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The Serindian collection of the IOM, RAS. Birchbark manuscript SI 6558 after restoration  
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Artiom Mesheznikov

## Seven New Fragments of the Sanskrit Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra (manuscript SI 6781) in the Serindia Collection (IOM, RAS)<sup>1</sup>

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*Abstract.* The present paper introduces seven new manuscript fragments that have been identified with the Sanskrit Buddhist text — the Lotus Sūtra (Skt. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka). Until quite recently these fragments have had no pressmark and were revealed among the unregistered materials of the Serindia Collection (IOM, RAS). The fragments represent different parts of seven pothi-type leaves of paper containing Sanskrit text in South Turkestan Brāhmī script, which was used for recording Buddhist texts in the 8–9 cc. AD in Khotan — the largest center of Mahāyāna in Serindia (the Eastern part of Central Asia within the current borders of Xinjiang). Seven fragments bear clear similarities in terms of paleographic and codicological features (type of script, size and shape of graphemic symbols (*akṣaras*), number of lines and line-spacing, paper characteristics etc.). Given the express similarities, it is reasonable to assume that all the fragments could belong to one and the same manuscript. Furthermore, it was revealed that two new fragments almost join with those kept under the pressmarks SI 1934 and SI 6584 and represent altogether two relatively complete pothi leaves. After the identification and investigation these seven new fragments were assigned the inventory number and the pressmark SI 6781. This paper includes description of the fragments SI 6781, transliteration, comparison with the corresponding text of the Petrovsky manuscript (the most complete Central Asian copy of the Sanskrit Lotus Sūtra), English translation, and facsimile of two fragments.

*Key words:* Lotus Sūtra, Nicolai F. Petrovsky, Sanskrit manuscripts, Serindia Collection IOM, RAS

Sanskrit written monuments found in the 19–20 cc. in the oasis city-states of the Tarim Basin of the so-called Serindia (the historical and cultural area

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of Central Asia, spanning the present-day Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China) constitute the core of the tradition of Northern Buddhism.<sup>2</sup> Sanskrit manuscripts from Serindia are of great scientific significance for the study of the ancient and early medieval history of the Northern branch of Buddhist tradition, which as a result of its historical spread and advancement took root among indigenous peoples of Russia. Since Central Asia was able to retain Sanskrit written heritage, which was almost completely lost in its original home, India, Serindian manuscripts represent essential historical sources for the reflection of the early development of Northern Buddhism.

The Serindia Collection of the Department of Manuscripts and Documents of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences (IOM, RAS) contains an extensive collection of Central Asian Buddhist written monuments in Sanskrit. It includes over 600 storage units, which appeared to be Sanskrit manuscript fragments from Khotan, Kashgar, Kucha and other centers of the Buddhist culture of Serindia. In the Serindia Collection the Sanskrit texts, which are currently most thoroughly classified in terms of contents, are presented in the manuscripts written in the South Turkestan graphic variations of Indian Brāhmī script, which were used for recording texts in the Southern oases of the Tarim Basin. The oasis city-states were located along the branches of the Great Silk Road. The Southern Silk Route, and primarily its major Buddhist center Khotan, is considered to be the circulation area of the most part of the manuscripts which today compose the Sanskrit part of the Serindia Collection.

Sanskrit manuscripts from Khotan acquired by the Russian travelers, scholars and diplomats in the late 19th — early 20th cc. were written on paper in South Turkestan Brāhmī subtypes (dating back to the second half of the first millennium AD) and in terms of textual repertoire reflect the popularity of Mahāyāna sūtras in the Southern Serindia. As far as one can judge from the Sanskrit segment of the Serindia Collection, the most popular Mahāyāna text in Central Asia was the Lotus Sūtra (Skt. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka), which significantly exceeds the other Buddhist works in terms of the volume of preserved manuscripts and the number of copies.

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<sup>2</sup> Southern Buddhism in the tradition of Theravada, which functioned in Pali language, spread from India to Ceylon and Southeast Asia, and Northern Buddhism, represented by schools of three directions (Northern Hīnayāna (or Śrāvakayāna), Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna), was originally diffused through the Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts outside Hindustan throughout Central Asia and established itself in Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia, the Far East, and regions of Russia.

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According to the latest data, the Sanskrit part of the Serindia Collection includes more than 30 storage units,<sup>3</sup> which contain manuscript folios and fragments of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra. A significant part of the Sanskrit Lotus Sūtra texts has already been thoroughly investigated and published, however some written monuments are still not introduced into science. Moreover, it is likely that by this moment far from all fragments of this Sūtra are identified in the Sanskrit collection of the IOM, RAS. The manuscript examined in this paper confirms that some of the texts may be revealed among the materials that have not yet been registered.

At the last count the Serindia Collection includes 664 storage units of Sanskrit manuscripts, which are registered in the inventory-books stored in the Department of Manuscripts and Documents of the IOM, RAS. However, among the Sanskrit manuscripts discovered in Serindia and brought to St. Petersburg, a large number of fragments still remains unprocessed, unrestored, unorganized and unregistered. These are mainly small and tiny fragments held at the Department (cabinet 119, shelf numbers I–V) in various boxes, folders, envelopes with handwritten materials set aside for restoration and inventorization. As revealed relatively recently, there survived seven fragments, which preserved fairly large excerpts of the Sanskrit Lotus Sūtra and, judging by external characteristics, these fragments belonged to the same manuscript copied presumably in the 8–9th cc. AD in Khotan. After its identification and investigation, the manuscript was assigned the inventory number and pressmark SI 6781.

Perhaps, the most honorable place in the Sanskrit part of the Serindia Collection is occupied by a true pearl of the Institute's collection — the famous Kashgar manuscript of Nicolai F. Petrovsky (hereinafter — the Petrovsky manuscript).<sup>4</sup> This Buddhist manuscript rarity represents the

<sup>3</sup> At the time of writing this article it can be stated that, the Sanskrit texts of the Lotus Sūtra are represented in the Serindia Collection by 35 storage items, containing various number of folios or fragments: SI 1886/1 (1 fragment); SI 1925 (321 ff.); SI 1927 (78 ff.); SI 1933 (1 fragment); SI 1934 (3 fragments); SI 1935 (20 ff.); SI 1936 (1 fragment); SI 1937 (32 ff.); SI 1938 (5 fragments); SI 1939 (21 ff.); SI 1940 (1 fragment); SI 1941 (2 fragments); SI 2077 (1 fragment); SI 2092 (2 fragments); SI 2093 (5 fragments); SI 2098 (2 fragments); SI 3000 (2 fragments); SI 3002 (2 fragments); SI 3013 (1 fragment); SI 3025 (7 fragments); SI 3030 (2 fragments); SI 3044 (2 fragments); SI 3330 (1 fragment); SI 3332/3 (2 fragments); SI 3631 (1 fragment); SI 3693 (1 fragment); SI 3694 (3 fragments); SI 4517 (1 fragment); SI 4519 (1 fragment); SI 4645 (1 fragment); SI 6584 (1 fragment); SI 6780 (10 fragments); SI 6781 (7 fragments); SI 6783 (3 fragments); SI 6784 (3 fragments).

<sup>4</sup> The extensive part of this manuscript was acquired by the Russian Consul General in Kashgar Nicolai F. Petrovsky (1837–1908), who made an essential contribution in assembling

largest Central Asian copy of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka in Sanskrit. The Petrovsky manuscript has reached us almost in its entirety (over 400 leaves)<sup>5</sup> and forms the basis of the Central Asian version<sup>6</sup> of Lotus Sūtra. Thanks to its completeness it serves as the main source for investigating and identifying the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts with the text of Lotus Sūtra. The vast majority of Sanskrit Lotus Sūtra manuscripts in the Serindia Collection coincide almost verbatim with the corresponding passages in the Petrovsky manuscript. The same applies to the fragments SI 6781, which, as has been revealed, quite clearly follow the text of the Petrovsky manuscript (see Table 1).

### Description of the fragments

Obviously, the fragments SI 6781 compose a single copy of the Sanskrit Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra and possess quite a similar set of codicological and paleographic features. They were copied in black ink on very pale brown laid paper (6–7 laid lines in 1 cm)<sup>7</sup> with 6 lines on each side and the same distance between lines (1.4–1.5 cm). The fragments are written in South Turkestan Brāhmī script, have the same ductus of writing (attested by size and shape of graphemic symbols — *akṣaras*) and, judging by the paleography, date back to ca. the 8–9th cc. AD. Moreover, according to textual and external similarities two fragments SI 6781 fit together with the other two fragments in the Serindia Collection (kept under the pressmarks SI 1934<sup>8</sup> and

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the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Serindia collection. Among the subcollections which constitute ‘Sanskrit division’ of the Serindia Collection the Petrovsky subcollection is the largest (including more than 300 storage units).

<sup>5</sup> Apart from 399 folios and fragments kept in the Serindia Collection under the pressmarks SI 1925 and SI 1927 about 60 leaves of the Petrovsky manuscript are stored in the other repositories of the world and 12 leaves are considered to be missing. For more detailed information see: TODA 1981: XII.

<sup>6</sup> The prevalence of the Lotus Sūtra over a vast geographical area, in India and Central Asia, led to the formation of several versions. There are two currently known Sanskrit versions: Central Asian and Gilgit-Nepalese. For more details regarding Sanskrit versions of the Sūtra. See: MESHEZNIKOV 2022: 37–40.

<sup>7</sup> Laid paper — type of paper produced by using a laid mould (generally of horse-hair threads placed side by side), so that it contains laid lines pattern, which is visible when the pothi folio is backlit.

<sup>8</sup> SI 1934 includes three fragments of the same manuscript of the Sanskrit Lotus Sūtra. Among them the fragment No. 2 — hereinafter SI 1934(2) — joins with SI 6781.

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SI 6584)<sup>9</sup> and altogether they represent two almost complete pothi leaves. From an evaluation of the available information about the dimensions of fragments and the number of *akṣaras* to the line (55–60 *akṣaras* per line)<sup>10</sup> the size of the entire pothi folio in this manuscript can be calculated as having originally been 9×57 cm.

**Fragment SI 6781(1) + SI 6584** (Pl. 1, 2). The fragment 6781(1) measures 8.9×16.1 cm and belongs to the left part of the folio, which preserved the left margin (1 cm), pagination (“218”) and the traces of decorative circle (diameter: 2.7 cm; distance from left edge: 13.5 cm) for marking a binding hole. The fragment SI 6781(1) and the fragment SI 6584 (9×30.1 cm) occurred to be the parts of one and the same leaf and after restoration they form the relatively complete pothi folio with both margins preserved. Judging by the number of missing *akṣaras* (defined through the corresponding text of the Petrovsky manuscript), the lacuna between fragments measures 12–17 cm. The determined length of the line along with the size of margins makes it clear that the dimensions of the complete folio were, as already mentioned, 9×57 cm.

**Fragment SI 6781(2)** 9×15 cm in size represents the left part of the folio, however left margin (1 cm) is preserved partially, and pagination is missing. The traces of the decorative circle can be seen at a distance of 13.5 cm from the left edge (diameter cannot be measured).

**Fragment SI 6781(3) + SI 1934(2)** (Pl. 3, 4). The fragment SI 6781(3) measures 8.9×13.8 cm and presents the left part of the leaf, containing the partially preserved decorative circle with a diameter 2.7 cm. It has been found to be close to the fragment SI 1934(2) (8.7×34.3 cm): both fragments are the two almost joining parts of one and the same pothi leaf in total dimensions of 9×57 cm.

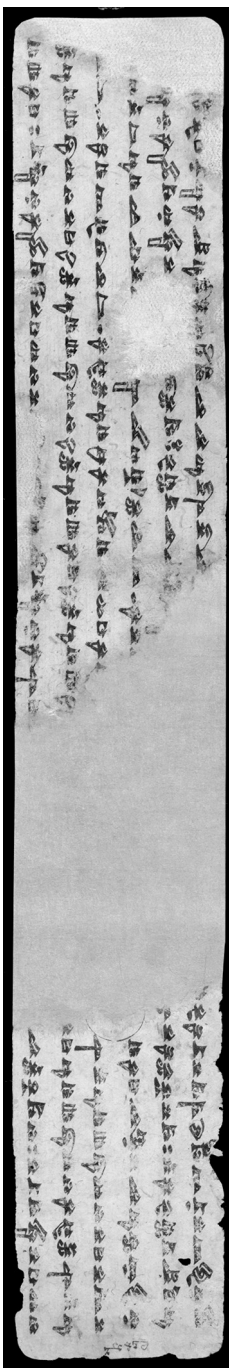
**Fragment SI 6781(4)**, which measures 5.9×11.7, preserves the central part of the leaf. The upper edge of the folio (seen from the recto-side) is missing, so that the fragment bears only 4 lines of writing on each side. The external characteristics are similar to those of the other fragments SI 6781: very pale brown paper with 6–7 laid lines in 1 cm, South Turkestan Brāhmī script, line-spacing with 1.4–1.5 cm.

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<sup>9</sup> The manuscripts SI 1934 and SI 6584 have been published before. See: *Pamiatniki indijskoi pis'mennosti* 1985: 137–139; MESHEZNIKOV 2020.

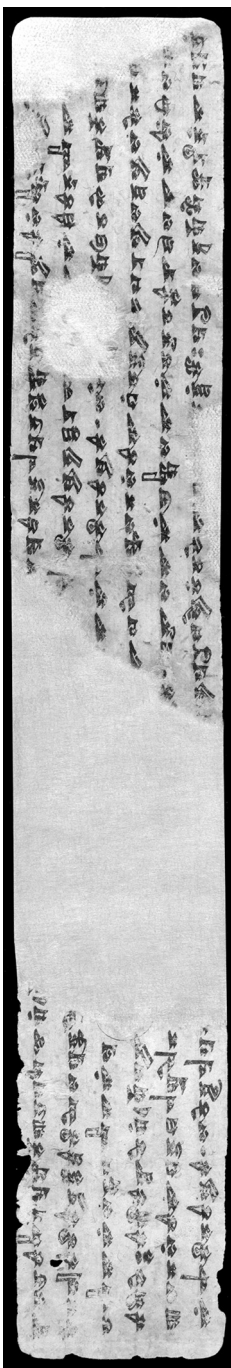
<sup>10</sup> The fragments under study clearly follow the text of the Kashgar manuscript of Nicolai F. Petrovsky. With the help of the text of the Kashgar manuscript it is possible to calculate the number of missing *akṣaras* on the lines and to estimate the length of the entire line for those pothi leaves, to which belong the fragments SI 6781 as well as the fragments SI 1934 and SI 6584.

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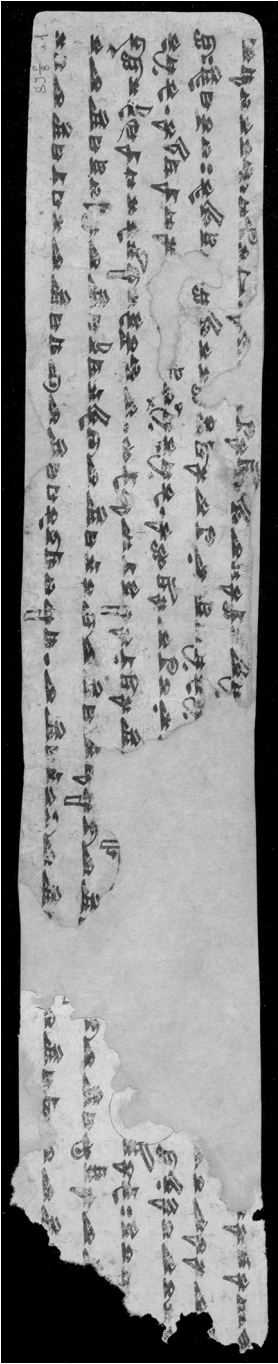
Pl. 1:

The manuscript folio of the Sanskrit Lotus Sūtra from the Serindia Collection.  
The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS. SI 6781(1) + SI 6584 (recto).



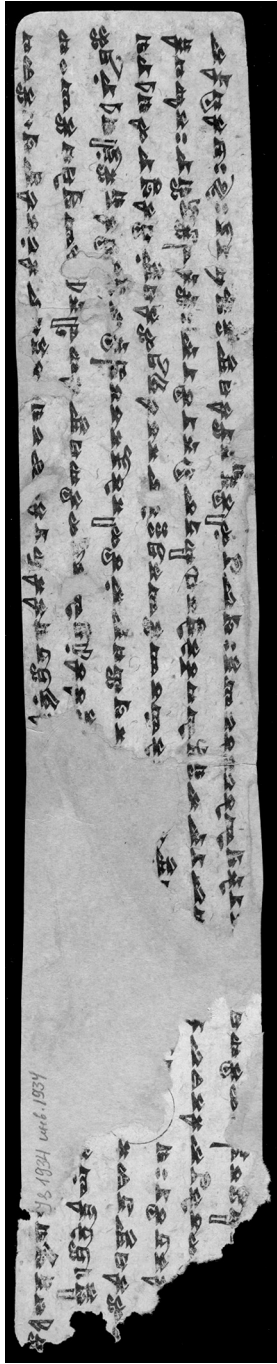
Pl. 2:

The manuscript folio of the Sanskrit Lotus Sūtra from the Serindia Collection.  
The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS. SI 6781(1) + SI 6584 (verso).



Pl. 3:

The manuscript folio of the Sanskrit Lotus Sūtra from the Serindia Collection.  
The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS, SI 6781(3) + SI 1934(2) (recto).



Pl. 4:

The manuscript folio of the Sanskrit Lotus Sūtra from the Serindia Collection.  
The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS, SI 6781(3) + SI 1934(2) (verso).

**Fragment SI 6781(5)** in size 9×27.9 cm preserves the left half of the leaf; however, the left margin (0.8 cm) is damaged, and the pagination is missing. There are several lacunas on the edges and at the center of the fragment. The traces of the round circle are drawn at a distance of ≈13 cm from the left edge (diameter cannot be measured).

**Fragment SI 6781(6)** is the left part of the folio, 9×28.6 cm. The left margin is completely missing. The traces of circle are preserved (in the 3rd line, when seen from the recto-side).

**Fragment SI 6781(7)** measures 8.6×20 cm and belongs to the right part of the folio. The upper edge (when seen from the recto-side) is damaged. The right margin (0.8 cm) is partially preserved.

Fragments under study	Folios and lines in the Petrovsky manuscript	Lotus Sūtra chapters
SI 6781(1) + SI 6584	335b(3) — 337a(5)	XVIII Anumodanāpuṇyanirdeśa- parivartaḥ
SI 6781(2)	341b(7) — 343a(5)	XIX Dharmabhāṇakānṛśaṃsa- parivartaḥ
SI 6781(3) + SI 1934(2)	343a(7) — 344b(6)	
SI 6781(4)	346b(5) — 347b(3)	
SI 6781(5)	351a(3) — 352b(2)	
SI 6781(6)	357a(7) — 358b(7)	
SI 6781(7)	451b(3) — 453a(2)	XXVII Samantabhadrotsāhana- parivartaḥ

Table 1. Contents of fragments.

## Conclusion

The Sanskrit manuscripts of the Serindia Collection IOM, RAS are unique sources for studying the history of spread of Buddhism and original Buddhist texts outside India. The Sanskrit Early Medieval texts of Mahāyāna sūtras have come down to us in a rather fragmented and scattered condition through manuscripts found in different subregions of Serindia and, primarily,



in Khotan. In this regard, the study of unregistered materials of the Serindia Collection is of exceptional importance: in addition to more than 600 storage units registered in inventory-books, the Sanskrit part of the Serindia Collection includes a large number of unregistered manuscript fragments containing extensive blocks of new information. This applies, in particular, to the seven new fragments SI 6781 examined in this paper. Being pretty recently revealed, these fragments were textually identified with the Sanskrit Lotus Sūtra. The analysis of external characteristics (in terms of codicological and paleographic criteria) allowed to assume that the fragments composed a single copy of Lotus Sūtra and, moreover, fit together (almost like puzzle pieces) with two other Sanskrit fragments stored under pressmarks SI 1934 and SI 6584. The introduction of new Sanskrit fragments into science allows, on the one hand, to fill in the existing lacunas of the Central Asian Sanskrit version of Lotus Sūtra and, on the other hand, gives grounds to confirm the readings of previously investigated manuscripts of this Sūtra. Thus, published fragments provide valuable material for solving the source problems related to the studies of Lotus Sūtra and contribute to the advancement of the research of the Sanskrit written heritage of the Mahāyāna tradition.

Transliteration of the fragments, English translation, the corresponding text in the Petrovsky manuscript are provided below.

## Transliteration, correspondences, and English translation

### Symbols used in the transliteration

- ( ) — restored akṣara(s)
- [ ] — akṣara(s) whose reading(s) is(are) uncertain
- < > — omitted (part of) akṣara(s) without gap in the manuscript
- { } — superfluous akṣara(s) or a daṇḍa
- +
- .. — one lost akṣara
- .. — one illegible akṣara
- .
- ... — illegible part of an akṣara
- /// — beginning or end of a fragment when broken
- || — double daṇḍa
- \*
- — virāma
- — punctuation mark

- : — visarga (ḥ) used as punctuation  
 ‘ — avagraha  
 ḥ — jihvāmūliya (visarga’s allophone that occurs before the consonants *ka, kha*)  
 ○ — decorative circle

**SI 6781(1) + SI 6584<sup>11</sup> (in *italic*)**

**F. 218**

**Recto**

1. saḥagatasyā purataḥ sa pūrvako dā /// — /// śalābhisamskāraś  
*cā[r]ha[t]v[a](p)r(a) +++ nasahagataś ca puṇyābhisamskāraḥ śatimām*  
*a-*
2. pi kalān nopaiti sahasrimām api śat(a) /// — /// ṭi[m]ām api koṭīśatimām  
*api koṭīśahasrimām api koṭīśatasahasrimām api ko+*
3. nayutaśatasahasrimām api kalā ○ /// — /// (pai)ti gaṇa[n](ā)m apy  
*upaniṣām api nopaiti • evāprameyam ajita • e+*
4. samkhyeyaṃ so ‘pi tāvat paṃcāśatima ○ /// — /// .. vati • ya ito  
*dharmaparyāyā +++ (e)kagāthām api ekapa .. ///*
5. pi śrutvā ‘numodeti kaḥ punar vādo ‘jita [y](o) /// — /// .ā .. [śru]tvā  
*cānumodet\* ato ‘pra +++ tasyāhaṃ puṇyābhisams(k)ā ///*
6. my asaṃkhyeyataraṃ yas tu khalu punar ajite[ma] /// — /// .. vā  
*kuladuhitā vā svagr̥h[ā]n niṣkramitvā vihāraṃ gac(ch)et\* ///*

The Petrovsky manuscript 335b–336a: asya ajita  
 puṇyābhisamskāraś śalābhi(sam)skārasya anumodanāsahagatasya purataḥ  
 sa pūrvako dānasahagata{m}ḥ puṇyābhisamskāras {ya}  
 kuśalabhisamskāraś ca arhatvapratīṣṭhāpanasaha(gataś ca  
 puṇyābhisamskā)<sup>12</sup> raḥ śatamām api kalān nopaiti • sahasrimām api  
 kal(ān /// — /// )m api koṭīśahasrimām api koṭīśatasa(hasrimām /// — ///

<sup>11</sup> The Russian translation of the fragment SI 6584, its transliteration and correspondences with the other Lotus Sūtra texts were published earlier. See: MESHEZNIKOV 2020.

<sup>12</sup> Some parts of the Petrovsky manuscript are missing because of the folios being damaged, presumably, due to fire. The restored parts are given in the brackets in accordance with the text of H. Toda’s edition of the Petrovsky manuscript (TODA 1981). The symbol “/// — ///” is put further to indicate the unrestored lacunas. In addition, due to the presence of numerous gaps in the Petrovsky manuscript, the critical edition of the Lotus Sūtra text (KERN & NANJIO 1908–1912) was taken into account, when translating the fragments SI 6781.

sa)hasrimām api kalān nopaiti • sa(m)khy(ām /// — /// upaniṣā)m api  
 nopaiti • evāprameyam ajita e(vāsaṃkhyeyam /// — /// paṃcāśatima)kaḥ  
 puruṣaḥ paraṃparāyā(h) puṇyam prasavati ya it(o /// — /// ) ekagāthām api  
 ekapadam api śrutvā ‘numodeta kaḥ punar vādaḥ ajita yo mama  
 saṃmukham imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ śṛṇayāt\* śrutvā cānumodet\* ato  
 ‘prameyataraṃ tasyāham puṇyābhisamskāraṃ vadāmy  
 asaṃkhyeyataraṃ yas{ya} khalu punar ajitemasya dharmaparyāyasya  
 śravaṇārthāya kulaputro vā kuladuhitā (vā) svagṛhān niṣkrāmitvā  
 vihāraṃ gacchet

Translation<sup>13</sup>

Oh, Ajita, **the previous accumulation of merits and strengthening of good roots** associated with supplying all sentient beings with pleasurable things and **establishing them in Arhatship does not fetch even one hundredth part**, one thousandth, one hundred thousandth, **one ten millionth** from the amount of merit and roots of virtue acquired through joyful acceptance of the teachings of Lotus Sūtra. **It cannot even be compared by calculation**, counting, comparison or **secret teachings**. Oh, Ajita, so great and **incalculable** are the merits attained by **even the fiftieth person** in the series, who **hears just a single line from this Sūtra and joyfully accepts it**. How much more then is the merit of the first person who hears this Sūtra in my presence and **accepts it with joy**? Oh, Ajita, **I declare that the accumulated merit of such a person will be even more tremendous and incalculable**. Oh, Ajita, if a young man or a young lady of a good family, leaving home, goes to a monastery in order to hear this Sūtra...

## Verso

1. tvā tatra vihāre muhūrtamātraṃ api imaṃ dhar(ma) /// — /// (sa) ajita  
 kulaputras tan mātra[k]eṇa puṇyābhisamskāre[ṇa] [k]ṛ(t)[e] ///
2. tena jātivītiṃ(t)to dvitīye samucchraye /// — /// [lā]bhī bhaviṣyaty  
 aśvarathā +++++ (th)ānāṃ śivikayānā[n]. ///
3. vayanānāṃ sarṣapayanānāṃ su ○ /// — /// nānāṃ lābhī bhaviṣyati •  
 sa[c][e] + (p)[u] +++ dharmaśravaṇe muhūrtamā[t]r(a) .. ///

<sup>13</sup> Hereinafter the translated text in bold letters shows passages directly preserved in published fragments.

4. niṣīdet\* niṣīditvā cemaṃ dharmaparyā ○ /// — /// dāpaye(t)\*  
 āsanasaṃvibhāgaṃ ca kuryād aparasya satvasya sa tena [p]. +
5. māsaṇa saṃvibhāga kuśalamūlena /// — /// .. t[i] • [ś]akrāsanānāṃ  
 brahmāsanānāṃ cakravartirājāsanānāṃ siṃhāsa[nā]-
6. nāṃ lābhī bhaviṣyati • sacet khalu pun(a) /// — /// (ra)sya puruṣasyaivaṃ  
 vaded ā[g]a(c). ++ [v]at tvaṃ bhoḥ puruṣa saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṃ  
 nāma sūtraṃ

The Petrovsky manuscript 336b—337a: sa ca gatvā tatra viḥāre  
 muhūrtamātram api imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ śrṇuyāt\* utthito vā •  
 niṣaṇṇo vā sa ajita kulaputras taṃmātrakeṇa puṇyābhisamkāreṇa  
 kṛtenopacitena jātivītiṣṭv(t)to dvitīye ātmabhāvapratiḷābhe gorathānāṃ  
 lābhī bhaviṣyaty aśvarathānā(m) hastirathānāṃ śivikāyānā{m}nā(m)  
 nāvayānānāṃ sarṣapayānānāṃ sukhayānānāṃ divyānāṃ ca  
 vimāna(y)ā(nānāṃ lābhī bhav)ṣyati • sacet punas tatra dharmāśravaṇe  
 muhūrtamātram api ( /// — /// dharmaparyāya(m) śrṇuyāt(t\*) parasatvaṃ  
 vā niṣidā(payed /// — /// apara)sya satvasya sa tena paramāsaṇa ( /// — ///  
 puṇyābhisam)skāreṇa kuśalābhisamkāreṇa lābhī bhaviṣya(ti /// — ///  
 ca)krravartirājāsanānāṃ siṃhāsanānāṃ lābhī bhav(ṣyati /// — /// ) ajita  
 tatra kaścid eva puruṣaḥ aparasya puruṣasyaivaṃ vaded āgaccha tāva(t)  
 tvaṃ bhoḥ puruṣa saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṃ nāma sūtraṃ  
 dharmaparyāyaṃ śrṇuṣva

Translation<sup>14</sup>

and there hears this Sūtra for even a single moment, whether standing or sitting, then, Ajita, through the mass of merit attained from this action that person after the end of his present life, at the time of his second existence will become a possessor of carts yoked with bullocks, horses and elephants, palanquins, ships, light and beautiful carriages, heavenly vehicles, aerial cars. If that person sits down at a place where the Dharma is taught even for a moment to hear this Sūtra or invites another person to sit and listen or shares with him his own seat, by the merit of goodness attained through that action he will gain seats of Indra, of Brahma, thrones of a Cakravartin. Oh, Ajita, if that person says to another person:

<sup>14</sup> This excerpt from the Petrovsky manuscript (336b–337a) had been translated earlier by me when studying another Lotus Sūtra fragment in the Serindia Collection (pressmark SI 3693), which partially overlaps the text examined in this paper. For more information about the fragment SI 3693. See: MESHEZNIKOV 2022.

“Come and hear the Dharmaparyāya called the Lotus Sūtra of the True Law”...

## SI 6781(2)

### Recto

1. /// ś[o] [bh](o)nty apūrvakaḥ ye(nā)[s]ya vi ///
2. /// m(\*) 3<sup>15</sup> sumeruṃ meru sarve ca cakkravāḍāṃ[ś]ca ///
3. te vīro mā(m)sacakṣu ‘sya edrśa • 5 na ○ ///
4. /// .. kta yaḥ kulaputro vā ku[l](a)++[i] ///
5. śa[yi]ṣyati • svādhyāyīṣ[y]a(t)[i] ///
6. śuddhaṃ sa tena śuddhapari. ///

The Petrovsky manuscript 341b–342b: aṣṭau guṇaśatās ta(sya /// — /// bhot)i cakṣu(h) śuddha(m) v’ anāvilo : (2) sa māṃsacakṣu(śā /// — /// ) sarvā(m) sāntarabāhiram\* (3) **sumerūṃ meru sa(rvāmś ca /// — /// ye cānye pa)rvatā ghuṣṭāḥ samudrrā(śm) cāpi paśyati** 4 yāvad avī(ci /// — /// ) sarvaṃ sa paśyata **vīro māṃsacakṣu ‘sya edrśa(m) 5** na tāvan divyacakṣu ‘sya ( /// — /// ) cāpi vindati • māṃsacakṣusya viśayo bhoti edrśako laghuḥ 6 || punar aparaṃ saḥtatasamitābhiyukta<sup>16</sup> **yaḥ kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā** imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ udgrhṇīṣyati • dhārayīṣyati • vācayīṣyati • deśayīṣyati • paryāpuniṣyati • saṃprakāśayīṣyati • **svādhyāyīṣyati** likhīṣyati tebhis tathārūpe(bhi)r dvādaśabhi(h) śrotraguṇaśatebhi • śrotrendriyaṃ samanvāgataṃ bhaviṣyati śuddhaṃ pariśuddhaṃ bhaviṣyati supariśuddhaṃ **sa tena śuddhapariśuddhena** śrotrendriyeṇa ya iha drśāhasramahāsahasre lokadhātau samantena vividhāś śabdā niścaraṇti tān sarvā(ñ) cchṛṇoti

### Translation

2) The organ of **vision** [of a young man or a young lady] will be endowed with 800 good qualities, by which it **will become excellent**, clear, spotless. 3) With the carnal eyes given by parents that person will see the entire world within and without. 4) **Meru, Sumeru, Cakravāḍa**, and all other mountains, forests, seas. 5) That person, **the hero**, will see everything from the lowest hell of Avīci up to the summit of existence. Such will be his **carnal eyes**. 6)

<sup>15</sup> The numbers inside the text indicate stanzas. The Petrovsky manuscript preserved the same numbers.

<sup>16</sup> Scribal error for *satatasamitābhiyukta*.

Although that person **does not** have divine vision, for he has not yet acquired it, his carnal eyes will be such as described.

Moreover, **Satatasamitābhīyukta**,<sup>17</sup> **a young man or a young lady** of a good family, who proclaims, preserves, recites, teaches, understands, **explains, preaches**, copies this Sūtra, will attain 1200 good qualities of the ear, by which that person's organ of hearing will become pure and spotless. **Through such perfect ears that person** hears all kinds of sounds emitted in the triple-thousand great thousand world...

### Verso

1. vad īvīci<sup>18</sup> mahānarakam .. ///
2. śa[bdā] vā ajaśabdā vā ///
3. /// [t](a)haśabdā vā • ghaṇḍā ///
4. st[r]īśabdā vā puruṣaśabdā vā • dā ○ ///
5. /// .. [v]ā vijñūśabdā vā āryaśabdā v(ā) ///
6. /// bdā vā • asuraśa(bd)[ā] vā ga ///

The Petrovsky manuscript 342b–343a: heṣṭimena yāvad **avīci(m)** **mahānara(kam upar)imena** yāvad bhavāggram sāntarabāhireṇa tad yathā hastiśabdā vā (/// — /// śabd)ā vā pattīśabdā vā gośabdā **vā • ajaśabdā** vā (/// — /// śabd)ā vā śokaśabdā vā bhayaśabdā vā (bh)ai(ravaśabdā /// — /// paṭa)**haśabdā vā ghaṇṭhāśabdā** vā hāsyā(śabdā vā /// — /// śa)bdā vā vādyāśabdā vā nānārutaśabdā v(ā /// — /// **dāraka**)śabdā vā dārikāśabdā vā dharmaśabdā vā adharma(śabdā vā /// — /// )śabdā vā bālaśabdā **vā vijñūśabdā vā āryaśabdā vā** anāryaśabdā (vā mano)jñāśabdā vā amanojñāśabdā vā devaśabdā vā nāgaśabdā vā yakṣaśabdā vā gandharvaśabdā **vā asuraśabdā vā garuḍaśabdā** vā

### Translation

from the lowest **hell of Avīci** up to the summit of existence, within and without, namely, **the sounds** of elephants, horses, bullocks, cows, **goats**; voices of people, the sound of carts, the sounds of weeping and wailing, of horror; **the sound** of conches, **drums, and bells**; the sound of laughter, singing, dancing, talking, and crying; **male and female voices**, the voices of

<sup>17</sup> Satatasamitābhīyukta (Skt. 'Forever Diligent') — the name of bodhisattva.

