lithograph and 5 manuscripts.

The lithograph was printed in Bombay in 1310 A.H. (1893 A.D.) and is described in the relevant catalogue (code: PsII 164).<sup>17</sup> This is not the same as the undated lithograph described by Rosen.<sup>18</sup> However, it accords fully with Rosen's description of the latter in "being executed with utmost care".<sup>19</sup>

Another copy of exactly the same lithographic edition belongs to the Oriental Faculty of St. Petersburg State University and is registered accordingly in its catalogue (code: II-25/4).<sup>20</sup>

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make known the beginning, and I can only add *that there can be no doubt about the authenticity of the handwriting as it comes directly from the Secretary of the Báb Himself*, which person would have written down this Koran from the recital of his Lord and Master. He had forwarded it from His prison in Tabriz to European hands. The responsibility for the contents rests with the aforesaid secretary" (translation and italics mine — *Yu.I.*).

<sup>16</sup> BROWNE 1892a, 649–650.

<sup>17</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1975, 1: 213.

<sup>18</sup> ROSEN 1890, No. 461, *Collections Scientifiques* 1891, 144.

<sup>19</sup> "d'une execution très soignée".

<sup>20</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1989, 93.

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The five manuscripts of *The Book of Certitude* which, with one exception, are all dated, are registered in PMS<sup>21</sup> under the following sequential numbers and codes (after the code I indicate the date): No. 277 (A 183) — 1296 A.H (1878–79 A.D.); No. 278 (A 461) — 1299 A.H. (1881–82 A.D.); No. 279 (A 1592) — 1305 A.H. (1887–88 A.D.); No. 280 (B 1143) — undated; No. 281 (C 1168) — 1291 A.H. (1874–75 A.D.), while B 1143 and A 461 were also described by Rosen (the former being described in detail and illustrated by large extracts from the text).<sup>22</sup> Only two of these, namely A 183 and A 1592, have a copyist's postscript, which indicates the copyist's name: Mirza Muhammad Tabrizi and Abdu'l-Zalil Abu Talib Nihavandi respectively.<sup>23</sup> I have collated the manuscripts with the lithograph and published the results in a supplement to my academic translation of *The Book of Certitude* into Russian, which came out earlier.<sup>24</sup> The main conclusion of my research is the following: though the lithograph, on the one hand, and the manuscripts, on the other, do reflect slightly different versions, the differences are very insignificant and even those few instances which cannot be attributed to copyists' errors do not have any effect on the meaning of the sentence and still less on the book as a whole.

The most beautifully and carefully executed are manuscripts A 183 and A 461, both follow a common pattern.

2. Bahayiyih. No. 384 (C 1168-a)-PMS. This is a volume of 60 ff., registered in PMS under the general title: *Bahayiyih*. It contains 4 short *epistles* in Arabic (ff. 1a–2a; 2a–3b; 3b–7a; 7a–13b) and a much longer one in Persian (ff. 13b–60b). Of this last PMS says that “the treatise deals with and elaborates on issues explained in the other Baha'i work — [the *Kitab-i-Iqan*]. It is composed in the form of an epistle”. All the *epistles* are written in Baha'u'llah's style, although only in the one in Persian, which is written in answer to the question “how it was possible for the *Supreme Letters* to be turned into those who were doomed to the bottom of hell (*Sajjin*)”, does Baha'u'llah mention his own name — Husayn and refer to the *Bayan* of the Bab as “[having been] sent down from the Heaven of My previous Manifestation” (f. 16a). The addressee is mentioned by name once — ‘Ali (f. 22b), while there is also one reference to Jinab Siyyid Jawad (f. 26a).

One of the texts makes mention of “this great prison” (f. 7b).

<sup>21</sup> AKIMUSHKIN et al. 1998, 1: 66–67.

<sup>22</sup> For the former see *Collections Scientifiques* 1886, 32–51, for the latter — *Collections Scientifiques* 1891, 143.

<sup>23</sup> It is hard to tell whether Abdu'l-Zalil (‘the abject slave’) is part of the name proper or an epithet.

<sup>24</sup> BAHÁ'U'LLAH 2001.

3. Lawh-i-Babi. No. 3072 (A185) AMS. This single-folio *epistle* in Arabic contains a text with a beautifully decorated ornamental frame and has an intriguing history. The *epistle* is registered in AMS as “Lawh-i-Babi”. It is not described in *Collections Scientifiques*, probably because it was received after Rosen’s death. It was contained in an envelope with several explanatory notes (in Russian) on separate sheets of paper enclosed together with the manuscript. One note, probably written by Tumanski, says that the *epistle* “is undoubtedly of Babi origin”, “obscure in language and mystical in nature”, “is composed in rhymed prose”, “its author is definitely Baha’ullah”, “containing, quite probably, some historical allusions in the end”, “every second phrase in the *epistle* invariably has the refrain: ‘*fa subhana rabbi-l-‘ala*’”, which “in one instance only is replaced by: ‘*fa subhanarabbana-l-‘ala*’”. “From the viewpoint of its language and style it is most similar to the *Alvah-i-Salatin* and to the *Suriy-i-Haykal*”. The author of the note cites certain phrases from this *epistle* and the aforementioned *Tablets* of Baha’ullah to highlight this similarity.

Another, much shorter explanatory note, written by another person, tells us a little about the history of this *epistle* in Russia: “Assistant Professor Khilinski, uncle of General von... [a German name, not clearly written] brought from Mashhad [the name of this city is written in Persian] [and] presented as a gift the letter of... himself”. The name preceding the word “himself” could be read as “Baha ”. If this assumption is correct, the writer of this note thought the *epistle* to be in Baha’u’llah’s own hand. This impression is confirmed by the logical emphasis on the word “himself” which would not be the case if the words merely implied that the *epistle* was a work by Baha’u’llah.

Also enclosed in the envelope is a visiting card belonging to “Konstantin Vladimirovich Khilinski”.

The manuscript presumably entered the manuscript collection in the 1890s.

Further study showed that the *epistle* was a famous Tablet of Baha’u’llah: The Tablet of the Holy Mariner (*Lawh-i-Mallah-i-Quds*) in Arabic, revealed on 26 March 1863, only a month before Baha’u’llah’s declaration of his mission. A comparison of the manuscript with a photograph of the manuscript of the same *Tablet*, kept in the Baha’i World Centre, showed that both were in the same hand. Since the manuscript in Haifa was copied by ‘Abdu’l-Baha, the manuscript in St. Petersburg must also have been written by ‘Abdu’l-Baha. This conclusion was later confirmed by the Research Department of the Baha’i World Centre. In certain instances the St. Petersburg text is closer to the English translation of the *Tablet* by Shoghi Effendi than that of the manuscript in Haifa.

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4. Baha'i prayers in Arabic. No. 3077 (A 182) AMS. It has 164 ff. and (f. 1a.) contains an explanatory note by Rosen: "Brought from Astrabad by L.P. Grigoryev on 1 June [18]92. Signature: V. Rosen".

