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Melanie Malzahn

A Contrastive Survey of Genres of Sanskrit and Tocharian Buddhist Texts

Abstract: Most Buddhist documents discovered from the 1st millennium Silk Road cultures are random manuscript fragments from what must once have been huge monastic libraries and archives. This is especially true for the Sanskrit and Tocharian texts in this corpus. The methodological advances in digital humanities now make it possible to investigate the whole available data (that is even very small pieces) by quantitative analysis. The present paper examines the literary genres of Sanskrit and Tocharian fragments found side by side in the remains of Buddhist sites. While the distribution of genres is astonishingly even in most cases, there is a predominance of canonical literature in Sanskrit on the one hand and a predominance of narrative literature in Tocharian on the other. The latter fact supports the assumption that the Tocharian culture freely adopted the Buddho-Indian model beyond mere translation work and established a distinctive narrative/dramatic genre that incorporates pre-Buddhist elements.

Key words: Tocharian, Sanskrit Buddhist texts, Buddhist genres

The Buddhist manuscripts of the Silk Road cultures, mostly discovered by various expeditions at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th cc., are of inestimable value for various areas of study, notably philology and the spread of Buddhism. Unfortunately, in the majority of cases, only manuscript fragments from single leaves from what must once have been voluminous books stored in Buddhist libraries are preserved. However, surveying the preserved material can still reveal much about the use and spread of literacy in the Northern Tarim region during the first millennium CE. The following survey will compare the content of literary Sanskrit and Tocharian (B) fragments that have been discovered side by side in the remains of ancient Buddhist monasteries.

Despite the fragmentary status of both corpora, some facts are certain: both Sanskrit and Tocharian fragments can usually be dated according to their script type;¹ many fragments can be localized thanks to the recording of find spots by the excavators; due to the effort of one hundred years of meticulous philological work, the contents of many, even small fragments, can be identified.

The following survey of Sanskrit texts is based on the eleven volumes of *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, where 13.530 fragments from the German Turfan Collection are catalogued and described by various editors.² This survey of the Tocharian texts is based on the database of my own project *A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts*.³ From the corpus of 13.530 Sanskrit fragments, 7.564 were identified by the editors of SHT with respect to text genre, nearly all were assigned to a certain script type, and for 6.430 of them the find spot has been recorded. For Tocharian, there are currently 8.612 TB and 1.832 TA fragments stored in the CEToM database; for 4.234 of them find spots have been recorded, and all of them can be dated according to script type; 1.292 TB fragments have so far been identified with respect to text genre. In the following, these 1.292 TB fragments will be compared with the 7.564 identified Sanskrit ones. The TA corpus will not be treated because it is statistically less reliable due the smaller size of the (identified) corpus in general; further, TA texts hail from far fewer find spots and are more homogenous with respect to language stage and script type. On the other hand, the distribution of TB and Sanskrit texts is arguably comparable.

The various find spots can be subsumed under three main regions which in the case of Tocharian B also show specific dialectal traits: the western region around the capital Kuča and its important monastic area Qizil Miñ-Öy,⁴ the central region around Šorčuq,⁵ and the Turfan

¹ See the groundbreaking work by SANDER 1968; for Tocharian, see MALZAHN 2007, TAMAI 2011 and SANDER 2013.

² WALDSCHMIDT 1965; WALDSCHMIDT 1968; WALDSCHMIDT 1971; SANDER/WALDSCHMIDT 1980; SANDER/WALDSCHMIDT 1985; WILLE 1989; WILLE 1995; WILLE 2000; WILLE 2004; WILLE 2008; WILLE 2012. I would like to thank my student Dimitri Robl for his help in collecting the material.

³ CEToM at <http://www.univie.ac.at/tocharian> (retrieved 2017-09-13)

⁴ Dō-shamba-bāzār, Duldur-Akhur, Hiçar, Jigdalik, Khitai-bāzār, Kuča, Kuča Miñ-Öy, Qizil, Qizil Sayram, Qizil Miñ-Öy, Qizil Qargha, Qumtura, Šaldiraň, Simsim, Subeši, Tajik and Tonguzbaš.

⁵ In addition, there are the find spots Khōra (Khorabagh Miñ-Öyi), Qarašāhār and Qigexing (Yanqi).

region.⁶ TB texts have also occasionally been found at Dunhuang, Endere, Loulan, Maralbeši, Miran and Tumšūq but in these cases it is likely that texts were brought there from one of the three main dialectal areas.

The following literary genres are attested on paper (or occasionally wooden) fragments⁷ in both Sanskrit and Tocharian:⁸

1. Canon: Doctrine, Vinaya, Abhidharma (including Yoga).
2. Para-canonical literature:
 - a. Poetry: Buddhastotras, Kāvya.
 - b. Narratives/drama: Jātakas/Avadānas, Buddha legend.
3. Scientific and technical literature:
 - a. Medicine/magic, divination, and calendar.
 - b. Annals (only attested in TB).
 - c. Grammar: Grammatical treatises, word lists, syllabaries, writing exercises.
4. Varia: Confessions, donations, blessings.

The analysis of script types applied in SHT is based on Lore Sander's work.⁹ The earliest texts show Kuṣāṇa and Gupta ductus and can be dated from the 2nd/3rd up to the 5th cc. (classified as Types I–III by Sander); we do not have vernacular Tocharian manuscripts from this period, and it is likely that the Tocharians only started writing their own language by establishment of a vernacular version of the Brāhmī script parallel to the establishment of the so-called Turkestan Brāhmī script (Type IV ~ Early Turkestan Brāhmī).¹⁰ Accordingly, Sanskrit texts written in script Types I–III are to be dated before the production of Tocharian vernacular manuscripts, while Sanskrit manuscripts in script Type IV are roughly contemporary with TB manuscripts in archaic ductus, and Sanskrit script Types V, VI and late-style manuscripts are roughly contemporary with TB classical texts. In the statistical analysis below, these groups are therefore singled out.

⁶ Bezeklik, Khočo (Dakianus), Murtuq, Qarakhoja, Singim, Toyuq, Turfan foothills and Yar-khoto.

⁷ Not included is the occasional graffito or painting caption.

⁸ Cf. PINAULT 2016, 174.

⁹ SANDER 1968.

¹⁰ SANDER 1968, 186; MALZAHN 2007, 277.

Table 1: SHT texts from the western region

Western region															
	Script type				Script type			Script type							
	I	II	III	I-III	%	IV	%	V	VI	late	V-late	%	total	%	
Text type	0	7	148	155	6,1%	87	27,1%	462	39	216	717	36,2%	959	19,9%	
Doctrine	0	0	12	12	0,5%	31	10,0%	424	2	0	426	21,5%	469	9,7%	
Vinaya	1559	106	20	1685	66,6%	9	2,8%	155	7	7	169	8,5%	1863	38,6%	
Abhidharma	1559	113	180	1852	73,2%	127	39,6%	1041	48	223	1312	66,3%	3291	68,1%	
Canon total	0	116	10	126	5,0%	116	36,1%	572	15	1	588	29,7%	830	17,2%	
Poetry	437	68	2	507	20,0%	27	8,4%	2	0	0	2	0,1%	536	11,1%	
Narratives/Drama	2	4	31	37	1,5%	21	6,6%	40	1	0	41	2,1%	99	2,1%	
Medicine	0	0	1	1	0,1%	24	7,5%	3	0	0	3	0,1%	28	0,6%	
Grammar	0	3	3	6	0,3%	6	1,9%	34	0	0	34	1,7%	46	1,0%	
Varia	30	42	85			186		388	4	13					
unknown	2028	346	312			507		2080	68	237					
Total_1 ¹¹	1998	304	227	2529	100%	321	100%	1692	64	224	1980	99,9%	4830	100%	
Total_2 ¹²															

¹¹ Total including unknown text genres.

¹² Total excluding unknown text genres.

Table 2: SHT texts from the central region

Central region															
Text type	Script type			I-III	%	Script type		Script type			V-late	%	unknown	total	%
	I	II	III			IV	%	V	VI	late					
Doctrine	0	0	4	28	100%	4	28	316	141	3	460	51,1%	2	494	52,1%
Vinaya	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0	27	2	0	29	3,2%	0	29	3,1%
Abhidharma	3	4	0	0	38,9%	7	0	9	6	0	15	1,6%	0	22	2,3%
Canon total	3	4	4	28	61,1%	11	28	352	149	3	504	56,0%	2	543	57,3%
Poetry	1	0	5	0	33,3%	6	0	144	169	0	313	34,8%	0	319	33,6%
Narratives/Drama	0	0	1	0	5,6%	1	0	2	0	0	2	0,2%	0	3	0,3%
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0	8	5	1	14	1,6%	0	14	1,5%
Grammar	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0	65	0	0	65	7,2%	0	65	6,9%
Varia	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0	2	0	0	2	0,2%	0	2	0,2%
unknown	0	3	21	18			18	47	15	2			15		
Total_1 ¹³	4	7	31	46			46	620	338	6			17		
Total_2 ¹⁴	4	4	10	28	100%	18	28	573	323	4	900	99,9%	2	948	100%

¹³ Total including unknown text genres.

¹⁴ Total excluding unknown text genres.

Table 3: SHT texts from the Turfan region

Turfan region															
	Script type				Script type			Script type							
Text type	I	II	III	I-III	%	IV	%	V	VI	late	V-late	%	unknown	total	%
	0	0	1	1	50%	5	100%	11	203	46	260	40,6	4	270	41,4%
	0	0	0	0		0		7	150	0	157	24,5	0	157	24,1%
	0	0	0	0		0		2	86	0	88	13,8	1	89	13,7%
Canon total	0	0	1	1	50%	0	100%	20	439	46	505	78,9	5	511	78,4%
Poetry	0	1	0	1	50%	0		3	30	4	37	5,8	0	38	5,8%
Narratives/Drama	0	0	0	0		0		0	5	27	32	5,0	0	32	4,9%
Medicine	0	0	0	0		0		0	23	30	53	8,3	0	53	8,1%
Grammar	0	0	0	0		0		1	5	1	7	1,1	0	7	1,1%
Varia	0	0	0	0		0		0	6	0	6	1,0	0	6	0,9%
unknown	0	78	4			11		18	266	15			12		
Total_1 ¹⁵	0	79	5			5		42	774	123			17		
Total_2 ¹⁶	0	1	1	2	100%	5	100%	24	508	108	640	100%	5	652	100%

¹⁵ Total including unknown text genres.¹⁶ Total excluding unknown text genres.

Table 4: SHT texts from unidentified find spots

Unknown find spots															
Text type	Script type			I-III	%	Script type		%	V-late	%	unknown	total	%		
	I	II	III			IV	%							V	VI
Doctrine	0	0	33	33	44,0%	43	58,1%	150	256	10	416	42,8	495	43,7%	
Vinaya	0	1	1	2	2,7%	10	13,5%	49	149	0	198	20,3	1	211	18,6%
Abhidharma	14	0	24	38	50,7%	1	1,4%	4	86	2	92	9,5	0	131	11,6%
Canon total	14	1	58	73	97,3%	54	73,0%	203	491	12	706	72,6	4	837	73,8%
Poetry	0	0	1	1	1,3%	12	16,2%	146	53	1	200	20,6	8	221	19,5%
Narratives/Drama	0	0	0	0	0%	0	0%	6	21	0	27	2,8	0	27	2,4%
Medicine	0	0	0	0	0%	7	9,5%	4	20	0	24	2,5	0	31	2,7%
Grammar	0	0	1	1	1,3%	0	0%	0	1	2	3	0,3	0	4	0,4%
Varia	0	0	0	0	0%	1	1,6%	10	3	0	13	1,3	0	14	1,2%
unknown	1	182	117			183		645	3347	60			158		
Total_1 ¹⁷	15	183	177			257		1014	3936	75			170		
Total_2 ¹⁸	14	1	60	75	99,9%	74	100%	369	589	15	973	100	12	1134	100%

¹⁷ Total including unknown text genres.

¹⁸ Total excluding unknown text genres.

Table 6: TB texts from the western region

Western region					
Text type	Script type		Script type		Total
	Archaic	%	Classical	%	
Doctrine	6	6,2%	49	13,0%	55
Vinaya	13	13,4%	34	9,0%	47
Abhidharma	1	1,0%	24	6,4%	25
Canon total	20	20,6%	107	28,4%	127
Poetry	42	43,2%	136	36,1%	178
Narratives/Drama	19	19,6%	99	26,3%	118
Medicine	16	16,5	26	6,9%	42
Annals	/	0	1	0,2%	1
Grammar	/	0	7	1,9%	7
Varia	/	0	1	0,2%	1
Total	97	99,9%	377	100%	474
					101%

Table 7: TB texts from the central region

Central region						
Text type	Script type		Script type		Total	
	Archaic	%	Classical	%		%
Doctrine	/		24	14,6%	24	14,6%
Vinaya	/		1	0,6%	1	0,6%
Abhidharma	/		2	1,2%	2	1,2%
Canon total			27	16,5%	27	16,5%
Poetry	/		85	51,8%	85	51,8%
Narratives/Drama	/		37	22,6%	37	22,6%
Medicine	/		10	6,1%	10	6,1%
Annals	/		/	0	/	0
Grammar	/		5	3,0%	5	3,0%
Varia	/		/	0	/	0
Total			164	99,9%	164	99,9%

Table 8: TB texts from the Turfan region

Turfan region					
Text type	Script type		Script type		Total
	Archaic	%	Classical	%	%
Doctrine	/		34	18,9%	34 18,9%
Vinaya	/		10	5,6%	10 5,6%
Abhidharma	/		32	17,8%	32 17,8%
Canon total			76	42,2%	76 42,2%
Poetry	/		24	13,3%	24 13,3%
Narratives/Drama	/		43	23,9%	43 23,9%
Medicine	/		9	5,0%	9 5,0%
Annals			25	13,9%	25 13,9%
Grammar	/		3	1,7%	3 1,7%
Varia	/		/	0	/ 0
Total			180	100%	180 100%

Table 9: TB texts from unidentified and external find spots

Unknown and external find spots					
Text type	Script type		Script type		Total
	Archaic	%	Classical	%	
Doctrine	/	0	29	6,4%	29
Vinaya	/	0	130	28,9%	130
Abhidharma	/	0	59	13,1%	59
Canon total	0	0	218	48,4%	218
Poetry	10	41,7%	85	18,9%	95
Narratives/Drama	13	54,1%	89	19,8%	102
Medicine	1	4,2%	42	9,3%	43
Annals	/	0	/	0	/
Grammar	/	0	14	3,1%	14
Varia	/	0	2	0,4%	2
Total	24	100%	450	99,9%	474
					99,9%

Table 10: Total of TB texts

All find spots						
Text type	Script type		Script type		Total	
	Archaic	%	Classical	%		%
Doctrine	6	5,0%	136	11,6%	142	11,0%
Vinaya	13	10,7%	175	15,0%	188	14,6%
Abhidharma	1	0,8%	117	10,0%	118	9,1%
Canon total	20	16,5%	428	36,5%	448	34,7%
Poetry	52	43,0%	330	28,2%	382	29,6%
Narratives/Drama	32	26,4%	268	22,9%	300	23,2%
Medicine	17	14,0%	87	7,4%	104	8,0%
Annals	/	0	26	2,2%	26	2,0%
Grammar	/	0	29	2,5%	29	2,2%
Varia	/	0	3	0,3%	3	0,2%
Total	121	99,9%	1171	100%	1292	99,9%

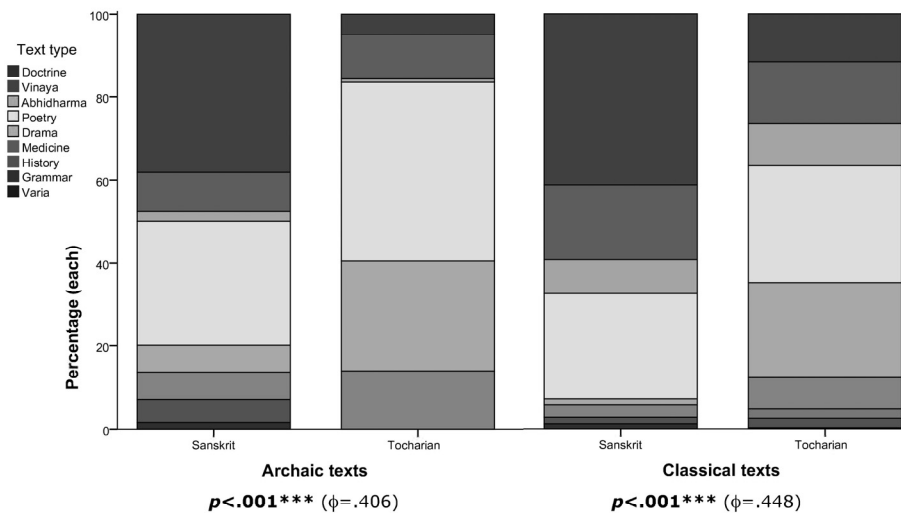
Table 11: Comparison of Sanskrit and TB texts

	Archaic		Classical	
	Skt.	TB %	Skt.	TB %
Text type				
Doctrines	38,0%	5,0%	41,3%	11,6%
Vinaya	9,6%	10,7%	18,0%	15,0%
Abhidharma	2,3%	0,8%	8,1%	10,0%
Canon total	50,0%	16,5%	67,4%	36,5%
Poetry	29,9%	43,0%	25,3%	28,2%
Narratives/Drama	6,3%	26,4%	1,4%	22,9%
Medicine	6,5%	14,0%	2,9%	7,4%
Annals	/	0	/	2,2%
Grammar	5,6%	0	1,7%	2,5%
Varia	1,6%	0	1,2%	0,3%
Total	99,8%	99,9%	99,9%	100%

Statistical analysis²¹

The survey reveals that in general, Tocharian and Sanskrit text genres show roughly the same distribution with two notable exception. The data is reliable because a statistic analysis makes it likely that the distribution of text genres is not due to chance: the p -value for the archaic period is $< .00$, the effect size significant ($\phi = .406$), the more for the classical period ($p < .001$ and $\phi = .448$), see table 12.

Table 12: Percentual distribution of the frequency rate by text genres

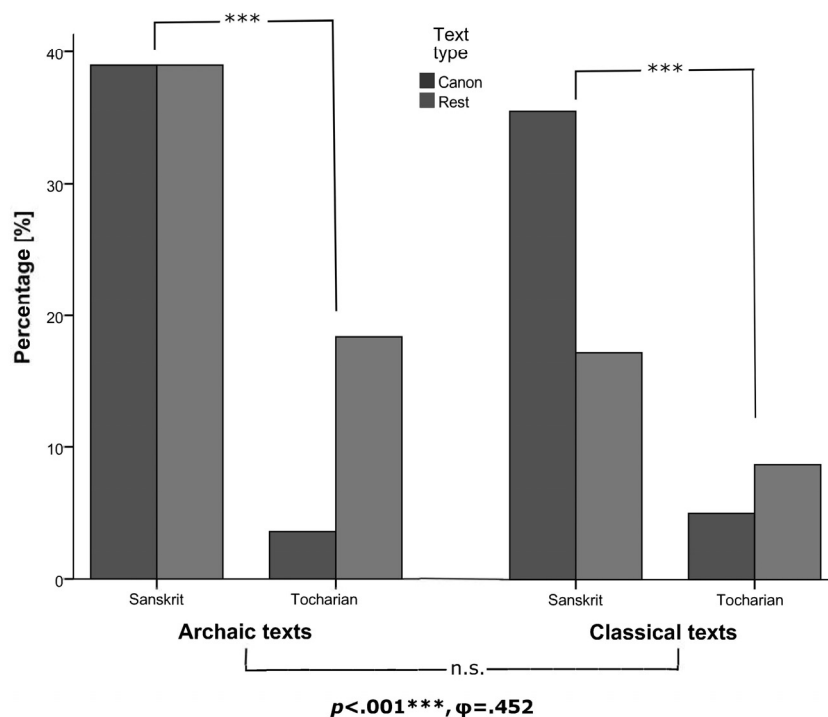


On average, around two thirds of Sanskrit fragments belong to canonical texts; in the earliest period (western region script Types I–III) this proportion is even higher with 73.8%. In contrast, the proportion of canonical texts in TB is usually lower, especially in the western region (21.7% in the earlier and 36.0% in the classical period). Interestingly enough, this disproportion is mostly due to doctrinal texts, while the number of Vinaya and Abhidharma texts is somewhat constant and evenly distributed: TB Vinaya 10.7% (Archaic period) and 14.6% (classical period) beside Sanskrit Vinaya 9.6% (script Type IV) and 18% (classical period); TB Abhidharma 0.8% (Archaic period) and 10% (classical period) beside Sanskrit Abhidharma is 2.3%

²¹ I would like to thank Marik Roos for his kind help with the statistical analysis.

(script Type IV) and 8.1% (classical period). On the other hand, there is a clear predominance of para-canonical in Tocharian B. Again, this distribution is not due to chance ($p < .000$ and $\phi = .452$), and interestingly enough the statistical parameter is roughly the same for the archaic and classical corpus (see table 13).

Table 13: Percentual distribution of the frequency rate of canonical and para-canonical texts



This result is actually not too surprising, because one may safely assume that—especially at the beginning of TB vernacular writing—doctrinal texts were mostly still used in the Sanskrit original while the translation of para-canonical literature and scientific texts was more important to the communities.²² See also PEYROT 2017 who shows that “the speakers of Tocharian

²² Note that one of the most archaic TB manuscript is actually a medical one; see MALZAHN 2007, 267 and 274: here belong THT 2618, THT 2668, THT 2669, THT 2670, THT 2671, THT 2672, THT 2673, THT 2676, THT 2677, THT 3209, THT 3211, and THT 4122.

preferred the Udānavarga in Sanskrit”, while only the commentary text Udānālaṅkāra “became popular in Tocharian”.

What is striking, and that even from a statistical point of view, is the disproportion of narrative/drama texts in Tocharian, the more in the classical period. There are far more narrative/drama texts in Tocharian in the classical period in relation to the archaic period than can be due to mere chance ($\chi^2 = 20.154$; $p < .000$; $\phi = .227$).

In contrast, the number of Sanskrit narrative/drama texts is usually very low with the notable exception of the earliest period (western region, script Types I–III) with 20%. Among these very early texts, we find the so far only example of a drama text proper in the Turfan Sanskrit corpus, namely the very early fragments of plays by Aśvaghoṣa dated into the 2nd c.²³ In the later Sanskrit corpus, there is some evidence of narrative literature (Jātakas and Avadānas), but no play proper.²⁴

The case of poetry (Buddhastotras, Kāvya) is different. They actually constitute the majority of texts in the earliest TB period (in total 43%). During the classical period, the numbers of poetry fragments is even in TB and Sanskrit (28.2% and 25.3%), in the archaic period the number in TB is higher (43%), but, in Sanskrit, 29.9% is still a high number; this contrast, however, is statistically not relevant ($\chi^2 = 3.699$; $p = .054$), so one can say that there is no notable difference in the production/writing of poetic literature in both languages and periods.

Apart from the statistics presented here, there are other facts that speak in favor of noticable popularity of Buddhist narratives and their respective plays in the Tocharian culture. This is clear from numerous wall paintings in Buddhist sites that depict jātika and avādana scenes and which are regularly accompanied by captions informing the onlooker on the precise setting of the depicted scene.²⁵ The popularity of Tocharian drama can finally be concluded from its role in the development of the Chinese bianwen genre.²⁶

The fact that there is a mismatch between the popularity of narrative literature in Tocharian and the simultaneous scarcity of respective Sanskrit texts has already been noted by scholars before²⁷ and it has puzzled scholars

²³ LÜDERS 1911.

²⁴ That Sanskrit plays were read in the later period outside India is proven by the fragment of a play found in Afghanistan dated into the 6th century (FRANCO/SCHLINGLOFF 2012). See also PINAULT 2016: 174 and 2017: 479.

²⁵ PINAULT 2000; ARLT and HIYAMA 2015.

²⁶ MAIR 1988 and 1989; PINAULT 1989: 205–212.

²⁷ Most recently PINAULT 2017: 479.

for some time. The famous problem about the missing Indic original referred to in the Old Turkic version of the TA Maitreyasamiti-Nāṭaka is a case in point. The statistics presented above now shows beyond doubt that there is a clear mismatch and that this mismatch can be narrowed down to narratives/dramas and does not concern poetry in general or other genres of para-canonical literature.

One solution to account for this fact has been to assume that the respective Sanskrit originals of plays and narratives have simply been lost. However, the statistics presented above highly speak against such an assumption. We rather have to conclude that neither as many narratives nor dramaturgic adoptions of narrative texts did ever exist *in written form* in Sanskrit to serve as *direct* models of Tocharian narrative/dramatic literature. The next obvious idea would be to assume a high proportion of *oral* literature in the narrative/drama genre. But it is difficult to find a reason why it was precisely Sanskrit narratives/dramas that were part of a vivid oral tradition in Turkestan²⁸ but not written down while their Tocharian translations were, when, in contrast, in the case of poetry there is an even distribution of Sanskrit and Tocharian texts.

On the other hand, the TB and TA literary and poetic language is in general based on the Buddhio-Indian model, and this is basically also true for the story lines and stylistics of narratives. Many narratives attested in Tocharian are known from parallel texts in other Buddhist languages (Pāli, Sanskrit, Sogdian, Khotanese Saka, Tibetan, Chinese); in several detailed studies (see esp. PINAULT 2014, 2015a, 2016 and 2017), Georges-Jean Pinault has shown how Indo-Buddhist literary techniques were adapted in Tocharian, precisely with respect to the narrative/dramatic genre. This ranges from the term TA/TB *nāṭak* borrowed from Sanskrit *nāṭaka*- ‘play’, dramaturgic elements and structuring (prose/verse alternating *campū* style, schematic characters such as the *female door warden*, etc.) to the adaption of Sanskrit phrases and key terms. The detailed study by PINAULT 2015a on calques, for instances, shows the creativity of Tocharian writers when transporting terms, concepts and phraseology into their vernacular.

The most likely explanation for the prevalence of Tocharian vernacular narrative and dramatic literature, in my opinion, lies in the assumption of an inner-Tocharian development (see also PINAULT 2015b: 589). This is

²⁸ SKJAERVO 2009: 207 points out that the characteristics of oral performance was recomposition, “poets and performers of old [...] always produce a new song or tale, one that has not been heard before”.

supported by the fact that, whenever we do have a parallel for a narrative in another language, in most cases the Tocharian version differs, and very often the Tocharian text is characterized by more detail and lavish dialogues (see, e.g., PINAULT 2015). Most certainly the display of narratives and dramatic scenes was an effective way to make Buddhist teachings and ethics known to the general public and to laypersons (see also PINAULT 2015b: 584). This is in accordance with the statistic analyses since it is in the earliest period of Sanskrit texts, i.e. in the pre-vernacular period that the highest percentage of narratives/plays is attested: alongside the canon, narratives and plays were imported to spread the Buddhist faith. Once the Tocharian vernacular came into use as a literary language for Buddhism, the narrative genre was further developed for the same reason.

In this way one may also explain the differences between Tocharian and Sanskrit stylistics, the most notable being the meter. It is clear that the poetic TB language was developed in the earliest period of writing, i.e., in the archaic period. This is, for instance, clear from the verse colometry that follows the phonology of archaic TB.²⁹ Use and adaption of pre-Buddhist stylistic and performing arts³⁰ must certainly have been another way to make the Buddhist teachings more appealing to the general public as well.

Future research will have to discern more details about the adaption of Indo-Buddhist models of narrative/dramatic literature and their inner-Tocharian development and about whether one can detect (more) pre-Buddhist/Indo-Buddhist literary/poetic devices.

Abbreviations

CEToM: A Comprehensive Edition of Tocharian Manuscripts.

SHT: Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden.

THT: Tocharische Handschriften aus den Turfanfunden.

TA: Tocharian A.

TB: Tocharian B.

²⁹ See MALZAHN 2012 and Malzahn in print.

³⁰ It is clear that music and performing arts and artists played an important role in the (Buddhist) Tocharian culture, as can be deduced from paintings, the mentioning of music and performing arts in the texts themselves as part of court life and also from TB business documents concerning the remuneration of musicians by a monastery (PK DA M 507.7 a 10 and PK DA M 507.42 and .40 a 11; for the texts see PINAULT 1994: 94 and 102, 104; for the text PK LC 10 see PINAULT 2008: 380–395).

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Alexander Zorin

**A Dunhuang Tibetan Manuscript
of “Ārya-samādhyagrottama” Kept
at the IOM, RAS**

Abstract: This paper introduces a small Tibetan book from Dunhuang kept at the IOM, RAS. It is a copy of *'Phags pa ting nge 'dzin mchog dam pa*, one of the Buddhist sūtras that emphasize the importance of the practice of samādhi. Some paleographical features of the manuscript as well as its contents are characterized. The manuscript presents a version of *'Phags pa ting nge 'dzin mchog dam pa* that is different from those of later editions of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. Its comparison with fragments of two other Dunhuang copies of the same text found in Paris supports my assumption that an old version of the sūtra did exist.

Key words: Tibetan manuscripts, Dunhuang, Buddhist sūtras, *Ārya-samādhyagrottama*, paleography, textology.

