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The Tangut translation of the *General's Garden* by Zhuge Liang[1]

The Tangut collection of the British Library includes an incomplete manuscript of a Tangut version of the *Jiangyuan* (The General's Garden), a Chinese military strategy text ostensibly written by Zhuge Liang in the 3rd century AD. The authenticity of the text has been repeatedly called into question, and since none of its known editions precede the Ming dynasty, modern scholars believe it to be a late forgery. The discovery of a Tangut translation, however, demonstrates that the text existed as far back as the 12th century. This paper offers a few additional observations regarding the Tangut manuscript. The first issue raised here is the connection of the translation with extant Chinese editions, and whether we can learn anything about the edition used by the translator. Second, the paper points out the significance of the red marks that appear next to several characters on the manuscript, as these could help us to determine whether we are dealing with the translator's autograph or a subsequent copy in a longer line of transmission. Third, since the manuscript is damaged and all lines are incomplete, the original line length is reconstructed in order to see how much of the Tangut text is missing and how close the translation was to the Chinese original.

Key words: Tangut manuscripts, Zhuge Liang, General's Garden, Stein Collection, British Library, edition history, codicology.

Among the Tangut material recovered by Sir M. Aurel Stein in 1914 in Khara-Khoto, and housed today at the British Library, there is a manuscript that has been identified as a translation of the Chinese military treatise *Jiangyuan* 將苑, or the *General's Garden*. A work ostensibly written by the celebrated strategist Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮 (181–234) from the period of Three Kingdoms, it has been largely neglected in the Chinese philological tradition because it was suspected of being a later forgery. The discovery of a Tangut version, however, reveals that at least in the 12th century the text already existed and was considered significant enough to be included among the works translated in the Xixia Empire.

The manuscript in question is Or. 12380/1840. It was first studied in 1962 by Eric Grinstead who pointed out that this was the first non-Buddhist text identified in the Stein collection of Tangut manuscripts (Grinstead, 1962, p. 35).[2] Besides making a number of impor-

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[2] The timing of Grinstead's study is interesting, as it came out shortly after the publication of Nevskij's *Tangutskaja Filologija* (Nevskij, 1960). This debt was duly acknowledged by Grinstead at the end of his article. With regard to how learning Tangut was possible in Britain in the early sixties, it is perhaps not inappropriate to recount here that, while browsing through the Tangut manuscripts at the basement of the British Library, I found a small box with, Tangut flashcards on it. Each card contained a Tangut character cut out from a printed book (most likely Nevskij's dictionary), and whenever the character was identifiable, the English translation was written underneath it. This was Grinstead's study tool while working on the Tangut material as Assistant Keeper in charge of the Chinese collections at the British Museum.

tant observations with regard to the Tangut text in comparison with its Chinese original, Grinstead also published a photograph of the last eleven lines of the manuscript, where the last line also included the title of the work, which was, of course, crucial for identifying the text. Almost forty years later, Professor Ksenia Kepping did a more detailed study of this manuscript and came to the conclusion that the Tangut version was not a word-for-word translation but rather an adaptation for Tangut readers (Kepping and Gong, 2003, p. 23). She also identified "an indigenous Mi-nia nomenclature" for neighbouring peoples based on the four cardinal directions.

In this paper I would like to make a few more observations regarding the Tangut version of the *General's Garden*. Far from trying to present a comprehensive study, I merely would like to see what additional information can be uncovered about the manuscript. The first topic of my interest is the connection of the Tangut translation with the Chinese original, or rather, the different extant editions of the original. Second, I would like to draw attention to the significance of the red marks that appear next to several characters in the manuscript, as these could help us to determine whether we are dealing with the translator's autograph or a subsequent copy in a longer line of transmission. My third topic concerns the number of characters per line: since the manuscript is damaged and all lines are incomplete, I reconstruct the original line length. This is significant because it allows us to have a better assessment of how much of the Tangut text is missing and thus how close the translation was to the Chinese original.[3]

1. Relationship of the manuscript with Chinese editions

There are a number of military works traditionally attributed to Zhuge Liang, the eminent strategist of the period of Three Kingdoms, although some of these have been suspected to be later forgeries. The work called *Jiangyuan*, or the *General's Garden* is one of these doubtful works, and consequently there has been relatively little scholarly attention paid to it. None of the surviving editions of the text precedes the Ming dynasty, and the Tangut translation clearly represents the earliest extant version. While this is in no way a proof that Zhuge Liang was its real author, it verifies the existence of an edition dating as far back as the Song dynasty. Accordingly, a Chinese edition must have been already in circulation at the time, and this was used as the basis for a Tangut translation.