<sup>18</sup> Scribal error for *āvīciṃ*.

boys and girls; sounds of righteousness and unrighteousness, of happiness and suffering; **voices of ignorant and wise men, of noble and ignoble**; pleasant and unpleasant sounds; sounds of gods, *nāgas, yakṣas, gandharvas, asuras, garuḍas...*

### SI 6781(3) + SI 1934(2) (in *italic*)

#### Recto

1. /// bdā vā v(ā)yuśabdā v[ā] (agni)[ś](a)bdā vā udakaśabdā vā • mahāsamudravegaśabdā vā grāmaśabdā vā nagaraśabdā vā jana-
2. /// (b)[d]ā vā bhikṣuṇīśabdā vā u(p)ā(sika)[ś](a)bdā vā upāsikāśabdā vā śrāvakaśabdā vā pratyekabuddhaśabdā vā bodhisatvaśabdā vā ta-
3. /// yāvantaḥ kecit tṛ○ /// — /// [l]o +++ (śa)bdāniścaramṭi sāntarabāhireṇa • tān sarvān tena prākṛtena pariśuddhena śrotre-
4. /// .. na ca tāvad divyaṃ śro○ /// — /// nām va rutāni śṛṇoti • teṣāṃ teṣāṃ <ca> sa[t]v +++ ni paribudhyati • teṣāṃ te-
5. /// tāni vibhāvay(a) /// — /// ṣāṃ teṣāṃ satvānām rutāni śruṇva[t]o na tasya bo(dhisa)tvasya taiḥ sarvaśabdaiḥ śro-
6. /// [bh]ūya tiṣṭhati .. /// — /// ṣāṃ vyākaroṭi na cāsyā smṛtir u..+[ny]a(t)i • eva rūpas savatasamitā<sup>19</sup>

The Petrovsky manuscript 343a–344a: mṛgaśabdā vā vāyuśabdā vā agniśabdā vā • udakaśabdā vā mahāsamudrraśabdā vā grāmaśabdā vā nagaraśabdā vā janapadaśabdā vā bhikṣuśabdā vā bhikṣuṇīśabdā vā upāsikaśabdā vā upāsikāśabdā vā śrāvakaśabdā vā pratyekabuddhaśabdā vā bodhisatvaśabdā vā tathāgataśabdā vā yāvantaḥ kecit tṛsāhasramahāsahasre lokadhātau śa(bdā n)i(ścarant)i (s)āntarabāhireṇa • tān sarvāṃs tena prākṛtena pariśuddhena śrotren(dr)i(y)e(ṇa) /// — /// divya)ṃ śrotram abhinirha(ra)ti • teṣāṃ ca teṣā(ṃ) ca satvānām ru(tāni) /// — /// ru)tāni paribuddhyati • teṣāṃ ca teṣā(ṃ) ca satvānām (rut)ā(ni) /// — /// te)ṣāṃ satvānām rutāni śruṇamānasya na ta(s)ya /// — /// abhi)bhūyati (ti)ṣṭhati • na saṃmuhyati ākāṃkṣa(māṇas ca) /// — /// vyā)karoti na cāsyā smṛtir upaha(ṃ)nyati • evaṃrūpaṃ sa(tatasamitābhiyukta)

<sup>19</sup> Scribal error for *satatasamitā...*



## Translation

sounds of animals; **sounds of wind, fire, water, ocean, villages and cities; voices of monks and nuns, lay men and lay women, disciples, pratyekabuddhas, bodhisattvas, and buddhas; as many sounds as are uttered** in the triple-thousand great thousand world, **within and without, all of them that person hears with his natural pure ears.** Although that person **has not yet acquired the divine ear, he perceives the sounds** of all those living beings, catches and **distinguishes** them through his natural organ of hearing. The ear **of that bodhisattva** is not **overpowered by hearing all these sounds.** And if required **he may utter** all the sounds without mistakes and **without his memory being harmed.** Oh, **Satatasamitābhīyukta, such is...**

## Verso

1. /// bodhisatvasya ma(hā) /// — /// [d]ivyam śrotram abhinirharati • idam a(vo)cad bha[g](a)vān idam vaditvā sugato 'thāpa-
2. /// stā || śrotrendriyam t(a) /// — /// t\* vividhāṃś ca yena śruṇatīha śabdān iha lokadh[ā](t)[ū]ya aśeṣato ya 1 ha-
3. /// [ś](r)ṇoti śabdān rrathāna ○ /// — /// na sughoṣakānām vīṇāna veḍūna ca vallakīnām\* (2) gītir manojñām madhurām śṛṇo-
4. /// [t]i tatra vīra : ma○(n)[u].. /// — /// (śa)bdā[m] bh. ++ te yaṃ ca yato yataś ca 3 devāna ca divya śṛṇoti śabdām gītisvarāṇi madhurā ma-
5. /// ṇa ca te rutāni tatha dāri(kānām a)p(i) dārakānām\* 4 ye parvateṣveva guhānuvāsī karavīrakāḥ kokila krroñcā morāḥ tahi pakṣi-
6. /// .. ṣāṇ ca val[g](u) (śru)ṇatīha śa(bdān 5) [n]arakeṣu ye vedana vedayanta : sudāruṇām bhīkṣma karoti śabdān\* āhāra duḥkhaiḥ pratipīḍitā

The Petrovsky manuscript 344a—344b: (tasya **bodhisa**)tvasya **mahā**satvasya śrotrendriyapratilābho bhavati • na ca tāva(d) **d(i)vya(m)** (śrotra)m abhinirharati idam avocad bhagavān idam vaditvā sugato 'thāpam idam avocac chā(stā) • śrotrendriyam tasya viśuddha bhoti anāvilam prākṛtikam ca tāvat\* **vividhāṃś ca yena śruṇatīha śabdān iha lokadhātūya aśeṣato ye** • (1) hastīna aśvāna śṛṇoti śabdān rrathāna gaunānam ajeḍakānām\* bhīremṛdaṅgāna su{g}ghoṣakānām vīṇāna **vaiḍūna ca vallakānām\*** (2) gītiṃ manojñām madhurā(m) śṛṇoti na cāsya so rajyati tatra vīra • manuṣyakoṭīna śṛṇoti śabdām bhāṣa(m)ti te

yam ca yato yataś ca 3 devāna ca divya śṛṇoti śabdām gītisvarāṇi  
 madhurā(ṁ) manaujñā(ṁ) : puruṣāṇa istrīṇa ca te rutāni tatha  
 dāraḥkānām api dārikānām\* 4 ye parvateṣv eva guhānuvāsi  
 (kala)vīrakāḥ kokila kṛroṇca morāḥ tahi pakṣiṇo bhonti ca jīvajīva(kā  
 /// — /// śabdā)n\* 5 narakeṣu ye vedana vedayanti : sudāru(nāmś ca  
 /// — /// par)ipīḍitā vā ye preta kurvanti tathai(va śabdān\*) (6)

#### Translation

the organ of hearing, that **the bodhisattva-mahāsattva** acquires, although that person **does not have the divine ear**. Thereupon, **Bhagavan**, the **Sugata**, the Teacher, added:

1) The natural **organ of hearing** of that person becomes pure and spotless; **through it he hears all kinds of sounds in this world without exception**. 2) **Sounds of elephants, horses, carts, cows, goats, sheep, drums, musical instruments, lutes, and flutes**. 3) **That person, the hero, hears sweet and pleasing singing** without being attached to it. He hears innumerable kinds of **human voices**, being able to distinguish **one from another**. 4) That person **hears the voice of gods and divine sounds**. He hears **pleasant and sweet tunes, voices of men and women, boys and girls**. 5) He **hears the cries of the inhabitants of mountains and caves, the lovely sounds of cuckoos, cranes, peacocks, pheasants, and other birds**. 6) He **hears the terrible cries of pain and horror from the hells, and the sounds of spirits suffering from hunger**.

#### SI 6781(4)

##### Recto

3. /// bh(i)gandhān n(ā).. ///
4. /// nām api vividhānām vi ///
5. /// (n)[ā]m api gandhām ghrāyati vi ///
6. /// tmabhāvagandhām ghrrāyati • ///

The Petrovsky manuscript 346b–347a: **surabhigandhā nānāprakārāṇi**  
 (gandhav)i(kṛtiśatasahasrāṇi) yāny ekasthānasthitas sa bodhisatvas sarvā(ṇi  
 /// — /// **a)pi vividhānām vividhātmabhāvagandhā(n ghrrāyati** /// — ///  
 a)śvānām api gandhām ghrāyati goṇā(nām api /// — /// **vivi)dhānām**  
 tīryagyoniḡatānām prāṇinām viv(i)dh(ānām /// — /// **ātmabhāva)gāndhān**

**ghrrāyati** • dārakadārikātmabhāva(gandhān) ghrr(āyati dūrasthānām a)p(i) trṇagulmauṣadhivanaspaṭinām gandhān ghrrāyati •

#### Translation

That bodhisattva smells and distinguishes all manifold hundred-thousand **sweet-smelling fragrances** while remaining in his standing-place. That person **discerns diverse** scents coming from the bodies **of different** sentient beings such as elephants, horses, cows, goats, and various creatures. He **smells the scents issuing from the bodies** of men and women, boys and girls. Even at a distance he smells the odor of grass, bushes, herbs, trees.

#### Verso

1. /// • saṃhṛīyate na saṃmuhyāti • ///
2. /// .. [m]aṃjūṣakamahāmaṃjūṣakā ///
3. /// (t)isahasrāṇām gandh[ā]ṃ ghrā ///
4. /// .. śak[r]asya .. ///

The Petrovsky manuscript 347a—347b: sa tān(i /// — /// ) gandhāni ghrrāyati • bhūtaṃ gandhaṃ vindati • na ca tebhir gandhebhi • **samhariyati na saṃmuhyati** sa iha sthitaś cāiva devānām gandha(m) ghrrāyati • tad yathā pāracitrakasya kobidārasya gandhān ghrrāyati • mandāravamahāmandāravānā(m) **maṃjūṣakānām mahāmaṃjūṣakānām** puṣpānām gandhān ghrrāyati : agarucūrṇānām tagarucūrṇānām candanacūrṇānām nā(nā)vi{vi}dhānām divyānām cūrnavikṛtisahasrāṇām **gandhān ghrrāyati** • sa tāni {ni} gandhāni ghrrāyati nāmāni cāiṣām jānāti gandhāni cāiṣām ghrrāyati • devaputrātmabhāvānām api gandhān ghrrāyati • tad yathā **śakrasya** devendrasya ātmabhāvagandhān ghrrāyati taṃ ca jānāti •

#### Translation

He smells all these kinds of scents. He apprehends those smells as they truly are, **without being confused and bewildered** by them. Although that person stays here [on earth], he **smells** the divine fragrances of celestial flowers of *pāracitraka* and *kovidāra* trees; *māndārava* and great *māndārava*, **maṃjūṣaka and great maṃjūṣaka flowers**; he discerns aromatic powder of aloe, sandalwood and **thousands of** other kinds of divine **powders**. He distinguishes their names and smells all these fragrances. He smells and knows the fragrance of the bodies of the gods, such as **Indra**, the chief of gods.

## SI 6781(5)

## Recto

1. ramamti [y]e ca tahi deva /// — /// ghrr[ā]yati d[e].. ///
2. yā devakanyā bahupu+++[t]ā āmuktacailābharanāḥ .[v]+ ///
3. pa[r]e + devā brahmā mah(ā)(b)r(a)[h]ma vimāṇavārīṇaḥ tāmś cā(p)[i]  
+ndh[e] ///
4. ++papannāmś ca apūrvakā(m)ś ca • [gh]rrāṇendriyam īdrśa tasya  
bh[o]t[i] yo ///
5. +[h] sthita caṃkrrame vā • uddeśasvādhyā..++ ca bhikṣavo tān sarva so  
jā ///
6. +kṣamūle • gandhe(na) + (j)ānati bodhisatvo amuk(o) '[t]r(a) (bhikṣu)r  
asukaḥ sthitebhi 26 ///

The Petrovsky manuscript 351a—351b: udyānabhūmiṃ ca tathāi(va /// —  
/// prāsāda)śr(e)ṣṭhā ca tathāiva jānati **ramamti ye ca tahi** (/// — /// ) (20)  
(/// — /// ga)ndha(m) gandhena sau jānati devaputrān\* yo yatra karma  
kurut(e s)th(ito vā śrṇoti) sa gacchati yatra vā 'pi 21 **yā devakanyā  
bahupuṣpamaṇḍitā āmuktac(e)lābharanā(h)** svalaṃkṛtāḥ ramanti  
gacchanti ca yena yena gandhena te jāna(ti) bodhisatvaḥ 22 yāvad  
bhavāgram upare ca **devā brahmā mahābrahma vimānacāriṇa • tāmś  
capi** gandhena tahiṃ prajānate sthitā(mś) ca dhyāne atha vyutthitā(m) vā 23  
ābhasvarāṇ jānati devaputrān\*ś cyutopapannāmś ca apūrvakāmś ca •  
**ghrrāṇendriyam īdrśa tasya bhoti yo** bodhisatva ida sūtra dhārayet\* 24 ye  
keci bhikṣū{n} sugatasya śāsane abhiruktarūpā(h) **sthita caṃkrrame vā •  
uddeśasvādhyāyaratā(ś) ca bhikṣavo tān sarvā(m) so jānati** bodhisatvaḥ  
15 (=25) ye śrāvakā bhonta ji(nasya putrā vi)haramti ekāsani vṛkṣamūle :  
**gandhena so jānati bodhisatv(aḥ /// — /// 26)**

## Translation

20) [By the power of the faculty of smell] that person is able to find out about heavenly gardens, the gods' assembly hall of Sudharma and the excellent Vaijayanta-palace; that person knows about **gods, who enjoy themselves there**. 21) Staying here [on earth] he **perceives the smell of gods** and knows by the scent, what they are doing, whether they are standing, listening, or walking. 22) That bodhisattva knows through the scent about **the divine maidens decorated with a variety of flowers, jewels, garments, ornaments**; and he knows, where they take pleasure. 23) **By the power of smell** that person perceives **the gods, Brahmas, the great**

**Brahma moving on the celestial cars all the way up** to the summit of existence; he knows whether they are entering meditation or leaving it. 24) He recognizes the deities of the Ābhāsvara-heaven **appearing**, disappearing, **previously unknown**. **This is the organ of smell** of the bodhisattva, who preserves this Sūtra. 25) That bodhisattva **knows all monks** who are diligently applied to the command of the Sugata **in their walks**, who are intent upon **teaching and learning**. 26) That wise person recognizes the disciples among the sons of Buddha, those who live **under trees**; **by the smell that bodhisattva knows**, that such and such monk is staying in such and such place.

### Verso

1. + ye dharma prakā++[t]i gandhena so jānati [b]o(dh)[i](sat)[v]aḥ 27 yasmim diśā ///
2. +ghamadhye gandhena taṃ jānati dharmarājaṃ 2(8) ++ p[i] satvā ‘sya śṛṇonti dharmam śru ///
3. + ya tatra eḍṣā 29 etā(d)[r]ośo ghrrāṇabalo ‘sya bhoti na ca tā ///
4. va(s)ya [30] punar aparaṃ sa[ta](ta)samiṭābhiyukta yaḥ kulapu(tro) [vā] ///
5. śayiṣyati • paryāpu +++ prakāśayiṣyati • likhiṣ[y]at[i] .. ///
6. bhaviṣya[t]i • supariś(u) /// — /// [ś]uddhena ji.. ///

The Petrovsky manuscript 351b—352b: ye bodhisatvāḥ smṛtimamti dhyāyina u(dd)e(śa /// — /// dha)rma prakāśayamti gandhena sau jānat(i) bodhisatvaḥ 27 /// — ///) dharma(m) (prakā)śeta hitānukampak(aḥ /// — /// lokanā)tham\* (28) ye (cāpi) satvā ‘sya śṛṇau(m)ti dharmam (ś)ru(tvā /// — /// jāna)t(i) bodhisatvaḥ sugatasya pariśā iyam adya (sarvā) (29) (ed)r(śam /// — /// s)ya bhoti na ca tāva divyaṃ bhavate ‘sya ghrrāṇam pūrvamgamās tasya (/// — /// di)vyasya • ghrāṇasya anāsravasya 30 || punar aparaṃ satatasamitābhiyukta yaḥ kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā imaṃ dharmaparyāyam udgrhṇiṣyati • dhārayiṣyati • vācayiṣyati • deśayiṣyati paryāpunīṣyati samprakāśayiṣyati • svādhyāyiṣyati likhiṣyati tebhīḥ tathārūpebhīḥ dvādaśatīr jīhvāguṇaśatebhīḥ jīhvendriyaṃ samanvāgataṃ bhaviṣyati śuddhaṃ pariśuddhaṃ bhaviṣyati {śuddhaṃ pariśuddhaṃ bhaviṣyati} supariśuddhaṃ sa tena śuddhapariśuddhena jīhvendriyeṇa bodhisatvo mahāsatvo yad yad eva rasaṃ sā(ya)yiṣyati yad yad eva rasaṃ jīhvendriyeṇa upanikṣiṣyati • sarve te rasās tasya bodhisatvasya (mahāsatvasya) jīhvendriye(ṇa) (d)i(vyaṃ ma)hārasam {adhi}mokṣya(m)ti •

## Translation

**27) By the scent that bodhisattva knows**, if other bodhisattvas have a good memory, absorbed in meditation, intent upon teaching and learning, diligent **in preaching the Dharma** to assemblies. **28) Wherever** the Sugata, the great Sage, kind and compassionating, being honored, teaches the Dharma **to the assemblage of disciples**, that bodhisattva **recognizes him by the scent as the King of the Dharma**. **29)** Here, on earth, that bodhisattva knows the whole assembly of the Sugata and perceives, if **the sentient beings hear the Dharma** and rejoice in it. **30) The faculty of smell of that person is such as this**, although he **has not yet** acquired the divine smell. His natural organ of smell is prior to the **pure**, divine one.

Furthermore, **Satatasamitābhiyukta**, a young man or a young lady of a good family, who proclaims, preserves, recites, teaches, **understands, explains, preaches, copies** this Sūtra, will attain 1200 good qualities of the tongue, by which that person's organ of taste **will become** pure and perfect. All that this bodhisattva-mahāsattva comes to taste **with his pure faculty of tongue**, all flavors that he puts down on his tongue, will yield heavenly savor.

## SI 6781(6)

### Recto

1. /// thaiva vaiḍūryamaṇī sunirma[la](ḥ) +++ [rśa]no bhoti ca sarvaprāṇināṃ yaḥ sūtra dhāreti i.. ///
2. /// (s)[ya] dṛśyate • sau tu svayaṃ paśya /// — /// ..riśuddhakāyasy iyaṃ evarūpam\* 2 .. ///
3. /// [ā] pretatiraścayoniṣu ○ /// — /// śyaṃti hi tasya kāye 3 .e ++ mānās ca ///
4. /// meruḥ kāye /// — /// 4 buddho 'pi so paśyati ā.. ///
5. /// .. tasya yata dṛśyati sa ///
6. /// ya[h] k(u)laputro vā kuladu ///

The Petrovsky manuscript 357a— 358a: pariśuddha tasya bhavate 'tmabhāvo yatheva vaiḍūryamayī sunirmalaḥ priyadarśano bhoti ca sarvaprāṇināṃ : ya(ḥ) sūtra dhāreti i{n}daṃ hy udāraṃm\* (1) ādarśa mrrāṣṭe yatha bīm̐ba dṛśyate loka 'sya kāyasmi tathā 'sya dṛśyate • sau tu svayaṃ paśyati no ca anye pariśuddhakāyasy iyaṃ evarūpam\* 2 ye

lokadhātūya ihāsti satvā manuṣyadevāsuraḡuhyakās ca • na{na}rakeṣu vā  
**pre**○**tatiraścayoniṣu** pratibim̐(ba) dṛśyaṃ**ti hi tasya kāye 3** devavimānās  
**ca** bhavāgra yāva(c ch)aila(m /// — ///)ā • himavān sumeruś ca mahāṃś ca  
**meruḥ kāya(sm)i** (/// — /// **(4)** /// — /// pa)śy**ani ātmabhāve** saśrāvakā(m)  
buddha(sutāṃs /// — /// caikak)ā gaṇe ca ye dharma prakāśa(yanti 5 /// —  
///) lokadhātu • na ca tāva so divyata prā(p)t(a /// — /// 6) || punar aparaṃ  
satatasamitābhiyukta **yaḥ (k)u(laputro vā kuladuhitā vā)** imaṃ  
dharmaparyāyam udgrhṇiṣyati • dhārayiṣyati • vācayiṣyati deśa(yiṣ)ya(ti)  
paryāpuniṣyati •

Translation<sup>20</sup>

1) His body becomes **entirely pure**, perfectly clear, and excellent, **as if made of a cat's-eye gem**; that person, **who preserves this Sūtra, is an utterly pleasant sight for all sentient beings.** 2) As everything reflects on the surface of a mirror, so the world's image **is seen** on his body. **He alone sees it**, while no other beings do, **such is the perfection of his body.** 3) All sentient beings of the world, humans, gods, demons, spirits, hell's inhabitants, **hungry ghosts, animals are reflected on that body.** 4) **The aerial cars** of the gods which reach as high as the summit of existence, the mountains Cakravāḍa, Himālaya, **Sumeru**, Mahāmeru are reflected **on that body.** 5) **He sees the Buddhas in his body**, likewise the disciples and other sons of Buddha, the Bodhisattvas who live a solitary life, and those who teach the Dharma to the assembly. 6) Such is the perfection of his natural body, **which reflects** everything in this world, even though that person has not yet attained the divine body.

Furthermore, Satatasamitābhiyukta, **a young man or a young lady of a good family**, who proclaims, preserves, recites, teaches, understands

## Verso

1. /// (t)i svādhyāyiṣyati • likhiṣ[y]a ///
2. /// .ena pariśuddhena manendr[i] ///
3. /// syati • sa taṃ /// — /// [d]āraṃbaṇaṃ māsaṃ api ///
4. /// d dharmam bhāṣati so 'sya smr○ +++ [m](o)ṣaṃ gacchati • na  
saṃmuhyā +++ ni kāni ///

<sup>20</sup> The text of the fragment SI 6781(6) partly matches the text of the Lotus Sūtra fragment SI 3694, which was studied in the aforementioned paper (MESHEZNIKOV 2022). Thus, the translation of this excerpt was picked from that paper.



5. /// [n]iruktayo vā sarvaṃs tān dharmā /// — /// [s]aṃsyandayati • yāvantaś  
ca kecīt tṛ[s](ā).. ///
6. /// [s](a)tvānāṃ bodhisatvaś cittaca(r)[i].. ++ nditāni prajānāti •  
iñjitamanyī[t]ap[r]a ///

The Petrovsky manuscript 358a— 359a: saṃprakāśayiṣyati •  
**svādhyāyiṣyati** • **likhiṣyati** tebhis tathārūpebhi{•}r dvādaśabhir  
manaskarmaguṇaśatebhir manendriyaṃ samanvāgataṃ bhaviṣyati •  
śuddhaṃ paṇiśuddhaṃ bhaviṣyati supariśuddhaṃ sa **tena**  
śuddhapariśuddhena manendriyeṇa pratilabdheṇa ya(di) ekagāthāṃ api  
śroṣyati tasya so bahvarthaṃ paribuddhyiṣyati • **sa taṃ** paribuddhvā taṃ  
nidānaṃ tadāraṃbaṇaṃ māsam api dharmam deśayiṣyati • caturmāsam  
api saṃvatsaram api taṃ dharmam deśayati yaṃ ca so kiñcid **dharmam**  
**bhāṣati** so ‘**śya smṛti** na saṃpramoṣaṃ **gacchati na saṃmuhyati** • yāni  
kānicil lo(ki)kāni lokavyavahārāṇi loka(bh)ā(śy)ā(ṇ)i lokamaṃtrāṇi  
lokaniruktiṃ vā sarvā(ṃ)s tā{ṃ}n dharmānu{pa}(naya)na /// — ///

**kecīt tṛsā**hasramahāsāhasre loka(dhātau /// — /// sarve)ṣāṃ teṣāṃ **satvānāṃ**  
**bodhisatva** • **cittacari**(ta /// — /// **manyi**)**taprapaṃcita** jñāsyati  
pra(viciniṣyati /// — ///

#### Translation

explains, **preaches, copies** this Sūtra, will attain 1200 good qualities of the mind, by which that person’s mental organ will become pure and perfect. **Through his pure mental organ** hearing even a single verse [of the Lotus Sūtra], that person **comprehends** its immeasurable and limitless meaning. Having thoroughly understood the meaning of what he heard, in accordance with it that person **thereby** preaches the Dharma **for one month**, four months or one year. **The Dharma**, that such a person preaches, **will not fade from his memory, will not be forgotten**. That person **converges** all ordinary, everyday statements, advice, **explanations with the rules of the Dharma**. **Whatever living beings** exist in the **triple-thousand** great thousand world in any of the six states of existence, **that bodhisattva** will know **the course of their thoughts**, understand and distinguish **their intentions, inclinations, fallacies**.

## SI 6781(7)

## Recto

1. /// nipā[ta](m) gam(i)[ś]yat(i) sa i[t]. [c]y ///
2. /// bodhisatvagaṇaparivāro 'psaraḥ koṭīna ///
3. /// laduhitrā vā ayaṃ saddharmapuṇḍarī[k](o) [dh](arma)[p](a)(r)y(ā)-
4. /// yitavyaḥ satkr̥tya namaskartavyaḥ imaṃ bhagavan dharma-
5. /// ..s teṣāṃ kulaputrāṇāṃ guṇānuśamsā bhaviṣyanti • tasmā-
6. /// ..ṇḍarīko dharmaparyāya iha jambudvīpe pracariṣyati •

The Petrovsky manuscript 451b—452a: na ca durgativinipātaṃ gamiṣyati sa

itaś c(y)avitvā tuṣitānāṃ devānāṃ sābhavyatāyām upapatsyati yatra ti(ṣṭha)ti maitreyo bodhisatvo mahāsatvo dvātriṃśadvaralakṣaṇo bodhisatvagaṇapariv(ā)ro 'psarakoṭīnayutaśatasahasraparivṛtapuraskṛto dharmaṃ deśayati tasmāt tar(h)i (paṇḍi)tena kulaputreṇa vā kuladuhitrāya vā ayaṃ dharmaparyāya(h) satkr̥tya{m} likhitav(yaḥ satkr̥tyo)ddeṣṭavyaḥ satkr̥tya{m} pathitavyaḥ satkr̥tya cintayitavya{m} • satkr̥tya{m} bhāvayitavya{m}ḥ satkr̥(tya manasika)rtavya{m}ḥ imaṃ bhagavan dharmaparyāyaṃ likhitvā uddiṣitvā svādhyāyitvā • cintayitvā (bhā)vayitvā manasikṛtvā evāprameyās teṣāṃ kulaputrāṇāṃ guṇānuśamsā bha(viṣyaṃ)ti tasmāt tarhi bhagavann aham eva tāvad imaṃ dharmaparyavam adhiṣṭhahāmi • mama bhagavann adhiṣṭhānenāyaṃ saddharmapuṇḍarīko dharmaparyāya iha jambudvīpe pracariṣya(ti)

## Translation

[A young man or a young lady of a good family] **will not fall into** a state of unhappiness and frustration. That person will move towards the gods in the Tuṣita-heaven, where resides Bodhisattva Maitreya, who is endowed with 32 characteristic marks of a superior person, who is **surrounded by an assembly of Bodhisattvas**, by a retinue of hundred thousands of myriads of koṭis<sup>21</sup> of heavenly nymphs, and preaches the Dharma. For this reason, a wise young man or a wise **young lady of good family should** devotedly copy **this Lotus Sūtra**, devotedly declare, devotedly recite, devotedly teach, **devotedly promote, devotedly honor it. Oh, Bhagavan**, by copying **this Sūtra**, declaring, preaching, teaching, promoting, remembering it, **a young man of good family will acquire** immeasurable **good qualities and**

<sup>21</sup> Koṭi — ten millions.

**benefits.** Oh, Bhagavan, **therefore**, I myself<sup>22</sup> will protect this Sūtra. Under my supervision this **Lotus Sūtra of the True Law will be distributed here in Jambudvīpa-mainland.**

### Verso

1. /// kāraṃ pradāsīt\* sādhu sādhu samantabhadra yatra hi nāma
2. /// grhītenādhyāśayena • evācintyasamgrhītena ci-
3. /// ..sya bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya nāmadheyam dhārayiṣyanti •
4. /// śākyamunes tathāgatasyārhatāḥ samyak(s)amb(u)(ddha)[sy]ā(nt)i-
5. /// ksaṃbuddhasya dharmaṃ deśayataḥ sādhu kārāṃ anu.. ///
6. /// [rha]tā sam[y]ak[s]amb(u)d(dh)e[n]a • teṣāṃ m(ū)r(dh)nī [p]ā(n)[i](h)  
(pra) ///

The Petrovsky manuscript 452a—453a: atha khalu bhagavā(ṇ) cchākyamunis tathāgato ‘rhān samyaksambuddhaḥ samantabhadrrasya bodhisatvasya mahā(satva)sya sādhu(uk)āraṃ pradāsīt\* sādhu sādhu samantabhadra yatra hi nāma tvaṃ evaṃ bahujaṇahitā(ya) (pratipanna e)vāc(i)ntyagunadha(rmebhiḥ saman)v(āgato ‘si) mahākaruṇasamgrhītenādhyāśa(ye)na • evācintyasamgrhītena cittotpādena • yas tvaṃ svayaṃ eva teṣāṃ sūtrāntadhārakā{ṃ}nām adhiṣṭhānaṃ kurvasi • ye kecit kulaputra samantabhadrrasya bodhisatvasya mahāsatva(sya) nāmadheyam dhārayiṣyanti veditavyaṃ śākyamunis tebhis tathāgato ‘rhān samyaksambuddho dr̥ṣṭa (i)ti ayaṃ ca dharmaparyāya{ṃ}s tasya bhagavataḥ śākyamunes tathāgatasyārhatāḥ samyak(s)am(bu)ddhasya sāntikāc chruta(h) śākyamunīś ca tebhis tathāgato ‘rhān samyaksambuddhaḥ pūjito bhaviṣyati (śākyamunes tathāgatasyārhatāḥ samyaksambuddhasya dharmaṃ deśayati sādhu kārāṃ anupradatto bhavi(ṣyati anumoditaś cāyaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ bhāṣyamāṇo bhaviṣyati • bhagavatā śākyamuninā ca ta(thāgate)(n)ārhatā samyaksambuddhena teṣāṃ mūrdhni pāṇiḥ pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ bhaviṣyati •

### Translation

Thereupon, Bhagavan Śākyamuni, Tathagata, Arhat, Fully Enlightened Buddha **praised** Bodhisattva-mahāsatva Samantabhadra: “**Very well, Samantabhadra, inasmuch as you, endowed with inconceivable qualities, disposed to profound compassion, having accomplished inconceivable**

<sup>22</sup> This is referred to Bodhisattva Samantabhadra (Skt. ‘Wholly Auspicious’).

intentions for the benefit of a great multitude of people, by yourself will take under protection those Sūtra-preachers. The young men of good family, who **will honor the name of Bodhisattva-mahāsattva** Samantabhadra, should know that they have seen Śākyamuni, Tathagata, Arhat, Fully Enlightened Buddha, that they have heard this Sūtra **in the presence of Bhagavan Śākyamuni, Tathagata, Arhat, Fully Enlightened Buddha**, that they will have paid homage to Śākyamuni, Tathagata, Arhat, Fully Enlightened Buddha, that they will have **applauded the preaching of this Sūtra by Śākyamuni, Tathagata, Arhat, Fully Enlightened Buddha**, that they will have rejoiced this Sūtra. **The hand of Bhagavan Śākyamuni, Tathagata, Arhat, Fully Enlightened Buddha will caress their heads.**

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## Tibetan Birchbark Manuscripts in the Serindian Collection of the IOM, RAS: Restoration and Identification

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*Abstract:* The article presents the Tibetan birchbark manuscripts kept in the Serindian collection of the IOM, RAS. The five birchbark manuscripts exhibit common codicological and paleographic characteristics, and the texts within them demonstrate a functional congruence, primarily associated with the rituals of consecration and empowerment. The objective of the conservation efforts was to flatten the birchbark fragments to both identify and preserve the inscribed texts. The fragments were sufficiently moistened in the birch sap as a plasticizer instead of regular water, given that it is a natural substance inherent to birch bark. The birch sap for conservation was hand-harvested from an ecologically pristine area. The soaking process in warm birch sap softened the fragments, and they were also cleansed of surface impurities. Damaged areas of the birchbark fragments were reinforced using Japanese conservation paper. For subsequent use and preservation, the fragments were stored in envelopes made of high-quality Melinex polyester film. Owing to the restoration work, five Tibetan birchbark manuscripts were described and transliterated.

*Key words:* Tibetan manuscripts, restoration, conservation, birchbark manuscripts, consecration, stupa

The article aims to present the Tibetan birchbark manuscripts that belong to the Serindian collection of the IOM, RAS. This implies the need to describe the experience of restoring Tibetan birchbark manuscripts, as well as their characteristics and contents. Texts that could be found in the canon were compared to the critical edition of Tibetan Kangyur. Due to the large number of discrepancies, only the most important ones were given in the footnotes.<sup>1</sup> Also for comparative purposes we used the compilation of *dhāraṇīs* made by the fourth abbot of the Kagyu Buddhist monastery Taklung (*stag lung*) Onpo Pal (*dbon po dpal*) (1251–1296); this is noted in each individual case.

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<sup>1</sup> The sigla denoting Kanjur editions are given in the abbreviations. If a siglum isn't specified, it indicates that the manuscript's text varies from all editions found in *Dpe bsdur ma*.

In Tibetan book culture, birchbark is deemed a pure material, apt for ritualistic applications, including crafting texts for placement inside stupas and for creating protective amulets. Given its fragility compared to paper, there are a limited number of Tibetan birchbark manuscripts catalogued in the known collections. A few items are housed in the Berlin Turfan Collection<sup>2</sup>, the Mongolian Academy of Sciences<sup>3</sup> and the National Library of Russia.<sup>4</sup> Alla Sizova, one of the co-authors of this paper, previously published an article discussing a birchbark manuscript acquired by N.P. Likhachev. This manuscript features a selection of *dhāraṇīs*, mantras, and a fragment of the *Prātimokṣa sūtra*.<sup>5</sup> During her research for the said article, the N.P. Likhachev manuscript (SI 6618) was included into the Serindian collection of the IOM, RAS due to its purported origin from East Turkestan. During her engagement with the Tibetan section of the Serindian collection between 2019 and 2021, Alla Sizova had the opportunity to study four other previously unidentified Tibetan birchbark manuscripts, which are outlined in this paper.

### List of the Tibetan birchbark manuscripts in the Serindian collection of the IOM, RAS

No.	Call number	Contents and provenance
1	SI 6558	Fragment of “The Verses that Summarize the Perfection of Wisdom”. Collection of N.F. Petrovsky <sup>6</sup> (?)
2	SI 6618	<i>Dhāraṇīs</i> , mantras, passage from the <i>prātimokṣa sūtra</i> . Collection of N.P. Likhachev. Brought from East Turkestan by N.M. Berezovsky and a certain “unknown traveller”. <sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> TAUBE 1980: 93–101.

<sup>3</sup> CHIDO 2000: IX.

<sup>4</sup> Two small birchbark fragments of the Dzogchen (Nyingmapa) text, call number Dorn 901 (DORN 1852: 657–658; VASILYEVA 2020: 64). We are grateful to Anna Turanskaya for this information.

<sup>5</sup> SIZOVA 2020.

<sup>6</sup> POPOVA 2008a: 25.

Unlike the Tibetan manuscripts on paper from the collection of N.F. Petrovsky, which have old call numbers of the Asiatic Museum (P/...) and originate in Khotan, SI 6558 has no such old call number. This might be due to the item's poor condition when it first arrived at the Asiatic Museum. The provenance is recorded in the modern inventory book, but this manuscript must be attributed to Petrovsky's collection with reservations.

