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Editors' Preface

The present publication is the first issue of the journal *The Written Monuments of the Orient* in an English-language version. The journal was founded in 1968 through the efforts of the staff of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (now the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences) and came out until 1987 as an annual publication devoted to theoretical and practical issues relating to the study of the written legacy of the peoples of the East. Issues of the annual contained papers examining the principles for the publication of Oriental texts and others analysing individual literary monuments and historical sources, publications of sources, descriptions of manuscripts, surveys of the manuscript stocks and publications. In 2004 the publication was revived as a biannual journal accepting material mainly in Russian. To date 20 issues of the journal have been published.

Continuing the established traditions of the journal, in the English-language version we propose to publish material of the following kinds:

- Theoretical articles on matters of Oriental textology (textual analysis, methods of source criticism, principles for the publication, translation and producing commentaries of Oriental texts).
- Publications of texts and translations of writings and extracts from them, and also of selections of material from written sources on particular questions of history or the history of literature.
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- Materials and papers on matters of historical terminology and also on ancillary historical and textological disciplines (palaeography, diplomatics, sphragistics, numismatics, epigraphy).

We hope that interested specialists will participate actively in the creation of the journal by sending us their own materials and also their opinions on the contents of previous issues. Address articles, notes, reviews and general enquiries to: Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Dvortsovaya emb., 18, Saint Petersburg 191186, Russia, email: ppv@orientalstudies.ru

Irina Popova

**A Dunhuang Document on the Division of Property
from the Serindian Fund of the Institute
of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences**

Abstract: The article is devoted to the study of a document on the division of property—SI O14 (1) from the Serindian Fund of the IOM RAS which, despite its fragmentary nature, provides information of a legal and social character relating to everyday life in a district centre on the borders of the mediaeval Chinese Empire. The document reflects the legal practice in China under the Tang dynasty.

Key words: Dunhuang, Serindian Fund, official and legal documents, division of property

Serindian Fund of the IOM RAS

The Serindian Fund is probably the most linguistically diverse—and therefore the most difficult to process and study—in the manuscript collection of the IOM, RAS. It owes its beginnings to Sergei Fedorovich Oldenburg (1863–1934), who assigned manuscripts from Xinjiang (Eastern Turkestan, Serindia) to a special individual collection and gave the fund its name and press-mark (SI). The very first to be included in it were the manuscripts brought back by the First Russian Turkistan Expedition headed by Oldenburg in 1909–10 (press-mark SI O) and also those sent back at various dates by Nikolai Petrovskii, Nikolai Krotkov, Alexander Kokhanovskii, and other diplomats serving in China. Later, it was expanded with materials delivered by the expeditions led by Vselovod Roborovskii, Mikhail Berezovskii, Piotr Kozlov and Sergei Malov. Today, the fund contains 6,618 items. There are more texts in Uighur than in any other language. There are also quite a lot of Sanskrit manuscripts, Tocharian language manuscripts of Kucha and scraps of Tangut woodcuts. A significant portion of the documents in the Serindian Fund, mainly the non-Chinese ones, have been studied and published.¹

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¹ SALEMANN 1904; MALOV 1932; MALOV 1951; *Sogdijskie fragmenty* 1980 et al.

Even a most perfunctory inspection of the Serindian Fund gives one the impression that the first collectors of manuscripts in Xinjiang paid special attention to non-Chinese documents that reflect the historical sequence of the most ancient civilizations in the region. One virtue of the Fund is that, for many manuscripts, we have an indication of where they were acquired. S.F. Oldenburg placed fragments in envelopes on which he noted in his own hand when they were purchased and sometimes recorded the name of the seller. Chinese documents, for the most part, ended up in the Fund as reverse sides of Uighur or Sanskrit fragments. There are no complete manuscripts in the Fund. Most Chinese language texts are represented by brief extracts of Buddhist content, among which are fragments SI O16 that require restoration and subsequent inventorying. According to the note that Oldenburg made on the envelope, the fragments come from Dunhuang. This makes it possible to conjecture that some other manuscripts in the Serindian Fund whose origin is not indicated also come from there.

A fairly extensive section within the Chinese part of the Serindian Fund, which furnishes rich data for further study and publication, is the collection that Alexander Kokhanovskii, the medical officer of the consulate in Urumqi, put together in Turpan. Until 2005, around 300 Chinese fragments from this collection were kept in one envelope with the single press-mark SI K/3. At present, this part of the Fund is being inventoried and each fragment is being given its own press-mark. Besides this, the IOM Serindian Fund has several fairly large Chinese fragments brought back from Turpan and Dunhuang by Oldenburg's First and Second Russian Turkestan Expeditions. These items are mainly texts of a Buddhist nature, but there are also official and commercial documents.

Non-Buddhist Documents from Dunhuang

The library discovered in 1900 at the Mogao Caves near Dunhuang belonged to a Buddhist monastery, and so the bulk of it (ca. 90%) consists of Buddhist texts that can be subdivided into two main groups: translated works belonging to the canon and original Chinese Buddhist writings. The non-Buddhist part of the Dunhuang manuscripts is very varied in its make-up and includes works of fiction, among them vernacular literature (*suwenxue* 俗文學), works of traditional Chinese philosophy, historical, Confucian and Taoist writings, dictionaries, textbooks, collections of model letters, manuals, medical and divinatory texts, calendars and calligraphic exercises. The

most important part of the non-Buddhist manuscripts is made up of documents—official and business papers of various contents. This part of the collection is highly remarkable and unique in character, as forgotten types of documents were found in Dunhuang that reflect the daily life of Chinese society in a district centre of the borderland. It is well known that, in the Orient, and in China in particular, much care was taken of state papers relating to the activities of the court and the central government, but official papers of provincial and district centres were not, as a rule, kept for long; therefore every find in Dunhuang or Turpan is of tremendous significance for scholars.

The Dunhuang and Turpan non-Buddhist documents can be divided into four basic types:

1) Legal: legislative acts (*lü* 律), statutes (*ling* 令), and regulations (*ge* 格).

2) Administrative: communal orders (*shetiao* 社條), reports (*zhuang* 狀, *zuozhuang* 奏狀, *shenzhuang* 申狀), reports (*die* 牒), complaints and letters (*shuxin* 書信), although the latter could also be of a personal nature.

3) Relating to libraries: lists of lacunae, catalogues, records of donations for expanding libraries' stocks or putting them in order, and so on. These mostly related to the library of the Mogao Caves, such as "A Document on the donation of sutras by the ruler of Dunhuang Cao Zongshou and his wife Lady Fan" from the year 1002 (*Dunhuang-wang Cao Zong-shou yu Jibeijun-furen Fan-shi juan jing tiji* 敦煌王曹宗壽與濟北郡夫人汜氏捐經題記, Φ-32b), the latest of the known dated manuscripts from Dunhuang.

4) Relating to economic matters: lists of peasant households (*huji* 戶籍), lists for taxation purposes (*jizhang* 籍帳), tax statements (*chakebu* 差科簿), tax registers (*fuyishu* 賦役書), lease documents (*zudianshu* 租佃書, *zhidian-shu* 質典書), contracts (*qiyue* 契約), records of loans (*biandaishu* 便貸書, *daiqi* 貸契), employment contracts (*guyongshu* 僱傭書, *guqi* 僱契), balance sheets (*jizhang* 計帳), receipts (*shoushi* 手實), documents on the division of property (*fenshu* 分書), adoption documents (*yangshu* 養書), manumissions (*fangshu* 放書) and others.

These documents reflect the resolution of a great variety of issues. In Dunhuang there was a large monastic community whose life was shaped by many legal and economic regulations. The documents shed light on the life of the community itself, on its relationships with the laity and on relations between laypeople. It has been suggested that the bulk of the documents came into the monastery library by chance and that there were a great many others in existence that the monks did not consider it necessary to preserve,

not to mention others that they never laid their hands on, but that were in wide circulation in secular society.² The majority of the documents from the Dunhuang Cave Library date from the 8th to the 10th centuries.

Work on classifying and publishing the Dunhuang documents was begun fairly early by Edouard Chavannes. In the 1920s–30s, Henri Maspero in France and Naba Toshisada and Niida Noboru in Japan examined non-Buddhist Dunhuang texts. Publication of the non-Buddhist part of the Dunhuang library continued in the 1950s–80s, which saw the production of, among other things, the first major study of Dunhuang documents in Russian by Leonid Chuguevskii.³ In the 1990s–2000s, following the publication of facsimiles of the greater part of the Dunhuang materials belonging to the largest collections worldwide, including St. Petersburg,⁴ a real upsurge in Dunhuang studies took place, with a large portion of the works being published in Chinese.⁵

Document on the Division of Property SI O14 (1) of the IOM, RAS

In the present article, I shall examine a document on the division of property SI O14 (1) that, until its restoration in 2007, was in an extremely poor state, for which reason it was not included in the complete facsimile publication of the Russian Dunhuang collection. Despite its fragmented state, the document contains certain information of a legal character relating to the life of a community on the border of the Chinese Empire in the Middle Ages.⁶

SI O14 (1) (Pl. 1)

Description of the manuscript. Fragment of 29.5×12.3 cm. 20 incomplete lines of 5–11 characters. Upper margin: 1.5 cm; lower margin: lost. Paper: brown, thickness: 0.015–0.019 cm, spacing: 5 lines per cm. Script: *kai*.

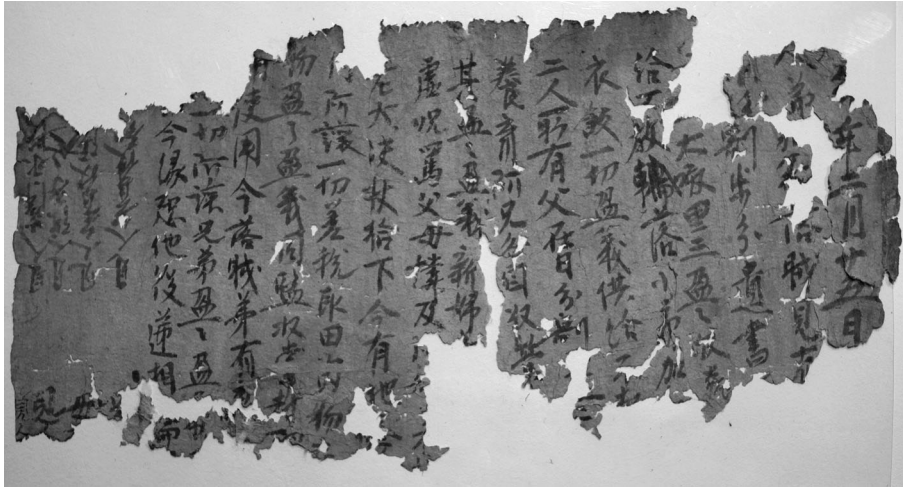
² TROMBERT 1995, 2.

³ *Kitaiskie dokumenty iz Dun'huana* 1983.

⁴ *E cang Dunhuang wenxian* 1994–2000.

⁵ For a detailed bibliography of works in Chinese devoted to the study of Dunhuang documents, see: *Dunhuang yanjiu lunzhu mulu* 2000; *Dunhuang yanjiu lunzhu mulu* 2006.

⁶ The document and a Russian translation of it was first published in: POPOVA 2010, 75–78.



Chinese text

- (01) □□年二月廿五日〔
- (02) 人弟加落賊，見有〔
- (03) □□割出。分遺書〔
- (04) □□大吸里，三盈盈收養〔
- (05) 給不放輪（淪）。落小弟加〔
- (06) 衣飯，一切盈義供給不掌〔
- (07) 二人所有，父在日分割□三〔
- (08) 養育阿兄，各自收管〔
- (09) 其盈盈，盈義新婦〔
- (10) 虛呪罵父母，憐及□□□□不〔
- (11) 老大決杖拾下。今有地□〔
- (12) 付阿讓（孃），一切差稅取田內物〔
- (13) 物。盈盈、盈義同監收掌，封〔
- (14) □使用。今落賊弟有□□〔
- (15) □一切阿讓（孃）、兄弟盈盈、盈義分〔
- (16) □今緣恐他後遞相論〔
- (17) 見人兵馬使劉〔
- (18) 見人兵馬使張 母〔
- (19) 見人張張□（押字） 見人〔
- (20) 見人薛永興 見人〔

- ## Commentary

Document SI O14 (1) was brought to Russia by Sergei Oldenburg. In all probability, it comes from Dunhuang, although its place of origin is not indicated. Its handwriting, outward appearance and state of preservation are similar to those of the “Contract on the exchange of the house of district official Liu Shiqing in the 6th year of Tian-fu (906)” (*Tian-fu liu nian yaya Liu Shiqing huan fang qi* 天復陸年押衙劉石慶換房契, Dx-1414) from the Rus-

sian Dunhuang collection (*E cang Dunhuang wenxian*, vol. 8 (1997), 157) and it may come from the same source.

Fragment SI O/14 (1) belongs to the category of Dunhuang documents dealing with the division of property (*jiachan fenshu qi yang wen* 家產分書契樣文). It does not give a precise quantitative description of the property subject to redistribution, but on the other hand it gives a detailed account of the worldly and morally instructive motives behind the ruling.⁷ This peculiarity in the drafting of the document was entirely in accord with the general ethical orientation of the traditional Chinese law.

Document SI O14 (1) has not survived in its entirety. Keeping in mind the customary standard width of paper at 25–29 cm, we can assume that we are in possession of less than half the text, while further 8–12 characters are missing at the bottom.

This fragmentation makes it impossible to reconstruct the contents completely. It deals with a complex family dispute involving the redistribution of property to which one of three brothers has his rights restored. The document indicates that he suffered at the hands of brigands (*luozai* 落賊), i.e., he was taken away as a slave during a raid by nomads. If we turn to the texts of other documents from Dunhuang, such as “The Second Examination of Shen Li’s Complaint about the Seizure of Land with the Grave of His Elder Brother in the Years of Tian-fu (901–904) of the Tang Dynasty” (*Tang Tian-fu niandai Shen Li wei xiong fen tian bei qin chenzhuang bing pan* 唐天復年代神力爲兄墳田被侵陳狀并判, P.4974), they also mention “brigands”, more precisely “Uighur brigands” (*huihu zei* 回鶻賊). That was the designation of the hostile neighbours of the Chinese with whom they may have been in a state of war.

During the time the youngest brother was a captive, his father died and under his will the property passed to the other two brothers, Yingyi and Yingying. By law, it should have been divided equally between them. The document indicated the location of the plots of land in accordance with the will. The allocation of land is said to have taken place during the father’s lifetime, which was not against the law, provided no separate registration was made. The text mentions an “aunt” (*niang* 孃), evidently an unmarried or widowed sister of the father, who “fed and brought up the eldest brother”. Part of the family property also ends up in her possession, which was not contrary to Tang law.⁸

⁷ Similar documents are cited in: SHA Zhi 1998, 455–467; NIE Xiaohong 2009, 204–222.

⁸ NIIDA Noboru 1933, 609.

When the youngest brother, Jia, turned up, he came under Yingyi's care. His brother provided him with board and clothing, but did not allow him the right to deal with the property. The loss of part of document SI O14 (1) consigned to oblivion some story connected with Yingyi's young wife. We do not know the reason why she "unfairly cursed and abused the mother and father" and with whom she "took up". It is not entirely clear whether it was her that the eldest brother (Yingyi), as head of the clan, ordered to be beaten ten times with heavy sticks. This passage confirms the possibility of punishment within the family without reference to the authorities, but this penalty seems excessively light. The Tang Code was quite specific with regard to such insults to senior relatives of a husband: "All cases of a wife or concubine who curses with bad language her husband's paternal grandparents or parents are punished by three years of penal servitude".⁹

Still, in any case it is evident that the division of property registered by the document took place precisely because of this family quarrel. As a result, part of the land and other property passed (from Yingyi?) to the aunt and some kind of restrictions were imposed on the brothers Yingyi and Yingying. The situation was finally resolved by part of the property from each of the three relatives—the brothers Yingyi and Yingying and the aunt—passing to the younger brother. The phrase "that which in equal measure is in the possession of Yingying and Yingyi" (盈、盈義同監收掌) remains obscure. The question of the presence or absence in mediaeval China of property held in common by the family, which makes the definition of private property somewhat difficult, was inseparably connected with the very nature of Chinese law that was also part of the traditional ideology. To prove the existence of family-held property researchers often cite a clause about the punishment of slaves for the killing of their master, the commentary on which states: "Those who are on the same household register and are persons of commoner status or more and who have their goods in common (*he you cai fen zhe* 合有財分者) are all considered to be masters".¹⁰

Document SI O14 (1) is also notable for showing the names of witnesses (*jianren* 見人), although they have not fully survived. Witnesses guaranteed the genuineness and implementation of a transaction, ratifying the document with their signatures. As a rule, they were respected local inhabitants with a family, means and position. Document SI O14 (1) gives the names of such witnesses, including two officers (*bingmashi* 兵馬使). The position in the text of some names vertically above others ("upside down") is easily ex-

⁹ *Gu Tang lü shu yi*, ch. 22, 16a; *The T'ang Code*, vol. 2, 368.

¹⁰ *Gu Tang lü shu yi*, ch. 17, 10b; *The T'ang Code*, vol. 2, 250.

plained: when the scribe reached the left-hand edge of the sheet, being unable to enter all the names of the witnesses in order, he turned the page around and wrote the last names above the others in mirror image.¹¹

Conclusion

Document SI O14 (1) draws a legal line beneath a lengthy property saga of a wealthy family from the border regions of mediaeval Chinese Empire. The re-examination of a will, the restoration of the property rights of a relative (the long-absent youngest brother) and the recognition of a woman's property rights—the actual facts reflected in the document—were evidently in line with legal practice in China under the Tang dynasty.

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¹¹ TROMBERT 1995, 34.

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Peter Zieme

**Fragments of the Old Uighur *Maitrisimit nom bitig*
in St. Petersburg, Helsinki and Berlin**

Abstract: The author examines some small Old Uighur fragments belonging to three collections of Turfan texts that provide parallels to passages of the extant full versions of the *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, an important Buddhist text on the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya known only from Tocharian and its Old Uighur translation.

Key words: Turfan, Maitreya, Maitrisimit, Old Uighur literature, Old Uighur texts

The *Maitrisimit nom bitig* is one of the oldest and best known Old Uighur texts.¹ It was translated from Tocharian and occupies a prominent place in Old Uighur literature, as it is not only well translated but appears at the very beginning of Old Uighur literature. Manuscripts that were written during the 10th and 11th centuries were found at different sites of the Turfan oasis. Today they are preserved in several collections of Central Asian texts. The majority of manuscripts from Sängim and Murtuk are housed in the Berlin Collection, others in the Xinjiang Museum of Urumqi.² One fragment belongs to the Otani Collection in the Library of the Ryūkoku University in Kyoto.³ A slightly different manuscript was found in 1959 near Hami (Qomul), in the village of Tömürti. While this manuscript is preserved in the Xinjiang Museum, some 436 small fragments, probably from the same manuscript that came to light only in 2006 near the village of Närnasi, are owned by the Cultural Centre of Qomul.⁴

Thus, there are two groups of manuscripts, one from the Turfan oasis with the manuscripts from Sängim and Murtuk, the other consists of the fragments

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¹ A new comparative edition of all *Maitrisimit nom bitig* fragments is the aim of the project “Gesamtedition der alttürkischen Überlieferungen zur Maitreya-Literatur” at the “Seminar für Turkologie und Zentralasienkunde” of the University of Göttingen, cf. its website.

² ISRAPIL 2013.

³ ZIEME 2000.

⁴ ISRAPIL, LAUT, SEMET 2012/2013, 220–221.

from Tömürti and Närnasi. While the latter ones may belong to one and the same manuscript, it is still debated how many manuscripts were written in Sängim and Murtuk or collected there.

In a recent paper, the authors reported for the first time that fragments of a manuscript from Sängim are also kept in St. Petersburg without giving any details.⁵ Besides the pieces labelled as “Maitrisimit”, there are some small fragments in the Central Asian Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences⁶ that can probably be regarded as parts of that text.

St. Petersburg Fragments

Fragment SI 5129 (SI Kr IV 448) belongs to the so-called Krotkov Collection,⁷ but there is no record about the exact site of its origin. It is a small part of a large *pustaka* leaf which might have been as large as those known from the Berlin Collection, probably about 50 cm wide. Whether it can be joined with another fragment of other collections, must be examined in future.

The fragment belongs to one of the “hell chapters” comprising large part of the Old Uighur *Maitrisimit nom bitig*. Among Old Uighur fragments⁸ published so far, there is no direct evidence of both sections, but there is at least a probable candidate for the verso side.

Text of SI 5129 in transcription

(recto) [toyın]
 (01) [-larnı] köñülläri ki[rsiz arı]g
 (02) turug üçün köni ol k[uv]ragka
 (03) kirür-lär : ötrü ol toyın-lar inčä
 (04) tep ötüntilär : kim-lär sizlär nä
 (05) ayıg kılınč kılıpan bo muntag
 (06) [tamularta]dip ol

⁵ ISRAPIL, LAUT, SEMET 2012/2013, 220, fn. 2. Probably the authors thought of the items SI 4a Kr 48 and 49, SI O 40a, b, c for which the catalogue of UMEMURA, SHOGAITO, YOSHIDA, YAKUP 2002, 143, 159 gives the identification as “Maitrisimit”, but this is not the case.

⁶ I am grateful to the responsible persons of the collections in St. Petersburg, Helsinki and Berlin for the opportunity to work with the Old Uighur texts housed there.

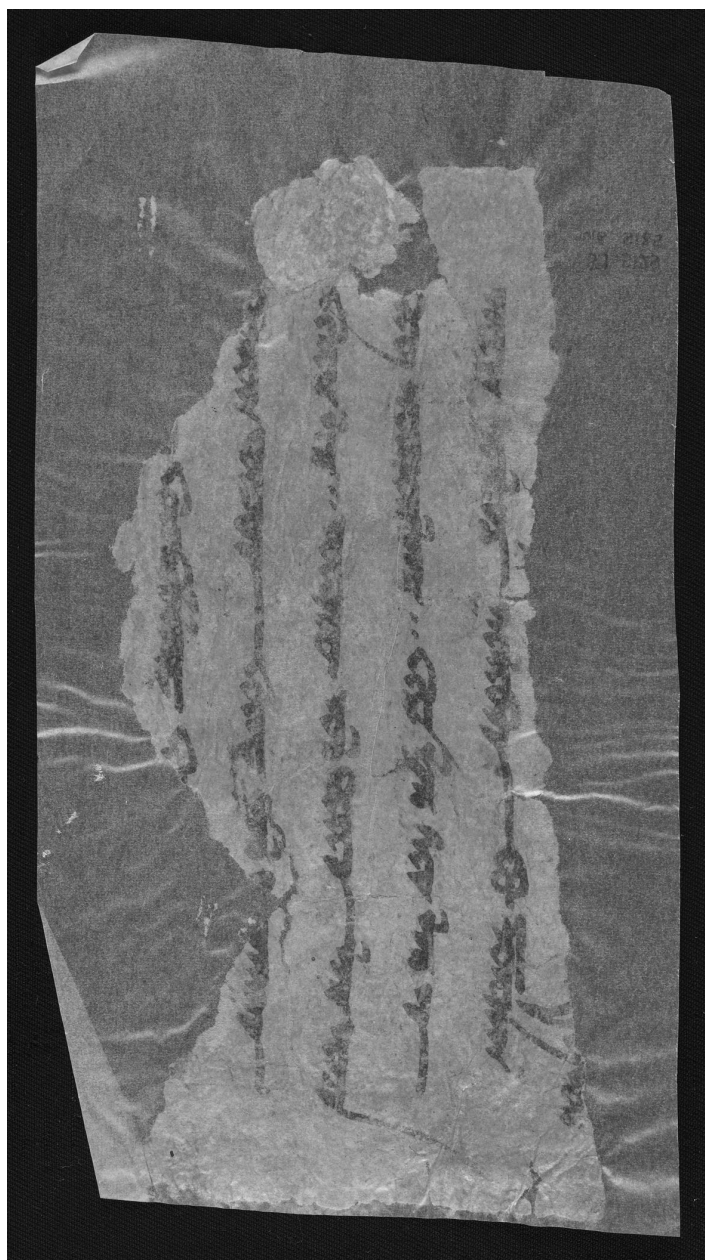
⁷ N.N. Krotkov (1869–1921), consul in Urumqi, collected 4,070 text fragments.

⁸ GENG, KLIMKEIT, LAUT 1988b.



Pl. 1.

Turfan Collection of St. Petersburg. SI 5129 (SI Kr IV 448) recto



Pl. 2.

Turfan Collection of St. Petersburg. SI 5129 (SI Kr IV 448) verso

“As [the monks’] hearts are [spotless and] clean, they enter this true convent(?). Then these monks requested: Who are you? What bad deeds have you done [to be born] in these [hells]. Hea[ring it(?)], they [...]”

(verso)

(01) [kama]gın anta [ölüp]

(02) ulug t[am]u-larda tugdumuz ta[mu]

(03) -ta kurtulup amtı bo kiçig tam

(04) -ularda tugmış ärür-biz : körün

(05) -lär bağlärim(i)z tämirliġ örtlög

(06) čomakların []

“[Theref]ore, then [we died and] were born in large h[ell]s. Having escaped from the h[ells,] we are now reborn in these small hells. Look! Our lords [beat us on our heads] with flaming maces of iron. [...]”

The text of the verso side can be compared to the following passage on leaf 7 of the 22nd chapter⁹ of the *Maitrisimit nom bitig*.¹⁰ (Pl. 73 = Mainz 975 recto 3–13) *ol tıltagın biz tıtsılarıġ boş ıdmış üçün anta ölüp kamağın tamuda tugdumuz : tamudın ozup bo kiçig tamular-da tugmış ärür biz : : körünlär bağlärim(i)z munta tugup örtänür yalar-biz : bahşı boltaçılar açarılar öñrä yoriyur-biz yañ udu tıtsi boltaçı-lar örtlög yalınlıġ at’özin örtlög čomaklar tuta bizni tokıyu inčä tep teyürlär*.¹¹ “Because of this, as we disregarded¹² pupils, we died there and altogether were born in hell. Released from (that) hell, we were born in these small hells. Look, our lords! We were born here, and we are all in flames and burn. As those who were masters, *ācāryas*, we go ahead, and those who are pupils following the rule¹³ hold with their flaming and burning bodies flaming maces and beat us saying thus.”

As one finds only the highlighted words of Mainz 975 in the St. Petersburg fragment, it remains doubtful whether this is really a variant of the *Maitrisimit* text, but the probability is very high as the following table shows.

⁹ *iki otuzunč ülüş yeti ptr.*

¹⁰ TEKIN 1980, Pl. 73.

¹¹ GENG, KLIMKEIT, LAUT 1988b, 92.

¹² It is a special phrase *boş ıd-* “boş göndermek”, cf. Şen 2010, 62.

¹³ The phrase *yañ udu* translated by Ş. Tekin “[uns als ihrem] Vorbild folgend” (TEKIN 1980, I, 185) was slightly changed by GENG, KLIMKEIT, LAUT 1988b, 92: “und das Gefolge”. But I think that Tekin’s translation fits better, as it is improbable that *udu* can be understood as a noun.

Mainz 975	SI 5129
anta ölüp	[kama]gın anta [ölüp]
kamagın tamuda tugdumuz	ulug t[am]u-larda tugdumuz
tamudın ozup	ta[mu]-ta kurtulup
bo kiçig tamular-da tugmış ärür biz	amtı bo kiçig tam-ularda tugmış ärür-biz
körünlär bağlärim(i)z	körün-lär bağlärim(i)z
munta tugup örtänür yalar-biz : ba- hşı boltaçılar açarılar öñrä yoriyur- biz yañ udu titsi boltaçı-lar örtlüg yalınlıg ät'özin	(omitted?)
ört-lüg çomaklar tuta bizni tokiyu	tämirlig örtlüg çomakların

The word *kılıpan* contains the converb suffix *-XpAn*, which is rare, especially in Buddhist texts. Another example is *kör-üpän*¹⁴ in a Sängim manuscript. Further, it occurs in the augmented form *uk-upanın*.¹⁵

The order of recto and verso sides is not clear. But considering that, before leaf 7, a large gap of about 90 lines¹⁶ must be reckoned with, it is very probable that the recto side contains the question of the monks. The editors of the Göttingen project will hopefully find a proof of my assumption.

Another fragment of the Krotkov Collection, SI 4433 (SI Kr I 348) is too small to allow its exact placing in the *Maitrisimit nom bitig*. The handwriting of this fragment is similar to the manuscripts of the *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, but this fact is not conclusive *per se*, especially because the verso side contains no text. Even if it is a piece of a scroll, one cannot exclude the possibility of its belonging to this text.¹⁷ While, in the *Suttanipāta*, Ajita is, like Metteya, the Buddha's disciple,¹⁸ later Ajita became an epithet of Maitreya.¹⁹

¹⁴ Cf. TEKIN 1980, I, 231, pl. 106, 5.