One of the advantages of discovering the Tangut manuscript is, of course, that we can learn more about the history of the text in its original language, Chinese. As the earliest extant version it has the potential to tell us more about the Chinese edition from which the translation was made. This is important because the Tangut version can be used to approximate a Song edition of the Chinese text, which could in turn help us create order among the ones available to us today. As to the date of the translation, Kepping convincingly suggested the twelfth century, the period when translations of most military texts were performed in the Tangut state (Kepping, 2003, p. 22).

Of the extant editions the most popular one is that compiled by the Qing scholar Zhang Shu 張澍 (1781–1847).[4] His work, titled *Zhuge Zhongwu hou wenji* 諸葛忠武侯文集 ("Collected writings of the Loyal and Martial Lord") was the basis for the modern edition

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[3] Black and white images of the Tangut *General's Garden* have been published by Shanghai guji chubanshe (Xie and Wood, 2005), although there are a number of details that cannot be seen in this publication. Among these are the red dots in the text, the edges of the original manuscript in contrast with the backing paper added by modern conservators.

[4] Zhang Shu's name is well-known in Tangut studies because he was the one who first reported the Liangzhou bilingual stele from 1094. See Dunnell, 1996, pp. 109–111. His year of birth differs according to the sources, some give it as 1776, others as 1781.

by Zhonghua shuju.[5] Zhang himself worked from earlier Ming and Qing prints, using several works to collate his own edition which is now reputed to be one of the most reliable ones and is effectively used as the authoritative text[6]. Beside putting together a completely new edition, Zhang also preserved as commentary some of the variant readings from earlier works. At the beginning of his work, he writes:

《隋書‧經籍志》，諸葛亮《將苑》一卷。又按《中興書目》，《將苑》一卷，凡五十篇，論爲將之道。李夢陽曰即《心書》也。今仍改稱《將苑》。案焦竑《經籍志》作《心書》，陶宗儀《說郛》又作《新書》，皆誤。

The "Jingjizhi" chapter of the *Suishu* lists the *Jiangyuan* by Zhuge Liang in one *juan*.[7] Moreover, the [Song dynasty bibliography called] *Zhongxing shumu* also lists a *Jiangyuan* in one *juan* and a total of fifty sections, asserting it to be "the way of the general." Li Mengyang (1472–1529) claimed that this was in fact the *Xinshu* ("Book of the Heart"). Now I still changed the title to *Jiangyuan*. Jiang Hong (1541–1620) in his [*Guoshi*] *Jingjizhi* calls it *Xinshu* ("Book of Heart"), while Tao Zongyi (fl. 1360–1368) in his *Shuofu* uses the name *Xinshu* ("New Book") but in this both of them are mistaken.

Accordingly, Zhang believed that the three titles of *Jiangyuan*, *Xinshu* 心書 and *Xinshu* 新書 all referred to the same work, and that the correct title was *Jiangyuan*, or the *General's Garden*. The discovery of the Tangut version confirms Zhang's assumption, as in the last line we have the title 𗴿𗥃𗵆𗀒𗏁, which could be roughly translated as *The Book of the General's Grove* 將軍森林本. Obviously, this is the same title as *Jiangyuan*, since the word *yuan* 苑 in fact generally represents a kind of forest-like garden. Naturally, this does not mean that the text did not have other titles beside this, but this is at least a conclusive proof that during the 12th century the title *Jiangyuan* was in use.[8]

A version of the text was preserved under the title of *Xinshu* 新書 as part of Tao Zongyi's *Shuofu* 說郛. This version is also often referred to in Zhang Shu's comments to his own edition, although his references do not always match the editions of the *Shuofu* we have today.[9] Another relatively early edition available to me at the time of writing this paper was the Ming woodblock edition of 1563, originally edited by Lan Zhang 藍章 (1453–1526).[10]

The above are the three editions I shall use in my paper, abbreviating them the following way:

1) ZS (Zhang Shu's edition published by Zhonghua shuju);
2) SF (Tao Zongyi's *Shuofu*);
3) LZ (Lan Zhang's edition from the Ming dynasty woodblock prints).

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[5] *Zhuge Liang ji* 諸葛亮集 , 1960.

[6] While this is in fact a commonly held view, one should also keep in mind that, from the point of view of textual criticism, there is no such thing as the most reliable text, especially if it has been created by correcting and "reconstructing" earlier editions.

[7] In reality, the *Suishu* contains no such work. Of the three works of Zhuge Liang included in this bibliography, only one listed as consisting of one *juan*, namely, *Lun Qian-Han shi yi juan* 論前漢事一卷 (On the affairs of the Former Han, in one *juan*), which appears among the different editions of the *Hanshu* 漢書.

