

RUSSIAN ACADEMY  
OF SCIENCES

Institute of Oriental  
Manuscripts  
(Asiatic Museum)

Founded in 2014  
Issued biannually

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



Nauka  
Vostochnaya Literatura  
2017

---

# WRITTEN MONUMENTS OF THE ORIENT

---

2017 (1)

---

## Editors

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

## Editorial Board

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

---

---

## IN THIS ISSUE

**Olga Chunakova, Federico Dragoni, Enrico Morano**

A forgotten Manichaean Sogdian bifolio in Sogdian script 3

**Adam Benkato**

Sogdian letter fragments in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,  
St. Petersburg 26

**Peter Zieme**

An Embryonic Saint. Interpretation of an Old Uighur Fragment in  
the Serindia Collection at the IOM, RAS 40

**Alexander Zorin**

Fragments of Tibetan Texts Refound at the Dunhuang Collection Kept  
at the IOM, RAS: Eleven Identified Fragments of Buddhist Canonical  
Texts 49

**Hartmut Walravens**

Symbolism of sovereignty in the context of the Dzungar campaigns  
of the Qianlong emperor 73

## Reviews

Joseph F. O'Callaghan. *The Last Crusade in the West: Castile and the  
Conquest of Granada*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press,  
2014, by **Anastasia Stepanova** 91

Catalogue of Japanese Manuscripts and Rare Books. Merete Pedersen.  
The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark. Catalogue of Oriental  
Manuscripts, Xylographs, etc. in Danish Collections (COMDC),  
by **Karine Marandjian** 95

*Anton Schiefner (1817–1879) und seine indologischen Freunde:  
seine Briefe an die Indologen Albrecht Weber (1825–1901), Rudolf  
Roth (1821–1895) und William D. Whitney (1827–1894) sowie den  
Indogermanisten Adalbert Kuhn (1812–1881) / Hartmut Walravens,  
Agnes Stache-Weiske [editors]. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen  
Akademie der Wissenschaften 2015. (Österreichische Akademie der  
Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte,  
868. Bd.; Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 89),  
by **Alexander Zorin** 98*

---

---

Olga Chunakova,  
Federico Dragoni,  
Enrico Morano

## **A forgotten Manichaean Sogdian bifolio in Sogdian script**

---

*Abstract:* The present paper consists of the first edition, translation and commentary of a Manichaean Sogdian bifolio, whose photos are preserved in the Nachlass of Academician Carl H. Salemann at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS (St. Petersburg). The present location of the bifolio is unknown. One joining fragment has been found in the Berlin Turfan collection during the preliminary work on this edition. Two relatively long portions of Manichaean didactic treatises are extant and do not correspond to any known text. The first (I) is a *Lehrtext* on the duties of Manichaean monks living in a monastery. The second (II) contains the fourth and part of a fifth question, followed by answers, of a catechetical text concerning the fate of the body and of the soul after death. *Key words:* Manichaeism, Manichaean didactic literature, Sogdian language, Sogdian manuscripts, Carl H. Salemann, Turfan texts, text edition, Iranian philology.

The Serindian Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM, the former Asiatic Museum),<sup>1</sup> Russian Academy of Sciences, keeps a folder named ‘Manichaica’ which holds 8 paper bags and envelopes, six of which contain materials from the archive of Academician Carl H. Salemann (1849–1916). Two packages signed (not in Salemann’s hand) as ‘Application’, apparently added later, store a working draft manuscript of N. Marr’s ‘The

---

© Olga Mikhailovna Chunakova, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences

© Federico Dragoni, Freie Universität Berlin

© Enrico Morano, President of the International Association of Manichaean Studies (IAMS)

<sup>1</sup> It is our pleasant duty to thank the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of St. Petersburg and the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften for allowing us to consult and publish their texts. We are greatly indebted to Nicholas Sims-Williams, who was kind enough to read a first draft of this article, providing many valuable suggestions and critical remarks which have been included in our text.

---

Armenian-Georgian lexical notes to the newfound Manichaean texts' (98 pp.) and a photo of one side of the Syriac manuscript (Syr. 40) brought by S.E. Malov's expedition from Turfan in 1914. The rest of the packets contains drafts, proofreadings and illustrations of the Manichaean manuscripts of the Asiatic Museum published by Salemann in his article named 'Manichaica III'<sup>2</sup> and photos of three already published Manichaean manuscripts from the Serindian Collection (one in Sogdian, published by F. Rosenberg<sup>3</sup> under the signature Kr. IV Soghd. 4, and under the signature SI Kr IV/823 by A. Ragoza,<sup>4</sup> and two photos of the first page of the Uighur manuscript 'Xwastvanift').

The package No. 8 comprises 2 sheets, the first of which contains a rough transliteration of a Sogdian text in Hebrew letters, while the second contains the same text, partially re-written in Sogdian letters. This text is now published by A. Ragoza under the signature SI Kr IV/813.<sup>5</sup>

In addition, the package No. 8 includes two negative photos — Recto and Verso — of a Sogdian bifolio, whose original has not been preserved in the collection. There are also 4 sheets of a rough transliteration of the photos' text in Hebrew letters in pencil, made by Salemann himself. The transliteration is not complete however and upon some Hebrew letters there is a question mark. The contents of this package, including our text, were firstly briefly described by Yoshida Yutaka in his article on the Sogdian fragments of the St. Petersburg collection.<sup>6</sup>

The location of the photographed Sogdian manuscript is unknown. None of the Serindian collections of the IOM, nor the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg branch, which holds the archives of Academicians C.H. Salemann and S.F. Oldenburg (1863–1934), have this manuscript. It is also unknown from whose collection and when this manuscript went to the Asiatic Museum, and especially where it originated. In the Asiatic Museum descriptions of new manuscripts were made rarely.<sup>7</sup> In the same packet, as already mentioned, there is Salemann's transliteration of the Sogdian text SI Kr IV/813 from the Krotkov collection, presented by the latter to the Academy of Sciences after 1909,<sup>8</sup> and in the folder there is a

---

<sup>2</sup> SALEMANN 1912.

<sup>3</sup> ROSENBERG 1927.

<sup>4</sup> RAGOZA 1980, 49–50.

<sup>5</sup> RAGOZA 1980, 47–49, republished in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1992, 283.

<sup>6</sup> YOSHIDA 2001, 108, see also LIVSHITS 2008, 87.

<sup>7</sup> RAGOZA 1972, 244–261.

<sup>8</sup> RAGOZA 1972, 255–257.

---

photo of the 'Xwastvanift', received by the Asiatic Museum before 1909 from A.A. D'iakov.<sup>9</sup> Judging from the fact that Salemann published two fragments from the Oldenburg collection,<sup>10</sup> one of which had been brought from his first expedition to Turfan, Karashahr and Kocho in 1909–1910, the manuscripts of the Oldenburg collection were also familiar to Salemann. It is known that from his second expedition in Dunhuang in 1914–1915 S.F. Oldenburg brought many manuscripts, among which there were two large Sogdian fragments, later published by F. Rosenberg.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the manuscripts which were known to Salemann and which he possibly intended to edit, could have been both from the Krotkov and the Oldenburg collections.

The size of the two Sogdian photos is 23×17 cm. Each photograph shows two columns of text with the size of 20.5×6.5 cm. The photos illustrate a double folio with two texts, henceforth Sogd. I and Sogd. II, from pages which are not contiguous. On one side the folio is torn from the top corner to the 10th line. There are no ends to lines 1–10 on the Recto side, and no beginnings to lines 1–10 on the Verso side. On the margins Salemann wrote down in black ink the numbers of the lines of the text: on the one photo he marked 23 lines, on the other 22, as one line, between the 5th and the 6th, was missed. The photos show a clearly visible blank space between the first line and the poorly preserved headings. The margins of the sheets were possibly ruled, but this is not visible on the photos.

One can clearly see that the manuscript on the photos was in some parts restored. In the course of restoration, a tracing paper was glued on it. Perhaps in the process of restoration side and bottom margins were cut. Transparent tracing papers were glued on the manuscript irregularly. The two sheets are roughly reinforced by means of thin strips of paper unevenly glued on them. Traces of the restoration can be seen on both sides of the sheet. On one photo, with the text /I/R/–/II/V/, there are eight such patches, on the other, with the text /II/R/–/I/V/, there are four of them. The traces of the glued patches sometimes cover the text and make it difficult to read.

While working on the text, Federico Dragoni discovered that a small piece of the Berlin Turfan collection, So 10650(32),<sup>12</sup> joins directly to the top corner of one folio (here f. /I/). The joining Berlin fragment has a *Fundsigel* handwritten in pencil, T I D, which indicates that the manuscript was found

<sup>9</sup> RADLOFF 1909, I.

<sup>10</sup> SALEMANN 1912, 19–20.

<sup>11</sup> ROSENBERG 1918, 817–842; ROSENBERG 1920, 399–429, 455–474.

<sup>12</sup> See RECK 2006, 59, No. 58.

in Kocho during the first German expedition. This does not prove, however, that the main manuscript was brought to Berlin and then lost, since there are several examples of joining fragments found during different expeditions and kept in different places. The present whereabouts of the bifolio remains unknown.

The first page /I/ contains part of a *Lehrtext* on the life and duties of monks (*šmnt'*) living in a monastery (*βrx'r*, Skr. *vihāra*). Every 200 years some “*m(n)* *wyty* disciples” (*wyty*-minded)<sup>13</sup> will be saved, after having performed all their religious duties. By that time, they will have departed, saving themselves, the gifts and the givers of the gifts. Every 200 years the soul of the disciples will be purified, as the fire purifies the five or six pieces of firewood that one puts into it. After having been purified, the *śramaṇas* (= *wyty*-minded disciples?) will dwell in the *vihāra* in equanimity, holding the Commandment of the Law (*cxš'pt*) completely. If a commandment-breaking monk enters the *vihāra*, he may contaminate the community causing torments. He has to be expelled just as a half-burnt log has to be removed from the fire. Only in this way will he not be able to cause any further damage. The text then breaks off after the usual formula “every 200 years they will be similar...”.

The second page /II/ contains the fourth and part of a fifth question, followed by answers, of a catechetical text concerning the fate of the body and of the soul after death and in the circle of rebirths.

### First folio:

#### Salemann.Sogd.+So10650(32)/I/

(Pl. I)

/I/R/H/ [⊗] s'rst [5–6]

/I/R/1/ βwt rtxw [8–9]

/I/R/2/ δβrty wβyw rw'm'y(c)[Z](Y) ZK

/I/R/3/ wy-spw 'rkw kwnty rt(x)[w kδ'](c)

/I/R/4/ prm γr'yw xw't L' w'št

/I/R/5/ m'yδ [ZY] ms m(n) wyty z-wxškth

/I/R/6/ pr wyspw 'krty'h 'spt'k

/I/R/7/ wβ'ntw k'm xw(t)y (β)wxs'nt

<sup>13</sup> On this enigmatic expression see commentary below.

/I/R/8/ k'm ZY wβyw δβ'r ZY δβr'y-n'kw  
 /I/R/9/ (β)wε'nt k'm ○ rtcnn ('δ)[wy C]  
 /I/R/10/ srδyh kw 'δwy C srδ prm  
 /I/R/11/ ZK m'n wyt'kt z-wxškth  
 /I/R/12/ s't MN 'βc'npδy xrt'yt  
 /I/R/13/ wβ'ntk'm ○ rty prywyδ 'z-mnwh  
 /I/R/14/ wy-š'nt z-wxškth m'yδ  
 /I/R/15/ m'nwkt wβ'ntk'm c'nkwy ZY  
 /I/R/16/ ZK zmy''tr ○ rty c'nkwy ZK  
 /I/R/17/ pncw wxw(šw) δ'r'wk 'yw  
 /I/R/18/ wy-'kyh 'ws(w)[c]y pr''tr  
 /I/R/19/ [.....]n/' δβtyw ZKw z-'wr  
 /I/R/20/ [....](./n Z)Y rxwšnw swxs'nt  
 /I/R/21/ [rty] wβyw (rx)w[š](n)y'kh ZY ZK  
 /I/R/22/ [γ](r)m'kh δ('r'n)t? rty wyspw  
 /I/R/23/ ['](r)kw kwn'nt m'yδ ZY MN

/I/R/H/ The magnificent [...]

/I/R/1/ is. He gives [gifts (?) both corporal (?) and spirit[ual and] he performs all (religious) works and he never allows himself (to become) weak, so [that] also the *m('n) wyty* disciples will be perfect in all actions, they will be saved themselves, and they will also save the gift and the giver. And from (2)[00] /10/ years to 200 years the *m('n) wyty* disciples will all have departed from the world. And at that time those pupils will be /15/ like the fire for the firewood. And like when one purifies (burns?) those five, six (pieces of) wood in one place in the fire, [...] again the power /20/ [...] and they burn brightly, they hold both brightness and wealth. They perform all (religious) works, so that from...

/I/R/H/ *s'rst* remains the only recognizable word, the rest of the headline being either scratched away or hidden beneath a thick layer of tape. The unpublished Manichaean Sogdian fragment M575/I/V/<sup>14</sup> has the same word in its incomplete headline: ✽ *s'rst f(r)*[...]. Given the fragmentary state of the text, it is not possible to determine its context.

<sup>14</sup> BOYCE 1960, 40. See also *GMS* § 825. Only three half lines of the text are almost complete. The context remains rather unclear.

/I/R/2–3/ For the restoration and interpretation of these 2 lines we are indebted to N. Sims-Williams: *rw'm'y(c)* can be perhaps a reduced form of *rw'nmyc*.

/I/R/4/ *w'st* could be either 3sg. impf. of the verb *w'st* 'to stay, stand' or 3sg. pres. of *w'c* 'to release, let go'. An impf. would be very unlikely, since the first page consists in a succession of futures and presents.

/I/R/5/ For the restored [ZY] cf. the same expression in /I/V/17–18/ below.

*m'(n) wyty z-wxškt* is parallel to *m'n wyt'kt z-wxškt* of /I/R/11/. The same *z-wxškt* are also present in /I/R/14/, although they are no more qualified as *m'n wyt'kt*, but simply as *wy-š'nt* 'those'. No parallel in other texts was found for such a category of disciples. One could interpret the first two words as an 'inverted bahuvrīhi', with an *-aka-* past participle as second member<sup>15</sup> referring to *z-wxškt*. If *wyty* were an *-aka-* participle from *wyn* 'to see', it could be interpreted as meaning 'mind-seeing', lit. 'by whom the mind is seen', cf. *šyr'qty* 'by whom good is done'. The second member *wyt'k* could also be interpreted as an *-aka-* past participle of a root *w'y* 'to wrap up, surround'.<sup>16</sup> This interpretation, though, does not produce a better comprehension to the entire phrase.

/I/R/6/ *'spt'k* very often with *pr* in Buddh. Sogd. 'complete in...'.<sup>17</sup>

/I/R/7–9/ The expression occurs twice in our text. An exact parallel is to be found in the Parthian fragment M 6020/I,<sup>17</sup> whose content seems to be very close to that of the Bactrian Manichaean fragment (M1224).<sup>18</sup> The passage refers to the doctrine of salvation through the Hearers' gifts. Deliverance will be obtained 'not only for the light trapped in the food and for the Electi who eat it, but also for the Hearer who provides it':<sup>19</sup>

M6020/I/R/ii/1–14/

*pwnw'r 'st'nyndyh cw'gwn qwf 'yw wzrg 'wš bwj'd šhyndyh 'b'wš wxrd  
c'r o hm wxd bwxsyd 'wd 'w hw[yc] (b)wjyd kyš pwnw'r d'd . 'wd 'by  
wzynd y'dyd 'w (b)g'n 'r'm o o'wd ky pwnw'r 'st'ndy cwnd šyfsd'n 'yw  
š: bwj'd ny šhyn[dyyh] 'b'wš 'fdr k[...] 'wd nw [...]dwr  
"...[he who] would take alms food as (much as) a big mountain and could  
redeem it, should eat it: **he himself will be saved, he will also save him***

<sup>15</sup> Cf. GERSHEVITCH 1946, 147 and GMS § 964. Curiously the *-t* of the plural is not present in the first occurrence of this compound. Compounds with *m'n* as first member are not rare in Sogdian, cf. e.g. *m'n-prm'ty* 'consideration, conscience'.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. GMS § 570 and SUNDERMANN 1997, 137.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. HENNING 1965, 29–33, retranslated in SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009, 254.

<sup>18</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009.

<sup>19</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009, 253.

**who gave him the alms-food**, and it (i.e. the ‘Living Soul’ contained in the food) will reach the home of the gods unharmed. And he who would take alms-food as much as a single grain of mustard but could not redeem it, then [...] better for him [...] fire...”<sup>20</sup>

The Sogdian sentence appears as an almost word for word rendering of the Parthian text quoted above (except for plur. instead of sing. and future with *-k'm*):

*rty (wβ)yw xwty βwx(s)'ntk'm ZY w(βyw) δβ'r ZY δ[β'](r)'yn'kw  
βwc'ntk'm (I/V/5–7)  
xw(t)y (β)wxs'nt k'm ZY wβyw δβ'r ZY δβr'y-n'kw (β)wc'nt k'm (I/R/7–9/)*

Such an expression seems to be built syntactically upon the contrast between the active *βwc* and the inchoative-passive *βwxs*. It could have represented a common formula to describe the Manichaean doctrine of salvation through the hearers’ gifts, and indeed one finds similar expressions e.g. in various hymns:

M30/V/i/7–10

*j'myd wyspwhr 'w pydr wxybyy kw wxd bwxs'h w: 'šm'h bwj'h*

“Lead the prince to your father so that he be saved and he save you!”<sup>21</sup>

M7/II/V/ii/4–7

*'fryd kw bwxtg bw'h ky mn gryw bwj'h 'c wdng*

“Gesegnet sei, auf daß erlöst werde, wer meine Seele aus der Not erlöst”<sup>22</sup>

“Blessed, i.e. may you be saved, who may save my soul from distress”<sup>23</sup>

The expression *δβ'r ZY δβr'y-n'kw* occurs in Buddh. Sogd. texts without *ZY* (*VJ* 413<sup>24</sup> and *Samghāṭasūtra* 15<sup>25</sup>) lit. meaning ‘gift-giving’, hence ‘benefactor’. Here the presence of *ZY* further specifies the Manichaean doctrine that lies behind our text, making clear that also the gifts will be saved. The same religious ideas are expressed also in M1224, though with a slightly different wording:

M1224/R/7–19 (Bactrian Manichaean Fragment)

*/7/ 'dyyl 'wwy(h)[.] (β) l(h)w'n /8/ 'c(y)d (β) yβw'g lyynlyryg'n /9/  
p(yd)rw(m)[y](n)d ○ t'd hβyś(zn)ng pwwn /10/ d(r)m '(w)[d] l'dršt 'wd*

<sup>20</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009, 254.

<sup>21</sup> DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014, 59

<sup>22</sup> ANDREAS and HENNING 1934, 29.

<sup>23</sup> DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2006, 36 and 177 n. 136, “explanatory gloss”?

<sup>24</sup> BENVENISTE 1946, 25.

<sup>25</sup> L 38, 4 in RAGOZA 1980, 31.

šy(j)g qyrdg'n /11/ wy(ś)p 's l'h(w)'n ('yy)žyd ○ t'd /12/ 'ww q[d](y)bryyyg  
 'qydy(h) lhyyd /13/ [t]'(d pyd) wyśp pwwn b'gy(g)ynd 'wd /14/ ywg py(d)  
 hz'r pwnyng βrg 'βyryyd /15/ 'wd wy(ś)p nrh šwwhyyd 'wd pwwn /16/  
 pydrw(βy)d y'wyd'nzyg ○ ○ /17/ [7–8](.)'cyyd šmn'n 'dhn (x)wynynd /18/  
 [6–7b]wt xwβyc žyn'g l(')hw'n /19/ [l]'d ○ 'jwd'yh 'dhn 'βy'gyrnd

“[...] such (are) those... gifts which support (?) the pure Electi, so (that) manifold merits, dharma and lawful and good deeds all spring from the gift; thus, that layman who gives it—he becomes a sharer in all the merits, and obtains merit-fruit a thousandfold and escapes (?) all hells and receives merits eternally. [We know] (?) that the Buddhist monks (šmn) say this, [that the B]uddha [gave] even his own body (as) a gift, and of him they predict this, [that thereby he will save all living beings] (?)...”<sup>26</sup>

After this passage, the text reports the sayings of some unknown *śramaṇas*, possibly about the Buddha giving away his own body. Our bifolio describes later the actions of some *śramaṇas* and, not unlike M1224, undoubtedly possesses a strong Buddhist flavour.

The Middle Persian Manichaean parable of the king and the lamp could also belong to the same Manichaean doctrinal context. It mentions a cyclical period in which the Hearers become negligent regarding the alms giving. But after a period they become again capable of attaining salvation:

M47/II/V/10/ ○○ pd zm'n zm'n 'c kyrdg'n swst w: /11/ fr'mwš bwynd ○○  
 pwršyšn bwyd /12/ ○ ps pyrwyzy pdy(r)ynd ○ rw'n bwxsyd ○

“Von Zeit zu Zeit werden sie in ihren Werken lässig und vergeblich. (Sie) werden zur Verantwortung gezogen, darauf erringen sie den Sieg, und ihre Seele wird gerettet.”<sup>27</sup>

/I/R/14-15/ The phrase *m'yδ m'nwkt wβ'ntk'm c'nkW ZY* occurs two more times in our text, /I/V/13–14/ and /I/V/22–23/.

/I/R/16/ For *zmy* ‘fuel, firewood’ see MacKenzie 1976, 40.<sup>28</sup> One could interpret *zmy* 'tr here as a *tatpuruṣa* compound meaning ‘the fire (that is born) from the firewood’, or just: ‘a fire (consisting) of firewood’. In MP the word *ymg* (NP *hīme*) is attested mainly with reference to a Zoroastrian fire, see *Gōwīšn ī grīw zīndag*, 3.93–97:<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2009, 252–253.

<sup>27</sup> SUNDERMANN 1973, 88 (ll. 1731–1733).

<sup>28</sup> Confirmed by YOSHIDA 1996, 168.

<sup>29</sup> SUNDERMANN 2012, 122; English translation at p. 184.

- 'n hym 'dwr 'y cyyd zrdrwšt  
'wš prm 'd(w)m 'w 'hlw 'n cyydn  
— cynydw m (' )wd (gšn)[g] (m) '  
qwnyd 'wd m' '(z)r(wbyd  
c)[ 'w]n mr ' 'n  
— 'c hpt 'd(wr y)štgt 'y hwbwd'g  
'wm bryd 'w 'dwr wxšn  
ywjd(hr)  
— 'ymg 'yg p' q ' '(wryd)  
'wd bwy 'yg nrm 'wd bwy ('g)  
— 'brwcydm pd d'nyšn  
'wm dyd zwyr 'y p' q
- I am the fire that Zardrušt set and he  
ordered the righteous to set me.  
—Set me and do not make (me) [...{?}]  
hungry and do not rob (me) comple-  
tely like villains!  
—From seven sacrificial (lit. sacrificed)  
good smelling fires (collect me) and  
bring me to the holy fire-place!  
—Bring pure firewood and a fresh and  
scented smell!  
—Light me with knowledge and give  
me a pure offering!

/I/R/22/ Since [ɣ](r)'m'kh 'wealth' does not fit the context very well, it could perhaps simply be miscopied for \*ɣrmy'kh or \*ɣrm'kh 'heat' [NS-W].

(Pl. II)

/I/V/H/ [10–11 ]ty'

- /I/V/1/ [ 'δwy C srδy ]kw 'δwy C  
/I/V/2/ srδ [.....]prm ZKwyh βrx' ry  
/I/V/3/ [pr sɣ](t)m' n' 'w'k 'skw' nt  
/I/V/4/ rtxw cx(š)pt nwm (p)δkh  
/I/V/5/ 'spt' k δ' [r] 'n(t)k' m rty (wβ)yw  
/I/V/6/ xwty βwx(s)'ntk' m ZY w(βyw)  
/I/V/7/ δβ' r ZY δ[β](r)' yn' kw βwc'ntk' m  
/I/V/8/ [r]tc' nk(w) šmny xwδk' r ZKwyh  
/I/V/9/ [βrx'] (r)' yk x' n' yty tyst  
/I/V/10/ [w](βy)[w? m' ](y)δ ZY z' r cwprs' r 'wɣ' m  
/I/V/11/ βy(r)tk' m ○ rtšy MN 'z-prt  
/I/V/12/ 'krtyh pt' yn kwnty k' m  
/I/V/13/ rty m' yδ m' nwktw wβ'ntk' m  
/I/V/14/ c' nkwy ZY 'yw wy' swɣ-t' k' kw  
/I/V/15/ xwδk' r βyks' r 'pš' y' y rtxw  
/I/V/16/ trxy pz-ty 'nx' yz-t ZY ZK  
/I/V/17/ ' 'δ' kw z- 'w(r)[cy](kw L)' βwt m' yδ  
/I/V/18/ ZY ms 'ywt' c ( 'n)xwstcxš' pt  
/I/V/19/ šmny L' ZKwyh ɣr'ywy z- 'wr(cyk)

/I/V/20/ βwt L' 'nyw ''δ'kw ○ [rtcn]  
 /I/V/21/ 'δwy C srδ kw 'δwy C  
 /I/V/22/ srδ prm s't šmnt' m'yδ  
 /I/V/23/ (m)'n'wkt wβ'ntk'm c'nkW (ZY)

/I/V/1/ [200 years] to 200 years [...] in the *vihāra* they will dwell in equanimity and they will hold the commandment of the law /5/ completely. At the same time they will be saved themselves and they will save also the gift and the giver. If only a (single) monk [shall] enter the *vihāra* houses /10/ [... s]o poison thereupon will cause torment. Then he will separate it from pure actions. They will be like when one casts out (from the fire) /15/ a single half-burnt (log) and a pungent smoke arises, and it is not useful to anyone; so too a single commandment-breaking monk is not useful to himself /20/ nor to anyone else. [And from] 200 years to 200 years all monks thus will be similar, like when...

/I/V/2/ The parallel expressions in /I/R/9-10/ would require the post-position *prm* followed by the subject of the sentence. The gap though does not allow to be filled in with such a restoration. Perhaps one could restore [*prm* ''δ]*prm* '(...) to two hundred years altogether in the *vihāra* (...)'. N. Sims-Williams proposes restoring [*'ny'm*]: 'till [the end of] 200 years'.

/I/V/2/ *βrx'ry* is here attested for the first time in published Manichaean texts, thus marking a Buddhist context. *šmny* occurs also in the list of the slanderers<sup>30</sup> of the religion and is used also in Parthian<sup>31</sup> to define a monk, not necessarily Buddhist.

/I/V/8/ For the so far unattested *rtc'nkW* instead of *rtY c'nkW* cf. *rtY pts'r ~ rtpts'r*. Hardly to be read [*w]tcn'k(w)* 'old'.

/I/V/9/ The tentative restoration [*βrx'j(r)'yk x'n'yty tyst* 'he enters the *vihāra* houses' is based on SCE § 484: *rtY 'ky ZKw βrx'r wn'nt 't βrx'r x'n'kh* 'he who makes a *vihāra* or a *vihāra* house',<sup>32</sup> although an *-ik* adjective from *βrx'r* is not attested elsewhere. Alternatively, one could restore [*βγ'j(n)'yk x'n'yty*. Such an expression to define a place of worship is however not yet attested either. SCE § 190 describes the different attitudes of those who may enter the monastery (*saṃghārāma*) with good or evil thoughts.

<sup>30</sup> So 18248/R/30/, cf. HENNING 1944, 138, tr. 141.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. in M572 *passim*, cf. SUNDERMANN 1973, 91–93. Cf. also ASMUSSEN 1965, 166 and the Bactrian fragment (M1224/R/17) quoted above.

<sup>32</sup> MACKENZIE 1970, 29.

/I/V/10/ It is hard to restore the words in the lacuna, perhaps *[w](βy)[w m'](y)δ ZY* ‘and so that’?

For the expression *(')wy'm βyr-* cf. P6.161 *prw w'tδ'rt 'wy'm L' βyr'nt* ‘ne causent pas des tourments aux êtres’.<sup>33</sup> Hardly *z'r...* *'wy'm* ‘one thousand... torments’, since the number does not precede directly the noun to which it refers.

/I/V/11/ Cf. the same expression in P21.1. 1.8 *cnn šyr'krtyh pt'y n k(w)[nty]*.<sup>34</sup>

/I/V/14/ For *wy'swy-t'k*, clearly legible but otherwise not attested, cf. Chr. Sogd. *pr(swy)t*, which N. Sims-Williams<sup>35</sup> proposes to derive from *\*parisuxta-* ‘burnt up’. He tentatively translates it as a noun meaning ‘soot’ or ‘charcoal’. Here we have *wy'swy-t'k* < *\*ui-ā-suxta-ka-* with different preverb and suffix *-ka-*. It could be therefore translated as ‘half-burnt (log)’, although it could simply mean any piece of material which underwent a process of combustion. We are grateful to N. Sims-Williams for helping us to understand the last part of the sentence.

/I/V/14–15/ An interesting parallel to this passage may be found in the Sogdian *Āzand Nāmē* 85ff.,<sup>36</sup> where the commandment-breaking men (*'nxwstcxš' pōmynct mrtxmyt*) are expelled (*pš'y-*) from the religion:

/83/ *ZY xw RBkw sm'wtry pncmykw ZKw βr'yšty dynh* /84/ *pw ''m'ykw 'ws'yty ZY 'z-p'rt ps'wyty [xcy rty]* /85/ *xw ''y-wštyt mnt'ndykt ZY 'nxwst-cxš' pō(m)[ynct]* /86/ *mrtxmy-t ky-ZY ZKn mwrtly tnp'ry myn'nt (Z)[Y]* /87/ *ZKn β'rp'y ZY ZKn 'nyw 'nyw ''myk myn(')[nt'k]* /88/ *xnt rtšn MN cn'yty cpō' L' nmt'y (c)[ntr]* /89/ *s'r zyty //* *p'rZ-Y-šy xyδ ywnyδ c'wn xypδ 'sk'w (k)* /90/ *c'δr-s'r pš'yt ZY-šn βyks'r pškrty*

Fünftens: Die Religion des Apostels [ist] ohne Befleckung, lauter und rein, heilig, [und] die verwirrten, \*sittenlosen und schmutzige Geset[ze habenden] Menschen, die dem Leichnam ähneln (und) den Exkrementen und den verschiedenen Befleckungen ähn[lich] sind, sie weigert sich sogleich durchaus, diese [in sich(?)] zu behalten, denn sogleich wirft sie sie von ihrer \*Oberflä[che] hinab und treibt sie hinaus.