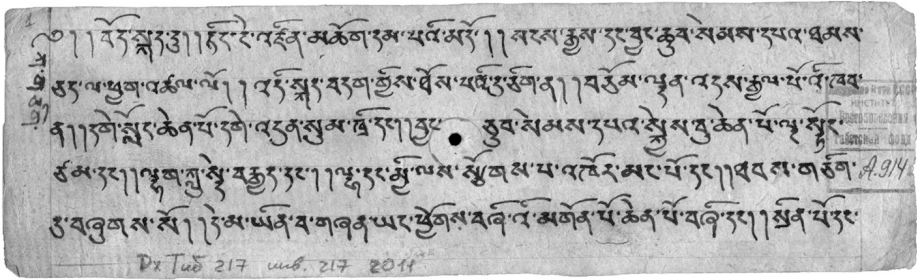
The collection of Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts kept at the IOM, RAS consists mostly of the copies of two popular texts, *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* (204) and *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra* (10), all of them being rather standard scrolls. In addition to them there are three small-sized *pothi* books and two concertina books that provide some important textological data on the initial stage of the spread of canonical Buddhist literature in Tibetan. The three *pothi* books and two scrolls with *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* were a part of the first package with Dunhuang materials acquired by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. In 1911, the package was sent by Nikolai Krotkov (1869–1919), the Russian consul in Urumqi,¹ and it was passed to the Asiatic Museum (now the IOM, RAS).² The two concertina books were delivered to it in 1917, they had also been acquired by N. Krotkov.³

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¹ On Krotkov see PANG 2006, BUKHARIN 2016.

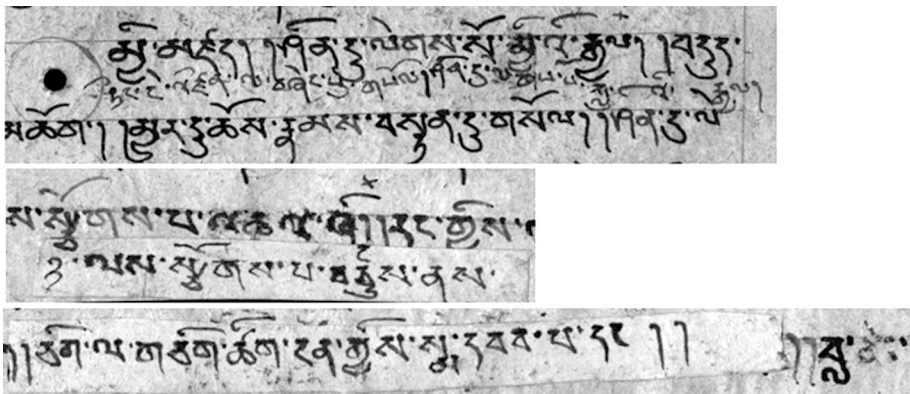
² On the history of the collection see ZORIN 2012.

³ I identified these two books while processing the IOM, RAS Tibetan collection and passed them to the collection of Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts, in 2015.



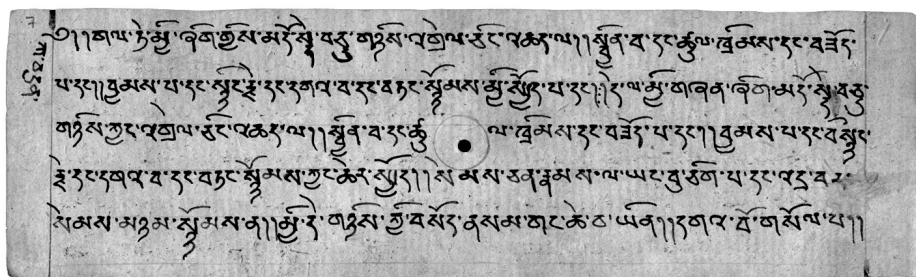
Pl. 1: The first page of Дх. Тиб. 217

This paper presents a preliminary analysis of one of the books, Дх. Тиб. 217, that contains a single text, namely 'Phags pa ting nge 'dzin mchog dam pa (Skt. *Ārya-samādhyagrottama*). The size of the book is 28.2/28.4×8.5/8.5 cm. It consists of 28 folios of rather thick brownish paper, presumably produced in Dunhuang. There is no title page, the text starts right on the recto side of f. 1 with the standard initial part that contains the titles in Sanskrit and Tibetan (Pl. 1). Both recto and verso sides of each folio have five horizontal lines (f. 27v. — six, f. 28v. — two), written along thin bars so that the so-called *heads* (*dbu*) of the Tibetan letters are evenly placed under them. On ff. 1–18, the fifth of the bars is the lower border of the text space, the other folios have bars put less regularly. Vertical bars divide right and left margins of the folios. The left margins of the recto sides have the Tibetan letter *Ka* and page numbers from 1 to 28 written in the upper part of the margin. Moreover, each folio has a hole in the center marked with a circle around it. The text and the bars are in black.



Pl. 2: Some examples of corrections of the text made by the scribe:

1) f. 2 r.; 2) f. 22 r.; 3) f. 22 v



Pl. 3: F. 7 r.

Note: 1) the *my-* pattern in *myi zhiḡ*, *myi spyod*, *myi gzhan* etc.; 2) the inverted *gi gu* sign in *bsnylṅg*; 3) the special ligature for *sp-* in *spyod*; 4) the syllable 'tshul' divided with the encircled hole into two parts; 5) the *||* sign which is used to mark the end of the Buddha's and Nanda's replicas in this manuscript (ff. 2–9) but put in this particular place mistakenly

The manuscript seems to have been produced by one scribe, of moderate calligraphic skills, although the size of the letters may differ. The text was revised by the same person:

— a number of syllables were diligently rubbed away and replaced with correct ones so that the former inscriptions are usually illegible;

— some fragments are added below the text, such places being normally marked with plus signs or small cross signs;

— f. 22 has a paper application with a revised fragment on each side — with 6 syllables on the recto side, and 10 syllables on the verso side (Pl. 2).

The following features relating to orthography of the manuscript, indicating the use of old orthography and, in certain cases, some peculiarities of the scribe, can be listed (Pl. 3):

— the *my-* pattern for words that, according to new orthography, start with *mi-* and *me-* is normally used;

— the inverted *gi gu* sign is attested from time to time;

— particles 'i and 'o (with the letter 'a *chung*) are usually separated from the preceding syllables with the *tsheḡ* sign (e.g. *bcu 'i*, *bya 'o*, etc.);

— a special ligature for the combination *sp-* (as in *spyod* or *spong*, etc.) is used, it is similar to the one used in *dbu med* script (this feature is shared with some later mss, e.g. *Ablaikit Kagyur*);

— some words have peculiar orthography, namely *byang cub* for *byang chub*, *rin cen* for *rin chen* (but *rin po che*), *bsam (b)rtan* for *bsam gtan* (the latter form is used once), *las stsogs* for *la sogs*, *the tsom* for *the tshom*, *khyed bar* for *khyad par*, *bstan chos/bstan cos* for *bstan bcos*, *ngan tshong* for *ngan song*;

— some syllables are divided into two parts due to a lack of space because of either the hole in the center of each folio or the end of the line (e.g. *bsla* — *bs*, *tshu* — *l khrims*, *myi g* — *zhan*, etc.) (again, this feature is attested in later mss such as *Ablaikit Kagyur* or some Kalmykian mss from the late 18th to early 19th cc. preserved in the IOM, RAS);

— extra 'a chung letters are rarely added to syllables, e.g. *brgya'*, *seng 'ge* but they may be simple errors of the scribe since in other cases the same syllables are written without them, some *phonetic* mistakes are found in the words *skug gzugs*, *rgyal mtsho* and *sna mtshogs*;

— unlike some other Dunhuang mss, Дх. Тиб. 217 has no *tsheg* signs before the *shad* signs, even after the words with the final letter *ng*;

— ff. 2–9 mark the ends of the phrases of the Buddha and his disciples with vertical dotted lines written in between the double *shad* signs, that can be rendered as || (the actual number of dots is either four or five).

Before we turn to textological comparison of the manuscript with later versions of the Tibetan text of the *sūtra* as preserved in various editions of *Kagyur* let us consider its contents and place amidst other canonical texts.

The synopsis of *The Holy [Sūtra] of the Most Supreme Samādhi* can be presented as follows:

The Buddha resides in Rājagṛha along with his retinue whose description is provided. The Buddha enters the *samādhi* of light (*'od zer gyi ting nge 'dzin*) and utters no words for some time so that his retinue starts being worried. Mañjuśrī recites a prayer asking the Buddha to leave the *samādhi* and explain the meaning of the single vehicle. The Buddha leaves the *samādhi* and asks his disciples not to worry and put him any questions.

One of them, Nanda (Dga' bo), starts a long dialogue with the Teacher asking about the reason, why he, Nanda, cannot attain the Enlightenment even though he heard so many teachings. The Buddha explains that learning a lot is not effective, if one does not practice the *samādhi*, which is like “the lion amidst the beasts” or “Sumeru amidst the mountains”. By means of a long series of comparisons he shows to Nanda how much precious and meritorious this practicing is, being the only way to enter and realize the full meaning of his teachings.

The Buddha tells a story about one of his previous lives in which Mañjuśrī and he, both proud with their erudition, argued over the nature of the world — if it is perishable or eternal. Clinging to wrong views brought them to the hell in the next rebirth. After escaping terrible tortures they met the Buddha Kaśyapa, who explained to them that the world was neither perishable nor eternal. The meaning of emptiness, etc. was realized by the Buddha after he practiced the samādhi for a week.⁴ He describes how great is the power of the samādhi that can “pacify” the hardest evil deeds. Using it, one can see the entire universe in plain sight, make inconceivable miracles, etc. The Buddha refers to great miracles performed by Maudgalyāyana and states that they cannot be repeated by those who just “heard a lot”.

Five hundred erudite monks, who have stayed at the Bamboo Grove, hear the Buddha’s words about Maudgalyāyana’s abilities and join the conversation. They exclaim that they rather abandon learning and start practicing the samādhi, but the Buddha claims that doing so would be like crossing the sea without a ship, etc. He explains four stages of dhyāna and various technical aspects of their practicing (e.g. the way one should meditate on one’s body). The monks start practicing according to his instructions and in seven days become the Arhats and make many miracles following the Buddha’s invocation.

Afterwards, Nanda asks the Buddha for how long the sentient beings practicing the Dharma can obtain the virtuous results after he passes away. A detailed prophecy by the Buddha follows. According to it, after a long period of gradual degradation,⁵ the time will come, when the Buddha’s disciples cannot obtain the four virtuous results, his temples and caityas get all empty, etc. Nanda gets much distressed, but the Buddha calls him to stop crying and do his best to spread Buddhist sūtras in the world. Nanda takes an oath to do it. Indra, deities and human beings promise Nanda that they will go to any place to listen to those who would recite the sūtras, even a single śloka or a single word of them. A lot of the Buddha’s disciples, who have heard this sūtra, achieve various virtuous goals.

Thus, the main idea of the sūtra is that, although learning various aspects of the Buddhist teaching is important, it is only through practicing the

⁴ The English translation of this fragment of the sūtra is provided in SHANTARAKSHITA 2011, 249.

⁵ Describing the faults of the Buddha’s followers in the times coming, the Tibetan text of the prophecy uses the word *bon chos* that reminds us about the practice of translators of Chinese apocryphal sūtras (cf. VAN SCHAIK 2013, 252–253).

samādhi that the virtuous goals can be achieved. In this sense, the samādhi is called *supreme*. In the later sets of the Tibetan Buddhist canon this text was placed amidst other sūtras dealing with the theme of the samādhi practicing (vols. Thu and Du in Peking edition, Da and Na in Derge edition).

This particular sūtra was produced more than once in Dunhuang. There were at least two more manuscript copies — I could identify two folios from them. They are preserved at the National Library of France, Paris, as Pelliot tibétain 720 and Pelliot tibétain 900 (one of the two folios, the other belongs to a different text).⁶ A question may arise — why was this sūtra repeatedly reproduced as a separate text? My speculative assumption is that the answer should be found in the eloquent Buddha's prophecy and the urgent call to spread the sūtra in the world.

The text of Дх. Тиб. 217 has a lot of different readings in comparison with the later canonical editions which are not purely orthographical variations but significant ones, with different words or different order of words used. There are even three long passages that our manuscript lacks and, on the contrary, two passages that the later editions lack. Although the lack of some fragments of the text in our manuscript could be explained with lapses of the scribe, the lack of its own fragments in later editions hints at the existence of a principally different older version of the sūtra.

The comparison of Дх. Тиб. 217 with fragments kept in Paris is demonstrated below. Both Paris folios (Pel.) are in many cases closer to the later Kagyur versions (K) which are more or less the same in spite of few insignificant variations that can be omitted here. There are also some important similarities between Pel. and Дх. Тиб. 217 that contradict K (marked bold). The following transliteration is based on Дх. Тиб. 217 (No. 720: ff. 8r.4–1v.1; No. 900: 15 r.3–16v.1) but it is arranged according to the Paris folios; the readings of K are borrowed from the modern comprehensive Beijing ed. (cf. KAGYUR 2006–2009: 489–490; 494–495, resp.).

720r.

snyoms kyang spyod de| tshul khirms chal [Pel./K 'chal] pa dang | tshul khirms bsrungs la [Pel. srung ba la; K srung ba dang] la yang [Pel./K –la

⁶ This identification was made with the use of the search tool of the IDP web-site that presents the transliteration of the initial lines of the fragments; some other fragments may be found over time. The two identified folios are too different in regard to their size and some textual features (6 and 5 lines per page resp., No. 720 has a decorative hole in the center) to have belonged to one manuscript. But the scribe of both ff. seems to be the same.

yang⁷] sems gnyis su myed cing| nam ka [K mkha'] ltar mnyam ste [Pel./K mnyam ba/pa dang] | |sems can gyi skyon thams cad myi mthong zhing| | [K -|] <sems can rnams la>⁸ bu cig [Pel./K gcig] pa dang 'dra bar snyoms ste [Pel. de; K te] | |dgra sdang ba la yang nam ka [K mkha'] ltar mnyam [Pel. bnyam] ba dang| |de la myi zhig phyogs su brgyas [Pel./K rgyas] pa'i mdo sde bcu gnyis la skur pa myi 'debs na| | [K -|] myi de gnyis <kyi bsod nams gang che ba> yin| |dga' bo gsol pa| |phyogs su rgyas pa'i mdo sde bcu gnyis la skur pa ma btab na| |myi de 'i bsod nams ni tshad myed grangs myed de [K tshad ma mchis grangs ma mchis te] | |bsam gyis mi khyabs [Pel. 'khyab; K khyab] bo [K pa lags so] | | <bcom ldan 'das kyiis [K dga' bo la] bka>' tsal pa| |gzhan yang myi zhig gyis [Pel. gis; K gi] gong du smos pa'i bsod nams thams cad kyang [Pel.] stong gsum gyi stong chen po 'i 'jig rten gyi khams gang bar byed nus la <| mdo sde bcu gnyis dang| |bs>tan chos 'u da [Pel./K ta] bco lnga snyed kyang kha ton [Pel. thon] dang| | [K -|] 'grel [K 'brel] zhing [Pel./K cing] 'chad nus ste [Pel./K te] | |tshul khrims dang bzod pa dang| |byams pa [**K byams pa la sogs pa**] yang spyod| |sbyin pa yang byed de| |mang du thos pa'i mchog tu yang gyur la| | [K -|] chos thams <cad kyang [K -kyang] stong zhing zhi ba'i don> yang ston to [Pel./K te] | |nyan pa'i rnams [K -rnams] mngon bar shes pa lnga [Pel. la] thob par byed de| |de ltar phan ba dang [Pel.] bde ba'i don byas kyang [Pel.] des [Pel./K des ni] myi zhig nyin cig [Pel./K gcig] gam| |mtshan gcig gam [Pel./K -gam] ting nge 'dzin du zhugs

720v.

<pa tsam myi phod do||de ci >'i phyir zhe na| |mang du thos pa'i gang zag ni| |ri 'am rgyal [Pel./K rgya] mtsho ltar nga rgyal kyi [Pel./K gyi] sems che 'o| |de ltar nga rgyal che ba ni [Pel.] ngan tshong [Pel./K song] gsum [Pel./K -gsum] du bskal pa grangs myed pa'i [**K kyi**] bar du sdug sngal [Pel./K bsngal] myong bar <'gyur ro| |dmyal ba de las> [Pel.] thar na yang| |'dab chags kyi [Pel. gyi] bar [**K byar**] skye bar 'gyur na| | [K -|] mang du thos pa la ni [Pel./K -ni] phan ba ci yod| |gang la bsam gtan gyi ting nge 'dzin yod pas [Pel./K pa] ni| | [Pel./K -|] skye shi 'i [Pel. shir] 'khor ba'i sdig pa [Pel. -sdig pa; K -pa] kha na ma tho ba'i las lei ba <byang bar nus so| |mang du th>os pa ni rtswa dang 'dra [K 'dra'o] | |bsam gtan gyi [Pel./K -bsam gtan gyi] ting nge 'dzin ni mye dang 'dra 'o [Pel. -'o] | |mang du thos pa ni lcags dang 'dra [K 'dra'o] | |bsam rtan [Pel./K gtan] gyi ting nge 'dzin ni gser dang 'dra 'o| |mang du thos pa ni rtswa gtubs [Pel. gdugs; K **rtsi**

⁷ Absent parts are marked with the minus (-) sign.

⁸ The left edge of this Paris folio is damaged.

bdug] pa dang 'dra [K 'dra'o] | | <bsam rtan gyi ting nge 'dzin> ni rtswa 'i snying [Pel./K rtsi'i sdong] po dang 'dra 'o| |mang du thos pa ni gtsang [Pel. rtsang] po dang 'dra [K 'dra'o] | |bsam rtan [Pel./K gtan] gyi ting nge 'dzin ni rgyam [Pel./K rgya] mtsho dang 'dra ste| |nga [Pel./K ngas] bsam rtan [Pel./K gtan] gyi ting nge 'dzin gyi [Pel. ting nge 'dzin gyi ting nge 'dzin] <bsod nams dang yon tan> bshad na| | [Pel./K -|] zad pa'i mtha' myed de| | [K -|] bskal par yang bshad te [Pel./K -bshad de] myi rdzogs so| |bcom ldan 'das kyis [Pel./K dga' bo la] bka' stsal pa| |nga mngon [K sum] du dran ba sngon 'das pa'i dus cig [Pel./K -cig] na| | [K -|] mang du thos <pa'i skye bor gyur pa'i tshe na [K -na] | |>'jam dpal dang [K **dang nga gnyis**] yod myed gnyis kyi bden pa la brtsod [Pel. yod med gyi bden ba gnyis las rtsod; K yod med gnyis la rtsod] par gyur te | |'jam dpal ni yod do [K -do] zhes [K ces] smra| |ngas [Pel. nga] ni myed do zhes smras ste [K te] | | yod myed gnyis kyi [Pel. gyi] bden ba las [Pel./K la] btsod [Pel./K rtsod] par gyur te| |gcig du

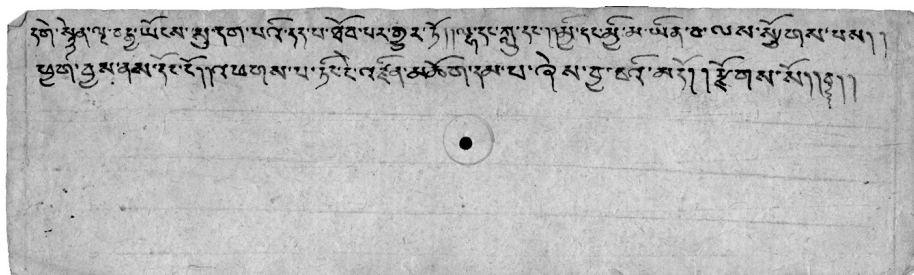
900r.

tsam zhig tham+ o s cad mang du thos pa slob [K rlom] pa las| |bcom ldan 'das kyis dga' bo la| | [K -|] me'u 'gal [K maud gal] gyi bu 'i rdzu 'phrul dang| |ting nge 'dzin mchog go zhes gsungs pa thos nas| | [K -|] sangs rgyas gang na bar der lhags te [Pel. ste; K nas] | |bcom ldan 'das kyi zhabs la mgo bos phyag 'tshal nas| | [K -|] sangs rgyas la 'di skad ces gsol to| |bcom ldan 'das bdag cag mang du thos pa bsalabs te| |mdo sde bcu gnyis kyang [Pel.] khong du chud pas| | [K -|] rgyal kham chen po bcu drug snyed kyang| | [K -|] bdag cag la sangs rgyas dang 'dra bar gus shing bkur sti bgyid [Pel. bgyis; K bgyi] na| |ci 'i slad du bcom ldan 'das kyis mang du thos pa [Pel. pa'; K pa ni] nam [Pel. rnams] yang [Pel. yang dag pa] bla na myed pa'i byang cub [Pel./K chub] thob par myi 'gyur ro [K |] zhes

900v.

gsungs [Pel. gsung] shes [Pel./K zhes] gsol pa dang| | [K **bcom ldan 'das la**] dge slong lnga rgya po mthun bar | | [Pel./K -|] dus gcig du [Pel.] bdag cag ni mang du thos pa spang zhing| | [K -|] bsam [Pel./K gtan] gyi ting nge 'dzin slob [Pel. slob; K la slob] bo zhes gsol to| |bcom ldan 'das kyi [Pel. kyis; K kyis] dge slong rnam [Pel./K rnams] la bka' stsal pa| |dge slong khyed mang du thos pa spangs [Pel. spang] ste [K te] | |bsam rtan [Pel./K gtan] gyi ting nge 'dzin la 'jug go zhes ma smra cig [Pel./K shig]| |ngas ltas [Pel./K bltas] na khyod [Pel./K khyed] kyi shes pa [K **shes rab**] ni [Pel.] sbrang o bu 'i 'dab mas [Pel.] nyis [Pel. gnyi; K nyi] zla sgribs [Pel. bsgrib; K sgrib] par 'dod pa dang| |dmus long gyis [Pel./K gis] ri rabs [K rab] lhun po la 'dzag [Pel./K 'dzeg par] 'dod pa dang| |gru gzings myed par rgya

mtsho la rab [Pel./K rgal] 'dod pa dang| |bya 'dab ma chags [K chag] pa [Pel. pas] nam ka [K mkha'] la phur [Pel./K 'phur] 'dod pa bzhIn du| | [K -du|] khyed kyang de dang 'dra ste| | [Pel./K. 'dra'o] zhes [Pel.] bka' stsal pa dang| |dge slong de [K -de] rnam [K rnams] shi ba tsam du 'jig [K 'jigs] shing bskrags [Pel. skrags; K skrag] pa'i



Pl. 4: F. 28 v. — the colophon

It would be surely desirable to compare the Dunhuang manuscripts of the sūtra with the oldest manuscripts of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. The Wien University Project “Resources for Kanjur&Tanjur Studies” (RKTS) provides us with the colophons of the sūtra as found in all known canonical sets, including Old Mustang Kanjur, Phugbrag Kanjur, etc. None of them is identical with that of Дх. Тиб. 217 that runs as follows — *'phags pa ting nge 'dzin mchog dam pa zhes bya ba'i mdo* | *rdzogs so* |, the words *zhes bya ba'i mdo* being its unique feature (Pl. 4).

Thus, it is possible that the pothi manuscript Дх. Тиб. 217 has preserved for us an ancient version of the Tibetan translation of *Ārya-samādhyagrottama*. The sūtra was reproduced more than once in Dunhuang, at least three copies were made — one full copy is found in St. Petersburg and single folios from two other copies were identified in the Paris collection; its relative popularity may be connected with the Buddha's prophecy and his urgent call to spread the sūtra. The further study of Tibetan texts from Dunhuang preserved in various collections may help identify more fragments of this sūtra to give us new information on the circumstances of the transmission and development of this text in Tibetan.

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Ogihara Hirotooshi

A Newly Identified Kuchean Fragment of the *Hariścandrāvadāna* Housed in the Russian Collection*

Abstract: This paper introduces one Kuchean (i.e. Tocharian B) fragment housed in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. The fragment has been identified as part of the *Hariścandrāvadāna*. This narrative is in the sixth chapter of the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* in Old Uyghur. The colophon of this compilation in Old Uyghur states that it was translated from the Tocharian A translation, which itself had been translated from the Tocharian B original. The comparison between this newly identified Kuchean fragment of the *Hariścandrāvadāna* and the Old Uyghur version reveals that in both, discrepancies and parallel parts are observable. Thus, whether this Kuchean fragment belongs to the Kuchean version of the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* or is part of the compilation of Buddhist legends in Kuchean remains uncertain.

Key words: Tocharian, Old Uyghur, *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*, *Hariścandrāvadāna*, Kuchean Buddhism, Avadāna

1. Introduction

Research on Tocharian manuscript remains transported to museums and libraries in Europe was begun with publication of two folios in Kuchean (i.e. Tocharian B) in the Petrovsky collection, now housed in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS) in St. Petersburg (inventory numbers: SI 1903 and SI 1904 (= SI P/1 and SI P/2)).¹

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¹ These two folios afterward identified as part of the *Buddhastotra* have been reedited recently by PINAULT 2008: 293–311, PINAULT (2016a) and PINAULT (2016b).

Since then, some paper fragments and wooden tablets have been published with philological notes and translations.² However, much Tocharian material in this collection still remains to be researched. This paper introduces a Kuchean fragment, SI 2943–4, housed in the IOM, RAS, identified as part of the *Hariścandrāvadāna*, a Buddhist legend narrated in the sixth chapter of the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* (abbreviated below as DKPAM), on account of its parallel text in Old Uyghur.

Tocharian Buddhism's influence on Old Uyghur Buddhism has been recognised since the very beginning of Tocharian philology. As a matter of fact, Tocharian was assigned to two Indo-European languages once spoken on the Tarim basin's northern rim, on the basis of some Old Uyghur manuscripts' colophons.³ Owing to recent studies, the interrelationship between them has become clearer.⁴ As is well known, many important results have been proposed through comparative research between the *Maitreyasamītinātaka* in Tocharian A and the *Maitrisimit* in Old Uyghur.⁵ On the other hand, not until recently were some Tocharian fragments identified as parallel to narratives in the DKPAM,⁶ although the DKPAM in Old Uyghur also mentions Tocharian as its original text in the colophon.⁷ According to the colophon in Old Uyghur, this work was translated from the Tocharian A text, which itself had been translated from the Tocharian B original.

The outline of the *Hariścandrāvadāna* is as follows: After his father's death, Prince Hariścandra decides not to ascend the throne, but to become an ascetic. Then another scene is introduced in which God Indra is afraid to be reborn as a donkey. God Mañibhadra advises him to seek a Bodhisattva and help him accomplish his noble deed so that his bad *karma* will disappear. Therefore, in the form of a Brahmin, God Indra goes to meet Hariścandra.

² Concerning previous studies on the Tocharian manuscript remains in the Russian collection published up to 2007, see MALZAHN, 2007a: 91–93.

³ See MÜLLER 1907 and SIEG and SIEGLING 1908. Concerning the possibility that Tocharian A would be a spoken language in ancient Shorchuk, see OGIHARA 2014.

⁴ The Tocharian captions written under the Old Uyghur rule, which were deciphered recently by the present author, also confirm the interrelationship between Tocharian Buddhism and Old Uyghur Buddhism, see OGIHARA 2016.

⁵ As representatives of the recent comparative research between them, see those contributions published in KASAI, YAKUP and DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2013.

⁶ See PEYROT 2013; PEYROT and WILKENS 2014; WILKENS, PINAULT and PEYROT 2014 and WILKENS 2016: 10–13. In addition to Tocharian fragments, two stories told in the DKPAM are also known in Sogdian and in Tumshuqese; see SUNDERMANN (2006) and MAUE (2015), respectively. Among them, the Sogdian version can be identified as part of the DKPAM.

⁷ Concerning the composition of this compilation of Buddhist legends in Old Uyghur, see WILKENS 2010: 15–30.

Persuaded by God Indra to ascend the throne, Hariścandra begins to give alms. God Indra transforms himself into many Brahmins who seek alms. Having finished offering all his belongings, Hariścandra offers his wife and son. At last, he makes the Brahmins bind him with rope and take him to his enemy King Lohitaketu, so that they can obtain even more money. Having been handed Hariścandra, King Lohitaketu gives the Brahmins much money and begins to torture Hariścandra.

This newly identified Kuchean fragment narrates Hariścandra's meeting with King Lohitaketu and his being tortured.

2. Kuchean fragment SI 2943–4 housed in the IOM, RAS

In this section, the Kuchean fragment newly identified as part of the *Hariścandrāvadāna* and kept in the Berezovsky collection in the IOM, RAS (inventory number SI 2943–4 [= SI B/16–12]), is introduced.⁸ Its discovery location is uncertain. Of this fragment, only the folio's left side from the left margin to a string hole's right side is preserved (see Pl. 1 and 2). The folio number <49> can be seen on the verso side's left margin. The size is ca. w. 9.0 cm×h. 8.8 cm. Six lines are written on each side. Its Brāhmī script does not show archaic features.⁹ According to the classification proposed by Sander, this fragment can be classified to North Turkestan Brāhmī, Type a (see SANDER 1968: 181–183; Tafel 29–40; SANDER 2005). However, some linguistic features of archaic Tocharian B are also observable despite this fragment being classified into the classical stage of Tocharian B,¹⁰ cf. *akalko* (a1) < *akālko*, *hāriścandre* (a3, a6) < *hariścandre*, *weṣṣāmneśc* (b2) < *weṣṣāmneśc* and *tāruṇadivākarne* (b2) < *taruṇadivākarne*, all not demonstrating accent rules I and II proposed by PEYROT 2008: 33–41. These facts lead us to suppose that this fragment can be dated to the latter half of the 6th century and the first half of the 7th century.¹¹

⁸ VOROB'IOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2006: 63–64 surveys the Berezovsky collection, including materials written in other languages. Concerning the activity of Berezovsky's expedition in Kucha, see VOROB'IOVA-DESIATOVSKAYA 2008 and POPOVA 2015.

⁹ The archaic type of the Brāhmī script used to write Tocharian manuscripts was analysed by MALZAHN 2007b and TAMAI 2011.