A paper tag is stuck to f. 1a, which says: V. Rosen. 'A Book of Prayers' (This title is in Arabic).

5. Rasa'il-i-Babiyyih. No. 3078 (A 184)-AMS. It has 149 ff. A volume of *epistles* in Arabic and Persian. Some of the texts are similar to prayers. It is registered in AMS under the title: *Rasa'il-i-Babiyyih*.

The manuscript is incomplete: the end is missing.

An explanatory note by Rosen, similar to the previous manuscript: "Brought by L.P. Grigoriev from Astrabad in Sept. 1892".

Baha'u'llah's authorship of the volume is beyond any doubt. This is obvious not only from the language and style but also from a reference in one of the texts to the *Lawh-i-Ra'is*: Baha'u'llah reminds the addressee of the prophecy He made in that Tablet concerning the downfall of the Ottoman Empire:

"Look at the kingdom of Rum. For it did not desire war, however, it was desired by the like of you. Therefore its flames were fanned and its inflammation rose. The government and religion grew weak as was witnessed by every fair-minded observer. Its calamities increased until its smoke covered the Land of Mystery (Adrianople) and the surrounding areas, so that what God hath sent down in the *Lawh-i-Ra'is* may appear. Thus, God's command in the Book from God, the All-Protecting, Unchangeable, was fulfilled".

## II. Published Manuscripts:

### A. The Writings of Baha'u'llah

1. Kitab-i-Aqdas (*The Most Holy Book*) — the major Baha'i scripture, the importance of which for Baha'is is not limited to just the laws and ordinances that Baha'u'llah set forth in it.

In the IOM collection, there are three manuscripts of the *Kitab-i-Aqdas*, all in an excellent state of preservation. None of them, however, can be identified as the one used by Tumanski for the publication and translation into Russian of this book (see below).

a. No. 3073 (A 460)-AMS. Consists of 45 ff. Dated 1300 A.H. (1882–83 A.D.), as is indicated at the end of the manuscript. It does not include the last verse, containing the prohibition on the use of opium ("It hath been forbidden you to smoke opium").

The manuscript was described by Rosen.<sup>25</sup>

The last page carries a postscript containing a dedication: “This is presented as a gift to his Excellency Matvei Avelievich Gamazoff”. Signed: I. Grigorovich. On 12 July 1888.

A little below, a note signed by Gamazoff says: “Gamazoff delivered it to the Library of the School of Oriental Languages on 6 Sept. [18]88”;

b. No. 3074 (A 975)-AMS. Consists of 80 ff. The manuscript contains the text of the *Most Holy Book* in full (including the final verse).

There is a postscript in Persian in the end: “Collated with special care with the new manuscript on 1 Jamadi 1306 A.H. (1888–89 A.D.)”.

The last page bears a dedication in Russian: “Presented as a gift to the Library of the School of Oriental Languages by G.D. Batyushkov in 1906”.

The fact of its joining the collection so late explains why the manuscript was not described by Rosen.

c. No. 3075 (A 497). Consists of 44 ff. Contains the text of the *Kitab-i-Aqdas* in full. The text of the *The Most Holy Book* is followed by a Baha’i marital prayer on 2 pages (which is registered in AMS under a separate sequential number: 3082; the code is the same). The manuscript is undated.

The manuscript bears a stamp: Library of the School of Oriental Languages of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

A dedicatory note states: “Presented as a gift to the Library of the School of Oriental Languages in 1906”.

The original text of the *Kitab-i-Aqdas* with Russian translation, preceded by a large and very informative introduction, dealing among other things with the history of the Baha’i religion, was published by Tumanski in 1899.

For the history of this translation and publication it is best to quote an extract from Tumanski’s introduction: “Finally, the third volume, which included the “Most Holy Book” — the *Kitab-i-Aqdas*, which I present now to the reader, was lithographed in 1892 (1308 A.H.) in Bombay and I received the first copies of it in early November 1893. This was during the time when I was finishing the translation of the *Kitab-i-Aqdas* from the manuscript that I obtained in 1890. Consequently, I felt the need to collate that text with the canonical edition of the *Kitab-i-Aqdas*. The present publication is based on the latter [canonical] edition, while the differences between this version and my manuscript are marked: my manuscript version is designated by the letter P”.<sup>26</sup> Thus, it follows from this account, Tuman-skii first made his translation from his own manuscript, which he then

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<sup>25</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1891, 144–145 (No. 246).

<sup>26</sup> *KITABEAKDES* 1899, xxvii–xxviii (translation and italics mine).

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collated with the official edition of the text, sent to him in lithographed form, making the latter the basis for his publication of the original text and the final version of his Russian translation of the *Most Holy Book*. Tumanski also states that his own manuscript has been described by Rosen.<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, that information proved incorrect. Consequently, his manuscript is not registered in any catalogue and nothing is now known about it, or about the lithographic edition of the *Kitab-i-Aqdas* which he used (see also below).

Among the scholarly publications of Baha'i original texts a prominent place is occupied by a large volume of the *Tablets* and *Epistles* of Baha'u'llah, prepared for publication from different manuscripts by Rosen, whose sudden death interrupted this work and prevented him seeing the project through.<sup>28</sup> Its publication, however, was accomplished by Rosen's colleague — Pavel Kokovtsev, who supplied the volume with an introduction, which he modestly titled: "In place of an introduction". In it he provided the reader with some important clues to the history of the volume and its sources. For example, we find out from it that the texts included in the volume were drawn from two manuscripts. One of them (under the code B 1142, see its description below) attracted Rosen's attention back in 1877, when, while making a description of newly acquired manuscripts, he for the first time became closely familiar with the writings of the central figures of the new religion. The above manuscript, presented by Bezobrazoff, consisted of 29 *Tablets* in Arabic by a writer, named Huseyn (Huseyn 'Ali Nuri = Baha'u'llah), who was at the time unknown to Rosen. One should bear in mind here that, as Tumanski rightly pointed out, knowledge of Baha'u'llah's writings preceded knowledge of Baha'u'llah himself in Russian academic circles (see above). Therefore, it took a great effort on Rosen's part to identify the author of these *Tablets* and *Epistles*. Among the latter there was one (No. 20), untitled, as are all the others, that was addressed to the kings, which was later identified as the *Tablet/Surih of Kings* or the *Suriy-i-Muluk*. Comparing it with another manuscript, namely that of the *Commentary on the Surih of Josef* (see above) by the Bab, enabled Rosen to make a tentative, but nonetheless correct conclusion that the author of the *Epistle* in question "could in no way be the Bab himself, provided the preceding manuscript [i.e., the *Commentary on the Surih of Josef*] really did come from the pen of

<sup>27</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1891, 243.