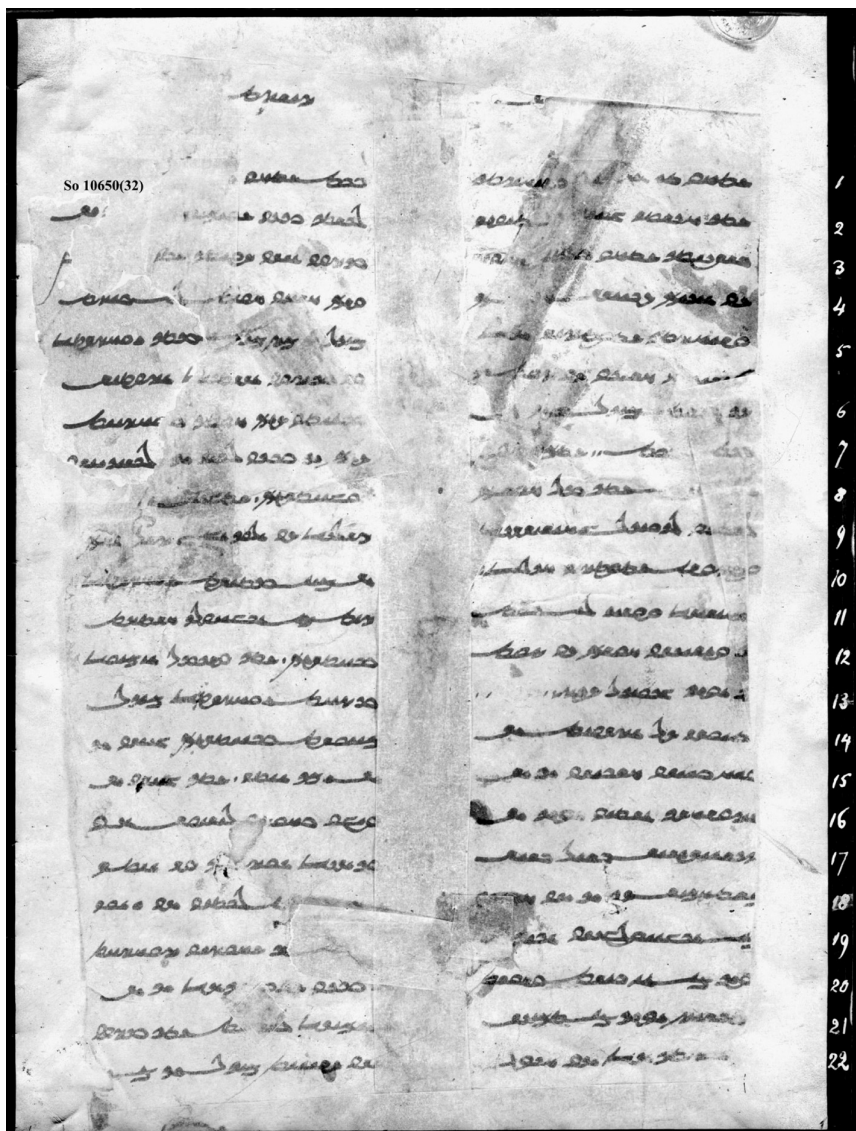
<sup>33</sup> BENVENISTE 1940, 90 and note on p. 206

<sup>34</sup> BENVENISTE 1940, 153.

<sup>35</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2015, 23. The word appears in E26/2/V18.

<sup>36</sup> SUNDERMANN 1985, 25.

## Plate I

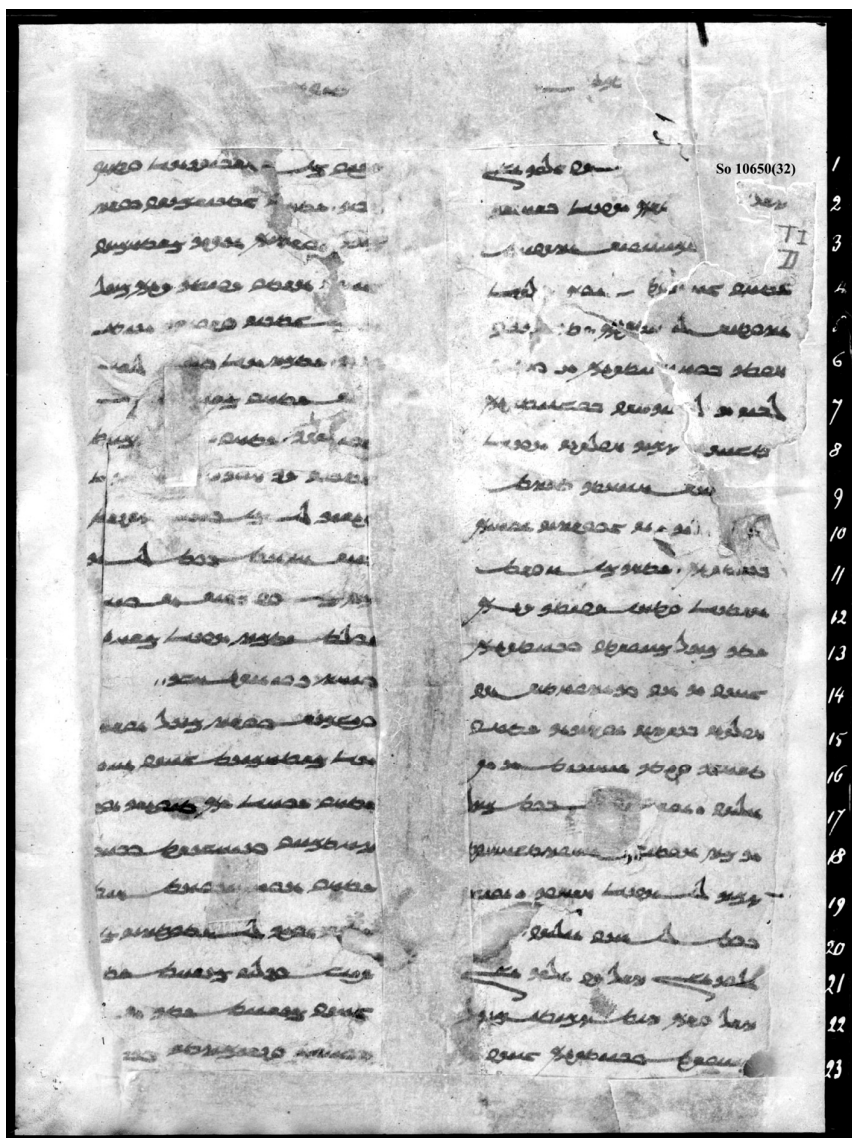


/I/R/ and /II/V/

Montage. Photo: Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,  
St. Petersburg. So10650(32):

Depositem der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften  
in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

## Plate II



/II/R/ and /I/V/

Montage. Photo: Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,  
St. Petersburg. So10650(32):

Depositem der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften  
in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

**Second folio:  
Salemman.Sogd./II/**

(Pl. II)

/II/R/H/ tnp'(r)[.....]

/II/R/1/ kβnw MN (γ)rβ'ky'yh ptynw  
 /II/R/2/ (w)β'y ○ rtxw ctβ'rmykw wprs  
 /II/R/3/ m'yδ (')pr(s)'m 'YKZY mrtxm'kw  
 /II/R/4/ c'(nkW) 'krtw kwnty k'm m'yδ  
 /II/R/5/ (ZY) MN ctβ'r prw(rty) nyz-t'  
 /II/R/6/ (wβ'y) ○ rtms ZKh wn('h) δ'wn  
 /II/R/7/ (βr')k rtxw mr(γ)[ δ'](wn)  
 /II/R/8/ (c)wz-(')kky rtxw (.)[...](w/t)m''/nt  
 /II/R/9/ ctβ'r ky xwy-(..)[...](.y)h  
 /II/R/10/ p'rZY L' MN w(ny') (ny)škyr'n  
 /II/R/11/ (β)r'k ''z-'yt βwt L' ZY  
 /II/R/12/ ms MN pw βr'k ZK wn(h)  
 /II/R/13/ rwδt rtms ZKwyh mryy  
 /II/R/14/ w'xš y-wz-nnk' xcy ○○  
 /II/R/15/ pncmyk wprs m'yδ 'prs['m]  
 /II/R/16/ ZKh mrtxm'yt c'nkW ''z-y[nt]  
 /II/R/17/ rtxw rw'nh 'M tnp'ry 'pr[yw]  
 /II/R/18/ sytm'nw wyn'ncykt wβ'n(t)  
 /II/R/19/ rtxw 'yw(γr)'yw'yt xnt  
 /II/R/20/ (kt'r) 'PZY L' rtpts'r MN  
 /II/R/21/ kn'c pyδ'r myr'nt rt[y]  
 /II/R/22/ c'nkW myr'nt rty ZK  
 /II/R/23/ (r)w'nh pyrmstr wy(t)[rty]

/II/R/H/ Body [...]

/II/R/1/ would be [little by ]little separate from knowledge. And the fourth question thus I ask: How is a man able /5/ to die 4 times? Also, the tree with fruit and the hen [wi](th) the chick and the [...] every (?) four...(?) [...] /10/ because a fruit cannot be born but from a tree, nor does the tree grow from a fruitless one, and also the matter of the hen is similar to this. /15/ The fifth question, thus I ask: when men are born, are the soul (*rw'nh*) and the body

manifest together? Are they one single Self (‘yw-(yr)‘yw‘yt) /20/ or not? Moreover, for what reason do they die and how do they die? Does the soul (rw‘nh) first depart

**/II/R/3–4/** ‘YKZY mrtxm‘kw c‘(nkw) ‘krtw kwnty k‘m m‘yδ (ZY) MN ctβ‘r prw(rty) nyz-t‘ (wβ‘)y cf. Chr. Sogd. qt‘wn ‘to be able’ + subordinate clause (here with a redundant second potentialis in the subordinate clause) [NS-W].

**/II/R/5ff./** The translation is based on the assumption that the verb *nyz-* is here used with the meaning ‘to die’, that *prw(rty)* means ‘time (French *fois*)’, as is often the case when it follows a numeral, and that the latter is used in an adverbial phrase<sup>37</sup> introduced by *MN* meaning ‘four times’. Alternatively, if the verb *nyz-* had here its original meaning ‘to go out’, the preposition *MN* would be perfectly explained as the usual preposition governed by *nyz-*, ‘to go out from’. But in this case the meaning ‘time’ for *prwrtty* would not fit the context. The meanings ‘Fravashi’ which is highly unlikely to be met here,<sup>38</sup> and ‘corpse’, which could theoretically fit, but it is attested only in Chr. Sogd.,<sup>39</sup> both seem not to belong here. The easier solution would be again the *-aka-* substantive derived from the verb *prwrt-* ‘to turn, change, travel’, this time not meaning ‘*fois*’ but perhaps simply ‘turn’.<sup>40</sup> If the passage bears really on the *saṃsāra*, then a translation ‘he shall be able to go out (*i.e.* to escape, be delivered) from the ‘four turns (cycles, circling-ons)’ would be not out of place, interpreting the number ‘four’ as a generic number meaning several times.

The *exemplum* of the tree with its fruit to explain the *saṃsāra* doctrine is known from Buddhist literature. A passage from the *Milindapañha*<sup>41</sup> curiously shows some interesting similarities with our text and will be quoted here in full:

(ix) The King said: “Reverend Nāgasena, as to that which you mentioned: ‘circling-on’ [*saṃsāra*] what is this circling-on?”

<sup>37</sup> No parallels of that have been found, unfortunately. However, cf. with an ordinal numeral the Chr. Sogd. adverbial phrase *cn (d)btq prwrtw* in Tit3.5 E6/5r ‘for the second time, again’ (SUNDERMANN 1981, 177, and SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 142 top).

<sup>38</sup> For its only occurrence in Sogd. in the Sermon of the Soul, cf. SUNDERMANN 1997, 138 etc.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 78.

<sup>40</sup> With this meaning, *prwrtty* is to be found elsewhere in conjunction with *zwrt*, cf. also below /II/V/21/.

<sup>41</sup> *Milindapañha* 3.3.9, transl. in HORNER 1963–64, vol. 1, 105–106.

“Sire, what is born here dies here; having died here it uprises elsewhere; being born there, there it dies; having died there it uprises elsewhere. Such, sire, circling-on”.

“Make a simile”.

“Suppose, sire, some man, having eaten a ripe mango, should plant the stone and a large mango tree should grow from it and yield fruit; and that the man, having eaten a ripe mango from it too, should plant the stone and a large mango tree should grow from it too and yield fruit. In this way no end to those trees can be seen. Even so, sire, what is born here dies here; having died here it uprises elsewhere; being born there, there it dies; having died there, it uprises elsewhere. Such, sire, is circling-on”.

“You are dexterous, reverend Nāgasena”.

**/II/R/7-8/** If Sogd. *cwz'kk* is the chick, *i.e.* the ‘baby of a hen’,<sup>42</sup> then Sogd. *mrγ-* could be here translated as ‘hen’, parallel to the *exemplum* of the fruit of a tree and the tree itself on which the simile is based on. Cf. also P2.331 *xwnxw ZKZY cwz'kk ZK mrγy znty* ‘That which the chicken-bird brings forth’.<sup>43</sup>

**/II/R/8/** The word could be perhaps restored as *wm't* ‘was’, *wm'nt* ‘boundary’, or *[sy](t)m'nt* (pl.) ‘all together’, but the sense of this line is unclear.

**/II/R/9/** *ky* in *ctβ'r ky* could be a relative pronoun, or, alternatively, the distributive suffix *-ky*<sup>44</sup> thus meaning here ‘every four’.

**/II/R/10/** *(ny)škyr'n* is construed with *MN* (lit. ‘apart from’) as in *Āzand Nāmē* 57ff.<sup>45</sup> It is usually written *nyškr'n*.

**/II/R/11–13/** *L' ZY ms MN pw βr'k ZK wn(h) rwδt*: alternatively, N. Sims-Williams proposes translating ‘nor does the tree grow except from a fruit’, interpreting *MN pw* as a mistake for *pw MN* for which cf. Chr. Sogd. *pw cn* ‘except for’.

**/II/R/19/** *rtxw 'yw(γr)'yw'yt xnt*. An adjectival compound *'yw(γr)'yw'k* (< OIr. *\*aīua-grīua-ka-*, meaning perhaps ‘having one *γr'yw*, having one single self’) is found here for the first time.

**/II/R/20/** For *kt'r 'PZY L'* at the end of a sentence in questions (with a disjunctive sense) cf. *VJ* 1398–1399 and YOSHIDA 2009, 317.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. NP *gūḡe*, defined in the *Borhān-e qāṭe* as ‘*bačče-ye mākiyān*’.

<sup>43</sup> So HENNING 1946, 719, correcting BENVENISTE 1940, 18 ‘le poussin dans l’œuf’. But Henning’s translation is also problematic, given that the paragraph in question prohibits the eating of the meat of any creature killed with violence (*prāṇātīpāta*). Perhaps a better translation would be ‘that, *i.e.* the chick, which the hen brings forth’ (=‘egg’?).

<sup>44</sup> See GERSHEVITCH 1949, 63–64 and *DMTIII.2*, 55a s.v. *βr'iky*.

<sup>45</sup> SUNDERMANN 1985, 23.

(Pl. I)

/II/V/H/ [15–16 ]k

/II/V/1/ rt<sup>xw</sup> tn(p<sup>r</sup>)[.](<sup>r</sup>)[.] pr<sup>xsty</sup>  
 /II/V/2/ rty γyrtr c<sup>r</sup>nk(w) (ZK) tnp<sup>r</sup>  
 /II/V/3/ βrkyrty rt<sup>xw</sup> w(δ)yh (tn)p(<sup>r</sup>)  
 /II/V/4/ kw <sup>r</sup>y<sup>m</sup> kβn<sup>r</sup>kk (y)x(n)[ pr]m  
 /II/V/5/ pr<sup>xsty</sup> rtpts<sup>r</sup> ZKh  
 /II/V/6/ (p<sup>r</sup><sup>r</sup>y)[k](w) γr<sup>yw</sup> kw šwt ZY  
 /II/V/7/ ky β(y)rt m<sup>r</sup>y-δ (yw<sup>r</sup> L<sup>r</sup>)  
 /II/V/8/ (w)yt βwt ○○ rtm(s L<sup>r</sup>)  
 /II/V/9/ [...] rty wyδ xwrm  
 /II/V/10/ (δβty)w δyw<sup>yδ</sup> cx<sup>r</sup>r<sup>r</sup>kkyh  
 /II/V/11/ p(t)šprn rtpts<sup>r</sup> xyδh (ZK)  
 /II/V/12/ [c]x<sup>r</sup>r<sup>r</sup>kh pwrny L<sup>r</sup> βwt  
 /II/V/13/ [Z](Y) p<sup>r</sup><sup>r</sup>ykw xwrm kw šwt  
 /II/V/14/ (k)y<sup>r</sup> PZY cyw<sup>yδ</sup> kyš ○○ ○○  
 /II/V/15/ rtnwkr kδ<sup>r</sup> skw<sup>r</sup>t ZK  
 /II/V/16/ w<sup>r</sup>γwn<sup>r</sup>kw γrβ<sup>r</sup>kw ZY ZK  
 /II/V/17/ <sup>r</sup>sp<sup>r</sup>ky <sup>r</sup>rt<sup>r</sup>w<sup>r</sup> PZY ZK  
 /II/V/18/ šyr<sup>r</sup>nk<sup>r</sup><sup>r</sup>k βr<sup>r</sup>δ βr<sup>r</sup>k  
 /II/V/19/ (m)rtxm<sup>r</sup>k ky ZY ZKw γ(r)<sup>r</sup>(y)w  
 /II/V/20/ MN <sup>r</sup>βc<sup>r</sup>npδcykw <sup>r</sup>βn(t)[y]  
 /II/V/21/ [<sup>r</sup>]PZY MN <sup>r</sup>z-w<sup>r</sup>rt prwrt[y]  
 /II/V/22/ [p<sup>r</sup>]tβr<sup>r</sup>s<sup>r</sup> PZY MN tm<sup>r</sup>yk  
 /II/V/23/ [<sup>r</sup>βz](<sup>r</sup>)[w](x)ty<sup>r</sup>h ZKw xypδ

/II/V/H/ [...]

/II/V/1/ and the body is left [orphaned]? And later, when the body is unresponsive, and the body there (?) is left till (its) end as a meagre remnant, /5/ then, where does the other Self (γr<sup>yw</sup>) go and who obtains (it), although it cannot be seen? Likewise, it [can] not [...]. Moreover, this dust /10/ (is still in the) permanence of the wheel (of rebirths). Then that wheel is not completed. And the other dust, where does it go? What was diminished thereby? /15/ Now, if there should exist a wise man, a clever righteous man and a virtuous profitable man, who [might save] the soul (γr<sup>yw</sup>) /20/ from earthly concerns, from the punishment of going to and fro, from hellish distress, his own...

/II/V/1/ *rtxw tn(p'r)[..](')[.] pr'xsty*: of the third word one sees only the aleph. As one would expect the word to mean something like ‘alone’, read perhaps *[sr]'[k]*, cf. SCE § 27: *rtym's'ty ZKZY xwδk'r 't 'yw st''γ sr'k βwt* ‘there is he who is alone and solitary, childless and orphaned’.<sup>46</sup> N. Sims-Williams suggests reading *[βt]'[r]* matching Chr. *ft'r \*prxs-*, ‘to be left over’, see SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 81.

/II/V/3/ *βrkyrty* 3sg. pres. ind. < *βrkyr-*, here apparently taken as a light stem. The meaning ‘insensitive’, ‘unresponsive’, ‘numb’ is here referred to the body in a physical sense, while in *BBB* 605<sup>47</sup>, and in *AN* 189<sup>48</sup> seems to be used rather in a moral sense. This form could also be a 3sg. pres. middle with passive sense ‘is neglected’ [NS-W].

/II/V/4-5/ For the restoration cf. *TaleA*, 56:<sup>49</sup> possibly containing the same expression: *kw 'nyw myδ s'r yxnyy p'rxs* ‘left for another day’. A compound *kβnyxn* ‘meagre remnant’) is attested in the fragment of *Rustam*.<sup>50</sup>

/II/V/6/ The restoration of the adjective (*p'r'y*)[*k*](*w*) is suggested by the parallel question in /II/V/13/ *p'r'ykw xwrm kw šwt* ‘Where does the other dust go?’, but it is not clear what ‘the other self’ could mean.

/II/V/7/ Or (*δ'*)*rt*, instead of (*βy*)*rt*, but a verb in this position is problematic, although the syntax remains unclear.

/II/V/10/ If read with *-x-*, *cx'r'kkh* may be from OIr. *\*caxra-ka-* (> Pahl. *caxrag*) with a *svarabhakti* vowel simplifying the internal cluster *-xr-*, resulting in /*čaxarak*/, as not infrequent in Sogdian (cf. the examples given in *GMS* § 482). The Iranian loanwords in Armenian *čaxr* ‘Drehung’ vs. *čaxarak* ‘Rolle’ might also be compared.<sup>51</sup> Pahl. *čaxrag* occurs with an ambiguous orthography (could be either *ch'lk* or *c'hlk*) in two passages of the astronomical chapter of the Iranian *Bundahišn*.<sup>52</sup>

2.8 [TD1 fol.11v]: *u-š spihr ī awēšān axtarān čaxrag-ēwēnag nihād kū andar gumēzišn ō rawišn estēnd*

‘he settled the sphere of these stars in the manner of a wheel, so that they could start revolving during the mixture.’

<sup>46</sup> MACKENZIE 1970, 3.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. HENNING 1937, 74.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. SUNDERMANN 1985, 32.

<sup>49</sup> HENNING 1945, 467.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the discussion of the compound in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1977, 59.

<sup>51</sup> HÜBSCHMANN 1897, 186.

<sup>52</sup> Number of the chapter according to ANKLESARIA 1956 = PÄKZĀD 2005 2.10–2.18. For the translation see HENNING 1942, 232 and 233–234.

2.16 [TD1 fol.12v]: *az awēšān stārān ān ī meh čand sang-ēw ī kadag-masā ān ī mayān čand čaxrag* < 𐭪𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭩𐭮 > (?) *ān ī keh čand sar ī gāw ī kadagīg*

“Among these stars the large ones are like a piece of rock the size of a room, the medium-sized ones are like a revolving (?) wheel, the small ones like the head of the domestic ox.”

The expected form *cxr* without suffix is to be found often in Sogdian, Parthian and Middle Persian Manichaean texts with reference to the rolling wheel of the *samsāra* and the rebirth cycle. Cf. e.g. the unpublished Parthian text:

M5860/II/R/i/13–19/ *ṭwnd wrtyd cw'hs zwnws cy cxr / z'dmwrđ cy jm'n / 'wjm'n ny p'yd ○ / yd bwd 'wd frd'd / 'ym d'm ny / bwd 'h'z*

“Impatiently turns, since such a long time, the zone of the wheel of rebirths, which time after time never waits; as long as it was and progressed (?), this creation had not been [...]”

In Buddhist Sogdian *snks''r cxrw* occurs for the same concept, e.g. in L93.17.<sup>53</sup>

If this interpretation is correct, then the dust (*xwrm*) could stand metaphorically for the soul's filth, which has to be washed away in order to escape *samsāra*.

Yusef Saadat, Freie Universität Berlin, during a talk delivered by us at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften in May 2016, suggested a possible connection, if the word is read with -γ-, with NP *čayāra* ‘deposit for food, underground granary’, attested in the ancient lexicographical work *Tāǰu-l-ʿAsāmī* (7th c. H. [13th c. A.D.]).<sup>54</sup> Upon this interpretation N. Sims-Williams comments: “If this is a variant of Sogd. *ty'r* ‘khum’ (of which cognates are cited by LIVSHITS 2015, 276), it could refer to the kind of storage jars sunk in the earth and used for keeping grain or wine. In that case the passage might have a parallel in a Parthian text discussed by SUNDERMANN 2005, 97, where the separation of the draff from wine seems to be a simile for the separation of the soul from the body. Here *xwrm* ‘dust’ might refer to the draff, more technically defined as *ptšprn* ‘sediment’. I would then suggest: ‘And again, (as for) that dust (which is) in the \*sediment of the \*wine-jar, and yet that \*wine-jar does not become full, [and] the other dust—where does it go? What was diminished thereby?’”

<sup>53</sup> RAGOZA 1980, 64–65.

<sup>54</sup> EBRĀHIMI 1365, 567, glossed as Ar. *maṭmūrat*.

/II/V/11/ *ptšprn* ‘permanence’ appears to be a verbal noun from the verbal root *ptšpr-*, Chr. *pcpr-* ‘to settle, alight, rest’.<sup>55</sup>

/II/V/14/ *kyš* is an otherwise unattested 3sg. impf. of the verb *kyš* ‘to decrease’.<sup>56</sup>

/II/V/15/ *’skw’t* 3sg. subjunctive, hardly past infinitive.

/II/V/15-19/ The succession of *γrβ’kw - ’rt’w - (m)rtxm’k* could perhaps allude to the hierarchy of the Manichaean Church (Bishops, Elects and Hearers).

/II/V/16-17/ For *γrβ’k—’sprky* in Buddhist Sogdian cf. the discussion in Kudara and SUNDERMANN 1998, 118 N. 15.

/II/V/18/ *βr’δ βr’k* is a not yet attested compound meaning literally ‘bringer of profit’. For *βr’δ* ‘increase, improvement’ cf. Man. *fr’δ*, *DMTH.2*, 79.

/II/V/20/ *’βn(t)* ‘concern’ cf. Chr. *’bnt/’bynt*.<sup>57</sup>

/II/V/23/ For [*’βz*](*’*)[*w*](*x*)*ty’h* cf. Man. *βj’xwty’* ‘distress’, *DMTH.2*, 53.

## References

- ANDREAS, Friedrich Carl and HENNING, Walter Bruno 1934: “Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan. III”. *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 848–912 [= Henning, *Selected Papers*, I, 191–260].
- ANKLESARIA, Behramgore Tehmuras 1956: *Zand ākāsīh. Iranian or Greater Bundahišn. Transliteration and Translation in English*. Bombay.
- ASMUSSEN, Jes Peter 1965: *X<sup>a</sup>āstvānīft. Studies in Manichaeism*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard (*Acta Theologica Danica* 7).
- AN (*Āzand Nāmē*) = SUNDERMANN 1985.
- BBB = HENNING 1937.
- BENVENISTE, Émile 1940: *Textes Sogdiens*. Paris: Geuthner (Mission Pelliot en Asie centrale: Série in quarto, 3).
- BENVENISTE, Émile 1946: *Vessantara Jātaka, texte sogdien édité, traduit et commenté*. Paris: Geuthner (Mission Pelliot en Asie centrale: Série in quarto, 4).
- BOYCE, Mary. 1952: “Some Parthian abecedarian hymns”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 14, 435–450.
- BOYCE, Mary. 1960: *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscript in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- DMTH.2 = SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, Desmond 2012: *Dictionary of Manichaean Sogdian and Bactrian*. Turnhout: Brepols.

<sup>55</sup> SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 132.

<sup>56</sup> Another possible occurrence is in a Sogdian document from Khotan, cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS and Bi 2015, 262, No. 5, Line 25.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 2016, 21.

- 
- DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, Desmond 2006: *The Hymns of the Living Soul: Middle Persian and Parthian Texts in the Turfan Collection*. Turnhout: Brepols (Berliner Turfantexte 24).
- DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, Desmond 2014: *Miscellaneous Hymns. Middle Persian and Parthian Hymns in the Turfan Collection*. Turnhout: Brepols (Berliner Turfantexte 31)
- EBRĀHĪMĪ, ‘Alī Awsaṭ (ed.) 1365: *Tāju-l-’Asāmī (Tahdhibu-l-’Asmā’)*, be kušē-e A.A. Ebrāhīmī. Tehrān: Markaz-e Našr Dānešgāhi.
- GERSHEVITCH, Ilya 1946: “Sogdian compounds”. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1945, 137–149 [= GERSHEVITCH 1985, 6–18].
- GERSHEVITCH, Ilya 1949: “Iranian Notes”. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 1948, 61–68 [= GERSHEVITCH 1985, 25–32].
- GERSHEVITCH, Ilya 1985: *Philologia Iranica*. Ed. by N. Sims-Williams. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag (Beiträge zur Iranistik, Bd. 12).
- GMS = GERSHEVITCH, Ilya 1954: *A Grammar of Manichean Sogdian*. Oxford: Blackwell [repr. 1961].
- HENNING, Walter Bruno 1937: “Ein Manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch”. *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1936, 10, Berlin [= Henning, *Selected Papers* I, 417–558].
- HENNING, Walter Bruno 1940: *Sogdica*. London [= Henning, *Selected Papers* II, 1–68].
- HENNING, Walter Bruno 1942: “An Astronomical Chapter of the Bundahishn”. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 229–248 [= Henning, *Selected Papers* II, 95–114].
- HENNING, Walter Bruno 1944: “The Murder of the Magi”. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 133–144 [= Henning, *Selected Papers* II, 139–150].
- HENNING, Walter Bruno 1945: “Sogdian Tales”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11/3, 465–487 [= Henning, *Selected Papers* II, 169–192].
- HENNING, Walter Bruno 1946: “The Sogdian texts of Paris”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11/4, 713–740 [= Henning, *Selected Papers* II, 231–258].
- HENNING, Walter Bruno 1965: “A Grain of Mustard”. *Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli, Sez. linguistica*, 6, 29–47 [= Henning, *Selected Papers* II, 597–616].
- HENNING, Walter Bruno 1977: *Selected Papers I–II. Acta Iranica* 15. 2ème série, Hommages et Opera Minora. Téhéran-Liège.
- HORNER, Isaline Blew 1963–64: *Milinda’s Questions*. 2 vols. London: Oxford, London: Luzac; Oxford: Pali Text Society (Sacred Books of the Buddhists 22).
- HÜBSCHMANN, Heinrich 1897: *Armenische Grammatik I. Teil. Armenische Etymologie*. Leipzig: de Gruyter (Indogermanische Forschungen, vol. 8)
- KUDARA, Kogi and SUNDERMANN, Werner 1998: “A Second Text of the Sogdian *Viṣeṣacintibrahma-paripṛcchā-sūtra*”. *Studies on the Inner Asian Languages* 13, 111–28.
- LIVSHITS, Vladimir A. 2008: “Manichaica v Asiatskom muzee (Manichaica in the Asiatic Museum)”. In: *Rossiiskie ekspeditsii v Central’nuu Aziuu v kontse XIX — nachale XX veka*. Pod red. I.F. Popovoi. [“Russian Expeditions to Central Asia at the Turn of the 20th Century” (ed. by I.F. Popova)]. St. Petersburg: Slavia, 82–87.
- LIVSHITS, Vladimir A. 2015: *Sogdian epigraphy of Central Asia and Semirech’e*. Ed. by N. Sims-Williams. London: School of Oriental and African Studies (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II: Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, vol. III: Sogdian).
- MACKENZIE, David N. 1970: *The ‘Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions’ in Sogdian*. London: Oxford University Press (London Oriental Series 22).
-

- MACKENZIE, David N. 1976: *The Buddhist Sogdian Text of the British Library. Acta Iranica* 3 (10). Leiden: Brill.
- PĀKZĀD, Fazlollah 2005: *Bundahišn, Zoroastrische Kosmogonie und Kosmologie. Band I, Kritische Edition*. Tehrān: Centre for the Great Islamic Encyclopaedia.
- RADLOFF, Friedrich W. 1909: *Chuastuanit, das Bussgebet der Manichäer*. St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- RAGOZA, Asiiā N. 1972: *K istorii slozheniia kollektzii rukopisei na sredneiranskikh iazykakh iz Vostochnogo Turkestana, khраниashchikhsia v rukopisnom otele LO IVAN USSR* [In addition to the history of the collection of Manuscripts in the Middle Iranian languages of East Turkestan preserved in the Manuscript department of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR]. (Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia [Written monuments of Orient. Historical and philological studies]) 1969. Moscow: Nauka; Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury, 244–261.
- RAGOZA, Asiiā N. 1980: *Sogdiiskie fragmenty central'noaziatskogo sobraniia Instituta vostokovedeniia* [Sogdian fragments of the Central Asian fund of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection]. Moscow: Nauka; Glavnaia redaktsiia vostochnoi literatury.
- RECK, Christiane 2006: *Mitteliranische Handschriften. Teil 1: Berliner Turfanfragmente manichäischen Inhalts in soghdischer Schrift* (VOHD 18). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- ROSENBERG, Frédéric 1918: “Deux fragments sogdien bouddhiques du Ts'ien-fo-tong du Touen-houang (Mission S. Oldenburg, 1914–1915). I. Fragment d'un conte”. *Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* [Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences] 12, 817–842.
- ROSENBERG, Frédéric 1920: “Deux fragments sogdien-bouddhiques du Ts'ien-fo-tong du Touen-houang (Mission S. d'Oldenburg 1914–1915). II. Fragment d'un Sūtra”. *Izvestiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk* [Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences] 14, 399–429; 455–474.
- ROSENBERG, Frédéric 1927: “Un fragment sogdien bouddhique du Musée Asiatique (Kr. IV Soghd. 4)”. *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk SSSR* [Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR] 21, 1375–1398.
- SALEMANN, Carl H. 1912: “Manichaica III”. *Izvestiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk* [Proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Sciences] 6, 1–32.
- SCE = MACKENZIE 1970
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas 1977: “The Sogdian fragments of the British Library”. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 18/1–2, 1976, 43–82.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas 1992: “The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad II: Mani at the Court of the Shahanshah”. In: *Honor of Richard Nelson Frye. Aspects of Iranian Culture. Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 4. 1990, 281–8.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas 2009: “The Bactrian fragment in Manichaean script (M1224)”. In: *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Kolloquium anlässlich des 70. Geburtstags von Prof. Dr. W. Sundermann*. Ed. by D. Durkin-Meisterernst et al. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 245–268.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas (ed.) 2015: *The Life of Serapion and other Christian Sogdian Texts from the Manuscript E25 and E26*. Turnhout: Brepols (Berliner Turfantexte 35).
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas 2016: *A Dictionary: Christian Sogdian, Syriac and English*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag.
-

- 
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, Nicholas and BI BO 2015: "Sogdian Documents from Khotan, II: Letters and Miscellaneous Fragments". *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 135, no. 2, 261–282.
- SUNDERMANN, Werner 1973: *Mittelpersische und parthische kosmogonische und Parabeltexte der Manichäer*. Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR (Berliner Turfantexte 4).
- SUNDERMANN, Werner 1981: "Nachlese zu F.W.K. Müllers 'Soghdischen Texten I', 3. Teil". *Altorientalische Forschungen* 8, 169–225.
- SUNDERMANN, Werner 1985: *Ein manichäisch-soghdisches Parabelbuch mit einem Anhang von Friedmar Geissler über Erzählmotive in der Geschichte von den zwei Schlangen*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag (Berliner Turfantexte 15).
- SUNDERMANN, Werner 1990: *The Manichaean Hymn cycles Huyadagmān and Angad Rōšnān in Parthian and Sogdian*. London (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum Supplementary Series, vol. II).
- SUNDERMANN, Werner 1997: *Der Sermon von der Seele. Eine Lehrschrift des östlichen Manichäismus. Edition der parthischen und soghdischen Version mit einem Anhang von Peter Zieme. Die türkischen Fragmente des „Sermons von der Seele“*. Turnhout: Brepols (Berliner Turfantexte 19).
- SUNDERMANN, Werner 2005: "On the Identity and the Unity of the Parthian Language, and on its Unknown Words". In *Middle Iranian Lexicography*. Ed. by C.G. Cereti and M. Maggi). Roma, 85–100 (Serie Orientale Roma XCVIII: Orientalia Romana 8).
- SUNDERMANN, Werner 2012: *Die Rede der Lebendigen Seele. Ein Manichäischer Hymnenzyklus in mittelpersischer und soghdischer Sprache. Unter Mitarbeit von Desmond Durkin Meisterernst*. Turnhout: Brepols (Berliner Turfantexte 30).
- TD1 = *The Bondahesh. Being a Facsimile Edition of the Manuscript TD1*, Iranian Culture Foundation 88. Teheran 1970.
- VJ = BENVENISTE 1946.
- YOSHIDA Yutaka 1996: "The Sogdian Dhūta Text and Its Chinese Original". *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol. 10, 167–173.
- YOSHIDA Yutaka 2001: "On the Sogdian fragments of the St. Petersburg collection". *Contributions to the Studies of Eurasian Languages Series 3. Issues in Eurasian Languages* (1). Kyoto University, 105–17.
- YOSHIDA Yutaka 2009: "Sogdian". In: *The Iranian Languages* (ed. G.L. Windfuhr). London and New York: Routledge (Routledge Language Family Series).
-

Adam Benkato

## **Sogdian Letter Fragments in the IOM, RAS**

---

*Abstract:* Among the Sogdian fragments from Turfan preserved in the IOM collections are a handful of epistolary texts. A new edition of these fragments is presented here as part of the author's ongoing project on Sogdian letters from Turfan.