<sup>7</sup> SIZOVA 2020.

3	SI 6680	<i>Sarvavid mantra</i> . Comes from the group of materials marked as “Туюк Мазар Р.Д. 11.1909”, that means that they were obtained in Tuyuq Mazar during the first Russian Turkestan Expedition (1909–1910) headed by S.F. Oldenburg. <sup>8</sup>
4	SI 6681	<i>Dhāraṇī</i> collection. Provenance unknown.
5	SI 6682	<i>Dhāraṇī</i> for consecration of a stupa. Provenance unknown.

**SI 6680** (Pl. 1) is a folio (size: 16.1×18.6 cm) inscribed on both sides, with 20 lines on the recto and 20 on the verso. The spacing between the lines is 0.7–0.9 cm. Manuscript contains the repeating singular formula known as the Sarvavid mantra: *o-’aṃ sa rba byid swā hā* (corresponding to skt. *oṃ sarvavid svā hā*) “OM the Omniscient SVĀHĀ”. Paper slips with this mantra, associated with Sarvavid Vairocana, the central deity of the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra*, can be found in the Berlin Turfan collection (call number TibHT 55) with a similar orthography: *o-’aṃ sa+rba byed swā hā*.<sup>9</sup> The formula is related to the rituals of empowerment and consecration.

**SI 6682** (Pl. 2) consists of the two folios (size of one of them is 11.3×21.4 cm, the second one is of similar size, requires restoration), which are pieces of birchbark of a rather uneven shape. The spacing between the lines is 0.8–1.5 cm. Manner of writing, comparing to the other birchbark manuscripts in the Serindian collection, is unskillful. Both folios, as in the previous case, are inscribed with the repeating *dhāraṇī*:

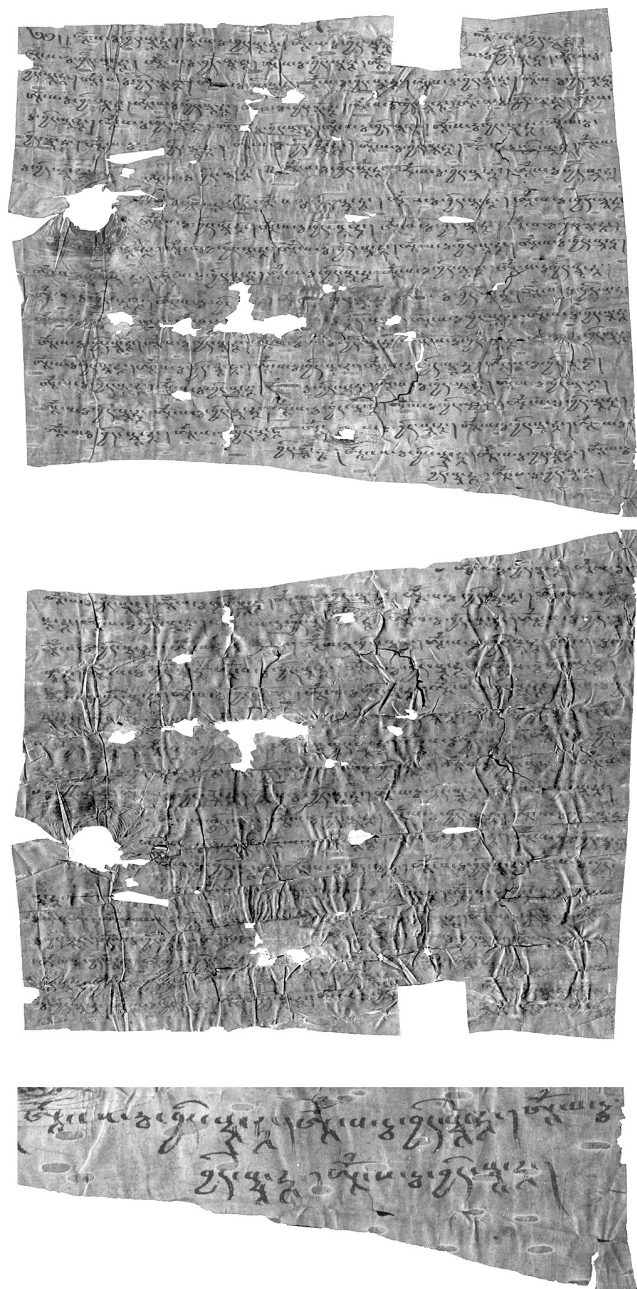
*na ma na ba ti nam | ta thā ga ta ga ga na | dhi ba lu ka | ko ti ṇa yu ta ṣa  
ta sa ha sa na ma | o-’aṃ po po ri | rtsa ri | ṇi rtsa ri | mo ri ko ri rtsa la  
ba ri swā hā |*

<sup>8</sup> POPOVA 2008b.

The item SI 6680 doesn’t have an old call number, just as in the earlier mentioned case.

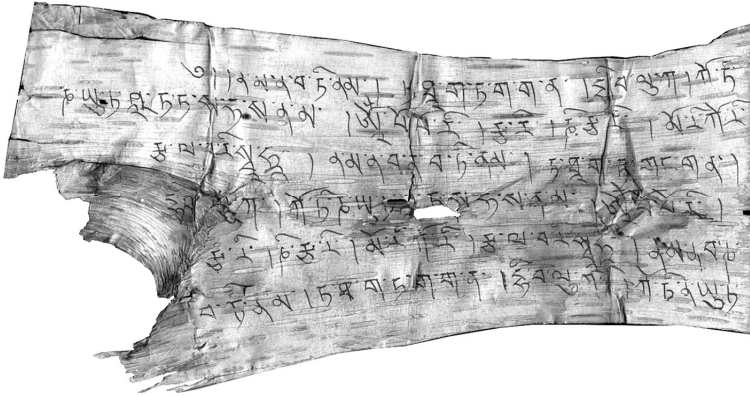
<sup>9</sup> SCHAİK 2016: 181–182.





Pl. 1. Birchbark manuscript SI 6680  
(recto, verso; fragment — recto, right lower corner)

This formula can be found in the compilation of Onpo Pal.<sup>10</sup> According to it, in order to attain high spiritual levels, one must copy this *dhāraṇī* and tie the text around a “life-tree” (axis) of a stupa, performing prostrations and offerings. In one of the Tibetan manuals, researched by Béla Kelényi, this formula is called “the *dhāraṇī* accompanying the offering of immaculate light”. Gergely Hidas translated it from Sanskrit as: “Veneration to the ninety-nine times ten-million-million-hundred-thousand Tathāgatas equaling the sand particles of the Gaṅgā river. OM PŪRIṆI PŪRE. CALINI CALE. MORI KORI CALA VĪRA SVĀHĀ”.<sup>11</sup>



Pl. 2. Birchbark manuscript SI 6682 (one of the two folios, recto).

Manuscripts **SI 6558** and **SI 6681** (Pl. 3, 4) required restoration procedures. The restoration process, as well as subsequent research, are described in detail below.

### SI 6558 and SI 6681: restoration process

In 2019,<sup>12</sup> the birchbark fragments with call numbers **SI 6558** and **SI 6681** were retrieved for conservation in a state of significant disrepair (Pl. 3, 4). They were folded, misshapen, and had sustained multiple tears and losses.

<sup>10</sup> rigs kyi bu'am rigs bu mo gong la la zhig gis gzungs 'di dag dgu bcu rtsa dgu bris te| mchod rten gyi srong shing gi ngos bzhir bzhug ste| phyag dang pū dza chen po byas na| de nges par phyir mi ldog par 'gyur zhing myur du bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya'o| (DBON PO DPAL 2007: 215–216).

<sup>11</sup> KELÉNYI 2008: 148.

<sup>12</sup> The restoration procedures were successfully completed in January, 2020.

All of these birchbark pieces had lost their natural flexibility, making them extremely delicate and susceptible to any external factors. This was particularly true for fragments **SI 6558**, which were originally very thin and thus more easily damaged (Pl. 3). Some of these fragments had also split into several parts. The primary reason was the lack of appropriate temperature and humidity levels and the mechanical stress experienced by these fragments before they became part of the Institute's collection. When overly dry, birchbark items can become desiccated, leading to crumbling and disintegration. Objects of this kind require specific storage conditions: temperatures of +15 to +18°C and relative humidity levels of 50–60%.



Pl. 3. Birchbark manuscript SI 6558 before restoration.

The conservation efforts of the 1950s–60s, focused on restoring the Novgorod birchbark manuscripts, provided a blueprint for the conservators at the IOM, RAS. In order to flatten the birchbark, the conservators of the Novgorod texts would soften them using boiling water, then unfold and place them between sheets of glass, pressing them down with weights. For an extended period, selecting the most appropriate adhesive to strengthen the manuscripts proved challenging.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> A moderately quick-drying, reversible adhesive was required. In the early 1980s polybutyl methacrylate, otherwise PBMA, was tested for bonding of birchbark. When diluted, quickly or slowly evaporating solvents can be used: toluene, xylene, and acetone. For working

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Pl. 4. Birchbark manuscript SI 6681 before restoration.

Fragment **SI 6681** had a more robust structure and greater pliability compared to **SI 6558**. However, it wasn't flexible enough to be unfolded without the risk of cracking and damage to the birchbark. Visual examination indicated distinct color variations in the birchbark of each fragment. Fragment **SI 6681** displayed a light gray hue on the front and an almost red shade on the back. In contrast, fragment **SI 6558** showcased a light ochre tone on the front and a dark brown hue on the reverse.<sup>14</sup>

The objective of the conservation efforts was to flatten the birchbark fragments to both identify and preserve the inscribed texts. To achieve this, the fragments needed to be sufficiently moistened. Before doing so, we conducted water resistance tests on the black ink used in the texts. All texts proved to be waterproof. During the conservation meeting, the decision was made to use birch sap as a plasticizer instead of regular water, given that it's a natural substance inherent to birch bark.

Birch sap is a liquid that seeps from birch trees due to root pressure when cuts are made in the trunks and branches. This sap flow commences in

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with birchbark, PBMA diluted with acetone turned out to be more acceptable. Acetone evaporates fairly quickly, however, it leaves time to correct or install more precisely glued scraps. PBMA is a reversible adhesive: it can be completely dissolved and removed if necessary after it has hardened. It is valuable because it is not absorbed into birchbark and does not destroy its structure. Despite only superficial contact with birch bark, it is also dense enough to keep fragments of a manuscript whole (POVETKIN 1996).

<sup>14</sup> The structural and visual attributes of birchbark largely hinge on the location of the birch trees and their age. The specific type of birchbark selected is influenced by the intended product. The outer surface of birch bark is typically white with a grayish undertone, though occasionally it can be pinkish-brown. The inner layers, which face the bast, range in shades from yellow to brown.

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the spring with the onset of the first thaws and lasts until the buds open. The birch sap for conservation was hand-harvested from an ecologically pristine area, distant from urban zones and major roads. When stored in a cool, dark place within a sterilized container, freshly harvested sap can remain fresh for an extended period without souring or becoming cloudy, and without the need for any preservatives.

Manuscript **SI 6681**, while being less deteriorated and more robust, needed thorough moistening. To achieve this, the fragment was fully submerged in a container filled with birch sap for several hours. After soaking, we checked its plasticity. Its significant increase enabled us to unfold the manuscript, but it still wasn't flexible enough for complete straightening. During the careful unfolding process, it became evident that this single fragment (Pl. 4) consisted of three identically colored and sized folios of birchbark (Pl. 7–12).

Evidently, the deformed fragments couldn't be fully straightened at this point due to their limited flexibility. The soaking process in birch sap was thus continued. All the fragments, including **SI 6558**, were again immersed in warm birch sap to continue their softening. The warm sap was replenished every thirty minutes. During this immersion, the fragments were also cleansed of surface impurities.

Once sufficiently softened, the fragments were removed from the sap bath and placed between sheets of dense polyethylene terephthalate. They were then sandwiched between cloths and wooden boards and subjected to a mechanical press for a few hours. The use of the dense film provided a solid surface while retaining the moisture within the folios. After pressing, the fragments of **SI 6558** were fully straightened and then transferred to a dry cloth before being placed back under the press. However, manuscript **SI 6681** still had prominent creases across its surface. Its softening in warm birch sap was extended for several more hours, with the same pressing procedure using polyethylene terephthalate. An hour later after that the film was removed. Any lingering creases were meticulously smoothed using a fluoroplastic spatula. These slightly moistened birch bark fragments were then pressed for an extended period between cloths to eliminate any remaining deformations and creases.

After undergoing the aforementioned procedures, the birchbark fragments transformed from being overly dry and brittle to flexible and resilient. Damaged areas of the birchbark fragments were reinforced using Japanese conservation paper, Hidaka Washi Tengu Tape (Tan) weighing 7.3g/m<sup>2</sup>,

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adhered with 3% wheat starch glue. For subsequent use and preservation, the fragments were stored in envelopes made of high-quality Melinex polyester film, a material commonly employed in the archival storage of photographic and paper-based items.

## SI 6558: description and transliteration

### Description

The manuscript (as shown in Pl. 5 and 6) comprises three fragments which originally formed a single folio of a rough square shape, measuring 22.1×23.6 cm. The recto side has 27 lines, while the verso side has 32 lines. The spacing between the lines is 0.7–0.8 cm. The piece of birchbark originally had an irregular shape, as well as tears and holes, and the scribe had to adapt to this.

The birchbark is very thin and fragile, as in the case of the manuscript SI 6618, which was supposedly produced not for reading but for symbolic purposes.<sup>15</sup> Text is written with black ink in elegant *dbu med* script. One can note the letter *ya* attached to *ma* (*ma ya btags*) (although inconsistent).

Text has a number of scribal errors (for the relevant ones the corresponding correct variants from the critical edition are given in the footnotes), such as: *ston nyid* ‘emptiness’, *sems* ‘sentient being’ (instead of *sems can*) etc. One verse is omitted (recto, line 11). The scribal negligence also led to disruptions in the poetic rhythm, resulting from missing or exceeding number of syllables.

### Contents

The manuscript contains the fragment from the canonical *prajñāpāramitā* text “The Verses that Summarize the Perfection of Wisdom” (skt. *āryaprajñāpāramitāsañcayagāthā*, tib. *’phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa*). The work summarizes in versicular the contents of the “The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines” (skt. *aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*). It was divided into 32 chapters by Haribhadra in the 8th c.<sup>16</sup> The Tibetan translation was made by Vidyākaraśiṃha and Kawa Paltseg in the early 9th c.

<sup>15</sup> SIZOVA 2020: 471.

<sup>16</sup> CONZE 1975: ix.

The fragment SI 6558 covers chapters 20–26 (Chapter XX “The Simile of the Merchant and His journey” — Chapter XXVI “The Simile of the People Created by Magic”).<sup>17</sup> In the critical edition of the Kangyur,<sup>18</sup> the entire work spans pages 3–44. Meanwhile, the fragment found in manuscript SI 6558 corresponds to pages 27<sup>18</sup>–34<sup>17</sup>. This suggests that, had there been a complete copy of the work with folios containing roughly equivalent portions of text, the existing folio would likely be numbered five, and there would be around 7 folios in total.



Pl. 5. Birchbark manuscript SI 6558 after restoration (recto)

<sup>17</sup> Translation into English: CONZE 1975: 47–57.

<sup>18</sup> DPE BSDUR MA 34 2008.

## Transliteration

### Recto

- [1] <dper na rin chen 'dod pa rin chen gling song ste|| rin chen rnyed nas phyir yang khyim du 'ongs gyur pa|| der ni ded dpon 'ba' zhig bde bar 'tsho byed cing|| gnyen bshes tshogs yid mi bder 'jo>g pa myin pa ltar|| de bzhin byang chub sems dpa' ston<sup>19</sup> nyid rin chen gyi||
- [2] <glings du song ste bsam gtan dbang po stobs thob pa|| mya ngan 'das la reg pa 'ba' zhig mngon dga' zhing|| sem>s can sdug bsngal yid du 'jog par 'gyur ma yin|| dper na don gnyer tshong
- [3] <pa rgyus shes bya ba'i phyir|| bar gyi grong khyer grong rdal grong gang yin par 'gro|| der yang mi gnas rin che>n glings du 'ang myi gnas la||rig pa'i khyim du myi gnas lam la mkhas par 'gyur||
- [4] <de bzhin byang chub sems dpa' gsal te nyan thos dang|| rang rgyal rnams kyi shes pa rnam grol kun la m>khas|| de la myi gnas sangs rgyas ye shes gnas ma yin|| 'dus ma byas la
- [5] myi gnas lam kyi tshul shes yin|| gang tshe 'gro la byams pas rjes su 'brel byas nas|| ting 'dzin stong pa mtshan myed smon pa myed spyod pa±so<sup>20</sup>|| de ni mya ngan 'das pa thob par 'gyur
- [6] zhe 'am|| 'dus byas yin par gdags nus de ni gnas myed do|| dper na sprul pa'i myi lus myi snang ma yin zhing|| de ni mying gis kyang ni gdag<s> par nus pa ltar|| de bzhin
- [7] <byang chub se>ms dpa' rnam thar sgor spyod pa|| de ni mying gis kyang ni gdags par nus pa yin|| ga<|> te spyod pa dang ni dbang po yongs dris la|| byang chub sems pa<sup>21</sup>
- [8] <stong> pa mtshan ma myed pa'i chos|| yongs su myi rtog<sup>22</sup> phyir myi ldog pa\_sa\_i<sup>23</sup> chos|| myi 'chad de ni lung ma bstan pa<sup>24</sup> yin rig bya<sup>25</sup>|| dgra bcom sa dang
- [9] <rkyen gyi sangs rgyas ye shes dang|| khams gsum dag la rmi lam na yang mi 'dod cing|| sangs rgyas> rnam<sup>26</sup> mthong 'gro la chos kyang ston byed pa|| de ni mi ldog

<sup>19</sup> stong.

<sup>20</sup> -; scribal error.

<sup>21</sup> dpa'.

<sup>22</sup> ston.

<sup>23</sup> pa'i sa yi but Y: pa sa yis; L, P, N, C: pa sa yi.

<sup>24</sup> bstan par but Y: stan par; N, Zh: bstan pa yin.

<sup>25</sup> rig par bya but N, Zh: - par.

<sup>26</sup> rnams.



- [10] <lung bstan> yin par rig par bya|| rmi lam na ni sems can <ngan song gsum gnas> mthong|| <skad cig de> la ngan song rgyun gcad smon lam 'debs|| bden pa'i byin kyis rlabs kyis
- [11] m<e><sup>27</sup> phung po zhi|| de ni myi ldog lung bstan yin par rig par bya||<sup>28</sup> ji ste de ni bden pa'i byin rlabs sna tshogs dag|| 'byor pa bdag lung bstan snyam rlom sems 'byung ba'am||
- [12] gal te byang chub sems dpa' gzhan kyis lung bstan rlom|| rlom sems gnas pa de ni blo chung shes par bya|| mying<sup>29</sup> gzhi las bdud ni nye bar 'ong gyur na-s|| 'di skad smras
- [13] te 'di ni khyod dang pha ma dang|| khyod kyis bdun mes rgyud kyis bar kyis mying yin zhing|| gang tshe khyod ni sangs rgyas 'gyur ba'i mying 'di yin|| sbyangs sdom rnal 'byor ldan pa
- [14] ci 'dra 'byung 'gyur la|| khyod sngon yon tan tshul yang 'di 'dra 'o zhes brjod de<sup>30</sup>|| de skad gang thos rlom sems byang chub sems dpa' ni|| bdud kyis <s yongs su bslang zhing>
- [15] blo chung rig par bya|| rab tu dben pa'i grong dang grong khyer ri sul dang|| dgon pa dben pa'i <nag>s khrod rab tu sten <byed> cing|| bdag stod<sup>31</sup> gzhan la smod <pa'i byang chub sems>
- [16] dpa' ni|| bdud kyis yongs su bslang zhing blo chung rig par bya|| rtag tu grong dang yul 'khor grong rdal gnas byed cing|| sems<sup>32</sup> smyin byed byang chub brtson pa ma gtogs par||
- [17] de na<sup>33</sup> dgra' bcom rang rgyal 'dod pa gzhan myi skyed|| 'di ni bde bar gshegs pa'i sras kyis<sup>34</sup> dben par gsungs|| gang zhig dpag tshad lnga brgya yod pa'i ri'i sul|| sbrul kyis gang
- [18] bar lo mang bye bar gnas byed kyang|| dben pa 'di myi shes pa'i byang chub sems dpa' de|| lhag pa'i nga rgyal rnyed nas 'dre bar gnas pa yin|| byang chub sems

<sup>27</sup> me yi.

<sup>28</sup> + mi yi 'jig rten 'byung po'i gdon dang nad mang ba|| phan dang snying brtser ldan pa'i bden pa'i byin gyis zhi|| 'on kyang rlom sems med cing nga rgyal skyed med pa|| de ni mi ldog lung bstan yin par rig par bya||

<sup>29</sup> + gi.

<sup>30</sup> do.

<sup>31</sup> only D.

<sup>32</sup> + can.

<sup>33</sup> ni.

<sup>34</sup> kyis sras kyis but N, Zh: pa'i sras kyis.

- [19] < *dpa* > 'gro ba'i don brtson bsam gtan dang|| stobs dang dbang po'i  
stobs thob rnam thar ting 'dzin thob de la||<sup>35</sup> 'di ni dgon dben spyod  
 pa myin snyam brnyas byed pa|| de ni bdud
- [20] < *kyi spyod yul gnas zhes rgyal bas gsungs* >|| gang zhig grong  
 ngam 'on te dgon par gnas kyang ru< *ng* >|| theg pa gnyis kyi sems  
 bral byang chub mchog nges na||
- [21] < 'di ni 'gro don zhugs pa rnams kyi dben pa > ste|| byang chub sems  
 dpa' drod nyom<sup>36</sup> de ni bdag nyid nyams|| de ltar bas na byang chub  
 dam pa tshol ba yi|| bsam pa drag ldan mkhas
- [22] < *pas nga rgyal nges bcom ste* || *nad pa'i* > tshogs kyi gso phyir sman  
 pa bsten pa ltar|| g.yang<sup>37</sup> ba myed par dge ba'i bshes gnyen bsten par  
 bya|| sangs rgyas byang chub mchog zhugs byang chub
- [23] < *sems* > dpa' dag|| pha rol phyin dang bcas ste dge ba'i bshes su  
bstan<sup>38</sup>|| 'di ni rjes su ston byed sgrub<sup>39</sup> pa'i sa|| rgyu rnams<sup>40</sup> gnyis  
 kyis sangs rgyas byang chub myur du rtogs<sup>41</sup>|| rgyal ba 'das dang ma
- [24] byon phyogs bcu<sup>42</sup> gang bzhugs pa|| kun lam pha rol phyin pa 'di yin  
 gzhan ma yin|| pha rol phyin 'di byang chub mchog la zhugs rnams  
 kyi|| gsal dang sgron dang snang dang ston mchog
- [25] < *yin zhes bshad* || *ji ltar shes rab pha rol phyin pa mtshan nyid*  
*stong* || *chos 'di thams cad mtshan* > nyid de dang 'drar shes shing||  
 chos rnams stong zhing mtshan ma myed par rab shes
- [26] < *na* || *de ltar spyod pa bde gshegs shes rab spyod pa yin* || *sems can*  
*yongs su ltogs pa zas la 'dod bye* > d cing|| 'khor bar chags pa'i yid  
 dang ldan rnams rtag tu 'khor||
- [27] < *bdag dang bdag gi chos gnyis yang dag min stong ste* || *byis pa bdag*  
*nyid kyis ni mkha' la mdud pa bor* || *dper* > na dogs pa'i 'du shes kyis  
 ni dug langs pa|| dug de khong du song

<sup>35</sup> stobs dang dbang po rnam thar ting 'dzin thob de la||

<sup>36</sup> snyom but Y, L, P, N: nyom; C, Zh: snyoms.

<sup>37</sup> g.yel.

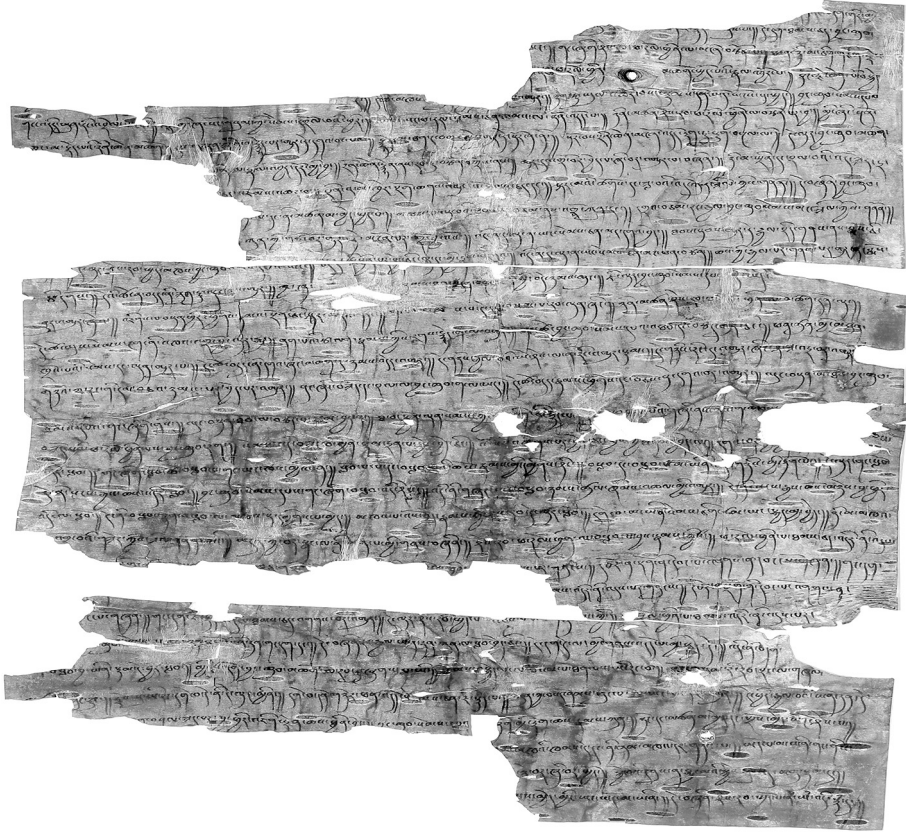
<sup>38</sup> bsten.

<sup>39</sup> de dag rjes su ston byed 'di ni.

<sup>40</sup> rnam but C: rnams.

<sup>41</sup> Scribal error, attempt to write: myi rtogs.

<sup>42</sup> bcur but Zh, N: bcu.



Pl. 6. Birchbark manuscript SI 6558 after restoration (verso)

Verso

- [1] <ba med kyang brgyal bar 'gyur|| de bzhin byis pa bdag dang bdag gir khas len pa|| bdag der 'du shes yang dag mi rtag skyé zhing 'chi|| ji ltar 'dzin pa de ltar kun nas nyon mongs bstan|| bdag> dang bdag gir myi
- [2] <dmigs rnam par byang bar gsungs|| 'di la gang yang nyon mongs rnam dag 'gyur med par|| byang chub sems dpas shes rab pha rol phyin pa rtogs|| 'dzam bu 'i gling na sems can ji snyed ma> lus pa|| de dag thams cad byang chub

- [3] <*mchog tu sems bskyed nas*|| *lo stong bye ba mang por sbyin pa byin byas la*|| *kun kyang 'gro ba'i don du byang chub rgyur bsngo*> yang|| gang zhig shes rab pha rol phyin la<sup>43</sup> mngon brtson pa|| tha na nyi ma cig gcig<sup>44</sup> rjes
- [4] <*su 'thun byed na*|| *de la sbyin pa'i phung pos bsod nams char mi phod*|| *de phyir g.yel med rtag tu shes rab 'jug par bya*|| *shes*> rab pha rol phyin mchog spyod pa'i rnal 'byor pa|| snying rje chen po bskyed
- [5] <*kyang sems can 'du shes me*>d|| de tshe mkhas <*pa 'gro ba kun gyi sbyin gnas*> 'gyur|| rtag tu yul 'khor bsod snyoms don yod yongs su spyod|| byang chub sems dpa'
- [6] gang 'dir yun ring 'brel pa yi|| lha myi ngan song gsum kyi sems<sup>45</sup> dgrol ba'i phyir|| lam yangs pha rol sems can kham la ston 'dod pa|| nyin mtshan shes rab pha rol phyin la brtson par bya|| myi zhing<sup>46</sup> sngon
- [7] chad ma rnyed pa'i rin chen mchog|| dus gzhan zhig na rnyed par gyur te dga' ba las|| rnyed ma thag tu bag myed gyur te stor na ni|| stor bas rin chen mngon 'dod rtag tu sdug bsngal lo|| de ltar byang chub mchog
- [8] <*zhugs rin chen lta bu yi*|| *shes rab pha rol*> phyin la rnal 'byor dor myi bya|| rin chen nyen<sup>47</sup> nas<sup>48</sup> rab tu brtson bkris<sup>49</sup> nas|| myur du 'gro bar byed pa zhi bar 'gyur ba bzhin|| nyi ma sprin dang bral ba'i 'od zer dra
- [9] <*ba can*|| *mun nag thibs po mun pa thams*> cad 'joms 'char ba|| srin bu me khyer srog chags 'byung po thams cad dang|| skar ma'i tshogs dang zla ba'i 'od kun zil kyis gnon|| de bzhin byang chub
- [10] <*sems dpa' shes rab pha rol phyin*|| *mchog spyod stong*> pa dang ni mtshan ma myed spyod pa|| mkhas pa lta ba'i thibs po bcom nas 'gro kun dang|| dgra' bcom rang rgyal byang chub sems mang zil kyis gnon||

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<sup>43</sup> mchog but L, N, Zh: la.

<sup>44</sup> gcig cig.

<sup>45</sup> + can.

<sup>46</sup> zhig.

<sup>47</sup> rnyed.

<sup>48</sup> + blangs te.

<sup>49</sup> dkris but N, Zh: bkris.

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- [11] <dper na rgyal po'i bu zhig nor gtong don 'dod pa||> kun kyī gtso bor gyur te mngon par 'gro bya 'os|| 'di ni de\_lta<sup>50</sup> na yang sems can mang dga' byed|| thabs stobs<sup>51</sup> gyur te rgyal srid gnas nas smos ci
- [12] <dgos>|| de ltar shes rab spyod mkhas byang chub <sems> dpa' yang|| bdud rtsi sbyin par byed cing lha dang myi rnams dga' || 'di ni da lta na yang sems can mang phan brtson|| chos kyī rgyal por gnas par gyur na<sup>52</sup> smos
- [13] ci dgos|| de\_i<sup>53</sup> tshe na bdud ni zug ngu ldan par 'gyur|| mya ngan nyams<sup>54</sup> thag sdug bsngal <y|>d myi bde nyams chung<sup>55</sup>|| ji ltar byang chub sems dpa' 'di yid
- [14] nur 'gyur zhes|| 'jigs pa bstan phyir phyogs rnams sreg cing skar mda' gtong|| gang tshe mkhas pa de dag bsam pa rab<sup>56</sup> ldan zhing|| nyin mtshan shes rab pha rol phyin pa mchog don lta||
- [15] de tshe lus sems ngag ni 'kha<sup>57</sup> 'gro bya ltar rgyu|| nag po'i rtsa lag rnams kyis rlags<sup>58</sup> rnyed ga la 'gyur|| gang tshe byang chub sems dpa' 'thab dang brtsod<sup>59</sup> gyur cing|| phan tshun myi mthun
- [16] khros pa'i sems dang ldan gyur pa|| de tshe bdud ni dga' zhing mchog tu nyams bder 'gyur|| de gnyis rgyal ba'i ye shes la<sup>60</sup> ni ring 'gyur snyam|| de gnyis ring du 'gyur zhing sha za 'dra bar 'gyur
- [17] gnya ka<sup>61</sup> rang gi dam bca<sup>62</sup> nyams par byed par 'gyur|| sdang zhing bzod dang bral la byang chub ga la yod|| de tshe bdud rnams phyogs dang bcas ste<sup>63</sup> dga' bar 'gyur|| lung bstan ma thob byang chub
- [18] sems dpa' gang zhig gis|| lung bstan thob la<sup>64</sup> brtsod pa rtsom byed na|| tha ba skyon ldan sems kyī <skad c>ig ci snyed pa|| d<e snyed bskal> pa'i gzhi nas nas(!) go cha bgo <bgos so|| sangs rgyas>

<sup>50</sup> only D, U.

<sup>51</sup> thob but Y, P: thobs.

<sup>52</sup> nas but Zh: na.

<sup>53</sup> de yi tshe.

<sup>54</sup> nyam but Y, L, P, N: nyams.

<sup>55</sup> nyam chung but Y, P: nyams chung.

<sup>56</sup> drag but N, Zh: rab.

<sup>57</sup> mkha'.

<sup>58</sup> glags.

<sup>59</sup> rtsod.

<sup>60</sup> las.

<sup>61</sup> gnyi ga.

<sup>62</sup> bcas.

<sup>63</sup> te.

<sup>64</sup> + sems khros.

- [19] bzod pa'i pha rol phyin pas byang chub reg|| sems 'di bzang ba myin snyam dran pa skyed byed cing|| so sor 'chags par byed cing phyis kyang sdom byed la|| dga' bar <myi byed de ni sangs rgyas chos>
- [20] 'dir slob|| gang zhig slob tshe bslab pa gang yang khas myi len|| slob pa po dang bslab pa'i chos rnams myi dmyigs shing|| bslab dang bslab pa ma yin <'di> gnyis myi rtog pa|| de ltar gang slob
- [21] de ni sangs rgyas chos 'dir slob|| byang chub sems dpa' gang zhig<sup>65</sup> bslab 'di shes|| 'di<sup>66</sup> ni gzhar yang bslab nyams tshul khrims 'chal myi 'gyur|| de ni sangs rgyas chos mnyes bya phyir
- [22] 'di la slob|| de ni bslab lhag bslab la mkhas ste dmyigs pa myed|| mkhas pa 'os<sup>67</sup> byed rnams kyi shes rab de ltar slob|| dge ba ma yin sems cig<sup>68</sup> tsam yang skyed myI byed|| nyi ma mkha'
- [23] <la> 'gro ba'i gzer kyis zil gnong pa'i|| mdun kyi bar snang la ni mun pa myi gnas bzhin|| shes rab pha rol phyin la bslab pa byas rnams kyi|| pha rol phyin pa thams cad 'dir ni 'dus
- [24] <par 'gyur|| 'jig tsho<gs lta bar lta ba drug> bcu<sup>69</sup> gnyi<s 'dus ltar|| de bzhin pha r>ol phyin <pa 'di dag 'du>s par gsungs|| dper na srog gi dbang po 'gags na
- [25] <dba>ng po gzhan|| gang dag ji snyed <yo>d pa thams cad 'gags par 'gyur|| de ltar shes rab spyod pa <mkhas pa mchog rnam>s kyi|| <pha> rol phyin pa thams<sup>70</sup> 'dir ni 'dus par
- [26] <gsungs|| byang> chub sems mkhas nyan thos yon tan gang dag dang|| de bzhin rang rgyal yon tan kun la slob byed cing|| de dag de la myi gnas 'dod pa myi skyed de|| 'di ni bdag
- [27] <gis> bslab bya yin snyam de phyir slob|| myi ldog byang chub mchog la rab tu zhugs pa yi|| sems bskyed pa la bsam pa thag pas yi rang ba|| stong gsum ri rab srang la gzhal
- [28] <bas tshad g>zung rung|| rjes su yi rang dge ba de ni de lta myin|| dge ba don gnyer phan 'dod sems can ji snyed pa|| kun kyi bsod nams phung po la yang yi rang gyur|| de phyir rgyal ba'i yon tan de<sup>71</sup>

<sup>65</sup> + de lta'i.