<sup>28</sup> ROSEN 1908. The volume is available at least in two libraries: the library of IOM and the library of the State University in Kazan (Tatarstan Republic of the Russian Federation). I owe the information about the copy in the University of Kazan to F.L. Sharifullina.

the reformer [i.e. the Bab]”.<sup>29</sup> Later the Library of the Educational Department of Oriental Languages received a new group of writings (manuscript code: A 459, old code: 247, see its description below), among which Rosen discovered another copy of the same *Tablet*, No. 20 of the earlier manuscript. This time the text was titled: “Suriy-i-Muluk” (*Tablet/Surih of Kings*). This wondrous find enabled Rosen to identify the author of the *Tablet* as Baha’u’llah, in spite of Browne’s dissenting opinion at that time. Later the prominent British scholar was obliged to accept Rosen’s brilliant arguments<sup>30</sup> and even reproduced them in English in his own article.<sup>31</sup> This also prompted Rosen to publish the whole manuscript with all the 29 *Tablets* and *Epistles* by Baha’u’llah in Arabic. The latter occupy the first half of the volume (the text of the *Tablet of Kings* was published from both manuscripts, see below), while the second half of the book presents 34 other *Epistles* of Baha’ullah, including the *Tablet of Nasir (Lawh-i-Nasir)*, from Rosen’s own manuscript, which brings the total number of texts in the volume to 63. Unfortunately this last manuscript, which was in Rosen’s possession, has still to be found. All we know about it is that it was dated 9 *Sha’ban* [12]97 A.H. (17 July 1880) and contained 34 *Epistles*, half of which were in Persian, half in Arabic. The manuscript was untitled, Baha’u’llah’s authorship of the *Epistles* was confirmed by the cryptogram 152 at the end of the manuscript, which equals the numerical value of the name *Baha’*, according to the *abjad* system. This was also figured out by Rosen. Kokovtsev, who accomplished the publication of the volume after Rosen’s death, indicates that the manuscript was given to him for temporary use, through Zhukovski’s agency. Thus, before obtaining a titled copy of *The Tablet of Kings*, Rosen, using convincing arguments, such as the cryptogram 152 = *Baha’*, similarities of passages between the *Tablet of Kings* and the *Epistle to the Queen of England*, from the *Alvah-i-Salatin* and more, had already proved that the author of the *Tablet of Kings* was Baha’u’llah.

Rosen also published in full some other *Epistles* of Baha’u’llah (see below).

2. Untitled MS. No. 3079 (B 1142)-AMS. The manuscript comprises 29 *Epistles* of Baha’u’llah in Arabic. These form the first part of Rosen’s posthumously published volume.<sup>32</sup> The manuscript consists of 72 ff. and includes the *Suriy-i-Muluk* (beginning on f. 36b).

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<sup>29</sup> “Cet auteur toutefois ne saurait aucunement être le Bâb lui-même, pourvu que le manuscrit précédent provienne réellement de la plume du réformateur” (*Collections Scientifiques* 1877, 191).

<sup>30</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1891, 145–149.

<sup>31</sup> BROWNE 1892b, 269; 273 (fn.).

<sup>32</sup> ROSEN 1908, 1–84.

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The manuscript is partial: the last *Epistle* (No. 29) is incomplete.

It has a note on the first page, half in Russian, half in French: “Don de Mr. Bezobrazov” (Mr. Bezobrazoff’s gift).

The manuscript is described in detail by Rosen,<sup>33</sup> who also quotes the beginning of each *Epistle* under the same number as in the published volume.<sup>34</sup>

3. Untitled MS. No. 3079 (A 459)-AMS. The manuscript consists of 182 ff. Each text in it is preceded by the cryptogram 152 (indicating the name: Baha’[u’llah]) in red ink.

The manuscript includes the *Suriy-i-Muluk* (its dating in AMS is incorrect), the title of which appears on the margin in red ink (f. 1b); the *Suriy-i-Haykal*, including the *Alvah-i-Salatin* (ff. 40a–154a); the *Lawh-i-Ra’is* (ff. 154a–166a) and some other *Epistles*, published by Rosen.<sup>35</sup>

The manuscript is beautiful and written in an excellent hand. It is in a very good state of preservation. The last page carries a note in Russian: “I am presenting this as a gift to His Excellency Matvei Avelievich Gamazoff. [Signed:] Grigorovich, 12 July 1888”.

Another note below says:

“The Library of the Educational Department, Sept. [18]88. [Signed:] Gamazoff”.

4. Untitled MS. No. 3676 (B 1144)-PMS. The manuscript, consisting of 11 ff., contains writings of Baha’u’llah in Persian: *Lawh-i-Maqsud* (ff. 1b–9b), and 2 *Epistles* on the occasion of the tragic events in Ashkhabad, one addressed to Abdu’l-Karim (ff. 9b–10b), the other to “the friends in [different] lands” (ff. 10b–11b). The epistles were published in the original and Russian translation by Tumanski.<sup>36</sup> The texts of the *Epistles* were also reproduced in the original by Rosen.<sup>37</sup> The *Lawh-i-Maqsud* was not published in its entirety, but was fully described by Rosen, who illustrated his description by large extracts of the text from the manuscript.<sup>38</sup>

The manuscript is in an excellent condition. The *Lawh-i-Maqsud* is titled, the *Epistles* are untitled, for which reason they are not mentioned in the catalogues.

5. ‘Alvah’ No. 433 (Ps II 163). A lithographic volume of some Tablets of Baha’u’llah: *The Tablet of Effulgences (Lawh-i-Tajalliyat)*, *The Tablet of*

<sup>33</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1877, 191–212.

<sup>34</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1877, 200–212.

<sup>35</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1891, 145–243.

<sup>36</sup> TUMANSKI 1892, 317–321.

<sup>37</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1891, 248–250.

<sup>38</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1891, 245.

*Splendours (Lawh-i-‘Ishraqat)*, *The Tablet of Ornaments (Lawh-i-Tarazat)* and *The Tablet of the Words of Paradise (Lawh-i-Kalimat-i-Firdawsiyyih)*. It is recorded in the relevant catalogue as: “Alvah — revelations of Baha’u’llah” (code: Ps II 163).<sup>39</sup> The date and place of its publication are unknown.

The volume did not serve as an original source for Tumanski’s published edition of the same *Tablets* as supplements to the *Most Holy Book* (see below), since as Tumanski indicated, he used for his publication a manuscript received in December 1891.<sup>40</sup>

### III. Writings of ‘Abdu’l-Baha<sup>41</sup>

#### (All Lithographs, Except for One Manuscript):

1. The Secret of Divine Civilization. There are 3 copies of this lithograph in St. Petersburg: 2 in the IOM (listed first), one in the State University:

a. No. 434 (Hd II267). Registered in the relevant catalogue under its Arabic title: *Asrar al-Ghaybiyyih li Asbab al-Madaniyyih*.<sup>42</sup> Printed in Bombay in 1299 A.H. (1882 A.D.);

b. No. 435 (Hd I 23). Volume 1 of the same work. Printed in Bombay in 1310 A.H. (1892–93). Registered in the relevant catalogue.<sup>43</sup>

c. No. 168 (O II 1871). Another copy of the same edition. Registered in the relevant catalogue under its Arabic title.<sup>44</sup>

2. A Traveller’s Narrative.<sup>45</sup> There is one manuscript of this text in the IOM and 3 copies of a lithograph: 2 in the IOM (listed first), one in the State University:

a. No. 4186 (B 1147). A manuscript consisting of 100 ff. Registered in PMS under its Persian title: *Maqaliy-i-Shaxsi Sayyahkidartafsil-i-qaziyyiy-i-Bab nivishtihast*. The title precedes the text of the manuscript.