*Key words:* Sogdian, epistolary texts, Turfan, Manichaeism

### **Sogdian letter fragments**

An important part of the Sogdian corpora which have come down to us are epistolary texts. Indeed, both the earliest substantial Sogdian documents, the so-called 'Ancient Letters' (dating from around the early 300s CE and found in modern-day western China), and the only substantial corpus found in Sogdiana itself, the Mugh documents (dating from around the 720s CE), consist largely of letters. The Turfan collections around the world also preserve a number of epistolary texts, mostly fragmentary: the long texts from Bezeklik are the most recent substantial Sogdian texts to have been found, while smaller fragments are located in the Berlin Turfan collection, in Japanese collections, and in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, St. Petersburg. Finally, eight epistolary fragments were recently found in Khotan. Altogether, these texts give us a look at Sogdian epistolary traditions over some seven centuries. The edition and analysis of even fragmentary texts can contribute to efforts to reconstruct parts of those traditions — and eventually connect them with those of Central Asia and Iran more broadly.

### **The fragments of the IOM**

The exploration of ruins in the Turfan oasis, and subsequent obtaining of cultural artefacts, was in fact initiated by Russian scholars in the final

decades of the 1800s. Although by the turn of the century state funding for large-scale expeditions was not available, several Russian scholars and diplomats in Central Asia were nevertheless able to obtain manuscripts and objects, often through purchase from local people. Some of the letter fragments forming the subject of this paper seem to have been obtained in such a way: the first three in the table below belong to those fragments collected (probably before 1909) by the Russian council in Urumqi, Nikolai Krotkov. The last two fragments, however, were obtained by Sergei Oldenburg during his 1909–10 expedition in the northern Tarim Basin.<sup>1</sup> It is however not possible to state with more precision the locations from which these fragments may have been obtained.<sup>2</sup>

Reference number	New shelf number	Old shelf number	Edition	Description	Sogdian text
L44	SI 5387	SI Kr VI/706 No. 3453	Ragoza 1980, 36	26×25.5 cm	18 lines
L27	SI 1432	SI Kr IV/217 No. 2963	Ragoza 1980, 25–6	13.2×12.5 cm	9 lines
L63	SI 5532	SI Kr IV/806 No. 3553	Ragoza 1980, 44–5	7.5×11.2 cm	6 lines
L111	SI 4788	SI O/124 No. 4247	Ragoza 1980, 73	8×7 cm	5 lines
L118	SI 4797	SI O/134 No. 4257	Ragoza 1980, 76	8.5×27 cm	5 lines

The above letter fragments were initially edited by A.N. Ragoza in her *Sogdiiskie fragmenty central'noaziatskogo sobraniia Instituta vostokovedeniia* (“Sogdian fragments in the Central Asian collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies”, RAGOZA 1980), the editio princeps of the Sogdian fragments which were known at the time in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (IOM). However, Ragoza’s edition contained a number of editorial and linguistic problems, several of which were pointed out by Sims-Williams (1981) in a review. Furthermore, the photographs included in that volume were not of good enough quality to facilitate further work. Thanks to

<sup>1</sup> RAGOZA 1980, 7–8

<sup>2</sup> For a useful summary of Russian work in Turfan and other oases, along with many references, see Sundermann’s entry in the *Encyclopedia Iranica* (SUNDERMANN 2004). For more details about the Sogdian fragments in particular and how they were obtained, see RAGOZA 1980, 4–11.

the new, high resolution photographs kindly provided to me by the IOM, a completely new edition of these fragments will be presented here, ordered according to the length and importance of their content.

### Edition of Fragments<sup>3</sup>

#### L44

The most substantial of the letter fragments in the IOM, and perhaps, judging by its format, style of script, and use of numerous epistolary formulae, the only genuine (as opposed to draft) letter. Though it is incomplete and preserves only the, often hyperbolic, formalities which typically appear at the beginning of letters, a good deal of sense can be brought out of the text by comparison with other letter fragments, though unfortunately little in the way of content. It is at least clear that it is a letter from a queen of Ark ('rkc'nch x't'wnh) to a Manichaean 'teacher' (mwck').

- 1 [ s](p)'s nk'βty-p'z'n δykh ZY ptškw'nh
- 2 [ RBch 'nwt]y cnn wyspn'cyw 'nwtyh msy'tr ZY cnn
- 3 [wyspn'cw ''δy 'yw γ]w'ncykstr xyδ wyn ZY xyδ wyškyr 'xš'nky  
ptβ'yšcnw
- 4 [ ] mwck' γwβtk n'm kw
- 5 [ ](. )ry s'r
- 6 cnn xypδ wyn-nm'n šyr-'γδch kštrh
- 7 'rkc'nch x't'wnh ptškw'nh cnn δwr (z'yh)
- 8 [rtβn ](w)'n'kh pδkh w'βryδ nm'cyw βr'ym c'nw ZKn zwrny zwrny
- 9 cykt pwt'yšty s'r nm'cyw βr'nt • rtβγ kδ' šm'x trts'r pr
- 10 'sk' prn RB(kw ptβ)yw šyr'kk ZY βγ wrcy' 'skwδ' m'x
- 11 [xypδ γr'ywh nwšch my](n)ym (m'x) ms mδy nwr myδ prm zwk
- 12 ['skwym ](.. p)ptškw'nh βr'yš'ym p'rZY βγ pr
- 13 [ ](. 'n)w trts'r ''γtyt m't'ymn
- 14 [ ]y 'xš'nkwy βyrtδ'rm r'm'nt
- 15 [ ](. ) 'skwym yw'r βγ pr m'x w'xš
- 16 [ ]s'r ''(γtym)n ZY [..](δ)[..] 'nt'wxcn'k
- 17 [ ](k)npy 'krty xw(ty) (m)[ ](.y)
- 18 *illegible traces*

<sup>3</sup> Transliteration convention used are: (xyz) = partially legible letters, [xyz] = completely restored letters, [.] or (.) = one missing or illegible letter.

## Translation

(Lines 1–5) [...in(?)] service (and) submissive, a letter and humble request [...(to the) great hope], greater than every hope, the sight (of whom) is more important than [(that of) every (other) person], excellent, reverend [...] Teacher whose name is praised, [So-and-so].

(Lines 6–7) From your well-wishing, humble Queen of Ark, hopeful (of seeing you), a message from far away.

(Lines 8–12) We pay homage to you just as one (pays homage) to the Buddhas of the various periods. If you, Sir, are well and at ease there, Sir, in high fortune and great honor, then we [consider ourselves immortal]. We are well up until the present day [...]

(Lines 12–17) We send a message because, Sir, [...] we had come there [...] excellence, I obtained. Always [...] we remain, but, Sir, the news at us [...] we came to [...] and worry [...] became less itself [...]

## Commentary

1 *nk'βty-p'z'n* is a compound meaning ‘submissive’, literally ‘of bent (*nk'βty*) mind (*p'z'n*)’. That the corresponding abstract noun *nk'βtp'znky* ‘submissiveness’ is a Manichaean technical term referring to the sixth part of the first cardinal virtue *fryt't* ‘love’ could perhaps be taken as another indicator of this document’s Manichaean context.

2–3 *ZY cnn [wyspn'cw ''δy 'yw γ]w'ncykstr xyδ wyn ZY xyδ wyskyr* was paraphrased differently — “seeing you and meeting you face to face is more necessary to me than (every other sight)” — by Sims-Williams (1981, 236), assuming a restoration of something like *[wyspn'cw wyn]*. Sims-Williams noted further that *wyskyr* must be the verbal noun of the verb *wyskyr* ‘to open the eyes’; also compare So 18162/v/5/ *ZKw cšmw wškyrym* ‘we open our eye(s)’ (unpublished fragment, my reading).

5 Sundermann (1992, 80) suggested inserting *[ctβ'r-twγ]ry* into the gap at the beginning of the line. Besides there being no context to motivate the assumption that ‘Four Tughristan’ must be named, a place-name is not required in this part of the address, and as far as I can tell appears in no parallels.

6 The adj. *šyr''γδ'k* (f. *šyr''γδ'ch*). ‘well-wisher’ occurs in other letter fragments, sometimes in combination with *šyrxwzk* ‘friend’ or *šyrδrpty* / *šyr-zyty* (on which see YOSHIDA 2000, 47).

7 *'rkc'nch* f.sg. of the adjective *'rkc'ny a.* 'of (the city) Ark' (-*c'ny* adjectival suffix). An alternative adjectival formation is *'rkeyk* (with -*cyk* suffix).

8–9 The formulation of these lines, as already noticed by Sims-Williams (1981, 235) is strikingly similar to that of a phrase in Ancient Letter 5, as follows:

L44/8–9/ *[rtβn ](w)'n'kh pδkh w'βryδ nm'cyw βr'ym c'nw ZKn zwrny zwrnycykt pwt'yšty s'r nm'cyw βr'nt*

'According to custom, we pay homage to you just as one pays homage to the Buddhas of various periods'.

AL5/3–4/ *'YKZYβn xwty [wyn'n 'PZY]tn 'c nztw nm'cyw βr'n 'Y[KZ]Y wyšnw βγ'nw*

'If I might see you myself and might pay homage to you from nearby [as] (homage is paid) to the gods'.<sup>4</sup>

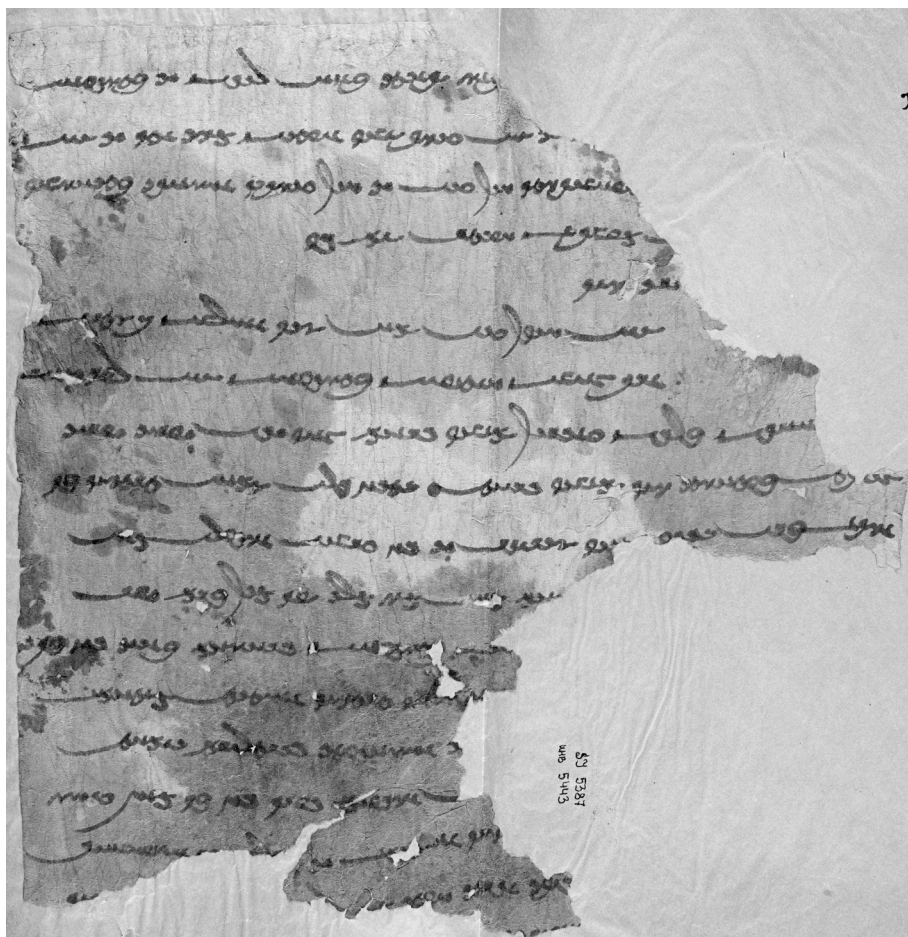
The main difference is that in L44 'Buddhas of various periods' are referred to, instead of the *βγ'nw* 'gods' of the Ancient Letter. Further references to these 'Buddhas of various periods' include M 134ii/v/8–9 *zwrnyy zwr[nyy p]wtyšt' 'γtnd* 'the ~ came' and L106/3 *wyspw zwrnycyktw pw[t'yšt]* 'all ~'. A very likely attestation of this phrase found in So 14187+/2–4/ *[zwrn]y zwr[ny]-cykt pwttyšty pš'[γ]ry[w]'k ZY pr[w] βr'yšt'k* '[I was waiting] for the paraclete of the Buddhas of the different periods and for the Apostle' makes it certain that it is a Manichaean reference to the prophets who appeared from time to time before the coming of Mani—what another text describes as *pty'mβrt ZY βγ'y 'zy'nt* 'envoys and God's messengers'.<sup>5</sup> The restoration of *rtβn* (where -*βn* is the 2pl. enclitic pronoun) at the beginning of /8/ is mine on the basis of the parallel with AL5.

13 *'γtyt m't'ymn* is the so-called periphrastic perfect, formed by the pp. *'γtyt* (here pl.) and auxiliary verb *m't'ymn* (1pl.itr.pret.).

14 Yoshida (p.c.) suggests that *'xš'nkwy' βyrtδ'rm* may mean something like 'I obtained magnificence', where *'xš'nkwy'* refers to a rank or honorable title of some sort. He draws my attention to the Mugh document B-17 where in /11/ one finds the expression *RB pδβrw ZY 'yr'n'wkw 'βr'nt* 'they brought (me) a high rank and honor'.

<sup>4</sup> From the edition of SIMS-WILLIAMS et al. 2001, 92–3.

<sup>5</sup> See RECK 2009, 248–9.



L44 (SI 5387)

### The Manichaean Context of L44

Although L44 is rich in epistolary formulae and relatively clearly written, it is rather poor in content, as the body of the letter is hardly preserved. Nevertheless, the sender's title (*'rkč'nh x't'wnh* 'Queen of Ark') and recipient's (*mwck* 'teacher') may be the most important words of the fragment, and the latter together with the phrase *zwrny zwrnycykt pwt'yšty* '(to the) Buddhas of the various periods' make it certain that L44 originates from a Manichaean context.

It is already known that there was at one point a Manichaean community in Ark itself, to be identified with modern-day Qarashahr to the west of Turfan, according to Henning's arguments (1938, 564–71). Indeed, the hymnbook *Mahrnāmag* was begun there in 762 CE, as its colophon states, before being taken to Qocho and completed some decades later:

M1/186–9/ *pd m'nyst'n 'y 'rk 'wft'dg w: nyh'dg bwd*

‘(This hymnbook) lay about and was deposited in the monastery of Ark’.<sup>6</sup>

Furthermore, in M1 (lines 88–9) a king of Ark (*'rkyq xw't'w*) is mentioned among the many dignitaries who provided support for the Manichaean activities that resulted in the hymnbook's completion after 800. That a Manichaean community existed in Ark during the 8th–9th cc. is also attested in a hymn fragment which praises the Manichaean leader (whose name and title are missing) ‘of the famous blissful, prosperous country of Ark’ (*'y n'mwrng frwx' [h]w'b'd šhr 'y 'rq*).<sup>7</sup> It is therefore quite certain that the letter stems from a genuine Manichaean context. A date, however, cannot be ascertained since the end of the letter where dating formulae typically appear is lost and because this queen may have reigned in Ark, or been the wife of a reigning king, at any essentially time during the Manichaean presence in the area.

Despite the lack of detailed content from which historical arguments could be made, Tremblay, in his book on the history of Manichaeism in Central Asia, nevertheless attempts a much more specific interpretation. Claiming that the sender of L44 was the spouse of a certain Yen-t'u-fu-yen (who reigned in Ark around the year 719, according to the Chinese *T'ang-chou*), Tremblay states that therefore the letter must have been written before 719.<sup>8</sup> He restates these points on another page, saying “Yen-t'u-fu-yen, king of Agni in 719, was perhaps named \*Altun Bodun; his wife, author of the Sogdian letter L44, was in any case a Turkic qatun”,<sup>9</sup> and goes even further

<sup>6</sup> My English translation of the Middle Persian. Original edition and German translation by MÜLLER 1913.

<sup>7</sup> Edited in DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2014, 282–3. The adjective ‘of Ark’ is also listed in the Sogdian *n'βn'm'k* ‘Book of Nations’ which exists in two slightly different versions: Ch/So 20166 (published in HENNING 1940, 8–11) and O 7466 (published in KUDARA et al. 1997, 143); in the former it follows ‘Kuchean’ while in the latter it follows *'βš'wy[...]*, an unknown word.

<sup>8</sup> TREMBLAY 2001, 92.

<sup>9</sup> “Yen-t'u-fu-yen, roi d'Agni en 719, se nommait peut-être \*Altun Bodun; son épouse, auteur de la lettre sogdienne L44, était en tout cas une qatun turque” (TREMBLAY 2001, 38n58), my translation.

at another point, stating that “the sole fact that [L44] was written by a queen of Agni to a mozak before 694[!?] makes it a valuable historical document”.<sup>10</sup> To emphasize this relatively early dating, Tremblay goes on to describe the language of L44 as an “archaic linguistic stratum” to be dated to the sixth century CE—presumably an over-interpretation of Sims-Williams’ comment that “[L44’s] phraseology strikingly resembles that of the ‘Ancient Letters’ and of the more formal and archaic of the Mugh letters”.<sup>11</sup> It seems that Sims-Williams rather intended to highlight the fact that L44 contains a number of epistolary formulae which are also present in the Mugh documents and Ancient Letters, and are archaic in the sense that they were maintained in Sogdian letter writing over several centuries and in places far away from Sogdiana. The process by which Tremblay arrives at either date, however, is completely opaque and he offers no proof to support his claim that the sender of L44 was the spouse of a sovereign named Yen-t’u-fu-yen. This is at best a guess: with neither personal names nor dates in the fragment, there is nothing concrete to link it with a particular person or place known from other historical sources.

A different tack is taken by Moriyasu in his work on the history of Uighur Manichaeism, in which he argues that Ark was the capital of the west-Uighur empire from around the third quarter of the 9th c. on (2004:165). Regarding L44, Moriyasu refrains from attempting to spin details out of its meager content, but notes that as the *xātūn* (OTk. *qatun*) would have been the spouse of the *qagan*, the fact that she was the *xātūn* of Ark supports the argument that the *qagan*’s seat was in Ark (2004:166). This would mean that a *terminus post quem* for the writing of L44 would be the 850s. Though Moriyasu’s arguments are more convincing in terms of locating the letter within a rough chronology, I refrain from attempting to refine it any further until new information comes to light.

As for the Queen of Ark’s interlocutor, there are two possibilities. At first glance, one might assume that *mwck*’ refers to the Manichaean title *Možak* ‘Teacher’, that is, the second-highest rank of the Manichaean church hierarchy after the head of the entire Church. As one of only twelve distributed throughout the world, this ‘Teacher’ would have therefore been

<sup>10</sup> “Le seul fait qu’elle ait été écrite par une reine d’Agni à un mozak avant 694 en fait un document historique précieux” (TREMBLAY 2001, 218), my translation.

<sup>11</sup> In Sims-Williams’ review of Ragoza’s original edition (1981, 235). Tremblay neither cites Sims-Williams nor offers any argument for his idea that the language of L44 has something to do with the 6th c.

the highest-ranking Manichaean clergyman in the area.<sup>12</sup> This assumption is perhaps commensurate with the fact that a Queen is the sender of the letter. However, it is not clear whether *mwck* actually means the same thing as the word *mwj'k* or *mwz'k*, since the latter is a Parthian loan (as typical for many Manichaean titles and technical terms in Sogdian) while *mwck* is the inherited Sogdian form.<sup>13</sup> In at least one Sogdian fragment, *mwck* should be understood as the common noun ‘teacher’ and not the rank ‘Teacher’: M 483+/11/ *šm'x frnyy 'ft'r mwck 'ty xwštyy nyy γwt* ‘many teachers and masters are not necessary for Your Honor’.<sup>14</sup> This being the case, it is then unclear how *mwck* is used here in L44.

Finally, it is worth noting how the queen’s status relative to the addressee is represented. For example, the formulae used to name the sender of a letter begins in practically every other attestation with the words *cn xypδ βntk* ‘from your servant’. In L44, however, the word ‘servant’ is avoided, no doubt unsuitable for a queen addressing anyone else. Furthermore, where long, hyperbolic phrases are sometimes composed to convey humility on the part of the sender, the queen of Ark simply adds a few pleasantries, describing herself as ‘hopeful (of seeing you)’, a ‘well-wisher’, and ‘humble’. Other letters fill this out with phrases such as *kštr 100 RYPW myk βntk* ‘(your) hundred-thousand (times) insignificant servant’ (i.e. Mugh B-16) or *n' -'sp'xštw ZY kw 'sp's n' pr'γtw* ‘(the one who) has not served (you) and not arrived at (your) service’ (i.e. Bezeklik B).

## L27

This small fragment is written in a thick hand described by Sims-Williams as a “particularly repulsive, unpractised cursive” (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981, 235 with accompanying translation). Indeed, the letters are not carefully formed, with for example *r* and *β* having practically identical shapes. Although the

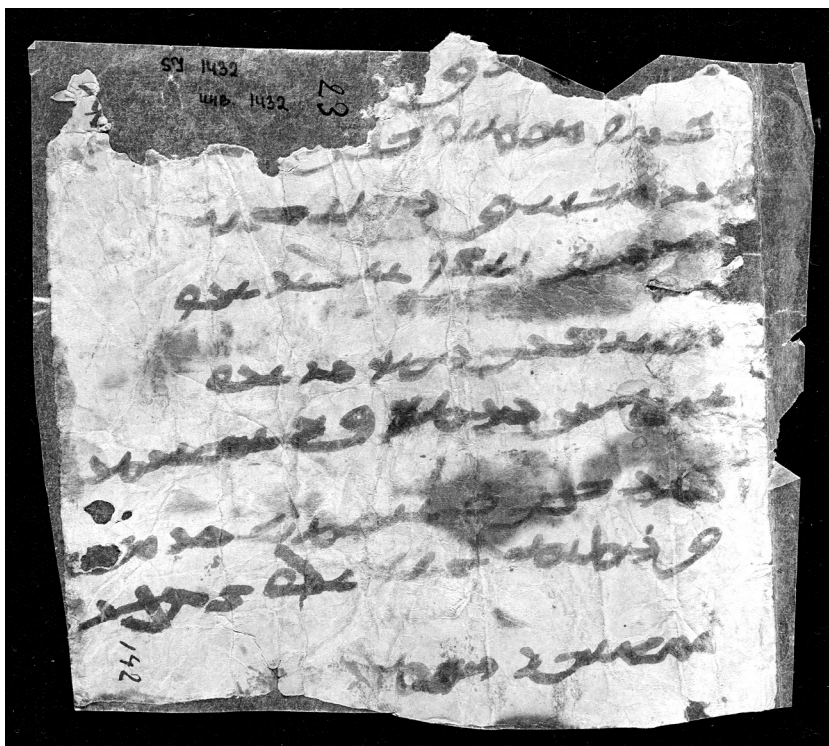
<sup>12</sup> Bezeklik letter B, for example, is addressed to *mr 'ry'm'nw pwxr* ‘Mar Aryaman-puhr’ whose rank is given as *xwrsncykw mwz' kw* ‘Teacher of the East’. For more on the rank of ‘Teacher’ see LEURINI 2013, 187–9, and *eadem*, 159–220 for more on the hierarchy of the Manichaean Church in general. Note that some scholars prefer to render the title with ‘Docteur (de l’Eglise)’ as it is less ambiguous with the common noun ‘teacher’ and more comparable with the Latin equivalent *magister*.

<sup>13</sup> The word for *Možak* is written variously as *mwj'k*, and *mwz'k(')* in Manichean sources (cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2012, 116b for attestations). Thanks to Yutaka Yoshida for drawing this problem to my attention.

<sup>14</sup> The entire fragment is edited in Benkato (2016) along with commentary.

full width of the fragment is preserved, it would be difficult to make sense of the handwriting if it were not for the fact that the fragment contains an otherwise well-known salutation formula.

1	[. . . . .]p [. . . . 't]	[... To]
2	βγw xwt'w R(Bkw ' nwth)	the noble Lord, (my) great hope
3	ZY (γ)r'n pst'(t c)nn	and firm support,
4	(wys)pn'cw ''δ'y 'yw	the most necessary
5	(γw)'ncykstr ZY 'yw	and excellent of
6	'(xšn)kystr pr '(zw)'nty	everyone in the living
7	δ'm RBkw 'nwth ZY γ(r'n)	world, great hope and firm
8	pst't cnn 'δw cym'	support, more excellent
9	'xšnky-st(r)	than (my own) two eyes.



L27 (SI 1432)

## L63

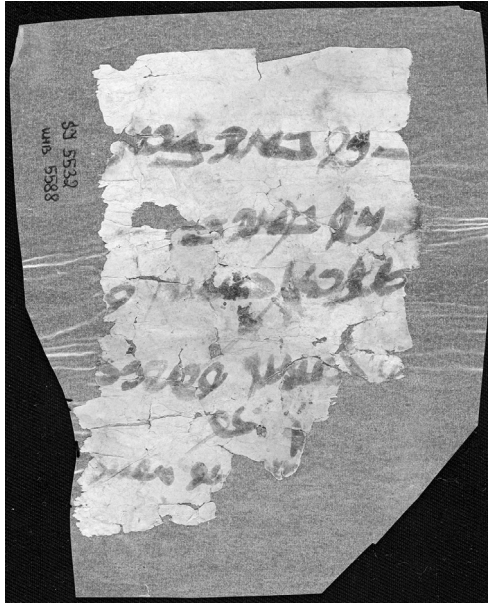
A fragment in a relatively regular hand, though poorly preserved. Its classification as a letter is based on the words *kw βγγ* ‘to the Lord’ and *ptβyw* ‘reverence’, which occur in a number of such fragments.<sup>15</sup>

- |   |                       |                                    |
|---|-----------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1 | ](.) kw βγγ my(.)[    | ...to the lord...                  |
| 2 | ] kw βγγ m[.] [       | ...to the lord...                  |
| 3 | 'pr]tmy'n (w'x)š p[   | ...Afartamyān's news...            |
| 4 | 'p](t')ycs'r ptwy(δ)[ | ...in front, offer...              |
| 6 | ]w xw(r)y [           | ...to the sister <sup>16</sup> ... |

V ptβyw

reverence

3 Sims-Williams and Durkin-Meisterernst (2012, 16a) suggest reading [*'pr*]tmy'n, a personal name attested once otherwise, in Buddhist Sogdian. According to Lurje (2010, 95), the name means ‘first boon’.



L63 (SI 5532)

<sup>15</sup> See SIMS-WILLIAMS and HALÉN 1980, 7.

<sup>16</sup> Suggestion of SIMS-WILLIAMS and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2012, 219a.

## L111

No new photograph for this fragment is available, as its condition is too poor to allow for digitization work. However, Ragoza's readings may be improved as the fragment contains parts of the epistolary formula used to indicate the addressee and the image given in her catalogue is relatively clear.<sup>17</sup>

1	'tkw [pry]w ('x)	To the dear, excellent,
2	šnky p'šc'n	respected
3	βr't š(my)wn s'r	brother Šim'on
4	MN δwr z'yh	from far away
5	'(xš'nky)	excellent...

3 The personal name šmywn was, as Sims-Williams (1981, 235) already noted, one of the few Semitic names in use by the Manichaeans of Central Asia. See Lurje (2010, 371) for further discussion.

## L118 + Dx 09961

L118 is very long, mostly blank fragment, the top of which joins with Dx 09961, together containing only seven partially-preserved lines of Sogdian text on the verso of a Chinese scroll. This text most likely contains simply a writing exercise, as no content beyond a few epistolary formulae is preserved and the placeholder *t'nm'n* 'so-and-so' for the addressee's name is used. Some of the text can be confidently restored based on several parallels. The two fragments join at lines 3–5 where indicated. I thank Yutaka Yoshida for sharing his identification of the join; the reading and translation is mine based on new photos.<sup>18</sup>

1	[ 't βγ' nw ] 'nywn[	To the godlike [...]
2	[            ](p)tβyw c(n)[w	[...] reverence [...]
3	[            ](t)'nm'n[ ] s'r pyšt	[...] So-and-so. Sent

<sup>17</sup> RAGOZA 1980, 178, top.