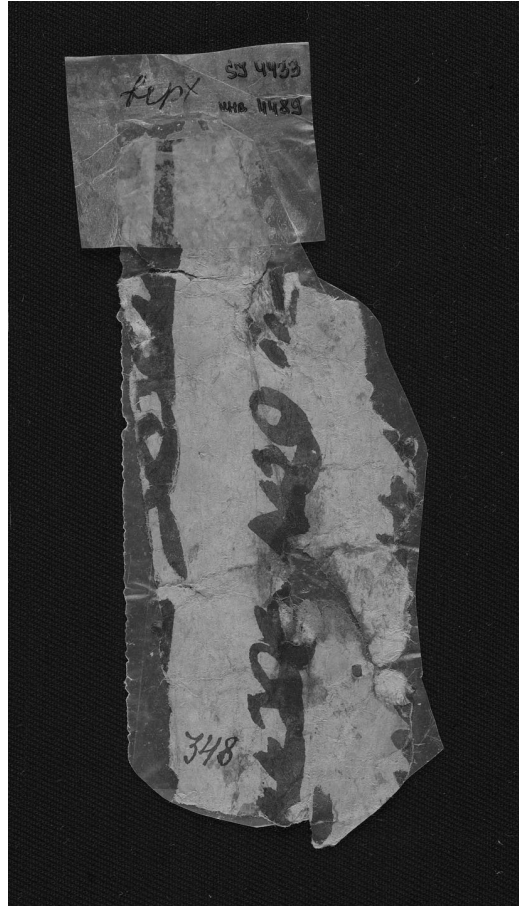
¹⁵ Cf. TEKIN 1980, I, 71, pl. 23, 13.

¹⁶ GENG, KLIMKEIT, LAUT 1988b, 91.

¹⁷ See the other case of a Berlin manuscript (U 4963).

¹⁸ The fragments of an Old Uighur translation of the *Pārāyāṇasūtra* contain the passage from the *Suttanipāta* in which Ajita and Metteya [Skt. Maitreya] put their questions to the Buddha (see ZIEME 1997).

¹⁹ NATTIER 1988, 38, fn. 12.



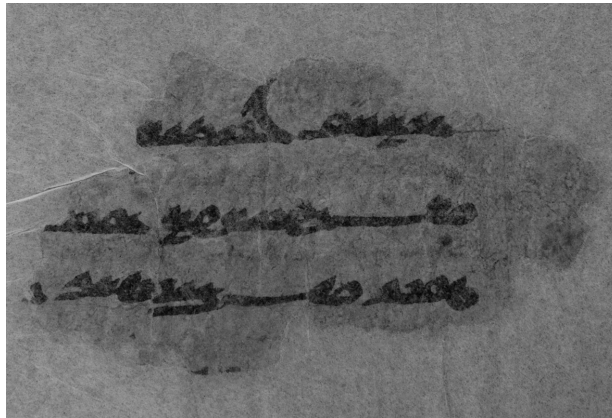
Pl. 3.

Turfan Collection of St. Petersburg. SI 4433 (SI Kr I 348) recto

This is also the case in the *Maitrisimit*. Thus both texts are candidates. Since all places where Ajita occurs in the currently known *Maitrisimit* text fragments have no match to any of the few other words, the question of identifying this small fragment remains unsettled.

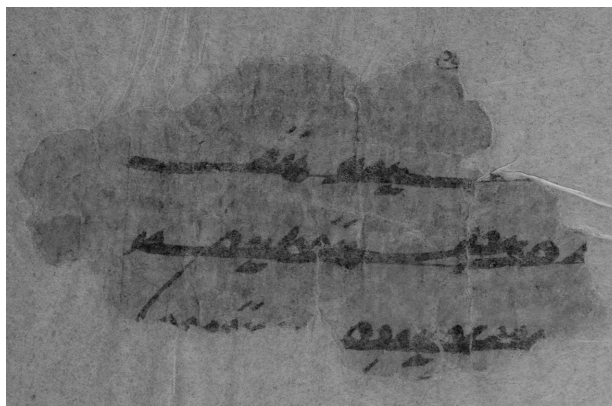
Text of SI 4433 (SI Kr I 348) in transcription

(01)	[]	ačiti	[]	[]	Ajita	[]
(02)	[]	: beš	türl[üg]	[]	five	kin[ds]
(03)	[]	: mn	// 'w'	[]	[]



Pl. 4.

Mannerheim Collection of Helsinki. M14E recto



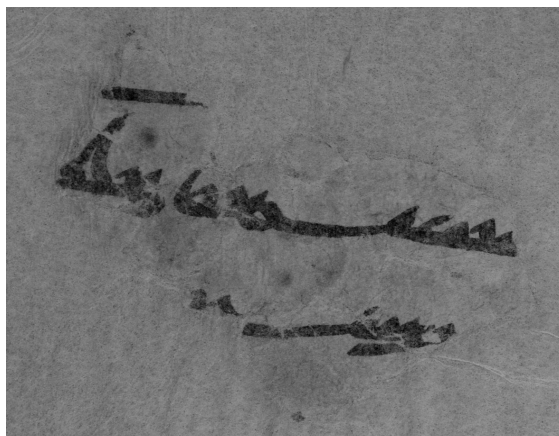
Pl. 5.

Mannerheim Collection of Helsinki. M14E verso

Fragments of the Mannerheim Collection in Helsinki²⁰

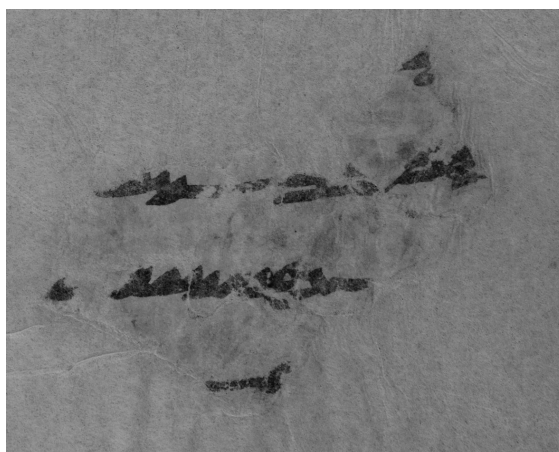
The following two fragments of the Mannerheim Collection in Helsinki resemble the Sāngim manuscript of the *Maitrisimit*. But, due to its meagre text, there is little chance to locate them in the *Maitrisimit nom bitig*. From the few legible words one can guess that “all monks” will keep “true belief” and venerate the “Noble Maitreya”.

²⁰ The Mannerheim Collection is deposited in The National Library of Finland, and its owner is The Finno-Ugrian Society. I express my thanks to Oguchi Masashi for sharing with me his photographs.



Pl. 6.

Mannerheim Collection of Helsinki. M14F recto



Pl. 7.

Mannerheim Collection of Helsinki. M14F verso

M14E in transcription

(recto)

(01) alku dentar [süz]

(02) -ük köḡül ör[it]

(03) tözün maitri []

(04) []

(verso, *margin*) pw²¹
 (01) []-lar-ka
 (02) [] ö]zümin kutlug
 (03) [] ančulayu sakınıp
 (04) []

M14F in transcription

(recto)
 (01) []
 (02) [] inčä tep tedi []
 (03) [] ym'n yw[]

(verso)
 (01) []l[]
 (02) []wy ymä s[]
 (03) [] körsär '[]
 (04) []č []

A Fragment of the Turfan Collection in Berlin

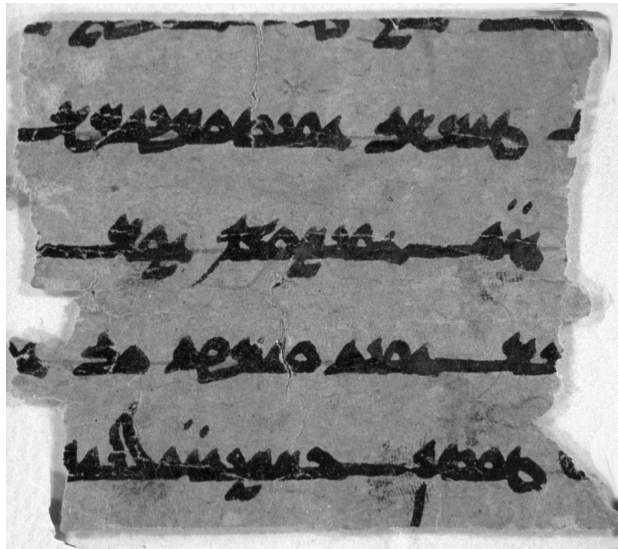
In the following, I turn to a passage of the first leaf of the 10th chapter of the Tömürti manuscript: *anta ken šamnu t(ä)ŋri ötügingä t(ä)ŋri t(ä)ŋrisi šakimun burxan čap(a)li atl(ı)g yemišliktä ölümlüg šamnug utup isig özin idıp ikilä üç ay köni adištıt üzä tuta y(a)rlıkadukta tözün maitri bodis(a)v(a)t t(ä)ŋri t(ä)ŋrisi burxanta öŋräräk yalıjuk ät'özin ıdalap tužit t(ä)ŋri yerintä tugdi.*²² “When the god of gods Śākyamuni Buddha on request of God Māra in the garden called Cāpāla had conquered the Death-Māra and was giving up his life and graciously retained it again for three months through adhiṣṭhita, the Noble Maitreya Bodhisattva gave up his human body earlier than the god of gods Buddha and was reborn in the Tuṣita heaven's land”.²³

²¹ In Uighur cursive script.

²² Tömürti ms. X, 1b1–9.

²³ It is comparable to the life of Buddha, cf. WALDSCHMIDT 1982, 224: “Darauf antwortete der Erhabene Mara, dem Bösen: ‘Gib dir keine Mühe weiter, o Böser, bald werde ich ins Nirwana eingehen! Nach Verlauf von drei Monaten wird der Pfadvollender von hinnen scheiden.’ So gab der Erhabene im Tschapala-Heiligtum klar und bei vollem Bewußtsein das Dasein auf, und als er so tat, entstand ein gewaltiges, schreckliches, haarsträubendes Erdbeben, und der Donner krachte.”

Parts of this phrase occur in fragment U4963 of the Turfan Collection of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities.²⁴ According to the old signature (T), it originates from Toyuq, so far not known as a place where *Maitrisimit* fragments were found. It is a fragment of a book-scroll. If the identification of this fragment as part of the *Maitrisimit nom bitig* can be ascertained, it would be the first specimen of a *Maitrisimit* manuscript that definitely is not from a *pustaka*.



Pl. 8.

Turfan Collection of Berlin. U 4963 recto

Text of U4963²⁵ in transcription

- (01) [...] [o]l k[...]k[]l²⁶ [urunčaq tuta täginti : anta ken]
- (02) [šmn]u t(ä)ŋri ötüŋä [šakimun burhan čapali atlg yemišlik-tä]
- (03) [...] -ka ölüm-lüg [šmnug utup]
- (04) [is]ig özünüzni id[ıp ikilä üč ay köni adištīt]
- (05) [üz]ä tuta y(a)rlıkadıŋ[ız...]

²⁴ The verso side bears the old entry T II T., while the label on the glass has T II T 503.

²⁵ The verso side remained empty, as is normal with scrolls, later it was used to write down some phrase of a document that contains in its second line the well-known term *kuanpo* “official linen”.

²⁶ Unclear.

The following table may show how the two texts are related to one another. The identical words are highlighted in bold letters.

Tömürti ms. X 1b	U 4863
anta ken šamnu t(ä)ŋri ötügingä t(ä)ŋri t(ä)ŋrisi šakimun burxan	[... šmn]u t(ä)ŋri ötügingä [...]
čap(a)li atl(1)g yemišliktä ölümlüg šamnug utup	-ka ölüm-lüg [...]
isig özin ıdıp ikilä üç ay köni adištıt üzä tuta y(a)rıkadukta	[is]ig özüñüzni ıd[ıp ... üz]ä tuta y(a)rıkadıñ[ız ...]
tözün maitri bodisvt	

With some hesitation I suggest that U4963 is part of another manuscript of the *Maitrsimit nom bitig*. The corresponding passages are striking, but still some deviations are unsurpassable. In line 3 of U4963, there is an unexpected suffix *-ka*. Another problem is the shift from the narrative style (3rd person) in the Tömürti text to the addressing style (you) in U4963.

Further Notes on Maitreya

In their editions of the 10th and 11th chapters of the Tömürti manuscript, the authors pointed out how essential the descent of Maitreya from the Tu-šita and his birth on earth are; these events present the culminating phases of the whole story.²⁷ In the following, I discuss some passages of chapter XI.

a) In the passage which describes Maitreya's stay in his mother's womb we read: *ög karnınta olurup kaltı mončuk ärdni kaš atlag agıda urmiš osuglug kalı[n] k[an] kir yamka arıtı yukulmaz*²⁸ "Maitreya sits in the mother's womb as a pearl jewel wrapped into brocade called *kāśi*, totally not flawed by thick blood, dirt and dust".

The authors comment on the fourth word of 4b27, which they read *ärši*: according to the context, this word should denote a kind of fabric.²⁹ Now, instead of *ärši* one can read *agı*. As noted by Maḥmūd al-Kāšyarī, this *agı* has the special meaning "brocade".³⁰ What could fit Maitreya better?

²⁷ GENG, KLIMKEIT, LAUT 1987 and 1988a.

²⁸ Tömürti ms. XI.4a25–29.

²⁹ GENG, KLIMKEIT, LAUT 1988a, 343, fn. 40.

³⁰ CLAUSON 1972, 78A.

b) At another place, the text has the following passage: *k(ä)ntü ät'özin hua yavişgu töltäklig ag(a)r yidin tıkmış äv barkça sakınıp*.³¹

Two words have to be read, in my view, differently from the authors' reading: 'kr = *ag(a)r* instead of *ädgü* and *tıkmış* instead of *tugmış*. Considering these different spellings, one can translate the phrase as follows: "(She) envisages her own body as a house endowed with flower garlands and filled with *agaru*³² fragrance".

c) A further sentence will be discussed here: *t(ä)ñrilär eligi hormuzta t(ä)ñri on ay kö[ni] t(ä)ñridäm tatag bodis(a)v(a)t morvantun(i)ñ [tü] tüpintin ät'öziñä kigürür*.³³ "God Indra, the king of the gods, lets heavenly sweetness enter into his body for ten months from the ends of the chain of the bodhisattva".

In their note,³⁴ the authors point to the legend that Brahmā offers a drop of honey³⁵ to the Bodhisattva from a crystal bowl (*vaiḍūrya-bhājana*).³⁶ In this connection, one should consider Dieter Maue's explanation of *morvant*. He writes that this word can be understood as "chain", not "pearl", as sometimes assumed.³⁷

d) In 2009, Jens Peter Laut edited the joint fragments U3798 + Mainz 1098.³⁸ He writes that their text is similar to the first leaf of chapter X of the Tömürti version. I read the text of U3798 + Mainz 1098 somewhat differently:

(recto)

- (01) ///y yüz []
- (02) ugrınta m[]
- (03) [yer]tinčüdä [ärkän]³⁹ beş⁴⁰ kırk
- (04) [ya]şınta burhan kutın bultı :
- (05) beş älig yıl burhanlar
- (06) işin işlädi kırk kırk⁴¹
- (07) yıl yaşagu-[luk]⁴² yaşın

³¹ Tömürti ms. XI.6b22.

³² RÖHRBORN 1977–1998, 62 (see *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 73 (1978), col. 329 ('kr in U3148)).

³³ Tömürti ms. XI.4b2–5.

³⁴ GENG, KLIMKEIT, LAUT 1988a, 343, fn. 44.

³⁵ This term is apparently the origin of Old Uighur *t(ä)ñridäm tatag*.

³⁶ WINDISCH 1908, 152.

³⁷ MAUE 2009, 297–298.

³⁸ LAUT 2009, 334.

³⁹ The emendation to [ärkän] follows similar patterns.

⁴⁰ LAUT 2009, 334, reads *tört* with question mark. But I believe the letters can be clearly read as *beş*, and one also expects the age of 35 for the moment of enlightenment.

⁴¹ The editor has not read the word before *kırk*.

⁴² The editor reads *yaşar*, but the parallel text clearly has *yaşagu*-[luk].

(08) kodup isig⁴³ [özin]
 (09) bardı⁴⁴ : s/// a/[]

(verso)

(01) [] aya[gka]
 (02) tägim[lig täñri täñrisi bur]han isig
 (03) özin [yavlak] ölümlüg
 (04) šmnug alañurtı⁴⁵ üç ay kö[ni]
 (05) tirigin yaşayu y(a)rlıkar : ötrü
 (06) yag(ı)z yer ämgäkintä täpräyür
 (07) kamša[yur] buluñ yınak oytan⁴⁶
 (08) []dın ot
 (09) [ünüp] tägzinip karañgu⁴⁷

The editor gave no translation, here is a trial version:

(recto)

“[...] hundred [...] at the time [of...] [...]when he was] in the world, he reached the Buddhahood when he was 35 years old. For 45 years, he accomplished the Buddhas’ deed. After 40 (plus) 40 years, he left (the world), [gave up] his life and went [...]”.

(verso)

“In his life, the Honou[rable, the god of gods, the Bud]dha weakened the [evil] death-Māra. For three months he graciously lived his life⁴⁸. Then the brown earth in its suffering trembles and shakes all corners and ends. From caves [...] fire arises, [...] turns, dark [...]”.

There are two fragments in the Turfan Collection of Berlin with Sanskrit text on one side and Old Uighur on the other: U7248 and U7249.

The Old Uighur side of U7248 has the same text as the joint fragment edited by J.P. Laut. A comparative table may help to clarify this.

⁴³ The author has not read this word, he gave the transliteration ’’SYP.

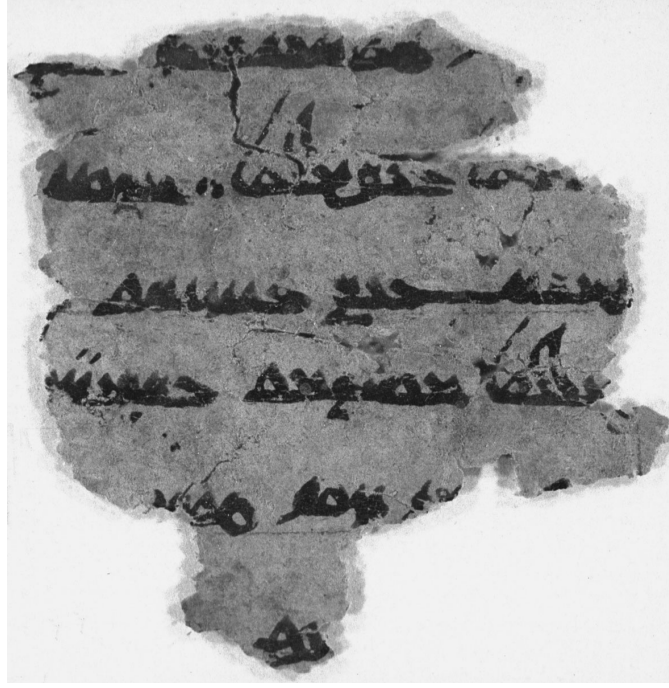
⁴⁴ This word was transliterated as []’DY.

⁴⁵ The author transliterated ’’L[].

⁴⁶ The author transliterated ’WYT’.

⁴⁷ Not sure, perhaps *kork*[....?].

⁴⁸ A difficult passage.



Pl. 9.

Turfan Collection of Berlin. U 7248 recto

U7248	Mainz 1098 + U3798
(01) [] korkinčig akl[ančig šmnug]	
(02) [u]tup yegädip : anta [kirk]	kirk
(03) kirk yıl yašagu-[luk yašin]	kirk 07 yıl yašagu-[luk] yašin
(04) [t]idip italayu y(a)rlika[dı]	08 kodup isig [özin berip] 09 bardı
(05) []öz-süz tu[]	
(06) []bo []	

The other fragment is U7249 (T II M 866) with some traces of words only.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Between the Sanskrit lines of the other side of U7249, there is an entry in Uighur script and language.

Turfan Collection of Berlin. U 7249 recto

(01) []
(02) []m[a]z ärsär : a[]
(03) []lığın [].

The most interesting matter is that we find here the traditional dates of the Buddha's life, in short: enlightenment at the age of 35, teaching for 45 years, *parinirvāṇa* at the age of 80.⁵⁰ Instead of *säkiz on* "eighty", this text has *kırk kırk*, of course also equal to eighty. I cannot trace such very unusual doubling of *kırk* to denote eighty in any of the Turkic languages.⁵¹

It cannot be ruled out that, in fact, the fragments of section (d) do not belong to the *Maitrisimit nom bitig*, but are rather parts of another Life of the Buddha.

⁵⁰ ZIEME 2014, 403, fn. 13.

⁵¹ But, of course, I am not sure of my result. Hopefully, other scholars will correct me.

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Olga Chunakova

Pahlavi Epistolary Formulae

Abstract: The paper focuses on the Pahlavi text dealing with the correct way to write letters published in: JAMASP-ASANA (ed.) 1913, 132–140. The text contains a series of formulae to be used in letters to various persons. The reading and interpretation of the formulae were translated differently by previous scholars. The key to the understanding of these formulae is the opposition of two terms—*xwadāy* and *bandag*—meaning the addressee and the sender of a letter. The constructions with an attribute compound and its synonym, and a determinative compound and its synonym following these two terms refer to the addressee and the sender respectively.

Key words: Pahlavi, Pahlavi literature, Pahlavi manual of writing letters

The short treatise *Abar nāmag-nibēšīnīh* (“On Letter-writing”)¹ is one of the most interesting texts written in Pahlavi; it contains standardized formulae of greeting, good wishes, and condolences. The very first sentences show how a person should be addressed:² *nūn nibēšīhēd pad sazēd-nibištan (ī) nāmag <ī> ō kas kas xwadāyīgān ō +pādixšāyān ud mēhān ud abarmānīgān hamē-pērōzgar ō kardārān hamē-farroxtar ō awēšān kē pad har āfrīn ārzā-nīg hēnd yazdān-pānag ud +yazd³-ayār ō az-iš-kēhān anōš ayād ayād⁴ 1000 anōš ō +bandagān ud az-iš-kēhān 1000 anōš ayād az anōš⁵ ayād ’nyk frāz dāšt ēstēd āzarmīgtom grāmīgtom ō pidar ayāb brādarān ayāb frazandān ayāb ō awēšān kē hāwand ī pid ud brād ud frazand hēnd.*—“Here (‘presently’) it is written how various *xwadāyīgān* should write letters. Rulers, nobility, and the well-born are to be addressed as ‘omnivictorious’, officials as

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¹ JAMASP-ASANA 1913, 132–140.

² The suggested transcription is based on Manichaean texts, with round brackets denoting suggested inserts, and the angular ones, the words resulting from the scribe’s mistakes. The crosses indicate the cases when specific forms have been reconstructed.

³ Sic!—cf. DP and Ta (see JAMASP-ASANA 1913, 132, note 9); other manuscripts suggest *šahr-ayār*. For the ways to read it, cf. the epithet *yazdān-ayār* in “The Admonition of the wise Ošnār”. MS MK, p. 146v, line 13.

⁴ The noun was repeated in MSS MK and JJ (JAMASP-ASANA 1913, 132, note 10).

⁵ MS Ta reads *anōš*; other manuscripts, *anōšag* (JAMASP-ASANA 1913, 132, note 11).

‘omniglorious’, those deserving every praise as ‘protected by gods’ and ‘supported by (lit. “a friend of”) a god’, *ō az-iš-kēhān anōš ayād ayād 1000 anōš ō bandagān ud az-iš-kēhān 1000 anōš ayād az anōš ayād* ‘nyk is suggested (while writing). ‘The most respectable’ and ‘the dearest’ for father, or brothers, or sons, or else those who are like a father, a brother, or a son”.

Earlier researchers rendered the passage quoted in more than one way. The initial publisher of this text, Jamshed Tarapore,⁶ suggested the following translation: “Now it is written for fitting letter writing to different chieftains; <...> to those lesser ones blessed memory and 1000 blessings; to servants and underlings, 1000 blessed memories which immortal memory several (with ‘nyk read as *andak*.—*O. Ch.*) possess.” R. Zaehner suggested his own version:⁷ “Now I shall treat of the correct way to write letters to divers persons in high estate, <...>, to such subordinates as have alert and unforgetting minds, to servants whose faithful labours (with ‘nyk read as **anēk*.—*O. Ch.*) cannot be forgotten, and are therefore considered honourable and dear”. In this, Robert Zaehner read the ideogram *LK* (1000) repeated in the phrase twice as *ray*, “fast”, and believed that the words *ud az-iš-kēhān 1000 anōš ayād* following the noun *bandagān* were actually a mistake made by the scribe. Here is the translation by Sh. Shaked:⁸ “Now a letter is written in the correct manner to each one (of the following: to)⁹ lords; <...> to (one’s) servants and subordinates, whose character is of sweet memory, of whose sweetly-remembered [character] a little (with ‘nyk read as *andak*.—*O. Ch.*) is retained which is most honoured and which is dearest”. Shaked believed that the words *ō az-iš-kēhān anōš ayād 1000 anōš* were actually a repetition, followed by *ō bandagān ud azeš-kēhān [ī-š] rag* (for the ideogram *LK*.—*O. Ch.*) *anōš ayyād*, [*kē*] *az anōšag ayyād* [*rag?*] *andak* (for ‘nyk.—*O. Ch.*) *frāz dāšt ēstēd*, connecting them with [*ī*] *āzarmīg-tom ud grāmīg-tom*.

Readings of this passage that involve major corrections and translations that assume special deference towards servants can never be considered satisfactory. In order to understand it, we must pay attention to the epistolary formulae to be found in other Iranian sources, as they were all derived from the standards used in Aramaic chancellery. For instance, Sogdian letters obviously distinguish between the nouns *βay*—*βantak*¹⁰ which correspond to the Pahlavi opposition *xwadāy*—*bandag* in our passage. These two nouns

⁶ TARAPORE 1932, 15.

⁷ ZAEHNER 1937–1939, 97.

⁸ SHAKED 1979, 254.

⁹ Inserted by Sh. Shaked.

¹⁰ LIVSHITS 1962, 78, 104–105, et al.

indicate the relationship between the addressee and sender, as the former was addressed in Pahlavi as *xwadāy* (“My Lord”), while the latter was referred to as *bandag* (“servant”—cf. today’s “your humble servant”). This sentence of the reference book used the word *xwadāyīgān*, the plural of a substantivized adjective for a special sort of addressee, rulers, the nobility, the well-born, officials, i.e., “those deserving every praise”, as well as addressees “of lower standing” (Pahlavi *az-iš-kēhān*); all these homogeneous objects imply the presence of the preposition *ō*. The words following the noun “lower standing” should contain the formula used in regard to this specific sort of addressees, in just the same way as appropriate formulae follow other titles and ranks. The noun *bandagān* denoted the senders, and the “lowers” (*az-iš-kēhān*) following it indicated that those senders were below the addressees in social standing. In that case, the words *1000 anōš ayād az anōš ayād ’nyk* must have meant the “lower-status” sender, as, according to the suggested model, these were to be the words concluding a letter.

Now let us return to the first formula, the words to be used when addressing persons (*xwadāyīgān*) whose standing is lower (*az-iš-kēhān*) than that of the sender: *anōš ayād ayād 1000 anōš*. This formula contains the adjective *anōš* (“nice”, “happy”, lit. “immortal”) and the noun *ayād* (“memory”, “remembrance”) plus the same construction preceded by the numeral 1000. Together, they form two attributive composites following a model well known in Iranian languages: adjective + noun and noun + adjective, cf. Modern Persian *tangdil* vs. *diltang*, both having the same meaning, “saddened” (lit. “one whose heart is burdened”). These both Pahlavi composites (*anōš ayād* and *ayād anōš*) can be translated as “pleasantly remembered”, i.e., someone who is associated with pleasant memories. The second composite emphasized by the numeral could well mean “pleasantly remembered 1000 times (*ayād 1000 anōš*)”,¹¹ but, as it was addressed to someone of lower standing, one could assume that the numeral was inserted later with the second construction specifying and emphasizing the first one: someone of lower standing (should be addressed as) *anōš ayād* “pleasantly remembered”, (i.e.,) *ayād anōš* “remembered pleasantly”. Once the Pahlavi sentence is understood in this way, it becomes logical and devoid of repetitions.

¹¹ The numeral 1000 was typically used in epistolary style as a hyperbole, cf. the Sogdian “old letters”: “ten million greetings (*LP βrywr ŠLM*)” (quoted after: LIVSHITS 1962, 81) and the Sogdian letters from the Mug: “To My Lord ... from his most worthless (lit. “millionth”, Sogdian *100 RYPW myk*) slave...” (ibid., 78–79, 126–127, et al.).

In following, we turn to the formula to be used by senders of lower standing in respect of themselves, *bandagān* ⁺¹² *az-iš-kēhān*. That expression, *1000 anōš ayād az anōš ayād* 'nyk with its two nouns preceded by the numeral 1000 formed yet another composite, but, as it was actually the sender's signature, the composite could not avoid denoting the subject. In Iranian languages, the agent was (and still is) denoted with a determinative composite, its first part being an adjective, the second the verbal stem of the present tense, cf. Modern Persian *xušnavis* "a calligrapher" (lit. "well writing"). In that case, the composite might well mean "remembering with pleasure" and, with the preceding numeral, "remembering with pleasure a thousand times". The question, however, is whether *ayād* could be viewed as the present-tense stem of the verb "to remember", as Pahlavi dictionaries suggest the infinitive *ayāsīdan* has the present-tense stem *ayās-*.¹³ However, a verb *ayādistan* derived from the noun (cf. *kāmistan* "to desire" vs. *kām* "wish") can be found in MS PB containing the text of "Judgements of the Spirit of Wisdom" used by Dastur Peshotan Sanjana,¹⁴ and its existence is further proved by the causative *ayādēnīdan*,¹⁵ as well as by its derivatives, *anayādīh* "forgetfulness",¹⁶ *ayādēnišn* "the process of remembering",¹⁷ and *ayādgār* "memoir".¹⁸ The words following the phrase "recalling with pleasure 1000 times", *az anōš ayād* 'nyk, should, as in the previous case, specify the expression: "(that is) (as it should be written.—O. Ch.) about someone remembering with pleasure", which means that no graphical or grammatical objections emerge to reading Pahlavi *az anōš ayādānīg* (cf. the adjectivized participle *arzānīg*, which is similar in structure).