<sup>66</sup> de.

<sup>67</sup> 'od.

<sup>68</sup> gcig but N: cig.

<sup>69</sup> cu but Y, L, P: bcu.

<sup>70</sup> + cad.

<sup>71</sup> de phyir de dag rgyal ba'i yon tan.

- [29] <thob gyur nas|| sdu>g bsngal zad par bya phyir 'jig rten chos sbyin byed|| byang chub sems dpa' <gang> zhig myi rtog chos rnam kun|| stong dang mtshan ma myed dang spros myed yong<sup>72</sup> shes pa||
- [30] <de ni shes rab gnyis kyis byang chub tshol mi byed|| rnal 'byor pa de shes rab pha rol phyin mchog brtson|| na>m mkha'i kham de dang ni nam mkha' der gñas<sup>73</sup> pa|| yod pa ma yin gang gis
- [31] <kyang ni de ma thob|| de bzhin shes rab spyod mkhas byang chub sems dpa' yang|| nam mkha' lta bu yin te> nye bar zhi bar spyod|| skye bo'i dbus na sgyu ma'i skyes bu 'di mgu<sup>74</sup> snyam du||
- [32] <skye bo 'di mgu bya snyam mi sems de yang byed|| rdzu 'phrul sna tshogs rab tu ston par byed mthong yang|| de la lus med se>ms myed mying yang yod ma yin|| de bzhin shes rab spyod pa nam yam 'di snyam du||

## SI 6681: description and transliteration

### Description

The manuscript comprises three folios with dimensions of 10.2×28.6, 10.2×26.6, and 10.3×26.7 cm. Compared to manuscripts SI 6558 and SI 6618, the birchbark used in this case is sturdier and more robust. Given the content of this manuscript, which provides specific instructions on how to utilize a particular *dhāraṇī*, it can be inferred that it was created not (only) for ritualistic purposes, but for practical use.

The first two folios are labeled with the Tibetan letters *nga* and *ca*, which correspond to the numbers 4 and 5, respectively. The third folio lacks a foliation mark, but its text continues from f. 5. Hence, we have folios 4–6 from the text, yet we lack both its beginning and end.

The orthography is characterized by the letter *ya* attached to *ma* (*ma ya btags*). In rendering Sanskrit sounds there is a tendency to use *e* instead of *i*: *bye ma la* for *vimala*, *be ra* for *vīra*.

<sup>72</sup> yongs.

<sup>73</sup> 'gal.

<sup>74</sup> —.

## Contents

- F. 4 recto<sup>1-8</sup>      **Mantra “Unfathomable mansion of increasing jewels”**  
 (no beginning)      (skt. *maṇivipulavimāna*, tib. *nor bu rgyas pa'i gzhal med khang*)

Textological comparison is made with the edition of Onpo Pal.<sup>75</sup> Following the *dhāraṇī* text is an explanation of its use. This consists of a typical list of actions for such texts, such as reading, comprehending, affixing to someone's body, writing on various objects and materials (though birchbark is not specified), and so forth.<sup>76</sup>

The subsections of the text (such as “heart” mantra, skt. *hrdaya*, tib. *snying po*; secondary “heart” mantra, skt. *upahrdaya*, tib. *nye ba'i snying po*) are not titled. They are marked by *yig mgo* ཡིག མགོ, or three dots flanked by two *shad* ཤ.

- F. 4 recto<sup>8</sup>–      **Dhāraṇī “Stainless uṣṇīṣa”**  
 5 recto<sup>5</sup>      (skt. *vimaloṣṇīṣa*, tib. *gtsug tor dri ma med*)

“Stainless *uṣṇīṣa*” is a widespread formula used in the rites for blessing a *caitya* (stupa). This *dhāraṇī* with accompanying text (as present in **SI 6681**) can be found in the canon as a part of the *dhāraṇī-sūtra* entitled “A *caitya* perfectly constructed with complete knowledge” (skt. *sarvaprajñāntapāramitāsiddhicaitya*; tib. *shes pas thams cad mthar phyin par grub pa'i mchod rten*).<sup>77</sup> The explanation mentions bark (*shing shun*) as a suitable material for copying the *dhāraṇī*.

Last part of the fragment contains three formulas starting with *om trai-yadhve* (in the manuscript: *strāi yadh dhe*) that spread nature of a *caitya* on “all the lands”, “all the waters” and “all of space” respectively. This explanatory parts are absent in **SI 6681**. The fragment concludes with these three formulas, while the canonical text continues with explanations of various formulas related to the consecration of stupas.

<sup>75</sup> DBON PO DPAL 2007: 243–244.

<sup>76</sup> The explanation is not included into the canonical edition of this mantra (DPE BSDUR MA 104 2008: 609–611).

<sup>77</sup> The relevant fragment can be found in (DPE BSDUR MA 90 2008: 859<sup>7</sup>–860<sup>18</sup>), where the whole work occupies pages 857–872. The canonical work was translated into English (SCHOTT 2023).



F. 5 recto<sup>5-9</sup> **Mantra “Hundred syllables of the *tathāgatas*”**  
 (skt. *tathāgataśatākṣara*, tib. *de bzhin gshegs pa'i yi ge brgya pa*)

This mantra is featured as an independent text in the Narthang and Lhasa editions of the Buddhist canon.<sup>78</sup> The **SI 6681** version includes an introductory header that elucidates the mantra’s purpose, which provides “access to all *maṇḍalas*, both mundane and supramundane”.

F. 5 verso<sup>1-6</sup> **The Eight names [of *Avalokiteśvara*]**  
 (tib. *mtshan brgyad po*)

Textological comparison is made with the edition of Onpo Pal.<sup>79</sup> After listing the eight names in Sanskrit, the **SI 6681** version gives the translation to Tibetan.

No.	<i>Sanskrit</i>	<i>Tibetan</i>	
1	akṣadhara	pad ma bsname pa	holding the lotus <sup>80</sup>
2	padmodbhava	pad ma las 'khrungs pa	born from the lotus
3	padmahasta	phyag na pad ma	[holding] the lotus in hand
4	padmaśrī	pad ma'i dpal	glory of the lotus
5	padmanāyaka	pad ma'i gtso bo	leader of the lotus
6	padmalocana	pad ma'i spyan	eye of the lotus
7	lokeśvara	'jig rten dbang phyug	lord of the world
8	padmeśvara	pad ma'i dbang phyug	lord of the lotus

F. 5 verso<sup>6</sup>–  
 6 verso<sup>8</sup>  
 (no end) ***Dhāraṇī*, fulfilling the six perfections of Amoghapāśa**  
 (skt. *āryāmoghapāśapāramitāṣaṭparipūraka nāmadhāraṇī*,  
 tib. *'phags pa don yod zhags pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa drug yongs su rdzogs par byed pa'i gzungs*)

<sup>78</sup> DPE BSDUR MA 91 2008: 509–510.

<sup>79</sup> DBON PO DPAL 2007: 252–253.

<sup>80</sup> In Sanskrit, however, it is *akṣa* ‘axis’, not *padma* ‘lotus’.

The translation of the Sanskrit text in manuscript **SI 6681** notably differs from the canonical version by Mañjuśrīvarma, Loden Sherab, and Chokyi Sherab.<sup>81</sup>

The salutations to the buddhas and bodhisattvas in **SI 6681** are given in Sanskrit, whereas in the canonical version they are translated to Tibetan. The vocabulary of these two versions differs significantly (SI 6681 / canonical version: *bsnyen gnas* / *smyung bar gnas* “one day precepts”, “fasting vow”; *nyin cig bzhin du* / *nyi ma re re zhing* “daily”; *dud 'gro'i skye gnas* / *byol song gi skye gnas* “animal womb” etc.), as well as the syntactic order.

The text is structured around the six perfections: generosity, discipline, patience, diligence, one-pointed concentration, and wisdom. Each of these perfections has its respective formula and explanations. However, in **SI 6681**, the scribe mistakenly omitted the section on patience and began copying the section on diligence immediately after the one on discipline. Upon realizing this error, he then added the section on patience. The text then appears to transition to the salutations of the *dhyāna* section. This is where the existing text concludes. Given that the last available folio 6 lacks a foliation mark, it's plausible that this folio was discarded due to the error in sequencing the perfections. However, this remains speculative and cannot be confirmed with certainty.

## Transliteration

### F. 4: recto

- [1] @ | dzwa la dzwa la dha rma dhā tu gar bhē | ma ṇi ma ṇi ma hā ma ṇi ta thā ga ta hri da<sup>82</sup> ma ṇi swā hā ||@<sup>83</sup>|| na maḥ sa rba ta
- [2] thā ga tā nām | ōṃ bi pu la gar bhē | ma ṇi pra bhē ta thā ga ta ni ḍa ri ṣhā<sup>84</sup> nē ma ṇi ma ṇi su pra bhē | bi ma lē<sup>85</sup> sā<sup>86</sup> ga ra gam

<sup>81</sup> DPE BSDUR MA 93: 151–157.

<sup>82</sup> + ya | ma hā.

<sup>83</sup> + shin tu rab tu gsang ba'i.

<sup>84</sup> di+rsha.

<sup>85</sup> la.

<sup>86</sup> sam.

- [3] bhī rē hūm hūm | dzwa la dzwa la | bud dha bi lō ki tē | gu hya a dhi  
ṣṭhi te gar bhē swā hā | | <sup>87</sup>ōm ma ni ba+dzre hūm | :|@<sup>88</sup>||ōm ma nin  
dha
- [4] ri hūm phaṭ | | <sup>89</sup>gzungs 'di'i mthus thos pa rtsal 'am | blags pa 'am |  
kun chub par byas sam | lus la thogs
- [5] sam | bris sam | 'chang ngam | <rgyal> mtshan gyi rtse mo la 'dogs<sup>90</sup>  
sam | <sup>91</sup>glegs bam du <byed> dam | <ras> la bris sam |
- [6] dar la bris sa<m> | <rtsig> pa la <bris pa 'a>m | ra ba la bris pa 'am |  
chung ngu na skra 'am lag pas reg gam | grib mas
- [7] phog<sup>92</sup> gam | sems can gzhan <gyi>s reg na yang de gdon myi za bar  
phyir myi ldog par gyur nas bla na myed pa yang dag par
- [8] rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon bar rdzogs par 'tshang rgya<sup>93</sup> bar 'gyur  
ro || ||gzungs 'di ni<sup>94</sup> rigs kyi bu 'am rigs kyi bu mo
- [9] gang la la zhiḡ gis 'dzin tam 'chang ngam bris sam klog gam | mying  
nyan bar byed na de mtshams myed pa lnga dang myi dge



Pl. 7. SI 6681 (f. 4, recto)

<sup>87</sup> + snying po.

<sup>88</sup> + nye ba'i snying po.

<sup>89</sup> + ma ma rang gi ming spel ka+sya swā hā].

<sup>90</sup> btags.

<sup>91</sup> + mchod rten du gzbug gam].

<sup>92</sup> reg.

<sup>93</sup> sangs rgyas.

<sup>94</sup> mchod rten byin gyis brlab pa'i cho ga rig pa chen mo bi ma la u+ṣṇī+ṣa'i gzungs 'di ni.



Pl. 8. SI 6681 (f. 4, verso)

## F. 4: verso

- [1] ba bcu dang sdig pa'i las ci bg̃yis<sup>95</sup> pa thams cad ma lus par byang  
bar 'gyur ro || bye<sup>96</sup> ma la u ṣṇi ṣa'i rig pa chen mo mchod rten
- [2] byin kyis brlab pa'i cho ga n̄<sup>97</sup> 'di 'o | om strāi yadh dhe<sup>98</sup> sa rba ta thā  
ga ta | hri da ya gar bhe dzwa la dha rmā dhā tu gar bhe | sam̄ ha ra na  
a
- [3] yu sam̄ sho dha ya | pā paṃ sa rba <ta> thā ga ta sa man to u ṣṇi ṣa bye  
man to<sup>99</sup> | bi shud dhe swā hā | rig pa chen mo 'di gsungs
- [4] ma thag tu 'ji <g rten gyi> kha <ms thams> cad mchod rten gyi rang  
bzhin du gyur to || rig pa chen mo 'di gro ba 'am ras sam | shing
- [5] shun la bris te | mchod rten<sup>100</sup> <...rgyal m>tshan gyi rtse mo la btag na  
lha dang myi la+stsogs pa thams <cad k>yis phyag bya ba dang |
- [6] bkur bsti bya ba'i 'os su 'gyur ba dang | rig pa chen mo 'di lus  
sam 'gul du thogs na | d<e> lha dang myi ma yin ba<sup>101</sup> la+stsogs
- [7] pa rnams kyis sangs rgyas nyid du lta<sup>102</sup> bar 'gyur ro || gzhan yang  
mchod rten la dmyigs shing mang du bzlas na | bde legs dang

<sup>95</sup> byas.<sup>96</sup> bi.<sup>97</sup> -.<sup>98</sup> trai ya dhwe but Y: strai yad dhe; L, C: strai ya ddhwa.<sup>99</sup> ma le but Y, P: man to.<sup>100</sup> -.<sup>101</sup> dang lha ma yin pa.<sup>102</sup> blta but N, Zh: lta.

- [8] bkra shis dang | byin rlabs chen por<sup>103</sup> 'gyur ro|| ||om strāi yadh dhe sa  
rba ta thā ga ta hri da ya | ga rbhe dzwa la dha rma dhā tu gar bhe|
- [9] saṃ ha ra na ā yu saṃ sho dha ya pā paṃ | sa rba ta thā ga ta sa man to  
u ṣṇi ṣa bye ma la | bi shud dhe ma hā be<sup>104</sup> ra tse ra ga ba<sup>105</sup> ra si dha  
rma dhā

## F. 5: recto

- [1] @| tu gar bhe bi bi sa ra a a laṃ swā hā ||<sup>106</sup> om strāi yadh dhe | sa rba  
ta tha ga ta hri da ya | gar bhe dzwa la dha rma dhā tu gar bhe |
- [2] saṃ ha ra na ā yu saṃ sho dha ya | pā paṃ sa rba ta thā ga ta sa man to  
| bye ma la u ṣṇi ṣa bi shud dhe | ma hā be ra tse ra ga bi ra si |
- [3] dha rma dhā tu bi bi sa ra | a a<sup>107</sup> ma ma ki swā hā<sup>108</sup> |ōm strāi yadh  
dhe | sa rba ta thā ga ta hri da ya | gar bhe dzwa la dha rma dhā tu gar  
bhe |
- [4] saṃ ha ra na ā yu saṃ sho dha ya | pā paṃ sa rba ta thā ga ta sa man to  
bye ma la u ṣṇi ṣa bi shud dhe ma hā be ra tse ra ga bi ra si | dha rma
- [5] dhā tu bi bi sa ra a a e kham ya swā hā<sup>109</sup> |@| yang na de bzhin  
gshegs pa'i snying po bzlas brjod stong phrag brgyad bya
- [6] ste | de yis 'jig rten dang | 'jig rten las 'das pa'i dkyil 'khor thams cad  
du zhugs par 'gyur te de yang gang dag ce na<sup>110</sup>
- [7] na maḥ strāi yadh dhi kā nām | ta thā ga tā nām sa rba trā a<sup>111</sup> pra ti ha  
ta bab ti dha rma tā ba li nām | am<sup>112</sup> | a sa ma sa ma | sa man

<sup>103</sup> bdag nyid ri brag gam| tshal lam| dgon pa'am| sa phyogs gang du 'gro ba'i tshe rig pa  
chen mo 'di brjod na ri dang sa phyogs thams cad mchod rten dang 'dra bar.

<sup>104</sup> bi.

<sup>105</sup> dze ra ga+mbhī but Y, P: tse ra gam bi.

<sup>106</sup> + zhes brjod na| sa gzhi thams cad kyang mchod rten gyi rang bzhin du 'gyur ro| |bdag  
nyid chu'am| chu bo'am| mtsho'am| rgya mtsho la sogs pa gang la rgal ba na yang rig pa chen  
mo'i sngags 'dis btab na chu de thams cad kyang mchod rten gyi rang bzhin du 'gyur ro|.

<sup>107</sup> -.

<sup>108</sup> + zhes brjod na| chu thams cad kyang mchod rten gyi rang bzhin du 'gyur ro| |gzhan  
yang bdag nyid kyis nam mkha' gang nas gang khyab par rig pa chen mo'i sngags 'di btab na|  
nam mkha' thams cad kyang mchod rten gyi rang bzhin du 'gyur ro|.

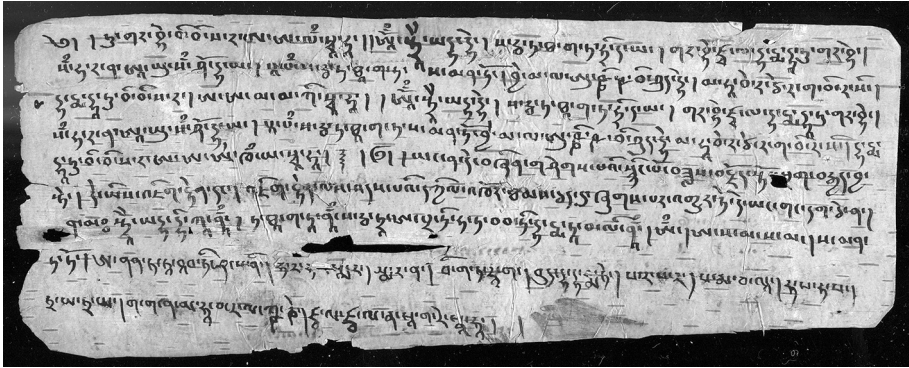
<sup>109</sup> + zhes brjod na| nam mkha'i kham thams cad mchod rten gyi rang bzhin du 'gyur te|.

<sup>110</sup> -.

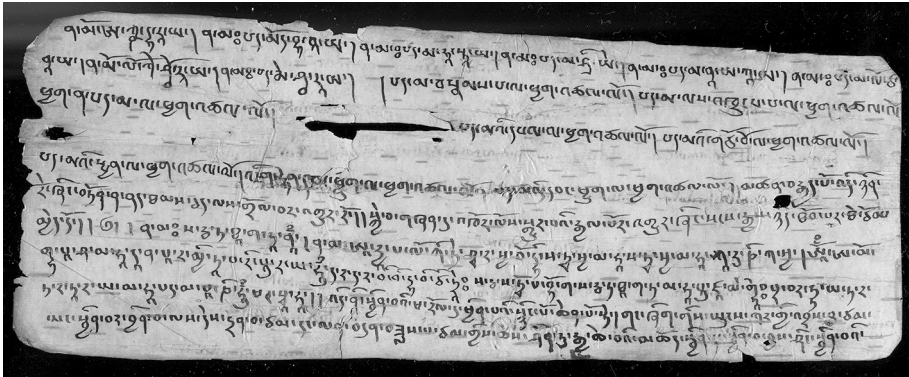
<sup>111</sup> -.

<sup>112</sup> -.

- [8] ta to | a nan ta tā<sup>113</sup> bāb ti sha sa ni | ha ra ha <ra> sma ra | sma ra na |  
bi ga ta rā ga | bud dha dha rma te | sa ra sa ra | sa ma ba lā | ha sa ha  
sa|
- [9] tra ya tra ya | ga ga na<sup>114</sup> ma hā ba ra la kṣa ñe | dzwa la dzwa la na sā  
ga re swā hā ||



Pl. 9. SI 6681 (f. 5, recto)



Pl. 10. SI 6681 (f. 5, verso)

<sup>113</sup> sa ma+nto na+nta.

<sup>114</sup> bha ga wān.

## F. 5: verso

- [1] <sup>115</sup> na mo a kṣa dha rā ya | na maḥ pad mod bha bā ya | na maḥ pad ma  
hā stā ya | na maḥ pad ma shri ye<sup>116</sup> | na maḥ pad ma nā ya kā ya | na  
maḥ pad ma lo tsa
- [2] nā ya | na mo lo ke shwo rā ya | na maḥ pad me shwa rā ya | pad ma  
bsnams pa la phyag 'tshal lo | pad ma las 'khrungs pa la phyag 'tshal lo
- [3] phyag na pad ma la phyag 'tshal lo | pad ma'i dpal la phyag 'tshal lo |  
pad ma'i gtso bo la phyag 'tshal lo |
- [4] pad ma'i spyang la phyag 'tshal lo | 'jig rten dbang phyug la  
phyag 'tshal lo | pad ma'i dbang phyug la phyag 'tshal lo<sup>117</sup> mtshan  
brgyad po 'di nyin
- [5] re zhing<sup>118</sup> bton na nad thams cad las grol bar 'gyur ro|| skye ba gzhan  
du 'khor los sgyur pa'i rgyal por 'gyur zhing sangs rgyas nyid thob par  
the tshom
- [6] myed do|| @|| na mah sa rba ta thā ga tā nām | nā ma ā rya pa lo ki te  
shwa ra sya bo dhi sa twa sya ma hā sa twa sya ma hā kā ru ni ka sya  
<sup>119</sup> | ōm a mo
- [7] gha pā sha ma hā dā na pā ra myi tā pa ri pū ra ya hūm da ra da ra bi bi  
dhi bi tsi trēḥ sa rba sa two pa bho ga sa rba ta thā ga ta ma hā <sup>120</sup> pū jā  
me ghēh<sup>121</sup> pra bar tta ya ta ra
- [8] ta ra tā ra ya ma hā pad ma pā<sup>122</sup> ni hum phaṭ swā hā|| 'di ni <sup>123</sup> sbyin  
ba'i pha rol tu phyin pa'i snying po chen po ste| gang zhig gis yungs  
kar gyi<sup>124</sup> | bras bu<sup>125</sup> tsam

<sup>115</sup> + thugs rje chen po'i mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa.

<sup>116</sup> nā ya.

<sup>117</sup> -.

<sup>118</sup> bzhin.

<sup>119</sup> sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo | dus gsum du  
gshegs shing bzhugs pa'i de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo | byang chub sems  
dpa' sems dpa' chen po snyin rje chen po dang ldan pa 'phags pa spyang ras gzigs dbang  
phyug la phyag 'tshal lo | (DPE BSDUR MA 93: 151<sup>3-7</sup>).

<sup>120</sup> + dā na.

<sup>121</sup> gha.

<sup>122</sup> ma.

<sup>123</sup> + don yod pa'i zhags pa'i.

<sup>124</sup> -.

<sup>125</sup> 'bru.

- [9] yang<sup>126</sup> sbyin bar byin ba las des dran ba tsam dang lan bdun bzlas pa  
tsam gyis<sup>127</sup> ches shin tu rgya che ba'i mchod sbyin dang sbyin ba  
byas shing<sup>128</sup> sbyin ba'i

#### F. 6: recto

- [1] @| pha rol du phyin pa yongs su rdzogs par byas par 'gyur ro| @| |na  
maḥ sa rba ta thā ga tā nām| ne ma ā ryā ba lo ki te shwa ra ya bo dhi  
[2] sa twā ya ma hā sa twā ya ma hā kā ru ni kā ya | ṃ a mo gha shī la  
saṃ bha ra saṃ bha ra | bha ra bha ra | ma hā shud dha sa twa pad ma  
bi bhū ṣi ta bhū ja dha ra<sup>129</sup> sa man tā  
[3] ba lo ki ta hūm phaṭ swā hā| |gzungs <'d>i 'phags pa'i lam<sup>130</sup> yan lag  
brgyad pa'i bsnyen gnas kyi bsnyen gnas la gnas su lan nyi shu  
[4] rtsa cig myi smra bar<sup>131</sup> dran bar bya zhing de nas don yod pa'i zhags  
pa'i snying po stong<sup>132</sup> bzlas pa tsam gyis kyang ches yungs su dag  
pa'i tshul khrims<sup>133</sup> dang ldan  
[5] bar 'gyur ro| tshul khrims kyi pha rol du phyin pa yongs su rdzogs  
par 'gyur ro| |tshul khrims kyi dri zhim po'i dri chen po lus  
las<sup>134</sup> 'byung ba dang|  
[6] phyogs bcu'i 'jigs rten du mam par<sup>135</sup> grags par 'gyur ro| gang yang  
nyin cig bzhin du<sup>136</sup> gzungs 'di dran par byed pa de ni<sup>137</sup> tshul khrims  
rtag tu<sup>138</sup> yongs su  
[7] dag par 'gyur ro| gang yang dge slong<sup>139</sup> tshul khrims ma nyams pa  
de'is 'di snyen gnas la gnas pas<sup>140</sup> bzlas pa bya ste stong bzlas pa tsam  
gyis kyang tshul khrims

<sup>126</sup> gyi.

<sup>127</sup> bzlas brjod byas na.

<sup>128</sup> mchod sbyin chen po mam par 'phrul pa chen po shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i.

<sup>129</sup> + dha ra.

<sup>130</sup> gso sbyong gi.

<sup>131</sup> brgyad bzung nas smyung bar gnas par byas te mi smra bar lan nyi shu rtsa gcig tu.

<sup>132</sup> -.

<sup>133</sup> mdo la tshul khrims dag pa chen po.

<sup>134</sup> dri zhim po mang po lus la.

<sup>135</sup> -.

<sup>136</sup> zhig nyi ma re re zhing.

<sup>137</sup> rtag tu.

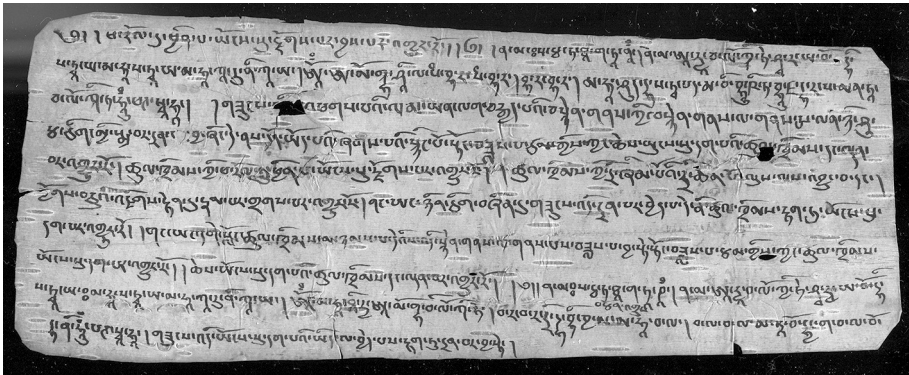
<sup>138</sup> -.

<sup>139</sup> dge slong gang la la zhig.

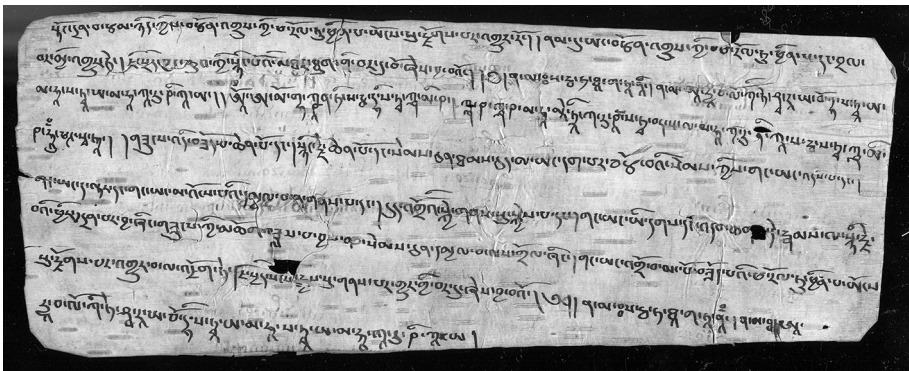
<sup>140</sup> nyams par gyur pas smyung bar gnas par byas te.



- [8] yongs su dag par 'gyur ro| ches yongs su dag pa'i tshul khrims dang  
ldan bar<sup>141</sup> 'gyur ro| @||na mah sa rba ta thā ga tā nām {brtson 'grus}|  
na ma ā ryā ba lo ki te shwa rwa ya bo dhi
- [9] sa twā yah ma hā sa twā ya ma hā kā ru ni kā ya| ōm ma hā bī rya ā mo  
gha bi lo ki te | ba ra ba ra dri dha bhi bya ma ma<sup>142</sup> hā ba la| ba la ba  
la ma hā bo dhyang ga ba la bo
- [10] dha ni hūm phat swā hā| gzungs 'di yongs su dag pa'i yid la byed pas  
rtag tu dran bar bya ste |



Pl. 11. SI 6681 (f. 6, recto)



Pl. 12. SI 6681 (f. 6, verso)

<sup>141</sup> mdo la tshul khrims yongs su dag par.

<sup>142</sup> bī+rya ma.

## F. 6: verso

- [1] stong\_dran\_ba<sup>143</sup> rtsam nyid kyis brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu phyin pa  
yongs su rdzogs par 'gyur rol | nam du yang brtson 'grus kyi pha rol tu  
phyin pa dang bral
- [2] bar myi 'gyur te | ji srid\_byang\_chub\_kyi\_snying\_po'i mthar thug gi bar  
du\_bo\_zhes\_bya\_ba'o<sup>144</sup> | @|na maḥ sa rba ta thā ga tā nām| na ma ā ryā  
ba lo ki te shwa rā ya bo dha sa twā ya
- [3] ma hā sa twā ya ma hā kā ru ṇi kā ya| ṃ a mo gha kṣān ti sa rba<sup>145</sup>  
dhi sa twa ksha mi ṇa<sup>146</sup>| ksha ṇa ksha ṇa ma hā mē trī ka ru ṇā<sup>147</sup> sa  
twa bad sa la ma hā ka ru ṇi kā sa rba sa twa ksha mi
- [4] ṇa<sup>148</sup> hūm phaṭ swā hā| gzungs 'di bzod pa chen po dang | snying\_rje  
chen\_po<sup>149</sup> dang sems can thams cad la yang dag par brtse ba'i sems  
kyis gang yang 'das pa dang|
- [5] gang yang da ltar dang gang yang ma 'ongs pa'i dmyal ba na gnas pa  
dang | dud\_gro'i\_skye\_gnas<sup>150</sup> su skyes pa dang | gang yang yi\_dags<sup>151</sup>  
dang 'dab\_chag<g><sup>152</sup> de rnam la snyam rje
- [6] ba'i phyir dran par bya zhing gzungs kyi mchog bzlas pa byas na sems  
can dmyal ba las grol zhing | gang yang 'gro ba mang po bzod pa'i pha  
rol tu phyin pa yongs
- [7] su rdzogs par 'gyur ba la 'jog te | ji srid sangs rgyas su gnas par gyur  
gyi bar du zhes bya ba'o|@|| na maḥ sa rba ta thā ga tā nām | na maḥ ā
- [8] ryā ba lo ki te shba rā ya bo dhi sa twā ya ma hā sa twā ya ma hā  
kā ru ṇi kā ya|

<sup>143</sup> dus rtag tu dran pa'am| yongs su dag cing spro ba'i yid kyis dran pa.

<sup>144</sup> byang chub kyi snying po la 'dug gi bar du brtson 'grus nyams par mi 'gyur.

<sup>145</sup> + bo.

<sup>146</sup> ṇi but L, N, C, Zh: ṇa.

<sup>147</sup> + sa+rbba.

<sup>148</sup> ṇi but N, Zh: ṇa.

<sup>149</sup> snying brtse ba.

<sup>150</sup> byol song gi skye gnas.

<sup>151</sup> ri dags.

<sup>152</sup> bya.

## Conclusion

Tibetan birchbark manuscripts present a fascinating yet under-researched phenomenon.

Given the initial condition of the two manuscripts (SI 6558 and SI 6681), the conservators at the IOM, RAS felt compelled to conduct specialized research on restoration techniques for such items. Consequently, they devised methods to flatten and reinforce the birchbark texts using birch sap.

There are five Tibetan birchbark manuscripts at the Serindian collection of the IOM. While they originate from different sources or have unknown provenance, their contents reveal a shared functional purpose. This functional purpose is related to the rituals associated with the consecration of stupas. In academic literature, this topic is consistently addressed, albeit without a specific focus on the birchbark material. Jampa Kalsang provided an overview of a work by the first Changkya Khutukhtu on the topic.<sup>153</sup> Béla Kelényi examined a specific collection of paper scrolls retrieved from a stupa.<sup>154</sup> There's a case study on the Dunhuang manuscript PT 350,<sup>155</sup> and Yael Bendor has made the most significant contributions to the study of consecration rituals.<sup>156</sup> All these publications help to establish the repertoire of the consecration texts, and allow us to speculate on the function of the birchbark manuscripts after identifying their contents.

In case of Likhachev's manuscript (SI 6618), it was established that the fragment of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* it contained, was widely used for inscriptions in the shape of Buddhist stupas on the back of thangkas, i.e. was related to consecration rituals. Likhachev's manuscript contains *pratītyasamutpāda* and *uṣṇīṣavijayādhāraṇī*, that belong to the group of "five great *dhāraṇīs*" recommended for depositing within stupas and images along with *vimaloṣṇīṣa*, *guhyadhātu* and *bodhigarbhāḥkāralakṣa*.<sup>157</sup>

The four birchbark manuscripts discussed in this article might have served a similar purpose. The text of SI 6680 is solely composed of the Sarvavid mantra, which is also used for empowerment and consecration rituals. SI 6682 exclusively contains a repeating formula of the "immaculate light" *dhāraṇī*, copies of which are meant to be wrapped around the "life-tree" of a

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<sup>153</sup> KALSANG 1969.

<sup>154</sup> KELÉNYI 2008.

<sup>155</sup> SCHERRER-SCHAUB 1994.

<sup>156</sup> BENDOR 1994, 1995, 1996, 2003.

<sup>157</sup> BENDOR 2003: 24, 32.

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stupa. SI 6681 is a compilation of various *dhāraṇīs* and mantras, including the *vimaloṣṇīṣa* (one of the “five great dhāraṇīs”) and a non-canonical translation of the *āryāmoghapāśapāramitāṣaṭparipūraka-nāmadhāraṇī*. Owing to the relative durability of its material and the inclusion of explanatory texts, this manuscript could have been used for reading. This is less likely for the manuscript SI 6558, which is written on extremely delicate birchbark and includes the *prajñāpāramitāsañcayagāthā*. While *prajñāpāramitā* texts can be venerated as sacred objects, there have been no known instances of such lengthy Tibetan texts being inscribed on birchbark until now.

It’s notable that the letter *ya* attached to *ma* (*ma ya btags*) can be found in manuscripts SI 6618, 6681 and 6558 (SI 6680 and SI 6682 have no suitable linguistic material). All these manuscripts, except for the less proficiently made SI 6682, exhibit an elegant *dbu med* script. However, as we stated already in the case of the Likhachev’s manuscript, there aren’t enough clues to date these manuscripts with any relative certainty.