[8] The last character in the Tangut title is 𗏁, which is commonly used in the sense of 'root,' 'basis' but also means 'book' (Kychanov, 2006, p. 697). In his transcription of the last page into Chinese, Grinstead uses the character 根 but, considering the possible meaning of the title (Grinstead, 1962), 本 is no doubt a better choice.

[9] I was fortunate the be able to consult an early Qing edition of the *Shuofu* from the 3rd year of Shunzhi 順治 (1646) at Princeton University Library but found the same discrepancies with Zhang Shu's comments as in more modern editions. (My special thanks to Dr. Martin Heijdra, Daniel J. Linke and other library staff at Princeton for their kind help.) This suggests that Zhang Shu was working with yet another edition of the *Shuofu*, which remains to be identified.

[10] *Zhuge Kongming Xinshu* 諸葛孔明心書.

Even a superficial comparison of these editions reveals that at times they differ considerably, showing that it would be impossible to talk about the text of the *General's Garden* in abstraction without referring to a particular edition. Naturally, other editions not represented here may also carry their peculiarities and a comprehensive study would also have to account for these. For the purposes of the current paper, however, these three editions shall be sufficient. While we have no information as to what edition the Tangut translator was using, it is certain that it was none of these. Therefore, it is useful to compare the translation to places where these three Chinese editions show the most obvious variation, as this would allow us to assess these differences in light of the Tangut version. Below are a few examples.

At the very end of Section 26 of the Chinese text,[11] ZS and SF write the phrase "thus whomever he faces, he will know no enemies" 則所向者無敵. In contrast with this, LZ has the character 當 ('to encounter; to oppose') in place of 向, a difference that is insignificant in terms of the general meaning of the phrase yet helpful for tracing the textual history of the passage. The Tangut version in this place has the character 𗙤 ('to turn to; to face'), which matches the Chinese character 向. This affiliates the manuscript with ZS and SF, but not LZ.

However, the Tangut version of the same section also shows a number of obvious dissimilarities with the Chinese, a fact that is evident even though the larger part of the text is missing or illegible. For example, this section discusses the potential energies of Heaven 天勢, Earth 地勢, and Man 人勢. In the part where the text explains the potential energy of Earth, the Tangut version begins with a statement with the characters 𘄡𗦲 which are the Tangut equivalent of the Chinese *yinyang* 陰陽. Yet neither this concept nor anything that could be even loosely linked with it appears in any of the Chinese editions. In fact, the part corresponding to how the Chinese text continues here only appears in the Tangut manuscript at the top of the next line, revealing that the Tangut version contains some interpolated phrases at the missing end of the line where the manuscript is damaged.

In Section 27 of the Chinese version, Zhang Shu comments that, in one of the editions he consulted, the character 議 in the phrase "they conferred with each other through brave competition" 相議以勇鬭 was written as 陳 ('to line up'). The Tangut version clearly has the character 𗟲 ('to discuss'), matching the Chinese characters 言議. Therefore, the Song edition used for the translation in this place obviously had the character 議 and not 陳.

Towards the end of Section 32 of the Chinese version, the ZS edition says, "When the enemy is across a ravine, separated by water, the wind is strong and darkness obscures visibility, it is advantageous to strike from the front and back at the same time." 踰淵隔水，風大暗昧，利以搏前擒後. There is an obvious discrepancy between the three Chinese editions in the following phrase:

風大暗昧 (ZS)
風火暗昧 (SF)
風火暗　 (LZ)

It is clear that alternation of the characters 大 and 火 reflects a graphical mistake because the two graphs are visually quite similar to each other.[12] While the concept of 'wind and fire' in the above context makes less sense than 'great wind,' this is precisely the variant

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[11] The sequence and numbering of sections in the Chinese editions does not match the Tangut version. A table of Chinese vs. Tangut section numbers appears is Kepping and Gong, 2003, p. 18.

For the sake of convenience, I shall use the Chinese section numbers as a form of referencing parts of the text.

[12] The mixing of these characters in manuscripts was not an uncommon case. For example, in the Dunhuang manuscript P. 2529 from the Pelliot collection in Paris in the line "in the monastery there is a tooth of the great Pratyeka Buddha" 寺有大辟支佛牙 the character 大 is erroneously written as 火, forming a meaningless phrase "fire Pratyeka Buddha" 火辟支佛. The same confusion can also occur in modern scholarship, as Gábor Kósa discusses the persistent misreading of the phrase 火海 ('sea of fire') as 大海 ('great sea') in the Manichaean manuscript *Traité* (Kósa, forthcoming).

that appears in the Tangut version of the text (薨虣, i.e. 火風), thus linking it with SF and LZ, but not ZS. A version of the same sentence is also found in the *Liutao* 六韜 (3/27), another well-known Chinese text on military strategy, where this phrase appears as "when there is strong wind and it rains heavily" 大風甚雨者, and this variant corroborates that the character 火 ('fire') in the SF and LZ editions is most likely a mistake.