The expression *1000 anōš ayād* can be found in several papyri; in five fragments it is preceded by the preposition *pad*; in other cases, the *pad* (*PWN*) seems to be preceded by a *L* ("lamed") which could be a consonant, a part of the ideogram *L* denoting the preposition of direction *ō*, but that reading should be considered merely as an assumption.¹⁹ According to D. Weber, the expression *1000 anōš ayād* introduced by the preposition *pad* should be

¹² The text contains the conjunction *ud*; Pahlavi manuscripts frequently used the copula instead of the sign employed for *izafet*.

¹³ MACKENZIE 1971, 15; NYBERG 1974, 41; BOYCE 1977, 20.

¹⁴ SANJANA 1895, 15, 21.

¹⁵ "The Book of the Righteous Wirāz", MS K 20, p. 3v, line 15.

¹⁶ "Memorial of Wuzurgmīhr", JAMASP-ASANA 1913, 86, line 9.

¹⁷ "On Letter-writing", JAMASP-ASANA 1913, 136, line 13.

¹⁸ "Memorial of Zarēr", JAMASP-ASANA 1913, 1, lines 5 et al.

¹⁹ WEBER 1984, 37–39.

associated with the addressee,²⁰ but that Pahlavi preposition could also precede the logical subject of an action,²¹ which makes it possible to understand this formula, when used in the present fragments, as a term used in regard to the sender, someone whose social standing is lower than that of the addressee.

Thus this Pahlavi manual starts in the following way: “Here (‘now’), it is explained how various addressees should be written to. Rulers, nobility, and well-born are ‘omnivictorious’, officials, ‘all-glorious’, those deserving every praise ‘protected by gods’ and ‘supported by God’, those of lower standing, ‘remembered with pleasure’, (i.e.,) pleasantly remembered.”²² Senders having a lower social standing should (write) ‘remembering with pleasure 1000 times’ about the one who is remembering with pleasure. ‘Most respected’ and ‘dearest’ refer to a father, or brothers, or sons, or those who are like a father, a brother, or a son”.

Abbreviations

DP: MS from D.P. Sanjana’s collection.

JJ: MS from Jamshid Jamasp’s collection.

K 20: MS from the Royal Library in Copenhagen.

MK: MS by Mihraban Kayhosrau (A.D. 1322)

PB: MS from D.P. Sanjana’s collection.

Ta: MS from Tahmuras Anklesaria’s collection (A.D. 1887).

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²⁰ Ibid., 37.

²¹ Cf. *Ardaxšīr ... framūd kū ātaxš kunēd tā dūd pad awēšān aswārān dīdār bawēd*—“Ardashir ... ordered, ‘Burn the fire, so that its smoke could be seen by those riders’”, see: CHUNAKOVA (ed.) 1987, 53.

²² Or “remembered with pleasure 1000 times”.

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Aliy Kolesnikov

**The Zoroastrian Manuscript in the Collection
of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS
(Short Reference and Structure)**

Abstract: The article introduces unique Persian manuscripts in the collection of the IOM, RAS specially devoted to Zoroastrian matters. In short Zoroastrian scriptures composed in New Persian during the 12th–17th centuries, were not literal translations from the Pahlavi, but free interpretations of the old sources, adapted to the changing circumstances of life.

Key words: Zoroastrian manuscripts, colophon, *rivayat*, Pahlavi, New Persian, *dastur*, *mobad*, *xerbad*

The number of Persianized Arabographical scriptures collected in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, in St. Petersburg, amounts to over three thousand Persian and Tajik manuscripts on Islam, on the ancient and medieval history of Iran and countries of Central Asia, on the religion and culture, astrology, medicine and other sciences of Islamic world. Only one manuscript in this collection, according to the *Short Alphabetical Catalog* published in 1964 by a group of Leningrad Iranologists, is devoted to Zoroastrian matters (*Mazdayasna*).¹

This is manuscript C 1869, containing 234 paginated folios with 15 lines of cursive text in *nasta'lik* on each page; page size is 26×15.5 cm, including the area under text proper equal to 19×9.5 cm. The manuscript has a number of faults as follows:

- (a) loss of some sheets of paper after folios 12, 24, 33 and 234 (modern pagination);
- (b) serious damages and tears on folios 226, 227, 228, 229 and 231;
- (c) folios from 64b–66a, 217b–218b and 219a have large gaps and lacunae.

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¹ For details, see: AKIMUSHKIN, KUSHEV and al. 1964, 544–545.

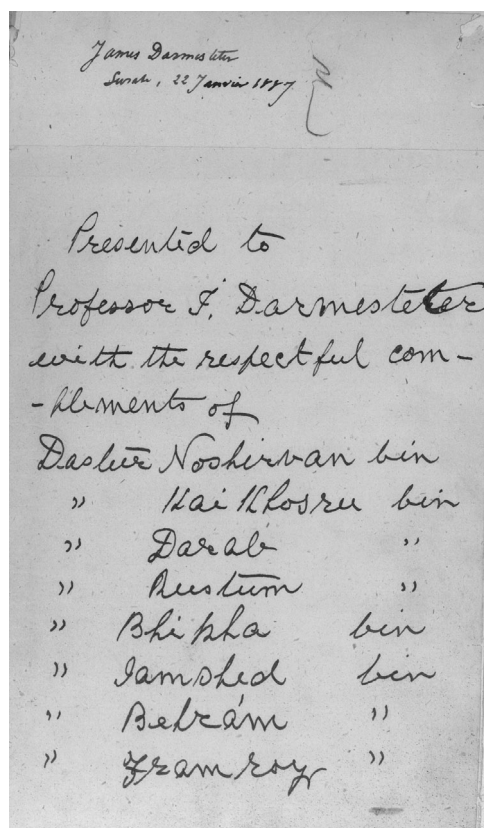
Due to the absence of the last sheets in the manuscript and the lack of the final colophon at the end of the text, the list of shortcomings of C 1869 may be increased. In spite of all that, we can estimate the approximate time of compilation of the manuscript from indirect evidence, specifically from internal colophons attached to three compositions within the Zoroastrian compendium.

The first one (on f. 62a, under the so-called *Tahmuras rivayat*) is written in Pahlavi using New Persian characters and gives the 8th day of 11th month in the year 896 of the Yazdegerd era as the date of its compilation: *andar rōz ī day pa adur ū māh ī wahman ū sāl hašt sad nawad ū šaš pas az sāl ī min be ōy yazdgerd, šāhān-šāh ī šahriyārān...* The second colophon (on f. 153b, after *Ardā Wirāf-nāme*), executed in mixed Arabo-Persian style, indicates the 2nd day “of the old month Mordad” in the same year: *yutatamma tamamat al-kitābu wirāf-nāme az tārīx-e downwom-e mordād māh-e qadīm-e senne-ye 896*. Lastly, the Letter of Iranian *dasturs* (religious instructors), addressed to Zoroastrian clergy and other sections of their co-religionists in India, was written on the 13th day of the month of Bahman in the year 896 [C 1869, f. 154b].

Thus, all three dates fall within narrow time limits—the 2nd half of 1526 and the 1st half of 1527. Even if we assume, that the compilers had in mind the post-Yazdegerd era (beginning in C.E. 651), the time of compilation becomes 1546–1547. Although all other (undated) compositions inside C 1869 could have been written later, the time span between earliest and latest compilations in one manuscript could not be enough to date C 1869 later than the 1st half of the 17th century. The correctness of our assumption about the time of compilation is borne out by collating manuscript C 1869 with a similar Zoroastrian compendium in the collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. 70 per cent of the compositions in both manuscripts have the same titles and, probably, identical contents. According to *Catalogue des manuscrits Persans* de la Bibliothèque Nationale, published by Edgar Blochet, the gap in time between the earliest treatise (*Ardā Wirāf-nāme*, 1585) and the latest one inside the BNF manuscript *Ketāb-e Jāmāspī* (1617) does not exceed 32 years.²

Among the external features of C 1869, the autograph by James Darmesteter should be mentioned. On a separate leaf, attached to the first numbered folio with the Persian text, at the top of the page a clear calligraphic inscription in black ink can be seen as follows:

² BLOCHET 1905, 169, Nos. 14, 16.



James Darmesteter, Surah, 22 Janvier 1887.

That autograph is supplied with the dedicatory inscription, arranged in a column and made in English by a *dastur* of the Indian Zoroastrians in this way:

Presented to Professor J. Darmesteter

With the respectful compliments of

Dastur Noshirvan bin

Dastur Kaikhosru bin

—“— *Darab* —“—

—“— *Rustum* —“—

—“— *Bhikha bin*

—“— *Jamshed bin*

—“— *Behram* —“—

—“— *Framroz* —“—

The dedicatory inscription, made by *dastur* Noshirvan, mentions seven generations of his ancestors, all *dasturs* as well. The Indian name of the donor was Dastur Noshirwanji Kaikhosru of Surat. The circumstances of the donation were described by the *Parsi* scholar J.J. Modi in his Introduction to the *Jamasp-nameh*. Modi notes, that in January 1887 he accompanied the French professor during his visit to the Parsee libraries in Naosari and Surat, and that this manuscript was then presented by Dastur Noshirwanji to Darmesteter as a souvenir of his visit to Surat (*Surah* in his spelling.—A. K.). Modi asserts: “The original manuscript seems to have had no colophon”. On their return to Bombay, Tahmuras Anklesaria “took a copy of that manuscript with permission of Prof. Darmesteter”.³ The later travels of the original manuscript are not clear. Hypothetically, it could have been in the hands of the English scholar Edward W. West in London while he was engaged in producing an essay on the Modern Persian Zoroastrian literature of the *Parsis* for chapter “Pahlavi literature” in the 2nd volume of the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*.⁴ After West’s death, some part of his archives was bought by Academician Carl Salemann (in 1890–1916, Director of the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg) from the English Orientalist’s heirs.

As regards the subjects compiled in manuscript C 1869, it is necessary to note that, in the *Short Alphabetical Catalog*, C 1869 is described as a “Compendium of Zoroastrian compositions translated from Pahlavi to New Persian”.⁵ While accepting such a description on the whole, we have to recognize its highly provisional character, which calls for a more precise definition. In fact, that Compendium comprises a dozen and a half large and small treatises. Some of those really represent rough translations from Pahlavi (or more precisely, New Persian versions of the Pahlavi scriptures), while the others are original texts in New Persian composed in a later period. The compositions of the epistolary genre (i.e., letters and messages from Iranian Zoroastrians to their Indian co-religionists) usually contain quotations of long Avestic phrases made in Arabic characters without indication of short vowels and without any translation.

The large compositions within C 1869 are as follows:

1) The *Jāmāsp-nāme* (“The Book of Jamasp”)—a Persian imitation in prose of the Pahlavi and Pazend versions of the *Jāmāsp-nāmāg*, which deals with the predictions of a court sage in the reign of king Wishtasp about the future events in *Eranshahr* and the fortunes of Zoroastrianism (f. 1a–12b).

³ MODI 1903, XXVII–XXVIII.

⁴ WEST 1896–1904, 122–129.

⁵ AKIMUSHKIN, KUSHEV and al. 1964, 544–545.

The composition is undated. In the commentary on my Russian translation of the *Jāmāsp-nāme*, I tried to reveal differences in structure and meaning between all three versions. While translating the *Jāmāsp-nāme*, I collated the text in manuscript C 1869 with the one in the Bodleian library and with the printed Persian version in Modi's edition of the *Jāmāspī*.⁶

2) The *Rivāyat*, or collection of religious traditions, attributed to Tahmuras Anklesaria (f. 13a–64a). There are considerable lacunae at the beginning, in the middle and at the end of the *rivāyat*. The internal colophon is accompanied by a postscript as follows: “The *rivāiyat*, which was first composed in Zend letters [i.e., in Middle Persian], has been rewritten by the scribe in Persian in order that this composition would be understandable for an Iranian reader”.

3) The *Mīnū-ye xerad* (“The Spirit of Mind”)—an abridged Persian version of the original Pahlavi composition known as the *Dādestān ī mēnōg ī xrad* (“Judgements of the Spirit of Mind”) (f. 71b–78a). It has no date.

4) The *Dāstān-e Anūšīrwān-e ādel* (“The Story of Anushirwan the Just”)—the original New Persian treatise, dated by indirect indications to no earlier than the 10th century (f. 114b–128a). By indirect indications I am referring to the putative author of “The Story”, a certain Abu-l-Khayr Amri, who died in the first half of the 11th century. One of the two Abu-l-Khayrs could have been the author: (1) the father of the Sufi poet Abu-Sa‘id b. Abi-l-Khayr, d. in 1049,⁷ or (2) the Christian physician, theologian, philosopher and translator Abu-l-Khayr b. al-Khammar (942 ca 1030), who converted to Islam.⁸ This work consists of three separate parts. The first one consists of a description of a certain Zoroastrian temple complex situated in Pars province. The account of the temple complex reminds me of the description of the ruins of ancient Persepolis in an archaeological work by Donald Wilber.⁹ Abu-l-Khayr Amri (sic!) comes into contact with Zoroastrian priests of the temple and obtains from them the *Farrox-nāme* (“The Book of Luck”). He translates “The Book” from Pahlavi into New Persian, “in order that every reader can grasp the meaning of the scripture and take benefit from its contents”. The second part of “The Story of Anushirwan the Just” retells the narration of the *Farrox-nāme* about the audiences of Khusro Anushirwan with his court advisers from his immediate entourage. The third part relates the legend of a visit by Caliph al-Ma’mun (813–833) to the tomb of Anushirwan. The unknown author of the Zoroastrian manuscript (19th century), prepared

⁶ SACHAU, ETHÉ 1889: Col. 1115, No. 1955 (Ousley, 44, f. 50a–63b); MODI 1903.

⁷ RYPKA 1959, 216–217.

⁸ MADELUNG 1983, 330.

⁹ UILBER 1977, 33–38.

for Sir John Malcolm, ascribes that visit to another Abbasid caliph—Harun al-Rashid (786–809).¹⁰

A short reference to “The Story of Anushirwan” can be found in a piece of research on the Persian *rivāyats*.¹¹ A Russian translation of the work accompanied by a commentary was published in 2008.¹²

5) The *Ardā-Wīrāf-nāme* (“The Book of Wiraf the Just”). A free retelling of the original Pahlavi story about the journey of Wiraf’s soul to the other world and her visit to abodes of Paradise and Hell (f. 130b–153b). The original Pahlavi text of “The Book” had appeared in the late Sasanian period (6th–7th centuries). The New Persian version, judging by the colophon, was copied by a scribe in the first half of the 16th century. Some modern researches have been specifically devoted to examining the numerous differences between the Pahlavi and the New Persian versions.¹³ The main distinctions are obvious: the different composition of both versions, the New Persian version draws attention to more details, more optimistic descriptions and richer vocabulary.¹⁴

6) The *Šāyast—nā šāyast* (“What is Allowed and What is not Allowed” or “How One Ought to Act and How One Should Not”) presents a collection of Zoroastrian traditions and legends, expounding in a popular manner (in New Persian) on cosmography, eschatology, liturgy, ethical instructions and prohibitions, etc. (f. 155b–215b). The initial chapters of the work, which deal with the creation of the Universe and mankind and the creative power of Ormazd, and the last chapters, which tell of the future Resurrection, have something in common with the Pahlavi version of the Indian Bundahišn. Perhaps for this reason the learned Parsis in India gave the *Šāyast—nā šāyast* the alternative title of the *Saddar Bundaheš* (“The Bundahišn of a Hundred Chapters”). The text of the work prepared for edition on the basis of three manuscript copies was divided by the editor into one hundred chapters, each of which addresses an individual subject or problem.¹⁵

The contents of all seven known manuscript copies of the *Šāyast—nā šāyast* are identical, and copies of the New Persian version differ only insignificantly from one another. At the same time, none of them represent a word-for-word translation from the Pahlavi treatise with a similar title, the

¹⁰ RIEU 1879, 49–51.

¹¹ DHABHAR 1932, 585–586.

¹² KOLESNIKOV 2008, 105–124.

¹³ GHEIBY 2001, 3–16; YASTREBOVA 2009, 138–152.

¹⁴ KOLESNIKOV 2012, 405–431.

¹⁵ DHABHAR 1909, XXVII–XXXI.

Šāyest—nē šāyest.¹⁶ Therefore, the New Persian *Šāyast—nā šāyast* deserves keen attention of scholars as an independent historical source, which does not duplicate its Pahlavi predecessor.

7) The long message from Zoroastrian religious leaders of Iran to their co-religionists in India, which contains a lot of advice and instructions on the performance of liturgical and ritual practices (C 1869, f. 219b–234b). When citing passages from Zoroastrian prayers, the authors use the Avestan language transcribed in Arabic letters without indication of short vowels. Such passages cause additional difficulties for translators and researchers of the text.

Manuscript C 1869 also includes about ten short compositions of various genres, devoted to Zoroastrian matters. Some of them deserve special mention, as follows:

a) The Letter from Iranian *dasturs* to the Zoroastrian clergy and other bodies of their co-religionists in India, with enumeration of authors of the letter and names of addressees (C 1869, f. 154a–155a);

b) The *Mār-nāme* (“The Book on Snakes”). Rhyming predictions of the consequences awaiting people who encountered a snake in a dream for all thirty days of the Zoroastrian month (C 1869, f. 216a–217a);

c) A group of compositions entitled *Ma ‘nī wa Zand* (“Meaning and Commentary”), concerned with exegesis of the main Zoroastrian prayers, interpretations of the Avestan *nasks* (parts of the Avesta), a narrative about the creation of the starlit heaven, etc. (C 1869, fols. 66b–71a, 78a–81b, 94a–96a, 128b–129b, etc.).

The contents of the scriptures included in the manuscript C 1969 convince me that most of the texts require academic publication with translation and commentary. All the compositions included, both the translations from Middle Persian (Pahlavi) and original treatises in New Persian, originated in the Islamic era, after the conquest of Iran and Central Asia by the Arabs, more precisely, no earlier than the 11th or 12th centuries. An indirect pointer to that time is the inclusion of Arabo-Muslim loan-words in the New Persian texts. Among those lexical borrowings we discern the loan-words of neutral type, to be some sort of synonyms for well-known Iranian concepts, and Arabo-Muslim clichés in the character of compulsory Arabian attributes for the main Zoroastrian God, to make the curious Perso-Arabic amalgam like *Īzād-e ta ‘ālā* and *Xodā-ye ‘azza wa jalla*.¹⁷

¹⁶ Cf.: TAVADIA 1930; KOTWAL 1969.

¹⁷ KOLESNIKOV 2008, 92–95, 162–163; <http://www.iranheritage.org/persian-renaissance/absrtacts.htm>; KOLESNIKOV 2013, 515–519.

Under Islamic dominion, Middle Persian (Pahlavi) ceased to be the literary language for the whole Zoroastrian community and yielded its place to New Persian. The sphere of use of Pahlavi narrowed to the Zoroastrian clergy engaged in the copying of and commenting on ancient Mazdayasnian scriptures. As early as in the tenth century, a Muslim geographer stated that, in his time, New Persian was the spoken language in Pars (the central province of Iran) and that Pahlavi was regarded as the language of the former Sasanian administrative office, which needed commentary.¹⁸ So the author of “The Story of Anushirvan the Just” translated “The Book of Luck” from Pahlavi into New Persian in order that the wise book would be understandable and useful for his compatriots.¹⁹ Finally, the 99th chapter of the *Saddar Nasr* instructed *dasturs*, *mobeds* and *xerbeds* not to teach the laity in Middle Persian (Pahlavi), while on the other hand reserving the right to learn Pahlavi for Zoroastrian clergy. The author of the *rivayat* believed this instruction dated from the time of Zoroaster’s personal contact with Ahura Mazda (Ormazd).²⁰

In the Islamic era, most of the Zoroastrian treatises were being composed in classical Persian (i.e., New Persian) to be more accessible to vast circles of ordinary believers.

An attentive look at Zoroastrian scriptures of the 11th to 17th centuries, composed in Eastern Iran and later brought to India in the form of *rivayat*, fortifies our conviction that those compositions had never been word-for-word translations from a foreign language in the narrow meaning of the term, but rather free retellings of original Pahlavi writings in classical Persian or original Zoroastrian treatises written in New Persian.

Some researchers deny genetic ties between the earlier (Pahlavi) and the later (New Persian) compositions dealing with similar problems on the ground of numerous variations found in medieval texts. Meanwhile, the practice of creating the so-called “translations” from foreign texts was by no means rare in Persian classical literature. Everyone engaged in research into medieval Iran knows that “The History of Tabari” by Bal’ami (10th century) was not a simple compilation based on the Arabic text of the *Ta’rīx al-rusūl wa-l-mulūk* chronicle by al-Tabari (9th–10th centuries), but an abridged Persianized version of the primary source, marked by careful editorship with expulsion of doubtful and superfluous information, reiterations, etc. expunged.

¹⁸ MASALIK (Pers.) 1347/1969, 120: پهلوی که به روزگار پارسیان مکاتبات به آن لغت بودی آن را به تفسیر حاجت بود

¹⁹ C 1869, fol. 115b.

²⁰ DHABHAR 1909, 66–67.

In the same way, the Arabic text of al-Istakhri's (10th c.) geographical treatise was thoroughly re-worked in the translation of an unknown Persian interpreter of the 11th or 12th century.

Examples of free translations which incorporated deviations from the literal meaning of the original texts could be prolonged, but there is no need to do so. Other aspects have to be borne in mind. Translators of the ancient treatises belonged to the educated milieu of the Zoroastrian clergy (*xerbeds* and *dasturs*), who knew the long-dead Avestan, the Middle Persian and the living New Persian languages—the latter being enlarged by Arab lexical borrowings and thus accessible for the majority of believers. The interpreters of the ancient texts were, moreover, strong experts in the Zoroastrian doctrine, keepers of traditions and law. They understood the problems of contemporary Mazdayasnians, the evolution of customs and rites in their society.

There is evidence of increased interest in free translations and retellings of the ancient treatises among the Zoroastrian communities in Iran and India of the 12th–17th centuries, in the dissemination of such works in numerous copies, with the text remaining practically unchanged from copy to copy, patent errors by copyists aside. My own experience in research and commentary on the *Jāmāsp-nāme*, the *Ardā-Wīrāf-nāme*, the *Mār-nāme* and the *Šāyast—nā šāyast* has convinced me that textual variations in copies of the above-mentioned compositions have been reduced to a minimum. Therefore, it is necessary to direct our main efforts towards comparison of Zoroastrian New Persian compositions with their Pahlavi prototypes, when such a possibility exists, and towards research on the language and dialectal variants of the late texts, which also deserve detailed analysis.

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**The Exegesis of Kṣemarāja
on the Vijñānabhairava-tantra:
Observations on the Śiva-Devī Tantric Dialogue**

Abstract: The paper presents some observations on the nature of the Devī-Śiva dialogue in the famous *Vijñānabhairava-tantra* based on the interpretation of it given by Kṣemarāja in the extant portion of his *Uddyota* commentary on the text, especially in the initial passages of that commentary. Kṣemarāja interprets the traditional tantric dialogical form as a mystery of Parā, the Supreme Speech-Goddess, in which She generates the process of ‘bringing down’ the sacred text—the tantra—thus embodying the highest truth about the Supreme. The paper contains translations of some important places in Kṣemarāja’s commentary that have not been thoroughly studied yet.

Key words: tantric dialogue, Vijñānabhairava-tantra, Kṣemarāja, Parādvaita, Kashmir Shaivism

Kṣemarāja—a renowned disciple of Abhinavagupta and a prolific 11th-century writer—was the author of a large body of texts that, along with the works of his famous teacher and some other important sources, form the basis for our understanding of the Parādvaita scriptural tradition and the Indian tantric tradition as a whole. Among his works are commentaries on old tantras that are of paramount importance for the tradition. These are the commentaries on the *Svacchanda-tantra*, the *Netra-tantra* and the *Vijñānabhairava-tantra* (VBT). While the commentaries on the first two texts are available to us today, the commentary on the last—the *Uddyota* on the VBT has survived only for the first 23 verses of the tantra. The main content of the VBT,¹ starting from verse 24 onwards, is a description of 112 practical means for the attainment of the universal Supreme Nature that are revealed by Śiva-Bhairava to his spouse Devī. The first 23 verses serve as a preface to the main body of the text. It is really strange that the extant portion of Kṣemarāja’s commentary, as ill luck would have it, cuts off exactly at the

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¹ We are not discussing in the paper the importance of the VBT for the tradition of monistic tantric thought or the issues of the text’s origin and dating, for they were thoroughly highlighted in many research works known to specialists in this field.

23rd verse, when the preliminary part of the text ends and the main exposition is about to start. This “amputation” of the rest of Kṣemarāja’s commentary seems quite enigmatic. We know that it was not Kṣemarāja’s intention to restrict himself to commenting only on the initial part of the tantra. Indeed, we can be sure from his own remarks in another of his texts that he also commented thoroughly on the rest of the tantra. This fact was ascertained by Bettina Bäumer, who determined that Kṣemarāja is referring to his *Uddyota* on the rest of the VBT in his other commentary on the *Netra-tantra*.²

In spite of its incompleteness, the extant portion of the *Uddyota* is worth studying as the oldest commentary on the VBT and a fine specimen of Kṣemarāja’s exegesis on some important tenets of Parādvaita.³ It could be viewed in a certain sense as a separate text—a sort of prolegomenon to the VBT itself, since it is well known that the initial verses of any Sanskrit text are of paramount importance as they present in a condensed form the core ideas of the whole text, provide the context and give keys to the understanding of the subsequent exposition. Besides, in his commentary, Kṣemarāja highlights an important feature in the composition of any Parādvaita tantric text—the ‘tantric dialogue’. This highest type of communication, in which the Supreme converses with Itself, is actually the act of generation of this world by the unfolding of the intrinsic nature of the Supreme—the Highest Speech-energy (Parā-vāk). This energy is the dynamic truth of this world and a way for the seeker to attain the Supreme. As the VBT text puts it:⁴

This state of Bhairava, which is differently praised [here], is [nothing but] the Highest [Energy], because of [her] superior form [she is] renowned as the Highest Goddess [Parā] /17/...

When the [contemplative] experience (*bhāvanā*) of [a person], who has entered the state of Śakti, [becomes that of unity and] without any differentiation, he thus becomes [one] with Śiva’s nature, [for] here [in this tantra] Śaivī is considered to be the entrance [into Śiva]. /20/.⁵

² The *Netra-tantra* (20.36 (a)): ...śrīvijñānabhairavoddyote’smābhirdarśitam.

³ Our translation of the extant portion of Kṣemarāja’s *Uddyota* will be presented in ‘Pt. Hemendra Nath Chakravarty Commemoration Volume’ (forthcoming).

⁴ The translation of the passages from VBT and Kṣemarāja’s *Uddyota* are based on the edition of the tantra in KSTS.

⁵ *evaṃvidhā bhairavasya yāvasthā parigīyate /
sā parā pararūpeṇa parādevī prakīrtitā //17//...
śaktyavasthāpraviṣṭasya nirvibhāgena bhāvanā /
tadāsau śivarūpī syāt śaivī mukhamihocyate //20//*

Let's turn now to Kṣemarāja's commentary. The author precedes his *Uddyota* in a traditional manner with beautiful maṅgala verses where he glorifies the essence of this world—the union of the interplay of the Supreme and its Energy—Bhairava and Bhairavī:⁶

[Who] is causing the tears [of living beings], who are afraid of existence, [and at the same time] makes [these] frightened [ones] free of fear;⁷

[Who] expands [himself] in the abode of the heart [of all and every being]—the Master of [the] fiercely sounding [energies],⁸ [who] puts an end to the end-bringing [death];

Let [Him] be victorious—that Supreme [Being], whose [essential] form is Consciousness, [who] realizes [the activities of] maintenance etc.⁹ in everything, [who] is Bhairava—the Lord of the assembly of yogis, [who] have realized [the nature [of the Supreme reality and] dispel [all] intimidation!¹⁰ //1//.

I take refuge in [the great consort] of Śiva, [who] by expansion (*unmeṣāt*) of Her [real] Self leads [us finally] to the Śambhava [type] of absorption¹¹ by revealed methods of *aṃ* etc.,¹² which are manifested by the lights of [Her] clear and free [radiant] vibration.¹³ //2//

By the [streams] of ambrosia of the [initial] tradition etc. a series of cloud [bursts] of the voice of Guru conceives the student's mind and conquers [its] foundations destroying [thus] the unique suffering [of this existence]. //3//

⁶ We should note that these verses are to some extent in tune with other passages from Kṣemarāja's commentary on the *Svacchanda-tantra*. (Namely on the SvT 1.3). These passages are of much help in elucidating some implied meanings of the verses under consideration.

⁷ *bhīrūṇāmabhayaaprado bhavabhayākrandasya hetustato* corresponds to the Kṣemarāja's commentary on SvT 1.3: ...*bhīrūṇāmabhayamiti vyutpattyā saṃsāriṇāmabhayadaḥ bhayaṃ bhīḥ saṃsāratrāsaḥ tayā janito ravaḥ ākrandaḥ bhīravaḥ tato jātaḥ tadākrandavatām sphuritaḥ*...). See also: TĀ 1. 96–100.