### Special designations

<abc>:	Reconstructed text (using other editions)
{abc}:	Text added by the scribe
[1]:	line number
1 <sup>2</sup> :	folio/page <sup>line</sup>

### Abbreviations

C:	Cone edition
D:	Sde dge edition
L:	Lithang edition
N:	Narthing edition
P:	Peking (Kangxi Kanjur) edition
U:	Urga edition
Y:	Yongle Kanjur edition
Zh:	Zhol (Lhasa) edition

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Tatiana A. Pang  
Giovanni Stary

**The Content and Concordance of the Chapters  
from the Manchu-Chinese Manuscript *Emu Tanggû Orin*  
*Sakda-i Gisun Sarkiyan* 百二老人語錄  
Kept in the IOM, RAS**

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*Abstract:* The Manchu text “The stories of one hundred and twenty old men” *Emu tanggû orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan* compiled by Songyûn (Songyun 松筠) in 1790 was edited by Furentai, and then translated into Chinese by Fugiyûn (Fujun 富俊) in 1809. The text exists only in a manuscript form and was never published. Monolingual Manchu and bilingual Manchu-Chinese versions of this text are scattered all over the world. For nearly twenty years the text existed only in Manchu and had suffered edition and rearrangement of the stories’ order. That fact inspired the late Prof. Giovanni Stary to compare the available copies. The present article presents the content of 120 stories according to the Manchu-Chinese manuscript kept in the IOM, RAS. This list of subjects made it possible to compare the Manchu language copies from the University of Chicago, the Osaka university of Foreign Studies and the Beijing University of Nationalities, as well as the Manchu-Chinese versions from the IOM, RAS (St. Petersburg) and the Capital Library. It became obvious that there are *no identical versions*. Rather substantial differences are found between three Manchu language copies and the Manchu-Chinese bilingual versions from the IOM, RAS (St. Petersburg) and the Capital Library, but they are mostly limited to the 7th and 8th chapters. From the first analysis, which has to be deepened, we can conclude that these two last chapters of the bilingual manuscripts were entirely rewritten and reordered. Most probably it was done by Fugiyûn when he translated “The stories of one hundred and twenty old men” from Manchu into Chinese.

*Key words:* Manchu literature, Manchu manuscript, *Emu tanggû orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan*, IOM, RAS

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© Giovanni Enrico Stary (1946–2022), professor of the University of Venice (Italy), head of the Manchu chair, chief-editor of the “Central Asiatic Journal”

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Some time ago Prof. Giovanni Stary (1946–2018) suggested me to prepare a facsimile edition of the rare Manchu-Chinese manuscript “*Emu tanggû orin-i sakda-i sarkyan*” (“Stories of one hundred and twenty old men”) from the collection of the IOM, RAS. This text is a sample of the original Manchu literature concerning everyday life of Manchu bannermen and exists in Manchu and Manchu-Chinese versions. Giovanni Stary had already worked on the monolingual Manchu manuscript from the University of Chicago and had published the German translation of the text,<sup>1</sup> it was obviously interesting to compare the Manchu versions of this rare text that are scattered all over the world.<sup>2</sup> As a result of the critical edition of that manuscript (which he had compared with the manuscripts from the Library of the Osaka University of Foreign Studies and the Beijing University of Nationalities), Giovanni Stary suggested that I prepare an index of plots from the stories of the Manchu-Chinese manuscript kept in St. Petersburg, Russia.

A rare bilingual text from the IOM, RAS collection consists of eight fascicles *debtelin/juan* 卷.<sup>3</sup> The first fascicle begins with three prefaces: by a Mongol Songyûn (Songyun 松筠) dated 1790, the editor of the text Furentai, and the translator of the text into Chinese, famous connoisseur of Manchu and Chinese literature Fugiyûn (Fujun 富俊) dated 1809.<sup>4</sup> The text consists of 120 stories told by 120 old men, and every story begins with the words *Emu sakda hendume* — “One old man said...”.

Each fascicle/*debtelin* includes 15 stories, and the content of them is as follows:

The 1st fascicle: *kulun-i ujui debtelin* 乾部卷之一

*gurun neihe baita emu meyen* 開國事一條 “The foundation of the Empire, one chapter”.

I.1: A short history of the Manchu-Qing empire from Nurhaci till Qianlong.

*munnggan-i ba emu meyen* 陵寢一條 “Imperial burial places, one chapter”.

I.2: A short description of the Manchu emperors’ and their ancestor’s tombs near Hetu-ala, Mukden and Beijing (Eastern and Western tombs).

*dergi hese juwe meyen* 上諭二條 “Imperial orders, two chapters”.

<sup>1</sup> STARY 1983.

<sup>2</sup> For various copies of this text see: NAKAMI 2000: 23–36.

<sup>3</sup> VOLKOVA 1965: 59, no. 106.

<sup>4</sup> PANG 1999: 73–81; ILIUKHOV & PANG 2023: 33–56.



I.3. A philosophical discussion concerning moral qualities of magisters (*dosika-si, jinshi* 进士).

I.4. A philosophical discussion concerning good administrators based on a Qianlong teaching inserted into the “Hafan hergen-i bithe” (*Jinshen zhishu* 晉神之书) and of the philosopher Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒, 2nd c. BC).

*enduringge niyalmai doro. fucihi-i tacihiyan be leolehe emu meyen* 聖道佛教論一條 “Discussion about sages and the Buddhist teaching, one chapter”.

I.5. A philosophical discussion on Buddhism between a “Mongol friend” and his Chinese teacher.

*dorolon de ginggulere baita emu meyen* 敬礼事一條 “About respecting the rites, one chapter”.

I.6. On the duties of officers employed in the Ministry of Rites.

*erun be olhošoro baita emu meyen* 慎事一條 “About caution in punishment, one chapter”.

I.7. A philosophical discussion on punishments between two officers of the Ministry of Justice.

*gūsai hafasai baita jakūn meyen* 旗員事八條 “About banner officers, eight chapters”.

I.8. A description of the daily duties of an officer employed in the “Office for delivering provincial reports to the Throne” (*dolo baita wesimbure ba / neiting zoushi chu* 內廷奏事处).

I.9. A description of the duties of the “Banner-general of Mukden”.

I.10. A description of the duties of the “Banner-general of Girin Ula”.

I.11. A description of the duties of the “Banner-general of Sahaliyan Ula”.

I.12. The correct and Honest life of an anonymous “Vice-president of the Ministry of Finance in Mukden” as an example of a good administrator.

I.13. A discussion among Banner officers on how to teach and educate banner soldiers, mainly against dissipation of money.

I.14. The teaching of a Banner officer against plague of “collective bets (*isangga mekten / yaohui* 搖會) causing serious economic problems and poverty among bannermen.

I.15. The teaching of a Banner officer how to be a good clerk in the yamen, mainly against drinking and dissipation of money.

The 2nd fascicle: *lifan-i jai debtelin* 坎部卷之二

*gūsai hafasai baita uyun meyen* 旗員事九條 “About banner officers, nine chapters”.

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II.1. The teaching of a Banner officer on how bannermen should live modestly and not to become debtors of Shandong-Chinese who give high prices for meat, drinks and grain.

II.2. The teachings of a *nirui janggin* (captain) against usury.

II.3. The teachings of a *bošokû* (corporal) on how to administrate and correctly collect the taxes from simple bannermen.

II.4. The examples of two *mukûn-i da* (clan-chiefs) who correctly administrated their clans, helping especially the families in poor condition.

II.5. The teaching of a *galai da* (chief of the wing) how to become a good Manchu soldier.

II.6. A discussion between a *gûsai da* (colonel) and *jalan-i da* (commander of a banner section) how to fight against thieves, robbers and prostitutes.

II.7. The action of a Banner officer against illegal gambling-houses opened by “sedan-chair carriers”.

II.8. The teaching and action of a banner officer against water-suppliers, mainly the “Shandong-people”, whose rude methods caused economic difficulties to simple Manchu bannermen.

II.9. A discussion on the water-channels of Beijing, their utility and how to keep them in good condition and efficiency.

*goloi hafasai baita ninggun meyen* 外官事六條 “About provincial officers, six chapters”.

II.10. On the duties of a good provincial governor-general, mainly against distilleries of alcoholics, dangerous for the people’s health.

II.11. The teachings of a provincial governor to his subordinates how to be a good servant to the Dynasty.

II.12. On how a provincial governor correctly supervised the provincial examinations.

II.13. The teaching of a provincial governor to a *boo-i niyalma* (bondservant) concerning right rewards.

II.14. The teaching of a Financial Commissioner (*dasan be selgiyere hafan* / *buzhengshi* 布政使) concerning questions of grain-taxes and corruption therewith connected.

II.15. The teachings of a Provincial Judge (*baicame beidere hafan* / *anchashi* 按察使) concerning the correct administration of justice.

The 3rd fascicle: *ilihen-i ilaci debtelin* 艮部卷之三

*goloi hafasai baita juwan juwe meyen* 外官事十二條 “About provincial officers, twelve chapters”.

III.1. How to be a good *dooli hafan / dao* 道 (intendant of a circuit).

III.2. The duties of a *fu-i saraci / zhifu* 知府 (prefect).

III.3. An example of a good *fu-i saraci / zhifu* 知府 (prefect).

III.4. An example of a good *uhei saraci / tongzhi* 同知 (subprefect) from Hetu-hoton, who managed to resolve grain and alcohol problems among the Mongols.

III.5. How to be a good *acan beidesi / tongpan* 通判 (second class subprefect), with special emphasis on avoiding to borrow money from anybody.

III.6. How to be a good *jeo-i saraci / zhizhou* 知州 (department magistrate), with special emphasis on how one a *jeo-i saraci* has managed social disorder (robbery) due to hunger among people.

III.7. How to be a good *hiyan-i saraci / zhixian* 知縣 (district magistrate).

III.8. Example of a good *hiyan-i saraci* who instructed the local teacher how to teach Confucian morals.

III.9. The duties of a *birai baita uheri kadalara amban / hedao zongdu* 河道總督 (an official responsible for river regulations) with special emphasis on the Huanghe river and how its waters and dams were regulated from ancient times (by mythical emperor Yu) before the Ming and Qing dynasties. Ancient books on water-regulations are quoted as examples. The Manchu title is usually given as *birai jugûn be uheri kadalara amban*.

III.10. The duties of a *jeku juwere baita be uheri kadalara amban / yun zongdu* 運總督 (an official responsible for grain transportation): what he should do to guarantee grain for the whole population.

III.11. An episode about a customs collector and his secretary who could not bear his master's reproaches concerning the correct management of custom administration: he started eating too much and died. The episode is the starting point for teaching to be sober in eating and drinking. The second part is devoted to the teaching of the custom collector on how to collect customs in a right and efficient way.

III.12. A discussion between a provincial general and a provincial governor about the laws of the Qing dynasty with emphasis on grain conservation to prevent famine.

*seremšeme tehe ba-i baita ilan meyen* 駐防事三條 "About garrison life, three chapters".

III.13. The description of good administration by a general who lived in the south. The episode refers to the emperor's visit to Jingnan, Hangzhou and other places: the local authorities ordered to all soldiers to buy new clothes for this occasion and spend a lot of money. Only the afore mentioned

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general ordered his soldiers to wash their old clothes, put them in order and prohibited them to spend money on new clothes, thus proving to be a good administrator of money. The emperor highly appreciated the general's decision.

III.14. The story is about the teaching of a Banner lieutenant-general in service at Shanghai-guan (Šanaha furdan) to his soldiers. Their controls against ginseng smuggling in coffins at the gates of Shanghai-guan is mentioned. He also prohibited drinking alcohol and wearing expensive clothes.

III.15. The story concerns the two Banners of Tumet-Mongols in Huhhoton and their commanders, Guluge and Haigiyo, seen as examples of good Banner generals.

The 4th fascicle: *aššan-i duici debtelin* 震部卷之四

*tulergi aiman-i baita jakûn meyen* 外藩事八條 “About outer territories, eight chapters”.

IV.1. The story about the relations of the Manchu emperors with Tibet and Dalai-lama with a special emphasis on Tsewang Arabtan of the Dzungars, and how he was defeated by the Manchus, who in that way brought peace to Tibet. At the beginning of the tale an inscription on stone-stele is mentioned. The stele was erected in Tibet in 1721, its text quotes the Dalai-lama's famous message to Hongtaiji.

IV.2. About the Mongols and “Tanguts” (Tibetans) living in Gansu province, but administered by an *amban* from Xining 西寧.

IV.3. About the administration and subdivision of Inner and Outer Mongolia.

IV.4. About the administration of Outer Mongolia, especially of the Kalka Mongols who had to watch over the border with Russia.

IV.5. A description of the Mongol-Russian border region, especially between Uliyasutai and Kobdo.

IV.6. The story concerns the war against the Dzungar Empire and the conquest of Turkestan by the Manchus. At the end of the story is described the return of the Turgut from Russia to China.

IV.7. The story is a concentrated description of Russia; Moscow (*Moskewa*), Irkutsk (*Erkeo*), Tobol'sk (*Tobol*), and the Senat (*sanat*) are mentioned; a linguistic explanation of the word “gubernator” is given as *gubir* which should mean *golo* (province), *nator* — *hafan data* (heads of the office). At the end, the Russian students who learned Manchu are mentioned.

IV.8. The story concerns the Chinese-Russian trade in Kiyakhta, and how it is regulated.

*cooha baitalara baita ninggun meyen* 用兵事六條 “About the use of army, six chapters”.

IV.9. The tale is a short treaty about the “art of war” starting with Zhuge Kongming 諸葛孔明 (Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, 181–234 CE) and mentions at the end the Qing wars against Moslems, Dzungars and the Jinchuan 金川 rebellion. Finally, as a good source for studies the Qianlong’s composition *Yongkiyan mudan ingebun / Quanyun shi* 全韻詩 is recommended.

IV.10. A discussion on war strategies, starting from Wang Mang 王莽 (33 BCE–23 CE) till the Tang and Sui Dynasties.

IV.11. The story about behavior and teaching of a good army-officer in moving troops.

IV.12. Teachings of a general of the “Green [Chinese] Army with emphasis on taking care of arms and correct behavior of soldiers toward local population.

IV.13. Explanation of the duties of an army-commander explained in a form of a letter written by a commander to his friend.

IV.14. Military enterprises and merits of Yue Wumu 岳武穆 (Yue Fei 岳飛 1103–1141), a Sung general, seen as a good example of an excellent commander.

*beye hūsutuleme kicere be leolehe emu meyen* 自行奮勉論一條 “Discussion on self-application and diligent work, one chapter”.

IV.15. A discussion between five officers on good behavior. It is interesting to note that this discussion took place while “eating the sacrificial meat” (*wecere yali jembi / shi jirou* 食祭肉) — it means after a shamanic rite.

The 5th fascicle: *dosin-i sunjaci debtelin* 巽部卷之五

*sefu-i tacibure baita juwan meyen* 師教事十條 “Instructions for teachers, ten chapters”.

V.1. How a teacher organized the teaching in a Banner- school with special emphasis on the reading of the Manchu-Chinese parallel version of the “Four Books”.

V.2. How a teacher organized horse-training lessons with arrow-shooting and eliminated economic and other problems herewith connected. At the end of the tale it is told that his method was later followed also by the “Imperial Clan School” (*uksun-i tacikû / Zong xue* 宗學) and the “Gioro School” (*Gioroi tacikû* 覺羅學).

V.3. Difficulties in teaching Chinese philosophical works and the helpful use of Manchu translations.

V.4. A philosophical discussion based on the “An dulimba bithe” (*Zhongyong* 中庸).

V.5. A philosophical discussion of a Mongol teacher (*baksi*) on the “Banin giyan-I narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義), The *Guwen* 古文 Anthology and the *Tongjian gangmu* 通鑑綱目.

V.6. An explanation of the Mongol teacher of the philosophical treatise *Ximing* 西銘 written by Zhang Zai 張載 (1020–1067).

V.7. How to teach arrow-shooting from horse-back if there is no money to buy a horse: a teacher constructed a wooden horse, and in that way managed to resolve the problem.

V.8. Teaching against physiognomy and future-telling, condemning these practices with the help of the Imperial “Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義).

V.9. The story concerns the inspection of an old teacher to the school where students were beaten by the teachers when not well prepared. He stopped that cruel punishment and referred the pupils’ and teacher’s attention to the “Imperial benevolence” and the necessity to be thankful for it.

V.10. An old man tells about his visit to the School for the sons of the Imperial house (*Gurun-i juse hûwašabure yamun* / *Guozi jian* 國子監).

*juse sargan be tacibume kadalara baita ilan meyen* 訓教妻子事三條 “Instructions for girls, three chapters”.

V.11. A discussion on the six classical books necessary for a good education, i.e. the “Four Books” (*Duin bithe* / *Sishu* 四書), the “Records on Music” (*Kumun-i ejebun* / *Yue ji* 樂記) and the “Spring and Autumn Annals” (*Cûn cio* / *Chunqui* 春秋), “Ju ze g’ang mu” (*Zhuzi gangmu* 朱子綱目) and the “Guwen yuwan giyan” (*Guwen yuanjian* 古文淵鑑).

V.12. A discussion on children’s education with emphasis on SimaWengong 司馬溫公 (Sima Guang 司馬光, 1009–1086).

V.13. A discussion of the women’s position in the family life based on the saying *emile coko hûlarakû. emile coko hûlaci. boo jocimbi* — “When a hen (= woman) does not cluck (= shout), [or] when a hen clucks (= shouts), the house [always] suffers”.

*booï banjire be kicere baita juwe meyen* 家嚙計事二條 “Diligent application in home affairs, two chapters”.

V.14. How a poor bannerman, living modestly with his wife and his mother, managed with his salary to cover all his debts within ten years.

V.15. The story gives detailed instructions on how to treat horses well having at disposition only a few money. Emphasis is made on how to nourish horses in a cheap but good way.

The 6th fascicle: *eldehen-i ningguci debtelin* 離部卷之六  
*tondo hiyoošun be leolehe ninggun meyen* 忠孝論六條 “Discussion on loyalty and filial piety, six chapters”.

VI.1. A philosophical discussion on *tondo ojoro doro* — the principle of loyalty.

VI.2. A philosophical discussion on filial piety, starting from the saying *tondo amban be hiyoošunga jui ci baisu* — “A loyal officer comes from a filial child”.

VI.3. A philosophical discussion between two friends on human values with reference to the philosophers Iozé (Yuezi 岳子, i.e. Yu Xiong 岳熊, 13th c. BC) and Ze Hiya (Zi Xia 子夏, i.e. Bu Shang 卜商, 6th c. BC).

VI.4. Talks about loyalty (*tondo*) and filial piety (*hiyoošun*), quoting also the work “Mujilen-i targabun” (*Xinzhen* 心箴) by the philosopher Fan Jun 范浚.

VI.5. Talks about the rules to be observed in the family life based on the emperor’s “Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義).

VI.6. Discussion based on the work “Ama eme damu nimerahû seme jobošombi” (*Fu mu wei qi bing zhi you* 父母惟其疾之憂) emphasizing filial piety.

*tacire kicere be leolehe uyun meyen* 勤學論九條 “Discussion on application in studies, nine chapters”.

VI.7. A talk about Sun Bin 孫臏 and Pang Juan 龐涓 who lived during the Qi (1122–265 BCE) and Wei (403–241 BCE) Dynasties.

VI.8. Philosophical discussion on rites and music, quoting the philosophers Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1300) and Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073).

VI.9. Philosophical discussion about the importance for bannermen of good instructions based on Confucian morality.

VI.10. A discussion on the precious character of the book “Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義) for bannermen’s education.

VI.11. A discussion on the book Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義) and the “Tai-gi tu nirugan (*Taiji tushuo*, also called “Amba ten-i nirugan”) by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073).

VI.12. Conversation on the emperor’s preface to his “Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義) and Li Guangdi’s report to the

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Throne. Li Guangdi 李光地 (1642–1718) was the president of a commission for re-editing the works of Zhu Xi that were published with the imperial foreword in 1713.

VI.13. Poverty is not a reason for neglecting studies and progress in social life, as show the examples of Zhu Maichen 朱買臣 (?–116 BC) and Su Laoquan 蘇老泉 (1009–1066). The same is true for bannermen who have to learn the Manchu language and exercise in arrow-shooting, even if stricken in years.

VI.14. A philosophical discussion on Confucian teachings with quotations from Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) and Cheng Hao 程顥 (1033–1107).

VI.15. A philosophical discussion on a chapter from Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義), emphasizing the “Manchu literary style (*manju gisun ici*).

The 7th fascicle: *dahasun-i nadaci debtelin* 坤部卷之七  
*tacire kicere be leolehe tofohon meyen* 勤學論十五條 “Discussion on application in studies, fifteen chapters”.

VII.1. A discussion on the “Banin giyan-i narhûn jurgan bithe” (*Xingli jingyi* 性理精義).

VII.2. A discussion on the right order in which the Chinese classics should be read, i.e. “Great Learning” (*Amba tacin / Da xue* 大學), the “Analects of Confucius” (*Leolen gisyren / Lun yu* 論語), the “Book of Mengzi” (*Mengze bithe / Mengzi* 孟子), the “Invariable Medium” (*An dulinbai bithe / Zhongyong* 中庸).

VII.3. A philosophical discussion on *Tung šu-i bithe* (*Tongshu* 通書) by Zhou Dunyi 周敦頤 (1017–1073).

VII.4. A discussion on the teaching of Luo Congyan (羅從彥, 1072–1135) and his school.

VII.5. A discussion between two friends on the philosophy of Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130–1300).

VII.6. A discussion on the teachings of Confucius and Mengzi.

VII.7. A philosophical discussion based on Mengzi’ saying “Humanity in an honor, inhumanity is a shame” (*gosin oci derengge. gosin akû gicuke / ren ze rong, bu ren ze ru* 仁則榮, 不仁則辱).

VII.8. A discussion between two friends on a man’s blunt and dull character.

VII.9. A discussion on the saying “All things contain affections; affections follow an order” (*eiten jaka de buyenin bi. buyenin giyan be dahambi / shi ge you qing, qing zhun hu li* 事各有情, 情準乎理).



VII.10. A philosophical discussion developing the concept of *temšen / zheng* 爭 (competition).

VII.11. A philosophical discussion on the sentence “When a sage lives in a country, he does not blame its dignitaries” (*ambasa saisa tere gurun de tehe de. terei daifan hafan be wakasarakû / junzi jus hi bang, bu fei qi dafu* 君子居是邦，不非其大夫).

VII.12. A philosophical discussion on the sentence “Orders and laws are all fixed; affections are not fixed” (*giyan kooli gemu toktohon bi. buyenin oci toktohon akû / li yu fa you ding, qing wu ding ye* 理與法有定，情無定也).

VII.13. Philosophical discussion based on the “Tengkicuke babe gûnire sarkyan bithe” (*Jin si lu* 近思錄) by Zhu Xi.

VII.14. A philosophical discussion on the conception of “good” (*sain/hao* 好).

VII.15. A discussion on the sentence “Sorrow in the former house even if it was rich, happiness in the present house, even if it is poor” (*onggolo boode banjishûn bime joboŝoho, te boode yadahûn bime sebjelehengge / ji ye jia rao er you, jin ye jia pin er leji* 昔也家饒而憂，今也家貧而樂).

The 8th fascicle: *urgujen-i jakûci debtelin* 兗部卷之八  
*tacire kicere be leolehe sunja meyen* 勤學論五條 “Discussion on application in studies, five chapters”.

VIII.1. A discussion on mankind referring to Pan Gu 盤古, Fu Xi 伏羲, Shen Nong 神農, the “Eight Diagrams” 八卦, etc.

VIII.2. A discussion on the chronological order in which the classical books should be read, referring to the “Hafu buleku” (*Tongjian* 通鑑).

VIII.3. Discussion on historical personalities like Zhuge Kongming 諸葛孔明 (Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, 181–234 AD and Liu Xianzhu 劉先主).

VIII.4. A discussion on maxims (*koolingga gisun / geyan* 格言) of old sages quoting *inter alia* Cui Hao 崔浩 (5th c. BC).

VIII.5. A discussion on the life of Zhou Emperors like You Wang 幽王, Ping Wang 平王, etc.

*julgei baita juwan meyen* 古事十條 “Stories from ancient times, ten chapters”.

VIII.6. A discussion on Sima Wengong 司馬溫公 (Sima Guang 司馬光, 1009–1086) and the “Ze j’i tung giyan g’ang mu” (*Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目).

VIII.7. A discussion referred to ancient rulers like Jin Jingong 晉景公, Zhao Dun 趙盾, Zhao Shuo 趙朔, etc.

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VIII.8. On various historical personalities like Xie An 謝安 and Fu Rong 符融 of the Jin Dynasty (317–420), Li Daliang 李大亮 of the Tang Dynasty (618–906), Cao Bin 曹彬 and Di Qing 狄青 of the Song Dynasty (960–1279).

VIII.9. On various historical personalities like Wei Wenhou 魏文侯, Bu Zixia 卜子夏 and Tian Zifang 田子方 based on the “Ze j’i tung giyan g’ang mu (*Zizhi tongjian gangmu* 資治通鑑綱目).

VIII.10. On various historical personalities like the philosopher Xun Qing 荀卿 of the State of Zhao 趙 (the 3rd c. BC).

VIII.11. On meritorious dignitaries like Gong Sui 龔遂 (sent to Bohai in 73 BC) and Li Fan 李燾 of the Song Dynasty who pacified the uprising of Dong Kou 洞口.

VIII.12. On various historical personalities like Zhuge Kongming 諸葛孔明 (Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮, 181–234 AD) and Cao Cao 曹操 (died in 220 AD).

VIII.13. On historical personalities like Guo Ziyi 郭子儀 (697–781) and An Lushan 安祿山 (d. 757).

VIII.14. On historical personalities like Wang Ya 王涯, Jia Su 賈餗, Feng Qiu 馮球, etc., discussed on the basis of five “admonishments” of old sages.

VIII.15. A discussion on the book “Collection of maxims” (*Koolingga gisun-i oyonggo be šošoho bithe / Geyan jiyao* 格言集要).

In 2001–2002 during the Manchu conferences in Beijing Prof. Stary and me had a chance to check *de visu* the manuscripts at three Libraries: The Library of the University of Nationalities (Beijing Minzu daxue), the National Library of China (Zhong guo guojia tushuguan (former Guoli tushuguan) and the Capital Library (Shoudu tushuguan, former Beijing Capital Library).

The University of Nationalities keeps a monolingual Manchu version of the “Stories of one hundred and twenty old men” (8 *debtelin* in 16 fascicles, in 2 *dobton/tao*).

The National Library of China has a bilingual version in 6 *debtelin* in 1 *tao* with 39 stories.

The Capital Library holds a bilingual Manchu-Chinese version (19 fascicles in 2 *tao*). Fascicles 1–18 are bilingual; fascicle 19 (44 ff.) is only in Manchu and contains 10 tales that correspond to the 8th *debtelin* of the Osaka manuscript. On every fascicle is a seal of the previous owner — the famous Chinese historian Xiao Yishan: 清代通史作者蕭一山 “Xiao Yishan, the author of the «General History of the Qing Dynasty»”.

Comparing the available manuscripts, it became possible to make a general concordance of the stories in reference to the Manchu-Chinese text from the collection of the IOM, RAS:

<b>SPb, IOM, RAS</b>	<b>Chicago</b>	<b>Osaka</b>	<b>Beijing Minzu daxue</b>	<b>National Library of China</b>	<b>Capital Library</b>
I.1.	same	same	same	same	same
I.2.	same	same	same	same	same
I.3.	same	same	same	same	same
I.4.	same	same	same	same	same
I.5.	same	same	same	same	SPb I.8.
I.6.	same	same	same	SPb II.10.	SPb I.9.
I.7.	same	same	same	SPb II.11.	SPb I.10.
I.8.	same	same	same	SPb II.12.	SPb I.5.
I.9.	same	same	same	SPb II.13.	SPb I.6.
I.10.	same	same	same	SPb II.14.	SPb I.7.
I.11.	same	same	same	SPb II.15.	same
I.12.	same	same	same	SPb III.1.	same
I.13.	same	same	same	SPb III.2.	same
I.14.	same	same	same	SPb III.3.	same
I.15.	same	same	same	SPb III.4.	same
II.1.	same	same	same	SPb III.5.	same
II.2.	same	same	same	SPb III.6.	same
II.3.	same	same	same	SPb III.7.	same
II.4.	same	same	same	SPb IV.8.	same
II.5.	same	same	same	SPb IV.9.	same
II.6.	same	same	same	SPb IV.10.	same
II.7.	same	same	same	SPb IV.11.	same
II.8.	same	same	same	SPb IV.12.	same
II.9.	same	same	same	SPb IV.13.	same
II.10.	same	same	same	SPb IV.14.	same
II.11.	same	same	same	SPb IV.15.	same
II.12.	same	same	same	SPb V.10.	same
II.13.	same	same	same	SPb V.11.	same
II.14.	same	same	same	SPb V.12.	same
II.15.	same	same	same	SPb V.13.	same
III.1.	same	same	same	SPb V.14.	same
III.2.	same	same	same	SPb V.15.	same
III.3.	same	same	same	SPb VI.1.	same
III.4.	same	same	same	SPb VI.2.	same
III.5.	missing	same	same	SPb VI.3.	same
III.6.	same	same	same	SPb VI.4.	same

III.7.	same	same	same	SPb VI.5.	same
III.8.	same	same	same	SPb VI.6.	same
III.9.	same	same	same	SPb VI.7.	same
III.10.	same	same	same	—	same
III.11.	same	same	same	—	same
III.12.	same	same	same	—	same
III.13.	same	same	same	—	same
III.14.	same	same	same	—	same
III.15.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.1.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.2.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.3.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.4.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.5.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.6.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.7.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.8.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.9.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.10.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.11.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.12.	same	same	same	—	SPb IV.13.
IV.13.	same	same	same	—	SPb IV.12.
IV.14.	same	same	same	—	same
IV.15.	same	same	same	—	same
V.1.	same	same	same	—	same
V.2.	same	same	same	—	same
V.3.	same	same	same	—	same
V.4.	same	same	same	—	same
V.5.	same	same	same	—	same
V.6.	same	same	same	—	same
V.7.	same	same	same	—	same
V.8.	same	same	same	—	same
V.9.	same	same	same	—	same
V.10.	same	same	same	—	same
V.11.	same	same	same	—	SPb V.12.
V.12.	same	same	same	—	SPb V.13.
V.13.	similar	similar	similar	—	SPb V.11.
V.14.	same	same	same	—	same
V.15.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.1.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.2.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.3.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.4.	same	same	same	—	same

VI.5.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.6.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.7.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.8.	same	same	same	—	SPb VI.9.
VI.9.	same	same	same	—	SPb VI.8
VI.10.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.11.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.12.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.13.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.14.	same	same	same	—	same
VI.15.	same	same	same	—	same
VII.1.	similar to Chic.VII.13	similar to Minzu daxue VII.13	similar to Osaka VII.13.	—	same
VII.2.	Chicago II.14.	Minzu daxue VII.14	Osaka VII.14	—	same
VII.3.	similar to Chic.VII.12	similar to Chicago	similar to Chicago-Osaka	—	same
VII.4.	similar to Chic.VII.10	similar to Minzu daxue VII.10	similar to Osaka	—	same
VII.5.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.6.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.7.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.8.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.9.	similar to Chic.VII.5	similar to Minzu daxue VII.5	similar to Osaka VII.5.	—	same
VII.10.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.11.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same
VII.12.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	—	same

VII.13.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	–	same
VII.14.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	–	same
VII.15.	different	different (like Chicago)	diff., (like Chicago and Osaka)	–	same
VIII.1.	similar to Chic.VIII.7.	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.11.	–	same
VIII.2.	similar to Chic.VIII.11	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.12.	–	same
VIII.3.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.13.	–	same
VIII.4.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.14.	–	same
VIII.5.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.15.	–	same
VIII.6.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.1.	–	same
VIII.7.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.2.	–	same
VIII.8.	similar to Chic.VIII.14.	Osaka and Chicago VIII.14	Chicago and Osaka VIII.3.	–	same
VIII.9.	different	different (like Chicago)	different from Chic. and Osaka	–	same
VIII.10.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.5.	–	same
VIII.11.	similar to Chic.VIII.13.	Osaka and Chicago VIII.13	Chicago and Osaka VIII.6.	–	same
VIII.12.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.7.	–	same
VIII.13.	different	different (like Chicago)	different from Chic. and Osaka	–	same
VIII.14.	different	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.9.	–	same
VIII.15.	similar to Chic.VIII.5.	different (like Chicago)	Chicago and Osaka VIII.10.	–	same

From the concordance we can draw the conclusion that at least three different corpuses of “The stories of one hundred and twenty old men” were composed:

1. The St. Petersburg and the Capital Library versions, which are almost identical. Only in some cases the order of the stories is changed inside the same chapter/*debtelin*.

2. The Chicago and the Osaka versions differ from the St. Petersburg text in the 7th and 8th chapters.

3. The Beijing Minzu daxue version is almost identical to the Chicago and Osaka versions, but differ in the order of the stories in the 8th chapter.

(The National Library’s bilingual version contains tales selected from the first six chapters of the St. Petersburg bilingual copy).

From the comparison of all *complete* copies of the *Emu tanggû orin sakda-i sarkiyān* available for the present study (Chicago, Osaka and Beijing Minzu daxue monolingual copies on one side, and the St. Petersburg and Capital Library bilingual copies on the other side) it becomes obvious that there are *no identical versions*. The differences between Chicago and Osaka manuscripts are mostly (but not exclusively) in copyist mistakes, some greater differences in sentence constructions are found in Beijing Minzu daxue version. Very substantial differences are found between three Manchu copies and the Manchu-Chinese bilingual versions from the IOM, RAS (St. Petersburg) and the Capital Library, mostly limited to the 7th and 8th chapters. From the first analysis, which has to be deepened, we can conclude that these two last chapters of the bilingual manuscripts were entirely rewritten and reordered. Most probably it was done by Fugiyûn when he translated “The stories of one hundred and twenty old men” from Manchu into Chinese.

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Anastasiia M. Smirnova

## **Kashmir Under the Influence of the Nadir Shah's Indian Campaign (1738-39) (According to the Persian Manuscript of the 18th c.)**

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DOI: 10.55512/wmo632490

*Abstract:* The article explores the impact of the Nadir Shah's Indian campaign on the region of Kashmir in the 18th c., according to the Persian-language manuscript written by Muhammad 'Azam Didamari. The manuscript provides unique insights into how Nadir Shah's actions affected Kashmir, including the appointment of a new subahdar and a rebellion of the local population. Contrary to a popular belief, the author suggests that after the campaign the Mughal Empire retained control over Kashmir, highlighting the complex relations between Iran and the Mughal Empire. The study calls for a reevaluation of historical accounts of Nadir Shah's campaign and emphasizes the need for further research of the role of Kashmir in this significant event. The information presented in the work of Muhammad 'Azam encourages researchers to reconsider the history of Nadir Shah's Indian campaign in order to more accurately determine the boundaries between the Mughal Empire and Iran after this event. The mention of Kashmir in the context of these events adds particular value to the study, since other sources on Nadir Shah and his military campaigns either do not mention Kashmir at all or only briefly touch on the region. In this context, the presence of this plot in the work of Muhammad 'Azam is unique and calls for further research and analysis.

*Key words:* Kashmir, Nadir Shah, Indian campaign, manuscript, Persian language

The military campaign of Nadir Shah (1736–1747) to India in the 18th c. is one of the most significant events in the history of Persian rule of the territory of modern India. As a rule, the main event of this campaign is considered to be Nadir Shah's stay in Delhi in 1739 and the plunder of that rich, but at that time weakly defended capital of the Mughal Empire. However, the destruction that military campaign affected other regions of the Mughal Empire. Among them is the remote and inaccessible region of Kashmir.