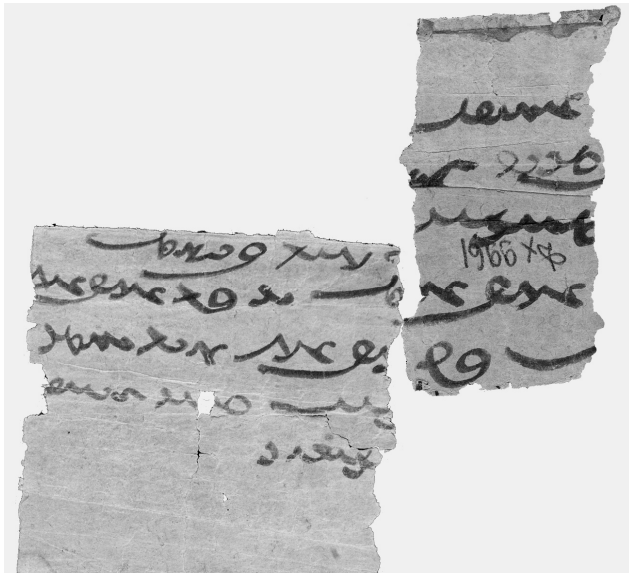
<sup>18</sup> Yoshida is preparing editions of a number of unpublished texts from St. Petersburg, including Dx 09961. His work should be consulted for more details about the fragment. It bears mentioning that although Chinese fragments with Dx signatures should have been found in Dunhuang, Yoshida (2001:115n11) points out that a number of them must have been found in Turfan. As Dx 09961 joins with a fragment bearing an O (for Oldenburg) signature, it is likely that both come from Turfan, as Oldenburg did not obtain fragments from Dunhuang.

- 4 [MN xypδ L' ]'sp'(x)[š]|t ZY pr [by your (servant who) has not  
'sp's served] and
- 5 [L' pr'γ]t pw |['](s)p's šyr-zγty [has not reached] service [and is  
without] service, a friend
- 6 [šyr'γδy n](m)'n w[y]ny cyn'w[t] [and well wisher, hope]ful and  
desirous of seeing (you),
- 7 [ 'm'rz-y [...] attendant

3 As can be seen in the image, the words *s'r pyšt* are written somewhat below the line of the preceding word, but seemingly not low enough to themselves form an entirely different line.

4 My restoration based on parallels. Lines /5–6/ restored by Yoshida (2000, 48).

7 'm'rz-y, though unclear, may be connected with 'mrzy in Bezeklik letter C, according to Yoshida (2000, 124-5). In the Dictionary of Manichaean Texts it is suggested that both may be connected with the Parthian word *h'mhyrz* 'attendant' (Sims-Williams & Durkin-Meisterernst 2012, 9a), as in both attestations it forms part of the epithets used to indicate the humility of a letter's sender with respect to the addressee.



## References

- BENKATO, A. 2016. "Sogdian letter fragments in Manichaean script." *Studia Iranica* 45/2, 197–220.
- DURKIN-MEISTERERNST, D. 2014: *Miscellaneous Hymns. Middle Persian and Parthian Hymns in the Turfan Collection* (Berliner Turfantexte 31). Turnhout.
- HENNING, W.B. 1938: "Arghi and the 'Tokharians' ". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 9/3, 545–571.
- HENNING, W.B. 1940: *Sogdica*. London.
- KUDARA, K., W. SUNDERMANN and Y. YOSHIDA. 1997: *Iranian Fragments from the Oñani Collection*. Kyoto.
- LEURINI, C. 2013: *The Manichaean Church. An essay mainly based on the texts from Central Asia*. Rome.
- LURJE, P. 2010: *Personal Names in Sogdian Texts* (IPNB II/8). Vienna.
- MORIYASU, T. 2004: *Die Geschichte des uighurischen Manichäismus an der Seidenstrasse. Forschungen zu manichäischen Quellen und ihrem geschichtlichen Hintergrund*. Wiesbaden.
- MÜLLER, F.W.K. 1913: "Ein Doppelblatt aus einem manichäischen Hymnenbuch 'Mahnamag' ". *Abhandlungen der königlichen Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.
- RAGOZA A.N. 1980: *Sogdijskie fragmenty central'noaziatskogo sobraniia Instituta vostokovedeniia*. Moscow.
- RECK, C. 2009: "Snatches of the Middle Iranian 'Tale of the Five Brothers' ". *Letter of the Seal*. In *New Light on Manichaeism: Papers from the 6th International Meeting of the IAMS*, ed. J. BeDuhn. Leiden, 241–257.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, N. 1981: "The Sogdian Fragments of Leningrad". *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 44/2, 231–40.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, N. and D. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST. 2012: *Dictionary of Manichaean Texts. Volume III, 2: Texts from Central Asia and China (Texts in Sogdian and Bactrian)*. Turnhout.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, N., F. GRENET, and É. de la VAISSIÈRE. 1998: "The Sogdian Ancient Letter V". *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 12, 91–104.
- SIMS-WILLIAMS, N. and H. HALÉN. 1980: *The Middle Iranian fragments in Sogdian script from the Mannerheim collection* (*Studia Orientalia* 51/13). Helsinki.
- SUNDERMANN, W. 1992: "Iranian Manichaean Turfan Texts concerning the Turfan region". In *Turfan and Tun-Huang. The Texts: Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Route*, ed. by A. Cadonna (*Orientalia Venetiana* 4). Florence, 63–84.
- SUNDERMANN, W. 2004: "Turfan Expeditions." *Encyclopedia Iranica*, online edition, available at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/turfan-expeditions-2>
- TREMBLAY, X. 2001: *Pour une histoire de la Sérinde. Le manichéisme parmi les peuples et religions d'Asie Centrale d'après les source primaires*. Vienna.
- YOSHIDA, Y. 2000: "Studies of Sogdian texts". *Tulufan xinchu Moni jiao wenxian yanjiu* [Studies in the Manichaean texts recently discovered at Turfan]. Ed. Liu Hong-liang. Beijing, 3–199 [in Chinese].
- YOSHIDA, Y. 2001: "On the Sogdian fragments of the St. Petersburg collection". *Contributions to the Studies of Eurasian Languages*, Series 3, *Issues in Eurasian Languages* 1, 105–117.

Peter Zieme

**An Embryonic Saint.  
Interpretation of an Old Uighur Fragment  
in the Serindia Collection at the IOM, RAS**

---

*Abstract:* In this paper the author edits a fragment of the Oldenburg Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts. The text is a unique story about a child in mother's womb attaining the *srota-āpanna*-ship by listening to Buddha's teaching.

*Key words:* Old Uighur Buddhism, Oldenburg Collection, dharma and *srota-āpanna*, Old Uighur words.

The fragment SI 4759 (O 99) of the Oldenburg Collection of the IOM, RAS is highly exceptional.<sup>1</sup> The recto side is part of a Chinese book scroll containing a complete text with the title at the beginning and the end: 佛說觀門經 *Foshuo guanmen jing*. This version corresponds to the 南天竺國菩提達摩禪師觀門 *Nantianzhuguo Putidamo chanshi guanmen*<sup>2</sup> a work of the Bodhidharma genre discussing the seven kinds of 觀門 *guanmen* ("gates of examining"): "Contemplation method of the South Indian *dhyāna* master Bodhidharma". The work is known from several Dunhuang copies.<sup>3</sup>

This manuscript was more probably among the finds Oldenburg made at Turfan than of Dunhuang. If this holds true, it is another indication of the strong relationship between the Buddhists of the two regions and of their adherence to Chan Buddhism as well.

Now let us turn to the verso side which is a peculiar fragment of an Old Uighur Buddhist text. As I have been unable to identify it with any other

---

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

<sup>1</sup> In 2015, at Irina Popova's invitation, I had the pleasure of giving a lecture at the IOM, RAS about Old Uighur literature connected with the fragment from the Oldenburg Collection discussed here.

<sup>2</sup> T.LXXXV.2832.1270b03-c01. The text of four lines (c01–05) is missing in the St. Petersburg manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Dunhuang concordance, 259: 1270b3–c1 = S.6958[1], 1270b3–c5 = S.2583V, 1270b3–c5 = S.2669V[2], 1270b11–16 = BD11164, 1270b13–17 = BD11164 中書 77.

---

Buddhist text of the larger traditions,<sup>4</sup> I would also hope in introducing it here, that still some Buddhist scholar may yet come forward with a clue as to its identification or a similar version.

The surviving text is short, the script is rather well executed so that there are not many problems of reading and explication. It seems that after the end of line 25 the scribe changed his *kalam*, because the letters are bolder and a little larger.

One can assume that the first preserved section mentions Buddha (or someone else?) preaching the *dharma* to a child in a womb because of which it immediately attained the state of a *srota-āpanna*. The mother, who heard the child saying: “I have attained the state of a *srota-āpanna*” expresses her gratitude and joy. Nevertheless she is characterised as *busuṣṭug* “sorrowful”. Probably in the lost text that precedes it was written that the child suffered somehow because of something for some reason. An essential point is that the mother argues that the child attained sainthood because she herself always listened to the *dharma* or caused the child to listen to the *dharma*.<sup>5</sup>

The text continues with some short phrases on the later life of this child as a sort of interlude. Finally, it becomes evident that the story was used by the Buddha as a parable to his pupils or listeners, when he calls on them to listen faithfully to the *dharma*. The fragment ends in a short reverence to the phase of Buddha’s life when he set out to live as an ascetic.

R. Ohnuma has studied five “metaphorical pregnancies”,<sup>6</sup> not a rare topic in Buddhist literature. Inter alia she refers to the *Tathāgatagarbha Sūtra* in which the eighth of nine similes for the inner beauty as opposed to outward ugliness is expounded. She writes: “The simile asks its audience to imagine ‘a woman who is impoverished, vile, ugly, and hated by others’ yet ‘bears a noble son in her womb’. The son ‘will become a universal monarch, replete with seven treasures and all virtues’, who will one day ‘possess as king the four quarters of the earth’. But his mother ‘is incapable of knowing this and conceives only thoughts of inferiority’, constantly thinking of him ‘as a base-born, impoverished child’ ”.<sup>7</sup> I am well aware of the different context because the author uses the simile “only to draw a contrast, once again,

---

<sup>4</sup> I express my gratitude to Reiko Ohnuma, Gergely Hidas, and Paul Nietupski who responded to my inquiry about a possible Vorlage for the Old Uighur story of the saint in the womb and gave me useful advice.

<sup>5</sup> This reminds one of the psychic and other influences a mother exerts on the child in her womb during the pregnancy. Some scientific examinations have been made, but the whole matter is still under debate.

<sup>6</sup> OHNUMA 2012, chapter 6.

<sup>7</sup> OHNUMA 2012, 156.

between a suffering mother and a noble, liberated son, and to encourage the 'son' within each of us to deny our descent from the mother's womb".<sup>8</sup>

It seems to be worth mentioning also the *Pusa chu tai jing* (T. 384) extensively studied by E. Legittimo. In one passage there "the Buddha shows himself within his mother's body".<sup>9</sup>

What a contrast to the Old Uighur text, here the mother is not only described as being sorrowful, but she also supports and encourages her son to listen to the *dharmā*.

### Transliteration and transcription of the fragment

(missing)

(01) '[ ]k kwyneklynk' y'r'sy nwm nwml'p 'nt'

(01) [ ]k köŋliŋä yaraşı nom nomlap anta

(02) qy 'wq 'wlwrrw yyrynt' swrt'p'n qwt q'

(02) -k(i)y-a ok olurur yerintä sortapan<sup>10</sup> kut-ka

(03) t'kwrw yrlyq'dy . 'wl pwsws lwq qwnwcy l'r ym' pylty

(03) tägürü y(a)rlikadı . ol busuş-lug kunčuy-lar y(ä)mä bilti

(04) mn . swrt'p'n qwtynk' t'kdym typ 'wytrw kwynkwlyn

(04) m(ä)n . sortapan kutıŋa tägdim tep ötrü köŋülin

(05) tyn 'wytkwrw 'qmys y'sy 'wl 'wqwl qy 'nynk

(05) -tin ötgürü akmiş yaşı ol ogul-k(i)y-a-nıŋ

(06) 't'wyzynk' t'mtwq t' 'nt' qy 'wq 'qw tyny k'typ

(06) ät' öziŋä tamtuk-ta anta-k(i)y-a ok agu tını kitip

(07) s'sylyp p'rdy . 'ync' q' lty 'wtyywr kysy <deleted word>

(07) šaşılp bardı . inčä kaltı udıyur kiši

(08) <deleted word> 'wvsyntyn p'lynkl'p twrrw 'rs'r 'ncwl'yw

(08) uusıntın<sup>11</sup> bäliläp turur ärsär ančulayu

(09) ym' 'wl 'wqwl 'wqwl qy 'swcyw sykryw twrrw k'ldy

(09) y(ä)mä ol ogul ogul-k(i)y-a sučıyu sikriyü turup kaldi

(10) 'wl 'wqwl qy 'nynk 'n'sy pyr + 'rs'r + swrt'p'n qwtyn

(10) ol ogul-k(i)y-a-nıŋ anası bir (ärsär) sortapan kutın

(11) pwlmys s'vync k' 'ykynty 'wqly tyrylmys s'vync k'

(11) bulmış sävinč-kä ikinti ogli tirilmiş sävinč-kä

<sup>8</sup> OHNUMA 2012, 159.

<sup>9</sup> LEGITTIMO 2005, 9 (T.XII.384.1015c8).

<sup>10</sup> swrt'p'n.

<sup>11</sup> The third letter looks like v, but it should be w.

- (12) 'wykwrwp s'vynyp 'wz'dy nwm 'ysydm'k k' 't'wyzyn  
 (12) ögürüp<sup>12</sup> sävinip uzatı nom işidmāk-kā āt'özin  
 (13) 'wykr'tyk qylty 'wl'wq 'wykws nwm 'ysydmys tylt'qynt'  
 (13) ögrätig kılty ol ok üküš nom işidmiš tıltagınta  
 (14) 'wylkwswz 'wykws k'lp l'rt' 'wystwn t'nkry yyrynt'  
 (14) ülgüsüz üküš kalp-larta üstün täñri yerintä  
 (15) ''ltyn ylnkwq ''žwnynt' m'nky twnk' t'kynyp ''nk  
 (15) altın yalñuk ažunınta mäñi toña täginip äñ  
 (16) kynynt' s'ns'r tyn 'wzwp nyrv'n lyq 'yncckwk'  
 (16) kenintä sansar-tın ozup nirvan-lig enčgükä  
 (17) t'kdy l'r ''ny kwyrwnkl'r twyzwn l'r ''nk myntyn t's  
 (17) tägdı-lär anı körüñlär tözün-lär-ä äñ mıntın taš  
 (18) t' ty'qw t' 'ynq' pwlmys k'nc kycyk 'wqwl qy '  
 (18) -ta tıyagu-ta inga bolmiš känč kičig ogul-k(ı)ya  
 (19) nwm 'ysydm'k tylt'q'nt' 'ykyl'yw tyrylkwc' t'nkl[ ]  
 (19) nom işidmāk tıltagınta ikiläyü tirilgüčä täñl[ig]  
 (20) 'rs'r . t'qy n' ''yytmys krk'k syz l'r ny t'k  
 (20) ärsär . takı nä ayıtmiš k(ä)rgäk sizlär-ni täğ  
 (21) 'ylyktyn swynkwkty n p'rmys kyrtkwynclwk swyzwk  
 (21) iliktin süñüktin barmış kertgünčlüg süzüc  
 (22) kwynkwlnkwz l'r 'wyz' nwm 'ysydyp 'dkw twys k' 'wtly  
 (22) köñülünüz-lär üzä nom işidip ädgü tüš-kä utlı  
 (23) q' t'km'kyk ''nyn qwp t' qwp swyzwk  
 (23) -ka tägmäkig anın kop-ta kop süzüc  
 (24) kyrtkwnc kwynkwlyn pw nwm 'rdynyk 'ysydkwk'  
 (24) kertgünč köñülin bo nom ärdinig işidgükä  
 (25) ''nwq pwlwp 'wlwrmysynkyz l'r k'rk'k pw nwm 'rdyny  
 (25) anuk bolup olurmišñız-lar kärgäk bo nom ärdini

From *bo nom ärdini* till the end of the leaf the text was written by a different hand or with a different *kalam*:

- (26) pw mwnt'q yyk 'wystwnky 'wlwq twys k'  
 (26) bo muntag yeg üstünki ulug tüš-kä  
 (27) 'wtly q' t'kwrd'cy 'wycwn ''nyn pw pyz  
 (27) utlı-ka täğürdäči ücün anın bo biz  
 (28) nyny p'qsymz twyk'l pylk' tnkry tnkrysy  
 (28) -niñ baxšım(ı)z tükäl bilgä t(ä)ñri t(ä)ñrisi  
 (29) pwrq'n 's'nky lyq 'wzwn ywl l'rt'

<sup>12</sup> Usually the verb is *ögir-*.

- (29) burhan asanki-lig uzun yol-larta  
 (30) q'tyql'nwr 'rk'n tww twypw p'qrw  
 (30) katıglanur ärkän tüü tüpi bag(a)ru(?)  
 (31) (missing)  
 (32)<sup>13</sup> (missing)  
 (33) (missing)  
 (on verso side)  
 (34) twrqw t'k ''cyq 'mk'k 'mknw yrlyqdy n't'k  
 (34) turgu täg açığ ämgäk ämg(ä)nü y(a)rlikadı nätäg  
 (35) 'rk'n  
 (35)<sup>14</sup> ärkän(?)

## Translation

[Because the Buddha(?)] preached the *dharma* appropriately to the heart [of the little child], he immediately on the spot where he was sitting graciously let him reach the *srota-āpanna*-ship.

[woman — child in the womb]

The sorrowful woman realised it (when the little child spoke): ‘I reached the *srota-āpanna*-ship’. Then, as soon as the tears from her heart were shed on the body of the little child, the poisonous breath dissolved and disappeared. Like a sleeping man suddenly awakes and arises from his sleep, in just that manner the little child came to life (again) while jumping and bouncing. The mother of the little child rejoiced first that it had reached the *srota-āpanna*-ship and secondly that her child was alive. For a long time she had taught the child<sup>15</sup> to listen to the *dharma*.

[Later story of the child]

On account his listening to the *dharma* so much, he enjoyed in numberless and many *kalpas* above in heaven’s land and beneath in the state of a human being joy, happiness and welfare, in the end he was released from *samsāra* and reached the *nirvāṇa* peace.

[Address to the pupils]

O noble men, look at this! If a young and little child (in the womb) worth less than a stone or a piece of loam through listening to the *dharma* once

---

<sup>13</sup> Or more missing lines. The scribe first used the empty verso side and then continued writing after turning the sheet over as there was empty space at the end of the recto side.

<sup>14</sup> Only *ṣ* in small letters.

<sup>15</sup> “His body”.

---

more becomes alive, what is to be said about you, who are made of marrow and bones being and able to listen to the teaching with belief and thus to reach the good fruit! Therefore you should in great and full belief sit and be ready to listen to the *dharma*.

[Reference to the life of the Buddha]

Because the dharma jewel leads one to this incomparable great fruit, therefore the body hair stood straight when our master, the completely wise god of gods Buddha, was striving on the *asaṃkhyeya* long ways (...) as if (...) he graciously suffered great pain like (...)

### Some notes

(01) One can only conjecture that the missing part contained some information about the child.

(01–02) *antak(i)ya ok* “suddenly”.<sup>16</sup>

(02) *sortapan* = Skt. *srota-āpanna* “stream-winner” is the first stage of the *śrāvaka* way that leads to the stage of an *arhat* (DDB). Cp. several instances in the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts in BT XXVIII where *sortapan* is attested only once while more often it is *srotapan*.<sup>17</sup> The state of a *srota-āpanna* is expressed by *sortapan kut*, but more often *sortapan kuti*<sup>18</sup> is encountered with, although already in the early text of the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* the former type is recorded: *sordapan [ku]tka tæg*.<sup>19</sup>

(04) The sentence *m(ā)n sortapan kutiṇa tægdim* is direct speech by the child. The dot after *m(ā)n* seems to mark the pronoun as the theme.

(06) *agu tim* “her poisonous breath”.<sup>20</sup> There is another example in the famous story of Kalyāṇakaṃkāra and Pāpaṃkāra,<sup>21</sup> where we read of a poisonous snake: *al altunka tagka tägsärsiz kök lenhua körgäysiz ol lenhua sayu birär agulug yılan bar agu tını ıraktın ançulayu közüniür kaltı lenhua sayu tütün tütärçä* “When you reach this golden mountain you will see a blue lotus with a poisonous snake on each leaf, and their poisonous breath looks as if smoke arises from each leaf”. In the Chinese original text<sup>22</sup> there is no mention about snakes, it mentions only the blue lotus. Thus it is

<sup>16</sup> RÖHRBORN 2015, 188–189 “plötzlich, mit einem Male, auf der Stelle, spontan”.

<sup>17</sup> BT XXVIII 285.

<sup>18</sup> Suv 144 (III.9b.) 05 swrwdp’n qwtyn.

<sup>19</sup> BT IX, vol. 1, 177.

<sup>20</sup> RÖHRBORN 2015, 74

<sup>21</sup> KP XXXVIII.4 “ihr giftiger Atem”.

<sup>22</sup> T.III.0156.

obvious that the following passage about the snakes is an addition to give some impression about the blue colour of the lotus: 太子於是東行一七. 當有金山. 從山復更前進一七. 其地純, 是青蓮華<sup>23</sup> “O prince, vous marcherez vers l’Est pendant une semaine et vous devrez trouver une montagne d’or; à partir de cette montagne, continuant à marcher pendant une semaine, vous arriverez à un endroit où il n’y a rien que des lotus bleus”.<sup>24</sup>

(07) *šašılıp bardı*. Here the verb *bar-* “to go” is used as an auxiliary verb whose function M. Erdal sees as “describing processes approaching a crisis”.<sup>25</sup>

(08) *bäliñläp* “suddenly”.

(09) The verb *suči-* “to move to one side, shy away from something”<sup>26</sup> appears here in conjunction with *sikri-* “to jump”.<sup>27</sup>

(09) *turup kälđi, käl-* “to come” as an auxiliary verb is “indicating that the action described by the lexical verb has been going on for some time before reaching the state it is at when being narrated”.<sup>28</sup> Even though there is only a slight difference in the medial shapes of the letters -r- and -y- I adopted the reading *twrwp* here, as one can conclude from the missing initial part that the child in the womb was somehow in danger of its life. Such situations were of course more frequent in earlier times. There are many texts that were claimed to assist in ensuring an easy birth, especially ones connected with Avalokiteśvara who was considered a Bodhisattva specialising in this field.

(16) *nirvanlıg enčgü*, the same expression but in reverse order is attested in a colophon edited by G. Hazai.<sup>29</sup>

(17) *tägdilär* refers to the child, the *pluralis majestatis* is used on account of its sainthood.

(17–18) *tašta tıyaguta* “stone or piece of loam”. The latter word is usually recorded as *toyagu*.

(18) *inga* “worthless, vile”<sup>30</sup>, as such it is the first example in Old Uighur. The verb derived from it, *ingala-* “to regard as worthless”, is attested as *isig özin ingalap*<sup>31</sup> “he regarded his life as worthless” in HT VI and in SI 4906

<sup>23</sup> T.III.0156.144b19-21

<sup>24</sup> CHAVANNES 1914, 483.

<sup>25</sup> GOT 250.

<sup>26</sup> ED 795.

<sup>27</sup> Cp. Lk. 1:41: “And it came to pass, that, when Elisabeth heard the salutation of Mary, **the babe leaped in her womb**; and Elisabeth was filled with the Holy Ghost”.

<sup>28</sup> GOT 253.

<sup>29</sup> HAZAI 1976, 273, 1.5 *enčgülig mänilig nirvan*.

<sup>30</sup> ED 183a.

<sup>31</sup> MAUE 2009, 20.

(K 22), ll. 06–08 *tıdī āt'özin tılādi nomug . ingaladı isig özin küsādi āntkāk [elin]* “he gave up his body, he longed for the *dharmā*; he regarded his life as worthless, he wanted the Indian [country]”. A further derivative form written in Brāhmī script is *ingalatılmış* which is explained by D. Maue.<sup>32</sup> Thus the word *inga* and its derivatives have recently become rather well attested.

(19) *-güčä tñlig*. M. Erdal writes: “Attributive *-gU+čA* expresses accordance, degree or limit”<sup>33</sup>, here the degree is emphasized by *tñlig* “with the measure”.

(21) *iliktin süñüktin*. The first member of this word group is more often attested with an initial *y-*: *yilik*<sup>34</sup>. A good example is known from the *Altun Yaruk Sudur*, also quoted by G. Clauson: *yilikimizdin süñükümüzdin bärü* “right from our marrow and bones”.<sup>35</sup>

(23) *kopta kop* “most” belongs to a special type of the superlative,<sup>36</sup> one other example is *artokta artok* “very much”.

(29) *asankilig uzun yol* “the long *asamkhyeya* way”. Several examples are given in the UW,<sup>37</sup> of which some refer to the three *asamkhyeya* periods.

(34) *ačig ämgäk*, cp. RÖHRBORN 2015, 11.

## Abbreviations

BT III: Berliner Turfantexte III  
 BT IX: Berliner Turfantexte IX  
 ED: Etymological Dictionary  
 GOT: Grammar of Old Turkic  
 OTWF: Old Turkic Word Formation  
 Suv: Uyğurca Altun Yaruk  
 T.: Taishō Buddhist Canon  
 UW: Uigurisches Wörterbuch

## References

- A Grammar of Old Turkic* (GOT) 2004: ERDAL, Marcel. *A Grammar of Old Turkic*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.  
*An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (ED) 1972: CLAUSON, Gerard. *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<sup>32</sup> MAUE 2009, 20.

<sup>33</sup> GOT 390.

<sup>34</sup> ED 927–928.

<sup>35</sup> ED 928a.

<sup>36</sup> GOT 372.

<sup>37</sup> UW 225b–226a; repeated in RÖHRBORN 2015, 292. The manuscript Mainz 777 noted as “unpubl. [unpublished]” was published in ZIEME 1984.

- CHAVANNES E. 1914: "Une version chinoise du conte bouddhique du Kalyāṇamkara et Pāpamkara". In: *T'oung Pao* XV, 469–500.
- Das uigurische Insadi-sūtra* (BT III) 1974: TEZCAN Semih. *Das uigurische Insadi-sūtra*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag (Berliner Turfantexte III).
- Dunhuang Concordance 2015: = A Concordance to the Taishō Canon and Dunhuang Buddhist Manuscripts. Third (Provisional) Edition, Tokyo: International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies Library.
- GENG, Shimin and KLIMKEIT, H.-J. 1988: *Das Zusammentreffen mit Maitreya. Die ersten fünf Kapitel der Hami-Version der Maitrisimit*, I–II, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- HAZAI, G. 1976: "Ein uigurisches Kolophon zu einem Avalokiteśvara-Lobpreis". In: *Tractata Altaica. Denis Sinor sexagenario optime de rebus Altaicis merito dedicate*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 273–276.
- JUDACHIN Konstantin Kuz'mich 1965: *Kirgizsko-russkii slovar'* [Kyrgyz-Russian dictionary]. Moskva: Sovetskaja Enciklopedija.
- Le conte bouddhique du Bon et du Mauvais Prince en version ouïgoure* (KP) 1971: HAMILTON, J. *Le conte bouddhique du Bon et du Mauvais Prince en version ouïgoure*. Paris: Editions Klincksieck.
- LEGITTIMO, E.I. 2005: Synoptic Presentation of the *Pusa chu tai jing* (PCJ) 菩薩出胎經 the Bodhisattva Womb Sūtra Part I (Chapters 1–14). *Sengokuyama Journal of Buddhist Studies* II, 260–150 (1–111).
- LI Yong-Song 1996: "Kügü-kügü "Teyze" Hakkında". *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları* Istanbul 6, 71–79.
- Maitrisimit nom bitig* (BT IX) 1980: TEKİN Ş. *Maitrisimit nom bitig. Die uigurische Übersetzung eines Werkes der buddhistischen Vaibhāṣika-Schule*, 1–2. Berlin: Akademie Verlag (Berliner Turfantexte IX).
- MAUE, D. 2009: "Uigurisches in Brāhmī in nicht-uigurischen Brāhmī-Handschriften [Teil 1]". In: *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 62, 1–36.
- OHNUMA R. 2012: *Ties That Bind. Maternal Imagery and Discourse in Indian Buddhism*. Oxford: University Press.
- Old Turkic Word Formation* (OTWF) 2015: ERDAL, Marcel. *Old Turkic Word Formation. A Functional Approach to the Lexicon*, I–II. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Prajñāpāramitā Literature in Old Uyghur* (BT XXVIII) 2010: YAKUP A. *Prajñāpāramitā Literature in Old Uyghur*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers (Berliner Turfantexte XXVIII).
- RÖHRBORN, K.: Uigurisches Wörterbuch. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien–Neubearbeitung — II. Nomina–Pronomina–Partikeln, Band 1: a — asvık. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag.
- Taishō*: 大正新脩大藏經 Taishō shinshū daizōkyō [Taishō Revised Tripiṭaka]. Ed. by Takakusu Junjiro 高楠順次郎. Tōkyō: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會, 1924–1934.
- Uigurisches Wörterbuch* (UW) 1977–1998: *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*. Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien, 1–6. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag.
- Uygurca Altun Yaruk* (Suv) 1994: KAYA, C. *Uygurca Altun Yaruk*. Giriş, Metin ve Dizin. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu.
- ZIEME, Peter 1984: "Indischer Schlangenzauber in uigurischer Überlieferung". In: *Tibetan and Buddhist Studies. Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös*. Ed. by L. Ligeti. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 425–440.
-

Alexander Zorin

## **Fragments of Tibetan Texts Refound at the Dunhuang Collection Kept at the IOM, RAS: Eleven Identified Fragments of Buddhist Canonical Texts**

*Abstract:* the paper presents texts of eighteen identified Tibetan fragments kept at the IOM, RAS Dunhuang Collection. These are fragments of five canonical Buddhist texts: *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa pa* (7 fragments), *'Phags pa 'jigs pa chen po brgyad las sgrol ba zhes bya ba'i gzungs* (1 fragment), *'Phags pa chos thams cad kyi yum zhes bya ba'i gzungs* (an almost complete text), *'Phags pa tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (1 fragment), *De bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi sngon sman lam gyi khyad par rgyas pa zhes bya ba mdo sde bklag cing de bzhin gshegs pa bdun mchod de| smon lam gdab pa'i cho ga mdo sde las btus te rim par bklag pa* (1 fragment). The first four texts can be found in *Bka' 'gyur*, the latter one in *Bstan 'gyur*. The Derge edition of *Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur* was used to fill the lacunae in the fragments.

*Key words:* Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang, Tibetan Buddhist texts

Tibetan texts from Dunhuang preserved at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS are mainly kept as a separate collection which is set apart from the main IOM Dunhuang Collection and well-known thanks to the catalogue edited by L.S. Savitskii.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, the main IOM Dunhuang Collection also contains a number of short texts in Tibetan, some of them being written on the verso sides of Chinese scrolls, some others being tiny fragments of independent Tibetan manuscripts. In 1995, a brief account of them was first presented by M.I. Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia who mentioned

---

© Alexander Valerievich Zorin, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences

<sup>1</sup> SAVITSKII 1991. This collection was later slightly changed and enlarged, in 2007 and 2011, see ZORIN 2012, and in 2015 (two concertina books that contain some Buddhist ritual texts were added). It is necessary to add that the IOM collection of Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto also contains several texts from Dunhuang that were added there by mistake. They should be analyzed in a separate study. One of them will be edited in IWAo (forthcoming).

---

specially one of them, Φ-325, that contained *the Tibetan transcription of the Chinese text of “Avalokiteśvarasūtra”(?) on the back side of the Chinese scroll.*<sup>2</sup> The plan to study and edit these texts was not realized at that time. Several years later, one text was identified by K. Iwao as a fragment of the old Tibetan Royal Annals and it was edited, analyzed and translated by him.<sup>3</sup> It was an important discovery since the first historical chronicles of Tibet found among the Dunhuang texts, being a precious source on the initial stages of Tibetan history, society and culture,<sup>4</sup> remain incomplete in many respects. It turned necessary then to check all other Tibetan fragments that could be found at the IOM Dunhuang Collection so attempt was made to compile their catalogue. 51 items with Tibetan inscriptions<sup>5</sup> were found and divided tentatively into several groups.