In fact, because the phrase "wind and fire"' is probably a mistake that crept into the text during the process of its transmission, it is a particularly useful example for tracing the history of editions. While it does not occur in ZS, we know that this edition is relatively new and was compiled by Zhang Shu around the 1830s or 1840s by evaluating earlier editions; therefore it is likely that the error of writing 'fire' instead of 'great' had been introduced into the text much earlier, and Zhang Shu simply corrected this in his edition, perhaps without textual antecedents, simply on the basis of philological judgment and the experience that these characters are often mixed up. In fact, the presence of the same erroneous reading in the Tangut version is an indication that this mistake had been introduced into the text during or before the Song.[13]

The above examples show how the Tangut version can help us reconstruct some of the Song text used for the translation. Needless to say, there might have been other editions already at this time but we can only make assumptions regarding the version used by the Tangut translator. Still, this would be the earliest edition of which we have any information, predating the oldest extant Chinese edition by several centuries. In addition, these examples also confirm that none of the consulted editions aligns perfectly with the translation.

At the same time, since we do not have the Chinese edition used for making the translation, we should be very careful when judging the quality or nature of the translation. As an illustration to this point, consider the following example. One of the things Professor Kepping discussed in her article on the *General's Garden* is the Tangut translation of a sentence in the part matching Section 22 of the Chinese text. The Chinese sentence went 夫以愚克智，逆也 which she rendered into English as "It is known that when a silly one overcomes a wise one, it is [as if to] go against the current." She was especially interested in the word *ni* 逆 ('to go against the current'), appearing in the Tangut as 翇. [14] The Chinese equivalent for this Tangut character is usually *fu* 福, and less frequently *xing* 幸, both meaning 'good fortune.' Based on the analysis of this Tangut character in other texts, Professor Kepping suggested that it should be understood in this context as 'supernatural,' i.e. it is against nature when folly overcomes wisdom. She used this example to show that the Tangut translator did not simply translate the Chinese original but created "an adaptation of the text for Minia readers" (Kepping, 2003, p. 19).

The above line of thought, however, is entirely based on ZS which is the only edition where the character 逆 occurs in this place. In contrast, the same sentence is written in both SF and LZ as 夫以愚克智，命也 ("now when folly overcomes wisdom, it is fate"). Thus the character in question is written as *ming* 命 ('fate'), which is not that far from the ordinary, non-mystical meaning of the Tangut word 翇 ('good fortune'), transforming the sentence into "now when folly overcomes wisdom, it is [simply a matter of] luck". [15] Therefore

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[13] The same phrase is quoted in the work *Dushu jishu lue* 讀書紀數略 by Gong Mengren 宮夢仁 (1623–1713) as 風火暗昧, that is, matching SF.

[14] The right side Tangut character 翇 ('good fortune') in the manuscript is written with an extra horizontal dash on the top. This does not occur in Kychanov's dictionary or in the current font, but appears as a variant in Nevskij's dictionary (Nevskij, 1960, vol. 2, p. 129).

[15] Peng Xiangqian 澎向前 does not see a contradiction here, noting that the word *ming* 命 ('fate') "is, of course, supernatural" (Peng, 2009, p. 94). It is clear from Kepping's argument, however, that she was not aware that some Chinese editions have the word *ming* 命 ('fate') in this place, and she was trying hard to explain how the word *ni* 逆 ('to go against the current') could be linked with the Tangut 翇 ('good fortune').

it seems more likely to me that the Chinese version used for creating the Tangut translation had the character 命 in this place, as it shows a simpler and less strained connection with its Tangut counterpart.[16]