⁸ *bhīravarucām-īsaḥ* Cf. Kṣemarāja on SvT 1.3: *yāsāṃ khecarīgocarīdikarībhūcarīca-kṛarūpāṇām saṃviddevīnām tāḥ bhīravāḥ tāsāmayam svāmī bhīravaḥ*...

⁹ Kṣemarāja's commentary on SvT 1.3: *bhairavo viśva-bharaṇa-ravaṇa-vamana-rūpaḥ*—'Bhairava's [essential] nature is the "nourishing" of the universe, the "resounding" [in His self-awareness] and [its] "ejection".'

¹⁰ *svayoginivahaḥ*—here 'sva' stands for *svarūpa*, i.e., the very nature of the Supreme—its 'Self'. The following words from the commentary on SvT 1.3 correspond to the place: ...*kālagrāsasamādhirasikāḥ yoginaḥ teṣāmayamiti āntaraḥ svabhāvaḥ*.

¹¹ *āveśa* means here *samāveśa*.

¹² *aṃvādyupāyataḥ*—*āṇava* and *śākta* types of *upāya*'s are meant here.

¹³ *spūrat* stands for *spanda*.

Whatever shines forth from the ocean of the Highest Tradition churned by the Mandara rock of [energy] of Wisdom is [verily] the highest ambrosia.

Let it be permanently tasted by truthful people, [who are] purified by the Supreme Śakti in order to attain the nature of Śiva in this life and beyond! //4//.¹⁴

In the spirit of the non-dual paradigm of the Trika teachings¹⁵ and following the lead of Abhinavagupta, Kṣemarāja in his *Uddyota* interprets the usual tantric dialogical form at the outset of the VBT as the mystery of Parā—the Supreme Speech generating the process of ‘bringing down’ (*tantrāvatara*) the sacred text embodying the highest knowledge about the Supreme. Using the technical philosophical apparatus of the monistic Śaiva tradition Kṣemarāja presents the mystery of generation of the sacred tantra text as an interplay of the two sides of the Universal Consciousness (Saṃvit)—the light of consciousness (*prakāśa*) and Its Self-awareness (*vimarśa*).¹⁶ This interaction is depicted in the tantra by the dialogue between Śiva-Bhairava and his divine spouse Parā-Devī. As it is presented by Kṣemarāja, in this conversation between the inquiring Devī and the responding Śiva, the Supreme is actually addressing Itself in a request to elucidate what should be considered Its essential nature among the various forms taught in different tantras and what should be the way for the bounded aspect of the Supreme which is the limited sentient being (*aṃu*) to reach this very nature. As Kṣemarāja puts it:

¹⁴ *bhīrūpāmabhayaprado bhavabhayākrandasya hetustato
hṛddhāmni prathitaśca bhīravarucāmīšo 'ntakasyāntakaḥ/
bhīraṃ vāyati yaḥ svayoginivahastasya prabhurbhairavo
viśvasminbharaṇādikṛdvijayate vijñānarūpaḥ paraḥ //1//
svairisvacchasphuradbhābhīrḥāsītāpṇvādyupāyataḥ/
svonmeśacchāmbhavāveśaṃ darśayantīṃ śivāṃ śraye //2//
āmnāyādyamṛtaiḥ siṃcantyantevāsīmāno 'vanīḥ/
jayatyatulatāpacchidguruḡīrambudāvalī //3//
dhīmandarācalavalatparamāgamābdherullāsyate kimapi yatparamāṃṛtaṃ tat /
jīvacchivatvamadhigantumamutra sadbhiḥ saṃcarvyatāmavirataṃ paraśaktipūtaiḥ //4//*

¹⁵ Kṣemarāja delivers an eulogy for Trika citing the following verse in his commentary: ‘Śaiva is higher than the Veda and other [Vedic texts], Vama and Dakṣiṇa [are higher than] Śaiva, Kaula is in the higher position than Dakṣiṇa, but even higher than Kaula is Trika—[According to this saying, the] position of the Trika-śāstra is [to be] the essence [of all the systems of knowledge]’ (*Uddyota* on VBT 1–2(a)).

¹⁶ Kṣemarāja draws on several sources in his *Uddyota*. Among them are SvT, TĀ, the *Pratyabhijñā-kārikā*, the *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*.

Thus having expressed the majority of chief [tantric] principles [by means of] deliberation (*vicāreṇa*), [that is full of] awareness (*vimarśinā*) of the essential meaning (*arthahṛdaya*) of the entire [tantric] tradition,¹⁷ the Goddess of the Supreme Consciousness (Saṃviddevī), desiring to manifest Her own form of the absolute Consciousness of Bhairava,¹⁸ addressed [Śiva]... So, ‘revealed’¹⁹ by force of awareness, [this] ‘self-sufficient’ (*nirākāṅkṣā*) Goddess,²⁰ [displaying] the previously depicted nature of her own Self (*svasvabhāvoktarūpā*) and possessing the state of Bhairava, started speaking (in the described manner). [And She performs] thus everywhere: as in everyday communication (*sarvavyavahāra*), [the Goddess] of the Supreme Consciousness reveals in Herself the ability to become both questioning, [as well as] answering side; but here [in this dialogue between Devī and Śiva-Bhairava] the specific [character of the conversation is that it] elucidates the Utmost subject (*anuttarārthaviśayā*). So, the Śrī Svachchanda-[tantra] reads [as follows]:

Having assumed the roles of *guru* and *śiṣya*, [it is] the Lord Sadāśiva Himself through the phrases [of] asking and answering sides [in a dialogue] made the tantra descend.²¹

This conversation of the Supreme with Itself is, according to Kṣemarāja, the establishment of the specific highest type of relation (*paraśaṃbandha*)—the identity of the highest Subject with Itself:

...thus [by this dialogue is demonstrated] the very life (*prāṇatā*) of the highest type of relation in this *śāstra*. So, the very nature of the highest

¹⁷ This refers to the deliberation of Devī upon the nature of the Supreme, based on the different tantric concepts presented in VBT’s verses 2–6.

¹⁸ “...form of the... Consciousness of Bhairava...” (*vijñānabhairavarūpatām*) means here also the text itself—the *Vijñānabhairava-tantra*, for this text is the form, i.e., the embodiment of the Supreme Vāk-Devī.

¹⁹ *unmeṣa* lit. means ‘the act of opening eyes’.

²⁰ Devī is the embodiment of *svātantrya-śakti*, i.e., the energy of the absolute, not depending on anything else, freedom of Śiva.

²¹ *evaṃ samagrāgamārthahṛdayavimarśinā vicāreṇābhīmukhikṛtāprāyatatattvārthā saṃvid devī svāṃ saṃpūrṇavijñānabhairavarūpatāmāvivikṣurāha...*

itthamāmarśanavaśonmiṣannirākāṅkṣā svasvabhāvoktarūpā devyeva prāptabhairavabhāvā uktānīyā uvāca, sarvasya cedṣyeva prāyaḥ sarvavyavahāreṣvapi svayaṃ praśnaprativacanacaturā saṃvit, iha tu anuttarārthaviśayā iti viśeṣaḥ taduktam śrīsvachchande:

guruśiṣyapade sthitvā svayaṃ devaḥ sadāśivaḥ |

pūrvottarapadairvākyaistantram samavātārayat || (Kṣemarāja on VBT 6–7(a)). Cf. SvT 8.31(b)-32(a): ...pūrvottarapadairvākyaistantramādhārābhedaḥ tajjñānamīśvare ‘dāt.

type of relation [becomes] the direct meaning of [this] honorable [text]—*Vijñānabhairava*²²...

Ontologically, this dialogue is the everlasting process of the coming into being of the universe through the very essence of the linguistic substrate of this world—the interplay of the two sides of the linguistic symbol—*vācya* (‘expressed’) and *vācaka* (‘expression’). The *vācya* is the ‘highest’ supreme Anuttara and the text itself is *vācaka*—the embodiment of the supreme Vāk-Devī. This interplay is the essence of tantra—the means through which ‘expands’²⁴ the manifestation of hierarchically organized levels of Being supported by the activity of Speech-energy. Kṣemarāja formulated this in a rather complicated manner using semantically dense scholar-Sanskrit phrasing overloaded with compounds.²⁵

Here, [in this text, the Absolute] Consciousness-Bhairava [inseparable from his] divine Spouse²⁶ on the surface (*bhittau*) of [his] supreme potent (*paraśākṭa*) [vibratory] radiance, [which is of the] nature (*ātma*) of the full-‘I’ reflective awareness (*vimarśa*) [displays his essential] form of the flow of [his] powers of Will, Knowledge and Action [thus luminously] manifesting (*avabhāsa*) the states (*pada*) of Anāśrita[Śiva], Sadaśiva, Īśvara [and others²⁷ in a sequence in which] every succeeding state [is included in every] preceding one [and] expands (*unmiśad*) [itself] by the force of contractive including (*nimeṣaṇavaśa*)²⁸ of an endless inherent [in

²² In this context, the title ‘Vijñānabhairava-tantra’ could be interpreted as the ‘[Tantra of highest type of relation between] the [Supreme] Consciousness [and] Bhairava’.

²³ ...śāstrasya parasambandhaprāṇataiva taditthaṃ parasambandhasatattvaṃ śrīvijñānabhairavābhidhāyi...

²⁴ The root *tan* (in tantra) literary means ‘to stretch’, ‘to expand’.

²⁵ This feature of Kṣemarāja’s writings has even made Dr. B. N. Pandit speak of ‘complexity and obscurity’ peculiar to Kṣemarāja’s style (see: Pandit 1989, 150).

²⁶ *śrīman* in the text may simply mean the ‘reverted Lord’, but could also have a sense of ‘[one, who] possesses Śrī’. Śrī means the Supreme energy Bhairavī—the divine spouse of Bhairava.

²⁷ I.e., the rest of the thirty-six *tattva*’s of Parādvaita.

²⁸ ...pūrvadaśānimeṣaṇavaśonmiśad...—The construction of the Sanskrit phrase highlights the idea that the processes of *nimeṣa* and *unmeṣa*—respectively ‘expansion’ (lit. ‘the opening of the eyes’) and ‘contraction’ (lit. ‘the shutting of the eyes’)—are in reality the interconvertible phases of one timeless process taking place in the Supreme. Kṣemarāja expounds this idea in his *Spandasandoha* while commenting upon the initial verse (1.1.) of the *Spandakārikā* (*yasyonmeṣanimeṣābhyāṃ jagataḥ pralayodayau...*). See the detailed exposition of the theme in [Dyczkowski 1994: 62ff.].

him] (*antaḥkṛta*) and distinct [from each other] levels of being (*daśā*), [where every] preceding [one is merged in every] succeeding one, [and each has] the manifestations of creation etc. (*sargādiprapaṇca*).²⁹

Having become the very seed of [all] these [respective] levels of being, secretly sustaining [them] as the inherent subject of the experience (*sa-tattvagrāhaka*), by His energy through the succeeding manifestations of Paśyantī etc.,³⁰ via the inner throb (*antasphuraṇayā*) [of consciousness Bhairava thus] manifests objects as if maintaining [this] world (*jagad-vyavasthāmiva*).

Through the force of [his] contracted [form] of Vaikharī etc.³¹ [and] through the expansion [of Himself] as a vibrant [manifestation] of Īśvara etc., [He] by the activity of his energy reveals (*unmajjita*) the absorption into the union of Rudra [and Śakti] by the grace, [which] is hidden in the limited subject (*mitamātṛ*)—Such are the five activities determined by the Lord [and described] in the non-dual teachings.³²

Following *Parātrīśikāvivaraṇa*³³ of Abhinavagupta Kṣemarāja tries to present, in terms of logic and grammar, the mystery of the tantric dialogue—the initial moment of the conversation of the Supreme with Itself, when Its omniscient Energy—the Goddess of the Supreme Consciousness (Saṃvid-devī)—as if possessing no universal knowledge presented herself as the questioning side and started to speak (*devyuvāca*):

There the Goddess of the Supreme Consciousness [whose] very nature is to illuminate etc., being awakened on the levels of Paśyantī etc.³⁴ is an inquirer. In herself, [She] is not different from the Supreme

²⁹ The phrase ‘manifestations (*prapaṇca*) of creation (*sarga*) etc.’ refers to the five divine activities: *śṛṣṭi*, *sthiti*, *saṃhāra*, *pidhāna*, *anugraha*.

³⁰ I.e., in the descending order of Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī.

³¹ I.e., in the ascending order of Vaikharī, Madhyamā and Paśyantī.

³² *iha śrīmān cidbhairavaḥ pūrṇāhaṃvimarśātmāparaśāktasphurattābhittāvantahkṛtānāntāvāntarasargādiprapaṇcapūrvapūrvadaśānimeṣaṇavaśonmiśaduttarottarāvasthecchājñānakriyāśaktisārānāśritasadāśiveśvarapadāvabhāsanavarūpo bījabhūtaitaddaśāgopanāsatattvagrāhakatacchaktitapāśyantyādibhūmyābhāsapuraḥsarameyābhāśāntasphuraṇayājagadyavasthāmivanimiśadvaikharyādivaśonmiśadīśvarādīspuraṇayā anugrahanimajjītamitāmātṛtacchaktyunmajjitarudrayāmalasamāveśamunmīlayati—ityadvayanayeṣu pañcakṛtyakāritocyate bhagavataḥ/.*

³³ Namely, PTV 1.1. See: KSTS, 9–11; also: Singh 1988, 12–13. The fact that Kṣemarāja refers to the *Parātrīśikā* here could be explained as follows: according to the traditional tantric textual genealogy, both VBT and the *Parātrīśikā* stem from the old, no longer extant *Rudrayāmala-tantra*.

³⁴ At the levels of Paśyantī(vāc), Madhyamā(vāc) and Vaikharī(vāc).

Bhairava, [but] the level of the Highest [Speech] (Parābhūmiṃ), [though it is manifested by her] own light (*svābhāsām*), because [it] is beyond grasping by inner or outer organs of senses [is presented to Her at the level of Paśyantī etc.] always as if [something] beyond (*parokṣāmiva*)³⁵ as well as if [something] ‘was’ [in the past] (*bhūtāmiva*), because of the [activity of the limiting factor] of time [at the levels of] Paśyantī etc.; and [also] because [it is] impossible [to set any] concord (*anvaya*) [in terms] of days and months in the limits of *kalpa*-[period] regarding [an infinite number of] different [superior] subjects (*rudra*) [and] [inferior] subjects (*kṣetrajña*),³⁶ [whose life activities are rooted in the] subtle [and] subtlest particles of *prapa*, [this Highest level is presented to her] as if [something happened] right now (*adyatanīmiva*).

When [She tries] to conceive [her Supreme form], it is like [She recalls it waking up from a sleep]: ‘I have talked when I was sleeping!’³⁷ [But it was actually] the same I [who talked], [so verily I am] the Goddess of Supreme Consciousness, the Supreme Mistress [of the Highest Speech descended] (*parābhāṭṭārikā*) to the levels of Paśyantī etc. wishing to awake the progressive states of clearness, [who] ‘has said’ (*uvāca*) [and thus] reflectively presented (*amamarsa*) the shining secret of oneness (*cakāśadrahasyam*).’

Thus, [because of the state] of absolute completeness [Devī], being fully awakened [in Her] form of [the union] with Bhairava, [whose name should be] ‘etymologized’ [as ‘one that] makes everything sound by fury’, [and experiencing the state of the absolute] ‘I-ness’ the honorable Goddess said...³⁸

³⁵ *parokṣā* (*parokṣa*) characterizes perfect tense form in the starting phrase of the tantra: *śrī devyuvāca*— ‘Devī said’. See: (Pāṇini III.2.115: *parokṣe liṭ*).

³⁶ In a technical sense, *rudra*’s are the *pramātā*’s of the *śuddha* and *śuddhāśuddha* levels of existence, while *kṣetrajña*’s are the *pramātā*’s of the *āśuddha* level (see: Pandit 2005, Vol. II, 573).

³⁷ See: PTV (KSTS, 10). J. Singh interprets this phrase (*supto ’haṃ kila vilālāpa*) thus: ‘While asleep, I, indeed, bewailed.’

³⁸ *tatra paśyantyādipade dyotanādisatattvā saṃviddevī prabudhyamānatayā praṣṭrī svā parabhairavābhinnā parābhūmiṃ sadā svābhāsāmapyantarbāhyākṣāgocaratvāt parokṣāmiva paśyantyādikālāpekṣayā tu bhūtāmiva tattadrudrakṣetrajñatattatprāṇāṃśāṃśikāpekṣyākalpāvadhidikadinamāsānvayābhāvāt adyatanīmiva yāvadāveṣṭumāmṛṣati tāvat supto’haṃ kila vilālāpa itivat ahameva saṃviddevī paśyantyādipade prabubhutsurasphuṭasphuritaparābhāṭṭārikaikyacakāśadrahasyamuvācāmamarśa/ evaṃ prabuddhā satī nairākāṅkṣyāt bhiyā sarvaṃ ravayati iti niruktabhairavarūpā ahamevovāceti śrī devyuvācal/.*

So, starting with the words *śrī devyuvāca* ('the honorable Goddess said'), the actual process of 'bringing down' the tantra begins. It is mediated by the dialogue of Devī and Śiva—the explicit linguistic form of the inner interplay of the two sides of the Supreme, which through the multitude of words and things permanently reconstructs the oneness of the meaning of Itself thus eternally testing the nectarous blend of unity and diversity.

Abbreviations

VB: Vijnānabhairava-tantra
NT: Netra-tantra
PTV: Parātrīśikā-vivaraṇa
SvT: Svachchanda-tantra
TĀ: Tantrāloka

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Evgenii Kychanov

**Tangut Documents from Khara-Khoto concerning
Loans of Grain**

(Translated and edited by Kirill Solonin)¹

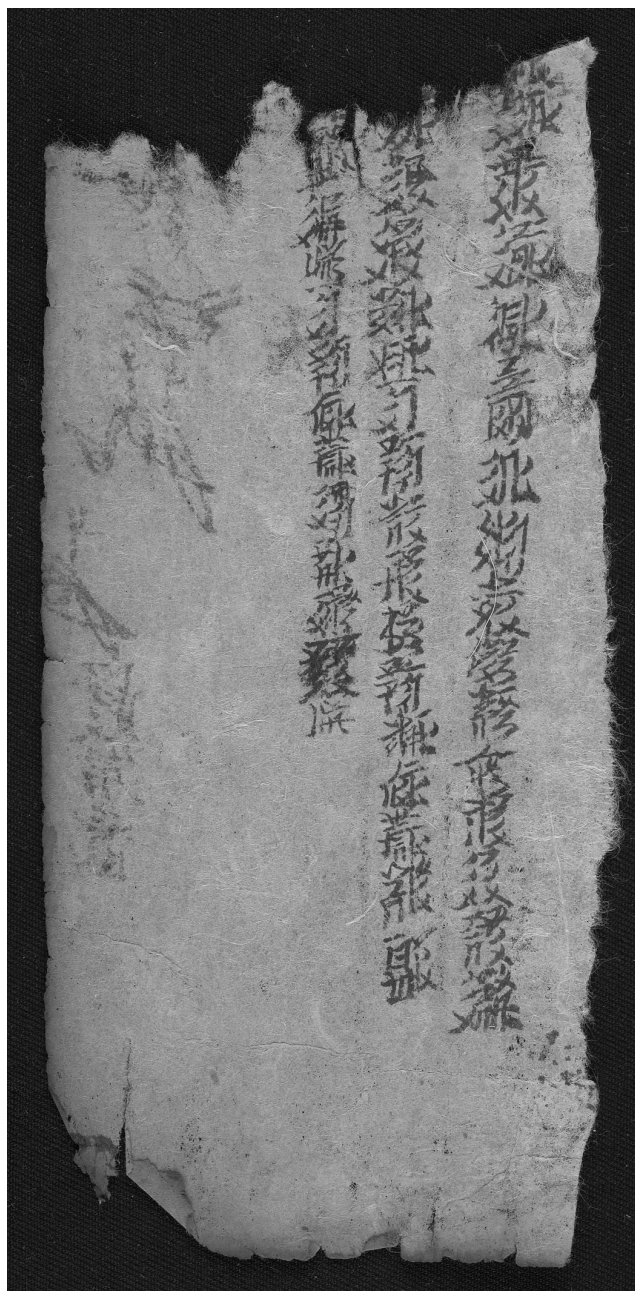
Abstract: Three documents presented in this paper are devoted to the borrowing of grain in the spring and its repayment in the summer. The interest rate of the loans was 50%; under the terms, if the loan was not returned in time the amount to be repaid doubled. The Tangut documents display a similarity to the loan regulations known from the Dunhuang area. Under Tibetan rule, the loans were interest free, but in the event of failure to repay the total amount of the loan doubled. The Chinese documents from Dunhuang indicate that the interest rate on grain loans was 50%.

Key words: Tangut economic documents, Khara-Khoto, Dunhuang, grain loans

Grain loans in the spring time, when peasant households experienced a shortage of food supplies or seed for sowing, and the return of the loans in the fall, when the harvest was collected, was a well-known practice not only in China, but in agricultural regions throughout the world. Documents in various languages concerning loans of grain have survived within the body of the documents and texts excavated from Dunhuang and Turfan. The Tangut documents from the Khara-Khoto area are a valuable resource for a comparative study of documents of this type and the legal practices implied in them from different parts of Western China. In some respects, the Tangut documents reveal particular features, which distinguish them from similar texts discovered elsewhere.

Below, I present three documents of this kind, recently identified within the Tangut Collection of the Institute of the Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. Apart from the reproduction of the actual document, the paper includes a transcription of each document in the Tangut script followed by a Chinese transcription and an English translation and several comments concerning the contents of the documents discussed.

¹ © Evgenii Ivanovich Kychanov, Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences. Kirill Yurievich Solonin, Institute of Chinese Classics, Renmin University of China.



Pl. 1. № 7910

² A tentative reading.

reads *rjir*², while the second is *wji*¹, meaning “person”; I render it phonetically as a family name. The loan was provided by someone whose name was Phezhi. In this case, both phonetic rendering and translation are plausible: provided my reading of the unclear glyph is correct, the name translates as “Tibetan water”.

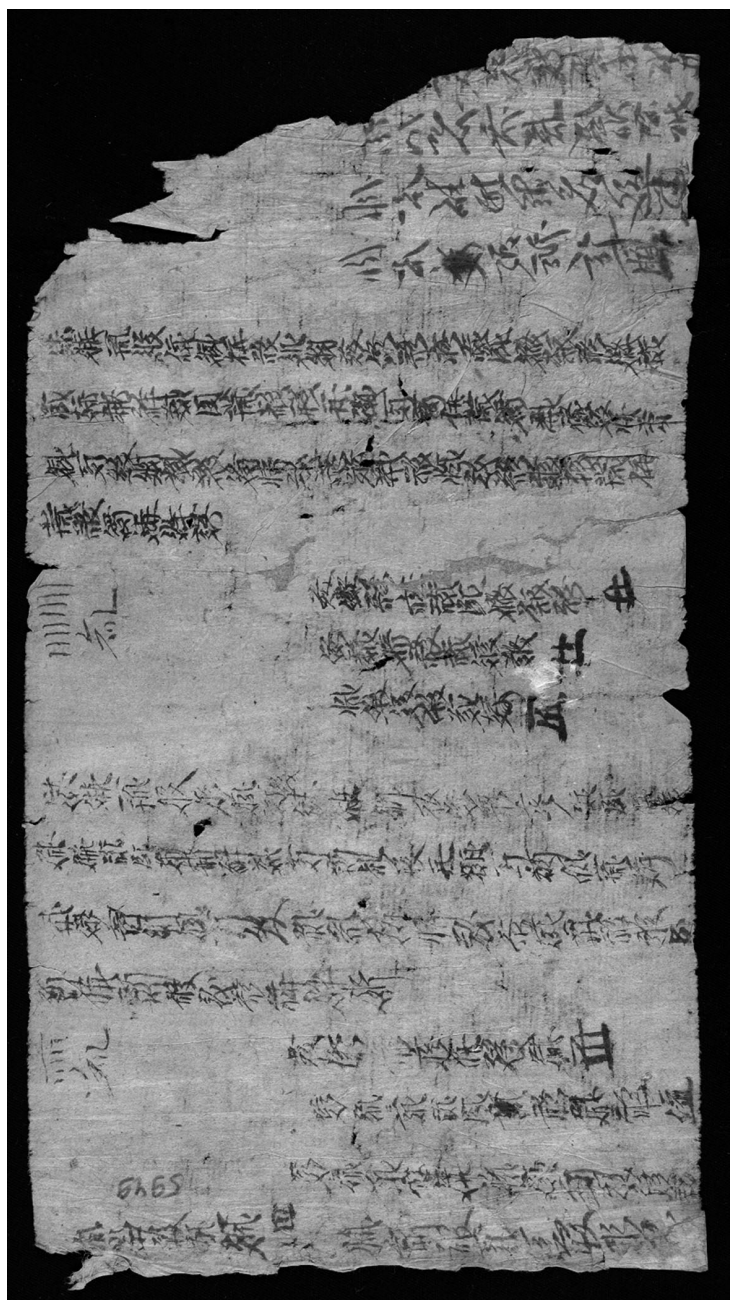
The repayment date is not stated in the text; normally the term was set for late summer or early fall, the harvest time. The loan is based on the “half” principle: the interest rate was established as the half of the amount borrowed, thus one *hu* becomes 1.5 *hu*. The document seems to be an unfinished copy of a contract, or else the deal was cancelled for some reason.

Document 5949 (Pl. 2)

This fragment contains two documents dealing with the borrowing of grain. Both are complete texts of the loan contracts; one document is written in standard script, while the other is cursive, but nonetheless legible. The text is written on the standard “official paper”, and appears to be a fragment of a longer scroll, which probably contained more documents. The two loans mentioned in the documents were made almost simultaneously by one person; one might infer that these are copies of the documents preserved in a register of loans, while each of the borrowers received his own separate copy.

The documents read from right to left, the first four lines are the names of a borrower, the person who drafted the contract (normally a relative), followed, on the third and the fourth lines, by the names of the witnesses. This part of the text belongs to another contract, which has not survived and is thus omitted from the present study. Lines 5–8 are the text of the first document, ending with eight horizontal strokes in the upper part of the document. These represent the amount of grain borrowed (8 *dou*) and a cursive character *dza*¹, meaning “various” (i.e., various sorts of grain). The final three lines are the names of the borrower and witnesses.

The following four lines belong to the next document. They are followed by another four lines giving the names of the borrowers and witnesses and one horizontal and five vertical strokes, which represent “one *hu* and five *dou*”, i.e., the actual amount borrowed plus the interest, whereas in the first document only the actual amount of grain borrowed is indicated. The reason for this is unclear.



Pl. 2. 5949

Tangut transcription, document 1

[illegible]

Chinese transcription

- (1) (1) 光定蛇年五月二十九日, 文狀造者 *囉不咋 咤余, 今*囉
- (2) 不余嚕班處八斗雜糧取, 半變, 一斛二斗為. 齋日Pref來, 七
- (3) 月一Pref日, 麵數主集進為. 若日異不進時, 一斗
- (4) 二斗各為, 本心服.
- (5) 文狀造者*囉不咋 咤余
- (6) 狀相□子*囉么寶
- (7) 知人*為吃咤余

English translation

On the 29th day of the 5th month of the snake year of Guangding [reign period; 21.06.1221], the maker of [this] contract *Rabu Gawagu (Rar¹ bju¹ ɣa² wa² ɡju¹) now borrowed from *Rabu Gulupo (Rabu ɡju¹ lu² phiow¹) eight *dou* of various grains; interest (lit. “change”) is half [and] becomes one *hu* and two *dou*. When the fasting day arrives, on the first day of the seventh month, the grain should be collected and presented. If the term is missed (lit. “different day”) [and the loan] is not returned, then each *dou* becomes two *dou*. [This] corresponds with the original intentions of the borrower.

The maker of the contract *Rabu Gawagu

Associate in the preparation of the contract, □son *Rame Li (Rar¹ mə¹ Lji¹)

Witness Wezhi Wagu (wji¹ tshji²·wa² gju¹)

Tangut transcription, document 2

[illegible]

- (5) 亥 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗
 (6) 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗
 (7) 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗
 (8) 𪛗 𪛗 𪛗

Chinese transcription

- (1) 光定蛇年六月一 (光定, scribal error) 日, 文狀造者*囉不葛歧
 (2) 帕, 今*囉不余嚕班處一斛雜麥取, 半變, 一斛五斗為。
 (3) 日期異 (scribal error, this character is not needed here, cf. previous document), 七 (日, scribal error) 一 日, 日期異 (scribal error, cf. above) 主集進為者,³ 日異時一
 (4) 利五斗進為。本心服。
 (5) 文狀造者葛歧帕
 (6) 狀Pref相 *囉不余歧
 (7) 狀Pref相 妻*鬼名
 (8) 知人

English translation

On the first day of the sixth month of the snake year of Guangdong [reign period; 22.06.1221], *Rabu Gezhipa (kə¹zjir²paa¹) now borrowed from *Rabu Gulupo one *hu* of various grains; interest (lit. “change”) is half [and] becomes one *hu* and five *dou*. [The] term [for payment] is the first day of the seventh month; on this day the grain should be collected and presented. If the term is missed, the [loan should be returned with] interest of five *dou*. [This] corresponds with the original intentions of the borrower.