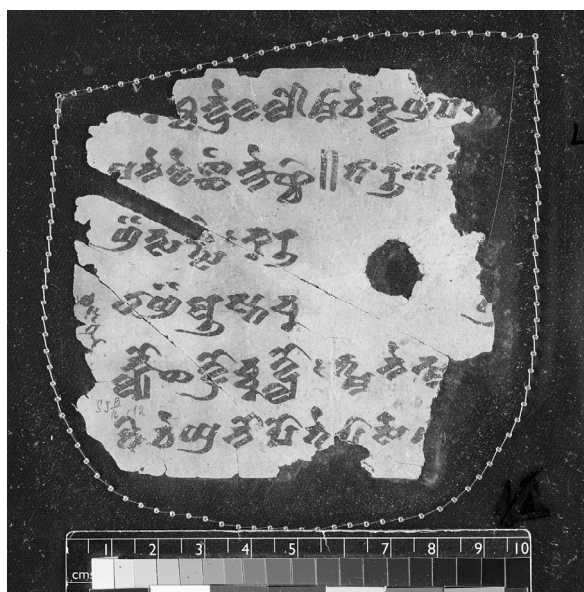
¹⁰ On the other hand, features of late stage of Tocharian B are also observable in this fragment; see *infra*.

¹¹ If the interrelationship between the palaeographic features and the linguistic features of this fragment described here is correct, this fragment would have very probably been unearthed in Kucha; cf. PEYROT 2008: 193–195. In fact, the fragments in Brāhmī script brought back by Berezovsky were found in Buddhist ruins around Kucha; cf. VOROB'IOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 2008: 72.



Pl. 1. SI 2943-4, Recto

By courtesy of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences



Pl. 2. SI 2943-4, Verso

By courtesy of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences

This fragment's transliteration and transcription are provided below.¹² The English translation is merely tentative because the parallel text in Old Uyghur does not permit us to solve all the problems in this fragment.

Transliteration

a

- 1 *ñ akalko* ♦ *se ñke a* (·)w· *rpo* – ///
- 2 *lohitāketu walo we*[ṣṣa] – ///
- 3 || *hāriścandre wa-* O [*lo*] ///
- 4 *tu*[*m*]*eṃ* *ñis*\ *lakle-* O [*n*](·)· ///
- 5 *to āyormeṃ lohitake* – ///
- 6 [*r*]·*e* || *tumeṃ caṇḍāli hā*[*r*]*i*[*ś*](·)· ///

b

- 1 {–} – [*ś*]candre walo *mā cek wa*[*r*]*ñ*[*ai*] *pā* – ///
- 2 *mane we*[ṣṣaṃnneśc] || *tāruṇa* ·(·)[*i*] ///
- 3 *ñä tsa*[*k*]*ts*[*i*] ♦ *karu-* O – ///
- 4 *dhāñä āsta cu-* O (·)[*ṇ r*]· ///
- 5 *klyoṣ*\ *wroccu wlo* ♦ *tmanenma* ///
- 6 *ti cey rano po te p-ārsa* [*m*](·)· ///

Textual notes

a2 and 3: Two heroes of the *Hariścandrāvadāna* are Hariścandra and Lohitaketu; their corresponding forms in Kuchean should be *hariścandre* and *lohitaketu*. The former has been attested in two Kuchean fragments thus far identified as this story in which it appears as *hariścandre*; see PEYROT and WILKENS (2014). However, we have *hāriścandre* (a3 and a6) and *lohitāketu* (a2), respectively, in this fragment although the latter also appears as *lohitaketu* (a5).

b1: The remaining part of the last akṣara appearing in this line may be read as <sa>.

¹² Here the following signs are used:

/// : lacuna of unknown length; – : trace of one illegible single akṣara
 () : restored part of akṣara(s); · : illegible part of an akṣara
 [] : damaged part of akṣara(s); { } : broken part of the fragment
 ♦ : punctuation used in the fragment

- b2: The name of the tune attested here can be restored as *tāruṇadivākarne*, which appears twice as *taruṇadivākarne* in other fragments (see *infra*).
- b4: Two akṣaras at the beginning of this line can be read as <dhā> and <ñā>. However, the diacritic vowel sign of <ā> added above <dha> differs somewhat from other attestations in this fragment, in that the former akṣara <dha> is connected with the next akṣara <ñā> by this vowel diacritic sign. This fact suggests that this vowel diacritic sign may be a scribal error of the virāma sign. If this is accepted, these two akṣaras would be read as *tan̄ā*.
- b4: The damaged akṣara at the string hole's right side seems to be read as <ṇra> in comparison with <ṇa> attested in the name of the tune in b2.
- b5: The first akṣara can be clearly read as <klyo>.

Transcription

a

- 1 ñ akalko ♦ se ñke a(r)w(e)r po – ///
- 2 lohitāketu walo we[ṣṣä](ṁ) – ///
- 3 || hāriścandre wa- O [lo] ///
- 4 tu[m]eṁ ñiś läkle- O [n](ta) ///
- 5 to āyormeṁ lohitake(tu) ///
- 6 [r](n)e || tumeṁ caṇḍāli hā[r]i[ś](candreṁ) ///

b

- 1 (hāri)[ś]candre walo mā cek wa[r]ñ[ai] pä – ///
- 2 mane weṣṣāṁneśc || tāruṇa(d)[i](vākarne) ///
- 3 ñā tsa[k]ts[i] ♦ karu- O – ///
- 4 dhāñā āsta cu- O (r)[ṇ r](amt) ///
- 5 klyoṣ wroccu wlo ♦ tmanenma ///
- 6 ti cey rano po te p(k)ārsa [m](·)· ///

Notes

In the following notes, the parallels in Old Uyghur (abbreviated below as OU) are quoted from the critical edition by WILKENS 2016: 544–547.

- a1: The punctuation suggests that this line is written in verse, but the metre cannot be decided.

- a1: The word at the beginning of this line may be *tañ*, sg.gen. of *twe* ‘you’.¹³ If this is correct, this line can be interpreted as Lohitaketu’s speech to Hariścandra. Thus, the Kuchean demonstrative pronoun *se* in the next pāda indicates Hariścandra in contrast to the Old Uyghur text in which Hariścandra speaks to Lohitaketu, cf. OU 06147–06150 *ol tıltagin ’[] MYN köñül eyin kılğuka nāt[ä]g ämgäk ämgätsär ol ämgäk ämgängäli anuk turur m(ä)n* ‘Aus diesem Grunde, um mein [...] nach Belieben tun zu können, was man (mir) auch immer für Qualen zufügen mag, ich stehe bereit, jenes Leid zu erleiden.’
- a2: Cf. OU 06150–06152 *bo savıg äšidip lohitaketu elig bägñiñ ärtiñü övkäsi kälip sözl[ä]di* ‘Nachdem er diese Worte vernommen hatte, geriet der König₂ Lohitaketu sehr in Zorn und sprach.’
- a3: Cf. OU 06157 *haričandre [e]llig sözlädi* ‘[K]önig Hariścandra sagte.’
- a4: Cf. OU 06159–06161 *anta basa nätäg tapı ärs[är] antag ämgäk [äm]gätzün* ‘Und danach, was immer sein Wunsch ist, solches Leid soll er (sc. Lohitaketu) (mir) [zu]fügen!.’
- a5: In view of the parallel text in OU 06161–06165 *ötrü lohita[ket]u elig bäg sansız üküš altun yükmäklär urup bramanka satıgın berip anta ok čandallarıg okıp sözlädi* ‘Da häufte König₂ Lohita[ket]u unermesslich viele Ladungen Gold auf, gab dem Brahmanen seinen Lohn und rief dann sofort die Henker und sprach’, one can restore *pito* ‘cost, price’ at the beginning of this line.
- a6: Unless *-rne* to be restored at the beginning of this line is the locative form of a noun as an indication of the name of a tune,¹⁴ one may suppose that *-r* would be the ending of 3pl.pret. of a verb still impossible to restore with certainty and *-ne*, 3sg. of the enclitic pronoun that denotes Hariścandra. Concerning the following part of this line, see OU 06166–06170 *bo savıg äšidip t(ä)rkin tavrak ol čandallar har<i>čandre eligig kızartmış örtlüg yahnı[ıg] sač üzä itip agturdılar* ‘Als sie diese Worte vernommen hatten, stießen jene Henker rasch₂ den König Hariścandra auf eine erhitzte und glühende₂ Eisenplatte.’
- b1: One cannot decide with certainty the corresponding part in Old Uyghur. It may be possible to consult the lines OU 06179–06180 *[külčirä yü]zin*

¹³ In comparison with the Old Uyghur text, the ideal solution is to restore *ñi*, sg.gen. of *ñäs* ‘I’ which indicates Hariścandra here. However, the result of the sandhi between *-i* at word final and *-a-* at word initial is not *-a-* but *-i-* (if *-i* at word final does not change into *-y*), cf. *TEB* I: 73.

¹⁴ The Kuchean adverb *tumem* ‘then’ usually stands at the beginning of a sentence in prose, cf. THOMAS 1976[1978].

ol elig bæg [tapa tet]rü kördi ‘mit [lächelndem Ge]sicht blickte er [unver]wandt [auf] jenen König₂.’ If this is accepted, the last word of this part may be *pärskau*, m.sg.nom. of pret.part. of *pärsk-* ‘to fear’.

b2–6: Lines b2–3 are written in verse, the tune of which is called *taruṇadivākar**. This tune thus far attested shows two different types of verse, that is, 20/22/10/15 (cf. *TochSprR(B)* II: 23, fn. 5) and 19/19/10/19 (cf. op. cit.: 36, fn. 16). It is not possible to decide with certainty which type this is. As a matter of fact, the punctuation in b5 suggests that b5 is also written in verse, but the metre cannot be decided. According to the Kuchean text in b2, someone speaks to someone and his (or her) direct speech comes in the following verses. The parallel in Old Uyghur narrates that having seen Lohitaketu’s torture of Hariścandra, his wife begins to weep and asks Lohitaketu to stop the torture (see *infra*). However, these verses do not seem to correspond to the description in the Old Uyghur text. In fact, one can find a similar description in the preceding part in the Old Uyghur text in which Hariścandra tells Lohitaketu his resolution of compassion (= Skt. *karuṇā*-) and Buddhahood. If this equation is accepted, lines b2–5 are most probably given in the same metre and they could belong to Hariścandra’s speech to Lohitaketu, who tortures him. On the other hand, whether line b6 also belongs to the preceding verses remains unclear. However, this line’s syntactic peculiarity, in which the 2sg.act. of the imperative is preceded by the pl.nom. of the demonstrative pronoun, suggests that this line is also written in verse. If this is true, this line could also belong to part of the preceding verses.

b2: It would be possible to restore *smimane*, pres.part. of *smi-* ‘to smile’, cf. OU 06126–06128 [öt]rü h[ar]içandre [el]ig bæg külçirä [yü]zin korkinčsız köy[jü]lin lohitaketu [e]ligkä sö[z]lädi ‘Ohne Furcht und mit lächelndem [Ge]sicht sagte der König₂ Hariścandra zum [K]önig Lohitaketu.’

b3: In view of OU 06128–06135 *birök tözüñüma meni köyürgü ü[č]ün aviš tamudaki ört yalınig kälürsär s(ä)n* : ‘*äñ mintin bir kšan üdtä ymä köñülümdäki yüräkimdäki y(a)rlıkančuči biligimin ketärip kup kurug turgurga[lı] uguluk ärmäz s(ä)n* ‘Wenn du, mein Edler, um mich zu verbrennen, die Flammen₂ in der *avīci*-Hölle herbeibrächtest, so würdest du es nicht vermögen, auch nur für einen Moment₂ mein Mitleid (Skt. *karuṇā*) in meinem Herzen₂ zu entfernen und es (so) ganz leer erscheinen zu lassen’, it is possible to restore *kektseñä*, sg.obl. of *kektseñe* ‘body’ at the beginning of this line. On the other hand, it would be possible to restore *karuṇike* ‘sympathetic, compassionate’ at the end of the remaining part of this line.

- b4: The akṣara at the right side of a string hole, which seems to be <ṇra>, enables us to restore *cuṇṇ ramt*,¹⁵ sg.nom./obl. of *cūṇṇ* ‘powder’ borrowed from Skt. *cūrṇa-* and the conjunction *ramt* ‘like’ in view of the parallel in Old Uyghur 06135–06140 *süñök[imi]n čurni sokmıš tąg yinčgä uvšak sokup tan tapa savırsar s(ä)n ymä köñülümdäki y(a)rlıkančuči sakınčımın ketärgäli umagay s(ä)n* ‘Selbst wenn du [mein]e Knochen wie zermahlenes Pulver fein₂ zerstoßen und es in (alle) Winde zerstreuen würdest, so würdest du (dennoch) nicht in der Lage sein, mein Mitleid (Skt. *karuṇā*) in meinem Herzen zu entfernen.’ As mentioned in textual notes above, the beginning of this line *dhāñä* could be read as *tāñ* with the virāma sign. If we have *tāñ* here, it can be interpreted as the verbal ending of 2sg.act.pres./subj./opt. and *-ñ*, 1sg. of the enclitic pronoun that denotes Hariścandra himself. Thus, this passage could mean ‘even if you crush my bones like powder’, which matches the Old Uyghur passage quoted above, although the verb cannot be restored with certainty.
- b5: If *klyoṣ*, attested at the beginning of this line, is not a scribal error of *klyauṣ*, the vocative form *wroccu wlo* that follows it suggests that *päklyoṣ*, 2sg.imper.act. of *klyaus-* ‘to hear’ is restored.¹⁶ It is noteworthy that the vowel of this imperative form shows the monophthongisation of *-au-* to *-o-* of the stem vowel. This sound change is recognised as a feature of late stage of Tocharian B (cf. PEYROT 2008: 53–54).¹⁷ The following part could be related to the parallel in Old Uyghur 06140–06144 *tümän [ar]tok seni tąg alp katıg küčlüg [kü]sünlüg eliglär bäglär bolsarlar nän mäniñ küčümin küsünümin tıda tutgalı amaz[la]r* ‘Auch wenn es [me]hr als zehntausend Könige₂ geben sollte, die wie du tapfer₂ und mächtig₂ sind, können sie (dennoch) keineswegs meine Kraft₂ hemmen oder zurückhalten.’
- b6: Although the context of this line is not clear, *epreti*, pl.nom. of *eprete* ‘resolute, steadfast’ may be restored at the beginning of this line.

Translation

a

- 1 [...] your(?) wish [...] Now he is ready to [...] all [...]
- 2 King Lohitaketu says [...]
- 3 || King Hariścandra [...]

¹⁵ It is also possible to restore the conjunction *ra* ‘like’ or *ram no* ‘like, as’.

¹⁶ The form usually attested as 2sg.imper.act. of this root is *päklyauṣ*.

¹⁷ The 1sg. pronoun *ñis* in a4 which appears as *ñās* in the classical Tocharian B texts also reflects a feature of late stage of Tocharian B, cf. PEYROT 2008: 55–57.

- 4 Thereupon [...] me [...] sufferings [...]
- 5 Having given the cost (to the Brahmins), Lohitaketu [...]
- 6 [...] ?-ed him(?) [...] (or In the tune [...]) || Then the outcasts [...]
Hariścandra [...]

b

- 1 King Hariścandra did not fear(?) at all [...]
- 2 [...] (Hariścandra) says to him (= Lohitaketu) with smile. || In the tune
Tarūṇadivākara || [...]
- 3 [...] to burn the body [...] compassionate(?) [...]
- 4 [...] (even if you crushes?) my bones like powder [...]
- 5 Hear, great king! Ten thousands [...]
- 6 [...] they are also resolute(?) [...] You should know it completely [...]

3. Comparison with the parallel text of the *Hariścandrāvadāna* in Old Uyghur

As indicated in the preceding section, the Kuchean fragment SI 2943–4, kept in the IOM, RAS, can be identified as part of the *Hariścandrāvadāna*, of which parallel text is available in DKPAM's sixth chapter in Old Uyghur.¹⁸ Many manuscript fragments of this work in Old Uyghur have been identified and published with translation and textual notes in previous studies.¹⁹ Recently, Wilkens has published the whole work's reconstructed text on the basis of manuscript fragments thus far known to him. Below, the parallel text to this Kuchean fragment is quoted with his German translation (see WILKENS 2016: 542–549). In addition to the Old Uyghur text corresponding to SI 2943–4, the following part is also quoted, so the reader can understand this fragment's context. Those parts corresponding to the Kuchean text are noted in bold in the Old Uyghur text and in the German translation below.

Old Uyghur text

Kr II 1/34a + Mainz 814 + U 1575 + U 1465 + Kr II 1.24

Recto

06108 08 ötrü lohita-(P)-ketu elig-
06109 09 niṅ ordosınta karšisınta yinčgä

¹⁸ For parallel texts of this narrative in other languages, see WILKENS 2016: 87–88.

¹⁹ Concerning previous works on the DKPAM in Old Uyghur, see WILKENS 2016: 29–32.

06110 10 töröčä *kur*l<g> baqlıg haričandre
 06111 11 eligin içgärü kigürdilär : *an*[ı]
 06112 12 körüp lohitaketu elig bæg y(a)vlak
 06113 13 erig [yavga]*n* savın haričandre
 06114 14 elig bægig sarsıp inčä tep
 06115 15 ted[i :] s(ä)*n* uŭun yavız tınl(ı)g uzatı
 06116 16 s(ä)*n* [säni]*ŋ* küsünüñin tutup
 06117 17 ärtiñü bädükläntiñ : amtı mäniñ
 06118 18 elgimtä tägyük s(ä)*n* : artokrak
 06119 19 katıglangıl <:> y(a)rlıkančuči köñülünin
 06120 20 yüräkiñdin birtäm ketärip *akruš*
 06121 21 s[äri]*nm*äkiñin köräyin : bütün
 06122 22 [ätözüntäki yüz] yüzägünin öñi
 06223 23 [öñi kılıp] bir yalın bolmış *sac*
 06224 24 [üzä tur]gurup iki adakiñin turum
 06125 25 [ara s]öglüntür[äyin te]p tedi ::
 06126 26 [öt]rü **h[ar]ičandre [el]ig bæg külčirä**
 06127 27 **[yü]zin** korkınčsız köñ[ü]lin **lohitaketu**
 06128 28 **[e]ligkä sö[z]lädi** : birök tözünüm-
 06129 29 a meni **köyürgü** ü[č]ün aviš tamu-
 06130 30 dakı ört yalınıg kälürsä
 06131 31 s(ä)*n* : 'äñ mintin bir kšan

Verso

Pagination: altınč säkiz otuz

06132 01 üdtä ymä köñlümdäki yüräkim-
 06133 02 däki **y(a)rlıkančuči bi/ig**imin ketärip
 06134 03 kup kurug turgurga[lı] uguluk
 06135 04 ärmäz s(ä)*n* : **süñök[imi]*n* čurni**
 06136 05 sokmış **täg** yinčgä uvšak **sokup**
 06137 06 tan tapa (P) savırsar **s(ä)*n***
 06138 07 ymä köñül-(P)-ümdäki
 06139 08 y(a)rlıkančuči (P) sakınčımın
 06140 09 ketärgäli umagay s(ä)*n* : **tümän**
 06141 10 **[ar]tok** seni tag alp katıg küçlüg
 06142 11 [kü]sünlüg eliglär bəglär bolsar-
 06143 12 lar näñ mäniñ küçümin küsünüm-
 06144 13 in tıda tutgalı umaz[la]*r* : kayu
 06145 14 m(ä)*n* imrärigmä tınl(ı)glarka ädgü

06146 15 sakınçın burhan kutın [t]i[läyü]r
06147 16 m(ä)n : ol tıltagın '[] MYN
06148 17 köñül eyin kılguca *nät*[ä]g ämgäk
06149 18 ämgätsär ol ämgäk ämgängäli **anuk**
06150 19 *turur* m(ä)n tep tedi : bo savıg äšidip
06151 20 **lohitaketu elig bägniñ** ärtinü
06152 21 övkäsi kälip **söz/[ä]di** : ay []Q[]
06153 22 nägülük turur sizlär [:]aviš]
06154 23 tamudakı tæg açığ ä[mgäk]
06155 24 L'R nätägin yänä mäniñ []
06156 25 turup utr[u söz]/[ä]yür tep [tedi :]
06157 26 **haričandre [e]lig** sözlädi : u/[ug]
06158 27 elig-a bramanka mäniñ sat[ıg]-
06159 28 ımın bergäli ayzun <:> **anta basa**
06160 29 nätäg tapı ärs[är] antag **ämgäk**
06161 30 [äm]gätzün tep tedi : ötrü **lohita-**
06162 31 **[ket]u elig** bäg sansız üküš altun

Kr II 1/27 + U 1207 + U 1203 + Kr II 1/29 + U 1011

Recto

06163 01 yükmäklär urup bramanka **satıg-**
06164 02 **m berip** anta ok čaңdallarıg okıp
06165 03 sözlädi : ay čaңdallar takı nägü
06166 04 küdar sizlär tep : bo savıg äšidip
06167 05 t(ä)rkın tavrak ol **čaңdallar har<i>čandre**
06168 06 eligig kız-(P)-artmış ört-
06169 07 lüg yalınl[ıg] (P) sač üzä
06170 08 itip agturdi-(P)-lar : anı
06171 09 körüp lohitaketu eligniñ
06172 10 buyrukları *bir* ünin sıgtašdı-
06173 11 lar : anıñ arasınıta haričandre
06174 12 elig bägniñ iki adakınıñ
06175 13 ulı süñökiñätägi turgınça ara
06176 14 örtäntilär : kök ražav(a)rt öñ-
06177 15 lüg [kö]zin açılmış yipün lenhw-
06178 16 a *tä*[g öñl]üg mäñizlig körkin
06179 17 [külčirä yü]zin ol elig bäg

06180 18 [tapa tet]rü kördi : ötrü hari-
 06181 19 [çandre el]ig bağ öz ätözin
 06182 20 [: a]nta lohitaketu elig
 06183 21 [bäg]/ küsüşi kanmıšın
 06184 22 [hariçandr]eniñ ämgäkin
 06185 23 []//WM[] ärtiñü sävinti :
 06186 24 ötrü lohita[ketu] elig bağniñ
 06187 25 kunçuyı hari[çandr]e eligniñ
 06188 26 ol antag açığ äm[gä]kig körüp
 06189 27 yıglayu sıgtayu bağk[ä lo]hitaketu
 06190 28 [eli]gkä sö[z]lädi : am[ra]k bağim-
 06191 29 a t(ä)ñri täg tözün yavaš
 06192 30 [kutlug] tınl(ı)gıg munı täg ämgäk
 06193 31 [ämgät]g[ä]li tägimlig ärmäz ärti t[ep]

Verso

Pagination: altıncı ülüš tokuz otuz

06194 01 anta ötrü lohitaketu eligniñ
 06195 02 buyrukları yaşılg közin yıglayu
 06196 03 hariçandre elig tapa körüp bir
 06197 04 ikintiškä inçä tep tedilär ::
 06198 05 kamešvare t(ä)ñri ((t(ä)g)) ogla{'}gu ätözin
 06199 06 bo kutlug (P) tınl(ı)g tamudakı
 06200 07 täg açığ (P) [ä]mgäk ämgänür <:>
 06201 08 ört yalın (P) täg kızartmış
 06202 09 saç üzä täpränčezin turup
 06203 10 öñi kırtışı säviglig körki
 06204 11 mäjizi ançak(ı)ya ymä täğšilmädin
 06205 12 artamadın turmaz mu : körüñlär
 06206 13 anıñ açığ ämgäkin <:> iki adakınta
 06207 14 yağı sızılı akıp süñökiñä-
 06208 15 tägi äti yini söglünüp tö[r]tdin
 06209 16 sıñardın üzüksüz [känırsi]g
 06210 17 yıd yıdıp eşiçtäki [täğ buusı]
 06211 18 ünä közünür : t(ä)ñridäm [yaña]-
 06212 19 niñ tumşıkıña ogša[ı top]
 06213 20 tolgu säviglig kö[rtlä iki kol]-
 06214 21 in b(ä)k tutunup yol [yorımış ämgäk]-

06215 22 iṇā karinī ārtiṇ[ü açıp : anča]-
06216 23 k(ı)ya ymä bulganmad[ın täl]g[än]mä[din]
06217 24 yazok yüzün [kör]mäz mü tep
06218 25 ötrü buyruk[lar] ayaların
06219 26 kavşuru yıglayu sıgtayu lohita-
06220 27 ketu el[iḡ bāg]kā <inčā tep tedilär :> ulug elig-a
06221 28 amtı haričāndre eligkā y(a)rılık[anču]-
06222 29 či köñül öritü y(a)rılıkazun [: anıṇ]
06223 30 ä[m]gäkiṇä tođup kanıp köyü[rgäli]
06224 31 [ör]tägäli ıdu y(a)rılıkamazun [:]

German translation

(06108–06111) Darauf brachten (die Diener) nach der verfeinerten Etikette im Palast₂ des Lohitaketu den König Hariścandra mit Gurten und Fesseln (gebunden) herein. (06111–0615) Als er das sah, verfluchte der König₂ Lohitaketu mit üblen und groben_[2] Worten (Skt. *pāruṣyavāda*) den König₂ Hariścandra und sprach folgendermaßen: (06115–06116) ‚Du bist immer ein schamloses und übles Wesen (gewesen)! (06116–06117) Was deine Stärke anbetrifft, so bist du (zwar) äußerst mächtig geworden. (06117–06118) (Aber) jetzt bist du in meine Hand geraten. (06118–06119) Streng dich sehr an! (06119–06121) Indem ich vollständig dein Mitleid (Skt. *karuṇā*) aus deinem Herzen entferne, will ich (nun) deine Ruhe und G[ed]uld (Skt. *kṣānti*) sehen. (06121–06125) Deine Glieder [an deinem] ganzen [Körper will ich] zerstü[ckeln], dich auf eine Eisenplatte setzen, die zu einer einzigen Flamme geworden ist, und deine Füße sogl[eich] rösten lassen,‘ sagte er. (06126–06128) Ohne Furcht und **mit lächelndem [Ge]sicht sagte der König₂ Hariścandra zum [K]önig Lohitaketu:** (06128–06135) ‚Wenn du, mein Edler, um mich **zu verbrennen**, die Flammen₂ in der *avīci*-Hölle herbeibrächtest, so würdest du es nicht vermögen, auch nur für einen Moment₂ mein **Mitleid (Skt. *karuṇā*)** in meinem Herzen₂ zu entfernen und es (so) ganz leer erscheinen zu lassen. (06135–06140) **Selbst wenn du [mein]e Knochen wie zermahlenes Pulver** fein₂ **zerstoßen** und es in (alle) Winde zerstreuen **würdest**, so würdest du (dennoch) nicht in der Lage sein, mein Mitleid (Skt. *karuṇā*) in meinem Herzen zu entfernen. (06140–06144) Auch wenn es **[me]hr als zehntausend Könige₂** geben sollte, die wie du tapfer₂ und mächtig₂ sind, können sie (dennoch) keineswegs meine Kraft₂ hemmen oder zurückhalten. (06144–06147) Ich [e]r[streb]e die Buddhaschaft mit Wohlwollen (Skt. *maitrī*) für jegliche Lebewesen, die mich umgeben.

(06147–06150) Aus diesem Grunde, um mein [...] nach Belieben tun zu können, was man (mir) auch immer für Qualen zufügen mag, ich stehe **bereit**, jenes Leid zu erleiden,‘ sagte er. (06150–06152) Nachdem er diese Worte vernommen hatte, geriet **der König₂ Lohitaketu** sehr in Zorn und **sprach**: (06152–06153) ‚He [Diener], weshalb steht ihr herum? (06153–06155) [...] bitteres L[eid] wie in der [avīci]-Hölle [fügt] ihm zu! (06155–06156) Wie nun (erdreistet er sich,) sich [gegen] mein [...] zu erheben und zu widersprechen?‘ sagte er. (06157) **[K]önig Hariścandra** sagte: (06157–06159) ‚Gro[ßer] König, er möge befehlen, dem Brahmanen den Lo[h]n für mich (sc. für meine Ergreifung) zu geben. (06159–06161) Und **danach**, was immer sein Wunsch ist, solches **Leid** soll er (sc. Lohitaketu) (mir) [zu]fügen!‘, sagte er. (06161–06165) Da häufte König₂ **Lohita[ket]u** unermesslich viele Ladungen Gold auf, **gab** dem Brahmanen seinen **Lohn** und rief dann sofort die Henker und sprach: (06165–06166) ‚He, Henker, was wartet ihr noch?‘ (06166–06170) Als sie diese Worte vernommen hatten, stießen **jene Henker** rasch₂ den König **Hariścandra** auf eine erhitzte und glühende₂ Eisenplatte. (06170–06173) Als sie das sahen, seufzten die Minister des Königs Lohitaketu (wie) mit einer Stimme gemeinsam. (06173–06176) Sogleich fingen die Sohlen der Füße des Königs Hariścandra bald bis zu den Knochen Feuer. (06176–06180) Mit seinen blauen [Au]gen, die die Farbe von Lapislazuli hatten, mit seiner schönen₂ Gestalt, die ein erblühter rosiger Lotus war, und mit [lächelndem Ge]sicht blickte er [unver]wandt [auf] jenen König₂. (06180–06182) Da [hatte] König₂ Hariścandra seinen eigenen Körper [...]. (06182–06185) [Da]nn freute sich König₂ Lohitaketu sehr darüber, dass [...] sein Wunsch in Erfüllung gegangen war und [...] über das Leiden von [Hariścandra]. (06186–06190) Als da (aber) die Frau des König₂ Lohita[ketu] jenes derartig bittere Leid[en] des Königs Hariścandra sah, weinte und seufzte sie und sagte zu (ihrem) Ehemann, dem [Kön]ig [Lo]hitaketu: (06190–06193) ‚Mein gel[ieb]ter Mann, es ist nicht recht gewesen, dieses gottgleich edle, milde und [charismatische] Wesen solches Leid [erdul]den zu lassen.‘ (06194–06197) Während daraufhin die Minister des Königs Lohitaketu mit tränenerfüllten Augen aufseufzten und auf den König Hariścandra blickten, sagten sie zueinander: (06198–06200) ‚Mit seinem Körper, der so zart ist wie der des Gottes Kāmeśvara, erleidet dieses charismatische Wesen Qualen, die so bitter sind wie die in der Hölle. (06201–06205) Er verharrt ohne zu schwanken auf der flammen₂gleich erhitzten Eisenplatte, und indem seine Gesichtsfarbe, seine Haut und seine lieblich Gestalt₂ sich überhaupt nicht verändern oder ruiniert werden, bleibt er nicht (sogar einfach) stehen? (06205–06206) Schaut nur sein bitteres Leid!