The front page carries a dedicatory note from Tumanski: “This Babi manuscript ‘Tarikh-i-Seyyah (sic)’ was sent from Astrabad in 1892 as a gift to the Educational Department by Lieutenant Aleksandr Grigorievich Tu-

<sup>39</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1975, 1: 213.

<sup>40</sup> *KITABEKDES* 1899, Supplement III, 72.

<sup>41</sup> ‘Abdu’l-Baha, also known outside the Baha’i community as ‘Abbas Effendi (1844–1921) — Baha’u’llah’s eldest son. In the *Kitab-i-Ahdi (Book of the Covenant)*, Baha’u’llah named ‘Abdu’l-Baha as his successor and the authorized interpreter of his writings.

<sup>42</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1975, 1: 213–214.

<sup>43</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1975, 1: 214.

<sup>44</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1989, 93.

<sup>45</sup> BROWNE 1891.

manski, a graduate of the Oriental languages courses at the Officers' courses of the Department in 1891".

b. No. 435 (Ps II 172). A lithograph. Registered in the relevant catalogue.<sup>46</sup> Printed in Bombay in 1308 A.H. (1890 A.D.).

c. No. 437 (Pk 637). Another edition of the same text. Registered in the relevant catalogue.<sup>47</sup> Printed in 1335 A.H. (1917 A.D.). Place of publication unknown.

d. No. 169 (X II 294, II-23/2<sup>48</sup> — double coding). Another copy of the same edition. Registered in the relevant catalogue under its Persian title.<sup>49</sup>

#### **IV. Other Sources for the History of the Babi and the Baha'i Faiths and for Related Issues:**

A. No. 3351 (C 1885). Registered in PMS under its Persian title: "The Book of Astrabad, Mazinadaran, Gilan, Simnan, Damghan and other [places]".

ff. 55a–58b of this manuscript contain an account of events relating to the Babi movement in the Mazindaran and neighboring areas. The account has a distinct anti-Babi flavor. On ff. 55a, b there is what could be a direct quote from the famous Tahirih (Qurratu-'l 'Ayn).

The manuscript is mentioned by Dorn.<sup>50</sup>

B. No. 495 (B 1145)-PMS. *The New History (Tarikh-i-Jadid)* by Mirza Husayn Hamadani.<sup>51</sup> A manuscript of 110 ff. The text is incomplete: it breaks off on f. 110b.<sup>52</sup>

The manuscript is described by Rosen.<sup>53</sup> The work itself is dealt with by Tumanski in an article.<sup>54</sup>

C. No. 441 (Hd II 255). The lithograph is registered in the relevant catalogue under its Arabic title: *Dala'il al-'Irfan fi Zuhur al-Hujjawa-l-*

<sup>46</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1975, 1: 214.

<sup>47</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1975, 1: 214.

<sup>48</sup> The first letter of the second code is Cyrillic.

<sup>49</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1989, 93.

<sup>50</sup> *Mélanges Asiatiques* 1863, 499 (n. 12).

<sup>51</sup> The original text of this work with English translation was published by Browne (BROWNE 1893).

<sup>52</sup> Since the manuscript is incomplete it is impossible to know if it included any mention of the copyist's name and the place where it was copied. Such information normally comes at the end.

<sup>53</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1891, 244.

<sup>54</sup> TUMANSKI 1894.

*Tibyan*.<sup>55</sup> The author is Hajj Mirza Haydar ‘Ali Isfahani. Printed in Bombay in 1312–13 A.H. (1895 A.D.).

This is a treatise on the appearance of the Mahdi, whom the author identifies with the Bab. The treatise was written in 1310 A.H. (1892–93 A.D.).

D. No. 440 (Ps I 98). The lithograph is registered in the relevant catalogue under its Persian title: *Asas-i-Tarikh-i-Jadid* by Mirza Hasan b. Muhammad-Taqi Taliqani.<sup>56</sup>

The lithograph was presumably printed in Iran. The place and time of its publication are not mentioned.

As follows from an added note on the cover of the book, it was sent by the author to Zhukovski, through someone named Shubin, in 1915.

E. This manuscript merits a longer description, it is registered in PMS under the code: B 1146, sequential number: 383, title: *Bahayiyih*. It consists of only 5 ff. and contains 5 short texts in Persian:

1. A piece of poetry in honor of His Majesty, the Russian Emperor. The unknown poet, who composed this poem, consisting of 72 verses, expresses his appreciation to the Emperor for the secure life Baha’is were able to lead in Russia;

2. Two poetic pieces, consisting of 19 verses each, by a writer whose pseudonym was either Ruhani or Ruha;

3. A piece of purely religious verse by an unknown poet;

4. A note on the Baha’i law on heritage and the division of the Baha’i year into 19 months;

This has an added note at the end, saying that it was composed at Tumanski request in 1308 A.H.;

5. A note on the chronology of some important events in Babi and Baha’i history, with an explanation of the Baha’i calendar.

It should be noted, that though the explanatory section was written at Tumanski’s request by some knowledgeable Baha’i, perhaps Abu-l-Fazl Gulpaygani, this *Risalih* should not be confused with the *Risaliy-i-Iskandariyyih*, consisting of 35 pages, written by Gulpaygani for Tumanskii and mentioned by the latter in the article referred to above.

The manuscript is described in detail by Rosen.<sup>57</sup>

F. No. 442 (Pu 174). The lithograph is registered in the relevant catalogue under its Persian title: *Burhan-i-Lami*.<sup>58</sup> Its author is Gulpaygani. Written in

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<sup>55</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1975, 1: 216.

<sup>56</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1975, 1: 215.

<sup>57</sup> *Collections Scientifiques* 1891, 251–252 (No. 250).

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1330 A.H. (1911 A.D.) in Syria. Printed in Chicago (Press of Baha'i News) with an English translation and a portrait of 'Abdu'l-Baha.

This is a polemic work in response to an article by the Protestant missionary Peter Z. Easton published in the magazine "Evangelical Christendom".

G. Majmu'ih. No. 3853 (A 716)-PMS. A manuscript of 18 ff. with poetry in Persian, registered in PMS under the title: *Majmu'ih*. The catalogue describes it in the following way: "The volume contains two short *masnavis*, a fragment of a *masnavi* and two *qasidas*... The first [*masnavi*] has 182 verses, the second — 212 verses... The manuscript is dated 20 *Sha'ban* 1270 A.H. (1853–54 A.D.). Probably, the [second] *masnavi* is titled 'Saha'if'".