The maker of the contract *Rabu Gezhipa

Associate in the preparation of the contract *Rabu Yuzhi[ha]

Associate in the preparation of the contract 妻 *Weiming [Dayaowei]

Witness *[Mingpu Heweixia]

Unlike the previous one, this document is written in a rather careless manner with a lot of scribal errors. The contract is concluded with one long horizontal stroke, which represents one *hu* and five smaller vertical strokes, i.e., “five *dou*”. The loan is for a short term, only one month, and the interest rate is 50%. The provisions of the contract might be interpreted in such a manner: for each day after the payment deadline, the interest will increase by

³ A tentative reading.

five *dou*. This interpretation is, however, rather unlikely, given that such conditions would have been clearly unacceptable to anyone. My interpretation of this provision is that, after the deadline, the total amount to be repaid doubled: that is one *hu* would become two *hu*.

The fragment which contains the above two documents is in all probability part of a bigger loan register that belonged to someone named *Rabu Gulupo, who provided grain loans in the spring/early summer season at an interest rate of 50%, with the amount due doubling if the deadline was missed.

If we compare the Tangut documents with similar fragments known from Dunhuang, we will discover that, in similar situations in Dunhuang, the interest rate for grain loans was also set at 50%. As Leonid Chuguevskii once wrote: “The majority of our documents indicate that the interest rate is 50%. ... However, we are also aware of three fragments where the interest is 30% instead of 50%”.⁴ One Chinese document reads as follows: “On the 9th day, Zhang Heji borrowed two *dan* of wheat, in the fall he will return 3 *dan*”; “Li Liang borrowed 4 *dan* of wheat, in the fall he will return 6 *dan*”.⁵ The Chinese contracts contain no clause stipulating that, after the deadline, the total amount to be repaid doubles. However, this clause does appear in Tibetan documents that date from the period of the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang and adjacent areas in the 8th–9th centuries. Here is an example:

The beginning of the first summer month, year of the mouse, region of Tshe-stobs

At the beginning of the first summer month, year of the mouse, Sag Dge legs has borrowed three *khal* of wheat and barley... from Lha-skyes of Sning-tsoms county. It was decided that the loan should be returned in time and in full to the house of Lha-skyes no later than the middle of the first fall month of this year.

It was also decided that in the event of the debtor being unable to return the loan in full by this time and trying to escape so as not to pay, the total amount of the loan] doubles. Apart from the debtor’s house, the livestock and all valuables, tools, clothing and all [items of property] inside the house may be confiscated by a commission; against which the debtor has the right of appeal. It is also decided that if Dge legs is away from home, or has been mobilized for public works, the guarantor of the loan is responsible and will provide the payment as agreed.

⁴ *Kitaiskie dokumenty iz Dun'khua* 1983, 178–179.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 193.

Since the witnesses participate in this, their presence is confirmed either by their seals or fingerprints.⁶

One characteristic feature of the Tibetan documents is that loans of grain during the spring/summer period with payment due in the fall were interest-free; however, the principle of timely repayment was heavily enforced. If a loan was not repaid in time, the amount doubled and debtor was liable with all his property. In the absence of the debtor, the guarantor had similar liabilities. Alongside standard documents about interest-free loans, there is another document which mentions that eight Chinese families unable to pay the government grain tax borrowed the grain from a Tibetan official at an interest rate of 100%. If the loan was not returned in time, the combined total due (including the interest) doubled.

Tangut practices, at least in the Khara-Khoto area combined the Chinese and Tibetan principles: the interest rate was set at 50%, and if repayment was not made on time, the total amount doubled. The Tangut laws confirm this observation: in the event of failure to provide repayment in full, a debtor was liable with all his property, while he himself and his family would have to work for the creditor to settle their debt.

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⁶ TSUGUHITO 1995, 65–65; 199–201.

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**The First Mongolian Manuscript
in Germany Reconsidered**

Abstract: In 1979, Walther Heissig published an article describing two manuscript folios kept at the Herzog August Bibliothek: one of them contains text fragments in Tibetan and Mongolian, the other one, text in Tibetan only. Heissig proved that these folios were the first manuscripts of this kind in Germany, brought there from Russia, where they had been found at Ablai Keyid on the River Irtysh. The present study goes further in refining some of these data: the history of the folios is elaborated, the text fragments are attributed. Above all, the study demonstrates an unquestionable codicological resemblance between the folios and the Golden Kanjur of Ligdan Khan, establishing a connection between these manuscripts.

Key words: Ablai Keyid, the Golden Kanjur, Ligdan Khan, “golden” manuscripts, codicology

In his 1979 paper titled “Die erste mongolische Handschrift in Deutschland,” Walther Heissig published and described two manuscript folios kept at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Lower Saxony which, as that study establishes, were the first Mongolian manuscripts ever brought to Germany.

The manuscript

The first one is a *pothi* format folio sized 33.5×20.6 cm. The beginning of the folio with the pagination and part of the text are torn off. On one side of the folio, there is text in Mongolian, on the other, eight lines of text in Tibetan. The text was written with a reed pen (*calamus*) in gold on blue paper against a glossy blackened background. On the middle axis of the folio, two double circles are drawn symbolizing the holes for the cords that used to bind Indian palm-leaf manuscripts.¹

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The handwriting style of the Mongolian text is characteristic of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The initial “teeth” do not have crowns, there are no diacritical marks for “n” and “γ” in front of the vowels, the texts do not make any distinction between the initial “j” and “y” as well as “c” and “j” in the middle position. The medial “t” and “d” are sharpened and the lower element of the letters is not connected with the vertical axis. In addition, they are often written in front of the vowels as a “loop” with a “tooth.” The final “a,” “e” and “n” are written in the shape of a horizontal “tail” that is turned down. The final “s” is a short horizontal “tail.” The *orkicas* have “snake’s tongues.” The “sticks” are almost of the same length as the “teeth” and differ from the latter only in their shape and the angle of their inclination. The use of the Galik alphabet is minimal.

The design of the folio and the handwriting style of the Mongolian text are absolutely identical to the appearance and ductus of the so-called Golden Kanjur,² 20 volumes of which are kept in the library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia (China) in the city of Hohhot (AK).³ This manuscript collection was the final result of the Kanjur translation project carried out under Ligdan Khan (1588–1634) in the years 1628–1629.⁴







In modern Mongolian studies, it has been taken for granted that the Golden Kanjur was written as a single copy. However, the Mongolian historiographical tradition does not comment on the exact number of “golden” copies. Thus, for example, the Mongolian chronicle called the *Thousand Spoke Golden Wheel* (Mong. *Altan kürdün mingyan kegesütü*)⁵ states that “...the Kanjur was translated into Mongolian and written in gold.”⁶ Another Mongolian work, the *Golden Rosary* (Mong. *Altan erike*), reports: “It is extremely marvellous that they wrote golden and silver letters that are like the

¹ HEISSIG 1979, 199–200.

² The only difference is the size of the manuscripts. The folios of the Golden Kanjur are sized 72×24.9 cm. The width of the folio published by Heissig is almost four cm smaller, while its original length is unknown.

³ For more detail about this manuscript collection, see: ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013.

⁴ The circumstances surrounding the creation of Ligdan Khan’s edition have been repeatedly described in the literature on Mongolian studies. See, for example, KASIANENKO 1993, 18–13; HEISSIG 1957; 1962; TUYAT-A 2008, 278–297; USPENSKY, 1997, 113–114.

⁵ In the transcription of Mongolian text, “c” and “j” are given without diacritic. The following symbols are used for the Galik letters and editorial marks: <...>—glosses and interpolations, {...}—eliminations and corrections of the text, d’—, e’—, g’—, m’—, o’—, t’—.

⁶ baka-a ‘agyur-i mongyol kelen-e orciyulun altan-iyar bicibei: DHARM-A 1987, 148.

Sun and the Moon on the sky of paper that is like blue turquoise and illuminated the darkness of ignorance of sentient beings.”⁷

The Content

Heissig states that the Tibetan text belongs to the *Vinaya* section, finding it difficult to precisely attribute the Tibetan and Mongolian fragments. We were able to fill in this gap: the Mongolian text is a fragment from the ninth part (Mong. onol) of the Mongolian translation of the *Śrī-sarvabuddha-sama-yoga-dākinījāla-saṃbara-nāma-uttaratantra*.⁸ The Tibetan text is a fragment from the 32nd chapter (Tib. bam po) of the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayavastu* (Tib. ‘Dul ba gzhi).⁹ In the tables below, the correspondence of the Mongolian fragment transcribed by Heissig with the text of PK (Table 1) and of the Tibetan fragment with the Beijing block print of the Tibetan bKa’ ‘gyur (Table 2) are given.

⁷ köke bidura metü cayasun-u oytaryui-dur naran saran metü altan mönggön üsügüd-i orosiylun qubitan amitan-u mungqay-un qarangyui-yi geyigülün jokiyaysan yeke yayiqamsiy: NA-TA 1989, 114. Scholars have also repeatedly commented on the five “black” or plain copies written down together with the Golden Kanjur (see, for example, ELVERSKOG 2003, 211, n. 176; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, 159; USPENSKY 1997, 114), nevertheless the authors of this study are not acquainted with Mongolian historical records mentioning them. At present, we know the following “black” manuscript copies of the Ligdan Khan’s Kanjur: one volume preserved in Copenhagen (CK; on this volume, see: HEISSIG 1957; KOLLMAR-PAULENZ 2002, 162–165), the 113 volume collection kept at the St. Petersburg State University library (PK; see KASIANENKO 1993); the bulk of the 70-volume collection preserved at the National Library of Mongolia as the Kanjur (UBK); 109 volumes kept at the Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the RAS (UUK); the Kanjur preserved at the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia, China (HHK1).

⁸ KASIANENKO 1993, No.7.

⁹ Q, ‘Dulba, ge, 79b/4–80a/3.

Table 1

W. Heissig, Mong.	PK, Dandir-a, ka, 52a–66b
<p>(1) si ///m//i vati. siri-y-a sovaq-a nom-un degedü ///d/. (2) kemebesü. küseksen qamuy jiryalang-i öggügci bolai. <u>oom</u> (3) <u>tari tutdari turi sovaq-a</u>. nom-un mutur abasu ele (4) burqan-u bodi qutuy-i sayitur bütügekü ele bügesü. <u>busud</u> (5) qatud-i daki jayun¹⁰ ügületele. <u>drang bau-a tata tr-a</u> (6) <u>tr-a tr-a</u>. qamuy бүкү egerel-i tegüskegci nom-un ene (7) degedü mutur kemebesü qamuy egerel-i tegüskegci bolai. (8) <u>siri vcir-a badm-a bata ba muge</u>¹¹ <u>jokisvar-a</u>¹² <u>qi qi qi</u> (9) <u>qi qi</u> nom-un degedü mutur kemebesü. qamuy (10) yirtincüs-i sayitur ////////////// ////////////// ////////////// (11) bolai. ayalu dayun-u öndür buqui¹³ kiged qoyulai-yin (12) egesig-i jasaju uriqui luy-a cay-tayan masi amurliysan (13) degedüs-iyer. <u>qung</u> terigüten-ü dayun-i dayulayad. qamuy (14) ayalus-iyar <u>kei</u> kü///seger. yambar-iyar edügülküi-<u>dür</u> (15) qotala dayun-iyar. <u>qung</u> kemekü dayun-u mutur iyar. (16) coγ-tu vcir saṭu-a-yi sayitur bütügekü bolai. (17) qamuy ökin tn[gr]is-ün degedü ökin tngri-yin qubcad (18) cimeg-ün yosuyar büjijü. gekele¹⁴ sadbala...</p>	<p>[60b] (subha g'a-a sda ma ha-a-a d'e' bi hiri: miri ridi:) niri šri ye' süva ha-a: nom-un <u>ene</u>¹⁵ degedü mudur kemebesü: küseksen qamuy jiryalang-i öggügci bolai: o'm' d'a-a <u>re'd'utd'd'a-a re' süva ha-a</u>: nom-un mudur abasu ele: burqan-u bodi qutuy-i: sayitur bütügekü ele bügesü: qatud-i daki yayun ügületele: <u>d'r-am' bha ba t'a-a t'a-a</u>: d'r-a d'r-a t'a t'a <re' va>: qamuy <bükü> egerel-i tegüskegci nom-un ene degedü mudur kemebesü: qamuy egerel-i tegüskegci bolai: <u>šri baj'ar bad'm-a bhata bha muk'a yo'gi šuvar-a hi hi hi hi hi</u> nom-un ene degedü mudur kemebesü: qamuy yirtincüs-i sayitur ebdegci buyu: nom-<un> mudur-i medeküi bolai:: ayalu dayun-u öndör boyoni kiged: qoyulai-yin egesig-i jasaju uriqui-luy-a cay-tayan masi amurliysan degedüs-iyer: <u>huum'</u> terigüten-ü dayun-i dayulayad:: qamuy ayalus-iyar <u>ker</u> küsegseger: yambar-iyar edügülküi-<u>tür</u> qotala dayun-iyar: <u>huum'</u> kemekü dayun-u mudur-iyar: coγ-tu vcir satu-a-yi sayitur bütügekü bolai:: qamuy ökin tngri-ün degedü ökin tngri-yin: qubcad cimeg-ün yosuyar büjijü: kakala sadbala (terigüten: qamuy dayun-i dayulaydaqui::)</p>

¹⁰ We ventured to correct some words in W. Heissig's transcription: *yayun*.

¹¹ *muka* = Tib. *mu kha*.

¹² *yogisvar-a*.

¹³ *boyoni*.

¹⁴ *kakala* = Tib. *ka ka la*.

¹⁵ Double underlining indicates variant readings.

Table 2

W. Heissig, Tib.	Q, 'Dul ba, ge, 79b/4–80a/3
(1) 'das gsungs pa la mngon par dga' nas rjes su yi rang ste/ bcom ldan 'das kyi zhabs gnyis la mgo bos phyag byas nas...	[79b/4] (de nas bram ze pad ma'i snying po bcom ldan) 'das <u>kyis</u> gsungs pa la mngon par dga' nas rjes su yi rang ste/ bcom (5) ldan 'das kyi zhabs gnyis la mgo bos phyag byas nas bstan la slangs te song ngo/ de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge slong rnams la bka' 'stsal pa/ dge slong dag skabs su bab par bram ze pad ma'i snying po 'phyag bar byed kyis/ de lta bas na yon sngo ba byed ba na/ dge slong ...
(2) ...(b)ka' 'stsal pa// dge slong dag skabs su bab par bram ze pad ma'i snying po 'phyag bar byed kyis/ de lta bas na yon sngo ba byed ba na/ dge slong ...	dga' nas rjes su yi rang ste/ bcom (5) ldan 'das kyi zhabs gnyis la mgo bos phyag byas nas bstan la slangs te song ngo/ de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge slong rnams la bka' 'stsal pa/ dge slong dag skabs su bab par bram ze pad ma'i snying po 'phyag bar byed kyis/ de lta bas na (6) yon bsngo ba byed ba na dge slong gis bza' bar mi bya'o/ zan 'gal tshabs can du 'gyur ro/ bcom ldan 'das lo ma bdun par byon nas lo ma bdun par sangs rgyas bzhi rnams kyi gdan zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du rgyas par sbyar ro// bcom ldan (7) 'das ko sa la'i ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs pa na 'char kar byon nas/ 'char ka na gnas tsher ma chan gyi nags na bzhangs so/ ko sa la'i rgyal po gsal rgyal gyis dge sbyong gau ta ma ko sa la'i ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs ba na 'char kang byon nas/ (8) 'char ka na gnas tsher ma can gyi nags na bzhangs so zhes thos so/ thos nas kyang mi zhig la bsgo ba/ kwa 'e nang rje tshur khyod dge sbyong go'u ta ma gang na ba der...
(3) (b)com ldan 'das lo ma bdun bar byon nas/ lo ma bdun par sangs rgyas bzhi rnams kyi gdan zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du rgyas par sbyar ro// bcom ldan (7) 'das ko sa la'i ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs pa na 'char kar byon nas/ 'char ka na gnas tsher ma chan gyi nags na bzhangs so/ ko sa la'i rgyal po gsal rgyal gyis dge sbyong gau ta ma ko sa la'i ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs ba na 'char kang byon nas/ (8) 'char ka na gnas tsher ma can gyi nags na bzhangs so zhes thos so/ thos nas kyang mi zhig la bsgo ba/ kwa 'e nang rje tshur khyod dge sbyong go'u ta ma gang na ba der...	dga' nas rjes su yi rang ste/ bcom (5) ldan 'das kyi zhabs gnyis la mgo bos phyag byas nas bstan la slangs te song ngo/ de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge slong rnams la bka' 'stsal pa/ dge slong dag skabs su bab par bram ze pad ma'i snying po 'phyag bar byed kyis/ de lta bas na (6) yon bsngo ba byed ba na dge slong gis bza' bar mi bya'o/ zan 'gal tshabs can du 'gyur ro/ bcom ldan 'das lo ma bdun par byon nas lo ma bdun par sangs rgyas bzhi rnams kyi gdan zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du rgyas par sbyar ro// bcom ldan (7) 'das ko sa la'i ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs pa na 'char kar byon nas/ 'char ka na gnas tsher ma chan gyi nags na bzhangs so/ ko sa la'i rgyal po gsal rgyal gyis dge sbyong gau ta ma ko sa la'i ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs ba na 'char kang byon nas/ (8) 'char ka na gnas tsher ma can gyi nags na bzhangs so zhes thos so/ thos nas kyang mi zhig la bsgo ba/ kwa 'e nang rje tshur khyod dge sbyong go'u ta ma gang na ba der...
(4) ...n nas/ 'char ka na gnas tsher ma chan gyi nags na bzhangs so/ ko sa la'i rgyal po gsal rgyal gyis dge slong ko'u ta ma ko sa la'i...	dga' nas rjes su yi rang ste/ bcom (5) ldan 'das kyi zhabs gnyis la mgo bos phyag byas nas bstan la slangs te song ngo/ de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge slong rnams la bka' 'stsal pa/ dge slong dag skabs su bab par bram ze pad ma'i snying po 'phyag bar byed kyis/ de lta bas na (6) yon bsngo ba byed ba na dge slong gis bza' bar mi bya'o/ zan 'gal tshabs can du 'gyur ro/ bcom ldan 'das lo ma bdun par byon nas lo ma bdun par sangs rgyas bzhi rnams kyi gdan zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du rgyas par sbyar ro// bcom ldan (7) 'das ko sa la'i ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs pa na 'char kar byon nas/ 'char ka na gnas tsher ma chan gyi nags na bzhangs so/ ko sa la'i rgyal po gsal rgyal gyis dge sbyong gau ta ma ko sa la'i ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs ba na 'char kang byon nas/ (8) 'char ka na gnas tsher ma can gyi nags na bzhangs so zhes thos so/ thos nas kyang mi zhig la bsgo ba/ kwa 'e nang rje tshur khyod dge sbyong go'u ta ma gang na ba der...
(5) ...r ma can gyi nags na bzhangs so zhes thos so// thos nas kyang mi zhig la bsgo ba/ kwa 'e nang rje tshur khyod dge sbyong go'u ta ma gang na ba der...	dga' nas rjes su yi rang ste/ bcom (5) ldan 'das kyi zhabs gnyis la mgo bos phyag byas nas bstan la slangs te song ngo/ de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge slong rnams la bka' 'stsal pa/ dge slong dag skabs su bab par bram ze pad ma'i snying po 'phyag bar byed kyis/ de lta bas na (6) yon bsngo ba byed ba na dge slong gis bza' bar mi bya'o/ zan 'gal tshabs can du 'gyur ro/ bcom ldan 'das lo ma bdun par byon nas lo ma bdun par sangs rgyas bzhi rnams kyi gdan zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du rgyas par sbyar ro// bcom ldan (7) 'das ko sa la'i ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs pa na 'char kar byon nas/ 'char ka na gnas tsher ma can gyi nags na bzhangs so zhes thos so/ thos nas kyang mi zhig la bsgo ba/ kwa 'e nang rje tshur khyod dge sbyong go'u ta ma gang na ba der...
(6) ...g byos la gnod pa chung ngam/ nyam nga ba nyung ngam/	dga' nas rjes su yi rang ste/ bcom (5) ldan 'das kyi zhabs gnyis la mgo bos phyag byas nas bstan la slangs te song ngo/ de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis dge slong rnams la bka' 'stsal pa/ dge slong dag skabs su bab par bram ze pad ma'i snying po 'phyag bar byed kyis/ de lta bas na (6) yon bsngo ba byed ba na dge slong gis bza' bar mi bya'o/ zan 'gal tshabs can du 'gyur ro/ bcom ldan 'das lo ma bdun par byon nas lo ma bdun par sangs rgyas bzhi rnams kyi gdan zhes bya ba gong ma bzhin du rgyas par sbyar ro// bcom ldan (7) 'das ko sa la'i ljongs rgyu zhing gshegs pa na 'char kar byon nas/ 'char ka na gnas tsher ma can gyi nags na bzhangs so zhes thos so/ thos nas kyang mi zhig la bsgo ba/ kwa 'e nang rje tshur khyod dge sbyong go'u ta ma gang na ba der...

¹⁶ = rje.

<p>‘tsho ‘am bskyod pa yang ngam/ stobs dang bde ba la reg par spyod dam zhes snyung gsol...</p>	<p><i>‘am/ bskyod pa yang ngam/ stobs dang bde ba la reg par spyod dam zhes snyun gsol</i> la ‘di skad du kye she ldan gau ta ma ko sa la’i rgyal po gsal rgyal snga <i>bcom ldan ‘das la blta bar</i> (2) <i>mchi ‘tshal na/ shes ldan gau ta mas ‘di ltar snga nas thugs su chud par mdzad du gsol zhes kyang gsol</i> gcig/ lha bka’ bzhin ‘tshal zhes mi des ko sa la’i rgyal po gsal rgyal gyi <i>ltar mnyan nas/ bcom ldan ‘das gang na ba der song ste</i> (3) <i>phyi pa dang/ bcom ldan ‘das kyi zhabs gnyis la mgo bos phyag byas te/ phyogs</i> (cig tu ‘dug go/)</p>
<p>(7) ...(bco)m ldan ‘das la blta bar mchi ‘tshal na/ shes ldan go’u ta mas ‘di ltar snga nas thugs su chud par mdzad du gsol zhes kyang gso(1)...</p>	
<p>(8) ...ltar mnyan nas/ bcom ldan ‘das gang na ba der song ste phyi pa dang/ bcom ldan ‘das kyi zhabs gnyis la mgo bos phyag byas te phyogs...</p>	

At present, it is not possible to explain for certain why two essentially different canonical works were written on one folio in two different languages.

The second folio kept at the Herzog August Bibliothek under the same pressmark contains text only in Tibetan. Its size and appearance are similar to the “Tibeto-Mongolian” folio. Heissig identifies the text as a fragment of the canonical work *Āryā-avalokiteśvara-padma-jāla-mūla-tantrarāja-nāma*.¹⁷

The History

These two manuscript folios are enclosed with a letter written in French, dated February 1, 1723, and addressed by Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon, a member of the French Academy of Sciences, to Peter the Great.

The history of the correspondence between Peter the Great and the French scholar in connection with certain Tibetan manuscripts from Siberia is well covered thanks to the scrupulous study by Ye. Kniazhetskaia.¹⁸ In 1720, Tibetan and Mongolian manuscripts were found on the site of the half-ruined monastery Ablai Keyid (also known as Ablait) on the River Irtysh and brought to St. Petersburg. The monastery had been built by the Khoshut

¹⁷ HEISSIG 1979, 208. The work is located in Q, rGyud, ba, 256a/1–310a/6.

¹⁸ KNIAZHETSKAIA 1989.

Ablai-tayiji in the mid-1650s, and consecrated by the Oirat Jay-a Pandita in 1657.¹⁹ It was abandoned after Ablai's defeat in 1671.²⁰

The manuscripts were found by the expedition that the Tsar sent to Siberia under the leadership of Ivan Likharev in search of gold. They are believed to have later become part of the collection of the Asiatic Museum, although it is not known which specific manuscripts in the Institute's collection these could be.²¹

In 1721, after the manuscripts were brought to St. Petersburg, Peter the Great's librarian, Johann Daniel Schumacher, took the best preserved folio to Europe in order to have its text translated. None of the European scholars whom the Tsar's librarian consulted could identify the language of the manuscript,²² and yet in 1722 Jean-Paul Bignon ventured to try and translate the text. The letter enclosed with the two manuscript folios preserved at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel was written by Bignon after the French scholars finished their work on deciphering the text.²³ It is remarkable, however, that the letter does not concern the Wolfenbüttel folios: it is written about a completely different folio of a Tibetan manuscript. The folio in question has been described and published by Margarita Vorobiova-Desiatovskaia (based on the print published by J.B. Menke in the 1720s),²⁴ who identified it as a fragment from the *Mahamantranudharani-sutra* (Tib. *gSang sngags chen po rjes su 'dzin pa'i mdo*). The Tibetan text is written on glossed black paper in silver ink. This type of expensive design, as well as the large size of the folio (*circa* 68.7×19.4 cm), suggests that the manuscript was produced primarily for ritual purposes. On the basis of an 18th century print, it is not possible to date the manuscript.²⁵

Obviously, the details of the correspondence between Jean-Paul Bignon and Peter the Great were unknown to Heissig as he conducted his study of the Wolfenbüttel folios, and he knew nothing of the existence of the Tibetan folio from the *Mahamantranudharani-sutra* published by Menke. In an attempt to explain the connection between the two folios preserved at the

¹⁹ RADNABHADRA 1999, 75.

²⁰ KNAZHETSKAIA 1989, 18–19.

²¹ SAZYKIN 1988, 10.

²² In particular, Schumacher consulted M. La Croze and J.B. Menke, and the latter published a print of the folio in his journal *Acta eruditorum*. See: KNAZHETSKAIA 1989, 22.

²³ The text of the letter in French was published by Heissig. See: HEISSIG 1979, 192–193. The content of the letter and the details of the whole correspondence are described in the paper by Kniazhetskaia. See: KNAZHETSKAIA 1989, 22–23.

²⁴ VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1989.

²⁵ VOROBIOVA-DESIATOVSKAIA 1989, 37–38.

Herzog August Bibliothek and Bignon's letter, Heissig comes to the conclusion that the letter must concern the one folio written entirely in Tibetan.²⁶ Now that a great deal more information is available we are faced with an even more perplexing question: knowing that Bignon's letter concerns neither of the two folios described by W. Heissig, how can the presence of both items in the Wolfenbüttel library be explained? The question is partly answered by Heissig himself, who comments that the manuscript folios and the letter belonged to the German scholar Jacob Friedrich Reimmann (1668–1743). Reimmann acquired them from Andreas Ernst Stambke, who served as the Duke of Holstein's envoy at the court of Peter the Great in 1723–24. Only at that place and time could Stambke have come into possession of the folios and the letter.²⁷ Although the circumstances of this acquisition are not known, an important fact has been established: the two folios written in gold on black and blue paper, which Heissig called the first manuscripts of this sort ever brought to Germany, were in St. Petersburg in the early 1720s. This means that these folios come from Ablai Keyid, as at that time there were no Mongolian or Tibetan manuscripts of any other origin in the Russian capital.²⁸

Besides the two manuscript folios at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Heissig gives valuable information about another similar folio kept in Linköping, Sweden. Based on the photocopy of the folio fragment and the descriptions published by Heissig, it can be stated that the ductus of the Mongolian text, as well as the design of the folios from Wolfenbüttel and Linköping, are identical. The size of the Swedish folio is not given, half of the folio is torn off, and its text has not been attributed so far.²⁹

This manuscript folio was brought to Sweden by Johan Gustaf Renat—an officer of the Swedish king Charles XII's army, taken prisoner after the Battle of Poltava and sent to Siberia in 1711. In 1716, the expedition party of which he was part was ambushed by the Jungar, and Renat remained a captive in Jungaria until he returned to Sweden in 1734. Renat is famous as the author of the first maps of Jungaria, and the manuscript page preserved in Linköping (named *Codex Renatus* after its owner) is enclosed with two such maps. On one side of the folio there is a note in Russian saying that it came into Renat's possession in 1720.³⁰

²⁶ HEISSIG 1979, 208.

²⁷ HEISSIG 1979, 210.

²⁸ The next contribution to the manuscript collection of St. Petersburg was made by D.G. Messerschmidt in 1728. See: PUCHKOVSKII 1954, 92.

²⁹ HEISSIG 1979, 200, 203.

³⁰ HEISSIG 1979, 200–201.

So we have established the existence of two Mongolian manuscript folios of similar form and ductus. While it can be safely assumed that the folios from the Herzog August Bibliothek were found in Ablai Keyid, the origin of Codex Renatus is not entirely clear. It is established, however, that both folios were found in Jungaria and came into the possession of their European owners in the early 1720s.

The striking similarity that the folios in the Herzog August Bibliothek and Linköping display to the Golden Kanjur from Hohhot indicates that these manuscripts were probably written at the same time, as part of one “project.” Since, at the moment, we have no reasons to doubt that the “golden” manuscript collection kept in Hohhot is the Golden Kanjur of Ligdan Khan,³¹ we can assume that the other manuscript fragments were also written in 1629, after the translation and editing of the Mongolian Kanjur had been completed. The question of how some of these manuscripts got to Ablai Keyid has still to be answered, calling for a further study of other “golden” fragments on blue paper preserved in European collections.³² Another mystery that remains to be solved is the attribution of the folios to a specific text collection: although the fragments come from canonical texts, the presence of different text fragments in different languages on the same folio has yet to be explained.