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This study is devoted to the events in Kashmir caused by the Indian campaign of Nadir Shah, as described in the Persian-language manuscript from the mid- 18th c. — “Waqi’at -i Kashmir” (“Events of Kashmir”) written by Muhammad ‘Azam Didamari (d. 1765). The copies of this text are kept in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences under three call numbers (B663, B720 and B2458). Since all three texts are almost identical, for convenience, links to specific sheets will be indicated according to the version B720.

In addition, two historical texts dedicated to the history of Nadir Shah were used for comparative study. They are: “Nadir’s book decorating the world” (Name-yi ‘alamara-yi nadiri) by Muhammad Kazim (finished in early 1750s) and “Nadir’s story” (“Tarikh-i jahangosha-yi nadiri”) Mirza Muhammad Mahdi Khan Astarabadi (finished in 1747)<sup>1</sup>.

According to the modern scientific tradition, it is generally accepted that Nadir Shah followed the following route as part of the Indian campaign: Ghazni, Kabul, Peshawar, Lahore, Sirhind, Karnal, Delhi. These settlements are indicated in the works of Muhammad Kazim and Mirza Muhammad Astarabadi. As for Kashmir, Muhammad Kazim has no information about it at all. Mirza Muhammad Astarabadi mentions that Nadir, while being in Lahore, ordered the reinstatement of Fakhr al-Daulah, a former subahdar of Kashmir. This person had been expelled from his province as a result of a rebellion, deprived of his position and lived in poverty in Lahore<sup>2</sup>. Relevant information is reported in studies by Lockhart<sup>3</sup> and Sarkar<sup>4</sup>.

For this reason, the information about Kashmir during the Indian campaign of Nadir Shah, contained in the text of the manuscript “Events of Kashmir,” seems unique.

According to the author of “Waqi’at-i Kashmir”, Muhammad ‘Azam, his work is the result of extensive research into the works of Mulla Hussein Qari, Haidar Malik Chadura and the text of Rajatarangini. Started in 1148 LH. (1735), during the reign of Muhammad Shah or Nasser al-Din Abu-l-Fatah Muhammad of the Mughal dynasty (1719–1748), the book covers the

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<sup>1</sup> The following studies were used as supporting materials: J. Fraser “The History of Nadir Shah” (1742), L. Lockhart “Nadir Shah” (1938), J. Sarkar “Nadir Shah in India” (1925), R. Mattie “Nadir Shah in Iranian Historiography: Warlord or National Hero?” in the “Near and Middle Eastern Studies at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, 1935–2018” (2018).

<sup>2</sup> KAZIM 1961: 318.

<sup>3</sup> LOCKHART 1938: 131.

<sup>4</sup> SARKAR 1924: 31.

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history of Kashmir from ancient times to 1746/1747. The work includes an introduction (a description of Kashmir), three main sections (the history of the Hindu and Muslim kings, as well as the period of Timurid rule) and a conclusion. This manuscript contains a brief account of how Nadir Shah came to power in Iran, a detailed account of his route during the Indian campaign, what his actions were on the territory of the Mughal Empire and to what extent they affected the social political state of Kashmir. The events associated with the Indian campaign of Nadir Shah happened during the lifetime of the author, which makes this part of the “Waki’at-i Kashmir” manuscript a historical source.

The most detailed fragment about Kashmir in the context of Nadir Shah’s Indian campaign can be translated as follows:

آخر سال پنجاه و یکم فخر الدوله که در لاهور بود رقمی از نادر شاه که بلاهور رسیده بود حاصل کرده. قدری از مردم کوهستان را همراه آورده باز کشمیر آمد. اواسط محرم سال هزار و یک صد و پنجاه و دو داخل کشمیر شد و خیلی کر و فر ظاهر زیاده نمود. خواست که سکه و خطبه نادر شاه را جاری سازد. عوام الناس بسیار بغیرت و شورش آمده ممانعت نمودند چون چهل روز بتسلط و تغلب گذرانیده و مردم را بی جهت بسیار رنجانید.

“At the end of the 51st year, Fakhr al-Daulah [a former subahdar, who had been expelled by the local population dissatisfied with his rule], who was in Lahore, received a sign from Nadir Shah, having reached Lahore, and taking with him several mountaineers, in the middle of Muharram 1152 LH he entered Kashmir, where he caused much destruction. He demanded that coins be minted and a khutbah read in honor of Nadir Shah. The common people were very dissatisfied and rebelled because he had spent 40 days in domination and conquest, and easily caused a lot of harm to the people” (B 720 f. 268A).

This fragment is interesting for researchers for several reasons.

Firstly, using the example of remote and inaccessible Kashmir, researchers obtain information about how Nadir Shah built his policy on the territories that did not belong to him: he tried to act not with his own hands. This information generally confirms the main theory about Nadir Shah’s motives for this campaign. According to the established scientific tradition, to finally deal with the «Afghan problem» that arose before Safavid Iran as

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early as 1722, Nadir Shah entered into correspondence with the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah. He asked that Afghan fugitives could not find refuge in the territory of the Mughal Empire.

Muhammad Shah not only failed to fulfill his promise to rectify the situation but also stopped the traditional practice of exchanging ambassadors with the Persian court when Nadir ascended the throne. Thereby, he had officially made it clear that he did not recognize him as the legitimate ruler of neighboring state.

The desire to put an end to the Afghan rebels once and for all, as well as to confirm the legitimacy of his status as a monarch, served as the reason for the military campaign against India. But the real reason for Nadir Shah's invasion of India was his need for a new source of income, and the Mughal Empire, weakened by civil strife, became an easy target.

According to the above-mentioned historical sources, Nadir Shah entered Ghazni on June 11, 1738, and captured Kabul on June 29. Having created a reputation as a merciful enemy and a liberal master, he encouraged local governors and subahdars to voluntary submission. Nasir Khan, subahdar of Kabul and Peshawar, which were part of the Mughal Empire, surrendered without resistance, was pardoned and restored as a subahdar of the same provinces. After Nadir Shah crossed the Indus at Attock, the subahdar of Lahore submitted to him without a fight, which is also mentioned by Muhammad 'Azam deputy:

ذکریا خان بہادر صوبہ دار لاہور خلف سیف الدولہ عبدالصمد خان مرحوم  
صلاح در مصالحہ مالی دانستہ مبلغی خطیر از خود و مردم شہر و تجار جمع  
نمودہ ملازمت شاہ کرد و بقبول خدمت مالی مورد عنایات شاہ شد.

“Zakariyya Khan Bahadur, Subahdar of Lahore, successor of the late Saif al- Daulah 'Abd al-Samad Khan, found it expedient to resolve the issue with the help of money. He collected a large sum from himself, the city residents and merchants as part of a financial reconciliation, provided his services to the Shah and gained his favor” (B 720 f. 270B).

Thus, Nadir Shah did not pursue the goals of conquering the Mughal Empire, spreading his influence as a ruler and seizing new territories in his favor. The widespread perception in the world tradition of Nadir Shah as the great conqueror of India<sup>5</sup> can be challenged by the fact that conquests as

<sup>5</sup> MATTHEW 2018: 474.

such did not occur. Most of the settlements on Nadir Shah's path to Delhi surrendered to him without a fight, and the local rulers almost voluntarily went over to his side.

As for the socio-political structure in Kashmir during that period, despite the formal affiliation of Kashmir to the Mughal Empire as a subah, and also despite the fact that subahdars were appointed from the center, in fact, the population of Kashmir often independently decided on the fate of the subahdar. This is evidenced by the fact that, according to the manuscript "Events of Kashmir", the population could expel a subahdar they did not like, or the subahdar could independently decide how to behave with the invaders and, on his own behalf, collect funds from the population and merchants.

This idea is confirmed by the following fragment from the manuscript:

عنایت الله خان را بدستور سابق نظامت بحال داشتند. خاص و عام شهر از کابر و اصاغر اتفاق نموده فخر الدوله را از شهر بر آوردند. مشارالیه در هفت چنار باغواى بعض اشراى نشسته اطراف شهر را آتش کشید. و جمعی را که یافت بقتل رسانید. قریب دو ماه از طرفین استادگی بود. آخر الامر بتنگ آمده راه فرار گرفت و ابوالبرکات خان که در لاهور بود نیابت عنایت الله خان گرفته بکشمیر رسید.

"According to the previous order, Inayatullah Khan remained in his position. Residents of the city, simple and high-ranking, great and ordinary, decided to drive Fakhr al-Daulah out of the city. The above-mentioned, who settled in the Haftchenar garden, started a fire in the outskirts of the city, and brutally killed the people he caught. This confrontation lasted for about two months. Finally, he got tired and ran away. Abul Barakat Khan, who was in Lahore, arrived in Kashmir on behalf of Inayatullah Khan." (B 720 f. 268A).

In other words, by the time the subahdar of the Mughal Empire arrived in Kashmir, the population independently relieved him of the need to fight for power with the pro-Iranian subahdar. For the second time people decided to rebel against Fakhr al-Daulah, thus demonstrating their independence from the authorities. The motives for the uprising were not determined by the fact to whom the state belonged, since the main thing is the loyalty of the subahdar — the direct representative of the government in this territory.

On February 24, 1739 the Battle of Karnal took place (in the "Events of Kashmir" it is mentioned as the Battle of Panipat). During it Nadir Shah was

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finally convinced in the inability of the Mughal army to repel him. Taking advantage of the weakness of the padishah, as well as of civil strife among high-ranking officials, on March 20, 1739 Nadir Shah reached Delhi almost unhindered. He took Muhammad Shah as a hostage and stayed in the Shahjahanabad fortress (in Delhi) for about two months.

The result of the campaign, in addition to enrichment, was the establishment of relations between Iran and the Mughal Empire. Nadir Shah, who arrived to restore order in the border regions of the empire, returned the crown to the rightful ruler Muhammad Shah.<sup>6</sup>

Muhammad ‘Azam reports:

بعد مصالحه پادشاه با نادر شاه صوبه کشمیر تعلق پادشاه ماند.

“After the padishah’s reconciliation with Nadir Shah, the subah of Kashmir remained the property of the padishah” (B 720 f. 268A).

In other words, according to the agreement between the Mughal ruler and Nadir Shah, the latter retained Peshawar and Kabul, thus the rights to Hind, Sindh and Kashmir were retained by the Mughal Empire.

This information contradicts the generally accepted view that Muhammad Shah gave Nadir Shah the Mughal provinces west of the Indus River, including Kashmir and Sindh.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, based on the study of the manuscript “Waki’at-i Kashmir” by Muhammad ‘Azam Didamari, it can be argued that the Kashmir region was affected by the consequences of Nadir Shah’s Indian campaign. Even though Nadir Shah himself did not invade these territories, military actions did take place there on his behalf, which had a serious impact on the local population and led to its decline.

The information presented in the work by Muhammad ‘Azam encourages researchers to reconsider the history of Nadir Shah’s Indian campaign in order to more accurately determine the boundaries between the Mughal Empire and Iran after this event. The mentioning of Kashmir in the context of these events adds particular value to the study, since other sources on Nadir Shah and his military campaigns either do not mention Kashmir at all, or only briefly touch on the region. In this context, the presence of this plot in the work by Muhammad ‘Azam is unique and calls for further research and analysis.

<sup>6</sup> LOCKHART 1938: 152.

<sup>7</sup> LOCKHART 1938: 153.

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## Some Comments on Usage of Analytical form *-p bar-* in the Old Uyghur Language

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*Abstract:* This article examines the use of the analytical form *-p bar-* as a means to express aspectual meanings and the conditions for its use. In the Old Uyghur language, which is considered one of the early stages of development of Turkic languages, morphological means are used to clarify the nature of actions. One of these means is the analytical form *-p bar-*. In studies on the Old Turkic and Old Uyghur languages, the use of the analytical form *-p bar-* to express the aspectual meaning of punctual action has not been previously noted. From this point of view, functional characteristics of this form's use are investigated in the study. Analyzed examples serve as evidence that the Old Uyghur language had grammar means of expressing the aspectual meaning of punctual action.

*Key words:* aspect, punctual aspect, analytical form, Turkic manuscripts

## Introduction

In the study of aspectual features of morphological means in Turkic languages, verbal analytical forms based on the model CVB+AUX, where CVB is converb and AUX is auxiliary verb, are of particular interest for research. These forms are widely used in modern Turkic languages, for example, in Turkish, Uzbek, Tatar, etc. Durative forms expressing the middle phase of an action are found in materials of Turkic languages<sup>1</sup>. For example, *-(u)ḡ myp-* in Uzbek is used as durative form<sup>2</sup>. In addition to durative meaning, *-(u)n myp-*<sup>3</sup> is found in Azeri and expresses the meaning of perfect

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<sup>1</sup> PLUNGIAN 2011: 294.

<sup>2</sup> NASILOV 1989: 148.

<sup>3</sup> TENISHEV 2002: 188.



that indicates a past that has not lost relevance to the present.<sup>4</sup> Also widespread are forms with completive meaning indicating the final phase of action characterized as a completed action. In the Tuvan language there is a way to express completive by means of the analytical form *-(b)н бар*.<sup>5</sup> In the Turkic languages resultative forms are widely used to indicate that action has been completed and turned into a result.<sup>6</sup> For example, there is *-(a/b)н кбал*- form<sup>7</sup> in the Karachay-Balkar language. In modern Turkic languages formally similar analytical forms appear, but they have different aspectual meanings. The form *-a бар*-<sup>8</sup> in Uzbek is used to express progressive meaning indicating the middle phase of a process without specifying its beginning and end. The similar *-(y)л ver-* form used in the Turkish language<sup>9</sup> contains the same components but its aspectual meaning is different. This form expresses the punctive indicating the phase of an action instantaneously reaching its limit.<sup>10</sup> The action has no middle phase and its beginning is characterised by suddenness and instantaneity.<sup>11</sup>

## Data sources of the study

The range of aspectual meanings, that is, most typical and frequent universal aspectual meanings,<sup>12</sup> in modern Turkic languages is formed on the basis of general ideas about the functioning of morphological means of their expression. Special means of understanding the nature of actions and indicating their “aspect” are used to show the way a native speaker conceptualizes actions. This conceptualizing is determined historically and can be considered diachronically.

Ancient manuscripts are considered to be of primary importance for diachronical studies. Their linguistic data can clarify the development of various means to express certain aspectual semes. Analysis of the Turkic aspectual system of the verb traditionally begins with Old Turkic languages,

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<sup>4</sup> COMRIE 1976: 55; LINDSTEDT 2000: 366.

<sup>5</sup> SHAMINA 2013: 138.

<sup>6</sup> PLUNGIAN 2011: 295.

<sup>7</sup> ULMEZOVA 2012: 43.

<sup>8</sup> NASILOV 1989: 163.

<sup>9</sup> GUZEV 2015: 152.

<sup>10</sup> GUZEV 2015: 295.

<sup>11</sup> BONDARKO 1987: 155; PLUNGIAN 2011: 298; KASHLEVA 2015: 83.

<sup>12</sup> PLUNGIAN 2011: 301.

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Old Uyghur in particular, since numerous manuscripts written in this language are extant. The Old Uyghur language in this study is chosen to demonstrate one stage of development of Turkic languages.<sup>13</sup>

The sources for the study are manuscripts written in the Old Uyghur language that date back to approximately the 10th–12th cc. The manuscripts examined include the Buddhist *Golden Light Sutra* (*Altun yaruq*), *The Uyghur version of the biography of Xuanzang*, and *The Adoration of Magi*.

## Aspect and morphological forms

The aspectual system of the Old Uyghur language is a two-level structure of linear and secondary aspect. This study examines only morphemes of linear aspect because its meanings form the structural basis of the aspectual system of the language.<sup>14</sup> The secondary aspect includes meanings indicating a transition to a different action class.<sup>15</sup> The linear (primary) aspect is represented more widely than the secondary one. The structure of the linear aspect is based on the structure of an observed situation. Linear aspect meanings are based on five phases distinguished in actions: preparatory, initial, middle, final, result. It is also taken into account that a situation may not have a gap between the beginning and the end, and may be characterized by instantaneousness of the action.<sup>16</sup> Based on this structure of a situation, grammatical means to express aspect meanings such as progressive, durative, completive, resultative, punctive, and limitative aspectual meanings are identified. Examples in the examined manuscript texts serve as evidence that the Old Uyghur language had a relatively developed set of means for aspectual and actional description of actions.

In Old Uyghur, analytical forms based on model CVB+AUX are used to clarify aspectual meanings. Most often such analytical forms are used in finite forms, but there are also cases of non-finite verbal forms (most frequently in adverbial clauses), for example, *alu tükädükte...* (Hüen<sup>17</sup> V27, 11) ‘when [the monk] had taken [in his hands]’. In this example, the

<sup>13</sup> TENISHEV 2002: 726.

<sup>14</sup> PLUNGIAN 2011: 285.

<sup>15</sup> PLUNGIAN 2011: 283.

<sup>16</sup> PLUNGIAN 2011: 286.

<sup>17</sup> Hereinafter: Hüen = *The Uyghur version of the biography of Xuanzang*. Published in: TUGUSHEVA 1991.

adverbial form *-dikta/dikte* with a temporal meaning and the aspectual form *-a tükä-* with the meaning of completive are used.

This study focuses on cases when the analytical form *-p bar-* is used in a meaning that has not been noted before in Old Turkic languages and in the Old Uyghur language.

The form *-p bar-* is a variation of the model *-p/pan + AUX-*, where *bar-* ‘go, reach’ is the auxiliary verb. The presence of this auxiliary verb suggests that the verb marks the final and/or resultative stage of the action. Grammatically, this form contains the converb *-p* or its variant *-pan* in the Old Uyghur language and indicates the precedence of the action expressed by the lexical verb (converb in the analytical form) relative to the action being specified. The converb *-p* indicates the meaning of completion and result of action. The combination of *-p/pan* with the auxiliary verb *bar-* also indicates the action tends towards its limit.<sup>18</sup>

In the Old Turkic languages the form *-p bar-* is mostly considered to be a form of completive action.<sup>19</sup> Examples of usage of the form found in different manuscripts demonstrate that *-p bar-* expresses the meaning of intense start and finish of the action, that is, it is not a completive action. The action has no middle stage. This development of the process corresponds to punctual action (punctive aspect). Punctual meaning may be emphasized by a temporal morpheme, frequently a past tense morpheme, that follows the aspectual analytical morpheme. For example, the finite form with morpheme *-p bar-*: “(...) *erkän ölüp bardı*” (Suv<sup>20</sup> 4, 17–19) is followed by the morpheme *-dı* that indicates that action took place in the past.

It is noteworthy that in manuscript texts aspectual models *-p/pan + AUX-*, where *-p/pan* is negative, are not attested. In Old Turkic dated to the 10th–11th cc. written either in Runic or Old Uyghur script the converb *-matı/matın* functions as the negative form of *-p/pan*. No difference in meaning can be found, so the negative form of *-p* is traditionally considered to be *-matı*.<sup>21</sup> Manuscript data contains (see below) examples of analytical forms with *-matın/-madın*.

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<sup>18</sup> YULDASHEV 1965: 75.

<sup>19</sup> ERDAL 2004: 254.

<sup>20</sup> Hereinafter: Suv = *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, i.e. The Golden Light Sutra (Altun yaruq). Published in: *Altun Yarak B01*.

<sup>21</sup> KONONOV 1980: 128; TELITSIN 1994: 124.

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## Examples from the texts

In the examples below, the form *-p bar-* is marked as part of verbal word forms that function as finite and non-finite forms.

(1) jemä bu bitiglär kelgincä udun xanta titilip baryalı bolmajuqqa ötrü bu tıltay tavvač xanqa bitig qılıp... (Hüen, 116, 11–14)

jemä bu	bitig-lär	kel-gincä	udun xan-qa		
again this	book-3PL	come-CVB	Udun ruler-DATLOC		
tit-ıl-ıp_bar-valı		bol-ma-juq-qa			
stay-PASS-ASP-CVB		become-NEG-PTCP-DATLOC			

ötrü	bu	tıltay	tavvač	xan-qa	bitig	qıl-ıp
POST	this	reason	tabgatch	ruler-DATLOC	letter	do-CVB

...until these books arrived, he had not done anything to stay at the court of Udun ruler, later he described this reason in the letter to the tabgatch ruler...

In example (1), the analytical form *-p bar-* is used as part of the participial form *-yalı*, stressing the meaning of goal. The lexical verb is *tıtil-* ‘to stay’, with actional characteristic of having a limit. Lexically and grammatically, the word form indicates rapid completion of action. The form *-yalı*, regardless of the analytical form, marks the meaning of reaching a goal.

Lexical meaning of the converb determines the choice of the auxiliary verb which modifies the action’s aspectual meaning of completion and having a limit. Moreover, it removes the action’s middle phase. Thus, *-p bar-* marks only the beginning and the end of the action, i.e. it conveys the meaning of punctual action.

(2) samtso açarı alyalı unamadın bardı (Hüen 15a, 23–24)

samtso	açarı	al-valı	una-madın_bar-dı
Tripitaka	teacher	accept-CVB	agree-ASP-3SGPST

The Tripitaka teacher did not agree to accept...

Example (2) is interesting because it probably uses the negative form *-p* or a synonymous negative form. The analytical form indicates non-completion and instantaneousness of the action of ‘agree’.

(3) *adaqin buymaq üzä jükünüp tapinip bardılar* (Hüen V27, 14–16)

<i>adaq-in</i>	<i>buy-maq</i>	<i>üzä</i>	<i>[jükün-üp tapin]-ip_bar-dī-lar</i>
leg-3POSS-ACC	deflect-SF	by means of	bow-ASP-3PLPST

Having bent [their] knees, they bowed and prayed...

In example (3), the morpheme of the analytical form is attached to verbs according to the lexical meanings. The combination of verbs *jükün-* ‘bow’, *tapin-* ‘serve’ makes their lexical meaning more precise and serves as the basis to which the analytical morpheme with punctual meaning is attached. The action reaches the end immediately after its beginning.

(4) *inčip igläyü birlä ök sav söz kodup tutar kapar erkän ölüp bardī* (Suv 4, 17–19)

<i>inčip</i>	<i>iglä-jü</i>	<i>birlä ök</i>	<i>[sav söz] kod-up</i>
so	to be ill-CVB	POST PART	lose speech-CVB
<i>[tut-ar kap-ar] erkän öl-üp_bar-dī</i>			
<i>die-ASP-3SGPST</i>			

And being ill, he lost his speech, convulsed, and died.

In this example the analytical form is used with two lexical verbs *kod-* and *öl-* together with the auxiliary verb *bar-*. The context demonstrates that the meaning of punctual action is expressed.

(5) *biz jämä emgäktin oztumuz kutrultumuz tip munča sözläp jitlinip bartılar* (Suv 1.00.10)

<i>biz</i>	<i>jämä</i>	<i>emgäk-tin</i>	<i>[oz-tumuz kutrul]-tumuz tip</i>
we	now	torment-ABL	[save become free]-1PLPST QUOT
<i>munča</i>	<i>sözläp</i>	<i>jitl-in-ip_bar-tılar</i>	
that	say-CVB	<i>disappear-PASS-ASP-3PL PST</i>	

“We have become free from torments,” they said and immediately disappeared.

The analytical form *-p bar-* in this context clearly expresses the meaning of punctual action. The verb *jitlin-* ‘disappear’ is used as a verb indicating an action that immediately tends towards the end. Thus, grammatically and contextually the analytical form indicates rapid achievement of a limit, end of the action, i.e. it expresses a punctual action.

(6) nečuki urislimtın önüp bardılar (Uig<sup>22</sup> 1, 8–9)

nečuki	urislimtın	ön-üp_bar-dılar
when	Jerusalem-ABL	leave-ASP-3PLPST

When they immediately left Jerusalem.

In this example, the use of the analytical form puts emphasis on the fact that the Magi left Jerusalem hastily. The action ‘leave’ is carried out as fast as possible and reaches its end.

## Conclusion and results

Morphological means of expressing aspectual meanings common in Turkic languages are represented mainly by analytical forms which combine converbs with an auxiliary verb that has lost its main lexical meaning.

The morphemes described above are used to indicate the meanings of both linear and secondary aspects, including aspectual clusters such as extended perfect. Based on the Old Uyghur language data, basic meanings of the aspectual system (the linear aspect) were analyzed. The meanings of the linear aspect reflect the structure of action in which five stages are distinguished: preparatory, initial, middle, final, result. Some actions under observation do not necessarily have a middle phase, so they occur instantly, i.e. they only have initial and final phases. This kind of aspectual meaning is called punctual action (punctive aspect).

In research on the Old Turkic and Old Uyghur languages, analytical forms capable of expressing aspectual meanings have not been studied in detail using the approach that examines the internal structure of action. The analytical form *-p bar-* studied in this article is usually viewed as

<sup>22</sup> Uig = The Adoration of the Magi. Published in: MALOV 1951: 132.

expressing a completive meaning, i.e. indicating the final point of some situation. The contextual use of *-p bar-* in the Old Uyghur language, however, demonstrates that this form indicates an intense beginning and instantaneous completion of action without any middle phase. Contextual situations found in the data from Old Uyghur manuscripts indicate that *-p bar-* is capable of expressing the meaning of instantaneous or punctual action.

Studying the structure and features of aspectual meanings in the Old Uyghur language makes it possible to describe and understand the semantic field of aspectuality of Turkic languages more accurately and in greater detail. Studying contextual situations in which specific analytical forms are used helps assess the scope of semantic use of these forms. Diachronic analysis of the use of analytical forms creates the foundation for a more detailed study of aspectual semes and morphemes in modern Turkic languages.

Applying diachronic approach in research gives a new perspective to the studies of modern Turkic languages that are carried out based on synchronic approach.

Further research on the aspectual system of the Old Uyghur language, based on the linguistic data found in available manuscripts, will clarify and refine our understanding of aspectuality in Turkic languages.

### List of abbreviations

ABL	Ablative case	OPT	optative
ACC	Accusative case	PART	particle
ASP	Aspectual seme	PL	plural
CAUS	causative	POSS	possessive
CVB	converb	PRF	perfect
DATLOC	dative locative case	PRS	present tense
DISTR	distributive consonant	PST	past tense
EQT	equative	PTCP	participle
FUT	future tense	QUOT	quotation
GEN	Genitive case	SG	singular
IMP	imperative	SREP	secondary representation
LOCABL	locative ablative case	1	1st person
MOD	modality	2	2nd person
NEG	negative	3	3rd person

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## **The Northern Studies Collection of the Hokkaido University Library as the Major Repository of Sources on the History of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands<sup>1</sup>**

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*Abstract:* The article traces the formation and development of the Northern Studies Collection at the Hokkaido University Library, the largest collection of Japanese written sources on the history of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands in the 17th–19th cc. in Japan and beyond. This region was involved in trade relations with Japanese merchants under the control of the Matsumae clan, and later was partly administered by the Tokugawa shogunate. The Northern Studies Collection of the Hokkaido University Library is based on written sources that were collected and copied nationwide for the compilation of an official history of Hokkaido under the auspices of the island's governorship in the 1910s–1930s. During the preparation of the catalog in the 1970s and 1980s, the collection was also enriched with copies of many sources from other collections in Japan. Thus, the Northern Studies Collection can be used to reconstruct a map of all the centers for storing sources on the history of the region in Japan. As this extensive collection is closely related to the history of the Northern Studies Collection Department and its predecessor, the Northern Cultures Research Department of the Hokkaido University, the history of these two branches is also traced in the article.

*Key words:* Sakhalin, Kuril Islands, Ainu, written sources, manuscripts, collections, archives

### **Introduction**

Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands, today under jurisdiction of the Russian Federation as the Sakhalin Oblast, have followed a unique historical trajectory due to their geographical location. Since ancient times, the islands, being bridges between Primorye, Kamchatka and the Japanese archipelago, have served as a contact zone for numerous peoples of the region, with trade

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and fishing routes passing through them and complex ethnic and cultural processes taking place there. At the same time, the region around the Sea of Okhotsk was, until modern times, on the periphery of major states — China, Japan, and, from the 17th c., Russia — and as a consequence the number of written sources on its history, as well as attention paid to it by “state” historians, was very limited. The main indigenous population of the islands, the Ainu and Nivkhs, had neither statehood nor written language, and therefore left behind no narrative or documentary sources on the history of their native lands. In the 19th and 20th cc., Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands became the object of territorial demarcation between Japan and Russia, which affected the fate of the indigenous population of the islands and created lacunas in the historiography of the region in modern times. All this makes the contemporary Sakhalin Oblast a unique region with a specific situation in the field of historiography: depending on the period under study, scholars have to rely on sources of very different origin — Russian, Japanese, Chinese, Manchu, European, as well as on data from related sciences — anthropology, archaeology, linguistics, folkloristics and genetics. This constitutes a serious problem for research.

Nevertheless, the period from the 17th to the beginning of the 20th c. was marked by a sharp increase in the number of written sources on the history of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands, which is associated with the incorporation of the Pacific coast of Northeast Eurasia into the Russian Empire and the process of territorial demarcation with Japan that began after that. The interest of the Japanese military government under the leadership of the Tokugawa shoguns, as well as of individual Japanese scholars, in the northern boundaries of the Japanese archipelago in the second half of the 18th c. was stimulated by the information about the advance of Russian pioneers southward along the ridge of the Kuril Islands. Moreover, because of this process, the number of written sources in Japanese, especially for the period from the late 18th to the early 20th cc., has become much greater than in other languages, including Russian. This gives rise to an important scientific and organizational task: to study and introduce into the Russian scientific circulation the corpus of sources in Japanese on the history of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands of the 17th to early 20th cc. The project supported by the Russian Science Foundation to create an annotated catalog of these sources is aimed at solving this problem.

The annotated catalog of Japanese manuscript and woodblock sources on Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands from the collection of the

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Hokkaido University Library<sup>2</sup> will be used as the basis for the future catalog. This collection is based on written sources that were collected and copied nationwide for the compilation of an official history of Hokkaido under the auspices of the island's governorship in the 1910s–1930s. During the catalog preparation phase, the collection was also enriched with copies of many sources from other collections in Japan. Thus, the collection of the Hokkaido University Library can be used to locate all the centers for storing sources on the history of the region in Japan. This article examines this largest collection of materials on this research topic in Japan and beyond, traces the history of its formation, and gives a brief description of other collections in Japan. In my opinion, this will also serve as a justification for choosing the above-mentioned catalog as the basis for the planned catalog in Russian.

### **The Northern Studies Collection of Hokkaido University Library and its Development**

Japanese manuscript and woodblock sources on the history of Hokkaido, Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands are kept in a special structural unit of the Hokkaido University Library — the Northern Studies Collection Department (jpn. *hoppo: shiryo:shitsu* 北方資料室). The Department's collection currently contains about 4.500 manuscripts and woodblocks in Japanese.<sup>3</sup> It is this part of the collection, containing primary sources of the 17th — early 20th cc., that presents the greatest interest. In addition, the Northern Studies Collection includes: over 4.500 manuscript archival documents (850 stitched books and 3.700 individual sheets); 30.351 Japanese-language printed books (from the late 19th c. onward); about 12.000 Japanese-language pamphlet-type printed materials; 8.462 books in European languages; a collection of about 5.000 letters from the Hokkaido Development Bureau related to foreign experts (active between 1869–1882); 5.000 maps and drawings; about 5.000 photographs and 750 photographic plates; 400 items of audio materials (180 gramophone records and 220 audio cassettes, mostly recordings of Ainu folklore); and personal collections of rare materials assembled by a number of famous researchers of this region, such as Takakura Shin'ichiro (572 items), Kono Tsunekichi (162 items), and others.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> *Nihon hokuhen kankei kyu:ki mokuroku* 1990.

<sup>3</sup> *Hokkaido: daigaku toshokan gaiyo*: 2006: 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

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This extensive and representative collection was assembled over several decades and is closely related to the history of the Northern Studies Collection Department and its predecessor, the Northern Cultures Research Department (jpn. Hoppo: bunka kenkyu:shitsu 北方文化研究室) at Hokkaido University, which existed from 1937 to 1967. I consider it necessary to outline briefly the history of these departments, as well as to trace the establishment and development of the study of northern Japan as a separate research area at Hokkaido University, with special attention to the manuscript and book collections.

The formation of the Northern Studies Collection at the Hokkaido University Library is closely linked to the University's history. It dates back to 1876, when the Sapporo Agricultural College was founded in the administrative center of the Hokkaido Island to train specialists in the colonization of the island under the auspices of the Hokkaido Development Commission (jpn. Kaitakushi 開拓使, in existence from 1869–1882). In 1887, the college began teaching colonial politics and the history of colonization, subjects that would eventually play an important role in the history of the region north of Japan. In 1907, the Sapporo Agricultural College became part of the newly established Tohoku University as the Faculty of Agriculture. The new university was to be located in Sendai in the northeastern part of the Honshu Island. The campus was not built immediately, and for several years the Faculty of Agriculture in Sapporo remained its only functioning unit. In 1918, however, it was decided to establish an independent Hokkaido Imperial University on the basis of this faculty. To the Faculty of Agriculture were later added the Faculty of Medicine (1919), Engineering (1924) and Natural Sciences (1930), which testifies to the practical orientation of specialist training at Hokkaido University in prewar Japan. The only department that could be conditionally classified as a social sciences and humanities department was the Department of Agricultural Economics at the oldest faculty of the university. The founders of this department, which existed since the College period, were its first graduates, Nitobe Inazo (1862–1933) and Sato Shosuke (1856–1939), who also became the first rector of the Hokkaido Imperial University (1918–1930). Both studied, among other things, social aspects of the colonization of Hokkaido and other northern regions.

At the same time, as S. Takakura writes, “with the development of Hokkaido, especially when our country took a course on external migration (meaning the colonization of Manchuria. — *V.S.*), the need to establish a

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faculty of humanities began to be realized, because without research and education in the field of culture, technical education is sinfully limited”.<sup>5</sup> With the founding of the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) in 1932 and the beginning of grant support for scientists, the Hokkaido Imperial University initiated a number of studies in the humanities. For example, the Research Department of Agricultural Economics received a grant to study agricultural migration to Manchuria and the resources of North China, and the Department of Medicine received a grant to study the Ainu people in terms of medicine and physical anthropology. When the Department of Anatomy began excavating Ainu burial sites to collect bone remains, the need for an ethnographic study of the burial inventory was also realized.<sup>6</sup> After the completion of projects with grant support from the JSPS, the Hokkaido Imperial University decided to organize a unit for the study of northern cultures. The Northern Cultures Research Department, founded in 1937, became such a division.

This department was not affiliated with any faculty, but reported directly to the Rector and was under the auspices of the University Library from the beginning, with Uehara Tetsusaburo, Head of the Library, as its first head. The members were elected from each of the four faculties: Inukai Tetsuo (Faculty of Agriculture), Kodama Sakuzaemon (Faculty of Medicine), Takabeya Fukuhei (Faculty of Engineering), and Suzuki Jun (Faculty of Natural Sciences), while the librarians Shibata Sadakichi and Takakura Shin’ichiro were elected as external members. Such a variegated composition of the department may seem strange in the context of the study of “northern cultures”, but it predetermined the formation of Ainu studies as an interdisciplinary scientific direction. For example, F. Takabeya from the Faculty of Engineering studied the construction of traditional Ainu houses, S. Kodama from the Faculty of Medicine studied Ainu tattoos and hairstyles, and zoologist T. Inukai studied the interaction of the Ainu with animals and plants (an Ainu old man named Kikuchi was even invited to one of the department’s seminars and demonstrated the art of cutting bear carcasses). The department began holding seminars with presentations by staff members and lectures by visiting scholars, and publishing its own journal, “Reports on Research of Northern Cultures” (jpn. Hoppo: bunka kenkyu: ho:koku 北方文化研究報告)<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> TAKAKURA 1982: 963.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> AKIZUKI 1980: 1380.