This dating is obviously derived from the note added on the last page (f. 18b), written in a hand different from the poetic text itself. The note, addressing "God's people", calls on them to peruse and know the worth of "these pages" (*saha'if, varaqat*), for, it says, "the day of the greatest testimony is close" (*yawm-i-shahadat-i-akbarnazdikast*). It also mentions the day on which the manuscript was finished: Thursday, the twentieth day of the month of *Sha'ban*, year 127? The last figure seems to be missing or at least poorly visible. It seems highly unlikely that the year 1270 A.H., corresponding to 1853–54 A.D. could be the correct date. The main theme of the poetry in the volume is bringing glad tidings of and rejoicing at [the revelation] of *Baha*, whose "visible countenance has arisen" and who "has torn asunder the veils". These metaphors as well as the subject itself are more relevant to the time after the declaration by Baha'u'llah of his mission in 1279 A.H. (1863 A.D.).

Some verses are preceded by introductory notes and admonishments.

Attached to the manuscript is a sheet of paper enclosed in an envelope bearing a prayer to be said during the washing of the hands. The sheet is signed (in Persian): "A scribe... of 'Abdu'l-Baha Husayn". The word, immediately following 'scribe', which could be an epithet, is unclear.

The year that the manuscript joined the collection is mentioned in another note: 1917.

H. No. 443 (Pu 10). This is a lithographic volume of *Tablets (Lawhs)* of Baha'u'llah, compiled by Siyyid Jalal b. HazratSina. The volume is without a title. Printed in Tashkent in 1336 A.H. (1918 A.D.) by the "Idariy-i-Vahdat". Registered in the relevant catalogue.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>58</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1975, 1: 216.

<sup>59</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1975, 1: 216.

I. No. 170 (II-23/4).<sup>60</sup> State University. The lithograph, consisting of 112 pages, is registered in the relevant catalogue under its Persian title: '*Akka'-i-Firgh*'.<sup>61</sup> Printed in 1311 A.H. (1894 A.D.) presumably in Bombay.

This is a treatise by an anonymous Baha'i writer concerning Islam and the contemporary world. The man indicated as the copyist is "*bandiy-i Bab [va] Baha — Mishkinqalam*".

Unfortunately, some of the manuscripts published earlier or used for publications in pre-revolutionary Russia have not been found. This is the case with most manuscripts that were in Tumanski's or Rosen's private possession. We know of the existence of such manuscripts from the fact of their being published or mentioned in different publications. Below is a list of those publications:

A. Baha'u'llah's *Epistle: Lawh-i-bisharat (The Glad Tidings Epistle)*, published by Rosen.<sup>62</sup>

B. The manuscript of Baha'u'llah's *Epistles* in Arabic, included by Rosen in the published volume of *Epistles*. The manuscript is mentioned in the introduction to the volume (see above).

C. Tumanski's manuscript of the *Most Holy Book (Kitab-i-Aqdas)*, which he used together with the lithographic version for the publication of the original text and its Russian translation (see above). The lithograph has not been found either.

D. The *Tablets* of Baha'u'llah published by Tumanski<sup>63</sup> as supplements to the *Most Holy Book*:

1. *The Tablet of 'Ali (Lawh-i-'Ali) — Suppl. 2;*
2. *The Tablet: The Simplest of Essence (Lawh-i-Basitu'l-Haqiqah) — Suppl. 2;*
3. *The Tablet of Splendours (Lawh-i-Ishraqat)*<sup>64</sup> — Suppl. 3;
4. *The Tablet of Ornaments (Lawh-i-Tarazat) — Suppl. 3;*
5. *The Tablet of Effulgences (Lawh-i-Tajalliyat)*<sup>65</sup> — Suppl. 3;
6. *The Tablet of the Words of Paradise (Lawh-i-Kalimat-i-Firdawsiyih)*<sup>66</sup> — Suppl. 3

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<sup>60</sup> The letter of the code is in Cyrillic.

<sup>61</sup> SHCHEGLOVA 1989, 94.

<sup>62</sup> ROSEN 1893, 183–192. For more details about this *Epistle* see BUCK and IOANNESYAN 2010, 3–28.

<sup>63</sup> See reference to the manuscript in *KITABEKDES* 1899, Supplement III, 72.

<sup>64</sup> This Tablet was addressed to Jalil-i-Khu'i (see MOMEN 1989, 122).

<sup>65</sup> This *Tablet* was revealed in honor of Ustad 'Ali-Akbar, a martyr of Yazd (see MOMEN 1989, 221).

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E. *The Will and Testament of Baha'u'llah*, published by Tumanski under the title: *Kitab-i-Ahdi (The Book of My Testament)*.<sup>67</sup>

G. Certain texts from Bakulin's archive, including one attributed to the Bab. These materials were published by Zhukovski in an article.<sup>68</sup>

H. *The Jani History (Tarikh-i-Jani)* manuscript, owned by Tumanski, containing an episode that is missing in Browne's manuscript of the same work. The episode describes how Baha'u'llah volunteered to take upon himself the blows intended for his younger half-brother MirzaYahya to save the latter from flogging when they were both arrested. The episode with a reference to this manuscript was published by Tumanski in an article.<sup>69</sup>

## Conclusion

The chief imperative for pre-revolutionary Russian scholars who observed the advents of both the Babi and Baha'i faiths was to deeply study and comprehend these new phenomena. The rich collection of materials that they brought together were all accumulated during the decades prior to the Bolshevik takeover in 1917. Pre-revolutionary researchers should also be acknowledged for their scholarly approach, which contributed greatly to the value of their researches and publications that have preserved their significance to this day. Unfortunately, this balanced scholarly approach to religious studies was replaced by an extremely politicized one during Soviet times. Religion in general was considered "the opium of the people" and it could only be approached in a highly biased and negative manner, so the conclusion to be arrived at in the course of a scholarly study was predetermined from the outset. These circumstances detracted a lot from the motivation of scholars interested in the subject, since thorough research of any original material on religion lost much of its significance, while at the same time the publication of primary sources became pointless. Consequently, from 1918 onwards these materials were practically ignored. This does not, however, mean that they were not properly cared for. On the contrary, in all the centers of learning in the former Soviet Union, manuscripts and lithographs, regardless of their content, were always provided with the best possible conditions for their preservation. In general, the

<sup>66</sup> This *Tablet* was revealed by Baha'u'llah in honor of Haji MirzaHaydar-'Ali (see MOMEN 1989, 126).

<sup>67</sup> TUMANSKI 1893, 193–203.

<sup>68</sup> ZHUKOVSKI 1917, 33–90.

<sup>69</sup> TUMANSKI 1894, 33–45.

situation regarding scholarly research started to change in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Now much can be done in the field of religious studies in general and that of Bábí and Bahá'í studies in particular, so this collection will be of great importance to present and future scholars.