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Abbreviations

AK: Golden manuscript Kanjur

CK: Volume of the manuscript Kanjur. Copenhagen

HHK1: Manuscript Kanjur. Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia

PK: Manuscript Kanjur. St. Petersburg State University Library

Q: bKa’ ‘gyurpecin par ma

UBK: Manuscript Kanjur. National Library of Mongolia

UUK: Manuscript Kanjur Institute for Mongolian, Buddhist and Tibetan Studies of the Siberian Branch of the RAS

³¹ ALEKSEEV, TURANSKAYA 2013, 777.

³² Similar folios are to be found at libraries of Berlin, Glasgow and London (HEISSIG 1998, 158).

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Tatiana Pang

**A Manchu-Mongolian Diploma Given
to the Wife of a Mongolian Nobleman**

Abstract: One of the imperial diplomas from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts was written in both Manchu and Mongolian languages and given to the wife of a Mongolian nobleman Subdubdorji conferring on her the title *wife of beise*. The decoration of the diploma and accordion-type binding show that the owner was of high position. An analysis of the text suggests that it was originally written in Mongolian and then translated into Manchu. Patents granting hereditary ranks and titles to Mongols were issued in Beijing by the Board of Colonial Affairs and then sent to Mongolia. Only few of them are known to have been given to women, one of those is published in the article.

Key words: Manchu-Mongolian diploma, Qianlong, Board of Colonial Affairs, Qing dynasty, *beise*

The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, in St. Petersburg holds a number of imperial diplomas given to various Manchu noblemen in recognition of their good service to the Qing court. The texts are written in Manchu and Chinese on multicolored silk, which is mounted on paper and folded as a handscroll.¹ The diplomas certify that their holders had been promoted in rank or given a hereditary title; the wives of those people were also given honorary titles. One of these 16 imperial patents stands out for its form: it is folded in accordion-type binding and fixed between cardboard covers.² The text is written in Manchu and Mongolian in red ink inside a hand-painted silver frame with dragons and clouds, and there are ascending and descending dragons on both sides of the scroll, which is folded like an accordion with each page containing seven lines of text. The entire text is written on yellow silk mounted on paper; the cardboard cover of the binding is wrapped in faded red silk. This unusual form suggests that the patent was given to someone who was close to the imperial family.

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¹ PANG 2001, 41–61.

² PANG 2001, 44–45; call number C 30 mss.

Comparison of Manchu and Mongolian versions of the text showed that the contents are identical.

Transliteration from Manchu:

Abkai hesei forgon be aliha./

hûwangdi hese/

wang ni ilhi ofi, wesihun be isibure be dahame, kesi be / selgiyere de jergi bi, dorgi durun be tob obufi, jergi be tuwame / obure be dahame, sain be fungnere de ilgarakû, yargiyan-i doroi / miyamigan de acanaci kesi hese be isibure giyan, Kalkai jasak gûsai / beise Sundubdorji-i sirame gaiha sargan sula uksun Yung Šeo-i / sargan jui, sini banin ging-gung olhoba, erdemu nesuken nemgiyen eigen de // aisilame, boode durun ilibufi, dasara teksilere wen yongkiyafi dorgideri / aisilahangge yargiyan-i ambula, tutu simbe beise-i fujin / fungnefi hoošan-i abdangga fungnehen buhe, beise de holbohongge wesihun / derengge juru akû / juktere amsun be bolgomime hiyoošun ginggun be / endeci acambil/ wesihun oho seme / ume cektoloro/ kesi be aliha / seme ume dabašara ginggule.//

Abkai wehiyehe dehi uyuci jorgon biyai juwan uyun.//

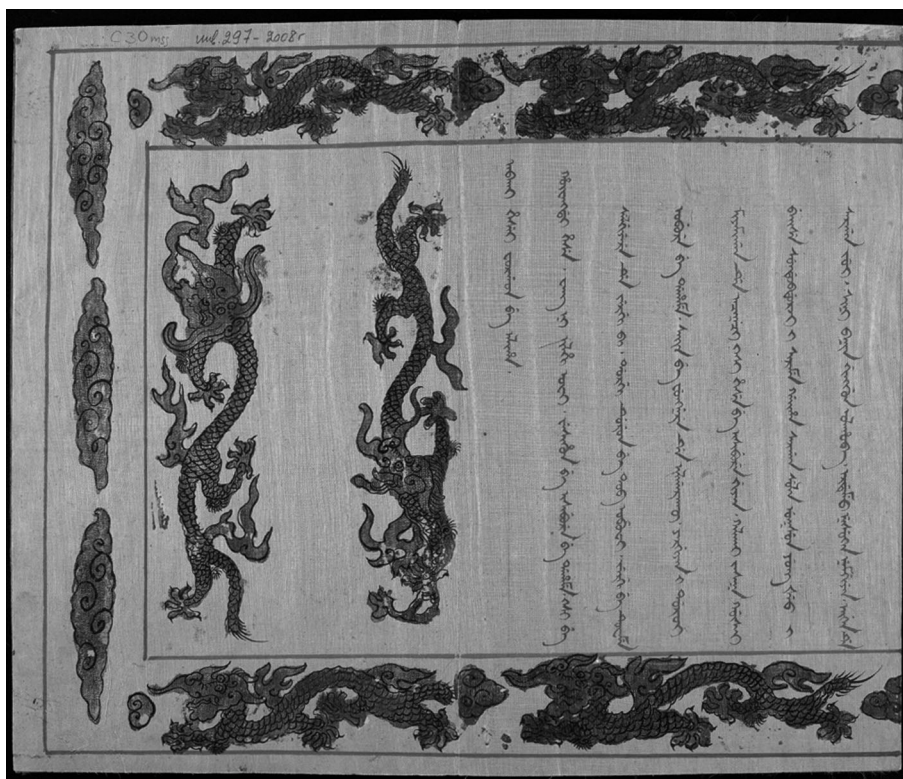
Transliteration from Mongolian:

Tngri-yin bošoy-iyar caγ-i ejelegsen

Quwangdi-yin jarliγ

Wang-un ded bolγad, erkim-i kurtegekui-yin tulada, kesig-i tongyalaquidur jerge bui: toto γadu keb-i tob bolγad, jerge-yi inu ujeju bo γaquiyin tulada, sayin-i ergumjilekui-dur iγaquugei, uneger yosotu cimeg-tur neilelcebesu, kesig jarliγ-i kurtegeku jokistai bui, Qalq-a-yin jasaγ qosi γun-u beyise Sondobdorji-yin qoyitu abuγsan gergei uqaγ-a jug šeo-yin okin, cini torolki inu kiciyrnggui ayumdaqu, erdem inu dolgen tuliyeen nokur-tegen tusalaju gerte keb bayγulju jasaqu ba tengsileku soyul-i tegusuged, dotuγar-iyar tusalaysan anu uneger yeke bolai, teyin ku camayi beyise-yin qatun ergumjileged, caγasun-u nabcitu ergumjilel soyuqabai, Beyise-dur qolbaγsan anu erkim niγurtai qoyar ugei, takiqujoγoγ-i ari γulaju takiγdaqu kiciyenggui-yi uriddabasu jokimui erkim bolbai kemen buu omurqa γdun, kesig-i kurtebei kemen buu rasi γura γdun, kiciyengguyile.

Tngri-yin tedgugsen-u dosin yisuduger on ebul-un segul sar-a yin arban yisun:

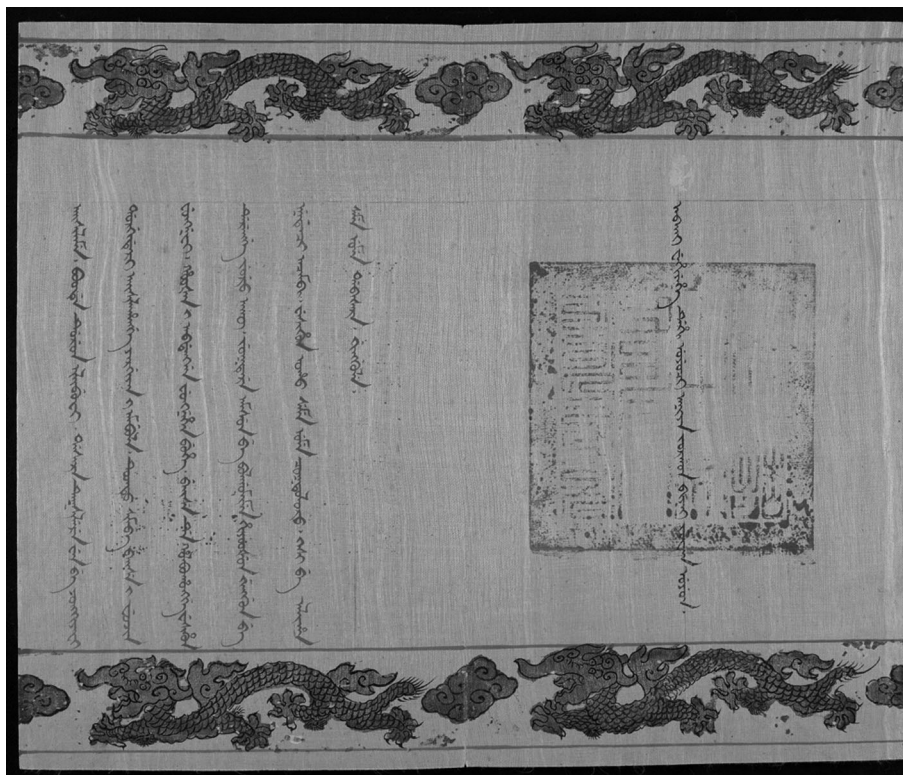


Translation from Manchu:

“Edict of the Emperor who received the ruling power by the Will of Heaven.

There is a procedure for granting the title of *wang* and rewards. Keeping the inside order and following the rules, we distribute our kindness and mark good [deeds]. If we follow the real rule of state moral, then she deserves to be bestowed the emperor’s edict favor.

The second wife of Sundubdorji [in the Mongolian version: Sondobdorji.—T. P.], *Khalkha jasak gusai beise*, a daughter of the Yung Seo clan! Your natural character is respectful and attentive. You help your husband virtuously, tenderly and gently. You maintain the order of the house; you control, put in order and cultivate the household; you greatly support [your husband] from inside.



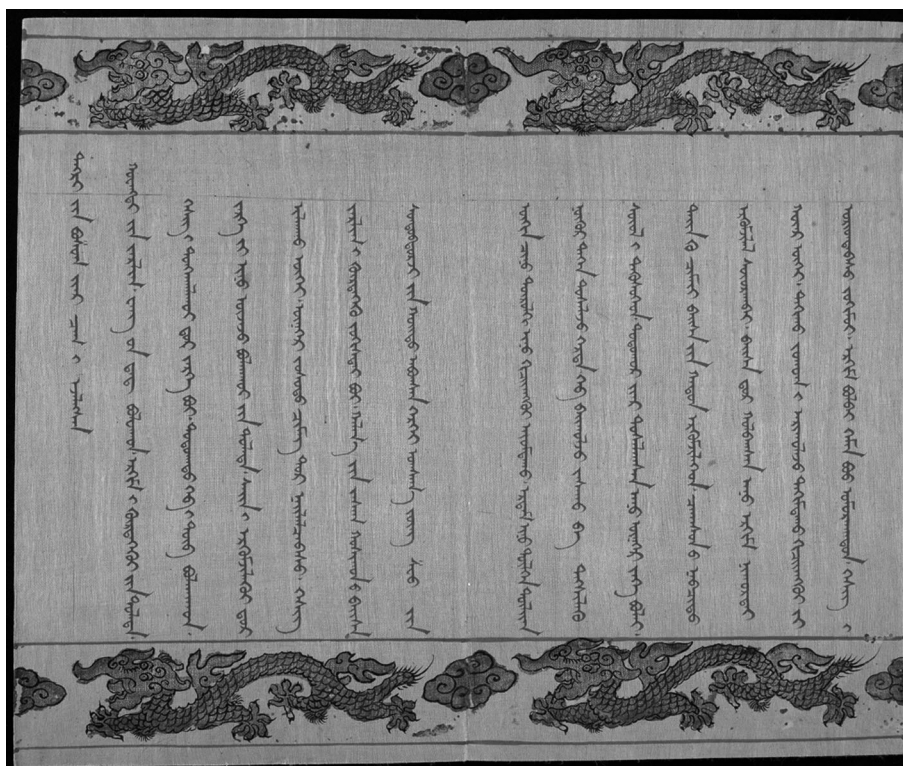
For this reason I confer on you the title of *wife of beise* and reward you with a patent on yellow paper. Being married to a *beise*, honorable and noble—nobody could be compared to you. Fast and abstain from sacrificial food, carry out your duties according to the rules of respect. Being honored, do not be arrogant! Receiving my benevolence, do not be presumptuous (extravagant), act respectfully!

19th day of the 12th moon, 49th year of Abhai wehiyehe [January 29, 1785]”

This rather brief document is very informative.

First of all, its structure is typical of all imperial Patents by Ordinance—*gaoming* and Patents by Command—*zhiming*. Patents by Command were issued to award special honorary titles to meritorious people from the dependencies of the empire, including Mongolia.³ It begins with a didactic

³ VEIT 2006, 247.



part which states that the emperor should respect those who have helped him; then comes the name of the person with his full title and description of his meritorious achievements for which he is being honored (in our case, the second wife of Sundubdorji); a description of the award (in our case, the title of wife of *beise*); and, as a conclusion, the emperor's didactic advice regarding future behavior.

One personal name is mentioned in the diploma: it is the *Khalkha jasak gusai beise* Sundubdorji. Most probably this name can explain the unusual appearance of the diploma: hand-painted dragons and accordion type binding. Indeed, we do find this name among the biographies of North Mongolian aristocrats mentioned in the Mongolian *Iledkel šastir* of 1795, which was translated into German by Veronika Veit in 1990.⁴ There we read:

⁴ VEIT 1990, Bd. 2, 68.

“Sondubdorj⁵ was the eldest son of Čebdendorji and in the 39th year of Qianlong (1774) he became the sixth heir (successor) of the *Jasa Qosiyn-u beise*.⁶ In the 44th year of Qianlong [1771]⁷ he was sent as an attaché to the Gate of Celestial Purity [Qianqingmen]. The same year he accompanied the Emperor during a hunt in the imperial hunting ground and for that he was awarded a two-eyed peacock-feather. After that he served as a deputy commander and as a minister *Qoubu-yin sayid*.⁸ In the 46th year of Qianlong [1781] he was promoted by imperial decree to the rank of *beise*.⁹ In the 48th year of Qianlong [1783] Sondubdorji was appointed a commander.”

From this biography we see that in 1779 Sundubdorji was a Mongolian envoy to ceremonies at Qianqingmen when Mongolian aristocrats were presented to the Emperor and the Emperor rewarded them for their good deeds and made promotions.¹⁰ The same year Sundubdorji accompanied Emperor Qianlong during the annual autumn hunt in the Muran imperial hunting ground north of Jehol. For that he was awarded a two-eyed peacock-feather—an insignia of the second grade. In 1781 he was given the rank of *beise*, which means a prince of the 4th grade.

Our diploma was given to the second wife of Sundubdorji in 1785. Since he was a high ranking Mongolian aristocrat who was personally introduced to the Emperor, the text of the diploma to his wife is specially ornamented with a hand-painted frame. At the end of the text the emperor gives her advice about her behavior: “Fast and abstain from sacrificial food, carry out the duties according to the rules of respect. Being honored, do not impose (surpass)! Receiving my benevolence, do not be presumptuous (extravagant), act respectfully!” These, rather strict, recommendations were most probably prompted either by her young age or her arrogant temper.

An analysis of the Manchu and Mongolian versions suggests that the text was originally written in Mongolian and then translated into the Manchu language. This conclusion derives from the Manchu sentence *beise de hol-bohongge wesihun / derengge juru akû*: “Being married to *beise*, honorable

⁵ In our Manchu text the name is written as Sundubdorji, in Mongolian — Sondobdorji.

⁶ *Jasak*—a military and administrative commander of a Mongolian division.

⁷ This is a misprint: Qianlong 44 is 1779, not 1771. According to Veit, Sondubdorji was at Qian-qing-men and in Muran in 1779 (VEIT 1990, Bd. 1, 144); in 1779 he received a feather (VEIT 1990, Bd. 1, 146); in 1783 he was given the position of commander (VEIT 1990, Bd. 1, 133).

⁸ *huvin sait*—minister.

⁹ *beise*—prince of the fourth rank.

¹⁰ VEIT 1990, Bd 1, 59.

and noble—nobody could be compared [with her].” The Manchu word *juru* means “pair, doubled, even number,” therefore *juru akû* is “no pair, not doubled”—“honorable and noble—not doubled.” The parallel Mongolian sentence is *erkim ni yurtai qoyar ugei* where according to Osip (Józef Szczepan) Kowalewsky’s “Mongolian-Russian-French Dictionary” *qoyar ugei* also has the meaning of “there is no one equal or comparable.”¹¹ This meaning was used by the translator from Mongolian into Manchu: according to the available dictionaries this additional meaning does not exist in the Manchu language. Moreover, the Mongolian script occasionally omits dots near the vowels, while the Manchu script is more precise and clear. Thus the name given in the Manchu text would be pronounced Sundubdorji, while in Mongolian we find Sondubdorji (without a dot in the first syllable). These small hints allow us to surmise that the original text was written in Mongolian and then translated into Manchu.

Various types of imperial diplomas and patents have already been discussed in the literature,¹² but very few of them were given to women. The earliest known is the patent given in 1636 to the Mongolian lady Bumbutai, who was a *zhuangfei* concubine of Hong Taiji. The diploma is kept at the Shenyang Gugong palace museum and was published by Wang Peihuan in 1998.¹³ Another known text, the Manchu-Mongolian patent given to the first wife of the Mongolian *jasak and qoşoi sečen wang* Maqasuqa, is at the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences in Hohhot and was published by Veronika Veit in 2006.¹⁴

The earliest document was presented to Bumbutai in the Manchu capital Mukden (Shenyang), while the SECOND patent to have been sent to Mongolia was issued in 1779. The patent published above is dated 1785 and was also sent to Mongolia. Patents of hereditary and honorary titles for Mongolian aristocrats were issued in Beijing and sent to the Outer Territories. The Regulations of the Board of Colonial Affairs contain a special paragraph on sending imperial patents to the wives of Mongolian aristocrats: “The patents and imperial letters to Mongolian khan ladies and princesses of the first two grades (*fujin*), princesses (*fujin*) of the third, fourth, fifth and sixth grades, wives of *taiji* (*sargasa*), Manchu princesses (*gege*) who are married to Mongolian princes should not be sent by special envoy. The Board of Colonial Affairs may send them by post at first convenience with the troop com-

¹¹ KOWALEVSKY 1846, vol. 2, 946.

¹² FRANKE 1942; PANG, 2013.

¹³ WANG 1998.

¹⁴ VEIT 2006.

mander. He should register how many patents he received and when he delivered them. This record should be kept in the Board of Colonial Affairs. In the event of patents being destroyed by natural disaster or stolen, they can be renewed without investigation and punishment.”¹⁵

Hereditary and honorary diplomas were sent to the Outer Territories from the Manchu court, which in this way emphasized the idea of one *gurun*, a word that in Manchu carries a variety of meanings from “country,” “nation” or “people” to “dynasty” and “court”—“all ranked officials were representatives of the monarch—their authority was vested in the dynasty’s legitimacy, and vice versa.”¹⁶ The Emperor cares and shows respect for all the efforts of his subjects to serve the common country which is seen as a big family. But the welfare of the *gurun* depended on individual dedication to “family duty,” and this notion is clearly evident even in the brief text of the diploma from the St. Petersburg IOM RAS collection.

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¹⁵ LIPOVTSOV 1828, vol. 1, 310.

¹⁶ ELLIOTT 2001, 164.

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Hartmut Walravens

**Omens in Celestial Phenomena.
On a Manchu Manuscript**

Abstract: In ancient times the peoples of Central Asia and China considered natural phenomena a reaction of the Heaven to their deeds. The article introduces the unique Manchu manuscript from the Gest Library, Princeton University, which deals with the interpretation of celestial signs. Since the manuscript is written entirely in Manchu, similar Chinese texts on solar and lunar omens are presented as well.

Key words: Manchu manuscript, celestial phenomena, Qianlong, Princeton University

The Manchus—a Tungus people that gave their name to Manchuria—became known through their conquest of China, which they ruled for about 250 years. They quickly adopted Chinese culture but also created a sizeable literature in their own language. A large part of this consists of translations from Chinese but there are a number of original works; furthermore, the Manchus developed a system of dual administration which stipulated that official documents be kept in both Manchu and Chinese.

The Manchus' religion was shamanistic; but they readily adopted Confucian, Buddhist, and even Christian beliefs as is also proved by the existing literature. There is a unique Manchu manuscript which deals with the interpretation of celestial phenomena: in many cultures uncommon signs in the skies—such as eclipses and haloes—are considered meaningful to the life of the people. In China this was not merely a matter of personal belief or superstition—but part of the official view: the emperor was considered a son of Heaven, and therefore any celestial signs would express heaven's approval of or displeasure with the government and the situation in the country aptly called in Chinese *tianxia* “under heaven” 天下.

From this point of view the manuscript in question could be particularly relevant. However, only preliminary information can be given on its contents as the subject does not seem to have been studied much so far, and more basic research is required. This may be partly due to the fact that the omnia are

astronomical, or sometimes meteorological, phenomena, and sinologists rarely have expertise in those fields.

It may be pointed out that the views expressed in the manuscript—superstition from the scientific point of view—were not alien to Europe. For example, Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), an outstanding astronomer and a staunch Christian believer, was also known as a capable astrologer. He followed the line of Melanchthon who argued that the Lord’s actions were to be seen in nature, and most clearly—i.e., least obscurely—in the skies; as humans were an integral part of nature, it seemed obvious that the Lord’s actions as seen in Heaven would be applicable to man. Luther, by the way, was opposed to Melanchthon’s view.

The manuscript in question, in the possession of the Gest Library, Princeton University, is completely in Manchu and consists of 142 paragraphs, accompanied by coloured drawings. One, sometimes two, paragraphs describe a celestial phenomenon which is illustrated and then given an interpretation which usually refers to military actions, the government of the empire and the ruler himself. In a number of cases a timeline is provided within which the prognosticated events would happen.

There is no title; the one assigned by the librarians is *Manwen riyue xingchen zhan* 滿文日月星震占. The text is written in a neat hand; unfortunately, only a reduced black and white reproduction is currently available which leaves several words unintelligible.

The manuscript does not seem to have been described before—it is neither mentioned in Princeton catalogues of rare and old Chinese books¹ nor listed in the union list of Manchu books in the United States.² It is also not listed in the union catalogue of books *WorldCat*, which includes a large number of items in Chinese and Manchu.

There is no information whatsoever pointing to the author, or to a Chinese work from which this text might have been translated. The book is not dated. Reference is, however, made in the text to events of the “45th year” which must refer to the Qianlong reign as the year 1724 is also mentioned earlier. This means that the manuscript has to have been written after 1780 (the 45th year of that long reign).

Let us look at the contents of the manuscript:³

¹ Not in the rare books catalogue by QU WANLI 1975, nor in the catalogue of other old Chinese books by CHANG BIDE 1990.

² WALRAVENS 1976, 551–613.

³ I am indebted to Martin Hejdra for kindly furnishing me with a scan of 2 pages of the ms. In the meantime the Gest Library has placed a splendid electronic version of the whole manuscript in full colour on their website.

1

Šun be tugi sukdun hontoholome dalici amba cooha bi tanggū inenggi be dulerakū bahafi sembi

When clouds and vapours cover half of the sun, that means a large army. Before one hundred days are over, this will happen.

2

Šun be dobori tucifi amba jiyanggiyūn cooha aššambi

When the sun rises during the night, a great general will move his army.

3

Šun-i uju be hiyahame jeci gurun booi jiyanggiyūn facuhūrambi

When the sun is eclipsed crosswise, the empire's generals will be in confusion.

4

Šun mukdefi tuhefi. geli dahime mukdefi tuheci sain cooha yabuci taifin gurun boode oci facuhūn akū

When the sun after sunset sets again, the military campaigns will be fortuitous and the empire will enjoy peace without break.

5

Šun wargi de tucifi dergi de tuhere julerigi ci tucifi amargi de tuhede oci abka-i fejergi cooha dekdembi

When the sun, risen in the West, sets in the East or rises in the South and sets in the North, troops will be raised in the empire.

6

Šun de fulahūn šurgin tuwa-i adali oci abkai fejergi amba facuhūn suwayan boco oci ho fei de sain niowanggiyan boco oci cooha bi šanggiyan boco sahaliyan boco oci ejen de nimeku bi juwe aniya be dulemburakū bahafi sembi

When there is a light red humid haze like fire with the sun, then great confusion will arise in the empire; when the colour is yellow it will be good in Hofei; when the colour is green, there will be an army; when the colour is white, the ruler will fall ill.

7

Šun-i dolo sahaliyan tongki emke bici edun aga eherembi juwe oci edun akū ilan bici aga akū duin oci hiya sunja bici amba facuhūn geli hendu-hengge emke amban bucehebi juwe ejen buyen de dosimbi ilan dorgi facuhūn duin cooha facuhūn sunja ci wesihun ejen de amba facuhūn

When there is a black dot in the sun, then wind and rain will be bad; when there are two dots, there will be no wind; three dots, no rain; four, then drought; five, then great unrest; it may also mean: one, an official will die;

two, the ruler will indulge in vices; three, unrest inside [the country]; four, military uproar; five, great confusion with the supreme ruler.

8

Šun tucire de elden šor šar seme horonggo kisungge oci ejen-i fafun cara ohobi ergen ulhiyen ebereme kūbulimbi

When with sunrise the rays roar with horrendous noise, then the laws of the ruler will be overturned and the life energy gradually decreases and changes. (Pl. 1)

9

Šun tucire buraki adali fosokongge gemu suwayan oci abkai fejergi de amba facuhūn

When with sunrise everything is yellow like scattered dust, then there will be great unrest in the empire.

10

Šun buruhun niyalmai helme be saburakū oci erun koro-i baita bi jai geli amba muke bi emu aniya be tucirakū acanambi

When the sun is blurred and one does not see the shadow of a man, there will be punishments and fines. Also there will be a great flood. This will happen within a year.

11

Šun teni tucire de fason tuwai adali šor seme goro fošoci ejen de juwe aniya amba hiya

When the sun has just risen and the rays gleam brilliantly into the far distance like fire, then there will be a great drought with the ruler—for two years.

16

Šun-i boco fundehun oci neneme gidabumbi amala afaci ombi

When the colour of the sun is frosty, there will be first suppression but then an attack.

17

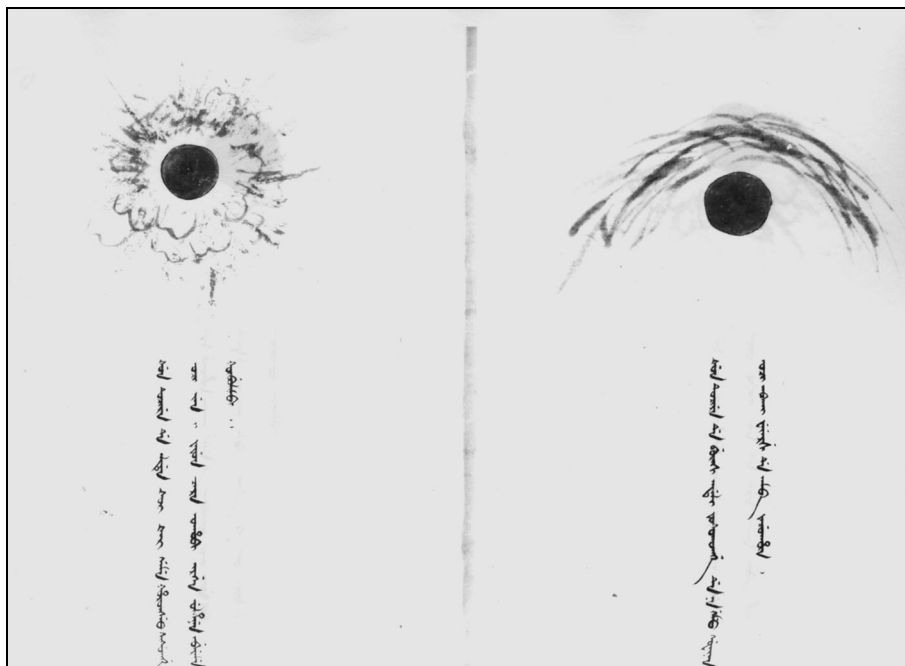
Šun-i uju de giltaršame oci dergi jiyanggiyūn dahame jimbi sain sabi

When the sun shines intensely above, then it is a good omen. A high general will come obediently.

18

Šun-i dulimbade niowanggiyan sukdu hiyahame ulaci abkai fejergi ambula facuhūn

When green vapours pass on crosswise in the middle of the sun, then there will be great confusion in the empire.



19

Šun-i dulimbade šaraci ejen de sain sabi baita bi emu aniya be dulembu-rakū bahafi sambi

When the middle of the sun turns white, it is a good omen for the ruler. It will happen within a year.