2. Red marks next to characters

Another issue I would like to look at is the presence of the red marks next to some characters in the manuscript. In Section 32 of the Chinese version, the phrase already referred to above says, "[when there is] wind, fire and darkness" 風火暗昧 (based on SF). The second half of the phrase appearing in the Tangut translation is not 'darkness' 暗昧 as in the Chinese editions, but 丽𗈼, in which the first character stands for the word 'fog'. For the second character Kychanov (2006, p. 234) gives the meaning 'mist; be dimmed; dark; gloomy', which resonates well with Li Fanwen's (1997, p. 1076) gloss of 'dark, gloomy'.[17] Kychanov (2006, p. 236), however, glosses the compound word consisting of these two characters as to 'wrap by fog', while Li (1997, p. 1076) as 晦霧 ('gloomy and misty'). Thus, while this second understanding of the compound word is closer in meaning to the Chinese word *anmei* 暗昧 ('darkness') which stands in the corresponding place, it nevertheless includes, on account of its first character 丽, the connotation of 'mistiness'. Yet on a practical level the concept of wind and mist together is clearly not a very successful one. Perhaps this is the reason why this compound word is marked with two small red marks, one next to each character.[18]

Similar red marks appear in other parts of this manuscript, yet their precise meaning is yet to be demonstrated. It is possible that they represent a notation by an editor who checked the text after its completion, a possibility corroborated by the short colophon at the end of the manuscript, the legible portion of which says "The Book of the General's Grove; finished; edited and copied by..." 𗾧𗴲𘃧𗗙𗦲, 𘄄, 𗼃𗟲... (將軍森林本, 畢, 校寫...).[19] Unfortunately, the line is damaged farther down, concealing the name of the person who edited and copied the manuscript.

Kepping (2003, p. 21) saw the phrase "edited by" at the end of the manuscript as an indication that the Tangut version was an adaptation, i.e. it was edited rather than translated. This would, of course, mean that the editor was in fact the translator, which I believe to be improbable. My own contention is that the editing referred to at the end of the manuscript had to be a separate process from the translation. Kepping correctly pointed out that the same word 𗼃 ('to edit') was also used when writing the phrase 𗦻𗼃 ("royally edited") after the name of the Tangut emperor in translations of the Buddhist Canon, indicating that the translation was checked and corrected by the emperor. Naturally, we cannot claim that the emperor himself put together an adaptation of the Canon for Tangut readers. Instead,

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[16] We should also note that the ZS version of this phrase where the character 逆 occurs is by no means a defective one, as it is much more balanced with the following phrase which says 以智克愚，順也 ("overcoming folly with wisdom is as if to go along with the current"). A better reading, however, does not necessarily prove the priority or authenticity of either version.

[17] The Chinese gloss provided by Li here is 暗也 ('darkness'), which, in contrast with Kychanov, has no immediate connotation of 'fog' or 'mistiness.'

[18] As mentioned above, a parallel sentence is also found in the *Liutao*, only there in the place of the word *anmei* 暗昧 ('darkness') we have the phrase *shen yu* 甚雨 ("it rains heavily"). This shows that the important meaning in this place is that there is minimal visibility, and not whether this is caused by fog, darkness or rain. While this is significant from the point of view of understanding the intended meaning of a text, the comparison of parallel versions of the same sentence is still a meaningful technique of textual criticism.

[19] The last Tangut character is only half visible and is added here based on Kepping's suggestion (Kepping, 2003, p. 17).

the word 𗥔 ('to edit') in both contexts more likely refers to checking a finished translation made by someone else. The fact that the completion of a round of checking is recorded in a colophon shows the importance attached to that particular text. It was not simply a hastily performed rendition but a careful translation which was subsequently also thoroughly checked, presumably against the original. In light of the above, I would argue that the "adaptation" theory is unlikely for the Tangut version of the *General's Garden*, and the apparent differences in comparison with the Chinese text are the result of the translator having used an edition not available to us today.

Going back to the word 'fog' marked with red dots, the fact that both characters were marked shows that whoever added the dots intended to identify whole words, rather than individual characters. As a counter-example, however, we can point out that in the case of the compound word 𗥔𗥔 ('irrigation ditches') that appears earlier in the same section, only the second character is marked. Evidently, the scope and nature of these red marks awaits further research. Trivial as they seem, the implications of determining what they stand for goes beyond strictly palaeographic considerations. If we could demonstrate that they were undoubtedly signs of an editor or corrector then we would also be able to determine whether the manuscript was a copy or the translator's autograph.

In his monograph on the Tangut book, Terent'jev-Katanskij (1981, p. 34) discusses the red marks used by readers for the purpose of emphasis.[20] These marks range from dots and short dashes to longer vertical lines "underlining" an entire row. The reason why I think that in this case the red dots were not applied by a reader is twofold. First, there are only a few red dots in the manuscript, less then ten for the surviving part, which makes it improbable that this was a reader's copy. Secondly, we have a colophon stating that this particular manuscript copy was edited by someone. We know from medieval Chinese manuscripts that the colophon usually was not copied together with the text but that, as a rule, it referred to the very copy to which it was appended.