(06206–06211) An seinen Füßen fließt sein Fett schmelzend heraus, sein Fleisch und seine Haut werden bis zu seinen Knochen hin geröstet, in den vier Himmelsrichtungen steigt ständig ein [verbrannt]er Gestank auf, [seine Lebenskraft] scheint [wie] in einem Kessel aufzusteigen. (06211–06217) Mit seinen lieblichen und sch[önen Armen], die [ganz] gerundet sind gleich dem Rüssel eines himmlischen [Elefanten], hält er sich fest, und durch [die Strapazen] des Weges, [den er (von seiner Heimat) zurückgelegt hat, ist] er (wörtl. sein Magen) sehr [hungrig], aber ohne auch nur [ein bissc]hen erregt₂ zu sein, [bli]ckt er nicht (sogar) mit entspanntem Gesicht?²⁰ (06218–06220) Daraufhin legten die Minister ihre Handflächen zusammen und klagend und aufseufzend <sagten sie> zu König₂ Lohitaketu: (06220–06222) ‚O großer König, möget Ihr jetzt Mitleid erwecken in Bezug auf den König Hariścandra. (06222–06224) Möget Ihr genug haben₂ an [seinem] L[e]iden und seid (so) gnädig, nicht zuzulassen, dass er verbrennt₂. [...]‘

Comparison with the Old Uyghur text quoted above shows that the Kuchean fragment SI 2943–4 is identified as part of the *Hariścandrāvadāna*. However, discrepancies are also observable between these two versions; cf. SI 2943–4a1 and b2–6. Among others, Hariścandra’s direct speech to Lohitaketu narrated in SI 2943–4b2–6 is in verse *during* his torture, despite his speech being narrated *before* his torture in the Old Uyghur version. Thus, it is not possible to decide with certainty whether the Kuchean fragment treated here belongs to the DKPAM’s Kuchean version or is part of the compilation of Buddhist legends in Kuchean.²⁰ On the other hand, this fact suggests that the Old Uyghur version thus far known to us would not be a literal translation of this Kuchean text through the Tocharian A translation. In fact, as observed by recent studies, the fragments in Tocharian A and in Kuchean thus far identified as parallel to Buddhist legends in the DKPAM in Old Uyghur also show discrepancies of this kind.²¹

²⁰ In spite of the fact that the composition of the manuscript of the Kuchean version of the DKPAM is still unknown, this fragment’s <49> pagination might suggest that it belongs to the DKPAM’s Kuchean version in case the manuscript of the Kuchean DKPAM was divided into each chapter. As an illustration of the compilation of Buddhist legends in Kuchean, see OGIHARA (2012).

²¹ See PEYROT (2013), PEYROT and WILKENS (2014) and WILKENS, PINAULT and PEYROT (2014). Among others, two Kuchean fragments were identified as part of the *Hariścandrāvadāna* by PEYROT and WILKENS (2014). However, their texts do not overlap with that of SI 2943–4 treated here. On the other hand, in the introduction to his critical edition, Wilkens emphasizes that the DKPAM in Old Uyghur should have been translated from the Tocharian original text, cf. WILKENS 2016: 10–13.

4. Concluding remarks

In this paper, the newly identified Kuchean fragment of the *Hariścandrāvadāna* was interpreted in comparison with parallel text in the DKPAM in Old Uyghur. Although this fragment preserves only the folio's left side, it can be safely identified as part of this narrative, thanks to the Old Uyghur text, although whether it belongs to the Kuchean version of the DKPAM is uncertain. Among the Kuchean manuscript remains thus far extant in the scholarly world, some fragments housed in the Paris, London and Berlin collections have been identified as parallel to narratives in the DKPAM. The Kuchean fragment SI 2943–4 introduced in this paper is the first specimen housed in the Russian collection that can be related to this compilation.

Although parallelism is observable among the three Kuchean fragments thus far identified as parallel narratives in the DKPAM and the Old Uyghur version, the discrepancies are also remarkable. If the interpretation presented in this paper is correct, the discrepancies can also be observed between SI 2943–4 and the Old Uyghur version, as well as these fragments. Especially, the Kuchean version narrates Hariścandra's speech to Lohitaketu in verse during his torture, despite his speech being narrated before his torture in the Old Uyghur version. This fact suggests that the Old Uyghur version known to us would not be this Kuchean version's literal translation through the Tocharian A translation.

On the other hand, two more fragments have also been identified as part of the *Hariścandrāvadāna*. Although whether these two fragments belong to one and the same manuscript is unclear, the Russian fragment introduced here is this narrative's third fragment. This Russian fragment's format demonstrates that it belongs to a manuscript different from those to which the former two fragments belong. This fact confirms the popularity enjoyed by the *Hariścandrāvadāna* in Kuchean Buddhism, which is also reflected by mural paintings depicted in the Kizil grottoes; cf. WILKENS 2016: 88. Furthermore, the text of SI 2943–4, which does not overlap with that of the two fragments thus far identified as part of the *Hariścandrāvadāna*, can contribute to reconstruction of this narrative's Kuchean version, and this will lead to better understanding of how Buddhist legends were accepted in ancient Kucha.

Glossary

In this glossary, only those forms attested in the fragment or securely restored are listed. The latter forms are noted by the asterisk after the place of attestation in the fragment. Entry words employed in Adams (2013) are also used here.

<i>akālk</i> ‘wish’	sg.nom./obl.: <i>akalko</i>	SI 2943-4a1
<i>ārwer</i> ‘ready, eager’	<i>arwer</i>	SI 2943-4a1*
<i>āyo</i> ‘bone’	pl.nom./obl.: <i>āsta</i>	SI 2943-4b4
<i>ai-</i> ‘to give’	Absol.: <i>āyormem</i>	SI 2943-4a5
<i>orotstse</i> ‘great, big, large’	sg.voc.: <i>wroccu</i>	SI 2943-4b5
<i>kārs-</i> ‘to know’	2sg.imper.: <i>pkārsa</i>	SI 2943-4b6
<i>kektseñe</i> ‘body’	sg.obl.: <i>kektseñä</i>	SI 2943-4b3*
<i>klyaus-</i> ‘to hear’	2sg.imper.: <i>päklyoş</i>	SI 2943-4b5*
<i>caṇḍāle</i> ‘outcast’	pl.nom.: <i>caṇḍāli</i>	SI 2943-4a6
<i>cūrṇ*</i> ‘powder’	sg.nom./obl.: <i>curṇ</i>	SI 2943-4b4*
<i>cek warñai</i> ‘somehow’	<i>cek warñai</i>	SI 2943-4b1*
<i>ñake</i> ‘now’	<i>ñke</i>	SI 2943-4a1
<i>ñäs</i> ‘I’	sg.nom./obl.: <i>ñiś</i>	SI 2943-4a4
<i>taruṇadivākar*</i> ‘name of a tune’	loc.: <i>tāruṇadivākarne</i>	SI 2943-4b2*
<i>t_(u)māne</i> ‘ten thousand’	pl.nom./obl.: <i>tmanenma</i>	SI 2943-4b5
<i>tumem</i> ‘thereupon’	<i>tumem</i>	SI 2943-4a4, 6
<i>pito</i> ‘price, cost’	sg.obl.: <i>pito</i>	SI 2943-4a5*
<i>po</i> ‘all’	<i>po</i>	SI 2943-4a1, b6
<i>mā</i> ‘not’	<i>mā</i>	SI 2943-4b1
<i>rano</i> ‘also’	<i>rano</i>	SI 2943-4b6
<i>ramt</i> ‘like, as if’	<i>ramt</i>	SI 2943-4b4*
<i>lakle</i> ‘pain, suffering’	pl.nom./obl.: <i>läklenta</i>	SI 2943-4a4*
<i>lohitaketu</i> ‘Lohitaketu (PN)’	nom.: <i>lohitāketu</i>	SI 2943-4a2
	nom.: <i>lohitaketu</i>	SI 2943-4a5
<i>walo</i> ‘king’	sg.nom.: <i>walo</i>	SI 2943-4a2, 3*, b1
	sg.voc.: <i>wlo</i>	SI 2943-4b5
<i>we-</i> ‘to speak, say’	3sg.pres.act.: <i>weşşām</i>	SI 2943-4a2*
	3sg.pres.act.: <i>weşşāmneśc</i>	SI 2943-4b2
<i>se</i> ‘dem.pron.’	m.sg.nom.: <i>se</i>	SI 2943-4a1
	m.pl.nom.: <i>cey</i>	SI 2943-4b6
	n.sg.obl.: <i>te</i>	SI 2943-4b6
<i>hariścandre</i> ‘Hariścandra (PN)’	nom.: <i>hāriścandre</i>	SI 2943-4a3, b1
	obl.: <i>hāriścandreṃ</i>	SI 2943-4a6*
<i>tsāk-</i> ‘to burn up’	inf.: <i>tsaktsi</i>	SI 2943-4b3

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Postscript

In my paper collaborated with CHING Chao-jung, "SI3656 and other Kuchean tablets related to the Kizil grottoes in the St. Petersburg Collection", *Written Monuments of the Orient*, 2016(2), 44–67, the new shelf number of SI P 139/д (= SI 3668) is wrongly given as SI 3669 by mistake. We apologize to all the readers for our error.

Sergei Burmistrov

The Concept of Dravya in Yogācāra and Vaiśeṣika: a Comparative Philosophical Analysis

Abstract: The concept of *dravya* is used both in Buddhism and Brāhmaṇical systems of philosophy, but its meanings there are quite different. According to Vaiśeṣika as one of the Brāhmaṇical systems *dravya* is a real substance independent of any knowing subject and reality is constituted by relations between substances. In Yogācāra Buddhism, on the opposite, substances are regarded as mere designations existing only in dependence of a knowing subject. Any entity may be treated as a substance or a mere conceptualization depending on a concrete situation with the perspective of *nirvāṇa*.

Key words: the concept of substance, Abhidharma, Asaṅga, Praśastapāda.

The concept of *dravya* is often referred to in philosophical and religious texts of such a different intellectual traditions of India as the Brāhmaṇical systems of Vedānta, Sāṃkhya and especially Vaiśeṣika on the one hand and Buddhism or Jainism on the other. But the exact meaning of the term *dravya*, usually translated as “substance”, is a subject of considerable discussions concerning its genesis, connotations and transformations in the run of the history of a system. Even the translation of *dravya* as “substance” is quite arguable, for substance *e definitione* means some entity immutable in itself, whereas *dravya* is not necessarily characterized by immutability.

We will not try to cover the whole scope of problems associated with the interpretation of this term in Indian philosophy, as well as the whole scope of philosophical systems of ancient and medieval India in this brief paper, and restrict the subject of our study to only two systems, namely Vaiśeṣika and Yogācāra Buddhism as presented in Praśastapāda’s “Compendium of the characteristics of categories” (*Padārtha-dharma-saṃgraha*) with Śrīdhara’s commentary “Blooming tree of the method” (*Nyāya-kandālī*), and the

“Compendium of Abhidharma” (*Abhidharma-samuccaya*) by Asaṅga respectively. These schools and texts were chosen mainly because of the significance of Praśastapāda’s work in the history of philosophy in India, for it is in Vaiśeṣika that the notion of *dravya* is used as a basic term of the system. Asaṅga (and, wider, Yogācāra as a system) presents, as is usually (and not correctly) considered, strictly idealistic philosophy with the concept of *viññāna* (consciousness) as a fundamental principle explaining the existence of both mind and “material” world — or, more exactly, mind enlightened and free from affects (Skt. *kleśa*, Pāli *kilesa*) and the notion of eternal and changeless soul or “I”, and mind unenlightened, affected by *kleśas* and addicted to the idea of “I” that forms the basis of *saṃsāra*. The concept of substance (*dravya*) in this context is peculiarly interesting in that it can highlight a characteristic feature of Buddhist philosophical thought that can be called the substantiality of mind. This means that Buddhists, despite of their commonly accepted pluralism or even “psychological atomism” with the idea of multiple *dharma*s that the whole reality is composed of, did not consider these as *material* entities as e.g. Jainas did, but rather as facts of mind, for even the material world (in common-sense meaning of the word) was thought of as a result of *karmic* activities of a sentient being that suffers from (or enjoys) consequences of his former deeds. This can be seen even in *nidānas* of *pratītya-samutpāda* where consciousness (Skt. *viññāna*) goes before the material form (Skt. *nāmarūpa*) of a being.

Before proceeding to the investigation into the meaning of the term *dravya* in philosophical texts it would be useful to explicate briefly how this term is used in Indian epics. In *Mahābhārata* it denotes almost solely some material substance like something that can be offered in a sacrifice or used in a daily human activities. Thus in *Bhīṣmaparvan* we read: “Some offer a material substance in a sacrifice, some a religious ardour, some yoga” (*dravyayajñās tapoyajñā yogayajñās tathāpare*).¹ But “sacrifice by the absolute knowledge is better than a sacrifice with material substances” (*śreyān dravyamayād yajñāj jñānayajñāḥ paramtapa*).² In *Droṇaparvan* Bhīṣma orders to bring him his chariot horsed with the best horses and ornamented with pearls that shine like the sun and the moon and furnished with all the accessories (*dravya*) necessary for battle (*ratnaiś citraṃ candrasūryaprakaśaiḥ dravyair yuktaṃ samprahāropapannair*; Droṇaparvan, 2, verse 27).³ Further, in chap-

¹ Bhīṣmaparvan 26, verse 28.

² Bhīṣmaparvan 26, verse 33.

³ Droṇaparvan 1958, 16.

ter 119, Sañjaya tells about the tribe of Vṛṣṇi saying that they are righteous and do not encroach on the properties (*dravya*) of brāhmaṇas, teachers and relatives (*brahmadravye gurudravye jñātidravye 'py ahiṃsakāḥ*; Droṇaparvan, 119, verse 24).⁴ Describing Dārūna's chariot he tells that it was supplied with all the accessories (*dravya*) of king's chariot. In *Śalyaparvan* (35, verse 2) Halāyudha, having arrived to Udaṇā, distributes a lot of riches (*dravya*) among people there.⁵ The same usage is common in other parts of the epic as well, so it is clear enough from the above that in epic Sanskrit texts *dravya* denoted something commonly material — property, wealth, accessories for some activity (ritual, martial etc.) or, putting it simple, something that can be taken by hand or possessed by somebody.

Turning now to philosophical traditions of ancient India, we see that the term takes there a more abstract meaning that comprises now not only strictly material things but also such notions as time, space, ātman etc. In Jaina texts, for example, this term is referred to in different contexts that demonstrate that *dravya* in Jaina philosophy can not be interpreted as “substance” exactly, for substance in modern European philosophy means a *reale* that is not subject to any changes induced by external causes, while in Jainism change is not only possible for *dravya* but, what is more, in some cases is necessarily a subject to principal modifications caused from without. The scope of meanings of the concept embraces not only substance as an eternal basis of all the objects in the world, not created by a god or some other supernatural power, but includes also a substratum for attributes (*guṇa*) and moduses (*pariyāyā*), and, moreover, a concrete thing an empirical object of this phenomenal world, so that it can be a synonym to *artha* and *viśaya*.⁶ Thus, according to Umāsvāti's *Tattvārtha-adhigama-sūtra* the list of *dravyas* includes condition for movement, condition for rest, space, matter and souls (TS 5.1–3: *ajīvakāyā dharmādharmākāśa pudgalaḥ, dravyāṇi; jīvāśca*), all these being eternal, immutable in itself and formless (except matter): *nityāvasthī tānyarūpāni; rūpiṇaḥ pudgalaḥ* (TS 5.4–5).⁷ At first sight this contradicts to our thesis that *dravya* in Jaina philosophy is subject to changes, but this contradiction is only seeming, for in fact two of these substances, namely matter (*pudgala*) and soul (*jīva*) are active and not unitary (TS 5.6–7: *ā ākāśādekadravyāṇi niṣkriyāṇi ca*).⁸ This means that these can undergo

⁴ Droṇaparvan 1958, 668.

⁵ Śalyaparvan 1961, 261.

⁶ ZHELEZNOVA 2012, 403.

⁷ Ibidem, 132–133.

⁸ Ibidem.

changes, for it is these that produce movement and karmic matter. In Pūjyapāda's *Sarvārthasiddhi* (a latter commentary on TS) we read that "substance is that which undergo (*dravyante*) modifications (*paryaya*)", and in TS itself: "substance [is that which has] attributes and modi" (TS 5.38: *guṇaparyayavadravayam*).⁹

Later Jaina authors draw a picture that could seem different from the basic views of the classical Jaina philosophy but in fact is nothing more than a result of evolution of cardinal ideas of the system. Kundakunda, a 3rd–4th cc. Jaina thinker, in his *Samayasāra* considers the problem of interaction between two *dravyas*, soul and karmic matter.¹⁰ But before we proceed to explicate Kundakunda's conception of interaction between these *dravyas*, it will be useful to make some notions concerning the term "substance" as it is understood in modern European philosophy. First of all, substance, as noted above, is immutable in itself, otherwise it would change its nature and could not be substance at all. Changes can only affect its attributes, as we can see, for instance, in the philosophical systems of Descartes and Spinoza. But the second characteristic feature of the concept following from the first one is that substances cannot interact, for any interaction would affect a substance and cause it to change its essence. This problem was topical for Descartes who invented the "theory of two clocks" to explain away the difficulty consisted in the fact that the two Cartesian substances (*res cogitans* and *res extensa*) are so exactly harmonized with each other that any event in the first one seems to be the cause for some event in the second one. Of course, if they would interact they would affect or condition each other and would not be two different entities but rather a unitary, single substance having matter and thought as its two attributes. This last way was followed by Spinoza who postulated the existence of only one absolute Substance equal to God with infinite number of attributes among which only matter and thought are cognizable for human mind. This solution removed the difficulty of harmonizing two (or more) independent substances with their activities caused solely by internal processes of a substance. Cartesian substances are, so to say, two causally disjoint spaces, each with its own causality determining processes only in itself, while in Spinoza's system we see only one causal space, so that one attribute can directly affect another one.

Returning to Jaina philosophy, we see that above considerations are only restrictedly applicable to the Jaina concept of *dravya*. In *Samayasāra*

⁹ Ibidem, 141.

¹⁰ Ibidem, 195–196.

Kundakunda presents two different solutions for the problem of interaction of two *dravyas* (soul and matter). The first one consists in that the afflux of karmic matter causes ignorance that produces worldly states of consciousness and these, in their turn, provoke a new afflux of karmic matter *ad infinitum*.¹¹ According to the second one, soul is never involved in the process of rebirth so the last appears to be illusory; in this theory *samsāra* is an illusion like in Advaita Vedānta.¹² This peculiar theory may be the result of influence of some Brāhmaṇical systems of thought. It was hardly Vedānta that influenced the Jaina philosophy so much, for in the times of Kundakunda Vedānta made just first steps as a philosophical system in the strict sense of the word: Bādarāyaṇa's works, as is well known, were written as late as in 1st–2nd cc. A.D. Yet some influence of a system or, more exactly, a trend of thought that had not yet been expressed in philosophical treatises or *sūtras* and was passed only orally, cannot be excluded.

Some terms can be understood better when explained from the point of their etymology, and *dravya* is not an exclusion. Etymologically *dravya* is a derivative from the word *dru* that may mean “wood or any wooden implement; a tree or branch” and in the same time “running, going, motion”. As a verb it means “to run, hasten, flee; to run up to, attack, assault; to become fluid, dissolve, melt” or “to hurt, injure, repent”.¹³ So its etymology itself is in a sense dual, for the word may mean both a hard and stable thing and a fluid, a torrent, a run of a water stream. As a noun *dravya* means not only philosophical substance but also a thing, an object, the ingredients or materials of something, individual, object of possession, wealth, goods, money.¹⁴ So the term cannot be considered as an exact equivalent to the term *substantia* used in the Western philosophy. This is apparent even from the analysis of the usage of the term in the Jaina philosophy. This term, generally speaking, designates some entity that may change *in itself* but cannot change into *something other*, being always of the same nature. So the problem remains as to how one substance can bring any effect to another.

This notion is widely used not only in Jainism. We see it, for instance, in some Śaiva scriptures where it means a matter quite similar to that used in Jaina texts. In some Śaiva sects the idea of an innate impurity (*mala*) is accepted. This impurity, treated as a matter substance, produces ignorance dividing soul from God and making the soul turn in the wheel of death and

¹¹ Ibidem, 195.

¹² Ibidem, 196.

¹³ MONIER-WILLIAMS 1899, 502.

¹⁴ Ibidem, 501.

rebirth. Ignorance, being the effect of a material substance, can be removed solely by action (*vyāpāra*), but the only action capable of removing *mala* is initiation ritual followed by rituals prescribed in the Śaiva scriptures.¹⁵ Turning back to the Jaina philosophy we see that there is an opposition of “substance” (*dravya*) and modification (*paryaya*) consisting in that “*paryaya* is what is called process, the becoming, the fleeting or the ever-changing phases of reality, while *dravya* is the thing or the being, the reality which is in the process of fleeting. And the two, the Jainas argue are inextricably mixed together, such that it does not make any sense to describe something as exclusively ‘permanent’, a *dravya*, without necessarily implying the presence of the opposite, the process, the fleetingness, the impermanence, the *paryaya*”.¹⁶ So, applying this to above-mentioned systems of Śaivism, we can say that defiling matter that, according to this philosophy, forms a *karma* for each sentient being cannot change its nature essentially and all the transformations possible for this substance are just the modifications on external level but not alterations in its essence. Changes can touch, so to say, only the appearance of an essence but not the essence itself.

Other Śaivite sects, such as Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas, are reported to use substances (*dravya*) for attaining liberation, these substances being not just material in abstract sense — *pañcamakāra* or meat (*māmsa*), wine (*madhu*), fish (*matsya*), grain (*mudrā*) and sexual intercourse (*maithuna*). Adepts of these sects tried to achieve the highest goal of these religious practices by eating meat and drinking wine, for, according to Kāpālika doctrine, absolute knowledge (*bodha*) of Śiva and communion with him are produced by consumption of these substances.¹⁷ Lorenzen observes that “In Tantric practices the partaking of wine and meat has both a hedonistic and eucharistic aspect but is in no way connected with materialism. Hedonistically, the first four of the five Ma-sounds — wine, meat, fish, and grain (*mudrā*) — are regarded as aphrodisiacs (*uttejaka*) preparatives for final *maithuna* or sexual union between the initiated adept and his female partner. [...] The eucharistic significance of the four preliminary ingredients is variously explained in tantric sources.¹⁸ Wine may be treated as Śakti, the meat as Śiva, and the enjoyer as Bhairava himself, as is explained in Kulārṇava-tantra¹⁹, and bliss sprung in the sexual union between the adept

¹⁵ ACHARYA 2014, 10. SANDERSON 1992, 285.

¹⁶ MATILAL 1998, 130.

¹⁷ LORENZEN 1991, 89.

¹⁸ Ibidem 89.

¹⁹ Ibidem 79–80.

(representing Bhairava) and his female partner (representing Śakti) is *mokṣa*. It should be noted, however, that not all these Śaivite substances were material in the most narrow sense, as a matter, a liquid or something edible or tangible in any way, and sexual communion, though material, was nevertheless not substance in European sense of the word, but rather action.

* * *

Vaiśeṣika was one of the most elaborated philosophical systems of India and had many texts that explicated its basic notions. One of the most fundamental texts of the system is Praśastapāda's *Padārtha-dharma-saṃgraha* ("Compendium of the Characteristics of Categories") with Śrīdhāra's commentary *Nyāya-kandalī* ("A Flowered Tree of Method"). *Dravya* in Vaiśeṣika is one of the six basic categories (*padārtha*) summarized by Praśastapāda, the other categories being quality (*guṇa*), motion (*karma*), the general (*sāmānya*), the particular (*viśeṣa*) and inherence (*samavāya*) (PDS 2).²⁰ Their knowledge is considered to be the way to final beatitude as the ultimate goal of all the religious practices of Hinduism (*dravyaguṇasāmānyaviśeṣasamavāyānām śaṅṅaṃ padārthānām sādharṃyavaidharṃyatattvajñānaṃ niḥśreyasahetuḥ*). However, this goal is common for most Indian philosophical treatises, though it is not necessarily called *niḥśreyasa*: e.g., it is *mokṣa* in Vedānta, *nirvāṇa* or *bodhi* in Buddhism. The knowledge of the absolute truth is referred to as the way to final liberation and the ultimate goal of all religious practices, and this implies that the highest goal has an epistemological character as well as emotional or existential one.

Praśastapāda, enumerating the categories of the system, mentions *dravya* first, and Śrīdhāra explains this referring to *dravya* as the basis or the substratum of all other categories.²¹ These Vaiśeṣika authors adhere to the idea of strict difference between substance and its qualities. Unlike Buddhists, Vaiśeṣikas suppose that there is no quality without substratum and there is no substratum that had no qualities, though these may not be always cognizable for the mind that is unenlightened in the specific Brāhmaṇic sense. So *dravya* means here a *reale* that can have a quality or qualities, be in a relation to other *dravyas* (to be the same as some other *dravya*, to be of a common nature with it or to differ from it, to be inherent to something other, to move relative to something other, take a place relative to something other). Hence *dravya* is characterized here by 1) its qualities

²⁰ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 6. See also: PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 31.

²¹ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 6–7. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 31–32.

and 2) its relations, and the essence of any concrete *dravya* is manifested in its characteristics and modes of movement.

In PDS Praśastapāda enumerates the following substances: earth, water, fire, wind, *ākāśa*, time, direction, *ātman*, internal organ (*tatra dravyāṇi pṛthivaptejovāyavākāśakāladigātmamanāṃsi*),²² every substance being characterized by its specific qualities inherent only to one *dravya* or to several *dravyas*. For instance, the substance of earth has the characteristics of color, taste, odor, temperature, number, size, separateness, conjunction, disjunction, remoteness, nearness, heaviness, fluidity and elasticity (PDS 1.1: *rūparasa-gandhasparśasaṃkhyāparimāṇapṛthaktvasaṃyogavibhāgaparatvāparatva-gurutvadratvasaṃskāra*).²³ Some of these characteristics are common for earth and other substances, some are peculiar only for this substance, so we see here all the Vaiśeṣika categories: some *guṇas* are characterized by *sāmānya*, being common for more than one *dravya*, and some other are characterized by *viśeṣa* being unique for one *dravya* only. This treatise evidently demonstrates the dualistic metaphysics of Vaiśeṣika: the basis of the world in this system is the set of *dravyas* and they stand in some relations to each other, have qualities and perform some activity, so the universe in this philosophy is presented as a set of substances and relations between them. This is well-known “atomism” of Vaiśeṣika that became a peculiar feature of the system.

One of the most obvious traits of all these notions is that all their qualities, motion and relations are objects of human knowledge. In other words, a *dravya* is an entity that can be perceived immediately, if it is a material substance, or can be known by the mind, as concerns such substances as *ākāśa*, *manas* or *ātman*, holding in mind that *ākāśa* is not a physical space but rather an epistemological horizon or the sphere of objects available to our knowledge. First of all it can be seen here that Vaiśeṣika universe itself is a set of entities constituted by relations between them. *Ātman* is a knowing subject given a set of objects that are to be known, but both these objects and this subject are substances (*dravya*) and the relation between them, that appears in an epistemological act, can be considered a root from which all phenomenal universe comes forth.

Here two levels of reality must be carefully discerned. The first one is the level of simple factual existence of these substances or things constituted by them. The existence of these things does not depend upon the fact of their

²² PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 8. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 33–34.

²³ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 27. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 58–59.

being known and even upon the existence of a knowing subject. In other words, earth, water and other substances were all the same even if *ātman* would be excluded from Praśastapāda's list of *dravyas*. And it should be noted incidentally that the real subject of knowledge according both Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya and Vedānta is *ātman*, while *manas* (in Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya) or *antaḥkāraṇa* (an internal organ in Vedānta) is nothing more than an instrument bringing the knowledge to *ātman*. In the scheme with *ātman* excluded we would have a situation where there were minds that collect and process information, but there were no consciousnesses that use the information collected by minds and make decisions on the goals to be sought. Similarly, *ākāśa* would exist in such a world only virtually for there were no subject who can have an epistemological horizon actually.

The second level is the level of the existence of these entities as these *are known* by a subject. All the substances in this scheme can be known solely by their qualities and motion, and even motion is in fact a change in relations between a material thing (an integral set of atoms) and different points of space, through which the thing moves. An entity in itself is not accessible for the unenlightened mind, i.e. the mind that has not yet achieved *niḥśreyasa* or the highest religious goal of the system. The mind of a common person can know an essence only through its manifestations in qualities and motion, i.e. indirectly, so the *dravya* as it is remains hidden from us.

Here the question arises as to whether a *dravya* really exists and is not a mental construction produced by tendency of human mind to see something constant behind the ever-changing flux of events and qualities even if there are really no constant thing equal to itself. But Vaiśeṣikas' reply is that this constant entities are postulated in *mūla-śāstra* of the system, the *Vaiśeṣika-sūtras*.