20

Šun-i boco biya biyahūn emu honto ho niowanggiyan emu honto ho su-wayan oci hūlha-i cooha isinjimbi

When the colour of the sun turns pale like the moon and one half green and one half yellow, an enemy army will intrude.

21

Šun de duin sika-i adali salu bici cooha ambula etembi

When the sun has four goatees like tassels of a cap, the armies will be greatly victorious.

24

Šun be šanggiyan niolmon⁴ gocici abkai fejergi duin dere-i irgen de geri nimeku bi

⁴ *niolmon*—a kind of moss, stands here for *nioron*—rainbow.

When the sun spans a white rainbow, the people of all four directions of the empire will suffer from epidemics and sickness.

25

Šun-i dalbade jung lakiyaha niyalmai deduhe adali oci cooha kokirambi ninju inenggi be dulemburakū bahafi sambi

When there is a bell at one side of the sun and something like a sleeping man, troops will have a damaging influence. This will happen within 60 days.

28

Šun-i dulimbade niowanggiyan sukdun latunaci abkai dulimba ulimbi emu aniya dorgi de urunakū bahafi sambi

When there is green vapour in the middle of the sun, heaven accepts offerings. This will happen within a year.

29

Šun de bisire gasha de bici ambula hiya-i jobolon bi gasha[n] bi

When there is a bird in the sun, there will be a great drought and major trouble.

30

Šun-i dulimbade niowanggiyan sukdun bici dehi inenggi be dulenderakū hūlha holo ambula facuhūrambi

When there is green vapour in the sun, enemies will create much mischief within 40 days. (Pl. 2)

31

Šun-i fejergi de suwayan sukdun bifi wesihun uhuci gurun de amba urgun bi saisa urse tucimbi

When there is yellow vapour below the sun and it is covered above, there will be great joy in the empire and capable men will arise.

32

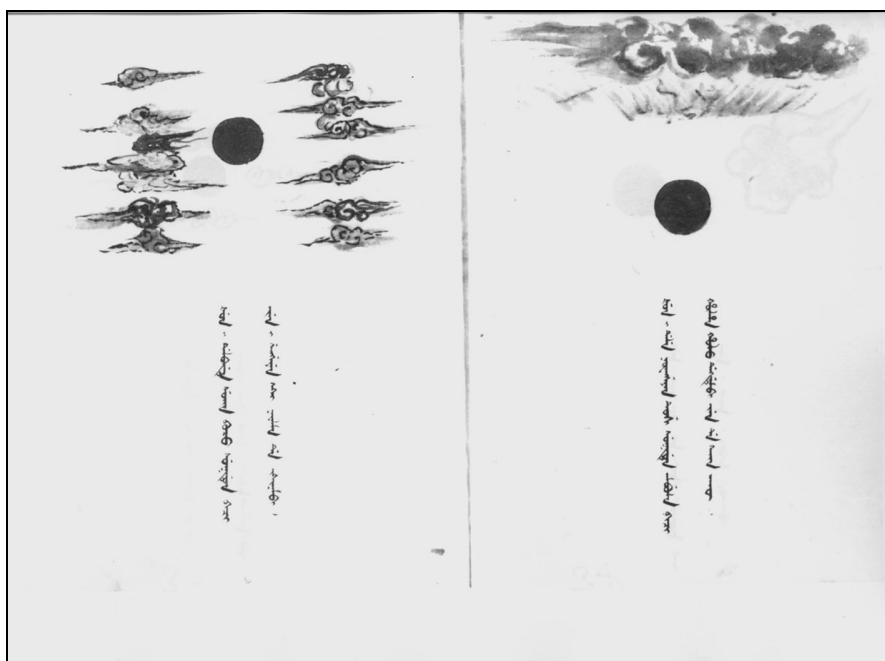
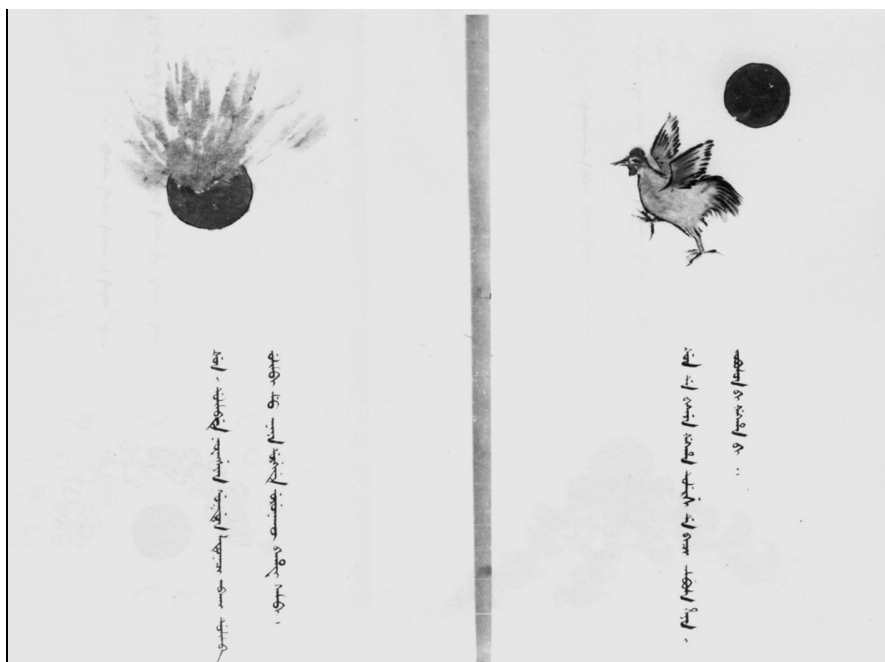
Šun biyai dolo dosici uyunju inenggi dulemburakū amba cooha dekdembi tuwai jobolon inu bi amba jiyanggiyūn de ehe

When the sun rises in the moon, a large army will arise within 90 days. There will be a great fire and the great general will be in trouble.

33

Šun-i duin dalbade niowanggiyan sahaliyan šanggiyan sukdun bici ejen-i cooha de nimeku bi

When there is green, black and white haze on the four sides of the sun, the army of the ruler will suffer damage.



38

Šun-i dalbade sunja boco sukduŋ bici ejen-i genggiyen kesi niyalma de is-inambi

When there is multi-coloured haze on the side of the sun, the brilliant graciousness of the ruler will reach the people. (Pl. 3)

39

Šun-i dele niowanggiyan tugi sukduŋ ambula bici hūlha holo dekdembi ejen de sain akū

When there is plenty of green cloud mist above the sun, enemies will arise and the ruler will not fare well.

Celestial phenomena are discussed in Chinese literature in a number of places:

– in the astronomical chapters of the annals which have been published according to dynasties for the last 2000 years.⁵ Prof. Ho's translations show that celestial phenomena are carefully described and interpreted. In addition, there are historical tables recording such signs (often correlating them with historical events). Here is an example from the ample material:

“A *yūn* 暈 is a vapour which forms a complete circle around the sun, red inside and blue-green outside. When the sun has such a *yūn* halo, it symbolises the tents of an army. This appearance encircles the sun with a ring of even thickness and indicates that the strengths of the two armies are evenly matched. In time of peace it means that the emperor is losing his grip and that there will be many revolts among the people. The presence of all of the five colours in the *yūn* foretells happiness, but the absence of one or more of them means that there will be anxiety.”⁶

– in encyclopedias and similar works.⁷

– in the Buddhist canon, the Tripitaka.⁸

– in astronomical and astrological treatises. Joseph Needham, in his *Science and Civilisation*, vol. 3, refers to a manuscript at Cambridge University

⁵ HO PENG YOKE 1966.

⁶ HO PENG YOKE 1966, 143.

⁷ *Tushu jicheng*, shuzhengdian 庶徵典, j. 102, only gives instances of lights phenomena, no interpretation or prognostications. Edouard Biot focuses only on “chaleur et froids de longue durée”—see: BIOT 1849. According to Giles' Index to the *Tushu jicheng*, shuzhengdian 庶徵典 j. 18–24 (日異部) deal with solar phenomena and also give interpretations of them.

⁸ In the sutra *Yuezang jing* 月藏經, translated into Chinese in 556, 7 apocalyptic events like epidemics, conquest by enemy troops, civil wars, uncommon stars (asteroids, comets), sun and moon eclipses, unseasonal tempests, floods and droughts are described. Also the sun emitting white or green light, respectively, is mentioned.

Library, *Tian-yuan yuli xiangyi fu* 天元玉曆祥異賦 of 1425, by ZHU Gaozhi 朱高熾, the Ming emperor.⁹ A Korean text of similar nature was examined by Hermann Böhner.¹⁰ The latter bears some resemblance to the Manchu text, e.g.:

p. 36: “Bottom of the sun red, the army of that party flees. Bottom of the sun yellow, great joy.”

p. 37: “Haze like arrows shot down from the sun: the army marches off for three autumns.”

p. 38: “Red rainbow from below straight upwards: the empire experiences mourning and chaos, the country perishes; white rainbow and haze: disloyal vassals plot, and their wishes are fulfilled.”

– reports on important events also often refer to simultaneous celestial phenomena, e.g., regarding Nurhaci:

“On a date corresponding to November 24, 1612, on the eve of Nurhaci’s campaign against the Ula tribe, ‘two heavenly white and blue vapours appeared’ (*abkai šanggiyan lamun siren lasha gociha bihe*). Interestingly enough, this brief annotation in the *Jiu Manzhou dang* has been noteworthy ‘embellished’ in subsequent works—for example in the well-known *Kaiguo fanglue* where we read that ‘on the side of the sunrise white and blue vapours arose, pointing to the northern side of Ula City’ (*Šun dekdere ergide šanyan lamun siren sumafi, Ulai hoton-i amargi teisu hadaha be sabufi*). The reference to Ula city is a later ‘interpretation’ of this phenomenon, which is already found in the ‘Manchu Veritable Records’.”¹¹

A multitude of omens is listed in the *Kaiyuan zhan jing* 開元占經¹² *Qutanxida zhuan* 瞿曇悉達 which, unfortunately is not available to me at the moment; the book is ascribed to Qutanxida. Therefore I quote some examples from a list of omens of the moon which closely parallel the sun omens described in the manuscript; the list was compiled by Wolfram Eberhard and is part of the Eberhard file (German emigré collection) of the State University of New York at Albany.

From juan 5:

“When the moon turns blue, there will be hunger and misery; when it turns red, quarrel and war, when it turns yellow, there will be virtue and

⁹ NEEDHAM 1959, pl. LXX.

¹⁰ BOHNER 1936, 33–42. On the *Guangui jiyao* 管輅輯要, see preface by FAN Wencheng 范文程 1653 (Korean ed.).

¹¹ STARY 2013, 263.

¹² A modern edition was produced by CHANG BINGYI, 2006. 2 vols.

joy, when it turns white there will be drought and mourning, when it turns black, there will be flooding, and half the population will perish.

When the moon is large and without brilliance, the country does not have a ruler, the population has no peace, and there will be war.

When the rabbit and the toad are not to be seen in the moon, there will be no officials in the country.

When there is something black in the moon, like a peach or a plum, then there is a subject who eclipses the emperor in holiness.

When feudal lords plot a rebellion, the moon will develop claws and teeth.

When the moon is small and broad at its first appearance, there will be a flood during that month.

When the moon is seen during daytime, it will surely be the country's downfall.

When the moon rises and sets again, there will be unrest in the country."

From juan 12:

"When the moon shows earrings and headgear, the emperor will be full of joy, or there will be a strong wind.

When the moon has 2 earrings there will be rain for 10 days; 3 earrings, the country will have joy; 4, the death of a (sovereign) mistress. Or, a ruler or feudal lords will be put up.

When the moon shows the same brilliance as Jupiter, there will be hunger and misdemeanour.

When the moon swallows Jupiter, the country will perish within 12 years."

From juan 15:

"When the moon has a halo and there is no major rain or strong wind within 7 days, wars will start and attacks on ground.

When the moon has a halo which is red and resplendent, there will be war and one town will surrender."

From juan 17:

"When the moon has a halo and there is an eclipse of the moon, then men will eat each other."

This example shows that there is apparently a comprehensive literature on omens and celestial phenomena which refer not only to the sun but also to the moon, the planets and stars.

This manuscript seems to be the only currently known surviving illustrated text on the subject in Manchu; but it is highly probable that it was translated from Chinese sources.

As stated, there is still further research to be done — this is just a report on work in progress.

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Karine Marandjan

**A New Acquisition of the Japanese Manuscript
and Wood-block Printed Books Collection
of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS**

Abstract: The article deals with a new acquisition of the Japanese collection of the IOM. The newly acquired manuscript is titled *Roshia koku hyōmin goran mondō* (“Questions and Answers about Russia of the Castaways”). It has 28 folios, 2 illustrations, the last two folios contain an extract from the “Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Encyclopedia of Three Elements” and a world map from the same encyclopedia. Analysis of the manuscript enabled us to conclude that it is a copy of a transcript of the interrogation of the famous Daikokyua Kōdayū (1751–1828) and Isokichi after their return to Japan from Russia. As the manuscript has no colophon, neither the date when the transcript was copied, nor the place or the name of the copyist is known. Though the copy of the transcript is not a rarity, this manuscript will be a valuable addition to the group of manuscripts relating to early contacts between Russia and Japan.

Key words: manuscript, castaways, interrogation transcript, Daikokuya Kōdayū

In 2009 IOM RAS acquired a new Japanese manuscript that became part of the Japanese collection kept at the IOM Department of Manuscripts and Documents.

The manuscript’s cover page bears the title *Roshia koku hyōmin goran mondō* 魯西亜国漂民御覧問答 that can be rendered as “Questions and Answers about Russia of the Castaways”. The other title, which directly precedes the text, reads *Hyōmin goran no shidai to mondō* 漂民御覧乃次第東問答 “Circumstances of the Shogunal Audience of the Castaways, Questions and Answers”.

The manuscript has been given the inventory number B-275, it has 28 folios (24×15 cm), it is written in Japanese using cursive script and *hentaigana*. It has three illustrations, two of which are placed before the text. The illustration on the first page portrays two men in European costumes and with a European hairstyle, the next double-page spread is a sketch map of the place where the castaways were interrogated in the presence of the shogun and his

officials. One more picture—a map—is part of a totally different text reproduced on the two last pages of the manuscript.

There is no introduction, no colophon, so there is no data about the author or copyist, about the time when the manuscript copy or its original were made.

There are remains of a sheet of white paper glued to the cover page, which probably provided the title or some data concerning the manuscript. The paper is so worn-out that the inscription has become unreadable.

The title of the manuscript clearly testifies that it is one more source related to the early Russo-Japanese contacts. This topic has been well studied by both Japanese and Russian researchers and the majority of the extant sources covering Russo-Japanese relations are widely known.

However, the most authoritative database, the *Nihon Kotenseki Sōgō Mokuroku* 日本古典籍総合目録 the “Union Catalogue of Early Japanese Books”¹ does not list the manuscript under any similar title, although it does contain the manuscript *Hyōmin goran mondōki* 漂民御覽問答記 compiled by Katsuragawa Hoshu (1751–1809), a physician and scholar of *rangaku* (Western studies). A search of the Internet for this manuscript gave a quick result—we found the opening page illustration of a manuscript entitled *Fukiage hisho hyōmin goran no ki* 吹上秘書漂民御覽の記 “Secret Notes about the Shogunal Audience of the Castaways in Fukiage” on the site of Hokkaido University.² It depicted the same persons we saw in our manuscript picture with the sole difference that this picture included the names of its subjects. They were Kōdayū 幸太夫 and Isokichi 磯吉. Although the illustrations from our manuscript and the Hokkaido University one are not absolutely identical and have minor differences, there is no doubt that these are portraits of the same persons. (Pl. 1)

This assertion is also supported by the fact that a similar illustration can be found in the book *Oroshiyakoku suimudan* 魯齊亜国睡夢談 “Dreams about Russia” that has been translated with a commentary by Vladimir Konstantinov.³ This monograph—a facsimile of the original text and its Russian translation—tells the story of sailors from the *Sinsho-maru* shipwrecked in late 18th century Russia, of their adventures and their return to Japan, of their interrogation in the presence of the shogun, and so on. On the 74th page there is a black-and-white illustration depicting two seamen, Kōdayū and Isokichi.

¹ <http://www.nijl.ac.jp/> (25.05.2014).

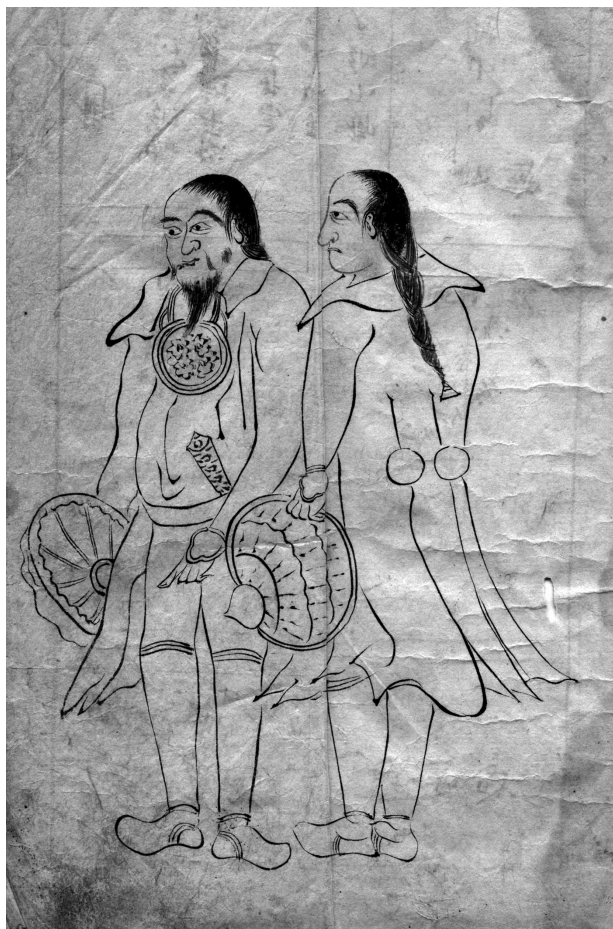
² http://www.lib.hokudai.ac.jp/collection/hoppo/h_20.html (15.01.2009).

³ KONSTANTINOV 1961.

*Pl. 1*

Illustration from the Hokkaido University manuscript

It is interesting that the three illustrations—from the IOM manuscript, from the Hokkaido University manuscript and from the “Dreams about Russia”—are not completely identical. First, the pictures in the IOM manuscript and in the “Dreams about Russia” are black-and-white, while the Hokkaido University picture is in colour. The composition of the pictures from the “Dreams about Russia” and Hokkaido University is the same but closer examination shows that the portrait of Kōdayū differs slightly not only in facial features but also in some details of costume. The IOM manuscript illustration differs from the other two:



Pl. 2

Illustration from the IOM RAS manuscript

a) Isokichi is depicted half-turned (in other illustrations we cannot see his face).

b) Kōdayū is holding a hat in his right hand; his left hand is free. Under his belt we can see something like a staff. In the other pictures he has a staff in his right hand and a hat in his left.

c) Kōdayū has a small beard, barely indicated in the illustration from the “Dreams about Russia” and not shown at all in the Hokkaido University picture.

d) The shape of the hat held by Kōdayū differs from that depicted in the other two pictures. (Pl. 2)

The list of differences can be continued but it seems that the facts mentioned above are enough to suggest with a strong probability that the picture in the “Dreams about Russia” was copied from the Hokkaido University picture (or some third prototype common to both manuscripts and unknown to us), while the picture in our manuscript copy can be regarded as a variation on the theme. It is probable that its author had seen the original but did not have it in front of him while copying the manuscript. Maybe, though, he relied on a verbal description of the sailors from the manuscript text.

Let’s turn to the detailed description of the seamen during their interrogation in front of the shogun from the “Dreams about Russia”.

“In the first third of Dragon hour Kōdayū and Isokichi were summoned. Kōdayū was 42 years old. His hair was divided in three locks, braided together and falling down tied with black silk. Under his arm he held a black felt hat that he pressed to his side. A little golden object that resembled a small mirror hung from his neck. His outer wear was made of rose silver Mongolian brocade with red round stone fasteners and narrow sleeves. The trousers were of the same cloth. Under the outer garment were clothes of dark-blue brocade. Over white knitted stockings he wore black boots of Persian leather. He leaned on a staff of Indian cane.

“Isokichi was 28 years old. His hairstyle was the same, from his neck hung a little object similar to Kōdayū’s but made of silver. He held his hat under his arm. His outer wear was of dark-blue cloth with silver buttons, under it he wore clothes of red broadcloth with black dressing. His trousers were of motley velvet—black and yellow. On his legs he wore boots over white stockings. The boots were not the same as Kōdayū’s—their upper part was trimmed with brownish-yellow leather, but the cut was the same. In appearance they did not look like Japanese”.⁴

On the one hand, the verbal description does not indicate in which hand Kōdayū held the hat, so if we suppose that the author of the illustration relied upon the text, he had to decide that for himself. On the other hand, he ignores the clear indication that both sailors kept their hats under their arms and depicts them holding the hats. This hardly fits with our idea that the copyist relied mainly on the text, but followed a pictorial representation that he had seen before. However, the golden medal that he depicts is far larger than the one in the other illustration and was undoubtedly the creation of his personal imagination.

⁴ KONSTANTINOV 1961, 53.

Most likely, the illustration resulted from both a cursory acquaintance with the original picture from the manuscript used as a prototype for copying and the textual description of the sailors plus his own artistic imagination. Probably, the combination of all these factors can explain the differences that exist between our portraits of Kōdayū and Isokichi and their images in the other two sources.

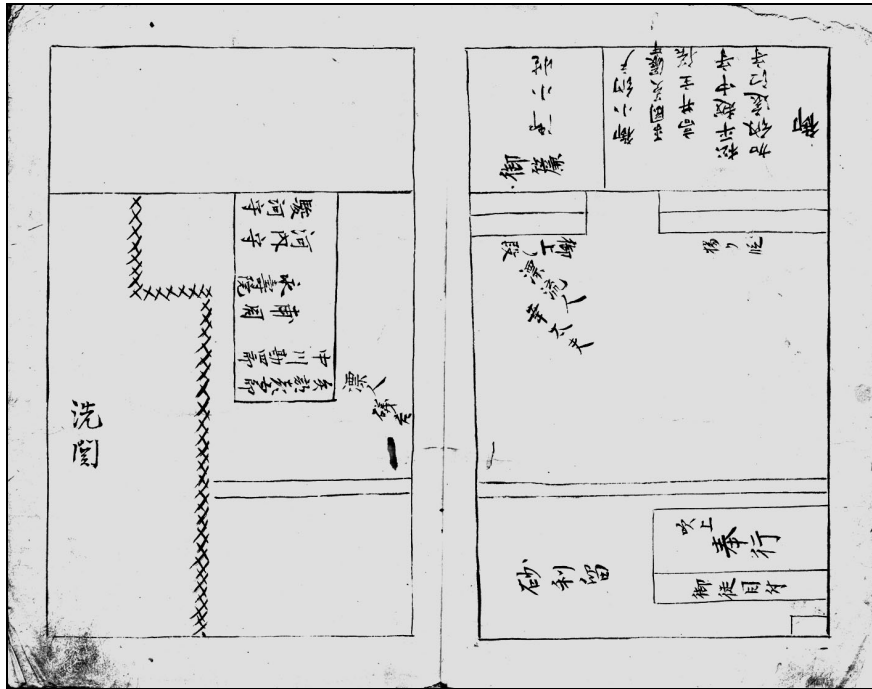
Besides the portrait of the seamen, on the next double-page spread we have the sketch map where a special note indicates “the castaways Kōdayū and Isokichi”. A similar sketch appears in the “Dreams about Russia”. It is a plan of the place where the castaways’ interrogation occurred—Fukiage o-monomi, i.e., a place in the shogunal garden in Edo. This was a long covered veranda from which the shogun could enjoy the view of his garden. The sketch indicates the place where the shogun sat, the position of his officials and the spot where the interrogated sailors were, separated from the shogun by a bamboo curtain. (Pl. 3)

Even the two illustrations are enough to show that the newly acquired manuscript is dedicated to the adventures of the famous captain Daikokuya Kōdayū and the seaman Isokichi who accompanied him on his return to Japan.⁵

At the beginning of 1783 his ship, the *Shinsho-maru*, left Shirokko harbor in the Ise province with a cargo of rice, was caught in a storm and, after drifting for six months, cast up on the Aleutian island of Amchitka. After four years, with the help of Russian merchants, the surviving sailors got to Kamchatka, then to Okhotsk, Yakutsk and Irkutsk. There they spent three years. Through the intervention of the naturalist Erik (Kirill) Laxman (1737–1796), Kōdayū travelled to St. Petersburg where he was granted an audience with Catherine the Great who gave permission for him and two other seamen to return to Japan. In 1792 they returned to their homeland with an expedition commanded by the naturalist’s son, Lieutenant Adam Laxman, sailing from Okhotsk on board the *Yekaterina* brigantine. On their return home, the sailors were interrogated in the presence of the shogun and were detained in Edo, not being allowed back to their native places. In fact, Kōdayū spent 35 long years under house arrest.

The interrogation was attended by the court physician and scholar of Rangaku Katsuragawa Hoshū who recorded the proceedings. His interrogation transcript is known under the title *Hyōmin goran-no ki* 漂民御覽之記 the “Records about Shogunal Audience of the Castaways”. Besides this there are several other sources, among which the most important are:

⁵ There was one more sailor, Koichi, who died from a disease.



Pl. 3

1) *Oroshiyakoku suimudan* 魯齊亞国睡夢談 the “Dreams about Russia”—the manuscript is kept at the National Library in Moscow. Besides the interrogation record, it contains a detailed account of the castaways’ adventures in Russia, their return to the homeland, all they saw and experienced in the foreign country.

2) *Oroshiyakoku hyominki* 魯西亞国漂民記 the “Records about Castaways who Drifted to Russia”—this manuscript, housed at the IOM RAS, contains an explanation of the circumstances under which Japanese seamen found themselves in Russia. It contains their account of their life in Kamchatka, Irkutsk, Okhotsk and St. Petersburg. Their story was taken from the interrogation transcript. The manuscript is dated 1841, but the introduction states that it was copied from a text of 1800. It has not yet been fully translated into Russian.

Besides these sources, there are many different versions that present in various forms the interrogation record and the explanation of the circumstances under which they drifted beyond Japanese territory. Among others we found in the Union Catalogue a manuscript called *Seishū shiroko/hyōmin*

goran mondōki 勢州白子/漂民御覽問答記 the “Record of Questions and Answers of Castaways during the Shogunal Audience”, the title of which is closest to the IOM manuscript. It is also dedicated to the adventures of Dai-kokuya Kōdayū and differs from other sources only in the text version.

A comparison of the IOM manuscript with the one from the Union Catalogue just mentioned showed that the *Roshiakoku hyōmin goran mondō* reproduces part of the *Oroshiakoku hyominki*, to be more precise, that section of the manuscript which contains the interrogation transcript, prefacing it with a short explanatory introduction. The transcript includes 27 questions and answers about the seamen’s adventures and facts they witnessed or learnt abroad. It is worth mentioning that the interrogation record manuscript in our Institute’s Japanese Collection does not include pictures, making any comparison of the seamen’s images impossible.

At the same time, comparison of the IOM manuscript copy with the facsimile of the “Dreams about Russia” revealed that our text is identical to the 4th and 5th chapters of the “Dreams about Russia”, which are considered to be “one of the most precise copies of the record of Kōdayū and Isokichi’s interrogation produced by Katsuragawa Hoshū and well known under the name *Hyōmin goran no ki*”.⁶

Besides, it is important to note that the first Russian translation of the interrogation record appeared at the beginning of the 20th century and was published in the 2nd volume of the “*Materialy po istorii severnoj Iaponii i eio otnoshenij k materiku Azii i Rossii*” (“Materials Related to the History of Northern Japan and Its Relation to Asia and Russia”) by Dmitry Pozdnev in 1909 in Yokohama. The brilliant Russian translation was entitled the “*Zapiska ob audientsii poterpevshikh krushenie iapontsev u sioguna Ienari*” (“Records about the Audience Granted by Shogun Ienari to Castaways”).⁷

Thus there is no doubt that the manuscript newly acquired by IOM RAS is one more copy of the record of the Japanese sailors’ interrogation.

The absence of a colophon prevents our copy from being dated. The Union catalogue shows that a great many similar manuscript copies exist under slightly different titles.

As has already been mentioned, the last two folios of the IOM manuscript contain an extract from a totally different text and a map, so there was a slight hope that the identification of this text might help to establish at least

⁶ KONSTANTINOV 1961, 28.

⁷ POZDNEEV 1909, 76–88.

an approximate date for our copy. Both the extract and the map were titled—the text was called *Wakan sansai zue* 倭漢三才圖會 the “Illustrated Japanese-Chinese Encyclopedia of Three Elements” while the map had a heading *Sankai yochi zenzu* 山海輿地全圖 the “World Map of Lands and Seas”.