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This article focuses in particular on another important area of the department's work — the collection of written sources: books, manuscripts, maps, etc. The Northern Cultures Research Department's collection was based on manuscripts and books that were already stored in the University Library and had been accumulated since the existence of the Sapporo Agricultural College. The collection and copying of written materials on the history of Hokkaido and the neighboring islands had been carried out by the Hokkaido Development Commission (to which the college was subordinate) since its establishment in 1869. However, what made the department's collection truly unique was the transfer of written materials from the Hokkaido Government Office. In 1937, the year of the department's founding, the 7-volume "New History of Hokkaido", which had been prepared for many years since 1915 by the Special Commission for the Compilation of the History of Hokkaido (jpn. Hokkaido:shi hensan gakari 北海道史編纂掛), was completed.<sup>8</sup> Over a period of more than 20 years, a unique collection of manuscripts and archival documents on the history of Hokkaido and the neighboring islands has developed, and in order to avoid division of this collection, it was decided to transfer it in its entirety to the Hokkaido Imperial University (the Rector of the University has long served as an advisor to the Special Commission).<sup>9</sup> According to the "Catalog of books deposited from the Hokkaido Government Office", the collection included 489 printed books, 540 manuscripts, 239 photographs, 972 general overviews of towns and villages, and 824 archival documents (a total of 3,064 items).<sup>10</sup> Since then, the department's collection has become the largest in Japan in terms of the number of sources on Hokkaido history since the Meiji Restoration of 1868. In addition, the collection has been augmented by new acquisitions, partly through departmental or university library funds and partly through donors or sponsors such as the entrepreneurs Shibusawa Keizo and Kuwata Gompei. T. Akizuki, one of the former curators of the Northern Studies Collection of the Hokkaido University Library, points out that the period of the Northern Cultures Research Department (1937–1967) was the time of the most active growth of the written materials collection.<sup>11</sup>

The years of the Second World War and the post-war occupation also affected the activities of the Department: due to lack of funding, the

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<sup>8</sup> *Shinsen Hokkaido:shi* 1936–1937.

<sup>9</sup> AOYAMA 2018: 1–33.

<sup>10</sup> TAKAKURA 1982: 964.

<sup>11</sup> AKIZUKI 1990: (4).

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publication of the journal temporarily stopped in 1942 (six issues had been published since 1939), and full-fledged scientific work became impossible. The Department resumed its work only in 1952, including the continuation of the annual journal (14 more issues were published between 1952 and 1965). An important role in the postwar revitalization of the department was played by the emergence of new faculties in humanities at Hokkaido University: first the Faculty of Law (1947), then the Faculty of Education (1949) and the Faculty of Letters (separated from the Faculty of Law in 1950), the staff of which became involved in research. In 1967, in the course of restructuring, the Northern Cultures Research Department was subordinated to the Faculty of Letters and renamed as the Center for the Study of Northern Cultures, retaining only its research tasks. At the same time, the Department's collections of written materials were transferred to the University Library, where a new structural subdivision, the Northern Studies Collection Department, was organized. Thus, the research and collecting functions of the Northern Cultures Research Department were now divided between two divisions within the university.

When the Northern Studies Collection Department was finally taken over by the Hokkaido University Library in 1967 and relieved of its research tasks, more work began on the processing and cataloging of its materials. In 1981, 1983 and 1990 respectively, the Department published the "Catalog of Maps of Hokkaido and Adjacent Regions from the Collection of the Hokkaido University Library",<sup>12</sup> the "Catalog of Foreigner Related Letters of the Hokkaido Development Commission"<sup>13</sup> and the "Catalog of Old Books Related to the Northern Margins of Japan (Hokkaido, Sakhalin, Kuril Islands, Russia)",<sup>14</sup> which is planned as the basis for the future Russian catalog. In the preface to this catalog, its author and compiler T. Akizuki writes that the work he started on the catalog aroused great interest among scholars of other institutions in Japan where similar materials are kept, and therefore, in the process of preparation, the Northern Studies Collection of the Hokkaido University Library was enriched with a large number of copies of manuscript books and archival materials from these institutions.<sup>15</sup> It is for this reason that the resulting catalog claims to almost fully reflect the Japanese sources

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<sup>12</sup> *Hokkaido: kankei chizu zurui mokuroku : hoppo: chiikizu oyobi Nihon zu nado mo fukumu: Hokkaido: daigaku toshokan shozo*: 1981.

<sup>13</sup> *Kaitakushi gaikokujin kankei shokan mokuroku* 1983.

<sup>14</sup> *Nihon hokuhen kankei kyu:ki mokuroku* 1990.

<sup>15</sup> AKIZUKI 1990: (3).

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on the history of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands known at the time of its publication.

**The main centers of storage of sources  
on the history of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands  
of the 17th-19th cc. in Japan**

By the time of the publication of the above catalog, the Northern Studies Collection Department of the Hokkaido University Library, in addition to its own collection, had received copies of manuscripts and archival materials from many other institutions in and outside of Hokkaido. Among the most important are the collections of the Hakodate City Central Library, the National Archives of Japan, the University of Tokyo Library, the Archives of Hokkaido, and the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo. The Collection of the Hokkaido University Library also received materials contributed by the National Diet Library, Kokugakuin University, Hokkaido Prefectural Library, Gifu Prefectural Archives, Otaru Commercial University, and the libraries of several prefectures (Iwate, Akita, Miyagi) and cities (Hirosaki, Niitsu, Hikone, etc.), primarily of the Northeast Japan, or Tohoku region. To understand the reasons for such a wide geographical distribution of sources on the history of Hokkaido, Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands, it is necessary to briefly trace the history of Japanese relations with these lands in the 17th-19th cc. in terms of the accumulation of written sources.

Until the last quarter of the 18th c., the Ainu lands were outside the administrative system of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the military government of Japan. In the early 17th c., the founder of the Tokugawa shogunate, Ieyasu, granted a monopoly right to control Japanese trade with the Ainu to the military house of Matsumae, which kept the small Japanese population on the southern tip of Hokkaido under its control. Thus, the documents reflecting Japanese relations with the Ainu in the 17th and 18th cc. were mostly deposited in Fukuyama Castle, the residence of the Matsumae lords in southern Hokkaido.<sup>16</sup> Some written sources not related to trade included reports of central government inspections, which were appointed very rarely (no more than one per shogun's reign) and records of interrogations of Japanese sailors who were shipwrecked on the southern Kuril Islands. These documents were preserved in the archives of the shogunate in Edo or in the

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<sup>16</sup> TAKAKURA 1969: 3-4.

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domains from which the sailors came.<sup>17</sup> The Ainu uprising of 1669 led by Shakushain was a separate episode that gave rise to a large number of written sources: not only Matsumae, but also the authorities of the neighboring Honshu domains of Nambu and Tsugaru took part in investigating the circumstances of the uprising (a number of documents have been preserved in archives in Aomori, Akita, and Iwate prefectures).<sup>18</sup> In the second half of the 18th c., merchant houses from central Japan, such as Hidaya Kyubee, began to play an active role in trade with the Ainu, especially in trading areas in the north and northeast of Hokkaido, the population of which was in close contact with the Ainu of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands. The records of this trading house are now in the archives of Gifu Prefecture, the former province of Hida, from where the merchants originated.<sup>19</sup>

From the 1780s, the Ainu lands came under the scrutiny of central authorities: documents about the first government expedition to the Ainu lands, as well as about the Ainu uprising in Kunashir and northeastern Hokkaido in 1789, were already preserved in the archives of the shogunate.<sup>20</sup> From that time on, the Ainu lands were visited more frequently by central government officials and inspectors, who wrote not only official reports, but also essays about the Ainu and their lands in a freer form: such texts are found not only in government archives, but also in many regional and even private archives. Between 1799 and 1821, the Ainu lands (first only the eastern, and from 1807 also the western) were placed under the direct administration of the shogunate due to a possible spread of Russia's influence. The administration of the shogunate viceroys was located first in Hakodate, and from 1807 in Matsumae, where all the documents of the governing bodies were collected. At the same time, copies of some documents, as well as correspondence with the central authorities, were deposited in the archives of the shogunate in Edo and are now preserved at the National Archives of Japan and at the Historiographical Institute of the University of Tokyo.<sup>21</sup> During this period, the troops of the domains of northeastern Honshu — Nambu, Tsugaru, Sendai, and Aizu — were actively engaged to protect Japan's borders in the north, which resulted in some

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<sup>17</sup> HIRAKAWA & TAKEHARA 2023: 96–211.

<sup>18</sup> *Nihon hokuhen kankei kyu:ki mokuroku (Hokkaido:, Karafuto, Chishima, Roshia)* 1990: 250–252.

<sup>19</sup> Yamashita Tsuneo 2003: 666–672.

<sup>20</sup> *Ezochi ikken* 1969: 261–262.

<sup>21</sup> KLIMOV 2009: 127–141.

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documents and other written sources being also deposited in relevant archives in the former domains (now the archives and libraries of Iwate, Aomori, Miyagi, and Fukushima prefectures).<sup>22</sup>

From 1821 to 1854, when Russian activity in the Kuril Islands declined, the Ainu lands were again put under the administration of the Matsumae clan, and the documents from this period were again preserved at the Fukuyama Castle. Finally, in 1854, when negotiations with Russia on border demarcation in the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin began, the Ainu lands were again placed under the direct control of the shogunate until 1869, when the last pro-shogun forces were defeated by the imperial army at the Battle of Hakodate. During this battle, the records of the Matsumae domain were lost, both for the period of the 17th to 18th cc. and for the years 1821–1854.<sup>23</sup> Documents from the direct rule period of the shogunate (1854–1869) have largely survived,<sup>24</sup> and today are mostly stored either in the Hakodate City Central Library, which housed the governing bodies, or in the National Archives of Japan, established on the basis of the Cabinet Library (jpn. Naikaku bunko 内閣文庫), the collection of which was in turn based on the library and archives of the Tokugawa shoguns (jpn. Momijiyama bunko 紅葉山文庫)<sup>25</sup>. More or less complete preservation of written sources was ensured starting from the Meiji period (1868–1912), when the Hokkaido Development Commission was established in the city of Sapporo: it was its archive that formed the basis of the Hokkaido Library collection (see above). It should be noted that the southern Kuril Islands (Iturup, Kunashir, Shikotan) and the southern part of Sakhalin were also under the jurisdiction of the Development Commission. After 1875, when Japan renounced its claims to Sakhalin under the Treaty of St. Petersburg and received in return the entire range of Kuril Islands up to Kamchatka, Sakhalin was excluded from Japan's administrative control for 30 years, while the Kuril Islands north of Iturup, on the contrary, were placed under it. Thus, sources on the history of all the Kuril Islands from 1875 to 1945 exist mostly in Japanese. This period includes, among other things, the tragic history of the resettlement of the Ainu people of the northern Kuril Islands to Shikotan, and of many Sakhalin Ainu people to Tsuishikari in Hokkaido.

<sup>22</sup> *Nihon hokuhen kankei kyū:ki mokuroku* (Hokkaido:, Karafuto, Chishima, Roshia) 1990: 82–87.

<sup>23</sup> AKIZUKI 1990: 3.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> KLIMOV 2010: 272–278.

## Conclusion

After analyzing the composition and the history of formation of the collection of sources on the history of Hokkaido, Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands of the 17th–19th cc. in the Northern Studies Collection Department of the Hokkaido University Library, it becomes clear that, first, it is the largest collection of sources on this topic both in Japan and abroad, and, second, it allows to trace the process of accumulation of written sources in many other archival repositories in Japan.

The wide distribution of sources on the history of Hokkaido, Sakhalin, and the Kuril Islands in the 17th–19th cc. throughout Japan was caused by the complex history of the state's interaction with the Ainu and the lands inhabited by them: from the late 18th to the mid-19th cc., control over them repeatedly passed from the Matsumae clan into the hands of the Japanese central government and back again, and the intensification of politics in the Ainu lands led to a wider access of representatives of various domains and estates of Japan and, consequently, to an increase in the number and diversity of written sources.

The formation of the collection of sources on the history of Hokkaido, Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands of the 17th–19th cc. in the Hokkaido University Library is closely linked with the activities of the Northern Cultures Research Department, which existed in 1937–1967 and became the first specialized scientific unit in Japan to study the history and culture of the Ainu people and their lands. The collection of written sources became one of the most important areas of the department's work, resulting in valuable collections, both private and institutional, including the largest archive of materials created for the production of the official history of Hokkaido and the surrounding islands. Thus, the collection of written sources on the history of Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands of the 17th–19th cc. at the Northern Studies Collection Department of the Hokkaido University Library, as well as its catalogs, can serve as an important basis for the creation of a similar catalog in Russian.

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Hartmut Walravens

## From the Kalmuck Steppes to Heinrich Heine

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*Abstract:* The paper offers a survey of the Kalmuck and Mongol typography developed in St. Petersburg under supervision of Isaak Jakob Schmidt, Europe's first expert on Kalmuck and translator of the Bible into this language. This work was practically, executed by Friedrich Gass, a designer, in St. Petersburg, probably advised by the engineer, Orientalist and printing expert Schilling von Canstadt. The actual printing was arranged by Nikolaj Grech, printer, bookseller, author, whose biography was translated by Maximilian Heine, brother of the poet Heinrich Heine. Two anonymous booklets on life in St. Petersburg were identified as M. Heine's work by means of a dedication which led to Therese Heine — a cousin of the Heine brothers, to whom Heinrich addressed his probably best known love poem "You are like a flower".

*Key words:* Mongol typography in St. Petersburg, Isaak Jakob Schmidt (1779–1847), Paul Schilling von Canstadt (1786–1837), Nikolai Ivanovich Grech (1787–1867), Heinrich Heine (German poet, 1797–1856), Maximilian Heine (physician, 1806–1879).

Making connections, finding things that belong together, piecing together fragments, finding traces, all this may make an exciting pastime (like reading detective novels), often it also spices up professional activity. Lawyers, police, customs investigators, doctors and researchers of all kind belong to the latter category; admittedly, their routine is by no means always as glamorous as it seems in movies and television entertainment programmes. It is easiest to watch such presentations and enjoy the highlights; more stimulus for the imagination is provided by crime novels, which can bring variety to grey everyday life. No less interesting is the literary and historical search for clues, probably precisely because the researcher is personally involved. Sensational results are to be expected in the fewest cases; on the other hand, mistakes are usually less consequential than accusing an innocent person or administering the wrong medicine.

Now, a researcher easily succumbs to the temptation to make his findings “interesting”. The harmless version is to relate obviously remote things: How can a Mongol text be related to love poems by Heinrich Heine? In this case the question would not be quite correct, because it suggests that it would be arranged on purpose; no, the connections are entirely coincidental.

The starting point is the founder of modern Mongolian studies, Isaak Jakob Schmidt (1779–1847),<sup>1</sup> a German-speaking pietist born in Amsterdam who attended school in Neuwied (Rhine) and then decided to go as a “commis” to Sarepta, a Moravian Church settlement established under Catherine the Great on the edge of the Kalmuck steppe. At that time, it was a pioneer existence, comparable to the “Wild West”, whereby the role of the Red Indians was taken over by the more peaceful Kalmucks. There is no trace of this flair nowadays, because Sarepta is incorporated into Volgograd, the historical Stalingrad. Young Schmidt spent some years with these western Mongols and learned their language. When the Russian Bible Society was founded in 1812, it was obvious to think of translating the Holy Scriptures into Kalmuck and Eastern Mongol, and Schmidt was enlisted for this task, who accomplished this difficult work, partly with the help of two Mongolian noblemen: for many Christian terms there were no counterparts in Kalmuck, Buddhist terms had to be redefined, new technical terms coined. Schmidt’s translations, as well as subsequent scholarly treatises on Mongolian language and history, led to his being elected a member of the Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Through his numerous publications, including text editions in Mongol, such as the Chronicle of Sayang Sečen<sup>2</sup> and the Epic of King Geser,<sup>3</sup> also a grammar and a dictionary, Schmidt became the father of a new discipline, Mongolian studies, for which a first chair was established in Kazan in 1838. When an attempt was made in 2005 to compile Schmidt’s publications as completely as possible in order to facilitate an appreciation of his work, it turned out that two of his earliest works were not known in detail — not even their correct title could be determined. An earlier researcher could only quote them as “Kurze Darstellung der christlichen Glaubenslehre (kalmükisch)”<sup>4</sup> and “Christliche

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<sup>1</sup> WALRAVENS 2005.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte...* 1829.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Thaten...* 1836. A translation into German followed in 1839: *Die Thaten Bogda Gesser Chans, des Vertilgers der Wurzel der zehn Übel in den zehn Gegenden*. Eine mongolische Heldensage, aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt von I.J. Schmidt. XIV, 287 pp.

<sup>4</sup> A short account of the Christian faith (in Kalmuck).

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Tractätlein zur Bekehrung der Burjäten, in zwey Abtheilungen”.<sup>5</sup> The dates given were 1817–1818. Now, at first glance, these gaps in the documentation are perhaps annoying, but probably not of great importance — should one investigate such almost two hundred year old “Tractätlein” (little tracts) at all? The matter seems more interesting in the light of the fact that with these early Christian texts in Mongol and Kalmuck, one could probably take a look into the translator’s workshop — how did he try to translate Christian thought into the context of a Buddhist-influenced terminology? Besides, there were no European dictionaries of these languages at the time — only Mongol (or Mongol-Tibetan and Mongol-Chinese) ones were available. Thus, these small publications were given a higher status and priority after all. Since their titles were not known, the search was problematic. Although there were now catalogues of larger collections of Mongol books, for example for Germany, Copenhagen, St. Petersburg and Tôkyô, not even a detailed search yielded any hits. Finally, an entry in an old library catalogue of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft (German Oriental Society) in Halle aroused suspicion. The director of the University and State Library kindly provided a copy, and eureka! it was the “Christliche Tractätlein!” A pencil inscription in an old hand even gave this German title, so that the identification was certain. Professor Charles Bawden,<sup>6</sup> doyen of British Mongolian studies and author of a fundamental study on the Christian mission to the Mongols,<sup>7</sup> checked the text, translated and analysed it, and thereby gave interesting details on the translation work.<sup>8</sup>

It proved to be a special surprise that this text had an imprint “Санктпетербургъ в типографіи Н. Греча 1818” (St. Petersburg, printing house of N. Greč). The Mongol prints known so far from the early period, i.e. after 1815, have no imprint, at best a year, and even that is rather sporadic. Thus, research has had to rely on conjecture as to whether the printing was done in Eastern Siberia (where a British mission was established) or even in London (since the British & Foreign Bible Society subsidised the printing of the Scriptures). Bibliographical “ethics” aside, the question of the place of printing is by no means merely academic, but very practical — which printing house was capable of printing Mongol at the time as there were neither Mongol types nor typesetters? When Schmidt completed his first work, the

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<sup>5</sup> Christian tracts for converting the Buryats, in two parts.

<sup>6</sup> WALRAVENS 2017: 175–210.

<sup>7</sup> BAWDEN 1985.

<sup>8</sup> BAWDEN 2009.



translation of the Gospel of Matthew into Kalmuck (presumably in 1812/13), it was not published until 1815.<sup>9</sup> Researchers speculated whether the reason for the delay was that Schmidt had lost his manuscript in the fire of Moscow in 1812 or whether it was the lack of types! In fact, Schmidt had to design the types and fortunately found a skilled typographer in Petersburg, so that the first Kalmuck typography was created. In contrast, we have less information about the creation of Mongol typography. It is true that texts in Mongol script had been printed in China (Yuan dynasty) since the Mongol rule, but, following the example of Chinese, the printing was done by engraved wooden blocks, not by individual letters, or types.

The aforementioned imprint now provides concrete clues. Apparently, then, (Eastern) Mongol typography was ready for use in 1818, and we have a printed record of it. But questions remain:

— Who developed the typography? We know that Schmidt was involved.

— What is the role of the pioneer of printing technology in Russia, Baron Paul Schilling von Canstadt,<sup>10</sup> in this undertaking?

— What caused N. Grech to print Mongol and Kalmuck books? (Who was he in the first place?)

A clue to the emergence of a Mongol typography is provided by a statement of the Paris sinologist of the time, J.P. Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832), who wrote<sup>11</sup> that in 1817 Baron Schilling von Canstadt had a Mongol-Manchu type set cut by Friedrich Gass (1769–1854) in Petersburg. At that time, Manchu was the state language of the Chinese empire alongside Chinese, so it was given a great deal of attention in Europe as well. The Manchu script had been developed from Mongol script: The main differences were diacritical marks and writing habits; in this respect, it was by no means illogical to represent both writing systems by one typography. Since the types were relatively large, Schilling had a smaller set cut by Schelter<sup>12</sup> in Leipzig in 1819, following the same pattern. Rémusat further reports that Schilling lent these types to the Bible Society, which used them to print the Gospel of Matthew in Manchu translation by Stepan Lipovcov in 1822.<sup>13</sup> He also donated a set of types to the Société asiatique in Paris.

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<sup>9</sup> *Evangelium...* 1815.

<sup>10</sup> WALRAVENS 2005: 768–769; CHUGUEVSKIJ 1971: 280–294; GUREVICH 1911: 276–280; WALRAVENS 2020.

<sup>11</sup> WALRAVENS 1999.

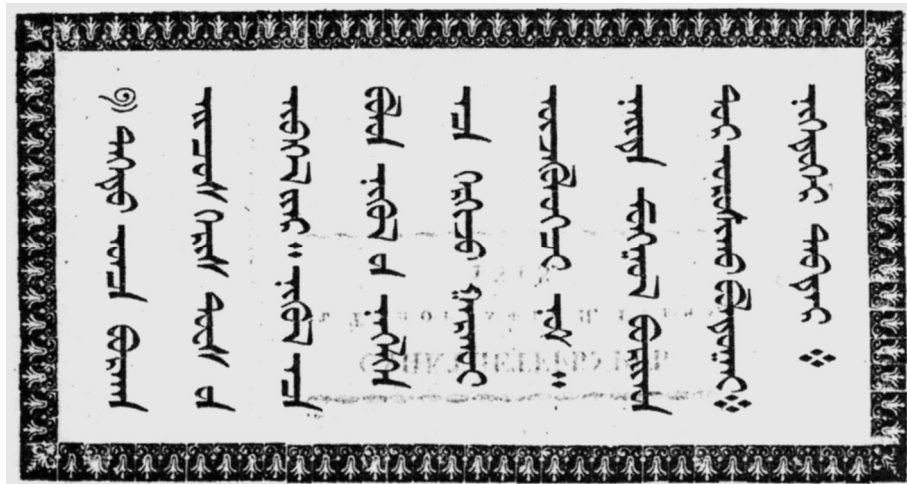
<sup>12</sup> WALRAVENS 2022: 451–460.

<sup>13</sup> WALRAVENS 1977/78: 65–74.

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Title-page of I.J. Schmidt's Kalmuck tract, printed in 1815.  
*dēdu onco burxan yēzūs kiristusiyn ibēlēr : nūūlese bolōd nūūliyin nekelgen-ēse yayazi*  
*γarxu üzüülügči nom : niyide xalimaq-tu orosixu boltuyai,*  
 see the Text of LM 3 in *Another tract for the Buryats*, 124–131, transcription, 61–63.



Title-page of I.J. Schmidt's Mongol tract,  
 translated from the Kalmuck and printed in 1818.

Schilling's activities are not surprising — he was much interested in Oriental languages, collected books,<sup>14</sup> and experimented as an inventor with electricity and the telegraph — he became known for his invention of an electromagnetic telegraph, actually, and only his sudden death led to this achievement being initially attributed to others. Schilling was also concerned with printing technology, and his examples of Chinese printing were not inferior in appearance and perfection to the best products of the Imperial Printing Office in Peking, as Abel-Rémusat noted. This versatile scholar had been appointed director of the first Russian lithographic institute by the Tsar in 1818, so it stands to reason that he should be involved in such a novel project as a Mongol typography.

Prof. Bawden, an expert on Mongolian Bible translations, states that the typography used was owned by the Bible Society; Franz Babinger, the first biographer of I.J. Schmidt, was of the opinion that Schmidt designed the type and supervised its production.

If we assume that two Mongolian type sets were developed quite independently of each other in St. Petersburg in 1817–1818, then this is not impossible, but it would be a coincidence without convincing probability. In addition, the “ingenious German” who helped to create the Kalmuck typography a few years earlier (his name is not mentioned in the documents) was probably the same Friedrich Gass who cut the Manchu-Mongolian types for Schilling. The characterisation that he was not a printer also fits him: Gass worked for the Mint, and he had graduated from the Academy of Arts.

Another argument is revealing: Russia, as China's neighbour, was very interested in expanding mutual trade. Russia also had the privilege — as the only European country — of maintaining a mission in Beijing, which gave it the opportunity to train language and country experts there. Members of this mission had worked out a five-language dictionary which was of great value in promoting Chinese studies, and so — after Napoleon had made a start by printing the first Chinese dictionary in Europe in 1813<sup>15</sup> — it was decided to print this dictionary, which was probably much better, and the funds were provided for it. But first a test was to be made, because printing Chinese, Manchu, Mongolian, Russian and Latin together was already a special challenge. At Schilling's suggestion, Chinese was to be printed lithographically, the other four scripts with types, and Schilling had just

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<sup>14</sup> WALRAVENS 2012: 407–431.

<sup>15</sup> *Dictionnaire* 1813.

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developed the typography for Manchu and Mongolian. In 1817, 4 test pages were printed — by the Grech printing house!<sup>16</sup>

If we compare the Mongolian style with the Schmidt treatise, it is quite similar, but some of the letters are very Manchurian. Can the details discussed so far be brought into an overall picture? A good working hypothesis would be to assume that Schilling, with Gass's help, produced the typography in 1817, and that then, with Schmidt's advice and help, these types were more closely adapted to Mongolian and used for printing the tract (and other Schmidt texts) in 1818.<sup>17</sup>

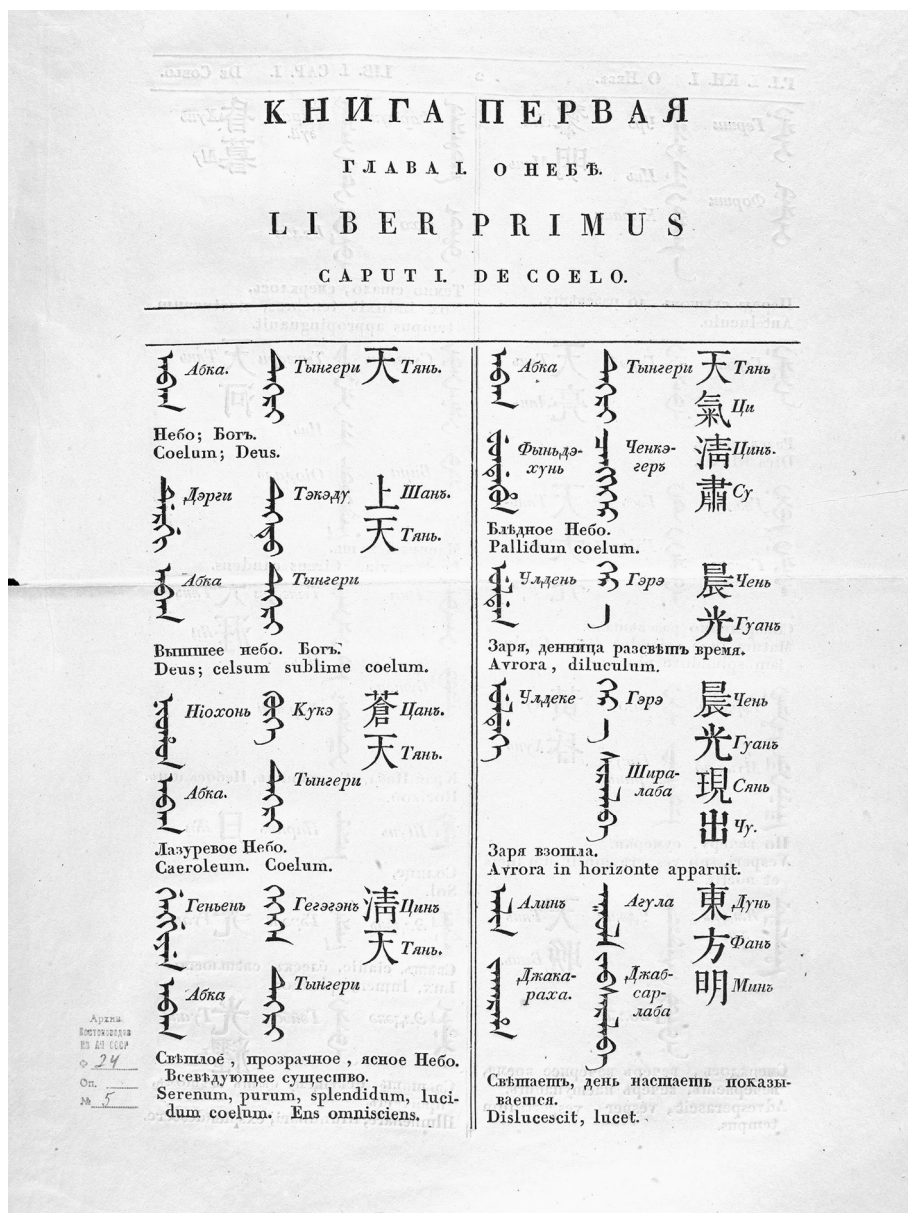
The link between the two interest groups seems to have been the printing house — it was obviously either particularly qualified and was thus called upon for a difficult project, or its owner had appropriate connections (or both!); on the other hand, the printing house was associated with the Bible Society and was thus also eligible for Mongol productions. Incidentally, the president of the Bible Society, Count Aleksandr Nikolaevich Golicyn, became Minister of National Education in 1817, and therefore it became almost a necessity for people in public life to accept the Bible Society, especially since Tsar Alexander was considered religious.

Nikolai Ivanovich Grech (1787–1867), from a German family (hence his occasional spelling Gretsches), began his career as a teacher at the German St. Peter's School in Petersburg, but became a celebrity thanks to his diverse publishing and educational activities — authoritative works on Russian grammar and literature at the time were written by him, and he founded influential journals such as *Syn otechestva* ("Son of the Fatherland", since 1812) and *Severnaya pchela* ("Nordic Bee"). The fact that Grech was also active as a printer is mentioned in the literature at best in a subordinate sentence, and Grech himself did not mention it in his memoirs either. An early biography of Grech was written by Faddei (Tadeusz) Bulgarin (1789–1859), with whom Grech published the "Nordic Bee" from 1825. Although this paints a sympathetic and highly positive picture of the important man, it offers nothing about his printing activities. A German translation<sup>18</sup> can be found in the Berlin State Library, bound together with two anonymous collections of *feuilletons* from St. Petersburg:

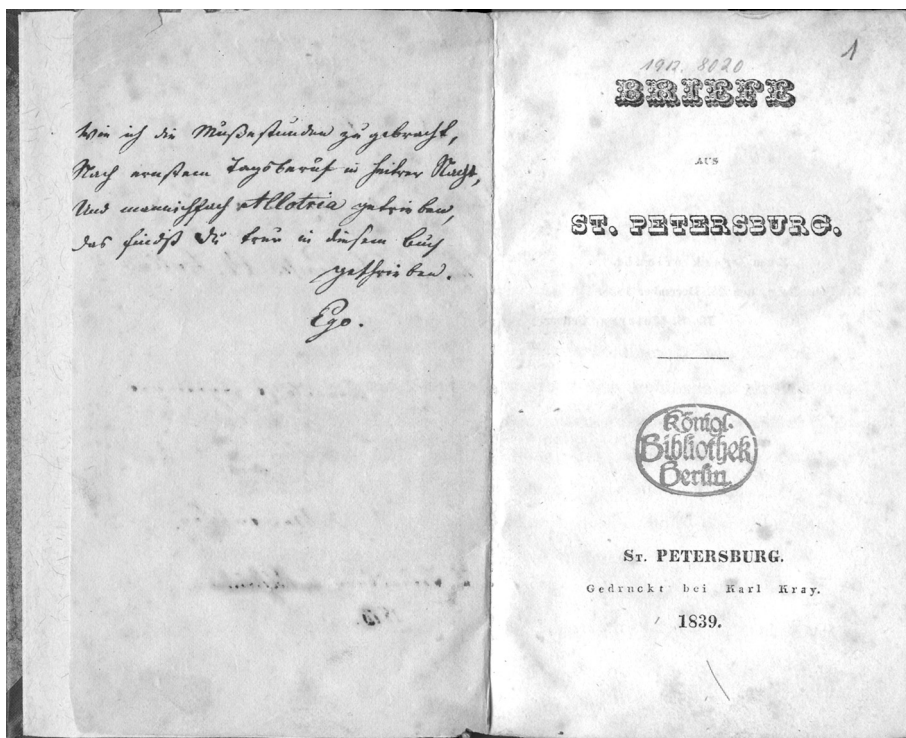
<sup>16</sup> SKACHKOV 1977: 124–126; WALRAVENS 2022: 91–147.

<sup>17</sup> There is a misprint in note 4 where the date should be "1818" instead of 1828. A further update was accepted for publication by the Central Asiatic journal. See: WALRAVENS 2015: 213–22.

<sup>18</sup> GRETSCH 1838.



Sample printing, first page, of the pentaglot dictionary of P. Kamenskij. Around 1817.  
(Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.)



Autograph of the author on the fly-leaf of: *Briefe aus St. Petersburg*. 1839  
(Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin)

*Briefe aus St. Petersburg.*

St. Petersburg, Printed by Karl Kray, 1839. 86 pp. as well as  
*Geselliges und Literärisches. Erinnerungen an St. Petersburg* [Social and  
Literary. Memories of St. Petersburg.]

St. Petersburg, printed by Karl Kray, 1841. 96 pp.

The former bears the caption:

*Wie ich die Mußestunden zugebracht,  
Nach ernstem Tagsberuf in früher Nacht,  
Und mannichfach Allotria getrieben,  
Das findest Du treu in diesem Buch geschrieben.*

[How I spent the hours of leisure,  
After a serious day's work in the early night,  
And sometimes practised allotria,  
That you will find faithfully written in this book.]

EGO

On the flyleaf there is the dedication:

*Dem Biedermanne, seinem vielgeschätzten Freunde Herrn Dr. Praeses A. Halle freundlichst zugeeignet vom Verfasser*

[Kindly dedicated by the author to the good man, his much esteemed friend Dr. Praeses A. Halle].

St. Petersburg in September (improved in October) 1841 (corrected in 1843).

These two anonymous works are not assigned to any author in the usual reference works. But the fact that the two writings are bound together with Grech's biography, the latter of which was also printed by Karl Kray, leads us to suspect Dr. Maximilian Heine.