### Abbreviations

- AMS — The Arabic manuscripts Catalogue (KHALIDOV 1986)  
JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland  
IOM — Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences  
MS — manuscript  
PMS — The Persian manuscripts Catalogue (AKIMUSHKIN 1998)  
ZAN — Zapiski Akademii Nauk [Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences]  
ZVORAO — Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Rossiiskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obschestva [Proceeding of the Oriental Branch of the (Imperial) Russian Archaeological Society].

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- SHCHEGLOVA O.P. 1989: *Katalog litografirovannykh knig na persidskom iazyke v sobranii Vostochnogo otdela nauchnoi biblioteki Leningradskogo gos. universiteta* [A catalogue of the lithographed books in the collection of the Oriental Department of the Scholarly Library of Leningrad State University]. Moscow: Nauka.
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- TUMANSKI A.G. 1893: “Poslednee Slovo Bahauli” [Baha'u'llah's last word]. ZVORAO 7 (1893). St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 193–203.
- TUMANSKI A.G. 1894: “K voprosu ob avtorakh istorii Babidov izvestnoi pod imenem Târikh-i-Mânukechi ili Târikh-i-Jadid” [On the question of the authorship of the history of the Babis known as Târikh-i-Mânukechi تاریخ مانکچی or Târikh-i-Jadid جدید تاریخ]. ZVORAO 8 (1894), 33–45.
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## Reviews

**Dmitriev S.V. *Fond etnograficheskogo otdela Russkogo muzeia po kul'ture narodov zarubezhnogo Vostoka: Istorii formirovaniia i sud'ba (1901–1930-e gg.)*. St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg State University, 2012. ISBN 917-5-8465-1259-7.**

At first glance, the subject of this volume seems a little arcane, the history of a particular collection within a single museum, the more so, since the tome runs to 829 pages. Moreover, the subject of the book also appears puzzling. Why would a museum dedicated to the cultures of the Russian Empire, the Russian Muzeum incorporate a collection of materials and artifacts about Asian peoples specifically outside the borders of the Empire? Explaining how this came about is one of the purposes of the work, but does that warrant such a lengthy exposition?

In fact, it does, and S.V. Dmitriev has produced an impressive volume that is both history and reference work. The study is about more than a particular set of archive collections. First, it is about the founding and evolution of the Russkii Muzei, which is closely tied to the history of Russian imperial construction during the 19th and 20th cc. The story that Dmitriev tells touches on the lives and activities of some of the most prominent high state officials, royal patrons, and members of the Russian ethnographic community. Second, by examining how the foreign peoples section became incorporated into the Museum he provides fascinating insights into how Russia viewed its destiny and role in Asia. Third, by examining the fate of the individuals and collections of the Museum after 1917, Dmitriev offers valuable insight into the fate of individuals and the scattered whereabouts of the museum's collections. The latter, as Dmitriev explains, required painstaking work in tracking the dismemberment and disbursal of various collections and fragments of collections, which in itself gives insight into the evolution and politics of Soviet nationality and foreign policy designs. Finally, by producing this volume, Dmitriev provides a useful guide for researchers hoping to find the bits and pieces of collections housed in various post-Soviet archives and libraries.

In the first section, Dmitriev explores the different ideas of the founding figures of the Museum and its ethnographic section and, in doing, so, distinguishes the

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different approaches to ethnicity and ethnography that split the academic community in 19th c. Russia. He describes, for example, the proposal of V.I. Lamanskii, the prominent Slavist, Slavophile, and member of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, to create a museum based on thirteen territorial areas, and the various peoples that inhabited each of those areas. In contrast, D. Mikhailov, ethnographer and pedagogue, argued for a division of the museum's departments into separate ethnic-territorial groupings, such as Finns, Great Russians, Little Russians, the Baltic peoples, Turkestan, etc. Yet another proposal advocated exhibition halls based on linguistic distinctions. The renowned orientologist D.A. Klementz outlined the most detailed program in the first several years of the 1900s, which was finally accepted, along with Klementz himself as the first head conservator. Reflecting Russian imperial ambitions, Klementz argued that a Russian Museum should not be limited to the current borders of the Empire, but should reflect imperial ambitions in all directions, even beyond the Empire's borders. As a result, he argued, the Museum should include departments devoted to the study of cultures, especially in Asia, including religious collections of the different forms of Buddhism (76–85, 96–98). In several lucid sections, Dmitriev summarizes the consequent debates about organizational and conceptual specifics and about the relations of the new Museum to the already long-established Russian Imperial Geographical Society and the Russian Academy of Sciences.

In the second section, Dmitriev offers short essays about how certain Asiatic collections came to be housed in the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Museum. These sections alternate with descriptions of the influence of prominent Orientologists on the organization of exhibits and collections. Essays cover major collections, especially from Persia, Kurdistan and Turkmen and Armenian areas outside the Empire. Other collections included those from Mongolia, Tibet, China and Japan and Buddhist religious artifacts, books, and manuscripts. These essays are rich in detail and well annotated. They include discussions of the provenance of collections of both explorers and wealthy collectors, such as Princes N.I. Amatuni and D.E. Ukhtomskii, life-long Sinologist and influential head of the Asian Desk of the Foreign Ministry, N.I. Liubimov and the eccentric businessman, F.M. Pliushkin. Dmitriev also discusses the influence and polemics of such prominent and controversial figures as V.V. Stasov and his insistence on the Asian origins of Russian folk traditions. Especially interesting is the discussion of the strong influence of A.A. Miller, Chief Curator of the Ethnographic Department of the Museum from 1908 to 1918, and then Director of the Museum until 1921. A paleontologist and ethnographer, Miller specialized in the Caucasus regions, and strongly influenced the Museum in these directions. He steered the Museum through the revolutionary turmoil after 1917, and continued to work actively until his arrest in 1933. Miller died in a Soviet labor camp in 1935. His papers were eventually transferred to the Museum from the political police archives. His fate was not unlike those of many who worked for or with the Museum.

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Dmitriev devotes the third and largest section of the book to a bibliographic dictionary of those whose work contributed to the Museum's ethnographic collections. Each entry includes biographical information, works by and about the individual, the provenance of the collections, and any information that is available about where and when the materials were reorganized or transferred to other institutions. As Dmitriev notes, there are gaps in records about the disposition of many of the Museum's collections, but the work in this section is meticulous and will be appreciated by any scholar who consults the book. This is a valuable book for anyone, whether archivist or researcher, who has an interest in the history of Eurasian empires in the modern era.

David R. Shearer,  
Professor of History  
University of Delaware

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**Schneider J. *Eine buddhistische Kritik der indischen Götter. Śaṃkarasvāmins Devātīśayastotra mit Prajñāvarmans Kommentar.*** Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, 2014 (*Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*). ISBN 13: 978-3-902501-19-6.