It is possible that an editor marked certain characters as mistakes or omissions, and this would not have any bearing on the authorship of the translation. But in the case of the word 'fog' we have a clear example when the correction pertains not to the individual characters (i.e. calligraphic or orthographic issues) but words (i.e. content). We can also be certain that the word 'fog' here is not an accidental redundancy because in this context it is used in place of the Chinese word for 'darkness,' even though it is a somewhat unfortunate way of conveying the meaning of dimness or obscurity when describing windy weather. Therefore if the Tangut word for 'fog' was indeed marked by a subsequent editor as not being the best lexical choice in this context, that would mean that this manuscript was probably the translator's autograph, rather than a copy of an earlier copy. In contrast with this, if it was merely a copy of an already existing translation, the editor would have had no reason — or at least much less justification — to comment on the content the way he apparently did in our case. Considering the great attention paid to the calligraphy in the manuscript, I suspect that this was a final clean copy which was then proof-read by an editor.

3. Line length

The Tangut *General's Garden* is incomplete. The beginning of the manuscript, presumably containing the first half of the text, has been torn off. In addition, the lower part of the scroll is also damaged, as a result of which the end of the lines is missing throughout the entire text. Consequently, we do not know the number of characters per line, which makes

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it difficult to judge the accuracy of the translation, since we do not know how much Tangut text was there originally.

In the Tangut manuscript of the *General's Garden* the longest number of characters per line is 15 but it is clear that there used to be more text where the line breaks off. After its arrival in London, the manuscript was backed by modern conservators and rolled up as a scroll. The conservators obviously had no way of knowing the original line length and used the surviving measures of the manuscript for backing. As a consequence, the scroll in its current format gives the impression that the lines are supposed to have been about 17 characters long, even though most of them carry only 11–16 characters. In other words, the backing creates the illusion that it reproduces the scale of the original scroll while it is simply based on the longest surviving lines.[21] In reality, however, the lines must have been longer and the original scroll was wider than it is today. This also means that it is uncertain how much of the original text we are missing, and when we cannot match part of the Chinese original with the translation, it could simply be because a portion of the translation is missing. Therefore, it would be essential to determine the width of the original scroll, as it would give us a better idea how much of the translation is extant today and whether phrases missing from the Tangut version have been torn off or were never there in the first place.

Fortunately, we can reconstruct the number of characters per line by aligning portions of the Chinese and Tangut texts with each other. That the number of characters per line is more or less consistent throughout the manuscript can be surmised on the basis of other Tangut manuscripts where the length of lines remains relatively stable, with minor deviations, throughout the entire document. The even calligraphy of the *General's Garden* also corroborates our hypothesis that the lines used to be of equal length. The part of the text suitable for reconstructing the original line length comprises a series of short phrases in Section 34 of the Chinese text. Zhang Shu's edition reads the following way:

> 主孰聖也？將孰賢也？吏孰能也？糧餉孰豐也？士卒孰練也？軍容孰整也？戎馬孰逸也？形勢孰險也？賓客孰智也？鄰國孰懼也？財貨孰多也？百姓孰安也？

Whose lord is more sagely? Whose general is more worthy? Whose administrators are more able? Whose provisions are richer? Whose soldiers are better trained? Whose weapons are more orderly? Whose cavalry horses are swifter? Whose terrain is more hazardous? Whose visitors and guests are wiser? Whom its neighboring states are afraid of? Whose financial and material means are better? Whose common people have a more comfortable life?

The above portion of text consists of twelve short segments identical in structure: N+孰+A+也. The same structure can be easily identified in the Tangut translation where it appears as N+𗉘𘜶+A (N+孰△+A). In the Chinese transcription of the Tangut text, I follow Lin Ying-chin's 林英津 (e.g. Lin, 1994) practice, and use the triangle △ to mark the particle *kı* 𘜶 which does not have a direct Chinese equivalent. Used together with *lie* 𗉘, it forms the relative pronoun *lie kı* 𗉘𘜶 ('whoever'). This is somewhat different from the Chinese original where the individual segments in this sequence are presented as questions, a fact that is also clearly marked by the presence of the 也 interrogative particle at the end of each segment.