But if we examine closely the list of substances in Vaiśeṣika we can see that not all of the items in the list denote strictly material substances epistemologically open to objective knowledge by external means of sense organs. In fact, only earth, water, fire and wind are the elements the knowledge of which is given by external organs. *Ākāśa* is a medium in which sound propagates, so, unlike the first four substances that are visible and tangible, *ākāśa* is devoid of such qualities and it is this feature that makes this *dravya* peculiar in the list of Vaiśeṣika substances. Being the medium for sound (PDS 1.5) *ākāśa* is unitary and indivisible, i.e. it does not have parts unlike all tangible entities.²⁴ The characteristic feature of tangible substances according to *Vaiśeṣika-sūtras* and commentaries on it is that

²⁴ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 58. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 96.

qualities inherent to them can produce results different from their causes. Praśastapāda enumerates the characteristic qualities of *ākāśa* as sound (for this substance is the only sound carrier), number, size, separateness, conjunction and disjunction (PDS 1.5: *śabdasaṃkhyāparimāṇaprathaktva-saṃyogavibhāga*).

Time is treated in PDS as substance, though it is obviously not material. But time is perceived through its qualities. Time is defined in PDS as that that can be thought of in such notions as “earlier–later”, “simultaneously–not simultaneously”, “fast–long” etc., that are its conditioning signs (*pratya-yaliṅga*; PDS 1.6).²⁵ These notions are, according to Praśastapāda and Śrīdhāra, characteristic effects of the substance of time, for no other substance can be instrumental cause for them. Perception of time is due to difference of causes of other sensual perceptions. For example, when two different objects are perceived in one cognitive act, difference between them are cognized not only by their qualities but also by the temporal difference that separates even the objects that are absolutely the same in all other respects. So if epistemological horizon (*ākāśa*) as substance is a space where all possible objects of perception are placed being clearly discerned from each other, time as *dravya* is the aspect due to which the discernment of equal things in the same place in *ākāśa* is possible. Or, to make it simpler, time is the substance, relating to which all other substances are defined as changing or immutable, or moving or resting etc.

It is also necessary to distinguish clearly the substances of epistemological horizon (and the carrier of the quality of sound) and of direction (*diś*) in physical space. From the first sight they may seem to be not exactly different, but if we examine accurately their qualities it will be obvious that the distinction between them is essential in the respect that *ākāśa* is the space where *objects* (not things) are placed and recognized as existing and having their characteristic qualities, while *diś* or direction is the space where *material things* (being not necessarily objects) move relative to one another and can be perceived by sense organs.

Describing the substance of physical space or direction, Praśastapāda says that “direction is that from which ten ideas arise: east, south-east, south, south-west, west, north-west, north, north-east, below and above in relation to material substances, when some [other] material substance is taken as a reference point” (PDS 1.7: *mūrtadravyaṃavadhiṃ kṛtvā mūrteṣveva dravyeṣvetasmādidam pūrveṇa dakṣiṇeṇa paścimenottareṇa pūrvadakṣiṇeṇa*

²⁵ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 63. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 104.

dakṣiṇāpareṇa aparottareṇa uttarapūrveṇa cādhastādupariṣṭācceti daśa pratyayā yato bhavanti sā digiti).²⁶ Keyword in this passage is *avadhi* “a term, limit; conclusion, termination” that can be translated here as “reference point”. One substance or, more exactly, a material thing taken as a “zero point”, becomes a basis of reference to any other material thing or group of things, which are allocated now in a coordinate scale generated by that basic thing. Direction as substance and size as quality are associated with each other, for, according to Śrīdhāra’s commentary, immaterial object has neither the quality of size nor a limit or border and, since its size is limitless, such notions as east, west etc. are not applicable to it. This being so, *ākāśa*, *ātman* and *manas* as immaterial *dravyas* cannot be described in terms of direction and therefore have no place in physical space. At the same time, direction is described in terms of number (*gaṇa*), size (*parimāṇa*), separateness (*prthaktva*), conjunction (*saṃyoga*) and disjunction (*vibhāga*), and these are the qualities characteristic for *ākāśa* also. Assaying the so-called immaterial substances as described in PDS we may sum up their descriptions taking into consideration the qualities distinctive for them. So, *gaṇa* (number) marks such immaterial substances as *ākāśa*, *diś*, *ātman*, *manas* and time (*kāla*). Number is discerned in sensual objects allocated in cognitive horizon, material things (*vastu*) placed in physical space; both material things and objects of cognition are determined in relation to time. Finally, there are many souls (*jīva*) each having *ātman* (actual subject of cognition) and *manas* (basic instrument for cognition), so they too are defined as having number. *Parimāṇa* (size), like *gaṇa*, characterizes *ākāśa*, *diś*, *ātman*, *manas* and *kāla*, and while the application of this quality to *ākāśa*, time and direction is quite understandable, it may rouse a question as to how can *parimāṇa* be defined in such immaterial things as *ātman* and *manas*? The application of the idea of size to *ātman* is explained by Śrīdhāra with the support on *Vaiśeṣika-sūtras*. When Kaṇāda says that *ākāśa* has infinitely large size, he adds “like *ātman*”. This entails that, first, *ātman* has a size and, second, its size is as infinite as *ākāśa*, so the idea of size is explained as relevant to *ātman*. The application of this idea to *manas* is obvious from PDS 1.9, for Praśastapāda openly says that *manas* has a material form since it is active (*kriyāvattvān mūrtatvam*).²⁷

Next, *prthaktva* characterizes also *ākāśa*, *diś*, *ātman*, *manas* and *kāla*, as postulated in PDS 2.7, where we read that separateness is the cause

²⁶ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 66. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 110.

²⁷ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 89. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 134.

of the practice of dividing (*prthaktvam apoddhāavyavahārahārāṇam*).²⁸ Śrīdhāra comments this passage saying that the practice of dividing (*apoddhāavyavahāra*) is such a thought as “this is different from that”.²⁹ This quality is definable on all these substances just because every substance differs from any other one and objects of the sphere of some single substance differ from one another both qualitatively and numerically.

Then, conjunction (*saṃyoga*) is described as joining together of previously disjoint things (PDS 2.8: *aprāptayoḥ prāptiḥ saṃyogaḥ*),³⁰ called forth by motion of one or both these things or by another conjunction, so this quality is defined on any pair of substances and on any pair of different items in the scope of a single substance. The opposite to this is *vibhāga* involving two substances or items of a substance. Conjunction is treated in PDS as the instrumental cause of the quality of being conjunct and is the reason (*hetu*) of substance, quality and motion as categories (PDS 2.8: *saṃyogaḥ saṃyuktapratyayanimitam, sa ca dravyaguṇakarmahetuḥ*).³¹ But since *ātman* and *manas* are characterized by these qualities, these *dravyas* are in the scope of motion and action as well as common material substances. This can be explained by the fact that every epistemological act presupposes a contact of sense organs (*indriya*) with a thing known and disjunction puts an end to this concrete epistemological act.

As Victoria Lyssenko reasonably observes, conjunction and disjunction are universal qualities inherent in any substance, so this can be specified only using the idea of putting something together or apart, and it follows that the qualities of conjunction and disjunction are fundamentally associated with the quality of motion or, better to say, motion itself manifests as disjoining or conjoining of an object with different points of space.³² And it may be added here that the relation of conjunction and disjunction appears, as has been noted above, between sense organ and its object as well and between the data of a sense organ and *manas*.

So, what is *dravya* according to Vaiśeṣika philosophy? Taking into consideration all that is said above, we may conclude that *dravya* is not necessarily matter, though every matter is a kind of *dravya*. But the categorization of anything as *dravya* presupposes that this item can have (and, in fact, actually *has*) a quality or qualities that can be recognized as

²⁸ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 138. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 191.

²⁹ PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 191.

³⁰ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 139. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 194.

³¹ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 139. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 193.

³² LYSENKO 1986, 61.

such by the human mind and discerned from similar qualities. Moreover, the fact that a quality is discerned may mean in some cases the discrimination between grades of the quality, when a person feel the difference, e.g., between warm and cold water. *Dravya* exists even without being known or discriminated from other *dravyas* or even from qualities or motions etc., and it does not depend on a knowing subject. Qualities are nothing more (and nothing less, of course) than external manifestations of *dravya* — but manifestations that show its material essence that is not necessarily recognized by a subject but necessarily determines its action and modes of its recognition.

Some *dravyas* may be divided into parts (we mean, of course, only material substances in the narrowest sense—earth, water, wind and fire), but is it true that all other *dravyas-ātman*, *manas*, *ākāśa*, *diś*, *kāla* — are indivisible? According to PDS 1.9, *manas* is unique in any body,³³ so it may be concluded that in different bodies there are different *manases*, so, taking into account the atomistic nature of matter in Vaiśeṣika, we may infer by analogy that *manas* is as much atomistic as any material substance. The main (and, possibly, the only) difference is that a person has many atoms of a material substance in his body but the atom of *manas* in him is always only one. The same is true, of course, concerning *ātman*. Atoms (*paramāṇu*) are minimal parts of a substance, i.e. parts that cannot be divided into smaller components and therefore have no internal structure. As any item of earth, water etc. is unitary but has the same qualities as any other atom of this substance, so any *ātman* has the same basic qualities as any other *ātman* and these are indiscernible relative to these fundamental qualities manifesting its essence. Since Vaiśeṣika postulates the multiplicity of souls, every of which has its own *ātman*, it follows that there are many *ātman*s, unlike, for example, Vedānta where *Ātman* is one, unique and universal being, whereas everything that a common person regards as real is in fact a manifestation of *māyā* — the creative power of *Ātman*. We see therefore that a peculiar Vaiśeṣika atomistic worldview extends not only to material substances but also to that which can be denominated mental. From this point of view every *ātman* is an atom of that what can be called *ātmanic* substance similar to any substance in the Vaiśeṣika universe. The same is true concerning *manas* without which no knowledge would be possible and *ātman* and so-called material world would be totally disjoined.

But atomism, in spite of commonly accepted opinion, is not so much universal in this system, for in PDS Praśastapāda openly declares that such

³³ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 89. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 134.

dravyas as *ākāśa*, direction and time are unitary, i.e. there are no “atoms” of these substances. These terms, according to PDS 1.5, are conventional (*pāribhāṣikī*), and Śrīdhāra explains that these names are called *pāribhāṣikī* for the convention of using them is accepted without factual reason (the same is the case of proper names) while all other names are called determined (*naimittika*) for their use is accepted by a definite reason (*nimitta-karaṇa*).³⁴

Thus, *dravya* is understood in Vaiśeṣika as a basis for qualities, some *dravyas* being atomistic i.e. divided into minute parts that cannot be divided further, and some *dravyas* like time, direction and epistemological horizon being indivisible. Irrespective of their atomistic or holistic nature every substance not only has qualities but also manifests itself through them. The category of motion (*karman*) cannot be applied to immaterial substances for they are all-pervasive (*ākāśa*, *kāla*), have no place different from themselves (*diś*) or subtle (*ātman*).

* * *

The word *dravya* seldom occurs in Aśaṅga’s “Abhidharma-samuccaya”. The first place where it is found is the part where Aśaṅga discusses the aspects of groups (*skandha*), elements (*dhātu*) and bases of consciousness (*āyatana*). These aspects are substances (*dravya*), knowable objects (*jñeya*), forms (*rūpāṇi*), afflux of affects (*āsrava*), the appeared (*utpanna*), the past (*atīta*), conditions (*pratyaya*), the being or the way of being (*katham*, lit. “how” or “what”), quantity (*kati*, lit. “how many”) and goal (*kimartham*, lit. “for what aim”).³⁵ So, unlike Vaiśeṣika authors, Aśaṅga treats this term not as a category or the most general philosophical notion but as an aspect of three basic categories of Yogācāra philosophy. The level of generalization on which the notion of *dravya* functions is therefore much lower than in Vaiśeṣika. But the treatment of the term in “Abhidharma-samuccaya” is quite interesting: *dravya* is described here as that what exists independently from words and propositions: “Substantial is [that part] of the sphere of sense organs, [that] does not depend on words [that describe or name it] and on anything [that is] different from it” (*abhilāpanirapekṣastadanyanirapekṣaścendriyagocarō dravyamat*).³⁶

³⁴ PRAŚASTAPĀDA and ŚRĪDHĀRA 1895, 58–59. PRAŚASTAPĀDA 2005, 95–97.

³⁵ ASANGA 1950, 16.

³⁶ Ibidem.

Asaṅga talks not about *dravya* or substance but about *dravyamat* or substantial. This moment is noteworthy in the respect that Asaṅga expresses here principal position of Buddhism, fixed in the term *anātman*. There are no *dharmas* that would have an essence independent from any knowledge or any subject of this knowledge. There is no eternal soul or subject that could die or evade death, since a person is a conglomeration of momentary elements (*dharma*) and the notion of “I” is nothing more than a mental construction. It can be assumed that *dravya* for a Buddhist mind would sound too “substantial”, implying an essence other than *dharmas* and capable of being a support for them, what would fundamentally differ from basic Buddhist dogmas. So there is, in fact, no *dravyas* but just *dravyamat*, substantial in the sense of being independent of any concrete person’s words or thoughts or of anything that is not this very thing or type of things. Substantial does not mean immutable or existent in itself or because of itself, and this is obvious from the word *indriyagocara* “the sphere of sense organs”.

What indeed does it mean? In ASBh we read that this independence from words and verbal expressions in the sphere of sense organs means that any form or feeling or anything else that pertains to five groups (*skandha*) of *dharmas* is perceived and known in its specific being irrespective to the variety of names that can be given to this form or feeling etc. (*abhilāpanirapekṣa indriyagocarastadyathā rūpaṃ vedanetyevamādikaṃ nāmnācitrāyitvā yasyārthasya grahaṇaṃ bhavati*)³⁷. In fact, it is not correct to say that nothing can be asserted about these things. They can have names, we may express propositions about them, be these true or false, but these things depend only on themselves and any assertions on them do not change their nature.

The discussion here is about two fundamental types of *dharmas* — *dravyamat* and *prajñaptimat*, the difference between them being that the first one does not depend on words while the second one does, for *prajñaptimat* is just a mere designation. But then Asaṅga says that all *skandhas*, *dhātus* and *āyatanas* are *prajñaptimat* and are to be studied for overcoming the affective attachment to the notion of “I” as a designation. Thus the whole reality is in the same time substantial and designational. How can these assertions be reconciled with each other? Unfortunately, Sthiramati does not explain this passage, telling only about specifics of substantiality, so we can only make some assumptions corroborated more or less by the Buddhist texts. As Prof. E.P. Ostrovskaya and V.I. Rudoi remark, a *dharma*, being

³⁷ STHIRAMATI 1976, 20.

as elementary and momentary state is substantial, but when it is regarded as an element of the description of the stream of consciousness it is defined as *prajñaptimat* or mere name.

We see here the first difference between Vaiśeṣika and Yogācāra in relation to the treatment of the notion of substance. Vaiśeṣika regards substances as a set of the most general classes of objects that have qualities and do not depend on each other, though may (and *do*) interact, for the world itself is the combination of substances, each of which is necessary and cannot be withdrawn without destruction of the world. In Yogācāra, on the other hand, *dravya* is just that that exists independently of words and other substances — the moment not so important in Vaiśeṣika. Moreover, this notion in Yogācāra depends upon the point of view, for every *skandha* etc. may be treated as *dravyamat* (substantial) or *prajñaptimat* (conventional). So there is no essential difference between *dravya* and *prajñapti*, for this distinction is drawn depending on purposes of investigation into the nature of consciousness according to the principles of Yogācāra. This difference is, so to say, subject-depending (but it should be remembered that there is no *real* subject in Buddhism — but only conglomerations of momentary states of consciousness).

The second distinctive point concerns the place of the notion of *dravya* among (and in relation to) other categories of the systems regarded. In Vaiśeṣika, as was shown above, substance is an entity that has qualities and performs action, thus manifesting itself. There is no substance without qualities and motion, though these may sometimes be concealed from human knowledge, and they may be in relation to each other, what becomes apparent in categories of generality (*sāmānya*), specificity (*viśeṣa*) and inherence (*samāvaya*). Thus the basic category here is *dravya*. In Yogācāra the situation is quite different. Substantial is, first of all, a position of a subject and in fact no *dharma* can be regarded as essentially substantial and essentially conventional. So the peculiarity of Yogācāra thought consists here in quite a specific conceptual grid through which the world is understood in this system. Vaiśeṣika discerns the term *dravya* from *guṇa*, *karman* etc., while in Yogācāra *dravya* lies in a row with the ideas of conventional relativity (*saṃvṛtti*), absoluteness (*paramārtha*), materiality (*rūpi*) or immateriality (*arūpi*), visibility (*sanidarśana*) or invisibility (*anidarśana*), and the substantial is discerned here only from the conventional.³⁸ The other distinctions intersect with the distinction of

³⁸ ASANGA 1950, 31.

dravya/prajñapti, so a *dharma* may be both substantial and material or both substantial and invisible etc.

Other important Yogācāra text where *dravya* is met with is Vasubandhu's "Karma-siddhi-prakaraṇa". In the first part of the work the author discusses the problem of sense perception and atomistic theory. According to that theory reality consists of minute and subtle particles (*paramāṇu*) that cannot be perceived and their existence can be only inferred. Vasubandhu discusses here some erroneous (from the Yogācāra point of view) doctrines in Buddhism, such as Sarvāstivāda, Vātsīpūtrīya, Saṃmitiya etc., showing that these do not conform exactly to the basic principles of the teaching of the Buddha. In KSP *dravya* is translated usually as "entity",³⁹ though the meaning of the term is more complicated than it may seem from the first sight. First of all, Vasubandhu raises the question as to whether "configuration" (*saṃsthāna*) is a special kind of atom, as a special aggregate of atoms are or some other single entity (*dravya*) pervading the aggregates.⁴⁰ The core of the problem is the nature of manifest action of the body (*kāyavijñapti*): Vasubandhu's opponent assumes that *kāyavijñapti* is a "configuration which has arisen from a *citta* which has an object of consciousness referring to it".⁴¹ The importance of the question under discussion consists in that every conscious action creates karmic "fruit" that determines future destiny of the sentient being and some actions lead to further bondage in *saṃsāra* while other may help this being in attaining final liberation (*nirvāṇa*). Thus the topic under discussion is the idea of "manifest action" (*vijñapti*) pertaining to a person and creating *karma*. Commenting this passage, Stephen Anacker notes that Vaibhāṣika has exact criteria for designating something *dravya* or real entity:

(1) its characteristics must be distinguished as special by at least one consciousness (*Kośa* I, ad 10d) (a characteristic of this sort is called a "*svalakṣaṇa*", "own-characteristic");

(2) it must not be susceptible to further division (Ibid., and *Kośa* VI, 4). True entities would thus to the Vaibhāṣika be only the moment-atoms of materiality and the momentary flashes of feelings, motivating dispositions, cognitions, and consciousness-perceptions. A body, a flame, and, for that matter, a consciousness-series, can thus not really be considered a *dravya*...

³⁹ ANACKER 1970, 101, 112, 135 etc.

⁴⁰ Ibidem 101.

⁴¹ Ibidem 99.

A *dravya* has a specific manner of being, or nature (its “own-being”, *svabhāvā*) which is apprehended by one or another of the consciousnesses, or a combination of several, as an “own-characteristic”. A change in characteristics is always a change in things: there are in fact no underlying entities which *have* characteristics — there is only whatever is presented to the consciousnesses themselves.⁴²

Asaṅga’s position, as can be seen, is quite different from that of Vaibhāṣikas concerning the problem of the meaning of the term. In Vaibhāṣika philosophy it was elementary and indivisible entity, constant in its essence, so it could exist only on the level of relative reality — the phenomenal world where everything changes and where one can speak about a “soul” that can “die” with the bodily death or “survive” it. In fact there can be no *dravyas* in such a philosophy, for a *dravya* being substratum of qualities and differing from them cannot be real in the conceptual grid of Buddhist philosophy. We may speak of substances when we stand on the position of common-sense truth, but taking the absolute point of view (*paramārtha*) we cannot already consider the world as substantial. In Yogācāra, on the other hand, *dravya* means not a reality or a level of it, but rather a mode of consideration of reality.

But the second aspect of the meaning of this word in Yogācāra is close to its meaning in Vaibhāṣika or even Vaiśeṣika in some relations. When Asaṅga speaks of inferior and highest (*sottara*, *anuttara*) *dharma*s, he tells that the investigation of the inferior *dharma*s is necessary for overcoming of affective attachment to *Ātman* consisting of an inferior substance, and the investigation into highest *dharma*s is a means for elimination of attachment to *Ātman* consisting of highest substance (*ātmadravyahīna*, *ātmadravyāgra*).⁴³ In this context the term apparently designates the substance that can be a “material” for *ātman*. But since there is no *ātman* in reality, the term *dravya* in this concrete context becomes empty.

The demonstration of emptiness of this term by Asaṅga goes also in another way. In the second part of AS he observes that

it is said that a mass of matter (*rūpasamudāya*) is composed of atoms. Here the atom (*paramāṇu*) should be understood as not having a physical body (*niḥśarīra*). The atom is determined (*vyavasthāna*)

⁴² ANACKER 2002, 123.

⁴³ ASANGA 1950, 31.

by means of ultimate analysis (*paryantaprabhedataḥ*) by the intellect (*buddhyā*), with a view to the dispelling (*vibhāvana*) of the idea of cluster (*piṇḍasaṃjñā*), and with a view to the penetration of the non-reality of the substance (*dravyāpariniṣpattipraveśa*) of matter.⁴⁴ *Yatpunarūcyate paramāṇusaṃcitto rūpa samudāya itī tatra niḥsarīraḥ paramāṇurveditavyaḥ / buddhyā paryantaprabhedatastu paramāṇu-vyavasthānaṃ piṇḍasaṃjñāvibhāghanatāmupādāya rūpe dravyāḥ pariniṣpattipraveśatām copādāya.*⁴⁵

In this passage Asaṅga actually posits the thesis that matter (*rūpa*) cannot be substantial because it consists of atoms but no atom can be substantial, since it is not a material body. Of course, according to Asaṅga's thought (as it can be reconstructed here) if elements of a complex entity are not substantial the entity itself cannot be regarded as substance; there can be nothing new in complex entity that was not present in its elements.

For the better explication of the meaning of *dravya* in Buddhist texts let us examine the usage of the term in the most fundamental work of Vaibhāṣika philosophy — the “Encyclopedia of Abhidharma” (“*Abhidharmakośa*”) of Vasubandhu (5th c. A.D.) with a commentary on it “*Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*”. In the systems of Theravāda and Vaibhāṣika *dravya* was treated as a fully real entity while Sautrāntika regarded it as an absolutely nominal notion having no reference in reality and designating mere absence of the affects that afflict common-person consciousness.⁴⁶ But actually the Vaibhāṣikas treated this notion in two ways complementary to each other: on the one hand, *dharma* was treated as a real entity which the stream of consciousness consists of, so from this point of view *dharma* was regarded as *dravyamat*; but on the other hand, as a unit of description of internal life of an individual it was regarded as existing only nominally, in the act of knowledge (*prajñaptimat*).⁴⁷

In AK and AKB proper the word *dravya* may mean just “object” as in the first place where it occurs (AKB 1.6). This passage presents the theme of disjunction (*viśamyoga*) from the affected *dharma*s as the cessation of their existence by the means of knowledge: *pratisaṃkhyānirodho yo viśamyogaḥ prṥthak prṥthak*.⁴⁸ In AKB we read that the number of real objects of

⁴⁴ ASANGA 2001, 91.

⁴⁵ ASANGA 1950, 41–42.

⁴⁶ RUDOI 1998, 60.

⁴⁷ Ibidem 77.

⁴⁸ VASUBANDHU 1967, 3.

disjunction is equal to the number of the objects of conjunction: *yāvanti hi saṃyogadravyāṇi tāvanti viśaṃyogadravyāṇi*,⁴⁹ and, as Prof. Ostrovskaya and Rudoï observe, “the objects of conjunction” are real psychosomatic states characterized by the afflux (*sāsrava*) of affects (*kleśa*).⁵⁰ Thus *dravya* may mean in AK and AKB just an object, however not a common physical object but rather an object of affectual conditioning. The next instance where *dravya* has a peculiar meaning different from the above described one is the commentary on the last words of AK 1.10: “the tangible is of eleven types” (*spṛśyamekādaśātmakam*). In AKB we read here that “the tangible by its nature is the eleven real entities: four great elements, mildness, hardness, heaviness, lightness, cold, hunger and thirst” (*spraṣṭavyamekādaśadravyasvabhāvam catvāri mahābhūtāni ślakṣṇatvaṃ karkaśatvaṃ gurutvaṃ laghutvaṃ śūtaṃ jighatsā pipāsā ceti*).⁵¹ We see here that *dravya* assumes somewhat different meaning, designating four gross material elements, qualities of material things composed of these elements and such somatic feelings as hunger, thirst and the feeling of cold that would hardly be regarded as substances from the commonsense point of view.

But, following along the text of AK and AKB, we find that this meaning, though basic, does not exhaust all the possible meanings of the term. Already in AKB 1.15 we read that “these seven real entities acquire the name of *dharmic* base of consciousness and *dharmic* element class” (*ityetāni sapta dravyāṇi dharmāyatanaṃ dharmadhātusṭcetyākhyāyante*).⁵² In this passage *dravyāṇi* “substances” designate groups of feeling (*vedanā-skandha*), concepts (*saṃjñā-skandha*), forming factors (*saṃskāra-skandha*), the unmanifested (*avijñapti*) and three kinds of the undetermined (*asaṃskṛta*). Vasubandhu does not enumerate the group of matter (*rūpa-skandha*) but it is quite possible that this is also *dravya*, a real entity but does not pertain to *dharmic* elements class and *dharmic* base of consciousness. Anyway, such a designation of these entities as “substances” or *realia* shows that according to Vasubandhu in the AK and AKB the term *dravya* meant something not only objective but also actual, apt to exert influence on other real things (and, possibly, to undergo influence from other *realia*). Indeed, the unmanifest (*avijñapti*) cannot be an object of direct cognition but it does effect on the life of a sentient being determining his *karman* and ensuring the

⁴⁹ Ibidem 4.

⁵⁰ VASUBANDHU 1998, 260.

⁵¹ VASUBANDHU 1967, 7.

⁵² Ibidem 11.

realisation of karmic effects during the time between the fulfilment of karmic deed and the manifestation of its karmic results. Thus *dravya* means here not only objects of direct cognition but also a real entity that can exert an effect on other entities irrespective of being or being not known. This real entity may be, of course, known only *post factum*, when the effect is exerted and its results are manifest. In this case we know that it exists not directly but just by its effects or secondary manifestations.

In the context of the problem under examination especially interesting is the passage AK 1.38: “Others are triple, one [class] is the real and the last three are momentary” (*tridhā 'nye dravyavānekaḥ kṣaṇikaḥ paścimāsthayaḥ*).⁵³ In AKB Vasubandhu (or whoever may be the author of the commentary) explains that “only indeterminate is ultimately real, for it is eternal” (*asaṃskṛtaṃ hi sārātṛvād dravyam*).⁵⁴ V.I. Rudoi and E.P. Ostrovskaja (the translators of AK and AKB into Russian) explain that the term *dravya* in this context is used in the sense uncommon for Abhidharma — in the sense of an absolutely real entity beyond the law of cause and effect ruling over the empirical world.⁵⁵ Usually the term *paramārtha-sat* is used in such a meaning so the question may be posited as to the reasons for Vasubandhu to use that unusual word in this context. It may be only surmised that *dravya* might mean in AK and AKB the entity that is real *par excellence*, without being caused by anything else.

So the considerations that were set forth above lead us to some definite conclusions on the nature of differences between the interpretation of the notion of *dravya* in Vaiśeṣika and Buddhist philosophy. In Vaiśeṣika worldview reality is constituted by relations between substances that are stable and immutable in themselves. In this concern they are indeed “atomistic” in the sense that every “atom” is equal to itself, does not change and have a definite essence manifesting in its motion and modes of associating with other atoms of this type and of other types. But every “atom” has a set of qualities, through which it can be known. No essence — for an unenlightened person — can be known directly, without knowledge of qualities. Nevertheless, *dravyas* exist independently of any knowing subject, and if we eliminate *ātman* from this system other *dravyas* will exist and remain intact. The *dravyas* in Vaiśeṣika consist of atoms (except *ākāśa*, *kāla*, *diś* and *ātman*), so their existence is constituted by the relation of atoms of

⁵³ Ibidem 26.

⁵⁴ Ibidem.

⁵⁵ VASUBANDHU 1998, 282.

substances and of atom of a substance with a concrete place and moment of time. But both substances and their qualities are considered in Vaiṣeṣika as real, i.e. existing without knowing subject.

Yogācāra, on the opposite, regards substances as mere designations depending on knowing subject including his personal features, social position, previously accumulated karma and, of course, linguistic aspect of the subject. One and the same thing can be considered as *dravyamat* or *prajñaptimat* depending on a concrete situation, so the substantiality appears to be highly subjective. However, this subjectivity, in its turn, depends on the main goal of all religious practice of Buddhism — *nirvāṇa*, attaining of liberation from the wheel of birth and death. The choice of the position concerning any concrete thing — is it a substance or just a conceptual construction — must be determined therefore by the consideration of whether this position leads to final liberation that will permit a person to immediate knowledge of reality without means of sense organs and conceptualizing mind.

Abbreviations

AK: Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakośa.
AKB: Vasubandhu. Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya.
AS: Aśaṅga. Abhidharma-samuccaya.
ASBh: Sthiramati. Abhidharma-samuccaya-bhāṣya.
KSP: Vasubandhu. Karma-siddhi-prakaraṇa.
PDS: Praśastapāda. Padārtha-dharma-saṃgraha.
TS: Umāsvāti. Tattvārtha-adhigama-sūtra.