1. Canonical Buddhist texts, including Φ-325<sup>6</sup> (12)

2. Fragments of documents, including the fragment of old Tibetan chronicles identified by K. Iwao (13)

3. Fragments that are probably too short to be juxtaposed with any particular text unless the neighboring parts of the manuscripts they belonged to can be found in other depositories of Dunhuang texts<sup>7</sup> (18)

4. Separate letters, mantras, scribbles, etc. (8)

The results of this preliminary study do not seem much promising for the scholars of the old chronicles — even if there are some fragments of them they are very short and can hardly add much to the study of the Tibetan Royal Annals.

At the same time, several fragments of the canonical Buddhist texts were identified, thanks to the useful search tools available at the web sites of the Tibetan Buddhist Research Center (TBRC) and the Resources for Kanjur and Tanjur Studies (RKTS).

---

<sup>2</sup> VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1995, 47.

<sup>3</sup> IWAO 2011.

<sup>4</sup> More on this see in DOTSON 2009.

<sup>5</sup> It can be the preliminary number since I have only checked the texts reproduced in the facsimile edition DMRS 1992–2001. Further work with the collection can lead to discovering some more Tibetan fragments.

<sup>6</sup> The text is being studied now by T. Takata.

<sup>7</sup> It is especially promising in case of text Дх-11731 that is a long narrow fragment of a folio (5.7/27.2×0.3/4.5 cm) with a picture of a horse in the upper part and some Tibetan text below.

---

These texts are presented below. Hopefully, some other parts of the same manuscripts will be eventually discovered by colleagues working with other Dunhuang Collections. Exact identification of our fragments with certain places in a later canonical edition, namely the Derge edition (D<sup>8</sup>) which is both authoritative and widely available, can prove to be helpful. D is also used to fill the lacunae found in the fragments although the original texts must have had certain differences. In text 2, a repeating part was luckily reconstructed and used in this original form, instead of that of D, to partly fill the lacunae. Significant variations between the available texts of the fragments and those of D are marked, too.

The texts of the fragments are given in bold type, the lacunae put in the brackets. Syllables written above or below the main text are marked with italics and their positions are specified in the footnotes, the crossed syllables are put in angle brackets, illegible signs are rendered with question marks. Special Tibetan signs used for rendering of Sanskrit words and syllables are transliterated with use of diacritics — ā, ī, ṃ, ḥ, etc. The reverse *gi gu* sign is marked with a capital I. The empty space renders the *tsheg* sign. In Dunhuang manuscripts it is often found before the *shad* sign (rendered with |); in case it is not found there, the +| combination is used. Note that I use the plus sign to render some Tibetan transcriptions of Sanskrit words in a different way it is often used. I understand this sign as the one rendering omitted *tsheg* signs, hence I prefer to write *ta+dya* instead of *tad+ya* or *ka+lpe* instead of *kal+pe*, etc. Intervals between words and *shad* signs are rendered with underscores.

## 1.

*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa pa* / *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* (D8: bka' 'gyur, 'bum, ka, 1b1-a, 395a6)

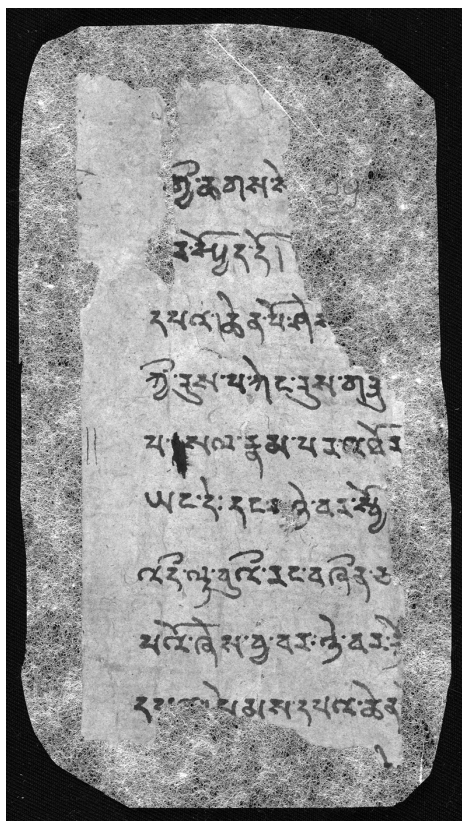
### i–ii. **Дх-11729 & Дх-11725**

Two fragments of the left part of a folio (4.2/7.1×8.1/14.8 and 0.3/7.4×1.4/11.1 cm).

D: ga, 182a4–182b1.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> TŌHOKU 1934.

<sup>9</sup> An identical fragment is also found in Nyi khri, Ka, 236b3–237a2 but it has an internal colophon (*shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa| bam po bcu bdun pa|*) for which our fragment has no place.



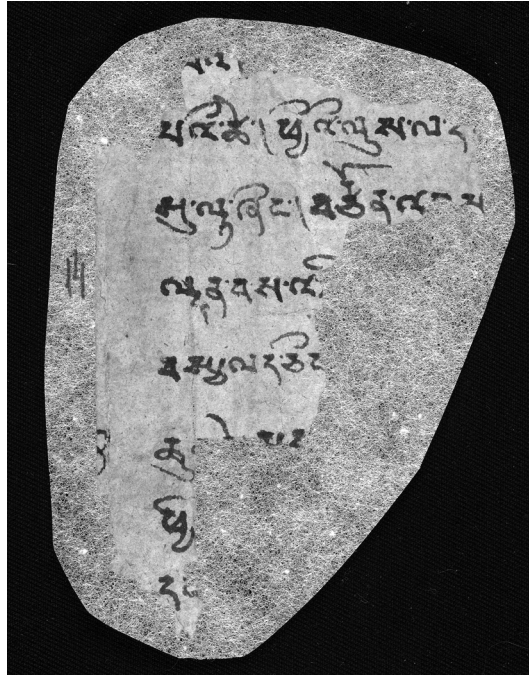
i.

1. **gyI chags se**[ms dang yid mi bde ba rnam par bstsal cing rnam]
2. **[pa]r spyod do+**[\_][rab 'byor gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' sems]
3. **dpa' |chen po shes**[ rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la spyod pa'i tshe|\_nam dur khrod]
4. **kyI rus pa keng rus gzu**[ngs myed<sup>10</sup> pa gyes pa dung gi mdog ltar gyur]
5. **pa <?>sal<sup>11</sup> rnam par 'thor**[ ba mthong ba de'i tshe|\_de lus 'di nyid kyi tshul]
6. **yang de dang gnye bar sbyo**[r te|\_lus 'di yang 'di lta bu'i chos can]

<sup>10</sup> Interestingly enough, D preserves this element of old Tibetan orthography (*myed* instead of *med*, *myi* instead of *mi*, etc.) in this text.

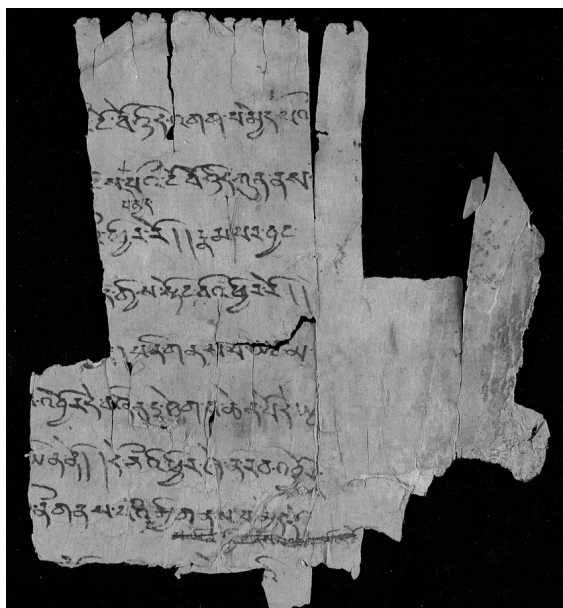
<sup>11</sup> D: sa la.

7. 'di lta bu'I rang bzhIn ca[n te]\_ 'di lta bu'i chos nyid las ma 'das]
8. pa'o zhes bya bar nye bar rto[g go]\_rab 'byor de ltar na byang chub  
sems]
9. dpa' sems dpa' chen[ po]\_shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la spyod]
10. [pa'i tshe phyi lus la d]e[ myi dmyigs pa'i tshul gyis lus kyi rjes su lta  
zhing]



ii.

9. [d]pa' [sems dpa' chen po]\_shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la spyod]
10. pa'I tshe [phyI'I lus la d[e myi dmyigs pa'i tshul gyis lus kyi rjes]
11. su lta zhIng [brtson 'g[ru]s[ can shes bzhin dang ldan pa dran pa  
dang]
12. ldan bas 'ji[g rten gyi chags sems dang yid mi bde ba rnam par]
13. bstsal d cIng[ rnam par spyod do]\_rab 'byor gzhan yang byang]
14. chub sems[ dpa' sems dpa' chen po]\_shes rab kyi pha rol tu]
15. phyi[n pa la spyod pa'i tshe]\_nam dur khrod kyi rus pa keng rus sha]
16. dang[ khrag myed pa]\_rgyus pa'i gzungs myed pa dung gi mdog...]



iii.  Dx-19086

The right upper side of the obviously last folio of a scroll, with a fragment of the empty section to the right (1.2/16.5×5.6/17.7 cm). Its verso side has an application with two short fragments of the text that contains some names of years.<sup>12</sup>

D: ga, 234b3–234b6.<sup>13</sup>

1. [...'gag pa myed pa'i ngo bo nyid 'gag pa myed pa'I
2. [ngo bo nyid kyi stong pa'i phyir ro| kun nas nyon mo]ngs +pa myed<sup>14</sup> pa'I ngo bo nyid kun nas
3. [nyon mongs pa med pa'i ngo bo nyid kyi stong pa'i phyir ro+| rnam par byang
4. [ba myed pa'i ngo bo nyid rnam par byang ba myed pa'i ngo bo nyid gyis stong ba'I phyir ro+|
5. [rab 'byor 'di lta ste dper na| mngon par 'du bya ba m]y[e]d+| pa ni gnas pa yang ma

<sup>12</sup> 1. |:] stIgo lo'i... (the beginning of a text written at the uppermost side of the application);  
2. [|:] yos+ba'i(?) (perhaps, a continuation of the same text at the very bottom of the application, there is a long empty space between the two inscriptions).

<sup>13</sup> An almost identical fragment: nyi khri, ka, 272b4–272b8.

<sup>14</sup> Sign + is written above, pa myed below.

6. [yin myi gnas pa yang ma yin no|\_ra]b 'byor de bzhin du theg pa  
chen po de yang<sup>15</sup>

7. [gnas pa yang ma yin myi gnas pa yang ma] yin no+|\_de cl'i phyir  
zhe na rab 'byor

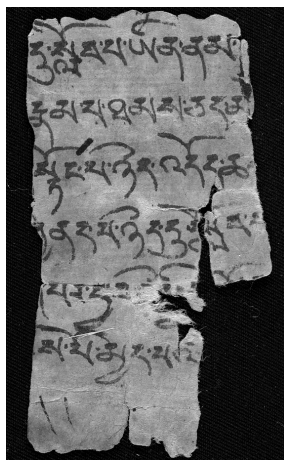
8. [mngon par 'du bya ba myed pa'i ngo bo nyid la] nI gnas pa'am myi  
gnas pa myed do

8sub.

<ma yin ? gnas pa 'ang ma(?) yin no>

9. [de ci'i phyir zhe na|\_rab 'byor de ni 'di ltar mng]o[n par 'du bya ba  
my]e[d pa]'i

[ngo bo nyid mngon par 'du bya ba myed pa'i ngo bo nyid kyis stong  
pa'i phyir ro||]



iv. ¶x-11753

A small fragment of rectangular form, maybe from the bottom of a folio  
(2.9/5.5×5.7/10.7 cm).

D: tha, 276b1–276b4.

1. [...rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa nyid ]**du slob pa yin nam**<sup>16</sup> |

2. [dngos po myed pa'i ngo bo nyid stong pa nyid bas par bgyi ba'i slad  
du slob na|\_]**rnam pa thams cad m[khy]e[n]**

3. [pa nyid du slob pa lags sam|\_dngos po myed pa'i ngo bo nyid] **stong  
pa nyId 'dod chag[s]**

4. [dang bral bar bgyi ba'i slad du slob na|\_rnam pa thams cad m]**khyend  
pa nyId du slob pa**

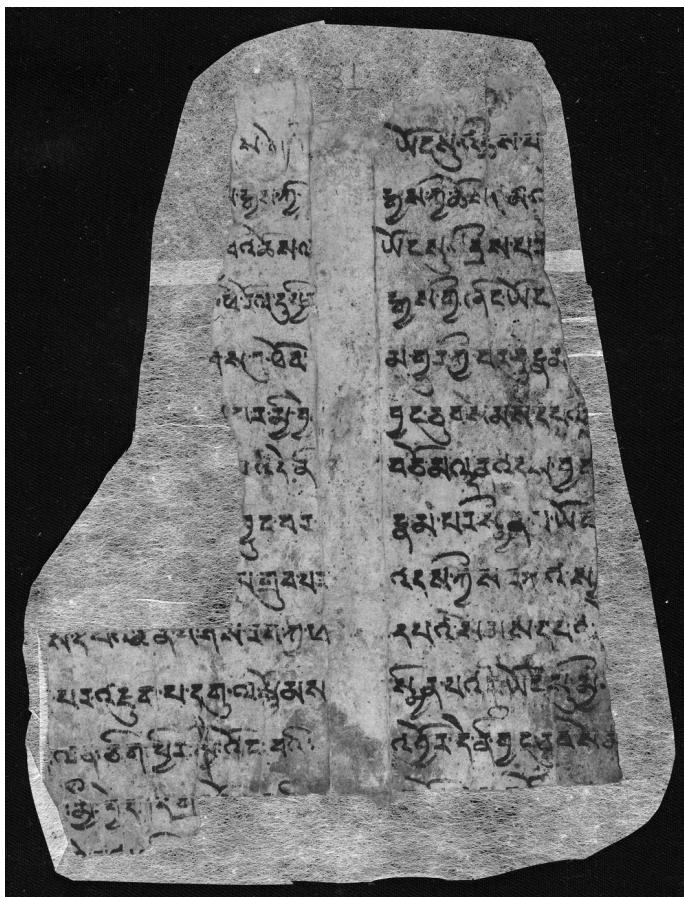
<sup>15</sup> Letter *nga* is subscribed.

<sup>16</sup> D: slob pa lags sam.

5. [lags sam|\_dngos po myed pa'i ngo bo nyid stong pa nyid 'ga]g par  
bya<sup>17</sup> ba'I phyir<sup>18</sup>[sl]o[b na|\_]

6. [rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa nyid du slob pa lags sam|\_dngo]s po  
myed pa'i [ngo bo]

7. [nyid stong pa nyid mi skye bar bgyi ba'i slad du slob na|+|\_]



v. IX-11730

A fragment containing parts of two columns written on the same folio of a scroll (7.5/14.5×4.2/18.0 cm). The bottom of the left column (around a quarter of the remaining length) is wider than the upper part.

<sup>17</sup> D: bgyi.

<sup>18</sup> D: slad du.

Left column

D: da, 226a5–226b4.

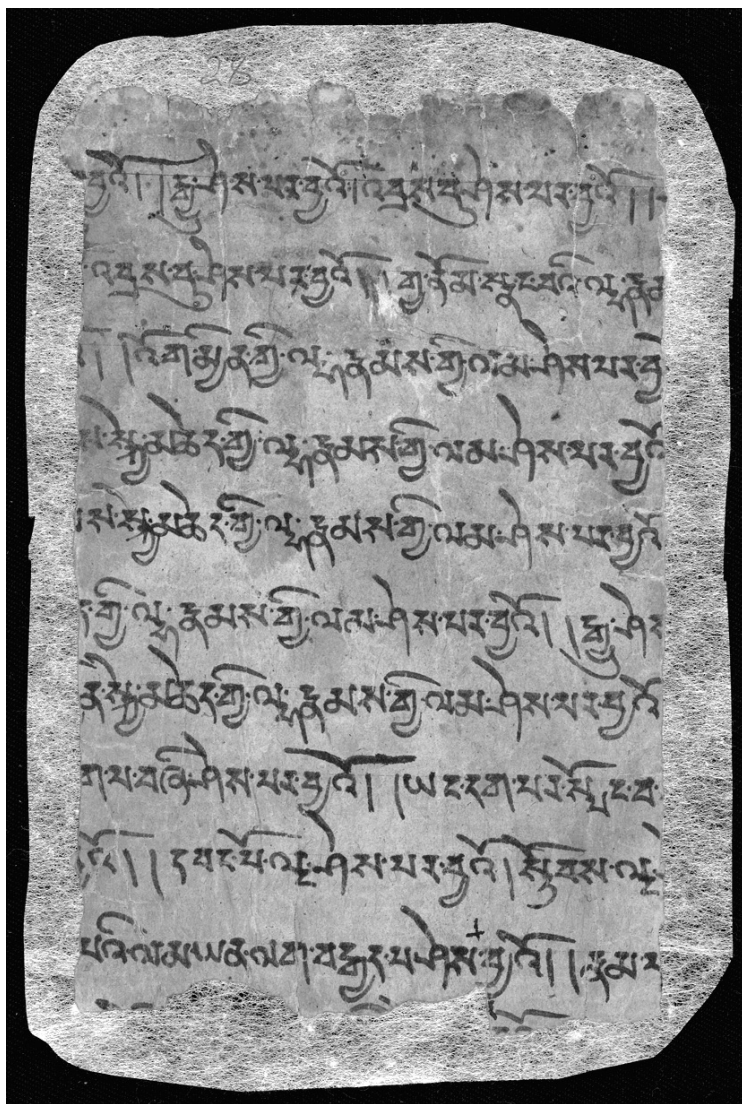
1. [...ma byung ba dang|\_yongs su ma rdzogs pa dang|\_mngon par ma grub par she]**s te+|\_**
2. [byang chub kyi phyogs kyi chos de dag la spyod cing|\_nyan thos kyi sa las yongs su 'da'|\_rang sang]**s rgyas kyi**
3. [sa las yongs su 'da' ste|\_rab 'byor 'di ni byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po'i myi skye ]**ba'i chos la**
4. [bzod pa'o|\_rab 'byor gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po shes rab ky]**i pha rol tu phyin**
5. [pa la spyod pa'i tshe|\_rnam par thar pa brgyad la snyoms par 'jug kyang|\_rgyun tu zhugs pa'i ']**b[r]as bu thob**
6. [par mi byed|\_lan cig phyir 'ong ba'i 'bras bu thob par mi byed|\_phyir myi 'ong ba'i 'bras bu tho]**b par myi bye**<sup>19</sup>
7. [dgra bcom pa nyid thob par mi byed|\_rang byang chub thob par mi byed do|\_de ci'i phyir zhe na|\_'di ]**pa**<sup>20</sup> **de ni**
8. [chos thams cad rang gi mtshan nyid kyis stong par shes so|\_chos thams cad myed pa dang|\_ma ]**byung bar**
9. [shes so|\_chos thams cad yongs su ma rdzogs par shes so|\_chos thams cad mngon par ]**ma grub par**
10. [shes so|\_rab 'byor gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' sem]**s dpa' ch[e]n p[o] sh[e]s rab kyi pha**
11. [rol tu phyin pa la spyod pa'i tshe|\_mthar kyis gnas pa'i snyoms] **par 'jug pa dgu la snyoms**
12. [par 'jug kyang|\_rgyun tu zhugs pa'i 'bras bu thob par myi byed]|**lan cig phyir <myi>- 'ong ba'i**
13. ['bras bu thob par myi byed|\_phyir mi 'ong ba'i 'bras bu thob par] **myI byed |dgra [bc]o[m pa ny]i[d]**
14. [thob par myi byed|\_rang byang chub thob par mi byed do|\_de ci'i phyir zh]e [na|\_'d]i [ltar de ni]<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> D: byed.<sup>20</sup> D: ltar; it is not quite clear what is written in the manuscript, my reading is hypothetical.<sup>21</sup> The last two or three lines that are missing must have had the following text — chos thams cad rang gi mtshan nyid kyis stong par shes so|\_chos thams cad myed pa dang ma byung bar shes so|\_chos thams cad yongs su ma rdzogs par shes so|\_chos thams cad mngon par ma grub par shes so|\_rab 'byor gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po|\_de bzhin gshegs pa'i stobs bcu la yongs su 'dris par byed|\_myi 'jigs pa bzhi la (D: da, 226b4–226b5).

Right column

D: da, 226b5–227a3.

1. **yongs+u 'dris pa**[r byed|\_so so yang dag par rig pa bzhi la yongs su 'dris par byed|\_sangs]
  2. **rgyas kyi chos+|ma** '[dr]e[s pa bcwo brgyad la yongs su 'dris par byed|\_byams pa chen po la]
  3. **yongs+u drIs par** [byed|\_snying rje chen po la yongs su 'dris par byed|\_nam sangs]
  4. **rgyas gyI zhing yong**[s su dag par ma gyur pa dang|\_sems can rnam yongs su smyin par]
  5. **ma gyur kyi bar du rnam** [pa thams cad mkhyen pa nyid thob par myi byed do|\_rab 'byor de ltar]
  6. **byang cub sems dpa'** [sems dpa' chen pos|\_shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa la spyod par bya'o|\_gsol pa|\_]
  7. **bcom ldan 'das byang**[ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de lta bu'i chos zab mo dag la spyod kyang|\_]
  8. **rnam par smyIn pa yong**[s su myi 'dzin pa ni blo dam pa dang ldan pa lags so|\_bcom ldan]
  9. **'das kyiIs bka' stsa**[l pa|\_rab 'byor de de bzhin no|\_de de bzhin te|\_byang chub sems]
  10. **dpa' sems dpa'** [chen po gang de lta bu'i chos zab mo dag la spyod cing|\_rnam par]
  11. **smyin pa' |\_yongs+u myI** ['dzin pa ni|\_blo dam pa dang ldan pa'o|\_de ci'i phyir zhe na|\_rab]
  12. **'byor de ni byang cub sem**[s dpa' sems dpa' chen po ngo bo nyid las mi g.yo'o|\_]
  13. **[gs]o**[l ba|\_bc]**o**[m ldan 'das|\_ngo bo nyid gang las myi g.yo ba lags|...]
-



vi. Dx-11728

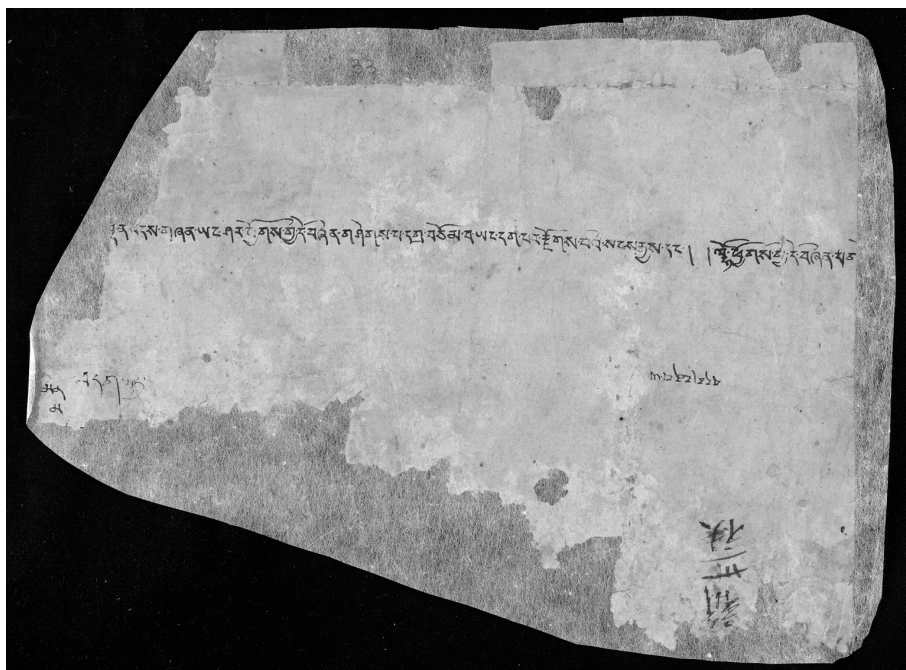
A rectangular fragment of a folio (9.6/10.0×14.3/15.6 cm). The text of the lacunae is given on separate lines because it is impossible to decide which parts should be located to the left and which to the right of the text of the fragment.

D: da, 258a7–258b5.

[...myi gdung ba'i lha rnam s kyi lam shes par]

1. **bya'o+|\_rgyu shes par bya'o |'bras bu shes par bya'o+|\_**  
[shin tu mthong ba'i lha rnam s kyi lam shes par bya'o|\_rgyu shes par bya'o|\_]
2. **'bras bu shes par bya'o+|\_gya nom snang ba'i lha rnam**  
[s kyi lam shes par bya'o|\_rgyu shes par bya'o|\_'bras bu shes par bya']
3. **'o+|\_'og myin gyi lha rnam s gyi lam shes par bya[']o**  
[|\_rgyu shes par bya'o|\_'bras bu shes par bya'o|\_nam mkha' mtha' ya]
4. **s skye mched gyi lha rnam s gyi lam shes par bya'o**  
[|\_rgyu shes par bya'o|\_'bras bu shes par bya'o|\_rnam shes mtha' ]
5. **yas skye mched gyi lha rnam s gyi lam shes par bya'o**  
[|\_rgyu shes par bya'o|\_'bras bu shes par bya'o|\_chung zad myed pa'i skye mche]
6. **d gyi lha rnam s gyi lam shes par bya'o+|\_rgyu shes**  
[ par bya'o|\_'bras bu shes par bya'o|\_'du shes myed 'du shes myed my]
7. **in skye mched gyi lha rnam s gyi lam shes par bya'o**  
[|\_rgyu shes par bya'o|\_'bras bu shes par bya'o|\_dran pa nye bar gzha]
8. **g pa bzhi shes par bya'o+|\_yang dag par spong ba**  
[bzhi shes par bya'o|\_rdzu 'phrul gyi rkang pa bzhi shes par b]
9. **ya'o+|\_dbang po lnga shes par bya'o+|stobs lnga [sh]e**  
[s par bya'o|\_byang chub kyi yan lag bdun shes par bya'o|\_'phags]
10. **pa'i lam yan lag brgyad pa shes+[pa]r<sup>22</sup> bya'o|\_rnam pa**  
[r thar pa'i sgo gsum shes par bya'o|\_bsam gtan bzhi shes par bya']
11. **o[|\_tshad myed pa bzh]i [shes par bya']o[|\_]**

<sup>22</sup> Sign + is written above, syllable *par* below but only the letter *ra* can be seen on the folio due to the lack of its lower part.



vii. Addenda: Дх-11744

7.0/32.1×3.0/24.1 cm. One line from 'Bum in the upper part of a folio that is almost empty, although the same side of the folio has several insignificant inscriptions,<sup>23</sup> the other side is empty. The folio could hardly be a part of a scroll; perhaps, it was a draft of the manuscript.

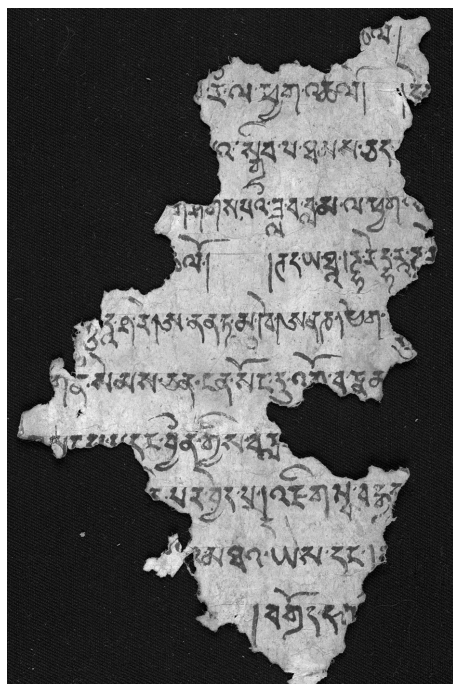
D: ca, 349b3–349b4.

...[bcom] ldan 'das gzhan yang shar phyogs gyI de bzhIn gshegs pa dgra bcom ba yang dag par rdzogs pa'I sangs rgyas dang|lho phyogs gyI de bzhIn <pa>+g[shesgs pa]...

2.

'Phags pa 'jigs pa chen po brgyad las sgrol ba zhes bya ba'i gzungs / Ārya-aṣṭamahābhayatāraṇī-nāma-dhāraṇī (D541: bka' 'gyur, rgyud, na, 84b3–85a3, Dbl.–D931: bka' 'gyur, gzugs, e, 279b7–280b2)

<sup>23</sup> 1) bdag+ngan+pa ya; 2) bdag ?yang; man; 3) 新州一秩 “new 31st bundle”, reading by V.P. Zaytsev. All the inscriptions are located in different places below the line with the text from 'Bum.



### Ix-2302B

A very uneven fragment torn out of a folio with the Dhāraṇī which is rather short so it was most probably written on one leaf (1.2/9.5×0.7/16.5 cm).<sup>24</sup> The text of the lacunae is given on separate lines because it is impossible to decide which parts should be located to the left and which to the right of the text of the fragment.

[rgya gar skad du\_ā+rya a+ṣṭa ma hā bha ya tā rā ni nā ma+dhā ra nī\_bod skad du\_'phags pa 'jigs pa chen po brgyad las sgrol ba zhes bya ba'i gzungs\_sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag ']

1. tsh[a]l+[o] |

[de bzhin gshegs pa yon tan 'byung gnas la phyag 'tshal lo\_|de bzhin gshegs pa kun nas spos]

2. rI<sup>25</sup> la phyag 'tshal+o+\_|de b

[zhin gshegs pa gzhan gyis mi thub pa'i rtsal dang ldan pa la phyag 'tshal lo\_|de bzhin gshegs pa]

<sup>24</sup> There is also a tiny fragment that has ...ng |.

<sup>25</sup> D: dri.

3. **'a sgrib pa thams cad**

[rnam par sel ba la phyag 'tshal lo|\_de bzhin gshegs pa zla ba mchog la phyag 'tshal lo|\_de bzhin gshegs pa zhi ba'i rgyal po la phyag 'tshal lo|\_de bzhin]

4. **gsh[e]gs pa'I zla ba bla ma la phyag '**

[tshal lo|\_byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po snying rje chen po dang ldan pa 'jigs pa med par byed pa la phyag 'a]

5. **tshal+o |\_ṭad ya thā |ḍha re dha rā<sup>26</sup> ḍh[ā] re**

[dhā ra nī|\_ra na ko te a bha yā ka+lpe|\_ka+lpe ni ga ṇi|\_a na+nta ka+lpe|\_a mrl ta ka+lpe|]

6. **hu dā sha re |a nan ta mu khe |a naṇ |tsag [?] shu**

[sa mutga te|\_om bha swā hā|\_rigs kyi bu gzungs kyi gsang sngags 'di da]

7. **g nI sems can ngan song du 'g[r]o ba rnam**

[s kyi don gyi phyir|\_sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das gang gā'i klung gi bye ma snyed dag gis]

8. **gs[u]ngs pa dang byIn gyis brla**

[bs pa dang|\_rjes su yi rang ba yin no|\_rigs kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' gang la la gzungs 'di 'dz]

9. **in par byed pa de<sup>27</sup> |'jigs pa<sup>28</sup> brgyad**

[po sems can dmyal ba'i 'jigs pa mtha' yas pa dang|\_dud 'gro'i skye gnas kyi 'jigs pa]

10. **'a mtha' yas<sup>29</sup> dang |**

[gshin rje'i 'jig rten gyi 'jigs pa mtha' yas pa dang|\_yi dags kyi 'jigs pa mtha' yas pa dang]

11. **|bgrod dka**

[ 'a ba'i 'jigs pa mtha' yas pa dang|\_skye ba'i 'jigs pa mtha' yas pa dang|\_nad kyi 'jigs pa mtha' yas pa dang|\_ 'chi ba'i 'jigs pa mtha' yas pa dag las yang dag par 'da' bar 'gyur ro|\_phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams kyis dgongs par 'gyur ro|\_sems rnam par g.yeng ba med par 'chi ba'i dus byed cing|\_sangs rgyas rnams kyi spyang sngar skye bar 'gyur|\_zad mi shes pa'i lus thob par 'gyur|\_sprul pa'i lus kyang thob par 'gyur ro|\_na+maḥ+sa+rba bi+dyā|\_sid dhyān tu me man tra pā da swā hā|\_ 'phags pa 'jigs pa chen po brgyad las sgrol ba zhes bya ba'i gzungs rdzogs so|\_]

<sup>26</sup> D: dha re dha re.