In the parallel segments, the nouns can consist of one or two characters, while the adjectives are always represented by a single character. Accordingly, in the Tangut each segment consists of four or five characters. Based on this knowledge, we can safely reconstruct the

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[21] An added difficulty when dealing with the text is that, in the black and white photographs of the *Yingcang* edition, even the edges of the backing paper are not visible, leaving the reader in complete ignorance of the dimensions of the manuscript.

structure of the missing Tangut text for segments which are at least fragmentarily preserved in the manuscript. In the aligned Chinese-Tangut text in Table 1, such missing but reconstructed characters are marked with a dot above.[22]

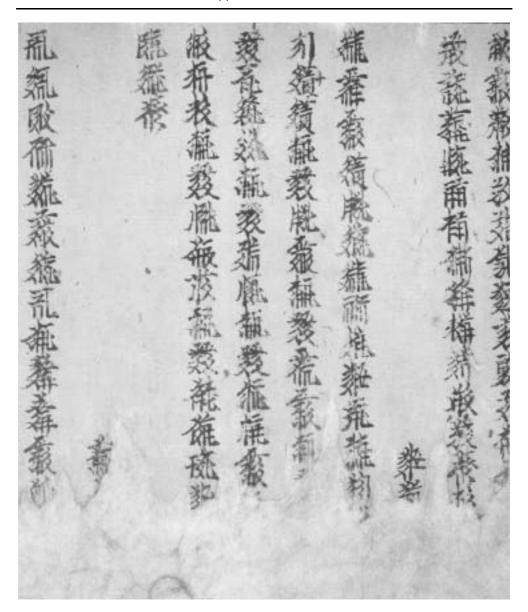| No.	Chinese	Tangut (in Ch. chars)	Tangut
1	主孰聖也	1 □，□孰△聖	□𗾒𗿔𘂤
2	將孰賢也	2 將孰△善	𗴴𗾒𗿔𗗚
3	吏孰能也	4 糧孰△有	𗏁𗾒𗿔𗋽
4	糧餉孰豐也	5 軍孰△□	𗦀𗾒𗿔□
5	士卒孰練也	□孰△□ *	□𗾒𗿔□ *
6	軍容孰整也[23]	3 □孰△能	□𗾒𗿔𗍫
7	戎馬孰逸也 *	6 軍器孰△善	𘃡𗍳𗾒𗿔𗗚
8	形勢孰險也 *	則孰△固 *	𘇂𗾒𗿔𗾺 *
9	賓客孰智也 *	二軍孰△□ *	𗏵𗦀𗾒𗿔□ *
10	鄰國孰懼也	10 □孰△懼	□𗾒𗿔𗒛
11	財貨孰多也	11 買賣孰△厚	𗕴𗰜𗾒𗿔𗱄
12	百姓孰安也？	12 庶民孰△安	𗦳𗡱𗾒𗿔𗦤

Table 1. Alignment of Chinese and Tangut parallel phrases from Section 34. The first column shows the Chinese text according to the Zhang Shu edition; the second, a Chinese transcription of the Tangut text; finally the third is a Tangut transcription of the original text. The numbering follows the Chinese text, while the numbers next to the Tangut segments identify with which Chinese line they correspond. An asterisk (*) on the right side marks segments which cannot be immediately identified as having a counter-part in the other language.

There are three unaligned segments in each language, marked with an asterisk, and our inability to identify them at least partly results from missing several characters in the Tangut version. Thus in Line 5 (according to the Chinese count) in the Tangut (□𗾒𗿔□: □孰△□) could obviously be matched to one of the three Chinese segments. Then the Tangut segment in Line 9 (𗏵𗦀𗾒𗿔□: 二軍孰△□) could potentially refer to Segment 7 in the Chinese version (戎馬孰逸也). It is the segments in Line 8 (Chinese 形勢孰險也 "whose terrain is more difficult" vs. Tangut 𘇂𗾒𗿔𗾺: 則孰△固 "whose rules are firmer") that do not seem to match and it is likely that the Tangut version goes back to a lost Chinese edition.

The aligned segments show that their sequence is not identical in the two languages. For example, in the Tangut version the phrase "whose officials are more able" 吏孰能也 appears not as Segment 3 but as 5, before the phrase "whose arms are more in order" 軍容孰整也. Also, Zhang Shu comments that in one of the editions he consulted, the phrase "whom its neighboring states are afraid of" 鄰國孰懼也 is omitted. However, since the character 𗾒
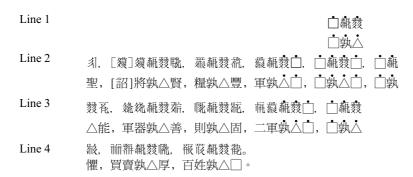
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[22] In the course of this comparison, I disregard the other parts of this section, which do not belong to this set of structurally identical segments.

[23] Zhang Shu notes that one of the Chinese editions has the character 器 in place of 容, thus forming the word *junqi* 軍器 ('weapons') which matches the Tangut version (𘃡𗍳).