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Anastasia Stepanova

Who Conquered Spain? The Role of the Berbers in the Conquest of the Iberian Peninsula

*“For a century, Arabs’ tribes gave Islam the first of these victories.
Then the rough mountain peoples of North Africa,
the Berbers, helped it to conquer Spain...”*
(Braudel 1995: 54)

Abstract: Categories such as “the Berbers” and “the Arabs” are historical. Their production, maintenance, and reproduction occur under particular circumstances. As circumstances change, so do these categories. The role of Arabs in the Medieval History of Maghreb is usually exaggerated. A number of Berber powerful dynasties emerged during Middle Ages in Maghreb and al-Andalus. This report is motivated by the desire to trace the process of the conquest of al-Andalus at the beginning of the 8th c. As we speak about al-Andalus it worth noting that the Muslims who entered Iberia in 711 were mainly Berbers, and were led again by a Berber, Tariq ibn Ziyad. May we claim that Berbers formed approximately 65–70% or at least the major part of the Islamic population in Iberia that time? That was the question that had pushed me to the research. I argue that it’s true, considering the analysis of the military structure of Arab-Berber army, the comparison that would be made on basis of the sources related to the topic, from the point of view of Berbers position in the power hierarchy in Iberia, and through the description of the cultural and historical background. This study provides an important opportunity to advance the understanding of the role of the Berbers in the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, who may be were the ones who tipped the scales in the favor of Arabs’ tribes.

Key words: North Africa, Maghreb, Berbers, al-Andalus, Arabs, Medieval history.

A great deal has been written and said about the term “Berber” and the Berber people, but both the term and the ethnic group are still shrouded with mystery. Broadly speaking foreigners use the term “Berbers” to define the native inhabitants of North Africa, whilst the Berbers call themselves Imazighen (“the free people” or “freemen”). Although they are the original inhabitants of North Africa, and despite numerous incursions by the Phoenicians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Ottomans and French, Berber groups lived in compact communities (PRENGAMAN 16.03.2001).

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According to Leo Africanus, Amazigh meant “free man”, though that etymology has been disputed. It has also a cognate in the Tuareg word “Amajegh”, meaning “noble” (MADDY-WEITZMAN 2006: 71–84; BRETT, FENTRESS 1996: 5–6). Ibn Khaldūn in his *Book of the Lessons and the Record of the Beginnings and Events in the History of the Arabs, the Persians, the Berbers and their Powerful Contemporaries* (*Kitāb al-ʿIbar wa-Dīwān al-mubtadaʾ waʾl-khabar fī maʾrifat ayyām al-ʿArab waʾl-ʿAjam waʾl-Barbar wa-man ʿāšara-hummin dhawīʾl-sulṭān al-akbar*) says that the Berbers were the descendants of Barbar, the son of Tamalla, the son of Mazigh, the son of Canaan, the son of Ham, the son of Noah. (MACGUCKIN 1852). Abraham Isaac Laredo in his work “Bereberos y Hebreos en Marruecos” (LAREDO 1954) proposed that the name Amazigh could be derived from the name of the ancestor Mezeg which is the translation of biblical ancestor Dedan son of Sheba in the Targum.

As we clearly see, this term may be defined in many ways and scholars argue about its origin, but what we may be sure of, if we speak about Morocco, is that the Berbers were Morocco's first inhabitants. Foreign influxes are thought to have had an impact on population make-up but did not replace the indigenous Berber population (KEITA 1990: 35–48).

According to historians of the Middle Ages each region of the Maghreb was inhabited by several tribes that had independence and territorial hegemony; some of them are Sanhadja, Houaras, Zenata, Masmouda, Kutama, Berghwata, Awarba and others (MACGUCKIN 1852; BRIGGS 1960; HACHID 2001).

A number of Berber dynasties emerged during the Middle Ages in Maghreb and al-Andalus. The most notable are Zīrids (973–1148) and Ḥammādids (1014–1152) in Ifrīqīya and Western Ifrīqīya respectively, also the Almoravids (1050–1147) and the Almohads (1147–1248) in Morocco and al-Andalus, the Ḥafṣids (Ifrīqīya, 1229–1574), the Ziyānids (Tlemcen, 1235–1556), the Marīnids (1248–1465) and the Waṭṭāsids (1471–1554) in Morocco. (BAGLEY 1997).

It is true that at the beginning the Arab rule in North Africa was not very sustained and the number of Arab tribes that migrated toward these lands was rather small. The role of Arabs in the medieval history of Maghreb is usually exaggerated. One argument cannot be ignored: the Arabs were slow to colonize non-Arab lands, since the number of cities they founded proved to be very low. None of the major Moroccan cities has been built by Arab rulers, but by the Berbers, either before or after the arrival of Islam. The reason is that unlike most of the great conquering nations, the Arabs did not

have an urban tradition and historically did not feel at home in an urban environment. Though many of these cities have often been linguistically arabized (like Fes or Marrakesh), from a historic point of view it is accepted that the core population of North Africa is Berber.

In addition it is worth noting that there was a natural, albeit regrettable, tendency to give a particular region, tribe, people, or settlement a longer and more distinguished Islamic past than it might actually have enjoyed. This is particularly true of the vast mountainous regions of modern Algeria and Morocco, whose actual conquest by the Arabs would be a far longer and slower process than the sources pretend, and in which Islam would be established much less rapidly and with less homogeneity than the piety of the 13th c. and later Muslim historians writing in North Africa would find able to credit (COLLINS 1949: 125).

The Berbers of the Maghreb, led by someone known as Kāhina, often described as a queen, although it seems that Kāhina would be an Arabic title meaning ‘Predictor’ rather than a female name, had fallen to the Muslim forces in 703. Arab raids on Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic Islands followed very soon after; however, none of these resulted in permanent conquests. Further west, Arab and Berber forces sent by sea took Tangiers between 705 and 710 (AL-BELĀDSORÍ (de Goeje) 1866: 230; AL-BALĀDHURI (Ḥitti) 1916: 362).

The Muslim forces led by Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, though under the suzerainty of the Caliph of Damascus ‘Abd al-Malik and his North African viceroy, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, were concentrated for their first expeditions across the straits and into the territory of the Visigothic kingdom on the northern shore. As part of the truce, 12,000 Berbers, presumably including Ṭāriq, were conscripted to the Umayyad army. Honestly speaking, it is almost impossible to determine the size of forces involved, in any case, 7,500 is likely to be too high, something like a quarter of that number may be more realistic (COLLINS 1949: 141). It was under Ṭāriq’s leadership that the mixed army of the Arabs and the Berbers invaded the peninsular for the second time with a greater success. Ṭāriq must have been a remarkable man to have risen so far in only eight years; but his rise demonstrates the social mobility that characterized the Islamic societies of that era.

Medieval historians give nearly no information about Ṭāriq’s origin. Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Khaldūn say nothing on the subject. Still there are at least three different accounts which seem to date from between 400 and 500 years after Ṭāriq’s time (DE GAYANGOS 1840: 255). There are allusions that he was a Persian from Hamadān (ANONYM (al-Ibyārī)

1989: 6), a member of the powerful South Arabian tribe of al-Ṣadaf genealogically affiliated to Kinda (IBN KHALLIKĀN 1843: 476), but it's more often said of his Berber origin. Modern historians who accept this standpoint tend to settle on a version or another without giving any reason in favour of their choice. For example, Baron De Slane, in an editorial note to the French translation of Ibn Khaldūn's *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* (MACGUCKIN 1852: 215) states that he belonged to the Walhāṣ tribe. Numerous more recent works identify his tribe as Warfajūma (VAN SERTIMA 1993: 54). Both opinions derive from Ibn Idhārī, who cites two versions of Ṭāriq's ancestry. He is referred to as Ṭāriq b. Ziyād b. Abd 'Allāh b. Walghū b. Warfajūm b. Nabarghāsan b. Walhāṣ b. Yaṭūfat b. Nafzāw and also as Ṭāriq b. Ziyād b. Abd 'Allāh bin Rafhū b. Warfajūm b. Yanzghāsan b. Walhāṣ b. Yaṭūfat b. Nafzāw (COLIN 1948: 5). The differences between those genealogies may be caused by copyist errors; *cf.*:

طارق بن زياد بن عبد الله بن ولغو بن ورفجوم بن نبرغاسن بن ولهاص بن يطوفت بن نفزاو
 طارق بن زياد بن عبد الله بن رفهو بن ورفجوم بن ينزغاسن بن ولهاص بن يطوفت بن نفزاو

The earliest reference seems to be the 12th c. geographer al-Idrīsī, who referred to him as Ṭāriq b. Abd 'Allāh b. Wanamū al-Zanātī (COLIN 1948: 17). The majority of researchers agree on the fact that he was a Berber.

One of the aspects of the uniqueness of medieval Spain can be seen in the makeup of the Muslim invasion force: the majority of the common warriors in the army was actually the Berbers rather than the Arabs. Al-Maqqarī cites several sources which mention the composition of Ṭāriq's host. One of them states that Mūsā gave him the command "of an army composed of chiefly the Berbers and slaves, very few only being genuine Arabs" (DE GAYANGOS 1840: 4.2). Another source mentions the forces to be almost completely the Berbers with only few Arabs, and then al-Maqqarī mentioned that the chroniclers Ibn Ḥayyān and Ibn Khaldūn had recorded the percentage of "mostly Berbers" and "10.000 Berbers and 3.000 Arabs", respectively, that demonstrate a clear pattern of the Berber majority. The society of the Berbers seems to have provided a unique solution to the deficiency of warriors of Arab origin, which has no parallel anywhere on that scale.

The literary source, which is chronologically the closest to these events, is the Chronicle of AD 754, written most probably in Toledo (COLLINS 1989: 57–63). The chronicler, having mentioned Roderic's reign, then goes on to record of how the new king sent armies against Arabs and Mauri (Berbers), who were raiding and destroying many towns (LÓPEZ PEREIRA 1980: 68–70). Around AD 860, in the first narrative of that kind about the conquest of al-Andalus, Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam wrote in his book *Conquest of Egypt and of the*

Maghreb (*Futūḥ Miṣr wa'l-Maghrib*) that Count Ilyān or Julian, lord of Ceuta and Alchadra, for the revenge for Roderic's seduction of his daughter transported Ṭāriq and his forces to Spain (IBN ABD-EL-HAKEM (Jones) 1858: 18–22). The decisive battle took place in a location that is generally identified as the valley of the Guadelete, near Medina Sidonia (COLLINS 1949: 135). The invasion itself was not unique among its counterparts in other areas of the Muslim empire, except perhaps in regard to the relative ease of conquest.

On the first stage of the invasion the armies were made up of the Berbers and different Arab groups. These peoples did not mix together but remained in separate towns and boroughs. Much more numerous Berbers were generally used to fill subordinate rank-and-file positions. The Berbers were usually in charge of the most difficult tasks and the most rugged terrains, while the Arabs occupied more gentle plains of southern Iberia (COLLINS 1989: 49–50).

During the Umayyad conquest of Iberia, the Berbers formed their own military units based on tribal allegiances and had little contact with their Arab masters (FLETCHER 2006: 1; COLLINS 1989: 97; RODD 1925: 731–2). It is probable that the conquest represented a continuation of a historic pattern of large-scale raids into Iberia dating to the pre-Islamic period, and hence it has been suggested that Ṭāriq's campaign was not originally planned. Both the Chronicle of AD 754 and later Muslim sources speak of raiding activity in previous years, and Ṭāriq's army may have been present for some time before the decisive battle. This possibility appears to be supported by the fact that the army was led by a Berber and that Mūsà b. Nuṣayr, arrived only in the following year and hurried across, when the unexpected triumph became clear. The Chronicle of AD 754 states that many townspeople fled to the hills rather than defended their cities in accordance with the view that this was expected to be a temporary raid rather than a permanent change of government (WOLF 1990: 26–42, 111–160, 205; CONTINUATIO HISPANA 1894: II, 323–369).

Another element of distinctness can be seen in few notable features. A general practice of the invasion of new territories by Muslim forces in that period consisted in leaving local organizational structures intact, so that Muslim armies were able to continue their expansion, towards the next target (COLLINS 1989: 39). Even tax amounts were often kept the same, although it should be paid to new authorities. The non-Muslims were given the status of *ahl al-dhimma* “the people under protection” whenever there was a Christian authority in the community, and when there was not, they were given the status of *majūs*. *Majūs* was originally a term meaning Zoroastrian and specifically, Zoroastrian priests. Also, it was a technical term, meaning

magus (STEINGASS 1892: 1179), and originally had no pejorative implications. *Majūsī* could either have the status of *mozarabs* or of *mūlādī*. No cultural center, no government proved to be of lower status. There was no pressure to reduce a rank of any important municipality in favour of Arab organs of power. Muslim government chose Seville and then Córdoba as its residence (LANGSOM 1970: 831). Iberia was not considered a separate province but was under the authority of Qairouan (COLLINS 1989: 125). The Córdoba Caliphate had subsequently clearly defined boundaries and the first region broke totally from the rule of Damascus.

After Mūsà b. Nuṣayr his son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Mūsà governed al-Andalus from AD 714 to 716. He proved to be a capable and imaginative administrator consolidating and extending his power to Portugal, Málaga, Granada, Orihuela, Girona, and Barcelona. He was the first Muslim governor, who arranged the financial and administrative affairs of the newly conquered territories of Iberia and sought to eliminate the ethnic distinctions in government service between the Berbers and the Arabs. As a result of his marriage to Egilona, who was either the sister or the widow of Rodrigo, the last Visigothic king, he was accused by both the Arabs and the Berbers of favouring the native Christian population and of having monarchical ambitions. Tensions grew within the army. He was executed in AD 716 after having been accused in the intention to separate al-Andalus under his rule from Damascus (GERLI 2013: 3).

It is claimed that the Berbers formed approximately two thirds of the Islamic population in Iberia. The Berbers stationed in Galicia, who gave up their Andalusian outposts to join the Berber revolt (740–2), are reported to have converted to Christianity (COLLINS 1983: 165). The Berbers revolted against the Arab aristocracy due to oppression by the Arab ruling class. The Moors ruled in North Africa and for the most part in the Iberian Peninsula for several centuries, and the Umayyad Arab aristocracy dominated in all the regions from Damascus to Spain (FLETCHER 2006: 20). Ibn Ḥazm remarks that many caliphs in the Umayyad Caliphate and the Caliphate of Córdoba were blond and had light eyes (IBN HAZM 1994).

The Berber rebellions swept the whole al-Andalus and were quelled in blood. Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri was the local governor at that time. The Arab commanders came up reinforced after AD 742. Different Arab factions reached an agreement, but this didn't last long, since Yūsuf b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri remained in power up to his defeat by the last Umayyad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I in AD 756, and the establishment of the independent Umayyad Emirate of Córdoba.

Yūsuf struggled to manage the conflict between the Arabs and the Berbers. The latter formed a vast majority and resented the pretension to racial and cultural superiority of the Arabs despite Islam's precept of equality (GERLI 2013: 4). In the fight for power in al-Andalus between Yūsuf and al-Raḥmān, the "Syrian" troops, the mainstay of the Umayyad Caliphate, split. For the most part, the Arabs from Qays and other tribes of Muḍar sided with Yūsuf, so did the indigenous Arabs (in the second or third generation) from North Africa, while Yemenite units and some Berbers supported 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

'Abd al-Raḥmān escaped after the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty to Morocco, where he took refuge with the Nafza Berber tribe, to which his mother belonged. When his efforts to gain power among the Moroccan Berbers failed, he looked to Spain, where the lack of unity among the Muslim conquerors — the Yemenite Arabs, the Syrian Arabs, the recently converted Berbers and Iberians — made for an easy conquest. In AD 756, Southern and Central al-Andalus (Córdoba, Sevilla) were in the hands of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, but it took still 25 years for him to hold sway over the Upper Marches (Pamplona, Zaragoza and the entire North-East) (COLLINS 1989: 180).

'Abd al-Raḥmān I ruled al-Andalus for over thirty-three years and spent most of that time trying to solve the same problems of unity that the governors before him had faced: the Berbers who had been settled in the geographically familiar mountainous north and north-west regularly rebelled against the central Córdoba authority. However, through a relatively lengthy reign and with the prestige attached to the Umayyad name, he was able to slowly consolidate power.

During the era of the *Mulūk al-ṭawā'if* (independent Muslim-ruled principalities), petty kings came from a variety of ethnic groups. The Berbers had traditionally settled in central Iberia since the 700-ies, as its landscape was similar to their homeland in North Africa. Thus, the *al-ṭawā'if* kings were mostly of Berber origin. The leaders of the *ṭawā'if* were as heterogeneous as the society of al-Andalus itself. Such as the Aftasids, the *al-ṭawā'if* rulers of Badajoz, who adopted the Ḥimyarite genealogy, or, for instance, the dynasty of the *ṭā'ifa* kingdom Toledo, the Banū dhī'l-Nūn were of Berber origin. The Ṣanhāja Berbers ruled in the *ṭā'ifa* kingdom of Granada. The Zanāta Berber clan, the Dammarīs, who had been brought over to al-Andalus by al-Manṣūr, received Moron at the same time. Another group of the Zanāta, the Khizrūnīs, took over Arcos and the Iframs, also from the Zanāta, controlled Ronda (MOLINS 1992: 50–4). Small *al-ṭawā'if* were also established by the Ḥammādīs, who had contested the title of caliph from AD 1016 to 1026 in

Malaga and Algeciras, but their efforts were continuously undermined by family quarrels and by AD 1065 their power was extinguished by the Zīrids of Granada (KENNEDY 1996: 143). There was certainly widespread hostility to the newly arrived Berbers in the 1st quarter of the 11th c. AD, but in the second and third generations the Berbers rulers became increasingly Arabised and acculturated to the Andalusian civilization. Even within their own ranks, the newly arrived Berbers did not form a cohesive group, the Ṣanhāja Zīrids coming from a different tribal group than the Zanāta Berbers further to the west, and they had never united against their enemies.

It is interesting, however, that the struggle among the Muslim *al-ṭawā'if* kings was not based on ethnic divisions. Instead, their fighting was based on individual desires to increase their own power. While the *al-ṭawā'if* wars were raging in the Iberian Peninsula, a new movement was taking shape in North Africa.

The *al-ṭawā'if* period ended, when the Almoravid dynasty took control over al-Andalus; they were succeeded by the Almohad dynasty from Morocco, under the reign of which al-Andalus was flourishing. In the power hierarchy, the Berbers were situated between the Arabic aristocracy and the Mūlādī populace (Muslims of local descent or of mixed Berber, Arab and Iberian origin, who lived in al-Andalus during the Middle Ages) (FRODE 2009: 122–24). Ethnic rivalries were one of the factors of Andalusian politics. After the fall of the Caliphate, the *al-ṭawā'if* kingdoms of Toledo, Badajoz, Málaga and Granada had Berber rulers (COLLINS 1983:172–7; MARTINS 1969).

The Muslims who invaded the Iberian Peninsula in AD 711 were mainly the Berbers, and were led by a Berber, Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, though under the suzerainty of the Arab Caliph of Damascus and his North African Viceroy, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr. The second mixed army of the Arabs and the Berbers came in AD 712 under the leadership of Ibn Nuṣayr himself. They supposedly helped the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān I in al-Andalus, because his mother most probably was a Berber. During the *al-ṭawā'if* era, the petty kings came from various ethnic groups; not few — from the Berber ones. The *al-ṭawā'if* period ended when a Berber dynasty, viz. the Moroccan Almoravids, took control over al-Andalus; then they were succeeded by the Almohad dynasty of Morocco, also of Berber origin.

In the power hierarchy, the Berbers were placed between the Arabic aristocracy and the Mūlādī populace. Ethnic rivalry was one of the most important factors of Andalusian politics. The Berbers made up as much as 20% of the population of the occupied territory. After the fall of the Caliphate, the *al-ṭawā'if* kingdoms of Toledo, Badajoz, Málaga and Granada

were governed by Berber rulers. During the Reconquista, the Berbers, who inhabited the areas recaptured by Christian kingdoms, were acculturated and lost their distinct identity. Their descendants are to be found among the present-day Spaniards and Portuguese. But we may clearly see that the role of the Berbers in the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula and their place in the local society were of very considerable importance.

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Tatiana A. Pang

**The Imperial Patent of the Kangxi Period
in the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts,
Russian Academy of Sciences¹**

Abstract: The article presents publication of the earliest imperial patent kept in the Manchu collection of the IOM, RAS. The patent is dated by the 55th year of Kangxi (1716) and was conferred to the member of the imperial family. That fact explains unusual decoration of the scroll — a hand painted frame with dargons. The patent was given to Urcen, a son of the Manchu dignitary Sunu, devoted associate of the emperor Kangxi. Sunu was known as one of the highest Manchu officials who adopted Christianity, and his sons were also baptized. The patent conferred Urcen a title “*general of the third grade, who protects the state*” and the text was written in Manchu and Chinese.

Key words: Manchu patent, Kangxi period, Sunu, Urcen, Manchu Christians.

The Manchu collection of the Institute of Oriental manuscripts, RAS, holds sixteen imperial patents given to various officials and their parents. All of them are in a form of a multicolored silk scroll mounted on paper, the Manchu and Chinese texts are written in multicolored ink. Over the dates are bilingual imperial red square seals. The texts are put in a frame with the design of two dragons playing with a pearl.

One of these scrolls, under the call number B105 mss, differs in decoration, since its frame is not printed, but painted in hand. It clearly shows that the owner of the patent was a special person close to the imperial family.²

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¹ The paper was read at the International conference “The History and Culture of China and Central Asia: From the Pre-Mongol to the Post-Mongol Era” in Beijing, 2017.

² PANG 2001: 54–55, No. 119.



The Manchu text is read from left to right, and the Chinese text — from right to left. At the ends of both texts are dates correspondingly: *Elhe taifin-i susai sunjaci aniya. duin biyai ice nadan* 康熙五十五年四月初七日 — The 7th day of the 4th moon, 55th year of Elhe taifin (Kangxi) (May 27, 1716). Over the dates are red seals with the bilingual legend *hese wasimbure boobai* 救命之寶. The scroll is rather long — 472×31 cm, but it contains only one imperial decree.

The text informs that the imperial patent was given to Urcen, a son of the Manchu dignitary Sunu, and bestowed him a title “*general of the third grade, who protects the state*”— *ilaci jergi gurun be dalire janggin* 三等鎮國將軍.



Transliteration of the Manchu text:

abkai hese forgon be aliha/
 hûwangdi hese. amba doro de aisilame wehiyere de./ fiyanji daliku-i
 karmara de akdambi. hanci niyalma be / hûwaliyambume jiramilara de.
 gargan enen de kesi / isibure be badarambi. Urcen si gûsai beise / Sunu-i
 da fujin de banjiha jui. han-i booci tucike / hûturi. abkai fisenci badaraka
 siren. iktaka fengşen / tutafi nemeyen gungnecuke-i algin daci iletulehe.
 karmara / dalire de akdaha be dahame. jergi ilhi-i wesihun be / isibure
 giyan. tuttu simbe ilaci jergi gurun be dalire / janggin fungnefi g'aomimg



buhe. ai. nenehe yabun-i sain / elden be sirafi. inenggi dobori akû ume onggoro. / uksun i amban-i ujen tušan be alifi. tondo kicebe be / ele hûsutule. toktoho kooli be hing seme tuwakiyame / doshon hese be gingguleme ali. gingguleme. ume jurcere. //

The Chinese text:

1. 奉天誥命
2. 奉
3. 天承運



天承運

皇帝制曰贊袞鴻業藉作輔於
 屏翰敦睦懿親廣推恩於支
 庶爾吳爾臣乃固山貝子蘓
 努嫡妃所生之子祥分帝室
 派衍天潢積慶所貽夙茂溫
 恭之譽維城攸賴宜頒爵秩
 之隆是用封爾為三等鎮國
 將軍錫之誥命於戲荷前烈
 之休光無忘夙夜膺宗臣之
 重寄益勵忠勤恪守彝章敬

4. 皇帝制曰贊袞鴻業藉作輔於
5. 屏翰敦睦懿親廣推恩於支
6. 庶爾吳爾臣乃固山貝子蘓
7. 努嫡妃所生之子祥分帝室
8. 派衍天潢積慶所貽夙茂溫
9. 恭之譽維城攸賴宜頒爵秩
10. 之隆是用封爾為三等鎮國
11. 將軍錫之誥命於戲荷前烈
12. 之休光無忘夙夜膺宗臣之



13. 重寄益勵忠勤恪守彝章。
14. 承寵命欽哉勿替
15. 康熙五十五年四月初七日

The texts are almost identical, and the translation of its Manchu version is as follows:

“The decree of the Emperor, entrusted by Heaven.

Our assistance and protection are given to those who help and support Our rule. In order to strengthen relations between relatives, [the emperor]

spreads his grace to the descendants [of the dignitary]. You, Urcen, is a son of a Prince of the Blood of the fourth grade Sunu and his main wife. Happiness which flows from the imperial house, number of offspring of the heavenly dynasty, and accumulated prosperity are kept. To ensure my belief in you, I raise your rank and bestow you the imperial patent that gives you the title of the “*general of the third grade, who protects the state*”. Oh, continue to carry out good deeds, and do not forget about it in day and night! Being the descendant of the Imperial clan, make all your efforts to follow the established principals. Respectably except the decree of favor! Be respectful and never disobey!

The 7th day of the 4th moon, 55th year of Elhe taifin”.

The text mentions two names: a Prince of the Blood of the fourth grade Sunu (1648–1725) and his son Urcen. Their close relation to the imperial family explains an unusual, hand painted decoration of the patent. According to the biographical dictionary of A. Hummel “Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing period” Sunu was a grand-grand-grandson of Nurhaci. His grand-grandfather was the eldest son of Nurhaci. His father was a Prince of the Blood of the fifth grade. Sunu was promoted to a fourth grade for his military victories against Galdan and for accompanying Kangxi to Ningxia in 1697. In 1698–1708 he was a military commander of Fengtian. After Kangxi during court struggle for throne, Sunu took a side of Yintang, thus being against of Yinzheng, who became the emperor Yongzheng (1723–1736). At first Yongzheng favored Sunu and raised him to the third rank, but soon he and his sons were accused in supporting Princes Yintang and Yinshu. His sixth son Leshiheng and his twelfth son Urcen were exiled to Xining together with the Prince Yintang. Sunu was sent to Yuwei in Shangxi province and died in exile in 1725. In 1726, the whole family of Sunu was excluded from the imperial clan, next year both brothers died in Beijing.³

The history of the Sunu family is interesting because of its close relations to Kangxi. They all were his associates, and shared his interests and policy. Kangxi’s interest in European science and art allowed his courtiers to acquaint with European Jesuit missionaries. As a result, many Manchu courtiers became interested in Christianity. Sunu was the most famous Manchu Christian, his three sons were baptized in Beijing, the other two — Leshiheng and Urcen — were baptized in exile in 1723 by the Catholic

³ HUMMEL 1999, vol. 2: 692–694.

priest Jean Mourao (1681–1726).⁴ The whole Sunu clan was destroyed for taking the side of the Prince Yintang — a legitimate heir to the throne. Being Christians in faith, the Sunu family believed in Christian punishment, and since Yongzhen came to power through the forgery of the Kangxi will, they did not see the emperor as a model of moral qualities. The main reason of the Sunu punishments were their participation in palace intrigues, while their Christian faith was a secondary subject for critics. Only much later, in 1727, Urcen and his brothers were accused in following a foreign faith. It is important to note, that Yongzhen refused to execute Sunu and his sons, explaining that that would give a chance for their followers to announce Sunu as Christian martyrs.

Thus, we know that the owner of our patent Urcen was the twelfth son of Sunu. He died in confinement in Beijing in 1727 at the age of 32 (33 *sui*), it means he was born in 1695. The patent from the Institute of Oriental studies collection was given to him in 1716, when Urcen was 21 years old and when the whole Sunu family was devotionally serving Kangxi.

This unknown patent refers to a happy period of Urcen's life at the Kangxi court, and the emperor encourages Urcen to carry respectfully his duties of the imperial clan offspring. A blank space between Manchu and Chinese texts was left for further imperial decrees, which were usually bestowed and added following previous texts. Since Urcen was exiled and died in imprisonment, he did not receive any other titles, and the space on the scroll was left empty.

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⁴ WITEK 1993: 265–279; WITEK 2001: 444–448.

Anna Turanskaya, Natalia Yakhontova, Dmitry Nosov

Collection of Manuscripts and Xylographs in the State Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan

Abstract: The article presents a brief review of a relatively small collection of manuscripts and xylographs in the Tibetan, Mongolian and Oirat languages from the Kazan Theological Academy fund, the State Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan. Although the collection is quite moderate it includes really interesting materials and has not attracted the attention of researchers. Its brief catalogue was made by the authors.

Key words: manuscripts, xylographs, catalogue, Kazan Theological Academy, State Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan.

In the State Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan in Kazan (hereafter SART) there are 36 manuscripts and xylographs in the Mongolian, Oirat and Tibetan languages. They are listed in the inventories Nos. 6 and 7 of the Kazan Theological Academy (hereafter KTA) fund No. 10.

It is well known that Kazan was the cradle of the Mongolian studies in Russia. The development of this field of Oriental studies is connected with the Kazan University and prominent Russian scholars O.M. Kowalewski (1801–1878) and A.V. Popov (1856–1909). However, as V.L. Uspensky frequently mentioned, since the 18th c. till 1921 when it was closed a significant role in the development of the Mongolian studies belonged to the KTA as well. Speaking about the Mongolian studies in the KTA one should always remember the great contribution made by A.A. Bobrovnikov (1822–1865), a talented graduate of the KTA, a scholar and lecturer. In 1855 the faculty of Oriental studies together with its library was transferred from the Kazan University to the Saint-Petersburg University. The KTA library,

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however, remained in Kazan and was replenished continually until the academy was closed in 1921.¹

The history of the KTA library after 1921 is tightly linked with the Asiatic Museum (nowadays the IOM, RAS). The Oriental manuscripts and xylographs kept in the Asiatic Museum have been accumulated for two hundred years from different sources. An important part of its collection consists of the books in Oriental languages (Chinese and Japanese) and manuscripts and xylographs (Tibetan and Mongolian) from the former KTA library.