Dr. Johannes Schneider is well known for his works on the Indo-Tibetan poetry contained in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. His special academic interest lies in the reflection of Indian literary and religious heritage in Buddhist poetic texts. His new monograph concludes a series of his works on three famous Buddhist apologetic hymns composed by the brothers Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin (the author of two of them) and Śaṃkarasvāmin. These hymns, along with two commentaries by Prajñāvarman on the longest of them, open the one-volume section *Collected Hymns* of the Tengyur and are supposed to be the earliest Buddhist hymns written in Sanskrit. However, both of Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin's texts are only known in Tibetan translation, while a rather late Sanskrit manuscript copy of Śaṃkarasvāmin's hymn was found not long ago and edited by Losang Norbu Shastri (1990) and M. Hahn (2000).

The hymns are characterized as apologetic on account of their stark criticism of Hindu gods in contrast to the Buddha. He is depicted as totally peaceful and helpful to all beings while Śiva, Brahma, Viṣṇu Indra and other gods are depicted as harmful and full of bad characteristics. A large number of quotations from Vedic and later Hindu literature are presented in the brothers' hymns and Prajñāvarman's commentaries. These texts, therefore, served as a very important source of information on Indian mythology for later Tibetan scholars.

It is quite understandable why they have attracted interest from a few eminent European scholars, such as C. Kőrösi, D. Schlingloff, B. Kuznetsov and M. Hahn. But it is thanks to J. Schneider that we have acquired detailed studies and complete translations of all five texts into a European language, in this case German. His first monograph, *Der Lobpreis der Vorzüglichkeit des Buddha. Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmins*

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*Viśeṣastava mit Prajñāvarman's Kommentar. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben und übersetzt*, was published in the famous *Indica et Tibetica* series, in 1993. It presented a critical edition of the Tibetan texts of the longer hymn by Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin and the commentary on it by Prajñāvarman, along with translations of these, while the introduction provided a detailed analysis of the history of the texts, their stylistics, structure, etc. The other hymn by Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin was scrutinized in the same manner in a separate paper, *Der Buddha als der wahre Śiva. Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmins Sarvajñamaheśvarastotra* in *Berliner Indologische Studien* (1996).

The monograph on Śaṅkarasvāmin's hymn and the commentary on it follows the same pattern. The introduction contains information on the various editions of the Tibetan translation of the hymn and their relationship as well as the relationship between the hymn itself and its presentation in the text of the commentary; on the author, translators, poetics and contents of the hymn and, separately, on the author, translators, and structure of the commentary. Of special value is the final section of the introduction that presents a list of Indian myths and legends grouped around the figures of the main Indian gods and epic heroes. There follows a critical edition of the Tibetan text of the hymn along with an annotated German translation, for which the Sanskrit text edited by M. Hahn was used, and afterwards the Tibetan text and annotated German translation of the commentary. Several useful lexicographic indices are provided, including the vocabulary of the hymn with German and Sanskrit equivalents. The bibliography on the subject is close to comprehensive, although a Russian paper by B. Kuznetsov (1985) on the two hymns by the brothers quite expectedly proved to be unknown to the author.

The monograph has numerous academic and probably literary merits (the latter in respect of the German translation of the hymn) and is certainly an important contribution to the study of Indo-Tibetan religious poetry. But I would like to make two critical remarks concerning the introduction as a part of academic discussion.

First, the author did not touch on the subject of the Buddha as an avatar of Viṣṇu as used in the hymn while analyzing the dating problem. This creates a rather complicated situation, since for many reasons it would be more appropriate to consider the brothers' hymns among the earliest examples of Buddhist literature in Sanskrit while the avatar theme must refer to a much later period (fortunately, we know for sure that the author of the commentaries, Prajñāvarman, lived between the late 8th c. and early 9th c., hence the hymns must have been composed before this time). The author is going to publish a special paper on this issue to appear in *Berliner Indologische Studien* (2015) but it would have been much better if at least a very brief mention of the issue could be found in the monograph, too. My own point of view is that the entire passage consisting of at least three stanzas (14–16) and probably the next (17) as well, is a later interpolation since they seem to violate the logical order of the text. It is also notable that a very long hymn by Udbhaṭasiddhasvāmin, so abundant in different myths and legends, never mentions

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the Buddha as an avatar of Viṣṇu, which would have been rather strange for a contemporary of Śaṅkarasvāmin (and while on the question of their close family relation we follow the Tibetan tradition, there are no independent facts that could prove it). I must also point out that, if there was an interpolation, its author was careful enough to try to follow the metrical pattern of the preceding stanzas, although his part is not identical in this.

Second, one might probably expect more attention to the issue of relationships between the Tibetan text of the hymn, the version of it found in the commentary, and the Sanskrit text. In his illuminating paper, M. Hahn noted that the commentarial version of the Tibetan text is closer to the Sanskrit one and some variations in the canonical Tibetan text of the hymn may be due to later revision(s). It is clear that the main Tibetan text was revised, but it does not seem that the extant Sanskrit text represents the original version from which the Tibetan translation could have been made, and there are some occasions when the commentarial version supports the main Tibetan text in contrast to the Sanskrit one and, moreover, a couple of places where it seems to contradict both of them. J. Schneider presents a list of the most important differences between the three texts but does not supplement it with any hypotheses that might contribute to a better understanding of the textual history of the hymn.

Of course, neither of these things could eclipse the scholarly delight I felt when reading this monograph. They rather indicate that the subject has not been exhausted and no doubt holds more pleasures still to be discovered.

Alexander V. Zorin,  
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Russian Academy of Sciences

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***Mandschurische Handschriften und Drucke im Bestand der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.*** Bearbeitet von Hartmut Walravens. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014. 560 S. ISBN 978-3-515-10756-3.

The catalogue “The Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints from the Berlin State Library” is a long-awaited accomplishment by Dr. Hartmut Walravens, an outstanding bibliographer and specialist in Chinese and Manchu studies. The catalogue is printed as Part 8 of the project “The Chinese and Manchu Manuscripts and Rare Blockprints” (Chinesische und manjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke. Teil 8) in the series “Catalogues of Oriental Manuscripts in Germany” (Verzeichnis der orientalistischen Handschriften in Deutschland) edited by the Göttingen Academy of Sciences. This project was started as early as 1966 with the catalogue by Walter Fuchs “Chinesische und manjurische Handschriften und seltene Drucke” (Wiesbaden, 1966), which was followed by a title list of Manchu books (without full description). For more than half a century it was used as an excellent reference tool for the Berlin collection. The catalogue by Walter Fuchs was compiled in the post-war period, when the collection of the Berlin State Library was kept in the Marburg Castle and not all books were found. Especially after the unification of Germany, the transfer of some collections and new acquisitions by the Berlin State Library a new scholarly description of the Manchu collection became an important task, taken on by Hartmut Walravens.