(懼 'to be afraid of') appears at the beginning of the fourth line of the Tangut version of this section, we can be certain that the Tangut translation used an edition where this phrase was present. Therefore, regardless of the fact that some phrases have been moved around, the beginning and end of the two sets remain perfectly aligned, as is their number and length.

Nevertheless, rather than reconstructing each segment in the Tangut translation and identifying its Chinese counterpart, in this place I am more interested in establishing the fact that, despite the missing characters from the Tangut version, originally this part also consisted of twelve segments, just like the Chinese one. Based on the available information, we can reconstruct this part of the Tangut manuscript, including the length of lines the following way:

Line 1

 □𗼙𘟪
 □𗾪△

Line 2

𗿣，［𗼱］𗼱𗼙𘟪𗍁，𗼙𗼙𘟪𗍁，𗍁𗼙𘟪□，□𗼙𘟪□，□𗼙
聖，[詔]將𗾪△賢，糧𗾪△豐，軍𗾪△□，□𗾪△□，□𗾪

Line 3

𘟪𗍁，𗼙𗼙𘟪𗍁，𗍁𗼙𘟪𗍁，𗍁𗼙𘟪□，□𗼙𘟪
△能，軍器𗾪△善，則𗾪△固，二軍𗾪△□，□𗾪△

Line 4

𗍁，𗍁�X�89𘟪�，���89�X。
懼，買賣𗾪△厚，百姓𗾪△□。

The character �(詔 'edict') in square brackets as the second character of Line 2 is a scribal mistake[24] and is marked with a little cross on its right side indicating that it should be deleted.[25] Still, I keep it in the transcription because it occupies a full space and should be counted when calculating the number of characters per line. In the above reconstruction there are two full lines, Lines 2 and 3. In the current reconstruction, Line 2 has 20 characters, and line 3 has 19. Knowing that the Tangut nouns in these segments can consist of one or two characters, a feature especially apparent towards the second half in this sequence, we can safely assume that, in Line 3, we probably have an extra character. In concrete terms this would be the missing noun in the segment "whom its [neighboring states] are afraid of" (□𗼣𘟪𗍁:□𗾪△懼). Because the final character of this segment matches the Chinese version we can be safe in assuming that the noun at the beginning of the section very likely also matches the Chinese word *linguo* 鄰國 (neighboring states), and this would have also been a compound word written with two characters in the Tangut. Accordingly, Line 3 of the Tangut version originally consisted of 20 characters, just like Line 2. Based on the above line of reasoning, we can conclude that the Tangut manuscript originally had 20 characters per line.

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[24] The nature of the error is quite obvious if we compare the mistaken character �(詔) with the one immediately after it: �(將). The two differ from each other only in their left side components. That the mistake was caught immediately during the act of writing the manuscript is revealed by the fact that the correct character was written beneath the mistake in full size, showing no sign of subsequent insertion.

[25] The cross sign is a common deletion mark in Tangut manuscripts, it also occurs several times in the *General's Garden*. At the same time, while the notation for correcting scribal mistakes is otherwise similar to that used in the Chinese tradition (flipping reversed characters, inserting omitted characters, etc.), the use of the cross sign is particular to Tangut manuscripts. See also Kepping and Gong, 2003, p. 17.

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Summary

Имре Галамбош

Тангутский перевод «Сада генерала» Чжугэ Ляна

В тангутском фонде Британской библиотеки хранится фрагмент рукописи тангутского перевода *Цзянъ юань* («Сад генерала») — китайского военного трактата, авторство которого традиционно приписывается китайскому полководцу и государственному деятелю эпохи Троецарствия (III в.) Чжугэ Ляну. Аутентичность китайского текста неоднократно оспаривалась. Некоторые исследователи полагают, что этот текст представляет собой более позднюю подделку, поскольку самые ранние издания, дошедшие до нас, — это ксилографы эпохи Мин. Находка тангутской версии трактата доказывает, что он существовал уже в XII в.

Настоящая статья посвящена нескольким вопросам, связанным с тангутской рукописью и переводом. Во-первых, рассматривается связь тангутского и китайского текстов, возможность определения редакции, с которой был сделан тангутский перевод. Во-вторых, уделяется внимание функции красных точек-помет, стоящих в тангутской рукописи рядом с некоторыми иероглифами. Автор полагает, что эти знаки могут характеризовать рукопись как автограф переводчика или одну из его копий. Поскольку нижняя часть тангутской рукописи не сохранилась, то затрагивается и вопрос об определении числа иероглифов в столбцах тангутской рукописи, что даст возможность оценить объем утраченного текста.