From the available archival documents we know that books, manuscripts and xylographs in Oriental languages were selected from the former KTA library and transferred to St. Petersburg by a researcher of the Asiatic Museum M.N. Sokolov in November 1927.² That was the time when the KTA library collection of books and manuscripts was ‘sentenced’ to be split among different educational and cultural institutions mainly located in Kazan. L.Z. Khasanshina published excerpts from a report on the meeting held on September 17, 1927, where the distribution of the books from the former KTA library was discussed.

According to this report, parts of the library fund had to be distributed according to the subject-matter among various organizations of Kazan: House of Tatar Culture, Oriental Pedagogical Institute, Tatar Communist University, Cultural Center, Central Archive, while the Buryat books were to be transferred to the Republic of Buryatia.³ However, due to the active intermediation of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and zealous efforts of the Hebraist M.N. Sokolov from the Asiatic Museum a part of the library funds was transferred to the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad. Sokolov wrote in his report⁴: ‘While examining the library I only paid attention to the books export of which would not prejudice the interests of the Republic of Tatarstan and thus would not encounter any rejections. For this reason I left behind everything concerning the Muslim world and local region studies and chose books on Hebrew studies and languages and literatures of the Far East’.

¹ USPENSKY 1994; USPENSKY 1996.

² NOSOV 2014, 81; STARKOVA 1972, 549.

³ KHASANSHINA 2004. B.M. Kunitsyn also writes about it KUNITSYN 2010. However there are discrepancies between these authors in some details.

⁴ The report about his journey to Kazan is kept in St. Petersburg Branch of the Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences [Fund 10, inv. 1, item 21, ff. 5–7]. It is prepared for publication in ‘Pismennye Pamyatniki Vostoka [Written Monuments of the Orient]’ No. 15(1), 2018 by D. Nosov.

In the section ‘Books in European languages’ in the 1928 year annual report of the Asiatic Museum⁵ it is said that the library of the Asiatic Museum was enriched by 486 volumes from the former KTA and that ‘the above-mentioned collection of the former Theological Academy in Kazan transferred to the A[siatric] M[useum] by the authority of the People’s Commissariat for Education of the Tatarstan Republic is of a great value’ [Fund 152, inventory 1, item 124, f. 23]. Besides, the second part of the same report (‘Oriental manuscripts and books’) mentions the acquisition of a large collection of Mongolian xylographs and manuscripts mainly produced by Buryat and partly Chinese printing houses from the former library of the KTA [Fund 152, inventory 1, item 124, ff. 36, 38]. Manuscripts and books in Eastern languages were listed in an inventory book of new acquisitions. In December 1927, 613 Mongolian and Oirat manuscripts and xylographs were listed; seven more items were registered in 1929. Judging by the handwriting in the inventory book the job was done by N.N. Poppe. Chinese (110) and Japanese (84) books were registered in January 1928; Tibetan (534) books were added by A.I. Vostrikov in September 1929.

The present catalogue of manuscripts and xylographs kept in SATR (Fund 10, inventory Nos. 6, 7) is structured according to the languages (Mongolian, Oirat, Tibetan and Chinese) i.e. in the same way as the items are listed in the inventory lists (though some languages are identified incorrectly). Bilingual (Tibeto-Mongolian) texts, following a long-established tradition, are listed along with the other texts in Mongolian. One item (No. 3.11) which consists of several texts (bilingual Tibeto-Oirat texts, texts in Oirat and texts in Tibetan languages) is ascribed to the section of Oirat texts as it is obvious that it was compiled for a Kalmyk reader. The same should be admitted about some texts in the Tibetan language which bear the traces of being copied by Kalmyks. For example, one can find amendments in the ‘clear script’ made by a scribe in texts Nos. 1.3, 1.7, 1.8 or notes in the Oirat language in text No. 1.1.

The archival inventory includes 18 numbers in Tibetan, 21 — in Mongolian, 12 — in Oirat, and 1 — in the Chinese language. The number of texts differs from the inventory numbers, since the latter may include several texts (for example, three different manuscripts are united under No. 1.13) and, vice a versa, one text can be divided among several inventory numbers, e.g.

⁵ The annual report of the Asiatic Museum for the year 1927 just includes the information about M. Sokolov’s work trip to Kazan [Fund 152, inv. 1, item. 106, f. 32]. It was probably impossible to give more detailed information at the time of compilation of the annual report.

a treatise on astronomy is bounded in 16 parts each having its own inventory number (No. 2.5).

There are just three xylographs: two of them are Beijing xylographs in Tibetan both being separate volumes and literary works from Collected works (gsung 'bum) by Changkya Rolpai Dorje (1717–1786): No. 1.17 — five volumes (87 texts); No. 1.18 — one volume (2 texts) and one xylograph in Mongolian printed in Buryatia (No. 2.1 — the Sutra of Golden Light). There is an early-printed book — one of the first grammar manuals of the Mongolian language compiled by a Scottish missionary Robert Yuille (1786–1861) and printed in Selenginsk in 1839 (No. 2.6). Another quite small book is in 'clear script'. It was lithographically printed in 1841 and appears to be an instruction for growing potatoes (No. 3.9).

The majority of texts are handwritten. The oldest one in the collection is a biography of a famous Tibetan poet and yogin Milarepa (No. 2.3)⁶ translated in 1618 by a well-known Mongolian translator of the Buddhist texts Širegetü güši čorji. A hand-written and richly illustrated album showing the story of Molon toyin searching for his sinful mother in the Hells is of special interest for research (No. 2.4). This book with colorful miniatures was compiled in Beijing probably in the beginning of the 19th c. The Mongolian section of the collection has an incomplete manuscript copy of the third part of the Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary 'Ocean of Names' (Tib. ming gi rgya mtsho, Mong. ner-e-yin dalai) compiled by Kunga Gyatso (18th c.) and blockprinted in Beijing in 1718. A Kalmyk-Russian dictionary prepared by archpriest Vasilij Diligensky in 1852 or 1853 and considered to have been lost is preserved in the collection. It contains approximately 12500 words. Stamps on its first page allow to trace the history of the book: after the KTA library had been closed it was transferred to the library of the National Department for Culture of the Central Archive of the Tatarstan Republic. A treatise on astronomy (No. 2.5) is attributed by Uspensky as a manuscript copy of the Mongolian translation of a Chinese astronomical encyclopedia blockprinted in Beijing in 1711. He assumes that it was brought to Kazan by hieromonch Amphilokhiy along with the Milarepa biography (No. 2.3).⁷

The rest of manuscripts contain quite small Buddhist texts in the Tibetan and Oirat languages. It may be assumed that they were a part of another collection before they had been transmitted to the KTA library. The evidence

⁶ This manuscript was acquired for the KTA library by hieromonch Amphilokhiy in 1912–1914 during his stay in Mongolia. USPENSKY 2006: 144.

⁷ USPENSKY 2006, 144.

for this is given by numbers and text titles in Cyrillic script written on their covers in the same hand-writing. Moreover, the majority of them is stitched by cords with labels having the same numbers written down on them. Besides, each label has a small red wax seal with a crown and a monogram image 'TK' (on some labels only remains of the seal could be seen). These short texts were very popular among the Kalmyks, e.g. Vajracchedikā (the Diamond Sutra) and Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti, short versions of Śaṭaśāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, Pañcarakṣā, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, as well as different prayers, ritual and astrological works. In one instance a dozen texts are compiled into one book which judging by its condition served as a bechbook for its owner.

Only ten manuscripts are marked with the KTA library stamp. However, since there are two manuscripts from 'the collection with a wax red seal' among them it seems quite appropriate to suppose that all this collection once was a part of the KTA library. The IOM, RAS keeps only one Oirat manuscript (astrological notes [Sazykin, No. 1761] and several letters in 'clear script' [Sazykin, Nos. 1000, 1001, 1004–1006, 1128] from the former KTA library. Quoting the 'History of the Kazan Theological Academy' written by P. Znamensky, V.L. Uspensky writes that 'only in 1855 the Orenburg Consistory sent to the KTA 69 Kalmyk manuscripts' [Uspensky 1996: 121]. Therefore, the Oirat texts kept in SART can partially replenish the missings that V.L. Uspensky regrets about.

The only text in the Chinese language is a hand-written Latin-Chinese lexicon. The content of the dictionary entries allows to suggest that it was compiled by a Catholic priest. After each subject section of the dictionary some blank pages for notes are left. They are filled in with Russian-Chinese and Chinese-French lexical materials written in a neat handwriting.

The catalogue consists of descriptions in accordance to the following scheme: (1) description number (No. 1 — for manuscripts and xylographs in Tibetan, No. 2 — in Mongolian, No. 3 — in Oirat, No. 4 — in Chinese); (2) SART call number; (3) text title or incipit of the text (if the title is given in two languages the second language is indicated in brackets); (4) brief annotation or description of the contents of work (titles of the original Tibetan and Sanskrit texts are given in italics); (5) archeographic description including (a) manuscript or xylograph, (b) format (notebook, pothi), (c) number of pages (folios), (d) size of pages, (e) size of the frame in brackets, (f) number of lines on the page, (g) origin of paper, watermarks and stamps of paper-mills, (h) ink (unless specified the colour of the ink is

black), (i) brush, calamus, pen, (j) additional information, (k) information about postscript, notes, defects.

The Tibetan script transliteration is made according to the extended Wylie transliteration system⁸. In personal names and toponyms the root letter in the first syllable is capitalized. The Mongolian and Oirat transliterations are made according to the traditional system. The following symbols are used for editorial marks and special letters (galiy):

[] — any glosses or interpolations;

ḱ=	ᳵ	ḥ=	ᳶ	ḥ=	ᳶ	ñ=	ᳵ	ṭ=	ᳶ	ṭ=	ᳶ
----	---	----	---	----	---	----	---	----	---	----	---

— underlining is used to mark all specific variants of orthography;

(= ...) — in cases when the word is impossible to understand the suggested variant of the reading is written in brackets.

1. In the Tibetan language:

1.1. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 86

Incip: na mo gu ru many+dzū gho sha ya/ bdag gzhan rnam mkha'i dang mnyam pa'i sems can thams cad skyabs kyi dam par bla ma la skyabs su mchi'o/ [1r]

Praise and prayer.

Manuscript, notebook, 15 ff., 34.2×11.2 cm, 8 lines, Russian paper, red and black ink, pen. Some words in the text are marked with yellowish paint. No pagination.

A note on the back cover in Cyrillic: “№ 31. Горимъ — Уставъ”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with remains of a red wax seal on it. There are a few notes in Oirat between the lines of Tibetan text. The last page is severely damaged and glued to the cover.

1.2. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 87

'phags ma rig sngags kyi rgyal mo so sor 'brang ma chen mo'i rtog pa bzhugs so// [front cover]

⁸ Turrell Wylie. ‘A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription’// Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 22 (1959), pp. 261–267; Nathaniel Garson, David Germano, Extended Wylie Transliteration Scheme (Tibetan & Himalayan Digital Library, University of Virginia, November 8, 2001), <http://www.bibliothèque-dhagpo-kagyu.org/pdfcat/extended-wylie.pdf>.

Sutra from Pañcarakṣā collection ("Five Protections").

= Sanskr. *Mahāpratisaravidyārājñī*

Manuscript, pothi, 43 ff., 43.4×11.7 (36.1×8.7) cm, 6 lines, Russian paper, red and black ink, pen. Marginal title: (Tib.) ga. Mongolian and Tibetan pagination and Tibetan pagination in figures. Two folios have the same number (No. 18) (Oir. arban nayiman uridu, arban nayiman xoyitu).

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: "№ 14. Пакбарикнакѣджиджалъмо-сосорѣбранъмачинмодокба (одна глава изъ книги Панчаракча пяти хранителей)". Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a fragment of a white label. On the label there is a red wax seal with 'ГК' monogram. On the back cover there is a note in Oirat 'Gelong Sodnam Codbo wrote it down for the [benefits] in this and future lives' (Oir. gelöng sodnam codbo ene kigēd xotiḡin tölei bičibebi:).

1.3. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 88

'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje'i gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo bzugs so// [front cover, 1r]

Vajracchedikā ("The Diamond Sutra")

= Sanskr. *vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*

Manuscript, pothi, 58 ff., 20.8×8.2 (17.4×5.2) cm, 4 lines, Russian paper (light green), ink, pen. Tibetan pagination.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: "№ 23. Пакбаширабѣджи-парульдучинбадорджиджодбагшиджабатѣкбачинбойдошуксу. Разсе-кающій алмазъ — Сокращение параджньи парамиты". Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a fragment of a white label. On the label there is a red wax seal with 'ГК' monogram.

1.4. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 89

Incip: huM yid 'ong rgya mtsho'i 'khyil ba'i dbus/ rin chen 'par (=phar?) ba'i gzhal yas khang/ padma zla ba'i gdan steng na/ [1r]

Wishful prayer.

Manuscript, pothi, 3 ff., 20.6×7.2 cm, 5 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. Tibetan pagination.

A note on the back cover in Cyrillic: "№ 36. Янѣджабъ (призываніе счастья)". Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note '№ 36' and a red wax seal with 'ГК' monogram.

1.5. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 93

The manuscript in the notebook format contains two texts:

1. Incip: mchod yon phal chen mchod yon bla bre dang/ mchod yon bkod ba'i 'di zer rab bgyi zhig mchod yod sna tshogs kun tu bkram byas nas/ [1r]

2. Incip: dge slong bsod nams tshul khirms/ dge slong bsod nams blo bzang/ [9r]

Ritual texts.

Manuscript, notebook, 10 ff. + covers, 22×8.5 cm, 7 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. No pagination.

A note on the back cover in Cyrillic: “№ 33. Сурдибъшуксу (жертвоприношение покойникамъ)”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a fragment of a white label. On the label there is a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram.

1.6. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 98

'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo gzhugs so// [front cover, 1r]

Vajracchedikā (“*The Diamond Sutra*”).

= Sanskr. *vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*

Manuscript, pothi, 45 ff., 21.2×8.5 cm, 6 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 29. Пакбаширабъдоки-парульдучинбадорджиджодбашиджабатэкбачинбойдошуксу. Разсекающий алмазь. Сокращение параджныи парамиты”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 29’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram. On the back cover there is a note in Oirat ‘Sodnam Codba wrote it down for [the benefits]’ (Oir. *sodnam codbayin tölei бүтүбөби*).

1.7. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 99

'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje'i gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo bzhugs so// [front cover, 1r]

Vajracchedikā (“*The Diamond Sutra*”).

= Sanskr. *vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*

Manuscript, pothi, 43 ff., 21.6×8.6 cm, 6–7 lines, Russian paper, black and red ink, pen. Tibetan pagination.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 28. Пакбаширабъджи-парульдучинбадорджиджобашиджабатэкбачинбойдошуксу. Разсекающий алмазь — Сокращение параджныи парамиты”. Ff. 1v, 2r are deco-

rated with red and black bīja mantras. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 28’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram. On the back cover there is a note in Oirat ‘Copied by Šancaγ (Oir. šancaγi бүтэлгеbei:).

1.8. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 100

'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje'i gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo bzhugs so// [front cover, 1r]

Vajracchedikā (“*The Diamond Sutra*”).

= Sanskr. *vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*

Manuscript, pothi, 38 ff., 24.6×9.6 cm, 6 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. Tibetan and Oirat pagination.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 26. Пакбаширабъджи-парульдучинбадорджиджобашиджабатэкбачинбойдошуксу. Разсекающий алмазь — Сокращение параджныи парамиты”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 26’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram. On the back cover there is a note in Oirat ‘Tabong Namki copied it. For the [benefits] in present and future [lives]’ (Oir. γabong namki бүтэлгеbei:: ene kigēd xotiγin tölei).

1.9. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 101

'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa rdo rje'i gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo bzhugs so// [front cover, 1r]

Vajracchedikā (“*The Diamond Sutra*”).

= Sanskr. *vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*

Manuscript, pothi, 43 ff., 21.1×8.5 cm, 6 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. Tibetan pagination. Some words in the text are marked with yellowish paint.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 29. Пакбаширабъджи-парульдучинбадорджиджобашиджабатэкбачинбойдошуксу. Разсекающий алмазь — Сокращение параджныи парамиты”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 29’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram.

1.10. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 102

'phags pa bkra shis brtsegs ba bzhugs so// (Oir.). ölzöi dabxar orošiboi: [front cover]; 'phags bkra shis brtsegs pa zhes bya ba thegs pa chen po'i mdo// [1r]

“Mass of Auspiciousness” Sutra

= Sanskr. *āryamaṅgalakūṭanāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*

Manuscript, pothi, 9 ff., 20.2×7.1 cm, 6–7 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. Tibetan pagination.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 2-й. Пакба дашидзэква (святое удвоенное счастье)”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 2’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram.

1.11. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 103

shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'bum bsdus pa bzhugs so// [front cover]; 'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa'i don ma nor bar bsdus pa [1v]

Abridged version of Satasahasrikāprajñāpāramitā.

Manuscript, pothi, 9 ff., 22×8.1 cm, 7 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. No pagination

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 20. Ширабъджипарульдучинба-бумъдуйбашуксу (сокращенная парамита)”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 20’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram. On the front cover has Tibetan pagination «one» (Tib. gcig). On the back cover there is a note in Oirat ‘One hundred thousand Prajñāpāramitā was written down by gelong Sodnam’ (Oir. gelöng sodnam codbō 'abum bičibebi:).

1.12. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 105

mdo stong(=sdong) po brgyan pa bzhugs so/ (Oir.) moduni čimeq [front cover]; 'phags pa mdo stong (=sdong) po brgyan pa'i mchog ces bya ba/ [1r]

“Wooden adornment” Sutra

= Sanskr. *āryadhamanydzan-nāma-mahāyana-sūtra*

Manuscript, pothi, 4 ff., 20.4×7.5 cm, 6 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. Tibetan pagination.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 16. Додонбоджанбашуксу (деревянное украшение) сутра”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 16’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram.

1.13. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 106

This inventory consists of three separate manuscripts stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 11’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram.

1) 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa phan yon dang bcas pa bzhugs so// [front cover]; 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa/ [1r]

Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti.

= Sanskr. *āryamañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*

Manuscript, pothi, 28 ff., 21.3×7.3 (21×5.8) cm, 5 lines, Russian paper (light blue), black and red ink, pen. Tibetan pagination.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 11. Пакбаджамбалджицанъяндакьбарьждабпанъюнъданджайба (молитва манджушири)”.

2) 'phags pa kha mchu nag po zhi par byed ba'i mdo bzhugs so// [front cover]; 'phags pa kha mchu nag po zhi par byed pa/ zhes bya ba'i theg pa chen po'i mdo// [1r]

“Sutra, pacifying disputes”

= Sanskr. *āryakhadumdharmatapaye-sutra-nama-mahāyana-sūtra*

Manuscript, pothi, 6 ff., 20.6×7.2 cm, 6 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. Tibetan pagination.

3) (Oir.) bancaraks'a-yin xurāngyui orošibo:: [front cover]; 'phags pa stong chen po'i snying po [1r]; 'phags pa gsang sngags chen mo rjes su 'dzin ma'i snying po rdzogs so// [4r]

Abridged version of Pañcarakṣā.

= Sanskr. *mahamantrānudhārini-hṛdaya-sūtra*

Manuscript, pothi, 4 ff., 20.8×7 cm, 5 lines, Russian paper (light green), ink, pen. Tibetan pagination.

1.14. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 107

Incip: om [...] pa yi ba+dzra/ hUM rkyangs skums zhabs gnyis cung zad 'dra pa tsam gyis dkyil 'khor gshen gyi ri bo gshegs bzhugs 'bong gyur zhing/ [1v]

Worship prayer to Yama.

Manuscript, notebook, 5 ff. + back cover, 17.5×10.9 cm, 6–8 lines, Russian paper (light blue), ink, pen. No pagination.

A note on the back cover in Cyrillic: “№ 35. Чойджалидодба (похвала эрликъ-хану) (богу ада)”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 35’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram.

1.15. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 108

Incip: thub rnams spangs rtogs yon tan rab mnyam yang/ gdul bka'i 'gro la nyer brtse'i snying stobs la/ phyogs bcu'i rgyal kun mgrin gcig bsngags pa'i yul/ ...[1r]

Excerpt from the composition of the 5th dalai lama Ngawang Lobsang Gyatso (Tib. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617–1682).

Manuscript, notebook, 4 ff. + 2, 21.5×8.3 cm, 5–6 lines, Russian paper (light blue), ink, pen. No pagination.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 32. Туббачинбойбодъ (похвала будде)”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 32’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram.

1.16. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 109

Incip: legs bris dpal gyi bdag po gser gyi mngal/ lha yi bla ma glang gdong dpal gyi mgrin/ padmo'i ngyen sogs lta brgya'i gtsug rgyan gyis/ [1v]

Worship prayer to Indra (Qormusta). An excerpt from the composition of the 1st dalai lama Gedun Drupa (Tib. dGe 'dun grub pa, 1391–1474).

Manuscript, pothi, 6 ff., 22×9.2 cm, 7 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. Tibetan pagination in figures.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 17. Лэкбрайбалджи (молитва хормустъ)”. The front cover has pagination ‘one’ in Tibetan (gcig) and Oirat (nigen). On f. 5v the wishful phrase ‘Let all [living beings] obtain fifty human rebirths’ in Oirat is written (Oir. teden kümüni törölön olaxu boltuyai:). Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a fragment of a red wax seal.

1.17. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 110

[lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me'i gsung 'bum]

Texts from the collected works of Rolpai Dorje.

Beijing xylograph, pothi, 508 ff., 51.8×9.7 (49.7×6.4) cm, 4 lines, Chinese paper. Chinese and Tibetan pagination.

508 ff. = II (Tib. kha) = 60 ff. (4+2+5+3+6+5+3+5+3+24); IV (Tib. nga) = 238 ff. (5+17+5+3+7+4+3+4+9+4+4+3+3+7+3+4+5+3+4+3+2+2+2+3+2+2+4+2+3+2+5+2+2+2+4+3+11+5+4+3+3+3+5+6+3+31+5+3+3+11+6); V (Tib. ca) = 114 ff. (3+27+6+3+3+3+3+5+23+9+7+5+4+4+4+2+2+3); VI (Tib. cha) = 2 ff.; VII (Tib. ja) = 94 ff. (11+13+11+16+12+15+16)

Volume 2 (Tib. kha)

rje btsun 'jam pa'i dbyangs dang 'brel ba'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor byin rlabs myur du 'gugs pa'i lcags kyu zhes bya ba bzhugs so/ [front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) kha, (Chin.) 口刺.

rje bdag nyid chen po la brten pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor dngos grub kun 'byung zhes bya ba bzhugs so// [front cover]

2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) kha, bla ma'i rnal 'byor, (кит.) 尋.

bla ma'i rnal 'byor byin rlabs myur 'jug zhes bya ba bzhugs so// [front cover]

5 л., margin title: (Tib.) kha, bla ma'i rnal 'byor, (Chin.) 苓.

bla ma'i rnal 'byor don gnyis lhun grub zhes bya ba bzhugs so// [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) kha, bla ma'i rnal 'byor, (Chin.) 德.

skal ldan gyi skyes bus bla ma'i rnal 'byor la brten nas lam gyi rim pa'i dge sbyor skyong tshul mdor bsdus zhig bzhugs so// [front cover]

6 ff., margin title: (Tib.) kha, dge sbyor, (Chin.) 苛.

bla ma'i rnal 'byor dngos grub nor bu'i bang mdzod ces bya ba bzhugs so/ [front cover]

5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) kha, bla ma'i rnal 'byor, (Chin.) 拉.

bde mchog dkar po dang 'brel ba'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor byin rlabs gter mdzod bzhugs so// [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) kha, (Chin.) 申.

dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed la brten pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor nyams su len tshul dngos grub char 'bebs zhes bya ba bzhugs so/ [front cover]

5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) kha, (Chin.) 南.

bla mgon dbyer med kyi rnal 'byor nyams su len tshul bzhugs so// [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) kha, bla mgon rnal 'byor, (Chin.) 寺.

bla ma mchog gsum spyi'i mchod chog yid bzhin dbang rgyal zhes bya ba bzhugs/ [front cover]

24 ff., margin title: (Tib.) kha, mchod chog, (Chin.) 井.

Volume 4 (Tib. nga)

gsung 'bum nga pa'i dkar chag// [front cover]

5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, dkar chag, (Chin.) 第三.

gza' yum gyi dkyil 'khor bsgrub cing mchod pa'i cho ga bkra shis rab rgyas zhes bya ba bzhugs so/ [front cover]

17 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, gza' yum, (Chin.) 加.

rje btsun 'jam dpal dbyangs a ra pa tsa na dkar po gtso rkyang gi sgrub
thabs rab dkar zla ba'i 'od zer zhes bya ba bzhugs so// [front cover]

5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, 'jam dkar, (Chin.) 匝.

'jam dbyangs kyi mngon rtogs bzhugs so// [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, 'jam mngon, (Chin.) 伶.

bcom ldar 'das mi g.yo ba'i sgrub thabs las tshogs dang bcas pa go bde bar
briod pa bai DUr ya'i phreng ba zhes bya ba bzhugs so// [front cover]

7 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, mi g.yo, (Chin.) 必蔡.

so sor 'brang ma'i mngon rtogs mdor bsdu bzhugs/ [front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 餘.

phyag na rdo rje 'byung po 'dul byed kyi mngon rtogs bzhugs so//
[обложка] [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, 'byung 'dul, (Chin.) 邢.

dzam b+ha la nag po'i mngon rtogs bzhugs so/ [front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, dzam b+ha la, (Chin.) 質.

rje btsun ma yid bzhin 'khor lo'i sgo nas tshe'i dngos grub sgrub par byed
pa'i yi ge 'chi med dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs// [front cover]

9 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 俱 卽 .

rgyal yum sgrol dkar yid bzhin 'khor lo la bstod pa tshe yi dngos grub
'gugs par byed pa'i lcags kyu zhes bya ba bzhugs so// [front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, sgrol dkar bstod pa, (Chin.) 肖.

rje btsun sgrol ma la gsol ba 'debs tshul 'dod dgu'i mchog sbyin zhes bya
bzhugs sto/ [front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 亲斥丢聿.

thub pa'i dbang po la mdzad pa bcu gnyis kyi sgo nas bstod pa bzhugs/
[обложка] [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 鸞.

rje btsun 'jam dpal dbyangs la bstod pa dpyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs
zhes bya ba bzhugs/ [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 富.

dpal ye shes yon tan bzang po'i bstod pa rnam par bshad pa mkhas pa dga'
bskyed tam+bu ra'i sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs/ [front cover]

7 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 新.

rgyal yum dbyangs can ma dkar mo la bstod pa shes rab snang ba rgyas
pa'i dga' ston zhes bya ba bzhugs so/ [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 寂.

'phags mchog spyen ras gzigs la gdung ba'i dbyangs kyis gsol ba 'debs pa
'phags pa'i thugs rje bskul ba'i lha'i rnga chen zhes bya ba bzhugs so// [front
cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 亲乐.

byang chub lam gyi rim pa'i nyams len dang sbyar ba'i gsol 'debs bzhugs/
[front cover]

5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 林.

dpal rdo rje 'jigs byed lha bcu gsum ma'i dbang gi brgyud pa'i kha bskong
bla brgyud gsol 'debs bzhugs so/ [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 比.

khri chen sprul sku rin po che'i zhabs brtan bzhugs sto// [front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, zhabs, (Chin.) 寡

bla ma rdo rje 'chang gi zhabs 'deggs zhu lugs zhal gdams shing phag lo
stsal ba/ [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, zhal gdams 'phrin yig, (Chin.) 間.

gsol 'debs mu tig 'phreng mdzes zhes bya ba bzhugs// [front cover]

2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, gsol 'debs, (Chin.) 求.

khri chen no min han rin po che'i myur 'byon gsol 'debs [front cover]

2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, myur 'byon, (кит.) 豈.

rgyal dbang thams cad mkhyen pa'i mchog sprul rin po che blo bzang 'jam
dpal rgya mtsho'i zhabs brtan [front cover]

2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 毀.

zhabs brtan [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 丸.

gong ma'i zhabs brtan [front cover]

2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 開.

byang phyogs 'gro ba'i 'dren pa rje btsun dam pa'i mchog sprul rin po che
ye shes bstan pa'i nyi ma'i zhabs brtan bkra shis rab rgyas [front cover]

2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 傷.

gsol 'debs byin rlabs myur 'jug sogs gsol 'debs le tshan bzhi [front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 皿.

khri chen mchog sprul rin po che blo bzang bstan pa'i nyi ma'i myur byon
gsol 'debs [front cover]

2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 常.

'dod gsol mchog gcig ma sogs gsol 'debs le tshan gsum/ [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 輶.

bka' drin gsol 'debs [front cover]

2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 案.