<sup>27</sup> This syllable is written below.

<sup>28</sup> This syllable is written below.

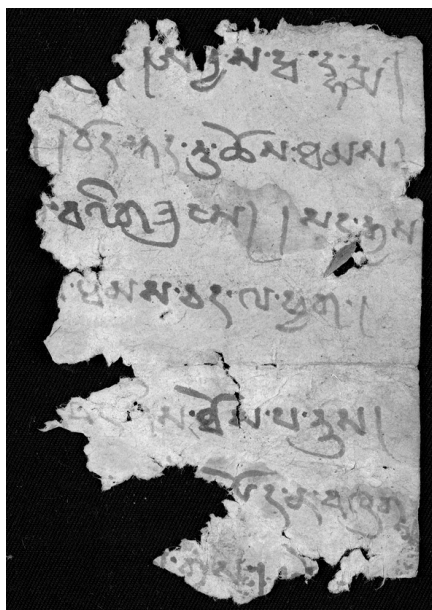
<sup>29</sup> D: mtha' yas pa.

## 3.

*'Phags pa chos thams cad kyi yum zhes bya ba'i gzungs / Ārya-sarvadharmamātṛkā-nāma-dhāraṇī* (D573: bka' 'gyur, rgyud, pha 200a2–200a7; Dbl. — D996: bka' 'gyur, gzungs, wam, 149b6–150a4)

Дх-10384

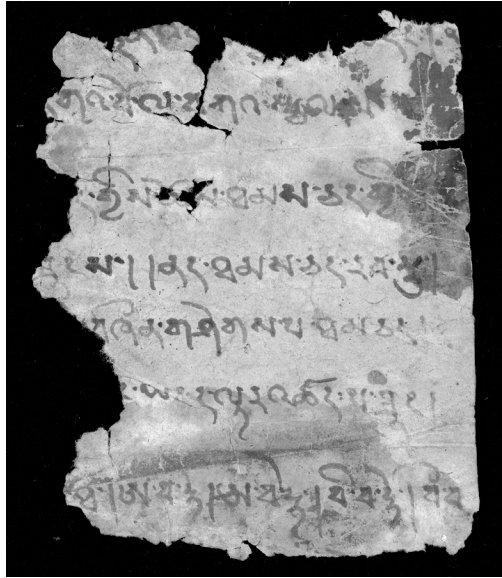
This short text was written originally on one folio of which there are found three pieces bearing the same access number supplied with additional Roman numbers, Дх-10384 I (8.9/11.2×12.1/13.7 cm), Дх-10384 II (4.1/8.9×8.2/13.0 cm), and Дх-10384 III (7.6/12.1×10.6/13.6 cm). Put in the right order, viz. Дх-10384 II, Дх-10384 I, and Дх-10384 III, they comprise almost entirely the right half of the folio. The text was continued on the verso side but the final part cannot be read because of damage of paper.

**Recto side**Дх-10384-II: fragment 1

1. [rgya gar skad d]u|\_|ā+rya sa rba dha rma |
2. [mā trī kā nā ma dhā ra ṇi]|\_|bod skad du chos<sup>30</sup> thams+|

<sup>30</sup> D: 'phags ma chos.

3. [cad kyi yum zhes bya] **ba'i gzungs** |<sub>sang</sub><sup>31</sup> **rgyas**
4. [dang|byang chub sems dpa'] **thams cad la phyag** |
5. ['tshal lo|\_di skad] **bda+gis thos pa**<sup>32</sup> **dus+**|
6. [gcig na|\_bcom ldan 'das mnyan ]**yod na bzhugs**<sup>33</sup>
7. ] **gyis** |<sub>[tsh]</sub>e [



IX-10384-I: fragment 2

7. [te|\_de nas bcom l]**dan 'da[s]** **dang** |
8. [ldan pa kun ]**dga' bo la bka' stsal pa** |
9. [kun dga' bo|\_khyo]**d gyis chos thams cad gyi yum**<sup>34</sup>
10. [zhes bya ba'I phyag rgya'i g]**zungs** |<sub>nad</sub> **thams cad rab sdu**<sup>35</sup> |
11. [zhi bar byed pa de] **bzhIn gshegs pa tham**<sup>36</sup> **cad+**|
12. [kyis gsungs pa ste|\_]**nga yang da ltar 'chad pa zung+**|
13. [shig|\_ta+dya] **tha** |<sub>a</sub> **ba rte+**|<sub>a</sub> **ba rte** |<sub>bi</sub> **ba** |<sub>bi</sub> **ba**

<sup>31</sup> D: sangs.

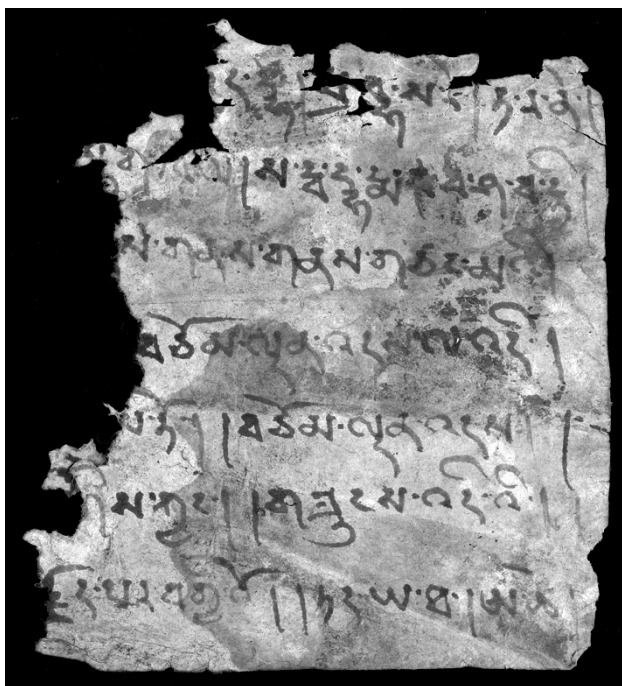
<sup>32</sup> D: thos pa'i.

<sup>33</sup> The letter *sa* is subscribed.

<sup>34</sup> The last syllable is dimmed so my reading is rather based on the certainty that it must be found there.

<sup>35</sup> D: rab tu.

<sup>36</sup> D: thams.



IX-10384-IIIIR: fragment 3

14. [rte|\_bha ga ma sh]ud dhe |pra bha sa re |ta ra ne |
15. [ug ka le ]mug kha l[e]+|sa rba dha rma <da> ba sha ba rti+|
16. [ni swā hā<sup>37</sup> |\_de na]s gnas gnas gtsang ma'i+|
17. [lha rnams kyis ]bcom ldan 'das la 'di |
18. [skad ces gso]l to|\_bcom ldan 'das |
19. [bdag cag ]gls kyang<sup>38</sup> |\_gzungs 'di 'i |
20. [snying po b]rjod par bgyi 'o+|\_tad ya tha |a tshe+|

<sup>37</sup> The entire text of the mantra acc. to D: ta+dya thā|\_a ba+rte a ba+rte| bi ba\_rte bi ba+rte| bha ga ma shu+ddhe| pra bhā swa re tā ra ñe| ug kha le| mug kha le| sa+rba dha+rmā pā shi ba ta ñi swā hā.

<sup>38</sup> D: *kyang* is missing.

## Verso side

Дх-10384-IIIIV

- <sup>39</sup> 1. [a na le|\_e ]lu le |a lu phe+|ma rta a nu |  
 2. [ga te sa+rba ]dha rma a ti pa te ya pra [pte dzyo sna ka ra]<sup>40</sup> |  
 3-. ?<sup>41</sup>

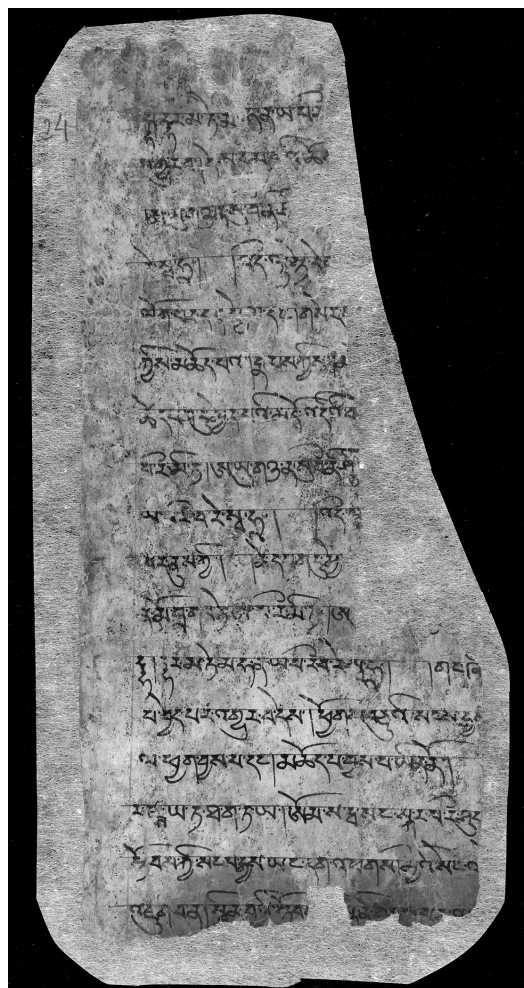
<sup>39</sup> Above the first line there are two inscriptions — 1) the final sign of some inscription at the left edge of the folio, and 2) three signs written closer to the right edge; both are too pale to be identified but it is clear that they cannot belong to the text of this Dhāraṇī since line 1 of the verso side continues the text written on the recto side without any gaps.

<sup>40</sup> This part is dimmed and illegible.

<sup>41</sup> The bottom of the piece is deformed and the text is almost totally rubbed away so it is not possible to reconstruct the end of the manuscript. According to D, the final part of the text (including the mantra) is as follows: ta+dya thā|\_a+tstshe| a na le| e lu le| a lu phe| mū+rta a nu ga te sa+rba dha+rma a dhi pa ta ye| prā+pte dzyo+sna ka ra| a dhi ga ta dznyā ne bi shu+ddhe pa ti swā hā bcom ldan 'das kyis de skad ces bka' stsal nas| tshe dang ldan pa kun dga' bo dang| thams cad dang ldan pa'i 'khor de dag yi rangs te| bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa la mngon par bstod do||\_||chos thams can kyi yum zhes bya ba'i gzungs rdzogs so||.

## 4.

'Phags pa tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo / Ārya-aparimitāyurjñāna-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra (D674: bka' 'gyur, rgyud, ba, 211b2–216a7, Dbl. – D849: bka' 'gyur, gzungs, e 57b1–62a6)

Dx-11732

The left part of the last(?) folio of a standard Dunhuang scroll with this Sūtra; a little wider at the bottom, about a quarter of the length (5,9/11,4×6,9/25,9 cm).

D674: 215a3–215b7.

- <sup>42</sup> 1. **dha |dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa rI** [bā re swā hā |<sup>43</sup> gang la la zhig chos kyi rnam grangs 'di la mchod pa byed par]
2. **'gyur ba |\_des dam pa'i chos**[ mtha' dag mchod par 'gyur ro|\_om na mo bha ga ba te|\_a pa ri mi ta]
3. **a yu gnya na su bI ni sh**[ts]i[ ta te dzo ra dzā ya ta tha ga ta ya|\_om sa rba sang ska ra pa rI shud dha dha rma te ma ha na ya pa ri ba]
4. **re sba hā |\_'dI lta ste**<sup>44</sup> **de b**[zhin gshegs pa rnam par gzigs dang|\_gtsug tor can dang|\_thams cad skyob dang |]
5. **log par dad stsel**<sup>45</sup> **dang |gser th**[ub dang|\_'od srung dang|\_shā+kya thub pa la sogs pa la rin po che sna bdun]
6. **kyis mchod pa' |rnams kyis |m**[ch]o[d pa byas pa'i bsod nams kyi phung po'i tshad ni bgrang bar nus kyi |]<sup>46</sup>
7. **tshe dpag tu myed pa'i mdo 'di'i**<sup>47</sup> **b**[sod nams kyi phung po'i tshad ni|\_bgrang bar mi nus so|\_om na mo bha ga ba te|\_a]
8. **pa rI mi ta+|a yu gnya na su bI ni shtsi** [ta te dzo ra dzā ya ta tha ga ta ya|\_om sa rba sang ska ra pa rI shud dha dha rma te ma ha na]

<sup>42</sup> The previous segment of the scroll contained the beginning of the mantra — om sa+rba sam skā ra pa ri shud (D).

<sup>43</sup> This mantra is repeated several times in the fragment. According to D, it runs as follows — om na mo bha ga ba te|\_a pa ri mi ta ā yur dznyā na su bi ni shtsi ta te dzo rā dzā ya|\_ta thā ga tā ya|\_a+rha te| sam mya+ksam bud dhā ya|\_ta+dya thā|\_om pu nye pu nye ma hā pu nye a pa ri mi ta ā yur pu nye dznyā na sam bhā ro pa tsi te|\_om sa+rba sam skā ra pa ri shu+ddha dha+rmma te ga ga na su mu+dga te swā bhā ba bi shu+ddhe ma hā na ya pa ri bā re swā hā| (the other canonical editions has minor differences in orthography). Dlx-11732 uses a different, abridged form that can luckily be reconstructed on the base of this small fragment of the scroll — om na mo bā ga ba te|\_a pa ri mi ta a yu gnya na su bi ni shtsi ta te dzo ra dzā ya ta tha ga ta ya|\_om sa rba sang ska ra pa rI shud dha dha rma te ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sba hā|. The respective parts of this form of the mantra are put in the brackets to fill the lacunae while the other text is given according to D. Both long and abridged forms of the mantra can be found in numerous copies of this Sūtra from Dunhuang (I specially checked several scrolls kept at the IOM, RAS for this matter).

<sup>44</sup> D: 'di lta ste| dper na.

<sup>45</sup> D: sel.

<sup>46</sup> There is a long passage omitted — tshe dpag tu med pa'i mdo sde 'di'i bsod nams kyi phung po tshad ni|\_bgrang bar mi nus so|\_om na mo bha ga ba te|\_a pa ri mi ta ā yurdznyā na su bi ni shtsi ta te dzo rā dzā ya|\_ta thā ga tā ya|\_arha te samyaksam buddhā ya|\_tadya thā|\_om pu nye pu nye ma hā pu nye a pa ri ta pu nye a pa ri mi ta pu nya dznyā na sam bhā ro pa tsi te|\_om sarbba sam skā ra pa ri shuddha dharmma te ga ga na sa mud ga te swa bhā ba bi shuddhe ma hā na ya pa ri wā re swā hā|\_'di lta lta ste| dper na|\_rin po che'i phung po ri rab tsam spungs te sbyin pa byin pa de'i bsod nams kyi phung po'i tshad ni|\_bgrang bar nus kyi|.

<sup>47</sup> D: tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa'i mdo sde 'di'i.

9. **ya pa rI ba re sba hā** |\_'dI It[a ste|\_dper na rin po che'i phung po ri rab tsam spungs te sbyin pa byin pa de'i bsod nams kyi phung po'i tshad ni bgrang]

10. **bar nus kyi** |\_'tshe dpag tu myed<sup>48</sup>[ pa'i mdo sde 'di'i bsod nams kyi phung po'i tshad ni|\_bgrang bar mi nus so|\_om]

11. **na mo bā ga ba te a pa rI mi ta** |a [y]u [gnya na su bi ni shtsi ta te dzo ra dzā ya ta tha ga ta ya|\_om sa rba sang ska ra pa rI shud]

12. **dha+|dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sba hā** |\_'gang zhi[g tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa'i mdo sde 'di yi ger 'dri'am yi ger 'drir 'jug gam|\_bsti stang du byas te mchod]

13. **pa byed par 'gyur ba des** |phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas[ kyi zhing thams cad du de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad]

14. **la phyag byas pa dang+|mchod pa byas pa yin no** |\_om na mo bha ga ba te a pa ri mi ta ā yur dznyā na su bi ni shtsi ta te dzo]

15. **ra dzā ya ta tha ga ta ya** |<sup>49</sup>om sa rba sang ska ra pa rI shud[ dha dha rma te ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sba hā|\_sbyin pa'i]

16. **stobs kyi**<sup>50</sup> sangs rgyas yang dag 'phags+|myI'i seng '[g]e[ sbyin pa'i stobs rtogs te|\_snying rje can gyi grong khyer]

17. **'jug pa na+|sb[y]in ba'i stobs**[ kyi ]sg[ra] ni g[ra]gs<sup>51</sup> par '[gyur|\_...]

## 5.

*De bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi sngon sman lam gyi khyad par rgyas pa zhes bya ba mdo sde bklag cing de bzhin gshegs pa bdun mchod de| smon lam gdab pa'i cho ga mdo sde las btus te rim par bklag pa / [Saptatathāgatapūrvapraṇidhānaviśeṣavistāra-nāma-sūtrāntavacanasaptatathāgatapūjāpraṇidhānābhinirhāravidhisūtre vicitāntavacana] (D3134: bstan 'gyur, rgyud, pu, 295b7–301b7)*

## Ix-7230

A folio from a pothi book, with a hole in the middle for assembling of the ff. (15.5/21.1×2.4/6.0 cm).

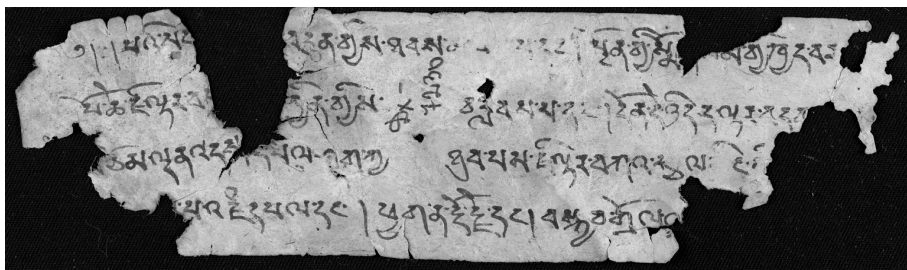
D: 298b5–298b7.

<sup>48</sup> D: tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med.

<sup>49</sup> There is a passage omitted — a+rha te sam mya+ksam bud dhā ya| ta+dya thā| om pu nye pu nye ma hā pu nye a pa ri mi ta pu nye ā yur pu nya dznyā na sam bhā ro pa tsi tel.

<sup>50</sup> D: stobs kyis.

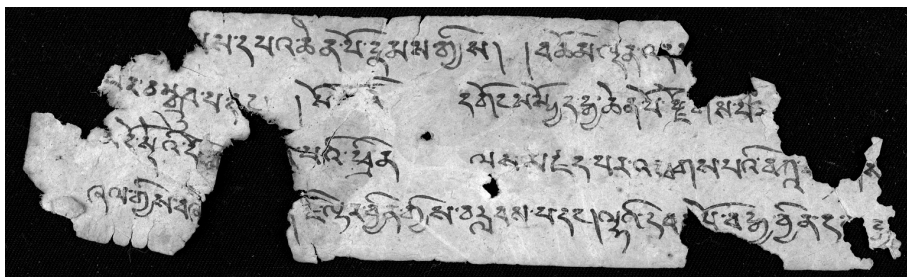
<sup>51</sup> D: grag.



### Recto side

margin: b[?]

1. @|:\_pa'i sang[s rgyas] bdun gyis<sup>52</sup> thabs mkhas pa dang |sngon<sup>53</sup> gyi smon lam gyi khyad bar<sup>54</sup> [rgyas pa rlabs]
2. po che ji ltar bta[b cing ]byin gyis<sup>55</sup> brlabs pa dang |don de nyid da ltar bdag[ cag gi ston pa]
3. bcom ldan 'das dpal shag kya<sup>56</sup> \_\_\_thub pas ji ltar bka' stsal <zh>ing [by]i[n gyis brlabs pa dang]
4. ['phags] pa 'jam+dpal dang |phyag na rdo rje dang+|bskyab<sup>57</sup> grol la[ sog pa]



### Verso side

1. [byang chub se]ms dpa' chen po rnam gyis+|\_bchom<sup>58</sup> ldan 'das[ de dag gi bka' lung yang dag]

<sup>52</sup> D: gyi.

<sup>53</sup> D: smon.

<sup>54</sup> D: khyad par.

<sup>55</sup> This sign renders an empty space in the middle of the folio, on both sides, where the hole is made.

<sup>56</sup> D: shā+kya.

<sup>57</sup> D: skyabs.

<sup>58</sup> D: bcom.

2. **par bsgrub<sup>59</sup> pa dang+|so <s>o'i\_\_\_ dgongs spyod rgya chen po rdzogs par** [bskang ba'i slad du]
3. **mdo sde'i don [sgrub] pa'i phrin\_\_\_ las mdzad par 'phags pa'i bka'a<sup>60</sup> btags[ pas]**
4. **zhal gyis bzhes[ shing]|ji ltar byin gyis brlabs pa dang+|lha'i dba[ng] po brgya byin dang+[]rgya[l po ...]**

## References

- DMRS 1992–2001: *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections*. Shanghai, Shanghai Guji Chubanshe.
- DOTSON, Brandon 2009: *The Old Tibetan Annals. An Annotated Translation of Tibet's First History*. With an Annotated Cartographical Documentation by G. Hazod. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. (Phil.-Hist. Kl., Denkschriften, 381. Band. Veröffentlichungen zur Sozialanthropologie. Nr. 12.)
- IWAO Kazushi (forthcoming): Tribute tax (dpya') of the Old Tibetan Empire: XT 80 and Pelliot tibétain 1128.
- IWAO Kazushi 2011: "A Newly Identified Fragment of the Tibetan Royal Annals in St. Petersburg". *New Studies of the Old Tibetan Documents: Philology, History and Religion: Old Tibetan Documents Online Monograph Series vol. 3*. Ed. by Imaeda Yoshiro, Matthew T. Kapstein and Takeuchi Tsuguhito. Tokyo: Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 245–255.
- SAVITSKII L.S. 1991: *Opisanie tibetskikh svitkov iz Dunhuana v sobranii Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* [The Description of the Tibetan Scrolls from Dunhuang Kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies, the USSR Academy of Sciences]. Moscow: Nauka GRVL.
- TÔHOKU 1934: A complete catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist canons (Bkha-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur). Ed. by Hakuji Ui, Munetada Suzuki, Yensho Kanakura, Tokan Tada. Sendai: Tôhoku Imperial University.
- VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA M.I. 1995: "Tibetan Manuscripts of the 8–11th centuries A.D. in the Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies". *Manuscripta Orientalia*, vol. 1, No. 1, 46–48.
- ZORIN A.V. 2012: "The Collection of Dunhuang Tibetan Texts Kept at the IOM, RAS". *Dunhuang Studies: Prospects and Problems for the Coming Second Century of Research*. St. Petersburg: Slavia Publishers, 365–367.

## Electronic resources

- RKTS: The "Resources for Kanjur&Tanjur Studies" site; <https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/xml3/sub/project.php>
- TBRC: Tibetan Buddhist Research Center; <http://tbrc.org>

<sup>59</sup> D: sgrub.

<sup>60</sup> The letter 'a' is subscribed.

---

Hartmut Walravens

**Symbolism of sovereignty in the context  
of the Dzungar campaigns of the Qianlong emperor**

---

*Abstract:* The Qianlong emperor (reigned 1736–1795) proved to be a master in documenting and glorifying his military exploits and creating his own myth. He used a variety of media (paintings, copper-engravings, inscriptions, books, hymns, parades, ceremonies, banquets) for this purpose and would be considered today a master of advertising and public relations.

*Key words:* Qianlong emperor, China — military campaigns: China, 18th c.

During the last centuries, besides the Kangxi emperor his grandson the Qianlong emperor was without doubt the most important ruler of China. Both reigned for 60 years, both were enterprising military leaders und consolidated and expanded the borders of the empire. Especially the Qianlong emperor was proud of his Ten Glorious Military Exploits<sup>1</sup> among which he included only those that he counted as successful, of course. Today's historians may have slightly different views.

How did the emperor evaluate his role? In the preface to the Manchu Kanjur he said:<sup>2</sup> “Running matters rests with the humans, perfecting matters rests with Heaven. If the Heaven does not give support how could matters be conducted to the end? If the humans did not act how should the Heaven give support? Therefore acting consists of following reason; when acting without observing reason Heaven will not grant its support. With all my state affairs of which I did run many, I always trusted in the quiet protection of the Great Heaven; and when I was successful with my projects, I could not adequately

---

© Hartmut Walravens. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Free University of Berlin

<sup>1</sup> The Ten Glorious Exploits were: the campaigns against the Dzungars, against Eastern Turkestan, against the Small and Large Gold River Land (Jinchuan), Taiwan, Birma, Vietnam and the Gurkhas (two).

<sup>2</sup> *Gaozong chun huangdi yuzhiwen sanji* 高宗純皇帝御製文三集 *juan* 9, after NAITÔ 1929, 297–298, and *Weizang tongzhi* 衛藏通志 ed. 1896, introductory chapter. 25a–26a. Quoted after FUCHS 1930, 395–397.

---

express in words my sincere mind with which I received grace with a grateful heart and lived respectfully; and when I examine myself deep down in my heart I do not know how I can compensate for all this”.

Here the emperor appears mellow and reasonable, at the advanced age of 80, however. His important achievements not only as military commander but also as administrator, writer and artist, allowed him these modest remarks. Simultaneously, one notices a certain parallel to the Enlightenment in Europe, and it is hardly surprising that Europe was under a spell of China enthusiasm for a while.

Unlike few other rulers the Qianlong emperor knew how to document his exploits historically and disseminate them in a literary and artistic way — elements of symbolism of sovereignty as well as superb reason of state become evident. The campaigns against the Dzungars, without doubt one of his most remarkable and effective military exploits, may serve as an example. As a reminder: The unrest among the Dzungars was pacified quickly by the imperial army with the help of Amursana in 1755. Amursana however rose to become the leader of the Dzungars and was defeated only after heavy battles involving serious losses in 1757. In the meantime the two Hojas, Hoja Jihân and Burhan al-Din, had risen against China, and their conquest was also effectuated with heavy sacrifices. In 1760 these campaigns were successfully concluded, and the head of one of the Hojas was presented to the emperor in Peking.

In order to disseminate and symbolize his military exploits the emperor took the following measures:

1) The Qianlong emperor commissioned the painting of pictures of the decisive battles.

Among the first Western communications on the battle pictures a note by the Russian monk and sinologist Iakinf (N. Ya. Bichurin) may be counted; in his description of Peking he said:<sup>3</sup> “Im Pallaste Tseu-kouang-ke [Ziguangge] ließ der Kaiser Jin-ty (Khian-loung) 1761 nach der Eroberung der Songarey und des östlichen Turkistan’s (der kl. Bucharey) die Portraits von 100 Offizieren und Beamten, die durch glänzende Waffenthaten oder außerordentliche Thätigkeit zum Erfolge besonders beygetragen hatten, aufstellen. Nach dem hat man an den Mauern auch die Gemählde von den Schlachten der Westarmee im Jahre 1776 aufgehängt und nach Beendigung des Krieges mit Kin-tchouan (den Miao-tseu) wurden auch noch die Portraits von 100 Offizieren und Beamten, die sich in diesem ausgezeichnet hatten, alle, Portraits

---

<sup>3</sup> Quoted after PLATH 1830. 860.

und Gemählde, von europäischen Mahlern gemahlt, ausgestellt". [In 1761 after the conquest of Dzungaria and Eastern Turkestan (Small Bukharia) the Qianlong emperor had put up the portraits of 100 officers and officials who contributed by their excellent bravery and extraordinary activity considerably to the success, in the Ziguangge [Hall of Purple Splendor]. Afterwards also pictures of the battles of the Western Army in 1776 were suspended on the walls and after the completion of the campaign against Jinchuan (the Miaozi) also the portraits of 100 officers and officials exhibited which excelled in it, all portraits and pictures done by European painters.] The original edition (Iakinf: *Opisanie Pekina*) is somewhat more precise and mentions — like the Chinese sources — 2×50 pictures. Also, the year 1776 which Pelliot considered an error is related clearly to the Jinchuan campaign (Iakinf: *Description de Pékin*. St. Petersburg 1829, 61–62).

Regarding the genesis of the battle pictures we learn details from Father Amiot's biography of the Jesuit court-painter Jean-Denis Attiret: "During the whole duration of this war against the Eleuths and other Tartars, their allies, whenever the imperials troops gained some victories, the painters were ordered to paint them. Those of the most important officers who had played the decisive roles in the events were favoured to appear in the paintings according to what really had happened".<sup>4</sup> Three drafts for this series drawn by charcoal-crayon were in the 1940s in the possession of the physician and scholar Kuroda Genji. They are the scenes Tonguzluq, Khorgos and Qoš-qulaq, and little yellow slips of paper bearing the Manchu names of most of the heroes were glued to the appropriate places. Fuchs published and described the Tonguzluq sheet (61.9×36.1 cm) as plate 4–5, including the 88 personal names on it.<sup>5</sup>

Of the original battle pictures only two items seem to be extant: One is a large coloured painting on silk (366×388 cm), acquired by the Hamburg Ethnological Museum in 1904.<sup>6</sup> The upper left shows part of an imperial poem on the victory at Qurman in the hand of the Qianlong emperor. In comparison to the later copper-prints the painting only shows the right half, featuring the flight of the Kirgis and Dzungars under Burhan-ed-Din who was defeated by the imperial troops at Qurman at the beginning of 1759. The left part with the attacking cavallery is missing, except a single warrior who is standing beside his fallen horse and is shooting an

<sup>4</sup> BERNARD 1943, 438.

<sup>5</sup> FUCHS 1939, 116–124.

<sup>6</sup> The other one is a large painting of the Taiwan campaign where the different battle scenes are all united in one picture. It is also in the possession of the Hamburg Museum.

arrow.<sup>7</sup> This painting provides a good impression of how the setting and persons were adapted for the copper-print which does not show the individual features anymore.<sup>8</sup>

This is the time frame:

1760                      Painting of 16 large battle pictures (no. 16 after April 16th), probably by Chinese court-painters under the direction of Jesuit missionaries. Painting of 100 portraits of meritorious officers.

1761, Febr. 6      The pictures were put up and displayed in the hall of fame Ziguangge, on the occasion of its refurbishment and extension by the Wuchengdian.

2) A number of battle-paintings were also executed in layered red lacquer (actually in several colours, depending on the depth of the engraving).<sup>9</sup> One panel from the Taiwan campaign and two from the Jinchuan campaign were described. One panel from the Taiwan expedition was reproduced and described already by Münsterberg.<sup>10</sup> According to Bushell lacquer versions were also prepared from the Eastern Turkestan series.<sup>11</sup>

Haenisch called the picture which used to be in the possession of the Berlin Museum of Ethnology “a piece of art of the highest degree”: “The lacquer is arranged in three layers of which the one below is blackish green and marks the water of the river and moat, the one on top of it olive green colours the field and the uppermost one the mountains, woods, buildings and persons, also the gilt inscription on the upper part”. Theme of the picture that corresponds almost exactly with the copper print, is the relief of the town of Zhule.<sup>12</sup> The panel was returned from the Soviet Union to the GDR and is now in the collections of the Museum of Asian Art, Berlin. Further five panels, from the same series, were preserved in the museum Kasteel Huis Doorn.

3) The Qianlong emperor had portraits of the meritorious generals and officers painted.

---

<sup>7</sup> He is identified by his name given in Manchu script on his quiver: Macang. The emperor honoured him by a portrait one version of which is preserved in Berlin, another one in Taipei (Palace Museum).

<sup>8</sup> The fragment is reproduced and briefly described by G. Prunner in: *Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde* 1984, 106–107, Nr 181. — Cf. FUCHS 2010/11, 237–261.

<sup>9</sup> HAENISCH 1920/22, 177–184; WITKOWSKI 1876, 37.

<sup>10</sup> MÜNSTERBERG 1912, 435–438.