The recipient of the dedication copy was Christian Hermann Adolf Halle,<sup>19</sup> 1798–1866, lawyer in Hamburg, 1831–1848 President of the Hamburg Commercial Court. In 1828 he married Therese, the youngest daughter of the banker Salomon Heine, the uncle of the poet Heinrich Heine. Here, the assumption that Maximilian Heine — not proven as a writer at first glance — was connected to Heinrich Heine's family becomes stronger. More detailed research reveals him to be one of the poet's younger brothers — 1806–1879; he studied medicine in Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg and Munich and, after gaining his doctorate in Göttingen (1828), entered Russian service as a military doctor in 1829.<sup>20</sup> With a short interruption, he worked as a doctor in the Russian civil service until his retirement in 1865 and enjoyed wide-ranging recognition. In 1867 he was in Paris, in 1879 in Berlin, where he died. Of his writings, his contributions to the history of the Oriental plague<sup>21</sup> in particular are praised as progressive and forward-looking. He was also co-editor (with Rudolf Krebel and Karl Heinrich Thielmann) of the *Medizinische Zeitung Rußlands* in 1844–1860, and for three years editor of the *Magazin für angenehme Unterhaltung* (St. Petersburg), to which the two anonymous feuilleton volumes owe their origin. Of biographical interest are his memoirs of Heinrich Heine and his family. By his brother Maximilian Heine (Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1868. X, 247 p.)<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 18979: 418–419.

<sup>20</sup> HEUER 2002: 9–16; STELZNER 2004.

<sup>21</sup> St. Petersburg: Eggers, 1846.

<sup>22</sup> *Erinnerungen an Heinrich Heine und seine Familie*. Von seinem Bruder Maximilian Heine.

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Maximilian Heine in Russian uniform.

From: *Heine-Reliquien*. Hrsg. von Maximilian von Heine-Geldern und Gustav Karpeles.  
Berlin: Curtius 1911, 152.

Maximilian Heine was more adaptable and diplomatic than his famous brother. He is described as the favourite nephew of Salomon Heine; he avoided controversy and was a successful civil servant — in Russia he made it to court councillor and was nobilitated. A portrait shows him with an enormous moustache and in uniform with impressive epaulettes. His relationship with his brother Heinrich, although it fluctuated, could generally be described as good, which was undoubtedly encouraged by the long distance. Heinrich also counted on his brother's financial support and medical advice. In one will Maximilian was even appointed executor, but this was later changed in favour of Heinrich Laube, probably not least because of the topographical distance. Maximilian wrote in a pleasing style, but one will hardly attest him a special literary talent.

The two brothers seem to have agreed on one point, namely their admiration and affection for their cousins Amalie (1800–1838) and Therese (1807–1880), which, however, were not reciprocated. In any case, Heinrich was inspired to write some of his most important love poems, such as “Du bist wie eine Blume”, dedicated to Therese.



Du bist wie eine Blume,  
So hold und schön und rein;  
Ich schau dich an, und Wehmut  
Schleicht mir ins Herz hinein.

Mir ist, als ob ich die Hände  
Aufs Haupt dir legen sollt,  
Betend, daß Gott dich erhalte  
So rein und schön und hold.

You are like a flower,  
So pure and good and fine,  
I look on you, and sorrow  
Fills this heart of mine.

I feel I should pray a blessing,  
My hands upon your brow,  
That God may always keep you  
As fine and pure as now.<sup>23</sup>

It was published in Heine's *Das Buch der Lieder* (Book of Songs) in 1827.

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<sup>23</sup> Translated by Richard Packham. <https://lyricstranslate.com>.

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Alexey Lushchenko,  
Tatiana Ermakova

## **Handwritten Materials in Japanese from O.O. Rosenberg's Personal Archive Kept at the IOM, RAS**

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*Abstract:* This article introduces several handwritten materials in Japanese from the personal archive of O.O. Rosenberg (1888–1919) now kept at the Archive of Orientalists, IOM, RAS. These handwritten texts reveal new details about O.O. Rosenberg's interaction with Japanese Buddhist scholars and publishers before and after the publication of his two dictionaries in 1916 in Japan. In addition to academic activities, O.O. Rosenberg had to deal with financial and legal matters, maintained contacts with printing company staff, discussed various diplomatic procedures. He also had a wide network of contacts in Japan, including other foreigners. Relying on this network and his fluent knowledge of Japanese, handwritten Japanese in particular, O.O. Rosenberg was able to complete his publication projects successfully. This study presents O.O. Rosenberg's dictionaries as an important component of the project led by Th.I. Stcherbatsky to restore the terminology of Sanskrit philosophical treatises. Future work plans outlined by the young scholar demonstrate his exceptional diligence and competence in matters of Oriental philology. All documents, translated from Japanese by A. Lushchenko, are published for the first time.

*Key words:* O.O. Rosenberg, Th.I. Stcherbatsky, Buddhist studies, Buddhism in Japan, personal archive, 1910s, Japan, correspondence, dictionaries

### **Preface: Rosenberg's lexicological studies in Japan**

O.O. Rosenberg (1888–1919), an eminent disciple of academician Th.I. Stcherbatsky (1866–1942), left an enduring legacy in the field of Buddhist studies and contributed greatly to lexicography and elucidation of the sense of Buddhist philosophical terms.

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He studied Sanskrit and Chinese at the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg, then continued his Sanskrit studies at the University of Bonn, Germany, and studied Japanese at the University of Berlin. In 1910 he graduated from the University of St. Petersburg and prepared for an academic career. He was required to write a master's dissertation followed by a doctoral one in the future. The years between 1912–1916 he spent in Japan conducting research at the University of Tokyo and preparing materials for his dissertation. After returning to St. Petersburg Rosenberg continued his work and in 1918 successfully defended his dissertation and obtained the position of professor at the University of St. Petersburg. Unfortunately, circumstances of the Russian Civil War interfered with his professional future. He tried to reach Finland and then Estonia, but he became ill with scarlet fever and died on November 26, 1919.

Japanese-language handwritten materials published for the first time in this article are a part of the archive of O.O. Rosenberg<sup>1</sup>. Their significance for the history of Oriental and Buddhist studies is closely tied to research goals set by the academician Th.I. Stcherbatsky for his disciple O.O. Rosenberg.

In Rosenberg's obituary Th.I. Stcherbatsky wrote:

Already during his university time, I had brought to Rosenberg's attention the great significance of the work of Vasubandhu, Abhidharmakośa, and he started on the study of this, since Tibetan, Chinese and Sanskrit sources were abundantly available in the Petersburg Asiatic Museum. When I was in Calcutta in 1911, I came to know the Japanese cleric, Yamakami Sogen, who was then head of the university there, and I learned from him many interesting details concerning the study of Abhidharmakośa in Japan, including the traditional explanation of it, which is still alive there.<sup>2</sup> I wrote this to Rosenberg, and he decided to go to Japan so as to become familiar, on the site, with the traditional interpretation. The faculty concurred, and granted the necessary funds for the trip.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> These materials attracted attention of T.V. Ermakova who was conducting research on international scholarly ties of the St. Petersburg school of Buddhist studies. A specialist in Japan had to be consulted to make sense of the texts. A.Y. Lushchenko showed interest in the project, correctly identified and deciphered the cursive texts, and translated them with commentaries. This article's preface, written by T.V. Ermakova, describes the context and goals of Rosenberg's research in Japan.

<sup>2</sup> Present-day researchers confirm this. For details about the Japanese commentarial tradition on the works of Vasubandhu see SHOKEI 1975.

<sup>3</sup> The original text is in German. This translation into English is quoted from BARLOW 1998: 51.

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Stcherbatsky also characterized Rosenberg's original contribution to the field of lexicography as follows:

In the course of this work, Rosenberg hit upon the idea that it was also possible to order Chinese characters in a way that very closely approximated an alphabetical arrangement. In his large dictionary, Rosenberg could only partially employ this new system, and presented it in a special dictionary under the title: *Arrangement of Chinese Characters according to an alphabetical System with Japanese Dictionary of Eight Thousand Characters and List of Twenty-two Thousand Characters*, Tokyo 1916 (Kōbunsha).<sup>4</sup>

The first part of Rosenberg's dissertation — a dictionary of Buddhist and other terms — greatly contributed to solving one of the most serious problems of Buddhist studies — identification of technical terms used in Buddhist philosophical texts.<sup>5</sup> Rosenberg explicated his approach in the dictionary's preface. It is quite obvious that conceptually it is based on Stcherbatsky's methodological approach: the history of Buddhism is the history of its Canon transmitted beyond India and preserved eventually in translations. Rosenberg wrote:

The present volume will be followed by essays on Buddhist dogmatics and Buddhist literature. The publication of this Vocabulary first is due to the consideration that without such a lexicographical basis any detailed research must remain greatly hindered.

Up to the present, neither has the Chinese-Japanese Buddhist terminology been codified, nor does there exist any Chinese-Sanskrit dictionary. Such works are however desiderata, and I hope, therefore, that the present volume, which is one of its components is the realization of the awaited triglot work — with the Japanese part however instead of the Tibetan part — may contribute to that parallel study of Indian and Chinese Buddhist literature inaugurated by Julien and Wassiliew.

The importance of the Buddhist literature preserved in Chinese translations in Japan and China is very great, since its opening is

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> For details about Rosenberg's studies of Buddhist philosophical treatises in Japan see OSTROVSKAYA 2009.

equivalent to the reconstruction of a comprehensive literature of India — religious and philosophical — that has been almost entirely lost in the original.<sup>6</sup>

Rosenberg not only pointed out the crucial influence of Buddhism on Japanese spiritual life, but also suggested a path for future investigations:

Moreover, Buddhist studies are a necessary part of Japanese philology. Japanese civilization was brought in by the Buddhist movement in the sixth and seventh centuries, and the influence of Buddhism on the language, literature and art of Japan is very great indeed. A large part of the most important classical literature is the work of Buddhist priests, and knowledge of Buddhist sentiment furnishes the answer to many questions concerning aesthetic Japan. Japanese systematic philosophy, logic and metaphysics are entirely Buddhist, while Japanese ethics, and practical philosophy are greatly influenced by Buddhist thought. Japanese philology must go back to India, and Indian philology will find in Japan abundant material for research awaiting critical examination. It is owing to these considerations that the present vocabulary has been compiled.<sup>7</sup>

The structure and content of Rosenberg's groundbreaking vocabulary reflected the theoretical propositions described above.

The Vocabulary, as a whole, should be considered as composed of the following parts:

a) A General Survey of Buddhist Terms. — The central part is the vocabulary of Buddhist terms (together with the names of men, places and books) contained in various works belonging to various ages and sects in India, China and Japan.

b) A Chinese-Sanskrit Vocabulary. — In order to understand the technical terms, the original Sanskrit equivalents should be considered, and these have been added as far as it was possible. The material scattered about in different Sanskrit-Chinese vocabularies, etc., has been brought together, and rearranged in this Chinese-Sanskrit vocabulary.

c) A Vocabulary of Words connected with Shintō, and Japanese History. — Researches in Japanese Buddhist literature and philology cannot

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<sup>6</sup> ROSENBERG 1916a: 1.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

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be separated from their connection with Japanese history and thought. This necessitated the addition of some non-Buddhist elements relating to Japanese history and Shintō.

d) Material for the Study of Comparative Philology. — The study of Buddhist philosophy and religion, and of the history of Japanese civilization, is the main object of this volume, but the material gathered may be used to some extent in the study of comparative philology. The Chinese-Japanese-Sanskrit parallels of words as well as of sounds will show the Indian elements in these two Eastern languages and furnish a contribution to the study of the history of the Chinese and Japanese languages.<sup>8</sup>

There is another very important, but not widely known, part of Rosenberg's heritage: his proposals about future development of lexicographical studies.

Upon his return from Japan O.O. Rosenberg sent an explanatory note to the Academy of Sciences which was presented by S.F. Oldenburg at the meeting of the Department of Historical Sciences and Philology of the Russian Academy of Sciences on September 18, 1918.<sup>9</sup> In this important document Rosenberg once again argues for the inadequacy of Japanese traditional dictionaries for work with Buddhist writings. It is significant that in this regard he expresses a desire to teach a special course on the study of ideographic writing. Rosenberg's statement about the need for dictionaries adapted specifically for work with Buddhist texts is fundamentally important since it was precisely this type of work that was relevant for St. Petersburg Buddhism.

O.O. Rosenberg realized that Buddhist texts in Japan were predominantly preserved in Chinese script and this led him to compile lists of ancient forms of characters based on the Chinese dictionary *Shuowen Jiezi* 說文解字 (*Analytical Dictionary of Characters*, ca. 100 CE). In addition, the need to work with texts written in cursive forms of Chinese characters explains why he was also compiling lists of cursive characters. O.O. Rosenberg did not, however, confine himself to classical themes. He also worked on transforming the Inouye's Japanese-English dictionary<sup>10</sup> according to the

<sup>8</sup> ROSENBERG 1916a: 1–2.

<sup>9</sup> ROSENBERG 1918: 1740–1745.

<sup>10</sup> INOUE 1909. Inouye Jukichi (1862–1929). Japanese translator and writer. He was sent to England by his family, educated in English and after returning to homeland was employed as a



new system he developed. Unfortunately, these projects were not completed due to his untimely death.

Concrete circumstances of Rosenberg's life and work in Japan become clear from his letters to relatives and Th.I. Stcherbatsky. Rosenberg often mentions Japan's high cost of living, his low income and various payments related to his work. For instance, he made payments to the printing company and to his assistants for lexicographical work.<sup>11</sup>

### **Handwritten materials from O.O. Rosenberg's personal archive**

In 1916 O.O. Rosenberg published two dictionaries in Japan: *Introduction to the study of Buddhism according to material preserved in Japan and China, Part 1: Vocabulary* (*Bukkyō kenkyū meijishū 仏教研究名辞集*)<sup>12</sup> and *Arrangement of the Chinese characters according to an alphabetical system with Japanese dictionary of 8000 characters and list of 22000 characters* (*Kanjiten: godan hairesu 漢字典: 五段排列*).<sup>13</sup> Both works occupy a prominent place in the history of Buddhist studies and Japanese lexicography of the early 20th c. Not much is known about the preparation stage that preceded their publication. O.O. Rosenberg does acknowledge the input of Japanese scholars and assistants in the prefaces, but details of his communication with the Japanese remain obscure due to scarcity of available materials.

Fortunately, several handwritten texts in Japanese from the personal archive of O.O. Rosenberg, kept at the Archive of Orientalists at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts RAS (St. Petersburg, Russia), clarify the context to some extent. Most of them have not been thoroughly studied before and provide valuable information related to O.O. Rosenberg's stay in Japan and his scholarly activities there. Available materials<sup>14</sup> can be grouped into four sets:

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tutor at the Tokyo University. Then he worked as translator at different Japanese legations. He compiled dictionaries and also wrote books to elucidate things Japanese to foreigners.

<sup>11</sup> In a letter to his mother he wrote, "I am forced to be frugal". See VIGASIN 2008: 467.

<sup>12</sup> ROSENBERG 1916a.

<sup>13</sup> ROSENBERG 1916b.

<sup>14</sup> The Archive of Orientalists at the IOM, RAS, found 47, op. 1, items 35–38.

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1) Financial documents: receipts signed by Japanese assistants confirming that they were paid by O.O. Rosenberg for their work on the *Introduction to the study of Buddhism according to material preserved in Japan and China, Part 1: Vocabulary*. Each receipt contains the amount paid, the duration of work, the name, signature and date.

2) A legal document: a book publishing contract between O.O. Rosenberg and the publisher Kashima Chōjirō (鹿島長次郎, 1863–1926), the president of the Kōbunsha publishing company in Tokyo. It specifies legal terms for publishing the *Chinese character dictionary*.

3) Several letters and postcards written by the Japanese and sent to O.O. Rosenberg.

4) O.O. Rosenberg's notebook with handwritten personal names and addresses in alphabetical order. Many Japanese business cards are found between the pages of the notebook.

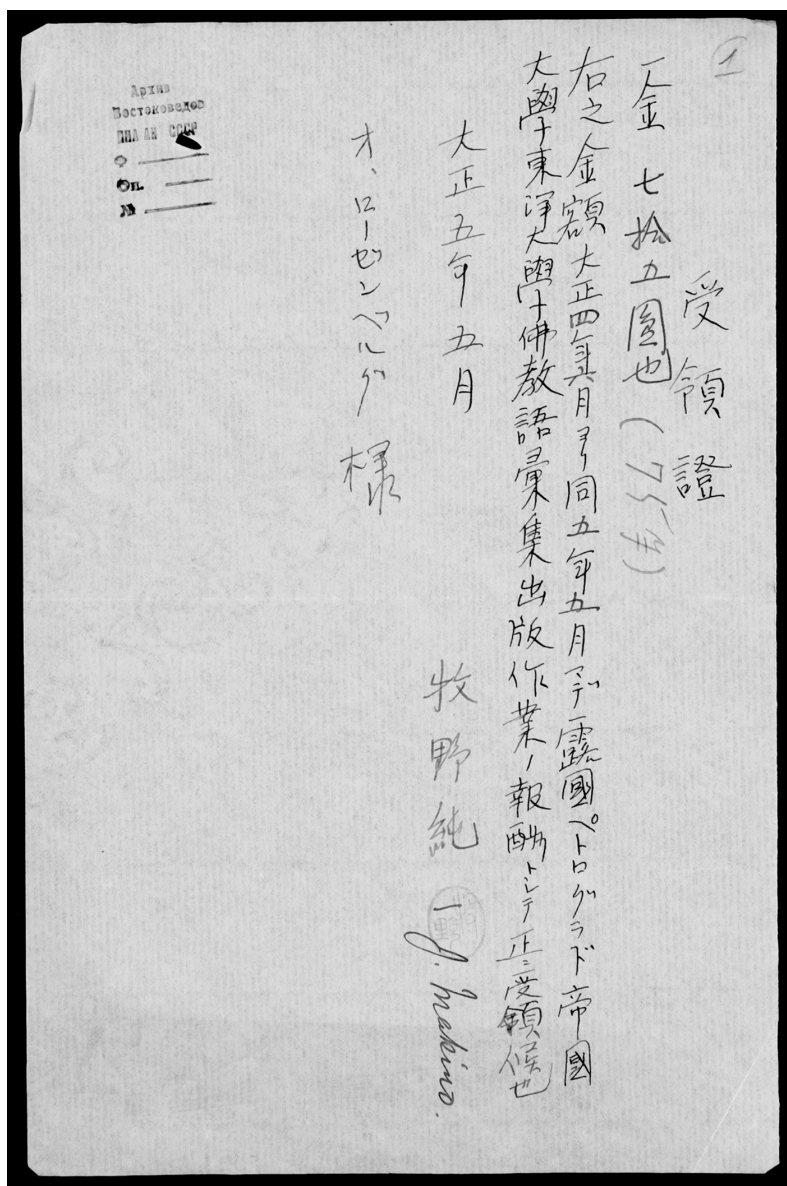
Although these materials do not give a full picture of O.O. Rosenberg's interaction with the Japanese and tend to highlight only specific episodes, they still provide sufficient documentary evidence about a wide range of tasks and problems that O.O. Rosenberg had to face and tackle to bring his scholarly projects successfully to completion. In this article only some of the materials are introduced and the rest are expected to be published in the future.

Let us first consider one of the receipts from one of Japanese specialists who were hired by O.O. Rosenberg as assistants. In the "Introduction" to the *Introduction to the study of Buddhism* he writes: "The compiler is indebted for assistance of various kinds, for suggestions, help in proof-reading etc., to Prof. J. Takakusu, Dr. U. Wogihara, Dr. K. Watanabe, Mr. C. Ikeda, Mr. K. Itō (Shingon sect), Mr. B. Matsubara (Jōdo sect), Mr. T. Satō (Zen sect), Mr. J. Makino (Japanese history) and other friends".<sup>15</sup> The following is the text of the receipt from Makino Jun'ichi who apparently checked historical information for O.O. Rosenberg:

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<sup>15</sup> ROSENBERG 1916a: 4–5.

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Pl. 1.

Receipt from Makino Jun'ichi<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The Archive of Orientalists at the IOM, RAS, found 47, op. 1, item 36, f. 1. The receipt (21.3 cm long and 14 cm wide) is written on thick paper, light yellow in colour.

受領證

一 金 七拾五圓也 (75 ¥)

右之金額大正四年六月ヨリ同五年五月マデ露國ペトログラド帝國  
大學東洋大學佛教語彙集出版作業ノ報酬トシテ正ニ受領候也

大正五年五月

牧野純一

J. Makino

オ、ローゼンベルグ様

# Receipt

Amount 75 yen (75¥)

I have indeed received the amount given above as payment for the work on the publication of the Buddhist dictionary of the Russian Petrograd Imperial University, Oriental Institute [Faculty], from June of the year Taishō 4 [1915] to May of the year Taishō 5 [1916].

May of the year Taishō 5

Makino Jun'ichi (seal) J. Makino

To Mr. O. Rosenberg

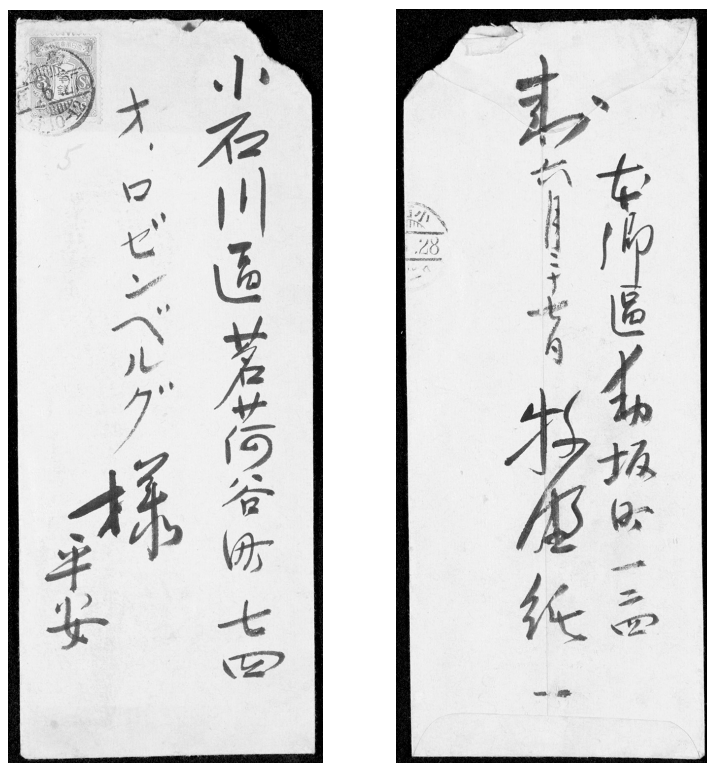
Almost certainly Makino Jun'ichi (1885–1929)<sup>17</sup> is the author of the book on Japanese history *Historical study of public welfare policy of the Go-Hōjō clan* (*Go-Hōjō shi minsei shiron* 後北条氏民政史論, 1916). *Biographical dictionary of present-day Buddhists* gives additional details about him: Makino Jun'ichi was the chief priest of Shōfuku-ji (正福寺) temple in a village in Mie prefecture, Buddhist priest of the True Pure Land School, and a bachelor (*bungakushi* 文学士) of an Imperial university.<sup>18</sup>

This receipt is a document that supplies financial details, specifies the duration of assistance and, in general, unambiguously demonstrates that O.O. Rosenberg, apart from Buddhist studies, had to deal with practical and financial aspects of his publication project that included hiring Japanese scholars.

The next manuscript is a letter from Makino Jun'ichi with advice concerning the *Chinese character dictionary*. Names and addresses of the letter's sender and recipient are written on the envelope:

<sup>17</sup> According to information in National Diet Library bibliographic records. <https://id.ndl.go.jp/auth/ndlna/00039883> (accessed on 13.05.2024).

<sup>18</sup> *Gendai bukkyōka jinmei jiten* 1917: 509.



Pl. 2-3.

Envelope of the letter from Makino Jun'ichi (recto and verso)<sup>19</sup>

小石川區茗荷谷町七四  
オ. ロゼンベルグ様 平安

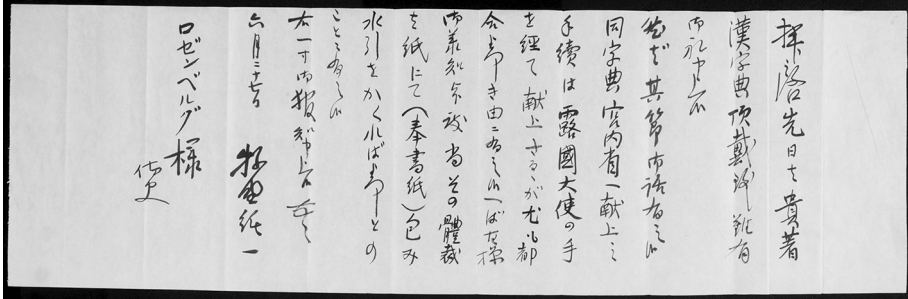
本郷區動坂町一二四  
封 六月二十七日 牧野純一

Koishikawa-ku Myōgadani-chō 74  
To Mr. O. Rosenberg (with good news)

Hongō-ku Dōzaka-chō 124  
“Seal” June 27 Makino Jun'ichi

<sup>19</sup> The Archive of Orientalists at the IOM, RAS, found 47, op. 1, item 38, f. 5. The paper envelope (21 cm long and 8.4 cm wide) has a stamp on it.

The text of the letter is as follows:



Pl. 4.

Letter from Makino Jun'ichi<sup>20</sup>

拝啓 先日は貴著  
漢字典頂戴致し難有  
御礼申上候  
然ば其節御話有之候  
同字典宮内省へ献上の  
手續は露國大使の手  
を経て献上さるゝが尤も都  
合よろしき由に有之候へば左様  
御承知被下度尚その體裁  
は紙にて（奉書紙）包み  
水引をかくればよろしとの  
ことに有之候  
右一寸御報知申上候 頓首

六月二十七日 牧野純一  
ロゼンベルグ様 侍史

<sup>20</sup> The Archive of Orientalists at the IOM, RAS, found 47, op. 1, item 38, f. 6. The letter (58.2 cm long and 18.2 cm wide) is written on thin white paper (one side only) that is folded to fit into the envelope.

Dear Sir,

Recently I have received your work, *Chinese character dictionary*, and express my gratitude to you.

As for the formalities concerning the presenting of this *Character dictionary* to the Department of the Imperial Household, [the matter] that we discussed on that occasion, please be aware that it is most convenient to present it through the hands of the Russian ambassador. In addition, as for the [book's] appearance, it should be wrapped in paper (*hōsho* paper [high-quality white paper]) and tied with *mizuhiki* [decorative paper cord, usually red and white].

[In the message] above, I briefly inform you [about this]. Respectfully yours,

June 27                      Makino Jun'ichi  
To Mr. Rosenberg      respectfully

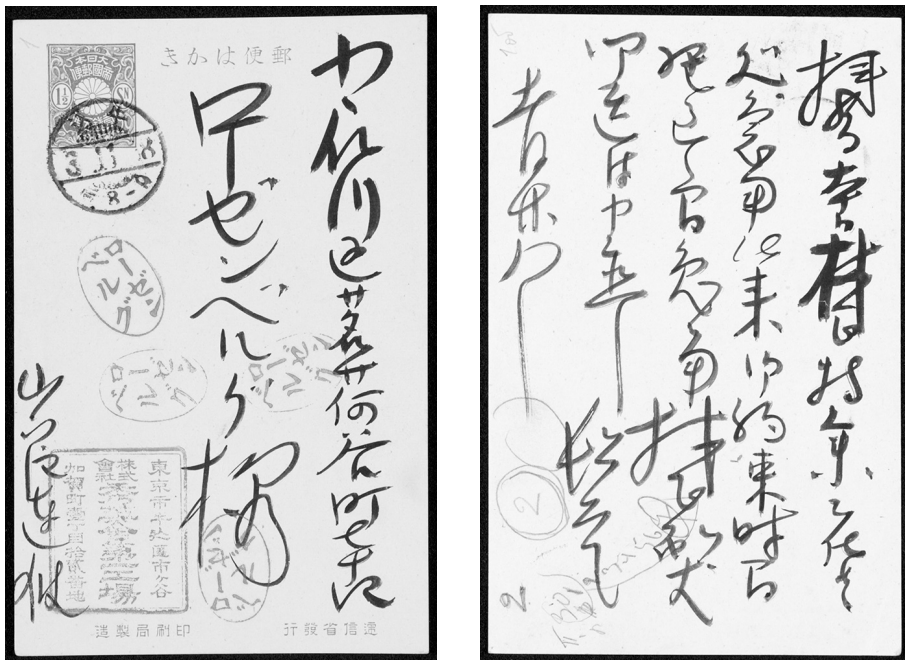
This letter reveals some details about the situation right after the publication of O.O. Rosenberg's character dictionary. In this case Makino Jun'ichi acts not as assistant or editor of the dictionary, but as an advisor and friend suggesting how to submit the recently published character dictionary to the Department of the Imperial Household. O.O. Rosenberg's network of Japanese colleagues, friends and acquaintances was involved in various capacities in the production and later promotion of his dictionaries. This letter is a good example showcasing friendly ties between them and eagerness of the Japanese to support and provide advice to O.O. Rosenberg. Submitting the new dictionary to the Japan's Department of the Imperial Household via the Russian ambassador<sup>21</sup> testifies to O.O. Rosenberg's involvement in high-level diplomatic matters. Also, this letter is written in semi-cursive handwriting that is quite clear, but still requires special training. O.O. Rosenberg's fluency in Japanese, including his mastery of handwritten Japanese, enabled him to interact confidently with the Japanese.

The following is a postcard sent by a worker of the Shūeisha Printing Company, possibly an editor or proofreader, to O.O. Rosenberg.

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<sup>21</sup> In 1916 Vasilii Nikolaevich Krupensky (1869–1945) was the ambassador of the Russian Empire to Japan.

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Pl. 5-6.

Postcard from Yamashita Shimeo<sup>22</sup>

小石川区茗荷谷町七十四  
ローゼンベルグ様  
山下注連雄

Koishikawa-ku Myōgadani-chō 74  
To Mr. Rosenberg  
Yamashita Shimeo

拝啓 本日校正持参可仕之<sup>23</sup>  
処急用出来御約束時間

<sup>22</sup> The Archive of Orientalists at the IOM, RAS, found 47, op. 1, item 38, f. 1 (recto and verso). The postcard is 14 cm long and 9 cm wide.

<sup>23</sup> Unclear handwritten character. Another possibility is 候. The translation stays the same.



馳過之間急當<sup>24</sup>校正刷文

御送はや置候 頓首

十一月廿八日

Dear Sir,

Today I was supposed to bring proofreading [texts], but an urgent matter arose and I missed the agreed time, therefore in haste I am now sending you only these galley proofs.

Respectfully yours,

November 28

The postcard gives us a glimpse of O.O. Rosenberg's correspondence with technical staff of the above-mentioned Japanese printing company in Tokyo about proofreading and galley proofs. Most likely the above postcard was written in November of 1915 before publication of the dictionary *Introduction to the study of Buddhism* in June of 1916. It is a great fortune that this postcard, one of the numerous ephemera of daily life and work, was preserved by O.O. Rosenberg. It is also noteworthy that a business card of Yamashita Shimeo, the sender of this postcard, is found inside O.O. Rosenberg's notebook described above. It is impossible to know how often they met or communicated with each other while preparing the dictionary for publication. In the "Introduction" to the *Introduction to the study of Buddhism* O.O. Rosenberg briefly thanks this company: "To the Shūeisha Printing Company due acknowledgement must be made, as the work of printing presented many technical difficulties".<sup>25</sup> This postcard is a tangible remnant of presumably intense efforts of both sides, O.O. Rosenberg and the printing company, to solve these technical difficulties.

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<sup>24</sup> Unclear handwritten character. 用 is also possible. In this case, the translation is "only the urgent galley proofs".

<sup>25</sup> ROSENBERG 1916a: 5. In addition to technical difficulties, Rosenberg also faced financial troubles. In his letter to Th.I. Stcherbatsky (5 December 1914) Rosenberg writes that preparation work is finished, but actual printing will start in January because the printing company is overloaded with orders such as New Year journals. The work's completion is planned for April-May. However, it is necessary to sign the contract with the printing company now [in December 1914] and also make a prepayment of 300 yen. For this reason, Rosenberg asks Stcherbatsky to request additional 400 yen from the University (VIGASIN 2008: 496).

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Special mention should be made of the cursive hasty handwriting of the postcard. In the epistolary practice of the Japanese in the first half of the 20th c. and earlier it was usual to write in cursive handwriting. However, even among foreigners in Japan who could speak Japanese and read printed texts, not many were able to decipher Japanese cursive handwritten texts and this ability required many years of training and practice. This postcard highlights O.O. Rosenberg's proficiency in Japanese, including its handwritten forms. Successful publishing of the dictionaries was based in part on his ability to communicate with Japanese editors such as Yamashita Shimeo.

Finally, a brief mention should be made about O.O. Rosenberg's network of acquaintances in Japan that included other foreigners. For example, O.O. Rosenberg's notebook contains a business card that he received from the Reverend S.H. Wainright<sup>26</sup>. In the yearbook for 1917 *The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire* S.H. Wainright as the author of the chapter "Annual review of religious literature" included a brief review of O.O. Rosenberg's *Introduction to the study of Buddhism* published in 1916. He wrote:

Very notable is the first published instalment of Buddhist research work conducted by Mr. O. Rosenberg, of the University of Petrograd. This was published during the year under the general title of *Bukkyo Kenkyu, Meijishu* (Introduction to the study of Buddhism). Part *First*, which was published during the year, and is for sale at the *Kyobunkwan*, is a Vocabulary. It contains five hundred and twenty-seven pages, besides an index. The *Introduction to the Study of Buddhism* is based upon material preserved in Japan and China. The *Vocabulary* is a survey of Buddhist Terms and Names arranged accordng [sic] to Radicals with Japanese Readings and Sanscrit [sic] Equivalents. It has a supplement of Terms and Names relating to *Shinto* and Japanese History.<sup>27</sup>

It is likely that S.H. Wainright's acquaintance with O.O. Rosenberg made him aware of the new publication and led him to include its review in this yearbook.

<sup>26</sup> Samuel Hayman Wainright (Wainwright) (1863–1950) represented the American Methodist Episcopal Church in Japan as General Secretary of Christian Literature Society in Japan. It is possible that S. Wainright was the unidentified "pastor" (reverend) mentioned by O.O. Rosenberg in his letter to his father dated 23 January 1913. See VIGASIN 2008: 474.

<sup>27</sup> *The Christian Movement in the Japanese Empire* 1917: 225.

## Conclusion

Handwritten materials in Japanese kept at the Archive of Orientalists at the IOM, RAS shed light on previously unnoticed details of O.O. Rosenberg's work and interaction with the Japanese before and after the publication of his two dictionaries in 1916. It is clear that during his stay in Japan O.O. Rosenberg maintained a wide and diverse network of contacts. In addition to academic activities with prominent Japanese Buddhist scholars and priests, he was busy with financial and legal matters (publishing contract, payments to Japanese assistants, receipts), technical issues (proofreading, galley proofs, correspondence with printing company staff), discussion of diplomatic procedures (correspondence about presenting his dictionary to the Department of the Imperial Household of Japan via Russian ambassador). Maintaining contacts with other foreigners (such as S.H. Wainright) resulted in his dictionary being mentioned in English-language publications by Christian missionaries in Japan. Relying on a wide network of contacts in Japan, O.O. Rosenberg was able to accomplish a number of difficult tasks that accompanied publication of the two dictionaries in Japan. His fluent knowledge of Japanese (scholarly, epistolary, Buddhist, legal), and handwritten Japanese in particular, made it possible to complete his publication projects successfully. The three handwritten materials discussed above demonstrate clearly the importance of ephemera in clarifying circumstances of scholarly work.

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