The German holdings of Manchu books and manuscripts have a history going back to the middle of the 17th c. when Frederick William (1620–1688), the Great Elector of Brandenburg, started a collection of books from China. Thus the Berlin collections are among the oldest in Europe and the holdings of the Berlin State Library are larger than the city’s other Manchu collections in the East Asian Seminar Library of the Free University and the Ethnological Museum.

In the preface Walravens presents the history of the collection and the negative consequences of World War II: the collection was split between West and East Berlin, materials stored during the war in that part of Eastern Germany which

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became Polish territory were taken to the library of the Jagiellonian University in Krakow and for many years remained inaccessible to specialists. The compiler's task was to assemble all possible information about the former collection, to determine the "losses" and to describe materials acquired or discovered since the war — the collections of Erich Haenisch and Sergei Polevoy, the Polish part of the P.G. von Möllendorff and Müller collections, as well as the Sibe language collections recently bought from Giovanni Stary and Martin Gimm.

The catalogue under review gives a description of 560 entries, including the holdings of the Jagiellonian library and indicates items from the old catalogues that are presently lost. Thus the catalogue provides a documented history of the Manchu collection of the Berlin State Library up to the present. The catalogue begins with short biographies of two famous scholars Paul Georg von Möllendorff (1847–1901) and Sergei Aleksandrovich Polevoy (1891–1939), which are followed by bibliographies of their works (p. 19–46). Here we find a reprint of Möllendorff's "Catalogue of Manchu Library" which is now a bibliographic rarity.

Important and useful information on publications about the Berlin State Library's Oriental collection is given in a bibliographic chapter "Literatur zu den Orientalischen Sammlungen, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin", where one can find literature on the history of the Chinese, Mongolian and Japanese collections, their catalogues and items (p. 47–58).

Historically, the Manchu books in the Berlin State Library were divided between two departments: the Oriental and East Asian Departments. The latter was created only in 1922, thus the old collections of Hirth and Möllendorf are kept in the Oriental Department, while new acquisitions were registered at the East Asian Department. The manuscripts from the Polevoy collection went to the Oriental Department, though, since according to the Library's internal rules all Oriental manuscripts are stored there. The unification of the material scattered in various places, as well as the latest acquisitions prompted Hartmut Walravens to present the material by call numbers and not subject order, as is usual in systematic catalogues. Thus the order of entries reflects the order of a shelf-list, which in turn is arranged by provenance and location. In this way the reader gets full information on the personal collections which have been incorporated into the Berlin State Library.

The catalogue itself is preceded by a list of book call numbers and titles which are described in detail in the catalogue (p. 59–73), and a very useful table giving the dates of the Manchu emperors' reigns and cycle calendar. This reference tool is always helpful for checking dates in Manchu and Chinese.

The author of the Catalogue follows a strict template for each entry: catalogue number, title, size of page and block printed frame, number of volumes and fascicles, information on preface and introductions, author and printing or publishing house, bibliographic references to the catalogues of other Manchu collections around the world, information on studies and translations. In the case of polyglots titles are given in both Manchu and other languages, such as Chinese, Mongolian or Tibetan. All dates are given in the Manchu version (in transliteration)

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with reference to their Chinese equivalent and also according to the Gregorian calendar. A full description of the item follows with information on seals and owners' notes, as well as defects of the book.

The descriptive catalogue begins with the old collection of the Oriental Department: Libri sinici (p. 85–109, Nos. 1–30) and Libri sinici new collection (p. 109–183, Nos. 31–102); the Möllendorff collection (p. 187–241, Nos. 103–183); other traditional call numbers (p. 249–351, Nos. 184–310); the Polevoy collection (p. 353–386, Nos. 311–443); the Sibe language books bought from Giovanni Stary (p. 387–308, Nos. 444–542) and Martin Gimm (p. 557–560, Nos. 543–560). The catalogue is richly illustrated by 108 reprints of the first page of the manuscript or blockprint, as well as the covers of the Sibe books (p. 448–556). It is important to note that Hartmut Walravens has managed to find rare photographs of the former owners of the collections — Paul Georg von Möllendorff (p. 19) and Sergei Polevoy (p. 44), and of those who made previous descriptions of the collection and worked in the Library — Hermann Hülle (1870–1940) and Walter Simon (1893–1981). The descriptive catalogue is followed by thorough indices: index of names (p. 411–417), index of Manchu and Sibe titles (p. 418–427), index of Chinese titles (p. 428–438); index of titles in other languages (p. 439–440); index of printing houses (p. 441); subject index (p. 442–443); list of Manchu books in Krakow (p. 445–447).

The references to existing catalogues give information on similar items in other world collections. Here the author uses “Pang, SPb” to refer to the third (of three) catalogue of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS: Tatiana A. Pang. *Descriptive Catalogue of Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies*, Russian Academy of Sciences. Issue 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001. Unfortunately, “a slip of the keyboard” occurred in the list of abbreviations on p. 78, where this title is missing. The above work is a continuation of the catalogue by Maiia Petrovna Volkova *Opisanie man'chzhurskikh ksilografov Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Manchu Blockprints from the Institute of Oriental Studies, AS USSR). Issue. 1. Moscow: Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury izdatel'stva “Nauka”, 1988. Walravens makes no reference to the other catalogue in this three-part collection, also compiled by Volkova — *Opisanie man'chzhurskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (Description of Manchu Manuscripts kept in the Institute of Peoples of Asia, AS USSR). Moscow: Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury izdatel'stva “Nauka”, 1965. Thus, used by the author of the Catalogue the descriptions of the Manchu blockprints of the IOM, RAS (by Pang and Volkova) are added with the separate catalogue of manuscripts by Volkova. Although published at different times, these three catalogues together reveal the full extent of the holdings of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS. Actually, this unexpected slip by Hartmut Walravens suggests that I, the author of this review, should consider uniting the three catalogues and publishing them under one cover to avoid further misunderstandings by other scholars.

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Minor inaccuracies affect only references which do not reflect on the value and importance of the catalogue. It is obvious that such a grand-scale work finally opens up the Manchu treasures of the Berlin State Library and gives international scholars the opportunity to trace the history of the collection, to know the location of the books and compare various copies and items from different libraries. The publication of the catalogue "The Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints from the Berlin State Library" by Hartmut Walravens is an important step towards a union catalogue of Manchu collections in Germany. Every catalogue is a precious contribution to opening up world depositories to international scholars.

Tatiana A. Pang,  
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## Guidelines to the authors of the Journal “Written Monuments of Orient”

- All papers are to be submitted in electronic form in both formats, WORD and PDF.
- The paper should not exceed more than 10 000 words, the fonts used are to be submitted along with the article.
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— for monographs:

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

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

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

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

References to articles:

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

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

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

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

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

Vostochnaya Literatura Publisher: Nauka Publishers, Maronovsky line, 26, Mos-  
cow 119049, Russia  
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email: vostlit@gmail.com

Print Subscription/Distribution: Please send all inquiries relating to subscriptions to:  
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Журнал «Письменные памятники Востока», № 2, 2015 (на английском языке)

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

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