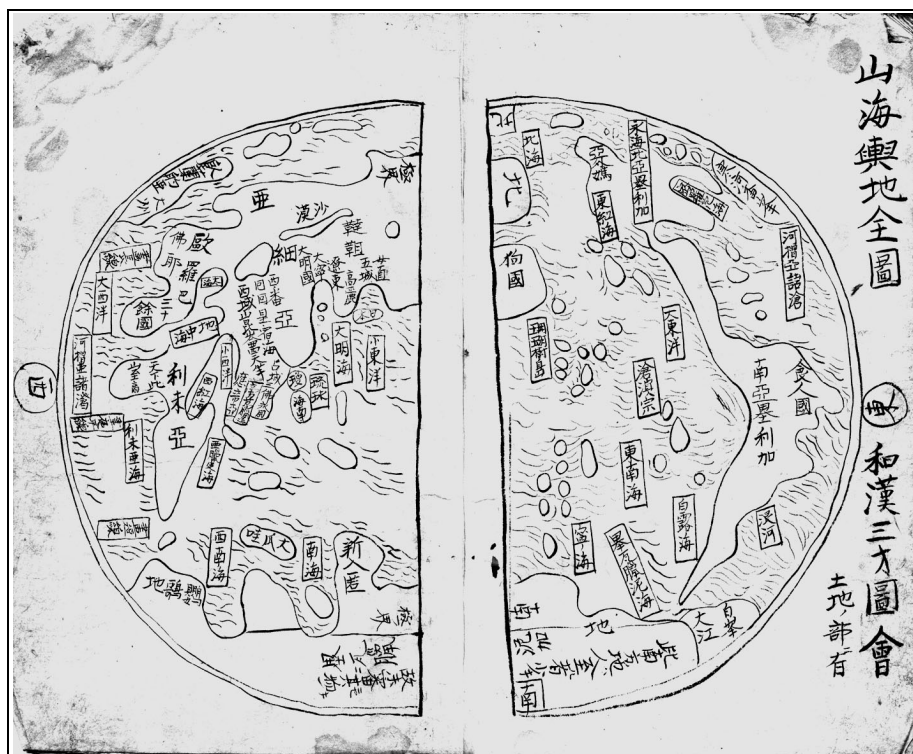
The *Wakan sansai zue* is a 105-volume encyclopedia compiled by the Osaka physician Terajima Ryoan (?) in 1712. The information in the encyclopedia was split into three sections: “Heaven”, “Earth” and “Man”, which explains its title. This enormous opus that summed up the scientific knowledge of its age was considered very authoritative and enjoyed great popularity in Japan. It was reproduced repeatedly in the Tokugawa (1603–1867) and Meiji (1867–1912) periods. A wood-block printed copy of the encyclopedia is kept in the Manuscript Collection of the IOM, RAS.

The Japanese version of the encyclopedia was modeled on the Chinese encyclopedia the *Sancai tuihui* 三才圖會 “An Illustrated Compendium of the Three Powers” by Wang Qi 王圻 (1529–1612) printed in 1609.

The map on the last page of our manuscript reproduces the world map from the Chinese encyclopedia *Sancai tuihui* that also was adopted by the Japanese encyclopedia. Under the map we find the title of the work it was borrowed from—the *Wakan sansai zue*, section “Earth”. (Pl. 4)

There can be hardly any doubt that the small extract from the encyclopedia together with a map were added to the manuscript quite intentionally. It is scarcely credible that they were random choices to fill in a free space at the end of the manuscript. Most likely the copyist intended these insertions as illustrative material and supplementary data to the record of the seamen’s interrogation, i.e., reference information. However, although the Japanese encyclopedia contains data on various races and nations inhabiting the earth, including mythical people that possessed wings or had no belly, this variety of peoples and nations includes no mention of such a country as Russia or the Russian people. Certainly, the world map does not have any country named Russia.

Unfortunately, the extract from the encyclopedia related to the various countries of the world is unlikely to be of any help in fixing the date of the manuscript copy. As stated above, the Japanese encyclopedia went through numerous editions right up to the 20th century. One might be tempted to assume that the inclusion of such a map points to the manuscript copy being made in the first half of the 19th century, when European maps were not widely known. However, this hypothesis also seems less than solid as the copyist could simply have made a precise copy of his original without any consideration for the reliability or accuracy of the world map.



Pl. 4

Despite the fact that the transcript of the castaways' interrogation exists in many versions and copies, all of them well studied and translated many times into Russian, the newly acquired manuscript at the IOM is a worthy addition to the range of sources relating to early Russian-Japanese contacts held in the Japanese Collection of manuscripts and wood-block printed books of the IOM, RAS.

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Reviews

The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century. Translated with a Historical and Philological Commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz. Volume 3 (Supplement). Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2013, XXIII+226 pp. (Brill’s Inner Asian Library, 7/3. Ed. by Michael R. Drompp, Dewin DeWeese)

An important event for *The Secret History of the Mongols* (SH) researchers took place last summer, when the Brill Academic Publishers issued Volume 3 (Supplement) of “The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century. Translated with a Historical and Philological Commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz”. The third volume was published under the same title, by the same publishers, following the same design and using financial help of the same sources as the 2004 edition.¹

There is no need to introduce the fundamental two-volume 2004 edition which summed up not only Professor de Rachewiltz’s many years of profound research, but also almost a century and a half of study of the SH by his predecessors and contemporaries. It is an encyclopedic piece of research work which combines translation, interpretation and detailed commentary accompanied by extensive reference apparatus. Of special value is the Bibliography which is both vast and thoroughly and thoughtfully selected from the *mare magnum* of publications on the subject.

As regards its size—but not its importance!—the third volume is considerably smaller than the preceding two. It is subtitled “Supplement” and it provides supplementary information following the structure of the other two volumes with reference to their pages, sections and bibliography. It presents additional information in a concise form and corrections that would have been inserted if there had been a new edition of the 2004 publication. The third volume is inseparably linked to the first two, being an extension and essential part of them and thus in many respects unsuitable for independent reading. On the other hand, now that this volume is available, it has

¹ The Secret History of the Mongols. A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century. Translated with a Historical and Philological Commentary by Igor de Rachewiltz. Vol. 1, 2. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2004. (Brill’s Inner Asian Library, 7/1. Ed. by Nicola Di Cosmo, Dewin DeWeese, Carolin Humphrey).

to be taken into consideration when reading or referring to de Rachewiltz's opinion on anything concerning the SH.

In the Preface, the author indicates two factors that prompted the preparation of the Supplement. The first was the necessity for updating caused by the ongoing interest in the SH that has only increased over the last decade and engendered a huge amount of new publications. The second was the desire to correct all the typographical errors, minor slips and omissions that had crept into 2004 edition. Accordingly, the third volume has two parts. The second part, "Typographical and Minor Errors and Omissions" (pp. 143–147), is just a list of corrections (minor misprints, even down to an incorrect font size or the omission of punctuation). The first part, "Additions and Revisions" (pp. 1–141), is the main one presenting all additions based on new publications and others that were not available to the author at the time. The additions can be divided roughly into two groups: the first one contains bibliographical additions giving references to new publications, sometimes accompanied by brief descriptions of their subject and words of approval; the second one represents "additions of ideas." In the latter section the author expounds his new ideas, views, afterthoughts, interpretations and considerations and also evaluates, contradicts, doubts or approves ideas expressed by scholars over the decade since the publication of the first two volumes finally refusing or accepting them.

Among the many secrets of the SH, two are of primary importance, or, more precisely, of interest not only to experts but to anyone who has ever dealt with the chronicle in any way. They are the dating and the authorship of the SH. In both cases, the number of options is limited and, in both cases, de Rachewiltz has changed his own opinion in favor of new views. The date of the SH, which was once generally accepted as being 1240, was later shifted by some scholars to 1228 and by others to 1252. De Rachewiltz now suggests 1229 (instead of 1228). The author of the SH will probably never be known for sure, although his "portrait" has been drawn quite accurately by many scholars. In the third volume, the name of Ögödei is suggested as the author (instead of Šigi Qutuqu). Although de Rachewiltz writes that it "remains entirely speculative," he gives enough data from the text to make this candidacy, while not entirely proven, highly plausible.

Experts will find a lot of new information concerning many vague or problematic paragraphs and words in the SH that are discussed in about 500 books, monographs and articles in Chinese, English, German, Japanese, Mongolian and Russian, which have been added in the third volume to the more than 1,300 in the Bibliography of the 2004 edition.

Among three Indexes for the third volume (Proper and Place Names, Subjects, Grammar and Lexis), the last is a supplement to the Index in 2004 edition. The third volume has seven illustrations, two of which show the area and a plaque marking the place where Činggis Qan died (in the 2004 edition, there is a photograph of his birthplace).

The Addenda comprise another dozen additions made after the deadline for the third volume (December 31, 2012). Still one more addition should be made. On December 1, 2013 Prof. de Rachewiltz sent some colleagues (including the reviewer) two more corrections and this is a good chance to make them available to everybody. Here they are:

Page 7: under Page lxiii, line 22: *for* 230^a, *read* 203^a

Page 164: under Kara 2005: *for* UAS, *read* JAS

Igor de Rachewiltz's ability and talent to keep track of, accumulate and sort out "a flurry of publications" on the SH, combined with his profound knowledge of the subject, has resulted in a unique three-volume publication unmatched in the past and likely to remain so in the foreseeable future.

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Oldenburg S.F. *Etiudy o liudiakh nauki* ("Sketches of Men of Science").
Ed. by S.D. Serebryany, compilation, introduction and commentary by
A.A. Vigasin. — Moscow: RSUH, 2012. — 478 p.

The book *Sketches of Men of Science* was published by the Russian State University for the Humanities on the threshold of a significant date—the 150th anniversary of the birth of Academician Sergei Fedorovich Oldenburg (1863–1934).

The idea of producing such a book had been forming among Orientalists over a period of many years.

Oldenburg's essays about personalities of Russian and foreign academic world, especially Oriental Studies, appeared in the author's lifetime in various publications, which are now available only in the reading rooms of the largest national libraries.

These essayistic works have not lost their informative value over the course of time.

Most importantly, they retain the vivid essence of the scholarly thinking of a man who was an outstanding organizer of Russian academic research, a classic figure in the Russian school of Buddhist Studies and the Russian school of Oriental Studies in Archaeology.

It is high time to introduce the modern reader to the entirety of his essays in one volume.

Now, when the classical traditions of Russian Oriental Studies are coming back to life, it is more important than ever before.

The book *Sketches of Men of Science* was prepared by Alexei Vigasin, an Indologist historian with encyclopedic erudition, as a scholarly publication which is not

restricted to Oldenburg's essays alone. It also includes epistolary and archival materials which had never been published before as well as official documents—expert reviews (“notes”) as part of his professional duties assessing the scholarly activities of his colleagues—representative of the classical period of Oriental Studies.

The main text of the book is followed by the compiler's commentary that brings together significant historical, academic and bibliographical information.

In the introduction to his book Vigasin reconstructs the image of Sergei Oldenburg against the historical background of the Russian scholarship in the pre-Soviet and early Soviet period. This introductory section presents a rather laconic, but extremely informative study whose details are documented in the references.

Oldenburg's essays appear in the book in chronological order by the date of their first publication. This order is only rarely disrupted where the compiler found it more appropriate to connect architectonically works published in different years.

The book begins with two memorial sketches about Ivan Pavlovich Minaev (1840–1890), Sergei Oldenburg's teacher. The first was produced in the year of Minaev's death in the form of an introductory lecture to the course of Sanskrit Literature that S.F. Oldenburg taught at the department of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg University, and published that same year in the periodical of the Russian Geographical Society's ethnography department, the *Zhivaia starina* (“The Living Past”).

Aiming to characterize Minaev as a student of India, Oldenburg paid most attention to the Buddhist aspects of his researches.

He pointed out that Minaev became interested in Sanskrit after taking university course under the guidance of Academician Vasilij Pavlovich Vasil'ev (1818–1900) who studied Buddhism from Chinese and Tibetan sources.

In that period Minaev's idea of a genetic connection of Buddhist traditions was rooted in Nepal, Tibet, Mongolia and China, as well as in Buddhist Sanskrit written heritage from ancient and early mediaeval India.

This northern branch of Buddhism sparked Oldenburg's particular interest, while foreign scholars of the time preferred to study the sources of southern tradition in Pali. Oldenburg, however, understood very clearly that Buddhism had developed into a world religion precisely through the process of its propagation in Central Asia and the Far East. And this historical and cultural process engaged his thoughts more and more.

This forward-looking interest of the young man increased in the first half of 1890s when reports of newly discovered fragments of Indian literary works from Central Asia began to reach the Asian Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

At the same time, he was fascinated with the idea of working out a theoretical approach to the study of history of religions as a form of spiritual activity of human society.

Examining Minaev's unpublished scholarly legacy, Oldenburg came across reflections on the same problem in his notes.

His other essay, dedicated to the memory of his teacher and published in 1896, includes a large extract from the methodological introduction to a short course of

lectures on the religions of India that Minaev taught at the department of Oriental Studies shortly before his death.

Later Oldenburg and another outstanding disciple of Minaev, Academician Theodor Stcherbatsky (1866–1942), the co-founders of the Russian school of Buddhist Studies, used the theoretical ideas expounded in that passage as a basis for the development of a systematic historical approach to Buddhist Studies.

A prologue to the foundation of the school took the form of Oldenburg's especially fruitful organizational initiative for a series of scholarly publications, the "Bibliotheca Buddhica", to be brought out by the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Established in 1897, the series was intended for the publication of northern Buddhist literary texts as well as of their translations into European languages and researches into them to unite the efforts of Russian and foreign scholars towards the exploration of this new object of study.

Significant information about the young Oldenburg's growing interest in Buddhist Studies can be found in his correspondence with Minaev published in the *Sketches of Men of Science*.

Letters dated 1890 show that Oldenburg was at that time enthusiastically studying the nomenclature of Indian literary works which, in the form of translation from Sanskrit to Tibetan, constituted part of the Buddhist texts canonized in Tibet. He confided in his teacher a legitimate fear that the previously selected sources for his master's degree research, namely Buddhist legends, stories and fairy tales, would not give fruitful results, so he was quite aware of the necessity of "devoting himself to Buddhism".

He wanted to put much more serious work into the introduction of the important Buddhist sources of the Mahayana, which was only slightly known among scholars at that time, into academic circulation—for example to publish the *Ghandavyuha-sutra* or to focus on the translation and study of the seventh-century philosophical treatise *Madhyamakavritti* by Chandrakirti. However, Minaev, who was greatly concerned about Oldenburg obtaining an academic degree, insisted on him continuing his work on the subject previously selected.

The correspondence between Oldenburg and Minaev helps us picture not only the background of their academic and private relationship but also social life at St. Petersburg University in the second half of the 1890s. It was a particularly valuable academic contribution by Vigin to publish it. He patiently tracked down the epistolary materials, which are kept in various archives, and commented thoroughly on them.

It is hard to believe that someone else besides the compiler of the *Sketches of Men of Science* could have brought the introduction of these valuable archival materials into scientific circulation to a triumphant conclusion.

Oldenburg's essays about the Orientalist-Buddhologists Vasily Vasil'ev, Richard Pischel, Otto Rosenberg and Hermann Oldenberg outline the formation of Buddhist source studies in the 1890s–1910s in Russia and Western Europe.

In two memorial publications devoted to Academician Vasil'ev Oldenburg paid most attention to his works which remained unpublished — a full review of Chinese sources, a terminological dictionary, a translation of the notes by Xuan Zang (7th cent.) about his pilgrimage to India.

If those comprehensive and extremely informative works had been prepared in a timely manner for publication, Oldenburg asserted, worldwide Buddhist Studies could have already progressed to a new stage in the second half of the 19th century and the subject of research would not have been limited to the study of sources in Pali.

In his commentary on the essay “In memory of Vassilii Pavlovich Vasil'ev and his works on Buddhism” dated 1918, Oldenburg tracks the development of ideas from Vasil'ev through Minaev to Stcherbatsky and his disciple Rosenberg (1888–1919) and describes that transformation of the object of Buddhist source studies which came about through the activities of those Russian scholars.

This area of concern for Oldenburg can also be clearly seen in the official document, “A commentary on scholarly works by Theodor Ippolitovich Stcherbatsky”, which provided the ground for electing Stcherbatsky a full member of the Russian Academy of Sciences “in the Literature and History of Asian Nations” in 1918.

The essays dedicated to Russian and foreign Sanskrit scholars—Kaetan Kossovich, Otto Böhtlingk, Vsevolod Miller, Hendrik Kern—make it possible not only to trace the history of Sanskritology and its connection to Indology but also to find the distinctions between them.

Through comparison of these publications with Oldenburg's memorial essays about Minaev it emerges that Ivan Minaev was actually the founder of the Russian school of Indology, which is a very important fact for the history of Russian classical Oriental Studies.

The issues that concerned Oriental Studies, the connections between Russian scholars and their foreign colleagues, the characteristic features of the research carried out by Orientalists—older contemporaries, coevals and younger colleagues of Sergei Oldenburg—were recorded in historic-scholarly portraits of Carl Salemann, Alexei Ivanovsky, Valentin Zhukovsky, Vassily Radlov, Eduard Chavannes, Vassily Bartold, Boris Vladimirtsov, as well as in expert reports on the works by Vassily Alexeev and Ignatii Krachkovsky.

In this regard, S.F. Oldenburg's letters to Salemann which were published in the *Sketches of Men of Science* for the first time are of great interest too.

The range of Oldenburg's archeological interests relating to the study of newly discovered palaeographical material—manuscripts and epigraphs—is clearly visible in the memorial essay dedicated to Nikolai Petrovsky as well as in the letters addressed to Petrovsky and the letters from Dmitrii Klements which were included in the book.

Petrovsky, the Russian Consul in Kashgar, and Klements, an eminent researcher of Central Asia, were actively involved in uncovering archeological relics of the Buddhist civilization of the 1st millennium A.D. in that historical and cultural region

and in adding manuscripts from there to the collections of the Asian Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Central Asia, especially the area which was conventionally called Eastern or Chinese Turkestan at that time, was of particular interest to Oldenburg in this respect.

He was planning research expeditions to that region at an international level, but his own expeditionary activities were delayed until 1908 due to financial difficulties.

In particular, we learn from Klements's letters to Oldenburg that the German archaeologists had broken previous international agreements. The team headed by Albert von Le Coq was especially active in that process, and it troubled Klements greatly.

Later on, when in the course of his first and second expeditions to Turkestan Oldenburg saw that some cultural monuments had been damaged by that German scholar in the effort to remove the art treasures of Buddhist Asia to Europe, he established a new—culture-saving—principle of archaeological work. Oldenburg appealed to scholars urging them not to destroy monuments and take away only those fragments that were a result of their destruction over time and that might otherwise be lost to scholarship.

The Russian academician proposed active use of technical means for displaying archaeological artifacts recording their actual condition in its entirety. The second Russian expedition to Turkestan headed by Oldenburg, which brought to Russia exceedingly valuable scholarly materials connected with the investigation of the Buddhist monastic complex in Dunhuang, worked exactly in this manner.

The Russian academician suggested a new way to introduce Oriental Buddhist art treasures to the scholarly community—by publishing illustrated albums with an introductory study report.

He himself produced two such albums of Buddhist iconography.

Oldenburg paid careful attention to the inception of Oriental Studies in India, Nepal and Japan. He considered Eurocentrism to be a fundamentally wrong position and reasonably believed that classical Oriental Studies would develop as an equal cooperation between Western, Russian and Asian scholars.

A good illustration of this is the way Oldenburg described Klements's attitude toward Asian nations in the memorial essay "Dmitry Alexandrovich and Elizaveta Nikolaevna Klements": "For Klements they are masses full of latent energy and mysterious potential. He reminds us that as recently as if it were yesterday our Western neighbours considered us barbarians and now they have to work hand in hand with us as equals" (p. 218). Oldenburg also stressed the idea of a future scholarly partnership between the West and the East in his formal speech for the 80th anniversary of Grigory Potanin, one of the great Russian explorers (p. 247).

The issue of moral and ethical guidelines for scholarly research and organizational activities runs like a golden thread through Oldenburg's personological essays.

It is from just such a perspective that he characterizes in his essays the representatives of other, non-Oriental fields of scholarship—the researcher of ancient Greek

literature Piotr Nikitin, the historian Alexander Lappo-Danilevsky, the philologist Aleksei Shakhmatov, the vice-president of the Academy of Sciences mathematician Vladimir Steklov and the biologist Karl Ernst von Baer.

The humanistic features of Oldenburg's worldview are clearly visible in three articles included in the book—"Renan as apostle of free thought" (1902), "Baron Wrangel and true nationalism" (1916), "Andrey Ivanovich Shingarev" (1918), as well as in his memorial essay "Tolstoy—a teacher of life" (1920).

Referring in the introduction to the *Sketches of Men of Science* to the article devoted to Renan, Vigasin pointed out, that Oldenburg was "only slightly interested in the results of the scientist's particular activities in the sphere of Semitology. It is important to him to emphasize by the example of Renan the necessity for free-thinking and malignancy of intolerance" (p. 22). Indeed, the article was written in those years when the issue of freedom of conscience was particularly contentious in Russian society. Yet Oldenburg's interest in Renan was not limited to this topical issue.

Ernest Renan, as a philologist and scientist, argued against the imposition of Eurocentric value judgments in the scientific field, in particular against overestimating the cultural superiority of the ancient Mediterranean world.

He saw philology as the study of historical paths of human development which express itself in ethnocultural variety of languages and texts.

Sergei Oldenburg held the same ideological viewpoint. For both of them, the ancient languages and texts were a unique instrument for gaining a thorough insight into the mentality of peoples who created the world's cultural history.

In this respect they both assigned a purely methodological meaning to the thesis by the founder of French Buddhist Studies, Sanskritist Eugène Burnouf—"in the language of Indians we will study India with its philosophy and its myths, its literature and laws". It should be emphasized that Oldenburg's many-sided interest in Renan has not received adequate attention in works on the history of Oriental Studies and it certainly deserves detailed study.

Oldenburg's scholarly views determined his social stance. He rejected not only Eurocentrism but also any manifestation of nationalistic self-importance, especially the chauvinism that gripped the minds of a great part of the Russian intelligentsia during the First World War. In the article in memory of Nikolai Wrangel, an active member of the Russian Geographical Society's ethnography department, Oldenburg contrasted chauvinism with true nationalism—serving the national culture.

Oldenburg's article "Andrey Ivanovich Shingarev" is transfused with a rejection of the needless cruelty unavoidably associated with revolutionary changes in political history. It was a response to the tragic death of that eminent member of the Cadets (Constitutional Democratic Party) and colleague of Oldenburg due to his participation in the Provisional Government. Shingarev was killed by anarchist sailors in January 1918. The scholar was stunned by the absurdity of that crime committed by common people whom Shingarev had served as a doctor from an early age.

But even in the years of fratricidal national catastrophe Oldenburg did not lose his faith in the spiritual and moral potential of Russian culture. This is evidenced by his memorial essay “Tolstoy—a teacher of life”, published in the midst of the Civil War.

The book *Sketches of Men of Science* ends with an autobiographical essay “Thoughts on Scholarly Creativity” published one year before the scholar’s death. This work shows the internal logic and correlation of various aspects of Oldenburg’s activities—studies of Buddhist written monuments, archaeology and science coordination.

In concluding the review of this admirably compiled book, it is worth mentioning one rather strange passage in the introduction dealing with the characterization of Sergei Oldenburg’s personal contribution to scholarship (p. 19–21).

Vigasin quotes something the scholar said when he was a student—“I have no great talent, only the wit of a scientist”—and meaningfully adds his own judgment: “This harsh self-appraisal probably accords with reality”. This is followed by a list of works based on the results of his expedition to Central Asia which the scholar failed to publish. As a matter of fact, Oldenburg’s contribution to scholarship supposedly boils down to “short notes, with a significant portion of publishing works” and a brochure presented as a thesis (p. 20). The reader will be puzzled—for what merits, then, was Sergei Oldenburg elected to the Russian Academy of Sciences? Unfortunately, the absurd reasoning about the perceived insignificance of Oldenburg’s personal contribution to Oriental Studies, which stems from a misunderstanding of its course of development, has been quite common in a succession of scientific publications over two last decades. In this respect, it is only for the better that in the informative and beautifully worded introduction to the *Sketches of Men of Science* there is not much space for such an argument.

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“Novye zakony” tangutskogo gosudarstva (pervaia chetvert’ XIII veka). Izdanie teksta i perevod s tangutskogo, vvedenie i kommentarij E.I. Kychanova [“New Laws” of the Tangut State (the first half of the 13th century). Publication of the text and translation from the Tangut language, introduction and commentary by E.I. Kychanov]. Moskva: Nauka—Vostochnaya literatura, 2013, 501 pp. (Pamiatniki pis’mennosti Vostoka [Written monuments of the Orient], CXL)

Half a year after E.I. Kychanov’s passing away, the publication of his brilliant work *“Novye zakony” tangutskogo gosudarstva* (“New Laws” of the Tangut State) reminded me to think of the gentle voice and amiable appearance of this great Orientalist, as if he is still with us.

Nearly all the manuscripts of *New Laws* (*xinfa* 新法) were first published by the Shanghai Chinese Classics Publishing House in the ninth volume of *Ecang Heishu-icheng Wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻 in 1999, but some scattered fragments in the publication evidently were not identified, even the order of folios in the same manuscript was not arranged correctly. Although some scholars in China intended to explore this valuable material, they had to work from individual chapters or paragraphs but were unable to access the complete text because the basic research was not carried out properly. An important contribution of Kychanov's work is that the author carefully selected and combined the facsimiles into an almost complete text. From now on, the "*New Laws*" of the *Tangut State*, instead of the Shanghai publication, will become a fundamental reference for studying the jurisprudence of Xixia.

The Russian translation and detailed commentaries on *New Laws* show the enviable erudition and mature judgment of an outstanding scholar. By contrast, Chinese Tangutologists, including myself, often express their dubious understanding of Tangut statements through rough translations without any commentaries. Kychanov's "*New Laws*" of the *Tangut State* set forward a new standard for researchers. I was told that professor Liang Songtao 梁松濤 in the Hebei University was working on translating the entire text of *New Laws* into Chinese, so I am sure that she will find a great help in Kychanov's research and some new objectives will be reached in the future.

One of the remaining significant problems bearing on the translation of Tangut codes is how to deal with the nomenclature of Xixia official ranks. Kychanov used to translate all of them semantically as he did for dozens of years, such as *privod-yashchij v pokornost'* (bringing to obedience) for *jar-w₂* 𐰇𐰆𐰏 and *protivostoyashchij zlu* (resisting evil) for *kha-dow* 𐰇𐰏 (New Laws, p. 26), which led Chinese scholars to translate the former as *tiaofu* 調伏 (bringing to obedience) and the latter as *juxie* 拒邪 (resisting evil) in their relevant works. Such translations, in my opinion, are beyond understanding because they do not reveal any meanings etymologically. Having found no traces of similar ranks in Xixia's neighbors such as China, Tibet, Qidan and Jurchen, we suspect that the titles might have originated from a native Tangut administrative system and became obsolete immediately after the fall of the Xixia Kingdom.

It is noticeable that in vol. 486 of *Songshi* 宋史 there is a sentence indicating certain parallelism between the title of a Chinese post and a Tangut rank, which reads: "Those over *tuanlianshi* 團練使 are provided one curtain, one bow and five hundred arrows." This fact is well in accordance with the Tangut record in vol. 5 (1.6b) of *Tiansheng Lüling* 天盛律令, which reads: "Those over *wejr-be* 𐰇𐰏 (flourish-searching) are provided five hundred arrows without exception." Accordingly, we know that the Tangut rank *wejr-be* corresponds to the Chinese post *tuanlianshi*, i.e., commander of local corps. Of course it is unreasonable to translate Tangut *wejr-be* directly into Chinese *tuanlianshi*, but I suppose that it will be better for us to follow the phonetic transcription practice during the Xia-Yuan times.

In a 12th century colophon attached to inv. No. 598 preserved in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, we find Tangut rank titles *nowr-lhə* 𐰽𐰺𐰍 (wholly abundant), *nej-dzjo* 𐰽𐰺𐰍 (peaceful ceremony) and *wo-'jij* 𐰽𐰺𐰍 (righteous and even) corresponding respectively to the Chinese transcriptions *wole* 臥勒, *naijiang* 乃將 and *woying* 臥英 in the colophon of the *Sheng Shenghui Daobi'an Gongdebao Jiji* 聖勝慧到彼岸功德寶集偈 kept in the Yunju Temple, Fangshan District, Beijing. On an epitaph of the year 1278, recently unearthed in the Daming County, Hebei Province, China, there is a Tangut post *gia-bju* 𐰽𐰺𐰍 (commander) being transcribed into Chinese *qianbu* 鈐部. These facts tell us that people of that time preferred phonetic transcription to semantic translation of Tangut nomenclature of official posts and ranks, just as they used *daluhuachi* 達魯花赤 for “general governor” and *aolu* 奧魯 for “logistic governor.” Although it will be difficult for scholars to choose the available Chinese characters for transcribing every Tangut syllable, I believe that the best method is to borrow Hwang-cherng Gong’s Tangut phonetic reconstruction forms directly in our future studies, e.g., use *jar-wə* and *kha-dow* for 𐰽𐰺𐰍 and 𐰽𐰺𐰍 instead of “bringing to obedience” and “resisting evil” respectively.

Twenty-five years ago, Kychanov accomplished his *Izmenennyj i zanovo ut-verzhdennyj kodeks deviza tsarstvovaniya nebesnoe protsvetanie 1149–1169* (Modified and Newly Approved Code of the *Tiansheng* Reign 1149–1169), by which he opened up a vast realm for Tangutologists all over the world. Based on this monumental work, there emerged hundreds of papers on Tangut politics, economy, science and culture. It is reasonable to predict that his “*New Laws*” of the *Tangut State* will continue the existing academic trend and lead us along the path of endless exploration.

Nie Hongyin

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