<sup>11</sup> BUSHELL *Chinese art*, ed. 1921, I, 119.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. WALRAVENS 2001, 79–94.

---

The Veritable Records<sup>13</sup> give a few interesting details: “Now that the completion of the great military exploits is to be expected shortly, immediately after the victorious return of the army — similar to the conquest of the Dzungars and the Mohammedan tribes [1759] — portraits of the meritorious officials shall be drawn and battle-paintings executed in order to pass on the achievements forever. As the appearance and locations as well as the defiles and ravines of the aboriginal areas cannot be known exactly, the following decree is to be sent to Agôï [the Manchu general]: Wherever officers and soldiers performed real acts of great bravery at rebel fortresses — as the recently conquered Sunkerzung and the earlier taken Guga, Ramram, Sepengpu, Kangsar and Muse gunggak as well as the locations on Mingliang’s route and the whole area from Dartu to the Ju fortress — and these fortresses were conquered after brave attacks, he shall have a true picture of each of them painted and the leading generals and the bravest officers named in them, forward these [paintings] at the next opportunity and wait for Our decision after inspection”.<sup>14</sup>

While this note refers to the Jinchuan campaign, the imperial reference indicates clearly that Agôï should follow the example of the previous campaign.

The following series of portraits are known:

Eastern Turkestan	100 portraits
Jinchuan	100
Taiwan	50
Gurkha	30
Eastern Turkestan II	44 (Daoguang period)

A number of these portraits were taken abroad after the Boxer Rebellion, probably as souvenirs. Most of them are almost life-size hanging scrolls. The faces are particularly remarkable as they are not following the Chinese tradition but are executed in a Western realistic style; the remaining bodies are done in the usual way, probably by Chinese court artists. It is known from the biography of Brother Attiret that he painted about 200 portraits; after his death, Ignaz Sichelbarth and Giuseppe Panzi<sup>15</sup> took his pursuit over. The first portion of these portraits received imperial poetic eulogies in Chinese and Manchu while the lower ranks were given eulogies by the highest court officials. Of particular interest are a number of half-length portraits in oil on paper (apparently by Attiret and later by the other Jesuits)

<sup>13</sup> *Shilu* 984/6a-b, of July 2nd, 1775.

<sup>14</sup> Translation after FUCHS 1944, 101–122.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. ZETTL 2011. — WALRAVENS, STEINICKE 2014, 52–68.

which were the models for the hanging scrolls.<sup>16</sup> There also handscrolls with Chinese eulogies only which represent the intermediary stage between oil paintings and hanging scrolls.<sup>17</sup>

Besides brave officers and generals also the leaders of the Torguts who returned from Russia to China and those of the Dörbed were painted.<sup>18</sup>

4) The Qianlong emperor had the hall of fame Ziguangge (Hall of Purple Splendor) erected on the Western palace ground, for display of the battle-paintings and portraits and other memorabilia. The description of Peking, *Rixia jiuwenkao* (24/2a-b) says: “Towards the East and the West of the two woodcarved imperial aphorisms (duilian), bearing South, between the partition walls are respectfully put up the inscriptions composed by the emperor, from the National Academy, on the occasion of the completed conquest of the Ili area and the Mohammedan tribes. On the Eastern walls there are all the [8] pictures from the conquest of the Ili area, and on the Western wall all those [8] of the conquest of the Mohammedan tribes. On the walls of the Eastern and Western galleries there are respectfully put up the inscription from the National Academy, written by the emperor, on the occasion of the completed conquest of the two Jinchuan areas, all the pictures of the conquest of the two Jinchuan and the 10 stanza imperial song of triumph on the occasion of the report of the victory. The upper story of the hall respectfully houses the victorious and miraculous banners and seized arms. Exactly in the centre a picture of the victory banquet on the occasion of the pacification of the Western borders was painted. On the Eastern wall there is a picture showing the presentation of the severed head of the Hoja from the Western borders; on the Western wall a picture showing the reception of the victors outside the gates of Peking after the conquest of the Mohammedan tribes was painted”.<sup>19</sup>

The battle paintings regarding Eastern Turkestan were already put up at the beginning of 1761 together with the officers' portraits as may be gathered from the heading of an imperial poem of 1761: “When they assembled for a banquet on account of the opening of the Ziguangge with the newly painted portraits of the meritorious officials and with all the battle paintings, the emperor wrote four poems of six double lines each.”

---

<sup>16</sup> WALRAVENS 1997, 401–423.

<sup>17</sup> For details see WALRAVENS 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. VEIT 1970, 199–237; RASIDONDUK, VEIT 1978, 543–591.

<sup>19</sup> According to FUCHS 1944, 104.

---

5) The Qianlong emperor had the battle paintings engraved in copper.

The history of these copper prints was treated in detail by Pelliot and Fuchs.<sup>20</sup>

In 1762–1764, the emperor saw copper engravings of battle scenes by the Augsburg battle painter Georg Philipp Rugendas and ordered the four missionaries Giuseppe Castiglione, Jean-Denis Attiret, Ignaz Sichelbarth and Giovanni Damasceno Sallusti to reduce the large wall paintings to serve as the basis for engravings.

In 1764–1765, at the court the drafts for the engravings were prepared.

Afterwards these drawings were forwarded by imperial command to the Paris Academy of Painting where the copper plates were engraved and then sent to the emperor together with prints.

6) The Qianlong emperor had chronicles of his campaigns, by the title of *fanglue*, composed. The campaign against the Dzungars is described in Chinese and Manchu in the voluminous *Pingding Jungaer fanglue* 平定準噶爾方略 (printed in 1772. 172 juan) — *Jun gar-i ba be necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon-i bithe* (1772. 171 debt.)

7) The Qianlong emperor had put up memorial inscriptions of his victories in appropriate places:

a) Re the conquest of the Dzungars:<sup>21</sup>

*Pingding Jungaer leming Ili zhi bei / Jun gar be necihiyeme toktobuha babe Ili bade ejeme ilibuha eldengge wehei bithe.*

Quadrilingual inscription. Jehol: Puningsi 1755.

*Pingding Jungaer hou leming Ili zhi bei / Jun gar be necihiyeme toktobuha sirame Ili bade ejeme ilibuha eldengge wehei bithe.*

Quadrilingual inscription. Jehol: Puningsi 1758.

*Pingding Jungaer leming Ili zhi bei / Jun gar be necihiyeme toktobuha babe Ili bade ejeme ilibuha eldengge wehei bithe.*

Bilingual inscription. Peking: Guozijian 1758.

b) Re the conquest of the Mohammedans in Eastern Turkestan:

*Yuzhi pingding Huibu gaocheng taixue beiwen / Han-i araha Hoise aiman be necihiyeme toktobufi gurun-i tacikô de gungge mutebuhe jalin ilibure eldengge wehei bithe.*

Bilingual inscription. Peking: Guozijian 1759.

<sup>20</sup> PELLIOU 1921, 183–274; FUCHS 1939.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. AMIOT 1778, 539–664. Translated from the original in *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*. Vol. 1. Paris 1776, 325–401.

These inscriptions are of importance as they reflect in poetical form the emperor's views of his campaigns; they were partly displayed also in the hall of fame Ziguange.

8) The Qianlong emperor had victory hymns written, or composed them himself:

The celebration of the victory after the completion of the campaigns comprised, besides solemn offerings and banquets for the victorious officers, also victory hymns of which Father Amiot communicated an interesting example.<sup>22</sup> This hymn the Chinese text of which is possibly unpublished, is composed in Manchu and consists of 17 stanzas in alliteration. It was sung after the completion of the campaign against Jinchuan (in Sichuan Province):

"It was sung after [the emperor] had reported to his ancestors in a ceremonious offering, and the emperor gave the princes of his family, the high officials, the general [Agôî] and the higher officers of his army a banquet. The dancers made their pirouettes during the singing; whenever a slightly rhythmic declamation could be called a song, some instruments accompanied it in order to keep together within certain limits what without this assistance might have gone apart any moment."

Here is the first stanza to serve as an example:

*Jalingga Gin cuwan-i hôlha*  
*Jalan halame ehe yabuha*  
*Jabsan de Manju cooha ofi*  
*Jabdunggala hôdun gisabuha.*

The villainous robbers from Gold River Country  
committed evil from generation to generation.

Fortunately the Manchu army  
cut them down quickly in one successful strike.

We may assume that a similar hymn (or hymns) was also sung after the other campaigns were successfully concluded.

9) The Qianlong emperor had monographs written on individual areas such as the *Xiyu tuzhi* 西域圖志 in 52 juan, "Illustrated Description of the Western Regions" on the living grounds of the Dzungars and Mohammedans. This was in the tradition line of a work of the same title from the Tang period (100 juan).

10) The Qianlong emperor had a comprehensive topographical survey of the empire made, the *Qianlong shisanpai ditu* 十三排地圖 which paid special attention to the newly acquired areas. The map was a follow-up to

---

<sup>22</sup> AMIOT 1792. Cf. also WALRAVENS 2015, 209–219.

the survey of the Kangxi period, the *Guangyu quanlan tu* (1718–1719); work started in 1756 under the supervision of the mathematician He Guozong 何國宗 (†1766), in cooperation with the Jesuits Felix da Rocha (1713–1781) und José d’Espinha (1722–1788). The map was also to supplement the *Xiyu tuzhi*. There are some inconsistencies, however, apparently on account of different updates. The map was published as a copper print 1769/70 under the direction of the Jesuit Michel Benoist (1715–1774). A new printing from the original plates in the Palace Museum was done in 1931. It is still the most comprehensive historical map of Qing China.<sup>23</sup>

11) In connection with the conquest of the Dzungars who were Lamaists the Qianlong emperor had the Puningsi (temple) in Jehol built which was modelled after the famous Tibetan bSam-yas monastery. Details may be found in the gazetteer of Jehol, *Rehe xianzhi*.

12) To facilitate handling the numerous strange Dzungar and Turki names the emperor commissioned a hexaglot dictionary, the *Xiyu tongwenzhi*,<sup>24</sup> and had the quadrilingual Manchu Mirror (dictionary) extended by another language (Uigur) to form the *Wuti Qingwendian* 五體清文鑑 which was not published, however, probably due to the emperor’s passing. The Peking manuscript was published in facsimile only in 1957; a new analysis of this dictionary, based on a comparison of the extant manuscripts was only just published.<sup>25</sup>

In an inscription on the Dzungar issue, in 1755, the emperor said: “When then (the throne) passed to my unworthy person I strove for daily endeavour and hoped the whole country might become one cultural unity”. This statement underlines the imperial vision not only of a Pax manjurica / sinica but also of an empire with languages and cultures of apparently equal rights, which he tried to establish by means of his language and cultural policy on the basis of his military exploits.

When he blamed the Dzungars for their wrong behavior as quoted below, his words seem to imply the idea of a close ethnic, cultural, language and religious relationship. Through their rebellion against the “pater familias”

<sup>23</sup> See FUCHS 1943. The mentioned facsimile is: Qianlong shisan pai tu. Beijing: Waiwen chubanshe, 2007. (as part of the series *Qingting san da shice quantu* 清廷三大實測全圖集).

<sup>24</sup> ENOKI 1961–1964.

<sup>25</sup> CORFF 2013–2014. The first facimile is a rare book nowadays and therefore little known: *Han-i araha Sunja hacin-i hergen kamciha Manju gisun-i buleku bithe. Yuzhi Wuti Qingwenjian* 御製五體清文鑑. *Qayan-u bičigsen tabun jüil-ün üsüg-iyer qabsuruṣan Manju ügen-ü toli bičig. rGyal-pos mdzad-pa’i skad lha šan sbyar-gyi Mañdzu’i skad gsal-ba’i me-loñ. Hanniñ pütügen baš kismi košikan hat Manču sözniñ ayri mačin hati.* Eiin Gotai shimbunkan Tōkyō: Tōyō Bunko 1943 (Tōyō Bunko sōkan 9). 36 fasc.

and Son of Heaven the Dzungars put themselves in the wrong, like disobedient children: “Alas, you Dzungars, you are of the same ilk as the Mongols, aren’t you? Why did you separate from them?” He put the blame for what had happened on the “dipsomaniac” DAWACI and explained his necessary action by compassion: “People stood there with their mouths open because of the misery. I was anxious that your misery came to a standstill. And I hope that it will not — with my help — last till the next morning”.

In 1758, he ascribed the mischief to the Dzungars themselves: “If Heaven wants to strengthen somebody, people cannot injure him even if they want his downfall. ...You want to honour the Yellow Doctrine and pray to Buddha and the Bodhisattvas. But in your hearts you are like man-eating Rakshas. Therefore you were unable to escape from your self incurred retribution with your lives when your crimes were at the lowest [moral level] and your wickedness reached a zenith”.<sup>26</sup>

The mentioned measure explain the emperor’s concept of his sovereignty and show his comprehensive and masterly publicity and documentation activities.

## References

- AMIOT, Jean Joseph 1778: Erläuterung des steinernen Denkmals, auf welchem die Eroberung des Königreiches der Eleuthen in sinesischen Versen, die der Kaiser selbst verfertigt hat, beschrieben stehet. Diese Begebenheit trug sich unter der Regierung des Kien-long, im Jahre 1757 zu. Die Eroberung wurde von den Mantschus gemacht. *Abhandlungen sinesischer Jesuiten* 1.1778, 539–664
- AMIOT, Jean Joseph 1792: *Hymne tartare mantchou chanté à l’occasion de la conquête du Kin-tchouen*. Traduit en français et accompagné de notes pour l’intelligence du texte par L. Langlès, auteur de l’Alphabet tartare.mantchou. Paris: Didot. XXVI p.
- BERNARD, Henri: Le frère Attiret au service de K’ien-long (1739–1768). *Bulletin de l’Université l’Aurore* 3,4.1943, 30–82, 435–474
- CORFF, Oliver 2013/14: *Auf kaiserlichen Befehl erstelltes Wörterbuch des Manjurischen in fünf Sprachen “Fünfsprachenspiegel”*. Systematisch angeordneter Wortschatz auf Manjurisch, Tibetisch, Mongolisch, Turki und Chinesisch. Vollständige romanisierte und revidierte Ausgabe mit textkritischen Anmerkungen, deutschen Erläuterungen und Indizes. Teil 1–2. 5 Indizes. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- ENOKI, Kazuo (ed.) 1961/64: *Kintei Saiiki dōbunshi. Qinding Xiyu tongwenzhi* 欽定西域同文志 *Hesei toktohuha Wargi amargi aiman-i hergen be emu obuha ejetun-i bithe* 1–4. (Tōkyō:) Tōyō Bunko. (Tōyō bunko sōkan C 16). X,790; 695,V; 338, II, 86, 396, II, IV; 243, XIV pp.
- FUCHS, Walter 1939: Die Schlachtenkupfer aus Turkestan von 1765 als historische Quelle. Nebst Bemerkungen zu einigen späteren Serien. *Monumenta Serica* 4.1939, 116–124.
- FUCHS, Walter 1944: Die Entwürfe der Schlachtenkupfer der Kienlung- und Taokuang-Zeit. Mit Reproduktion der 10 Taokuang-Kupfer und der Vorlage für die Annam-Stiche. *Monumenta Serica* 9. 1944, 101–122.

---

<sup>26</sup> See HAENISCH 1950, 224–247.

- FUCHS, Walter 1943: *Der Jesuiten-Atlas der Kanghsi-Zeit*. Seine Entstehungsgeschichte nebst Namensindices für die Karten der Mandchurei, Mongolei, Ostturkestan und Tibet mit Wiedergabe der Jesuitenkarten in Originalgröße. Peking: Fugen Universität. III, 414 pp., 36 maps (in 2 vols.) 4.
- FUCHS, Walter 2010/11: Te-sheng t'u 得勝圖 (Schlachtenbilder). *Münchener Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 14.2010/11, 237–261.
- Hamburgisches Museum für Völkerkunde 1984: *Führer durch die Sammlungen*. München: Prestel.
- HAENISCH, Erich 1920/22: Tsch'ai Ta-ki, der Held von Tschu-lo. Geschichtliche Würdigung eines chinesischen Rotlackbildes. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* 9.1920/22, 177–184.
- HAENISCH, Erich 1950: Zwei viersprachige Inschriften zum Dsungarenkrieg aus den Jahren 1755 und 1758. *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*. Berlin 1950, 224–247.
- MÜNSTERBERG, Oskar 1912: *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*. II. Eßlingen: Neff.
- NAITÔ Torajirô 内藤虎次郎 1929: *Dokushi zōroku* 讀史叢錄. Kyōto: Kōbundō.
- PELLIOT, Paul 1921: Les conquêtes de l'empereur de la Chine. *T'oung Pao* 20. 1921, 183–274.
- PLATH, Johann Heinrich 1830: *Geschichte des östlichen Asiens*. Bd. 1. Göttingen: Dieterich.
- RASIDONDUK, S. 1978: (with V. Veit): Neun weitere in Deutschland befindliche Porträts verdienter Offiziere der Ch'ienlung Zeit. *Zentralasiatische Studien* 12. 1978, 543–591.
- VEIT, Veronika 1970: Die in Deutschland befindlichen Porträts der von Ch'ien-lung 1754–1755 unterworfenen Öltenfürsten. *Zentralasiatische Studien* 4. 1970, 199–237.
- WALRAVENS, Hartmut 1997: New material on the portraits of meritorious officers of the Qianlong campaigns. *Historical and linguistic interaction between Inner Asia and Europe*. Szeged 1997 (Studia uralo-altaica.39), 401–423.
- WALRAVENS, Hartmut 2001: Die Entsetzung von Zhule — eine Episode aus der Taiwan-Kampagne auf einem Schnitzlackbild. *Baessler-Archiv* 49. 2001, 79–94.
- WALRAVENS, Hartmut 2012: *Portraits of valour. Imperial bannermen portraits from a European collection*. Hong Kong: Sotheby's. 109 p.
- WALRAVENS, Hartmut 2013: The meritorious officers revisited: The portrait of Cemcukjab. *Unknown treasures of the Altaic world in libraries, archives and museums*. 53rd Annual Meeting of the PIAC, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS, St. Petersburg, July 25–30, 2010. Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 170–176.
- WALRAVENS, Hartmut 2013/14: Die ehemalige Sammlung von Porträts verdienter Offiziere der Feldzüge des Qianlong-Kaisers (China, 18. Jahrhundert). *Baessler-Archiv* 61. 2013/14, 125–166.
- WALRAVENS, Hartmut 2014: (with Marion Steinicke): Miscellen zu Giuseppe Panzi (1734–vor 1812), Jesuitenkünstler am Hof des Qianlong-Kaisers. *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift* NS 27. 2014, 52–68.
- WALRAVENS, Hartmut 2014: Zu einigen Porträts der Qianlong-Ära in China. *Münchener Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 15. 2014, 127–161.
- WALRAVENS, Hartmut 2016: Die ehemalige Sammlung von Porträts verdienter Offiziere der Feldzüge des Qianlong-Kaisers (China, 18. Jahrhundert). 2. Teil. *Baessler-Archiv* 63. 2016, 111–150.
- WALRAVENS, Hartmut 2015: Did the Manchus celebrate? *Anniversaries, feasts and celebrations in the Altaic world. Proceedings of the PIAC Bloomington, Indiana USA July 10–15, 2011*. Ed. by Alicia Campi. Bloomington: Mongolia Society, 209–219.
- WITKOWSKI, Julian 1876: Erklärung zweier chinesischer Bilder aus rothem Lack (Zuisiju). *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens* 1, 10.1876, 37.
- ZETTL, Erich 2011: Ignaz Sichelbarth (1708–1780). *Missionar, Maler und Mandarin am Kaiserhof in Peking. Leben, Werk, Bilder*. Konstanz: Hochschule. 111 p.



Pl. 1

Portrait of the Qianlong emperor in court attire. N. d. (after 1773).  
Painter: Giuseppe Panzi S.J. (not signed) Gugong (Palace Museum) Peking.  
(Quoted from *China: The three emperors*. London 2005.)

---



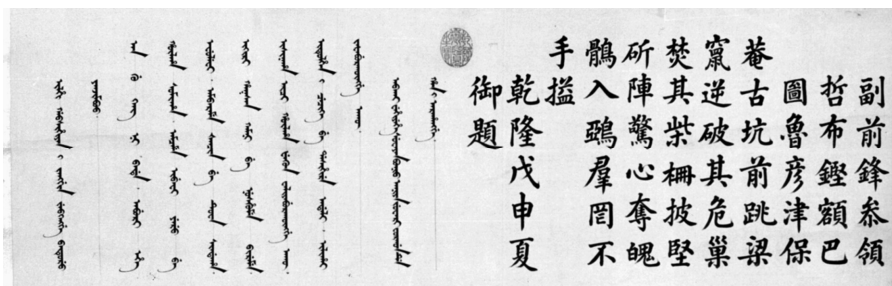
Pl. 2

Mingliyang (1735–1822), “Vice commander on the Right of the Expedition Forces, Commander of Chengdu, Marquis of the first rank, the Meritorious Hero” excelled during the military campaign against the Gold Stream Countries. This oil portrait was finished in 1776 and is to be credited either to Ignaz Sichelbarth S.J. or Giuseppe Panzi S.J. who arrived at Peking in 1773. The pictures in oil served as basis for handscrolls and lifesize hanging scrolls (photo: author).



Pl. 3

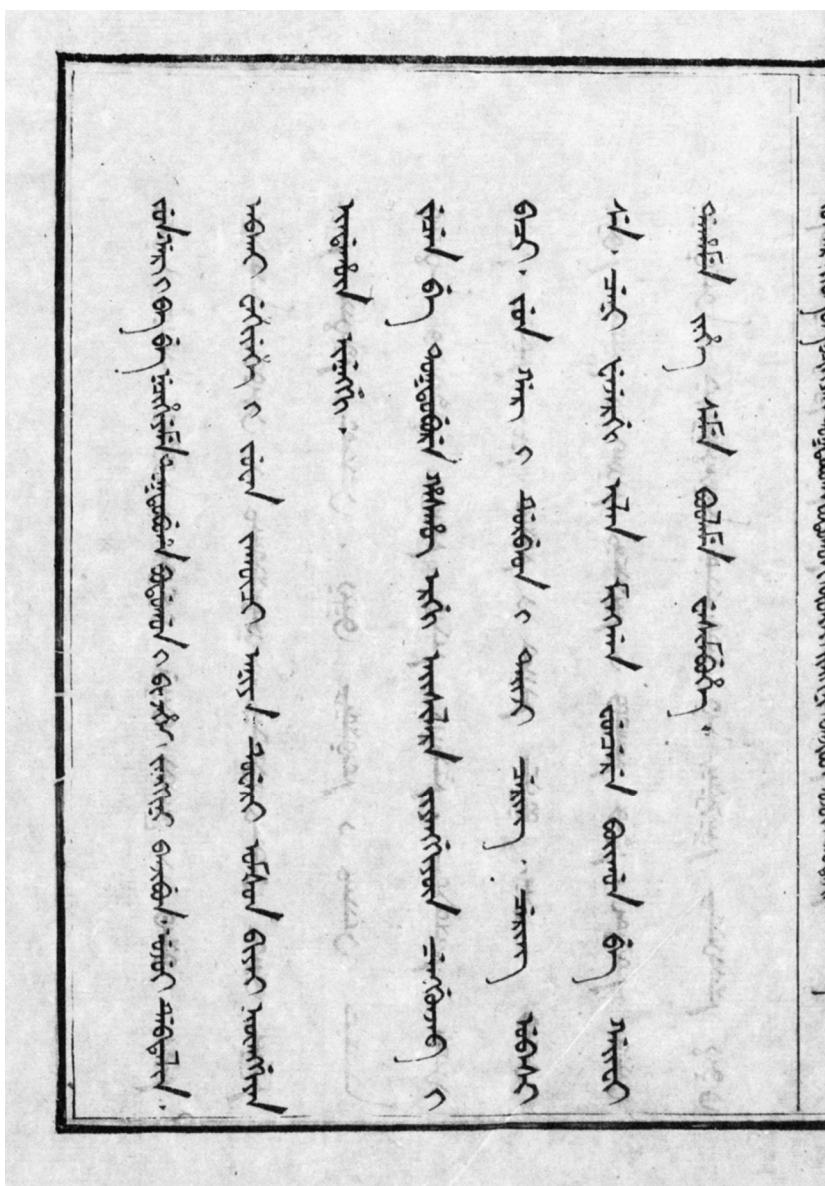
“The Vice Commander of the Avantgarde, the Careful Hero Yanjimboo” who showed his bravery during the campaign against Taiwan. 1788 (date of the eulogy). Hanging scroll (Náprstek Museum, Prague. Inv. no. 34505; courtesy of Náprstek Museum.)



Pl. 4

Eulogy to Yanjimbo. 1788 (Náprstek Museum, Prague. Inv. no. 34505; courtesy Náprstek Museum). The first bar of the imperial eulogy runs:

An gu keng-ni bade.  
 aburi ehe hôlha somiha.  
 amcame ibefi yeru be efulefi.  
 ambarame šancin be tuwa sindaha.



Pl. 5

*Jun gar-i babe necihiyeme toktobuha bodogon-i bithe, jingkini banjibun.*

The military operations for the pacification of the Dzungars. Manchu only.

A Chinese edition was published separately. Printed in 1772. (Berlin State Library.

Deposited at the Jagiellonian University Library, Cracow. Call. no. PS 8.)

xvj

## H Y M N E

ᠠᠯᠢᠨ ᠬᠠᠲᠤ ᠳᠡ ᠶ᠋ᠠᠰᠠᠬᠠᠯᠠᠬᠠ  
 ᠠᠮᠪᠠ ᠤ᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋᠋ ᠳᠡ ᠲᠠᠬᠤᠬᠤᠨ ᠬᠠᠰᠤᠮᠪᠤᠬᠠ;  
 ᠠᠢᠨᠠᠬᠠ ᠰᠡᠮᠡ ᠫᠡᠲᠡᠷᠲᠠᠬᠤ ᠣᠰᠢ,  
 ᠠᠶᠠᠬᠠ ᠲᠤᠴᠠᠨ ᠪᠡ ᠶᠤᠨᠭᠦᠠᠪᠤᠬᠠ.

## PRONONCIATION.

*Alin hata-dé yafahalaha*  
*Amba ouetchi-dé tchouhoun hafoumbouha;*  
*Ainaha sémé petertcherakou ofi,*  
*Afaha touchan-bé youngkiabouha.*

## TRADUCTION.

Ils grimpent sur les rochers les plus escarpés, (11)  
 Ils traversent les épaisses forêts des montagnes:  
 Rien n'est capable de les rebuter;  
 Ils combattent et se montrent par-tout des héros.

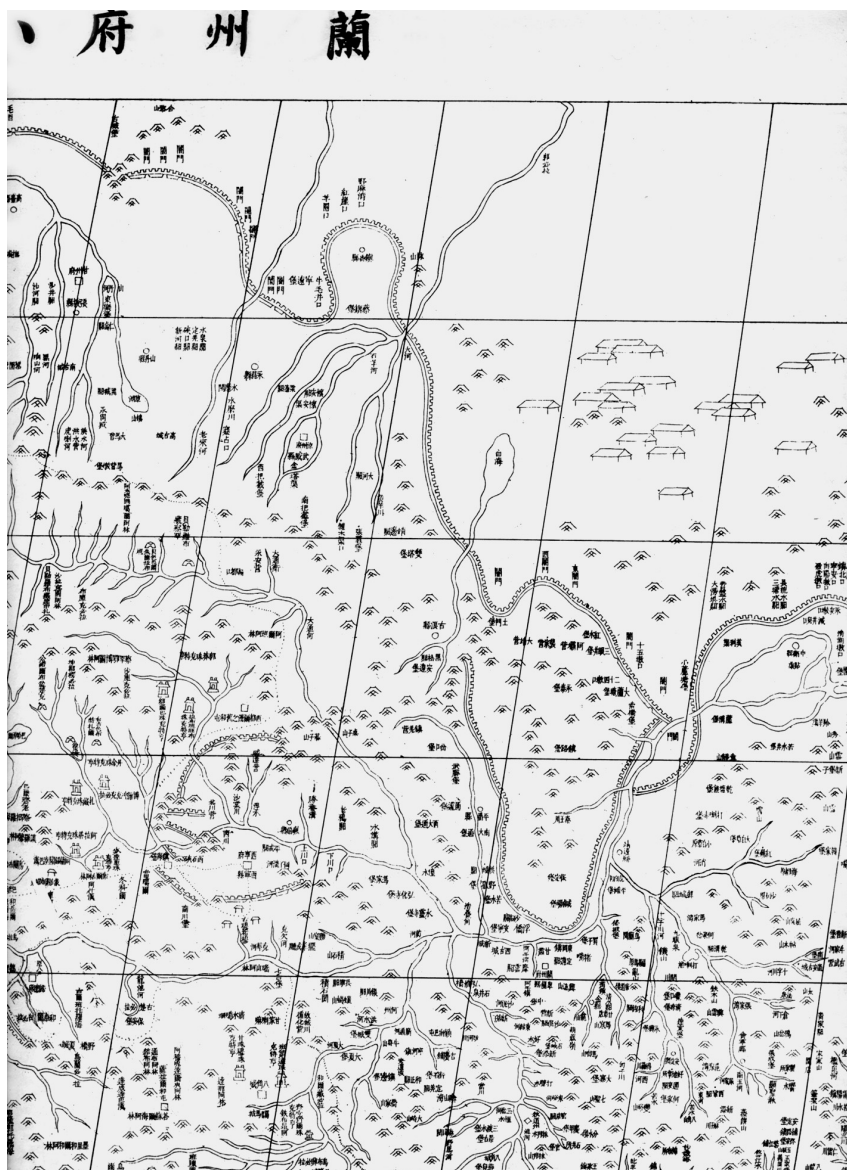
## REMARQUES.

(11) On ne sauroit se former une idée de ces montagnes du *Kin-tchouen* qu'on ne se figure tout ce qu'il y a de plus escarpé et de plus difficile accès dans les Alpes et les Pyrénées. Tous ceux qui y ont été s'accordent à en faire une description effrayante. C'est parmi les précipices affreux, les rochers escarpés, les torrents rapides et les épaisses forêts, que nos intrépides Mantchoux sont allés combattre. La jeune noblesse s'est sur-tout distinguée sous un général tel qu'*Akoui*, qui de simple officier subalterne est parvenu par son seul mérite au plus haut point des honneurs militaires et civils. Il est aujourd'hui premier ministre.

A l'occasion d'*Akoui*, je fais actuellement une réflexion que je suis bien aise de ne pas laisser échapper; la voici: *Akoui* ne doit son élé-

Pl. 6

*Hymne tartare mantchou chanté à [ ] l'occasion de la conquête du Kin-tchouen.*  
 Traduit en français et accompagné de notes pour l'intelligence du texte par M. Amyot,  
 missionnaire à Pékin. Paris: Didot l'aîné 1792, p. XVI.



Pl. 7

From the sheet "Lanzhou" from map of the Chinese empire prepared by the Jesuits and Chinese cartographers. Reduced reprint (Taipei 1976) after the second printing from the original copperplates 1931/32, *Shisan pai ditu* 十三排地圖.

(Woodblock print 1760, copperprint 1775).

<p>字托忒</p> <p>ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ</p>	<p>字回</p> <p>ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ</p>	<p>ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ</p>	<p>字漢</p> <p>哈喇忽刺</p> <p>布拉克台</p>	<p>子為第十三世其 長子額伯內伊勒 登以下另按 世次載後</p>	<p>三合切音</p> <p>阿喇呼喇</p>	<p>字蒙古</p> <p>ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ</p>	<p>字西番</p> <p>ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ</p>	<p>ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ</p>
<p>字西番</p> <p>ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ</p>	<p>字托忒</p> <p>ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ</p>	<p>字回</p> <p>ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ</p>	<p>字漢</p> <p>巴圖爾</p>	<p>忽刺之長子為第 十四世其次子墨 爾根代青以下另 按世次載後</p>	<p>按世次載後</p>	<p>巴圖爾舊對音為 巴圖魯今改正又 舊名和諾和親而 巴圖爾</p>	<p>巴圖爾</p>	<p>ᠠᠨᠠᠭᠤᠨ</p>

Pl. 8

*Qinding xiyu tongwenzhi* 欽定西域同文志 juan 7, fol. 4a.