'dod gsol byin rlabs myur 'jug [front cover]

5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 新陸.

zhal snga nas blo bzang chos 'dzin pa'i zhabs brtan smon tshig [front
cover]

- 2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, zhabs brtan, (Chin.) 曼.
rje btsun dam pa'i sprul sku'i zhabs brtan bden tshig [front cover]
- 2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 新染.
so nyid ku shi chos rje'i myur 'byon gsol 'debs [front cover]
- 2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, myur 'byon, (Chin.) 直女.
bde bar gshegs pa'i sku gsung thugs kyi rten bzhengs pa'i phan yon sogs
dang dge bsngo'i tshigs bcad [front cover]
- 4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, rten bzhengs pa'i phan yon, (Chin.) 遷.
gros 'debs gser zhun 'khyil ba [front cover]
- 3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, gser zhun 'khyil ba, (Chin.) 況.
bar do'i 'phrang sgrol gsol 'debs 'jigs sgrol dpa' bo'i 'grel pa gtan bde'i bsil
ster zla zer [front cover]
- 11 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, bar do, (Chin.) 予瓜.
skyabs 'gro'i khrid [front cover]
- 5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, khrid, (Chin.) 言寺.
gdugs dkar gyi rgyal mtshan 'dzugs pa'i phyag len gyi brjed tho bkra shis
rab rgyas [front cover]
- 4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, gdugs dkar, (Chin.) 墨.
'jigs byed rim gnyis dang sbyar ba'i mgur zab mo [front cover]
- 3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, rim gnyis, (Chin.) 谷欠.
lta ba'i gsung mgur zab mo [front cover]
- 3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, lta ba'i gsung.
dben par dga' ba'i gtam chos glu ring mo [front cover]
- 3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 聖.
ri bo rtse lnga'i gnas bstod dang 'brel ba'i mgur 'jam dpal dgyes pa'i mchod
sprin [front cover]
- 5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, rtse lnga'i gnas bstod, (Chin.) 量.
bla ma mchog gsum gyi thugs rje bskul ba nges 'byung skyo shas kyi
shugs glu [front cover]
- 6 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, shugs glu, (Chin.) 答.
chos la bskul ba'i glu dbyangs thar pa'i sgo 'byed [front cover]
- 3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, chos la bskul ba'i glu, (Chin.) 回.
dbu ma'i lta ba nyams su len pa'i tshul de kho na nyid snang bar byed pa'i
sgron me [front cover]
- 31 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, (Chin.) 青.
lta khrid [front cover]
- 5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, lta khrid, (Chin.) 层.
lta khrid mdor bsdu [front cover]
- 3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, lta khrid, (Chin.) 火赤.

theg pa chen po'i blo sbyong pa'i gdam gyi sbyor ba pad+ma dkar po'i
'phreng ba / [front cover]

11 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, theg chen blo sbyong, (Chin.) 羔.

blo sbyong chos kyi sgo 'byed/ [front cover]

6 ff., margin title: (Tib.) nga, blo sbyong, (Chin.) 罪.

Volume 5 (Tib. ca)

gsung 'bum ca pa'i dkar chag// [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, dkar chag, (Chin.) 第五.

byang chub sems dpa'i bslab bya mdor bsduz gzhan phan bdud rtsi'i 'od
phreng zhes bya ba bzhugs so// [front cover]

27 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, byang sems, (Chin.) 章.

rgyal ba'i bstan pa la ji ltar slob pa'i rim pa mdo tsam brjod pa gzhan phan
bdud rtsi'i snying po bzhugs sto// [front cover]

6 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, (Chin.) 然.

bslab bya gsal ba'i sgron me zhes bya ba bzhugs/ [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, (Chin.) 土甲.

lots+tsha ba ngag dbang chos dpal la gnang ba'i bslab bya bzhugs so/
[front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, bslab bya, (Chin.) 慕.

bslab bya bdud rtsi'i yang zhun zhes bya ba bzhugs so// [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, bslab bya, (Chin.) 悲.

dga' ldan byang chub gling gi bca' yig bzhugs/ [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, bca' yig, (Chin.) 所.

bstan pa'i gsal byed dam pa 'jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i sprul pa'i sku rin po
che'i dri lan// [front cover]

5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, (Chin.) 新恰.

sgo mang gung ru rab 'byams pa byams pa blo gros kyi dris lan bzhugs so/
[front cover]

23 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, (Chin.) 成.

dri lan khyad par gsum ldan bzhugs so// [front cover]

9 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, dri lan, (Chin.) 直.

bzod pa gu shri'i dri lan bzhugs so// [front cover]

7 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, dri lan, (Chin.) 治.

rgyal dbang thams cad mkhyen pa blo bzang skal bzang rgya mtsho dpal
bzang po'i zhabs pad rin po che'i drung du phul ba'i zhu yig bzhugs [front
cover]

5 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, chab shog, (Chin.) 化.

gong sa rin po cher phul ba'i zhu yig dge legs rgya chen ma bzhugs/ [front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, chab shog, (Chin. 被.

gong sa rin po cher phul ba'i zhu yig dpal ldan phun tshogs ma bzhugs/ [front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, chab shog, (Chin.) 草.

gong sa rin po cher phul ba'i zhu yig bde 'byung gtsug rgyan ma bzhugs/ [front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, chab shog, (Chin.) 赖.

khri chen rdo rje 'chang ngag dbang mchog ldan pa'i sku zhabs su phul ba'i zhu yig bzhugs/ [front cover]

2 f., (pagination ff. Nos. 1, 3, f. No. 2 is missing), margin title: (Tib.) ca, chab shog, (Chin.) 木.

'phags pa lhar phul ba'i zhu yig bzhugs/ [front cover]

2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, (Chin.) 及.

bde mchog la brten pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor dngos grub 'gugs pa'i lcags kyu zhes bya ba bzhugs so/ [front cover]

3 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ca, rnal 'byor dngos grub, (Chin.) 束.

Two last folios are severely damaged.

Volume 6 (Tib. cha)

rta mgrin la brten pa'i bla ma'i rnal 'byor bzhugs so// [front cover]

2 ff., margin title: (Tib.) cha, bla ma'i rnal 'byor, (Chin.) 通.

Volume 7 (Tib. ja)

dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas zhes bya ba las grub mtha'i skor [front cover]

11 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ja, grub mtha', (Chin.) 開五.

dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas zhes bya ba las sngags kyi skor [front cover]

13 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ja, sngags, (Chin.) 開六本.

dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas zhes bya ba las gtan tshigs rig pa'i skor [front cover]

11 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ja, gtan tshigs, (Chin.) 開七本.

dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas zhes bya ba las sgra rig gi skor [front cover]

16 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ja, sgra, (Chin.) 開八本.

dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas zhes bya ba las bzo ba rig pa'i skor [front cover]

12 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ja, bzo ba, (Chin.) 開几本.

dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas zhes bya ba las gso ba rig pa'i skor/ [front cover]

15 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ja, gso ba, (Chin.) 開十本.

dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas zhes bya ba las brda' gsar rnying gi skor
[front cover]

16 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ja, brda' gsar rnying, (Chin.) 開十一本.

1.18. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 121

[lcang skya rol pa'i rdo rje ye shes bstan pa'i sgron me'i gsung 'bum]

Volume 1 (Tib. ka) of the collected works of Rolpai Dorje: biography and biography praise of the 7th dalai lama Kelsang Gyatso (1708–1757).

Beijing xylograph, pothi, 536 ff., 53.3×10.7 (49.7×6.4) cm, 6 lines, Chinese paper. F. 51 is severely damaged. Chinese and Tibetan pagination. Ff. 1–558 (ff. 115, 119, 184, 280–283, 442–450, 480–481, 483, 504–509, 557 are missing).⁹

1) rgyal ba'i dbang po thams cad mkhyen gzigs rdo rje 'chang blo bzang bskal bzang rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i zhal snga nas kyi rnam par thar pa mdo tsam brjod pa dpag bsam rin po che'i snye ma zhes bya ba bzhugs//
[front cover]

532 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ka, rnam thar, (Chin.) 寿.

2) rgyal ba khyab bdag rdo rje 'chang chen po dang ngo bo dbyer ma mchis pa rje btsun blo bzang bskal bzang rgya mtsho dpal bzang po'i rnam par thar pa'i sgo nas bstod pa thugs rje'i nyin byed 'dren pa'i skya rengs/
[front cover]

4 ff., margin title: (Tib.) ka, (Chin.) 方字.

2. In the Mongolian language:

2.1. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 83

qutuy-tu degedü altan gerel-tü sudur orosiba.: [front cover]; qutuy-tu degedü altan gereltü erke-tü sudur-nuyud-un qayan neretü yeke kölgen sudur: [2r];

Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra (“*Sutra of the Golden light*”).

⁹ Archival pagination gives incorrect number of folios — 530.

= Tib. *'phags pa gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po'i rgyal po/ 'phags pa gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po'i rgyal po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo/*

= Sanskr. *suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtreṇrarājah*

Buryat xylograph, pothi, 236 ff., 42×11 (37.6×7.5) cm, 30 lines, Russian paper. F. 1 is severely damaged. Margin titles change in accordance with the section. Mongolian pagination (separate for each section). F. 1v is decorated with two coloured miniatures. As a part of decoration the first folio of each section is printed in red ink (in the first section the first and second folios). On f. 1v the Sanskrit title is written (by hand) in Tibetan letters between the lines. There are hand-written interpolations in Tibetan letters for dharanī on ff. 10v and 11r of 'nya' section and ff. 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v, 16r, 16v, 17r, 17v, 18r of 'nga' section.

- I — 24 ff., margin: (Tib.) ka, (Mong.) terigün;
- II — 25 ff., margin: (Tib.) kha, (Mong.) ka, qoyaduḡar;
- III — 22 ff., margin: (Tib.) ga, (Mong.) ga, ḡuatayar;
- IV — 22 ff., margin: (Tib.) nga, (Mong.) nga, dötüger;
- V — 23 ff., margin: (Tib.) ca, (Mong.) ça tabtayar;
- VI — ff., margin: (Tib.) cha, (Mong.) ça, ḡiryuduḡar;
- VII — 19 ff., margin: (Tib.) ja, (Mong.) ja, doloduḡar;
- VIII — 14 ff., margin: (Tib.) nya, (Mong.) ña, naimaduḡar;
- IX — 9 ff., margin: (Tib.) ta, (Mong.) ta, yisüdüger;
- X — 25 ff., margin: (Tib.) tha, (Mong.) ta, arbaduḡar;
- XI — 26 ff., margin: (Tib.) da, (Mong.) da, arban nigedüger.¹⁰

Reprint of the Beijing xylograph printed in the time of Kanxi (end of the 17th — beginning of the 18th cc.)

The following texts in the end:

1) qutuḡ-tu sayin yabudal-un irüger-ün qayan [da arban nigedüger bölüg, 19r–25r]

= Tib. *bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po*

= Sanskr. *āryabhadracaryāpraṇidhānārāja*

2) doloḡan ülemḡi burqan-u öljöi-tü qutuḡ-tu silüg: [da arban nigedüger bölüg, 25r–26r]

¹⁰ Incorrect archival pagination: one folio (No. 5) in the first section is omitted.

2.2. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 111

Incip: (Tib.) pa'i tshul / (Mong.) küi-yin yosun-i: (Tib.) tshan pa sum cu btu ba dang / (Mong.) yučin keseg tegükü kiged: ...[2r]

Third part of the Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary know under the short title "Ocean of names" (Tib. ming gi rgya mtsho, Mong. ner-e-yin dalai)

Manuscript, pothi, 121 ff., 43.5×11 (36.5×8) cm, 3 lines, Russian paper of different quality and colour (light blue, dark blue, white), ink, pen. Margin title: (Tib.) nyi 'od. Tibetan pagination on ff. 2–131. Ff. 1, 36–40, 91–93, 108, 130 are missing, two folios with the same number (No. 71). Manuscript is incomplete, the beginning and end are missing.

2.3. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 120

[yogačaris-un erketü degedü getülgegči milarasba-yin rnamtar: nirvan kiged qamuy-i ayiladuychi-yin mör-i üjegülügsen kemegdekü orošiba:]

Namtar of Milarepa.

= Tib. rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po rje btsun mi la ras pa'i rnam thar thar pa dang thams cad mkhyen pa'i lam ston

Manuscript, pothi, 301 ff., 30.2×8.2 (26.4×6.5) cm, 24 lines, Chinese paper, ink, cinnabar, calamus. Mongolian pagination on ff. 1–302, ff. 116, 175 are missing; two folios with the same number No. 196). Two covers without pagination decorated with miniatures.¹¹

Manuscript is kept in the wooden case of the 19th c. External and internal front covers are decorated with two and three minitatures respectively painted in mineral colours.

2.4. Fund 10, Inventory No. 5, Item 181

yayiqamsiytu molon toyin neretei qubilyan-tu tülde qayiratu eke-yügen tamu-yin oron-ača yaryaju burqan boluyusan teüji: [back cover]

Illustrated album of the story of Molon toyin.

Manuscript, notebook, 36 ff., 35.5×26.3 cm, 17–27 lines, Chinese paper, ink, calamus. Mongolian pagination.

The notebook is stitched in Chinese manner from right to left.¹² Binding is made of a dark blue cotton cloth traditionally used for Chinese-style tao (套)

¹¹ Archival pagination is done not in compliance with the original Mongolian pagination.

¹² Archival pagination is done with pencil in reverse order.

case. Each side of the folio of the manuscript is decorated with colourful illustrations painted in water colours.

On the front cover there is a stamp “Ц.А. Арх. № 181, Св. № 6, Ф. № 10” (Central Archive. Archive No. 118, Bound No. 6, Fund No. 10) and a modern label with a note: “Рукопись на монгольском языке. Рукопись повествует о путешествии Молон-Тойна по аду в поисках матери (аннотация этой рукописи содержится в кн. Пр. Яхонтовой)” (Manuscript in Mongolian language. The manuscript tells the journey of Molon toyin searching for his mother in the hell (annotation of text could be found in Prof Yakhontova’s book)).

2.5. Fund 10, Inventory No. 5, Items 193-208

jirukai-yi bičig bolai:: [Item 193, front cover]

Astronomy treatise.

Manuscript, notebook, 853 ff. (45+64+46+82+48+57+48+36+36+44+43+45+44+51+49+47+68), 22×35.5 cm, Russian paper, ink, pen.

The manuscript is bound in 16 parts each having its own inventory number.¹³ Different amount of lines on a page. No original pagination. Some folios have pagination in Arabic figures. The majority of pages contain tables with Tibetan figures.

On the back cover of one of the notebooks (Item No. 193) there are two notes written with a pencil: ‘№ 30’ and a pen: ‘Джирухай-нь бичикъ булой: Астрономія’. On f. 43 of one of the notebooks (Item No. 196) there is a stamp «Библиотеки Казанской духовной академіи».

2.6. Fund 10, Inventory No. 5, Item 210

mongyol kelen-ü üsüg-üd kiged: teden-ü qolboly-a ba: basa busu angqan kereg-tü-yi surqu durasiyčï ulus-tur tusa-tai kiged todorqai üjegülügčï: masï sayin bilig kemegčï nom jokiyaydabai:: Составленная Робертом Юилленемь [front cover]

Mongolian language grammar.

Codex, 65 ff., 17.7×23.5 cm, Russian paper. Tibetan pagination in figures.

On page 1 there are a stamp «Библиотеки Казанской духовной академіи» and a white label “Инв. 2, Хр. Кат. 365г”. The book was printed with the permission of a censor Korsakov (page 2) issued on April 1, 1837,

¹³ The manuscript folios are stitched into notebooks in a random order.

in Saint-Petersburg. The book is printed in the missionary printing-house in Selenginsk in 1839 (Mong. selengge-yin baɣasun-u emün-e misionar-un bar-tu nige mingyan naiman ɣayun ɣučin yisun on-a daruɣdaba:: : :: [65r]).

3. In the Oirat language:

3.1. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 84

nom yirtüncüyin xoyor yosuni debter: [front cover]

Buddhist text.

Manuscript, notebook, 31 ff. + 2 covers, 31.2×17.7 (27.9×14.4) cm, 25–40 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen.

On the front cover there is a white label “№ Инв. 58., № Хр. Кат. Б.К.Д.А”. On f. 1r there is a stamp «Библиотеки Казанской духовной академии».

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “Номъ Ертүнцүйнг хојоръ јосуни дэбтэръ. Книга о порядкѣ мирскомъ и духовномъ”.

According to the colophon, the text was copied by Astrakhan province clergy V. Diligensky in 1852 (Mong. ayidarxa baɣasuni nöüdeq sümeyin dgesleng basili diligenesky gedeq ene kübüd bičiq bičibebi:: 1852 on:: [31r]).

3.2. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 85

ɣurban udxayin gün kütülbüri:: [front cover]

Buddhist text.

Manuscript, notebook, 20 ff. + covers, 35.7×11.2 cm, 28–29 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. Oirat pagination.

On the front cover there are a white label “Инв. № 59., № Хр. Кат. 2. Б.К.Д.А.” and a note in Cyrillic: “№ 2^й. Гурбанъ утхайнь гүнъ кütэлбүри. Глубокое руководство къ тремъ сущностямъ (Родъ буддйского катехизиса)”. On f. 1r there is a stamp «Библиотеки Казанской духовной академии».

According to the colophon, the text was copied by Astrakhan province churchman V. Diligensky in 1853 (Mong. ayidaraxa guberni nöüdeq sümeyin vasili diligenesky geleng bi ene kübüd bičiq bičibebi:: 1853 on: [20r]).

3.3. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 90

ubaši-du бүтөкү үйилдбүр inu: (Tib.) dge snyen du sgrub pa'i cho ga ni/ [1r]

Layman and monk vows.

Manuscript, pothi, 3 ff., 21×8 cm, 3 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. Oirat and Tibetan pagination.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 24. Иосолинъ судуръ (рукопись, содержащая объѣты буддистовъ, даваемые ими при постриженіи въ монашество”. Manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 24’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram.

3.4. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 91

beyēn amur zōlōn debiskertü šudur/γu souji: [1r]

Ritual text on meditation.

Manuscript, notebook, 10 ff., 10×16.2 cm, 5–8 lines, Russian paper (light green), ink, pen. No pagination.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 19. Итэгэль. Рукопись, содержащая въ себѣ наставленія, какъ должно представлять себѣ ламу”.

3.5. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 92

tabun maxabuudiyin eki köbüün kigēd olzo dayisuni ilγāxu {inu} kemēbesü: [1v]

Astrological notes.

Manuscript, notebook, 30 ff., 20.6×8 cm, 20–22 lines, Russian paper, ink, pen. No pagination. Manuscript is incomplete (no ending), written by different scribes (different hand-writings) in the Oirat and Tibetan languages (Tibetan text on ff. 6v–9r).

On the front cover there are a stamp ‘Библиотеки Казанской духовной академіи’ and a white label without inscriptions. A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 25. Табунъ махамудійнь экэ кхубунъ кигэдэ олзл дайсуни ильгаху (о пяти основныхъ стихіяхъ)”.

3.6. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 94

Manuscript, notebook, 20 ff., 17.5×22.3 cm, Russian paper, ink, pen. No pagination.

On the front cover there are a white label with a note ‘№ Инв. 116, № Хр. Кат. 211. Б.К.Д.А’, a stamp ‘Библиотеки Казанской духовной академіи’ and a note in Cyrillic: “Перенумеровано сто семнадцать листовъ. Секретарь Корнеев(?). Становленическая грамота буддійского жречества и повесть объ Убаши”.

On the back cover there is a red wax seal with a Mongolian inscription on it.

1r–11v — Story about Ubaši

12r–14v — Title in Russian: Торгудь Хо орликъ.

15r–18v — Scratchnotes in the Russian and Oirat languages made by different hand-writings.

19r — List of the Kalmyks (number of kibitkas (yurts) per a clan).

3.7. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 95

caṃān šükürtüin tayilbur orošibo:: [front cover]; xamuq tögünčilen boluqsani usñir-ēce ɣaruqsan caṃā šükürtü kemēküin tayilbur: [1r]

«*Explanation of Sitātapatrā sutra*».

= Tib. *de bzhin gshegs pa'i gtsug tor nas byung ba'i gdugs dkar po can ma'i 'grel pa/*

Manuscript, notebook, 45 ff.¹⁴, 22.2×8.4 cm, 16 lines, Russian paper of different quality (light blue, white), ink, pen. Oirat pagination and Tibetan pagination in figures.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 14. Цагаанъ шухуртуинъ таильбуръ орошибай (объяснение бѣлаго зонтика)”.

3.8. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 96

altan gereliyin sudur orošibo:: [front cover]

The abridged version of the “Sutra of Golden light”

Manuscript, pothi, 4 ff., 20.6×7.4 (17.5×5.7) cm, 15–20 lines, Russian paper, black and red ink, calamus. Oirat and Tibetan pagination and Tibetan pagination in figures.

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№17. Алтанъ гэрэлийнъ судуръ орошибай (золотой лучъ)”. The manuscript is stitched with a cord with a white label. On the label there is a note ‘№ 17’ and a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram.

According to the colophon the text was copied in the yellow hen year (1849?) by a person named Lobsan Darba (Oir. amirlangyui šorō takā jiliyin xaburiyin dun/da moɣoi sarayin arban yesün ni bars ödöriyin morin caqtu biči/be: lubzang darby’ā: [20r]).

¹⁴ Archival pagination is incorrect: two folios with the same number (No. 37).

3.9. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 97

bodomoncaqgiyigi tarixar delgürüül/küyin zuu suryumjim:: [front cover]

Instruction for growing potatoes.

European-style book, 19 f. + covers, 15×21.1 cm, Russian paper. Tibetan pagination in figures (ff. 1–37 + 2 blank folios).

A note on the front cover in Cyrillic: “№ 30. О посѣве карт.” (crossed out) and “№ 31”. A note on internal cover: “№ 31. О посѣве картофеля (литографированная)”. The book is stitched with a cord with a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram.

Litographically printed in 1841 (colophon f. 19v).

3.10. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 104

Incip: namo mañcuširi ye: kong rzē bodhi sadu-yi takixui-du: urida altan delekei-dü ceceq delge: [1r]

Ceremonial texts.

Manuscript, notebook, 28 ff. + 2 covers (blank), 21.4×8.4 cm, 2–7 (for Tobetan text), 20–22 (for Oirat text) lines, Russian paper (light blue), black and red ink, pen. No pagination.

On ff. 1–2 short prayers to Buddhas and bodhisattvas are written.

A note on the back cover in Cyrillic: “№ 16. Иосолінь судурь (калмыцкій обрядникъ, содержащій въ себѣ обряды, наблюдаемыми буддистами въ извѣстные дни и при известныхъ обстоятельствахъ)”. On the back cover there are a stamp ‘Библиотеки Казанской духовной академіи’ and a white label without inscriptions.

3.11. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 112

Manuscript, European-style book, 195 ff., 16.5×10.5 cm, Russian paper, black and red ink, pen. No pagination.

Folios are stitched and bound as a European-style book. The cover is made of wooden plates glued over with leather with a brass clasp more typical for the Arabic book tradition. On the back cover there is a red wax seal with ‘ГК’ monogram. On ff. 23, 87 there are stamps ‘Библиотеки Казанской духовной академіи’. Manuscript is written in different handwritings, contains a considerable amount of corrections and notes. The direction of text changes (on ff. 18–28 the text is written vertically).

The manuscript consists of nine different Buddhist texts (six of them in Tibetan, one in Tibetan with translation into Oirat): canonical works

(Vajracchedikā, Sitātapatrā sutra), prayers, ritual texts, astrological notes and divinatory.

3.12. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 20

Toli bičiq:: Дилигенский В. Словарь Калмыцко-русский [internal cover]

Manuscript, European-style book, 351 p., 22×34.5cm, Russian paper, ink, pen. Pagination in Arabic figures.

On internal cover there is a white label 'Инв. 113, Хр. Кат. 158' and a stamp 'Y.T.A. Milətlər Kəltürası byl[...] Библиотека Нац. Культотдела Т.Ц.А.'. On the last page there is a stamp 'Библиотеки Казанской духовной академии'. The words are given in abnormal for the Mongolian alphabet order. Dictionary entries are arranged in 3 columns with 10–15 words each. There are not a few corrections and notes. The dictionary contains approximately 12500 words.

4. In the Chinese language:

4.1. Fund 10, Inventory No. 7, Item 19

Latin-Chinese lexicon.

Manuscript, European-style book, 84 p., 13×17.9 cm, European paper. Pagination in Arabic figures.

The cover is bound with Chinese grey cloth traditionally used for Chinese-style tao (套) case. On the front cover there is a white label '№ 60. 1 книга. Ц. 1 рубль'. On the internal cover there is a white label '«№ Инв. 124, Хр. Кат. 390'. European paper with water-marks. On the first page there is a stamp 'Библиотеки Казанской духовной академии'.

Dictionary index is on page 84.

Abbreviations

IOM, RAS: Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences

КТА: the Kazan Theological Academy

Mong.: the Mongolian language

Oir.: the Tibetan language

Sanskrit.: Sanskrit

SART: the State Archive of the Republic of Tatarstan

Tib.: the Tibetan language

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REVIEWS

Indische Handschriften. Teil 19. Die Śāradā-Handschriften der Sammlung Janert der Staatsbibliothek — Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Beschrieben von Gerhard Ehlers. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016. — 145 p. ISBN: 978-5-85803-492-6

The peer-reviewed edition “Indian manuscripts of Janert collection of the State Library – the Prussian Cultural Heritage (then — “Indian manuscripts”), being a part of the wide project “The Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts in Germany” (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland), continues a series of publications of Kaśmīri manuscripts of Klaus-Ludwig Janert collection, kept in the Berlin State Library. This edition is an annotated catalogue of Śaiva manuscripts composed of śāradā and devanāgarī scripts. G. Ehlers, the compiler of the catalogue, in the short Introduction, preceding the publication, describes the principles of compilation of the catalogue, and also explains why the number of manuscripts in Hindī, Bengali, and fragments on birch bark of the K.-L. Janert collection were not included in the present edition.

The catalogue presents data of almost four hundred items, each of which has its own catalogue number from 6900 to 7293. The code of each manuscript is listed according to the catalogue system of the Berlin State Library that is very useful in preparing for direct work with manuscripts in the collections of the Library. Thus, any manuscript has a cipher *Hs* or <ordinal number> *SBB-PK*, where **Hs** is ‘*Handschriften*’, and **SBB-PK**, respectively, *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz*. Each of the manuscripts, presented in the catalogue, is provided with the necessary and detailed paleographic and archaeographic information. The annotation provides information on the peculiarities of the manuscript: the type of the manuscript’s material (palm leaf, paper, etc.), dating (when it can be dated), the method of binding, and the size of the sheet, the number of lines on the page, the script, and the color of the ink used. Also in the annotation are the colophons of each of the texts.

The peer-reviewed catalogue covers a large number of Kaśmīri religious literatures. In addition to the Vedic saṃhitās, this collection includes Purāṇic literature, Epos, Tantra literature, collections of stotras and mantras, manuals on ritual, philosophical treatises of orthodox darśanas, works on grammar, metrics,

astronomy and astrology, a fragment of a medicine treatise. It's necessary to note a representative collection of Vedic texts, Tantra literature, collections of stotras and mantras, and also instructions on ritual.

A rich collection of manuscripts in the present catalogue, relating to the tradition of Kaśmīri monistic Śaivism, attracts attention. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this stream of religious and philosophical thought, in particular its written heritage, on Indian culture. The influence of Kaśmīri Śaivism is felt both in the sphere of the Indian linguistic and philosophical tradition, in religious and cult practice, and in the formation of aesthetic traditions.

Besides of the works attributed to Śiva himself, the catalog "Indian manuscripts" contains 25 different works related to the Rudrayāmala-tantra, among them Vijñānabhairava (No. 7109, p. 64) — one of the basic texts of Kaśmīri Śaivism. The manuscript also contains Vijñānabhairavoddyota — a comment of Śivasvāmin (probably so named Śivopadhyāya) on Vijñānabhairava.

The catalogue contains the indications of three lists of the so-called Spandasūtra (No. 6975, p. 31, No. 7158, p. 77, No. 7287, p. 107), the authorship of which is attributed to the Kaśmīri philosopher and the ascetic Vasugupta, who is revered as the founder Kaśmīri Śaivism. All three texts are accompanied by a commentary — Śivasūtravimarśinī of Kṣhemarāja — Abhinavagupta's famous disciple. Probably, text given name — Spandasūtra — is synonymous with Vasugupta's Śivasūtras — basic text of Kaśmīri Śaivism.

A collection of texts in "Indian manuscripts" known as Pratyabhijñāśāstras, in which the philosophy of Kaśmīri Śaivism is expressed, is very representative. Thus, one manuscript contains the Śivadṛṣṭi text (No. 6926.2, p. 18) — the treatise written by Somānanda — Vasugupta's desciple (in the catalog Somānanda named as Somānandanātha), who is regarded in Śaiva tradition as the founder of the philosophical branch in Kaśmīri Śaivism. In Śivadṛṣṭi Somānanda summed up a serious philosophical base under the views expressed in Vasugupta's Śivasūtras, refuting the objections of opponents.

Another authoritative representative of Kaśmīri Śaivism, whose works are contained in the "Indian manuscripts", is Abhinavagupta — the outstanding philosopher and mystic. The peer-reviewed catalog contains data on its three fundamental works. First of all, it is necessary to point out Tantrāloka (No. 7040, p. 47) — a work that generalizes ritual and philosophical aspects of all Kaśmīri Śaiva schools. That's why Tantrāloka is regarded as an encyclopaedia of Śaiva tradition. The treatise Paramārthasāra (No. 7011, p. 40), also written by Abhinavagupta, is a summary of Tantrāloka. In 105 stanzas of Paramārthasāra the stages of the spiritual Śaiva practice are described. The next significant Abhinavagupta's text, contained in the catalog "Indian manuscripts" — Parātrīṃśikāvivaraṇa (No. 6925, p. 18). The value of this text lies in the mantra theory presented in it, where Abhinavagupta describes in detail the sacred meaning of each akṣara of the Sanskrit phonetic system.

The peer-reviewed catalogue contains one more text of mentioned above Śivopadhyāya — Kaśmīravaraṇa. Śivopadhyāya (18 c.) — the author of the commentary on Vijñānabhairava-tantra — is considered the last in the lineage of Kaśmīri Śaivism philosophers that began of Somānanda (9–10 c.).

Besides of the representative list of key sources of Kaśmīri religious tradition, the data of which are presented in the “Indian manuscripts” catalogue, the peer-reviewed edition has a number of significant advantages. There are three indicators at the end of this publication. The *Index of texts* contains a detailed classification of items according to various genres of Indian religious literature (Vedas, epics, tantras, manuals on ritual, etc.). The next index includes all texts’ titles found in the catalogue, which are listed in alphabetical order, indicating their serial number in the Ehlers catalogue. The *Names index* is a list of authors whose works are given in the peer-reviewed edition. These indexes greatly facilitate the researcher’s work and make this catalogue very useful when working with the Kaśmīri manuscripts collection in the Berlin State Library.

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