Hexaglot dictionary of personal names and toponyms of the newly acquired areas  
in the West. Palace edition, ed. by Fuheng 傅恆 1763.

(from the facsimile edition of Tôyô Bunko, Tôkyô.)

---

REVIEWS

**Joseph F. O’Callaghan. *The Last Crusade in the West: Castile and the Conquest of Granada*.** Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014, 15.5×23.5 cm, 384 pp., 6 black-and-white figures and 2 maps. ISBN 9780812209358.

The recent decade was marked by the appearance of three volumes of the magisterial history by Joseph F. O’Callaghan, Professor Emeritus of Medieval History at Fordham University. One cannot doubt that few scholars know the history of late-medieval Castile better than he does. His *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), *The Gibraltar Crusade: Castile and the Battle for the Strait* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011) were published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, as well as the volume of our review which represents the third part of his ambitious trilogy — *The Last Crusade in the West: Castile and the Conquest of Granada* (2014). This volume describes the ebb and flow of the Reconquest, the conflict which was going on from the middle of the 15th c. until the fall of Granada, the last Islamic state on the Iberian Peninsula, under the blow of the expanding Christian kingdoms in 1492.

The Naṣrids — the longest lasting Muslim dynasty in the Iberian Peninsula was established by Ibn al-Aḥmar in 1228, with the departure of the Almohad prince Idrīs, who left Iberia to take the Almohad leadership. The Naṣrids aligned themselves with Ferdinand III of Castile after the conquest of Cordoba in 1236 in order to preserve their autonomy, so the emirate of Granada officially came into being (1238). It was a powerful and self-sufficient kingdom in its own right. By the end of the fourteenth century, Christian control of the Iberian Peninsula reached the borders of the emirate of Granada, whose Muslim rulers acknowledged Castilian suzerainty. The kings of Castile weren’t threatened by Moroccan incursions and were diverted by civil war and conflicts with neighboring kings instead of completing the Reconquest. The situation changed only at the end of the 15th c. On January 2, 1492, after a decade-long effort to subjugate Granada, the last Muslim ruler in Iberia, the emir Muhammad XII was made to surrender complete control of the Emirate to Ferdinand II and Isabella I, *Los Reyes Católicos*, the Catholic Monarchs, that marked the completion of centuries of armed struggle between the peninsula’s Christian kingdoms and the Islamic states of al-Andalus.

---

The volume consists of introduction, nine chapters, and wide bibliography, notes and a special note on monetary system, a list of abbreviations, and genealogical tables that facilitate comprehensible perception of the crucial historical turning points.

The introduction traces the codependent relationship of the King of Castile with his Muslim client kingdom. The role of Granada at that time was not considerable. The “War of the Two Pedros” (*La Guerra de los Dos Pedros*) — the conflict between the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, between Pedro of Castile and Pedro IV of Aragon — was of paramount importance.

The first five chapters are devoted to the reigns of Pedro I (1350–1369), Enrique II (1369–1379), Juan I (1379–1390), Enrique III (1390–1406), Juan II (1406–1454), and Enrique IV (1454–1474), wherein the author traces the course of negotiations along the Castilian frontier and examines diplomatic and military exchanges between Christians and Muslims. In 1248, after the fall of Seville, the Castilian monarchs tried to consolidate their conquest and to dominate the Guadalquivir River valley to its mouth, trying to wrest control of Algeciras, Gibraltar, and Tarifa. Moroccan intervention was ended by the Alfonso XI’s victory in 1340. Four years later he conquered Algeciras and besieged Gibraltar, but died in 1350. The crusade was brought to a halt, since the Castilians felt no need to attack Muslims. Therefore, the Reconquest has been suspended. No longer worried about a possible Moroccan invasion, Pedro I focused on the war with Aragon and the opposition of Enrique of Trastámara. This time the Trastámara monarchs arranged a series of armistices with the Naṣrids, prolonged till the early 15th c. Juan II later defeated the Naṣrids at La Higuera in 1431, but the quarrels with the nobility disturbed his long reign and he failed to gain more territories. There were series of campaigns against the Muslim kingdom, but at the same time it was a period of increasing integration of the Naṣrid and Trastámara realms through some treaties and truces. Later Enrique IV, son of Juan II, ravaged Granada, but didn’t manage to subjugate the emirate once more for the reason of increasing discord with the nobility and a dispute over the succession which thwarted his efforts. The Christian kingdom itself descended into a persistent state of civil war. To understand the steps of the Castilian conquest it’s crucial to follow these intermittent crusading efforts, so precisely and scrupulously drawn by O’Callaghan. He stressed that ever since the invasion of Muslims of the Peninsula the Christians had fought to expel them.

Chapters six and seven investigate the final stages of the warfare under Isabel I (1474–1504), Enrique IV’s half-sister, and Fernando II, then king of Sicily and later of Aragon, who made the conquest their priority. That time the prestige of the monarchy had been restored, the fractious nobility was consolidated, and the royal couple managed to provide the outlet for the war against the Muslims. The Naṣrid dynasty, riven by internal conflict and led by a very young emir Abū ‘Abdallāh, did itself no favors in the struggle. The King and Queen had been persisting with their task for ten years, and after the capitulation of Granada in 1491, they entered the city in 1492. The Reconquest was over.

---

---

In these chapters the author examines military organization, campaign financing, methods of military campaigns' operations, with emphasis on the crown's negotiations with the papacy under Sixtus IV (1471–1484) and Innocent VIII (1484–1492) over the Church's financial contributions to the war effort. The relations of the Holy See with the sovereigns and peoples of Europe were affected in no small degree by its fiscal policy, getting a great profit of crusade bulls and ecclesiastical revenues. Furthermore, O'Callaghan investigates thoroughly diplomatic and military back and forth of the Catholic Castilians and Muslims in Granada, the last bastion of Islamic rule in Spain.

With this the narration ends and the author turns to a number of related subjects. Two last chapters may be called analytical. In the eighth chapter the previous issues acquired an increased focus when the author describes a set of related questions. One of them is the incorporation of thousands and thousands of Muslims into the Crown of Castile that was a hard task, as a political entity of Islamic Spain existed no more. Furthermore, O'Callaghan thoroughly examines the military organization of Castile and Nasrid forces, the elements the army was composed of. He describes the course of pitched battles, the role of the naval forces and artillery, the siege warfare. At the end of the chapter we learn about substantial support derived from the Church — *tercias*, *decima*, *crusada* — in addition to loans from wealthy individuals and communities.

In the last chapter O'Callaghan examines the crusading ideology and religious conflict that, according to the author's point of view were the fundamental motivating force of warfare in Iberia, so to say "a conflict between two societies, one permeated by Christianity, the other by Islam." O'Callaghan provides a detailed overview of a crusading ideology, the one that gave an impulse and a genuine force in history. Acknowledging that the war against the Moors was of interest to Christendom, successive popes offered participants of the relevant events the crusading indulgence or remission of sins, and various personal and proprietary legal protections. The Religious motives extended, inspired, and sustained the development of crusading movement within the Iberian campaigns. What's more the author was extremely attentive to the language that reflects the religion dimension of the struggle.

In the work of O'Callaghan we look at the Reconquest in the light of the crusades' context in the Middle East, so the conquest of Granada is reframed as the "last great crusade in Western Europe". The drive for power, profit, and the territory was hidden under the cover of religious conviction. Sometimes it may seem that the controversy between Muslim and Christian societies might be somewhat exaggerated. One could not argue that Crusade is an important part of the history of Muslim-Christian relations, but the fact that religion is often used as a justification for conflict doesn't mean that it is the cause of conflicts. Sometimes even the war between Christians and Muslims was not a war between Christianity and Islam. Such an approach represents only one of many ways to analyze and understand the history of Castile and the kingdom's relations with its Muslim neighbors. However, the fundamentally religious character of this last stage of conflict can't be doubted.

---

Joseph O'Callaghan made use of much more sources for medieval Iberian history than any other contemporary scholar. Among them Christian, Muslim narrative sources (however, mostly in translation), documentary, rich corpus of historical ballads, since many episodes described in annals were retold in poetic form as ballads or romances. He carefully analyses Castilian and Portuguese chronicle accounts, papal and royal documents, fiscal records, diplomatic correspondence to provide his research with an impressive array of evidence.

Christian narrative and documentary sources are examined much fuller than previously. The chronicles and histories of individual monarchs by the laymen holding prominent positions in the royal court are of greater value. For example the chronicles by Pedro López de Ayala (1332–1406), a soldier, diplomat, and a statesman, of the reigns of Pedro I, Enrique II, Juan I, and Enrique III, whom he loyally served. The chief falconer Pedro Carrillo de Huete wrote the history of the reign of Juan II from 1420 to 1450, used many chancery documents. Historical works relating to Enrique IV vividly describe the political situation of that period. Alonso de Palencia, named the royal chronicler, spoke about the time from the end of Juan II's reign to 1481. Also he was the one of the few authors who recorded the reign of Fernando and Isabel ("*Guerra de Granada*").

Moreover, O'Callaghan uses not only narratives written by Christians and showing Christian opinions on the Moors, but also sources from the other side, although narratives by Muslim authors are scant. Their typical specimen is the work by Hernando de Baeza, Interpreter and Messenger, "*Las cosas que pasaron entre los reyes de Granada...*" (Events That Occurred Among the Kings of Granada) (1505) which represents a unique source of information concerning intrigue in the Naşrid court. De Baeza resided in Granada during the last years of the Naşrid rule, being on good terms with Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad XII, the last Naşrid monarch.

Two works in Arabic should be mentioned as well. "*Ŷannat al-riḏā fī'l-taslīm ilā mā qaddara-llāh wa-qaḏā*" (The Book of the Leafy Garden) by Ibn 'Āsim, related to the turbulent reign of Muḥammad IX, whom he served in various positions, and the anonymous "*Kitāb Nubḏat al-'aṣr fī aḥbār mulūk Banī Naṣr aw taslīm Ġarnāta wa-nuzūl al-Andalusīyyīn ilā-'l-Maġrib*" (Contemporary extract of Relations of the Age Containing News of the Naşrid Kings or the Capitulation), chronicle of the reigns of the last Naşrids.

To sum up we should say that *The Last Crusade in the West* is the book composed with skill and erudition, that traces the story of Castilian diplomacy, military operations, Crusade movement of the last centuries of the Reconquest. For people interested in the Iberian history of that epoch, Muslim-Christian relations in the Middle Ages, for students and researchers this judicious, balanced, thorough, and reasonably comprehensive study would be of considerable benefit.

Anastasia Stepanova  
Post-graduate student,  
Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,  
Russian Academy of Sciences

---

***Catalogue of Japanese Manuscripts and Rare Books. Merete Pedersen.***

The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark. Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs, etc. in Danish Collections (COMDC). Vol. 10.1. — Nordic Institute of Asian Studies. — 446 p. ISBN: 978-87-7694-147-5

The largest in the Nordic countries Royal Library in Denmark has released the tenth volume of the series *Oriental Manuscripts, Xylographs, etc. in Danish Collections*— the **Catalogue of Japanese Manuscripts and Rare Books** prepared by the research librarian Merete Pedersen. The luxurious album-format volume with excellent full-page illustrations and detailed information about each of 152 titles represented in this edition gives an impression of a reputable research work answering the most sophisticated demands.

The majority of the early Japanese books from the Collection dates back to the Tokugawa era (1603–1867) or speaking more precisely to the second half of the 18th — the middle of 19th cc. The editions before 1603 are represented solely by some fragments of the Buddhist sutras. At the same time the library has many publications printed after 1868, but the catalogue introduces only a series of woodblock prints, traditional block-printed books, photo albums and few books made with the use of movable metal type. As the compiler of the catalogue points out, it was made to “illustrate the gradual development and transformation of traditional Japanese book printing and binding into modern book printing” (p. XI).

The most part of the collection was acquired at the end of 19th — beginning of 20th cc. (which is proved by the ex-libris) — the period when the traditional Japanese books have invaded the international market. Many books were purchased through the French dealer. At the same time, the catalogue as well enlists the editions bought or received as a gift in the last decades.

The detailed Introduction contains information about the collection, the history of its forming, its genre variety. And here one can see the first distinctive feature of the book: unlike another catalogues the author chooses the way of covering first all possible types and genres of books (and not only those that are introduced in the catalogue!) accentuating what types and genes are present in the collection and which ones are not. However, inside the catalogue entries this principle is less important as all attention is centered on each concrete title. And still there is a good reason that the

author underlines the importance of the process of the Japanese book evolution or to be more precise its format. The catalogue makes a special emphasize upon the book design which was dictated by the peculiarities of the text and its genre style.

The Introduction covers all genres that represent the range and wealth of the book culture while inside the catalogue the entries are given in accord with genre classification used in the already classic catalogue of Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library by Hayashi Nozomu and Peter F. Kornicki.<sup>1</sup>

The rubrics are given in such an order: Encyclopedias, Shinto and Kokugaku, Christianity, Language, Literature, Music and Drama, History, Geography, Politics and Law, Education, Science, Medicine, Art, Sinology, Japanese Sinology.

M. Pedersen in her introduction clearly specifies the parameters used in the description of each entry. All terms are given in Japanese thus directing the readers towards Japanese approach to book description. For the readers who do not attain the advanced level of Japanese the catalogue is supplied with glossary that gives English language explanation of special terms. Besides, the catalogue contains the table of Nengo dates and what is especially useful! — the table of traditional book sizes (in centimeters) alongside with their names. Besides, the description of each entry is supplied with internet reference address where one can find the electronic copy of the edition and the data about the libraries and institutions it is preserved in as well as the catalogues with contain records about it. Moreover, in case of rare book the author specifies in what foreign countries one can find its virtual copy (for example, see No. 38). Anyone who opens the catalogue for the first time gets at his disposal an excellent instrument that enables him to freely navigate in the space of the Japanese book culture.

M. Pedersen demonstrates a profound or better say perfect knowledge of the material which in my opinion is one of the most important advantages of the catalogue. Excellent reference tools make the book a kind of encyclopedia for all those who are interested in the history of traditional Japanese book. The detailed bibliography, the great number of online resources, the list of online catalogues and image databases, web-based articles and blogs distinguish the catalogue from another catalogues of that type. The tremendous work done by the author provokes our professional admiration and deep respect.

Nevertheless, the doubtless merits of the catalogue some times could turn into its shortcoming when the desire to provide the reader with maximum of information leads to opposite results and the necessary data remains on the periphery. For example, the description in the rubric “Imprint” contains so much information about all editions of the concrete work that at the end it becomes difficult to understand when was published the concrete volume from the catalogue entry. Such confusion occurs not once forcing one to read the description several times in order to get a clear understanding of the definite publication date of the volume introduced in the index.

---

<sup>1</sup> Hayashi Nozomu and Peter F. Kornicki. 1991. *Early Japanese Books in Cambridge University Library: a Catalogue of the Aston, Satow and von Siebold Collections*. Cambridge [England]; Cambridge University Press.

---

---

There are some more shortcomings. For instance, in the entries related to the New Testament translations made by missionary B. Bettelheim (No. 8–13) the author indicates different dates of Bettelheim's life — either 1811–1869 or 1811–1870. And what is more, once both versions of his life dates are met at the same page! It is also unclear why the “The Holy Gospel of Luke” which in Japanese transcription stands for “Roka den fukuinsho” (and it is given in the catalogue!) should be read as “Ruka den fukuinsho” (pp. 20, 24, 28). Besides, it is obscure why “The Epistle to the Romans” and “The Acts of the Apostles” are placed under the title “The Holy Gospel of the Luke”.

It is a pity not all Japanese titles have their English language equivalents, some English titles are given in the rubric “Contents”, some do not exist at all. There are several printing errors — by the irony of fate, the first misprint is in the title of the first entry where the last character has somehow disappeared...

However the few shortcomings do not spoil the general impression of the highly professional catalogue and don't prevent it to fulfill its main task as it is formulated in the Preface — “to introduce to the world the collection of rare Japanese books from the Royal Library after many years of oblivion”. No doubt, this objective has been successfully accomplished.

Karine Genrikhovna Marandjian  
Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,  
Russian Academy of Sciences

---

***Anton Schiefner (1817–1879) und seine indologischen Freunde: seine Briefe an die Indologen Albrecht Weber (1825–1901), Rudolf Roth (1821–1895) und William D. Whitney (1827–1894) sowie den Indogermanisten Adalbert Kuhn (1812–1881).*** Hartmut Walravens, Agnes Stache-Weiske [editors]. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 2015. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Sitzungsberichte, 868. Bd.; Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 89). 455 pages: portraits (black and white). ISBN: 9783700177999 (paperback)

This book, prepared by Hartmut Walravens and Agnes Stache-Weiske, well-known German experts in the history of European Oriental Studies, contains a large corpus of letters of the eminent 19th c. scholar Frantz Anton (Anton Antonovich) Schiefner, a member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, that present him as an prominent Orientalist of his time who belonged to the narrow circle of professional Indologists involved in one of the most famous projects ever realized by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences, namely the great Sanskrit-German Dictionary compiled by O. von Böhtlingk, R. Roth and A. Weber in 1853–1875.<sup>1</sup> About ninety letters from Schiefner to Weber comprise the major part of the edition. They are supplemented with 9 letters to Roth and 5 letters to W.D. Whitney, the American Indologist who contributed to the dictionary, too. Moreover, the book contains 22 letters to the German linguist A. Kuhn who shared Schiefner's interest in European and Asian folktales and myths. This broader perspective of Schiefner's academic interests is supported with republication of some of his less known papers including his German translation of a Mongolian tale, two papers on Finnish epic tales, etc. The letters included into the book are kept now in various German libraries. The main details of Schiefner's life and works are presented in the general introduction while each of the four groups of letters are prefaced with data on their addressees. Their and Schiefner's portraits are also provided.<sup>2</sup>

In 2008, some fragments of the letters to Weber had been published by H. Walravens in his paper *Letters of A. Schiefner about V.P. Vasil'ev*.<sup>3</sup> They give us

---

<sup>1</sup> In 2013, another corpus of his letters was edited by H. Walravens — *St. Petersburg und Livland — und die Entwicklung der estnischen Literatur. Anton Schiefner (1817–1879) und Friedrich Reinhold Kreutzwald (1803–1882) im Briefwechsel (1853–1879)*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 2013. (Orientalistik Bibliographien und Dokumentationen 22).

<sup>2</sup> There is also a photo of Schiefner's grave taken recently at the Smolenskoye Lutheran Cemetery in St. Petersburg.

<sup>3</sup> WALRAVENS H. *Letters of A. Schiefner about V.P. Vasil'ev*, in "Written Monuments of the Orient", No. 1(8), 2008, pp. 251–264.

---

an insight into what exactly happened between the two important St. Petersburg Orientalists who started as good colleagues, if not friends, but then, rather abruptly, broke any contacts with each other.

Vasiliev who mastered Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian and Tibetan during his long stay in Peking as a member of the Russian Orthodox Christian Mission, was unable to use German or French to make his papers available for the European colleagues, and Schiefner was eager to promote Vasilyev's works abroad, seeing him as a man of great knowledge and competence. This cooperation went on smoothly until Schiefner decided to publish the German translation of the famous Tibetan author Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* as his own translation without referring to Vasiliev as the original Russian translator of the text. The Russian and German translations were published almost simultaneously, in 1869, but Vasiliev could use the German text to improve his own as Schiefner *did* translate from Tibetan although widely using Vasiliev's translation so that he even repeated some of Vasiliev's mistakes.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, Schiefner published an addition to his German translation where he explained the great role of Vasiliev in this matter. But Vasiliev, notorious for his volcanic temper and obviously instigated by some nationalistic sentiments against the Academy of Sciences as a place with German predominance, published an article where he accused Schiefner in plagiarism.

The situation could never be seen before with Schiefner's eyes, it could only be judged from the outside, by a few newspaper articles written by Vasiliev and critical responses written by Schiefner's friends. Such a fair observant as V.M. Alekseev, one of the latest students of Vasiliev in sinology, claimed in a much later talk about Vasiliev and his legacy (dated from 1950s, first published in 1982) that "Vasilyev's articles against Schiefner and Germans at the Academy, published in 1869, make a bad impression (*производят тяжелое впечатление*)".<sup>5</sup> This is exactly what can be felt from Schiefner's letters to Weber, and it is no surprise that he eventually stopped thinking about any reconciliation with Vasilyev and just crossed him out of his life. As Walravens pointed out in his paper (p. 264), it meant no more professional translations of Vasilyev's papers into German or French to be secured by Schiefner for him.

It is interesting though that Schiefner really seems to have been assured in his actual right to treat his German translation as an independent piece of work.<sup>6</sup> One of his acquaintances described him as a person who was always ready to help other people at the cost of his own time (p. 318), and his letters do show that he generously provided colleagues with any useful information needed, tirelessly edited academic works, tried to fasten contacts between scholars in St. Petersburg and Europe. Perhaps, it was his openness to be involved in others' projects that led him to the highly controversial situation with Vasilyev he obviously suffered much from.

<sup>4</sup> VOSTRIKOV A.I. *S.F. Oldenburg i izuchenie Tibeta*, in "Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk", Vol. IV. Moscow-Leningrad 1935, pp. 59–81. See p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> ALEKSEEV V.M. *Shkola Vasilyeva*, in "Nauka o Vostoke". Moscow, GRVL Nauka, pp. 64–67. See p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> Thus, he writes to Whitney — *Ich beendige in diesen Tagen den Druck des tibetischen Textes von Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien <...> Dann beginnt der Druck der deutschen Übersetzung* (p. 310), without even mentioning Vasilyev. In one of his letters to Kuhn we find — *Meine Tāranātha-Uebersetzung* (p. 369). In another letter, though, both Russian and German translations are mentioned together (p. 376).

While some of the first pages of Schiefner's correspondence with Weber tell us about Vasilyev's case, the final letters are stamped with sadness about another unpleasant story connected, again, with an important Russian scholar, this time the great Indologist I.P. Minaev whose direct disciples S.F. Oldenburg and Th.I. Stcherbatsky would create the famous St. Petersburg–Leningrad Buddhological School, so ruthlessly destroyed by the Stalinist regime in the second half of the 1930s.

The name of Ivan Minaev is one of a few most frequently mentioned names in Schiefner's letters to Weber. We can see how the older scholar's opinion on the promising colleague changed over time, from a somewhat restrained interest to rather a high appreciation from both scholarly and personal points of view (pp. 98, 137, 232). Nevertheless, in 1878, he supported the candidature of another Indologist, of German origin, Leopold von Schröder, to become a member of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. This attempt led to a new scandal tinged with nationalistic feelings<sup>7</sup> and eventually failed. It seems Schiefner had not expected that his and his colleagues' choice would be unpleasant for Minaev and was sorry about it (p. 280).<sup>8</sup> Basically, he found the entire situation as a new signal that German scholars, usually connected with the University of Dorpat (now Tartu, Estonia), were not very welcome anymore (pp. 276–277). Schiefner provided Weber with a long list of the names of St. Petersburg academicians with the German background (p. 277).

However, I suppose the main issue was not simply about their “non-Russian” origin, *Russianness* itself being a complicated issue. In the early 20th c., we still find many scholars with the German names in St. Petersburg, it suffices to mention here such brilliant Buddhologists as S.F. Oldenburg, O.O. Rosenberg, A. von Stael-Holstein, and E.E. Obermiller. Like their predecessors from the 19th c., they used freely various European languages. Still, there is a distinct difference. It seems the early 20th c. generation was already a much more organic part of the Russian society, deeply involved in its life. Schiefner had to witness the beginning of changes but his early death that followed soon after the incident with the scandalous elections<sup>9</sup> did not allow him to see it in progress.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> In 1879, a well-known scholar and Russophile V.L. Lamansky published a newspaper article with severe critics on the Academy and its members of the German origin, in particular Schiefner and the Sanskrit Dictionary project. He stressed that the cost of the dictionary was about 100,000 rubles, Schiefner thought the sum was about 60,000 and it was not too much for the work that lasted for 23 years (pp. 278–279). See also the chapter on the Sanskrit dictionary in the book: A. Vigasin. *Izucheniye Indii v Rossii (ocherki i materialy)*. Moscow 2008. According to Vigasin, the annual spending on all the editions of the Academy's Department of Russian language and literature was just 4,000 rubles (p. 134, n. 93). By the way, in his letters to Weber Schiefner provided a very interesting account of the financial situation at the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences (pp. 140–146).

<sup>8</sup> It seems possible that Minaev preferred to let his valuable collection of Indian texts be passed, after his death, to the Imperial Public Library and not to the Academy's Asiatic Museum (that would have been rather natural) because of his tensions with the Academy (I thank my colleague T.V. Ermakova for this comment).

<sup>9</sup> The fact that Schiefner died very soon after the scandal needs some explanation that is not found in the book.

<sup>10</sup> His own son Meinhard must have been a good example of this change. He became a Russian general, took part in the World War I and was even awarded with the Order of

---

Schiefner's letters tell us surprisingly little about St. Petersburg, the city he lived in for so many years<sup>11</sup>, to say nothing about Russia on the whole. Meanwhile, the years covered with this correspondence, mostly from early 1860s up to 1878, were one of the most promising and interesting periods in the history of Russia. The emancipation reform of 1861 was followed with a series of other important liberal reforms. At the same time, the revolutionary movement developed very fast and, in 1882, a radical socialist group made a successful attack at the Emperor Alexander II — he was murdered in the very center of St. Petersburg. Dostoevsky's novel *The Devils* (1871–1872) presented a sharp satirical portrait of the revolutionary circles, two other major novels of his, *Crime and Punishment* (1866) and *The Idiot* (1868), as well as Leo Tolstoy's crucial novels, *War and Peace* (1869) and *Anna Karenina* (1877), also belonged to this period, just to mention a few of its political and cultural landmarks. No trace of the moderately liberal or revolutionary hopes, social tensions or cultural achievements of the Russian society can be found in the highly scholarly letters that could be sent, judging by their contents, from almost any European city with academic traditions.<sup>12</sup>

The only important political event he reflected on was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71. His remarks found in several letters to Weber show him as a deeply peaceful person who hated any militarism and wild nationalism of the crowds that always stand against Knowledge (pp. 87, 90, 93). Being a catholic, he did not write much about his beliefs, one of the rare cases of this kind being his remark that he was anti-Darwin (p. 117).

While this book of the letters present little interest for the general audience, it is undoubtedly a great source of information on the history of Oriental Studies in Europe and, surely, on the life and works of Anton Schiefner himself. He knew and was in contact with a great number of eminent European (and some American<sup>13</sup>) scholars and their names and some remarks connected with them appear here and there in his letters. O. von Böhtlingk, M. Müller, the brothers Schlagintweit, K.S. Veselovsky, W. Radloff, J.A. Nauck, J.F. von Brandt, A. Harkawy, F. Wiedemann, B. Dorn are only a few of

---

St. George, the highest military decoration of the Russian Empire. He and one of his sons were executed by the bolsheviks in 1918. Another one of his sons, Anton Meingardovich Shiefner-Markevich, was a Russian general, too, and an eminent participant of the white movement during the civil war in Russia, he died from wounds in 1921. See: KISLOV V. *Gatchinskie ofitseri — geroi Velikoi voyny — A.M. Schiefner-Markevich*, <http://kraeved-gatchina.de/data/documents/GATChINA-I-GATChINCY-V-VELIKOY-VOYNE-40.pdf> [03.06.2016].

<sup>11</sup> We learn from his letters about some curious events in the life of the Russian capital such as the theft of books from the Imperial Public Library (p. 105) or the opening of the monument to Catherine the Great (p. 153).

<sup>12</sup> In one of his latest letters, though, he called himself *Ein petersburger* (p. 314) so he must have had some feelings to this particular city. Of course, Schiefner could be reluctant to talk about political issues in his letters to foreign countries because of censorship but he could exchange opinions in conversations with friends (I thank H. Walravens for this comment in an e-mail from 05.06.2016). Schiefner's casual mentioning of P.N. Rybnikov (p. 212), a political prisoner who became an eminent Russian ethnographer while being in exile, may hint at such conversations.

<sup>13</sup> In spite of his general sceptic opinion on the Americans he could appreciate some representatives of this nation (pp. 209, 211).

---

these scholars. Moreover, Schiefner left interesting remarks on some great scholarly events such as the International Congresses of Orientalists (pp. 150, 185–186, 202, 207). His personal meetings with colleagues and friends are often described with warm feelings of true friendship. It is no surprise that his rather early death was commented upon by his acquaintances with words of sincere sadness (e.g., p. 318).<sup>14</sup>

It *may be* a surprise then that his personal and academic legacy was not studied enough in St. Petersburg or elsewhere. I would argue with H. Walravens who claimed (in the Russian abstract of his above-mentioned paper, p. 264) that Schiefner's name was silenced down (*замалчивалось*) in literature on the history of Russian Oriental Studies because of his conflict with Vasiliev. As an expert in Tibetan, Mongolian and Indian fields of philological research he took the place of his great predecessor I.J. Schmidt and this status is always stressed in relevant papers<sup>15</sup>. It is true that his minor works in this field were not often called for but I doubt it can be caused by any prejudice, there seems to be no witness that would support such a hypothesis.<sup>16</sup> As for his major Tibetological work, the German translation of Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism*, it was of no interest for the Russian reader that had Vasiliev's translation.<sup>17</sup> As a Buddhologist, Schiefner was certainly just overshadowed by his opponent whose highly controversial, tragic and astonishing figure attracted attention of anybody who talked about this field of studies in Russia, starting from S.F. Oldenburg.<sup>18</sup> Nevertheless, even Vasiliev's life has not been studied properly, and, generally speaking, very few Russian Orientalists have been honored with detailed biographical accounts.

Schiefner's case is especially complicated because his archives are not found so far. In this sense, the edition of his letters<sup>19</sup> gives us a precious key to understanding his person and reconstructing his life.

Alexander Zorin,  
Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,  
Russian Academy of Sciences

<sup>14</sup> E.g., Whitney wrote to Weber: *Schiefner's acquaintance is one of the pleasantest memories that I brought back from Europe, and the persons are not very many whose loss I should more deeply deplore* (p. 308).

<sup>15</sup> E.g., VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAYA M.I., SAVITSKII L.S. *Tibetovedenie*. In "Aziatsky muzei — Leningradskoe otdelenie Instituta vostokovedeniya AN SSSR". Moscow: Nauka, 1972, pp. 149–176; see pp. 153–154 (general account of Schiefner's contribution to Tibetology); ZORIN A. Tibetsky fond Instituta vostochnykh rukopisei RAN: iz istorii formirovaniya i katalogizatsii (1720–1917 gg.), in *The New Historical Bulletin*, No. 3(33), 2012, pp. 37–53; see p. 45 (on Schiefner's work with the Tibetan collection kept at the Asiatic museum).

<sup>16</sup> I cannot judge his place in the history of the study of Finnish and Estonian folk tales and epic songs where his contribution was significant.

<sup>17</sup> Both translations are outdated, there is a good English translation from Tibetan — *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, Tr. by Lama Chimpa, Alaka Chatopadhyaya. Ed. by D. Chatopadhyaya. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970.

<sup>18</sup> E.g., Oldenburg S.F. *Pamyati Vasiliya Pavlovicha Vasilyeva i o ego trudakh po buddizmu. 1818–1918*, in "Izvestiya Rossiyskoi Akademii Nauk, Ser. VI [Vol. XII]. 1918, No. 7, pp. 531–548.

<sup>19</sup> Schiefner's handwriting is often rather difficult to read so the editors are worth a separate praise for their success in this regard.

---

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

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

— for monographs:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

References to articles:

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

---

---

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

LAUT, Jens Peter 2009: “Neues aus der Katalogisierung der *Maitrisimit*”. In *Studies in Turkic Philology. Festschrift in Honour of the 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.

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

---

© Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, 2017

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

---

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

Vostochnaya Literatura Publisher: Nauka Publishers, Maronovsky line, 26,  
Moscow 119049, Russia  
[www.vostlit.ru](http://www.vostlit.ru)  
email: [vostlit@gmail.com](mailto:vostlit@gmail.com)

Print Subscription/Distribution: Please send all inquiries relating to subscriptions to:  
Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Dvortsovaya emb., 18, Saint Petersburg 191186, Russia  
Журнал «Письменные памятники Востока», № 1, 2017 (на английском языке)

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

---